

Università degli Studi di Pavia
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici – Scienze dell’Antichità
Corso di dottorato in Storia
Civiltà del Mediterraneo in Età preclassica, classica e medievale



PhD thesis

**Evidence of contacts between pharaonic Egypt and the
State entities of Hittite and Post-Hittite Anatolia**

SSD:

L-OR/01: Storia del Vicino Oriente Antico

L-OR/02: Egittologia e Civiltà Copta

PhD candidate:

Marco De Pietri

XXXI ciclo

Tutor:

Chiar.ma Prof.ssa Clelia Mora

Anno Accademico 2017-2018

INDEX.....	p. 3
0. GENERAL AND METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION.....	p. 11
0.1. <i>General introduction to the topic.</i>	
0.2. <i>Topic of the research.</i>	
0.3. <i>History of previous studies and bibliographical references.</i>	
0.4. <i>Organization and explanation of the sections.</i>	
1. CHAPTER I: TEXTUAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES.....	p. 22
1.1. Egyptian sources.....	p. 22
1.1.1. <i>Introduction to the sources.</i>	
1.1.2. <i>Texts not included in the catalogue.....</i>	<i>p. 30</i>
I: Topographical list of Taharqa, 25 th dyn., 690-644 BC.	
II: Inscription of Ptolemy XIII, Kom Ombos (ca. 51-47 BC).	
1.1.3. <i>Textual sources quoting Ḫatti.....</i>	<i>p. 32</i>
1: Annals of Thutmose III, Karnak (18 th dyn., 1479-1425 BC):	
a. <i>List of tributes of the Great-Ḫatti in 33rd year (1446 ca. BC), 8th campaign.</i>	
b. <i>Tribute of Ḫatti (?) in the 35th year (1444 ca. BC), 10th campaign.</i>	
c. <i>Tribute of Ḫatti (?) in the 42nd year (1437 ca. BC), 17th campaign.</i>	
d. <i>List of tributes of the Great-Ḫatti in the 41st year (1438 ca. BC), 16th campaign.</i>	
2: Annals of Amenhotep II, Memphis and Karnak (18 th dyn., 1425-1400 BC).	
3: Donation stela of Ay, Giza (18 th dyn., reign of Ay, 1323-1320 BC).	
4: Topographical lists of Horemheb, Karnak (18 th dyn., 1319-1292 BC):	
a. <i>Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, 10th pylon.</i>	
b. <i>Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, statues.</i>	
5: oCairo CGC 25218 + oDeM 1266, Group B: Love Song No. 21 (19 th dyn.).	
6: The Asian battle reliefs of Seti I, Karnak (19 th dyn., 1290-1279 BC).	
a. <i>Triumph scene with topographic list, 1.</i>	
b. <i>Triumph scene with topographic list, 2.</i>	
c. <i>Battle scene.</i>	
d. <i>Processional scene.</i>	
e. <i>Presentation scene.</i>	
7: Topographical list of Seti I, Qurnah (19 th dyn., 1290-1279 BC).	
8: Texts of the reign of Ramses II (19 th dyn., 1279-1213 BC). The Kadesh battle, the Treaty and the Hittite Marriages:	

- a. *The “Poem” (Appendix A).*
 - b. *The “Report” or “Bulletin” (Appendix A).*
 - c. *The Reliefs.*
 - d. *The Treaty (Appendix A).*
 - e. *The Stela of the “First Marriage”.*
 - f. *The “First Marriage” – Abbreviated version.*
 - g. *The “Blessing of Ptah”.*
 - h. *The Stela of the “Second Marriage”.*
 - i. *Gurob, papUC32795 (fragm. U, Petrie).*
 - j. *Tanis, inscription quoting the daughter of the Hittite King.*
 - k. *Ramesseum, inscription of the Siege of Dapur.*
 - l. *Abydos, Temple of Ramses II: passages related to the Kadesh battle.*
 - m. *Abydos, Temple of Ramses II: list of subjugated Asiatic people.*
 - n. *Luxor: Lists of subjugated countries and procession of the “Berggötter”.*
 - o. *Karnak, 9th pylon: list of subjugated countries.*
 - p. *Fragment of stela, from Bubastis, Festival Hall.*
- 9: The texts of the Libyan War of Merneptah (19th dyn., 1213-1203 BC):
- a. *The Great Karnak Inscription.*
 - b. *The Stela of Victory (so-called “Stela of Israel”).*
- 10: papAnast. II, 2, 1ff.: Rto 1.1-2.5, “Praise for Pi-Ramesses”.
- 11: papAnast. IV, Rto 13.8-17.9: “Instructions for pharaoh’s arrival”.
- 12: “Satirical letter of Hori”:
- a. *papAnast. I = papBM EA 10247.*
 - b. *papClère I, Vso ll. x+3: “Satirical polemic vs. papAnastasi I.*
- 13: Papyrus Koller I, 6 (late 19th dyn.).
- 14: papChester Beatty IV = papBM EA 10684, Vso 7.3-10.15, l. 7,7: “Letter with a list of supplying (?)”.
- 15: Texts of Ramses III:
- a. *Sea peoples’ Campaign, Medinet Habu: Great Inscription of Year 8.*
 - b. *Medinet Habu, Pavilion: Lists of subjugated countries.*
 - c. *Karnak, Ramses III’s Temple of Amun (statues): List of subjugated countries.*
- 16: papTurin CGT 54031, Hymns of Ramses VI and VII.
- 17: papBM 10068, Tomb Robberies.
- 18: papGolénischeff IV, 1-3, Onomasticon of Amenemope.

1.2 Hittite and Neo-Hittite texts..... p. 181

1.2.1 Hittite Texts of MBA and LBA (in Akkadian and Hittite)..... p. 181

1.2.1.1 Introduction to the sources..... p. 181

1.2.1.2 Texts in transliteration and translation..... p. 193

- 1: The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I.
- 2: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru.
- 3: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette of Nuḫašše.
- 4: The Annals of Muršili II.
- 5: Treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Tešub of Amurru.
- 6: Decree about Nuḫašše and Barga.
- 7: Prayer to the gods' assembly.
- 8: Treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu.
- 9: Apology of Ḫattušili III.
- 10: Report of Ḫattušili III.
- 11: Decree of Ḫattušili III about Arma-Tarḫunta.
- 12: Treaty between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II (Appendix A).
- 13: Treaty between Ḫattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru.
- 14: Letter (?) mentioning Bentešina and Egypt.
- 15: Treaty between Tuḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru.
- 16: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Talmi-Teššub of Karkamiš.
- 17: Treaty with (related to) Kuruštama.
- 18: Letter of Šuppiluliuma I to Ay(?).
- 19: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III, about Urḫi-Teššup.
- 20: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili II.
- 21: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Puduḫepa.
- 22: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.
- 23: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II.
- 24: Letter of Ramses II to Ḫattušili.
- 25: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa.
- 26: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III.
- 27: Letters of Ramses II to Puduḫepa.
- 28: Letters of Ramses II to an unknown addressee.
- 29: Letter of Ramses II to Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira.
- 30: Letters of Napteras to Puduḫepa.
- 31: Letters of Tuja to Ḫattušili III.
- 32: Letters of Šutaḫapšap (and Riamašeša) to Ḫattušili III.
- 33: Fragments of Egyptian-Hittite correspondence.
- 34: Letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II.

- 35: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II.
- 36: Fragmentary letters of the king.
- 37: Letter to the king or to the queen.
- 38: Letter of Puduḫepa to Niqmaddu III of Ugarit.
- 39: Letter of Bentešina of Amurru to Ḫattušili III.
- 40: Fragments of letters in Akkadian.
- 41: Fragments of letters in Hittite.
- 42: Fragments of annals.
- 43: Fragment of contract or instruction.
- 44: Fragments of historical texts.
- 45: Undifferentiated fragment of historical texts.
- 46: Fragments of Akkadian historical texts.
- 47: Inventories of chests.
- 48: Inventory of clothes and fabrics.
- 49: Inventory of jewels and jewellery.
- 50: Receipt certificate.
- 51: Fragments of inventories.
- 52: Prayers of Muršili II (plague).
- 53: “Fifth” prayer of Muršili II to the gods’ assembly (plague).
- 54: Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun goddess of Arinna.
- 55: Evocation ritual.
- 56: Inventory of Manninni.
- 57: Oracle fragments.
- 58: Fragments of dreams and vows.
- 59: Longer ritual fragment.
- 60: Evocation ritual for Ištar of Ninive.

1.2.2 Neo-Hittite texts of IA (in Hieroglyphic Luwian)..... p. 553

1: Karkemish A6.

2: Aleppo 7.

1.3 Cuneiform texts found in Egypt..... p. 563

1.3.1 The El-Amarna letters..... p. 563

1.3.1.1 The EA letters directly exchanged between Egypt and Anatolia..... p. 567

1: EA 31.

2: EA 32.

3: EA 41.

4: EA 42.

5: EA 43.

6: EA 44.

1.3.1.2 The EA letters quoting the Hittites..... p. 584

1: EA 17.

2: EA 24.

3: EA 35.

4: EA 45.

5: EA 51.

6: EA 52.

7: EA 53.

8: EA 54.

9: EA 55.

10: EA 59.

11: EA 75.

12: EA 116.

13: EA 126.

14: EA 129.

15: EA 140.

16: EA 151.

17: EA 157.

18: EA 161.

19: EA 164.

20: EA 165.

21: EA 166.

22: EA 167.

23: EA 170.

24: EA 174.

25: EA 175.

26: EA 176.

27: EA 196.

28: EA 197.

29: EA 363.

1.3.2 The cuneiform text from Qantir/Pi-Ramesse..... p. 657

2. CHAPTER II: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTEFACTS..... p. 665

2.1 Hittite objects found in Egypt..... p. 665

2.1.1 Introduction..... p. 665

2.1.1.E1: Amarna/Akhetaton.

2.1.1.E2: Giza.

2.1.1.E3: Gurob/*Mr-wr*.

2.1.1.E4: Qantir/*Pi-Ramesse*.

2.1.1.E5: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

2.2 Egyptian or “Egyptianizing” objects found in Anatolia and North Syria..... p. 685

2.2.1 General introduction..... p. 685

2.2.2 Catalogue of the objects..... p. 690

– Adana (Tepebağ Höyük)/*Adaniya*.

– Alaca Höyük/*Arinna*(?).

– Alişar Höyük/*Ankuwa*(?).

– Ankara (Roma Hamamı).

– Boğazköy/*Hattuša*.

– Eskiyaapar.

– Fırağtın.

– Gordion, Yassıhöyük.

– Gözlu Kule/Tarsus.

– Imamoğlu.

– İzmir.

– Kamankale Höyük.

– Karahöyük (Konya).

– Karatepe (Aslantaş).

– Karkemish.

– Kinet Höyük.

– Kirikkale (Yahşihan Höyük).

– Mersin-Soli.

– Ortaköy/*Şapinuwa*.

– Oylum Höyük.

– Panaztepe-Menemen.

– Sabuniye Höyük.

2.2.3 Finds dated before the Hittites..... p. 751

3. FINAL COMMENT ABOUT THE PREVIOUS SECTIONS..... p. 758

3.1 General comment..... p. 758

3.2 <i>Topics for further researches</i>	p. 778
3.3 <i>Final conclusions</i>	p. 779
4. LIST OF FIGURES	p. 782
5. ABBREVIATIONS	p. 795
5.1 <i>General abbreviations</i> .	
5.2 <i>Bibliographical abbreviations</i> .	
5.3 <i>Abbreviation of Inv. No. of Hittite texts</i> .	
5.4 <i>Abbreviation of find spots of Hittite texts</i> .	
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY	p. 804
7. SITOGRAPHY	p. 859
7.1 <i>List of Hittite text whose translation is provide online in HPM</i> .	
7.2 <i>Other useful sites</i> .	
APPENDIX A (Related to sections 1.1 and 1.2.1.2)	p. 861
Most important texts, just reported without any comment:	
• <i>Related to Section 1.1 (Nos are the same as in Section 1.1, texts nos 8.a-b, d)</i>	
a. The “Poem” of Kadesh.....	p. 861
b. The “Report” or “Bulletin” of Kadesh.....	p. 873
c. The Egypto-Hittite Treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (Egyptian version).....	p. 878
• <i>Related to Section 1.2.1.2</i>	
– CTH 91: The Egypto-Hittite Treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (Akkadian version) = Section 1.2.1.2, text no. 12.....	p. 901
APPENDIX B (Related to section 1.2.1.2)	p. 919
Information about Hittite texts (from HPM website).	

μετὰ δὲ τὸν πυλῶνα περίστυλον εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου ἀξιολογώτερον, ἐν ᾧ γλυφὰς ὑπάρχειν παντοίας δηλοῦσας τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γενομένον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Βάκτροις ἀποστάντας: ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεῦσθαι πεζῶν μὲν τετταράκοντα μυριάσιν, ἵππεῦσι δὲ δισμυρίοις, εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διηρημένης τῆς πάσης στρατιᾶς, ὧν ἀπάντων υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν¹.

Beyond the pylon, he says, there is a peristyle more remarkable than the former one; in it there are all manner of reliefs depicting the war which the king waged against those Bactrians who had revolted; against these he had made a campaign with four hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand cavalry, the whole army having been divided into four divisions, all of which were under the command of sons of the king².

Diod. I, 47, 6

0. GENERAL AND METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

0.1. General introduction to the topic

The topic of relationships and contacts between pharaonic Egypt and the different entities of the ancient Near East (Anatolia, Levant, Mesopotamia, Iranian, Indian areas and the Aegean³, too) has frequently been analysed, with very productive results. Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern studies are often considered two different and specific disciplines: it seems to be clear, considering the specific field of interest and application of these sciences, but, nevertheless, a more comprehensive view, mixing both the disciplines, allows to gain a deeper and better knowledge of the pre-classical history of the Eastern Mediterranean. Some scholars in the past tried to dedicate their efforts in both these fields: in the 20th century, for what concerns the topic of this research, it is noteworthy to recall the studies promoted by Elmar Edel (1914-1997) both in Egyptology and Anatolian researches⁴. This kind of approach, considered all its limits, convey the possibility of cross the borders of the singular disciplines, gathering a better comprehension of the actual ancient history. The best solution, of course, should be a collaboration of both Egyptologists and Near Eastern scholars, in which all the documents (both archaeological and textual evidences) are considered in their specific singularity. Also, a second point needs to be underlined: this kind of approach needs to merge both the information coming from the philological sources and the data provided by the archaeological evidence; this is sometimes difficult to be achieved, due to the specialisation and sectorial division of the knowledge; nevertheless, also in this, case, a collaboration between archaeologists and philologists would afford a more specific and comprehensive understanding of the past. This research tries to link together both archaeological and textual evidences: I admit at the beginning some limits of this approach but, however, I am sure this is the best way to be considered.

It is also well known that the contacts between these two, geographically adjacent areas (the Nile Valley and the Ancient Near East) belong to a very ancient period (probably already at the end of the 4th mill. BC), even if for the most ancient periods we lack of precise textual documentation and the archaeological finds allow just to grasp possible contacts, without a possibility of deeper analysis. For instance, we can recall some iconographic and architectural elements in common, like the “palace façade” decoration, attested both on the Egyptian *serekh*, in which the names of the first dynasties pharaohs are carved in⁵, and in Mesopotamia, in the shape of the external walls of temples;

¹ VOGEL 1888, vol.1, p. 83.

² OLDFATHER 1933, p. 169. This passage refers, as a misunderstanding, to the Battle of Kadesh, described as a battle fought by Ramses II against the Bactrians (instead of the Hittites). It is also possible that such a misunderstanding was due to some news that Diodorus could have received or he listened to about the so-called “Stela of Bakhtan”, whose name slightly resembles that of “Bactrians” (see *infra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 8.h). Moreover, the mention of the “four divisions strictly remembers the division of the Egyptian army during the battle of Kadesh.

³ See the very recent volume VON BREDOW 2017.

⁴ A recent enterprise of re-evaluation and valorization of Edel’s work and archives has been undergone by Patrizia Piacentini and her team (Christian Orsenigo and Laura Marucchi), after the purchasing by the University of Milan of Edel’s library and archives. As for this topic, see PIACENTINI 2000 and 2006.

⁵ See, for instance, the tablet/label of pharaoh Den (1st dyn., ca. 2900 BC, from Abydos) in SCHULZ – SEIDEL 1999, p. 34, fig. 50; or also, in a more monumental form, the stela of king Nebre (2nd dyn., ca. 2810 BC, from Saqqara) in SCHULZ –

this kind of decoration is also attested on the walls of the Shunet ez-Zebib, the funerary palace of the king Khasekhemui (2nd dyn., ca. 2640 BC, in Abydos)⁶, and later in the perimetral enclosure of the pyramid of the pharaoh Djoser (3rd dyn., in Saqqara)⁷; this element had maybe previously anticipated by the so-called “nichel mastabas” of the 1st dyn. (ca. 3000 BC, Saqqara)⁸. Another interesting proof of ancient influences in the iconographic sphere is surely the well-known human, male figure attested on the handle of the ivory knife of the Gebel el-Arak (end of the Predynastic Period, ca. 3150 BC)⁹, which presents typical Mesopotamian features, and also the motif of the man surrounded by rampant animals, in this case two lions, is well attested on the Mesopotamian glyptic¹⁰.

0.2. Topic of the research

Among the different relationships established during the centuries, it seems noteworthy to better focus on the contacts between Egypt and Anatolia: these two entities bumped, and also crashed, in different occasions and with fluctuating outcomes¹¹; we have information about this topic thanks to a great quantity of archaeological and textual data¹² which, is synoptically analysed, allow us to recover the dynamics of those political, economic and commercial relations. Some of well-known examples are surely the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence between the pharaonic and Hittite courts immediately after the Kadesh battle¹³, and the following treaty of peace and brotherhood stipulated by Ramses II and Hattuşili III¹⁴; beside of this official documentation, a mix of royal propagandistic formulas and standardized elements, we have also notice of more precious clues about the contacts from some iconographic and architectural features¹⁵, in the field of the glyptic, where we can find the presence in Anatolia of people coming from Egypt¹⁶ and, vice-versa, of people of Hittite origin whose names are recorded in Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom¹⁷.

These contacts of pharaonic Egypt with the Anatolian and Northern-Syrian areas lasted during all the 2nd mill. BC, until the end of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1200/1180 BC), and later also during the first half of the 1st mill. BC, in Syria and mainly in some major cities, like Karkemish; despite of the less quantity of written documentation (about 27 texts in Egyptian, and just one stela from Karkemish, written in Luwian hieroglyphic), during this period we still have a lot of archaeological finds from both Anatolia and Northern-Syria, of Egyptian origin or shape¹⁸; very interesting studies about this

SEIDEL 1999, p. 37, fig. 55. An interesting reconstruction of this architectural motif can be found in KEMP 2000, p. 56, fig. 20.

⁶ KEMP 2000, p. 55, fig. 19.

⁷ SCHULZ – SEIDEL 1999, pp. 48-55, fig. 9, 13, 14, 21a.

⁸ *Ivi*, p. 33 e fig. 47-48 pp. 33-34.

⁹ *Ivi*, pp. 26-28 e fig. 31 a p. 26.

¹⁰ In Egypt, this iconographic motif seems to be quite ancient, since it is attested in the decorated tomb (tomb 100) of Hierakonpolis (culture of Naqada II, ca. 3300 BC): see KEMP 2000, p. 49, fig. 15 (cf. also the colour image in SCHULZ – SEIDEL 1999, p. 21, fig. 26).

¹¹ For a brief summary of the Egypto-Hittite contacts, see GENZ 2011.

¹² For a brief catalogue of the main Egyptian-Hittite texts, see BECKMAN 1996, texts nos 15, 22A-G.

¹³ EDEL 1994a; cf. BRYCE 2003; GIORGIERI 2010; GOETZE, 1947; HELCK 1963; MURNANE 1990²; DE ROOS 2006; SINGER 2006; WOUTERS 1989.

¹⁴ See BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, pp. 267-295; BRYCE 2006; EDEL, E. 1997; LANGDON – GARDINER 1920.

¹⁵ BÖRKER-KLÄHN 2002.

¹⁶ The best-known specimen is that of Manamašu/Amanmašu, Hittite official of king Tili-Šarruma of Karkemish, whose name is attested on a seal from Ugarit; see ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 10, note 3; LAROCHE 1966, n. 45; MORA 1987, p. 241 (and MORA 1990, p. 65); MORA 2004, p. 439; RANKE 1935, p. 29, n. 8; SCHAEFFER 1956, pp. 142-143.

¹⁷ EDEL 1973; SCHNEIDER 1992, pp. 470-471.

¹⁸ For instance: MUMFORD 2007. Briefly, about Karkemish, see “Karkemiš” in LÄ III, 339-341 (W. Helck) and “Karkamiš” in RIA V, pp. 426-446 (J.D. Hawkins); cf. also CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016; HOGARTH 1914 p. 17; ZECCHI 2014.

topic have been recently published by G. Mumford¹⁹ (focused mainly on the Syrian area) and by I. Singer²⁰.

A key point for the transmission of those objects (and secondarily of some iconographic elements) was, without doubt, the Syro-Levantine area: for instance, the so-called “Way of Horus” is well known, which connected the Delta with Syria. Furthermore, a central role had to be played by Ebla, the ancient city, near Tell Mardikh, whose discovery and excavation led us to have a powerful glimpse in the history of the 3rd mill. BC. In particular, for what concerns our topic, some archaeological finds from this site attest the antiquity of these contacts and confirm the key-role of Ebla as a favourite channel of relationships between Egypt and, at least, the Northern Syria: some of these artefacts, such as the ivory Egyptianizing plaquettes from the “North Palace” (ca. 1700 BC), portraying the head of the god Osiris, wearing the *atef* crown²¹, a Sobek figure²², the head of the goddess Hathor²³ and two figures of Horus²⁴ (all in profile); moreover, the ceremonial mace from the “Cisterns Tomb” (ca. 1650 BC)²⁵, bearing the cartouche with the name of pharaoh Hotepibra (XIII dynasty)²⁶ and further inscribed objects, such as the alabaster lid, bearing the name of pharaoh Pepi I (6th dyn., ca. 2276-2228⁺²⁵ BC)²⁷. Another item, TM.79.Q.126 (dated to the MBA II, ca. 1650 BC), carries an impression of the seal of king Indilimgur’s son, whose name is unreadable, where there is one of the most ancient attestations in Syria of the *ꜥnh* sign²⁸.

A recent work published by F. Breyer²⁹ collects a very useful quantity of information and data (archaeological, textual and epigraphical), related to this topic and a useful bibliography is also provided in the “Systematische Bibliographie” of the HPM³⁰. Breyer’s work is, unfortunately, just devoted to the 2nd mill. BC and an updating for what concerns the 1st mill. BC still lacks. Furthermore, the whole quantity of data of both the 2nd and 1st mill. BC would deserve to be better studied and analysed, linking the textual material with the archaeological artefacts, to reach an all-comprehensive reconstruction of the actual, both political and cultural, reality.

For what concerns the objects of Anatolian origin found in Egypt and, on contrary, the artefacts of Egyptian provenience or influence found in Anatolia, we made a comparison between the data of different sources but mainly of the following more comprehensive texts:

- BREYER 2010a, with cursory quotations of archaeological artefacts (see mainly pp. 79-100);
- HELFT 2010, with a catalogue of the main artefacts (see pp. 276-284, cat. nos 118-144);
- KOZAL 2006, specifically the objects quoted in the catalogue;
- ÖZKAN 2007, which comprehends artefacts from the Chalcolithic period until the Byzantine period;
- DE VOS 2002, for the materials dated to the 2nd mill. BC.

The aim of this research is to provide an as far as possible complete catalogue of all the textual and archaeological evidences which support the ancient contacts between Egypt and Hatti. As already

¹⁹ MUMFORD 2007.

²⁰ SINGER 2010.

²¹ MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, pp. 191, 458 and 476, no. 372; cf. SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1991a.

²² MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, pp. 459 and 477, no. 373; cf. SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1991a.

²³ MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, pp. 460 and 477, no. 374; cf. SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1991a.

²⁴ MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, p. 460, nos 375-376; cf. SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1991a.

²⁵ MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, pp. 240, 464-465 and 478, nos 383-384.

²⁶ For further bibliography about the contacts between Egypt and the Syrian-Palestine areas, see HELCK 1962; REDFORD 1992 SMITH 1965; VALBELLE 1990. More in detail for the contacts with Ebla, see, for instance, SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1979a; ID. 1979b; ID. 1988a; ID. 1991a.

²⁷ MATTHIAE 1985², tav. 36a; MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995, p. 283 no. 42; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1979a; *id.* 1988b, pp. 69-71, tav. XII, 3.

²⁸ See MATTHIAE 1969; ID. 1985², p. 124, tav.87; ID. 1989, pp. 205-207, pls 162-165; MATTHIAE – PINNOCK – SCANDONE MATTHIAE, p. 395, no. 242 and p. 405. For the transfer of the sign to the Anatolian culture (in the Luwian Hieroglyphic writing), see CARRUBA 1976.

²⁹ BREYER 2010a.

³⁰ <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html>.

said, an overview on the 2nd mill. BC has been recently provided by F. Breyer³¹; we would like to add some missing information about this period and update the catalogue for that what concerns the 1st mill. BC.

A further goal of our research would be the comment and an in-depth analysis, in an all-comprehensive framework, of the rich information about the contacts, presenting a critical reading of the texts; we would like to better understand how these relations were considered and experienced by the ancients, trying to define how was the reciprocal consideration they had each other. The textual data are surely not mere, neutral testimony of the historical events: they, in fact, need a research allowing a comprehension which recover, beside all the propagandistic formulas, the real situation of that time.

This research aims to make an attempt of interpretation of the historical data (textual, epigraphical and archaeological), in a wider prospective, in order to emphasize the ancient consideration that Egyptian and Hittites had each other; to fulfil this goal, we will try to analyse the formulas used in the texts (used in the official correspondence and in the historical accounts); another interesting field of research is surely the study of the determinatives³² used in the Egyptian texts to specify the proper geographical and personal names: these signs often allows to glimpse the ancient Egyptian consideration of the opponents countries; for instance, the determinative³³ which follows the name of the Aamu is usually a curved, wooden stick, which should resemble that the Egyptian considered to be the typical weapon of these people: it seems to be a weaker weapon (in comparison with Egyptian swords and shields), signal of a less developed warfare equipment and, consequently, of a less civilized country. A focus will be provided on the transitional period between the LBA and the EIA, trying to clarify, through the analysis of the texts and the archaeological finds, if there was a continuity in the contacts or even a marked interruption.

A very interesting Egyptian text, belonging to the IA (maybe end of 21st dyn., reign of Ramses XI, ca 1098-1060 BC) is the “Story of Wenamun”. It tells, even in a typical literary and rhetorical fashion, the travels of this Egyptian official, appointed by the pharaoh to reach Byblos to obtain cedar wood for the solar boat of the god Amun. It testifies the still ongoing contacts between Egypt and the Levant during, at least, the EIA-MIA period³⁴.

However, the chronological framework of my research is so comprised between the beginnings of the Hittite Old Kingdom (MBA, ca. mid of the 17th cent. BC), until the Neo-Assyrian conquest of Anatolia and the collapse of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms (ca. end of the 8th cent. BC), when the expansionism of the new “superpower” reached the heart of the Anatolian plateau, ending the long tradition of contacts between the pharaonic Egypt and the different entities of Hittite and Post-Hittite Anatolia. Furthermore, the ancient roots and the remnants of these relationships, proved by some archaeological finds, will be investigated, proposing also some materials dated at the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC (when the Hittite state was still shaping) and to the 8th cent. BC (mainly from Karkemish), attesting the lasting of that tradition of which those contacts were evidences of. More in detail, the timespan here considered as a chronological limit for the selection of the texts and the artefacts lasts from the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom, until the end of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms (i.e. ca. 17th cent. - end of 8th cent. BC³⁵).

³¹ BREYER 2010a.

³² The determinative is a particular sign, without a phonetic value, used in ancient Egyptian to define the semantic class of a word.

³³ See GARDINER 1957³, Sign-list, p. 513, T 14.

³⁴ See BRESCIANI 2007⁴, pp. 597-604. For the relationships between Egypt and Byblos, see for instance, SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1990; ID. 1991; ID. 1995.

³⁵ For what concerns the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms and their chronology, I accept the lists in BRYCE 2012, pp. 301-309 and LIVERANI 2013, p. 451 table 26.1.

0.3. History of previous studies and bibliographical references

Approaching the history of the studies about this topic, we will note that several publications have been dedicated to the analysis of the contacts between Egypt and Anatolia, both under the philological and archaeological perspective. I summarize here some key-points of the history of the research, moving a fair chronological order. A first list of useful publication about the theme is that provided by the web page of the HPM, under the section “Systematische Bibliographie, 7.5. Überregionale Beziehungen, 75.4. Hethiter und Ägypten” (online link: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetbib/hetsys_abfrage.php?c=75.4). A comprehensive bibliography considering the major studies about the present topic is provided at the end of this dissertation (see “Bibliography”). A further, and thematically ordered, bibliography is offered in BREYER 2010a, pp. 569-618.

In this paragraph, I also would like to briefly recall, in a chronological order, some of the most important publications about this topic. The first publication about the contacts between Egypt and the Hittites is CHABAS 1858, about the cuneiform text of the Treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III; a later publication about the same topic has been published by de Rouge (DE ROUGE 1866). PLEYTE 1869 presented for the first time a publication about the Battle of Kadesh, followed by LUSHINGTON 1874, offering the translation of papSallier III, reporting the events of the battle. Pleyte offered a second publication about the Battle of Kadesh in 1878 (PLEYTE 1878): some years later also Tomkins published a paper on the same theme (TOMKINS 1882). Schiaparelli presented in 1885 a contribution about the Hittite relationships with Egypt at the “Accademia delle Scienze” in Turin (SCHIAPARELLI 1885, followed by a second “letter” published in 1890). In 1886, both Guieysse and de Rouge published two contributions about the Treaty (GUIEYSSE 1886; DE ROUGE 1886). In 1897, Knudtzon offered a first analysis of the Egyptian personal name $S^c-p^c-rw-rw$, corresponding to that of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I (KNUDTZON 1897). One year later, in MÜLLER 1898, an investigation about the identity of the Hittite king who the Amarna letters refers to was presented; the same scholar offered in 1902 a German translation of the Treaty (MÜLLER 1902). Breasted published in 1903 a seminal work about the Battle of Kadesh (BREASTED 1903). Again, Müller presented a paper published in *OLZ*, about the mention of the Hittites in the Egyptian main sources (MÜLLER 1909). SCHROEDER 1915 was instead devoted to the analysis of the two so-called “Arzawa-Briefe”, while one year later Meissner 1917 offered an investigation on the Akkadian version of the Treaty; the same author also published a first work about the relationships between the two countries as reported in the Hittite sources (MEISSNER 1918). In 1919, Roeder dedicated two publications about the contacts between the Egyptian and the Hittite countries (ROEDER 1919a-b), presenting a first attempt of historical reconstruction, also considering the role of the Syrian area as a peculiar “contact zone”. In 1920, Burne presented some “notes” on the Battle of Kadesh, while Langdon and Gardiner offered the first synoptic translation of the Treaty (see BURNE 1920 and LANGDON – GARDINER 1920). SAYCE 1922 was instead devoted to an analysis of the mention of the Egyptian country within the Hittite documentation (SAYCE 1922); in the following year, GRIFFITH 1923 presented a historical insight on the relationships during the reign of Akhenaton (GRIFFITH 1923), and Hall offered a contribution, in the *Festschrift* for W.M. Ramsay, about the Egypto-Hittite contacts in general (HALL 1923). In 1924, Zimmern and Friedrich presented a first attempt of analysis of the Hittite documents quoting the “*daḫamunzu*-affaire” (ZIMMERN – FRIEDRICH 1924), and a second paper was submitted by Goetze about the same topic (GOETZE 1924). KUENTZ 1925 published the text of the so-called “Stela of the First Hittite Marriage” and LEFEBVRE 1925 offered the “version abrégée” of the same text (both published in *ASAE* 25). The following year, SAYCE 1926 proposed some insights on the period just after the death of Tutankhamun, considered as the pharaoh quoted in the Hittite documents about the “*daḫamunzu*-episode” (a contribution implemented by a second paper, see SAYCE 1927) while SETHE 1926 analysed some new Egyptian texts about the contacts with Ḫatti. WILSON 1927 published another English translation of the texts of the Battle of Kadesh, immediately followed by the monumental work of Kuentz on the same topic (KUENTZ 1927) followed by GOETZE 1929, offering some comments on the original sources. In the '30s of the past century, several publication were devoted to similar topics: CAVAINAC 1930, 1931 and 1935-1937 (about the “*daḫamunzu*-

affaire” and the contacts between Egypt, Mittani and Ḫatti); ALT 1932, about some “topographical remarks” on the Battle of Kadesh; KUENTZ 1934, again about Kadesh; PENDLEBURY 1935, on some supposed representations of Hittites at El-Amarna; FRIEDRICH 1937, analysing the seal impression of Ḫattušili III as described in the Egyptian colophon of the Treaty; STURM 1939, again about the Battle of Kadesh. During the '40s, the bibliography was implemented thanks to many works: FRIEDRICH 1942, about the quotation of the Hittite in the El-Amarna documentation; ALT 1943, on the Battle of Kadesh; KINAL 1943, the first publication in Turkish about the Egypto-Hittite contacts (during the Amarna period, too); GOETZE 1947, publishing a new letter from Ramses II to Ḫattušili III; BARNETT – ČERNÝ 1947, presenting the ostrakon quoting Ini-Tešub of Karkemish, found in the KV; FURLANI 1949, making some remarks about a possible Egyptian inspiration for the Hittite “royal *aedicula*” attested on many reliefs reporting the names and the titles of the Hittite kings. In 1950, Botterweck presented in the Festschrift for F. Nötscher an analysis of some letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence about the Battle of Kadesh, while Edel offered the publication of KBo I 15+19, another letter sent by Ramses II to Ḫattušili III: in the same year Korošec published a paper about the historical reconstruction of the Egypto-Hittite relationships, according to the document found at El-Amarna and Ḫattuša, and Wilson presented a further translation of the Treaty. EDEL 1952 is an interesting paper about the role of the Egyptian and queens within the royal correspondence; in EDEL 1952-1953, the publication of KUB III 63, another Egypto-Hittite letter, is offered, as also for EDEL 1953b, presenting KUB III 37, KBo I 17 and KUB III 57. In 1956, Cavaignac published another paper about the contacts between Egypt and the Hittites between 1370 and 1345 BC (CAVAIGNAC 1956). Two years later, Faulkner presented a monumental study about the Battle of Kadesh (FAULKNER 1958), while in 1959, Rowton offered an insight about the historical “background” of the Treaty. EDEL 1960 advanced some noteworthy reflections about an alleged visit of Ḫattušili III in Egypt (probably never actually fulfilled); in the same year, Gardiner presented the English translation of both the “Poem” and the “Bulletin” of the Battle of Kadesh, with an analysis of the different toponyms quoted within these texts (GARDINER 1960); GÜTERBOCK 1960 offered instead the analysis of Muršili II’s accounts of Šuppiluliuma I’s struggles against Egypt. Moreover, VERGOTE 1961 is a very well-done paper about the possible quotation of Tutankhamun within the Hittite documentation, discussing the identification with the dead pharaoh quoted in the documents recounting the “*daḫamunzu*-episode”. HELCK 1962 (republished in 1971) is a huge work about the contacts between Egypt and the ancient Near East, also including a chapter about the Hittite relationships; in the same year, Kitchen offered a small but very in-depth book about the events during Šuppiluliuma I’s reign (KITCHEN 1962), discussing in detail some chronological issues. In 1963, Helck published an important paper about Urḫi-Tešub in Egypt, Stock presented some historical notes about the obsidian fragment of obsidian with the name of pharaoh Chian, and Houwink ten Cate discussed the dating of the so-called “Kuruštama Treaty”. Moving to 1966, Siegelová published a brief historical reconstruction of some important events. At the end of the decade, EDEL 1969 analysed some aspects of the diplomatic mission in charge of the stipulation of the Treaty. The most important works published during the '70s are briefly reported here following: VAUMAS 1970-1971, about some military strategy of Ramses II during the Battle of Kadesh; LIVERANI 1971, about the Hittite prince Zannanza; RAINEY 1973, about Kadesh, again; EDEL 1974, presenting two letters of the queen mother Tuya; FREU 1974, about EA 116, about the Hittites at El-Amarna; CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975-1976, with the transliteration and translation of some Hittite fragments related to Egypt; EDEL 1976, about the presence of Egyptian physicians at the Hittite court; EDEL 1978a-b, discussing the letters of Pašijara and a fragment of the “Egyptian widow” sent to Ḫattuša; SCHULMAN 1978a, about the “*daḫamunzu*-affaire”; SCHULMAN 1978b, about some aspects of the Ramesside diplomacy in the stipulation of the Treaty; PINTORE 1978, offering an insight on the Egypto-Hittite (marriage(s)); OTTEN 1979, publishing another Ramses II’s letter to Ḫattušili and, eventually, SPALINGER 1979: concerning Egypto-Hittite relations at the end of the Amarna period and the Hittite military strategy in North-Syria. During the '80s, further contributions have been presented: KADRY 1981 and TEFNIN 1981, about the Kadesh Battle, and mostly (the second one) about the representations of the conflict itself;

BARTA 1983, about the widow of Nibḫururia; BOUGHOUTS 1983, on the general topic of the Egypto-Hittite relationships; EDEL 1983, a first publication about the Treaty; BORGHOUTS 1984, about the mention of Seth in the “Stela of the First Marriage”; FECHT 1984a-b, about Kadesh; GUTGESELL 1984, a small booklet about the Egypto-Hittite contacts; HAIDER 1984, about the quotation of the Hittite city of Arušna in the Egyptian topographical lists of the NK; ASSMANN 1985, a general introduction about warfare and peace between Egyptian and Hittites; GOEDICKE 1985a, a “reassessment” on the Battle of Kadesh; DEL MONTE 1985, about the role of Muršili II; MURNANE 1985, a huge work about the events just before and after the Battle of Kadesh; GOEDICKE 1985b, on Kadesh, again; SPALINGER 1985a-b, about the Egyptian sources related to Kadesh, followed by IGNATOV 1986, on the same topic; BITTEL 1986, on the representation of Ḫattušili III on the Egyptian reliefs; BRUYN 1989, reporting some reconsideration about the Battle of Kadesh; WOUTERS 1989, discussing the Egypto-Hittite correspondence about Urḫi-Tešub. Also the '90s were a period rich in publications about our topic: LIVERANI 1990, about the Ramesside propaganda after the Battle of Kadesh; DARNELL 1991, discussing some alleged depictions of Hittites during the Amarna period; FREU 1992, recounting the military activities of Šuppiluliuma I in Syria; VAN DEN HOUT 1992, 1993 and 1994, related to KUB XIX 20 + KBo XII 23, connected to the figure of Zannanza; PUSCH 1993, devoted to the possible presence of Hittite people at Qantir and other possible Hittite finds in the so-called “Hauptquartier”; EDEL 1994, the monumental work collecting all the missives of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence; WARBURTON 1994, about the Egypto-Hittite relationships during the Amarna age; MAYER – MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1994, about Kadesh Battle; BRENTJES 1995, about a more linguistic topic, i.e. the analysis of the attestations of the Hittite term ^{KUŠ}*kurša*, and its actual representations on Egyptian reliefs; EDEL 1996, adding the fragment of letter Bo 92/129; NA'AMAN 1996, on EA 43 and the report of Tušratta's murder; ARCHI 1997, generally about the contacts between Egypt and Ḫatti; EDEL 1997, the *editio princeps* of both the Egyptian and the Akkadian version of the Treaty; ARBELI 1999a-b, on the two interdynastic marriages. Also the last two decades were a fruitful period: SADOWSKA 2000, about the identities of Semenkhare and Zannanza; DIETRICH 2001, discussing the letter of the commander Šumiyānu to Niqmepa of Ugarit (possibly related to the Battle of Kadesh); GUIDOTTI – PECCHIOLI DADDI 2002, a volume entirely devoted to the Battle of Kadesh and related themes; KLENGEL 2002a-b, about Ramses II and Ḫattušili III and their relationships; SCHNEIDER 2002, about a possible loan word from Hittite into Egyptian language (in the “Tale of Sinuhe”); DE VOS 2002, for the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” materials from Anatolia, dated to the 2nd mill. BC; ALP – ERKUT 2002, describing and analysing the seal impressions of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa as reported in the Egyptian version of the Treaty; BREYER 2004, about a linguistic analysis of some possible loan words from Anatolian languages to Egyptian; FREU 2004; on the major topic of the “*daḫamunzu*-affaire”, with a very well-done insight on identity and role of some messengers; DE VOS 2004a, about the mention of the Luwians in the Egyptian sources; DE VOS 2004b, on the representations of Hattušili III on the Egyptian reliefs and a remark on the Hittite seal used for signing the Treaty; NOVÁK 2004, on the contacts between Egypt and many countries of the ancient Near East; SINGER 2004, an important work about the “Kuruštama treaty”; ROTH 2005, about the hidden mechanisms of the Egyptian and Hittite diplomacy behind the stipulation of the Treaty; WILHELM 2005, about the Treaty and the establishment of the “Pax Hethitica”; PECCHIOLI DADDI – GUIDOTTI 2005, proceedings of a conference about the Battle of Kadesh and the Egypto-Hittite relationships; BRYCE 2006 and COHEN 2006, about the analysis of the historical value of the Treaty; HOUWINK TEN CATE 2006, about the banishment of Urḫi-Tešub in Syria and his following flight towards Egypt; KOZAL 2006, specifically about the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects quoted in the catalogue in section 2.2.2; DE ROOS 2006, about the correspondence between Puduḫepa and the Egyptian and Ugaritic courts; SINGER 2006a, about the mention of Urḫi-Tešub in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence; SCHWEMER 2006, on EA 41; SÜRENHAGEN 2006, about the possible “forerunners” of the Treaty; DE VOS 2007, on the topic of the Egypto-Hittite diplomacy; GRODDEK 2007, exposing some synchronisms in the Egyptian and Hittite history during and after the Amarna age; KRAUSS 2007, explaining the political situation between the death of Akhenaten and the enthronement of Tutankhamun, with an insight on the “*daḫamunzu*-

affaire”; ÖZKAN 2007, which comprehends Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” artefacts from the Chalcolithic period until the Byzantine period found in Anatolia; MILLER 2007 and STEMPEL 2007, proposing an identification of Nibḫururiya; DE VOS, discussing a possible loan word from the Hittite into the Egyptian language to define a kind of (Hittite?) oil; SIMON 2007, on the dating of the “Kuruštama treaty”; DE VOS 2008, about the role of the Egyptian and Hittite messengers; LEBRUN – DEGREVE 2008, publishing new Hittite fragments reporting the toponym “Egypt”; MILLER 2008, on the topic of the struggling between Ḫatti and the Egyptian Syrian vassals; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2009, about the epistolary tradition during the Amarna and the Ramesside periods; WILHELM 2009, about struggles against Egypt during the reign of Muršili II; HAWKINS 2009a, re-discussing the “Arzawa letters”; SIMON 2009, on the identification of the anthroponym “Arma” (in the Hittite documentation) with pharaoh Horemheb; CANNUYER 2010, about the “First Hittite Marriage”; GIORGIERI 2010, about a new interpretation of the fragment of letter KBo VIII 14; ALLAM 2010, about the hieroglyphic version of the Treaty; BREYER 2010a, a monumental volume about many topics of the Egypto-Hittite relationships (and, until now, the best publication on this topic); BREYER 2010b, about the Hittite term *tekri*-; HELFT 2010, with a catalogue of the main Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” artefacts from Anatolia; DE VOS 2010, about the finding of a statuette of an harper from Gurob (see *infra*, section 2.1, cat. no. E3); PEKER 2013, publishing the plaquette with the name of Ramses II found in the Roman Baths, near Ankara (see *infra*, section 2.2, cat. no. A14); WASHMUT – ÖGÜT 2010, on a possible identification of a Syro-Hittite Weather-god in Egyptian sources; DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011; about Egypto-Hittite synchronisms; GENZ 2011, about foreign contacts of the Hittites, including those with Egypt; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2011a, a volume containing many papers about the Egypto-Hittite relationships; SIEGELOVÁ 2011, discussing the nature of the “gifts” quoted in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence; DEVECCHI 2012; about the Amarna letters from Ḫatti; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2012, about the provenance of the Egyptian lapis lazuli and their mention in the Amarna letters; WILHELM 2012, discussing some Hittite documents in the light of the Amarna history; FISHER 2013, describing the development of the relationships on the occasion of the “First Hittite Marriage”; MAZOYER – AUFRERE 2013, presenting a summary of the Egypto-Hittite relationships; SINGER 2013a, devoted to the analysis of the sea routes between Egypt and Ḫatti; Singer 2013b, studying the list of gods as witnesses to the Treaty; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2014, presenting some further reflections about the Treaty; ZECCHI 2014a-b, on the relationships of Egypt and Karkemish; CAVRIANI 2015 presents a new Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” amulet found at Karkemish; RAINEY Z”L 2015, offering a new transliteration and translation of the EA (based on the autopsy of the original tablets); STAVI 2015, investigating the Hittite sources to reconstruct some portion of the Amarna age; WITTHUHN 2015, presenting the so-called “Bentresh stela”; ARNOLD 2015, about the statue of the nurse Sitsneferu (see section 2.2.2, cat. no. A1); CAVRIANI 2016, a well-done poster devoted to the presentation of the *aegyptiaka* from Karkemish; PALLAVIDINI 2016, about the royal Hittite Empire’s diplomacy and propaganda; DE PIETRI 2016, about the contacts between Egypt and Karkemish, too; CORDANI 2017, offering the first Italian translation of some of the letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence; DURGUN 2017, about some Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects from Anatolia; ANTHONY 2017, on the presence of foreigners in Egypt, as represented in royal and private tombs; Eventually, a very recent volume (KNAPP 2018) presents an insight on the ancient maritime trades in the Eastern Mediterranean, during the BA. In sum, this bibliographic *résumé* shows how the studies about the Egypto-Hittite relationships developed throughout the centuries, covering both philological, archaeological and, in sum, all the aspects related to the contacts between the Nile Valley and the Anatolian land.

0.4. Organization and explanation of the sections

The work is organized in a fair thematically and chronological way and divided into two main sections: the first one (Chapter I, “Textual and epigraphical sources”) is dedicated to the textual evidences, while the second one (Chapter II, “Archaeological artefacts”) is devoted to the

archaeological finds. These two sections are further divided in two parts, one about the analysis of the texts and artefacts found in Egypt, related to the Hittites and Neo-Hittites (Sections 1.1, “Egyptian sources”; 1.3 “Cuneiform texts found in Egypt” and 2.1, “Hittite objects found in Egypt”) and another one on the documentation and objects found in Anatolia, related to the Egyptians (Sections 1.2, “Hittite and Neo-Hittite texts” and 2.2, “Egyptian or ‘Egyptianizing’ objects found in Anatolia and North Syria”). Here below, a summary of the contents of all the sections of Chapters I and II:

- 1.1 “Egyptian sources”: this section is devoted to the analysis of all the texts quoting the Hittites and representation portraying them. For the texts, the Hieroglyphic version and the transliteration are followed by the most eminent translations. At the end of each text, I offer a brief comment, not proper historical (I refer to other publications for the historical framing of the texts), but mostly focused on the analysis of some relevant passages (such as formulae and expressions) useful to investigate the way through which the reciprocal contacts were perceived.
- 1.2 “Hittite and Neo-Hittite texts”: here, all the Hittite and Post-Hittite texts quoting Egypt are presented, with the transliteration and the translation taken from the most authoritative edition. At the end of each text, I offer a comment similar in content to that explained in section 1.1.
 - 1.2.1 “Hittite Texts of MBA and LBA (in Akkadian and Hittite)”: in this part are listed all the Hittite cuneiform texts (both in Akkadian, Hittite and Hurrian language), quoting Egypt. They are presented in a thematical division, following that of the HPM website (online link: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>), which is based on the catalogue of E. Laroche³⁶.
 - 1.2.2 “Neo-Hittite Texts of IA (in Hieroglyphic Luwian)”: this part lists the only Neo-Hittite text, coming from Karkemish, which quotes the Nile Valley.
- 1.3 “Cuneiform Texts found in Egypt”: here, all the cuneiform texts found in Egypt and quoting the Hittites are presented, divided in the following sub-groups:
 - 1.3.1 “The El-Amarna Letters”: the famous letters found at El Amarna are divided as follows:
 - 1.3.1.1 “The EA Letter directly exchanged between Egypt and Anatolia”: all the letters whose senders or addressees are Hittites or Egyptian kings (and vice versa);
 - 1.3.1.2 “The EA Letters quoting the Hittites”: all the missives, exchanged between many different political entities and the Egyptian court, quoting *passim* the Hittites.
 - 1.3.2 “The Cuneiform Text from Qantir/Pi-Ramesse”: in this section a unique find from Qantir (the ancient Pi-Ramesse, capital of pharaoh Ramses II) is discussed; it is a clay tablet which would have been an original letter sent by a Hittite king to the pharaoh.
- 2.1 “Hittite Objects found in Egypt”: the first section of the chapter devoted to the archaeological finds presents all the Hittite materials found in the Egyptian land (just the ones whose origin from excavation is guaranteed). In this section and in the next one, the artefacts are listed in following the alphabetical order of the find spots.
- 2.2 “Egyptian or ‘Egyptianizing’ Objects found in Anatolia and North Syria”: the second section of Chapter II is a catalogue of all the Egyptian or “Egyptianizing” (i.e., materials in an Egyptian shape or fashion, but of very probable local production) archaeological finds coming from the Hittite land. After a general introduction (section 2.2.1), section 2.2.2 displays all the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects found in Anatolia, datable between the 17th and the 8th cent. BC); section 2.2.3 presents some archaeological finds that slightly predate the beginning of the Hittite Ancient kingdom (not included in the proper catalogue because of the chronology) which by the way offer an interesting glimpse in retracing the ancient paths of the relationships.

A focus is here given to the so-called “Dark Age”, the period in between the end of the LBA and the EIA (ca. 1200/1180 BC), in which the framework of relationships between Egypt and ancient Near

³⁶ LAROCHE 1971.

East changed a little bit, mainly because of the “end” of the Hittite Empire and the coming of the so-called “Sea Peoples”. A final chapter (Chapter III) is devoted to the conclusions to all the work. At the end, two Appendices are added: Appendix A, reporting all the major texts not included in the previous sections because of their length; Appendix B, presenting further information about the Hittite texts of section 1.2.1.2, kept from the HPM website.

Within a synoptic presentation of the materials, I attempt to provide a critical revision of the texts and updating the catalogues of the archaeological artefacts presented in previous publications, trying to reach an analysis which goes beyond a mere list of entries, attempting to get an interpretation of the data, with a critical approach in understanding the relationships undertaken by Egypt and Hatti, during their long-lasting history.






1. CHAPTER I: TEXTUAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES

1.1: EGYPTIAN SOURCES

1.1.1: Introduction to the sources

The attestation of the name of the Hittite country in the Egyptian texts is quite common in sources of different origin and period, but mainly in parietal propagandistic representations and reliefs. Of course, the Hittite land is mentioned in some very important written documents, i.e. the accounts of the Battle of Kadesh, the Treaty and the following marriage(s) between Ramses II and Hittite princesses, daughters of Ḫattušili III. This chapter is devoted to summoning up all the attestations of the name Ḫatti, both in direct and indirect sources; to fulfil this purpose, the section dedicated to the textual evidences will be complemented by the extant pictorial representation of the Hittites. Of course, I will not provide a specific section about the representations (having the topic already being analysed³⁷), but I insert them into the textual catalogue, using them to explain some passages. As already stated in the introduction, I will include here just the documentation whose timespan is included between the Hittite and Neo-Hittite entities, until the final Neo-Assyrian conquest of Anatolia (so, a period between ca. XVII-IX cent. BC).

The many variants of the name of the Hittite land, Ḫt(3), in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts are listed in Wb III, 349³⁸:

ḫt3	belegt seit D.18. babyl. Ḫatti. hebr. כַּחַט ?	
	I. das Land Chatti	Det.  , auch 
ḫt	II. die Bewohner des Landes Ch.	Ungewöhnlich: 

According to Gardiner's grammar³⁹, the sign U30 t3 "should be read simply t, not t3, cf. Hebrew כַּחַט". Another explanation of the many forms of the toponym is also in the GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 127ff., no. 245 and pp. 131*, 139*; cf. also vol. 2, p. 324.

At the beginning of this section, I would like to declare all the sources used to retrace all the attestations of the toponym Ḫatti, among the Egyptian documentation; because a complete and updated corpus or onomasticon comprehending all the Egyptian texts of the pharaonic period still lacks, I reported a *synkrisis* of many bibliographical sources, explained here below.

1) Firstly, useful information about the quotation of the Hittites is provided in BREASTED 1906⁴⁰; all those attestations are briefly summarized in the following table:

Topic	Sub-topic	Locus	Pharaoh	Description
Field of K. ⁴¹ , a district in Memphis	/	II 1043	Ay	Landmark stela, found by the Great Pyramid in Giza, in the chapel of Pesibkhenno
Land of K.	/	III 34	Horemheb	Graffiti in the Theban necropolis (written with ink)

³⁷ See mainly HELCK 1962, pp. 342ff. and BREYER 2010a, pp. 445ff.; cf. MEYER 1913, *passim* and NAVILLE 1930, pls 5-25.

³⁸ Cf. also HL1, p. 1178, nos 42289-42291.

³⁹ GARDINER 1957³, p. 519.

⁴⁰ BREASTED 1906, vol. 5, Index, *Kheta*, s.v.

⁴¹ "K." is the abbreviation for "Kheta/Khatti", used in BREASTED 1906.



				on the Northern wall of one of the chambers in the tomb of Thutmose IV, KV 35)	
		III 374-75, 380-84, 386-91	Ramses II	Treaty	
		III 410		The Blessing of Ptah (large stela in the first hall of Abu Simbel Great Temple)	
		III 415		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)	
		III 479		Assuan stela	
District of K.	/	III 321		Battle of Kadesh: Record	
Wars with K.	Seti I	III 114, 143-44, 147-48, 151-52	Seti I	Karnak: reliefs of the Syrian war	
	Ramses II	III 306-12	Ramses II	Battle of Kadesh: Poem	
		III 317-27		Battle of Kadesh: Record (After battle of Kadesh)	
		III 392		Nubian wars and references to Northern wars	
	Merneptah	III 617	Merneptah	Hymn of victory over the Libyans ("Israel" stela)	
Ramses III	IV 129	Ramses III	Medinet Habu: Syrian war		
The great coalition of prince of K.	/	III 309	Ramses II	Battle of Kadesh: Poem	
Treaty of Egypt with K.	/	I 18, 36	Breasted's comment		
		III 367-91	Ramses II	Treaty	
Invasion into K., by the people of the Isle of the Northerners	/	IV 64	Ramses III	Medinet Habu, Second pylon, Northern war, 8 th regnal year	
Grain transported by ships from Egypt to K.	/	III 580	Merneptah	Great Karnak inscription, West side of the eastern wall connecting the main Karnak temple with the 7 th pylon	
Kings of K.	/	III 375 n. c	Ramses II	Treaty	
	Seplel	III 373, 377			
	Merasar	III 373, 391			
	Metella	III 375-75, 377			
	Khetasar	III 371-75, 391			
Queen of K.	Petkhep	III 391			
Matneferure, eldest daughter of King Khetasar, given as queen to Ramses II	/	III 410		Ramses II	The Blessing of Ptah (large stela in the first hall of Abu Simbel Great Temple)
		III 415, 417			Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Second daughter of Khetasar	/	III 428			Coptos stela
Chief of K., visiting Egypt	/	III 421, 424		Ramses II	Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
		III 426	Message of the chief of Kheta to the chief of Kode (Pap. Anastasi II)		
Chiefs of K.	/	II 525	Thutmose III	Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 16 th campaign	
		II 773		Thebes, Sheik Abd-el-Kurna, tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86)	

		III 144	Seti I	Karnak: reliefs of the Syrian war
		III 309-10	Ramses II	Battle of Kadesh: Poem
		III 319, 321-23, 325-26		Battle of Kadesh: Record
		III 330, 336-38, 340, 346, 349, 359-60		Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs
		III 371-74, 376, 378-86, 389-91		Treaty
		III 417-19, 421, 424		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
		IV 129		Ramses III	Medinet Habu: Syrian war
	Thewethes	III 337	Ramses II	Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs
	Rebeyer			
	Septer			
K., the Great: tribute from K.	/	II 485	Thutmose III	Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 9 th campaign
		II 525		Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 16 th campaign
		II 773		Thebes, Sheik Abd-el-Kurna, tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86)
		III 151	Seti I	Karnak: reliefs of the Syrian war
		III 421	Ramses II	Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Gifts from K.	/	III 420		Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs
Officers of K.	/	III 337		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Nobles of K.	/	III 419		Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs
People of K.	/	III 421		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Prisoners from K.	/	III 342		Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs
Regulars of K.	/	III 424		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Warriors of K.	/			
Chariot warriors of K.	Gerbetes	III 337		Battle of Kadesh: reliefs
Charioteers of K.	Tergen			
	Tergenes			
	Peyes			
Soldiers of K.	Semretes			
	Methren			
Chief of the warriors of K.	Teder			
Chief of the archers of K.	Tergetetethes			
	Egem			
	Rebesnen			
Scribe of the chief of K.	Kherpesar			
Chief of the bodyguard of K.	Teyeder			
King of K.'s messengers	Tarteseb	III 371-72		
Chariotry of K.	/	III 309-10, 312	Battle of Kadesh: Poem	
		III 321	Battle of Kadesh: Record	
		III 338	Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs	
		III 424	Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)	
Infantry of K.	/	III 320-21	Battle of Kadesh: Record	
		III 338	Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs	

		III 424		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)	
Army of K.	/	III 419, 424			
City of K.	/	III 365		Battle of Kadesh: Reliefs	
Cities of K.	Ernen	III 386		Treaty	
	Zepyerened				
	Perek				
	Khesesep				
	Seres				
	Aleppo				
	Rekhsen				
	Sekhpen				
	Zeyethekhrer				
	Kerzet				
	Kherpenteres				
	Kerekhen				
	Khewek				
	Zen				
Zen-wet					
Serep					
Khenbet					
Fortress of Ereth	/	IV 120	Ramses III	Medinet Habu, Syrian war	
Gods of K.	/	III 386	Ramses II	Treaty	
	Sun god	III 386			
	Sutekh	III 386			
	Antheret	III 386			
	Tesker	III 386			
Products of K.	Silver	II 485	Thutmose III	Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 9 th campaign	
		III 420	Ramses II	Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)	
	White precious stone 𐎏𐎓- <i>gw</i> - wood	II 485	Thutmose III		Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 9 th campaign
	Gold	II 525			Karnak, Thutmose III's Annals, 16 th campaign
	Horses	III 420	Ramses II		Marriage stela (South wall of the court of the Abu Simbel Great temple)
Goats	III 428			Coptos stela	
Large cattle					

2) Another brief list of the occurrences of the name “Ḫatti” (*Ḫt3 ʿ3*) in the Egyptian texts is also given in LÄ⁴². A third short catalogue of the passages quoting the name is provided by Burchardt⁴³:

⁴² LÄ II, “Hethiter und Ägypter” (W. Helck), pp. 1176-1178.

⁴³ BURCHARDT 1909, vol. 2, pp. 39-40, no. 751. The copy of this volume kept in the Egyptological Library of the “Università degli Studi di Milano” (“Statale”) in Italy, also shows a handwritten addition of E. Edel: 751.   Mittr. 33

751. Urk. IV 701. 727. n. 1. Hethiterland = und Stadt ^{alu}ha-at- LD III 146, 9^{Dyn.}
 19. u. o. * Anast. II 2, 1 u. o. * Koller 1, 6. Ungewöhnlich: LD III 130b, 3^{Dyn. 19.} eb. 88a^{Dyn. 19.}

- 3) Another online useful database to check the attestations the name is that of the “Project Karnak”, under the section “Système d’Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques (SITH)”: the entries (67) for the toponym *Ht3* are viewable here: <http://sith.huma-num.fr/toponyme/22>. In using this database, it is important to remember that this site quotes just the attestations in inscription coming from Karnak.
- 4) The (up to now) more complete list of all the attestations of the name of the Hittite country is in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA), an online corpus of the Egyptian literature realized by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW) and available online (under subscription) at this link: <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>. Searching in the database for the word *ht3* (typewritten online as “xtA”), 2 entries result:

1. *ht3* (lemma-no. 121480), “(eine Festung) beschleichen(?), to creep up to”: Wb III, p. 349.15, with a return to the verb *htj* (lemma-no. 853931), “umherziehen”: Wb III, p. 345.5; LESKO 1982-1990, II, p. 196. This verb is of course not relevant to our topic; however, it is important to keep it in mind, to not make confusion between this and the following form: the presence of the determinative(s) is in this case distinctive;
2. *Ht3* (lemma-no. 121490), “Land Chatti; Hatti (land of the Hittites)”: Wb III, p. 349.16; AEO I, 127*. This toponym is related to *Ht* (lemma-no. 121450): Wb III, p. 349.16-17; AEO I, 127*. Under this last entry, 274 attestations in the literary sources are listed⁴⁴: I do not provide here all the list, which is completely available online. Furthermore, the TLA also offer the scanning of all the labels of the “Digitalized Slip Archive” (DZA), a series of handwritten notes used for the “Altägyptisches Wörterbuchproject”, realized by the BBAW: all this material, reporting the Hieroglyphic text and the translation of the passages quoting the word *Ht3* revealed very useful in finding out all the attestations of the term.

The name of the Hatti land is also listed in Gauthier’s geographical dictionary: “ *khta* (annals de Thoutmôsis III à Karnak, ans 33 et 41 I SETHE, *Urk. 18. Dyn.*, p. 701 et 727 : le nom est suivi, dans ces deux exemples, de l’épithète ou , *grand*), (temple d’Amenhotep III à Soleb I L., *D.*, III, 88 a, et inscription Séthôsis I^{er} à Karnak = GUIEYSSE, *Rec de trav.*, XI, p. 71), et (textes de Séthôsis I^{er} à Karnak = L.D., III, 130 b, 1. 3), (2^o liste Séthôsis I^{er} à Karnak, n^o 20 = L., *D.*, III, 129), (pap. Anastasi II, 2, 2, et ailleurs), , (traité de Ramsès II avec les Hittites, 1. 9 = L., *D.*, III, 146, – et ailleurs) et (nombreux monuments de Ramsès II), (pap. Koller, I, 6), , (pap. contemporains de Ramsès II), (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. 36), (liste romaine de Kom Ombo), etc. – ”. Pays important, avec lequel les Égyptiens entretiennent, depuis Thoutmôsis III, des relations étroites et le plus souvent hostiles. Ses habitants paraissent avoir habité originairement les hauts plateaux de l’Asie Mineure, puis être descendus graduellement vers le sud, à travers le massif montagneux du Tarsus, et jusqu’à la région du golfe d’Alexandrette et à la Syrie du Nord. Cette marche vers le sud mit sous Thoutmôsis III en contact direct avec les armées égyptiennes qui s’avançaient en sens inverse, à la

⁴⁴ We also have to remember that the TLA does not yet include all the Egyptian texts: so, it is sure that the attestations are much more than the 274 entries quoted so far.

conquête de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie. Ce sont les חַטְתּ de la Bible, les *Ḫa-at-ti* des tablettes d’El-Amarna, les *Hittites*, dont l’histoire et la civilisation commencement à renaître grâce aux fouilles exécutées à Boghazköi, sur le site de leur ancienne capitale *Ptéria*. Le nom *Khta* s’appliquait aussi bien à cette capitale même qu’au pays tout entier (cf. MAX BURCHARDT, *Die altkan. Fremdw.*, II, p. 39, n° 751)⁴⁵.

Following here, I report all the Egyptian texts quoting the Hittites, disposed in a chronological order. Of course, I do not provide an entry for all the aforementioned 274 attestations (some of them are just duplicates of the same text) and I group together all the attestations related to the same topic (e.g. “The Battle of Kadesh”, “The Treaty”). For each entry, I provide the Hieroglyphic text (sometimes entire, otherwise just the passage with the toponym “Ḫatti”), the transliteration⁴⁶ and the translation. All the texts are preceded by a brief historical introduction and followed by a comment pointing out the peculiarity of the text for our topic.

I summon up all the texts reported below in the following table:

Cat. no.	Title	Cat. sub-no.	Place	Description	Dyn.	Dating
1	ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III	a	Karnak, temple of Amun-Re	List of tributes of the Great-Ḫatti	18 th dyn.	33 rd year (1446 ca. BC), 8 th campaign
		b		Tribute of Ḫatti (?)		35 th year (1444 ca. BC), 10 th campaign
		c		Tribute of Ḫatti (?)		42 nd year (1437 ca. BC), 17 th campaign
		d		List of tributes of the Great-Ḫatti		41 st year (1438 ca. BC), 16 th campaign
2	ANNALS OF AMENHOTEP II		Memphis and Karnak	List of tributes from Ḫatti		9 th year, ca. 1417 BC
3	DONATION STELA OF AY		Giza			3 rd year, 3 rd month of <i>shemu</i> season, 1 st day”: ca. 1321 BC
4	TOPOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF HOREMHEB	a	Karnak, 10 th pylon			1319-1292 BC
		b	Karnak, statues			
5	OCAIRO CGC 25218 + ODEM 1266, GROUP B		Deir el-Medineh	Love song	beginning 19 th dyn.	ca. 1292 BC
6	THE ASIAN BATTLE RELIEFS OF SETI I	a	Karnak	Triumph scene with topographic list	19 th dyn.	1290-1279 BC
		b		Triumph scene with topographic list, 2		
		c		Battle scene		
		d		Processional scene		
		e		Presentation scene		
7	TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF SETI I		Qurnah, 1 st pylon (on sphinxes)			
8	TEXT OF THE REIGN OF RAMSES II	a	Many places (see text)	“Poem” (Appendix A)		1279-1213 BC

⁴⁵ GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 4, pp. 188-189.

⁴⁶ For the transliteration, I adopt the system used in GRANDET – MATHIEU 2007, with some occasional adaptation.

		b	Many places (see text)	“Report” or “Bulletin” (Appendix A)		
		c	Many places (see text)	The Reliefs		
		d	Karnak, Ramesseum	The Treaty (Appendix A)		
		e	Many places (see text)	The Stela of the “First Marriage”		
		f	Karnak (temple of Mut)	The “First Marriage” – Abbreviated version		
		g	Many places (see text)	The “Blessing of Ptah”		
		h	Coptos, Abydos	The Stela of the “Second Marriage”		
	PAP. 32795-FRAGM. U	i	Gurob	List of textiles		
	INSCRIPTION QUOTING THE DAUGHTER OF THE HITTITE KING	j	Tanis (on colossus)			
	INSCRIPTION OF THE SIEGE OF DAPUR	k	Ramesseum			
	FRAGMENTS OF THE KADESH BATTLE	l	Abydos			
	LIST OF SUBJUGATED ASIATIC PEOPLE	m	Abydos			
	LISTS OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES AND PROCESSION OF THE “BERGGÖTTER”	n	Luxor			
	LISTS OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES	o	Karnak			
	FRAGMENT OF STELA	p	Bubastis			
9	TEXTS OF LIBYAN WAR	a	Karnak			reign of Merneptah, 1213-1203 BC
	THE “STELA OF VICTORY”	b	Thebes			
10	PAPANAST. II		Saqqara			reigns of Merneptah (1213-1203 BC) and Seti II (1202-1200 BC)
11	PAPANAST. IV		Saqqara ?			reigns of Seti II (1202-1200 BC)
12	“SATIRICAL LETTER OF HORI”	a	Saqqara	papAnast. I		reign of Seti II (1202-1198 BC), Siptah (1197-1193 BC) or Tausret (1192-1191 BC)
		b		papClère I	19 th -20 th dyn.	1292-1077 BC
13	PAPYRUS KOLLER I		Memphis ?		late 19 th dyn.	
14	PAPCHESTER BEATTY IV			Letter with a list of supplying?	19 th -20 th dyn.	1292-1077 BC
15	TEXTS OF RAMSES III	a	Medinet Habu	Sea Peoples’ Campaign (8th year)	20 th dyn.	reign of Ramses III, 1187-1157 BC

		b	Medinet Habu (Pavilion)	List of subjugated countries		
		c	Karnak, Ramses III's temple of Amun	List of subjugated countries		
16	PAPTURIN CGT 54031			Hymns of Ramses VI and VII	20 th dyn.	1190-1077 BC
17	PAPBM 10068			Tomb Robberies	20 th dyn.	reign of Ramses IX, ca. 1129-1111 BC
18	PAPGOLÉNISCHEFF IV, 1-3		El-Hibah	Onomasticon of Amenemope	21 th -22 nd dyn.	ca. 1076-746 BC

In the following pages (section 1.1.2), some texts quoting Ḫatti, but not included in the catalogue for chronological reasons, are presented.

1.1.2: Texts not included in the catalogue

Apart from these texts, included in the catalogue, there are also some more documents quoting Ḫatti: they are not included in the catalogue because of their dating, but they are in any case quite interesting, to some extent, to the present topic.

I. Topographical list of Taharqa, 25th dyn., 690-644 BC

The first text not included in the catalogue because of chronological reasons, is a topographical list dated to the reign of pharaoh of the 25th dyn. Taharqa, the Nubian king who reigned between 690 and 644 BC. The list, carved on the base of a small statue, found in the temple of Mut at Karnak, is described by Simons in his catalogue of the Egyptian topographical lists: “The only topographical list relating to Western Asia and dating from the reign of Taharqa (668-663 BC) was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak⁴⁷. It is engraved on the base of a small statue the original height of which was about 50 cm. Only the base has been found and is now preserved in the Cairo museum. The list is in the usual form of name-rings but without captive figures or superscription. It runs along the four sides of the base but only the right half is Asiatic, namely 2 names on the form of the base, 9 on the right-hand side and 3 on the back”⁴⁸. The list is not an innovation among the topographical lists, because it is the mere copy of a previous inscription of Horemheb⁴⁹, as already stressed by Simons: “The list is nothing more than a copy of nn. 1-14 of the list of Horemheb on the east side of his western colossus before pylon X at Karnak but it is better preserved and allows to restore some gaps in the original, although the iconography of the names has sometimes deliberately been altered”⁵⁰. A transcription of the text is offered by Mariette (Fig. 1):

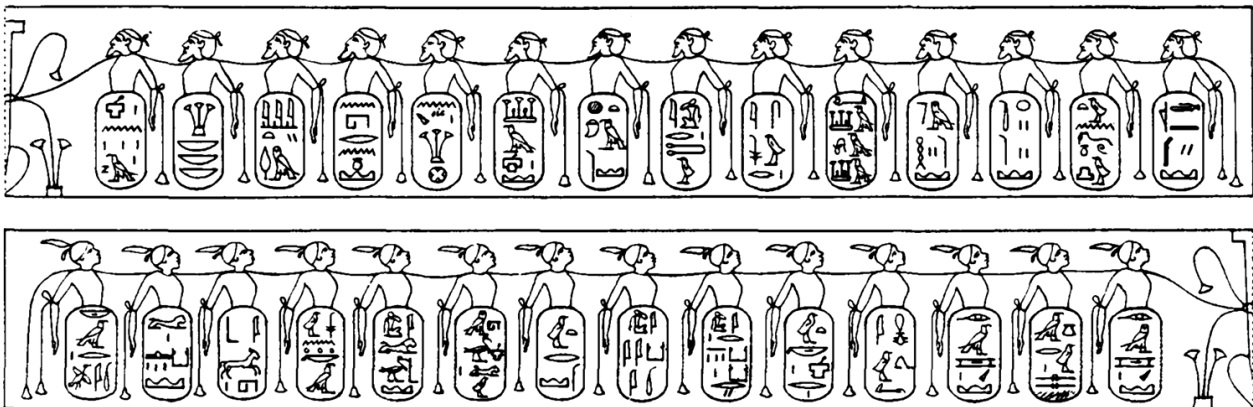


Fig. 1

I do not provide here the transcription, transliteration and translation of the list, because the text is not included in the proper catalogue⁵¹.

II. Inscription of Ptolemy XIII, Kom Ombos (ca. 51-47 BC)

The very last passage that quote the name Ḫatti, seems to be within a text reported in the TLA: the DZA 28.148.320, quotes a passage from the Kom Ombos temple (“De Morgan, Ombos II 81, 630 E,

⁴⁷ More information about the statue itself is in BORCHARDT 1930, pp. 81-82, no. 770, where it is said that it was found in October 1858.

⁴⁸ SIMONS 1937, p. 103.

⁴⁹ The inscriptions are reported *infra*, as text no. 4.a.

⁵⁰ SIMONS 1937, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹ It is possible to find this information in the section dedicated to the list of Horemheb, which represents the original text for the Taharqa’s copy (see *infra*, text no. 4.a). A wider analysis of the text is in SIMONS 1937, p. 137, list no. XXXVI. For the text itself, see DE ROUGE – DE ROUGE 1877-1879, pl. 299, no. 7: “Ḫt3”.

1.1.3: Textual sources quoting Ḫatti

Here follows the presentation, in a chronological order, of the texts listed in the table above (table 1); for each text I provide a brief introduction, with references to further bibliography (in note), a picture of the document (when available), the hieroglyphic text, the transliteration⁵² and the translation according to the best, available edition. All the texts are followed by a comment aiming to enucleate some peculiarities related to the quotation⁵³ of the Hittite land. The numeration of the documents accords to that of the aforementioned table.

1. ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Historical text (lists of tribute)
Dating	18 th dyn. (Thutmose III, 1479-1425 BC)
Location	Karnak
Content	List of tribute brought from Ḫatti



Fig. 3

The Annals of Thutmose III, carved on the walls of the 6th pylon in the temple of Karnak (Fig. 3), bears a review of the deeds of Thutmose III in Syria, between his 23rd and 42nd regnal years (1456-1437 ca. BC). The purpose of these inscriptions is well described by N. Grimal: “Le but de ces textes est à la fois commémoratif et pratique. Il s’agit d’une énumération de faits, présentés selon un mode dramatique propre au récit royal traditionnel, accompagnée d’un état, campagne par campagne, du butin rapporté par les armées égyptiennes et consacré à Amon-Rê”⁵⁴. We also have to remind that these lists are quite standardized and not always paths of actual exchanges. Thutmose III reigned between 1479 and 1425 BC and is well-known for his military campaigns in Syria (after the reign of Hatshepsut, when this kind of expeditions were less frequent or even completely absent); the new king played an important role in strengthen the Egyptian influence and dominance over Palestine and

⁵² The transliteration is reported is intended to be a reading-aid for non Egyptologists: any mistake in the transliteration is of course my own fault.

⁵³ The toponym for Ḫatti is always in **bold**, to help the reading.

⁵⁴ GRIMAL 1988, pp. 379-380 (Italian translation in GRIMAL 2011⁹, pp. 271-272); cf. CAVILLIER 2003 and MIZRACHY 2012.

Southern Syria, mostly because of the presence of very important trade routes in these areas (for instance, the renowned “Way of Horus”)⁵⁵. During all his reign, the king tried to snatch to Mittani the control of the Levantine area or, at least, to establish strong contacts with the Syrian local rulers, to guarantee the Egyptian merchants a safe way through all the Syrian hinterland. Leaving the Egyptian borders at Tjaru, the pharaoh reached Gaza and Yehem, with the clear intent of take Megiddo under siege. The spoils offered by the submitted enemies were very rich, as listed in the king’s Annals; this opportunity of finding precious items, as well as the cedar wood, copper and tin, convinced the king to battle in the area until his 42th regnal year. After the siege of Megiddo, the pharaoh moved northwards, in the direction of the Litani river, conquering several cities but leaving the local rules (or their sons) on the throne, showing a very smart political strategy: “whoever died from among these chiefs, his Majesty caused that his son stand in his place”⁵⁶. The reference to Nahrin in Thutmose’s eight campaign (33rd regnal year) is quite interesting: the booty list of this year (here below), also includes boots from the “Great Ḫatti” (*Ḫt3 ʿ3*), implying that the king has reached the Northern Syrian area (including Kadesh), which became even more important during the following centuries. Two more references to tributes from the Ḫatti land come from the booty lists of the 35th, 41st and 42th regnal years: despite the quotation of the name Ḫatti is on some occurrences a hypothesis of reconstruction, because the name is in lacuna, it should be considered at least as a proof of the long-lasting attestation of indirect contacts between Egyptians and Hittites. Breyer also proposed a useful summary of Thutmose III’s campaigns within a single table (Fig. 4):

Übersicht über die Syrienfeldzüge Thutmosis’ III.

Feldzug	Urk. IV	Jahr	Ereignisse
1	647–667	22	Über Sile nach Gaza und bis ins Gebiet von <i>Megiddo</i> ; Marsch durch den Engpass von Aruna und Einschließung Megiddos, das nach 7 Monaten Belagerung kapitulierte. Danach zwei Vorstöße nach Beth She’an, über den See Genezareth hinaus in den Antilibanon, Damaskus und Qadeš, Lehenseid der Fürsten dort, Geschenke auch von Assyrien u.a.
2–4	671f.; 676f.	*24–*25	Jahresangabe 24 erhalten, sonst nichts bekannt außer einem Block aus dem Jahr 25; (nach Redford zum 8. Feldzug) „Einnahme von Joppe“ pHarris 500 vs.?
5	685–688	29	Eroberung des Hafens Ullaza an der Eleutherosmündung im Gebiet von Tunip, Plünderung von Ardata
6	689f.	30	Qadeš, Sumur und Ardata: Verwüstung des Umlandes ohne Eroberung der Städte
7	690–696	*31/32)	Eroberung des Hafens Ullaza an der Eleutherosmündung im Gebiet von Tunip
8	696–703	33	Großer Schlag gegen das Mitannireich: In Byblos werden Boote gezimmert, bei Karkamis erreicht er den <i>Euphrat</i> , wo eine Stele neben der Thutmosis’ I. errichtet wird. Fahrt auf dem Euphrat, zerstört Orte und verfolgt Truppen, aber kein Vorstoß ins Hinterland, keine Entscheidungsschlacht mit Mitanni. Auf dem Rückweg Elefantenjagd bei Niya (120 Tiere), Amenemhab rettet ihn dabei aus Lebensgefahr. Eroberung von Sindjar, Qadeš und 30 Ortschaften im Gebiet von Tachsi (so Minnesu). Geschenke aus Babylonien, Assur und Groß-Hatti
9	703–709	34	Nuhasse östlich des Orontes
10	709–714	*35	Kämpfe gegen Nahrain/Mitanni, zwei Schlachten (?) in Ar’anu d.h. bei Aleppo (?); Vorstoß zum Euphrat gelingt offenbar nicht
11 12	714–716	–	Reste einer Beuteaufzählung
13	716–721	*38	Nuhasse, Alalah entrichtet Tribut
14	721–723	39	Gegen Šasu-Beduinen im Negev, hierher nach Sethe auch Urk. IV 724f. (fraglich)
15	726–728	*41	Hatti schickt Geschenke nach Ägypten
*16	729–734	*42	Letzter Feldzug, der in den Annalen überliefert ist, Irqata, [...]kana und das Gebiet von Tunip und Qadeš. Weitere Städte werden erobert, nach einem Amarnabrief aber auch Tunip selbst. Geschenke von Groß-Hatti und Tanaya

* Jahresangabe oder Zählung nicht erhalten

Fig. 4

⁵⁵ SHAW 2000, pp. 243ff.

⁵⁶ Ivi, p. 246.

Here follow the quotations of the Hittites in Thutmose III's Annals⁵⁷: unfortunately, the name Ḫatti in texts 1b-c is integrated in lacuna: therefore, such a reading is not ensured, but at least high probable.

- a. **Urk. IV, Abteilung Band 3, 701, 11ff. (= 727, 13ff.: 41st regnal year, cf. *infra*):**
6.m.: List of tributes of the Great-Ḫatti in 33rd year (1446 ca. BC), 8th campaign.
 Annals V 27-29 (= IV 701, 10-16; 702, 1-2):

Tribut von Groß-Ḫt3.

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

jn.w n Ḫt3 ʿ3 m rnpt ṯn
ḫd <m> sšw⁵⁸ 8 jr(w)⁵⁹ n dbn 401
ʿ3.t ḫd.t jnr ʿ3 2
ṯ3gw [...]

The following text is further added:

Rückkehr nach Aegypten

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

m jw=f m⁽²⁹⁾ Nhryn3
ḫr [sw] s[ḫ]w ṯ3š.w Km.t

Translation⁶⁰

BLUMENTHAL – MÜLLER – REINEKE 1984, p. 208:

Tribut von Groß-Chatti

Tribut von Groß-Chatti in diesem Jahre:
 Silber 8 Scheiben, macht 401 Deben
 Marmor (ʿ3.t-ḫd.t), 2 große Steine
 ṯ3gw-Holz (Eiche/Ulme ?) [...]
 [...]

⁵⁷ For further bibliographic information, see PM II, pp. 89ff.; cf. also the bibliography provided in “SITH: Project Karnak”, KIU 3479, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/3479#bibliographie>.

⁵⁸ Cf. Wb V, p. 280; HL1, p. 827, no. 30467-30468.

⁵⁹ A passive *sdm=f*, see GARDINER 1957³, §422.

⁶⁰ Cf. also the English translation in BREASTED 1906, vol. 2, p. 204, § 485: “Tribute of the Hittites: The tribute of **Kheta** (Ḫ-ṯ) the Great, in this year: 8 silver rings, making 401 deben⁶⁰; of white precious stone, a great block; (ṯ-gw-) wood ... [returning] to Egypt, at his coming from Naharin (N-h-ry-n²), extending the boundaries of Egypt”.

Rückkehr nach Aegypten

[Gelingen Seiner Majestät in] 'Frieden' nach Ägypten (*t3-mrj*) auf seinem Heimzug aus Naharina, als er die Grenzen Ägyptens 'erweiterte'.

b. Urk. IV 713, 13-16:

8.h. Tribute of Ḫatti (?) in the 35th year (1444 ca. BC), 10th campaign.

Tribute anderer asiatischer Länder. (Was erhalten ist, könnte zu  oder  gehört haben):

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

[...] ⁴⁷ [...]

[nbw] ḥ[s.t]

nb[w] [...]

ḥtw n t3gw

ḥ3w nb nfr n ḥ3st ḥn

Translation

BLUMENTHAL – MÜLLER – REINEKE 1984, p. 213:

[Gold]: ḥs.t-Gefäß

Gold: [...]

Stämme vom t3gw-Holz (Eiche, Ulme?)

[allerlei gute] Pflanzen [dieses Landes].

I propose here also my English translation of the passage, filling some lacuna left in the aforementioned German translation:

[...] ⁴⁷ [...]

[gold], w[ater jar]


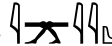
gold [...]

t3gw-timbers

any [good plants/flowers of this foreign land].

c. Urk. IV 732f.:

4.l. Tribute of Ḫatti (?) in the 42nd year (1437 ca. BC), 17th campaign.

Tribut eines anderen asiatischen Landes (vielleicht  oder ).

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

[jn.w n wr n ... m rnpt tn]

[...]

[hd] ...

hn^c dd.wt hr.w n k3.w

jr(w) n dbn 341 qd.t 2

hsbd m3^c jnr jr(w) n qd.t 33

ṯ3gw m3w.t nfr.t

hmt hr ḥ3s.t=f⁽¹⁸⁾ [dbt]

[...]

Translation⁶¹

BLUMENTHAL – MÜLLER – REINEKE 1984, pp. 213-214:

[Tribut des Fürsten von ... in diesem Jahre]:

[...]

[Silber: ...]

und dd.t-Schalen (verziert mit ?)

Stierköpfen macht (insgesamt)

Lapislazuli, echt

ṯ3gw-Holz (Eiche/Ulme?)

Kupfer seines Berges

341 Deben, 2 Kite

1 Stein, macht 33 Kite

1 gute Stange

[x Ziegel]

I add also my English translation of the passage, which I will quote later on in the comment:

Tribute of the chief of [...] in this year:

[...]

[silver] ...

and dishes (and) bull heads

making 341 *deben* (and) 2 *qedet*

lapis lazuli making 33 *qedet*

a good stick of ṯ3gw-wood

copper of its mountain chain,⁽¹⁸⁾ [brick(s)]

⁶¹ Cf. also the translation in BREASTED 1906, vol. 2, p. 216, § 536: "Tribute of Unknown Country: [The tribute of -] - together with flat dishes, heads of bulls⁶¹, making 341 deben, 2 kidet; genuine lapis lazuli, 1 block, making 33 kidet, a fine (ṯ²-gw-) wood staff, native copper".

*ḫūman*⁷⁸ or, more briefly, *Ḫattušaš ḫūmanz*; the expression, translated by Breyer as “das ganze land Ḫattuša” or “ganz Ḫattuša” (in the abbreviated version)⁷⁹, is attested (sometimes referred to entities different from Ḫattuša and also in a logographic way) in some important Hittite texts, like the so-called Ammuna-Text (CTH 1.B; KUB XXVI 71, I:21’f.), the oath of loyalty (= instructions) of Tudḫaliya III/IV (CTH 255.I.A; KUB XXI 42+, II:29’ff.), the Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61.I.A; KBo III, 4 III 90ff.) and the treaty with Šattiwaza (CTH 81.A; KUB I, 1:Vs. 40f.). Breyer also proposes some possible Egyptian parallel for this formula, as well as *r-tr=f* “bis zu seinem Ende”, *r-3w=f* “nach seiner Länge”, *mj-qt=f* “seiner Form entsprechend”⁸⁰. Thus, the term should refer to the semantic sense of “whole, entire” as also used in modern expressions like “Greater London” or “die großdeutsche Frage”⁸¹. This peculiar contacts and loans of Hittite on the Egyptian language is not so wired, also considering the influence of the Hittite cuneiform during the Amarna period (the palaeography of the signs used at the Akhetaton court strongly resembles the Hittite ductus⁸²).

After this historical review, I summarize all the tributes presented by Ḫatti to the pharaoh:

- silver rings (*ḫd šn*);
- white precious stone, a great block (*ḫ3.t ḫd.t jnr ḫ3 / t3gw m3w.t nfr.t*);
- t3gw wood (*ḫtw n t3gw*);
- gold (*nbw*);
- jars for water (*ḫs.t*);
- good plants/flowers of the foreign land (*ḫ3.w nb nfr n ḫ3s.t tn*);
- vessels: dishes and bull headed bowls (*ḫnc dd.wt ḫr.w n k3.w*);
- copper of the foreign land (i.e. native), in bricks (*ḫmt ḫr ḫ3s.t=f [dbt]*);
- lapis lazuli (*ḫsbd jnr*).

An overview on this topic was displayed in Breyer’s volume (most of them has already been presented above):

<i>Jahr</i>	<i>Herkunft</i>	<i>Art der Geschenke</i>	<i>Urk. IV</i>
24	Assur	Lapislazuli	671:8f.
33	[...]	Vögel	700:11-14
33	Babylon	Lapislazuli	701:1-3
33	[Assur?]	Lapislazuli, Gefäße	701:6-9
33	Groß-Hatti	Silber, Marmor, Holz	701:11-14
34	Asy	Kupfer, Blei, Lapislazuli, Elfenbein, Holz	708:1-7
35	[Hatti]	Silber, Gold, Holz	713:13-16
[37]	[...]	Mineralien, Vieh, Feuerholz	715: 4-8
38	Asy	Erz, Pferde	719: 13-15
38	Alalah	Sklaven, Erz, Holz, Pflanzen	720:1-4
39	Asy	Elfenbein, Erz, Blei	724: 10-13
40	Assur	Lapislazuli, Gefäße [...]	668:6-15
41	Groß-Hatti	Silber, [...]	727:13f.
[42]	[Niya?]	[...]	[...]
42	[Groß-Hatti]	Silberne Gefäße, Lapislazuli, Holz, Erz	732f.
42	Tanaya	Silberne Gefäße, Eisen	733: 4-8

Fig. 6

It is here noteworthy the quotation of *ḫr.w n k3.w* “vessels in the shape of bull” which, according to Breasted, could represent that “bulls’ heads were a decoration upon the vessels, as depicted in the

⁷⁸ For the term *utnē*, see HHW, p. 189; for *ḫūman*, see HHW, p. 54.

⁷⁹ BREYER 2010b, p. 81.

⁸⁰ Ivi, p. 82.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² See WILHELM 1984.

relief⁸³ (unfortunately, no pictures of this relief are available). It is noteworthy that the same object is also depicted in an unknown tomb of Sheik ^cAbd el-Qurna (TT91, see *infra*), of the same period of the Annals: it could be, in this case, something like a *rhyton* (Fig. 7).

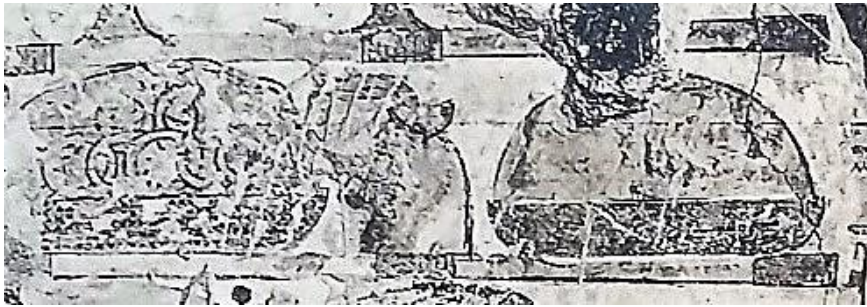


Fig. 7

These kind of vessels, called *bibrû* in Akkadian, frequently used for cultic purposes, are very common and widespread in the Hittite culture: one of the best examples of this peculiar artefacts is surely the silver *rhyton* held in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York, coming from the Schimmel collection (Fig. 8)⁸⁴.



Fig. 8

According to the CAD⁸⁵, the term *bibrû*, attested in sources from Boğazköy and El-Amarna, refers to some kind of peculiar *rhyta*, often crafted in silver, quite frequently used as precious gifts⁸⁶. A useful synthesis about these artefacts is offered by R. Koehl⁸⁷, while a further philological insight is provided by O. Carruba⁸⁸. Wreszinski has already noted this object⁸⁹: “Darunter: fast zerstörter Krater mit Aufsatz, schlanke, zweihenklige Kanne, Amphora mit Stierkopf als Deckel, von dem nur die Horner noch sichtbar sind (vgl. Taf. 274). Ganz unten: Stierhörner, zu einem Deckel oder einem Trinkgefäß in Gestalt eines Stierkopfes gehörig, Schaft eines zerstörten Szepters oder dergl., Keule” (it is important to remember that Menḫeperrasonob lived during the reign of Thutmose III). In the EA letters too, there are quotation of these vessels, such as in EA 41⁹⁰:

39) *a-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-ni-ka 1 bi-ib-ru*

40) KÙ.BABBAR UDU.⟨A⟩.LUM 5 *ma-na* KIL.Á.BÉ 1 *bi-ib-ru*

41) KÙ.BABBAR UDU.SIR₄ \ *pu-u-ḫi-lu* 3 *ma-na* KIL.Á.BÉ

⁸³ See BREASTED 1906, vol. 2, p. 216, note j.

⁸⁴ See at link: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327400>. Cf. also ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 183-184.

⁸⁵ See CAD 2 (B), pp. 222-223.

⁸⁶ For a specific study of these vessels see KOEHL 2013.

⁸⁷ KOEHL 2013.

⁸⁸ CARRUBA 1967.

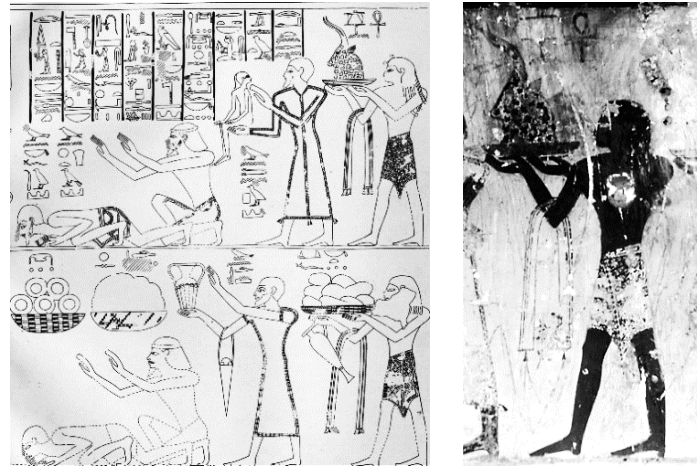
⁸⁹ WRESZINSKI 1923-1938, vol. 1, p. 290.

⁹⁰ RAINEY 2015, vol. 1, pp. 360-361.

42) 2 [k]à-ak-kà-ru KÙ.BABBAR 10 ma-na KILÁ.BÉ-ma
 43) 2 ^{GIS}ni-kip-tu₄ ra-a-bu-tì ul-te-bíl-ak-ku

(39–43) Now, for your greeting gift, one silver **rhyton**, a ram, five minas in weight, one silver **rhyton**, a breed ram, three minas in weight, two [ta]lents of silver, ten minas in weight, two large medicinal shrubs, have I sent to you.

A similar vessel, with a bull-protome⁹¹, is also visible among the offering brought by “the chief of Tunip” in the tomb of Menḥeperrasonob (TT 86), always at Sheik ‘Abd el-Qurna⁹²:



Figs 9-10

Another comparison is attested on a wall of the 18th dynasty tomb of Meryre II, at Amarna, where a series of Cretan tributaries, previously interpreted as “Hittites”⁹³, is portrayed in a kneeling-worshipping posture⁹⁴:

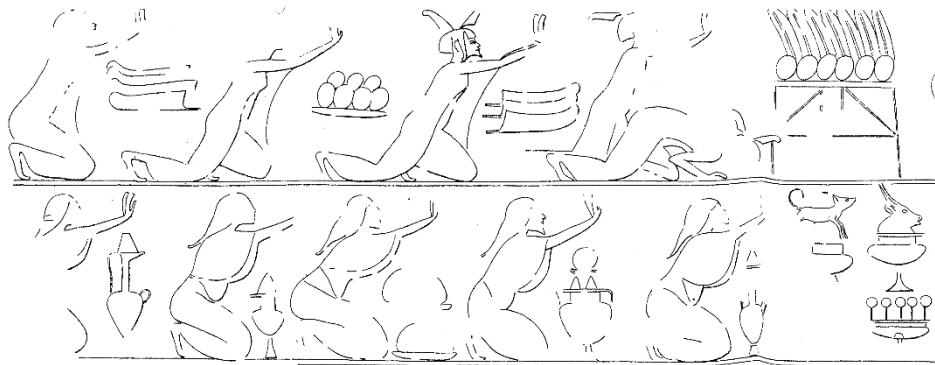


Fig. 11

The previous interpretation of the tributaries as Hittites would have corroborated the link between the supposed representation of the rhyton and its Anatolian origin; notwithstanding, the formulary,

⁹¹ According to Virey’s sketch, it should be an antelope-protome: see VIREY 1891, p. 203, pl. 1. By the way, both Wreszinski’s photo (see *infra*) and the Oriental Institute’s Epigraphic Survey’s negatives, nos 2939-2940 and 7888 (online link: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/9c84bb50-bd31-4996-a7c6-305509c9bb71>; <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/af881008-af5e-4472-b454-0399c2f757ca> and <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/1cc71475-5ce5-400b-a5a2-cbed07a92961>), clearly show that the vessel presents a bull-protome.

⁹² For this tomb, see *infra*.

⁹³ For the re-interpretation of these figures, see BREYER 2010a, p. 447 and DRENKHAHN 1967.

⁹⁴ Cf. also DE GARIS DAVIES 1905, pl. 37 and DRENKHAHN 1967, p. 61, fig. 1.

canonical and quite repetitive display of the gifts does not allow to reach a unambiguous linking between the offers and the offerings.

Another remark about this kind of artefacts is offered by Schaeffer⁹⁵, about the function of these vessels: “ce vase devait contenir un liquide parfumé (?) ou un breuvage que la femme avait introduit dans un petit godet fuselé, pour le répandre ensuite sur les mains du Prince, ou le verser dans une coupe qu’il pouvait tenir à la main”⁹⁶.

Rhyta are also quoted in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence as gift exchanged between the two courts⁹⁷: in KUB III 70⁹⁸ a golden cup is sent by the Egyptian prince Šutaḥapšap to Ḫattušili III; the cup presents a bull muzzle, with white-stone horns and black-stone eyes; two main interpretations of this vassal have been proposed: “potrebbe trattarsi di un *rhyton* (così CAD P, 333b e MEYER 1987, 156) o, più in generale, di un vaso teriomorfo. Secondo EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, 60, invece, il muso del toro sarebbe una sorta di disegno intarsiato sulla superficie della coppa”⁹⁹. KUB III 69, Vs. 15¹⁰⁰ quotes, among the gifts sent by Ramses II to Puduḥepa, after some golden and silver cups, also a “[..... bi]g bull”¹⁰¹.

Moving to the other objects brought by the Hittites: some of them are quite predictable while other ones are quite unexpected. Among the first ones we can include, of course, the silver rings (*ḫd šn*), a metal which Anatolia was rich in; noteworthy is also the quotation of copper¹⁰², a very important metal in ancient Anatolia, purchased already by in the Old Assyrian period, sometimes also imported from Cyprus; an interesting note is offered by Breasted in his edition of the text¹⁰³, where he translates *ḫmt ḫr ḫ3s.wt=f* as “native copper”, instead a more literal translation “of the foreign land”. So, following this translation, it could also be possible to argue that this kind of copper was in effect from Ḫatti. In any case, we have also to consider that in this passage the copper was presented as a raw material and not like a worked object, because it is described to be in bricks (*ḫbt*). An important study about the metal sources from Pi-Ramesse is surely that published by Rademakers, Rehrenand Pernicka in 2017¹⁰⁴. In this paper, several fragments of copper alloy artefacts are analysed pointing out the chemical composition of them. Looking at Fig. 7 of the paper¹⁰⁵, it is possible to stress some similarities in the chemical composition of the copper alloy attested at Pi-Ramesse and that of the copper from some Anatolian copper ores (mainly from Sivas, Balılesir, Norsuntepe and Besiktepe)¹⁰⁶. Despite this fact, the authors exclude the possibility of trade of copper from Anatolia in the LBA period: “Thought the LI compositions of certain Anatolian ores and slags [...] and the large Pi-Ramesse group are roughly similar, no real overlap exists Furthermore, the mining evidence for these ores is limited, and confined to the mid-4th to early 3rd millennium BCE, making them very unlikely candidates. This is particularly true considering the tense 12th century BCE political situation between Egypt and the Hittite Empire, and the absence of evidence for Anatolian copper being traded in the eastern Mediterranean at this time”¹⁰⁷. Considering the passage here quoted (despite, of course, its political and propagandistic nature), I advance some doubts about this so strict statement.

⁹⁵ SCHAEFFER 1956, pp. 189-191, with figs 149-150, 152.

⁹⁶ *Ivi* 1956, p. 191.

⁹⁷ CORDANI 2017, pp. 69-72, 114.

⁹⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 70-71; cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 32.b.

⁹⁹ *Ivi*, p. 70, note 2.

¹⁰⁰ CORDANI 2017, pp. 112-114; cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 27.c.

¹⁰¹ *Ivi*, p. 114; cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 27.c. For other quotations of *rhyta* in the Hittite text dealing with Egypt, see *infra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 32.b, 33.d and 41.b.

¹⁰² For a brief introduction about metallurgy in Ḫatti, see DE JESUS 1978 and SIEGELOVÁ – TSUMOTO 2011. For the origin of Egyptian copper, see RADEMAKERS – REHREN – PERNICKA 2017.

¹⁰³ BREASTED 1906, vol. 2, p. 216, § 536.

¹⁰⁴ RADEMAKERS – REHREN – PERNICKA 2017.

¹⁰⁵ *Ivi*, p. 59, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁶ For a brief account of the main copper ores in Anatolia, see DE JESUS 1978.

¹⁰⁷ RADEMAKERS – REHREN – PERNICKA 2017, p. 60.

It is also noteworthy within the list the presence of the lapis lazuli¹⁰⁸, a very common material for Egyptian craftsmen, which was usually imported from Sinai Peninsula, Afghanistan or the Indus Valley (throughout Babylon)¹⁰⁹. The material here gifted is described as a block of “genuine lapis lazuli”, so the one coming directly from the mountains, *ḥsbḏ* (*m3.t*) and not the one produced by men in kilns, called *ḥsbḏ* (*jry.t*)¹¹⁰. Lapis lazuli was a typical object of exchange between the various political entities of the LBA, as attested also by many EA letters. A brief sketch of the attestations of this material in this corpus is provided by J. Mynářová¹¹¹:

Attestations of “lapis lazuli” in the Mittani correspondence:

“Lapis lazuli”	Attestations
ZA.GÌN	EA 22 i 10
NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN	EA 25 iii 47, 56, 57, 60, 61, 66, 71; iv 21, 22
ZA.GÌN KUR	EA 25 i 38
NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN KUR	EA 19: 80, 81, 82 EA 21: 36 EA 22 i 49 (twice), 51, 52, 56 EA 25 i 6–8, 12, 16–18, 20, 22–26, 31, 33, 35–37, 39–45, 49, 51–57, 62–64, 71; ii 3, 5, 10, 11, 13–15, 20, 21, 27, 29, 30, 32, 46, 48, 61, 63; iii 43, 46, 54 EA 26: 39 EA 27: 22 EA 29: 52

Attestations of “lapis lazuli” in the Amarna correspondence outside the Mittani corpus:

Provenance of the Letter	“Lapis lazuli”	Attestations
Babylonia	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN	EA 2: rev. 8 (NA ₄ .ZA.[GÌN ...]) EA 13: 7, 9, 12, 14, 17
	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN KUR	EA 11: rev. 24, 25 EA 13: 16, 19
	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN <i>ba-na-a</i>	EA 7: 56
Assyria	ZA.GÌN KUR- <i>e</i>	EA 15:13; 16: 11
Egypt	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN	EA 14 ii 9
Ḫatti	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN	EA 43: 27
	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN GAL SIG ₅	EA 43: 28
	NA ₄ .ZA.GÌN <i>ra-bi-ta</i>	EA 41: 27

Another important fact needs to be stressed: unusually, lapis lazuli has also been requested by the Hittite court from the pharaoh, as attested by EA 41, 27¹¹², a letter sent by Šuppiluliuma I to Ḫuriya (i.e. Amerhotep IV¹¹³):

¹⁰⁸ For the quotation of this item in Thutmose III’s Annals, see also PINTORE 1978, pp. 13-14 (mostly note 18).

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion about lapis lazuli during the Amarna Age, but with further information, see MYNÁŘOVÁ 2012; cf. also DELMAS – CASANOVA 1990. Cf. also PEYRONEL 2008.

¹¹⁰ For the ancient terminology of the lapis lazuli, see MYNÁŘOVÁ 2012, with further bibliography. The lapis lazuli was called NA₄.ZA.GÌN in Sumerian, while in Akkadian we can find a difference from *uqnū šadī*, “the mountainous lapis lazuli” (Egyptian *ḥsbḏ* (*m3.t*), “true/real lapis lazuli”), and *uqnū kūri*, “the lapis lazuli from a kiln” (Egyptian *ḥsbḏ* (*jry.t*), “man-made lapis lazuli”).

¹¹¹ MYNÁŘOVÁ 2012, p. 66, fig. 1-2.

¹¹² Quotation by MYNÁŘOVÁ 2012, p. 65.

¹¹³ About the identification of Ḫuriya with Amenhotep IV, see LIVERANI 1999, p. 410, note 12; for the complete text of the letter, see *infra*, section 1.3.1.1, text no. 3.

23 [mi-im-m]a ša a-na a-bi-ka e-ri-iš-ta
 [at-ta Š]EŠ-ia la-a ta-kà-al-la-a-šu
 25 [2 s]a-al-ma-a-ni ša KÙ.GI 1-en
 [] 1-en li-ši-ib ù 2 ALAN.MEŠ ša SAL.MEŠ
 [ša KÙ.BABB]AR-ma ù NA₄.ZA.GIN ra-bi-ta ù a-na
 [k]à-an-na-šu-nu ra-bu-ú ŠEŠ-ia [šu-bi-la]

23 [Anyt]hing that was requested from your father
 do not keep away, my [br]other.
 25 [Concerning those 2 s]tatues (made of) gold, one
 [shall be standing and] one shall be seated. And (those) 2 statues of women
 [(made of) silv]er and a large (piece of) lapis lazuli and
 a large stand for [...], send me 13], my brother.

Moreover, in another Hittite document, KUB XXI 38¹¹⁴, a letter sent by Puduḥepa to Ramses, the Hittite queen asks Ramses to send her an undefined object “inlaid with lapis lazuli”: *nu-mu ... 𒀭.A KÙ.GI u-i-ia na-at*] / [IŠ-TU] NA₄.ZA.GIN *ti-an-te-eš a-la-an-du*, “Sende mir ... (Plural) aus Gold, und sie] / sollen [mit] Lapislazuli besetzt sein!” [Edel’s translation]; KUB XXI 38, Vs. 3’-4’.

For what concerns the other objects, unfortunately, we are not able to offer more reflections because their description is quite vague: the white precious stone (^c3.t *ḫd.t*), the jars for water (*ḫs.t*), the good plants/flowers of the foreign land (*ḫ3.w nb nfr n ḫ3sw.t tn*) and the dishes. An object whose identification is quite difficult is the *t3gw*-wood (*ḫtw n t3gw*), which is translated in the Wb as “ein Nutzholz aus Asien, als Rohstoff und als Material für Wagen, für Stöcke, Peitsche”¹¹⁵. Breyer¹¹⁶ suggested that, maybe, the exchange of wood and wooden material between the two courts had a long-lasting history: for instance, in ÄHK 79 (= KUB III 82, see *infra* 1.2.1, text no. 46.e), Ramses II writes to Ḫattušili about the delivery of one (or two) ship(s); it is very likely that the Egyptians received from the Hittite land the row material (in this case wood), extremely rare in Egypt and produced with it boats and ships that have been later sent to the Hittite king.

Furthermore, it seems important to stress the presence of a very unexpected material: the gold. Everybody knows how Egypt was one of the most important producer of golden objects, thanks to the great abundance of this metal in the ancient region of Nubia/Kush; so, it is strange that the Hittites offered to the pharaoh an object of which he has already been rich in. By the way, we can also think about a special worked object, as the Hittite pendant found in Amarna (see *infra* 2.1, cat. no. E1), published by M. Bell¹¹⁷.

From the period of the reign of Thutmose III, we have also notice of the Hittites in pictorial representations; the best one is surely that of the already mentioned Tomb of Menḫeperrasonneb (TT 86)¹¹⁸: in this tomb of the Sheik Abd el-Qurna necropolis there is a depiction of the Hittite chief offering tributes to the pharaoh:

¹¹⁴ See *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 35.

¹¹⁵ See Wb V (t), p. 356.

¹¹⁶ BREYER 2010b, p. 80.

¹¹⁷ M. BELL 1986.

¹¹⁸ See PM I.1, pp. 175ff.: “TT 86: Menkheperasonb, First prophet of Amūn. (Also owner of tomb 112.) Temp. Tuthmosis III. Sh. ‘Abd el-Qurna. Parents, Amenemḫēt and Taōnet, King’s nurse. Hall, (8): [Tuthmosis III] in kiosk, [deceased] with four rows of decorative vases (including floral vases with frog and pigeons) offering bouquet of Amūn to him at New Year Festival, and five registers, I-IV, northern tribute. I, chiefs of Kheftiu, Hittites, and Tunip [...]”. Cf. also DE GARIS DAVIES 1933 and VIREY 1891, pp. 197-215.



Fig. 12

This the description of the scene given by Wreszinski: “Tribute aus Syrien und Kreta aus dem Grabe des Mencheperre-seneb, Schech abd el Gurna Nr. 86. S. Taf. 273. Hinter ihm [i.e. der *Fürst von Kreta*] kniet der *Fürst von Chatti* (s. auch Taf. 290). Er sieht ganz anders aus als seine Nachfahren auf den Bildern der 19. Dyn.; er trägt um die halblangen, straffen Haare ein Band, Vollbart und einen Schurz mit bunter Kante”. A sketch published by N. de Garis Davies, allows to easily read the inscription *wr n Ḥt(3)*, “chief of Ḥatti” (Fig. 13)¹¹⁹:

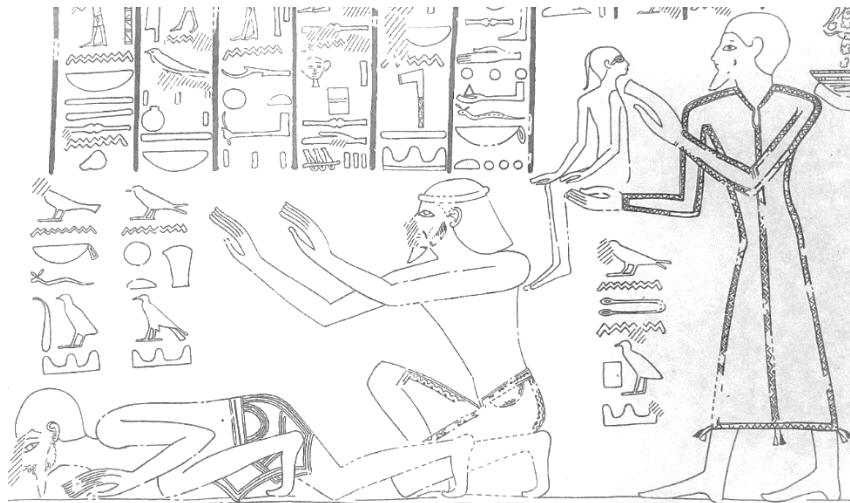


Fig. 13

N. de Garis Davies described the scene as follows¹²⁰: “Menkheperasonb is also introducing five files of foreigners, who carry in their hands some of their finest and more characteristic products. His sponsorship in this case may arise from his special interest in the objects brought; since, as superintendent of craftsmen and of the Treasury, he would be eager that such of them as were compatible with Egyptian tastes should serve as models in his workshops. The representation is lacking in that definiteness of aim which is generally revealed in the superscription. In this case we read: ‘A laudation of the Lord of the Two Lands and homage to the Good God by the chiefs of every land. They pay reverence to the victorious might of His Majesty, (having) on their backs their tribute of every products of God’s Land – silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise (?), and every (other) valuable mineral – in the hope that vital breath may be accorded to them’. Now Menkheperasonb is here offering to the king a congratulatory bouquet on the occasion of a New Year festival. The representatives of countries to the north of Thebes, more or less subjects to Egypt, might therefore be considered as joining in the gift as a symbolical expression of the Empire’s homage. [...] The hope of finding firm bottom in these pictures is not increased when we study the first six figures in Pl. IV, heading two files of men who are clearly meant to represent two civilizations. The only difference

¹¹⁹ DE GARIS DAVIES 1933, pl. 4.

¹²⁰ *Ivi*, pp. 3ff.

between the two groups of leaders lies in an explanatory label attached to them, a tassel or two tied to a gown, the pattern on a loin-cloth. All else is mere repetition. The docket appended shows that there is here no serious study of national distinctions. A man heading a file of men of Minoan type (as learnt from Egyptian paintings), and who in facial aspect and dress is a replica of a Syrian in the row below, is labelled ‘The chief of Keftiu’. A second leader of them has his passport endorsed ‘The chief of Kheta’, thought he, too, conforms to a Syrian type shown close by, as if a Hittite could not be distinguished from anyone else north of the Egyptian boundary”. Two things deserve to be stressed: 1) the Hittite chief (king?) is presented just after the chief of the Keftiu, and before the chief of Tunip, in a quite common disposition that reflects that of the topographical lists or the lists of booty (see *infra*); 2) de Garis Davies already noted that the features of the Hittite chief are those of the “Syrian type”; the depiction of the Hittites lacks of precise detailed, such as the conical cup and the long robe, that will be introduced only in a later period, after the well-known events of the 19th dyn. (see e.g. the representation of the Hittite chief in the list of Ramses III from Medinet Habu, here as text 7.b). This fact could be explained following Ph. Virey: “À cette époque ce peuple commençait seulement à être mentionné dans les annales égyptiennes et n’avait pas acquis la puissance et la renommée qui lui permirent de traiter d’égal à l’égal avec Pharaon”¹²¹.

Another almost contemporary representation (Fig. 14) of tribute led by a Hittite, depicted like an Egyptian vassal, is in a tomb (TT 91), whose owner is unknown, always located at Sheikh ‘Abd el-Qurna, and datable between the reigns of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC) and Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC)¹²²:



Fig. 14

The scene is described by Wreszinski in these terms: “Syrische Tribute (aus dem Grab Schech abd el Gurna Nr. 91, Querraum, rechte Innerwand. Zeit: Thutmosis IV. – Amenhophis III. (nach 1400 v. Chr. Geb.), Malerei auf Stuck. Zur Darstellung vgl. Taf. 335, 288 und sonst. – Gaben: Krater mit Randaufsatz (Rosetten und Knospen) und reicher Ornamentierung, Amphora desgl. mit Deckel in Form eines liegenden Kalbes, Krater mit Randaufsatz: auf dem Wasser schwimmende Enten, die nur

¹²¹ VIREY 1891, p. 202.

¹²² See PMI.1, pp. 185ff.: “TT 91: Captain of the troops . . ., Overseer of horses. Temp. Tuthmosis III to Amenhophis III. Sh. ‘Abd el-Qurna. Hall, (5): Tuthmosis IV with Hathor holding necklace and [deceased] offering bouquets of full-blown papyrus before him, and four registers, I-IV, foreigners with tribute. I-II, Decorative vases (including bulls’ heads), Asiatics (some prostrate) including chiefs of Mitanni and Hittites”.

mit Hals und Kopf über den Rand herausragen (vgl. Taf. 223 A.). Darunter: Goldringe, Trinkgefäß in Form eines Stierkopfes (vgl. Taf. 274), Rohmineral. Darunter: vier Körbe mit verschiedenem Rohmineral, Halbedelsteinen oder dergl., zweihenkliger Krug mit reicher Ornamentierung. Darunter: fast zerstörter Krater mit Aufsatz, schlanke, zweihenklige Kanne, Amphora mit Stierkopf als Deckel, von dem nur die Hörner noch sichtbar sind (vgl. Taf. 274). Ganz unten: Stierhörner, zu einem Deckel oder einem Trinkgefäß in Gestalt eines Stierkopfes gehörig, Schaft eines zerstörten Szepters oder dergl., Keule. Oben der *Fürst von Naharajin*-Mitanni, kahlköpfig, mit Vollbart, im langen syrischen Gewand mit buntem Überwurf, dessen Zipfel hinten herunter hängt (s. Taf. 269, 288); sein Gefolgsmann bringt einen Krater mit Blumen-Aufsatz. Darunter *der Fürst von Chatti* (s. Taf. 274) mit langem Haar, Stirnband, Vollbart, Kleidung wie die des Mitannifürsten; sein Gefolgsmann bringt eine zweihenklige Kanne und einen Elefantenzahn mit Beschlag (s. Taf. 275, 288). Darunter Fürsten anderer syrischer Völker, die Inschriften fehlen oder sind zerstört; ein Gefolgsmann mit Rohmineral". The importance of this representation lays mostly on the presence of the bull-protome of a possible *rhyton* (see *supra*), and on the features of the Hittites, carrying the booty in the presentation scene.

2. ANNALS OF AMENHOTEP II

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Historical text (lists of tribute)
Dating	18 th dyn. (Amenhotep II, 1425-1400 BC)
Location	Memphis and Karnak
Content	List of tribute brought from Ḫatti

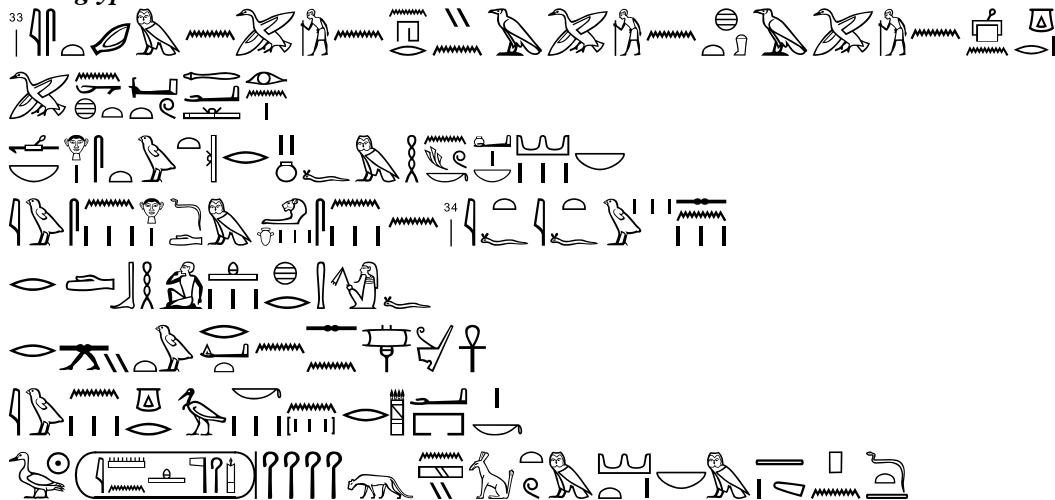
The annals of Amenhotep II (18th dynasty, 1425-1400 BC) are engraved on stelae coming from the temples of Memphis and Karnak: they report the king's deeds and, among them, the Syrian military campaign. The king led the first military expedition in Syria in his 3rd regnal year, reaching also the city of Kadesh, where he killed by himself seven rebelling princes¹²³. After the expedition in the 7th and 9th regnal years and the battle of Niya, always against Mittani, Egypt lost the area between the Orontes and the Euphrates¹²⁴. The historical situation at the end of the reign of Amenhotep II is very important, because, during the period of his successor Thutmose IV, the relationships between Egypt and Mittani changed: Mittani tried to establish good contacts with the former enemy, because of the new strength of the Hittite empire in northern Syria.

The following text, inscribed on the Memphis stela, lists the quantity of the gifts brought by the kings of Mittani, Babylonia and Ḫatti in Amenhotep II's 9th regnal year¹²⁵. An important remark about this text is offered by Bryan: "The language of the stela, composed after the conflicts had ended, in the 9th year or later, reflects the fact that peace with Mitanni was at end, reporting that the chiefs of Nahrin, Hatti, and Sangar (Babylon) arrived before the king bearing gifts and requesting offering gifts (*hetepu*) in exchange, as well as asking for the breath of life. [...] In monuments within the Nile Valley, these brother kings of Babylon, Hatti, and Nahrin were always portrayed as suppliants who requested life from the Egyptian king"¹²⁶.

List of tributes from Ḫatti (9th year, ca. 1417 BC)

Urk. IV, 1309, 13: XIII. Die Freundschaftsangebote der Grossmächte¹²⁷

Hieroglyphic text



¹²³ GRIMAL 2011⁹, p. 276. According to Bryan, Amenhotep II led just two campaigns in Syria, in his 7th and 9th regnal years (see Bryan, in SHAW 2003², pp. 244ff.). Cf. also BRYAN 1998, p. 36; REDFORD 1992, pp. 164ff; SINGER 1988b.

¹²⁴ GRIMAL 2011⁹, p. 277.

¹²⁵ Or maybe after the 7th regnal year, according to Helck: see HELCK 1961, p. 33.

¹²⁶ SHAW 2003², p. 245. Cf. also ANET, p. 247; BLEIBERG 1988, p. 160; DER MANUELIAN 1987; EDEL 1953a; LORTON 1974, pp. 101, 140; SCHULMAN 1988, p. 58; Singer 2004, pp. 606-607.

¹²⁷ On many occurrences, I prefer to report the German headlines without an English translation: they seem to be much more clear.

Transliteration

(33) *jst sdm n p3 wr n Nhryn3 p3 wr n Ht3 p3 wr n Sngr*
p3 nh.t c3 jr(t)~n=j
wc nb hr stw.t r sn.nw=f m hnk.w nb h3s.wt nb
jw=sn hr dd m h3ty.w=sn n (34) jt jt.w=sn
r dbh htp.w hr hm=f
r sb.tw rdj.t n=sn nf/t3w n cnh
jw=n gr b3k.w=n r ch=k
s3 Rc Jmn-htp-ntr-hq3-Jwnw hq3 hq3.w 3by nsnty m h3s.wt nb m t3 pn dt

Translation

HELCK 1961, p. 40¹²⁸.

Da hörten der Fürst von Nahrina, der Fürst von **Hettitien**, der Fürst von Babylon den großen Sieg, den ich errungen hatte. Ein jeder tat es dem anderen gleich mit allerlei Geschenken jedes Fremdlandes. Sie sprachen aber in ihren Herzen zum Vater ihrer Väter, um Frieden zu erbitten von Seiner Majestät, daß ihnen Lebenslauch gegeben werde: „Wir kommen mit unseren Abgaben zu deinem Palast, Sohn des Re, *’Imn-htp*-Gott-Herrscher-von-Heliopolis, Herrscher der Herrscher, wütender Panther in jedem Fremland und in diesem Land in Ewigkeit“.

This passage allows to better define the opinion that ancient Egyptians retained of the Hittites: first of all, in the first line, the Hittites are placed at the same level of the prince of Naharin (i.e. the Mittanian king) and that of Sangar (i.e. the sovereign of Babylon). The disposition of these three kings could be considered under different views:

1) the order could resemble the rank of the kings, from the most to the less important (but it is quite unlikely that the king of Babylon should be placed at the end of the list;

2) it could also be considered as a list of the most important and dangerous Egyptian enemies in that period, so the Mittanian king as the most struggling because his strong position in Syria and the Babylonian one at the end, always considered as the furthest enemy (almost in a fair “archetypical” view);

3) the last possibility should be just a mere list of enemies posed in a geographical order, so from the nearest to the furthest one.

In any case, whatever we want to consider as the best explanation, the Hittite people occupy a mid-position in between the other countries. Moreover, comparisons can be established with the lists of booty in Thutmose III’s annals (see *supra*), where we have already seen such a kind of list; there, the Hittites’ “gifts” were listed just after the kings of Babylon and Assur: so, it is quite difficult to propose a good explanation for the order itself. The second interesting point is that the foreign subdued kings brought to the pharaoh some “gift” (i.e. “booty”) *hnk.w nb h3s.wt nb* “all the gifts of all the foreign countries”. The term *hnk.w* is translated by Helck as “Geschenken”, as in Wb¹²⁹, coming from the verb *hnk* “schenken, beschenken”¹³⁰; it is also attested the term *hnk.t*, specifically referred to offering gifts for the gods or dead people¹³¹. Sometimes the term *hnk* (specifically during the NK) is also translated as “geschenktes Land/donated, land/donation”¹³². The word *hnk.w* is listed

¹²⁸ Cf. the English translation in SINGER 2004, p. 606; see also ANET, p. 247; DER MANUELIAN 1987, p. 227; EDEL 1953a, p. 136; LORTON 1974, pp. 101, 140. Also interesting is the translation of the passage given by Bresciani: “Quando il principe di Naharina, il principe di **Kheta**, il principe di Sangar udirono la grande vittoria, si fecero uno simile all’altro nel (presentare) doni di ogni specie, di tutti i paesi stranieri. Essi decisero, in conformità ai padri dei loro padri, di chiedere pace presso Sua Maestà in modo che fosse dato loro il soffio di vita: «Verremo coi nostri tributi al tuo palazzo, o figlio di Ra, Amenofi, principe divino di Eliopoli, principe dei principi, leone che t’infuri in tutti i paesi stranieri, e in questa terra, eternamente»” (BRESCIANI 2007⁴, p. 266).

¹²⁹ Wb III, p. 117f.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Wb III, p. 118f.

¹³² TLA, lemma-no. 107180; ANDREU – CAUVILLE 1977, p. 10; LESKO 1982-1990, II, p. 123.

also in Faulkner's dictionary as "diplomatic gifts" (quoting this passage in particular)¹³³. Finally, Hannig specifies that the term refers to gifts "des Auslandes"¹³⁴; these chiefs made something like a "oath": we can intend in this way the expression *jw=sn hr dd m h3ty.w=sn n jt jt.w=sn* (literally: "they said in their hearts to the father of their fathers"). Bresciani translates the sentence as follows: "Essi decisero, in conformità ai padri dei loro padri". In both the cases, we can easily understand the meaning of this expression: the Egyptian said that the Hittites and the other princes behaved in the same way of their ancestors, i.e. they submitted to the pharaoh. This submission is described with the expression *r dbh htp.w hr hm=f r sb.tw rdj.t n=sn nf/t3w n cnh*, "(they decided) to ask *htp.w* to His Majesty to give them the breath of life"¹³⁵. The request made by the kings is to provide two things: the second one is easier to translate as "the breath of life" that means, in a metaphorical way, "the life itself": the "breath of life" of the pharaohs allows the submitted enemies to keep living. The first thing requested, *htp.w*, has been intended in different ways; Helck and Bresciani¹³⁶ translate it as "Frieden" and "peace"¹³⁷ while Bryan intended it as "offering gifts/gifts of peace"¹³⁸. It seems quite difficult to me to think that some submitted kings could ask to have in exchange "gifts": so, I prefer to translate the word as "peace". In any case, the expression is clear: the Hittites and their companions in misfortune ask to have their lives spared (i.e. not to be killed).

Breyer¹³⁹ also advanced another interesting suggestion: he interpreted the expression *p3 h3-t-tj* in a passage on the Semna stela MFA 25.632¹⁴⁰, belonging to the viceroy of Kush Usersatet (Urk. IV, 1344, 7¹⁴¹), reign of Amenhotep II, as "der von Hatti" and connects it with an opinion presented by Cornelius: "Man könnte sogar noch weiter gehen und die Textpassage bei Usersatet mittels eines Determinativpronomens als <*p3-h3-t-j*> „der von Hatti“ interpretieren. Könnte dies vielleicht doch die eigentlich wenig überzeugende Theorie von Cornelius stützen, nach der es einen einzelnen „Mann aus Kurustama“ nach Ägypten verschlagen hatte?"¹⁴².

After the reign of Amenhotep II, the following sure Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription quoting Hatti is dated to the reign of pharaoh Ay (see *infra*, text no. 3). It is quite strange that during the Amarna age, when the relationships between Egypt and the Hittites are attested thanks to the El-Amarna letters (see *infra*, section 1.3.1), no monumental inscriptions with this name are attested. However, Simons¹⁴³ suggested to read the name Hatti in two topographical lists of the period of Amenhotep III (18th dyn., 1390-1353 BC), carved on the walls of the temples of Soleb (on columns) and Karnak; this fact could

¹³³ FAULKNER 2002¹⁰, p. 173.

¹³⁴ HL3, p. 517 (cf. HL1, p. 580, no. 21045).

¹³⁵ For the "breath of life" in this context, see e.g. BRYAN 1998, pp. 131ff.

¹³⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹³⁷ According to Wb III, p. 193f. and FAULKNER 2002¹⁰, p. 180. Furthermore, HL1, p. 612, no. 22216) quotes the specific expression *dbh htpw* "Frieden, Gnade erbitten", as in our passage.

¹³⁸ SHAW 2003², p. 245: "The chiefs of Nahrin, Hatti, and Sangar (Babylon) arrived before the king bearing gifts and requesting offering gifts (*hetepu*) in exchange, as well as asking for the breath of life".

¹³⁹ BREYER 2010a, pp. 48-49.

¹⁴⁰ DER MANUELIAN 1987, pp. 156-157, fig. 37. Further information and a coloured picture can be found on the MFA website: <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/stele-of-usersatet-viceroy-of-nubia-146139>. Der Manuelian translates the passage as follows: "You sit (5) ... a brave one, who takes plunder from all lands, a chariot-soldier who fights for his Majesty, Amenophis, who-rules-in-Heliopolis ... (6) ... Naharin, who gives orders to *P3h3ty*; the (7) [possessor of a woman from Babylon, and a servant from Byblos, of a young (8) maiden from Alalah and an old lady from Arapha. The people of Talhsy (9) are completely worthless. Of what are they trustworthy?" (DER MANUELIAN 1987, p. 157). Helck, in his German translation left the transcription of the original, too: "... der Nahrina [niederwarf (ö. ä.)]. *P3h3ty* Anweisungen geben ließ" (HELCK 1961, p. 50). The scholar also clearly admitted that "welches land hiermit gemeint ist, bleibt unklar" (HELCK 1961, p. 50, note 2).

¹⁴¹ See *supra*, section 1.1, under comment to text no. 2. However, because of the different spelling of the toponym, I do not consider it as referring to Hatti (cf. the mention of the Hittite land in the Annals of Amenhotep II, text no. 2, presenting a different spelling). *Contra*, REDFORD 1984, p. 32: "he who sealed the fate of the Hittite"; this interpretation could be, in effect, supported by the contemporaneous quotations of both Naharin and Babylon.

¹⁴² BREYER 2010a, p. 149.

¹⁴³ SIMONS 1937, pp. 132-133, lists nos IX-X.

be very interesting if compared with the well-known EA 31-32, exchanged between Amenhotep III and Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa: it is a clear evidence that the former king continued to maintain relationships with Anatolia (at least with the Arzawa confederation). By the way, because the uncertain reading of the toponym, I prefer not to include these texts into the catalogue and I just present here the sketch of the first inscription, as provided by Lepsius (Fig. 15)¹⁴⁴:

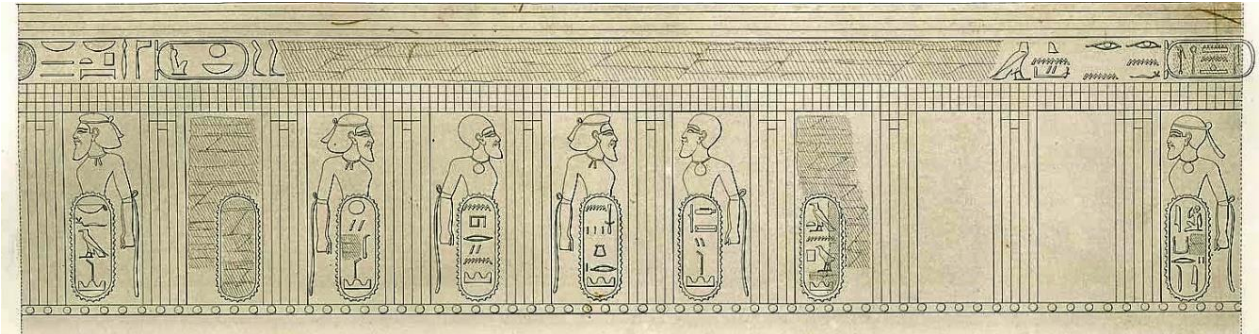


Fig. 15

However, this reconstruction is limited by the strange spelling of the name Ḫatti in these two lists; in fact, instead of the common writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$, $\text{Ḫt}(3)$ [+ T14 plus/or N25] (with the many different possibilities, with or without the phonetical complement or the determinatives), just in these two texts it is attested the writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ $\text{Ḫ}(y)t(j)[\dots]$ + T14 plus N25¹⁴⁵ or $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ $\text{Ḫt}(jy)$ + N25¹⁴⁶. Simons underlines that “This name (*h-t*) has been preserved 13 times in the Topographical Lists. In all examples 𓆑 is added to *h-t* except in X/2 which presents 𓆑 , XXXI/1 which has 𓆑 , and XV/10, XXV/4 which have nothing. IX/a, 8 is the only example in which the first consonant is followed by 𓆑 , but, as for some other names of this list (a, 2; f, 4). Lepsius’s copy is doubtfully correct”¹⁴⁷. It is perhaps likely to consider the attestation of the name Ḫatti also in these lists, because of the chronological reasons presented above and because of the position of the name within the list: the name is carved just after those of Babylon (*Sngr*) and Naharin (*Nhrn*), very close to those of Crete (*Kftjw*), Kadesh (*Qdš*) and Tunip (*Tnp*), a position that is frequently occupied by the name Ḫatti. Furthermore, there are no other possible readings of the name which could justify both the spelling and the position of the name into the list. Eventually and unfortunately, the strange spelling of the name (considered by both Wb and Gauthier¹⁴⁸ as another form for Ḫatti itself), is currently (at least to my knowledge) not perfectly explained.

¹⁴⁴ LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 88, a. The second inscription (from Karnak) is described by Lepsius in LD, Text, III, p. 9, but no other pictures are available.

¹⁴⁵ SIMONS 1937, p. 132, list no. IX, series a, no. 8.

¹⁴⁶ Ivi, p. 133, list no. X, no. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Ivi, pp. 132-133, note 8.

¹⁴⁸ See *supra*, Introduction.

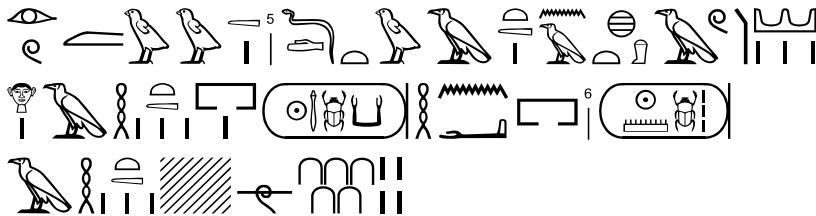
3. DONATION STELA OF AY

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Donation document
Dating	18 th dyn. (Ay, 1323-1320 BC)
Location	Giza
Content	Donation stela quoting an “Hittite field”

The following text was engraved on a donation stela found in Giza, near to Khufu’s pyramid: it reports a donation of a fields made by pharaoh Ay to the overseer of the “King’s Private Quarters (i.e., the harem?)” Isut and to his wife Mutnedjemet. In the text it is said that these fields are located in an area called *3h.t n Ht3*, “the Hittite field”. The dating provided in the texts refers to the “3rd year, 3rd month of *shemu* season, 1st day” of king Ay: considering that this king reigned from ca. 1323 until ca. 1320 BC, the text could thus be approximately dated to the summer of 1321 BC¹⁴⁹.

Urk. IV, 2109, 16 (Eje):

Hieroglyphic text (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported)¹⁵⁰



Transliteration

jr.w m ww (5) *dd.tw 3h.t n Ht3*
hr 3h.t pr c3-hpr-k3-Rc hn^c pr (6) *Mn-hpr.w-Rc*
3h.t [...] *st3.t 54*

Translation¹⁵¹

HELCK 1961, p. 402, no. 818:

Jahr 3, 3. *šmw*, Tag 1. Es lebe Horus, Starker Stier, glänzend an Kronen‘, die beiden Herrinnen ‚Mächtig an Kraft, der die Asiaten abwehrt‘, Goldhorus ‚Herrscher der Wahrheit, der die beiden Länder entstehen läßt‘, König von O.u.U.Ä., Herr der beiden Länder *Hpr-hprw-R‘-jr-m3‘.t*, Sohn des Re Gottesvater-Eje-Gott-

¹⁴⁹ An interesting, but also questionable, comment to the text was presented by Murnane: “This document, which confirms the reward a court functionary, is notable less for its eminently conventional purpose than for the way it attests to Ay’s continued support the orthodox religious establishments suppressed or transferred to the heretic capital during the reign of Akhenaten, and for its oblique reference to the war which Egypt was currently fighting with the Hittite Empire” (MURNANE 1995, p. 225); honestly, I do not find any kind of allusion to such a war within this text.

¹⁵⁰ The first transcription of the text is in DARESSY 1894, p. 123.

¹⁵¹ I quote here a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined. Cf. also the English translation in MURNANE 1995, p. 225, text no. 103-C: “Regnal year 3, third month of the Harvest season, day 1. Long live the Horus, Mighty Bull ‘Whose Manifestations are Dazzling’; Two Ladies ‘Mighty in Strength, Suppressor of the Asiatics’; Horus of Gold ‘Rightful Ruler who Brings the Two Lands back into Being’; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, KHEPERKHEPRURE DOER-OF-MAAT; Son of Re, GOD’S FATHER AY, THE GOD WHO RULES THEBES, given life. On this day, when One was in Memphis, His Person commanded that the fields given as a reward to the Overseer of the King’s Private Quarters named Isut and to his wife Mutnodjmet be specified, (said fields) having been made in the territory called ‘Field of the **Hittites**’ upon fields of the Domain of AAKHEPERKARE (= Thutmose I) and the Domain of MENKHEPRURE (= Thutmose IV). The fields [consist of] 54 arouras – South from the Domain of MENKHEPRURE; North from the Domains of Ptah and of AAKHEPERKARE, between which its feeder canal (?) runs; West from the high desert; and East from the Domain of MENKHEPRURE between which its feeder canal (?) runs. There came on account of it as witnesses the king’s scribe and overseer of the double granary Ramose, the scribe Meryre and [the scribe] Tchay; and it was referred to the chief attendant Ra to assign it”.

Herrscher-von-Theben, dem Leben gegeben werde. An diesem Tag war man in Memphis. Da befahl Seine Majestät, die Geschenkfelder des Vorstehers des kgl. Harims *'Iswt* seiner Gattin *Mwt-ndm.t* festlegen zu lassen, gemacht im Gebiet, das man das **Hethiterfeld** nennt, auf den Feldern der Gutsanlage des '3-*hpr-k3-R*' und der Gutsanlage des *Mn-hprw-R*': Felder [.] Aruren 54, (angrenzend) südlich an das Gut des *Mn-hprw-R*', nördlich an das Gut des Ptahtempels und das Gut des '3-*hpr-k3-R*', auf dessen Gebiet sie liegen (?), westlich an die Wüste, östlich an das Gut des Ptahtempels des *Mn-hprw-R*', auf dessen Gebiet sie liegen (?).

The pharaoh decided to precise the area of the king possessions around Memphis formerly given to the superintendent of the harem Isut and to his wife Mutnedjemet. The fields in question are formally a king possession and some scholars thought that the pharaoh decided to reassign those fields to Mutnedjemet because of the death of the harem superintendent Isut¹⁵², her husband. It is quite interesting to know that this area was called *3h.t n Ḫt3*, literally “the field of Ḫatti”. According to Helck¹⁵³, it could be a prison camp for the Hittites that were captured during the battles against Šuppiluliuma I, in the Syrian campaign just after Tutankhamun’s death. Also noteworthy is the name of the former superintendent of the harem, called *'Iswt*. According to a suggestion given by Helck, it should be a foreign name: “Sowohl Lesung des Titels wie des Namens sind unsicher, da sonst nicht wieder belegt; nach dem sicheren Determinativ des „Schlagholzes“ handelt es sich um einen Ausländer”¹⁵⁴. If this official was a foreigner remains still unclear; nevertheless, this stela attested the presence of Hittite people in Egypt during a very crucial period in the development of the international relations between Egypt and Ḫatti. Another possible clue into this topic is represented by a letter (KUB XIX 20 = CTH 154) sent by the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I to a pharaoh that is currently identified as Ay: this document will be presented in another section of this work¹⁵⁵, advancing further considerations also about this stela.

¹⁵² This opinion has already been advanced by Helck: see HELCK 1961, p. 402, note 3.

¹⁵³ *Ivi*, note 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ivi*, note 2.

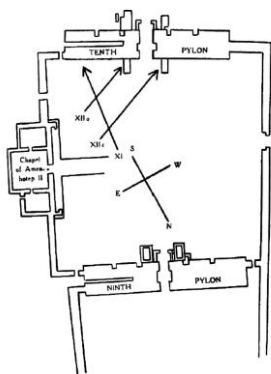
¹⁵⁵ See *infra*, section 1.2.1, under text no. 18.

4. TOPOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF HOREMHEB

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Topographical lists
Dating	18 th dyn. (Horemheb, 1319-1292 BC)
Location	Karnak
Content	Topographical lists quoting Ḥatti

It has been stated by Murnane that “there is almost no evidence for contact of any kind between the two superpowers in Egyptian records contemporary with Horemheb and Ramses I”¹⁵⁶. Nevertheless, it is exactly during the reign of Horemheb that the first sure attestations of the toponym Ḥt(3) in a topographical list¹⁵⁷ are recorded, namely on the walls of the temple of Amun in Karnak, along the eastern tower of the 10th pylon and on statues¹⁵⁸.

a. Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, 10th pylon¹⁵⁹:



Figs 16-17

Hieroglyphic text

SIMONS 1937, p. 134¹⁶⁰:



¹⁵⁶ MURNANE 1985, p. 31.

¹⁵⁷ If we do not consider the other spelling of the name in the two lists of Amenhotep III, for which see *supra*. However, this is the first attestation of the name with the “common” spelling in a topographical list.

¹⁵⁸ Further clues attesting for actual campaigns of Horemheb in Syria are exposed in DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, who also mention a travertine vase found at Ugarit (RS 17.420 + 17.421), bearing the name of Horemheb (the name is not included into the *cartouche*, so it could be referred to a period before his enthronement): see DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, pp. 145-146, quoting LAGARCE 2008, pp. 268-269, 274-275.

¹⁵⁹ Further information in PM II, p. 187, no. 578 and SIMONS 1937, pp. 50 ff.

¹⁶⁰ List no. XI; cf. BOURIANT 1895, p. 42; MÜLLER 1893, p. 292; MÜLLER 1906, pl. 56 (below).

Transliteration¹⁶¹

- 1 *J-(nj)*...
- 2 *Brg(w)*
- 3 *Jr̄t... (w)*¹⁶²
- 4 *J-.....* ¹⁶³
- 5 *Rnr*¹⁶⁴
- 6 *Ht(3)*
- 7 *Pb(w)h*
- 8 *Jr̄t(n)*?¹⁶⁵


Translation


- 1 unreadable
- 2 Barga¹⁶⁶
- 3 Arzawa ?¹⁶⁷
- 4 toponym in northern Syria?
- 5 Lullu¹⁶⁸
- 6 **Hatti**¹⁶⁹
- 7 Pabahhi (“the mountain land”)¹⁷⁰
- 8 Artuga¹⁷¹

The inscription does not present particularly features and offers the usual sequence of names as in many other lists. The importance of this text (and of the following one) mainly lies in the fact that it was copied, many centuries later, by pharaoh Taharqa, during the 25th dyn.¹⁷², in what seems to be the very last attestation of the name Hatti among the Egyptian documentation¹⁷³. The following list of Horemheb presents a quite longer inventory of names.

¹⁶¹ For all the toponyms quoted in the topographical lists, I transliterate the names including the spelling also of the “syllabic writing”.

¹⁶² It is possible, in my opinion, to read here the name *Jr̄t(w)*, “Arzawa”, for which see HL1, p. 1117, no. 40950: “Land an Westküste Kleinasiens”; cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 129*ff., 135*; vol. 2, p. 324. However, a reason against this reading is the lacuna between the sign *̄t* (V14) and the sign for *w* (G43): there is a possibility that there was another sign in between.

¹⁶³ Simons (SIMONS 1937, p. 134, note 4) fills the lacuna as follows: . Thus, according to him, the name should be referred to the North Syria.

¹⁶⁴ Simons (SIMONS 1937, p. 134, note 5) proposed to read , instead of the reading given by Müller and Bouriant with the sign *wn* (E34).

¹⁶⁵ Simons (SIMONS 1937, p. 134, note 8) suggested to read the last radical of the toponym as *n*, whose sign (N25) is omitted by both Müller and Bouriant, who added the determinative N25 instead.

¹⁶⁶ HL1, p. 1137, no. 41379: “Barga (heute *Barqum, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”; TLA, lemma-no. 854949; cf. KRITANC I, p. 32f.

¹⁶⁷ HL1, p. 1117, no. 40950: “Land an Westküste Kleinasiens”. Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 129*ff., 135*; vol. 2, p. 324.

¹⁶⁸ HL1, p. 1163, no. 41963: “westiranisches Randgebirge im Bereich von Sulaimaniya, östlich von Assur im Zagros-Gebirge”.

¹⁶⁹ The name has also been translated in MÜLLER 1897, p. 276.

¹⁷⁰ HL1, p. 1140, no. 41445: “eine Örtlichkeit östlich von Diyarbekir”; TLA, lemma-no. 854940; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 2, p. 37; cf. also EDEL 1975, pp. 51ff. and KRITANC I, pp. 31ff. Murnane also offers a map with the location of Pabahhi (MURNANE 1985, map 1 on p. XVI).

¹⁷¹ Simons (SIMONS 1937, p. 134, note 8), proposed to read the last radical as *n*, while in a similar passage in a list of Seti I, Müller preferred to read *g* (see SIMONS 1937, p. 138, note 36). In this case, the name could be the same as in a later list of Ramses II, always at Karnak (see *infra*, text no. 8.n); see HL1, p. 1117, no. 40948: “*Ardukka, eine Örtlichkeit in Asien”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 58ff.

¹⁷² See *supra*.

¹⁷³ As already stated above, there is the possibility of a much later inscription of the period of Ptolemy XIII (1st cent. BC), quoting Hatti: however, the spelling of the name does not ensure a certain reading as *Ht(3)*.

b. Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, statues:



Fig. 18

This second list is inscribed on the socle of a statue dated to the reign of Horemheb and described by Simons as follows: “In front (north) of the doorway in pylon X are two colossi (see Plan VIII)¹⁷⁴ with inscriptions which mention the name of Ramses II, although their style and execution are rather different from those of the period of Ramses II. It seems at least very probable that they were erected by Horemheb, together with the pylon itself, and first inscribed by the same king. On the socles of both the colossi, topographical lists have been carved in the form of name-rings with figures of foreign captives. A horizontal hand of text above these name-rings celebrates the victories of the Pharaoh, whose name has everywhere been cut out and replaced by that of Ramses II”¹⁷⁵.

Hieroglyphic text

SIMONS 1937, p. 135¹⁷⁶:

Series c (west colossus, east face of socle: 15 names)

- 1 
- 2 “Nine Bows”
- 3 Lost (“Nine Bows”)
- 4 
- 5 “Nine Bows”
- 6  ¹⁷⁷
- 7 
- 8 
- 9 
- 10-12 African
- 13 
- 14 
- 15 

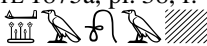
Transliteration

- 1 [Sn]g(3)r
- 2 “Nine Bows”
- 3 Lost (“Nine Bows”)
- 4 Nhr(n)
- 5 “Nine Bows”

¹⁷⁴ See the picture above.

¹⁷⁵ SIMONS 1937, p. 52; cf. PM II, pp. 187-188, nos 582-583.

¹⁷⁶ List no. XII; cf. LEGRAIN 1914, p. 43; MARIETTE 1875a, pl. 38, f.

¹⁷⁷ SIMONS 1937, p. 135, note 6, proposed to read .

- 6 [M(j)]š(3)[w(3)]
- 7 **Ht3**
- 8 *Jrtw*
- 9 *Jss(w)r*
- 10-12 African
- 13 [T]n(w)p(w)
- 14 *Qdš*
- 15 *Q(3)d(a)n*

Translation

- 1 Babylon
- 2 “Nine Bows”
- 3 Lost (“Nine Bows”)
- 4 Naharin
- 5 “Nine Bows”
- 6 Meshu (or an African toponym)¹⁷⁸
- 7 **Hatti**
- 8 Arzawa¹⁷⁹
- 9 Assyria¹⁸⁰
- 10-12 African
- 13 Tunip¹⁸¹
- 14 Kadesh¹⁸²
- 15 Qatna¹⁸³

These lists of Horemheb are the first where the name of the Hittite land is presented. Of course, there are other previous lists, those of Thutmose I (just some small fragments)¹⁸⁴, Thutmose III¹⁸⁵, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III; apart from the lists of the latter (where the name Hatti is spelled in a different way, attested just here)¹⁸⁶, Horemheb’s lists offer the first attestation of the name Hatti within this kind of documents (i.e.. the topographical lists). In fact, also in longer lists such as those of Thutmose III, whose Annals quote the well-known Hittites, the toponym Hatti is not clearly included in the list. This is a peculiarity to be stressed: it is possible to argue that these lists would be a good source for other later exemplars, such as those of Ramses II and Ramses III. It seems that the list does not follow a peculiar listing criterion, nor geographical or thematical, and Hatti appears almost in the middle of the list, preceded by Babylon and Naharin, on one hand, and the “Nine Bows” and the unclear Meshu/African name, on the other. After Hatti, it is important to note the presence of the Arzawa confederation, which will be often carved in later lists in association with the name of the Hittite land; what seems to lack here is the quotation of other Anatolian entities (such as Išuwa or Kizzuwatna) that will be introduced only in later lists (like those of Ramses II); the presence of just the name of Arzawa (well-know also in the Amarna age, as attested by EA 31-32) could be reflect a first step in the knowledge of the ethnical and geographical nature of the Anatolian

¹⁷⁸ HL1, p. 1153, no. 41744: “Meschu (eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”. SIMONS 1937, p. 135, note 6 proposed to interpret the name as Asiatic or also African (making a comparison with Taharqa’s copy of the inscription, which preserves African names at this spot).

¹⁷⁹ HL1, p. 1117, no. 40950: “Land an Westküste Kleinasiens”. Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 129*ff., 135*; vol. 2, p. 324.

¹⁸⁰ HL1, p. 1119; no. 41001; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191*.

¹⁸¹ HL1, p. 1203, no. 42843; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 179*.

¹⁸² HL1, p. 1195, no. 42662; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 137*ff., no. 252.

¹⁸³ HL1, p. 1195, no. 42660: “Qatna (heute: Tell el Mischrife, nord-östlich von Homs)”; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 166*; vol. 2, p. 323*.

¹⁸⁴ These fragments have been published in JACQUET-GORDON 1981.

¹⁸⁵ The topographical list which is considered as one of the *Urtexts* (together with Ramses II’s lists) of many following lists (see KAHN 2016, p. 161).

¹⁸⁶ See *supra*.

area; a knowledge that would become better by virtue of the later expeditions of Seti I and his son Ramses II and the diplomatic exchanges after the battle of Kadesh.

It has been said many times that during the late Amarna period, after the death of Akhenaten, the contacts with the Hittite land became less frequent; the same phenomenon is attested during the reign of Horemheb; by the way, some scholars tried to recognize depictions of Hittite in the tomb of Horemheb himself, i.e. KV 57:



Fig. 19

Breyer reproduced all these reliefs assembled together:

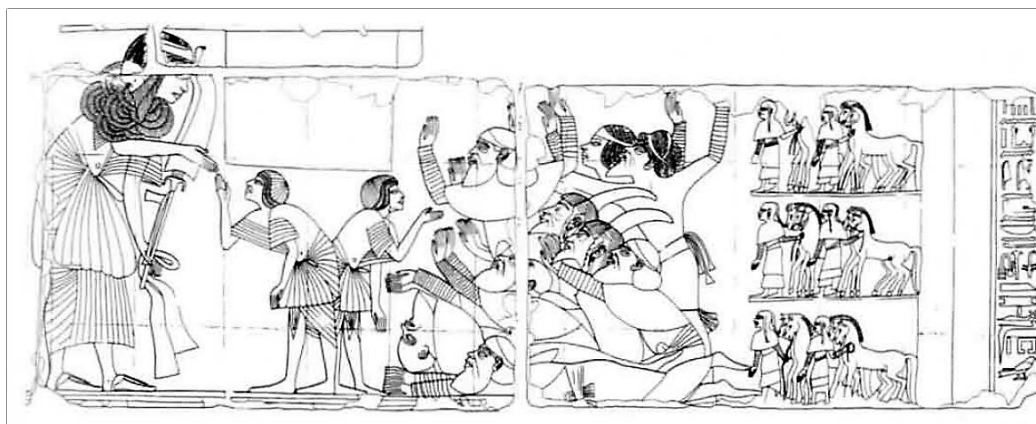


Fig. 20

It has been already stressed¹⁸⁷ that, during the Amarna period, the representation of foreign people just followed three different “types”: the Asiatics (Levantine), the Nubians and the Libyans. According to Breyer¹⁸⁸ (quoting Drenkhahn¹⁸⁹, Schulman and Darnell¹⁹⁰) there are no extant clear depictions of Hittites during the Amarna age. Thus, many representations that have previously interpreted as Hittites are now interpreted otherwise; a list of these depictions can be found in BREYER 2010a, pp. 446-448 (I do not report all the examples). Here, also the “Hittite” figures in the aforementioned representation from the tomb of Horemheb are interpreted (following DARNELL 1991, p. 123) as not Hittite:

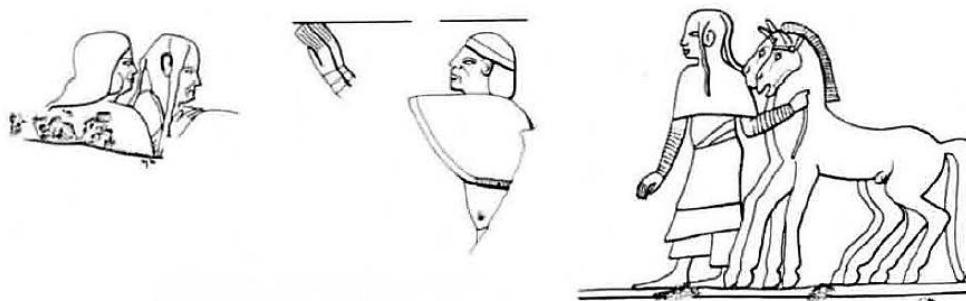


Fig. 21

- a. Helck¹⁹¹ interpreted the woman in Fig. 21 to the left, as a Hittite man; Darnell¹⁹² showed that she is instead a Syrian woman, with her husband (not Hittite, too);
- b. Some scholars thought that the figures carrying a horse (see *supra*, Fig. 21, to the right) would have been Hittites; Darnell¹⁹³ describes them as *maryannu*, instead. According to Darnell¹⁹⁴, only two figures in the tomb of Horemheb could be identified as Hittites: the first is the person raising

¹⁸⁷ BREYER 2010a, p. 446.

¹⁸⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁹ DRENKHAHN 1967.

¹⁹⁰ DARNELL 1991.

¹⁹¹ LÄ II, p. 318; HELCK 1979, p. 328.

¹⁹² DARNELL 1991, pp. 115, 123.

¹⁹³ *Ivi*, p. 115f.

¹⁹⁴ *Ivi*, p. 120f.

his arms (see *supra*, fig. 21, in the middle, and *infra*, fig. 22¹⁹⁵), attested on a fragment now in the Museum of the Oriental Institute (Inv. No. 10591)¹⁹⁶:



Fig. 22

The second one has been picked out by Darnell¹⁹⁷ among the group of captives of scene 46 (here in the middle of Figs 19 and 20); here the description of the scene: “Two of the nine figures are Libyans, and another six are bearded Asiatics. The final man, in the middle of the group of three foreigners who stand and lift up their arms, wears Asiatic dress, but no beard. [...] His clothing is identical to that of the cowering Hittite on the Oriental Institute fragment, and the Hittite ethnicity proposed for him here reconciles his Asiatic dress and beardless face”¹⁹⁸. Furthermore, Darnell proposed¹⁹⁹ that these depictions of Hittites would have been the inspiration for the later, and surely attributed, representation of the Hittites in the account of Seti I’s Syrian campaigns (see *infra*, text no. 6). Further information about the contacts between Egypt and Ḫatti during the end of the Amarna age are traceable within the contemporaneous Hittite documentation (see *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 7 = CTH 72).

¹⁹⁵ From MARTIN 1979, p. 34, fig. 1.

¹⁹⁶ See MARTIN 1979. The picture here as Fig. 22 (already published in MARTIN 1979, p. 34, fig. 1), has been reproduced on courtesy of the Oriental Institute Photographic Archive (P 64463; N 43471); I thank Alexandra Erichson, Photographic Archives Assistant of the OIPA, for her kind help.

¹⁹⁷ DARNELL 1991, pp. 120-121.

¹⁹⁸ DARNELL 1991, p. 121.

¹⁹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, where Darnell, following the opinion in MARTIN 1979, p. 34, also explains that these actual depictions of the Hittites could have been carved in an earlier period, maybe during the reigns of Tutankhamun or Ay.

5. oCAIRO CGC 25218 + oDEM 1266, GROUP B: LOVE SONG No. 21

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Poetry, love song
Dating	19 th dyn. (beginning)
Location	Ostacon
Content	Love song quoting a “flower/blossom of Ḥatti”



Fig. 23

This text is attested on 3 ostraca purchased in Luxor (oCairo) and by other 28 ostraca found at Deir el-Medineh, during 1949-1951 excavation seasons²⁰⁰. According to the palaeography, they could be dated at the beginning of the 19th dyn. The sherds belong to the neck of a vessel carrying a hieratic text in palimpsest: the *scriptio superior* is a passage of a love song, while the *scriptio inferior* reports a portion of the “Teaching for Merikare”.

Hieroglyphic text

MATHIEU 1996, pl. 20, l. 23²⁰¹:



FOX 1980, pp. 102, 104:

Transliteration

(22) [...] ḥnr n=j snt=j m mnt mj w3ḏw3ḏ m3ḥ ...

(23) jsy šwy p3 k3t3 prḥw mjrb̄b ḥnw / p3 ḥsbd n3 rrm.wt pr ... rw²⁰² n Ḥt3 pfs / p3 bsbs pr[h]

(24) ... [n3] w3ḏw3ḏ t3 tjr ... jw=s m-dj=j m mnt mj w3ḏw3ḏ m3ḥ ḥrwrw nb rwd ḥr p3.t ... mj k3j.s

Translation

XII. (The boy speaks) If only my sister were mine every day, like *wadjwadj*-flowers in a wreath, ... (23) and dried reeds. The safflower blossoms, the *mjrbb*-flowers are (in) a bundle. The lapis-lazuli plant and the *rrmt*-

²⁰⁰ According to POSENER 1952, p. 42, the sherds were found in the “Grand Puits” of Deir el-Medineh.

²⁰¹ Cf. POSENER 1952, pl. 78. I report here just the passage quoting Ḥatti.

²⁰² Fox proposes to integrate [hrw]rw, “blossom” (see FOX 1980, p. 109, note 48). MATHIEU 1996, p. 110, note 378 reads [n3 ḥr]r.w(t) n.(t) Ḥt3 {p}fs=y.

fruit (trees) spring up, . . . from **Hatti** are cooked (?)²⁰³; the *besbes*-plant blossoms, ... (24) the *wadjwadj*-plants and the willow tree [bloom]. She would be with me every day, like *wadjwadj*-plants (in) a wreath, all the blossoms which flourish on the meadow, ... entirely.

As it is clear from the translation, in stanza XII of this song, one boy wishes his lover to “be connected to him as flowers to a wreath”²⁰⁴. In this passage, it is said that a kind of plant, coming from Hatti is “cooked”. Unfortunately, the name of the plant is in lacuna: Fox proposes an integration to this passage and the restoration of the proper meaning: “[*hrw*]rw, ‘blossoms,’ would be the likely restoration, except that it does not fit with *pfs*, cooked.’ The term *pfs* itself is difficult in this context, and the meaning ‘ripe,’ which is associated with ‘cooked,’ may be suggested for this passage. An analogous semantic range would be Hebrew *bšl*, which means both ‘cook’ and ‘ripen’”²⁰⁵. The verb *psj*, whose later form *pfs* corresponds to, could so mean “ripen”. A question remains about the subject of the verb, the “Hittite” *hrwrw*, “blossoms”²⁰⁶, possibly related to the word *hrr.t*, “Blume, Blüte”²⁰⁷. The term is etymologically connected, to some extent, to the Hittite word *alēl*-²⁰⁸. The Hittite word *alil-/alēl-* is in effect translated as “Blume, Blüte”²⁰⁹, maybe from the Akkadian word *ayyaru(m)*²¹⁰, sometimes referred to a “rosette”. Puhvel²¹¹ also provides the equation with the Latin word *lilium*, from which the current Italian “giglio”, or English “lily”, that is the common word for the scientific term *Lilium* (Linnaeus, no. 1753) which refers to a very common and well-known flower. It is established that the Latin name *lilium*²¹² derived from the Greek *λείριον*²¹³ a word that, according to many scholars, was borrowed from Coptic *Ⲫⲣⲏⲡⲉ*²¹⁴, from Demotic *Ⲫⲣⲏⲣⲓ* *hrry(.t)*, from Middle/Late Egyptian *Ⲫⲣⲏⲣⲓ* *hrr.t* “flower”²¹⁵. Meillet maintains that both the Egyptian and the Greek word are possible loans from an extinct, substratum language of the Eastern Mediterranean. Considering that the flower in this text is directly connected to the Hittites (*hrwrw n Ht3*) and given that the first attestations are from the NK kingdom (and specifically the 18th dyn.) onwards²¹⁶, possibly the Egyptian word was a loan word from the Hittite (or even a term of substratum): therefore, the reference to the “Hittite blossom” in the aforementioned passage could be a precise quotation of a flower directly coming from the Anatolian area. Despite this hypothesis, it is also important to remember another possible solution, already proposed by Albright²¹⁷: the Egyptian term *Ⲫⲣⲏⲣⲓ* *hrr.w* = /ḥa-ru-ru/, “flower”, a variant form of *hrr.t*, could also be considered as a Canaanite loan word from **ḥarūru*, “flower, (literally: bright thing)”. In any case, the interesting thing here is the presence, in a text of the beginning of the 19th dyn., of a sentence which seems to connect a kind of flower (maybe a lily?) to the Hittite land. A question remains: how did the Egyptians come to know this kind of (evidently) peculiar “Hittite” flower? Some suggestions are reported in the comment to

²⁰³ Similar translations in MATHIEU 1996, p. 101 (“[les ... les fleurs] de Hatti épanouies”) and VERNUS 1992, p. 91 (“les fleurs du *Kheta* parvenues à maturité”).

²⁰⁴ FOX 1980, p. 105.

²⁰⁵ FOX 1980, p. 109, note 48.

²⁰⁶ Wb III, p. 150.

²⁰⁷ HL1, p. 598, nos 21676ff.; LESKO 1982-1990, vol. 2, p. 135; TLA, lemma-no. 109110; Wb III, pp. 149.

²⁰⁸ HL1, p. 598, nos 21676ff.: “*weitverbreiter*: *heth.* alēl „Blume“, *alban.* lule „Blume“, *bask.* lili „Blume“, *est-nisch* lill „Blume“, *or.* ililli „Blume“, *kab.* ilili „Oleander“ *pers.* lāla „Tulpe“, *gr.* leírion „Lilie“ *dt.* Lilie” (for the abbreviations used here, see HL1, pp. XXXIXff).

²⁰⁹ FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER 1975-1984, Bd. I: A, pp. 58f.; KRONASSER 1966, vol. 1, p. 324; PUHVEL 1984, vol. 1, pp. 32f.; TISCHLER 1983, vol. 1 (A-K), pp. 16f.; HHW, pp. 13f.

²¹⁰ BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 32; CAD I, pp. 229ff.

²¹¹ PUHVEL 1984, vol. 1, p. 33.

²¹² WALDE – HOFMANN 1938, vol. 2, p. 801.

²¹³ CHANTRAINE 1974, p. 629; FRISK 1991, vol. 2, pp. 100-101.

²¹⁴ ČERNÝ 1976, p. 294; CRUM 1939, p. 704; WESTENDORF 1977, p. 388. However, R. Holton Pierce refused a Coptic origin for the Greek term: see HOLTON PIERCE 1971, p. 105.

²¹⁵ GARDINER 1936, p. 197.

²¹⁶ Wb III, p. 149.

²¹⁷ ALBRIGHT 1934, p. 50, no. 14.

the passage made by B. Mathieu: “On est tenté de situer l’apparition du genre amoureux au début de la XIX^e dynastie, plus précisément sous le regne de Séthy I^{er}, dont on sait par ailleurs qu’il fut littérairement fécond, avec un renouveau sous Ramsès III” [...]. Si le personnage de Méhy est bien l’officier de Séthy I^{er} [...], le cycle de CBC aurait donc été composé vers 1290-1280. D’autre part, la mention de *fleurs du Hatti*, dans O. DM 1266, 23 [...], laisse à penser que la rédaction des deux cycles du Vase de Deir al-Medina est postérieure à l’an 21 de Ramsès II (vers 1259), date du traité égypto-hittite, et qu’elle a peut-être été suscitée par le texte du Premier Mariage hittite, en l’an 34, vers 1246”²¹⁸. The author considers the mention of the “flower of Ḫatti” as later than the “First Marriage”, occasion where the Egyptian love poetry drew inspiration from (see e.g. the description of the enchantment that hit the pharaoh in seeing his bride). It is possible to think that the Hittite princess was followed by a great dowry, which included also some vegetal elements, such as flowers, that reached the Egyptian land (and maybe preserved in the royal harem in Gurob). About the possible Hittite or, at least, Near Eastern origin of the Egyptian word *ḫrr.t*, we do not have enough clues to express a deeper analysis; what I consider important for our topic is the quotation of a specific kind of flower, defined as “Hittite”, in a period when many important events happened between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts. It is also peculiar to underline that the Hittites are not attested only on official documents (such as those of the battle of Kadesh) but also in a very different literary genre, like the love poetry. This is a clue that the memory of the Hittites was perceived also in a less formal and propagandistic way. The use of the syntagma “Hittite blossom” in this list, in which the loved lady is compared to many exotic flowers or plants, includes some aspects of the Hittites culture among this alluring sphere of “exoticism”.

²¹⁸ MATHIEU 1996, p. 248, note 857.

6. THE ASIAN BATTLE RELIEFS OF SETI I

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Annals
Dating	19 th dyn. (Seti I, 1290-1279 BC)
Location	Karnak
Content	Accounts of military confrontation; topographical lists

Before the battle of Kadesh between the armies of Ramses II and Ḫattušili III, another military confrontation with the Hittites is recorded within the inscriptions of Seti I, on the walls of the Karnak temple of Amun. After the Amarna period, Seti I decided to strengthen again the Egyptian forces in Asia: in his 1st year, he undertook a campaign against the Shasu people in South Palestine and then more northwards, managing to conquer the vassal states of Amurru and Kadesh²¹⁹. After this, even unsuccessful, campaign, the Egyptians and the Hittites directly faced on the battle field. The report of this confrontation provides us with a glimpse into the conception that the Egyptians had of the Hittites, in a useful comparison with the later propagandistic accounts of Ramses II. The texts of Seti I also present two (almost specular) topographical lists: their location is here shown in a plan made by Simons:

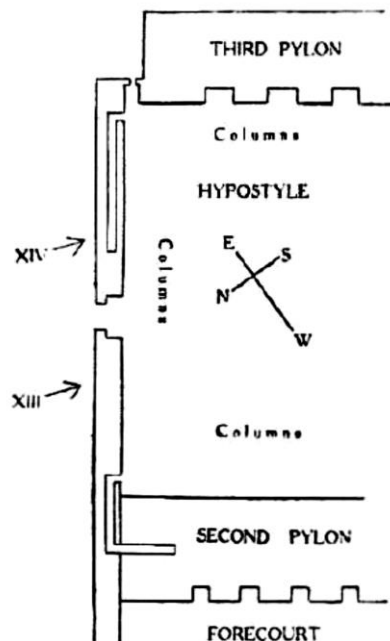


Fig. 24

OIP 107, p. 165: 15:23*; 17:22*; 34:1, 15; 35:21, 28; 36:2, 27²²⁰.

a. Triumph scene with topographic list, 1 (OIP 15:23*):

OIP 107, pls 15a, c: King Seti I triumphing over foreign enemies in the presence of Amon-Re and the goddess Thebes (North Wall, East Wing, Bottom Registers).

²¹⁹ For a brief historical introduction, see VAN DIJK in SHAW 2003², pp. 286ff.; GRIMAL 2011⁹, pp. 319ff. Further information is in MURNANE 1985, mostly on pp. 58ff. (Hittite War) and OIP 107, pp. 103ff.

²²⁰ Cf. LD Textbänd, vol. 3, pp. 19, 88a, 130b.3, 146; Tafelwerk, vol. 5, pl. 240; WRESZINSKI 1923-1938, vol. 2, pp. 45-47; KRI I, 17-18.

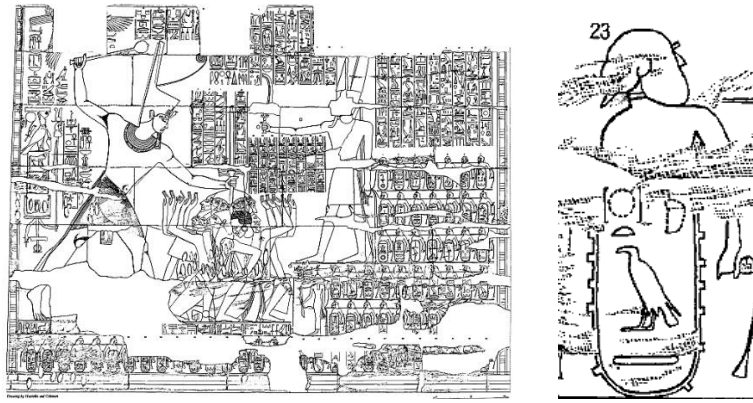


Fig. 25

KIU 1012, 49: XIX^e dynastie / Séthi I^{er} / Salle hypostyle, Paroi extérieure nord / Partie est²²¹
Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

[Mn]tj.w n.w Stt [H]t3 [N]hrn [R]tnw hrt [R]nw hrt [S]ngr [Wn]wm [Qdš]w [P3]bh Qdn3

Translation

Bedouins of Sehel, **Hatti**, Naharina, Upper Retchenu, Lower Retchenu, Babylon, Tunip (?), Kadesh, P3bh²²², Qatna²²³.

These name-rings are attested in a list of 39 names of countries submitted by the pharaoh as represented in the “Eastern Triumph Scene” (OIP 7, pp. 48ff.). The use of compile several topographical lists of subjugated enemies was a topic of the Egyptian way of telling history²²⁴. The names of these area are encircled in the usual wall-shaped rings and lie just below the feet of the triumphant king in the common scene of smashing his enemies²²⁵. The name-rings oh the Hittite land (no. 23) portrays a kneeling person with his hand bound with a robe on his back; his facial features include a wig and a pointed beard. This representation is the same for all the names of the subjugated enemies. As in many other passages, the name of the Hittite land is listed near to that of Naharina, Retchenu and Sangar; the interesting addition is that of the “Bedouins of Asia(?)” (Mntj.w): the same term Stt could be also found in another list, that of the Luxor “Procession of the ‘Berggötter’ in front

²²¹ All the hieroglyphic texts and the transliterations provided here (identified by the abbreviation KIU) are those of the “SITH: Project Karnak”: online link: <http://sith.huma-num.fr/toponyme/22/Sethi+Ier>. For the present and following lists, cf. also SIMONS 1937, pp. 137-143, lists nos XIII-XIV. I leave here and *infra* all the French headlines.

²²² This term is untranslated in OIP 7, p. 54. Maybe, it could be a defective spelling of the term p3-bh(n), translated in HL1, p. 1137-1138 as “die Villa”, often used as the first part of toponyms like P3-bhn n Ji “die Villa des Ii” (HL1, p. 1137, no. 41394). However, it seems to me more probable to compare it with Pbh, “Pabaḥḥi”, for which see *supra*, text no. 4.a.

²²³ HL1, p. 1195, no. 42660 “Qatna (heute: Tell el Mischrife, nord-östlich von Homs)”; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 166*; vol. 2, p. 323*.

²²⁴ For an introduction to this “genre”, and for the various types of topographical list, see SIMONS 1937 (mostly pp. 3-15).

²²⁵ The title of the scene, above the prisoners on the left, says: “¹Smiting the chiefs of the nomadic Bedouins ²(of) all remote foreign countries, (of) all Fenkhu-lands ³of the furthest reaches of Asia (and of) the great circuit of the sea” (OIP 7, p. 50).

of Ramses II” (see *infra*, no. 8.n); the term *Mntj.w* is considered by Hannig as the name of a mountain (HL1, p. 1150, no. 41669), while *Stt* is translated in OIP 7, p. 84 as “Asia” (the same in HL3, p. 72, s. v. “Asien”); on the contrary, Hannig considers *Stt* as “Sehel”²²⁶. This pattern of representation is almost the same as the following text, in OIP 107, pls 17a-b.

b. Triumph scene with topographic list, 2 (OIP 17:22*):

OIP 107, pls 17a-b: King Seti I triumphing over foreign enemies in the presence of amon-Re and Dedwen (North Wall, West Wing, Bottom registers).

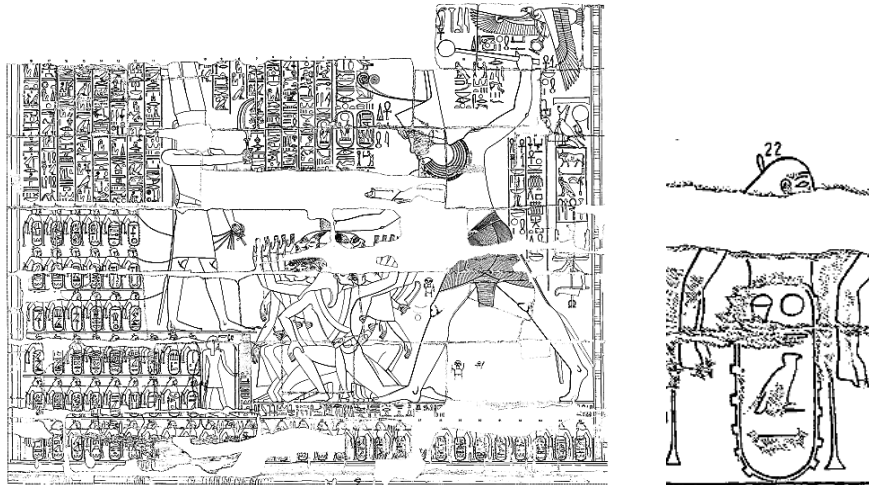


Fig. 26

KIU 1013, 32: XIX^e dynastie / Séthi I^{er} / Salle hypostyle, Paroi extérieure nord / Partie ouest

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

Thnw Jwntj.w Sty Mntj.w n.w Stt Ht3 [Nh]r[n] [R]tnw hrt [R]tnw hrt [Sn]gr Wnwm

Translation

Tjehenu, Bedouins of Nubia²²⁷, Bedouins of Sehel, **Hatti**, Naharina, Upper Retchenu, Lower Retchenu, Babylon, Tunip (?)

The text of the so-called “Western Triumph Scene” presents a list of subjugated countries that resembles under many respects the aforementioned list. The position of the Hittite country is almost the same as in the previous list, resembling to be specular narrations of the same events. The spelling of the name “Hatti” is the usual one in both the texts, with the exception of the determinative: instead of the more common T14, the “throe-stick”, plus (or, instead of) N25, the “mountain range”, in these two name-rings it is attested as determinative the sign N18, the “strip of sand”, ususally used to define “desert, foreign land²²⁸”. The importance of these lists could be questionable, in a historical

²²⁶ HL1, p. 1187, no. 42488.

²²⁷ It is so defined in Wb I, p. 55, no. 6.

²²⁸ See, for instance, ALLEN 2000, p. 436.

perspective, because of their quite evident “cliché nature”; however, the analysis of the texts compared with the battle scenes is valuable²²⁹, mainly because they are a glimpse into the ancient Egyptian view on the outside world. The Hittite land, as all the other hostile countries, seems to be defined like a “desertic land”, something very different in comparison with the fertile Nile Valley, and representing a dangerous places, because of its “desertic” status. Despite of these mere elencations of pure names, further more relevant information about the role of the Hittites in Seti I’s wars can be found in the following texts.

c. Battle scene (OIP 34:1, 15):

OIP 107, pl. 34: King Seti I attacking the Hittites (North Wall. West Wing, Bottom Register)

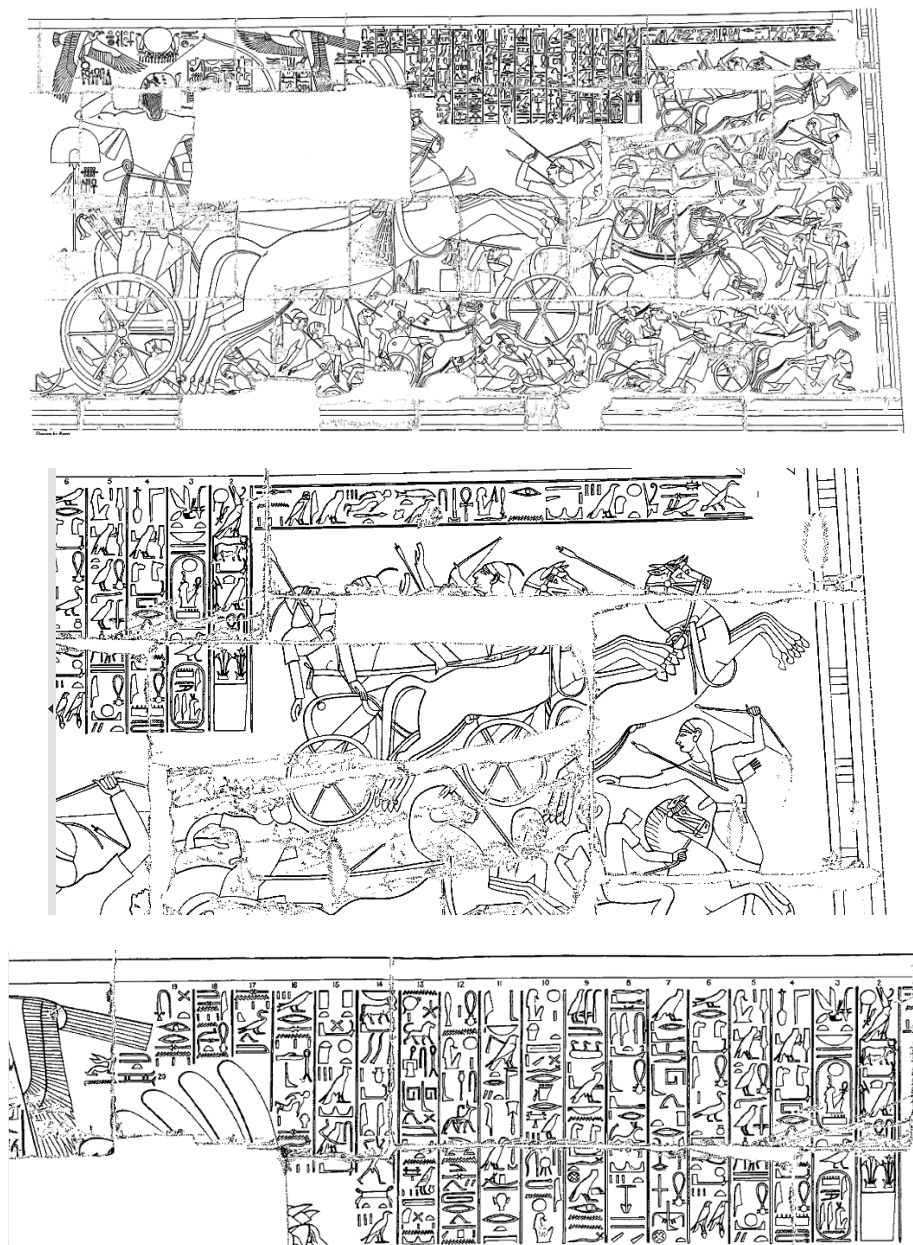
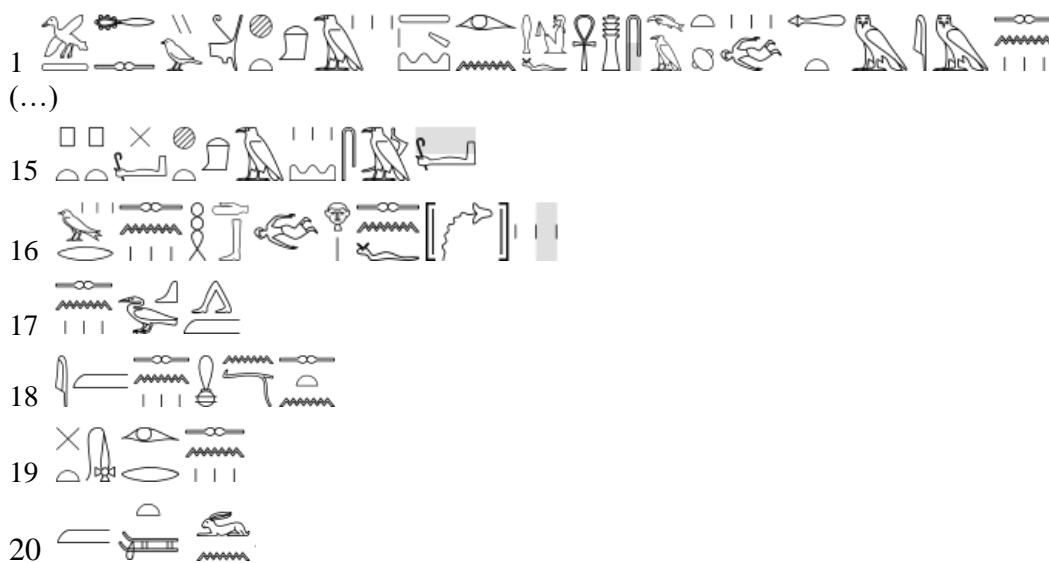


Fig. 27

²²⁹ The importance of analysing these lists together with the battle scenes has already been stressed by the team of the Epigraphic Survey of the Chicago House: “Used in conjunction with the battle scenes, the name-rings thus supply additional evidence for the extent of Sety I’s campaigning in the Middle East” (OIP 107, p. 47).

Hieroglyphic text

Titre de la scène



Transliteration

(1) p3 t3 hsy n **Ht3** jr~n hm=f ^cnh dd snb h3y.t ^c3.t m jm=sn

(...)

(15) ptpt **Ht3** sm3

(16) wr.w=sn hdb hr snf

(17) =sn ^cq m

(18) jm=sn mj nsr.t n.t

(19) sd.t jrr=sn

(20) m tm wn

Translation (I quote a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

OIP 107, p. 106:

¹The vile land of the Hittites, among whom His Majesty – may he live, prosper and be healthy – made a great heap of corpses. ²The Horus, Mighty Bull “Arising in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” ³the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menma^catre, the Son of Re, Seti-Merenamon. ⁴The Good God, powerful in strength, a man of action, [v]alliant like Montu; ⁵a power, powerful like the one who begat him, who illuminates the Two Lands like the Horizon Dweller; ⁶great of strength like the Son of Nut, the victoriousness of the two lands ⁷(being) in his actions, treading the batterfield like the One Who Is in Ombos, ⁸great of terror like Ba^cal on the foreign countries; one who united the Two Lands ⁹while he was in the nest, whose strength has protected Egypt, and for whom Re has ¹⁰made his borders at the limits of what the sun’s disk illuminates; ¹¹a divine falcon, variegated of plumage, who crosses the sky ¹²like the Majesty of Re; an Upper Egyptian jackal, swift-running, who encompasses this land ¹³in an hour; a fierce lion, who traverses the remote paths of every ¹⁴foreign country; a mighty bull, sharp-horned and stout-hearted, who smashes the Asiatics ¹⁵and tramples on the Hittites, who slays ¹⁶their chiefs so that they lie prostrate in their ¹⁷blood, who enters among ¹⁸them like a blast of ¹⁹fire and makes them ²⁰into something that does not exist.

This passage is surely more detailed in the description of the Hittite enemy. First of all, the iconographic representation needs to be analysed: the victorious king is seen as standing on his chariot, shooting an arrow against the Hittite enemies who are or dead or fleeing away. In the text, the Hittites are qualified as p3 t3 hsy “the vile land”, where the term hs properly defines someone or something “miserable, weak”: under this respect, the adjective does not mean “vile” in an ethical perspective but, instead, “weak”²³⁰, i.e. the Hittite people who showed themselves “weak” on the

²³⁰ Wb III, p. 399, nos 11-19.

battlefield). Thus, the sentence does not imply an ethic definition but just a frail behaviour during the battle (in fact, most of them are fleeing). The second sentence, after a long passage where all the divine virtues of the pharaoh are exalted, describes the Egyptian king as a bull who “who smashes the Asiatics and tramples on the Hittites, who slays their chiefs so that they lie prostrate in their blood, who enters among them like a blast of fire and makes them into something that does not exist”. The king “tramples on” the Hittites: the verb *ptpt* means, in an onomatopoeic way, the “stepping on”²³¹ of the pharaoh above the enemies, a gesture often represented on reliefs; the text describes the illustration and vice-versa. Also the following sentences “slays their chiefs”, “enters among them like a blast of fire” describe almost the same situation. More interesting is the last statement: the king is said to “make them into something that does not exist” (*jrr=sn m tm wn*); this expression²³² refers to a complete annihilation of the enemy, a quite intense action according to the Egyptian mind and culture where the worst condition of a man was to be annihilated and erased from the cosmic order. This expression sounds here quite as an ontological curse; after this battle, where the Hittites showed themselves as “weak” and “stepped on”, their fate can be just one: to be considered as nothing²³³.

d. Processional scene (OIP 35:21, 28):

OIP 107, pl. 35: King Seti I escorting Hittite prisoners to Egypt (North Wall, West Wing, Bottom Register).

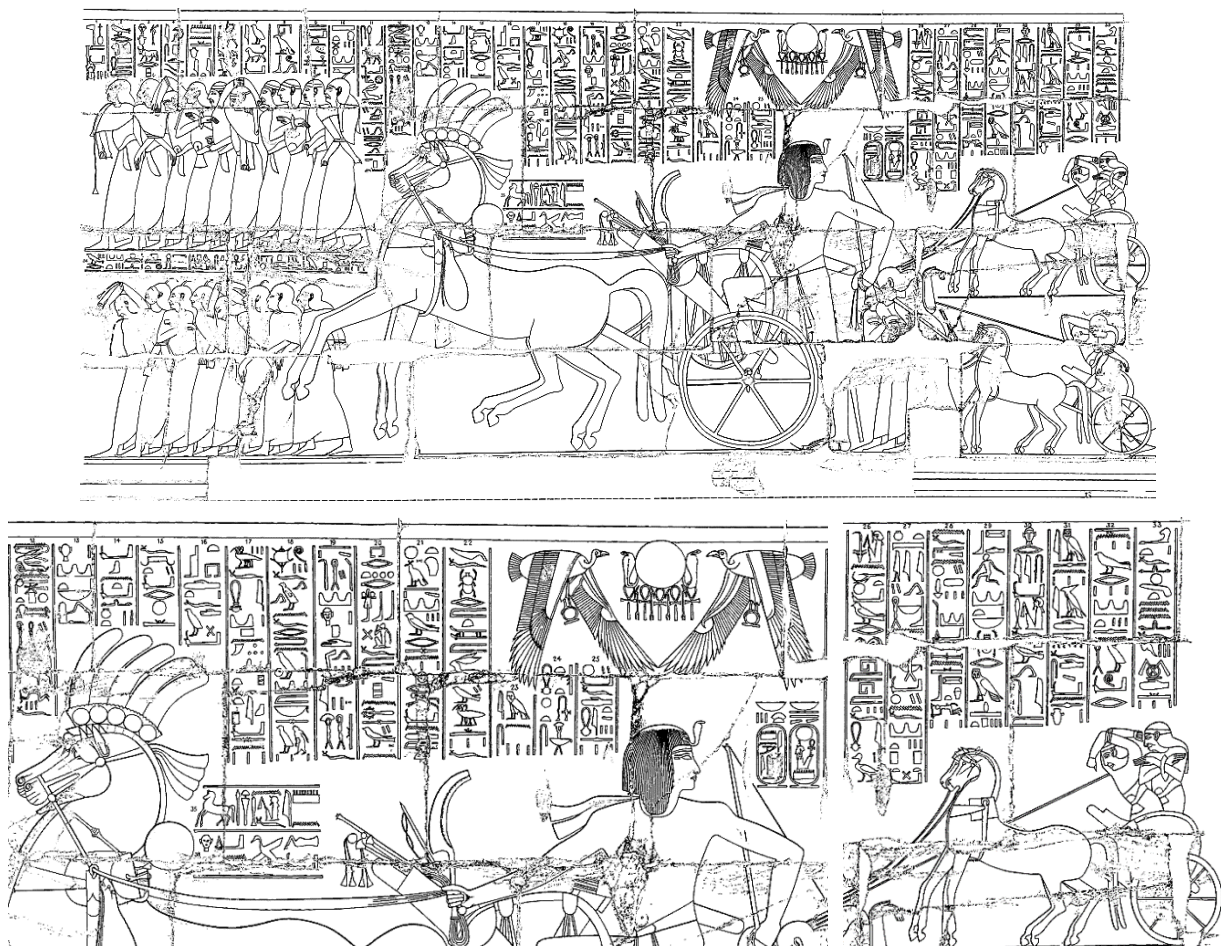


Fig. 28

²³¹ Wb I, p. 563, nos 9-16.

²³² Henceforth, I will call it briefly “non-existence formula”.

²³³ Ironically, these Egyptian inscriptions obtained an opposite result: they handed down the memory of the Hittites through the centuries.

The text was also transcribed and translated by Guieysse (I just report the hieroglyphic transcription)²³⁴:



Fig. 29

KIU 1015, 21, 28: XIX^e dynastie / Séthi I^{er} / Salle hypostyle, Paroi extérieure nord / Partie ouest / 1^{er} registre

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

- (20) prt r 3bb=f m [t3] pn hs n
- (21) Ht3 wr.w=sn hr n dm.[t]
- (22) =f hpr m tm wn
- (...)
- (27) sksk~n=f h3s.wt ptpt
- (28) ~n=f t3 n Ht3 dj=f qn bšt.w
- (29) bdš h3s.t nb(.t) hpr(.t) m htp.w



Translation (I quote a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

OIP 107, p. 110:

¹⁸[...]. Retchenu comes to him in submission ¹⁹and Tchehe(nu)-land is on its knees. He puts down ²⁰seed according to his desire in this vile ²¹Hittite land. Its chiefs are fallen to his ²²knife, having become something nonexistent. How great is his divine power ²³among them, ²⁴(it being) like fire when he des²⁵troys their towns. ²⁶The mighty king – great of strength, his renown (being) like (that of) the Son ²⁷of Nut – returned after he had triumphed, when he had destroyed the foreign countries and trampled ²⁸the land of Hatti. He causes the rebellious to cease ²⁹rebelling, and all lands are become peaceful ones²³⁵.

²³⁴ GUIEYSSE 1889, p. 71. For the translation, see note below.

²³⁵ Cf. also the translation of the text in GUIEYSSE 1989, p. 71: “Le roi victorieux, très vaillant, dont les cris sont comme ceux du fils de Nout, vient triomphant de ce qu’il a vaincu les nations et foulé le pays de **Khéta**. Il a fait cesser aux

This relief shows the pharaoh carrying in Egypt the Hittites captives after the battle. In this passage, a very peculiar expression is used to describe the overwhelming strength of the pharaoh: *pṛt r 3bb=f m t3 pn ḥsy n Ḥt3*, “he puts down seed according to his desire in this vile **Hittite** land”. The king is said to *pṛt* “seed”, *r 3bb=f* “according to his desire”²³⁶, *m t3 pn ḥsy n Ḥt3* “in this vile Hittite land”. Ḥatti is here qualified with the same terms see above, but the sentence itself is peculiar. In the comment to the translation provided in the Epigraphic Survey’s publication (OIP 107, p. 110), there is no explanation of this sentence²³⁷. I think that it could have a proper meaning: it should mean that the pharaoh is able to do whatever he wants in the Hittite land, because of his victory. Furthermore, the agrarian metaphor could refer to the fact that, on some occasions (even attested later), the Egyptian king has the role to provide to Ḥatti the food to survive: i.e., the pharaoh has power of life and death towards the subjugated Hittites. Below, it is said that *wr.w=sn ḥr n dm.t=f ḥpr m tm wn*, “its chiefs are fallen to his knife, having become something nonexistent”: because of the pharaoh’s victory, the chiefs of Ḥatti are described as “fallen”, a term that often distinguishes the  *p3 ḥrw n Ḥt3*²³⁸, “the Fallen one of Ḥatti” (i.e., the Hittite king) in the later texts of Ramses II. Also the expression with the plural *wr.w* will be frequently used in the battle of Kadesh texts²³⁹. Then, again, the “non-existence formula” is repeated. In ll. 27ff., it is reported that the pharaoh had “destroyed the foreign countries and trampled the land of Hatti”; the verb used to express the concept of “trampled” (*ptpt*) has already been analysed before (note that also the other verb *sksk* “destroy” is an onomatopoeic word). At the end of these lines, the Egyptian king is seen as the only person able to provide peace everywhere, because he “causes the rebellious to cease rebelling” (*d=f qn bšt.w bđš ḥ3s.t nb.t ḥpr.t m ḥtp.w*); here, the Hittites are described as *bšt.w*, a Late Egyptian form of the word *bšt.w*, with the usual depalatalization of the monoliteral sign *t* to *t*, meaning “insurgents, rebels”²⁴⁰; these rebels are forced to *bđš*, literally “be slack, faint, slight”²⁴¹, thus “too weak to rebel again”. A last remark about the spelling of the word *Ḥt3*, in l. 21: on the relief (according to the sketches made by the Chicago House) the word is spelled with sign G21a (the *Numida meleagris* bird, with the phonetic value *nḥ*²⁴²), instead of the correct and expected sign G1 (the *Neophron percnopterus*, with the phonetic value *3*²⁴³). The anomaly, already noted by the team of the Chicago House who added a *sic* in the transcription of the text, is inexplicable. Furthermore, the uncommon spelling of *Ḥt3* in this text, has been already noted by Gauthier²⁴⁴: ; the all scene is reproduced in Lepsius, who provided one of the first sketches (Fig. 30 below, with a detail). The name presents indeed a strange, elsewhere unattested spelling, with the use of the sign X2 (the loaf) with for phonetic value /t/.

révoltés leur révolte ; toutes les nations sont maintenant en paix, la terreur de Sa Majesté y est entrée, son fléau a détruit leurs coeurs. Les chefs des nations sont liés devant lui, il ne connaît pas (le nombre des) milliers réunis”.

²³⁶ The term *3bb* is typical of the Late Egyptian (Middle Egyptian *3bw*) and the expression *r/n 3bb=f* is almost attested in the 19th dyn.; see Wb I, p. 7, no. 4 (“nach seinem Belieben”, “sowiel er wünscht”).

²³⁷ The comment just underlines that “It is perhaps of chronological significance that the sequence of Retchenu, Lybia and Hatti in this passage mirrors the top-to-bottom arrangement of battle scenes on this wall” (OIP 107, p. 110, note d).

²³⁸ See e.g. *infra*, “Bulletin”, l. 11.

²³⁹ See e.g. *infra*, “Poem”, l. 38.

²⁴⁰ HL1, p. 279, no. 10139 (cf. with the verb *bšt* in HL1, p. 279, no. 10132).

²⁴¹ HL1, p. 283, nos 10263, 50198.

²⁴² HL1, p. 1346: the sign G21a is not in Gardiner’s list; cf. the online list of the IFAO’s program JSesh: ROSMORDUC, S. 2014, *JSesh Documentation* [online, available at: [http://jseshdoc.qRosmorduc, Serge. \(2014\). JSesh Documentation. \[online\] Available at: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org enherkhopeshef.org](http://jseshdoc.qRosmorduc, Serge. (2014). JSesh Documentation. [online] Available at: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org enherkhopeshef.org)].

²⁴³ HL1, p. 1344.

²⁴⁴ GAUTHIER 1891, p. 145 (see *supra*, Introduction).

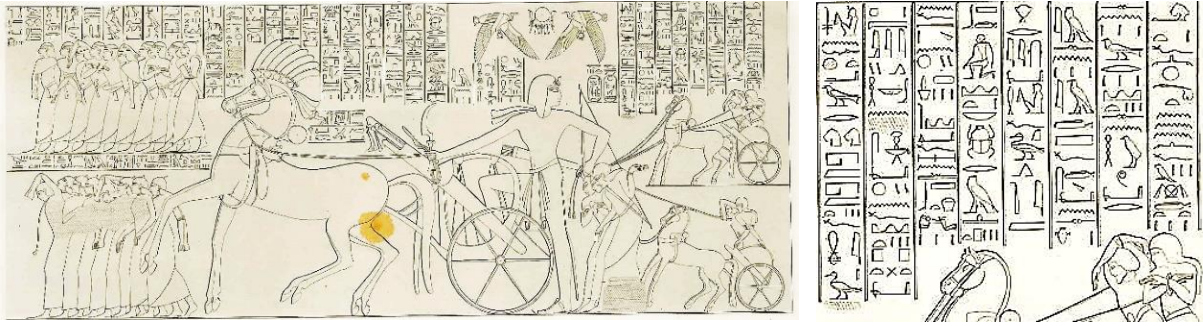


Fig. 30

e. Presentation scene (OIP 36:2, 27):

OIP 107, pl. 36: King Seti I presenting Hittite prisoners and spoil to members of the Theban triad and the goddess Ma^cat (North Wall, West Wing, Bottom Register)

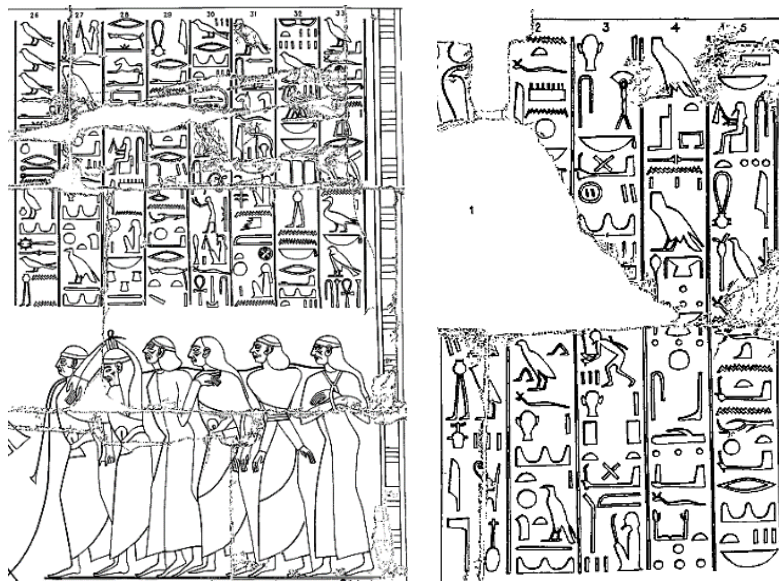
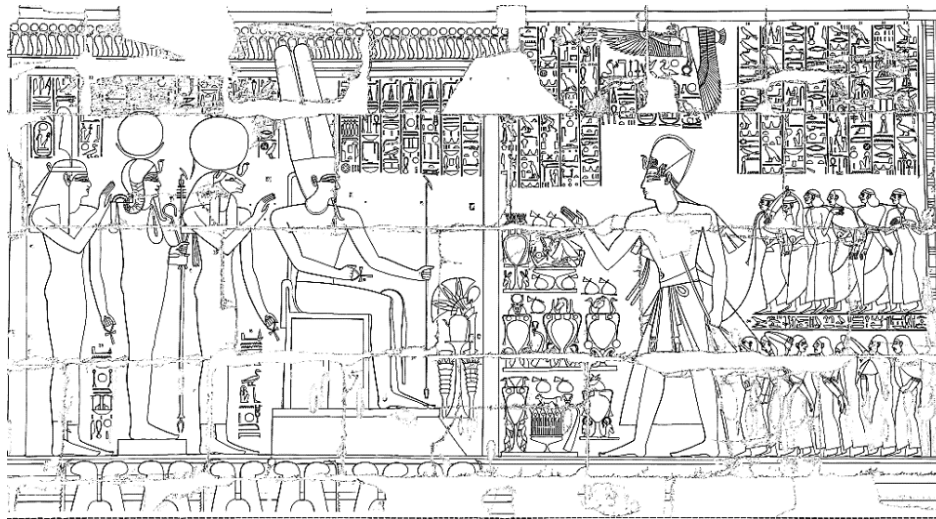


Fig. 31

KIU 1016, 2, 31: XIX^e dynastie / Séthi I^{er} / Salle hypostyle, Paroi extérieure nord / Partie ouest / 1^{er} registre

Hieroglyphic text

7. TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF SETI I²⁴⁵

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Topographical list
Dating	19 th dyn. (Seti I, 1290-1279 BC)
Location	Qurnah
Content	Topographical list quoting Ḫatti

Another Seti I's list quoting Ḫatti is that from Qurnah, well described by Simons: "A much simpler topographical list than those at Karnak has been left by Seti I in his temple at El Qurneh, the most eastern of the Theban mortuary temples. It is engraved on the socle of the north-eastern of the two sphinxes originally placed against the back of the first pylon (see plan X, Fig. 32). The sphinxes themselves have disappeared as has the pylon. The second pylon and the courts have also been destroyed. The topographical list on the socle of the north-east sphinx is in the form of a single row of 43 name-rings with Semitic figures"²⁴⁶. Here the location of the list:

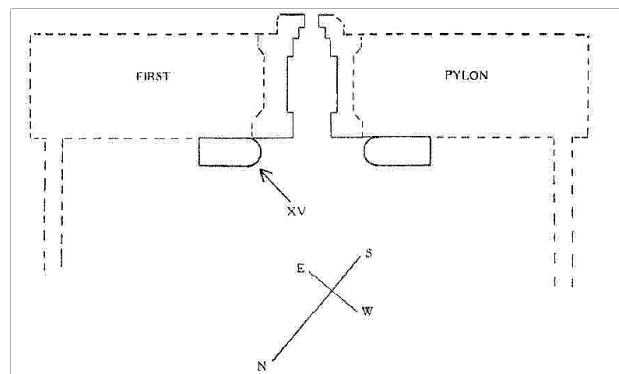


Fig. 32

The only available copy of the inscription is that in *LD*, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 131a:

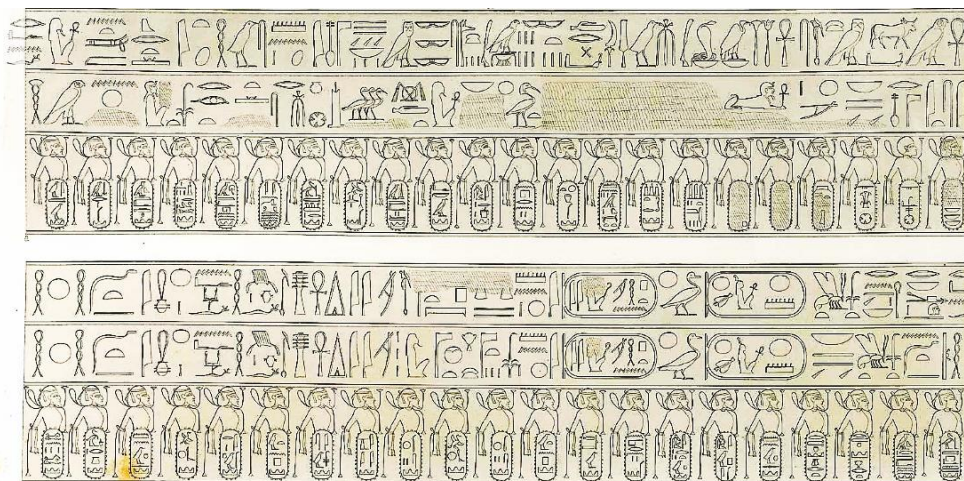


Fig. 33

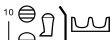



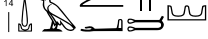

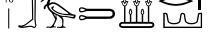

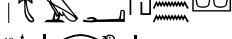
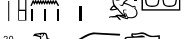


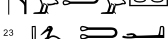
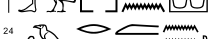

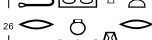



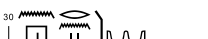




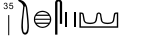
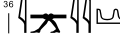

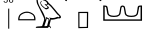
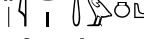

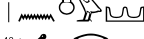

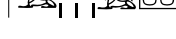

²⁴⁵ As for the transliteration of the toponyms, I decided to spell them in the "syllabic" way, i.e. adding into brackets "(...)" also some semivowels; I am aware that this is not the common practice in Egyptology (usually the spelling is uniformed to the Middle Egyptian forms): by the way, I preferred to leave the "syllabic writing" to help non Egyptologist scholars to better reading the names.

²⁴⁶ SIMONS 1937, p. 59. Further information is in PM II, pp. 408ff.

The list, which enumerates the names of the people subjugated during Seti’I Syrian campaigns, is directly borrowed from those from Karnak (see *supra*, text no. 6). I report the list, with the quotation of the Ḫatti, displayed at the very beginning after the common “Nine Bows”:

Hieroglyphic text

SIMONS 1937, pp. 144-145:

- 1-9 "Nine Bows"
 |
 10 
 11 
 12 
 13 
 14 
 15 
 16 
 17 
 18 
 19 
 20 
 21 
 22 
 23 
 24 
 25 
 26 
 27 
 28 
 29 
 30 
 31 
 32 
 33 
 34 
 35 
 36 
 37 
 38 
 39 
 40 
 41 
 42 
 43 

Transliteration

1-9 “Nine Bows”

10 **Ht3**

11 *Nhrn(y)*

12 *Jrs(3)*²⁴⁷

13 *^ck(3)*

14 *(w)D(3)m(^cy)t*

15 *P(3)h(y)r*

16 *B(3)t-š(3)r*

17 *Yn(w)^cm*

18 *Q(3)m(^c)hm(w)*²⁴⁸

19 *Jn(w)rt(3)*

20 *Q(3)m(^c)d(w)*

21 *(w)D(3)r*

22 *J(w)t(w)*

23 *B(3)t-(^c)nt/Byt-ant*

24 *Q(3)rm(^c)-m(w)*

25 *Rtn(w) hr.t*

26 *Rtn(w) hr.t*

27 *Mnn(w)s*

28 *Jp(w)t(j)*

29 *Jrt(y)n(w)*

30 *Nhrn(y)*

31 *Qdš(w)*

32 *T(w)np*

33 *T(j)hs(y)*

34 *P(3)bh*

35 *T(j)hs(y)*

36 *Jsy*

37 *Jssw(w)[r]*

38 *T(w)np*

39 *Jrt(jw)g*

40 *P(3)bh*

41 *Mnn(w)s*

42 *B(3)rg*

43 *Rn(w)r*

Translation

1-9 Nine Bows

10 **Hatti**

11 Naharin

12 Alašiya

13 Akko²⁴⁹

14 Simyra²⁵⁰

15 Pahel²⁵¹

16 Beth-Shean?²⁵²

²⁴⁷ HL1, p. 1116, no. 40933 and GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 131*; vol. 2, p. 324.

²⁴⁸ SIMONS 1937, p. 145: “The first sign must have been incorrectly copied by Lepsius”.

²⁴⁹ HL1, p. 1127, no. 41182: “Akko (heute: Tell el-Fuchchar, eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”; cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 193*.

²⁵⁰ *Dmr* must be read as *Dmr*: HL1, p. 1210, no. 43015: “Simyra, Zimyra (heute: *Tell Kazel)”; cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 136*.

²⁵¹ HL1, p. 1145, no. 41557: “Pahel, Pella (heute: Tabqat Fahil, eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁵² HL1, p. 1139, no. 41425: “*Bt-šjr*, Beth-Shean (heute: Bezan beziehungsweise Tell Husn, eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

- 17 Januammu²⁵³
 18 Qamhamu²⁵⁴
 19 Ullaza²⁵⁵
 20 Qemdu/Kumidi²⁵⁶
 21 Tyrus²⁵⁷
 22 Usu²⁵⁸
 23 Beth-Anath²⁵⁹
 24 Qermem²⁶⁰
 25 Upper Retchenu²⁶¹
 26 Lower Retchenu²⁶²
 27 Minos, in Crete²⁶³
 28 Ibet (or Iqpet) ?²⁶⁴
 29 Artuga²⁶⁵
 30 Nahrina/Mittani
 31 Kadesh²⁶⁶
 32 Tunip²⁶⁷
 33 Takhsy²⁶⁸ (a district to the North or South near to Kadesh)
 34 Pabahhi (“the mountain land”)²⁶⁹
 35 Takhsy
 36 Assuwa/Išuwa?²⁷⁰
 37 Assyria²⁷¹
 38 Tunip
 39 Artuga
 40 Pabahhi
 41 Minos (in Crete²⁷²)

²⁵³ HL1, p. 1113, no. 40865: “Januammu (heute: *Tell Abeidieh)”.

²⁵⁴ HL1, p. 1193, no. 42627: “Qamhamu (eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁵⁵ *Jrtt*, see *Wrtt*; HL1, pp. 1131-1132, no. 41273: “Ullaza (*Orthosia, ein Stadtstaat an Mündung des Nahr el Barid)”.

²⁵⁶ HL1, p. 1193, no. 42629: “Qemdu (eine Örtlichkeit in Asien), cf. aber *Kmd*” [HL1, p. 1196, no. 42691: “*Kmt*, Kumidi (heute: Kami del-Loz, eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”].

²⁵⁷ HL1, p. 1210, no. 43022: “Tyros, Tyrus (heute: Sur, eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁵⁸ HL1, p. 1122, no. 41069: “Usu (Palai-Tyros; heute: Tell er-Rushediye; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁵⁹ HL1, p. 1138, no. 41421: “*Beth-Anath (heute: bei Safed el Batlich; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁶⁰ HL1, p. 1194, no. 42637: “Qermem (heute: el-Qalamum bei Tripolis; eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”.

²⁶¹ HL1, p. 1164, no. 41996: “Oberes Retschenu (der gebirgige östliche Teil von Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁶² HL1, p. 1164, no. 41997: “Unteres Retschenu (der westliche Teil von Syrien-Palästina)”.

²⁶³ HL1, p. 1149, no. 41664; TLA, lemma-no. 854943; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 3, p. 37 and *KRITANC* I, p. 32.

²⁶⁴ The toponym *Jpt* is attested just in this list: because it is impossible (because of its spelling) to envisage a term similar to *Jpt* = Opet, in Middle Egypt (HL1, p. 1110, no. 40797; Gardiner 1947, vol. 2, p. 112*, no. 388A), I propose to identify it with *Jbt*, with same spelling apart from the *b* instead of *p* (HL1, p. 1110, no. 40790), the city of Ibet (*Abutije) near Aleppo (its location in Syria does make much more sense within this topographical list). Another possible identification is proposed in HL1, p. 1110, where the toponym is connected to the term *Jqpt* (HL1, p. 1120, no. 41017; “Iqpet, *Ukupta (in Nordsyrien, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”); cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 60ff.). The city of *Ukupta, quoted also in the Karnak list of Ramses II (see *infra*, text no. 8.o, name col. 7), is also a possible identification.

²⁶⁵ Simons (SIMONS 1937, p. 134, note 8), proposed to read the last radical as *n*, while in a similar passage in a list of Seti I, Müller preferred to read *g* (see Simons 1937, p. 138, note 36). In this case, the name could be the same as in a later list of Ramses II, always at Karnak (see *infra*, text no. 8.o, name col. 8.); see HL1, p. 1117, no. 40948: “*Ardukka, eine Örtlichkeit in Asien”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 58ff.

²⁶⁶ HL1, p. 1195, no. 42662; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 137*ff., no. 252.

²⁶⁷ HL1, p. 1203, no. 42843; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 179*.

²⁶⁸ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, no. 258, pp. 148ff.; vol. 2, p. 273*.

²⁶⁹ HL1, p. 1140, no. 41445: “eine Örtlichkeit östlich von Diyarbekir”; TLA, lemma-no. 854940; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 2, p. 37; cf. also EDEL 1975, pp. 51ff. and *KRITANC* I, pp. 31ff.

²⁷⁰ HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988: “Asija (ein Land; *Zypern; *Assuwa, in Westkleinasien)”.

²⁷¹ HL1, p. 1119; no. 41001; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191*.

²⁷² HL1, p. 1149, no. 41664; TLA, lemma-no. 854943; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 3, p. 37 and *KRITANC* I, p. 32.

42 Barga²⁷³

43 Lullu(wa), Lullubim²⁷⁴

This long list of Seti I reflects in a monumental way the new intensification of military expeditions of this king in Asia and the re-established contacts with the Anatolian area. All the name-rings are depicted with the figure of an Asiatic captive and also the name of Ḫatti also displays this iconography. The name of the Hittite land is displayed at the very beginning of the list, just after the “Nine Bows”; the list, which is very accurate till to distinguish the Upper Retchenu from the Lower Retchenu, offers another name of a smaller Anatolian entity, Išuwa (also listed in Seti’s list in Karnak), while lacks in citing other Anatolian toponyms such as Arzawa (already mentioned in Horemheb’s list) or Kizzuwatna (introduced in the lists of Ramses II). The reading of *Jsy* as Išuwa is noteworthy: Hannig proposed to read the name as correspondent to Cyprus or to *Assuwa, that he describes as located in “Westkleinasien”²⁷⁵; however, for reasons contextual to the document, I propose here to identify the toponym with the Hittite area of Išuwa, located in the eastern part of Anatolia. Here the location in a map²⁷⁶:



Fig. 34

²⁷³ HL1, p. 1137, no. 41379: “Barga (heute *Barqum, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”; TLA, lemma-no. 854949; cf. *KRITANC I*, p. 32f.

²⁷⁴ HL1, p. 1163, no. 41963: “westiranisches Randgebirge im Bereich von Sulaimaniya, östlich von Assur im Zagros-Gebirge”.

²⁷⁵ HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988.

²⁷⁶ Map from ASVOA, pl. XVI.

8. TEXTS OF THE REIGN OF RAMSES II²⁷⁷

THE KADESH BATTLE, THE TREATY AND THE HITTITE MARRIAGES

Writing	Hieroglyphic (both monumental and hieratic)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Annals/historical accounts, treaty, interdynastic marriages, prayer, documental papyrus, topographical lists
Dating	19 th dyn. (Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)
Location	Many places (see <i>infra</i>)
Content	The Battle of Kadesh, the Treaty, interdynastic marriages; Gurob papyrus quoting the Hittite princess Maathorneferure; Tanis inscription quoting the Hittite princess Maathorneferure; Ramesseum: historical account of the siege of Dapur; Abydos fragment about the Battle of Kadesh; Abydos, Luxor and Karnak: topographical lists quoting Ḫatti; Bubastis: fragment of stela mentioning Ḫatti

The reign of Ramses II evidently offers the major number of attestations of the Hittite people. The studies and the publications about this period are numerous and well-known²⁷⁸: during the long reign of Ramses II, the contacts between Egypt and the Hittites intensified in a way never reached before, in an evolution that cross military confrontation, definitely reaching peace. A summary of all the most important documents about this topic is provided in BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, pp. 170-175²⁷⁹:

1. The Kadesh battle:

a. The Poem (sometime called “Pentaur Poem”):

- i. Abydos, Ramses II’s temple: N-W and S-W walls.
- ii. Karnak, Hypostyle Hall: courtyard between the 3rd and 7th pylons (*Cour de la cachette*), S face of the S wall.
- iii. Karnak, wall of the S Propylaeum: W face of the W wall, between the 9th and the 10th pylons.
- iv. Luxor, pylon: N face of Ramses II’s pylon.
- v. Luxor, E walls: E and S-E walls of Ramses II’s courtyard.
- vi. Luxor, W walls: W face of the W wall of Amenhotep III’s courtyard.
- vii. Ramesseum, 2nd pylon, N massif: E face of the N massif of the 2nd pylon.
- viii. Papyrus of originally 13 pages, with 10-11 lines of writing each: probably of Theban origin, maybe written by the same scribe of the papSallier I = BM: EA 10185 (*p(3)-n-t3-wr.t*, i.e. Pentaur), in the 9th year of Merneptah. This papyrus is quite surely a well-done copy of a later scribe; it is possible to recognize some notes and corrections made by the teacher on the edges.
 1. first page: lost.
 2. second page: Louvre, p. Raifé.
 3. last 11 pages: British Museum, papSallier III (EA 10181).
- ix. papChester Beatty III, verso (British Museum: EA 10683). Duplicate of papSallier III, discovered in 1928 at Deir el-Medineh.

b. The Bulletin/Record:

- i. Abydos, Ramses II’s temple: outer face of the S-W wall.
- ii. Luxor, pylon: E massif of Ramses II’s pylon (following the Poem).
- iii. Luxor, E walls: left half of the S-E wall of Ramses II’s courtyard (following the Poem).
- iv. Luxor, W walls: some traces of the text on the W walls of the temple.

²⁷⁷ Some of the occurrences of the toponym Ḫatti in the texts or Ramses II are listed in “SITH: Project *Karnak*”, at link: <http://sith.huma-num.fr/toponyme/22/Ramses+II>.

²⁷⁸ I just quote some of the most important general introductions to the topic (not specifically devoted to the battle of Kadesh); further information could easily be found in ARCHI 1997; BORGHOUTS 1983; DE VOS 2007a; GENZ 2011; GRIMAL 2011⁹, pp. 326-341; KITCHEN 2004⁶; KLENGEL 2002a; PERNIGOTTI 2010; PUSCH 1993; J. van Dijk in SHAW 2003², pp. 288-294.

²⁷⁹ Cf. PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 22-25.

- v. Ramesseum, first pylon, W face: inner face (W) of the N massif.
- vi. Ramesseum, N wall of the second courtyard; the wall is not still *in situ*: just some blocks of the original wall survive.
- vii. Abu Simbel: N wall of the great hall.

c. The Reliefs:

- i. Abydos, Ramses II's temple: outer faces of the N-W (battle scenes) and S-W walls (military camp).
- ii. Karnak, Hypostyle Hall: outer face of the S wall, to the left of the Poem; erased by Ramses II (just few traces remain). Above the text of the Poem, some scattered traces of another relief.
- iii. Karnak, wall of the S propylaeum: on the outer faces of the W wall of the two courts between the 8th and the 9th pylons and between the 9th and the 10th pylons.
- iv. Luxor, pylon of Ramses II:
 - 1. W massif: scenes of the military camp.
 - 2. E massif: battle scenes.
- v. Luxor, W walls: scene with 13 Egyptian chariots.
- vi. Ramesseum, 1st pylon, W face:
 - 1. N massif: to the left and below the Bulletin/Report, scenes of the military camp.
 - 2. S massif, W face: battle scenes.
- vii. Ramesseum, 2nd pylon: on the W face, some reliefs with battle scenes.
- viii. Ramesseum, N wall of the 2nd courtyard: military camp scenes.
- ix. Abu Simbel: on the N wall, reliefs representing the battle, the counting of the booty (on top), the military camp and the war council (on bottom).

2. The Treaty:

signed in the 21st year of Ramses II (1259 BC); the Egyptian version is inscribed on two stelae in the temple of Amun-Re in Karnak and in the Ramesseum.

3. The Marriages²⁸⁰:

a. Stela of the “First Marriage”:

- i. Long version: 5 stelae from Abu Simbel, Elephantine, Karnak, West Amarah and Aksha (West Serra); the marriage is here dated to the 34th year of Ramses II, 3rd month of Peret (December 1246 / January 1245 BC)²⁸¹.
- ii. Short version: incised on a stela of alabastron-calcite from the enclosure of the temple of Mut in Karnak.

b. The “Blessing of Ptah”:

attested together with the text of the “First Marriage” on 5 stelae from Abu Simbel²⁸², Karnak²⁸³, West Amarah²⁸⁴, Aksha (West Serra)²⁸⁵ and Medinet Habu (text adapted to Ramses III); dated to the 35th year (1245/1244 BC), 1st month of Peret, 13th day (end of October 1245 BC)²⁸⁶.

c. Stela of the “Second Marriage”:

2 stelae from the great temple of Coptos (now in the Cairo Museum) and another one incised on the E face of the S wall of the first courtyard of the great temple of Seti I at Abydos.

Besides of this well-known document, I report, in the following entries, some “minor” (i.e., less known) Egyptian sources quoting Ḫatti; all these documents (monuments and texts on papyri) are followed by a further comment, highlighting the peculiarities of the text in exam. The “major” and well-studied documents related to the battle of Kadesh and the following treaty and interdynastic marriages will not receive a specific commentary section (being they already well studied): for a

²⁸⁰ A picture with the location of the marriage stelae, is presented just below (Fig. 35; from BREYER 2010a, p. 303, fig. 50).

²⁸¹ Another huge fragment (130 x 136 x 78 cm) of the text was found at Kiman Fares, in the Fayyum region: see DAVOLI – AHMED 2006; cf. PERNIGOTTI 2010, p. 106.

²⁸² PM VII, p. 106.

²⁸³ PM II², p. 59 (no. 55).

²⁸⁴ PM VII, p. 159 (no. 2).

²⁸⁵ VERCOUTTER 1962, pls 35a-b. Another fragment has been found at Kiman Fares: see DONADONI 2001.

²⁸⁶ Another fragment was discovered always at Kiman Fares: see DONADONI 2001.

further detailed analysis of these texts, I just make reference to specific bibliography. Furthermore, these texts will be quoted as a comparison in comments to other documents and in the final conclusions.

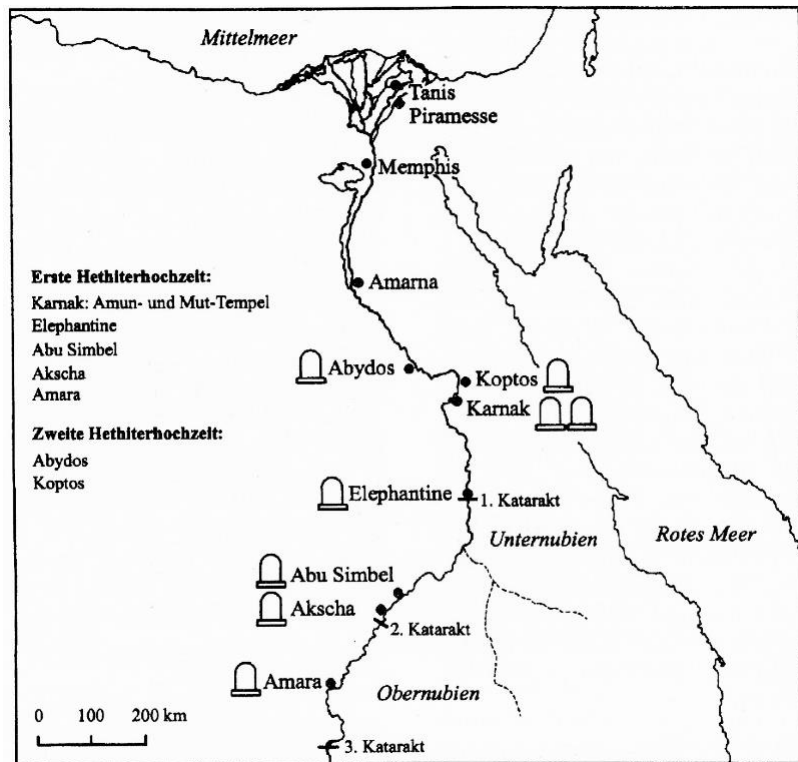


Fig. 35

a. The “Poem” (see Appendix A)

The text of the so-called “Poem”²⁸⁷ was carved on the walls of the main Egyptian temples (see *supra*) and offers a wide and complete account of the events regarding the battle of Kadesh, including the preconditions of the struggle. The narration particularly stresses the powerful of the pharaoh and the importance of its role within the battle. The scribe underlines in a dramatic way all the sequences of the war, pointing out the vileness of the “coward Fallen of Ḫatti”, i.e. the Hittite king.

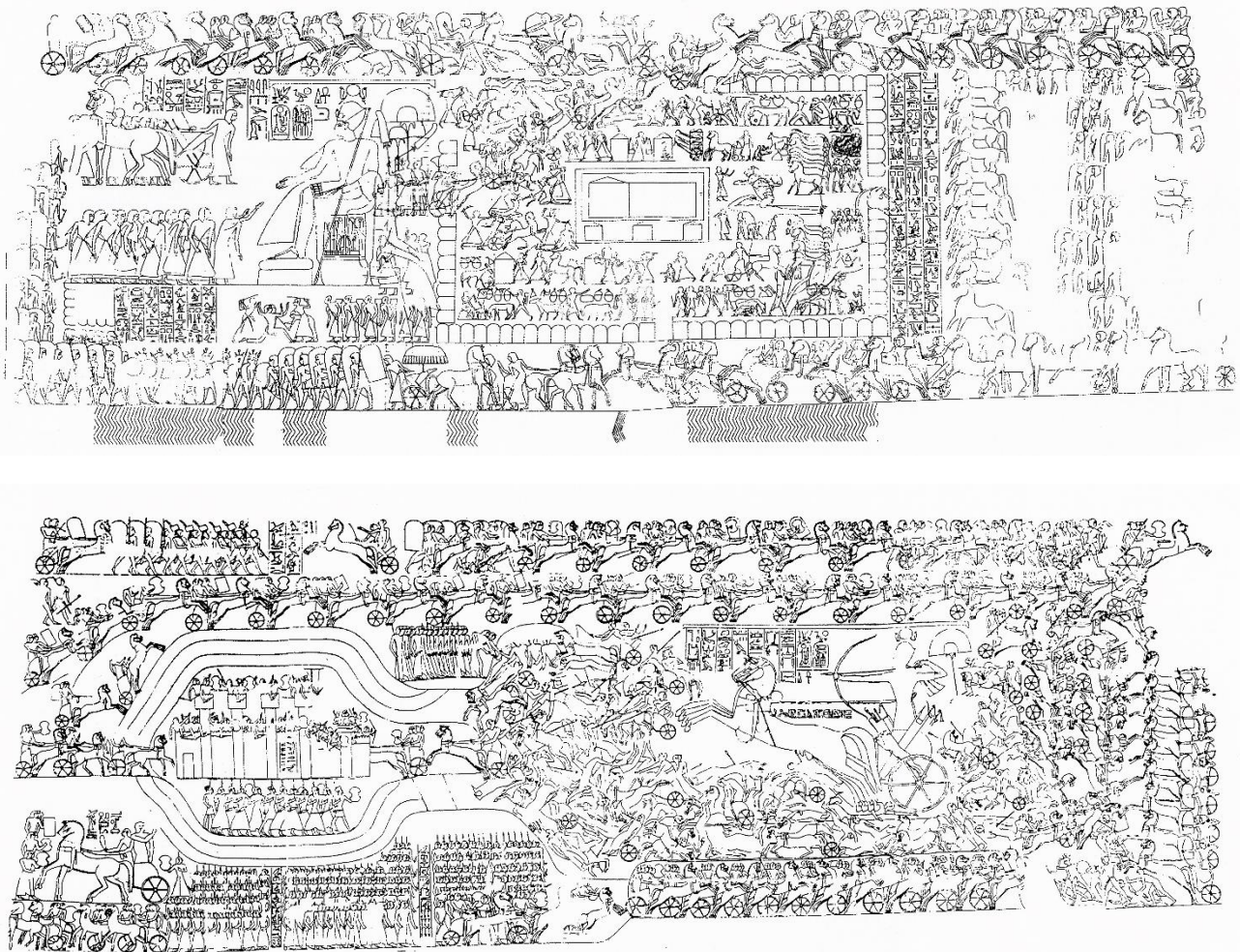


Fig. 36

²⁸⁷ For the traditional definitions of “Poem” (or “Literary Record”), “Bulletin” / “Report” and the “Reliefs” (both also known as “Pictorial Record”), see GARDINER 1960, pp. 1ff; KUENTZ 1928, pp. I-XII.

b. The “Report” or “Bulletin” (see Appendix A)

The other text reporting the episode of the battle of Kadesh, known in the Egyptological bibliography as “Report” or “Bulletin”, represents a literary genre quite different (but at the same time similar in the extent of the aims) from the aforementioned “Poem”. The “Bulletin” seems to have been far away derived from the daily account of the main events that happens during a day (called *hrw.yt*, “journal”, “daily account” or, more literally, “what is relative to the day”, as a *nisbe*-adjective of relation)²⁸⁸. Cavillier noted that the frequent use of the term *hrw.yt* (*Tagebuch* in the Egyptological publications), used to denote the war bulletin (*Kriegstagebuch*), is due to the lack in the NK of a specific term defining this genre; a possible suggestion could come from the Annals of Thutmose III²⁸⁹, where it is mentioned the *ḥr(t) h3w*, “the scroll of the day”²⁹⁰, on which the scribe took note of the main military happenings on a specific day²⁹¹. The “Bulletin” could therefore has been a rhetorical and propagandistic amplification of one of this kind of documents.

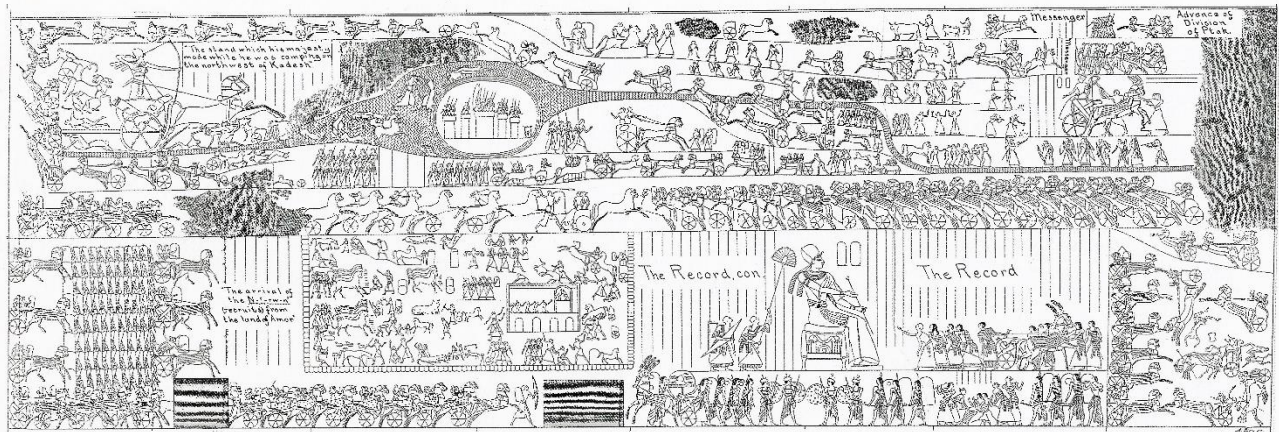


Fig. 37

²⁸⁸ For the question of the debated nature of the “Bulletin”, see CAVILLIER 2005.

²⁸⁹ Urk. IV 693.8-14.

²⁹⁰ Wb II, p. 476, no. 2.

²⁹¹ CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 54ff. (especially p. 54, note 1); cf. CAVILLIER 2003 and 2005 (with further bibliography).

c. The Reliefs

Besides the longer texts of the “Poem” and the “Bulletin”, some scenes of specific episodes of the battle of Kadesh are attested, with some explanatory texts. I report not all the texts, but just those directly quoting Ḫatti. Images are from BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, pp. 239-261; hieroglyphic text are taken from *KRI II*, pp. 125-128; all the transliterations are mine (compared with BONDIELLI – ELLI, *loc. cit.*); translations are from *KRITA II*, pp. 18-26²⁹². As stated, I quote only the translation of the passage quoting the Hittites, as in transliteration (some integrations, not reported in the Hieroglyphic texts, are in [...]).

Hieroglyphic text, transliteration and translation

Episode I – The camp and the council of war

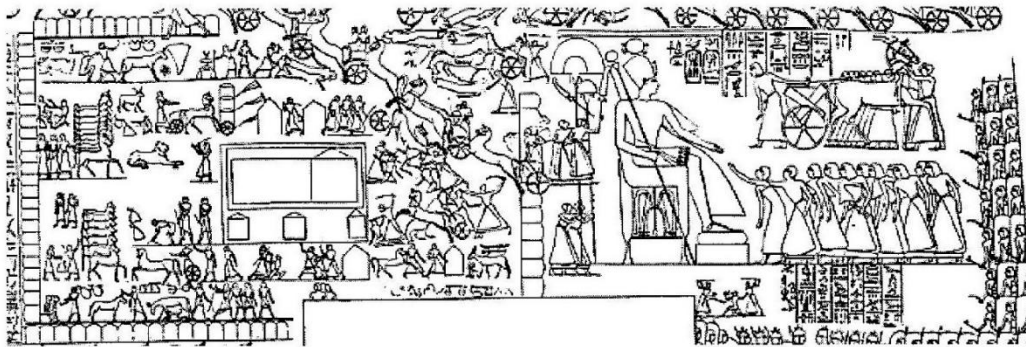


Fig. 38

§ 8: The beating of the Hittite spies

Excerpts from the text of *KRI II* 130: 1-9

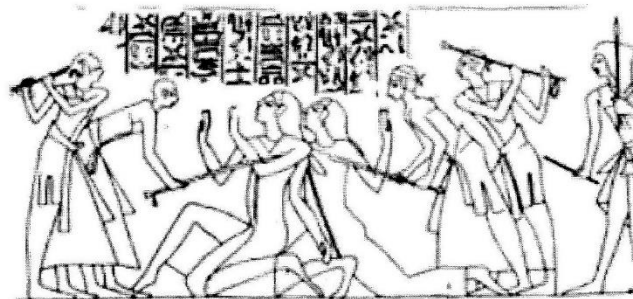


Fig. 39



(2:2)²⁹³ *jw jn~n=f ḥ3pyt.w 2 n p3 ḥrw n Ḫt3*
 (6:3) *m-b3ḥ pr-^c3 ^c-w-s jw.tw ḥr qnqn st m-b3ḥ*
 (6:4) *r djt dd=sn p3 n.ty p3 ḥrw ḥsj n Ḫt3 jm*

²⁹² cf. also GARDINER 1960, pp. 35-45.

²⁹³ The first numbers reported are those given in *KRI II*; the second numbers (in *italic*) correspond to the lines as in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 239-261.

Fig. 41



(12-13:5) *jw=f hr^c q m hr.w hrw n Ht3 jw=f mj d^c prr=f m p.t*

134: 5 (R. 18): [Then he arose quickly, and mounted (behind) “Victory-in-Thebes”, his great (chariot)-span,] entering among the **Hittite** foe, - he being like a storm which erupts from the sky.

§ 19: Ramses II on the chariot; rethoric text

Excerpts from the text of *KRI II* 135: 4/5-6/7; 8/9-10/11; 14/15



(...)



(...)



(4-6:3) *jw=f hr^c q m-hnw p3 hr.w^c n n3 hrw.w n Ht3*

(6:4) *jw=f w^c(w) hr(y)-tp=f n(n) ky hr^c=f*

(...)

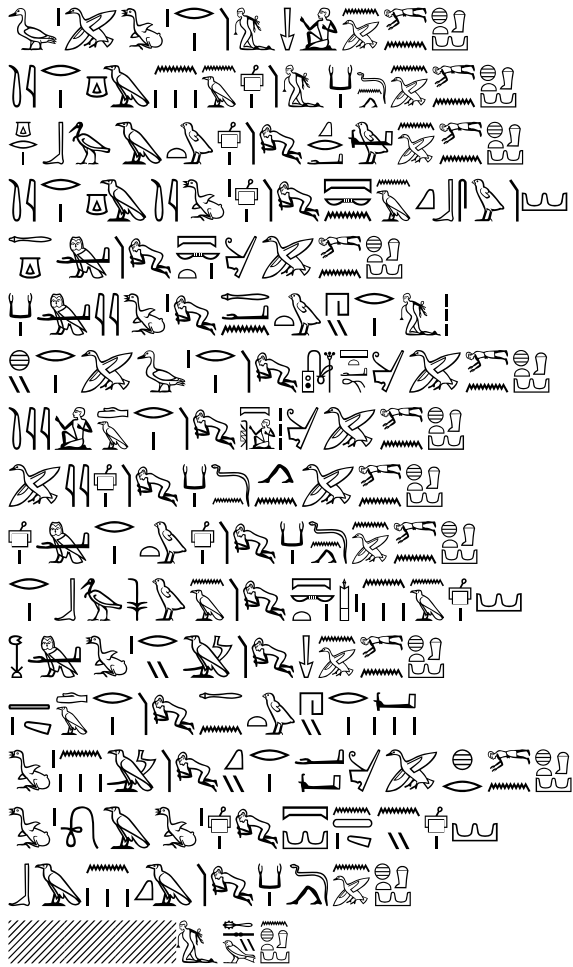
(8-10:7) *jw=f hr hdb wr.w nb n h3s.wt nb(.t) n3 sn.w n p3 hrw n Ht3*

(...)

(14:12) *jst p3 hrw n Ht3^c h^cw^c nw^c wy.f m j3.w n ntr nfr*

135: 4/5-6/7; 8/9-10/11; 14/15 (R. 19): (The stand that His Majesty made, when he sat to the North-West of Qadesh), and entered amidst the massive force of the fallen ones of **Hatti**, he being alone, no other with him. [...] He killing all the chiefs, the brothers of the Fallen One of **Hatti** (along with his high officers, his troops and his chariotry). [...] Now, the Fallen One of **Hatti** stood, turning backward, his arms (raised) in praise of the Good god.

§§ 23-39: List of Hittites
 Excerpts from the text of *KRI II* 137-138



- § 23 (2:1) *Sptr sn n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 24 (6:2) *Trgnns kdn n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 25 (9:3) *Grbts qr^cw n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 26 (15:4) *Trgtts hr.y-pd.t n n3 Qbsw*
 § 27 (15:5) *^cgm hr.y-pd.t n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 28 (2:6) *Kmyt^c3 n thr*
 § 29 (2:7) *Hrpsr sš š^c.t n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 30 (5:8) *Tjdr hr.y-šms.w n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 31 (5:9) *Pys kdn n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 32 (6:10) *Smrts kdn n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 33 (7:11) *Rbsn hr.y-pd.t n Jnns*
 § 34 (9:12) *Hmtrm sn n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 35 (10:13) *Tdr^c3 n thr*
 § 36 (11:14) *Tnm qr^c n p3 hrw n Ht3*
 § 37 (12:15) *Twts hr.y-pd.t n Jns*
 § 38 (13:16) *Bnq kdn n p3 [hrw n] Ht3*
 § 39 (13:17) *[n p3 wr] hsy n Ht3*

137-138

- (R. 23): *Sippazili, brother of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 24): *Targu-nanis, charioteer of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 25): *Gilba-tusa, shield-bearer of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 26): *Targu(n)ti-zi<ta>si, Troop-Commander of the (people of) Qbasu.
 (R. 27): *^cAgamu, Troop-Commander of the Fallen One of **Hatti** [*var.*: Pa-Nasa].

- (R. 28): Kummaya-zi<ti>, Chief of the *tuhir*-troops.
 (R. 29): *Harap-sili, Secretary of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 30): *Tiya-talli, Chief of the Boduguard of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 138:5
 (R. 31): *Piyas, Charioteer of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 32): *Sumulatis, Charioteer of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 33): *Labasalni, Troop-Commander of Alshe (“Anunasi”).
 (R. 34): *Himmu-zalma, brother of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 138:10
 (R. 35): *Tudila, Chief of the Tuhir-troops.
 (R. 36): *Zamna, Shield-bearer of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.
 (R. 37): *Ziwazis, Troop-Commander of Alshe
 (R. 38): *Hanuga, Charioteer of the **Hittite** (ruler).
 (R. 39): ... [... of the] despicable [Ruler] of **Hatti**.

§ 41: The Hittite king [1]

Excerpts from the text of **KRI II 139: 1**

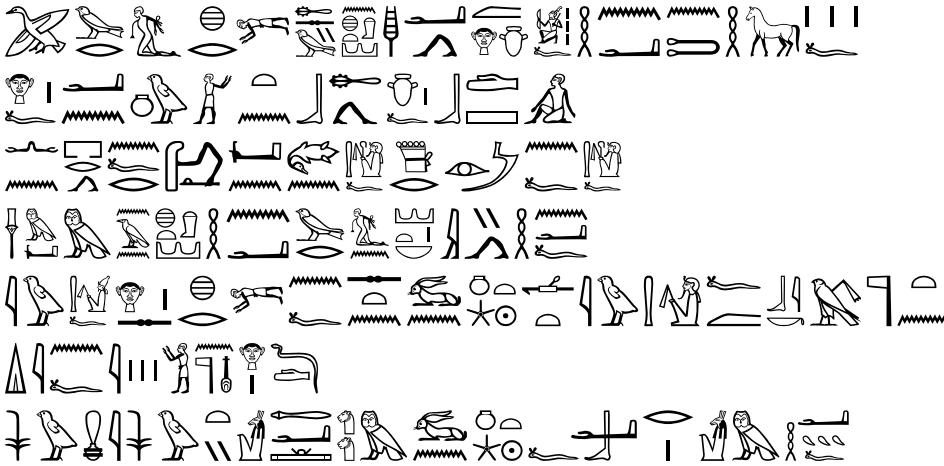


(1:1) p3 wr hsy n **Ht3** ^ch^c nw snd(w) n hm=f

139: 1 (R. 41): (The Hittite King I). The despicable Ruler of **Hatti**, standing cowering back, afraid of His Majesty.

§ 42: The Hittite king [2]

Excerpts from the text of **KRI II 139: 3-12**



(3:1) p3 wr hsy n **Ht3** ^ch^c m hr(.y)-jb mš^c=f hn^c nt-htr=f

(5:2) hr=f^c nw tnbh(w) jb=f bdš(w)

(7:3) nn pr~n=f r ^ch3 snd(w) n hm=f dr m3~n=f hm=f

(7:4) shm(w) m n3 n **Ht3** hn^c wr n h3s.t nb(.t) jy hn^c=f

(9:5) jw hm=f hr shr n=f st n wnw.t w^c.t jw hm=f m bjk ntr(.y)

(11:6) dj~jn=f j3.w n ntr nfr hr dd

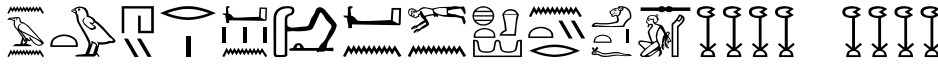
(11,13:7) sw mj Swth^c3 pht.y m wnw.t=f B^cl m h^c.w=f

139: 3-12 (R. 42): (The Hittite King I). The despicable Ruler of **Hatti**, standing in the midst of the troops and chariotry, his face averted, shrinking away, his heart fainting. 139: 5 He could not come out to fight, through fear of His Majesty, when he saw His Majesty conquering the (force)s of **Hatti**, along with the chief of every foreign lands who accompanied him. - His Majesty overthrowing them on his own moment in a single hour,

His Majesty as a divine falcon. 139: 10 He rendered praise to the Good god, saying: “He is like Seth, great in strength, in his hour (even) Baal in (very) person.

§ 43: Hittite forces

Excerpts from the text of KRI II 139: 15



(15:15) *n3 n thr n °h3 n hrw n Ht3 n.ty r-h3.t=f s 18000*

139: 15 (R. 43): (Hittites I) (The Tuhir combat ... of the Fallen One of **Hatti**). The Tuhir warriors of close (“combat”), who are before him. 14000 men.

§ 44: Other Hittite forces [1]

Excerpts from the text of KRI II 140: 6



(6:6) *ky thr n °h3 n.ty m-s3=f s 19000*

140: 6 (R. 44): (Hittites II) Other Tuhir combat warriors in his following. 19000 men.

§ 45: Other Hittite forces [2]

Excerpts from the text of KRI II 140: 9



(9:9) *thr n qr°w.w šms.w n p3 hrw n Ht3*

140: 9(R. 45): (Hittites III) Tuhir (troops), shield bearers and bodyguard of the Fallen One of **Hatti**.

§ 46: Hittite soldier

Excerpts from the text of KRI II 140: 10



(10:10) *p3 <t>hr n p3 hrw <n> Ht3*

140: 10 (R. 46) (Hittite soldier) The <Tu>hir <of> the Fallen One of **Hatti**.

§§ 47-48: Group of Hittite soldiers

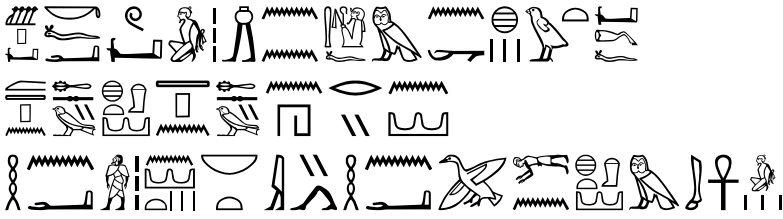
Excerpts from the text of KRI II 140: 12-13



§ 47 (12:12) *thr n tprt.w <m> p3 jhy n p3 hrw n Ht3*



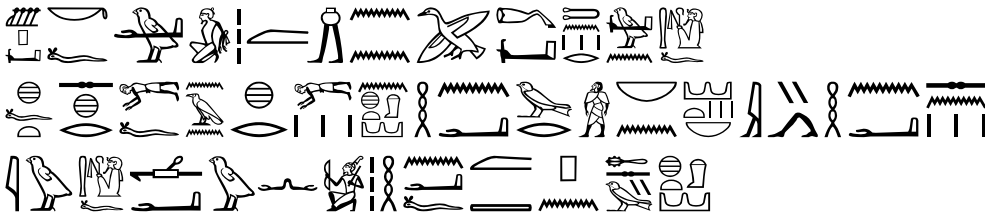
§ 48 (13:13) [......] *h°c p3 hrw n Ht3 °š3 jqr m rmt ssm.w*



(11-12:1) šsp kf^c.w jn~n hm=f m nht.w hps=f
 (11-12:2) m t3 pn hsy n Ht3 t3 pn hsy (n) Nhrn
 (11-12:3) hn^c wr.w n h3s.wt nb.t jy hn^c p3 hr(w) n Ht3 m whmw (?)^cnh.w

142: 11-12 (R. 61): (Prisoners & hands of slain III) Receiving the captives that His Majesty brought in by the victories of his strong arm, in the despicable land of **Hatti** and this despicable land of Naharina, together with the chiefs of every foreign land which came with this Fallen One of **Hatti**, as prisoners.

§ 62: Hittite prisoners and hands cut off [2]
Excerpts from the text of KRI II 142: 14-143: 2-3



(14:1) šsp kf^c.w jn~n p3 hps tnr n hm=f
 (2:2) hft shr=f n3 n hrw.w n Ht3 hn^c wr nb n h3s.wt nb.(t) jy hn^c=sn
 (3:3) jw hm=f w^cw nn mš^c hn^c=f m t3 pn hsj n Ht3

142: 14-143: 2-3 (R. 62): (Prisoners, hands of slain IV, bottom register) Presentation of the captives before His Majesty, being what he brought in, by the victory of his strong arm - the powerful arm of His Majesty, when he overthrew the fallen ones of **Hatti**, along with every [chief] of all foreign lands that came with them, when His Majesty was alone, no army with him, in this despicable land of **Hatti**.

Episode IV – Presentation of the booty to the gods

§ 64: Ramses II leads the captives
Excerpts from the text of KRI II 143: 14-15



(14:1) shwy wr.w n(y).w t3 Ht3 jn~n hm=f^c-w-s m sqr(?)^cnh r pr jt Jmn
 (15:2) Drdny Pds Qrqš Ms Lk

143: 14-15 (R. 64 [Ku. 63]): (King’s Prisoners, bottom group) Summation of chiefs of **Hatti**-land, brought in by His Majesty, LPH, as prisoners to the estate (“house”) of his father Amun: Dardanaya; Pidassa; Carchemish; Masa; Lukku.

Twelve princes with captives

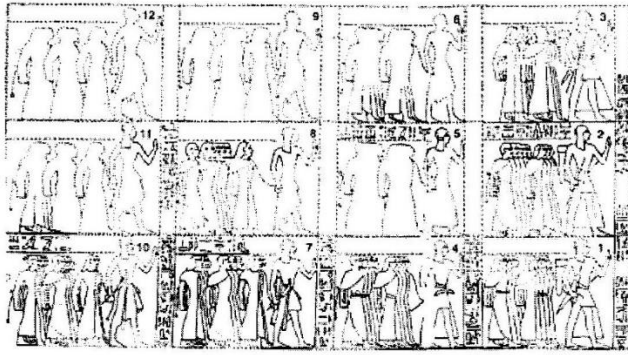


Fig. 43

§§ 73-74: The fourth prince

Excerpts from the text of *KRI II 144: 13-14*



(13:1) [*ms jn.w m*]-s3 *hm=f jn s3 n(y)-sw.(t) H^c-m-W3s.t*

(14:2) *ms.w wr.w n(y).w t3 n Ht3*

144:13 (R. 73 [Ku. 72]): (4th Prince, bottom row) [Presenting tribute af]ter His Majesty, by the King's Son, Khaemwaset. (R. 74 [Ku. -]): Sons of the chiefs of the **Hatti**-land.

Presentation of the captives to Re-Harakhty, Ius-aas and Ramses II, deified

§ 98: Presentation by the king

Excerpts from the text of *KRI II 147: 9*

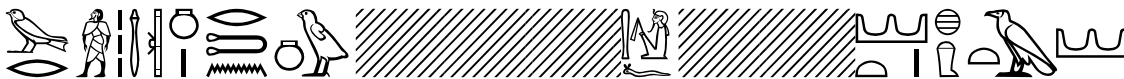


(9:1) *ms jn.w jn ntr nfr n jt R^c m-ht jw=f hr^l h3s.t Ht3*

147: 9 (R. 98) (Presentation by King) Presentation of booty by the Good god to his father Re, when he returned from the land of **Hatti**.

§ 99: Above the captives

Excerpts from the text of *KRI II 147: 12*



(12:1) *wr.w ^c3.(w) n(y).w Rtnw [...] hm=f [...] h3s.t Ht3*

147: 12 (R. 99): (Text over Prisoners) Great chiefs of Syria (*Retenu*), [... brought by] His Majesty, [... the] foreign land of **Hatti**.

In addition to all these texts, also a small stela fragment deserves to be quoted²⁹⁵: it was found in the moutuary temple of Ramses II (the Ramesseum), and depicts the head of a person, commonly interpreted as Muwatalli II.

²⁹⁵ Today kept in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. 31604 (33.5 cm height).



Fig. 44

According to the description by T. Schneider²⁹⁶, it would belong to version R2 of the relief captions; this the description of the fragment: “Fortunately, this fragment from the Ramesseum is easy to identify. It belongs to version R2 of the relief captions²⁹⁷ inside the temple on the north wall of the second court, close to the join of the interior north and east walls²⁹⁸. In the lower portion of the fragment, the Hittite king is seen in left profile (facing westward). Above him are brief captions written vertically. The more complete one, to the left (R42) reads, ‘the chief of every [foreign country] who came with him.’²⁹⁹ The fragment relates to Muwattalli’s decision to avoid direct combat, preferring to manage, of another object, perhaps one in a row of fettered captives that embellished a piece of armor his troops from a distance. Despite the Hittite king’s subsequent success, Egyptian accounts focus on the “cowardly” nature of his actions”. The representation of the Hittite king in the Reliefs of the battle of Kadesh is not a surprise. Another interesting fragment, portraying three Hittite heads, has been found in the Ramesseum, too: it is now kept in the Museum of the oriental Institute, Chicago (Inv. No. E1356)³⁰⁰:



Fig. 45

The representation of the Hittites’ heads is, under many respects, the same of the other Reliefs of the battle of Kadesh³⁰¹, and also to the depiction of the Hittite figure on the faience tail from Medinet

²⁹⁶ ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 266-267.

²⁹⁷ Ivi, p. 267, note 7: “Ägyptisches Museum Berlin 1967, no. 812; and *Pharao: Kunst und Herrschaft* 1997, no. 16”.

²⁹⁸ Ivi, p. 267, note 8: “Porter and Moss 1972, p. 434 (10)”.

²⁹⁹ Ivi, p. 267, note 9: “Kitchen 1979, p. 139; for translation, see Kitchen 1996, p. 22”.

³⁰⁰ See PM II, p. 435; Oriental Institute website: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/62d8d03d-c5e5-4cdf-af20-bf6fef134287>; the picture here reported is that in the website page. I thank Alexandra Erichson (Photographic Archives Assistant, OIPA) for having delivered me further, high resolution pictures. A similar depiction seems to have been carved on another sandstone slab, now kept in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts of Moscow (Inv. Nr. I.1.a 5624): http://www.arts-museum.ru/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/0001_1000/5624_relief_asian_heads/index.php?lang=it. However, because of the absence of a precise provenience (it was purchased by Golénischeff in 1911) and the uncommon features of the engraving, it could also be a modern copy of an original relief.

³⁰¹ See e.g. KUENTZ 1928.

Habu (now in Cairo, see *infra*, under text no. 15b), but without the typical headset. This kind of typical representation has been already noted by Simons, who reproduced in his work about the topographical lists two of them (just as decorations to the volume)³⁰²:

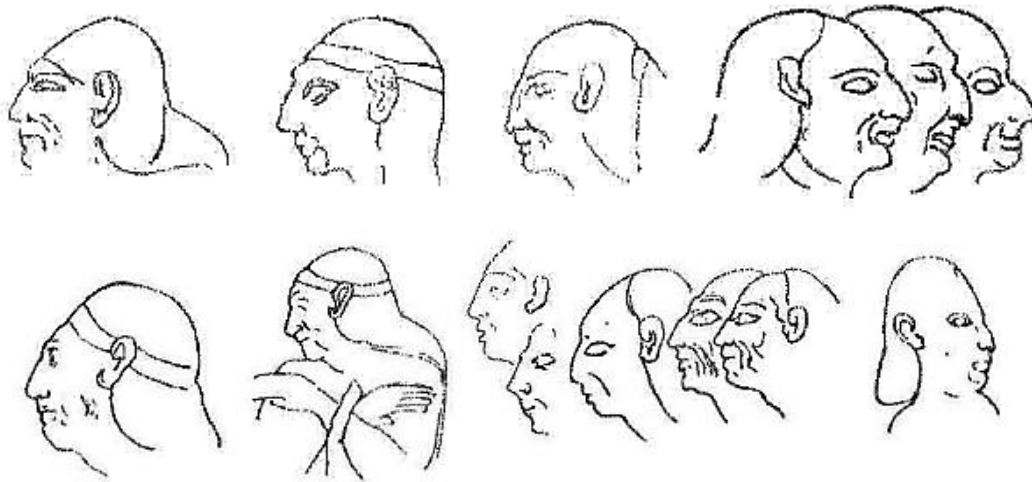


Fig. 46

Breyer³⁰³ usefully summons up all the typical, common features in the representation of the Hittites:

- 1) absence of beard;
- 2) wealth-face (“Gesichtsfülle”) and protruding, curved nose;
- 3) fleeing forehead, high hairline;
- 4) long, open hairs that fall over the back, leaving the ears free;
- 5) long dress with long sleeves, sometimes a front open coat;
- 6) gesture of forgiveness: squatting down and crossing the arms over the chest;
- 7) weapons, such as the eight-shaped shield.

According to these criteria, Breyer revised some figures previously interpreted as Hittites, showing how many depictions actually refer to other peoples; thus, the only sure representations of Hittite are (besides that questionable in the tomb of Horemheb, see *supra*, text no. 4b) those of Seti I and Ramses II³⁰⁴. Also the depiction of the “Great of Ḫatti” in the tomb of Menḫeperrasonob (see *supra*, comment to text no. 1) is very doubtful³⁰⁵.

³⁰² SIMONS 1937, pp. 192, 223 (quoted and reproduced in BREYER 2010a, p. 446, figs 68-69).

³⁰³ BREYER 2010a, p. 446.

³⁰⁴ *Ivi*, pp. 444ff.

³⁰⁵ *Ivi*, pp. 448-449.

d. The Treaty (see Appendix A)

One of the most important document testifying the development of the Egypto-Hittite relationships after the battle of Kadesh is of course the treaty of “eternal friendship and brotherhood” established by the pharaoh and Ḫattušili III in the 21st regnal year of Ramses II (i.e., 1259 BC)³⁰⁶.

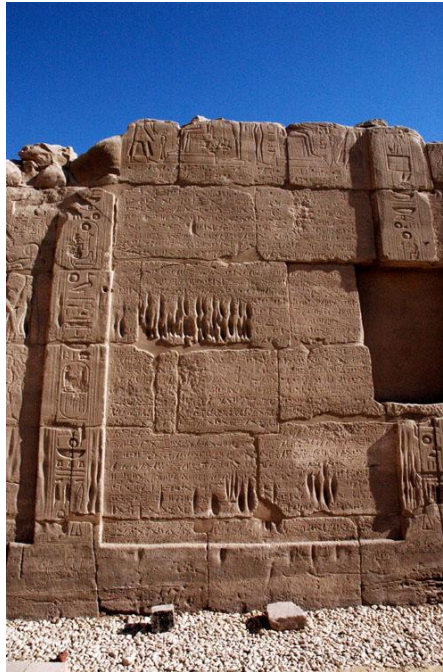


Fig. 47

Long diplomatic negotiations took place between the two courts to reach an agreement; the official correspondence exchanged between Ramses II, Ḫattušili III and his wife Puduḫepa (and also other important officials) offers many glimpses and precious information allowing to reconstruct all the main paths that led to the treaty³⁰⁷. The treaty, considered as the first, well-documented international treaty of peace in the history, includes many details about the actual situation of the relationships after the battle of Kadesh and shows the necessity of both the country to reach a stable and durable agreement that ratifies the uncertain outcome of the struggle itself: as testified by the texts reporting the military campaigns of Ramses in Syria after the battle of Kadesh, and mostly the account of the Dapur battle (see *infra*, text. no. 8.k), Egyptian domination in Syria was very unstable and Ḫattušili was afraid about the possibility that the “usurpator” Urḫi-tešub would have found asylum at the pharaonic court (a fact stressed by the insistence on clauses about the extradition of the fugitives, including Urḫi-tešub). Thus, the treaty was intended to guarantee mostly two issues: 1) the insurance of a mutual defence in the case of a military attack by some other enemies and 2) the commitment to ensure the legitimate succession to the Hittite throne after the death of Ḫattušili III. The treaty was surely something new for the Egyptian mind, not used in stipulating treaties, but very common in the Hittite experience and all the text of the treaty is shaped according to the basic structure of a parietal covenant. It is also noteworthy that the treaty is not completely parietal: see e.g. the last paragraphs concerning the return of the fugitives. As it is well-known, it has also been stated that this was not the first treaty stipulated between the two countries³⁰⁸.

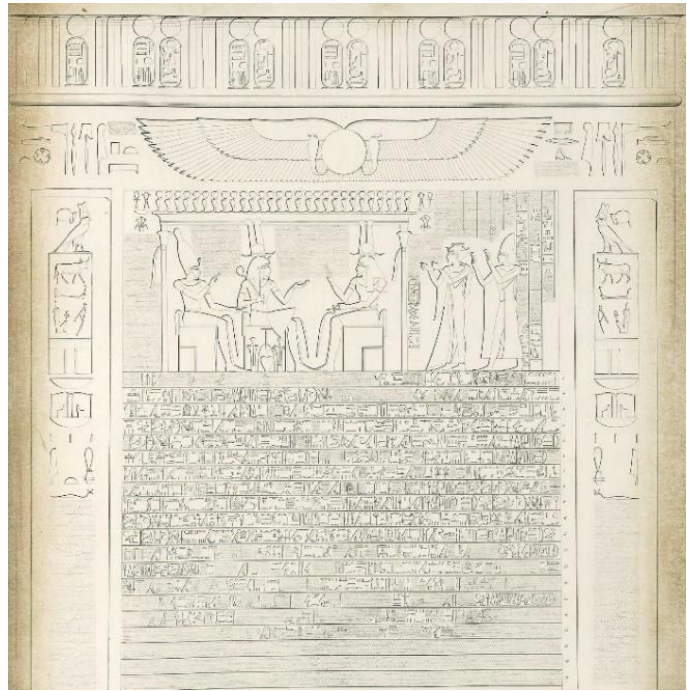
³⁰⁶ Picture from the site of “The Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project”, University of Memphis: <http://www.memphis.edu/hypostyle/welcome/>.

³⁰⁷ See mostly Beckman 1999², pp. 90-94; CORDANI 2017, pp. 63-65 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, introductions to dossiers A-C, pp. 27-74.

³⁰⁸ See DAVIS 1990; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1963; SIMON 2007; SINGER 2004; SINGER 2012; SÜRENHAGEN 2006. Cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 12 and 17.

e. From the Stela of the “First Marriage”

This and the following texts are all related to the weddings³⁰⁹ between Ramses II and at least one Hittite princess, called Maathorneferure in the Egyptian documentation. The “First Marriage”, dated to the 34th year of Ramses II (1246 BC), is surely the best documented, because of the many copies of the marriage text, carved on 5 stelae (see *supra*). The diplomatic negotiations that led to the conclusion of the marriage are well supported by the correspondence exchanged between the two courts³¹⁰. I quote just the passages directly quoting Ḫatti: after the text, some general remarks will be presented.



Figs 48-49

*Hieroglyphic text, transliteration and translation*³¹¹

KRI II 234: 11

Legend of the Hittite princess



hm.t n(y)-sw(.t) wr(.t) M33.t-Ḫr-nfr.w-R^c s3.t p3 wr^c 3 n Ḫt3

234: 11³¹²: Great Royal wife, Maat-Hor-Neferu-Re, Daughter of the Great Ruler of **Hatti**.

³⁰⁹ For these interdynastic marriages, see mostly ARBELI 1999; BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, pp. 149-159; BORGHOUTS 1983; BORGHOUTS 1984; BORGHOUTS 1989, pp. 20-25; CANNUYER 2010; CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 80-82; CORDANI 2017, pp. 24-27; DONADONI – ČERNÝ 1960; FISHER 2013; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1996; KITCHEN 2004⁶, pp. 118-125, 128-133; KLENGEL 2002a, pp. 121-144; KUENTZ 1925a; LEFEBVRE 1925; PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 40-49; PINTORE 1978, pp. 33-46; SCHULMAN 1979a.

³¹⁰ See *infra*, section 1.2.1, nos 18ff. Cf. CORDANI 2017, pp. 97-134 and mostly EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, pp. 50-167 (dossier E); comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 144-256.

³¹¹ Hieroglyphic text as in *KRI II*, § 66, pp. 233-256; translation from *KRITA II*, pp. 86-96; cf. also GARDINER 1960, pp. 35-45; Italian translations in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 339-361 and PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 107-122. I report just the transliteration (mine) and the translation of the passages quoting the Hittites, as in transliteration (some integrations, not reported in the Hieroglyphic texts, are in [...]). Cf. also the edition of the text in KUENTZ 1925a.

³¹² Numeration as in *KRI II*, 234ff.

Legend of the Hittite king

KRI 234: 13-16, 235: 1-2



(13:1)³¹³ *dd md.w jn wr^c3 n Ht3 jy~n=j hr=k dw3(=j) nfr.w=k m w^cf h3s.wt*

(13-15:2) *nt=k šrj n Swth m-m3^c.t wd=f n=k t3 Ht3*

(15:3) *h3q~n(=j) wj m h.t=j nb(.t) s3.t=j wr(.t) m-h3.t=sn r ms.w n hr=k*

(15-1:4) *nfr wd=k n=n nbw tw=j hr rd.wy=k r (n)h^c d.t hn^c t3 n Ht3 r-dr=f*

(1:5) *jw=k h^c.tw hr ns.t R^c t3 nb rd.wy=k d.t*

234: 13-16; 235: 1-2: Words spoken by the Great Ruler of **Hatti**: “I have come to you, I adore your beauty as Curber of the foreign lands. You are truly the Son of Sutekh; he has decreed for you the **Hatti**-land. I have divested myself of all my goods, with my eldest daughter at the head of them, to present them to your countenance. Good is all you decree for us, (even as) I am under your feet eternally and forever, along the entire **Hatti**-land. 235:1 You have appeared upon the throne of Re, every land being under your feet forever”.

Main text

Narrative part

While the Asiatic chiefs carry their tribute to Ramses II, the great chief of Hatti refuses to join them

KRI II 242: 6-11



(6:11) *wn~jn h3s.t nb(.t) m w3h tp hr rd.wy n ntr nfr pn jr=f t3šw=f r mr~n=f sn*

(9:12) *nn hsf^c=f hrw=f pf t3 pn n Ht3 nn stw.t~n=f n nn wr.w*

242: 6-11: So, every foreign country was bowed in submission beneath the feet of (this) Good god. He set his boundaries wher(ever) he wished them, without being opposed - except for that one of this **Hatti**-land; he did not follow the example of (“resemble”) these rulers.

Ramses II declares war and devastates the rebel country

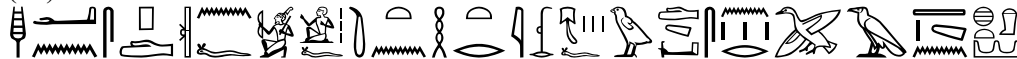
KRI II 242: 11-12, 243: 11-13



(...)



(...)



³¹³ The first numbers reported are those given in *KRI II*; the second numbers (in *italic*) correspond to those of the lines as in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 339-361.

(242:11:1) *ḡd-jn ḥm=f (...)*

(...)

(243:11:3) *jw=j r jn(.t) pḥ.wy n t3 n Ht3 <r> ḥtb st ḥr rd.wy=j r nḥh*

(...)

(9) *ḥ^c.n spd-n=f mš^c=f t3-n.t-ḥtr=f wd=sn r p3 n Ht3*

242: 11-12: Then said His Majesty: [...]. - I shall vanquish the **Hatti**-land! 243: 1-3 They shall be overthrown beneath my feet for ever. [...]

243: 11-13: Then he got ready his troops and chariotry, and thrust them against the **Hatti**-land.

Hatti offers to deliver tributes every year to Ramses II, but the pharaoh refuses

KRI II 244: 14-16; 245: 4-5. 7-9; 245 13-16 + 246: 1



(...)



(...)



(244: 15-245: 1:4) *ḥ^c.n p3 wr ḥ^c3 n Ht3 ḥr h3b ḥr sḥtp ḥm=f*

(...)

(245: 4,7:7) *nt=k šrj n Swth m-m3^c.t wd=f n=k p3 t3 n Ht3*

(...)

(245: 13:11) *wn-jn p3 wr ḥ^c3 n Ht3 ḥr h3b ḥr sḥtp ḥm=f rnp.t n rnp.t*

(246: 1:12) *nn sp sdm=f n=sn*

244: 15-16: Then the Great Ruler of **Hatti** sent (messages), appeasing His Majesty [...].

245: 4-5, 7-9: You are truly the Son of Sutekh! He has decreed for you the **Hatti**-land [...].

245: 13-16 + 246: 1 Then the Great Ruler of **Hatti** sent (messages) to appease His Majesty, year by year³¹⁴, but never paid any heed to them.

One year, the chief of Hatti brings as a gift also his eldest daughter, to force him to forgiveness

KRI II 246: 5



(...)

(5:3) *ḥ^c.n ḡd p3 wr ḥ^c3 n Ht3 n mš^c=f wr.w=f*

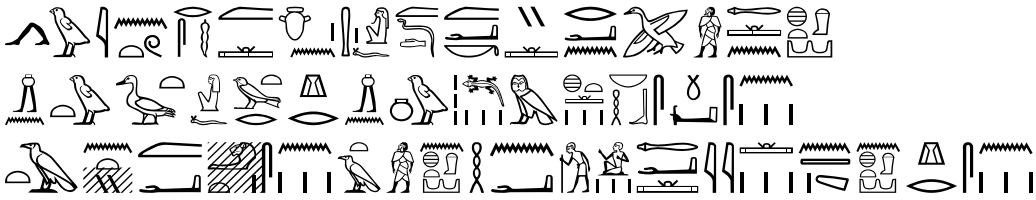
(...)

246: 5 Then the Great Ruler of **Hatti** spoke to his army and his officials [...].

After this offering, Ramses II sends them his body guard

KRI 247: 10-15 + 248: 1.3

³¹⁴ This passage could be interpreted as a reference to the Egypto-Hittite correspondence.



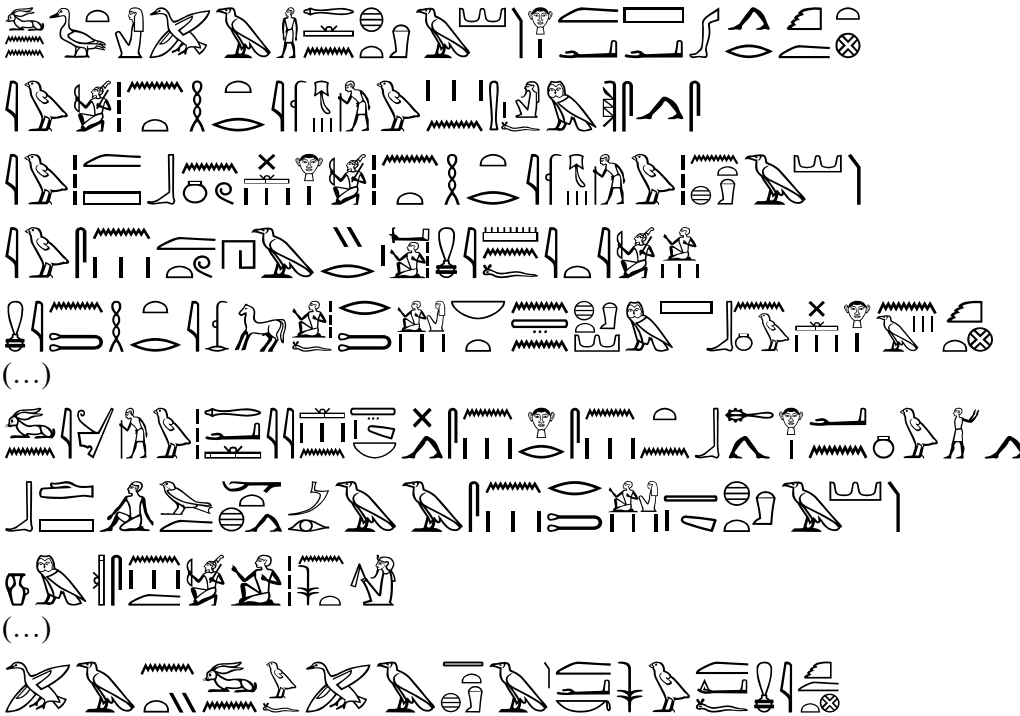
(247: 12:1) *jw~jn=tw r sngm jb n hm=f m dd m=k rdj-n p3 wr 3 n Ht3*

(247: 15-13:2) *jn=tw s3.t=f wr.t hr jn.w 3 m-h.t nb hsb(.w)=sn*

(247:15 + 248: 1:3) *t3 n.ty m-h3.t(?)=sn t3 wr n Ht3 hn^c wr.w 3(w?) n t3 n Ht3 hr=sn*

247: 10-15 + 248: 1.3: Then one came to inform His Majesty, saying: “See, the Great Ruler of **Hatti** has sent his eldest daughter with tribute of every kind; they (fairly) cover the roads with their [going], the “Princess” of **Hatti** together with all the grandees of the **Hatti** land.

The Hittite expedition, together with the Egyptian body guard, reaches Egypt, among a great rejoicing
KRI II 250: 7, 13, 15 + 251: 12 + 252: 1/3, 15 + 253: 3



(250: 7, 10:1) *wnn s3.t p3 wr 3 n Ht3 hr mš^c r Km.t*

(250:13:2) *jw mš^c (t3)-n.t-htr wr.w n hm=f m šms(.w)=s*

(250: 13, 15:3) *jw.w m šbn.w hr mš^c (t3)-n.t-htr wr.w n Ht3*

(250: 15:4) *jw=sn m thr mj mnfy.t*

(250: 15:5) *mj (t3)-n.t-htr=f rmt nb n t3 n Ht3 m šbn.w hr n3 Km.t*

(...)

(251: 12:10) *wn~jn wr.w 3.w n t3 nb sw3=sn tnbh(.w) hr 3n*

(251: 12 + 252: 1/3:11) *bdš(.w) m-h.t m33=sn rmt t3 Ht3*

(252: 3:12) *hnm=sn m mš^c n(?)³¹⁵ n(y)-sw.t*

(...)

(252: 15 + 253: 3:20) *p3 n.ty wn=f p3 t3 Ht3 m=k sw m dj=f mj Km.t*

³¹⁵ It is not clear here if *n* represents an indirect genitive or just the phonetic complementation of the following word *n(y)-sw.t*.

250: 7ff.: Now, - even while the daughter of the Great Ruler of **Hatti** travelled to(wards) Egypt - His Majesty's troops, chariotry and officials formed an escort, mingling with the troops, chariotry and officials of **Hatti** - the *tuhir*-warriors like the infantry and like his chariotry, all the people (*rmt*) of the **Hatti**-land, mingling with the Egyptians. [...] 251: 12-(14): Then the ruling ("great") chiefs of every land that they (= the cavalcade) passed by - they cringed, turning away fainting, when they saw the people (*rtm*) of the **Hatti**-land joining with the King's army. [...] 252: 14, 15: The one that once was (separate), the **Hatti**-land, - see, it is now in his power just like Egypt [...].

Ramses II meets the Hittite princess for whom an Egyptian name is drawn up (KRI II 253: 9-15 + 254: 1-4, 12 + 255: 1 + 256: 1)



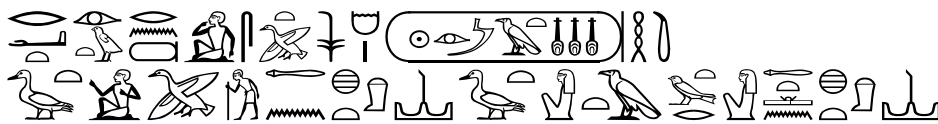
(...)



(...)



(...)



(...)



(...)

(253: 9, 12:1) *wn~jn=tw hr st3 s3.t p3 wr c3 n Ht3 jy(.t) m mšc.y.t r Km.t*

(...)

(254: 2:4) *jst rf hnw c3 št3 bj(3)y.t sbq(.t)*

(...)

(254: 5, 7:6) *s3.t p3 wr c3 n Ht3 jy m mšc.y r [p3 t3] n Km.t*

(...)

(254: 15:11) *rdj.t jr=tw rn=s t3 hm.t n(y)-sw(.t) M33.t-Hr-nfr.w-Rc nh.tj*

(255: 2:12) *s3.t p3 wr c3 n Ht3 s3.t t3 wr.t c3.t n Ht3*

(...)

(256: 1:19) *wn~jn t3 n Ht3 t3 pn nh.t (?) mj d.t m (...)*

(...)

253: 10-15: Then the daughter of the Great Ruler of **Hatti** - who had (now) arrived from travelling to Egypt - was ushered in [...].

254: 1-4: Now, indeed, (it was) a great and mysterious event, a precious wonder [...]: the daughter of the Great Ruler of **Hatti** had arrived, travelling to [the land of] Egypt [...].

254: 12, 255: 1: Her (Egyptian) [name was proclaimed] (as): "The Royal Wife, [Maat-H]or-Neferu-[Re], may she live, - Daughter of [the Great Ruler of **Hatti**, - Daughter of [the Great Queen of **Hat**]ti". [...]

256: 1: Then the **Hatti**-land, this powerful(?) land, was as serfs in [the presence of His Majesty?]³¹⁶[.....]. [And if a man or a [wom]an [went out] on [business to Syria, then they could reach this land of **Hatti**], without fear haunting their minds - because of the (magnitude) of the victories [of His Majesty, LPH]³¹⁷.

³¹⁶ The hieroglyphic text, from this point onwards, is not all reported, because of its patchy nature.

³¹⁷ This last passage is badly preserved in the Hieroglyphic text; the same, completely readable, is attested in the "Abbreviated version" (see *infra*, the following text), from which I took the translation reported here.

f. The “First Marriage” – Abbreviated version

*Hieroglyphic text, transliteration and translation*³¹⁸

KRI II 257: 8-9, 12-15

(...)



(...)



(...)



(...)



(...)



(...)

(257: 8-9:26)³¹⁹ *h3s.wt bšt.w(t) (hr)/<hr> jw(.t) m htp.w wr.w=sn hr tb.ty=f*

(257: 9:27) *sb-tw p3 t3 n Ht3*

(...)

(257: 12:34) *h^c.n st3 s3.t p3 wr^c3 n Ht3 m-b3h hm=f wn~jn=s nfr.tj hr jb n hm=f*

(...)

(257: 13:35) *rdj~jn hm=f jry=tw rn=s m hm.t n(y)-sw.t M33.t-Hr-nfr.w-R^c*

(257:13: 36) *s3.t p3 wr^c3 n Ht3 s3.t wr.t^c3.t n Ht3*

(...)

(257: 14:39) *wn~jn t3 n Ht3 m jb w^c hr rd.wy hm=f*

(...)

(257: 15:41) *wn~hr jr wd3^c h3w.ty s.t-hm.t r-pw m wp.wt=sn r D3h(y) ph=sn r t3 n Ht3*

(257: 15:42) *nn snd h3 jb=sn n-^c3(.t) n nhtw.w hm=f*

257: 8-9³²⁰: The rebellious foreign countries come in peace, – their rulers beneath his sandals – such that (even) the **Hatti**-land [...].

257: 12-15: Then the daughter of the great Ruler of **Hatti** was ushered in before His Majesty, then she was beautiful in the opinion of his Majesty. So, His Majesty had her (Egyptian) name form(ulated) as: Royal Wife, Maat-Hor-Neferu-Re, - Daughter of the Great Ruler of **Hatti**, - Daughter of the Great

³¹⁸ Hieroglyphic text as in *KRI II*, § 67, pp. 256-257; translation from *KRITA II*, pp. 96-99 (Italian translation in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 353-356 and PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 119-122). I report just the transliteration and translation of the passages quoting the Hittites (some integrations, not reported in the hieroglyphic texts, are in [...]). Cf. LEFEBVRE 1925.

³¹⁹ The first numbers reported are from *KRI II*; the second numbers (in *italic*) correspond to the lines in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 353-356.

³²⁰ Numeration as in *KRITA II*, pp. 98-99.

Queen of **Hatti**. [...] Then the **Hatti**-land was single-mindedly under the feet of His Majesty [...]. Thereafter, if a man or a woman went out on business to Syria, they could even reach the **Hatti**-land without fear haunting their minds, because of (the magnitude of) the victories of His Majesty.

The texts of these stelae (both the long and abbreviated versions) offer several details about the relationships between Ramses II and the Hittites in the so crucial period after the battle of Kadesh. The incipit introduces Ḫattušili's daughter, described as the "Great Royal wife"³²¹. The whole composition is devoted to the exaltation of the Egyptian king: the propagandistic nature of the text is clear already at its beginning, in the words attributed to the Hittite king who himself commends the mighty powerful of the pharaoh, a fiction speech surely quite far from the actual situation. Ḫattušili describes Ramses as the "curber" (*w^cf*) of all the foreign lands, dominating by virtue of his strength (guaranteed by Seth) all the other countries. Seth himself decreed the belonging of Ḫatti to the pharaoh, marking the nature of the pharaonic power as universal and established by the gods. Ḫattušili also declared to have divested (*h3q*) his land of all his goods, including his eldest daughter: the Hittite delegation is described according to the Egyptian stereotype of the tribute, attested since the first campaigns of Thutmose III (see *supra*, text 1); this is clearly a mystification of actual relationships which included the exchange of mutual gift, following a typical tradition attested in many letters³²². The Hittite king is represented as stepped by pharaoh's feet, "below his sandals" (*hr tbw.ty=f*) as a *bšṯ*, "a rebel", in the usual display of foreign lands, subjugated after the battle. Furthermore, Ramses is reported to "set his boundaries wher(ever) he wished them": the Hittite king rebelled against his opponent's willing (not homologating to the behaviour of other foreign chiefs) and because of his refusal was defeated.

After the repetition of the divine investiture of the king by the god Seth (*wḏ=f n=k p3 t3 n Ḫt3*, "he has decreed for you the Ḫatti-land"), a passage deserves further attention: here, it is stated that *wn~jn p3 wr ^c3 n Ḫt3 hr h3b hr šhtp ḫm=f rnp.t n rnp.t nn sp sdm=f n=sn*, "the Great Ruler of Ḫatti sent (messages) to appease His Majesty, year by year, but never paid any heed to them". This sentence has been interpreted as a hint to diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and Ḫatti; the Egyptian propaganda is here clearly distorting the reality, saying that all the messages (considered as pleas) of the Hittite king were unheard by the pharaoh: the letters sent by Ramses II both to Ḫattušili and his wife Puduḫepa clearly stand for the contrary. In the central section of the text, the Hittite royal delegation, leading the princess to Egypt, is described: to prevent her from many eventual risks of the journey³²³, Ramses forwards his army (included the *tuhir*-soldiers, frequently quoted in Kadesh accounts) to escort her, alive and safe, to the Nile Valley: this passage can also be interpreted in the light of the previous events connected to the "*daḫamunzu* affair", when the Hittite prince Zannanza was killed during his itinerary towards Egypt.

The Hittite and the Egyptian armies joined together, this event being interpreted by the royal propaganda in the paths of a submission: *wn=f p3 t3 Ḫt3 m=k sw m dj=f mj Km.t*, "the Ḫatti-land, it is now in his power just like Egypt". The Hittite princess finally reached safe the Egyptian land and was introduced by his own father to the Egyptian court, at the presence of the pharaoh: this scene is depicted on the stelae just above the text, where Ḫattušili is shown as worshipping the Egyptian king.

It is noteworthy the peculiar way the artist displayed to connote the Hittite king: he is depicted with a long robe and, mostly, a particular, conical headgear; this hat was maybe considered by the Egyptian as a particular item of the *regalia* of the Hittite kings, because a similar hat is used to qualify

³²¹ Part of the correspondence between the two courts aimed to guarantee to the princess this high-rank title, avoiding Maathorneferure to become just a concubine within the harem: see CORDANI 2017, pp. 97, 101-112.

³²² For the gifts sent and received by Ramses, see CORDANI 2017, pp. 37-39, 135-151.

³²³ The risks of journeys through both the land and the Nile are attested in Egyptian literature since the OK, in the well-known letter of Pepi II to Harkhuf, becoming later something as a *topos*. For Harkhuf's autobiography (in which the letter of the pharaoh is included), see LICHTHEIM 1975, pp. 23-27.

both Muwatalli II in the reliefs of the battle of Kadesh (see *supra*, texts nos 8.a-c) and Ḫattušili himself on the Tanis colossus (see *infra*, text no. 8.i)³²⁴.

In any case, despite the presence of a typical propagandistic nuance characterizing the whole composition, the arrival of the Hittite delegation at Pi-Ramesse has been perceived as an extraordinary event, described with a particular emphasis: *jst rf ḫnw ʿ3 št3 bj(3)y.t sbq(.t)*, “(it was) a great and mysterious event, a precious wonder”.

In the end, a new Egyptian name³²⁵ is attributed to the Hittite princess, representing the complete belonging of the bride to the Egyptian culture. The text ends with a final declaration of the subjugated nature of the Hittites and the re-assessment of Ramses as a universal peacemaker: thanks to his victory, the routes going from Egypt to Ḫatti are pacified and all men and women can travel with “no fear haunting their minds” (*nn snḏ ḫ3 jb=sn n-ʿ3(.t) n nḫt.w ḫm=f*).

³²⁴ For this kind of depiction, see BREYER 2010a, pp. 450-454; specifically, for Ḫattušili III, see DE VOS 2004b.

³²⁵ The importance and the value of the name (*m*) within the Egyptian culture has been frequently stressed by many scholars.

g. The “Blessing of Ptah”

The text of the “Blessing of Ptah”, carved on many stelae³²⁶ and dated to the 35th regnal year of Ramses II (1246/1245 BC), consists of a fictitious speech of between the god Ptah and the pharaoh, exalting the mighty of Ramses II, described as the son of the god and as an universal monarch, able to control the natural phenomena, governor of all the countries, monument builder, and of course victorious in warfare. Within this formal praise of the pharaoh, a passage refers clearly to the battle of Kadesh and to the accomplishment of the “First Marriage”. The text ends with an answer of Ramses II to his father Ptah, where the pharaoh glorify the god in turn and clinches all his deeds, achieved thanks to the “blessing” of the god himself.

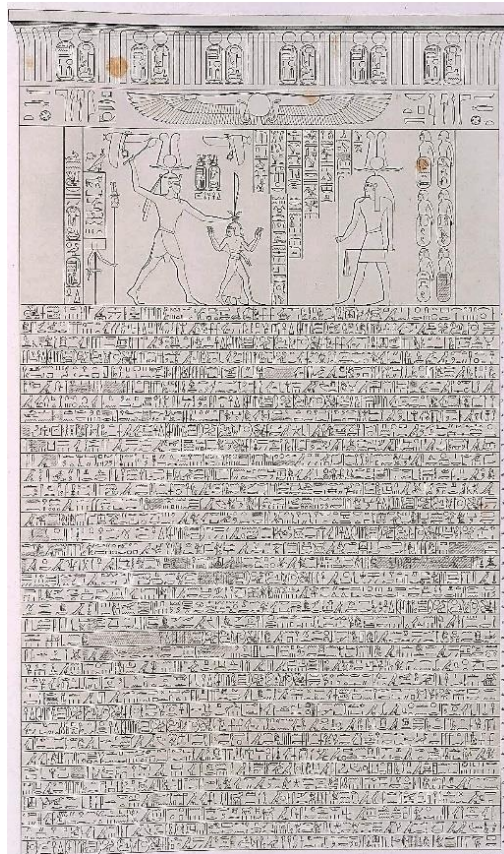


Fig. 50

*Hieroglyphic text and transliteration*³²⁷

KRI II 273: 14 + 274, 1, 5 + 275: 13

Speech of Ptah to the king

Ninth stanza



³²⁶ The picture here reports the Abu Simbel stela; from *LD*, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 194.

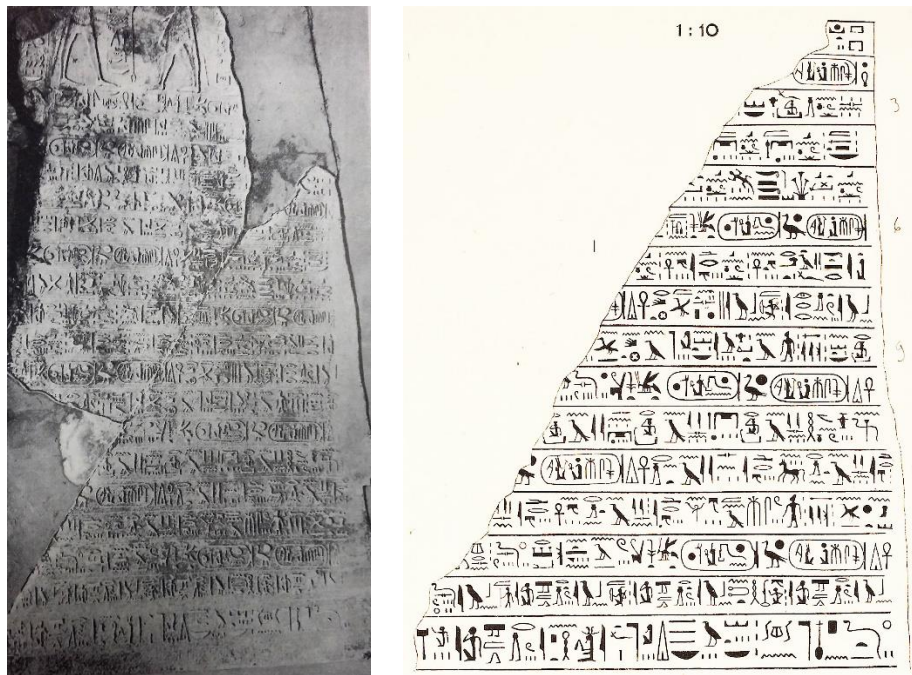
³²⁷ Hieroglyphic text as in *KRI II*, pp. 258-281; cf. ČERNÝ – EDEL 1960; transliteration of the author (from BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012); translation from *KRITA II*, pp. 99-110; Italian translations in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 363-379 and PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 123-132. I report just the translation of the passage quoting the Hittites, as in transliteration (some integrations, not reported in the Hieroglyphic texts, are in [...]).

LPH! Unknown was the situation of Ḫatti at one mind with Nile-land (*bw rḫ=tw sḫr n Ḫt3 m jb w^c ḫn^c t3-mrj*)³³⁴. The new situation in the relationships between Ḫatti and Egypt is thus inserted into a cosmic (and mysterious) order, decreed by the gods at the beginning of time.

³³⁴ KRITA II, p. 107, 275:1f.

h. The Stela of the “Second Marriage”

The text related to the “Second Marriage” was carved on two stelae, the first from Coptos and the second from the temple of Seti I at Abydos³³⁵. The first stela is almost complete and is nowadays kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo³³⁶; of the second one, only the last two/three lines are preserved. Unfortunately, the dating of the document is not preserved; however, the text must be dated after the 34th regnal year of Ramses II (1246/1245 BC), the date of the “First Marriage”. More precisely, thanks to a Hittite document (KUB III 68, see *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 27.m, probably mentioning the second Hittite wife of Ramses), surely dated between Ramses’ 42nd and 56th regnal years, it is possible to date this second marriage within this period (i.e. from 1246/1245 BC until 1238-1224 BC, ca.).



Figs 51-52

Coptos stela

*Hieroglyphic text and transliteration*³³⁷

KRI II 283: 3, 11

(...)



(...)



(...)

³³⁵ Further information in PERNIGOTTI 2010, p. 133; cf. KITCHEN – GABALLA 1969, pp. 14-18, figs 1-3, pls II-III; PETRIE 1896, p. 15, § 26, and picture (Fig. 51) on pl. 18, no. 1; PM V, p. 215.

³³⁶ KITCHEN – GABALLA 1969, p. 15, fig. 1 (Fig. 52).

³³⁷ Hieroglyphic text as in *KRI II*, pp. 282-283; translation from *KRITA II*, pp. 110-112; other English translations in BREASTED 1906, vol. 3, §§ 427-428; DAVIES 1997, pp. 144-149 (with transcription); KITCHEN – GABALLA 1969, pp. 14-18; PETRIE 1896, p. 15 (Griffith’s translation); Italian translations in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 383-386 and PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 133-135. I report just the transliteration and translation of the passages quoting the Hittites (some integrations, not reported in the Hieroglyphic texts, are in [...]).

(...)

(283: 3:14)³³⁸ *jw p3 wr c3 n Ht3 hr dj.t jn=tw h3q.t qn.w cš3 n Ht3*

(...)

(283: 11:30) *m n3 ms.w wr.w³³⁹ c3 n p3 t3 n Ht3 hr ms hr.w=sn ds.w sp-sn r-š3c n t3š.w n n3 t3.w*

(...)

283: 3³⁴⁰: The Great Ruler of **Hatti** sent the rich and massive spoils of **Hatti** [...].

283: 11: It was the children of the great chiefs of the **Hatti**-land [who present]ed their dues, of their own accord, as far as the frontiers of the lands [...].

The text, after the usual exaltation of the pharaoh, quotes the tribute brought by the chiefs of foreign lands, including the “Great Ruler of Ḫatti” (together with the spoils of Kaška, Arzawa and Qode). These spoils are described as so great “which could not (even) be known in writing”³⁴¹ (*jw bw rh.tw.w m sš.w*): among them, “many droves of horses, many herds of cattle, many flocks of goats, many droves of game, before his other Daughter (*t3y=f ky.t šry.t*), [...] on what was the second (such) occasion (*n p3 n.ty sp-sn*)”³⁴². In the end, it is precised that the tribute was not brought by messengers or officials, but directly (*jw.w ds.w sp-sn*) at the Egyptian frontiers by the “children of the great chiefs (sic!) of the Ḫatti-land”, another sign of the total submission of the Hittite king.

The importance of this/these marriage(s) had a very long-lasting tradition through following centuries: a stela dated to the Persian or the Hellenistic period, still holds memory of these events; it is known in the literature as “Bakhtan Stela” or “Bentresh Stela”. It is a limestone stela, nowadays kept in the Louvre Museum (inv. no. C 284)³⁴³.



Fig. 53

³³⁸ The first numbers reported are those given in *KRI II*; the second numbers (in *italic*) correspond to those of the lines as in BONDIELLI-ELLI 2012, pp. 363-379.

³³⁹ In the transcription of the stela provided in PETRIE 1896, pl. XVIII, fig. 1, the sign used in *wr.w* (here not rendered) is the same of the man wearing the typical conical headgear:



³⁴⁰ *KRITA II*, pp. 99-110.

³⁴¹ *Ivi*, p. 111.

³⁴² *Ivi II*, p. 111, no. 283:5.

³⁴³ Hieroglyphic text in *KRITA II*, pp. 284-286; translation in *KRITA II*, pp. 113-116; cf. LEFEBVRE 1949, pp. 224-225 and LICHTHEIM 1980, p. 90.

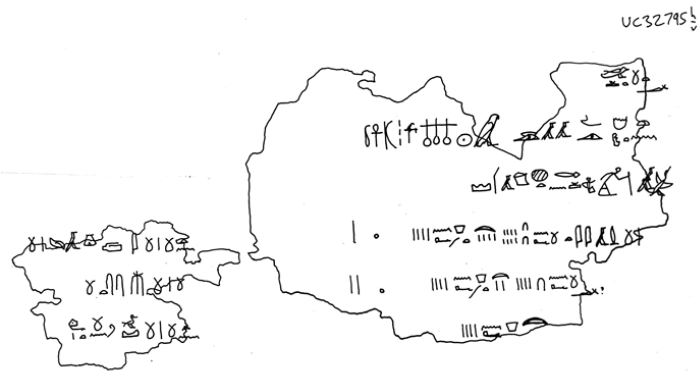
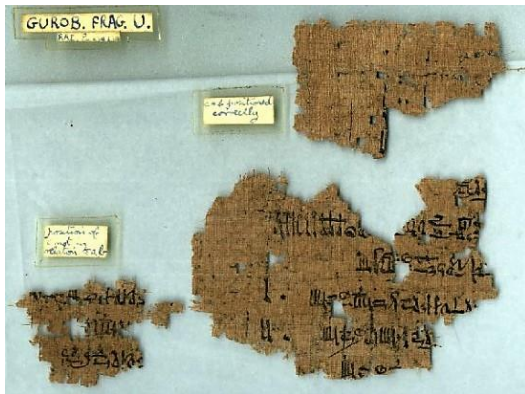
The stela seems, according to some scholars, to quote (even with a distorted spelling) the name of the Ḫatti land³⁴⁴. The importance of this historical event is underlined by its mention, many centuries later and in an even distorted way, by Diodorus Siculus in his History (Diod. I, 47, 6, here as exergue of the dissertation). This is a clear evidence of the importance of these events, remembered so long time later (speaking about the “Bentresh Stela”, according to Erman³⁴⁵, during the reigns of Alexander IV and of Ptolemy II, i.e. 4th-3rd cent. BC).

³⁴⁴ See mostly L. BELL 1986; BROZE 1989; CANNUYER 2010, pp. 99-103; COENEN 1994; DEVAUCHELLE 1986; ERMAN 1883b; LEFEBVRE 1944; MASPERO 1890; MORSCHAUSER 1988; POSENER 1934; SPALINGER 1977-1978; DE WIT 1953; WITTHUHN ET AL. 2015.

³⁴⁵ ERMAN 1883b.

i. GUROB, PAP. UC32795 (FRAGM. U, PETRIE) Vs. 1-5 (19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)

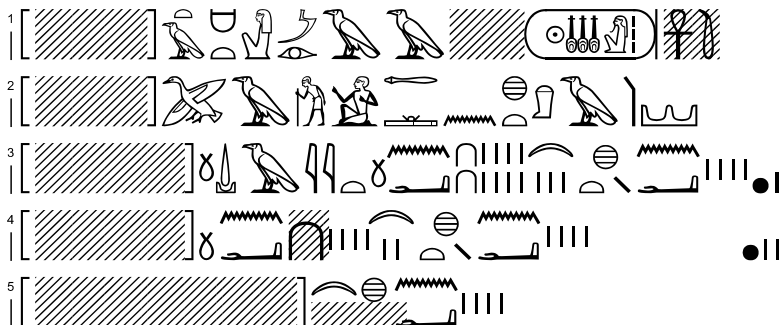
Papyrus fragment identified by Petrie as “U”, nowadays kept in the Petrie collection of the University College of London (UC 32795), lists some garments belonging to the Hittite princess Maathorneferure, wife of Ramses II who lived in the Gurob (ancient *Mr-wr*) harem (so it is commonly intended the term *pr hnr*), probably not a proper harem but just a royal residence³⁴⁶.



Figs 54-55

TLA, DZA 1.13 (28.147.500)

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

- (1) [...] *t3 hm.t M33-... nfr.w-R^c [c^cnh.tj ...]*
- (2) [...] *p3 wr^{c3} n Ht3*
- (3) [.....] *d3jt n mh 28 šsp 3 (wš)ht mh 4* 1^c
- (4) [.....] *n mh 14 šsp 2 (wš)ht n mh 4* 2^c
- (5) [.....] *... šsp [(wš)ht] n mh 4*

Translation

- (1) [Liste der Kleider?] der Frau *m33-* ... *Ranfru* ... ³⁴⁷
- (2) [der Tochter] des grossen Fürsten von **Ht3**
- (3) [aus ...] *d3jt* von 28 Ellen 3 Palmen, Breite 4 Ellen. 1 Stück
- (4) [.....] von 14 Ellen 2 Palmen, Breite 4 Ellen. 2 Stück
- (5) [.....] ...

³⁴⁶ POLITI 2001, p. 107 and mostly note 6. Cf. also GARDINER 1953 and KEMP 1978.

³⁴⁷ The slip in question also comments the proper name of this lady as follows: “Diese Königin ist aus einem Scarabäus aus Nebesheh(?) (E.E.F.) bekannt!”.

An English translation of the whole papyrus, not just of the Fragment U, is provided on the website “Digital Egypt for Universities” of the University College London (UCL)³⁴⁸:

Gurob, papyrus 32795

front side: larger fragment

[...] small bag
the king’s wife Maathorneferure (may she live)
(the daughter of) the great ruler of **Khatti**
[...] *ḏ3yt* garment of 28 cubits, 4 palms, breadth 4 cubits, [bag?] of 14 cubits, 2 palms, breath 4 cubits - 2 items
[...] palms, breath 4 cubits

smaller fragment


royal linen, *jdg*-garment (head-cloth)
royal linen, *mss*-garment (bag-tunic)
royal linen, *sdw*-cloth (triangular cloth) of first quality

back side: the larger fragment

[...] day 26, despatch from Heracleopolis ...
[...] filled, which are in the house of the deliveries (?) ...
[...] sailing ahead of (?), the scribe Hori
[...] day 27, arrival of the king’s scribe Meh at the house of [...]
[...] member of the palace of women Wen [...]

the middle size fragment

[giv]en (?) for requirement of the work project
[...] of craftsmen 20, *qnjn* jars (?) 10,
[...] 10, royal linen [...]

This papyrus results noteworthy, because it is a clue for the actual presence of Maathorneferure at Gurob, after her marriage with Ramses II. The text reports a list of goods that could maybe belong to the harem where the Hittite princess lived in, or to the princess herself. These goods were maybe a part of the wedding dowry brought by the Hittite princess from Ḫatti; in fact, in the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’” (see *supra*, text no. 8.e), the Egyptian king states: “Behold: the great chief of Ḫatti made his eldest daughter to be brought, together with any kind of tributes and their garments” [*m=k rdj~n p3 wr n Ḫt3 jn.tw s3.t=f wr.t hr jn.w ʿš3 m-ḫ.t nb ḫbs(.w)=sn*]. In this passage, the word  *ḫbs(.w)* is translated as “garments” (see e.g., Wb III, p. 65, no. 18-p. 66, no. 12). This text, attesting an actual presence of Hittites at Gurob, must be understood in comparison with some texts referring to the so-called “Burnt Groups”, a series of graves, found at Gurob, where the custom of burning part of the deceased’s properties is attested. However, there are no actual clues that the deceased may have been cremated; this kind of treatment of the dead body is of course not typical of the Egyptian behaviour: as it is well-known, the Egyptian corpses were embalmed and mummified, in order to guarantee the survival of the deceased’s soul in the Afterlife; the practise of incinerate the deads was instead typical of the Hittite culture. J. Politi dedicated a paper about this topic³⁴⁹, where an exhaustive description of the archaeological context is provided, quoting Petrie’s words: “A very remarkable custom exists in this town, which I believe is unknown as yet elsewhere in ancient Egypt. In many instances the floor of a room has been taken up; a hole about two feet across and a foot deep was dug

³⁴⁸ The site, edited by Wolfram Grajetzki, Stephen Quirke and Narushige Shiode, is hosted at this link: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/Welcome.html>. The translation of this papyrus is available at: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/gurob/papyri/maathorneferu.html>. Cf. the translation of the text in GARDINER 1948, pp. 22-24.

³⁴⁹ POLITI 2001.

in the ground. A large quantity of distinctly personal property, such as clothing, a stool, a mirror, necklaces, kohl tubes, and toilet vases of stone and pottery, were thrown in and then all burnt in the hole. The fire was smothered by potsherds laid flat over it; and lastly the floor was relaid. Such was the arrangement of one instance which I examined in detail; and such is indicated by the state of the things in other finds, and the accounts given by Mr. Hughes-Hughes and by native diggers. It is evident that the objects buried are such as belong to an individual personally, and not to a household. No bones were ever found with the burnt deposits. There were not therefore funeral pyres. Yet we cannot imagine a general custom of burning and burying valuable property, except on the death of the owner. I conclude therefore that there was a custom among the foreign residents of burying the body in the Egyptian fashion, especially as I found light-haired bodies in the cemetery; and that personal property which would have been piled on the funeral pyre in the Mediterranean home of the Akhaisians, was here sacrificed in the house, and so put out of site. Aegean pottery was found in these deposits, an evidence of their belonging to the foreigners”³⁵⁰. Contrary to Petrie’s opinion (recognizing this custom as Akhaian), Politi stressed the possibility of a Hittite origin of such a practise: “Petrie thought that the “Burnt Groups”³⁵¹ belonged to the Akhaisians but the foreign ladies most likely to have been in occupation in the Nineteenth Dynasty were of course Hittite - the fair hair, of which we have an example in the Petrie collection (UC 30139)³⁵², could have belonged to one such Hittite lady”³⁵³. The item here quoted by Politi is particularly noteworthy: it is a lock (27 cm in length) of brown-blond curly hair, found in tomb 23 (or 24?) in the cemetery of the city, possibly under a black wig lying on a body³⁵⁴.



Fig. 56

The object was also described by Petrie himself, at the time of the discovery: “In tomb 23 was a body with a copious black wig, and beneath that a scalp of yellow or light brown hair; the juxtaposition of these proving the unaltered condition of each: in tomb 24, again, yellow hair remained on the skull, and in tomb 25 was a young man with dark hair, but a light skin”³⁵⁵. It is possible that these human remains belonged to one of the foreign (maybe Hittite?) inhabitants of the city. Petrie also consider other objects found in the cemetery as a possible clue of the presence of Hittite people: “Another foreigner meets us at the same date, in the opposite grave of the same tomb as Anen-tursha’s”³⁵⁶. Here

³⁵⁰ POLITI 2001, pp. 110-111, quoting PETRIE 1891, p. 16.

³⁵¹ For an updated work about the dating of the “Burnt Groups”, see M. BELL 1991.

³⁵² For the other objects from GUROB, see THOMAS 1981.

³⁵³ POLITI 2001, p. 111.

³⁵⁴ I thank Anna Garnett, curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, for this information. The picture provided here (item UC 30139) is reproduced on courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL. DE VOS 2010, p. 110, note 18 described (although with doubt) the item as “une autre statuette(?)”, maybe similar to the wood harper statuette found at Gurob (see *infra*, section 2.1, cat. no. E3).

³⁵⁵ PETRIE 1890, p. 41 (on-line at <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/texts/kahun/41.htm>; see also *infra* the discussion in section 2.1, under cat. no. E3).

³⁵⁶ A person that Petrie considered as a foreigner, maybe of the “Tursha race”, i.e. an Etruscan (PETRIE 1890, p. 40).

an ushabti records the name of Sadi-amia; this is certainly not an Egyptian name, but twice in the Assyrian annals do we find this same word, Sadi, in the names of Hittites; Sadi-anteru, who was defeated by Tiglath Pileser at the same time as Kili-anteru, in Comagene; and Sadi-halis, conquered by Menuas in the north Euphrates district. We must therefore add the Hittite to the Tursha among the settlers at Gurob”³⁵⁷.

The practice of burning the properties of the dead person is attested as a typical Hittite funerary custom, according to a passage of the Hittite Laws: “If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry her dowry in. If the woman [dies] th[ere] they shall burn the personal possessions of the man (or ‘he shall burn her personal possessions’) and the man shall take her dowry. If she dies in her father’s house and she [has] children, the man shall not [take] her dowry”³⁵⁸. Thus, the final Politi’s statement is acceptable: “Both the ‘Burnt Groups’ and the papyri point strongly to the presence of Hittites at Gurob in the Nineteenth Dynasty”.

Further glimpses on the presence of the Hittite princess at Gurob come from another object of the Petrie Museum: a plaquette of steatite (UC 61296)³⁵⁹, measuring 2 cm in length and engraved on one side with the cartouche or Ramses II and, on the back, with the name and the titularity of queen Maathorneferure³⁶⁰.



Fig. 57

It is described in Petrie Museum’s catalogue as a “steatite scaraboid, in form of rectangular plaque, blue-green glaze, back in form of double plumed cartouches with names of Ramses II, underside incised with hieroglyphs for Egyptian name of Hittite princess Maahorneferura, in cartouche, to right of column of hieroglyphs reading ‘daughter of the ruler of Kheta’; irregular forms, possibly a modern work”³⁶¹. Also considering the possibility of a modern forgery, it could have been made on comparison with an original artefact (maybe the other plaquette of the British Museum, which I will refer on later). I provide here the transcription, the transliteration and the translation of the text.

Back side

Hieroglyphic text

³⁵⁷ PETRIE 1890, p. 40.

³⁵⁸ *Ivi*, quoting Hittite Law 27, from HOFFNER 1997, pp. 36-37 (with commentary on pp. 181-183).

³⁵⁹ See <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx>, under Accession No. 61296.

³⁶⁰ The picture here reported is that in the UCL, Petrie Museum website (see previous note). Cf. PEKER 2013, p. 542, figs 9-10.

³⁶¹ See the link in the previous note.

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

*hm.t n(y)-sw(.t) M33.t-Hr-nfr.w-R^c s3.t p3 wr^{c3} n **Ht3***

Translation

The king's wife, Maat-ḥor-neferu-re, daughter of the great chief of **Hatti**.

The spelling of the name, the syntax of the text and the shape (*ductus*) of the signs (in addition to the archaeological data) ensure the authenticity of this item. We also have to consider that a similar plaquette, quoting just the name of Ramses II, was found in the nearby of Ankara, in the area of the Roman Baths (see *infra*, section 2.2, cat. no. A14)³⁶⁴: this item can be considered as another useful *comparandum* to the aforementioned objects.

³⁶⁴ For the publication of this artefact, see ARSLAN – AKALIN – TALAAR 2011 and PEKER 2013.

j. **TANIS, INSCRIPTION QUOTING THE DAUGHTER OF THE HITTITE KING**
(19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)

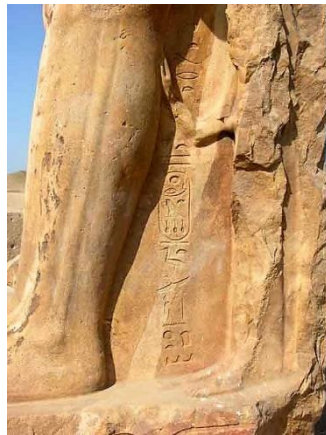


Fig. 59

On the left side of a colossus of Ramses II at Tanis, there is the portrait of the Hittite princess Maathorneferure³⁶⁵, with a short inscription describing her name and titles. Tanis (modern San el-Hagar) was at that time one of the most important cities in the North-Eastern Delta and, at the beginning of the excavations, the huge amount of monuments belonging to Ramses II led the scholars to think that it was the Ramesside capital Pi-Ramesse (later on identified as Qantir, not far from Tanis itself).

Hieroglyphic text³⁶⁶

TLA, DZA 28.147.820



Transliteration³⁶⁷

hm.t n(y)-sw.t wr.t hnw.t t3.wy M33.t-Hr-nfr.w-R^c s3.t p3 wr^c3 n Ht3



Fig. 60

Translation

The pharaoh's great wife, mistress of the Two Lands, Maathorneferura, the daughter of the chief of **Hatti**.

This inscription quoting the name of the Hittite princess is engraved on a colossus of Ramses II, found at Tanis by Petrie, who describes the colossus as follows: "The northern statue of the eastern pair (Plan, 69) is more injured, and the head is lost; it has on the belt the inscription 36a, with the less usual name *Re user ma meri ma*. If this be an error, it is noticeable that the only other mistake I have seen was also on sandstone, the reversal of the sun on the obelisk built into the pylon, but in that case the error was corrected. On the back of the statue is the inscription 36c; and on the slab, between the legs, on the inner side, the inscription 36b and the figure of his wife Maatnoferu, daughter of the chief

³⁶⁵ It has been proposed (CORDANI 2017, p. 97, note 1) that a letter within the Egypto-Hittite correspondence (KUB LVII 125 Vs. 19 = ÄHK 108; see infra, section 1.2.1, text no. 36.c) quotes the original Hittite name of the princess: the lacuna of the passage has been filled by Edel as "MUNUS ḏ[IŠTA]R-nu", i.e. Šaušganu; of course, Edel's integration is not ensured (cf. HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 332).

³⁶⁶ For Maathorneferure, see also TROY 1986, p. 169, no. 19.7. The passage is also quoted in CANNUYER 2010, p. 95, note 41. Cf. also PM IV, p. 16.

³⁶⁷ Transliteration and translation are mine.

of the Khita”³⁶⁸ (he also offered a copy of the inscription³⁶⁹, Fig. 60). A reading of the inscription is also presented by Griffith: “36. Sandstone colossus. 36A. Throne name of Rameses II. with the addition ‘beloved of Maā.’ 36C. Names of Rameses II. 36B. ‘The great royal wife, mistress of the two lands *Rā mat neferu* (seeing the beauties of Re), daughter of the great chief of the land of Kheta.’ Mr. Petrie informs me that the bird in this name is an eagle as in De Rougé’s copy, Inscr. pl. xxxiv., which agrees throughout with Mr. Petrie’s. M. Naville’s copy also has the eagle. The reading in the plate is also confirmed by an interesting plaque found at Tell el Yahudiyeh, in which, however, the bird appears to be a hawk. The name was misread *Rā maā ūr neferu* by Lepsius at Abusimbel? He mistook the eye of *mat* for the cubit, the eagle *a* for the wagtail *ūr*, and the semicircle *t* for the mouth *r*. He also read *ta* instead of *āa* in the title of her father. The name is entirely Egyptian. *Rā neferu* is the name of an Egyptian queen, daughter of the prince of Bekhten, in the mythical story of the possessed princess, which seems to refer to the times of Rameses II”³⁷⁰.


A peculiarity of this text is the presence of a particular sign used to determine the word *wr* “chief”: it is a person wearing a particular, quite tall conical hat; this symbol was described by the author of the respective DZA with these words: “nicht Krone , sondern eine andere spitze Mütze”³⁷¹.



Fig. 61

I used for the transcription of the text glyph A62a³⁷² (through JSesh program³⁷³) to render the sign used in the DZA³⁷⁴; it surely resembles the hat worn by the Hittite king Hattušili III leading his daughter in Egypt for the wedding, on the Abu Simbel “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’” (see *supra*, text no. 8.e)³⁷⁵.



Fig. 62

³⁶⁸ PETRIE 1885, p. 24.

³⁶⁹ PETRIE 1885, pl. V, 36B.

³⁷⁰ PETRIE 1888, pp. 20-21.

³⁷¹ Picture here following, from BREYER 2010a, p. 452, fig. 79.

³⁷² See the online list of the IFAO’s program JSesh: ROSMORDUC, S. 2014, *JSesh Documentation* [online, available at: [http://jseshdoc.qRosmorduc, Serge. \(2014\). JSesh Documentation. \[online\] Available at: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org/enherkhopeshef.org](http://jseshdoc.qRosmorduc, Serge. (2014). JSesh Documentation. [online] Available at: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org/enherkhopeshef.org)].

³⁷³ See previous note.

³⁷⁴ 

³⁷⁵ For a possible origin of this depiction of the Hittite king, see *infra*, section 1.2.1, comment to text no. 33.h.

Moreover, also the presence of the portrait in profile on the princess, in a left-profile, and the inscription bearing the name and the tiles of Maathorneferure, resemble in many ways that in the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”³⁷⁶:



Fig. 63

S. Pernigotti proposed that the actual name of the Hittite wife of Ramses II was just Neferure (as in the later Bakhtan stela), considering the addition “Maathor” (literaly, “the one that Re sees”) who as a simple epithet of the princess including for error by a scribe inside the royal cartouche³⁷⁷. This hypothesis is noteworthy, because in this case the Hittite princess would have received a typical Egyptian name, already attested for important earlier women, like Neferure, daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II³⁷⁸, whose name is engraved on a relief on the route between Mahattah and Aswan³⁷⁹:



Fig. 64

³⁷⁶ See LD, III, 7, pl. 196.

³⁷⁷ PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 43-44, note 3.

³⁷⁸ For the historical figure of Neferure, see B.M. Bryan, in SHAW 2003², pp. 228-229; cf. DODSON – HILTON 2004, pp. 130-141.

³⁷⁹ DE MORGAN ET AL. 1894, p. 41, no. 181bis.

Ranke also quotes further attestations of this name³⁸⁰: Urk. IV, 34, 391, 396f., 403, 406, 408, 467, referring to the aforementioned daughter of Hatshepsut; other similar names are attested on the walls of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, maybe belonging to a daughter of Ramses II(?), quoted together with other royal princesses³⁸¹: *s3.t n(y)-sw.t n h3.s.t=f mr.y(t)=f Nfr.w-R^c*, “the king’s daughter, of his body, his beloved, Neferure”. These evidences show how the name Neferure was quite common in the royal family during the 18th and the 19th dynasties, stressing the possibility that also the Hittite princess would have received the same name, introducing them into a “female genealogy” of noble royal women.

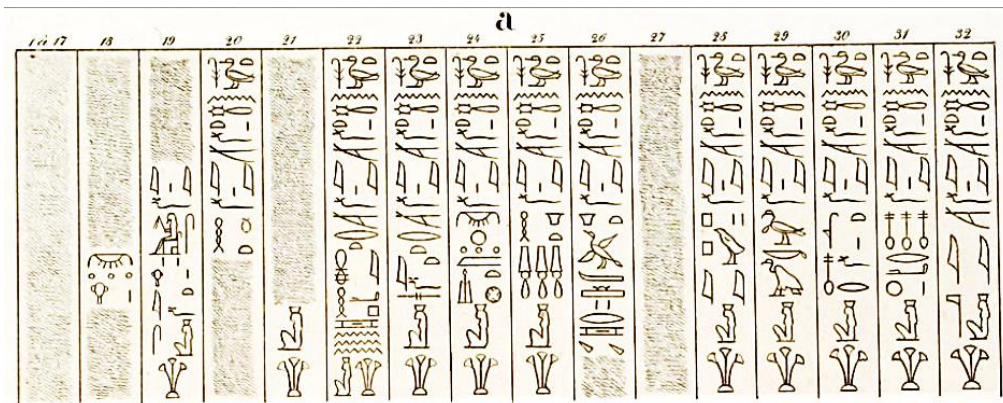


Fig. 65

³⁸⁰ RANKE 1935, p. 204, no. 1.

³⁸¹ MARIETTE 1869, pl. 4a, l. 31 (here as Fig. 65).

**k. RAMESSEUM, INSCRIPTION OF THE SIEGE OF DAPUR
(19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)**

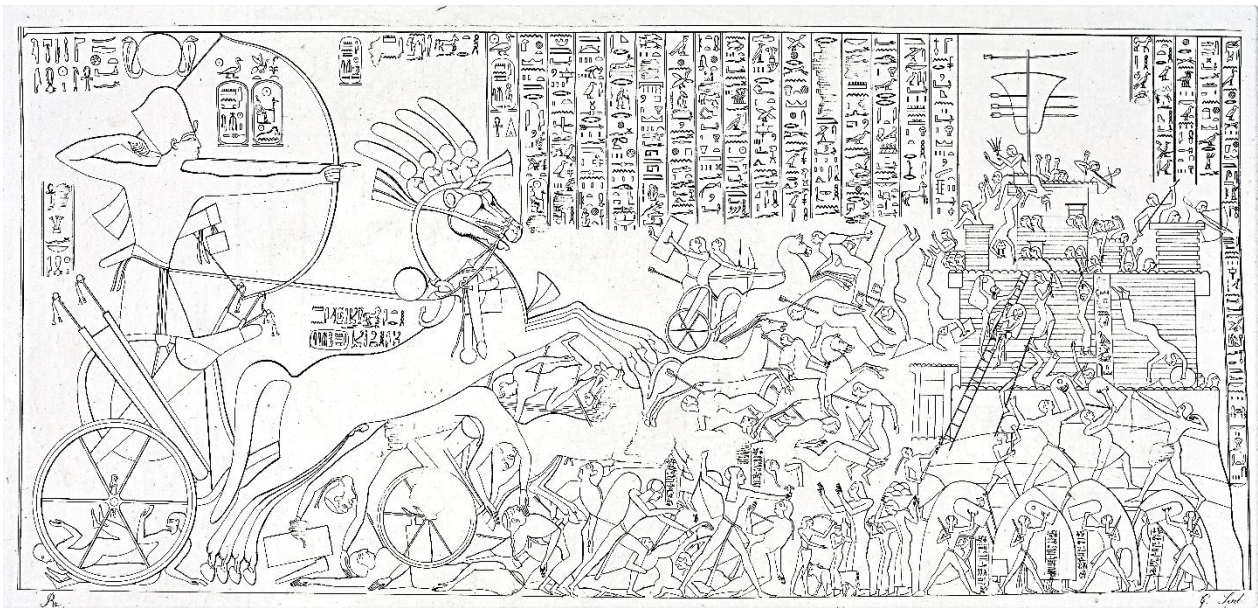
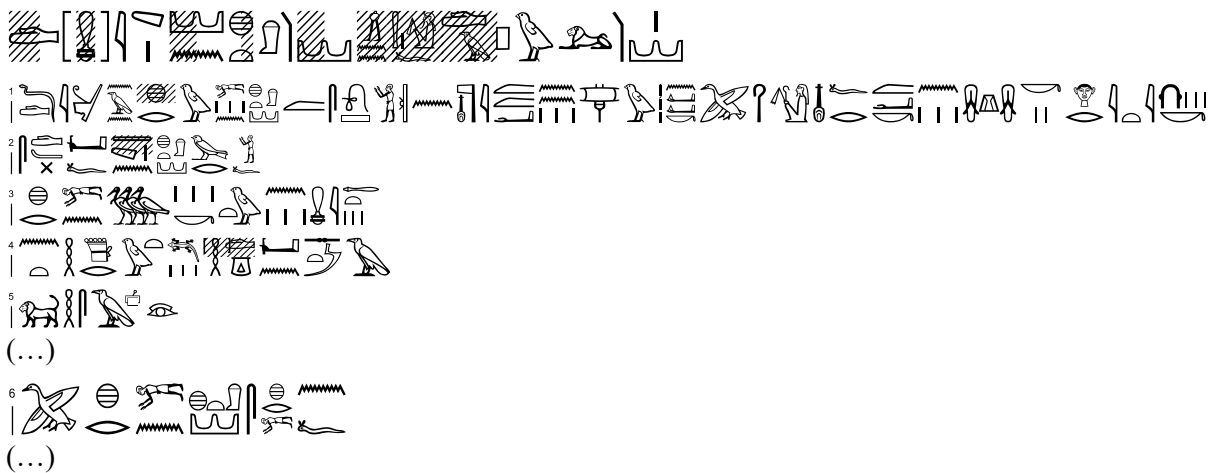


Fig. 66

Between Ramses II's 5th and 8th regnal years (1275-1272 BC), Palestine revolved against the Egyptians, according to Breasted under the incitation of the Hittites³⁸²; thus, the pharaoh had to reassert his influence in the area; this campaign ended with the siege and the conquest of the Palestine fortress of Askalon. By the 8th year, Ramses reached again the northern Palestine and submitted several citadels of the western Galilee: among them are Kerpet, Merem and Sherem. Furthermore, Ramses conquered also the city of Dapur, which was located in the land of Amor (to the North of Mount Tabor)³⁸³. The Ramesseum commemorative inscription of the battle, after the glorification of the braveness of the king and of his sons, reports that the Hittites, after the battle of Kadesh, have moved southwards, reaching the city of Dapur, where Ramses faced up and drove them away.

Hieroglyphic text³⁸⁴

KRI II, 173: 3-15 (*passim*), §§(i)-(ii), (iii), ll. 6, 14-15; 174: 10-175: 10 (*passim*):



³⁸² BREASTED 1906, III, p. 157.

³⁸³ For a historical introduction to this campaign and the position of Dapur, see BREASTED 1906, III, p. 159.

³⁸⁴ I quote here just the passages quoting Ḫatti; cf. TLA, DZA 10.1246 (28.149.530) and LD III, 166.

(6) The fallen one of **Hatti** is fallen because of him. [He (= R. II), he scattered him (= Hittite) like chaff before the wind. He (= Hittite) has abandoned his town through fear of him (= R. II). He (= R. II) has set awe of himself in him (= Hittite) daily, so that he seizes his limbs like fire].

(...)

(14) Taken away is breath from the nose(s) of the insurgents in (“of”) the land.

(15) Hemmed-in is **Hatti** which was his opponent.

(...)

As for this manner of standing and attacking this **Hittite** town in which is the statue of Pharaoh, LPH

(...)

Attacking the town of the **Hittite** foemen (fallen ones).

(...)

His Majesty, LPH, had spent 2 hours (already) standing and attacking the town of the **Hittite** foemen (x2).

This text is remarkable in clarifying the situation of the military position of Egypt and Hatti between the battle of Kadesh (dated to the 5th year of Ramses II) and the stipulation of the Treaty. According to the many accounts carved by order of Ramses II on Egyptian monuments, it seems that Egypt strengthened his possessions in Syria, to the detriment of the Hittite rival. Nevertheless, the actual situation would have been slightly different³⁸⁷: after the military confrontation, the Hittites reached Kumidi and the neighbourhood of Damascus; to reassess his position in Southern Syria, Ramses II conducted a first military campaign already in the summer of his 7th year (1272 BC), submitting the Shasu rebels and regaining Canaan, the Jordan valley and finally also Kumidi and Upi. In the following 8th year (1271 BC), Ramses moved more northwards, reaching Galilee and Phoenicia, reconquering the cities of Ullaza, Irqata and Simyra. The further step in Ramses II’s project was the recovery of the middle valley of the Orontes, with the city of Tunip, considered an important bridgehead for the Hittite enemy. During the march towards this city, Ramses II had to face the Hittites hold up in the city of Dapur: after a very brief siege (only 2 hours!³⁸⁸), the pharaoh managed to storm and re-conquer the city and erected a statue in its main temple; this statue, quoted also in the present passage (*p3 dmj n Ht(3) n.ty p3 twt n pr-c3*, “this Hittite town in which is the statue of Pharaoh”) represents the final submission of Dapur, clearly identified as an Hittite city (*dmj n Ht3*). The Hittites forces and the behaviour of their chiefs are described like in the former battle of Kadesh’s texts: they are qualified as *hr.w*, “fallen ones”, praising (*sšw3*, a verb connected to the religious sphere, meaning “to give honour > to pray”³⁸⁹) the “Good god” (i.e., the pharaoh) to guarantee them the breath of life, in exchange for their complete submission “below the (king’s) sandals” (*hr tb.ty*); this prayer that seems disregarded because the pharaoh “takes away the breath (of life) from his (of Hatti) nose(s)”³⁹⁰. The Hittites are stormed by the king’s dread (*hr.yt*) and the topical motif of the might of the pharaoh smashing enemies (frequently attested in the text of Kadesh) is underlined with the expression *wr=f hr(w) n b3.w=k*, “its (of Hatti) ruler is fallen because of your (of Ramses) might”. The Anatolian army is compared to a flock of boars (or horses?)³⁹¹, put to flight by the arrows of the king, in a scene that resembles the common representation of the hunting king, where the act of

³⁸⁷ For a historical reconstruction of these events, see e.g. CAVILLIER 2002 and CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 68-75.

³⁸⁸ *hr=f(...).jr.y hm=f^cnh wd3 snb wnw.t 2 jw=f^ch^cw hr^ch3 p3 dmj n n3 n hr.w n Ht(3)*, “His Majesty, LPH, had spent 2 hours (already) standing and attacking the town of the Hittite foemen”. Because of this sentence is repeated twice, we can also think about four hours instead of just two: in both the situations, it would be a quite short timespan.

³⁸⁹ TLA, lemma-no. 144770; Wb IV, p. 282; cf. the form *sw3š*, TLA 129900; Wb IV, p. 63, no. 22 - p. 64, no. 3.

³⁹⁰ *n(h)m nfr fnd/sr.t n^cbtn.w sw n t3 hns*. The word *btn.w* properly characterizes the Hittites as “insurgents” (from the verb “to resist”; TLA, lemma-no. 36960; Wb I, p. 179, no. 6); the following verb *hns*, “to be narrow, to be constricted” (TLA, lemma-no. 400975; Wb III, p. 116, nos 12-16) stresses once again the inferiority of the Hittite soldiers.

³⁹¹ The term *h^cdr.wt* is differently translated as “ein Tier (a small animal, hyena?)” in TLA, lemma-no. 112860 (likewise, but even more general, Wb III, p. 214, no. 12: “ein Säugetier); Kitchen prefers “boars” (see translation *supra*), while Breasted interpreted it as “horses”, maybe wild? (*supra*). HL1, p. 620, no. 22516, translates the terms as “Erdwolf (Proteles cristatus)”. The last translation is quite interesting because in this case the submitted Hittites are described as the “Proteles cristatus/a” (see HOIBERG 2010¹⁵, s.v. “Aardwolf”) a small, shy African mammal, nocturnal and insectivorous, of the same family of the hyena (hence, the meaning in TLA): surely, this translation perfectly fits with the general sense of the passage which stresses the cowardice of the Hittite army.

hunting is a symbol of the strength of the pharaoh against the wild beasts representing the cosmic chaos which the mighty king put in order (the pharaoh is therefore connotated as a fierce lion, *m3j-ḥs3*, literally “lion with a terrible glance”³⁹²). The inconsistency of the Hittite army, whose limbs the pharaoh “sizes like fire”, is also clenched by the expression “chaff before the wind”; the Hittites opponents (*rqj.w*³⁹³) are finally defeated.

Some final remarks about the depiction of the battle of Dapur: 1) the Hittite soldiers, on top of the tower of the city, are representing with their typical features and clothes (beardless, with the common headgear with a kind of *infulae* lying of the shoulders and the long robe) in the act of shooting pebbles against the besiegers; this depiction could represent the Hittites as a country with a less developed military warfare (an idea that is also present in the spelling of the name Ḫatti, determined by the sign T14, the “throe-stick”, denoting the same meaning of weakness). However, it is noteworthy that the same soldiers are carrying also bows, the 8-shaped shield and the typical javelin, well known and perhaps appreciated by the Egyptians (see *infra*, text no. 13). 2) Some scholars³⁹⁴ noted the particular standard hung on the Hittite tower: its shape remembers a “ship sail” pierced by three arrows; a fourth arrow transfixes the rod of the standard. Breyer proposed to recognize it as the Hittite ^{KUŠ}*kurša*³⁹⁵, “Ledersack u.a. als sog. Königsfetisch”³⁹⁶ or also “(Sack aus) Leder, Haut”³⁹⁷; he also proposed that the Hittite term influenced the Egyptian language in the word $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ *k(3)-r-s(3)*, translated as “Sack”³⁹⁸, attested within a list of metal vessels and clothes in papMayer B 14,10 dealing with the tomb robberies during Ramses VI, and dated to the 20th dyn. (of course after the reign of that pharaoh, after 1145-1139 BC)³⁹⁹. Brentjes also suggested to recognize a similar standard in a scene of the battle of Kadesh, showing that the knowledge of the Egyptians about the item could be traced back at least at that moment⁴⁰⁰:

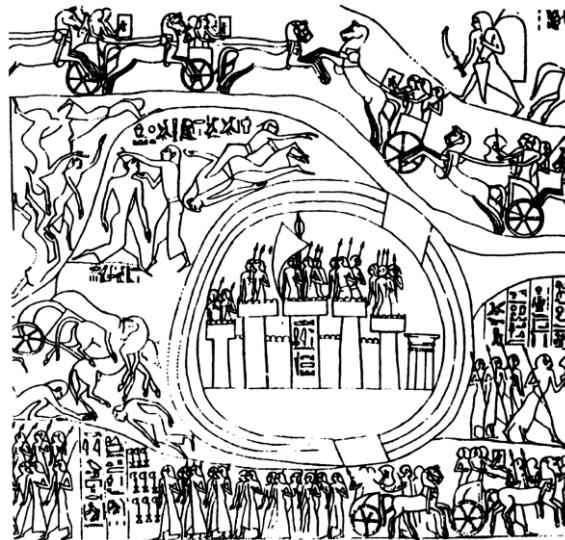


Fig. 67

³⁹² TLA, lemma-no. 66440: “grimmiger Löwe (vom Tier und bildlich), (lion with a terrible glance)”; cf. Wb II, p. 12, nos 2-5; LÄ III, p. 1080f., 1086. The term is tightly connected to the person of the pharaoh, being attested since the OK, in the “Text of the Pyramids” (see TLA, *loc. cit.*, table of the attestations, <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?f=0&l=0&of=0&ll=66440&db=0&lr=0&mo=1&wt=y&bc=Start>).

³⁹³ TLA, lemma-no. 96330; Wb II, p. 456, nos 13-20.

³⁹⁴ BRENTJES 1995; BREYER 2010a, pp. 366, 370-371; GÜTERBOCK 1989.

³⁹⁵ PUHVEL 1997, pp. 270-275; TISCHLER 1977, pp. 654-657.

³⁹⁶ BREYER 2010a, p. 370.

³⁹⁷ BREYER 2010a, p. 366.

³⁹⁸ *Ivi.* Cf. BREYER 2004, pp. 259-270; HL1, p. 957, no. 35391; HOCH 1994, pp. 332-333, no. 483; LESKO 1981-1990, vol. 4, p. 43; TLA, lemma-no. 165100: “Sack, Bündel”; Wb V, p. 135, no. 13.

³⁹⁹ PEET 1930.

⁴⁰⁰ BRENTJES 1995, p. 337, fig. 2.

This is a clear example of the influence that a Hittite object had on the Egyptian mind: the Egyptians knew the item maybe on the occasion of their military expedition in Syria (surely at Kadesh and Dapur) and then firstly portrayed it in the reliefs of the historical accounts of those battles and then introduced in their language a new loan word coming from the Hittite language: an evident clue that the contacts between the two countries did not involve just the actual events, but also influenced the iconographic and linguistic spheres⁴⁰¹.

⁴⁰¹ For these iconographical influences see mostly BREYER 2010a, pp. 421-434; cf. also CARRUBA 1976 for the signs VITA and BONUS₂ in Hieroglyphic Luwian. For the influence of Hittite on the Egyptian language, see mostly BREYER 2004 and BREYER 2010a, pp. 319-419. These topics are not considered in this work because of their vastness and the presence of other exhaustive bibliography to which I refer at the end of the dissertation.

**I. ABYDOS, TEMPLE OF RAMSES II: PASSAGES RELATED TO THE KADESH BATTLE
(19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)**

In his publication of the Abydos temple, A. Mariette quotes some passages related to the battle of Kadesh: I report these few sentences here, and not under the entry related to the battle of Kadesh, because they are strictly connected to the following list (texts nos 8.m-o) which quotes some toponyms of subjugated countries. Furthermore, the Abydos inscription presents some peculiar signs that are here analysed in detail⁴⁰².



Fig. 68

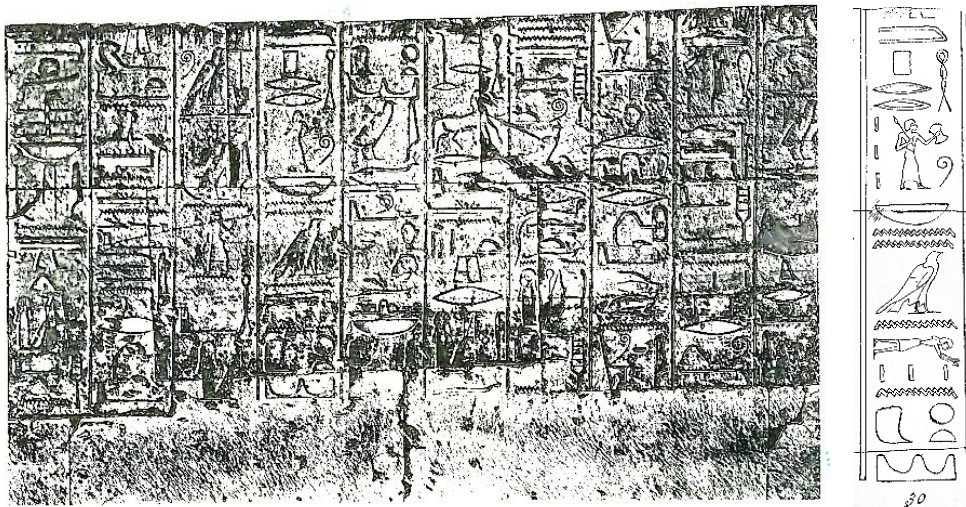
⁴⁰² The following pictures are from MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pls 4-5; some other photographs are in KUENTZ 1928, pls 1-4. Cf. also NAVILLE 1930, pp. 13ff., pls 5-25.

“To receive the booty (i.e. captives) that His Majesty brought from the victory of his strong arm in this vile land of Ḫatti and (in) this vile land of Naharin, together with the chiefs of all the foreign lands which came with the fallen of Ḫatti, as prisoners”

thr n tprt.w (m) p3 jhj.t n p3 hrw n Ḫt3

“the Tuhir of the chariots, (in) the camp of the fallen of Ḫatti”⁴⁰⁷

I do not report the transliteration and translation of the other lines where the Hittites are quoted, because they result very fragmentary and because they do not add anything to the aforementioned texts of the battle of Kadesh. By the way, I would like to quote just a passage, useful for the analysis of a specific hieroglyphic sign:



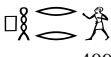
Figs 69-70

(30) [*bnr*] *m phrr.w nb n n3 n hrw n Ḫt3*

This passage of the Abydos temple clearly belongs to the text of the “Poem”, ll. 39-40:

šm.t pw jr.n ḥm=f r nw n ḥ3=f gm~n=f jnh sw 2500 n c n ḥtr.w m t3y=f w3.t bnr m phrr.w nb n n3 n hrw n Ḫt3

“Then, His Majesty advanced to look around, and he saw himself surrounded by 2500 chariots, converging against him, and by all the ‘runners’ of the fallen of Ḫatti”.

The substantive  *phrr*, “runner”⁴⁰⁸ is usually determined by the A27 sign, the “man hastening with one arm raised”⁴⁰⁹, or other quite common signs⁴¹⁰; differently, in this passage, the usual determinative is replaced by another peculiar sign portraying a standing man, in a long robe, carrying a long spear in his right hand and the typical “8 shaped” Hittite shield in his left⁴¹¹:

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, “Reliefs”, § 47.

⁴⁰⁸ HL1, p. 308, no. 11144; TLA, lemma-no. 61600; Wb I, p. 541, nos 14-18 (where the term is referred in particular to the Hittites and the Libyans, as in *KRI* II, 31, 11 and *KRI* V, 25, 14); LESKO 1982-1990, vol. 1, p. 180/154.

⁴⁰⁹ GARDINER 1957³, p. 445.


⁴¹⁰ For the other attested determinatives, see the entry in the dictionaries quoted above. For the various determinatives attested in the passage of the “Poem”, see the synoptic transcription in *KRI* II, 31, §85.

⁴¹¹ References for the following pictures: KUENTZ 1928, pl. 2, fig. 2; KUENTZ 1928, pl. 6, fig. 2.



Figs 71-72

This is another evidence that the Egyptians tried (as for the sign used to determine the Hittite kings Muwatalli II and Ḫattušili III, for which see texts nos 8.a-b) to exploit the iconic nature of the hieroglyphic writing, introducing some signs that could describe the enemy also in a pseudo-pictorial way. Schulman, in his monograph on the Egyptian military organization, provides a description of the “Hittite runners”:

“According to Wb, I, 541, 14ff, *phrr* means “’der Läufer” (the runner), and is clearly written with the determinative of the running man  who is sometimes shown armed with a shield and javelin (e.g., Kadesh Poem, par. 85). Consequently we must accept the ‘runner’ as a man who fought on foot although he was numbered expressly among the ranks of the chariotry (refs. 219, 215). As individuals Egyptian foot-soldiers are not infrequently depicted marching alongside the chariot horses (ref. 275), and in one scene (ref. 265) a squad of four of them are even shown running there. These could very well have been the Egyptian ‘runners’. Their function would probably have been to protect the horses from the enemy foot and ‘runners’. If we may use a modern analogy, we might compare this with the use of modern armour: tanks usually go into action with a complement of infantry who, acting as support troops, protect the armour from enemy infantry and hold the ground taken by it until the regular infantry comes up. Since even the king is called a ‘runner’ (ref. 217) it is clear that this was not a rank, or title, but a descriptive epithet which delineated the functions of the soldier involved. ‘Runners’ are not only attested for the Egyptian army, but for the Hittite army at the battle of Kadesh as well (ref. 156). There, since the Hittite chariotry crews, in contrast to the Egyptians, consisted of three men, it has been assumed that of these, one was the ‘charioteer’, the second was the ‘chariot-warrior’, and the third the ‘runner’ who dismounted and fought on foot when the need arose. While possible and plausible, this cannot be proved”⁴¹². The particular scene where the Hittite runner is quoted is indeed that of the Kadesh “Poem”, §§84-85: “He (Ramesses) found that twenty-five hundred chariot-teams surrounded him in his way out with every runner of the Hittite enemies and the numerous countries with them”⁴¹³.

⁴¹² SCHULMAN 1964, pp. 38-39.

⁴¹³ *Ivi*, p. 113, note 156. Cf. *supra*, text no. 8.a and *KRITA* II, p. 5.

**m. ABYDOS, TEMPLE OF RAMSES II: LIST OF SUBJUGATED ASIATIC PEOPLE
(19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)**

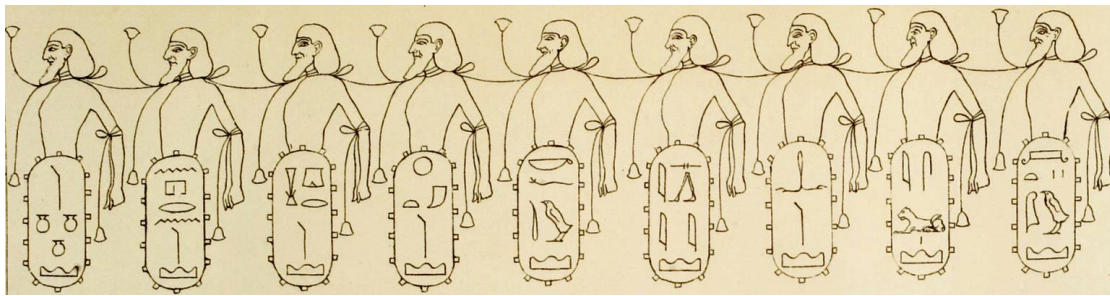
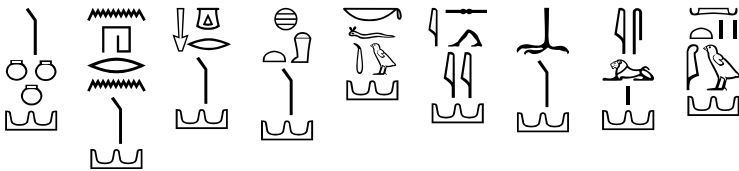


Fig. 73

This list of subjugated people is engraved on the walls of the 1st pylon of Ramses II's temple at Abydos; among some other countries, also Hatti is listed here⁴¹⁴.

TLA, DZA 10.1246 (28.149.730)

*Hieroglyphic text*⁴¹⁵



*Transliteration*⁴¹⁶

Tjnw, Nhrn, Sngr, Ht3, Kftjw, Jsy, Š3t, Jsr, Pdtyšw

Translation

Tjehenu (= Lybia), *Naharin* (= Mittani), *Sangar* (= Babylon), **Hatti**, *Keftiu* (= Crete), *Jsy* (= Assuwa = Išuwa⁴¹⁷), *Shat* (= Nubien?), *Asiru*⁴¹⁸, *Pedjetyšu* (= ?)⁴¹⁹.

The scene is described by Mariette in detail:

“*Listes des peuples vaincus*. Ces deux listes sont respectivement placées dans les angles nord-ouest et sud-ouest de la cour A, près des portes des chambres H et O; on les trouvera sur noire planche 2, et *b*. La rangée supérieure appartient aux peuples du nord, la rangée inférieure, aux peuples du sud. La rangée supérieure est surmontée d'une ligue horizontale de texte qui lui sert de titre. On la lit ainsi : « (Voici) toutes les plaines, toutes les régions montagneuses des Septentrionaux, les plaines, les lieux maritimes des rebelles. ..., toutes les terres des révoltés contre Sa Majesté depuis les limites delà nuit hyperboréenne jusqu'aux quatre piliers du ciel (au sud), (soumis) par ce dieu bienfaisant, le seigneur des deux mondes, l'aimé du soleil. » Les neuf cartouches qui suivent ne contiennent aucun nom que nous ne connaissions déjà. Ils sont rangés dans cet ordre : 1° *Tahennou* (la Lybie); 2° *Nahran* (la Mésopotamie); 3° *Senkour*; 4° *Kheta*; 5° *Keftou* (la Phénicie sidonienne); 6° *Amasi* (la Phénicie septentrionale, c'est-à-dire, selon M. Maspero, le pays des Giblites, d'Arad et de Marath); 7° *Pat*; 8° *Asour*; 9° *Patti Schou*. La rangée inférieure a perdu une partie de l'inscription horizontale qui lui servait de titre. On peut lire encore : « (Voici) toutes les plaines du pays des nègres, toutes les régions montagneuses de *Khent-hen-nefer*, (voici) tous les princes de la Nubie ... » Nous n'avons rien à dire des neuf

⁴¹⁴ See MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pl. 2a: “List of the people of the North” (here as Fig. 73).

⁴¹⁵ Cf. SIMONS 1937, p. 162.

⁴¹⁶ Transliteration and translation are mine.

⁴¹⁷ HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988: “Asija (ein Land; *Zypern; *Assuwa, in Westkleinasien”).

⁴¹⁸ Maybe a place in Syria-Palestine, according to HL1, p. 1119, no. 40996. Or, more probably, just “Assyria” (HL1, p. 1119; no. 41001; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191*; cf. also GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 171ff., no. 265.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. also HL1, p. 1145, no. 41567: “*Pd_w-š (*Pd_w), Pedju-schi (*See von Abusir”).

cartouches suivants, qui ne sont que la répétition des neuf premiers cartouches de la liste déjà connue du pylône⁴²⁰.

Of course, the list is not an *unicum*, and several other similar lists could be easily found at Karnak and elsewhere. However, what seems important to be stressed in this list is the particular position taken up by the name of Ḥatti among the other subdued countries. As already stressed above, all these lands belong to the Northern part of the world in the Egyptian geographical mind (as far we can reconstruct)⁴²¹. The list begins from the West, with Tjehenu, i.e. the Libyans⁴²²; then follow Naharin, the former Mittanian area in Syria-Northern Mesopotamia (Mariette considered it as the name for Mesopotamia itself, see *supra*)⁴²³, and Sangar, the name used for Babylon at that time⁴²⁴. After Sangar, there is the quotation of Ḥatti⁴²⁵; it is not clear if the list follows a geographical or a “ethnic” criterion, placing the names according to their rank: it seems that neither the former or the latter could fit properly. After Ḥatti, are quoted the Keftiu (= Crete)⁴²⁶ and other terms whose identification is not ensured: *Jsy*, for instance, is not included in GARDINER 1947; according to Mariette, following Maspero, it could be the northern part of Phoenicia, while Hannig considers it as Asija (maybe Cyprus)⁴²⁷ or *Assuwa = Išuwa, the well-known area in eastern Anatolia⁴²⁸. The toponym no. 7, read by Mariette as “*Pat*”, is however to be considered as a rendering for *Šat*, considered by Hannig as “*Nubien, ein Neunbogenland”⁴²⁹. The following toponym *Jsr* is translated by Gardiner as “Asher”, a place located in Syria, or “Assyria”⁴³⁰. The last name, *Pdtyšw*, is the most difficult to be identified: it is translated in Wb as “*pd-tjw-šw.t* (?), Name eines der neun Bogenvölker”⁴³¹; the toponym is also in TLA (lemma-no. 600084) translated as “Pedjtu-Schu (ethn. Bez. eines der Neun-Bogen-Völker)”⁴³², referring to WILSON 1997, p. 386. The term clearly refers to one of the Nine Bows, as stated in LÄ IV, p. 472, where the term denotes the people of the “eastern desert” (“Ostwüste?”). The comparison of this list with those already discussed above (see text no. 6.a)⁴³³, attested on the temple of Seti I at Karnak, offers a quite interesting insight upon the ancient Egyptian view of the world and, specifically for our topic, to the position of Ḥatti inside it. The difference between this list and the two previous ones, is that it seems to be quite more detailed in the definition of the subjugated countries: while in Seti I’s lists Ḥatti is described as one of the western Asiatic countries, in the present list it seems to be included inside a quite wider list, considering not just Asia alone but also the entire eastern Mediterranean. Another list quoting Ḥatti is presented in the following entry.

⁴²⁰ MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pp. 12-13.

⁴²¹ Mariette divided the two lists on the first pylon in “Liste des peuples du Nord” (MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, “Table des matières” and pl. 2a) and “Liste des peuples du Midi” (MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, “Table des matières” and pl. 2b).

⁴²² GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 116*ff., no. 239.

⁴²³ *Ivi*, pp. 155*ff., no. 260.

⁴²⁴ *Ivi*, pp. 209*f., no. 286; a discussion about the equation Sangar = Babylon is in GARDINER 1947, vol. 2, pp. 323f., no. 239.

⁴²⁵ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 127*ff. (no. 245), 179*; vol. 2, p. 324.

⁴²⁶ *Ivi*, vol. 1, p. 203*.

⁴²⁷ In this case it should be a less common writing for the well attested *Jrs* = Alašiya (see HL1, p. 1116, no. 40933 and GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 131*; vol. 2, p. 324).

⁴²⁸ HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988.

⁴²⁹ HL1, p. 1189, no. 42520 (cf. Wb IV, p. 402, no. 7 and LÄ IV, p. 472f.).

⁴³⁰ HL1, p. 1119; no. 41001; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191*.

⁴³¹ Wb I, p. 570, no. 5.

⁴³² But cf. also previous note quoting HL1, p. 1145, no. 41567.

⁴³³ KIU 1012, 49: “Tribesmen of Nubia, Bedouins of Asia, Ḥatti, Naharina, Upper Retchenu, Lower Retchenu, Babylon, Tunip (?)”; KIU 1013, 32: “Bedouins of Asia, Ḥatti, Naharina, Upper Retchenu, Lower Retchenu, Babylon, Tunip (?), Kadesh, *P3bh*, Qatna”.

n. LUXOR: LISTS OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES AND PROCESSION OF THE “BERGGÖTTER” IN FRONT OF RAMSES II (19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)

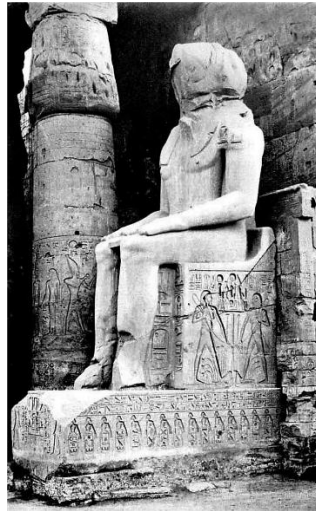





Fig. 74

On some Rameses II's colossi, placed at the entrance of the pylon of Luxor temple⁴³⁴, two topographical lists are engraved, which included also the mention of Ḫatti. One of them was published by Daressy, in 1894:

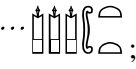



DARESSY 1894, pp. 49-50:

CV. — Le déblayement du temple de Louxor est maintenant terminé, sauf clans la partie N.-E. occupée encore par la mosquée d'Abou-l'Haggag. Voici les principaux textes mis à jour par les derniers travaux. Des listes de peuples vaincus sont reproduites en plusieurs endroits; elles datent toutes de Ramsès II. Ce sont, autour de la base du grand colosse qui est assis devant le pylône occidental Nègres et Sémites alternés : [...]. Statue debout devant le pylône.

1° Devant :

- (1)  ;
- (2)  ;
- (3)  .

2° Côté ouest :

- (1) homme à turban, nom détruit ;
- (2) Sémite, nom détruit ;
- (3)  ;
- (4) Sémite  ;
- (5) **Khéta**  ;
- (6) Sémite  ;

⁴³⁴ One of them is portrayed here in a picture from the frontispiece of SIMONS 1937 (Gaddi's photograph).

(7) **Khéta**, nom détruit ;

(8) Sémite  ;

(9) ... .

Transliteration

Front side

1 *H3(j.w)-nb.w(t)/H3.w-nb.wt*

2 *Š3tr ?*

3 *T3-šm^cw-(r)?*

West side

3 *Jwntj.w Stt*

4 *Mntj.w Stt*

5 **Ht3**

6 *Nhryn*

7 **Ht3 ?**

8 *Jsr*

9 [...]*m(w)jbr?*

Translation

Front side

1 “the Mediterranean island(er)s”⁴³⁵

2 Shat (= Nubien)?

3 Upper Egypt ?⁴³⁶

West side

3 Bedouins of Nubia

4 Bedouins of Sehel

5 **Hatti**

6 Naharin

7 **Hatti ?**

8 Asiru/Asher⁴³⁷

9 [...]*m(w)jbr ?*

The same list was published by Kyle in 1908⁴³⁸, where the name of Hatti is spelled as follows:



Some of the toponyms listed here are the same already occurred in the two lists of Seti I, in Karnak temple (see *supra*, texts nos 6.a-b).

Moreover, Simons republished the same list, in 1937 (inscription XXIID)⁴³⁹ offering a plan with the location of the inscriptions (here following)⁴⁴⁰:

⁴³⁵ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, no. 276, p. 208*; HL1, pp. 534-535, no. 19315: “Ägäis, Bewohner der Ägäis”.

⁴³⁶ Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 105*. However, I am quite doubtful about this reading (almost because the uncommon spelling).

⁴³⁷ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191ff.*, no. 265; HL1, p. 1119, no. 40996: “eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina”.

⁴³⁸ KYLE 1908, p. 223.

⁴³⁹ SIMONS 1937, pp. 155-156; the position and the inscription itself are described as follows: “Standing statue before first pylon, extreme right (north-west): east side: 12 African names and figures of three different types; six names can still be read”.

⁴⁴⁰ SIMONS 1937, p. 68, plan XV.

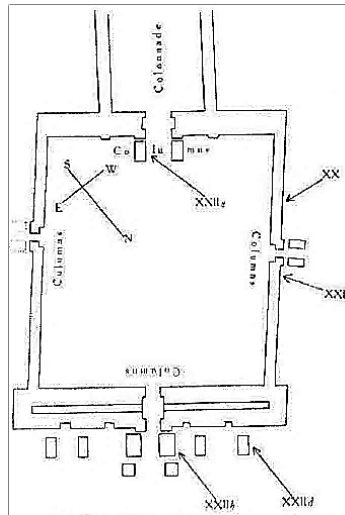
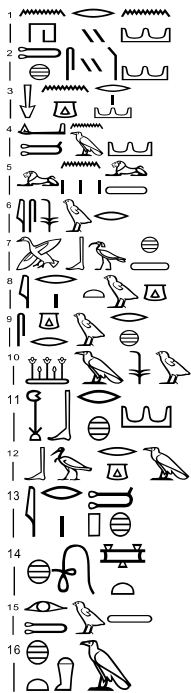


Fig. 75

In addition to this list, already presented by both Daressy and Kyle, Simons transcribes also inscription XXIIg, which directly quotes Ḫatti⁴⁴¹:

SIMONS 1937, pp. 155-156:

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

- 1 *Nhr(y)n*
- 2 *Ṭḥs(y)/Ṭḥsj*
- 3 *Sngr*
- 4 *Mṭn*
- 5 *Rnr*
- 6 *Jss(w)r*
- 7 *Pbḥ*

⁴⁴¹ SIMONS 1937, p. 155; the position and the inscription itself are described as follows: “Statue in court before second pylon, left of entrance to colonnade: west side: 16 name-rings with Semitic (bearded) figures”.

- 8 *Jrtg*
- 9 *Sgr(w)rh*
- 10 *Š3sw*
- 11 *Ḫbrḫ*
- 12 *Brg*
- 13 *Jrtph*
- 14 *Ḫw3t*
- 15 *Jrt(w)*
- 16 **Ḫt3**

Translation

- 1 Naharin
- 2 Takhsy⁴⁴² (a district to the North or South of Kadesh)
- 3 Babylon
- 4 Mittani⁴⁴³
- 5 Lullu(wa), Lullubim⁴⁴⁴
- 6 Assyria⁴⁴⁵
- 7 Pabahḫi (“the mountain land”)⁴⁴⁶
- 8 Artuga⁴⁴⁷
- 9 “Land of the river Sagur”⁴⁴⁸
- 10 “Shasu Bedouins”⁴⁴⁹
- 11 Ḫabur land⁴⁵⁰
- 12 Barga⁴⁵¹
- 13 “Land of Ardupa”, *Ardupahḫi⁴⁵²
- 14 Ḫut/Ḫuat/Huwe (*Cilicia)⁴⁵³
- 15 Arzawa⁴⁵⁴
- 16 **Ḫatti**

Comparing the present with previous lists, it is clear that this one offers a deeper insight into the peripheral area of the Ḫatti land, including some of the most common names of larger entities, like Babylon, Naharin and Assyria; on the other hand, it also lists some particular areas belonging to the Anatolian area: the toponyms numbered as 14 and 15 refer to the regions of classical Cilicia (the Hittite Kizzuwatna and Arzawa), the well-known confederation dwelling in western Anatolia, which is attested also in the El-Amarna letters 31-32, exchanged between the king of Arzawa, Tarḫundaradu and Amenhotep III.

⁴⁴² GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, no. 258, pp. 148ff.; vol. 2, p. 273*.

⁴⁴³ *Ivi*, pp. 173*, 178*.

⁴⁴⁴ HL1, p. 1163, no. 41963: “westiranisches Randgebirge im Bereich von Sulaimaniya, östlich von Assur im Zagros-Gebirge”.

⁴⁴⁵ HL1, p. 1119; no. 41001; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 191*.

⁴⁴⁶ HL1, p. 1140, no. 41445: “eine Örtlichkeit östlich von Diyarbekir”; TLA, lemma-no. 854940; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 2, p. 37; cf. also EDEL 1975, pp. 51ff. and *KRITANC* I, pp. 31ff.

⁴⁴⁷ HL1, p. 1117, no. 40948: “*Ardukka, eine Örtlichkeit in Asien”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 58ff.

⁴⁴⁸ HL1, p. 1187, no. 42482: “Land des Flusses Sagur (heute: beim Flusse Sagur, Nordsyrien, ein Nebenfluss des Euphrats”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 55ff.

⁴⁴⁹ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 183*, 193*.

⁴⁵⁰ HL1, p. 1176, no. 42237.

⁴⁵¹ HL1, p. 1137, no. 41379: “Barga (heute *Barqum, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”; TLA, lemma-no. 854949; cf. *KRITANC* I, p. 32f.

⁴⁵² HL1, p. 1117: “eine Örtlichkeit in Asien, im Kashiari-Gebirge am Oberen Chabur. Vielleicht identisch mit *Jrrph*”. Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 177* (*Jrrph* = Arrapha = Kirkûk); vol. 2, p. 273* and EDEL 1975, pp. 56ff.

⁴⁵³ HL1, p. 1176, no. 42235; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 64ff.

⁴⁵⁴ HL1, p. 1117, no. 40950: “Land an Westküste Kleinasiens”. Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 129*ff., 135*; vol. 2, p. 324.

mountain here quoted as a god; even though the Hittites had some particular gods associated with mountains⁴⁶¹, I do not believe that this passage could specifically refer to one of them.

⁴⁶¹ See e.g. HAAS 1982.

o. KARNAK, 9th PYLON: LIST OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES (19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)

This topographical list is engraved on the South face of the 9th pylon at Karnak⁴⁶², where Ramses II is portrayed in libating to the god Amun; the inscription, which consists of two series disposed on two wings, lies below this scene:



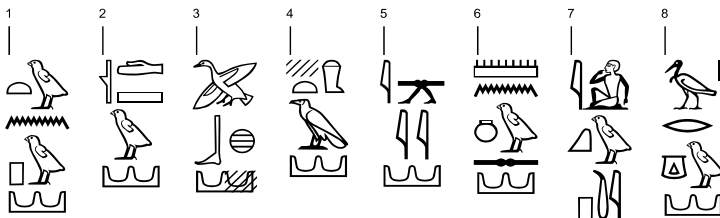
Figs 76-77

Hieroglyphic text

KITCHEN 1965, pl. 5, fig. 7:

East wing

Series d (right-hand): Asiatic



Transliteration⁴⁶³

1 *T(w)np(w)*

2 *Qdš(w)*

3 *P(3)bh*

4 **Ht3**

5 *Jsy*

6 *Mn(n)ws*

7 *Jq(w)pt(j)*

8 *B(3)rg(w)*

Translation

KITCHEN 1965, p. 8⁴⁶⁴:

1 Tunip⁴⁶⁵

2 Qadesh⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶² Further bibliography in PM II, p. 181, no. 542.

⁴⁶³ Transliteration of the author.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. JURKU 1937, p. 42, no. 19.

⁴⁶⁵ HL1, p. 1203, no. 42843; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 179*.

⁴⁶⁶ HL1, p. 1195, no. 42662; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 137*ff., no. 252.

- 3 Pabaḫḫi (“the mountain land”)⁴⁶⁷
 4 **Hatti**
 5 Assuwa = Išuwa ?⁴⁶⁸
 6 Minos, in Crete⁴⁶⁹
 7 ’ Iqpet⁴⁷⁰
 8 Barga⁴⁷¹

The list is followed by a final subscription, reported by Kitchen⁴⁷²: “All land[s] and rebellious foreign countries, Fenkhu who know not Egypt, chiefs(?) of the Isles in the midst of the Great Green (Sea), all rebellious foreign countries that come bowing down to the might of His Majesty, at the feet of this good god forever, forever”.

The list does not offer further insights about the representation of the Hittites: the name Ḫatti is listed among a quite usual series of names, with no particular additions to previous lists. Two remarks deserve to be stressed: 1) the quotation, for the first time together with Ḫatti⁴⁷³, of Iqpet/*Ukupta, a not better precised city in North Syria, not far from Aleppo; 2) the presence, just after Ḫatti, of the region of Išuwa, an eastern Anatolian confederation (even if could also refer to Cyprus; see notes to previous topographical lists).

⁴⁶⁷ HL1, p. 1140, no. 41445: “eine Örtlichkeit östlich von Diyarbekir”; TLA, lemma-no. 854940; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 2, p. 37; cf. also EDEL 1975, pp. 51ff. and *KRITANC* I, pp. 31ff.

⁴⁶⁸ HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988: “Asija (ein Land; *Zypern; *Assuwa, in Westkleinasien”).

⁴⁶⁹ HL1, p. 1149, no. 41664; TLA, lemma-no. 854943; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 3, p. 37 and *KRITANC* I, p. 32.

⁴⁷⁰ HL1, p. 1120, no. 41017; “Iqpet, *Ukupta (in Nordsyrien, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 60ff. Cf. *supra*, text no. 7 col. 28.

⁴⁷¹ HL1, p. 1137, no. 41379: “Barga (heute *Barqum, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Syrien-Palästina)”; TLA, lemma-no. 854949; cf. *KRITANC* I, p. 32f.

⁴⁷² KITCHEN 1965, p. 8.

⁴⁷³ Other quotations are in lists of Seti I (SIMONS 1937, list XIII, no. 33 and list XIV, no. 31) and two more lists of Ramses II (SIMONS 1937, list XXI, no. 36 and list XXIV, no. 18).

p. FRAGMENT OF STELA, FROM BUBASTIS, FESTIVAL HALL
(19th dyn., reign of Ramses II, 1279-1213 BC)

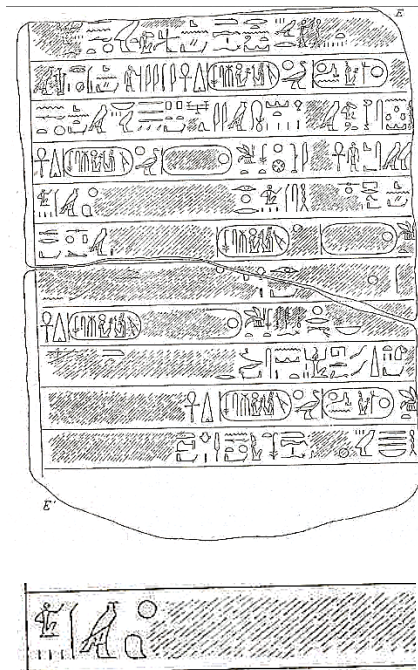


Fig. 78

The name of Ḥatti is also attested on a fragment of a huge tablet (a stela?) described by Naville in his publication about Bubastis: “What remains of a great tablet of red granite, discovered near the eastern entrance of the Festival Hall; it was an eulogy of the king, celebrating his high deeds in his wars against his neighbours. L. 1, it is said that *he smote the chiefs of the Retennu with his valiant sword*. The Retennu are the nations of Northern Syria. L. 3, *the Thehennu* are mentioned: *the remembrance of his victories remains among the remote nations, when he trod under his feet all countries, by his valiance and courage*. L. 4 speaks of prisoners brought living to Egypt. L. 5, *of negroes and Khetas*. L. 9, he is celebrated as *the valorous bull who knock down millions of countries*. The nearly complete loss of this tablet is not much to be regretted; it was a bombastic praise of the king written in stereotypes sentences, and mentioning victories which he may never have gained, and nations against whom it is not certain that he ever had to fight”⁴⁷⁴. Naville then stressed the importance of the other fragments of the tablet, showing a list quoting some names of subjugated people: among them, also Qode, Sangar (and maybe Naharina), which are quite often mentioned together with Ḥatti; despite the lacunas state of preservation of this list, it is possible to imagine that also the Hittite land could have been quoted⁴⁷⁵. I do not report for this text the hieroglyphic transcription and the transliteration, because of its incomplete state of preservation and the absence of particular terms useful to provide a wider comment.

⁴⁷⁴ NAVILLE 1891, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁷⁵ For the fragments of the topographical list, see NAVILLE 1891, pl. 36, fr. B and D.

9. THE TEXTS OF THE LIBYAN WAR OF MERNEPTAH

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Historical texts
Dating	19 th dyn. (Merneptah, 1213-1203 BC)
Location	Karnak and Thebes
Content	Sending of grains to Ḫatti; description of the difficult situation in Anatolia

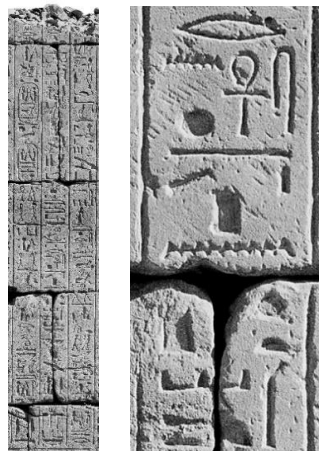
a. The Great Karnak Inscription



Fig. 79

This text, engraved on walls just after the 7th pylon in the temple of Karnak, is dated to the 5th year of pharaoh Merneptah (19th dynasty, 1213-1203 BC) and tells us about a period of intestine and external difficulties of the Egyptian land, fighting against the pressure of the Libyan people from the north-west. In this passage, the text quotes the dispatch of ships with grain sent to the Hittites to sustain them against a famine hitting the country. The reasons of this famine have been explained by J. van Dijk: “The previous decades had seen a great migration in the Aegean and Ionian world that had probably been caused by widespread crop failure and famine. According to a long inscription at Karnak (between the Seventh Pylon and the central part of the temple), Merenptah had actually sent grain to the starving Hittites, still Egypt’s ally in the East. Many important centres of Mycenaean Greece had been violently destroyed and the western fringes of the Hittite empire had begun to collapse”⁴⁷⁶.

I provide here the picture of the interesting portion of the text⁴⁷⁷:



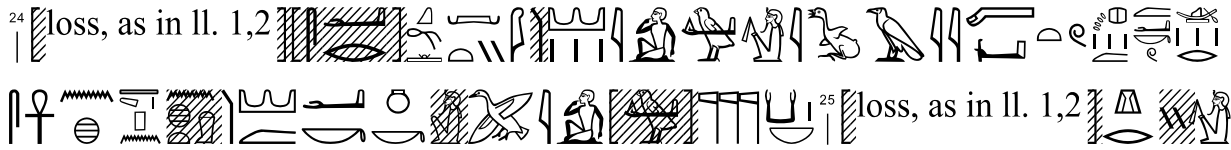
Figs 80-81

⁴⁷⁶ SHAW 2003², p. 295.

⁴⁷⁷ Project *Karnak*, CNRS-CFEETK 154712 (<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=154712>).

KRI IV, 5, 3⁴⁷⁸:

Hieroglyphic text



Trasliteration

(24) [...] [^sr]q P^dty-šw j.d=j jt3=tw jt m m^ck.w r
 s^cnh t3 pn [n Ht3] m=k jnk p3 j.d ntr.w k3 nb (25) [...] h[r.y=j]

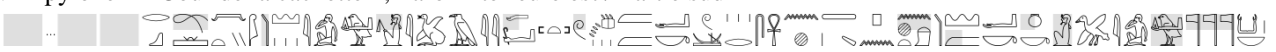
Translation⁴⁷⁹

(24) [..... large loss? Already, I have acted], putting an end to the Pedjtiu-Shu. I caused grain to be taken in ships to sustain this land of **Hatti**. See, I am the one [into whose charge] the gods have given all (manner of) sustenance, (25) [..... large loss] under me [...].

After the Kadesh treaty, a peaceful period began between the Hittites and the Egyptians. This situation continued also under the reign of Ramses II’s successor, Merneptah. Because of the famine in the Hittite land, this pharaoh boasts of having kept alive the Hittites, sending them, by ships (*m m^ck.w*), some grain. This is important also because this passage proves, once again, the presence of maritime trades between Egypt and Hatti, maybe through the important costal site of Ugarit. Some reflections about this theme will be proposed *infra*, in section 3.1. On the other hand, Breasted also proposed that the Hittites could be included among the invasors: “The king evidently regards Kheta as included in the coalition of northern peoples against Egypt, and the logic of the reference seems to be Kheta’s ingratitude in joining a combination against the Egyptians, who had sent grain for her maintenance, as if such grain had not been sent in a commercial way, but from philanthropic motives, which, of course, was probably not the case. In view of the mention of Kheta among the defeated peoples in the Hymn of Victory (§ 617, 1. 26), the question arises whether Kheta already in the year 3 had not been in such close sympathy with the plans of these allies that Merneptah had extended against the Kheta also the campaign on which the Asiatic peoples and towns mentioned in the Hymn of Victory (§617,11.26-28) were pillaged. I can only answer this question in the affirmative. The plunder of a few towns on the Hittite border in Syria would be quite sufficient, in the eyes of an oriental, to justify the boast in 1. 26”⁴⁸⁰.

Of course, the pharaoh does not lose the opportunity of remarking his status of superiority towards the Hittite king: he says that he sent grain in order “to sustain this land of Hatti” (*r s^cnh t3 pn [n Ht3]*), stressing again his divine position as the only middleman between the gods and the human beings (*jnk p3 j.d ntr.w k3 nb*); it is also remarkable to underline that the basic meaning “to make/cause live” of the causative verb *s^cnh* also provide the resultative meaning “to nourish, to feed”⁴⁸¹: thus, the passage could also be easily translated as “I caused grain to be taken in ships to feed this land of Hatti”. Under this respect the pharaoh, as the keeper of the cosmic order, is in charge of the surviving not only of Egyptian people but also of other foreign countries (of course in good relationships with him). The famine that hit the Hittites started some time before the accession of Merneptah, if we consider two letters exchanged between the two courts:

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. also MANASSA 2003 and Project *Karnak*, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/4246#index>. A similar version of the text is in KIU 4246, 24 (<http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/4246>): KIU 4246, 24: XIX^e dynastie / Mérenptah / Cour du VII^e pylône - « Cour de la cachette », Paroi intérieure est / Partie sud


 [...] ... [^sr]q P^dty-šw j.d=j jt3=tw jt m m^ckw r s^cnh t3 pn ny Ht3 m=k jnk p3 j.d ntr.w k3 nb

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. also BREASTED 1906, III, pp. 240ff.

⁴⁸⁰ BREASTED 1906, III, p. 244, note h.

⁴⁸¹ FAULKNER 2002¹⁰, p. 214; cf. ALLEN 2000, p. 210, note 8.

KUB XXI 38 (ÄHK no. 105, L2, pp. 216-223)⁴⁸²:

Puduḥepa to Ramses

Vs.

17' A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-ma ku-it kiš-an AŠ-PUR A-NA DUMU.SAL-ua ku-in NAM.RA.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ
UDU.ḪI.A pí-eš-ki-mi nu-ua-mu-kán ŠÀ KUR.KUR.MEŠ

Vs.

17' Was ich meinem Bruder, wie folgt, geschrieben habe: „Die Kolonen, das Großvieh (und) das
Kleinvieh, die ich der Tochter geben werde, (dafür) habe ich kein Getreide in (meinen) Ländern.

KUB III 34 (ÄHK no. 78, H3, pp. 181-185)⁴⁸³:

Ramses to Ḫattušili

Rs.

15 um-ma-a i-din a-na a-la-ki DUMU.LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti ¹Ḫi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma
16 a-na ma-ḫa-ri {a-na} gab-bi ^{GIS}MAÁ.MEŠ ša šu-nu iḫ-tu(!)
17 i-na ŠE.BAR(!).MEŠ ù iḫ(!)-tu(!) i-na ki-ba-ti ^{MEŠ}ar-ḫi-iš
18 ar-ḫi-iš ù šu-ú li-iš-ru-uḫ gab-bi ^{GIS}MAÁ.MEŠ
19 a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i KIN.MEŠ
20 a-na e-pe[-ši -]šu-nu
21 [..... li(?)]-iš-mu-ú
[22] [...

Rs.

15 So (sprich): Laß den Prinzen des Landes Ḫatti, Ḫišmišarma, gehen,
16 um alle Schiffe eilends, eilends in Empfang zu nehmen, die man versorgt hat
17 mit Gerste(!) und versorgt hat mit Weizen!
18 Und er soll alle Schiffe (wieder) zurücksenden,
19 um sie nach dem Lande Ägypten fahren zu lassen um (Transport)leistungen
20 auszuführen] ihr/sie
21 [.....] sie [sollen] hören
[22] [...

This second letter is noteworthy: the pharaoh seems to be complaining because the ships sent to Ḫatti are detained in the Hittite land and therefore the Egyptian king asks those to be sent back in Egypt. According to some scholars, the problem of the famine was only one of those which led the Hittite Empire to become weaker: around the same times⁴⁸⁴, the Hittite king Tudḫaliya IV writes to the king of Ugarit asking for 450 tons of grain⁴⁸⁵. On the other hand, some scholars think that the shipment of grain to the Hittites by the Egyptian king was not actually an act of philanthropy. G.A. Wainwright⁴⁸⁶, for instance, described it as “a case of high policy, an effort of self-preservation”. In addition, Wainwright connects this act to the Treaty: “Menephtah’s sending of food [...] while not required by the treaty was certainly in accordance with its spirit”⁴⁸⁷. Furthermore, the despatching of grain to sustain a weaker country was indeed a *topos* in the Ancient Near East: “The sending of grain by friendly states to alleviate famine turns out to have been an old-established custom in the Ancient Near East. In the First Intermediate Period Ankhtifi sent corn to the Nubians of wawat during a famine from his town of Mo^calla in Upper Egypt. Similarly, in the eighteenth century B.C. the country of Imar sent grain to Zimri-Lim of Mari in Mesopotamia in the same circumstances, and Hammurabi of Babylon had also offered to do so”⁴⁸⁸. In this case, the text engraved on the walls of Karnak temple

⁴⁸² Cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text. no. 35.

⁴⁸³ Cf. *infra*, the presentation and the commentary to the letter in section 1.2.1, text. no. 26.q.

⁴⁸⁴ According to Wainwright, before 1219 BC (WAINWRIGHT 1960, p. 25). Cf. SINGER 1999; SINGER 2000; SINGER 2006c.

⁴⁸⁵ RS 20.212. For these letters between the Hittite and Ugaritic kings, see mainly CLINE 2014, pp.168ff.

⁴⁸⁶ WAINWRIGHT 1960.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ivi*, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ivi*, p. 24, note 4.

should be considered as another specimen of the internal propaganda of the pharaoh who, as his father Ramses, tells his subjects a partial version of the events, stressing, once again, the ontological superiority of the Egyptian king among (and above) all the others “Great kings”.

b. The Stela of Victory (so-called “Stela of Israel”)



Fig. 82

This black granite stela, now kept in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (JE 31408, CGC 34028), was discovered by Petrie in 1896 in the ruin of Merneptah’s mortuary temple at Thebes⁴⁸⁹. The text of Merneptah’s “Hymn of Victory over the Libyans” is engraved on the back of the stela which has been formerly used by Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple. The text is a poetic encomium celebrating the victory of the pharaoh over the Libyans (called Tjehenu), in his 5th regnal year (1219 BC).

Hieroglyphic text (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported)

SPIEGELBERG 1896, p. 9:



Transliteration

wr.w ꜥḥd ḥr dd šrm bn wꜥ ḥr f3(j) tp=f m t3 psd.t fh n Tḥnw Ht3 ḥtp(.w)

Translation⁴⁹⁰ (I quote here a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

BREASTED 1906, III, pp. 263-264:

(26) [...] The kings are overthrown, saying: “Salâm!” Not one holds up his head among the Nine Bows. Wasted is Tehenu, **Kheta** is pacified, plundered is Pekanan (*P’-k’-n^c-n^c*, sic!), with every evil, (27) carried off is Askalon (*’-s-k’-r-ny*), seized upon is Gezer (*K’-d’-’*), Yenoam (*Y-nw-^c-mw*) is made as a thing not existing. Israel (*’-s-r-’-r*) is desolated, his seed is not; Palestine (*H’-rw*) has become a widow (28) for Egypt. All lands are united, they are pacified; everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merneptah, given life like Re, every day.

It is important to compare this passage with that in the previous entry, both belonging to the reign of the same king and almost datable within the very same years. Moreover, both the texts can be included in the literary “genre” of the royal propaganda: therefore, of course, they are not to be considered as proper historical sources (if not including some limits in our understanding). Nevertheless, this second text insists on many remarkable aspects: the most important is the insistence of the pharaoh on the

⁴⁸⁹ See BREASTED 1906, III, pp. 256ff.; for the text, see Lacau 1909, pp. 47-59, pls XV-XIX; SPIEGELBERG 1896 and 1897.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. also SPIEGELBERG 1896, p. 14 and Id. 1897, p. 28.

theme of the peace which is described as a universal condition granted by the king's victory above his enemies. Particularly interesting is the use of the Semitic word for peace *slm* (spelled in the passage as *šrm*): this word⁴⁹¹ was surely quite well known to the Egyptian *élite*, and mostly to the Egyptian royal court, because of his frequent use inside the international correspondence, during both the 18th and the 19th dynasties (respectively in the Amarna and in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence)⁴⁹². Then, it is said that “the kings are overthrown”: this passage refers to some kings that should have been submitted, namely Tjehenu (the Libyans)⁴⁹³, Kheta, Pekanan, Askalon, Gezer, Yenoam, Israel and Palestine. The political situations of these different areas after the king's victory are quite different and it is much more noteworthy that only the condition of the Hatti land is considered in a positive way: while all the other countries are in a wretched status (“wasted, plundered, carried off, seized upon, made as nothing”), the sole Hittite land is denoted as “pacified”, *ḥtp(=w)*, a stative form that could be more literally translated as “has become pacified (in the past)” > “is in peace (in the present)”. This term could be understood in two opposite ways: 1) the Hittite land is pacified, because there are wars with other states; 2) the Hittite land is pacified because the pharaoh defeated it, and so it is “in peace”, in the meaning of “to be quiet, to be no more dangerous”. Under this second perspective, the Hittites should be included inside the list of the “overthrown” kings⁴⁹⁴ and of the “united and pacified lands” quoted in l. 28. In any case, this passage strengthens once again the superiority of the Egyptian king all over the other countries, including the Hittite land: the pharaoh is regarded as the only person able to “bound everyone that is turbulent”.

⁴⁹¹ For the use of this word among the Egyptian literature see TLA, under lemma “Srm” (lemma-no. 156780 and 156790), with further bibliography.

⁴⁹² See e.g., all the incipits of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence, quoted here *infra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 18ff.

⁴⁹³ Wb V, p. 394.10.

⁴⁹⁴ Also Breasted stressed this possibility: see quotation *supra* from BREASTED 1906, III, p. 244, note h.

10. PAPANAST. II, 2, 1ff.: Rto 1.1-2.5, “Praise for Pi-Ramesse”, l. 2.3 = PAPANAST. IV 6, 1ff.: Rto 6.1-6.10, “Praise for Pi-Ramesse”, l. 6.9

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Praise
Dating	19 th dyn., reigns of Merneptah (1213-1203 BC) or Seti II (1202-1200 BC)
Location	Papyrus (from Saqqara?)
Content	Hatti is described as a submitted land, living thanks to the pharaoh’s willing



Fig. 83

Papyrus Anastasi II is a Late-Egyptian text written in hieratic. The papyrus was purchased by Anastasi, the Swedish consul in Egypt, in 1839; unfortunately, its provenience is unknown, but Saqqara (Memphis) seems to be the probable find spot (currently held in the British Museum, inv. no. EA10243, 2). It was probably about 3.30 cm long and 21 cm high, but it is now preserved just for 91.5 cm length and 26.5 cm width. The name of the scribe is also unknown but, according to the analysis of the palaeography and of the formulae, the text could be dated to the reign of Merneptah (19th dyn., 1213-1203 BC) or Seti II (19th dyn., 1202-1200 BC). This is the content of the papyrus, as described in the BM website⁴⁹⁵: “Papyrus: Hieratic literary text recto and verso. Late Egyptian Miscellanies. Recto: cols 3-6: 2.5-3.6 ‘Praise of Ramses II as a warrior’, 3.6-4.4 ‘Praise of Merenptah’, 4.4-5.4 ‘More Praise of Merenptah’, 5.5-6 ‘Description of the Castle of Sese’, 5.6-6.4 ‘A letter of adulation to Pharaoh’, verso: 8.5-8.7 ‘Prayer of a defendant to Amun’, 8.5-8.7 ‘Prayer of a defendant to Amun’, verso: Jottings including a couplet of a love song”.

The name of Hatti is quoted in the first text, entitled “Praise of the Delta Residence”, in lines 2,1ff; a duplicate of the same text is also reported in papyrus Anastasi IV, 6,1ff. (BM EA 10249)⁴⁹⁶. This text, found at Saqqara, is for sure dated a bit later than the first one, to the 1st year of Seti II (i.e. 1202 BC).

Hieroglyphic text (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported)

GARDINER 1937, pp. 12-13, ll. 15ff.:



⁴⁹⁵ Online link to the catalogue of the British Museum:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3101680&partId=1.

⁴⁹⁶ For further information about this papyrus, see the online label of the artefact in the British Museum website, at link: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3101956&partId=&searchText=10249&page=1. For the text itself, see GARDINER 1937, pp. 40-41. A picture of the papyrus is displayed in the following text, as Fig. 84.

Transliteration⁴⁹⁷

(2,1) *h3b p3 wr c3 n Ht3 n* (2,2) *p3 wr n Qdy grg n=k hnw=n r Km.t dd=n b3w ntr hpr(.w) jry=n* (2,3) *swnwn n Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c cⁿh-wd3-snb dj=f t3w n mrr=f h3s.t nb(.t) hpr(.w) m mr.wt tw=f Ht3 m b3w=f* (2,4) *w^c bw šsp ntr wdn.w=f bw ptrj=f mw p.t jw=f m b3w n Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c cⁿh-wd3-snb* (2,5) *p3 k3 mrj qnt*

Translation (I quote here a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

CAMINOS 1954, pp. 37ff.:

(1,1) Beginning of the Recital of the Victories of the Lord of Egypt. His Majesty (l.p.h.) has built himself a caste whose name is Great-of-Victories. (1,2) It lies between Djahy and To-meri, and is full of food and victuals. It is after the fashion of Ōn of Upper Egypt, and its duration is like (1,3) that of He-Ka-Ptah. The sun arises in its horizon and sets within it. Everyone has forsaken his (1,4) (own) town and settled in its neighbourhood. Its western part is the House of Amūn, its southern part the House of Seth. Astarte is (1,5) in its Levant, and Edjō in its northern part. The castle which is within it is like the horizon of heaven. (1,6) Re‘messe-miamūn (l.h.) is in it as god, Mont-in-the-Two-lands as herald, Sun-of-Rulers as vizier, Joy-of Egypt (2,1) Beloved-of-Atūm as mayor. The country has gone down to its (proper) place. The great chief of Khatti wrote to (2,2) the chief of Kedy: ‘Get thee ready that we may hasten to Egypt and say, “The will of God is come to pass,” and that we may (2,3) speak flatteringly to Usima‘rē‘ (l.p.h.). He gives breath to whom he will, and every foreign country exists according to his wish. Khatti is in his (2,4) sole power. God accepts not its offerings, it beholds not the water of heaven, for it is in the power of Usima‘rē‘ (l.p.h.), (2,5) the bull who loves valour’.

This passage reports a quotation of the chief of the Hittite not in a historical narration, but in the fictitious way of what seems to be a school (i.e. scribal) exercise; it is a clear clue of the view that the Egyptians had about the Hittites: this perspective was always the same, lasting through the years in different literary “genres”. In this text the Hittite chief, defined as *p3 wr c3* “the great chief”, writes to the *p3 wr* “chief” of Qode, a minor king of the Kizzuwatnean area (known in classical times as Cilicia), inviting him to reach fastly Egypt in order to “flatteringly” (*swnwn*) supplicate the pharaoh to provide them with the breath of life, the *t3w (n cⁿh)*, a concept already seen above in text 2.a. There are three important points that the Egyptian scribe put in the mouth of the Hittite king presenting a centripetal view of the world typical of Egypt even if the presence of a fair parodistic scene, the Hittite king admitting his inferiority: 1) the Hittite chief suggests to “flatteringly” supplicate the Egyptian pharaoh: the term *swnwn*⁴⁹⁸, attested also in the shorter form *swn*, a causative verb with the basic meaning of “make something to be”; 2) the Hittite king recognizes that the Egyptian pharaoh is the origin of the life in all the countries (“he gives breath to whom he will, and every foreign country exists according to his wish”); 3) the final sentence is quite striking (put in the mouth of the Hittite sovereign!): Hatti is in the power of the Egyptian king, and without his prayers the Hittite land cannot receive the benefits of the gods. This conception was not surely embraced by the Hittites: in this fictitious school exercise, the scribe attributes to the Hittites a perspective of the world typical of the Egyptian mind. By the way, this text, dated to the reign of Merneptah, is a proof that after the Kadash battle and the following events, the Hittite people, and mostly the Hittite king, assumed an almost “proverbial” and paradigmatic role, such as that of the submitted enemy, admitting his inferiority, and asking for help and life to the Egyptian pharaoh.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. BREYER 2010a, p. 283.

⁴⁹⁸ HL1, pp. 733-734, no. 26767; Wb IV, p. 69.

11. PAPANAST. IV, Rto 13.8-17.9: “Instructions for pharaoh’s arrival”, ll. 15.3, 17.9

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Instructions
Dating	19 th dyn. (reign of Seti II, 1202-1198 BC)
Location	Papyrus (from Saqqara?)
Content	Mention of oil and horses coming from Ḫatti

This papyrus, probably found in the Saqqara necropolis, purchased in 1839 by Consul Anastasi⁴⁹⁹ and now kept in the British Museum (inv. no. EA 10249), reports a hieratic miscellany of Late Egyptian text of various “genres”⁵⁰⁰ and is dated to the reign of Seti II, because of the quotation of the scribe Ineny⁵⁰¹. One of this texts, entitled “Command to make preparations for Pharaoh’s arrival”, contains some instructions to be executed in order to provide a good welcome for the coming pharaoh; among the other goods to be prepared, there is also the quotation of some kinds of oil: one of them is defined as “oil of Ḫatti”; moreover, some “stallions from Ḫatti” are also offered to the pharaoh.



Fig. 84

Hieroglyphic text (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported)

GARDINER 1937, pp. 51, 54, ll. 15.3, 17.9:



Transliteration⁵⁰²

q3-d3-w3-jr/dwr.w (15.3) *tp.j(w) n Ḫt3 ynb n Jrs (...)*
 (17.9) *g3-w3/gw.w nfr.w ms.w Sngr jbr.w tp.j(w) n Ḫt3*

Translation (I quote here a larger portion of text: the passages mentioning the Hittites are underlined)
 (Vorbereitungen, bestehend aus der Bereitstellung) von: Brot, Bier, Fleisch, *š^cy.t*-Kuchen, *rhs*-Kuchen; ebenso: Weihrauch, süßes Moringa-Öl, *dft*-Öl aus Alasiya, (15.3) bestes *qdw*-Öl aus **Chatti**, *ynb*-Öl aus Alasiya, *nkfr*-Öl aus Sangar/Babylonien, *qnnj*-Öl aus Amurru, *gt*-Öl aus Tachsi, Moringa-Öl aus Naharina, m.a.W. viele Öle aus dem Hafen, um sein Heer und seine Streitwagentruppen zu salben; [...] (17.9) Gespanne und schöne, junge *gw*-Pferde aus Sangar/Babylonien, erstklassige Hengste aus **Chatti**, Kühe aus Alasiya, die <in> der Hand ihrer Großen sind, die gebogen unter dem <Erscheinungsfenster> sind.

⁴⁹⁹ See GARDINER 1937, p. XI.

⁵⁰⁰ Further information about the papyrus can be found both in the official label of the artefact on the BM website, at link http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_results_ids.aspx?IdNum=10249&x=0&y=0 and on “Trismegistos” website, at link: <http://www.trismegistos.org/text/380655>.

⁵⁰¹ It is known that this scribe worked under the first year of Seti II; further information in TLA, at link: <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=DPTMRC90B06F205N&f=0&l=0&db=0&tc=240>.

⁵⁰² For the transliteration and translation, see TLA, s.v.

The list of oils prepared for the pharaoh includes the “*qdwr*-oil from Ḫatti”⁵⁰³; the name of this oil is spelled with the usual Late Egyptian syllabic writing as *q3-d3-w3-jr*. The Wb⁵⁰⁴ does not provide us with any further information; some more data are offered by Hannig: “*qdwr*: ein Salböl; *qdwr tptj n Hy3* vorzügliches hethitisches Qedjur-Salböl”⁵⁰⁵. The term is also listed by Koura among the different kind of oils used by the Egyptians: “Das Wort *qdwr* – Wb V 82, 11 Art Öl aus dem Chattilande – ist von Hoch nicht als selbständiges Wort betrachtet und unter ‘*qdr* Incense’ (Hoch 1994, no. 440) nicht aufgenommen worden. Die vorgeschlagene Lesung von Helck *qa-sa-wa-r* und die Übersetzung *ein Öl aus Hatti* ist ohne Ableitung. Anhand des textes rief die Identifizierung *qdwr* al seine Ölbezeichnung in der Literatur keine Ablehnung hervor”⁵⁰⁶. Unfortunately, no other attestations of the term are provided, so far: thus, the identification of this specific oil still remains unsolved⁵⁰⁷. It is important to stress that this oil, maybe a cultic oil for some ointment ceremonies, is qualified as *tp.tj(w)* a nisbe (i.e. adjective of relation) that means literally “on the head/in front” so, metaphorically, “the first, the best”⁵⁰⁸. The importance of oil within cultic or official ceremonies is attested also in some letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence⁵⁰⁹ and in some El-Amarna missives, such as EA 17 (sent by Tušratta of Mittani to Amenhotep III)⁵¹⁰ and EA 31 (letter of pharaoh Amenhotep III to Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa)⁵¹¹.

A second good offered to the pharaoh is also of Hittite origin: *j-b3-jr-y jbr.w tp.j(w) n Ḫt3*, “the best stallions from Ḫatti”; the word *jbr* is surely a Semitic loan word⁵¹² and is also attested in Urk. IV 663, 10 (18th dyn.), in Thutmose III’s list of booty after the battle of Megiddo⁵¹³. While in the latter text the identification with a kind of horse is corroborated by the presence of the determinative of the horse itself (E6), in the former one it is clear from the context whole referring to horses (“*gw*-Pferde aus Sangar/Babylonien, erstklassige Hengste aus Chatti”). In the comparison with the horses coming from Babylon, it seems that the Hittite ones were considered as better: they are in fact defined with a loan word (that stresses the exoticity of the good) and by the adjective *tp.j(w)*, while Babylonian horses are defined by the word *gw*, a kind of horse, qualified by the expression *nfr.w ms.w*, “good (and) young”. Also the term *gw*⁵¹⁴ is a Semitic loan word⁵¹⁵: according to Hoch, the term can “be connected to the n. loc. Que (Cilicia), noted in the Bible for its fine horses [...]. The fact that the horses came from Babylonia might not argue too strongly against this derivation, since the term might designate the breed, rather than the actual place of birth”⁵¹⁶. The fact that the horses would have come from from Que (Cilicia), quoted also in topographical lists of Ramses II and Ramses III⁵¹⁷, is noteworthy: in this case, both the kinds of horse would have been come from the Hittite land. Furthermore, it is also remarkable that horses are quoted in many letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II; just some instances: V. Cordani stressed the fact that horses and prisoners

⁵⁰³ For the attestations and use of oil in the Hittite culture, see GÜTERBOCK 1968; HOFFNER 1994 and 1995; SINGER 1978; VIGO 2014; for the different uses of oil in ancient Mediterranean, see D’ASCOLI 2014 and HEITZER – EITAM 1978.

⁵⁰⁴ Wb V, p. 82, no. 11; cf. TLA, lemma-no. 162740; LESKO 1982-1990, vol. 4, p. 28 and KOURA 1999, p. 249.

⁵⁰⁵ HL1, p. 939, nos 34777-34778.

⁵⁰⁶ KOURA 1999, p. 249, no. II.2.2.10.

⁵⁰⁷ In the “Museo Egizio” of Turin, some vessels, still stopped and probably containing oils are kept (coming from the tomb of Kha and Merit, TT8); it is maybe possible that further analyses could help in understanding the different types of the “sacred oils” described in many funerary papyri.

⁵⁰⁸ TLA, lemma no. 170980, quoting Wb V, p. 294, nos 8-17.

⁵⁰⁹ See CORDANI 2017, pp. 121ff. (letters nos 24-27): FHL 98, KUB III 63, KUB XXVI 53 and KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 (for the texts, see *infra*, section 1.2.1, nos 26.1, 22.a, 41.f and 23; cf. also texts nos 20.c).

⁵¹⁰ See *infra*, section 1.3.1.2, text no. 7.

⁵¹¹ See *infra*, section 1.3.1.1, text no. 1.

⁵¹² TLA, lemma-no. 23790, quoting Wb I, p. 63, no. 15: “Hengst (semitisch Lehnworte אָבִיר); HL1, p. 41, no. 1464: “*jbr*, Hengst [*<* semitisch: ugaritisch ‘*ibr*, „Stier“, hebräisch ‘*abbīr* “stark (besonders von männliche Tieren)“]”; HOCH 1994, pp. 18f., no. 3.

⁵¹³ HOCH 1994, p. 18: “*ssm.t 2041 msy.t n.t ssm.t 191, ibr 6, rnp [...]*, mares 2041, fillies 191, stallions 6, colts [...].”

⁵¹⁴ TLA, lemma-no. 166720; Wb II, p. 159, no. 9.

⁵¹⁵ HOCH 1994, pp. 346-347, no. 507; cf. MEEKS 1997, p. 53, no. 507.

⁵¹⁶ HOCH 1994, pp. 346-347.

⁵¹⁷ Hoch refers that Görg proposed to read the same name also in a list of Thutmose III (see HOCH 1994, p. 346).

were considered as luxury goods coming from Ḫatti: “Interessanti accenni all’invio di cavalli e prigionieri si trovano però in KBo 28.24 [...]; che queste tipologie di beni fossero quelle principalmente esportate dagli Ittiti (e evidentemente molto gradite al faraone) è confermato anche dall’entità della dote nuziale della figlia di Ḫattušili, consistente appunto in bestiame e prigionieri”⁵¹⁸. Cordani quotes several letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence⁵¹⁹, reporting horses as a gift: KBo XXVIII 24, KUB III 58 (+) III 47, KUB III 37 + KBo I 17. She also reports an interesting idea of Klengel, who thought that the presence of Naḫḫa in KUB III 34⁵²⁰, could have been related to the delivery of horses, given by the Hittites in exchange for the Egyptian cereals⁵²¹. Moreover, also in the list of the dowry of the Hittite “First Marriage”, horses are quoted as a precious gift⁵²²: it is noteworthy that in this texts horses are quoted together with the *ḫm.w*, “prisoners” or “servants”, as in the later document KBo XXVIII 24⁵²³.

⁵¹⁸ CORDANI 2017, p. 135.

⁵¹⁹ See e.g. CORDANI 2017, pp. 39, 92, 128f., 135, 139 (where the Hittites horses are defined as “SIG₅ danniš danniš, very, very good”; cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 46.a); cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 294, g.

⁵²⁰ See *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 26.q.

⁵²¹ CORDANI 2017, p. 148, note 3, quoting KLENGEL 1974, p. 167, note 15. For the dispatch of cereals from Egypt to Ḫatti, see *infra*, text 9.a.

⁵²² *KRI* II, 247; translation in *KRITA* II, p. 94, 247:5. The term used for the horses is *ḫtr.w*, “team of horses, steeds, chariotry” (TLA, lemma-no. 111810; cf. *Wb* III, pp. 199-200, nos 11-12).

⁵²³ See *KRI* II and *KRITA* II, *loc. cit.* and CORDANI 2017, p. 39, 138f. (cf. also *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 46.a).

Man wird dir ein Pferd anschirren, das schnell ist wie ein rothriger Schakal (oder: Panther?), wobei es wie ein Sturmwind ist, wenn es hervorprescht. Du sollst die Zügel loslassen und du sollst den Bogen nehmen, damit wir sehen können, was deine Hand hinbekommt. Ich will dir das Wesen des Maher-Elitesoldaten erklären. Ich will dich sehen lassen, was es für ihn zu tun gibt. Du hast dich nicht in das Land Chatti begeben. Du hast das Land von Upe nicht gesehen. (Den Ort) Chadum, du kennst sein Aussehen nicht, ebenso wenig wie (das vom Ort) Jagadiya.

The text of this section of the papyrus reports a polemical discourse, in the form of a satirical letter, between the scribe Hori and the scribe of the army Amenemope: Hori answers to a letter sent by his colleague and opponent, criticizing his technical skills. In this passage, the scribe Hori is ridiculing the geographic knowledge of Amenemope, who boasted of his journeys in Syria, provoking him in demonstrating his geographical knowledge. Amenemope declares to be a good *mahir*, a Semitic loanword translated as “expert scribe (or courier)”⁵²⁷, because of his experience in travelling in the Near East. Hori, to further ridicule him, says that Amenemope is lying, boasting of false experiences, because “he has never gone to the land of Ḫatti”. The quotation of the Hittite country in this passage is really noteworthy: the text is evidently not an official record or a propagandistic account of *res gestae* and is dated to a period at the end of the 19th dyn., when the echoes of the battle of Kadesh were quite far from. The text clearly shows how the use of the toponym Ḫatti became like a rhetorical expression to speak about something, a land, which is far and whose knowledge is prerogative and privilege of few experienced people (in this case the *mahir*). The spelling of the toponym Ḫatti resembles perfectly the writing of the name during all the 19th dyn., proving that the memory of that name was still well-known, at least in the scholastic field where these kinds of letters were produced. This passage of the “Satirical Letter” would have been so famous at that time, that it is also quoted in another papyrus (following text, no. 12.b).

translations are in GARDINER 1911, p. 20* and WENTE 1990, pp. 98-100 (all the text). An Italian translation is in Bresciani 2007⁴, pp. 341-355 (all the text).

⁵²⁷ TLA, lemma-no. 73260; Wb II, p. 116, no. 3; LESKO 1982-1990, I, p. 130f.; HOCH 1994, pp. 147ff., no. 190.

b. PAPCLÈRE I, Vso II. X+3: “SATIRICAL POLEMIC VS. PAPANASTASI I 18.6-8”
(19th-20th dyn., 1292-1077 BC)

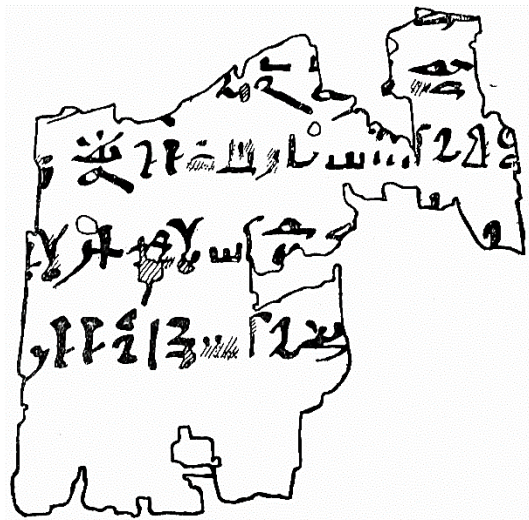


Fig. 86

This fragment of papyrus, fairly integrated by scholars, quotes in a polemic way the aforementioned passage of papAnastasi I 18.6-8 (see *supra*, text no. 12.a); it is nowadays kept in the British Museum (inv. no. EA 10684) and was found at Deir el-Medineh; in 1935, J.J. Clère purchased it in Thebes. It is paleographically datable to the 19th-20th dyn. (1292-1077 BC)⁵²⁸.

Hieroglyphic text

FISCHER-ELFERT 1992, pp. 124⁵²⁹ (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported)



Transliteration⁵³⁰ (transliteration of all the text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

[x+1] – *unsichere Spur* –

[x+2] [wḥ^c]=[j] [n]=[k] [q3] [n] [m^c-h3~jr] jrj n=f dj=j^c m3 [m]=k [m] [jrj] [n]=f

[x+3] [bw] [šm]=[k] [r] [t3] [n] Ht3 bw ptr=k [t3] [n] [Jw-p3]

[x+4] [h3-dw-m^c] [bw] [rh]=[k] [q]3=[f] ...-dj-dj (m)-mj.tt sw mj [jh] – *Lücke* –

[x+5] [p3] [dmj] [hj-r]-b3 hr t3y=f [jw-t3] [rw-j3] – *Ende der Papyrusseite* –

Translation (I quote here all the text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

[Ich will dir das Wesen des Maher-Elitesoldaten erklären/aufschlüsseln und] das, was es für ihn zu tun gibt (oder: das, was er geschafft hat). Ich will dir bewußt werden lassen, was er [hinbekommen hat] (oder: was es für ihn zu tun gibt). [Du hast dich nicht in das Land] Chatti [begeben.] Du hast das Land [von Upe] nicht gesehen. [(Den Ort) Chadum, du kennst sein Aussehen nicht,] ebenso wenig wie (das vom Ort) [Jaga]didi. Wie sieht es aus, [das Simyra von (Pharaoh) (Sesi) LHG]? Auf [welcher Seite] von ihm [liegt die Stadt Alep]po/Chalab?

The passage clearly quotes the sentence used by the scribe Hori to demonstrate the falsity of his colleague's affirmations, who pretends to be a good *mahir*. Hori tries to clarify the nature of the actual prerogatives and skills of a good scribe; the difference with the previous text is the purpose of the documents (both considered as scholastic exercises); while in the first document (papAnastasis I) the quotation of Hatti is presented within the passage related to Hori's rebuke to Amenemope, its mention

⁵²⁸ The picture here reported is from POSENER 1950, p. 77, fig. 3.

⁵²⁹ For the text of the papyrus, see also POSENER 1950. Cf. GARDINER 1911, pp. 1*-34* and 2-81.

⁵³⁰ For the transliteration and translation, see TLA, s.v.

in the present text (papClère) seems to be just a citation of the previous one: therefore, the second text is surely later than the “Satirical Letter” in papAnastasi I. It is possible that the expression *bw šmj(.t)=k r t3 n Ht3 bw ptr(j)=k t3 n Jw-p3*, “you have not gone to the land of Ḫatti, you have not seen the land of Upi” has become a proverbial sentence. The land of Ḫatti is considered as a distant place that just few experienced people have visited: the journey within the Hittite land seems to represent somehow a *topos*, including travels in foreign and exotic land, such as the “Story of Sinuhe” or, later, the “Story of Wenamun”.

13. PAPKOLLER I, 6

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Scholar exercise: model of letters
Dating	19 th dyn. (end)
Location	Papyrus (from Memphis?)
Content	Mention of a “javelin of Hatti”

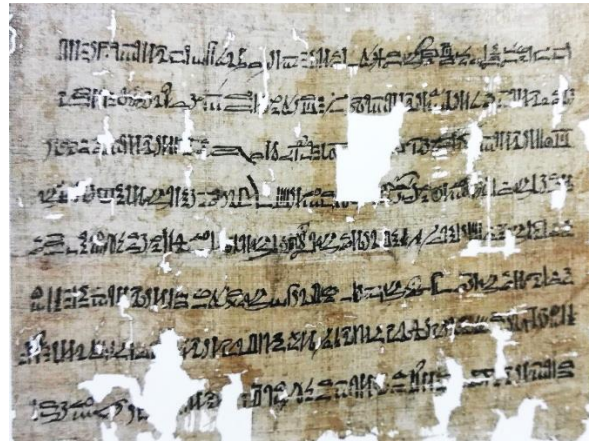


Fig. 87



Fig. 88

PapKoller⁵³¹ received the later label of papBerlin 3043, when passed from the collection of Baron Koller into that of the Berlin Museum. It measures 136 cm in length and 21 cm in height and could be dated, according to palaeographical criteria, to the end of 19th dyn., probably coming from the Memphite area. The text here reported can be included in the class defined by Erman as “Schülerhandschriften”, work of young scribes employed in public offices. The papyrus comprises four letters including a short model letter describing the preparations for an expedition in Syria, mentioning also a list of equipment (1,1-2,2); the letters are addressed by the scribe Amenope to his colleague Paibēs⁵³².

Hieroglyphic text

GARDINER 1911, p. 82 (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported):



Transliteration

p3 jsbr n t3gw mh m r(w)dw.t t3 °wn.t (1,6) <n> ma-jr-k3-bw-tj.t/mrkb.t p3 h°w n rs p3 njw(j) n Ht3

⁵³¹ The pictures presented here are from RAGAZZOLI 2012, p. 235, pl. 1. Cf also WIEDEMANN 1879, p. 20 and pls 10-11.

⁵³² Further information and bibliographic references in TLA: “Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, pKoller = pBerlin P 3043, 1,1-2,2: Rüstungsvorbereitungen für einen Syrienfeldzug”.

*Translation*⁵³³

GARDINER 1911, pp. 36*-37* (I quote a larger portion of text: the mention of the Hittites is underlined):
 <The scribe Amenope writes to the scribe Paibēs,> saying: – Take good heed to make ready the array(?) of horses which is (bound) for Syria, together with their stable-men, and likewise their grooms; their coats ...-ed and filled with provender and straw, rubbed down twice over; their corn-bags(?) filled with kyllestis-bread, a single ass(?) in the charge of (every) two men. Their chariots are of *bry*-wood(?) filled with <all kinds of (?)> weapons of warfare; eight arrows in the quiver, the ..., the lance(?), the sword(?), the dagger, the ..., the ..., the whip of *t3g*-wood furnished with lashes, the chariot-club, the staff(?) of watchfulness, the javelin of **Kheta**, the reign-looser(?), their facings <of> bronze of six-fold alloy, graven with chiselling(?), ...-ed, and ...-ed. Their cuirasses are places beside them. The bows are adjusted(?) to their strings, their wood being tested in drawing, their(?) bindings(?) consisting of clean ... leather(?). The pole is of *t3g*-wood, ...-ed, shaped(?), fitted with leather, finished off(?), oiled and polished(?).

Among the list of weapons to be prepared for a Syrian campaign, the text quotes also the *p3 nw.j n Ht3*, “the javelin of Kheta”. The term *njwj* is listed in Wb II, p. 202.15, HL1, p. 415, no. 14897 and in LESKO 1982-1990, II, p. 5, always translated as “lance, spear”. The peculiarity of this weapon is its qualification as “Hittite”. However, which kind of weapon does this text precisely refer to? In the “Poem” of the battle of Kadesh, the pharaoh reports that the Hittites “do not find the courage to grab their spears” (l. 135, see *supra*, text no. 8.4):



bw gm~n=w h3t.y=sn r t3t n3.y=sn njwj.w

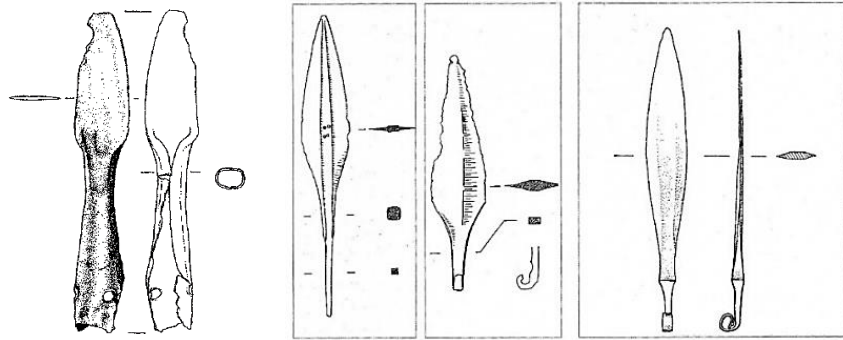
Moreover, in the “Reliefs” of the battle of Kadesh there are actually some scenes portraying Hittite soldiers carrying spears⁵³⁴:



Figs 89-90

In many Hittite reliefs, the Hittite king is depicted as carrying some weapons: among them the spear, called in Hittite *GIŠtūri*⁵³⁵. Unfortunately, we do not have actual Hittite spears found in Egypt and also speaking about the Anatolian plateau, just some spearheads have been found, and not the whole weapon; I offer here just a specimen of this kind of artefacts⁵³⁶:

⁵³³ Cf. the translation in TLA (see previous note).
⁵³⁴ See LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011, pp. 132-133, figs 5.2, 6.
⁵³⁵ KLOEKHORST 2008, p. 899f. The term is also used to form the word for “men of the lance”, *LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠŠUKUR*, sometimes also with the specification “men of the (golden/bronze/heavy) lance”, *LÚ^{MEŠ} (GIŠ)ŠUKUR* (*GUŠKIN/ZABAR/DUGUD*); see LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011, p. 136 with note 35.
⁵³⁶ The following pictures are from LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011, p. 130, fig. 6.3 (the caption of the picture precise that it was found in Kuşaklı and specifies that it should have been used for a close combat) and BEAL 2002, p. 100, figs 12-13 (both from Hattuša).



Figs 91-92

Actual spearheads were found in some archaeological sites⁵³⁷: I report here, for instance, those kept in the Gaziantep Museum (one of them presenting a very peculiar pitchfork shape)⁵³⁸:

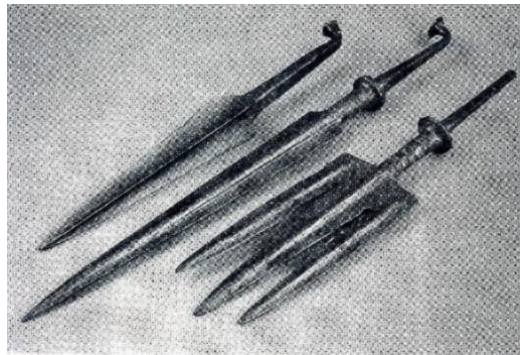


Fig. 93

Another useful source for an iconographic study of Hittite spears is surely the monumental relief depicting the Hittite king Tutḫaliya IV, from Ḫattuša⁵³⁹:



Fig. 94

⁵³⁷ For further information about Hittite warfare and weapons, see BEAL 1986, BRYCE 2007b, CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 16-31 and LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011. A specific discussion about the use of lances in the battle of Kadesh can be found in BEAL 2002, pp. 102, 104-106.

⁵³⁸ See BEAL 2002, p. 102, fig. 16.

⁵³⁹ From BEAL 2002, p. 101, fig. 15.

14. PAPCHESTER BEATTY IV = PAPBM EA 10684, Vso 7.3-10.15, l. 7,7

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	“Letter with a list of supplying (?)”
Dating	19 th -20 th dyn. (1292-1077 BC)
Location	Papyrus (from deir el-Medineh)
Content	Mention of a kind of marble from Hatti



Fig. 95

This papyrus is nowadays kept in the British Museum (inv. no. EA 10684)⁵⁴⁰; found at Deir el-Medineh, was then acquired by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty. It measures 55 cm length by 30.5 cm width and is paleographically datable to the 19th-20th dyn. (1292-1077 BC). The verso carries some scholar texts defined by Gardiner as “Student’s Miscellanies”⁵⁴¹; part of this section of the papyrus reports a letter with a list of supplying (vso. 7.3-10.15).

Hieroglyphic text

GARDINER 1935, vol. 2, pl. 21 (just the passage quoting the Hittites is reported):



Transliteration⁵⁴²

(7.7) *jnr-m3t (n) 3b(w) °3.t hd(.t) wbh.t n Htt3*

Translation (I quote a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)
 [Der Schreiber] Pthahemwia sagt zum Schreiber Amunheru folgendermaßen: „Dieses Mitteilungsschreiben ist dir gebracht worden mit folgendem Zweck: „[Ich habe ge]hört, daß du dich von der Literatur (oder: dem Studium der Hieroglyphen) abwendest (wörtl.: deinen Hinterkopf zu den Gottesworten wendest). O Aufseher der Menschheit, O Berechn[er der] Abgaben im Haus (?) des [Königs (?)] LHG bestehend aus Silber; Gold; Lapislazuli von der Gegend PA-Gs.wj (?), vermischt mit oberägyptischem Grünstein (oder: Malachit von Oberägypten), aufgefädelt (?) auf [... aus Leder?]; *m*[...] -Mineral; Feldspat; Malachit; *trw*-Ocker; *htm*-Mineral (Manganoxid?; Kadmeia?); *dh.wj*-Mineral; [*h*^c*w3y*]?-Mineral; Granat/rotes Harz (?); *pn*[...]?-Mineral; *nr*[...]?-Mineral; Kalkstein; Quarzit (?); Granit von Elephantine; weißer Marmor; Marmor (?) von Hatti; [...] von Kreta; Amethyst“.

This passage tells about the condition of the scribe who, as author of many texts, will survive the death and will be remembered because of those texts. In this passage, the scribe is compared with various kind of stones: as the stone, hard and imperishable, so the scribe deserves the immortality,

⁵⁴⁰ Further information about the papyrus could be found on the British Museum website, at the following link: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=10684,+Papyrus.
⁵⁴¹ For a general introduction to this text, see GARDINER 1935, pp. 28ff.; cf. also LICHTHEIM 1976, pp. 175-176; J.A. Wilson in ANET, p. 431; SCHOTT 1950, pp. 155-157.
⁵⁴² For the following transliteration and translation, see TLA, s.v.

thanks to the everlasting life given by virtue of his papyri. In this passage, seems that the scribe Ptahemuia is reproving his colleague, the scribe Amunheru, who was neglecting his duties as “superintendent to the goods of the [king’s house]” (this should be the translation of the expression *p3 hsb.w-b3k.w*)⁵⁴³; after the rebuke, a list of goods (maybe belonging to the palace) are listed: among them also some peculiar foreign products including *3.t hđ(.t) wbh.t n Ht3*, “marble, marble of Ḫatti”. The term *3.t* literally refers to a precious stone⁵⁴⁴; it is also specified that the kind of stone is *hđ(.t)*, “white”⁵⁴⁵; all the syntagma *3.t hđ(.t)* is also listed in Wb⁵⁴⁶. However, the most interesting term is surely *wbh.t*: it is translated in TLA and by Hannig as “ein Mineral (aus Kleinasien)”⁵⁴⁷. The term is also discussed by Harris, who also suggested that the stone could also have been a natural glass⁵⁴⁸. All the expression could so be translated (more literally) as “white precious stone (i.e. marmor), stone from Ḫatti”. It is also possible to consider this kind of stone not as marmor, but as alabastron⁵⁴⁹: it is known from the Egypto-Hittite correspondence that a particular kind of alabastron was mined in the area of Ḫupišna (ancient Kybistra, nowadays called Ereğli) and was therefore called “stone of Ḫupišna”⁵⁵⁰, as in KUB XXXVIII 1, an inventory list⁵⁵¹. In KUB III 67, a letter sent by Ramses II to Ḫattušili III or Tuthaliya IV, it is reported the forwarding of a group of Hittite people (maybe craftsmen), from the area of Ḫupišna to Egypt, in order to perform building activities⁵⁵². A quotation of a kind of stone defined as coming from Ḫatti has been already attested in one of the lists of tributes of the time of Thutmose III in the 8th campaign of the 33rd regnal year (1446 BC)⁵⁵³; the text listed, among silver and the *t3gw*-wood, also *3.t hđ.t jnr 3 2*, “2 big pieces (literally “blocks”)⁵⁵⁴ of marmor”. In the list of Thutmose III, the term that defines the kind of stone, *wbh.t*, lacks: but we can consider the two passages as referring to the same stone because of the clear specification of the provenance “from (Great) Ḫatti”, in both the texts. It is therefore interesting to find that the same good is presented here, after a period of about two centuries (mid of the 19th dyn., so ca. 1250 BC) from its first attestation (ca. 1446 BC). The problem is the precise identification of the stone defined with the term *wbh.t*, which is an *apax*. Considering that the passage is included in a scholastic text, it is also possible that here the scribe is not referring to an actual stone, and that the mention of the “Hittite marble” is just a topical motif.

⁵⁴³ See TLA, lemma-no. 855209 (“Zählmeister der Abgaben”) and Taylor 2001, no. 1760.

⁵⁴⁴ TLA, lemma-no. 34880 (“Edelstein, wertvolles Material”); cf. Wb I, p. 165, nos 13-21 (“Kostbarer Stein”) and HARRIS 1961, pp. 21f.

⁵⁴⁵ TLA, lemma-no. 112300 (“weiß, hell”); cf. Wb III, pp. 206-207, nos 14-16 (“Kostbarer Stein”).

⁵⁴⁶ Wb I, p. 165, no. 17.

⁵⁴⁷ TLA, lemma.no. 45310; HL1, p. 202, no. 7237, which also reports the syntagma *wbh.t n Ht3*, “Webchet aus Chatti”, with a linguistic cast of the original term (no. 7238).

⁵⁴⁸ HARRIS 1961, p. 166: “*wbht*: is found only in the Chester Beatty list, as *wbht n ht3*, following *3t hđt*. The determinative suggests a stone, and connection with *wbh*, ‘hell sein’ (Wb. I. 295.12-20) and other similar words might point to a stone of white colour (maybe gypsum?) or a natural glass. The juxtaposition with *3t hđt* may be significant, and *wbht* is perhaps a mineral of similar nature obtained exclusively from Asia Minor (Ḫatti)”.

⁵⁴⁹ The term used in the Hittite text is ^{NA4}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL: see POLVANI 1988, pp. 130ff. As for the identification of alabastron as the “stone of Ḫupišna”, see POLVANI 1988, p. 132. It is to be noted that this stone is also quoted in the inventory list fragment KBo XIV 72 (= CTH 250) Ro, 5’, together with the toponym Egypt, establishing a kind of connection between the stone and the Egyptian land (see POLVANI 1988, pp. 131-132 and here, *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 51.a).

⁵⁵⁰ POLVANI 1988, p. 146: “KUB XXXVIII 1 II², 24’-25’: 20-ma NA₄ ^{kur}Hu-u-^{pís}-na 1 x[/ NA₄ ^{kur}Hu-u-^{pís}-na ^Ú-NU-UT[[...] la pietra del paese di Hupisna, 1 .[/ la pietra del paese di Hupisna, l’utensile[”.

⁵⁵¹ See comment in CORDANI 2017, pp. 142-143; cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 262 and DE ROOS 2005, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁵² See CORDANI 2017, pp. 142ff.; cf. *infra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 26.n.

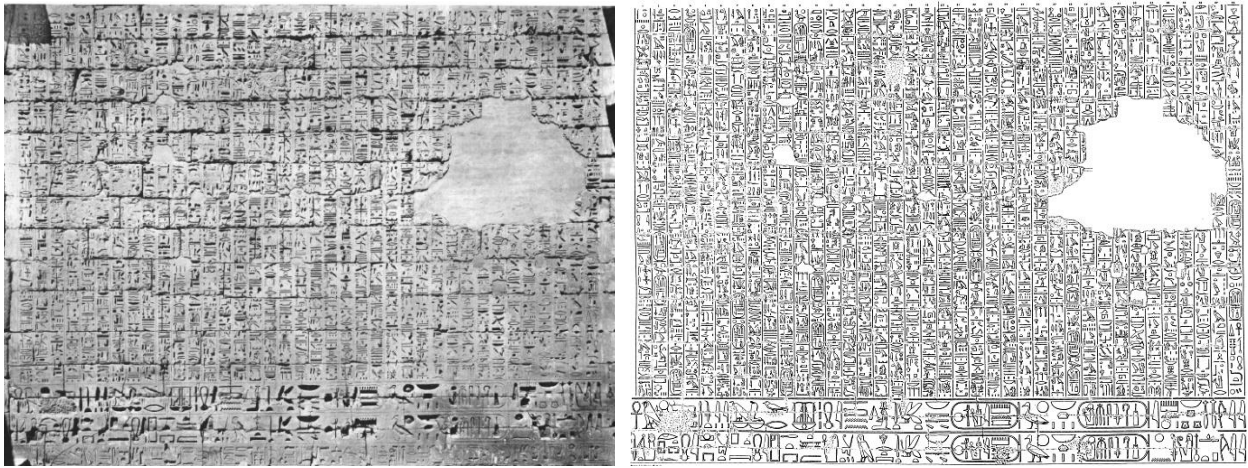
⁵⁵³ See Urk. IV, Abteilung Band 3, 701, 11ff. (= 727, 13ff.: 41st regnal year) = *supra*, text no. 1.d.

⁵⁵⁴ Wb I, p. 98, no. 1.

15. TEXTS OF RAMSES III

Writing	Hieroglyphic (monumental)
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Historical texts and topographical lists
Dating	20 th dyn. (reign of Ramses III, 1187-1157 BC)
Location	Medinet Habu and Karnak
Content	Historical accounts about the campaign against the “Sea Peoples”; topographical lists quoting Ḫatti

a. SEA PEOPLES’ CAMPAIGN, MEDINET HABU: GREAT INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 8 (20th dyn., reign of Ramses III, 1187-1157 BC)



Figs 96-97

This text, engraved on the north tower of the 2nd pylon in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, reports the events related to the battle of Ramses III (20th dyn., 1187-1157 BC) against the so-called “Sea People”, in his 8th regnal year (1180 BC). According to this account, the Sea People invaded all the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and also some countries in Northern Syria. Accordingly, among them, also the Hittite land should have been invaded⁵⁵⁵.

KRI V, 39, 16f.:

Hieroglyphic text



Transliteration

(16) [...] ḥs.wt jr.y/w šdt.t⁵⁵⁶ m n3y=sn jw.w tf(j) ḥnr m skw t3.w m sp w^c bw ^cḥ^c n t3 nb r ḥ3t ^c.wy=sn š3^c m
Ḫt3 Qdy Qrqmš Jrṯw (17) Jrš3 fdq m [...]

⁵⁵⁵ Another list, always at Medinet Habu, reports also the names of some Neo-Hittite lands: I do not include this list into the present catalogue, because there is no direct quotation of Ḫatti; for this list, see DE VOS 2008b.

⁵⁵⁶ The term *šdt.t* means literally “alliance”: the etymology is by the way uncertain, because it is considered a loan word from a foreign language; see HL1, p. 913, no. 33854.

Translation

(39:14) [...] (As for) the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in battle, were the lands at one time. No land could stand up against (“before”) their arms, (39:15) beginning from **Hatti**: - Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia, cut off (all) at [once] in one (40:1) [place]⁵⁵⁷.

This text focuses on a well-known event in the history of Egypt and ancient Near East: the “invasion” of the Eastern Mediterranean by the Sea People⁵⁵⁸; according to the main sources of that time, mostly of them Egyptian, because of this “invasion” part of the former framework of the LBA political geography changed. However, the Egyptian point of view mostly focused on the Nile Valley and on the role of the pharaoh among the political entities in the area. As usual, the Egyptian account points out the strength of the Egyptian king in fighting against these invaders. The Great Inscription of the 8th year tells about a *šdt.t*, a political alliance, interpreted by Kitchen as a proper “conspiracy”, made by the foreign countries (*ḥ3s.wt*) located on isles (*m n3y=sn jw.w*) against Egypt. In this case, the Hittite land is considered as one of the countries assaulted by the Sea People, together with other political entities like Qode (Hittite Kizzuwatna and classical Cilicia), Karkemish, Arzawa and Alašia (Cyprus)⁵⁵⁹. It is quite interesting to note here that all these countries were under the political sphere of domination of the Hittite empire: thus, the Egyptian inscription is specifically speaking about an assault carried against the Hittite area, i.e. the south-western Anatolian coast and the vice-roydom of Karkemish in northern Syria. Following the order in which these countries are listed (with Ḥatti at the very beginning), it seems probable that the Egyptians used the term Ḥatti to refer to the entire Anatolia and northern Syria, so, at that time, the whole Hittite empire. Kitchen translates the passage “Hatti: - Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia”, thus considering the mention of Qode, Karkemish, Arzawa and Alašia as descriptions of geographical entities belonging to the bigger Hittite empire⁵⁶⁰. It is a notable idea but unfortunately, the Egyptian texts are not so clear to this extent.

The quotation of Karkemish is also important because of another reason: it is well-known that in the King Valley, a limestone ostrakon quoting the name of the king of Karkemish Ini-Teššup (I) has been found⁵⁶¹; the ostrakon is nowadays kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo⁵⁶².



Fig. 98



Fig. 99

The text says: *wr n(y) Qy-r-qa-n(w)-m(i)-ša [= Qrqn(?sic)mš] Jn-n(w)-tbs(?sic) [= Jntbs] ḥr swd3 jb...*, “the great of Karkemish Ini-Teššup addresses to... (literally ‘rejoices the heart of...’)”⁵⁶³. It

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. translation in BREASTED 1906, IV, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁵⁸ For the role of the sea people in the Hittite history, see BRYCE 2005, pp. 333ff. and KLENGEL 1999, pp. 316ff.

⁵⁵⁹ For Alašiya, see MASPERO 1888.

⁵⁶⁰ See comment KRITANC II, pp. 145-146.

⁵⁶¹ For further bibliography, see DE PIETRI 2016, p. 16, specifically notes 30ff.

⁵⁶² CGC 25807; see ČERNÝ 1935, p. 94; cf. CAMINOS 1954, pp. 37-40, no. 154; GARDINER 1937, pp. 12-13, no. 4-1; KRI II, p. 233, no. 65; KRITA II, p. 86; KRITANC II, pp. 145-146; the pictures (here reported) of the hieratic text and the hieroglyphic rendering are from ČERNÝ 1935, pl. 111 and GARDINER 1937, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁶³ For the possibility that this typical introductory salutation would have influenced also a similar formula used in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, see *infra*, section 1.2.1, comment to text no. 21.a).

seems to be the beginning of a formal letter⁵⁶⁴, sent by the king of Karkemish to a high-ranked person, maybe the pharaoh himself. Unfortunately, the name of the addressee is not preserved and also, the identity of the sender is not clear: considering that Ini-Teššup (II) reigned between the late 12th cent. and the early 11th cent. BC⁵⁶⁵, it is quite unlikely that it was him to write the letter, because we should recognize a pharaoh of the last 19th dyn. as the addressee⁵⁶⁶. According to many scholars⁵⁶⁷, the ostrakon would be a model of letter, copied by a scribe on the model of a more ancient actual letter⁵⁶⁸. In this case, the Ini-Teššup quoted here should be Ini-Teššup (I), who, following Breyer⁵⁶⁹, was a descendant of king Šarri-Kušuḫ, lived during the reign of Tuḫaliya III/IV. Breyer also proposed to compare the text of the ostrakon with that in papAnast. II 2,1ff. (see *supra*, text no. 10), where the kings of Ḫatti and Qode write to the pharaoh to please him. The dating of both the ostrakon and the papyrus to the end of the 19th dyn. would represent for Breyer a kind of literary *topos*: the kings of the foreign countries (such as Ḫatti, Qode and Karkemish) write to the pharaoh asking for the “breath of life” (see e.g., papAnast. II, 2,3). Interesting also the explanation given by Kitchen about the origin of the text: “Thus, it may be that the correspondence between Hatti and Egypt concerning the treaty of Year 21 or the royal marriages of Year 34 and later had inspired some scribe to pen a similar imaginary letter as if from Ini-Tešub paying court to the pharaoh. But it is also possible that, with the coming of peace between Egypt and Hatti from Year 21 of Ramesses II, Ini-Tesub became involved in correspondence with Egypt on Syrian matters in letters now totally lost to us, and so his name would become known to Egyptian scribes at court. Some such letter (if rendered into Egyptian) might well have been taken over as a ‘model letter’ for junior scribes to recopy, but with an Egyptian initial epistolary formula substituted for the longer cuneiform one. In which case, loss of most of the ostrakon may conceivably have deprived us of an Egyptian version of part at least of an original letter to the pharaoh sent by Ini-Tesub. Such a question must remain open for the present”⁵⁷⁰.

⁵⁶⁴ The formality of the letter is evident in the formula used here (*hr swd3-jb n*); see e.g. ALLEN 2000, p. 387 and CAVILLIER 2012, pp. 177-178.

⁵⁶⁵ See e.g., BRYCE 2005, p. 302.

⁵⁶⁶ BARNETT – ČERNÝ 1947, p. 94, proposed Ramses II, considering Ini-Teššub as reigning about 1250 BC.

⁵⁶⁷ e.g. KLENGEL 1992, p. 126 and BREYER 2010a, p. 281.

⁵⁶⁸ BREYER, *loc. cit.*; KLENGEL, *loc. cit.* proposed to backdate the letter to the reign of Ramses II, and quotes (note 209) Edel’s opinion (in EDEL 1969, p. 185) who considered the ostrakon as a copy of a previous letter written in Akkadian.

⁵⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁷⁰ KRITANC II, p. 146.

**b. MEDINET HABU, PAVILION: LISTS OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES
(20th dyn., reign of Ramses III, 1187-1157 BC)**

Another topographical list, always of the period of Ramses III, is carved on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu⁵⁷¹, in the so called “Pavilion”; it is described by Simons as follows: “The facade of the ‘Pavilion’ (*Hohes Tor*) before the great temple at Medinet Habu bears on both sides of the doorway a relief-scene representing slaying of prisoners by the king, on the left (west) of the entrance before Amon-re on the right (east) before Amon-Harakhte. Below both scenes and separated from them by a horizontal band of text (*‘Words of the northern (southern) enemies’*, etc.) are short lists of names. These are not in the ordinary form of name-rings with captive figures but inscribed in vertical columns between the fettered kneeling figures of the enemies whose names are mentioned. All figures are of a different type. The lists themselves contain 7 names each. On the left of the entrance these enumerate southern lands and peoples; the names on the right are of northern regions”⁵⁷². Herewith is Simon’s plan, with the location of the list⁵⁷³:

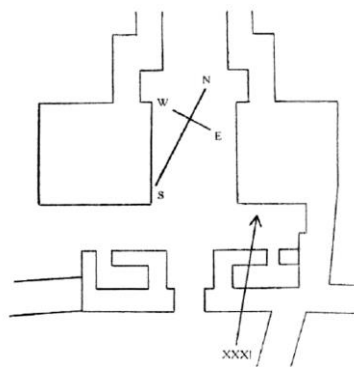


Fig. 100

An interesting note is added by Simon, to describe the peculiar nature of this inscription: “Both lists are ethnological as well as geographical. All names of the northern list except nn. 1 and 2 are of *peoples* but the determinative of foreign *countries* (𓏏) is always added. The names are preceded by some abusive qualifications”⁵⁷⁴. Simons also proposes as the best sketch of the scene that of Lepsius⁵⁷⁵:



Fig. 101

Another updated picture is that of the Oriental Institute’s Epigraphic Survey, which also shows the upper line of the text⁵⁷⁶:

⁵⁷¹ For a comment on the Medinet Habu lists, see KAHN 2016.

⁵⁷² SIMONS 1937, p. 85.

⁵⁷³ *Ivi*, p. 86, plan XIX.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ivi*, p. 85, note 5.

⁵⁷⁵ LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 209, b.

⁵⁷⁶ OIP 94, pl. 600, B.

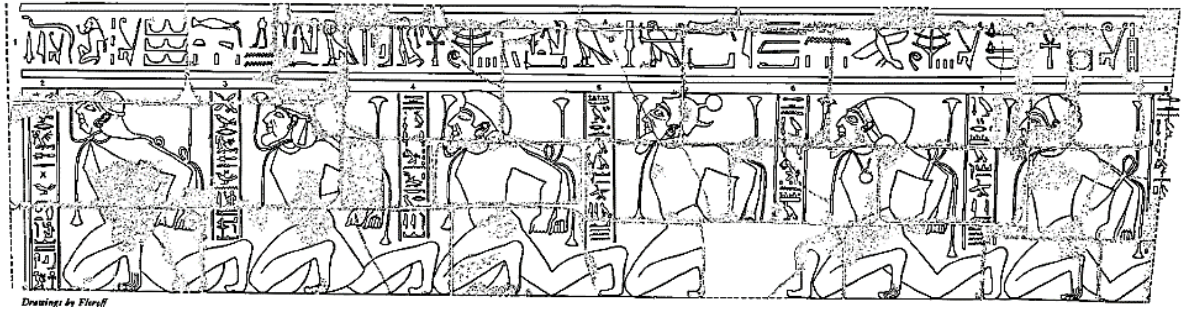


Fig. 102

A detail of the Hittite name and representation was published by Meyer⁵⁷⁷:

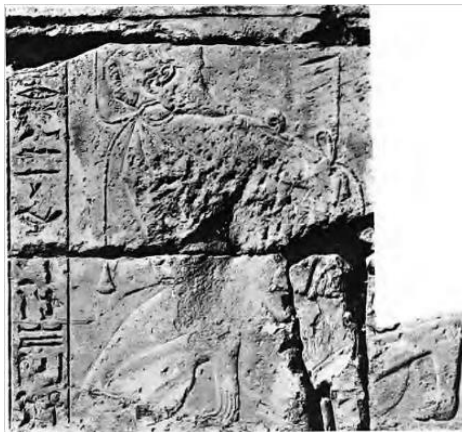
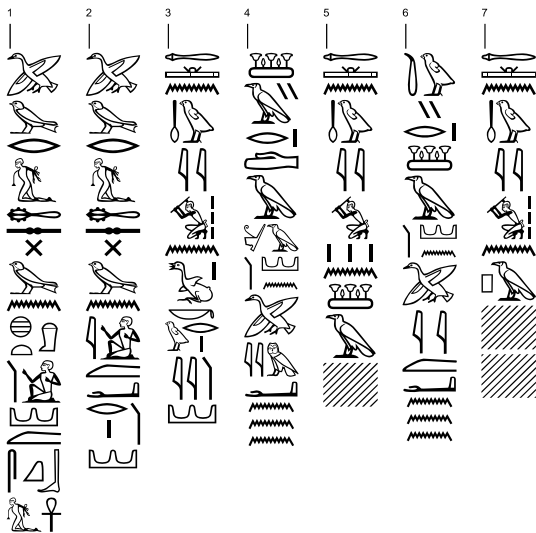


Fig. 103

The list of the captives is introduced by a line of text that says: “Words spoken by the chiefs of northern foreign countries whom His Majesty brought away captive: ‘Breath, breath, O mighty King, Horus, powerful of falcon! Give us the breath which you give that we may live and relate your prowess’”⁵⁷⁸.

Hieroglyphic text

LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 209, b and SIMONS 1937, p. 176:



⁵⁷⁷ MEYER 1914, pl. II (with description at p. 14).

⁵⁷⁸ OIP 94, p. 5.

Transliteration

- 1 *p3 wr ḥsj n Ḥt3 m sqr-^cnḥ*⁵⁷⁹
- 2 *p3 wr ḥsj n Jm^(c)r*
- 3 *^c3 ḥrw.y.w n Tḳ(w)r(y)*
- 4 *Š(3y)rd(3)n(3) n p3 y^(c)m*
- 5 *^c3 ḥrw.y.w n Š(3)[sw] [...]*
- 6 *T(wy)rš(3) n p3 y^(c)m*
- 7 *^c3 ḥrw.y.w n P(3) [.....]*

Translation

OIP 94, p. 5⁵⁸⁰:

- 1 The vile chief of **Khatti** as captive.
- 2 The vile chief of Amor.
- 3 The leader of the enemy of Tjeker.
- 4 The Sherden of the sea.
- 5 The leader of the Sha[su-Bedouin].
- 6 The Turesh of the sea.
- 7 The leader of the enemy of Pe[lset].

The peculiarity of this list, in comparison with other ones, is the absence of the usual name-rings to encircle the toponyms: in this case, they are just included in a kind of caption that describes the different portraits of the subjugated, foreign chiefs, all represented according to the common facial features attested also in other depictions. Each enemy is described by a small sentence that qualifies him: two of them are said to be “of the sea”, *n p3 y^(c)m* (the Sherden and the Turesh chiefs), while others are just described as “leader of the enemy of ...”, *^c3 ḥrw.y.w n* (the Tjeker, the Shasu and the Pelset leaders); just two of them (the Hittite king and the chief of Amor) are qualified with the syntagma “vile chief of ...”, *p3 wr ḥsj n*, a formula that is very common in the *res gestae* and in the triumphalist accounts of many battles, like the expeditions of the times of Seti I, Ramses II (the battle of Kadesh) and of Ramses III himself. The Hittite king also presents a qualification that is used only for him: *m sqr-^cnḥ*, “as a captive”⁵⁸¹, an expression that literary means “a man to be killed, whom one has left alive”⁵⁸²; the king is considered as a captive among others, asking for “the breath of life”, *nf n ^cnḥ* (see superscription), a topic formula that has been used for the Hittite the first time in the period of Amenhotep II in the passage *r dbḥ ḥtp.w ḥr ḥm=f r js.wt rdj.t n=sn nf n ^cnḥ*, “(they decided) to ask *ḥtp.w* to His Majesty to give them the breath of life” (see *supra*, text no. 2); the expression is of course very common also in texts of Seti I and Ramses II.

Other depictions of foreign people can be found in Egypt: the most important, also because they are coeval to the present inscription, are the well-known faience plaquettes from the funerary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (obviously dated to the 20th dyn., reign of Ramses III, maybe ca. 1170 BC)⁵⁸³, portraying (from left to right) a Libyan, a Nubian, a Syrian, a *shasu*-Bedouin and a Hittite⁵⁸⁴:

⁵⁷⁹ For *sqr-^cnḥ*, “Kriegsgefangener”, see TLA, lemma-no. 146240; cf. Wb I, p. 196, no. 1 and IV, p. 307, nos 12-19. In this text, the form *sqb* (typical of the New Kingdom) is attested instead of *sqr*.

⁵⁸⁰ The numeration of the lines used here differs from that in *MH VIII* (OIP 94) and follows that established by Simons.

⁵⁸¹ Wb IV, p. 307, nos 12-19: “als Gefangener”.

⁵⁸² Wb I, p. 196, no. 1: “ein zu erschlagender, den man am Leben gelassen hat”.

⁵⁸³ Today in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 36457.

⁵⁸⁴ A noteworthy description of this tile is that by Anthes, in OIP 55, p. 42.



Fig. 104

An interesting comparison can be advanced with other similar faience plaquettes (interpreted as tiles), always found at Medinet Habu⁵⁸⁵ and dated to Ramses III's reign, too⁵⁸⁶:



Fig. 105

According to L.M. Berman's description, the figures are interpreted as follow (from left to right): Syrian, Amorite, Philistine and Hittite leaders⁵⁸⁷. If the interpretation is correct, the facial features and the decoration of the robe of the "Hittite" figure are quite different from those of the Cairo plaquettes. In particular, the form of the mouth, and specially the lips, resembles facial features more African than Asiatic; by the way, the whitish colour of the incarnate stands for a more eastern origin of the figure. Also, this type of beard is no common for the Hittites (cf. *infra* the reliefs in the tomb of Horemheb, KV 57, under text no. 4); unfortunately, the hat of the personage, which would have been a good clue for the identification, is no more preserved: it seems just to glimpse another headgear, with a kind of "mosaic" decoration (i.e., a decoration made with small, quadrangular "mosaic tiles", red and green in colour). It is important to remember a note made by Berman himself: "We should, however, be wary of these designations, for the Egyptian artist depicted their outlandish costumes and un-Egyptian facial features according to convention. So, while it is a simple matter to distinguish an Asiatic from a Nubian or a Libyan, it can be difficult to distinguish one Asiatic from another: there is a certain interchangeability about their fringes and tassels, their wraparound shawls and tunics, leading one scholar, for example, to identify a 'Hittite in Libyan costume'"⁵⁸⁸. The same idea is expressed by Hayes (also quoted by Berman): "The general standard of accuracy and

⁵⁸⁵ Today in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, Emily Esther Sears Fund, Inv. nos 03.1569, 03.1571-1573 (height between 16.8 and 30 cm).

⁵⁸⁶ Picture from ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 268-269, nos 168a-d.

⁵⁸⁷ ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 267; cf. ROWE 1908.

⁵⁸⁸ Berman in ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 267. The author mentioned here by Berman is Anthes, after OIP 55, p. 42, pl. 31a.

consistency in such ‘racial portraits’ is seldom so high as to make the identifications of the types matters of certainty, even then the labels accompany the figures. [...] In many instances the Egyptian sculptor or painter had only a vague idea of the exact physical characteristics of the foreigner he was portraying [or] the details of his clothes and accessories. [...] By the Nineteenth Dynasty, the names of certain peoples, once used in connection with closely defined tribes or nations, had been extended to include whole groups of neighbouring outlanders”⁵⁸⁹. The propose in depicting these “outlanders” is very well defined by Berman: “The representations of bound foreigners do more than record, advertise, or commemorate their defeat; they magically perpetuate it for all eternity. Like wild animals, foreigners living outside Egypt’s borders represented the forces of chaos. It was the pharaoh’s duty to subdue them and thus to preserve the harmony of the universe”⁵⁹⁰. Under this respect, the inclusion of the Hittites in such a representation gives us a glimpse into the Egyptian view upon them: they are considered as enemies to be submitted, in order to guarantee the victory of Maat above the chaotic forces of the primordial Nun.

⁵⁸⁹ HAYES 1937, p. 33.

⁵⁹⁰ Berman in ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 268. A similar remark is in BREYER 2010a, p. 445: “Diese Darstellungen sind mehr oder weniger typisiert, zeigen jedoch Charakteristika, die auf der Beobachtung realer Vorbilder basieren”.

**c. KARNAK, RAMSES III'S TEMPLE OF AMUN (STATUES): LIST OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES
(20th dyn., reign of Ramses III, 1187-1157 BC)**

The name of Ḫatti is also preserved on a statue in Ramses III's temple of Amun, at Karnak; this is the description offered by Simons: "On both sides of the entrance to Ramses III's Amon-temple at Karnak are two colossal statues on the socles of which topographical lists have been engraved in the form of name-rings with captive figures. The names on the right side of the right (western) colossus are African, those on the left side of the same colossus are Asiatic, but there are only fragments of three names left. The names on the left side of the left (eastern) colossus are again African, those on the right side Asiatic with three names left. Only fragments are left of the captive figures"⁵⁹¹. Here also the sketch of the location (always by Simons⁵⁹²):

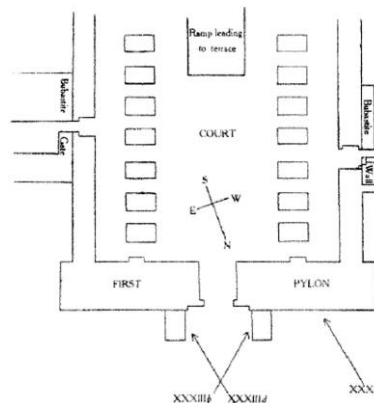


Fig. 106

A picture of the eastern colossus was published by the Epigraphic Survey⁵⁹³:



Fig. 107

⁵⁹¹ SIMONS 1937, p. 88.

⁵⁹² *Ivi*, p. 87, plan XX.

⁵⁹³ The inscription I am referring to is on the western colossus; unfortunately, no pictures of this colossus were available to me: thus, report the image of the other one, which is a perfect twin; see OIP 25, pl. 6, A.

The only good picture of the three preserved names, among which there is also Ḫatti, is offered by the Epigraphic Survey, too⁵⁹⁴:



Fig. 108

Hieroglyphic text

SIMONS 1937, p. 177:

Left side of the western (right) colossus, series D:

1-3 lost



Transliteration

1-3 lost

4 **Ḫt3**

5 (j)Rt(w)

6 Qdš(w)⁵⁹⁵

Translation

1-3 lost

4 **Ḫatti**

5 Arzawa⁵⁹⁶

6 Kadesh⁵⁹⁷

The exiguous portion of the preserved text, unfortunately, does not provide us with new information, worthy of being commented. However, I would like to compare this short list with that of the 8th year of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (see *supra*, text no. 15.b); this latter listed quotes “Hatti: - Qode,

⁵⁹⁴ OIP 25, pl. 6, D-H.

⁵⁹⁵ The spelling of the name results quite strange: cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 5, pp. 191f.

⁵⁹⁶ HL1, p. 1117, no. 40950: “Land an Westküste Kleinasiens”. Cf. GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 129*ff., 135*; vol. 2, p. 324. A different opinion is expressed by Müller (quoted in SIMONS 1937, p. 177, note 5): according to him, it should be considered as a Nubian name.

⁵⁹⁷ HL1, p. 1195, no. 42662; GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 137*ff., no. 252.

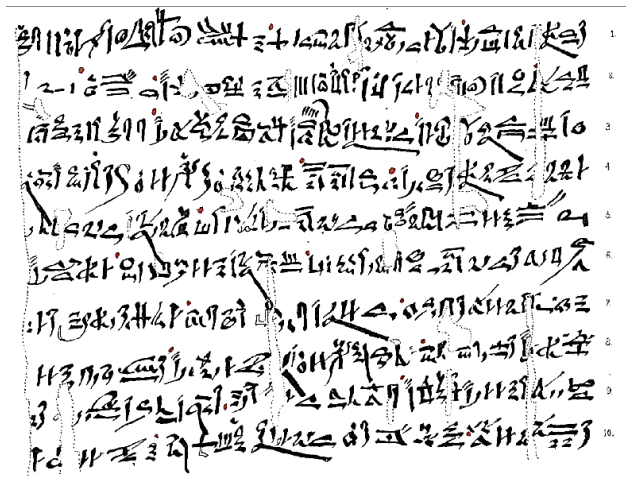
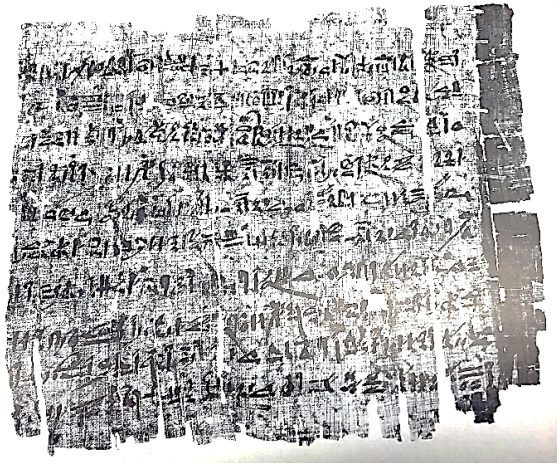
Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia”⁵⁹⁸: as already noted, it seems (according to Kitchen’s translation) that the areas quoted after the toponyms Ḫatti are all considered as a specification of some important areas as a part of the Hittite empire. However, the comparison with this and other similar lists, does not support this interpretation: in this list just Arzawa is quoted, and it seems to be considered as an entity different from Ḫatti itself; unfortunately, the shortness of the list does not offer a clear glimpse into this topic. By the way, the question stands in these terms: what was the Egyptian perspective on the “geographical composition” of the Hittite empire? The Egyptian mind used to consider Egypt as an unitary state, despite of its division in regions or districts (the Greek νόμοι, almost the equivalent of the Egyptian *sp3.wt*). The Hittite empire was a composite reality comprising different smaller entities, vassal state or confederations (such as Arzawa itself⁵⁹⁹). In the mind of an ancient Egyptian it would be quite difficult to understand the different composition and nature of an empire such as the Hittite one, and the elencation of different toponyms, sometimes together with Ḫatti, sometimes not, could be interpreted in the terms of this misunderstanding of the various and composite nature of the Ḫatti land.

⁵⁹⁸ *KRI* V, 39, 16f (see *supra*).

⁵⁹⁹ It is well-known that Egypt retained direct contacts with some vassal state of the Hittite empire, such in the case of Arzawa, documented in the EA 31-32.

16. PAPTURIN CGT 54031, HYMNS OF RAMSES VI AND VII, Vso, I. 89,6

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Hymns
Dating	20 th dyn. (1190-1077 BC)
Location	Papyrus
Content	The Hatti land (described with its mountain features) is devastated by the power of the pharaoh



Figs 109-110



Fig. 111

This papyrus, nowadays kept in the Museo Egizio in Turin (CGT 54031), reports fragments of 7 (or maybe 11 to 14⁶⁰⁰) hymns. Its provenance is unknown⁶⁰¹, maybe from northern Egypt or from Thebes; also the dating is not sure: considering the mention of Ramses VII, the text offers a clear *terminus post quem* in the enthronement of this king⁶⁰². As it will be underlined in the following comment, this text represent a *unicum*, because of the mention of Hittites in a cultic document (something that can be, in general, compared also with the alleged, specular quotation of Egypt within Hittite religious or ritual texts; see in detail *infra*, section 1.2.1.2, comment to texts nos 52-55 and 57-60).

Hieroglyphic text

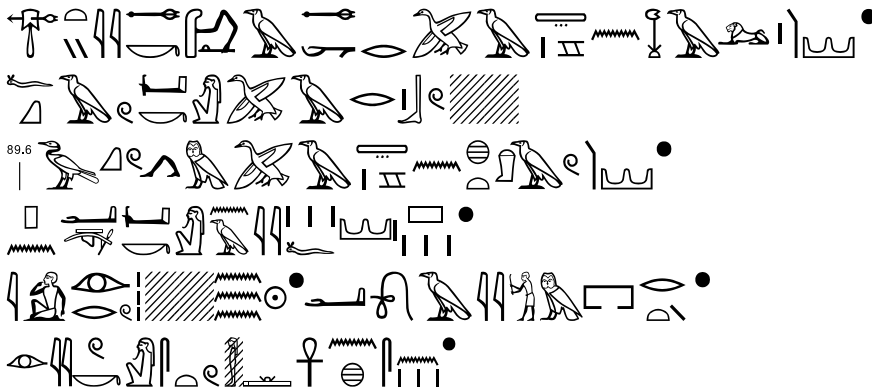
TLA, DZA 25.130 (28.149.290)⁶⁰³

⁶⁰⁰ The number of fragments is estimated as 7 in CONDON 1978 and 11-14 in DAVIS 1982.

⁶⁰¹ According to CONDON 1978, p. 4, it arrived in Turin together with the Drovetti collection, in 1824. Thus, no precise archaeological context or find spots are retrievable.

⁶⁰² ASSMAN 1984, p. 166: the author proposed that “die etwa bei der Begrüßung des in Memphis gekrönten Königs anlässlich seiner Antrittsreise nach Theben verwendet wurde”. CONDON 1978, p. 5 proposed to date palaeographically the text to the end of the 19th dyn., until the beginning of the 20th dyn. The pictures here reproduced are from CONDON 1978, p. 82, pl. 4 (89) and PLEYTE – ROSSI 1869, vol. 2 (planches), pl. 89.

⁶⁰³ Cf. CONDON 1978, p. 13.



Transliteration⁶⁰⁴

stt.y ^ch3 r p3 t3 n H3rw

fq3=k p3 r-bw[-rn-n3y]

(Vso 89,6) ^cq.w m p3 t3 n Ht3

pn^c=k n3y=f d^w.w

j:jrj=w [sk3] [m] (Vso 89,7) [š]m.w ^cw3y m pr.t

jry=k stw(.t) ^cnh=sn

Translation (I quote a longer portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)

Deine Armee steht <in> Freude da. Die Pferdegespanne im Lande (Ägypten) [---] tragen deine Liebe gemäß (?) dem Orakel von einem Ende der Welt bis zum anderen (wörtl.: vom Ende eines Landes bis zum (Ende) eines (anderen) Landes). Nechbet von Hierakonpolis und Uto sind der Schutz deines Leibes [---]. (Pausezeichen: Strophenende). (O) der (du) Pfeile ins Land Syrien schießt: Mögest du den Liba[non] verwüsten! (O) der (du) das Land Hatti betrittst: Mögest du seine Berge zum Einsturz bringen⁶⁰⁵. (Selbst wenn) man [im So]mmer [pflügt] und im Winter erntet: Du wirst für ihren Lebensunterhalt sorgen. (Wer) von [ihrem] Flei[sch] isst (und) von ihrem Blut [trink]t: Dein Uräus wird deren Leichname im Inneren [ihrer] [---] verbrennen, [wobei sie] aus ihren Gräbern gerissen (und) dem Wind ausgesetzt sind. Du bist Baal, der in [---] erscheint, [der Macht erlangt hat] über die fernen Länder, der inmitten von Ägypten ist (?). Das (für) dich (bestimmte) Opfer ist rein. A[mun] (?) liebt [---].

The present hymn glorifies the powerful of the pharaoh who performs incredible things in his country (he can, for instance, survive in the winter). Egypt is here described as a pacified and flourishing land, with a strong army and a brave king, who enjoys the protection of the tutelary goddesses Nechbet and Buto. The powerful the pharaoh is described according to the military *topos* of the king conquering the foreign lands: it is literally said that he “shoots arrows in the land of Syria” and “ravages the Lybanon”; the third sentence describing the military glory of the Egyptian king refers precisely to the Hittite land: “(O you) that enter the Hatti⁶⁰⁶ land: may you bring their mountains to collapse” (^cq.w m p3 t3 n Ht3w pn^c=k n3y=f d^w). The image is noteworthy, because it denotes a precise knowledge of the Hittites’ land geography: it was imagined (or, much more probable, actually have been seen) by an Egyptian as a mountainous land, a feature that probably hit a lot the Egyptian mind, used to live in a flat and desertic country, with just the cliffs of the Middle or Southern Egyptian area. The pharaoh is considered and described as a god, able to devastate and alter also the nature of the foreign land, planning their mountains. Perhaps, the description of the Hittite land as a mountainous country had derived from the reports of the Egyptian messengers, coming back from the Anatolian plateau (or from the Northern Syrian area, too); nevertheless, it is also to stress the

⁶⁰⁴ For the transliteration and translation, see TLA, s.v.

⁶⁰⁵ English translation in CONDON 1978, p. 21: “The one who chargeth into the land of **Khatti**, thou overturnest its mountains”. Cf. also the first translation of Pleyte and Rossi: “Line 6: entré dans la terre des *xeta* tu renverses ses montagnes et tu fais ...” (PLEYTE – ROSSI 1869, vol. 1 (texte), p. 125.

⁶⁰⁶ Note that the toponym Hatti is here written in an uncommon way, Ht3w, with a final redundant -w (G43); the spelling could be a signal of the late dating of the text. For the presence of w as a redundant writing, see e.g. CAVILLIER 2012, p. 21, no. 5; cf. also JUNGE 2005², pp. 33f., no. 1.1.1.

possibility that the Egyptians gained information from the iconography of some Hittite seals sometimes bearing the representation of the Storm god standing on a mountain. This suggestion is of course hard to be proved, because we know for sure that the only sealing autoptically seen at the Egyptian court was that of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa, where the Storm god was not standing on the mountain (see the description of the sealing in the “Treaty”, §§ 28-29, for which see *supra*, text no. 8.d)⁶⁰⁷. The mountains belonging to the Hittite lands are also quoted in the list of the gods-witnesses, in the “Treaty” (§ 21, d3 and d12, *n3 ntr.w ḏw.w*, “the gods of the mountains”), but also in the “List of the mountains-gods” (see *supra*, text 8n), in the expression *ḏw n Ḫt3*, “the mountain(-god) of Ḫatti”. It is therefore clear that the mountainous nature of the Hittite land remained fixed within the Egyptian memory.

⁶⁰⁷ For actual seals of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa, see e.g. BERAN 1967, pl. 14, nos 229-230 and HERBORDT – BAWANYPECK – HAWKINS 2011, pls 27-32, nos 70-83.

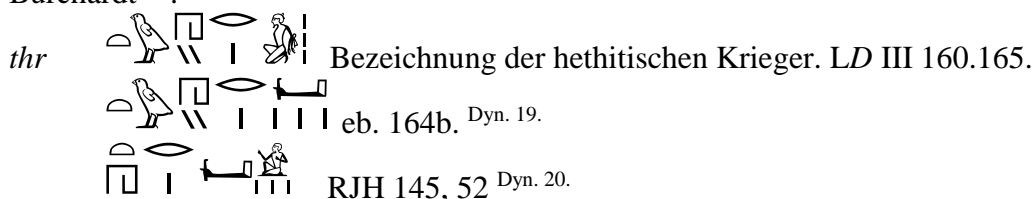
Translation (I quote a larger portion of text: the passage mentioning the Hittites is underlined)⁶⁰⁹

(1) Received in Year 17, second month of winter, day 21, from the temple of Maat in Nō, out of the gold and silver recovered from the thieving workmen (2) of the Necropolis, which <they> were found to have given to the traders of every house, and which was recovered by the vizier Khaemwēse (3) and the chief priest of Amen-Re^c King of the Gods, Amenhotpe.

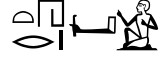
(4) The trader Nessobk son of Seniri belonging to the army **commander chief of the Hittite troops** Amennūfer, 6 *deben* 4 *kite* of silver.

(16) The trader Seri son of Seniri belonging to the **chief of the Hittite troops** Senunozem (?) of the department (?) of Mermeshaf (*p3 h3 n Mr-mš^c=f*, “the fortress of M.”), 1 *deben* of silver.

This passage and the related quotation of some Hittite soldiers, is quite controversial. In his edition of the text, Peet translates the expression *‘3 n twhr* as “chief of the Hittite troops”, also referring to Burchardt⁶¹⁰:



According to Burchardt, the term should refer to a Hittite warrior and the quotations he presented (taken from LD) are all referred to the battle of Kadesh texts. The word *twhr* is also listed in the TLA under lemma-no. 173060:

“  asiatische Krieger (foreign warrior): Wb 5, 322.10-14; FCD 301; LESKO 1982-1990, vol. 4, p. 95”. The term is well explained by Schulman, also with a reference to this papyrus: “*thrw*, foreign troops. From the context in which it is found, it is clear that *thr* was a term generally applied to non-Egyptian forces. In fact, it is only because it occurs in a tomb robbery papyrus as the rank/title of several individuals, one of whom is also called a ‘military officer’ (ref. 309 a-c) and in P. Wilbour (ref. 309 d) where the people in question bear Egyptian names, that *thr* is included in this discussion of Egyptian military terms. It is best attested in the Nineteenth Dynasty where it occurs in a series of captions over various Hittite contingents at the battle of Kadesh (ref. 170). These were variously called ‘*thrw* of fighting’, ‘*thrw* of the chariots’, and ‘*thrw* of the shield-bearers’. Similarly, the term is applied to a phalanx of massed infantry with chariots in their centre, and certainly refers to both. In the marriage stela of Ramesses II (ref. 171) we are informed that the Hittite infantry and chariotry who composed the Hittite escort were *thr*-troops. Other sources show that *thrw* were associated with chariots (ref. 170 d), that they served as garrison-troops for Asiatic rulers (ref. 22), and that they possibly served on sea as well as on land (ref. 210) Outside of the few protocols mentioned above, it was applied only to foreign troops (Sea People, Syrians, Hittites). Its orthography *tw-h3-r3* shows its non-Egyptian origin (cf. Burchardt, Fremdwörter, No. 1124). We may then reasonably conclude that it was originally an Asiatic word meaning only ‘soldiers’, and when used by the Egyptians, had the connotation ‘Asiatic soldiers in general’. We should not think of *thrw* as only infantry or as specifically ‘Hittite troops’ as has been done (so, e.g. PEET 1930, p. 90). From the use of *thr* as an element in an Egyptian military rank, we may conclude that those Egyptians who were ‘leaders (*‘3yw*) of foreign troops’ meant thereby that they were in charge of detachments of non-Egyptian, possibly Asiatic auxiliaries. On analogy with the only known Egyptian *‘3* rank, ‘leader of a fifty’ it would seem that the designation ‘leaders of foreign troops’ did not refer to a high post in the military hierarchy. The fact that two different Hittite officers of this rank are mentioned by name in the Kadesh texts (ref. 308) does not argue against this, for when the Egyptians referred to high ranking enemy

⁶⁰⁹ Translation from PEET 1930, p. 90.

⁶¹⁰ PEET 1930, p. 100, note 19, quoting BURCHARDT 1909, II 57, no. 1124.

officers, they used the corresponding commander of a host rank (e.g., Kadesh Captions, no. 27)”⁶¹¹. The term is translated as “(asiatische) Krieger” in Wb V, p. 322.10-14 and as “a Syrian warrior” in FAULKNER 2002¹⁰, p. 301, with reference to Urk. IV, 686, 5. Nevertheless, the specific expression *c3 n twhr* is translated in HL1 just as “Großer der Teher”, so with no specific reference to the Hittites⁶¹². By the way, the syntagma *t(w)hr n tprt* is translated by Hannig as “Teher des (hethitischen) Trosser”⁶¹³, where the term *tprt* means “bronze-clad chariot (of the Hittites)”⁶¹⁴. Moreover, it is sure that the term is not a Hittite loanword, because the etymology of the term is Semitic (cf. Hebrew *dāhar*⁶¹⁵, “jagen”⁶¹⁶).

The TLA text database quoted the term within 13 entries⁶¹⁷: 12 of them refers to documents related to the Battle of Kadesh or to the “First Hittite Marriage”, being clearly used to determine Hittite people. However, one attestation can also be found in papChester-Beatty I, Verso, Section G (Liebeslied Nr. 38-40 [“Drei Wünsche”], line G 1, 8)⁶¹⁸:

Transliteration

nn-wn dp.j m n3 [G 1,8] *tw-h3-jr(.t) jw=f (hr) jrj.t n-h3.t=f*
rh wsj jb n sn.t p3y=f tm [G 2,1] *w3j r sn.t grh*

Translation

Unter den **Asiatenkriegern** gibt es keinen einzigen (wörtl.: besten), der es vor ihm schaffen (?) könnte. O wie sehr weiß das Herz der Liebsten (um) seine Nähe zur (wörtl.: sein Nicht-fern-sein von) Liebsten. (Pausezeichen: Strophenende).

Here, there is no precise reference to Hittites; nevertheless, considering that the major part of the attestations refers to Hittite soldiers, and that the term is not attested before the Battle of Kadesh, it is possible to argue the same also in this passage. Just a chronological problem stands against this interpretation: being the papyrus dated to the reign of Ramses IX (ca. 1129-1111 BC), it is quite hazardous so suppose actual contacts between Egyptians and Hittites, after the end of the Hittite empire (datable among 1200 and 1180 BC). Therefore, I advance here another hypothesis: it is possible that the word *twhr* had been so extensively used during the period of the Egypto-Hittite hostilities that it lasted as a term specifically associated with the Hittite people also many decades after that specific period.

⁶¹¹ SCHULMAN 1964, pp. 21-22.

⁶¹² HL1, p. 1009, no. 37355.

⁶¹³ HL1, p. 1009, no. 37356.

⁶¹⁴ TLA, lemma-no. 175270; Wb V 364.10.

⁶¹⁵ See דָּהַר in SOGGIN ET AL. 1995, p. 102.

⁶¹⁶ HL1, p. 1009, no. 37356.

⁶¹⁷ <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?f=0&l=0&of=0&ll=173060&db=0&lr=0&mo=1&wt=y&bc=Start>.

⁶¹⁸ <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&tc=442>.

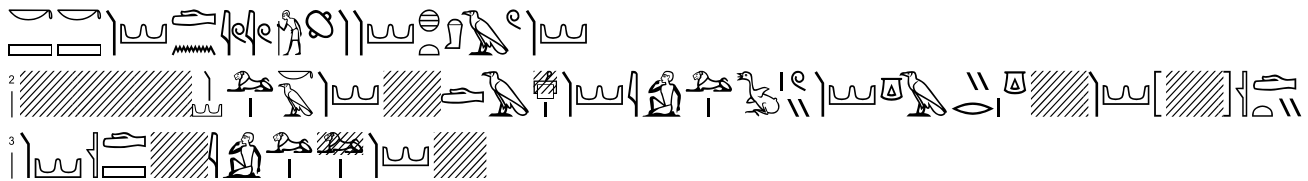
18. PAPGOLÉNISCHEFF IV, 1-3, ONOMASTICON OF AMENEMOPE

Writing	Hieratic
Language	Egyptian
Genre	Onomasticon, reporting Egyptian and foreign toponyms
Dating	21 st -22 nd dyn. (ca. 1076-746 BC)
Location	Papyrus (from El-Hibah)
Content	Ḫatti is mentioned together with other Asiatic toponyms

Papyrus Golénischef, now kept in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts at Moscow⁶¹⁹, was found at El-Hibah, in Upper Egypt by some *fellahin*, together with two other papyri with the “Story of Wenamun” and a model letter still unpublished; two fragments of the papyrus were purchased by two antiquity dealers in Cairo by W. Golénischeff (1891) and later reassembled by him⁶²⁰; the entire papyrus apparently measured 153 cm in length by 23 cm in height. The text reported on it, the “Onomasticon of Amenemope”, consists of about 601 entries organized in a gerarchical way: nos 230-312 (section IV), are those of “classes, tribes and types of human being”⁶²¹; within this last section, also Ḫatti is quoted (under no. 245). Considering that the author, Amenemope, lived probably at the end of the 20th dyn.⁶²², it is possible to consider papGolénischeff as a later copy of a former text⁶²³.

Hieroglyphic text

TLA, DZA 31 (28.149.750)⁶²⁴



Transliteration

Kškš Dn(jw)ḫt3

(2) [...] *Rk(3)* (=Lk(3)) [*P]dš Jrtw Grg[š]* [...] *Kdt*

(3) *Kdš Jrr* (=Jll)[?] [...]

*Translation*⁶²⁵

Keškeš, Danuw/na, **Ḫatti**

(2) [...] Luk(k)a, Pidaša, Arzawa, Karkemish, Kedi,

(3) Kadesh, *Jrr* (=Jll)[?] [...]

The list of toponyms of the Onomasticon of Amenemope is of particular importance for two reasons: 1) it could be considered as a “standard list”, attesting the names according to a codified tradition: as a scholar text, it would be use as a sort of handbook for other lists; 2) it reports near the name of Ḫatti same peculiar toponyms, attested just here: for instance, a toponym refers to the land of Keškeš, attested only during Ramses II’s reign and in connection with the Hittite campaign⁶²⁶. Götze identified

⁶¹⁹ Pap. Pushkin 169. For an introduction to the Onomasticon of Amenemope and to the papyrus itself, see GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 24ff.

⁶²⁰ He also published a small portion of the Onomasticon of Amenemope (5, 5-8 and 5, 9-13); see GOLÉNISCHEFF 1902.

⁶²¹ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 37.

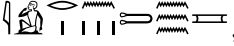

⁶²² HERBIN 1986, p. 118, dated the papyrus itself at the end of the 20th dyn.

⁶²³ Unfortunately, no actual pictures of the papyrus are available.

⁶²⁴ Cf. of course also the text in GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 124*ff.

⁶²⁵ The toponyms are translated according to GARDINER 1947, *loc. cit.*

⁶²⁶ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 124, no. 243; cf. GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 5, p. 209 and TLA, lemma-no. 859426. For the attestations in Ramesside texts, see “Poem”, KRITA II, p. 4, l. 44 and p. 5, l. 86 (*supra*, text no. 8a); “Bulletin”, KRITA II, p. 16, l. 44 (*supra*, text no. 8b). For the spelling of the name in Egyptian sources, see DEGEN, R. 1967.

qualify the citadel of Kadesh, i.e. , *Jrnt*, “Orontes”, obtaining a syntagma that specifies the geographical position of the city: “Kadesh on the Orontes”⁶⁴². However, I am not so confident with this reconstruction. Another possibility is to read the toponym as an abbreviated or defective writing for , *Jrr(h)*, the name of ancient Alalakh, modern Tell Atchana, also on the Orontes river⁶⁴³. Anyhow, also this interpretation does not convince, because of the clear absence of the monoliteral sign for *h* (Aa1) together with the presence of the determinative T14, the “throe-stick”, usually not attested in the spelling of Alalakh (the presence of a double determinative, T14+N25, the “mountain range”, is not so odd). Another possibility is to imagine after the name of Kadesh the presence of an elsewhere unattested toponym. Unfortunately, the other papyri reporting the text of the “Onomasticon of Amenemope” do not help in this regard (and, in any case, also a misunderstanding of the author of the DZA could be considered). What seems to be interesting in this list, is the presence just after the mention of Ḫatti, of only Anatolian toponyms or at least geographical names of areas included in the Hittite sphere (Lukka, Pidaša, Arzawa, Karkemish, Kedi and Kadesh). The author of the papyrus, maybe merging together earlier notions⁶⁴⁴, shows a quite high degree in the knowledge of the regions interested by the Hittite presence. A knowledge that is codified in the form of the “Onomasticon”, such as a kind of geographical atlas of the world as conceived by an Egyptian point of view.

⁶⁴² GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, p. 137*, no. 252.

⁶⁴³ HL1, p. 1116, no. 40930; TLA, lemma-no. 852493.

⁶⁴⁴ Such as the passages of the battle of Kadesh and the later texts of Ramses III.

1.2: HITTITE AND NEO-HITTITE TEXTS

1.2.1: HITTITE TEXTS OF MBA AND LBA (IN AKKADIAN AND HITTITE)

1.2.1.1: Introduction to the sources

In this section, all the Hittite documents of the MBA and LBA quoting the toponym “Egypt” (*Mizri*) are reported, offering a useful catalogue for a reconstruction of the relationships between the Nile valley and the Hittite court⁶⁴⁵. Each text is structured as follows:

- 1) firstly, I provide the occurrences as in DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 and DEL MONTE 1992 (all the information from this scholar is also briefly summarized in the following pages);
- 2) after these data, I report the transliteration⁶⁴⁶ and translation (in the original language of the most eminent translation and, if available, the reference to English translation);
- 3) at the end of each document I present a short comment, mainly focusing on the information useful to understand and better analyse the context of the texts⁶⁴⁷. Further information about each text are collected in Appendix B, quoting data from HPM website (see *infra*).

While the Egyptian texts in section 1.1 were listed in a chronological order, the Hittite texts are quoted following the number list of the HPM, where they are presented according to a thematical division. About the spelling of the toponym Egypt (*Miṣri/Mizri*), some remarks can be found in two publications:

- “I 33, III 39, 42 KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iz-za-ri-i*, in dieser Graphik nur hier belegt; s. auch im gleichen Text KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iz-za-ri-ya* I 35, ^{URU}*Mi-iz-ri-i* IV 2, KUR *Mi-iz-ri-i* IV 4, KUR ^{URU}*M[i-i]z-ri-ya* B Vs. 12. Diese Schreibung (^{URU}*Mi-iz-ri/Mi-iz-ri-i* überwiegt während der gesamten Dauer des Hethitischen Großreiches; einmal ist als graphische Variante *Me-iz-ri* KBo V 6 III 46 belegt. Seltener bezeugt ist die Überführung in einen, nunmehr hethitisch flektieren, -a-Stamm: KBo V 6 III 5, 8; Bo 3508, 8. *Mi-iz-ra-aš(-)* nom. KUB XXXIV 24 + IV 36 (JCS 10, 1956, 98). *Mi-iz-ra-an* Akk. KBo VIII 37 Rs. 9. Daneben KUR *Mi-iz-za-ri* im Arzawa-Brief VBoT 1, Z. 1 und den Deeds of Šuppiluliuma KUB XIX 4 Z. 10 (s. H.G. Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 126). Unsicher, ob hierhergehörig KBo XVI 42 Rs. 9, 14 ^{URU}*Me-ez-za-ri(-)*. Der vorliegende (späte) Text Tuthalijas IV. zeigt eine überraschend große Variation in der Wiedergabe des Namens Ägypten; lediglich Mizra fehlt⁶⁴⁸.
- “*Mizra* ‘Égypte’, adversaire puis alliée des Hittites en Syrie. Mais le terme désigne couramment les possessions égyptiennes d’Asie. Le nom se présente en hittite sous deux formes : akkadisante dans KUR ^{URU}*Mizri* (ou *Mizzari*) ; hittite dans KUR ^{URU}*Mizra* (KBo V 6 III 5, 8 ; KUB XXI 1 III 11 ; KBo VIII 37 Vo 9, 11⁶⁴⁹).

The main sources consulted to find out the occurrences of the toponym Egypt (*Miṣri/Mizri*) among the Hittite documentation are the geographical list published in DEL MONTE – TISCHLER (1978), with supplement (DEL MONTE 1992). Herewith, I report all the attestations as presented in these publications, according to their spelling⁶⁵⁰.

⁶⁴⁵ The importance of the study of all the attestations of this toponym within the corpus of the Hittite literature has already been underlined by Lebrun and Degève: “L’enquête sur le toponyme « Mizri » pourrait ainsi se préciser et nous permettre de progresser dans nos recherches” (LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, p. 131).

⁶⁴⁶ The transliteration is provided on the base of their edition: thus, the transliteration systems are, unfortunately, not uniformed.

⁶⁴⁷ Sometimes, mostly for the letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, it was not possible to provide a deep comment to the text, because of its patchy state of preservation. In these cases, just a brief note has been added, in [...].

⁶⁴⁸ KÜHNE – OTTEN 1971, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁴⁹ LAROCHE 1966, p. 274.

⁶⁵⁰ During August 2018, I had the possibility of checking the original labels of Del Monte – Tischler’s onomasticon, kept in the archives of the “Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur”, in Mainz. I thank Gerfried Müller and Daniel Schwemer for the permission to work at the “Akademie”; my thanks also to Charles Steitler and Matteo Vigo for having welcomed me in the archives. During this research period, I was able to retrieve some more Hittite texts quoting Egypt, unfortunately still not included in this catalogue (because presenting just the transliteration, lacking of a translation). I am going to publish these further texts in a later supplement to the present dissertation.

List of the occurrences quoted in DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, pp. 273-275:

Mizri

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>CTH</i> <i>(with the original title given in HPM)</i>
nom. ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ra-aš</i>	KBo XIV 12 IV 36	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
Akk. ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ra-an</i>	KBo VIII 37 Rs. 9	134: Vertrag mit Kuruštama
	KUB XL 30 Rs. 8'	211: Fragmente von Annalen
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 8 + Vs. 5 (akk.)	92: Vertrag Ḫattušilis III. mit Bentešina von Amurru
	KBo IX 96 I 16', vgl. 3'	590: Fragmente der Traum- und Gelübdetexten
	KBo XVI 32 IV 4	212: Fragmente von Verträgen oder Instruktionen
	KBo XVIII 21 Vs. 2 (br.)	187: Fragmentarische Königsbriefe
	KUB III 2 Vs. 6' (br.; akk.)	53: Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Tette von Nuḫašše
	KUB XIV 17 II 30	61: Die Annalen des Muršili II. (61.I Zehnjahresannalen, 61.II Ausführliche Annalen, 61.III Nicht zugeordnete Fragmente)
	KUB XXI 4 + I 34	76: Vertrag Muwattallis II. mit Alakšandu von Wiluša
	KUB XXI 38 Rs. 7, 14	176: Brief Puduḫepas an Ramses II.
	KUB XXVI 33 III 7'	122: Vertrag Šuppiluliumas II. mit Talmi-Tešub von Karkamiš
	KUB XXVI 53, 2'	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
	KUB XXVI 76 Vs. 6' (br.), Rs. 14' (br.)	214: Fragmente historischer Texte
	KUB XXVI 89, 9'	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo III 6 + II 49, 51, 58	81: Die "Apologie" bzw. "Autobiographie" bzw. Stiftungsurkunde Ḫattušilis III.
	KBo V 6 II 22, III 26	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KBo V 9 I 34	62: Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Duppi-Tešub von Amurru (.I Akkadisch .II Hethitisch)
	KBo X 12 I 14', 18', 24, IV 24' (br.)	49: Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Aziru von Amurru (I. Akkadisch; II. Hethitisch)
	KBo XIV 9 III 9'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KBo XIV 12 III 25, 26, 33, IV 20, 28, 38	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KBo XIV 72 Vs. 2 (br.), 4	250: Inventarfragmente
	KBo XVIII 30 Vs. 14'	188: Briefe an den König oder die Königin
	KBo XXII 39 II 4', 8'	62: Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Duppi-Tešub von Amurru (I. Akkadisch II. Hethitisch)
	KUB VIII 82 + Vs. 12	105: Vertrag Tudḫalijas IV. mit Šauškamuwa von Amurru
	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 14', 26', 32', Rs. 31'	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XIV 13 I 47	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XV 34 I 57	483: Evokationsrituale

	KUB XIX 9 I 13'	83: Bericht Ḫattušilis III. über Feldzüge Šuppiluliumas I.
	KUB XIX 15 IV' 8'	72: Bericht über Auseinandersetzung mit Ägypten in Syrien mit Gebet an die Götterversammlung
	KUB XIX 20 Vs. 19'	154: Brief Šuppiluliumas I. an Ay(?)
	KUB XIX 31 II 10'	63: Rechtssprüche betreffend einen Grenzkonflikt zwischen Nuḫašše und Barga sowie Übereinkunft mit Duppi-Tešub von Amurru
	KUB XIX 71, 2' (br.)	81: Die "Apologie" bzw. "Autobiographie" bzw. Stiftungsurkunde Ḫattušilis III.
	KUB XX 2 IV 3'	669: Größere Festritualfragmente
	KUB XXI 5 + III 25	76: Vertrag Muwattallis II. mit Alakšandu von Wiluša
	KUB XXI 38 Rs. 13	176: Brief Puduḫepas an Ramses II.
	KUB XXXI 25, 6', 8'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KUB XXXI 121a II 10', 13', 16'	72: Bericht über Auseinandersetzung mit Ägypten in Syrien mit Gebet an die Götterversammlung
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 4 II 8 (akk.)	53: Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Tette von Nuḫašše
	KBo I 10 + KUB III 72 Vs. 55 und passim (akk.)	172: Brief Ḫattušilis III. an Kadašman-Enlil II.
	KBo I 15 + 19 Vs. 15' und passim (akk.)	156: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III. über Urḫi-Tešub
	KBo I 23 Vs. 2, 13 (akk.)	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
	KBo I 24 + KUB III 84 Vs. 7 und passim (akk.)	166: Brief Ramses' II. an Kupanta-Kurunta von Mira
	KBo I 29 + IX 43 Vs. 1, 10, 15	167: Brief Napteras, der Gemahlin von Ramses II., an Puduḫepa
	KBo II 11 Rs. 7' und passim	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
	KBo X 12 II 12'	49: Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Aziru von Amurru (I. Akkadisch II. Hethitisch)
	KBo XVIII 24 IV 15'	187: Fragmentarische Königsbriefe
	KUB I 1 + II 69	81: Die "Apologie" bzw. "Autobiographie" bzw. Stiftungsurkunde Ḫattušilis III.
	KUB III 24 + 59 Vs. 3' (br.), 19 (br.); 25 Vs. 1, 2, 26 Vs. 2 (br.); 27 Vs. 13', Rs. 14'; 31 Vs. 3; 34 Rs. 5 und passim; 41, 2; 42 Vs. 4', Rs. 9'; 52 Rs. 1; 56 Rs. 10'; 63 Vs. 1, 16; 66 Rs. 8' (br.); 67 Vs. 6', Rs. 7'; 70 Vs. 2 und passim, 124, 5' (alle akk.)	160: Brief Puduḫepas an Ramses II.
	KUB XXIII 1 + IV 4	105: Vertrag Tudḫalijas IV. mit Šauškamuwa von Amurru
	KUB XXVI 90 IV 4	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
	KUB XXXIV 2 Vs. 17	168: Briefe der Königsmutter Tūja an Ḫattušili III.
	1199/c+ 216/e Vs. 1 (akk.)	161: Brief Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.

	NBC 3934 Rs. 15 (akk.)	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo I 7 Vs. 4 und passim (akk.)	91: Vertrag Ḫattušilis III. mit Ramses II. von Ägypten
	KBo I 25 + passim (akk.)	91: Vertrag Ḫattušilis III. mit Ramses II. von Ägypten
	KBo IX 91 Vs. 15	241: Inventare von Truhen
	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 19', 23' 24'	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XXI 17 I 14, 16	86: Erlaß Ḫattušilis III. betreffend das Vermögen von Arma-Tarḫunta
	KUB XXI 39, 11'	98: Brief(?), erwähnt Bentešina und Ägypten
	KUB XXVI 90 IV 1	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
	KUB XXXI 27, 4' (br.)	86: Erlaß Ḫattušilis III. betreffend das Vermögen von Arma-Tarḫunta
URU <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB III 56 Vs. 5', Rs. 4' (akk.)	208: Fragmente akkadischer Briefe
	KUB XII 1 IV 20'	504: Inventar des Manninni
	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 20'	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XIV 17 II 24	61: Die Annalen des Muršili II. (61.I Zehnjahresannalen, 61.II Ausführliche Annalen, 61.III Nicht zugeordnete Fragmente)
	KUB XXIII 1 + IV 2	105: Vertrag Tudḫalijas IV. mit Šauškamuwa von Amurru
URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 6 III 20, 44, 51	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KBo XIV 12 IV 30	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 16', 33'	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XIV 13 I 48	378: Pestgebete Muršilis II.
	KUB XIV 17 II 18, 19, 29	61: Die Annalen des Muršili II. (61.I Zehnjahresannalen, 61.II Ausführliche Annalen, 61.III Nicht zugeordnete Fragmente)
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-za-ri-i</i>	KUB XXIII 1 + I 33, III 9 (br.), 42 (br.)	105: Vertrag Tudḫalijas IV. mit Šauškamuwa von Amurru
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-za-ri</i>	KUB XXIII 1 + I 35	105: Vertrag Tudḫalijas IV. mit Šauškamuwa von Amurru
URU <i>mi-iz-z[a-</i>	KUB XIX 4 + KBo XIX 45, 10', vgl. 6'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
URU <i>me-iz-za-ri</i> [	KBo XVI 42 Rs. 9 (br.), 14	214: Fragmente historischer Texte
KUR ^{URU} <i>me-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 6 III 46	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ra</i>	KBo V 6 III 5	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
URU <i>mi-iz-ra</i>	KBo V 6 III 8; KBo VIII 37 Rs. 11'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
] <i>mi-iz-ra</i>	KUB XXI 1 + III 11	76: Vertrag Muwattallis II. mit Alakšandu von Wiluša

Occurrences with mistakes or uncommon spelling:

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>CTH</i> <i>(with the original title given in HPM)</i>
KUR <i>mi-ri-i</i>	KBo I 23 Vs. 4 (akk.)	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-ri</i>	KBo V 6 IV 12	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
U ^{JRU} <i>mi-iz(-ja)</i>	KBo XIV 54 Vs. 2'	216: Fragmente akkadischer historischer Texte (2)

Occurrences in lacuna:

<i>Publication</i>	<i>CTH</i> <i>(with the original title given in HPM)</i>

KBo XVIII 44 Vs. 3'	209: Fragmente hethitischer Briefe
KBo XXII 14, 4'	215: Undifferenzierte Fragmente historischer Texte
KBo XXII 15, 3'	134: Vertrag mit Kuruštama
KUB III 32, 2'; 33, 5'	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 Rs. 9'	159: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III. und Puduḫepa
KUB III 126, 11'	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
KUB XIX 13 + 14 III 5'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
KUB XXIII 7 Rs.	134: Vertrag mit Kuruštama
KUB XXIII 8, 3'	40: Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten
KUB XXXI 27, 4'	86: Erlaß Ḫattušilis III. betreffend das Vermögen von Arma-Tarḫunta
KUB XXXIV 2 Vs. 2	168: Briefe der Königsmutter Tūja an Ḫattušili III.
ABoT 59 Vs. 1f.	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.

List of the occurrences quoted in DEL MONTE 1992, p. 106:

Mizri

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>CTH</i> <i>(with the original title given in HPM)</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB LII 67 II 1', 6'	582: Orakelfragmente
^{URJU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB LVI 22, 4'	590: Fragmente der Traum- und Gelübdetexten
akk. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XXVIII 69, 12'	208: Fragmente akkadischer Briefe
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 3 Vs. 1	155: Brief Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III. über Urḫi-Tešub
	KBo XXVIII 4 Vs. 26, 32	158: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Puduḫepa
	KBo XXVIII 14 Vs. 2, 3 (br.), 7	164: Briefe Ramses' II. an Puduḫepa
	KBo XXVIII 16, 14'	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.:
	KBo XXVIII 18, 4' (br.)	157: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 19 Rs. 7'	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 23, 1, 2, 4, 41, 47	158: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Puduḫepa
	KBo XXVIII 30, 3	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 33, 2', 6' (br.)	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 44 Vs. 4	165: Briefe Ramses' II. an unbekannte Adressaten
	KBo XXVIII 47 Vs. 2, 6, 12 (br.)	169: Briefe des Prinzen Šutaḫapšap, Sohn von Ramses II., an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 49 Vs. 2	167: Brief Napteras, der Gemahlin von Ramses II., an Puduḫepa
	KBo XXVIII 50 Vs. 2 (br.), 7	168: Briefe der Königsmutter Tūja an Ḫattušili III.
KBo I 25+ KUB III 11+ KUB XLVIII 73 Vs. 19 (br.), 22	91: Vertrag Ḫattušilis III. mit Ramses II. von Ägypten	
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XXVIII 42 Vs. 5'	157: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.

Occurrences in lacuna:

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>CTH</i> <i>(with the original title given in HPM)</i>
<i>m|i-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 1 Vs. 9'	161: Brief Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.

KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>[	KBo XXVIII 68 Rs. 8'	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
KUR <i>mi-i</i> [z-	KBo XXVIII 6 Vs. 10'	163: Briefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 48 Vs. 13	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
	KBo XXVIII 54 Vs. 15	208: Fragmente akkadischer Briefe
KUR <i>mi-</i>[	KBo XXVIII 26, 14'	159: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III. und Puduḫepa
	KBo XXVIII 42 Vs. 1'	157: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 68 Rs. 13'	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
KUR ^{URU} <i>m</i> [i-	KBo XXXVI 103, 6'	208: Fragmente akkadischer Briefe
]- <i>iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 39 Vs. 2'	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
	KBo XXVIII 45 Vs. 4	170: Fragmente ägyptisch-hethitischer Korrespondenz
]- <i>ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 22, 6'	157: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III.
	KBo XXVIII 26, 8'	159: Heiratsbriefe Ramses' II. an Ḫattušili III. und Puduḫepa
	KUB III 119 + KUB XLVIII 71 Vs. 11'	62: Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Duppi-Tešub von Amurru (.I Akkadisch .II Hethitisch)

The analysis of these volumes offered the most part of the attestations but not all of them; therefore, I also report some other texts not included in the corpus of Del Monte – Tischler, because they had been still unknown to the authors or because they were discovered after their publications. As already done for section 1.1, I present here a table that sum up all the attestations presented in the catalogue.

Topic ⁶⁵¹	Sub-topic ⁶⁵²	Cat. no.	CTH no. and title	Cat. sub-no.	Edition or Inventory no.
HISTORICAL TEXTS	<i>TEXTS OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD</i>	1	40: The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I		
		2	49: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru		
		3	53: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette of Nuḫašše		
		4	61: The Annals of Muršili II		
		5	62: Treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Tešub of Amurru		
		6	63: Decree about Nuḫašše and Barga		
		7	72: Prayer to the gods' assembly		
		8	76: Treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu		
		9	81: Apology of Ḫattušili III		
		10	83: Report of Ḫattušili III		
		11	86: Decree of Ḫattušili III about Arma-Tarḫunta		
		12	91: Treaty between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II (Appendix A)		

⁶⁵¹ For "topic", I intend the main titles given in HPM (see the titles written in NOT-ITALIC CAPITAL LETTERS, preceded by a Roman number, in CTH list: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>; e.g., I. HISTORISCHE TEXTE, II. ADMINISTRATIVE UND FACHLICHE TEXTE).

⁶⁵² For "sub-topic", I intend the subtitles given in HPM (see the subtitles written in *ITALIC CAPITAL LETTERS*, preceded by a Latin letter, in CTH list: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>; e.g., A. VORGROßREICHZEITLICHE TEXTE, B. GROßREICHZEITTEXTE).

		13	92: Treaty between Ḫattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru		
		14	98: Letter (?) mentioning Bentešina and Egypt		
		15	105: Treaty between Tuḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru		
		16	122: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Talmi-Teššub of Karkamiš		
		17	134: Kuruštama treaty		
LETTERS	<i>EGYPTIAN-HITTITE LETTERS</i>	18	154: Letter of Šuppiluliuma I to Ay(?)		
		19	155: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III, about Urḫi-Teššub	a	KUB III 22 + 371/I (= KBo XXVIII 3)
				b	NBC 3934
				c	KBo XXVIII 16
				d	KUB III 27
				e	KUB III 30 (+) III 31
				f	KUB III 36
				g	KBo I 15 + 19 (+) 22
		20	157: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III	a	KBo XXVIII 21 and 22
				b	KBo XXVIII 8
				c	KBo XXVIII 42
				d	KBo XXVIII 18
		21	158: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Puduḫepa	a	KBo XXVIII 23
				b	KBo XXVIII 4
		22	159: Wedding letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa	a	KUB III 63
				b	KUB III 64
				c	KUB III 37 + KBo I 17
				d	KUB III 57
				e	KBo XXVIII 26
				f	KBo XXVIII 7
		23	160: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II		
		24	161: Letter of Ramses II to Ḫattušili		
		25	162: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa	a	KBo XXVIII 52
				b	KUB III 25
				c	KBo XXVIII 27
				d	KBo XXVIII 32
26	163: Letters of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III	a	KUB III 52		
		b	KBo VIII 14		

				c	KUB III 43 + III 126 + 353/f
				d	KUB III 62
				e	KUB III 42 + KBo XXVIII 19
				f	KBo XXVIII 41
				g	KUB III 45
				h	KBo VII 11
				i	KBo XVIII 80
				j	KUB III 61
				k	KBo XVIII 5 (+) 6
				l	FHL 98
				m	KBo XXVIII 31
				n	KUB III 67
				o	KBo XXVIII 30
				p	KBo XXVIII 13 + ABoT 59
				q	KUB III 34
				r	KBo XXVIII 28
				s	KBo XXVIII 20
				t	KBo XXVIII 15
				u	KBo XXVIII 33
				v	KBo XXVIII 37
				w	KBo XXVIII 29
				x	KBo XXXVI 104
		27	164: Letters of Ramses II to Puduḥepa	a	KBo XXVIII 17
				b	KUB III 58 (+) III 47
				c	KUB III 69
				d	KBo XXVIII 14
				e	KBo XXVIII 11
				f	Winckler 414
				g	KBo XXVIII 40
				h	KBo XXVIII 2
				i	KBo XIV 55
				j	KBo I 21
				k	KUB III 66 + Winckler 24
				l	KUB III 68

			m	KBo XXVIII 93	
			n	KBo XXVIII 46 (Prince Kannuta)	
		28	165: Letters of Ramses II to an unknown addressee	a	KBo XXVIII 36
				b	KBo XXVIII 44
				c	KUB III 28
				d	KUB III 44
		29	166: Letter of Ramses II to Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira		
		30	167: Letters of Napteras to Puduḫepa	a	KBo I 29 + 335/o
				b	KBo XXVIII 49
		31	168: Letters of Tuja to Ḫattušili III	a	KUB XXXIV 2
				b	KBo XXVIII 50
		32	169: Letters of Šutaḫapšap (and Riamašeša) to Ḫattušili III	a	KBo XXVIII 47 (Šutaḫapšap and Riamašeša)
				b	KUB III 70 (Šutaḫapšap)
		33	170: Fragments of Egyptian-Hittite correspondence	a	KBo XXVIII 51
				b	KUB III 51
				c	KBo XXVIII 48
				d	KUB IV 95
				e	KBo II 10
				f	KUB III 46
				g	KUB III 49
				h	KUB III 39
				i	KUB III 40
				j	KUB III 33
				k	KUB III 32
				l	KUB III 65
				m	KBo I 23
				n	KBo XXVIII 38
				o	KBo XXXVI 101
				p	KBo XXVIII 34
		q	KBo VII 10		
		r	KBo XXVIII 39		
		s	KUB III 26		
		t	KUB III 41		
		u	KUB III 38		

				v	KBo XVIII 20
				w	KBo L 183
				x	KBo XXXI 40
		34	172: Letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II		
		35	176: Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II		
		36	187: Fragmentary letters of the king	a	KBo XVIII 21
				b	KBo VIII 12
				c	KUB LVII 125
				d	KUB XIII 105
				e	KBo XVIII 21
		37	188: Letter to the king or to the queen		
		38	189: Letter of Puduḫepa to Niqmaddu III of Ugarit		
		39	193: Letter of Bentešina of Amurru to Ḫattušili III		
		40	208: Fragments of letters in Akkadian	a	KUB III 50
				b	KUB III 35
				c	KBo XXVIII 43
				d	KBo XXXVI 103
				e	KBo XXVIII 54 = 65/a + 282/a
				f	KUB III 56 = Bo 1314 + 1764 + 1885
				g	KBo XXVIII 69 = 1572/c
		41	209: Fragments of letters in Hittite	a	KBo XVIII 44
				b	KBo II 11 = Bo 13
				c	KUB XXVI 89
				d	KUB XXVI 90
				e	KUB XXVI 89
				f	KUB XXI 36
				g	KUB XXVI 53
				h	KBo XVIII 23
	<i>HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS</i>	42	211: Fragments of annals	a	KUB XL 30
				b	KBo L 95
		43	212: Fragment of contract or instruction		
		44	214: Fragments of historical texts	a	1158/c
				b	KUB XXVI 76

		45	215: Undifferentiated fragment of historical texts				
		46	216: Fragments of Akkadian historical texts	a	KBo VIII 13 + KBo XXVIII 24		
				b	KBo XXVIII 25		
				c	KUB III 81		
				d	KUB III 83		
				e	KUB III 82		
ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL TEXTS	ACCOUNTINGS	47	241: Inventories of chests	a	KUB XLII 14, XLII 15, IBoT III 144		
				b	KBo IX 91		
				c	KUB XLII 11, KBo XVIII 173		
				48	243: Inventory of clothes and fabrics		
				49	245: Inventory of jewels and jewellery		
				50	247: Receipt certificate		
				51	250: Fragments of inventories	a	KBo XIV 72
		b	KUB XLII 24				
HYMNS AND PRAYERS		52	378: Prayers of Muršili II (plague)	a	KBo LIV 7		
				b	KUB XIV 13 + KUB XXIII 124		
				c	KUB XIV 8		
				53	379: "Fifth" prayer of Muršili II to the gods' assembly (plague)		
		54	384: Prayer of Puduḥepa to the Sun goddess of Arinna				
RITUALS	<i>RITUALS OF KIZZUWATNA</i>	55	483: Evocation ritual				
CULT INVENTORIES		56	504: Inventory of Manninni				
PRAXIS	<i>ORACLE REPORTS</i>	57	582: Oracle fragments	a	KUB LII 67		
				b	KBo XLVII 230		
	<i>DREAMS AND VOWS</i>	58	590: Fragments of dreams and vows	a	KBo IX 96		
				b	KUB LVI 22		
FESTIVAL RITUALS AND CULTS	<i>VARIOUS RITUALS</i>	59	669: Longer ritual fragment				
	<i>CULT OF IŠTAR</i>	60	716: Evocation ritual for Ištar of Ninive				

I present now all the texts quoting Egypt, following the order listed above.

1.2.1.2: Texts in transliteration and translation

HISTORICAL TEXTS

TEXTS OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

1. CTH 40: THE DEEDS OF SUPPILULIUMA I

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Historical text (royal deeds)
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	The <i>dahamunzu</i> -widow writes to the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I, asking for a husband

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
nom. URU <i>mi-iz-ra-aš</i>	KBo XIV 12 IV 36
KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 6 II 22, III 26
KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XIV 9 III 9'
KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XIV 12 III 25, 26, 33, IV 20, 28, 38
KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXXI 25, 6', 8'
URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 6 III 20, 44, 51
URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XIV 12 IV 30
URU <i>mi-iz-z[a-</i>	KUB XIX 4 + KBo XIX 45, 10', vgl. 6'
KUR URU <i>me-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 6 III 46
KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ra</i>	KBo V 6 III 5
URU <i>mi-iz-ra</i>	KBo V 6 III 8; KBo VIII 37 Rs. 11'
KUR URU <i>mi-ri (sch.)</i>	KBo V 6 IV 12
Br.	KUB XIX 13 + 14 III 5'
Br.	KUB XXIII 8, 3'

DEL MONTE 2008, pp. 84-129:

Transliteration⁶⁵³

- 1A III 1 *nu ku-it-ma-an A-BU-IA I-NA KUR uru^ukar-ga-miš^{iš} kat-ta-an*
 1A 2 *e-eš-ta^u lu-pa-^uak-ki^u in-ma-kán^u U-za-al-ma-an-na*
 1A 3 *I-NA KUR uru^uam-ka pa-ra-a na-iš-ta nu pa-a-ir*
 1A 4 *KUR uru^uam-ka GUL-aḫ-ḫi-ir nu NAM.RA^{meš} GUD^u UDU^u EGIR-pa MA-ḪAR A-BU-IA*
 1A 5 *ú-te-ir LÚ^{meš} KUR uru^umi-iz-ra-ma ma-aḫ-ḫa-an KUR uru^uam-ka*
 1A 6 *GUL-aḫ-ḫu-wa-ar iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi na-at na-aḫ-ša-ri-ia-an-zi*
 1A 7 *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán EN-ŠU-NU ku-it^u pí-ip-ḫu-ru-ri-ia-aš*
 1A 8 *im-ma-^uak^u-ku BA.ÚŠ nu MÍ.LUGAL uru^umi-iz-ra ku-iš^u da-^uḫa^u-mu-un-^uzu-uš^u*
 1A 9 *e-eš-ta nu A-NA A-BU-IA lu^uTE₄-MI u-i-ia-at*
 1A 10 *nu-uš-ši ki-iš-ša-an IŠ-PUR LÚ-aš-wa-mu-kán BA.ÚŠ*
 1A 11 *“DUMU^u IA-ma-wa-mu NU. GÁL^u tu-uk-ma-wa DUMU^{meš}-KA*
tu-uk-ma-wa DUMU^{meš}-KA me-ig-ga-uš me-mi-iš-kán-zi
 1A 12 *me-^uig-ga-uš me^u-mi^u iš-kán-zi ma-a-an-wa-mu*
 1BVo III] *me-m[i-]-kán^u-z[i*

⁶⁵³ For the concordances used by Del Monte, see DEL MONTE 2008, p. 83: “1.A. = KBo 5 6; B. = KBo 14 9; C. = KUB 31 7; D. = KBo 14 10; E₁. = KBo 14 11; E₂. = KUB 34 25; E₃. = KBo 14 12 + KBo 16 38 + KBo 39 280; F. = KBo 42 72; 2. = KUB 31 25; 3. = KUB 19 4 + KBo 19 45 + KUB 23 8 + Bo 7444; 4.A. = KUB 21 10 + KBo 50 11; B. = KBo 22 9”.

- ma-a-an-wa-mu 1-an DUMU-KA pa-iš-ti ma-an-wa-ra-aš-mu* ^{lú}*MU-TI-IA ki-ša-ri*
- 1A13 1-an DUMU-KA *pa-iš-ti ma-an-wa-ra-aš-mu* ^{lú}*MU-TI-IA ki-ša-ri*
 1B 2' -KA *pa-iš-ti ma-an-wa-ra-aš-mu* [
 ÌR-IA-ma-wa *nu-u-wa-a-an pa-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫi*
- 1A14 ÌR-IA-ma-wa *nu-u-wa-a-an pa-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫi*
 1B 3' -I]A-ma-wa *n[u]-u-wa-an pa-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫi*
nu-wa-ra-an-za-kán ^{lú}*MU-TI-IA i-ia-mi te-ik-ri-wa na-aḫ-mi*
- 1A15 *nu-wa-ra-an-za-kán* ^{lú}*MU-TI-IA i-ia-mi te-ik-ri-[w]a na-aḫ-mi*
 1B 4' -r]a-an-za-kán ^{lú}*MU-TI-IA i-ia-mi te-i[k-*
*nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an A-BU-IA e-ni-iš-ša-an IŠ-ME*⁶⁵⁴
- 1A16 *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an A-BU-IA e-ni-iš-ša-an IŠ-ME*
 1B 5' 'nu' ma-aḫ-ḫa-an 'A' -BU-IA *e-ni-iš-ša-an IŠ-ME*
 1F 1'] 'IŠ' -[
nu-za LÚ^{mes} GAL^{ti} me-mi-ia-ni pa-ra-a ḫal-za-a-iš
- 1A17]- 'za' LÚ^{mes} 'GAL^{ti}' *me-mi-ia-ni pa-ra-a ḫal-'za-a-iš'*
 1B 6' *nu-za LÚ^{mes} GAL^{ti} me-mi-ia-ni pa-ra-a ḫal-za-i[š]*
 1F 2']- 'a' *ḫal-za-iš*
i-ni-wa-mu ut-tar ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-az pí-ra-an Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki ki-ša-at
- 1A18 'i' -[]- 'li' -ia-az *pí-ra-an*
- 1A19 Ú-UL [-a]t
 1B 7' *i-ni-wa-mu ut-tar ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-az pí-*
 1B 8' Ú-UL *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki ki-ša-at*
 1F 3' -]i-ia-az
 1F 4']- 'ki' *ki-ša-at*
nu-kán ú-it [A]-BU-IA I-NA ^{uru}mi-iz-ri ^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-in [GAL] ^{lú}É.ŠÀ
pa-ra-a na-iš-ta
- 1A20 *nu-kán 'ú' -[-N]A ^{uru}mi-iz-ri*
- 1A21 ^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-i[n] 'É' .ŠÀ *pa-ra-a na-iš-ta*
 1B 9' *nu-kán ú-it []-BU-IA I-NA KUR ^{uru}mi-iz-ri*
 1B10' ^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-i[n] ^{lú}É.ŠÀ^{tim} *pa-ra-a n[a-*
 1F 5' -N]A **KUR** ^{uru}*mi-iz-ri*
 1F 6']^úÉ.ŠÀ *pa-ra-a na-*
i-it-wa-mu kar-ši-in me-mi-an zi-ik EGIR-pa ú-da
- 1A22 *i-it-w[a-m]u kar-ši-in me-mi-an zi-ik EGIR-pa ú-da*
 1B11' *i-it-wa-mu [-ši-in me-mi-an z[i-*
 1F 7' -in me-mi-an *zi-ik*
ap-pa-li-iš-kán-zi-wa-mu ku-wa-at-qa
- 1A23 *ap-[-]i-iš-kán-zi-wa-mu ku-'wa'-at-qa DUMU BE-LÍ-ŠU-NU-'wa-aš'¹ -ma-aš*
 IB12' *ap-pa-li-[-z]i-'wa-mu ku-'wa'-a[t-*
 1F 8' -]i-iš-kán-zi-w[a-
 DUMU BE-LÍ-ŠU-NU-wa-aš-ma-aš *ku-wa-at-qa e-eš-zi*
- 1A24 *ku-w[a-a]t-qa e-eš-zi nu-wa-mu kar-ši-in*
 1B13' *ku-'wa'-a[t-*
 1F 9' [-m]a-aš *ku-wa-at-q[a*
nu-wa-mu kar-ši-in me-mi-an zi-ik EGIR-pa ú-da /
- 1A25 *me-m[i]-an zi-ik EGIR-pa ú-da /*
 1B14' *me-[(Frattura)*
 1F10' [-i]n *me-mi-an*
 1F11'] 'ú' -[(Frattura)
- 1A26 *nu ku-it-ma-an ^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-iš IŠ-TU **KUR** ^{uru}mi-iz-ri EGIR-pa ú-it*
- 1A27 'EGIR' -az-ma-za A-BU-IA ^{uru}*kar-ga-mi-iš-ša-an URU-an tar-aḫ-ta*
- 1A28 *na-an-'kán' I-NA UD.7.KÁM an-da wa-aḫ-nu-wa-an ḫar-ta*
nu-uš-ši I-NA UD.7.KÁM I-NA UD.1.KÁM za-aḫ-ḫi-in pa-iš
- 1A29 *nu-uš-ši 'I-NA' UD.7.KAM I-NA UD.1.KAM za-aḫ-ḫi-in pa-iš*

⁶⁵⁴ For this passage, cf. also KBo XLII 72 (= Del Monte, 1.F) in LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, p. 125, with comment.

- 1E₃VO III *za-aḥ-ḥ[a-
na-an-kán ḥa-tu-ga-ia-az MÈ-az I-NA UD.8.KAM I-NA UD.[1].KAM
kat-[ta da-a-aš]*
- 1A30 *na-an-kán ḥa-tu-ga-^ˊia-az MÈ^ˊ-az I-NA UD.8.KAM*
- 1A31 *I-NA UD.[1.KA]M k[át^ˊ-ta da-a-aš] nu-za ma-aḥ-ḥa-an*
1E₃ 2 *za-aḥ-ḥi-[
nu-za ma-aḥ-ḥa-an URU-an tar-aḥ-[ta]*
- 1A32 *URU-an tar-a[ḥ-ta A-BU-IA-m]a-kán DINGIR^{mes}-aš ku-it*
1E₃ 3 *nu-za ma-aḥ-ḥ[a]-^ˊan^ˊ [*
1E₃ 4 *DINGIR^{mes}-aš ku-it na-aḥ-ḥ[a-
[A-BU-IA]-ma-kán DINGIR^{mes}-aš ku-it na-aḥ-ḥa-[an-za e-eš-ta]*
- 1A33 *na-aḥ-ḥa-[] ša-ra-a-az-zi gur-ti
nu ša-ra-a-az-zi gur-ti ŠA^d[ku-ba-ba] Û ŠA^dLAMMA ma-an-[ni-in-ku-u-an] Û-UL ku-in-ki tar-na-
aš*
- 1A34 *ŠA^d[] ŠA^dLAMMA*
- 1A35 *ma-[] Û-UL ku-in-ki tar-na-aš*
1E₃ 5 *nu ša-ra-az-zi gu[r-
1E₃ 6 Û ŠA^dLAMMA ma-a[n-
1E₃ 7 ku-in-ki tar-na-aš A-NA [*
A-NA [E^{mes} DINGIR^{mes}-z]a ma-ni-in-ku-u-an Û-[UL i-e-da-ni] ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki š[a-li-ik-ta]
- 1A36 *A-N[A]-i]a ma-ni-in-^ˊku^ˊ-u-an*
- 1A37 *Û-[]-e-da-ni-ik-ki*
1E₃ 8 *ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an [*
1E₃ 9 *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki š[a-
na-aš ḥi-in-kat-ta im-ma*
- 1A38 *š[a-] ḥi-in-kat-ta im-ma*
1E₃10 *na-aš ḥi-in-kat-ta i[m-
nam-ma-[...] pa-iš-ta*
- 1A39 *^ˊnam^ˊ-ma[] k[at-ti-ra-an-ma URU-an*
1E₃11 *pa-iš-ta kat-te-ra-^ˊan-ma^ˊ URU-an I[Š-
kat-ti-ra-an-ma URU-an IŠ-TU NAM.[RA^{mes}] KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
Û-NU-UT ZABAR-ia ša-ra-a da-a-[aš]*
- 1A40 *IŠ-TU^ˊ NAM^ˊ. [] GUŠKIN Û-NU-UT ZABAR-ia*
1E₃12 *KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN Û-NU-UT ZABAR-ia š[a-
na-an^{uru}ḥa-at-tu-ši ú-da-aš*
- 1A41 *ša-ra-a da-^ˊa^ˊ-[]-a]n^{uru}ḥa-at-tu-ši ú-da-aš*
1E₃13 **na*-an^{uru}ḥa-at-tu-ši ú-da-aš nu-za [*
nu-za NAM.RA^{mes} ku-in I-NA É LUGAL u-wa-te-it
- 1A42 *nu-za NAM.RA^{mes} ^ˊku^ˊ-[] I-NA É LUGAL ú-wa-te-it*
1E₃14 *ku-in I-NA É LUGAL u-wa-te-it [*
na-aš 3 LI-IM 3 ME 30-ia e-eš-ta
- 1A43 *na-aš 3 LI-IM 3 ME 30-[] e-eš-ta (Spazio non scritto)*
1E₃15 *3 ME-E 30-ia e-eš-ta^{uru}ḥa-at-t[u-
1E₃16 ku-in ú-wa-te-it na-aš-kán [kap-pu-u-wa-u-wa-ar NU.GÁL e-eš-ta]
1E₃17 nam-ma-za-kán^mLUGAL-^d30-uḥ DUMU-ŠU [ša-ra-a da-a-aš]
1E₃18 nu-uš-ši KUR^{uru}kar-ga-miš^{uru}[kar-ga-mi-iš-ša-an-na]
1E₃19 URU-an ma-ni-ia-aḥ-ḥu-u-wa-an-[zi pa-iš]
1E₃20 na-an ḥa-an-ti LUGAL-un i-^ˊia^ˊ-[at] /
1E₃21 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-za^{uru}kar-ga-^ˊmiš^ˊ t[a-ni-nu-ut]
1E₃22 na-aš I-NA KUR^{uru}ḥa-at-ti EGIR[pa [ti-it]
1E₃23 nu-kán ŠA KUR^{uru}ḥa-at-ti gi-^ˊim^ˊ-ma-[an-ta-ri-ia-at] /
1E₃24 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-za ki-ša-[at]
1E₃25 nu^{m.gis}PA-LÚ-iš IŠ-TU KUR^{uru}mi-iz-r[i EGIR-pa ti-it]
ŠA KUR^{uru}mi-iz-ri-ia-aš-ši^{lú}TE₄-MU^mḥa-a-ni-is BE-LU kat-ta-an ú-it*
- 1A44 *ŠA^{uru}mi-iz-ri-wa-aš-ši^{lú}TE₄-MU^mḥa-a-ni-is BE-LU*
1E₃26 *ŠA [K]UR^{uru}mi-iz-ri-ia-^ˊaš^ˊ-ši^{lú}TE₄-MU^m [*

- nu A-BU-IA ku-wa-pí^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-in I-NA KUR^{uru}me-iz-ri IŠ-PUR
 1A45 kat-ta-an ú-it nu A-BU-IA ku-wa-pí^{m.giš}PA-LÚ-in
 1E327 BE-LU [ka]t-^rta^r-an ú-it nu-wa A-BU-IA ^rku^r-[
 1E328 ^{m.giš}]-^rin^r I-NA KUR^{uru}mi-iz-ri IŠ-PU[R]
 na-an ki-iš-ša-an ku-it wa-tar-na-aḫ-ta
 1A46 I-NA KUR^{uru}me-iz-ri IŠ-PUR[!] (ME) na-an ki-iš-ša-an
 1E329 -i]š-ša-an ku-^rit^r wa-tar-na-aḫ-[
 DUMU EN-ŠU-NU-wa-aš-ma-aš ku-wa-at-qa e-eš-zi
 1A47 ku-it wa-tar-na-aḫ-ta DUMU EN-ŠU-NU-wa-aš-ma-aš
 1E330 -N]U-wa-aš-ma-aš ku-wa-at-qa e-eš-[
 am-mu-uk-ma-wa ap-pa-li-eš-kán-zi
 1A48 ku-wa-at-qa e-eš-zi am-^rmu^r-uk-ma-wa
 1E331]-wa ap-pa-li-iš-kán-zi
 nu-wa-mu DUMU-IA LUGAL-u-e-iz-na-an-ni Ú-UL ú-e-ki-iš-kán-zi
 1A49 ap-pa-li-eš-kán-zi nu-wa-mu DUMU-IA LUGAL-u-e-iz-na-an-ni
 1E332] LUGAL-iz-^rna^r-an-ni Ú-UL ^rú^r-[
 nu A-NA A-BU-IA MÍ.LUGAL^{uru}mi-iz-ri tup-pí-ia-az EGIR-pa ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-at-ra-iz-zi
 1A50 Ú-UL ú-e-ki-iš-kán-zi nu A-NA A-BU-IA
 1A51 MÍ.LUGAL^{uru}mi-iz-ri tup-pí-ia-az EGIR-pa ki-iš-ša-an
 1E333 -I]A MÍ.LUGAL KUR^{uru}mi-iz-ri t[up-
 1E334] ḫa-at-ra-a-iz-zi
 ku-wa-at-wa a-pí-ni-iš-ša-an TAQ-BI
 1A52 ḫa-at-ra-iz-zi ku-wa-at-wa a-pí-ni-iš-ša-an TAQ-BI
 1E335 -s]a-an TAQ-BI
 4AIII ḫ[a[?]-
 ap-pa-li-eš-kán-zi-wa-mu
 1A53 ap-pa-li-š-kán-zi-wa-mu ^ram^r-mu-uk-ma-an-wa
 1E336]-wa-mu am-mu-uk-ma-[
 4A 27' ap-p[a-
 am-mu-uk-ma-an-wa ku-wa-pí DUMU-IA e-eš-ta
 1A54 ku-wa-pí DUMU-IA e-eš-ta am-mu-uk-ma-an-wa am-me-el (Bordo)
 1E337 -t]a am-mu-uk-ma-an-w[a
 4A3' e-[
 am-mu-uk-ma-an-wa am-me-el RA-MA-NI-IA am-me-el-la KUR-e-aš
 te-ip-nu-mar ta-me-ta-ni KUR-e ḫa-at-ra-nu-un
 1A IV [R]A-^rMA^r-NI-IA am-me-el-^rla KUR-e-aš^r te[!]-ip[!]-nu-mar
 1A 2 ta-me-ta-ni KUR-e ḫa-at-ra-nu-un
 1E338 a]m-me-el-la KUR-aš t[e-
 1E339 -a]t-ra-nu-un nu-wa-m[u-
 4A 4' te-[
 nu-wa-mu-kán pa-ra-a Ú-UL i-ia-aš-ḫa-at-ta
 1A 3 nu-wa-mu-kán pa-ra-a Ú-UL i-ia-aš-ḫa-^rat^r-ta
 IB Vo IV -w]a
 4A 5' nu-w[a-
 nu-wa-mu e-ni-eš-ša-an im-ma TAQ-BI
 1A 4 nu-wa-mu e-ni-eš-ša-an im-ma TAQ-BI am-me-el-wa
 1E340 n]u-wa-mu e-ni-[
 4A 6' nu-[
 am-me-el-wa ia^{lú}MU-TI₄-IA ku-iš e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-mu-kán BA.ÚŠ
 1A 5 ^{lú}MU-TI₄-IA ku-iš e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-mu-kán BA.ÚŠ
 IB 2'] BA.ÚŠ
 1E341 M]U-^rTI₄-IA^r (Frattura)
 4A7' k[u-
 DUMU-IA-wa-mu NU.GÁL ÌR-IA-ma-wa nu-u-ma-an da-aḫ-ḫi
 1A 6 DUMU-IA-wa-mu NU.GÁL ÌR-IA-ma-wa nu-u-ma-an da-aḫ-ḫi
 IB 3' -a]n da-aḫ-ḫi

- 4A8' x[(*Frattura*)
nu-wa-ra-an-za-an ^{lú}MU-TI₄-IA *i-ia-mi*
- 1A 7 *nu-wa-ra-an-za-an* ^{lú}MU-TI₄-IA *i-ia-mi*
 IB 4']
nu-wa da-me-e-da-ni-ia KUR-e *Ú-UL ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki* AŠ-PUR
- 1A 8 *nu-wa da-me-e-da-ni-ia* KUR-e *Ú-UL ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki*
 IB 5' -d]a-ni-ik-ki
nu-wa tu-uk AŠ-PUR
- 1A 9 AŠ-PUR *nu-wa tu-uk* AŠ-PUR DUMU^{mes}-KA-wa-^rat[˘]-ta
 IB 6' -t]a
 DUMU^{mes}-KA-wa-at-ta *me-iq-qa-uš me-mi-iš-kán-zi nu-wa-mu* 1^{en}
 DUMU-KA *pa-a-i*
- 1A10 *me-iq-qa-uš me-mi-iš-kán-zi nu-wa-mu* 1^{en}
 IB 7']^{en} (*Frattura*)
- 1 A11 DUMU-KA *pa-a-i nu-wa-ra-aš am-mu-uk* ^{lú}MU-TI₄-IA
- 1A12 I-NA KUR ^{uru}mi-iz-ri-ma-wa-<ra->aš LUGAL-uš
- 1A13 *nu A-BU-IA gi-en-zu-wa-la-aš ku-it e-eš-ta*
- 1A14 ^{na}˘-aš ŠA^l MÍ^{ti} *me-mi-ia-ni ka-a-ri ti-ia-at*
- 1A15 *nu ŠA* DUMU^{ri} *kat-ta-an IŠ-BAT* //
- 1A16 DUB.7.KAM [NU].TIL
- 1A17 A-NA TUP-PI [U]D.KA.BAR
- 1A18 *na-a-ú-i* [a]-ni-ia-an
- 1E₃Vo IV [*am-mu-uk-ma-w*]a-za x[] *a-aš-šu-wa-an-za* ^e˘-šu-un
- 1E₃ 2 [*nu-wa-mu š*[u-ma-a-aš ^{hu}-u[˘]-da-ak *i-da-lu i-ia-at-tin*
- 1E₃ 3 [-a]t-tin *nu-wa-kán* LÚ ^{uru}ki-in-za *ku-in A-NA LUGAL KUR* ^{uru}hur-ri
- 1E₃ 4 [*ar-ḥa da-a*]ḥ-ḥu-un *nu-wa-ra-an wa-al-aḥ-tin am-mu-uk-ma-wa*
- 1E₃ 5 [*ma-aḥ-ḥa-a*]n *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un nu-wa-mu kar-tim-mi-ia-az*
- 1E₃ 6 [*ki-ša-a*]t *nu-wa-kán am-me-el* ERIN₂^{mes} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes} *BE-LU*^{mes}-ia
- 1E₃ 7 [*pa-ra-a*] *ne-eḥ-ḥu-un nu-wa-ra-at ú-e-ir nu-wa* *šu*-me-el
- 1E₃ 8 [*i-ir-ḥa*]an KUR ^{uru}am-ga *wa-al-aḥ-ḥi-ir nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ma-a-an*
- 1E₃ 9 [KUR ^{uru}am-k]a *ku-it wa-al-aḥ-ḥi-ir nu-wa na-aḥ-šar-ri-ia-at-tin*
- 1E₃10 [*ku-wa-a*]t-qa *nu-wa-mu DUMU-IA* <a->pád-da *ú-e-ki-iš-ki-it-te-ni*
- 1E₃11 [*nu-wa-ra*[˘]]a-š-za ^{lú}šu-ul-li-iš *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki ki-ša-ri*
- 1E₃12 [LUGAL-u]n-ma-wa-ra-an-za-an *Ú-UL* (*rasura*) *i-ia-at-te-ni*
- 1E₃13 [UM-MA ^mḥ]a-a-ni-ma A-NA A-BU-IA *BE-LÍ-IA a-pa-a-at-wa*
- 1E₃14 [a]n-zi-el KUR-aš *te-ip-nu-mar*
- 1E₃15 [DUMU LUGAL]-ma-[an-wa-a]n-na-aš *ku-wa-pí e-eš-ta an-za-**a-aš-ma-an*-wa
- 1E₃16 [ta]-m[e]-da-ⁿⁱ˘ KUR-e ^ru-wa[˘]-u-en *ma-a-an-wa-na-aš*
- 1E₃17 [an]-zi-el *BE-LÍ* *ú-e-ki-iš-ki-u-en an-za-a-aš-wa* EN-NI
- 1E₃18 [ku]-iš ^mni-ip-ḥu-ru-ri-ia-aš *e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš* BA.ÚŠ
- 1E₃19 [DU]MU-aš-ma-wa-aš-ši NU.GÁL DAM *BE-LÍ-NI-ma-wa-an-na-aš*
- 1E₃20 [w]a-an-nu-um-mi-ia-aš *nu-wa DUMU BE-LÍ-NI I-NA KUR* ^{uru}mi-iz-ri
- 1E₃21 [A]Š-ŠUM LUGAL^{ut-tim} *ú-e-ki-iš-ki-u-e-ni* *A-NA MÍ^{ti}* (*ras.*)
- 1E₃22 *BE-EL-TI₄-NI-ma-wa-ra-an AŠ-ŠUM ^{lú}MU-TI₄-ŠU *ú-e-ki-iš-ki-u-e-ni** (*ras.*)
- 1E₃23 *nam-ma-wa da-me-e-da-ni-ia ^rKUR-e *Ú-UL ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki**
- 1E₃24 *pa-i-u-en ka-a-pát-wa ú-wa-}{e-}u-en nu-wa-an-na-aš* *BE-LÍ-NI*
- 1E₃25 DUMU-KA *pa-a-i nu-uš-ma-aš A-BU-IA A-NA DUMU*^{ri} *kat-ta* { *IŠ-BAT* }
- 1E₃26 *nam-ma IŠ-BAT nu A-BU-IA iš-ḥi-u-la-aš nam-ma TUP-PI*
- 1E₃27 *ú-e-ik-ta an-na-az ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* LÚ ^{uru}ku-ru-uš-ta-ma
- 1E₃28 DUMU ^{uru}ḥa-at-ti ^dU-aš *da-a-aš na-an KUR* ^{uru}mi-iz-ri
- 1E₃29 ^rpí-e-da-aš *na-aš* LÚ^rmes ^{uru}mi-iz-ri *i-ia-at nu-kán* ^dU-aš
- 1E₃30 [A-NA] KUR ^{uru}mi-iz-ri *Ú A-NA KUR* ^{uru}ḥa-at-ti *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an*
- 1E₃31 [*iš-ḥ*]i-u-ul *iš-tar-ni-šum-mi iš-ḥi-ia-at uk-tu-u-ri-at-kán*
- 1E₃32 [*ma*]-aḥ-ḥa-an *iš-tar-ni-šum-mi a-aš-ši-ia-an-te-eš*
- 1E₃33 [n]u-uš-ma-aš-kán *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an TUP-PI pí-ra-an ḥal-zi-ir*

- 1E334 [n]am-ma-aš-ma- *aš* A-BU-IA ki-iš-ša-an IQ-BI
 1E335 [k]a-ru-ú-i-li-ia-za-wa-kán ^{uru}ha-at-tu-ša-aš
 1E336 ^{ur}u **mi-iz-ra**-aš-ša iš-tar-ni-šum-mi a-aš-ši-ia-an-te-eš
 1E337 [e]-šir ki-nu-na-wa-an-na-aš-kán ki-i-ia iš-tar-ni-šu[m-mi]
 1E338 [ki-š]a-at nu-wa-kán KUR ^{uru}ha-at-ti KUR ^{uru}**mi-iz-r**[i-ia]
 1E339 [uk-t]u-u-ri nam-ma iš-tar-ni-šum-mi a-aš-ši-i[a-an-te-eš //
 1E340 [DUB.X.KA]M ^rLÚ^r-an-na-aš ŠA ^mš-u-up-pí-lu-[li-u-ma

- 2.Vo IV?]x[
 2. 2']x
 2. 3'] ^rA^r-NA KUR ^{uru}ha[^t-ti]
 2. 4' i]š-tar-ni-šum-m[i
 2. 5']x nu-kán ki-x[
 2. 6' **K**[UR ^{uru}**mi-iz-ri**-i[a]
 2. 7' iš-tar-ni-š]um-mi-e-eš-du /
 2. 8'] nu kán A-NA KUR ^{uru}**mi-iz-ri**
 2. 9' EGI]R-U₄-MI iš-tar-^rni-šum^r-[mi]
 2.10'] [/ (Frattura)

- 3.Ro I [-z]i-^riš x x x ^mhu^r?-[
 3. 2' ^m[] LÚ urur^ra^r?-[/
 3. 3' I[Š⁹-TU ku-w)a^r-[p]i Ú-UL u-i-ia-an-zi nu ^rTUP^r-P[A²
 3. 4' na-[]-^ruz-zi^r-ia-an-zi na-at 1-aš 1-e-da-ni pa-[
 3.5' nu lu-x-[x-x]-ni^r TUP-PA ú-te-ir nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-ir [^mza-an-na-an-za-an-wa-kán]
 3. 6' LÚ^{meš} ^{uru}**m**[**i-iz-r**]i ku-en-nir nu me-mi-an ú-te-ir ^mza-an-na-an-^rza^r-[
 3. 7' nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-a[n] ^rA^r-BU-IA ŠA ^mza-an-na-an-za ku-na-a-tar iš-t[a-ma-aš-ta]
 3. 8' [nu] ^mza-an-^rna^r-[a]n-za-an li-e-eš-ki-u-an da-iš A-NA DINGIR^m[^{es}
 3.9' nu ki-i[š-š]a-an me-mi-iš-ki-it DINGIR^{meš} am-mu-^ruk^r-[
 3.10' ku-it-[ki i-d]a-la-u-wa-aḥ-ḥu-un LÚ^{meš} ^{uru}**mi-iz**-^rz[**a-r**]i-^rwa i-da-a^r-l[a-u- wa-aḥ-ḥi-ir]
 3.11' nu-w[a-]-^re-ir^r nu-wa-mu ZAG KUR-IA wa-al-aḥ-ḥi-[ir] /
 3.12']x iš-ta-^rma^r-[aš]-^ršú^r? nu-wa BE-LU^{meš} u-i-ia-[nu-un]
 3.13']x x[-a]k² a-pí-el KUR-e *x* e-eš-t[a²
 3.14'] ^re^r-eš-ta nu-wa i-da-a-lu a-pu-u-[
 3.15' Ú-UL] ku-it-ki i-da-a-la-u-wa-aḥ-^rhu^r-u[n
 3.16' ša-a]g-ga-aḥ-ḥu-un Ú-^rUL-ma^r-wa-ra-a[t
 3.17' -a]n²-ta-u-wa-an-^rzi^r I-NA KUR ^{uru}**mi-iz-ri**
 3.18']x x ^rni-ni-in-ku^r-un Ú-UL-ma-w[a-
 3.19' i]š-ḥi-ú-ul LÚ ^{uru}x[
 3.20']x iš-ḥi-ia-an ^re^r?-[
 3.21' ku-i]š-ki wa-aḥ-nu-u[t²
 3.22' -w)a² i-da-a-lu x[
 3.23']*x x* x x[(Frattura)
 3.Bd.sn. A-NA TUP-PÍ U]D.KA.BAR-a[t-k]án
 na-a-ú-i a-ni-i]a-an

- ICVo IV]x ^rku^r-x[
 1C 2' ^{uru}g]a-aš-ga Ú-^rUL na-aḥ^r-[
 1C 3']x-az dam-me-eš-ḥa-a[n // (Bordo)

- 4A IV]x
 4A2' []x-ša
 4A3' []x[l]i-in-^rqa-nu-wa^r-an-zi
 4A4' [-k]án² EGIR-pa ú-iz-zi /
 4A5' [K]UR ^{uru}ne-ri-iq-qa ku-it
 4A6' [] A-NA PA-NI ^mNIR.GÁL^r LUGAL-i ^{l(á)}KÚR ar-ḥa da-a-aš
 4A7' [-a]š ZAG^{bi.a}-uš [da-an-na] ša-an-ḥa-at-ta

- 4A8' [^{uru}ga-a]š-ga-ma da-^ra^r-[aš ú-w]a-mi-wa nu-wa-za ZAG^{hi.a}
- 4A9' [EGIR-pa da-an-na] ša-an-ḥa-mi ú-^rwa-mi^r-ma-wa Ú-UL
- 4A10' [-a]n-ta-an-ni-wa i-ia-aḥ-ḥa-ri
- 4A11' [nu-wa e-ḥu nu-wa z]a-aḥ-ḥi-ia-u-wa-aš-ta-ti na-aš i-ia-an-ni-iš-pát
[GIM-an-ma A-NA] a-ar-aš
- 4A12' [GIM-an-ma]x a-ar-aš nu-za A-NA ERIN₂^{meš} [A]NŠE.KUR.RA^{meš}
nu-za A-NA ERIN₂^{meš} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš} [ú-wa-tar i-ia-at]
nam-ma-aš a-pí-e-da-ni UD-ti i-ia-an-ni-eš-pát
- 4A13' n]am-ma-aš a-pí-e-da-ni UD-ti i-^ria^r-an-ni-eš-pát
- 4B IV[?] [-i]a-^ran-ni^r-iš-p[át
[...]^{lu}KÚR-ma pa-an-qa-ri-it ú-it
- 4A14']^{lu}KÚR-ma pa-an-qa-ri-it ú-it
- 4B 2' -a]n-^rga^r-ri-it [
[...] GIM-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta ^dUTU-uš-kán u-up-ta-at
- 4A15']x GIM-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta ^dUTU-uš-kán u-up-ta-at
- 4B 3' -a]n-ma lu-u[k-
[nu]-kán A-BU-IA za-aḥ-ḥi-ia i-ia-an-ni-iš
- 4A16' z]a-aḥ-ḥi-ia i-ia-an-ni-iš
- 4B 4' -ká]n[?] A-BU-IA [
[na-an]-kán ŠÀ ḤUR.[SAG] za-aḥ-ḥi-ia-at
] za-aḥ-ḥi-ia-at nu A-NA A-BU-IA DINGIR^{meš}
- 4A17']*x-kán ŠÀ ḤUR*.S[AG
nu A-NA A-BU-IA DINGIR^{meš} [pí-ra-an] ḥu-i-i-e-ir ^dUTU [^{uru}a-ri]-in-na
^dU ^{uru}ḥa-at-ti ^dU KARASŠ ^dU ^{uru}ne-ri-ik [^dLAMMA ^{uru}ḥa-at-ti] ^dIŠ₈+TÁR
LÍL ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄-ia
- 4A18']-in-na ^dU ^{uru}ḥa-at-ti ^dU KARASŠ
- 4A19'] ^dIŠ₈+TÁR LÍL ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄-ia
- 4B 6' ^rḥu-u^r-i-e-ir ^dUTU [
- 4B 7' ^dU ^{uru}ne-ri-i[k
nu ^{lu}KÚR pa-an-ga-ri-it BA.ÚŠ
- 4A20']-ri-it BA.ÚŠ /
- 4B 8' nu ^{lu}KÚR pa-an-ga-[/
A-BU-IA-ma ^{uru}pí-[qa-i-na-ri-ša] an-da-an pa-it
- 4A21' a]n-da-an pa-it nu KUR ^{uru}pí-qa-i-na-ri-[ša]
- 4B 9' A-BU-IA-ma ^{uru}pí-[
- 4B10' ^rnu^r KUR ^{uru}pí-^riq-qa^r-[
nu KUR ^{uru}pí-qa-i-na-ri-[ša... ^{uru}]ta-ti-mu-wa-an-na ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ut
- 4A22' t]a[?]-ti-mu-wa-an-na ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ut
- 4B11']x[(Frattura)
- 4A23' [ú]-e-tum-ma-an-zi e-ip-ta
- 4A24' []x-aš nu A-NA A-BU-IA wa-tar-na-aḥ-[ta]
- 4A25' []x-i-zi-wa-ra-aš nu an-za-a-aš-ša
- 4A26' [ki]-nu-na-wa an-da e-ru-u-en
- 4A27' [] Ú-UL ku-wa-at-qa
- 4A28' [-a]n A-BU-IA iš-ni-x[
- 4A29' [-i]a-aš i-wa-ar [
- 4A30' [pa-a]n-qa-ri-i[t
- 4A31' [-š]a[?] l[i[?]-
- 4A32' []x[(Frattura)

Translation⁶⁵⁵

^{1A III 1-19} Mentre mio padre stava giù a Karkamiš, mandò Lupakki e Tarhuntazalma contro la regione di Amka, ed essi andarono, assalirono la regione di Amka e portarono indietro al cospetto di mio padre popolazione (e) bestiame bovino (ed) ovino. Quando gli **Egiziani** vengono a sapere dell'attacco alla regione di Amka si

⁶⁵⁵ For an English translation, see GÜTERBOCK 1956a-c.

impauriscono, ed essendo loro morto per di più il loro signore, Piphururija, la regina di **Egitto**, che era Dahamunzu, inviò a mio padre un messo scrivendogli: «Mio marito è morto e non ho figli, mentre di te si dice che hai molti figli. Se mi darai un tuo figlio egli potrebbe diventare mio marito: io non sceglierò mai un mio servo per farlo mio marito: ho paura dell'onta!». Quando mio padre sentì una tal cosa chiamò a consulto sulla questione i Grandi: «Una cosa del genere non mi era mai capitata!»

^{1A III 20-25} Allora mio padre inviò in **Egitto** Hattusaziti, il ciambellano, (dicendogli): «Va e riportami tu come stanno veramente le cose! Forse stanno cercando di prendermi in trappola, forse c'è per loro un figlio del loro signore: riportami tu come stanno veramente le cose!».

^{1A III 26-31} Mentre Hattusaziti tornava dall'**Egitto**, mio padre vinse in quel frattempo la città di Karkamiš. L'aveva tenuta sotto assedio per sette giorni ed il settimo giorno, in un giorno, dette battaglia: l'ottavo giorno, in un giorno, con una terribile battaglia la [conquistò].

^{1A III 32-43-1E3 III 15-20} Dopo aver vinto la città mio padre, avendo timore verso gli dei, non permise a nessuno di avvicinarsi sull'acropoli [(al tempio) della dea Kubaba] e del dio tutelare nè si ac[costò] ad alcun tempio, ma anzi si inchinò e dette [...]; ma prese su la città bassa con la popolazione, l'argento, l'oro e gli attrezzi di bronzo e la portò a Hattusa: la popolazione che portò a Palazzo fu di 3330 (persone), [ma la popolazione] che si portarono gli Ittiti [fu senza numero].

^{1E3 III 17-20} Poi [prese su] suo fislio Šarri-Kušuh, gli [dette] da governare la regione di Karkamiš e la città di [Karkamiš] e ne fece un re indipendente.

^{1E3 III 21-23} Dopo [aver riordinato] Karkamiš tor[nò] in terra ittita e [passò] l'inverno in terra ittita.

^{1E3 III 24-34//1A III 44-52} Quando venne la primavera, Hattusaziti [ritornò] dall'**Egitto** e con lui venne il signore Hani, messo dell'**Egitto**. Dal momento che mio padre aveva mandato Hattusaziti in **Egitto** dandogli queste disposizioni: «Forse c'è per loro un figlio del loro signore e stanno cercando di prendermi in trappola: non mi vanno chiedendo (realmente) un mio figlio per la regalità», la regina di **Egitto** gli risponde in questi termini con una lettera:

^{1E III 24-35//1A III 53-IV 1-15} «Perchè hai detto una tal cosa: stanno cercando di prendermi in trappola? Se avessi avuto un figlio avrei scritto ad un altro paese l'umiliazione mia personale e del mio paese? Tu non hai fiducia in me, e invero mi hai detto tali cose! Colui che era mio marito mi è morto, io non ho figli e non prenderò mai un mio servo per farmelo mio marito! non ho scritto a nessun altro paese: a te ho scritto! Si dice che tu abbia molti figli: dammi un tuo figlio ed egli diventerà mio marito e re di **Egitto**». Poiche mio padre aveva un cuore gentile si piegò alle parole della donna e prese di petto (la questione) del figlio.

(*Lacuna di ca. 6-12 righe*)

^{1E3 IV 1-40} [...] io ero animato da sentimenti amichevoli ma voi all'improvviso [mi] avete fatto del male: [siete venuti] ed avete aggredito il signore di Kinza che io avevo [sottratto] al re hurrita. [Quando] io ho sentito (la notizia) mi [ha colto] l'ira ed ho inviato le mie truppe, i carri e i signori: essi sono venuti ed hanno attaccato la regione di Amka, vostro [territorio di confine], Quando essi vi hanno attaccato [la regione di Amka] forse voi vi siete spaventati e per questo mi chiedete con insistenza un mio figlio, ma egli diventerà in qualche modo un ostaggio e non ve lo farete [re]!». Hani (rispose) [così] a mio padre: «Mio signore, questa è l'umiliazione [della nostra regina] (e) del nostro paese! Se ci fosse mai stato per noi [un principe] saremmo andati in un altro paese, avremmo chiesto con insistenza un signore per noi? Il nostro signore, che era Niphururija, è morto e non aveva figli; la moglie del nostro signore per noi è senza famiglia e (perciò) chiediamo con insistenza un figlio del nostro signore per la regalità sull'**Egitto** e lo chiediamo con insistenza come marito per la donna nostra signora. Inoltre, non siamo andati in nessun altro paese: siamo venuti qui. nostro signore, dacci un tuo figlio!». E mio padre affrontò di nuovo per loro la questione di un figlio. Poi mio padre chiese di nuovo la tavola del trattato, (nella quale era scritto) come un tempo Tarhunta avesse preso l'uomo di Kurustama, figlio di Hattusa, lo avesse portato in **Egitto** e li avesse resi **Egiziani**; e come Tarhunta avesse stretto fra **Egitto** e Hattusa un trattato, e come essi siano stati sempre animati da buone intenzioni fra di loro. Quando lessero loro ad alta voce in pubblico la tavola, mio padre disse loro così: «Hattusa e l'**Egitto** furono fin dai tempi antichi animati da buone intenzioni fra di loro ed anche ora ci è accaduto così fra di loro: Hattusa e l'**Egitto** saranno sempre anche in seguito animati da buone intenzioni fra di loro». [...]

^{2IV² 1-7} [...] al paese di Ha[ttusa ...] fra di loro [...] e [...] e il paese di **Egitto** [...] sia fra di loro [...].

^{2IV² 8-10} [...] e al paese di **Egitto** [...] in futuro fra di loro [...]. [...]

³¹¹⁻² [...] X]-zi, ... (e) Hu²-[x ...] l'uomo di [NG].

³¹³⁻¹¹ [Dal momento] che non mandano [...], una tavoletta [...] ed essi [...] e [...] l'un l'altro. [Quando] portarono la tavoletta [...] dissero così: «Gli **Egiziani** hanno ucciso [Zannanza]!», e riportarono la cosa: «Zannanza [è morto]!». E quando mio padre sen[ti] dell'uccisione di Zannanza, cominciò ad innalzare la lamentazione su

Zannanza, [...] agli dèi e andava dicendo così: «O dèi, io [non] ho commesso alcun male! Gli **Egiziani** [hanno commesso] il male ed hanno assalito il confine del mio territorio!».

^{3 I 12'-23'} «[Quando] sentii [la cosa] mand[ai] dei signori [...] era suo territorio[ed] era e il male [...] commisi alcun male. Sapevo [...] ma non li [...] nel paese di **Egitto** [...] levai [l'esercito] ma non [...] un trattato l'uomo di [NG ...] era stato stretto [...] nessuno si voltò [...] il male [...]».

[...]

^{1C IV 1-3} [...] non tem[ette(ro)] i Kaskei [...] oppresso [...].

^{4A 1-2} [...] astrett[i] a giuramento [...] ritorna [...].

^{4A 3-18} [...] la regione di Nerik, che [anticamente faceva parte delle terre ittite], il nemico [se la] era presa via al tempo del re Muwatalli e cercò [di prendere anche] i territori di [...]; insomma [il nemico] kaskeo [li ha] presi. (E mio padre disse): «Io [ver]rò [e] cercherò [di riprender]mi i territori, ma non verrò [...]: marcerò (in questa stessa) [anna]ta[?]. [Avanti], combattiamo!». Egli si mise appunto in marcia, [e quando] arrivò [a NG passò in rassegna] le truppe (e) i carri e si mise in marcia in quello stesso giorno [...]. Il nemico venne in forze [e ...].

^{4A 15-20} Quando fece giorno e il sole sorse mio padre marciò in battaglia [e] combattè (contro il nemico) all'interno della montagna [...]; gli dèi camminarono [di fronte] a mio padre, il Sole di [Ari]na, Tarhunta di Hattusa, Tarhunta dell'esercito, il dio della tempesta di Nerik, [il dio tutelare di Hattusa][?], Šauška dell'aperta campagna e Zababa e il nemico fu sterminato in massa.

^{4A21-32} Mio padre andò poi a Pi[kainarisa] e devastò col fuoco la regione di Pikainarisa, [NG] e Tatimuwa, [poi] prese a ricostruire [...] e comunicò a mio padre: «[...] e noi [...] ora siamo arrivati [...] in nessun modo». Mio padre [...] come [...] in massa [...].

This text presents important information about the relationships between Egypt and Hatti at the beginning of the 13th cent. BC⁶⁵⁶: the military operations of Šuppiluliuma in the region of Amka, among the Egyptian sphere of influence and the so-called “*daḥamunzu* affair”⁶⁵⁷. These two episodes are strictly connected to some later events, such as the prayer of Muršili II to the gods' assembly (see, *infra*, texts nos 7 and 51-52) to avert a plague that hit the Hittite land because of the breach of the conditions stated in a previous treaty (maybe the “Kuruštama Treaty”), and the paths towards the military confrontation at Kadesh. I am not going to discuss in detail these events, already well-known and studied; however, I would like to stress some passages that give some glimpse into the Hittite view of the Egyptian opponent. First of all, it is important to underline the Egyptian reaction to the Hittite onset in the Amka region⁶⁵⁸: the text notes how the Egyptians were scared (*naḥšaryanzi*); the situation is difficult to be understood, because it would be strange that Egyptians living in Egypt could be afraid of the military attack in a region so far from the Nile Valley; it is possible that the Egyptians quoted here are not actual Egyptians but just some Syrian vassals of Egypt living in Amka. The Egyptian scaring is justified by the text in the frame of the unsettled situation in Egypt, because of the unexpected death of the reigning pharaoh (maybe Akhenaton or Tutankhamun). These unstable circumstances led the Egyptian queen (*daḥamunzu*, the cuneiform rendering of the Egyptian *t3 ḥm.t n(y)-sw.t*, “the wife of the king”) to send a letter to Šuppiluliuma I, asking for a son of him as her new husband and subsequently king of Egypt. The strangeness and the newness of this event is stressed by the sentence *UL kuwapikki kišat*, “it never happened such a thing”; therefore, the Hittite king is doubtful, afraid of falling into a deception⁶⁵⁹ and decides to request, always by letters, a stronger confirmation of the actual events. After some months, the king was in Hattuša and received a reply by the Egyptian queen who is displeased by Šuppiluliuma's doubts and asks again for a husband. It

⁶⁵⁶ For this topic, see e.g. MURNANE 1985, pp. 27ff.

⁶⁵⁷ See BARTA 1983; BREYER 2010a, pp. 171-184; BREYER 2010e; CAVAINAC 1930; CORDANI 2017, pp. 13-18; DEL MONTE 2008, *passim*; FREU 2004; GENZ – MIELKE 2011, pp. 317-318; GÜTERBOCK 1956a-c; GÜTERBOCK 1960; VAN DEN HOUT 1992; VAN DEN HOUT 1993; VAN DEN HOUT 1994; LIVERANI 1971; MEYER 1992; MILLER 2007a; PINTORE 1978, pp. 46-50; SADOWSKA 2000; SAYCE 1926; SAYCE 1927; SCHULMAN 1978a; STEMPEL 2007; ZIMMERN – FRIEDRICH 1924.

⁶⁵⁸ These events are also recalled in EA 170, a letter sent to Aziru of Amurru by his brothers (see *infra*, section 1.3.1.2, text no. 29).

⁶⁵⁹ In fact, in a following sentence Šuppiluliuma says: “When they have attacked you [the region of Amka] you may have been frightened and for this you ask me insistently my son, but he will somehow become a hostage and you will not do it [king]!”.

is interesting the description of the final reaction of the Hittite king who decided to send one of his sons (Zannanza⁶⁶⁰) because “he had a kind heart” (*nu ABUIA gienzuwalaš kuit ešta*, literally “because my father was friendly/considerate”⁶⁶¹); the Hittite king is always presented as a merciful sovereign, maybe to underline the graveness and the ungratefulness of the Egyptian people, who eventually killed Zannanza. Šuppiluliuma also stresses the Egyptian guiltiness in attacking the city of Kinza (= Kadesh), considered within the former Mittanian area: “I was animated by friendly feelings (*aššuwanza ešun*) but then suddenly you hurt [me]: [you came] and attacked the lord of Kinza that I had [subtracted] to the Hurrian king”. The Egyptians are regarded and described as afraid (on battlefield)⁶⁶², liar (the Egyptian queen), ungrateful (*nuwamu šumaš ħudak idalu iyattin*, “but you hurt [me]”) and guilty (of betrayal and murder). Šuppiluliuma justifies himself saying that the Hittites attacked Amka (as a retaliation) because of the previous Egyptian assault against Kadesh: thus, under the Hittite perspective, they did not betray any former deal. The Egyptian “ambassador” Ḫani defends his country position, describing the queen’s words as faithful. Šuppiluliuma trusted him, also because he remembered the texts of the previous treaty that was read aloud in front of the all court. But unfortunately, the words of the treaty were not enough to prevent Zannanza’s murder and Šuppiluliuma appears as the kings who behaves rightly, vs. the Egyptians who betrayed the former treaty; this opinion, is clarified by the last declaration of the Hittite king: “O gods, I have [not] committed any evil! The Egyptians [have committed] evil and have attacked the boundary of my territory!” (*A-NA DINGIR^{m[es]} / nu ki-i[š-š]a-an me-mi-iš-ki-it DINGIR^{meš} am-mu-uk’- / ku-it-[ki i-d]a-la-u-wa-aḫ-ḫu-un LÚ^{meš unu} mi-iz’-z[a-r]i-i-wa i-da-a’-l[a-u-wa-aḫ ḫi-ir] / nu-w[a-]-e-ir’ nu-wa-mu ZAG KUR-IA wa-al-aḫ-ḫi-[ir]*; otherwise, the sentence could be interpreted as a justification of Šuppiluliuma (or Muršili) who declares himself as not responsible for the following plague.

⁶⁶⁰ Another name recalling the description of the status of the person named: Zannanza = *s3 n n(y)-sw.t*, “the son of the king”.

⁶⁶¹ For ^(UZU)*genzu-*, see HHW, pp. 77-78.

⁶⁶² This connotation is particularly interesting, because it was a common *topos* also in the Egyptian texts describing the Hittite behaviour in battle.

2. CTH 49: TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA I AND AZIRU OF AMURRU

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	I: Akkadian; II: Hittite
Genre	Treaty
Dating	14 th cent. BC (Šuppiluliuma I)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	A new alliance is established between Ḫatti and Amurru, which has previously been under the Egyptian political sphere of influence

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo X 12 I 14', 18', 24, IV 24' (br.)
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo X 12 II 12'

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
]-ri-i (br.)	KUB III 119 + KUB XLVIII 71 Vs. 11'

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 419-438:

I. Akkadian version:

Transliteration

§2.

¹¹[.....šar **māt** ^{al}**Mi-iš-ri**]i, šar māt ^{al}A-mur-[ri,]

¹²[šar māt Nu-ḫa-aš-ši, šar māt Ni-ia.....] šar māt Mu-kiš, alāni an-nu-ti (?)

¹³[(it-ti) šar māt ^{al}Ḫa-at-ti..i.na-ak-ki-ru-ma ^mA-zi-ra] šar māt ^{al}A-mur-ri, abu[**l māt** ^{al}**Mi-iš-ri-i**]

¹⁴[..... a-na šar māt ^{al}Ḫ]a-at-ti it-tal-ka. ^dŠa[mšiši ...]

¹⁵[..... k]i-i-me ^mA-zi-ra ḫa-a(?)-ti-[.....]

¹⁶[.....] a-na šu-pa-al šēpē-[ya im-qú-ut]

[iš-tu abu] **māt** ^{al}**Mi-iš-ri-i** [..... *loss*].

§3.ii.

⁵[ù it-ti sa-al-mi-ya, lu-ú sa-lim; it-ti ^{amēl}nakrī-ya, lu-ú na-kir]. [š]um-ma šar māt ^{al}Ḫa-at-ti

⁶[i-na māt Ḫur-ri] [šum-ma i-na **māt** **Mi-iš-ri**, šum-ma i-na māt Ka-ra-^dDu-ni-ya-aš] šum-ma māt ^{al}A-aš-ta-ta,

⁷[ù šum-ma māt Al-še], [mi-nu-me-e mātātē ^{amēl}nakrī ša paṭ mātī-ka qé]-er-bu ša it-ti šar māt ^{al}Ḫat[ti]

⁸[na-ak-rum] [ù mi-nu-me-e mātātē ša paṭ mātī-ka qi-ir-bu], ša it-t]i šar māt ^{al}Ḫatti sa-al-m[u],

⁹[māt ..., māt ^{al}Ki-in-za, māt ^{al}Nu-ḫa-aš-ši i-ša-aḫ-ḫu-ru-ma, it-ti šar māt ^{al}Ḫat]ti, i-na-ak-ki-ru-ma.

¹⁰[ki-me-e, šar māt ^{al}Ḫatti, a-na ḫa-ba-ti ú-uš-ša-a] [šum-ma ^mA-zi-ra iš-tu šābē-š[u]

¹¹^{ri}narkabātē-šu ù i-na līb-bi-šu la-a i-na-šir], [ù šum-ma i-na kul] līb-bi-šu la-a in-ta-at-ḫa-a[š].

Translation

§2.

¹¹The King of the land of **Egypt**, the King of the land of Amurru (*sic*),

¹²[the King of Nuhasse, the King of Neya,.....] the King of the land of Mukish, [these] cities

¹³[.....] Aziru, King of the land of Amurru, the gate of the land of **Egypt**

¹⁴[..... to the King of the land of H]atti he comes. The Su[n-king

¹⁵a]s Aziru [.....]

¹⁶[.....] he falls[at [my] feet. [From the gat]e of the land of **Egypt**

[..... *loss*].

§3.ii.

⁵[And with my ally, he shall be ally; and with my foe he shall be foe]. [I]f the King of the Hatti-land (should stay)

⁶[in the Hurrian-land], [or in the land of **Egypt**, or in Karduniash (Babylonia)] or in the land of Astata,

⁷[or in the land of Alshe], [or all enemy lands which are] near [the border of your land], and which are
⁸[hostile to] the King of the Hat[t]i-land –
⁹[against the land(s) of X, Qadesh and Nuhasse he shall turn, (if) they are hostile [to the King of the Hatti-land].
¹⁰[Whenever I, the King of the Hatti-land, go out to attack], [if (then) Aziru, with h[is] troops
¹¹and his chariotry, does willingly not stand guard], [or if he wi]ll not do battle, [whole]heartedly - <he will have broken the oath>.

II. Hittite version:

Transliteration

§2i.

¹⁴ka-ru-u 'x' hu-u-da-ak [... LUG]AL K[UR^{URU}]U Mi-iz-ri
¹⁵LUGAL KUR^{URU} Hur-ri LUGAL KUR^{URU} [Ki-en-za LUGAL KUR^{URU} ... LU]GAL KUR^{URU} Nu-ḫa-aš-ša
¹⁶LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ni-ia LUGAL KUR^{URU} [... LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mu-ki]š? LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-l-pa LUGAL
KUR^{URU} Kar-ga-miš
¹⁷ku-u-uš LUGAL^{MEŠ} hu-u-[ma-am-te-eš A-NA]A^{DUTU-ŠI} ku-ru-ur e-še-ir
^{18m}A-zi-ra-aš-ma LUGAL KU[R^{URU} A-mur-r]i IŠTU [ZA]G/KÀ ŠA KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri
¹⁹ša-ra-a ti-ia-at n[a-aš-za A-NA]A^{DUTU-ŠI} L[UGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫ]a-at-ti İR-na-aḫ-ta-at
[...]
²³ku-it A-zi-ra-za-aš A-NA ŠA-PAL GİR^{MEŠ} D[UTU]-ŠI LUGAL GAL ḫa-li-ia-at-ta-at
²⁴IŠTU KÀ ŠA KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri ú-it na-aš A-[NA GİR^{MEŠ} DUTU-ŠI] LUGAL GAL kat-ta-an
²⁵ḫa-li-i[a-at]-ta-at^{DUTU-ŠI} ma-za LUGAL GAL^m A-zi-[ra-an]
²⁶na-an-kán A-NA ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU [ḫ]a-an-da-nu-un.
[...]

§3ii.

¹²ma-a-an LUGAL KU[R^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti] I-NA KUR^{URU} [Ḫur-ri na]-aš-ma KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri-i
¹³na-aš-ma [I-NA KUR^{URU} Ka]-ra-du-ni-i[a-aš]
¹⁴n[a-aš-ma KUR^{URU} A-aš-ta-ta] na-aš-ma I-NA KUR^{URU} Al-ši
¹⁵[ku-e im-ma KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} LÚKÚR tu-e]-el A-NA Z[AG] ma-ni-en-ku-wa-an
¹⁶[..... A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI}] ku-u-ur KUR.[KUR]^{MEŠ} ták-šu-la-aš ku-e
¹⁷[A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI} ták-šu-ul tu-e-el A-NA ZAG] ma-ni-en-ku-[w]a-an
¹⁸[KUR^{URU} KUR^{URU}] Nu-ḫa-aš-ša-[ia] pí-di wa-aḫ-nu-wa-an-zi
¹⁹[nu A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI} ku-u-ru-ri]-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi
²⁰[nu ma-a-an LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti a-p]í-e-da-ni A-NA LÚKÚR
²¹[wa-al-ḫu-wa-an-zi ú-iz-z]i nu [ma]-a-an zi-ik^m A-zi-ra-aš
²²[IŠ-TU ERÍN^{MEŠ} AN]ŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ri-it ZI-ni-it
²³[Ú-UL ne]-ni-ik-ta-ti [n]a-an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ri-it
²⁴[ZI-ni-it] Ú-UL za-aḫ-ḫi-[i]a-ši

§15i.

^{19m}tu-uk-ma ka^m A-zi-ra-[an ša-ra-a da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un]
^{20m}nu-ut-ták-kán A-NA TAP-[PU-TI]
²¹nu ma-a-an zi-ik^m [A-zi-ra-aš ŠA KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti]
²²aš-šu-ul ŠU^m Su-[up-pí-lu-li-u-ma-aš LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti Ú-UL ša-an-aḫ-ti
^{23m}[nu] aš-šu-la-an da-me-[e-da-aš KUR-e-aš na-aš-šu ŠA KUR^{URU} Ḫur-ri]
^{24m}na-aš-ma ŠA KUR^{URU} Mi-[iz-ri-i]
^{25m}[ša]-an-aḫ-ti nu da-ma-[in ... ŠU-an ... ša-an-aḫ-ti]
^{26m}[nu-ká]n ka-a-aš-ma MA-[ME-TUM šar-ra-at-ti].

Translation⁶⁶³

§2i.

¹⁴Formerly, suddenly, [...] the King of **Egypt**,

⁶⁶³ Some more joins of this text were recognized in BECKMAN 1997a, pp. 96-97. Italian translation of both the versions in DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 203-212.

¹⁵the King of the Hurri-land, the King of [Qadesh, the King of], [the Ki]ng of Nuhasse,
¹⁶the King of Niya, the King of [....., the King of Mukish(?), the King of Aleppo (and) the king of Carchemish –
¹⁷a[ll] these kings – became hostile [toward the Sun-kin]g.
¹⁸But Aziru, King of the la[nd of Amur]ru, went up from the frontier of **Egypt**,
¹⁹and submitted himself to the Sun-king, the Great King of the Hatti-land.
[...]
²³Because Aziru [knelt down] at (“under”) the feet of the S[un-king, the great King],
²⁴(indeed) from the gate of Egypt he came, and knelt down a[t the feet of the Sun-king, the Great King!]
²⁵And the Sun-king, the Great King [received/elevated] Aziru,
²⁶and he enrolled him amongst his brother(-kings).

§3ii.

¹²If the King of the Ha[t]ti-land] goes out against the [Hurrian] land, or **Egypt**;
¹³or [against the land of Ba]bylonia;
¹⁴[or the land of Ashtata], or against [the land of] Alshe; (in fact)
¹⁵[any lands at all that are hostile], being close to your boundary:
¹⁶[.....] land[s] hostile [to (me), the Sun-king, (or) those
¹⁷[friendly to the Sun-king], and close to [your boundary] –
¹⁸[(namely) the land of Qadesh, the land of] Nuhasse – turn about,
¹⁹[and open ho]stilities [against the Sun-king], (thus shall matters be).
²⁰[When the King of the Hatti-land goes forth against th]at enemy
²¹[that has rebelle]d; and if you, Aziru,
²²[with (your) infantry and cha]riotry wholeheartedly
²³[do not mo]bilize, and
²⁴do not fight against (that foe) wholehearted[dly]; <you will have broken the oath>.

§15i.

¹⁹[Because] you, Aziru, [..... I have taken on],
²⁰and you now are in the fellow[ship] *of your brother-kings.
²¹now, if you, [Aziru, do not seek *the well-being of the Hatti-land],
²²(and) the well-being of the power (“hand”) of Su[ppiluliuma, the Great King, King of the Hatti-land];
²³[but] (rather) the well-being of the oth[er lands, as the Hurri-land],
²⁴as of the land of **Egypt**, (etc.),
²⁵you have sought. And (if) [you have sought] (some) othe[r (protective) hand],
²⁶[you wil]l thus have [broken the oa]th.

The treaty of alliance between Šuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru shows how the quotation of Egypt was sometimes used to define the terms of the deal itself. Egypt is considered as one of the traditional enemies of Ḫatti, and this is particularly interesting if we consider the position of the Amurru land on the borders between the two main powers of that time, i.e. Egypt and the Ḫatti land. Firstly, Aziru is considered as an ally because he swore fidelity to the Hittite king⁶⁶⁴, unlike other kings of that time, and among them Egypt, who became hostile to the Hittites (ku-u-uš LUGAL^{MEŠ} ḫu-u-[ma-am-te-eš A-N]A^{DUTU-ŠI} ku-ru-ur e-še-ir). Another point attesting Aziru’s loyalty is the fact that he decided to move from the Egyptian to the Hittite sphere of influence (^mA-zi-ra-aš-ma LUGAL KU[R^{URU}A-mur-r]i IŠTU [ZA]G/KÀ ŠA KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-ri ša-ra-a ti-ia-at n[a-aš-za A-N]A^{DUTU-ŠI} L[UGAL KUR^{URU}Ḫ]a-at-ti İR-na-aḫ-ta-at). The Akkadian version uses an effective expression to describe the mind changing of Aziru, saying that he left “the gate of the land of Egypt” (abul māt^ā Mi-iš-ri-i), falling down at the feet of the Hittite monarch. Then, the king of Amurru is requested to guarantee his support

⁶⁶⁴ For some aspects of ambiguity in Aziru’s behaviour, see DEVECCHI 2012b and LIVERANI 1983. Cf. also KLENGEL 1964, for the journey of this king in Egypt and his submission to Šuppiluliuma I; cf. also CORDANI 2011. For the general history of Amurru, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 178-325; cf. more briefly KLENGEL 1992, pp. 160-174. For the general situation in Syria during this period, and the struggles between Egypt and Ḫatti in Syria, see e.g. KLENGEL 1992, pp. 106-119.

in the case Šuppiluliuma needs his help in a military campaign against another land and Egypt, too. Šuppiluliuma also asks Aziru to “seek the well-being of the Hatti-land” and not that of another foreign country, such as Egypt. In short, it seems that Egypt is quoted in this document just as a counterpart of the Hittite land, such as many other countries, in a way that appears to be a topic in the practise of defining treaties between the Great Hittite king and his minor vassals. It is also noteworthy that in a later treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Tešub of Amurru (see *infra*, text no. 5), the text of this treaty is recalled to remind to the new king the former loyalty of his grandfather⁶⁶⁵.

⁶⁶⁵ See MURNANE 1985, pp. 15ff.

3. CTH 53: TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA I AND TETTE OF NUḪAŠŠE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Middle Babylonian
Genre	Treaty
Dating	14 th cent. BC (Šuppiluliuma I)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	A new alliance is established between Ḫatti and NuḪašše, which has previously been under the Egyptian political sphere of influence

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB III 2 Vs. 6' (br.; akk.)
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 4 II 8 (akk.)

Transliteration

G. WILHELM (ed.) 2006 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 53:

Vs. II

6 ù it-ti sa-al-mi-ia lu-ú sa-lim it-ti LÚKÚR-ia
 7 lu-ú na-kir 33 šum-ma LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti i-na KUR Ḫur-ri
 8 šum-ma i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i šum-ma i-na KUR Ka-ra-an-d[u-ni]-ia-aš
 9 šum-ma i-na KUR^{URU} A-aš-ta-ta 37 ù šum-ma i-na KUR A[l-š]e
 10 mi-nu-me-e KUR.KUR^{MES} LÚKÚR ša ZAG KUR-ka qer-bu
 11 ša it-ti LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti na-ak-rù
 12 ù mi-nu-me-e KUR.KUR^{MES} ša ZAG KUR-ka qer-bu
 13 ša it-ti LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti sa-al-mu
 14 KUR^{URU} Mu-kiš KUR^{URU} Ḫal-pa KUR^{URU} Ki-in-za i-ša-aḫ-ḫu-r[u-m]a
 15 it-ti LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti/KÛ.BABBAR i-na-ak-ki-rù

Translation

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 407-418⁶⁶⁶:

§4. (= Wilhelm, §6'a)

⁶And with my ally shall be ally, (and) with my foe

⁷shall he be foe. If (I) the King of the Hatti-land (am) in the Hurrian-land,

⁸or in the land of **Egypt**,

⁹or in the land of Kard[uni]aš (= Babylon), or in the land of Astata, or in the land of Alshe,

¹⁰from all enemy lands which are near the borders of your land,

¹¹which are hostile to the King of the Hatti-land;

¹²and all lands near the border of your land,

¹³and at peace with the Hittite King –

¹⁴the land of Mukish, the land of Aleppo, (and) the land of Qadesh, shall he turn (to),

¹⁵(for) they are enemies of the King of the Hatti-land.

Among the many vassal states who passed from the Mittanian domination to the Hittite sovereignty, also NuḪašše must be included, king Šarrupši having accepted the Hittite king as his new lord⁶⁶⁷. The kingdom of NuḪašše was located in northern Syria, to the south of Aleppo and the south-east

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. the German translation in G. WILHELM (ed.) 2006ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 53: “[§6'a]: ³¹Mit meinem Freund soll er Freundschaft unterhalten, ³²mit meinem Feind soll er feindlich sein. ³³Wenn der König des Landes Ḫatti im Lande Ḫurri ³⁴oder im Lande **Ägypten** ³⁵oder im Lande Babyl[on] ³⁶oder im Lande Aštata ³⁷oder aber im Lande A[lše] (ist) -, ³⁸(wenn dann) irgendwelche Feindesländer, die der Grenze deines Landes nah sind ³⁹(und) die mit dem König des Landes Ḫatti verfeindet sind, ⁴⁰oder irgendwelche Länder, die der Grenze deines Landes nah sind ⁴¹(und) die mit dem König des Landes Ḫatti befreundet sind, ⁴²das Land Mukiš, das Land Ḫalpa, (oder) das Land Kinza – (die) sich ⁴³(aber vom König des Landes Ḫatti) abwend[en]”.

⁶⁶⁷ BECKMAN 1999², p. 50.

of Ugarit. Šarrupši's grandson Tette⁶⁶⁸ also was forced to swear fidelity to the Hittite king; despite his promises, this king eventually betrayed his new master and rebelled, being killed under the reign of Muršili II⁶⁶⁹. The quotation of Egypt in this text closely resembles the aforementioned passage of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru (see *supra*, text no. 2, §3,ii), where the vassal king swears to send military support in the case the Hittite Great king moved to battle against other countries, included also Egypt. It is remarkable how the Egyptian land was perceived by the vassals included in the oaths: while for Aziru we have many letters exchanged between him and the Egyptian court (showing the presence of direct contacts), for Tette the situation is slightly different⁶⁷⁰. J. Miller proposed that Tette played an important role in the events connected to Muršili's 7th year (see *infra*, text no. 4): "The Syrian events of Muršili's 7th year, described in his annals, in KUB 19.15 + +, Col. I, and in the first of the arbitrations of KBo 3.3 + +, can now be more clearly understood. At least as far as Muršili's reports can be believed, so long as his quarrel was with the prisoner alone, the other kings of Nuḫḫašše were not yet regarded as being in a state of war with Ḫatti. Their repeated delaying tactics, though, were interpreted by Muršili as refusal to fulfil his demand for extradition of the prisoner, and this amounted to a *casus belli*. Whatever Tette's role in these events thus far, whether as the prisoner whose extradition was being demanded, or as one of the Nuḫḫaššean kings essentially refusing Muršili's demands, once Muršili declared war, Tette saw the writing on the wall and turned to Egypt for protection, the general and vice-regent Haremhab gladly obliging. Though Tette's name does not appear here in the annals, it is tempting to link the events of KUB 19.15 + +, I and of KUB 14.17 + KBo 50.30 II with those of the Barga arbitration in the following manner: Tette and EN-urta acted in some way that caused Muršili to regard them as in a state of hostility with him (KBo 3.3 + +, I 8), perhaps by attempting to increase the extent of their kingdom at the expense of those of neighbouring Hittite vassals. The EN-urta issue was at least initially managed without Muršili having to intervene, as Abiradda drove him from his land (KBo 3.3 + +, I 9-11). The problem of Tette's hostility, however, was not so easily dealt with, and Muršili made Abiradda's reward for his loyalty contingent on the resolution of this outstanding matter (KBo 3.3 + +, I 18ff.). In the last preserved lines of col. I of the arbitration, Muršili speaks of Tette in a similar manner to that in which he speaks of the prisoner in the passage presented in this paper, though it does not seem that by the time col. I breaks off that Tette has yet been captured. Presumably the remainder of col. I of the Barga arbitration detailed how Tette was indeed captured by his Nuḫḫaššean associates, and how instead of being extradited to Ḫattuša, he was turned over to his wife and sons and eventually fled to Egypt under military escort sent by Haremhab, an event that severely soured Hittite-Egyptian relations. His fate after this point is unknown"⁶⁷¹. If this assertion is correct, Tette would have played a key role in the development of the relationships between Ḫatti and Egypt in the first half of the 13th cent. BC.

⁶⁶⁸ For Tette, see mainly KLENGEL 1992, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁶⁹ BRYCE 1988; KLENGEL 1992, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁷⁰ For the history of Nuḫḫašše, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 18-57 and, more briefly, KLENGEL 1992, pp. 151-155.

⁶⁷¹ MILLER 2007c, pp. 531-532.

4. CTH 61: THE ANNALS OF MURŠILI II (61.I: TEN-YEARS ANNALS; 61.II: DETAILED ANNALS; 61.III: UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS)

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Annals
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	A possible military confrontation between Egypt and Ḫatti during the reign of Muršili II

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XIV 17 II 30
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XIV 17 II 24
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 17 II 18, 19, 29

Transliteration

GÖTZE 1933, pp. 86-87:

Ausführliche Annalen: 7. Jahr.

KUB XIV 17 = 2 BoTU 54.

Vs II 18 [GIM-an-ma LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši -i]r nu ku-u-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ir ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}Mi-iz-ri-ma
 19 [gim-an ḫa-lu-ga-an ú-da-a-i]r ú-iz-zi-wa-ra-aš nu a-na ERÍN.MEŠ **Mi-iz-ri**
 20 [me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da am-mu-uk pa-a-u]n ? pī-ra-an pa-ra-a-ma-kán ¹Kán-tu-uz-zi-li-in
 21 [x i-na kur ^{URU}Kar-ga-miš n]e-eḫ-ḫu-un na-aš-kán A-NA ¹LUGAL.^DSIN-aḫ ŠEŠ-YA
 22 [I-NA kur ^{URU}Kar-ga-miš kat-ta-an-d]a pa-it nu ¹Kán-tu-zi-li-in
 23 [ki-iš-ša-an wa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un LÚ.MEŠ] ^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši-wa ku-it ku-u-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ir
 24 [nu-wa-ra-aš ar-ḫa ḫar-ni-ik nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ma-]a-an ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}Mi-iz-ri-i
 25 [wa-ar-ri-eš]-šq[-an-zi nu-wa-mu ḫa-]a[t-ra-a-i nu-wa] am-mu-uk
 26 [pa-a-i-mi n]u-wa-ra-an za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-mi

28 [am-mu-uk-]ma ma-aḫ-ḫa-an i-na ^{URU}Zi-i-lu-na ar-ḫu-un nu-mu me-mi-an
 29 [me-na-aḫ-ḫ]a-an-da ú-te-ir ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}Mi-iz-ri-wa-za ar-ḫa ḫu-ul-la-ša]-at
 30 [nu-wa-ra-aš-z]a ar-ḫa pa-it nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ERÍN.MEŠ kur ^{URU}Mi-iz-ri-i Ú-UL ú-it

Translation

GÖTZE 1933, pp. 86-87:

7. Jahr.

Vs II 18 [Als aber die Leute von Nuḫašši]ten und Krieg anfangen, [als] man über die **ägyptischen** Truppen aber

19 [die Botschaft brachte:] «sie kommen!», den **ägyptischen** Truppen

20 [zog i]ch [da entgegen]; voraus entsandte ich aber den Kantuziliš,

21 [den nach dem Lande Kargamiš]. Und der zog zu Šar-SIN-aḫ, meinem Bruder,

22 [nach dem Lande Kargamiš hina]b. Und den Kantuziliš

23[wies ich folgendermaßen an:] «Weil [die Leute] von Nuḫašši Krieg angefangen haben,

24 [«so vernichte sie! Und w]enn [ihnen] **ägyptische** Truppen

25 [«zu Hilfe eilen, so schreib mir! Und] ich

26 [«werde hinkommen] und gegen sie kämpfen».

28 Als [ich] aber in Ziluna anlangte, brachte man mir die Nachricht

29 [entg]legen: «Die **ägyptischen** Truppen sind geschlagen,

30 [«und sie] sind heimgezogen». Und zunächst kamen die **ägyptischen** Truppen nicht.

A possible direct confrontation between the Hittites (under Muršili II) and the Egyptian could have happened in the 7th year of this Hittite king, according to his “Comprehensive Annals”⁶⁷². At the beginning of military struggles against the kingdom of Nuḥašše, a messenger informs the Hittite king that the Egyptian army is approaching. Muršili decides to send his herald Kantuzzili to his brother Šarri-Kušuh, king of Karkemish, asking for a help. The text then reports the defeat of the Egyptian troops. D. Redford⁶⁷³ suggested to interpret this passage in the light of the “first” Syrian campaign of Horemheb, which is attested on a stone bowl maybe from Memphis⁶⁷⁴, carrying an offering formula (*ḥtp-dj-n(y)-sw.t*) for the soul of the stablemaster Sennefer, whose inscription reads:

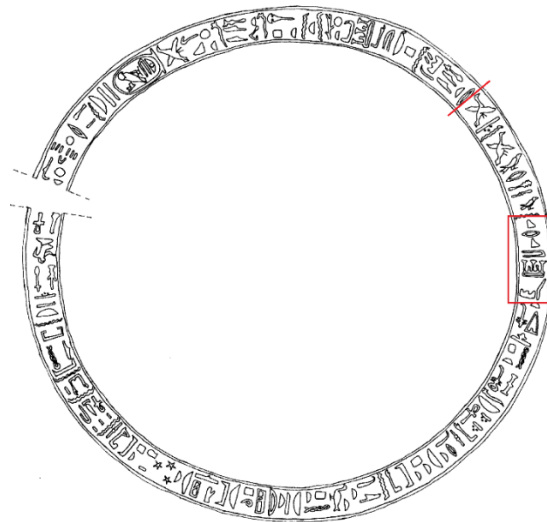


Fig. 109

ḥ3.t-sp sp 16 ḥr ḥm n(y) nb T3.wy n(?)Hr-m-ḥb p3 ḥq3 ḥft wḏ.yt=f tp.t n(y).t nḥt(.w) š3^cKpny nfr.yt r p3 t3 n p3 wr ḥsy n Qrqmš [...] rdī=sn^cnḥ(=w) wḏ3(=w) snb(=w) n k3 ḥr.y-iḥ n(y) nb T3.wy Sn-nfr d(w)^cnḥ.

“Regnal year 16 under the Majesty of the Lord of the Two Lands, Horemheb, the Ruler; at the time of his first victorious campaign, from Byblos as far as the land of the vile chief of Carchemish. [...] that they [i.e., the gods] may give life, prosperity and health to the *k3* of the stablemaster of the Lord of the Two Lands Sennefer, repeating life”.

⁶⁷² BEAL 2000; DE MARTINO 2014, pp. 88-89; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 10; HELCK 1975, p. 144; REDFORD 1973, pp. 47-48; ZECCHI 2014. The conflict against the Hittites is not recorded in the extant text of the Ten Years Annals.

⁶⁷³ REDFORD 1973.

⁶⁷⁴ The vessel was found by Redford in an antiquity shop in Cairo, at the end of April 1973; cf. DE PIETRI 2016, p. 10 (with further bibliographical references). The picture here reported is after REDFORD 1973, p. 42, fig. 1; I highlighted in red the name of Karkemish. The bowl, made of mottled granite, measures 34 cm (outer diameter) and 31 cm (inner diameter). The band with the hieroglyphic text measures 2.5 cm in width. The authenticity of this artefact has been questioned by Murnane: “There are strong reasons, however, for doubting that this text is authentic. Anomalies in its composition do not inspire confidence, and the case for authenticity dies if the bowl on which it is enscribed does indeed belong to a period after the New Kingdom. More recent articles have tended to accept the validity of the inscription’s contents even while admitting that it is a modern forgery. This is quite unconvincing. While Horemheb may well have fought such a war in Western Asia, this evidence cannot prove it” (MURNANE 1985, pp. 30-31, with further discussion in notes 148-153).

The belongings to Horemheb of this Syrian campaign has sometimes been questioned⁶⁷⁵: in particular, while Redford⁶⁷⁶ attributed it to this pharaoh, Darnell and Manassa⁶⁷⁷ proposed to date it back to the reign of Tutankhamun; in this case Horemheb would have been just a general of the young king. The campaign is defined in the inscription as *wḏ.yt=f tp.t n(y).t nḥt(.w)*, “his first victorious campaign”: this expression was considered by Redford as a “conclusive evidence [...] that Horemheb did indeed undertake a campaign, and the extensive one, deep into Asia”⁶⁷⁸. Therefore, the lists of subjugated names on the period of Horemheb and the depiction of Hittites in his tomb, KV 57 (see *supra* section 1.1, text no. 4) could be interpreted as referring to this military expedition. Redford also proposed to connect the text carved on the walls of the tomb of the treasurer May, at Saqqara, in these regards: “Given as a favour from the king to [...] the treasurer May [...] namely, prisoners of war which His Majesty brought back from Asia”⁶⁷⁹. The reason for this campaign could have been the “betrayal” of Aziru of Amurru towards the Hittites (see *supra*, text no. 2): because of this change of the political situation in the northern Syria, Horemheb could have felt the need of re-establish his supremacy in that area⁶⁸⁰. The possible route of the expedition is described by the inscription on the Memphite bowl as *š3^e Kpny nfr.yt r p3 t3 n p3 wr ḥsy n Qrqmš*, “from Byblos as far as the land of the vile chief of Karkemish”, and was recognized by Redford with the land of Byblos up to the coast to Sumur, through the Nahr el-Kebir to Kadesh⁶⁸¹; a military struggle in this area could be noteworthy, because it could be considered as the first confrontation in the area around Kadesh, quite a prelude of the later campaigns of Seti I and the following battle fought by Ramses II. Given the title of Sennefer as *ḥr.y-ih*, “stablemaster”⁶⁸², it is slightly possible that he participated into this battle. The importance of these events (in between the end of the 18th dyn. and the beginning of the so crucial 19th dyn.) is again perfectly highlighted by Redford: “no one can doubt that an expedition which reached the environs of Carchemish was a major undertaking. Undoubtedly it made a great impression on the Hittites, concerned as they were for an as yet shaky hegemony over Syria, and we should therefore examine Hittite records of the period to see if it is mentioned. [...] It would seem probable, therefore, that the campaign mentioned on the Memphite bowl and the Egyptian expedition against Carchemish in the annals of Mursilis’s 7th year are one and the same”⁶⁸³.

⁶⁷⁵ See DE PIETRI 2016, *loc. cit.* and ZECCHI 2014, p. 102. More in detail, about this Syrian campaign, see BREASTED 1906, vol. 3, § 34; Breasted 1921, p. 407; BRYCE 1998, pp. 241-242; FREU 2004, pp. 141-142; GARDINER 1961, pp. 243ff.; HARI 1967, p. 337; HAYES 1959, p. 309; KITCHEN 1962, p. 36; KITCHEN 2004⁶, p. 27; MURNANE 1990, pp. 30-31; PITARD 1987, pp. 74-75; SCHARFF – MOORTGAT 1950, p. 152; SCHULMAN 1978a, pp. 46-47; VANDERSLEYEN 1995, p. 486; YOYOTTE 1981, p. 44; WILSON 1951, p. 239.

⁶⁷⁶ REDFORD 1973.

⁶⁷⁷ DARNELL – MANASSA 2007, p. 182.

⁶⁷⁸ REDFORD 1973, p. 38.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39; text in Urk. IV, 2163.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. REDFORD 1973, p. 39.

⁶⁸¹ *Id.*, p. 42.

⁶⁸² For the analysis of this title, see REDFORD 1973, p. 46; cf. Wb I, p. 121, no. 7; CAMINOS 1954, p. 13; FAULKNER 1953, p. 43; LESKO 1982-1990, vol. 2, p. 131; SCHULMAN 1964, pp. 51ff.

⁶⁸³ REDFORD 1973, pp. 47-48.

5. CTH 62: TREATY BETWEEN MURŠILI II AND DUPPI-TEŠUB OF AMURRU

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	II: Hittite
Genre	Treaty
Dating	14 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	New alliance between Ḫatti and Amurru, previously under the Egyptian political sphere of influence

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo V 9 I 34
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XXII 39 II 4', 8'

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
] <i>-ri-i (br.)</i>	KUB III 119+ KUB XLVIII 71 Vs. 11'

Transliteration

G. WILHELM – F. FUSCAGNI (ed.) 2013 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 62⁶⁸⁴.

Vs. I

33' *tu-el ad-du-uš a[r-kam-m]a-[an]*

34' *I-NA KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri píd-da-a-er zi-[ik]-[...]* 𐎠 𐎠

Vs. II

1' [_]-[a']-an

2' [...] [_ _ _ _ _ () tá]k-[š]u²-ul e-eš-du

3' [... ^{LÚ}]TE₄-[MA]-KA u-i-iš-ki

4' [... ma]r-ša-tar-ma' i-ia-ši nu ku-[it]-ma-an LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri

5' [_ _ _ _ _ -r]u-ur zi-ga-aš-ši :du-ud-du-me-li ^{LÚ}TE₄-MA-KA

6' [_ _ _ _] [na-a]š-ma A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da

7' [_ _ _ _ _]-[ti] nu ŠA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti ŠU-an ar-ḫa

8' [_ _ _ _ _] nu-z]a ŠA [LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri ki-iš-ta-ti

9' [_ _ _ _ _]x NI-ŠI DINGIR-LIM zi-ik ^mTup-pí-^DU-up [šar]-ra-at-ti

Translation

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 469-482⁶⁸⁵:

§5 (= Wilhelm, §7')

³³your fathers had sent tr[ibute]

³⁴to the land of **Egypt**, [but] you [must not (so) send it].

§6 (= Wilhelm, § 9'')

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. DBH 24 (KBo XXII 39), pp. 41-43 (Nr. 39).

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. also the HPM translation: “[§ 7'] 72-het Deine Väter entrichteten Tribut an das Land **Ägypten**, / 73-het du [aber sollst ihn nicht (dorthin) entrichten]. / 74-het [... König des Landes **Ägypten** Krieg fü[hr...]/ 75-het [...] ... / 76-het Und dich/dir ... [...] / 77-het [...] ... [...]. [§ 8''] 78-het [W]enn [der König des Landes **Ägypten**(?) Meiner Majestät ein Freund ist], / 79-het soll er [dir ebenfalls ein F]reund sein. / 80-het [...] schicke deinen Boten. [§ 9''] 81-het [Wenn du (deinen Boten) schickst(?), aber einen Be]trug begehst; / 82-het und solange der König des Landes **Ägypten** [der Majestät F]eind (ist), / 83-het du ihm aber heimlich deinen Boten [schickst,] / 84-het [od]er dem König des Landes Ḫatti gegenüber [Krieg führ]st / 85-het und die Hand des Königs von Ḫatti weg[stößt] / 86-het [und] ein (Vasall) des Königs von **Ägypten** wirst, / 87-het [...] brichst du, Tuppi-Teššup, den Eid”. Italian translation in DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 214-220.

⁴[But if] you do [.x...], and while the King of the land of **Egypt**
⁵is [hos]tile [to the Sun-king], you slyly send him your envoy,
⁶[and] also towards the King of the Hatti-land you become
⁷[host]ile, and the authority (“hand”) of the King of the Hatti-land
⁸[you reject, and] (instead) you become (subject) to the King of the land of **Egypt**,
⁹[and], (then) you, Duppi-Tesup, would have broken the oath⁶⁸⁶.

The strategic importance of Amurru led Muršili II to establish another treaty with Duppi-Tešub, Aziru’s grandson, maybe in his 9th regnal year⁶⁸⁷. The Hittite king wanted to be sure that the new vassal would never betray him, passing to the Egyptian part. Egypt is directly quoted just in the Hittite version: Muršili remembers how Duppi-Tešub fathers have payed tribute to Egypt and asks him not to do the same, specifying that it would have been considered as a breakage of the oath. Duppi-Tešub should have been very important in a crucial period for the development of the Egypto-Hittite relationships: he was son of Ari-Teššub and father of Bentešina, who played a key role towards the battle of Kadesh. The importance of this treaty has been already stressed by Klengel, who thought that its stipulation would have been influenced by the struggles related to Muršili’s 7th year (see *supra*, text no. 4): “He (i.e. Duppi-Tešub) is explicitly forbidden to continue paying a ‘tribute’ also to Egypt. [...] It seems that this definite verdict was caused by the hostile actions of the Egyptians during the year 7 and 9 of Murshili II, i.e. the support given by them to Syrian rebels”⁶⁸⁸. Muršili II was really interested in gain the support of the king of Amurru, who kept control on a border area, between the Hittite and Egyptian spheres of influence, a key role already underlined by Devecchi: “Il fatto che il Gran Re si impegni personalmente a proteggere il re di Amurru e la sua discendenza, nonostante Tuppi-Teššub non fosse imparentato con la famiglia reale ittita, è un’anomalia rispetto agli altri trattati e rappresenta verosimilmente un tentativo da parte di Mursili II di garantirsi la fedeltà di questo regno, collocato in una posizione strategica rispetto all’Egitto”⁶⁸⁹.

⁶⁸⁶ This small fragment has been recognized in CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 96-100: “KBo XXII 39 (Bo 69/957) : ajouter à CTH 62 II.

R^o II

x + 1 []-za-an
 2' [] Ú-UL e-eš-du
 3' [^{lú}]TE-MA-KA u-i-iš-ki
 4' []-ša-tar²-zu² i-ya-ši nu ku-it-ma-an LUGAL KUR ^{uru}Mi-iz-ri
 5' [ku-u-r]u-ur zi-ga-aš-ši du-ud-du-me-li ^{lú}TE-MA-KA
 6' [-a]š-ma A-NA LUGAL KUR ^{uru}Ha-at-ti me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da
 7' []-ti nu ŠA LUGAL KUR ^{uru}Ha-at-ti ŠU-an ar-ḥa
 8' [ma-a-an zi-ik Ì]R ŠA LUGAL KUR ^{uru}Mi-iz-ri ki-iš-ta-ti
 9' [nu-kán a-pa-a-a]t NI-IŠ DINGIR ^{lim} zi-ik ^mDup-pí-^dU-ub šar-ra-at-ti

x + 1 []
 2' [] qu’il ne soit pas ;
 3' [] envoyer ton messenger
 4' [tu feras et aussi longtemps que le **pharaon**
 5' [(sera) un enne]mi , toi lui
 6' [Si] en présence du roi du Hatti
 7' tu[], tu abandonneras la main du roi du Hatti
 8' [Si toi] tu deviens [servi]teur du **pharaon**
 9' [toi, Duppi-Tešub, tu rompras [ce trai]té”.

⁶⁸⁷ DEVECCHI 2015, p. 212.

⁶⁸⁸ KLENGEL 1992, p. 167 with note 453.

⁶⁸⁹ DEVECCHI 2015, p. 212.

6. CTH 63: DECREE ABOUT A BORDER CONFLICT BETWEEN NUḪAŠŠE AND BARGA AND DEAL WITH DUPPI-TEŠŠUB OF AMURRU

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Decree and treaty
Dating	15 th -14 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Dispositions about some captives from Kinahḫa: mention of a possible peace with Egypt

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIX 31 II 10 ⁶⁹⁰

MILLER 2007b, pp. 121-152⁶⁹¹:

Transliteration

Col. II

A II 55 *nu* ^dUTU-ŠI *ke-e-el*

A II 56 ŠA NAM.RA^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU} *Ki-na-aḫ-ḫa iš-ḫi-ú-ul*

A II 57 [*k*]i-iš-ša-an ṽi⁷ia-nu-u[n] *ma-a-an-wa LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri*

A II 58 [*am-m*]u-uk-ka₄ *ták-šu-la-u-⁷e⁷-[n]i nu-wa-mu ma-a-an*

A II 59 [NAM.RA^M]^{EŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU} *Ki-na-aḫ-[ḫi] LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri*

A II 60 [*kat-ta*] *ú-e₂-ek-zi mu-wa-ra-at-ši EGIR-pa*

A II 61 [x x x x x-w] *a-ra-aš ku-⁷e⁷-[d]a-ni-ik-ki pé-eḫ-ḫi*

Translation

^(53ff.) So I, My Majesty, made the [fo]llowing decree concerning these civilian captives of Kinahḫa: “If the king of **Egypt** ^(58ff.) and I conclude peace, and if the king of **Egypt** [de]mands from me the [civilian captive]es of Kinahḫa, they [will ...] to him; I will [...] give them to someone (else)”.

This documents deals with two topics: 1) a dispute between the king of Barga (Abiradda) and that of Nuḫašše (Šummittara), about the possession of the city of Iyaruwatta, formerly belonging to Barga, but later given to Nuḫašše by a Mittanian king; 2) the division of the spoils after a war, between Ḫatti and Amurru. According to the former treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru, the Syrian vassal would have send all the captives to the Hittite court; despite this deal, the current king of Amurru refuses to do so. Unexpectedly, the Hittite king does not show any interest about the captives, coming in this case from Kinahḫa. However, Muršili says that in the case of a peace with Egypt, if the pharaoh would ask the captives back, the Hittite king would send them to him and not to other rulers. Unfortunately, the passage in question is in lacuna and it is allegedly integrated by Miller as follows: “A likely reconstruction which would fit the space very well would be *nu-wa-ra-at-ši EGIR-pa / [pa-an-zi Ú-UL-w]a-ra-aš ku-⁷e⁷-[d]a-ni-ik-ki pé-eḫ-ḫi*, “they [will] re[turn] to him; I will [not] give them to someone (else)”⁶⁹². Nevertheless, it seems clear to understand that the Hittite king is stating this general rule: the captives would have be given to a Hittite vassal only if the Egyptian pharaoh would not impose a kind of “veto” (i.e. would not ask the captives back). Miller also proposed that at this issue Muršili is using the matter of the captives as a possible way to regain a peaceful situation with Egypt, after the struggles between years 7 and 9: “Depending on what exactly stood in the last line of the column (II 61), it would seem that Mursili recognized that the civilian captives from Kinahḫa were in fact rightfully Egyptian subjects, and that a peace agreement with Egypt would likely entail having to return these captives to their homeland. Indeed, this fact

⁶⁹⁰ To be added also KUB 19.31 II 8’.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. DBH 28, p. 67, No. 77.

⁶⁹² MILLER 2007b, p. 132.

might even provide (some part of) the rationale for Mursili's decision to leave them with Tuppi-Teššub in Amurru instead of having them deported to Ḫattusa, as was his prerogative according to the treaties with Amurru. It may be that Mursili hoped to use the captives as a bargaining chip of sorts in the event of peace negotiations with Egypt⁶⁹³. In fact, the city of Kinahḫa laid just to the south of the Amurru area, but already within the Egyptian domination: thus, the Great King is stating that, in the case of a dispute between Amurru and Egypt about the legitimate "property" of some captives from Kinahḫa, Egypt would have the right to ask them back to the Hittite king (but only within the rights of a formal peace). The area of Kinahḫi was of particular importance as a border zone between Hittite and Egyptian possessions, also considering the proposal of an official meeting of Ramses II and Ḫattušili III in this city, as suggested in the later correspondence between the two courts (see ÄHK nos 4-5, *infra*, texts nos 24 and 26.b)⁶⁹⁴.

⁶⁹³ *Ivi.*, p. 140.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; cf. KLENGEL 1999, pp. 260-261.

7. CTH 72: REPORT ABOUT THE CONTRAST WITH EGYPT IN SYRIA AND THE PRAYER TO THE GODS' ASSEMBLY

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Report and royal prayer
Dating	14 th -13 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Report about some struggles between Egypt and Ḫatti in Syria

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIX 15 IV [?] 8'

KBo L 24 + KUB XIX 15 139 = Bo 2242

LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, pp. 127-128:

*Transliteration*⁶⁹⁵

Ro. 1

x + 1	[		x x]
2'	[		-a]t (?)]
3'	[	]-it]
4'	[	1806/u]

5'	[nu-mu LUGAL ^{MEŠ} KUR ^{URU} Nu-ḫa-aš-še] ku-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ir	
6'	[nu ^m Ti-it-ti-iš ḪR-YA A-NA LUGA]L KUR ^{URU} Mi-iz-ri IŠ-PUR	
7'	[ÉRIN ^{MEŠ} -wa ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MEŠ} pa-ra-a na-iš-du	
8'	[nu-wa ša-ra-a ti-ya-mi nu] I-NA KUR ^{URU} Mi-iz-ri	
9'	[ú-wa-mi nu ŠA KUR ^{URU} Mi-iz-ri ÉRI]N ^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MEŠ} ú-it	
10'	[nu ^m Ti-it-ti-iš ša-ra-a]ti-ya-at	
11'	[na-aš I-NA KUR ^{URU} Mi-iz-ri] pa-it ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma am-mu[-uk]
12'	[A-NA ^m Ar-ma-a AŠ-PUR ^m Te-et-ti-iš-wa ḪR-YA]
13'	[ku-it e-eš-ta tu-el-ma-wa] ÉRIN ^{MEŠ} A[NŠ]E.KUR.R[A ^{MEŠ}]
14'	[ku-wa-at u-i-ya-at nu-wa-ra-an] ar-[ḫa (verbe)]

Vo. II

3'	[x-ḫu (?) -la (?)	[]
4'	[x ^m Ar-ma-a-aš KUR ^{URU} A[-mur-ri]]
5'	[š]a-an-ḫi-iš-ki-u-wa-an ti-y[a-at]]	
6'	nu ÉRIN ^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MEŠ} I-NA KUR [URU]A-mur-ri]]	
7'	GUL-aḫ-ḫu-wa-an-zi u-i-y[a-at]]	
8'	ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma am-mu-uk iš-ta-[ma-aš-šu-un]]	
9'	nu wa-ar-re-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un []]	
10'	[nu-mu ÉRIN ^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MEŠ} [1376/u]]
11'	ŠA KUR ^{URU} Mi-iz-ri pi-ra-an [(verbe « fuir » au prétérit)]]	
12'	ar-ḫa tar-na-aš na-an-kán []]	
13'	[na-an da-a-m]a-aš-šu-un nu-uš-ši ta[-]]	
14'	[a]n-da AŠ-PUR KUR A-mur-ri-w[a ma-a-an]]	
15'	[am-me-el EN-UT-TA]x ša-an-bi-iš-ki-ši []]	
16'	[KUR]A-mur-ri-wa-ták-[kán] am-mu-uk [-]x-ma (?)]]	
17'	[x] da-aḫ-ḫu-un [1259/u]]
18'	x-x-x [x-ra-at-ták-kán A-BU-YA-ma []]	
19'	tu-u[k a]r-ḫa da-a-aš [LUGAL]]
20'	KUR ^{URU} A[-mur-ri]-wa-kán LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Ḫa-ni-gal-bat []]	

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. also GRODDEK 2008b, pp. 19-21.

21' A-NA LUGAL K[U]R URU Mi-iz-ri ar-ḫa da-a-aš []
 22' A-BU-YA-ma-wa-za LUGAL KUR URU A-mur-ri[]
 23' tar-aḫ-ta nu-wa-kán KUR URU[A-mur-ri (?)]]
 24' A-NA [LU]GAL KUR URU Hur-ri[]
 25' []]
 26' [I]i-an-da (?) []
 27' URU Ha-ni-]gal-pát x []

Vo. III

x + 1 [-]ri-y[a]
 2' [1984/u]x-pí ki-x[]
 3' [] x-x ku-wa-bi te-et-ḫ[a-i]
 4' [] x ŠA dIM ḫa-lu-ga-aš x[]
 5' [] x-za nu-wa-ra-aš ŠA KUR URU[]
 6' [e (?)]-eš-du dIM-aš-ma-wa ku-wa[-bi]
 7' [te-et-]ḫa-i []
 8' [x ZAG-x-e]
 10" [] -an
 12" [1259/u]ku-in-ki
 14" [] ma-mi-an
 16" x

Translation⁶⁹⁶

Ro. I

x + 1-4' [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]
 5' [Alors, les rois du Nuḫašše me] devinrent hostiles
 6' [et Tette, mon serviteur] ecrivit [au roi] d'Égypte
 7' [« Qu'il envo[ie] de l'infanterie (et) de la charrerie,
 8'-9' et je me redresserai afin d'aller au pays d'Égypte]. » [L'infanter]ie et la
 charrerie du pays d'Égypte vinrent []
 10' Des lors, Tette se redressa
 11' et alla au pays d'Égypte mais lorsque m[oi]]

⁶⁹⁶ English translation of the document in MILLER 2007a, pp. 252-253 (cf. also MILLER 2008, p. 534-537, with transliteration); I quote here all Miller's translation, because it differs in many points and adds the translation of more passages: "(5') Then [...] became hostile(pl.) towards me, and Titti, [my servant] wrote [to] the ['ma]n(?) of **Egypt** (saying): (7') '[Send] troops and chariots, [and] ... shall ... me forth, (8') and [I] will arise [and] come to the land of **Egypt**.' (9') Then the troops and chariots of the land of **Eg[yp]t** came, (10') and Titti arose (11') and went to the land of **[Eg]lypt**. When, however, I wrote to 'Arma'a (saying): (12') '[Si]nce Tetti was m[y] servant, (13') why then did you send your troops and chariots and [bring] him a[way]? (15') Give my [serv]ant back to me!' ['Arma'a] (16') did not give [him] ba[ck] [to me], nor did he [even wr]ite back to me. (17') Then it came about that Zirtaya, [his] servant, wrote to me (saying): (18') 'Sen[d] troops and chariots, (19') and I will arise, and [come] to Ḫattusa.' (20') So I sent troops and chariots, and they brought Zirt[aya, his servant], to Ḫattusa. (21') Then 'Arma'a w[rote] to me (saying): (22)'Since [Z]irtaya is my servant, [giv]e hi[m] back to me!' (23') But I wrote back to him (saying): (24') 'An[d you]? Wh[y] did you [not gl]ive Tetti back to me?' (25')Then 'Arma'a remained totally quiet, (26') [and] said [nothing] at all! [So] we were [not] on good terms with one another. (28') We were [not] at all on [goo]d(?) terms. The upper half of obv. ii is missing, and the text resumes thus: (1') [... But when] (2') [PN] sat [upon the throne of] ki[ng]ship), (4') 'Arma'a began t[hereup]on to *take [ve]ngeance upon* A[murru], (6') and he sent troops and chariots to the land of [Amurru] to attack. (8') But when I heard (about it), (9') I came to the rescue, (10') and the troops and chariots of the land of **Egypt** fled before me, (12') and I [pu]rsued him. Thereafter I wrote right back to him (saying): 'You are *taking [ve]ngeance upon* the land of Amurru. (16') But was it I who took the [land] of Amurru away from you, (18') or was it rather my father who took it away from you? (20') It was the king of the land of Ḫanigalbat who took the land of Amurru away from the king of the land of Egypt, (22') and then my father defeated the king of the land of Amurru, (23') and [he took the land] of A[murru] away from the king of the Ḫurri land. [...] (27') grasped(?) [...] land(?) [...]. Some few phrases are also preserved toward the top of rev. iii:7 '[...] (3')Where/When(ever) the [Sto]rm-god thund[ers] (4') [...] the message of the storm god (5')[...] is [...], it shall be the [border] of the Land of A[murru(?)]. (6') Whe[re/Wh(en)ever], then, the storm-god [thun]ders, (8') [it] shall be the border [of the Land of Amu]rru. [...] someone/something(acc.) [...] the/a word/affair(acc.) [...]'".

12'-14' [j'ecrivis à Arma : Puis]que Tette était [mon] serviteur, [pour]quoi as-tu
envoyé l'infanterie (et) la charre[rie afin de le] détruire ?]

Vo. II

3' [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]
 4'-5' [] Arma se mi[t] à [se] venger du pays d'A[murru]
 6'-7' et il envo[ya] l'infanterie et la charrerie au pays d'[Amurru] pour frapper]
 8' mais lorsque moi j'[ai] entendu (cela),]
 9' je lui suis donc venu en aide]
 10'-12' Et [le roi] abandonna devant moi l'infanterie et la charrerie du pays d'**Égypte**
]
 13' [et je l'ai do]miné. Alors, à lui []
 14'-15' j'ai écrit ce qui suit « Tu prends vengeance du pays d'Amurru [quant à mon
 autorité]
 16'-17' [mais le pays] d'Amurru, est-ce moi qui te l'ai pris ?]
 18'-19' [] et n'est-ce pas mon père qui te l'a pris ? []
 20'-21' Le roi du pays du Ḫanigalbat a soustrait le pays d'A[murr]u au roi d'**Égypte**]
 22'-24' et mon père défit le roi du pays d'Amurru et [prit] le pays d'[Amurru] au [ro]i
 du
 pays Ḫurri,]
 27' [le pays de Ḫani]galbat []

Vo. III

x + 1-2' [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]
 3' [] x x aussitôt qu'il ton[ne]
 4' [] x que le message du dieu de l'orage []
 5' [] du pays []
 6' [] que x soit et que le dieu de l'orage []
 7'-16' [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]

This text represents one of the few documents providing a quite sure synchronism between an Egyptian and a Hittite king; in fact, the name of the pharaoh quoted within this document (Arma⁶⁹⁷) has been recognized as that of Horemheb (18th dynasty, ca. 1319-1292 BC), who was a protagonist in these events before his enthronement, when he was still a general under the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay⁶⁹⁸. Miller strongly stressed this fact: “These points would seem to outweigh the striking fact that Mursili would thus be corresponding with a subordinate to an enemy Great King, though such a circumstance would not be unparalleled. And though Horemhab would thus be nominally a subordinate to the reigning pharaoh, it is clear from the Egyptian documentation that he behaved and understood himself as essentially the de facto ruler, taking titles and epithets normally reserved exclusively for the pharaoh”⁶⁹⁹. The commentary to the text offered by Lebrun and Degrève underlines many reasons of importance for this text: “La forme du signe *ḫa* (Ro. II. 11') est ancienne ce qui permettrait de proposer une date antérieure à 1230 av. J.-C. Il s'agirait même comme le propose T. Bryce⁷⁰⁰ d'événements relatés dans les sections fragmentaire des Annales développées (an 7) de Mursili II. Comme dans notre fragment, une rébellion contre le pouvoir hittite agite les rois de Nuḫassé, menés par Tette⁷⁰¹. Celui-ci est déposé et s'enfuit en Égypte avec l'aide d'Arma, identifié par J. Miller à Horemheb. Pour T. Bryce, une concordance de faits relatés dans différents documents,

⁶⁹⁷ For the name, see LAROCHE 1966, p. 39, no. 131.

⁶⁹⁸ This dating of the text before Horemheb's accession is supported by two obvious clues: 1) Muršili never refers to him with the title LUGAL or LUGAL.GAL; 2) the name used in the text is Arma, which was actually a birth even than the royal name Djoserkheperure (see MILLER 2007a, pp. 254-255). Cf. also DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011.

⁶⁹⁹ MILLER 2007a, p. 255. This is a clear evidence of the usefulness of taking into account also the Hittite texts in the reconstruction of the Egyptian history (and mostly during the end of the Amarna age).

⁷⁰⁰ BRYCE 1988.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. LAROCHE 1966, p. 186, no. 1341.

KUB XIV 17 (Annales), KBo III 3 (relations de Mursili II avec Abiradda, roi de Barga), RS 17.334 (une demande d'aide au roi Niqmaddu II d'Ougarit pour mater la rébellion), CTH 62 (le traité de Duppi-Tešub) ainsi que KUB XIX 31 (concernant un traité = *isḫiul* entre l'Égypte et l'empire hittite (?), tendrait à fixer une datation des événements vers le début de l'an 7 de Mursili II notre document daterait donc de cette période. De plus, J.L. Miller⁷⁰², précise que cette rébellion du pays du Nuḫḫašše serait survenue suite à un refus de conduire Tette, fait prisonnier, vers Hattusa. Ce refus aurait été considéré par Mursili II comme un *casus belli*. Le roi aurait alors déclaré la guerre aux associés de Tette, alors que celui-ci s'enfuyait en Égypte sous la protection de troupes envoyées par Arma⁷⁰³. I am not going here to deeply deal with the question of the identification Arma = Horemheb, because it has already been exhaustively discussed, also in recent times⁷⁰⁴. The topic of the document is focused on the betrayal of Tette, king of Nuḫḫašše, who asks Horemheb to send him military support; because of Tette's call, the Egyptian infantry and chariotry "came" (in the land of Nuḫḫašše?); then, Tette moved to Egypt and the Hittite king, afraid about the situation, wrote to the pharaoh, recalling the former alliance between him and the Nuḫḫaššeian king, established by a formal treaty (CTH 53, see *supra*, text no. 3); the Hittite king also asks the reason for the Egyptian attack against his former vassal, so breaking some clauses of reciprocal non-aggression, maybe included in the so-called "Kuruštama Treaty" (CTH 134, see *infra*, text no. 17). It is quite interesting the lack of any reference to these events in contemporary Egyptian sources and neither the two topographical lists of Horemheb quote Nuḫḫašše (see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 4.a-b); nevertheless, in the tomb of Horemheb (KV 57), some subjugated Asiatic people (and among them, also a Hittite man)⁷⁰⁵, could be perhaps connected to this military intervention in Syria. Later, the pharaoh moved to Amurru and defeated the local king; the Hittite sovereign is informed about the Egyptian victory and wrote to the pharaoh, saying that he is going to bring help to the Amurru's king. Mursili faces the Egyptian army, obtaining victory and remembering that those areas (Amurru, the land of Ḫurri and Ḫanigalbat) have been previously conquered by his father (i.e., Šuppiluliuma I). The last portion of the text is not so well preserved⁷⁰⁶ and just the quotation of the Storm god allows us to suppose that Mursili is stating those lands to be sanctioned as Hittite by virtue of the god's willing.

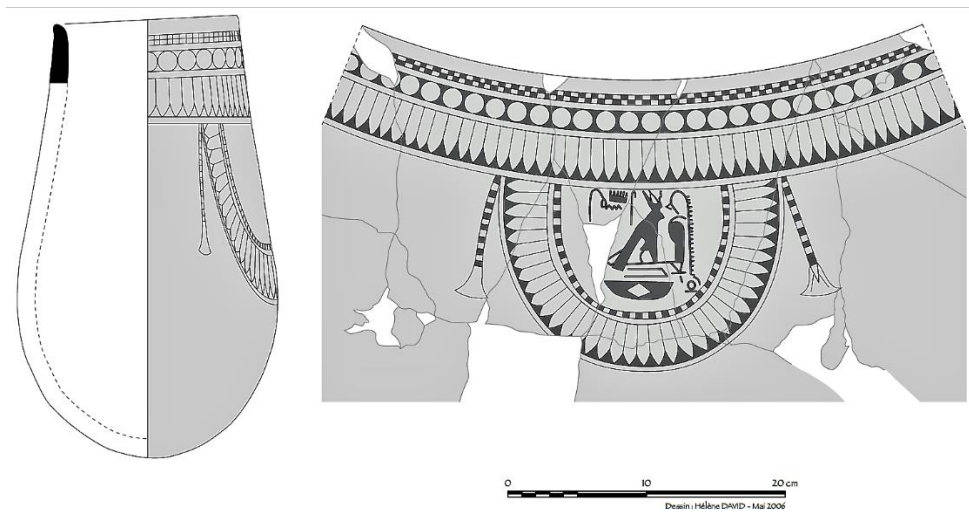


Fig. 110

⁷⁰² MILLER 2007c.

⁷⁰³ Cf. also MILLER 2008.

⁷⁰⁴ See MILLER 2007c; *id.*, 2008; SIMON 2009.

⁷⁰⁵ See *supra*, section 1.1, commentary to text no. 4.b.

⁷⁰⁶ By the way, the transliteration and translation offered by Miller in the previous note allow a better reconstruction of the content.

Horemheb's involvement into these Syrian events could also be supported by the discovery at Ugarit of a travertine vessel (RS 17.420 + 17.421)⁷⁰⁷ bearing the pharaoh's name but without the *cartouche* (and therefore maybe datable before Horemheb's enthronement)⁷⁰⁸: "Traditionally, the vase has been interpreted as evidence that the coastal kingdom had been plotting with Egypt and the Syrian rebels against Muršili"⁷⁰⁹. This vase offers the opportunity for an interesting insight into actual Egypto-Hittite relations during (and just before) the reign of Horemheb, maybe attesting a peaceful situation which diverges from that described in CTH 72. The importance of Ugarit in the development of Egypto-Hittite contacts in this period has been further underlined by Devecchi and Miller: "Furthermore, the presence of Horemheb's vase at Ugarit should not necessarily be regarded as an indication that at that time Ugarit was either hostile or lost to the Hittites. Quite to the contrary: the presence at Ugarit of Egyptian objects indicates clearly that the Syrian kingdom was openly cultivating diplomatic contacts with Egypt at a time when it was doubtlessly under Hittite control. [...] Since vassals could not entertain diplomatic relations with enemies of their own masters, one may assume that the presence of these objects at Ugarit attest to peaceful relations not only between Egypt and Ugarit, but also between Egypt and Ḫatti. Now, if this holds true in the case of this later evidence, why should it not be the case with regard to Horemheb's vase? Thus, far from being evidence of conflict between Ḫatti and Egypt, this object could rather be an indication that the two kingdoms were at peace during at least some period of Horemheb's reign. This would provide further support for the possibility that Muršili actually concluded a peace treaty with Egypt and that the second treaty mentioned in the Silver Table should be dated to his and Horemheb's time, instead to the reigns of Muwatalli and Seti I"⁷¹⁰. Once again, the analysis of the archaeological finds together with the textual sources offers us a better insight (even though not conclusive) into the history of the relationships between Egypt and Ḫatti.

⁷⁰⁷ Drawn of the object in LAGARCE 2008, p. 268, fig. 6 (here as Fig. 102); for the actual object, see *ivi*, p. 269, fig. 6.

⁷⁰⁸ See DEVECCHI – MILLER 2001, p. 145: "Lagarce regards the vase as a gift sent when Horemheb was already king, but she does not discuss the fact that, among the many vases sent by Egyptian kings to Ugarit, this is the only one on which the name of the pharaoh is not framed by a cartouche or accompanied by a throne name. Should one nonetheless regard this vase as an object dating to the reign of Horemheb? Or should one consider the possibility that it might have been sent by the general Horemheb?"; cf. LAGARCE 2008, pp. 268-269, 274-275.

⁷⁰⁹ DEVECCHI – MILLER 2001, p. 145.

⁷¹⁰ *Ivi*, pp. 145-146.

8. CTH 76: TREATY BETWEEN MUWATALLI II AND ALAKŠANDU OF WILUŠA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Treaty
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Muwatalli II)
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	The rank of the Egyptian pharaoh is established as that of the Hittite, Babylonian and Mittanian kings

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
]mi-iz-ra	KUB XXI 1 + III 11
Stf. KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri-i	KUB XXI 4 + I 34
KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri	KUB XXI 5 + III 25

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 547-564:

Transliteration

§14

⁹ URUHa-ad-du-ša-az-ma-wa-at-ta

¹⁰ [ki-e la]-ah-ḫi-ia-tar^{A-NA DUTU-ŠI} ku-i-e-eš LUGAL^{MEŠ} an-[te(?)]-e-li-e-eš]

¹¹ [LUGAL KUR^{URU}]Mi-iz-ra LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ša-an-ḫa-ra LUGAL KUR^{URU}[Ḫa-ni-kal-bat]

¹² [na-aš-ma] LÚKÚR^{711 URU}Aš-šur

Translation

§14

⁹ now, from Hattusas, you

¹⁰ are (committed) to this (range of) campaigning: Kings of e[qual ran]k with me (are)

¹² the King of **Egypt**, the king of Babylonia (*Sankhara*), the King of Hanigalbat (= Mitanni),

¹² [and als]o the King of Assyria.

The treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu of Wilusa (identified by many scholars with the Homeric Ilion⁷¹²) has a great importance, because one of the extensors is the king that fought at Kadesh against Ramses II. To understand the whole meaning of the present passage, I quote here the translation of a wider portion of it:

“Offensive Alliance: §11 (A III 3-15) Your regulation concerning the army and chariotry shall be established as follows: If I, My Majesty, go on campaign from that land – either from the city of Karkisa, the city of Masa, the city of Lukka, or the city of Warsiyalla, then you too must go on campaign with me, together with infantry and chariotry. Or if I send some nobleman to go on campaign from this land, then you must go on campaign with him also. But from Hatti, these are the military obligations for you: The Kings who are the equals of My Majesty – the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Hanigalbat, or the King of Assyria – if [someone] in this group comes in battle, or if domestically someone carries out a revolt against My Majesty, and I, My Majesty, write to you for infantry and chariotry, then send <infantry and> chariotry to my aid immediately”⁷¹³.

⁷¹¹ This the transcription of the text; however, the authors translated it as “king”. On the base of the analysis of the picture of the original tablet, and its publication as KUB XXI 1 + III 11, it seems that the proper transliteration should be instead LÚKÚR (HZL, p. 255, no. 329: “Feindesland, feindliches Land”) URUAš-šur but LÚ (HZL, p. 129-130, no. 78: “Mann”) KÚR^{URU}Aš-šur: probably, the authors of this translation considered that the writing LÚ could be a mistake for LUGAL (HZL, pp. 146-147, no. 115: “König”); in effect, it could make more sense to read “the king of Aššur” instead of the nonsense “Enemy land/man of Aššur”.

⁷¹² GÜTERBOCK 1986; WATKINS 1986.

⁷¹³ BECKMAN 1999², pp. 84-85.

The Hittite king is clearly stating as his equal-rank the kings of other important, foreign lands, such as Babylon, Ḫanigalbat, Assyria and Egypt, which is placed at the first spot of the list. This particular position of the king of Egypt is noteworthy, and it can be understood (in my opinion) only after the battle of Kadesh has happened. Also interesting to note is the particular high-rank position of the pharaoh as declared already before the stipulation of the Treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III. Of course, the quotation of Egypt as an important rival is followed by a clause in which the Hittite king asks to his vassal to be prepared in sending his military support in the case of a military attack by the pharaoh or other foreign enemies.

9. CTH 81: THE “APOLOGY” OR “AUTOBIOGRAPHY” OR “DOCUMENT OF DONATION” OF ḪATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	“Apology”
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Ḫattušili III recalls some episodes related to the battle of Kadesh

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo III 6+ II 49, 51, 58
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIX 71, 2' (br.)
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB I 1+ II 69

Cf. OTTEN 1981, p. 121:

KUR <i>Mi-iz-ri-i</i>	II 69, 71, 79
KUR ^{URU} <i>Mi-iz-ri</i>	II 69 (V.), 71 (V.), 79 (V.)

OTTEN 1981, pp. 16-17:

Transliteration

II

69 GIM-*an-ma ú-it* Š[(EŠ-Y)]A *ku-wa-pí I-NA KUR Mi-iz-ri-i pa-it*
 70 *nu(-za) KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} ku-e ke-e EGIR-pa a-še-ša-nu[(-nu-u)]n nu KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[(A^{MEŠ})]*
 71 *ke-e-el ŠA KUR^{TI} A-NA ŠEŠ-YA la-aḫ-ḫi I-NA KUR Mi-iz-ri-i*
 72 GAM-*an pé-e-ḫu-te-nu-un nu-mu-kán PA-NI ŠEŠ-YA ku-it*
 73 KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU} *Ha-at-ti ŠU-i e-eš-ta*
 74 *na-an am-mu-uk ta-pár-ḫa GIM-an-ma-muk-kán^m DXXX-DU-aš DUMU^m Zi-da-a*
 75 ŠA^D *IŠTAR GAŠAN-YA ù ŠA ŠEŠ-YA a-aš-šu-la-an a-uš-ta*
 76 *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán Ú-UL ku-e-ez-qa ku-it ḫa-ap-ta-at*
 77 *nu-mu-za al-wa-an-za-aḫ-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi nam-ma QA-DU DAM-ŠÚ DUMU-ŠÚ*
 78 *e-ep-pir^{URU} Ša-mu-ḫa-an-na URU^{LUM} DINGIR^{LIM} al-wa-an-zi-eš-na-za*
 79 *še-er šu-un-ni-iš-ta GIM-an-ma IŠ-TU KUR Mi-iz-ri-i*
 80 EGIR-pa *i-ya-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at nu I-NA^{URU} La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya*
 81 ANA DINGIR^{LIM} *BAL-u-wa-an-zi i-ya-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at*
 82 *nu-za DINGIR^{LIM} i-ya-nu-un*

*Translation*⁷¹⁴

§ 9

Als es aber geschah, wie mein Bruder gegen das Land **Ägypten** zog, da führte ich die (Fuß-)Truppen und Wagenkämpfer dieser Länder(!), welche ich wieder besiedelt hatte, hinab zu meinem Bruder zum Feldzug gegen **Ägypten**. Und welche (Fuß-)Truppen und Wagenkämpfer vom Lande Hatti vor meinem Bruder in meiner Hand waren, die befahl ich. Als da aber Armatardatta, der Sohn des Zidā, der Ištar, meiner Herrin, und meines Bruders Wohlwollen mir <gegenüber> sah, und ihnen keinesfalls etwas gelang, da begannen sie: <er> mit seiner Gattin und seinem Sohn mich abermals mit Zauberei zu belegen. Auch Samuha, die Stadt der Gottheit, erfüllte er mit Zauberei. Wie ich nun aus dem Lande **Ägypten** zurückkehrte, da ging ich in die Stadt Lawazantija, um der Gottheit zu opfern und den <Kult der> Gottheit beging ich.

⁷¹⁴ For an English translation, see VAN DEN HOUT 1997, pp. 199-200: “§9: (2:69-82) Now, when it happened, that my brother went to **Egypt**, led for my brother on campaign down to **Egypt** the troops (and) chariots of those lands which I had resettled, and I commanded the troops (and) chariots of Ḫatti-Land of which I was in charge in front of my brother. But when Armatardatta, son of Zida, saw the benevolence of Ištar, My Lady, and of my brother towards me, they (i.e. Armatardatta) with his wife (and) his son then began to cast spells over me, because they were not successful in any (other) way. Even Šamuḫa, the city of the goddess, he filled with spells. When, however, I returned from **Egypt**, I marched to the city of Lawazantiya to bring offerings to the goddess and worshipped the goddess”.

In this text, Ḫattušili III refers to a prosecution for sorcery against Armatarḫunta, son of Zida, and his family. The Hittite king precises that this witchcraft action was performed by Armatarḫunta against him, when he was fighting with his brother Muwatalli II against Egypt at Kadesh. Among the Hittite documentation⁷¹⁵, this is one of the few direct references to this important battle and just some, but important, information can be achieved:

1) Ḫattušili's brother (i.e. Muwatalli II) "went to Egypt" (*I-NA KUR Mi-iz-ri-i pa-it*): it is a strange description of the military expedition of the Hittite king, because it is clear that Muwatalli fought against the Egyptian troops not directly on the Nile land, but in northern Syria, at Kadesh; maybe, the successor of Muwatalli wanted to precise, misunderstanding the actual events, that the military confrontation took place in Egypt (or, even thus, within the Egyptian possessions in Syria). In a propagandistic way, this passage could be interpreted as an assertion of the Hittite braveness: the Hittite king faced (and won over) his enemies in their own territory; we are commonly used to deal with the Egyptian propagandistic way of telling the history: this passage could offer a glimpse into a quite similar narrative mechanism, but on the Hittite side. However, another possible explanation could be advanced: in CTH 86 (see *infra*, text no. 11), also quoting the episode of Armatarḫunta, Ḫattušili precises that this military struggle between Muwatalli and the Egyptians took place in Amurru and not in Egypt. Thus, we can also think about a battle in Amurru or the battle of Kadesh itself.

2) The key role played by Ḫattušili III in the battle as a commander is particularly stressed by the extensor of the text: "I commanded the troops (and) chariots of Ḫatti-Land of which I was in charge in front of my brother" (*nu-mu-kán PA-NI ŠEŠ-YA ku-it / KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} ŠA KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti ŠU-i e-eš-ta*); this (i.e., the brave behaviour of the future king in battle) would have been the reason for which the jealous Armatarḫunta casted spells against him.

3) After the battle against the Egyptians, Ḫattušili went directly to Lawazantiya, to thank and worship the goddess Ištar who showed her benevolence to Muwatalli and Ḫattušili during the battle.

⁷¹⁵ For the Hittite sources about the battle of Kadesh, see PECCHIOLI DADDI 2002.

10. CTH 83: REPORT OF ḪATTUŠILI III ABOUT THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS OF ŠUPPILULIUMA I

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Military report
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Ḫattušili III recalls his father's victory against Egypt in Syria

DEL MONTE - TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri	KUB XIX 9 I 13'

Transliteration

FORRER 1926, p. 10:

- 6' na-ad Ū-id a-bi-a-bi-ia¹š-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma-aš
7' EGIR-pa ú-e-te-id ku-id-ma-an-ad EGIR-pa ta-ni-nu-ud
8' nu-gan MU-20^{KAM} an-da bi-e-da-aš ku-id-ma-an-ad EGIR-pa
9' e-ib-ta GIM-an-na a-bi-a-bi-ia¹š-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma-aš
10' i-na KUR^{URU}ḫar-ri da-bi-an-da
11' tar-aḫ-ta nu-za e-te-za KUR^{URU}ki-in-za KUR^{URU}a-mur-ra zag-an
12' i-ia-ad LUGAL KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ri-ia-za tar-aḫ-ta ia-e-iz-za-ma
13' KUR^{URU}ir-ri-ta KUR^{URU}š-ú-ta ḫar-ga-nu-ud nu-za^{ÍD}ma-a-la-an
14' ZAG-an i-ia-ad na-ad-za-gan bi-id-bad tad-aḫ-ta
15' ^{ÍD}ma-a-la-an-ma-gan ku-id ta-bu-ša e-eš-ta
16' na-ad-za iš-tu^{ÍD}ḫu-tar-aḫ-ta nu-za tur^{MES}-š-ú-nu
17' LUGAL^{MES}-uš i-ia-ad i-na KUR^{URU}ḫal-pa¹te-li-bi-nu-un LUGAL-un i-ia-ad
18' i-na KUR^{URU}kar-ga-miš-ma¹bi-ia-aš-ši-li-in LUGAL-un i-ia-ad
19' nu-gan a-bi-a-bi-ia¹š-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma-aš i-na KUR^{URU}a-mur-ri
20' an-da iš-ta-an-ta-id KUR.KUR^{MES}ku-id da-me-ša-ua e-eš-ta
21' nu-gan MU-6^{KAM} an-da bi-e-da-aš ku-id-ma-na-ad ta-ni-nu-ud
22' EGIR-az-ma KUR^{URU}iš-ḫu-bi-id-ta-aš ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ta
23' nu-gan KUR.KUR^{MES}da-bi-an-da ta-ad-ra-aḫ-ta nu KUR.KUR^{MES}da-[bi-an-da]
24' ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫi-ir

Translation

KITCHEN 1962, p. 3:

KUB XIX 9, I, 6'-23': This (i.e. all the lost Anatolian territories), my grandfather Suppiluliuma brought back until he had reduced them to order. And he took 20 years until he had reconquered them. But when my grandfather Suppiluliuma entered the Hurri-land, then he vanquished all the Hurri-lands, and he fixed the boundary on yon side, (at) the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru, and vanquished the king of **Egypt**. But on this side, he destroyed the land of Irrite (and) the land of Suta and made the Mala river (= Euphrates) his boundary. And these (lands) he thus took into vassalage on the spot. And what was beside the Mala river, he vanquished by force. And his sons he made kings: – in the land of Aleppo he made Telipinu king, in the land of Carchemish he made Piyassilis king. My grandfather Suppiluliuma tarried in the land of Amurru because the lands were strong (i.e. refractory), and he took 6 years until he had reduced them to order. But behind (his back), the land of Išḫupitta became hostile, and it stirred up all the lands, and all the lands became hostile.

This document also refers, in a retrospective account of the military campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I (established by his successor Ḫattušili III⁷¹⁶), to a military struggle in which the Hittite king victoriously faced the Egyptian army. Unfortunately, the corpus of the Hittite documentation does not provide us with other mentions of this event. Perhaps, we can just imagine that the passage could refer to the submission of a land, such as Amurru, which was under the Egyptian domination. In fact, no direct conflicts between the Hittites (under Šuppiluliuma I) and Egyptians (during Amenhotep III's reign), this period showing strong peaceful relations between the two courts⁷¹⁷, as attested in many EA letters (see *infra*, section 1.3.1).

⁷¹⁶ The time span between the actual events here reported and the date when the text was composed has already been noted by Kitchen: "This document dates to the reign of Ḫattušili III, perhaps 60 to 80 years after the events recorded" (KITCHEN 1962, p. 3).

⁷¹⁷ For the reconstruction of the history of this period, see e.g. BRYCE 2005, pp. 154-189.

11. CTH 86: DECREE OF ḪATTUŠILI III CONCERNING THE PROPERTY OF ARMATARḪUNTA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Royal decree
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Reference to the Battle of Kadesh(?)

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXI 17 I 14, 16
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXXI 27, 4' (br.)
Br.	KUB XXXI 27, 4'

ÜNAL 1974, pp. 18-31:

Transliteration

Vs. I

13 [ḫa-aš[?] D]I[?]-eš-šar pu-nu-uš-ta

14 [ŠEŠ-YA-ma ^mNIR.(GÁ)]L ku.it LUGAL KUR **Mi-iz-ri**

15 [LUGAL KUR (A-mur-r)]i-ya la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-at

16 [ma-aḫ-(ḫa-an-m)]a-za LUGAL KUR **Mi-iz-ri** KUR <A>-mur-ri-ya

17 [tar-a(ḫ-ta nu EGI)]R-pa KUR A-ba pa-it

18 [ma-a(ḫ-ḫa-an-ma-z)]a ^mNIR.GÁL ŠEŠ-YA KUR A-ba tar-aḫ-ta

19 [(nu-kán)] I-NA KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti

20 [EGIR-pa pa-i]t am-mu-uk-ma-kán ŠÀ KUR A-ba

21 [e-šu-un]

*Translation*⁷¹⁸

Vs. I

13 [und] sie untersuchte den [Re]chtssreit.

14 Da Muwa[talli, mei Bruder,] der König von **Ägypten** und

15 [den König von] Amurru bekriegte,

16 [so]bald er aber den König von **Ägypten** und das Land Amurru

17 [besie]gt hatte, ging er wieder in das Land Aba.

18 [So]bald aber Muwatalli, mei Bruder, das Land Aba besiegt hatte,

19 h[at er . . .] Dann [gin]g er in das Land Ḫatti

20/21 [zurück]. Ich aber [war] im Lande Aba.

In this text, reporting to a royal decree about the property of Armatarḫunta, a precise reference to a battle between Muwatalli II and the Egyptians is established. We have already mentioned this struggle in the commentary to text 9 (CTH 81), explaining the key role of Ḫattušili III as a commander in that battle. CTH 81 did not quote the precise location of the battle, an information that seems to be clarified in the current text. According to the account made by Ḫattušili, Muwatalli faced the Egyptian king in Amurru and then, after his victory, moving later to the land of Aba. This episode, which took place probably just after the battle of Kadesh, is well explained by T. Bryce: “In the longer term, however, Muwatalli was the ultimate victor. After fending off the Hittite onslaught, Ramesses promptly withdrew his forces far to the south. not only had he failed to regain for Egypt Hittite subject territories north to Kadesh, but his retreating forces were pursued by Muwatalli into Egyptian-held territory, as

⁷¹⁸ Cf. also the French translation in LEBRUN 1976, pp. 144-150: “13 On fit l’instruction du [pro]cès, / 14-15 [et comme Muta]talli était parti en campagne contre le roi d’**Égypte** en Amurru, / 16-17 [lors]qu’il eut [vain]cu le roi d’**Égypte** en <A>murru, il retourna dans le pays Aba. / 18 [Lors]que Muwatalli, mon frère, eut vaincu le pays Aba, / 19-21 il [retourna] dans le Hatti [.] et moi [j’]étais] dans le pays Aba.

far south as the Land of Aba (region of Damascus). Aba fell to the Hittites, and before returning to Hatti, Muwattalli placed it under the control of his brother Hattusili, as the latter tells us: ‘Because my brother Muwattalli campaigned against the king of Egypt and the king of Amurru, when he defeated the kings of Egypt and Amurru, he went back to Aba. When Muwattalli, my brother defeated Aba, he ... went back to Hatti, but he left me in Aba’ (KUB XXI 17, [CTH 86] I 14-21, with duplicate KUB XXXI 27 2-7)”⁷¹⁹. This passage offers useful information about what happened just after the battle of Kadesh: after his “victory”, Muwatalli did not come back directly to the Ḫatti land, but firstly moved a bit more southwards, until the region of Aba (in the area of the modern Damascus), maybe because we wanted to be sure about the retreat of the Egyptian army; it is also noteworthy that Muwatalli left in this zone his younger brother Ḫattušili, to guarantee the security of the area and preventing further possible assaults by the Egyptian troops.

⁷¹⁹ BRYCE 2005, pp. 239-240.

12. CTH 91: TREATY OF ḪATTUŠILI III WITH RAMSES II OF EGYPT
(see Appendix A)

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Treaty
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III, ca. 1269 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Treaty of peace between Egypt (Ramses II) and Ḫatti (Ḫattušili III)



Fig. 111

As it is well-known, a crucial step for Egypto-Hittite relationships after the battle of Kadesh was indeed the stipulation of the Treaty of “eternal friendship and brotherhood”, established by Ḫattušili III and Ramses II in the 21st regnal year of the latter (i.e., 1259 BC). From now onwards, a period defined “Pax Hethitica” begins⁷²⁰. We have already presented the Egyptian counterpart of the Treaty in section 1.1, under text no. 8.d, to which I refer for the general historical introduction⁷²¹.

⁷²⁰ Definition by Singer: cf. DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 265-266, note 5.

⁷²¹ For a comparison between the Egyptian and the Hittite versions, see recently QUACK 2002. Editions of the text: EDEL 1997, pp. 18-80; KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 573-582; English translations in BECKMAN 1999², pp. 96-100; LANGDON – GARDINER 1920; Italian translations in DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 265-270.

13. CTH 92: TREATY OF ḪATTUŠILI III WITH BENTEŠINA OF AMURRU

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Middle Babylonian
Genre	Treaty
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Former alliance between Amurru and Egypt and new alliance with Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 8+ Vs. 5 (akk.)

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 565-572:

Transliteration

2 §2.

⁴[a]-na pa-ni ^mŠu-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma a-ba a-bi-ya, ^mA-zi-ra š[ar māt ^{al}A-mur-ri],

⁵[š]at māt ^{al}Mi-iš-ri-i it-nu-ma a-na šu-pa-al šēpē ^mŠu-up-pí-lu-[li-u-ma a-b]a a-bi-y[a, im-ta-qut], [a]-ba a-bi-ya [ri-e-ma],

⁶ir-ta-ši-šu, ṭup-pa ri-kil-ti il-ta-ṭar-ma pātāni ša māt ^{al}A-mur-ri ša abbē-šu il-ta-ṭar it-ta-din-šu x[.....].

Translation

2 §2.

⁴In the time of Suppililiuma my grandfather, Azira, K[ing of the land of Amurru],

⁵changed (his) [(former allegiance t]o (“of”) the land of **Egypt** and fell at the feet of Suppili[liuma my gr]andfath[er]. My [gr]andfather

⁶showed him [mercy], he wrote a treaty tablet and recorded the boundaries of the land of Amurru of his fathers, and gave it (= the tablet) (to him) [.....].

This text refers to an important event we have already dealt with, i.e. the changeover of the king of Amurru Aziru from the Egyptian to the Hittite sphere of influence (cf. *supra*, texts nos 2 and 5). The fact itself is recalled at the beginning of the treaty stipulated between Ḫattušili III and Bentešina, king of Amurru, as an important occurrence in the local history. The present document also openly evokes the previous treaty that Šuppiluliuma I established with Aziru (*tup-pa ri-kil-ti il-ta-ṭar-ma*)⁷²², adding another important remark: it is said that the Hittite king “showed him (mercy)”, *ri-e-ma ir-ta-ši-šu*; one again, the merciful behaviour of Šuppiluliuma is pointed up, showing the particular condition of Aziru as a vassal of the Hittite Great king. This is particularly noteworthy, mostly taking into account the peculiar role that Bentešina played in the development of the events towards the outbreak of the battle of Kadesh, when the king of Amurru betrayed Mutawalli II swearing fidelity to the pharaoh⁷²³. It is clear that Ḫattušili wants to secure again the loyalty of his former betrayer, and to this purpose he compares the behaviour of the unfaithful Bentešina with that of the faithful Aziru. It is also possible to argue that the treaty with Bentešina could have been stipulated before that with Egypt, so explaining such a worry of the Hittite king.

⁷²² Cf. *supra*, text no. 2.

⁷²³ For the role of Bentešina in the periods before and after the battle of Kadesh, see LIVERANI 2013, pp. 307-308, 315, 340 and WILHELM 2004.

14. CTH 98: LETTER(?) MENTIONING BENTEŠINA AND EGYPT

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	The Hittite king sends troops to Bentešina to face the Egyptian army

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXI 39, 11'

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 85-86:

KUB XXI 39 (Bo 7002) = CTH 98

Transliteration

R^o Col. II'

x + 1 []KUR[

2' []x GIM[-
 3' [] x-un []x *I-NA*
 4' [] x tar-aḫ-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-ši-ya x
 5' [] x *Ú-UL* ú-iz-zi
 6' [] x-ya-aḫ-ḫu-ut nu x []
 7' []x-mu-kán- me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da
 8' []me-mi-iš-ta LUGAL KUR Zu-la[-pí
 9' []ú-iz-zi ^mZAG.ŠEŠ-aš-ša-mu
 10' []x-an me-mi-ni INIM LUGAL **KUR Mi-iz-ri**-wa
 11' []x-zi nu-wa-at-ta ERÍN^{mes} ku-iš LUGAL KUR
 12' []pa-ra-a na-a-I nu-wa-ra-aš *I-NA* KUR ^{uu}x[
 13' []x[]-ya-an-za e-eš-ta na-an-kán x
 14' []e-šir

Translation

x + 1 []pays[

2' []lorsqu[e
 3' []j'ai x'[]dans
 4' []trionpha de[]et à lui aussi il
 5' []il ne viendra pas
 6' []sois ; alors, [
 7' [] en présence de
 8' []il a dit : « Le roi de Zula[pi
 9' []viendra et Bentešina me[
 10' [] Parole du **pharaon**
 11'-13' []il[]et le roi de []qui t'envoie des troupes
 []fut dans le pays de[]et lui
 14' []ils furent

The comment to this passage offered by Cornil and Lebrun presents some details of peculiar interest: "Le roi de Zulapi nous est également connu par KUB III 37 R^o 11, III 56 V^o 5, XXI 35 7, XXI 36 9, XXI 38 R^o 12-13 ; nous savons ainsi qu'une fille de ce roi était courtisane à la cour de Ramsès II en même temps qu'une princesse hittite et une princesse babylonienne. [...] Il est possible que dans les

lignes 9'-13' il soit fait allusion à des renforts de troupes envoyés par le roi du Hatti à Bentešina pour lutter plus efficacement contre le pharaon ; cependant, ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse bien fragile ; l'on ne peut davantage déterminer à la ligne 4' le nom du triomphateur ni les circonstances de ce triomphe⁷²⁴. Some remarks can be advanced about this text:

1) the first important passage is the quotation of a daughter of the king of Zulapi in KUB III 37 (*infra*, as text no. 22.c): “But the daughter of heaven and earth whom I will give to [my] brother, o[n the level of] whom I will settle her? Will I arrange (her) a[t the level of] the daughter of Babylon, of Zulapi (or) of Assur?”. In this (draft?) letter sent from Puduḫepa to Ramses II, the Hittite queen is worried about the fate of her daughter, and asks to “his brother” to guarantee her a high-rank title and position at the Egyptian court. The quotation of the princess of Zulapi (a minor country) together with the two other princesses of Babylon and Assur has already been noted by Cordani: “La domanda (retorica) di Puduḫepa «Sistemerò (forse la figlia) a(l livello de)lla figlia di Babilonia, di Zulapi (o) di Assur?» si riferisce invece, verosimilmente, a tre principesse andate in sposa al faraone e evidentemente «degradate» al livello di concubine una volta giunte in Egitto. Curiosamente la regina, accanto a due paesi importanti come Babilonia e Assur, menziona anche Zulapi, un regno che, almeno per noi, è poco conosciuto⁷²⁵. Bisogna pensare che anch'esso fosse un grande potentato, del quale si è persa quasi del tutto traccia nelle fonti scritte (doveva pur essere importante, per essersi imparentato con la casa regnante d'Egitto) o, forse, dar ragione a Zaccagnini e vedere nelle parole di Puduḫepa «una perfida allusione all'incompetenza o alla censurabile indifferenza egiziana nella scelta e nel procacciamento di donne al solo scopo di aumentare la consistenza del harem faraonico» [*Ivi*, note 2: ZACCAGNINI 1999, p. 216]⁷²⁶. With her letter, Puduḫepa wants to prevent her daughter to become just as one among other royal wives, manifesting a clear worry about the Egyptian behaviour towards foreign brides. To avoid any doubts, Ramses answers to the Hittite queen ensuring that the Hittite princess would receive a particular rank among the other foreign wives⁷²⁷.

2) The second important information coming from this text regards the possible sending of troops by Ḫattušili to Bentešina, to avoid further attacks from the Egyptian army; unfortunately (as already stated by Cornil and Lebrun in the aforementioned passage), the text is too fragmentary and there are no precise clues for such an assumption. Furthermore, the document also mentions some “word(s) of the Egyptian king” (INIM LUGAL KUR Mi-iz-ri): it is quite dubious that the direct speech reported just before this expression can be referred to the “word of the pharaoh”. However, it is possible that the mention of the kings of Zulapi and of Amurru (i.e., Bentešina) refers to the sending of troops we have already quoted above: in this respect, if the direct speech is attributed to Ḫattušili and not to the pharaoh, we can suppose that the Hittite king is asking to both his vassal kings to guarantee the peace in the region, after the battle of Kadesh. In any case, it is clear that the text reports some kind of activity that involved both the kings of Zulapi and Amurru, both these entities interlacing close relationships with Egypt (the first sending a daughter in marriage to Ramses II and the second betraying the pharaoh in favour of a new alliance with Ḫattušili III).

⁷²⁴ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 85-86.

⁷²⁵ Note 1: “Si veda da ultimo STIPICH 2014. Per l'identificazione di Zulapi con l'odierna Ḫalba v. RGTC 6, p. 517”.

⁷²⁶ CORDANI 2017, p. 106.

⁷²⁷ See KUB XXI 36, *infra* as text no. 41f ; cf. also KUB III 37 + KBo I 17, *infra* as text no. 22c.

15. CTH 105: TREATY OF TUTĤALIYA IV WITH ŠAUŠGAMUWA OF AMURRU

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Treaty
Dating	Late 13 th cent. BC (Tutĥaliya IV)
Find spot	Ĥattuša
Content	Mention of struggles between Hittites (under Muwatalli II) and Egypt in Amurru; statement about pharaoh's high-rank

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB VIII 82+ Vs. 12
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXIII 1+ IV 4
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXIII 1+ IV 2
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-za-ri-i</i>	KUB XXIII 1+ I 33, III 9 (br.), 42 (br.)
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-za-ri</i>	KUB XXIII 1+ I 35

KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 595-608⁷²⁸:

Transliteration

Obv. §4.

- ²⁸GIM-an-ma ^mNIR.GÁL-iš ŠEŠ A-BI^{DUTU-ŠI}
- ²⁹LUGAL-iz-zi-at nu-uš-ši LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR^{URU} A-mur-ra
- ³⁰IGI-an-da wa-aš-te-er nu-uš-ši a-pa-a-at
- ³¹wa-a-tar-na-aḥ-ḥi-ir a-aš-ši-ia-an-na-aš-wa-an-na-aš
- ³²IR^{MEŠ} e-šu-en ki-nu-un-ma-wa-tu-za Ú-UL IR^{MEŠ}
- ³³na-at-kán A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-za-ri-i EGIR-pa an-da
- ³⁴ti-i-e-er nu ŠEŠ A-BI^{DUTU-ŠI} ^mNIR.GÁL-iš
- ³⁵LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-za-ri-ia A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR A-mur-ra
- ³⁶še-er za-aḥ-ḥi-ir na-an-za-an ^mNIR-GÁL-iš
- ³⁷tar-aḥ-ta KUR^{URU} A-mur-ri-ia IŠ-TU^{GIŠ} TUKUL
- ³⁸ar-ḥa ḥar-ga-nu-ut na-at-za ĪR-na-aḥ-ta
- ³⁹nu I-NA KUR^{URU} A-mur-ri ^mŠa-pí-li-in LUGAL-an DÙ-at.

§11.

- ³⁰⁻³⁷[..... 10 lines lost]
- ³⁸[.....]-at le-e tar-na-[...]
- ³⁹[..... KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-za]-ri-i
- ⁴⁰[.....le]-e ku-in-ki
- ⁴¹kat-ta [.....]x-tar-na-aḥ-ti
- ⁴²ma-a-an L[LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz]-za-ri-i
- ⁴³A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI} ták-[šu-ul] tu-uk-ka-aš ták-šu-ul
- ⁴⁴e-eš-du ma-a-an-[ma-aš ...] A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI}
- ⁴⁵ku-u-ru-ur tu-[uk-ka-aš ku-u-r]u-u[r] e-eš-du.

Rev. 4:

- ¹LUGAL^{MEŠ}ia-mu ku-i-e-eš LÚMI-IḤ-R[U-T]I [...]
- ²LUGAL^{URU} Mi-iz-ri-i LUGAL KUR Ka-ra-an-Du-ni-aš
- ³LUGAL KUR Aš-šur *LUGAL KUR Aḥ-ḥi-ia-u-wa-ia* [...erased...]*
- ⁴ma-a-an LUGAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i A-NA^{DUTU-ŠI} ták-šu-ul
- ⁵tu-uk-ka-aš ták-šu-ul e-eš-du
- ⁶ma-a-an-ma-aš A-NA^{DUTU-^} ku-ru-ur

⁷²⁸ Cf. also StBoT 16 and BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, pp. 50-68, text no. 2. For Amurru within this document, see also SINGER 1991.

⁷tu-uk-ka-as ku-ru-ur e-es-du.

Translation

§4.

²⁸But when Muwatallis (II), (who was) the Sun-king's uncle,
²⁹became king, the people of Amurru
³⁰broke faith with him, and this
³¹they told him: "Of our own inclination,
³²we became (your) vassals. But now, - your vassals no longer!"
³³So, they went over to the King of **Egypt**.
³⁴But Muwatallis, the Sun-king's uncle,
³⁵and the King of **Egypt**
³⁶went to war over the people of Amurru.
³⁷Him did Muwatallis defeat, and by armed force he overcame the land of Amurru.
³⁸and returned it to vassalhood.
³⁹And in the land of Amurru, he appointed Sapili king.

§11.

³⁰⁻³⁷[..... 70 lines lost]
³⁸[.....] do not allow!
³⁹[..... **Egypt**
⁴⁰[n]o way,
⁴¹if yo[u inf]orm [him(?) secretly],
⁴²If the King of the land of **Egypt**
⁴³is a friend to (me) the Sun-king, then (his) friend
⁴⁴are you (also). But if to the Sun-king,
⁴⁵he (ranks as) a foe, then he is your foe (also).

Rev. 4:

¹Now the kings who are my (official) equals are:
²the King of **Egypt**, the King of Babylonia ("Karduniash"),
³the King of Assyria, {the King of Ahhiyawa.} {...*erased*...}
⁴If the king of **Egypt** is (my) the Sun-king's friend,
⁵then he is also (to be) your friend.
⁶But if he (turns out to) be (my) the Sun-king's enemy,
⁷then he shall also be your enemy.

In the prologue of the treaty stipulated by Tutḫaliya IV and Šaugamuwa⁷²⁹ of Amurru (the last one established between these two entities), it is established a clear reference to two previous events:

1) firstly, the former loyalty of the Amurru land is remembered, when Aziru swore his fidelity to Šuppiluliuma I (see *supra*, text no. 2);

2) then, the betrayal of Bentešina, who passed from the Hittite sovereignty to that of Egypt, is mentioned. Of particular interest is the reported speech of Amurru people, leaving the Hittite side, where it is said that they decided to rebel by their own inclination. After an explicit allusion to the battle of Kadesh, it is stated the struggle to be fought "over the people of Amurru": this seems to be a particular insight on the *casus belli* of the battle itself. As a result of the battle of Kadesh, Amurru was submitted again, and the new king, Šapili, is directly enthroned by Muwatalli II.

In the second passage, a clause of the treaty refers to the duty for the Amurru king not to provide (secretly) any information to the king of Egypt. However, the final statement of this section also glimpses a possible peace between Ḫatti and Egypt: in this case, the king of Amurru is requested to consider the pharaoh as a mutual friend (or also as a foe, in the opposite situation).

⁷²⁹ Particularly interesting is also the kinship between the two contractors: Šausgamuwa was in fact brother-in-law of Tutḫaliya IV.

The third passage is noteworthy because the Hittite king delines a list of kings of his equal rank: among them, he quotes firstly the king of Egypt, followed by the kings of Babylon, Assur and Ahḫiyawa. The mention of these three sovereigns does not surprise, while the attestation of an equal rank also for the king of Ahḫiyawa (the chief of a confederation in western Anatolia) is remarkable, also because it has been later erased, a feature already noted by Beckman, Bryce and Cline: “Unsurprisingly, the rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria are included in the list. And originally the list also contained the king of Ahhiyawa – the name subsequently being erased. This erasure has generated much debate. Clearly the scribe had made a mistake in including the name in the first place, and the Ahhiyawan king is not included in subsequent references in the treaty to Tudhaliya’s royal peers. But that leaves us with the question of why the mistake occurred in the first place. A possible conclusion is that the Ahhiyawan king had indeed enjoyed the status of one of the Great Kings of the Late Bronze Age world, at least in Hittite diplomatic terminology, but had recently lost this status. The scribe who drafted this version of the treaty may initially have copied the list of Great Kings from an earlier document, not picking up the mistake until the out-of-date name had already been inscribed on the clay. We know from the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (AhT 4), probably authored by Tudhaliya’s father Hattusili III, that the current Ahhiyawan king, the letter’s recipient, and was accorded peer status by his correspondent. By the time of the Shaushga-muwa treaty, Ahhiyawa’s ruler no longer had this status, and Bryce has suggested that his loss of it may be connected with the loss of Ahhiyawan control over the land of Millawanda/Milawata, which had hitherto served as the major base for Ahhiyawan activities in western Anatolia. The reestablishment of Hittite sovereignty over Millawanda by or during the reign of Tudhaliya is implied in the so-called Milawata letter, commonly ascribed to Tudhaliya”⁷³⁰. These historical vicissitudes and the parabolic status of Amurru are then briefly summoned up by the same scholars: “In the fifteenth century, this territory [i.e. Amurru] was incorporated into the Egyptian empire by the pharaoh Tuthmosis III. But its attachment to Egypt was a tenuous one, and by and large anarchy prevailed throughout the region until power was seized in it by a local warlord called Abdi-Ashirta. Nominally acknowledging the pharaoh as his overlord, Abdi-Ashirta united local semi-nomadic groups called the Habiru into an effective fighting force, which terrorized and plundered neighboring states until their leader was captured and probably executed by the Egyptian authorities. His son Aziru inherited his role, and like his father nominally accepted Egyptian sovereignty while plundering the territories of his neighbors. Eventually, he recognized that his interests would best be served by joining the Hittites, who were becoming an increasingly powerful presence in the region, and declared his allegiance to the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I. Thenceforth Amurru became a subject-ally of Hatti as reflected in a treaty that Suppiluliuma drew up with Aziru. Amurru remained Hittite subject territory until the pharaoh Seti I wrested it from his Hittite counterpart Muwatalli II in a (first) battle fought at Qadesh on the Orontes River ca. 1290. It subsequently reverted to Hittite control following a second engagement at Qadesh fought in 1274 between Muwattalli and Seti’s successor Ramesses II, and remained subject to Hatti until the end of the Hittite empire in the early-twelfth century. Amurru’s continuing attachment to Hatti is reflected in treaties drawn up between the Hittite king Hattusili III, brother and second successor of Muwattalli, and the current Amurrite king Benteshina, and between Hattusili’s son and successor Tudhaliya IV and Benteshina’s son(?) and successor Shaushga-muwa – the treaty translated here”⁷³¹. As it is well-recognizable within this historical account, the events involving Amurru can be considered as a study case (maybe the best one) to deeply investigate the fluctuating situation between Egypt and Hatti. As a matter of fact, these relationships are better clarified not only throughout the analysis of the most important events (such as the battle of Kadesh) but also considering the history of the local vassal states, as Amurru clearly shows. It is also noteworthy to recall that the memory of Amurru lasted until at least the end of the 13th cent. BC, when the name of

⁷³⁰ BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, pp. 67-68.

⁷³¹ *Ivi*, pp. 66-67. For further information about the history of Amurru, see SINGER 2010, pp. 197-242 and pp. 273-286 (a paper devoted to the study of the treaties between Hatti and Amurru).

this land is attested in a document listing different kinds of foreign oils prepared for the arrival of the pharaoh (see papAnastasi IV, *supra* in section 1.1, text no. 11).

16. CTH 122: TREATY OF ŠUPPILULIUMA II WITH TALMI-TEŠŠUB OF KARKAMIŠ

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Treaty
Dating	Late 13 th cent. BC (Šuppiluliuma II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Mention of Egypt in a passage that seems to refer to former, friendly relationships

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri-i	KUB XXVI 33 III 7'

D'ALFONSO 2007, pp. 203-220:

Transliteration

Rev. III

x+1 x⁷³²-x[...]

2' AŠ-RU x[...]

3' Ú-UL ARAD x[...]

4' ma-a-an-mu za-aḫ-ḫi-^rya^r[o o o o o o o o]
 5' ú-uk-ma-aš-ši Ú-^rUL^r[o o o o o o o o]
 6' ku-wa-ya-ta še-er[o o o o o o o o]
 7' KUR ^{URU}MI-IŠ-RI-I a-ra-an[?][o o o o o o o o]
 8' nu tu-uk ša-ra-a A-NA x[o o o o o o o o]
 9' 'ú'-da-aḫ-ḫi^{LÚ}KUR-ma-za EN[o o o o o o o o]

10' LÚ^{MES} ^{URU}ḪAT-TI mar-še-eš-šir[o o o o o o o o]
 11' an-da ta-a-ri-ya-nu-un na-x[o o o o o o o o]
 12' na-an-mu a-u-wa-an ar-ḫa ti-[ya-mi[?] ma-a-an]
 13' ku-iš-ki LÚ^{URU}ḪAT-TI ŠA^{dUTU}[^{ŠI}ḪUL-lu ša-an-aḫ-zi]
 14' na-an Ú-UL mu-na-a-mi A-NA[o o o o o o o o]
 15' da-aḫ-ḫi-ya-at Ú-UL^rša^r-a-a[n-aḫ-mi[?] o o o o o]
 16' ma-a-an-mu UN-aš ZI-ni me-ek-[ki o o o o o o]
 17' na-an-kán A-NA^{dUTU}^{ŠI} an-x[o o o o o o o o]
 18' le-e-wa-ra-an ḪUL-u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-z[i]

Translation

Rev. III

The place [...] is[?] not the servant of [...]^(2'-3')

If during the battle (to) me [...], myself I [will/did] not [...] to him. [...] because of the fear [...] the Land of **Egypt** friendly [...]. And I will bring for you [...] to [...], but the enemy the Lord [...]^(4'-9')

The inhabitants of Ḫatti became unloyal [...] I involved myself on [...]. [I[?]] moved him far away from me [...]. If any inhabitant of Ḫatti [will seek the evil] against my Majesty, I will not hide him. To [...] I will seize them and I will not plan [to...] If [he ...] me very much for a human desire / If a man with intention [...] me very much, and to my Majesty...: “One should not make any thing bad to him”.⁽¹⁰⁻¹⁸⁾

The treaty between Šuppiluliuma II and Talmi-Teššub (who probably reigned ca. 1220-1190 BC, as a contemporary of both Arnuwanda III and Šuppiluliuma II⁷³³) was just the last one of a series of previous deals established by the Hittite kings with the rulers of Karkemish, a kingdom that was

⁷³² For the reading of this sign, see D'ALFONSO 2007, p. 210, note 15: “A reading of this sign as Ú is possible”.

⁷³³ LIVERANI 2013, p. 322, table 19.1 and p. 340; cf. BRYCE 2005, pp. 328, 350.

considered as a viceroyalty in the Hittite empire⁷³⁴. The long tradition of making treaties with Karkemish has already been revised by I. Singer⁷³⁵: 1) the first treaty was stipulated between Šuppiluliuma I and Šarri-Kušuh (KUB XIX 27 = CTH 50); 2) then the concise deal of Muršili II and Piyaššili (KBo I 28 = CTH 57) was fulfilled; 3) during the following reigns of Šahurunuwa and Ini-Teššub, no further treaties were signed; 4) eventually, the treaty with Talmi-Teššub (CTH 122) was achieved, consisting of four documents:

- 1) KBo XII 41 = CTH 122.1;
- 2) KUB XL 37 = CTH 122.2;
- 3) KBo XII 30 (+) KUB XXVI 25 = CTH 122.3;
- 4) KUB XXVI 33 (+) KBo XIII 225 = CTH 122.4⁷³⁶.

The role of Karkemish in the period between the LBA and the EIA was indeed important, being surely not for chance that one of the two Neo-Hittite inscriptions quoting Egypt (8th cent. BC) is a stela from Karkemish (stela A6, see *infra*, section 1.2.2), also considering the amount of Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects found there (see *infra*, section 2.2), confirming the importance of this kingdom for the development of relationships with Egypt⁷³⁷. Unfortunately, the portion of the text quoting Egypt is not so well preserved: it is just possible to understand that Šuppiluliuma is reporting a situation in which the relationships with Egypt as considered as “friendly”. According to L. d’Alfonso, the reading of the word *a-ra-an*^{??} “should be understood as the accusative of *ara-*, ‘friend’, and translated either as the object or as an adverbial form⁷³⁸”. It could be proposed that the Hittite king is asking to his vassal, in a typical formula attested, e.g., in the treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105, see *supra*, text no. 15) to guarantee his friendship to Egypt, in the case the Great king considered the Nile Valley as an ally. It is also interesting to note that within the corpus of the Egyptian documentation there no texts mentioning Karkemish during the reign of Talmi-Teššub: this fact arises many questions, because during the reign of Talmi-Teššub’s predecessor, Ini-Teššub, an ostrakon quoting the name of the king of Karkemish was found in the Valley of the Kings (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 15a). The next quotation of Karkemish in the Egyptian sources is dated to the reign of Ramses III (20th dyn., 1187-1157 BC; see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 15a). In any case, for sure friendly contacts between Egypt and Karkemish are confirmed by the discovery in the latter city of a stone mace-head inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses II (see *infra*, section 1.3)⁷³⁹.

⁷³⁴ For the particular high rank and status of the king of Karkemish, see MORA 1993.

⁷³⁵ SINGER 2001.

⁷³⁶ For the discovery of all the fragments of the treaty, see D’ALFONSO 2007, pp. 203-206; cf. also SINGER 2001, pp. 635-636.

⁷³⁷ CAVRIANI 2015 and 2016; DE PIETRI 2016; ZECCHI 2014a and 2014b.

⁷³⁸ D’ALFONSO 2007, p. 217.

⁷³⁹ DE PIETRI 2016, p. 11; cf. WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 159 and pl. LXXI, fig. c.

17. CTH 134: TREATY WITH (RELATED TO) KURUŠTAMA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Treaty
Dating	Probably late 15 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Deportation of people from Kuruštama to an Egyptian area in Syria

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Akk. ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ra-an</i>	KBo VIII 37 Rs. 9
Br.	KBo XXII 15, 3'
Br.	KUB XXIII 7 Rs.

a. KBo 8.37⁷⁴⁰

SINGER 2004, pp. 591-607⁷⁴¹:

Transliteration

- A. KBo 8.37 (+') Bo 3508 (MH/NS)
 B. KUB 23.7 (MH/NS) obv. = A obv. 9'; rev. = A rev. 6'–10'
 C. KUB 40.28 (MH/NS?) = A obv. x + 1–5'
 D. KBo 22.15 = A rev. 4'–7'
 E. Bo 694334 = A rev. 7'–10'

C	obv. 1'	]x x (-)ḫa(-)en(-)ta(-)x[
	2'	[n]u(?) <i>ki-ir-šu-me-et kat-kat-ti-i[š-ki-it(?)/ki-iz-zi(?)</i>
	3'	[n]u <i>nam-ma na-at-ta pa-aḫ-x[</i>
	4'	<i>le-e ú-me-ni na[(m-ma AN)</i>
	5'	<i>le-e iš-ta-ma-aš[-šu-e/a-ni(?)</i>
	6'	[(me)]-e-ek-ki <i>na-aḫ-ša-r[i-ya-</i>
	7'	[(k)]a-a-ša-aš-ma-aš ^{DI} [M(?)
A	obv. 4'	<i>a-ru-na-na-aš-ta[</i>
	5'	[n]u <i>kar-tim-mi-ia-at-t[a-an(?)</i>
	6'	[nam]-ma <i>le-e uš-kat-te[-ni</i>
	7'	Û LÚ ^{MEŠ} URU <i>Ku-ru-uš-t[a-ma</i>
	8'	<i>nu-un-na-aš-kán LÚ^{MEŠ} a-ra-aš [LÚ^{MEŠ} a-ri(?)</i>
	9'	[(i)]š-kal-la-at-ta <i>ku-it x[</i>
	10'	[ma]-a-an-na-aš-ša-an <i>pe-e-di-i[-</i>
	11'	[DINGI]RIM-aš-ša-aš-ma-aš <i>EGIR-pa ut[-</i>
	12'	[]x-x x-x-x <i>ut-ne-e[(-)</i>
	13'	[]x-aš-ša <i>ḫa-lu-kán na-at-t[a</i>
	14'	[na-a]ḫ-ša-ra-at-ta-an-ma-an <i>x[</i>
	15'	[] x x x [] x x x x [
	16'	[]x[]x x[
	17'	[]x x[
		Broken

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. DBH 24, pp. 25-26, no. 15.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. also the German edition in BREYER 2010a, pp. 142-145.

A rev. 1']x x[

2' [-l]u-e-ez-za-as?(-)-ta kat?-x[
3' [ud-d]a-an-da(?) LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{HA-AT-TI} [
4' [an]-da le-e ú-e-mi-ya-at-t[a-(a)-ni

5' [H]UL-lu-it ud-da-an-da LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{HA}[-AT-TI I-NA (KUR^{URU}Mi)-iz-ri]
6' [(an-d)a le-e pa-it-ta-a-nia) Û? [LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{Mi-iz-ri}]
7' [I-N]A KUR^{URU}HA-AT-TI HUL-la[-ui/ua-az(?) le-e pa-it-ta-ani(?)]
8' [KUR H]a-at-tu-ša-aš A-NA KUR^{Mi-iz-r[i} LÚ^{MEŠ} šar-te-e-eš (e-eš-)tu]
9' [nu? URU^UMi-iz-ra-an PAP-ši URU^{Mi-iz-ra-aš} A-NA KUR H]a-attu-ša-aš]
10' [L]Ú^{MEŠ} šar-te-e-eš e-eš-tu [nu URU^Ha-at-tu-ša-an PAP-ši]

11' [LÚ]^{MEŠ} URU^{Mi-iz-ra} ka-a-a-[
12' [n]u EGIR-pa a-la-la-an[
13' [H]UL-lu le-e x[

Broken

(+ ?) Bo 3508 (Kühne, ZA 62, 253)

x+1]x x e-e[š-

2' URU^HA-AT-TI pa-ra-a [le-e
3' ša-li-i]k-tu-ma DI[M-na(?)-aš(?]
4' ud-da-a-a]r le-e šar-r[a-at-tu-ma
5' -]at DIM-na-aš h[a-
6' -]a na-at-ta
7']x DUMU^{MEŠ} URU^{Ku-ru-uš}[-ta-ma
8' U]^{RU}Mi-iz-ra e-e[š-

9']e x[

Broken

B (KUB 23.7) obv. = A obv. 9'

2 [] iš-kal-la-ta x[

Broken

B (KUB 23.7) rev. = A rev. 6'–10'

x+1 pa-it-te-e-n[i-
2' A-NA KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-r[i
3' e-eš-du nu URU^{Mi-i[z-}
4' A-NA KUR^{URU}HAT-TI

End of column

D (KBo 22.15) = A rev. 4'–7'

x+1 -]i[a

2' H]UL-lu-i[t
3' K]UR^{URU}Mi-iz-ri
4' pa-i]t-te-ni [
5']x KUR^{URU}[

Broken

E (Bo 6943) II = A obv. (?)

x+1 L]Ú^{MEŠ}(?) ku-e-ša-šu-x[

2']x-it

3']x ku-i-ti
4']x-u-e-ni

5' -š]um-me-et
Broken

E (Bo 6943) II = A rev. 7'–10'

x+1] x [
2'] an-da le-e [
3' Ḫ]a-at-tu-ša-aš [
4'] LU^{MES} šar-te-eš-mi-iš [
5' **Mi-iz-r]a-an** PAB-ši^{URU} **Mi-iz-ra-a[š**
6' ša]r-di-a-mi-iš e-eš[-tu
Broken

Translation

C obv. 2' Our heart tremble[s/e[d
3' and [we will (?)] not def[end(?)] anymore.
4' Let us not see any[more
5' let us not hea[r anymore

6' [Be(?)] very conce[rned
7' Behold, for/to you (pl.) the Sto[rm?-god
A obv. 4' the sea (acc.) [
Broken

5' fea[r/respec[t (acc.)
6' you (pl.) should not see any[ore

7' And the men of Kurušta[ma
8' between us, one [to the other]
9' because/which split [between us (?)]

10' When for us [on] the spot [
11' and the Storm-god [...] to you (pl.)/to them again/back [
Broken

12' ... land [
13' and the [...] message not [
14' but [f]ear/[r]espect (acc.) [...] him

A rev. 2' ... [
3' [thi]ng(?) the men of Ḫatti [
4' [y]ou (pl.) should not find/meet i[n

5' The men of H[atti], you should not go into
6' the land of **E[gypt]** with [ev]il intentions, [and the men of **Egypt**
7' should not go (?)] [t]o the land of Ḫatti [with(?)] evil.
8' [The land of Ḫ]attuša [should] be allies to the land of **Egypt**
9' and you should defend **Egypt! Egypt** should be allies
10' [to Ḫattuša and you should defend Ḫattuša!]

11' [The people(?)] of **Egypt** th[us
12' and defection back/again [
13' evil not [
Broken

(+?) Bo 3508 (Kühne, ZA 62, 253)

x+1] b[e

2' You (pl.) should [not] in[trude(?) to Ḫ]atti [
3' [the words(?)] [of(?)] the St[orm-god
4' [you should] not vio[late
5'] of the Storm-god [
6'] not [
7'] the sons of Kuruš[tama
8' should] b[e sons of(?)] **Egypt** [

b. KBo 22.15 (Bo 69/352)

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 96:

Transliteration

x + 1 []DUMU

2' []su-u
3' []KUR ^{uru}Mi[-iz-ri-i
4' []it-te-ni [
5' []x KUR ^{uru}[

The fair state of preservation of the document does not allow a translation of the passage.

The importance of this document attesting the first known version of a “treaty” stipulated between Egypt and Ḫatti has already been stressed by many scholars⁷⁴². In two other historical accounts, the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I” (CTH 40.IV.I.E₃ IV 26-32) and the “Second Prayer for the plague”, of Muršili II (CTH 378.II.A Ro. 13’-19’) a precise mention of a treaty, still in force, between Egypt and Ḫatti is established. In the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I”, on the circumstances of the *daḫamunzu* episode, Šuppiluliuma asks to bring him “the tablet of the treaty” describing the deal wherewith the Storm god “took the man of Kuruštama, son of Ḫattuša, brought him to Egypt, and made them (*sic*) Egyptians”; the same god also “established a treaty between Egypt and Ḫattuša, and they always dealt with good intentions each others”⁷⁴³. In the “Second Prayer for the plague”, Muršili II mentions the “Kuruštama tablet” and also a passage of the “Fifth Prayer for the plague” (CTH 379 II 6’-24’) reports such a mention⁷⁴⁴. The well-known treaty established between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II, also, mentioned the existence of a previous, maybe still in force, treaty, described by Devecchi as: “Trattato che esisteva all’epoca di Šuppiluliuma, Grande Principe di Ḫatti”⁷⁴⁵.

⁷⁴² For a general introduction to the text, see DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 264-265. Cf. also BREYER 2010a, pp. 140-143; DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, pp. 144-146; SIMON 2007; SINGER 2004. For the philological comment of the text, see SÜRENHAGEN 1985, pp. 22-39.

⁷⁴³ Cf. *supra*, text no. 1 = DEL MONTE 2008, pp. 123-124).

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, text nos 51 and 52 = SINGER 2002b, p. 58 (“Second Prayer”) and p. 67 (“Fifth Prayer”).

⁷⁴⁵ DEVECCHI 2015, p. 265, note 2. For the passage of the treaty, §5A (EDEL 1997, p. 27), see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8d (also quoted in DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, pp. 142-144, with further bibliography): *jr p3-nt-^c mtj wnw dj m h3w Splulu <m> p3-wr-^c3 n Ḫt m mjtt p3-nt-^c mtj wnw -- m h3w Mutl p3-wr-^c3 n Ḫt p3y.jt mh.j jm.f*, “Was den festgelegten Vertrag angeht, der hier zur Zeit des Šuppiluliuma, des Großfürsten von Ḫatti, bestand, und ebenso den festgelegten Vertrag, der zur Zeit des Muwattalli, des Großfürsten von Ḫatti, meines Bruders(!), bestand, so habe ich ihn wiederaufgenommen” [“As for the legal provision which was current (lit. here) in the time of Šuppiluliu<ma>, the Great Prince of Ḫatti, as well as the lawful regulation in the time of Muwatalli, the Great Prince of Ḫatti, my father(sic!), I seize hold of it/I hold it firm”]: English translation of the passage, in DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, p. 142].

More in detail, the “Kuruštama treaty” deals with the deportation of some Anatolian people from homeland, maybe situated in northern Anatolia⁷⁴⁶, to Egypt⁷⁴⁷: such a topic is not a newness, if we consider that perhaps another treaty has existed between Egypt and Ḫatti, maybe datable to the reigns of Muṣili II and Horemheb, also related to the deportation of (even undefined) people⁷⁴⁸. The dating of the “Kuruštama treaty” is controversial: nevertheless, it could be dated between the reigns of Tuḫaliya I, Arnuwanda I and Šuppiluliuma I (for the Hittite *côté*) and those of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III (on the Egyptian side)⁷⁴⁹. The fragmentary conditions of the document itself do not allow a sure reconstruction of the content: however, it is possible to argue that some clauses dealt with the alliance and not aggression between the two contractors and the acknowledgement of the equal rank of the two countries⁷⁵⁰.

The nature (or “genre”) of the document is quite difficult to be defined: most of the scholars (e.g. Laroche, Carruba and Kühne) recognize it as the actual text of the first treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti, while Sürenhagen rejected this opinion and preferred to consider it as a “farewell treaty” (“Entlassungsvertrag”) through which the people of Kuruštama was obliged to swear loyalty to both Egypt and Ḫatti⁷⁵¹. However, Singer underlined that the presence of the formula LU^{MEŠ} *šarteš eštu*, “let them be allies (to them)”, in A rev. 8’, and the fact that all the mutual stipulations are established directly between Egyptians and Hittites, all this makes it clear that the text is an actual treaty⁷⁵². Furthermore, Singer also proposed that the transfer of Anatolian people in Egypt would have mostly fulfilled military purposes: “It seems quite likely that the Kuruštama men were sent to Egypt as an auxiliary troop in fulfilment of a specific provision in an early Hittite-Egyptian treaty”⁷⁵³. Singer also tried to better define the possible identities of the Egyptian and Hittite kings who signed the treaty: he proposed that such an event should have happened in a period before the reign of Šuppiluliuma, and in an almost peaceful situation: “Two Egyptian kings of the pre-Amarna Age report about peaceful encounters with the Hittites. On his return from the Syrian campaigns, Thutmose III received presents (*jn.w*)⁷⁵⁴ from Babylon, Assur, and “Great Ḫatti” in his 33rd and 41st years, i.e. 1447 and 1439 B.C., respectively. Several scholars have pointed to this reference as the occasion on which the Kuruštama Treaty may have been concluded”⁷⁵⁵. By the way, such a dating would be a bit too early. Another possibility is to think about a period during the reign of Amenhotep II, who says in his Annals

⁷⁴⁶ For the identification of the area of Kuruštama, see ÜNAL 1980-1983, p. 373; cf. SINGER 2004, p. 592, referring to FORRER 1936 and 1937, who proposed the city of Gaziura/Turkhan, in the Kaška region. Cf. also FORLANINI 1980, pp. 78-79, proposing an area between Arinna, Ḫanḫana and Tawiniya; FORLANINI 1983, p. 14, fig. 4; ASVOA 4.3, pl. 16 (to the west of the modern city of Sungurlu). For the attestations of the toponym in the corpus of the Hittite texts, see DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, p. 229 with the supplement in DEL MONTE 1991, p. 87 (with further bibliography).

⁷⁴⁷ Other scholars considered not a deportation to Egypt itself, but just in a territory under the Egyptian domination: FORRER 1936 and 1937 proposed the Syro-Palestinian area, and in particular the city of Hebron, Beersheba and Jerusalem, an opinion strongly contrasted by Goetze, who defined this theory as “phatasievoll” (see GOETZE 1930, p. 224, note 4), who thought that the Kuruštama people were moved directly to Egypt. Also Cavaignac thought that some people from Kuruštama were sent to Egypt as prisoners, maybe under direct request of the pharaoh, comparing this treaty with EA 31, where Amenhotep III asks to Tarḫundaradu of Arzawa to send him some Kaška men (see CAVAIGNAC 1930, p. 72). Singer also reports a quite wired opinion of F. Cornelius: “Ohne Zeitangabe wird uns noch berichtet: Ein Mann aus Kuruštama sei -vom Wettergott erfaßt nach Ägypten gewandert. Ist damit ein Wirken als Missionar oder eine epileptische Dämmerwanderung gemeint? Jedenfalls wurde dies Geschehen der Anlaß zu einem Freundschaftsvertrag der Hethiter mit Ägypten” (SINGER 2004, p. 593, note 17, quoting CORNELIUS 1973, p. 129).

⁷⁴⁸ DEVECCHI – MILLER 2011, pp. 139-146. KLENGEL 2002, p. 87 was the first who proposed the existence of this treaty, an opinion strongly disputed by Zaccagnini (ZACCAGNINI 1990, pp. 49-50).

⁷⁴⁹ DEVECCHI 2015, p. 265, with note 3.

⁷⁵⁰ For the analysis of some fragments, see GRODDEK 2008c and SÜRENHAGEN 2006, p. 64.

⁷⁵¹ SÜRENHAGEN 1985, pp. 32, 39.

⁷⁵² SINGER 2004, pp. 602-603.

⁷⁵³ SINGER 2004, p. 604.

⁷⁵⁴ For this text, see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 1a and d (Urk. IV 700-701, 727), cf. also HELCK 1971, pp. 166f and SCHULMAN 1988, p. 57. It is maybe better to translate the term as “tribute(s)” and not as present, in the usual metaphor of the present/tribute presentation, that is remembered by Singer, too (SINGER 2004, p. 606; cf. BLEIBERG 1996; GESTOSO 1999, pp. 49-60; LIVERANI 1990, pp. 255ff.).

⁷⁵⁵ SINGER 2004, pp. 605-606.

(Urk. IV, 1309, 13-20⁷⁵⁶) to have received (after his return from the campaign of the 9th year) the “submission” of the northern “chiefs” (*p3 wr*) asking for peace⁷⁵⁷. According to Singer, the expression “request peace” (*dbh ḥtp.w*) and “the breath of life” (*t3w n cnh*) “are phrases consistent to contexts referring to the instigation of diplomatic relations (BRYAN 1998, pp. 131ff.)”⁷⁵⁸. Considering all these remarks, Singer defines the dating and the authors of the treaty: “Indeed, the first overtures for peace between Mittanni and Egypt were made following Amenophis II’s Asiatic campaigns (REDFORD 1992, pp. 164ff.; SINGER 1988b), and the same may be true with regard to Ḫatti (BRYAN 1998, p. 36). Both northern great powers were interested in establishing good relations with Egypt in anticipation of their conflict for the domination of Syria. A late 15th century B.C. date for the so-called Kuruštama Treaty, probably concluded between Tuḫaliya I and Amenophis II, would fit well into the geopolitical scenery of the period and would provide a valuable new synchronism for Hittite history”⁷⁵⁹.

⁷⁵⁶ See *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 2.

⁷⁵⁷ See EDEL 1953a, p. 136;

⁷⁵⁸ SINGER 2004, p. 607, quoting BRYAN 1998, pp. 34ff; LUNDH 2002, pp. 131ff.; SPALINGER 1983, p. 93.

⁷⁵⁹ SINGER 2004, p. 207. Lastly, as for Breyer’s suggestion of reading the toponym Ḫatti on a stela of the viceroy of Kush Usersatet (Urk. IV, 1344, 7), probably contemporary to these events, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 2. However, because of the different spelling of the toponym, I do not consider it as referring to Ḫatti (cf. the mention of the Hittite land in the Annals of Amenhotep II, text no. 2, presenting a different writing).

C. LETTERS

I. EGYPTIAN-HITTITE CORRESPONDENCE

18. CTH 154: LETTER OF ŠUPPILULIUMA I TO AY(?)

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Letter
Dating	Second half of the 14 th cent. BC (ca. 1323-1320 BC ⁷⁶⁰)
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Mention of the “ <i>daḥamunzu</i> -episode”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIX 20 Vs. 19'

VAN DEN HOUT 1994, pp. 60-88:

Transliteration

16	[<i>ki-iš-ša-an-ma-mu ku-it tàš-pur DUMU^R</i>] ^U - <i>Ka-wa-at-ta Ú-UL</i> x[o o] x ² [o] x ²
17	[<i>n</i>]u-za x <i>Ú-UL ku-it ša-ag² ga-aḫ²</i> [- <i>ḫu-un</i>]
18	[x ² ² e ² [o -n]a ² x- ² an ² -za na-a-ú- ² i ²]
19	[] LUGAL KUR [^{UR}] ^U <i>Mi-iz-ri²</i> ² ḫa ² [-a]t-re-eš-ki-ši t[u ² -uk
20	[<i>k</i>]a-a DUMU-an ² mu ² [- o o o] x pu-nu-uš-k[i- . . . i
21	[<i>š</i>]a-ag-ga-aḫ-ḫu ² un ² D[UMU-Y]A-ma- ² an ² [
22	[LUGAL-u-e-ez-] ² na ² -an-ni- ² ma ² -na-an up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-u[n
23	[x-an-ta-an a-pa-a-at-pát <i>Ú-UL</i> [. . .]

Translation

16	[Was das betrifft, daß du mir so schreibst:] „Dein(en) [Soh]n dir/dich nicht . . . [. . .]
17	[] Weil ich . . . nicht wußt[e (oder: n]un (davon) wuß[te ich] nichts)
18	[] . . . noch nicht [. . .]
19	[jetzt aber . . . wie ²] der König von Ägypten schreibst du stets. D[u ²
20	[als man mich ² hi]er ² um einen Sohn (als) E[hemann ²² ge]frag[t hat,]
21	[w]ußte ich. M[einen Soh]n wollte ich [geben (o.ä.)]
22	[für die Herrs]chaft wollte ich ihn schicke[n. Daß du (aber)
23	[auf dem Thron s]aßest ² , das eben [wußte ich] nich[t].

This letter provide a piece of information about the events following the “*daḥamunzu* episode” and the aftermaths of the killing of the Hittite prince Zannanza. The text was briefly, but convincingly analysed, by T. Bryce⁷⁶¹, who also usefully summoned up all the events connected to the sending of this letter:

“(1) An Egyptian attack on the country of Kadesh, at that time under Hittite control after Suppiluliuma had taken it from the Hurrian king.

(2) Suppiluliuma’s final campaign against the Hurrians, culminating in his siege of Carchemish.

(3) The Hittite retaliatory attack on Amka, Egyptian subject territory; the attack was led by the Hittite commanders Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma, and is recorded in two of the prayers of Mursili II (see below) as well as in the ‘Deeds’.

(4) The death of Niphururiya and the appeal of his widow ‘Dahamunzu’ to Suppiluliuma for one of his sons to become her next husband.

⁷⁶⁰ This the dating of Ay’s reign, according to HORNUNG – KRAUSS – WARBURTON 2006, p. 493.

⁷⁶¹ BRYCE 1990. Further bibliography about this letter: FORRER 1926b (original, even partial, edition); GÜTERBOCK 1960, p. 57; HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 304-309 (text no. 208); HOUWINK TEN CATE 1967, p. 60; MURNANE 1985, pp. 25-34; SPALINGER 1979a, pp. 78-79; SPALINGER 1979b, pp. 39-43.

(5) Suppiluliuma despatches his envoy Hattusa-ziti to Egypt to investigate the matter.

(6) Suppiluliuma completes the siege of Carchemish, arranges for booty and transportees to be conveyed from the conquered city to Hattusa, installs his son Piyassili/Sarri-Kusuh as viceroy in Carchemish, and returns to Hattusa before of winter.

(7) The Hittite envoy returns to Hattusa the following spring, accompanied Egyptian envoy Hani. Persuaded by the information he receives from them, Suppiluliuma sends his son Zannanza to Egypt for the intended marriage with the Egyptian

(8) Zannanza dies on the journey.

(9) Suppiluliuma holds the Egyptians responsible for his son's death, and eventually launches a retaliatory attack on Egyptian territory (sc. in Syria).

(10) Egyptian prisoners brought to Hatti spread a plague through the Hittite population".

Bryce considered this document as a draft letter⁷⁶² sent by the Hittite king to the pharaoh (the successor of the dead Niphururiya), to gain information about the death of his son Zannanza. The addressee of this letter, according to many scholars, should be identified with Ay, who succeeded Tutankhamun⁷⁶³. It is very likely to imagine that this missive followed many others⁷⁶⁴ sent by the new pharaoh to acquaint the Hittite king of this tragical event.

The contents of this document were exposed by Murnane⁷⁶⁵, who described the passage reported here as follows:

"16-23: A badly broken passage: the writer mentions his son in the first line, then goes on to emphasize his ignorance of certain matters (obv. 16-17, 21). On the fourth line it is possible to read 'You, the king of E[g]ypt (?) continually write.' The following line (obv. 20) again mentions the writer's son in a broken passage that also contains a verb meaning 'to interrogate' or 'to ask a question.' The whole paragraph thus seems to refer to previous messages that involved the writer's son"⁷⁶⁶.

The whole documents is clearly focused on the death of the Hittite prince Zannanza, being the reasons of his death still quite unclear: 1) likely, he was murdered by Egyptian opponents to the plan of the "*dahamunzu*" of taking a new husband from a foreign country; 2) another explanation (but less probable) could be an attack of some nomadic people to the royal delegation leading the Hittite prince to Egypt; 3) a particularly intriguing cause was advanced by Murnane: "When Shuppiluliuma 'let his anger run away with him' and attacked the Egyptian territory, he brought back prisoners who were infected with a plague that would still be rampant in Hatti some twenty years later. Shuppiluliuma and Arnuwanda, his crown prince, both died of it: why not also Zannanza?"⁷⁶⁷. Despite the fascinating nature of this proposal, I think it to be quite unlikely: if Zannanza actually died because of the plague, we should have to find some reference to it in the extant documentation; it is true that we lack the letters sent by the new pharaoh to Šuppiluliuma, where maybe he also explained the cause of Zannanza's death, but in KUB XIX 20 Rs. 24-28, the new pharaoh informs Šuppiluliuma about this event, just saying "Your son died ...", with no further reference to a plague⁷⁶⁸. In the case Zannanza

⁷⁶² Also Murnane thought it as a draft letter: "This document, written in Hittite, is a draft for a final version that would have been translated into Akkadian before it was sent" (MURNANE 1985, p. 26, note 129, rejecting the possible identification with Horemheb for chronological reasons).

⁷⁶³ See e.g. BRYCE 1990 and MURNANE 1985, p. 28, with note 137.

⁷⁶⁴ For this possible previous letters, see BRYCE 1990, pp. 99-100; cf. MURNANE 1985, p. 27.

⁷⁶⁵ MURNANE 1985, pp. 25-27.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ivi.*, p. 26.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ivi.*, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁶⁸ Anyway, we also have to take into account the fragmentary state of preservation of the passage. Almost the same causes for the death of Zannanza are advanced by Bryce: "Under these circumstances, Ay occupied the Egyptian throne, and was presumably the recipient of Suppiluliuma's letter KUB XIX 20. It seems that Ay denied any responsibility for the Hittite prince's death, and we can probably accept his denial at face value. Had he had earlier designs on the Egyptian throne, he would have made his intentions clear before the Hittite envoy's return to Hattusa, rather than wait until the Hittites became directly involved in the matter of the succession. There was nothing to gain – and a great deal to lose – in delaying a bid for the throne until Suppiluliuma had committed his son the marriage proposal. How, then, do we explain Zannanza's death? Was it organized a rival faction in Egypt opposed to the accession of a foreigner? Was the prince killed

was killed by the plague, I suppose that the Egyptian king would have expressly stated it into his letters (and henceforth, we should find some reference into the passage in KUB XIX 20, where the pharaoh's message is reported). A particular passage of this text deserves a further remark: on Rs. 22-23, the peculiar expression "it does [...] because a falcon [kills (?) a chick (?) ...] a falcon alone does not hunt"⁷⁶⁹ is reported. The passage was so impressive that Th. van den Hout used it for the title of a paper where he published the present letter⁷⁷⁰; here his transcription and translation of these sentences:

22 [-k]i-iz-zi i-ir-zi SUR₁₄.DÛ.A^{MUŠEN}-ma-za AMAR^{MUŠEN} 1-an ku-it
 23 [SUR₁₄.]DÛ.A^{MUŠEN} 1-aš Ú-UL pá-r-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi

22 wird i[mmer?]] Weil ein/der Falke ein einziges Kücken
 23 [] der [Fal]ke allein wird nicht vertreiben!

This similitude offers a quite unique insight into the way the Hittites considered their Egyptian counterpart. As commonly acknowledged, the parable of the falcon attacking the young chick, could be interpreted in many ways: the most common explanation of the passage is to recognize in the falcon the pharaoh and in the chick a Hittite who is attacked by the pharaoh⁷⁷¹. All the similitude could be easily applied to the killing of Zannanza: Šuppiluliuma would be openly charging the pharaoh (maybe Ay) with the murder of the young Hittite prince sent to Egypt as an answer to the petitions of the Egyptian "dahamunzu". Van den Hout already admitted that commonly the pharaoh was conceived as the falcon of Horus, and stresses the fact that the first attestations of such an image are those of the period of Ramses II⁷⁷², a figure usually applied to define the mighty of the pharaoh over the Syro-Palestinian area. The peculiarity of this proverb has been underlined by Murnane, who also quoted an analysis of this formula made by Mascheroni⁷⁷³: "L'ultima categoria è quella del proverbio. La proponiamo, però, solo a livello di ipotesi, in quanto non ci sono note dalla documentazione etea le formulazioni assertive di base. Quelle, però, in forma interrogativa ne sembrano, a livello contenutistico, così chiaramente lo specchio, da suggerire anche l'originale. Gli esempi sono: ... SAG].DÛ.A^{MUŠEN} I-aš ÚL parḫiškizzi, 'Un falco da solo non (basta a) cacciare?' (KUB XIX 20 II 20), preceduto, a II 19, da SAG.DÛ.A^{MUŠEN}-ma-za AMAR.MUŠEN I-an kuid, 'Ma il falco che se ne (fa??) di un solo pulcino' [...]. Il loro contenuto, verificabile attraverso l'esperienza, non sembra lasciare dubbi sul fatto che si tratti di espressioni proverbiali e diremmo addirittura che il trovarle in forma interrogativa (che escludiamo possa essere quelle originaria) sia, in quanto variante stilistica e contemporaneamente ribadizione, un'ulteriore prova della loro notorietà"⁷⁷⁴. Despite the problem of the origin of this formula, also its meaning remains not wholly understood: nevertheless, it is remarkable the use, within the correspondence, of such kind of rhetorical expressions, which reveal the high status of elaboration of these missives.

A last note about the identification of Ay as the addressee of this letter: we have already seen that in a document dated to his reign, a stela from Giza (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 3), there was

a local group on his passage through Syria? Was his death accidental? Or was he the victim of an as yet unrevealed conspiracy? Such speculation belongs more appropriately within the realm of historical fiction" (BRYCE 1990, p. 105).

⁷⁶⁹ Translation as in MURNANE 1985, p. 26.

⁷⁷⁰ VAN DEN HOUT 1994.

⁷⁷¹ See MURNANE 1985, pp. 26, 28: "The pharaoh – most probably Ay – was polite and even conciliatory. Although charged with Zannanza's murder (which is also implied, perhaps, by Šuppiluliuma's obscure allusion to the hunting of a falcon in KUB XIX 20, rev. 19-20), he maintained simply that the young man 'died'". Instead, Hagenbuchner identified the falcon as the Hittite king: "Ob mit dem Küken das Falkenjunge gemeint ist – eine Anspielung auf die Verteidigung eines Jungtieres durch den Altvogel, wobei der Falke für den hethitischen König stehen könnte – oder die Jagdbeute des Falken, ist nicht ersichtlich" (HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 309). Hagenbuchner also stressed that this kind of parable was not so uncommon for the Hittite mind: "Diese Gleichnis mit einem Vogel ist kein singuläres Beispiel, wie die Pestgebete von Mursili II. (Goetze, Pestgeb XXIII 102) zeigen" (HAGENBUCHNER 1989, *loc. cit.*).

⁷⁷² Ivi, pp. 79-80.

⁷⁷³ Quoted in MURNANE 1985, p. 26, note 131.

⁷⁷⁴ MASCHERONI 1984, p. 134.

a quotation of a “Hittite field” (*3h.t n(3) Ht3*) as the object of a donation decree made by Ay in favour of the overseer Isut and to his wife Mutnedjemet; the identification of this field is still unclear: maybe, it was a detention camp for Hittite prisoners or either a field previously granted by the pharaoh to Hittite people (merchants or royal envoys?). In any case, this document attests for an actual presence of Hittites in Egypt, at least during the reign of this pharaoh (i.e. ca. 1323-1320 BC).

19. CTH 155 + CTH 156: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III ABOUT URḪI-TEŠUB⁷⁷⁵

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	First half of the 13 th cent. BC (ca. before or just after 1269 BC) ⁷⁷⁶
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Aknowledgment of Hittite kinship and discussion about the actual location of the fugitive Urḫi-Tešub

CTH 155:

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 3 Vs. 1

CTH 156:

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 15+ 19 Vs. 15' und passim (akk.)

a. KUB III 22 (+) 371/i (= KBo XXVIII 3) (ÄHK no. 20, D1, pp. 50-51)⁷⁷⁷:

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration⁷⁷⁸

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma* ¹*Ua-aš-mu-ua-ri-a* ¹*ša-t*[*i-ip-na-ri-a LUGAL.GA*]*L LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i DUMU* ^d*UTU* ¹*R*[*i-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*a-ma-na*]
- 2 *a-na* ¹*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL L*[*UGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti* *ŠEŠ-ia* *qí-b*[*tí-ma*]]
-
- 3 *a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia* [*ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia* *ù a-n*]*a ŠÀ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia šul-mu a-n*[*a ka-a-ša*]
- 4 *Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL* [*KUR Ḫa-at-ti* *ŠEŠ-ia* *[lu-ú šul-mu]*]
-
- 5 *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-m*[*a al-te-mé a-ma-ti a*]*n-na-ti la ba-nu-ti la tàš-pu-ra* [*a-na ia-ši um-ma-a*]
- 6 *am-mi-ni ta-šap-pa-ra a-na* [*ia-ši ki-i ÌR-du*₄]*a-ma-ti an-na-ti ma-a-dá-tù ša a*[*š-pu-ra a-na ka-a-ša ki-i*]
- 7 *1-en ÌR-du*₄*i-na ŠÀ-bi ÌR.MEŠ-ia ia-nu-um-ma at*-*ta ul ta-am-*[*ḫur-šu (!) LUGAL-ut-t*]*a* *ù a-n*[*a-ku ul i-de-šu*]
- 8 *ù i-ia-nu-uš-šu i-na ŠÀ-b*[*i-ia i-din a-na e-p*]*é-še-šu a-na UGU-ḫi-ka ša-ni-ta*₅*a-n*[*a-ku al-te-m a-ma-ta*]
- 9 *an-ni-ta ša* ¹*Ur-ḫi-^dIŠ*[*KUR ša taš-pu-ra UGU-la* *ù*] *taš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-ḫi-šu a-am-ḫ*[*ur LUGAL-ut-ta i-na aš-ri-šu*]

⁷⁷⁵ For what concerns the letters included in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, I am not going to provide a wider comment (for which I refer, in general, to CORDANI 2017 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2); thus, I will limit the comment just to some major remarks, underlining the topic of the letter itself.

⁷⁷⁶ Dating is allegedly provided on the base of contextual information.

⁷⁷⁷ N.B.: for all the texts from EDEL 1994a, I left the original transliteration of this author, without “normalizing” them according to the current standards. I also preferred not to translate the headlines, leaving them in the original German version.

⁷⁷⁸ The transliteration system adopted by Edel in his publication can be considered as quite odd, since the scholar put all the text in *italic*, not distinguishing Sumerograms from Akkadograms or other determinatives (according to the current standards). I decided not to fix here the transliteration system, not to engender further mistakes due to transcription, waiting for a new edition of the corpus of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence.

10 *ul at-ta-a taš-pu-ra a-n[a ia-ši um-ma-a x]^{HIA} i-na 2-šu*
 [3-šu ...
 11 *a-na ša-pa-ri a-na Ì[R(?) t]a-šap-pa-a[r*

 12 *DUMU.KIN-ka qa-du ^l[..... DUMU.KIN-ka qa-du ^l..... DUMU.KIN-k]a qa-du [^l.... DUMU.KIN-*
 ka]
 13 *qa-du ^lMa-a-ni-(lí wohl besser).... DUMU.KIN-] x [*
 14 *ù DUMU.KIN-r[i-ia ...*
 15 *ù lu-ú [...*
 16 *a-qá-a[b-bi ...*
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation

Vs.

1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria šat[epnaria, der Großkönig], der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne, Ri[amašeša mai-amana]:
 2 Zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem Bruder, spri[ch]:

3 Mir geht es gut, meinen Truppen, [meinen Pferden und i]nnerhalb aller meiner Länder geht es gut; di[r],
 4 dem Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König [des Landes Ḫatti], meinem Bruder, [möge es gut gehen]!

5 So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Ich habe] nunmehr d]iese unschönen [Worte gehört], die du [mir] geschrieben hast, [wie folgt]:
 6 „Warum schreibst du m[ir wie einem Diener] diese vielen Worte?“ Daß ic[h dir geschrieben hätte wie]
 7 einem Diener aus der Mitte [meiner] Diener, [ist nicht der Fall]. Hast [d]u nicht die Königswür[de] empfangen, und i[ch sollte das nicht wissen],
 8 und das sollte nicht in [meinem] Herzen sein? [Üb]e sie aus für dich! Ferner: Ic[h habe von]
 9 dieser [Angelegenheit] des Urḫite[šub vernommen, über die du geschrieben hast; und] du hast mir über ihn geschrieben: „Ich habe [die Königswürde an seiner Statt] empfan[gen]“.

10 Hast du m[ir] nicht [wie folgt] geschrieben: [..... Tafel]n (?) zweimal,
 dreimal [.....
 11 um m/deinen?] Die[nern (?)] zu schreiben [.....] du sollst [den A],
 12 deinen Boten, senden zusammen mit dem [B, deinem Boten, zusammen mit dem C, dei]nem [Boten],
 zusammen mit [dem D, deinem Boten],
 13 zusammen mit dem Māni-/lí-[..., m/deinem Boten.....].[...]
 14 und [m/dein] Bote [...
 15 und er [...
 16 ich sag[e..
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

This letter reports a justification of Ramses II who was charged by Ḫattušili for having treated him in a disrespectful way, “as a servant”. Ramses protests his innocence and recognizes Ḫattušili as the legitimate Hittite king. In the end, it is made mention of Urḫi-Teššub: the pharaoh says to “have heard about [this fact] of Urḫi-Teššub”, maybe his usurpation or flight. The letter, because of its cordiality and the recognition of Ḫattušili as king could therefore be dated (as all the following letters) just before the stipulation of the Treaty⁷⁷⁹.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. CORDANI 2017, pp. 78-79 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 77-78.

b. KUB III 30 (+) III 31 (ÄHK no. 25, D6, pp. 64-69):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

KUB III 31

Vs.

- A 1' [.....]x-x-ia(-)x[

B 2' [..... a-m]ur šum-ma ki-it-tù
3' [..... L]UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
4' [.....]ù ú-še-bíl-šu
5' [a-na ia-ši DUMU.KIN-r]i-ka kán-na iq-bi

C 6' [..... i-le-eq-qú-šu-nu-ti] a-na ka-a-ša
7' [..... it-ta-dín a-na da(?)-b]a-ba te₄-em-šu-nu ki
DÜG.GA a-na a-ma-ri
8' [..... ša il-qa-ak-k]u ka-am-ma ù la ga₁₄-mi-ir
9' [..... an-na-ti ša šu-ú] ú-še-bíl-aš-šu-nu
10' [a-na pa-na a-mur a-du-ku at-ta te-el-te-m]é a-ma-te^{MEŠ}

D 11' [ù at-ta tal-tap-ra a-na ia-ši a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ma-a-da-tù la ba-na-a-tù dan-niš ša la m]a-aš-lu a-na še-me-
e-ša ki-i ia-ši
12' [..... x-an-na ù ki-i at-ta te-el-te-mé a-ma-ta an-ni-ta ul t]e-le-e-e ša-pa-ri a-na
ia-ši
13' [ki-i ba-ša ša-pa-ri ša LÚ-lu₄ um-ma-a ki-it-tu₄ la-a ki-it-tu₄ a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-ni-ti š]a a-na-ku al-mu-ú
14' [ia-nu-ú ù LUGAL li-iš-pu-ra-ak-ku UGU gab-bi ša it-te-en₆-pu-uš it-ti LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-]a ù ta-qa-ab-
[b]i gab-bi ša ma(!)-aš-lu
15' [a-na e-pé-ši-šu a-na ša-a-šu ù li-pu-šu-uš ù ki-i at-ta ta-aš-mu-ú tal-tap-ra a-na ŠEŠ-ka a-ma-te^{MEŠ}
an[-ni-t]i
[16] [ma-a-du-ti a-na še-e-li ù a-di-na ul ta-ḫa-as-sà-as ŠEŠ-ut-ni ù sa-la-am-ni]

[17] [...

KUB III 30

Vs.

- G 1' [..... I-en KARAŠ.MEŠ at-tu-ia i-na ŠÀ KUR A-mur-ri ù ša-nu-ú KA]RA[Š.MEŠ]
(geschriben K]I.KAL.BAD.MEŠ])
2' [at-tu-ia i-na KUR ù ša-nu-ú KARAŠ.MEŠ i-na KUR Ta-a-mi-in-ta ki ki-it]-ti

H 3' [ù ki-i LUGAL il-li-ka a-na KUR Ki-na-aḫ -ḫi i-na MU.KAM ša-a-ši ú-ši-ib i-na^{URU.KI}Ši-du-na(?)] a-
ma-ta an-ni-ta
4' [ša il-te-mé LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ma-ad dan-niš tù-ul-tar-ra-aḫ ù at-ta tal-tap-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-
a] a-na-ku él-li-ka
5' [a-na KUR Qí-in-sà ù a-na KUR Ḫa-re-e-ta ù a-na KUR U-pi ù a-na-ku ak-ta-ša-ad] gab-bi
URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A
6' [ša aš-ra-nu ù¹Mu-ua-ta-al-li LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti LUGAL KUR Mi-iš]-ri-i
qa-du KARAŠ.ḪI.A-šu
7' [ù šu-ú a-ši-ib i-na^{URU.KI}Ši-du-na(?) qa-du KARAŠ.MEŠ-šu ù LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ul i-le]-e a-na a-
la-ki
8' [aš-ra-nu am-mi-ni an-nu-ti a-na ia-ši tàš-pu-ra a-na-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ma]-a-du-ti ša at-
ta tàš-pu-ra
9' [a-na ia-ši UGU-šu-nu ù šum-ma]
10' [..... a-na ia-ši ù šu i-ta-an-na a-na-ku] ul ap-ta-šar
11' [ma-mi-ta a-na-ku a-mur ma-mi-ta a-mur ṭup-pa ša ma-mi-ti ša a-na-ku e-pu-ša-ak-ku šá-k]ín a-na
pa-ni^dUTU^{URU}A-ri(!)in-na
12' [a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.A ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti ša
a]-na-ku

[13'] [e-pu-ša-ak-ku ù a-mur ʧup-pa
Tafelrand]

KUB III 30

Rs.

(H) 1 [ša ma-mi-ti ša at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši šá-kín a-na pa-ni ^dUTU ^{URU.KI}A-na a-na pa-ni] DINGIR.MEŠ
GAL.Ĥ]I.A ša **KUR Mi[-iṣ-ri-i]**

1a [šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti ša at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši]

I 2 [ša-ni-ta₅ ù at-ta taḥ-ta-ša-aš na-ak-ra i-na UD-mi^{MEŠ} ša nu-kúr-ti ša a-ni-i-nu ni-pu-šu a]-na pa-na-
nu

3 [a-mur DINGIR.MEŠ GAL^{HIA} ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ni šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti ša a-ni-
]i-nu ni-pu-šu

4 [ki-ia-am a-na-ku ul ap-šu-úr ma-mi-ta a-na-ku a-mur ma-mi-ta a-na-ku a-ri]a-aš-ša-ar-šu dan-niš

5 [ša-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta a-di da-ri-ti]

K 6 [ù a-na-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ma-a-du-ti ša at-ta taš-pu-ra UGU¹Ur-ḥi-^dIŠKUR a]n-na-a

7 [ù at-ta tal-tap-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a li-qa-aš-šu a-na **KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i** ù šu-nu ul i-mu-ru]-ni-šu

8 [ù le-qú-ú-ma ul il-qú-ni-iš-šu a-mur ʧe₄-ma ba-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù ša-la-mi ša a-ni-i-nu]u ni-pu-šu

[9] [a-na **KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i** qà-du KUR Ĥa-at-ti pa-nu-ia a-na da-ri-ti]

[10] [...

KUB III 31 Rs.

N 1' [] x-x-x

2' [il-qa-ak-ku-uš-šu ia-nu-ú i-na KUR Šu-ba-ri-i il-li-ka ù LUGAL KUR Šu-ba-ri-i im-ta-ḥar-šu ù i]l-
qa-ku-uš-šu ia-nu-ú

3' [i-na KUR Qí-in-ša it-tal-ka ù LUGAL KUR Qí-in-ša im-ta-ḥar-šu ù il-qa-ak-ku-uš-šu]

O 4' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ĥa-at-ti il-li-ku-ni qà-du LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a ù šu-nu] it-
ták-du-šu

5' [ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a EN-ni šu-ú DUMU.SAL ša LUGAL it-ti-šu a-na DAM-ti-šu ù šu-nu] iq-
ta-bu-ú

6' [um-ma-a ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL šu-ú ù šum-ma le-mu-ut-tù it-te-en₆-pu-uš a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL] ni-i-nu

7' [nu-ba-á'-a-šu ù šum-ma ^{tu}tub-ta₅ it-te-en₆-pu-uš a-na an-ni-i ḥa-ta-ni]i LUGAL nu-ba-á'-a-šu

8' [kán-na-ma ĪR.MEŠ-ka gab-bi-šu-nu kán-na iq-bi ù DUMU.MEŠ KUR Qa-a-ú-e iš-mu-ú a-ma-te]^{MEŠ}
an-na-ti

9' [qà-du DUMU.MEŠ KUR A-mur-ri ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a ni-i-nu ul ni-le-eq-q]a-a-aš-šu ù ni-i-
nu ul ni-na-an-din-šu

P 10' [ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a šum-ma le-mu-ut-tù in-né-ep-pu-uš a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL] ni-i-nu

11' [nu-ba-á'-a-šu ù ni-i-nu it-ti-šu ù šum-ma ^ttub-ta₅ in-ne-ep-
pu-uš

12' [a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL nu-ba-á'-a-šu kán-na-ma ù ni-i-nu -x] it-ti-šu

Q 13' [..... -x] ta-šap-pa-ra-a

14' [..... -n]a-an-din

15' [..... x]

Translation⁷⁸⁰

KUB III 31

Vs.

A 1' [.....]....

⁷⁸⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 95-121.

-
- B 2' [..... Si]ehe, wenn es Wahrheit
 3' [ist] der Groß[k]önig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**
 4' [.....] und wird ihn senden
 5' [zu mir]“ - so sagte dein [Bot]e.
-
- 6' [..... man wird sie] dir [bringen]
 7' [..... ich/er veranlaßte, daß] ihr Vorschlag freundlich [durchgesprochen
 (?) wurde, um zu sehen
 8' [....., die er d]ir auf diese Weise [gebracht hat], und es ist nicht erledigt (?)
 9' [..... diese, die er] ihnen bringen ließ;
 10' [früher Siehe, fürwahr, du hast] <ihre> Worte [gehö]rt.
-
- D 11' [Und du hast mir viele nicht sehr schöne Worte geschrieben, die nicht (so)] hörens[w]ert sind wie ich
 (= wie meine Worte)
 12' [..... Und nachdem du diese Angelegenheit gehört hast], konntest [d]u
 (da) mir [nicht] schreiben,
 13' [wie das Schreiben eines Mannes sein sollte, wie folgt: „Sind sie zutreffend (oder) nicht zutreffend,
 diese Worte, d]ie ich gehört habe?“
 14' [Ist es nicht so? Und der König (= Ramses) will dir (dann) schreiben über alle, die sich mit dies]em
 [Mann verbündeten], und du könntest (dann) alles sagen, was
 15' [für ihn zu tun] angemessen ist[, und man soll es tun. Aber als du (diese Angelegenheit) hörtest, (da)
 schriebst du deinem Bruder] di[es]e [vielen]
 [16'] Worte [um einen Streit vom Zaune zu brechen und dachtest noch nicht an unsere Brüderschaft und
 unseren Frieden].
-
- [17'] [...

KUB III 30

Vs.

- G 1' [..... Ein Heer von mir befand sich (noch) inmitten des Landes
 Amurru, ein weiteres H]ee[r]
 2' [von mir im Lande, und ein weiteres Heer im Lande Tāminta, wie es den Tatsa]chen
 (entspricht).
-
- H 3' [Und als der König ins Land Kinah]hi ging in dem nämlichen Jahr, setzte er sich in der Stadt Sidon(?)
 fest]. Diese Angelegenheit,
 4' [die der König des Landes H]atti hörte, hast du gar sehr hochgespielt; und du schriebst an mich, wie
 folgt]: „Ich ging
 5' [ins Land Qinsa und ins Land H]arēta und ins Land Upi und ich eroberte] alle Städte,
 6' [die sich dort befinden; und Muwatalli, der König des Landes H]atti, wollte gegen den König des
 Landes **Ägypten** [ziehen] mit seinen Heeren,
 7' [(aber) der saß in der Stadt Sidon(?) zusammen mit seinen Heeren, und der König des Landes H]atti
 kon]nte nicht
 8' [dorthin gehen.“ Warum hast du mir dieses geschrieben? Ich verstehe diese vi]elen [Angelegenheiten
 nicht, über die] du
 9' [mir] geschrieben hast. [Und wenn]
 10' [..... mir, und der veranlaßte/gab Ich] habe
 11' [den Eid] nicht aufgelöst, [ich habe den Eid zur Kenntnis genommen. Siehe, die Tafel des Eides, den
 ich dir geleistet habe, li]egt vor der Sonnengottheit von Arinna
 12' [(und) vor den großen Göttern des Landes H]atti; sie sind Zeugen der Worte des Eides, den i]ch
 13' [dir geleistet habe; und siehe, die Tafel]
 Tafelrand

KUB III 30

Rs.

(H) 1 [des Eides, den du mir geleistet hast, liegt vor der Sonnengottheit von Heliopolis (und) vor] den großen Göttern des Landes Ägypten;

1a [sie sind Zeugen der Worte des Eides, den du mir geleistet hast.]

I 2 [Ferner: Aber du dachtest an den Feind aus den Tagen der Feindschaft, die wir früher [hegten].

3 [Siehe, die großen Götter unserer Länder, sie sind Zeugen der Worte des Eides, den wir geleistet haben.

4 [(Es ist) so: Ich habe den Eid nicht gelöst, ich habe den Eid zur Kenntnis genommen; ich] werde ihn sehr (im Gedächtnis) [bew]ahren,

5 [den Frieden und die Brüderschaft!]

K 6 [Und ich verstehe diese vielen Worte nicht, die du über diesen [UrhiTeššub geschrieben hast];

7 [und du hast mir wie folgt geschrieben: „Bringe ihn nach Ägypten!“ Man hat] ihn [nicht gefund]en,

8 [und man hat ihn nicht gebracht; (doch) siehe, das gute Verhältnis der Brüderschaft und des Friedens, das wir [ge]schaffen haben

[9] [für das Land Ägypten und das Land Ḫatti, (steht) vor mir auf Dauer.]

[10] [...

KUB III 31 Rs.

N 1' [.....] ...

2' [und hätte ihn dir gebracht? Es ist nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Šubari ging? Der König des Landes Šubari wäre ihm entgegengetreten und] hätte ihn dir [g]ebracht? Es ist nicht der Fall,

3' [daß er ins Land Qinsa ging? Der König des Landes Qinsa wäre ihm entgegengetreten und hätte ihn dir gebracht]?

O 4' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Söhne des Landes Ḫatti kamen mit diesem Mann und sie] sorgten sich sehr um ihn,

5' [und sie sagten wie folgt: „Unser Herr ist er; eine Königstochter ist bei ihm als seine Gemahlin“, und sie] sagten,

6' [wie folgt: „Der Schwiegersohn eines Königs ist er, und wenn Böses angetan werden sollte diesem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden] wir

7' [es rächen, und wenn Gutes angetan werden sollte diesem Schwiegersohn des Königs, werden wir es ebenfalls vergelten.“

8' [Alle deine Diener sagten so; und die Söhne des Landes Qaue hörten] diese [Wort]e

9' [zusammen mit den Söhnen des Landes Amurru, und sie sagten, wie folgt: „Wir werden] ihn [nicht wegbrin]gen und wir werden ihn nicht ausliefern“.

10' [Und sie sagten, wie folgt: „Wenn Böses angetan werden sollte dem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden] wir

11' [ihn rächen, denn wir sind (auch) im Unglück (o. ä.) verbündet mit ihm; und wenn] Gutes angetan werden sollte

12' [dem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden wir es ebenfalls vergelten, denn wir sind (auch) im Glück (o. ä.) verbünd]et mit ihm“.

Q 13' [.....] .. sendest du?

14' [..... du/er ver]anlaßt

15' [.....] ..

This letter, reconstructed on the base of KUB 30 + 31, presents many similarities with KBo I 15 + 19 (+) 22⁷⁸¹, and displays the reply of the pharaoh to an accusation advanced by Ḫattušili: in fact, the Hittite king had probably sent a message in which he reproached Ramses to be colluded in protecting the fugitive Urhi-Teššub. Ramses answers manifesting his extraneousness to the facts and excuses

⁷⁸¹ See *infra*, text no. 19.d.

saying that the accusation was based on allegations advanced by some unspecified enemies (§D), in the attempt of undermining the reciprocal brotherhood. The following paragraphs (§§G-H) seems to report another accusation, that can be explained in two ways:

1) the pharaoh would have moved his army in some cities of the Amurru land, breaking the clause for a mutual non-aggression within that area;

2) because of the quotation of Kadesh and Muwatalli (KUB III 30, Vs. 5'), it is also possible that Ḫattušili was criticizing the distorted, Egyptian version of the Kadesh battle; the pharaoh is blamed for having reported an unfair recount of the actual events (*ma-ad dan-niš tù-ul-tar-ra-aḫ*, “hast du gar sehr hochgespielt”, KUB III 30, Vs. 4'). Ramses pretends not to understand the accusation moved by the Hittite king ([*aš-ra-nu am-mi-ni an-nu-ti a-na ia-ši taš-pu-ra a-na-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ma*]-*a-du-ti ša at-ta taš-pu-ra* / [*a-na ia-ši UGU-šu-nu*] “Warum hast du mir dieses geschrieben? Ich verstehe diese vi]elen [Angelegenheiten nicht, über die] du / [mir] geschrieben hast”, KUB III 30, Vs. 8'-9') and reaffirms the validity of the Treaty (KUB III 30, Vs. 9'-Rs. 5).

In §K, Ramses also replies to another request advanced by Ḫattušili: in a previous message, Ḫattušili had asked Ramses to bring Urḫi-Teššub in Egypt (*um-ma-a li-qa-aš-šu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*, “Bringe ihn nach Ägypten!”, KUB III 30, Rs. 7) but Ramses answers saying that he was not aware about the location of Urḫi-Teššub: *ù šu-nu ul i-mu-ru]-ni-šu* / [*ù le-qú-ú-ma ul il-qú-ni-iš-šu*, “Man hat] ihn [nicht gefund]en, / [und man hat ihn nicht gebracht” (KUB III 30, Rs. 7-8).

The end of the letter (reported on the reverse of KUB III 31) continues about the quest for Urḫi-Teššub: Ramses underlines that nobody knew the exact position of the fugitive and that surely he was not in Syria, otherwise the local king (such as those of Šubari and Kadesh), formally Ḫattušili's vassals, would have immediately informed the Great King about the place of refuge of the former Hittite king.

In §O, Ramses also informs Ḫattušili that some “sons of Ḫatti” (*DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti*, KUB III 31, Rs. 4') reached Egypt to meet the pharaoh, in order to reaffirm their loyalty to Urḫi-Teššub (who is said to have a princess as his wife), reiterating the royal descent of the fugitive, being son-in-law of Muwatalli II; these “sons of Ḫatti” also state to be prompt to avenge any offence moves against him whom they consider their rightful lord.

The last paragraph (§Q) is very fragmentary and just the verb *šaparu(m)*, “to send” and *nadanu(m)*, “to give” are preserved, probably referring to Ramses (as attested by the II-sing. person *ta-šap-pa-ra-a*, in Rs. 13'): perhaps, Ḫattušili was asking Ramses to send some troops in supporting the search of the elusive enemy, but we can also justify the presence of this verb with a request for further messages (cf. *infra*, comment to text no. 19.d).

c. KUB III 36 (ÄHK no. 21, D2, pp. 52-53):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [x ...
 2' *la-qé-š[u/-e](?)*
 3' *ù šu-[ú]...*
 4' *GUD(?)*.MEŠ *ša* [x...
 5' *i-din* ¹P[*í-q[a-aš-ta a-na a-la-ki(?)*] ...
 6' *a-na ur-ri-i*[...
 7' *ul-te-bi-[I]a a[-na (??)]...*
 8' *a-na UGU-ḫi* ¹Ur-ḫ[^dIŠKUR ...
 9' *at-ta ul ta[-am-ḫur LUGAL-ut-ta* *ù a-na-ku ul i-de-šu* *ù i-ia-nu-uš-šu i-na ŠÀ-bi-ia i-din a-na e-pé-ši-šu]*
 10' *a-na UGU-ḫi-ka*[...

 11' *um-ma-a a-na ŠE[Š-ia-ma...*
 12' *al-tap-ra-ak[-ku* ¹..... *DUMU.KIN-ri-ia* *ù šu-ú li-iq-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ia a-na ŠEŠ-ia* *ù ŠEŠ-ia]*

13' *li-iš-me-š[u-nu-ti a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti...*
 14' *gab(!)-bi a-ma(?)[-te^{MEŠ}*
 [15'] [...

Rs.

1' *ša[...*
 2' *ù lu[-...*
 3' *ša ip[-pu-uš/šu...*

4' *ŠEŠ-ia [x...*
 5' *LÚ^{URU} Bi-r[u-ta ša/ki-i]*
 6' *LUGAL iš-mu-ú[...*
 7' *ù uš-še-en₆[-ni-iq...*
 8' *ù šu-ú šur-r[i-iš...*
 9' *it-ti-šu šu-nu[...*
 10' *[ù ta-a]š-ša-bat [LUGAL-ut-ta ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti ...*
oder
 10' *[a-na-ku a]š-ša-bat [ma-mi-ta a-na-ku la ú-maš-šar ...*
 [11'] [...

Translation⁷⁸²

Vs.

1' .. [...
 2' es/ihn/sie zu bringen [...
 3' und er [...
 4' die Rinder(?), welche ... [...
 5' Laß den Piq[āšta gehen(?)...
 6' um zu entblößen [...
 7' ich/er ließ bri[ngen] z[u (?) ...
 8' für den Urḫ[iTešsub...
 9' Hast du nicht [das Königstum empfangen, und ich sollte das nicht wissen, und das sollte nicht
 in meinem Herzen sein? Übe es aus]
 10' für dich! [...

11' So (sprich) zu [meinem] Brud[er:...
 12' ich habe d[ir] den [....., meinen Boten, gesandt, und der möge meinem Bruder meine
 Worte sagen, und mein Bruder]
 13' möge s[ie] hören[, diese Worte...
 14' alle Angeleg[enheiten(?) ...[...
 [15'] [...

Rs.

1' welches [...
 2' und möge(?) [...
 3' was er/sie m[acht/machen (?)...

4' Mein Bruder [...
 5' der Fürst der Stadt Ber[ut was/als]
 6' der König hörte [...
 7' und ich/er frag[te aus...
 8' und er [.....] [alsba[ld...
 9' mit ihm; sie [...
 10' [und du hast die Königsherrschaft über das Land Ḫatti] ergriffen [...
 oder

⁷⁸² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 78-79.

10' [Ich habe den Eid] ergriffen [(und) ich werde (ihn) nicht auflösen ...
 [11'] [...

The first part of this letter seems to deal with a previous message (maybe reported by Piqašta), about the situation concerning Urḫi-Teššub. Ramses recognizes again the legitimacy of Ḫattušili's reign, saying that this fact is "in his heart" (an expression that could be translated also as: "I know it very well > I recognize the situation").

In the second part of the letter, the king of the city of Berut is quoted, but the text does not allow to reconstruct its whole meaning.

In the end, Ramses clinches his loyalty, confirming that he would not betray the words that he had sworn: because of the quotation in the text of a *mamita* (Rs. 10'), we could date the letter just after the stipulation of the Treaty⁷⁸³.

d. KBo I 15 + 19 (+) 22 (ÄHK no. 24, D5, pp. 58-65):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

[A] [-2']	[..... x-x-ia-x]

B [-1']	[..... a-mur šum-ma ki-it-tù]
[0']	[..... LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
1'	[..... ù] ú-še-bíl-šu a-na i[a-ši]
2'	[..... DUMU.KIN ša LUG]AL kán-na iq-bi

C 3'	[.....]i-le-eq-qú-šu-nu-ti a-na ka-a[-ša]
4'	[..... ù it-t]a-din a-na da(?) -ra-ra te ₄ -em-lu-n[u ki DUG.GA a-na] a-ma-r[i]
5'	[..... ša i]l-qa-ak-ku ka-am-ma ù la ga ₁₄ -mi[-ir
6'	[] x [..... an-]na-ti ša šu-ú ú-še-bíl-aš-šu[-nu
7'	a-na pa-n[a..... a-mu]r a-du-ku at-ta te-el-te-m[é a-ma-]te ^{MES} -šu-nu

D 8'	ù at-ta tal-tap-ra a[-na ia-ši a-ma-te ^{MES} ma-a-da-tù] la ba-na-a-tù dan-niš ša la ma-aš[-lu da]n-niš
9'	a-na še-mé-e-ša ki-i ia-ši a[t(?) -..... x] -an-na ù ki-i at-ta te-el-te-m[é]
10'	a-ma-ta an-ni-ti ul te-le-e-e [ša-pa-ri a-na ia-ši] ki-i ba-ša ša-pa-ri ša LÚ-lu ₄ um-ma-a
11'	ki-it-tu ₄ la-a ki-it-tu ₄ a-ma-te ^{MES} an-n[i-ti ša a-na-ku] aš-mu-ú ia-nu-ú ù LUGAL li-iš-pu-ra-ak-ku
12'	UGU gab-bi ša it-te-en ₆ -pu-uš it-t[i LÚ-la ₁₂ an-na-a ù ta-qa-a]b-bi gab-bi ša ma-aš-lu a-na e-pé-ši-šu
13'	a-na ša-a-šu ù li-pu-šu-uš ù ki-i at-ta tá]-aš-mu-ú tal-tap-ra a-na ŠEŠ-k]a a-ma-te ^{MES} an-ni-t[i]
14'	ma-a-du-ti a-na šé-e-li ù a-di-na ul ta-ḫ[a-as-sà-as ŠEŠ-ut-ni ù sa-la-am-ni]

E 15'	ša-ni-ta ₅ ù ša tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši aš-]šum nu-kúr-ti ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti it-ti KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
16'	um-ma-a ul tá-ḫa-as-sà-as UD-mi ^{MES} ša na-ak[-ri ^{MES} ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti at-ta kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]
17'	a-mur nu-kúr-tu ₄ ša DINGIR-lu ₄ šu-ú ù šu-ú i[t-ta-qi-da-an-ni ù a-na-ku e-te-ru-ub]
18'	i-na ŠÁ na-ak-ri ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti ki ki-i[t-ti ù ad-du-uk na-ak-ri ^{MES} an-nu-ti ki-i KARAŠ.MEŠ]
19'	ša ¹ Mu-ut-ta-al-li LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti i[l-li-ka qà-du KUR.KUR.MEŠ ma-a-da-ti ša it-ti-šu]

(E) 20'	ù KARAŠ.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-[na KUR A-mur-ri ù i-na KUR
	ù i-na KUR Ta-a-mi-in-ta]

⁷⁸³ Cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 78-79.

- F 21' *ù ki-i KARAS.MEŠ ša pa-na ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL K[UR Mi-iš-ri-i ik-šu-da^{URU} Ša-ab-tu-
na 2^{LÚ.MEŠ} Šu-ti-i ša KARAS.MEŠ]*
- 22' *ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti it-tal-ka ù šu-nu ik-t[al-du a-na LUGAL ù iq-ta-bu-ni um-ma-a LUGAL KUR
Ḫa-at-ti i-na KUR Ḫal-ba-a]*
- 23' *3 KARAS.MEŠ te-bu-ú i-na KASKAL.MEŠ ù a-di-[na ul il-la-ku a-na aš-ri ša LUGAL aš-ra-
nu]*
- 24' *ù LUGAL a-ši-ib UGU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA-šu i-na a-[ḫi IM.MAR.TU ša^{ID}A-ra-an-tu ù KARAS.MEŠ ša
pa-na i-na ma-da-ak-ti ša]*
- 25' *i-pu-šu ú-ka₄-lu ù ki-i LUGAL i-de₄ k[i-i^IMu-ua-ta-al-li LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-na KUR Ḫal-
ba-a]*
- 26' *it-ta-at-la-ak ù LUGAL ul i-de pa-[ni-šu ù LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti il-ta-ḫi-iṭ-šu i-na
KARAS.MEŠ-šu]*
- 27' *qà-du KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša it-ti-šu gab-bi-š[u-nu ù LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i il-ta-kán a-bi-ik-ta-
šu]*
- 28' *a-ḫi-ti-šu ù i-ia-nu KARAS.MEŠ-ia it-ti-ia ù i-ia-nu AN[ŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia it-ti-ia]*
-
- G 29' *ù a-na-ku a-ta-ba-ak na-ak-ri^{MEŠ} ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ an-na-ti ša KUR [Ḫa-at-ti i-na KUR Mi-
iš-ri-i]*
- 30' *a-na pa-ni DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù a-na pa-ni DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-a[t-ti]*
- 31' *ù ki-i ta-qab-bi a-na KARAS.MEŠ-ia i-ia-nu KARAS.MEŠ aš-r[a-nu ù i-ia-nu
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ aš-ra-nu a-mur]*
- 32' *I-en KARAS.MEŠ at-tu-ia i-na ŠÁ KUR A-mur-ri ù ša-nu-ú KARAS[.MEŠ at-tu-ia i-na KUR
.....]*
- 33' *ù ša-nu-ú KARAS.MEŠ i-na KUR Ta-a-mi-in-ta ki ki-it[-ti]*
-
- H 34' *ù ki-i LUGAL i[l-li-]ka a-na KUR Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi i-na MU.KAM ša[-a-ši ú-ši-ib i-na^{URU.KI}Ši-du-
na(?) a-ma-ta an-ni-ta]*
- 35' *ša i[l-te-mé LUGAL KUR Ḫ]a-at-ti ma-ad dan-niš tù-ul-tar-ra-a[ḫ ù at-ta tal-tap-ra a-na ia-
ši um-ma-a a-na-ku]*
- 36' *[él-li-ka a-na KUR Qi-]in-sa ù a-na KUR Ḫa-re-e-ta ù a-na KU[R U-pi ù a-na-ku ak-ta-ša-
ad gab-bi]*
- 37' *[gab-bi URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A ša aš-r]a-nu ù^IMu-ua-ta-al-li LUGAL KUR [Ḫa-a LUGAL KUR
Mi-iš-ri-i]*
- 38' *[qa-du KARAS.ḪI.A-šu] ù šu-ú a-ši-ib i-na^{URU.KI}Š[i-du-na(?) qa-du KARAS.MEŠ-šu ù LUGAL
KUR Ḫa-at-ti ul i-le-e]*
- 39' *[a-na a-la-ki aš-]ra-nu am-mi-ni-i an-nu-ti a-na [ia-ši tàš-pu-ra a-na-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ}
an-na-ti ma-a-du-ti]*
- 40' *[ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-š]i UGU-šu-nu ù šum-ma [...*
- 41' *[..... a-n]a ia-ši ù šu i-ta-an[-na...]*
- 42' *[a-na-ku ul ap-ta-šar ma-mi-ta] a-na-ku a-mur ma-mi-ta [a-mur ṭup-pa ša ma-mi-ti ša a-na-
ku e-pu-ša-ak-ku šá-kin a-na pa-ni]*
- Tafelrand
- Rs.
(H) 1 *[^dUTU^{URU}A-ri-in-na a-n]a pa-n[i DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.A ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša
a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša]*
- 2 *[ma-mi-ti ša] a-na-ku [e-]pu-ša-ak-k[u ù a-mur ṭup-pa ša ma-mi-ti ša at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši
ša-kín]*
- 3 *[a-na pa-n]i^dUTU^{URU.KI}A-na a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.[ḪI.A ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i šu-nu
ši-bu-tù ša a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]*
- 4 *[ša ma-mi-ti] ša at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši [*
-
- I 5 *[ša-ni-ta₅ ù] at-ta taḫ-tá-ša-aš na-ak-ra ii-na UD-mi^{MEŠ} ša nu-kúr-ti ša a-ni-nu ni-pu-šu]*
- 6 *[a-na pa-na-nu] a-mur DINGIR.MEŠ ra-bu-ú-tù ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ[-ni šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša a-
ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti]*
- 7 *ša a-n[i-nu] ni-pu-šu ki-ia-am a-na-ku ul ap-šu-ú[r ma-mi-ta a-na-ku a-mur ma-mi-ta]*

8		<i>a-na-ku a-[n]a-aš-ša-ar-šu dan-niš sa-la-ma ù [ŠEŠ-ut-ta a-di da-ri-ti]</i>
K	9	<i>ù a-na-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MES} an-na-ti ma-a-d[a-ti ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra UGU¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR an-na-a ù]</i>
10		<i>at-ta tal-tap-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a li-qa-aš-š[u a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù šu-nu ul i-mu-ru-ni-šu ù]</i>
11		<i>le-qú-ú-ma ul il-qú-ni-šu a-mur ʔe₄-ma ba-nu[-ú ša ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-mi ša a-ni-i-nu ni-pu-šu]</i>
12		<i>a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i qà-du KUR Ḫa-at-ti pa-nu-ia a-na d[a-ri-ti]</i>
L	13	<i>ša-ni-ta₅ ù ša tàš-pu-ra aš-šum a-ma-ta ša¹Pa-ku[-...^{LÚ}GAL ša^{LÚ}Me-luḫ-ḫa^{MES} um-ma-a šu-ú il-li-ka a-na KUR Ḫal-ba-a]</i>
14		<i>qà-du I-en me-at ša-nu-ú-tù ki-i ša-a-šu ul [a-na-an-din-šu-nu-ti a-na a-ša-bi aš-ra-nu a-mur^{LÚ}GAL]</i>
15		<i>ša^{LÚ}Me-luḫ-ḫa^{MES} ¹Pi-ia-ti ul ta-na-an-di-i[n-šu a-na a-ša-bi aš-ra-nu qà-du I-en me-at ša-nu-ú-tù]</i>
16		<i>ki-i ša-a-šu a-mur¹Pi-ri-iḫ-na-a-ua^{LÚ}ŠU.GI [..... ul ta-na-an-di-in-šu a-na a-ša-bi aš-ra-nu a-mur]</i>
17		<i>ul ta-na-di-in^{LÚ}ša-kín KUR¹Pur-pu-ra ši-g[i₄-li-qu-ú(?) ša KUR Ḫal-ba-a a-na]</i>
18		<i>a-mur¹Ri-a an-na-a^{LÚ}.... ul ta-na-an-di-in-šu a-na a-la-ki aš-ra-nu ù ul ta-na-an-di-in-šu]</i>
19		<i>a-na e-pe-ši^{LÚ}ša-kín KUR [Ḫal-ba-a a-mur¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR an-na-a ul ta-na-an-di-in-šu a-na a-la-ki aš-ra-nu]</i>
20		<i>a-na e-pe-ši LUGAL KUR Ḫal-b[a a-mur a-na-ku al-te-mé a-ma-te^{MES} ma-a-da-ti ša tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]</i>
21		<i>UGU-šu-nu ù ul ma-aš-lu [a-na še-mé-e-ši-na]</i>
M	22	<i>ù ša tàš-pu-ra aš-šum a-ma-[ta ša¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR um-ma-a ia-nu šu-ú il-li-ka i-na KUR Qí-in-sà ù KUR Ḫal-ba-a]</i>
23		<i>ù^{URU.KI}Ki-iz-ua-at-na kán[-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur ul i-de a-ma-te^{MES} an-na-ti ša tàš-pu-ra]</i>
24		<i>UGU a-ma-ta an-ni-ta ša [¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR um-ma-a li-qa-aš-šu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-na-ku ul i-de]</i>
25		<i>e(!)-ka-a iz-za-az ù ki[-i MUŠEN ip-par-ši-id a-mur ma-mi-ta ša at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši ša-kín]</i>
26		<i>a-na pa-ni^dUTU a-na pa-ni [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šu-nu im-ma-ru ma-mi-ta ša at-ta te-pu-ša-an-ni ù ti-]d[e₄-ni dan-]niš</i>
27		<i>ù LUGAL i-de₄-ka dan-n[íš a-mur ma-mi-ta ša a-na-ku e-pu-ša-ak-ku ša-kín a-n]a pa-ni^dIŠKUR a-na pa-ni</i>
28		<i>DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šu-nu im-m[a-ru ma-mi-ta ša a-na-ku e-pu-ša-ak-k]u</i>
N	29	<i>a-mur an-nu-ú¹Ur[-ḫi-^dIŠKUR ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-ma-te^{MES} (an-na-ti) m]a-a-dá-tù ma-a-dá-tù UGU-šu</i>
30		<i>ša ul ma-aš-l[u dan-ni-iš a-na še-mé-e-šu-nu ia-nu-ú š]u-ú i-na KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na it-tal-ka</i>
31		<i>ù im-t[a-ḫar-šu-ma-an LUGAL KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na u il-qa-a]k-ku-uš-šu ia-nu-ú i-na KUR Ḫal-ba-a il-li-ka</i>
32		<i>ù LUGAL [KUR Ḫal-ba-a-ma-an im-ta-ḫar-šu ù il-qa-]ak-ku-uš-šu ia-nu-ú i-na KUR Šu-ba-ri-i il-li-ka</i>
33		<i>[ù LUGAL KUR Šu-ba-ri-i-ma-an im-ta-ḫar-šu ù il-qa-]ak-ku-uš-šu ia-nu-ú i-na KUR Qí-in-sà it-tal-ka</i>
34		<i>[ù LUGAL KUR Qí-in-sà-ma-an im-ta-ḫar-šu ù il-qa-]ak-ku-uš-šu</i>
O	35	<i>[um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti i]l-li-ku-ni qà-du LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a ù šu-nu</i>
36		<i>[it-ták-du-šu ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a EN-]ni šu-ú DUMU.SAL ša LUGAL it-ti-šu a-na DAM-ti-š[u]</i>
37		<i>[ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a ḫa-ta-ni LUGAL šu-]ú ù šum-ma le-mu-ut-tù it-te-en₆-pu-uš</i>
38		<i>[a-na an-ni-i ḫa-ta-ni LUGAL ni-i-nu nu-ba-á'-a]-šu ù šum-ma^mṭub-ta₅ it-te-en₆-pu-uš</i>

39 [a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL nu-ba-á'-a-šu kán-na-ma ÌR.ME]Š-ka gab-bi-šu-nu kán-na iq-bi ù
DUMU.MEŠ KUR Qa-a-[ú]'-e'(?)
40 [iš-mu-ú a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti qà-du DUMU.MEŠ KUR Š]u[-ba-ri-i] qà-du DUMU.MEŠ KUR
A-mur-ri
41 [ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a ni-i-nu ul ni-le-eq-qa-a-aš-šu ù ni-i-nu u]l ni-na-an-din[-šu]

[P] [42] [ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma-a šum-ma le-mu-ut-tù in-né-ep-pu-uš a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL ni-i-
nu]
[43] [nu-ba-á'-a-šu ù ni-i-nu it-ti-šu ù šum-ma^{tu} tub-ta₅ in-né-ep-pu-uš]
[44] [a-na ḥa-ta-ni LUGAL nu-ba-á'-a-šu kán-na-ma ù ni-i-nu it-ti-šu]

[Q] [45] [..... x ta-šap-pa-ra-a]
[46] [.....-n]a-an-din]
[47] [..... x]

Translation⁷⁸⁴

Vs.

A [-2'] [.....] ...]

B [-1'] [..... Siehe, wenn es Wahrheit]
[0'] [ist der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**],
1' [..... un]d wird ihn mi[r] bringen lassen
2' [.....]“ - so sagte [der Bote des Königs].

C 3' [.....] man wird sie di[r] bringen
4' [..... ich/er ver]anlaßte, daß ihr Vorschlag [freundlich
durch] gesprochen (?) wurde, [um zu s]ehen
5' [....., die e]r dir auf diese Weise gebracht hat,
und es ist nicht erledigt (?)
6' [.....] diese [.....], die er ihn[en] bringen ließ;
7' frühe[r Sieh]e, fürwahr, du hast ihre [Wor]te gehö[r]t.

D 8' Und du hast m[ir viele] nicht sehr schöne [Worte] geschrieben, die nicht (so) [s]ehr
hörenswe[r]t sind
9' wie ich (= wie meine Worte) [] ... Und nachdem du
10' diese Angelegenheit gehört hast, konntest du [mir] (da) nicht [schreiben], wie das Schreiben
eines Mannes sein sollte, wie folgt:
11' „Sind sie zutreffend (oder) nicht zutreffend, die[se] Worte, [die ich] gehört habe?“ Ist es nicht
so? Und der König (= Ramses) will dir schreiben
12' über alle, die sich mi[t diesem Mann] verbündeten, [und du könntest (dann)] alles [sa]gen, was
für ihn zu tun angemessen ist,
13' und man soll es tun. Aber als du (diese Angelegenheit) h[örtest, (da) schriebs]t du dei[nem
[Bruder] die[se] vielen
14' Worte um einen Streit vom Zaune zu brechen und dach[test] noch nicht [an unsere
Brüderschaft und unseren Frieden].

E 15' Ferner: Und was du mir über die Feindschaft des Landes Ḥatti mit dem Lande **Ägypten**
schriebst,
16' wie folgt: „Denkst du nicht mehr an die Tage der Feind[e aus dem Lande Ḥatti]?“ So hast du
mir geschrieben], -
17' Siehe, die Feindschaft eines Gottes war das, und er be[reitete mir Schwierigkeit; aber ich
drang]
18' tatsäch[lich] mitten in die Feinde aus dem Lande Ḥatti [ein und erschlug diese Feinde, als das
Heer]

⁷⁸⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 95-121.

- 19' des Muwatalli, des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, k[am mitsamt den vielen Ländern, die sich bei ihm befanden],
-
- (E) 20' während sich die Heere des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, (noch) i[m Lande Amurru, im Lande ... und im Lande Taminta befanden].
- F 21' Und als die Vorhut des Großkönigs, des Königs des L[andes **Ägypten**, die Stadt Šabtuna erreichte, da kamen zwei Beduinen vom Heere]
- 22' des Landes Ḫatti, und sie gel[angten zum König, und sie sagten wie folgt: „Der König von Ḫatti befindet sich im Lande Ḫalbā]“.
- 23' Drei Heere rückten auf den Wegen an und waren no[ch nicht an den Ort gelangt, wo sich der König befand];
- 24' und der König saß auf seinem Throne auf der [West]sei[te des Orontesflusses, und die Vorhut befand sich in dem Lager, das]
- 25' sie aufschlugen (und) besetzt hielten; und während der König wußte, d[aß Muwatalli, der König des Landes Ḫatti, aus dem Lande Ḫalbā]
- 26' weggegangen war, kannte der König nicht [dessen] Ab [sieht; und der König des Landes Ḫatti überfiel ihn mit seinem Heere]
- 27' und allen Ländern, die sich bei ihm befanden, [aber der König des Landes **Ägypten** bewirkte seine Niederlage]
- 28' ganz allein, obwohl meine Heere nicht bei mir waren, und obwohl meine Wagen[kämpfer] nicht [bei mir waren].
-
- G 29' Und ich führte die aus diesen Ländern des Landes [Ḫatti] stammenden Feinde weg [ins Land **Ägypten**]
- 30' angesichts der Söhne des Landes **Ägypten** und angesichts der Söhne des Landes Ḫa[tti ...
- 31' Und da du in bezug auf meine Heere sagen könntest: „Waren keine Heere do[rt, und waren (wirklich) keine Wagenkämpfer dort?“ (So wäre darauf zu sagen:) Siehe],
- 32' ein Heer von mir befand sich (noch) inmitten des Landes Amurru, ein weiteres Hee[r von mir im Lande]
- 33' und ein weiteres Heer im Lande Tāminta, wie es den Tatsach[en] (entspricht).
-
- H 34' Und als der König ins Land Kinahḫi g[in]g in dem nä[mlichen] Jahr, [setzte er sich in der Stadt Sidon (?) fest. Diese Angelegenheit],
- 35' di[e der König des Landes Ḫ]atti dann h[orte], hast du gar sehr hochgespielt. Und du schriebst an mich wie folgt: „Ich]
- 36' [ging ins Land Q]insa und ins Land Ḫarēta und ins La[nd Upi und ich eroberte]
- 37' [alle Städte, die sich do[rt befinden, und Muwatalli, der König des Landes [Ḫ]atti, wollte gegen den König des Landes **Ägypten** ziehen]
- 38' [mit seinen Heeren], (aber) der saß in der Stadt S[idon (?) zusammen mit seinen Heeren, und der König des Landes Ḫatti konnte nicht]
- 39' [do]rthin [gehen].“ Warum [hast du] mi[r] dieses [geschrieben? Ich verstehe diese vielen Angelegenheiten nicht],
- 40' über die [du mi]r [geschrieben hast]. Und wenn [...
- 41' [..... m]ir, und der ga[b/veranlaß]te ...
- 42' [Ich habe den Eid nicht aufgelöst], ich habe den Eid zur Kenntnis genommen. [Siehe, die Tafel des Eides, den ich dir geleistet habe, liegt vor]
- Tafelrand
- (Rs.)
- (H) 1 [der Sonnengottheit von Arinna (und)] vo[r den großen Göttern des Landes **Ḫatti**; sie sind Zeugen der Worte des]
- 2 [Eides, den] ich di[r gel]eistet habe; [und siehe, die Tafel des Eides, den du mir geleistet hast, liegt]
- 3 [vo]r der Sonnengottheit von Heliopolis (und) vor den groß[en] Göttern [des Landes **Ägypten**; sie sind Zeugen der Worte]
- 4 [des Eides], den du mir geleistet hast.

- 5 [Ferner: Aber] du dachtest an den Feind a[us den Tagen der Feindschaft, die wir früher hegten].
6 Siehe, die großen Götter [unserer] Länder, [sie sind Zeugen der Worte des Eides],
7 den wi[r] geleistet haben. (Es ist) so: Ich habe [den Eid] nicht gelö[st, ich habe den Eid zur
Kenntnis genommen];
8 ich werde ihn sehr (im Gedächtnis) bewahren, den Frieden und [die Bruderschaft]!
-
- K 9 Und ich verstehe diese viel[en] Worte nicht, [die du über diesen UrḫiTeššub geschrieben hast;
und]
10 du hast mir wie folgt geschrieben: „Bringe ihn [nach **Ägypten!**“ Man hat ihn nicht gefunden,
und]
11 man hat ihn nicht gebracht; (doch) siehe, das schöne Verhältnis [der Bruderschaft und des
Friedens, das wir geschaffen haben]
12 für das Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫatti, (steht) vor mir auf [Dauer].
-
- L 13 Ferner: Und was du über die Angelegenheit des Paku[...], des Obersten der Nubier, wie folgt
geschrieben hast: „Er ging ins Land Ḫalbā]
14 mit hundert anderen seinesgleichen; i[ch werde sie aber nicht dort bleiben(?) lassen“. Siehe,
der Oberste]
15 der Nubier Pijati - du läßt [ihn] (auch) nicht [dort bleiben(?) mit hundert anderen seines-]
16 gleichen; siehe, der Piriḫnawa, der Älteste [der Vorhalle, - du läßt ihn nicht dort bleiben(?);
siehe],
17 du läßt den Landstatthalter Purpura, den Steu[ereinzieher (?) des Landes Ḫalbā], nicht
[zurücktreten?];
18 siehe, dieser Ria, der [..... - du läßt ihn nicht dorthin gehen und läßt ihn nicht]
19 zum Statthalter des Landes [Ḫalbā] machen; [siehe, dieser UrḫiTeššub (?), - du läßt ihn nicht
dorthin gehen]
20 um (ihn) zum König des Landes Ḫalb[ā] machen. [Siehe, ich habe die vielen Worte gehört,
die du mir]
21 über sie [geschrieben hast], aber sie sind nicht [hörens]wert.
-
- M 22 Und was du mir über die Angelegen[heit des UrḫiTeššub geschrieben hast, wie folgt: „Es ist
nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Qinsa ging oder ins Land Ḫalbā]
23 oder ins Land Kizwatna“ - s[o hast du mir geschrieben. Siehe, ich verstehe diese Worte nicht,
die du geschrieben hast]
24 über diese Angelegenheit des [UrḫiTeššub, wie folgt: „Bringe ihn ins Land **Ägypten!**“ Ich
weiß nicht],
25 wo er sich aufhält, und wi[e ein Vogel ist er entflohen. Siehe, der Eid, den du mir gemacht
hast, liegt]
26 vor dem Angesicht des Sonnengottes (und) vor dem Angesicht [der großen Götter; sie sollen
den Eid zur Kenntnis nehmen, den du mir gemacht hast. Du erke[nn]st mich in hohem]
Maße [an],
27 und ich, der König, erkenne dich [in] hohem [Maße] an. [Siehe, der Eid, den ich dir gemacht
habe, liegt v]or dem Angesicht des Wettergottes (und) vor dem Angesicht
28 der großen Götter; sie sollen [den Eid] zur Kenn[tnis nehmen, den ich d]ir [gemacht habe].
-
- N 29 Siehe, dieser UrḫiTeššub], über den [du mir (diese) v]ielen, vielen [Worte geschrieben hast],
30 die nicht wer[t sind sie zu hören, - es ist nicht der Fall, daß e]r ins Land Kizwatna ging?
31 [Der König des Landes Kizwatna wäre ihm] ent[gegengetreten und hätte] ihn dir [gebrach]t?
Es ist nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Ḫalbā ging?
32 Der König [des Landes Ḫalbā wäre ihm entgegengetreten und hätte] ihn dir [gebrach]t? Es ist
nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Šubari ging?
33 [Der König des Landes Šubari wäre ihm entgegengetreten und hätte] ihn dir [gebrach]t? Es ist
nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Qinsa ging?
34 [Der König des Landes Qinsa wäre ihm entgegengetreten und hätte] ihn dir [gebrach]t?
-

- O 35 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Söhne des Landes Ḫatti] kamen zu mir mit diesem Mann, und sie
 36 [sorgten sich sehr um ihn, und sie sagten, wie folgt]: „Unser [Herr] ist er; eine Königstochter ist bei ihm als seine Gemahlin“,
 37 [und sie sagten, wie folgt: „Der Schwiegersohn eines Königs ist e]r, und wenn Böses angetan werden sollte
 38 [diesem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden wir] es [rächen], und wenn Gutes angetan werden sollte
 39 [dem Schwiegersohn des Königs, werden wir es ebenfalls vergelten].“ Alle deine [Dien]er sagten so; und die Söhne des Landes Qa[u]’e1’(?)
 40 [hörten diese Worte zusammen mit den Söhnen des Landes Š]u[bari (?)] und den Söhnen des Landes Amurru,
 41 [und sie sagten, wie folgt: „Wir werden ihn nicht wegbringen und] wir werden [ihn ni]cht ausliefern“.
-
- [P] [42] [Und sie sagten, wie folgt: „Wenn Böses angetan werden sollte dem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden wir
 [43] [ihn rächen, denn wir sind (auch) im Unglück (o. ä.) verbündet mit ihm; und wenn Gutes angetan werden sollte]
 [44] [dem Schwiegersohn eines Königs, werden wir es ebenfalls vergelten, denn wir sind (auch) im Glück (o. ä.) verbündet mit ihm]“.
-
- [Q] [45] [..... sendest du?]
 [46] [..... du/er veranlaßt]
 [47] [.....]

This long letter, very similar in form and content to the aforementioned KUB III 30 + 31⁷⁸⁵, reports the reply of Ramses to two accusations he was charged by Ḫattušili: 1) the Hittite king reproaches the pharaoh for having mystified the account of the battle of Kadesh⁷⁸⁶ and 2) accuses him again to lie about the place where Urḫi-Teššub would have escaped to. On his part, Ramses accuses Ḫattušili to have written “not good words” without asking him a direct confirmation of the events; the pharaoh also charges the Hittite king of wanting to start a new conflict, not remembering the previous treaty of alliance (so, we are sure that this letter has to be dated after the Treaty).

Then, Ramses reports his own version of the battle of Kadesh: this section is very important, because it offers us a *comparandum* of the hieroglyphic accounts of the conflict⁷⁸⁷, where Ramses underlines (as also in this letter) his valiance in battle, when he fought alone against the Hittite army. It is noteworthy to ask how the Hittite king knew the text of these documents, i.e. the “Poem” and the “Bulletin”. Cordani proposed a solution:

“I messaggeri ittiti incaricati dei contatti diplomatici con l’Egitto avevano forse visto queste rappresentazioni monumentali o addirittura letto le didascalie che le accompagnavano, nelle quali a Muwatalli sono attribuiti gli epiteti dispregiativi ‘vile principe di Ḫatti’ e ‘vile caduto di Ḫatti’. Va infatti ricordato che uno dei messaggeri di Ḫattušili, Riamašia/Riamašši, incaricato del trasporto della tavola d’argento del trattato e della successiva corrispondenza, porta un nome che ne tradisce la possibile provenienza egiziana; essendo un funzionario di alto livello, dunque ben istruito, non è escluso che egli fosse anche in grado di leggere il geroglifico”⁷⁸⁸.

⁷⁸⁵ See *supra*, text no. 19.b.

⁷⁸⁶ CORDANI 2017, p. 83, note 1 quotes an interesting opinion of Liverani: according to him, the Egyptian account of the battle are a “colossale esemplificazione di un *topos* ideologico (e letterario e iconico nelle espressioni) di antica tradizione egiziana (LIVERANI 1990a, p. 212)”. Cordani, in the same note, also proposed that the insistence of Ramses on his loneliness in battle would be also interpreted as a “più specifica polemica politica di Ramesse contro la classe militare egiziana”.

⁷⁸⁷ See *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 8.a-c.

⁷⁸⁸ CORDANI 2017, p. 83.

This is surely an intriguing explanation, but leaves open some problems:

1) the diplomatic mission who brought the tablet of the Treaty would have been directed to Pi-Ramesse, where no inscriptions of the battle of Kadesh have been found, so far⁷⁸⁹; it is quite unlikely that the Hittite delegation reached also Thebes or Abu Simbel, having the possibility to see the actual accounts about Kadesh.

2) Maybe, the royal messenger Riamašši had the possibility to read some reports of the battle written on papyri (as papSallier I = BM: EA 10185)⁷⁹⁰: but also this possibility seems to me fairly unlikely. It also seems to be quite difficult that Riamašši reported to the Hittite king the content of the Egyptian accounts, even if he was a Hittite messenger. In any case, all these explanations are just suppositions, because we do not have any evidences supporting them.

In the following section, Ramses openly asks to Ḫattušili the reason for all these accusations, reaffirming his faithfulness to the Treaty.

On the reverse of the tablet, Ramses continues dealing with the “Urḫi-Teššub affaire”: he strongly affirms that he was neither in Egypt or in one of the Syrian territories belonging to Egypt. In Rs. 24’-25’, Ramses establishes an effective metaphor, comparing the elusive fugitive with a flying bird: *a-na-ku ul i-de / e(!)-ka-a iz-za-az ù ki[-i MUŠEN ip-par-ši-id* (“Ich weiß nicht / wo er sich aufhält, und wie ein Vogel ist er entflohen”)⁷⁹¹.

In the end, the document reports different opinions that Ramses had heard about the condition of Urḫi-Teššub: Ramses insists on his loyalty and reiterates that he does not know nothing about Muwatalli’s successor. In the last paragraph of the text, almost completely lost, just the verb *ta-šap-pa-ra-a* (“sendest du”) is preserved (Rs. 1. 45): maybe, we can reconstruct that Ramses was referring to a previous message sent to him by Ḫattušili (but cf. also *supra*, comment to text no. 19.b).

⁷⁸⁹ Maybe this absence could have a mere archaeological explanation, but it seems to me quite improbable that such as inscriptions, if existed at Pi-Ramesse, did not leave any traces.

⁷⁹⁰ See *supra*, section 1.1, introduction to the group of texts listed under no. 8.

⁷⁹¹ This kind of metaphors should have been quite common in ancient times: cf. the present one with that equating the pharaoh to a hawk and the murdered Zannanza to a chick, in CTH 154 (KUB XIX 20, Rs. 22-23), *supra* under comment to text no. 18.

20. CTH 157: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III⁷⁹²

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC (ca. between 1269 and 1246/1245 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters related to the “First Hittite Marriage”

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 18, 4' (br.)
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XXVIII 42 Vs. ⁷ 5'
KUR <i>mi-[(br.)</i>	KBo XXVIII 42 Vs. ⁷ 1'
<i>]ri-i (br.)</i>	KBo XXVIII 22, 6'

a. KBo XXVIII 21 and 22 (KBo I 9 + 644/c + 1098/c + 2123/c + 461/e + 1298/v + JCS 24, 175 [2463]); (ÄHK no. 42, E9, pp. 100-105):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma* ¹*Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a* ša-t[e-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL] **KU[R] M[i-]i[š-ri-i]**
- 2 *DUMU* ^d*UTU* ¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* [^d*a-ma-na* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-i[š-ri-i]** (!)-[i]
- sic
- 3 *a-na* ¹*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li* LUGAL[.GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qī**]-*bí-ma* [*a-nu-ma*]
- 4 ¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*a*[-*ma-na* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-i[š-ri-i]** ŠEŠ-ka [šul-mu *a-na*]
- 5 *É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-i*[*a ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia* ^{GIS}*GIGI*]R.MEŠ-ia
- [*ù a-na*]
- 6 *ŠÁ gab-bi* **KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia** *da-a*[*n-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš šul-m*]u
-
- 7 *a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-m*[*u dan-niš dan-niš* ¹*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-l*]i LUGAL.GAL [LUGAL **KUR Ḫa-at-ti**]
- 8 *ŠEŠ-ia a-na É.MEŠ-ka a-na D[AM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-k]a ANŠE.KUR.RA. MEŠ-*
- ka* ^{GIS}*GIGIR.MEŠ-ka*¹
- 9 *ù a-na ŠÁ gab-bi* **KUR.KUR.MEŠ-k**[*a da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš*]*u-ú šu-u*[*l*]-*mu*
-
- 10 *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-*[*ma* ¹*Ti-li* ^d*IŠKUR DUMU.KIN* ša *Š*]EŠ-ia *ik-tal-dá*
- 11 *a-na UGU-ḫi-ia qà-du* ¹*R*[*i-a*]-*ma-aš-i*[*a DUMU.KIN* ša *ŠEŠ-ia q*]à-*du* ¹*Pi-ri-iḫ-na-ua*
- 12 *DUMU.KIN-ri-ia qà-du* ¹*Z*[*i*]-*na-pa q*[à-*du* ¹*Ma-an-ia*] *DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia* *ù iq-ta-bu-ni*
- 13 *šul-ma* ša *ŠEŠ-ia* *ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-m*[*a* ša *ŠAL.LUGAL.GA*]L *ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-ma*
- 14 *ša DUMU.MEŠ-šu* *ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-ma* š[*a KUR.KUR.MEŠ-šu* *ù aḫ-ta-di dan-niš dan-niš*
- 15 *ù ša it-ti-ib dan-niš dan-niš ki-i aš-mu-*[*ú šu*]l-*ma* ša *ŠEŠ*[-*i*]a *um-ma-a* ša-*lim*
- 16 *ki-i aš-mu-ú šul-ma* ša *ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL. um-m*[*a-a* š]a-*al-ma*<at> *ki[-i] aš-mu-ú šul-ma*
- 17 [š]a *DUMU.MEŠ-šu um-ma-a* š[*a-a*]l-*mu ki-i aš-m*[*u-ú* š]ul-*ma* š[*a KU*]R-*šu um-ma-a šal-ma-at*
-
- 18 [*ù a-ta-mar* t]up-*pa* ša [ŠEŠ-ia *ú-še-bi-l*[*a a-na ia-ši UL a*]l-*te-mé gab-bi*
- 19 [*a-ma-te* ^{MEŠ}ša *ŠEŠ-i*]a *i[š-pu-r]*a *a-na ia-ši U*[*GU-ši-na*] *ù [ŠÁ i]t-ti-ba-an-ni dan-niš dan-niš*
- 20 [*ki-i a-na-ku aš-mu-ú-ši-na-t*]i *a-ma-te* ^{MEŠ}š[*a-a-ši-na* š]a *ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra*
- 21 [*a-na ia-ši* *ù DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-šu* *ú-še-e*]r-*re-bu-ni* š[*u-bé-el-ta an-*]ni-*ta ŠIG*₅-*qi dan-niš*
- 22 [ša *ŠEŠ-ia* *ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši i-na ANŠE.K*[*UR.RA.MEŠ*]š *ša* ša-*ma-di*
- 23 [*ù* ^{GIS}*GIGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu* *ù a-ta-na-a*]-*t-ti* ša *šu-g*[*u*₅-*ul-la-ti* *ù*] *pu-ḫa-lu* ^{MEŠ}-*šu-nu*
- 24 [*ù* *ú-de*₄-*e* *ù*(?) *šu-ku-ut-t*]a ^M[^{ES}*ma-a*]-*du-ti* [ŠIG₅-*ti i-na K*]Ū.GI.MEŠ *KŪ.BABBAR.MEŠ*

⁷⁹² For what concerns these letters included in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, I am not going to provide a wider comment, for which I refer, in general, to CORDANI 2017 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2. I will limit myself to some major remarks, mostly underlining the topics of the letters.

- 25 [ù am-ta-ḥar šu-bé-el-t]a ŠIG₅-q[í ša] ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la a-na ia]-ši
-
- 26 [a-mur ŠEŠ-ut-ni dá-mi-i]q-ti ù š[a(?)]-lam-ni dá-mi-iq-ti i-na pa-ni^d]UTU(!) [ù₁(!)]^dIŠKUR
 27 [^dUTU ù^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ-]ia ù DIN[GIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ŠEŠ-ut-ni ù ša-lam-ni i-na-]an(!)-
 di-nu
- 28 [ša ni-nu i-na ŠÀ-šu a-d]i dá-ri[-ti ...
 29 [... .. ù DUMU.MEŠ.KI]N-ni it[-ta-na-al-la-ku i-na be-ri-ni UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti ù]
 30 [ša-la-ma ba-ni-i a-di ša-t]i i-na g[i-na-a i-na gi-na-a ù ni-nu ni-na-aš-ša-ar]
 31 [gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša UGU ṭup-p]i ša^dUTU ù [^dIŠKUR id-di-nu a-na e-pé-ši-šu]
-
- 32 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù š]a ŠEŠ-i[a iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši aš-šum DUMU.ŠAL-šu]
 33 [um-ma-a^dUTU i-te-ep-š]a mé-r[e-él-ti-ia ša a-na-ku aq-ba-aš-šu it-ta-din]
 [34'] [a-na ṭu-ub ŠÀ-ia ŠEŠ-ia kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ŠIG₅-qi dan-niš ṭe₄-mu]
 [35'] [an-nu-ú ša^dUTU i-pu-šu ki-i id-di-nu a-na ṭu-ub ŠÀ ša ŠEŠ-ia]
-
- 36' [^dUTU it-ta-din a-na e]-pé-š[i mé-re-él-ti-ka ša at-ta te-ri-ša it-ti-šu]
 37' [ù šu-ú it-t]a-din a-na [ù-ub ŠÀ-bi ša ŠEŠ-ia ù šu-ú it-ta-din a-na ṭu-ub]
 38' [ŠÀ-bi ša^{ŠAL}a-ḥa]-ti-ia ù šu[-ú it-ta-din a-na e-pé-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša ŠÀ-bi]
 39' [ša^{ŠAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia] ḥa-ši-iḥ a-n[a e-pé-ši-šu-nu a-na DUMU.ŠAL-ša ù^dUTU ù]
 40' [^dIŠKUR i-na-di-n]u-ši a-na bi-i[-t-ti LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka ù ši-i a-na bé-el-tù-ti]
 41' [i-na **KUR Mi-i**]š-ri-i ù š[u-nu i-na-an-di-nu a-na ṭu-ub ŠÀ-bi ša ŠEŠ-ia]
 42' [ù šu-nu i-na-a]n-di-nu a-n[a ṭu-ub ŠÀ-bi ša LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka]
-
- [43'] [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma¹Ti-li-^dIŠKUR iq-ta-ba-a a-na ia-ši ...]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [š-u-ú kán-na iq-bi ù¹Ri-a-ma-aš-ia DUMU.KIN ša^{ŠAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia iq-ta-bi]
 [.....]
 [.....]
-
- [..... šu-ú kán-na iq-ta-bi]
-
- [ù¹Pi-ri-iḥ-na-ua iq-ta-bi um-ma-a]
 [.....]
- Rs. [.....]
 [.....]
- [0'] [ù¹Zi-na-pa kán-na-ma iq-ta-bi¹Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL]
 1' [LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti u]l¹iq¹-[bi a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li um-ma-a]
 2' [li-il-qú-ni] DUMU.MEŠ š[a¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li šu-ú kán-na iq-bi]
 3' [ù¹Ma-an-ia iq]-ta-bi um-m[a-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ka ul]
 4' [iq-bi um-ma-a] li-il-qú-ni [DUMU.MEŠ ša¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li]
 5' [š-u-ú kán-na a-n]a LUGAL iq-ta-[bi]
-
- 6' [LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka i]q-ta-bi a-na¹T[i-li-^dIŠKUR DUMU.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia a-du-ku at-ta]
 7' [táq-ta-bi] um-ma-a ŠEŠ-k[a iq-bi a-na ia-ši um-ma-a qí-bi a-na LUGAL]
 8' [ŠEŠ-ia li-il]-qú-ni DUMU.MEŠ ša¹[Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li at-ta kán-na]
 9' [táq-ta-bi u]m-ma-a mu-ḥu-u[r-lu-nu-ú li-qe-šu-nu-ti a-na ŠEŠ-ia]
 10' [ki-la-al-lu]-ú-šu-nu 1-en l[i-il-li-ik qà-du 1-en u a-na-an-din a-na a-la-ki]
 11' [LÚ.MEŠ ša i-]e-qú-ú-šu-nu-ti a-[na LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]
 12' [i-ni-in-na] LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka kán-n[a iq-ta-ba-aš-šu ù šu-ú] iq-ta-bi
 13' [ia-nu u]l e-le-eq-qé-š[u-nu-ti a-di ṭup-pa ša LUGAL] be-lí-ia
 14' [il-la-ka a-n]a LUGAL šu-ú kán-n[a iq-bi]
-
- 15' [ù ŠEŠ-ia li]š-pu-ra a-na ia-ši [UGU ṭe₄-mi ša šu-ú i-qáb-bi] aš-šum DUMU.MEŠ

16' [ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia]-al-li ù šum-ma [ŠEŠ-ia i-qáb-bi šu-bi-l]a-aš-šu-nu-ti
 17' [ù a-na-ku ú-]r še-bi'-[l]a-aš-šu-nu-ti a-[na ŠEŠ-ia i-ni-in-na]
 ----- sic
 18' [um-ma-a] ¹a-na ŠEŠ-i[a]-ma a-nu-ma a-di [a-ša-ar-ra-aḥ ¹Ti-l]i-^dIŠKUR DUMU.KIN
 19' [š]a ŠEŠ-ia qà-d[u] ¹Ri-a-ma-a[š²-ia DUMU.KIN ša ŠEŠ-i]a qà-du DUMU.KIN.MEŠ
 20' ša LUGAL ŠEŠ-k[a a]-di il-[la-]ku a[-na ŠEŠ-ia] i-ni-in[-n]a qà-du
 21' šu-bé-el-ta [d]á-mi-iq-[t]i d[a-an-ni-i]š a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-ku
 22' a-šap-pár a-na [ŠEŠ-ia] UGU gab-b[i ṭe₄-mi ša Š]EŠ-ia i-š[ap-]pa-ra
 23' a-na ia-ši UG[U-šu-n]u kán-n[a-ma ù DUMU š]i-ip-ri-šu [li-iq-bi a-na ia-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-mi]
 24' ša ŠEŠ-ia [i-šap-pa-r]a [a-na ia-ši UG]U-šu-nu

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁷⁹³

Vs.

1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria šat[epnaria, der Großkönig des Landes Äg]ly[pten],
 2 der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-[amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Äg]lypten:

3 Zu Ḫattusili, dem [Groß]könig, [dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem Bruder spr]ich: [Nun, dem]
 4 Riamašeša mai-a[mana, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Äg]ypten], deinem Bruder, [geht es
 gut],
 5 meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen, mein[en] Söhnen, [meinen Truppen, meinen Pferden], meinen
 [Wa]gen u[nd]
 6 innerhalb aller meiner Länder geht es se[hr, sehr] gut;

7 dir möge es [sehr, sehr] gut gehen, dem [Ḫattusil]i, dem Großkönig, [dem König des Landes Ḫatti],
 8 meinem Bruder, deinen Häusern, [deinen] Fr[auen, deinen Söhnen, dei]nen [Truppen], (deinen)
 Pferden, deinen Wagen
 9 und innerhalb aller dei[ner] Länder, möge es [sehr, sehr] gut gehen.

10 So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nun[mehr ist TiliTeššub, der Bote] meines [Br]uders,
 11 zu mir gelangt mit R[i]amašj[a, dem Boten meines Bruders, m]it Pi[r]iḫnawa,
 12 meinem Boten, mit Zinapa (und) m[it Man]ja, meinen Boten, und sie haben mir
 13 vom Wohlergehen meines Bruders berichtet, und sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen der
 Groß[königin] berichtet, und sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen
 14 seiner Söhne berichtet, und sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen [seiner Länder] berichtet, [un]d ich
 freute mich sehr, sehr,
 15 und das Herz wurde mir sehr, sehr froh, als ich vom [Woh]lgehen [mei]nes Bruders hörte, wie
 folgt: „Er ist gesund“,
 16 als ich vom Wohlergehen der Großkönigin hörte, wie fol[gt: „Sie ist g]esund“, als ich vom
 Wohlergehen
 17 seiner Söhne hörte, wie folgt: „Sie sind g[es]und“, als ich vom [W]ohlbefinden seines [Lan]des
 hör[te], wie folgt: „Es ist gesund“.

18 [Und ich habe die T]afel [gesehen], die [me]in [Bruder m]ir hat bringen lassen, und ich habe alle
 19 [Angelegenheiten] gehört, üb[er die] mir [me]in [Bruder] ge[schrieb]en hat, und [das Herz wurde]
 mir sehr, sehr froh,
 20 [als ich si]e [hörte], d[iese] Worte, [d]ie mein Bruder [mir] schrieb.
 21 [Und seine Boten br]ingen (nun) [die]ses sehr schöne Ge[schenk] herbei,
 22 [das mi]r [mein Bruder bringen ließ], bestehend aus Pfe[rde]n zum Anschrren
 23 [und ihren Wagen, und] Her[denstu]ten [un]d ihren Zuchthengsten,
 24 [und Gefäßen und vi]elen [schönen Schmuckstü]cken [aus Go]ld (und) Silber,
 25 [und ich habe] das schön[e Geschen]k [erhalten, das m]ir me[in] Bruder [bringen ließ].

⁷⁹³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 161-177.

- 26 [Siehe, unsere gut]e [Brüderschaft] und [unser guter] F[riede (steht) vor dem] Sonnen[go]tt und dem
Wettergott.
- 27 [Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott und] meine [Götter] und die Göt[ter meines Bruders] werden
[unsere Brüderschaft und unseren Frieden g]eben,
- 28 [in dem wir uns fü]r immer [(befinden)]
- 29 [..... und] unsere [Bot]en werden [immer wieder zwischen uns hin- und her]ge[hen im
Interesse der Brüderschaft und des]
- 30 [schönen Friedens für ew]ig imm[er]dar, und wir werden alle Worte bewahren],
- 31 [die auf der Taf]el (stehen), de[ren Ausfertigung der Sonnen]go[tt und der Wettergott veranlaßt
haben].
-
- 32 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und w]as me[in] Bruder [mir in Betreff seiner Tochter geschrieben
hat]
- 33 [wie folgt: „Der Sonnengott hat meinen] Wu[nsch erfüll]t, [den ich ihm gesagt hatte; er hat
veranlaßt],
- [34'] [daß sich mein Herz freute“ - so hast du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben. Sehr schön ist dieses
Verhältnis],
- [35'] [das der Sonnengott bewirkt hat, als er veranlaßte, daß sich das Herz meines Bruders freute.]
-
- 36' [Der Sonnengott hat veranlaßt, daß dein Wunsch] erfüll[t wurde, den du von ihm erbeten hast],
- 37' [und er hat ver]anlaßt, daß [sich das Herz meines Bruders] fr[eut, und er hat veranlaßt, daß sich]
- 38' [das Herz] meiner [Schw]ester freut, und e[r hat veranlaßt, daß alle Dinge ausgeführt werden, von
denen das Herz]
- 39' meiner [Schw]ester wünscht, da[ß sie für ihre Tochter ausgeführt werden; der Sonnengott und]
- 40' [der Wettergott werden] sie in das Hau[s des Königs, deines Bruders, geb]en, [denn sie ist zur
Herrinnenschaft]
- 41' [im Lande Ä]gypten (vorgesehen); und si[e werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz meines Bruders
freut,]
- 42' [und sie werden ver]anlassen, da[ß sich das Herz des Königs, deines Bruders, freut.]
-
- [43'] [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: TiliTeššub hat nunmehr zu mir gesagt]:
„ [.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]“
[- so hat er gesagt. Aber Riamašja, der Bote meines Bruders, hat so gesagt]:
„ [.....]
[.....]
[.....]“ - so hat er gesagt].
-
- [Auch Piriḥnawa hat so gesagt]:
„ [.....]
- Rs. [.....]
[.....]
- [0'] [Auch Zinapa sagte ebenso: „Ḫattušili, der Großkönig],
- 1' [der König des Landes Ḫatti, hat betreffs der Söhne des Mašnijalli nich]t ge[sagt]:
- 2' [„Man möge mi]r die Söhne des [Mašnijalli bringe]n!“ - [so sagte er].
- 3' [Und Manja s]agte, wie [folgt: „Der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, dein Bruder],
- 4' [hat nicht gesagt, wie folgt]: „Man möge mir [die Söhne des Masnijalli] bringen!“
- 5' - [so] hat [er zu]m König (= Ramses) gespro[chen].
-
- 6' [Der König, dein Bruder, sp]rach (so) zu T[iliTeššub, dem Boten meines Bruders: „Fürwahr, du]
- 7' [hast] folgendermaßen [gesprochen]: „Dein Bruder [hat zu mir gesagt: folgendermaßen sprich zum
König],
- 8' [meinem Bruder]: „Man [möge] mir die Söhne des [Mašnijalli brin]gen!“ [- so hast du]

9' [gesprochen.“ Fol]gendermaßen (sagte ihm der König (= Ramses)): „Nim[m sie] in Empfang [und bringe sie zu meinem Bruder],
 10' sie [beid]e; der eine mö[ge mit dem anderen gehen, und ich werde]
 11' [Leute senden, die] sie z[um König des Landes Ḫatti] bringen werden
 12' [auf der Stelle].“ So hat der König, dein Bruder, [zu ihm gesprochen. Aber dieser] sagte:
 13' „[Nein], ich werde s[ie ni]cht bringen, [bis die Tafel des Königs], meines Herrn,
 14' [zu]m König [kommt]“. So [hat] er [gesprochen].

 15' [Und mein Bruder möge] mir (nun) schreiben [betreffs des Bescheids, den er] wegen der Söhne
 16' [des Mašnij]alli [sagen wird]. Und wenn [mein Bruder sagen wird: „Brin]ge sie!“,
 17' [so werde ich] sie [sogleich meinem Bruder] bringen lassen.

 18' [So] (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Fürwahr, [ich werde] nunmehr [Til]iTeššub, den Boten
 19' meines Bruders, un[d] Riama[šja, den Boten mei]nes [Bruders, entsenden] zusammen mit den Boten
 20' des Königs, dein[es] Bruders; [für]wahr, sie werden jetzt z[u meinem Bruder] ge[h]en mit
 21' einem s[eh]r schönen Geschenk für meinen Bruder, und ich
 22' werde [mei]nem [Bruder] über all[e Angelegenheiten] schreiben, übe[r di]e mein [Br]uder
 23' mir gleich[alls] schr[ei]ben wird, [und] sein [Bo]te [möge mir alle Angelegenheiten sagen],
 24' [üb]er die [mir] mein Bruder s[chreibe]n [wird].

 Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This wedding letter reports a diplomatic mission involving Tili-Teššub, Riamašši, Piriḫnawa, Zinapa and Mania, who reached the Egyptian court. Ramses says to have seen the tablets sent by Ḫattušili, maybe related to the organization of the Egypto-Hittite “First Marriage”. As gifts, Ramses sends horses with the relative chariots, mares and stallions, vessels and ornaments of gold and silver. Then, Ramses retrieves the former alliance, established through the Treaty.

In the following paragraph (Vs. 36'-42'), Ramses introduces the topic of the letter: he congratulates Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa for having been granted by the gods with a daughter; Ramses also underlines the important role of his future bride who would be fated *a-na bé-el-tù-ti / i-na KUR Mi-i]š-ri-i*, “to the domination in the land of Egypt”⁷⁹⁴. Ramses is here guaranteeing to his future bride’s parents that the Hittite princess would be regarded with all the honour and respect.

The obverse ends with the reports of the messengers, unfortunately in very fragmentary conditions; some more information can be find on the reverse: the messengers spoke about “the sons of Mašniyalli” (maybe some Hittite fugitives)⁷⁹⁵ that Ḫattušili asks to be brought back Ḫatti. Ramses promptly assents the request of the Hittite king, but adds that (according to the Treaty) Ḫattušili would have to come and bring them “personally” (i.e., Ramses requires a letter from Ḫattušili, directly asking the fugitives back). The letter ends with the usual dispatch of no better specified gifts, followed by the request of further messages.

b. KBo XXVIII 8 (= 283/b + 419/b + 507/i) (ÄHK no. 47, E14, pp. 124-127):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [a-na k]a[-a-ša ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
 2' [ŠEŠ]-ia [u-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu]
 3' a-[n]a ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL [ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia lu-ú šul-mu]
 4' a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠ[E.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka ù a-na ŠÀ]
 5' gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš da[n-niš lu-ú šul-mu]

⁷⁹⁴ For the analysis of this term, see also CORDANI 2017, p. 114. The same expression is also attested in KBo XXVIII 23, Vs. 39'-41' (see *infra*, text no. 21.a).

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 161. CORDANI 2017, p. 115 proposed to identify them with page boys (quoting EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 175, 301 and DE ROOS 2005, p. 44) or specialized manpower.

6' [u]m-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-m[a a-ša-a]r-ra-a[ḫ]
 7' DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ia qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN š[a ŠEŠ]-ia ša an-ni-k[a-a]
 8' a-di a-na-ku a-na-an-din-šu-nu-ti a-[n]a a-la-ki a-na ŠEŠ-i[a]
 9' ʾaʾ-di a-ša-ar-ra-aḫ-ḫu-nu-ti a-[n]a a-la-ki a-na ŠEŠ-i[a]
 10' i-na ^{III}GU₄.ŠI.ŠÁ ITI an-ni-i-ta i-maḫ-ḫa-ru-šu

11' ù a-na-ku a-šap-par a-na ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti DUMU.KIN-ia
 12' [ù il-la-ka a-na ŠEŠ-ia qà-du ¹Ti-li-^dIŠKUR
 13' [DUMU.KIN š]a ŠEŠ-ia UGU ṭe₄-mi ša gab-bi ši-ip-ri^{MEŠ}
 14' [ù UG]U gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu

15' [um-ma-a a-n]a ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma al-tap-ra ¹Ma-an-ia DUMU.KIN-ia
 16' [ù il-la-ka a-na] ŠEŠ-ia qà-du ¹Ri-a-maš-ši DUMU.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia
 17' [ar-ḫi-iš dan-niš a-n]a ŠEŠ-ia UGU kál-le-e UGU I-et ši-i[p-ri]
 18' [ar-ḫi-iš dan-niš dan-niš] ù a-na-ku al-ta-pár-šu-nu-ti
 19' [UGU-ša a-na ŠEŠ-ia] i-[n]a pí-šu-nu ù a-na-ku ul e-pu-uš-šu-nu-[ti]
 20' [at-ta la ta-qab-bi ù ŠEŠ]-ia li-iš-mé gab-bi gab-bi
 21' [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ¹Ma-an-ia D]UMU.KIN-ri-ia ù ¹Ri-a-maš-ši DUMU.KIN
 22' [ša ŠEŠ-ia a-na qa-bé-]e-šu-nu-ti a-na ŠEŠ-ia UGU ši-i[p-ri]
 23' [an-ni-ti ša a-na-ku aš-pur-š]u-nu-ti a-na ŠEŠ-ia UGU-ša

24' [ki-ia-am DÛ-tu₄ dan-niš dan-niš] ši-ip-ru an-nu-ú ša a-n[a-ku]
 25' [aš-pur ¹Ma-an-ia qà-du ¹Ri]-a-maš-ši UGU-ša a-na Š[EŠ-ia]
 26' [ù ul ep-pu-uš la ta-qab-b]i um-ma-a a-ma-te^M[^{ES} an-na-ti ù ŠEŠ-ia]
 27' [li-iš-mé a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-n]a-ti ša a-na-ku a[š-pur]
 Tafelrand, Rs. abgebrochen

Rs. zu 283/b + 419/b + 507/i:
 262/q=KUB XXVIII 9

1 [¹Ma-an-ia qà-du ¹Ri-a-maš-ši UGU-ši-na a-na ŠEŠ-ia]

2 [ù šu-nu li-] id ʾ(?)-[di-nu a-na ra-be-e ŠÁ ša ŠEŠ-ia]
 3 [ki-ia-a]m DÛ-tu₄ [dan-niš gab-bi gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
 4 [ša a-n]a-ku aš-pur ¹Ma-an[-ia ù ¹Ri-a-maš-ši UGU-ši-na]
 5 [a-na] ŠEŠ-ia ù ŠEŠ-i[a li-iš-me-šu-nu-ti ḫa-di-iš]
 6 [ù] ŠEŠ-ia li-pu-u[š gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša maš-lu]
 7 [a-n]a e-pe-ši-šu-nu i-n[a-an-na ù ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-ra]
 8 [a-n]a ia-ši ar-ḫi-iš a[r-ḫi-iš UGU gab-bi ṭe₄-mi]
 9 [š]a at-ta te-ep-pu-u[š i-na ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i ša a-na-ku aš-pur]
 10 [¹M]a-an-ia ù ¹Ri-[a-maš-ši a-na ŠEŠ-ia UGU-šu]

11 [DÛ-t]u₄ dan-niš a-ma-t[e^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ša a-na-ku aš-pur-šu-nu-ti]
 12 [a-n]a ŠEŠ-ia UGU-š[i-na ù ŠEŠ-ia li-pu-uš]
 13 [gab-]bi ṭe₄-mi ša [maš-lu a-na e-pé-ši-šu-nu i-na-an-na]

14 [ù Š]EŠ-ia liš-pu[-ra a-na ia-ši ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš]
 [15] [UGU gab-bi ṭe₄-mi
 [16] [...
 [17] [...
 [18] [...
 [19] [...
 [20] [...
 [21] [...
 [22] [...

Fortsetzung der Rs.:
2362/c=KUB XXVIII 10

[22] [...
[23'] [..... ù ŠEŠ-ia li-iš-mé]
24' [a-ma-]te^{MEŠ} an[-na-ti ...

25' ù ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-[ra a-na ia-ši UGU gab-bi ʔe₄-mi ša maš-lu]
26' a-na e-pe-ši-šu-nu i[-na-an-na ù liš-pu-ra 'Ma-an-ia]
27' ù 'Ri-a-maš-ši a-na i[a-ši ù ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]
28' UGU gab-bi ʔe₄-mi ša m[aš-lu a-na e-pe-ši-šu-nu i-na-an-na]
29' ù ŠÀ ša LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka [li-ti-ib dan-niš dan-niš UGU]
30' ʔe₄-ma an-na-a ša i-na U[GU ʔup-pi ša ŠEŠ-ia]

31' a-nu-ma ul-te-bil šu-b[é-el-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia]
32' a-na šul-ma-an ŠEŠ-ia [i-na ŠU-ti DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia]

33' 2^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù]

34' 2^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù]

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 4 Zeilen unbeschriftet Vs. abgebrochen

Translation⁷⁹⁶

Vs.

1' [d]i[r, Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti],
2' meinem [Bruder], mö[ge es gut gehen; deinen Häusern möge es gut gehen],
3' der Großkönigin [des Landes Ḫatti, meiner Schwester, möge es gut gehen],
4' deinen Söhnen, deinen Truppen, [deinen] Pfe[rden und innerhalb]
5' aller deiner Länder [möge es] sehr, se[hr gut gehen]!

6' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Ich werde nunmehr
7' meine Boten und die Boten meines [Bruders,] die sich hi[er] befinden, [abs]enden.
8' Fürwahr, ich werde sie zu mei[nem] Bruder zu gehen veranlassen;
9' [für]wahr, ich werde sie absenden um zu mei[nem] Bruder zu gehen
10' im Monat Ajjaru; in diesem Monat werden sie ihn treffen.

11' Und ich werde meinem Bruder durch die Hand meines Boten schreiben,
12' und er wird zu meinem Bruder gehen zusammen mit TiliTeššub,
13' [dem Boten] meines Bruders, wegen des Plans betreffs aller Vorhaben
14' [und weg]en jeden Plans, dessentwegen mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat.

15' [So (sprich) z]u meinem Bruder: Ich sandte nunmehr den Manja, meinen Boten,
16' [und er wird zu] meinem Bruder [gehen] mit Riamašši, dem Boten meines Bruders,
17' [sehr eilig z]u meinem Bruder wegen einer Eilmachricht (und) wegen eines Vorha[bens]
18' [sehr, sehr eilig], und ich sandte sie
19' [ihretwegen zu meinem Bruder mi]t ihrer mündlichen Botschaft, und „Ich werde sie (die Vorhaben)
nicht ausführen“
20' [sollst du nicht sagen, und] mein [Bruder] möge alle, alle
21' [Worte] hören, [die Manja], mein Bote, und Riamašši, der Bote
22' [meines Bruders], meinem Bruder [sag]en [werden] betreffs
23' [dieses] Vorha[bens,] dessentwegen [ich s]ie zu meinem Bruder [sandte].

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 141-142. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 197-203.

24' [So (sprich): Sehr, sehr schön] ist dieses Vorhaben,
 25' dessentwegen ic[h den Manja mit Ri]amašši zu [meinem] Br[uder sandte]
 26' [und „Ich werde (es) nicht ausführen“ sollst du nicht sag]en. So (sprich): [Diese] Angelegenheit[en
 mein Bruder] [möge die]se [Angelegenheiten hören, deretwegen] ich
 Tafelrand, Rs. abgebrochen

Rs. zu 283/b+ 409/b +507/i:
 262/q=KUB XXVIII 9

[1] [Manja und Riamašši zu meinem Bruder] sa[ndte],

 2 [und sie mögen ver]an [lassen, daß das Herz meines Bruders sich freue groß werde].
 3 [S]o (sprich): [Sehr] schön [sind alle, alle Angelegenheiten]
 4 [deretwegen i]ch Man[ja und Riamašši]
 5 [zu] meinem Bruder sandte, und me[in] Bruder [möge sie freudig anhören],
 6 [und] mein Bruder möge [alle Pläne] ausfüh[er]en, deren
 7 Ausführung je[tzt angemessen ist; und mein Bruder möge]
 8 [m]ir eilends, e[ilends schreiben wegen aller Pläne],
 9 [d]ie du ausfüh[er]en wirst [innerhalb dieses Plans, dessentwegen ich]
 10 [M]anja und Ria[mašši zu meinem Bruder sandte].

 11 Sehr [schö]n sind [diese] Angelegenheit[en, deret]wegen [ich sie]
 12 [z]u meinem Bruder [sandte, und mein Bruder möge]
 13 [al]le Pläne [ausführen], deren [Ausführung jetzt angemessen ist].

 14 [Und] mein [Br]uder möge [mir eilends, eilends] schrei[ben]
 [15] [wegen aller Pläne ...
 [16] [
 [17] [
 [18] [
 [19] [
 [20] [
 [21] [
 [22] [

Fortsetzung der Rs.:
 2362/c = KUB XXVIII 10

[23]' [..... und mein Bruder möge]
 24' die[se Angelegen]heiten [hören ...

 25' Und mein Bruder möge [mir] schrei[ben wegen aller Pläne], deren
 26' Ausführung j[etzt angemessen ist; und er möge] m[ir Manja senden]
 27' und Riamašši, [und mein Bruder möge mir schreiben]
 28' wegen aller Pläne, [deren Ausführung jetzt] an[gemessen ist];
 29' und das Herz des Königs, deines Bruders, [möge sich sehr, sehr freuen]
 30' [über] diesen Bescheid, der auf[er] der Tafel meines Bruders stehen wird].

 31' Nunmehr habe ich [meinem Bruder] ein Ges[chenk] gesandt
 32' als Begrüßungsgeschenk für meinen Bruder [durch die Hand meiner Boten]:

 33' 2 linnene [bunte] *maklalu*-Gewänder [aus Byssos];

 34' 2 linnene [bunte] Tuniken [aus Byssos],

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 4 Zeilen unbeschriftet, Vs. abgebrochen

In the first part of this letter, after the usual greetings, an important information can be found: Hittite messengers were sent from Egypt back to Ḫatti, in the month of Ayyaru, and they would see the Hittite king in the same month⁷⁹⁷. Thus, we can suppose that the journey leading from Pi-Ramesse to Ḫattuša would have required about a month (but maybe just in special conditions). This noteworthy remark has already been stressed by Cordani:

“Non abbiamo indicazioni esplicite sulle rotte battute dalle ambascerie per muoversi fra i due paesi; probabilmente il viaggio [from Ḫattuša to Pi-Ramesse] procedeva verso sud parallelamente alla linea costiera, per un percorso che è stato calcolato in circa 1850 chilometri. Da KBo 28.8(+) sembra di capire che questo tragitto potesse essere coperto nel giro di un mese («li [= i messaggeri] manderò da mio fratello [= Ḫattušili] nel [mese di] Ayyaru⁷⁹⁸. Questo [stesso] è il mese in cui lo incontreranno»), ma il fatto stesso che la cosa sia puntualizzata nella lettera suggerisce che questa non doveva essere la normalità e che i tempi erano solitamente un po' più lunghi⁷⁹⁹.”

Ramses sends a message through Tili-Teššub, Mania and Riamašši in a way that is called UGU *kallē*, “quick legation”⁸⁰⁰ and the messengers in question would have to transmit the message orally. Unfortunately, despite Edel’s integrations, the topic of the message is not retrievable in the extant letter.

At the end of the letter, some gifts sent by Ramses to Ḫattušili are listed: 2 *maklalu*⁸⁰¹ garments and other 2 tunics, all of them made of byssus, according to Edel’s integration. The term translated as byssus is *lubulti* LUGAL, maybe the best quality of Egyptian textiles, as noted by Cordani:

“Le vesti egiziane, di varie tipologie, sono indicate sempre secondo lo stesso ordine, che è probabilmente decrescente per qualità, dalle più preziose (indicate con l’espressione *lubulti* LUGAL, che potremmo rendere con «tessuto da re» a quelle «di qualità ottima» (SIG SIG₅, lett. «fini [e] buone»), passando per la qualità intermedia «miku»). [...] La proposta di EDEL 1974, pp. 119-121 che l’espressione *lubulti* LUGAL indichi la qualità del tessuto di cui sono fatte le vesti e non «un (capo) di veste reale» è condivisibile. Lo studioso propone però di tradurre *lubulti* LUGAL con il termine «bisso» (v. anche VIGO 2010, p. 291 e MÜLLER 2010, p. 40, ma cf. ZACCAGNINI 2000a, p. 441), inteso come una tipologia di lino molto pregiata. Il bisso è in realtà un filato di tipo diverso, una sorta di seta naturale di origine marina molto rara e preziosa. Si è perciò qui preferita una traduzione più neutra e mi sembra che l’espressione «tessuto da re» renda bene l’idea della preziosità del materiale, senza entrare nel merito delle sue caratteristiche specifiche⁸⁰².”

c. KBo XXVIII 42 (= 383/z) (ÄHK no. 50, E17, pp. 122-135):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs?


1' [..... KU]R Mi-i[š-ri-i ...

⁷⁹⁷ A similar chronological indication is reported also in KBo XXVIII 11, that could therefore be considered as the “Parallel-Brief” of the present text (see *infra*, text no. 27.e).

⁷⁹⁸ *Ayyāru(m)* was the second month of the Babylonian calendar (BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 32), commonly identified with April-May (see e.g. CAPLICE 20024, p. 95) and its etymology could be connected to the term *ayyaru(m)*, “flower, rosette” (BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 32), maybe because it was the month in which the flowers started to bloom. For the possible connection of the term *ayyaru(m)* with Egyptian *hrr.t*, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 5.

⁷⁹⁹ CORDANI 2017, p. 55.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ivi*, p. 142, note 2, quoting LIVERANI 2002; cf. *infra*, text no. 27.e.

⁸⁰¹ For this kind of linen, see e.g. CORDANI 2017, p. 68, note 4: “Per questo termine, dal significato incerto (v. CAD 10 [M1], p. 137b), EDEL 1992 ha proposto un’equivalenza con l’altrettanto incerto egiziano *jdg* (forse ‘mantello’)”. For the Egyptian term  *jdg*, see TLA, lemma-no. 34270 (“Kopftuch, kerchief”); cf. Wb I, p. 155, no. 14 and JANSSEN 2008, pp. 282ff. It is interesting to note that the term is attested in the “Love Song no. 21 (Group B)” on the oCairo CG 25218 + oDeM 1266, Gruppe B, on which also a “flower of Ḫatti” was quoted: cf. *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 5 (see here for further bibliography, also for the passage quoting the *jdg* “veil/mantle”).

⁸⁰² CORDANI 2017, pp. 38-39 with note 5.

- 2' [..... sa-]la-ma lu-ú aš-pu-[ra a-na ŠEŠ-ia ...
 3' [.....¹ -pi-it-]ta i-šak-kán Ī.S[AG.DÛG.GA i-na SAG.DU ša DUMU.SAL-ka]
-
- 4' [ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din a-na na-ma-ši NAM.]RA.MEŠ ša-a-šu-nu ERIN.MEŠ ù^{G1}[^SGIGIR.MEŠ a-na-ku ḫa-
 aš-ḫa-ku]
 5' [a-na a-ma-ri DUMU.SAL ša ŠEŠ-i]a LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri<i> i> ša-a-al[-ma li-iq-bu-ú-ni-ik-ku]
 6' [ù ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din DUMU.SAL-šu a-]na ša-pa-ri i-na ŠÀ-bi [É.ŠÀ²-ia i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti ...
 7' [.....] x x x -šu-nu a-[...

Rs?

- 1' [.....] [...
 2' [..... ma(?) -]mi-i-tu š[a ...
 3' [..... a]l(?) oder i]l(?) -ták(?) -nu ù [...
 4' [..... i](?) -mu(?) -ru-ma [...
 5' [.....] ki(?) x x [...
 6' [..... i(?) -t]e(?) -ep-[-šu ... oder š]a(?) ip-[oder n]a-ar(?) [oder i-n]a ši-i[p-ri(?)
 7' [.....] a-ḫa-[mi-iš oder a-ḫa-[ad-di ? ...

Translation⁸⁰³

Vs?

- 1' [..... das Lan]d Ägypten ...
 2' [..... eine friedliche Botschaft schrie[b] ich fürwahr [meinem Bruder ...
 3' [..... und ... pit]ta wird das [gute] F[ein]öl [auf das Haupt deiner Tochter applizieren [...]
-
- 4' [Mein Bruder möge] die genannten [Kol]onen, Fußtruppen und W[agenkämpfer aufbrechen lassen.
 Ich begehre]
 5' [die Tochter mei]nes [Bruders zu sehen] - frage (nur) die Leute des Landes Ägypten, [und sie mögen
 (es) dir sagen]!
 6' [Und mein Bruder möge veranlassen, da]ß [seine Tochter] in [mein] Pa[lastinneres(?)] (Schlafgemach)
 gesandt wird [(noch) in diesem Jahr]!
 7' [.....] ihre [.....].[...]

Rs?

- 1' [.....] [..
-
- 2' [..... E]id, der/den [...
 3' [..... i]ch/s]ie setzten (o. ä.) und [...
 4' [..... si]e (?) sahen [...
 5' [.....] [...
 6' [..... sie (?)] mach[ten (?)] ...
 7' [.....] ein[ander (oder „ich freu[e mich? ...)]

In this text, Ramses asks Hattušili to allow the priest “[...]x-pitta” to perform the sacred ritual of the ointment upon the new bride, the daughter of the Hittite king that he would married in 1246/1245 BC, named Maathorneferure in the Egyptian sources (the ointment ceremony of the new bride is also quoted in other Hittite documents⁸⁰⁴).

⁸⁰³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 203-214.

⁸⁰⁴ See CORDANI 2017, pp. 121ff. (letters nos 24-27): FHL 98, KUB III 63, KUB XXVI 53 and KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 (for the texts, see this section, nos 26.1, 22.a, 41.g and 23). The ointment of the new bride is also mentioned in EA 31, the letter sent by Amenhotep III to king Tarḫundaradu of Arzawa, dealing with a marriage between the pharaoh and an Arzawean princess (see *infra*, section 1.3.1.1, text no. 1).

Then, the pharaoh wishes Ḫattušili to be able to defeat all his enemies, maybe during the journey that led his daughter to Egypt (even if it is well-known that Ḫattušili did not join the expedition, actually⁸⁰⁵).

At the end of the obverse(?), Ramses hurries the Hittite king to send his daughter in Egypt, because he wants to see her into his palace, within the same year⁸⁰⁶.

The text on the reverse(?) is very fragmentary: the word *ma(?)]-mi-i-tu* at l. 2' could be a reference to the Treaty, but no further suppositions can be advanced with certainty.

d. KBo XXVIII 18 (= 1295/v) (ÄHK no. 60, E27, pp. 154-155):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- [0'] [..... ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar ṭup-pa ša ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši i-na ŠU-ti]
 1' [ša DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-šu ù šu-nu il-t]a-su-ú [ṭup-pa-ka a-na pa-ni-ia ù a-na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
 2' [ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra UGU a-m]a-ta an-ni-ta ša DUMU.[SAL-šu ù su-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} (?) ...]
 3' [..... ù at-ta tal-]ṭap-ra ap-pu-na-na i-n[a-an-na um-ma-a a-mur a-na-ku]
 4' [a-na-an-din DUMU.SAL-ia a-n]a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-r[i-i ŠEŠ-ia i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti]
 5' [at-ta kán-na tàš-pu-ra LUGAL ŠE]Š-ka il-te-mé ṭe₄-ma a[n-na-a ù iḫ-ta-di dan-niš dan-niš]

 6' [ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra um-ma-a] a-mur a-ma-ta an-ni-t[a ša DUMU.SAL-ia ...]
 7' [..... ERIN.MEŠ]-ni im-mu-šu i-din [a-na na-ma-ši ERIN.MEŠ-ka ar-ḫi-iš SIG₅ dan-niš]
 8' [dan-niš ki-i DUMU.SAL ša ŠEŠ-ia na-am-š]a(?)-at ù šu-ú-m[a ...]

 9' [um-ma-a a-mur LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka il-te-mé] a-ma-ta an-ni[-ta ša tàš-pu-ra um-ma-a i-din a-na a-la-ki]
 10' [ERIN.MEŠ-ka a-na ma-ḫa-ri su-gul-l]a-ti^{MEŠ} ša a[-na-an-di-nu a-na DUMU.SAL-ia a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki]
 11' [ERIN.MEŠ-ia a-na ma-ḫa-ri su-gul-la-t]i^{MEŠ} ša [ŠEŠ-ia i-na-an-di-nu a-na DUMU.SAL-šu
 [12'] [...
 Rs. abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁰⁷

Vs.

- [0'] [..... und ich habe die Tafel gesehen, die mein Bruder mir sandte durch die Hand]
 1' [seiner Boten, und] sie [I]asen [deine Tafel vor mir] vor, [und ich hörte alle Worte],
 2' [die mein Bruder betrifft] dieser [Ange]legenheit [seiner] Tocht[er und der Herden (?) geschrieben hat ...]
 3' [..... und du hast] je[tzt] obendrein [gesch]rieben, [wie folgt: „Siehe],
 4' [ich werde meine Tochter de]m Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypt[en]**, meinem Bruder, (noch) in diesem Jahre geben.“]
 5' [- so hast du geschrieben; der König], dein [Bru]der, hat d[iesem] Bescheid gehört [und sich überaus gefreut].

 6' [Und was mein Bruder, wie folgt, geschrieben hat]: „Siehe, diese Angelegenheit [meiner Tochter ...]
 7' [.....] unsere [Truppen o. ä.] brachen auf; veranlasse, [daß (auch) deine Truppen eilends aufbrechen!“ (- so sage ich darauf:) Sehr, sehr gut]
 8' [ist es, daß die Tochter meines Bruders aufgebro]chen ist, und er sel[bst ...]

 9' [So (sprich): Siehe, der König, dein Bruder, hat] dies[en] Bescheid [gehört, den du geschrieben hast,

⁸⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the texts of the “First Marriage” state that was the Hittite king in person to lead his daughter in Egypt: see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 8.e-f. Cf. also all the complete texts in PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 106-132.

⁸⁰⁶ If the wish of the pharaoh was actually fulfilled (as indeed the text KBo XXVIII 18 = 20.d states), we would have a more precise date for the letter at least in the one/two years before the date of the wedding, i.e. 1246/1245 BC.

⁸⁰⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 240-241.

- wie folgt: „Laß]
- 10' [deine Truppen gehen um die Her]den [in Empfang zu nehmen], die ic[h meiner Tochter geben werde.“ Ich ließ]
- 11' [meine Truppen gehen um die Herd]en [in Empfang zu nehmen], die [mein Bruder seiner Tochter geben wird].
- [12'] [...
Rs. abgebrochen

At the beginning, this letter reports Ḫattušili's answer to Ramses who had asked him to send his daughter in Egypt within the same year (see previous text, no. 20.c); Ḫattušili agrees and Ramses rejoices his heart for this answer. Because of the happy outcoming of the wedding negotiation, a new confirmation of the peace is established (at any rate, this seems to be the meaning of ll. 6'-8').

In ll. 9'-11', the conditions of the meeting are agreed: Ḫattušili would send his troops escorting his daughter together with his dowry (basically consisting of cattle), while Ramses would have to welcome her, sending his troops. It is also noteworthy that the dowry of the Hittite bride essentially includes cattle (here indicated with the Akkadian word *su-gul-la-ti*^{MEŠ 808}): in the Egyptian accounts of the “First Marriage”, the animal dowry consists of horses, oxen, goats, rams⁸⁰⁹.

The first lines of the missive also provide an interesting glimpse on the actual diplomatic procedures of the messengers at the Egyptian court: the tablet sent by Ḫattušili is read aloud to Ramses, who sees the tablet itself and listens to the message⁸¹⁰.

⁸⁰⁸ See e.g. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 326, under *sugullu(m)*.

⁸⁰⁹ See e.g. PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 115 (“Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”, long version), 121 “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”, abbreviated version).

⁸¹⁰ Further remarks about the message-reporting procedures, see CORDANI 2017, p. 57.

21. CTH 158: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO PUDUḪEPA⁸¹¹

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC (ca. between 1269 and 1246/1245 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters related to the “First Hittite Marriage”

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iṣ-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 4 Vs. 26, 32
KUR <i>mi-iṣ-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 23, 1, 2, 4, 41, 47

a. KBo XXVIII 23 (= 1965/c +) (ÄHK no. 43, E10, pp. 106-109):

Ramses an PuduḪepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [u]m-ma¹ Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i
2 [DU]MU^d UTU¹ Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^d a-ma-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i
-
- 3 a-na^{SAL} Pu-du-ḫe-pa ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL-tu₄ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia qí-bí-ma
-
- 4 a-nu-ma¹ Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^d a-ma-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i
5 ŠEŠ-ki šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-šu [šul-mu] ERIN.MEŠ-šu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu
6^{GIS} GIGIR.MEŠ-šu ù a-na [ŠA] [gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-šu da]n-niš dan-niš šul-mu
-
- 7 a-na ka[-a]-ši^{ŠAL} [a-ḫa-ti-ia lu-ú š]ul-mu dan-niš dan-niš
8 a-na UGU-ḫi¹ Ḫa[-at-tu-ši-li LUGA]LGAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti
9 ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šul[-mu a-na É.MEŠ-]šu lu-ú šul-mu DUMU.MEŠ-šu
10 ERIN.MEŠ-šu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-š[u^{GIS} GIGIR.MEŠ-šu a-na KUR.MEŠ-šu lu-ú šul-mu
-
- 11 um-ma-a a-na^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia-m[a a-]nu-ma¹ Ti-li^d IŠKUR
12 DUMU-KIN ša^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia ik-[tal]-dá a-na UGU-ḫi-ia
13 qà-du¹ Ri-a-ma-aš-ia DUMU.KIN š[a]^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia
14 qà-du¹ Pi-ri-iḫ-na-ua DUMU.KIN-ri-ia qà-du¹ Zi-na-p[₁a]
15 qà-du¹ Ma-an-ia DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ni [šul-m]a
16 ša [^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ni š[ul]-ma ša [LUGAL.GAL]
17 L[UGAL KUR Ḫ]a-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia ù iq-ta-b[u-]ni šu[l-ma ša]
18 [DUMU.MEŠ-š]u ù ŠA iṭ-ti-ba-an-ni dan-n[^{iš} dan-niš]
-
- 19 [ki-i] a-na-ku aš-mu-ú šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia [ki-i a-na-ku aš-mu-ú]
20 [šul-ma ša^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia um-ma-a šu-nu ša-a[l-mu ù na-aš-ru]
21 ù ba-al-tù ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar ṭup-pa ša^{SAL} a[-ḫa-ti]
22 ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši ù al-té-me gab-bi a-m[a-t]e^{MEŠ}
23 [š]a^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-ši-na
24 ù am-ta-ḫar šu-bé-el-ta ša^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti ú-še-bi-la
25 a-na ia-ši ù na-aš-ra-at ù ša-al-ma-at
-
- 26^d UTU ù^d IŠKUR i-na-an-di-nu ŠEŠ-ut-ni ù ša-lam-ni
27 ù i-na ṭe-mi an-ni-i ba-ni-i ša ni-nu i-na ŠA-šu

⁸¹¹ For what concerns the letters included in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, I am not going to provide a wider comment (for which I refer, in general, to CORDANI 2017 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2); thus, I limit myself the comment just to some major remarks, underlining the topic of the letter itself.

28 [a-]di dá-ri-ti ù DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ni it-ta-na-al-la-ku
29 [i-n]a be-ri-ni UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti ù ša-la-ma ba-ni-i a-di ša-ti

30 [um-m]a-a a-na ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia-ma ù ša ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti ta-aš-pu-ri
31 [a-na i]a-ši aš-šum DUMU.ŠAL-ša um-ma-a ^dUTU i-te-ep-ša
32 [mé-re-é]l-ti-ia ša a-na-ku aq-ba-aš-šu it-ta-din
33 [a-n]a ṭù-u[b] ŠĀ-ia ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti kán-na ta-aš-pu-ri
34 [a-n]a ia-ši [Š]IG₅-qí dan-niš ṭe₄-mu an-nu-ú ša ^dUTU
35 i-pu-šu ki-i id-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠĀ ša ^{SAL}a-ḥa-t[i-ia]
36 aš-šum mé-re-él-ta ša te-ri-ša it-ti-šu

37 ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-na-an-di-nu a-na e-pe-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-[mi]
38 ša ŠĀ-bi ša ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia [ḥa]ṣi-iḥ a-na na-dá-n[i]
39 a-na e-pé-ši-šu-nu a-na DUMU.ŠAL-š[a] ù i-na-di-nu-ši
40 a-na bi-it-ti LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki ù ši-i [a-na] bé-el-tù-ti
41 [i-n]a **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù šu-nu i-na-[an]-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠĀ-bi
R 42 [ša] ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia ù i-na-an-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠĀ-bi
A 43 [ša] LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki UGU ṭe₄-mi ša šu-nu ip-pu-šu-ni-iš-ši

N 44 [um-ma-]a a-na ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia-ma a-nu-ma ¹Ti-li-^dIŠKUR
D 45 [iq-t]a-ba-a a-na ia-ši ¹H[a-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.[GA]L

Rs.

46 [LUGAL KUR H]a-at-ti iq-ta-b[a-a] a-na ia-ši qà-du ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL
47 [ša KUR H]a-at-ti um-ma-a qí-bi a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**
48 [ŠEŠ-ni D]UMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-a[l]-li šu-bi-la-an-na-ši
49 [šu-ú ká]n-na iq-bi ù ¹Ri-a-ma-aš-ia DUMU.KIN ša ^{SAL}a-ḥa-t[i-ia iq-]ta-bi
50 [um-ma-a b]e-el-ti ul [tá]q-bi a-na ia-ši um-ma-a qí-bi š[u-bi-la]
51 [DUMU.MEŠ-tu ù u]l aš-me ù LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR H_a-at-ti iq-bi
52 [a-na ¹Ti-l]i-^dIŠKUR šu-ú kán-na iq-bi

53 [ù ¹Pi-r]i-iḥ-na-ua iq-ta-bi um-ma-[a u]l aš-me ù LUGAL.GAL
54 [LUGAL KUR H_a-a]t-ti ul iḥ-šú-uš D[UMU.MEŠ ša ¹M]a-aš-ni-ia-al-[i]
55 [a-na ia-ši] um-ma-a qí-bi a-na LU[GAL ŠEŠ-ni ù u]l iḥ-šú-uš-šu-nu[-ti]
56 [a-na ia-ši] ù ul aš-me ù šu-[ú iq-ta-b]a-a a-na ¹Ti-li-^dIŠKU[R]
57 [ia-nu u]l iq-ta-bi ù ¹[Zi-na-pa kán-n]a-ma iq-ta-bi
58 [¹H_a-at-tu-ši-li L]UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [H_a-at-t]i ù ŠAL.LUGAL
59 [ul iq-bi a-na DUMU.MEŠ š]a ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-a[l-l]i um-ma-a
60 [šu-bi-la-šu-nu]-ti [šu]-ú kán-na iq-bi ù ¹Ma-an-ia
61 [iq-ta-bi ká]n-na-ma a-[k]i-i ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i ú-ka₄-lu
62 [ù o]-ri ^{LU}tar-gu-ma-nu iq-ta-bi kán-na-ma ki-i ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i

63 [LUGA]L ŠEŠ-ki iq-ta-bi a-na ¹Ti-li-^dIŠKUR DUMU.KIN ša ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia
64 [a-d]u-ku at-ta táq-ta-bi um-ma-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR H_a-at-ti iq-bi
65 [a-n]a ia-ši ù ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL ša KUR H_a-at-ti táq-ta-bi a-na ia-ši
66 um-ma-a qí-bi a-na LUGAL ŠEŠ-ni šu-bi-la DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-li

67 mu-ḥur-šu-nu-ti li-qé-šu-nu-ti a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR H_a-at-ti
68 ù li-qé-šu-nu-ti a-na ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia a-na-ku kán-na [aq]-ta-ba-aš-šu
69 ù šù-ú iq-ta-bi ia-nu ul e-le-eq-qé-šu-nu-ti
70 a-di ṭup-pa ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR H_a-at-ti qà-du ṭup-pu
71 ša ŠAL.LUGAL il-la-ka a-na LUGAL um-ma-a šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti
72 šu-ú kán-na iq-bi ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti liš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU ṭe₄-mi
73 ša ši-i ta-qab-bi a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li

74 ù šum-ma ^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti ta-qab-bi um-ma-a šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti

75 *ù a-na-ku ú-še-bíl-šu-nu-ti a-na ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia i-ni-in-na*

76 *um-ma-a a-na ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia-ma a-nu-ma a-di a-ša-ar-ra-aḫ*
77 *DUMU.MEŠ.KIN ša ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ia a-[n]a a-la-ki-šu-nu*
78 *a-na ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia i-ni-in-na ù ú-še-bíl šu-bé-el-ta*
79 *dá-mi-iq-ta dá-mi-[i]q-ta a-na ŠU-ti-šu-nu a-na ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia*

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 9 Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸¹²

Vs.

1 [S]o (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
2 [der So]hn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**:

3 Zu Puduḫepa, der Großkönigin des Landes Ḫatti, meiner Schwester, sprich:

4 Nun, dem Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig, dem König von **Ägypten**,
5 deinem Bruder, geht es gut, seinen Häusern geht es gut, seinen Truppen, seinen Pferden,
6 seinen Wagen und inmitt[en aller seiner Länder geht es s]ehr, sehr gut;

7 dir, [meiner Schwester, möge] es sehr, sehr gut gehen,
8 Ḫa[ttušili], dem Groß[könig], dem König des Landes Ḫatti,
9 meinem Bruder, möge es gu[t gehen], seinen [Häusern] möge es gut gehen, seinen Söhnen,
10 seinen Truppen, seinen Pferden, [sei]nen [Wagen], (und) seinen Ländern möge es gut gehen.

11 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: [N]unmehr ist TiliTeššub,
12 der Bote meiner Schwester, zu mir gelangt
13 mit Riamašja, dem Boten meiner Schwester,
14 mit Piriḫnawa, meinem Boten, mit Zinapa
15 (und) mit Manja, meinen Boten, und sie haben mir berichtet vom [Wohlergeh]en
16 meiner Schwester, und haben mir berichtet vom Wo[hle]rgehen des [Großkönigs],
17 des K[önigs] des Landes Ḫatti, meines Bruders, und haben mir berichtet vom Wohler[gehen]
18 [sei]ner [Söhne], und das Herz wurde mir seh[r, sehr] froh,

19 [als] ich vom Wohlergehen meines Bruders hörte, [als ich]
20 vom [Wohlergehen meiner Schwester [hörte]], wie folgt: „Sie si[nd] gesund und sind wohlbehalten]
21 und am Leben“. Und ich habe die Tafel gesehen, die [meine] Schw[ester]
22 mir hat bringen lassen, und ich habe alle Ang[elegenhei]ten gehört,
23 über die mir meine Schwester geschrieben hat,
24 und ich habe das Geschenk erhalten, das mir meine Schwester gesandt hat,
25 indem es wohlbehalten und in gutem Zustand war.

26 Der Sonnen[gott] und der Wettergott werden unsere Brüderschaft und unseren Frieden gewähren,
27 und zwar in diesem schönen Verhältnis, in dem wir uns [a]uf ewig befinden,
28 und unsere Boten sollen
29 zwischen uns im Interesse der Brüderschaft und des schönen Friedens auf ewig hin- und hergehen.

30 [S]o (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Was [m]ir meine Schwester
31 betreffs ihrer Tochter folgendermaßen geschrieben hat: „Der Sonnengott hat
32 meinen [W]unsch erfüllt, den ich ihm gesagt habe; er hat veranlaßt,
33 daß sich mein Herz freut“ - so hast du, meine Schwester, mir geschrieben.
34 Sehr [sch]ön ist dieses Verhältnis, das der Sonnengott
35 geschaffen hat, als er veranlaßte, das sich das Herz [meiner] Schwester freute
36 wegen des Wunsches, den du von ihm erbeten hattest.

⁸¹² Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 114-118.

37 Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott werden veranlassen, daß alle Verhält[nisse] geschaffen werden,
38 von denen das Herz meiner Schwester wünscht, daß veranla[ßt] werde,
39 daß sie für ihre Tochter geschaffen werden, und sie (die genannten Götter) werden sie in das Haus
40 des Königs, deines Bruders, geben, (denn) sie ist für die Herrschaft (eig. Herrinnenschaft)
41 [i]m Lande **Ägypten** (bestimmt); und sie werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz meiner Schwester
R 42 freut, und werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz des Königs, deines Bruders, freut über das
A 43 Verhältnis, das sie für sie schaffen werden.

N 44 [S]o (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Nunmehr hat mir, TiliTeššub
D 45 [ges]agt: „Ḫattušili, der Großkönig,

Rs.

46 [der König des Landes Ḫ]atti, und die Großkönigin
47 [des Landes Ḫ]atti haben zu mir gesagt: „So sprich zum Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**,
48 [unserem Bruder]: Sende uns [die Söh]ne des Mašnija[!]li!“
49 [S]o hat [er] gesagt. Aber Riamašja, der Bote [meiner] Schwester, hat [so gesprochen:
50 „Meine [H]errin hat mir nicht gesagt: ‚So sprich: S[ende]
51 [seine Söhne]!‘ Ich habe [ni]chts gehört, und der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti hat
52 [Til]iTeššub <nichts> gesagt“. So hat er gesprochen.

53 [Auch Pir]iḫnawa hat so gesprochen: „Ich habe [ni]chts gehört, und der Großkönig,
54 [der König des Landes Ḫ]atti hat [bei mir] die Söhne des Mašnjalli nicht erwähnt:
55 ‚Sprich so zu dem Köfnig, unserem Bruder!‘ und ni]cht hat er sie [bei mir] erwähnt,
56 und ich habe nichts gehört.“ Und e[r sagt]te zu TiliTeššub:
57 „Nein! Er hat [ni]chts gesagt“. Auch [Zinapa] sagte [eben]so:
58 „[Ḫattušili, der] Großkönig, der König des Landes [Ḫ]atti, und die Königin
59 [sagten betreffs der Söhne d]es Mašnialli [nicht]:
60 ‚[Sende si]e!‘ So hat [e]r gesprochen. Auch Manja
61 [hat eb]enso [gesprochen] dieser Sachlage entsprechend, indem sie (daran) festhielten.
62 [Auch . .]ri, der Dolmetscher, hat ebenso gesprochen dieser Sachlage entsprechend.

63 [Der Kö]nig, dein Bruder, sprach zu TiliTeššub, dem Boten meiner Schwester:
64 „[Für]wahr, du hast so gesprochen: ‚Der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, hat
65 mir gesagt, und die Großkönigin des Landes Ḫatti hat mir gesagt:
66 ‚So sprich zum König, unserem Bruder: Sende die Söhne des Masnijak[!]i!‘

67 „Nimm sie in Empfang und bringe sie zum Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem
Bruder,
68 und bringe sie meiner Schwester!“ So habe ich zu ihm gesprochen.
69 Aber dieser sagte: „Nein, ich werde sie nicht bringen,
70 bis die Tafel des Großkönigs, des Königs von Ḫatti, und die Tafel
71 der Königin zum König kommt mit den Worten: ‚Sende sie!‘“
72 So hat er gesprochen. Meine Schwester möge mir (nun) schreiben betreffs des Bescheids,
73 den sie betreffs der Söhne des Mašnialli sagen wird.

74 Und wenn meine Schwester so sagen wird: „Sende sie!“,
75 so werde ich sie sogleich meiner Schwester senden.

76 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Nunmehr fürwahr werde ich
77 die Boten meiner Schwester und meine Boten entsenden, damit sie
78 sogleich zu meiner Schwester gehen, und ich werde ein
79 schönes, schönes Geschenk durch ihre Hand meiner Schwester senden.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 9 Zeilen unbeschriftet

This letter, to be considered as a “Parallelbrief”⁸¹³ of KBo XXVIII 21 and 22 (*supra*, text no. 20.a), reports on the obverse (after the usual greetings) some information about the imminent celebration of the first interdynastic marriage: Ramses congratulates Puduḥepa for the final decision of send her daughter to Egypt, saying that all the queen wishes would be fulfilled. In detail, Vs. 39-41 state as follows: *a-na e-pé-ši-šu-nu a-na DUMU.ŠAL-š[a] ù i-na-di-nu-ši / a-na bi-it-ti LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki ù ši-i a-na bé-el-tù-ti / [i-n]a KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*, “und sie (die genannten Götter) werden sie in das Haus des Königs, deines Bruders, geben, denn sie ist für die Herrschaft (eig. Herrinnenschaft) im Lande Ägypten bestimmt”. The same expression is also attested in KBo XXVIII 21, Vs. 40’-41’: *a-na bé-el-tù-ti / i-na KUR Mi-i]š-ri-i*, “to the domination in the land of Egypt”. The term *beltūtu* has been noted by Cordani:

“È significativo che nella lettera Ramses parli di «signoria» *beltūtu* (probabilmente un neologismo degli scribi egiziani dal sostantivo accadico *bēltu*, «signora»)⁸¹⁴ e non di «regalità» (*šarrūtu*); vi si può vedere un’implicita ammissione del fatto che la principessa ittita non avrebbe ricoperto il ruolo di regina d’Egitto, a differenza di quanto Ḫattušili e Puduḥepa si aspettavano”⁸¹⁵.

If this interpretation is correct (this is also my opinion), all Puduḥepa’s wishes about the fate of her daughter maybe did not have success. The sentence in Vs. 28-29 is also quite interesting: *ù DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ni it-ta-na-al-la-ku / [i-n]a be-ri-ni UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti ù ša-la-ma ba-ni-i a-di ša-ti*, “und unsere Boten sollen / zwischen uns im Interesse der Brüderschaft und des schönen Friedens auf ewig hin- und hergehen”; this expression, describing how travelling from Egypt to Ḫatti (and viceversa) was safe thanks to the established peace, resembles in some way the final sentence of the abbreviated version of the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’” (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.f): *wn~hr jr wd3 ḥ3w.ty s.t-ḥm.t r-pw m wp.wt=sn r D3h(y) ph=sn r t3 n Ḫt3 / nn snd ḥ3 jb=sn n-3(t-n) nḫtw.w ḥm=f*, “Thereafter, if a man or a woman went out on business to Syria, they could even reach the Hatti-land / without fear haunting their minds, because of (the magnitude of) the victories of His Majesty”.

Another noteworthy expression can be underlined: *ù ŠÁ iṭ-ṭi-ba-an-ni dan-n[īš dan-nīš]*, “und das Herz wurde mir seh[r, sehr] froh” (Vs. 18; cf. also Vs. 32-33: *it-ta-din / [a-n]a ṭù-u[b] ŠÁ-ia*, “er hat veranlaßt, / daß sich mein Herz freut”; Vs. 35: *ki-i id-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠÁ ša ŠAL a-ḥa-t[i-ia]*, “als er veranlaßte, das sich das Herz [meiner] Schwester freute”; Vs. 41-43: *ù šu-nu i-na-[an]-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠÁ-bi / [ša] ŠAL a-ḥa-ti-ia ù i-na-an-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠÁ-bi / [ša] LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki*, “und sie werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz meiner Schwester / freut, und werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz des Königs, deines Bruders, freut über das / Verhältnis”). The expression “to make someone’s heart rejoice”, frequently used in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence⁸¹⁶ and mostly in letters sent by the pharaoh, could perhaps be considered as a calque of the Egyptian formula *hr swd3 jb PN*, “rejoices the heart of PN”, commonly used in the beginning of formal letters⁸¹⁷, and attested also on the ostrakon quoting Ini-Teššub, found in the Valley of the King (see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 15.a)⁸¹⁸.

The reverse of the tablet deals instead with the “Mašniyalli’s sons affaire”, already discussed about KBo XXVIII 21 and 22 (see *supra*, text no. 20.a). Ḫattušili and Puduḥepa had requested Ramses to send back to Ḫatti the sons of Mašniyalli, who perhaps went to Egypt as specialized workers (see *supra*, comment to text no. 21.a). Ramses is not sure about the actual message dispatched through the Hittite messenger Tili-Teššub, not supported by his colleagues Piriḫnawa, Zinapa and Mania and by

⁸¹³ For the definition of “Parallelbriefe”, see CORDANI 2017, pp. 30-31; EDEL 1952 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 19-21. For the comment to this letter, see CORDANI 2017, pp. 114-115 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 164-178.

⁸¹⁴ MÜLLER 2010, p. 137.

⁸¹⁵ For the analysis of this term, see also CORDANI 2017, p. 114.

⁸¹⁶ See e.g. CORDANI 2017, pp. 80, 88, 116-117, 119-120, 122-123, 127.

⁸¹⁷ See e.g. ALLEN 2000, p. 387 and CAVILLIER 2012, pp. 177-178.

⁸¹⁸ Edel also interpreted another idiomatic expression containing the word “heart”, *libba nadānu* (“give [your] hearth”), quoted in KUB III 67, as an Egyptian calque: see CORDANI 2017, p. 143 (with note 7); cf. COHAVI-RAINEY 2011, p. 177; EDEL 1950, p. 198, no. 1; MÜLLER 2010, p. 261.

the interpreter “[...-]ri”⁸¹⁹. Ramses accepts Ḫattušili’s request and says to Tili-Teššub to bring the sons to Ḫatti. However, the royal delegates refused to lead them, until Ḫattušili would have sent a tablet formally soliciting their restitution. Eventually, the pharaoh asks Puduḫepa to dispatch another message confirming the messengers’ version and sends her an unspecified beautiful gift (*damiqta damiqta*).

b. KBo XXVIII 4 (= 177/b + 1756/c + 343/e) (ÄHK no. 46, E13, pp. 116-123):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma¹Ua-aš-mu-a-]ri-a ša-te-ep-n[a-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
2 [DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-š]a ma-a-i^da-ma-na [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
-
- 3 [a-na^{ŠAL}Pu-du-ḫe-pa] ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL-tu₄ ša KUR [Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia qí-bí-ma]
-
- 4 [a-nu-ma a-na¹Ri-a-ma-še-š]a ma-a-i^da-ma-n[a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
5 [ŠEŠ-ki šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DU[MU.MEŠ-ia ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-
ia]
6 [^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù a-n]a ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-[a dan-niš dan-niš šul-mu]
-
- 7 [a-na ka-a-ši lu-ú] šul-mu dan-niš dan-niš [ŠAL.LUGAL.GAL ŠAL.LUGAL]
8 [ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti NI]N-ia a-na É.MEŠ-ki <DUMU.MEŠ.> LUGAL-ki [ERIN.MEŠ-ki
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ki]
9 [^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù a-na ŠÀ] gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš dan[-niš lu-ú šul-mu]
-
- 10 [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-m]a a-nu-ma¹Ma-an-ia DUMU.[KI]N-r[i-ia ik-tal-da a-na UGU-ia]
11 qà-du¹Ri-a-ma-aš-ši [DUMU.KIN-r]i ša NIN-ia ù [i]q-ta-bu-[ni šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia]
12 ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-[ma ša] NIN-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-[ma ša DUMU.MEŠ]
13 ša NIN-ia ù iq-t[a-bu-ni š]ul-ma ša KUR.MEŠ ša NIN-ia u[m-ma-a šu-n]u-ma
14 na-aš-ra ù a-na-ku a[ḫ-ta-di da]n-niš dan-niš ù ŠÀ iṭ-ṭi-ba-an-ni
15 dan-niš dan-niš ki-i aš-mu[-ù š]ul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia ki-i aš-mu-ú šul-ma
16 ša NIN-ia ki-i aš-mu[-ù š]ul-ma ša DUMU.MEŠ N[I]N-ia ki-i aš-mu-ú šul-ma
17 ša KUR.MEŠ ša NIN-ia um-ma-a šu-[n]u-ma šal-ma na-aš-ra
-
- 18 um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-nu-ma al-te-mé gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša NIN-[t]i-ia
19 tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši¹Ma-an-ia qù-du¹Ri-a-maš-ši UGU-šu-nu i-na pí-šu-nu
20 UGU gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša NIN-ia iq-bu-ú um-[ma-a] a-di a-na-ku ep-pu-uš-šu-nu-ti
21 ŠIG₅ dan-niš dan-niš gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša NIN-ti tàš-p[u-r]i a-na ia-ši UGU-šu-nu
-
- 22 ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša NIN-ia i-na-an-di-nu a-na
23 gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša ŠÀ NIN-ia ḫa-ši-iḫ a-na e-pé-ši-šu-nu ù šu-nu
24 i-na-an-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠÀ ša ŠEŠ-ia ù ṭù-ub ŠÀ ša NIN-ia
25 ù šu-nu i-na-an-di-nu a-na ṭù-ub ŠÀ ša¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na
26 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ki UGU gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša ḫa-ši-iḫ
27 a-na e-pé-<ši->šu-nu a-na¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL-i LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ki
-
- 28 a-mur gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ŠIG₅ ša ma-ši-il a-na e-pé-ši-šu-nu ù NIN-ti
29 li-pu-uš-lu-nu-ti ba-ni ki-i LÚ-lan i-na-an-din pa-na a-na ši-ip-ri
30 ù la ṭù-tá-ap-pal ša te-še-em-mé um-ma-a a-na NIN-ti-ia-ma
31 ù ša NIN-ti tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši um-ma-a i-ni-in-na a-na-ku aq-ti-ip
32 um-ma-a LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-ra-a-am LUGA.LGAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-tu
33 ma-ag-ra-nu it-ti ŠEŠ-ni i-ra-a-ma-an-na-ši NIN-ti kán-na tàš-pu-[r]i

⁸¹⁹ For the reading of this official’s name, see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 176 and DE ROOS 2005, p. 45.

- 34 a-nu-ma a-na-ku a-ra-am ŠEŠ-ia ul-tu pa-na-nu ki-i ¹Mu-ta-al-l[i ŠEŠ-šu aš-ra-nu]
35 ŠEŠ-šu an-ni-ka-nu ul i-na-an-na i-ra-am-šu a-na-ku ŠÁ ħa-ši-i[ħ]
36 a-na it-te-en₆-pu-uš gab-bi te₄-mi ŠIG₅ a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na NIN-[ia]
37 ù a-na-ku ul ú-né-ek-ki-ir a-na ra-a-am ŠEŠ-ia ù NIN-ia a-d[i da-ri-ti]
38 ù aħ-ħa-a-ku i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ta ba-ni-i it-ti-šu ù [šal-ma-ku i-na ša-la-mi]
39 ba-ni-i it-ti-šu a-di [d]á-ri-ti
-
- 40 um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-[ma ù ša NIN-ti tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši ù]
41 ša táq-bi-i um-ma[-a DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li ul il-qú-ni-iš-šu-nu-ti]
42 ki-i il-qú-ni DU[MU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li an-nu-ti a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]
43 [a-na ŠA]L.LUGAL GAL-tu₄ [NIN-ia ul id-din a-na ša-pa-ri 1-en tu₄-pa]
44 [ù DU]MU.MEŠ.KIN-[ri-ki iq-ta-bu-ni um-ma-a ŠAL.LUGAL NIN-ka iq-bi a-na na-a-ši um-ma-a]
[45] [qí-bí a-na LUGAL ŠEŠ-ia šu-bi-la DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ki]
[46] [kán-na iq-ta-bu-ni a-na ia-ši ...
[47] [...
- Rs.
[-7'] [šu-be₆-el-ta ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** id-di-nu]
[-6'] [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ħa-at-ti ù a-na ŠAL.LUGAL KUR Ħa-at-ti]
-
- [-5'] [7 ME 65 GIN KÙ.GI ŠIG₅ i-na li-ša-na-tù^{MEŠ}]
-
- [-4'] [1 ša KÙ.GI ŠIG₅ tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti KI.LAL-šu 2 ME 34 GÍN]
-
- [-3'] [1 ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti KI.LAL-šu 83 GÍN]
-
- [-2'] [10 GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu 4 ME 80 GÍN]
-
- [-1'] [1 ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 96 GÍN]
-
- [0'] [x IGI.MEŠ šúm-mu-ħu-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú KI.LAL-šu 36 GÍN]
-
- [1'] [1 ša ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-'u₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 26 GÍN]
-
- 2' 1 ta-p[al in-ša-ba-tu₄^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 22 GÍN]
-
- 3' un-q[a-tù^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 12 GÍN]
-
- 4' 2 ĦAR.ŠU š[a KÙ.GI SIG₅ gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ħu-tu KI.LAL.šu-nu 5½ GÍN]
-
- 5' 1 ^{GIŠ}tù-up-ni-nu š[a KÙ.GI SIG₅ ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Ħa-at-ti]i KI¹LAL¹ KÙ.GI 12[+ 7½ GÍN]
-
- 6' ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na [li-ša-na-tù^{MEŠ} ù ú-d]e₄-e ù šu-ku-ut-t[^aMEŠ 1 lim 7 ME 79 GÍN]
-
- 7' KÙ.BABBAR GÍN 17 ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI [ù KÙ.BABBAR 1 lim 7] ME 96 GÍN
-
- 8' 2 e-ri-bu ša NA₄ DÙ-ti g[a-ab-r]i KÙ.GI gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ħu[-tù]
-
- 9' 10 un-qa-tù^{MEŠ} ša NA₄ DÙ-ti šu-ši 69 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL š[úm-mu-bu-tù]
-
- 10' 11 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku šúm-mu-ħu-tù 1 ME 27 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ šúm-m[u-ħu-tù]
-
- 11' ŠU.NIGIN 2 ME 7 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ šúm-mu-ħu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ù ša mi-ku ù [^GAD^{TÚG}.MEŠ
[Š]G.MEŠ [Š]G₅.MEŠ

- 12' 40 GIŠ.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša ^{GIŠ}EŠI 5 ^{DUG}ku-ku-bu [š]a Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅
-
- 13' 20 GI.MEŠ ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅
-
- 14' šu-be₆-el-ta š[a] LUGAL id-din a-na 2 ^{LÚ}GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti
-
- 15' [2 GAL.M]EŠ š[a še-t]e-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu 96 GÍN
-
- 16' [x ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.U]D.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ
-
- 17' [1 ^{KUŠ}ši-ri-ia-nu š]a LÚ-la₁₂ 1 ku-ub-šu ša ŠAG.DU ša UD.[K]A.BAR qà-du ḫa-aš-ḫa-la-tù
-
- 18' [ša a-na-ki^{MEŠ} 1 ^{KUŠ}š]i-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KA.BA[R]
-

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 22+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸²⁰

Vs.

- 1 [So (sagt) Wašmua]ria šatepn[aria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**],
 2 [Der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeš]a mai-amana, [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**]:
-
- 3 [Zu Puduḫepa], der Großkönigin des Landes [Ḫatti, meiner Schwester, sprich]:
-
- 4 [Siehe, Riamašeš]a mai-aman[a, dem Großkönig, dem König von **Ägypten**],
 5 [deinem Bruder, geht es gut], meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen, [meinen] Söh[nen, meinen Truppen,
 6 meinen Pferden],
 7 [meinen Wagen und in]nerhalb aller mein [er] Länder [geht es sehr, sehr gut];
-
- 7 [dir möge es] sehr, sehr gut gehen, [der Großkönigin, der Königin]
 8 [des Landes Ḫatti], meiner [Schw]ester, deinen Häusern, deinen Königs (söhnen), [deinen Truppen,
 9 deinen Pferden],
 10 [deinen Wagen und innerhalb] aller deiner Länder [möge] es sehr, se[hr gut gehen].
-
- 10 [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester]: Nunmehr ist Manja, [mein] Bo[te, zu mir gelangt]
 11 mit Riamašši, dem [Bote]n meiner Schwester, und sie haben [mir vom Wohlergehen meines Bruders]
 12 berichtet,
 13 und haben mir vom Wohler[gehen] meiner Schwester berichtet und haben mir vom Wohlergehen der
 14 Söhne]
 15 meiner Schwester berichtet und haben mir vom [W]ohlergehen der Länder meiner Schwester
 16 beri[chtet], wie folgt: „[Si]e
 17 sind wohlbehalten“, und ich f[reute mich s]ehr, sehr, und das Herz wurde mir
 18 sehr, sehr froh, als ich vom [W]ohlergehen meines Bruders hörte, als ich vom Wohlergehen
 19 meiner Schwester hörte, als ich vom [W]ohlergehen der Söhne meiner Schwester hörte, als ich vom
 20 Wohlergehen
 21 der Länder meiner Schwester hörte mit den Worten: „Sie sind gesund (und) sie sind wohlbehalten“.
-
- 18 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Ich habe nunmehr alle Angelegenheiten gehört, deretwegen du,
 19 meine Schwester,
 20 mir Man ja und Riamašši gesandt hast mit ihrer mündlichen Botschaft
 21 betreffs aller Pläne, die meine Schwester vorgetragen hat mit den Worten: „Fürwahr, ich werde sie
 22 ausführen“.
 23 Sehr, sehr schön sind alle Pläne, deretwegen du, meine Schwester, mir geschrieben hast.
-
- 22 Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott und meine Götter und die Götter meiner Schwester werden

⁸²⁰ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 118-121. Further comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 180-197.

veranlassen, daß
23 alle Pläne ausgeführt werden, die das Herz meiner Schwester auszuführen wünscht, und sie
24 werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz meines Bruders freut, und daß sich das Herz meiner
Schwester freut,
25 und sie werden veranlassen, daß sich das Herz des Riamašeša mai-amana,
26 des Großkönigs, des Königs von **Ägypten**, deines Bruders, freut über alle Pläne, die
27 er auszuführen wünscht für Ḫattušili, den Großkönig, den König des Landes Ḫatti, seinen (!) Bruder.

28 Siehe, alle schönen Pläne, die ausführens-wert sind, möge meine Schwester
29 ausführen; es ist gut, wenn ein Mensch auf ein Vorhaben achtet!
30 Weise nicht zurück, was du hörst! So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester:
31 Und was du, meine Schwester, mir geschrieben hast mit den Worten: „Jetzt habe ich Vertrauen
gefaßt
32 in deine Worte: ‚Der König des Landes **Ägypten** liebt den Großkönig, den König des Landes Ḫatti,
seinen Bruder‘;
33 wir sind willkommen bei unserem Bruder, da er uns liebt.“ - so hast du, meine Schwester,
geschrieben;

----- (und) die Königin -----

34 Nun, ich liebte meinen Bruder von jeher wie Mutalli, [sein dortiger Bruder], (ihn liebte);
35 sollte (da) sein hiesiger Bruder ihn jetzt nicht (mehr) lieben?! Mein Herz wünscht,
36 daß alle schönen Pläne für meinen Bruder und für [meine] Schwester ausgeführt werden,
37 und ich werde nicht aufhören, meinen Bruder und meine Schwester f[ür immer] zu lieben;
38 ich bin in guter Brüderschaft mit ihm verbrüdet und [bin in] gutem [Frieden]
39 mit ihm für immer [befriedet].

40 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: [Und was du, meine Schwester, mir geschrieben hast, und]
41 was du gesagt hast, wie folg[t: ‚Man hat die Söhne des Maänijalli nicht hergebracht‘
42 - als man [diese] Söh[ne des Mašnijalli ins Land **Ägypten**] brachte
43 [zur] Großkönigin, [hat meine Schwester nicht eine einzige Tafel senden lassen];
44 [und deine B]oten [sagten, wie folgt: ‚Die Königin, deine Schwester, hat zu uns gesagt: ‚So]
[45] [sprich zum König, meinem Bruder: ‚Sende die Söhne des Masnijalli!‘“ - so haben deine Boten]
[46] [zu mir gesagt. ...
[47] [...

Rs.

[-7'] [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
[-6'] [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, und der Königin des Landes Ḫatti gegeben hat]:

[-5'] [765 Schekel guten Goldes bestehend aus Barren].

[-4'] [1 aus gutem Gold, besetzt mit einem schönen Stein, dessen Gewicht 234 Schekel beträgt].

[-3'] [1 aus gutem Gold, besetzt mit einem schönen Stein, dessen Gewicht 83 Schekel
beträgt].

[-2'] [10 Trinkgefäße aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 480 Schekel beträgt].

[-1'] [1 *kaptukû*-Gefäß (?) aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht 96 Schekel beträgt].

[0'] [x verschiedene (Uzat)augen aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt].

[1'] [1 (Kette) für den Hals, sehr bunt, aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 26 Schekel beträgt].

2' [1 Pa[ar Ohringe aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht 22 Schekel beträgt].

3' [11 Ring[e aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 12 Schekel beträgt].

- 4' 2 Armspangen a[us gutem Gold, mit allerlei Steinen übersät, deren Gewicht 5½ Schekel beträgt].
- 5' 1 Kästchen a[us gutem Gold, Kopie, in Herstellungsart des Landes Ḫatt]i; Gewicht des Goldes; 1[9½ Schekel].
- 6' Summe des guten Goldes bestehend aus [Barren und Gefäß]en und Schmuckgegenständ[en: 1779 Schekel];
- 7' Silber: 17 Schekel. Summe des Gol[des und des Silbers: 17]96 Schekel.
- 8' 2 Falken (?) aus schönem Stein (und) (ihre) K[opi]e aus Gold, mit allerlei Steinen übersät.
- 9' 10 Ringe aus schönem Stein; 69 ve[rschiedene] linnene Gewänder aus Byssos.
- 10' 11 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus *miku*-Qualität; 127 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden).
- 11' Summe: 207 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus Byssos, aus *miku*-Qualität und aus „[gu]tem dünnem“ (Faden).
- 12' 40 schöne Balken von Ebenholzbäumen; 5 *kukubu*-Gefäße [m]it sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen;
- 13' 20 Körbe mit sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen.
- 14' Das Geschenk, d[as] der König den zwei Großen des Landes Ḫatti gab:
- 15' [2 Tri]nkgefäße aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 96 Schekel beträgt.
- 16' [x linnene Tuni]ken aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden).
- 17' [1 lederner Panzer f]ür einen Mann; 1 Helm aus Bronze mit „Blättern“ (?)
- 18' [aus Zinn; 1(?) lederner P]anzer, dessen Besatz aus Bronze besteht.
- Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 22+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Despite it does not present any precise reference to it, KBo XXVIII 4 can be included within the corpus of the “marriage letters” by virtue of its typical phraseology⁸²¹. Ramses received a message sent through Mania and Riamašši, who informed the pharaoh of the good conditions of the Hittite royal couple. Ramses rejoiced and congratulated Puduḫepa for the projects about the imminent marriage, defining them as “very very good” (*SIG₅ dan-niš dan-niš*, Vs. 21). In Vs. 34, the pharaoh openly confessed to be in good relationships with Ḫattušili as it has been previously with Muwatalli, too: “Nun, ich liebte meinen Bruder von jeher wie Mutalli, [sein dortiger Bruder], (ihn liebte)” (*a-nu-ma a-na-ku a-ra-am ŠEŠ-ia ul-tu pa-na-nu ki-i 'Mu-ta-al-l[i ŠEŠ-šu aš-ra-nu]*)⁸²².

The reverse of the tablet reports a long list of gifts sent to the royal couple and for two high dignitaries of the Hittite court (*^{LU}GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti*)⁸²³:

Gifts for the royal couple:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
----------	----------	-------------	----------

⁸²¹ CORDANI 2014, p. 118.

⁸²² Different translation in MÜLLER 2010, p. 209 (quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 120, note 2): “Ich liebte meinen Bruder schon damals, als Mutalli, sein dortiger Bruder, ihn nicht mehr liebte”.

⁸²³ Edel’s integrations are reported in *italic*. Cf also Edel’s table, in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 190-191.

Jewels	<i>ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti</i>	<i>Object of fine gold⁸²⁴ with precious stones</i>	<i>1 piece = 234 shekels</i>
	<i>KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti</i>	<i>Object of fine gold with precious stones</i>	<i>1 piece = 84 shekels</i>
	<i>IGI.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú</i>	<i>Udjat-eyes(?) of fine gold with tamlû⁸²⁵ incrustations</i>	<i>x pieces = 36 shekels</i>
	<i>ša ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-’u₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>Neck(lace), “colourful”, of fine gold</i>	<i>1 piece = 26 shekels</i>
	<i>ta-pal in-ša-ba-tu^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>Pair of earrings of fine gold</i>	<i>1 pair = 22 shekels</i>
	<i>un-qa-tù^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>Rings (of gold?)</i>	<i>11</i>
	<i>un-qa-tù^{MEŠ} ša NA₄ DÙ-ti šu-ši</i>	<i>Rings of fine stone</i>	<i>10</i>
	<i>2 ḤAR.ŠU ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu-tu</i>	<i>Bracelets of gold, littered with all sorts of stones</i>	<i>2</i>
Containers	<i>GIŠ-tù-up-ni-nu ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Ḥa-at-ti</i>	<i>Casket of good gold, copy, in production of the Ḥatti land</i>	<i>1 piece = 19.5 shekels</i>
Vessels	<i>GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>Drink vessels of fine gold</i>	<i>10 pieces = 480 shekels</i>
	<i>[...] ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>[“kaptukû”-vessel] of fine gold</i>	<i>1 piece = 96 shekels</i>
Metals	<i>ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na li-ša-na-tù^{MEŠ} ù ú-de₄-e ù šu-ku-ut-ta^{MEŠ}</i>	<i>Gold (ingots, vessels and jewels)</i>	<i>1779 shekels</i>
	<i>KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na li-ša-na-tù^{MEŠ}</i>	<i>Ingots of fine gold</i>	<i>765 shekels</i>
	<i>KÙ.BABBAR GÍN</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>17 shekels</i>
	<i>ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI ù KÙ.BABBAR</i>	<i>Gold + silver (total)</i>	<i>x]96 = 1796 shekels⁸²⁶</i>
Statuettes	<i>e-ri-bu ša NA₄ DÙ-ti ga-ab-ri</i>	<i>Hawks of fine stone</i>	<i>2</i>
	<i>KÙ.GI gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu-tù</i>	<i>Hawk of gold, encrusted with precious stones</i>	<i>1</i>
Linens	<i>GADTÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL šúm-mu-bu-tù</i>	<i>“King” linens</i>	<i>69</i>
	<i>GADTÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku šúm-mu-ḥu-tù</i>	<i>Assorted “miku”-linens</i>	<i>11</i>
	<i>GADTÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ šúm-mu-ḥu-tù</i>	<i>Assorted linens of fine quality</i>	<i>127</i>
	<i>ŠU.NIGIN GADTÚG.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ù ša mi-ku ù GADTÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	<i>Linens (“king”, “miku” and fine quality)</i>	<i>207</i>
Wood	<i>GIŠ.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša GIŠEŠI</i>	<i>Ebony beams</i>	<i>40</i>
Medicamina	<i>DUGku-ku-bu ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅</i>	<i>“kukubu”-vessels with fine medicaments for the eyes</i>	<i>5</i>
	<i>GI.MEŠ ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅</i>	<i>Chests with fine medicaments for the eyes</i>	<i>20</i>

⁸²⁴ CORDANI 2017, p. 68, note 1 underlined that: “ša GUŠKIN SIG₅. Quando attribuito ai metalli, il logogramma SIG₅ ‘buono’ ne indica una qualità particolarmente pura e, quindi pregiata”; cf. SIEGELOVÁ – TSUMOTO 2011, p. 277.

⁸²⁵ For the term *tamlû/tamlîtu*, see CAD 18 (T), pp. 142-145: “stone inlay, incrustation, inset, decoration”. This decoration techniques was used also for decorating ivory items (together with the *iḥzû* technique): see DE PIETRI (forthcoming, a) and THUREAU-DANGIN ET AL. 1931, p. 139.

⁸²⁶ CORDANI 2017, p. 121, note 1: “La cifra è incompleta, ma la presenza del logogramma ME indica che siamo sull’ordine di centinaia di sicli (forse quasi due migliaia, secondo EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 203-214)”.

Undefined	[...]	[...]	1
-----------	-------	-------	---

Gifts for the two “Greats”:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Vessels	GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink vessels of fine gold	2 pieces = 96 shekels
Linens	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Linens of fine quality	[...]
Weapons	^{KUŠ} ši-ri-ia-nu ša LÚ-la ₁₂	Leather male armor	1 piece
	ku-ub-šu ša ŠAG.DU ša UD.KA.BAR qà-du ḥa-aš-ḥa-la-tù	Bronze helmet with leaves	1 piece
	ša a-na-ki ^{MEŠ}	Object(s) of tin	[...]
	^{KUŠ} ši-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KA.BAR	Leather armor with bronze flakes(?)	1

It is interesting to compare the objects quoted in this text with those listed in the Hittite inventories (see *infra*, texts nos 47-51): the ḤAR.ŠU bracelets are also mentioned in CTH 241.7 (text no. 47.c), where they are made with a ribbon of red linen, and in CTH 245.2 (text no. 48) that includes “1 bracelet of gold and blue stones (with) *penki*-ornaments”: it can be suggested that the 2 bracelets quoted in this letter could have been realized with similar ornaments. No other gifts mentioned in KBo XXVIII 4 are recorded in the Hittites inventory lists.

It is also noteworthy the quotation of a particular item in Rs. [0’]: *IGI.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú*, “*udjat*-eyes(?) of fine gold with *tamlû* incrustations”⁸²⁷. Edel commented this object as follows:

“[*IGI.MEŠ*] wurde ergänzt, da nur wenig Platz zur Verfügung steht. In Edel, ND⁸²⁸ 8-12 hatte ich für EA 14 I 15 gleichfalls diese Ergänzung vorgeschlagen, weil ich dort gleichzeitig die dazugehörige ägyptische Glosse *ú-iṣ-ša* als **wid3a(t)* „Uzatauge“ hatte deuten können Statt *tam-lu-ú* „Füllung“ haben wir in EA 14 I 15 die Beschreibung *NA₄.HI.A šúm-mu-ḥu* „mit Steinen übersät“, was ich in Edel, ND 12 auf die Pupille und das Weiße des Auges bezog, die in dem goldenen Uzat-Amulett durch verschiedenfarbige Steine angegeben werden mußten. Unser *tam-lu-ú* „Füllung“ wird die gleich Bedeutung haben und ist offenbar eine Verkürzung aus *tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti* „gefüllt/besetzt mit schönen Steinen“, wie es davor in 2644/c, Rs. 3’ und 4’ heißt. Im Kommentar zu 297/i, 10’ haben wir übrigens auf Grund der dort angegeben Gesamtzahl der unter *šukuttu* „Geschmeide“ aufgeführten Geschenke die Zahl der Uzat-Augen auf 83 + x errechnet; siehe dort das weitere”⁸²⁹.

Despite the term recognized by Edel as “*udjat-eyes*” is integrated, it is intriguing (and also likely) that the gift list reported such an object. According to Edel’s opinion, this *udjat-eye* would have been decorated with different stones, in a “encrusting” technique. If Edel’s integration and interpretation are correct, we would find in the textual sources a mention of a typical Egyptian artefact whose actual specimens have been indeed found in Anatolia (see *infra*, section 2.2, *passim*).

⁸²⁷ Thus Edel’s translation: “x verschiedene (Uzat)augen aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt”.

⁸²⁸ = EDEL 1984.

⁸²⁹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 193.

22. CTH 159: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III AND PUDUḪEPA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC (ca. between 1269 and 1246/1245 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters related to the “First Hittite Marriage”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Br.	KUB III 37+ KBo I 17 Rs. 9’

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-</i> [(<i>br.</i>)	KBo XXVIII 26, 14’
<i>]-ri-i</i> (<i>br.</i>)	KBo XXVIII 26, 8’

a. KUB III 63 (ÄHK no. 51, E18, pp. 134-137):

Ramses an PuduḪepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma*¹ *Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-n* [a-ri-a LUGAL.] GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** DUMU^d UTU¹ *Ri-a-ma-še-ša*
ma-a-i^d *a-ma-ni*
- 2 *a-na*^{SAL} *Pu-du-ḫe-pa* SAL.LUGAL.GAL-ti SAL[.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-]at-ti^{SAL} *a-ḫa-ti-ia* (*ia*) *qí-bí-ma*
-
- 3 *a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši ŠEŠ-ki šu-ul-mu* [a-na É.MEŠ-]ia DUMU.MEŠ-ki ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia
^{GIS} *GIGIR.MEŠ-ia*
- 4 *ù a-na ŠÁ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia* [dá-an-ni-]iš *dá-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu*
-
- 5 *a-na ka-a-ša*^{SAL} *a-ḫa-ti-ia lu-[ú šul-mu a-na]* [É].MES-ki DUMU.MEŠ-ki ERIN.MEŠ-ki ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ki
^{GIS} *GIGIR.MEŠ-ki*
- 6 ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *GAL.MEŠ-ki* *ù i-na ŠÁ-bi gab-bi* [KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ki *dá-a*]n-ni-iš *dá-an-ni-iš lu-ú šu-ul-mu*
-
- 7 *um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-nu-ma DUMU.M*[ÉŠ.KIN-ia *ik-tal-du a*]-na UGU-ḫi-ia *qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN* *ša*
NIN-ia
- 8 *ù šu-nu iq-ta(!)-bu-ni šul-mu ša L*[UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-]ti *ŠEŠ-ia* *ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni šul-ma*
9 *ša*^{SAL} *a-ḫa-ti-ia* *ù iq-ta-bu-[ú-ni šul-ma ša DUMU.MEŠ]š* *ša*^{SAL} *a-ḫa-ti-ia* *ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni*
- 10 *šu-ul-mu ša KUR.MEŠ-ku-nu* *ù ŠÁ i*[t-ti-ba-an-ni *dan-niš da*]n-niš *ki aš-mu-ú šul-mu ša ŠEŠ-ia*
11 *ki aš-mu-ú šul-ma ša NIN-ia k*[i aš-mu-ú šul-ma *ša KUR.*]KUR.MEŠ-ku-nu *um-ma-a šu-nu ša-al-mu na-aš-ru*
ki DÙG.GA(!)
-
- 12 *ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar ṭup-pa ša NIN*[-ia *ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši* *ù a-na(-ku) al-te-mé gab-bi a-ma-te*^{MEŠ}
13 *ša SAL.LUGAL.GAL* *ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti* [NIN-ia *iš-pu-ra a-na ia-š*]i UGU-šu-nu *ki-i DÙG.GA ki DÙG.GA*
-
- 14 *um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-nu-ma LU*[GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti *ŠEŠ-ia*] [il]-*tap-ra a-na ia-ši u*[m-ma-
a]
- 15 *i-din a-na a-la-ki LÚ.MEŠ* *a-na ta-ba*[-ki Ì.SAG DÙG.GA *a-na SAG.DU DUMU.SAL-i*]a *ù* [li]-i[l-*qú-ni-iš-*
ší]
- 16 *a-na É* *ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL* **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** *ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma SIG₅-qí*
17 *dan-niš dan-niš ṭe₄-ma an-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ*[-ia *iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu* *ù*^d *UTU id-din-šu*]
- 18 *ù*^d *IŠKUR id-din-šu* *ù DINGIR.MEŠ* *ša* [KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i** *ù DINGIR.MEŠ* *ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti id-di-nu*]
19 *a-na e-pe-ši-šu ṭe₄-mu an-na-a* [ba-na-a *a-na na-dá-ni a-na ta-ri* 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
- 20 *a-na 1-en KUR a-di da-ri-ti* [ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia *ù DINGIR.MEŠ* *ša ŠEŠ-ia i-pu-šu-ni-iš-šu ki-i*]
21 *ša DÙ-ti ṭe₄-mu ba-nu*[-ú *a-na na-da-ni ŠEŠ-ut-ta* *ù sa-la-ma i-na be-ri-ni a-di da-ri-ti*]
22 *ki-ia-am DINGIR.MEŠ* *it-t*[á-an-nu *at-te-ru-ta* *ù šu-nu i-na-an-di-nu a-na e-pé-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-mi SIG₅]*

23 [a]-ki ša maš-lu a-na [e-pé-ši-šu-nu ...

24 [ù] a-na e-pé-ši-š[u ...

Rs.

[1'] [...

[2'] [.....] ...

3' [..... x] ul [...

4' [..... x] un-qa-ti [ša KÙ.G]I SIG₅ KI.[LAL-š]u-[nu]
4 GIN.MEŠ ša ba-aš<-lu>

5' 1^{GAD}[TÚG]

6' 1^{GA}[^DTÚG lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú mu-ra-ak-šu x a]m-ma-ti 4^{GAD}TÚG.[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ mu-
]ra[-ak-š]u-[nu] 6 am-ma-ti

7' 5 t[u-un-sú^{MEŠ} ša^{GIŠ}NÁ ša SAL.LUGAL lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL] SIG₅.SIG₅ x x GAD x x
l]u-bu-ul-ti <LUGAL> SIG₅.ME[Š]

8' 1 na-aš-[pa-ku ša KÙ.GI(?) ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SI]G₅ [...] 10^{DUG}[ku-]k[u]-^{bu} GA[L ša]
Ú.MEŠ ma-l[i]

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁸³⁰

Vs.

1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepn[aria], der Groß[könig], der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne,
Riamašeša mai-amani:

2 Zu Puduḥepa, der Großkönigin, der [König] in [des Landes Ḫ]atti, meiner Schwester, sprich:

3 Nun, mir, deinem Bruder, geht es gut, meinen [Häusern], <meinen> Söhnen, meinen Truppen, meinen
Pferden, meinen Wagen

4 und innerhalb aller meiner Länder geht es [seh]r, sehr gut;

5 dir, meiner Schwester, möge [es gut gehen], deinen Häusern, deinen Söhnen, deinen Truppen, deinen
Pferden, deinen Wagen,

6 <deinen> Großen und innerhalb aller [deiner Länder] möge es [se]hr, sehr gut gehen.

7 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Nunmehr sind [meine] Bo[ten] zu mir [gelangt] mit den Boten meiner
Schwester,

8 und sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen des [Groß]kö[nigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫat]ti, meines Bruders,
berichtet und haben mir vom Wohlergehen

9 meiner Schwester berichtet, und haben [mir vom Wohlergehen der Söhn]e meiner Schwester berichtet
und haben mir

10 vom Wohlergehen eurer Länder berichtet; und das Herz wurde [mir sehr, s]ehr f[roh], als ich vom
Wohlergehen meines Bruders hörte,

11 als ich vom Wohlergehen meiner Schwester hörte, al[s ich vom Wohlergehen] eurer [Län]der [hörte],
wie folgt: „Sie sind gesund (und) sind wohlbehalten in schöner Weise.“

12 Und ich habe die Tafel gesehen, die [meine] Schwester [mir hat bringen lassen], und ic(h) habe alle
Angelegenheiten gehört,

13 über die die Großkönigin des Landes Ḫatti, [meine Schwester, mi]r in sehr, sehr schöner Weise
[geschrieben hat].

14 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Nunmehr hat mir der [Groß]kö[nig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, mein
Bruder], geschrieben, w[ie folgt]:

⁸³⁰ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 123-124. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 203-214.

15 „Laß Leute kommen, um [gutes Feinöl aufs Haupt mein]er [Tochter] zu gieß[en], und möge [man si]e
 16 ins Haus des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypte[n]**, meines Bruders,] br[ingen!“ So hat mein
 Bruder mir geschrieben. Nun],
 17 sehr, sehr [gut] ist dieses Verhältnis, [über] das [mein] Bruder [mir geschrieben hat; der Sonnengott hat
 es gegeben],
 18 und der Wettergott hat es gegeben, und die Götter des [Landes **Ägypten** und die Götter des Landes **Ḫatti**
 haben veranlaßt],
 19 daß es geschaffen wurde, (nämlich) dieses [schöne] Verhältnis, [um zu veranlassen, daß die zwei großen
 Länder]
 20 auf ewig zu einem Lande [werden; und meine Götter und die Götter meines Bruders haben es geschaffen
 freund-]
 21 licherweise, (nämlich) das schön[e] Verhältnis, [um Brüderschaft und Frieden zwischen uns für immer
 zu gewähren].
 22 (Es ist) so: Die Götter haben [Freundschaft] gew[ährt, und sie werden veranlassen, daß alle guten
 Verhältnisse geschaffen werden],
 23 so wie es angemessen ist [sie zu schaffen; ...

 24 [und] ihn/sie zu schaffen [. ...

Rs.

[1'] [...
 [2'] [...
 3' [...
 4' [..... x] Ringe [aus] gutem [Gol]d, deren Gewi[cht] 4 Schekel (beträgt)
 und das geläu(tert) ist;
 5' 1 linnen[es] [..... -Gewand ...]

 6' 1 [großes gefärbtes] linne[nes] Gewand aus Byssos, von x E]llen [Länge]; 4 [große] linnene Gewänd[er]
 von 6 Ellen [Lä]n[ge];
 7' 5 sehr gute D[ecken für das Bett der Königin, aus Byssos; x] gut[e] linnene [.....] aus Bys[sos].

 8' 1 Vorrat[skrug aus Gold(?)] mit sehr gu[uten] [Arzneien für die Augen(?); x +] 10 gro[ße] *ku*/*kubu*-Gefäße
 [aus Gold(?), die] mit Arzneien gefü[llt] sind.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

KUB III 63 reportsa (after the usual greetings and felicitations for the well-being of the royal couple) the decision of Ḫattušili III to proceed to the ointment of his daughter for the wedding with Ramses II: *i-din a-na a-la-ki LÚ.MEŠ a-na ta-ba[-ki Ì.SAG DÛG.GA a-na SAG.DU DUMU.SAL-i]a ù [li]-i[l- qú-ni-iš-ši] / a-na É ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri[-i ŠEŠ-ia*, “Let that people come to pour aromatic oil on my daughter’s head; may she will be brought into the palace (literally, house) of the Great King of Egypt” (Vs. 15-16). The ointment ceremony was indeed a part of the ritual for the royal wedding (as stressed in BECKMAN 1983b, p. 106). The purpose of the interdynastic marriage is particularly stressed in Vs. 19-20: *a-na e-pe-ši-šu te4-mu an-na-a ba-na-a a-na na-dá-ni a-na ta-ri 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ / a-na 1-en KUR a-di da-ri-ti*, “Es geschaffen wurde, (nämlich) dieses schöne Verhältnis, um zu veranlassen, daß die zwei großen Länder / auf ewig zu einem Lande werden”. With the stipulation of the Treaty and the following marriage, Egypt and Ḫatti becomes like a single country⁸³¹.

The reverse of the tablet reports the usual gift list:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Jewels	un-qa-ti ša KÛ.GI SIG ₅	Rings of fine gold	X pieces = 4 shekels

⁸³¹ Similar expressions are also attested in other letters: see *infra*, texts nos 23, 33.a and 33.i.

Linens	^{GAD} TÚG lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú mu-ra-ak-šu	“King” coloured linen	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ mu-ra-ak-šu- nu	Linens	4 pieces
	tu-un-sú ^{MEŠ} ša ^{GIŠ} NÁ ša SAL.LUGAL lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .SIG ₅	“King” linen, fine corners for the queen’s bed	5 pieces
Medicamina	na-aš-pa-ku ša KÙ.GI(?) ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG ₅ SIG ₅	Storage jar of gold with good medicines for the eyes	1 piece
	^{DUG} ku-ku-bu GAL ša ... Ú.MEŠ ma-li	kukubu-vessels (of gold?) containing medicines for the eyes	10 pieces

b. KUB III 64 (ÄHK no. 52, E19, pp. 138-139. Zu no. 51 gehörig?):

Ramses an Puduḥepa

Transliteration

1' [.....]nu(-)t[i(?) ...

2' [ša i]š-pu-r[a ...

3' ú-še-bi-la a-n[a ...

4' i-na ŠÁ-šu a[- ...

5' uk-te-el-li [x ...

6' KÙ.GI i-na ŠÁ-šu [x ...

7' NA₄ ša-a-šu ù [x ...

8' [ù a-n]a-an-din a-n[a ...

Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁸³²

1' [...] ... [

2' [was er s]chrieb [...

3' er/ich wird/werde senden lassen f[ür s/meinen Bruder/Schwester ..].

4' in ihm ..[...]

5' er/ich hielt ..[...]

6' Gold in ihm ..[...]

7' den genannten Stein, und ..[...]

8' [Und i]ch werde veranlassen, da[ß ...

Andere Seite abgebrochen

[The text is too fragmentary to provide a meaningful comment].

c. KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 (ÄHK no. 54, E21, pp. 140-143):

Ramses an Ḥattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

[0'] [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma aš-ša-ra-aḥ]

1' [¹..... qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia]

2' [qà-du] ¹Pí-qa-aš-ti q[à-du ¹..... DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri]

3' [ša ŠE]Š-ia ù a-na-ku at-[ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu]

⁸³² Very brief comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 215.

4' [a-na ŠEŠ]Š-ia UGU te₄-mi š[a DUMU.SAL-ka ša
5' [iš-p]u-ra a-na ia-ši U[GU-šu]

B 6' [um-m]a-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù [ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra]
7' [um-m]a-a a-di^{SAL}ú-ba-ar-t[i il-la-ka a-na ka-a-ša]
8' [ù a-n]a-din a-na e-zé-[e-ša ù nu-du-un-na-a]
9' [a-na-a]n-di-na-aš-ši ù [nu-du-un-nu-ú-ša GAL UGU]
10' [ša D]UMU.SAL ša LUGAL KUR K[a-ra-^ddu-ni-ia-aš ù]
11' [ša D]UMU.SAL ša LUGAL KUR Z[u-la-bi ù a-na-ku]
12' [aq-ta-]bi mi-im-ma ša^S[^{AL}ú-ba-ar-ti i-le-eq-qé]
13' [ŠEŠ-ia kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur SIG₅-qí dan-niš]
14' [te₄-mu an-nu-]ù [ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu]
15' [ù a-na-ku a]-qá-ab[-bi a-na ma-ḥa-ri-ša ù É(?) ba-na-a(?)]
16' [e-t]e-pu-uš-ši ki DUG.G[A ù te-er-ḥa-ti GAL UGU]
17' [š]a gab-bi LUGAL.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša m[a-aš-lu a-na na-a-ši]

C 18' um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma [ù ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra]
19' [a-n]a ia-ši um-ma-a a-m[ur a-du-ku a-na-ku]
20' a-na-an-din a-na DUMU.SAL-i[a nu-du-un-na-a i-na NAM.RA.MEŠ ù i-na]
21' ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù i-na GU[D.MEŠ ù i-na UDU.MEŠ ù a-šap-pár DUMU.SAL-ia]
22' [š]a i-le-eq-qú-ú-[šu-nu-ti a-na KUR-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia]
23' [i-n]a KUR a-i[-ti a-na a-i-i LÚ i-pa-qid₄-šu-nu-ti]
[24'] [ŠEŠ-ia kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]

D [25'] [a-mur a-na-ku al-ta-pár a-na^{LÚ}ša-kín KUR¹Su-u-ta]
[26'] [i-na URU ša¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na]
Tafelrand müßte hier gewesen sein

Rs.

1' URU ša i-n[a ŠÁ-bi KUR U-pí a-na ma-ḥa-ri]
2' NAM.RA.MEŠ an-ni-ti [ša KUR Ka-aš-ka ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}]
3' an-na-ti ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.[MEŠ ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}
4' an-na-ti ša GUD.M[EŠ ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}]
5' an-na-ti ša UDU.M[EŠ ša at-tu-nu ta-na-di-na]
6' a-na šu-bu-li-š[u-nu ù šu-ú ri-id-šu-nu]
7' a-di^{SAL}ú-bar-tu₄ [il-la-ka a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]

[8'] [i-na gab-bi UD-mi^{MEŠ} ša a-na e-še-ḥi]
[9'] [ù šu-ú eš-ši-iḥ i-na ŠÁ-šu]
E 10' [ù al]-ta-pá[r] a[-na^{LÚ}ša-kín KUR¹A-taḥ-maš-ši i-na]
11' [URU š]a¹Ri-a-ma-š[e-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na URU]
12' [ša] i-na ŠÁ-bi KU[R Ki-na-aḥ-ḥi a-na ma-ḥa-ri]
13' [NAM.]RA.MEŠ an-ni-[ti ša KUR Ka-aš-ka ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}]
14' [an]-ni-ti ša ANŠ[E.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}]
15' [an]-ni-ti ša bi-[ri^{MEŠ} ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} an-ni-ti]
16' [ša] GUD.MEŠ ù šu-[gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} an-ni-ti ša UDU.MEŠ]
17' [ša] at-tu-nu ta-[na-di-na a-na šu-bu-li-šu-nu]
18' [ù š]u-ú ri-id-š[u-nu a-di^{SAL}ú-bar-tu₄]
19' [il-]la-ka a-na **KUR [Mi-iš-ri-i]**

F 20' [um-ma-]a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-m[a ù ša tàš-pu-ra um-ma-a]
21' [ti-i]l-la-a ša(!) A[NŠE.(?)KUR.RA.MEŠ-ša ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din]
22' [a-na e]-pé-š(i)-šu-nu at-[ta kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-nu-ma]
23' [a-na-ku] a-qá-ab-bi [a-na e-pé-ši gab-bi ša ŠEŠ-ia]
24' [iš-pu-]ra a-na ia[-ši UGU-šu]

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 2 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸³³

Vs.

A [0'] [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmehr habe ich abgesandt]
1' [den und den, meine Boten],
2' [und] Piqašti u[nd den, die Boten]
3' meines [Bru]ders, und ich li[eß sie zu] meinem [Brud]er [gehen]
4' wegen der Angelegenheit [deiner Tochter], üb[er die] mir [mein Bruder]
5' [ges]chrieben hat.

B 6' [S]o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und [was du geschrieben hast]
7' [wie] folgt: „Fürwahr, die Brau[t wird zu dir gehen],
8' [und ich l]asse [sie] eilen; [und eine Mitgift]
9' [werde ich] ihr [g]eben, und [größer ist ihre Mitgift als]
10' [die der T]ochter des Königs des Landes Ba[bylonien und]
11' [die der T]ochter des Königs des Landes Z[ulabi, und ich]
12' [zähl]te alles auf, was die B[raut bringen wird].“
13' [So hast du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben. Siehe, sehr gut]
14' [ist dies]e [Absicht, über die mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat].
15' [Und ich] werde befeh[len, sie in Empfang zu nehmen, und ein schönes (?) Haus(?)]
16' habe [ich] ihr freundlicherwise ge]baut, [und meine Brautgabe ist größer als]
17' [d]ie aller Großkönige, die [uns] ebe[nbürtig sind].

C 18' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und [was du m]ir [geschrieben hast],
19' wie folgt: „Sie [he fürwahr, ich]
20' werde meiner Tochter [eine Mitgift] geben [bestehend aus Kolonen und aus]
21' Pferden und aus Rin[dern und aus Schafen, und ich werde meine Tochter senden],
22' [d]ie [sie ins Land meines Bruders] bringen wird.
23' [I]n wel[chem] Lande [(und) welchem Mann soll sie sie übergeben]?“
[24'] [- so hast du, mein Bruder mir geschrieben].

D [25'] [Siehe, ich habe an den Landstatthalter Suta]
[26'] [in der Stadt des Riamašeša mai-amana],
Tafelrand müßte hier gewesen sein

Rs.

1' der Stadt, die i[m Lande Upi liegt, geschrieben],
2' diese Kolonen [aus dem Kaškäerland und]
3' diese Pferd[eherden und]
4' diese Rinde[rherden und]
5' diese Schaf[herden, die ihr]
6' bringen [laßt, in Empfang zu nehmen, und er wird ihr Führer sein],
7' bis die Braut [ins Land **Ägypten** kommt];

[8'] [aus allen Tagesrationen, die zuzuweisen sind] -
[9'] [aus denen wird er zuweisen].

E 10' [Und ich habe] a[n den Landstatthalter Ataḥmašši in]
11' [der Stadt d]es Riamaš[eša mai-amana, der Stadt],
12' [die] im Lan[de Kanaan liegt, geschrieben,
13' die[se Kol]onen [aus dem Kaškäerland und]
14' [di]ese Pfe[rdeherden und]

⁸³³ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 127-129. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 217-229.

15' [di]ese Jung[stierherden und diese]
 16' Rinder[herden] und [diese Schaf]he[rden],
 17' [die] ihr [bringen] l[äßt, in Empfang zu nehmen];
 18' [und e]r wird i[hr] Führer sein, [bis die Braut]
 19' ins Land [Ägypten k]ommt.

F 20' [S]o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was du geschrieben hast, wie folgt]:
 21' „[Schmuck]ehang für die P[ferde(?) - mein Bruder möge veranlassen],
 22' [daß] sie gema[cht] werden“ - [so hast] d[u geschrieben. Nunmehr]
 23' werde [ich] befehlen, [alles zu machen, worüber mein Bruder]
 24' an mi[ch geschrieben hat.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 2 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

The letter reported in KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 is very important mainly if compared with Egyptian documentation (see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 8.e-f). The document mentions the organization of the expedition leading the Hittite princess and its dowry⁸³⁴ to Egypt; Piqašti is sent to the Egyptian court to manage the arrangement of the journey: Ḫattušili states a comparison between the dowry and the status of the Hittite bride and that of other wives coming from Babylon and Zulapi⁸³⁵. The Hittite princess is here defined with the Akkadian term ^{MUNUS}*ubārtu*⁸³⁶, “foreign woman” instead of the more common DUMU.MUNUS, “daughter”⁸³⁷. The dowry of the Hittite princess is described as consisting of Kaškean prisoners, horses, herds (*šugullāte*^{MEŠ}) of cattle and sheep, as also the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’” reports (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.e)⁸³⁸. The Hittite convoy left Ḫattuša and reached the Egyptian borders in the nearby of Šuta (as documented in KUB III 57, Vs. 2-4⁸³⁹) and entered Egypt, finally arriving at Pi-Ramesse⁸⁴⁰.

d. KUB III 57 (ÄHK no. 55, E22, pp. 144-145):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

C [-2'] [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma ù ša at-ti tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši]
 -1' [um-ma-a a-mur a-du-ku a-na-ku a-na-an-din a-na DUMU.SAL-ia nu-d]u-un-na-a
 [0'] [i-na NAM.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ]
 1' [ù a-šap-pár DUMU.SAL-ia ša ú-š]e-[r]i-bu-šu-n[u-ti]
 2' [a-na KUR-ti ša] ŠEŠ-ia a-na a-i-i LÚ i-pa-qid₄-šu-nu-ti
 3' [i-na KUR-ka N]IN-ti kán-na tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši

D 4' [ù NAM.RA.ME]Š an-ni-ti ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}

⁸³⁴ Further references to the Hittite dowry are recorded in KUB III 57 (text no. 22.d) and KUB III 49 (text no. 33.g).

⁸³⁵ Cf. ZACCAGNINI 1973, p. 28.

⁸³⁶ The term is also attested in KUB III 49 Rs. (?) 5', see *infra*, text no. 33.g.

⁸³⁷ See CORDANI 2017, p. 128, note 5, quoting CAD 20 [U-W]: “The foreign woman (i.e., the Hittite princess to be married to Ramses)”. The term is translated by both Edel (EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 141) and Müller (MÜLLER 2010, p. 548) with “Braut”.

⁸³⁸ Cf. PERNIGOTTI 2010, p. 115, quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 128: “Allora egli fece in modo che fosse inviata la sua figlia maggiore con doni augusti davanti a lei, oro e molto bronzo, servi e cavalli senza limiti, bestiame, capre e pecore a decine di migliaia”. It is also noteworthy that the horses are later recorded, as typical Hittite goods, in a papyrus of the reign of Seti II (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 11).

⁸³⁹ CORDANI 2017, p. 129, note 3: “[Ho] scritto al governatore di [sic] paese Šuta, [nella città di R]iamašeša mai-amana, [città che si trova all'in]terno del paese di Upe, di prenderli in consegna”. For the land of Šuta see also DE VOS 2008a, p. 312, no. 12. Cordani also refers to the parallel passage in KUB III 57, Vs. 8-10, quoting the land of the governor Ataḫmašši (i.e., Kinahḫi) together with Šuta: “[E io ho scritto] al governatore di [sic] paese Ataḫ[ašši nella città di Riamaše]ša mai-ama>na, città che si trova nel paese di Canaan]” (CORDANI 2017, p. 129, note 6). Cf. the following text in this section.

⁸⁴⁰ Cf. PERNIGOTTI 2010, p. 116.

5' [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ] an-ni-ta ù an-nu-ti šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}
 6' [ša GUD.MEŠ ù] an-nu-tu šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} ša UDU.MEŠ
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [ša at-tu-nu] ta-na-di-na a-na šu-bu-li a-mur
 2 [a-na-ku a]l-ta-pár a-na^{LÚ}šá-kín KUR¹Su-u-ta
 3 [i-na URU ša 'R]i-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na
 4 [URU ša i-na Š]Á-bi KUR U-pí a-na ma-ḥa-ri-šu-nu
 5 [ù šu-ú r]i-id-šu-nu a-di^{SAL}ú-bar-ti il-la-ka [a-na]
 6 [KUR Mi-iš-ri-]i i-na gab-bi UD-mi^{MEŠ} ša a-na e-še-ḥi [ù šu-ú]
 7 [eš-ši-iḥ i-n]a ŠÁ-šu

E 8 [ù al-ta-pár] a-na {a-na} ^{LÚ}šá-kín KUR^dA-taḥ-m[aš-ši i-na]
 9 [URU ša¹Ri-a-ma-še]-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na URU ša [i-na ŠÁ-bi KUR Ki-na-aḥ-ḥi]
 10 [a-na ma-ḥa-ri NAM.]RA.MEŠ an-ni-ti ša [KUR Ka-aš-ka]
 11 [ù šu-gul-la-t]i^{MEŠ} an-ni-ti [ša] [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù]
 12 [šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}] a[n-ni-ti ša bi-ri^{MEŠ} ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ}]
 [13] [an-ni-ti ša GUD.MEŠ ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} an-ni-ti ša UDU.MEŠ]
 [14] [...
 [15] [...
 [16] [...

[F][17] [...
 [18] [...
 [19] [...
 [20] [...
 [21] [...

Translation⁸⁴¹

Vs.

C [-2'] [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und was du mir geschrieben hast]
 -1' [wie folgt: „Siehe, ich werde meiner Tochter eine Mit]gift [geben]
 [0'] [bestehend aus Kolonen, Pferden, Rindern (und) Schafen],
 1' [und ich werde meine Tochter senden, die] sie [ein]treten lassen wird
 2' [in das Land] meines Bruders; welchem Manne soll sie sie übergeben
 3' [in deinem Lande]?“ - so hast du, meine [Sch]wester, mir geschrieben.

D 4' [Was] diese [Kolon]en angeht und
 5' diese [Pferde]herden und diese [Rinder]herden
 6' und diese Schafherden,
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [die ihr] bringen laßt, - siehe,
 2 [so habe ich] an den Landstatthalter Suta
 3 [in der Stadt des R]jamašeša mai-amana,
 4 [der Stadt, die i]m Lande Upi liegt, geschrieben, sie in Empfang zu nehmen,
 5 [und er wird] ihr [F]ührer sein, bis die Braut
 6 [ins Land Ägypten] kommt; aus allen Tagesrationen, die zuzuweisen sind -
 7 [au]s denen [wird er zuweisen].

E 8 [Und ich habe] an den Landstatthalter Ataḥm[ašši in]

⁸⁴¹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 217-229.

- 9 [der Stadt des Riamaše]ša mai-(ama)na, der Stadt, die [im Lande Kanaan liegt],
 10 [geschrieben], diese [Kol]onen aus dem [Kaškäerland]
 11 [und] diese [Pferdeherd]en [und]
 12 d[iese Jungstierherde]n [und]
 [13] [diese Rinderherden und diese Schafherden],
 [14] [die ihr bringen laßt, in Empfang zu nehmen];
 [15] [und er wird ihr Führer sein, bis die Braut]
 [16] [ins Land **Ägypten** kommt].

- [F][17] [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und was du geschrieben hast, wie folgt]:
 [18] [„Schmuckbehang(?) für die Pferde(?) - mein Bruder möge veranlassen],
 [19] [daß sie gemacht werden“ - so hast du geschrieben. Nun]
 [20] [werde ich befehlen, alles zu machen, worüber meine Schwester]
 [21] [an mich geschrieben hat].

The text in KUB III 57 needs to be synoptically read together with KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 (previous text in this section), being both related to the description of the royal delegation escorting the Hittite princess. After the list of the dowry, Puduḫepa asks Ramses to welcome the royal daughter along the borders of Egypt: Ramses ensures that he has already appointed for this duty the governor of the land of Šuta and that of Kinahḫi, Ataḫmašši⁸⁴², informed by previous letters.

e. KBo XXVIII 26 (= 66/d) (ÄHK no. 64, E31, pp. 158-161):

Ramses an Ḫattušili (und Puduḫepa)

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [.....x] x [...
 2' [..... LUGAL.M]EŠ ša KUR.MEŠ [ša li-mi-ti-ni iq-ta-bu-ú-ni (?) ...
 3' [..... ù] ši-i il-l[a-ak i-na É ša LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i** ...
 4' [.....] i-še-em-mu-šu a-[x 'x x x' ...
 5' [..... a-mur 2 LUGAL.MEŠ GAL.]MEŠ ša i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ta 1-et DÜ-tà
 6' [ni-i-nu lu-ú ta-ba-a-nu ù sal-ma-nu it-t]i-šu-nu šu-nu kán-na iq-bu-ú
 7' [tup-pa ša KÜ.BABBAR ša e-pu-ša-ak-ku-nu] a-na-ku ez-ze-eb-la(!)-ak-ku-nu-šu a-n[a]
 8' [e-pe-ši sa-la-ma a-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti ù **KUR M-i]š-ri-i**

 9' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma SIG₅ dan-niš š]a ni-i-nu ni-pu-šu at-te₉-ru-ut-ta
 10' [a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù a-na DUMU.]MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti um-ma-a [a-na ŠEŠ-ia-
 ma]
 11' [ù ša aš-pu-ra a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na NIN-ia um-ma-a] at-tu-nu id-na a-na qa-bé-[e]
 12' [DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ku-nu šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia ù ša NIN-ia ki-i] il-qú-ni DUMU.SAL ša EN š[a KUR
 Ḫa-at-ti]
 13' [a-na ia-ši šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú-ni um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ka ù DAM-š]u šal-⟨mu šu-nu⟩ kán-na iq-bu-ú [a-mur]
 14' [tup-pa ša ma-mi-ti ša ni-pu-šu šá-kín i-na šap-li GÌR.MEŠ] ša DINGIR.MEŠ ša **KUR M[i-iš-ri-i]**
 15' [ù i-na šap-li GÌR.MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti at-t]a i-din-šu a-na d[u-um-mu-qt]
 16' [sa-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta ša ni-pu-šu a-di da-ri-ti ù a-n]a-ku i-na-an[-din-šu a-na du-um-mu-qt]
 17' [sa-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta ša ni-pu-šu a-di da-ri-ti ù a-na]-ku ú-u[l ú-maš-šar]
 18' [ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-ma ù at-ta la-a tu-maš-šar ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-ma a-di da-ri-ti]
 [19'] [...

Rs.

- 14' [..... x]-ḫu-ri

⁸⁴² Ataḫmašši is also quoted in KBo XXVIII 52, *infra* as text no. 25.a.

Translation⁸⁴³

Vs.

- 1' [.....]
2' [..... die König]e der Länder [unserer Umgebung sagten(?):“ ...
3' [..... u]nd sie geh[t zum Haus des Königs des Landes **Ägypten** ...
4' [.....] sie hören ihn/es ..[.....] [...
5' [..... Siehe, die zwei Großkönig]e, die sich in einzigartiger, schöner Bruderschaft befinden -
6' [wir wollen uns gut vertragen und in Frieden sein mi]t ihnen.“ So sagten sie.
7' [Die Silbertafel, die ich für euch anfertigen ließ], die habe ich euch überbracht, u[m]
8' [Frieden für das Land Ḫatti und das Land **Ägypten** z[u schaffen].
-
- 9' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Sehr gut ist], daß wir Freundschaft
10' [für die Söhne des Landes **Ägypten** und für die Söhn]e des Landes Ḫatti [geschlossen haben]. So
[(sprich) zu meinem Bruder]:
11' [Was das angeht, daß ich meinem Bruder und meiner Schwester schrieb, wie folgt]: „Laßt
12' [eure Boten vom Wohlbefinden meines Bruders und meiner Schwester berichten!“ - (nun), als] sie die
Tochter des Herrn d[es Landes Ḫatti]
13' [zu mir] brachten, [sagten sie, wie folgt: „Dein Bruder und se]ine Gemahlin sind wohlbehalt[en]“ - so
sagten sie. [Siehe,]
14' [die Tafel des Eides, den wir geleistet haben, liegt zu Füßen] der Götter des Landes **Ägypten**
15' [und zu Füßen der Götter des Landes Ḫatti]; laß [d]u ihn [für immer] g[edeihen],
16' [den Frieden und die Bruderschaft, die wir geschlossen haben! Und (auch) i]ch werde [ihn für immer
gedeihen] las[sen],
17' [den Frieden und die Bruderschaft, die wir geschlossen haben. Und i]ch [werde]
18' [die Bruderschaft und den Frieden] ni[cht aufgeben, und (auch) du sollst die Bruderschaft und den
Frieden niemals aufgeben]!
[19'] [...
Rs.
14' [.....] ...

At the very beginning, KBo XXVIII 26 shows Ramses reaffirming the validity of the peace established by the Treaty (directly quoted in Vs. 7', *ṭup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR ša e-pu-ša-ak-ku-nu*), deposited in front of the gods of the Egyptian and Hittite lands.

At the end of the letter, Ramses remembers Ḫattušili to keep loyalty to what he had sworn, being faithful with the established peace: *ù at-ta la-a tu-maš-šar ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-ma a-di da-ri-ti*, “und (auch) du sollst die Bruderschaft und den Frieden niemals aufgeben!” (Vs. 18'). Perhaps, we can recognize in these words a difficult situation that could have undermined the agreement reached with the Treaty or, at least, a stalemate in the marriage negotiations.

f. KBo XXVIII 7 (= 465/z) (ÄHK no. 84, I4, pp. 190-193):

Ramses an Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- [0'] [a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia ERÍN.MEŠ-ia]
1' [a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.M]EŠ-i[a] a-na ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia
2' [ù i-na ŠÀ-bi gab-b]i KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia
3' [da-an-ni-iš dan-niš] šu-ul-mu
-
- 4' [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ]a-at-ti
5' [ŠEŠ-ia dan-niš dan-niš l]u-ú [šu-ul-mu]
6' [..... x] [...
[7'] [...

⁸⁴³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 243-244.

[8] [...
[9] [...
Rs. abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁴⁴

Vs.

[0'] [Mir geht es gut, meinen Häusern, meinen Truppen],
1' me[inen Pferd]en, meinen Wagen
2' [und innerhalb all]er meiner Länder
3' [geht es sehr, sehr] gut;

4' [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫ]atti,
5' [meinem Bruder], möge es [sehr, sehr] gut gehen;
6' [deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen, deinen Söhnen],
[7'] [deinen Truppen, deinen Pferden, deinen Wagen],
[8'] [und innerhalb aller deiner Länder]
[9'] [möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen]!

Rs. abgebrochen

[The present letter does not provide a useful information, since only a small fragment is preserved, just reporting the usual incipit with the greetings of the pharaoh to Ḫattušili or Puduḫepa].

⁸⁴⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 288.

23. CTH 160: LETTER OF PUDUḪEPA TO RAMSES II

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC (ca. between 1269 and 1246/1245 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letter related to the “First Hittite Marriage”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB III 24+ 59 Vs. 3' (br.), 19 (br.); 25 Vs. 1, 2, 26 Vs. 2 (br.); 27 Vs. 13', Rs. 14'; 31 Vs. 3; 34 Rs. 5 und passim; 41, 2; 42 Vs. 4', Rs. 9'; 52 Rs. 1; 56 Rs. 10'; 63 Vs. 1, 16; 66 Rs. 8' (br.); 67 Vs. 6', Rs. 7'; 70 Vs. 2 und passim, 124, 5' (alle akk.)

KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 (ÄHK no. 53, E20, pp. 138-141):

PuduḪepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

[-2] [um-ma^{SAL} Pu-du-ḫe-pa SAL.LUGALGAL SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]

[-1] [a-na¹ Ri-a-ma-še-ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]

[0'] [a-na¹ Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li ŠEŠ-ka dan-niš dan-niš šul-mu ù a-na-ku NIN-ka šal-ma-a-ku]

1' [k]i-i ŠEŠ-ka dan-niš d[an-niš a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka dan-niš dan-niš]

1'a [-u-ú šul-mu]

2' ša ŠEŠ-ú-a an-ni-ta tàš-p[u-ra ma-a i-na UD-mi i-le-eq-qú-ú-ni]

3' DUMU.SAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-na KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i i-na UD-mi ša-a-šu 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-tu₄

4' a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-tù-úr-ru a-ma-ta₅ an-ni-ta₅ šal[-ma-at dan-niš dan-niš]

5' i-na UD-mi ○○○ Í.SAG DÙG.GA a-na SAG.DU DUMU[.SA]L i[t-bu-ku]

6' DINGIR.MEŠ ša er-se-ti it-ba-lu-ma i-na UD-mi ša-a-šu 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-t[u₄]

7' a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-tù-úr-ru 2 LUGAL.MEŠ [GAL.ME]Š-tu₄ at-tù-ú-nu

8' a-na 1-et ŠEŠ-ut-ti ta-at-tù-úr-ra LUGAL.ME[Š me-]éḫ-ru-ni ša li-m[i-ti-ni]

9' ša it-ti-ni ṭa-a-ab a-na pa-ni-ni lu-ú [ḫ]a-a-dì ša it-ti-n[i sa-li-im a-na]

10' pa-ni-ni ○ lu-ú ○ kè-en-ni

11' [š]a ŠEŠ-ú-a an-ni-ta tàš-pu-ra ma-a ṭup-pa ša ŠEŠ-ia ki-i il-qú-ú[-ni i-na]

12' [p]a-ni-ia il-te-es-su-ú šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia šul-ma ša a-ḫa[-ti-ia]

13' ù šul-ma ša DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ki-i al-mu-ú a-aḫ₄[-t]a-du dan-niš [dan-niš]

14' [a]t-ta ŠEŠ-ú-a kán-na tàš-pu-ra um-ma-a a-n[a ŠE]Š[-ia-ma ga]b[-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]

15' [š]a tàš-pu-ra ○ šal-ma-at ○ dan-niš né-e-nu LUGAL.M[EŠ GAL.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ]

16' [ŠE]Š a-ḫa ú-ul i-mu-ur DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ni ša i-na [be-ri-ni it-ta-na-al-la-ku]

17' [a-n]a pa-an DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ni a-na šul-mi ša-'a[-li i ni-iz-zi-iz]

18' [ú š]a ŠEŠ-ú-a an-ni-ta₅ tàš-pu-ra ma-a [...

19' [..... KUR] Mi-iṣ-ri-i i-na [...

20' [.....] [x ...

Rs.

1' [..... x] [...

2' [..... i-na(?) Š]À-bi KUR ŠEŠ-ia [...

3' [..... l]a-a ta-dab-bu-ub 'i'(?)[-na ...

4' [..... iš-t]u ŠÀ-bi KUR.MEŠ Ḫa-a[t-ti]

5' [.....] [..]

 6' a-n[u-ma a-mur a-na-ku at-ta-din ^lx-x]-pi-it-ta DUMU.KIN-ka [...
 7' a-n[a a-ma-ri nu-du-un-na-a ša ad-di-nu] a-na DUMU.SAL at-t[u-ia]
 8' a-na [DAM-ut-ti-ša ù at-ta lu-ú ti-de-š]u 5 ME NAM.RA[.MEŠ ša KUR Ka-aš-ka]
 9' 3 ME A[NŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ x ME bi-ri^{MEŠ} x ME GUD.MEŠ ú] 1 li-im 1[+ x ME UDU.MEŠ]
 10' i-[..] x [..... x] ša [x ...
 11' [....] x [.....] NAM.R[A.MEŠ ...
 12' [..... x] [...

Translation⁸⁴⁵

Vs.

[-2] [So (spricht Puduḫepa, die Großkönigin, die Königin des Landes Ḫatti):

[-1] [Zu Riamašeša, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

[0] [Ḫattušili, deinem Bruder, geht es sehr, sehr gut, und auch ich, deine Schwester,

befinde mich]

1' [w]ie dein Bruder sehr, s[ehr wohl. Dir, meinem Bruder, deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen (und) deinen Söhnen]

1'a mö[ge es sehr, sehr gut gehen]!

2' Daß du, mein Bruder, dieses geschrieben hast: „Sobald man]

3' die Tochter des Landes Ḫatti nach **Ägypt[en]** bringt, da] werden [an diesem Tage die zwei großen Länder]

4' zu einem Lande“. Dieses Wort [ist sehr, sehr] rich[tig].

5' Als [man] gutes Feinöl auf das Haupt der Toch[te]r au[s]goß,

6' haben (es) die Götter der Unterwelt an sich genommen, (und) da wurden (schon) an diesem Tage die zwei groß[en] Länder

7' zu einem Lande, (und) ihr, die beiden [Gro]ßkönige,

8' wurdet zu (Partnern) einer einzigartigen Bruderschaft. Die uns [eben] bürtigten Könige [unserer] Umg[ebung] -

9' [w]er (von ihnen) mit uns gut steht, der möge sich vor unserem Antlitz [f]reuen; wer mit un[s in Frieden ist],

10' der möge [vor] unserem Antlitz bleiben.

11' Daß du, mein Bruder, dieses geschrieben hast: „Als man die Tafel meines Bruders brach[te],

12' hat man (sie) [vor] meinem Antlitz verlesen. Als ich vom Wohlbefinden meines Bruders, vom Wohlbefinden [meiner] Schwes[ter]

13' und vom Wohlbefinden der Prinzen hörte, da freute ich mich in [sehr] hohem Maße“.

14' So hast du, mein Bruder, geschrieben. So sprich z[u meinem Bru]der: [All]e [Wor]t[e],

15' [d]ie du geschrieben hast, sind sehr in Ordnung. Wir [Gro]ßkönige [sind Brüder],

16' (aber) [der e]ine hat den anderen nie gesehen; unsere Boten, die zwi[schen uns hin- und hergehen],

17' - [laßt uns (wenigstens) vo]r unsere Boten [hintreten], um nach dem Befinden zu fra[gen]!

18' [und d]aß du, mein Bruder, dieses geschrieben hast: [„.....

19' [..... das Land] **Ägypten** in [...

20' [.....] ... [...

Rs.

1' [.....] .. [...

2' [..... i]n (?) dem Lande meines Bruders [...

3' [.....] sollst du [ni]cht sprechen .[...]

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 126-127. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 215-217.

- 4' [..... au]s den Ländern von Ḫa[tti]
 5' [.....] [...]
-
- 6' [Siehe,] nufnmehr habe ich den ...]-pitta, deinen Boten, [veranlaßt,
 7' [die Mitgift] z[u besehen, die ich] mein[er] Tochter [gegeben habe]
 8' für [ihre Ehe, und du sollst s]ie [erfahren]: Fünfhundert Kolon[en des Kaškäerlandes],
 9' dreihundert Pf[erde, x hundert Jungstiere, x hundert Rinder un]d tausend ein [+ x hundert Schafe]
 10' [.....] [
 11' [.....] Kolon[en
 12' [.....] .. [.

KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 is probably an unsent letter, an archive copy or more likely a draft written by Puduḫepa and addressed to Ramses. It reports the Hittite queen's felicitations for the ointment of the princess and a brief description of her dowry.

On the obverse of the tablet, Puduḫepa (after the usual salutation) expresses the wish that “in that (i.e., of the wedding) day, two great countries became/will become one country” (Vs. 3'-4': *i-na UD-mi ša-a-šu 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-tu₄ / a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-tù-úr-ru*). The ointment of the new bride is better described in Vs. 5'-8': *i-na UD-mi ○○○ Í.SAG DÙG.GA a-na SAG.DU DUMU[.SA]L i[t-bu-ku] / DINGIR.MEŠ ša er-še-ti it-ba-lu-ma i-na UD-mi ša-a-šu 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-t[u₄] / a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-tù-úr-ru 2 LUGAL.MEŠ [GAL.ME]Š-tu₄ at-tù-ú-nu / a-na 1-et ŠEŠ-ut-ti ta-at-tù-úr-ra*, “Als [man] gutes Feinöl auf das Haupt der Toch[te]r au[sgoß], / haben (es) die Götter der Unterwelt an sich genommen, (und) da wurden (schon) an diesem Tage die zwei groß[en] Länder / zu einem Lande, (und) ihr, die beiden [Groß]könige, wurdet zu (Partnern) einer einzigartigen Brüderschaft”⁸⁴⁶. The ritual of the ointment involves the participation of the chthonian deities, established as the major witnesses to the wedding agreement.

In Vs. 15'-16' an interesting expression is attributed to Ramses: *né-e-nu LUGAL.M[EŠ GAL.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ] / [ŠE]Š a-ḫa ú-ul i-mu-ur*, “Wir [Groß]könige [sind Brüder], / (aber) [der e]ine hat den anderen nie gesehen”; could this sentence be interpreted as a suggestion of a meeting between the two Great Kings? Unfortunately, no other information can be pointed out.

The reverse of the tablet reports a short list of gifts sent as dowry through the hands of the messenger “[...]-pitta”: 500 Kaška prisoners, 300 horses, cattle and sheep (as integrated by Edel) which quantity is no more readable, and an undefined number of NAM.RA.MEŠ, prisoners or “Kolonen”, according to Edel's translation (cf. *infra*, text no. 33.h).

⁸⁴⁶ Similar expressions are also recorded in other letters: see *supra*, text no. 22.a and *infra*, texts nos 33.a and 33.i.

24. CTH 161: LETTER OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC (after 1269 BC)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letter related to the stipulation of the Treaty

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	1199/c+ 216/e Vs. 1 (akk.)

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
<i>m</i>]i-iz-ri-i (<i>br.</i>)	KBo XXVIII 1 Vs. 9'

KBo XXVIII 1 (ÄHK no. 4, A3, pp. 22-25):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 0' [..... ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a a-na-ku ul-te-pi-iš]
1' [tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù ul-te-bíl-šu a-n]a ša-a-šu ù at-ta šu-pi-iš tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR]
2' [ù šu-bíl-šu a-na ia-ši ù ni-i-nu ni-ša]k-kán-šu a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ[Š ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti ù a-na pa-ni]
3' [DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu]-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur a-nu[-ma a-na-ku aḫ-ta-di dan-niš]
4' [ki-i DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ka il-qú-ú-ni tup-pa ša K]Ù.BABBAR a-na ia-ši ša ŠEŠ-ia [i-pu-šu a-na ia-ši]

5' [a-mur a-nu-ma a-na-ku al-te-mé gab-bi a-]ma-te^{MEŠ} ša UGU-šu [ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán]
6' [tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.]A ù a-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ š[ap-lu-ti ù a-na-ku]
7' [at-ta-din LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-na še₂₀-m]é-e gab-bi te₄-ma^{MEŠ} [ša UGU-šu]
8' [ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBA]R ša ŠEŠ-ia i-p[u-šu a-na ia-ši a-na pa-ni ^dUTU ša ^{URU.KI}A-na]

9' [ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR] a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GA[L.MEŠ ša KUR M]i-iš-ri-i a-n[u-ma]
10' [e-te-pu-uš gab-bi te₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia iq]-bu-ú ù a-na-ku u-[še-ep-pé-eš] tup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR ù]
11' [u-še-bi-la tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na ŠE]Š-ia ù ŠEŠ-ia [li-id-d]in a-na še₂₀-me-e LÚ.MEŠ[Š KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
12' [gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša UGU-šu ù a]t-ta šu-ku-un-š[u a-na pa-n]i DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti

13' [^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠE]Š-ia i-na-an-di[-nu a-na d]u-um-mu-qí sa-lam-ni [ba-ni-i]
14' ù ŠEŠ-ut-n[i ba-ni-i i-na be-ri-ni a-di dá-]ri-ti a-ki-[i te₄-mi ba-]ni-i ša ni-pu-šu UG[U]
15' tup-pi ša [KÙ.BABBAR a-na na-dá-ni su-]lu-um-ma-a (um-ma-a) a-[na ŠEŠ-ia-m]a ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-r[a]
16' a-na ia-ši [um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia li-iš-m]é ša 1-en [iš-pu-ra UGU-]ḫi ki-lal-lu-ú-ni um-ma-a Š[EŠ-ia]
17' liš-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši gab-bi te₄-ma^{MEŠ}] UGU aš[-ri ša ni-né-e]p-pu-uš aš-ra-nu ŠEŠ-ia ká[n-na]
18' iš-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši a-nu-ma a-mur S]IG₅ [dan-niš dan-niš ḫ]e₄-ma an-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ia iq[-bu-ú]

19' ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKU[R ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia i-na-an-d]i-nu a-na a-ma-ri ŠEŠ-ia [ŠEŠ-šu]

20' *ù ŠEŠ-ia [li-il-li-ka a-na ia-ši ù li-pu-uš ʔe₄-ma S]IG₅ ša a-la-ki a-na a-m[a-ri-ia ù]*
 21' *1-en a-na I[-en li-il-li-ka ù 1-en a-na 1-en li-id-gu-ul a-na] pa-ni-šu i-na aš-r[i ša LUGAL]*
 22' *i-na^{GIS}[GU.ZA-šu ù LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i lu-ul-l]i-kà a-na KUR Ki-na-a[h-ḫi]*
 23' *a-na a-m[a-ri LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a-na da-ga-li a-n]a pa-ni ŠEŠ-ia a[-na ma-ḫa-ri-šu]*
 24' *i-na ŠÁ[-bi KUR-ti-ia um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš]-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši um-ma-a]*
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka li-il-li-ka a-na ka-a-š]a ù LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka I[i-pu-uš ʔe₄-ma SIG₅ ša a-la-ki]
 2 [a-na a-ma-ri-ka ù ŠEŠ-ka li-il-li-ka] i-na a-ḫi-ka i-na ŠÁ[-bi KUR-ti-ka a-na da-ga-li]
 3 [a-na pa-ni ŠEŠ-šu ŠEŠ-ia kán-na i]š-pu-ra a-na ia-ši [...
 4 [.....] x a-di ú-še-bi[-la
 5 [.....] x ŠEŠ-ia [...
 6 [.....]-ti (?) [...

Translation⁸⁴⁷

Vs.

0' [..... Und was mein Bruder mir geschrieben hat, wie folgt: „Ich habe]
 1' [die Silbertafel für meinen Bruder herstellen lassen und habe sie] ihm [bringen lassen], un[d (auch) du lasse eine Silbertafel herstellen]
 2' [und lasse sie zu mir bringen, und wir werden sie nie]derlegen vor den Götter[n des Landes Ḫatti und vor den]
 3' [Göttern des Landes **Ägypten**“ - so hat mein Bruder] mir]geschrie]ben. Siehe, nun[mehr freute ich mich sehr],
 4' [als] mir [deine Boten die S]ilber[tafel brachten], die mein Bruder [für mich angefertigt hat].

5' [Siehe, nunmehr habe ich alle W]orte [gehört], die auf ihr (stehen), [und ich habe]
 6' [die Silbertafel niedergelegt vor den vornehm]en [Leuten] und vor den gefring[en] Leuten, [und ich]
 7' [ließ die Leute des Landes **Ägypten**] alle Abmachungen [hö]ren, [die auf ihr (stehen)],
 8' [und ich habe die Silbe]r[tafel], die [mir] mein Bruder hat anfer[tigen lassen, vor dem Sonnengott von Heliopolis niedergelegt],

9' [und ich habe die Silbertafel] vor den gro[ß]en Göttern [des Landes **Ägypten**] [niedergelegt]. Nu[nmehr]
 10' [habe ich alle Vorschläge ausgeführt, die mein Bruder ausgespr]ochen hat; und ich werde eine Silbertafel [herstellen lassen], un[d]
 11' [ich werde die Silbertafel zu] meinem [Bru]der bringen lassen]. Und mein Bruder [möge] die Leut[e des Landes Ḫatti]
 12' [alle Worte] hören [las]sen, [die auf ihr (stehen), und (auch) d]u lege s[ie vo]r den Göttern des Landes Ḫatti nieder!

13' [Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott, meine Götter und die Götter] meines [Bru]ders sollen unseren [schönen] Frieden
 14' und [unsere schöne] Verbrüderung [zwischen uns für im]mer [ge]deihen lass[en] entsprechen[d dem schön]en [Verhältnis], das wir au[f einer]
 15' [Silber]tafel geschaffen haben [um F]rieden [zu gewähren]. «So» (sprich) zu [meinem Bruder]: Und was mein Bruder
 16' mir geschrieben hat [wie folgt: „Mein Bruder möge hö]ren, was der ein[e] uns beide [betreff]end [geschrieben hat] wie folgt: „[Mein Br]uder]
 17' möge mi[r alle Vorschläge] schreiben [b]etreffs des Or[tes], an dem [wir uns ver]bünden wollen!“ So hat mein Bruder
 18' mi[r] geschrieben. [Siehe, sehr, sehr g]ut ist dieser [Vor]schlag, den mein Bruder ausgespr[ochen hat.]

⁸⁴⁷ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 65-66. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 39-41.

19' Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott, [und meine Götter und die Götter meines Bruders sollen veran]lassen, daß mein Bruder [seinen Bruder] sieht;
 20' und mein Bruder [möge zu mir kommen und möge den g]uten [Vorschlag, mich] zu besuchen, [ausführen, und]
 21' einer [möge] zum an[dern kommen und einer möge dem andern in] sein Antlitz [schauen] an dem Or[te, wo sich der König]
 22' auf [seinem] T[hronen befindet. Und ich, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, will] ins Land Kina[hhi ge]hen,
 23' um [den Großkönig, den König des Landes Hatti, meinen Bruder], zu seh[en, um i]ns Antlitz meines Bruders [zu schauen (und)] u[m ihn]
 24' inmit[ten meines Landes zu empfangen. So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was mein Bruder] mi[r ge]schrieben hat [wie folgt]:
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [„Der König, dein Bruder, will zu di[r [kommen], und der König, dein Bruder, will [den guten Vorschlag ausführen]
 2 [dich zu besuchen, und dein Bruder will] an deine Seite [kommen] inmitt[en deines Landes um]
 3 [ins Antlitz seines Bruders zu schauen.“ So] hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben. [...
 4 [.....] .. fürwahr, ich werde send[en ...
 5 [.....] mein Bruder [...
 6 [.....] ... [...

The topic of this letter refers to the stipulation of the Treaty, and can be therefore dated after 1269 BC. The silver tablet of the Treaty is openly mentioned (*tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR*) and the deposition of the tablet itself in front of the Egyptian gods is quoted (*a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša KUR M]i-iš-ri-I*, Vs. 9'). The Sun-god the Storm-god, the Thousands gods of Hatti and the Egyptian gods are then introduced to ensure the validity of the Treaty. A passage in Vs. 15'-17' reports a sentence that has been interpreted as the arrangements for a possible meeting between Ramses and Hattuşili: *um-ma-a a-[na ŠEŠ-ia-m]a à ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-r[a] / a-na ia-ši [um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia li-iš-m]é ša I-en [iš-pu-ra UGU-]hi ki-lal-lu-ú-ni um-ma-a Š[EŠ-ia] / liš-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši gab-bi te4-ma^{MEŠ}] UGU aš[-ri ša ni-né-e]p-pu-uš, “(So) (sprich) zu [meinem Bruder]: Und was mein Bruder / mir geschrieben hat [wie folgt: „Mein Bruder möge hören, was der ein[e] uns beide [betreff]end [geschrieben hat] wie folgt: „[Mein Br[uder] / möge mi[r alle Vorschläge] schreiben [b]etreffs des Or[tes], an dem [wir uns ver]bünden wollen!“ ”. The proposal of a meeting is thus described by Ramses as a “very, very good thing”: *a-nu-ma a-mur S]IG5 [dan-niš t]e4-ma an-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ia iq[-bu-ú]*, “[Siehe, sehr, sehr g]ut ist dieser [Vor]schlag, den mein Bruder ausgespr[ochen hat.]” (Vs. 18'). The following sentence has been interpreted as a confirmation of the meeting: *UTU ù IŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia i-na-an-d]i-nu a-na a-ma-ri ŠEŠ-ia [ŠEŠ-šu]*, “Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott, [und meine Götter und die Götter meines Bruders sollen veran]lassen, daß mein Bruder [seinen Bruder] sieht” (Vs. 19'). Then, Ramses proposes the land of Kinahhi as a possible location for the meeting: *ù ŠEŠ-ia [li-il-li-ka a-na ia-ši ù li-pu-uš te4-ma S]IG5 ša a-la-ki a-na a-m[a-ri-ia ù] / I-en a-na I[-en li-il-li-ka ù I-en a-na I-en li-id-gu-ul a-na] pa-ni-šu i-na aš-r[i ša LUGAL] / i-na^{GIS}[GU.ZA-šu ù LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i lu-ul-l]i-kà a-na KUR Ki-na-a[h-hi] / a-na a-m[a-ri LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ha-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a-na da-ga-li a-n]a pa-ni ŠEŠ-ia a[-na ma-ša-ri-šu] / i-na ŠA[-bi KUR-ti-ia, “und mein Bruder [möge zu mir kommen und möge den g]uten [Vorschlag, mich] zu besuchen, [ausführen, und] / einer [möge] zum an[dern kommen und einer möge dem andern in] sein Antlitz [schauen] an dem Or[te, wo sich der König] / auf [seinem] T[hronen befindet. Und ich, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten, will] ins Land Kina[hhi ge]hen, / um [den Großkönig, den König des Landes Hatti, meinen Bruder], zu seh[en, um i]ns Antlitz meines Bruders [zu schauen (und)] u[m ihn] / inmit[ten meines Landes zu empfangen” (Vs. 20'-24').**

According to many scholars, this meeting has never took place: this, e.g., Giorgieri's opinion, who summons up the situation and recognizes in these sentences a literary *topos*⁸⁴⁸:

“Sul presunto progetto di un incontro tra Ramses e Ḫattušili in occasione della stipula del trattato v. ora ampiamente EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 27 s., 39 ss., secondo il quale l'incontro tra il re ittita e il faraone doveva avvenire nel paese di Kinahḫi (= Kanaan), dunque in territorio egiziano. Lì Ramses si doveva recare per attendere Ḫattušili, e di lì i due sovrani sarebbero poi partiti alla volta dell'Egitto, dove il re ittita sarebbe stato ospite nella residenza del faraone. L'ipotesi di una visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto, già formulata dallo stesso Edel anni addietro (EDEL 1960), si fonda sulla testimonianza della lettera KBo 28.1 (= ÄHK nr. 4: 166/b + 1199/c + 216/e (+) 577/b), che secondo la ricostruzione di Edel conterrebbe in Vo 1 ss. la citazione delle parole con cui Ḫattušili comunicò a Ramses la sua volontà di recarsi in Egitto (EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 24; 1994, vol. 2, pp. 39, 41). A proposito dell'incontro tra i due sovrani e della progettata visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto cfr. anche le osservazioni di LIVERANI 1990b, p. 63, n. 24 e 1990a, pp. 215 s. (ancora con datazione della visita all'epoca del primo matrimonio tra una figlia di Ḫattušili e Ramses); ARCHI 1997, p. 1, n. 1; ZACCAGNINI 2000b, pp. 440 s.; KLENGEL 2002, pp. 92 s.; BRYCE 2003, pp. 86 ss. L'intera ricostruzione di questo episodio offerta da Edel, e accettata da altri studiosi, risulta a mio parere assai incerta, soprattutto per quel che concerne l'ipotesi di una presunta visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto (esplicitamente critico a tal riguardo invece giustamente ARCHI 1997, p. 1, n. 1). A ben vedere infatti l'assunto di Edel si basa su integrazioni assolutamente prive di fondamento, condotte sui pochi segni rimasti in KBo 28.1 Vo 1 ss., corrispondente al frammento 577/b, che non costituisce nemmeno un *join* diretto con gli altri frammenti attribuiti a questa tavoletta. Tra l'altro il desiderio espresso da Ramses di 'vedere' (*amāru*) il proprio alleato (cfr. per es. KBo 28.1 Ro 19') può a mio avviso venir interpretato non necessariamente alla lettera (i viaggi di Grandi Re in paesi stranieri non dovevano rappresentare la norma!), bensì piuttosto come una sorta di *topos*, altrove attestato nella corrispondenza tra i sovrani dell'epoca. Cfr. per es. EA 20 rr. 11-12 (da Tušratta ad Amenophi III) *u ṭābā danniš-ma amāišu ša ŠEŠ-ya kī ša ŠEŠ-ya-ma āmuru u aḫtaḫū ina ūmi šāši ma'da danniš* 'le parole di mio fratello erano buone assai, ed io quel giorno mi son rallegrato oltremisura, come se avessi visto mio fratello di persona', oppure, di contro, il passo della lettera EA 3 rr. 19 ss. (da Kadašman-Ellil I ad Amenophi III), in cui il re babilonese si lamenta (certo fittiziamente!) di non essere stato invitato dal faraone ad una grande festa; su questi motivi cfr. le osservazioni di LIVERANI 1999, p. 316; ZACCAGNINI 2000b, pp. 440 s.; BRYCE 2003, p. 86. In questo contesto può essere ricordato anche l'interessante passo contenuto in una lettera recentemente trovata a Tell Sabi Abyad (T 02-32; da Ubru a Mannu-kī-Adad) e edita da WIGGERMANN 2006, in cui si parla della presenza di LUGAL^{MES}-nu ša KUR-te ša-ni-it-te a Aššur in occasione dei funerali del sovrano Tukultī-Ninurta I. Secondo WIGGERMANN 2006, p. 93 i 're di un altro paese' sarebbero i sovrani dipendenti dal Gran Re di Ḫatti (Karkemiš, Emar, Ugarit), ma a mio avviso non è da escludere che tra essi vada annoverato anche lo stesso Gran Re di Ḫatti, da identificarsi in Šuppiluliuma II, venuto a rendere di persona l'estremo saluto al partner assiro”⁸⁴⁹.

The reverse of the tablet, largely integrated by Edel, insists on the theme of the possible meeting: however, Edel's suggestions are here too hypothetical and have been rejected by many scholars⁸⁵⁰.

⁸⁴⁸ I quote here all the passage of Giorgieri's paper, normalizing the bibliographic references to those used in the thesis.

⁸⁴⁹ GIORGIERI 2010, p. 65, note 7.

⁸⁵⁰ See e.g. CORDANI 2017, p. 66, with further bibliography.

25. CTH 162: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI AND PUDUḪEPA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters related to the stipulation of the Treaty and the “First Hittite Marriage”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

a. KBo XXVIII 52 (ÄHK no. 62, E29, pp. 156-157):

Ramses an Ḫattušili (oder PuduḪepa?)

Transliteration

Rs.

- 1 [..... x]-ša qà-du DUMU.K[IN(??) ŠEŠ-ia]
 2 [li-id-din DUMU.SAL-ša a-n]a a-la-ki i-na MU[-ti an-ni-ti i-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù a-na-an-din ¹A-taḫ-
 maš-ši]
 3 [^{LÚ}šá-kín KUR Ki-na-a]ḫ(?) -ḫi a-na a-la-ki-šu(?) [i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti a-na ma-ḫa-ri DUMU-SAL-ka
 ù a-na-an-din]
 4 [¹Su-ta ^{LÚ}šá-kín KUR U-p]i(?) a(!)-na a-la-ki-šu [i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti a-na ma-ḫa-ri DUMU-SAL-ka ù
 a-na-ku]
 5 [ep-pu-uš DUMU.SAL ša ŠEŠ-ia]a ^{SAL}bé-el-ti š[a(?) **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti]
 6 [..... DUMU.KIN-r]i(?) -ia[...]
 [7] [...
 Vs. abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁵¹

Rs.

- 1 [..... x]-ša mit [deinen/meinen?] Bö[ten(?) Mein Bruder]
 2 [möge seine Tochter] (noch) in [diesem] Jahr[e ins Land **Ägypten** z]u gehen [veranlassen, und ich
 werde den Ataḫmašši],
 3 [den Statthalter des Landes Kina]ḫḫi, [(noch) in diesem Jahre] zu gehen [veranlassen, um deine
 Tochter zu empfangen, und ich werde]
 4 [den Suta, den Statthalter des Landes Up]i(?), [(noch) in diesem Jahre] zu gehen [veranlassen, um
 deine Tochter zu empfangen, und ich]
 5 [werde die Tochter mei]nes [Bruders (noch) in diesem Jahre] zur Herrin d[es Landes **Ägypten**
 machen]
 6 [.....] meines [Bot]en(?) [...
 [7] [...
 Vs. abgebrochen

This letter surely belongs to the marriage dossier: the pharaoh informs Ḫattušili (or PuduḪepa) to have appointed Ataḫmašši, governor of Kinaḫḫi (also quoted in KUB III 57, see *supra* text no. 22.d) and the governors of the lands of Šuta and Upe to welcome the Hittite princess in their regions and to lead her to Egypt within “this year”: because of this chronological reference, the letter can be dated just before 1246/1245 BC.

b. KUB III 25 (ÄHK no. 77, H2, pp. 182-183):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

⁸⁵¹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 242.

1 [um-ma ¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-]a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
 2 [DUMU ^dUTU ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i ^da-m]a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i

 3 [a-na ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR] Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma

 4 [a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-i]a DAM.MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia ERIN.MEŠ-bi-ia
 5 [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù a-na ŠÁ-]bi gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-iš dan-niš šul-mu

 6 [a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šul-mu a-n]a É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka
 7 [ERIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù] a-na ŠÁ-bi gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ka
 dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu

 8 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma-x]-zi- ik[-tal-d]á a-na UGU-ḫi-ia
 9 [qa-du ¹..... DUMU.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia ù ŠEŠ-ka i-ta-mar ṭup-pa ša šu-nu i]l-qú-ni-iš-šu
 [10] [ù il-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te ^{MEŠ}ša ŠEŠ-šu iš-pu-ra a-na ša-a-šu UGU-ši-na ...]
 [11] [...]

Rs.

1' [..... M]EŠ
 2' [..... x]
 3' [..... a-n]a ŠEŠ-ia

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 10-11 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁵²

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnari]a, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
 2 [der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašša mai-am]ana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**:

 3 [zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes] Ḫatti, meinem Bruder, sprich:

 4 [Nun, mir geht es gut, mein]en [Häusern], meinen Frauen, meinen Söhnen, meinen Truppen,
 5 [meinen Pferden, meinen Wagen und inner]halb aller meiner Länder geht es sehr, sehr gut;

 6 [dir, meinem Bruder, möge es gut gehen], deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen, deinen Söhnen,
 7 [deinen Truppen, deinen Pferden, deinen Wagen und] innerhalb deiner Länder möge es sehr,
 sehr gut gehen.

 8 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmehr ist-x]-zi [.....], zu mir ge[lang]t
 9 [zusammen mit dem, dem Boten meines Bruders, und dein Bruder hat die Tafel gesehen,
 die] sie ihm [ge]bracht haben,
 [10] [und er hat alle Angelegenheiten gehört, über die ihm sein Bruder geschrieben hat ...].
 [11] [...]

Rs.

1' [.....] (Plur.)
 2' [.....].
 3' [.....] meinem Bruder.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 10-11 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

[Letter reporting just the usual incipit with greetings and salutation].

⁸⁵² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 273-274.

c. **KBo XXVIII 27 (= 66/r) (ÄHK no. 89, I9, pp. 196-197):**

Ramses an Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa

Transliteration

- 1' [..... x] ku-[x
 2' [.....] ša DUMU.KIN-i[a

 3' [um-ma a a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḫ DUMU.MEŠ].KIN-ri-ia q[à-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia
 oder NIN-ia
 4' [ù at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki DUMU.MEŠ.KI]N-ia ar-ḫi-iš [ar-ḫi-iš a-na ŠEŠ-ia oder NIN-ia]
 5' [UGU kál-le-e ù a-na-ku ul-te-b]il šu-bé-e[l-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia oder NIN-ia a-na šul-ma-ni]
 6' [ša ŠEŠ-ia oder NIN-ia i-na ŠU-ti¹ o o DUM]U.KIN-ia ù[at-ta/i lu-ú ü-de-ši]
 [7'] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁵³

- 1' [.....] ... [...
 2' [.....] mein[es] Boten [...

 3' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder oder „Schwester“ : Ich habe] meine [Bo]ten z[usammen mit den
 Boten meines Bruders oder „Schwester“ entsandt],
 4' [und ich ließ] meine [Bo]ten eilends, [eilends zu meinem Bruder oder „Schwester“ gehen]
 5' [wegen einer Eilmachricht, und ich habe] ein Gesch[enk an meinen Bruder oder „Schwester“
 geschi]ckt [als Begrüßungsgeschenk]
 6' [für meinen Bruder oder „Schwester“ durch die Hand des], meines [Bo]ten, [und du sollst
 es erfahren]:
 [7'] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This letter reports the mention of a “urgent (or ‘quick’) message” (*UGU kál-le-e*, l. 5’)⁸⁵⁴, sent “very quickly” (*ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš*, l. 4’) by Ramses to Ḫattušili or Puduḫepa; unfortunately, no further details are provided to reconstruct the topic of this so urgent message. The document also mentions the dispatch of an unspecified gift.

d. **KBo XXVIII 32 (= 403/w) (ÄHK no. 94, I14, pp. 200-203):**

Geschenkliste: Ramses und Naptera an Ḫattušili und Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' 1 p(?)-/GIŠ(?) x x [x ...
 2' na-ap-ḫar KÙ.GI SIG₅ [x GÍN ...
 3' 2^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-t[i LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša-bu-tu ga-ab-ri]
 4' i-na KIN.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-[at-ti ša x i-na am-ma-ti ar-ku ru-pu-us-su-nu ša]
 5' 5 i-na am-ma-ti [...
 6' 2^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄ 2^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ]
 7' lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄ 3^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄
 8' 3^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ [SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄ na-ap-ḫar^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-
 ul-ti
 LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ]
 9' ù^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ SI[G₅.MEŠ 12^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ 1 ḫu-up-ni-nu ša GIŠ.ESI]
 10' KÙ.GI GAR.RA šú-up-ra-[ti-šu ša GIŠ.MEŠ-šu ša KI.LAL KÙ.GI x GÍN]

⁸⁵³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 296.

⁸⁵⁴ Edel, *loc. cit.*, noted that the term *kallê* is also attested in 283/b + (= CTH 157, *supra* as text no. 20.b), Vs. 17; 645/c + (= CTH 164, *infra* as text no. 27.e), Vs. 11 and 132/e + (= CTH 163, *infra* as text no. 26.p), Vs. 13. For this kind of messages, see also LIVERANI 2002; cf. also *supra*, comment to text no. 20.b.

R 11' *KI.LAL KÙ.BABBAR ša UG[U-šu-nu x GÍN na-ap-ḥar KÙ.GI ù KÙ.BABBAR x GÍN]*
 A 12' *šu-bé-el-tu₄ ša SAL[LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*
 N 13' *1 GAL ša še-te-e [ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]*
 D 14' *1^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi 1^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU]*
 15' *lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SI[G₅ ša-bi 3^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu SIG₅.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄]*
 16' *3^{GAD.TÚG} TUG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ S[IG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄ na-ap-ḥar^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ]*

Rs.

1 17' *lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL S[IG₅.MEŠ ù^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ 8^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ]*

2 18' *šu-bé-el-tu₄ ša SAL.L[UGAL(?) KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*
 3 19' *1 ša ti-ik-ki šú-u[b-bu-ú' ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ ša x ṭur-ri KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]*
 4 20' *1 ta-pal in-ša-ba-t[u₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN 1 GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅]*
 5 21' *KI.LAL-šu 21 1/2 GÍN 1^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi]*
 6 22' *1^{GAD.TÚG} TUG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu[-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi]*

7 23' *šu-bíl-tu₄ ša LUGAL[(.GAL LUGAL) KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na¹.....]*
 8 24' *1 GAL ša še-te-e ša [KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN 1^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu]*
 9 25' *lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ š[a-bi 1^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi]*

10 26' *šu-bíl-tu ša LUGAL[(.GAL LUGAL) KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na¹.....]*
 11 27' *1 GAL ša še-te-e ša [KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]*
 12 28' *1^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu l[lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi 1^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi]*

13 29' *šu-bíl-tu₄ ša LUGAL[(.GAL LUGAL) KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na¹.....]*
 14 30' *[I₁] [GAL] [ša] [še]-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]*
 15 31' *[1^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak]-la-lu l[lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi 1^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi]*

[16] [32]' [...]

Translation⁸⁵⁵

Vs.

- [-x] [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Königin des Landes Ḥatti gegeben hat]:
- 1' 1 [...]
- 2' Gesamtsumme des guten Goldes: [x Schekel]
- 3' 2 [große, gute, gefärbte] Leinengewänder aus Bys[sos, Kopie]
- 4' in Herstellungsart des Landes Ḥa[tti, x Ellen lang, deren Breite]
- 5' 5 Ellen beträgt, [...]
- 6' 2 [gute, gefärbte] linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder [aus Byssos; 2]
- 7' gut[e, gefärbte linnene Tuniken] aus Byssos; [3 gefärbte linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden)];
- 8' 3 [gefärbte] linnene Tuniken aus „[gutem,] dünnem“ (Faden). [Summe der guten linnenen Gewänder aus Byssos]
- 9' und der linnenen Gewänder aus „gu[tem] dünnem“ (Faden): [12 linnene Gewänder; 1 Truhe aus Ebenholz mit]
- 10' Gold überzogen, [deren] „Klau[en“ (o. ä.) aus und deren Füße aus sind; das Gewicht des Goldes beträgt x Schekel];
- 11' das Gewicht des Silbers, das sich au[f ihnen befindet, beträgt x Schekel. Summe des Goldes und des Silbers: x Schekel].
- 12' Das Geschenk, das die [König]in des Landes **Ägypten** dem König des Landes Ḥatti gegeben hat]:

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 136-138. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 305.

- 13' 1 Trinkbecher [aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];
14' 1 [gutes, gefärbtes] linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand [aus Byssos; 1]
15' gu[te, gefärbte linnene Tunika] aus Byssos; [3 gefärbte linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus
„gutem dünnem“ (Faden)];
16' 3 [gefärbte] linnene Tuniken aus „[gutem] d[ünnem“ (Faden). Summe der] g[uten linnenen
Gewänder]
- (Rs.)
1 17' aus Byssos [und der linnenen Gewänder aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden): 8 linnene Gewänder].

2 18' Das Geschenk, das die K[önig(?)]in [des Landes Ägypten, der Königin des Landes Hatti
gegeben hat]:
3 19' 1 sehr bunte Halskette [aus gutem Gold, aus 12 (?) (Perlen)reihen bestehend, deren Gewicht
88 (?) Schekel beträgt].
4 20' 1 Paar (Ohr)ring[e aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht x Schekel beträgt; 1 Trinkbecher aus
gutem Gold],
5 21' dessen Gewicht 21½ Schekel beträgt; 1 [gutes, gefärbtes] linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus
Byssos];
6 22' 1 [gute, gefärbte] linnene Tunika aus Bys[sos].

7 23' Das Geschenk, das der König [des Landes **Ägypten** dem gegeben hat]:
8 24' 1 Trinkbecher aus [gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt; 1]
9 25' gutes, gefärbtes linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus] Byssos; [1 gute, gefärbte linnene Tunika aus
Byssos].

10 26' Das Geschenk, das der König [des Landes **Ägypten** dem ... gegeben hat]:
11 27' 1 Trinkbecher aus [gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];
12 28' 1 [gutes, gefärbtes] linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus B[yssos; 1 gute, gefärbte linnene Tunika
aus Byssos].

13 29' Das Geschenk, das der König [des Landes **Ägypten** dem ... gegeben hat];
14 30' 1 [Tri]nk[bech]er aus [gutem] G[old, dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];
15 31' [1 gutes, gefärbtes linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus B[yssos; 1 gute, gefärbte linnene Tunika
aus Byssos].

[16] [32'] [...]

This letter is completely devoted to listing all the gifts sent by Ramses and his wife Nefertari to the Hittite royal couple. It has been suggested⁸⁵⁶ that this tablet could have been attached to another message dispatched by Ramses to Hatti. Cordani also proposed⁸⁵⁷ that the such a huge amount of gifts could have been related to a particular occasion, stressing the similarity with other El-Amarna letters (EA 22 and 25), reporting the lists of gifts sent by the Mittanian king Tušratta to Amenhotep III for a royal marriage⁸⁵⁸. I report here a summary of all the gifts quoted in the document⁸⁵⁹:

<i>Sender and Addressee</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
	na-ap-ḫar KÜ.GI SIG ₅	Total of fine gold	x shekels

⁸⁵⁶ CORDANI 2017, p. 136.

⁸⁵⁷ Ivi, p. 137.

⁸⁵⁸ MORAN 1992, pp. 51-61 and 72-84.

⁸⁵⁹ NB: the text has been largely integrated by Edel; thus, Edel's suggestions are reported in *italic*. Cf. the table in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 306; cf. also SIEGELOVÁ 2001, p. 332.

Ramses to Puduḥepa	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša-bu-tu ga-ab-ri i-na KIN.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti	“King” linens, large and colourful, copies of Hittite(?) originals ⁸⁶⁰	2 pieces
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma-ak-la-lu} lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu ₄	<i>maklalu</i> -textiles of “King” quality, colourful	2 pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-ba-tu ₄	<i>Fine and colourful linen tunics of “King” quality</i>	2 pieces
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma-ak-la-lu} SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu ₄	<i>maklalu</i> -textiles of fine quality, colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-ba-tu ₄	<i>Fine and colourful linen tunics of fine quality</i>	3 pieces
	na-ap-ḫar ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ù ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Total of the linens (of “King” and fine quality)	12 pieces
	ṭu-up-ni-nu ša ^{GI} ESI KÙ.GI ... KÙ.BABBAR	Box of ebony, gold and silver	1 piece
Nefertari to Ḫattušili	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Golden drink vessel	1 piece
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma.ak.la-lu} lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -textile of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	“King” quality tunic, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma-ak-la-lu} SIG ₅ .MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu ₄	<i>maklalu</i> -textiles of fine quality, colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD} TUG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-ba-tu ₄	<i>Fine quality tunics, colourful</i>	3 pieces
	na-ap-ḫar ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ù ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Total of the linens (of “King” and fine quality)	8 pieces
Nefertari(?) to Puduḥepa	ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-ú’ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ ša x ṭur-ri	Fine gold, colourful necklace decorated with pearls	1 piece = 12 rows of pearls: 88 shekels
	ta-pal in-ša-ba-tu ₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Fine gold earrings	1 pair
	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	<i>Fine gold drink vessel</i>	1 piece = 21.5 shekels
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma-ak-la-lu} lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -textile of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	Fine and colourful linen tunic of “King” quality	1 piece
Ramses to PN ₁	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Fine gold drink vessel	1 piece
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{ma-ak-la-lu} lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -textile of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	“King” quality tunic, colourful	1 piece

⁸⁶⁰ CORDANI 2017, p. 137, note 2 noted the this gift, imitating an Hittite original, is quite unexpected and strange: “EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, pp. 201-203 propone «[Copia] fatta alla maniera del paese di Ḫa[tt]i», ma viene da chiedersi perché il faraone avrebbe dovuto mandare a Ḫattušili delle imitazioni di prodotti ittiti. KUR Ḫa[- ...] potrebbe in alternativa indicare una località dell’Egitto”.

Ramses to PN ₂	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Fine gold drink vessel	1 piece
	GAD.TÚG ^{GAD} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	maklalu-textile of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	GAD ^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	“King” quality tunic, colourful	1 piece
Ramses to PN ₃	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Fine gold drink vessel	1 piece
	GAD.TÚG ^{GAD} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	maklalu-textile of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	GAD ^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	“King” quality tunic, colourful	1 piece

e. KUB III 27 (ÄHK no. 26, D7, pp. 70-73):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

1' *i-na ŠĀ a-ma(?)·r[i(?)...]*

2' *šu-nu ul i-le-ú-ú [...]*

3' *a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ma-a-du-tù [...]*

4' *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma k[i (U)D?] ...*

5' *id-dá-bu-ub a-na pa-ni-[...]*

6' *LÚ^{LÚ}tar-gu-ma-an-nu id-dá[-bu-ub ...]*

7' *ša a-na-ku aq-bé-e-šu [..... 2 LÚ^{LÚ}A.ZU.MEŠ an-nu-ti ša it-ti LUGAL
KUR Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš]*

8' *'Ku-ru-un-ta ú-ka₄-[lu ...]*

9' *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma [ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši aš-šum 2 LÚ^{LÚ}A.ZU.MEŠ]*

10' *um-ma-a šu-[bíl-šu-nu]-ti at-ta kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-mur a-na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša tàš-pu-
ra a-na ia-ši]*

11' *UGU-šu ù ŠEŠ-ia l[i-id-din ...]*

12' *ù a-du-ku at-ta [...]*

13' *a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ma-a-[ad ...]*

14' *ù la ta-ḫa-aš-ša-aš [...]*

15' *ù i-na-as-sú-uk m[a-mi-ta ...]*

16' *ki-ia-am a-mur LÚ^{LÚ}.MEŠ [...]*

17' *um-ma-a šu-bi-la(?)·n[a(?)·ši ...]*

[18'] [...]

Rs.

1' *u[m(?)· ...]*

2' *šu-bíl-x[...]*

3' *ù LUGAL i-x x x[...]*

4' *ù ša tàš-pu-ra um[-ma-a ...]*

5' *a-i-ri-ú šum-šu [x ...]*

6' *i-na ŠĀ^{GIS} MÁ^{LÚ} ba-a[-i-ri ...]*

7' *ša at-ta táq-bu-ú U[GU(?)...]*

8' *ta-na-an-din-šu a-na la-q[é-šu a-na ia-ši ...]*

9' *ù at-ta táq-ba-aš-šu [...]*

10' *ù i-na EGIR-ki ù e-li[.....
ša ŠEŠ-ia id-di-nu]*

- 11' *a-na ša-pa-ri a-na ša-a-š]u*.....
a-na-ku in-né-ep-pu-uš it-ti-ka
- 12' *ù at-ta <ti->in-né-ep-pu-u[š it-ti-ia a-di da-ri-ti ù ša tàš-pu-ra um-ma-a li-id-din LUGAL.GAL LUGAL*
KUR Mi-iš-ri-i KÙ.GI.MEŠ]
- 13' *ù li-id-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ù [i-id-din UD.KA.BAR.MEŠ ù li-id-din ^{GAD}lu-ba-re-e^{MEŠ} ù li-id-din*
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù li-il-qú-ú-ni]
- 14' *LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù li-id-din a-na še-te-e A.MEŠ a-ka-la NINDA.MEŠ a-na a-pa-*
li-šu ù li-id-din ^{GAD}lu-ba-re-e^{MEŠ}]
- 15' *ù ¹Ne-ri-ki-i-li -i[n-né-pu-uš it-ti-ka a-na a-ma-ri-šu ar-ḫi-iš qa-du ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu at-ta ŠEŠ-ia kán-*
na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]
- 16' *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din KÙ.GI.M[EŠ at-ta-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ at-ta-din UD.KA.BAR.MEŠ at-ta-din*
^{GAD}*lu-ba-re-e^{MEŠ} at-ta-din]*
- 17' *ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù a-na-ku e-te-pu[-uš ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-bu-ú ù ¹Ne-ri-ki-i-li i-ta-mar LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a*
o o o o-ka ù ki-i i-mu-tù]
- 18' *LÚ-la₁₂ ša šu-ú it-bal [x ù šu-ú um-te-eš-še-er ki-i MUŠEN ù šu-nu*
ul i-mu-ru-ni-šu]
- 19' *ù la-qú-ú ul il-qa-aš-š[ù a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** a-na da-ra-ti-im-ma al-tap-ra-ak-ku um-ma-a li-qa-aš-*
*šu a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]*
-
- 20' *ù ki-i at-ta ta-aš-mu-[ú at-ta ul ta-qí-ip ki-i LÚ an-nu-ú it-ta-bal-ki-it i-na KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša KUR*
Ḫa-at-ti]
- 21' *ap-pu-na-na um-ma-a a-na-ku ul [i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ma-a-du-ti ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši*
UGU-šu]
- 22' *um-ma-a i-din a-na la-qé-šu [a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù šu-nu ul i-mu-ru-ni-šu ù la-qú-ú-ma ul il-qú-ni-*
iš-šu ù]
- 23' *ša tàš-pu-ra [a-n]a ia-ši UGU-š[u um-ma-a ia-nu šu-ú il-li-ka i-na KUR Qí-in-sà ù KUR Ḫal-ba-a ù*
KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na]
- 24' [š]a šu-[ú i-na KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na il-li-ka ia-nu-um-ma-a usw.
- [25'] [...

Translation⁸⁶¹

Vs.

1' inmitten des Ziegelhaufens (??) [...

2' sie konnten nicht [...

3' die vielen Worte, [die du mir darüber geschrieben hast (o. ä.) ...

4' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: .[...

5' sagte er aus vor [...

6' der Dolmetscher sag[te aus ...

7' was ich ihm sagte; [..... diese zwei Ärzte, die sich beim König des Landes Tarḫuntaš],

8' (namens) Kurunta, befinden, sollen ihre Tätigkeit einst [eilen ...

9' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was mein Bruder mir betreffs der zwei Ärzte geschrieben hat]

10' wie folgt: „Sende si[e!“ - so hast du geschrieben. Siehe, ich habe alle Worte gehört, die du mir]

11' deswegen [geschrieben hast]; und mein Bruder möge ve[r]anlassen, daß ...

12' und fürwahr du [...

13' ins Land **Ägypten** gar se[hr (?) ...

14' und du sollst nicht denken [an ...

15' und er wird verwerfen den E[id ...

16' So (sprich): Siehe; die Leute [..... sie sagten]

17' wie folgt: „Sende un[s(?) ...

[18'] .[...

⁸⁶¹ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp.89-91. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 121-122.

- Rs.
 1' wi[e folgt: (?) ...
 2' Sende .[...!...
 3' und der König w[ird ...
-
- 4' Und was du geschrieben hast, w[ie folgt: ...
 5' dessen Name *airiu* lautet .[...
 6' in der Barke eines Fi[schers ...
 7' was du sagtest ü[ber (?) ...
 8' du sollst [ihn mir] bring[en lassen ...
 9' und du sagtest ihm [...
-
- 10' Und dahinter und über [.....
 was mein Bruder]
 11' ih[m] schreiben [ließ
 Ich verbündete mich mit dir],
 12' und du verbündetest dich mit mir für immer. Und was du, wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „Der
 Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, möge Gold geben]
 13' und möge Silber geben und möge [Bronze geben und möge Gewänder geben und möge Pferde geben,
 damit man]
 14' diesen Mann nach **Ägypt[en]** bringe; und er (= Ramses) möge Wasser zu trinken und Brote zu essen
 geben, um ihn zufriedenzustellen, und möge (ihm) Gewänder geben]
 15' und Nerikīli (möge) sich z[usammentun mit dir um ihn schleunigst zu finden mitsamt seinen Brüdern“
 - so hast du, mein Bruder geschrieben].
-
- 16' Und ich gab Gold, [gab Silber, gab Bronze, gab Gewänder, gab]
 17' Pferde und ich ta[t, was mein Bruder gesagt hatte. Nerikīli aber fand diesen Mann, deinen Widersacher
 (UrḫiTeššub), und als er (Nerikīli) starb]
 18' [da bestach (o. ä.)] der Mann, den er (Nerikīli) zu sich gebracht hatte, [seinen Wächter, und er wurde
 freigelassen wie ein Vogel, und man fand ihn nicht],
 19' und man hat i[hn] nicht [ins Land **Ägypten**] gebracht. [Andauernd habe ich dir, wie folgt, geschrieben:
 „Bringe du ihn ins Land **Ägypten**!“
-
- 20' Und als du (das) hörtest, [da glaubtest du nicht, daß dieser Mann noch dazu in die Länder des Landes
 Ḫatti hinübergegangen war].
 21' So (sprich): Ich [verstehe diese vielen Worte] nicht, [die du mir über ihn geschrieben hast]
 22' wie folgt: „Bringe du ihn [ins Land **Ägypten**!“ Man hat ihn nicht gefunden und man hat ihn nicht
 hergebracht, und]
 23' was du mir über ih[n wie folgt] geschrieben hast: [„Es ist nicht der Fall, daß er ins Land Qinsa
 gegangen ist oder ins Land Ḫalbā oder ins Land Kizwatna“] –
 24' Daß er [ins Land Kizwatna ging, sollte nicht der Fall sein?! Der König von Kizwatna wäre ihm
 entgegengetreten und hätte ihn dir gebracht]?!
 [25'] [...

KUB III 27, together with KUB III 58 (+) III 47 (*infra* as text no. 27.b), could be part of the dossier related to the “Urḫi-Teššub affaire”, because of its typical phraseology. Edel considered them as two “Parallelbriefe” (the first addressed to Ḫattušili and the second to Puduḫepa)⁸⁶², where Ḫattušili asks

⁸⁶² CORDANI 2017, p. 89, quoting EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 121-124.

Ramses to support him in capturing the rival. According to Edel's opinion, Urḫi-Teššub would have escaped from Egypt⁸⁶³, reaching Amurru and being there stopped by the Hittite prince Nerikk(a)ili⁸⁶⁴.

At the beginning of the Vs., Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša is also mentioned: Edel⁸⁶⁵ suggested that he is quoted here in relation to some Egyptian physicians forwarded to fix the health of this king (in this case, the letter should be included into the “*insibya* dossier”). Differently, Cordani⁸⁶⁶ proposed that this letter could refer to the topic of “Mašniyalli's sons”, because of the presence of some peculiar expressions, i.e. the exhortation to send “someone” (Vs. 10'), the presence of an interpreter and the verb form *ukallū*, attested also in KBo XXVIII 23 (see *supra*, text no. 21.a), a letter surely related to Mašniyalli topic.

⁸⁶³ Basing on the sentence in Rs. 6' (*i-na ŠA^{GIŠ}MÁ LU^{ba}-a[-i-ri ...*, “on the boat of a fisherman”), Edel (EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 122) speculated that Urḫi-Teššub would have left Egypt with the help of a fisherman: this hypothesis (quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 91, note 2) has been judged in SINGER 2006b, p. 35 as an “audacious scenario”. In Rs. 18' also a peculiar comparison is presented, perhaps supporting Edel's interpretation: a fugitive person is here described as “freigelassen wie ein Vogel” (*um-te-eš-še-er ki-i MUŠEN*); in KBo I 15, Rs. 24'-25' (*supra*, as text 19.d), Ramses defined the elusive Urḫi-Teššub as a flying bird: *ù ki[-i MUŠEN ip-par-ši-id*, “wie ein Vogel ist er entflohen”. Cf. also *infra*, text no. 27.b, Vs. 13', where a similar expression is attested.

⁸⁶⁴ CORDANI 2017, p. 90.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ivi*, quoting EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 121-122.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

26. CTH 163: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters related to the stipulation of the Treaty

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	NBC 3934 Rs. 15 (akk.)
Br.	KUB III 126, 11'
Br.	ABOT 59 Vs. 1f.

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 19 Rs. 7'
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 30, 3
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 33, 2', 6' (br.)
KUR <i>mi-i[z- (br.)</i>	KBo XXVIII 6 Vs. 10'
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 16, 14'

a. KUB III 52 (ÄHK no. 3, A2, pp. 20-21):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la šu-be-la-t]ū^{MEŠ}-[š]u-nu a-na ŠEŠ-ia i-na ' KÙ.GI '[ḪI.A SIG₅]
 2' [i-na KÙ.BABBAR.ḪI.A i-na ù-de₄-e]^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI.ḪI.A i-na pa-nu-ti
 3' [ša KUR.MEŠ i-na^{KUŠ} si-ri-ia-an-ni] ša LÚ.MEŠ ù^{KUŠ} si-ri-ia-an-ni ANŠE.KUR.RA.M[EŠ]
 4' [i-na^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LU]GAL i-na^{GAD.TÚG} lu-ba-re-e x[] ○ ša mi-ku [
 5' [i-na^{GAD.TÚG} lu-ba-re-e SIG₅-t]i SIG₅-ti i-na GIŠ.MEŠ^{GIŠ} ESI.ḪI.A SIG₅-ti
 6' [ù a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḫ x L]Ú.MEŠ ša KUR ○ Me-luḫ-ḫa zi-ka-ru-tū^{MEŠ}
 7' [ù a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḫ y +]2^{SAL} a-mi-la-tū^{MEŠ} ša KUR^{URU} Me-luḫ-ḫa
 8' [ù a-na-ku at-ta-din-šu-nu-ti a]-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti ŠEŠ-ia

-
- 9' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠE]Š-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši
 10' [um-ma-a DINGIR-lì ul i-na-an-din a-na] e-pé-ši^{LÚ} KÚR a-na KUR-ti ša-ni-i-ti
 11' [a-na ša-ti ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu]-ra a-na ia-ši^d UTU ù^d IŠKUR
 12' [i-na-an-din-na gab-bi ṭe₄-mi SIG₅]-qí šu-nu i-na-an-di₁₂-na
 13' [a-na e-pé-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša it-t]i-ka ḫa-aš-ḫa-ku
 14' [ù a-mur SIG₅-qú dan-niš ṭup-pu š]a KÙ.BABBAR ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra
 15' [a-na ia-ši a-na na-dá-ni ŠEŠ-ti GAL-t]i sa-lam-ma ra-ba-a
 Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [a-na ša na-dá-ni a-na e-pé-ši^{LÚ} KÚR i-n]a b[e]-ri-it **KUR Mi-iš[-ri-i]**
 2 [ù i-na be-ri-it KUR Ḫat-ti a-di dá-r]i-ti
-
- 3 [..... x] [... x] gab-bi ṭe₄-ma x
 4 [.....^d UTU^{URU.KI} A-na ù^d UTU^{URU.KI} A-ri-in]-na i-na-an-di₁₂-nu
 5 [a-na e-pé-ši ŠEŠ-ut-ta SIG₅ sa-la-ma SIG₅ ša ni-nu ni-i]p-pu-uš
 6 [a-na ša na-dá-ni^{LÚ} KÚR i-na be-ri-ni a-di ša-ti ù] šu-nu
 7 [i-na-an-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí ŠEŠ-ut-ni SIG₅ ù sa-la-ma-]a-ni SIG₅
 8 [UGU ŠEŠ-ti ù sa-la-mi ša pa-na-nu ša **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i qa-**]du ○ KUR Ḫat-ti

9 [a-na ša na-dá-ni ^{LÚ}KUR i-na be-ri-šu-nu a-di da-r]i-ti
 10 [ù šu-nu sa-al-mu ù ŠEŠ-ḥu-ú ki-i ni-i-nu i-na ša-ti] kan-na-ma

11 [.....] ša KUR-ka
 12 [.....] [x ...

Translation⁸⁶⁷

Vs.

1' [Nunmehr habe ich i]hre [Geschenk]e meinem Bruder gesandt, (bestehend) aus [gutem] Gold,
 2' [aus Silber, aus Gefäß]en aus Gold vom Erlesensten
 3' [der Fremdländer, aus Panzern] für Männer und Panzern für Pferd[e],
 4' [aus linnenen Gewändern in By]ssosqualität, aus linnenen Gewändern in *miku*(-Qualität)
 5' [aus linnenen Gewändern in gut]er, dünner (Qualität), (und) aus schönen Balken von Ebenholz;
 6' [und ich entsandte x] Leute des Landes Meluḥḥa, (und zwar) Männer,
 7' [und ich entsandte y +]2 Frauen des Landes Meluḥḥa,
 8' [und ich ließ sie] zum Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥatti, meinem Bruder, gehen.

9' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was] mein [Bru]der mir geschrieben hat
 10' [wie folgt: „Die Gottheit wird in Ewigkeit nicht zulassen, daß] gegen das andere Land Feind- seligkeit begangen wird” -
 11' [so hat] mir [mein Bruder geschr]ieben; der Sonnengott und der Wettergott
 12' [sollen alle gu]ten [Beziehungen gewähren]; sie sollen gewahren,
 13' [daß alle Beziehungen bewirkt werden, die] ich [mi]t dir ersehne.
 14' [Und siehe, sehr schön ist die] Silber[tafel], die [mir] mein Bruder gesandt hat,
 15' [um groß]e [Brüderschaft] (und) großen Frieden [zu gewähren]
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [(und) um auf ew]ig [nicht zuzulassen, daß Feindschaft z]wischen dem Land **Ägyp[ten]**
 2 [und dem Lande Ḥatti entsteht].

3 [.....] .. alle Verhältnisse ..
 4 [... Der Sonnengott von Heliopolis und die Sonnengöttin von Arin]na sollen veranlassen,
 5 [daß die schöne Brüderschaft (und) der schöne Frieden geschaffen wird, den wir sch]affen werden
 6 [um auf ewig keine Feindschaft zwischen uns zuzulassen; und] sie
 7 [sollen unsere schöne Brüderschaft und] unseren schönen [Friede]n [mehr gedeihen lassen]
 8 [als die Brüderschaft und der Frieden von früher (zwischen) dem Lande **Agypten** u]nd dem Lande Ḥatti,
 9 [um auf ew]ig [keine Feindschaft zwischen ihnen zuzulassen],
 10 [indem sie (die beiden Länder)] ebenfalls [friedlich und verbrüdet sind wie wir für ewig].

11 [.....] deines Landes
 12 [.....] ... [...

KUB III 52 reports a list of gifts sent by Ramses to Ḥattušili for the stipulation of the Treaty. Here a summary of the gifts:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Metals	KÙ.GI.ḤI.A SIG ₅	Fine gold	/ ⁸⁶⁸
	KÙ.BABBAR.ḤI.A	Silver	/
	ù-de ₄ -e ^{MES} ša KÙ.GI.ḤI.A i-na pa-nu-ti	Golden vessels of the best quality	/
Weapons	^{KUŠ} si-ri-ia-an-ni ša LÚ.MEŠ	Leather armour, for women	1 piece

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 66-67. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 35-39.

⁸⁶⁸ Within this table, the “/” indicates that the quantity is not provided in the text, while the “x” represents a provided but not readable quantity.

	KUŠ ^{si-ri-ia-an-ni} ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	Leather armour for horses	1 piece
Linens	GAD ^{TÜG} .MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	“King” quality linens	/
	GAD.TÜG ^{lu-ba-re-e [...]} ša mi-ku	miku-quality linens	/
	GAD.TÜG ^{lu-ba-re-e} SIG-ti SIG ₅ -ti	Fine quality linens	/
Wood	GIŠ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ} ESI.HI.A SIG ₅ -ti	Ebony beams	/
People	LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR Me-luḥ-ḥa zi-ka-ru-tù ^{MEŠ}	Male people from Meluḥḥa (= Nubians)	x
	SAL ^{a-mi-la-tù} ^{MEŠ} ša KUR ^{URU} Me-luḥ-ḥa	Female people from Meluḥḥa (= Nubians)	x + 2

It is interesting that in this text the quantity of each good is no better specified, apart from the armours, whose quantity is perhaps defined because of the particularity of the objects⁸⁶⁹; also peculiar and uncommon is the quotation of “people (male and female) from Meluḥḥa” (i.e., Nubians). Between the end of the obverse and the reverse, Ramses exalts the effectiveness of the Treaty of peace, guaranteed by the gods (the Sun-god of Heliopolis and the Sun-goddess of Arinna) who “will not allow hostility to be against the other country” (*um-ma-a DINGIR-lì ul i-na-an-din a-na e-pé-ši* LÚ^{KÚR} a-na KUR-ti ša-ni-i-ti / a-na ša-ti), a sentence similar to another one of the Treaty⁸⁷⁰: *ili ul inandin ana epēši nukurta / ina bēri-šunu [ina rikilti ad]i dāriti*, “so wolte der Gott [durch einen Vertrag au]f ewig nicht zulassen, / daß Feindschaft zwischen ihnen entsteht” (Treaty, Akkadian version, §2, Vs. 10-11 [4c-d], *supra*, text no. 12), a sentence that has a parallel in the Egyptian version by *bw dj p3-ntr ḥpr ḥrwy / r jwd.sn m nt-^c < r nḥḥ >*, “so ließ der Gott durch einen Vertrag < auf ewig > nicht zu, / daß Feindschaft zwischen ihnen entsteht (Treaty, Egyptian, §2, [4c-d], *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.d)”. The text ends reaffirming eternal peace and brotherhood between the two lands.

b. KBo VIII 14 (ÄHK no. 5, A4, pp. 24-25):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

*Transliteration*⁸⁷¹

Vs.

[-1'] [um-ma¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na]

[0'] [a-na¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]

1' [a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-i]a ù a-na Š[À gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia šul-mu]

2' [a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka AN]ŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù [a-na Š[À gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu]

3' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-mur a-na a-ma-r]i pa-ni-ka a-na ŠEŠ-ia da-ag-la-ku [

4' [i-na KUR Ki-na-aḥ-ḥi ù ŠEŠ-ia i-na KUR-ti-i]a ú-kà-a-al um-ma-a šum-ma i-na ZAG.MEŠ [

5' [ša KUR-ti-ia^{LÚ}KÚR i-ba-aš-ši a-na a-ša-]bi mi-im-ma ù-ul um-ma-aš-šar [

6' [a-mur 2 KUR.MEŠ-ni GAL-tù a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-]tu-ur-ra ù nu-kúr-tu₄ ul-tù Š[À É.S[À-ia u[-na-as-sa-aḥ]

7' [a-di da-ri-ti ù ŠEŠ-ia a-na be-el sa-la-m]a it-tar ù ŠEŠ-ia ta-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti [ú-ul it-tar]

8' [ù KUR.MEŠ-ni GAL-tù a-di da-ri-ti a-di im-]a-aḥ₄-ša ù^{LÚ}MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-ti-ia al-ta-pár [

9' [a-na ma-ḥa-ri ŠEŠ-ia i-na KUR U-pí]

10' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša LUGAL KUR^dA-šur i]š-pu-ra um-ma-a pu-uḥ-šu [ša] LUGAL.GAL

⁸⁶⁹ This gift is also quoted in KBo XXVIII 4 (*supra*, text no. 21.b), Rs. 18'; cf. CAD 15 (S), p. 314 (*siriam*); BEAL 1992, p. 152 and EDEL 1992, p. 128, note 5.

⁸⁷⁰ See DEVECCHI 2015, p. 268, quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 67, note 1.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. the transliteration (without the integrated sections) in GIORGIERI 2010, pp. 67-68 (reported here below).

at-ta

- 11' [..... a]n-ni-[t]i i-ik-ri-bu ù ni-nu LUGAL.MEŠ GAL-tù
12' [ni-ir-ta-ku-us ri-ki-il-ta ù ŠEŠ-ia tup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR ih-ta-ši-i]h₄ ù šu-pa-a-al^d IŠKUR it-ta-d[in]
13' [ù a-na-ku tup-pa-ka aḥ-ta-ši-i]h₄ ù šu-pa-a-al^d UTU at-ta-din šu-nu im-m]a-r[u ma-mi-ta ša ni-pu-šu]
[14'] [...
Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁷²

Vs.

- [-1'] [So (spricht) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana]:
0' [Zu Ḥattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥatti, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

1' [Mir geht es gut, meinen Truppen, meinen Pferden, mein]en [Wagen] und inner[h]alb aller meiner Länder geht es gut].

2' [Dir möge es gut gehen, deinen Truppen], deinen [Pf]erden, deinen Wagen un[d innerhalb aller deiner Länder möge es sehr gut gehen]!

3' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Siehe, um] dein Antlitz [zu seh]en, erwarte ich meinen Bruder [
4' [im Lande Kinaḥḥi, und meinen Bruder] will ich [in mei]nem [Lande] festhalten. So (sprich): Wenn in den Gebieten
5' [meines Landes sich ein Feind befindet, so] werde ich (ihn) keinesfalls [verwei]llen lassen!
6' [Siehe, unsere beiden großen Länder w]erden [zu einem Land], und die Feindschaft r[eiße] ich aus meinem Palastinneren h[eraus]
7' [für immer; und mein Bruder] wird [zu einem Freun]d, und mein (nunmehr) freundlich gesonnener Bruder wird nic[ht mehr] zur Bosheit [zurückkehren],
8' [und unsere großen Länder sollen sich in Ewigkeit nicht mehr be]kämpfen; und meine Großen habe ich (nun) gesandt,
9' [um meinen Bruder im Lande Upi zu empfangen.]

10' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was der König von Assur ge]schrieben hat, wie folgt: „Du bist (nur) der Ersatz eines Großkönigs“
11' [..... d]iesen Segenswunsch, und wir Großkönige
12' [haben einen Vertrag geschlossen; und mein Bruder hat meine Silbertafel erbet]en und zu Füßen des Wettergottes gelegt
13' [und ich habe deine Silbertafel erbeten und zu Füßen des Sonnengotts gelegt, (damit) sie den Eid zur Ke]nnt[nis nehmen, den wir geleistet haben].
[14'] [...
Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

The text of this documents has been recently revised by M. Giorgieri⁸⁷³, who offered a new translation and transliteration, omitting the sections allegedly integrated by Edel:

- 1' GIŠGIGIR MEŠ-i]a ù a-na Š[À-bi
E [a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}-ia GIŠGIGIR^{MEŠ}-i]a ù a-na Š[À gab-bi KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}-ia šul-mu]

2' AN]SE.ʾKUR.RA^{MEŠ}-ka GIŠGIGIR^{MEŠ}-ka ʾù¹ [
E [a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-ka AN]SE.ʾKUR.RA^{MEŠ}-ka GIŠGIGIR^{MEŠ}-ka ʾù¹ [a-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}-ka lu-ú šul-mu]

⁸⁷² Cf. the Italian translation (without the integrated sections) in GIORGIERI 2010, p. 68 (reported here below). Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 41-43; cf. CORDANI 2017, pp. 157-158.

⁸⁷³ GIORGIERI 2010, specifically the transliteration and translation on pp. 67-68.

- 3']x pa-ni-ka a-na ŠEŠ-ia *tá-ak*-la-^rku¹ [
H [X a-na]a pa-ni-ka a-na ŠEŠ-ia da-ag-la-ku [...]
E [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-mur a-ma-r]i pa-ni-ka a-na ŠEŠ-ia da-ag-la-ku [
- 4' -i]a ú-kà-a-al um-ma-a šum-ma i-na ZAG^{MEŠ} [
H [X a-na ŠEŠ-i]a ú-ka(sic)-a-al um-ma-a-šum-ma i-na ZAG^{MEŠ} [...]
E [i-na KUR Ki-na-aḥ-ḥi ù ŠEŠ-ia i-na KUR-ti-i]a ú-kà-a-al um-ma-a šum-ma i-na ZAG^{MEŠ} [
- 5']-bi mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš-*šar*
H [X -]pí mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš-šar []
E [ša KUR-ti-ia ^{LÚ}KÚR i-ba-aš-ši a-na a-ša-]bi mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš-šar
- 6' i]-tu-ur-ra *ù* nu-kúr-tu₄ ul-tù ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-ia ú-
H [X]tu-ur-ra ù nu- kúr-tum ul-tù ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-ia ú-[ul]
E [a-mur 2 KUR^{MEŠ}-ni GAL-tù a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-]tu-ur-ra ù nu-kúr-tu₄ ul-tù ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-ia ú-[na-as-sa-aḥ]
- 7']x(-)it-tar ù ŠEŠ-ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti *canc.* x [
H [X]x-it-tar ù ŠEŠ-ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti x [X]
E [a-di da-ri-ti ù ŠEŠ-ia a-na be-el sa-la-m]a it-tar ù ŠEŠ-ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti ^rú¹-[ul it-tar]
- 8' -t]a-aḥ-ZA *ù ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GAL^{MEŠ}-ti-ia* al-ta-pár
H [X -t]a-aḥ-za ù ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GAL^{MEŠ}-ti-ia al-ta-par(sic)
E [ù KUR^{MEŠ}-ni GAL-tù a-di da-ri-ti a-i im-t]a-aḥ₄-ša ù ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GAL^{MEŠ}-ti-ia al-ta-pár [
- 9'] (non scritta)
E [a-na ma-ḥa-ri ŠEŠ-ia i-na KUR U-pí]
-
- 10' i]š-pu-ra um-ma-a bu- 'i-šu LUGAL.GAL at-ta
H [X aš/iš/taš-]pu-ra um-ma-a pu-u 'i-šu LUGAL.GAL at-ta
E [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša LUGAL KUR ^dA-šur i]š-pu-ra um-ma-a pu-uḥ-šu <ša> LUGAL.GAL at-ta
- 11']x-x-x i-qè-ri-bu ù ni-nu LUGAL^{MEŠ}.GAL-tù
H [X]x i-zi-ri-pu ù ni-nu LUGAL^{MEŠ} GAL-tù
E [a]n-ni-[t]i i-ik-ri-bu ù ni-nu LUGAL^{MEŠ} GAL-tù
- 12']x ù šu-pa-[a-al x x it²-ta]-š[i²
H [X] x ù šu-pa-al (sic) x x x it²-ta-ši
E [ni-ir-ta-ku-us ri-ki-il-ta ù ŠEŠ-ia ṭup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR iḥ-ta-ši-i]ḥ₄ ù šu-pa-^ra-al DIŠKUR it-ta¹-d[in]
- 13'] x x [
E [ù a-na-ku ṭup-pa-ka aḥ-ta-ši-iḥ₄ ù šu-pa-a-al ^DUTU at-ta-din šu-nu im-m]a-r[u ma-mi-ta ša ni-pu-šu]
- 1' i mi]ei [carri] e l'in[terno del mio paese ... stanno bene]
-
- 2']ai tuoi [c]avalli, ai tuoi carri e [... ... salute!]
-
- 3']... davanti/presso(?) di te. Io sono fiducioso in mio fratello!
4']... egli (trat)tiene/(trat)terrà. Così (dico): Se entro i confini [
5']... per nessun motivo egli lascia/lascierà andare
6' egli ri]torna/ritornerà e ostilità dall'interno della mia stanza ...[
7']... ritorna/ritornerà(?) e il mio buon fratello alla malvagità ... [
8']... e io ho inviato i miei Grandi
9' (non scritta)
-
- 10' cio' che mio fratello] mi [h]a scritto, (dicendo) così: "Cercalo! Tu sei il Gran Re!
11']... ... si avvicinano e noi siamo Grandi Re
12']... e la parte inferiore ... ha sollev[at]o(?)

The studies about this small fragment of letter have been summarized in CORDANI 2017, p. 158: Edel considered it as a message sent by Ramses to Ḥattušili about the stipulation of the Treaty and the

planning of a possible visit of the Hittite king to Egypt⁸⁷⁴. According to the formulas about the brotherhood attested in Vs. 3', 7' and the mention of two Great kings in Vs. 11', it is clear that the document was an international letter. However, the analysis of the ductus and some particular spellings⁸⁷⁵ (typical of the Hittite chancellery), underlines how the letter has more probably sent by the Hittite court; therefore, Beckman proposed to consider it as an Hittite copy of an Egyptian original⁸⁷⁶ (even if the erasures point to an Hittite draft); Zaccagnini included the document in the Assyrian-Hittite correspondence⁸⁷⁷, while Mora and Giorgieri firstly inserted it into that with Babylon⁸⁷⁸; eventually, Giorgieri reconsidered the document, proposing to recognize it as a draft letter sent by Ḫattušili to Ramses, maybe related to the “Urḫi-Teššub affaire”: “KBo 8.14 risulta essere la minuta di una lettera ittita, probabilmente indirizzata da Ḫattušili a Ramses e riguardante forse il problema di Urḫi-Teššub, in una fase in cui il sovrano ittita non era a conoscenza del luogo esatto in cui si trovava il pericoloso rivale da lui spodestato e confidava nell'appoggio del faraone per poterlo tenere lontano da Ḫatti”⁸⁷⁹.

c. KUB III 43 + III 126 + 353/f = KBo XXVIII 35 (ÄHK no. 6, A5, pp. 26-29):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' *ù a-mur [x ...*
 2' *gab-bi-šu-nu [x ...*
 3' *ù šu-ú [..... t]a-aš-pu-ra a-na ia-š[i ...*
-
- 4' *a-mur a-nu-ma a-[na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-p]u-ra a-na ia-ši gi-na-a gi-n[a-a um- ma-a at-ta ul ta-am-ḫur kà-šu (??) KÙ.GI]*
 5' *ša a-na-ku ú-še[-bi-la-ak-ku at-ta ŠEŠ-ia kán-na tàš-pu-ra a]-na e-eš-šu-ti ma-an-nu ša táq-bi [a-na ša-a-šu a-na la-qé-e-šu a-na ia-ši a-na-ku ul i-de LÚ.MEŠ]*
 6' *ša il-qú-ni-š[u ia-nu¹ ša il-li-ka a-na ia-ši id-din]-šu a-na la-qé-e-šu a-na ia-š[i i-na šu-bé-el-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia ù]*
 7' *i-na šu-bé-e[l-ti ša SAL.LUGAL.GAL ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti ia-nu¹ Ḫe-eš-ni-]i ša il-li-ka a-na ia-ši [id-din-šu a-na la-qé-šu a-na ia-ši i-na šu-bé-el-ti a-na DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL]*
 8' *ù SIG₅-qí šu[-bé-la-ti ša il-qú-ù-ni a-na na-ši a-ki-i š]a táq-bi ia-nu¹ U-pa-ra-am-mu[-ua ša il-li-ka a-na ia-ši id-din-šu a-na la-qé-šu a-na ia-ši i-na šu-bé-el-ti]*
 9' *a-na^{LÚ} mu-bar[-re-e^{MEŠ} ia-nu¹ ... ša il-li-ka a-na ia-ši id-din-šu a-na la-qé-šu a-na ia-ši i[-na šu-bé-el-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia a-na^d UTU um-ma-a]*
 10' *lu-ú ša-ak-n[a(!)-at a-na pa-ni^d UTU ia-nu¹ ša il-]i-ka a-na ia-ši id-din-šu a[-na la-qé-šu a-na ia-ši i-na šu-bé-el-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia a-na]*
 11' *DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-[iṣ-ri-i um-ma-a ia-nu-um-m]a¹ Tu-ut-tu ša il[-li-ka a-na ia-ši id-din-šu a-na la-qé-šu a-na ia-ši i-na šu-bé-el-ti]*
 12' *ša KUR Ḫa-at-t[i a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i ù a-ta-mar šu-bé-la]-ti-šu ša at-ta táq[-bi a-na ša-a-šu a-na la-qé-ši-na a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i]*
-
- 13' *[ù a-n]a-ku a-[na-aš-ša-ar ma-mi-ta ù at-ta ú-šur ma-mi-ta ki-ma^G]IS.GI.MEŠ ḫa-aṭ-ṭá [re-i-i DINGIR.MEŠ li-ḫe-eš-ší-šu ša ul i-na-aš-ša-ru ma-mi-ta an-ni-ta]*
 14' *[ù liq-b]u-u a-na ḫu-ul-lu-qí-šu-nu qà-du DAM.MEŠ-šu-nu DUMU.MEŠ-šu-nu NUMU]N-šu-nu i-na KUR[-šu-nu ...*
 15' *[..... -t]i ša IN.NU [*
 16' *[..... x] [x ...*

⁸⁷⁴ So EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 41-43.

⁸⁷⁵ IZRE'EL 1997, p. 145.

⁸⁷⁶ BECKMAN 1997b, p. 426.

⁸⁷⁷ ZACCAGNINI 2000a, p. 441; cf. MÜLLER 2010, p. 13.

⁸⁷⁸ MORA – GIORGIERI 2004, p. 9 and note 31.

⁸⁷⁹ GIORGIERI 2010, p. 74.

Rs.

- 1' [.....] [at-ta] [...
2' [.....] ša ŠEŠ-ia [..... x]-uš at-ta [...

3' [ù a-mur ʔup-pi ša ma-]mi-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-i[a i-pu-šu q]à-du DUMU.MEŠ KUR ʔa-a[t-ti ù ša a-na-ku
e-pu-šu qà-du DUMU.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
4' [ù at-ta ú-šur-šu ù] a-na-ku a-na-aš-ša-ar-šu [ù šu-ú] (!) ša-kín i-na GAM-li [GÌR.MEŠ ša
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù]
5' [i-na GAM-li GÌR.MEŠ ša] ^dAMAR.UTU ù i-na GAM-li GÌ[R.MEŠ ša] ^dIŠKUR ù i-na GAM-li
[GÌR.MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša KUR ʔa-at-ti]

6' [ù a-mur ʔup-pi ša ma-mi-t]e ša at-ta it(!)-ta-din a-na [e-pé-š]i-šu a-na-ku kán^{am}-na-m[a at-ta-din a-
na e-pé-š-i-šu ù ni-nu]
7' [ni-na-aš-ša-ar-šu i-na-a]n-na ù a-di gi-na-a gi-na-a ù ul i-du-ú gab-bi gab-bi [MU.MEŠ ša lim
DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR ʔa-at-ti ù]
8' [KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ma-la GAR] MU.MEŠ an-na-ti ù ma-la GAR [M]U.MEŠ an-na-ti ù a-na-ku aḥ¹-ta-
šà-as[-šu ù at-ta ta-aḥ-ta-šà-aš-šu]
9' [ù ni-nu ni-ma-aš-ši] a-ma-te^{MEŠ} la dá-ra-ti ma-a-da-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na [ia-ši ù ša a-na-ku
aš-pu-ra-aš-šu ù ŠEŠ-ka]
10' [ul ʔa-ši-iḥ a-na ša-a-]šu-nu ù ŠEŠ-ia-ma ul ʔa-[š]i-iḥ a-na ša-a-šu-nu kán^{am}-na-ma [

11' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma] a-nu-ma a-na-ku a-na-aš-ša-[ar ma-mi-ta ša ni-pu-šu UGU ʔup-pi ša
KÙ.BABBAR a-di da-ri-ti ù]
12' [at-ta ta-na-aš-ša-ar m]a-mi-t[a ša ni-pu-šu UGU ʔup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR a-di da-ri-ti ù a-na-ku a-
na-aš-ša-ar-šu ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù]
13' [sa-la-ma ù at-ta ta-na-a]š-š[a-ar-šu ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-ma a-di da-ri-ti ...
[14'] [...

Translation⁸⁸⁰

Vs.

- 1' Und siehe .. [...
2' sie alle [...
3' und er [.....d]u schriebst mi[r

4' Siehe, i[ch habe nunmehr alle Worte gehört, die] mir [mein Bruder] immer wied[er ge]schrieben hat,
[wie folgt: „Hast du nicht den Gold-becher (?) erhalten],
5' den ich [dir] habe br[ingen lassen?“ - so hast du (wieder)] neuerdings [geschrieben]. Wer ist der, [dem]
du befohlen hast [ihn mir zu bringen? Ich kenne keine Leute],
6' die i[hn] mir gebracht hätten. [Es ist nicht der Fall, daß der PN, der zu mir kam], ihn mi[r] bringen
[ließ als Geschenk meines Bruders oder]
7' als Gesche[nk der Großkönigin des Landes ʔatti; es ist nicht der Fall, daß ʔešn]ī, der zu mir kam, [ihn
mir bringen ließ als Geschenk für die Prinzen];
8' aber schön waren die Ge[schenke, die man uns gebracht hat entsprechend dem, wa]s du sagtest; es ist
nicht der Fall, daß Uparammu[wa, der zu mir kam, ihn mir bringen ließ als Geschenk]
9' für die mubar[rū]-Priester; es ist nicht der Fall, daß der PN, der zu mir kam], ihn mir bringen [ließ] a[ls
Geschenk meines Bruders für den Sonnengott mit den Worten]:
10' „Möge es niedergel[egt werden vor dem Angesicht des Sonnengottes!“ Es ist nicht der Fall, daß der
PN, der] zu mir [ka]m, ihn [mir bringen] ließ [als Geschenk meines Bruders für]
11' die Söhne des Landes Äg[yp]ten mit den Worten: „.....“ Es ist nicht der Fal[l], daß Tutu, der [zu
mir] ka[m, ihn mir bringen ließ als Geschenk]
12' des Landes ʔatt[i für die Söhne des Landes Äg]ypten; (denn) ich habe] seine [Geschenk]e [gesehen],
die du [ihm] befohlen] hast [für die Söhne des Landes Äg]ypten zu bringen].

⁸⁸⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 43-54.

- 13' [Und i]ch [werde den Eid (im Gedächtnis) bewahren, und (auch) du bewahre den Eid! Wie] Röhricht
(und) [Aarons]tab [sollen die Götter zerknicken die, die diesen Eid nicht bewahren werden],
14' [und] sie [sollen bef]eh[len sie zu vernichten mitsamt ihren Frauen, ihren Söhnen und] ihrer
[Nachkommensch]aft in [ihrem] Land. [...
15' [.....]. aus Stroh [...
16' [...
- Rs.
1' [.....] du [...
2' [.....]. die (?) mein Bruder [ge.....], hat; du [...
-
- 3' [Und siehe, die Tafel der E]ide, die me[in] Bruder [u]nd die Söhne des Landes Ḫa[tti machten, und die
ich und die Söhne des Landes **Ägypten** machten], -
4' [bewahre du sie, und] (auch) ich werde sie bewahren! [Und si]e liegt zu [Füßen der großen Götter des
Landes **Ägypten** und]
5' [zu Füßen des] „Sonnenkalbes“ und zu Fuß[en des Wettergottes und zu Füßen der großen Götter des
Landes Ḫatti].
-
- 6' [Und siehe, die Tafel des Eid]es, die du [herstell]en liebst, die [habe] ich ebenfa[lls herstellen lassen;
und wir]
7' [werden sie jet]zt und für immer [bewahren]. Zwar kennt man nicht alle, alle [Namen der tausend
Götter des Landes Ḫatti und]
8' [des Landes **Ägypten**; einmal die Einsetzung] der einen Namen und einmal die Einsetzung der anderen
[N]amen, aber ich habe [sie] bedacht, [und du hast sie bedacht].
9' [Und wir wollen vergessen die] vielen Worte ohne Bestand, die mein Bruder m[ir] geschrieben hat,
[und die ich ihm geschrieben habe, denn dein Bruder]
10' [bedarf ih]rer [nicht], und auch mein Bruder bed[a]rf ihrer ebenfalls nicht.
-
- 11' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder]: Nunmehr werde ich [den Eid] (im Gedächtnis) bewah[ren für immer,
den wir auf der Silbertafel geschlossen haben, und]
12' [du wirst den E]id [bewahren für immer, den wir auf der Silbertafel geschlossen haben; und ich werde
sie bewahren, die Brüderschaft und]
13' [den Frieden, und du wirst sie bew]ah[ren, die Brüderschaft und den Frieden auf ewig. ...
[14'] [.....

This letter begins with an uncommon question presented by Ḫattušili to Ramses: the Hittite king asks his brother if he had received the gift he sent him, i.e. a golden cup. Ramses answers informing Ḫattušili that he indeed did not see this gift and to prevent any doubt from his brother (who could have accused him of falsehood), explains that every time Ḫattušili had sent him gifts, he received and presented them in front of the gods (so showing his honesty).

A list of different gifts follows, brought by different messengers (Ḫešni, Upparamuwa, Tuttu and other 3 emissaries whose names are lost) to different addressees, such as the *mubarru*-priests and other unspecified “sons of Egypt” (*DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*). After – and maybe in consequence of – this initial dispute about the gift, Ramses reaffirms his loyalty to the Treaty, remembering, with an allegorical image, that the gods “bend as a reed or as an *arum*-plant those who do not respect the sworn word, destroying them together with their wives and children and offspring in their land” (*ki-ma GIŠGI.MEŠ ḫa-aṭ-tá re-i-i DINGIR.MEŠ li-ḫe-eš-ší-šu ša ul i-na-aš-ša-ru ma-mi-ta an-ni-ta / ù liq-bu-u a-na ḫu-ul-lu-qí-šu-nu qà-du DAM.MEŠ-šu-nu DUMU.MEŠ-šu-nu NUMUN-šu-nu i-na KUR-šu-nu*, Vs. 13’-14’). Then, Ramses describes again the tablet of the Treaty, mentioned also his deposition in front of the Hittite and Egyptian gods and particularly on the feet of the “Sonnenkalbes” (*d*AMAR.UTU)⁸⁸¹ and the Storm-god. In Vs. 9’ff., Ramses remembers Ḫattušili

⁸⁸¹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 52 identified this name (commonly applied to the Babylonian god Marduk) with the hypostasis of the Egyptian Sun-god as rising in the morning in the form of a *bḫs nfr*, a “beautiful calf”: “In ihre Gestalt als Morgensonne wird sie mit dem jungen Kalb verglichen und heißt im Hymnus zur zweiten Tagesstunde im „Stundenritual“

that, by virtue of their oath in the names of the gods, they would have to “forget” (*ni-ma-aš-ši*) the words they had written each other in a tense moment, maybe a reference to the aforementioned struggle about the gift.

d. KUB III 62 (ÄHK no. 29, D10, pp. 78-81):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-r]i-a L[UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na]
- 2 [a-na¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR] [Ḫa¹-at-ti¹ŠEŠ¹[-ia qí-bi-ma]
-
- 3 [a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na] ŠEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DUM[U.MEŠ-ia ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia
- 4 [ù i-na ŠĀ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.]MEŠ-ia dá-an-ni-iš dá-[an-ni-iš šul-mu]
-
- 5 [a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-]ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.ME[Š-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka]
- 6 [^{LÚ.MEŠ}GAL.MEŠ-ka ù i-na ŠĀ-bi ga]b-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka dá-an-[ni-iš dá-an-ni-iš lu-ú šu-ul-mu]
-
- 7 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-m]a¹A-ni-ia DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ik-tal[-dá a-na UGU-ḫi-ia qà-du¹.....]
- 8 [DUMU.KIN-ri ša ŠEŠ-ia ù i]q-ta-bu-ú-ni šul-ma ša Š[EŠ-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni šul-ma ša NIN-ia]
- 9 [ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni šul-ma š]a DUMU.MEŠ-ka ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni[i šul-ma ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka ù aḫ-ta-di]
- 10 [dan-niš dan-niš ù ŠĀ iṭ-ṭi]-ba-an-ni dan-niš dan-niš ki-[i aš-mu-ú šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia ki-i]
- 11 [aš-mu-ú šul-ma ša KUR.KUR.ME]Š-ti-šu um-ma-a šu-nu-ú[-ma šal-ma na-aṣ-ra]
-
- 12 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu]-ma a-ta-mar tup-pa^{MEŠ} ša [ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-Si]
- 13 [ù a-na-ku al-te-mé gab-bi a]-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-[ra a-na ia-ši UGU-ši-na ù ša]
- 14 [ŠEŠ-ia id-di-nu a-na ša-pa-ri] a-na ia-ši aš-šum a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša [¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR um-ma-a šu-ú]
- 15 [i-na KUR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ki-it]-tu-ú ki-i la-a šu-ú a-n[a-ku ul i-de a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ma-a-da-ti]
- 16 [ša ŠEŠ-ia id-di-nu a-na ša]-pa-ri a-na ia-ši UGU a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša [¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR]
- 17 [ša i-na KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na i]l-li-ka ia-nu-um-ma-a iš-[pu-ra-ak-ku-uš-šu-ma-an LUGAL]
- 18 [KUR Ki-iz-ua-at-na ša i-na KU]R Ḫal-ba-a il-li-ka ia-nu-[um-ma-a LUGAL KUR Ḫal-ba-a-ma-an]
- 19 [iš-pu-ra-ak-ku-uš-šu ù] ša šu-ú il-li-ka i-na [KUR Qí-in-sà ia-nu-um-ma-a LUGAL KUR Qí-in-sa-ma-an]
- 20 [iš-pu-ra-ku-uš-šu qí-i]-pu-ú ki-i at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši ù at-ta la tu-qa-ap a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
- 21 [ša at-ta te-še-em-mé i]a-nu gab-bi gab-bi ši-ip-ri i-na [ŠĀ-šu]
-
- 22 [a-mur ÌR.MEŠ-ka qà-du š]a-a-šu šu-ú it-tal-ka ki-[ki-it-ti i-na KUR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia qà-du]
- 23 [DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti ù šu]-ú it-ti-šu-nu aš-bu i-te-e[pp-pu-šu-šu LUGAL ki-i-na ù šu-nu iq-ta-bu-ú]
- 24 [um-ma-a ḫa-ta-ni LUGAL š]u-ú ni-i-nu nu-ba-a-šu [šum-ma le-mu-ut-tù in-né-ep-pu-uš a-na ša-a-šu]
- 25 [DUMU.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti it-te-]en₆(!)-pu-šu a-na ša-pa-ri a[-na ia-ši um-ma-a ni-i-nu ul ni-na-andin-šu]
-
- 26 [um-ma-a a-ma-ta an-ni-]ta š[a tàš-pu-ra] a-na i[a-ši UGU-ša

Rs.

- 1' [a-na] e-pé-ši [...

bḫs nfr „schönes Kalb“, vgl. „du kommst rein heraus aus der Gegend des Horizonts als schönes Kalb, (das) vor der *Mḫt-wrt*-Kuh steht“ (freundlicher Hinweis von Aßmann)“.

2' [um]-ma-a a-na ŠE[Š-ia-ma a-nu-ma aš-ša-ra-aḥ] 'A-ni-ia DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ù at-ta-din-šu]
3' [a-n]a a-la-ki a-[na ŠEŠ-ia

4' [a-]nu-ma ul-te-[bil šu-bé-el-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia a-na šul-ma-an ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti 'A-ni-ia]
5' [I + x(?)] kà-su₁₄ ra-ṭ[ù i-na šap-ti-šu ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-(nu) x GIN KÙ.GI SIG₅]

Rest der Tafel in Höhe von 8 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁸²

Vs.

- 1 [So (sagt) Wašmuaria šetepnar]ia, der G[roßkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana]:
2 [Zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes] Ḫatti, [meinem] Brud[er, sprich]:
- 3 [Nun, mir, deinem Bruder geht es gut], meinen [Häu]sern, meinen Frauen, [meinen] Söhnen, meinen Truppen, meinen Pferden, meinen Wagen]
4 [und innerhalb aller] meiner [Land] er [geht es] sehr, s[ehr gut];
- 5 [dir, meinem Bruder, mö]ge es gut gehen, deinen Häusern, [deinen] Frauen, [deinen Söhnen, deinen Truppen, deinen Pferden, deinen Wagen],
6 [deinen Großen und innerhalb al]ler deiner Länder [möge es] se[hr, sehr gut gehen].
- 7 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmeh]r ist, Anija, mein Bote, [zu mir] gelangt mit [PN],
8 [dem Boten meines Bruders, und] sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen [meines] Br[uders b]erichtet [und haben mir vom Wohlergehen meiner Schwester berichtet],
9 [und haben mir vom Wohlergehen] deiner Söhne [berichtet], und haben mi[r vom Wohlergehen deiner Länder] berichtet, [und ich freute mich]
10 [sehr, sehr, und das Herz] wurde mir sehr, sehr [fr]öh, al[s ich vom Wohlergehen meines Bruders hörte, als]
11 [ich vom Wohlergehen] seiner [Länd]er [hörte], wie folgt: „Sie [sind gesund und heil]“.
- 12 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nun]mehr habe ich die Tafeln gesehen, die [mein Bruder mir hat bringen lassen],
13 [und ich habe alle Angelegenheiten [gehört, über] die [mir] mein Bruder geschrieben hat. Und was [mein Bruder] mir [hat mitteilen lassen] über die Angelegenheiten des [UrḫiTeššub, wie folgt: „Er] [ist in den Ländern meines Bruders! Stim]mt es?“ Da es nicht der Fall ist, [verstehe] ic[h die vielen Worte nicht],
14 [die] mir [mein Bruder hat schreiben [lassen] über die Angelegenheit[en des UrḫiTeššub]:
15 [Daß er ins Land Kizwatna geg]angen ist, sollte nicht der Fall sein? Er hätte [ihn dir] zugeschickt, der König]
16 [des Landes Kizwatna? Daß er ins La]nd Halbā gegangen ist, sollte ni[cht der Fall sein? Der König des Landes Halbā]
17 [hätte ihn dir zugeschickt? Und] daß er ins [Land Qinsa] gegangen ist, [sollte nicht der Fall sein? Der König des Landes Qinsa]
18 [hätte ihn dir zugeschickt]? Sind sie (so) [Vertrauens]würdig, wie du m[ir] geschrieben hast? [Vertraue nicht den Worten],
19 [die du hörst! Es ist ü]berhaupt kein Gehalt dar[in.]
- 22 [Siehe, deine Untertanen sind mit i]hm. Er ging tatsächlich in die Länder meines Bruders zusammen mit]
23 [Söhnen des Landes Ḫatti, und e]r weilt bei ihnen, während [sie ihn ständig als rechtmäßigen König] behan[deln; und sie sagten]
24 [wie folgt: „Der Schwiegersohn eines Königs ist e]r. Wir rächen ihn, [wenn ihm Böses angetan wird].“

⁸⁸² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 131-135.

- 25 [Die Söhne des Landes Ḫatti haben sich zusam]mengetan um m[ir] zu schreiben, [wie folgt: „Wir liefern ihn nicht aus!“
-
- 26 [Folgendermaßen: Die]se [Angelegenheit, über die du] mi[r geschrieben hast ...
- Rs.
- 1' [um zu] machen [...
-
- 2' [S]o (sprich) zu [meinem] Bru[der: Ich habe nunmehr den Anija, meinen Boten, abgesandt und ließ ihn]
- 3' z[u meinem Bruder] gehen. [...
-
- 4' Ich habe [n]unmehr [ein Geschenk zu meinem Bruder] gesa[ndt als Begrüßungsgeschenk für meinen Bruder durch die Hand des Anija]:
- 5' [l + x?] Becher, [an dessen/deren Rand sich] eine Ausgußt[ülle befindet, aus gutem Gold; sein/ihr Gewicht beträgt x Schekel guten Goldes].
-
- Rest der Tafel in Höhe von 8+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

KUB III 62 reports, after a long, conventional salutation, a message of Ramses dealing with the situation of the fugitive Urḫi-Teššub. The Hittite king said to the pharaoh (through his messenger Ania) that he has been informed that Urḫi-Teššub was in Egypt and therefore asks Ramses a confirmation of the news. Ramses answers that he does not understand Ḫattušili's question, because the Hittite king has previously informed him that Urḫi-Teššub was in Kizzuwatna, and then moved in the lands of Halba or Qinza. Therefore, Ramses doubts of the loyalty of the kings of these lands and informs the Hittite king that he knew Urḫi-Teššub to be in the Ḫatti land, living with some Hittite people who considered him as the legitimate king and did not want to bring him back to Ḫattušili. The letter clearly refers to a chaotic situation within the Hittite country, distinct into two factions: one supporting the former king and the second sustaining Ḫattušili's legitimacy. At the end of the letter, Ramses states to send to the Hittite king (as a gift) one cup with a golden spout.

e. KUB III 42 + KBo XXVIII 19 (= 395/i) (ÄHK no. 32, D13, pp. 86-89):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [a-n]a k[a-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia dan-niš dan-niš šu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka]
- 2' DAM.MEŠ-ka D[UMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka]
- 3' ù a-na ŠÀ-bi g[ab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka da-an-ni-iš]
- 4' da-an-ni-i[š lu-ú šul-mu]
-
- 5' um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-[ia-ma a-nu-ma ^l..... DUMU.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia]
- 6' ik-tal-dá a-na U[GU-ḫi-ia ù iq-ta-ba-a a-na ia-ši šul-ma]
- 7' ša ŠEŠ-ia ù [iq-ta-ba-a a-na ia-ši šul-ma ša NIN-ia]
- 8' ù iq-ta-ba-a [a-na ia-ši šul-ma ša DUMU.MEŠ-šu ù iq-ta-ba-a]
- 9' a-na ia-ši šul-m[a ša ERIN.MEŠ-šu ù iq-ta-ba-a a-na ia-ši šul-ma]
- 10' ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ-šu u[m-ma-a šu-nu šal-ma na-aš-ra]
-
- 11' ù a-na-ku aḫ-ta-di [dan-niš dan-niš ù ŠÀ it-ti-ba-an-ni]
- 12' dá-an-ni-iš dá-[an-ni-iš ki-i a-na-ku al-mu-ú šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia]
- 13' ki-i a-na-ku al-mu-[ú šul-ma ša NIN-ia ki-i a-na-ku]
- 14' aš-mu-ú šul-ma š[a DUMU.MEŠ-šu ki-i a-na-ku al-mu-ú šul-ma]
- 15' ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ-šu um-ma[-a šu-nu šal-ma na-aš-ra ù a-na-ku]
- 16' a-ta-mar ṭup-pa^{MEŠ} š[a ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši]
- 17' ù a-na-ku aš-mé gab-bi [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra ^l.....]

18' a-na ia-ši UGU-šu[-nu?]

19' um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-m[a ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a]
20' ul at-ta u a-na-ku [ŠEŠ-ḥu-ta-a] ni-pu-uš ù ki-i ša I-e[n-ma]
21' a-bu ni-i-nu ù a-k[i-i ša I-]en-et-ma^{SAL}AMA.SAL ni-i-nu ù ni-i-[-nu]
22' ki-i-ma i-na KUR I-en-[-et-m]a aš-ba-a-ni

23' ù [a-m]ur at-ta t[u]-maš-šar ŠEŠ-ḥu-ut-ta ša **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** i-na UD-mi
24' an-ni-i ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma a-mur a-ma-ta
25' an-ni-ta ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu i-ia-nu a-na-ku
26' ul e-p[u-u]š gab-bi ḥi-tam mi-im-ma a-na UGU-ḥi ŠEŠ-ia
27' ŠE[Š-ḥa-ku ša-]al-ma-ku it-ti ŠEŠ-ia i-na ṭe₄-mi-ia gi-na-a

28' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-m]a ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a
29' [a-nu-ma i-na-an-na] a-ma-ta ša DINGIR-li i-na be-ri-ni ù ni-i-nu
30' [ni-it-te-en-pu-uš ki-i I-en LÚ-la₁₂ i-na I-en ŠÁ-bi
31' [ù ni-na-aš-ša-ar ŠEŠ-ḥu]-ut-ta dan-niš ù ni-i-nu k[i ŠEŠ.MEŠ]
32' [ša I-en a-bi ù ša I-et^{SAL}AM]A ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš[-pu-r]a a[-na] ia[-ši]

33' [a-nu-ma SIG₅-qú dan-niš a-m]a-ta an-ni-ta ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra [a-na ia-ši]
34' [UGU-šu ù a-na-aš-ša-ar-š]u kán-na-ma i-na UG[U-ḥi] [ŠÁ]-[bi-ia a-di da-ri-ti]
35' [ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši u]m-m[a(?)]-a ...

Rs.

1' [.....]...[...
2' [..... ù ki-i DUMU.KIN-ri-ka i-ka]š-ša-du-ni
3' [lu-uš-pu-ra-ak-ku DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ki-i ša ŠEŠ-i]a táq-bu-ú ù [i(?) -il]-qú
4' [LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a ù ki-i šu-]ú il-li-ku a-na la-qé-šu [(?) -...]
5' [a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ša ŠEŠ-k]a a-aš-bu i-na ŠÁ-bi-šu x[...
6' [.....] ù šu-ú i-kaš-ša-du a-na [...
7' [a-n]a(?) x[.....] kán-na ša-na-a [...

8' ù a-mur [aš-ša-ra-aḥ (?) DUMU.KIN-ia] i-na KUR Ḥa-at-ti i-pa-tá-ru-ni-iš-šu
9' i-na ša-pa-ri u[m-ma-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL] **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** mi-nu-ú ši-ip-ru
10' it-ti-ia a-na U[GU-ka pu-uṭ-ra LÚ-la₁₂] an-na-a ša mi-nu-ú-ia i-[p]u-šu

11' ù ki-i-ša-a-ma i-p[a-tá-ru-ni-iš-šu] ki DU-ti i-na KUR Ḥ[a-at-ti]
12' a-na KUR ša šu-ú u[l in-na-ab-bi-it i-]na ŠÁ-bi-šu kán[-na-ma ù li-il-qú-ni-šu]
13' a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** [SIG₅ gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša-~] [ni]-ip-pu-uš a-n[a la na-da-ni^{LÚ} KÚR
14' UGU a-ma-te^{MEŠ} a[n-na-ti i-na be-ri-ni] [

15' um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-i[a-ma a-nu-ma a-di a-ša-a]r[-ra-aḥ^l.....]
16' DUMU.KIN-ri ša ŠEŠ-i[a qà-du^l..... qà-du^l.....]
17' DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia ša u[l ù ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu]
18' a-na ia-ši ù šu-nu [li-il-li-ku a-na ia-ši i-na ši-ip-ra-ti-šu-nu]
19' ù li-iq-bu-ú-[ni gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia i-šap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu-nu]
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 15 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁸³

Vs.

1' [D]i[r, meinem Bruder, möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen, deinen Häusern],
2' deinen Frauen, [deinen] S[öhnen, deinen Truppen, deinen Pferden, deinen Wagen]
3' und innerhalb a[ller deiner Länder möge es sehr],
4' sehr [gut gehen].

⁸⁸³ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 88-89. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 139-142.

5' So (sprich) zu mei[nem] Bruder: [Nunmehr ist der PN, der Bote meines Bruders],
6' zu [mir] gelangt [und hat mir berichtet vom Wohlbefinden]
7' meines Bruders, und [hat mir berichtet vom Wohlbefinden meiner Schwester],
8' und hat [mir] berichtet [vom Wohlbefinden seiner Söhne, und hat] mir [berichtet]
9' vom Wohlbefind[en seiner Truppen, und hat mir berichtet vom Wohlbefinden]
10' seiner Länder mi[t den Worten: „Sie befinden sich wohl und sind wohlbehalten“].

11' Und ich freute mich [sehr, sehr, und das Herz wurde mir]
12' sehr, se[hr froh, als ich vom Wohlbefinden meines Bruders hörte],
13' als ich [vom Wohlbefinden meiner Schwester] hörte, als ich]
14' vom Wohlbefinden [seiner Söhne] hörte, [als ich vom Wohlbefinden]
15' seiner Länder hörte mit [den Worten: „Sie sind gesund und sind heil“; und ich]
16' habe die Tafeln gesehen, di[e mein Bruder mir hat bringen lassen],
17' und ich habe alle [Angelegenheiten] gehört, der[et]wegen
18' mir [mein Bruder den PN geschickt hat].

19' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat mit den Worten]:
20' „Haben du und ich nicht [Brüderschaft] geschlossen, und sind wir (nicht) wie von eine[m]
21' Vater, und sind wir (nicht) wi[e von ei]ner Mutter, und
22' wohnen wir (nicht) wie in eine[m] Land?

23' Und [sie]he, du gibst die Brüderschaft des Landes **Ägypten** am
24' heutigen Tage auf!“ - so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben. Nun siehe,
25' diesen sachverhalt, betreffs dessen mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat, gibt es nicht. Ich
26' habe keinerlei Verfehlung gegen meinen Bruder be[gan]gen;
27' [ich] bin verbrüdet und [in Fr]ieden mit meinem Bruder in meinem Verhältnis immerdar.

28' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder]: Und was mein Bruder mir geschrieben hat, wie folgt:
29' „[Nun, jetzt] ist ein Gotteswort (= Vertrag) zwischen uns, und wir
30' [haben uns verbün]det wie ein Mann in einem Herzen,
31' [und wir werden] die [Brüder]schaft fest [bewahren], indem wir wie Brüder
32' [von einem Vater und von einer Mutt]er sind“ - so hat mi[r] mein Bruder gesch[rieb]en.

33' [Nun, sehr schön ist] diese [Angelegenheit, über die mir] mein Bruder geschrieben hat,
34' [und ich werde si]e ebenfalls in [meinem H]erze[n für immer bewahren].
35' [Und was mein Bruder mir geschrieben hat, wi]e f[olgt:]

Rs.

1' [.....]. [...
2' [Ich schrieb meinem Bruder, wie folgt: „Sobald dein Bote] mich [err]eicht,
3' [will ich dir meinen Boten senden, wie du, me]in [Bruder], sagtest, und man möge
4' [diesen Mann] br[in]gen“. [Und als e]r ging, um ihn [sogleich (o. ä.)] zu bringen
5' [ins Land **Ägypten**, in dem [de]in [Bruder] wohnt, b[ehielt man ihn zurück (??)]
6' [.....] und er wird nach [.....] gelangen
7' [z]u [.....] so einen anderen.

8' Und Siehe, ich ʿsanʿd[te meinen Boten] ins Land Ḫatti, damit man ihn entlasse,
9' indem (ich) Schrieb: „S[o (Spricht) der Großkönig, der König] des Landes **Ägypten**: Was
Sollte denn eine Tätigkeit
10' bei mir geg[en dich]? Entlasse] diesen [Mann]), der Überheblichkeit (?) begangen hat!“

11' Und [man könnte ihn] doch wohl freundlicherweise ent [lassen] aus dem Lande Ḫ[atti]
12' in ein Land, [a]us dem [er] n[icht] wie[der entfliehen wird; und man möge ihn bringen]
13' in das Land **Ägypten**. [Sehr gut sind alle Pläne, die] wir ausführen werden u[m keine Feindschaft zu
bewirken]

14' [unter uns] wegen di[eser] Angelegenheiten.

15' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Nun fürwahr, werde ich den PN entsenden],
16' den Boten meines Bruders, [zusammen mit dem PN und dem PN],
17' meinen Boten, die ni[cht] Und mein Bruder möge sie (wieder)]
18' zu mir [gehen lassen], und sie [mögen zu mir mit ihren Botschaften gehen]
19' und sie mögen [mir alle Vorschläge] sagen, [deretwegen mir mein Bruder schreiben wird].

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 15+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

This letter deals with the reaffirming of the validity of the Treaty and reiterates the brotherhood between the two Great kings. In Vs. 20'-22', a particular expression is used by Ḫattušili to describe the “formal kinship” of Ramses and Ḫattušili: *ul at-ta u a-na-ku [ŠEŠ-ḫu-ta-a] ni-pu-uš ù ki-i ša l-e[n-ma] / a-bu ni-i-nu ù a-k[i-i ša l-]en-et-ma^{SAL}AMA.SAL ni-i-nu ù ni-i-[nu] / ki-i-ma i-na KUR l-en-[et-m]a aš-ba-a-ni*, “Haben du und ich nicht [Brüderschaft] geschlossen, und sind wir (nicht) wie von eine[m] / Vater, und sind wir (nicht) wi[e von ei]ner Mutter, und / wohnen wir (nicht) wie in eine[m] Land?”. Cordani noted how a similar rhetorical sentence is attested in a letter of the Assyro-Hittite correspondence⁸⁸⁴: “Come figli/fratelli(?) d]i un solo padre (e) di una sola madre siete diventati!” (MORA – GIORGIERI 2004, p. 167). This peaceful situation has been probably compromised by a previous message sent by Ḫattušili, questioning the brotherhood: *ù [a-m]ur at-ta t[u]-maš-šar ŠEŠ-ḫu-ut-ta ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-na UD-mi / an-ni-i*, “Und [sie]he, du gibst die Brüderschaft des Landes Ägypten am / heutigen Tage auf!” (Vs. 23'-24'). Maybe, Ḫattušili had accused Ramses for having welcomed his rival Urḫi-Teššub; Ramses promptly exonerates himself from any fault, reconfirming the brotherhood quoting another peculiar expression previously written by the Hittite king: *[a-nu-ma i-na-an-na] a-ma-ta ša DINGIR-lì i-na be-ri-ni ù ni-i-nu / [ni-it-te-en-pu-uš ki-i l-en LÚ-la₁₂ i-na l-en ŠÀ-bi*, “[Nun, jetzt] ist ein Gotteswort (= Vertrag) zwischen uns, und wir / [haben uns verbün]det wie ein Mann in einem Herzen” (Vs. 29'-30').

The reverse of the tablet also deals with the situation of Urḫi-Teššub: the content of the passage, despite Edel's integrations, is not so clear, but it seems that Ramses was trying to gain information about Urḫi-Teššub's fate: in Rs. 11ff., Ramses is clearly suggesting the possibility to free Urḫi-Teššub in Ḫatti, for an undefined purpose, but the passage is still too unclear⁸⁸⁵.

f. KBo XXVIII 41 (= 673/f) (ÄHK no. 35, E2, pp. 92-93):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

[0'] [..... ù i-na ŠÀ-bi]
1' [gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia] dan-niš da[n-niš šul-mu]
2' [a-na ka-a-ša l]u-ú šul-mu^lḪa-at-tu-ši-li
3' [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-t]i ŠEŠ-ia a-na^s[^{AL}Pu-d]u-ḫ[e-pa]
4' [SAL.LUGAL.GAL-ti] ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia ○
5' [a-na DUMU.MEŠ-]ka lu-ú šul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka
6' [a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME]Š-ka ù i-na ŠÀ-bi gab-bi
7' [KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka da-an-]ni-iš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu

8' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-i]a-ma a-nu-ma^lZu-uz-z[u]
9' [^{LÚ}kar-tap-pu ša ŠEŠ-i]a ik-tal-da a-na UGU-ḫ[i-ia]
10' [ù iq-ta-ba-a] a-na ia-ši šul-mu ša [ŠEŠ-ia]

⁸⁸⁴ CORDANI 2017, p. 88, note 2.

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. the translation of the passage in CORDANI 2017, p. 89: “E vedi, [...] nel paese di Ḫatti lo si libererà; nel mandare co[si ...] nel paese d'Egitto. [passage omitted in this quotation] E di certo [lo si potrebbe] li[berare] in modo amichevole dal paese di Ḫa[tti] verso un paese dal/nel quale [...]”.

11' [ù iq-ta-ba-a] a-na ia-ši šul-mu š[a NIN-ia]
 12' [ù iq-ta-ba-a a-]na ia-ši šul-mu š[a DUMU.MEŠ]
 13' [ša ŠEŠ-ia ù iq-]ta-ba-a a-na i[a-ši šul-mu]
 14' [ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia u]m-ma-a šu-nu [ša-al-mu na-aš-ru]

15' [ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar tu[p-pa^{MEŠ} š[a ŠEŠ-ia]
 [16'] [ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši ù al-te-mé gab-bi]
 [17'] [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-ia il-ta-pár a-na ia-ši]
 [18'] [UGU-ši-na ki DÙG.GA ki DÙG.GA]
 [19'] [...]

Rs.

1' [..... x] [...]

2' [ki-i^{LÚ}kar-tap]-pu at-tu-ia [i-di te₄-ma]
 3' [an-na-a ša ŠEŠ-ia ù ŠEŠ-ia l[i-id-din-šu]
 4' [a-na a-la-ki ar-]hi-iš ar-hi-i[š a-na ia-ši]
 5' [ù LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka li-iš]-mé-šu

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 3 + x Zeilen uneschriftet

Translation⁸⁸⁶

Vs.

[0'] [..... und innerhalb]
 1' [aller meiner Länder geht es s]ehr, s[e]hr gut];
 2' [dir m]öge es gut gehen, [dem Ḫattušili],
 3' [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatt]i, meinem Bruder; [Pud]u[ḫepa],
 4' [der Großkönigin] des Landes Ḫatti, meiner Schwester,
 5' (und) deinen [Söhnen] möge es gut gehen; deinen Truppen,
 6' deinen [Pferde]n und innerhalb aller
 7' [deiner Länder] möge es [se]hr, sehr gut gehen.

8' [So (sprich) zu mei]nem [Bruder]: Nunmehr ist Zuzz[u],
 9' [der Wagenlenker mei]nes [Bruders], zu [mir] gelangt
 10' [und hat] mir vom Wohlergehen [meines Bruders berichtet]
 11' [und hat] mir vom Wohlergehen [meiner Schwester berichtet]
 12' [und hat] mir [berichtet] vom Wohlergehen [der Söhne]
 13' [meines Bruders] und hat m[ir be]richtet [vom Wohlergehen]
 14' [der Länder meines Bruders, w]ie folgt: „Sie [sind gesund und heil]“.

15' [Und ich habe die Taf]eln [gesehen], di[e mein Bruder]
 [16'] [mir hat bringen lassen, und ich habe alle]
 [17'] [Angelegenheiten gehört, über die mir mein Bruder]
 [18'] [in sehr freundlicher Weise geschrieben hat, ...]
 [19'] [...]

Rs.

1' [.....] .. [...]

2' [Sobald] mein [Wagenlen]ker
 3' [diesen Bescheid] meines [Bruders] k[ennt], m[öge ihn] mein Bruder
 4' [ei]lends, eilends [zu mir gehen lassen],
 5' [und (ich), der König, dein Bruder, will] ihn [hö]ren.

⁸⁸⁶ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vo. 2, pp. 148-149.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 3+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

In this letter, Ramses, after the usual greetings to Ḫattušili and the Hittite queen (here called with her proper name), reports to have received the messenger Zuzzu, charioteer (^{LÚ}kar-tap-pu) of the Hittite king, who informed him about the well-being of the Hittite court. At the end of the letter, Ramses says that his charioteer (whose name is not quoted) would have reported something to him from Ḫattušili. Unfortunately, the topic of this embassy is not preserved in the extant text.

g. KUB III 45 (ÄHK no. 36, E3, pp. 92-95):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar ṭup-pa^{MES} š]a ŠEŠ-ia
2' [iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ù] él-te-mé gab-bi
3' [a-ma-te^{MES} ša ŠEŠ-ia i]l-ta-pár a-na ia-ši
4' [UGU-ši-na ki DÛG.GA ki DÛ]G.GA
5' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia
6' [iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma]-a ak-ta-ša-ad
7' [ṭup-pa^{MES}-ka ša ^{LÚ}kar-tap-p]u SIG₅
8' [il-qé a-na ia-ši at-ta ŠEŠ-i]a kán-na taq-bi
[9'] [a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma

Rs.

- [-1] [.....^dUTU ù^dIŠKUR]
[0] [i-na-an-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí]
1' [ša-la-am-ni ù ŠEŠ-ut-ni a-di da]-ri-ti
2' [a-na la-a na-da-ni ^{LÚ}KUR i-n]a bi-ri-ni

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 8 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁸⁷

Vs.

- 1' [Und ich habe die Tafeln gesehen, di]e mein Bruder
2' [mir gesandt hat], und ich habe alle
3' [Angelegenheiten] vernommen, [über die] mir [mein Bruder]
4' [in sehr freundlicher We]ise geschrieben hat.
5' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: U]nd was mein Bruder
6' [mir geschrieben hat, wie fol]gt: „Ich gelangte in den Besitz
7' [deiner Tafeln, die mir der] tüchtige [Wagenlenke]r
8' [brachte].“ - so hast du, [me]in [Bruder],
[9'] [zu mir] gesagt. [Nunmehr ...

Rs.

- [-1] [..... Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott]
[0] [werden gedeihen lassen]
1' [unseren Frieden und unsere Brüderschaft auf e]wig,
2' [um keine Feindschaft zw]ischen uns [zuzulassen].

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 8 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

The extant text of this letter just allows to gain a few information: Ramses says to have received some messages from Ḫattušili through the Hittite king's charioteer, whose name is not quoted in the

⁸⁸⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 149-152.

document (maybe, he was the same Zuzzu quoted in the previous text). The Rs. reports the usual felicitation about the brotherhood, which is here described as something “that not allows any hostility” (*a-na la-a na-da-ni* ^{LÚ}*KUR i-na bi-ri-ni*) between the two Great kings.

h. KBo VII 11 (= 9/k) (ÄHK no. 37, E4, pp. 94-97):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

- 1' [.....x] [x ...
 1'a [.....] [...
 2' [..... *ba-n*] *i-i-ta i-* x [..... *ù ša tàš-pu-ra um-ma-a*]
 3 [a-šap-pár DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ¹*Zu-u-ua-a a-na LUGAL KUR* ^{URU}*Mi-iš-ri-i* ra-'i-i-mi-ia [a-na DUMU.KIN-ut-ti ...]
 4' [..... *ù šu-ú li-id-din a-na š*]a-me-e LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iš-ri-i* a-ma-te^{MES}-ia]
 5' [..... x]-[bi] *ù ra-'i-i-mi-ia a-ma-t*[a ...
 6' [..... D]UMU.KIN-ri a-na lu-um-mu-ni *ú*-[ul pá-r-šu ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra]
 7' [a-na ia-ši DUMU.KIN-ri-ka ¹*Zu-u-ua-a a-na U*]GU-ḫi-ia šu-up-ra-aš-lu-ma li-i[ḫ-
 8' [..... DUMU.KIN-ri ša LUGAL ¹*Zu-u-ua-a ki-i ia ŠÁ-ka* [lu-pu-us-sú
 9' [..... a-ma-te^{MES} ša a-na] pa-ni ŠEŠ-ia iq-bi i-na-an-na x x[
 10' [DUMU.KIN-ri ša LUGAL ¹A ki-i ša ŠÁ-k]a lu-pu-us-sú [
 10'a [.....] [

 11' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-mur a-nu-ma LUGA]L KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ra-d* du-ni-ia-aš LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ḫa-ni-ka*[l-bat iš-pu-ru-ni]
 12' [um-ma-a DUMU.SAL ša LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti a-n*]a LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iš-ri-i* *ú-še-bi-lu-mi* *ù* [LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iš-ri-i*]
 13' [ip-pu-uš-ši ^{SAL}LUGAL ša KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iš-ri-i* *ù at-t*]a DUMU.SAL-ti i-na aš-ri-ša šu-ku-un-ši-mi [LUGAL.MEŠ ša-a-šu-nu]
 14' [a-kán-na iš-pu-ru-ni *ú-ul a-ma-gur a-na na-da-]*ni SAL.LUGAL-tu-ti-ma la LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*K*[a-ra-^d*du-ni-ia-aš ḫa-aš-ḫu*]
 15' [a-na DUMU.SAL-šu DUMU.SAL i-na al-ri DUMU.SAL a-na š]a-ka-a-ni *ú-ul p*[ár-šu ...
 15'a [.....] [...

 16' [.....] *iṭ-ti-ia* [x ...
 17' [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁸⁸

- 1' [.....] .. [...
 1'a [.....] [...
 2' [..... Gu]tes ..[..... und was du geschrieben hast, wie folgt]:
 3' [“Ich werde meinen Boten Zūwā zum König des Landes Ägypten, meinem Freund, [wegen einer Botenmission senden ..]
 4' [..... und der möge] den König des Landes Ägypt[en meine Worte h]ören [lassen
 5' [.....] ... und mein Freund [möge] die Angelegenheit [...
 6' [..... ; einen B]oten schlecht zu behandeln ist ni[cht rechtens“ - so hat mir mein Bruder geschrieben];
 7' (ich sage darauf): Sende [deinen Boten Zūwā z]u mir, und er möge ..[...
 8' [.....] den Königs[boten] Zūwā [will ich] gemäß deinem Wunsche [behandeln.
 9' [..... die Worte, die er v]or meinem Bruder sagte; jetzt [.....];
 10' [(auch) den Königsboten A will ich gemäß dei]nem [Wunsche] behandeln. [
 10'a [.....] [

 11' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Siehe, nunmehr hat der Koni]g des Landes Babylonien (und)

⁸⁸⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 153-154.

- der König des Landes Ḫanika[ibat mir geschrieben]
- 12' [wie folgt: „Die Tochter des Königs des Landes Ḫatti] wird man [zu] m König des Landes **Ägypten** senden, und [der König des Landes **Ägypten**
- 13' [wird sie zur Königin des Landes **Ägypten** machen]; setze aber [d]u meine Tochter an ihre Stelle!“ – [so haben jene Könige]
- 14' [an mich geschrieben; aber ich gedenke nicht], die Königinnenschaft [zu gewäh]ren, die der König des Landes B[abylonien]
- 15' [für seine Tochter begehrt. Eine Tochter an die Stelle der (anderen) Tochter zu s]etzen, ist nicht r[echtens! ...
- 15'a [.....] [.....]
-
- 16' [.....] mit mir .. [.....]
[.....]
Andere Seite abgebrochen

In KBo VII 11, Ramses reports how Ḫattušili had sent him his charioteer Zuwa, who was perhaps treated in a not so agreeable way, since the Hittite king remembers Ramses that *DUMU.KIN-ri a-na lu-um-mu-ni ú-ul pár-šu*, “einen Boten schlecht zu behandeln ist nicht rechtens” (Vs. 6’). Ramses apologizes for this inconvenience and asks Ḫattušili to send back Zuwa, who would be treated in a proper way. Ramses also relates to have received some messages from the kings of Babylon and Ḫanigalbat, who had been informed about the royal wedding between Egypt and Ḫatti, begging Ramses to take in marriage one of their daughter, instead of the Hittite princess(!). Ramses obviously refused, saying that *a-na DUMU.SAL-šu DUMU.SAL i-na al-ri DUMU.SAL a-na š[a-ka-a-ni ú-ul p[ár-šu*, “Eine Tochter an die Stelle der (anderen) Tochter zu setzen, ist nicht rechtens!” (l. 15’). This letter testifies how the notice of the forthcoming interdynastic marriage would have been quite widespread in all the Near East, causing the envy of many important kings.

i. KBo XXVIII 80 (= 352/f) (ÄHK no. 38, E5, pp. 96-97):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

- 1' [.....x] ta-d[u-/a]b- ...
- 2' [..... ŠEŠ(?) -u]t-ta a[l-tap-ra-ak-ku(?) ...
- 3' [.....n]a(?) -da-n[i ...
- 4' [.....] a-na ŠEŠ-ia [...
- 5' [š]a(?) ŠEŠ-ia an-ni-[ta iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a a-na-ku ŠEŠ-ka]
- 6' [ù] a-na-ku DUMU.SAL a-[na-an-din-ši a-na UGU-ḫi-ka]
- 7' ù a-na-ku ul a-n[a-an-din-ši a-na UGU-ḫi LUGAL KUR Ka-ra-^ddu-ni-ia-aš]
- 8' ù [lu] a-na UGU-[ḫi LUGAL KUR Ḫa-ni-kal-bat ...
- [9'] [...

Translation⁸⁸⁹

- 1' [.....] ... [...
- 2' [..... Brüder[?]]schaft [habe] ich [dir] gesch[rieben(?) ...
- 3' [.....um z]u [g]ebe[n ...
- 4' [.....] meinem Bruder [...
- 5' [Daß] mein Bruder [mir] dies [es geschrieben hat, wie folgt: „Ich bin dein Bruder],
- 6' [un]d ich werde [dir] (meine) Tochter [geben],
- 7' und ich werde [sie] nicht [dem König des Landes Babylonien] g[eben]
- 8' oder dem [König des Landes Ḫanikalbat ...
- [9'] [...

⁸⁸⁹ Comment in EDEL, vol. 2, pp. 154-157.

- geschrieben].
- 3 [Und siehe, Zū]wā habe ich an seinen Händen und an [seinen] Füßen [gefesselt, aber den
A-.....],
- 4 [der sich hi]er befindet, will ich gemäß deinem Wunsche behandeln. [
-
- 5 [Und was du geschrieben hast,] wie folgt: „Der Zūwā - [na]chdem er alt geworden ist, .. [...]“
- 6 [Nun siehe,] Zūwā - wer ist dieser Hund? Und [mein] F[reund]
- 7 [schrieb mir ü]ber Zūw[ā, wie fol]gt: „Mein Vater [...
- 8 [den Zūwā] und zu [meinem] Freu[nde wegen einer Botenmission]
- 9 [habe ich ihn gesandt. Behandle ihn gut o. ä.].., wer auch imme[r er ist.“]
-
- [10] [...

The obverse of this letters reports a struggle and a small diplomatic incident occurred between Ramses and Ḫattušili because of no better specified behaviour of the messenger Zuwa, who is defined *UR.ZÍR*, “a dog” (Vs. 6). Ḫattušili wrote to Ramses saying that he had sent together the messenger “A[...]”, whose name is unfortunately not completely preserved⁸⁹¹, and Zuwa, expecting they would have come back Ḫatti together. Probably Ramses detained in Egypt the messenger Zuwa, because of some mistakes he committed or, even more likely, to press the Hittite king about something (as was usual at that time, in the case some diplomatic tensions occurred). The first interpretation could be corroborated by the words of the pharaoh in Rs. 3, where Zuwa is described as a bounded prisoner: *ù a-mur¹ Zu-u-ua-a a-na ŠU.MEŠ-šu ù a-na ĞÍR.MEŠ-šu ku-ur-ši-i*, “Und siehe, Zūwā habe ich an seinen Händen und an seinen Füßen gefesselt”. Ḫattušili also remembers Ramses that *DUMU.KIN a-na da-ki ú-ul par-šu*, “Einen Boten zu töffen ist nicht rechtens!” (Rs. 2). Ramses ensures Ḫattušili that only Zuwa was imprisoned, while the other messenger “A[...]” was treated in a proper manner.

k. KBo XXVIII 5 (+) 6 (= 122/e (+) 2644/c + 412/d) (ÄHK no. 45, E12, pp. 112-116):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

122/e

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-e]p-na-ri-a [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
- 2 [DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i]^da-ma-na LUGA[L.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
-
- 3 [a-na¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGA]L KUR Ḫa-at-ti [ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]
-
- 4 [a-nu-ma a-na¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša m]a-a-i^da-ma-n[a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
- 5 [ŠEŠ-ka šu-ul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia D]AM.⟨MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia E[RIN.MEŠ-ia
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia]
- 6 [^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù a-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR].KURMEŠ-ia dan-niš [dan-niš šul-mu]
-
- 7 [a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu dan-n]iš dan-niš¹Ḫa-a[t-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
- 8 [ŠEŠ-ia a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.M]EŠ-ka E[RIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka]
- [9] [^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù a-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu]
-
- [10] [...
Rs. von 122/e abgebrochen

(2644/c +) 412/d

⁸⁹¹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 157 proposed to read the name as A-[du]²-[m]a²-[i]a², a name not listed in LAROCHE 1966 (nor in LAROCHE 1981), also advancing a possible derivation of the personal name from ^{KUR}Udumai, (thus, “Edomite”, “Idumaeus”), attested also as an Egyptian “Ländername” (‘Adum), written in hieratitic on papAnast. VI 54/55, dated to the reign of Seti II: in this case, the messenger would have come from Southern-Syria or the Levant.

Vs.

- [0'] [...]
1' [.....] x x x [...]
2' [..... ma-ag-ra-ku it-ti ŠEŠ-ia i-ra-a-ma-a]n-ni ŠEŠ-ia kán-[na tàš-pu-ra]
3' [a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma a-na-ku a-ra-am ŠEŠ-ia ul-t]u pa-na-nu ki-[i ¹Mu-ta-al-li]
4' [ŠEŠ-šu aš-ra-nu ŠEŠ-šu an-ni-ka-nu ul i-na-an-na i-r]a-am-šu [.....]

5' [a-na-ku ŠÀ ħa-ši-iĥ a-na it-te-en₆-pu-uš gab-bi ʔe₄-m]i SIG₅ a-na ŠEŠ-i[a ù]
6' [a-na-ku ul ú-né-ek-ke-er a-na ra-a-am ŠEŠ-ia a-di d]a-ri-ti ù ŠEŠ-[ħa-a-ku]
7' [i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ta ba-ni-i it-ti-šu ù šal-ma-ku i-na ša]-la-mi ba-ni-i i[t-ti-šu]
8' [a-di da-ri-ti um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia i]š-pu-ra a-na ia-[ši ù]
9' [ša iq-bi um-ma-a DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li ul i]l-qú-ni-iš-šu-nu-t[i]

10' [ki-i il-qú-ni DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li an-n]u-ti a-na **KUR Mi-i[š-ri-i]**
11' [a-na LUGAL.GAL ŠEŠ-ia ul id-din a-na ša-pa-r]i 1-en ʔup-pa [ù DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ka]
12' [iq-ta-bu-ni um-ma-a LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka iq-bi a-na na-a-ši] um-ma-a qí-b[i a-na LUGAL ŠEŠ-ia]
13' [šu-bi-la DUMU.MEŠ ša ¹Ma-aš-ni-ia-al-li DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ka k]án-n[a iq-ta-bu-ni]
[14'] [a-na ia-ši ...

2644/c (+412/d)

Rs.

- [0'] [šu-be₆-el-ta ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** id-di-nu]
1' [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ĥa-at-ti ù a-na ŠAL.LUGAL] ¹KUR Ĥa¹-at-ti

2' [7 ME 65 GÍN KÙ.GI] SIG₅ i-na li<ša>-na-tù^{MEŠ}

3' [1 ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ ta]m-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti KI.LAL-šu 2 ME 34 G[ÍN]

4' [7 ša] KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú NA₄ DÙ-ti KI.LAL-šu 83 [GÍN]

5' [10 GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI] SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu 4 ME 80 GÍN

6' [1 ša KÙ.GI ŠI]G₅ KI.LAL-šu 96 GÍN

7' [x IGI.MEŠ šúm-mu-ĥ]u-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú KI.LAL-šu 36 G[ÍN]

8' [1 ša ti-ik-ki šú-ub-b]u-'u₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 26 GÍN

9' [1 ta-pal in-ša-ba-tu₄ ša K]Ù.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 22 GÍN

10' [11 un-qa-tù^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI] SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 12 GÍN

11' [2 ĤAR.ŠU ša KÙ.GI ŠI]G₅ gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ĥu<tù>(?) KI.LAL-šu-nu 5½ GÍN

12' [1 ^{GIŠ}tù-up-ni-nu ša KÙ.GI ŠI]G₅ ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Ĥa-at-ti KI.LAL KÙ.GI 19½ G[ÍN]

13' [ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na li-š]a-na<tù>^{MEŠ} ù ú-de₄<e>^{MEŠ} ù šu-ku-ut<ta>^{MEŠ} 1 lim 7 ME 79 [GÍN
KÙ.BABBAR GÍN 17]

14' [ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI ù KÙ.BABBAR 1 lim 7] ME 96 GÍN

15' [2 e-ri-bu ša NA₄ DÙ-ti m]é-èĥ-ri-šu-nu [š]a KÙ.GI NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-uh
16' [10 un-qa-tù^{MEŠ} ša NA₄ DÙ-ti šu-ši 9 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LU]GAL šúm-m[u-ĥu-tu]

[17'] [11 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku šúm-mu-ĥu-tù 1 ME 27 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ šúm-mu-ĥu-tu]

[18'] [ŠU.NIGIN 2 ME 7^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḥu-tù lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ù ša mi-ku ù^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ
SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ]

[19'] [40 GIŠ.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša^{GIŠ}EŠI 5^{DUG}ku-ku-bu ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅]

[20'] [20 GI.MEŠ ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅]

[21'] [šu-be₆-el-ta ša LUGAL id-din a-na 2^{LÚ}GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Ḥa-at-ti]

[22'] [2 GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu 96 GÍN]

[23'] [x^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ]

[24'] [1^{KUŠ}ši-ri-ia-nu ša LÚ-la₁₂ 1 ku-ub-šu ša ŠAG.DU ša UD.KA.BAR qà-du ḥa-aš-ḥa-la-tù]

[25'] [ša a-na-ki^{MEŠ} 1^{KUŠ}ši-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KA.BAR]

[122/e]

[Rs.] abgebrochen

Translation⁸⁹²

122/e

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Wašmuaria šate]pnaria, [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**],
2 [der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai]-amana, der [Groß]köni[g, der König des Landes **Ägypten**]:

3 [Zu Ḥattušili, dem Großkönig, dem Köni]g des Landes Ḥatti, [meinem Bruder, sprich]:

4 [Nun, Riamašeša m]ai-amana, [dem Großkönig, dem König von **Ägypten**],
5 [deinem Bruder, geht es gut, meinen Häusern], meinen Frau[en], meinen Söh[n]en, [meinen] Tr[uppen,
meinen Pferden],

6 [meinen Wagen und innerhalb aller] meiner Länder geht es sehr, [sehr gut];

7 [dir möge es seh]r, sehr [gut gehen], dem Ḥa[ttušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥatti],
8 [meinem Bruder, deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen], deinen [Söhn]en, [deinen] Tr[uppen, deinen
Pferden],

[9] [deinen Wagen und innerhalb aller deiner Länder möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen].

[10] [...

Rs. von 122/e abgebrochen

(2644/c+) 412/d

Vs.

[0'] [Und was du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben hast mit den Worten: „Jetzt habe ich Vertrauen gefaßt (in
deine Worte)]:

1' [„Der König des Landes **Ägypten** liebt den Großkönig, den König des Landes Ḥatti],

2' [seinen Bruder“; ich bin willkommen bei meinem Bruder, da er] mich [liebt]“ - s[o hast du], mein
Bruder,

3' [mir geschrieben. Nun, ich liebte meinen Bruder vo]n jeher wie Mutalli,

4' [sein dortiger Bruder, (ihn liebte); sollte (da) sein hiesiger Bruder] ihn [jetzt nicht (mehr) l]ieben?!

5' [Mein Herz wünscht, daß alle] schönen [Plän]e für mei[nen] Bruder [ausgeführt werden];

6' [ich werde nicht aufhören, meinen Bruder für im]mer [zu lieben; ich bin]

⁸⁹² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 185-197.

- 7' [in guter Brüderschaft mit ihm] verbrüdert [und bin in] gutem [Fri]eden m[it ihm]
8' [für immer befriedet. So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was mein Bruder] mi[r ge]schrieben hat,
[und]
9' [was er gesagt hat, wie folgt]: „Man hat [die Söhne des Mašnijalli nicht herg]ebracht“
-
- 10' [- als man di]ese [Söhne des Mašnijalli] ins Land **Ägypten** brachte]
11' [zum Großkönig, hat mein Bruder nicht eine] einzige Tafel [sen]den [lassen, aber deine Boten]
12' [sagten (nun), wie folgt: „Der König, dein Bruder, hat uns gesagt]: „So sprich [zum König, meinem
Bruder]:
13' [Sende die Söhne des Mašnijalli“ - s]o [haben deine Boten]
14' [zu mir gesagt ...]
- Rs.
[0'] [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**
1' [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, und der Königin des La]ndes Ḫatti [gegeben hat]:
-
- 2' [765 Schekel] guten [Goldes] bestehend aus Barren.
-
- 3' [l aus gutem Gold, be]setzt mit einem schönem Stein, dessen Gewicht 234 Sch[ekel] beträgt.
-
- 4' [l aus] gutem Gold, besetzt mit einem schönem Stein, dessen Gewicht 83 [Schekel]
beträgt.
-
- 5' [10 Trinkgefäße aus] gutem [Go]ld, deren Gewicht 480 Schekel beträgt.
-
- 6' [l *kaptukû*-Gefäß, (?) aus gu]tem [Gold, dessen Gewicht 96 Schekel beträgt.
-
- 7' [x verschied]ene [(Uzat)augen] aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Sche[kel] beträgt.
-
- 8' [1 (Kette) für den Hals, sehr b]unt, aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 26 Schekel beträgt.
-
- 9' [1 Paar Ohringe aus] gutem [G]old, dessen Gewicht 22 Schekel beträgt.
-
- 10' [11 Ringe aus] gutem [Go]ld, deren Gewicht 12 Schekel beträgt.
-
- 11' [2 Armspangen aus g]utem [Gold], mit allerlei Steinen übersät, deren Gewicht 5½ Schekel beträgt.
-
- 12' [l Kästchen aus gu]tem [Gold], Kopie, in Herstellungsart des Landes Ḫatti; Gewicht des Goldes: 19½
Schekel.
-
- 13' [Summe des guten Goldes bestehend aus Bar]ren und Gefäßen und Schmuckgegenständen: 1779
[Schekel; Silber: 17 Schekel].
-
- 14' [Summe des Goldes und des Silbers: 17]96 Schekel.
-
- 15' [2 Falken (?) aus schönem Stein] (und) ihre [K]opie aus Gold, mit Steinen übersät.
16' [10 Ringe aus schönem Stein; 69] verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus By]ssos.
-
- [17'] [11 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus *miku*-Qualität; 127 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus
„gutem dünnen“ (Faden)].
-
- [18'] [Summe: 207 verschiedene linnene Gewänder aus Byssos, aus *miku*-Qualität und aus „gutem dünnem“
(Faden)].
-
- [19'] [40 schöne Balken von Ebenholzbäumen; 5 *kukubu*-Gefäße mit sehr guten Drogen für die Augen].
-

- [20'] [20 Körbe mit sehr guten Drogen für die Augen];

[21'] [Das Geschenk, das der König den zwei Großen des Landes Ḫatti gab];

[22'] [2 Trinkgefäße aus gutem Gold, deren Gewicht 96 Schekel beträgt].

[23'] [x linnene Tuniken aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden)].

[24'] [1 lederner Panzer für einen Mann; 1 Helm aus Bronze mit „Blättern“]

[25'] [aus Zinn; 1 lederner Panzer, dessen Besatz aus Bronze besteht].

[122/e]
[Rs.] abgebrochen

A quite common letter, reporting on the obverse the usual salutation. (2644/c+) 412/d adds another passage which deals again with the “Mašniyalli’s sons affaire”⁸⁹³: Ḫattušili asks Ramses to send back to Ḫatti the sons of Mašniyalli and Ramses consents it. In Vs. 0’-8’, Ramses also reports a message sent by Ḫattušili, who confirms the brotherhood: the pharaoh does the same, reaffirming his love for the Hittite king, as he had previously showed towards Muwatalli.

The reverse contains a list of gifts, sent by Ramses to the Hittite royal couple and to two Hittite “Greats”; the gifts are summoned up in the following table:

<i>Sender and addressee</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Ramses to the Hittite royal couple	KÙ.GI SIG ₅ i-na li<-ša>-na-tù ^{MEŠ}	Planks of fine gold	765 shekels
	[...] ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ tam-lu-ú NA ₄ DÙ-ti	Vessel(?) of fine gold, set with a beautiful stone	8 pieces = 234 shekels and 83 shekels
	GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink vessels of fine gold	10 pieces = 480 shekels
	[...] ša KÙ.GI ŠIG ₅	kaptukû(?) ⁸⁹⁴ -vessel of fine gold	1 piece = 96 shekels
	IGI.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḫu-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ tam-lu-ú	udjat-eyes of fine gold, with trimmings(?)	x pieces = 36 shekels
	ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-’u ₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Necklace of gold, colourful	1 piece = 26 shekels
	ta-pal in-ša-ba-tu ₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Earrings of fine gold	1 pair = 22 shekels
	un-qa-tù ^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Rings of fine gold	11 pieces = 12 shekels
	ḪAR.ŠU ša KÙ.GI ŠIG ₅ gab-bi NA ₄ .MEŠ šúm-mu-ḫu<-tù>(?)	Breacelets of fine gold, littered with stones	2 pieces = 5.5 shekels
	^{GIŠ} tù-up-ni-nu ša KÙ.GI ŠIG ₅ ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Ḫa-at-ti	Casket of fine gold, copied on a Hittite model	1 piece = 19.5 shekels
	ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI SIG ₅ i-na li-ša-na<-tù> ^{MEŠ} ù ú-de ₄ <-e> ^{MEŠ} ù šu-ku-ut<-ta> ^{MEŠ}	Total of fine gold (planks + vessels + jewels)	1779 shekels
	KÙ.BABBAR	Total of silver	17 shekels
	ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI ù KÙ.BABBAR	Total of gold and silver	1795 shekels

⁸⁹³ For this topic, cf. *supra*, texts nos 20.a, 21.a and 25.e.

⁸⁹⁴ Integrated by Edel on a comparative base.

	e-ri-bu ša NA ₄ DÛ-ti mé-èḫ-ri-šu-nu ša KÛ.GI NA ₄ .MEŠ šúm-mu-uḫ	Hawks of beautiful stone, with golden copies littered with stones	2 pieces
	un-qa-tù ^{MEŠ} ša NA ₄ DÛ-ti šu-ši	Rings of beautiful stone	10 pieces
	^{GAD} TÛG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL šúm-mu-ḫu-tu	“King” quality linens, very plentiful	69 pieces
	^{GAD} TÛG.MEŠ ša mi-ku šúm-mu-ḫu-tù	Linens of <i>miku</i> -quality, very plentiful	11 pieces
	^{GAD} TÛG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ -tu ₄ šúm-mu-ḫu-tu	Linens of fine quality, very plentiful	127 pieces
	ŠU.NIGIN ^{GAD} TÛG.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḫu-tù lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ù ša mi-ku ù ^{GAD} TÛG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Total of the linens, very plentiful (“King” quality + <i>miku</i> -quality + fine quality)	207 pieces
	GIŠ.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša ^{GIŠ} EŠI	Beautiful beams of ebony	40 pieces
	^{DUG} ku-ku-bu ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG ₅ SIG ₅	<i>kukubu</i> -vessels, with a lot of good medicins for the eyes	5 pieces
	GI.MEŠ ša Ú.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG ₅ SIG ₅	Chests, with a lot of good medicins for the eyes	20 pieces
Ramses to 2 Hittite “Greats”	GAL.MEŠ ša še-te-e ša KÛ.GI SIG ₅	Drink vessels of fine gold	2 pieces = 96 shekels
	^{GAD} TÛG.GÛ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Linen tunics of fine quality	x pieces
	^{KUŠ} ši-ri-ia-nu ša LÛ-la ₁₂	Leather male armour	1 piece
	ku-ub-šu ša ŠAG.DU ša UD.KA.BAR qà-du ḫa-aš-ḫa-la-tù ša a-na-ki ^{MEŠ}	Helmet of bronze, with tin “flakes”	1 piece
	^{KUŠ} ši-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KA.BAR	Leather armour, trimmed in bronze	1 piece

1. FHL 98 (ÄHK no. 49, E16, pp. 130-133):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma*¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša[-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i DUMU^dUTU]
- 2 ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a[-i^da-ma-ni a-na ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]
-
- 3 *a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši* šu[l-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia]
- 4 ù i-na ŠÀ-bi <gab-bi> KUR.KUR.MEŠ-i[a da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu]
-
- 5 *a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú* [šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka]
- 6 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù a-na ŠÀ-bi gab[-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš lu-ú šu-ul-mu]
-
- 7 *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma* [DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ia ik-tal-du a-na UGU-ḫi-ia qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.KIN ša ŠEŠ-ia]
- 8 ù iq-ta-bu-ni šul-mu ša [ŠEŠ-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni šul-ma ša DAM ŠEŠ-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni]
- 9 šul-ma ša DUMU.MEŠ ša ŠE[Š-ia ù iq-ta-bu-ú-ni šu-ul-mu ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia]

10 ù ŠĀ-bi it-ti-ba-an[-ni dan-niš dan-niš ki aš-mu-ú šul-mu ša ŠEŠ-ia ki aš-mu-ú]
 11 [šu]l-ma ša DAM ŠEŠ-*i*a [ki aš-mu-ú šul-ma ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia]
 12 [u]m-ma-a šu-nu šal-m[u na-aš-ru ki DÙG.GA ù a-na-ku a-ta-mar ʔup-pa ša ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-ku al-te-
 mē]
 13 gab-bi a-ma-te^[MEŠ] ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu-nu ki-i DÙG.GA ki DÙG.GA]

 14 um-ma-a a-na ŠE[Š-ia-ma a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia il-tap-ra a-na ia-ši
 um-ma-a i-dīn]
 15 a-na a-la-ki LÚ.[MEŠ a-na ta-ba-ki Ì.SAG DÙG.GA a-na SAG.DU DUMU.SAL-ia ù li-il-qú-ni-iš-ši
 a-na É]
 16 ša LUGAL.GAL [LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma SIG₅-qí]
 [17] [dan-niš dan-niš ʔe₄-ma an-nu-ú ...

Rs.

[-1'] [šu-bu-ul-ti ša LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu]
 [0'] [1 GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]
 1' 3^[GAD.TÚG] ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL (ša-bu-tu) 3^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL
 (ša-ba-tu)]
 2' 4^{GAD.TÚG} ma[-ak-la-lu ša mi-ku (ša-bu-tu) 4^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ ša mi-ku (ša-ba-tu)]
 3' 2^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak[-la-lu SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ 2^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.SIG₅ ŠU.NIGIN gab-bi
 GAD.TÚG.MEŠ ša]
 4' i-na ŠU¹¹ Pa-r[i-iḫ-na-(a)-ua 18^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ (lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša mi-ku SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ)]

 5' šu-bu-ul-ti ša [LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i id-di-nu a-na SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-šu]
 6' 1 ša ti-ik-ki šú-u[b-bu-'u₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ (ša x ʔur-ri) KI.LAL-šu y GÍN]
 7' da(?) -da(?) -na (nach Laroche auch die Lesung ša i-na(!) NA₄ möglich) UGU-šu x [.....]
 8' 2 un-qa-tù ša KÙ.GI [SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]
 9' 6 un-qa-tù ša KÙ.GI [SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]

 10' 1 un-qí ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ [KI.LAL-šu x GÍN i-na]
 11' NAM.RA.AK-šu 7 GÚ tù-t[u(?) -ur-ri(?) ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ 2^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL]
 12' 2^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti [LUGAL x^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ x
 GAD.TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ]
 13' ù(??) 10 un-qa-tù UD.KA.BAR 10 u[n(?) -qa-tù]

 14' ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša i-na [ŠU-(ti) ¹Pa-ri-iḫ-na-(a)-ua x GÍN KÙ.GI SIG₅]
 15' ŠU.NIGIN TÚG(?). <MEŠ> lu-b[u-u]l-ti <LUGAL> qà-du S[IG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ x^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ]

 16' UGU(?) x a x x BE[.....] } Tafelrand

Translation⁸⁹⁵

Vs.

1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria ša[tepnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne],
 2 Riamašeša ma[i-amani: Zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem Bruder,
 sprich]:

 3 Siehe, mir ge[ht es gut, meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen, meinen Söhnen, meinen Truppen, meinen
 Pferden, meinen Wagen],
 4 und innerhalb (aller) mei[ner] Länder [geht es sehr, sehr gut];

 5 dir, meinem Bruder möge [es gut gehen, deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen, deinen Söhnen, deinen
 Truppen, deinen Pferden],

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. also the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 121-122 and the French translation in DURAND – LAROCHE 1982, pp. 75-77. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 203. Cf. also BRYCE 2003, p. 116 and DURAND – LAROCHE 1982, p. 78.

6 deinen Wagen und innerhalb all[er deiner Länder möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen]!

7 So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmehr sind [meine Boten zu mir gelangt mit den Boten meines
 8 Bruders],
 8 und sie haben mir vom Wohlergehen [meines Bruders] berichtet [und haben mir vom Wohlergehen
 9 der Frau meines Bruders berichtet und haben mir
 9 vom Wohlergehen der Söhne [meines] Brud[ers berichtet und haben mir vom Wohlergehen der Länder
 10 meines Bruders berichtet],
 10 und das Herz wurde m[ir sehr, sehr] froh, [als ich vom Wohlergehen meines Bruders hörte, als ich]
 11 vom [Wohl]ergehen der Frau meines Bruders [hörte (und) als ich vom Wohlergehen der Länder meines
 11 Bruders hörte],
 12 wie folgt: „Sie sind gesund (und) sind wohlbehalten in schöner Weise“. Und ich habe die Tafel meines
 12 Bruders gesehen, und ich habe]
 13 alle Angelegenheit[en gehört, über die mein Bruder mir in sehr, sehr schöner Weise geschrieben hat].

14 So (sprich) zu [meinem] Bru[der: Nunmehr hat mir der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
 14 mein Bruder, geschrieben, wie folgt: „Lasse]
 15 Leut[e] kommen, [um gutes Feinöl auf das Haupt meiner Tochter zu gießen, und man möge sie ins
 15 Haus]
 16 des Großkönigs, [des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, meines Bruders, bringen!“ So hat mein Bruder mir
 16 geschrieben. Nun ist]
 [17] [dieses Verhältnis sehr, sehr gut ...

Rs.

[-1'] [Das Geschenk, das der König des Landes **Ägypten** dem König des Landes Ḫatti, seinem Bruder,
 gegeben hat]:
 [0'] [1 Trinkbecher aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];
 1' 3 [(gefärbte) linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus Byssos; 3 (gefärbte) linnene Tuniken aus Byssos];
 2' 4 [(gefärbte) linnene *ma[klalu]*-Gewänder [in *miku*-Qualität; 4 (gefärbte) linnene Tuniken in *miku*-
 Qualität];
 3' 2 linnene *mak[lalu]*-Gewänder [aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden); 2 linnene Tuniken aus „gutem dünnem“
 (Faden); Summe aller Gewänder, die sich]
 4' in der Hand des Par[iḫnawa befinden: 18 Gewänder (aus Byssos, in *miku*-Qualität und aus „gutem
 dünnem“ (Faden)].

5' Das Geschenk, das [der König des Landes **Ägypten** der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, seiner Schwester,
 gegeben hat]:
 6' 1 sehr bu[n]te Halskette [aus gutem Gold, (aus x Strängen bestehend), deren Gewicht y Schekel beträgt;
 ...]
 7' auf der sich ein Blütenmotiv (?) befindet. [...]
 8' 2 Ringe aus [gutem] Gold, [deren Gewicht x Schekel beträgt]
 9' 6 Ringe aus [gutem] Gold, [deren Gewicht x Schekel beträgt].

10' 1 Ring aus gutem Gold, [dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt aus]
 11' seiner Kriegsbeute; 7 Halsbänder mit Gran[ulationen(?) aus gutem Gold; 2 linnene *maklalu*-
 Gewänder aus Byssos];
 12' 2 linnene Tuniken aus Bys[sos; x linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden); x linnene
 Tuniken aus „gutem dünnem“ (Faden)]
 13' und(?) 10 Ringe aus Bronze; 10 R[inge(?) aus]

14' Summe des guten Goldes, das sich in [der Hand des Par[iḫnawa befindet: x Schekel guten Goldes];
 15' Summe der Gew[än]d[er] aus Bys[sos] und „[gutem] dü[nnem“ (Faden): x Gewänder].

16'

Edel proposed that KBo XXVIII 42 (ÄHK 50, see *supra*, text no. 20.c) could belong to this document and recognized in KUB III 63 (ÄHK 51, see *supra*, text no. 22.a) the “Parallelbrief” addressed to Puduḥepa, because of the mention in these documents of the ointment of the Hittite princess. The letter opens with the usual salutation and also reports in Vs. 14-17 the ointment of the bride.

The reverse of the tablet carries a short list of gifts sent by Ramses through his messenger Piriḥnawa⁸⁹⁶:

<i>Sender and addressee</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Ramses to Ḥattušili	<i>GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Drink vessel of fine gold	1 piece
	^{GAD.TÚG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tu</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD} <i>TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-ba-tu</i>	“King” quality linen tunics, colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD.TÚG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu ša mi-ku ša-bu-tu</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of <i>miku</i> -quality, colourful	4 pieces
	^{GAD} <i>TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ ša mi-ku ša-ba-tu</i>	Linen tunics of <i>miku</i> -quality, colourful	4 pieces
	^{GAD.TÚG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of <i>fine</i> quality	2 pieces
	^{GAD} <i>TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.SIG₅</i>	Linen tunics of fine quality	2 pieces
	<i>ŠU.NIGIN gab-bi</i> ^{GAD} <i>TÚG.MEŠ (lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša mi-ku SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ)</i>	Total of the linens (of “King” quality, <i>miku</i> -quality and fine quality)	18 pieces
Ramses to Puduḥepa	<i>ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-’u₅ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ (ša x ṭur-ri) [...] da(?)·da(?)·na/ša i-na(!) NA₄ UGU-šu x</i>	Necklace of fine gold with x rows and one flower motif ⁸⁹⁷	1 piece
	<i>un-qa-tù ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i> ⁸⁹⁸	Rings of fine gold	9 pieces
	<i>GÚ tù-tu(?)·ur-ri(?) ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Collars of fine gold, with granulation	7 pieces
	^{GAD.TÚG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality	2 pieces
	^{GAD} <i>TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL</i>	Linen tunics of “King” quality	2 pieces
	^{GAD.TÚG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of fine quality	x pieces
	^{GAD} <i>TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ</i>	Linen tunics of fine quality	x pieces
	<i>un-qa-tù UD.KA.BAR</i>	Bronze rings	10 pieces
	<i>un(?)·qa-tù</i>	Rings	10 pieces
<i>ŠU.NIGIN KÙ.GI.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	Total of the fine gold	x shekels	
<i>ŠU.NIGIN TÚG(?)·MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti <LUGAL> qà-du S[IG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	Total of the linens (of “King” and fine quality)	x pieces	

m. KBo XXVIII 31 (= Bo 69/564) (ÄHK no. 70, F2, pp. 168-169):

Ramses an Ḥattušili oder Tuthalija IV.

Transliteration

Vs.

1 [um-ma¹Ua-aš-mu-a]-ri-a ša-te[-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]

⁸⁹⁶ Edel’s integrations are reported in *italic*.

⁸⁹⁷ This flower motif, maybe on a pendant attached to the necklace, could find an actual specimen in a lotus flower found at Örtaköy/Şapinuwa (see *infra*, section 2.2, no. A70).

⁸⁹⁸ In the text it is specified that these objects are *NAM.RA.AK-šu*, “seiner Kriegsbeute” (Rs. 11’); likewise, CORDANI 2017, p. 122, note 1 (quoting DURAND – LAROCHE 1982, p. 77, note 10) proposed that they could have been a booty of war.

2 [DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-]še-ša ma-a-i [^da-ma-na DINGIR-lì LUGAL^{URU.KI}A-na ŠEŠ]
 3 [ša^dAn-ḥa-ra š]a^dIŠKUR i-r[a-am-šu a-na¹Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li(?) LUGAL.GAL]
 4 [LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at]-ti ŠEŠ-ia [qí-bí-ma a-na LUGAL šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia šul-mu]
 5 [a-na SAL.LUGA]L.MEŠ šul-mu a-[na DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL šul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia šul-mu ...]
 6 [ù i-n]a ŠÀ-bi gab-bi KUR.M[EŠ-ia da-an-niš da-an-niš šul-mu]

7 [a-na k]a-a-ša LUGAL.G[AL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti lu-ú šul-mu]
 8 [a-na É-][ka] l[u-ú šul-mu ...
 Rs., so weit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation⁸⁹⁹

Vs.

1 [So (spricht) Wašmu]aria šate[pnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten],
 2 [der Sohn der Sonne, Riama]šeša mai[-amana, der Gott, der König der Stadt Heliopolis, der Bruder]
 3 [des (Gottes) Anḥara, d]en der Wettergott li[ebt: Zu Hattušili(?), dem Großkönig],
 4 [dem König des Landes Ḥat]ti, meinem Bruder, [sprich: Dem König geht es gut, meinen Häusern
 geht es gut],
 5 [den Koni]ginnen geht es gut, de[n Söhnen des Königs geht es gut, meinen Truppen geht es gut ...]
 6 [und i]nmitten aller [meiner] Länd[er geht es sehr, sehr gut].

7 [D]ir, dem G[roß]könig, [dem König des Landes Ḥatti möge es gut gehen],
 8 dei[nem Hause] mö[ge es gut gehen, ...

The short extant text of KBo XXVIII 31 reports the incipit of a letter sent by Ramses to Ḥattušili or to Tuḥaliya IV: in this second case, it should be included within the corpus of the “*insibya*-Briefe” and hence dated between Ramses’ 42nd and 56th regnal years⁹⁰⁰. Thus, Edel based this attribution on the base of the presence of the epithets “*DINGIR-lì LUGAL^{URU.KI}A-na ŠEŠ / ša^dAn-ḥa-ra ša^dIŠKUR i-ra-am-šu*”, “Gott, König von Heliopolis, Bruder des Onuris⁹⁰¹, den der Wettergott liebt⁹⁰²”, commonly attested in the “*insibya*-Briefe”⁹⁰³.

n. KUB III 67 (ÄHK no. 71, F3, pp. 170-171):

Ramses an Ḥattušili oder Tuḥaliya IV.

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [.....] x
 2' [..... -z]i²
 3' [..... at-ta šu-ru-uḥ LÚ.MEŠ^{UR}]UḤ[u-p]í-iš-na
 4' [i-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu] ar[-ḥi-iš LÚ.ME]Š i-ra-aš-še-pu
 5' [..... MEŠ šu-bi-la ME]Š i-na ŠÀ-bi-šu-nu ša i-ra-aš-ša-pu-šu-nu-ti
 6' [ù i-ra-aš-ša-pu-šu-nu]-ti an-ni-ka-a i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
 7' [a-ki-i ša at-]ta tàš-pu-ra ù ki-i ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra
 8' [UGU] šu-bu-ul-ta ša at-ta ta-ad-di-nu a-na la-qé-e
 9' [i-n]a ŠU-ti¹Ku-la-zi-ti il-te-qú-ni šu-bu-ul-ta an-ni-ta
 10' ša at-ta ta-ad-di-nu a-na la-qé-e i-na ŠU-ti-šu
 11' at-ta la ta-na-an-din ŠÀ-ba-ka i-na EGIR-ki-šu

12' [u]m-ma-a a-nu-ma a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḥ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR^{LÚ}A.ZU-ú

⁸⁹⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 260.

⁹⁰⁰ For the “*insibya*-Briefe”, see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 257-268.

⁹⁰¹ For Onuris, see CORDANI 2017, p. 144, note 1: “[Anḥara:] cioè Anḥur (greco Onuris), divinità egizia legata alla guerra e alla caccia; v. EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, pp. 170-171 e BREYER 2010a, p. 190. CAD 1 (A1), p. 198a anziché “^dAn-ḥa-ra legge^dḤa-a-ra ‘Horus’”.

⁹⁰² So *apud* EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 257.

⁹⁰³ See EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 260; cf. also *ivi*, p. 257.

Tafelrand

Rs.

1 ¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú it-ta-an-nu a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na e-pe-ši
 2 LÚ.MEŠ a-na LUGAL KUR Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš ¹Ku-ru-un-ta ù šu-ú
 3 e-si-iḫ i-na gab-bi gab-bi Ú.MEŠ a-ki-i la at-ta taš-pu-ra
 4 ù ki-i šu-ú i-kaš-ša-du a-na UGU-ḫi-ka ù at-ta pí-qí-id-su
 5 a-na LUGAL KUR Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš ¹Ku-ru-un-ta a-na e-pe-ši Ú.MEŠ a-na
 6 ù at-ta šu-ru-uḫ 2 ^{LÚ}A.ZU.MEŠ an-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
 7 ù at-ta i-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**
 8 [k]i-i ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ^{LÚ}A.ZU ¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú i-kaš-ša-du a-na UGU-ḫi-šu
 9 [i-n]a UD-mi ul-li-i u-ka-lu [a-mur a]-du-ku-ul a-na-ku al-te-me
 10 [ša at-t]a táq-bu-ú iš-ša-a[r-ḫu ^{LÚ}DUB.S]AR ^{LÚ}A.ZU-ú
 11 [¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú] ù šu[ú e-si-iḫ i-n]a gab-bi gab-bi Ú.MEŠ
 12 [a-ki-i ša at-ta taš-pu-ra a-mur a-du-ku-ul a]t-ta[
 13 [..... x] [...

Translation⁹⁰⁴

Vs.

1' [.....] ..
 2' [.....] ..
 3' [..... entsende Leute aus] (der Stadt) Ḫ[upi]išna,
 4' [(und) lasse sie ei[lends gehen! Die Leut]e sollen [Mauern (?)] errichten
 5' [schicke Fachleut]e (o. ä.) unter ihnen, die sie errichten,
 6' [und sie sollen si]e hier im Land **Ägypten** [errichten],
 7' [entsprechend dem was d]u geschrieben hast! Und entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast
 8' [betriffs] des Geschenkes, das du hast bringen lassen
 9' [d]urch die Hand des Kulaziti, hat man dieses Geschenk hergebracht,
 10' das du durch seine Hand hast bringen lassen.
 11' Sorge dich nicht darum!

12' So (sprich): Ich habe nunmehr den Schreiber (und) Arzt
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 Pariamahū entsandt; man hat ihn zu gehen veranlaßt, um
 2 Arzneien für den König des Landes Tarḫuntaš (namens) Kurunta herzustellen, und er
 3 wird alle, alle (Arten von) Arzneien zuweisen entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast.
 4 Und sobald er zu dir gelangt, überstelle du ihn
 5 dem König des Landes Tarḫuntaš (namens) Kurunta, um Arzneien für ihn herzustellen.
 6 Und entsende du diese zwei Ärzte, die sich dort bei ihm (Kurunta) befinden,
 7 und veranlasse sie, ins Land **Ägypten** zu gehen.
 8 [Sob]ald der Schreiber (und) Arzt Pariamahū zu ihm gelangt,
 9 [a] n jenem Tage sollen sie (die beiden Ärzte) ihre Tätigkeit einstellen. [Siehe, f]ürwahr, ich habe
 vernommen,
 10 [was d]u gesagt hast. Man hat [den Schrei]ber (und) Arzt
 11 [Pariamah]ū entsan[dt], und er [wird] alle, alle (Arten von) Arzneien [zuteilen],
 12 [entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast. Siehe, fürwahr d]u [.....
 13 [.....] . [...

KUB III 67, another “*insibya*-Brief”⁹⁰⁵, can be divided in two parts: the first section (Vs. 1’-11’) deals with the sending to Egypt of some people coming from the Anatolian city of Ḫupišna (the ancient

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 142-144. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 260.

⁹⁰⁵ This is the dating proposed in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 258, on the base of a comparison with KUB III 66+, also quoting a “scribe (and) physician” and thanks to the recognition of KBo XXVIII 3 (reporting a typical “*insibya*-Brief” incipit) as

Kybistra, nearby the modern Ereğli), to perform building activities, maybe connected to the production or manufacturing of the alabastron, a stone for which this Anatolian city was particularly renowned⁹⁰⁶. In section 1.1, in the commentary to text no. 14, I have already presented a list of supplying recorded on papChester Beatty IV, in which it is also listed the “3.t ḫd(.t) wḫ.t n Ḫt3, “the white stone of Ḫatti”, that could tentatively been interpreted as marble or alabastron.

In the second section of the document (Vs. 12’-Rs. 13), Ramses informs the Hittite king that he is going to send to Ḫatti the scribe and physician Pariamaḫu, with the purpose of preparing medicaments for Kuruntiya, king of Tarḫuntašša and asks in return to send back to Egypt two other physicians (previously sent to the Hittite land). Cordani proposed that Pariamaḫu has been sent to Ḫatti because the other two physicians “non erano stati in grado di curare il malato e si era reso necessario l’intervento di uno specialista di rango più elevato”⁹⁰⁷. Edel tried to connect together the topics of these two sections, suggesting that probably the Hittite king sent specialized manpower to Egypt to reciprocate the services offered by the Egyptian physician⁹⁰⁸; however, this interpretation remains just on a speculative floor⁹⁰⁹. In Vs. 7’-11’, Ramses also quotes a gift sent by the Hittite king through the messenger Kulaziti; the Hittite sovereign probably had asked Ramses in a previous letter if he had received his gift: Ramses answers that the gift “has been brought” (*il-te-qú-ni šu-bu-ul-ta an-ni-ta*, Vs. 9’). The pharaoh also reassures the Hittite king with these expression: *at-ta la ta-na-an-din ŠÁ-ba-ka i-na EGIR-ki-šu*, “you, do not give attention (literally, do not offer your heart)⁹¹⁰ to it (literally, after/behind it⁹¹¹)”; according to Edel⁹¹², the expression *libba nadānu* (*ina arki*) could be derived from an original Egyptian *rdj jb m-s3*, translated by him as “das Herz hinter etwas geben = sich kümmern, sorgen um etwas”.

o. KBo XXVIII 30 (= 652/f + 28/n + 127/r) (ÄHK no. 75, G1, pp. 178-181):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 1 | [um-ma ¹ Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-]a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a |
| 2 | [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-r]i-i DUMU ^d UTU ¹ Ri-a-ma-še-ša |
| 3 | [ma-a-i ^d a-ma-na LU]GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i |
| ----- | |
| 4 | [a-na ¹ Ḫa-at-tu-]šī[-li LUGAL.GA]L-i |
| 5 | [LUG]AL KUR Ḫa-at-ti [ŠEŠ-ia qí-b]í-ma |
| ----- | |
| 6 | a-nu-ma šal-ma-a-k[u LUGAL.GAL LUGAL ŠE]Š-ka |
| ----- | |
| 7 | a-[n]a ka-a-ša l[u šu-ul-mu dan-niš dan-niš Š]EŠ-ia |
| ----- | |
| 8 | um-ma-a a-na Š[EŠ-ia-ma ù ŠEŠ-ia |
| 9 | iš-pu-ra a[-na ia-ši aš-šum] |
| 10 | ^{SAL} Ma-ta-[n]a-z[i ^{SAL} a-ḫa-a]t-šu |
| 11 | um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia li-še-bi-la |

the beginning of KUB III 67. For KBo XXVIII 3 = 371/i, see *supra*, text no. 19.a; for KUB III 66+, see *infra*, text no. 27.k. Furthermore, the dating of the letter should be located after the enthronement of Kuruntiya, quoted in the document, (for which see D’ALFONSO 2014, pp. 221-222), and already during the reign of Tuthaliya IV (cf. BRYCE 2005, p. 303 and COLLINS 2007, p. 71).

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. the inventory text KUB XXXVIII 1, where alabastron is defined “stone of Ḫupišna”.

⁹⁰⁷ CORDANI 2017, p. 143.

⁹⁰⁸ EDEL 1976, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁰⁹ Cf. CORDANI 2017, p. 143, note 3.

⁹¹⁰ *ta-na-an-din ŠÁ-ba-ka* = *tanāddin libbaka*.

⁹¹¹ *i-na EGIR-ki-šu* = (w)arkīšu; see e.g. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 434 [(w)arki].

⁹¹² EDEL 1950, p. 198, note 1; cf. COHAVI-RAINEY 2011, p. 177 and MÜLLER 2010, p. 261 (quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 143, note 7).

12 *LÚ-la₁₂ a-na e-pe-ši Ú.MEŠ a-na ša-a-ši*
13 *a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-di-ša*
14 *ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši*

15 *um-ma-a a-na šEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma*
16 *a-mur^{SAL} Ma-ta-na-zi^{SAL} a-ḥa-ti*
17 *ša ŠEŠ-ia LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka i-di-ši*
18 *um-ma-a ša 50 MU.MEŠ ši-i* ○
19 *ia-nu-um-ma ša šu-ši MU.MEŠ*
20 *ši-i-it ù a-mur^{SAL} a-mi-il-ti*
22 *ša ú-ma-al-la 50 MU.MEŠ*
Tafelrand

Rs.

1 *ia-nu-um-ma ša ú-ma-al-la*
2 *šu-ši MU.MEŠ ul i-le-ú-ú*
3 *a-na e-pe-ši Ú.MEŠ a-na ša-a-ši*
4 *a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-di-ša*
5 *ap-pu-na-na Rasur*

6 *ù lu-ú-ma-an^d UTU ù^d IŠKUR*
7 *li-iq-bi ù ši-ip-ru ša ip-pu-šu*
8 *a-na^{SAL} a-ḥa-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia it-te-en₆-pu-uš*

9 *ù LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka li-še-bi-la*
10 *^{LÚ}a-[š]i-pu le-a-á'-a*
11 *^lú^l ^{LÚ}A.ZU-ú le-a-á'-a*
12 *ù šu-nu ip-pu-š[u] a-n[a ša-]a-ši*
13 *Ú.MEŠ a-na a-la-di-ša*

14 *a-nu-ma ul-te-[bī]l šu-bé-e[l-ta]*
15 *a-na ŠEŠ-ia i-[na ŠU-]ti*
16 *š[a DUMU.KIN-ri-ia an-]ni-i*

17 *[x^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu]-bu-ul-ti LUGAL*

18 *[x^{GAD}.TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-b]u-ul-ti LUGAL*

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 2 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁹¹³

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Wašmuaria] šatepnaria,
2 [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypt**]en, der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša
3 [mai-amana], der Groß[kö]nig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**:

4 [Zu Ḥattu]ši[li, dem Gro]ß[könig],
5 [dem Köni]g des Landes Ḥatti, [meinem Bruder spri]ch:

6 Nun, ic[h] befinde mich wohl, [(ich), der Großkönig, der König], dein [Brud]er;
7 dir mö[ge es gut gehen, meinem [Br]uder.

8 So (sprich) zu [meinem] Br[uder: Was]
9 m[ir mein Bruder] geschrieben hat [wegen]

⁹¹³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 270-272.

10 Mata[n]azi, [sein]er [Schwest]er,
11 wie folgt: „Mein Bruder möge mir einen Mann senden,
12 um eine Arznei für sie zu bereiten
13 um sie gebären zu lassen“
14 - so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben.

15 So (sage ich darauf) zu meinem Bruder: Nun
16 siehe, die Matanazi, die Schwester
17 meines Bruders - der König, dein Bruder kennt sie!
18 Eine Fünfzigjährige
19 oder eine Sechzigjährige
20 ist sie! Und siehe, eine Frau,
21 die fünfzig Jahre alt ist,
Tafelrand

Rs.
1 oder eine, die
2 sechzig Jahre alt ist, - für die kann man
3 keine Arznei bereiten
4.5 um sie noch gebären zu lassen.

6 Fürwahr, der Sonnengott und der Wettergott mögen
7 (ihr zuliebe) einen Befehl geben, denn die magische Heilbehandlung, die sie (= die Götter)
bewirken werden,
8 wurde (auch früher) für die Schwester meines Bruders bewirkt.

9 Und ich, der König, dein Bruder, will
10 einen fähigen Be[schwör]ungspriester senden
11 und einen fähigen [Arzt]
12 und sie werden f[ür s]ie eine Arznei
13 für ihr Gebären bereiten.

14 Nunmehr habe ich ein Gesch[enk]
15 zu meinem Bruder bringen lassen du[rch die Han]d
16 [dies]es [meines Boten]:

17 [x *maklalu*-Gewänder (aus) B]yssos.

18 [x Tuniken (aus) B]yssos.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 2 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

KBo XXVIII 30 reports an uncommon request presented by Ḫattušili to Ramses: the Hittite king asks the pharaoh to send to Ḫatti a physician that could prepare some medicines able to fix the health of Ḫattušili's sister Matanazi, who could not have children (Vs. 8-14). Ramses replies that Matanazi was probably too old to give birth a child, underlining her age (about fifty or even sixty years old!), and suggests Ḫattušili to perform religious ceremonies, praying the gods for her health (Vs. 15-Rs. 8). The pharaoh also proposes to send to the Hittite court an exorcist-priest (^{LÚ}*a-[š]i-pu*, Rs. 10) together with a physician (^{LÚ}*A.ZU-ú*, Rs. 11), both skilled (*le-a-á'-a*) in their respective arts, who could be capable in preparing an appropriate medicine for the sterile lady. In the end of the letter, Ramses also mentions the dispatch of some gifts, consisting of undefined quantities of *maklalu*-linens and linen tunics, both of "king" quality.

p. KBo XXVIII 13 + ABoT 59 (= 132/e + ABoT 59) (ÄHK no. 76, H1, pp. 180-181):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma* ¹*Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR M[i-iš-ri-i]*
 2 *DUMU* ^d*UTU* ¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*a-ma-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-[ri-i]*

 3 *a-na* ¹*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia q[í-bí-ma]*

 4 *a-na ia-ši ŠEŠ-ka šal-mu dan-niš a-na* ^É*.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-i[a DUMU.MEŠ-ia]*
 5 *ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia* ^{GIŠ}*GIGIR.MEŠ-ia* *ù i-na ŠÁ gab-[bi KUR.MEŠ-ia]*
 6 *dá-an-ni-iš dá-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu*

 7 *a-na ka-[a-ša Š]EŠ-ia lu-ú šul-mu dan-niš a-na* ^É*.MEŠ-ka a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka]*
 8 *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-k[a a-na ER]IN.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka* ^{GIŠ}*GI[GIR.MEŠ-ka* *ù i-na ŠÁ]*
 9 *gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ka [dá-a]n-ni-iš dá-an-n[i-iš lu-ú šul-mu]*

 10 *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-[ma a-nu-m]a* ¹*Ti-li-[^dIŠKUR DUMU.KIN* *ša ŠEŠ-ia]*
 11 *ik-tal-dá a-na UG[U-ḫi-ia q]à-du [šú-bé-el-ta da-mi-iq-ta dan-niš]*
 12 *UGU kál-le-e* ^{MEŠ}*i-na pí-šu ...*
 13 *ù iq-ta-ba-a šu[l-ma ša ŠEŠ-ia* *ù a-na-ku aḫ-ta-di dan-niš dan-niš]*
 14 *ki-i aš-mu-ú šul-ma [ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia]*
 15 *um-ma-a ša-li-im n[a-ši-ir ba-li-it* *ù al-te-mé gab-bi a-ma-te* ^{MEŠ}*]*
 16 *ša iš-pu-ra* ¹*Ti-l[i-^dIŠKUR a-na ia-ši UGU-ši-na]*

 17 *ù a-na-ku ap-ta-r[a(?)]-as ...*
 18 ¹*Ti-li-^dIŠKUR a(?)]- ...*
 19 *a-[n]a ŠEŠ-ia i-na[(-)]...*
 20 *[um-ma-a a]-[na-] ŠEŠ-[ia-ma ...*
 Rest der Vs. abgebrochen

Rs.

- 1' *ḫ[e(?)]-ma* *ù ŠEŠ-ia li-iš-me gab-bi a-ma-te* ^{MEŠ}*]*
 2' *ša aš-pu-r[a* ¹*Ti-li-^dIŠKUR a-na ka-a-ša UGU-ši-na* *ù ŠEŠ-ia]*
 3' *liš-pu-ra a-na i[a-ši UGU gab-bi ṭe₄mi* *ša UGU ṭup-pi* *ša ú-še-bi-la]*
 4' *a-na ka-a-ša i-na Š[U-ti* ¹*Ti-li-^dIŠKUR]*

 5' *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-n[u-ma ul-te-bi-la šu-bé-el-ta]*
 6' *a-na ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti* ¹*T[i-li-^dIŠKUR]*

 7' *2* ^{GAD}*TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL 2* ^G*[^{AD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL]*

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁹¹⁴

Vs.

- 1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten],
 2 der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypt[ten]:

 3 Zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem Bruder s[prich]:

 4 Mir, deinem Bruder, geht es sehr gut, meinen Häusern, mei[nen] Frauen, [meinen Söhnen],
 5 meinen Truppen, meinen Pferden, meinen Wagen und innerhalb al[l]er meiner
 Länder]
 6 geht es sehr, sehr gut;

⁹¹⁴ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, p. 147. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 272-273.

- 7 di[r], meinem [Br]uder, möge es sehr gut gehen, [deinen] Häus[ern, deinen Frauen],
8 dein[en] Söhnen, deinen [Tru]ppen, deinen Pferden, [deinen] Wag[en und innerhalb]
9 aller deiner Länder möge es [se]hr, seh[r gut gehen].
-
- 10 So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Nunme]hr ist Tili[Teššub, der Bote meines Bruders],
11 zu [mir] gelangt [m]it [einem sehr schönen Geschenk]
12 wegen der Eilmachrichten m[it seiner mündlichen Botschaft ...]
13 und er berichtete vom Wohlbef[inden meines Bruders, und ich freute mich sehr, sehr],
14 als ich vom Wohlbefinden [des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, meines Bruders],
hörte
15 wie folgt: „Er ist gesund und wohlbehalten und am Leben“, und ich habe alle Angelegenheiten
gehört],
16 der[etwegen] er [mir] Til[iTeššub] gesandt hat.
-
- 17 Und ich habe entsch[ieden (?) ...
18 TiliTeššub .[..
19 meinem Bruder ... [
-
- 20 [So] (sprich) zu [meinem] Bruder: [...
Rest der Vs. abgebrochen
- Rs.
1' Vo[rschlag und mein Bruder möge alle Angelegenheiten hören],
2' der[etwegen] ich [dir TiliTeššub] gesandt habe, [und mein Bruder]
3' möge mi[r] schreiben [in Betreff aller Vorschläge, die auf der Tafel stehen, die ich]
4' dir [bringen ließ] durch die Ha[nd TiliTeššubs].
-
- 5' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Ich habe] nu[nmehr ein Geschenk bringen lassen].
6' für meinen Bruder durch die Hand T[iliTeššubs]:
-
- 7' Zwei linnene Gewänder aus Byssos; zwei li[nnene Tuniken aus Byssos].
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This document represents a quite standardized message, aiming to reaffirm brotherhood and good relations between the two courts. Tili-Teššub, whose arrival⁹¹⁵ in Egypt is announced in this letter, is here appointed of dispatching a message and a relative gift to Ḫattušili consisting in 2 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ *lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL*, “2 ‘king’ quality linens” and maybe (because tentatively integrated by Edel) 2 ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ *lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL*, “2 ‘king’ quality linen tunics”.

q. KUB III 34 (ÄHK no. 78, H3, pp. 181-185):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- [-2'] [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra]
[-1'] [a-na ia-ši um-ma-a a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḫ]
[0'] [DUMU.LUGAL Ḫi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma ù at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu]
1' [a-n]a aš-ri ša LUGAL [aš-ra-nu ù at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki]
2' 2 DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri i-na mî-i[t]-[ḫa¹-ri]-[iš¹] [it-ti-šu Ḫu-la-zi-ta]
3' Ḫi-it-ua-al-la ú-ul i-ši-i ḪEŠ¹-[ia]
4' a-na ia-ši DUMU šip-ri ša LUGAL ù a-mur a-du-ku-ul

⁹¹⁵ This diplomatic mission of the Hittite official was intended to dispatch *UGU kál-le-e*^{MEŠ}, “quick messages”, involving a short staying in Egypt. For this expression, cf. supra, comment to text no. 25.d.

5' a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki DUMU šip-ri an-na-a at-te-ru
6' a-na aš-ri ša LUGAL aš-ra-nu LUGAL li-id-di-nu
7' a-na ša-pa-ri-šu a-na ia-ši at-ta kán-na táq-bi
8' a-mur ul-tu ¹Hi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma il-li-ka
9' šu-ú il-li-ka i-na ITI.KAM.MEŠ š[a k]u-uš-š[i]
10' ù ki MU.KAM pa-ni-ša it-ta-ši ú-[ši-i] ù [šu-nu]
11' iš-ša-ar-ḥu x x x ¹A-ia [ša È].LUGAL
12' ù ^{LÚ}EN pí-qít₄-ti ša d[á-li-i] A.MEŠ
13' ¹Na-aḥ-ḥa ša É dá[-lu-ti₄] ¹[Ua-aš-]mu-a-ri-a
14' ša-te-ep-na-ri-a i-na É ^da-m[a-a]na ù ^{LÚ}šá-kín-šu
15' ¹Le-e-ia ša É dá-lu₄-ti ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša
16' ma-a-i ^da-ma-na i-na É ^d < > i-na ŠU.GIL 3 ^{LÚ}.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
17' ù a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ka-a-ša
18' i-na DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri i-na ša-ap-li šu-bu-ul-ti GAL-ti
19' ša il-qú-ni-ik-ku ù šu-nu it-ti ¹Hi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma
20' it-ti DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri-ka ša it-ti-šu il-li-ku
21' ù iš-ša-ar-ḥu > DUMU šip-ri ša LUGAL ^{LÚ}GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
22' [¹N]a-aḥ-ḥa ša É.ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL ša LUGAL
Tafelrand

Rs.

1 it-ti DUMU šip-ri ša KUR Ḥat-ti ¹Ku-la-zi-t[a]
2 ù DUMU šip-ri ša KUR Ḥat-ti ¹Zi-it-ua-al-la
3 ù it-ta-an-nu a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ka-a-ša i[-na]
4 šu-bu-ul-ta ša KUR Ḥat-ti <10+>14 UD-mi^{MEŠ} ša ¹Ku-la-zi-ti
5 i-pu-šu an-ni-[k]a-[a] i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i 20<+4> UD-mi^{MEŠ}
6 ša ¹Zi-it-ua-al-li i-pu-šu an-ni-ka-a
7 i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i <i> uḥ-ḥu(!)-ra an-nu-ti ša ŠÁ(?)>-ša
8 ša <ŠEŠ-ia> iq-bu-ú um-ma-a DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri-ia ip-pu-šu
9 [ma-a-d]u-[t]i [U]D-[m]i^{MEŠ} i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ik-<lu>šu-[nu-]ti
10 DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri ša LUGAL ša uḥ-ḥa-ru x x x x x
11 ù li-(?)iṣ(?)>-ša i-na KUR Ḥa-at-ti [a-na ša-ni-]i
12 [i-]ša-ar-ra-ḥu-šu-nu-ti ul-tu KUR Ḥat-ti a-na na-dá-ni
13 a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i [k]a-li ITI[KAM ù]
14 [a-n]a MU.KAM ù MU.KAM x x x x x x UGU(?) ša(?)

15 um-ma-a i-din a-na a-la-ki DUMU.LUGAL KUR Ḥat-ti ¹Hi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma
16 a-na ma-ḥa-ri {a-na} gab-bi ^{GIŠ}MÁ.MEŠ ša šu-nu iḥ-tu(!)
17 i-na ŠE.BAR(!).MEŠ ù iḥ(!)-tu(!) i-na ki-ba-ti^{MEŠ} ar-ḥi-iš
18 ar-ḥi-iš ù šu-ú li-iš-ru-uḥ gab-bi ^{GIŠ}MAÁ.MEŠ
19 a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i KIN.MEŠ
20 a-na e-pé[-ši -]šu-nu
21 [... li(?)]-iš-mu-ú
[22] [...

Translation⁹¹⁶

Vs.

[-2'] [So sprich zu meinem Bruder: Und was mir mein Bruder]
[-1'] [geschrieben hat wie folgt: „Ich habe]
[0'] [den Prinzen Hišmišarma entsandt, und ich habe ihn]
1' [z]u dem Orte [gehen lassen, wo] sich der König befindet, [und ich habe]
2' zwei Boten gerne[insam mit ihm gehen lassen, Kulazita und]
3' Zitwalla; denn hat [mein] ¹bruder nicht
4' bei mir um einen Königsboten nachgesucht? Und siehe, fürwahr

⁹¹⁶ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 148-150. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 274-282.

5' ich habe nun diesen Boten <als> Freund
 6' zu dem Ort gehen lassen, an dem sich der König befindet; der König möge veranlassen,
 7' daß er (wieder) zu mir gesendet wird!“ - so hast du gesagt.
 8' Siehe, als Ḫišmišarma kam,
 9' kam er in den Monaten de[r K]älte;
 10' und als das Jahr sein Frühjahr brachte, zo[g er fo]rt, und [man]
 11' entsandte den x x x x, (namens) Aja [vom] Königs[hau]s
 12' und den Bevoll<mä>chtigten für das Wasserz[iehen] (namens)
 13' Nahha, von der Wa[sserzieh]verwaltung (des Tempels) des [Waš]muaria
 14' šatepnaria in der Domäne des Amun, und seinen Vertreter
 15' Leja von der Wasserziehverwaltung (des Tempels) des Riamašeša
 16' mai-amana in der Domäne des < > - insgesamt drei vornehme Männer -
 17' und ich ließ sie zu dir gehen
 18' als Boten mit dem großen Geschenk,
 19' das sie dir gebracht haben, und sie sind zusammen mit dem Ḫišmišarma
 20' (und) mit deinen Boten, die mit ihm gegangen sind;
 21' und man hat abgesan(dt) den Königsboten, den Vorsteher der Pferde,
 22' [N]ahḫa, vom Großen Pferdestall des Königs,
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 zusammen mit dem Boten des Landes Ḫatti, Kulazita,
 2 und dem Boten des Landes Ḫatti, Zitwalla,
 3 und man hat sie zu dir gehen lassen m[it]
 4 einem Geschenk für das Land Ḫatti. <10+>14 Tage (waren es), die Kulaziti
 5 hier im Lande **Ägypten** verbrachte, (und) 20<+4> Tage (waren es),
 6 die Zitwalli hier verbrachte
 7 im Lande **Ägypte(n)**. Sind sie verspätet, diese (Boten), die sich in ihm (befinden)?
 8 Was <mein Bruder> sagte, wie folgt: „Meine Boten verbringen
 9 [viele (?) Tage] (?) im Lande **Ägypten**; man hat s[i]e zurück (gehalten),
 10 die Königsboten, die sich verspäten.“ - [Ich entsende sie o. ä.]
 11 und sie (!) mögen fortgehen ins Land Ḫatti, [zum ande]ren (König).
 12 Man soll sie aus dem Lande Ḫatti zurücksenden, um
 13 sie ins Land **Ägypten** gehen zu lassen jeden Monat [und zwar o. ä.]
 14 Jahr für Jahr! [.....] deswegen (?).

15 So (sprich): Laß den Prinzen des Landes Ḫatti, Ḫišmišarma, gehen,
 16 um alle Schiffe eilends, eilends in Empfang zu nehmen, die man versorgt hat
 17 mit Gerste(!) und versorgt hat mit Weizen!
 18 Und er soll alle Schiffe (wieder) zurücksenden,
 19 um sie nach dem Lande **Ägypten** fahren zu lassen um (Transport)leistungen
 20 auszuführen] ihr/sie
 21 [.....] sie [sollen] hören
 [22] [...

KUB III 34 surely stands out as one of the most important documents of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence. Furthermore, this letter can be included into the “*insibya* dossier”, thanks to the mention of the messenger Kulaziti (already quoted in KUB III 67, see *supra*, text no. 26.o), who joined the royal messenger, together with Zitualla and the Egyptian messenger Nahḫa⁹¹⁷. In the letter,

⁹¹⁷ Note that this messenger Nahḫa is an homonym of the other Nahḫa, hydraulic expert, quoted below. The first Nahḫa also has the same title of Ḫišmi-Šarruma (“royal messenger”) and also the additional title of ^{LU}GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ, “den Vorsteher der Pferde” (Vs. 21’); Cordani 2017, p. 148, note 3 reports an interesting opinion advanced in KLENGEL 1974, p. 167, note 15: “Klengel [...] ipotizza che la presenza di Nahḫa nell’ambasceria sia proprio legata ai cavalli, forse usati dagli ittiti come merce di scambio per ottenere i cereali egiziani”. For a further discussion about this hypothesis, cf. *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 11.

it is reported how the Hittite prince Ḫišmi-Šarruma had been sent to Egypt as *DUMU šip-ri ša LUGAL*, “royal messenger” (Vs. 4’), to obtain grain from Ramses in order to manage the difficult situation of the famine who possibly hit the Hittite land⁹¹⁸. Ḫattušili also asks Ramses to send him some experts in hydraulic building techniques (here named as Aya, Nahḫa⁹¹⁹ and Leya), probably to provide Ḫatti with a good irrigation system which could solve the problem of the famine (evidently caused by a strong drought). In the reverse, the Hittite king urges the Hittite messengers, who had lingered in Egypt for more than half a month (Rs. 4-5, 8-9), to come back Ḫatti. Promptly, Ramses orders Ḫišmi-Šarruma to be prepared with the ships, filled with barley and grain, and to return to the homeland “very quickly” (*arḫiš / arḫiš*, Rs. 17-18). At the end of the letter, Ramses asks the ships would come back Egypt, as soon as possible, after having brought the grain to Ḫatti⁹²⁰.

r. KBo XXVIII 28 (= 119/n) (ÄHK no. 80, H5, pp. 188-189):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

- 1' [... a]-na x x x [... ..] ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a]
 2' KUR I-ia-la-an-ta .[.
 3' a-na ḫa-ba-ti KUR.MEŠ [š]a[-a-ši-na ...
 4' ù DUMU.LUGAL ¹Ne-ri-ki-l[i ...
 5' ù ¹Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ia [... ..] ù šu-nu iḫ-tab-tu]
 6' LÚ.MEŠ-šu-nu GUD.MEŠ-šu-nu [UDU.MEŠ-šu-nu ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]

 7' ŠEŠ-ia a-nu-ma SIG₅-qí [dan-niš dan-niš ṭe₄-mu an-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu]
 8' ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-na-a[n-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí sa-lam-ni ba-na-a ù ŠEŠ-ut-ni ba-na-a]
 9' ul ṭe₄-ma ša a-na-ku [ḫa-aš-ḫa-ku ù ša at-ta ḫa-aš-ḫa-ta a-na UGU ki-la-al-lu-ú-ni]
 10' gi-na-a gi-na-a ^d[UTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-na-an-di-nu a-na e-pé-ši ṭe₄-ma an-na-a ša ni-i-nu]
 11' a-na e-pé-ši-šu ḫa-aš[-ḫa-nu a-na UGU ki-la-al-lu-ú-ni a-mur a-na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
 12' ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra [a-na ia-ši UGU-ši-na]
 13' [u]m-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-i[a-m]a [...
 14' [.] x x [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹²¹

Rs.

- 1' [... .. Und was mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat, wie folgt]:
 2' „Das Land Ijalanda [und das Land haben Feindschaft begonnen (o. ä.). Ich sandte den Nerikili und den Tutḫalija]
 3' um di[ese] Länder [der Feinde (?)] zu plündern [...
 4' und der Prinz Neriki[li ...
 5' und Tutḫalija [... ..] und sie plünderten]
 6' ihre Leute, ihre Rinder [und ihre Schafe.“ So hat mir mein Bruder geschrieben].

 7' Nun mein Bruder, [sehr, sehr] gut [ist diese Angelegenheit, über die mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat].
 8' Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott mögen veran[lassen, daß unser schöner Frieden und unsere schöne Bruderschaft gedeihen];
 9' (ist das) nicht das Verhältnis, das ich [begehre, und das du] ständig [für uns beide begehrt]?]

⁹¹⁸ For the other sources about this famine, see DIVON 2008, with further references; cf. KLENGEL 1974 and TRÉMOUILLE 1998, pp. 195-196.

⁹¹⁹ This official is here named together with his title, ^{LÚ}EN pí-qít₄-ti ša d[á-li-i] A.MEŠ, “den Bevollmächtigten für das Wasserz[iehen]” (Rs. 12’) of temple of Ramses, in the property of Amun (Rs. 13’-14’).

⁹²⁰ The only other letter quoting the dispatch of ships from Egypt to Ḫatti (and probably contemplating a similar context) is KUB III 82, see *infra*, text no. 46.e.

⁹²¹ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 150-151. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 285-286.

10' Der [Sonnen]gott [und der Wettergott mögen veranlassen, daß dieses Verhältnis geschaffen wird],
 11' dessen Schaffung [wir für uns beide] begeh[ren. Siehe, ich habe alle Angelegenheiten gehört],
 12' [über] die [mir] mein Bruder geschrieben hat. []

13' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [...
 14' [...] ... [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This letter reports the mention of the toponym Iyalanda, a place where the princes Nerikkaili and Tutḫaliya led a military expedition; the toponym is also quoted in KUB XIV 3, I 16-45, the so-called "Tawagalawa letter". No further information about the Egypto-Hittite relations could be find out from this document, apart from a general reference to the common brotherhood between the pharaoh and the Hittite king.

s. KBo XXVIII 20 (= 1322/v) (ÄHK no. 86, I6, pp. 192-193):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

[-1'] [..... a-mur ṭup-pa ša ma-mi-ti ša a-na-ku e-pu-ša-ak-ku šá-kín i-na GAM-li]
 [0] [GÌR.MEŠ ša ^dIŠKUR ù i-na GAM-li GÌR.MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ù a-mur ṭup-pa]
 1' [ša ma-mi-ti ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-a]t-ti i-pu-š[u a-na ia-ši šá-kín i-na GAM-li]
 2' [GÌR.MEŠ ša ^dUTU ^{URU.KI}A-na ù] i-na GAM-li GÌR.M[EŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]

 3' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-m]a a-mur ṭe₄-mi-ia š[a e-pu-šu it-ti-ka DINGIR.MEŠ i-na-an-di-nu]
 4' [ŠEŠ-ut-ta ša SIG₅-qú a-na ia-ši] ù ša SIG₅-qú a-na ŠE[Š-ia šu-nu im-ma-ru ṭup-pa]
 5' [ša ma-mi-ti ša a-na-ku e-pu-u]š ù ša ŠEŠ-i[a i-pu-uš ù at-te ta-at-ta-din ṭup-pa a-na DINGIR.MEŠ]
 6' [ù a-na-ku at-ta-din ṭup-pa] a-na DINGIR.MEŠ ù šu-nu i-n[a-an-di-nu sa-la-ma a-na ka-a-ša]
 7' [ù šu-nu i-na-an-di-nu sa-la-m]a a-na ia-ši a-di da-ri-ti

 8' [.....] [x] [x ...
 Andere seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹²²

[-1'] [..... Siehe, die Tafel des Eides, die ich für dich ausgestellt habe, liegt]
 [0'] [zu Füßen des Wettergottes und zu Füßen der großen Götter; und siehe, die Tafel des]
 1' [Eides, die der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫa]tti, [für mich] ausgestellt ha[t, liegt zu]
 2' [Füßen des Sonnengottes von Heliopolis un]d zu Fuß[en der großen Götter].

 3' [So sprich zu meinem Bruder: Nu]n, was mein Verhältnis betrifft, d[as ich mit dir geschlossen habe:
 Die Götter sollen]
 4' [Brüderschaft gewähren, die gut für mich ist,] und die gut für [meinen] Brufder ist. Sie sollen die
 Tafel]
 5' [des Eides zur Kenntnis nehmen, die ich anfert]igte, und die me[in] Bruder [anfertigte. Und du
 übergabst die Tafel den Göttern]
 6' [und ich übergab die Tafel] den Göttern, und sie [sollen dir Frieden] gew[ähren,]
 7' [und sie sollen] mir [Frie]den [gewähren] für e[wig.]

 8' [.....] x x x [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

The beginning of this document quotes the silver tablet of the Treaty, specifying its deposition in front of the gods; the extant text just reports the usual wishes for the mutual brotherhood established by the oath.

⁹²² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 289.

t. **KBo XXVIII 15 (= 115/v) (ÄHK no. 87, I7, pp. 194-195):**

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' ša [x ...
 2' um-ma-a a-n[a ŠEŠ-ia-ma ...
 3' a-mur šu-[x ...
 4' um-ma-a ù [ša tàš-pu-ra(?) ...
 5' il-te-qú-[ú-ni(?) ...
 6' [..]ak(?)-ka-[...
 7' [.. x] URUDU(?) [...
 8' [.. x] [x ...
 Randnähe

Rs.

Randnähe

- 1' x x [...
 2' LÚ-la₁₂ x a-mur]
 3' at-[t]a LUGAL(?).GAL ša KUR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti ...
 4' a-mur x x x [...
 5' ¹Ri-a-ma-[š]e-ša [ù ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li ŠEŠ-ú at-ta ti-in-né-pu-uš it-ti-ia ù a-na-ku in-né-pu-uš]
 6' it-ti-ka ul [ni-pa-aš-šar a-ma-te^{MES} ša ma-mi-ti ša ni-i-nu ni-pu-šu a-na-ku]
 7' lu-mur-šu-nu-t[i ù at-ta lu-ú ta-am-ma-ar-šu-nu-ti a-di da-ri-ti ù KUR.MEŠ-ni GAL-tu]
 8' ia i[m-ta-ḫa-ša a-di da-ri-ti ...
 9' [x] [...

Translation⁹²³

Vs.

- 1' der . [...
 2' So (sprich) z[u meinem Bruder ...
 3' Siehe, e[r (?) ...
 4' So (sprich): Und [was du geschrieben hast, wie folgt (?)
 5' sie brachten mir [...
 6' [.] ... [...
 7' [...] Kupfer(?) [...
 8' [... x] [...
 Randnähe

Rs.

Randnähe

- 1' [...
 2' der Mann ... [..... Siehe],
 3' du bist der [Groß]könig(?) [der Länder des Landes Ḫatti ...
 4' Siehe, [...
 5' Riamašša [und Ḫattušili sind verbrüdet; du hast dich verbündet mit mir, und ich habe mich
 verbündet]
 6' mit dir. [Wir werden die Worte des Eides] nicht [auflösen, den wir geschlossen haben; ich]
 7' will sie zur Kenntnis nehmen[, und du sollst sie zur Kenntnis nehmen für immer, und unsere großen
 Länder]
 8' [sollen sich in Zukunft] nie mehr be[kämpfen. ...
 9' [...]. [...

⁹²³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 289-295.

The very fragmentary state of preservation of this document just allows some glimpses into the original topic of the letter: the obverse reports a message sent by Ramses to the Hittite king, where Ramses refers to some copper, maybe a gift received from Ḫattušili (Rs. 7'). The obverse generally refers to the Treaty: Ramses confirms to Ḫattušili that they have become like brothers and they would not have to fight anymore each others (Rs. 8': *ia im-ta-ḫa-ša a-di da-ri-ti*, "sollen sich in Zukunft nie mehr bekämpfen").

u. KBo XXVIII 33 (= 297/i) (ÄHK no. 92, I12, pp. 198-199):

Geschenkliste: Ramses und Naptera an [Ḫattušili] und [Puduḫepa]

Transliteration

- [-2'] [šu-bé-el-ti ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù SAL.LUGAL GAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
 [-1'] [id-di-nu a-na¹o o o o GAL LÚ.MEŠ re-di-i ZAG ù a-na DAM-šu 1 GAL ša še-te-e]
 [0'] [ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 30+x GÍN KÙ.GI SIG₅ 3^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL]
 1' [SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄ 3^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.U]D.' DU'. [M]EŠ [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ]
 1'a [ša-ba-tu₄] []
-
- 2' [šu-bé-el-ti ša LUGAL.GAL L]UGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i [ù SAL.LUGAL GAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
 3' [id-di-nu a-na¹o o o-]ra GAL LÚ.MEŠ re-di-[i GÜB ù a-na DAM-šu]
 4' [1 GAL ša še-te-e š]a KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 30[+ x GÍN KÙ.GI SIG₅ 3^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu]
 5' [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄ 3^{GAD.TUG} GÚ.UD. [DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL]
 5'a [SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄]
-
- 6' [ša-ni-ta šu-bé-e]l-ti ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-r[i-i id-di-nu]
 7' [a-na DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR Ḫa-a]t-ti qà-du šu-bé-el-ti š[a SAL.LUGAL GAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
 8' [id-di-nu a-na DAM.MEŠ š]a DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti 2 [+ 5 ME 65]
 9' [GÍN KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-]na li-ša-na-ti 13 ú(!)-d[e₄-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅]
 10' [KI.LAL-šu-nu] 8 ME 93 GÍN KÙ.GI 1 ME x [šu-ku-ut-ti^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu]
 11' [1 ME 21 GÍN KÙ.GI] na-ap-ḫar KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na [li-ša-na-ti]
 12' [qà-du ú-de₄-e q]à-du šu-ku-ut-ti^{MEŠ} 1 lim 4[+ 3 ME 79 GÍN KÙ.GI]
 13' [x^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ lu-bu-u]l-ti LUGAL 9[3]^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ š[a mi-ku]
 14' [x^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ]Š SIG₅.MEŠ na-ap-ḫar^{GAD.TUG} MEŠ [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL qà-du]
 15' [^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ ša mi-k]u qà-du^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ [SIG₅.MEŠ x^{GAD.TÚG} MEŠ]
 16' [x GIŠ.MEŠ ša^{GIŠ} ESI.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ 1^{GIŠ} [tù-up-ni-nu ša^{GIŠ} ESI gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḫu]
 17' [ga-ab-ri i-]na ši-ip-ri ša KUR [Ḫa-at-ti šu-be-el-ti ša LUGAL id-din a-na¹Ma-at-ni-ia-al-li(?)]
 18' [1^{KUŠ} si-ri-ia-nu š]a LÚ-la₁₂ 1 ku-ub[-šu ša SAG.DU ša UD.KABAR]
 19' [qà-du ḫa-aš-ba-la-tù]^{MEŠ} ša a-na-ki^{MEŠ} [1^{KUŠ} si-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KABAR ...
 20' [..... ga-ab-ri]^{MEŠ} ša ši-i[p-ri KUR Ḫa-at-ti ...
 21' [.....] [x ...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹²⁴

- [-2'] [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, und die Großkönigin des Landes **Ägypten**],
 [-1'] [dem, dem Obersten der Gefolgsleute zur rechten Seite, und seiner Frau gegeben haben: 1 Trinkbecher]
 [0'] [aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht 30 + x Schekel guten Goldes beträgt; 3]
 1' [gute gefärbte linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus Byssos; 3 gute]
 1'a [gefärbte linnene Tuni]ken [aus Byssos].
-
- 2' [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der K]önig des Landes **Ägypten** [und die Großkönigin des Landes **Ägypten**]
 3' [dem]ra, dem Obersten der Gefolgsleute [zur linken Seite, und seiner Frau gegeben haben]:

⁹²⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 300-301.

- 4' [1 Trinkbecher a]us gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht 30 [+ x Schekel guten Goldes beträgt; 3]
5' [gut]e gefärbte [linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus Byssos]; 3
5'a [gute gefärbte] linnene Tunik[en aus Byssos].
-
- 6' [Ferner (? o. ä.): Das Gesche]nk, das der Großkönig, der König der Landes **Ägypt[en]**
7' [den Söhnen des Königs von Ḫa]tti [gegeben hat], und das Geschenk, das [die Großkönigin des
Landes **Ägypten]**
8' [den Frauen d]er Söhne des Königs des Landes Ḫatti [gegeben hat: 2[00 + 565]
9' [Schekel guten Goldes bestehend a]us Barren; 13 Gefä[ße aus gutem Gold],
10' [deren Gewicht] 893 Schekel Gold beträgt; 100 + x [Schmuckgegenstände aus gutem Gold, deren
Gewicht]
11' [121 Schekel Gold beträgt]. Gesamtsumme an gutem Gold bestehend aus [Barren]
12' [und Gefäßen u]nd Schmuckgegenständen: 1400 [+ 379 Schekel Gold].
13' [x linnene Gewänder aus By]ssos, 9[3] linnene Gewänder au [*miku*-Qualität],
14' [x linnene Gewänder aus] „gutem [dünne]m“ (Faden); Summe der linnenen Gewänder [aus Byssos
und]
15' [der linnenen Gewänder aus *mik*]u-Qualität und der linnenen Gewänder aus „[gutem] dünnem“
(Faden): [x linnene Gewänder].
16' [x Balken von] guten Ebenholz [bäumen]; 1 T[ruhe aus Ebenholz mit allerlei Steinen eingelegt], 1
17' [Nachahmung i]n Herstellungsart des Landes [Ḫatti. Das Geschenk, das der König dem Mašnijalli(?)
gegeben hat:]
18' [1 Lederpanzer f]ür einen Mann; 1 Hel[m aus Bronze]
19' [mit Troddel]n (?) aus Zinn; [1 Lederpanzer, dessen Belag (?) aus Bronze besteht].
20' [....., Nachahmung]en in Herstellungsart des Landes Ḫatti ...
21' [...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

The document 297/i lists a series of gifts sent by Ramses and Nefertari to Ḫattušili, Puduḫepa and their court (*GAL*^{LÜ.MEŠ}*re-di-i ZAG*); the second part of the document also reports a list of gifts sent by Ramses(?) to Mašnijalli⁹²⁵, an Hittite personality already encountered in many previous letters⁹²⁶:

<i>Sender and addressee</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Ramses and Nefertari to Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa	<i>GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Drink vessel of fine gold	1 piece = 30+x shekels
	^{GAD.TUG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, fine and colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD.TUG} <i>GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄</i>	Linen tunics of “King” quality, fine and colourful	3 pieces
Ramses to Puduḫepa	<i>GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Drink vessel of fine gold	1 piece = 30+x shekels
	^{GAD.TUG} <i>ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄</i>	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, fine and colourful	3 pieces
	^{GAD.TUG} <i>GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄</i>	Linen tunics of “King” quality, fine and colourful	3 pieces
Ramses to Ḫattušili's sons; Nefertari to	<i>KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na li-ša-na-ti</i>	Fine planks gold	200+565 shekels = 765 shekels

⁹²⁵ Among these gifts, Ramses(?) also sends a leather armour with a bronze topping (^{KUŠ}*si-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KABAR*; Rs. 19'), which seems to be a particularly important present.

⁹²⁶ For previous documents referring to Mašnijalli, see *supra*, texts nos 20.a, 25.e and 26.k. Edel's integrations in the gift list are reported in *italic*.

Puduḫepa's daughter			
	<i>ú(!)-de₄-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Vessels of fine gold	13 pieces = 893 shekels
	<i>šu-ku-ut-ti^{MEŠ} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	Jewels of fine gold	100+x pieces = 121 shekels
	<i>na-ap-ḫar KÙ.GI SIG₅ i-na li-ša-na-ti qà-du ú-de₄-e qà-du šu-ku-ut-ti^{MEŠ}</i>	Total of the fine gold (planks + vessels + jewels)	1400+379 shekels
	<i>^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL</i>	“King” quality linens	x pieces
	<i>^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku</i>	miku-quality linens	93 pieces
	<i>^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	Linens of fine quality	x pieces
	<i>na-ap-ḫar ^{GAD}TUG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL qà-du ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku qà-du ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	Total of the linens (“King” quality + miku-quality + fine quality)	x pieces
	<i>GIŠ.MEŠ ša ^{GIS}ESI.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ</i>	Beam of fine ebony wood	x pieces
	<i>^{GIS}tù-up-ni-nu ša ^{GIS}ESI gab-bi NA₄.MEŠ šúm-mu-ḫu</i>	Box of ebony, inlaid with different encrusted stones	1 piece
	<i>ga-ab-ri i-na ši-ip-ri ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti</i>	A copy made on a Hittite model	1 piece
Ramses(?) to Mašniyalli	<i>^{KUŠ}si-ri-ia-nu ša LÚ-la₁₂</i>	Leather male armour	1 piece
	<i>ku-ub-šu ša SAG.DU ša UD.KABAR qà-du ḫa-aš-ba-la-tù^{MEŠ} ša a-na-ki^{MEŠ}</i>	Helm of bronze, with tin tassels	1 piece
	<i>^{KUŠ}si-ri-ia-nu mé-e-li-šu UD.KABAR ...</i>	Leather armour, with a bronze topping	1 piece
	<i>... ga-ab-ri^{MEŠ} ša ši-ip-ri KUR Ḫa-at-ti</i>	(Object) made on a Hittite model	x pieces

v. KBo XXVIII 37 (= 26/i) (ÄHK no. 96, I16, pp. 204-205):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Rd.

- 1' [.....] x x [...
2' [.....-]na(?) x [] x
3' [a-na-ku ú-še-bíl NAM.RA.MEŠ a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù šu-ti ú-še-bíl NAM].RA.MEŠ kán-na-ma
4' [a-na ia-ši]ú-ka₄-lu a-na-ku kán-na iš-pu-r[a]

5' [..... a-m]a-te^{MEŠ}-šu-nu kán-na a-di UD-mi [an-ni-i]
6' [..... a-m]a-ta ša-a-ši a-na-ku kán-na aq-bi[
7' [..... ŠEŠ-ḫu-ut(?)-n]i ša tal-tap-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu [...
8' [..... i]t-tal-ku-ni x x x x
9' [...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹²⁷

- 1' [.....] ... [...
2' [.....] ... [...
3' [Ich werde meinem Bruder Zivilgefangene senden, und er wird mir Zivil]gefangene ebenfalls [senden].
4' [.....] hält man fest.“ So schrieb ich.

⁹²⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol 2. pp. 309-310.

5' [.....] ihre [Wo]rte so bis zu d[iesem] Tage
 6' [.....] diese [Angelegenheit.“ So sagte ich[

 7' [.....]unsere [Brüderschaft o. ä.], über die du mir geschrieben hast
 8' [..... s]ie kamen zu mir
 9' [...

This letter reports an exchange of civilians between the two courts: unfortunately, neither the context or the reason for such an exchange are retrievable in the extant document. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 309, interpreted this people, defined as [NAM].RA^{MES}, as a gift sent by Ramses on the occasion of the “First Hittite Marriage”.

w. KBo XXVIII 29 (= 204/a) (ÄHK no. 97, I17, pp. 206-207):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [um-ma-a a-na^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia-ma ù ša^{SAL}] a-ḫa¹-ti i[š-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a ...
 2' [..... ú]-za-ku ŠEŠ-i[a ...
 3' [..... ù] šī-i l[i- ...
 4' [.....^{SAL}] a-ḫa-ti k[án-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ...
 5' [.....] a-nu-m[a ...

Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [.....] ù šī-i i[- ...
 2 [.....]-ti ù^{UZU} k[a-bit-ti ...
 3 [.....] a-na^{UZU} ka-bit-ti ...

4 [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma^{SAL} a-ḫa]-ti li-iš[-pu-ra(?)/li-iš[-me(?)] ...
 5 [ù ša^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti iš-pu-ra a-na ia]-ši um-ma-a [...
 6 [..... t]e-ep-p[u-uš/-ši ...
 7 [.....^{SAL} a-ḫa-t]i l[i- ...
 8 [.....] [x ...

Translation⁹²⁸

Vs.

1' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und was] meine Schwester [mir] ge [schrieben hat wie folgt: ...
 2' [„.....] ich reinige mei[nen] Bruder [(von Schuld)
 3' [.....] und sie mö[ge] ...
 4' [.....“] - s[o hat] meine Schwester [mir geschrieben.
 5' [.....] Nunmehr ...

Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [.....] und sie .. [...
 2 [.....] .. und das Ge[müt] deines Bruders (?) ...
 3 [.....] für das Gemü[t] deines Bruders (?) ...

 4 [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester:] Meine [Schwes]ter möge sch[reiben] (?) / hören (?) ...
 5 [Und was m]ir [meine Schwester geschrieben hat] wie folgt: [...
 6 [..... d]u mach[st] ...
 7 [.....] meine [Schwester (?)] mö[ge] (?) ...

⁹²⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 310.

8 [.....].[...]

In this letter, Puduḥepa says to “cleanses” Ramses of an unspecified guilt; unfortunately, the fragmentary extant text, does not offer further glimpse into the reason for this “cleansing”.

x. KBo XXXVI 104 (= 31/m) (ÄHK no. 113, I19, pp. 234-235):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

[ADDENDA zu den Briefen in babylonischer Sprache. Zu I 5. Fragmente, deren Inhalt sich kaum mehr bestimmen läßt. Durch die Publikation von Gernot Wilhelm, KBo XXXVI (1991) ist unter no. 104 ein akkadisches Brieffragment zutage gekommen, das ich wegen der darin enthaltenen Reste einer für die Ramseskorrespondenz typischen „Zitatformel“ mit großer Sicherheit Ramses als Absender zuschreiben möchte].

Transliteration

1' [..... .kán-]na-ma x[
2' [..... a-qa-ab-]bi a-ma-a[n-nu

3' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-]ra a-na ia-ši [um-ma-a ...
4' [..... i-na U]GU-ḫi-ka i-na[p-pa-al/lu ...
5' [..... at-ta ŠEŠ-ia kán-n]a táq-bi S[IG₅(?) da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš]
6' [te₄-mu an-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu ...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹²⁹

1' [..... eb]enso x[
2' werde ich nen]nen (und) übergeb[en ...

3' [So sprich zu meinem Bruder: Und was] mir [mein Bruder geschrieben [hat, wie folgt: „...
4' [..... wird er/werden sie] deinetwegen her[ausreißen ...
5' [.....“ S]o hast du, [mein Bruder,] gesagt. [Sehr, sehr] g[ut(?) ist]
6' [dieser Vorschlag, über den mir mein Bruder geschrieben hat. ...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

The very fragmentary state of preservation of the document does not provide any chance to regain the original meaning of the missive and just a glimpse on a passage had be advanced: l. 4 reports a difficult situation, where some people are threatened with being mutilated. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 356, suggested that the verb *napālu*, “to tear out”, (l. 4’) could be a reference to a sentence of the Treaty (cf. KBo I 25 Rs. 3 = KUB III 120 Rs. 3): *la-a i-na-ap-pa-lu ṽ* [GEŠTU^{MEŠ}-š_u-nu ĜĪR^{MEŠ}-š_u-nu *la-a i-na-ak-ki-su ù É^{MEŠ}-š_u-nu*]⁹³⁰, “und ihre Zungen und ihre Augen soll man nicht herausreißen”. Edel interpreted this passage as a precise quotation of a clause of the Treaty, stating that it was forbidden to mutilate the refugees or the prisoners of war. The fact that this document refers to a mutilation of some people led Edel to propose that this missive could be dated before the stipulation of the covenant.

y. NBC 3934 = JCS 1, 241ff.⁹³¹ (ÄHK no. 22, D3, pp. 52-57):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

⁹²⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 356.

⁹³⁰ EDEL 1997, p. 11. Cf. *ivi*, p. 58: “[u lišānī-šunu ī]nē-šunu lā inappalū”. For the translation, cf. *supra*, text no. 12, §18 (= EDEL 1997, p. 60): “und ihre Zungen und ihre Augen soll man nicht herausreißen, und ihre Ohren und ihre Füße soll man nicht abschneiden, und ihre Häuser mit ihren Frauen und ihren Kindern soll man nicht vernichten”.

⁹³¹ JCS 1, 241ff. = GOETZE 1947.

- 1' [..... šu-u]l-[mu]
-
- 2' [a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-n]a É.MEŠ-ka lu-ú š[u-ul-mu]
3' [a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-na DUMU.M]EŠ-ka lu-ú šu-ul-mu
4' [a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-na ANŠE.K]UR.RA.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šu-ul-mu
5' [a-na ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šu-ul-mu ù i-na Š]À gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú
šul-mu
-
- 6' [a-nu-ma al-te-mé a-ma-ti an-na-ti ša ŠEŠ]-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši
7' [um-ma-a am-mi-ni tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-ki]-i ^{LU}İR-di at-tu-ka
8' [a-ma-ti an-na-ti ma-da-tu ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-p]u-ra a-na ia-ši
-
- 9' [a-nu-ma ša a-na-ku aš-pu-ra a-na ka-a-ša] a-ki-i ^{LU}İR-di
10' [at-tu-ia ia-nu-um-ma a-mur a-ma-ta an-ni]-ta ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra
11' [a-na ia-ši UGU-ša ia-nu-um-ma a-na-ku a]-am-mar-ka ù at-ta GAL-ta
12' [i-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti ù at-ta qar-ra-da-ta i-n]a gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ
-
- 13' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-mur at-ta LUGAL.GAL š]a KUR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti
14' [..... ^dUTU it-ta-d]i-in-ka ù ^dIŠKUR it-ta-di-in-ka
15' [a-na e-pe-ši LUGAL-ut-ta i-na KUR.MEŠ ša] KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-na aš-ri ša a-bi a-bi-ka
-
- 16' [ù am-mi-ni a-šap-pa-ra-ak-ku a-ki]-i ^{LU}İR-di a-na-ku ù ki-i a-na-ku
17' [aš-pu-ra-ak-ku a-ki-i ^{LU}İR-di l]a ta-ḫa-as-sà-as a-ma-ta ša LÚ-la₁₂
18' [ú-ta-a-ab lu tàš-pu-ra-an-ni u]m-ma-a ŠÀ-ba-ka li-ti-ib UD-mi-ša
19' [ù la ta-šap-pa-ra-an-ni a-ma-ti a]n-na-ti ri-qa-ti ša la-a ši-ip-ru
20' [ù at-ta qí-ip a-na a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠE]Š-ka a-na-ku kán-na aq-ta-bi
-
- 21' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ša a-ma-ta an-n]i-ta aq-bu-ú aš-šum ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i
22' [SIG₅-qí ša ni-pu-šu ù a-na-ku ul ú-m]aš-ša-ar a-ma-ta ul-li-i-ta
23' [at-ta la-mu-ud-da-ta a-na ša-a-ši] ù a-na-ku la-mu-ud-da-ku a-na ša-a-ši
-
- 24' [a-di ša-ti um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma] ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši
25' [um-ma-a a-nu-ma a-mur at-ta ta-a]t-ta-din a-na ša-pa-ri ¹Ma-a-i-ri-a
26' [DUMU.KIN-ri-ka a-na ia-ši a-na la-qé-e] l pa-gu-ú ša LÚ-ut-ti
27' [..... at-ta ŠEŠ-ia a-kán-na] ta-aq-ta-bi
-
- 28' [.....-]ša ba-ni ù ¹Tu-ut-tu
29' [DUMU.KIN-ri-ka ša tàš-pu-ra-an-ni a-na-ku a]t-ta-din-šu a-na a-la-ki
30' [a-na ka-a-ša i-na GAM-li šu-bi-il-ti GA]L-ti l LÚ-la₁₂ a-am-ma[-ar
31' [ù a-mur ¹Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR ul a-am-ma-ar ... L]Ú ḫu-ub-bu-šu šu-ú [
32' [.....] x [š]u-ú [x
hier wahrscheinlich Tafelrand (Goetze brieflich)
- Rs. x Zeilen abgebrochen; weitere 6 Zeilen auf der Tafeloberseite abgesplittert.
- 1' [a-mur at-ta LUGAL ṭa-bu ul LU]GAL š[a-ru at-ta] ta-na-a[d-d]i-in
2' [a-na du-um-mu-qí KUR Ḫa-]at-ti [at-ta lu-]ú ta-aš-ša-bat
3' [LUGAL-ut-ta ša KUR Ḫa-a]t-ti [i-na ki-t]e ia-nu i-na [l]a ki-te
4' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-]ma [ù ša tàš-pu]-ra a-na ia[-ši]
5' [um-ma-a]x ša m[a-ši-i]k-ta ú-ba-'a-a
6' [a-na ia-ši at-ta ŠEŠ-ia] kán-na tàš[-pu-]ra a-na ia-ši
-
- 7' [ù a-mur at-ta te-te-ri-š]a ma-la 2-šu 3-šu a-na ša-pa-ri
8' [l ^{LU}a-sa-a a-na ka-a-ša ù] al-ta-ap-ra-ak-ku l ^{LU}a-sa-a
9' [i-na ša-ap-li Ú.MEŠ SIG₅-qú-ti ù] ¹Le-e-A+A it-ti-šu
10' [ù šu-nu il-la-ku ar-ḫi-iš a-na k]a-a-ša ù ul-te-bil-ak[-ku]
11' [Ú.MEŠ SIG₅-qú-ti dan-niš dan-niš i-]na ŠU-ti DUMU.KIN.MEŠ-ri-ia

- 12' [ù šu-nu ip-pu-šu ša-am-ma a-na k]a-a-ša i-na ŠĀ-bi-šu-nu
 13' [ù a-mur a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na] ša-pa-ri^{LÜ} a-sa-a a-na ka-a-ša
 14' [qa-du^L Le-e-A+A ù i-le-eq-qú-ni-i]k-ku gab-bi Ú.MEŠ SIG₅-qú-ti
 15' [dan-niš ša an-ni-ka-a i-na **KUR Mi-**]iṣ-ri-i ù ki-i a-na-ku ad-din
 16' [a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ka-]a-ša ki-i DÛG.GA ki-i DÛG.GA
 17' [a-na bu-ul-lu-ṭi-ka e-te-pu-uš] UGU šu-mi-ka
-
- 18' [ù a-mur a-na-ku aq-ta-bi] a-na A.ZU.MEŠ
 19' [an-nu-ti um-ma-a šum-ma ma-ši-ik-t]u it-te-en₆-pu-uš
 20' [a-na ŠEŠ-ia ep-ša-ni-iš-šu gab-bi Ú.MEŠ SIG₅-qú-ti dan-niš dan-niš
 21' [ù a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu] a-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti
 [22'] [a-na ŠEŠ-ia ...

Translation⁹³²

Vs.

- 1' [..... geht es sehr g]ut.
-
- 2' [Dir, meinem Bruder, möge es gut gehen], deinen Häusern möge es g[ut gehen],
 3' [deinen Frauen möge es gut gehen], deinen [Söhn]en möge es gut gehen,
 4' [deinen Truppen möge es gut gehen], deinen [P]ferden möge es gut gehen,
 5' [deinen Streitwagen möge es gut gehen, und inn]erhalb aller deiner Länder möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen.
-
- 6' [Ich habe nun diese Worte gehört, die] mir mein [Bruder] geschrieben hat
 7' [mit den Worten: „Warum hast du mir wi]e einem Diener von dir
 8' [diese vielen Worte geschrieben?“ - so hat mein Bruder] mir [geschrieben.
-
- 9' [Nun, daß ich dir geschrieben hätte] wie einem Diener
 10' [von mir, ist nicht der Fall. Siehe, die]sen [Sachverhalt], des[sentwegen] mein Bruder
 11' [mir] geschrieben hat, [gibt es nicht. Ich] nehme dich zur Kenntnis, denn du bist groß
 12' [im Lande Ḫatti, und du bist heldenhaft i]n allen Ländern.
-
- 13' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Siehe, du bist der Großkönig d]er Länder des Landes Ḫatti
 14' [..... Der Sonnengott hat] dich [veranlaßt, und der Wettergott
 hat dich veranlaßt
 15' [das Königtum auszuüben in den Ländern des] Landes Ḫatti an der Stelle deines Großvaters.
-
- 16' [Und warum sollte ich dir schreiben wi]e einem Diener, (ausgerechnet) ich? Und daß ich
 17' [dir geschrieben hätte wie einem Diener], sollst du [n]icht denken! Ein Wort, das einen Mann
 18' [erfreut, mögest du mir schreiben, w]ie folgt: „Dein Herz möge sich täglich freuen!“,
 19' [und nicht sollst du mir d]iese leeren Worte ohne Gehalt [schreiben],
 20' [und vertraue du den Worten] deines [Brud]ers!“ - So sagte ich.
-
- 21' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Daß] ich [die]ses [Wort] sagte, beruht auf diesem [guten]
 Verhältnis.
 22' [das wir geschaffen haben; und ich werde] jene Angelegenheit (= das gute Verhältnis) [nicht
 au]fgeben;
 23' [du bist darüber unterrichtet], und ich bin darüber unterrichtet
-
- 24' [für ewig. So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder]: Und was mein Bruder mir geschrieben hat,
 25' [wie folgt: „Siehe, nunmehr hast du ver]anlaßt, daß Mairia
 26' [dein Bote, zu mir] gesandt wurde [um] einen Affen [zu bringen], den die Leute
 27' [gerne sehen“ (?). So] hast du, [mein Bruder,] gesagt.
-

⁹³² Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp.79-81. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 79-85.

- 28' [.....].. war schön.
 29' [Und Tuttu, deinen Boten, den du mir gesandt hast], den habe [ich]
 30' [zu dir] zu gehen veranlaßt [mit einem großen [Geschenk]. Einen Mann (von Rang)
 nehme ich zur Kenntn[is],
 31' [aber siehe, den UrḫiTešsub nehme ich nicht zur Kenntnis], ein starsinniger [M]ensch ist der.
 32' [.....]..er.. [
 hier wahrscheinlich Tafelrand (Goetze brieflich)
- Rs. x Zeilen abgebrochen; 6 weitere Zeilen auf der Tafeloberseite abgesplittert,
 1' [Siehe, du bist ein freundlich gesonnener König (und) kein] feindlicher Kö[nig; du wirst
 2' [das Land Ḫa]tti [gedei]hen lassen. Fürwa]hr, du hast
 3' [die Königsherrschaft über das Land Ḫa]tti. [zu Rech]t ergriffen (und) [ni]cht zu Unrecht!
 4' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder]: [Und was du]rni[r geschrieben hast
 5' [wie folgt: „Ich habe einen Krankheitsdämon in mir (o. ä.), der [mir] Üb[le]s zufügt“
 6' - so hast [du, mein Bruder], mir gesch[ri]eben;
-
- 7' [und siehe, du hast] einmal, zweimal, dreimal [gebete]n,
 8' [dir einen Arzt] zu senden; [und] ich habe dir einen Arzt gesandt
 9' [mit guten Arzneien, indem] sich Leja bei ihm befindet,
 10' [und sie sollen eilends zu d]ir [gehen], und ich habe di[r]
 11' [sehr, sehr gute Arzneien du]rch die Hand meiner Boten übersandt,
 12' [und sie sollen d]ir [ein Heilmittel] aus ihnen [bereiten];
 13' [und siehe, ich habe veranlaßt], dir den Arzt
 14' [und den Leja zu] schicken, [und sie werden] dir alle [sehr] guten Arzneien [bringen],
 15' [die es hier im Land Äg]ypten gibt; und daß ich [sie] freundlicherweise veranlaßte,
 16' [zu d]ir [zu gehen]
 17' [um dich zu heilen, tat ich] wegen deines Namens.
-
- 18' [Und siehe, ich sagte] zu [diesen] Ärzten
 19' [wie folgt: „Falls meinem Bruder Üb]les angetan werden sollte,
 20' [so bereitet für ihn alle Arten] sehr, sehr [g]uter [Drogen]!“
 21' [und ich ließ sie] ins Land Ḫatti
 [22'] [zu meinem Bruder gehen. ...

This tablet, kept in the Nies Babylonian Collection (University of Yale), reports a small struggle occurred between the two Great kings: Ḫattušili has previously complained because Ramses would have written him “as a servant” (Vs. 7', 9'); the pharaoh excuses himself (of course, not recognizing his fault), reaffirm the status of the Hittite king among the other countries, as established by the gods: *ia-nu-um-ma a-na-ku a]-am-mar-ka ù at-ta GAL-ta / [i-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti ù at-ta qar-ra-da-ta i-n]a gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ*, “Ich] nehme dich zur Kenntnis, denn du bist groß / [im Lande Ḫatti, und du bist heldenhaft i]n allen Ländern” (Vs. 11'-12').

The following paragraph (Vs. 11'-16') has been differently interpreted by the scholars: Edel's translation implies a continuation in the discussion about the aforementioned “diplomatic incident”, while Cordani⁹³³ and Müller⁹³⁴ offered another interpretation, referring to “a man”, identified with Urḫi-Tešsub.

At the end of the obverse Ramses informed Ḫattušili to have received the visit of the messengers Mairia, Pagu⁹³⁵ and Tuttu, complaining about a man described with the term *LÚ ḫu-ub-bu-šu* (Vs.

⁹³³ CORDANI 2017, p. 80.

⁹³⁴ MÜLLER 2010, p. 489.

⁹³⁵ CORDANI 2017, p. 80, note 5, recalls as the common term *pagû*, “monkey” (CAD 12 [P], p. 18.b), was in effect used in the Mesopotamian area as a proper name; thus, the messenger could have been a foreigner, being so clear the following specification “of the people of...” (Vs. 26': *ša LÚ-ut-ti*).

31'), interpreted in different ways: Edel⁹³⁶ translated it as “starrsinniger Mensch”, as a reference to Urhi-Teššub (even if he is not actually quoted by name); Cordani⁹³⁷ translates the term with “storpio”, following GOETZE 1947, p. 245 (“cripple”), applying the expression as describing one of the messengers (similarly also SINGER 2006b, pp. 34-35); Izre'el⁹³⁸ proposed instead to intend it as a variant form of *hupšu* “a commoner”.

The obverse of the letter reports how Ḫattušili had requested Ramses to send him some physicians and how the pharaoh had appointed Leya to lead a physician to the Hittite court, carrying “very, very good medicines” (*Ú.MEŠ SIG5-qú-ti dan-niš*, Rs. 11'). Ramses explains that he consented to this request, because of Ḫattušili's “importance” (literally, “name”), *e-te-pu-uš UGU šu-mi-ka*, “tat ich wegen deines Namens.” (Vs. 17'); it is maybe possible to catch in this expression a glimpse of an Egyptian derivation, being in Egyptian very common the equation *rn* (literally, “name”) = “importance, reputation”⁹³⁹.

z. KBo XXVIII 16 (= 588/s) (ÄHK no. 23, D4, pp. 56-57):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

- [0'] [..... *um-ma-a*]
 1' [*a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia i[š-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ni]*
 2' [*i-te-ep-šu te₄-em-šu-nu at-ta [kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-mur ma-mi-ta ša]*
 3' [*a-na-ku e-pu-šu] a-na ka-a-ša šu-[ú ša-ak-nu a-na pa-ni^{dUTU}*
 4' [^{URU}*A-ri-in-na] ù šu-ú ša-ak-nu [a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti]*
 5' [*šu-nu ši-bu-ti]-šu-nu ù ma-mi-ta š[a at-ta te-pu-šu a-na ia-ši]*
 6' [*šu-ú ša-ak-]nu a-na pa-ni^{dUTU} ^{URU.KI}A[-na ù šu-ú ša-ak-nu a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]*
 7' [*ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-]i šu-nu ši-bu-ti-š[^{MEŠ} ù at-ta ta-aš-ša-bat-šu at-ta la]*
 8' [*tu-maš-šar-šu] a-na-ku aš-ša-bat-šu a-na-a[-ma a-na-ku ul ú-maš-šar-šu]*
 9' [*a-di da-ri-ti] ni-i-nu i-le-ú-ú a-n[a ta-ka-li a-na a-ḫa-mi-iš]*

 10' [*um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-p[u-ra a-na ia-ši UGU]*
 11' [*um-ma-a a-mur a-n]a-ku i-šap-pa-ra-ak-ku UG[U-šu i-na ŠU-ti DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ia]*
 12' [*ù šu-nu il-te-e]š-šu-ú ṭup-pa^{MEŠ}-ia a-na pa[-ni ŠEŠ-ia ù at-ta ul ta-pu-ul]*
 13' [*at-ta kán^{an}-n]a <ta>-aq-bi (oder kán-na t)a^l-aq-bi) i-ia-nu DUB.SAR.MEŠ-i[a ša i-mu-ru ṭup-pa^{MEŠ} ù at-ta]*
 14' [*tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-š]i LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ka ki DÙG[.GA ki DÙG.GA ù a-na-ku]*
 15' [*aḫ-ta-di dan-niš ŠEŠ-]ia i-na IGI.MEŠ-ia ul i-qà[-al-li-il DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-šu]*
 16' [*ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-ra-]šu-nu-ti ù a-ma-te^{MEŠ} DÙG.GA.M[EŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia li-iq-bu-ú-ši-na-ti a-na ia-ši]*
 17' [*ù a-na-ku a-ša]p-par a-na ŠEŠ-ia UGU-šu-nu [ki ba-ni-ti ù at-ta]*
 18' [*ta-šap-pa-ra-an-ni k]i ba-ni-ti um-ma-a a[-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra]*
 19' [*a-na ia-ši UGU a-m]a-ta ša ^{URU.KI}Q[*i-in-sà um-ma-a šu-up-ra-an-ni UGU-šu]**
 20' [*a-na-ku a-šap-pa-r]a-ak-ku UGU ^{URU.KI}Q[*i-in-sà gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}*]
 21' [*ša mal-lu a-na ša-pa-r]i at-ta [...]**

⁹³⁶ EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 55 and vol. 2, pp. 82-83. Edel differently interpreted the term in its common meaning, proposing that the messenger Mairia brought a monkey as a gift for the pharaoh: “Siehe, nunmehr hast du ver] anlaßt, daß Mairia / dein Bote, zu mir] gesandt wurde [um] einen Affen [zu bringen], den die Leute / [gerne sehen” (Vs. 25'-27'). The problem with this translation is the aforementioned specification *ša LÚ-ut-ti*: Edel integrated and intended the passage as “den die Leute / [gerne sehen”, but no particular clues can confirm such an expression at the beginning of l. 27'.

⁹³⁷ CORDANI 2017, p. 81, note 2: “Tenderei più a pensare che il termine si riferisca a uno dei messaggeri citati poco prima: forse, Ramses si lamenta qui con Ḫattušili per avergli inviato un funzionario storpio”. Maybe, the cripple messenger was indeed Pagu, and his name (derived from the common noun for “monkey”) could be interpreted in itself as a description (as a “speaking name”) of the messenger's physical deformation (by the way, we are not sure of the presence of the determinative for PN before the name *pa-gu* [see GOETZE 1947, p. 243, presenting the transcription of the text]; the lack of such a determinative could therefore invalidate this interpretation). Even if this is the most probable explanation, I still do have some difficulty in imagining a cripple messenger.

⁹³⁸ IZRE'EL 1997, p. 145.

⁹³⁹ Wb II, pp. 425-428, nos 1-19.

Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹⁴⁰

- [0'] [..... So (sprich)]
1' [zu meinem Bruder: Und was] mein Bruder [mir] geschrieben hat mit den Worten: „Unsere Länder]
2' [haben] ihre [Beziehungen [aufgenommen“ - so hast] du [geschrieben; Siehe der Eid, den]
3' [ich] dir [geleistet habe], e[r ist niedergelegt vor der Sonnengottheit]
4' [von Arinna], und er ist niedergelegt [vor den großen Göttern des Landes Ḫatti];
5' [sie sind] seine [Zeuge]n. Und der Eid, de[n du mir geleistet hast],
6' [er ist niedergelegt vor dem Sonnengott von He[liopolis (und) vor den großen Göttern]
7' [des Landes **Ägypten**; sie sind sei[ne] Zeugen. [Und du hast ihn ergriffen, und du]
8' [sollst ihn nicht aufgeben]; au[ch] ich habe ihn ergriffen, und ic[h werde ihn] ebenfalls nicht aufgeben]
9' [in Ewigkeit]; wir können [uns aufeinander verlassen].

10' [So (sprich) zu] meinem [Bruder:] Und was mein Bruder [mir in Betreff des UrḫiTeššub] geschrie[ben] hat,
11' [mit den Worten: „Siehe, i]ch schrieb dir [seinet]weg[en] immer wieder [durch die Hand meiner Boten],
12' [und sie haben] meine Tafeln vo[r meinem Bruder vorge] lesen, [aber du hast nicht geantwortet].“
13' [So] hast [du g]esagt. Ic[h] habe keine Schreiber, [die die Tafeln gelesen hätten. Und du]
14' [schriebst an mic]h, den König des Landes **Ägypten**, deinen Bruder, in [sehr] freundlicher Weise, und ich]
15' [freute mich sehr], (denn) mein [Bruder wird] in meinen Augen nicht geri[ng geachtet. Seine Boten -]
16' die [möge mein Bruder senden], und die freundlich[en] Worte [meines Bruders - die mögen sie mir sagen],
17' [und ich] werde ihretwegen meinem Bruder [in freundlicher Weise schreiben, [und du]
18' [wirst mir i]n freundlicher Weise [schreiben]. So (sprich) z[u meinem Bruder: Und was mein Bruder]
19' [mir über die Angelegenheit der Stadt Q[insa geschrieben hat, wie folgt: „Schreibe mir darüber!“
20' [- so werde ich] dir in Betreff der St[adt Qinsa alle Angelegenheiten schreiben],
21' [die zu schreiben [angemessen sind]. Du [...
22' [.....] mein [Bruder (?)] ...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

This letter has been intensely integrated by Edel⁹⁴¹, who included it within the dossier about Urḫi-Teššub (even if his name is never mentioned in the message), because of the many references to the Treaty, implying the presence of a difficult situation; as well as, also Ramses' sentence *i-ia-nu DUB.SAR.MEŠ-I*, “I do not have scribes (literally: there are no scribes to me)” has been interpreted as a justification of the pharaoh for the temporary suspension of diplomatic contacts. By the way, the absence of a precise quotation of Urḫi-Teššub led Cordani to consider the letter within the group belonging to the stipulation of the Treaty. In fact, Ramses describes the deposition of the tablet of the Treaty in front of the gods who are stated as witnesses of the covenant. Particularly interesting is the sentence in l. 9', *ni-i-nu i-le-ú-ú a-n[a ta-ka-li a-na a-ḫa-mi-iš]*, “wir können [uns aufeinander verlassen]”: Ramses writes to reaffirm the complete brotherhood between Ḫattušili and him. The extant text ends with a discussion about the situation of a city, whose name is not preserved on the tablet: Edel suggested to integrate Qinsa (= Kadesh), comparing this message with that in KBo I 15 + 19 (+) 22 (see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 203ff.; cf. *supra*, text no. 19.d), where Ḫattušili questioned the Egyptian accounts about the battle of Kadesh.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 73-74. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 85-95.

⁹⁴¹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, pp. 56-57; cf. EDEL 1950, pp. 196-197, mainly for the first paragraphs.

27. CTH 164: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO PUDUḪEPA (OR OTHER PRINCES)

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters about many different topics

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 14 Vs. 2, 3 (br.), 7

a. KBo XXVIII 17 (ÄHK no. 19, C6, pp. 48-49):

Ramses an PuduḪepa

Transliteration

Vs.

1 [um-ma¹Ri-a-ma-š]e-ša ma-a-i^da-m[a]-n[a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]

2 [a-na^{SAL}Pu-d]u-ḫe-pa SAL.LUGAL ra-bi-ti ša K[UR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia qí-bí-ma]

3 [a-na ia-ši šu]l-mu dan-niš dan-niš i-na ŠEŠ-k[i]

4 [a-na DUMU.MEŠ-i]a ù gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-niš da[n-niš šul-mu]

5 [a-na ka-a-ši NI]N-ti-ia lu-ú šul-mu dan-[niš dan-niš a-na DUMU.MEŠ]

6 [ša NIN-ia lu-ú šul]-mu dan-niš a-na KUR š[a NIN-ia lu-ú šul-mu]

[7] [...

Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet und flach

*Translation*⁹⁴²

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Riamaš]a mai-am[a]n[a, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten]:

2 [Zu PuduḪepa, der Großkönigin des La[ndes Ḫatti, meiner Schwester, sprich]:

3 [Mir geht es] sehr, sehr [g]ut, dei[nem] Bruder;

4 [mei]nen [Söhnen] und allen meinen Ländern geht es sehr, se[hr gut];

5 [dir], meiner [Schwes]ter, möge es se[hr, sehr] gut gehen, [den Söhnen]

[meiner Schwester möge es] sehr [gu]t gehen, dem Lande [meiner Schwester möge es gut gehen].

[7] [...

Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet und flach

Incipit of a letter, reporting the usual greetings and salutation.

b. KUB III 58 Vs. (+) III 47 Rs. (ÄHK no. 27, D8, pp. 72-75):

Ramses an PuduḪepa

Transliteration

KUB III 58

Vs.

1' [.....^{LÚ}tar-gu-]ma-an-nu [...

⁹⁴² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 74-76.

- 2' [..... x]-[r]i² LÚ an-na-a š[a ...
3' [ù ša tàš-pu-ri um-ma-]a ul LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti [ŠEŠ-ka iš-pu-ra a-na ka-a-ša]
4' [um-ma-a i-din] [KÙ.GI.MEŠ i¹-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ i-din UD.KA.BAR.MEŠ i[-din
GAD lu-ba-re-e^{MEŠ}]
5' [i-din ANŠE.KUR.RA.]MEŠ ù li-il-qú-ú-ni an-na-a [LÚ-la₁₂ a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
6' [i-din a-na še₂₀-]te-e <A.MEŠ> a-ka-la NINDA.MEŠ a-na a-p[a-li-šu ù i-di-na-aš-šu]
7' [GAD lu-ba-re-]e^{MEŠ} ù li-in-né-pu-uš¹N[e-ri-ki-i-li it-ti-ka a-na a-ma-ri-šu]
8' [ar-bi-šš qa-d]u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti Š[EŠ-ia a-kán-na]
9' [iš-pa-ra a-n]a ia-ši ù a-na-ku at-ta-din [KÙ.GI.MEŠ at-ta-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ]
10' [at-ta-din U]D.KA.BAR at-ta-din^{GAD} lu-ba-re-[e^{MEŠ} at-ta-din ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ù]
11' [a-na-ku e-]te-pu-uš ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-b[u-ú ù¹Ne-ri-ki-i-li i-ta-mar LÚ-la₁₂ an-na-a]
12' [.....-k]a ù ki-i i-mu-tù LÚ š[a šu-ú it-bal x ...
13' [.....ù] šu-ú um-te-eš-ši-ir ki-i [MUŠEN ù šu-nu ul i-mu-ru-ni-šu]
14' [ù la-qú-u]-ma ul il-qú-ú-ni-iš-š[u a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]

15' [ù a-na da-r]a-ti-im-ma él-tap-ra-aš-š[ù um-ma-a i-din a-na la-qé-šu]
16' [a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i] ù ki-i šu-ú iš-m[u-ú LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ul i-qí-ip]
17' [ki-i LÚ an-nu-ú] [it]-ta-bal-ki-it a[p-pu-na-na ina KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫat-ti]
18' [.....] x x [] x [...

KUB III 47 = *Rs. zu KUB III 58

Rs.

- [0'] [..... a-mur ṭup-pa ša ma-mi-ti]
1' [ša a-na-ku e-pu-šu a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL] KUR Ḫ[a-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia ša-kín i-na]
2' [GAM-li GÌR.MEŠ ša^dUTU^{URU} A-ri-na ù a-na pa-ni DIN[GIR¹.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šu-nu ši-bu-tù]
3' [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti ù a-]mur ṭup-pa ša m[a-mi-ti ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL]
4' [KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia i-pu-šu a-na i]a-ši ša-kín i-na GAM-li [GÌR.MEŠ ša]
5' [^dUTU ša^{URU.KI} A-na ù a-na pa-]ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL-ti šu-nu ši-bu[-tù ša a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
6' [ša ma-mi-ti ù a-mur a-na-k]u aš-bat-šu dan-na a-na UGU-ḫi-i[a]
7' [ù a-na-ku la ú-maš-šar-]šu ù at-tu-nu la-a tù-qa-ap[
8' [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša la kit-ti] ša at-tu-nu te-še-em-mé šA-ku-nu
9' [ia-nu i-na ŠĀ-šu a-ma-t]ù a-ma-ta an-ni-i ša la ši-ip-ri
10' [la te-še-em-mé-ša a-mur t]e₄-ma SIG₅-qú ša ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù sa-la-mi
11' [ša a-na-ku i-na ŠĀ-šu q]à-du LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti a-na-ku a-kán-na [i-na ŠĀ-šu a-di
da-ri-ti]

Rest der Tafel in Höhe von 10 Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁹⁴³

KUB III 58

Vs.

- 1' [..... Dolm]etscher (oder nur ma-an-nu „wer?“) [

2' [.....] diesen Mann, d[er ...
3' [Und was du wie folg]t [geschrieben hast]: „Hat nicht der König von Ḫatti, [dein Bruder, an dich, wie
folgt, geschrieben]:
4' [„Gib] Gold, gib Silber, gib Bronze, g[ib Gewänder],
5' [gib Pferd]e, damit man diesen [Mann nach Ägypten] bringe;
6' [gib] (Wasser) [zu trin]ken, Brot zu essen um [ihn] zufriedenzustellen, und gib ihm]
7' [Gewänd]er; und N[erikīli] möge sich zusammentun [mit dir um ihn schleunigst zu finden]
8' [mitsam]t seinen Brüdern“. [So] hat der König von Ḫatti, [mein] B[ruder],
9' [mi]r [geschrieben]. Und ich gab [Gold, gab Silber],
10' [gab B]ronze, gab Gewänd[er, gab Pferde und]
11' [ich t]at, was mein Bruder gesafgt hatte. Nerikīli aber fand diesen Mann],

⁹⁴³ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 91-92. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 122-125.

- 12' [dei]nen [Widersacher], und als er (Nerikīli) starb, [da bestach (o. ä.)] der Mann, d[en er
(Nerikīli) zu sich gebracht hatte]
13' [seinen Wächter, und] er wurde freigelassen wie [ein Vogel, und man fand ihn nicht],
14' [und] man hat ih[n] nicht [ins Land **Ägypten** gebracht].
-
- 15' [Und immer wi]eder habe ich ih[m] geschrieben, [wie folgt: „Veranlasse, daß er]
16' [ins Land **Ägypt**]en [gebracht wird]“; und als er (das) hör[te, da glaubte der König des Landes Ḫatti
nicht],
17' [daß diese]r [Mann] n[och dazu in die Länder des Landes Ḫatti] hinübergegangen war.
18' [.....] *Spuren* [...

KUB III 47 = *Rs. zu KUB III 58

Rs.

- [0'] [..... Siehe, die Tafel des Eides],
1' [den ich dem Großkönig, dem König] des Landes Ḫ[atti, meinem Bruder, geleistet habe, liegt]
2' [zu Füßen der Sonnengöttin von Arinna] und vor den [großen] Göt[tern; sie sind Zeugen]
3' [der Worte des Eides. Und si]ehe, die Tafel des E[ides, den der Großkönig, der König]
4' [des Landes Ḫatti, mein Bruder, m]ir [geleistet hat], liegt zu [Füßen des]
5' [Sonnengottes von Heliopolis und v]or den großen Göttern; sie sind Zeu[gen der Worte]
6' [des Eides. Und siehe, ic]h habe ihn fest für mic[h] ergriffen
7' [und ich werde] ihn [auf keinen Fall aufgeben], und ihr sollt nicht glauben in eurem Herzen
8' [den unwahren Worten], die ihr hört;
9' [es ist kein (wahres) Wor]t [darin]. Dieses Gerede ohne Gehalt -
10' [ihr sollt es nicht anhören! Siehe], das schöne Verhältnis der Brüderschaft und des Friedens,
11' [in dem ich mich m]it dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, befinde - ich (verbleibe) so i[n
ihm auf ewig].

Rest der Tafel in Höhe von 10 Zeilen unbeschriftet

The reverse of this tablet reports the quite common topic of the brotherhood established with the Treaty, whose deposition in front of the gods is here described. The topic on the obverse reveals much more intriguing features: in the incipit, it seems to report a quotation of an interpreter (^{LÚ}*tar-gu-]ma-an-nu*), but no further information is retrievable. Ḫattušili asks to the pharaoh to offer gold, silver, bronze, clothes and horses (i.e., to establish a ransom?)⁹⁴⁴ for the capture of a man who has “to be brought in Egypt” (*ù li-il-qú-ú-ni an-na-a [LÚ-la₁₂ a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*, Vs. 5’): it is very likely, also comparing this letter with KUB III 37 (see *supra*, text no. 22.c) maybe the “Parallel-Brief” of the present text, that the man in question is Urḫi-Teššub himself, escaped somewhere in Syria. The other request that the Hittite king advances to the pharaoh (*i-din a-na še₂₀-]te-e <A.MEŠ> a-ka-la NINDA.MEŠ a-na a-p[a-li-šu*, “give water to be drunk, bread to be eaten”, Vs. 6’) is to provide all the necessary to perform a tight quest of the fugitive man. The quotation of a dead man, could be referred (as Edel does in his translation) to Nerikkaili, who has been send in Syria by Ḫattušili to find out the place where the king’s nephew was hidden. Maybe, Nerikkaili was successful, but when he died Urḫi-Teššub corrupted someone to escape again. Thus, Ramses is informing Ḫattušili that the fugitive has not still be brought in Egypt, and is still “flying like a bird” (*ù] šu-ú um-te-eš-ši-ir ki-i [MUŠEN*, Vs. 13’), a metaphor attested in other texts already presented (see *supra*, text nos 19.d and 25.e).

c. KUB III 69 (ÄHK no. 33, D14, pp. 88-91):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

⁹⁴⁴ A similar passage is also reported in Ramses’ letter to Kupanta-Kuruntiya, king of Mira, see KBo I 24 + KUB III 23 + KUB III 84, Vs. 15-19 (*infra*, text no. 29).

Vs.

1' [..... a-ki-i ša at-ti táq-]bi-i

2' [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma ù ša at-ti t]àš-pu-ra
 3' [a-na ia-ši um-ma-a a-nu-ma at-ta-din ¹]Pí-qa-aš-ta
 4' [DUMU.KIN-i]a a-na a-la-^rki a-na DUMU.KIN-ut^r-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia
 5' [ù a-na]-ku a^l-tap-ra-aš-šu i-na pí-šu i-na ši-ip-n-ia
 6' [a-na] DUMU.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ù šu-ú li-iq-ba-aš-šu-nu-ti
 7' [š]i-ip-ra-ti-ia ù li-iq-ba-šu-nu-ti a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ia
 8' a-na pa-ni LUGAL ù li-id<din>-šu-nu-ti a-na ša-mé-š[u-nu]
 9' DUMU.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia at-ti kán-na táq-bi-i

10' a-nu-ma at-ta-din ¹Pí-qa-al-ta a-na qa-bé-e gab-bi gab-bi
 11' a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša at-ti táq-bi-i a-na ša-a-šu
 12' i-na pí-šu a-na pa-ni LUGAL it-ta-din a-na ša-mé-e-š[u-nu]
 13' DUMU.MEŠ-ia gab-bi-šu-nu ki-i ša NIN-ti táq-bi-i

14' a-mur a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-ti ša ¹Pí-qa-al-ta
 15' [i]q-bu-u a-na-ku mi-na-a h́e-e-tá ša e-pu[-uš]
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [a-na UG]U-ḫi ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-ku mi-na-a h́e-[-e-tá]
 2 [ša e-]pu-uš a-na UGU-ḫi-ki kán-na-ma ù DUMU.K[IN(!) MEŠ-ki]
 3 [iq-t]a(!)-bu-ú-ni a-na ia-ši um-ma-a te-te-pu-u[š]

4 [ša-al-ma-ku ŠEŠ-ḫa-ku it-ti LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-t[i]
 5 ŠEŠ-ia i-na ṭe₄-mi-ia gi-na-a gi-na-a a-na[-ku]
 6 ul e-pu-uš ṭe₄-mi-ia i-na ša-ni-i ṭe₄-[mi]
 7 it-ti-šu ù ša at-ti táš-pu-ra a-na ia-[-ši]
 8 um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din a-na a-la-ki a-na ia-ši
 9 DUMU.KIN-ri an-na-a at-tu-ia ar-ḫi-iš

10 a-mur a-du-ku aš-ša-r[a-aḫ-š]u a[-na a-la-ki] a-na NIN-ia
 11 ar-ḫi-iš qà-du [DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia ù ul-]ṭe-bíl
 12 šu-be-el-ta a-na š[ul-ma-an NIN-ia ù] at-ti šu-ú ti₄-de₄-e

13 I GAL ša še₂₀a-te-e š[a <KÙ>.GI] SIG₅ [I] ša še₂₀-te-e
 14 ša <KÙ>.GI SIG₅ I ú-nu-tù ša še₂₀-te-e ša <KÙ>.GI SIG₅

15 [I GAL GA]L-tu₄ ša še₂₀-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 16 [..... x] [x x]-tu₄ GUD.MAḪ
 [17] [...

Translation⁹⁴⁵

Vs.

1' [..... entsprechend dem, was du ges]agt hast.

2' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und was du ge]schrieben hast
 3' [an mich wie folgt: „Ich habe nunmehr] Píqašta,
 4' [meinen Boten, veranlaßt] wegen einer Botenmission zu meinem Bruder zu gehen,
 5' [und i]ch sandte ihn mit seinem Bericht (und) mit meiner Botschaft
 6' [zu] den Söhnen meines Bruders, und er möge sie vortragen,
 7' meine Botschaften, und er möge sie vortragen, meine Worte,

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 112-114. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 142-143.

8' vor dem König, und er möge sie sie (meine Worte) hören lassen,
9' die Söhne meines Bruders“ - so hast du gesagt.

10' Ich habe nunmehr Piqašta veranlaßt alle, alle
11' Worte, die du ihm gesagt hast,
12' in seinem Bericht vor dem König vorzutragen; er hat sie (auch)
13' alle meine Söhne hören lassen, wie du, meine Schwester, (es) gesagt hast.

14' Siehe, diese Worte, die Piqašta
15' [vor] getragen hat, - was ist das für eine Verfehlung, die ich
Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [geg]en meinen Bruder began[gen] haben soll? Und was ist das für eine Verf[ehlung],
2 [die ich] ebenso gegen dich [beg]angen haben soll? Und (doch) haben [deine] Bot[en]
3 zu mir [ges]agt, wie folgt: „Du hast (sie) began[gen]!“

4 Ich bin in Frieden (und) verbrüdet in meinem Verhältnis mit dem König des Landes Ḥatt[i],
5 meinem Bruder, für immer. Ic[h]
6 habe mein Verhältnis nicht in ein anderes Verh[ältnis]
7 zu ihm umgewandelt. Und was du mi[r] geschrieben hast,
8 wie folgt: „Mein Bruder möge diesen meinen Boten
9 eilends zu mir gehen lassen“, -

10 siehe fürwahr, ich habe [ih]n abgesandt u[m] eilends zu meiner Schwester [zu gehen]
11 zusammen mit [meinen Boten und ich habe]
12 ein Geschenk bringen lassen als Be[grüßung] für meine Schwester, und] du sollst (es) erfahren:

13 1 Trinkbecher aus gutem [Gold; 1] Trink[schale (o. ä.)]
14 aus gutem Gold; 1 Trinkgefäß aus gutem Gold;

15 [1 gr]ößer Trink[becher] aus gutem Gold, mit Silber eingelegt;
16 [.....].[.....]; ein Stier
[17] [...]

This letter was considered by Edel to be part of the “Urḫi-Teššub dossier”, mostly because of the sentence in Rs. 2-3, which refers to some guilt committed by Ramses, that the German scholar interpreted as a justification of Ramses for the proposal of exiling the fugitive man in Egypt⁹⁴⁶. Differently, Cordani included the letter among those related to the royal marriage, comparing some peculiar expressions (the mention of Piqašta, the request to send back quickly the messenger, the probable quotation of the “daughter”, DUMU.MUNUS⁹⁴⁷ in Rs. 2) with those in KUB XXI 38 (see *infra*, text no. 35). In any case, Puduḥepa sends the messenger Piqašta to report a communication to Ramses’ sons: this passage is quite noteworthy, being the only case in which a message is addressed to these personages. Piqašta reports Ramses an accusation for having committed an unspecified fault (maybe something related to the marriage, if we accept the mention of the “daughter” as true), for which the king promptly excuses himself, reaffirming his loyalty to the Treaty: *a-na[-ku] / ul e-pu-uš te₄-mi-ia i-na ša-ni-i te₄-[mi] / it-ti-šu* “Ic[h] / habe mein Verhältnis nicht in ein anderes Verh[ältnis] / zu ihm umgewandelt.” (Rs. 5-7). The letter ends with the dispatching of some gifts: 1 drink cup, 1

⁹⁴⁶ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 142-143; cf. SINGER 2006b, p. 36.

⁹⁴⁷ Cordani 2017, p. 113, note 6: “Edel 1994a, vol. 1, p. 90 emenda il passo in DUMU.K[IN(!) MEŠ-ki iq-t]a(!)-bu-ú-ni ‘i [tuoi] messag[geri] mi hanno [det]to’. Questa lettura presuppone non solo che lo scriba abbia fatto due diversi errori a breve distanza l’uno dall’altro, ma anche che la lettera, dopo aver sempre menzionato il solo Piqašta, si riferisca ora ai messaggeri al plurale. In alternativa, si può forse leggere alla fine di vo. 2 DUMU.MUNUS ‘la figlia’, forse seguito in lacuna da qualcosa come ‘avrei (forse) rifiutato?’”.

drink bowl and 1 drink vessel (all of them made of fine gold); 1 big drink cup of fine gold, with silver marquetry and, eventually, 1 *GUD.MAḪ*, literally, “a bull”: we can interpret this last object as a typical *rhyton* in the shape of a bull head, also mentioned in other letters (see *infra*, texts nos 32.b and 33.d⁹⁴⁸). For the possibility of envisaging a similar item in the Hittite tribute of Thutmose III’s Annals, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 1.

d. KBo XXVIII 14 (= 1353/c + 1666/c + 2442/c) (ÄHK no. 44, E11, pp. 110-113):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

1 [u]m-ma ¹Ua-aš-mu-a-r[i-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL]
 2 [LU]GAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i DUMU [^dUTU ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i ^da-ma-na]
 3 [L]UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-[iṣ-ri-i]

4 a-na ^{ŠAL}Pu-du-ḫe-pa ŠA[L.LUGAL.GAL-ti ŠAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
 5 ^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia qí-b[í-ma]

6 a-nu-ma ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-[i ^da-ma-na LUGAL.GAL]
 7 LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i ŠEŠ-ki š[a-li-im a-na É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia]
 8 DUMU.MEŠ-ia ERIN-MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-i[a
 9 ù i-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia da[n-niš dan-niš šul-mu]

10 a-na ka-a-ši ^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia ŠAL.L[UGAL.GAL ŠAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
 11 lu-ú šul-mu dan-niš dan-niš a-na L[UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
 12 ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-k[i DUMU.MEŠ-ki LÚ.MEŠ-ki]
 13 ù a-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ki lu-ú š[ul-mu dan-niš dan-niš]

14 um-ma-a a-na ^{ŠAL}a-ḫ[a-ti-ia-ma a-nu-]ma a-di a-ša-ar-ra-aḫ]
 15 ¹Zi-na-a-pa DUMU.KIN-ri-ia qà-du [¹Ma-an-ia DUMU.KIN-ri-ia]
 16 qà-du ¹Ti-li-^dIŠKUR DUMU.KIN-ri ša [^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-i]a
 17 qà-du ¹Ri-a-ma-aš-ia DUMU.KIN-ri ša [^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia a-di a-na-ku]
 18 [a-na-an-din-šu-nu-ti a-n]a a-la-ki [a-na ^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia]
 [19] [i-ni-in-na ù ú-še-bíl šu-bé-el-ta dá-mi-iq-ta]
 [20] [dá-mi-iq-ta a-na ŠU-ti-šu-nu a-na ^{ŠAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia]
 [21] [ù at-ti lu-ú ti-de-ši]
 [22] [...]

Rs.

1' [...]

2' [.....]Rasur[...]

3' 1 kap-t[ù-ku-ú ša KÙ.GI ŠI]G₅ KI.LAL-šu 96 GÍN

4' 1 ḫa(!)-ga-r[a- š]a KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 36 GÍN

5' ŠU.NIGIN gab-bi [KÙ.GI SIG₅ 1(?) ME] 32 GÍN

6' 2 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ GAL lu[-bu-ul-ti LUGAL] ša-bu-tu ša 15 am-ma-ti

7' ar-ku ru-pu-u[š-šu-nu š]a 5½ am-ma-ti

⁹⁴⁸ e.g. KUB III 70, Vs. 11-12: [1 GAL] ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú ša še-te-e / [i-na p]a-ni GUD.MAḪ SI.MEŠ-šu NA₄.BABBAR. The similarity between these two objects has already been tentatively proposed in CORDANI 2017, p. 114, note 2. Another golden *rhyton*, probably coming from Egypt is quoted in KBo II 11 (see *infra*, text no. 41.b).

8' 2 ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu [ša-b]u-tù lu-bu-ul-ti LUGA[L]
 9' 2 ^{GAD.TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ}ša-[bu-t]ù lu-bu-ul-ti LUGA[L]
 10' 3 ^{GAD.TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ Š}[IG₅.MEŠ ša-b]u-tù
 11' 3 ^{GAD.TÚG.GÚ}[.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ Š][IG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tù
 12' ŠU.NIGIN ^G[^{AD}TÚG.MEŠ gab-bi 12 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ]
 13' I tù-up[-ni-nu ša ^{GIS}EŠI KÚ.GI GAR.RA šu-up-ra-ti-šu ša]
 14' ĜÌR.MEŠ-šu [ša KI.LAL KÚ.GI x ĜÍN]

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 5 Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation⁹⁴⁹

Vs.

1 [S]o (sagt) Wašmuar[ia šatepnaria, der Großkönig],
 2 [der Kö]nig des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn [der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana],
 3 der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Äg[ypten]**:

4 Zu Puduḫepa, der [Großkönig]in, [der Königin des Landes Ḫatti],
 5 meiner Schwester, spric[h]:

6 Nun, Riamašeša m[ai-amana, der Großkönig],
 7 der König des Landes **Ägypten**, dein Bruder, bef[indet sich wohl, meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen],
 8 meinen Söhnen, meinen Truppen, mei[nen] Pferden, [meinen Wagen]
 9 und innerhalb aller meiner Länder [geht es] se[hr, sehr gut];

10 dir, meiner Schwester, der [Groß]kö[nigin, der Königin des Landes Ḫatti],
 11 möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen, dem [Groß]k[önig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti],
 12 meinem Bruder, möge es gut gehen, die[nen] Häusern, [deinen Söhnen, deinen Leuten],
 13 und innerhalb aller deiner Länder möge e[s sehr, sehr gut gehen].

14 So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Nunme[hr fürwahr entsende ich]
 15 Zinapa, meinen Boten mit [Manja, meinem Boten],
 16 mit TiliTeššub, dem Boten [mei]ner [Schwester],
 17 zusammen mit Riamašja, dem Boten [meiner Schwester; fürwahr, ich]
 18 [lasse sie jetzt zu meiner Schwester] gehen
 [19] [und ich werde ein schönes],
 [20] [schönes Geschenk durch ihre Hand meiner Schwester senden],
 [21] [und du sollst es erfahren]:
 [22] [...]

Rs.

1' [...]

2' [.....] Rasur [...]

3' I kapt[ukû-Gefäß aus gu]tem [Gold], dessen Gewicht 96 Schekel beträgt.

4' I ḫagar[abaš (?) au]s gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt;

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 139-140. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 178-180.

5'	Summe allen [guten Goldes: 1(?)]32 Schekel.
6'	2 große gefärbte linnene Gewänder aus By[ssos], von 15 Ellen
7'	Länge, [deren] Breit[e] 5½ Ellen beträgt;
8'	2 [gef]ärbte linnene <i>maklalu</i> -Gewänd[er] aus Byssos.
9'	2 ge[färb]te linnene Tuniken aus Byssos.
10'	3 [gef]ärbte linnene Gewänder aus „gutem dü[nnem]“ (Faden).
11'	3 gefärbte linnene Tuni[ken aus „g]utem [dünnem]“ (Faden).
12'	Summe [aller] l[innenen Gewänder: 12 linnene Gewänder].
13'	1 Tru[he aus Ebenholz mit Gold überzogen, deren Klauen (o. ä.) aus sind, und]
14'	deren Füße [aus sind; das Gewicht des Goldes beträgt x Schekel].
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 5 Zeilen unbeschriftet	

Quite a routine document, the obverse reporting the usual greetings, while the obverse lists some gift sent by Ramses to Puduḥepa, by the hands of the messengers Zinapa, Mania and Tili-Teššub⁹⁵⁰:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Metal	kap-t[ù-ku-ú ša KÙ.GI ŠI]G ₅	<i>kaptukku</i> -vessel, of fine gold	1 piece = 96 shekels
	<i>ḥa(!)-ga-r[a- š]a KÙ.GI SIG₅</i>	<i>ḥagara</i> ⁹⁵¹ , of fine gold	1 piece = 36 shekels
	ŠU.NIGIN gab-bi [KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Total of fine gold	32 shekels
Linens	GAD.TÚG.MEŠ GAL lu[-bu-ul-ti LUGAL] ša-bu-tu	Large ⁹⁵² “King” quality linens, colourful	2 pieces = 15 cubits (length), 5.5 cubits (width) ⁹⁵³
	GAD.TÚG ^{ma-ak-la-lu [ša-b]u-tù lu-bu-ul-ti LUGA[L]}	<i>maklalu</i> -linens, of “King” quality, colourful	2 pieces
	GAD.TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ Š[IG ₅ .MEŠ ša-b]u-tù	Linens of fine quality, colourful	3 pieces
	GAD.TÚG.GÚ[.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ Š[IG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tù	Linen tunics of fine quality, colourful	3 pieces
	ŠU.NIGIN G[AD.TÚG.MEŠ gab-bi	Total of the linens	12 pieces
Wood	1 tù-up[-ni-nu ša G ^{IS} EŠI KÙ.GI GAR.RA šu-up-ra-ti-šu ša] / GÌR.MEŠ-šu [ša KIL.LAL KÙ.GI x GÍN]	Chest of ebony, covered with gold, with claws of ... and feet of ...	x shekels (gold)

e. KBo XXVIII 11 (= 645/c + 1157/c) (ÄHK no. 48, E15, pp. 128-129):
Ramses an Puduḥepa

⁹⁵⁰ Edel’s integrations are reported in *italic*.

⁹⁵¹ This term is integrated in (EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 179): “Dann wäre freilich unsere Lesung und Ergänzung von *ḥa’-ga-ra[-ba-aš]* in Rs. 4’ wohl zu revidieren, da *ḥaragabaš* ja wiederum nach EA 14 I 63 für das GAL-Gefäß gebraucht wird. Gedacht werden könnte auch an eine Halskette (*ša tikki*), mit der z. B. die Geschenkliste Napteras für Puduḥepa beginnt (KBo I 29+, Vs. 25”). For this last reference, see *infra*, text no. 30.a.

⁹⁵² EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 297 proposed a comparison between these “big” linens and the “small” linens in KBo XXVIII 34 (= 1168/c), see *infra*, text no. 33.p.

⁹⁵³ Particular and unique is the specification of the measures of these linens, in length and width.

Transliteration

Vs.

[0'] [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-nu-ma a-ša-ar-ra-aḥ]
1' [DUMU.MEŠ.KI]N-i[a qà-du DUMU.MEŠ.K]IN ša N[IN-ia a-na a-la-ki a-na]
2' [NIN]-ti-ia [a-di a-na-an-d]in-šu-nu-ti a-[na a-la-ki]
3' [a-n]a NIN-i[a i-na-an-n]a a-di a-ša-a[r-ra-aḥ-šu-nu-ti]
4' [a-]na a-la-[ki a-na NIN-i]a i-na ^{III}GU₄.SI.[ŠÁ]
5' ITI an-ni-[ta i-maḥ-ḥa-ru]-šu ù a-na-ku a-ša[p-pár]
6' a-na NIN-ia [UGU gab-bi š]i-ip-ri ša NIN-ti
7' iš-pu-ra a-[na ia-ši U]GU-ši-na

8' um-ma-a a-na N[IN-ia-ma a-]nu-ma al-ta-pár ^IMa-[an-ia]
9' DUMU.KIN-ia qà-d[u ^IRi-a-maš-ši DUMU.KIN ša NIN[-ia]
10' ar-ḥi-iš dan-[nī]š a-na NIN-ia UGU kál-le-[e]
11' UGU I-et ši-ip-ri ar-ḥi-iš dan-niš dan-nī[š]
12' ù a-na-ku al-ta-pár-šu-nu-ti UGU-ša a-na N[IN-ia]
13' i-na pí-šu-nu ù [N]IN-ti li-iš-mé gab-b[i gab-bi]
14' a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ^IM[a-a]n-ia qà-du ^IRi-a-[maš-ši]
15' DUMU.KIN ša NIN-i[a] a-na qa-bé-e-ši-na[-ti a-na NIN-ia]
16' UGU ši-ip-ri an-n[i]-ti ša a-na-ku aš-pu[r-šu-nu-ti]
17' UGU-ša a-na NIN-ia

18' [k]i-ia-am DÛ-tu₄ dan-nī[š d]an-niš ši-i[p-ru an-nu-u]
19' [š]a a-na-ku aš-pur ^IMa[-an-ia qà-du ^IRi-a-maš-ši UGU-ša]
Tafelrand

Rs. zu 645/c+1157/c:

44/1=KBo XXVIII 12

1 [a-na NIN-ia ul ep-pu-u]š la ta-qab-b[i um-ma-a a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti]
2 [ù NIN-ia li-iš-mé a]-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-nu-t[i ša a-na-ku]
3 [aš-pur ^IMa-an-i]a qà-du ^IRi-a-maš-š[i UGU-ši-na a-na NIN-ia]

4 [ù šu-nu li-id-di-n]u a-na ra-bé-e ŠÁ š[a NIN-ia]
5 [ki-ia-am DÛ-tu₄] dan-niš gab-bi ga[b-bi]
6 [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša] a-na-ku aš-pur ^IMa-[an-ia qà-du]
7 [^IRi-a-maš-ši UGU-]ši-na a-na N[IN-ia]
8 [ù NIN-ia li-iš-mé-]šu-nu-ti ḥ[a-di-iš]

9 [ù NIN-ia li-pu-uš ga]b-bi ṭe₄-m[i ša maš-lu]
10 [a-na e-pe-ši-šu-nu i-ni-i]n-na ù [NIN-ia liš-pu-ra]
11 [a-na ia-ši ar-ḥi-iš a]r-ḥi-iš [UGU gab-bi ṭe₄-mi]
12 [ša maš-lu a-na e-pé-]ši-šu[-nu i-ni-in-na]

Translation⁹⁵⁴

Vs.

[0'] [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Ich werde nunmehr]
1' me[ine Bo]ten [und die Bo]ten [meiner] Sch[wester absenden, um zu]
2' meiner [Schwest]er [zu gehen. Fürwahr, ich werde] sie [jetz]t [veranlassen,
3' [z]u me[iner] Schwester [z]u gehen]; fürwahr, ich werde [sie] abse[nden],
4' [u]m [zu mei]ner [Schwester] zu geh[en] im Monat Ajjaru;
5' in dies[em] Monat [werden] sie ihn [treffe]n. Und ich werde

⁹⁵⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 198-203.

6' meiner Schwester schrei[ben wegen aller Vorhaben, deretwegen
7' m[ir] meine Schwester geschrieben hat.

8' So (sprich) zu [meiner] Sch[wester]: Ich sandte [nu]nmehr Ma[nja],
9' meinen Boten, un[d] Riamašši, den Boten [meiner] Schwester,
10' sehr eilig zu meiner Schwester wegen einer Elnachricht (und)
11' wegen eines Vorhabens, sehr, sehr eilig,
12' und ich sandte sie ihretwegen zu [meiner] Sch[wester]
13' mit ihrer mündlichen Botschaft, und meine Schwester möge all[e, alle]
14' Worte [hören], die Manja und Ria[mašši],
15' der Bote meiner Schwester, [meiner Schwester] sagen werden
16' betreffs dieses Vorhabens, dessentwegen ich [sie]
17' zu meiner Schwester sandte.

18' So (sprich): Seh[r, s]ehr schön ist [dieses] Vorha[ben],
19' [dessentwegen] ich Ma[nja und Riamašši]
Tafelrand

Rs. zu 645/c+1157/c:
44/1=KBo XXVIII 12

1 [zu meiner Schwester] sandte. [„Ich werde (es) nicht ausfüh]ren“ sollst du nicht sag[en. So (sprich):
Diese Angelegenheiten -]
2 [meine Schwester möge] dies[e] Angelegenheiten hören, [deretwegen ich]
3 [Manj]a und Riamašš[i zu meiner Schwester sandte].

4 [Und sie mögen veranlassen, daß das Herz [meiner Schwester] sich freue (eig. groß werde).
5 [So (sprich): Sehr [schön] sind alle, a[lle]
6 [Angelegenheiten], deret[wegen] ich Ma[nja und]
7 [Riamašši] zu [meiner] Sch[wester] sandte,
8 [und meine Schwester möge] sie fr[eudig anhören],

9 [und meine Schwester möge al]le Pläne ausführen,
10 [deren Ausführung je]tzt [angemessen ist], und [meine Schwester möge]
11 [mir eilends, e]ilends [schreiben wegen aller Pläne],
12 de[ren Ausfüh]rung [jetzt angemessen ist]

Ramses writes this letter to inform Puduḥepa that he was going to send her his messenger who will reach Ḫatti (and consequently, would meet the queen) in the month of Ayyaru (almost April-May)⁹⁵⁵. The message, for whom Mania and Riamašši⁹⁵⁶ are in charge as messengers, should be connected to the upcoming stipulation of the interdynastic marriage: the imminence of the wedding could maybe be glimpsed in the rush (*ar-ḫi-iš dan-[nī]š*), Vs. 10') with which the pharaoh sends his envoys, reporting a “quick (or oral) message/legation” (*UGU kál-le-[e]*, Vs. 10')⁹⁵⁷, trying to convince Puduḥepa of keeping faithful to the marriage agreement; in fact, it is possible to envisage in the sentence *ul ep-pu-u]š la ta-qab-b[i um-ma-a a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti*, “‘Ich werde (es) nicht ausfüh]ren’ sollst du nicht sag[en” (Rs. 1) a stalemate situation, since the Hittite queen stated not to given her permission to the wedding (maybe for reasons related to the dowry?).

f. Winckler 414 (ÄHK no. 81, II, pp. 188-189):

⁹⁵⁵ A similar chronological indication is reported also in KBo XXVIII 8, that could therefore be considered as the “Parallel-Brief” of the present text (see *supra*, text no. 20.b).

⁹⁵⁶ The messengers here quoted are the same of KBo XVIII 8, with the exception of Tili-Teššub.

⁹⁵⁷ For these “quick messages/legations”, see *supra*, text no. 20.b and LIVERANI 2002.

Ramses an Ḫattušili⁹⁵⁸

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma* ¹Ua(?)aš-mu[-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** DUMU ^dUTU ¹Ri-
a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i ^da-ma-na]
2 a-na ¹Ḫa-at-tu-š[i-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]**

3 a-nu-ma a-na ia[-ši ŠEŠ-ka šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia ERIN.MEŠ-ia
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ^{GIS}GIRME[^]-ia]
4 ù i-na ŠÀ-bi [gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu]

5 a-na ka-a[-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka ^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka]
6 [^LÚ.MEŠ GAL.M[EŠ-ka ù i-na ŠÀ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš lu-ú šu-ul-mu]

7 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ...
Rs. unbeschriftet

Translation⁹⁵⁹

Vs.

- 1 So (sagt) Wašmu[aria šatepnaria, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der
Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana]:
2 Zu Ḫattuš[ili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

3 Nun, mi[r, deinem Bruder, geht es gut, meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen, meinen Kindern, meinen
Truppen, meinen Pferden, meinen Wagen]
4 und innerhalb [aller meiner Länder geht es sehr, sehr gut];

5 di[r, meinem Bruder, möge es gut gehen, deinen Häusern, deinen Frauen, deinen Kindern, deinen
Truppen, deinen Pferden, deinen Wagen],
6 [deinen] Groß[en und innerhalb aller deiner Länder möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen].

7 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder:
Rs. unbeschriftet

This document just report the usual incipit of a royal letter, reporting greetings to the Hittite king. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 286 suggested that it could be associated to some other letters, equally lacking the incipit, as KBo I 15 + 19 (+) 22⁹⁶⁰ or KUB III 27⁹⁶¹.

g. KBo XXVIII 40 (= 54/f) (ÄHK no. 82, I2, pp. 190-191):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma ¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a š]a-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.G[AL]
2 [LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** DUMU ^dUTU ¹R]i-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i ^d[a-ma-na]
3 [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** a-na ^{SAL}]Pu-du-ḫe-pa SAL.LUGALGAL-tu₄
4 [SAL.LUGAL ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti qí-bí-m]a

⁹⁵⁸ NB: this letter is clearly addressed to Ḫattušili and not to Puduḫepa (according to EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 286-287, the respective “Parallel-Brief” should be recognized in KUB III 63; cf. *supra*, text no. 22.a); however, the HPM listed the fragment Winckler 414 under CTH 164, “Briefe Ramses’ II. an Puduḫepa”. I decided to locate this letter under CTH 164, according to HPM, not to engender further confusion.

⁹⁵⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 286-287.

⁹⁶⁰ See *supra*, text no. 19.d.

⁹⁶¹ See *supra*, text no. 25.e.

5 [a-nu-ma a-mur a-na šul-ma-ni]-ki ul-te-bíl-ak-ki gab-'bi'
 6 [ša te-ri-ša ù šu-nu i-na-d]i-nu-ši i-na ši-ter₃-ti
 7 [ù at-ti lu-ú ti-de-šu-nu-t]i

8 [šu-bé-el-tu ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-i**]š-ri-i [ú]-še-[b]l
 [9] [a-na NIN-šu]

Rs.

[-1'] [.....]
 [0'] [.....]
 1' [.....]MEŠ
 2' [.....]
 3' [šu-be-el-tu ša i]d-din
 4' [a-na]
 5' [.....]
 6' [.....]

Tafelrand; die Zeichenreste befinden sich auf der seitlichen Randkrümmung, so daß von der eigentlichen Rs. nichts zu sehen ist.

Translation⁹⁶²

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Gro[ß]könig,
 2 [der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Sohn der Sonne, R]iamašeša mai-[amana],
 3 [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**: Zu] Puduḥepa, der Großkönigin,
 4 [der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, spric]h:

5 [Siehe, als Begrüßungsgeschenk] für dich habe ich dir alles,
 6 [was du gewünscht hast], gesandt, [und man wird] es schriftlich [niederle]gen,
 7 [und du sollst s]ie (die einzelnen Geschenke) [erfahren]:

8 [Das Geschenk, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Äg]ypten**
 [9] [für seine Schwester] hat bringen lassen: [.....]

Rs.

1' [.....]e (Plural)
 2' [.....]
 3' [Das Geschenk, das ge]geben hat
 4' [für ...
 5' [.....
 6' [.....
 [Tafelrand]

With this message, Ramses informs Puduḥepa about a series of gifts that he is sending her: the list of the gifts was reported on the reverse, unfortunately very badly preserved.

h. KBo XXVIII 2 (= 1087/c) (ÄHK no. 88, I8, pp. 194-195):

Ramses an Ḫattušili⁹⁶³

Transliteration

Vs. textus rescriptus

⁹⁶² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 287.

⁹⁶³ NB: this letter is clearly addressed to Ḫattušili and not to Puduḥepa (according to EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 295); however, the HPM listed the fragment KBo XXVIII 2 under CTH 164, "Briefe Ramses' II. an Puduḥepa". I decided to locate this letter under CTH 164, according to HPM, not to engender further confusion.

- 1' [.....] x [...
 2' [.....] x x [...
 3' [..... ŠE]Š(?)*-ia* x x x x
 4' [..... a]r-*ḫi-iš* ù LUGAL ŠEŠ-*ka*
 5' [ŠEŠ-*ḫa-ku i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ti ba-ni-i it-ti ŠEŠ-ia it-ti* ^{SAL}*a-ḫa-ti-ia šal-ma(?)*-at
 6' [*da-an-ni-iš a-di da-ri-ti ù a-mur DINGIR.MEŠ-ia* ù] DINGIR.MEŠ-*šu(!)* *i-na-di-nu*
 7' [ŠEŠ-*ut-ni SIG₅ ù sa-la-am-ni SIG₅ i-na be-ri-ni a*]p-pu-na-na *a-di ša-ti*

 Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [*um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma ú-še-bi-la šu-bé*]-*el-ta a-na šul-ma-an*
 2 [ŠEŠ-*ia i-na ŠU-ti I o o o o DUMU.KIN-ri-ia* oder *-ka?* *qa-du* ¹]Ma-an-*ia*
 3 [DUMU.KIN-*ri-ia ù a-mur a-du-ku-ul a-na-ku ú-še-bi*]-*la-ak-ku*
 4 [*šu-bé-el-ta an-ni-ta i-na ŠU-ti-šu-nu ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš*] *a-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti*

 [5] [...

Translation⁹⁶⁴

Vs.

- 1' [.....] .. [...
 2' [.....] ... [...
 3' [.....] mein [Brud]er(?)
 4' [..... ei]lends; und ich, der König, dein Bruder,
 5' [bin verbrüdet in schöner Brüderschaft mit meinem Bruder (und) mi]t meiner Schwester - möge sie
 gesund (?) sein
 6' [in hohem Maße! - für immer; und meine Götter un]d seine Götter werden
 7' [unsere schöne Brüderschaft und unseren schönen Frieden zwischen uns un]ter allen Umständen auf
 ewig gewähren.

 Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Ich werde nunmehr ein Gesch]enk [bringen lassen] als
 Begrüßungsgeschenk
 2 [für meinen Bruder durch die Hand des, m/deines Boten, und] des Manja,
 3 [meines Boten; und siehe, fürwahr, ich werde] dir
 4 [dieses Geschenk eilends, eilends durch ihre Hand sen]den lassen ins Land Ḫatti,

 [5] [...

The obverse of this documents reports the common salutation to the Hittite royal couple. The term *arḫiš* in Vs. 4' (“quickly”)⁹⁶⁵ could be intended as a reference to a quick communication (cf. also the similar expression in Rs. 4), sent or received by Ramses (the fragmentary state of preservation does not allow to disambiguate). On the reverse, Ramses states to have sent gifts to Ḫattušili, by the hands of an unidentifiable messenger together with Mania. The following list of the gifts unfortunately lacks.

i. KBo XIV 55 (= 90/q) (ÄHK no. 98, I18, pp. 206-207):

⁹⁶⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 295-296.

⁹⁶⁵ For similar expressions, see *supra*, texts nos 26.q and 27.c.

Ramses an Ḫattušili (?)⁹⁶⁶

Transliteration

- 1' [.....] [x ...] [x ...
 2' [.....] a-kán-na aš-p[u-ra a-na ŠEŠ-ia ...
 3' [..... ŠE]Š-ḫu-ut-ni [...
 4' [..... DINGIR.MEŠ] a-ma-te^{MEŠ} im[-ma-ru ...
 5' [..... an]-nu-ti i-na aš(?) [-
 6' [..... a]ma-te^{MEŠ} ri-qa-ti [...
 7' [..... x] gab-bi ṭe₄-ma [...
-
- 8' [.....] um(?) -te-eš-š[i-ir ...
 9' [.....] ku(?) EGIR-ki x [...
 10' [..... ga]b-bi-šu-nu [i(?) - ...
-
- 11' [..... x] a- x x [...
 12' [.....] zer- [...
 13' [.....] stört [...
 14' [.....] zer- [...
 15' [.....] stort [...
 Andere seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹⁶⁷

- 1' [.....] ... [...
 2' [.....] - so sch[rieb] ich [meinem Bruder. ...
 3' [.....] unserer [Brüderschaft [...
 4' [.....] die Götter sollen] die Worte zur Ke[nntnis nehmen ...
 5' [.....] diese [.....] in .. [
 6' [.....] leere [Wort]e [...
 7' [.....] alle Beziehungen (o. ä.) [...
-
- 8' [.....] ließ ich/er fr[ei ...
 9' [.....] ... hinter ... [...
 10' [.....] .. sie [al]le .. [...
-
- 11' [.....] [...
 12' [.....] [...
 13' [.....] [...
 14' [.....] [...
 15' [.....] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This text, whose just some portions are preserved, generally refers to the brotherhood established with the Treaty, sanctioned in front of the gods.

j. KBo I 21 (ÄHK no. 57, E24, pp. 148-149):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [.....] [x ...
 2' [..... p]a-ni DUMU.S[AL-ki um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma ù]

⁹⁶⁶ NB: this letter is clearly addressed to Ḫattušili and not to Puduḫepa (as also tentatively proposed in EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 207); however, the HPM listed the fragment KBo XIV 55 under CTH 164, "Briefe Ramses' II. an Puduḫepa". I decided to locate this letter under CTH 164, according to HPM, not to engender further confusion.

⁹⁶⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 310.

3' [ša^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti iš-p]u-ra UGU 1-et ʿtapʿ(?)p[u(?)]-ut-ni um-ma-a a-na-ku
 4' [a-na-an-din DUMU.SAL-ia a-n]a šu-bu-lì-ša a-na LUGAL [KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
 5' [SIG₅-qi dan-niš ša^{SAL}a-ḥ]a-ti ḥa-aš-ḥa-at a-na šu-ub[-bu-lì-ša]
 6' [a-na LUGAL id-ni a-na] šu-ub-⟨bu-⟩lì-ša [i-na-an-na]

7' [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-m]a LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-tu₄ ša KUR Kà-a[š-kà ša NIN-ti]
 8' [ḥa-aš-ḥa-at a-na šu-bu-lì-]š[u-nu ù ma-ga₅-ru-ú ma-a[g-ru]
 9' [id-ni a-na a-la-ki ERIN-b]i^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-ia it-ti-š[u-nu a-na ia-š]i
 10' [a-na o o o pu-u]l-ḥi-š[u-nu NIN-ti ša ŠÀ-šu l[i-pu-u]š
 11' [SIG₅-qi gab-bi ʿe₄-mi] ša ip-pu-š[u-nu-ti ul a-na DA[M ša ŠEŠ-i]a-a
 12' [aq-bi um-ma-a ki-]a-am at-ti^{SAL}be-el-tu₄ ša KUR-t[u₄ ša-a-š]i
 13' [ù at-ti^{SAL}be-el-t]u₄ ša gab-bi [-š[u-nu]

14' [um-ma-a a-na NIN-i]a-ma ù ša^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti iš-pu-r[a a-na i]a-š
 15' [aš-šum^{LÚ}Kà-aš-k]a^{MEŠ} um-ma-a ul i-na-an-din-š[u-nu]u-ti
 16' [a-na ta-ri a-na a-ša-b]i i-na É.MEŠ-š[u-nu] [a-di da-ri-ti]
 Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [š^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti kán-na] iš-pu-ra a-na ia-š*i* a-nu-ma i-te-n[é]-pu-š
 2 [a-kán-na a-na UGU-]ḥi-š[u-nu ki ki-it-ti ù ki-i ip-pu-š
 3 [id-ni a-na la-]a gur-ri-i ma-am-ma a-na UGU-ḥi-š[u-nu
 4 [la ta-na-di-ni-]š[u-nu a-na gur-ri-i a-na UGU-ḥi ša-ni-i

5 [um-ma-a ù ki-]i^{SAL}a-ḥa-a-ti tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-š*i*
 6 [la ta-na-din a-na a]-še-š[u-nu it-ta-na-al-la-ku
 7 [še-ra um-ma-a ša ḥ]a-š*i*-iḥ a-na a-la-ki aš-ra-nu
 8 [li-il-li-ik ga-ma-ru-ú]u-ú ga-am-ru ú-ka₄-lu

9 [um-ma-a a-na NIN-i]a-ma a-nu-ma aš-ša-ra-a]
 10 [¹Ma-an-ia DUMU.KIN-ri-ia q]ù-du¹Ri-a-ma-aš-ia
 11 [DUMU.KIN ša^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia] a-na a-la-ki a-na UKU-ḥi[-ki]
 12 [a-na a-ma-ri šul-ma ša ŠEŠ-i]a a-na a-ma-ri šul-m[a]
 13 [ša^{SAL}a-ḥa-ti-ia a-na a-ma-ri š]ul-ma ša KUR-ku-nu

14 [a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la-ak-ki šu-be-]el-ta a-na š[ul-ma-ni-ki]
 [15] [i-na ŠU-ti¹Ma-an-ia DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ù at-ti lu-ú ti₄-de₄-e]
 [16] [...

Translation⁹⁶⁸

Vs.

1' [.....] .. [..... und mein Bote]
 2' [möge das Ant]litz [deiner] Toch[ter sehen (o. ä.)! So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und]
 3' [was meine Schwester] betreffs [unserer] einzigartigen Gemei[nschaft(??) gesch]rieben hat, [wie folgt: „Ich]
 4' [werde veranlassen, da]ß meine Tochter] zum König [des Landes Ägypten] gesandt wird“ –
 5' (so sage ich darauf): [Sehr schön ist, da]ß meine [Sch]wester [sie]
 6' [zum König] zu sen[den] wünscht! [Veranlasse, da]ß sie [sogleich] gesandt wird!

7' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester]: Diese Leute aus dem Ka[ška]-Land, die
 8' [meine Schwester zu senden wünscht], sind wirklich willkommen.
 9' [Lasse Trup]pen meines Bruders mit ihn[en zu mi]r [gehen]
 10' [um zu beseitigen (o. ä.) die Fu]rcht vor ihnen. Meine Schwester m[öge] ihren Wunsch [ausfüh]ren!
 11' [Gut sind alle Dinge], die sie ihnen antun wird. [Habe ich] nicht zur Fr[au m]eines [Bruders]

⁹⁶⁸ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 129-130. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 231-235.

12' [gesagt wie folgt: „(Es ist) s]o: Du bist die Herrin des [besagten] Land[es],
13' [und du bist die Herr]in von [ihnen] allen.“

14' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester]: Und was meine Schwester [m]ir geschrieben hat
15' [über die Kaška]er, wie folgt: „Ich werde nie[mals] zulassen,
16' [daß] si[e zurückkehren um] in ihren Häusern [zu wohn]en“.
Tafelrand

Rs.

1 - [so hat meine Schwester] mir geschrieben. Nun, man handelt
2 [so ge]gen sie zu Recht; und da man (so) handelt,
3 [so lasse k]einen gegen sie Krieg führen
4 [und lasse] (auch) sie gegen keinen anderen Krieg führen!

5 [So (sprich): Und d]a meine Schwester mir geschrieben hat:
6 [„Lasse] sie [nicht ent]fliehen! Sie gehen immer wieder
7 [in die Wüstensteppe!“ So (sage ich darauf): Wer] dorthin zu gehen [w]ünscht,
8 [der soll gehen! M]ögen sie (dann) zugrunde gerichtet sein, wenn sie (die Wüstensteppe) innehaben!

9 [So (sprich) zu mei]ner [Schwester]: Nunmehr habe ich abgesandt
10 [Manja, meinen Boten, u]nd Riamašja,
11 [den Boten meiner Schwester], um zu [dir] zu gehen,
12 [um nach dem Wohlbefinden me]ines [Bruders zu sehen], um nach dem Wohlbefind[en]
13 [meiner Schwester] zu sehen (und) [um nach dem W]ohlbefinden eures Landes [zu sehen].

14 [Nunmehr habe ich dir ein Ge]schenk als Begrüßungsg[eschenk für dich]
[15] [gesandt durch die Hand Manjas, meines Boten, und du sollst (es) erfahren]:
[16] [...

This document reports some arrangements between the two courts about the stipulation of the “First Marriage” and the treatment of Kaška people sent to Egypt as part of the dowry belonging to the Hittite princess⁹⁶⁹. The obverse begins with Ramses reaffirming his happiness in receiving the Hittite princess and the Kaška people together with her; in particular, in Vs. 8’, the pharaoh literally states that *ù ma-ga5-ru-ú ma-a[g-ru]*, “sind wirklich willkommen”⁹⁷⁰. Another interesting information is attested in Vs. 15’-16’, where Puduḫepa says not to want they (i.e., the Kaška) would never come back Ḫatti: *ul i-na-an-din-šu-n[u-ti] / [a-na ta-ri a-na a-ša-b]i i-na É.MEŠ-šu-nu [a-di da-ri-ti]*, “Ich werde nie[mals] zulassen, / [daß] si[e zurückkehren um] in ihren Häusern [zu wohn]en”. This statement of the Hittite queen leads to understand that the Hittite royal couple did not send the Kaška people to Egypt just as a gift, to pay homage to the pharaoh, but also as a way to get rid of possible dangerous rioters. The reason for this kind of exile, is described in the following lines: *a-nu-ma i-te-n[é]-pu-šu / [a-kán-na a-na UGU-]ḫi-šu-nu ki ki-it-ti ù ki-i ip-pu-šu / [id-ni a-na la-]a gur-ri-i ma-am-ma a-na UGU-ḫi-šu-nu / [la ta-na-di-ni-]šu-nu a-na gur-ri-i a-na UGU-ḫi ša-ni-i*, “Nun, man handelt / [so ge]gen sie zu Recht; und da man (so) handelt, / [so lasse k]einen gegen sie Krieg führen / [und lasse] (auch) sie gegen keinen anderen Krieg führen!” (Rs. 1-4)⁹⁷¹. The discussion about the Kaška continues, because Puduḫepa wanted to be sure that they would not escape from Egypt: *[la ta-na-din a-na a]-še-šu-nu it-ta-na-al-la-ku / [še-ra um-ma-a ša ḫ]a-ši-iḫ a-na a-la-ki aš-ra-nu / [li-il-li-ik ga-ma-ru-ú] u-ú ga-am-ru ú-ka4-lu*, “[‘Lasse] sie [nicht ent]fliehen! Sie gehen immer wieder / [in die Wüstensteppe!’ So (sage ich darauf): Wer] dorthin zu gehen [w]ünscht, / [der soll gehen! M]ögen sie (dann) zugrunde gerichtet sein, wenn sie (die Wüstensteppe) innehaben!” (Rs. 6-8)⁹⁷².

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, texts nos 22.b, d and 23.

⁹⁷⁰ Cf. MÜLLER 2010, p. 204.

⁹⁷¹ *Ivi*, pp. 478, 486.

⁹⁷² Other possible interpretations of this passage are quoted in CORDANI 2017, p. 130, note 5: “Il passo non è chiaro. BRYCE 2003, p. 17 rende (liberamente) così il senso di queste righe: ‘If anyone is foolish enough to go into the desert, let

The extant document ends with the quotation of an Egyptian royal delegation, headed by Mania (integrated by Edel) and Riamašši, appointed of leading some gifts to the Hittite royal couple and informing about their well-being.

k. KUB III 66 + Winckler 24 (ÄHK no. 72, F4, pp. 170-173):

Ramses an Puduḥepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma in-si-ib-ia ni-ib ta-a-ua*¹*Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a*
 2 *ša-te-ep-na-ri-a DUMU*^d*UTU*¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i*^d*a-ma-na*
 3 *DINGIR-lì LUGAL*^{URU.KI}*A-na ša*^{db}*An-ḥa-a-ra ša*^d*IŠKUR i-ra-am[-šu]*
-
- 4 *a-na*^{SAL}*Pu-du-ḥe-pat SAL.LUGAL.GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti qí-bí-ma*
-
- 5 *a-nu-ma a-na LUGAL šu-ul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia šu-ul-mu*
 6 *a-na SAL.LUGAL.MEŠ šu-ul-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL šu-ul-mu*
 7 *a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia šu-ul-mu a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia šul-mu*
 8 *a-na*^{GIS}*GIGIR.ME[Š š]u-ul-mu ù i-na ŠÀ-bi gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia*
 9 *da-an-ni-iš [da-]an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu*
-
- 10 *a-na ka-a-[ši SAL.LUGAL.G]AL SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti lu-ú šu-ul-mu*
 11 *a-na É-ki lu-[ú šu-]ul-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ki lu-ú šu-ul-mu*
 12 *a-na LÚ.MEŠ-ki lu [šu-ul-m]u ù a-na ŠÀ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ki*
 13 *da-an-ni-iš da-[an-ni-i]š lu-ú šu-ul-mu*
-
- 14 *um-ma-a a-nu-ma*¹*U[a-aš-mu-a-r]i-a-na-aḥ-ta*^{LÚ}*SUKKAL LUGAL*
 15 *qà-du*^{LÚ}*DUMU šip-ri [ša KUR Ḥa-at-ti]i*¹*Pí-qa-aš-ti it-tal-ku-ni*
 16 *šu-nu [ik]-tal-du a[na aš-ri ša LUGAL] aš-ra-nu ù il-te-mu-ú*
 17 *[ga]b-bi a-m[a-te*^{MEŠ}*ša at-ti t]àš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši UG[U-ši-na]*
 18 *[a-]ki-i ša [at-ti t]àš-pu-ri x [... x] [... x] [... x] [...*
 19 *[a]t-ti [t]àš-[-pu-ri ...*
- Rs.
 1' [.....] x x
 2' *[a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḥ]*^{LÚ}*DUB.SAR*^{LÚ}*A.ZU*¹*Pa-ri-a-ma-ḥu-]ú*
 3' *[a-na e-pe-ši Ú.MEŠ a-na LUGAL KUR Tar-ḥu-un-ta-aš ki-]i at-tu-nu*
 4' *t[àš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a šu-up-ra-an-na-ši*^{LÚ}*]DUB.SAR*^{LÚ}*A.ZU an-na-a*
 5' *ù [a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na aš-]ri ša LUGAL aš-ra-nu*
 6' *q[à-du gab-bi gab-bi Ú.MEŠ ki-i šu-ú i-kaš-š]a-du a-na UGU-ḥi-ku-nu*
 7' *i[-na UD-mi ul-li-i 2*^{LÚ}*A.ZU.MEŠ an-nu-t]i aš-ra-nu ú-ka₄-lu*
 8' *ù [at-ti id-ni a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na KUR]R Mi-iš-ri-i Rasur*
 9' *i-na [UD-mi ul-li-i a-mur al-te-mé ša a]t-ti t]àš-pu-ri*
 10' *ù [x an-]ni-i ša at-ti t]àš-pu-ri*
 11' *i-n[a-an-na a-nu-ma*^{LÚ}*]DUB.SAR*^{LÚ}*A.ZU ša LUGA]L iš-ša-bat i-na a-da-ni an-ni-i*
 12' *[KASKAL*^{URU.KI}*Ḥa-at-tu-š]a UG[U Ú.MEŠ ša] ip-pu-uš a-na UGU-ḥi-ki*
 Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 6 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation⁹⁷³

Vs.

- 1 So (sagt) der *insibja nib-tawa* Wašmuaria
 2 šatepnaria, der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana,

him do so, for he will surely perish there!’, intendendole, come fa Edel, come una rassicurazione di Ramesse a Puduḥepa sul fatto che se anche i prigionieri kaškei fossero scappati, non sarebbero riusciti a salvarsi nel deserto”.

⁹⁷³ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 144-145. Comment in EDEL, vol. 2, pp. 260-264.

3 der Gott, der König der Stadt Heliopolis, der Bruder des Anḫara, den der Wettergott liebt:

3 Zu Puduḫepat, der Großkönigin, der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, sprich:

4 Nun, dem König geht es gut, meinen Häusern geht es gut,
5 den Königinnen geht es gut, den Söhnen des Königs geht es gut,
7 meinen Truppen geht es gut, meinen Pferden geht es gut,
8 den Wage[n] geht es gut und innerhalb aller meiner Länder
9 geht es sehr, [se]hr gut;

10 di[r, der Großkönig]in, der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, möge es gut gehen,
11 deinem Haus möge es [gut] gehen, deinen Söhnen möge es gut gehen,
12 deinen Menschen möge [es gut geh]en, und innerhalb aller deiner Länder
13 möge es sehr, se[hr] gut gehen.

14 So (sprich): Nunmehr sind W[ašmuar]ianaḫta, der Palastbeamte des Königs,
15 und der Bote [des Landes Ḫat]ti, Piqašti, zu mir gekommen;
16 sie sind a[n den Ort ge]langt, [an] dem [sich der König] befindet, und man hat
17 [al]le Angelegenheiten] gehört, üb[er die d]u mir geschrieben hast.
18 [Entsprechend dem, was [du mir geschrieben hast ...
19 [D]u schriebst ...

Rs.

1' [.....] ..
2' [ich habe nunmehr den Schreiber (und) Arzt Pariamah]ū [abgesandt]
3' [um für den König des Landes Tarḫuntaš Arzneien zu bereiten, wi]e ihr
4' [mir] geschrieben habt, nämlich: „Sende uns] diesen Schreiber (und) Arzt!“
5' und [ich habe veranlaßt, daß er zu dem Or]t [geht], wo sich der König (= Ḫattušili) befindet,
6' m[it allen, allen Arzneien. Sobald er] zu euch [gela]ngt,
7' sollen a[n jenem Tage dies]e [zwei Ärzte], (die) sich dort befinden, (mit ihrer Tätigkeit) aufhören;
8' und [veranlasse sie], an [jenem Tage ins Land] **Ägypten** [zu gehen]!
9' [Siehe, ich habe vernommen, was d]u geschrieben hast.
10' Und [..... die]sen [Plan], den du geschrieben hast
11' so[eben. Der Schreiber (und) Kön]igs[arzt hat nunmehr] in diesem Augenblick
12' [den Weg nach Ḫattuš]a eingeschlagen weg[en der Arzneien, die] er für dich bereiten wird.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 6 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This letter attests the arrival of the Egyptian messenger Wašmuarianaḫta, together with Piqašti, at the Hittite court. Because of the presence of Ramses' title “*insibya nib-tawa*”, the letter has to be included within the “*insibya*-Briefe”⁹⁷⁴. Cordani also noted the interesting spelling of the name of the Hittite queen: “Qui e in KUB III 68 (un'altra lettera del Gruppo *insibya*) il nome della regina ittita è scritto ^{MUNUS}*Pu-du-^dHé-pát* (forma che si trova, curiosamente, anche su due sigilli da Niṣantepe, v. MORA 2012, p. 401) mentre nel resto della corrispondenza è utilizzata la grafia ^{MUNUS}*Pu-du-^hé-pa*”⁹⁷⁵. After the usual salutation section, which is peculiar in the “*insibya*-Briefe” for the mention of the “queens”

⁹⁷⁴ Vs. 1-3 report here the complete titularity: “So (speaks) the *insibya nib-tawa* Wašmuaria šatepnaria, son of the Sun, Ramašeša mai-amana, god, king of Ana, brother of Anḫara, beloved by the Storm god”. For Anḫara, see *supra*, comment to text no. 26.n.

⁹⁷⁵ CORDANI 2017, p. 144, note 3. However, it seems unlikely that this peculiar writing could have been influenced by the Hittite seal of the queen reported on the Silver Tablet, and described in the Egyptian version of the Treaty (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.d, §§ 28-29).

(*SAL.LUGAL.MEŠ*, Vs. 6) instead of “wives”⁹⁷⁶, Wašmuarianaḫta, defined in the letter with the title LÚSUKKAL, “councillor”⁹⁷⁷ is introduced with his colleague Piqašti.

The reverse of the tablet includes a reference to a “scribe and physician”, whose name is unfortunately not preserved (but it is integrated by Edel with the name of Pariamaḫu), who was probably sent by Ramses to Ḫatti to bring relief to the health of someone, maybe Kuruntiya or Puduḫepa or the Hittite king himself (if we identify this physician with Pariamaḫu)⁹⁷⁸. The integration proposed for this letter by Edel, on the base of the comparison with the possible “Parallel-Brief” KUB III 67 (*supra* as text no. 26.n) seems to be very likely.

1. KUB III 68 (ÄHK no. 73, F5, pp. 174-175):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma in-si-ib-ia ni-ib ta-a-ua¹Ua-aš-mu-a-]ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a
 2 [DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na DINGIR-I]i LUGAL^{URU.KI}A-na ŠEŠ ša-a
 3 [^dAn-ḫa-a-ra ša^dIŠKUR i-ra-’a-am-šu a-na^{SA}]L^LPu-du-ḫé-pát SAL.LUGAL.GAL-tu₄
 4 [SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti qí-bí-ma a-nu-ma a-na ḫa-m]i DUMU SIG₅-qú ša^dUTU-aš
 5 [da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-i]a šu-ul-mu a-na SAL.LUGAL.MEŠ šul-mu
 6 [a-na DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL šu-ul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia šu-u]l-mu a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ šu-ul-
 mu
 7 [a-na^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ šu-ul-mu u i-na ŠÀ-bi] gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-niš dan-niš šu-ul-mu

 8 [a-na ka-a-ši SAL.LUGAL.GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti lu-ú] šu-ul-mu a-na É-ki lu-ú šul-mu a-
 na [DUMU.]MEŠ-ki
 9 [lu-ú šul-mu a-na LÚ.MEŠ-ki lu šul-mu ù a-na ŠÀ-ḫi g]ab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ki dan-niš dan-niš lu šul-mu

 10 [um-ma-a a-nu-ma^{LÚ}SUKKAL LUGAL¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a-na-a]ḫ-ti ik-tal-dá a-na UGU-ḫi-ia
 11 [ù a-na-ku al-te-mé gab-bi gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša at-ti] tàš-pu-ri a-na ia-[ši UGU-ti-na]
 12 [um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-di a-na-ku aš-ša-ra-aḫ^{LÚ}SUKKA]L LUGAL¹Ua-aš-mu-a-[r]i-a-n[a-aḫ-
 ti]
 13 [qa-du¹..... DUMU.KIN ša NIN-ia ù at-ta-din a-na a]-la-ki-šu-nu
 14 [a-na NIN-ia ù ul-te-bi-la-ak-ki šu-be-el-ta da-mi-iq-ta a-na š]u-ul-ma-a[n-]ki
 15 [a-na ŠU-ti-šu-nu ù ul-te-bi-la šu-be-el-ta a-na šul-ma-a]n ša DUMU.SAL-tu₄
 16 [ša NIN-ia ù ša NIN-ia iš-pu-ra um-ma-a at-ta ta-ša-ak-ka-a]n-ši a-na SAL-tu₄ [GAL]-ti
 17 [ša LUGAL i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i NIN-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a]t-tu-nu id[-na]
 18 [a-na šu-bu-li DUMU.SAL a-na ia-ši ù a-ša-ak-ka-an DUMU.SAL LUGAL.]GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ[a-
 at-ti]
 19 [a-na SAL-tu₄ GAL-ti ša LUGAL i-na KUR-ti-iax] ù at[-tu-nu]
 20 [id-na a-na] ^{LÚ}D[UB.SAR
 21 [¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-úx] a- [x
 22 [.....] [x
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

⁹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, note 4.

⁹⁷⁷ CORDANI 2017, p. 145, note 1: “Il titolo portato dal funzionario egiziano, LÚSUKKAL, ha il significato di ‘consigliere’ quando usato in ambito ittita (PECCHIOLO DADDI 1982, pp. 515-516). Non sappiamo però se questa titolatura rispecchiase in modo esatto quella originale portata dal funzionario egiziano. EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 173 rende semplicemente con ‘funzionario di palazzo’ [i.e., ‘Palastbeamten’]. A possible equation of this title with an Egyptian original could be proposed with the Egyptian term *jm.y-js*, ‘councillor’ (FAULKNER 2002¹⁰, p. 18); cf. HL1, p. 48, no. 1703: ‘*jmj-is*, ‘der im Palast Befindliche’ (ein Hofamt, ihm unterstehen königliche Schmuckkammer und Salbkammer)’.

⁹⁷⁸ Other references to physicians are reported *supra*, texts nos 24.e, 26.n, 26.y. It is very probable indeed, as in EDEL, vol. 2, p. 264, that the “scribe and physician” quoted here is the same Pariamaḫu quoted in KUB III 67 (text no. 26.n), who presents the same titles.

Translation⁹⁷⁹

Vs.

- 1 [So (sagt) der *insibja nib-tawa* Wašmua]ria šatepnaria,
2 [der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Got]t, den König von Heliopolis, der Bruder des
3 [Anḫara, den der Wettergott liebt: Zu] Puduḫepat, der Großkönigin,
4 [der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, sprich: Nun, meiner Majes]tät, dem guten Sohn der Sonne,
5 [geht es sehr, sehr gut, mei]nen [Häusern] geht es gut, den Königinnen geht es gut,
6 [den Söhnen des Königs geht es gut, meinen Truppen geht] es gut, den Pferden geht es gut,
7 [meinen Wagen geht es gut und innerhalb] aller meiner Länder geht es sehr, sehr gut;
-
- 8 [dir, der Großkönigin, der Königin des Landes Ḫatti, mög]e es gut gehen, deinem Haus möge es gut
gehen, deinen [Söhnen]
9 [möge es gut gehen, deinen Leuten möge es gut gehen, und innerhalb a]ller deiner Länder, möge es
sehr, sehr gut gehen.
-
- 10 [So (sprich): Nunmehr ist der Palastbeamte des Königs, Wašmuariana]ḫti, zu mir gelangt,
11 [und ich habe alle Angelegenheiten gehört, über die du] mi[r] geschrieben hast.
12 [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Fürwahr, ich habe den Palastbeam]ten des Königs,
Wašmuarian[ḫti, entsandt]
13 [und den], den Boten meiner Schwester, und habe] sie [veranlaßt]
14 [zu meiner Schwester] zu gehen, [und ich sandte dir ein schönes Geschenk als
B]egrüßungsgeschenk für dich
15 [durch ihre Hand, und ich sandte ein Geschenk als Begrüßungsgesche]nk für die Tochter
16 [meiner Schwester. Und was meine Schwester geschrieben hat, wie folgt: „Du sollst] sie als [groß]e
[Königs]gemahlin
17 [des Königs im Lande Ägypten [einsetz]en.“ So hat meine Schwester mir geschrieben]. - (So sage
ich darauf:) Veran[laß]t,
18 [daß die Tochter zu mir gebracht wird, und ich werde die Tochter des] Groß[königs], des Königs des
Landes Ḫ[atti]
19 [als große Königsgemahlin in meinem Lande einsetzen!]. und [ver-]
20 [anlaß]t, [daß] Sch[reiber und Arzt]
21 [Pariamaḫū] .. [...
22 [...]. [...]
Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

In this letter, Ramses informs Puduḫepa to have received a message by Wašmuarianaḫta, reporting a message from the Hittite queen. Wašmuarianaḫta is also appointed by the pharaoh to bring a gift to Puduḫepa and to her daughter, probably the second princess married by Ramses⁹⁸⁰. Puduḫepa also asks Ramses to consider the Hittite princess as his legitimate royal wife: *um-ma-a at-ta ta-ša-ak-ka-a]n-ši a-na SAL-tu₄ [GAL]-ti / [ša LUGAL i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*, “Du sollst] sie als [groß]e [Königs]gemahlin / [des Königs im Lande Ägypten [einsetz]en” (Vs. 16-17)⁹⁸¹. Ramses reassures the Hittite queen that he would have considered his new wife in a way appropriated to her royal rank: *a]t-tu-nu id[-na] / [a-na šu-bu-li DUMU.SAL a-na ia-ši ù a-ša-ak-ka-an DUMU.SAL LUGAL.]GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ[a-at-ti] / [a-na SAL-tu₄ GAL-ti ša LUGAL i-na KUR-ti-ia* “Veran[laß]t, / [daß die Tochter zu mir gebracht wird, und ich werde die Tochter des] Groß[königs], des Königs des / Landes Ḫ[atti] / [als große Königsgemahlin in meinem Lande einsetzen” (Vs. 17-19).

⁹⁷⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 264-268.

⁹⁸⁰ Because its belonging to the “*insibya* dossier” (so, being dated between Ramses’ 42nd and 56th regnal years), it is quite unlikely that Puduḫepa refers here to the first princess married by Ramses (whose wedding was celebrated ca. in 1246/1245 BC, i.e. Ramses’ 35th regnal year); cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 264-265. For the text of the “Second Marriage”, see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.h.

⁹⁸¹ Similar Puduḫepa’s concerns about the fate of the Hittite princess, once she would have reached Egypt, can be found in other letters: see e.g. KBo XXVIII 21 and 22, KBo XXVIII 23 and KUB III 37 (respectively, *supra*, texts nos 20.a, 21.a and 22.c).

At the end of the letter (trusting Edel's integration), Ramses mentions the scribe and physician Pariamaḥu, whose name is also attested in KUB III 66 + Winkler 24 (see previous text) and in KUB III 67 (*supra*, text 26.n); the mention of both the second Hittite princess and Pariamaḥu within the same letter, could offer a further, precious information about the dating of the "Second Marriage": if Pariamaḥu was sent in Ḫatti to help fixing the health of Kuruntiya, king of Tarḫuntašša, it is clear that this fact had been happened during the last part of Kuruntiya's life (see *supra*, comment to text no. 26.n), after to the worsener of his health, datable between 1237-1223 BC⁹⁸²): thus, it is also possible to date the Second Marriage after ca. 1237 BC.

m. KBo XXVIII 93 (= 1188/u) (ÄHK no. 91, I11, pp. 196-197):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

- [0'] [..... ša KÙ.GI SIG₅]
 1' KI.LAL-š[u(-nu ?) x GÍN x^{MES} ša KÙ.GI SIG₅]
 2' KI.LAL-šu-n[u x GÍN nap-ḫar KÙ.GI SIG₅ x GÍN]

 3' 10 GAD ma-ak-l[a-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...
 4' 10 GAD GÚ.UD.DU.[MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...
 5' nap-ḫar 20 GAD.M[EŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL

 6' um-ma-a a-na Š[EŠ-ia-ma ...
 7' ù at-ta [...
 8' ša a[t-ta ...
 [9'] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation⁹⁸³

- [0'] [..... aus gutem Gold],
 1' sei[n] oder „ih[r]“ Gewicht (beträgt) [x Schekel; x (Plur.) aus gutem Gold],
 2' ih[r] Gewicht (beträgt) [x Schekel. Summe des guten Goldes x Schekel].

 3' 10 linnene *makl*[*alu*-Gewänder aus Byssos; ...
 4' 10 linnene Tunik[en aus Byssos; ...
 5' Summe: 20 linnene Gewand[er aus Byssos. ...

 6' So (sprich) zu [meinem] Br[uder: ...
 7' und du [...
 8' was d[u ...
 [9'] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This document includes a small portion of a list of gifts⁹⁸⁴:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Metals	... ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	... of fine gold	x pieces = x shekels
	... ^{MES} ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	... (plur.) of fine gold	x pieces = x shekels
	nap-ḫar KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Total of fine gold	x shekels
Linens	GAD ma-ak-l[a-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of "King" quality	10 pieces

⁹⁸² Thus, VAN DEN HOUT 1995b, p. 91; cf. BRYCE 2005, pp. 269ff. (proposing 1228-1227 BC) and chronological table on p. XV; COLLINS 2007, pp. 65–66, 70–71, 75, 116, 129; D'ALFONSO 2014.

⁹⁸³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 297.

⁹⁸⁴ Edel's integrations are reported in *italic*.

	GAD GÚ.UD.DU.[MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	Linen tunics of “King” quality	10 pieces
	nap-ḥar 20 GAD.M[EŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	Total of the “King” quality linens	20 pieces

n. KBo XXVIII 46 = Bo 77/17 (ÄHK no. 14, C1, pp. 42-43):

Ramses an Prinz Kannuta⁹⁸⁵

Transliteration

Vs.

1 [um-m]a ¹Ri-a-ma-š[e-š]a ma-a-i
2 [^da]-ma-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL [K]UR Mi-iš-ri-i
3 [a-n]a ¹Ka-an-nu-ta DUMU-ia qí-bí-ma

4 [a]-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
5 [a]-bu-ka i-ta-mar ṭup-pa-ka
6 ša at-ta tū-še-bi-la SIG₅ dan-niš
7 [k]i-i at-ta ta-aš-pu-ra
8 [a]-na LUGAL a-bi-ka UGU ṭe₄-mi-ka
9 ù UGU šu-ul-mi-i-ka

10 [a-mur] a-du-ku-ul LUGAL a-bu-ka
11 [ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku š]u-[b]é-el-ta
12 [i-na ŠU-ti ¹Pa-ri-iḥ-n]a-a-ua
[13] [DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ù lu-ú ti-de₄ šu-bé-el-ta]

Rest der Vs. weggebrochen; Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation⁹⁸⁶

Vs.

1 [S]o (spricht) Riamaš[eš]a mai-
2 amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**:
3 [Z]u Kannuta, meinem Sohne, sprich:

4 [N]unmehr hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
5 dein [V]ater, deine Tafel gesehen,
6 die du hast bringen lassen. Sehr schön ist es,
7 [d]aß du geschrieben hast
8 dem König, deinem Vater, in bezug auf deine Lage
9 [un]d in bezug auf dein Wohlergehen.

10 [Siehe], fürwahr der König, dein Vater,
11 [hat dir] ein [G]eschenk [bringen lassen]
12 [durch die Hand des Pariḥn]āwa,
[13] [meines Boten, und du sollst das Geschenk erfahren]:

Rest der Vs. weggebrochen; Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

⁹⁸⁵ N.B.: This is the title given by Edel to this letter: the missive is clearly addressed both to Kannuta and to Puduḥepa (as also tentatively proposed in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 68); by the way, the HPM listed the fragment KBo XXVIII 46 under CTH 164, “Briefe Ramses’ II. an Puduḥepa”. I decided to locate this letter under CTH 164, according to HPM, not to engender further confusion.

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. the transliteration and German translation in OTTEN 1979, pp. 314-315; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 72-73. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 68-69.

Vs.

1 [S]o (sagt) Napte[ra, die Großkönigin]
2 [de]s Landes **Ägypten**: [Zu Puduḫepa],
3 der Großkönigin des Landes [Ḫatti],
4 meiner Schwester, sp[rich]:

5 Nun, mi[r geht es gut],
6 meinen Häusern, [meinen Söhnen]
7 und innerhalb al[ler meiner Länder geht es gut];

8 [...
9 [...
Rs. abgebrochen

The importance of this document, which reports just a common list of gifts, is justified by the name of its addressee, the Hittite prince Kannuta. Cordani remembers how this person has been identified by Edel with the Hittite prince Ḫannutti: “Secondo EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 68 Kannuta è forse da identificare con il principe ittita Ḫannutti, che compare nella lista dei testimoni del trattato con Ulmi-Teššub di Tarḫuntašša”⁹⁸⁷. We have already seen in previous letters how not just the royal couple was homaged with gifts: Ramses also sent precious goods to other important people, such as the “Greats” (cf. e.g. *supra*, texts nos 21.b and 26.k). In this case, the pharaoh sends, by the hands of one of his most important messengers, Pariḫnawa, an unspecified gift to the Hittite prince⁹⁸⁸. It is also interesting to know that regular correspondence was exchanged between not just the “Great Kings”, but also between their respective sons, who are defined as “my son” (*DUMU-ia*) by the foreign king (who therefore considered himself as a father also for the counterpart’s sons). In this case, Kannuta sent a message to Ramses, informing the Egyptian king about his situation and his well-being (*UGU te4-mi-ka / ù UGU šu-ul-mi-i-ka*, “in bezug auf deine Lage / [un]d in bezug auf dein Wohlergehen”; Vs. 8-9).

⁹⁸⁷ CORDANI 2017, p. 72, note 4, where she also suggests to compare VAN DEN HOUT 1995b, pp. 200-203.

⁹⁸⁸ About diplomatic contacts, see also PODANY 2010, *passim*.

28. CTH 165: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO AN UNKNOWN ADDRESSEE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Letters reporting greetings and lists of gifts

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 44 Vs. 4

a. KBo XXVIII 36 = 154/v (ÄHK no. 15, C2, pp. 42-45):

Ramses an einen Prinzen (?)

Transliteration

Vs.

1'	[.....]
2'	[.....]
3'	[..... -i]-ti
4'	[..... x] gi
5'	[..... x]

Rs.

1'	[..... KÙ.G]I GAR.R[A ... -----
2'	[.....] ša a[h-(?) ... -----
3'	[I ^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.D]U lu-bu-ul-ti [LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bu-ú] -----
4'	[I ^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.]DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL [š]a-[bu-ú] -----
5'	[x ^{GAD.TÚG} bi-i]r-mu SIG SIG ₅ -tù ^{MEŠ} -----
6'	[I ^{GAD.TÚG} tu-u]n-šú SIG SIG ₅ ša 2 [pa-nu-šu] -----
7'	[x ^{GAD} TÚG SI]G.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu -----
8'	[x ^{GAD.TÚG} .x]-ta ^{MEŠ} SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ ša-bu-tu -----
9'	[na-ap-ḫar x ^{GAD} TÚG.M]EŠ -----
10'	[šu-bé-el-tu ša SAL.LUGAL.GA]L SAL.LUGAL [KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
[11']	[ú-še-bi-la aš-šum šul-ma-an DAM-ka] -----
[12']	[...]

Vs.

l'-5' nicht übersetzbar

*Translation*⁹⁸⁹

Rs.

l' [..... mit Gol]d eingefaf[ßt, ...

⁹⁸⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 69-70.

- 2' [.....] ... [.....]
- 3' [l gute linnene Tunik]a aus Bys[sos, gefärbt];
- 4' [l linnene Tuni]ka aus Byssos, [g]efä[rbt];
- 5' [x linnene Buntgew]ander aus gutem, dünnem (Faden);
- 6' [l linnener Man]tel aus gutem, dünnem (Faden), mit 2 [(Schau)seiten];
- 7' [x linnene Gewänder] aus gutem, [dü]nnem (Faden), gefärbt;
- 8' [x linnene ...]-ta-Gewänder, aus gutem, dünnem (Faden), gefärbt;
- 9' [Summe: x linnene Gewand]er.
- 10' [Geschenk, das die Groß[königin], die Königin [des Landes **Ägypten**],
- [11]' [als Begrüßungsgeschenk für deine Frau hat bringen lassen]:
- [12]' [...]

Letter reporting of the reverse a list of gifts (for a Hittite prince?):

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Metals?	... KÙ.G]I GAR.R[A	Object bordered with gold	x pieces
Linens	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.D]U lu-bu-ul-ti [LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bu-ú]	Fine linen tunic of “king” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.]DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL [š]a-[bu-ú]	Linen tunic of “king” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{bi-i}]r-mu SIG SIG ₅ -tù ^{MEŠ}	Linen colourful wander with fine, thin thread	x pieces
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{tu-u}]n-šú SIG SIG ₅ ša 2 [pa-nu-šu]	Linen mantle, with fine, thin thread, with 2 sides(?)	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG SI]G.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu	Linen with fine, thin thread, colourful	x pieces
	^{GAD} .TÚG _{.x}]ta ^{MEŠ} SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ ša-bu-tu	Linen of fine quality, colourful	x pieces
	na-ap-ḫar x ^{GAD} TÚG.M]EŠ	Total of the linens	x pieces

The letter continued with a not preserved list of gifts sent by the Egyptian queen (Nefertari) to the wife of the same Hittite prince.

b. KBo XXVIII 44 (= 1735/c + 1913/c + 2066/c + 2371/c) (ÄHK no. 17, C4, pp. 46-47):

Ramses an Prinz [Ta]šmi-Šarruma

*Transliteration*⁹⁹⁰

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma ¹Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-t]e-ep-na-ri-a
- 2 [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]
- 3 [DUMU ^dUTU ¹Ri-a-ma-še-š]a ma-a-i ^da-ma-na

⁹⁹⁰ Cf. the transliteration in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 423-424.

4 [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KU]R Mi-iš-ri-i

5 [a-na ¹Ta-a]š-mi-LUGAL-ma DUMU-ia {-ma}
6 [qí-b]í-ma {-ia qí-bí-ma}

7 [a-n]a ka-a-ša DUMU-ia lu-ú šul-mu
8 DUMU ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL K[UR Ḫa]-at-ti ŠEŠ-i[a]

9 a-nu-ma ul-te-bíl šu-be₆-el-ta
10 a-na DUMU-ia i-na ŠU-ti
11 DUMU ši-ip-ri-ia ù at-ta
12 lu-ú ti-de₄-šu-nu-ti

13 1 kà-su₁₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅-qú
14 KI.LAL-šu 49 GÍN

15 2 ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL
16 [š]a-bu-tù 2 ^{GAD.TÚG}GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ
17 [lu-b]u-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù
Tafelrand, Rs. nur Spuren getilgter Zeichen; zur Umschrift vgl. den Kommentar

Translation⁹⁹¹

Vs.

1 [So (spricht) Wašmuaria šat]epnaria,
2 [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,]
3 [der Sohn der Sonne, Riamasšesš]a mai-amana,
4 [der Großkönig, der König des Lan]des **Ägypten**.

5 [Zu Ta]šmišarma, meinem Sohn,
6 [spr]ich:

7 Dir, meinem Sohn, möge es gut gehen,
8 dem Sohne des Großkönigs, des Königs des Lande[s Ḫ]atti, meinfes] Bruders!

9 Ich habe nunmehr ein Geschenk gesandt
10 für meinen Sohn durch die Hand
11 meines Boten, und du
12 sollst sie (die Geschenke) erfahren:

13 1 Becher aus gutem Gold,
14 dessen Gewicht 49 Schekel (beträgt);

15 2 linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus Byssos,
16 [g]efärbt; 2 linnene Tuniken
17 aus [By]ssos, gefärbt.

Tafelrand, Rs. nur Spuren getilgter Zeichen

The attestation of the complete titularity of Ramses II and the official form of the greetings differ from the incipit of other letters sent to princes: therefore, it is possible to envisage in the addressee of this letter a very high-rank person, probably one of Ḫattušili's sons. Unfortunately, the name of this prince is only fragmentarily attested in Vs. 5 as [...]š-mi-LUGAL-ma; this name has been differently

⁹⁹¹ Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 70-71; other German translations in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 423-424 and ALP 1998, pp. 58-59; English translation in BECKMAN 1999², pp. 129-130; French translation in FREU 2008, p. 221. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 72-73.

integrated by the scholars: Edel⁹⁹², together with Beckman⁹⁹³, Bemporad⁹⁹⁴, Freu⁹⁹⁵ and Müller⁹⁹⁶ filled the lacuna integrating the name Tašmi-Šarruma (quoted as a witness in the treaty with Ulmi-Teššub di Tarḫuntašša, CTH 106.II.2⁹⁹⁷), while van den Hout⁹⁹⁸ and Lebrun⁹⁹⁹ preferred to complete the text with the name of Ḫišmi-Šarruma (quoted as Hittite messenger in Egypt in KUB III 34, Vs. 5', see *supra*, text no. 26.q¹⁰⁰⁰). It is also important to remember that Alp proposed to identify Tašmi-Šarruma with Tuḫaliya IV¹⁰⁰¹: in this case, the letter would have a particular significance within the corpus of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence. This the small, extant list of gifts sent by the pharaoh to the Hittite prince:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Metals	kà-su ₁₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ -qú	Cup of fine gold	1 piece = 49 shekels
Linens	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL / [š]a-bu-tù	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality, colourful	2 pieces
	^{GAD.TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ} / [lu-b]u- ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù	Linen tunics of “King” quality, colourful	2 pieces

c. KUB III 28 (ÄHK no. 69, F1, pp. 168-169):

Ramses an Ḫattušili oder Tuḫaliya IV.

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma in-si-ib-ia] ni-ib ta-a-u[a]
2 [^lUa-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-t]e-ep-na-ri-a DUMU ^dUTU [^lRi-a-ma-še-ša]
3 [ma-a-i ^da-ma-na DINGIR-li] LUGAL ša ^{URU.KI}A-na
4 [ŠEŠ ša ^dAn-ḫa-a-ra ša ^dIŠ]KUR i-ra- 'a-am-šu
-
- 5 [a-na ^lḪa-at-tu-ši-li(?) LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ]a-at-ti Š[EŠ-ia qí-bí-]ma
-
- 6 [a-nu-ma a-na LUGAL šu-ul-m]u a-n[a É.MEŠ-ia š]u-ul-m[u]
7 [a-na SAL.LUGAL.MEŠ šu-ul-m]u a-na [DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL šu]-ul-[mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia]
8 [šu-ul-mu a-na ANŠE.]KUR.RA.MEŠ[-ia šu-ul-mu a-na ^{GIŠ}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia šu-ul-mu]
9 [ù i-na ŠÁ-]bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.[MEŠ-ia dan-niš dan-niš šu-ul-mu]
-
- 10 [a-na k]a-a-ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ[a-at-ti lu-ú šul-mu]
11 [a-na É-ka lu-ú šul-mu a-na S[AL.LUGAL.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu]
12 [a-na DU]MU.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu a-[na ERIN.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu]
13 [ù i-]na ŠÁ-bi gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka l[lu-ú šul-mu dan-niš dan-niš]
-
- 14 [um-m]a-a ù ki-i ša [táq-bu-ú](?) [...
15 [.....] ul-tu a[n(?)-
16 [.....] x [...
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 15 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

⁹⁹² EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 73.

⁹⁹³ BECKMAN 1999², p. 129.

⁹⁹⁴ BEMPORAD 2002, p. 76, note 24.

⁹⁹⁵ FREU 2008, p. 221.

⁹⁹⁶ MÜLLER 2010, p. 423.

⁹⁹⁷ DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 160-168.

⁹⁹⁸ VAN DEN HOUT 1995b, p. 131.

⁹⁹⁹ LEBRUN 2014, pp. 81-82.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ḫišmi-Šarruma is also one of the witnesses in the “Bronzetafel”, the treaty stipulated by Tuḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (CTH 106 I.1, IV 34), see OTTEN 1988, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁰¹ ALP 1998, p. 59. Cf. DE MARTINO 2011, pp. 15-16 and HAWKINS 2011a, p. 95.

Translation¹⁰⁰²

Vs.

- 1 [So (sagt) der *insibja*] *nib-taw[a]*,
2 [Wašmuaria šat]epnaria, der Sohn der Sonne, [Riamašeša]
3 [mai-amana, der Gott], der König der Stadt Heliopolis,
4 [der Bruder des (Gottes) Anḫara, den der Wetter]gott liebt:

5 [Zu Ḫattušili(?), dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫ[atti, [meinem] Br[uder, spric]h:

6 [Nun, dem König geht es] gut, [meinen Häusern geht] es gut,
7 [den Königinnen geht es] gut, [den Söhnen des Königs geht] es [gut, meinen Truppen]
8 [geht es gut, meinen Pfer]den [geht es gut, meinen Wagen geht es gut],
9 [und inner]halb aller [meiner] Land[er geht es sehr, sehr gut];

10 [d]ir, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫ[atti, möge es gut gehen],
11 deinem [Ha]us möge es gut gehen, [deinen] K[öniginnen möge es gut gehen],
12 deinen [Sö]hnen möge es gut gehen, [deinen Truppen möge es gut gehen]
13 [und in]nerhalb aller deiner Länder m[öge es sehr, sehr gut gehen].

14 [S]o (sprich): Und entsprechend dem, was [du sagtes]t [
15 [.....] aus [..
16 [.....] . [...
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 15 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Letter reporting just the incipit of an “*insibya*-Brief”, with the common greetings and salutation; from Vs. 14 onwards, Ramses quoted the content of a message received by the Hittite king: unfortunately, this portion of the letter is not preserved on the tablet.

d. KUB III 44 (ÄHK no. 74, F6, pp. 176-177):

Ramses (?) an Tuthaliya IV. (?)

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma in-si-ib-ia ni-ib ta-a-ua]
2 [^lUa-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a DUMU^dUTU]
3 [^lRi-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na LUGAL ša^{URU.KI}A-na]
4 [ša^dAn-ḫa-a-ra ša^dIŠKUR i-ra-'a-am-šu]
5 a-na [^lḪa-at-tu-ši-li]¹⁰⁰³
6 LUGAL.G[AL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]

7 a-na ia[-ši šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka a-na]
8 ^{SAL}DAM[.MEŠ-ka a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka a-na]
9 ANŠE.KUR.R[A.MEŠ-ka ù i-na ŠÀ-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka]
10 dan-niš [dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu]

11 um-ma-a a[-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}]
12 ša a-kán[-na taš-pu-ra a-na ia-šī]
13 ma-a a-na [a-ḫa-miš lu-ú ta-ba-a-nu ù]
14 it-ti a[-ḫa-miš ri-ki-il-ta lu-ú ni-ra-ak-ka-as]
15 i-na-an-n[a DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
16 ù DINGIR.MEŠ [ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-na-an-di-nu]

¹⁰⁰² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 258-259.

¹⁰⁰³ This is Edel's integration, despite he thought also that the missive could have been addressed to Tuthaliya IV, because of the attestation of the term *insibya* at the beginning of the letter. See EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 258-259.

17 ŠEŠ-ḥu-u[t-ta da-mi-iq-ta i-na be-ri-ni ù]
 18 sa-la-a[m-ma da-am-qa i-na be-ri-ni]
 19 a-di da-r[i-ti at-ta ŠEŠ-ú-a kán-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši]
 20 a-na-ku ḥa-d[a-a-ku dan-niš dan-niš a-na ṭup-pi-ka a-na-ku]
 21 a-ra- 'a-am [ŠEŠ-ia ul-tu pa-na-nu ù a-ra- 'a-am-šu]
 Tafelrand; unmittelbar darüber Paragraphenstrich?

Rs.

1 [a-n]a dá[-ri-ti ...
 2 UD-ma UD[-ma ...
 3 a-na pa-ni[- ...
 4 a-ba-te [...
 5 ša-pa-r[i ...
 6 LUGAL KUR [I-šu-ua ...
 7 ù i-n[a ...
 8 ŠEŠ-ut[-ta ...
 9 ba-la[-ta ...
 10 lu t[a- ...

11 a-na š[ul(?)-ma-ni ša ŠEŠ-ia ul-te-bi-la šu-be-el-ta]
 12 12^{URU}[^{DU} ...

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰⁰⁴

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) der *insibja nib-tawa*],
 2 [Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Sohn der Sonne]
 3 [Riamašeša mai-amana, der König der Stadt Heliopolis],
 4 der Bruder [des Anḥara, den der Wettergott liebt]:
 5 Zu [Ḥattušili],
 6 dem Gr[oß]könig, [dem König des Landes Ḥatti, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

7 Mi[r geht es gut. Deinen Häusern],
 8 [deinen] Frau[en, deinen Söhnen, deinen Truppen],
 9 [deinen] Pferd[en und innerhalb deiner Länder]
 10 [möge es] sehr, [sehr gut gehen]!

11 So (sprich) z[u meinem Bruder: Ich habe alle Worte gehört],
 12 die [du mir] s[o geschrieben hast],
 13 wie folgt: ‚[Wir wollen uns] gegen[seitig vertragen und]
 14 mitein[ander wollen wir einen Vertrag schließen]!
 15 Jetzt[t werden die Götter des Landes **Ägypten**]
 16 und die Götter [des Landes Ḥatti]
 17 [schöne] Brüdersch[aft zwischen uns und]
 18 [schönen] Frie[den zwischen uns gewähren]
 19 für ew[ig.‘ - so hast du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben].
 20 Ich bin [sehr, sehr] freud[ig gestimmt über deine Tafel, (denn)]
 21 ich liebe [meinen Bruder seit jeher und ich werde ihn lieben]
 Tafelrand; unmittelbar darüber Paragraphenstrich?

Rs.

1 [au]f e[wig. ...
 2 jeden Ta[g ...

¹⁰⁰⁴ Comment in EDEL, vol. 2, pp. 267-268.

- 3 vor dem Antlitz [...]
 4 der Angelegenheit [...]
 5 sende[n ...]
 6 der König des Landes I[šuwā ...]
 7 und i[n ...]
 8 Brüderschaft ...
 9 das Leb[en ...]
 10 mögest du [...]
-
- 11 Als B[egrüßungsgeschenk für meinen Bruder sandte ich ein Geschenk]:
 12 Kupf[er(gegenstände) ...]
-

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Both the names of the sender and the addressee of this letters lack in the incipit: Edel tentatively identified the sender with Ramses II and proposed as addressee Tuthaliya IV, integrating the incipit with the typical beginning of an “*insibya*-Brief”. However, some problems in the interpretation of a specific passage of the letter could contrast with this attribution, considering Edel’s integration of Vs. 11-14: *um-ma-a a[-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-na-ku al-te-me gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ}] / ša a-kán[-na tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši] / ma-a a-na [a-ḥa-miš lu-ú ta-ba-a-nu ù] / it-ti a[-ḥa-miš ri-ki-il-ta lu-ú ni-ra-ak-ka-as] / i-na-an-n[a DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i] / ù DINGIR.MEŠ [ša KUR Ḥa-at-ti i-na-an-di-nu] / ŠEŠ-ḥu-u[t-ta da-mi-iq-ta i-na be-ri-ni ù] / sa-la-a[m-ma da-am-qa i-na be-ri-ni] / a-di da-r[i-ti, “So (sprich) z[u meinem Bruder: Ich habe alle Worte gehört], / die [du mir] s[o geschrieben hast], / wie folgt: ,[Wir wollen uns] gegen[seitig vertragen und] / mitein[ander wollen wir einen Vertrag schließen]! / Jetz[t werden die Götter des Landes Ägypten] / und die Götter [des Landes Ḥatti] / [schöne] Brüdersch[aft zwischen uns und] / [schönen] Frie[den zwischen uns gewähren] / für ew[ig].”*

It has to be noted, that the two verbs used in the first of these sentences, *lū ṭabanu* and *lū nirakkas*, are two precative forms constructed with the particle *lū* + the present of the verb *ṭabu* and the present of the verb *rakāsu(m)*, which require a translation as “may we accord each other and may we sign a treaty each others!”.

The following sentences insist on the theme of the gods who “will give us (*inandinu*) a good brotherhood and a good peace”: the verb *nadānu(m)*, “to give” is also used here in its same preterite form, probably introduced by the same particle *lū*, and has to be translated as “may they give”. In both the sentences, there is a clear reference to an upcoming event, not even occurred. In this respect, it is unlikely to date the letter during the reign of Tuthaliya IV, unless we suppose that also Tuthaliya was arranging the stipulation of a new treaty with Ramses (but there are no evidences for this event). Therefore, I suggest to include also this letter in the correspondence with Ḥattušili III, and specifically in the group of the missives exchanged just before the stipulation of the Treaty; however, it is also possible to consider this passage just as a general, formularic expression.

The reverse of the tablet is very fragmentary and just a generic quotation of the king of Išuwā is preserved in Rs. 6, being the topic of the message not even retrievable. However, at the end of the document, it is stated that the Hittite king would have sent, as a gift, 12 copper objects, with no further details (just 12 ^{URU}_{DU} remains in Rs. 12).

29. CTH 166: LETTER OF RAMSES II TO KUPANTA-KURUNTA OF MIRA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Letter about the Treaty and Urḫi-Tešub

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 24+ KUB III 84 Vs. 7 und passim (akk.)

KBo I 24 + KUB III 23 + KUB III 84 (ÄHK no. 28, D9, pp. 74-77):

Ramses an Kupan[ta-^dKAL]

*Transliteration*¹⁰⁰⁵

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma*¹ *Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a LUGAL.GAL [LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*
2 *DUMU*^d *UTU*¹ *Ri-a-ma-še-ša(!) ma-a-i*^d *a-ma-na a-na*^d *Ku-pa(?) -an[-ta-^dKAL]*
3 *LUGAL KUR Mi-ra-a qí-bí-ma a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši* [*šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia šul-mu*]
4 *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ia šul-mu a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ia šul-mu a-na ANŠE.KUR.[RA.MEŠ-ia šul-mu]*
5 *a-na*^{GIS} *GIGIR.MEŠ-ia šul-mu* *ù a-na ŠÀ gab-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-niš da[n-niš šul-mu]*
-
- 6 *a-na ka-a-a LUGAL KUR Mi-ra-a lu-ú šul-mu a-na KUR-ka l[u-ú šul-mu]*
-
- 7 *a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i il-te-mé gab-bi a-ma-t*[*e*^{MEŠ} *ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra*]
8 *a-na ia-ši UGU-ša aš-šum a-ma-te ša*¹ *Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR ia-nu ul e[-pu-uš]*
9 *ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-ša a-nu-ma ša-nu-ú [... ? ù a-mur]*
10 *ṭe₄-ma SIG₅ ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-pu-šu it-ti LUGAL.G[AL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-*
ti]
11 *ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ti SIG₅-ti i-na sa-la-mi SIG₅-qí*^d *UTU* *ù* [^d *IŠKUR id-di-nu-šu*]
12 *a-di da-ri-iš ša-ni-ta₅ a-mur a-ma-ta ša*¹ *Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR ša at-t[a tàš-pu-ra]*
13 *a-na ia-ši UGU-ša i-te-pu-uš LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ki-ma ṣ[i-bu-ti-ia]*
-
- 14 *ù šu-ú il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu um-ma-a li-i[d-din]*
15 *LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-na šu-nu-ḫi ERIN.MEŠ-šu* *ù li-id-din a-na* [*šu-nu-ḫi*
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu]
16 *ù šu-ú li-id-din KÙ.GI.MEŠ-šu* *ù šu-ú li-id-din KÙ.BABBAR-šu* *ù l[i-id-din]*
17 [*ANŠE.]KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu* *ù i-din a-na na-da-ni URUDU.MEŠ-šu* *ù i-[d]i[n] a[-na]*
18 [*na-da-ni*^{GAD} *lu-ba-re*]^{MEŠ} *ù li-il-qa-a*¹ *Ur[-ḫi-^dIŠKUR a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*
19 [*ù la i-na-an-din-šu a-na da-na-]*[*ni*] *ù a-na gu₅-u[r-ri-i a-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti]*
20 [..... *LUGAL.G[AL LUGAL K[UR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a-kán-na]*
21 [*il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu* *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na šu-nu-ḫi]*
22 [*ERIN.MEŠ* *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na šu-nu-ḫi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ* *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din]*
23 [*KÙ.GI.MEŠ ma-ad* *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ma-ad* *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din URUD]U.MEŠ*
ma-ad
24 [*ù a-na-ku at-ta-din*^{GAD} *lu-ba-re-e*^{MEŠ} *ù a-na-ku at-ta-din ANŠE.KU]R.RA.MEŠ*
25 [*ù a-na-ku i-te-pu-uš ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-bu-ú* *ù at-ta-din gab-bi]* *gab-bi*
26 [*ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-bu-ú* *ù šu-ú it-ta-bal-ki-it a-na KUR.KUR.MEŠ ša]* *LUGAL.GAL*
27 [*LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti* *ù la-qú-ú-ma ul il-qú-ú-ni-iš-šu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*
-
- 28 [*a-na da-ra-ti-im-ma a-na-ku al-ta-pár a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti* [*um-ma-a]*
29 [*i-din a-na la-qé-šu a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-mur an-nu-ú*¹ *Ur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR [i-na KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka]*

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. the transliteration in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 424-431.

[30] [...

Rs.

1' [..... **KUR M**]i-iš-riⁱ[-i] x[
2' [..... a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ia li-qé-šu-]nu-ti a-na LUGAL.GAL
3' [LUGAL K]UR Ḫa-at-ti [ŠEŠ-ia ù i-din-šu-nu-]ti a-na pa-ni-šu a-na-ku aq-b[i-šu]

4' ù(?) šu-ú it-ta-ta-[din-šu-nu-ti ù] šu-ú i-du-ú um-ma-a a-di
5' LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-i**[s-ri-i iš-pu-ra] UGU-šu-nu ar-ḫi-iš
6' [a-n]a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa**[-at-ti um-m]a-a mi-nu-ú-ia a-na-ku
7' e-ka-a i-di-šu a-na-k[u(!) aq-bi um-m]a-a ul LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa**-at-ti
8' iš-pu-ra UGU an-ni-t[i a-ma-]te ù a-na-ku-ú aḫ(!)-ta-sa-as-si[-na-ti]
9' i-na KA-ia ù qa-lu-u[a-ma-t]e ša LÚ.MEŠ i-qa-bu-ni-ik-ku
10' [l]a ta-qa-ap a-na ša[-a-š]u a-na-ku ŠEŠ-ḫa-ku ki DÜG.GA ù sal[-ma-ku]
11' [ki-i] DÜG.GA it-ti LU[GAL].GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa**-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a-di ša[-ti]

12' [š]a-ni-ta₅ [mi]₁[-n]u-ú a-ma-tu an-na-tù ša [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL₁] [**KUR Ḫa**-at-ti]
13' [i-š]ap-pa-ra a-na <ia-ši> UGU-ša ù ša at-ta ta-šap-pa[-ra a-na ia-ši]
14' UGU-ši-na a-mur ši-ṭe₄-er-tù ša ma-mi-ti ša a-na-ku [e-pu-šu]
15' a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa**-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a-na šu-pa-al GÌR.MEŠ ša [^dIŠKUR]
16' ša-ki(!)-in a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ (!) GAL.MEŠ (!) a-šu-nu ši-bu-tù a[-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti]

17' ù a-mur ši-ṭe₄-er-tù ša ma-mi-ti ša LUGAL.G[AL **KUR Ḫa**-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia]
18' i-pu-ša-an-ni i-na šu-pa-al GÌR.MEŠ ša ^dUTU ša ^{UR}[^UA-na ša-ki-in]
19' a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ a-šu-nu ši-bu-tù ša a-ma-t[e^{MEŠ} ša ma-mi-ti]

20' aš-ša-bat ma-mi-ta a-na-ku la ú-maš-šar at-ta la[-a ta-qa-ap]
21' a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša la kit-ti ša ta-aš-mu-ú i-na [ŠÁ-ka]
22' ia-nu a-ma-tu i-na ŠÁ-šu a-mur ṭe₄-mu SI[G₅-qú ša ŠEŠ-ut-ti]
23' ù sa-la-mi ša a-na-ku i-na ŠÁ-šu it-ti LUGAL.G[AL LUGAL **KUR Ḫa**-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia]
24' a-na-ku kán-na i-na ŠÁ-šu a-di da-ri-ti

Tafelrand

Translation¹⁰⁰⁶

Vs.

1 So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig, [der König des Landes **Ägypten**],
2 der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana: Zu Kupan[ta-^dKAL],
3 dem König des Landes Mirā, sprich: Siehe, mir geht es [gut, meinen Häusern geht es gut],
4 meinen Söhnen geht es gut, meinen Truppen geht es gut, [meinen] Pfer[den geht es gut],
5 meinen Wagen geht es gut, und innerhalb meiner Länder geht es sehr, se[hr gut];

6 dir, dem König des Landes Mirā, möge es gut gehen, (und) deinem Lande möge es [gut gehen].
7 Nunmehr hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten** alle Angelegen [heiten] gehört, über die
[du]
8 mir [geschrieben hast]. Betreffs der Angelegenheit des Urhitesub: Nein, ich habe (das) nicht ge[tan],
9 betreffs dessen du mir geschrieben hast; nun, (die Dinge) verhalten sich anders. [Und siehe],
10 das gute Verhältnis, das der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, geschaffen hat mit dem
Gr[öß]könig, [dem König des Landes Ḫatti],
11 meinem Bruder, (besteht) aus guter Brüderschaft (und) gutem Frieden. Der Sonnengott und [der
Wettergott haben es gegeben]
12 für ewig. Ferner: Siehe, die Angelegenheit des UrḫiTeššub, über die d[u geschrieben hast]
13 an mich, - (da) hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, (auch) nach [meinem] Wu[nsch] (=

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. the German translation in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 424-431; English translation in BECKMAN 1999², pp. 130-131; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 92-96. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 125-131.

mit [meiner] Billi[gung]) gehandelt.

14 Und er schreibt mir über ihn andauernd wie folgt:
15 „Der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, möge seine Fußtruppen sich bemühen lassen und
möge [seine Pferde sich bemühen lassen]
16 und möge sein Gold hergeben und möge sein Silber hergeben und m[öge]
17 seine [Pf]erde [hergeben] und möge sein Kupfer hergeben und möge
18 [Gewänd]er [hergeben], damit man den Ur[h]iTeššub ins Land **Ägypten** bringe],
19 [und er soll nicht zulassen, daß er star]k wird und Kri[eg führt gegen das Land H]atti
20 [....., - so schreibt der G]roß[könig], der König des L[andes H]atti,
21 [immer wieder an mich über ihn (den Urh]iTeššub)]. Und [ich ließ]
22 [die Fußtruppen sich bemü]hen, [und ich ließ die Pferde sich bemühen, und ich gab]
23 [Gold in reichem Maße, und ich gab Silber in reichem Maße, und ich gab Kup]fer in reichem Maße,
24 [und ich gab Gewänder, und ich gab Pfe]rde,
25 [und ich tat, was mein Bruder gesagt hatte, und ich gab alles], alles,
26 [was mein Bruder gesagt hatte; aber der (Urh]iTeššub) ging in die Länder des] Großkönigs,
27 [des Königs des Landes H]atti, hinüber, und man hat ihn nicht ins] Land **Ägypt[en]** gebracht].

28 [Immer wieder habe ich dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes H]atti, [wie folgt, geschrieben]:
29 [„Laß ihn ins Land **Ägypten** bringen! Siehe, dieser Urh]it]ešub [(befindet sich nämlich) in deinen
Ländern]:
[30] [in Kizwatna oder in Halbā oder in Šubarī oder in Amurru!

Rs.

1' [..... Land **Ägypt[en]** ...
2' [.....; meine Worte - überbringe s]ie dem Großkönig,
3' [dem König] des Landes H]atti, [meinem Bruder, und gib si]e (bekannt) vor seinem Angesicht!“ - (so)
sagte ich [zu ihm],

4' und er g[ab sie immer wieder (bekannt), und] er (= Hattušili) ist nun im Bild. So (sprich): Fürwahr,
5' der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypt[en]**, hat] ihretwegen eilends
6' [d]em Großkönig, dem König des Landes H]a[tti, s]o [geschrieben]: „Was (soll) ich??
7' Wo sollte ich ihn (den Urh]iTeššub) (als König) anerkennen?“ - [(so) sagte] ich. [S]o (sprich): Nicht
(einmal) der Großkönig, der König des Landes **H]atti**,
8' hat wegen diese[r Angelegen]heit geschrieben, und da sollte ich si[e]
9' mit meinem Mund erwähnt haben? Nichtsnutzig sind [die Wort]e, die die Leute dir sagen;
10' vertraue [ni]cht darauf! Ich bin aufs beste verbrüdet und
11' [aufs] beste in Frie[den] mit dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes H]atti, meinem Bruder, auf ew[ig].

12' Ferner: Was (bedeuten) diese Angelegenheiten, über die (mir) der Großkönig, der König [des Landes
H]atti]
13' [sch]reibt, und über die du (mir) schrei[bst]?
14' Siehe, das Schriftstück des Eides, das ich [ausgefertigt habe]
15' für den Großkönig, den König des Landes H]atti, meinen Bruder, liegt zu Füßen des [Wettergottes]
16' (und) vor dem Angesicht der großen Götter; sie sind die Zeugen der W[orte des Eides].

17' Und siehe, das Schriftstück des Eides, das der G[roß]könig, [der König des Landes H]atti, mein
Bruder],
18' für mich ausgefertigt hat, [liegt] zu Füßen der Sonnengottheit von [Heliopolis]
19' (und) vor dem Angesicht der großen Götter; sie sind die Zeugen der Wor[te des Eides].

20' Ich habe den Eid ergriffen (und) werde (ihn) auf keinen Fall aufgeben; [glaube] du nicht
21' in [deinem Herzen] den unwahren Worten, die du gehört hast;
22' es ist kein (wahres) Wort darin. Siehe, das schö[ne] Verhältnis [der Bruderschaft]
23' und des Friedens, in dem ich mich mit dem G[roß]könig, [dem König des Landes H]atti, meinem
Bruder, befinde -]

Tafelrand

This peculiar letter, the only one of the ÄHK addressed to king Kupanta-Kuruntiya of Mira, presents a strong defence of Ramses, having been accused by Ḫattušili to have sustained the fugitive Urḫi-Teššub. The addressee of the missive has been identified with Kupanta-Kuruntiya¹⁰⁰⁷, enthroned by Muršili II, in his 12th regnal year, as king of Mira, a small reign derived from the division of the former kingdom of Arzawa into three smaller political entities (Mira itself, Ḫapalla and “the land of the Seḫa river”) subdued to the authority of the Hittite Great King¹⁰⁰⁸. CORDANI 2017, p. 93 noted that a letter sent by Ramses to a vassal king of western Asia Minor is not so unexpected, because contacts between Egypt and this area are attested thanks to EA 31 and 31, letters exchanged between Amenhotep III and Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa (see *infra*, section 1.3.1.1, texts nos 1-2). Cordani¹⁰⁰⁹ also explained the reason for which the letter was found in the Ḫattuša’s archives, even if it had been sent to the king of Mira: the petrographic analysis performed on the clay of the tablet confirmed it was actually of Egyptian origin and not just a Hittite copy¹⁰¹⁰. The letter was maybe found in Ḫattuša because of the diplomatic protocol of that time, according to which a vassal kingdom had to inform the Hittite Great King of any kind of contacts with other political entities. Therefore, three different explanations can be proposed:

1) the pharaoh directly sent the tablet to Ḫattuša, and later the Hittite king informed Kupanta-Kuruntiya about the content of the message (probably dispatching another, not preserved, copy of the missive);

2) Ramses prepared two copies of the same document and delivered them both to Ḫattuša and to Mira¹⁰¹¹;

3) the king of Mira received the original tablet from the pharaoh and promptly dispatched it to the Hittite court at Ḫattuša (after having prepared a copy for the local archive).

In any case, the reason for Ramses’ defence (see mainly Vs. 8-9¹⁰¹²) could be envisaged in a previous message that the king of Mira would have sent to Ḫattušili, reporting how Ramses was supporting Urḫi-Teššub against Ḫattušili (thus, breaking the oath); in fact, in Rs. 20¹⁰¹³, Ramses again protests his loyalty to the Treaty. Cordani¹⁰¹⁴ also advanced two further interesting remarks:

1) the letter sent to the king of Mira could have been a good occasion for Ramses to complain about Ḫattušili insisting accusation of assumptive collusion with the former Hittite king, as clearly stated in Vs. 14¹⁰¹⁵;

2) it is also possible that the letter was directly sent to Ḫattušili to inform him about a possible ambiguous behaviour of Kupanta-Kuruntiya, who could have written to Ramses to gain information about Urḫi-Teššub¹⁰¹⁶. In this case, Ramses aimed to alert Ḫattušili about his vassal’s about-turn, proving again his devotion to the “legitimate” Hittite sovereign. Nevertheless, I have some doubts

¹⁰⁰⁷ This identification has been questioned in PARKER 1999, p. 284, note 50, who read the name as “Manapa-Tarḫunta”; cf. CAMMAROSANO 2009, p. 190, note 68. Parker suggestion derived by the fact that if the actual addressee would have been recognized with Kupanta-Kuruntiya, this king would have been quite old at the time this letter was sent: cf. CORDANI 2017, p. 93, note 2.

¹⁰⁰⁸ CORDANI 2017, p. 93, quoting DEL MONTE 1993, pp. 63-67, 77-84 (for Muršili’s expeditions against Arzawa) and DEVECCHI 2015, pp. 126-159 (for the treaties established between Ḫatti and the vassals in the former Arzawean area).

¹⁰⁰⁹ CORDANI 2017, p. 93.

¹⁰¹⁰ GOREN ET AL. 2011, p. 686; cf. WILHELM 1984, p. 647 about the palaeography of the document.

¹⁰¹¹ For these two hypothesis, see CORDANI 2017, p. 93; cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 127 and BECKMAN 1999², p. 130.

¹⁰¹² *UGU-ša aš-šum a-ma-te ša Ḫur-ḫi-^dIŠKUR ia-nu ul e[-pu-uš] / ša at-ta taš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-ša a-nu-ma ša-nu-ú*, “Betreffs der Angelegenheit des Urhitesub: Nein, ich habe (das) nicht ge[*tan*], / betreffs dessen du mir geschrieben hast; nun, (die Dinge) verhalten sich anders”.

¹⁰¹³ *aš-ša-bat ma-mi-ta a-na-ku la ú-maš-šar*, “Ich habe den Eid ergriffen (und) werde (ihn) auf keinen Fall aufgeben”.

¹⁰¹⁴ CORDANI 2017, p. 94.

¹⁰¹⁵ *ù šu-ú il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši UGU-šu*, “Und er schreibt mir über ihn andauernd”.

¹⁰¹⁶ So also BRYCE 2003, p. 92.

about this last hypothesis, because from the greetings attested at the beginning of the letter it is clear that Ramses is directly speaking to Kupanta-Kuruntiya and not to Ḫattušili (and in the whole missive Ramses refers to Ḫattušili always using the third singular person).

It is also noteworthy the passage in Vs. 15-19:

*LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i a-na šu-nu-ḫi*¹⁰¹⁷ *ERIN.MEŠ-šu ù li-id-din a-na [šu-nu-ḫi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu] / ù šu-ú li-id-din KÙ.GI.MEŠ-šu ù šu-ú li-id-din KÙ.BABBAR-šu ù l[i-id-din] / [ANŠE.]KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu ù i-din a-na na-da-ni URUDU.MEŠ-šu ù i-[d]i[n] a[-na] / [na-da-ni^{GAD} lu-ba-re]^{M[E]S} ù li-il-qa-a¹Ur[-ḫi-^dIŠKUR a-na KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i] / [ù la i-na-an-din-šu a-na da-na-][ni] ù a-na gu₅-u[r-ri-i a-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti]; “Der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten, möge seine Fußtruppen sich bemühen lassen und möge [seine Pferde sich bemühen lassen] / und möge sein Gold hergeben und möge sein Silber hergeben und m[öge] / seine [Pf]erde [hergeben] und möge sein Kupfer hergeben und möge / [Gewänd]er [hergeben], damit man den Ur[ḫiteššub ins Land Ägypten bringe], / [und er soll nicht zulassen, daß er star]k wird und Kri[eg führt gegen das Land Ḫatti...”.*

A similar request for help has been advanced by Ḫattušili in KUB III 58, Vs. 4'-5' (see *supra*, text no. 27.b), where the Hittite king asks the pharaoh to offer gold, silver, bronze, clothes and horses (possibly as a ransom?) to incentivize and ensure Urḫi-Teššub's capture.

¹⁰¹⁷ For the translation of this expression, differently intended as “may he *commit* his (of Ramses) troops” or “may he *weaken* his (of Urḫi-Teššub) troops”, see CORDANI 95, note 3, quoting SINGER 2006b, pp. 30-31.

30. CTH 167: LETTERS OF NAPTERAS, RAMSES II'S WIFE, TO PUDUḪEPA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters about the “First Hittite Marriage” and the dowry

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iṣ-ri-i</i>	KBo I 29+ IX 43 Vs. 1, 10, 15

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iṣ-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 49 Vs. 2

a. KBo I 29 + 335/o (335/o = KBo IX 43) (ÄHK no. 12, B6, pp. 40-41):

Naptera an PuduḪepa

Transliteration¹⁰¹⁸

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma*^{SAL} *Na-ap-te-ra* SAL.LUGAL.GAL ša **KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i**
- 2 *a-na*^{SAL} *Pu-du-ḫé-pa* SAL.LUGAL.GAL ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti NIN-ia qí-bí-ma
-
- 3 *a-na ia-ši a-ḫa-ti-ki šu-ul-mu a-na KUR-ia šul-mu*
-
- 4 *a-na ka-a-ši a-ša-ti-ia lu-ú šu-ul-mu*
- 5 *a-na KUR-ti-ki lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-nu-ma al-te-mé*
- 6 *ki a-ḫa-ti ta-aš-pu-ri a-na ia-ši a-na ša-a-li*
- 7 *šu-ul-mi ù ši-i ta-šap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši*
- 8 *UGU ṭe₄-mi ša sa-la-mi SIG₅ UGU ṭe₄-mi*
- 9 *ša ŠEŠ-ut-ti dá-mi-iq-ti ša LUGAL.GAL*
- 10 *LUGAL **KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i** i-na ŠÁ-šu it-ti*
- 11 *LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu*
-
- 12 *^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-na-aš-šu-ú re-eš₁₅-ki*
- 13 *ù ^dUTU i-na-an-din a-na du-um-mu-qí*
- 14 *ša-la-ma ù i-na-an-din ŠEŠ-ut-ta*
- 15 *dá-mi-iq-ta ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i***
- 16 *it-ti LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu*
- 17 *a-di da-ri-ti ù sa-al-ma-a-ku*
- 18 *ù aḫ-ḫa-a-ku it-ti-ki^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia*
- 19 *a-na-ku kán^{am}-na-ma*
-
- 20 *a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la-ak-ki šu-bé-el-ta*
- 21 *a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ki^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti-ia*
-
- 22 *ù^{SAL} a-ḫa-ti lu-ú ti-de₄ šu-bé-el-ta*
- 23 *ša a-na-ku ú-še-bi-la-ak-ki i-na ŠU-ti*
- 24 *¹Pa-ri-iḫ-na-ua DUMU.KIN ša LUGAL*
-
- 25 *1 ša ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-ú' ša KÙ.GI SIG₅*
- 26 *ša 12 ṭur-ri KI.LAL-šu 88 GÍN*

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. the transliteration in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 35-37, 419-422 and ÜN 1989.

27 1 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ *ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti* LUGAL *ša-bu-ú*

Tafelrand

Rs.

1 1 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ.GÚ.UD.DU *lu-bu-ul-ti* LUGAL *ša-bu-ú*

2 5 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅ *ša-bu-ú-tù*

3 5 ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG SIG₅ *ša-ba-tù*

4 *na-ap-ḥar* ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ *gab-bi* 12 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 21 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰¹⁹

Vs.

1 So (spricht) Naptera, die Großkönigin des Landes **Ägypten**:

2 Zu Puduḥepa, der Großkonigin des Landes Ḫatti, sprich:

3 Mir, deiner Schwester, geht es gut, (und) meinem Lande geht es gut.

4 Dir, meiner Schwester, möge es gut gehen, (und)
5 deinem Lande möge es gut gehen. Ich habe nunmehr gehört,
6 daß du, meine Schwester, mir geschrieben hast, um dich
7 nach meinem Wohlbefinden zu erkundigen, und (daß) sie mir schreibt
8 wegen des Verhältnisses des guten Friedens (und) wegen des Verhältnisses
9 der guten Brüderschaft, in dem sich der Großkönig,
10 der König des Landes **Ägypten**, mit
11 dem Großkönig, dem König von Ḫatti, seinem Bruder, befindet.

12 Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott werden dein Haupt erheben,
13 und der Sonnengott wird den
14 Frieden gedeihen lassen, und er wird die
15 gute Brüderschaft des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**,
16 mit dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ḫatti**, seinem Bruder,
17 auf ewig gewähren; auch ich bin in Frieden
18 und bin verbrüdet mit dir, meiner Schwester,
19 – ich ebenfalls.

20 Nunmehr habe ich dir ein Geschenk übersandt
21 als Begrüßungsgeschenk für dich, meine Schwester,

22 und du, meine Schwester, mögest das Geschenk erfahren,
23 das ich dir gesandt habe durch die Hand
24 des Pariḥnawa, des Königsboten:

25 1 (Kette) für den Hals, sehr bum, aus gutem Gold,
26 aus 12 Strängen bestehend, deren Gewicht 88 Schekel (beträgt).
27 1 buntes linnen *maklalu*-Gewand aus Byssos;

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. the German translations in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 35-37, 419-422 and KLENGEL 2002, p. 98; English translations in BECKMAN 1999², p. 129 and HOFFNER 2002, p. 51; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 67-68; Turkish translation in ÜN 1989. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 63-64.

Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 1 bunte linnene Tunika aus Byssos;

- 2 5 bunte linnene Gewänder aus gutem, dünnem <Faden>;

- 3 5 bunte linnene Tuniken aus gutem, dünnem <Faden>;

- 4 Summe aller linnenen Gewänder: 12 linnene Gewänder.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 21 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This letter sent by the Egyptian queen Nefertari¹⁰²⁰ to the Hittite queen Puduḫepa represents a typical counterpart of the letters exchanged between the respective husbands of the two courts (i.e., Ramses II and Ḫattušili III). The obverse of the document reports a common salutation, while on the reverse a list of gifts, sent by the hands of Pariḫnawa, is presented:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Jewel	ti-ik-ki šú-ub-bu-ú' ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ ša 12 tur-ri	Necklace of fine gold, colourful, in 12 rows	1 piece = 88 shekels ¹⁰²¹
Linens	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul<-ti> LUGAL ša-bu-ú	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of "King quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul- ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú	Linen of "King" quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG ₅ ša-bu- ú-tù	Linens of fine quality, colourful	5 pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ SIG SIG ₅ ša-ba-tù	Linen tunics of fine quality, colourful	5 pieces
	na-ap-ḫar ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ gab-bi	Total of the various linens	12 pieces

b. KBo XXVIII 49 = 74/e (ÄHK no. 13, B7, pp. 42-43):

Naptera an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-m]a ¹Na-ap-te-[ra SAL.LUGAL.GAL]
- 2 [š]a **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** [a-na ¹Pu-du-ḫé-pa]
- 3 SAL.LUGAL.GAL-ti ša KUR [Ḫa-at-ti]
- 4 ^{SAL}a-ḫa-ti-ia qí-[bi-ma]

- 5 a-nu-ma a-na ia-š[i šul-mu]
- 6 a-na É.MEŠ-ia a-n[a DUMU.MEŠ-ia]
- 7 ù i-na ŠÀ ga[b-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia šul-mu]

- 8 [...] x x [...]
- [9] [...]

¹⁰²⁰ For the cuneiform spelling of this name, see EDEL 1948, p. 14; cf. KLENGEL 2002, pp. 98-99 and BREYER 2010a, p. 292.

¹⁰²¹ The weight indicate in the letter seems to be quite astonishing, as already noted in CORDANI 2017, p. 68, note 2: "Secondo la lettura di EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 41, generalmente accettata, la collana peserebbe 88 sicli, cioè circa 826 grammi, un peso certo rilevante, ma non inverosimile per la gioielleria egiziana. ZACCAGNINI 2000a, pp. 441-442 notando le numerose incongruenze dello scriba della lettera, soprattutto nell'uso del segno per il plurale MEŠ, propone invece la lettura '8 sicli', pari a poco meno di 80 grammi".

Rs. abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰²²

Vs.

1 [S]o (sagt) Napte[ra, die Großkönigin]
2 [de]s Landes **Ägypten**: [zu Puduḥepa],
3 der Großkönigin des Landes [Ḫatti],
4 meiner Schwester, sp[rich]:

5 Nun, mi[r geht es gut],
6 meinen Häusern, [meinen Söhnen]
7 und innerhalb al[ler meiner Länder geht es gut];

8 [...

[9] [...

Rs. abgebrochen

[Just the beginning of the obverse is preserved, introducing the usual greetings].

¹⁰²² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 64.

31. CTH 168: LETTERS OF THE QUEEN MOTHER TUJA TO ḪATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters reporting greetings and lists of gifts

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXXIV 2 Vs. 17
Br.	KUB XXXIV 2 Vs. 2

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 50 Vs. 2 (br.), 7

a. KUB XXXIV 2 = 762/b + 1647/c (ÄHK no. 10, B4, pp. 36-39):

Königsmutter Tūja an Ḫattušili

*Transliteration*¹⁰²³

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma*^{SAL}Tu-[u-ia AMA.SAL ša LUGAL.GAL]
 2 LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš[-ri-i a-na*¹Ḫ-at-tu-ši-li]
 3 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma]

 4 *a-nu-ma a-na ia-[ši NIN-ka šul-mu* ù]
 5 *šal-ma-a-ku dan-[niš dan-niš]*

 6 *a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL L[UGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*
 7 *DUMU-ia ŠEŠ-ka š[a-li-im dan-niš dan-niš]*
 8 *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-šu ša-[la-mu a-na KUR-šu]*
 9 *šu-ul-mu dá-a[n-ni-iš dá-an-ni-iš]*

 10 *a-na ka-a-ša [ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú šul-mu]*
 11 *dan-niš dan-niš [a-na É.MEŠ-ka]*
 12 *lu-ú šul-mu a[-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu]*
 13 *a-na KUR-ka lu-ú [šul-mu dan-niš dan-niš]*

 14 *a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LU[GAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti*
 15 *il-ta-pár a-na i[a-ši a-na ša-a-li]*
 16 *šul-mi-ia*^dUTU ù [^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ]
 17 [^ša KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i* ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-ša-a-lu]
 18 [šul-mu ša ŠEŠ-[ia]

 19 [ù i-n]a-an-di-n[u a-na du-um-mu-qi]
 [20] [sa-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta ša LUGAL.GAL]
 [21] [LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i* it-ti LUGAL.GAL]
 [22] [LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu a-di da-ri-ti]
 [*Tafelrand]

Rs.

- (*1) [-6'] [ù i-na-an-dinu a-na ur-ru-ki]

¹⁰²³ Cf. also EDEL 1974, pp. 108-111.

- (*2) [-5'] [MU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i**]
 (*3) [-4'] [qa-du MU.MEŠ ša ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li]
 (*4) [-3'] [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu]

 (*5) [-2'] [ù šu-nu sal-mu i-na sa-la-mi ba-ni-i]
 (*6) [-1'] [ù šu-nu ŠEŠ-ḫu-ú i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ti ba-ni-ti a-di da-ri-ti]

 (*7) [0'] [a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la šu-bé-el-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia]
 (*8) 1' a-na šul-ma-an [ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti ¹Pa-ri-iḫ-na-ua]
 (*9) 2' DUMU.KIN-ri ša LU[GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i** ŠEŠ-ka]

 (*10) 3' 1 kà-šu₁₄ ša KÙ.GI [SIG₅-qú KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]

 (*11) 4' 1 ^{GAD}TÚG lu-bu-ul-[ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]

 (*12) 5' 1 ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 9-10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰²⁴

Vs.

- 1 So (sagt) Tu[ja, die Mutter des Großkönigs],
 2 des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**: Zu Ḫattušili],
 3 dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes [Ḫatti, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

 4 Nun, mi[r, deiner Schwester, geht es gut, und]
 5 ich befinde mich seh[r, sehr] wohl;

 6 nun, (auch) der Großkönig, der K[önig des Landes **Ägypten**],
 7 mein Sohn, dein Bruder, bef[indet sich sehr, sehr wohl];
 8 seinen Söhnen ge[ht es gut (und) seinem Lande]
 9 geht es se[hr, sehr] gut.

 10 Dir, [meinem Bruder, möge es]
 11 sehr, sehr [gut gehen, deinen Häusern]
 12 möge es gut gehen, [deinen Söhnen möge es gut gehen],
 13 (und) deinem Lande möge es [sehr, sehr gut gehen]!

 14 Nunmehr hat der Großkönig, der Kö[nig des Landes Ḫatti, mein Bruder],
 15 an m [ich] geschrieben, [um sich nach] meinem Wohlbefinden [zu erkundigen].
 16 Der Sonnengott und [der Wettergott und die Götter]
 17 [d]es Landes **Ägypten** [und die Götter des Landes Ḫatti sollen sich (auch) nach dem]
 18 [Wo]hlbefinden [meines] Bruders [erkundigen];

 19 [und sie] sollen
 [20] [den Frieden und die Brüderschaft des Großkönigs],
 [21] [des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, mit dem Großkönig],
 [22] [dem König des Landes Ḫatti, seinem Bruder, für immer gedeihen] lassen,
 [*Tafelrand]

Rs.

- (*1) [-6'] [und sie sollen veranlassen, daß]
 (*2) [-5'] [die Jahre des Großkönigs, des Königs von **Ägypten**],

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 68-69. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 61-62 (cf. also EDEL 1974, pp. 106-108).

- (*3) [-4'] [und die Jahre des Ḫattušili],
 (*4) [-3'] [des Großkönigs, des Königs von Ḫatti, seines Bruders verlängert werden],

 (*5) [-2'] [indem sie (die beiden Könige) in schönem Frieden befriedet sind]
 (*6) [-1'] [und indem sie in schöner Brüderschaft für immer verbrüderet sind].

 (*7) [0'] [Nunmehr habe ich meinem Bruder ein Geschenk]
 (*8) 1' als Begrüßungsgeschenk [für meinen Bruder gesandt durch die Hand des Pariḫnawa],
 (*9) 2' des Boten des [Groß]kö[nigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, deines Bruders]:

 (*10) 3' 1 Becher aus [gutem] Gold, [dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];

 (*11) 4' 1 linnen Gewand (aus) Byss[us, bunt gefärbt];

 (*12) 5' 1 linnene Tunika (aus) [Byssus, bunt gefärbt].

 Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 9-10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

The sender of this letter, and the following one, is clearly to be identified with the queen Tuya, mother of Ramses II¹⁰²⁵, who writes to Ḫattušili defining herself as “sister” (NIN = *aḫātum*), using the metaphor of the brotherhood, instead that of the parental relationship (i.e. father/mother addressing to a fictitious son/daughter), to underline a mutual rank parity¹⁰²⁶. After the usual introduction reporting the greetings (on the obverse), the reverse offers a list of gifts, sent by the hands of Pariḫnawa and consisting of:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Metals	kà-šu ₁₄ ša KÙ.GI [SIG ₅ -qú	Cup of fine gold	1 piece
Linens	^{GAD} TÚG lu-bu-ul-[ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]	Linen of “King quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ [lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece

b. KBo XXVIII 50 = 426/w (ÄHK no. 11, B5, pp. 38-39):
 Königsmutter Tūja an Puduḫepa¹⁰²⁷

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma ^{SALT}u-u-ia AMA.SAL ša LUG[AL.GAL]
 2 [LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i** a-na ^{SAL}Pu-du-ḫé-[pa]
 3 [SAL.LUGAL GAL-t]i ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti
 4 [^{SAL}a-ḫa-t]i-ia qí-bí-ma

 5 [a-nu-ma a-n]a ia-ši
 6 [šul-mu šal-ma-]ku dan-niš dan-niš

 7 [a-nu-ma LUGA]L.GAL LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i**
 8 [DUMU-ia ŠEŠ-k]i ša-li-im DUMU.MEŠ-šu
 9 [šal-mu a-na KUR.]MEŠ-šu šul-mu dan-niš

¹⁰²⁵ For Tuya, see e.g. KITCHEN 2004⁶, pp. 137-141.

¹⁰²⁶ Thus CORDANI 2017, p. 68, note 5.

¹⁰²⁷ Both HPM and EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 39 report Ḫattušili as the addressee of the tablet; differently (and more precisely), EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 62 identifies Puduḫepa as the addressee of the letter, as it is clearly written in the incipit of the document, Vs. 2: “a-na ^{SAL}Pu-du-ḫé-[pa]”.

- 10 [a-na ka-a-ši NIN-t]i-ia lu šul-mu
 11 [dan-niš a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša NIN-i]a lu šu[l-m]u
 [12] [a-na KUR.MEŠ ša NIN-ia lu šul-mu dan-niš dan-niš]
 [13] [...
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰²⁸

Vs.

- 1 [So (sagt) T]ūja, die Mutter des [Groß]kön[igs],
 2 [des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**: Zu Puduḫe[pa],
 3 [der Großkönigi]n des Landes Ḫatti,
 4 meiner [Schwest]er, sprich:

 5 [Nun], mir, deiner Schwester,
 6 [geht es gut]; ich [befinde mich] sehr, sehr [wohl].

 7 [Nun, der] Groß[köni]g, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
 8 [mein Sohn, de]in [Bruder], befindet sich wohl, seine Söhne
 9 [befinden sich wohl, (und)] seinen [Länd]ern geht es sehr gut.

 10 [Dir], meiner [Schwest]er, möge es [sehr] gut gehen,
 11 [den Söhnen mei]ner [Schwester] möge es gut gehen;
 [12] [(und) den Ländern meiner Schwester mä]ge es sehr, sehr gut gehen ...]
 [13] [...
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

[The extant tablet just preserves the obverse of the document, reporting common greetings and salutation].

¹⁰²⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 62.

32. CTH 169: LETTERS OF RAMSES AND THE EGYPTIAN PRINCES ŠUTAḤAPŠAP AND RIAMAŠEŠA, TO ḤATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḥattuša
Content	Letters describing the peaceful situation after the Treaty

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 47 Vs. 2, 6, 12 (br.)

a. KBo XXVIII 47 = 17/f (ÄHK no. 7, B1, pp. 30-31):

Ramses und die ägyptischen Prinzen an Ḥattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 *um-ma DUMU.^d[UTU ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i ^da-ma-na LUGAL.GAL]*
2 *LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-¹ri¹-[i ù DUMU.LUGAL ¹Šu-te-ḥa-ap-ša-ap (?)]*
3 *ù DUMU.LUGAL ¹Ri-a-m[a-še-ša ù gab-bi gab-bi]*
-
- 4 *DUMU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL L[UGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-na ¹Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li]*
5 *LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-a[t-ti qí-bí-ma a-nu-ma a-na LUGAL.GAL]*
6 *LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i¹ da¹-[an-ni-iš šul-mu ù a-na DUMU.MEŠ-šu šul-mu]*
-
- 7 *a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu da-an-ni-iš ¹Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL]*
8 *LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti a-bi[-ni ù a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka lu-ú šul-mu a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL]*
9 *LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti il-[tap-ra-an-na-ši um-ma-a nu-kúr-ta it-ti-ni]*
10 *la te-ep-pu-ša um[-ma-a sa-la-ma ba-na-a it-ti DUMU.MEŠ-ia]*
11 *ep-ša DUMU.MEŠ-r[i-ia i-ra-a-mu DUMU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL]*
12 *LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i sa-la-ma ba-na-a it-ti LÚ.MEŠ KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*
13 *ep-ša LÚ.MEŠ [KUR Ḥa-at-ti i-ra-a-mu LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*
-
- 14 *LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [Ḥa-at-ti a-bu-ni a-kán-na]*
15 *[i]š-pu-ra-an-[na-ši a-mur ni-nu sal-ma-nu ù ni-nu súm-mu-ḥa-nu ù ni-nu]*
16 *[i-na ṭe₄-mi [an-ni-i a-di da-ri-ti]*
-
- [17] *[a-nu-ma ni-i-nu nu-ul-te-bíl šu-bé-el-ta a-na LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*
[18] *[i-na ŠU-ti ¹Pa-ri-iḥ-na-ua DUMU.KIN-ri ša LUGAL ù at-ta lu-ú ti-de-šu(-nu-ti)]*
[19] *[. . .*

Rs.

-
- [-3'] *[šú-bé-el-ta ša ¹Šu-te-ḥa-ap-ša-ap (?)]*
[-2'] *[DUMU.LUGAL id-di-nu a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*
-
- [-1'] *[I kà-su₁₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN]*
-
- [0'] *[I ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...*
-
- 1' *[I] ^{GAD.TÚG}.G[Ú.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...*
-
- 2' *šú-bé-el-ta ša ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša]*
3' *DUMU.LUGAL id[-di-nu a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti]*

4' *I kà-su₁₄ ša K[Û.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN*

5' *I^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-[la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...*

6' *I^{GAD.TÚG.GÚ.UD}[DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ...*

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9-10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰²⁹

Vs.

1 So (spricht) der Sohn [der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig,
2 des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, [und der Prinz Šutaḥapšap (?)],
3 und der Prinz Riam[ašeša und alle, alle]

4 Söhne des Großkönigs, des K[önigs des Landes **Ägypten**: Zu Ḫattušili],
5 dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫa[tti, sprich: Siene, dem Großkönig],
6 dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, [geht es] s[ehr gut, und seinen Söhnen geht es gut];

7 dir möge es [sehr] g[ut gehen, dem Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig],
8 dem König des Landes Ḫatti, [unserem] Vater, [und deinen Söhnen möge es gut gehen! Nun hat der
Großkönig],
9 der König des Landes Ḫatti, [uns] gesch[rieben, wie folgt: „Feindschaft mit uns]
10 sollt ihr nicht hegen!“ (und) wie [folgt]: „Hegt [schönen Frieden mit meinen Söhnen]!
11 (denn) [meine] Söhn[e lieben die Söhne des Großkönigs],
12 des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**]. Hegt [(auch) schönen Frieden mit den Bewohnern des Landes
Ḫatti]!
13 (denn) die Bewohner [des Landes Ḫatti lieben die Bewohner des Landes **Ägypten**]“.

14 - [so] hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes [Ḫatti, unser Vater],
15 u[ns g]eschrieben. [Siehe, wir sind in Frieden und wir sind verschworen und wir]
16 befinden uns [i]n [diesem] Verhältnis [auf Ewigkeit].

[17] [Wir haben nunmehr ein Geschenk an den König des Landes Ḫatti gesandt]
[18] [durch die Hand des Pariḫnawa, des Boten des Königs, und du sollst es erfahren]:

[19] [...]

Rs.

[-3'] [Das Geschenk, das Šuta-ḫapšap (?),
[-2'] [der Prinz, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, gegeben hat]:

[-1'] [1 Becher aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht x Schekel (beträgt)];

[0'] [1 linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus Byssos, ...]

1' 1 linnene T[unika aus Byssos, ...]

2' Das Gesche[nk, das Riamašeša],
3' der Prinz, [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, gegeben hat]:

4' 1 Becher aus [gutem] Go[ld, dessen Gewicht x Schekel (beträgt)];

¹⁰²⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 54-57.

5' 1 linnenes *mak*[*lalu*-Gewand aus Byssos, ...

6' 1 linnene Tunika [aus Byssos, ...

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 9-10 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This letter was sent to Ḫattušili by Ramses II and some other Egyptian princes, whose just two names are preserved: Šutaḫapšap (who is also the unique sender of the following letter, KUB III 70), quoted in the list on the Rs., and Riamašeša, respectively identified with Setherkhopshef (*Stḫ-hr-ḥpš=f*, “Seth is on his sickle sword”¹⁰³⁰) and Ramses (*R^c-msj-sw*, “It is Re who created him”¹⁰³¹). After the usual greetings, the words of a previous message sent by Ḫattušili are reported, establishing a peaceful situation between the two countries:

nu-kúr-ta it-ti-ni] / *la te-ep-pu-ša um[-ma-a sa-la-ma ba-na-a it-ti DUMU.MEŠ-ia]* / *ep-ša DUMU.MEŠ-r[i-ia i-ra-a-mu DUMU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL]* / *LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-[ri-i sa-la-ma ba-na-a it-ti LÚ.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti]* / *ep-ša LÚ.MEŠ [KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-ra-a-mu LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]*, “Feindschaft mit uns] / sollt ihr nicht hegen!” (und) wie [folgt]: ‘Hegt [schönen Frieden mit meinen Söhnen]! (denn) [meine] Söhn[e lieben die Söhne des Großkönigs], / des Königs des Landes Ägypt[en]. Hegt [(auch) schönen Frieden mit den Bewohnern des Landes Ḫatti]! / (denn) die Bewohner [des Landes Ḫatti lieben die Bewohner des Landes Ägypten” (Vs. 9-13).

Ḫattušili’s reported speech is extending the brotherhood not only to Ramses, but also to his sons and to all the inhabitants of the Egyptian land, wishing to both the countries an eternal peace: this harmony involving all Egyptian and Hittite people is particularly stressed by the use, in Vs. 13, of the verb *rāmu(m)*, literally “to love”¹⁰³². The letter ends on the reverse with the usual list of gift, sent through messenger Pariḫnawa:

<i>Senders and addresses</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Šutaḫapšap to Ḫattušili III	kà-su ₁₄ ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Cup of fine gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality	1 piece
	^{GAD.TÚG} G[Ú.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	Linen tunic of “King” quality	1 piece
Riamašeša to Ḫattušili III	kà-su ₁₄ ša K[Ù.GI SIG ₅	Cup of fine gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-[la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality	1 piece
	^{GAD.TÚG} GÚ.UD[.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL	Linen tunic of “King” quality	1 piece

b. KUB III 70 (ÄHK no. 9, B3, pp. 34-37):

Prinz Šutaḫapšap an Ḫattušili

*Transliteration*¹⁰³³

Vs.

1 [um-m]a ^lŠu-ta-ḫa-ap-ša-ap

¹⁰³⁰ See e.g. KITCHEN 2004⁶, pp. 114, 145.

¹⁰³¹ *Ivi*, mostly on pp. 142-143, 145-146. The identification of the original names of these princes can be found in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, mostly on p. 55; cf. RANKE 1935, p. 218, no. 6 and p. 322, no. 6. For Šutaḫapšap, the designated heir to the throne, premised to his father, see also ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 21, no. 57.

¹⁰³² See BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², pp. 297-298 and CAD 14 (R), pp. 136ff.

¹⁰³³ Cf. the transliteration in EDEL 1978, pp. 129-136 and MÜLLER 2010, pp. 415-419.

- 2 [DUMU š]a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri-i**

- 3 [a-na ḥ]a-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL
4 [LUGAL KU]R Ḥa-at-ti a-bu-ia qí-bí-ma

- 5 [a-na k]a-a-ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti
6 [a-bi-]ia lu-ú šu-ul-mu ù a-na
7 [KUR.KUR.]MEŠ-ka lu-ú [šú-u]l-m[u]

- 8 [a-nu-ma a-na ia-ši DUMU-ka] šu-ul-mu
9 [KUR.KU]R.MEŠ ša(!) LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**
10 ŠEŠ-ka ša-alma

- 11 a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti a-bu-ia
12 il-tap-ra a-na ia-ši a-na ša-a-li
13 šu-ul-ma ša DUMU-šu ù a-na-ku
14 aḥ-tá-di dan-niš dan-niš
15 ki-i a-bu-ia il-tap-ra a-na ia-ši
16 a-na ša-a-li šu-ul-ma

- 17 ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-ša-a-lu šu-ul-ma
18 ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti a-bi-ia
19 ù i-na-an-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí
20 ša-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ti ša LUGAL.GAL
21 LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** it-ti LUGAL.GAL
22 LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti ŠEŠ-šu a-di da-ri-ti
Tafelrand
- Rs.
1 ù i-na-an-di-nu a-na ur-ru-ki
2 MU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**
3 qà-du MU.MEŠ ša ¹Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li
4 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-ti

- 5 ù šu-nu sa-al-mu i-na. sa-la-mi
6 ba-ni-i ù šu-nu ŠEŠ-ḥu-ú
7 i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ti ba-ni-ti a-di da-ri-ti

- 8 a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la šu-bé-el-ta a-na a-bi-ia
9 a-na šu-ul-ma-an a-bi-ia
10 [i-]na ŠU-ti ¹Pa-ri-iḥ-na-a-ua

- 11 [1 GAL] ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-ú ša še-te-e
12 [i-na p]a-ni GUD.MAḤ SI.MEŠ-šu NA₄.BABBAR
13 [... x] ◦ ša NA₄.GE₆ (Rasur)
14 [KI.LAL-šu] 93 GÍN KÙ.GI SIG₅

- 15 [1 ^{GAD.TÚG}x]-tì GU SIG SIG₅ eš₁₅-šu

- 16 [1 ^{GAD.TÚG}t]u-un-sú SIG SIG₅ eš₁₅-šu
17 [ša ^{GIŠ}NÁ] ša 2 pa-nu-šu
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 4 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰³⁴

Vs.

1 [S]o (sagt) Šutaḥpašap,
2 [der Sohn de]s Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**:

3 [Zu Ḥ]attušili, dem Großkönig,
4 [dem König des Land]es Ḥatti, meinem Vater, sprich:

5 [Di]r, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥatti,
6 meinem [Vater], möge es gut gehen, und
7 deinen [Lände]rn mög[e es gut] geh[en];

8 [nun, mir, deinem Sohn], geht es gut,
9 [die Län]der des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**,
10 deines [Br]uders, sind wohlbehalten.

11 Nunmehr hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḥatti, mein Vater,
12 mir geschrieben, um sich nach dem
13 Wohlbefinden seines Sohnes zu erkundigen, und ich
14 freute mich sehr, sehr darüber,
15 daß mir mein Vater geschrieben hat,
16 um sich nach dem Wohlbefinden zu erkundigen.

17 Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott sollen sich (auch) nach dem Wohlbefinden
18 des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḥatti, meines Vaters, erkundigen,
19 und sie sollen
20 den Frieden und die Bruderschaft des Großkönigs,
21 des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, mit dem Großkönig,
22 dem König des Landes Ḥatti, seinem Bruder, für immer gedeihen lassen,
Tafelrand

Rs.

1 und sie (die Götter) sollen veranlassen, daß
2 die Jahre des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**,
3 und die Jahre des Ḥattušili, des Großkönigs,
4 des Königs des Landes Ḥatti, seines Bruders, verlängert werden,

5 indem sie (die beiden Könige) in schönem Frieden befriedet sind
6 und indem sie
7 in schöner Bruderschaft für immer verbrüdet sind.

8 Nunmehr habe ich meinem Vater ein Geschenk
9 als Begrüßungsgeschenk für meinen Vater gesandt
10 [d]urch die Hand des Pariḥnāwa:

11 [1 Becher] aus gutem Gold, mit Inkrustierung, zum Trinken,
12 [mit dem G]esicht eines Stiers, dessen Hörner aus weißem Stein,
13 [und (dessen) Augen] aus schwarzem Stein sind;
14 [sein Gewicht] (beträgt) 93 Schekel guten Goldes.

15 [1] neues [linnenes ..]. [-Gewand] (aus) gutem dünnem Faden;

¹⁰³⁴ Cf. the translation in EDEL 1978, pp. 129-136; other German translation in MÜLLER 2010, pp. 415-419; French translation in FREU 2008, pp. 219-220; English translation in BECKMAN 1999², p. 128; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 69-70. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 59-61.

- 16 [1] neue [linnene D]ecke (aus) „gutem dünnem“ ‹Faden›
 17 [für das Bett], die zwei (Schau)seiten hat.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 4 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

KUB III 70 reports a letter sent only by the prince Šutaḥapšap to Ḫattušili: on the obverse and in the first part of the reverse, the Egyptian prince thanks the Hittite king for having asked him about his health and remembers the peace established with the Treaty, wishing it to last forever. Šutaḥapšap also adds a particular greeting, asking to the Sun-god and to the Storm-god “to make long the years of the Great King, king of Egypt, together with the years of Ḫattušili, Great King, king of Ḫatti, his brother” (ù *i-na-an-di-nu a-na ur-ru-ki* / *MU.MEŠ ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i / qà-du MU.MEŠ ša Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li* / *LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti*, Rs. 1-4). The reverse ends with the presentation of some gifts sent to the Hittite king:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Metals	GAL] ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ tam-lu-ú ša še-te-e / [i-na p]a-ni GUD.MAḪ SI.MEŠ-šu NA ₄ .BABBAR / [... x] ○ ša NA ₄ .GE ₆	Drink vessel of fine gold, inlaid ¹⁰³⁵ , with a muzzle of bull (with white stone horns and black stone eyes ¹⁰³⁶)	1 piece = 93 shekels
Linens	GAD.TÚG _x] -tì GU SIG SIG ₅ eš ₁₅ -šu	Linen of fine quality, new ¹⁰³⁷	1 piece
	GAD.TÚG _t]u-un-sú SIG SIG ₅ eš ₁₅ -šu / [ša GIŠNÁ] ša 2 pa-nu-šu	Linen blanket of fine quality, new, [for the bed], double ¹⁰³⁸	1 piece

The most interesting object sent to Ḫattušili is surely the drink vessel “with a muzzle of bull” that CORDANI 2017, p. 70, note 2 describes as follows: “Potrebbe trattarsi di un *rhyton* (così CAD 12 [P], 333b e MEYER 1987, 156) o, più in generale, di un vaso teriomorfo. Secondo EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, 60, invece, il muso del toro sarebbe una sorta di disegno intarsiato sulla superficie della coppa”. For the importance of *rhyta* as peculiar gifts exchanged between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts (probably already from the reign of Thutmose III), see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 1 and this section, texts nos 27.c, 33.d and 41.b.

¹⁰³⁵ For the analysis of the term *tamlû*, see CAD 18 (T), p. 143b: “stone inlay, incrustation, inset, decoration”; The term is attested also in KBo XXVIII 4, to describe the decoration of some *udjat*-eyes (see *supra*, text no. 21.b). For the use of the *tamlû* technique on ivory objects, see DE PIETRI (forthcoming, a) and THUREAU-DANGIN ET AL. 1931, p. 139.

¹⁰³⁶ This the translation proposed in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 60.

¹⁰³⁷ The presence of the word *eššu* (see e.g. BLACK – POSTGATE – GEORGE 2000², p. 83) “new”, here and in the following item, is not attested in other letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence.

¹⁰³⁸ For the translation of this term, see CORDANI 2017, p. 70, note 3: “2 *pānū-šu*, forse nel senso di ‘double-face’. L’integrazione ‘per il letto’ è basata sul confronto con un inventario di doni proveniente da Tell el-Amarna (EA 14); v. Edel 1994a, vol. 2, p. 61”.

33. CTH 170: FRAGMENTS OF EGYPTIAN-HITTITE CORRESPONDENCE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	14 th -13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Fragments of letters related to the “ <i>daḥamunzu</i> affaire”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 23 Vs. 2, 13 (akk.)
KUR <i>mi-ri-i (sch)</i> .	KBo I 23 Vs. 4 (akk.)
Br.	KUB III 32, 2'; 33, 5'

DEL MONTE 1992¹⁰³⁹:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i> [(br.)	KBo XXVIII 68 Rs. 8'
KUR <i>mi-</i> [(br.)	KBo XXVIII 68 Rs. 13'
<i>-iz-ri-i</i> (br.)	KBo XXVIII 39 Vs. 2'
<i>-iz-ri-i</i> (br.)	KBo XXVIII 45 Vs. 4
KUR <i>mi-i</i> [z- (br.)	KBo XXVIII 48 Vs. 13

a. KBo XXVIII 51 (ÄHK no. 1, pp. 14-15):

Die Witwe des Nibḥururia an Šuppiluliuma

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [..... ANŠE.] KUR.RA.ME[Š]
 2' [..... a-nu-um-ma mu-ti im-tu-ut DUMU-ia i-]ia-nu ù m[i-...
 3' [..... x] šu-ú li-ṭ[ì-ib]
 4' [UGU x] DUMU.NITA ú-ka-a[l]
 5' [LUGAL-ut-ta a]-mur a-na-ku i-na e[-ku-ti]
 6' [šú-up-ra-an-ni 1-en DUMU-ka ù 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-tu₄ i-tù-úr-ra i-na] 1-et KUR-ti ù tù-
 še-bi-la-an-n[i]
 7' [šú-bi-la-ti^{MEŠ}-ka ù a-na-ku a-ḥa-ad-dì a-na ša-a-šu-n]u ù a-na-ku kà-an-na-am-ma ú-[še-bi-la-
 ak-ku]
 8' [šú-bi-la-ti^{MEŠ}-ia ù at-ta ta-ḥa-ad-dì a-na ša-a-šu]-nu ù a-ḥa-ad-dì ○ ki-i a-ša-pa-ra-a[k-ku ša-
 pa-a-ra]
 9' [bá-na-a i-na ŠU-ti DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-a ù ta-ḥa-ad-dì ki-i ta-ša-pa-r]a-an-ni ša-pa-a-ra bá-
 na-a [i-na ŠU-ti]
 10' [DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ka a-na-ku kà-an-na aš-pu-ra-ak-ku ù a-nu-ma at-ta] ta-al-tap-ra ¹
^{GIŠ}PA.L[Ú ...
 11' [..... LÚ te₄-]mi ki-i ša-a-šu[...
 12' [..... a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-t]i [ša] ma-aš-lu[...
 13' [..... x] (-) ma [...

Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [..... -t]i (?) ša tù-ha-[.....] [x ...
 2 [.....] ù tù-ul-te-bi-l[a ...] [x ...
 3 [..... an-]nu-ú-ti ù at-ta t[a ...
 4 [..... P]a(?)-a-b/pu ša a-na ^{LÚ}DUMU.KIN[-ut-ti]

¹⁰³⁹ Cf. GRODDEK 2008, pp. 125-126, no. 183.

5 [aš-pu-ra-ak-ku la-a](?) ta-na-as-sú-uk [...
6 [..... ¹Ḫa-an-ī)a ša aš-pur-ak-ku [...
7 [.....k]i-i taš-pu-ra ^{LÜ}an[-tu-ub-šal-li ...
8 [..... a-na-ku a-ša-ak-kán DUMU-ka a-na LUGAL-u)t(?)-ti i-na KUR-ti-ia [...
9 [..... i-n]a-an-na ù šu[-pur (?) ...
10 [.....-]gi(-)na [- ...
11 [.....] ša (?) aš[- ...
12 [.....x]-i t[...

Translation¹⁰⁴⁰

Vs.

1' [..... Pf]erde, [...
2' [..... Nunmehr ist mein Mann gestorben, und einen Sohn] habe [ich] nicht; und wa[rum (?)]
3' [.....] ... er möge gefa[llen]
4' [.....] ... ein Sohn wird [das Königtum] ausü[ben]
5' [.....] Siehe, ich bin im [Zustand der] Fami[lienlosigkeit]!
6' [Sende mir einen Sohn von dir, und die zwei großen Länder werden zu] einem Lande [werden],
und du wirst m[ir]
7' [dein Geschenke bringen lassen, und ich werde mich über sie freuen]; und ich werde [dir] ebenso
8' [meine Geschenke bringen lassen, und du wirst dich über s]ie [freuen]! Und ich werde mich
freuen, wenn ich d[ir eine schöne Sendung] senden werde
9' [durch die Hand meiner Boten, und du wirst dich freuen, wenn du] mir eine schöne Sendung
[sen]den [wirst durch die Hand]
10' [deiner Boten! “ So hatte ich dir geschrieben. Nunmehr] sandtest du Ḫattušaziti [...
11' [..... ein(en) Bot]e(n) wie er [...
12' [..... dies]e [Worte, die ausführens(?)] wert sind [...
13' [.....] ... [...

Tafelrand

Rs.

1 [.....]. den du suchst ... [...
2 [.....] und (?) du hast bringen lasse[n ...
3 [.....die]se [.....^{P1}] und du [...
4 [.....P]āpu, den [ich] [dir] wegen einer Boten[mission
5 [gestandt habe, meinen Vorschlag (?)] sollst du [nich]t verwerfen
6 [..... Ḫan]ja (?), den ich dir gestandt habe [...
7 [.....a]ls du den H[ohbeamten PN] sandtest [...
8 [.....ich werde deinen Sohn ins König]tum in meinem Lande [einsetzten ...
9 [.....]jetzt und se[nde (?) ...
10 [.....] ständi[g (?) ...
11 [.....] ... [...
12 [.....] ... [...

KBo XXVIII 51 is surely one of the most important documents of all the Egypto-Hittite correspondence and, perhaps, the most ancient one. The text was identified as one of the missive sent by the *daḫamunzu*, the widow of the pharaoh Nibḫururias (most probably Tutankhamun) to the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I. Therefore, the sender of the letter could easily be recognized in Ankhesenamun, Tutankhamun's wife. The Egyptian widow, quoted in the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma” (see *supra*, text no. 1), sent a first letter to the Hittite king asking him to send to Egypt one of his sons who would become her new husband and, consequently, the new Egyptian king. This fragment of letter surely does not belong to this first communication, because of the mention of the messenger Ḫattušaziti, sent by the Hittite king in Egypt to better investigate the situation; therefore, this missive can be easily

¹⁰⁴⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 22-26.

included within the second group of letters exchanged between the *daḥamunzu* and Šuppiluliuma¹⁰⁴¹. One of these letters is explicitly quoted in the text of the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”:

IE III 24-35//IA III 53-IV 1-15 «Perchè hai detto una tal cosa: stanno cercando di prendermi in trappola? Se avessi avuto un figlio avrei scritto ad un altro paese l’umiliazione mia personale e del mio paese? Tu non hai fiducia in me, e invero mi hai detto tali cose! Colui che era mio marito mi è morto, io non ho figli e non prenderò mai un mio servo per farmelo mio marito! non ho scritto a nessun altro paese: a te ho scritto! Si dice che tu abbia molti figli: dammi un tuo figlio ed egli diventerà mio marito e re di Egitto». Poiche mio padre aveva un cuore gentile si piegò alle parole della donna e prese di petto (la questione) del figlio¹⁰⁴².

According to the content of this letter, it seems quite difficult to recognize the present document with that quoted in this passage; moreover, the ductus of KBo XXVIII does not provide any further clues in dating the letter, which could be both an original contemporary to the period of the reported events, or, even more probably, a later copy of the original despatch. Another possibility consists in recognizing KBo XXVIII as the copy of an original letter sent by the Egyptian widow, even though not explicitly quoted in the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”.

The *daḥamunzu* writes in this letter about her difficult situation (*a-nu-um-ma mu-ti im-tu-ut DUMU-ia i-]ia-nu*, “Nunmehr ist mein Mann gestorben, und einen Sohn] habe [ich] nicht”, Vs. 2’ and *a-]mur a-na-ku i-na e[-ku-ti*], “Siehe, ich bin im [Zustand der] Fami[lienlosigkeit]!”), Vs. 5’) and asks Šuppiluliuma to send one of his sons, who would become the new pharaoh (*DUMU.NITA ú-ka-a[l] / [LUGAL-ut-ta*, “ein Sohn wird [das Königtum] ausü[ben]”, Vs. 4’-5’; cf. Rs. 8), connecting the two countries together (*ù 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-tu₄ i-tù-úr-ra i-na] I-et KUR-ti*, “die zwei großen Länder werden zu] einem Lande [werden]”, Vs. 6’)¹⁰⁴³. The letter continues with the promise of a gift exchange, and the emphasis of the *daḥamunzu* about the lawfulness of her request (*a-ma-te^{MEŠ} an-na-t]i [ša] ma-aš-lu*[..., “dies]e [Worte, die ausführens(?)] wert sind”, Vs. 12’).

The text continues on the reverse, with the mention of two royal messengers, Ḥania and Pa’apu¹⁰⁴⁴, who are appointed by the Egyptian queen to uphold her requests.

b. KUB III 51 (ÄHK no. 2, A1, pp. 16-19):

Ramses an Ḥattušili

Transliteration

Vs. (?)

- 1’ [.....-s][u- ...
 2’ [.....-t]i š[a ...
 3’ [.....]a-na e[-pé-ši (?) ...
 4’ [.....a-n-]a(-)da-x ...
 5’ [.....a-n]a¹Si-ḥi[- ... oder ¹Si-i[h- ... ?
 6’ [.....] Spu- [. . .
 7’ [.....] ren [...
 8’ [.....] Spu- [. . .
 9’ [.....] ren [. . .
 10’ [**KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** in-né-ep-p]u-uš it-t[i KUR Ḥa-at-ti a-na e-pé-ši ŠEŠ-ut-ta it-ti-ša i-na UGU ṭup-pi]
 11’ [ša a-na-ku ú-še-bi]-la ù KUR Ḥa-a[t-ti in-né-ep-pu-uš it-ti **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]
 12’ [a-na e-pé-ši ŠEŠ-ut-ta] it-ti-ša i-n[a UGU ṭup-pi ša ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la]
 13’ [ù a-na-ku ep-pu-uš]-šu UGU-šu ù [at-ta te-ep-pu-uš-šu UGU-šu ù ki-i ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra um-ma-a]
 14’ [i-din ṭup-pa a-na e-p]é-]š]i al-tap-ra [^{LÚ}sà-ag-ru-ma-aš a-na ŠEŠ-ia]

¹⁰⁴¹ The same opinion in FREU 2004, pp. 79-80: “La lettre est donc la seconde adressée à ce dernier [i.e. Šuppiluliuma]”.

¹⁰⁴² For the Hittite text, see *supra*, text no. 1 (from DEL MONTE 2008, pp. 84-129).

¹⁰⁴³ This peculiar expression, “to cause two lands to be one land”, is also attested in the later correspondence between Ramses and Ḥattušili: see KUB III 63 Vs. 19-20 (*supra*, text no. 22.a), KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 Vs. 3’-4’ (*supra*, text no. 23) and KBo VIII 14 Vs. 6’ (*supra*, text no. 26.b).

¹⁰⁴⁴ LEBRUN 2004, pp. 79-80 proposes an identification of this official with the Pa’apu quoted in EA 333, found at Tell el-Hesi, where Pa’apu is defined as a *rabišu* (“Great”) of the pharaoh for the land of Canaan; cf. MORAN 1992, p. 356.

- 15' [.....x] ù ŠEŠ-k[a] (oder -i[a]) ...
-
- 16' [.....] ù šu-ú il-l[i-ik i-na KUR Ĥa-at-ti i-na GAM-li šu-be-el-ti]
 17' [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ĥ]a-at-ti i-na KÙ.G[*I*.MEŠ SIG₅ ù i-na, KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ù i-na URUDU.MEŠ ù]
 18' [i-na ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ma-a-du-t]ù SIG₅-ti [l]u-[bu]-ul[-ti LUGAL ù i-na ^{GAD}TUG.MEŠ ma-a-du-tù SIG₅-ti ša mi-ku]
 19' [ù i-na ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ m]a-a-du-tù S[IG₅-ti SIG.MEŠ ù i-na GIŠ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}ESI.ĤI.A SIG₅-ti ù a-na-ku]
 20' [aš-ša-ra-ab x LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR Me-luḥ-ḥa 90 SAL.MEŠ [ša KUR Me-luḥ-ḥa a-na ŠEŠ-ia]
 21' [qà-du ^{GAD.TÚG}lu-ba-ri-]i S[IG]MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ ù KÙ.[GI.MEŠ SIG₅ ù at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ŠEŠ-ia]
 22' [ù a-na-ku at-ta-din ¹]Pí-ri-iḥ-na-ua ^{LÚ}[DUMU.KIN-ri-ia qà-d]u DUMU.KIN [ša ŠEŠ-ia a-na a-la-ki]
 23' [a-na ŠEŠ-ia ar-ḥi-iš a]r-ḥi-iš UGU gab-b[i gab-bi te₄-mi ša ŠE]Š-ia ip[-pu-šu]
 24' [it-ti LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i UG]U DUB ša ŠEŠ-ia i[p-pu-šu su-l]u-um-ma-a e-l[i-šu]
-
- 25' [ù ša ŠEŠ-ia tàš-pu-ra UG]U LUGAL.MEŠ um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia <liš-pu-ra> [DUMU].MEŠ.KIN um-ma-a [tu]p-pì Š[EŠ-ka i-na-an-din]
 26' [a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu ar-ḥi-i]š a-na ŠEŠ-ia UGU (?) te₄-mi ša la-qé-e
 27' [tup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na KUR Ĥa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia iḥ-t]a-aš-ḥa ŠEŠ-ut-ta ù ŠEŠ-k[a]
 28' [iḥ-ta-aš-ḥa ŠEŠ-ut-ta a-mur a-na-ku ep-pu-]uš-x-šu a-na ŠEŠ-ia ar-ḥi-[iš]
 29' [ar-ḥi-iš ù a-na-ku a-na-an-din DUB a-na] la-qé-e <a-na> ^{SAL}a-ḥa-a-ti a-na l[a-qé-e]
 30' [a-na DUMU.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia a-nu-ma ul-te-bíl] a-na ŠEŠ-ia an-n[a]-a ša aš[-pu-ra a-na Š]E[Š-ia]
 31' [UGU-šu ù a-na-ku ul-te-bíl KÙ.GI.MEŠ a-na ŠEŠ]-ia ù u[l]-t[e]-bíl KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ a-na
 32' [ù ul-te-bíl ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ a-na ŠEŠ-ia] a-nu-ma ul-te-bíl šu-bíl-ta
 33' [da-mi-iq-ta dan-niš a-na NIN-ia i-na KÙ.GI.MEŠ SIG]₅ ù i-na KÙ.BAB[BAR].M[EŠ]
 34' [ù i-na ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ù i-n]a ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ ša m[i-ku]
 35' [ù i-na ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ SIG.MEŠ] x x x x a-na[-ku]
 [36'] [...

Rs. (?)

- 1' [.....] x [.....] x [] x [...
 2' [..... ù a-na-ku] ul-te-bíl gab-bi ša-am-mi^{MEŠ}
 3' [SIG₅-qú-ti a-na IGI.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ù] a-na-ku at-ta-din 1-en ^{LÚ}sà-ag-ru-ma[-aš]
 4' [a-na a-la-ki it-ti ¹Pí-ri-iḥ-]na-ua ù šu-ú il-li-ik a-na [¹ZAG.ŠEŠ]
 5' [LÚ KUR A-mur-ri it-ti DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ¹]Pí-ri-iḥ-na-ua ù it-ta-an-na-aš[-šu]
 6' [gab-bi ša-am-mi^{MEŠ} ša il-qú-ú ù(!)] šu-ú it-ta-din 1-en ^{LÚ}sà-ar-gu
 7' [a-na a-la-ki a-na UGU-ḥi ŠEŠ-ia q]à-du ša-am-mi^{MEŠ} ša LUGAL ŠEŠ-ia
 8' [id-di-nu a-na šu-bu-li-šu-nu ar-ḥi-]iš ar-ḥi-iš a-na UGU-ḥi ŠEŠ-ia
 9' [i-na ŠU-ti ša ¹Pí-ri-iḥ-na-ua ù a-na-k]u al-tá-pár tup-pa a-na LÚ KUR [A-mur-ri]
 10' [um-ma-a a-na-ku ú-še-bi-la a-na ŠEŠ-]ia ša-am-ma a-na IGI.MEŠ ša [ŠEŠ-ia]
 11' [KÙ.GI SIG₅ KÙ.BABBAR ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SI]G₅ ša-bi 1<-en> ú-ul in-né-pu[-uš]
 12' [it-ti 1-en z]i-it a/iḥ-]ta-aš-[ḥa]
 13' [.....] i-na [] x x [...
 14' [..... <a-ma-te^{MEŠ}[-ia/šu]
 15' [.....] a-na a-la[-ki]
 [16'] [a-na ...

Translation¹⁰⁴⁵

Vs. (?)

- 1' [.....] [...
 2' [.....] [...
 3' [.....] um zu m[achen (?) ...
 4' [.....] [...
 5' [.....] dem Siḥi[- ... (oder Si[ḥ- ...?)

¹⁰⁴⁵ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 31-35.

- 6' [.....] [...
7' [.....] [...
8' [.....] [...
9' [.....] [...
10' [Das Land **Ägypten** wird sich verbünden mi[t dem Land Ḫatti um Brüderschaft mit ihm zu schließen auf der Tafel],
11' [die ich brin]gen [lassen werde]; und das Land Ḫa[t]ti wird sich verbünden mit dem Land **Ägypten**
12' [um Brüderschaft] mit ihm [zu schließen] au[f der Tafel, die mein Bruder bringen lassen wird].
13' [Und ich werde] sie [schließen] auf ihr, und [du wirst sie schließen auf ihr. Und als mein Bruder folgendermaßen schrieb]:
14' [„Lasse die Tafel anfe]rtigen!“ - (da) sandte ich [den Streitwagenoffizier PN zu meinem Bruder]
15' [.....] .. und de[in] (oder me[in]?) Bruder [...
-
- 16' [.....] und er gin[g in das Land Ḫatti mit einem Geschenk]
17' [für den Großkönig, den König des Landes Ḫ]atti, bestehend aus [gutem] Go[l]d und aus Silber und aus Kupfer und]
18' [aus viel]en guten [l]innen Gewändern in] Byss[os]qualität und aus vielen guten linnen Gewändern in *miku*-Qualität]
19' [und aus v]ielen g[uten l]innen Gewändern in feiner Qualität und aus guten Balken von Ebenholzbäumen, und ich]
20' [sandte x Männer d]es Landes Meluḫḫa (und) 90 Frauen [des Landes Meluḫḫa zu meinem Bruder]
21' [mit linnen Gewände]rn in guter, fe[in]er Qualität und [gutem] Go[l]d, und ließ sie zu meinem Bruder gehen],
22' [und ich ließ] Piriḥnawa, [meinen Boten, mi]t dem Boten [meines Bruders]
23' [eilends], eilends [zu meinem Bruder gehen] wegen aller, [aller Beziehungen, die] mein [Bru]der
24' [mit dem König des Landes **Ägypten**] verein[baren] wird [au]f der Tafel, auf [der] mein Bruder einen [Frie]densvertrag m[achen] wird].
-
- 25' [Und was du, mein Bruder, wege]n (uns), den Königen, [geschrieben hast], wie folgt: „Mein Bruder (möge) die [B]oten <senden>!“ , so (sage ich darauf): die Tafel - dein Bruder wird sie (= die Boten)
26' [eilen]ds zu meinem Bruder [gehen lassen] wegen des Planes,
27' [die Silbertafel in das Land Ḫ]atti zu bringen; [(denn) mein Bruder beg]ehrte die Brüderschaft, und de[in] Bruder
28' [begehrte die Brüderschaft. Siehe, ich werde] sie für meinen Bruder eilen[ds],
29' [eilends anfertigen, und ich werde veranlassen, daß die Tafel] (auch) (zu) meiner Schwester gebracht wird, (und) daß sie
30' [(auch) zu den Söhnen meines Bruders] geb[racht] wird. Nunmehr habe ich] meinem Bruder dieses [bringen lassen], wor[über] ich [meinem] [B]ru[der] gesch[rieben] habe;
31' [und ich habe] meinem [Bruder das Gold bringen lassen] und habe [meinem] Bruder das Silber bringen lassen
32' [und habe meinem Bruder die schönen linnen Gewänder bringen lassen]. Nunmehr habe ich (auch) ein
33' [sehr schönes] Geschenk [für meine Schwester] bringen lassen, [bestehend aus gute]m [Gold] und aus Silber [.....]
34' [und aus guten linnen Gewändern aus Byssos und a]us guten linnen Gewändern in *miku*-Qualität]
35' [und aus guten linnen Gewändern in feiner Qualität] (Ob ...) So (Sprich) zu meinem Bruder?) Ic[h]
[36] [...
- Rs. (?)
1' [.....] [...
2' [.....] und ich] ließ alle [guten] Arznei[en]
3' [für die Augen meines Bruders] bringen [und] ich ließ einen Streitwagenoffizier
4' [mit Piriḥ]nawa [gehen], und dieser ging zu [Bentešina],

- 5' [dem Fürsten des Landes Amurru, mit meinem Boten] Piriḥnawa, und er gab ih[m]
6' [alle Arzneien, die er gebracht hatte, und] der ließ einen *sargu*-Offizier
7' [zu meinem Bruder gehen m]it den Drogen, die der König, dein Bruder,
8' [eile]nds, eilends zu meinem Bruder [hatte bringen lassen]
9' [durch die Hand Piriḥnawas, und i]ch schrieb einen Brief an den Fürsten des Landes [Amurru]
10' [folgendermaßen: „Ich habe] meinem Bruder eine Arznei für die Augen [meines Bruders bringen lassen (sowie)]
11' [gutes Gold, Silber (und) gu]te gefärbte [linnene Gewänder aus Byssos], (denn) wird sich nicht der ei(ne) (Bruder)
12' [mit dem anderen] verbün[den? als A]nteil begeh[rte] ich/er
13' [.....] in [...
14' [..... m/seine] Wort[e]
15' [.....lasse/läßt den] ge[hen]
[16'] [zu ...

KUB III 51 deals with the upcoming stipulation of the Treaty, describing the presentation of the Silver tablet reporting the text of the covenant. The major part of the tablet is devoted to the list of the gifts sent by Ramses to Ḫattušili by the hands of the usual messenger Piriḥnawa, joined by a charioteer whose name is not preserved in the text. Particularly noteworthy is the quotation, on the reverse, among the other gifts of some “medicines/drugs for the eyes” (*gab-bi ša-am-mi*^{MEŠ}) / [*SIG₅-qú-ti a-na IGI.MEŠ*, Vs. 2'-3'), to heal a disease in the eyes of Ḫattušili: Ramses delivered these medicines firstly to Bentešina, king of Amurru, with the purpose of dispatching them “very quickly” (*ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš*, Rs. 8')¹⁰⁴⁶ to the Hittite king through a *sargu*-official¹⁰⁴⁷. Here follows the list with all the gifts:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Metals	KÙ.G[<i>I</i> .MEŠ SIG ₅	Fine gold	
	KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ	Silver	
	URUDU.MEŠ	Bronze	
Linens	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ ma-a-du-t]ù SIG ₅ -ti [I]u-[bu]-ul[-ti LUGAL	Linens of fine “King” quality	Many ¹⁰⁴⁸
	^{GAD} TUG.MEŠ ma-a-du-tù SIG ₅ -ti ša mi-ku]	Linens of fine <i>miku</i> -quality	Many
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ m]a-a-du-tù S[IG ₅ -ti SIG.MEŠ	Linens of fine quality	Many
Wood	GIŠ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ} ESI.ḪLA SIG ₅ -ti	Fine beams of ebony	/
People	LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR Me-luḫ-ḫa	Men from Meluḫḫa	x people
	SAL.MEŠ [ša KUR Me-luḫ-ḫa	Women from Meluḫḫa	18 people

¹⁰⁴⁶ The recourse to this person could be explained (as Edel did, see *infra*, following note) with the necessity of dispatching these medicines in a hurry (maybe because the health condition of the Hittite king could have been serious): in fact, the entire expedition led by Piriḥnawa would have taken much more time to reach Ḫatti, because of the huge amount of the gifts.

¹⁰⁴⁷ For this kind of official, see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 34: “Auch ^{LÚ}*sargu* ist ein militärischer Titel, der im AHW 1029 von hethitischem *šarikuwa* „eine Gattung Soldaten“ abgeleitet wird. Der Titel ist sonst nur noch in EA 22 III 39 belegt: Panzer für „*sargūti*-Leute“. Der *sargu* im Dienst von Amurru übernimmt die Augenmedizin, um sie schneller nach Ḫattuša zu bringen, als dies Piriḥnawa mit seiner Geschenkarawane vermocht hätte. – Nach Goetze, Annalen des Muršili (MVAÄG 38, 1933, 230ff.) sollen die *šarikuwa* „sozial den landwirtschaftlichen Arbeitern und den Handwerkern gleichgestellt“ sein (Goetze, S. 231). Unser *sargu*-Mann muß freilich als Bote zum hethitischen Oberherrn schon eine Vertrauensperson gewesen sein. In jüngster Zeit wurden die *šarikuwa*-Leute ausführlich behandelt von Susanna Rosi, SMEA 24 (1984) 126-129, doch ist eine knappe Definition noch nicht möglich; sie seien eine „categoria presumibilmente numerosa, di lavoratori i quali dopo aver prestato giuramento, venivano impiegati in lavori diversi a seconda delle necessità alle dipendenze di istituzioni differenti quali, ad esempio, il palazzo e alcune fondazioni culturali“ (S. 129)“.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For this and other objects it is not offered a specified quantity but just a generic *mādu*, “many”; see e.g. BLACK – POSTGATE – GEORGE 2000², p. 188, *mādu(m)*.

Garments	GAD.TÚG ¹ lu-ba-ri-]i S[IG]MEŠ SIG ₅ -tu ₄ ù KÙ.[GI.MEŠ SIG ₅	lubaru ¹⁰⁴⁹ -garments of fine quality and fine gold	/
Medicines	gab-bi ša-am-mi ^[MEŠ] / [SIG ₅ -qú- ti a-na IGI.MEŠ	Various medicines/drugs for the eyes	/

c. **KBo XXVIII 48 = Bo 69/608 + 301/u (ÄHK no. 8, B2, pp. 32-35):**

Pašijara und die „Großen“ an Ḫattušili

Transliteration¹⁰⁵⁰

- 1 [um-ma] ¹Pa-ši-i[a-ra ù]
2 [^{LÚ.MEŠ}G]AL.MEŠ ša LU[GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]

3 [a-na] ¹Ḫa-at-tu-š[i-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
4 [b]e-li-ni qí-b[í-ma]

5 a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL [KUR Mi-iš-ri-i be-li-ni]
6 šu-ul-mu a-na KUR.KUR[.MEŠ-šu dan-niš dan-niš šu-ul-mu]

7 a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR [Ḫa-at-ti be-li-ni]
8 il-tap-ra-an-na-ši UG[U sa-la-mi SIG₅ UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti SIG₅]
9 ù UGU ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ[-ut-ti ša LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-na ŠÁ-šu ù]
10 ša at-ta i-na ŠÁ-š[u]

11 SIG₅ dan-niš ki-i LUGAL.GA[L LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
12 iš-pu-ra-an-na-ši UGU [sa-la-mi SIG₅ UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti SIG₅]
13 ^dUTU ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù ^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ
14 ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-n[a-an-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí]
15 sa-la-ma ù ŠEš-ut-t[a ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
16 be-li-ni it-ti ¹[Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li]
17 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at[-ti ŠEŠ-šu a-di da-ri-ti]

18 ù tá-na-an-di-na a[-na du-um-mu-qí sa-la-ma ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta]
19 i-na bi[-ri-it] K[KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù i-na bi-ri-it]
20 KUR Ḫa-at-t[i a]-[di¹-[da¹-ri¹-t[i ni-i-nu sa-al-ma-nu ù ni-i-nu]
21 súm-mu-ḫa-nu ù ni-i-nu i-[na ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i a-di da-ri-ti]

22 a-nu-ma ni-i-nu nu-ul-te-bí[l šu-bé-el-ta a-na be-li-ni ù]
23 a-na ÍR.MEŠ ša be-li-ni šu-[bé-el-ta]
24 ša ¹Pa-ši-ia-ra ú-še-bi[-la qa-du GAL.MEŠ ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
25 a-na be-lí-šu a-na ŠU-ti ¹[Pa-ri-iḫ-na-ua]
26 [DUM]U.KIN-ri ša LUGAL []

27 [2 ^G] ^{IS}PISAN.ḪI.A ša KÙ.GI SI[G₅ KI.LAL-šu-nu x GÍN]

28 [I² -p]i (?) (oder -š]i bzw. (-l]i)?) TUR ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ K[I.LAL-šu x GÍN]

29 [.....] x x x MEŠ ša [...

[30] [...

Rs.
[-2] [...

¹⁰⁴⁹ For this kind of robe, probably a linen, typical female apparel, see CAD 9 (L), pp. 228ff.; cf. BLACK – POSTGATE – GEORGE 2000², p. 184, *lubāru(m)*.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. the transliteration in EDEL 1978a, pp. 122, 124.

[-1']	[...]
[0']	[...]
1'	x [...]

2'	I [x ...]

3'	na-a [p-ḥar ...]

4'	3 ^G [^{AD} TÚG.MEŠ]

5'	[...]
6'	[...]
7'	[I ^G] ^{AD} TÚ[G ...]
8'	[I ^{GAD}]TÚG [x ...]

9'	[I ^{GAD}]TÚG [...]

10'	[I ^{GAD}] TÚG [x ...]

11'	[2 ^{GAD}] TÚG.MEŠ [x ...]

[12']	[.....]

Translation¹⁰⁵¹

Vs.

1	[So (sagt)] Pašij[ara, der Wesir des Königs des Landes Ägypten , und]
2	[die G]roßen des [Groß]kö[nigs, des Königs des Landes Ägypten]:

3	[Zu] Ḥattuš[ili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥatti],
4	unserem [H]ern, spric[h]:

5	Nun, <dem> Großkönig des L[andes Ägypten , unserem Herrn],
6	geht es gut, (und) [seinen] Ländern [geht es sehr, sehr gut].

7	Der Großkönig, der König des Landes [Ḥatti, unser Herr],
8	hat uns soeben geschrieben in Be[treff des schönen Friedens, in Betreff der schönen Bruderschaft]
9	und in Betreff des Verhältnisses der Brüder[schaft, in dem sich der König des Landes Ägypten
10	befindet, und]
10	in de[m] du dich befindest.

11	Sehr schön ist es, daß der Gro[ß]könig, [der König des Landes Ḥatti],
12	uns geschrieben hat in Betreff [des schönen Friedens (und) in Betreff der schönen Bruderschaft].
13	Der Sonnengott und die Götter des Landes Ägypten und der Wettergott und die Götter]
14	des Landes Ḥatti werden [gedeihen] la[ssen]
15	den Frieden und die Bruderscha[ft des Großkönigs, des Königs von Ägypten],
16	unseres Herrn, mit dem [Ḥattušili],
17	dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḥat[ti, seinem Bruder, für die Ewigkeit]

18	Und ihr werdet [gedeihen] lassen [den Frieden und die Bruderschaft]
19	zwi[schen dem] L[and Ägypten und zwischen]
20	dem Land Ḥatt[i für die Ewigkei[t. Wir sind in Frieden und wir]
21	sind verschworen und wir befinden uns i[n diesem Verhältnis auf Ewigkeit].

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. the other German translation in EDEL 1978a, pp. 123, 125; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, p. 73. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 57-59.

22 Wir haben nunmehr [ein Geschenk an unseren Herrn] gesand[t und]
 23 an die Diener unseres Herrn. Das Ge[schenk],
 24 das Pašijara [und die Großen des Landes **Ägypten**]
 25 seinem Herrn gesan[dt] hat durch die Hand [des Pariḥnawa],
 26 des [B]oten des Königs:

27 [2 T]ruhen aus gut[em] Gold, [deren Gewicht x Schekel beträgt];
 28 [1?] kleines [.....] aus gutem Gold, [dessen] Ge[wicht x Schekel beträgt].

29 [.....]....^{Plur.} aus [gutem Gold (?)]
 [30] [...]

Rs.

[-2'] [...]

[-1'] [...]

[-0'] [...]

1' x [...]

2' 1 .. [...]

3' Su[mme ...]

4' 3 l[innene Gewänder ...]

5' [...]

6' [...]

7' [1 l]innenenes Gewa[nd ...]


8' [1 linnenenes] Gewand .. [...]

9' [1 linnenenes] Gewand [...]

10' [1 linnenenes] Gewand .. [...]

11' [2 linnene] Gewänder .. [...]

[12'] [....]

This letter sent by the Egyptian vizier Pašiyara = Paser¹⁰⁵² (from the original hieroglyphic name , *P3-sr = P3-sjrw*, “the nobleman”¹⁰⁵³), son of Nebneteru and Merytre, and other “Greats” (*LÚ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ*) of Egypt reports on the obverse the felicitation for the peace established between the two countries, followed by a list of gifts continuing on the reverse, brought by the messenger Pariḥnawa¹⁰⁵⁴:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Boxes	G ⁷ IŠPISAN.ḪI.A ša KÙ.GI SI[G ₅	Boxes of fine gold ¹⁰⁵⁵	2 pieces = x shekels
Undefined	... TUR ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Undefined small object of fine gold	1 ² piece = x shekels
Linens	GAD ^T TÚG.MEŠ	Linens	9 pieces(?)

¹⁰⁵² For this vizier, see e.g. KITCHEN 2004⁶, pp. 55-56. His tomb is located at Sheikh ʿAbd el-Qurnah (TT106: PM I, pp. 219-224).

¹⁰⁵³ RANKE 1935, p. 117, no. 12. For the spelling and reading of this name, see EDEL 1978a, p. 120, note 1. A similar name is also attested in EA 162, l. 71, spelled as *Pi-iš-ia-ri* (MORAN 1992, p. 250; cf. RAINEY Z²L 2015, p. 806).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Edel’s integration are reported in *italic*.

¹⁰⁵⁵ It is not clear if the boxes themselves were made of gold, or if they contained the gold.

d. **KUB IV 95 + 750/v (= KBo XXVIII 45)¹⁰⁵⁶ (ÄHK no. 16, C3, pp. 44-47):**
Ramses an Prinz Teššub-Šarrumma

Transliteration

Vs.

1 [um-ma ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a]-i ^da-ma-na
2 [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**] a-na ^{1d}IŠKUR-šar(!)-ru-um-ma
3 [DUMU-ia qí - b]í - ma

4 [a-nu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-i**]š-ri-i a-bu-ka
5 [i-ta-mar tup-pa-ka š]a at-ta
6 [tu-še-bi-la SIG₅ dan-niš k]i-i a[t-ta]
7 ta-[aš-pu-ra a-na LUGAL a-bi-ka]
8 UGU ša-la-mi-k[a ù] UGU šul[-mi-ka]
9 a-mur a-du-ku-ul a-bu-ka ul-t[e-bi-la-ak-ku]
10 šu-bé-el-ta a-na ŠU-ti ¹P[a-ri-iḫ-na-a-ua DUMU.KIN-ri-ia]

11 ù lu-ú ti-de₄ šu-bé-e[l-ta]

12 I GAL ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-l[u-ú ša še-te-e NA₄.HI.A]
13 šúm-mu-uḫ GUD š[a KÙ.GI SIG₅ ra-tu]
14 i-na ša-ap-ti[-šu KIL.LAL KÙ.GI x GÍN]

15 I ^{GIS}GIGIR ša ^{GIS}[..... KÙ.GI GAR.RA]
16 KI.LAL KÙ.GI [x GÍN]

17 I ši[-mi-it-tu ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ...
Tafelrand, da Ansatz zur Randkrümmung sichtbar Rs.

Rs.

[0'] [4 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù]

1' 4 ^G[^{AD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù]

2' 4 ^{GAD}TÚG.¹GÚ.UD¹. [DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-ba-tù]

3' ŠU.NIGIN 12 ^{GAD}TÚG.[MEŠ

4' šu-bé-el-ta š[a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**]

5' ú-še-bi-la aš-š[um šul-ma-an DAM-ka]

6' I ^{GAD.T}[^{TÚG}m]a-a[k-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]

[7'] [I ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]

[8'] [x ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku ša-bu-tù]

[9'] [x ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu ša mi-ku ša-bu-tù]

¹⁰⁵⁶ Other joining fragments are KUB IV 95 (+) KBo XXVIII 45 + KBo LVII 3, as indicated in CORDANI 2017, p. 72, note 3, on the basis of a collation by J. Miller (MILLER 2007c, p. 133). On the base of this new recognized joins, the translation of the last part of the letter differs from that integrated by Edel.

[10'] [x ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ ša mi-ku ša-ba-tù]¹⁰⁵⁷

11' [x ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tù] ¹x x x x ¹

12' [x ^{GAD}TÚG^{ma-ak-la-lu} SIG.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ š]a-bu-tù

13' [x ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ ša-ba-tù SIG.]MEŠ SIG₅

[14'] [ŠU.NIGIN 8 + x ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ]

Tafelrand

Translation¹⁰⁵⁸

Vs.

1 [So (sagt) Riamašesša ma]i-amana,

2 [der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**:] Zu Teššubšarrumma,

3 [meinem Sohne, spri]ch:

4 [Nunmehr hat der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, dein Vater,

5 [deine Tafel gesehen, di]e du

6 [hast bringen lassen. Sehr schön ist es, d]aß d[u]

7 [dem König, deinem Vater], geschrieben hast]

8 wegen die[nes] Wohlergehens [und] wegen [deines] Wohlbefindens],

9 Siehe fürwahr, (ich), dein Vater habe [dir] ein Geschenk

10 brifngen] lassen durch die Hand des P[arihnawa, meines Boten];

11 und du sollst das Gesch[enk] erfahren:

12 1 Becher aus gutem Gold, einge[legt, zum Trinken, mit Steinen (?)]

13 übersät; ein Rind a[us gutem Gold (?); eine Ausgußtülle]

14 an [seinem] Rand. [Das Gewicht des Goldes (beträgt) x Schekel].

15 1 Wagen aus [.....]-holz, [mit Gold eingelegt];

16 das Gewicht des Goldes (beträgt) [x Schekel].

17 1 Ge[spann von Pferden; ...]

Tafelrand

Rs.

[0'] [4 linnene Gewänder aus Byssos, gefärbt];

1' 4 li[nnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus Byssos, gefärbt];

2' 4 linnene Tunik[en aus Byssos, gefärbt];

3' Summe: 12 linnene Gewänd[er

4' Das Geschenk, d[as der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**],

5' hat bringen lassen al[s Begrüßungsgeschenk für deine Frau (?)]:

¹⁰⁵⁷ For the last part of the letter, tentatively integrated by Edel through the comparison with other documents, see the actual transliteration provided in MILLER 2007c, p. 133, thanks to a new discovered join: “305/v+KBo 28.45 Rev. 10” [x [/ 11” [1] ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.[È^{MEŠ}] x x x x / 12” 1 ^{GAD}TÚG^{MEŠ} [š]a-bu-tù / 13” 2? ^{GAD}TÚG^{MEŠ} x[SIG]^{MEŠ} SIG₅ / 14” ša-bá-tù [x ŠU.NIGIN ^{GAD}TÚG^{MEŠ}]].

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, p. 72. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 70-72.

- 6' 1 linnenes [m]a[klalu]-G[ewand aus Byssos, gefärbt];

[7'] [1 linnene Tunika aus Byssos, gefärbt];

[8'] [x linnene Gewänder in *miku*-Qualität, gefärbt];

[9'] [x linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder in *miku*-Qualität, gefärbt];

[10'] [x linnene Tuniken in *miku*-Qualität, gefärbt];

11' [x linnene Gewänder aus gutem, dünnem (Faden), gefärbt]; x x x

12' [x linnene *maklalu*-Gewänder aus gutem, dünnem (Faden), g]efärbt;

13' [x linnene Tuniken, gefärbt], aus gutem, [dünn]em (Faden);
[14'] [Summe: 8 + x linnene Gewänder].

Tafelrand

This letter sent by Ramses to the Hittite prince Teššub-Šarruma reports, after the usual greetings, a list of gifts sent by the hands of Pariḥnawa¹⁰⁵⁹:

<i>Senders and addressees</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Ramses to Teššub-Šarruma	GAL ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅ tam-l[u-ú ša še-te-e NA ₄ .ḪI.A] / šúm-mu-uh GUD š[a KÙ.GI SIG ₅ ra-tu] i-na ša-ap-ti[-šu	Drink cup of fine gold, inlaid ¹⁰⁶⁰ , with stones, with an ox on its side(?) ¹⁰⁶¹	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GIS} GIGIR ša ^{GIS} [..... KÙ.GI GAR.RA]	Wooden chariot, inlaid with gold(?)	1 piece = x shekels
	š[i-mi-it-tu ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ...	“Team” ¹⁰⁶² (pair?) of horses	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù	Linens of “King” quality, colourful	4 pieces
	^G [^{AD.TUG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-tù]	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, colourful	4 pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG. ¹ GÚ.UD ¹ . [DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-ba-tù]	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	4 pieces
ŠU.NIGIN	Total of the linens	12 pieces	
Ramses to Teššub-Šarruma’s wife?	^{GAD.T} [^{UG} m]a-a[k-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL ša-bu-ú]	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ ša mi-ku ša-bu-tù]	Linens of <i>miku</i> -quality, colourful	x pieces
	[^{GAD.TUG} ma-ak-la-lu ša mi-ku ša-bu-tù]	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of <i>miku</i> -quality, colourful	x pieces

¹⁰⁵⁹ Edel’s integration are in *italic*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ For the *tamlû* technique, see *supra*, comment to texts nos 21.b and 32.b.

¹⁰⁶¹ Passage of difficult interpretation, see CORDANI 2017, p. 72, note 1: “Oppure: ‘sulle (sue) labbra’. In tal caso l’espressione sarebbe riferita al toro e non alla coppa”.

¹⁰⁶² For the term *šimittu(m)*, see CAD 16 (S), pp. 198-199; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 338: “binding; (yoke-)team; cross-beam of yoke; team of horses, oxen; yoked team; pair of clothing, armour”.

	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.[Ē ^{MES}] ¹⁰⁶³	Linen tunics	x pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG ^{MES} [š]a-bu-tù ¹⁰⁶⁴	Colourful linen(s [?])	1 [?] piece
	^{GAD} TÚG ^{MES} x[SIG] ^{MES} SIG ₅ / ša-bá-tù	Linens of fine quality	2 [?] pieces
	ŠU.NÍGIN ^{GAD} TÚG ^{MES}	Total of the linens	x pieces

It is noteworthy to note here the presence of the first object, which could be maybe interpreted as a bull-headed *rhyton*¹⁰⁶⁵.

e. KBo II 10 (ÄHK no. 18, C5, pp. 48-49):

Ramses an einen Prinzen

Transliteration

Vs.

- [-8] [um-ma¹Ua-as-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a]
[-7] [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]
[-6] [DUMU^dUTU¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na]
[-5] [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i]

[-4] [a-na¹..... DUMU-ia]
[-3] [qí-bí-ma]

[-2] [a-na ka-a-ša DUMU-ia lu-ú šul-mu]
[-1] [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ĥa-at-ti]
[0] [dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu]
1' ù a-na ŠÀ-b[i ga]b-b[i KU]R.¹KUR¹.MEŠ-[šu da-an-ni-iš]
2' da-an-ni-iš lu-ú šu-[ul-mu]

3' um-ma-a ù ki-i ša at-ta t[a-aq-bi]
4' um-ma-a a-mur a-ma-te^{MES}-ia SAL.L[UGAL.GAL]
5' SAL.LUGAL KUR Ĥa-at-ti^{SAL}AMA-ia il-t[ap-ra]
6' [U]GU-ši-na a-na LUGAL i-din a-na ša-me-e-^ršu^r-[nu-]t[i]
7' [ù] at-ta kán^{an}-na ta-aq-bi

8' [a-nu-ma a]-mur gab-bi gab-bi a-ma-te^{MES}
9' [ša SAL.LU]GAL.GAL-ti SAL.LUGAL KUR Ĥa-at-ti
10' [iš-pu-ra] UGU-ši-na a-na LUGAL a-na-ku
11' [al-te-m]e-[šu]-nu-ti ga[b-bi-š]u-nu
Tafelrand, Rs. im Feuer geschmolzen

Translation¹⁰⁶⁶

Vs.

- [-8] [So (sagt) Wašmuaria šatepnaria],
[-7] [der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten],
[-6] [der Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša mai-amana],
[-5] [der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ägypten]:

[-4] [Zu PN, meinem Sohne],

¹⁰⁶³ From this line onwards, I follow Miller's transliteration (see previous note).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Miller integrated in this line the number "1", despite the presence of the plural determinative MEŠ and even if the term *šabutu* is clearly plural.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For the discussion about the *rhyta* as typical objects exchanged between the two courts, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text 1.1; cf. in this section, comments to texts nos 27.c, 32.b and 41.b.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 73-74.

- [-3] [sprich]:

- [-2] [Dir, meinem Sohne, möge es gut gehen],
[-1] [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti],
[0] [möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen],
1' und innerhalb a)ll [er seiner L]ander möge [es sehr],
2' sehr gu[t gehen]!

- 3' So (sprich): Was das angeht, was du ge[sagt hast],
4' wie folgt: „Sieh, meine Angelegenheiten - die
[Groß]k[önig]in,
5' die Königin von Ḫatti, meine Mutter,
6' hat [ih]retwegen an den König gesch[rieben]; höre sie!“
7' - So hast du gesagt. <Ich sage darauf:>

- 8' [Nun sieh, alle, alle Angelegenheiten,
9' deretwegen die Groß[kö]nig[in] von Ḫatti
10' an den König [schrieb],
11' [d]ie [habe ich] all[es]amt [gehör]t.
Tafelrand, Rs. im Feuer geschmolzen

In this letter, Ramses answers to a previous missive sent by an unnamed Hittite prince who had written to Ramses to support a request for help coming from the Hittite queen (Vs. 3'-7'). It is noteworthy how the Hittite prince asks Ramses, in a quite peremptory way, to listen to his mother (*i-din*, “listen!”, Vs. 6').

At the end of the extant text (Vs. 8'-11'), Ramses seems to briefly recall the words of a message directly received by Puduḫepa, who presented her request to the pharaoh. Unfortunately, the lack of the last part of the document does not allow to reconstruct the content of this message.

f. KUB III 46 (ÄHK no. 41, E8, pp. 98-99):

Ḫattušili (?) an Ramses (?)

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [..... x] [
2' [..... GIŠ.MEŠ a(?)]-na KIN-ri(?)]
3' [..... ul-tu^{URU}G]u-ub-li a-di^{URU}Pé(?)-e-[h]a-a(?)
4' [..... GIŠ.MEŠ (?)] ša KIN-ri la-a šu-ut
5' [..... GIŠ.MEŠ e-bu-ta ša^{GIŠ}me-]eḫ-ra GIŠ.MEŠ e-bu-ta
6' [ša^{GIŠ} GI]Š.MEŠ at-ta(!)-ma
7' [šu-bi-la(?) x] a-na KIN-ri
8' [ša LUGAL.GAL-i] LUGAL.GAL-i [
9' [..... d]i(?) [
Tafelrand
Rs. unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰⁶⁷

Vs.

- 1' [.....] . [...
2' [.....] Balken f[ür(?) das Bauwerk(?)]
3' [..... von der Stadt B]yblus zur Stadt Pē(?)[h]ā
4' [..... die Balken (?)] des Bauwerks nicht (einmal) er
5' [..... dicke Balken aus F]öhren[holz] und dicke Balken

¹⁰⁶⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

6' [aus holz Balk]en; du aber
 7' [sende (?)]. für das Bauwerk
 8' [des Großkönigs] des Großkönigs
 9' [.....] ... [Tafelrand
 Rs. unbeschriftet

The present letter, according to Edel probably sent by Ḫattušili to Ramses, despite its fragmentary state of preservation, offers a quite interesting glimpse on a new topic. The sender is asking to the addressee to deliver him some goods, consisting in beams “for [the construction of] a building”, from the city of Byblos to the city of Peḫa(?). Considering the provenance of the wood, we can imagine it was indeed cedar, very often used to construct royal buildings (and Vs. 7'-8' specify that the building in question is precisely a *KIN-ri* / [*ša LUGAL.GAL-i*, “Bauwerk / [des Großkönigs]”). Furthermore, the sender requests the shipping of some pine beams and another kind on wood, unspecified because of a lacuna. The letter is peculiar for the nature of the goods, unattested in other missives of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence.

g. KUB III 49 (ÄHK no. 58, E25, pp. 150-151):

Ḫattušili (Puduḫepa?) an Ramses

Transliteration

wohl Rs.

1' [..... ŠE]Š(?)*-i*[a(?)
 2' [.....]x-us-x[oder]x-mu-us-x[...?
 3' [.....i-te-]ep-šu a-na š[a-a-šu/ši(?)
 4' [.....x] an-na-ka [x
 5' [.....a]l-ta-kán^{SAL}ú[-bar-ti
 6' [.....x] it-ta-ta-din
 7' [... a-nu-ma ul-te-bil šu-bu-ul-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù at-ta lu-ú t]i-i-de-ši
 8' [..... MEŠ KÙ.GI SIG₅] KI.LAL-šu-nu 16 [GÍN
 9' [..... I(?) GAL ša š]e_{20-te-e} KÙ.GI SIG₅
 10' [KI.LAL-šu(-nu) x GÍN]mu-nu
 11' [.....] x in-né[-ep-pu-uš/šu
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰⁶⁸

wohl Rs.

1' [..... me[in(?)] Bru[der(?) ...
 2' [.....] ... [...
 3' [.....] sie [ma]chten für i[hn/sie(?)
 4' [.....]. hier [...
 5' [.....ich st]attete die Br[aut aus]
 6' [mit]. er gab immer wieder
 7' [..... Nunmehr habe ich meinem Bruder ein Geschenk bringen lassen und du sollst] es erfahren:
 8' [..... x ... (Plur.) aus gutem Gold], deren Gewicht 16 [Schekel]
 9' [(beträgt);; 1(?) Becher zum T]rinken, (aus) [gutem] Gol[d],
 10' [dessen/deren Gewicht x Schekel (beträgt);] zähle!
 11' [.....] .. wird/werden gemacht (o. ä.)
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

¹⁰⁶⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 235-236.

This document, as already noted by Edel¹⁰⁶⁹, has to be included into the group of the wedding letter, on the base of the quotation at l. 5' of the ^{SAL}ú[-bar-ti, “the foreign woman”, the expression commonly used to define the Hittite princess who would be sent to Egypt to marry Ramses II¹⁰⁷⁰.

Then, the sender (probably the Hittite king or queen) describes the gifts he/she had received by “his/her brother” (i.e., the pharaoh):

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Metals	... MEŠ KÙ.GI SIG ₅	(Objects) of fine gold	x pieces = 16 shekels
	<i>GAL ša š</i>]e ₂₀ -te-e KÙ.G[<i>I SIG₅</i>]	Drink cup of fine gold	1 [?] piece = x shekels

h. KUB III 39 (ÄHK no. 59, E26, pp. 150-151):

Puduḫepa (Ḫattušili) an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

Tafelmitte

↑

1' [.....] x [...
 2' [.....] LUGAL.M[EŠ
 3' [.....]at-ta táq[-bi
 4' [.....š]a (?) LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti
 5' [..... ú-ul a-na-an-din] a-na gu-ur-re<e> ma[-am-ma]
 6' [a-na UGU-ḫi-šu-nu NAM.RA.MEŠ an-nu-ti ù šu-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} an-]ni-ti₄ ul-tu
 7' [KUR Ḫat-ti a-na ŠEŠ-ia il-la-ku ù ú-ul a-na-an-din-šu-nu a-na e-pé-ši] mi-im-ma gu-ur-re-e
 8' [a-na UGU-ḫi ša-ni-i] R a s u r
 9' [..... ša-al¹He-eš-ni-i] ù šu-ut i-qa-ba-ku
 10' [.....x] ḫa-am-ša-ti
 11' [.....] a-na^{LÚ}ḫa-ta-ni
 12' [ša LUGAL.GAL a-na] e-pé-ši né-mé-li
 13' [..... ḫi-ti-iḫ-]ta-ka ib-ba-aš[-ši
 14' [.....] la-a i-qa-bu-ú
 [15'] [...

Rs.

1' [.....x] a-nu-ma ul-te-b)i-[l]a [š]u-bu-u[l-ta]
 2' [a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù at-ta lu-ú ti-de-ši I] ka-sú GAL KÙ.GI SIG₅
 3' [ša še-te-e NA₄.ḪI.A sù-m-mu-ḫu KI.LAL-š]u 80 GÍN
 4' [I ka-sú GAL ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Kar-]du-ni-ia-aš la-mi x ša-al-me KÙ.GI
 5' [SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GIN o o o o o]x^{NA₄}ma-ak^{MEŠ} ša-ṭe₄-er ú-ma-mu
 6' [o o o o o o o KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-š]i-na 31 GÍN.MEŠ
 7' [x o o KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu x GÍN 1-]en ša-al-mu ša LUGAL.GAL
 8' [LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ka KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.L]AL-šu 33½ GÍN.MEŠ
 9' [x o o .MEŠ o o o o o o KÙ.]GI SIG₅^{NA₄}KIŠIB(!)-šu-nu KÙ.GI SIG₅ tam-lu-u
 10' [o o o o o o o KI.LAL-šu-nu x G]ÍN.MEŠ I ú-ru-uš-šu GAL
 11' [ša^{GIŠ}ESI KÙ.GI GAR.RA 7^{GIŠ}NA₄ ša^{GIŠ}ESI K]Û.GI GAR.RA oder [ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
 ša^{GIŠ}ESI K]Û.GI GAR.RA?
 12' [x o o o o o .MEŠ KÙ.GI SIG₅ o o o]x KI.LAL-ši-na I ME 48 GÍN
 13' [na-ap-ḫar gab-bi KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu 3+x ME] 38 GÍN.MEŠ

↓

halbe Tafelhöhe

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ivi, p. 235.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, for the explanation of the term; cf. *supra*, text no. 22.c (= KUB III 37 + KBo I 17).

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 3+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰⁷¹

Vs.

halbe Tafelhöhe



- 1' [.....] . [.....
2' [.....] König[e?]
3' [.....] du sag[est]
4' [..... Was die Kolonen angeht, d]ie (ich), der König des Landes Ḫatti,
5' [meiner Tochter geben werde (?), so lasse (?) ich nicht zu], daß irgend[einer]
6' [gegen sie] Krieg führt, [....., während diese Kolonen und die]se [Herden] aus
7' [dem Lande Ḫatti zu meinem Bruder gehen; ich werde (aber auch) nicht zulassen, daß sie]
irgendeinen (Akt) der Kriegsführung
8' [gegen einen anderen begehen, während diese Kolonen und diese Herden] *Rasur*
9' [aus dem Lande Ḫatti zu meinem Bruder gehen. Frage Ḫešn]i und der wird dir (es) sagen!
10' [.....] Fünftelanteile
11' [..... Es ziemt sich nicht] für den Schwiegersohn
12' [eines Großkönigs] Gewinn [zu] schlagen
13' [aus einer Heiratsverhandlung (o. ä.) Wenn (?) ein Bedarf (?)] deinerseits beste[ht]
14' [.....] soll man nicht sagen!
[15'] [...

Rs.

- 1' [..... Nunmehr habe ich ein G]esche[nk ges]an[dt]
2' [an meinen Bruder, und du sollst es erfahren: 1] großer Becher (aus) gutem Gold,
3' [zum Trinken, mit Steinen eingefaßt, des]sen [Gewicht] 80 Schekel beträgt;
4' [1 großer Becher, Kopie in Herstellungsart des Landes Kar]duniaš, ringsum mit einem
Relief umgeben, aus [gutem]
5' Gold, [dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt;].... die Steinsie[gel] (?), beschriftet; Getier
6' [..... (aus) gutem Gold, d]eren [Gewicht] 31 Schekel beträgt;
7' [x (aus) gutem Gold, dessen Gewich]t x Schekel beträgt; ei]ne Statue des Großkönigs.
8' [des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, deines Bruders, (aus) gutem Gold.] deren [Gew]icht 33½ Schekel
beträgt;
9' [x (Pl.)] (aus) gutem [Go]ld, deren Siegel aus gutem Gold besteht, besetzt;
10' [..... deren Gewicht x Sch]ekel beträgt; 1 großes *uruššu* (Kopfstütze)
11' [(aus) Ebenholz, mit Gold eingelegt; 1 Bett aus Ebenholz, mit G]old eingelegt, *oder* „[Kopie in
Herstellungsart des Landes **Ägypten**, aus Ebenholz, mit G]old eingelegt“?
12' [..... x (Pl.) aus gutem Gold,].. deren Gewicht 148 Schekel beträgt;
13' [Gesamtsumme allen guten Goldes: sein Gewicht beträgt 3 + x hundert] 38 Schekel.



Tafelmitte

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 3 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

This letter, sent by Puduḫepa or Ḫattušili to Ramses, deals with the agreements for the interdynastic marriage between Ramses and the Hittite princess, later called Maathorneferure. More in detail, KUB III 39 describes part of the dowry of the future bride: the text describes some “prisoners” (NAM.RA.MEŠ) and “herds” (*šu-gul-la-ti*^{MEŠ})¹⁰⁷², probably included in the dowry of the Hittite princess, as it is also attested by other letters (see e.g. *supra*, texts nos 22.c and 23). Ramses was probably afraid about the presence of such “prisoners” (maybe Kaška) in Egypt, and this

¹⁰⁷¹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 236-239.

¹⁰⁷² This according to Edel's integrations of Vs. 6'.

preoccupation could justify the sentence in Vs. 7'-8': *ù ú-ul a-na-an-din-šu-nu a-na e-pé-ši] mi-im-ma gu-ur-re-e [a-na UGU-ḫi ša-ni-i*, “ich werde (aber auch) nicht zulassen, daß sie] irgendeinen (Akt) der Kriegsführung / [gegen einen anderen begehen”. The sender reassures the pharaoh and adds that messenger Ḫešni could confirm this version. The following passage, Vs. 9'-14' seems instead to be an accusation advanced by the Hittite court against Ramses, who probably had declared himself not fully satisfied about the entity, or quality, of the promised dowry.

The reverse reports the usual list of gifts:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Metals	ka-sú GAL KÙ.GI SIG ₅ / [ša še-te-e NA ₄ .ḪI.A súm-mu-ḫu	Drink cup of fine gold, big and inlayed with stones	1 piece = 80 shekels
	ka-sú GAL ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Kar-]du-ni-ia-aš la-mì x ša-al-me KÙ.GI / [SIG ₅	Big cup imitating a Karduniaš original, of fine gold decorated(?), with a relief	1 piece = x shekels
	ša-al-mu ša LUGAL.GAL / [LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ka KÙ.GI SIG...]	Statue of the Great King [of Ḫatti, of fine gold...]	1 piece = 33.5 shekels
	... KÙ.]GI SIG ₅ NA ₄ KIŠIB(!)-šu-nu KÙ.GI SIG ₅ tam-lu-u	(Objects) of fine gold, with a seal of fine gold, inlayed	x pieces = x shekels
	... KÙ.GI SIG ₅	(Object) of fine gold	x pieces = 31 shekels
	... KÙ.GI SIG ₅	(Object) of fine gold	x pieces = x shekels
	... .MEŠ KÙ.GI SIG ₅	(Objects) of fine gold	x pieces = 148 shekels
	na-ap-ḫar gab-bi KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Total of the fine gold	3 + x hundreds and 38 shekels
Stone	NA ₄ ma-ak ^{MEŠ} ša-ṭe ₄ -er ú-ma-mu	Stone seals(?), decorated with “creatures”(?)	x pieces
Wood	ú-ru-uš-šu GAL / [ša ^{GIŠ} ESI KÙ.GI GAR.RA	Headrest of ebony, inlayed with gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GIŠ} NÁ ša ^{GIŠ} ESI K]Û.GI GAR.RA or [ga-ab-ri i-na KIN KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ša ^{GIŠ} ESI K]Û.GI GAR.RA?	Beds of ebony, inlayed with gold/imitation of an Egyptian original	7 pieces = x shekels

It is peculiar in this list the quotation of the golden statue portraying the Hittite Great King: it is possible, in my opinion, to consider this kind of artefacts as a possible source of influence for some depictions of the Hittite king on Egyptian monuments (see e.g., the determinative A62a, showing the figure of the Hittite king used to write the word *wr.w*, defining king Ḫattušili in the inscription of the Tanis colossus¹⁰⁷³; see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.j). The same sign has been already attested in the previous inscription of the battle of Kadesh, referring to the king Muwatalli II: it is possible that such a depiction of the Hittite king, rather stereotyped, could have influenced the way in which the Hittite king was portrayed on Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions.

i. KUB III 40 (ÄHK no. 56, E23, pp. 146-147):

Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs. (?)

¹⁰⁷³ The same depiction of the Hittite king is also attested on the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”: see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.j, Fig. 62.

1' [.....] i-ta-na x[...
2' [..... LUGA]L KUR Ḫat-ti it-ti-[i]a(?)
x[...
3' [..... a-na-ku a-na-an-din DUMU.SAL-ia] a-na la-qè-šu
4' [a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-an-din a-na a-la-ki ERIN.MEŠ KUR Ḫat-ti it-ti DUMU.SAL-ia a-n]a na-ša-ri-šu
5' [ù a-na-an-din a-na a-la-ki DUMU.LUGAL ¹Ne-ri-iq-qa-i-li(?) it-ti DUMU.SAL-ia qa-du ḫu-ra
-]du^{MEŠ} a-na na-ša-ri-šu
6' [..... -š]a a-du-gu at-ta
7' [tâš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ma-a ú-šur NAM.RA.MEŠ ù su-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} at-ta tâš-pu-ra ká]n^{an}-na ù a-ki-i
8' [ša tâš-pu-ra a-na-ku a-na-an-din a-na a-la-ki ERIN.MEŠ it-ti-šu-nu a-na na-š]a-ri-šu-nu
9' [LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti ŠEŠ-ka il-ta-kán ṭup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na pa-ni ^dIŠKUR ù a-
na pa-ni DINGIR.]MEŠ KUR Ḫat-ti
10' [at-ta tal-ta-kán ṭup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na pa-ni ^dUTU ù a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i**
kán^a]n-na-ma
11' [..... ú-še-bi-l]a-ak-ku
oder ul-te-bi-l]a-ak-ku?
12' [.....]x-šu
13' [...

Rs. (?)

1' [..... -r] ù a-du-k[u
2' [..... -x] at-tu-ka
3' [..... a-mu]r LUGAL.GAL
4' [LUGAL KUR.....]x i-na qa-ti-šú
5' [.....-]ú-tu []
6' [..... šu-bu-u]l-ti
7' [..... a-ma-]te^{MEŠ} ša LUGAL.GAL
8' [LUGAL KURul-t]e-bi-la a-na LUGAL
9' [.....]x mi-nu-ú
10' [..... ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR it-ta-an-nu a-na š]u-uš-lu-mi-ku-nu
11' [it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš a-di da-ri-ti ù 2 KUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-tu₄ a-na 1-et KUR-ti i]t-tu-rú
12' [.....]ù? tal-te-x[
13' [.....] x [

Translation¹⁰⁷⁴

Vs. (?)

1' [.....] .. [
2' [..... Kön]ig des Landes Ḫatti mit [mi]r(?) [...]
3' [..... ich werde veranlassen], daß [meine Tochter] gebracht wird
4' [zu meinem Bruder und werde Truppen des Landes Ḫatti mit meiner Tochter gehen lassen,
u]m sie (eam) zu schützen
5' [und werde den Prinzen Neriqqaili (?) mit meiner Tochter gehen lassen mit
Wachmannschaf]ten, um sie (eam) zu schützen
6' [.....].. fürwahr, du
7' [hast mir, wie folgt, geschrieben: „Schütze (auch) die Kolonen und die Herden!“ - s]o [hast
du geschrieben], und entsprechend
8' [dem, was du mir geschrieben hast, werde ich Truppen mit ihnen gehen lassen, um] sie (eos)
zu schützen.
9' [Der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, dein Bruder, hat die Silbertafel vor dem
Wettergott und vor den Gött]ern des Landes Ḫatti
10' [niedergelegt]; [du hast die Silbertafel vor dem Sonnengott und vor den Göttern des Landes
Ägypten eben]falls [niedergelegt].
11' [..... werde ich] dir [sen]den

¹⁰⁷⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 229-231.

oder [ich habe] dir [gesa]ndt?

12' [.....] sein/ihr (?)
13' [...]

Rs. (?)

1' [.....] . Fürwah[r,]
2' [.....] . dein
3' [.....] Sieh]e, der Großkönig,
4' [der König des Landes]. in seiner Hand
5' [.....] .. [.....]
6' [.....] Gesch]enk
7' [.....] die Angelegen]heiten des Großkönigs,
8' [des Königs des Landes ich habe] dem König bringen lassen
9' [.....]. was?
10' [..... Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott haben veranlaßt, daß] ihr (beide) [miteinander]
11' [be]friedet wurdet [für immer, und (so) w]urden [die beiden großen Länder zu einem Land].
12' [..... u]nd du hast ge[.....]
13' [.....].

In this letter, Puduḥepa informs Ramses about the arrangements for the journey leading the Hittite princess to Egypt. The Hittite queen disposes that her daughter would be joined by some troops headed by the Hittite prince Nerikkaili (Vs. 3'-5'). Ramses probably had asked in a previous message that the dowry, composed of "prisoners" and "herds", would be escorted by some military body guards: Puduḥepa reassures the pharaoh that the delegation would be protected by soldiers, reaching Egypt in safety (Vs. 6'-8'). All the rest of the text is occupied by the reaffirming of the Treaty, through which the two beforehand enemy countries had become one sole land¹⁰⁷⁵.

j. KUB III 33 (ÄHK no. 61, E28, pp. 154-157):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [.....] [x ...
2' [..... ú-]še-bíl [...
3' [..... ù ŠEŠ-ia li-i]d-din a-na DU[MU.SAL-šu NAM.RA.MEŠ ù su-gul-la-ti^{MEŠ} ša at-ta]
4' [ŠEŠ-ia taš-pu-ra a-na i]a-ši UGU-šu-nu ù [^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR li-id-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí sa-la-ma]
5' [ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta i-na be]-ri-it **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù i-na be-ri-it **KUR Ḫa-at-ti a-di da-ri-ti**

6' [ù šu-nu li-id-di-nu]a-na e-pe-ši DUMU.M[EŠ.KIN-ni DUMU.KIN-ut-ta i-na be-ri-ni ù a-na-ku]

7' [a-na-an-din-šu-nu-t]i a-na a-la-ki a-n[a ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia ù at-ta i-din-šu-nu-ti a-na a-la-ki]

8' [a-na ia-ši ŠEŠ-k]a a-mur LUGAL ma-gir [it-ti-ka ù at-ta ma-ag-ra-ta it-ti-ia über

9' [.....x] 5 uz-zi [x Rasur

10' [..... x] zi-mi [..... geschrieben

Tafelrand

Rs. abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰⁷⁶

Vs.

1' [.....] .. [...

2' [.....] wird bringen lassen [...

3' [..... und mein Bruder möge seiner] To[chter die Zivilgefangenen und die Herden
ge]ben, über die [du],

¹⁰⁷⁵ A similar expression is also attested in other letters: see *supra*, texts nos 22.a, 23 and 33.a.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 241-242.

- 4' [mein Bruder, m]ir [geschrieben hast]; und [der Sonnengott und der Wettergott mögen veranlassen,
daß der Friede]
- 5' [und die Brüderschaft zw]ischen dem Land Ägyp[ten und dem Land Ḫatti für immer gedeihen],

- 6' [und sie mögen veranlassen], daß [unsere] Bo[ten die Botentätigkeit zwischen uns] ausüben; [und ich]
- 7' [werde s]ie zu [dir, meinem Bruder], zu gehen [veranlassen, und du veranlasse sie]
- 8' [zu mir, deine]m [Bruder zu gehen]! Siehe, der König (= ich) ist willkommen [bei dir, und du bist
willkommen bei mir].
- 9' [.....] [...
- 10' [.....] [...
- Tafelrand
Rs. abgebrochen

A small fragment of letter referring to the arrangements for the interdynastic marriage: general quotation of the “prisoners” and the “herds” as part of the dowry (Vs. 1'-4'). After reaffirming the brotherhood (Vs. 4'-5'), a peaceful condition between the two courts is described, which also involves the possibility for messengers to travel in safety between the two countries (a similar image is also attested at the end of the abbreviated version of the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”; see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.f). The new harmony achieved between the two Great Kings is also describe by an effective sentence: *a-mur LUGAL ma-gir [it-ti-ka ù at-ta ma-ag-ra-ta it-ti-ia*, “Siehe, der König (= ich) ist willkommen [bei dir, und du bist willkommen bei mir]” (Vs. 8'), where the peaceful brotherhood is emphasized by the verb *magāru(m)*, “agree with, receive, accept gladly”¹⁰⁷⁷, also attested in 122/m, Vs. 3' (see *infra*, text 36.b)¹⁰⁷⁸.

k. KUB III 32 (ÄHK no. 63, E30, pp. 158-159):

Wohl Ramses an Ḫattušili (Puduḫepa?)

Transliteration

Vs.(?)

- 1' [..... x] ta[...
- 2' [..... -n]a oder š]a **KUR Mi-iš[-ri-i ...**
- 3' [..... DUM]U.SAL LUGAL ma-l[*a* 2-šu 3-šu ...
- 4' [.....]it-ti-iq UGU[...
- 5' [ù a-na-ku ep-pu-uš DU]MU.SAL ša be-li š[*a* KUR Ḫa-at-ti GAŠAN ša **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i i-na MU-ti]**
- 6' [an-ni-ti a-na pa-]ni DUMU.MEŠ ša **KUR Mi[-iš-ri-i ù a-na pa-ni DUMU.MEŠ ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti]**
- 7' [ù a-na pa-ni DUMU.MEŠ] ša KUR.MEŠ gab-bi-šu[-nu ...
- 8' [ù ni-nu LUGAL.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ] i-na ŠEŠ-ḫu-ut-ti [ba-ni-ti i-na sa-la-mi ba-ni-ti a-di da-ri-ti]
- 9' [.....]i-na x x x -na[x ...
- 10' [.....a]-na [x
- Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰⁷⁹

Vs.(?)

- 1' [.....] ... [...
- 2' [..... de]s(?) Landes Ägyp[ten ...
- 3' [..... wegen (?) der Toch]ter des Königs ein[mal, zweimal, dreimal ...
- 4' [..... die Zeit (?)] verstreicht wegen [...
- 5' [und ich werde die T]ochter des Herrn de[s Landes Ḫatti zur Herrin des Landes Ägypten (noch) in
diesem Jahr machen]
- 6' [im Anges]icht der Söhne des Landes Äg[yp]ten und im Angesicht der Söhne des Landes Ḫatti]
- 7' [und im Angesicht der Söhne] aller Länder [...

¹⁰⁷⁷ CAD 10 (M1), pp. 34-43; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 188.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 242, 250.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 242-243.

- 8' [und wir, die Großkönige, befinden uns (so)] in [schöner] Bruderschaft [(und) in schönem Frieden für immer].
- 9' [.....] in(?) [...
- 10' [.....] zu [..
- Andere Seite abgebrochen

This small text surely deals with the topic of the interdynastic marriage: Ramses(?) writes to Ḫattušili or to Puduḫepa saying he had already written three times about the Hittite princess; probably the Hittite royal couple asked Ramses to guarantee for the status of their daughter (as in many other letters) and Ramses reassures the royal parents about his willing: the Hittite princess would become *GAŠAN ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*, “queen of the Egyptian land”¹⁰⁸⁰ (Vs. 5’), within that very same year (*i-na MU-ti*] / [*an-ni-ti* (Vs. 5’-6’).

1. KUB III 65 (ÄHK no. 65, E32, pp. 160-163):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

Vs. abgebrochen

Rs.

- 1' [.....]x ...
- 2' [.....] *DU*] *MU.MEŠ-ki it-ti DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ki* [ù ...
- 3' [.....] *la-ku-nu um-ma-a ki ki-ti₇ t[a(?)*- ...
- 4' [.....] *š-u-nu ki-i ma-šú ma-šú-u[-ma]*

-
- 5' [*um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma a-mur a-du-ku*] *a-ḫa-ad-di a-na-ku a-na DUMU.MEŠ-k[i]*
- 6' [*ŠÀ-ia ḫa-ši-iḫ a-na ma-ḫa-ri-šu*]-*nu DÜG.GA* ù *ki-i NIN-ti ta-aš-p[u-ra a-na ia-ši]*
- 7' [*a-na-ku e-te-pu-uš* ù *a-mur*^{LÚ} *KUR.M*] *EŠ ša LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ŠEŠ-ia a[ḫ-bu-ut]*
- 8' [*i-na MU-ti an-ni-ti* ù ^{LÚ} *KUR*.] *MEŠ-ki aḫ-bu-ut i-na MU-ti an-ni[-ti]*
- 9' [*a-ki-i ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-bu-ú SIG₅-q*] *à ṭe₄-mu an-nu-ú ša^d UTU i-pu-š[u]*
- 10' [ù *ša^d IŠKUR i-pu-su* ù *ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni*] *i-pu-šu-ni-iš-šu-nu-ti* ù *šu-ni-ia*
- 11' [*šu-ni-ki* ù *a-na-ku am-ta-ḫa-as i]t-ti KUR.MEŠ an-na-a-ti ša na-ak-r[i^{MEŠ}*]
- 12' [*a-ki-i ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-š*] *i a-na-ku aḫ-ta-di dan-niš dan-niš*
- 13' [*UGU ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia* ù *SIG₅-qà da-an-ni*]-*iš ṭe₄-mi-šu*

-
- 14' [*um-ma-a a-na NIN-ia-ma* ù *ša NI]N-ti taš-pu-ra um-ma-a i-din a-na n[a(?)*-*da-ni*]
- 15' [.....] *x-ti gab-bi-šu-nu ki-i DÜG.GA*
- 16' [.....] *at-ti^{SAL} a-ḫa-t*] *i₄ kán-na táq-bi-i*

-
- 17' [ù *ša NIN-ti taš-pu-ra um-ma-a a-na-ku al-te-mé a*]-*ma-te^{MEŠ}-ka*
- 18' [*ša at-ta taš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU* o o o ù *ŠEŠ-k*] *a il-te-mé [a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ka]*
- 19' [*ša at-ta taš-pu-ra a-na ša-a-šu UGU* o o o o o] *ta [x*
- [20'] [...

Translation¹⁰⁸¹

Rs.

- 1' [.....] .. [...
- 2' [.....] deine [Söh]ne mit deinen Boten u[nd ...
- 3' [.....] ... So (sprich): Tatsächlich ... [...
- 4' [.....] ihre [.....] reichen wirklich aus.
-
- 5' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Siehe, fürwahr] ich freue mich über dei[ne] Söhne,
- 6' [und mein Herz wünscht, si]e freundlich [zu empfangen]. Und wie du, meine Schwester, [mir] geschrie[ben] hast,

¹⁰⁸⁰ For GAŠAN = *šarratu(m)*, see e.g. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 361.

¹⁰⁸¹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 245-248.

- 7' [(so) handelte ich (o. ä.); und siehe, die Feind]e des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, meines Bruders,
e[rbeutete ich]
- 8' [in diesem Jahr, und] deine [Feind]e erbeutete ich in dies[em] Jahr,
9' [wie mein Bruder es geheiß[en] hat. Schön] ist diese Lage, die der Sonnengott geschaffen hat,
10' [und die der Wettergott geschaffen hat, und die unsere Götter] ihnen geschaffen haben; denn meine
Widersacher
11' [sind (auch) deine Widersacher; und ich kämpfte m]it diesen Ländern der Feind[e]
12' [entsprechend dem Rat, den mein Bruder mi]r [geschrieben hat]. Ich habe mich außerordentlich
gefremt
13' [über den Rat meines Bruders, denn] sein Rat [war seh]r [gut].
-
- 14' [So (sprich) zu meiner Schwester: Und was] du, meine [Sch]wester, geschrieben hast, wie folgt:
„G[ib(?) ..]
- 15' [.....]. sie alle freundlicherweise
16' [.....“] - so hast du, meine [Schwest]er, gesprochen.
-
- 17' [Und was meine Schwester geschrieben hat wie folgt: „Ich habe] deine Worte [gehört],
18' [die du mir wegen geschrieben hast, und (auch) de]in [Bruder] hat [deine Worte] gehört,
19' [die du ihm geschrieben hast wegen] ... [...
[20] [...

KUB III 65 presents some peculiar features among the letters of the marriage and offers information about a Hittite delegation, composed by some Hittite princes and other messengers, who met Ramses in Egypt (this could be the meaning of the first lines). Ramses congratulates for the arrival of the Hittite princes and reassures Puduḫepa that he would welcome her sons in a kind way (*a-mur a-du-ku*) *a-ḫa-ad-di a-na-ku a-na DUMU.MEŠ-k[i]* / [*ŠĀ-ia ḫa-ši-iḫ a-na ma-ḫa-ri-šu-]nu DÜG.GA*, “Siehe, fürwahr] ich freue mich über dei[ne] Söhne, / [und mein Herz wünscht, si]e freundlich [zu empfangen]”; Vs. 5'-6').

Then, the pharaoh informs the Hittite queen to have captured some Hittite enemies (*LÚKUR.M]EŠ ša LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti*, Vs. 7'), as Ḫattušili had asked (probably in a previous message); Ramses explains that he has performed the capture according to the agreement of the Treaty (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.d, and this section, text no. 12, §§7-8, about the mutual aid against the rebels, or §§11-14, related to the rescue of the fugitives), stating that *ù šu-ni-ia* / [*šu-ni-ki ù a-na-ku am-ta-ḫa-as*, “my enemies / are also your enemies” (Vs. 10'-11')¹⁰⁸².

Later on, Ramses recognizes to be fain about an advice received by Ḫattušili, which seems to be connected with the enemies who Ramses referred to in the previous sentence:

as i]t-ti KUR.MEŠ an-na-a-ti ša na-ak-r[i^{MEŠ}] / [a-ki-i ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-š]i a-na-ku aḫ-ta-di dan-niš dan-niš / [UGU ṭe₄-mi ša ŠEŠ-ia ù SIG₅-qà da-an-ni]-iš ṭe₄-mi-šu, “und ich kämpfte m]it diesen Ländern der Feind[e] / [entsprechend dem Rat, den mein Bruder mi]r [geschrieben hat]. Ich habe mich außerordentlich gefremt / [über den Rat meines Bruders, denn] sein Rat [war seh]r [gut]” (Vs. 11'-13').

The last part of the message (Vs. 14'-20') could have been related to the arrangements for the marriage¹⁰⁸³: Ramses reports (unfortunately, this passage is in lacuna) a previous message sent by Puduḫepa where probably the Hittite queen had asked Ramses to send her some undefined goods, according to the presence of the imperative of the verb *nadānu(m)* in Vs. 14'¹⁰⁸⁴.

¹⁰⁸² EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 245 recognized these enemies with the Šardana: “Es scheint sich um die Šardana zu handeln, die wohl in ihren Stützpunkten an der libyschen Küste bekämpft wurden” (cf. also *ivi*, pp. 247-248). Although this intriguing reconstruction, I think there are no clear evidences to strongly support this hypothesis.

¹⁰⁸³ Edel included this letter within the group of the “marriage letters”: however, no clear references neither to the wedding or to the Hittite princess are attested in the extant text. The reasons for this choice are in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 245-246.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 248.

m. KBo I 23 (ÄHK no. 68, E35, pp. 166-167):

Hattische Kopie¹⁰⁸⁵ eines Briefes von Ramses an Hattušili

Transliteration¹⁰⁸⁶

Vs.

- 1 *mé-ḫe-er ši-ṭe₄-er-ti ša^dU e-pu-šu i-na be-ri-it*
2 **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù i-na be-ri-it KUR Ḫa-at-ti
-
- 3 *ša ul-(tu) UGU ši-ṭe₄-er-ti ša tu-še-bi-la*
4 *DUMU.SAL-tá 1-en-et it-ta-al-du a-na LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i*
5 *ši-ṭe₄-er-tu kà-an-na i-qá-ab-bi ù DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.A*
6 *ša KUR Mi-iš-ri-i iq-ta-bu-ni-iš-šu*
7 *ù ki-i-na a-na da-ba-a-bi i-na^{UZU} KA-šu-nu ù ki-i*
8 *LÚ a-mi-lu-ut-ti it-te₉-en₆-pu-šu ki-i ša-a-šu*
9 *ù iq-ta-bu-ni-iš-šu um-ma-a DUMU.SAL-tu₄ an-ni-tu₄*
10 *ša ú-lu-du-ni-ik-ku bi-la-aš an-na-ši-in*
11 *ù ni-id-dì-in-ši a-na SAL.LUGAL-ut-ti ša KUR-ti ša-ni[-i]ti*
-
- 12 *ù KUR-tu₄ ša i-na ŠÁ-bi-ša ni-na-an-din-ši a-na e[-pé-ši SAL.LUGAL-ut-ta]*
13 *in-né-ep-pu-uš a-du KUR Mi-iš-ri-i ù a-ki[-i KUR-ti 1-en-et]*
14 *[ki-]la-al-lu-ú-šu-nu ù šu-ú iq-ta-b[i um-ma-a]*
15 *[a-mur i-l]e-eq-qú-ú-ši šu-ú [ká]n-na i[q-ta-bi]*
-

Rs.

- 1' [..... š]a[?] auch -t]a oder -g]a
2' i-n[a ...
3' šu-[ú(?)]
4' ki-i pí-i ṭup-p[i ša KUR Mi-i]š-ri-i ša-ṭe₄-er
5' mim-ma-ma ú-ul ša-ni
Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 8 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

Translation¹⁰⁸⁷

Vs.

- 1 Kopie des Schreibens, das der Wettergott zwischen
2 dem Lande **Ägypten** und dem Lande Hatti bewirkt hat:
-
- 3 Was aus dem Schreiben (hervorgeht), das du hast bringen lassen:
4 „Eine Tochter wurde dem König des Landes **Ägypten** geboren“
5 - so spricht das Schreiben -, „und die großen Götter
6 des Landes **Ägypten** sagten zu ihm
7 - und zuverlässig ist die Rede in ihrem Munde, und wie
8 die Menschen schlossen sie sich ihr entsprechend zusammen -
9 und sie sagten zu ihm, wie folgt: „Diese Tochter,
10 die man dir geboren hat, bring sie uns,
11 und wir werden sie in die Königinherrschaft über ein auswärtiges Land geben,
-
- 12 und das Land, in das wir sie geben werden, um [die Königinherrschaft] a[uszuüben],

¹⁰⁸⁵ As already noted in CORDANI 2017, p. 131, note 4, this definition is ambiguous: “Fuorviante è anche la definizione di EDEL 1994a, vol. 1, p. 167 di KBo 1.23 come una ‘copia hattica’ (‘Hattische Kopie’), che evidentemente non vuole riferirsi alla lingua di redazione della tavoletta (che è infatti l’accadico, non il hattico), ma al luogo di produzione, nel senso di ‘copia redatta nel paese di Hatti’”.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. the transliteration in KESTEMONT 1981, pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. the French translation in KESTEMONT 1981, pp. 74-75; English translation in LUCKENBILL 1921, pp. 195-196; Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, p. 134. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 254-257; for the analysis and reconstruction of some peculiar passages of this letter, see CORDANI 2017, p. 134, with notes and further bibliography.

13 wird sich mit dem Lande **Ägypten** verbünden, und wi[e ein Land werden]
 14 sie [b]eide (sein)‘. “Und er sagt[e so]:
 15 „[Siehe], man wird sie [b]ringen“. S[o] s[agte] er.

16 [.....

Rs.

1' [.....] ..

2' i[n ...

3' e[r (?) ...

4' Sie ist entsprechend dem Wortlaut der Tafel des Landes **Ägypten** geschrieben,

5' ohne daß irgendetwas geändert ist.

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von ca. 8 Zeilen bis zum Tafelrand unbeschriftet

This letter is said to have been copied directly from its original, a fact that stands for the importance of the document itself¹⁰⁸⁸; the tablet is also supplied with an introduction, defining the tablet as a “copy of the script that the Storm-god made for the Egyptian and the Hittite lands” (Vs. 1-2) and a colophon, describing the copy as compliant to the original: “copy¹⁰⁸⁹ compliant to the words of the tablet for/of the land of Egypt. nothing differs” (Rs. 4'-5').

Edel¹⁰⁹⁰ recognized in this document a copy of a letter coming from Egypt and addressed to Ḫattušili; Pintore¹⁰⁹¹ instead thought it could have been a copy of a Treaty signed by Egypt and Ḫatti. The reason leading to make a copy of this document probably is justified by the topic of the missive: in KBo I 23 it is reported a message of Ramses through which he informed Ḫattušili of the birth of a daughter from one of the two interdynastic marriages (Vs. 4); Ramses also adds that the new-born has been already designated to be given in marriage to another unspecified country, which would become “one sole land [with Egypt]” (Vs. 9-14).

Cordani¹⁰⁹² also stressed the possibility to link another letter, KUB XXVI 89 (see *infra*, text no. 41.c), with this happy communication: in fact, this latter reports in Vs. 7' the following sentence, attributed to Ramses or to Puduḫepa: *nu A-N]A DUMU.SAL-TI a-pa-a-at iš-ḫi-ú-ul a-pí-ia i-ia-mi*, “for the daughter I will make this agreement (*išḫiul*)”. Therefore, Cordani proposed that this “treaty” would have the purpose of regulating the position of Ḫattušili’s daughter at the Egyptian court and probably also some clauses about the status of an eventual child of the interdynastic marriage were added. According to Cordani¹⁰⁹³, “è possibile che l’accordo menzionato da KUB XXVI 89 sia stato effettivamente redatto e che KBo I 23 ne costituisca una copia”. However, Cordani noted some problems with this interpretation:

1) KBo I 23 is too short to be considered a proper treaty and it could have been just an excerpt;

2) the document is described as a *šitertu* and not with the typical terms that defined a regular treaty (i.e. *māmītu*, or *riksu/rikiltu*)¹⁰⁹⁴.

In sum, Cordani reconstructed the series of letters regarding the announce of the birth of the daughter as follows:

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cf. CORDANI 2017, p. 131 (mainly note 1).

¹⁰⁸⁹ The term used in Akkadian is *šite/irtu*, for which see CAD 17 (Š3), p. 144b; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 378: “writing, document, writing on tablet (*š. tuppī*), written record”. As already noted in CORDANI 2017, p. 131, the term does not refer to a specific “genre”.

¹⁰⁹⁰ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 254-255.

¹⁰⁹¹ PINTORE 1978, p. 174: “copia (o fac-simile di trattato)”. CORDANI 2017, p. 131, note 4 reports that a similar suggestion had been advanced in CAD 4 (E), p. 221a and adds the opinion advanced by Kestemont: “Inspiegabilmente, KESTEMONT 1981, p. 76 parla di una ‘traduzione conforme’ effettuata in Ḫatti, presupponendo dunque che l’originale fosse in lingua egiziana; non ci sono prove o indizi a sostegno di una simile ipotesi”.

¹⁰⁹² CORDANI 2017, pp. 131-132.

¹⁰⁹³ *Ivi*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁹⁴ By the way, this second argument is not so conclusive because, as noted in CORDANI 2017, p. 132, in the letter of Ramses to the king of Mira (KBo I 24 + KUB III 84; see *supra*, text no. 29) the Egypto-Hittite Treaty is specifically defined *šitertu*, but adding the specification *ša māmīti*, i.e. “script of the oath”.

“1. lettera egiziana con l’annuncio della nascita, giunta a Ḫattuša e lì archiviata (ma per noi perduta); 2. risposta di Ḫattušili (con parziale citazione della lettera di Ramesse), inviata a Pi-Ramesse (anch’essa perduta); 3. copia ‘rielaborata’ dalla cancelleria ittita (KBo I 23) sulla base della lettera egiziana (ipotesi di Edel) o della risposta ittita (ipotesi qui proposta)”¹⁰⁹⁵.

In this case, KBo I 23 could underline the importance of the lost message sent by Ramses, announcing the birth of a daughter and probably arranging some plans for a future marriage with another country, an important topic for the Hittite court, as stressed by Cordani:

“A proposito del motivo che avrebbe indotto Ḫattušili a far redigere KBo 1.23, bisogna osservare che non abbiamo alcuna certezza che l’‘accordo per la figlia’ menzionato in KUB 26.89 sia mai stato stipulato, nonostante le promesse di Ramesse. È chiaro che le implicazioni politiche del matrimonio interdinastico stavano più a cuore agli Ittiti che agli Egiziani [...]. La cancelleria ittita disponeva però della lettera con cui Ramesse annunciava la nascita della principessina e le garantiva un ruolo politico importante. Ḫattušili potrebbe aver sentito l’esigenza di far redigere una copia ufficiale del suo messaggio di risposta al faraone, in cui i diritti della neonata venivano ulteriormente ribaditi. In assenza di un vero e proprio trattato, le due tavolette (l’originale egiziano e la copia della risposta ittita) dovevano essere considerate come documenti ufficiali attestanti l’impegno dell’Egitto”¹⁰⁹⁶.

n. KBo XXVIII 38 (= 961/c) (ÄHK no. 83, I3, pp. 190-191):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [a-na i]a-[ši šu-ul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ia DAM.MEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia]

2' [ERÍN.MEŠ-i]a ANŠE.K[UR.RA.MEŠ-ia ù a-na KUR.MEŠ-ia]

3' [dá-a]n-ni-iš d[á-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu]

4' [a-na L]UGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫ[a-at-ti ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li]

5' [ŠE]Š(!)-ia lu-ú šu[-ul-mu ù a-na KUR.MEŠ-ka]

6' [dá-]an-ni-iš dá-¹an[-ni-iš lu-ú šu-ul-mu]

7' [a-nu-ma] ul-te-bi-la-ak[-ku]

8' [šu-bé-e]l-ta a-na šul-m[a-an ŠEŠ-ia]

9' [i-na ŠU-t]i DUMU.KIN-ri ša [ŠEŠ-ia]

10' [..... x] [...

Rs. abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰⁹⁷

Vs.

1' [M]i[r geht es gut, meinen Häusern, meinen Frauen, meinen Söhnen],

2' [mei]nen [Truppen, meinen] Pfer[den, meinen Wagen und meinen Ländern]

3' [geht es se]hr, s[e]hr gut].

4' [dem] Groß[k]önig, dem König des Landes Ḫ[atti, Ḫattušili],

5' meinem [Bruder], möge es [gut gehen und deinen Ländern]

6' möge es [s]ehr, se[hr gut gehen]!

7' [Nun] habe ich dir [ein]

8' Geschenk bringen lassen als Begrüßungsgesch[enk für meinen Bruder]

9' [durch die Ha]nd des Boten [meines Bruders].

¹⁰⁹⁵ CORDANI 2017, p. 133.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 287.

10' [.....] .. [...
Rs. abgebrochen

[A quite common incipit of a letter, reporting the greetings and the presentation of an undefined gift].

o. KBo XXXVI 101 = 1990/c (ÄHK no. 85, I5, pp. 192-193):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

[-1'] [.....ù a-mur *ṭup-pa*]
 [0'] [*ša ma-mi-ti ša ŠEŠ-ia i-pu-šu a-na ia-ši šá-kín a-na pa-ni*]
 1' [^dUTU ^{URU.KI}A-na ù a-na pa-ni DINGIR]R.MEŠ [GAL.MEŠ *šu-nu*]
 2' [*ši-bu-tu ša gab-bi a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ-i*]a iš-p[*u-ra*]
 3' [*a-na ia-ši UGU ṭup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR ša ŠEŠ-i*]a ú-še-p[*í-šu a-na ia-ši*]

 4' [*a-nu-ma DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ú-bal-la-tu*] DUMU ^dUTU ù DINGIR.M[EŠ-ia]
 5' [*ú-bal-la-tu DUMU ^dIŠKUR ù DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia ú-bal-la[-tu DUMU ^dIŠKUR]*
 6' [*ù DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ú-bal-la-tu DUMU ^dUTU a-mur*] ba-ni [ki-i i-]na[-an-di-nu]
 7' [*a-na e-pé-ši sa-la-am-ni ba-na-a ù ŠEŠ[-ḫu-ut-ni b]*]a-ni[-ta a-di da-ri-ti]

 8' [.....] [x] [x ...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹⁰⁹⁸

[-1'] [.....; und siehe, die Tafel]
 [0'] [des Eides, den mein Bruder mir geleistet hat, liegt vor dem Angesicht]
 1' [des Sonnengottes von Heliopolis und vor dem Angesicht der großen Göt]ter. [Sie sind]
 2' [Zeugen für alle Worte, die mir me]in [Bruder] geschr[ieben hat]
 3' [auf der Silbertafel, die mir me]in [Bruder] hat anfert[igen lassen].

 4' [Nunmehr werden die Götter meines Bruders] den Sohn des Sonnengottes [am Leben erhalten], und
 [meine] Gott[er]
 5' [werden den Sohn des Wettergottes am Leben erhalten, und die Götter] meines [Bruders] werden
 [den Sohn des Wettergottes] am Leben erhal[ten],
 6' [und meine Götter werden den Sohn des Sonnengottes am Leben erhalten. Siehe], schön [ist es, daß
 sie ver] an [lassen],
 7' [daß unser schöner Friede un]d [unsere sch]ön[e] Bruder[schaft geschaffen wird für ewig].

 8' [.....] [.....] [...

KBo XXXVI 101 presents a common felicitation for the stipulation of the Treaty. More interesting are some definitions of the Egyptian and Hittite kings in ll. 4'-7': Ramses is described as "the son of the Sun-god" (*DUMU ^dUTU*, ll. 4', 6', clearly recalling the Egyptian title *s3-R^c*), while Ḫattušili is called with the title "son of the Storm-god" (*DUMU ^dIŠKUR*, l. 5').

In this text, Ramses is also wishing that the respective gods would protect both the sovereigns: the Egyptian gods protect Ḫattušili as the Hittite gods protect Ramses. Edel has underlined the rethorical construction of this passage, which is modelled on a chiasitic structure: "Mit nur einmaliger Setzung des allen vier Sätzen gemeinsamen Verbs und bei möglichster vereinfachung der Subjekte und Objekte ergibt sich dann folgende Kurzformel für chiasitischen Aufbau des Ganzen:

Es möge am Leben erhalten	[seine Götter]	–	mich
	[meine] Götter	–	[ihn]

¹⁰⁹⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 288-289.

Seine [Götter] – [ihn]
 [meine Götter – mich] ^{»1099.}

p. KBo XXVIII 34 (= 1168/c) (ÄHK no. 90, I10, pp. 196-197):
 Geschenkliste

Transliteration

1' [x ^{GAD}TÚG ši-ih-]ru-⟨tu⟩^{MEŠ} [...
 2' [x GAD.TÚG.GÚ]D.DU.MEŠ [...

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 8 + x Zeilen unbeschriftet

Translation¹¹⁰⁰

1' [x klei]ne [linnene Gewänder ...
 2' [x linnene Tun]iken [.....

Rest der Rs. in Höhe von 8+x Zeilen unbeschriftet

The extant text of this letter just reports the dispatching of two gifts:

Category	Akkadian	Translation	Quantity
Linsens	^{GAD} TÚG ši-ih-]ru-⟨tu⟩ ^{MEŠ}	Small linsens	x pieces
	GAD.TÚG.GÚ]D.DU.MEŠ	Linen tunics	x pieces

Edel proposed a comparison between this gift list and that in 1353/c+ (= KBo XXVIII 14, see *supra*, text no. 27.d):

“Rs. 1’) So wie in 1353/c+, Rs. 10’ 3 ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ einer bestimmten Stoffqualität zusammengehören mit „3 Tuniken“ der gleichen Stoffqualität, so auch hier. In gewisser Weise können die ^{TÚG}-Gewänder die *maklalu*-Gewänder ersetzen, die sonst immer vor den *nahlaptu*-Gewändern genannt werden. – Zu den hier genannt „kleinen Gewändern“ vgl. die ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ GAL „großen Gewänder“ in 1353/c+, Rs. 6’. Die in Z. 1’ und 2’ fehlenden Stoffqualitäten waren sicherlich identisch, wie auch die Zahl x der in 1’ und 2’ genannten Gewänder identisch gewesen sein müßte”¹¹⁰¹.

q. KBo VII 10 (= 35/k) (ÄHK no. 93, I13, pp. 200-201):

Geschenkliste: Ramses und Naptera an [Ḫattušili] und [Puduḫepa]

Transliteration

Vs.

[-x] [...
 [-x] [...

1' [..... n]a-ap-ḫar 25 ^G[^{AD(?)}TÚG.MEŠ]
 2' [i-na ^{GAD}TÚG.MEŠ súm-mu-ḫu-tu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGA]L ša mi-ku SIG₅.M[EŠ SIG₅.M]EŠ
 3' [o o o o x GIŠ.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ ša ^{GIS}ESI.MEŠ]Š 5 ḫ]u-bu-né-tu₄^{MEŠ} ○
 4' [ša URUDU(?) ša ma-lu-ú ša-am-mi^{MEŠ} ša IGI.MEŠ] SIG₅.⟨MEŠ⟩SIG₅.MEŠ
 5' [20(?) GI.MEŠ ša ma-lu-ú ša-am-mi^{MEŠ} ša IGI.MEŠ S]IG₅.MEŠ SIG₅.MEŠ

6' [šu-be-el-ti ša ^lRi-a-ma-še-ša LUGAL GAL LU]GAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i
 7' [id-din-nu a-na SAL.LUGAL GAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti x GAL š]a še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅
 8' [KI.LAL-šu x GÍN x ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti L]UGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-bu-tu₄

¹⁰⁹⁹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 289.

¹¹⁰⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 296-297.

¹¹⁰¹ *Ivi*, p. 297.

- 9' [x ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-b]a-tu₄
-
- 10' [šu-be-el-ti ša ^{SAL}Na-ap-te-ra SAL.LUGAL.GAL KUR **Mi-iš-ri**]-i id-din-nu
 11' [a-na LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti x GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅
 12' [KI.LAL-šu x GÍN x ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ š]a-bu-tu₄
 13' [x ^{GAD}TUG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅.MEŠ ša-ba-tu₄]
-
- [14'] [...
- Rs.
 [0'] [.....] [x ...
 1' [.....] [
-
- 2' [šu-be-el-ti ša ^LÚ GAL ša LUGAL ¹id¹-[d]in-n[u]
 3' [a-na LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti 1 GAL ša še-te-e š]a KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-šu
 4' [x GÍN KÙ.GI 1 ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-t]i LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi
 5' [1 ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-b]i
-
- 6' [šu-be-el-ti ša ¹Šu-ta-ḫa-ap-ša-ap (?) o o DUM]U.LUGAL id-din a-na LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti
 7' [1 GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅] KI.LAL-šu š]u-ši GÍN KÙ.GI
 8' [1 ^{GAD.TÚG}ma.ak.la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅] ša-bi o 1 ^{GAD}TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL
 SIG₅ ša-bi
-
- 9' [šu-be-el-ti ša ¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša (?) DUMU.LU]GAL id-din a-na LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti
 10' [1 GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG₅ KI.LAL-]šu šu-ši GÍN KÙ.[GI]
 11' [1 ^{GAD.TÚG}ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG₅ ša-bi 1 ^{GAD}TÚG.GU.UD.DU [1]u-bu-ul-ti LUGAL
 SIG₅ ša-bi

[12'] [...

Translation¹¹⁰²

- [-x] [Das Geschenk, das Riamašeša, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**],
 [-x] [dem König des Landes Ḫatti gegeben hat:
 1' [..... S]umme: 25 li[nnene Gewänder (?)].
 2' [bestehend aus verschiedenen linnenen Gewändern aus Byssos, miku und „[gute]m dünnem“
 (Faden).
 3' [..... x gute Balken von Ebenholzbäum]en. 5 ḫubunnu-Gefäße
 4' [aus Kupfer (?), die gefüllt sind mit] sehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen];
 5' [20 (?) Körbe, die gefüllt sind mit s]ehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen].
-
- 6' [Das Geschenk, das Riamašeša, der Großkönig, der Kö]nig des Landes **Ägypten**
 7' [der Großkönigin des Landes Ḫatti gegeben hat: 1] Trink[becher] aus gutem Gold,
 8' [dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt; x] gute gefärbte [linnene maklalu-Gewänder aus By]ssos,
 9' [x gute, gefärbte [linnene Tuniken aus Byssos].
-
- 10' [Das Geschenk, das Naptera, die Großkönigin des Landes **Ägypten**] gegeben hat
 11' [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti: 1] Trinkbecher aus] gutem [G]old,
 12' [dessen Gewicht x Schekel beträgt; x gute, ge]färbte [linnene maklalu-Gewänder aus Byssos];
 13' [x gute, gefärbte linnene Tuniken aus Byssos].

[14'] [....

Rs.
 [0'] [...

¹¹⁰² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 301-305.

- 1' [...]
-
- 2' [Das Geschenk, das der PN, TITEL, G] roßer des Königs,
 3' [dem König des Landes Ḫatti] gegeben hat: [1 Trinkbecher a]us gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht
 4' [x Schekel Gold beträgt]; 1 gutes gefärbtes [linnenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus By]ssos;
 5' 1 [gute gefärb]te [linnene Tunika aus Byssos].
-
- 6' [Das Geschenk, das Šutaḫapšap (?), der Pr]inz, dem König des Landes Ḫatti
 7' [gegeben hat: 1 Trinkbecher aus gutem Gold, dessen Gewicht] 60 Schekel Gold beträgt;
 8' [1 gutes] gefärbtes [linnenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus Byssos]; 1 gute gefärbte linnene Tunika aus
 Byssos.
-
- 9' [Das Geschenk, das Riamašeša (?), der Pr]inz, dem König des Landes Ḫatti gegeben hat:
 10' [1 Trinkbecher aus gutem Gold], dessen [Gewicht] 60 Schekel Go[l]d beträgt;
 11' [1 gutes gefärbtes linnenenes *maklalu*-Gewand aus Byssos]; 1 gute gefärbte [linnene Tu]nika aus
 Byssos.
-
- [12]' [...]

This document reports a list of gifts sent by different people of the Egyptian court to the Hittite king and queen¹¹⁰³:

<i>Senders and addressees</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Ramses to Ḫattušili	n]a-ap-ḫar ^{G[AD(?)TÚG.MEŠ} ^{GAD} TÚG.MEŠ súm-mu-ḫu-tu lu-bu- ul-ti LUGA]L, mi-ku SIG ₅ .M[EŠ SIG ₅ .M]EŠ	Total of linens (“King” quality and <i>miku</i> -fine quality)	25 pieces
	GIŠ.MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša ^{GIŠ} ESI.ME]Š	Ebony beams	x pieces
	ḫ]u-bu-né-tu ₄ ^{MEŠ} ○ [ša URUDU(?) ša ma-lu-ú ša-am-mi ^{MEŠ} ša IGI.MEŠ] SIG ₅ .MEŠ>SIG ₅ .MEŠ	<i>ḫubunnu</i> -vessels of copper with good medicines for the eyes	5 pieces
	GI.MEŠ ša ma-lu-ú ša-am-mi ^{MEŠ} ša IGI.MEŠ S]IG ₅ .MEŠ SIG ₅ .MEŠ	Chests with good medicines for the eyes	20' pieces
Ramses to Puduḫepa	GAL š]a še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink cup of fine gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti L]UGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu ₄	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, colourful	x pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul- ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-b]a-tu ₄	Linen tunics of “King” quality, colourful	x pieces
Nefertari to Ḫattušili	GAL š]a še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink cup of fine gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti L]UGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-bu-tu ₄	<i>maklalu</i> -linens of “King” quality, colourful	x pieces
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU.MEŠ lu-bu-ul- ti LUGAL SIG ₅ .MEŠ ša-b]a-tu ₄	Linen tunics of “King” quality, colourful	x pieces
An Egyptian “Great” to Ḫattušili	GAL ša še-te-e š]a KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink cup of fine gold	1 piece = x shekels
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma-ak-la-lu lu-bu-ul-t]i LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD} TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-b]i	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece

¹¹⁰³ Cf. the table in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 303.

Šutaḥapšap to Ḫattušili	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅]	Drink cup of fine gold	1 piece = 60 shekels ¹¹⁰⁴
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD.TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU} lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
Riamašeša to Ḫattušili	GAL ša še-te-e ša KÙ.GI SIG ₅	Drink cup of fine gold	1 piece = 60 shekels ¹¹⁰⁵
	^{GAD.TÚG} ma.ak.la-lu lu-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	<i>maklalu</i> -linen of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece
	^{GAD.TÚ} G.GU.UD.DU [1]u-bu-ul-ti LUGAL SIG ₅ ša-bi	Linen tunic of “King” quality, colourful	1 piece

r. KBo XXVIII 39 (= 204/a) (ÄHK no. 95, I15, pp. 204-205):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [.....] [...
2' [..... **KUR Mi-]iṣ-ri-i[...
3' [..... x] *be-li GAL* [...
4' [..... *ú(?) ṭe₄-ma an-na[-a ...*
5' [ù *ŠEŠ-ia li*]-*id-din a-na ša-p[a-ri a-na ia-ši UGU ṭe₄-mi*
6' [*an-ni-i i-na*] *ŠU-ti DUMU(!) LÚ.KIN(?)*)-*š[u ù a-na-ku a-šap-par UGU ṭe₄-mi an-ni-i*
Tafelrand**

Rs.

- 1 [*a-na ŠEŠ-ia kán*]^{an}-*na-ma ki-ia-am a-na* [x ...
2 [..... x] *ša ŠEŠ-ia i-pu-šu* [...
3 [..... *a-n*]*a-ku ul a-šak-kán SIG₅* [...
4 [..... -*t*] *ša il-la-ku-ni i-na* [...

5 [..... x] *at-ta ta-na-an-di-[in ...*
6 [..... x]-*ma ù ŠEŠ-ia [i- ...*
7 [..... *š*]*a LUGAL ŠEŠ-ia* [...
8 [.....] *ù ta[- ...*
9 [.....] *ù*[...

Translation¹¹⁰⁶

Vs.

- 1' [...
2' [..... Land **Äg**]ypten [...
3' [.....] .. des (?) großen Herrn [...
4' [.....] .. dies[en] Vorschlag [...
5' [und mein Bruder möge] veranlassen, daß [mir] geschrie[ben wird wegen]
6' [dieses Vorschlags durch die] Hand sein [es] Boten; [und ich werde wegen dieses Vorschlags]
Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [ebenfalls [meinem Bruder schreiben]. So .[..

¹¹⁰⁴ The quantity in shekels is here not expressed with the numeral sign, but with the word *šu-ši*, “sixty” (see BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 389.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁰⁶ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 309.

- 2 [.....], den mein Bruder machte [...
 3 [..... i]ch werde nicht die gute [Tat] setzen
 4 [.....], die zu mir kommen werden in [...

 5 [.....]. du wirst veranlass[en ...
 6 [.....]... und mein Bruder wird [veranlassen (??)
 7 [..... w]as der König, mein Bruder, [...
 8 [.....] und du wirst (??) [...
 9 [.....] un[d (??) ...

A very fragmentary text: on the base of the term *tēmu*, translated by Edel as “Vorschlag”¹¹⁰⁷ (Vs. 4’-5’), it is possible to envisage in the document a proposal sent by the Hittite king, maybe concerning the Treaty or the interdynastic marriage. Any other suggestions have to be interpreted just as hypotheses.

s. KUB III 26 (ÄHK no. 99, K1, pp. 208-209):

Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-t]i
 2 [a-na¹Ua-at-mu-a-ri-a ša-te-ep-na-ri-a DUM]U^dUTU LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-r[i-i]
 2a [¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i^da-ma-na (ŠEŠ-ia) qí-bí-ma]

- 3 [a-mur ṭe₄-ma ba-nu-ú ša ŠEŠ-ut-ti ù sa-la-mi a-na] pa-ni-ni a-du bal-ṭa(!)-ni
 4 [.....]x(-)šu-ú
 5 [.....]ra-še-e

Rs. 1', Ende, ragt hier herein

- 6 [..... t]a-q[a-ab-bi

Rs.

- 1' [.....] [x ... x] i-še₂₀-mé-ma
 Platz für 6 weitere Zeilen bis zum Tafelende

Translation¹¹⁰⁸

Vs.

- 1 [So (spricht) Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatt]i:
 2 [Zu Wašmuaria šatepnaria, dem Soh]n der Sonne, dem Großkönig, König des Landes Ägyp[ten],
 2a [Riamašeša mai-amana, (meinem Bruder), sprich]:

- 3 [Siehe, das schöne Verhältnis der Brüderschaft und des Friedens (steht) v]or uns, so lange wir(!)
 leben
 4 [.....]
 5 [..... zu] erwerben
 6 [..... d]u sa[gst (?)

Rs.

- 1' [.....] .. er hört
 Platz für 6 weitere Zeilen bis zum Tafelende

[A common letter, whose extant text just reports the congratulation of the Hittite king (or queen) for the established brotherhood and peace].

¹¹⁰⁷ See e.g. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 414: “report, information”.

¹¹⁰⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 316.

t. KUB III 41 (ÄHK no. 100, K2, pp. 208-209):

Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [um-ma¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL] KUR Ḫa-at-ti
 2 [a-na¹Ri-a-ma-še-ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL K]UR Mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-ma

 3 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ša at-ta] a-kán-na tal-tap-ra
 4 [a-na ia-ši ma-ax] x -[n]i(?) a-na KUR Ḫ[a-a] t-[ti] ...
 [5] [...
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

Translation¹¹⁰⁹

Vs.

- 1 [So (spricht) Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König] des Landes Ḫatti:
 2 [Zu Riamašeša, dem Großkönig, dem König des L]andes **Ägypten**, meinem Bruder, sprich:

 3 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Was du] wie folgt
 4 [an mich] geschrieben hast [: „.....] ... ins Land Ḫ[a]t[ti]
 [5] [...
 Rs., soweit erhalten, unbeschriftet

[The text of this letter is too fragmentary to provide a comment].

u. KUB III 38 (ÄHK no. 102, K4, pp. 210-211):

Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

halbe Tafelhöhe

↑

- 1' [.....] x [
 2' [.....] ù(?) a(?)-ša(?)[...
 3' [..... a-š]ap-pa-ra-ak[-ku(-nu)
 4' [.....] ša LUGAL KUR A-mur-r[i]
 5' [..... a-na UGU-]ḫi ia-ši
 6' [.....]a-na DUMU(?)¹Pa-mu-a
 7' [.....]DUMU.MEŠ¹Mar-ni-ip-taḫ
 8' [.....-]ti-šu a-na UGU-]ḫi-šu
 9' [..... š]a KÁ LUGAL-ti
 10' [..... i-na UGU-]ḫi URU^{K1}-šu
 11' [..... -]na pa-ni-ka
 12' [..... i]d-din-na
 13' [..... it-]tal-ka
 [14'] [.....]-ú(?)

Rs.

- 1' [.....] x [...
 2' [..... K]UR Mi[-i]š-ri-i

 3' [..... š]i-p]í(?)-ir-šu-nu
 4' [.....] x pí-i an-na-an-na

¹¹⁰⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 316-317.

5' [.....] x a-ki-i an-ni-ti ti
6' [.....] i-n]a-an-din
7' [.....] a-na] UGU-ḫi LUGAL.GAL
8' [.....] i-qa-]ab-bu-ú ša an-ni-ka-a
9' [.....] U]GU-ša ša(?) id-dú-uk-ka
10' [.....] k]a-a-ša šu-ut a-kán-na-ma
11' [.....] x id-bu[-ba]-an-ni eš₁₅-še₂₀-tá
12' [.....] i-na gi-]na-a i-na gi-na-a
13' [.....] i-n]a gi-na-a i-na gi-na-a
14' [.....] tu-ga-]mar^{GIS} me-še-ta-a-te^{MES}
15' [.....] la-]a tu-ga-mar
16' [.....] ka oder U]GU[

↓
halbe Tafelhöhe

Translation¹¹¹⁰

Vs.

halbe Tafelhöhe

↑

1' [.....] ... [
2' [.....] und ich(?) werde(?) [...
3' [.....] ich] werde [dir (euch?) schreiben
4' [.....] des Königs des Landes Amurr[u
5' [.....] z]u mir
6' [.....] zu dem Sohn(?) des Pamua
7' [.....] die Söhne des Marniptah
8' [.....] seines [...] .. zu ihm
9' [.....] d]es königlichen Tores
10' [.....] z]u seiner Stadt
11' [.....] v]or dir
12' [.....] e]r gab mir
13' [.....] er] kam her
14' [.....].

Rs.

1' [.....] .. [
2' [.....] Lan]d Äg[lypten

3' [.....] i]hr [We]rk(?)
4' [.....].. Ausspruch des So und so
5' [.....]. entsprechend diesem
6' [.....] g]ibt
7' [.....] für den Großkönig
8' [.....] sie werden die [n]ennen, die sich hier befinden
9' [.....] de]swegen den, der getötet hat
10' [.....] d]ir(?), er ebenfalls
11' [.....]. er sagte mir eine Neuigkeit
12' [.....] zu] allen Zeiten
13' [.....] zu] allen Zeiten
14' [.....] die (Pl.) aus Holz [sollst du voll]enden,
15' [.....] die (Pl.) sollst du [nich]t(?) vollenden.
16' [.....] ... [
↓

halbe Tafelhöhe

¹¹¹⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 318-319.

KUB III 38, a letter sent by Ḫattušili or Puduḫepa to Ramses, reports a quite interesting and unusual information: despite of the very fragmentary state of preservation of the text (just the last part of the lines is preserved), the sender seems to inform the pharaoh that the king of Amurru had written him a letter (Vs. 4'), saying that the sons of Merneptah¹¹¹¹ (Vs. 7') have been sent to (or, together with) the son of Pamua¹¹¹² (Vs. 6') in front of the gates of a city, probably in the Amurru land (9'). The obverse ends with the mention of an unspecified person who visited the Hittite king in Ḫattuša (Vs. 13').

The content of the reverse is even more difficult to be reconstruct: there is for sure a mention of someone who has been killed (Rs. 9') and of something that has to be built with wood (maybe a ship?, see Rs. 14').

v. KBo XVIII 20 (= 319/w) (ÄHK no. 112, L9, pp. 232-233):

Ḫattušili an Tu[ja?]

Transliteration¹¹¹³

Vs.

- 1 UM-MA ^d[UTU-ŠI LUGAL.GAL]
 2 LUGAL KUR ^{URU}ḪA[-AT-TI]
 3 A-NA ^ITU[-U-IA(?)] AMA.SAL(?) ŠA LUGAL.GAL]
 4 LUGAL KUR ^U[^{RU}MI-IZ-RI-I NIN-IA]
 5 [QÍ-B]I[-[MA ...
 [6] [...

Rs.

- 1' ḫa-a[p-/a[t- ...
 2' ^IMar-k[u- ...
 3' na-an-ká[n A-NA NIN-IA pa-ra-a]
 4' [n]e-eḫ-ḫi[

 Tafelrand

Translation¹¹¹⁴

Vs.

- 1 So (sagt) die M[ajestät, der Großkönig],
 2 der König des Landes Ḫa[ttuša]:
 3 Zu Tu[ja(?), der Mutter(?) des Großkönigs],
 4 des Königs des Landes [**Ägypten**, meiner Schwester],
 5 [spri]ch: [...
 [6] [...

Rs.

- 1' ... [...
 2' Mark[u... (= PN) [...
 3' Und ich werde ihn [zu meiner Schwester]
 4' senden. [...

 Tafelrand

¹¹¹¹ For this person, of bearing the same name of the future pharaoh (but, of course, not the same person), see LAROCHE 1966, p. 114, no. 765, quoting ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 15, no. 25; cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 118.

¹¹¹² For Pamua, see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 118.

¹¹¹³ Cf. also the transliterations in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 321, no. 220 and GIORGIERI – MORA 2004, pp. 85-86.

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. the Italian translation in MORA – GIORGIERI 2004, pp. 85-86 (with introduction). Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 355; cf. also MORA 2000, p. 776.

appartenenza al corpus KBo 50.183 andrebbe interpretato come una bozza di lettera per l’Egitto, oppure come una traduzione di lettera ricevuta”¹¹²⁰.

x. KBo XXXI 40

LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, p. 124:

*Transliteration*¹¹²¹

1	[UM-MA ^d UTU] ^{si} LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti [A-NA LUGAL.GAL]]
2	[LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Mi-jiz-ri ŠEŠ-YA QÍ-BÍ-MA t[u-uq-qa MA-ḪAR]
3	[ḫu-u-ma-an SI]G ₅ -in e-eš-du A-NA ĞĪR ^{MEŠ} [-KA A-NA DUMU ^{MEŠ} -KA]
4	[A-]NA ^{LÚ.MEŠ} GAL.GAL-KA ù A-NA KUR-K]A ḫu-u-ma-an SIG ₅ -in e-eš-du]
5	ki-iš-ša-an-mu ku-it ḫa-at-ra-a-eš [ud-da-a-ar-wa-mu]
<hr/>		
6	ku-e ḫa-at-ra-a-eš [nu-w]a-ra-at iš-ta[-ma-aš-šu-un]
7	zi-ik a[m-mu-u]k A[-N]A ŠEŠ-KA EGIR-pa n[e-ya-at-ta-at]
8	na-x-x [] e-eš-mi x []]
<hr/>		
9	[] x []ki-iš-ša-a[n]
10	[]i-e-e x[]]

Translation

1	[Ainsi (parle) « Mon Sole]il », le grand roi, le roi du pays Hatti : [« Au grand roi]]
2	[le roi du pays d’Égypte, mon frère, dis : <[Pour] t[oi]
3	que [tout aille bi]en, pour t[es] femmes, [pour tes fils,]
4	[p]our tes grands et pour t[on] pays, [que tout aille bien ›]
5	Quant à ce que tu m’as écrit [en ces termes]
<hr/>		
6	ce que tu m’as écrit, je l’ai entendu]
7	Tu [m’]as, v[er]s ton frère, à nouveau [ramené]
8	[] je] suis []]
<hr/>		
9	[] de cette manière []]
10	[] ne pas []]

Also this letter has not been included by Edel in the ÄHK. A brief comment of this document, mostly focused on a palaeographical analysis, was offered by Lebrun and Degrève:

“Les restitutions sont celles proposes par EDEL 1994b, p. 114-117. L’analyse de la graphie des signes URU, ḫa, at, du, MEŠ, Û, ki, ik, qui présentent des formes anciennes ainsi que la forme longue (ancienne) de l’adverbe ki-iš-ša-an (l. 5 ; 9) au lieu de Kiš-an, la graphie hittite du verbe ḫa-at-ra-a-eš (l. 5 ; 6) au lieu de TAŠ-PUR et sa finale en eš et non en iš, permettraient de proposer une datation de la tablette avant 1250 av. J.-C. On peut toutefois relever la présence de la graphie tardive de li/e-e (l. 10)”¹¹²².

The document seems to report the beginning of a common letter, with the incipit presenting usual greetings. The sentence in l. 7 probably introduced the quotation of a previous message, unfortunately not preserved on the extant tablet. Being Ḫattušili the sender of the message, it is possible to recognize this document as a draft, written in Hittite, of a letter addressed to the pharaoh: unfortunately, we do not know if the letter was later translated in Akkadian and dispatched to Ramses, or not.

¹¹²⁰ CORDANI 2017, pp. 156-157.

¹¹²¹ Text not included by Edel in ÄHK.

¹¹²² LEBRUN – DEGREVE 2008, p. 124.

II. ROYAL LETTERS

34. CTH 172: LETTER OF ḪATTUŠILI III TO KADAŠMAN-ENLIL II

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Description of former relationships with Egypt and enquiry about the location of Urḫi-Tešub

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iš-ri-i</i>	KBo I 10 + KUB III 72 Vs. 55 und passim (akk.)

Transliteration

HAGENBUCHNER 1989, pp. 281-300 (no. 204):

- Vs. 55 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ(aḫi)-ya-ma aš-šu]m DUMU(mār) šip-ri ša LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** ša ŠEŠ-ú-a(aḫu'a) iš-pu-ra
- 56 [aš-šum DUMU(mār) šip-ri] an-ni-i ša LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** a-ka-an-na a-na ŠEŠ(aḫi)-ya al-tap-ra
- 57 (am-ma-a un-du a-bu-k]a ù a-na-ku at-te-tu-ta ni-pu-šu-ma a-na ŠEŠ^{MES}(aḫḫi) ni-tu₄-ru
- 58 [ni-nu a-ka-an-na ni-id-d]a-bu-ub um-ma-a ŠEŠ^{MES}(aḫḫu) ni-i-nu um-ma-a it-ti ^{LÚ}KUR(nakri) ša a-ḫa-miš
- 59 [lu-ú na-ak-ra-nu ù it-t]i ša-al-mì ša a-ḫa-miš lu-ú ša-al-ma-nu ù ul-tu LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i**
- 60 [ù a-na-ku i-ti a-ḫa-miš n]i-ir-'u-bu a-na a-bi-ka Ka-dáš-man-túr-gu al-tap-ra
- 61 [um-ma-a LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** i]t-ti-ya it-ta-ki-ir ù a-bu-ka a-ka-an-na il-tap-ra
- 62 [um-ma-a šum-ma ERÍN^{MES}(šabē)-ka] i-na **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** il-la-ku ù a-na-ku it-ti-kaa-al-lak-mi
- 63 [šum-ma a-na **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** ta-Jal-lak-me KARAŠ^{HL.A}(karāši) ù ^{GIŠ}GIGIR^{MES}(narkabāti) ki-i ša it-ti-ya a-na a-la-ki
- 64 [a-šap-pa-ra-ak-ku i-]na-an-na ŠEŠ-ú-a(aḫu'a) GAL^{MES}-ti (rabūti)-ka ša-'a-a-al-ma liq-bu-ni-ik-ku
- 65 [šum-ma al-li-ik KARAŠ^{HL.A}(karāši) ù ^{GIŠ}GIGIR^{MES}(narkabāti) ki-i ma-ši ša iq-bu-ú it-ti-ya a-na a-la-ki
- 66 [iš-pu ra-ma-an i-na a-la-ki-y]a mi-na-a él-qe EN(bēl) ^{LÚ}KUR(nakri)-ya ša a-na KUR-ti (māti) ša-ni-ti
- 67 [ip-par-ši-du ù šu-ú a-na] UGU(muḫḫi) LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** it-ta-lak ki-i aš-pu-ra-aš-šu
- 68 [um-ma-a EN(bēl) ^{LÚ}KUR(nakri)-ya šu-bi-lam-mi] ù šu-ú EN(bēl) ^{LÚ}KUR(nakri)-ya ú-ul ú-še-bi-la
- 69 [ù aš-šum an-ni-ti a-na-ku ù LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** it-ti a-ḫa-miš ni-ir-ta-'u-ub ù a-na a-bi-ka
- 70 [al-tap-ra um-ma-a LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** a-na ḫa-ma-ti-šu ša EN(bēl) ^{LÚ}KUR(nakri)-ya il-la-ka
- 71 [i-nu-mi-šu a-bu-ka DUMU(mār) šip-ri ša LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt)] Mi-iš-ri-i** ip-ta-ra-aš ù ul-tu ŠEŠ-ú-a (aḫu'a)
- 72 [a-na LUGAL(šarri) ta-tu-ru DUMU(mār) šip-ri-ka a-na LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** tal-tapár ù a-ma-ta ša DUMU(mār) šip-ri
- 73 [ša LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** ù LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt)] Mi-iš-ri-i** at-tu-ka
- 74 [šul-ma-na-ti-ka il-te-qe ù at-ta šu-ul-ma-na-ti-šu te]-el-te-qe i-na-an-na+
- 75 [(. . . ù?) šum-ma DUMU(mār) šip-ri-ka a-na LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i** t]-i-šap-par a-na-ku ka-lu-ú a-kal-la-ka

Translation

BECKMAN 1999², pp. 132-137 (no. 23):

§7 (obv. 55-75) [Furthermore, my brother: Concerning] the messenger of the King of **Egypt** of whom my brother wrote me – I write now as follows to my brother [concerning this messenger of the King] of **Egypt**: [When your father] and I established friendly relations and became brothers, [we] spoke [as follows]: “We are brothers. To the enemy of one another [we will be hostile, and with] the friend of one another we will be friendly.” And when the King of **Egypt** [and I] became angry [with one another], I wrote to your father, Kadashman-Turgu: “[The King of **Egypt**] has become hostile to me.” And your father wrote to me as follows: “[If your troops] go against **Egypt**, then I will go with you. [If] you go [against **Egypt**, I will send you] such infantry and chariotry as I have available to go.” Now, my brother, ask your noblemen. They shall tell you [whether he would have sent] infantry and chariotry to go with me, as many as he promised, [if I had gone. But] what [did I ever] accept? My enemy who [had escaped] to another country [left] and went to the King of **Egypt**. When I wrote to him: “[Send me my enemy],” and he did not send me my enemy, [then, because of this, I and the King of] **Egypt** became angry with one another. Then [I wrote] to your father: “[The King of **Egypt**] is coming to the aid of my enemy.” [At that time your father] cut off [the messenger of the King of] **Egypt**. When my brother [became King], you sent [your messenger to the King of] **Egypt**, and the matter of the messenger [of the King of **Egypt** . . . And the King of] **Egypt** [accepted] your [presents, and] you accepted [his presents]. Now [you are an adult. If] you send [your messenger to the King of **Egypt**], would I restrain you in any way?

As already noted by Beckman¹¹²³, being this letter addressed to the king of Babylon, we can suppose that the present tablet, found at Hattuša, was instead the draft copy of the missive or, more probably, an internal copy of the Hittite chancellery, because of the less quantity of erasures¹¹²⁴. The message reports many topics: merchant affairs, relationships between Great kings and vassals, the sending of medicines and physicians, the dispatch of animals and precious goods. The major theme of the letter is indeed the attempt to tie again good relations with the kingdom of Babylon, after the difficult situation that came out after the death of Kadašman-Enlil’s father, Kadašman-Turgu.

Paragraph 7 is specifically devoted to the situation between Hatti and Egypt: after the alleged refusal of Ramses II of sending back Hatti the fugitive Urhi-Teššub, Kadašman-Turgu supported the request of the Hittite king and broke contacts with Egypt. Actually, Kadašman-Enlil started again to have diplomatic relations with Egypt. The difficult situation occurred between Hattušili and Ramses is described as follows, displaying the usual metaphor of the hostility between two enemies: *ù ul-tu LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i / [ù a-na-ku i-ti a-ḫa-miš n]i-ir-’u-bu*, “when the King of Egypt [and I] became angry [with one another]” (Vs. 59-60). The reason of this “angriness” is explained in the following lines:

mi-na-a él-qe EN LÚKUR-ya ša a-na KUR-ti ša-ni-ti / [ip-par-ši-du ù šu-ú a-na] UGU LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i it-ta-lak ki-i aš-pu-ra-aš-šu / [um-ma-a EN LÚKUR-ya šu-bi-lam-mi] ù šu-ú EN LÚKUR-ya ú-ul ú-še-bi-la / [ù aš-šum an-ni-ti a-na-ku ù LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i it-ti a-ḫa-miš ni-ir-ta-’u-ub (Vs. 66-69)¹¹²⁵.

According to this document, Hattušili asks to the Babylonian king to provide him with military support, in the case of a direct attack against Egypt: however, we have no clues that such an event actually realized, but it is still interesting to note that the Hittite king was well-aware of the risk, and was preparing to fight (again) against Egypt. At the end of the paragraph, Hattušili reproves the Babylonia king, guilty for having restarted to deal friendly with the Egyptian king, by accepting mutual gifts; however, being Kadašman-Enlil a Great king himself (thus, completely autonomous), the Hittite king could not directly impose his willing to a pair-rank king.

¹¹²³ BECKMAN 1999², p. 132.

¹¹²⁴ For the dating of the document after the conclusion of the Treaty, see ROWTON 1966, pp. 243-249.

¹¹²⁵ For the translation, see text above.

35. CTH 176: LETTER OF PUDUḪEPA TO RAMSES II

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letter reporting greetings and request of information about Urḫi-Tešub

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXI 38 Rs. 7, 14
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXI 38 Rs. 13

KUB XXI 38 (ÄHK no. 105, L2, pp. 216-223):

Puduḫepa an Ramses

*Transliteration*¹¹²⁶

Vs.

- [0] [UM-MA^{SAL} PU-DU-ḪÉ-PA SAL.LUGAL.GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR^{URU} ḪAT-TI A-NA 'RI-A-MA-ŠE-ŠA LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR^{URU} MI-IZ-RI ŠEŠ-IA QÍ-BI-MA]
-
- 1' [ŠEŠ-IA-mu ku-]it [TÁŠ-PUR]^{LÚ.MEŠ} TE₄-ME-KA-ua ku-ua-p[í a-ri-ir nu-ua-mu-kán ŠA NIN-IA aš-šu-la-an ú-nu-ua-aš-ḫa-an]
- 2' [EGIR-pa] ú-te-ir nu-ua-za du-uš-ku-un na-at [GIM-an iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un nu-za am-mu-uk QA-TAM-MA du-uš-ku-un]
- 3' [A-NA DA]M ŠA ŠEŠ-KA TI-tar šu-ua-ru SAG.DU-i ŠA [ŠEŠ-IA QA-TAM-MA TI-tar šu-ua-ru e-eš-du nu-mu ḪI.A KÙ.GI u-i-ia na-at]
- 4' [IŠ-TU]^{NA4} ZA.GIN ti-an-te-eš a-la-an-du nam-ma-mu-ká[n Š]À KUR.KUR.M[EŠ TI-tar šu-ua-ru ŠÀ KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ták-kán QA-TAM-MA TI-tar]
- 5' [Rasur šu-u]a-ru <e-eš-du> A-NA ŠEŠ-IA am-me-el aš-šu-la-an am-me-el ú-nu-u [a-aš-ša-an pí-ia-nu-un A-NA ŠEŠ-KA TI-tar šu-ua-ru]
- 6' [leer] Rasur A-NA ŠEŠ-IA QA-TAM-MA [TI-tar šu-ua-ru e-eš-du]
-
- 7' [ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR NIN-IA-ua-mu IŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL-ua-ta [pí-iḫ-ḫi nu-ua-ra-an za-lu-ga-nu-uš-ki-li nu-ua-mu zi-ik]
- 8' ki-nu-un TUKU.TUKU-za-ša ku-ua-at-ua-ra-an-mu ki-nu-un Ú-UL pí-eš-t[a nu DUMU.SAL ZI-az za-lu-ga-nu-mi]
- 9' na-at-za Ú-UL mar-ki-ia-ši ma-la-a-ši-ia-at-za ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta [Ú-UL ma-an-qa pí-ia-an-na tar-ḫu-un] ŠEŠ-IA
- 10' É KUR^{URU} ḪAT-TI-za ŠEŠ-IA GIM-an ša-ak-ti na-at-za am-mu-uk Ú-UL ša-a[g-ga-aḫ-ḫi É^{NA4} KIŠIB-ma ar-ḫa ua-a]r-nu-ua-an É-i[r e-eš-zi]
- 11' a-aš-ta-ma-kán ku-it na-at-kán 'Ur-ḫi-^dU-up-aš A-NA DINGIR.GAL pí-eš-ta nu '[Ur-ḫ]i-^dU-up-aš ku-it a-pí-ia
- 12' na-an pu-nu-uš ma-a-an kiš-an ma-a-an Ú-UL kiš-an am-mu-uk-ma A-NA ŠE[Š-IA] ku-in DUMU.SAL ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-š[a]
- 13' pí-iḫ-ḫi na-an-kán ku-e-da-ni ḫa-an-da-mi A-NA DUMU.SAL KUR^{URU} KA-RA-^dDU-NI-IA[-AŠ KUR]^{URU} ZU-LA-PÍ KUR^{URU} A-AŠ-ŠUR ḫa-an-da-m[i]
- 14' a-pí-e-da-ša-an-kán ku-ua-pí UL GAM-an iš-ḫa-a[n-n]a(!) tar(!)-aḫ-mi na-aš du-ua-an-ma pa-ra-a [] x x
-
- 15' A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-ma NU.GÀL im-ma ku-it-ki ma-a-an A-NA DUMU^d UTU na-aš-ma DUMU^d U Ú-UL ku-it-k[i] e-eš-zi na-aš-ma a-ru-ni Ú-UL e-eš-zi

¹¹²⁶ Cf. other translations in HELCK 1963; STEFANINI 1964; CZYZEWSKA 2007, pp. 32-40 and HOFFNER 2009, pp. 282-289.

- 16' *tu-uq-qa Ú-UL ku-it-ki e-eš-zi ŠEŠ-IA-ma am-me-e-da-za NÍG.TUKU-ti ku-it-ki Ú-UL-at ŠUM-an iš-ḥa-aš-šar-ua-tar-ra*
-
- 17' *A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-ma ku-it kiš-an AŠ-PUR A-NA DUMU.SAL-ua ku-in NAM.RA.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.ĤI.A pí-eš-ki-mi nu-ua-mu-kán ŠÀ KUR.KUR.MEŠ*
18' *[ḥal-]ki-iš NU.GÀL nu-ua-ta ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḥu-ni LÚ.MEŠ ṬE₄-ME an-da ú-e-mi-ia<an>-zi nu-ua-mu-kán ŠEŠ-IA LÚ.PÍT-ḤAL-LI pa-ra-a [na-a-ú]*
19' *A-NA EN.MEŠ KUR.TI-IA-ua GIŠ.ĤUR.MEŠ me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ú-da-an-du nu-ua AM.RA.MEŠ ku-in [GU]D.MEŠ UDU.ĤI.A pí-e ḥar-kán-zi*
20' *nu-ua-ra-an-kán ar-ḥa da-aš-kán-du nu-ua-ra-an pár-na-uis₅-kán-du nu a-pí-e[da-aš am-mu-u]k-pát LÚ.MEŠ ṬE₄-ME ṬUP-PA^{ḤI.A}-ia AŠ-PUR ap-pí-za-a[t] ŠA^d[UTU-ši É-ri QA-DU] LÚ.MEŠ ṬE₄-ME an-da KAR-ir*
21' *Rasur EGIR-pa-ma nu-un-tar-aš LÚ.PÍT-ḤA[L-LI-KA Ú-UL] u-it LÚ.ṬE₄-MU-ia Ú-UL ú-it*
22' *am-mu-uk-ma a-pád-da-an EGIR-an-da 'Zu-zu-un LÚ.KAR-TAP-PU LÚ.SAG p[a-ra-a ne-eḥ-ḥu-un na-aš ka]t-ta iš-ta-an-ta-it*
23' *'Pi-ḥa-aš-du-uš-ma ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḥu-ni a-ar-aš nu ka-ru-ú Š[EŠ-an-za ki-i-ša-at nu] NAM.RA.MEŠ pí-dí Rasur*
24' *Ú-UL nam-ma ni-ni-in-ku-un ŠEŠ-IA LÚ.MEŠ ṬE₄-ME-KA pu-nu-uš m[a-a-an kiš-an ma-a-an Ú-]UL kiš-an Ú-UL INIM-aš [..]*
-
- 25' *ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL-ua li-e nam-ma za-lu-ga-nu-u[š-ki-ši nu ŠA ŠEŠ-IA me-mi-ia-aš am-me-e-da-za mar-ki-an-za]*
26' *am-mu-uq-qa-aš-kán Ú-UL an-da ma-la-a-an-za DUMU.SAL-za-kán EGIR-pa i[m-ma ḥar-mi ma-a-an-ta te-nu-un DUMU.SAL-ma-an-ua]*
27' *ka-ru-ú a-ra-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán [a]m[-mu-uk-]pát ku-ua-pí a-ua-an a[r-ḥa ...*
28' *ma-a-an-ta ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-pát Ú-UL ku-ua-pí pí-iḥ-ḥu-un ma-a-an-ta [...*
29' *Rasur ki-nu-un-ma Ú-U[L] da- [...*
30' *nu-kán ŠA KUR^{URU} KUM-MAN-NI ŠE₁₂-u-an-zi GAM-an-da Rasur ú-u[a-an-zi ...*
31' *^dUTU-ŠI-mu TI-an-za e-eš-du ma-a-na-aš-kán ú-e-eḥ-ta-r[i ...*
32' *u-it-ma 'A-la-li-mi-iš UGULA LÚ.SILĀ.ŠU.DU₈.A nu tu-li(?)-i[a(!)-an ḥal-zi-ir ...*
33' *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-pu-u-uš-ša 1 URU-LUM DIB-an-du a-pu-u-uš-ša [...*
-
- 34' *ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR ŠA DUMU.SAL-ua za-lu-ga-nu-ma[r Ú-UL a-a-ra nu-ua-mu DUMU.SAL ki-nu-un pa-a-i]*
35' *A-NA NIN-IA-ua-ra-at ḥa-at-ra-mi nu ku-uš-ša-an a-ú-me-n[i A-NA DUMU.SAL-kán ku-it Ì-an SAG.DU-i li-el-ḥu-ua-an-zi nu-mu me-e-ḥur]*
36' *an-da ta-pár-ri-ia-i za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra am-me-el nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar [ki-ša-ru nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA kar-dí-ia-aš]*
37' *i-ia-an-du DINGIR.MEŠ nu li-e-pát za-lu-ga-nu-mi nu nu-un-tar-nu-ua-a[l-lu ḥa-an-te-iz-zi-az-ma i-ua-a-ru A-NA DUMU.SAL pí-iḥ-ḥi]*
38' *ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu-za NIN-tar na-ak-ki-ia-tar ZI-ni-pát EGIR-pa Ú(?)[-UL ša-ak-ti ma-a-an te-ši i-ua-a-ru-ua EGIR-an-da up-pí]*
39' *UL-ia-ua ku-it i-ia-u-ua-aš nu-ua[-r]a-at i-ia nu-kán ḥa-l[u-ga-an ku-in A-NA ŠEŠ-IA d]a-a-an ḥa-at-ra[-mi]*
40' *ua-aḥ-nu-mi-an-kán ku-ua-pí na-ak-ki-iš-ma-du-za [k]u-it(!) [ḥa-lu-ga-aš ki-ša-at na-an Ú-UL u]a-aḥ-nu-mi*
-
- 41' *[ŠEŠ-]IA-ma-mu ku[-i]t kú-an TÁŠ-PUR A-NA DUMU.SAL-ua LÚ.MEŠ[ṬE₄-ME-KI me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da] me-mi-ú-kán-du*
42' *nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ku-u-un me-mi-ia-an a-pád-da-an [ḥa-an-da-aš ḥa-at-ra-a-mi z]i-la-du-ua<ua> Rasur []x*
43' *GIM-an ua-ša-i ku-e-iz[(-) na-at A-NA ŠEŠ-]IA a-pád-da-an ḥa-an-da-aš [AŠ]-PUR*
-
- 44' *ma-a-an-ma-an A-NA ŠEŠ-IA DUMU.SA[L nu-un-tar-aš pt-iḥ-ḥu-un Ú-UL-m]a(?)>-an-ta ŠA ŠEŠ-IA na-aš-ma ŠA DAM(!)-SÚ pí-iḥ-ḥu-un*
45' *ma-an a-pí-ia-ia ku-it ŠE[Š-IA me-mi-iš-ta DUMU.SAL-ua-mu k]u-in SAL-an pí-e-ir nu-ua-aš-ši iš-*

- ki-ša ku-e-iq-qa
46' e-eš-du nu-ua-ra-at a-pí-e-da-ni-ia [SIG₅-at-ta-ru ma-a]n-ua-ra-at iš-ḫa-aš-šar-ua-tar
-
- 47' SAL.LUGAL-aš-za ku-i-e-eš DUMU.SAL KUR^{URU}GA-RA-^dDU-NI-IA-AŠ [DUMU.SAL KUR]
^{URU}A-MUR-RI-ia da-aḫ-ḫu-un
48' na-at-mu A-NA LÚ-MEŠ KUR^{URU}ḪAT-TI pí-ra-an Ú-UL im-ma ua-al-li-ia-tar Ú-UL ku-it e-eš-ta
49' na-at Rasur am-mu-uk i-ia-nu-un Rasur nu-za Rasur a-ra-aḫ-zé-nu-un ŠA LUGAL.GAL
DUMU.SAL AŠ-ŠUM SAL.É.GE₄.A da-aḫ-ḫu-un
50' nu ma-a-an A-NA S[AL.]É.GE₄.A ku-ua-pí a-pí-el^{LÚ}ṬE₄-MU EGIR-an-da mi-iš-ri-ua-an-da ú-ua-
an-zi
51' na-aš-ma-aš-ši Š[A] ŠEŠ NIN-TI EGIR-an-da u-iz-zi na-at Ú-UL im-ma ua-al-li-ia-tar
52' nu-mu-kán ŠA KUR^{URU}ḪAT-TI SAL-TUM NU.GÁL e-eš-ta Ú-UL-at ŠUM-ni ḫa-an-da-aš i-ia-nu-
un
-
- 53' A-NA ŠEŠ-IA SAL-TUM Ú-UL im-ma e[-eš-]ta ŠEŠ-IA-ma-at-kán Ú-UL am-me-el ŠEŠ-an-ni NIN-
ni
54' na-ak-ki-ia-an-ni i-ia-at na-at ma-a-an i-ia-at-ia na-at-kán A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU}KAR-^dDU-NI-
IA-AŠ im-ma
55' ḫa-an-da-an[-za] Ú-UL-za ŠA LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR^{URU}ḪAT-TI LUGAL KALAG.GA
DUMU.SAL SAL-an-ni da-a-aš ma-a-an te-ši LUGAL KUR^{URU}KAR-^dDU-NI-IA-AŠ-ua(!)
56' Ú-UL LUGAL[G]AL nu-za ŠEŠ-IA KUR^{URU}KAR-^dDU-NI-IA-AŠ Ú-UL I-DI ku-e-da-ni-ia-at i-li-
iš-ni
-
- 57' na-at i-ia-at-ta ku-iš DINGIR-LUM ŠA SAG.DU-IA nu SAL.LUGAL GIM-an^dUTU^{URU}TÚL-na^dU
^dḪÉ-PÁT^dIŠTAR-ia i-ia[-a]t
58' nu-mu IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA ḫa-an-da-it nu-za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ DÙ-nu-un nu am-
me-el an-na-a-an
59' ti-iš-ša-a-an LÚ.MEŠ^(URU)ḪAT-TI me-mi-iš-kán-zi ŠEŠ-IA-ia-an ša-ak-ti nam-ma-kán ŠA É-TI ku-
ua-pí ú-ua-nu-un
60' [DU]MU.SAL.MEŠ LUGAL ku-i-e-eš ŠA É-TI ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un nu-m[u-za-ká]n ŠU-i ḫa-a-ši-ir na-
aš-za am-mu-uk
61' [šal-la-nu-n]u-un ka-ru-ú-ma ku-i-e-eš ḫa-aš-ša-an-te-eš [ú-]e-mi-ia-nu-un nu a-pu-u-uš-ša
62' [šal-la-nu-nu-un n]a-aš Rasur EN.MEŠ KAR.AŠ.ḪLA i-ia-n[u-u]n nu am-me-el-la ŠA SAG.DU-IA
DINGIR-LUM
63' []x-ad-du nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ku-in DUMU.SAL pí-iḫ-ḫi nu-uš-ši-[kán ŠA
SAL.LUGAL an-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-a-an
64' [DINGIR.MEŠ QA-TAM-MA] GAM ḫa-ma-an-kán-du nu SAL.LUGAL a-pád-da-ia AQ-BI
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠÚ-NU-ua-aš-ši EGIR-an-da
65' [ti-ia-an-z]i ma-a-an-ma-at A-NA ŠEŠ-IA UL ZI-za nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ZI-ni luk-um>-pa-aš-tin DÙ-mi

Tafelrand

Rs.

Bis zum oberen Rand freier Raum von ca. 4 Zeilen

-
- 1 ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR GIM-an-ua-mu DUMU.SAL pa-ra-a [p]í-eš-ti nu-ua-ták-kán
A-UA-TE^{MEŠ} ku-i-e ZI-ni
2 nu-ua-ra-aš-mu ma-a-an ḫa-at-ra-a-ši-ia nu-ua-ra-at-mu a-pí[-i]a ŠU-PUR nu a-pa-a-aš me-mi-ia-
aš i-ua-ar [ŠE]Š-IA
3 SAL.LUGAL ku-it I-NA KUR^{URU}]A-MUR-RI ú-iz-zi ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-aḫ-mi-at-ta Rasur nu-kán A-
NA SAL.LUGAL
4 ku-i-e A-UA-TE^{MEŠ} ZI-ni na-at A-NA ŠEŠ-IA a-pí-iz-za ḫa-at-ra-a-mi ŠEŠ-IA-ma-at-za UL mar-ki-ši
ma-la-ši-at-za
5 GIM-an-na-kán A-NA ŠEŠ-IA DUMU.SAL ÚR-ši a-ri nu-za-kán ki-e INIM.MEŠ SAL.LUGAL a-
pí-ia-ia
6 GAM-RA-TI

- 7 ŠEŠ-IA-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR NIN-IA-ua-mu IŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL KUR URUKAR-DU-NI-IA-AŠ-
ua ku-iš KUR URUM[I-I]Z-RI-I
- 8 [p]í-ia-an-za e-eš-ta nu-ua-aš-ši GIM-an LÚ.MEŠTE₄-ME EGIR[-an]-da pa-a-ir nu-ua-ra-at EGIR-pa
IŠ-TU IKU a-ra-an-ta-at
- 9 [nu-m]u ku-u-un me-mi-ia-an LÚTE₄-MU LUGAL KUR URUKAR-^dDU-NI[-I]A(-AŠ)
¹dEN.LÍL.EN.UKÙ.MEŠ Rasur me-mi-iš-ta
- 10 [am-mu-u]k-ma me-mi-ia-an ku-it AŠ-MI ma-a-na-an A-NA ŠEŠ-IA U-UL AŠ-PUR ki-nu-un-ma-mu-
za ŠEŠ-IA ku-it mar-ki-ia-at
- 11 [n]a[-a]t Ú-UL nam-ma i-ia-mi A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ku-iš ZI[-ni] 𐎗 [l]u-um-pa-aš-ti-iš am-mu-uk-ma-an A-
NA ŠEŠ-IA UL nam-ma i-ia-mi
- 12 [m]a-a-an Ú-UL ku-it I-DI nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA 𐎗 lu-um[-pa-aš-ti-i]n a-pu-u-un DÙ-mi ka-ru-ú-ma ku-
it I-DI
- 13 nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA 𐎗 lu-um-pa-at-ti-in Ú-UL-pát i-i[a-mi ki-nu-n]a-ia I-DI ku-it-za KUR URUMI-IZ-
RI KUR URUHĀ-AT-TI-ia
- 14 I-EN KUR-TUM ki-ša-ri ma-a-an-ma A-NA KUR URUMI-IZ-R[I ki-nu-na] Ú-UL iš-ḫi-ú-ul nu
SAL.LUGAL a-pád-da-ia I-DI
- 15 GIM-at am-me-el DUGUD-ni ḫa-an-da-aš i-i[a-mi nu-mu-ká]n DINGIR-LUM ku-iš ki-e-da-ni pí-di
ti-it-ta-nu-ut
- 16 nu-mu-kán Ú-UL ku-it-ki ti-ua-ri-ia[-it ki-nu-na-ták-]kán aš-šu-la-an Ú-UL ši-ua-ri-ia-it
- 17 nu-mu-za LÚHĀ-DA-NU DUMU[.SAL DAM-an-ni da-at-ti]
-
- 18 ŠEŠ-IA-ma-za ku-it-ma-an x[.....] x-ḫa-x [...
19 na-ak-ki-ia ḫa-at-ri-iš[-ki] ...
20 nu-mu-kán a-pu-u-uš-ša x[...
21 nu-mu-kán DUMU.MEŠ-IA ku-i[-e-eš] ...
22 am-me-el-la-mu-kán [...

Rest der Rs. unbeschriftet

Translation¹¹²⁷

Vs.

- [0] [So (spricht) Puduḫepa, die Großkönigin, die Königin des Landes Ḫattuša: Zu Riamašeša, dem
Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

- 1' [Wa]s [du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben hast]: „Als deine Boten [bei mir ankamen, und mir die
Grußbotschaft (und) das Schmuckgeschenk meiner Schwester]
2' [zurück]brachten, da freute ich mich“. [Als ich] das [hörte, freute ich mich ebenfalls].
3' [(Mir), der Gemah]lin deines Bruders ist Leben (und) Unversehrtheit eigen, (und) der Person [meines
Bruders sei ebenfalls Leben (und) Unversehrtheit eigen! Sende mir ... (Plural) aus Gold, und
sie]
4' sollen [mit] Lapislazuli besetzt sein! Ferner: In meinen Ländern [ist Leben (und) Unversehrtheit, und
in deinen Ländern] (sei) [ebenfalls Leben]
5' [Rasur (und) Unverseh]rtheit! Meinem Bruder habe ich meine Grußbotschaft (und) mein
Schmuck[geschenk gesandt. Deinem Bruder, ist Leben (und) Unversehrtheit eigen],
6' [leer] Rasur (und) meinem Bruder [sei] ebenfalls [Leben (und) Unversehrtheit eigen]!
-
- 7' Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt geschrieben hast: „Meine Schwester hat mir geschrieben: ‚[Ich
werde] dir die Tochter [geben‘. Doch du verzögerst sie immer wieder und bist mir]
8' jetzt auch (noch) böse. Warum hast du sie mir (bis) jetzt nicht gegeben?“ [Die Tochter verzögere ich
absichtlich]

¹¹²⁷ Cf. other German translation in HELCK 1963; CZYZEWSKA 2007, pp. 32-40 (transliteration and English translations); HOFFNER 2009, pp. 282-289 (no. 98) and BECKMAN 1999², pp. 131-135 (no. 22E); Italian translations in STEFANINI 1964 and CORDANI 2017, pp. 103-112. Comment in EDEL 1994, vol. 2, pp. 324-344; for other comments, see further bibliography in CORDANI 2017, pp. 103-104.

- 9' und du wirst es nicht mißbilligen (können)! Du wirst es billigen/akzeptieren (müssen); denn (= *ma*)
[ich vermochte] sie dir (bis) jetzt [auf keinen Fall zu geben], mein Bruder.
- 10' Wie du, mein Bruder, das Schatzhaus des Landes Ḫattuša kennst, ke[nne] ich es nicht; [denn (= *ma*)
das Schatzhaus ist ein abgebr]anntes Haus;
- 11' was aber übrig blieb, das gab UrḫiTeššub der Großen Gottheit. Da [Urḫiteš]ub dort ist,
12' so frage ihn, ob es sich so verhält (oder) nicht! Die Tochter des Himmels un[d] der Erde, die ich aber
[meinem] Bruder
- 13' geben werde, wem (= welcher Frau) soll ich sie gleichstellen? Soll ich (sie) der Tochter des Landes
Babylon, [des Landes] Zulabi (oder) des Landes Assur gleichstellen?
- 14' Mit jenen vermag ich sie keineswegs in Verbindung zu bringen, denn sie [steht(?)] haushoch
darüber.
-
- 15' Besitzt denn mein Bruder gar nichts?! Wenn der Sohn der Sonne oder der Sohn des Wettergottes
nichts hat, oder das Meer nichts hat,
- 16' hast auch du (dann) nichts? Willst denn du, mein Bruder, dich an mir etwas bereichern?! Das
entspricht weder gutem Ruf noch vornehmer Haltung!
-
- 17' Was ich meinem Bruder, wie folgt, geschrieben habe: „Die Kolonen, das Großvieh (und) das
Kleinvieh, die ich der Tochter geben werde, (dafür) habe ich kein Getreide in (meinen)
Ländern.
- 18' Zu dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem dich (meine) Boten antreffen, soll mir mein Bruder einen (Melde)reiter
schicken.
- 19' Man soll meinen Landräten Holztafeln überbringen, und welche Kolonen, Großvieh (und) Kleinvieh
sie (die Landräte) hinhalten,
- 20' die soll man einziehen und unterbringen“. Je[nen (Landräten) habe ic]h selbst Boten und Briefe
gesandt; später trafen sie (die Landräte) [mit den] Boten [im Palast] der Ma[jestät] ein.
- 21' *Rasur* [Dein] (Melde)rei[ter] aber kam [nicht] sofort zurück, und kein Bote kam.
- 22' Ich habe daraufhin später Zuzu, den Wagenlenker (und) Höfling, [gesandt, und (auch)] der
verzögerte sich.
- 23' Zu dem Zeitpunkt, als aber Piḫašdu eintraf, [war es] bereits Win[ter geworden], so daß ich die
Kolonen vom Orte
- 24' nicht mehr wegnahm. Mein Bruder, frage deine Boten, ob es so ist oder ni]cht so ist! Das ist doch
kein Problem!
-
- 25' Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „Die Tochter [sollst du] nicht weiterhin
verzögern!“ - [so ist das Wort meines Bruders von mir abgelehnt];
- 26' für mich ist es zudem nicht akzeptabel. [Behalte ich] die Tochter e[twa] zurück, [wenn ich dir gesagt
habe. „Ich wünsche, daß die Tochter]
- 27' bereits angekommen sei“?! Sobald ich selbst ihr [.....] wegge[...]
- 28' Wenn ich dir die Tochter also (= *pát*) niemals hätte geben wollen, hätte [ich] dir [(dann) bereits die
Kolonen, Groß- und Kleinvieh zugesagt]?
- 29' *Rasur* Jetzt aber [...] nich[t] ..[...]
- 30' und [sie werden] herabk[ommen], um im Lande Kummanni zu überwintern [...]
- 31' Möge mir die Majestät am Leben bleiben! Wenn sie sich erholt (?), [...]
- 32' Es kam aber Alalimi, der Leiter der Truchsesse (mit neuen Informationen??), und [man berief] die
Ratsversammlung [ein (mit dem Ergebnis): Welche Kolonen, Groß- und Kleinvieh man zur
Verfügung hält],
- 33' für die (= *šmaš*) sollen die einen eine Stadt (als Sammelpunkt in Kummanni) verfügbar machen, die
anderen [das und das tun].“
-
- 34' Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt geschrieben hast: „Das Verzögern der Tochter [ist nicht recht!
So gib mir die Tochter jetzt]!
- 35' Meiner Schwester schreibe ich das!“ - Wann sehen wi[r], daß man der Tochter Öl aufs Haupt gießen
wird? Den Zeitpunkt]
- 36' dazu bestimme du [mir], und das Zögern [soll] zu meiner Beeilung [werden, so daß] sie, die Götter,
[meinem Bruder den Wunsch]

37' erfüllen mögen! Nun will ich wirklich nicht zögern, sondern mich beeilen! [Zunächst aber werde ich
der Tochter die Mitgift geben],
38' denn (= *ma*) du, mein Bruder, [nimmst] die Würde meiner Schwesterschaft hinter dem eben
geäußerten Willen ni[cht zur Kenntnis, wenn du sagst: „Die Mitgift schicke später]
39' und tue (damit), was (eigentlich) nicht getan werden darf!“ Wie kann ich die Mitteilung, die ich
meinem Bruder] zum zweiten Mal schreibe,
40' ändern? Weil sie nämlich für dich [zu einer] wichtigen [Mitteilung geworden ist], kann ich [sie
nicht] ändern.

41' Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „[Deine Boten] mögen der Tochter
[gegenüber] jederzeit sprechen!“
42' Meinem Bruder [schreibe ich] deshalb [entsprechend] diesen Bescheid:
43' „Sowie er in Zukunft begünstigt ... [.....]“ Das] habe [ich] meinem [Bruder] deshalb
entsprechend geschrieben.

44' Hätte ich meinem Bruder die Tochter [überstürzt gegeben], hätte ich dir [nicht] das meinem Bruder
oder vielmehr seiner Gemahlin (!) (Gebührende) geben können,
45' und was [hätte] mein Bruder unter diesen Umständen [gesagt? (Sicherlich das:)] „Die Tochter, d]ie
man [mir] zur Frau gegeben hat, soll irgendeinen Rückhalt haben,
46' damit er auch für sie [vorteilhaft sein möge]. Das wäre vornehme Handlung!“

47' Die Tochter des Landes Babylon und [die Tochter des Landes] Amurru, die ich, die Königin,
aufgenommen habe,
48' gereichten sie mir vor den Leuten des Landes Ḫattuša etwa nicht zum Ruhm?
49' Darum habe ich es getan. Ich habe eine Fremde, die Tochter eines Großkönigs, zur Schwiegertochter
genommen.
50' Wenn hinterher zu der Schwiegertochter einmal dessen (= eines Großkönigs bzw. Königs) Bote(n)
mit großem Pomp kommen,
51' oder hinterher zu ihr (der Bote) des Bruders (oder) der Schwester kommt, ist das etwa kein Ruhm?
52' Hatte ich etwa im Lande Ḫattuša keine Frau? Habe ich es (also) nicht im Hinblick auf den guten Ruf
getan?

53' Hatte mein Bruder etwa keine Frau? Hat mein Bruder es (den Heiratsvorschlag) (also) nicht
54' mit Rücksicht auf die Würde meiner Bruder- (und) Schwesterschaft gemacht? Und wenn er es auch
(deshalb) gemacht hat, so ist das doch auch gegenüber dem König des Landes Babylon
55' recht und billig. Hat dieser nicht auch eine Tochter des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫattuša,
des mächtigen Königs, zur Frau genommen? Wenn du sagst „Der König des Landes Babylon
56' ist kein Großkönig“, so weiß mein Bruder nicht, in welchem Aufstieg sich das Land Babylon
befindet.

57' Meine Schutzgottheit, die auch das getan hat, hat mich, als die Sonnengöttin von Arinna, der
Wettergott, Ḫepat und Šauška (mich zur) Königin machte(n),
58' deinem Bruder gleichgestellt, und ich brachte Söhne (und) Töchter hervor;
59' die Hethiter sprechen allgemein von meiner Erfahrung (und) Erziehungsgabe, und auch du, mein
Bruder, kennst sie. Ferner, als ich (damals) in (mein) Haus kam,
60' da gebaren in meiner Hand (= unter meiner Aufsicht) die Königstöchter, die ich im Palast
vorgefunden hatte, und ich
61' [zog] sie (die Neugeborenen) [groß]; auch jene, die ich bereits geboren vorfand,
62' [zog ich groß] und machte sie zu Generälen. Auch meine Schutzgottheit
63' soll [.....]! Der Tochter, die ich meinem Bruder geben werde, sollen [die Götter] die Erfahrung
(und) die Erziehungsgabe der Königin
64' [ebenfalls] begeben! Auch das habe ich, die Königin, gesagt: „Ihre Brüder werden sich um sie
65' [kümmern]“. Wenn das aber meinem Bruder nicht nach Wunsch ist, werde ich (dann) der Seele
meines Bruders Verdruß bereiten?

Tafelrand

Rs.

Bis zum oberen Tafelrand Raum von ca. 4 Zeilen

1 Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt geschrieben hast: „Sobald du mir die Tochter gibst, - wenn du
mir über die Angelegenheiten, die dir im Sinne (liegen)
2 auch schreiben willst, so schreibe mir (erst) dann darüber!“ - diese Rede paßt zu meinem [Bru]der.
3 Weil die Königin ins Land Amurru kommen wird und ich dir nahe sein werde,
4 werde ich meinem Bruder von dort aus über die Angelegenheiten schreiben, die (mir), der Königin,
im Sinne (liegen). Du, mein Bruder, wirst sie aber nicht mißbilligen, (sondern) sie billigen
(müssen),
5 und sobald die Tochter in die Obhut meines Bruders gelangt, werden diese Dinge für die Königin
auch dort
6 erfüllt (sein).

7 Was du, mein Bruder, mir, wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „Meine Schwester hat mir geschrieben: ‚Als
zu der Tochter des Landes Babylon, die ins Land **Ägypten**
8 [geg]eben worden war, später Boten kamen, da standen sie hinten auf dem Acker!‘“.
9 Diese Geschichte hat [m]ir der Bote des Königs des Landes Babylon (namens) Ellil-bēl-niše, erzählt;
10 doch weil [i]ch die Geschichte (nur) gehört habe, hätte ich sie meinem Bruder nicht schreiben sollen!
Was mein Bruder jetzt aber an mir mißbilligt hat,
11 werde ich nicht wieder tun. Was für die Seele meines Bruders eine Kränkung ist, möchte ich meinem
Bruder nicht wieder antun.
12 (Nur) [w]enn ich nichts weiß, kann ich meinem Bruder eine derartige Krän[kung] antun. Da ich es
schon weiß,
13 werde ich meinem Bruder keinesfalls mehr eine Kränkung bereiten. Ich weiß [jetz]t auch, daß das
Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫattuša
14 zu einem Lande werden; denn wenn das Land **Ägypten** [bis jetzt auch] (noch) nicht den
(Ehe-)Vertrag hat, so weiß (ich), die Königin, auch dadurch,
15 wie [ich] ihn meiner Würde entsprechend abschließen [werde]. Die Gottheit, die [mich] an diese
Stelle gestellt hat,
16 hat mich in keiner Weise vernachlässigt [und jetzt] (auch) [dein] Glück nicht vernachlässigt,
17 so daß [du] als mein Schwiegersonn die Toch[ter zur Frau nehmen kannst].

18 Solange mein Bruder aber [...
19 schreibe mir jeweils vorrangig / an erster Stelle! [...
20 und mir auch jene [...
21 und meine Söhne (Kinder?), wel[che mir ...
22 und meine [...

Rest der Rs. unbeschriftet

This letter, so long and rich in information, received the unique CTH number 176, as another letter sent by Puduḫepa to Ramses II (CTH 160, see *supra*, text no. 23): these two letters, despite the same sender and addressee¹¹²⁸, received two different CTH numbers, being the first (KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 = CTH 160) written in Akkadian, and the second (KUB XXI 38 = CTH 176) in Hittite. This second letter, despite it was very probably just a Hittite draft (more probable, because of the many

¹¹²⁸ The sender and the addressee of KUB XXI 38 are not reported on the tablet, because it was a draft (see CORDANI 2017, p. 104, quoting HOFFNER 2009, p. 281 and GIORGIERI – MORA 2004, p. 1); however, the identity of both the sender and the addressee are retrievable from the text of the letter: for a summary of all the proposed interpretations, see STEFANINI 1964, pp. 3-4. The first scholar who recognized the letter as a part of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence was HELK 1963.

erasures)¹¹²⁹ or a chancellery copy of a letter actually sent to Ramses II, provides many glimpses on different topics¹¹³⁰.

After the greetings (which are here less stereotyped, with different formulae¹¹³¹) and the quotation of a previous message of Ramses and the request for some gifts, Puduḥepa excuses for the delay in the sending of her daughter (and the relative dowry), justifying her fault with some intestine problems: the fire of a building (defined É KUR URUḤATTI)¹¹³², probably a place for keeping food and other goods, or the difficulties derived from the movement of the court from the former capital Ḥattuša to Tarḫuntašša (under Muwatalli II) and viceversa (under Ḥattušili III)¹¹³³.

In a following passage, Puduḥepa also complains about the starving which was hitting the Hittite land at that time (Vs. 17'-18': "there is no grain in my lands!")¹¹³⁴. The Hittite queen also seems to allude, in an ironic way, to the presence in Egypt of the fugitive Urḫi-Teššub (Vs. 11'-12'), who could have been easily consulted by Ramses about the troubles of the Hittite land, whose responsibility could be imputed to the former Hittite king, for having consecrated many goods to a "Great Divinity"¹¹³⁵; this sentence can be interpreted as a direct accusation to Ramses for having welcomed and guested in Egypt the Hittite worst enemy.

Puduḥepa also seems to answer to an accusation advanced by Ramses in a previous message, complaining about the delay in the sending of the dowry: the Hittite queen excuses herself by accusing the pharaoh of being more interested on the dowry and not on the prestigious status of an interdynastic marriage; to support her statement, Puduḥepa explains that she knew very well the importance of such a wedding, having herself welcomed many foreign princess at the Hittite court, such as the daughters of the kings of Babylon and Amurru¹¹³⁶.

On the reverse of the tablet, Puduḥepa newly deals with the topic of the fate of the Hittite princess, after the marriage with Ramses II: Puduḥepa had heard by some Babylonian message that a Babylonian princess married by the pharaoh has been forbidden to meet her father's messengers and the Hittite queen fears that his daughter may suffer the same fate, a topic already presented in other letters¹¹³⁷. Furthermore, the sentence in Vs. 13' (*na-an-kán ku-e-da-ni ḥa-an-da-mi A-NA DUMU.SAL KUR URUKA-RA-^dDU-NI-IA[-AŠ KUR] URUZU-LA-PÍ KUR URUA-AŠ-ŠUR ḥa-an-da-m[i]*, "Soll ich (sie) der Tochter des Landes Babylon, [des Landes] Zulabi¹¹³⁸ (oder) des Landes Assur gleichstellen?") can be interpreted as a request for a guarantee: Puduḥepa does not want her daughter to receive a lower rank than the other foreign princesses and asks the pharaoh to ensure her an appropriate status (and not that of a "common" concubine).

¹¹²⁹ Another striking clue that stands for the draft nature of the tablet is the adding of an entire sentence, probably forgotten by the scribe, in Vs. 20'.

¹¹³⁰ Useful comparisons can be advanced with other fragments written in Hittite: KUB XXVI 89 (see *infra*, text 41.c) and KUB XXI 36 (see *infra*, text 41.f), respectively written just before and after the present document.

¹¹³¹ The diversity in the use of the formulae was due to the different language used in the letter, the Hittite, instead of the more common Akkadian; see e.g., CORDANI 2017, p. 104, note 2.

¹¹³² CORDANI 2017, p. 105, note 3 underlined how fire was a typical motive "inteso a dar ragione, iperbolicamente, di uno stato di crisi e dissesto", PINTORE 1978, p. 158, note 154.

¹¹³³ See CORDANI 2017, p. 107: "10' Il palazzo di Ḥatti, come tu, mio fratello, sai, (forse) io non lo s[o], che è] un edificio [(che è stato) tras]ferito?"; *ivi*, note 4: "Così propone SINGER 1998, pp. 537-538, che integra [*ar-ḥa a*]r-nu-wa-an pensando a un riferimento al trasferimento del palazzo reale nella nuova capitale Tarḫuntašša, avvenuto sotto il regno di Muwatalli II; v. anche HOFFNER 2009, p. 282. In alternativa si può integrare [*ar-ḥa wa-a*]r-nu-wa-an 'bruciato', come propone HELCK 1963, p. 88, seguito dalla maggior parte degli studiosi. In tal caso, l'espressione É KUR URUḤATTI, più che designare il palazzo reale, potrebbe riferirsi a un edificio per il deposito di beni e provviste".

¹¹³⁴ For this problem, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 9.a and KUB III 34, *supra*, text no. 26.q; for the various sources about the starving, see DIVON 2008.

¹¹³⁵ For the identification of this god/goddess, see HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, pp. 255-259 (a personification of the earth or an Afterlife divinity) and SINGER 1998, pp. 538-539 (the god *piḥaššašši*).

¹¹³⁶ The present letter also quotes other marriages between Hittite princes (Nerikkaili and maybe Tutḫaliya IV) and foreign women (Amurru and Babylon), and between the king of Babylon and a Hittite princess.

¹¹³⁷ The only other extant letter presenting these theme is KUB XXVI 89, see *infra*, text 41.c.

¹¹³⁸ For the peculiar quotation in this context of the kingdom of Zulabi, see CORDANI 2017, p. 106 and cf. *supra*, comment to text no. 14.

36. CTH 187: FRAGMENTARY LETTERS OF THE KING

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	14 th -13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters referring to the establishment of the Treaty and the fulfillment of the “Fist Marriage”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri-i	KBo XVIII 21 Vs. 2 (br.)
KUR mi-iz-ri-i	KBo XVIII 24 IV 15'

a. KBo XVIII 21 (238/r) = CTH 187, 1
CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 91f.:

Transliteration

R^o

1 [UM-MA ^m]LUGAL KUR ^{uru}Ḫa-at-ti A-NA ^m[]

2 [^{ur}]u **Mi-iz-ri-i** ŠA ŠEŠ-Y[A
3 []DINGIR^{meš} ŠA **KUR** ^{uru}**Mi-iz-ri[-i**

4 []ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-at[-ra-a-nu-un?
5 []me-ya-an-za nu-wa-ad-da [
6 []ar²-aš nu-wa-aš-ši x [
7 []x du-uš-ki-iz[-zi

1 [Ainsi (parle)?]roi du Hatti à []

2 [l'Égypte de mo[n] frère
3 []les dieux du pays d'Égypt[e

4 [j'ai] écri[t] ce qui suit :
5 [] alors, pour toi [
6 [] et pour lui [
7 [] il se réjouit

Despite its fragmentary state of preservation, Cornil and Lebrun offered a comment of this text:

“Nous possédons ici le début d’une lettre adressée par le roi ou la reine du Hatti au pharaon ; la lettre destinée au pharaon était probablement rédigée en akkadien et nous avons donc le début d’une copie en hittite conservée dans les archives du palais de Hattusa. Bien que nous ignorions le nom du souverain hittite et celui du pharaon qui devaient être mentionnés à la ligne 1, nous pouvons observer que la lettre était empreinte de cordialité, ce qui conduirait à penser que la missive émanerait de Hattusili III ou Puduḫépa et serait ainsi destinée à Ramsès II ; c’est en effet à cette époque que plusieurs lettres amicales furent échangées entre les deux cours. La structure de la lettre n’est pas sans intérêt ; les lignes de paragraphe en soulignent les différentes parties ; dans le fragment conservé, nous remarquons à la ligne 1 l’intitulé de la lettre servant notamment au classement du

document dans les archives ; les lignes 2 et 3 comportent la formule de salutation du roi hittite au pharaon ; enfin, à partir de la ligne 4 débute le contenu même de la lettre”¹¹³⁹.

A further remark can be proposed, i.e. to interpret the letter as a part of the correspondence about the felicitations for the established Treaty, because of the mention of the “Egyptian gods”, in l. 3 and the quotation of the “joyfulness”, in l. 7.

b. KBo VIII 12 (122/m) (ÄHK no. 66, E33, pp. 162-165):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.?

[-1'] [.....] x [...
 [0'] [.....] [.....] [...

 1' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-ma-ti^{MEŠ}-ka ša i-na tu]p-pi-ka taš-pu-ra ki-i aš-mu-ši-n[a-ti aḫ-ta-du]
 2' [dan-niš dan-niš ù a-mur ra-a-mu ša ra-'i-i-m]i-ia ra-ma-ni iṣ-bat ki-i-me-e [i-ša-ti ...
 3' [a-na-ku DUMU.KIN-ri-ia al-tap-ra ù at-ta DUMU.KIN-ri-k]a tal-tap-ra LUGAL aš-šum-mi-ku-nu
 ma-g[i-ir]
 4' [ù at-tu-nu ma-ag-ra-tu-nu aš-šum-mi-ia it-ti] a-ḫa-mi-iš ta-pa-aḫ₄-ḫu-ra-ma ŠÀ-ba[-ku-nu i-ṭa-ab]
 5' [UD-mi-ša i-si-na te-e-ep-pu-ša ù la ma-na-ḫ]a-a-ti te-e-ep-pu-ša ù a-na[...
 6' [..... a-du at-tu-nu aš-r]a-a-nu bal-ṭá-tù-nu a-na ia-š[i ...
 7' [..... a-na-ku at-ta-din DUMU.SAL-ia a-na] ra-'i-i-m[i š]a-a-šu ú-ul a-na[ša-ni-i LUGAL ...
 8' [..... ra-'i-i-mi[-i]a DUMU-i[a k]i-i [x ...
 8'a [.....] [.....] [...
 Tafelrand

Rs.?

 [-2'] [...
 [-1'] [...
 [0'] [...
 1' [.....]šul-[...

 2' [.....-x] ra-'[i-i-mi-ia ...
 3' [.....-ia] I[D ...

 4' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ni-i-nu at-te-ru-ut-ta it-ti a-ḫa-]mi-iš ni[-te-pu-uš ...
 5' [..... a-na-k]u ḫa-da-a-ku [dan-niš UGU-šu]
 6' [ù at-ta ḫa-da-a-ta dan-niš UGU-šu] [...

 7' [um-ma-a a-mur it-ti a-ḫa-miš ma-n]a-ḫa-ti pa-na-nu ni-te-pu-uš ù UD-ma sa-la-ma ba-na-a]
 8' [ù ŠEŠ-bu-ta ba-ni-ta ni-te-pu-u]š aš-šum a-ma-ti ša-a-ši ma-gal [aḫ-ta-du ki-i DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri]
 9' [ša ŠEŠ-ia il-qú-ú-ni ṭup-pí KÙ.BABBA]R ša ŠEŠ-ia i-na UD-mi š[a-a-šu KUR^{URU}Mi-iṣ-ri-i]
 10' [gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-p]u-uš ù KUR^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti gáb-bá [ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-pu-uš ù]
 11' [KUR^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti ù KUR^{URU}Mi-iṣ-ri-i] ḫa-du-ú [...
 12' [..... x] [...

Translation¹¹⁴⁰

Vs. ?

[-1'] [...
 [0'] [.....] [.....] [...

¹¹³⁹ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 92.
¹¹⁴⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 249-250.

- 1' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Die Worte, die du auf] deiner [Ta]fel geschrieben hast - als ich si[e] hörte, [freute ich mich]
 2' [gar sehr. Und siehe, die Liebe] meines [Freund]es ergriff mich selbst wie ein F[euer. ...
 3' [Ich sandte meinen Boten, und du sandtest dei]nen [Boten]. Der König [ist] bei euch will [kommen],
 4' [und ihr seid bei ihm willkommen.] Ihr sollt euch [mit]einander versammeln und [euch] fr[euen]
 5' [täglich! Ein Fest sollt ihr machen, und] ihr sollt [keine Arb]eiten verrichten! Und zu(?) [...
 6' [....., solange] ihr [do]rt für mich lebt! [...
 7' [..... ich habe meine Tochter d]iesem Freund [gegeben], und keinem [anderen König. ...
 8' [..... mei]nes(?)/[mei]nem(?) [Fre]und; me[in] Sohn [w]ie ...
 8'a [.....] [...

Tafelrand

Rs. ?

- [-2'] [...
 [-1'] [...
 [0'] [...
 1' [.....] Wohler[gehen]/Frie[de ...

 2' [.....]. [meines] Fr[eundes ...
 3' [.....] mein [Bruder(?)] ver[anlaßte(?)]/g[ab(?) ...]

 4' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Wir [haben mitei]nander [Freundschaft geschlossen [...
 5' [.....] ich freue mich [deshalb sehr]
 6' [und du freust dich deshalb sehr.] [.....

 7' [So (sprich): Siehe], wir haben [einander] früher [Schwie]rigkeiten gemacht, ab[er heute haben wir
 schönen Frieden]
 8' [und schöne Brüderschaft geschlo]ssen; wegen dieser Angelegenheit [freute ich mich] ganz besonders.
 [Als die Boten]
 9' [meines Bruders mir die Silb]er[tafel] meines Bruders [brachten], da hat an d[iesem] Tage [das ganze
 Land **Ägypten**]
 10' [eine Umkehr vollzo]gen, und das ganze Land Ḫatti [hat eine Umkehr vollzogen, und]
 11' [das Land Ḫatti und das Land **Ägypten**] sind in Freude. [.....
 12' [.....] [...

In this letter, Ḫattušili manifests his joy for having received a very good message from Ramses: the happiness of the Hittite king, probably caused by the fulfillment of the interdynastic marriage (see *infra*), is expressed with the very intensive sentence *ù a-mur ra-a-mu ša ra-'i-i-m]i-ia ra-ma-ni iṣ-bat ki-i-me-e [i-ša-ti*, “Und siehe, die Liebe] meines [Freund]es ergriff mich selbst wie ein F[euer” (Vs.² 2’).

The following sentence also seems to report a proposal for a meeting between the two Great Kings: *LUGAL aš-šum-mi-ku-nu ma-g[i-ir] / [ù at-tu-nu ma-ag-ra-tu-nu aš-šum-mi-ia it-ti] a-ḫa-mi-iš*, “Der König [ist] bei euch will [kommen], / [und ihr seid bei ihm willkommen.]” (Vs.² 3’-4’): despite Ḫattušili’s invitation, we have no further clues that could demonstrate that such a meeting has actually been realized.

Ḫattušili then invites the pharaoh to celebrate the new established brotherhood: *ta-pa-aḫ₄-ḫu-ra-ma ŠA-ba[-ku-nu i-ṭa-ab] / [UD-mi-ša i-si-na te-e-ep-pu-ša ù la ma-na-ḫ]a-a-ti te-e-ep-pu-ša* “Ihr sollt euch [mit]einander versammeln und [euch] fr[euen] / [täglich! Ein Fest sollt ihr machen, und] ihr sollt [keine Arb]eiten verrichten!” (Vs.² 4’-5’); the image of the banqueting scene prepared to celebrate a happy event is also attested in Egyptian sources, precisely in the text of the “Stela of the ‘First Marriage’”, when it is said that “they (i.e., Egyptians and Hittite) ate and drank together, of one mind like brothers; none spured his fellow” (*wnm=sn swr=sn n sp jw.w m jb w^c mj sn.w nn knj n w^c*

*r sn.nw=f*¹⁴¹). A similar image is also attested in another letter, KUB XXIII 105 (see *infra*, text no. 36.d), where Ḫattušili invites Ramses to celebrate a feast for the gods, to commemorate the stipulation of the Treaty. Ḫattušili in person expresses his joy, underlining the uniqueness of the marriage between Ramses and the Hittite princess: *a-na-ku at-ta-din DUMU.SAL-ia a-na] ra-'i-i-m[i š]a-a-šu ú-ul a-na[ša-ni-i LUGAL*, “ich habe meine Tochter d[iesem Freund [gegeben], und keinem [anderen König” (Vs.[?] 7’).

The reverse(?) of the tablet deals with the felicitations for the Treaty, which is described as a turning point in the development of the Egypto-Hittite relationships:

i-na UD-mi š[a-a-šu KUR^{URU} Mi-iš-ri-i] / [gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-p]u-uš ù KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti gáb-bá [ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-pu-uš ù] / [KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti ù KUR^{URU} Mi-iš-ri-i] ḫa-du-ú, “da hat an d[iesem] Tage [das ganze Land Ägypten] / [eine Umkehr vollzogen, und das ganze Land Ḫatti [hat eine Umkehr vollzogen, und] / [das Land Ḫatti und das Land Ägypten] sind in Freude” (Rs.[?] 9’-11’).

A similar expression, also using the term *tayyartu(m)*, translated by Edel with “Umkehr”, is attested in another document, KUB III 83 Vs. 9’ (see *infra*, text no. 46.d), to which I refer for a further comment.

c. KUB LVII 125 (ÄHK no. 108, L5, pp. 226-227):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration¹⁴²

Vs.

	[UM-MA ^d UTU-ŠI ¹ ḪA-AT-TU-ŠI-LI	LUGAL.GA]L
	[LUGAL KUR ^{URU} ḪA-AT-TI]
3	[A-NA DUMU ^d UTU ¹ RI-A-MA-ŠE-ŠA	LUG]AL.GAL
	[LUGAL KUR ^{URU} MI-IZ-RI-I ŠEŠ-IA	] QÍ-BI-MA

6 [ŠEŠ-IA-mu ku-it TÁŠ-PUR^{LÚ}TE₄-MU-ua-at-ta] ku-iš-iz-zi-ia-u-aš AŠ-PUR
7 [..... Ú-]UL ku-it-ki ar-ku-ut-ta
8 [..... -]ua-ra-u-aš pí-ra-an ša-ra-a
9 [ta-ma-i INIM ḫa-at-ra-]a-ši nu-mu GIM-an
10 [..... ku-i]t-ki am-mu-uk-ma-at
11 [..... ŠEŠ-]IA-ma-mu nam-ma ta-ma-i
12 [INIM EGIR-pa ḫa-at-ra-a-ši ŠEŠ-]IA-ma a-pád-da-ia
13 [..... ŠEŠ-]IA-ma EGIR-pa ta-ma-i x[
14 [..... -]ḫi-iš-ki-ši
15 [ma-a-an-kán EGIR-an-da A-NA ŠEŠ-]IA ku-ua-pí me-mi-aš ZI-n[i]
16 [an-da na-at am-mu-ug-ga EGIR-p]a še-ik-kal-lu
17 [ma-a-an-ma-kán EGIR-an-da A-NA ŠEŠ-]IA ku-ua-pí me-mi-aš
18 [ZI-ni Ú-UL an-da nu-mu zi-ik] a-pád-da-ia EGIR-pa ŠU-PUR
19 [nu ku-it-ma-an A-NA ŠEŠ-IA SAL^dIŠTA]R-nu-un DAM-SÚ na-a-ú₅ pí-i[ḫ-ḫu-un]
20 [ŠA DUMU.NITA GAL-ma-za ku-iš i-la-li-i]a(!)-zi DUMU.NITA GAL^{LÚ}GURUŠ
21 [e-eš-du ŠEŠ-]IA x[
[22] [...

Rs.

1' [..... z]i(?)
2' [.....]x-ta- x- x[
3' [..... -]ia-ši-at
4' [..... -t]i nu-mu A-NA [

¹⁴¹ See *KRI* II, 251:1ff. and *KRITA* II, p. 95; cf. PERNIGOTTI 2010, p. 217 and BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, p. 345.

¹⁴² Cf. the transliteration in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 332.

[5]' [.....]

Rest der Rs. bis zum unteren Rand unbeschriftet

Translation¹¹⁴³

Vs.

1 [So (spricht) die Majestät Ḫattušili, der Groß[könig],
2 [der König des Landes Ḫattuša:]
3 [Zum Sohn der Sonne, Riamašeša], dem Groß[kö]nig,
4 [dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, meinem Bruder], sprich:

5 [Was du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben hast: „Einen Boten] zum Vollzug der Vermählung habe ich
[dir] gesandt

6 [..... n]ichts ...

7 [.....]

8 [.....] ... [Du schreib]st mir von Mal zu Mal

9 [etwas anderes/andere Forderungen o. ä. ...] Wenn ich irgendein

10 [..... habe irgend et]was. Ich aber [.....] es

11 [..... [du], mein [Bru]der, [schreibst] mir aber wieder eine

12 andere [Sache Me]in [Bruder] aber auch das

13 [.....] Du, mein [Bruder], aber [versu]chst (??) wieder eine andere

14 [Sache zu schreiben(?)]

15 [Wenn] meinem [Bruder hinterher] einmal eine Sache im Sinn

16 [ist, so will auch ich das ane]rkennen;

17 [wenn aber mei]nem [Bruder hinterher] einmal [keine] Sache

18 [im Sinn ist, so] schreibe du [mir] auch das zurück,

19 [solange ich meinem Bruder die Šaušk]a-nu noch nicht als seine Gemahlin gege[ben habe]!

20 [Wer aber die (Würde) eines Hohen Sohnes (Thronfolgers) erstre]bt, [der sollte] ein jugendlicher
Hoher Sohn (Thronfolger)

21 [sein! Du, Ramses, bist aber dafür zu alt. Ich würde sie aber gerne einem zukünftigen Sohn] meines
[Brud]ers [und meiner Tochter geben]!

[22] [...]

Rs.

1' [.....] ...

2' [.....].....

3' [.....] du [.....]st(?) es

4' [.....]. und mir für ...

[5]' [.....]

Rest der Rs. bis zum unteren Rand unbeschriftet

This letter, dealing with the upcoming stipulation of the interdynastic marriage, offers some peculiar information:

1) we know from Vs. 5 ([ŠEŠ-IA-mu ku-it TAŠ-PUR LUṬE₄-MU-ua-at-ta] ku-iš-iz-zi-ia-u-aš AŠ-PUR, “[Was du, mein Bruder, mir geschrieben hast: „Einen Boten] zum Vollzug der Vermählung habe ich [dir] gesandt”) that Ramses had sent a messenger to the Hittite king, asking to celebrate the marriage. It is maybe possible to envisage in Ramses’ insistence a hesitancy of the Hittite court to send the Hittite princess in Egypt, probably because Ramses was insisting on the inconsistency of the dowry. The difficult situation of the diplomatic negotiation seems to be argued from the words that Ḫattušili writes in Vs. 8-9: nu-mu KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši / [ta-ma-i INIM ... ḫa-at-ra-]a-ši, “[Du schreib]st mir von Mal zu Mal / [etwas anderes/andere Forderungen”, and in Vs. 11-12: ŠE]Š-IA-ma-

¹¹⁴³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, pp. 349-351.

mu nam-ma ta-ma-i / [INIM EGIR-*pa ha-at-ra-a-ši*, “[du], mein [Bru]der, [schreibst] mir aber wieder eine / andere [Sache]” (similar to Vs. 13-14).

2) The best preserved passage, Vs. 15-22, allows to retrieve many important data: first of all, after a sentence in which Hattušili seems to ask Ramses if he is still intentioned to celebrate the marriage (Vs. 15-18), in Vs. 19 it is reported the proper name of the Hittite princess, later known with the Egyptian name of Maathorneferure¹¹⁴⁴. The name, as reconstructed by Edel, can be read as Šauškanu (^{MUNUS D}IŠTAR]-*nu*)¹¹⁴⁵; unfortunately the name is in a fragmentary passage, thus Edel’s integration differs from other readings (such as Hagenbuchner’s¹¹⁴⁶).

3) The last lines, Vs. 20-21, seems to present an accusation advanced by Hattušili to Ramses:

[ŠA DUMU.NITA GAL-*ma-za ku-iš i-la-li-i*a(!)-*zi* DUMU.NITA GAL LÚGURUŠ / [*e-eš-du* ŠEŠ-IA x], “[Wer aber die (Würde) eines Hohen Sohnes (Thronfolgers) erstre]bt, [der sollte] ein jugendlicher Hoher Sohn (Thronfolger) / [sein! Du, Ramses, bist aber dafür zu alt. Ich würde sie aber gerne einem zukünftigen Sohn] meines [Brud]ers [und meiner Tochter geben]!”.

The Hittite king reproaches the pharaoh maybe because Ramses had promoted the possibility to install someone of his choice as a successor to the Hittite throne (unfortunately, the passage is not so clear); the Hittite king answers saying that he would be happy in recognizing as his legitimate successor a son born from the interdynastic marriage. Hattušili also adds that Ramses is too old to survive enough to be able to see one of his sons as Great king of Hatti, probably alluding to the fact that Ramses’ son would have reached an age appropriate to reign only when the pharaoh would have become too old (or perhaps also died).

d. KUB XXIII 105 (ÄHK no. 110, L7, pp. 230-231):

Hattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Rs.

-
- [0'] [...
 1' [ŠEŠ-IA-*mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ.PUR*
 2' [..... *a-pí-e*]-*da-aš ku-it pí-i[h-ḫi/ḫu-un* ^dUTU-*ua-kán*]
 3' [*am-mu-uk ZI-aš a*]-*r-nu-ut ki-i-ua É[-ir A-NA É ŠEŠ-IA ták-šu-ul* DUMU.SAL-KA-*ma*
 SAL.LUGAL KUR ^{URU}MI-IZ-RI *e-eš-zi*]
 4' [*ma-a-an* KU]R ^{URU}HA-AT-TI A-NA DUMU-ŠU [*pí-iḫ-ḫu-un ma-an-za ma-a-an* DUMU.NITA *ha-*
at-ta]
 5' [*zi-ik-ma A-NA*] DUMU.SAL-IA DUMU.NITA *Ú-UL i-ia*[-*aš* ...
 6' [*ku-it*]-*ki Ú-UL-at-kán A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-pát* [DUMU.NITA *i-ia-u-ua-an-zi ki-ša-ri*]

 7' [MA-ME-TU-*i*]-*a-an-na-aš ka-a-ša am-mu-uk i-ia-nu*[-*un zi-iq-qa-an-na-aš MA-ME-TU i-ia-aš*
ma-a-an]
 8' [ŠEŠ-IA *te*]-*iz-zi a-pa-a-aš-ua an(!)-zi-el* LÚKÚR-*an* [...
 9' [..... -*z*]-*i-it ki-kiš-ta-a-ri ma-a-an-ua-an-n*[*a-aš NI-EŠ DINGIR.MEŠ(?)*] ...
 10' [.....] *am-mu-uk-ma-aš Ú-UL iš-dam-ma*[-*as-šu-un zi-iq-qa-aš Ú-UL iš-dam-ma-aš-ta na-at*
am-mu-uk]
 11' [*ša-ag-ga-aḫ-ḫu-u*]-*n nu ŠEŠ-IA QA-TAM-MA ša-a*[-*ak* ...

 12' [A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EZEN.ḪI]A *e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un ŠEŠ-IA*[-*ia A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ QA-TAM-MA*

¹¹⁴⁴ Because of the insistence on the marriage, I prefer to consider this letter as referring to the “First Marriage”, and not to the “Second Marriage”.

¹¹⁴⁵ For Edel’s integration of this name, see EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 351, referring to STARKE 1989, p. 660, note 13 for the alleged translation “die das Ansehen der Šauška hat” and to LAROCHE 1966, pp. 286, 332 as comparisons with similar theophoric names.

¹¹⁴⁶ HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 332; cf. CORDANI 2017, p. 97, note 1.

EZEN.ĤI.A

13' [..... x] I-NA KUR ^{URU}M[I-I]Z[-R]I-I ...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹¹⁴⁷

Rs.

[0'] [...
1' [Was du, mein Bruder, wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „.....]
2' [.....] was ich [je]nen(?) ge[be/ga]b Der Sonnengott]
3' [hat meinen Wunsch e]rfüllt; dieses Haus [ist mit dem Haus meines Bruders befreundet, denn deine
Tochter ist Königin des Landes **Ägypten**“.
4' [Ich hätte das L]and Ḥattuša ihrem Sohn [gegeben, wenn sie einen Sohn geboren hätte];
5' [aber du] hast meiner Tochter keinen Sohn gezeug[t. ...
6' [etw]as. Ist es meinem Bruder, wie gesagt, nicht [möglich, einen Sohn zu zeugen]?

7' Siehe, sowohl ich habe für uns [einen Eid] geleistet, [als auch du hast für uns einen Eid geleistet; es
ist richtig (o. ä.), wenn]
8' [mein Bruder s]agt: „Jener (Eid) [hat] unseren Feind [entmutigt und unseren Freund ermutigt;]
9' wird [.....]. werden. Wenn un[s die Eidesgötter (?) ...
10' [.....] Ich aber habe nicht auf sie gehö[rt (und) du hast nicht auf sie gehört; ich habe es]
11' [anerkann]t und du, mein Bruder, erken[ne] (es) ebenfalls [an]! [...

12' Ich feierte [Fest]e [für die Götter, und du], mein Bruder, [feiere gleichfalls Feste für die Götter! ...]
13' [.....] im Lande **Ägypten** [...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

This fragmentary letter, surely dealing with the already celebrated interdynastic marriage, reports an important information about the royal succession in Ḥatti. Ḥattušili, who seems to be the sender of the letter, refers to the content of a previous message from the pharaoh, who informed the Hittite king about good relationships between the two lands, because Ḥattušili's daughter had become queen of Egypt:

ki-i-ua É[-ir A-NA É ŠEŠ-IA ták-šu-ul DUMU.SAL-KA-ma SAL.LUGAL KUR ^{URU}MI-IZ-RI e-eš-zi, “*ki-i-ua É[-ir A-NA É ŠEŠ-IA ták-šu-ul DUMU.SAL-KA-ma SAL.LUGAL KUR ^{URU}MI-IZ-RI e-eš-zi*”, “dieses Haus [ist mit dem Haus meines Bruders befreundet, denn deine Tochter ist Königin des Landes **Ägypten**” (Rs. 3’).

In the following sentence, Ramses also states that it was his plan to establish the son of the interdynastic marriage as the legitimate successor to the kingship in Ḥatti; this plan probably remained just as a suggestion, at the time of this letter, because a son has not yet born:

[ma-a-an KU]R ^{URU}HA-AT-TIA-NA DUMU-ŠU [pí-iḥ-ḥu-un ma-an-za ma-a-an DUMU.NITA ḥa-at-ta] / [zi-ik-ma A-N]A DUMU.SAL-IA DUMU.NITA Ú-UL i-ia[-aš] ..., “[Ich hätte das L]and Ḥattuša ihrem Sohn [gegeben, wenn sie einen Sohn geboren hätte]; / [aber du] hast meiner Tochter keinen Sohn gezeug[t” (Rs. 4’-5’).

Here ends the reported speech of the pharaoh and Ḥattušili shows his surprize because of the lack of a child:

Ú-UL-at-kán A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-pát [DUMU.NITA i-ia-u-ua-an-zi ki-ša-ri], “Ist es meinem Bruder, wie gesagt, nicht [möglich, einen Sohn zu zeugen]?” (Rs. 6’).

The following paragraph deals insted with the Treaty: Ḥattušili reported the words of the pharaoh who reaffirms that the two “brother” lands have mutual friends and enemies:

¹¹⁴⁷ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 353-354.

a-pa-a-aš-ua an(!)-zi-el ^{LÚ}KÚR-*an* [... / [..... -z]i-it ki-kiš-ta-a-ri, “Jener (Eid) [hat] unseren Feind [entmutigt und unseren Freund ermutigt;] / wird [.....]. werden” (Rs. 8’-9’).

In the following lines, it seems that Ḫattušili reproached Ramses for having not been faithful to the Treaty, established by the “gods of the oath” (i.e., the gods that witnesses of the Treaty, see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.d, §21); unfortunately, the extant text does not allow to recognize the reason for such an accusation.

The document end (Rs. 12’) with an invitation to celebrate a feast for the gods, a passage that can be interpreted on the base of the aforementioned sentence quoting the “gods of the oath”: Ḫattušili, in other words, is asking Ramses not to forget what he sworn a mutual alliaice with the Treaty.

e. KBo XVIII 21 (ÄHK no. 111, L8, pp. 230-233):

Ḫattušili (oder Puduḫepa) an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1 [UM-MA ⁴UTU-ŠI ¹ḪA-AT-TU-ŠI-LI LUGAL.GAL] LUGAL KUR ^{URU}ḪA-AT-TI A-NA ¹R[I-A-MA-E-ŠA LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU}MI-IZ-RI-I ŠEŠ-IA QÍ-BI-MA]
- 2 [DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{URU}ḪA-AT-TI Û DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{UR}] ^UMI-IZ-RI-I ŠA ŠEŠ-I[A SAG.DU *aš-šu-li*]
- 3 [PAP-*an-ta-ru* Û DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{URU}ḪA-AT-TI Û] DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{URU}MI-IZ-RI-I[SAGSAG.DU-IA *aš-šu-li* PAP-*an-ta-ru*]
- 4 [ŠA o -o -o -o -o -*mu ku-it ut-tar ŠEŠ-IA*] *ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-at[-ra-a-iš ...*
- 5 [..... -š]i(?)*-ia-an-za nu-ua-ad-da [...*
- 6 [..... a-]ar-aš *nu-ua-aš-ši kat-t[a-an ...*
- 7 [.....]x *du-uš-ki-i[š-k- ...*

Rs. zerstört bis auf den unteren Rand:

- 1' [.....]x x[...]
- 2' [.....]x *up-pí(-) ...*

Tafelrand

Vs.

- 1 [So (spricht) die Majestät, Ḫattušili, der Großkönig], der König des Landes Ḫattuša: Zu R[iamašeša, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, meinem Bruder, sprich]:
- 2 [Die Götter des Landes Ḫattuša und die Götter des Landes] **Ägypten** mögen [die Person] mei[nes] Bruders [freundlich]
- 3 [schützen, und die Götter des Landes Ḫattuša und] die Götter des Landes **Ägypt[en]** mögen (auch) meine Person freundlich schützen]!
- 4 [Was mein Bruder mir wegen der Angelegenheit des/der] geschrie[ben hat], wie folgt: „[...]
- 5 [.....]..... ist. Und dir [...]
- 6 [....., ... ist an]gekommen, und mi[t] ihm/ihr [...]
- 7 [.....].. überschwenglich freu[en ...]

Rs. zerstört bis auf den unteren Rand:

- 1' [.....].....[...]
- 2' [.....]. sende(n) [...]

Tafelrand

The text of this document reports some greetings expressed by Ḫattušili (or Puduḫepa) to Ramses: the sender is wishing that the gods of the two lands (Ḫatti and Egypt) would protect him and his brother (Vs. 1-3).

The following lines deal with a message sent by Ramses, who informed Ḫattušili (or Puduḫepa) of the arrival (*a-]ar-aš*, “ist angekommen”, Vs. 6) of a person whose name is not preserved in the text, probably a messenger appointed for the dispatch of some gift, also considering the occurrence of the verb *up-pi*[-], “sende(n)” (Rs. 2’).

37. CTH 188: LETTER TO THE KING OR TO THE QUEEN

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Letter quoting “Egyptian troops” and probably referring to some previous struggles

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XVIII 30 Vs. 14'

KBo XVIII 30 (375/w) = CTH 188, 4

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 93-94:

Transliteration¹¹⁴⁸

R^o

x + 1 []x[]
 2' []ta-at-te[]
 3' [KA]RAŠ ku-it
 4' []ki-e-da-ni
 5' []x
 6' []ar-ḥa pa-iz-zi
 7' []ar-ḥa ta-ru-u[p-zi?]
 8' []ar-ḥa pa-iz-zi
 9' []x nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
 10' [-z]i nu ku-it ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
 11' [A-N]A^dUT^ši EN-YA
 12' []x
 13' []
 14' [E]RÍN^{meš} KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri
 15' []-un
 16' []kam-ma-a-r[a
 17' []x-na-aš
 18' []x-e-ni
 19' []x
 V^o 20' []x
 21' []-ša

22' []KUR^{uru} A-mur-ra

Translation

x + 1 []
 2' []
 3' []lorsque? [l'ar]mée
 4' [] pour ce []-ci
 5' []
 6' []il partira,
 7' []il délivre[ra?,]
 8' []il partira
 9' []et lorsque

¹¹⁴⁸ Cf. the transliteration in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, p. 93 (no. 59).

10' i[] , du fait que lorsque
11' [] à « Mon Soleil », mon maître,
13' [
14' [] les tr]oupes **égyptiennes**
15' j'ai?[]
16' [] fumée
17'-21' (trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)

22' [] du pays d'Amurru

A comment to this document was offered by Cornil and Lebrun:

“Si l’auteur de ce rapport est inconnu, il est assuré par contre que la lettre est adressée au roi du Hatti d’après R^o 11’ et qu’elle fait état de la situation militaire existant probablement en Syrie du nord d’après les mentions de troupes égyptiennes et du pays d’Amurru. Les lacunes du début des lignes 6’, 7’, 8’ sont regrettables, car nous pourrions être renseignés sur un des points essentiels de la lettre. Le format habituel de ces lettres dont nous possédons un exemplaire pratiquement complet en KBo XVIII 29, nous autorise à estimer qu’au début de chaque ligne un mot ou tout au plus deux manquent. [note 5 : La structure générale de la lettre se dégage de la comparaison avec KBo XVIII 29 (398/i) = CTH 188 4 : demande au roi hittite d’un envoi de troupes, spécialement lignes 20-26 où l’auteur de la lettre demande 2000 ou 3000 soldats et 40 attelages de chevaux]”¹¹⁴⁹.

Despite the fragmentary state of preservation of the text and the lack of any proper name, we can quite surely recognize in this letter a report of a request for military supports, probably related to the campaigns led by Šuppiluliuma I or Muṣṣili II in Syria (see *supra*, texts nos 40 and 4; cf. *infra*, text no. 42b), when the Hittite king had to face also the Egyptian army (explicitly quoted at l. 14’: [E]RÍN^{meš} KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri).

¹¹⁴⁹ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 94.

38. CTH 189: LETTER OF PUDUḪEPA TO NIQMADDU III OF UGARIT

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Ugaritic
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ugarit
Content	Letter mentioning “Egyptian caravans” and relationships between Egypt and Ugarit

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

CTH 189 = CAQUOT 1978, pp. 123, 128:

Transliteration

Fragment A

- 1 *th] m . pdgb . mlk[t. - - - -]k[-*
 2 *l .]nqmd . rgm . hl[ny. ‘m.]šp[š*
 3 *w]. ‘m. mlkt. kll[. šlm*
 4 *w. šlm . d . ḫwtk . [- - -]bt. mlk*
-
- 5 *ky . l’ikt . bt . mlk . thmk . hl[n*
 6 *ḫ]rṣ . ‘argmn . [‘m . špš. štn*
 7 *w] . ‘at . m [ḫ]r [.mr]t . d . štt . **bmš[r***
 8 ***m]** . tqdm . ‘udh . mgt . w . mlk[*
 9 *- -]qrt[- - ntḫ . ‘mnkm . qrb[*
 10 *- -]r . ‘i[-]t . w . ‘at . ‘my . l . mgt[*
 11 *w .]ml’a [k] tk . ‘my . l . l’ikt*
 12 *- - - - -šknt . ly . ht . hln . ḫrṣ [*
 13 *- - - . štnt . ‘my . ‘m . špš . štn [*
-
- 14 *tn]nth . rgm . ky . l’ikt . bt . mlk [*
 15 *thm]k . ntbt . **mšrm** . ‘ušbtm*
 16 *nt] bt . **mšrm** . bhwt . ‘ugrt*
 17 *- - - -] . w . b . ḫwt[.]-gt . t’tqn*
 18 *- - - -] ḫwtm . n [- - - -] . b . ‘mq [*
 19 *- - - ḫ]wtm . ‘ugr[t . - - - -]n . [*
 20 *- - -] t . rgm . hn [- - - - -]š . r [*
 21 *- - - -] . mlk . gr [- - - - -] k [*

Translation

(Les italiques indiquent ce qui est conjectural)

- 1 Messa[ge de Puduḫepa, la rein[e
 2 A] Niqmad dis: «Ic[i, auprès du] Sole[il
 3 et] auprès de la reine, tout [va bien
 4 et l’*hommage* de ton pays [*est arrivé*] à la maison du roi.
-
- 5 Puisque tu as envoyé à la maison du roi ton message, eh bien!
 6 l’o[r du tribut, au Soleil fais (le) remettre.
 7 Et toi-même, le p[r]ix [du vin nou]veau que tu as bu en **Eg[yp-**
 8 **te,]** tu présenteras. Je suis venue à et le roi
 9] [....] nous reviendrons auprès de vous dans
 10] [...] ... mais toi, tu n’es pas venu auprès de moi
 11 et] ton mes[sa]ge, tu n’as pas envoyé auprès de moi
 12] tu ne t’es pas dérangé pour moi. Maintenant donc, l’or

13] tu m'as fait remettre, au Soleil fais (le) remettre. »

14 *En seco*]nd lieu dis: «Puisque tu as envoyé à la maison du roi
15 ton [message,] les caravanes d'**Egypte** *se sont arrêtées*.
16 Les cara]vanes d'**Egypte**, *depuis* le pays d'Ugarit
17] et par le pays *de* [...] *gt (elles)* passeront
18 *par* le pays de ... [.....] *par* la vallée
19 le p]ays d'Ugar[it
21] dis [.....
21] le roi [.....
.....

Because of the peculiarity of this text (the only one written in Ugaritic) and some related interpretative problems, I report also the English translation provided in PARDEE 1983/1984, pp. 325-326:

1 [Messa]ge of Puduhepa, quee[n of . . . :]
2 [To] Niqmaddu say: He[re with] the Su[n]
3 [and] with the queen, everything [is fine.]
4 now the well-being of your lan[d] [. . .]

5 Concerning the fact that you have sent to the royal palace your message (as follows): “now
6 [the g]old of my tribute [to] the Sun [I ?] hereby remit.”
7 [now,] as for you, [a X-measure of ??] the *m[r]t*-wine (??) which you (or: I ??) drank in **Egypt** . . .]
8 [] shall you present. To 'ud (???) did you go and the royal [. . .]
9 []city[] “we shall return to you by/to the midst of”[. . .]
10 []but to me you have not come[. . .]
11 [and] your mess[e]nger-party you have not sent to me.
12 [now, ? ?] as I assigned for myself (? ?), indeed the (or: [your]) gold[. . .]
13 you have [not ??] remitted to me; it is to the Sun that [you] have remitted (it ??)[...]
14 [Sec]ondly, (? ?) : Concerning the fact that you sent (word) to the royal palace:
15 “[X-e]d are the caravans of **Egypt** and they have stopped; moreover,
16 th[e] ca[ra]vans of **Egypt** through the land of Ugarit
17 [are Xed] and through the land of Nuhašše must they pass[. . .]
18 []two (?) lands []valley[. . .]
19 []two (?) [l]ands Ugar[it] [...]
20 [] word/speak [] [...]
21 []king of GR[] [...]”

RS 17.434 is a letter sent by Puduhepa to Niqmaddu III, king of Ugarit, greeting him and discussing about the nature of some gifts sent by the vassal king to the great royal couple. More in detail, Puduhepa seems to ask Nidmaddu to send to Hatti some wine, defined here with the term *mr̄t*, that he had tasted in Egypt. While Caquot simply translates this word as “nouveau”, Pardee does not provide a translation, preferring to comment the term:

“Line 7: *m[r]t d štt b mš[rm]*. Caquot’s restoration of *mš[rm]* is maintained here because of the complete form *mš[rm]* below in lines 15 and 16 and because of the yet dubious nature of a northern *mš[rm]*. The restoration *m[r]t* (so Caquot) is prompted by a similar phrase which occurs in PRU V 9: margin: *hn mr̄t d štt 'ašš'u bldtk* ‘So the *mr̄t*-wine which I/you drank I will send forth ...’. For the association of *mr̄t* and Egypt, see WARD 1961a, p. 40 (reference to Egyptian *mrs*, used to designate both a beverage and the vessel in which the beverage was stored)¹¹⁵⁰. Ward opts for a Semitic origin for the word *mrs* because it occurs only in late Egyptian. Neither

¹¹⁵⁰ WARD 1961a, p. 40: “For Ugaritic *mr̄t* (1171), “kind of wine product,” we are fortunate in possessing both the Egyptian counterparts denoting the wine itself, and the metal vessel probably used for storing this type of wine. Egyptian *mrs*, ‘new wine, must,’ is certainly the same as Ugaritic *mr̄t*, while the Egyptian vessel in which this wine was carried is

Semitic etymology proposed to date is, however, especially convincing: some authors cite a Semitic root *wrt* “press, tread”, and equate Ugaritic *tr̄* (Hebrew *tîrôš*) and *mr̄*. I have been unable, however, to find evidence for such a specific meaning for the root *wrt* (the general Semitic meaning is ‘inherit’; meanings such as ‘drive out’ are probably derived from ‘disinherit’). Other scholars cite Akkadian *marāsu* ‘mix, stir’ (and cognate forms) as etymologically related to *mrs* or *mr̄*. The meaning of the Akkadian root is as plausible as another to explain the Egyptian/Ugaritic forms since we do not know exactly what the beverage in question was, but the variation in the final consonant does give pause. It is not impossible that *mr̄* is an Egyptian word etymologically unrelated to *tr̄* (whatever the etymology of that word may be). For Egyptian /s/ = Ugaritic /t/, compare the proper name *pn̄ht* in KTU 2.70:3 (< Eg. *pn̄hs*). The major problems in this line are the referent of ‘at and the subject of *štt*. I have considered that the quotation of Niqmaddu’s previous letter ends with *štn[t]* at the end of line 6, but that is not certain. If ‘at is included in the quotation, and if *m̄s[rm]* is correctly restored, and if *štt* is ‘you drank’ (in that case 2 f.s. *qtl*), then Puduḥepa is or has been in Egypt – which would be an element in favor of Nougayrol’s historical identification mentioned above [see *infra*]. As, however, ending the quotation as I have indicated is as plausible philologically and better fits the general consensus to place Puduḥepa in Ḫatti, I have relegated the above considerations to this note”¹¹⁵¹.

This comment advances two main suggestions, useful to our topic:

1) the word *mr̄* could be regarded as a loan word to describe a specific kind of wine coming from Egypt. It is here noteworthy to remember that wine was surely one of the goods exchanged between Egypt and ancient Near East, as attested for instance by the Syrian wine-jar found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, similar to others found in the region of Eskiyaapar (see *infra*, section 2.1, cat. no. E5).

2) Pardee also proposed an uncertain translation of l. 7, because the subject of the sentence seems to be not so clear: in fact, considering the subject ‘at as included in the quotation, Puduḥepa would be the subject of the passage, so involving her to have visited Egypt and tasted the *mr̄* wine in person(!). By the way, this interpretation seems to be not probable at all, lacking further documents attesting for such an event. Another possible interpretation was advanced by Nougayrol, who recognized the Puduḥepa of this letter not with Ḫattušili’s wife, but with the Hittite princess who married Ramses II:

“Il existe cependant un document qui réduirait sans doute trop l’intervalle entre Ammistamru (II) et Niqmadu (III) si on l’interprétait selon sa première apparence : la version ougaritique de la longue lettre RS 17.434 (VIROLLEAUD, *CRAI*, 2-7-1954). L’auteur de cette lettre, une reine (*mlk[t]*) a nom Puduḥepa (*pdḡb*). On pense naturellement à l’épouse de Ḫattušil III, et ce qu’on peut saisir du message répond assez bien à l’« entente cordiale » qui a suivi le traité égypto-hittite : Niqmadu est invité à trinquer, soit : à faire la paix, avec le Pharaon. Si le cadre chronologique de la dynastie d’Ugarit n’existait pas, on supposerait donc que la fameuse reine hittite s’est employée là à apaiser les esprits, au lendemain même de ce Traité. nous avons admis que Puduḥepa avait poursuivi son action politique au début du règne de Tudḫaliya IV. Mais elle n’était plus très jeune dès cette époque : épousée par Ḫattušil III peu après la bataille de Qadeš, elle n’était pas veuve une trentaine d’années plus tard. Si elle fut régente vers la cinquantaine elle put sans doute assister encore à certains actes personnels de son fils à l’égard de Ammistamru (II), mais survécut-elle à ce roi d’Ugarit, puis à son successeur, et disposait-elle en sa vieillesse d’assez d’autorité pour s’adresser directement à son petit-fils ? On peut en douter, La vraisemblance chronologique inclinerait plutôt à admettre que, par exemple, l’une des princesses hittites mariées à Ramsès II portait aussi le nom prestigieux de Puduḥepa en même temps que le titre de reine (d’Égypte). Son intervention auprès de Niqmadu (III) se comprendrait plus aisément encore. Issue des suzerains traditionnels d’Ugarit, elle aurait pu servir la politique de son pays d’adoption en usant de l’autorité de son pays d’origine... Mais il resterait à prouver que cette princesse Puduḥepa a réellement existé, et à découvrir l’incident entre Ugarit et l’Égypte qui est à l’origine de sa lettre”¹¹⁵².

also termed *mrs*. If Akkadian *marāsu*, ‘zu Mus verkochen’, *marsu*, ‘Mus, Süßes,’ is cognate, this root may be Egypto-Semitic. The word appears only in Late Egyptian, however, and it seems more likely that this is a Semitic loan”.

¹¹⁵¹ PARDEE 1983/1984, p. 327.

¹¹⁵² Nougayrol in PRU IV, pp. 199-200.

Despite the intriguing nature of this hypothesis, we actually do not have evidences for the existance of this Hittite princess, named Puduḫepa: therefore, it seems to me more likely to interpret the aforementioned passage as referring not to the sender of the letter but to Niqmaddu.

At the end of the letter, Niqmaddu informs Puduḫepa about the movement of some Egyptian convoys within the Syrian area, more specifically in the kingdoms of Ugarit and Nuḫḫašše; after having passed through these lands, it seems that the convoys stopped. We do not have further information about these Egyptian caravans travelling in the Near East, but we can argue for an expedition who left Egypt, probably directed to the Anatolian area (or, at least, Hittite possessions in northern Syria), considering that the king of Ugarit felt in duty to inform the Hittite sovereign about these events.

39. CTH 193: LETTER OF BENTEŠINA OF AMURRU TO ḪATTUŠILI III

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letter quoting a meeting between Hittite and Egyptian messengers; request for information about Urḫi-Tešub

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

KBo VIII 16 = 141/m

HAGENBUCHNER 1989, pp. 370ff. (no. 260):

Transliteration

Vs.

- (1) a-na ^DUTU^{ŠI} LUGAL.GAL[EN-ia qí-bi-ma]
- (2) um-ma ^mZAG.ŠEŠ [ĪR-ka-ma]
- (3) a-na GĪR^{MEŠ} EN-ia 2-šú 7[?][-šú am-qut]
- (4) a-nu-ma i-na KUR A-mur-ri' x x x [(x)]
- (5) ša-a ^DUTU^{ŠI} EN[?]-ia [.]x[. . .(x)]
- (6) en-ni ^mBe-ḫa-aš-du ù ^mNa[-aḫ-ḫa]
- (7) ^{LÚ}DUMU šip-ri ša ^DUTU^{ŠI} EN-i[a[?] ù (x)]
- (8) ^{LÚ}[?]DUMU šip-ri ša LUGAL **KUR Mi-iš[!]-r[i[!]-i]**
- (9) [. . (.)] x i[?]-n[a[?] KUR A-mur-r]i[?] [ik-šu-du]
- (10) [ca. 9 Zeichen] x [. . (.)] [Bruch]

Rs.

- (1') ^DUTU^{ŠI} LUGAL.GAL ša-a x x x x [. . (x)]
- (2') ù ki-i EN-ia iš-pu-ra um-ma-a un-du[(PN) (x)]
- (3') a-bu-ka i-na KUR Ar-za-wa it-tal-ka ù[?] [(a-bu-ka[?]) (x)]
- (4') it-ti ^DUTU^{ŠI} i-na KARASŠ ṭe₄-ma [i-pu-uš (x)]
- (5') Ras. en-ni a-na-ku la-a ḫa-ṭi-ia-ku x[(.x)]
- (6') e-nu-ma it-ti ^DUTU^{ŠI} EN-ia x [. . (x)]
- (7') i-na-an-na ki-i-me-e a-ma-at [EN-ia (x)]
- (8') ú-za-ak-ki a-na-aḫ-ḫi EN-i[a . . . (x)]

Translation

Vs.

- (1) Zu Meiner Sonne, dem Großkönig [, meinem Herrn, sprich!]
- (2) Folgendermaßen (spricht) Bentešina [, die Diener!]
- (3) Zu Füßen meines Herrn bin ich zweimal sieben[mal niedergefallen.]
- (4) Nun (ist) im Land Amurru x x x [(x)]
- (5) den Meine Sonne, mein Herr[.]x[. . .(x)]
- (6) Nun! Piḫašdu und Na[ḫḫa,]
- (7) der Bote Meiner Sonne, mei[nes] Herrn [und (x)]
- (8) der Bote des Königs von **Äg[gypten]**
- (9) [trafen] [. . .] i[m Land Amurr]u [ein.]
Restliche Zeilen nur einzelne Zeichenspuren.

Rs.

- (1') (x+1) Meine Sonne, der Großkönig, der x x x x [. . (x)]
- (2') Und was (das betrifft, daß) mein Herr mir geschrieben hat, folgendermaßen: „Damals [als (PN)]
- (3') dein Vater ins Land Arzawa gekommen war, da [hat (dein Vater)]
- (4') mit Meiner Sonne im Heerlager eine diplomatische Verbindung [angeknüpft]“.

- (5') Ras. Nun, ich bin nicht sündig? x[(. x)]
 (6') Nun mit Meiner Sonne, meinem Herrn x[. . (x)]
 (7') Jetzt gemäß dem Wort [meines Herrn (x)]
 (8') bin ich straffrei. Ich atme² auf. Mein Herr [. . . (x)]

The letter reported in 141/m and sent by Bentešina, king of Amurru, to Ḫattušili III, seems to deal with a meeting between the Hittite royal messengers Piqašdu and Naḫḫa and an Egyptian envoy (whose name is not preserved), in the region of Amurru. The reason for this message, informing the Hittite king, is unclear: it is possible (but it is just a speculation) that the Hittite messengers had met in the Amurru area because Urḫi-Teššub was suspected to be hidden there: in fact, the sentence in Vs. 4, *a-nu-ma i-na KUR A-mur-ri*¹ x x x [(x)], “Nun (ist) im Land Amurru x x x [(x)]”, could refer to the fugitive former king. Another letter sent by Bentešina to Puduḫepa offers a good comparison to this missive: see *infra*, text no. 40.e = KBo XXVIII 54.

40. CTH 208: FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS IN AKKADIAN

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Letters referring to diplomatic relationships between the two courts

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
URU <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB III 56 Vs. 5', Rs. 4' (akk.)

Del Monte 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
akk. KUR URU <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XXVIII 69, 12'
KUR <i>mi-i[z-(br.)]</i>	KBo XXVIII 54 Vs. 15
KUR URU <i>m[i-(br.)]</i>	KBo XXXVI 103, 6'

a. KUB III 50 (ÄHK no. 34, E1, pp. 90-91):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.?

[0'] [...

- 1' [ša ŠEŠ-ú-a an-ni-taš tà]š-pu-ra ma-a DUMU.SAL-ka [...
 2' [.....] un-du ki-i a-na-ku ú[-...
 3' [.....-]ši ka-a-ma-a a-na ÌR[.MEŠ(?) ...
 4' [.....^{LÚ}kar-tap-]pu lu-ú la-a ta-k[al(?)]-l[a(?) ...
 Tafelrand Rs. ? abgebrochen

*Translation*¹¹⁵³

Vs.?

[0'] [...

- 1' [Daß du, mein Bruder, dieses wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „Deine Tochter [...
 2' [.....] Damals, als ich .. [...
 3' [.....]..... dergestalt den Diener[n(?) ...
 4' [..... den Wagenlenker]ker sollst du nicht zur[ückhalten(?) ...
 Tafelrand Rs.? abgebrochen

The small extant text of this letter, according to Edel sent by Ḫattušili to Ramses, was included by the German scholar within the group of the “marriage letters”, because of the quotation of the Hittite princess in l. 1' (*DUMU.SAL-ka*). In l. 4' it is also quoted the title ^{LÚ}*kar-tap-]pu*, “Wagenlenker”, maybe in the context of a request advanced by Ḫattušili to send back a messenger to Ḫatti (thus, according to Edel’s integration of l. 4’).

b. KUB III 35 (ÄHK no. 101, K3, pp. 208-211):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

¹¹⁵³ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 148.

1 [um-ma ¹Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li a-na ¹Ri-a-ma-te-ša ŠEŠ-ia qí-b]í-ma

 2 [a-na ia-ši ŠEŠ-ka šul-mu a-na É-ia DAM-ia DUMU.MEŠ-i]a ERIN.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia
 3 [^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù i-na ŠÀ-bi gab-b]i KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ia [dan-niš dan-]niš šul-mu

 4 [a-na ka-a-ša ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú š]ul-mu a-na É-ka DAM-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ERIN.MEŠ-ka
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 5 [^{GIS}GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-na ŠÀ-bi ga]b-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu x

 6 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-mur a-du-gu at-ta ŠEŠ-]ia iš[-da t]e-te-pu-u\$ a-na a-ḫu-ti
 7 [i-na be-ri-ni ù šu-bu-la-ti^{MEŠ} i-na KÛ.GI KÛ.BABBAR ^{GIS}ESI KA_xUD] pi-ri un-te-'i-da[-k]u(?)
 8 [..... tal-tap-ra-an-]ni [DUMU](?).ME[Š(?).KIN-ri-ka]
 9 [...
 Rs. unbeschriftet in Höhe von 6 + x Zeilen
 (Tafelhaut nur dünn abgesplittert, aber zum Teil noch erhalten)

Translation¹¹⁵⁴

Vs.

1 [So (spricht) Ḫattušili: Zu Riamašeša, meinem Bruder, sprich]:

 2 [Mir, deinem Bruder, geht es gut, meinem Hause, meiner Frau, mei]nen [Söhnen], meinen Truppen,
 meinen Pferden,
 3 [meinen Wagen (kämpfen) und innerhalb all] er meiner Länder geht es [sehr, se]hr gut.

 4 [Dir, meinem Bruder, möge es g]ut gehen, deinem Hause, deiner Frau, deinen Söhnen, deinen
 Truppen, deinen Pferden,
 5 [deinen Wagen (kämpfen) und innerhalb al]ler deiner Länder möge es sehr, sehr gut gehen!

 6 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Siehe, fürwahr, du] mein [Bruder], hast das Fun[dament] geschaffen
 für die Brüderschaft
 7 [zwischen uns, und] ich habe die [Geschenke aus Gold (und) Silber, Ebenholz (und)] Elfen[bein]
 vervielfacht [für di]ch(?)
 8 [..... Du hast] mir [deine] Bö[ten gesandt]
 9 [mit vielen Geschenken o. ä.]
 Rs. unbeschriftet in Höhe von 6 + x Zeilen

A letter beginning with the usual salutation and reporting the generic quotation of gold, silver, ebony and ivory as a gift sent by Ḫattušili to Ramses.

c. KBo XXVIII 43 (= 89/v) (ÄHK no. 103, K5, pp. 212-213):

Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

1' [..... x] ¹iq¹-[ta]¹[-bi] ...
 2' [..... x] lu-ú š[a(?)]-t[a(?)]- ...

 3' [ša ŠEŠ-ú-a an-ni-ta tàš-pu]-ra-an-ni ma-a [...
 4' [.....]šu-ut-ma iq-t[a-bi] ...
 5' [.....]DUMU.KIN-ri-ia [...
 5'a [.....] [x ... [...

 6' [.....] [x ...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

¹¹⁵⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 317-318.

Translation¹¹⁵⁵

- 1' [.....] er hat gesa[gt ...
2' [.....]möge ... [...

3' [Daß du, mein Bruder], mir [dieses geschrie]ben [hast], wie folgt: [...
4' [.....] er hat [dieses] ges[agt ...
5' [.....] mein Bote [...
5'a [.....] [...

6' [.....] .. [...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

Text too fragmentary to gain useful information.

d. KBo XXXVI 103

LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, pp. 124-125:

Transliteration

- x+1 [] x x []
2' []me-ma-ni x []
3' []Š-TU^dUTU^ši []
4' []Û EN-YA-w[a (?)]
5' []A]-NA^dUTU E[N-YA]
6' []LUG]AL KUR^{URU}M[i-iz-ri (?)]
7' []-x-uš-š[i (?)]
8' []x x[]

Translation

- x+1 [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]
2' []]
3' [de la]part de « Mon Soleil » []
4' [] O mon maître []
5' [po]ur le Soleil, [mon] ma[ître]
6' [le roi du pays d'É[gypte (?)]
7'-8' [(trop fragmentaire pour donner une traduction)]

The extant text of this document just seems to present the incipit of a letter sent by Hattušili to Ramses. Lebrun and Degrève just limited to note that the form of signs Û and URU present an ancient ductus and suggest a dating of the letter before 1250 BC¹¹⁵⁶.

e. KBo XXVIII 54 (= 65/a + 282/a)

HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 375-376 (no. 263):

Transliteration

- Vs.
(1) a-na SAL.LUGAL GAL GAŠAN-ya qí[-bí-ma]
(2) um-ma^mZAG.ŠEŠ ÌR-ki-[ma]
(3) a-na GÌR^{MEŠ}(šēpē) GAŠAN(bēlti)-ya 2-šú 7-šú[am-qut]
(4) GAŠAN(bēlti)-ya^mPí-ḫa-aš-tu₄ qa[-du^mNa-aḫ-ḫa]
(5) ù^mZi-nu-u-pí^{LU}DUMU¹(mār) [šip-ri-ya]
(6) i-na KUR(māt) ^{URU}A-mur-ri ik[-šu-ud]
(7) ù GAŠAN-ya lu-ú i-de₄-š[u X]

¹¹⁵⁵ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 319.

¹¹⁵⁶ LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, p. 125.

- (8) x x[...].x x[X]
 (9) i-na[X]
 (10) um-ma-a [iš-tu] **KUR²(māt) Mi-iš-ri-i² X**]
 (11) bá-lum a-ša-pi la a²[X]
 (12) ^mPa-ḥa-aš-tu₄ ù [PN X]
 (13) ša-a-ši-ma a-na x[X]
 (14) um-ma-a iš-tu ^{URU}Ḥa-x[X]
 (15) a-na a-ša¹-i LUGAL(šar) **KUR(māt) Mi-i[š-ri-i X**]
 (16) a-na e-ri-bi LUGAL(šar) KUR(māt) [X]
 (17) ù ^mBe-ḥa-aš-tu₄ LÚ¹[DUMU(mār) šip-ri ša GAŠAN-ya² iq-bi]
 (18) x-ma-a il-ma[X]
 (19) [..(.)š]a ^{LÚ}r[i²- x] [Bruch]

Rs.

- (x+1) x x[.].x[X]
 (2') ZAG^{MES}(qanni) ta[- X]
 (3') ma-an-nu x[X]
 (4') ù iš-tu x[X]
 (5') a-bi ^DU[TU^{ŠT} X]
 (6') it-tal-l[a- X]
 (7') ṭe₄²-m[a X]
 (8') [.]x it x[X]
 (9') ù a-na ki[- X]
 (10') ú-za-ak-ki[a-na-aḥ-ḥi GAŠAN-ya X]

Translation¹¹⁵⁷

Vs.

- (1) Zur Großkönigin, meiner Herrin, spr[ich!
 (2) Folgendermaßen (spricht) Bentešina, dein Diener.
 (3) Zu Füßen meiner Herrin [bin ich] zweimal siebenmal [niedergefallen.]
 (4) Meine Herrin, Piḥaštu ist, mi[t Naḥḥa]
 (5) und Zinupi, [meinem] Bo[ten],
 (6) [bei mir] im Lande Amurru ein[getroffen.]
 (7) Und meine Herrin möge es wissen[. X]
 (8) x x[...].x[X]
 (9) in[X]
 (10) Folgendermaßen. [„Aus] dem Land **Äg[lypten X**]
 (11) ohne Lasttiere nicht [X]
 (12) Piḥaštu und [PM X]
 (13) sie für x[X]
 (14) Folgendermaßen: „Aus der Stadt Ḥa-x[X]
 (15) beim Herausgehen des Königs des Landes **Äg[lypten X**]
 (16) beim Eintreten/Eindringen des Königs des Landes[**Ägypten X**]
 (17) und Piḥaštu der[Bote meiner Herrin sagte.]
 (18) x-mā ilma[X] [X]
 (19) [..(.)x Be[gleiter² X] [Bruch]

Rs.

- (x+1) x x[.].x[X]
 (2') Die Grenzen du[X]
 (3') wer x[X]
 (4') Und aus x[X]
 (5') der Vater [Meiner] So[nne X]
 (6') er war gekommen [X]

¹¹⁵⁷ Comment in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 376-377; cf. OTTEN 1955 and KLENGEL 1969, pp. 218, 242, 315.

- (7') Botschaft? [X]
 (8') [.]x it x[X]
 (9') Und für ? [X]
 (10') ich bin straffrei[. Ich atme? auf. Meine Herrin X]

This documents reports a fragment of letter sent by Bentešina, king of Amurru, to the Hittite queen Puduḫepa. The context is quite difficult to be reconstructed with certainty: however, it seems that Bentešina informed Puduḫepa to have received a visit of the messengers Piḫastu, Naḫḫa and Zinupi probably reporting a message from Egypt. The topic of the message is not preserved, but probably it referred to some dispute about borders quoted in Rs. 2' (ZAG^{MEŠ} = *qanni*¹¹⁵⁸). A comparison can be advanced between this letter and other missives dispatched by Bentešina to Ḫattušili, KBo VIII 16 = 141/m = CTH 193 (see *supra*, text no. 39), probably concerning a similar topic.

f. KUB III 56 (= Bo 1314 + 1764 + 1885)

HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 379-380 (no. 267):

Transliteration

Vs.

- (x+1) ù at-ta x-ir²-li-šu x x x [...]x
 (2') ù a-ma-ta ša-a-šu aš-šum il₅-ki al-tap-ra-ak-ku
 (3') šum-ma a-ma-ta qí-bu šum-ma la-a qí-bu
 (4') at-ta lu-ú na-i-ra-ta
 (5') a-ma-at ^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i at-ta-ma lu-ú pa-sí-iḫ
 (6') a-di LUGAL ^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i a-na muḫ-ḫi ^{DUTU}ŠI
 (7') i-kà-aš-ša-ad ú-ul pá-na-nu-ma
 (8') a-ka-a-ša ú-ḫa-am-ma-aš
 (9') nur einzelne Zeichenspuren [Bruch]

Rs.

- (x+1) [.(.)a-ši-ib ù ^{DUTU}ŠI [..(.)]
 (2') [.(.) a-ma-at ša LUGAL ^{URU}Zu-l[a-pa (.)]
 (3') [.(.)a-kán-na al-te-mi [...(.)]
 (4') [.(.)a LUGAL ^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i KÙ.BABBAR K[Ù.GI? ..(.)]
 (5') [ù] me-im-ma a-na LUGAL ^{URU}Zu-la-pa i[- X]
 (6') [.(.)x-a uš-ša-al-li
 (7') [a-]ma-ta ša-a-šu ša-'a-al¹-ma
 (8') [t]e₄-ma šu-pur
 (9') ša taš-pu-ra ma-a ^{LÚ}KUR ša ^{DUTU}ŠI E[N-ya]
 (10') ú-ul i-di šum-ma i-na ŠÀ **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** [(X)]
 (11') [šu]m-ma i-na KUR-ti ša-ni-i ku-ul-li bi-la-aš-š[u]
 (12') a-nu-ma ^{MD}IŠTAR-mu-u-wa muḫ-ḫi-ya ik-ta-ša-ad
 (13') šul-ma-na-ti ša il-te-qà-a bá-na-a dan-niš
 (14') um-ma-a na-da-nu ša te-bé-ni-[t]i te-qá-aš
 (15') um-ma-a šu-bá-ru(-)ud-da-ma t[al]²-te²-kam
 Freier Raum, danach Bruch; anscheinend Ende der Tafel

Translation¹¹⁵⁹

Vs.

- (x+1) Und du sein ? x x x [...]x
 (2') Und ich habe dir dieses Wort hinsichtlich des Lehens geschrieben.
 (3') Ob das Wort ein Befehl ist oder ob es kein Befehl ist,
 (4') mögest du zu Hilfe? kommen.

¹¹⁵⁸ CAD 13 (Q), pp. 81-83; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 284.

¹¹⁵⁹ Comment in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 380-381.

- (5') Wegen der Angelegenheit von **Ägypten** sei beruhigt.
 (6') Bis der König von **Ägypten** vor Meiner Sonne
 (7') ankommen wird, nicht früher
 (8') werde ich dich vernichten.
 (9') ? ? ? [Bruch]

Rs.

- (x+1) [.(.)] sitzt er. Und Meine Sonne [.(.)] sagte/schrieb:
 (2') [„über] die Angelegenheit des Königs von Zul[apa (.)]
 (3') [.(.)] so hörte ich (es). [...(.)]
 (4') [.(.)] der König von **Ägypten** Silber und G[old[?] (.)]
 (5') [Und] etwas für den König von Zulapa (hat) er[?
 (6') []? wird er anflehen?
 (7') diese Angelegenheit erfrag und
 (8') sende [mir N]achricht.
 (9') Bezüglich dessen, was du mir geschrieben hast: „Den Feind Meiner Sonne, [meines] H[ern,]
 (10') kenne ich nicht.“ Ob (er) im Lande **Ägypten** (ist),
 (11') oder in einem anderen Land, halte ihn fest (und) bring
 (12') ihn [mir.]
 (12'¹¹⁶⁰) Nun hat mich Šaušgamuwa erreicht.
 (13') Die Begrüßungsgeschenke, die er genommen hat, sind sehr gut.
 (14') Folgendermaßen (sagte er): „Gaben, die du gut versorgt hast, hast du geschenkt.
 (15') Folgendermaßen (sagte er): „Die Lastenbefreiung[?] hast du mir genommen.

Hagenbuchner suggested to recognize the sender of this letter with the Great king (in the person of Muwatalli or his successor, being Šaušgamuwa quoted in Rs. 14') and the addressee with Bentešina of Amurru¹¹⁶¹. As already stated by this scholar, the content of the letter is quite unclear: the obverse seems to report a communication of the Great king, dealing with the relations with Egypt. The Hittite king says that the situation is calm, but he also asks his vassal to provide (military?) help (Vs. 2'-5'), the purpose for such a request remaining unclear.

The last sentence (Vs. 6'-8') seems to represent an intimidation to Bentešina(?) not to place the Egyptian interests before those of the Hittite king: in the case Bentešina(?) would have betrayed his lord, the Hittite king would destroyed him.

The reverse of the document quotes silver and gold sent from/for the king of Egypt (Rs. 4') and mentions the king of Zulapi in a very unclear passage (it seems that this king had to “implore” something, probably to the Hittite king, see Rs. 5'). Rs. 9'-11' reports a message sent by Bentešina(?) to the Hittite king: the king of Amurru quotes an “enemy of My Sun (i.e., the Great King)”, adding that he did not know where he was at that time; the passage seems to refer to a person that the Hittite king was looking for, and could perfectly fit with the quest for Urḫi-Teššub (in this case, the Hittite Great king, sender of the letter, would be Ḫattušili). In any case, the Hittite king asks his vassal to investigate about the location of his “enemy” (“whether he was in Egypt or in another land”, Rs. 10'-11') and to send him to Ḫattuša.

In the end, the Hittite king informs his vassal to have been reached by Šaušgamuwa¹¹⁶², Bentešina's son, bringing some gifts and declaring to have been freed from an unspecified “burden”, i.e. exempted from something by the Hittite king (Rs. 15')¹¹⁶³.

¹¹⁶⁰ In Hagenbuchner's translation, number 12' is repeated twice.

¹¹⁶¹ HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 380-381.

¹¹⁶² For this name, see LAROCHE 1966, p. 161, no. 1141; cf. *id.* 1981, p. 39, same number.

¹¹⁶³ The meaning of this sentence is unclear; see HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 382: “Rs. 15' ist vollkommen unklar. Möglicherweise ist *šubarrutta=ma* oder *šubarru udda=ma* zu lesen”. For *šubarrû*, “(tax) exemption, amnesty, freedom (from burdens)” and *šubarrûtu(m)*, “release (of slave), see respectively CAD 17 (Š3), pp. 169-170; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 379.

g. KBo XXVIII 69 (= 1572/c)

HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 432 (no. 320):

Der Absender bezeichnet den Adressaten als EN-ya (Z. 11'). Dieser dürfte (vgl. Fundort) mit dem hethitischen König identisch sein. Für einen internationalen Brief könnte die Erwähnung von Ägypten (Z. 12' ERÍN]^{MES} [K]UR^{URU}Mi-iš-ri) und des „Boten meines Herrn“ (Z. 11') sprechen. Der Inhalt besteht nur noch aus einzelnen, nicht zu verbindenden Zeichen, deren Sinn – bis auf Z. 4' [X]x-an a-na ÌR-šu[X]- unklar ist.

For this text, it is unfortunately not possible to provide neither a complete transliteration or a meaningful translation: as it is clear from the aforementioned comment of Hagenbuchner, the addressee of the letter (defined as “my lord”) can be easily recognized with the Hittite Great king, while no precise information can be argued about the identity of the sender (we can just suggest a generic vassal of the Hittite king). Moreover, the mention of Egypt and of “messengers” helps in including the letter within the Hittite international correspondence. By the way, no further speculations can be advanced with certainty about the content of the message: only the quotation of the “Egyptian troops” can stand for the military context of the missive, likely a letter sent by an Hittite vassal to his lord, informing him about the movement of the Egyptian army within the Syrian area.

41. CTH 209: FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS IN HITTITE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Letter
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Letters referring to diplomatic relationships between the two courts and international situation

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXVI 53, 2'
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXVI 89, 9'
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo II 11 Rs. 7' und passim
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXVI 90 IV 4
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXVI 90 IV 1
Br.	KBo XVIII 44 Vs. 3'

a. KBo XVIII 44 (1837/u) = CTH 209, 22

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 95:

Transliteration

x + 1 []^mT[u]

2' ka-a-aš-ma A-WA-TE^m[eš
 3' ŠA ERÍN^{meš} KUR ^{uru}Mi-iz-r[i
 4' Ú ŠA ERÍN^{meš} ^{uru}M[i-iz-ri
 5' I-NA É.GAL^{lim} [
 6' ku-it ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [
 7' ḥa-at-ra-a-nu-un [
 8' x x x

Translation

x + 1 []T[u]

2' Les affaire[s] qu evoici [
 3' des troupes égyptienne[s]
 4' et des troupes égyptiennes
 5' dans la palais [
 6' du fait que lorsque
 7' j'écrivis [
 8' x x x

This fragmentary text received a comment by Cornil and Lebrun:

“Il s’agit d’une letter-rapport relative à la situation de troupes enrôlées dans l’armée égyptienne ; malheureusement, le nom propre de x+1 est pratiquement illisible ; nous ne disposons ainsi d’aucun repaire chronologique et nous ignorons l’auteur de la lettre aussi bien que son destinataire”¹¹⁶⁴.

Despite this lack of information, we can suppose that the letter was compiled in the same chronological framework of other documents quoting Egyptian troops (see *supra* texts nos 1, 4 and *infra*, text no. 42.b).

¹¹⁶⁴ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 95.

b. KBo II 11 = Bo 13 = CTH 209.12

HOFFNER 2009, pp. 352-354:

Transliteration¹¹⁶⁵

- (rev. 6') [d]UTU-ŠI-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR ku-it-wa e-eš-ša-at-ti ku-e-x x x x [...] x
(rev. 7') [...] ke-e-da-ni pé-di Ú-UL-za-kán URUKÛ.BABBAR-ši š[a]-ra-a nu-za KASKAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i
(rev. 8') [...-m]i nu-za :an-ta-ri-iš: ga-ši-in i-la-liš-ke[-e]z-zi
(rev. 9') [kin]u-un-ma-an ka-ru-ú ZAG-an ḥar-mi I-NA [IT U/MU-x-]KAM-kán ku-wa-pí-ik-ki
(rev. 10') [a-]aš-šu Ú-NU-TUM URUKUBABBAR-za KASKAL-aḥ-[m]i
(rev. 11') [A-NA ŠUL-M]AN LUGAL Aḥ-ḥi-ya-wa-a-ma-mu ku-it TÁŠ-PUR nu a-pa-a-at ku-it UL I-DE₄
(rev. 12') [LÚ TE₄-MI-Š]U ma-a-an ú-da-aš ku-it-ki ma-a-an UL nukán ka-a-aš-ma BI-IB-RU KÛ.BABBAR
(rev. 13') [IŠ-TU KÛ.]SIG₁₇ MAŠ-LU IŠ-TU ŠUL-MAN KUR Mi-iz-ri-i ar-ḥa da-aḥ-ḥu-un
(rev. 14') [nu-ut-ta ke-e up-]pa-aḥ-ḥu-un nu-ut-ták-kán ku-it ZAG-na nu a-pa-a-at up-pí
(rev. 15') [ki-nu-un-mu KÛ.SI]G₁₇ e-eš-zi-pát UL ku-it-ki KÛ.BABBAR-ya-mu-na-w[is]
(rev. 16') [ú-da-an ma-a-an-ma]-an-mu KÛ.BABBAR-ma ú-da-an e-eš-ta
(rev. 17') [o o o o o o -ma]-an UL a-an-ni-iš-ke-nu-un ki-nu-un-ma-m[u KÛ.BABBAR NU.GÁL]
(rev. 18') [x x x x x x x x (-)]pí-ni-iz-zi-iš ú-it na-an ša[-...]
(rev. 19') [x x x x x x x x]x IŠ-TU KASKAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i mŠa[-...]
(rev. 20') [x x x x x x x-š]i URUTa-at-ta-aš-ša-za ma-ni-aḥ-ḥu[-un?? ...]
(rev. 21') [x x x x x x x x] KASKAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i EGIR-pa a-aš-z[i ...]
(rev. 22') [x x x x x x x x x x]x x GIM-an-mu[-...]
(rev. 23') [...]x x -ni x[...]
(Breaks off.)

Translation¹¹⁶⁶

- (rev. 6') Concerning what you, Your Majesty, wrote to me: “What are you doing?
- (rev. 7') ... is² in this place. Are you not up in Ḥattuša? I will ... the road to **Egypt**.
- (rev. 8) *antari-* is desiring *gaši-*.
- (rev. 9') But now I already hold it as a border. Sometime in the x-th month/year
- (rev. 10') I will dispatch a good vessel from Ḥattuša.
- (rev. 11') Concerning what you wrote me about the “greeting gift” of the King of Aḥḥiyawa: Because I didn't know that -
- (rev. 12') whether or not his messenger brought something - I took a silver rhyton
- (rev. 13') trimmed in gold away from the “greeting gifts” of (the King of) **Egypt** and sent these to you.
- (rev. 14') Send me whatever you think right. now there is no (more?) gold (here) with me. Silver too has not yet been brought to me. But if silver had been brought to me, I would not have worked *so slowly* But now there is no silver here with me.
- (rev. 18'-23') From ... ^m...-pinizzi came, and ... him. ... from the road to **Egypt** ... from Tattašša ... the road to **Egypt** it remains afterward ... when to me ...

This letter was addressed by the king of Arzawa to Ḥattušili III¹¹⁶⁷, probably answering to an accusation advanced by the Hittite king of having directly sent gift to another person, without his permission (this could be the interpretation of the word of the Hittite king in Rs. 6'). The Arzawean king replies that probably the Great King has been badly-informed (thus maybe the meaning of the sentence in Rs. 7': Ú-UL-za-kán URUKÛ.BABBAR-ši, “are you not up in Ḥattuša”) and quotes, in no better defined context (Rs. 7'), the “road of/to Egypt”, KASKAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i, also quoted in the following Rs. 19' and 21'. Despite the meaning of the sentence is not clear, we can supposed that the Arzawean king is here dealing with some objects coming from/directed to Egypt.

In Rs. 9', the vassal king also adds: [kin]u-un-ma-an ka-ru-ú ZAG-an ḥar-mi, “now I already hold it as a border”, probably stating, as a defence to Ḥattušili's accusation, that he did not interlaced

¹¹⁶⁵ Cf. the transliteration in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 392-393.

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. the German translation in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 394.

¹¹⁶⁷ The sender and the addressee of this letter were firstly suggested by JASINK 2005.

direct contacts with the Egyptian land. As a proof for his good faith, the king of Arzawa says he has already sent to the Hittite king “a silver *rhyton*, trimmed in gold” taken from “the greeting gifts of (the King of) Egypt” (nukán ka-a-aš-ma *BI-IB-RU KÙ.BABBAR* / [*IŠ-TU KÙ.*]SIG₁₇ *MAŠ-LU IŠ-TU ŠUL-MAN KUR* Mi-iz-ri-i ar-ḫa da-aḫ-ḫu-un). This remark is noteworthy, because we have already seen how the *rhyta* were typical objects exchanged between the two countries (see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 1; cf. this section, *supra*, texts nos 27.c, 32.b and 33.d). Furthermore, it is clear in this document that sometimes such gifts did not reached directly Ḫattuša, but were also sent from Egypt to other Hittite vassals, such as the king of Arzawa, in this case¹¹⁶⁸. The other quotation of Egypt in Rs. 18’-23’ is not so clear and does not allow to gain any further information.

c. KUB XXVI 89 (ÄHK no. 104, L1, pp. 214-215):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration

- 1' [.....-]ir [...
2' [.....-]aḫ-ḫi-i[š- ...
3' [.....-]ki ku-u-un [...
4' [.....] x [] x NIN-IA [...

5' [NIN-IA-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR nu-ua^{LÚ.MEŠ}T]E₄-ME-IA u-i-iš-ki-mi nu-ua DUMU.SAL
^{LÚ.MEŠ}T]E₄-ME-IA [uš-kán-du]
6' [nu-ua-aš-ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da me-mi-iš-k]án-du DUMU.SAL-ia-ua A-NA^{LÚ.MEŠ}T]E₄-ME-IA me-
na-aḫ-ḫa[-an-da me-ma-ú]
7' [ma-a-an-mu DUMU.SAL pí-eš-ti nu A-N]A DUMU.SAL-TI a-pa-a-at iš-ḫi-ú-ul a-pí-ia i-ia-mi nu-
mu [ša-ku-ua-aš-ša-ra-an]
8' [iš-ḫi-ú-la-aš UKÛ-an] i-ia-mi [.....]

9' [ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL] KUR^{URU}KA-RA-^dDU-NI-IA-AŠ-ua ku-iš I-NA **KUR(!)**^{URU}**MI-**
IZ-RI-I e-e[š-zi nu-ua-ra-aš-za]
10' [e-ku-ni-ma-an-pát a-uš-z]i nu-ua-ra-an IGI.ḪI.A-ua Ú-UL uš-ki-iz-zi me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da-ia-ua-[aš-
ši]
11' [^{LÚ}T]E₄-MU Ú-UL ku-ua-pí-ik-k]i me-mi-iš-ta ka-a-aš me-mi-aš Ú-UL e-eš-zi^{LÚ.MEŠ}T]E₄-ME-E ku[-i-
uš u-i-iš-kán-zi]
12' [nu-uš-š me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-d]a a-ra-an-ta-ri nam-ma A-NA DUMU.SAL-TI me-mi-iš-kán-zi
DUMU[.SAL-i]
13' [pí-ra-an^{LÚ.MEŠ}T]E₄-ME-E NIND]A-an az-zi-ik-ki-ir ua-a-tar-ra-aš-ši pí-ra-an ak-ku-uš-k[i-ir nu a-
pu-u-un ḪUL-lu-un]
14' [me-mi-an iš-ta-ma-aš-t]a-pát ku-ua-at na-an-za-an ḫa-a-iš-pát ku-ua-at [.....]

15' [NIN-IA ku-it I-NA o o KUR^{URU}K]I-EN-ZA KUR^{URU}A-MUR-RI i-ia-a[t-ta-ti ...
16' [..... **KUR**]^{URU}**MI-IZ-RI-I** Ú-U[L
17' [..... x]-š-i-ia x [x
18' [.....]ú-id-du [x
Einseitig erhaltene Tafel

Translation¹¹⁶⁹

- 1' [.....] [...
2' [.....] [...
3' [.....] diese(n) [...
4' [.....]. meine Schwester[

¹¹⁶⁸ However, this is just a speculation, because the Hittite text (*IŠ-TU ŠUL-MAN KUR* Mi-iz-ri-i) does not allow to understand if the gift was *directed to* (the king of) Egypt or *coming from* Egypt.

¹¹⁶⁹ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 322-324.

- 5' [Was du, meine Schwester, mir, wie folgt, geschrieben hast]: „Meine [Ge]sandten werde ich
regelmäßig schicken, und meine Gesandten [sollen jeweils] die Tochter [sehen]
6' [und mit ihr sprechen] dürfen! Die Tochter aber [soll] meinen Gesandten gegenü[ber sprechen
dürfen]!“
7' [Wenn du mir die Tochter gibst], dann werde ich [f]ür die Tochter jenen (erwähnten) Vertrag
machen, und ich werde mich [zu einem aufrichtigen]
8' [Vertragspartner] machen.
-
- 9' [Was du, wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „Die Tochter] des Landes Babylon, die sich im Land **Ägypten**
auf[hält, die]
10' [erleb]t [(nur) [Gefühl]skälte], und kein Augenpaar darf sie ansehen. [Ihr] gegenüber aber
11' hat [ein Gesandter niemals] sprechen dürfen.“ Dieser Fall ist nicht (so)! Die Gesandten, d[ie man
herzuschicken pflegt],
12' dürfen [ihr (auch) gegenü]bertreten! Darüber hinaus dürfen sie regelmäßig mit der Tochter sprechen!
13' [Die Gesandten] pflegten [vor der] Toch[ter Bro]t zu essen und pflegt[en] vor ihr Wasser zu trinken.
14' Warum hast du bloß [auf jene Verleumdung gehört], und warum hast du sie bloß für zuverlässig
gehalten?
-
- 15' [Da du, meine Schwester, in das Land Q]insa (und ins) Land Amurru geh[st ...
16' [..... das Land] **Ägypten** nich[t ...
17' [.....] .. [.....
18' [.....] er/sie soll [k]ommen! [.....
- Einseitig erhaltene Tafel

Cf. also the transliteration and translation in CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 86-88: KUB XXVI 89 (Bo 1610) = CTH 209, 5 (that I report integrally, because it will be quoted in the following comment):

Transliteration

- x + 1 []
2' []-ir[]
3' []-aḫ-ḫi-i/uš?[]
4' [x] ku-u-un[]
[x NIN-YA []
-
- 5' [lú.meš^T]E-ME-YA ú-i-iš-ki-mi nu-wa DUMU.SAL lú.meš^T TE-ME-YA
6' []x-du DUMU.SAL-ya-wa A-NA lú.meš^TTE-ME-YA me-na-aḫ-ḫa[-an-da
7' []x DUMU.SAL^{ti} a-pa-a-at iš-ḫi-ú-ul a-pí-ya i-ya-mi nu-mu
8' []i-ya-mi
-
- 9' [DUMU.SAL]KUR^{uru}Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš-ws ku-iš I-NA **KUR[!]uruMi-iz-ri-i** x
10' []x nu-wa-ra-an IGI^{hi.a}-wa *Ú-UL* uš-ki-iz-zi me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da-ya-wa
11' []x me-mi-iš-ta ka-a-aš me-mi-aš *Ú-UL* e-eš-zi lú.meš^TTE-ME-E ku[-
12' []-uš a-ra-an-ta-ri na-ma-aš A-NA DUMU.SAL^{ti} me-mi-iš-kán-zi i[?][-
13' []x-an az-zi-ik-ki-ir wa-a-tar-ra-aš-ši pí-ra-an ak-ku-uš-k[i-ir
14' []x-pát ku-wa-at na-an-za-an ḫa-a-iš-pát ku-wa-at
-
- 15' [KUR^{uru}Ki]-en-za KUR^{uru}A-mur-ri i-ya-x[
16' []**uruMi-iz-ri-i** *Ú* x[
17' []x-ši-ya x-a-x []
18' []x-id-du x []
-
- x + 1 []
2' []
3' [x] ce (Acc.)[]
4' [] ma sœur []

Translation

5'-6' [«] j'envoie mes [mes]sagers ; que la fille [] mes messagers et la fille en
présen[ce] de mes messagers
7' [] j'établirai alors ce lien avec[?] la fille ; alors à moi
8' [] je ferai »

9' [« la fille] de Babylone qui a été [envoyée[?]] en **Égypte**
10' [] il ne la verra pas des yeux et par contre
11' [] il déclara : « Cette parole-ci n'existe pas ». Lo[rsque] les messagers
12' [] se placeront, ils diront en outre à la fille
13' ils se sont régalez de[] et [ont] bu beaucoup d'eau devant elle
14' [] pourquoi donc toi-même l'as-tu crue, pourquoi ?

15' [Ka]deš, le pays d'Amurru []
16' [] **l'Égypte** et []
17' [] []
18' [] qu'il []

This letter has been amply commented by Cornil and Lebrun:

“La structure générale de ce fragment de lettre comportant une seule colonne très large au recto et au verso n'est pas sans rappeler la lettre de Puduḫēpa au roi d'Alasya, KUB XXI 38¹¹⁷⁰, dont notre fragment doit être contemporain. L'auteur et le destinataire de la lettre sont inconnus, mais la rédaction en langue hittite permet de supposer que l'auteur de la lettre est hittite, et probablement s'agit-il de Hattusili III ou de son épouse Puduḫēpa qu'il fait peut-être reconnaître derrière le mot NIN-YA de la ligne 4'. Le passage ici conservé paraît essentiellement en évidence l'attitude d'une princesse de Babylone envoyée en Égypte comme courtisane de Ramsès II ; KUB XXI 38 V^o 7-9 relate qu'une fille du roi de Babylone envoyée à la cour d'Égypte reçut très mal les envoyés de Puduḫēpa venus lui demander de devenir l'épouse du roi d'Alasya ; il est plausible d'établir une corrélation entre la « fille de Babylone » de KUB XXI 38 et celle de notre texte, d'autant plus que ce dernier fait aussi état de démêlés entre cette princesse et des messagers envoyés sans doute par la reine du Hatti ; il est aussi fait état d'un mensonge dont l'auteur aussi bien que le contenu restent mystérieux, mais qui a réussi en tous cas à abuser quelqu'un, éventuellement le destinataire de la lettre. La ligne 15' fait probablement allusion à un voyage de la reine hittite dans la région de Kadeš et le pays d'Amurru si l'on reconnaît dans iya[-une forme mutilée du verbe iya- = « aller »]¹¹⁷¹.

The proposed comparison between the content of this letter and that of KUB XXI 38 seems to be quite striking: the quotation of the episode of the Babylonian princess who refused to meet some messengers, here mentioned by Cornil and Lebrun, directly recalls KUB XXI 38, Rs. 7-9:

ku-it kiš-an TAŠ-PUR NIN-IA-ua-mu IŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL KUR URU KAR-DU-NI-IA-AŠ-ua ku-iš KUR URU M[I-]IZ-RI-I / [p]í-ia-an-za e-eš-ta nu-ua-aš-ši GIM-an LÚ.MEŠ TE₄-ME EGIR[-an]-da pa-a-ir nu-ua-ra-at EGIR-pa IŠ-TU IKU a-ra-an-ta-at / [nu-m]u ku-u-un me-mi-ia-an LÚ TE₄-MU LUGAL KUR URU KAR-^dDU-NI[-]A<-AŠ' / ^dEN.LÍL.EN.UKÜ.MEŠ, “Meine Schwester hat mir geschrieben: ‚Als zu der Tochter des Landes Babylon, die ins Land Ägypten / [geg]eben worden war, später Boten kamen, da standen sie hinten auf dem Acker!‘ / Diese Geschichte hat [m]ir der Bote des Königs des Landes Babylon (namens) Ellil-bēl-niše, erzählt”¹¹⁷².

Also interesting is the expression attested in l. 13': [...]x-an az-zi-ik-ki-ir wa-a-tar-ra-aš-ši pí-ra-an ak-ku-uš-k[i-ir, “ils se sont régalez de[...] et [ont] bu beaucoup d'eau devant elle”, whose interpretation is quite difficult, but it could refer to a welcome ceremony for the messengers, performed in front of the Hittite princess. The supposition of a possible journey made by Puduḫēpa in the Amurru area, could be supported by a similar indication coming from KUB XXI 38 Rs. 1-3:

¹¹⁷⁰ For this letter, see *supra*, text no. 35.

¹¹⁷¹ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 87-88.

¹¹⁷² For different interpretation of the passage, see CORDANI 2017, p. 111, note 1.

ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÁŠ-PUR GIM-an-ua-mu DUMU.SAL pa-ra-a [p]í-eš-ti nu-ua-ták-kán A-UA-TE^{MEŠ} ku-i-e ZI-ni / nu-ua-ra-aš-mu ma-a-an ḫa-at-ra-a-ši-ia nu-ua-ra-at-mu a-pí[-i]a ŠU-PUR nu a-pa-a-aš me-mi-ia-aš i-ua-ar [ŠE]Š-IA / SAL.LUGAL ku-it I-NA KUR^{URU}]A-MUR-RI ú-iz-zi ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-aḫ-mi-at-ta, “Was du, mein Bruder, mir wie folgt geschrieben hast: „Sobald du mir die Tochter gibst, - wenn du / mir über die Angelegenheiten, die dir im Sinne (liegen) / auch schreiben willst, so schreibe mir (erst) dann darüber!“ - diese Rede paßt zu meinem [Bru]der. / Weil die Königin ins Land Amurru kommen wird und ich dir nahe sein werde”.

The reason for this journey, even if it could be envisaged within a meeting with Ramses (or, more probably, with his messengers), as suggested in the quoted passage from KUB XXI 38, remains still unclear: a glimpse can be seen in the following sentence, Rs. 3-4:

nu-kán A-NA SAL.LUGAL / ku-i-e A-UA-TE^{MEŠ} ZI-ni na-at A-NA ŠEŠ-IA a-pí-iz-za ḫa-at-ra-a-mi ŠEŠ-IA-ma-at-za UL mar-ki-ši ma-la-ši-at-za, “Werde ich meinem Bruder von dort aus über die Angelegenheiten schreiben, die (mir), der Königin, / im Sinne (liegen). Du, mein Bruder, wirst sie aber nicht mißbilligen, (sondern) sie billigen (müssen)”.

Probably, this journey in the Amurru land represented the first part of the path made by the royal delegation to lead the Hittite princess towards Egypt: it is possible that Puduḫepa actually escorted her daughter till to the Syrian area, where he was entrusted to the Egyptian messengers, together with a letter of the Hittite queen addressed to her future son-in-law.

d. KUB XXVI 90 (Bo 3297) = CTH 209, 6
CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 88-89:

Transliteration

V^o IV

x + 1 INIM ŠA KUR Mi-iz-ri-ya ku-it GIM[-an]
 2 iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši na-at-mu i-ya-[-]
 3 ḫa-at-re-eš-ki

4 ki-i-ya-ku-it TUP-PU A-NA LUGAL KUR Mi-iz-ri-i
 5 ḫa-at-ra-a-nu-un na-at tu-e-el
 6 ^{lu}PÍT-ḪAL-LUM p-e-da-ú

Translation

1-3 Lors[que] tu entendras aussi une affaire relative à l'Égypte, écris-le moi [].

4-6 De même, que ton cavalier emmène cette lettre-ci que j'ai écrite au pharaon.

Also for this text, Cornil and Lebrun offer a good comment:

“Il s'agit d'un « billet » royal relative aux affaires d'Égypte et peut-être de Syrie du sud ; il témoigne d'une part de l'intérêt que le roi du Hatti porte à l'Égypte et d'autre part de l'importance du courrier échangé entre la cour hittite et la cour égyptienne, fait confirmé par les lettres retrouvées ; ce billet doit remonter au règne de Hattusili III-Puduḫepa et est adressé à un prince servant d'intermédiaire entre le pharaon et le monarque hittite, vraisemblablement un roi syrien ; l'hypothèse selon laquelle le billet est adressé au roi d'Amurru nous semble fort plausible”¹¹⁷³.

This letter could have been indeed addressed to a vassal king of the Amurru area by the Hittite king, asking to provide any information involving Egypt; on the contrary, in §11 of the treaty between Tuḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105, see *supra*, text no. 15), the Hittite king asks to

¹¹⁷³ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 88-89.

his vassal “not to inform (secretly) the Egyptian king”: these two passages clearly show how important was the role of the king of Amurru in the communication between the Egyptian and the Hittite zones. The request of exchanging a horseman to dispatch a message to the pharaoh is a clear evidence of the importance of the Syrian area as a link zone between the pharaoh and the Hittite Great king.

Cornil and Lebrun suggest to date the message at the time of Ḫattušili: in this case, the occasion for the sending of such a message could be envisaged in the stipulation of both the Treaty or the interdynastic marriage; however, being nor the sender’s or the addressee’s name reported, it is also possible to date the message back to the time of Šuppiluliuma I, when direct contacts between the two courts are attested (see e.g. the “*daḫamunzu* episode”). Nevertheless, in absence of further dating clues, it remains just a speculation.

e. KUB XXI 36 (ÄHK no. 106, L3, pp. 224-225):

Ramses an Puduḫepa

Transliteration¹¹⁷⁴

- 1' [NIN-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÀ]Š-PUR ŠÀ É.LUGAL-ua-kán ku[-ua-pí ú-ua-nu-un
DUMU.SAL.MEŠ LUGAL-ua]
- 2' [ku-i-e-eš ŠÀ É.LUGAL ú-e-]mi-ia-nu-un A-NA É-TI[-ua-ra-aš šal-la-nu-nu-un]
- 3' [DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-KA ua-al-ki-iš-ša]r-aḫ-ta nu-kán ku-e-da-ni S[AL-ni Otten: u[d-da-ni]? ŠA
SAL.LUGAL an-na-a-an]
- 4' [ti-iš-ša-a-an na-aš-mu GAL-i]š (?) e-eš-zi-iš nu am-me-el a-aš-š[a-u-i (?)] ...
-
- 5' [NIN-IA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-a]n TÀŠ-PUR DUMU.SAL-ua ku-in A-NA ŠEŠ-IA p[í-iḫ-ḫi]
- 6' [nu-ua-ra-an-ták-kán am-m]u-uk ZI-ni ḫa-an-ta-nu-un ua-ar-pal-la[-mi-ua-ra-an ta-me-da-aš]
- 7' [ŠA LUGAL.GAL DUMU.SAL.MEŠ K]AR Otten: oder l]a-a -u-an-zi-ua-aš-ši-kán kat-ta Ú-
UL ku-it-ki [tar-ḫa-an-zi]
- 8' [nu-ua ku-in DUMU.SAL A-]NA ŠEŠ-IA ku-ua-pí pí-iḫ-ḫi nu-ua-ra-an-kán A-NA [DUMU.SAL
LUGAL]
- 9' [KUR^{URU}A-AŠ-ŠUR A-N]A D[UMU].S[AL] LUGAL KUR^{URU}ZU-LA-PÍ ḫa-an-ta-a-mi [a-pí-e-da-
aš-ua-ra-an-kán]
- 10' [Ú-UL ku-ua-pí-ik-ki GAM-an iš-ḫi-i]ḫ-ḫi nu-ua-ra-an da-aš-ša-nu-mi [a-pí-e-da-aš]
- 11' [DUMU.SAL.MEŠ LUGAL nu-ua k]u-u-un ku-in da-a[š-ša-nu-mi] ...
- 12' [..... nu-ua DUMU.SAL ku-in A.NA ŠEŠ-I]A ku-ua-pí p[í-iḫ-ḫi] ...
- 13' [..... nu(-ua?)-m]u(?)-kán [...] ...
- [14'] [...
Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹¹⁷⁵

- 1' [Was du aber, meine Schwester, mir, wie folgt, geschrieben hast: „A[ls ich] in den Palast [kam, da
zog ich die Prinzessinnen],
- 2' [die ich im Palast f]and, für die Familie [groß]“ (- so sage ich darauf:)
- 3' Du hast [deine Töchter perfekt ausgebildet, und eine F[rau(?), die Erfahrung (und) Erziehungsgabe
einer Königin]
- 4' [besitzt, die wird mir ein groß]er (?) Ruhm (?) sein und [wird] meinem Besi[tz (?) förderlich sein o.
ä.]
-
- 5' [Was du aber, meine Schwester, mir, wie fol]gt, geschrieben hast: „Die Tochter, die [ich] meinem
Bruder g[eben werde],

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. the transliterations in HELCK 1963, p. 96; STEFANINI 1964, pp. 58-59; HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 335 (no. 227).

¹¹⁷⁵ Cf. the other German translation in HELCK 1963, p. 97; Italian translations in STEFANINI 1964, pp. 58-59 and CORDANI 2017, p. 112. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 344-346.

- 6' [die] habe ich [dir] bewußt gleichgestellt. [Ich will sie] überlegen machen [gegenüber anderen]
 7' [Großkönigstöchtern]; neben ihr [soll man] nichts (Vergleichbares) [f]inden [können]!
 8' [Die Tochter, die] ich meinem Bruder einmal geben werde, soll ich sie der [Tochter des Königs]
 9' [des Landes Assur (und) d]er T[ochter] des Königs des Landes Zulabi gleichstellen? [An jene]
 10' will ich [sie keineswegs bind]en! [Ich will sie] mächtiger/bedeutender machen [gegenüber jenen]
 11' [Königstöchtern! D]iese (Tochter), die ich mä[chtig/bedeutend machen will, ...]
 12' [..... Die Tochter, die ich mei]nem [Bruder] einmal g[eben werde, ...
 13' [..... m]ir(?) [...
 [14'] [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This document seems to be the translation in Hittite of the reply sent by Ramses to KUB XXI 38, the long letter sent by Puduḫepa to the pharaoh (see *supra*, text no. 35). Ramses reports a message written by Puduḫepa, who states how she helped the princess of the (Hittite) palace to give birth and to breed the new-borns (this the common interpretation of the passage in Vs. 1'-2', probably a quotation of KUB XXI 38, Vs. 59'-61').

Then, Ramses describes the qualities he wandered in the Hittite princess, his new wife: he has to be wise and educated like a queen (Vs. 3'-4'). Puduḫepa replies specifying that she took care personally of the future bride, wanted her to become superior to all the other princesses, being better than the princesses of Assur (or Babylon)¹¹⁷⁶ and Zulapi (Vs. 5'-9'). This woman, Puduḫepa affirms, will become Ramses' wife (Vs. 11'-12').

f. KUB XXVI 53 (ÄHK no. 107, L4, pp. 224-227):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration¹¹⁷⁷

- 1' [...
 2' [nu-ua A-NA DUMU.SAL ERÍ]N.MEŠ KUR URU M-IZ-RI-I IGI-a[n(?)]-da pa-a-an-du]
 3' [nu-mu DINGIR.MEŠ UG]U-TI DINGIR.MEŠ ŠAP<-LU->TI ku-ut[-ru-e-eš a-ša-an-du]
 4' [A-NA DUM]U.SAL-kán ku-ua-pí Ì-an SAG.DU-i [I-NA KUR URU ḪAT-TI li-el-ḫu-ua-an-zi]
 5' [nu-mu EGIR-p]a ú-e-ḫu-ua-ar Ú-UL nam-ma a[m-mu-uk-ma Ì-an li-el-ḫu-ma-aš]
 6' [INIM.MEŠ Ú-]UL me-ma-aḫ-ḫi na-at ku-iš-ma, me-ma[-i na-aš-mu me-ma-i ḫa-me-in-kán-za-ua]
 7' [A-NA LUGAL k]a-a-aš DUMU.SAL ka-ru-ú ka-a-ša Ì.D[ÛG.GA A-NA DUMU.SAL pí-ia-nu-un]
 8' [nu-za-kán DU]MU-KA ku-iš šal-li-iš šal-li pí-di [ŠA KUR URU ḪAT-TI e-ša-ri]
 9' [nu-za m]a-a-an DUMU.NITA GAL-ma Ú-UL i[-la-li-ia-zi na-at-mu pa-a-i]

 10' [ku-ua-p]í-ia-za LUGAL.GAL DAM-KA-ma ...
 11' [.....] x LU.MEŠ UKU.UŠ A-N[A (?)] ...
 12' [..... na-a]t(?) -za(?) GAM dam-ma-aš-š[a- ...] x
 13' [..... (-)d]a(?) -aḫ-ḫ[i] x x [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹¹⁷⁸

- 1' [...
 2' [und die Trup]pen des Landes **Ägypten** [sollen der Tochter] ent[gegengehen]!“
 3' [Die überirdi]schen [Götter] (und) die unterirdischen Götter [sollen] Zeug[en sein]:
 4' Sobald [man der To]chter Öl aufs Haupt [gießen wird im Lande Ḫattuša],
 5' [gibt es für mich] keine [U]mkehr mehr! [Ich aber werde die Formel (eig. Worte) des Ölausgießens]
 6' nicht sprechen; doch der, welcher sie sprach[t, wird für mich sprechen: „Verbunden]

¹¹⁷⁶ Edel preferred to integrate “Assur” instead of Babylon, for reasons of space, while CORDANI 2017, p. 112 and PINTORE 1978, p. 157, note 152 have rather “Babylon”, comparing this passage with KUB III 37 + Vs. 10'-11' (see *supra*, text no. 22.c), where the mention of Assur lacks, too; cf. CORDANI 2017, p. 112, note 3.

¹¹⁷⁷ Cf. the transliteration in HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 241 (no. 232).

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, p. 125. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 346-349.

7' [dem König ist d]iese Tochter bereits“. Siehe, [ich habe] g[utes] Öl [für die Tochter gesandt].
 8' Dein Hoher [So]hn (Thronfolger), der [sich] auf den Thron (die Hohe Stelle) [des Landes Ḫattuša
 setzen wird] -
 9' [w]enn er aber die (Würde) des Hohen Sohnes nicht er[strebt (?), so gib sie mir]!

10' [Soba]ld (ich), der Großkönig, aber deine Gemahlin [. . .
 11' [.] Gefolgsleute fü[r (?)] . . .
 12' [.] und s[ie(?)] (werden) unterdrückten . . .
 13' [.] werde ich hin(?)bringen . . . [. . .
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

KUB XXVI 53 is surely to be included into the wedding dossier: the sender (Ramses according to Edel¹¹⁷⁹, or also Ḫattušili/Puduḫepa, for Cordani¹¹⁸⁰) states that the Egyptian gods¹¹⁸¹ (or the Egyptian troops, as in Edel's transliteration, [ERÍ]N.MEŠ), would reach the Hittite princess to perform the ointment ceremony, in front of the “gods of the Underworld” (already quoted in KUB III 24 + Vs. 6'-7', see *supra*, text no. 23).

Lines 3'-7' also describe the ceremony itself, which seems to be performed in Ḫatti: the Hittite king is appointed to pour the oil (directly sent by Ramses from Egypt, see l. 7') on the head of her daughter, thus sanctioning her belonging to Ramses ([*nu-mu* EGIR-*p*]a *ú-e-ḫu-ua-ar Ú-UL*, “[gibt es für mich] keine [U]mkehr mehr!”, l. 5'). Ramses explains how he would not pour in person the oil on her new wife's head, but another man (i.e., Ḫattušili) would pronounce the official formula: *ḫa-me-in-kán-za-ua* / [A-NA LUGAL *k*]a-a-aš DUMU.SAL *ka-ru-ú*, “Verbunden] / [dem König ist d]iese Tochter bereits” (l. 6'-7').

The following lines quote a “great son” (DUMU.NITA GAL), probably a first-rank prince, perhaps involved in plans dealing with the royal succession in Ḫatti¹¹⁸². The sentence could be refer to an eventual future male child of the “First Marriage”, who would become the successor of Ḫattušili III. Edel suggested instead that Ramses was proposing himself as a possible successor, in the case the legitimate son of Ḫattušili would have not been interested in the throne (an hypothesis very difficult to be tested)¹¹⁸³. Houwink ten Cate advances instead another interpretation: the DUMU.NITA GAL here quoted could be referred to a “great son” of another country, who could have married the daughter of Ramses and Maathorneferure (as stated in KBo I 23, see *supra*, text 33.m)¹¹⁸⁴: in this case, because of chronological reasons (the marriage in question could have been proposed only after the birth of a daughter), the lady for whom the ointment was performed should be the second Hittite princess who married Ramses.

g. KBo XVIII 23 (ÄHK no. 109, L6, pp. 228-229):

Ḫattušili oder Puduḫepa an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

1' [. DINGIR.MEŠ-*kán am-mu-uk ZI-aš*] *ar-nu-ir nu* DUMU.SAL LUGAL [. . . ?]
 2' [A-NA ŠEŠ-IA Û A-NA DUMU.SAL-IA *pí-e-ir nu* LUGAL.G]AL DUMU.SAL *ḫa-an-ta(-an)-na-aš*
 3' [*u-uh-ḫi*] DUMU.SAL-KA A-NA ZI-IA
 4' [A-NA LUGAL.MEŠ *ku-e-da-aš ua-tar-na-aḫ-ḫ*]a-at-ta-an DÙ-nu-un
 5' [*na-at-mu* EGIR-*pa Ú-UL me-mi-ir* A-NA] ŠEŠ-IA EGIR-*pa Ú-UL me-ma-an-zi*
 6' [*nu-za* A-NA DUMU.SAL-KA *še-ir am-]mu-uk du-uš-ku-un* KUR.MEŠ^{URU} ḪAT-TI-ia-za
 7' [*du-uš-ki-ir nu-kán ne-e-pí-iš*] *da-ga(!)-an-zi-pa-aš* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ *du-uš-ga[ra-an-ni]*

¹¹⁷⁹ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 346.

¹¹⁸⁰ CORDANI 2017, p. 124.

¹¹⁸¹ Thus, HAGENBUCHNER 1989, vol. 2, p. 341: “[x DING]IR^{MEŠ}”.

¹¹⁸² All the interpretations about the identity of this person are here reported from CORDANI 2017, pp. 124-125.

¹¹⁸³ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 347.

¹¹⁸⁴ HOWINK TEN CATE 1996, p. 51.

8' [e-šir DINGIR.MEŠ-ša-ma-aš ku-it] aš-šu-la-an i-e-ir ne-pí-ši GAM-an GIM-ari A[-NA ŠEŠ-IA]
 9' [Ú A-NA DUMU.SAL-IA SILIM ki-i]k-ki-iš-ta-at am-mu-⟨uk-⟩ma DINGIR.MEŠ a-pí-ni-eš-šu[-ua
 -an]
 10' [du-uš-ga-ra-tar i-e-ir nu-]kán ŠEŠ-IA DUMU.SAL-KA Ú-UL 𐎶 ši-ua-ri-i-ši ...
 11' [..... ša-kán-]ta-tar-ša KÙ.GI 𐎶 pu-ḪAR-ša-an[(-)]x
 12' [..... ú-]ua-te-ir ma-a-an-za-kán ki-iš-šu-ua [-an(-) ...
 13' [..... š]a-ki-ia-nu-un ma-an-za-kán ma-a[-an-]ni(?)
 14' [.....]ma-an-mu-kán ma-a-an a-pí-ia[...
 15' [..... x] 2 KUR.KUR.MEŠ ki-š-šu-u[a-an(-) ...
 16' [.....]LUGAL Ú-UL ku-ua-p[í-ik-ki ...

Rs.

1' [..... ša-a]n-ḫi-eš-ki-nu-un [x ...
 2' [.....] ša-[a]k-la-in-na
 3' [..... -a]n-kán ša-ki(!)-ia-zi
 4' [..... -i]t-an-kán ḫu-u-da-a-a[k
 5' [..... x] kap-pí-iš
 6' [..... m]a-an-kán am-mu-uk [
 7' [..... am-]mu-uk SAG.DU-an [
 8' [..... e]-da-ni 𐎶 ua-an-na [?
 9' [..... -i]a(?)-an-kán
 10' [..... (-)ḫ]a-an-da
 11' [..... x-an
 12' [.....] x [

Translation¹¹⁸⁵

Vs.

1' [..... Die Götter haben mir einen Wunsch] verwirklicht und [haben]
 2' [meinem Bruder und meiner Tochter] eine Prinzessin [geschenkt, und] (ich), der [G]roß[könig,
 [sehe] in der Tochter das (Wirken) der göttlichen Vorsehung.
 3' [.....] deine Tochter in meinem Gemüt [...
 4' [Die Könige, denen ich eine Mitteil]ung gemacht habe,
 5' [die haben mir nicht geantwortet, und (auch)] meinem Bruder werden sie nicht antworten!
 6' Ich habe mich [über deine Tochter] gefreut, und die Länder von Ḫattuša
 7' [haben sich gefreut. Der Himmel], die Erde, die Berge (und) die Flüsse [waren] in Freu[de],
 8' [daß die Götter euch] Glück bereitet haben. Als unter dem Himmel [meinem Bruder]
 9' [und meiner Tochter] jeweils [Heil ge]schah, haben mir die Götter ebensol[che]
 10' [Freude bereitet]. Du, mein Bruder, vernachlässig[st](?) deine Tochter nicht[
 11' [..... Applikationen aus Gold] [...
 12' [..... (Personen) f]ührte man her. Wenn solche[s/r ...
 13' [.....] ich [v]erlautbarte, wenn [.....] hätte/wäre, [...
 14' [.....] Wenn mir dort [.....] hätte/wäre, [...
 15' [.....]. die zwei Länder solch[es ...
 16' [.....] der König nirge[nds/niem]als ...

Rs.

1' [.....] ich [er]strebte (o. ä.) immer wieder [...
 2' [.....] und den Ritus
 3' [.....] .. er gibt kund
 4' [.....] .. eilend[s
 5' [.....] klein
 6' [.....m]ir/mich [
 7' [.....m]ir/mich die Person [
 8'-12' [.....

¹¹⁸⁵ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 352-353.

This letter, surely sent by Ḫattušili or Puduḫepa to Ramses, begins with the felicitation for the birth of a princess from the “First Marriage”, which is described as the result of the willing of the gods (Vs. 1’-2’).

The following two lines seems to report Ḫattušili’s communication of this happy event to other kings, probably in view of a future interdynastic marriage; Ḫattušili also complains for having not received any reply by these other kings and adds that they probably would have not answered to Ramses, too (Vs. 4’-5’).

Vs. 6’-10’ report a long sentence of the Hittite king which shows the happiness of the Hittite gods for the birth of the new daughter; Vs. 10’ ends with a request advanced by Ḫattušili to Ramses, asking not to forget this new-born (a sentence probably connected to some future plan for another interdynastic marriage). Vs. 11’ probably reported, in a fragmentary sentence, the quotation of a gift described as decorated with gold appliques.

The rest of the obverse is very fragmentary, but it was probably related to the aforementioned plans for an interdynastic marriage. The reverse is equally in a very fragmentary state, but Ḫattušili’s interest (*ša-a]n-ḫi-eš-ki-nu-un*, “ich [er]strebte immer wieder”, Rs. 1’) for a no better explained ritual (*ša-[a]k-la-in-na*¹¹⁸⁶, Rs. 2’) can be grasped (maybe a ritual to be performed on the occasion of the birth of Ramses’ and Maathorneferure’s daughter).

¹¹⁸⁶ For the meaning of this term, see e.g. TISCHLER 2001, p. 139: “*saklai-* c. ‘Brauch, Sitte; Ritus, Zeremonie’, auch ‘Amtspflicht; traditionelle (Kult-)Aufwendung’”.

E. HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

42. CTH 211: FRAGMENTS OF ANNALS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Annals
Dating	14 th -13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Report about the position of Egyptian troops (in Syria?)

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Akk. ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ra-an</i>	KUB XL 30 Rs. 8'

a. KUB XL 30 = Bo 6614

No transliterations and translations are available, so far¹¹⁸⁷.

b. KBo L 95 = 1465/u (not quoted in DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, nor DEL MONTE 1991).

LEBRUN – DEGRÈVE 2008, pp. 129-130¹¹⁸⁸:

Transliteration

x+1	^d U []
2'	^d U KI.KAL.BAD []
3'	na-at []
4'	a-aš-šu-li []
5'	NU.TIL ^m A-w-x []
6'	e-er (?) -u-e[n]
7'	ú-it nu []
8'	na-an ki-iš-[ša-an]
9'	<i>IŠ-TU ÉRIN</i> ^{MEŠ} ANŠE.[KUR.RA ^{MEŠ}]
10'	ka-ru-ú <i>I-NA</i> KUR []
11'	e-eš-ta nu-kán <i>A-BU</i> [-YA]
12'	^{LÚ} <i>TE-MU</i> EGIR-pa-pát na[-iš-ta (?)]
13'	wa-tar-na-aḥ-ta ku-ít (-) m[a (?)]
14'	<i>ÉRIN</i> ^{MEŠ} ^{URU} <i>Mi-iz-ri</i> le-e []
15'	<i>ÉRIN</i> ^{MEŠ} ^{URU} <i>Mi-iz-ri</i> -aš-ma x[]
16'	[K]I.KAL.BAD ^{HLA} []
17'	[] x []

Translation

x+1	Le dieu de l'orage []
2'	Le dieu de l'orage de l'armée []
3'	Et ceci []
4'	bien []
5'	pas complètement Aw...[]
6'	nous arriv[ons (?)]
7'	il est venu et []
8'	et lui ain[si (?)]
9'	avec l'infanterie et la charrerie []
10'	déjà au pays []

¹¹⁸⁷ I am going to publish this fragment in a following contribution.

¹¹⁸⁸ Cf. GRODDEK 2008, p. 80, no. 95.

11'	il fut et mon père []
12'	le messager précisément reconduisit []
13'	il enjoignit de []
14'	les troupes égyptiennes ne []
15'	Et les troupes égyptiennes []
16'	[	] l'armée [
17'	[(trop fragmentarie pour donner une traduction)]

According to the palaeographical analysis of signs MEŠ and LI, Lebrun and Degrève dated this document before 1230 BC. Unfortunately, the fragmentarily of the text does not offer the possibility to completely understand the context and the topic of the document. Nevertheless, some considerations can be advanced:

1) the first lines quote the Storm god, but no other information could be argued about the role of the god within this text.

2) Following on, it is said that some people (maybe Hittites?) arrived in a undefined place (in lacuna, maybe the Ḫatti land) and faced the Egyptian army, composed of both chariotry and infantry.

3) Then, the father of the speaker, an Hittite king, sends a messenger to gain some information. In the last part, a mention is established about Egyptian troops, but with no other details (all in lacuna). Therefore, we can conclude that this document deals with a military confrontation (happened before 1230 BC) between an Hittite king and Egyptian army, within the Ḫatti land, or in a land under the Hittite control. These data are too scanty to better determine which conflict this text refers too: maybe the battles during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (see *supra*, text no. 1) or the battle of Kadesh, too.

43. CTH 212: FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT OR INSTRUCTION

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Instructions
Dating	15 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Struggles against Egyptians during the reign of Tuthaliya III(?) or Šuppiluliuma I

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XVI 32 IV 4

KBo XVI 32 (802/f) = CTH 212

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 89-91:

Transliteration

R^{o(?)} I

x + 1 [x mŠu-up-pi-lu-l]i-u-ma [LUGAL.GAL] LUGA]L KUR^{uru}Ḫa-at-ti]
 2' [x NA]-RA-AM^dU NIR.GÁL [(x)]

3' []-YA KUR.KUR^{meš} AN-NA-A-TI LUGAL A-LA-A[Ḫ-E-ŠU-NU-MA]
 4' [idU]D.KIB.NUN.ME UL-LA AN-NI-TI Û^{id}UD.KIB.[NUN.ME]
 5' []KUR-TI-ŠU TIR-ŠU UL-TU UL-LI-I
 6' []x-NI Û^{hur.sag}Ša-ri-ya-ni
 7' []x UL-TU UL-LI-TI A.AB.BA
 8' []KUR.KUR^{meš} AN-NA-TI LUGAL^mA-LA-AḪ-E-ŠU-NU-MA
 9' []-IR ŠU-NU-TI []
 10' []E-PU-UZ(?)]

Reste de la colonne perdu

V^{o(?)} IV

x + 1 []x[]
 2' []ša-an x []
 3' []ti-i-e-er []

4' [I-NA KUR^{ur} Mi-iz-ri-i pa-it[]
 5' []ku-el-ma A-BU-KA šu-u[-]
 6' [me-na-aḫ]-ḫa-an-da ku-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ta
 7' [ER]ÍN^{meš} a-ša-an-du-la-an
 8' []x-ta-la-an-ni pí-ya-an ḫar-t[a]
 9' []e-ep-ta na-an ta-šu-wa-aḫ[-ta]
 10' [-a]ḫ-ḫa-an-du-uš pa-ra-a
 11' []x A-NA A-BU-YA kar-tim-mi-y[a-at]
 12' []x-it ḫar-ga-an KUR-e
 13' []x-an ar-ḫa ḫar-ni-ik-ta
 14' []-ta da-li-iš-ta

15' [ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-za A-BU-YA DINDIR^{lim}-iš ki-ša-a[t]
 16' []x-ma-aš am-mu-uk nam-m[a]
 17' []x-ŠU ku-it x[]
 18' [-p]a ḫa-[]
 19' []x[]

Translation

R^{o(?)}

x + 1 [Šuppilul]iuma, [grand roi,] ro[i du Hatti,]
2' [pro]tégé du dieu de l'orage fort [(x)]

3' [] de ces pays le roi
4' [l'Eu]phrate n'(est) pas à celui-ci et l'Euphra[te]
5' [] de son pays depuis ce
6' [] et la montagne Sariyani
7' [] depuis la mer lointaine
8' [] de ces pays le roi
9' [] d'eux
10' [] ?

Reste de la colonne perdu

V^{o(?)} IV

x + 1 []
2' []
3' [] ils placèrent []

4' [] il alla [en] **Égypte** []
5' [] dont ton père []
6' [] porta la guerre
7' [] une garnison [de sol]dats
8' [] avai[t] donné en []
9' [] saisit ei il l'aveug[la]
10' []
11' [] s'irrit[a] contre mon père
12' [] le pays possédé
13' [] il l'anéantit
14' [] il laissa côté

15' [Lorsque mo]n [père] devin[t] dieu

16' [] en outre à moi []

17' []

18' []

19' []

The topic of this passage has been analysed by Cornil and Lebrun as follows:

“Nous avons affaire ici à un fragment de traité ou de protocole ; la partie conservée du recto^(?), rédigée en akkadien, fait allusion à des limites de territoires proches de l'Euphrate ; le verso^(?), rédigé lui en hittite, traite notamment des victoires d'un souverain hittite en territoire sous contrôle égyptien. Si le recto et le verso sont identifiés correctement et appartiennent à un même sujet, le texte concerne alors des décisions et des exploits guerriers accomplis par Suppiluliuma I^{er} probablement dans la partie syrienne soumise à l'influence égyptienne et mitannienne ; le V^o IV 1'-15' résumerait les faits guerriers du père de Suppiluliuma I dans la zone égyptienne ; à partir de IV 16', Suppiluliuma I rapporterait ses propres actes. Le Suppiluliuma de notre fragment ne peut être dès lors Suppiluliuma II, dernier grand roi hittite, puisque les Hittites, dans leurs textes historiques, suivent un ordre chronologique et qu'en IV 15' il serait question de la mort du père de l'auteur du texte dont les actes furent relatés en V^o IV 1'-15' (dans ce cas, l'auteur de la tablette ferait allusion à des faits remontant au règne de Tudhaliya III, père de Suppiluliuma I^{er}, durant lequel le Hatti s'effrita de tous côtés ; une coalition égypto-mitannienne existait et la Syrie du nord paraissait bien être passée sous contrôle mitannien);

d'autre part, le dieu de l'orage « fort » est le dieu tutélaire de Suppiluliuma I^{er}. Par contre, si le recto et le verso sont à échanger, le Suppiluliuma de notre texte pourrait appartenir à une généalogie énumérée par un des ses successeurs qui pourrait être Suppiluliuma II, pour lequel il existe des généalogies insérées au milieu d'un texte et mises en évidence par un trait séparateur de paragraphe, comme c'est le cas en KBo XII 38 II 26' ; la partie du V^o IV 1'-15' nous rapporterait dès lors des actes de Tudhaliya IV¹¹⁸⁹.

Unfortunately, also for this text just some suggestions can be proposed: both in the case the text refers to Tuthaliya III¹¹⁹⁰ or IV, it is interesting to know how the Hittite king moved to Syrian territories under the former Egyptian control, maybe facing an Egypto-Mittanian coalition, as suggested by Cornil and Lebrun. On this extent, this text reveals of great importance, because it should be one of the few documents directly dealing with a military confrontation between Egypt and Hatti.

¹¹⁸⁹ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 91.

¹¹⁹⁰ We also have to remember that the two Hittite letters found at El-Amarna (EA 31 and 32, see *infra*, section 1.3.1.1, texts nos 1-2) are precisely dated to the reign of this king (see e.g. KLENGEL 1999, p. 128).

44. CTH 214: FRAGMENTS OF HISTORICAL TEXTS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Historical text
Dating	15 th -13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Mention of a letter sent by a Hittite king to the pharaoh

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XXVI 76 Vs. 6' (br.), Rs. 14' (br.)
^{URU} <i>me-iz-za-ri</i> [	KBo XVI 42 Rs. 9 (br.), 14

a. 1158/c = KBo XVI 42

No transliterations and translations are available, so far¹¹⁹¹.

b. KUB XXVI 76 = Bo 6486 = CTH 214.12

BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, pp. 168-171 (AhT 15)¹¹⁹²:

Letter from a king of Ḫatti (Ḫattušili III?) to another Great king (CTH 214.12.D)

Transliteration

ii

§1'

1'. [...] x(-)e [...]

2'. [...] x-mu^{LÚ.MEŠ} x [...]

3'. [...] x^{[UR]U} Kar-^rga^r-miš^{LÚ.MEŠ} TE₄-ME x [...]

4'. [... -š/t]a² ú-e-mi-ya-at ma-an-m[u(-) ...]

5'. [...] x-^rda² u-i-ya-at A-NA^m Pí-y[a-ma-ra-du-ma²(-) ...]

6'. [... LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at]-ti-ma A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Mi-iz-ri [IŠ-PUR? ...]

7'. [...] x A-BU^{er}-NI A-BI A-BI-NU nu-uš [...]

8'. [...]-za me-mi-aš an-zi^{er}-la-aš [...]

9'. [...] x TI*-wa-an-na-aš an-za-aš k[u²- ...]

10'. [...] x DINGIR.MEŠ KI^{TI*} a-aš-šu wa-aš-x [...]

11'. [...] x-ma A-[N]A LUGAL KUR^{URU} Aḫ-ḫi-y[a-wa-(a) ...]

12'. [...] pa-a-^ri^r-mi nu-wa-mu-k[án* ...]

13'. [...] x-mu i-ya-zi [...]

14'. traces

iii

§2'

1'. [...] x [...]

2'. [...] x x x x [...] x mar š[a²(-) ...]

3'. [... -ḫ]a²-ša-wa am-me-e¹-e[l ŠE]Š²-YA EN [...]

4'. [...]-e an-da ka*-l[i²-o-t]a² nu-za KUR.KUR.ḪI.A [...]

5'. [...]-ik am-me-e-el x x x x x-ya-aš KUR² [...]

6'. [...] x-aš ma-a-an me-ma-an-zi^r li*^r[-i]n-ga-en[- ...]

7'. [ma-a-an-ma² ...]^r Ú^r-UL me-ma-an-zi ki-nu-na^r ku^r-u-un [...]

8'. [...] x-wa-mu-kán ka-x-iš-zi^r ŠEŠ-YA^r [(-) ...]

9'. [...] x-ki UN-aš^r e^r-eš-ta^r nam²-ma²-kán² [...]

10'. [... m]a-a-an Ú^{TU4} a^r-uš-ta^r x x [...]

11'. [... k]u-ru-ur A-^{er}BI-ŠU p^{er}-x x x [...]

12'. [...]-an nu-u-wa ša-an-^r ḫi-iš-ki^r-i[z*-zi ...]

¹¹⁹¹ I am going to publish this fragment in a following contribution.

¹¹⁹² Cf. also the introduction to the text in MOUTON 2007, p. 98.

13'. [...] *nu-mu* LUGAL KUR ^{URU} *Aḫ-ḫi*-ya-w[a-(a) ...]
14'. [... A-NA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}]^U *erMi-izer-ri* x² *ḫa*-at-*ra-a*? [-mi ...]

§3'

15'. [... -*ḫ*]a²-*ap-ra-x* *e-eš*-*ta a*[- ...]
16'. [...] x *i-ya-mi nu*²-*mu*² ŠEŠ-Y[A² ...]
17'. [...]-a² *ša-x* [...]
18'. *traces*

Translation

§1' (ii) [...] messengers [of(?)] Carchemish [...] he met. If to(?) me [...] he sent [...] to Piyamaradu(?) [... the King of Hatti wrote(?)] to the King of **Egypt**: “[...] our fathers and our grandfathers. And them [...] the matter, our [...] the healthy one to(?) us [... may] the Gods of the Earth favorably [...] to the King of Ahhiyawa [...] I will go. Then to(?) me [...] he will do for(?) me [...]”

§2' (iii 1'-14') [“...] my brother, lord of [...”] he ..., and the lands for himself [...] my ... [...] If they speak, the oath [... If ...] they do not speak. now this [...] “He ... to me. My brother [...”] he was a human. Furthermore [...] If he had a dream [...] hostility, his father ... [...] he continues to seek [...] the King of Ahhiyawa to me [...] I will write(?) [to the King] of **Egypt**.

§3' (iii 15'-18') He was ... [...] I will do, and to me, my brother, [...]

Beckman, Bryce and Cline, in their comments to this letter, already stressed the impossibility of gaining a complete reconstruction of the content of the message, because of the fragmentary nature of the text:

“This letter is too fragmentary for any attempt at reconstruction of its contents. It was possibly written by Hattusili III within the context of his attempts to win recognition from foreign rulers as the rightful king of Hatti and to secure their cooperation in ending the activities of particular individuals opposed to his regime. The author refers to a letter which he wrote to the king of Egypt, perhaps one of the series of communications exchanged between Hattusili and Ramesses II, a number of which had to do with Hattusili's efforts to have Urhi-Teshshup extradited from Egypt. The author also refers to his communications with the king of Ahhiyawa, and to Piyamaradu, who long acted as an agent of Ahhiyawan interests in the west. Presumably the reference to Piyamaradu was a hostile one and the Hittite king was seeking support from his peers against him. But without more text, it is impossible to determine the reason for the references to these kings in the same passage, the specific reason for mentioning Piyamaradu here, or the reason for the appearance of Carchemish in this passage”¹¹⁹³.

A similar opinion, connecting this missive to the “Urḫi-Teššub *affaire*”, was advanced by A.M. Jasink:

“I rapporti fra Ittiti e Ahhiyawa/Micenei a noi noti in base alla documentazione scritta ittita vengono esplicitati attraverso canali politici, in quanto i responsabili degli eventi che coinvolgono i due paesi sono il re di Hatti e il re di Ahhiyawa. [...] Si Debbono dunque ricordare due testi di dubbia lettura che farebbero intravedere dei rapporti meno occasionali; mi riferisco all'eventuale esilio della moglie di Suppiluliuma (probabilmente Tawananna) in Ahhiyawa (KUB XIV 2 Vo 4-6), che mostrerebbe rapporti amichevoli fra i due paesi, e al possibile coinvolgimento di Ahhiyawa – e del suo re – fra gli stati dove cercò rifugio Urhi-Tesub durante la sua fuga dalla Siria all'Egitto (KBo XVI 22; forse KUB XXVI 76, KUB XXI 34, KUB XXXI 29-30), fatto che potrebbe indicare un inserimento dei Micenei o, meglio, di uno dei loro stati nelle questioni di politica internazionale del VO”¹¹⁹⁴.

The most important passage for the extent of our topic is the following:

“The King of Hatti wrote(?) to the King of Egypt: “[...] our fathers and our grandfathers. And them [...] the matter, our [...] the healthy one to(?) us [... may] the Gods of the Earth favorably [...] to the King of Ahhiyawa [...] I will go. Then to(?) me [...] he will do for(?) me [...]”.

¹¹⁹³ BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, p. 171.

¹¹⁹⁴ JASINK 2005, pp. 210-211.

Despite its fragmentary state of preservation, the text seems to envisage how the Hittite king wrote a message to the pharaoh remembering a previous deal or at least a former (“our fathers and our grandfathers”) peaceful situation between the Ḫatti and the Ahḫiyawa lands, asking to Piyamaradu to behave in a same way, not giving refuge to Urḫi-Teššub. Unfortunately, there is no chance to identify, among the corpus of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, the actual letter the text refers to and we can just suppose it was related to the “Urḫi-Teššub dossier” (see dossier D in ÄHK I, pp. 50ff.).

45. CTH 215: UNDIFFERENTIATED FRAGMENT OF HISTORICAL TEXTS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Historical text
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Mention of Ḫatti in a not clear context

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Br.	KBo XXII 14, 4'

KBo XXII 14 (Bo 69/357)

CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 96:

Transliteration

x + 1 [ta-]ba-ar[-na
 2' []A-NA ^{mI}[
 3' [KU]R ^{uru}Ḫa-at-ti

4' [**KUR** ^{uru}]Mi-iz-r[i-i

Cf. GRODDEK 2008a, p. 25:

Transliteration

x+1 []x x x[
 2' [] 'A-NA ' ^{mD}[u-ut-ḫa-li-ia (?)
 3' [KU]R ^{URU}ḪA[-AT-TI (?)

4' [^{URU}]MI-İŞ-R[
 5' []x-ga-a [
 6' [p]è-ra[-an
 7' [^U]RUḪA[-AT-TI (?)
 8' []x[

[The text is too small to provide a meaningful translation].

Cornil and Lebrun, in editing this fragment and KBo XXII 15, recognized them as related to CTH 134, the “Treaty with (related to) Kuruštama” (see *supra*, text 17b), admitting difficulties in reconstructing their context and topic:

“L’état par trop fragmentaire de ces deux textes ne permet guère de traduction ; cependant, l’on peut affirmer que tous deux sont de nature historique et concernant les relations entre l’Égypte et le Hatti. Il est d’autre part difficile de situer l’emplacement de ces fragments dans la colonne d’un texte, ce qui complique tout travail de restauration des lignes. Il est possible de supposer en KBo XXII 14 2’ la mention du nom de celui avec lequel le roi hittite passe une convention ; nous croyons reconnaître que le nom du personnage commencerait par « i », ce qui limite assez les possibilités ; l’on peut ainsi songer à Ini-Teššub, roi de Kargémiš au temps de Tudhaliya IV”¹¹⁹⁵.

Unfortunately, because of the fragmentary nature of the text, no further insights can be proposed.

¹¹⁹⁵ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975-1976, p. 96.

46. CTH 216: FRAGMENTS OF AKKADIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Historical text(?) – letters
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Dispatching of goods are reference to the “Pax Hethitica”. Mention of the fugitive Urḫi-Tešub and unpolite treatment of some Hittite messengers. Sending of ships from Egypt to Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
^U JRU <i>mi-iz(-ja) (sch.)</i>	KBo XIV 54 Vs. 2'

Quotation of KBo XIV 54 Vs. 2' is not considered in this catalogue, because of the unclear reading of the toponym. Otherwise, other texts are reported, because they have been listed under this CTH number (i.e. 216) in HPM.

- a. KBo VIII 13 (= 401/c + 893/c + 902/c + 149/m) + KBo XXVIII 24 (= 415/n)**
(ÄHK no. 30, D11, pp. 80-85):
 Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [ù a-n]a-ku [...
 2' pí-qa-at [...
 3' a-na ŠEŠ-ia [...
 4' ù šu-nu ip^{-l}pu^{-š}[u ...
-
- 5' ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán¹a(?) ...
 6' UGU ṭe₄-mi ša táq-bu-ú [..... **KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** ù **KUR Ḫa-at-ti**]
 7' i-te-ep-šu ṭe₄-ma it-t[i a-ḫa-miš]x-i[...
 8' [a]-na **KUR A-mur-ri** a-na ta-a[- -t]a-šu-nu ù [a-na-ku al-tap-ra-ak-ku¹Pi-ri-iḫ-na-ua]
 9' qà-du¹Ri-a-maš-ši UG[U x] I-en **DUMU.KIN-ru** [...
 10' iḫ-ta-bi-šu kán-na-ma [..... ¹Pi-ri-iḫ-na-u]a qà-du¹Ri-a-[maš-ši ...
 11' ki-i **LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka** i[l- a-m]a-te^{MEŠ} an-na-t[i ...
-
- 12' [u]m-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-m[a ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-n]a ia-ši um-ma-a š[u-bi-la Ú.MEŠ li-ú-ti ša
 IGI.MEŠ-ia]
 13' [ša tu-še-bi-la]a a[-na ia-ši a-na pa-na-nu ŠEŠ-ia kán^a]n-na iš-pu-r[a a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la
 Ú.MEŠ]
 14' [li-ú-ti] ša IGI.MEŠ ša [ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-]ú um-ma-a [a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-
 pu-ra]
 15' [a-na i]a-ši um-ma-a **LUGA[L.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i** liš-pu-ra a-n]a ia-ši UG[U ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti-šu]
 16' [ù a]-na-ku lu-še-bi-la-a[k-ku ḫi-ši-iḫ-ta-ka ar-ḫi-iš ŠEŠ-]ia [kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma i-te-
 pu-us]
 17' [it-t]i ŠEŠ-ia ŠEŠ-ut-ta [SIG₅ ù sa-la-ma SIG₅ ù ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR ù **DINGIR.MEŠ-ia** ù **DINGIR.MEŠ**
 ša ŠEŠ-ia i-na-an-di-nu]
 18' [a-n]a e-pé-ši ŠEŠ-ut-ni ù a-n[a e-pé-ši sa-la-ma-ni i-na ṭe₄-mi-ni ba-ni-i ša ni-pu-šu i-na be-ri-ni]
 19' [a]-kán-na-ma a-di da-a-ri-ti u[m-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na i]a-ši
 20' [aš-]šum **ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ** ša šu-gu₅-ul[-la-ti ša tu-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma a-mur SI]G₅ dan-
 niš dan-niš
 21' [A]NŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ša šu-gu₅-ul-la-ti [ša ŠEŠ-ia ú-še-bi-la a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma ^dUTU ù] ^dIŠKUR i-
 na-an-di-n[u]
 22' ○ a-na ur-ru-ki [MU.MEŠ š]a ŠE[Š-ia a-di da-a-ri-ti ù ŠEŠ-ia i-na-an-din a-na š]a-pa-ri ba-ni-i-[ta]

- 23' *i-na ŠEŠ-šu ù [a-na-ku a-ša]p-par [ba-ni-i-ta a-na ŠEŠ-ia kán-na-ma]*
-
- 24' *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-m[a ù] ša ŠEŠ-[ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a ^{GAD}TÚG.MES SIG₅-tu₄ š]u-bi-la*
a-na ia-ši
- 25' *a-mur ul-te-bíl [^{GAD}TÚG.]MEŠ SIG₅-tu₄ [a-na šul-ma-an ŠEŠ-ia ù e-te-pu-uš gab-bi te₄-ma ša] ŠEŠ-ia*
iq-bu-ú
- 26' *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ[-ia-m]a ù [š]a [ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a a-mur a-du-ku] a-na-ku ú-še-*
bi-la
-

Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [NA]M.RA.MEŠ a-na ○ ŠEŠ-ia gi-na-a g[i-na-a ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ...]
- 2 ^dUTU ù ^dIŠKUR i-na-an-di-nu ŠEŠ-ia a-na a-ma-ri ba-ni-i-ta (?) a-na-ku ú-še-bíl NAM.RA.MEŠ a-na
 ša-]a-šu
- 3 ù šu-ú ti-še-bíl-šu-nu-ti a-na LUGAL Š[EŠ-šu kán-na-ma
-
- 4 [u]m-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia i[š-pu-ra a-na] ia-ši [UGU DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-šu ša iš-pu-
 ra a-na ia-š]i
- 5 [u]m-ma-a li-ke-eb-b[i-it-šu-nu-ti ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra] a-na ia-ši a[-mur DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri ša
 ŠEŠ-ia]
- 6 [u]k-te-eb-bi-it-šu[-nu-ti ù e-te-pu-uš gab-bi te₄-ma] ša ŠEŠ-ia iq-bu-ú um-ma[-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma]
- 7 [a-]nu-ma ŠEŠ-ia i[l-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši gi-n]a-a gi-na-a um-ma-a ul ta-ša[p-pa-ra-a Ú.MEŠ]
- 8 [a-n]a ia-ši UG[U¹Ku-ru-un-ta ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-ra ħi-ši-iĥ-t]a a-na ša-a-šu ù a-na-ku ú-še[-bíl ħi-ši-iĥ-
 ta]
- 9 [a-]na ka-a-ša [ù a-mur a-na-ku al-tap-ra a-na ŠEŠ-ia] ù a-mur a-na-ku e-te-ri-iš ħi-š[i-iĥ-ti ša
 IGI.MEŠ(?) -šu]
- 10 [it-t]i-ka [ŠEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur il-tap]-ru Ú.MEŠ li-ú-ti^{MEŠ} ša [IGI.MEŠ(?)š]a ¹Ku-
 ru-un-ta]
- 11 [i-na ŠU-ti ¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ĥu-ú] um-[m] a-[a] x x-nu ù[...
- 12 [..... š]u-bi-la-a[š-šu- ...
- 13 [.....-ú]-ni-in-ni x[...]
- 14 [..... a-ma-t]i an-ni-ta u[m(?)]-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-
 ma ŠEŠ-ia il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra]
- 15 [a-na ia-ši gi-na-a gi-na-a um-ma-a ul ta-šap-pa-ra]-a a-na ia-ši 2 [^{LÚ}A.ZU.MEŠ UGU¹Ku-ru-un-ta]
- 16 [..... š]u-nu ù ki-i x[...
- 17 [..... x] [..... um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a]-nu-ma ŠEŠ-ia il[-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na
 ia-ši
- 18 [g]i-na-a [gi-na-a um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ia li-id-din a-na ša-p]a-ri a-na [ia-ši UGU a-ma-ta ša¹Ur-ĥi-^dIŠKUR]
-
- 19 [ù] ŠEŠ-i[a ŠEŠ-ia]
- 20 [ká]n-na [iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši ...
- 21 [.....] x [...

Translation¹¹⁹⁶

Vs.

- 1 [und i]ch[...]
- 2' vielleicht [...]
- 3' meinem Bruder [...]
- 4' und sie werden machen [...]
-
- 5' und ich setzte den A[...] ein (??) [...]
- 6' wegen des Bescheids, den du sagtest [..... das Land **Ägypten** und das Land **Ḫatti**]
- 7' haben mi[teinander] Beziehungen aufgenommen [...

¹¹⁹⁶ Cf. the Italian translation in CORDANI 2017, pp. 138-139. Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 135-138.

- 8' für das Land Amurru um zu ... [.....] ihre [.....], und [ich sandte dir den
Piriḥnawa]
- 9' und Riamašši weg[en] einen Boten [...
10' er sagte zu ihm ebenso [..... Piriḥnaw]a und Ria[mašši] ...
11' als der König, dein Bruder, ..[.....] diese [W]orte [...
-
- 12' [S]o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was m]ir [mein Bruder geschrieben hat], wie folgt: „L[aß
wirksame Arzneien für meine Augen bringen]
- 13' [die du] m[ir (schon) zuvor gesan]dt [hast!“ - s]o hat [mein Bruder mir] geschriebe[n; ich habe
nunmehr]
- 14' [wirksame Arzneien] für die Augen [meines] B[ruders bringen lassen durch die Hand des Pariamah]ū.
So (sprich) [zu meinem Bruder: Und was mi]r [mein Bruder geschrieben hat]
- 15' wie folgt: „Der [Groß]könig, [der König des Landes Ägypten, möge m]ir [schreiben] wege[n dessen,
was er begehrt],
- 16' [und] ich will d[ir eilends] senden, [was du begehrt“ - so hat mir] mein [Bruder geschrieben. Ich habe
nunmehr]
- 17' [mi]t meinem Bruder [gute] Bruderschaft [und guten Frieden geschlossen. Der Sonnengott und der
Wettergott und meine Götter und die Götter meines Bruders werden veranlassen],
- 18' [da]ß unsere Bruderschaft verwirklicht wird, und daß unser Friede verwirklicht wird durch unser
schönes Verhältnis, das wir zwischen uns]
- 19' [e]benfalls für immer [geschaffen haben]. S[o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was m]ir [mein Bruder
geschrieben hat]
- 20' [we]gen der Her[den]pferde, [die du mir bringen lassen wirst, (so sage ich darauf:) Nun], sehr, sehr
[gut] sind die
- 21' Herdenpferde, [die mir mein Bruder bringen lassen wird. Der Sonnengott und] der Wettergott werden
veranlassen],
- 22' daß [die Jahre meines] Brud[ers auf ewig] verlängert werden; [und mein Bruder wird] (mir), seinem
Bruder, Schön[es s]enden [lassen],
- 23' und [ich werde meinem Bruder ebenfalls Schönes sen]den.
-
- 24' So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und] was [mein] Bruder [mir geschrieben hat wie folgt: „Gute
Gewänder s]ende mir!“
- 25' Siehe, ich habe gute [Gewänd] er [zum Begrüßungsgeschenk für meinen Bruder] gesandt [und habe
alle Dinge getan, die] mein Bruder gesagt hatte.
- 26' So (sprich) zu [meinem] Bruder: [Und w]as mi[r mein Bruder geschrieben hat, wie folgt: „Siehe
fürwahr], ich werde immer w[ieder]

Tafelrand

- Rs.
1 meinem Bruder [Zi]vilgefangene senden“ [- so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben].
2 Der Sonnengott und der Wettergott werden meinen Bruder [Schönes (?)] s[ehen] lassen. [Ich werde
i]hm [Zivilgefangene senden],
3 und er wird sie (mir), dem König, [seinem] B[rüder], ebenfalls senden.
-
- 4 [S]o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und [w]as [mi]r mein Bruder [wegen seiner Boten] geschrieben hat,
die er mi[r [sandte],
- 5 [w]ie folgt: „Er möge [sie] ehrenvoll behand[eln!“ - so hat mein Bruder] mir [geschrieben]. Si[ehe, die
Boten meines Bruders] -
- 6 [i]ch habe si[e] ehrenvoll behandelt, [und ich habe alle Dinge getan], die mein Bruder gesagt hatte. So
[(sprich) zu meinem Bruder]:
- 7 [N]un, mein Bruder s[chreibt mir im]mer wieder, wie folgt: „Sen[dest] du keine [Arzneien] [a]n mich
fü[r Kurunta? Mein Bruder möge das Gewü[n]sch[e für ihn [senden], und (auch) ich werde
[Gewü[n]schtes]
- 9 [a]n dich se[nden! Siehe, ich habe meinem Bruder geschrieben], und siehe, ich habe das [für seine
Augen(?) Gewü[n]schte]

- 10 [v]on dir erbeten“ - [so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben. Siehe], man [hat] wirksame Arzneien für
[die Augen (?) Kuruntas geschickt
- 11 [durch die Hand des Pariamahū] wie folgt
- 12 [.....] I]aß ihn/sie bringen! [...
- 13 [.....] sie [.....] mich [...
- 14 [.....] diese [Angelegenheit. S[o? (sprich) zu meinem Bruder:
Nunmehr schreibt mir mein Bruder]
- 15 [immer wieder, wie folgt: „Sendest du] mir [nicht die] zwei [Ärzte für Kurunta? ...]
- 16 [.....] ihr [.....] und als [...
- 17 [..... So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder]: Nunmehr sch[reibt mir] (mein) Bruder
- 18 immer [wieder wie folgt: „Mein Bruder möge] m[ir schreiben [lassen wegen der Angelegenheit des
UrḫiTeššub]!
-
- 19 [Un]d mein Bruder [...
- 20 [s]o [hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben; ...
- 21 [...].[...]

This document, as also others following here, has been listed in HPM under CTH 216, “Fragments of historical texts in Akkadian”¹¹⁹⁷; however, as noted in CORDANI 2017, p. 138, note 2, they are clearly letters. This text reports come agreements for the dispatching of some goods (horses¹¹⁹⁸, prisoners, maybe Kaška people¹¹⁹⁹, garments and medicines for Ḫattušili’s eyes¹²⁰⁰) and quotes the “Pax Hethitica”.

The reverse (Rs. 4-6) also deals with an interesting remark advanced by Ḫattušili to Ramses, asking to treat respectfully his messengers (probably Piriḫnawa and Riamašši, quoted on the obverse).

The end of the reverse, strongly integrated by Edel, could report the request for physicians (and probably also the same Pariamahū, quoted in other letters¹²⁰¹) asked by Ḫattušili to take care of Kuruntiya’s health.

b. KBo XXVIII 25 (= 499/d) (ÄHK no. 31, D12, pp. 84-85):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

[-3'-0'] keine Schriftspuren erhalten

- 1' [.....] x [...
- 2' [.....] x [
- 3' [.....] x [.....] x [...
- 4' [...
- 5' [..... **KUR Mi-i]š-ri-[i]] a-na [...**
- 6' [..... il-t]e-mu-ú a-ma-te^{MEŠ} a]n-na-ti ša [tāš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši UGU a-ma-ta ša ¹Ur-ḫi-
^dIŠKUR]
- 7' [ša ŠU-ú il-ti-k]a a-na KUR Dá-nu-ú-na ia-nu-um-m[a-a ša šu-ú i-na KUR Ḫal-ba-a à KUR Qí-in-sà]
- 8' [il-li-ka ia-nu-um-m]a-a a-na UGU-ḫi ^{LÚ}ḫa-za-an-ni[^{MEŠ} ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ an-na-ti-ma-an il-qú-ú-
šú]
-

¹¹⁹⁷ CORDANI 2017, p. 138, note 1 also undelined: “Secondo EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 138, anche il frammento KBo XXVIII 25 potrebbe appartenere alla stessa tavoletta, a motivo della notevole somiglianza dell’argilla e del tipo di scrittura. Di esso si conservano solo poche righe frammentarie (sei in totale, più alcuni segni isolati) su un solo lato, che secondo Edel farebbe parte del verso e andrebbe collocato dopo la frattura di KBo XXVIII 24. Nel frammento sono menzionati il ‘paese di Danuna’ e la ‘città di Ina[- ...]’. Sulla possibilità che vi compaia anche Urḫi-Teššub, come ipotizzato da Edel, si vedano invece le osservazioni di SINGER 2006b, pp. 35-36”. For KBo XXVIII 25, see *infra*, following text.

¹¹⁹⁸ Horses as typical gifts are also quoted in other letters: see *supra*, texts nos 20.a, 20.d, 22.c, 23 and 33.d. Hittite horses of “first quality” are also quoted in a papyrus of the time of Seti II: see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 11.

¹¹⁹⁹ Such NAM.RA^{MEŠ} are also mentioned in other texts: see *supra*, texts nos 22.b, 23, 33.h, 33.i and 33.j.

¹²⁰⁰ Medicines are likewise quoted in texts nos 22.a, 26.y, 33.b and 34.

¹²⁰¹ See *supra*, texts nos 26.n, 27.k and 27.l; *infra*, text no. 46.d.

- 9' [..... *a-ma-t]-a(?) ša* ^{URU.KI}*I-na-š[a(?)]-ra (URU.KI i-na š[a(?)]-) ...*
 10' [.....]*a-na* *İR* x[...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

Translation¹²⁰²

[-3'-0'] keine Schriftspuren erhalten

- 4' [...
 5' [..... Land **Ägypte[n]**] zu [...
 6' [.....] Man hat [d]iese Wort[e geh]ört, die [du mir wegen der Angelegenheit des UrḫiTeššub geschrieben hast].
 7' [Daß er] ins Land Danuna [gin]g, sollte nicht [der Fall sein? Daß er ins Land Ḫalbā oder ins Land Qinsa]
 8' [ging, sollte nicht] der Fall sein? Den Landräte[n dieser Länder hätte man ihn (sonst) gebracht]?
 9' [..... die Angelegenhei]t der Stadt Inaš[ara (?) ...
 10' [.....] den Dienern (?) ... [...
 Andere Seite abgebrochen

This fragment of letter is surely related to the quest for the fugitive Urḫi-Teššub: Ramses reports some information previously received by Ḫattušili and probably excuses himself from the accusation of being colluded with the former Hittite king. More in detail, Ramses asks Ḫattušili if there was the possibility that Urḫi-Teššub had found a safe place in the land of Danuna, Ḫalba, or Qinsa (= Kadesh). The quotation of the land of Danuna (referring to the people of the Aegean area¹²⁰³ or to Kizzuwatna¹²⁰⁴), is quite interesting, because the same toponym is attested in the list of people at Medinet Habu, during the reign of Ramses III¹²⁰⁵, and in the “Onomasticon of Amenemope” (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 18).

In l. 9', it is instead quoted an “*affaire*” (literally “word”) about another city: *a-ma-t]-a(?) ša* ^{URU.KI}*I-na-š[a(?)]-ra*. This toponym has been interpreted by Edel as *I-na-aš-ša-ra*, also mentioned in KUB XXI 6a Rs. g' (= CTH 82.2, “Annals of Ḫattušili III”), listed in Del Monte-Tischler’s onomasticon¹²⁰⁶. The reason for an Egyptian interest in this area is not retrievable in the letter: Edel was surprised about the Egyptian involvement in the situation of a city in the nearby of the Taurus, and explained this fact with the proximity of this city to the well-known Ḫupišna (Ereğli), quoted in letter KUB III 67¹²⁰⁷ (see *supra*, text no. 26.n).

c. KUB III 81 (ÄHK no. 40, E7, pp. 98-99):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

¹²⁰² Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 138-139, who argued for a belonging of this text to the same tablet of the text no. 46.a (see *supra*, under previous note).

¹²⁰³ For the identification of this toponym, see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 18; cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 139.

¹²⁰⁴ Thus, Edel 1994a, vol. 2, p. 139: “Das ‘Land Danūna’ steht hier anstelle von ‘land Kizwatna’, bzw. ‘Land Qā[we]’, wie es in KBo I 15 +, Satz 52 bzw. 77 heißt. Danūna wird von LAROCHE 1958 hergeleitet von *Adana-wana ‘Bewohner von Adana’, was geographisch ja ausgezeichnet zu den im Wechsel damit stehenden Bezeichnungen Kizwatna und Qā[we] passen würde”.

¹²⁰⁵ OIP 8, pl. 44, ll. 14-15 and 23, spelled as *D3-jnw-n3* (for this spelling, see ALBRIGHT 1934, p. 46, C); cf. EDEL 1985, vol. 2, pp. 223ff.

¹²⁰⁶ DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, p. 141. Cf. EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 139: “Falls man *URU.KI* als Determinativ zu lesen hat, fände sich für ^{URU.KI}*I-na-š[a?]-...* nur der Vergleich mit *KUR* ^{URU}*I-na-aš-ša-ra*, KUB XXI 6a Rs. g’. DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, 141 zitieren für die Ortsbestimmung FORRER 1926a, 78: ‘auf dem Taurus südlich von Karaman’. Zu der auffälligen Determinierung vgl. ^{URU.KI}*Ki-iz-wa-at-na* KBo I 15 +, Satz 43 neben *KUR Ki-iz-wa-at-na* ebda. Satz 52. – Etwas bedenklich könnte die obige Lesung deshalb erscheinen, weil in der Schreibung des Namens zwei Pausen auftreten, die zur Lesung *URU.KI i-na š[a?]-...* verleiten könnten. Man wird diese Bedenken aber zurückstellen dürfen, weil diese Lesung rechten Sinn zu ergeben scheint”.

¹²⁰⁷ EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, p. 139; cf. *ivi*, p. 262.

1' [..... -l]u(?) LUGAL
2' [.....]
3' [..... DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia a-na qa-ti-šu-nu u a-na] ĜĪR.MEŠ-šu-nu
4' [ku-ur-ši-i il-ta-kán] LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti
5' [..... DUMU.MEŠ.KIN a-n)a qa-ti-šu-nu
6' [ù a-na ĜĪR.MEŠ-šu-nu ku-ur-ši-i a-na ša-ka-ni ú-ul par-šu] ḫa-aš-ḫa-ku
7' [.....]
8' [.....] ù šu-nu ik-lu
9' [DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia -] te-bi
10' [..... KUR A-]mur-ri
11' [..... a-n)a pa-ni-ka
12' [..... ŠEŠ-ia it-ta-din a-]na la-qe-e
13' [tup-pa ša ma-mi-ti a-na ia-ši ma-mi-ta an-ni-ta a-na pa-ša-ri ú-ul par-]šu a-na UGU-ḫi
i[l-ta-k]án-ši
14' [..... DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri a-na ka-le-e i-na] aš-ri-šu-nu ú-ul [par-šu]
15' [..... ul-te-bi-la-a]k-ku iṣ-ša-šu-nu
Rs. unbeschriftet

Translation¹²⁰⁸

Vs.

1' [.....]. König
2' [.....]
3' [..... meine Boten an ihren Händen und an] ihren Füßen
4' [hat er gefesselt,] König des Landes Ḫatti
5' [..... die Boten a]n ihren Händen
6' [und an ihren Füßen zu fesseln ist nicht rechtens.] Ich wünsche
7' [.....]
8' [.....] und man hielt zurück
9' [meine Boten]
10' [..... Land A]murru
11' [..... vo]r deinem Antlitz
12' [..... mein Bruder ließ]
13' [mir die Tafel des Eides] bringen. [Diesen Eid zu lösen ist nicht rech]tens; er hat ihn darauf ge[set]zt!
14' [..... die Boten zurückzuhalten (?) an] ihrem Platz ist nicht [rechtens]
15' [..... ich habe] dir ihr Bauholz [bringen lassen]
Rs. unbeschriftet

In this letter, it seems to be reported a protest of the Hittite king, because some messengers were probably treated in an unfair way by the pharaoh. More in detail, messengers' hands and feet are reported to have been tied:

DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia a-na qa-ti-šu-nu u a-na] ĜĪR.MEŠ-šu-nu / [ku-ur-ši-i il-ta-ká, “meine Boten an ihren Händen und an] ihren Füßen / [hat er gefesselt” (Vs. 3'-4') and *DUMU.MEŠ.KIN a-n)a qa-ti-šu-nu / [ù a-na ĜĪR.MEŠ-šu-nu ku-ur-ši-i a-na ša-ka-ni ú-ul par-šu,* “die Boten a]n ihren Händen / [und an ihren Füßen zu fesseln ist nicht rechtens” (Vs. 5'-6').

Ḫattušili also says that such a behaviour is “not right”; the reason for what seems to be a punishment is not preserved in the text (probably something related to some events in the land of Amurru, quoted in Vs. 10', or related to the timber mentioned in Vs. 14'). The Hittite king specifically asks the tablet of the Treaty to be brought (probably, not physically but just in a metaphorical sense), showing the clause related to the right behaviour to be held in respect of the royal messengers, who were instead

¹²⁰⁸ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 158-160.

tied and detained into the Egyptian land¹²⁰⁹ (Vs. 14': [... DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri a-na ka-le-e i-na] aš-ri-šu-nu ú-ul [par-šu], “[... die Boten zurückzuhalten (?) an] ihrem Platz ist nicht [rechters]”).

At the end of the letter, some timber beams are mentioned, probably the reason for the detention of the messengers: it is possible that Ramses had asked Ḫattušili to dispatch him some timber (a quite rare material in Egypt) and because of a delay in the shipping he decided to detain the foreign messengers; Ḫattušili replies to have already sent the requested timber ([... ul-te-bi-la-a]k-ku iš-ša-šu-nu, Vs. 15') and therefore intimates the release of his messengers.

d. KUB III 83 (ÄHK no. 67, E34, pp. 164-167):

Ḫattušili an Ramses

Transliteration

Vs.

- 1' [..... a/iš-pu-r]a-a[k-ku
 2' [..... -t]i
 3' [..... a] m-mi-ni-i
 4' [..... it-ti a-ḫa-]mi-iš pu-uh₅-ra-am-ma
 5' [ŠA-ba-ku-nu li-ti-ib UD-mi-ša li-pu-šu i-si-na a-na DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ù li-im-lu-ú] mal-tá-a
 ra-im-mi-ia
 6' [2 KUR.MEŠ-ni GAL.MEŠ a-na 1-et KUR-ti it-tù-úr-m ù ni-i-nu 2 LUGAL.MEŠ a-n]a 1-en ra-ma-ni
 7' [ni-it-tu-ur a-di da-ri-ti ^dUTU ù DINGIR.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i ù ^dIŠKUR ù] DINGIR.MEŠ KUR
^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti
 8' [i-na-an-di-nu a-na du-um-mu-qí sa-la-am-ni ba-na-a ù ŠEŠ-ut-ni ba-ni-t]a ù dan-niš a-ḫa-ad-du
 9' [ki-i KUR ^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-pu-šu ù KUR ^{URU}Ḫ]a-at-ti-ma gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti(?)
 Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [i-te-pu-šu ù a-mur a-na-ku ^{LÚ}tap-pu ka-a-ta-nu ša ŠEŠ-ia ù šu-ú] ^{LÚ}tap-pu ka-a[-ta-nu ša ŠEŠ-šu]
 2 [a-di da-ri-ti ù a-mur a-du-ku a-na-ku ú-ul ú-né-ek-ki-ir a-]na gâ-bé-e ki-i la-a [ú-tur-ti]
 3 [ma-a a-na-ku ŠEŠ-ḫa-ku i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ta ba-ni-i it-ti ra-im-mi-]ia ù ra-im-mi-ia
 3a [a-ba i-na ŠEŠ-ut-ta ba-ni-i it-ti-ia a-di da-ri-ti]

 4 [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra UGU ṭup-pi ša KÙ.BABBAR ul-t]e-bi-la-aš-šu-mi
 5 [ù at-ta ḫu-su-us a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša UGU ṭup-pi an-ni-ti a-mur LUGAL KUR ^{UR}Ḫ]a-at-ti iḫ-ta-na-as-sà-
 as
 6 [a-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša-a-ši-na ù ša tàš-pu-ra UGU ^{LÚ}A.ZU-ú ¹Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫ]u-ú šu-bt-lam-mi
 7 [^{LÚ}a-sa-a an-na-a] x šu-bi-lam-mi
 8 [..... šum-]ma DUMU.NITA šub-šu-ú
 9 [a-na-an-di-na-aš-šu KUR.MEŠ ^{URU}Ḫ]a-at-ti ú-ul ik-tal-da(!)
 10 [.....]x-ú mu-úr-qí(?) -ia
 11 [.....]x x [
 [12] [...

Translation¹²¹⁰

Vs.

- 1' [..... ich habe/er hat] di[r geschrieben
 2' [.....].
 3' [..... w]arum
 4' [.....] versammelt euch [mitein]ander
 5' [und freut euch täglich! Man möge ein Fest ausrichten für die großen Götter (o. ä.) und] den

¹²⁰⁹ The detention of foreign messengers to force another king to do something was a quite well-attested practice, both in Egypt and in the Near East.

¹²¹⁰ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 250-254.

Trinkbecher meines Freundes [füll]en!

- 6' [Unsere zwei großen Länder sind zu einem Lande geworden, und wir zwei Großkönige sind z]u einer Person
7' [geworden auf ewig. Der Sonnengott und die Götter des Landes **Ägypten** und der Wettergott und] die Götter des Landes Ḫatti
8' [sollen veranlassen, daß unser schöner Frieden und unsere schön]e [Brüderschaft gedeihen]; und ich freue mich sehr,
9' [daß das ganze Land **Ägypten** eine Umkehr vollzogen hat, und daß] auch das ganze [Land] Ḫatti eine Umkehr
Tafelrand

Rs.

- 1 [vollzogen hat. Und siehe, ich bin ein treuer Genösse meines Bruders, und e]r ist ein treu[er] Genösse [seines Bruders]
2 [für immer: und siehe fürwahr, ich werde nicht aufhören] ohne Ü[bertreibung z]u sagen,
3 [wie folgt: Ich bin verbrüdet in schöner Brüderschaft mit] meinem [Freund] und mein Freund
3a [ist verbrüdet in schöner Brüderschaft mit mir für immer!]
4 [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Und was mein Bruder wegen der Silbertafel geschrieben hat: „Ich] habe sie bringen lassen
5 [und du gedenke der Worte, die auf dieser Tafel stehen!“ Siehe, der König des Landes] Ḫatti gedenkt stets
6 [jener Worte; und was du geschrieben hast wegen des Arztes Pariamah]ū: „Sende
7 [diesen Arzt her]. Sende
8 [..... Fa]lls ein Sohn erzeugt worden sein sollte,
9 [werde ich ihm die Länder Ḫatti geben] ist nicht angekommen
10 [.....]. mein Verstand(?)
11 [.....] ... [...
[12] ...

This letter presents a series of congratulations for the peace and brotherhood established by the Treaty: Ḫattušili invites the pharaoh to prepare a (metaphorical?) celebration for the gods, fulling the cup in honour of his brother (a peculiar image, an *hapax* in all the ÄHK: *UD-mi-ša li-pu-šu i-si-na a-na DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ù li-im-lu-ú mal-tá-a ra-im-mi-ia*, “Man möge ein Fest ausrichten für die großen Götter (o. ä.) und] den Trinkbecher meines Freundes [füll]en!” (Vs. 5’).

The following line presents the already attested¹²¹¹ image of the two lands becoming one, with the specification that also the two Great kings become a sole person. Also peculiar is the expression in Vs. 8’-9’, where the Hittite king describes how the Egyptian land and Ḫatti “have done an overturning (i.e., in their relationships)”¹²¹², moving from the previous hostility to the current peace: *ù dan-niš a-ḫa-ad-du / [ki-i KUR^{URU}Mi-iš-ri-i gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti i-te-pu-šu ù KUR^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti-ma gáb-bá ta-ia-ar-ti(?)*, “und ich freue mich sehr, / [daß das ganze Land Ägypten eine Umkehr vollzogen hat, und daß] auch das ganze [Land] Ḫatti eine Umkehr”.

The reverse of the tablet quotes the physician Pariamahu (Rs. 6), already mentioned in other letters¹²¹³. An important remark is expressed by Ḫattušili in Rs. 8-9, where the Hittite king states that he was intended to give the Hittite throne to an eventual child born from the “First Marriage”: *šum-]ma DUMU.NITA šub-šu-ú / [a-na-an-di-na-aš-šu KUR.MEŠ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti*, “Fa]lls ein Sohn erzeugt worden sein sollte, / [werde ich ihm die Länder Ḫatti geben”; unfortunately, such a son had not yet been given birth (*ú-jul ik-tal-da(!)*, “ist nicht angekommen”, Rs. 9).

¹²¹¹ This “metaphor” is also attested in other documents: see *supra*, texts nos 22.a, 23, 26.b, 33.a and 33.i.

¹²¹² The term here translated by Edel with “Umkehr”, is the Akkadian word *tayyartu(m)*, literally “return, forgiveness, return journey, march” (see CAD 18 [T], pp. 58-59 and BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 402). This term is also attested, in a similar context, in KBo VIII 18, Rs. 10’ (see *supra*, text no. 36.b).

¹²¹³ See *supra*, texts nos 26.n, 27.k, 27.l and 46.b.

e. KUB III 82 (ÄHK no. 79, H4, pp. 186-187):

Ramses an Ḫattušili

Transliteration

Vs.

- [0'] [..... ù ša LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti]
 1' [iq-bu-ú a-na ŠEŠ-šu um-ma-a ME]Š-š[ú]1-nu
 2' [.....]-šu-nu
 3' [..... LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti kán^{an}-na] iq-ta-ba-aš-šu
-
- 4' [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma aš-šum ^{GIS}MÁ an-ni-ti a-nu-ma al-ta-ap-ra-]ak-ku te₄-e-ma la-qè-ša
 5' [a-na ka-a-ša ù al-tap-ra DUMU.MEŠ.KIN-ri-ia a-na LUGAL KUR A-mur-ri li-]il-qú-ni-iš-ši
 6' [ù iq-ta-bu-ni-iš-šu um-ma-a li-qè-ši a-na LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti ká]n^{an}-na iq-ta-bu-ni-iš-šu
 7' [..... a-nu-ma a-mur a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku ^{GI}ŠMÁ I-en ù ša-ni-ta
 8' [^{GIS}MÁ a-šap-pa-ra-ak-ku i-na ša-ni-ti MU-ti ù ^{LÚ}NAGAR.MEŠ-k]a GABA.RI li-ši-ru-šu-n[u]
 9' [a-na me-ḫe-er ^{GIS}MÁ.MEŠ an-na-ti ša ú-še-bi-la-ak-ku]ù li-ši-ru-šu-nu
 10' [..... ù li-pu-šu ^{GIS}MÁ.MEŠ an-na-ti ù ŠEŠ-ia ú-ša-ak-k]a-la kà-am-ma-ti ku-up-ra
 11' [li-ik-pu-ru-ši-na-ti i-na ki-di ù i-na ŠÁ-bi a-na]a-a i-re-bi
 12' [A.MEŠ i-na ^{GIS}MÁ.MEŠ an-na-ti a-na la-a na-da-ni a-na ṭe-be-e-ši-na i-na Š]À-bi A.AB.BA
 13' [..... ú-šur-ta ša ^{GIS}MÁ an-ni-ti ša LUGAL ú-še-bi-la-ak-ku i-na ṭu-p]i il-ta-kán-ši
 14' [..... ú-š]ur-ta
 15' [..... i-/li-]-pu-šu
 16' [.....-]aš-ši
 17' [..... e]n₆-ša-ti
-
- 18' [..... m]a-ad
 19' [..... x] x x [...]
 Rs. abgebrochen

Translation¹²¹⁴

Vs.

- [0'] [..... Und was der König des Landes Ḫatti]
 1' [zu seinem Bruder sagte, wie folgt: „.....] ihre [..... ^{Plu}]r?
 2' [.....] ihr/sie
 3' [.....“ so] sagte [der König des Landes Ḫatti] zu ihm.
-
- 4' [So (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Was dieses Schiff angeht, so habe ich] dir [nunmehr] den Bescheid
 [mitgeteilt], es [dir] zu bringen
 5' [und ich sandte meine Boten zum König des Landes Amurru, damit] sie es bringen,
 6' [und sie sagten zu ihm, wie folgt: „Bringe es zum König des Landes Ḫatti!“ - s]o sagten sie zu ihm.
 7' [..... Siehe, ich habe dir nunmehr] ein Schiff [gesandt] und ein zweites
 8' [Schiff werde ich dir im nächsten Jahr senden. Dei]ne [Zimmerleute], die sollen sich eine Kopie
 zeichnen
 9' [entsprechend diesen Schiffen, die ich dir bringen lasse] und sie sollen sich eine Zeichnung
 machen
 10' [... und sie sollen diese Schiffe nachbauen, und mein Bruder soll] die Spanten (?) [kunstvoll
 anfertigen [lassen]. Mit Erdpech
 11' [sollen sie die Schiffe verpichen von außen und von innen, damit k]ein [Wasser] eindringt
 12' [in diese Schiffe (und) um nicht zuzulassen, daß sie untergehen inm]itten des Meeres!
 13' [... Den Bauplan für dieses Schiff, das dir der König bringen ließ, - auf einer Taf]el hat er ihn
 aufgeschrieben.
 14' [..... B]au(plan)
 15' [.....]sie machten/mögen machen/das sie machten
 16' [.....]es/ihm (= das/dem Schiff?)
 17' [..... sch]wache(?) [...]

¹²¹⁴ Comment in EDEL 1994a, vol. 2, pp. 283-285.

 18' [..... s]chr [...
 19' [.....] ... [...
 Rs. abgebrochen

The topic of this message is very peculiar: Ramses sends to Ḫattušili, after a first stopover in the land of Amurru, a ship, together with the promise to dispatch a second ship one year later (Vs. 4'-8'). Ramses also forwards with the two ships (^{GIŠ}MA.MEŠ) also a tablet, reporting the instruction and a sketch for building other similar boats, explaining how to realise the framework in a proper way, and showing how to plaster their inner and outer sides, so that the water would not penetrate inwards, causing those ships to sink (Vs. 10'-12'). The context of this letter could perhaps be reconstructed in the light of the comparison with KUB III 34 (see *supra*, text no. 26.q), where Ramses sent some ships, filled with barley and grain, to help the land of Ḫatti devastated by the famine.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL TEXTS

B. ACCOUNTINGS

A summary of all the attestations of the toponym “Egypt” among the corpus of the Hittite inventory texts is provided within the “Index” in KOŠAK 1982, p. 309:

“*Mizri* “Egypt”

KUR *Mi-iz-ri*:

KBo IX 91 obv. 15 = CTH 241

KBo XVIII 173 rev. 3 = CTH 241.7

KBo XVIII 181 rev. 34 = CTH 243.6

KUB XLII 11 I 7, II 8, V 21.23 = CTH 241.7.A

KUB XLII 24 I 2 = CTH 250

KUB XLII 64 rev. 11 = CTH 245.2

KUB XLII 84 obv. 5 = CTH 247.1

URU *Mi-iz-ri*:

KBo XIV 72, 2.4 = CTH 250

KUB XII 1 IV 20 = CTH 504.1

Mi-iz-ri:

KUB XLII 11 I (12).13, II 17 = CTH 241.7.A

KUB XLII 14 IV 7 = CTH 241.3.A”

All these texts offer an interesting insight into the different typologies of goods and objects exchanged between Ḫatti and Egypt; in many cases, unfortunately, it is not possible to precisely identify the objects described or just listed in these inventories, and also the etymological or lexical analysis of the terms does not provide more information. By the way, being the inventories divided into different categories (such as textiles, jewels, chests) it is at least possible to determine the macro-category of many items. The following pages report the inventories grouped according to the CTH list:

- inventories of chests (nos 47.a-d);
- of clothes and fabrics (no. 48);
- of jewels and jewellery (no. 49);
- receipt certificates (no. 50);
- fragments of inventories (no. 51).

The comment is provided at the end of all these texts.

47. CTH 241: INVENTORIES OF CHESTS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Inventory
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Inventory of different goods (namely chests) exchanged between Egypt and Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo IX 91 Vs. 15

KOŠAK 1982, pp. 19ff.¹²¹⁵:

¹²¹⁵ Cf. also CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 100-108 (mainly for the discussion about the technical terms of the goods).

a. CTH 241.3 =

A. KUB XLII 14

B. KUB XLII 15

C. IBoT III 144

Transliteration

IV 7 [(1)]^{gis}PISAN SA₅ **Mi-iz-ri** UGU wa-aš-ša-an[-za]
8 [(TÚG)]^{mes} dHé-pát ù^dLUGAL-ma an-d[a

Translation

IV 7 1 red **Egyptian** chest, upholstered?,
8 therein (are) clothes for Hepat and Šarruma

b. CTH 241.5 = KBo IX 91

Transliteration

obv 15 la-la-me-eš^{gis}PISAN **KUR Mi-iz-ri** bi-ib-ri KU.BABBAR
16 (erased)
17 1 GÚ UR.MAH 2 GAL KUBABBAR LÚ^{mes}a-ra-un-na
18 a-ša-an-du-la-aš^{uru}Ne-ri-k

Translation

obv 15 receipt of the chest (from) **Egypt**, (with) silver rhyta
17 1 (shaped like the) neck of a lion, 2 silver beakers: (for) the yeomen
18 of the garrison of Nerik

c. CTH 241.7 =

A. KUB XLII 11

B. KBo XVIII 173

Transliteration

I 7] HAR.ŠU **KUR Mi-iz-ri** a-na dur-ri GAD SA₅
I 8 EGIR-an-d]a iš-ga-ra-a-an

I 11]x un-*qú* AN.BAR GE₆

I 12 **M]i-iz-ri-i** ŠÀ.BA 4 TUR

I 13 S]A₅ 26 un-*qú*^{na4}GUG **Mi-iz-ri** TUR

II 8 2^{gis}PISAN **KUR Mi-iz-r[-i(-)**

II 9 ŠÀ-š^u 28^{na4}ZA.G[ÌN

II 10 1 SAG.DU ki-nu-hi-i[š

II 11 1 šu-u-ta-ri-iš x[

II 12 16 AŠ.ME ZA.GÌN ŠÀ 1 x[

II 13 1 *me* 78 un-*qú*^{na4}a[-

II 14 an-da iš-hu-u-wa-a-an [

II 15 an-da iš-hu-u-wa-a-an [

II 16 ki-i-kán ú-nu-tum ki[-i-kán

II 17 a-na 2^{gis}PISAN **Mi-iz-ri**[-(-)

II 20 2^{gis}PISAN DU₈.ŠÚ.A **Mi-iz-ri**[(x]

V 21 1^{gis}PISAN SA₅ **KUR Mi-iz-ri** še-ir wa[-aš-ša-an-za]

Translation

I 7 **Egyptian** bracelet(s) on/with a ribbon of red linen

I 8] pierced on the [rever]se

- I 11] stamp-seals of black iron,
 I 12] **Egyptian**, thereof 4 small
 I 13 r]ed, 26 stamp seals (made of) **Egyptian** carnelian, small¹²¹⁶
- II 8 2 **Egyptian** chests [,
 II 9 therein 28 blue stone[s,
 II 10 1 pommel (of a dagger, made of?) *kinuhi*],
 II 11 1 *sutari*[,
 II 12 16 blue sun-discs, thereof 1 x[,
 II 13 178 seals,
 II 14 tipped in [,
 II 15 tipped in [,
 II 16 this utensil and that [,
 II 17 in 2 **Egyptian** chests
- II 20 2 orange-yellow **Egyptian** boxes
- V 21 1 red **Egyptian** chest, upholstered?

CTH 241 includes many texts reporting lists of objects shipped to Ḫatti inside boxes or chests; it is interesting to know that in many occurrences the objects sent from Egypt are delivered inside such as containers (as in CTH 241.7). The sumerogram used to define this object is PISAN, which was probably read as *pisaĝ*¹²¹⁷.

In CTH 241.3, IV 7, the box containing the objects is described as UGU *wa-aš-ša-an[-za*; an interpretation of this expression is advanced by Košak: “UGU *waššan[za*]: šara waššant- ‘dressed up’¹²¹⁸. Appears several times in identical context, therefore obviously a further description of the chest: ‘upholstered?’¹²¹⁹. It is quite difficult to define how a wooden (a clearly indicated by the determinative ^{GIŠ}) box could have been “upholstered”; maybe the terms describes the decorative treatment of the box itself, whose patterns could have resembled the decoration of some textiles¹²²⁰.

In two occurrences, also the colour of the box is specified: in CTH 241.3, IV 7 and 250(25), I 2 (here *infra*) it is described as “red (or brown)” (SA₅¹²²¹), while in CTH 241.7, II 20 its colour is “orange-yellow”, or maybe better “greenish” or “quartz colour”, according to the meaning of the sumerogram DU₈.ŠÚ.A¹²²².

The chest quoted in CTH 241.3 contains garments or, more precisely, clothes made for the gods Ḫepat and Šarruma: even if we do not have a precise description of these robes, it is even

¹²¹⁶ See also note I 13 at p. 37: “It is often impossible to distinguish whether an object is simply ‘from Egypt, in Egyptian style’ (Mi-iz-ri-i) or, ‘from Egypt, small’ (Mi-iz-ri TUR). In I 12, the sign TUR is unmistakable, while in 13 it looks indeed more like than *i*. On the other hand, the text employs predominantly the shorter spelling Mi-iz-ri, and moreover, it is unlikely that the scribe would have bothered to squeeze an additional -i on the margin after he ran out of space at the end of the line, if it was not for a more relevant distinction, hence TUR”. Different reading in CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107: “UKÛTUS ^{na4}GUG Mizri : « hommes assis en cornaline d’Égypte ». Il s’agit de petites statuettes représentant des hommes assis”.

¹²¹⁷ FOXVOG 2016, p. 43: “*pisaĝ* (conventionally read *pisan*) box, container (often with reed or wood determinative)”; PSD, *pisaĝ*, s.v.; SALLABERGER 2006, p. 555. The term has a parallel in the Akkadian *pisannu*: BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 276; CAD 12 (P), pp. 420-424; cf. RIA 8, p. 330 and 9, pp. 9, 41.

¹²¹⁸ Similarly, CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107: “couvert au-dessus” (see passage quoted *infra*).

¹²¹⁹ KOŠAK 1982, p. 22.

¹²²⁰ Another hypothesis could be to identify the object not as a box but as an embroidered bag made with some kind of textile: however, the use of the determinative ^{GIŠ} unlikely fits with a textile.

¹²²¹ Sumerogram for the Sumerian *su* (PSD, *su*, s.v.) = Akkadian *pelû* or *sāmu* (BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², pp. 272 and 315; CAD 12 (P), pp. 319-321 and CAD 15 (S), pp. 126-131).

¹²²² PSD, ^{na4}du₈-ši-a, s.v.: “*dušia* [STONE] (Ur III, Early Old Babylonian, Old Babylonian) ^{na4}du₈-ši-a ‘a stone, turquoise?, quartz?; turquoise green’; Akk. *dušû*. 1) A stone, turquoise?, quartz?; 2) Turquoise green”. CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107, translated the passage as “en cristal de roche” (cf. all the passage quoted *infra*).

noteworthy to note that they were prepared specifically for some kind of cultic activities, probably to attire the statues of these gods.

CTH 241.5 mentions the receipt (*la-la-me-eš*¹²²³) of a second chest, containing at least 3 silver *rhyta* (*bi-ib-ri* KU.BABBAR), one in the shapes of a lion neck and 2 with silver beakers. It is interesting to note that *rhyta* were exchanged in both the directions, from Egypt to Ḫatti and viceversa: we have already seen in the Annals of Thutmose III that, among the other objects of the tribute, also a bull-headed *rhyton* is quoted and actuals *rhyta* are maybe (but unfortunately not for sure) depicted in some Egyptian tombs (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 1.c). The *rhyta* quoted in this text are said to be dispatched the “yeomen of the garrison of Nerik”, so maybe allocated to some cultic activities, too.

CTH 241.7 reports a list of objects sent to Ḫatti: one (or more than one) Egyptian bracelet(s) with a red ribbon made of linen, pierced on the reverse (HAR.ŠU KUR Mi-iz-ri *a-na dur-ri* GAD SA₅ EGIR-an-d]a iš-ga-ra-a-an) and some Egyptian seals made of black iron (1 artefact: *un-quí* AN.BAR GE₆), of a red stone (ŠÀ.BA 4 TUR S]A₅) and 26 more seals made of Egyptian carnelian (26 *un-quí* ^{na4}GUG Mi-iz-ri TUR). This last passage has been differently interpreted by Cornil and Lebrun: “UKÛTUS ^{na4}GUG Mizri : « hommes assis en cornaline d’Égypte »¹²²⁴. Il s’agit de petites statuettes représentant des hommes assis (KUB XLII 11 R^o I 13’)¹²²⁵. The discordance in the interpretation of the passage is noteworthy: in fact, while many Egyptian scaraboid seals were found in Anatolia (see e.g. *infra*, section 2.2, *passim*), no such kind of carnelian statuettes were discovered, so far.

Further items were dispatched within two chests (it is not clear if the 2 orange-yellow chests quoted at l. II 20 are the same as at l. II 17); among them: 28 blue stones (maybe lapis lazuli?), one pommel of dagger made of *kinuhi*, 1 *sutari*, 16 blue sun-disks, 178 seals (a quite huge amount!) and some unspecified objects which are “tipped in”¹²²⁶. Unfortunately, it is not possible to better define the actual nature of these items: for the *kinuhi*, Košak suggested to compare them with other artefacts quoted in KBo XVIII 178 obv 5 and KUB XLII 58, 5; in both the cases, the term is quoted just after the word GÍR, “dagger”: so, it could be related to some kind of weapon decoration¹²²⁷. Furthermore, and according to Košak¹²²⁸, the term *sutari/šudari*¹²²⁹ has a parallel with KBo XXIII 42 rev. 25 and KBo XXIV 79, 12, where such kind of item is located in a musical context (in relation to cultic practices in honor of the goddess Inanna).

In the end (V 21), the text quoted another red chest, also upholstered(?), whose content is not better specified.

¹²²³ CHD L-N, p. 26. Cf. Luwian *lalami-*, in LAROCHE 1959, p. 61 (quoted in CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107, note 12).

¹²²⁴ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107; cf. the translation of the passage, *ivi*, p. 103: “26 hommes assis en cornaline d’Égypte”.

¹²²⁵ *Ivi*, p. 107.

¹²²⁶ For the analysis of the expression *an-da iš-hu-u-wa-a-an*, see NEUMANN 1961, pp. 90f. (quoted in KOŠAK 1982, p. 38).

¹²²⁷ KOŠAK 1982, pp. 37-38, and mostly the note on p. 38: “It is therefore likely that SAG.DU here refers to the same object or, rather, to its part ‘pommel’. To be connected with luw. *kinuhaimmi-* (LAROCHE 1959, p. 55). In KUB XXXV 143, 4: *ša* ^dKAL *ki-nu-ha-i[m-ma* is followed in the text line by GÍR ZABAR^{hi-a}”.

¹²²⁸ KOŠAK 1982, p. 38.

¹²²⁹ TISCHLER 1983, II/2, Lieferung 14 (S/2), p. 1214.

48. CTH 243: INVENTORY OF CLOTHES AND FABRICS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Inventory
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Inventory of different goods (clothes and fabrics) exchanged between Egypt and Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

KOŠAK 1982, pp. 118ff.¹²³⁰:

CTH 243.6 = KBo XVIII 181

Transliteration

rev 34 ša ŠU ^mA-pal-lu-ú 1 URUDU TU₇ **KUR Mi-iz-ri**

Translation

rev 34 from the hand of Apallu. 1 copper pot from **Egypt**

The obverse of this text lists many different kind of clothes and garments, mostly coming from the Hurrian area.

The reverse continues the same list, presenting a canopy and a boxwood decorated with ivory feet, containing much more clothes (mostly skirts and tunics). After the presentation of another canopy and a bed, the text starts reporting the record of some items coming from a booty (rev. 30ff.), composed by many metal artefacts: 5 copper baths-tubs, an undefined (because of the lacuna) object of iron, an iron wash-basin, another undetermined iron item, 1 iron cup-bearer's vessel, copper ŠU.TÚG.LAL from Aḫḫiyawa; the last quoted metal object (before the mention of the Egyptian pot) is 1 copper vessel for pouring up, which is said to come from the hand (i.e., "possession") of Apallu¹²³¹. Eventually, a copper pot from Egypt (1 URUDU TU₇ KUR Mi-iz-ri) ends the extant list.

First of all, it seems quite unexpected to find within this list, reporting mainly clothes, also a list of metal artefacts: by the way, we have to remember that the division of these inventories into precise categories is a modern issue. Furthermore, the list of the metal objects is placed at the end of the document, and could be the beginning of another list, maybe continuing also on other tablets (by the way, I do not consider this hypothesis very probable, because no paragraph lines divide this last part from the previous one).

Unfortunately, no more description of the Egyptian copper pot is offered within the text: considering that this item immediately follows some libation or pouring (or at least ceremonial) vessels, we can advance the possibility that also the Egyptian artefact could have such a cultic or formal destination. It is also interesting to note that the pot was made of copper, a metal that was not so common in Egypt and was instead very frequently imported from the Near East (and mostly from Anatolian and Cyprus)¹²³².

¹²³⁰ Cf. BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, pp. 176ff. and SIEGELOVÁ 1986, vol. 2, pp. 363ff.

¹²³¹ BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011, p. 181 considered also the Egyptian pot as coming from Apallu's property. The identity of Apallu is not so well known: according to LAROCHE 1966, p. 35, no. 98, it is quoted in VBoT 118, 2 (= CTH 210, a small fragment of letter), KUB XXXI 65, b 4 (= CTH 240, a list of purchase) and LAROCHE 1949, p. 321.

¹²³² Cf. *supra*, the discussion about the copper in Egypt in section 1.1, at the end of text no. 1.

49. CTH 245: INVENTORY OF JEWELS AND JEWELLERY

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Inventory
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Inventory of different goods (jewels and jewellery) exchanged between Egypt and Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

KOŠAK 1982, pp. 148ff.:

CTH 245.2 = KUB XLII 64

Transliteration

rev 11 1 HAR.ŠU GUŠKIN ^{na4}ZA.GÌN pí-en-ki-ta-x-mi-i[š]x-nu EME ina **KUR Mi-iz-ri** ka[-

Translation

rev 11 1 bracelet of gold and blue stones (with) penki-ornaments...

Among inventory texts, this one is devoted to the listing of jewels and jewellery items. From Egypt, just one object is mentioned: a bracelet decorated with gold and blue stones, with *penki* ornaments. The Luwian word *penkit-*, attested within the corpus of the Hittite texts with a “Glossenkeil” sign, refers to a peculiar kind of ornament:

“*penkit-* is an ornament, usually of gold but also of chalcedon (^{NA4}NÍR) and other precious stones. The only weight given in 2 shekels (KUB 40.93:9). It is used as decoration on garments, vessels, and bracelets (see *penkitawant-*) but it also serves as jewellery in its own right, coming in sets (KUB 42.64 rev. 7). *penkit-* may have been borrowed from Akk. *pinku*, *pingu* ‘mounting, decorating knob, decorated mace-head, cap, endpiece of a necklace’. The plur. *penkita* and adj. *penkitawant-* point to a stem *penkit-*. As is normal in Luw., the final *t* is not wr. the nom.-acc. sg.”¹²³³.

Thus, it seems that this kind of bracelet decoration was conformed in a knob shape. Unfortunately, no extant specimens of this kind of artefact survived; by the way, we can think about an Egyptian object, imitating the shape of a typical Anatolian jewel.

¹²³³ CHD (P), p. 268.

50. CTH 247: RECEIPT CERTIFICATE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Receipt certificate
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Receipt certificate of goods

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 AND DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

KOŠAK 1982, pp. 154ff.:

CTH 247.1 = KUB XLII 84

Transliteration

obv 5 3 ŠU.NIR GUŠKIN KUR Mi-iz-ri-i

Translation

obv 5 3 golden Egyptian emblems

These 3 golden emblems represent, in my humble opinion, the most intriguing objects coming from Egypt and dispatched to Ḫatti. It could concern both religious or military emblems: for what concerns the first category, see e.g. FROOD 2006 (statue of the Ramesside period carrying a sacred emblem); maybe, this sacred emblem could have been the *djed*-pillar amulet of the god Osiris, such as artefacts being also found in Anatolia¹²³⁴. For the military emblems/standards, the most important paper about these objects was published by Faulkner¹²³⁵, who describes the actual purpose of these objects as follows:

“The custom of carrying military insignia is almost as old as the art of war itself. When warfare emerged from the indiscriminate tribal scrimmage into the status of an organized pursuit, and armies became large enough to be subdivided into regiments, it became customary for each component body of the host to have its own standard or ensign, raised high on a pole so that it could readily be seen in the confusion of battle. These standards, borne at the head of the regiments, served two purposes”¹²³⁶.

If we consider the item quoted in this text as a military standard, we can also try to reconstruct his own shape:

“Another type of standard in common use was a rectangle mounted on a long shaft, which occurs in a number of different forms. In the simplest, the rectangle is entirely unadorned, and the shaft may or may not be decorated with streamers”¹²³⁷.

Faulkner also reports some typical shapes of such standards¹²³⁸. It is also possible that the Hittites saw some of these standards during one military struggle against the Egyptians, e.g. during the battle of Kadesh (see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 8.a-c) or the siege of Dapur (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.k). Unfortunately, no actual emblem/standard objects survived within the Hittite legacy: thus, the identification of the objects described in this text remains until today undefined.

¹²³⁴ See e.g. *infra*, section 2.2, no. A2, from Alaca Höyük. For the *djed*-pillar emblem of Osiris, see e.g. LUTZ 1919.

¹²³⁵ FAULKNER 1941.

¹²³⁶ *Ivi*, p. 12.

¹²³⁷ *Ivi*, p. 13.

¹²³⁸ *Ivi*, pls 4-6.

51. CTH 250: FRAGMENTS OF INVENTORIES

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Akkadian
Genre	Inventory
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Fragments of inventories of goods exchanged between Egypt and Ḫatti

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo XIV 72 Vs. 2 (br.), 4

KOŠAK 1982, pp. 162ff.:

a. CTH 250(5) = KBo XIV 72

Transliteration

obv 1] UDU AN.BAR GE₆
 2 ^{ur}] **Mi-iz-ri**

3] KU.BABBAR 4 a-ra-an-za
 4 **KUJR** ^{uru}**Mi-iz-ri**

5] 1^{na4}[AŠ].NU₁₁.GAL

Košak does not provide a complete translation of the passage, just commenting it in these regards:

“Objects from Egypt, going to Egypt or made in Egyptian fashion? Among them is a sheep made of black iron and silver objects among them 4 standing (1. 3) and 1 made of alabaster (1. 5). For the *aranza* in 1. 3 compare 4 *a-ra-an-te-eš* ‘four (are) standing’ in KBo 18:153 rev 3.4 (pl. nom.). For the implications of this text for Hittite trade see ZACCAGNINI 1970:18f.¹²³⁹ The text may be included in CTH 245¹²⁴⁰.

The most interesting information of this text is provided by Košak, who suggested that the sheep black iron object could come or be directed from/to Egypt. Considering that no Egyptian objects in a shape of a sheep are attested, I support the hypothesis that this item was directed to Egypt, and not coming from the Nile Valley; in fact, sheep-shaped objects were much more common within the Hittite world than in the Egyptian one. The 4 standing objects could be interpreted as Hittite figurines, also because they were made of silver, a quite common material in the Hittite culture. However, the alabaster object could come both from Egypt or from Anatolia.

b. CTH 250(25) = KUB XLII 24

Transliteration

I 1 *i]k-šu-ud*

2 1^{giš}PISA]N SA₅ **KUR Mi-iz-ri**

¹²³⁹ ZACCAGNINI 1970.

¹²⁴⁰ KOŠAK 1982, p. 162.

II	1	//[
	2	// x[
	3	4 hu-x[
	4	// ŠÀ.B[A
	5	// šum[-
	6	ŠÀ x[

The text is too lacunous for a proper translation, Košak limiting to comment:

“An inventory of chest contents, I 2 is either a chest in Egyptian style or a chest containing Egyptian imports. The two oblique wedges in II 1, 2, 4, and 5 run from left to right”¹²⁴¹.

This document just provides information about a red (SA₅) Egyptian chest, maybe containing Egyptian objects dispatched to the Ḫatti land. Unluckily, the fragmentary state of the text does not allow to reconstruct the actual content of the box.

At the end of all the inventory texts (catalogue, nos 47-51), we can usefully summon up all the objects quoted there and coming from Egypt:

Description	Translation	Quantity	Notes	Text(s)
TÚG ^{meš}	clothes	undefined	/	241.3
gišPISAN	chests	8	UGU wa-aš-ša-an[-za (upholstered?); DU ₈ .ŠÚ.A (orange-yellow); še-ir wa[-aš-ša-an-za] (red, upholstered?)	241.3 214.5 241.7 250(25)
bi-ib-ri KU.BABBAR	silver rhyta	3	1 with a lion neck 2 with silver beakers	241.5
HAR.ŠU	bracelets	undefined (at least 2)	GUŠKIN ^{na4} .ZA.GÌN pí-en-ki-ta-x-mi-i[š]-x-nu (of gold and blue stones and penki-ornaments); na4GUG (of carnelian)	241.7 245.2
URUDU TU ₇	copper pot	1	/	243.6
ŠU.NIR GUŠKIN	golden emblems	3	/	247.1
UDU AN.BAR GE ₆	black iron sheep	1	/	250(5)
KU.BABBAR a-ra-an-za	silver standing (objects)	4	/	250(5)
na4[AŠ].NU ₁₁ .GAL	alabaster (object)	1	/	250(5)

A useful summary of most of the attestations of Egyptian artefacts within the corpus of the inventory texts was also provided by Cornil and Lebrun:

“L’examen de ce texte et celui d’autres fragments d’inventaires permet de dresser une liste d’objets provenant d’Égypte qui devaient faire partie de l’important mobilier des palais hittites; nous retiendrons notamment :

1. gišPISAN : « corbeille, coffre ». Rencontrés fréquemment dans les tablettes d’inventaires, les gišPISAN sont destinés à contenir des armes, des bijoux, des vases, de petites sculptures, des vêtements de parade ou destinés au culte, bref tous objets précieux souvent inventoriés à l’occasion de leur transfert dans une autre partie du palais; de hauts dignitaires, voire la reine elle-même, supervisaient les opérations de déménagements (cfr. IBoT I 31). Les dimensions des gišPISAN variaient et il semble que plusieurs d’entre eux provenaient d’Égypte; il est néanmoins toujours difficile d’établir si ces corbeilles ou coffres avaient été

¹²⁴¹ KOŠAK 1982, p. 174.

introduits dans les palais hittites à la suite d'opérations commerciales ou en tant que cadeaux du pharaon au grand roi du Hatti. Parmi les ^{giš}PISAN égyptiens, nous distinguons :

- ^{giš}PISAN SA₅ KUR Mizri : « coffre rouge d'Égypte » (KUB XLII 24 I^o 2),
- ^{giš}PISAN SA₅ (KUR) Mizri UGU waššanza : « coffre rouge d'Égypte couvert au-dessus » (KUB LXII 11 V^o V 21, 23),
- ^{giš}PISAN KUR Mizri : « coffre d'Égypte » (KBo IX 91 R^o 15 : la-la-me-eš ^{giš}PISAN KUR Mi-iz-ri *BI-IB-RI* KÛ.BABBAR : « État : corbeille/coffre d'Égypte, des rhytons en argent ». KUB XLII 11 R^o II 8', 17'),
- ^{giš}PISAN DU₈.ŠÛ.A Mizri : « coffre d'Égypte en cristal de roche » (KUB XLII 11 R^o II 20').

2. ŠU.NIR : « emblème ». Il est malaisé de savoir à quel type d'emblèmes appartenait les ŠU.NIR égyptiens conservés dans les coffres de Hattusa, mais il est certain qu'ils étaient faits de métal précieux et devaient faire partie des cadeaux offerts par un pharaon (KUB XLII 84 5 : 3 ŠU.NIR GUŠKIN KUR Mi-iz-ri-i ... : « 3 emblèmes d'Égypte en or »).

3. ĤUR.ŠÛ : ils sont en or comme ceux que l'on a retrouvés dans les trésors égyptiens (KUB XLII R^o I 7' ; 64 11').

4. GAB : « torse, buste ». nous savons que dans un coffre se trouvait un buste égyptien composé d'or et de lapis-lazzuli (KUB XIII 1¹²⁴² IV 20 : 1-EN GAB ^{uru}Mi-iz-ri-i GUŠKIN ^{na4}ZA.GIN : « un buste égyptien (composé) d'or (et) de lapis-lazuli »).

5. ^{urudu}TU₇ : « marmite en cuivre ». Elle provient peut-être d'un cadeau du pharaon (KBo XVIII 181 V^o 34).

6. UKÛTUS ^{na4}GUG Mizri : « hommes assis en cornaline d'Égypte ». Il s'agit de petites statuettes représentant des hommes assis (KUB XLII 11 R^o I 13').

La synthèse de ces inventaires permet de s'imaginer le type d'objets que les Égyptiens faisaient parvenir dans le Hatti : bijoux, effigies, récipients, emblèmes et plus particulièrement les ^{giš}PISAN de différents modèles destinés à recevoir les objets précieux du palais ou d'un temple. Tous ces trésors égyptiens étaient considérés par les Hittites comme pièces de collection et il semble peu probable que ceux-ci aient pu influencer de quelque manière les arts hittites mineurs, ceux-ci plongeant leurs racines dans la riche tradition pré-hittite illustrée par les trésors d'Alaç-Höyük¹²⁴³.

Some further comments can be proposed: first of all, Cornil and Lebrun stress the problem of the origin of the baskets/chests ^{giš}PISAN, stating that they could have been both proper exchanged goods or even gifts from the pharaoh; considering that they are always said to come “from Egypt”, and not expressly “from the king of Egypt” (something like *i-na* LUGAL GAL KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iz-ri-i*), I support the first hypothesis (however, for other more precious and peculiar artefacts, such as the golden emblems, the gift nature is incontrovertible). The final statement of the authors is remarkable: they underline the possibility of reconstruct the different typologies of artefacts that were delivered from Egypt to Ĥatti (with the temple or the palace as their final destination). However, they do not mention the possibility of matching the items quoted in the textual sources with some actual Egyptian /“Egyptianizing” objects found in Anatolia. Nevertheless, I completely agree with Cornil's and Lebrun's final sentence: it is quite unlikely that all the objects described in these inventories could have had a direct influence on the Hittite art (at least, such an influence can be recognized in just some peculiar specimens) and I also comply with their proposal of identifying the original types of the Hittite art form from the former styles attested at Alaca Höyük. Anyhow, it is important to remember that some Egyptian traits have been identified by some scholars in some objects found in this city (see *infra*, section 2.2, nos A2-A6, with further bibliography).

¹²⁴² The authors here quoted the edition number of the text erroneously: the passage quoted here is at KUB XII 1 (= CTH 504: Inventory of Manninni, see *infra*, text no. 55) and not KUB XIII 1 (= CTH 261: Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the province governor, *BĒL MADGALTI*).

¹²⁴³ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, pp. 106-108.

VI. HYMNS AND PRAYERS

52. CTH 378: PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II, FOR THE PLAGUE

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Prayer
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Prayer of Muršili II against the plague; mention of the “Kuruštama treaty” and the “ <i>daḫamunzu</i> -affaire”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 14', 26', 32', Rs. 31'
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 13 I 47
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 19', 23' 24'
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 20'
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 8 Vs. 16', 33'
^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XIV 13 I 48

a. KBo LIV 7 = CTH 378.7

RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 378.7¹²⁴⁴.

Transliteration

- 1 [...]-x [...]
- 2 *nu iš*-[...]
- 3 [...][*i*]-*da-a-l*[*a*- ...]
- 4 [*nu-wa-r*]*a-at ú*-[*e*]-*e*[*r* ...]
- 5 [... *k*]*u-en-ner*
- 6 *nu-wa* [A]-B[U-YA ...]
- 7 [...]-x I-NA KUR^{URU}*mi-i*[*z-ri* ...]
- 8 [... K]Û.BABBAR GUŠKIN^{GIŠ}GIGIR^{GIŠ}_x-[...]
- 9 [...]-x-*aš ki-iš-ša-an* [...]
- 10 [... *š*]*u*[*me*]-*eš-ša IŠ-T*[U ...]
- 11 [...]-*ya-tén*
- 12 *x* [...]

Translation

- [§ 1']
- 1-- [...]
 - 2-- Und [...]
 - 3-- [...] bö[s]e [...].
 - 4-- „Und sie kam[en ...]
 - 5-- [...] sie t]öteten [...].
 - 6-- [Mein] Vat[er ...].
 - 7-- [...] im/ins Land Ägy[ten ...].
 - 8-- [...] Si]lber, Gold, Wagen [...]“.
 - 9-- [...] folgendermaßen [...].
 - 10-- „[...] auch [i]hr von/mi[t ...].
 - 11-- [...] -t!“
 - 12-- [...]

¹²⁴⁴ Cf. LEBRUN – DEGREVE 2008, pp. 130-131.

The text listed by Laroche as CTH 378 is a quite long plea of Muršili II to the assembly of gods, praying them to turn the plague away from the Hatti land. According to the text of the prayer, the causes of the plague are recognized by the Hittite king with the abandoning of the cultic activities in many temples and with the struggles engaged by Šuppiluliuma I against Egypt (and mostly, even if not openly quoted, the attack towards the Egyptian land of Amka).

Text KBo LIV 7 is unfortunately too fragmentary to advance a complete and meaningful translation: by the way, it is possible to reconstruct the general topic of the document. At l. 3', a general reference to something "evil" is established, maybe the betrayal Hittite attack in the Egyptian region of Amka. The following line (4'), containing the verb *ú-[e]-e[r ...]*, translated as "sie kam[en ...]" (Rieken et al.) or as "ils l'ont demandé"¹²⁴⁵, does not offer a precise sense within the context. However, the translation of the following preserved lines, where it is clear that the Hittite king (= Šuppiluliuma) sent some gifts to Egypt, could confirm the translation of the verb suggested by Lebrun and Degrève, pointing out how the Egyptians asked some compensation for the attack, in order to restore the former peace.

b. KUB XIV 13 + KUB XXIII 124 = CTH 378.4

RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 378.4¹²⁴⁶.

Transliteration

Vs. I

35 *nu ú-et A-BU-YA ku-wa-pí I-NA KUR^{URU} mi-iz-ri p[a-it]*
 36 *nu-kán IŠ-TU UD-UM^{URU} mi-iz-ri ÚŠ-an ŠÀ KUR [...]*
 37 *KUR^{URU} ḥa-at-ti ak-ki-iš-ke-et-ta-a-ri* 38 *nu A-[BU]-[YA]*
 38 *a-ri-iš-ke-et nu šu-meš DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ} a-ri-ya-še-[eš]-[n]a-a[z]*
 39 *[Ú]-UL ú-e-mi-i-ya-at*
 40 *[a]m-mu-uq-qa-aš-ma-aš a-ri-iš-ke-e-nu-un*
 41 *nu šu-me-eš DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-YA a-ri-ya-še-eš-[na]-az*
 42 *am-mu-uq-qa Ú-UL ú-e-mi-ya-[nu]-un*

Translation

[§ 5]

35 Später, damals als mein Vater nach Ägypten z[og],
 36 wurde von dem Tag Ägyptens an die Suche im Inneren des Land[es Hatti] beständig.
 37 Und seit jener Ze[i]t stirbt das Land Hatti dahin.
 38 [Mein] Vater versuchte, (es) durch ein Orakel zu ermitteln.
 39 Euch Götter, (meine) Herren, fand er dur[ch] die Orakelanf[ra]ge [nic]ht.
 40 Auch [i]ch habe versucht, (es) von euch durch ein Orakel zu ermitteln.
 41-42 Und euch, (ihr) Götter, meine Herren, fand auch ich durch die Orakelanfrage nicht.

In this portion of the plea, Muršili describes how he tried to find out the possible causes (and even the solutions) to the plague hitting the Hittite land. He clearly mentioned some oracles he performed, in order to obtain a way to avert the pestilence; it is possible, in my opinion, that some oracular texts quoting Egypt could be recognized as some of these oracles: these documents are KUB LII 67 and KBo XLVII 230, listed by Laroche as CTH 582 (presented here *infra*, as texts nos 52.a-b). They maybe belong (being perhaps duplicates) to the same original text which quotes two different practices (the KIN and the MUŠEN *Hurri* rituals), performed to obtain the oracle. A further analysis of these texts will be presented *infra* (texts nos 52.a-b).

¹²⁴⁵ *Ivi*, p. 131: "ú-*e*,-[ek- (l. 4') viendrait peut-être du verb *wek-* : « réclamer », mais la personne est incertaine".

¹²⁴⁶ English translation of the passage in SINGER 2002b, p. 65: "§5 (I 47-55) When my father went to Egyptian territory, since that day of Egypt, death has persisted in [Hatti], and from that time Hatti has been dying. My father repeatedly inquired through the oracles, but he did not find you, O gods, my lords, through the oracles. I have also repeatedly inquired of you through oracle, but I have not found you, O gods, my lords, through oracle".

c. **KUB XIV 8 = CTH 378.2**

RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 378.2:

Transliteration

Vs.

39 [ŠA-NU-Ú TUP-P]U-ma ŠA^{URU}ku-[ru-uš]-ta-am-[ma]
 40 LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ku-ru-uš-ta-am-ma ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [^d10^{URU}ḥa-a]t-ti I-NA KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ri pé-[e]-[d]a-aš 41 nu-
 uš-ma-aš^dIM^{URU}ḥa-at-ti ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
 41 [iš-ḥi-ú-u]l A-NA LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ḥa-at-ti me-[na-aḥ]-ḥa-an-da i-ya-at 42 nam-ma-at IŠ-TU^d10^{URU}ḥa-at-ti
 42 [lī]-[in]-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš 43 nu LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ḥa-at-ti ku-it LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}mi-iz-ri-ya
 43 IŠ-T[U]^dIM^{URU}ḥa-at-ti li-in-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš e-še-er 44 nu ú-e-er LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ḥa-at-ti
 44 pé-ra-an wa-aḥ-nu-e-er 45 nu-kán NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ḥa-at-ti ḥu-u-da-a-ak
 45 šar-ri-i-e-er
 46 nu A-BU-YA ÉRIN^{MES} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} u-i-ya-at
 47 nu ZAG KUR mi-iz-ri KUR am-ga wa-al-aḥ-ḥe-er
 48 nam-ma-ya u-i-ya-at
 49 nu nam-ma (Rasur) wa-al-aḥ-ḥe-er 50 LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}[m]i-iz-ri-i-ma ma-aḥ-ḥa-an na-aḥ-ša-ri-ya-an-ta-at
 Kolon fehlt.

52 na-at ú-e-er

53 nu A-NA A-BI-YA DUMU-ŠÚ [LUGAL]-[u]-iz-na-an-ni an-ku ú-e-ke-er

54 nu-uš-ma-aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an A-BU-YA a-pé-[e-el] [DUMU-Š]Ú pé-e-eš-ta

55 na-an ma-aḥ-ḥa-an pé-e-ḥu-te-er

56 na-an-kán ku-e-en-né-er

57 A-BU-YA-[ma] : [kap-pí]-la-az-za-at-ta

58 na-aš I-NA KUR mi-iz-ri pa-it

59 nu KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ri wa-al!-[aḥ!-ta]

60 ÉRIN^{MES}-ya-ká[n] ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} ŠA KUR mi-iz-ri ku-en-[ta]

61 nu a-pí-ya-ya^dIM^{URU}ḥa-at-ti BE-LÍ-IA A-BA-Y[A] ḥa-an-ne-eš-ni-it šar-la-a-[et]

62 nu-za ÉRIN^{MES} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} ŠA KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ri tar-uḥ-t[a]

63 [na-a]t-kán ku-en-ta

64 nu LÚ^{MES} ap-pa-an-da-an] ku-in e-ep-per

65 na-an m[a-a]ḥ-ḥa-an I-NA KUR^{URU}ḥa-a[t-ti E]GIR-pa ú-wa-te-e-e[r]

66 nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ-BI LÚ^{MES} ŠU.DAB.BI^{HLA} ḥi-in-kán ki-š[a-a]t

67 i[k]-[ki-iš]-ke-u-[an da]-[a-iš]

68 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma LÚ^{MES} ŠU.DAB.BI^{HLA} I-NA ŠÀ-BI KUR^{URU}ḥa-a[t]-[ti] ar-nu-e-er

69 nu-kán ḥi-in-ga-[an] I-NA ŠÀ-BI KUR^{URU}ḥa-a[t]-t[i] LÚ^{MES} ŠA-AB-TU-TUM ú-te-e-[er]

70 nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR ḥa-at-ti a-pe-e-ez-za UD^{KAM}-az a[k-k]i-iš-ke-et-ta-ri

71 nu-za ma-a[ḥ]-ḥa-an e-ni TUP-PA ŠA KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ri pé-ra-[an] ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un

72 na-at IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM a-ri-ya-nu-un

73 a-ši-wa ku-[iš] me-mi-ya-aš [I]i^dIM^{URU}ḥa-at-ti i-ya-an-za 74 LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}mi-iz-ri ku-it

74 LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}ḥa-at-ti-ya IŠ-TU^dIM^{URU}ḥa-at-ti li-in!-ga!-nu-an-te-eš

Rs.

130 nu-za ka-a-ša A-NA^dIM EN-YA ḥi-i[n-g]a-ni še-er ar-ku-u-wa-ar e-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥ[i]

131 nu-mu^d10^{URU}ḥa-at-ti EN-YA iš-ta-[ma]-aš

132 nu-mu ḥu-iš-nu-ut

133 nu-ut-tá[k-k]án [ki]-[iš-ša-an ...]

134 MUŠEN-iš-za-kán^{GIŠ} tap-ta-ap-pa-an EGIR-pa e-ep-zi

135 na-an^{GIŠ} tap-ta-[ap-pa]-aš ḥu-[u]-[iš-nu-zi]

136 na-aš-ma ma-a-an A-NA ARAD-TI ku-e-da-[ni]-ik-ki ku-it-ki na-a[k]-[ki]-ya-aḥ-ḥa-a[n]

137 nu-za A-NA EN-ŠU ar-ku-wa-ar i-ya-az-[zi]

138 na-an EN-ŠU iš-[ta]-ma-aš-zi

- 139 nu-[uš-ši ge]-[en-zu _ _ _]
 140 ku-it na-ak-ki-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an
 141 na-at-ši [SIG₅]-aḥ-zi
 142 na-aš-ma ma-a-an A-NA ARAD-TI ku-e-da-[ni-ik-ki] wa-aš-túl
 143 wa-aš-túl-ma-az-za-kán A-NA PA-NI E[N-Š]U tar-na-a-i
 144 na-an EN-ŠU ku-it a-pí-ya i-e-ez-zi
 145 na-an i-e-ez-zi
 146 wa-aš-túl-ma-za-k[án] [A]-[N]A PA-NI EN-ŠU ku-it tar-na-a-i
 147 nu A-NA EN-ŠU ZI-an-za wa-ar-ši-ya-az-z[i]
 148 [nu EN]-ŠU a-pu-u-un ARAD-[DI] EGIR-pa Ú-UL kap-pu-u-ez-zi
 149 [a]m-mu-uk-za-kán ŠA A-BI-YA wa-aš-túl [tar-na]-[aḥ-ḥu-un]
 150 [a]-ša-a-na-at
 151 i-ya-nu-na-at
 152 [ma-a-a]n šar-ni-ik-zi-el ku-iš 153 nu a-pé-[e-ez ḥi-in-ga]-na-az ka-ru-ú-ya ku-it me-ek-ki
 153 [...]
 154 x x-[_] x IŠ-TU KUR ^{URU}mi-iz-ri ku-in ^{LÚ.MEŠ}[ŠU].DAB ú-wa-te-er
 155 NAM.RA ^{HL.A}-ya ku-in [...]
 156 [EGIR-p]a-ma ku-[i]t ^{URU}ḥa-at-tu-ša-aš ḥ[i-i]n-ga-na-az šar-ni-ik-ta
 157 na-at-an-ki [Ú-UL k]a-[ru-ú a]-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an ki-ša-ri
 158 n[u] [A]-NA ^{dIM} ^{URU}ḥa-at-ti EN-YA [Ú A-N]A DINGIR ^{MEŠ} BE-LU ^{MEŠ}-YA ZI-an-za Ú-UL-pát wa-[ar]-ši-ya-at-ta-ri
 159 na-aš-ma-kán ma-a-an [am-m]u-uk-ma ku-it-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-el ḥa-an-ti iš-ḥi-ya-at-te-e-ni
 160 [na-a]t-mu te-eš-ḥa-az me-mi-eš-tén 161 nu-uš-ma-ša-at pé-eḥ-ḥi

Translation¹²⁴⁷

[§ 4]

39-- [Die zweite Taf]el aber über (die Stadt) Kurušamma:

40-- Wie der Wettergott von Ḥatti die Leute von Kurušamma nach **Ägypten** bra[ch]te

41-- (und) wie der Wettergott von Ḥatti für sie (scil. die Leute von Kurušamma in **Ägypten**) mit den Leuten von Ḥatti einen Vertrag machte,

42-- (wie) sie ferner vom Wettergott von Ḥatti unter Ei[d] genommen (waren).

43-- Was das betrifft, dass die Leute von Ḥatti und die Leute von **Ägypten** vom Wettergott von Ḥatti unter Eid genommen waren:

44-- Später gewannen die Leute von Ḥatti die Oberhand.

45-- Mit einem Mal übertraten die Leute von Ḥatti den Göttereid,

46-- und mein Vater schickte Fuß- (und) Pferdetruppen.

47-- Sie schlugen das (Grenz-)Gebiet von **Ägypten**, (nämlich das Land) Amka.

48-- Und wieder schickte er (Fuß- und Pferdetruppen),

49-- und wieder schlugen sie (zu).

50-- Als die Leute von **Ägypten** aber Angst bekamen,

51-- schickten sie [f]erner aus.

52-- Sie kamen

53-- und sie erbaten dringlich von meinem Vater seinen Sohn für (ihre) Königsherrschaft.

54-- Nachdem mein Vater ihnen seinen Sohn gegeben hatte

55-- und nachdem man ihn hingebracht hatte,

56-- töteten sie ihn.

57-- Mein Vater aber wurde feindlich.

58-- Er ging nach **Ägypten**

59-- und schlug **Ägypten**.

60-- Auch die Fuß- (und) Pferdetruppen **Ägyptens** tötete er.

[§ 5]

61-- Auch da ließ der Wettergott von Ḥatti, mein Herr, mein[en] Vater durch einen (göttlichen) Gerichtsentscheid gewinnen:

¹²⁴⁷ For an English translation, see SINGER 2002b, pp. 57-61.

62-- Er (scil. mein Vater) besiegte die Fuß- (und) Pferdetruppen des Landes **Ägypten**
 63-- und tötete sie.
 64-- Die Kriegsgefangenen, die sie ergriffen,
 65-- [a]ls sie sie ins Land Ḫatti (mit sich) zurückbrachten,
 66-- entstand (unterwegs) eine Seuche unter den Kriegsgefangenen.
 67-- Seither s[t]arb[en] sie (beständig).

[§ 6]

68-- Als man aber die Kriegsgefangenen ins Land Ḫa[t]ti brachte,
 69-- brachten die Kriegsgefangenen die Seuche ins Innere des Landes Ḫatti.
 70-- Seit jenem Tag wird im Inneren des Landes Ḫatti gestorben.
 71-- Sobald ich jene Tafel über das Land **Ägypten** gefunden hatte,
 72-- ermittelte ich es (durch Orakel) von der Gottheit:
 73-- „Jenes Wort, das [v]om Wettergott von Ḫatti gemacht (worden war),“
 74-- was das betrifft, dass die Leute von **Ägypten** und die Leute von Ḫatti vom Wettergott von Ḫatti unter Eid
 genommen (waren),

[§ 12']

130-- Ich hier mache (gerade) dem Wettergott, meinem Herrn, wegen der Seuche meine Falldarlegung.
 131-- Wettergott von Ḫatti, mein Herr, höre mich!
 132-- Lass mich überleben!
 133-- Zu dir [...] folgen[dermaßen]:
 134-- Ein Vogel nimmt (Zuflucht zu) seinem Nest,
 135-- das Nest [lässt] ihn überle[ben].
 136-- Oder wenn irgendetwas irdendeinem Diener be[d]rücken[d] (ist),
 137-- (dann) macht er seinem Herrn seine Falldarlegung,
 138-- (und) sein Herr hört ihn.
 139-- Er [nimmt] ihm (gegenüber) eine gü[tige Gesinnung ein]:
 140-- Was bedrückend (ist),
 141-- das macht er gut für ihn.
 142-- Oder wenn irgendein Diener einen Frevel (begangen hat),
 143-- seinen Frevel aber (vor) sein[em He]rrn bekennt,
 144-- was sein Herr dann mit ihm macht,
 145-- das macht er mit ihm.
 146-- Weil er aber seinen Frevel (vor) seinem Herrn bekennt,
 147-- beruhig[t] sich seinem Herr der Sinn (wieder),
 148-- [und] sein [Herr] kümmert sich nicht mehr um jenen Diener (scil. hinsichtlich einer Bestrafung).
 149-- [I]ch habe den Frevel meines Vaters bekan[nt].
 150-- Es (ist) wahr.
 151-- Ich habe es getan.
 152-- [Wen]n irgendeine Entschädigung (besteht):
 153-- Weil durch [jene Seu]che auch früher schon reichlich [...],
 154-- wen sie [...] aus dem Land **Ägypten** als [Kriegsge]fangene gebracht haben
 155-- und wen sie als Zivilgefangene [gebracht haben],
 156-- w[of]ür Ḫattuša [hinterhe]r aber durch die S[eu]che (bereits) entschädigt hat,
 157-- ist das [nicht b]ereits auf jene Weise zwanzigfach geschehen?
 158-- Und dem Wettergott von Ḫatti, meinem Herrn, [und de]n (anderen) Göttern, meinen Herren, hat sich der
 Sinn gar nicht beruhigt.
 159-- Oder falls ihr [mi]r aber irgendetwas als Entschädigungsoffer gesondert auferlegt,
 160-- sagt [e]s mir durch einen Traum!
 161-- Ich werde es euch geben.

The text preserved on tablet Bo 2803 is surely the most important and complete for the reconstruction of some of the main events in the development of Egypto-Hittite relations: the stipulation of the “Kuruštama Treaty” and the “*daḫamunzu* episode”. The present documents needs to be read synoptically together with CTH 40, the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”, which deals with the same events.

I do not further investigate here the topics concerning the “Kuruštama Treaty” and the “*daḥamunzu* episode”, already analysed *supra* under texts nos 1 and 7; instead, I underline some peculiar passages that helps in clarifying the view the Hittite had at that time of the Egyptian counterpart.

At §4, after the description of the second tablet of the “Kuruštama Treaty”, it is said that “the men of Hatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm-god of Hatti, and the men of Hatti proceeded to get the upper hand, the men of Hatti thereby suddenly transgressed the oath of the gods”¹²⁴⁸. Muršili describes all the events in a religious perspective, considering the Storm-god as the guarantor of the deal: under this respect, the Hittite attack against the Amka land¹²⁴⁹ is regarded as a sacrilege, being a violation of an agreement establishes directly by the major god of the Hittite pantheon.

The following sentences are instead related to the “*daḥamunzu affaire*”:

“When the men of Egypt became afraid, they came and asked my father outright for his son for kingship. But when my father gave them his son, as they led him off, they murdered him. My father was appalled and he went to Egyptian territory, attacked the Egyptians, and destroyed the Egyptian infantry and chariotry”¹²⁵⁰.

It is noteworthy that in this passage there is no reference to the Egyptian widow and her request for a husband is directly attributed to some no better defined “men of Egypt” (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU[m]i-iz-ri-i) and the reason of this petition was that “they became afraid” (*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an na-aḥ-ša-ri-ya-an-ta-at*¹²⁵¹).

A similar Egyptian reaction to the attack at Amka is described in the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”:

“Quando gli Egiziani vengono a sapere dell’attacco alla regione di Amka si impauriscono”¹²⁵² (*ú-te-ir LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR^{URU}mi-iz-ra-ma ma-aḥ-ḥa-an KUR^{URU}am-ka GUL-aḥ-ḥu-wa-ar iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi na-at na-aḥ-ša-ri-ia-an-zi*).

Thus, Šuppiluliuma sent his son Zannanza to become the new pharaoh, but he was killed (this is the Hittite interpretation of Zannanza’s death) during the journey to Egypt:

“But when my father gave them his son, as they led him off, they murdered him. My father was appalled and he went to Egyptian territory, attacked the Egyptians, and destroyed the Egyptian infantry and chariotry”¹²⁵³.

As a consequence of Zannanza’s “murder”, the “appalled” (*[kap-pí]-la-az-za-at-ta*¹²⁵⁴) Šuppiluliuma decided to strongly attack the Egyptians within their territories (of course, in Syria). The following §5 displays Šuppiluliuma’s victory over Egypt as a clear willing of the Storm-god:

“At that time too the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, by his verdict caused my father to prevail, and he defeated the infantry and the chariotry of Egypt and beat them”¹²⁵⁵.

Unfortunately, an unexpected outcome appeared: the Egyptian prisoners brought to Ḫattuša carried with them the plague which would hit the Hittites for many years thereafter:

¹²⁴⁸ Translation as in SINGER 2002b, p. 58.

¹²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: “My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked the borderland of Egypt, the land of Amka. And again he sent, and again they attacked”.

¹²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵¹ For the meaning of the term *naḥšariyantat*, see e.g. TISCHLER 2001, p. 109: “**nahsar*-.: sich fürchten, Ehrfurcht erweisen”.

¹²⁵² Italian translation of Del Monte, see *supra*, text no. 1, 1A III 1-19. Similarly GÜTERBOCK 1956b, p. 94: “But when the people of Egypt heard of the attack on Amka they were afraid”.

¹²⁵³ SINGER 2002b, p. 58.

¹²⁵⁴ For this term, see e.g. TISCHLER 2001, p. 72: “**kappila*- „Zorn, Ärger“, enthalten in: Denom. *kappilahh*- (II) „zürnen, toben“ und *kappilai*- (I) „aufhetzen“; Inchoat. (*u*)*kappilazza*- „in Zorn geraten“; Adj. *kappilalli*- “verhaßt, feindlich“ (luw. in heth. Kontext)”.

¹²⁵⁵ SINGER 2002b, p. 58.

“But when the prisoners of war who had been captured were led back to Hatti, a plague broke out among the prisoners of war, and [they began] to die. When the prisoners of war were carried off to Hatti, the prisoners of war brought the plague into Hatti. From that day on people have been dying in Hatti”¹²⁵⁶.

Therefore, Muršili questions the gods to find out a remedy:

“When I found the aforementioned tablet dealing with Egypt, I inquired about it to the god through an oracle saying: ‘Has this matter been brought about by the Storm-god of Hatti because the men of Egypt and the men of Hatti had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti?’”¹²⁵⁷.

It is clear in this passage how Muršili directly connects the spread of the plague with his father’s breakage of the previous treaty: since it has been guaranteed by the Storm-god, the Šuppiluliuma’s onset on Amka resulted to be also a sacrilege. The beginning of §6 reports the result of the oracle that confirms Šuppiluliuma’s sin:

“‘And because the *damassara*-deities were in the temple of the Storm-god, my lord, whereupon the men of Hatti themselves suddenly transgressed the word (of the oath), did this become the cause for the anger of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord?’ And it was confirmed by the oracle”¹²⁵⁸.

In the next §§7-8, Muršili admits his father’s fault, extending it to all the Hatti people, but declared himself innocent; in §9 the Hittite king asks to the Storm-god to show him a way to solve the problem:

“I have confessed the sin of my father. It is so. I have done it. If there is some restitution (to be made), then there has already [been paid(?)] much for this plague [caused by (?)] the prisoners of war who were brought back from Egyptian territory and by the civilian captives who were brought back. [And] since Hatti has made restitution through the plague, it [has made restitution] for it twenty-fold. Indeed, it has already become that much. And yet the soul of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of all the gods, my lords, is not at all appeased. Or if you want to require from me some additional restitution, specify it to me in a dream, and I shall give it to you”¹²⁵⁹.

With regard to our topic, it is noteworthy how Muršili reiterates that the plague was caused by the Egyptian prisoners of war; however, the Hittite king is not yet sure about it and at the end of the prayer (§11) he begs to have a further corroboration:

“[Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or, according to what I instructed all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy”¹²⁶⁰.

¹²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁷ *Ivi*, pp. 58-59.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ivi*, p. 59.

¹²⁵⁹ *Ivi*, p. 60.

¹²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

53. CTH 379: “FIFTH ” PRAYER OF MURŠILI II, FOR THE PLAGUE, TO THE ASSEMBLY OF GODS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Prayer
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Muršili II)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Prayer of Muršili II against the plague; probable mention of the “Kuruštama treaty”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XXXI 121a II 10', 13', 16'

RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 379:

Transliteration

Vs. II

18 x-[...]

19 nu x-[...]

20 [...] a-r[a- ...]

21 [...] [i]-[...]

22 [...] [ú?]-[...] x [...]

23 u-nu-wa-x-[_ _ _^{URU} *mi-iz-[ri]* t[up-pl? ...]

24 e-d[a-ni-ma-k]án A-NA TUP-PÍ me-[mi-ya-an] am-m[u-uk a]n-da Ú-UL ku-in-k[i] te-eḫ-ḫ[u-u]n

25 ar-ḫa-ya-kán Ú-UL [...] da-aḫ-ḫ[u-u]n

26 DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-YA uš-ket-te-e[n]

27 Ú-UL [š]a-[ag]-ga-aḫ-ḫi

28 ka-ru-ú-[ma] ku-i-[e]-[e]š LUGAL^{MEŠ} e-šer

29 nu-kán ma-[a]-[an] a-pí-[ia] ku-iš-ki an-da da-i[š]

30 na-aš-ma-[a]n-[k]án ar-ḫa da-a-aš

31 am-mu-[uk-ma] Ú-UL ku!-it-ki [ša-ag]-g[a-aḫ-ḫi]

32 me-mi-ya-an-na-kán EGIR-an-da [ar!-ḫa] Ú-UL iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-[an] ḫar-mi

[...]

45 LUGAL KUR^{URU} *mi-iz-ri-ma* a-pé-[e]-da-aš [UD^{KAM}]^{H1.A.}-aš ak-ta-pát

46 am-mu-uk-ma [ku-it nu]-[u-ua] [TUR]-aš e-šu-un

47 nu Ú-UL ša-[ag-ga-aḫ]-[ḫu-u]n

48 ma-a-an-za LUGAL KUR^{URU} *mi-iz-[ri]* A-NA [A-BU]-YA e-da-aš A-NA KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} [še-er] a[r-ku-w]a-
[ar] i-ya-at

49 [ma]-a-an-za Ú-[UL] ku-it-[ki] [i-ya-at?]

50 DAM LUGAL KUR^{URU} *mi-iz-ri-ma* wa-an-n[u-um-mi-ya-aš] ku-it

51 nu A-NA A-BU-YA IŠ-[PUR]

52 [...] A-NA [MUNUS^{MEŠ}] me-mi-ya-u-[wa-an]-z[i ...]

53 [...] x x am-mu-[uk] a-[pé]-e-d[a- ...] [...] [Ú]-UL a-[uš-ḫa-ḫa-at]

54 [...] x x x [_] x [...]

55 [...] x [...]

*Translation*¹²⁶¹

[§ 8"]

¹²⁶¹ English translation in SINGER 2002b, pp. 66-68.

18-- [...]
19-- Und [...].
20-- [...]
21-- [...]
22-- [...]
23-- [...] T[afel des Landes] **Ägypten**.

[§ 9"]
24-- Je[ner] Tafel [aber] fügte Ic[h] nicht irgendei[n] Wo[rt h]inzu.
25-- Auch fort nah[m] ich nicht [irgendeines].
26-- Götter, meine Herren, schau[t]!
27-- Ich [w]eiß nicht,
28-- – welche Könige früher [aber] (da) waren –
29-- o[b] irgendeiner (von ihnen) dort (ein Wort) hinzugefüg[t]
30-- oder [e]s weggenommen hat.
31-- Ich aber we[iß] nichts.
32-- Auch ein Wort (darüber) habe ich hinterher nicht vernommen.

[§ 13"]
45-- Der König des Landes **Ägypten**¹²⁶² aber starb in jenen [Tag]en.
46-- Weil ich aber n[och] ein Kind war,
47-- wuss[te] ich nicht,
48-- ob der König des Landes **Ägypten** meinem [Vater] wegen jener Länder eine D[arlegu]n[g] seines Falls machte
49-- (oder) ob er nichts [machte]¹²⁶³.

[§ 14"]
50-- Weil die Ehefrau des Königs von **Ägypten** aber ver[witwet] war],
51-- schrieb sie meinem Vater,
52-- [...] (den) Frauen zu sage[n ...]¹²⁶⁴.
53-- Ich wurde in jen[e- ...] nicht gesehen.
54-- [...]
55-- [...]

This document reports the so-called “Fifth prayer”, addressed by Muršili II to the assembly of the gods, to remove the effects of a pestilential plague¹²⁶⁵. As already stated *supra*, in the commentary to text no. 1, also this text establishes a precise reference to a “tablet of Egypt” (^{UR}U^Umi-iz-[ri] t[up-pí], interpreted as a formal treaty established between the pharaoh and the Hittite king, previously to the Treaty after Kadesh. Muršili, in his attempt of avoiding the pestilence that hit Ḫatti because of a supposed violation of this treaty, precises that he had no fault: the alleged breakage of the deal was in fact a responsibility of his father Šuppiluliuma I, who attacked the Egyptian region of Amka,

¹²⁶² See RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 379, *Translatio*, note 11: “Bei diesem ägyptischen Pharaon handelt es sich u.a. nach SÜRENHAGEN 1985, 41 um Amenophis IV. – Echnaton”.

¹²⁶³ See RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 379, *Translatio*, note 14: “HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008, 427 übersetzen: „I don’t know if the King of Egypt has rendered tribute to my father for those lands or if he has rendered nothing“. Das CHD Š, 26a übersetzt hingegen: „I was sti[ll] a child, I di[d] not know if the King of Egypt pr[otest]ed (lit. made a re[ply]) to my father concerning those lands or not“”.

¹²⁶⁴ See RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 379, *Translatio*, note 15: “SÜRENHAGEN 1985, 15 übersetzt die Passage wie folgt: „Weil die Gattin des Königs des Landes Ägypten aber Wit[we] war], schrieb sie meinem Vater zu Frauen zu sprechen [...]“. Hier wird mit SÜRENHAGEN 1985, 54 der ägyptische Wunsch nach einem Thronfolger zum Ausdruck gebracht“. Other proposed translation: “I was still a child, I did not know whether the king of Egypt lodged [a protest?] to my father about those lands, or whether he [did] nothing” (SINGER 2002b, pp. 67-68).

¹²⁶⁵ The identification of this text with an Hittite prayer was proposed by HOUWINK TEN CATE 1987; for other Hittite prayers, see HOUWINK TEN CATE 1969 and SINGER 2002b). Differently, Sürenhagen considered it as a *Reinigungseid*, a “purification ritual” (see SÜRENHAGEN 1985, quoted in SINGER 2002b, p. 66). For an historical insight of the events this text refers to, see e.g. BRYCE 1998, pp. 192ff.).

infringing upon the treaty (see *supra*, texts nos 1, 18 and 51.c). Therefore, Muršili openly excuses himself, saying that he “did not add (i.e., change) any word to the tablet” and admitting that previous kings were guilty for the breach of the treaty.

Muršili also declares not to know nothing about another important event, the death of the pharaoh and the following letters sent by his widow (the so-called “*daḥamunzu affaire*”), because he was still young at that time; it is also interesting the sentence “*ma-a-an-za LUGAL KUR URU mi-iz-[ri] A-NA [A-BU]-YA e-da-aš A-NA KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} [še-er] a[r-ku-w]a-[ar] i-ya-at [ma]-a-an-za Ú-[UL] ku-it-[ki] [i-ya-at]*”, translated by Rieken as “ob der König des Landes Ägypten meinem [Vater] wegen jener Länder eine D[arlegu]n[g] seines Falls machte (oder) ob er nichts [machte]”. Different translations are offered by Hoffner and Melchert, the CHD and Singer. The problems about the interpretation are related to the translation of a word, unfortunately almost in lacuna, which is integrated as *ar[kuwa]*¹²⁶⁶ or *ar[kamma]n*¹²⁶⁷. While the first integration is connected to the general meaning of “prayer”¹²⁶⁸, the second one can be precisely translated as “tribute”¹²⁶⁹. If we accept the second integration, the passage would make reference to a tribute sent by the pharaoh to the Hittite king, a fact unattested elsewhere; therefore, I share the preference for the first integration, but as in the translation given by Rieken, where *arkuwar iyat* is translated as “eine Darlegung (seines Falls) machte”. Likewise, Singer translated the expression as “the king of Egypt lodged [a protest?]”: I think that in general the passage could be intended as a reference to the pharaoh’s gripes about the treasonable Hittite attack in Amka.

The last paragraph quoting Egypt (§14) is also related to the letters sent by the *daḥamunzu* to the Hittite king; in this passage, Muršili reaffirms his extraneousness to all these events: *am-mu-[uk] a-[pé]-e-d[a- ...] [...] [Ú]-UL a-[uš-ḥa-ḥa-at]*, “ich wurde in jen[e- ...] nicht gesehen”.

¹²⁶⁶ Rieken et al., here quoted in the transliteration.

¹²⁶⁷ HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008, Part 1, p. 427 (quoted above in a previous note).

¹²⁶⁸ TISCHLER 2001, p. 22: “*arkuwar*: Gebet”, from the verb *arkuwai-* “beten, bitten, sich entschuldigen”. Cf. FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER 1975-1984, Band I:A, pp. 311-313.

¹²⁶⁹ TISCHLER 2001, p. 22: “*arkamma(n)-*: Tribut, Tributsatzahlung”; Cf. FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER 1975-1984, Band I:A, pp. 302-304.

54. CTH 384: PRAYER OF PUDUḪEPA TO THE SUN GODDESS OF ARINNA

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Prayer
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Prayer of queen PuduḪepa to the Sun goddess of Arinna

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 and DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

KBo LI 26 + KUB XXI 27 = CTH 384.1

RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 384.1:

Transliteration

[§ 3'] A1 Vs. I 33'	32 [A-N]A KUR ^{URU} _n [e-r]i-[ik Û A-NA KUR ^{URU}][ḫa-ak-piš]
[§ 3'] A1 Vs. I 34'	32 [a-pé-e]-el SAG.DU-an a-pé-e-el-[la] [_ _]
[§ 3'] A1 Vs. I 35'	32 [uš-š]a-ni-iš-ke-et 33 ku-it-ma-an A-NA LU[GAL ...]
[§ 3'] A1 Vs. I 36'	33 [me-na-a]ḫ-[ḫa]-an-da KASKAL-an i-ya-at

[§ 4'] A1 Vs. I 38'	34 ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-za ^{m1} mu-u-wa-ta-al-li-i[š a-pé-e]-e[l ŠEŠ-ŠU]
[§ 4'] A1 Vs. I 39'	34 DINGIR-LIM-iš ki-ša-at 35 múr-ḫi- ^d IM-up-a[n DUMU-a]n Š[EŠ-ŠU]
[§ 4'] A1 Vs. I 40'	35 [d]a-at-ta 36 na-an LUGAL-u-ez-na-an-ni ti-i[t-ta-nu-ut]

*Translation*¹²⁷⁰

[§ 3']

32-- [Für da]s Land N[er]ik und das Land [Ḫakmiš se]tzte er [se]inen Leib und sein [Leben] ein,
33-- bis er [ge]gen den Kö[nig von Ägypten] einen Feldzug unternahm¹²⁷¹.

[§ 4']

34-- Als aber Muwatalli, [se]i[n Bruder], Gott wurde,
35-- [n]ahm er Urḫi-Teššob, [den Soh]n [seines] Br[uders],
36-- und se[tzte] ihn in die Königsherrschaft [ein].

As already noted by Singer¹²⁷², the mention of the toponym Egypt within this text was firstly proposed by Hoffner, in 1997¹²⁷³; other translations integrated the passage by adding the Kaška people as the enemy challenged by the Hittite king. In this prayer, PuduḪepa invokes the Sun goddess of Arinna, asking for the health of her husband Ḫattušili; she remembers the goddess that previously the city of Arinna has been forgotten by the former Hittite kings, and that Ḫattušili “[for] the land of Nerik and for the land of [Hakpis(?)] he kept placing [his] body and his [very life] at risk”¹²⁷⁴, until he (Ḫattušili or Muwatalli?) “held the campaign against”¹²⁷⁵ [...].

Two different problems emerge in the analysis of this short passage (the first being directly connected to the second one):

¹²⁷⁰ For an English translation, see GOETZE, in ANET, p. 393: “[When he was king in] the country of Nerik and in the country of [Hakpis], he himself and his [soldiery kept in the field] while he (Muwatallis) waged war against [Egypt]. But when Muwatallis, [his brother,] became god, he (Hattusilis) took his [son] Urhi-Tessub and established him as king”. Cf. also the English translation in SINGER 2002b, pp. 101-105 (no. 22).

¹²⁷¹ See RIEKEN ET AL. (ed.) 2015 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 384.1, *Translatio*, note 17: “Ähnlich SÜRENHAGEN 1981, 111: „bis er [ge]gen den Kö[nig von Ägypten] zu Felde zog“. Anders übersetzt SINGER 2002b, 102: „as long as he held the campaign against [the Kaska enemy(?)].“ HAAS 2006, 265: „indem er [ge]gen [die Kaskaer] zu Felde zog“ ”.

¹²⁷² SINGER 2002b, p. 110.

¹²⁷³ HOFFNER 1997, p. 206, later recalled also in CHD 3, p. 278: “LU[GAL KUR^{URU}Mizri], ‘k[ing of Egypt].’”.

¹²⁷⁴ This Singer’s translation, as in SINGER 2002b, p. 102.

¹²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

- 1) the integration of the people whom the Hittite king fought with (the Kaška or the Egyptian king);
- 2) the identification of the Hittite king himself.

If we accept the Kaška integration¹²⁷⁶, it is more likely that the king would be identified with Ḫattušili III, who faced the Kaška just before his enthronement¹²⁷⁷; however, considering the integration “the king of Egypt” as convincing, the Hittite king would be recognized in Muwatalli II, as Goetze did in his English translation¹²⁷⁸. Nevertheless, taking into account that Puduḫepa is here recounting the deeds of her “husband”, it seems to me more likely that also in this passage she is referring to Ḫattušili. This second interpretation seems much more persuasive, because we know that Ḫattušili fought at Kadesh with his brother Muwatalli (and we can imagine that Puduḫepa is stressing his role within these events).

The more recent transliteration and translation of this text, made by Rieken et al. in 2015 (quoted above), confirms such an integration “Kö[nig von Ägypten]”: therefore, we can support this interpretation and hence consider Ḫattušili as the king who fought against the Egyptian king. The mention of Egypt and what seems to be a reference to the battle of Kadesh within this text are noteworthy, both because the nature of the document (a prayer) and even more because it represents one of the few direct allusions to the Egypto-Hittite conflict¹²⁷⁹.

¹²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* and also ARCHI 1971, p. 191 (“L[Ú]KÚR Kaska”); differently Goetze, Sürenhagen, Ünal and Hoffner (quoted in SINGER 2002b, pp. 109-110, note 17) and LEBRUN 1980, p. 331, who all accepted the integration “LU[GAL KUR URU Mizri]”.

¹²⁷⁷ See e.g. DE MARTINO 2010³, p. 66: “Hattushili, nel periodo anteriore alla sua ascesa al trono, aveva combattuto con successo contro i Kashka, riportando sotto l’autorità ittita le regioni più settentrionali, alcune delle quali, come il centro di Nerik, erano state perse nel Medio Regno e mai più riconquistate”. Cf. also BRYCE 2005, pp. 249-250, 259-262.

¹²⁷⁸ Cf. previous note.

¹²⁷⁹ For the other Hittite sources referring to the battle of Kadesh, see PECCHIOLI DADDI 2002.

VII. RITUALS

B. RITUALS OF KIZZUWATNA

55. CTH 483: EVOCATION RITUAL

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Ritual
Dating	15 th -13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Evocation ritual of the “strong gods of the cedar”

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR ^{URU} <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KUB XV 34 I 57

KUB XVI 31 = CTH 483.I.A

GARCÍA TRABAZO 2002, pp. 582-587:

Transliteration

48 DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{ERIN}-aš in-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš KASKAL^{MEŠ} a-d[a-an-d]u
49 a-ku-wa-an-du na-aṭ-za iš-pí-ya-an-du ni-in-kán-du [na-aš-t]a DINGIR^{MEŠ}
50 A-NA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL an-da aš-šu-li na-iš-tén nu-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^[MEŠ] GIŠ^{ERIN}-aš
51 [k]u-wa-pí ku-wa-pí⁽¹⁾ ma-a-an-za ne-pí-ši ma-a-an ták-ni-i ma-a-a[n]-za ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ}
52 [ma]-a-an PÚ^[ME]Š ma-a-an-za I-NA KUR^{URU}Mi-it-ta-an-ni ma-[a-a]n-za KUR^{URU}K-i-in-za
53 [KUR^{URU}]U^{DU}-ni-ip KUR^{URU}Ú-ga-ri-it KUR^{URU}Zi-in-zi-ra KUR^{URU}Du-na-na-pa
54 [(KUR^{URU}I-y)á[?]-ru-KAT-ta KUR^{URU}Ga-ta-an-na KUR^{URU}A-la-al-ḫa
55 [KUR^{URU}Ki-n]a^(?)-aḫ-ḫi KUR^{URU}MAR.TU KUR^{URU}Zi-tu-u-na KUR^{URU}Zu-un-zu-ra
56 [KUR^{URU}Nu-ḫa-aš-š]i^(?) KUR^{URU}Ú-gul-zi-it KUR^{URU}A-ra-ap-ḫi KUR^{URU}Zu-un-zu-ur[-ḫi]
57 [ma-a-an-za I-N]A KUR^{URU}A-aš-šur KUR^{URU}KA.DINGIR.RA KUR^{URU}Ša-an-ḫa-ra KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-r[i]
58 [KUR^{URU}A-la-š]i-ya KUR^{URU}A-al-zi-ya KUR^{URU}Pa-pa-aḫ-ḫi KUR^{URU}Kum-ma-ḫa
59 [KUR^{URU}Ḫa-ya-š]a^(?) KUR^{URU}Lu-ul-lu-wa KUR^{URU}Ar-za-w[(a KUR^{URU})]
60 []-wa KUR^{URU}Ta-la-u-wa KUR^{URU}Ma-a-[(ša KUR^{URU}Ga-ra-ki-ša)]
61 [KUR^{URU}Ku-un-t]a^(?)-ra-a KUR^{URU}I-ya-la-an-ti [(KUR^{URU}Ú-i-lu-ša)]
62 [KUR^{URU}Ú-ra-]a^(?)-ya KUR^{URU}Lu-uḫ-ma KUR^{URU}Ša[(p-pu-wa)]
63 [(KUR^{URU})^U] KUR^{URU}Ga-šu-ú-la KUR^{URU}Ḫi[-mu-u-wa^(?)] (KUR^{URU}La-aḫ-ḫa)
64 [(KUR^{URU}Ga-aš-ga ku-wa-pí im-ma ku-wa[-pí
65 [(ki-nu-na EGIR-pa I-)]NA KUR^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti [ú-wa-at-tén]

Translation

48 "¡Que los vigorosos dioses masculinos del cedro co[ma]n (y) beban
49 los caminos, y que satisfagan su hambre y sacien su sed! ¡Volveos, oh dioses,
50 hacia el rey (y) la reina para (su) bienestar! ¡Oh dioses masculin[os] del cedro!
51 ¡Dondequiera que estéis, ya sea en el cielo, o en la tierra, o en las montañas,
52 o en las fuent[e]s, o en la tierra de Mitanni, o la tierra de Kinza,
53 [la tierra de] Tunip, la tierra de Ugarit, la tierra de Zinzira, la tierra de Dunanapa,
54 la tierra de Iyaruwanta, la tierra de Qatna, la tierra de Alalah,
55 [la tierra de *Kin*]aḫḫa, la tierra de Amurru, la tierra de Sidón, la tierra de Tiro,
56 [la tierra de *Nuḫašš*]e la tierra de Ukulzat, la tierra de Araphi, la tierra de Zunzur[ḫi],
57 [o e]n la tierra de Aššur, la tierra de Babilonia, la tierra de Šanḫara, la tierra de **Egipto**,
58 [la tierra de Alaš]iya, la tierra de Alzi, la tierra de Papanḫi, la tierra de Kumaha,
59 [la tierra de *Ḫayašš*]a, la tierra de Lulluwa, la tierra de Arzawa, la tierra de [. . .],
60 [la tierra de ... -]wa, la tierra de Talawa, la tierra de Maša, la tierra de Karkiša
61 [la tierra de *Kunt*]ara, la tierra de Iyalanta, la tierra de Wiluša,
62 la tierra de *Ur*]a, la tierra de Luḫma, la tierra de Šapuwa,

63 la tierra de [. . .], la tierra de Kašula, la tierra de *Hi[muwa]*, la tierra de Lalḫa,
64 la tierra de (los) Kaška, en *to[das]* (*las tierras*), dondequiera que (estéis),
65 ahora, re[gresad] a la tierra de Ḫatti!

The mention of the Egyptian land within the peculiar genre of the rituals is noteworthy: while the quotation of Egypt among the corpus of the historical texts is not surprising, the occurrence of such a toponym in different kind of texts could result unexpected. As we have already seen for the attestations of the name Ḫatti in the Egyptian literature and in the epigraphical inscriptions, sometimes the quotation of a foreign land just represents a *topos* or a propagandistic, i.e. unhistorical, pattern (see e.g. the mention of the toponym Ḫatti in the topographical lists; *supra*, section 1.1). This Hittite text seems to resemble a bit the Egyptian topographical lists: in fact, in the context of an evocation ritual, the “strong gods of the cedar” are asked to not leave (in the *topos* of the “itinerant god”) the Hittite land, in favour of another foreign country. Among all these lands, also Egypt is quoted and it seems noteworthy to note the position that the Nile land takes up within this list: Egypt is mentioned after the cities of the Syro-Palestinian area¹²⁸⁰, together with the most important “superpowers” at that time, i.e. Aššur, Babylon and Šanḫara (Egypt occupies here the fourth spot).

The list is concluded with the list of other local (i.e. Anatolian) regions. Another final remark: it seems quite strange to find in the evocation ritual a double quotation of Babylon (KUR URU KA.DINGIR.RA KUR URU Ša-an-ḫa-ra): it is possible that KUR URU KA.DINGIR.RA refers just to the city of Babylon, while KUR URU Ša-an-ḫa-ra¹²⁸¹, the form attested also in the Egyptian documents (see *supra*, section 1.1), could be applied to all the region of Babylon¹²⁸². On the contrary, van koppen¹²⁸³ proposed that the term Šanḫara could refer to some communities of Šamḫarû descendants, at that time opponents of Babylon.

¹²⁸⁰ Maybe, the prominent position and the anticipation of these cities at the beginning of the list, before much more important countries, could be explained by the fact that the “gods of the cedar” came from this area, and mostly from modern Lebanon.

¹²⁸¹ See DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978, p. 344.

¹²⁸² Cf. also KUB XXI 1 + III 10-12 (Treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša, see *supra*, text no. 8), where the same-rank kings are presented: the kings of Egypt, Šanḫara, Ḫanigalbat and Aššur.

¹²⁸³ VAN KOPPEN 2017, VOL. 1, p. 70; Cf. also BELMONTE MARÍN, pp. 263-264 (with the attestations of the toponym from Syrian texts and further possible interpretations) and RIA 12/11, Šanḫara, s.v. (G. Wilhelm).

VIII. CULT INVENTORIES

56. CTH 504: INVENTORY OF MANNINI

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Inventory
Dating	13 th cent. BC
Find spot	Hattuša
Content	Inventory of Manninni, quoting goods from Egypt

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978¹²⁸⁴:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
URU <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KUB XII 1 IV 20'

SIEGELOVÁ 1986, pp. 448-449¹²⁸⁵:

Transliteration

[1 G]PISAN SA₅ 1^{EN} GAB URU **mi-iz-ri-i** GUŠKIN^{NA4} ZA.GÌN 6 BI-IB-RU GUŠKIN

Translation

[1] roter Behälter: 1 **ägyptischer** Front(teil) (aus) Gold (und) Lapislazuli; 6 goldenem Maul.

The objects reported in this text can be added to the others already listed in the previous inventories (see *supra*, texts nos 47-51); all the artefacts are contained into a red box, defined by the usual term PISAN the first object here quoted has been already noted by Cornil and Lebrun:

“GAB : « torse, buste ». Nous savons que dans un coffre se trouvait un buste égyptien composé d’or et de lapis-lazzuli (KUB XIII [*sic*] 1¹²⁸⁶ IV 20 : 1-EN GAB URU **mi-iz-ri-i** GUŠKIN^{na4} ZA.GÌN : « un buste égyptien (composé) d’or (et) de lapis-lazuli »”¹²⁸⁷.

The identification of this item with an actual object is quite hazardous: all the translation (“front, Frontteil, buste/torse”) suggest maybe a small to medium size artefact (considering that it was encrusted with gold and lapis lazuli), portraying the figure of a man head(?); the Sumerogram here used, GAB, is usually translated as “Bust”¹²⁸⁸: therefore, we can allegedly suppose that the actual object here described was something like a bust or a chest of a male (or female) figure.

The other six objects delivered insight the red chest are all golden *rhyta*: these entry is noteworthy, both because the high quantity of the artefacts and the precious metal used to craft them.

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. also the “Index”, in KOŠAK 1982, p. 309: “*Mizri*, ‘Egypt’: URU *Mi-iz-ri*: KUB 12.1 IV 20 = CTH 504.1”.

¹²⁸⁵ Cf. also Siegelová, in KOŠAK 1978, p. 102: “KUB XII 1 IV 20’: PISAN SA₅ 1-*en* GAB URU **mi-iz-ri** TUR GUŠKIN^{na4} ZA.GÌN 6 *bi-ib-ru* GUŠKIN, ‘[x] red chests, 1 small (with) an **Egyptian** front of gold and blue stone, 6 golden rhyta”.

¹²⁸⁶ The authors quoted here the edition number of the text erroneously: the passage quoted is in KUB XII 1 (= CTH 504: Inventory of Manninni, see *infra*, text no. 55) and not KUB XIII 1 (= CTH 261: Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the province governor, *BĒL MADGALTI*).

¹²⁸⁷ CORNIL – LEBRUN 1975/1976, p. 107; note the mistake in the number of the text, KUB XIII 1 instead of XII 1.

¹²⁸⁸ See e.g. HZL, p. 169, no. 164: “(UZU)GABA: „Brust“”.

4' [n]am-ma TI²-an-ni ŠÁ x[
5' [] 'ku-it-ki ú-iz-zi' []

6' [] ú-iz-zi-pát **KUR MI-IŠ-RI** [
7' []x DINGIR-x 'SIG₅ ku-it e-eš-ta' [
8' []x-x-^ran ku-it pé-an GAM-an^r x[
9' []x-ne 'TI₈ MUŠEN^r-x TI-an-za [
10' [] 'ma-an na-ak-ku₁₃-uš^r ma-an x[
11' []x xx 'ki-nu-zi' x 'ú-uk^r []

12' [k]u-wa-pí MUNUS-x e-eš-ta ma-a-a[n
13' []x x 'nu DINGIR^{LUM} SIxSÁ-at^r x[]

14' [-a]šdu-x 'AŠ-RU^{H.A.}-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán UL^r [
15' [-p]a-a-aš :ti-ta-aš du-wa-^rar-ni²-it²⁷ x[
16' []x-kán :ti-ta-aš x x-^rpát²⁷ x[]

17' []x-ša-at-kán 'ku^r-wa-pí [
18' []x-^ran a-né-da-ni^r ša[-
19' []x 'SIG₅^r-x tar-x x[¹²⁹⁰

Translation¹²⁹¹

x+1 [] unfa[vorable]

2'
3' ...
4' [fu]rthermore for the life of the hearth
5' [] whatever he brings (here)

6' [] the same he brings (here) the land of **Egypt** [
7' []x the god which was good [
8' [] whatever in front of down/in order to [
9' [] an eagle life [
10' [] if guilty then [
11' [] he opens ... I []

12' [wh]en the woman was i[f
13' [] then the gods determine/the decision of the gods []

14' [] places not [
15' [] the female breast broke [
16' []x the female breast x x[]

17' []x when []

¹²⁹⁰ See GRODDEK 2011, p. 182, note 480: "Insignifikante Zeichenspuren dreier weiteren Zeilen sind nicht autographiert".

¹²⁹¹ This translation is mine.

18'[]x [-
19'[]x the good x[

The first text is unfortunately too fragmentary to provide a meaningful translation; however, some remarks can be proposed about these two fragments.

Egypt is here quoted in what seems to be a mixed oracle, containing both a “KIN”¹²⁹² and a “MUŠEN *Hurri*”¹²⁹³ rituals (the first being comprised within ll. x+1-9’, and the second one between ll. 10’-15’)¹²⁹⁴. Two aspects seem to be important: 1) the frequent repetition of SIG₅ “good, be good”, which could be interpreted as the response of the god to the oracular question and 2) the mention of the Storm-god (^DU¹²⁹⁵) in the second oracle. As already said above (see *supra*, commentary to CTH 378.IV, text no. 51.b), I propose these two oracles can be connected to those of Muršili II to find out the causes of the plague which hit Hatti for many years, because of the Hittite attack in the Egyptian territory of Amka.

The second text is not completely clear but it seems to refer to something good brought by the gods from the land of Egypt.

¹²⁹² For the “KIN” divination system, see e.g. ARCHI 1974; ORLAMÜNDE 2001; WARBINEK 2017.

¹²⁹³ For this ritual, see TOGNON 2005, with reference to previous bibliography.

¹²⁹⁴ It is also possible that l. 9’ was intentionally left blank, to better mark the division of the two different rituals.

¹²⁹⁵ For the cryptical writing of the god’s name, see e.g. KARASU 2003, p. 225.

II. DREAMS AND VOWS

58. CTH 590: FRAGMENTS OF DREAMS AND VOWS

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Dreams or vows
Dating	13 th cent. BC (Ḫattušili III?)
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Vow to the goddess Ištar mentioning captives and goods from Egypt; dream quoting Egypt as a submitted country

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Stf. KUR ^{URU} mi-iz-ri-i	KBo IX 96 I 16', vgl. 3'

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
^{URU} mi-iz-ri	KUB LVI 22, 4'

a. KBo IX 96 (220/e)

DE ROOS 2007, pp. 136-140:

Transliteration

Obv. 1

- 1' [nu]-zarD IŠTAR [
 2' []x DINGIR-LIM-ya-x [

- 3' [ma]-^ra^r-an-za ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR^{URU}M[i-iz-ri-i
 4' ^rú^r-wa-mi^r nu^r-za^D IŠTAR ta-a[l-li-ya-mi]x[
 5' GIŠ.HUR :ga-aš-tar-ha-i-ya-^r da ku-i-e-eš^r EZEN₄.^rMEŠ^r x[]x
 6' nu-kán A-NA EZEN₄.MEŠ ne-ya-mi na-a-^rwí

- 7' e-da-ni ku-<e>-da-ni KASKAL-ši^DUTU-ŠI GIN-ri nu-mu ma-a-an DINGIR.MEŠ pí-^rra-an^r
 8' hu-u-i-ya-at-te-ni nu-za KUR^{URU}A-mur-ra tar-ah-mi
 9' ^rna-an-za-an^r [IŠ-T]U^{GIŠ}TUKUL tar^r-ah-mi na-aš-ma-mu ku-^rru-ra-iz^r-zi
 10' []x[]x e-ip-mi nu-za^D IŠTAR^r Hé-pát
 11' [^DIŠTAR] ^{URU}Ne-mu-wa INA^{URU}Ir^r-ga-ta
 12' [DING]IR-LUM hal-zi-ya-u-wa-ar
 13' []x-mi
 14' [GUŠ]KIN-za pí-ya-na-mi
 15' [m]a^r?-na-aš DÚ-mi na-a-wí

- 16' [DINGI]R-LIM nu LUGAL KUR^{URU}Mi^r-iz-ri-i
 17' [na-]aš-ma ta-^rma^r-i
 18' []NAM.RA.MEŠ

Translation

Obv. 1

- 1' [and] Ištar [
 2' [] and for the goddess

3' If the troops (of?) the country of **E[gypt]**
 4' I will come and [I will in]voke Ištar [
 5' a charter *gaštarhaiyada* which festivals [
 6' I will return for the festivals. not yet (done).

7' If, on the campaign on which His Majesty goes forth, (you) gods
 8' show me support and I conquer the country of Amurru
 9' and I defeat that [] with weapon(s) – or it is hostile to me
 10' [] will I take...., then [I will ...] Ištar, Hepat
 11' [Ištar of Ninuwa] in Irgata
 12' [] the invoking, o divinity,
 13' [] will I ... [
 14' [] I will reward with gold.
 15' [] will I make. not yet (made).

16' [] for the go]d, and the king of **Egypt**
 17' [] o]r other things
 18' [] civilian prisoners

According to de Roos, the author of this vow to the goddess Ištar should be recognized (as for KBo VIII 68) with Ḫattušili III:

“While on page 204 of his new standard work *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*, H. Klengel characterizes the text as ‘Gelübde des Muwatalli II’, I would prefer to see it as a vow of Ḫattušiliš III, although the ^DUTU-ŠI is indeed Muwatalliš II. [...] As regards content and the use of words, there is a strong resemblance between the two texts¹²⁹⁶: the obverse deal on the one hand with the struggle against Egypt and Amurru and the rewards which Ištar is to receive when the campaign has been brought to a successful conclusion [...]. [...] Both texts are among the oldest vow texts, dating from the period when Ḫattušiliš, as king of Ḫakpiš, took up arms for his brother, the reigning monarch King Muwatalliš, against Egypt and Amurru [...]”¹²⁹⁷.

Egypt is here quoted twice: 1) in Obv. l. 3' (integrated on the basis of the comparison with l. 16'), where it is said that Ḫattušili would invoke Ištar for help, in the case of a military attack by the Egyptian troops, and 2) in Obv. l. 16', where the pharaoh is mentioned together with other kings (l. 17'), maybe in a passage related to the treatment of some civilian prisoners.

Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of preservation of the text does not offer further useful information to reconstruct the topic of the document; nevertheless, it is important to stress that also this fragment, as previously for CTH 384 (see *supra*, text no. 54), reports a precise reference to the battle of Kadesh or, at least, to some other military confrontations between Egypt and Ḫatti (maybe, one of the battles just after Kadesh, as well as the siege of Dapur¹²⁹⁸).

b. KUB LVI 22 (Bo 4594)

DE ROOS 2007, pp. 258-259:

Transliteration

1' []x[
 2' []GU₄ UDU 'ka-ru-ú' [

3' [Ù]-TUM ^DUTU-ŠI I-NA ^{URU}U-uš-š[a I-MUR nu-wa-mu Û-it ^DIŠTAR me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi]

¹²⁹⁶ = KBo IX 96 and KBo VIII 63. However, the second text does not expressly quote the toponym “Egypt” (see DE ROOS 2007, pp. 133-135).

¹²⁹⁷ DE ROOS 2002, pp. 183-184.

¹²⁹⁸ For this event, see *supra*, section 1.1, under text no. 8.k.

4' [KUR^{URJU} *Mi-iz-ri-wa-at-ta* pí-i[h-hi?
5' [zi]-^rik^r-ma-wa-mu-za I-NA^{URU} [
6' []-pát ŠA Û-TI-pát IQ-B[I
7' []^DKu-pa-pa-aš ma-a-an-wa-a[š
8' []x-^riz^r-zi A-NA IGI.HI.A^DUTU-ŠI

9' []k]u-wa-pí I-NA^{URU}[
10' [] x x x [

Translation

1' []
2' [] oxen (and) sheep already [

3' [Dr]eam of His Majesty. In Ušša he saw (a dream) and through a dream Ištar spoke to me:]
4' "I will give? you (the land) of **Mizri** [
5' For me, however, in (the city of) [] you must
6' [] precisely in a dream spoke [she
7' [] Kubaba. If [
8' [] for the eyes of Hi[s Majesty

9' [] when in (the city of) [
10' []

This vow text reports a quite striking and extraordinary fact¹²⁹⁹: the goddess Ištar promises to Ḫattušili, through a dream he had in the city of Ušša, to submit for him the whole Egyptian land. Of course, the vow is to be regarded as a *post eventum* prophecy: nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Ḫattušili is stating his victory (at Kadesh?) as the outcome of the gods willing. The Hittite king wants to define his military success not just by virtue of his own ability but also (and mainly) as the willness of the goddess Ištar (according to the *topos* of the divine protection of the king, as son of the gods). This description of the Hittite monarch as a person protected and supported by the gods and the resulting subjection of the enemy resembles, under some respect, some passages of the Egyptian accounts of the battle of Kadesh¹³⁰⁰, showing almost a similar propagandistic (and religious) explanation of the respective (and alleged) victories. The goddess Ištar, tutelary deity of Ḫattušili, seems to guarantee to the Hittite king his overcoming, as well as the god Amun, tutelary deity of Ramses, safeguarded the pharaoh¹³⁰¹, leading him to triumph on battlefield.

¹²⁹⁹ DE ROOS 2007, p. 258, note 673 stressed the importance of the sentence at l. 4': "If the restoration at the beginning of this line is correct and if neither *INA* or *ŠA* should be restored (for which there is little space because of [zi] in line 5'), then it would constitute a highly remarkable vow".

¹³⁰⁰ See. e.g., "Poem" (*supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.a), ll. 122-126, 162-165, 224-230, 241-242, 249 and "Bulletin" (*supra*, section 1.1, text no. 8.b), l. 109.

¹³⁰¹ We have also to remember that the first military division of Ramses was called "Amun, he gives victory to User-Maat-Re Setep-en-Re, given life" (*Jmn di=f nḥtw n Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c di 'nh*).

augurando salute:] ŠA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Mizri (4) [ŠUM-an ...] ḫalzai (5) [...-]a-wa SIG₅-in ešdu (ciò fa pensare che il testo sia da datare a Ḫattušili III)¹³⁰⁵.

The first part of this texts reports a cultic activity of the Hittite king who is performing the “God-drinking” (DINGIR *eku-*) ritual¹³⁰⁶ consisting in a series of libations in the names of many gods. After the libation, the Hittite king performs an action involving the king of Egypt and “calls/pronounces the name (i.e., of the king of Egypt)”¹³⁰⁷, wishing him well-being (SIG₅ *ešdu*). In the following sentence, just the verb *ešantari* (“they sit”)¹³⁰⁸ is preserved, maybe connected to another cultic action performed by the king or by the gods previously quoted.

In the end, this text reveals noteworthy because the Hittite king (most probably Ḫattušili III) mentions the pharaoh (evidently Ramses II) in the context of a cultic prayer, the greetings and wishes toward the Egyptian king being understood within the period of the so-called “Pax Hethitica” (thus, only after the stipulation of the Egypto-Hittite Treaty¹³⁰⁹).

¹³⁰⁵ ARCHI 1986, p. 343.

¹³⁰⁶ For this ritual see e.g. GÜTERBOCK 1998; HEFFRON 2014; KAMMENHUBER 1991; MELCHERT 1981; PILAVCI 2017; PUHVEL 2003.

¹³⁰⁷ For the syntagma ŠUM-an (*laman*) ḫalzai, see FRIEDRICH, J. – KAMMENHUBER, A. 1975-1984, Band III/12:Ḫ, pp. 92-111 (and mostly on pp. 100-101, no. III.3.c)

¹³⁰⁸ For this verb, see e.g. HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008, Part 1, p. 230 (for the morphology) and FRIEDRICH, J. – KAMMENHUBER, A. 1975-1984, Band II:E, pp. 97-113 (for the translation).

¹³⁰⁹ It is also worthwhile to remember that the greeting SIG₅ *ešdu* is well attested in many of the letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence (see *supra*).

H. CULT OF IŠTAR

60. CTH 716: EVOCATION RITUAL FOR IŠTAR OF NINIVE, OFFICIATED BY THE LÚ₁HAL WITH THE LÚ₁.MEŠNAR

Writing	Cuneiform
Language	Hittite
Genre	Ritual
Dating	15 th -13th cent. BC
Find spot	Ḫattuša
Content	Evocation ritual of the goddess Ištar, said as coming also from Egypt

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 and DEL MONTE 1992: not quoted.

CTH 716.1

FUSCAGNI (ed.) 2009ff., hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1:

Transliteration

Ro. I

24 [ca. 10 segni]*kiš-an me-ma-i*

25 *ti-wa-li-ia*^DIŠTAR [_ _ _ _]

26 [... *ḫu-it-t*]i-ia-an-ni-iš-ki-mi

27 *nu-ud-du-za tal-li*[- _ _ _]

28 [... ^{UR}U]U*Ne-nu-wa-za e-ḫu*

29 *ma-a-an-za*^{URU}T[al- _ _] [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _] _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

30 *ma-a-an-za*^{URU}Du-un-ta^{URU}Du[- _ _ _ _ _]

31 [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]ni^{URU}*Mi-it-ta-an-na-za e-ḫu*

32 [...] [...

33 _ _ -a]n-za^{URU}Du-ni-ip-pa^{URU}Du-[ni] [- _ _ _ _ _]

34 [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]^{UR}U[*Ú-ga-ri-it*]-ta-za e-[*ḫu*]

35 [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]^{URU}Du-na-na-pa-az [e]-*ḫu* [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]

36 ^{URU}[_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]^{URU}A-la-al-ḫa-az [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _] _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

37 ^{URU}[A] [- _ _ _ _ _]^{URU}[*Zi*]-i-du-na-az e-*ḫu* [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]

38 ^{URU}Nu[-*ḫaš-š*]a-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Ku-ul-zi-la-az e-*ḫu* [^{URU}U] [...

39 ^{URU}Zu-un-zu-úr-ḫa-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Aš-šur-az e-*ḫu* [...]

40 ^{URU}[*Kaš*]-ga-az e-*ḫu* da-pí-za KUR-e-za e-*ḫu* ^{URU}A-la-ši-i[a- _ _ _]

41 ^{URU}A-al-zi-ia-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Pa-pa-an-ḫa-az e-*ḫu* [

42 ^{URU}Kum-ma-ḫa-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Ḫa-ia-ša-az e-*ḫu* [^{URU}U] [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _]

43 ^{URU}Kar-ki-ia-az e-*ḫu* KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa-az [e] [- ...]

44 KUR ^{URU}Ma-ša-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Ku-un-ta-ra-az [e] [- _ ...]

45 ^{URU}Ú-ra-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Lu-uh-ma-az e-*ḫu* [...]

46 ^{URU}Pár-ta-ḫu-i-na-az e-*ḫu* ^{URU}Ka-šu-la-az [e-*ḫu*] [...] _ _

Translation

[§4]

24 -- Quindi [il sacerdote HAL] recita nel modo seguente:

25 -- “*tiwaliya* IŠTAR di Ninive!

26 -- Ecco, io ti evoco,

27 -- ti invoco e imploro.

28 -- Se ti trovi a Ninive, vieni da Ninive

29 -- se ti trovi in Talmuši, vieni da Talmuši

30 -- se ti trovi a Dunta, vieni da Dunta.

[§5]

31 -- Se ti trovi in Mitanni, vieni da Mitanni.

- 32 -- Se ti trovi a Qadeš, vieni da Qadeš.
 33 -- Se ti trovi a Tunip, vieni da Tunip.
 34 -- Se ti trovi a Ugarit, vieni da Ugarit.
 35 -- Vieni da Zinzira, vieni da Dunanapa, vieni da Iyaruwatta;
 36 -- vieni da Kattanna, vieni da Alalah, vieni da Kinahhi;
 37 -- vieni da Amurru, vieni da Ziduna, vieni da Zunzura;
 38 -- vieni da Nuhašše, vieni da Kulzila, vieni da Arrapha;
 39 -- vieni da Zunzurha, vieni da Aššur, vieni da [...] ¹³¹⁰;
 40 -- vieni da Kaška, vieni da ogni paese, vieni da Alašiya;
 41 -- vieni da Alzi, vieni da Papanha, vieni da [...];
 42 -- vieni da Kummaha, vieni da Hayaša, vieni da [...];
 43 -- vieni da Karkiya, vieni da Arzawa, vieni da [...];
 44 -- vieni da Maša, viene da Kuntara, vieni da [...];
 45 -- vieni da Ura, vieni da Luhma, vieni da [...];
 46 -- vieni da Partahuina, vieni da Kašula, vieni da [...].

This document, reporting an invocation to the goddess Ištar, can be included in this catalogue only on the base of an integration: in fact, the mention of Egypt is supposed by Forlanini thanks to comparison with other texts (see note *infra*), and mostly with CTH 483 (see *supra*, text no. 54). Egypt would be mentioned within a list of countries where the deity Ištar is evoked from. The list of these lands starts with Mesopotamian and Syrian cities and then quotes Aššur, Egypt ending with local Anatolian cities. The integration proposed by Forlanini, even though convincing, leaves a problem unsolved: the text seems to lack the quotation of Babylon (in the forms ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA, Šanḫara or Karduniaš). In fact, it would be quite unusual not to mention this city among the other places where the cult of this goddess was widespread. The comparison with the aforementioned evocation ritual CTH 483, where the name of Babylon just follows Aššur (KUB XVI 31 Ro. I 57), maybe stands for the hypothesis of integrating the name of the Mesopotamian city, instead of Egypt ¹³¹¹.

¹³¹⁰ For the integration of this passage, see FUSCAGNI (ed.) 2009 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1, Translatio, note 7: “FORLANINI 2000, 11 n. 11 sulla base del confronto con la sequenza di toponimi che seguono KUR ^{URU}Aššur nella lista parallela di CTH 483, sostiene che in lacuna debba essere integrato l’Egitto (^{URU}Mizri) oppure Babilonia (^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA)”.

¹³¹¹ Considering the blank space on the right edge (a lacuna?), both the integrations can be considered.

1.2.2: NEO-HITTITE TEXTS OF IA (IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN)

A brief list of the occurrences of the toponym (“MÍ.REGIO”) *mi-za+ra/i*(URBS) = “Mizra” (Egypt), in the Neo-Hittite documentation of the 1st mill. BC is offered in ÖZKAN 1998, p. 205:

(“MÍ.REGIO”) *mi-za+ra/i* (URBS)
A6, 2-3: Hawkins 1975, s.¹³¹² 152
A6, 2: Jasink 1995, s. 35

M²-KUR(-)*mi-ī-r*^{URU}
A6, fr. 4: Meriggi 1967, vol. 2, s. 24

As it is clear from this list, just one occurrence of the name “Mizra” seems to be attested in the 1st mill. BC on Neo-Hittites inscriptions, specifically on a stela from Karkemish, numbered as A6 (here as text no. 1). However, another text, even much more interesting and reporting the toponym Egypt was published by J.D. Hawkins in 2011¹³¹³ (namely, the inscription Aleppo 7): it is here presented as text no. 2.

1. KARKEMISH, STELA A6 (8th cent. BC)¹³¹⁴

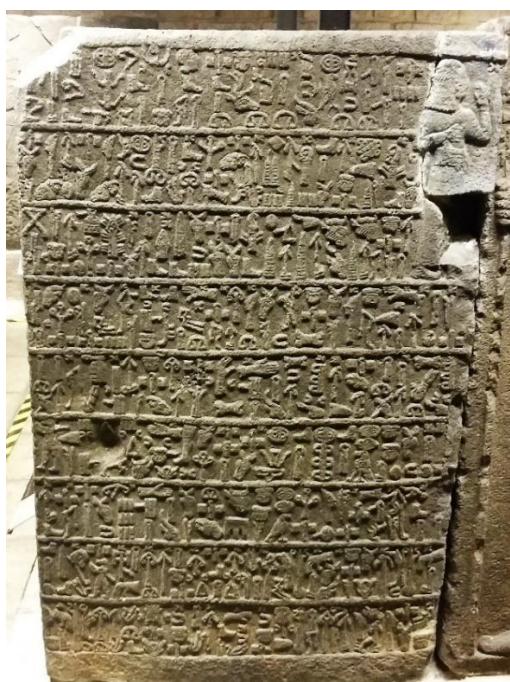


Fig. 112

During the 1st mill. BC, after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, we can find only two quotations of the toponym “Egypt” in the original Anatolian and North Syrian sources: the first one is the stela Karkamiš A6 (§ 4), presented, transcribed and translated by Hawkins in CHLI. The stela has been found in the Wall orthostat of the city of Karkemish, and it is now kept in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Inv. No. 90), plus some detached fragments held in the Louvre Museum (Inv. No. AO 10886). It is a corner orthostates slab made of basalt (h. 1.10 m, w. 0.72 m, th. 0.30 m), with an inscription of 9 lines (h. of each line: 0.10 m). At the beginning of the text, the typical *amu*-figure

¹³¹² s. = abbreviation for the Turkish “sayfa” = “page”.

¹³¹³ HAWKINS 2011b, pp. 44ff. I thank Lorenzo d’Alfonso for having turned my attention to this document.

¹³¹⁴ This number follows the corpus CHLI.

is preserved (on one of the fragment at the Louvre). The first line runs sinistroverso, continuing later in a *boustrophedon* way. The stela has been discovered during 1911-1914 campaigns and was part of the “Royall Buttress”, being dated to the 8th century BC. The text bears a building inscription made by the regent Yariris for the young prince Kamanis.

KARKAMIŠ A6:

CHLI, II.22, vol. 1, pp. 123-128 (text); vol. 3, pls 31-33 (plates):

Transcription of the hieroglyphic text

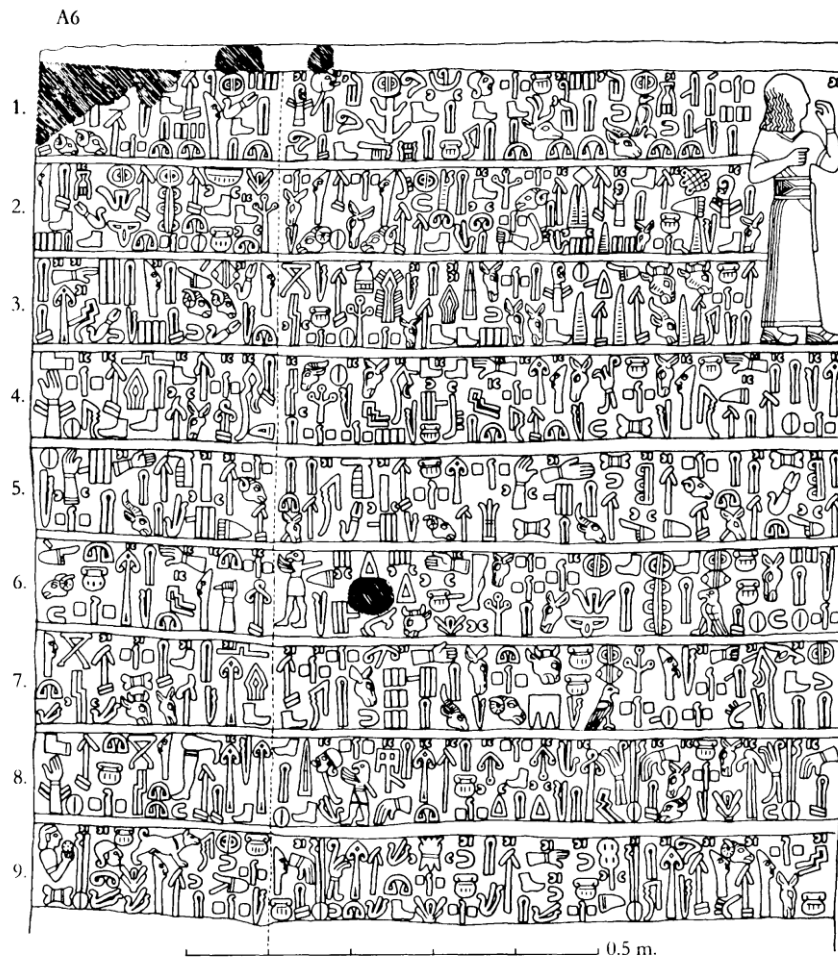


Fig. 113

Transliteration

- 1 § 1 | EGO-wa/i-mi-i¹i-a+ra/i-ri+i-i-sa | IUDEX-ni-sa DEUS.AVIS-ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa | LITUUS+ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa CAPUT-ti-i-sá (“OCCIDENS”)i-pa-ma-ti-i (DEUS.ORIENS)ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-i | PRAE-ia | AUDIRE+MI-ma-ti-mi-i-sa DEUS-na-ti-i (LITUUS)á-za-mi-sa <CAPUT?->ti-i-sa
- 2 § 2 a-wa/i [x]-<x>-zi [á]-ma-[za] [á-tas]-ma-[za] || á-mi-ia-ti-i | IUSTITIA-na-ti (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa (DEUS)SOL-wa/i-za-sa-ha (“CAELUM”)ti-pa-si | “PES₂”(-)hi-nu-wa/i-ta-'
 § 3 á-ma-za-ha-wa/i-ta á-tas-ma-za DEUS-ni-zi FINES+hi-ti-i-na | “PES₂”(-)hi-i-nu-wa/i-tá
 § 4 wa/i-ma-tas | zi-i-na (“MÍ.REGIO”)mi-za+ra/i(URBS) | AUDIRE-MI-ti-i-ta¹³¹⁵
 § 5 zi-pa-wa/i+ra/i | *475-la(URBS)-' | AUDIRE+MI-ti-i-ta ||
- 3 § 6 zi-i-pa-wa/i-´ mu-sá-za(URBS) mu-sà-ka-za(URBS) su+ra/i-za-ha(URBS) AUDIRE+MI-ti-i-ta
 § 7 wa/i-ta ta-ni-mi REX-ti SERVUS-ta₄-ti-i-zi | a-ta (BONUS)wa/i-sa₅+ra/i-nu-ha

¹³¹⁵ Cf. MERIGGI 1967, p. 24: “fr. 4: wa-ma-ti^k i-a-n M²-KUR(-)mi-ī-r^{URU} k 47-mi-ti-a-ta, ‘e me (?) ... esaltarono (?) nella città di’”.

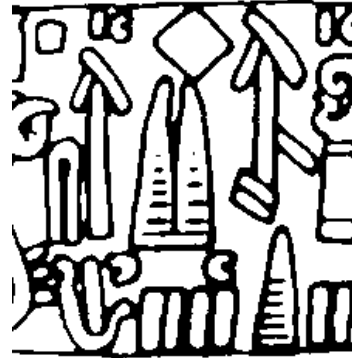
- § 8 *za-a-pa-wa/i* (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) *á-sa-na-´* | *ku-ma-na* ¹*ka-ma-ni-i-ia* | *á-mi-i-´* DOMINUS-*na-ni* | INFANS-*ní* | REL-*i-ia*
- 4 AEDIFICARE+*MI-ha*
- § 9 | *wa/i-sá* | *za-ti* LOCUS-*ta₄-ti-i* | (“PES₂”) *HWI-HWI-ta*
- § 10 | *wa/i-ná* | SUPER-*la-ia* | ([“]SOLIUM”) *i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha*
- § 11 | *a-wa/i ta-ní-mi* | SUPER+*ra/i-´* | (“PES₂+PES”) *tara/i-pa-tas*
- § 12 | INFANS-*ní-i-sa-wa/i-sá* | REL-*za* | *á-sa-ta-´*
- § 13 CUM-*ni-pa-wa/i-tú-ta-´* | *á-pa-sá* | FRATER-*la-zi-i* | *i-zi-i-ha*
- 5 § 14 | *a-wa/i* | REL|| *-i-zi* | (“*314”) *ka-tú-na-sa*
- § 15 *i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i-wa/i-ma-za* | *zi-la* | (“*314”) *ka-tú-ni-zi* | (MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* (“PONERE”) *tú-wa/i-há*
- § 16 REL-*zi-pa-wa/i-ma-za-´* | (“LIGNUM”) *tara/i-pu-na-sá*
- § 17 | *i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i-wa/i-ma-za* | *zi-la* | (“LIGNUM”) *tara/i-pu-na-zi-i* | (MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* “PONERE”-*wa/i-ha-´* ||
- 6 § 18 ¹*ka-ma-ni-sa-pa-wa/i* | REL-*i-´* | INFANS-*ní-sa* | *á-sa-tá*
- § 19 | *wa/i-ná ara/i-la-´* (“3”) *tara/i-su-u* “4”-*su-u* | (“MANUS”) *pa+ra/i-si* (“CRUS”) *ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i*
- § 20 | *wa/i-ta* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* (DEUS)SOL-*ti-i*
- 7 (DEUS) *ku+AVIS-pa-pa-ia-ha ta-ni-mi-i-ha-a-wa/i* || DEUS-*ni-i* | FRONS-*ti-i* | SUPER+*ra/i-a-ta₅* PUGNUS-*ri+i-wa/i*
- § 21 | *a-wa/i* (LOQUI) *ha+ra/i-nu-wa/i* (DEUS) *ku+AVIS-pa-pa-´*
- § 22 *u-zu?-sa-wa/i-ma-ta-´* (MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* | MAGNUS+*ra/i-nu-wa/i-ta-ni-i*
- § 23 | *wa/i-sá* | *za-ti* LOCUS-*ta₄-ti* | REL-*i-´* PES₂(-) *HWI-ia-ta*
- 8 § 24 | *wa/i-tú-u* | *za-na* (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) *á-sa-na* || AEDIFICARE+*MI-ha*
- § 25 *za-sa-pa-wa/i* (MENSA.SOLIUM) *á-sa-sa* CRUS+CRUS(-) *ni-za-ia* | REL-*a-ti* REL-*ti-i-ha* REX-*ti* | PRAE-*na*
- § 26 *wa-ara/i* | SCRIBA+*RA/I(-)tà-i* | REL-*sa*
- § 27 | *zi-i-pa-wa/i* | “SCALPRUM”-*su-wa/i-ti-i* | “SCALPRUM”-*su-na-´* | NEG₃-*i* CUM-*ní* ARHA | *tà-ia*
- § 28 | *ta-sà-pa-wa/i-´ ta-si* | NEG₃+*i* CUM-*ni* ARHA | *tà-ia* ||
- 9 § 29 | *ní-pa-wa/i-ta* | *á-ma-za* | *á-ta₅-ma-za-´* | REL-*i-sá* | ARHA “MALLEUS”-*la<-i>*
- § 30 | *ni-pa-wa/i* | INFANS-*ni-na-ti-i* | *zi-i-na* | *ni-pa-wa/i* (“*474”) *wa/i-si-na-sa-ti zi-na* REL-*sa* CUM-*ni* ARHA | *tà-ia*
- § 31 *á-pa-pa-wa/i-´* (DEUS) *ni-ka+ra/i-wa/i-sá* CANIS-*ni-i-zi á-pa-si-na* | CAPUT-*hi-na* | ARHA EDERE-*tú*

Translation¹³¹⁶

1. § 1 I (am) Yariris, the Ruler, the ... Prince, the Prince(?) far reputed from the West and the East, beloved by the gods.
2. § 2 ... my name on account of my justice Tarhunzas and the Sun caused to *pass* to heaven,
§ 3 and my name the gods caused to *pass* abroad,
§ 4 and men heard it for me on the one hand in **Egypt (Mizra)**,
§ 5 and on the other hand they heard it (for me) in *Babylon* (?),
3. § 6 and on the other hand they heard (it for me) among the Musa, the Muska and the Sura,
§ 7 and for every king I caused to *benefit*(?) the *subjects*(?).
§ 8 And when I built this seat for Kamanis my lord’s child,
4. § 9 he used to run to this precinct.
§ 10 I seated him on high,

¹³¹⁶ An Italian translation of this inscription was published in JASINK 1995, pp. 35-36: “Io sono Yariris, *tarwanis*, servo del Mio Sole Adadnirari (?) (*opp.* persona fortunata (e) cara a Tarhunzas (e) al dio protettore (?)), famoso a Occidente e a Oriente, persona amata dagli dei; [.....] il mio nome a causa della mia giustizia Tarhunzas e Tiwaz fecero salire al cielo, e gli dei fecero andare il mio nome all’esterno ed essi da una parte udirono (parlare) di me in **Egitto**, dall’altra udirono in Babilonia(?)/Tabal(?), e dall’altra udirono fra i Musa, i Muska e i Sura”. Jasink also underlined the role of the list of toponyms at the end of the text: “Il panegirico di Yariris culmina nell’affermazione della sua notorietà presso popoli vicini e lontani, e ci fornisce così un elenco di etnici e toponimi” (JASINK 1995, p. 35). For the reading of the sign “MÍ”, see also POETTO 2002, p. 98 (I thank Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo for the segnalation of this paper).

- § 11 (and) he TARPA-ed over all,
 § 12 *while* he was a child.
 § 13 And with him I made his *brothers*.
5. § 14 (For them) who (are) of KATUNI-,
 § 15 with honour to them thereupon I put KATUNI's in (their) hand(s),
 § 16 and for them who (are) of TARPUNA-,
 § 17 with honour to them thereupon I put TARPUNA's in (their) hand(s).
6. § 18 And *though* Kamanis was a child,
 § 19 I shall cause him to stand ... , three times, four times
7. § 20 I shall raise(?) them(?) up in front of Tarhunzas, the Sun and Kubaba and every god,
 § 21 I shall cause (him) to say: "O Kubaba,
 § 22 you yourself shall make them great in my hand".
 § 23 When he ran to this precinct,
8. § 24 for him I built this seat.
 § 25 If this seat shall pass down to any king,
 § 26 who shall ...,
 § 27 whether he shall take away on the one hand a stone from the stones,
 § 28 or whether he shall take away a stele for a stele,
9. § 29 or who shall erase my name,
 § 30 or who shall take away on the one side (a child) from the children, or on the other side (a eunuch) from the eunuchs,
 § 31 (for) him may Nikarawas' dogs eat up his head!



Figs 114-115

In the first line, Yariris defines himself as “ruler” (IUDEX-*ni-sa* = *tarwanis*) and “prince” (CAPUT-*tis*); in the next sentences he states that his name has been exalted all over the West and the East, and all the men heard his name, until Egypt and Babylon: Egypt seems here to be considered as one of the extreme limits of the ancient known world.

Which actual experience of Egypt could have had the local people of Karkemish is cleared by mean of some archaeological artefacts found in the city: objects coming directly from the Nile Valley or of local imitation but strongly influenced by Egyptian exemplars (see *infra*, section 2.2)¹³¹⁷. Unfortunately, none of these objects can be dated to the 8th cent. BC (the date of this stela): however, other artefacts belong to both previous and following periods, being mostly dated to the New Kingdom (the head mace carrying the cartouche of a Ramses, an alabaster bowl, a flask and 5 false-door fragments) and the Late Period (and mainly the 7th cent. BC), showing a long-time period for contacts of the Syrian city with Egypt.

¹³¹⁷ See ZECCHI 2014a, b and DE PIETRI 2016 (the contributions also presenting a historical overview of the contacts between Egypt and Karkemish).

2. ALEPPO 7¹³¹⁸

The quite recent discovery of this inscription shed new light about the contacts between Egypt and the Neo-Hittite states, at least for what concerns the city of Aleppo: it is well known that this city took a prominent role after Šuppiliuma I's Syrian war and the enthronement of Telipinu as king of the city (and, therefore, also priest of the Storm-god of Aleppo)¹³¹⁹. The discovery of the inscription¹³²⁰ is well described by Hawkins:

“In the seasons of 2004 and 2005, the south entrance of the cella was cleared, revealing portal figures on its preserved west side: a fish-man and a lion protome in situ, then fragments of a sphinx protome and a lion figure facing outwards bearing between them parts of a broken inscription, ALEPPO 7. I visited again in May-June 2008 to work on this inscription. At that time the sphinx and lion figures with the parts of their inscription were still in fragments, roughly assembled and not yet restored, because there was, and still remains, the hope of finding additional fragments by some further excavation that may be permitted. I have delayed publication of these Aleppo inscriptions up to the present in this hope of further fragments of ALEPPO 7. But enough time has elapsed since the original discoveries and I feel that I must now make these important inscriptions fully available to the scholarly world. If further pieces of ALEPPO 7 are subsequently found and render the present publication obsolete, so much the better”¹³²¹.

The inscription was found unfortunately broken, but the general meaning of the topic is clearly retrievable. Here following some useful information about the inscription, as provided by Hawkins:

“*Location.* In situ, Temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo, Aleppo citadel. *Description.* Broken incised inscription recovered on fragments of two adjoining portal figures, a lion (A) and a sphinx (B), found fallen from their base slabs on the west side of the south entrance of the cella. The right side of the inscription consists of 12 lines placed on the left side of the sphinx's cap, head and shoulder; lines 4-12 are bounded on their right sides by a rosette of the sphinx's cap and her hair-lock and ear, and lines 1-2 were extended rightwards onto the cap, surviving as a detached fragment separated from the main text by a short gap. The left edge of lines 1-12 is formed by an incised vertical ridge cut to accommodate the lion figure butted in to the sphinx protome at a right angle; the text would have run over on to the lion figure here. The sphinx fragment B is almost complete for all its 12 lines. Parts of the left side of the inscription survive on the right flank of the lion, shoulder to fore-leg, bounded on their left edge by the curls of the lion's mane; the preserved lines are identifiable as aligning with the sphinx's lines 3, 4 + 5, 6 + 7, 8, 10, 12 + 13. The relative position of the lion and sphinx parts of the inscription is determinable from their respective base slabs and the distance between the two parts, thus the loss of text can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. The missing beginning of the text was on A line 1, and it ran dextroverse on to the preserved B line 1, extending rightwards on to the sphinx's cap, as noted, descending to B line 2 and running sinistroverse on to the lost A line 2, where it descended to the preserved beginning of A line 3. There after it continued boustrophedon across B and A, terminating on A line 13 (the aligning B line 13 is uninscribed). The text thus has a preserved right side but only parts of the left side, and the central part is missing. Continuity of context between the lines on the right side and what is preserved on the left is not apparent. *Dimensions.* A: maximum width 120cm, original height (estimated) 260cm; B: maximum width 88cm, original height (estimated) 215cm, height (lines 1-[13]) 109cm. *Condition.* As preserved, clear. Script, line-dividers. Incised. [...] *Content.* No context sufficiently preserved to piece together. §§1, 2 and 7 are important, giving the end of Taita's titulary and mentioning Karkamiš and Egypt. *Sculpture.* The excavator's stylistic analysis attributes the sphinx to the Hittite Empire phase and the lion to that of Taita [...]. Taita would have restored the Empire period portal figures and added his own outward-facing lion. [...]. *Date.* Attribution to Taita¹³²² on the basis of the (incomplete) titulary and the close similarity to ALEPPO 6. Taita would have written the inscription on his lion, running it over on to the adjoining sphinx. It shows the same archaic features as ALEPPO 6, and like it may be dated to the 11th century BC”¹³²³.

¹³¹⁸ This number has been given in HAWKINS 2011b, after the publication of the CHLI.

¹³¹⁹ See, e.g., HAWKINS 2011b, p. 36. Cf. also inscription Aleppo 1.

¹³²⁰ For the precise find spot of the inscription, see HAWKINS 2011b, p. 37, fig. 1.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.*

¹³²² For Taita and the dating of his reign, see HAWKINS 2009b.

¹³²³ *Ivi*, pp. 44-45, 48.

HAWKINS 2011b, pp. 48-49:

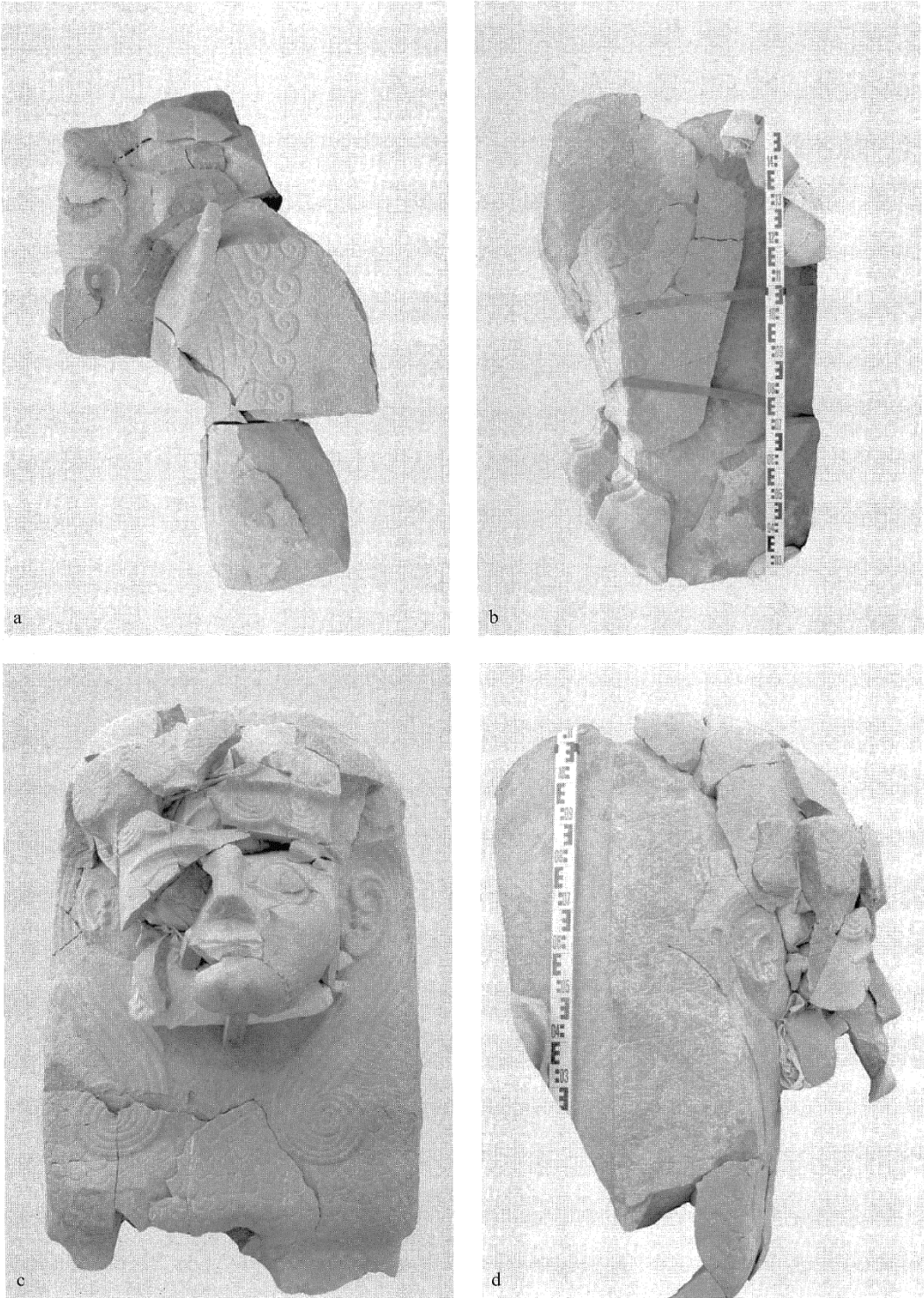


Fig. 116

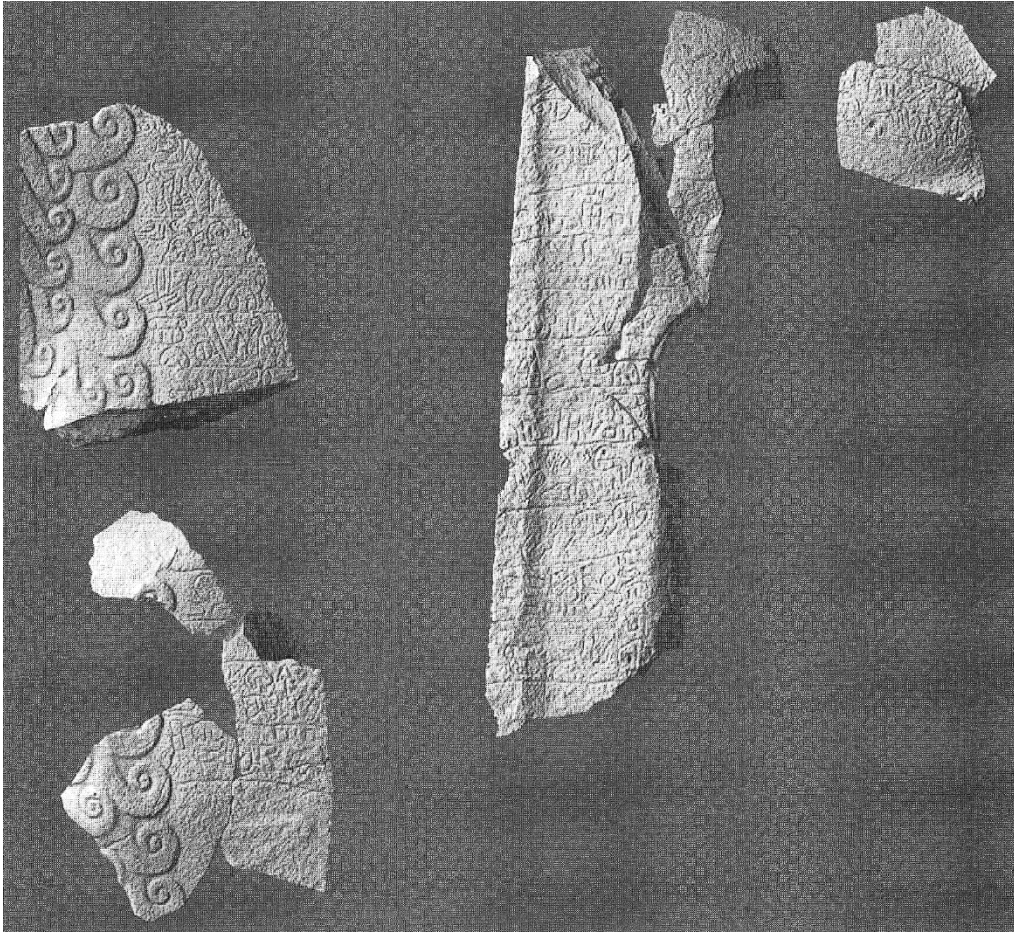


Fig. 117

Transcription of the hieroglyphic text

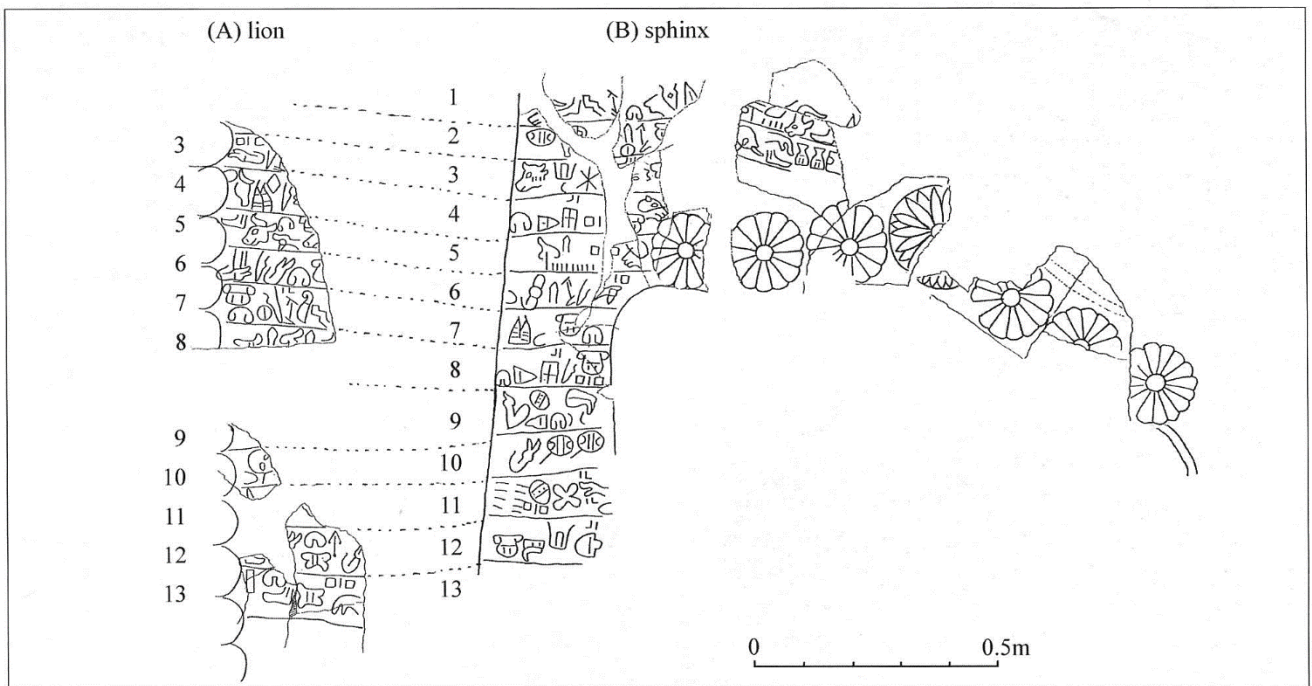


Fig. 118

*Transliteration*¹³²⁴

LION (A) + SPHINX (B)

- 1, §1. (A) [... *pa-lá/i-*](B)*s[à]-ti-ní-za-sa* (VIR₂)HEROS REX[...?]
2, §2. [...?] [*k*]ar-ka-mi-sà-ti(UR[BS] ...?)[(DOMUS)*sa₅-sa₅-tà-ti* PRAE [...] *pa-za-i(a)-ha*
§3. [...](DEUS) *ku*[(A) ...
3, §4. *wa/i-na-*a* [*z*]a- [...
§5. ... *-pa/ha-wa/i-*](B) *mu* TONITRUS L.187[...]*ti x x* ||
4, §6. *ma-pa-wa/i* (VIR₂)SCRIBA-*la-sa*(A)[...
5, §7. ...]*x-*a MÍ.REGIO* ASINUS_{2A}-*ni* || (PES)*u-sa-tá*
§8. *w[a/i?]-m[u?-*a* ...
§9. ...] (B) *hwi-i(a)-nú-wa/i* 6,
6, §10. *ma-||wa/i-tá-*a za-i(a)* POST-*ni?* (A)[...
7, §11. ...]*pa-sa-na-*a* DOMINUS-*na* || *pa-sa-ha-*a* (VIR₂)*za-MARA?-ní* [...
§12. ...] (B) REGIO-*ni*
8, §13. *pa-sa-||pa-wa/i-*a* (VIR₂)SCRIBA-*la-sa* (A)...
§14. ...]-*i(a)*[...] *hwi-i(a)-tu*||
9, §15. [...
10, §16. ...](B) BRACCHIUM-*ru-la-sa* ‘L.87’ (?)(-)|| *ku+ra/i-ku+ra/i-na* (A)[...
11, §17. ...]PRAE-*ni* || [...
§18. ...](B)90(-)*ru-wa/i(-)x* (VIR₂)FILIUS || (VIR₂)VIR
12, TONITRUS- HALPA-*pa* (A) [...
13, §19. ...]-*na* SCALPRUM *hi-tu-n[a-t]i* || LIGNUM *hi-ti(-)tu(-)wa/i-tà*[...]

*Translation*¹³²⁵

LION (A) + SPHINX (B)

- § 1. (A) [I (am) Taita(?) ... Pali](B)stin-ean Hero King.
§ 2. From the city Karkamiš from the bed-chamber(?) forth (to?) ...) I went.
§ 3. The god(dess?) Ku[baba? ...
§ 4. and him/her(?) ... [...
§ 5. (to) me ...
§ 6. But if a scribe [...
§ 7. ...] he/they brought mule(s) (to/from) the land **Egypt**,
§ 8. and (to?) me(?) [...
§ 9. ...] I will(?) make run,
§10. and these my last [...
§11. ...] to his lord and to his ... [...
§12. ...] to the land.
§13. But that scribe [...
§14. ...] let him/them run.
§15. [...
§16. ...] ... [...
§17. ...] forth [...
§18. ...] ninety ... to/for child (and) man, Halpa [...
§19. ...

The passage quoting Egypt (§7) is commented by Hawkins under this respect:

“*MÍ.REGIO*, ‘the land Egypt’: this interpretation is based on KARKAMIS A6, §4, (*MÍ.REGIO*’) *mi-za+ra/i* (URBS), i.e. logographic writing of the toponym followed by phonetic rendering *Mizri*, ‘Egypt’. Unfortunately, no case ending is indicated here: ‘to/from?’”¹³²⁶.

¹³²⁴ HAWKINS 2011b, p. 48, fig. 10a.

¹³²⁵ *Ivi*, p. 49, fig. 10b.

¹³²⁶ *Ivi*, p. 50.

The entire passage refers quite likely to the trade of mules (even if the direction of the transaction is not clear, because of the lack of the case ending¹³²⁷), brought (or received) by a scribe(s) who is/are “made run”¹³²⁸, perhaps an unclear expression to refer to the refuse of the goods (the mules) or to the pushing back of the messenger(s), responsible of the transaction (for a reason that is no more understandable from the extant text). In any case, this inscription reveals noteworthy because it hints to the presence of direct contacts and activities of scribes between the two courts during the 11th cent. BC, i.e. in a period following the “end” of the Hittite empire.

¹³²⁷ It is, however, quite more probable that the mules were sent from Syria to Egypt: see KITCHEN 1974 and NIBBI 1979.

¹³²⁸ For the analysis of the verb, see *ibid.*: “*hwi-i(a)-nú-wa/i*: without context it is uncertain whether this represents *hwi(ya)nu(wa)-wi*, ‘I will make run’ (first person singular present), or, less likely, *hwi(ya)nuwa*, ‘make run!’ (second person singular imperative)”.

1.3: CUNEIFORM TEXTS FOUND IN EGYPT

1.3.1: THE EL-AMARNA LETTERS

Hittites are also quoted in the letters found in El-Amarna/Akhetaton: these documents are also listed in HPM, so they were included in the tables under section 1.2.1 (see *supra*; cf. Appendix B). The toponym “Ḫatti” is attested several times (51), in different letters (35), displaying with the following spellings (listed according to a growing number of occurrences)¹³²⁹:

Spelling	Nos of attestations
Ḫa-at-ti	1
KUR Ḫa-at-te ^{KI}	
KUR Ḫa-ta	
KUR Ḫatti [?]	
KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti	
KUR-ti ₄ Ḫa-at-at ^{KI}	
Ḫa-ti	2
KUR ḫa-ad-au-u-	
KUR Ḫa-at-ti	
KUR Ḫa-at-ti ₇ ^{KI}	
KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti ^{KI}	
KUR.MEŠ Ḫa-ti	
KUR Ḫa-at-ta	3
KUR Ḫatti	
KUR Ḫa-at-ti ₇	27

In the first part of this section (1.3.1.1), I will report all the correspondence directly exchanged between the Egyptian and Hittite courts, while, in the second part (1.3.1.2) all the letters quoting the term “Ḫatti/Hittite(s)” will be presented. Here follows a brief list of all the texts, reporting the concordance with different numeration system used by scholars:

List according to the progressive no. of the letters:

No. of the text (in the present dissertation)	EA (Knudtzon ¹³³⁰) no.	LA (Liverani ¹³³¹) no.	Locus	Spelling
1	31	301	/	/
2	32	300	/	/
3	41	302	Obv. 2	KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti ^{KI}
4	42	303	Obv. 2	KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti ^{KI}
6	44	305	Rev. 19	KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti
7	17	289	Lo.ed. 31	KUR Ḫa-at-ti
			Rev. 38	KUR Ḫa-at-ti
8	24	294	Obv. 11	KUR ḫa-ad-au-u-

¹³²⁹ Cf. LIVERANI 1999, p. 467, s.v.: “KUR.(URU) Ḫa-(at-)ti/te/ta (Akkadian); KUR Ḫa-ad-du-u-ḫé- (Hurrian)”.

¹³³⁰ KNUDTZON 1915.

¹³³¹ LIVERANI 1998-1999.

			Obv. 14	KUR <i>ḥa-ad-au-u-</i>
9	35	308	Rev. 49	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
10	45	255	Obv. 15	KUR <i>Ḥatti[?]</i>
			Obv. 22	KUR <i>Ḥatti</i>
			Obv. 30	KUR <i>Ḥatti</i>
			Obv. 34	KUR <i>Ḥatti</i>
11	51	272	Rev. 4	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
12	52	264	Rev. 30	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-te^{KI}</i>
13	53	265	Obv. 9	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Obv. 13	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Obv. 14	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Obv. 16	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Obv. 25	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
14	54	266	Obv. 29	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Lo.ed. 33	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Rev. 42	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
15	55	268	Rev. 40	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Rev. 43	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Rev. 57	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
16	59	273	Obv. 23	KUR- <i>ti₄</i> <i>Ḥa-at-at^{KI}</i>
			Rev. 41	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
17	75	136	Rev. 36	<i>Ḥa-ti</i>
18	116	179	Rev. 71	KUR <i>Ḥa-ta</i>
19	126	185	Rev. 51	<i>Ḥa-ti</i>
			Rev. 59	KUR.MEŠ <i>Ḥa-ti</i>
20	129	190	Rev. 76	KUR.MEŠ <i>Ḥa-ti</i>
21	140	195	Rev. 31	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ta</i>
22	151	125	Rev. 58	<i>Ḥa-at-ti</i>
23	157	239	Lo.ed. 28	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
24	161	243	Rev. 49	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
25	164	247	Obv. 21	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Lo.ed. 24	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
26	165	246	Rev. 30	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Rev. 34	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
27	166	249	Rev. 21	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
28	167	248	Obv. 11	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
			Rev. 20	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
29	170	253	Obv. 14	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
30	174	224	Obv. 14	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>
31	175	225	Obv. 11	KUR <i>Ḥa-at-ti₇</i>

32	176	226	Obv. 11	KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ta</i>
33	196	213	Obv. 10	KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ^{KI}
			Obv. 17	KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ^{KI}
34	197	212	Rev. 21	KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ₇
35	363	227	Obv. 11	KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ta</i>

List according to the spelling:

Spelling	No. of the text (in the present dissertation)	EA (Knudtzon ¹³³²) no.	LA (Liverani ¹³³³) no.	Locus
<i>Ḫa-at-ti</i>	22	151	125	Rev. 58
<i>Ḫa-ti</i>	17	75	136	Rev. 36
	19	126	185	Rev. 51
KUR <i>ḫa-ad-au-u-</i>	8	24	294	Obv. 11
				Obv. 14
KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ta</i>	21	140	195	Rev. 31
	32	176	226	Obv. 11
	35	363	227	Obv. 11
KUR <i>Ḫa-at-te</i> ^{KI}	12	52	264	Rev. 30
KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i>	7	17	289	Lo.ed. 31
				Rev. 38
KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ₇	9	35	308	Rev. 49
	11	51	272	Rev. 4
	13	53	265	Obv. 9
				Obv. 13
				Obv. 14
				Obv. 16
				Obv. 25
	14	54	266	Obv. 29
				Lo.ed. 33
				Rev. 42
	15	55	268	Rev. 40
				Rev. 43
				Rev. 57
				Rev. 41
	23	157	239	Lo.ed. 28
	24	161	243	Rev. 49
25	164	247	Obv. 21	
			Lo.ed. 24	
26	165	246	Rev. 30	

¹³³² KNUDTZON 1915.

¹³³³ LIVERANI 1998-1999.

				Rev. 34
	27	166	249	Rev. 21
	28	167	248	Obv. 11
				Rev. 20
	29	170	253	Obv. 14
	30	174	224	Obv. 14
	31	175	225	Obv. 11
	34	197	212	Rev. 21
KUR <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ^{KI}	33	196	213	Obv. 10
				Obv. 17
KUR <i>Ḫa-ta</i>				Rev. 71
KUR <i>Ḫatti</i>	18	116	179	Obv. 22
				Obv. 30
				Obv. 34
KUR <i>Ḫatti</i> [?]	10	45	255	Obv. 15
KUR URU <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i>	6	44	305	Rev. 19
KUR URU <i>Ḫa-at-ti</i> ^{KI}	3	41	302	Obv. 2
	4	42	303	Obv. 2
KUR.MEŠ <i>Ḫa-ti</i>				Rev. 59
	20	129	190	Rev. 76
KUR- <i>ti</i> ₄ <i>Ḫa-at-at</i> ^{KI}	16	59	273	Obv. 23

1.3.1.1: THE EA LETTERS DIRECTLY EXCHANGED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ANATOLIA

Among the other survived texts attesting relationships between Egypt and Ḫatti, I cannot avoid quoting the very famous and important letters found in the capital city of El-Amarna, the ancient Akhetaton, founded by the “heretic” king Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton.

Six of these letters have been exchanged by the pharaonic court and Anatolian entities; more in detail two of them (EA 31-32) have been exchanged by Amenhotep III and Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa (located in south-western Anatolia¹³³⁴), while the other four have been sent, a little bit later, by the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I (EA 41-43) or by his brother Zita (EA 44) to pharaoh Ḫuriya (i.e. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton).

The so-called “Arzawa dossier” is quite interesting also because it is a proof of direct contacts not just with the Great King of Ḫatti, but also with another (peripheric?) Anatolian entity. In the period when these letters have been written, south-western Anatolia was composed by a plurality of (sometimes) confederated kingdoms: among them there was also the land of Arzawa, at that time independent from the Hittite kingdom (until the final conquest of Muršili II, among in 1330 BC)¹³³⁵.

It is interesting to stress, together with M. Liverani, that the two letters were written in Hittite, and not in Akkadian (the common international language), attesting the marginality, but in the meantime also the importance, of the Arzawa land. The “Arzawa dossier”¹³³⁶ was also very important in the first studies about the Hittite language, suggesting its appartenance to Indo-European group¹³³⁷. The two letters concern a marriage negotiation, while the other four speak about the difficult situation of the Egypto-Hittite relationships at that time.

I provide below the transcription and the translation of the letters, with some bibliographical notes (mainly taken from Liverani’s translation) and a brief comment to the texts, pointing out the topics related to our research.

1. EA 31 (Liverani¹³³⁸, LA 301) = CTH 151 = VBoT 1¹³³⁹, Cairo 4741: Amenhotep III to Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa (in Hittite).

“Marriage agreement and list of rich gifts”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 326-329:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [u]m-ma¹Ni-mu-wa¹-r[i-y]a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ša-ri
 02) [A-N]A¹Tar-ḫu-un-da-ra-du LUGAL KUR Ar-za-wa QÍ-BÍ-MA
 03) kat-ti-mi SIG₅-in É.ḪI.A-mi DAM.MEŠ-mi DUMU.MEŠ-mi
 04) LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL-aš ÉRIN.MEŠ-mi ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A-mi
 05) pí-ip-pí-it-mi KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-mi-kán an-da
 06) ḫu-u-ma-an SIG₅-in

-
- 07) du-ug-qa kat-ta ḫu-u-ma-an SIG₅-in e-eš-tu
 08) É.ḪI.A-ti DAM.MEŠ-ti DUMU.MEŠ-ti LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL-aš
 09) ÉRIN.MEŠ-ti ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A-ti pí-ip-pí-it-ti
 10) KUR.ḪI.A-ti ḫu-u-ma-an SIG₅-in e-eš-tu

¹³³⁴ For the geographic location, see M. Forlanini in FORLANINI – MARAZZI 1986, pls. XVI-XIX. For the history of this kingdom, see HEINOLD-KRAHMER 1977; more in detail for this period, see DE MARTINO 1996, pp. 81-84. For the so-called “Arzawa letters”, see BREYER 2010a, pp. 393-397.

¹³³⁵ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 406-407.

¹³³⁶ For a comment of the two letters, cf. also HOUWINK TEN CATE 1963, p. 272.

¹³³⁷ See KNUDTZON 1902.

¹³³⁸ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 408-409 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 270-275 (transliteration and translation); ROST 1956, pp. 334-336 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 101-103 (translation).

¹³³⁹ Cf. FRIEDRICH 1960, no. 7a (transcription).

-
- 11) *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta u-i-e-nu-un* ¹*Ir-ša-ap-pa*
 12) ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-an-mi-in a-ú-ma-ni* DUMU.MUNUS-*ti*
 13) ^dUTU-*mi ku-in* DAM-*an-ni ú-wa-da-an-zi*
 14) *nu-uš-ši li-il-ḥu-wa-i* ^Ì-*an* SAG.DU-*ši*
 15) *ka-a-aš-ma-ta up-pa-aḥ-ḥu-un* 1 ^{KUŠ}*ha-la-li-ya* KÙ.GI-*aš*
 16) SIG₅-*an-ta*
-

- 17) *a-ni-ya-at-ta-aš-ma-mu ku-e-da-aš* *ḥa-at-ra-a*-[*e*]š
 18) *up-pí-wa-ra-at-mu ne-et-ta up-pa-aḥ-ḥi* EGIR-*an-da*
 19) *na-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in am-me-el-la*
 20) ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-an* EGIR-*pa pa-ra-a ḥu-u-da-a-ak*
 21) *na-i na-at ú-wa-an-du*
-

- 22) *nu-ut-ta ú-wa-an-zi ú-da-an-zi ku-ša-ta* DUMU.MUNUS^{TI}
 23) ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-aš-mi-iš* ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-ša*
 24) *ku-iš tu-el ú-it na-aš ag-ga-aš*
 25) *nu-mu an-tu-uḥ-š-u-uš Ga-aš-ga-aš* KUR-*ya-aš up-pí iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un*
 26) *zi-in-nu-uk*¹³⁴⁰ *ḥu-u-ma-an-da*
-

- 27) *nu Ḥa-ad-du-ša-aš-ša* KUR-*e i-ga-it*
 28) *nu-ut-ta ka-a-aš-ma pí-ip-pé-eš-šar up-pa-ḥu-un* [?] ŠU-x[...]
 29) *ki-iš-ša-ri-iš-ši* ¹*Ir-ša-ap-pa* ^{LÚ}*ha-lu*-[*ga-tal-la-aš-mi-iš*]
 30) 1^{EN} ^{KUŠ}*ha-la-li-ya* KÙ.GI KIL.LÁ.BI
 31) 20 MA.N[A] KÙ.GI 3 GADA.SIG 3 GADA.È.A S[IG?]¹³⁴¹
-

Lo.ed.

- 32) 3 GADA *ḥu-uz-zi* 8 GADA *ku-ši-it-ti-in*
 33) 1 ME GADA-*an*¹ *wa-al-ga-an* 1 ME GADA *ḥa-ap-p*[*a(-)*]

Rev.

- 34) 1 ME GADA *pu*¹-*tal-li-ya-aš-ša*[...] ¹³⁴²
 35) 4^{NA4}KU-KU-BU GEŠTIN.DÜG.GA 6^{NA4}KU-[KU-BU]
 36) ŠA Ì.DÜG.GA 3^{GIŠ}GU.ZA^{GIŠ}ESI *šar-pa* BÁ-NA[-A KÙ.GI] GAR.RA
 37) 10^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *ša* ^{GIŠ}ESI IŠ-TU ZU₉ AM-S[*I*]
 38) *u-uḥ-ḥu-uz* 1 ME ^{GIŠ}ESI *aš-šu-li*

Translation

(1–6) Thus (says) Nimuwariya, the Great King, king of Egypt: to Tarḥundarasu¹³⁴³, king of Arzawa, (say) as follows: With me it is well. With my houses, my wives, my children, the senior officials, my troops, my chariots, my *possessions*, whatever is in my lands, all is well.

(7–10) May everything be well with you. With your houses, your wives, your children, the senior officials, your troops, your chariots, your *possessions*, your lands, may all be well.

(11–16) Behold, I have sent to you Iršappa, my messenger. Let us see the daughter whom they will bring to My Majesty in marriage. Let him pour oil on her head. Behold, I have sent to you one *ḥalaliya* of good-quality gold.

¹³⁴⁰ Interesting the comment in LIVERANI 1999, p. 408 note 8: “Seguo qui la proposta di STARKE 1981, pp. 221-231 che il termine *zi-in-nu-uk* sia trascrizione dell’egiziano *ḏd(t).n.k*”. LIVERANI 1999, p. 408 translated more literally the passage as: “Mandami pure degli uomini della terra di Kashka: ho udito tutto ciò che tu hai detto”.

¹³⁴¹ For this reading, cf. EDEL 1974, pp. 135-137 and MORAN 1992, p. 102, note 10.

¹³⁴² This terms has been read *putalliyašša* by Gordon (quoted in MORAN 1992, p. 102, note 11), while KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, p. 274 read *mutalliyašša*.

¹³⁴³ The translation read “Tarḥundarasu”: maybe a mistake for “Tarḥundaradu” (cf. the Hittite transliteration).

(17–21) As for the operation about which you wrote to me: “Send it to me,” I will send it to you afterwards. (But first) send back promptly your messenger and my messenger and let them come (to me).

(22–26) (When) they return to you they will bring the bride-price for the daughter. My messenger and the messenger of yours, he came and...¹³⁴⁴ Send me people of the land of Gašga. I have heard that everything is finished.

(27–38) And also the land of Ḫattuša is frozen/paralyzed. Behold, I have sent you a consignment...in the hand of Iršappa, [my] mess[enger]: One *ḫalaliya* of gold weighing 20 minas of gold; 3 fine linens; 3 f[ine?] linen coats; 3 linen *ḫuzzi*; 8 linen *mantles*; 100 linen *walgan*; 100 linen *ḫapp[a(-)*; 100 linen *sashes*; [...] 4 *kukkubu*(-vessels) for/with fine wine; 6 *ku[kkubu*(-vessels)] for/with fine oil; 3 chairs of ebony overlaid with exquisite *leather* [and gold]; 10 chairs of ebony inlaid with ivory; 100 ebony (plates); as a greeting-gift.

This letter, as also the following one, has been written in Hittite and not in Akkadian, the international language of that period. Liverani has already underlined the importance of the use of the Hittite language within these letters:

“Quale maggiore potenza anatolica dopo Hatti, e dotata di uno sbocco al Mediterraneo, Arzawa entrò in contatto con Amenophi III, sia pure in forme un po’ particolari: considerate un ‘regno’ (indipendente) ma non un ‘grande regno’, contattato in forma orale prima che scritta, e poi usando la lingua hittita anzichè quella accadica – evidente segnale di una certa marginalità al sistema di rapporti interregionali in atto”¹³⁴⁵.

Rainey suggested another reason for the language of this letter:

“Perhaps Amenhotep III had dictated the message to a messenger of Arzawa, and the latter translated it to Hittite and left a copy of his version for the Egyptian archive”¹³⁴⁶.

The first paragraph of the document (Vs. 1-6) reports the greetings presented by Amenhotep III to Tarḫundaradu: it is interesting to note the formal disposition of the terms and the salutation itself, (quoting houses, wives, sons, officials, troops, chariots, possessions and all other things) closely remembering the incipit of many letters of the ÄHK (see e.g., *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 20.a).

The pharaoh then informs the Arzawean king to have sent his messenger Iršappa¹³⁴⁷, asking him to meet the Anatolian princess who was promised for an interdynastic marriage. Amenhotep also asks Tarḫundaradu to perform the ceremony of the ointment of the new bride, a practise that we have already seen in other, later, letters of the correspondence dealing with the “First Marriage” between Ramses of the Hittite princess, daughter of Ḫattušili III (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 20.c, 22.a, 23, 26.l and 41.f).

As greeting gifts, probably on the occasion of the ointment ceremony, Amenhotep sends to Tarḫundaradu a ^{KUS}*ḫalaliya* of fine gold, an object that was in origin probably made of leather and then also in precious metals, whose etymology could be retraced in the Luwian term *ḫalali-*, meaning “clean”, maybe semantically related to the Hittite term *parkui*-¹³⁴⁸.

¹³⁴⁴ This passage has been integrated by KÜHNE 1973, pp. 96-97, note 481 adding the verb *aggaš*, “he died”.

¹³⁴⁵ LIVERANI 1999, p. 407. Similarly, MORAN 1992, p. 102, note 2: “Through a marriage with a daughter of the most powerful ruler among the various principalities that were found in Arzawa before Suppiluliuma I, Egypt believed that it could assure the loyalty of the country and thus help impede the resurgence of the Hittites. Arzawa’s previous isolation may be reflected in the fact that correspondence with it was carried on in Hittite and not, as was customary, in Akkadian”.

¹³⁴⁶ RAINEY Z”L 2015, vol. 2, p. 1374.

¹³⁴⁷ For this name, see MORAN 1992, p. 102, note 4: “The name of the Egyptian messenger appears with the same writing among Hurrian gods : see KUB XXXIV 102 II 1 3 (*dir-ša-ap-pa dam-ki-ra-a-ši*), and KUB XXVII 1 rev. II 2 3 (*ir-šappi-ni-iš* GAM.GĀR-*ra-a-ši*). He is, therefore, a god of commerce; on *tamgar*-(š)še, ‘commerce,’ see DIAKONOFF 1971, p. 69. The god Iršappa is the Canaanite Resheph [...]”. Cf. LAROCHE 1966, p. 81, no. 468: “[*Iršappa*. Envoyé du pharaon : abs. ^m*Ir-ša-ap-pa*, VBoT 1, 11, 29 = ROST 1956, 334 sq.]”.

¹³⁴⁸ See FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER 1975-1984, H1, p. 18; cf. TISCHLER 1983, A-H, p. 126; TISCHLER 2001, p. 35; PUHVEL 1984, H, p. 126. LIVERANI 1999, p. 408 translated the term as “sacco d’oro buono”. The alleged reading of *zuḫalaliya* or *suḫalaliya* has been proposed for this term: see RAINEY Z”L 2015, vol. 2, p. 1375 and MORAN 1992, p. 101,

In Vs. 17-21, Amenhotep refers to a previous message sent by Tarḫundaradu, who asked to send him something: the pharaoh replies saying that he would have sent the requested objects (maybe gifts) in a second time; the pharaoh also asks to send back his messenger, whether his Arzawean colleague would die¹³⁴⁹; the reason for such a request is explained in the following lines (Vs. 22-26): the two messengers were appointed for bringing in Egypt the marriage dowry of Tarḫundaradu's daughter. It is noteworthy to know from this passage that the pharaoh precisely requested some Kaška people, probably prisoners of war, a "gift" that will be very common also in the later ÄHK (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 23, 27.j, 33.h and 46.a).

The paragraph ends with a not clear sentence: *up-pí iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un / zi-in-nu-uk ḫu-u-ma-an-da*, "I have heard that everything is *finished*" (Vs. 25-26), a passage that maybe can find an explanation in other lines, where Amenhotep says to know that the winter season in Ḫattuša had caused a delay in the sending back of the aforementioned messengers. Rayney¹³⁵⁰ also noted that some parallels for Vs. 28-29 were proposed by Edel for similar sentences of the ÄHK¹³⁵¹. The passage has also been interpreted as "the land of Ḫattuša is *frozen/paralyzed*", while Starke preferred to translate "the land of Ḫattuša is at peace"¹³⁵².

The letter ends with a list of gifts:

Category	Hittite	Translation	Quantity
Metal	KUŠ ^h ha-la-li-ya KÙ.GI	ḫalaliya with fine gold	1 piece = 20 minas
Linens	GADA.SIG	fine linens	3 pieces
	GADA.È.A S[IG?]	fine linen coats	3 pieces
	GADA ḫu-uz-zi	ḫuzzi-linens	3 pieces
	GADA ku-ši-it-ti-in	kušitti-linens	8 pieces
	GADA-an' wa-al-ga-an	walgan-linens	100 pieces
	GADA ḫa-ap-p[a(-)]	ḫappa-linens	100 pieces
	GADA pu'-tal-li-ya-aš-ša	putalliyašša-linens	100 pieces
Vessels	NA ⁴ KU-KU-BU GEŠTIN.DÙG.GA	kukkubu-vessels for fine wine ¹³⁵³	4 pieces
	NA ⁴ KU-[KU-BU] / ŠA Ì.DÙG.GA	kukkubu-vessels for fine oil	6 pieces
Furniture	GIŠ ^h GU.ZA GIŠ ^h ESI šar-pa BÁ-NA[-A KÙ.GI] GAR.RA	chairs of ebony overlaid with exquisite leather and gold	3 pieces
	GIŠ ^h GU.ZA ša GIŠ ^h ESI IŠ-TU ZU ₉ AM-S[I] / u-uh-ḫu-uz	chairs of ebony inlaid with ivory	10 pieces

note 6. Cf. also Moran 1992, p. 102, note 6: "On the noun *zuḫalaliya*, see OTTEN 1971, p. 1, and HAAS 1973, p. 162. According to Gordon, here and in line 30 the first sign is SU and not ZU. See also STARKE 1981, pp. 55ff."

¹³⁴⁹ LIVERANI 1999, p. 408, note 7 also noted (on M. Giorgieri's suggestion) how ll. 19-21 could be interpreted as a quotation of a previous message sent by the king of Arzawa: in this case, the messenger who died would be not the Arzawean but the Egyptian one.

¹³⁵⁰ RAINEY Z"L 2015, vol. 2, p. 1375.

¹³⁵¹ EDEL 1974, p. 135.

¹³⁵² RAINEY Z"L 2015, vol. 2, p. 1375; cf. MORAN 1992, pp. 102-103, note 8: "STARKE 1989, pp. 221-31, interprets differently: 'I have heard all that you said. And also the land of Hattusa is at peace'. This ingenious interpretation is based on an Egyptian parallel(?), but if one takes into consideration the historical implications, it falls short of conviction; see HAGENBUCHER 1989, vol. 2, pp. 362f.". LIVERANI 1999, p. 409 translated "la terra di Hatti è gelata", commenting the passage in note 9, as follows: "Per questa traduzione letterale cf. DE MARTINO 1996, p. 83, note 360; oppure metaforicamente 'è ostile'. In passato si vedeva qui una notizia sul collasso di Hatti (cf. ad esempio KÜHNE 1973, pp. 96-99; HEINOLD-KRAMER 1977, pp. 52-53); o al contrario, dopo il già citato intervento di Starke, ad una notizia di segno pacifico (cf. Kempinski in RAINEY 1993, pp. 82-83). Credo si alluda solo all'impraticabilità della strada: il Faraone prende atto della motivazione (o scusa) adottata dal re di Arzawa".

¹³⁵³ KUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, p. 275, MORAN 1992, p. 101 and LIVERANI 1999, p. 409 read respectively "gutem Öl", "sweet oil" and "olio profumato", instead of "wine".

Wood	^{GIS} ESI	ebony plates	100 pieces
------	--------------------	--------------	------------

2. EA 32 (Liverani¹³⁵⁴, LA 300) = CTH 152 = VBoT 2 (cf. VS XII 202), VAT 342:

The king of Arzawa to the pharaoh (in Hittite).

“Second tablet of a double letter (the first tablet is not preserved), in Hittite. Marriage agreement: a written formalization is required. Post-scriptum of the scribe, who asks the king for letter in Hittite”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 330-331:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [k]a-a-ša-mu ki-i ku-it ¹Kal-ba-ya-a[š]
02) [u]t-tar me-mi-iš-ta ma-an-wa-an-na-aš
03) iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar i-ya-u-e-ni
-
- 04) [nu(?)]¹Kal-ba-ya-an ú-ul ḫa-a-mi
05) INIM-ya-at me-mi-iš-ta a-na ṭup-pí-ma-at-ša-an
06) ú-ul ki-it-ta-at
-
- 07) nu ma-a-an ḫa-an-da-a-an am-me-el DUMU.MUNUS-ya
08) ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-ši nu-ut-ta ú-ul im-ma
09) pí-iḫ-ḫi pí-iḫ-ḫi-it-ta
-
- 10) nu-mu-kán ¹Kal-ba-ya-an EGIR-pa pa-ra-a
11) iš-tu ^{LÚ}ṬE-MI-YA li-li-wa-aḫ-ḫu-u-an-zi
12) na-i ku-u-un-na-mu me-mi-an ṭup-pí-az
13) EGIR-pa ḫa-at-ra-a-i
- =====
- 14) ki-i-kán TUP-PÍ ku-iš DUB.SAR-a[š]

Lo.ed.

- 15) ḫal-za-a-i na-an ⁴E¹-A
16) ḫa-at-ta-an-na-aš LUGAL-uš
17) ḫi-lam-na-aš-ša ⁴UTU-uš

Rev.

- 18) aš-šu-ú-li pa-aḫ-ša-an-ta-ru
19) nu-ut-ta ŠU.ḪI.A-uš a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da
20) aš-šu-ú-li ḫar-kán-du
-
- 21) zi-ik-mu DUB.SAR-aš aš-šu-ú-li
22) ḫa-at-ra-a-i nam-ma-za [Š]UM-an EGIR-an
23) i-ya
-
- 24) DUB.ḪI.A[-ká]n ku-e ú-da-an-zi
25) nu ne-eš-[u]m¹-ni-li ḫa-at-ri-eš-ki

Translation

(1–6) Behold, with regard to this matter that Kalbaya said to me, “We should establish a blood-relationship between ourselves,”

(4–6) I do not trust Kalbaya. He said it, but it does not figure on the tablet.

(7–9) If you really want my daughter, would I not give her to you? I will give (her) to you.

¹³⁵⁴ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 406-408 (translation); cf. HROZNÝ 1931, pp. 310-311 (transliteration and translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 274-277 (transliteration and translation); ROST 1956, pp. 328-330 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 103 (translation).

(10–13) Send Kalbaya back to me promptly together with my envoy and write back to me (about) this matter on a tablet.

=====

(14–20) The scribe who reads out this tablet, let Ea the king of wisdom, and the Sun-god of the gate house protect him in good will! Let them hold the(ir) hands in good will around you!

(21–23) You, scribe, write to me in good will and add (your) name thereafter.

(24–25) The tablets that are brought (here) keep writing (them) in Nešite (i.e. Hittite).

This letter, which represents the reply of the Arzawean king Tarḫundaradu to EA 31 (see previous text), reports a request presented to the pharaoh by the Anatolian sovereign: Tarḫundaradu quotes a previous oral message brought to him by the messenger Kalbaya¹³⁵⁵, who had asked to send in Egypt the daughter for the interdynastic marriage which EA 31 referred to. Tarḫundaradu admits not to trust the messenger, and asks Amenhotep to send him back Kalbaya, supporting his communication with a message written on a tablet. The king of Arzawa also requires that this message would have been written in Hittite (Nešite), and also that the name of the scribe would be added on the tablet, probably as a manner of confirming the content of the missive. Tarḫundaradu adds a wish for the Egyptian scribe appointed for the reading of the tablet reporting his message, asking that he shall be protected by the god of wisdom Ea (read “Nabu” by Moran¹³⁵⁶), and by the Sun-god “of the Gateway”), whose name is read by Liverani and Moran as “Ištanuš”¹³⁵⁷, probably as a further guarantee of the correct reading (and translation¹³⁵⁸) of the content of the letter.

¹³⁵⁵ For this messenger, see LAROCHE 1966, p. 84, no. 490: “[Kalbaya. Syrien : nom. acc. ^mKal-ba-ya-aš/an, VBoT 2, 1, 4, 10 = ROST 1964, 328 sq. – Lecture *Labbaya* chez KNUDTZON 1915, 274 sqq., 1564; HROZNÝ 1931, 310, 312; lecture *Kalbaya* chez ROST 1964, 331]”.

¹³⁵⁶ MORAN 1992, p. 103.

¹³⁵⁷ LIVERANI 1999, p. 407; MORAN 1992, p. 103.

¹³⁵⁸ Of course, the Egyptian scribe (clearly trained in Hittite language) had to read the letter to the pharaoh only after having translated it into Egyptian.

3. EA 41 (Liverani¹³⁵⁹, LA 302) = CTH 153 = WA 18, Cairo 4747:

Šuppiluliuma to Ḫuriya (= Amenhotep IV¹³⁶⁰) (in Akkadian).

“The Hittite king tries to restart friendly relationships after the enthronement of the new pharaoh (who has interrupted them). Exchange of gifts (golden statues vs. silver statues)”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 358-361:

Transliteration

Obv.

01) [um-ma ^dUTU-ši] ¹Šu-up-pí-^rlu⁻li-u-ma 'LUGAL' G[AL]

02) [šàr KUR URU Ḫ]a-[a]t-ti^{KI} a-na ¹Ḫu-u-ri-i-^ri⁻[a]

03) [šàr KUR URU Mi]-iṣ-ri-i KI ŠEŠ-ia qí-bí-[m]a

04) [a-na ia-ši šu]l-mu a-na maḫ-ri-ka lu-ú šul-^rmu^r

05) [a-na DAM.MEŠ-k]a DUMU.MEŠ-ka É-ka ÉRIN.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka

06) [ù i-]na ^rlib⁻bi KUR-ka dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu

07) [L]Ú.MEŠ DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ša a-na a-bi-ka aš-pu-u-ru

08) ù ^rmé⁻re-eš₁₅-ta ša a-bu-ka e-ri-šu [i]-^rna⁻ bé-^re⁻r[i-]ni

09) at-te-ru-tam-^rma⁻ lu-ú ni-ip-pu-[u]š-mi⁻ù⁻ 'LUGAL'(?I.AŠ)

10) la-a ak-t[a-l]a mi-nu-me-e ša a-bu-ka id-bu-^rbá^r

11) LUGAL(?I.AŠ) gáb-b[á-am-m]a lu-ú e-pu-uš ù mé-re-eš₁₅-ta-^ria^r

12) ^rša⁻ a-na a-bi-ka e-ri-šu a-bu-ka mî-im-ma ú-ul

13) ^rik⁻la gáb-bá-am-ma lu-ú id-dî-na

14) un-du a-bu-ka bal-[t]ù šu-bi-la-a-te-^re⁻

15) ša ú-še-bi-la ŠEŠ-ia am-mî-ni ták-la-aš-šu-nu-ti

16) i-na-an-na ŠEŠ-ia a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA ša a-bi-ka

17) [t]e-e-te-li ù ki-me-e a-bu-ka ù a-na-ku

18) šul-ma-na i-na bé-e-ri-ni ḫa-aš-ḫa-a-nu-ma

19) ù i-na-an-na-ma ^rat⁻ta⁻ù⁻ a-na-ku i-na be-ri-ni

20) ka-an-na lu-ú ṭa-a-bá-a-nu ù mé-re-eš₁₅-ta <ša>

21) a-^rna⁻[k]u a-na a-bi-ka aq-bu-ú a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma

22) [a-qa-bi a-ḫ]u-uz-za-ta i-na bé-e-ri-ni i ni-ip-pu-uš

23) [mi-im-m]a ša a-na a-bi-ka e-ri-iš-ta

24) [at-ta ŠE]Š-ia la-a ta-kà-al-la-a-šu

25) [... 2 ṣ]a-al-ma-a-ni ša KÙ.GI 1-en

26) [li-zi-iz] 1-en li-ši-ib ù 2 ALAM.MEŠ ša MUNUS.MEŠ

27) [ša KÙ.BABBA]R-ma ù NA₄.ZA.GÌN ra-bi-ta ù a-na

28) [... k]à-an-na-šu-nu ra-bu-ú ŠEŠ-ia [li-še-bi-la]

Rev.

29) [.....] i[...]^re⁻a \ [.....]

30) [.....ul-t]e-bi-la-[m]a ù [.....]

31) [.....] ù šum-ma ŠEŠ-ia [ḫa-šeḫ a-na]

32) [na-dá-ni ŠE]Š-ia li-id-dî-in-šu-nu-[ti]

33) [ù šum-m]a ŠEŠ-ia a-na na-a-dá-ni-šu-nu[-ma]

34) [la-]^ra⁻ ^rḫa⁻šeḫ ki-me-e GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia a-na

¹³⁵⁹ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 410-411 (translation); cf. HOFFNER 2009, pp. 277-279 (translation and transliteration); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 298-303 (transliteration and translation); von Dassow in ANE, pp. 199-200 (translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 114-115 (translation); SCHWEMER 2006a, pp. 190-191 (translation).

¹³⁶⁰ About the identification of Ḫuriya, see LIVERANI 1999, p. 410, note 12: “Questa [i.e., Ḫuriya = Amenhotep IV] è l’opinione corrente, cf. bibliografia in KÜHNE 1973, p. 101, note 497; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1963, pp. 175-276 pensa invece che si tratti di Tutankhamon. Cf. MEYER 1992, pp. 87-90”.

- 35) [na-š]e GADA ḥu-uz-zi(!) i-^r gam^r-ma-^r ru^r-ma a-na ŠEŠ-ia
 36) ú-tá-a-ar-šu-nu-ti ù mi-ni-um-me-e
 37) ša ŠEŠ-ia ḥa-aš-ḥa-ta ^r šu^r-^r u^r-^r up^r-ra-^r am^r-ma
 38) lu-še-bíl-ak-ku

- 39) a-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-ni-ka 1 bi-ib-ru
 40) KÙ.BABBAR UDU.⟨A⟩.LUM 5 ma-na KILÁ.BÉ 1 bi-ib-ru
 41) KÙ.BABBAR UDU.SIR₄ \ pu-u-ḥi-lu 3 ma-na KILÁ.BÉ
 42) 2 [k]à-ak-kà-ru KÙ.BABBAR 10 ma-na KILÁ.BÉ-ma
 43) 2 ^{GIŠ}ni-kip-tu₄ ra-a-bu-tì ul-te-bíl-ak-ku

Translation

(1–3) [The message of the Sun,] Suppiluliuma, the gr[eat king, [the king of the land of **H**]atti; spea[k] to Ḫuriya, [the king of the land of E]gypt, my brother.

(4–6) [It is we]ll [with me; may it be well with you; [with yo]ur [wives], your sons, your household, your troops, your chariots, [and w]ithin your land may it be very well.

(7–13) As for my envoys that I sent to your father and the request that your father requested between us: “Let us establish friendly relations!” then *surely*(?) I did not hold back. Whatever your father said, *surely*(?) I verily carried out and my request that I requested of your father, he did not withhold anything, he verily granted everything.

(14–15) Why have you withheld the shipments that your father sent when your father was alive?

(16–22) Now, my brother, you have ascended the throne of your father, and just as your father and I desired greeting gifts between us, so now may you and I thus enjoy good relations between us, and the request ⟨that⟩ I made to your father, to my brother [will I make:] “May we make a [mar]riage agreement between us¹³⁶¹.”

(23–28) [As for whatev]er the request to your father, [you,]my [bro]ther, do not withhold. [... two s]tatues of gold: one [may it be standing], one may it be sitting; and two statues of women [of silve]r and much lapis lazuli and for [...] their large [s]tand, [may] my brother [send].

(29–32) I ha]ve sent and [.....] and if my brother [desires....to give...] may my [broth]er give the[m].

(33–38) [But if] my brother does [no]t desire to grant them; my chariots will finish [carr]ying linen *sheets*(?). I will return them to my brother. And whatever my brother desires, write to me that I may send to you.

(39–43) Now, for your greeting gift, one silver rhyton, a ram, five minas in weight, one silver rhyton, a breed ram, three minas in weight, two [ta]lents of silver, ten minas in weight, two large medicinal shrubs, have I sent to you.

This letter was sent by Šuppiluliuma I to Amenhotep IV on the occasion of his enthronement: after the greetings, that resemble quite strictly those in the ÄHK¹³⁶², the Hittite king asks the pharaoh the reason for an unexpected outage in the dispatching of the gifts, which was common during the period of Ḫuriya’s father (i.e., Amenhotep III); a particular expression is used to explain this assiduity of gift exchange: ù ki-me-e a-bu-ka ù a-na-ku / šul-ma-na i-na bé-e-ri-ni ḥa-aš-ḥa-a-nu-ma, “and just as your father and I / desired greeting gifts between us” (Vs. 17-18), describing the request of gifts as

¹³⁶¹ KUDTSON 1915, vol. 1, p. 301; LIVERANI 1999, p. 410 and MORAN 1992, p. 114 do not intend this passage as referring to some marriage arrangements, translating respectively as follows: “Unter uns woollen wir (es) verwirklichen”; “diamoci aiuto l’un l’altro”; “let us to be *helpful* to each other”.

¹³⁶² Applying wishes for “houses, wives, sons, Greats, troops, horses and all other things”. For this formularic salutation, see e.g. LIVERANI 1999, pp. 338-339, where the scholar also underlines the peculiar quotation of the horses and the chariots: “L’augurio di buona salute esteso ai carri può sembrarci un po’ paradossale, ma è indicativo del valore che carro e cavalli avevano nell’ideologia ‘eroica’ dei re dell’epoca” (*ivi*, note 49).

a personal desire of the two kings, and not just as a common practice among ancient courts¹³⁶³. In the same paragraph (Vs. 16-22), Šuppiluliuma also remembers the previous situation of brotherhood and peace, and asks the pharaoh to establish a similar relationship: while Knudtzon, Liverani and Moran just translate the passage as a mutual supporting¹³⁶⁴, Rainey refers the sentence to a possible wedding agreement: [a-qa-bi a-ḥ]u-uz-za-ta i-na bé-e-ri-ni i ni-ip-pu-uš, “May we make a [mar]riage agreement between us” (Vs. 22): this translation is explained by Rainey himself¹³⁶⁵: “Line obv. 22 – [a-qa-bi a-ḥ]u-uz-za-ta; Moran’s [a-qa-bi] was accepted by Rainey. The latter confirms Gordon’s a-ḥu-uz-za-ta, contra Knudtzon’s uš-ša-ta or Moran’s us-sà-ta (MORAN 1992, p. 115 note 5¹³⁶⁶)”. Hoffner supported Gordon’s and Rainey’s transliteration, too¹³⁶⁷: “[a-qab-bi a-ḥu-]uz-za-ta i-na bé-e-ri-ni i ni-ip-pu-uš, ‘Let us establish a [mar]riage bond between us’”, quoting note 230 on p. 388: “So E.I. Gordon and Rainey (personal communication). Moran prefers a shorter restoration [see previous note]”. If this latter translation is correct, basing on the presence of the Akkadian term *aḥuzzatu*¹³⁶⁸, this letter could testify the ongoing arrangements for an interdynastic marriage between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts, far before the “First Marriage” (between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II, ca. 1246/1246 BC), and also before the request of a Hittite prince to be married by the *daḥamunzu* (i.e. Ankhnesenamun, Tutankhamun’s wife)¹³⁶⁹.

After this interesting passage, Šuppiluliuma asks the pharaoh to send him two statues he had previously required, both of gold, one standing and the second sitting: in exchange, Šuppiluliuma sends two female statues made of silver and “big” lapis lazuli¹³⁷⁰, together with their pedestals; lapis lazuli as well as silver were indeed a peculiar Anatolian gift sent to Egypt since the “Annals of Thutmose III” (see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 1).

The following lines reports the request of the Hittite king for some unspecified gifts, that (in case of a pharaoh’s refusal) could have been sent back to Egypt, after the Hittite dispatching of some *ḥuzzi*-linens. After the ensurance that all Ḫuriya’s requests would be fulfilled, Šuppiluliuma sends further gifts:

Category	Hittite	Translation	Quantity
Metals	<i>bi-ib-ru</i> / KÙ.BABBAR UDU.⟨A⟩.LUM	silver <i>rhyton</i> , in the shape of a stag	1 piece = 5 minas
	<i>bi-ib-ru</i> / KÙ.BABBAR UDU.SIR ₄ \ <i>pu-u-ḥi-lu</i>	silver <i>rhyton</i> , in the shape of a steinbock	1 piece = 3 minas

¹³⁶³ For the reason of the gift exchanges, see e.g. LIVERANI 1999, pp. 324-331 and ZACCAGNINI 1973.

¹³⁶⁴ See previous note. A similar translation is also in SCHWEMER 2006a, p. 191: “Wir wollen einander Hilfe leisten”.

¹³⁶⁵ RAINEY Z”L 2015, vol. 2, pp. 1386-1387.

¹³⁶⁶ “22 [a-qab-bi] us-sà-ta (*usātu*): favoring *aqabbi* is the enclitic *-ma*, ‘my brother, too’. Gordon also restored a-ḥu-uz-za-ta, ‘let’s make a marriage between us’, but a break of five signs seems excluded. Whether a proposal of marriage would be made so laconically may also be doubted”.

¹³⁶⁷ HOFFNER 2009, p. 278.

¹³⁶⁸ CAD 1 (A1), p. 217: “*aḥūzatu* (*aḥuzzatu*) s.; 1. marriage gift, 2. a marriage-like relationship of dependency and protection between an unprotected female and the head of a household”.

¹³⁶⁹ If we accept the reference to a possible marriage already during the reign of Akhenaton, it is also likely that the *daḥamunzu* had known this episode that could have been considered as a precedent for the request of a Hittite prince to be married by the Egyptian widow.

¹³⁷⁰ I share here Liverani’s hypothesis of reading of Vs. 28 as “I [Šuppiluliuma] send”: “Divergo dalle interpretazioni precedenti (che pensano a doni dall’Egitto a Hatti): argento e lapis lazuli vanno piuttosto da Hatti all’Egitto che viceversa; il lapis è parte delle statue e non dono a parte; i piedistalli sono quelli delle statue; e credo si debba spostare *a-na* dalla linea 27 alla 28” (LIVERANI 1999, p. 410, note 13). Different translations in HOFFNER 2009, p. 279 (“And [let] my brother [send me]two [silver] statues of women, and a large (amount of) lapis lazuli for their large stand [...]”), Knudtzon 1915, vol. 1, p. 301 (“und 2 Bilder von Weibern [*aus Silbe*]r und einen großen Lasur-Stein und für _ _ _ ihr großes [g]annu [*möge*] mein Bruder [*senden*]”) and MORAN 1992, p. 114 (“And, my brother, [send me] the 2 [silve]r statues of women, and a large piece of lapis lazuli, and a large stand for [...]”). Contrary to what Liverani states, lapis lazuli was also sometimes dispatched from Egypt to Ḫatti, but it seems only as a decoration for golden objects, and not as a raw material itself: see e.g. KUB XXI 38 Vs. 4’ (= CTH 176, Letter of Puduḥepa to Ramses II; *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 35) and KUB XII 1 IV 20’ (= CTH 504, Inventory of Manninni; *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 56). By the way, the following letter (EA 43) clearly confirms the dispatch of lapis lazuli from Ḫatti to Egypt.

	[k]à-ak-kà-ru KÙ.BABBAR	silver ingots	2 pieces = 10 minas
Plants	^{GIŠ} ni-kip-tu ₄ ra-a-bu-ti	big <i>nikiptu</i> ¹³⁷¹	2 pieces

Among these gifts, a particular importance can be underlined in the mention of the silver, zoomorphic *rhyta*, a very common gift sent from Anatolia to Egypt, as attested both in Egyptian (see *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text no. 1) and Hittite sources (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, texts nos 27.c, 32.b, 33.d and 41.b). This letter and the following EA 42 and 43 can be considered as the first dispatches directly exchanged between the Egyptian and the Hittite court: in effect, the only other extant letter sent by Šuppiluliuma to a pharaoh is CTH 154 (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 18), probably addressed to Ay and thus, in a slightly later time. At the end of the tablet some traces of black ink reporting a hieratic inscription and a enetched sign are preserved: unfortunately, no pictures or transliterations are available (as far as I know).

¹³⁷¹ LIVERANI 1999, p. 411, note 14: “È una pianta oleosa, di impiego medicinale; cf. CAD N/2, p. 222”.

**4. EA 42 (Liverani¹³⁷², LA 303) = CTH 187 = VS XI 16 (cf. WA 16), VAT 1655:
Šuppiluliuma (?) to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Battered letter concerning complaints for the unpolite sequence used by the pharaoh for the names of the sender and of the addressee”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 362-363:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [um-ma ^dUTU-ši ¹Šu-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL GAL]
 02) [šàr KUR URU *Ha-at-ti*^{KI} a-na ¹Hu-u-ri-i-ia]
 03) [šàr KUR URU *Mi-iš-ri-i*^{KI} ŠEŠ-ia qí-bi-ma]
 [—————]
 04) [a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na maḥ-ri ŠEŠ-ia]
 05) lu-ú' 'šul'-mu' 'a'-na' D[AM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka]
 06) LÚ.MEŠ GAL-ka a-na ÉRIN[.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA-ka]
 07) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-n[a lib'-bi KUR-ka dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu]
 [—————]
 08) ŠEŠ-ia ki-a-am ši-mé[.....]
 09) a-ba a-bi-ni iš-tu K[UR.....]
 10) [šum-]ma iš-tu KUR URU Hu[r-ri]
 11) [šum-ma] 'iš'-tu KUR-tì [.....]
 12) i-la-k[am[.....]
 13) a-na pá-ni [.....]'ša'[.....]
 14) li-iš-al-ma
 [—————]
 15) ù i-na-an-na ṭup-pá-ka ša [ta-aš-pu-ra-a]
 16) šum-ka e-li šum-ia am-mi-ni' [tù-ra-ab-bi]
 17) ù ma-an-nu ša ba-a-na-a-ti [i-na bé-ri-ni]
 18) uš-'bal'-kat-ma pár-šú ki-na-an[-na-ma]
 19) ŠEŠ-ia aš-šum-ma sú-lum-me-e [i-na bé-ri-ni]
 20) ta-aš-pu-u-ra-a ù šum-ma [ki-na-an-na-ma šum-ka]
 21) am-mi-ni, tù-ra-ab-bi ù a-[na-ku ki-ma]
 22) [n]a-pu-ul-tì ki-a-am ḥa-as[-sa-ku šu-mi ša]
 23) [tu]p-šar ¹Ru-mi-in-'ta'(?)[.....]
 24) [aš]-ṭur ù šum-ka [.....]
 25) [a-pá-a]š-ši-iṭ ù [.....]
 26) [.....]na la-a la[.....]
 [—]—[—————]

Rev.

- 27) [um-ma]-a LÚ ṭup-šar 'ša' [.....]
 28) [ki-a]-ma la-a ti-iz-z[i-iz-ma]
 [—]—[—————]

Translation

(1–3) [Thus (says) the Sun, Suppiluliuma, the great king, the king of the land of **Hatti**; speak to Huria(?), king of the land of Egypt, my brother] []

(4–7) [It is well with me; with my brother] may it be well. [With your wives, your children,] your senior officials, with [your] troop[s, your horses], your chariotry and wi[thin your land may it be very well.]

(8–14) My brother, thus hear [...] the father of our father from the l[and of ... I]f from the land of Hur[ri ... If] from the land of [...] he shall com[e ...] before the presence of [...] that [...] may he inquire.

¹³⁷² LIVERANI 1999, p. 411 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, pp. 381-382 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 302-305 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 115-116 (translation).

(15–18) And now, as for your tablet that [you sent to me], why did [you magnify] your name over my name? And who nullified the good relations [between us]? Is the correct practice thu[s]?

(19–22) My brother, was it concerning peace [between us] that you wrote? And if [so, your name,] why did you exalt? And I] am consid[ered thus like] a corpse?

(22–26) [The name of] the scribe is Ruminta [... . I have] written and your name [... I will blo]t out¹³⁷³ [...] no [...].

(27–28) [Thu]s (says) the scribe of [... . Th]us do not stan[d]

This document testifies the possibility that some struggles and misunderstandings could occur between Egyptian and Hittite kings: in this case, Šuppiluliuma reproaches the pharaoh (probably Amenhotep IV), for having not respected the almost codified “rules” of the international correspondence about the disposition of the names of the sender and of the addressee within the incipit of this letter. As it is known, according to the Near Eastern schema, the usual order placed the name of the addressee before the name of the sender, despite any consideration of the rank of the person involved¹³⁷⁴; however, the Egyptian monarch sometimes used to place his name before any other, as a demonstration of the major importance of his person (or, maybe, just because this was the common order in the internal Egyptian correspondence). However, such a shame could be threaten the good relations between the two kings, as it is clearly stated in Vs. 15-18, where Šuppiluliuma also remember the pharaoh to behave according to the “correct practice” (*uš-ṛ bal-ṛ-kat-ma pá-r-šú ki-na-an[-na-ma]*; Vs. 18).

The Hittite king continues the reproach, underlining how the Egyptian king had considered himself too much important, describing on the contrary Šuppiluliuma as “a corpse”, *ki-a-am ḥa-as[-sa-ku]* (Vs. 22), an effective expression, indeed. The previous passage in Vs. 8-14 is of difficult interpretation: however, it seems to deal with something/someone coming from the Hurrian land.

The last part of the letter quotes the name of the scribe Ruminta, probably as a way to guarantee the truthfulness of the content (or, at least, as an attestation of authorship).

¹³⁷³ Likewise, LIVERANI 1999, p. 411: “io scriverò, e il tuo nome [...] scancellerò”.

¹³⁷⁴ See e.g. LIVERANI 1999, pp. 335-337.

**5. EA 43 (Liverani¹³⁷⁵, LA 304) = CTH 187, Ashmolean Museum 1207:
Šuppiluliuma to Amenhotep IV (in Akkadian).**

“Battered letter concerning the murder [of Tušratta (?)] and the ‘protection’ accorded by the Hittite king to the firstborn heir; exchange of gifts”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 364-367:

Transliteration

About three lines missing

Obv.

- 01) [...a-n]a-ku a-na UGU[...]
 02) [...t]i? an-ni-ta₅ DUMU[-šu GAL?]
 03) [...ip-]ᵀ puᵀ-ša-aš-šu i-na [...]
 04) [...] LÚ.MEŠ ša-ab-ru-ti
 05) [...] an-ni-ta₅ ša it-ti-šu
 06) [...] du-šu ù i-du-ku-šu
 07) [...] i-de a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ

-
- 08) [...]ᵀ ti₇ᵀ-di-i ki-i a-bu-šu
 09) [...]ᵀ ipᵀ-pu-uš ki-i ᵀ aᵀ-ᵀ buᵀ-ᵀ šu
 10) [...] itᵀ-taᵀ-ᵀ alᵀ-la-ak
 11) [...]a-na-aš-ša-ar-ᵀ šuᵀ-nu-ma
 12) [...gáb-]bá-šu-nu ù DUMU-šu GAL
 13) [...]ti ša a-bi-šu
 14) [...]dam-qí-iš ki-i ᵀ ipᵀ-pu-ša-aš-šu
 15) [...]la-a ti₇-di-i
 16) [...] at-ta la-a ti₇-[di-i]
 17) [...]ma ma-am-ma la-a [...]
 18) [...] ù ᵀ šuᵀ-ᵀ úᵀ [...]
 19) [...] traces? [...]

Lo.ed. Uninscribed

Rev.

- 20) [...] traces [...]
 21) [...] traces ᵀ liᵀ [...]
 22) [...]
 23) [...]ᵀ maᵀ?-ᵀ aᵀ L[UGAL?...]
 24) [...Ḫ]I.A ba-n[a...]
 25) [...] bal i-n[a...]
 26) [...x ᵀ anᵀ-nu-ᵀ timᵀ [...]
 27) [...]NA₄ ZA.GÌN i-n[a...]
 28) [...NA₄ Z]A.GÌN GAL SIG₅ I[i...]
 30) [...] a-na- ᵀ kuᵀ?
 31) [...] šu [...]

-
- 32) [a-nu-um-ma a-na šu-]ul-m[a-ni-ka...]
 33) [] traces
 34) [...]
 35) [] traces

Translation¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁷⁵ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 411-412 (translation); cf. ARTZI 1993, pp. 8-9; KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 304-307 (transliteration and translation); MOOREY 1969, p. 43 (photo: erroneously identified with a letter from Byblos); MORAN 1992, p. 116 (just a brief comment); NA'AMAN 1995, p. 117-118; SAYCE 1894, pl. XXXI (photo).

¹³⁷⁶ LIVERANI 1999, p. 412 offers a wider translation of the text, based on the integrations proposed in ARTZI 1993 and NA'AMAN 1995; therefore, I report here also Liverani's translation: “[... ..] Io ti ho [scritto riguardo a] questo [delit]to.

About three lines missing

(1–7) [...] 'T' to [...] this [... his elder?] son [... he] did to him in [...] malicious men [...] this which is with him
[...] they ... him and they slew him [...] I know in the presence of the gods.

(8–19) [...] you know that his father [...] did as his father (had done) [...] he was going out [...] I will protect
them [... a]ll of them and his elder son [...] of his father [...] it is well that he is doing to him [...] you do not
know [...] you do not know [...] anything [...] not [...] and he [...]

Rev.

20) [...] *traces* [...]

21) [...] *traces* ... [...]

22) [.....]

23) [...] ... k[ing? ...]

24) [...] ... nic[e ...]

25) [...]x i[n ...]

26) [...]x these [...]

27) [...] *lapis lazuli* i[n ...]

28) [... *la*] *piz lazuli* large and attractive [...]

29) [... that] my brother desires

30) [...] 'T'?

31) [...] he [...]

32) [Now for your] greeting [gift ...]

33) [] *traces*

34) [.....]

35) [] *traces*

EA 43 reports an international event that transcends the pure Egypto-Hittite contacts, even if it influences the relations between the most powerful entities of that time (i.e., Egypt, Ḫatti and Mittani). In fact, Šuppiluliuma informs the pharaoh of the murder of the Mittanian king Tušratta, killed by the hand of his son Šattiwaza (probably with the support of king Artatama II)¹³⁷⁷. Despite his crime, the Hittite king also affirms that he would protect Tušratta's elder son, Šattiwaza, who is better known from the two treaties stipulated between him and Šuppiluliuma (CTH 51 and 52¹³⁷⁸).

The letter ends with the promise of the dispatch of lapis lazuli, required by the pharaoh to the Hittite king¹³⁷⁹.

Il figlio [di Tushratta ha com]messo [un delitto] contro di lui. [Ha cospirato] alle spal[le del re, ha riunito] persone cattive, 5 e questa [banda (?) che ha cospirato] con lui lo ha preso e lo ha ucciso. [Tale delitto] sia conosciuto al cospetto degli dèi! | [Tu devi] sapere che suo padre aveva stabilito [fratellanza con me]. Poiché (ora) suo padre 10 è andato [al suo destino], io proteggo [suo figlio] per loro [...]. Il suo figlio maggiore, [a motivo della fratel]lanza con suo padre, [io lo tratto] benevolmente. Come io lo tratti [benevolmente] 15 tu non sai [...] tu non sai [...] nessuno sa [... ... 20 25] di lapislazzuli [... ...] di lapislazzuli grande e bello [... ...] ciò che mio fratello desidera 30 [...] io glie[lo farò portare.] | [Ecco, come] do[no per te]”.

¹³⁷⁷ For the historical reconstruction of these events, see ARTZI 1993; cf. LIVERANI 1993, p. 347 and NA'AMAN 1995.

¹³⁷⁸ BECKMAN 1999², pp. 38-49.

¹³⁷⁹ This letter is clear in stating that lapis lazuli are sent by Ḫatti to Egypt, as already stressed by Liverani (see previous text).

6. EA 44 (Liverani¹³⁸⁰, LA 305) = CTH 187 = VS XI 16 (cf. WA 29), VAT 1656:

Zita to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Proposal of exchange of messengers and gifts. Cordial letter, despite of the well-known Egypto-Hittite political tensions”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 368-369:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na be-lí šàr KUR [UR]U Mi-iš-ri-^ˁi^ˁ*
02) *a-bi-ia qí-bí-^ˁma^ˁ*
03) *um-ma ^ˁZi-^ˁi-^ˁdan^ˁ DUMU LUGAL*
04) *DUMU-ka-ma*

- 05) *a-na ma-ḥar be-lí a-bi-ia*
06) *gáb-ba lu-ú šul-mu*

- 07) *i-na maḥ-ri-i KASKAL a-i-ú-tì*
08) *DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ka a-na KUR URU Ḥa-at-ti*
09) *it-tal-ku ù ki-i-me-e a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
10) *it-it-as-ḥa-ru ù a-na-ku-ma*
11) *a-na ak-ka-a-ša a-bi-ia*
12) *^ˁšul^ˁ-ma-na aš-pur ù šu-bi-il₅-ta*
13) *[a-n]a muḥ-ḥi-ka ul-te-^ˁbíl^ˁ*

- 14) *[..... DUMU.]MEŠ KIN-ka*
15) *[.....e]l*
16) *[.....]aš-p[ur](?)*

Lo.ed.

- 17) *[.....]*

Rev.

- 18) *[.....]^ˁa^ˁ-^ˁnu^ˁ-um-ma DUMU.MEŠ KIN-^ˁka^ˁ*
19) *[iš-tu KU]R URU Ḥa-at-ti a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
20) *[ú-ka-ši-is-]sú-nu-ti ù a-na-ku-ma*
21) *[i]t-ti DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ka at-tu-ia DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ia*
22) *a-na muḥ-ḥi a-bi-ia aš-pur-šu-nu-ti*
23) *ù šu-^ˁbi-^ˁil₅-ta 16 LÚ.MEŠ*
24) *a-na šul-ma-ni-ka ul-te-bíl-ak-ku*

- 25) *ù a-^ˁna^ˁ-ku [KÛ.]GI ^ˁḥa^ˁ-aš-ḥa-ku*
26) *ù a-bu-[i]a KÛ.GI šu-bi-la*
27) *ù mi-nu-um-me-e be-lí a-bi-ia*
28) *ḥa-aš-ḥa-tá šu-up-ra-ma ú-^ˁše^ˁ-bíl-ak-ku*

Translation

(1–4) Speak to the lord, king of the land of the [ci]ty of Egypt, my father; thus Zidan, the son of the king, your son¹³⁸¹.

¹³⁸⁰ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 412-413 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 307-309 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 117 (translation).

¹³⁸¹ About this sentence, where Zita defines himself as “son” of the pharaoh, see LIVERANI 1999, p. 412, note 20, with further bibliography; cf. also MORAN 1992, p. 117, note 1: “If the title ‘father’ implies difference of age, Amenophis III would be the addressee of this letter (KÜHNE 1973, p. 102, note 508). The writer seems not to have been in the Hittite capital at the time of writing, but his scribe was either trained there or under its influence (cf. forms of AK, AZ, and, to some extent, NI)”.

(5–6) May all be well with the lord, my father.

(7–13) With a previous caravan of any of your envoys, they came to the land of the city of **Hatti**, and when they returned to you, then it was I who sent a greeting gift to you, my father, and I had a shipment sent to you.

(14–17)[.....] your [ambass]adors [.....] I sent(?) [.....]

(18–24) [.....] Now, as for your envoys, [I am expediting] them on their way [from the la]nd of the city of **Hatti** to you and it is I who am sending [w]ith your own envoys, my envoys and a shipment of sixteen men have I had brought to you as a greeting gift.

(25–28) And I desire [go]ld, so, my father, send gold and whatever my lord, my father, you desire, write to me and I will have it brought to you.

This letter was sent by Zita¹³⁸², the brother of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and one of the main general who attacked the Egyptian territories in Syria (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 1, about the Amka struggle, and texts nos 52.c, 53 and 57.a, about the events following the military intervention).

After the greetings and the wishes for the well-being of the pharaoh, Zita remembers how he had always sent his regards to the Egyptian kings through his messengers.

In the end of the letter, the Hittite prince quotes the dispatching of 16 men (probably Kaška), asking in exchange to send him gold, in a quite peremptory manner: *ù a-^ˈna^ˈ-ku [KÚ.]GI ^ˈha^ˈ-aš-^ˈha-ku / ù a-bu-[i]a KÚ.GI šu-bi-la*, “And I desire [go]ld, so, my father, send gold” (Vs. 25-26).

¹³⁸² The name has been recognized by GOETZE 1924c, p. 350. For this person, see LAROCHE 1966, p. 211, no. 1552; cf. *id.* 1994, p. 51, same number.

1.3.1.2: THE EA LETTERS QUOTING THE HITTITES

In this second part of the section, I present other EA letters, not directly exchanged between the pharaonic and Hittite courts, but sent to/by the pharaoh by/to other kings: in fact, these letters often provide useful information about the Egypto-Hittite relationships and mostly about the perspective that the Egyptian king had on his Hittite counterpart. For the following documents, I do not offer a complete commentary (for which I refer to the bibliography quoted in the notes): I just limit myself in pointing out the passages of the letters that offer information about the Hittite land, underlining some remarks.

1. EA 17 (Liverani¹³⁸³, LA 289) = CTH 188 = BB 9, BM 29792: Tušratta to Amenhotep III (in Akkadian).

“The Mittanian king announces his enthronement (after a civil war), sends gift (taken after a victory upon the Hittites) and asks the alliance to be renovated”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 134-137:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na* ¹*Ni-ib-mu-a-re-ia* L[UGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i*]
 - 02) *ŠEŠ-ia qí-b*[*í-ma*]
 - 03) *um-ma* ¹*Tu-iš-e-rat-ta* LUGAL KUR [*Mi-]**it-ta-^ˁan^ˁ-[n]**i*
 - 04) *ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na ia-ši* ^ˁ*šul^ˁmu*
 - 05) *a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na* ^{MUNUS}*Kè-lu-ḫé-bá*
 - 06) *a-ḫa-ti-ia lu-ú šul-mu a-na* ^É*ka*
 - 07) *a-na* DAM.MEŠ-*ka a-na* DUMU.MEŠ-*ka a-na* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*ka*
 - 08) *a-na* ERÍN.MEŠ *ḫu-ra-dì-ka a-na* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ka*
 - 09) *a-na* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ka* *ù a-na lib-bi* KUR-*ka*
 - 10) *dá-an-ni-iš lu-ú šul-mu*
-
- 11) *iš-tu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA *ša a-bi-ia ú-ši-bu*
 - 12) *ù še-eḫ-re-ku* *ù* ¹*Pir-ḫi a-ma-ta*
 - 13) *la bá-ni-ta a-na* KUR-*ti-ia i-te-pu-uš-ma*
 - 14) *ù be-el-šu id-du-uk* *ù aš-šum an-ni-tì*
 - 15) *ia-ši it-ti* *ša i-ra-^ˁa-ma-an-ni-ni ṭa-bu-ú-ta*
 - 16) *la ú-ma-aš-ša-ra-an-ni* *ù a-na-ku ap-pu-na-ma*
 - 17) *aš-šum a-ma-a-ti an-na-tì la bá-na-a-tì*
 - 18) *ša i-na* KUR-*ti-ia in-né-ep-šu ul em-te-ki*
 - 19) *ù* LÚ.MEŠ *dá-i-ka₄-ni-^ˁšu^ˁ* *ša* ¹*Ar-ta-aš-^ˁšu^ˁ-ma-ra*
 - 20) *ŠEŠ-ia qa-du mi-im-^ˁmu^ˁ-š^ˁu-nu ad-du-uk-š^ˁu-nu-ti*
-
- 21) *ki-i at-ta it-ti a-bi-ia ṭa-ba-a-ta*
 - 22) *ù aš-šum an-ni-tì al-ta-pár-ma aq-ta-ba-ak-ku*
 - 23) *ki-me-e* *ŠEŠ-ia i-še-em-me-š^ˁu-nu-ma*
 - 24) *ù i-ḫa-ad-du a-bu-ia i-ra-^ˁa-am-ka*
 - 25) *ù at-ta ap-pu-na-ma a-bu-ia*
 - 26) *ta-ra-^ˁa-am-š^ˁu* *ù a-bu-ia*
 - 27) ^ˁ*ki^ˁ-^ˁi^ˁ ra-a-mi a-ḫa-a-ti a-na ka-a-^ˁša^ˁ*
 - 28) [*it*]-*ta-na-^ˁak^ˁ-ku^ˁ ^ˁù^ˁ ^ˁma^ˁ-^ˁan^ˁ-nu-um-ma* *ša-n*[*u-ú*]
 - 29) [*ša k*]*i^ˁ-^ˁi^ˁ ka-a-ša it-^ˁti^ˁ a-bi-ia*

¹³⁸³ LIVERANI 1999, pp. 366-367 (translation); cf. ADLER 1976, pp. 122-125 (transliteration and translation); DIETRICH – LORETZ 1969, pp. 517-519 (translation); GILES 1972, pl. XI (photo of the Rs.); KITCHEN 1966, p. 260, figs 2-3 (photos); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 130-135 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 41-42 (translation).

Lo.ed.

- 30) [i-n]a TI-ma ap-pu-na-ma ša ŠEŠ-^ria^r
31) [k]i-^ri^r it-tù-ú-^rra^r?-^ram^r? **KUR** **Ḫa-at-ti**

Rev.

- 32) gáb-bá-am-ma ki-i LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ a-na KUR-ti-i[a]
33) it-ta-al-ka ^dIŠKUR be-li a-na qa-ti-ia
34) id-din-šu-ma ù ad-du-uk-šu
35) iš-tu lib-bi-šu-^rnu^r ša i-na KUR-ti-šu ša i-tù-ru ^ri^ra-nu

-
- 36) a-nu-um-ma 1 GIŠ.GIGIR 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
37) 1 ^{LÚ}šú-ḫa-ru 1 ^{MUNUS}šú-ḫa-ar-tu₄
38) ša ḫu-ub-ti ša **KUR** **Ḫa-at-ti** ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

-
- 39) a-na šul-ma-ni ša ŠEŠ-ia 5 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
40) 5 ši-mi-it-tu₄ ANŠE.KU.RA.MEŠ ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

-
- 41) ù a-na šul-ma-ni ša ^{MUNUS}Kè-lu-ḫé-bá
42) a-ḫa-ti-ia 1-nu-tu₄ dú-dì-na-tu₄ KÙ.GI
43) 1-nu-tu₄ an-ša-ba-tu₄ KÙ.GI 1 ma-áš-ḫu KÙ.GI
44) ù 1 ^{NA4}ta-pá-tu₄ ša Ì.DUG.GA ma-lu-ù
45) ul-te-bi-la-aš-ši

-
- 46) a-nu-um-ma ¹Kè-li-ia LÚ SUKKAL-li
47) ù ¹Tu₄-ni-ip-ib-ri al-ta-pár-šu-nu ŠEŠ-ia ḫa-mu-ut-ta
48) li-me-eš-šèr-šu-nu-ma ṭe₄-e-ma ḫa-mu-ut-ta
49) li-te-ru-ni-im-ma ki-me-e šul-ma-an-šu
50) ša ŠEŠ-ia e-še-em-me-ma ù a-ḫa-ad-du

-
- 51) ŠEŠ-ia ṭa-bu-ú-ta it-ti-ia li-bé-^ri-i
52) ù ŠEŠ-ia DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-šu li-iš-^rpu^r-ra-am-ma
53) ki-me-e šul-ma-an-šu ša ŠEŠ-ia
54) i-li-ik-ku-ni-im-ma ù e-še-em-me

Translation

(1–10) To Nibmu^rareya, k[ing of the land of Egypt], my brother, speak: Thus (says) Tuisheratta, king of the land of [Mi]ttan[n]i, your brother. It is well with me. May it be well with you. May it be well with Kelu-Ḫeba, my sister. With your house, with your wives, with your sons, with your senior officials, with your infantry, with your horses, with your chariotry, and within your land, may it be very well.

(11–20) When I sat on the throne of my father, and I was young, then Pirḫi did some unseemly deeds in my land and slew his lord. And because of this he was not permitting me friendship with anyone who loved me. But I, moreover, because of these unseemly things that were done in my land, was not remiss and as for the people who murdered Artashumara, my brother, with all that belonged to them, I slew them.

(21–29) Inasmuch as you were friendly with my father, then because of that I have written and I have spoken to you so that my brother may hear of these things and so that he may rejoice. My father loved you and you, moreover, as for my father, you loved him and my father, because of (that) love, [g]ave to you my sister. And who else was with my father like you?

(30–35) [Du]ring the life, moreover, of my brother, when it returned, when the land of **Ḫatti** in its entirety came as enemies against my land; Teshub, my lord, gave it into my hand and I slew it. Among them there was none that returned to their land.

(36–38) Now, one chariot, two horses, one lad and one maiden from the spoil of the land of **Ḫatti** have I sent to you.

(39–40) For my brother’s greeting gift five chariots, (and) five teams of horses, have I sent to you.

(41–45) And for the greeting gift of Kelu-Ḫeba, my sister, one set of gold toggle pins, one set of gold earrings, one gold *mašḫu* ring, and one stone scent container that is full of sweet oil, have I sent to her.

(46–50) Now, as for Kelia, my chief minister, and Tunip-iwri, I have sent them. May my brother let them go quickly that they may bring back a report to me so that I may hear of the welfare of my brother and rejoice.

(51–54) May my brother seek friendship with me, and may my brother send his messengers to me so that the greeting of my brother may come to me and I may hear.

After a first part in which Tušratta presents his greetings to Amenhotep III and his wife Kelu-Ḫeba (a Mittanian princess married by the pharaoh), the Mittanian king informs the pharaoh about a war fought between him and the Hittites. Tušratta states to have won that war, submitting all the northern Syria, thanks to the help of the god Teššub.

The most informative section of this letter, for what concerns the Hittites, is Vs. 36-45, where the Mittanian king describes some gifts sent to the pharaoh, coming from the booty kept from the Hittites during that war: it is noteworthy to know that some Hittite objects reached Egypt not only as gifts sent directly by the Hittites, but also in other ways. This the list of the gifts, send through the Mittanian messengers Keliya and Tunip-ibri:

<i>Senders and addressees</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Tušratta to Amenhotep III	GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ	Chariots	6 pieces
	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	Horses	2 pieces
	LÚ ^{LÚ} šú-ḫa-ru	Lad	1 person
	MUNUS ^{MUNUS} šú-ḫa-ar-tu ₄	Maid	1 person
	ši-mi-it-tu ₄ ANŠE.KU.RA.MEŠ	Teams of horses	5 pairs
Tušratta to Kelu-Ḫeba	1-nu-tu ₄ dú-dì-na-tu ₄ KÙ.GI	Toggle pins of gold	1 set
	1-nu-tu ₄ an-ša-ba-tu ₄ KÙ.GI	Gold earrings	1 set ¹³⁸⁴
	ma-áš-ḫu KÙ.GI	Gold ring(?)/amulet(?) ¹³⁸⁵ <i>mašḫu</i>	1 piece
	^{NA4} ta-pá-tu ₄ ša Ì.DUG.GA ma-lu-ù	Stone scent container, full of sweet oil	1 piece

The gifts here listed deserve some further notes:

1) LÚ^{LÚ}šú-ḫa-ru and MUNUS^{MUNUS}šú-ḫa-ar-tu₄ refer both to a respectively male and female servant¹³⁸⁶, probably former prisoners of war, maybe Kaška;

2) the two sets of jewellery and the ring(?) are described as made of gold: in this case, the material quoted lacks the specification “fine” (SIG₅), widely attested in the later ÄHK to qualify the material of many artefacts;

3) the golden ring(?) presented with the term *mašḫu*, a substantive used in the EA, in texts from Alalaḫ and Qatna referring to a piece of jewellery¹³⁸⁷; it is noteworthy that the term is not attested in texts from Ḫattuša: thus, it is possible that it refers to a typical Syrian objects, described as a Hittite spoil, but not an actual, typical Hittite artefact¹³⁸⁸;

¹³⁸⁴ MORAN 1992, p. 42, note 8: “The exact implications of ‘set’ (pair?) are not clear; see Farber 1987, pp. 97-98”.

¹³⁸⁵ According to Liverani, it could be an amulet and not a ring: for a discussion about this term, see following notes.

¹³⁸⁶ CAD 16 (Š), pp. 229-235; cf. BLACK – POSTGATE – GEORGE 2000², p. 340.

¹³⁸⁷ CAD 10 (M1), p. 365a.

¹³⁸⁸ For the term, translated by Liverani as “amuleto d’oro”, see LIVERANI 1999, p. 367, note 6: “*mašḫu*, cf. BALKAN 1954, p. 165 (in base all’equivalenza lessicale *ma-áš-hu = i-lu kaš-šu-ù*); ADLER 1976, p. 302”. MORAN 1992, p. 42, note 9: “According to Adler, *mašḫu* is a Kassite loanword, ‘god’, here a representation of a god. However, the restriction of

4) the last object quoted in the list is a stone vessel containing sweet oil: it is important to recall that a typical Hittite oil (called *qḏwr*) is quoted in papAnast. IV (see *supra*, section 1.1, text no. 11), showing how this Hittite good was probably quite appreciated at the Egyptian court.

the term to a Hurrian milieu (Mittanni, Alalakh, Qatna) argues against such a derivation”. For a possible connection of this term with the Kassite word for “god”, see CAD 10 (M1), p. 365b.

**2. EA 24 (Liverani¹³⁸⁹, LA 294) = CTH 187 = VS XII 200 (cf. WA 27), VAT 422:
Tušratta to Amenhotep III (in Hurrian, after an Akkadian preamble).**

“The friendship between Egypt and Mittani are reaffirmed, after the positive conclusion of the marriage arrangements”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 134-137 (because of the length of the letter, I report just the first paragraphs, where the Hittites are quoted; see pp. 188-189, §§ 1-2):

Transliteration and translation by G. Wilhelm:

§1

Obv. I

- 1) [a-na¹Ni-im-]m[u]-u-ri-[ia.....]
- 2) [ḥa-ta-ni-i]a [.....]
- 3) [.....]
- 4) [.....a-na i]a-ši šul-[m]u
- 5) [.....] š[u]l-m[u a-na ḥa]-ta-n[i-i]a a-na DAM.MEŠ[-k]a
- 6) [...-k]a [a-na] LÚ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ[-k]a [a-na] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka
- 7) [a-na ÉRIN.MEŠ-k]a a-na KUR -ka ù a-na [mim]-mu-ka dan-niš lu-ú
šul-mu

§2

- 8) [a-ti-i-ni-i]-¹in¹ ma-a-an-na-al¹-[la-m]a-an at¹-ta-a¹-ar-ti-íw-wa-aš^{MEŠ}
- 9) [šu²-u²-we²-na²-m]a¹-a-an¹ še¹-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e¹-[na-a-a]n ta-a-du¹-ka¹¹-
a-ru-ši-il-la-a-an
- 10) [..(.)] šu-ú-¹al¹-la-ma-an ka¹[...]x-ša KUR ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-né-e-en
- 11) [KUR u-u-mi-i-in]-n[é-e]-en K[UR] ḥa¹-a[d-d]u-u-ḥé-[m]a-a-an ḥurwu-
u-ḥé¹-né¹-e-we-na¹
- 12) [KUR u-u-mi-i-in-né-e-we-na] ḥé²-ri-(-.)[i]n ma¹-a-an-ni
- 13) [.....]-*¹an¹ te-a²-a²-al¹*(over erasure)-la-a-an i-nu-<ú->me-e-
ni-i-in
- 14) [.....KUR ḥa-ad-d]u-u-ḥé¹-ma¹-a¹-an KUR ḥur-ru-u-ḥé-né-e-wa
- 15) [ew-re-en²-né-e-wa.....] ma-x du-ru-bi-i-in-ni

§1

Obv.

(I, 1–7) [Say to Nim]murey[a, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law], wh[om I love (and) who loves me: Thus (speaks) Tu]šra[tt]a, the ki[ng] of the land of Mittani, your father-in-law, who loves you, your brother]. All goes well with me. [May all] go we[ll with you]. For m[y son-in-law, your wives, [your children, your] senior officials, your [hor]ses, your chariotry, yo[ur troops], your land and your [pos]sessions, may all be very well.

§2

(8–15) Truly, our forefathers, [those of mine(?) an]d those of my brother, were in friendly relations. [...] all ... from(?) the land of Egypt. The **Hittites** are the *heri*(?) of the Ḫurrian [land ...] ... they are numerous(?). Like [...] The **Hittite** is(!?) the enemy of the Ḫurrian [king].

This very long letter (about 500 lines) is the only one composed in Hurrian language and was probably sent on the occasion of an interdynastic marriage between Amenhotep III and Tušratta's daughter Tadu-Ḫepa¹³⁹⁰. The reason for sending a letter in Hurrian is tentatively explained by Liverani:

¹³⁸⁹ Giorgieri in LIVERANI 1999, pp. 375-391 (translation); cf. FRIEDRICH 1932, pp. 8-32 (just introduction and comment); Wilhelm *apud* MORAN 1992, pp. 63-71 (where unfortunately the translation of §2 lacks).

¹³⁹⁰ KÜHNE 1973, p. 33; PINTORE 1978, p. 19; HAAS – WEGNER 1997, pp. 337-338.

“Sul fatto che la lettera fosse redatta in hurrico e non in accadico si può però solo speculare: essa era forse una copia privata in possesso di Tadu-Heba, di cui probabilmente esisteva una copia ufficiale in accadico andata perduta”¹³⁹¹.

This alleged explanation (despite its speculative nature) is noteworthy, because we can imagine that also the Hittite princesses who were later married by Ramses II could have detained similar documents, probably with the purpose of legitimate their status as Egyptian queens.

The document, after the greetings and the reaffirming of good relationships, reports the wishes that such contacts would continue, thanks to the diplomatic ability of the messenger Mane, who is praised in the letter.

Then, Tušratta announces the arrival of the Hurrian princess in Egypt and describes her sumptuous dowry, complaining for the inequality of the Egyptian contra-dowry: the Mittanian king asks Ramses to send him much more gold.

The letter ends listing some gifts, including a golden statue of the princess, confirming the mutual military support and asking for a quick sending back of the messengers. The mention of the Hittites is included in §2: Tušratta recalls the good relationship previously established between Egypt and Mittani; after that, the Hurrian king informs the pharaoh about recent hostilities that arose between Ḫatti and the Ḫurri land: unfortunately, the passage is very fragmentary, but a better reconstruction of the content of the message can be achieved by comparing the present letter with EA 17, Vs. 30-35 (see previous text), where a struggle is described, concluding with the Mittanian victory, decreed by the god Tešsub himself.

¹³⁹¹ LIVERANI 1999, p. 375, note 27; cf. PINTORE 1978, p. 19.

3. EA 35 (Liverani¹³⁹², LA 308) = CTH 188 = BB 5 (cf. WA 25), BM 29788:

The king of Alašiya to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“On the occasion of a request of copper, the Cypriot king replies with an excusation (the plague) to revive the negotiation and obtain an adequate payment and the solving of previous troubles”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 340-343:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na š]àr-ri KUR Mi-iš-ri ŠEŠ-ia qí[-bí-ma]
02) [um-ma] LUGAL KUR A-la-ši-ia ŠEŠ-ka-ma
03) [a-na] UGU-ia šul-mu É.MEŠ-ia DAM.⟨MEŠ⟩-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia
04) [LÚ].GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù i-na
05) ʿlibʿ-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu ù a-na UGU ŠEŠ-ia

- 06) lu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka LÚ.GAL.GAL-ka
07) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-na lib-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka
08) dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu a-ḫi a-nu-ma LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ia it-ti
09) LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ka a-na UGU-ka al-ta-pár i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri

- (10) e-nu-ma a-na UGU-ka 5 me-at URUDU ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku
(11) a-na šu-ul-ma-ni ša ŠEŠ-ia ul-ʿteʿ-bi-la-ak-ku
(12) a-ḫi ki-i ʿšeʿ-ḫé-er URUDU i-na lib-bi-ka la-a i-ʿšaʿ-ki-in
(13) šum-ma i-na KUR-ia ŠU-ti ʿMAŠ.MAŠ EN-li-ia gáb-ba
(14) LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR-ia i-du-uk ù e-pí-ʿišʿ URUDU ia-ʿnuʿ
(15) ù ŠEŠ-ia i-na lib-bi-ka la-a ⟨i⟩-ša-ki-in

- (16) LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ka it-ti LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ia ar-ḫi-iš
(17) uš-še-er ù mi-nu-um-me URUDU ša te-ri-iš-šu
(18) ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

- (19) a-ḫi at-ta a-na ia-ši • KÙ.BABBAR ma-a-ad • dan-niš
(20) ul-te-bi-la-an-ni ŠEŠ-ia KÙ.BABBAR DINGIR.MEŠ i-din-an-ni
(21) a-na-ku ù a-na UGU ša ŠEŠ-ia mi-nu-um-me-e
(22) ša te-ri-iš-šu ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ʿakʿ-ku

- (23) ša-ni-tam a-ḫi GU₄ ša te-ri-iš-šu LÚ.DUMU.KIN-iʿaʿ
(24) ù i-din-an-ni ŠEŠ-ia ù Ì.MEŠ ša DUG.GA ŠEŠ-ia
(25) 2 DUG ku-ku-bu uš-še-er-an-ni ŠEŠ-ia
(26) ù 1 LÚ.MEŠ ša-i-li Á.MUŠEN.MEŠ uš-še-ra-an-ni

- (27) ša-ni-tam ŠEŠ-ia LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR-ia it-ti-ʿiʿ[*a*]
(28) i-dáb-bu-bu GIŠ.MEŠ-ia ša LUGAL KUR Mi-i[š-ri]
(29) ʿiʿ-le-qú-ni ù ŠEŠ-ia ŠÂM.MEŠ ši-[*mi i-din*]

Rev.

- 30) ša-ni-tam ki-ia-am LÚ ša KUR ʿAʿ[-la-ši-ia]
31) i-na KUR Mi-iš-ri mi-it ù ú-nu-ʿtuʿ-[šú]
32) i-na KUR-ka ù DUMU-šu DAM-šu it-ti-ʿiʿaʿ
33) ù ŠEŠ-ia ú-nu-tu₄ LÚ.MEŠ A-la-ši-ia MÁŠK[IM]
34) ù i-na ŠU-ti LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ia i-din-šu ŠEŠ-ia

- 35) a-ḫi i-na lib-bi-ka la-a ⟨i⟩-ša-ki-in ki-i

¹³⁹² LIVERANI 1999, pp. 417-418 (translation); cf. HELLBING 1979, p. 100 (photo of the Vs.); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 282-287 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 107-109 (translation); OPPENHEIM 1967, pp. 122-123 (translation).

- 36) LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ka 3 MU.MEŠ aš-bu i-na KUR-ia
 37) aš-šum ŠU-ti ⁴MAŠ.MAŠ i-ba-aš-ši i-na KUR-ia
 38) ù i-na É-ia DAM-ia TUR i-ba-aš-ši
 39) ša-a mi-it i-na-an-na ŠEŠ-ia
-
- 40) LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ka it-ti LÚ'. 'DUMU'.KIN-ia na-aš-ri-iš
 41) ar-ḫi-iš uš-še-er ù šu-ul-ma-na
 42) ša ŠEŠ-ia ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku
-
- 43) ša-ni-tam ŠEŠ-ia KÙ.BABBAR ša e-ri-ša-ak-ku
 44) ú-še-bi-la ma-ad dan-niš ŠEŠ-ia
 45) ù ú-nu-tu₄ ša e-ri-ša-ak-ku ŠEŠ-ia uš-šèr
 46) ù mi-nu-um-me-e a-ma-te^{MEŠ} gáb-ba ŠEŠ-ia
 47) ip-pu-uš ù at-ta mi-nu-um-me-e a-ma-te^{MEŠ}
 48) ša ta-qáb-bi a-na ia-ši ù a-na-ku ep-pu-uš
-
- 49) it-ti LUGAL **Ḫa-at-ti**₇ ù it-ti LUGAL Ša-an-ḫa-ar
 50) it-ti-šu-nu la ta-ša-ki-in a-na-ku
 51) mi-nu-um-me-e šu-ul-ma-nu ša ú-še-bi-lu
 52) a-na ia-ši ù a-na-ku 2-šu a-na UGU-ka
 53) ú-te-er-ru
-
- 54) [LÚ.]DUMU.KIN-ka il-lik it-ti-^ria' qad-mi-i[š]
 55) [ù] LÚ.DUMU.K[I]N-ia il-lik it-ti-ka qad-mi-i[š]

Translation

(1–5) Sp[ea]k to the k[ing] of the land of Egypt, my brother; [Thus] the king of the land of Alashia, your brother: It is well [wit]h me. For my palace, my wiv[ives], my sons, my senior officials, my horses, my chariots and in my territories all is very well indeed.

(6–8) And with my brother may all be well. With your palace, your wives, your sons, your senior officials, your horses, your chariots and within your territories may all be very well.

(8–9) My brother, now I have sent my envoy with your envoy to you to the land of Egypt.

(10–15) Now I have sent to you five hundred (talents) of copper. As my brother's greeting gift have I sent it to you. My brother, that the amount of copper is small, may it not be taken to your heart, because the hand of Nergal, my lord, is in my land. He has smitten all the men of my land and there is no copper worker. So, my brother, may it not be [t]aken to your heart.

(16–18) Send your envoy with my envoy quickly and whatever copper that you request, my brother, I will send it to you.

(19–22) You are my brother. (May) he send me a very great amount of silver. My brother, give me the finest ("divine") silver. As for me, then to my brother, whatever you should request, my brother, then I myself will send it to you.

(23–26) Furthermore, my brother, the ox which my envoy has <re>quested, give to me, my brother, and of the best oil, my brother, send me two *kukubu* jars, my brother, and send me one of the experts in vulture divination.

(27–29) Furthermore, my brother, the men of my country are talking about my lumber which they delivered to the king of the land of Eg[ypt], so, my brother, [pay] the sums that are due.

(30–34) Furthermore, thus a man of the land of A[lashia] died in the land of Egypt and [his] belongings are in your country but his son and his wife are with me. So, my brother, the possessions of the men of Alashia take in charge and hand them over to my envoy, my brother.

(35–39) My brother, don't let it be taken to heart that your envoy has been sitting in my country for three years, because the hand of Nergal is in my land and in my house there is a young wife of mine who died.

(39–42) Now, my brother, send your envoy with my envoy safely and quickly and I will send my brother's greeting gift.

(43–48) Furthermore, (may) my brother ship the silver which I requested of you, a very large amount, my brother, and the objects which I have requested of you, my brother, send. And as for whatever the things, my brother will do all (of them). And as for you, whatever the things that you say to me, then I, myself, will do.

(49–53) You have not been ranked with the king of **Ḫatti** or with the king of Shanhar. As for me, whatever greeting gift they send to me, then I send double the amount to you.

(54–55) (May) your envoy come to me as before [and] (may) my envoy come to you before.

EA 35 was sent by the king of Alašiya, the ancient name of Cyprus, to a pharaoh whose name is not quoted on the tablet. The letter deals with a request of copper advanced by the pharaoh: because of a delay in the dispatch of this metal, the Egyptian king had probably reproached the king of Alašiya, urging him to send the material. With this letter, the king of Alašiya justifies himself, advancing the presence of a pestilence as an excuse, probably to haggle on the price further.

The passage quoting the Hittites (Vs. 49-53) occurs after some paragraphs related to the sending of other gifts, both request by/to the pharaoh: the king of Alašiya admits the pharaoh to detain the highest rank among the other sovereigns, neither equated by the kings of Ḫatti or Sanḫar, i.e. Babylon¹³⁹³. We have already seen in other texts¹³⁹⁴ how Ḫatti, Sanḫar and Egypt were very often used (together with Aššur) to display the ranking of the most important powers of that time; during centuries, the position of these countries within the list differs (because of many factors) such as the context of the document and the identity of the sender and the addressee. In this case, the king of Alašiya recognizes this order: Egypt, first, then Ḫatti and Sanḫar; it is clear that in this context (a letter addressed to the pharaoh) the king of Alašiya is displaying a ranking that did not agree to the actual political situation just to flatter the pharaoh and obtain the required material: considering the geographical position of Cyprus, close to the Anatolian coast, and the dating of the letter (probably at the time of Amenhotep III) it is clear that the king of Alašiya was more influenced by the Hittite king, although not being formally his vassal¹³⁹⁵. By the way, this letter testifies how Egypt, Ḫatti and Sanḫar were perceived as the most powerful political entities of that time.

¹³⁹³ For the equation Sanḫar = Babylon, see LIVERANI 1999, p. 418, note 14; cf. *supra*, section 1.1, comment to text 8.m). The passage quoting the Hittites has previously received different translations, later refused by the scholars; see MORAN 1992, p. 109, note 10: “I agree with VINCENTELLI 1971, that the usual version of these lines, ‘Do not make an alliance with ...’, does not fit the context, and that such a request, if made, would require explanation. However, her own version, ‘Do not compare (me) with ...’, has its own difficulties [...]”. Cf. LIVERANI 1999, p. 418, who translates the passage as follows: “Col re di Hatti e col re di Shanhar, con loro non sei stato messo (= paragonato)””; see also *ibid.*, note 15.

¹³⁹⁴ See *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 1.d, 2, 8.m and section 1.2.1, texts nos 8, 15.

¹³⁹⁵ For the history of Alašiya in relation to the Hittite empire, see lastly DE MARTINO 2008, with previous bibliography; a formal submission of the isle will be performed probably during the reign of Tuḫaliya IV and a proper vassal treaty will be signed just by Šuppiluliuma II (see CTH 141: DE MARTINO 2007; cf. KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 651-654).

**4. EA 45 (Liverani¹³⁹⁶, LA 255) = CTH 187 = VS XI 17 (cf. WA 177), VAT 1692:
Ammistamru to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Very fragmentary; the king of Ugarit requests the Egyptian support to face the Hittite pressure about the delivering of certain people”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 370-373:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na LUGAL]^dUTU-ši [EN-ia qí-bí-ma]
 02) [um-ma ¹Am-m]i-is-tam-[ri ÌR-ka]
 03) [a-na UZU.GÌR.MEŠ]-ka 7[ù 7 am-qut]
 04) [lu-ú šul-mu a-na] UG[U LUGAL ^dUTU-ši]
 05) [EN-ia a-na É.]ĪLA-k[a MUNUS.UŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka]
 06) [DUMU.MEŠ-ka ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-tá-t]i-[ka ù mi-im-mu]
 07) [LUGAL ^dUTU-ši EN-ia] ^rlu^r[-ú šul-mu]

- 08) [.....]
 09) [.....]
 10) [.....]
 11) [.....]
 12) [.....]x-ni-šu-nu DUMU(?)[ši-ip-ri-šu.....]
 13) [ù a-k]án-an-na-am a-na-ku [aq-ta-bi]
 14) [an-nu-]tu₄ šu-nu LÚ.MEŠ [KUR Mi-iš-ri]
 15) am-mi-ni-im-ma a-na-a[n-din-šu-nu-ma...]
 16) ù ú-še-šar an-n[u-tu₄...]
 17) ù i-ra-aš-ši-š[u-nu ù]
 18) ad-^rdin^r-šu-nu-ma a[-na ^dUTU-ši EN-ia]
 19) ù ^rDUMU^r ši-ip-ri-^ri^r[a...]
 20) a-na pa-ni ^dUTU-ši [EN-ia...]
 21) i-^rna^r-an-na ad-d[in-šu-nu-ma]

 22) [ša]-^rni^r-tam šàr KUR[Mi-iš-ri...]
 23) ^ram^r-mi-ni-mi D[UMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri-ia]
 24) ta-ša-bat-mi [a-na ia-ši]

Rev.

- 25) iš-pur-ma 2-šu [iš-pur]
 26) ù ki-ia-am iq[-ta-bi]
 27) ù a-na KUR Mi-iš-[ri-mi.]
 28) šum-ma-mi tu-še-bá[-al-šu-nu]
 29) a-nu-um-^rma^r ^rÌR^r ^rša^r ^rLUGAL^r ^rd^r[UTU-ši EN-ia a-na-ku]

 30) ša-ni-tam as-sú-ri-im-[ma ^dUTU-ši EN-ia]
 31) it-ti-ia i-na-ki-ir-m[a ^dUTU EN-ia]
 32) TI.LA.MEŠ ba-la-a-tá ša-a U[ZU.ZI-ia]
 33) li-iq-bi TI.LA.MEŠ UZU.^rZI^r[-ia...]
 34) lu-ú i-de⁴-mi šum-ma-mi [ÌR ki-it-ti]
 35) [a-n]a KUR URU ^rÚ^r-^rga^r-^rri^r-[ta...]
 36) [.....]^rú^r?-[nu-te-šu-nu.....]
 37) [.....]
 38) [.....]
 39) [.....]
 40) [.....]

¹³⁹⁶ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 285 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 309-311 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 117-118 (translation).

- 41) [.....ú-n]u-te[-šu-nu.....]
 42) [LÚ.ME]Š-i^r a^r [.....]
 43) [.....] a [.....]
 44) [.....]ú-[nu-te-šu-nu.....]
 45) [.....] ri [.....]
 46) [.....] a-na [.....]
 47) [.....]IR-š[u.....]

Up.ed.

- 48) [.....]

Translation

(1–7) [Speak to the king,] the sun god,[my lord; the message of ‘Amm]istam[ri, your servant. At] your [feet] seven (times) [and seven (times) have I fallen. May it be well] wi[th the king, the sun god, my lord, with] yo[ur pala]ce, [your chief wife, your (other) wives, your sons, your regular troo]ps, [and the possessions of the king, the sun god, my lord,] may [it be well].

(8–11) [.....]

(12–21) [...] their [his(?)] ambas[sadors ... and th]us I myself [said, “As for th]ese, they are men of [the land of Egypt(?).”] Why should I gi[ve them ...] so I am preparing (their sendoff?). These [...] and he will acquire th[em and] I have given them t[o the sun god, my lord,] and m[y] envoys [...] before the sun god, [my lord ...] have I now gr[anted them.]

(22–29) [Fu]rthermore, the king of the land of [Egypt(?) ...] wrote [to me], “Why do you seize [my] am[bassadors?”] Two times [did he write] and thus he s[poke,] “And to the land of Egy[pt, if you will sen]d them.”] Now [I] am the servant of the s[un god, my lord.]

(30–35) Furthermore, god forbid that [the sun god, my lord] should become alienated from me! May [the sun god, my lord, pronounce the breath of life for my soul. The breath of life for my soul is [from him(?)] and he surely knows whether [there is a loyal servant i]n the land of Ugari[t ...].

(36–48) [...] their] eq[ui]pment their equi]pment [...] my [men ... their] eq[ui]pment] to [.....] hi[s] servant [...].

I add here also the transliteration and the translation given by Na’aman¹³⁹⁷, integrating the toponym Ḫatti in some passages:

- 12 [x x x]x-ni-šu-nu ak-š[u-ud-šu-nu]
 13 [ù a-k]án^{AN}-na-am a-na-ku [aq-ta-bi-(ma)] |
 14 [an]-nu-tu₄ šu-nu LÚ^{MES} [KUR Amurri²]
 15 am-mi-ni-im-ma a-na [KUR Ḫatti² illiku²]
 16 ù u-še-šer₉ an-n[u²-tu₄² a-na² ...]
 17 ù i-ra-aš-ši x [..... ù]
 18 ad-din-šu-nu-ma a-[na ^PUTU-ši EN-ia]
 19 ù ^PUMU ši-ip-ri á[š-ta-par² ù]
 20 a-na pa-ni ^PUTU-ši [EN-ia ...]
 21 i-na-an-na ad-di[n-šu-nu]

- 22 [ša]-ni-ta₅ LUGAL KUR [Ḫatti iš-pur-ma]
 23 am-mi-ni-mi [LÚ^{MES} an-nu-tu²]
 24 ta-ša-bat-mi [ù DUMU ši-ip-ri-šu]
 25 iš-pur-ma 2-šu [a-na ia-ši²]
 26 ù ki-ia-am iq-[ta-bi a-na KUR Mitanni]
 27 ù a-na KUR mi-iš-r[i LÚ^{MES} an-nu-tu²]
 28 šum-ma-mi tu-še-bá-[al ù a-na-ki-ir-ka]

¹³⁹⁷ See NA’AMAN 1996, pp. 251-252.

29 *a-nu-um-ma* [ÌR] *a-[n]a* ^D[UTU-ši EN-ia *a-na-ku*

30 *ša-ni-ta₅ as-sú-ri-im-[ma LUGAL KUR Ḫatti]*
31 *it-ti-ia i-na-ki-ir [... ^DUTU-ši EN-ia]*
32 *TI.LA^{MEŠ} ba-la-a-tá ša-a [^{UZU}ZI-ia ù ^{UZU}pi-šu²]*
33 *li-iq-bi TI.LA^{MEŠ} ^{UZU}Z[I-ia ù ^DUTU-ši EN-ia]*
34 *lu-ú i-da-mi šum-ma-mi [i-na-ki-ir KUR Ḫatti]*
35 *[a-n]a KUR ^{URU}u-^rga^r-^ri^r-[ta]*

[... they ...] them for me (and) I ho[ld them]. [And] I myself [said a]s follow: “These men are the sons [of Amurru²]. Why should [they go] to [the land of Ḫatti²]? So I shall prepare th[ese² for ...] and acquire a [ship² ...], and] hand them over t[o the Sun, my lord].” So I am s[ending] a messenger to the Sun, [my lord, and] now [indeed²] I shall han[d them over].

Moreover, the king of [Ḫatti wrote thus]: “Why do you seize [these men.” And] he sent [his messenger to me] a second time and he sp[oke] thus: “If you sen[d these men to Mitanni] or to Egy[pt, then I will turn against you].” Now I am [a servant] to the S[un, my lord].

Moreover, heaven forbid that [the king of Ḫatti] turn against me. [May the Sun, my lord, send me] the life of [my spirit and may his mouth] speak the life of [my] spi[rit]. [And] may [the Sun, my lord], know (this): If [Ḫatti shall turn against] Ugar[it ...

This letter presents a difficult situation arisen between the king of Ugarit Ammistamru I and the Hittite sovereign (probably Tuthaliya III or Šuppiluliuma I)¹³⁹⁸; the Syrian king writes to the pharaoh (very probably Amenhotep III¹³⁹⁹), asking for help in solving a dispute regarding the setoff of some people (maybe fugitives from Amurru), of which the Hittite king requires the restitution, intimating Ammistamru not to send them to Mittani or to Egypt. This episode is a clear exemplification of the fluid alliances characterizing the first half of the 14th cent. BC, with the Syrian kings favouring the Hittite or the Egyptian sovereign according to their need: in fact, a formal vassal treaty would be stipulated between Ugarit and Ḫatti some years later, by kings Niqmaddu II, Ammustamru’s son and Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1350 BC)¹⁴⁰⁰. In the present document, Ammistamru still recognizes his loyalty to the pharaoh¹⁴⁰¹, here called “My Sun¹⁴⁰²”, and refuses to send the fugitives(?) of Amurru(?) to the Hittite king, asking the pharaoh’s military support (represented by the “breath of life”¹⁴⁰³) in the case an open hostility with Ḫatti would occur (Vs. 30-35).

¹³⁹⁸ For the identification of Ammistamru, see Nougayrol in PRU III, p. XXXVII; for the synchronisms between this and other contemporary kings, see KLENGEL 1969, p. 340; cf. KLENGEL 1992, final tables.

¹³⁹⁹ MORAN 1992, p. 118, note 1, with bibliography.

¹⁴⁰⁰ CTH 46: see e.g. BECKMAN 1999², pp. 34-36 (no. 4) and KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 459-464.

¹⁴⁰¹ For the relations between Ugarit and Egypt in this period, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 340ff.; cf. KLENGEL 1992, pp. 130-131.

¹⁴⁰² MORAN 1992, p. 118, note 1: “Egyptian and, through borrowing, Hittite kings were called, literally, ‘My Sun’, as the embodiments of royalty, which was also symbolized by the winged sun-disk (WINTER 1976)”. For the analysis of this appellative, see also BREYER 2010a, pp. 421-426, with further bibliography.

¹⁴⁰³ The Akkadian expression *TI.LA.MEŠ ba-la-a-tá* (Vs. 32) is clearly a loan from the Egyptian *nf/t3w n ‘nh*, for which see *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 2, 8.k, 10 and 15.a.

5. EA 51 (Liverani¹⁴⁰⁴, LA 272) = CTH 187 = VS XI 22 (cf. WA 30), VAT 559:

Addu-Nirari (of Nuḫašše) to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Request of Egyptian intervention, motivated by the old relationships at the time of Thutmose III”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 384-385:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-n]a ^dUTU-ši LUGAL be-lí-ia LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri
 02) [u]m-ma ^{ld}IŠKUR-ni-ra-ri^r ÌR-ka-ma
 03) [a-n]a GÌR.MEŠ be-lí-[i]a am-qut
 04) [a-]mur^r e^r-nu-ma^lMa^r-an^r-aḫ-pí-ia LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri a-bi a-b[i]-
 ka
 05) ^{r1}[T]a[-ku a-b]i^r a^r-b[i-]ia i-na KUR Nu-ḫa-aš-še
 06) a-na šàr-ru-ta₅ i-ip-p[u-š]a-aš-šu ù Í.MEŠ a-na SAG.^rDU^r-š^u
 07) iš-ku-un-šu ù ki-a-a[m i]q^r-ta^r-bi ša LUGAL ^rKUR^r [Mi-iš-r]i
 08) a-na šàr-ru-ta₅ ša i-ip-pu-š[a-aš-šu ù Í.MEŠ a-na SAG.DU-š^u]
 09) ša iš-ku-un-šu ma-am-ma [la.....]
 10) it-ta-din-šu qa-d[u.....]
 11) a-nu^r-um^r-[ma.....]

Rev.

- 01) ù [.....]
 02) ^lTa-ku a^r-bi^r [a-bi-ia.....]
 03) ù i-na-an-na be-lí-ni [up-pa-te^{MEŠ} ù ri-ik-sa-te.....]
 04) ù LUGAL KUR **Ḫa-at-ti**₇ a-na m[uḫ-ḫi-ia.....]
 05) be-lí [up-pa-te^{MEŠ} ù ri-ik-[sa-te.....]
 06) ù a-na ša LUGAL KUR Mi-iš-ri [ÌR ki-it-ti a-na-ku.....]
 07) ù i-na-an-na be-li-ni a-na mu[ḫ-ḫi-ni li-ša-an-ni.....]
 08) ù a-na ŠU^r-ti^r-š^u lu^r[-ú ni-iš-bat KUR.MEŠ]
 09) ù lu^r[-ú nu-tar] a-na be-li-ni
 10) [ù be]-lí-ia i-na MU.KAM.MEŠ li^r-iz-zi[-za]
 11) lu-ú la te-me-ek-e ki^r-i-me-e a-na ÌR-du-ut-ti
 12) a-na ša be-lí-ia lu-ú ki-it-tu₄ ta-mar-š^u-nu^r
 13) ù šum-ma be-lí-ia a-na a-ši-i-im la^r i^r-ma-an-gur₁₆
 14) ù be-lí-ia 1-en LU^r mi-il-kà-š^u

Up.ed.

- 15) [q]a-du ÉRIN.MEŠ-š^u ù qa^r-du GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-š^u li-iš-pur

Lft.ed.

- 16) [.....ME]Š-š^u ša be-lí-i[a]
 17) [.....] be^r-lí-ia

Translation

(1–3) [T]o the Sun, the king, my lord, king of the land of Egypt, thus Adadnirari, your servant: [A]t the feet of my lord have I fallen.

(4–11) [Lo]ok, when Manahpiya, king of the land of Egypt, the father of your father, would appoint [T]a[ku], the fath[er] [of] my [fath]er to kingship in the land of Nuḡasse, then he poured oil on his head and thu[s] he said, “Whom the king of E[gypt] has app[ointed] to kingship [and] poured [oil on his head], [let not] anyone [.....] He gave [....] Now [.....]”

Rev.

¹⁴⁰⁴ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 298-299 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 318-321 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 122 (translation).

(1–6) And [...] Taku, the father of my fat[her...] And now, our lord, ta[blets and treaties...] And the king of the land of **Hatti** [*has sent(?)*] to [me], my lord, tablets and trea[ties]. My lord, [*I rejected(?)*] the tablets and tre[atry agreements] and [*I am the loyal servant*] of the king of Egypt [.....]

(7–17) And now [may] our lord [come forth] t[o us], and into [h]is power [*we will*] in[deed *seize the lands*] and indeed [we will return them] to our lord. [So] may our lord take a stand here this year. Do not be neglectful. You will see that they are loyal to the service of the king, my lord. And if my lord is not willing to come forth himself, may my lord send one of his advisors [to]gether with his troops and with his chariotry [...]of m[y] lord [...] my lord.

In this letter, Addu-Nirari, king of Nuḫḫašše¹⁴⁰⁵ informs the pharaoh (who can be recognized with Amenhotep III) to have received some tablet from the Hittite king (probably Šuppiluliuma I), who proposed to sign a treaty; the king reports to the pharaoh his negative answer to the Hittite king, confirming his loyalty to Egypt, established at the time of Thutmose III (i.e., 1479-1425 BC). As also stated by Liverani¹⁴⁰⁶, the pharaoh probably refused any intervention in Syria: therefore, Nuḫḫašše was included into the Hittite territories by Šuppiluliuma I, who would sign some years later a formal vassal treaty with the new king of Nuḫḫašše, Tette (CTH 53: see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 3).

¹⁴⁰⁵ For Addu-Nirari and Nuḫḫašše, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 18-57; cf. KLENGEL 1992, pp. 109-110, 131-132, 152-153.

¹⁴⁰⁶ LIVERANI 1998, p. 298.

**6. EA 52 (Liverani¹⁴⁰⁷, LA 264) = CTH 187 = WA 196, Cairo 4759 + VAT 1596:
Akizzi (of Qatna) to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Fragmentary letter, maybe the first diplomatic contact after the collapse of Mittani”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 386-389:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) ʿa-na šàr KUR Mi-iš-ri^{KI}
 02) um-ma ʿA-ki-iz-zi ʾIR-ka-ma
 03) i-na 7 a-na GÌR b[e-l]-ia
 04) ʿIŠKUR-ia am-qut
-
- 05) a-ʿmur ʿbe-ʿli-ia tuṣ-pá-te-šu [li-im-mu]r
 06) É.ʿHI.ʿA URU Qa[t]-naʿKI ʾù a-na ŠU
 07) ʿbe-ʿli-ia -m[a]
-

- 08) [a-nu-u]m-ma [.....]ka
 09) [.....]
 10) [.....]
 11) [.....i]d-du-[u]k-ku
 12) [.....] ʿšaʿ be-[li]-ia
 13) [.....]
 14) [.....š]a a[-na.....]
 15) [.....] ʿi-ʿna-an-din
 16) [.....i-na-]an-din-šu-nu
 17) [.....] a-bu-tù-ni
 18) [.....a-n]a LUGAL
 19) [.....i-na-an-d]in-šu-nu
 20) [.....a-bu-t]ù-[ni-ma]
 21) [.....]
 22) [.....]

Lo.ed

- 23) [.....]
 24) [.....]

Rev.

- 25) [.....]
 26) [.....]šir[.....]
-

- 27) [.....]a-li-k[a]
 28) [.....]b]e-li-ia
 29) [.....n]u
 30) [.....KUR ʿHa-a]t-te^{KI}
 31) [.....]ti iš-ri-iq-šu-nu
-

- 32) [.....]ia i-na 2-šu
 33) [.....]ú uš-šú-n[im-ma]
 34) [.....i-n]a DUB-ia
 35) [.....l]i[.....]
-

- 36) [an-n]a-kám 3 MU be-li-ia
 37) e-nu-ma a-n[a E]N-ia ʿú[-u]t-ta-nam-[ma-aš]

¹⁴⁰⁷ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 291-292 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 320-323 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 123 (translation).

\ [bu]-^rša^r ^rù^r LÚ.MEŠ DUMU K[IN]

- 38) ù KASKAL-*nu*
39) *la-a* ^ri⁻de₄ a⁻na^r [E]N-[i]a
40) \ *am-mu-li a-[na EN-ia]* ù *la i-de*₄
41) ^ri⁻na^r ŠÀ KASKAL-*ni*^r[-ka] [li-]li-ku-ni
-

- 42) *al-kám-mi* [EN]-*ia e-zi-*ba^r-an-ni
43) \ *pu-ru-[x-x-]-nu la-aš-ti-na-an*
-

- 44) a[-n]a ^rKA^r! [š]a *be-li-ia*
45) ù ^ra⁻na^r ša ¹Bi⁻ru⁻a-za
46) [lu]-^rú^r *la-a i-pát-tar*

Translation

(1–4) To the king of the land of Egypt, the message of Akizzi, your servant. Sevenfold at the foot of my lord, my Storm God, have I fallen.

(5–7) Behold, my lord, [may he examine] his tablets, the palace of the city of Qatna, is in my lord's hand.

(8–24) [No]w [...] your [.....] they attacked [...] of my lord [..... wh]ich to [.....] he will give [... he will] give them [...] our fathers [... t]o the king [... he will gi]ve them [... our fa]th[ers].....
.....]

(25–26) [.....]

(27–31) [...] I came [...] my lord [... the land of **Ḫa]tte** [...] he stole them.

(32–35) [...] for the second time [...] and they will come forth [... i]n my tablet [...]

(36–41) [He]re, it is three years, my lord, that I have been trying to dispatch to my lord [go]ods and envoys but as for the caravan, I did not know. To my lord \ *am-mu-li* to [m]y [lo]rd, but I did not know. [Ma]y they come in [your] caravan.

(42–43) Come, my lord, spare me! \ *pu-ru-[x-x-]-nu la-aš-ti-na-an*

(44–46) From the command of my lord and from that of Biryawaza, verily will I(sic!) not depart.

This letter, like the previous one, deals with a request for military support against the quick advance of Šuppiluliuma I in Syria; the situation has been well explained by Liverani:

“A Qadesh finisce la zona egiziana, e con Qatna¹⁴⁰⁸ inizia quella mitannica (e le glosse hurrite nelle lettere di Qatna e di Tunip ne sono il risvolto linguistico). Al crollo di Mitanni sotto i colpi di Shuppiluliuma, I suoi ex-vassalli Qatna e Nuhashe cercarono l'aiuto egiziano: e non poterono invocare altro che lontani rapporti del tempo di Tuthmosi III. Il lotto di lettere di Akizzi di Qatna è tutto concentrato al momento della svolta. Per uno strano (ma politicamente comprensibile) rovesciamento, gli ex-vassalli mitannici di Qatna, Tunip e Nuhashe, cercando l'appoggio egiziano contro l'avanzata di Shuppiluliuma, si trovarono in conflitto coi vassalli siriani più settentrionali (Qadesh, Amurru, e altri minori) che invece cercarono l'appoggio hittita per fuoriuscire dal controllo egiziano. Anche dopo la prima distruzione di Qatna (effettuata nel primo anno di campagna di Shuppiluliuma) la situazione sembra ancora fluida; ma l'Egitto non sarà abbastanza pronto nell'invio di truppe, e in breve gli Hittiti prevarranno definitivamente”¹⁴⁰⁹.

With this letter, probably sent to Amenhotep III¹⁴¹⁰, the king of Qatna informs the pharaoh as follows: “[...] I came [...] my lord [... the land of Ḫa]tte [...] he stole them (Vs. 27-30)”; Moran underlines that

¹⁴⁰⁸ For the history of Qatna (modern Tell Mishrife), see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 96-138; cf. KLENGEL 1992, pp. 156-157.

¹⁴⁰⁹ LIVERANI 1998, p. 291.

¹⁴¹⁰ Thus, KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, p. 320.

“at the end of line 31 *išriqšunu*, ‘he stole them’, is probably a charge against the Hittite king”¹⁴¹¹, probably referring to the conquest of some territories previously under the control of Qatna¹⁴¹². These letters, reporting a request for military help, are very informative about the actual knowledge that the pharaoh could have gained by his former (or new) vassals, regarding the movements of the Hittite army during Šuppiluliuma’s Syrian campaigns.

¹⁴¹¹ MORAN 1992, p. 123, note 5.

¹⁴¹² Moran also proposes to compare this passage with EA 55, ll. 53ff. (another letter sent by Akizzi), where it is said that the Hittite king had stolen a statue of the god Šimigi (see MORAN 1992 p. 127, *infra* as text no. 15).

7. EA 53 (Liverani¹⁴¹³, LA 265) = CTH 188 = BB 37 (cf. WA 139), BM 29820:
Akizzi of Qatna to Amenhotep IV (in Akkadian).

“Description of pro-Egypt and pro-Hittite coalitions and request for a military intervention”.

RAINEY Z^L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 390-395:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) ʿa-ʿna 1N[am]-ʿhur-ʿia DUMU dUTU be-lí-ia /
02) ʿum-ʿma 1A-ʿki-ʿiz-ʿzi LÚ-İR-ka-ma
03) ʿ7-ʿšu [7-šu a-n]a ʿUZU-ĜİR-MEŠ be-lí-ia am-qut
-
- 04) ʿbe-ʿlí ʿLÚ.İR-ʿka a-na-ku-ma bá-li-iṭ ù la-a ÚŠ [: mi-it]
05) [a-na-ku] ʿa-ʿna ʿša be-lí-ia ʿù ʿi-ʿna-ʿan-[n]a ʿbe-ʿlí
06) [LÚ.İR] ʿša be-lí-ia-ma i-na ʿaš-ʿri ʿan-ʿni-ʿim
07) [ù] ʿi-ʿna-ʿan-na ʿi-ʿna aš-ri ʿan-ʿni-ʿim [im] ʿLÚ ʿİR-ka-ma
08) ʿša be-lí-ia ʿa-[na-ku-m]a ʿù [i-na]-ʿan-ʿna 1A-i-ṭu-kà-ma [qa-du]
09) LUGAL KUR **Ha-at-ti**7 [a-na muḥ-ḥi] ʿia ʿú-uš!(IS)-ší
10) ù UZU.ʿSAG.ʿDU-ʿia ʿú-ba-ʿá-a-šu
-
- 11) ù i-na-an-na 1[A-i-ṭu-kà-]ʿma ʿa-[n]a ia-ši iš-ta-pár
12) ù iq-ta-[b]i [al-kám-mi] ʿit-ti ia-ši
13) a-na ša LUGAL ʿKUR ʿ**Ha-a[t-ti]**7 ù aq-ta]-bi ʿa-ʿna-ʿku
14) ki-i a-ʿna-ʿku a[l-la-ak a-na]ʿša ʿLUGAL KUR **Ha-at-ti**7
15) a-na-ku a-ʿna ʿša ʿbe-ʿlí-ia LUGAL KUR Mi-] ʿiṣ-ʿri^{K1}
16) aš-ta-pár ʿù ʿaq-ʿ[ta-bi ki-ia-a]m ʿa-ʿna ʿša ʿšàr KUR **Ha-at-ti**7
-
- 17) be-lí [.....]
18) ʿù KUR-tu4 ʿa-ʿnu-ʿú [.....] ʿan[...]
19) ù šum-ma [.....]
20) ù be-lí-ia ʿki-ʿma [ar-ḥi-iš l]i-wa-aš-še-er-šu
21) ʿù li-il-ʿli-ʿkám a-[na muḥ-ḥi 1A-i-]ʿṭu-kà-ma
22) ki-i-me-ʿe be-lí [.....]pa-ʿnu-ʿka
23) i-pal-la-ʿaḥ ʿù KUR ʿÚ-ʿ[pe ib-bal-ka]t? [a-]n[a] ʿša be-lí-ia
-
- 24) be-lí 11d 1IŠKUR-ʿni-ʿra-ʿri [šàr KUR Nu-ḥa-aš-še]
25) ʿa-ʿna ʿša KUR **H[at-ti]**7 qa-du 1A-i-ṭu-kà-ma ʿLÚ nu-kúr-tu4
26) ša be-lí-ia [LÚ İR 1dIŠKUR-ni-ra-ri]
27) ù KUR ʿNu-ʿ[ḥa-aš-še KUR ša] ab-bi-šu
28) be-lí ʿil-ʿli-kam 1A-i-ṭ[u-kà]-ʿma [a-na KUR Ú-p]é
29) KUR-KUR-tu4 [š]a be-lí-ia [ù il-te-qè]-ʿšu-ʿnu
-
- 30) ù il-te-qè-šu É-tu4 [ša Bir5-⟨ya⟩-wa-za]
31) ù il-te-qè-šu 2 me k[a4-ak-ka4-ru.... KÜ.GI?]
32) ù il-te-qè-šu 3 ʿme ʿka4-ʿak-ʿka4-ʿru [KÜ-BABBAR?]
33) ù il-te-qè-šu 1 ʿme ʿka4-ʿak-ʿka4-ʿru [ZABAR?]
34) iš-tu É-tu4 ʿša 1Bir5-⟨ya⟩-wa-za
-
- 35) ʿbe-ʿlí i-šak-kà-nu 1Te-ú-wa-ʿat-ti URU L[a-bá-n]a
36) ù 1Ar-ʿsà-ú-ia URU Ru-ḥi-ʿiṣ-ʿší
37) a-na pa-ni 1A-i-ṭu-kà-ma ù KUR ʿÚ-ʿpé
38) KUR-ʿKUR-tu4 ša be-lí-ia
39) i-na IZI.MEŠ i-šar-ri-ip-šu

¹⁴¹³ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 292-293 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, pp. 382-383 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 324-329 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 125-126 (translation).

Rev.

- 40) *be-lí ki-i-me-e a-na-ku a-na LUGAL be-lí-ia*
41) *a-ra-á'-am ù ki-ia-am šàr KUR Nu-ḥa-aš-še*
42) *šàr KUR Ni-i šàr KUR Sí-in-za-ar*
43) *ù šàr KUR Tu-na-na-ab!(AT) ù an-nu-ut-ti*
44) *gáb-bá LUGAL.MEŠ a-na ša be-lí-ia LÚ ÌR.MEŠ-šú*
-
- 45) *ki-i-me-e i-le-é'-e LUGAL be-lí-ia ù it-t[a-aš-ší]*
46) *'ù' 'šum'-ma-a LUGAL 'be'-'lî'-'ia' la it-ta-'aš'-'šî'*
47) *'ù' 'be'-'lî'-'ia' ÉRIN.MEŠ 'pî'-'iṭ'-'tá-te li-wa-aš-'še'-'er'*
48) *'ù' 'lî'-'il'-'lî'-'kám' iš-tu KUR-tu₄ an-nu-[ú]*
49) *[ki]-'i'-'me'-e be-lí LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-ti 'LÚ' 'ÌR'.MEŠ-šú*
50) *'LÚ' GAL-bi ša be-lí-ia ù mi-nu-um-me-e*
51) *NÍG.BA.MEŠ-šú-nu li-iq-bi ù li-id-dì-nu-ni₇*
-
- 52) *be-lí šum-ma KUR-tu₄ an-nu-ú iš-tu lib-bi be-lí-ia*
53) *i-šak-kà-an ù ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-iṭ-tá-te be-lí-ia*
54) *li-wa-aš-še-er ù li-il-li-kám ù LÚ.MEŠ DUMU.KIN-šú*
55) *ša be-lí-ia ik-šú-du-ni₇*
-
- 56) *be-lí šum-ma ¹Ar-sà-ù-ia URU Ru-ḥi-ší*
57) *ù ¹Te-ú-wa-at-ti URU La-bá-na i-na 'KUR' Ú-pé aš-bu*
58) *ù ¹Tá'-ša i-na KUR Am-qí aš-bu 'ù' lu-ú i-de₄-šú-nu*
59) *be-lí-ia e-nu-ma KUR Ú-pé ša la be-lí-ia*
60) *i-na u₄-mi-ša-am-ma a-na ¹A-i-ṭu-kà-ma i-ša-'ap'-pa-ru-ni₇*
61) *ù ki-ia-am iq-bu-ni₇ al-kam-mi ù li-q[è-mi]*
62) *KUR Ú-pé gáb-bá-am-ma*
-
- 63) *'be'-lî ki-i-me-e URU Dì-ma-aš-qì i-na KUR Ú-pé*
64) *'a'-'na' ^UZU'GÌR.MEŠ-ka \\ ka₄-ti-ḥu ù ki-ia-am URU Qàt-na*
65) *'a'-'na' ^UZU'GÌR.MEŠ-ka \\ ka₄-ti-ḥu-li-iš ù be-lí-ia*
66) *'a'-na pa-ni LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ia NAM.TIL.LA i-ir-ri-š[u ki-i-m]e-e*
67) *la pal-ḥa-ak-ku a-na pa-ni ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-iṭ-'tá'-[te ša be-]lî-ia*
68) *e-nu-ma ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-iṭ-tá-te ša be-lí-[ia]*
69) *ki-i-me-e ú-wa-aš-šar-an-ni ù i-'ru'[-bu]*
70) *i-na URU Qàt-na*

Translation

(1–3) To Namḥuria, son of the sun god, my lord, thus (speaks) Akizzi, your servant: Seven times (and) [seven times a]t the feet of my lord have I fallen.

(4–10) My lord, your servant am I, alive and not dead [: dead]. 'I' belong to those of my lord [and] now, my lord, (I am) [the ser]vant of my lord in this place. [And] now in this place, your servant, of my lord, a[m] 'I'. But [n]ow Aiṭukama, [with] the king of the land of **Ḥatti**, is going forth [again]st me and he seeks my head.

(11–16) And now [Aiṭuka]ma has written to me and said, “[Come] with me to those of the king of the land of **Ḥa[tti]**.”] I [sai]d, “How could I [go to] those who belong to the king of the land of **Ḥatti**? I am one of those who belong to [my] lo[rd], the king of the land of Eg[yp]t.” I wrote and I sp[oke th]us to those who belong to the king of the land of **Ḥatti**.

(17–23) My lord [...] and this land [...] and if [...]. So, my lord, with [haste m]ay he send him (it) and may he come a[gainst Ai]ṭukama, as my lord [...] your presence(?), he is afraid. But the land of U[pe has rebell]ed(?) against my lord.

(24–27) My lord, look, Adad-nirari, [king of the land of Nuğasse], is the enemy of those who belong to the land of **Ḫatti** with Aitukama]. Of my lord, [the servant is Adad-nirari] and (so is) the land of Nuğasse, the land of] his fathers. (28–34) My lord, Ai[tukam]a has come [to the land of Upe], territories [of my lord [and he has taken] them. And he took it, viz. the palace, and he took it, viz. two hundred t[alents of gold(?)], and he took it, viz. three hundred talents [of silver(?)], and he took it, viz. one hundred talents of [copper(?)] from the house of Bir(ya)waza.

(35–39) My lord, Teuwatti of the town of L[aban]a and Arsawuya of Rôğişi are at the disposition of Aitukama, and he is sending the land of Upe, the territories of my lord, up in flames.

(40–44) My lord, just as I am devoted to the king, my lord, so the king of the land of Nuğassi, the king of the land of Niya, the king of the land of Sinzar and the king of the land of Tunanab and all these kings of those who belong to my lord, are his servants.

(45–51) As far as the king, my lord, is able, then he should co[me forth], but if the king, my lord, does not come forth, then, may my lord send the regular army and may it come to this country, [si]nce, my lord, these kings are his servants. As for the official of my lord, may he specify whatever their gift should be and let them render them.

(52–55) My lord, if this land is of concern to my lord, then may my lord send the regular army and let it come. But (only) emissaries of my lord have come.

(56–62) My lord, if Arsawuya of the town of Rôğişi and Teuwatti of the town of Labana remain in the land of Upe and Tašša remains in the land of 'Amqi, then my lord should also be aware of them because the land of Upe does not belong to my lord. Daily they write to Aitukama and thus they say: "Come and ta[ke] all of the land of Upe."

(63–70) My lord, just as Damascus in the land of Upe is at your feet (Hurrian gloss), so the city of Qatna is at your feet (Hurrian gloss). And, my lord, in the presence of my emissary they are seeking life. [Th]us I do not fear from the regular troop[s of] my [lo]rd. When the regular troops of [my] lord thus he sends to me, then [they] will ent[er] into the city of Qatna.

In this letter, Akizzi (king of Qatna) informs Amenhotep IV about the current situation of alliances in the Syrian territory: Akizzi states that Aitakama¹⁴¹⁴ (king of Kadesh) was moving against him on behalf of the king of Ḫatti, Šuppiluliuma I, trying to kill him and probably subduing Qatna to the Hittite kingdom. Aitakama had also proposed to Akizzi to betray his loyalty to the pharaoh, passing into the Hittite sphere: Akizzi refuses, confirming his alliance to the pharaoh.

Akizzi also informs the Egyptian king about the betrayal of the kingdom of Upe and about a military reaction led by the king of Nuḫḫašše, Addunirari (loyal to the pharaoh) who conquered the land of Upe, probably bringing it back to the Egyptian domination.

Vs. 35-44 displays the different alliances of the Syrian kings: Teuwatti of Libana and Arsawuya of Ruḫizzi supported Aitakama (thus, showing their loyalty to the Hittites), while the kingdoms of Qatna, Nuḫḫašše, Niya, Sinzar and Tunanab remained faithful to the pharaoh.

In Vs. 45-62 Akizzi stresses the difficult situation of the land of Upe, which is still disputed by Addunirari (Egyptian ally), Arsawuya and Teuwatti (loyal to the Hittite king), who tried to convince Aitakama to reconquest the Upe territory.

In the last part of the letter (Vs. 63-70) Akizzi confirms the loyalty of Damascus and Qatna to the pharaoh and prospects a friendly welcome to the Egyptian troops possibly reaching Qatna.

¹⁴¹⁴ For the historical presentation of the personal names and the toponyms quoted in this letter, see KLENGEL 1992, *passim* (check final Indexes, pp. 248-263)., with references to KLENGEL 1962.

8. EA 54 (Liverani¹⁴¹⁵, LA 266) = CTH 188 = VS XI 23 (cf. WA 229 + 232 + 233), VAT 1868 + 1869 + 1721:

Akizzi (of Qatna) to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Very snippy: description of the different military formations”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 396-399:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-n]a LUGAL be-lí-ia
 02) um-ma ¹A-ki-iz-zi ÌR-k[a]
 03) a-na GÌR.MEŠ be-lí-ia [am-qut]
-
- 04) be-lí [.....]
 05) ù aš[-ta-na-pár.....]
 06) i-na-an[-na.....]
 07) ù[.....]
 – [.....]
 08) ʾùʾ[.....]
 09) [.....]
 10) [.....]
 11) [.....]
 12) [.....]
 13) [.....]aš
 14) [.....a]k-ku
 15) [.....]iʾa
 16) [.....n]u
 17) [.....]
 18) [.....aš-t]a-na-ap-pár
 19) [.....]
 20) [.....]da-an-naʾ
 21) [.....]ḥiʾ
 [.....] –
 22) [.....A-i-tu-ga-ma L]Ú URU Qí-in-sà
 23) [.....a-š]i-ib
 24) ʾùʾ a-n[a.....]
 25) [i-k]à-aš[-ša-ad.....ma-mi-ta(?)]
 26) ʾidʾ(?)-diʾ(?)-nu-ʾniʾ7[¹Ar-sà-ú-ia LÚ ša U]RU Ru-ḥi-ši
 27) ʾùʾ ¹Te-ú[-wa-at-ti LÚ ša] URU La-bá-na
 28) ʾitʾ-ʾtiʾ ¹A[-i-tu-ga-ma LÚ ša] URU Qí-in-sà
 29) ù it-ti [šàr **KUR Ḥa-at-ti**7] iḥ-ḥa-zu-ʾniʾ7
 -----[.....]-----
 30) am-mi-ni7 [.....]
 31) [ʾ]ʾArʾ[-za-ú-ia. LÚ ša URU Ru-ḥi-]ší

Lo.ed.

- 32) ʾùʾ ¹Teʾ[-ú-wa-at-ti LÚ ša URU] La-bá-na
 33) ʾùʾ š[àr **KUR Ḥa-at-ti**7.....]
 34) [itʾ-ʾtiʾ [a-ḥa-miš a-na ša LUGAL]ʾbeʾ-lí-ia
 35) [.....it-ta]l-ka [...]

Rev.

- 36) [i]-kà-aš[-ša-da-ni(?).....]
 37) [ù] ʾitʾ-ʾtiʾ[-šu-nu.....it-tal-k]a

¹⁴¹⁵ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 294-295 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 383 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 328-331 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 126 (just comment).

- [...]-----[.....]-----
- 38) [ù] 'LÚ'.DUMU.KIN[-šu ša be-lí-ia]'a'-na UGU-ia
 39) 'it'-tal-kam [ù ki-ia-am iq]-ta-bi
 40) i-na KUR Mi-it-t[a-an-ni a-tal-l]a-ak
 41) 'ù' L[UGAL.ME]Š '3' [4..n]a-ak-ru
 42) a-n[a ša šàr] 'KUR' 'Ha'[at-ti₇ ša gáb-b]u-ú
 43) 'i'-'na' [pa-ni-]'ia' [ša-ak-nu]
 [.....]--[.....]
 44) [.....]'ÉRIN'. 'MEŠ'[-šu] 'ù' GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šu
 45) [.....i]'a' 'ù'[.....LÚ].DUMU.KIN-šu
 46) [.....]'a'-'na'[a-š*i*] la e-le-é'-e
 47) [.....] la i-na-aḥ-ḥi-is
 [.....]---
 48) [.....i]a ip-še-et-šu-nu
 49) [.....n]im-mì
 50) [.....a]n-ni
 51) [.....URU Kàr-]ga-mi-iš
 52) [.....]ša at-tù-ia
 53) [.....i]k-šu-dú-ni₇
 54) [.....]'šu'-'nu'
 55) [.....i-ka-ša-]dú-ni₇
 56) [.....]
 57) [.....]traces

Translation

Obv.

- 01) To the king, my lord,
 02) the message of Akizzi yo[ur] servant
 03) at the feet of my lord [have I fallen.]

-
- 04) My lord, [.....]
 05) And I [have been writing.....]
 06) No[w.....]
 07) and[.....] —[.....]
 08) 'and'[.....]
 09) [.....]
 10) [.....]
 11) [.....]
 12) [.....]
 13) [.....]
 14) [.....t]o you
 15) [.....]my
 16) [.....]
 17) [.....]
 18) [.....I]kept on writing
 19) [.....]
 20) [.....]'strong'
 21) [.....] [.....]--
 22) [.....Aitugama, ru]ler of the city of Kedesh
 23) [.....lo]cated
 24) and t[o.....]
 25) [he] will[come.....]
 26) [..].....[Arsawia, the ruler of the ci]ty of Rôgisi
 27) 'and' Teu[watti, the ruler of] the city of Labana
 28) with A[itugama, the ruler of] city of Kedesh
 29) and with [the king of the land of **Hatti**,] they are seizing.

- [.....]-----
 30) Why [.....]
 31) Ar[*zauia*, ruler of the city of Rôgi]šûi

Lo.ed.

- 32) And Te[*uwatti*, the ruler of the city of] Labana
 33) and the k[ing of the land of **Hatti**.....]
 34) all [together against the king,]my lord.
 35) [.....he went [...]

Rev.

- 36) [he] will [come to me(?)......]
 37) [and] with[them.....he wen]t. [...]------[.....]-----
 38) [and the] envoy[of my lord]to me
 39) *has come*[and thus he s]poke:
 40) “In the land of Mitt[anni I wen]t around;
 41) and three [or four kings] were hostile
 42) to the k[ing of the land of **Hat[ti**. And a]ll
 43) were cord[ial to]me.” [.....]--[.....]
 44) [.....his]troops and his chariots
 45) [.....m]y and[...] his envoy
 46) [.....]to [come forth] I am not able.
 47) [.....] he will not withdraw. [.....]----
 48) [.....mi]ne, their behavior
 49) [.....]
 50) [.....]
 51) [.....the city of Car]kemish
 52) [.....]which is mine
 53) [.....they] have come
 54) [.....]theirs (or acusative “them”)
 55) [.....they will] come.
 56) [.....]
 57) [.....] *traces*

The content of this letter seems to resemble that of the previous one, to which I refer for the comment. Just a general quotation of Karkemish can be found at the end of the missive, but the fragmentary state of preservation of the document does not allow a meaningful translation (nor an effective commentary).

9. EA 55 (Liverani¹⁴¹⁶, LA 268) = CTH 188 = BB 36, BM 29819:

Akizzi (of Qatna) to Amenhotep IV (in Akkadian).

“Denunciation of the distructions made by the Hittite army and request of financing to redeem the prisoners and remake the statues of the gods; reminder for an adequate military intervention”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 400-405:

Transliteration

Obv.

01) 'a'-na ¹Nam-ḫur-ia DUMU ^dUTU be-lí-ia qí-bí-'ma'

02) um-ma ¹A-ki-iz-zi ÌR-ka-ma

03) 7 a-na UZU.GÌR.MEŠ be-lí-ia am-qut

04) be-lí i-na aš-ri an-ni-im a-na-ku šu-ú-ut

05) LÚ ÌR-ka a-na 'ša' be-lí-ia ^{SILA}ur-ḫu ub-ta-e

06) iš-tu ša be-lí-'ia' la a-pát-ṭar-mì

07) e-nu-ma šu-ut-ma LÚ.MEŠ ab-bu-te^{MEŠ}-ia

08) a-na ša LÚ.MEŠ.ÌR-ti-ka-ma KUR-tu₄ an-nu-ú KUR.ḪI.A-ka

09) URU Qat-'na'^{KI} URU-ka a-na-ku a-na ša be-lí-ia

10) be-lí e-nu-ma ÉRIN.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-'šu'

11) ša be-lí il-li-kám NINDA.ḪI.A KAŠ.ḪI.A GU₄.MEŠ

12) ÛZ.ḪI.A LÁL.ḪI.A ù Ì.GIŠ.MEŠ a-na pa-ni

13) ERÍN.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša be-lí-ia ú-uš-ša-ni

14) ù a-nu-um-ma LÚ.MEŠ GAL-tu₄^{MEŠ} ša be-lí-ia

15) ù 'li'-iš-al-šu-nu be-lí-ia

16) be-lí a-na pa-ni ÉRIN.MEŠ -ka ù a-na pa-ni GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka

17) KUR.KUR-tu₄ gáb-bá i-pal-la-aḫ

18) šum-ma be-lí-ia KUR.'KUR'-tu₄ an-nu-ú

19) a-na ša KUR-šu i-ša-ab-bat-šu ù i-na MU an-'ni'-i[m]?

20) 'be'-lí-ia ÉRIN.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šu li-wa-aš-'šèr'

21) ù li-il-li-kám ki-i-me-e KUR Nu-ḫa-aš-še gáb-bá-'am'-'ma'

22) a-na ša be-lí-ia šum-ma be-lí 'ÉRIN'.MEŠ 'uš'-'ší'-[m]i

23) aš-šum KAM 6 u₄-mi i-zi-iz-mi i-na KUR MAR.'TU'(?)

24) ù lu-ú il-te-qè-šu-nu ¹A-zi-ra

25) ù šum-ma i-na KAM.MU an-ni-im ÉRIN.MEŠ-šu [ù GIŠ.GIG]IR-š[u]

26) 'ša' 'be'-'lí'-ia la it-ta-ší ù la ik-[ta-aš-da]

27) 'KUR' [a-na] 'pa'-ni ¹A-zi-ra i-pal-la-a[ḫ]

28) [.....r]i i-pát-ṭar-ru [.....]

29) [.....]'LÚ'(?)'.MEŠ' [.....]

30) Broken off

Lo.ed.

31) Broken off

32) " "

33) " "

34) " "

Rev.

35) " "

¹⁴¹⁶ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 295-296 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 384 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 332-337 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 127-128 (just comment).

- 36) LÚ.M[EŠ..r]i(?) 'LÚ'. 'ERÍN'.MEŠ x[....]
 37) a-na ša be-lí-ia e-nu-[ma.....]
-
- 38) be-lí i-de₄-šu be-lí-ia [.....]
 39) LÚ.MEŠ ab-bu-te^{MEŠ}-šu ša [be-lí-ia.....]
 40) ù i-na-an-na šàr **KUR Ha-[at-ti₇.....]**
 41) i-na i-ša-ti i-šar-ri-ip-šu-nu
 42) DINGIR.MEŠ-šu ù LÚ.MEŠ mu-de₄^{MEŠ}-šu ša U[RU Qat-]'na'?'
 43) šàr **KUR Ha-at-ti₇** il-te-qè-šu-nu
-
- 44) be-lí 'LÚ'. 'MEŠ' [URU] 'Qàt'-na LÚ.ÌR.MEŠ-ia
 45) ¹A-zi-r[u] 'šu'?' 'il'-te-'qè'-šu-nu ù ip-qid₄-šu-nu
 46) iš-tu 'KUR'?'-šu'?' 'ša' 'be'-'lí'-ia
 47) ù 'i'-'na'-'an'-'na' aš-[bu]-'ni₇' 'iš'-'tu' KUR-tu₄ ša be-lí-ia
 48) ^{UZU}lib'-'ba'?'-am'?' 'li'?'-'im'?'-'lik'?' be-lí-ia
 49) li-wa-aš-[šèr ip-ṭe₄-ra?]' 'ša'?' LÚ.MEŠ URU Qàt-na
 50) 'be'-'lí'-ia'?' [ù] 'lu'-ú ip-ṭur-šu-nu
 51) 'lik'-'[šu?-du]-'ni₇' 'be'-'lí-ia KÙ.'BABBAR'.MEŠ ip-ṭe₄-re-šu-nu
 52) 'ki'-'i'-'me-e' 'šu'-ú-ut ù lu-ud-din KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ
-
- 53) be-lí ^dUTU DINGIR a-bi-ia LÚ.MEŠ ab-bu-te^{MEŠ}-ka
 54) i-te-ep-pu-uš-šu-nu ù šu-mu
 55) iš-tu muḥ-ḥi-šu i-ša-kán-šu-nu
 56) ù i-na-an-'na' ^dUTU DINGIR a-bi-ia
 57) šàr **KUR Ha-at-ti₇** il-te-qè-šu-nu
 58) ù i-de₄-šu-nu be-lí-ia ip-še-et-šu-nu ša DINGIR.MEŠ
 59) ki-i-me-e šu-ú-ut ù i-na-an-na ^dUTU DINGIR a-bi-ia
 60) a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia i-tu-ur ^{UZU}lib-ba-am
 61) be-lí-ia i-'di'-'in'?'-šu ù li-id-din-šu
 62) GÍN("ZU") KÙ.GI.MEŠ ki-i ma-aš-ší-im-ma
 63) a-na ^dUTU DINGIR a-bi-ia ki-i-me-e
 64) e-te-pu-šu-ni ù šu-mu

Lo.ed.

- 65) be-lí-ia aš-šum pa-na-nu-um-ma
 66) iš-tu muḥ-ḥi ^dUTU i-šak-kán

Translation

(1–3) To Namḥur(e)ya, son of the sun god, my lord, speak; Message of Akizzi, your servant: seven (times) at the feet of my lord have I fallen.

(4–6) My lord, in this place I am the one who is your servant; I have sought the way to my lord. I do not depart from my lord.

(7–9) From the time that my ancestors became your servants, this land has been your land; the city of Qatna is your city; I belong to my lord.

(10–15) My lord, when the infantry and the chariotry of my lord came hither, food and drink, large cattle, small cattle, honey and oil I was bringing forth for the infantry and chariotry of my lord. And now, there are my lord's senior officials, so may my lord ask them.

(16–24) My lord, the entire land is afraid in the face of your infantry and your chariotry. If my lord would take this country for his own country, then in this year, my lord, may he dispatch his infantry and his chariotry and let them come. Because the entire land of Nuḡasse belongs to my lord. If, my lord, the army had only come out, (and if) in six days, it had taken a stand in Amurru, then verily they would take Aziru.

(25–27) So if in this year, the infantry [and the chario]try of my lord do not sally forth and do not ge[t here], the land will be in fear of Aziru.

(28–29) [.....] they will depart [.....] the men [.....]

(30–35) *The entire bottom of the tablet is broken off, approximately six lines; one at the bottom of the obverse, four on the lower edge and one more at the top of the reverse.*

(36–37) the me[n of.....] the troop(s) [...] of the king, my lord wh[en.....]

(38–43) My lord knows it. My lord [...] the ancestors of [my lord...] and now the king of the land of **Ḫa[tti]** has burned them with fire. As for the gods and the elite of the c[ity of Qat]na, the king of the land of **Ḫatti** has taken them away.

(44–52) My lord, the men of [the city of] Qatna are my servants. Aziru is the one who has taken them and transferred them away from the land of my lord and now they are lo[ca]ted away from the land of my lord. May my lord take counsel(?) in (his) heart; may my lord se[nd the ransom] for the men of Qatna [and] may he ransom them. Let them come hither, my lord. As for the money of their ransom, as much as it may be, and I will verily pay the money.

(53–59) My lord, a (statue of) the sun god, the god of my father, each of your ancestors made and the name (of each one) was placed before him. But now, as for the sun god(s), the god(s) of my father, the king of the land of **Ḫatti** has taken them. And my lord knows them, viz. the manufacture of (those) gods, just as they are. (60–66) And now, the sun god, the god of my father has returned to me. Take it under consideration, my lord, and may he furnish it, viz. the shekel(s) of gold as much as is needed for the sun god, the god of my father. As soon as he does thus for me, then the name of my lord will be (exalted) before the sun god, just as in the past.

EA 55 reports a heartfelt plea for military support, advanced by Akizzi (king of Qatna) to face the upcoming menace of Šuppiluliuma’s army within the Syrian territories (and mostly in the area of Nuḫḫašše): the Syrian king, after having confirmed his loyalty (Vs. 1-9) and remembered the production of goods for the Egyptian army (reaching in a previous time Akizzi’s kingdom, Vs. 10-15), presents the difficult situation of the Syrian kingdoms and asks to send troops and chariots to support him in the struggle and regain the control on the kingdom of Nuḫḫašše, which was probably menaced by the army of Aziru, king of Amurru (Vs. 16-24).

In the following paragraphs (Vs. 38-52) Akizzi informs the pharaoh about the attack of the Hittite army against a territory that has been previously under the Egyptian influence, reporting the capture of the statues of the gods and of soldiers from Qatna; Aziru is directly accused for this action, precisising that the prisoners were led “outside the country of my lord (i.e., the pharaoh)”: thus, Akizzi asks the pharaoh to send money to manage a ransom.

The following lines (Vs. 53-66) describes some pieces of the Hittite booty: a statue of the god Šimigi¹⁴¹⁷, for which Akizzi pleas the pharaoh to dispatch “a sack of gold”, probably in order to establish a ransom or to melt a new statue of the god, that would give to the Egyptian king an eternal memory.

¹⁴¹⁷ The name of the god is not quoted in Rainey’s translation: cf. e.g. MORAN 1992, pp. 127-128.

10. EA 59 (Liverani¹⁴¹⁸, LA 273) = CTH 188 = BB 41, BM 29824:

The inhabitants of Tunip to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“To face the menace of Aziru, the inhabitants of Tunip claim back the son of their (last?) king, evidently deported in Egypt”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 412-417:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na šàr KUR-ti₄ Mi-iš-ri be-lí-n[i]*
02) *um-ma DUMU.MEŠ URU Tù-ni-ip^{KI} LÚ ÌR-ka-ma*
03) *a-na UGU-ka lu-ú šul-mu*
04) *‘ù’ a-na GÌR.MEŠ be-lí<-ni>? ni-am-qut*
-
- 05) *be-lí um-ma URU Tù-ni-ip LÚ.ÌR-ka ‘iq’-ta-bi*
06) *URU Tù-ni-ip^{KI} ma-an-nu ‘i’-na pa-na-nu-um*
07) *ú-uš-ša₁₀-bu-šu la ú-uš-ša₁₀-bu-šu-ú*
08) *¹Ma-na-aḥ-pí-ir-ia \\ am-ma-ti-wu-uš*
-
- 09) *DINGIR.MEŠ-šu ù ‘GIŠ’ ‘mu’-ta-aš-šu \\ na-ap-ri-il-la-an*
10) *ša šàr KUR-ti₄ Mi-iš-ri be-lí-ni i-na URU Tù-ni-ip^{KI} aš-bu-‘ni₇’*
11) *ù li-iš-al-šu-nu be-lí-ni la-bi-ru-te-šu \\ am-ma-ti*
12) *ù i-nu-ma-mi ni-i-nu ša la be-lí-ni šàr KUR Mi-iš-ri^{KI}*
-
- 13) *ù i-na-an-‘na’ 20 MU.KAM.MEŠ a-na LUGAL be-lí-ni ni-iš-tap-ru*
14) *ù LÚ.MEŠ DUMU.KIN-ri-ni a-na LUGAL be-lí-ni aš-bu-ni₇*
15) *ù i-na-an-na be-lí-ni DUMU A-‘ki’-‘d’ÌŠKUR*
16) *a-na LUGAL be-lí-ni ni-ir-ri-iš-šu-ni₇*
17) *ù li-id-din-šu be-lí-ni*
-
- 18) *ù be-lí DUMU A-ki-d’ÌŠKUR šàr KUR-ti₄ Mi-iš-ri^{KI}*
19) *id-din ù a-na mi-ni₇ šàr-ru be-lí-ni*
20) *i-na KASKAL-ni i-ta-ar-ra-aš-šu*
-
- 21) *ù i-na-an-na ¹A-zi-ra LÚ.ÌR-ka*
22) *LÚ NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆-ka i-še-em-me-šu-nu*
23) *ù i-na KUR-ti₄ Ḥa-at-at^{KI}*
24) *NAM sar-ra-tu₄ ik-šu-ud-šu-nu*
-

Lo.ed.

- 25) *ù i-nu-ma ERÍN.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR-šu*
26) *uḥ-<ḥi->ru-‘nim’-mi*

Rev.

- 27) *ù ni-i-nu ¹A-zi-ra*
28) *ki-i-ma URU Ni-i^{KI} i-ip-pu-uš-šu-nu*
-
- 29) *šum-ma ni-i-nu-ma qá-a-la-nu*
30) *ù šàr KUR-ti₄ Mi-iš-ri i-qá-al-mi*
31) *aš-šum a-wa-te^{MEŠ} an-ni-tu₄ ša i-ip-pu-šu-nu*
32) *¹A-zi-ra i-nu-ma-mi ^{UZU}qa-ta*
33) *a-na muḥ-ḥi be-lí-ni li-wa-aš-šèr-ru*
-

¹⁴¹⁸ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 299-300 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, pp. 384-385 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 342-347 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 130-131 (translation).

- 34) *ù i-nu-ma-mi* ¹A-zi-ra URU *Šu-mu-ri*^{KI} *i-ru-bu*
 35) *ù i-te-pu-uš-šu-nu* ¹A-zi-ra
 36) *ša lib-bi-šu i-na* É-ti
 37) *ša šàr-ri be-lí-ni* *ù aš-šum a-wa-te*^{MEŠ}
 38) *an-⟨nu⟩-tu₄ be-lí-ni i-qá-al-mi*
-
- 39) *ù ʿi-nan-na* URU *Tù-ni-ip*^{KI}
 40) URU-ka *i-ba-ak-ki*
 41) *ù dī-ma-te*^{MEŠ}-*šu i-la-ak*
 42) *ù a-na ša-ba-ti-šu ša* UZU.ŠU-ʿ*ti-ni ia-nu-um*
-
- 43) *ni-i-nu-ma a-na* LUGAL *be-lí šàr KUR-ti₄ Mi-iš-ri*
 44) *a-na* 20 MU.KAM.MEŠ *ni-iš-tap-ru*
 45) *ù a-wa-at ša be-li-ni*
 46) *1-en a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-ni la i-kaš-ša*₁₀-ʿ*ad*ʿ
-

Lo.ed.

- 29) *ù am-[m]i-ni₇ ʿbe-ʿlī-ʿni*[.....]
 30) DUMU.MEŠ [URU] ʿ*Šú*[.....]

Rev.

- 31) *ù b[e-li-i]a* [... UR]U[.....]
 32) *la iš-ʿte*[m]e [.....]
 33) *it-ti* ÌR[.....]
 34) *ša be-lí-ia ir-ʿru*(?)[-ub.....]
 35) ÌR-ka *i-kaš-šad-an-ni* [.....]
-
- 36) *ù LÚ.DUMU KIN-ri-šu ša b[e-]l[i-ia]*
 37) *a-ʿna* UGU-ia *it-tal-kam*
 38) ʿ*ù ʿki-ia-am iq-ta-b[i]*
 39) *i-na KUR Mi-it-ta-a[n]-ni ʿa-t[a-la-ak]*
 40) ʿ*ù* LUGAL.MEŠ 3 *ù 4 na-ʿak*[-ru a-na]
 41) [š]a LUGAL **KUR** *Ḫa-at-ti₇ ša gáb*[-bu?]
 42) [a-na] ʿ*pa-ni-ia ša-ak-nu*
-

- 43) [*ù b[e-li-ia iq-ta-b[i....]-šu-nu*
 44) [...]ʿKUR ʿ*Ḫur-ʿri* [.....]
 45) [.....]ʿḪI.A ʿ*ma-ʿti₇*[.....]
 46) [.....]ʿKUR ʿURU.ʿḪI.A ʿ*a-l[i-ik]*
 47) [.....]ʿ*be ša*[.....]
 48) [.....]ʿ*li-šu-n[u]*
 49) [.....]ʿ*a*(?)-ʿ*na*(?) ʿ*be*(?)[-*lí-ia*]
 50) [.....]ʿ*a*(?)-ʿ*na*(?) ʿUGUʿ[-*ia*]
 51) [.....]ʿ*nim*[.....]

Translation

(1–4) To the king of the land of Egypt, ou[r] lord, thus (speak) the sons of the city of Tunip, your servant. May it be well with you. And at the feet of ⟨our⟩ lord, we have fallen.

(5–8) My lord, thus spoke the city of Tunip, your servant. As for the city of Tunip, in the past who occupied it? Did not Manaḫpirya occupy it, namely your ancestor?

(9–12) His deity and his *statue*(?) of the king of the land of Egypt, our lord, have been located in the city of Tunip. So may our lord ask them, namely his ancients, when did we not belong to our lord, king of the land of Egypt?

(13–17) And now, twenty years we have been writing to the king, our lord, and our envoys have been located with the king, our lord. But now, our lord, we have been requesting the son of Aki-Teššub of the king, our lord, so may our lord give him.

(18–20) And my lord gave the son of Aki-Teššub, so why is the king, our lord, holding him back from the way?

(21–24) And now, Aziru, your servant, your gardener, is heeding them and from the land of **Hatti** a criminal fate has overtaken them

(25–28) And since his infantry and his chariots have decayed, then as for us, Aziru treats us like the city of Niyi.

(29–33) If we keep silent and the king of the land of Egypt keeps silent concerning these things that Aziru is doing, then he will surely turn his hand against our lord.

(34–38) And inasmuch as Aziru entered Šumur and did to them just as he pleased in the palace of the king, our lord, then concerning these things, our lord keeps silent

(39–42) So now, the city of Tunip, your city, is weeping and its tears are flowing and there is none to grasp our hand.

(43–46) We belong to the king of the land of Egypt and we have been writing twenty years but not a single word of our lord has reached us.

(29–35) And why, does our lord, the citizens of [the city of] Šu[...] and my lord [...]did not hear/he[ed...] with the servant [...]of my lord enter [in...]your servant will come to me [.....]

(36–42) And the envoy of [my] lord came to me and thus he said, “I we[nt about] in the land of Mittanni and there were three or four kings hostile [to] the king of the land of **Hatti** of which al[l were] well disposed towards me.”

(43–51) [And] my [lo]rd sai[d...]them [...]the land of Hurri [...] the city states I [went...]their [cit]ies(?) [...]to(?) [my] lo[rd...]against/to [me.....]

This tablet reports a letter sent by the citizens of Tunip to the pharaoh. The passage quoting the Hittites deals with the fate of a ruler and a gardener(?), as told by Aziru (king of Amurru) who was probably trying to extend his control over some Egyptian territories, on behalf of his new master Šuppiluliuma I¹⁴¹⁹. The people of Tunip asks the pharaoh to send some troops to avoid Aziru to fulfill his plans, as previously happened with the city of Šumur.

¹⁴¹⁹ This is also the opinion in RAINEY Z"L 2015, vol. 2, p. 1402: “With the background of ‘Aziru becoming the vassal of Suppiluliuma, the king of the Hittites, and his activities against the city kingdoms of Egypt, the citizens of Tunip wrote to Pharaoh about the ‘Aziru threat against their city”.

11. EA 75 (Liverani¹⁴²⁰, LA 136) = CTH 188 = WA 79, Cairo 4757:

Rib-Adda to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Quotation of a victory of Ḫatti on Mittani and consequent Abdi-Aširta’s advantage”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 458-461:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [1R]i-ib-a[d-d]a [iq-bi]
 02) [a-]na EN-[˘]šu[˘] š[àr KUR.KUR.(KI.MEŠ)]
 03) ^dNIN ša U[RU Gub-la]
 04) ti-din KAL.[˘]GA[˘] [˘]a[˘][-na EN-ia]
 05) a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia ^d[UTU-ia]
 06) [7-][˘]šu[˘] 7-a-an am-qú-[˘]ut[˘] [lu-ú]
 07) i-de LUGAL EN-li i-nu-[ma]
 08) šal-ma-at URU Gub-la [˘]GÉME[˘][-ka]
 09) [˘]eš[˘] [˘]iš-[˘]tu[˘] da-ri-it UD.KAM.MEŠ
 10) ša-[˘]ni[˘]-tam GA.KAL nu-KÚR ša ÉRIN GAZ.MEŠ
 11) U[GU]-ia ga-am-ru DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ
 12) GÌŠ.[MEŠ] É.MEŠ i-na [˘]na[˘] [˘]da[˘]-ni
 13) [i-na] KUR Ia-ri-mu-ta i-na
 14) [˘]i-na[˘] [˘]ba-la-a[˘] ZI-n[u]
 15) [˘]A.ŠÀ[˘]-ia DAM ša la mu-[t]a
 16) ma-ši-il₅ aš-šum ba-li
 17) i-re-š[i-i]m aš-ta-pa-ar ù
 18) [aš-]ta-ni a-na É.GA[L] aš-šum mur-ší-i UGU-ia
 19) [ia-nu] ša i-da-gal a-wa-[te]^{MEŠ} š[a]-a
 20) [ti-ik-šu]-du-na li-iš-mé
 21) [LUGAL a-na a]-wa-teMEŠ [˘]ÌR[˘][-šú]

Lo.ed.

- 22) [.....]
 23) [.....]

Rev.

- 24) [.....i-zi-b]u-n[i] ka[-li]
 25) [KUR.KUR.MEŠ] š[à]r-ri EN-ia ¹A-d[u-na]
 26) [LÚ] URU Ir-qa-[˘]ta[˘] i-du-ku-[˘]šu[˘]
 27) [ÉRIN.]MEŠ GAZ.[˘]MEŠ[˘] ù ia-nu
 28) ša [˘]ia[˘]-aq-bi mi-im-ma a-na
 29) ¹ÌR-A-ši-ir-ta ù ti-il-q[ú]
 30) ¹Mi-ya LÚ UR[U] A-ra-aš-ni
 31) iš-ša-bat URU Ar-[˘]da[˘]-ta
 32) ù an-nu-uš [i]-na-an-na
 33) [˘]LÚ[˘].MEŠ URU Am-mi-i[˘]a[˘] ti-du-ku
 34) EN-[˘]šu[˘] ù p[a-]al-ḫa-ti a-na-ku
 35) li-il₅-[m]a-ad LUGAL be-li
 36) i-nu-ma iš-[š]a-bat šàr **Ḫa-ti**
 37) ka-li KUR.KUR KU.TI.TI (= GÙ.[UN].DI₆.DI₆?)
 38) šàr KUR Mi-it-ta-ni-ma
 39) šàr KUR Na-aḫ-[˘]ri[˘]-ma
 40) KUR LUGAL.LUGAL ra-bu-[te]
 41) ¹ÌR-A-ši-ir-[˘]ta[˘] [ÌR]

¹⁴²⁰ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 173-174 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 390 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 376-381 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 145 (translation); YOUNGBLOOD 1961, pp. 155ff. (transliteration and translation).

- 42) UR.GI₇ yi-ìl[-qú KUR.KUR LUGAL ù]
 43) uš-šī-ra É[RIN.MEŠ pí-ṭá-ti]
 44) 'GA'. 'KAL' [...]
 45) x-m[a.....]
 46) x-m[a.....]
 47) x-t[a.....]

Lft.ed.

- 48) [a-wa-tu-ia la-]a ti-iš[-mu-na]
 49) [ù uš-šī]i-ra LÚ a-na URU [Gub-la]
 50) [ù ú-t]a-ra a-na-ku a-w[a-te^{MEŠ}-ia]

Translation

(1–6) [R]ib-a[dd]a [spoke t]o his lord, the ki[ng of the lands; May the Lady of the ci[ty of Byblos] grant strength t[o my lord]. At the feet of my lord, [my sun] god, [seven] times and seven times have I fallen.
 (6–9) [May] the king, my lord, know tha[t] the city of Byblos, [your] handmaiden, has been at peace from ancient times.
 (10–14) Furthermore, intense is the hostility of the ‘*apîru*’ troops against me; exhausted are our sons, daughters, household furnishings in payment [in] the land of Yarimuta for preserving our lives.
 (15–17) My field is like a woman without a husband due to lack of cultivation.
 (17–23) I wrote repeatedly to the palace concerning the distress against me; [there is no one] that considered the word[s] that [were arri]ving. May the [king] listen [to the w]ords of his servant. [.....].
 (24–31) [.....]a[ll the lands of] the king my lord [have aband]oned me. As for Ad[una, the ruler] of the city of ‘Irqata, ‘*apîru*’ [troop]s have slain him and there is no one who spoke to ‘Abdi-Ashirta. And th[ey] too[k] Miya, the ruler of the city of Arashni. The city of Ardata is taken.
 (32–34) And now the men of the city of Ammiy⟨a⟩ killed its lord and I myself am afraid.
 (35–41) May the king, my lord, be apprised that the king of **Hatti** has taken all the lands, *tribute bearers*(?), of the king of the land of Mittani, the king of the land of Nahri⟨na⟩, the land of great kings.
 (41–50) ‘Abdi-Ashirta, [the slave,] the dog, is taki[ng the lands of the king so] send a large [regular] f[orce] my words are not be[ing heard, so se]nd a man to the city [of Byblos and I,] myself, [will send ba]ck [my] wo[rds].

This letter was sent by Rib-Adda (king of Byblos) to inform the pharaoh about the recent Hittite conquests in territories formerly under the control of the Mittanian king, whose land is here defined with the toponym Naḥarina, typically attested in the Egyptian documentation of that period¹⁴²¹. Unfortunately, no other information about the Hittites is provided.

¹⁴²¹ See *supra*, section 1.1, texts nos 1.a, 6.a-b, 8.a-c,m and 11.

12. EA 116 (Liverani¹⁴²², LA 179) = CTH 187 = WA 61, Cairo 4752:

Rib-Adda to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Complaining about the still missing Egyptian intervention, after that Aziru took Sumura”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 612-617:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [¹Ri-ib-^dIŠKUR] iš-ta-pár a-n[a]
- 02) [EN-šu LUG]AL GAL šàr KUR.KUR.KI šàr
- 03) [ta-]am-ḥa-ar ^dNIN ša URU Gub-[la]
- 04) [ti-]di-in₄ KAL.GA a-na šàr-^rri
- 05) [EN-]ia a-na ĠÌR.MEŠ EN-[i]a ^dUTU<-ia>
- 06) [7-šu] 7-ta-an am-qú-ut lu-ú i-de
- 07) [šàr-]ru EN-li i-nu-ma KAL.GA ma-gal nu-KÚR
- 08) [U]GU-nu i-nu-ma yu-qa-bu-na i-na
- 09) [pa-]ni-ka i-ba-ša-at-mi
- 10) [UR]U Šu-mu-ra a-na šàr-ri yi-de
- 11) [LU]GAL i-nu-ma ma-qa-ti-ma a-<na> UN-nu
- 12) ^rù^r ša-ab-tu-ši_x(ŠE) DUMU.MEŠ ¹İR-A-ši-ir-[t]a
- 13) ù ia-nu ša-a yu-ba-lu a-wa-t[a]_s
- 14) [a]-na šàr-ri ù mi-lik i-nu-ma
- 15) ^rİR^r ki-ti-ka a-na-ku ù ka-l[i]
- 16) ša-a eš-mu aš-pu-ru a-na EN-[ia]
- 17) ša-ni-tam mi-lik a-na URU Šu-mu-[ra]
- 18) ki-ma MUŠEN ša i-na lib-bi ḥu[-ḥa-ri] \ ki-lu[-bi]
- 19) ^rša^r-ak-na-at ki-na-na
- 20) i-ba-ša-at KAL.GA ma-gal [nu-KÚR]
- 21) ù LÚ.MEŠ DUMU ši-ip-ri š[a tu-šu-na]
- 22) iš-tu E.GAL [l]a-a ti[-l]e[-ú]
- 23) i-re-ba [a]-na URU Šu-mu-ra
- 24) mu-š[a] š[u-]ri-ib-ti-šu-nu
- 26) ú-ul [ta]-[r]i-iš it-it-ia
- 27) ka-š[a-d]i-ma LÚ-ia ù
- 28) ra-ak-[š]a-šu ù [na]-ad!-na
- 29) ki-ti-ia ma-id ma-gal ù
- 30) an-nu-ú LÚ.MEŠ MÁŠKIM šàr-ri
- 31) yu-wa-ši-ru-na š[à]r-ru ù
- 32) ia-aq-bi šàr-ru a-na ša-šu-nu
- 33) ù tu-pa-ri-šu be-ri-ku-ni
- 34) šum-ma ia-di-nu šàr-ru a-na ¹İR-šu
- 35) ù i-di-in₄ ù šum-ma ap-pu-[n]a-ma
- 36) yi-ìl-qé LUGAL gáb-ba a-na ša-[š]u
- 37) ša-ni-tam ka-li URU.MEŠ-ia
- 38) ^rin₄^r-né-ep-šu a-na LÚ.MEŠ G[AZ.MEŠ]
- 39) ù ka-li-šu-nu [ma-gal nu-KÚR]
- 40) it-ti-ia ù [¹Ia-pa]-^dr IŠKUR^r

Rev.

- 41) lum-na lum-na-ma [yu-la-mi-nu]
- 42) UGU-ia ia-nu mi-i[m-m]a a-na
- 43) ša-šu-nu ša-a 2 ša-a 3 a-pí-i[l]
- 44) KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ip-ṭi-ri ù yi-iš-mé šà[r-]ru
- 45) a-wa-te ¹İR ki-ti-šu ù

¹⁴²² LIVERANI 1998, pp. 220-221 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 502-507 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 191-193 (translation).

- 46) *ia-di-in₄ ba-la-tá a-na ÌR-šu*
 47) *ù GÉME-šu URU Gub-la ša-ni-tam*
 48) *da-mi-iq a-na ia-ši ù*
 49) *i-ba-ša-ti it-ti-ka ù*
 50) *pa-aš-ḥa-ti al-lu-ú ¹A-zi-ru ù*
 51) *¹Ia-pa-^dÌŠKUR la-qú a-wa-ta [b]e-ri-šu-nu*
 52) *UGU-ia ù la-a i-le-ú [i-p]é-eš*
 53) *mi-im-mi ù ip-šu-šu-nu [nu-kúr-t]_{u4}*
 54) *it-ti-ia ki-na-na ma-r[i-iš ma-]gal*
 55) *a-na ia-ši ša-ni-tam a-mur ni-[nu ÌR.MEŠ] ki-ti*
 56) *šàr-ri iš-tu da-ri-t[i UD.]MEŠ*
 57) *ša-ni-tam a-na-ku ÌR ki-t[i-ka]*
 58) *ù mur-ša-ma a-na ia-ši a[-mur]*
 59) *a-wa-ta an-ni-ta a-mur a-n[a-ku]*
 60) *ep-ru ša-a GÌR.MEŠ-ka šà[r-ru]*
 61) *a-mur a-bu-ka la-a a-ší [ù]*
 62) *la-a i-da-gal KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ [ù]*
 63) *ḥa-za-ni-šu ù an-nu-ú na-a[d-nu-ka]*
 64) *DINGIR.MEŠ ù ^dUTU ù ^dN[IN]*
 65) *ša URU Gub-la ù aš-[b]a[-ta]*
 66) *a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA É a-bi-ka*
 67) *a-na KUR-ka mi-ia-mi šu-n[u]*
 68) *DUMU.MEŠ ¹ÌR-A-ši-ir-ta ù*
 69) *¹la¹-qú KUR LUGAL a-na ša-šu-nu*
 70) *šàr KUR Mi-ta-na šu-nu ù šàr*
 71) *[K]UR Ka-ši ù šàr **KUR Ḥa-ta***
 72) *¹yu¹-wa-ši-ra LUGAL ÉRIN.MEŠ*
 73) *pí-tá-ti ¹Ia-an-ḥa-⟨ma⟩ qa-du*
 74) *[qí-pa-]ni KUR Ia-ri-mu-ta*
 75) *[ù] MÁŠKIM URU Ku-mi-di*
 76) *[it-ti-]šu ù la-qú [gáb-bi]*
 77) *[LÚ.MEŠ SA.GA]Z.MEŠ ¹ù¹[*
 78) *[.....]du L[UGAL(?)]*

Lft.ed.

- 79) *[.....UR]U Gub-la*
 80) *[.....] a-na ÌR ki-ti-[šu]*

Translation

(1–6) [Rib-Haddi] wrote t[o his lord, the] great [ki]ng, king of the lands, the king of [ba]ttle. May the Lady of the city of Byblos [gr]ant strength to the king, my [lord; at the feet of [m]y lord, ⟨my⟩ sun god, [seven times] (and) seven times have I fallen.

(6–13) So may [the ki]ng, my lord, be apprised that very great is the hostility [a]gainst us. Inasmuch as it is said in your [pre]sence, “[The c]ity of Šumur belongs to the king,” may the [ki]ng be apprised that the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta have fallen up⟨on⟩ our garrison and they have seized it and there is no one that can bring wor[d t]o the king.

(14–16) So take counsel, because your loyal servant am I and al[*I*] that I hear I write to [my] lord.

(17–24) Furthermore, take counsel concerning the city of Šumu[r]; it is like a bird that is placed in a cage. Thus [hostility] is exceedingly great. And the envoys th[at come forth] from the palace are [un]able to enter [in]to the city of Šumur. At night I in[s]erted them.

(25–34) And Ya[pa‘]-Haddi therefore, is not [stra]ight with me. When my man arrived, then he bound him and [ga]ve away (sold?) my rightful due, it being very extensive. So, behold, the king is sending the king’s commissioners. So may he speak to them that they should adjudicate between you (or: us). If the king would give (it) to his servant,

(35–36) then give. But if, on the other hand, let the king take it all for himse[lf].

(37–42) Furthermore, all of my towns have joined the ‘*ap[îru]* men and all of them are e[xtremely hostile] towards me. And [Yapa‘]-Haddi [plots] evil upon evil against me.

(42–47) They have no[thi]ng, having paid ransom money some twice, some three times. So may the ki[n]g heed the words of his loyal servant and may he give sustenance to his servant and to his handmaiden, the city of Byblos.

(47–55) Furthermore, it would be good for me if I were with you and I were at peace. Behold, Aziru and Yapa‘-Haddi have made a league between them against me and I am unable [to d]o anything. And their deeds are [hostili]ty against me. Thus, it is sorely grievous to me.

(55–67) Look, w[e are] loyal [servants]of the king from olde[n day]s. Furthermore, I am [your] lo[yal] servant and it is grievous to me. Note this word. Look, ‘I am the dirt under your feet, O ki[n]g. Look, your father did not come forth [and] he did not inspect the lands [or] his city rulers. But behold, the gods and the sun god and the La[dy] of the city of Byblos have gran[t]ed you that you should si[t] on the throne of the house of your father for your land.

(67–69) Who are they, the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta that they take the land of the king for themselves?

(70–71) The king of the land of Mittani? or the king of the [l]and of Cush? or the king of the land of **Hatti**?

(72–80) May the king send regular troops, Yanḥamu, with [the overseer]er of the land of Yarimuta [and] the commissioner of the city of Kômidi [with] him that they may take [all the ‘*apîr*’u [men] and [.....] the k[ing].....the ci]ty of Byblos [.....] to [his] loyal servant.

In this letter, sent by Rib-Adda¹⁴²³ (king of Byblos) to the pharaoh, the vassal king informs his master about the military conquests perpetrated by the sons of ‘Abdi-aširta (king of Amurru¹⁴²⁴) who had submitted the city of Šumur (cf. *supra*, text no. 16), previously under the Egyptian control.

In Vs. 70-71, the rank of ‘Abdi-aširta’s sons is defined in comparison with the status of other much more important kings of that period, i.e. the kings of Mittani, Kush and Hatti: thus, in this text, the mention of the Hittites is just functional to establish this comparison, showing the evident lower status of ‘Abdi-aširta’s sons; by the way, it is possible to argue that in the mind of the sender of the tablet the Hittite king was perceived as equal-rank to the Mittanian and Kushite sovereigns.

¹⁴²³ For Rib-Adda, see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 110, 132, 161-164 and 175-177, with further bibliography.

¹⁴²⁴ For this king, see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 130-131, 161-162 and 175, with further bibliography.

- 41) ù LÚ.DUMU ši-ip-r[i-ia]
 42) la-a tu-ša-šú-na-[šu]
 43) ù uš-ši-ra-šu qa-^rdu^r-mi
 44) ÉRIN.MEŠ re-šú-ti šum-ma LUGAL
 45) za-ir URU.KI-šu ù i-^rzi^r-ba-ši
 46) ù šum-ma ia-ti-ia ^rù^r
 47) ^ri^r-pa-^rá-ra-ni-mi ^rù^r
 48) uš-ši-ra LÚ-ka yi-n[a-ša-a]r-ši
 49) mi-nu-mi la-a yu-da-n[u]
 50) iš-tu ^rÉ^r.GAL mi-im-[m]u
 51) a-na ia-ši ù!(LA) ÉRIN.MEŠ ^rHa^r-[t]i
 52) ù i-ša-ra-pu KUR.M[EŠ a-n]a IZI
 53) aš-tap-pár aš-ta-ni la-[a]
 54) ia-tu-ru-na a-wa-tu
 55) a-na ia-a-ši ša-ab-tu
 56) ka-li KUR.MEŠ LUGAL BAD-ia
 57) ù qa-al be-li iš!(TU)-tu-šu-nu
 58) ù a-nu-ma i-na-na tu-
 59) [b]a-lu-na ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ ^rHa-ti

Up.ed.

- 60) ^ra^r-[n]a ša-^rba^r-ti URU.KI Gub[-la]
 61) ù mi-lik a-na URU.^rKI^r-[ka]
 62) ^rù^r la-a-mi yi-^riš^r-me

Lft.ed.

- 63) [LU]GAL a-na LÚ.MEŠ mi-ši gáb-^rbi^r [K]Ù.BABBAR u ^rKÙ^r.^rGI^r LUGAL
 64) ta-di-nu-ni a-na DUMU.MEŠ ÌR-A-šì-^rir^r-ti
 65) ù šu(!)-a-ti ta-di-nu-ni DUMU.MEŠ ÌR-A-šì-^rir^r-ti
 66) a-na šàr-ri ^rda^r-an-ni ù ki-na-na da-nu

Translation

(1–3) Rib-Hadda: Speak to the king, my lord: Beneath the feet of my lord seven (times) and seven (times) have I fallen.

(4–13) Inasmuch as my lord has written for boxwood, it is from the mountains of Salḫu and from the city of Ugarit that they are brought. I am unable to send my ships there because Aziru is at war with me and all the city rulers are at peace with him. Their ships go about as they please and they bring whatever they need.

(14–30) Furthermore, why does he (the king) give royal supplies and rations to the city rulers, my fellows, while to me he does not give anything? But formerly, to my fathers, silver was sent from the palace, and supplies for their sustenance and my lord sent troops to them. But now, I write to my lord but troops and garrison troops are not s[en]t and supplies are not issued [to] me. ^rSo^r(!) ^rwhere^r(!) [can] I [g]o myself?

(30–31) Inasmuch as the king, my lord [has said:] “G[uard yourself]

(32–44) and gua[r]d the city of the king that is in your charge,” how can I pro[tect myself]? I wrote [to the king, my lord,] “[All my towns] are taken! The son of ‘Abdi-[Ashirta is] their [master]. Only the city of Byb[los remains] to me,” and be[hold,] I [sent] my emissary t[o the king,] my [lo]rd; troops were not sent and as for [my] emissary, they are not sending [him] forth. So send him wi[th] rescue forces.

(44–51) If the king hates his city, then I will abandon it, but if it is me (he hates) then I will absent myself, then send your man, let him g[uard] it. Why are supplies not issued to me from the palace?

(51–58) And(!) as for the **Hittite** army, thus it is setting fire to the territories. I have written over and over; word does not come back to me. All the territories of the king, my lord, are seized, but my lord keeps silent concerning them.

(58–66) And even now, they are bringing the **Hittite** army to capture the city of Byblos, so take counsel concerning [your] city and don’t listen to the men of the expeditionary force. They were transferring all the king’s silver and gold to the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta and the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta are transferring that (silver and gold) to the strong king (i.e. of Ḫatti) and thus they are strong.

After a negative reply to the pharaoh's request for wood (motivated by the warfare situation provoked by Aziru) Rib-Adda, king of Byblos, asks the Egyptian king to send him military forces and supplies to face Aziru's threats in Syria.

The attention is then focused on the Hittites (Rs. 51-66), whose army is told to have burnt many cities: Rib-Adda reproaches the pharaoh for not having sent back a response to his vassal's pleas, remaining silent while "all the territories of the king, my lord, are seized".

The last paragraph (Rs. 58-66) reports how the Hittites were being successful in submitting the territory in the nearby of Byblos, menacing the capital itself; the people of the expeditionary force, probably sent to support Rib-Adda, betrayed the pharaoh and lied to him, transferring the king's silver and gold to 'Abdi-aširta's sons, who in turn dispatched them to the Hittite king. It is noteworthy the expression used here to determine the Hittite sovereign, i.e. the adjective "strong" (*da'-an-ni*¹⁴²⁶, left edge 66), characterizing Šuppiluliuma I as a danger for the Egyptian dominance in Syria¹⁴²⁷.

¹⁴²⁶ See CAD 3 (D), p. 92: "*dannu* (fem. *dannatu*) adj. ; 1. solid, strong, hard, heavy, thick, massive fortified, steady, loud, 2. legitimate, binding, reliable, 3. strong, powerful, mighty, great, 4. fierce, savage, difficult, dangerous, serious, grave, obstinate, dab, tyrannical, harsh, pressing, urgent, essential, imperative". Cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 56. For the identification of the *šarri dannu* with the Hittite king (whose name is not explicitly quoted), see MORAN 1992, p. 207, note 12: "The 'strong king' was probably the Hittite ruler (MURNANE 1985, p. 206) rather than the king of Mittani (BUNNENS 1968-72, p. 150)."

¹⁴²⁷ Note that the same term *dannu* has also the meanings "dangerous, pressing" (see previous note, CAD, no. 4), perfectly fitting with the impending menace represented by the Hittite king.

14. EA 129 (Liverani¹⁴²⁸, LA 190) = CTH 187 = VS XI 70 (cf. WA 86 + 87), VAT 1637 + 1638: Rib-Adda to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Request of help against the pressure of Amurru; it is suggested the intervention of the commissioners of Gaza and Kumidi”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 666-673:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [Ri-i]b-ad-di [qi-bí-mi]
- 02) [a-n]a LUGAL be-li-[šu LUGAL GAL a-na KI.TA]
- 03) [GÌR.]MEŠ<-ka> 7 ù 7 [am-qt^m]
- 04) yi<-iš>-al LUGAL be-l[i a-na] DUMU.MEŠ
- 05) IR-A-ši-ir-ti i-nu-ma
- 06) [k]i-i lib-bi-šu-nu-ti-pu-[-šu-na]
- 07) mi-i a šu-nu UR.MEŠ ka<-al>-b[u]
- 08) i-nu-ma ti-pu-šu-na a[-na ša-šu-nu]
- 09) ki!-am-ma guš-mi-ru gáb!-b[i]
- 10) [KUR].MEŠ LUGAL a-na UZ[U.M]EŠ qa[-ti-šu-nu]
- 11) L[Ú].MEŠ ha-za-ni LUGAL da-[ku] ÉRIN.MEŠ-ka
- 12) ù LÚ.MEŠ we-ì ù LÚ.MEŠ LUGAL
- 13) i-na-an-na ša il-quí a-na qa[-at]
- 14) LÚ.MEŠ MÁŠKIM.MEŠ LUGAL be-li-[-ia]
- 15) ù ra-b[i]-šú LÚ em[-quí šu-ut]
- 16) ša ka-bu-ut ma-gal ù da-[ku-šu]
- 17) gáb<-bi> URU.MEŠ-ia a-na šu-nu [ù]
- 18) URU.KI Baṭ-ru-na ir-ti-ha[-at a-na ia-ši]
- 19) ù ti-ba-ú-na-ši la-q[a-a]
- 20) [l]a-qi-mi ši-a-ti ù [URU.KI Gub-la]
- 21) [ti-]il-quí-na i-nu-ma [.....]
- 22) [.....]qa-ti [...]UZU[.MEŠ qa-ti]
- 23) [.....]ŠÁ? [.....]
- 24) ù l[a?]
- 25) UGU-šu [.....]
- 26) ma-gal a-di ti-qa-b[u-na ar-na]
- 27) [GA]L i-pe-ša ù i-nu-[-ma LUGAL]
- 28) l[a uš-]šer⁹ ṭup-pa^{MEŠ} a-na LÚ.MEŠ ha[-za-ni]
- 29) ù ti-ba-ú-na i-pe-eš¹⁵ [ar-na]
- 30) šum-ma ia-nu ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ṭá-ta⁵ [ù]
- 31) [pa-]nu-šu-nu a-na ša-ba-ti URU.KI [I Gub-la]
- 32) ù ti-iq-bu-na ša-bat-mi ni[-nu]
- 33) URU.KI.MEŠ Gub^{ub}-li ù mi-[na]
- 34) [t]i-pu-šu ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ṭá-tu a[-mur-mi]
- 35) i-nu-ma ša-pár-mi LUGAL be-l[i]
- 36) a-nu-ma ÉRIN.MEŠ a-ša-at u ti-i[q-bu-na]
 \ ka-ma-m[i]
- 37) ka-az-bu-tu
- 38) ia-nu-mi ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ṭá-ta⁵ la[-a]
- 39) tu-šú u da-nu UGU-nu
- 40) [a-mur-m]i ba-li a-ší ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ṭ[á-ti]
- 41) [i-na MU š]a-an-ti an-ni-ti

Lo.ed.

- 42) [ù la-q]ú-mi U[RU.MEŠ] G[ub]ub!-la

¹⁴²⁸ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 231-232 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 406; KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 546-553 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 209-211 (translation).

- 43) [šum-ma la-qú-m]i URU.MEŠ Gub^{ub}-li
 44) [ti-iq-bu-na m]i-na ti-pu-šu ÉRIN.MEŠ
 45) [pí-ťá-ti ù ¹]Ri-ib-ad-di

Rev.

- 46) 'a'-n[a a-bu-ti-i]a LUGAL.MEŠ pa-nu-'ú'
 47) ti-n[a-ša-ru-na UR]U.KI Gub-li
 48) ù at-'ta' la-a ti-zi-ib-ši_x(ŠE)
 49) šum-ma ia-nu ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ťá-ta₅ MU 'an'-nu
 50) ù uš-ši-ra GIŠ.MÁ ti-il-qú-ni
 51) qa-du DINGIR.MEŠ ba-al-ťi a-na be-lí-ia
 52) la-a-mi yi-iq-ba LUGAL be-lí-[ia]
 53) mi-de la ša-ab-ta-at pa[-aš-ħa-at]
 54) u i-na-an-na 'tu'-iš?-ba -t[u-na]
 55) LÚ.MEŠ DUMU.M[EŠ ši-ip-ri LUGAL]
 56) LUGAL.M[EŠ]
 57) ÉRIN.MEŠ [pí-ťá-ti]
 58) ù [.....]
 59) i [.....]
 60) [.....]
 61) [.....]
 62) [.....]
 63) [.....]
 64) [.....]
 65) [.....]
 66) [.....]
 67) [.....]
 68) [.....]
 69) [.....]
 70) [.....]
 71) [.....]
 72) [.....]
 73) 'a'[.....]
 74) URU[.MEŠ Gub^{ub}-li mi-ia-mi šu-nu]
 75) šàr 'KUR'[Mi-ta-ni šu-nu šàr KUR Ka-ši ù]
 76) šàr KUR.M[EŠ Ĥa-ti i-nu-ma KUR .MEŠ LUGAL]
 77) a-na DUMU.MEŠ ĪR.'MEŠ' 'UR'. 'MEŠ' ki-n[a-na]
 78) yu-ħa-mi-ťá uš-šar ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ťá-ti
 79) LUGAL ù yi-il-qé-šú-nu 'ù'
 80) ti-né-pu-uš KUR.MEŠ a-na LUGAL 'be'-'lí'-'i'[a]
 81) mi-ia šu-nu UR.MEŠ ka-⟨al⟩-bu šum-ma
 82) ^{1r}Bir₅'-ya-wa-zi pal-ħa ⟨iš⟩-tu LUGAL
 83) la-a la-qé-šú-nu šum-ma LUGAL b[e-lí-ia]
 84) yi-iq-bu a-na LÚ.GAL URU.KI A[z-za-ti ù]
 85) [a-n]a LÚ.GAL URU.KI Ku-mi-di li[-qú-šú-nu]
 86) [u l]a-a-mi la-qú-šú-nu 'ar'[-na]
 87) [ep-šú] 'a'-na ia-ši pa-nu-šú-nu
 88) [na-ad]-nu-ma te₉-e-te-'pu'-š[u]
 89) [KUR.MEŠ] 'a'-'na' LÚ.MEŠ SA.'GAZ'. [MEŠ ù]

Up.ed.

- 90) [URU.MEŠ]-ia ša [.....]
 91) [...]aš pu-ħi-ir [.....]
 92) [.....]

Lft.ed.

- 93) [.....] ^{tu} a-n[a.....] ^{ki}-^{ti} ^ù ^a-^{na}-^{ku}
[ù UR]U.MEŠ[-ia]
- 94) [.....]nu[.....]lìb-bi[-šù-nu mi-ia-]mi ^{šu}-nu i-^{nu}-[ma]
ia[-nu.....]
- 95) [ÉRIN.MEŠ ^{pí}-] ^{tá}-ta₅ ù [...]nu a[.....]nu la-qú-mi ^{Pí}-wu-r[i]
- 96) [ù] ^{da}-^{ku}-^{šu} ^ù na-ad-n[u pa-ni-šù-nu a-na ia-ši ù] la-qú-mi
KUR.KI URU Š[u-mu-]
\ ri
- 97) [a-n]a ša-šù-nu ù [.....] ^ù ^{Pí}-wu-ri šum-^{ma} a[r-na]
- 98) la-a yi-iš-m[u LUGAL a-na ia-ši ù uš-ši-r]a GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ

Translation

- (1–3) [Ri]b-Eddi: [Speak t]o the king, [his] lord, [the great king: Beneath]⟨your⟩[fee]t, seven and seven (times) [have I fallen].
- (4–12) May the king, [my] lord in⟨quire [concerning] the sons of ‘Abdi- Ashirti because they are do[ing] as they please. Who are they, the dogs, that they are doing f[or themselves] thus? They have completely taken all the lands into [their] grasp. They have kil[led] the city rulers of the king, your troops and your soldiers and the king’s men.
- (13–25) Now what they took was under the ch[arge] of the king’s commissioners and as for the commissioner, [he] was a wi[se] man who was very honorable but [they] kil[led him]. They are in possession of all my towns, but the town of Baṭrôna remai[ns to me] and they are seeking to take it. If it be taken, then they will [ta]ke [the city of Byblos] because [...] hand [...hand...] heart [...] and no[t...] against him [...].
- (26–29) [...] very much, they are still talk[ing] about committing [grea]t [treason] and sin[ce the king has n[ot se]nt letters to the city [rulers], then they are seeking to commit [treason].
- (30–31) If there are no regular troops [then] their intention is to seize the city of [Byblos].
- (32–33) And they are saying: “If w[e] seize the cities of Byblos then wh[at] will the regular troops do?”
- (34–39) L[ook], inasmuch as the king, [my] lord wrote: “Now the regular troops have gone out,” then th[ey] are saying thus: “Lies! There are no regular troops. They have not come forth that they should overpower us.”
- (40–45) [Loo]k, without the coming forth of the reg[lar] troops [in] this [y]ear, [then] they [will ta]ke the ci[ties of B[yb]los. [If they take] the cities of Byblos, [they will say, “Wh]at can [the regular] troops [and] Rib-Hadda do?”
- (46–53) For [m]y [ancestors] the former kings used to g[uard the ci]ty of Byblos and you must not abandon it. If there are no regular troops this year, then send a ship that you may take me with the deities, my life, to my lord. May the king, my lord not say, “Perhaps, it is not captured, it is at p[ea]ce.”
- (54–58) But now the amba[ssadors of the king] are bei[ng] seized. The kings [...] the [regular] troops [...] and [...].
- (59–73) [.....]
- (74–81) The city of [Byblos. (?) Who are they]? The king of the land of [Mitanni? The king of the land of the Cassites? Or] the king of the lands of [Ḫatti? That the lands of the king] should belong to the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta, slaves, dogs? Thus, may he hasten to send the regular troops of the king that they may capture them and the lands will be joined to the king, my lord. Who are they? Dogs!
- (81–92) If Biryawaza was afraid ⟨o⟩f the king, he did not capture them. If the king [my] l[ord], will speak to the senior official of the city of G[aza and t]o the senior official of the city of Kumidi, “Ca[pture them,]” but they did [n]ot capture them. They [have committed] a cr[ime] against me. Their intention is that [the lands] should join the ‘apîru-men. My cities which [...] x he assembled [...].
- (93–98) [...]t[o...]loyal and I [and my cit]ies [...]heart[...who] are they that there are no [...re]gular [troops] and [...]they took Piwuri [and] they killed him and [they] turned [their attention to me and] they took the land of the city of Š[umu]r [fo]r themselves and [...]and Piwuru. If [the king] will not listen [to me then sen]d ships.

The content of this letter strictly resembles that of EA 116 (see *supra*, text no. 12): king Rib-Adda of Byblos pleases the pharaoh to send him troops to face the struggles against the sons of ‘Abdi-aširta, who were trying to conquest all the Syrian territories formally loyal to the pharaoh; the king of Byblos informs the pharaoh that, after Batruna was conquered, also Byblos risks to be seized and submitted. To avoid this event (which could mean the end of the Egyptian domination in Syria), Rib-Adda asks the pharaoh to aid the army of his faithful vassal.

The mention of the Hittites is placed unfortunately in a not well preserved passage (Rs. 74-81); however, by the comparison with the aforementioned EA 116, it is possible to envisage the same metaphor attested in EA 116, Vs. 70-71: the status of 'Abdi-aširta's sons is compared with that of other much more important kings of Mittani, Babylon and Ḫatti; the sender of the letter clearly affirms that their status cannot be equal to that of those sovereigns, being they only vassal "small kings", compared to slaves and dogs.

**15. EA 140 (Liverani¹⁴²⁹, LA 195) = CTH 187 = VS XI 75 (cf. WA 91), VAt 1639:
Ili-rapiḫ to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Recent interventions of Aziru in support of Etakama in the Beqa‘ Valley”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 716-717:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na LU]GAL EN-⟨ia⟩ ^dUTU-ia um-ma
- 02) ʾURU ʾGubʾ-la GÉME-ka um-ma
- 03) ʾ¹DINGIR-ra-pí-i ʾİR-ka a-ʾnaʾ
- 04) ʾGÌR.MEŠ EN-ia ^dUTU-⟨ia⟩ 7 ʾ7ʾ ʾamʾ-qut
- 05) la-a yi-qú-lu LUGAL EN-ia
- 06) i-na URU Gub-la GÉME-šu
- 07) URU šâr-ri iš-tu da-ri-ti
- 08) ša-ni-tam a-na mi-ni iš-ši-ir šâr-ru
- 09) i-na ¹A-zi-ri ù yi-pu-šu
- 10) ki-ma ŠÀ-šu a-ʾmurʾ ¹A-zi-ru ¹A-du-na šâr KUR Ir-qa-ta
- 11) da-ak šâr KUR Am-mi-ia
- 12) ù šâr KUR Ar-da-ta
- 13) ù LÚ GAL da-ak ù la-qa
- 14) URU.MEŠ-šu-nu a-na ša-šu
- 15) URU Šu-mu-ra a-na ša-šu
- 16) URU.MEŠ šâr-ri 1-en URU Gub-la
- 17) is-sí-la-at šâr-ri
- 18) ša-ni-tam ʾaʾ-mur URU Šu-mu-ra
- 19) ʾùʾ ʾURUʾ Ul-la-às-sà pa-la-ša
- 20) [š]a-ni-tam a-ʾmurʾ ar-na š[a]
- 21) [yi]-pu-iš ¹A-zi-ru
- 22) [i-n]a ur-ru-bi-šu

Lo.ed.

- 23) [a-na] mu-ḫi-ka ar-nu

Rev.

- 24) [a-na mu-ḫi-n]u iš-ši-ir LÚ.ME[Š]-
- 25) [šu a-na] maḫ-⟨ri⟩ ¹I-ta-ka-ma
- 26) [ù] ʾdaʾ-ak ka-li
- 27) [KUR.]KUR.MEŠ Am-qí KUR.MEŠ šâr-ʾriʾ
- 28) ù i-na-an-na iš-ši-ir
- 29) LÚ.MEŠ-šu i-na ša-ba-at KUR.KUR.MEŠ
- 30) Am-qí ù KI.KI ša-ni-tam la-
- 31) a yi-pu-šu šâr KUR Ḫa-at-ta
- 32) ù šâr KUR Na-ri-ma
- 33) ù

Translation

(1–4) [To the ki]ng, ⟨my⟩ lord, my sun god, the message of the city of Byblos, your handmaiden (and) the message of ʾIlu-rapiʾ, your servant; at the feet of my lord, ⟨my⟩ sun god, seven (times and) seven (times) have I fallen.

(5–7) The king, my lord, should not keep silent concerning the city of Byblos, his handmaiden, a royal city from of old.

(8–17) Furthermore, why did the king send to Aziru so that he might do as he pleases? Look, Aziru slew Aduna, the king of the land of ʾIrqata; the king of the land of Ammiya, the king of the land of Ardata and the

¹⁴²⁹ LIVERANI 1998, p. 241 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 590-593 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 226-227 (translation).

senior official, he slew and he took their towns for himself. The city of Şumur belongs to him, the cities of the king. Only, the city of Byblos, is a (stone) vessel of the king.

(18–19) Furthermore, look, he broke into the city of Şumur and the city of Ulassa.

(20–30) Furthermore, look, the crime which Aziru committed [wh]en he entered in to you. It was a crime [against] us; he sent [his] men [to] Itakama [and] he attacked all [the lan]ds of ‘Amqi, lands of the king. And now he has sent his men to seize the lands of ‘Amqi and their territories.

(30–33) Furthermore, the king of **Ḫatti** did not do, or the king of Na(h)rîma or....

EA 140 reports a request for a military aid sent by the entire city of Byblos, and nominally by Ii¹⁴³⁰-rapiḫ (Rib-Adda’s brother) to the pharaoh, asking to stop the military expansion of Aziru in many cities, such as Iqata, Ammiya, Ardata, Şumur and Ulassa.

Eventually, the king of Amurru attacked the land of Amka, so important also for the later events involving Šuppiluliuma I: Aziru’s attack is considered even more severe, because he was just a vassal king, not at the same rank of the kings of Ḫatti or Naḫarina, who are introduced in Rs. 30-33 to underline the iniquitous behaviour of the king of Amurru.

¹⁴³⁰ For this person, see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 163, 175 (with further bibliography).

16. EA 151 (Liverani¹⁴³¹, LA 125) = CTH 188 = BB 30, BM 29813:

Abi-milku to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Accompanying letter, with the usual requests of a garrison and a solution for the problem of Usu and of the water. Information about the situation in Canaan”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 762-767:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a]-na LUGAL dUTU-ia DINGIR-⁴ia⁴ 'DINGIR'.⁴MEŠ⁴-ia
- 02) um-ma ¹A-bi-LUGAL ÌR-ka
- 03) 7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-lí-ya am-qut
- 04) a-na-ku ep-ru iš-tu šu-pa-li
- 05) ^{KUŠ}še-ni LUGAL EN-lí-ia
- 06) an-nu-ú a-na-an-šár URU LUGAL
- 07) ša ip-qí-id i-na qa-ti-ia ma-gal
- 08) pa-nu-ia a-na a-la-ki
- 09) a-na a-ma-ri pa-ni LUGAL be-⁴li⁴?-⁴ia⁴
- 10) ù la-a i-lé-e iš-tu
- 11) qa-ti ¹²i-im-re-da URU Ší-du-na^{KI}
- 12) iš-mé-ni-ma ⁴e⁴-nu-ma
- 13) i-ra-bu ù i-pu-uš
- 14) nu-kúr-⁴tu⁴ it-ti-ia li-id-din-ni
- 15) LUGAL ⁴EN⁴-⁴lí⁴-⁴ia⁴ 20 LÚ.MEŠ a-na
- 16) ⁴na-ša-ri⁴ URU LUGAL be-li-ia
- 17) ù le-⁴ru⁴-⁴ub⁴ a-na maḥ-ri[-ti]
- 18) LUGAL be-⁴li⁴-⁴ia⁴ a-na da-ga-l[i]
- 19) pa-ni-⁴šu⁴ ⁴SIG⁵-⁴ta⁴ at-ta-din
- 20) pa-⁴ni⁴-⁴ia⁴ ⁴a⁴-na ⁴mi⁴-ru-ti \\ ú-pu-ti
- 21) ⁴LUGAL⁴ ⁴EN⁴-⁴lí⁴-⁴ia⁴ li-iš-al
- 22) L[UGAL] ⁴be⁴-⁴li⁴-ia LÚ.MÁŠKIM-šu
- 23) e-[nu]-ma at-⁴ta⁴-din pa-ni-⁴ia⁴
- 24) ⁴a⁴-⁴na⁴ ⁴maḥ⁴-⁴ri⁴-⁴ti⁴ LUGAL be-li-⁴ia⁴
- 25) ⁴a⁴-nu-um-ma LÚ KIN-⁴ri⁴-[ia]
- 26) ⁴uš⁴-še-er-ti a-na [maḥ-ri-ti]
- 27) [LUGAL] be-li-ia ⁴ù⁴ l[i-wa-aš-šèr]
- 28) [LUGAL] be-li-ia LÚ [KIN-ri-šu]
- 29) [ù] ⁴ṭup⁴-pa-šu a-⁴na⁴ [ia-ši]

Lo.ed.

- 30) ⁴ù⁴ ⁴le⁴-⁴ru⁴-⁴ub⁴ a-na [maḥ-ri-ti]
- 31) LUGAL EN-lí-ia ma-[gal ma-gal]

Rev.

- 32) [a]t-ta-din pa-⁴ni⁴-ia[a-na LUGAL be-li-ia]
- 33) a-na ⁴maḥ⁴-⁴ri⁴-⁴ti⁴ L[UGAL a-na a-ma-ri]
- 34) pa-ni LUGAL EN-lí[-ia ù]
- 35) la-a i-te-zi-ib L[UGAL be-li]
- 36) ÌR-šu iš-tu qa-t[i-šu]
- 37) ⁴lí⁴-it-ta-din pa-n[i-šu]
- 38) LUGAL be-⁴li⁴-ia ù i[d-din]
- 39) A.⁴MEŠ⁴ a-na ší-it-yi [ÌR-šu]
- 40) ⁴ù⁴ ⁴GÍŠ⁴.⁴MEŠ⁴ a-na ÌR-šu[ù]
- 41) i-de₄ ⁴LUGAL⁴ be-li e-nu-ma

¹⁴³¹ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 157-158 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 411 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 622-627 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 238-239 (translation).

- 42) *i-^ˁna^ˁ ṣŠÀ^ˁ dAB.BA ni-ta-^ˁša^ˁ-ab*
 43) *ia-^ˁnu^ˁ Ṙ^ˁ.MEŠ^ˁ ù ia-nu GIŠ.MEŠ*
 44) *a-na ia-ši-nu a-nu-um-ma*
 45) *uš-še-er-^ˁti* ¹DINGIR.LUGAL LÚ KIN-ri-^ˁia
 46) *a-na maḥ-ri LUGAL be-li-ia*
 47) *ù at-ta-din 5 GUN ZABAR*
 48) ^{GIŠ}ma-^ˁqí-^ˁbu-ma 1 ^{GIŠ}ŪŠAN \\ qì-na-zu
 49) LUGAL be-li-ia iš-ta-pár a-na ia-^ˁšì^ˁ-nu
 50) *ša ta-aš-me iš-tu KUR Ki-na-aḥ-na*
 51) *ù šu-pur a-na ia-ši*
 52) LUGAL KUR Da-nu-na BA.ÚŠ
 53) *ù ša-ar-ra ŠEŠ-šu*
 54) *a-na EGIR-šu ù pa-aš-ḥa-at*
 55) KUR-šu ù É LUGAL URU Ú-ga-ri-it^{K1}
 56) *i-ku-ul i-ša-tu4 mi-ši-^ˁil^ˁ-šu*
 57) *i-kúl ù mi-ši-^ˁil-^ˁšu ia-nu*
 58) *ù LÚ.MEŠ ÉRIN Ḥa-at-ti ia-nu*
 59) ¹E-ta-ga-ma pa-wu-ri
 60) URU Qí-id-ši ù
 61) ¹A-zi-ra nu-kúr-tu4
 62) *it-ti ¹Bir₅-ia-wa-zi*
 63) *nu-kúr-tu4*

Up.ed.

- 64) *a-ta-mur ḥa-ba-li*
 65) ¹Zi-im-re-da
 66) *e-nu-ma ip-ḥu-^ˁur^ˁ*

Lft. ed.

- 67) GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ ÉRIN.MEŠ iš-tu URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A ¹A-zi-ra
 68) *Ṙ^ˁ-na muḥ-ḥi-ia ù da-mi-iq e-nu-ma i-^ˁkal^ˁ-l[i]*
 69) LÚ GÌR be-li-ia ù ip-li-ḥu gáb-bu Ṙ^ˁ-id-^ˁdin^ˁ
 70) *pa-ni-šu LUGAL Ṙ^ˁ-na ÌR-šu ù Ṙ^ˁ-li^ˁ-sà-ḥir \\ yu-ša Ṙ^ˁ-^ˁna^ˁ Ṙ^ˁ-ia^ˁ-š[i]*

Translation

(1–5) To the king, my sun god, my god, my deity: Message of Abimilki, your servant: seven and seven (times) at the feet of the king, my lord, have I fallen. I am the dirt under the sandals of the king my lord.

(6–24) Behold, I am guarding very diligently the city of the king that he entrusted to me. My intention is to go in order to see the face of the king, my lord but I am not able because of the hand of Zimredda (of) Sidon. He heard concerning me that I would go in (to Egypt) so he committed aggression against me. May the king give 20 men to guard the city of the king, my lord, that I may enter the presence of the king, my lord, in order to behold his gracious face. I have turned my face to the beauty of the king, my lord. May the k[ing], my lord, ask his commissioner whether I have turned my face to the presence of the king, my lord.

(25–29) Now, my envoy have I sent to [the presence of] the [king], my lord, so ma[y the king], my lord, [send his] mes[senger and] his tablet to [me],

(30–36) that I may enter into [the presence of] the king, my lord. [I] have made a very [strong] commitment [to the king, my lord], to the presence of the k[ing, in order to see] the face of the king, [my] lord. [So] may [the king, my lord] not abandon his servant.

(37–44) May the king give [his] attention, and g[ive] water for [your servant] to drink and wood for your servant. [And] may the king, my lord, be apprised that we are situated in the midst of the sea. We have no water and no wood.

(44–48) Now, <I> have sent Ili-milku, <my> envoy to the king, my lord, and I have given five talents of copper, ha<mm>ers and one whip.

(49–58) The king, my lord, wrote to me, “What you hear from (there in) Canaan, then write to me.” The king of the land of Dannuna is dead and his brother reigns in his stead and his land is pacified. And fire destroyed

the royal palace of the city of Ugarit; half of it is destroyed and half not. But the troops of the land of **Hatti** are not (there).

(59–70) Etagama, the prince of Qidši, and Aziru are at war; it is with Biryawaza that they are at war. I have suffered the aggression of Zimredda when he assembled ships (and) troops from the towns of Aziru against me. So is it good that the soldier of my lord should hold back? And all are in fear. May the king give his attention to his servant and may he return (come forth) 'to me'.

EA 151 (one of the many letters¹⁴³² sent by king of Tyre Abi-milku¹⁴³³ to the pharaoh, quite surely Amenhotep III) deals with a possible visit of the vassal to his master, in Egypt. Abi-milku explains his impossibility to reach Egypt, because of a menace coming from the king of Sidon, Zimredda and asks the pharaoh to send twenty men to protect his city. The pharaoh had interrogated in a previous message his vassal about the situation in Canaan and Abi-milku answers in this letter reporting some information: the king of Danuna was dead, the palace of Ugarit was burnt, Aziru of Amurru and Aitakama of Kadesh were struggling against Biryawaza¹⁴³⁴, king of Upe/Kumidi (i.e., Damascus).

To what concern our topic, Abi-milku adds in Vs. 58 that “there were no Hittite troops”: probably, this quite hermetic sentence refers to a time just before Šuppiluliuma’s attack in the Syrian territories or, at least, to a period of lower Hittite interest for the area of Tyre.

¹⁴³² EA 146-155.

¹⁴³³ For this person, see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 176-177.

¹⁴³⁴ For this king, see KLENGEL 1969, *passim* and KLENGEL 1992, pp. 156, 158, 162, 179-180.

**17. EA 157 (Liverani¹⁴³⁵, LA 239) = CTH 187 = VS XI 84 (cf. WA 36), VAT 624:
Aziru to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Request of formal recognition as an Egyptian vassal, despite of old and recent disagreements; Aziru promises protection and regular supplies”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 782-785:

Transliteration

Obv.

01) [a-na] šàr-r[i EN-ia DINGIR-ia ù ^dUTU-ia]

02) [qí]—b[í- ma]

03) um-ma ¹A-z[i-ri ÌR-ka-ma]

04) 7-šu ù ⁷-^r šu^r ^a-^r na^r [GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia]

05) DINGIR-ia ù ^dUTU-ia a[m-*qut*]

06) ⁱ-^r na^r-an-na lu-ú i-de₄-an-n[i]

07) LUGAL EN-ia i-nu-ma LÚ.ÌR-[ka]

08) a-na-ku a-di dá-ri-^r ti^r iš-tu a-ma-te EN-ia ^r la^r a-pa-aṭ-ṭar

09) EN-ia iš-tu pa-^r na^r-nu-um-ma

10) a-ra-á'-a-am a-na LÚ.ÌR.MEŠ

11) LUGAL EN-ia ù LÚ.MEŠ GAL-bu-te^{MEŠ}

12) ša URU Šu-mu-ri la-a ú-wa-aš-ša-ru-ú-ni-ni

13) ù i-na-an-na la-a ḫi-iṭ-ṭám

14) la mi-im-ma-an a-na LUGAL EN-[i]a

15) la e-te-pu-uš šàr-^r ru^r ^r EN^r-ia

16) i-de₄ LÚ.MEŠ be-el ar-ni-š[u]

17) ù mi-i-nu-um-me

18) mé-^r re^r-^r eš₁₅-^r ta-š[u ša LUGAL EN-ia]

19) a-na-^r ku^r ^r lu^r-^r ú^r ^r ad^r-[dīn]

20) ù [.....]

Lo.ed.

21) a-na [.....]

22) ù [.....]

23) ^r ù^r [.....]

24) [.....]

25) ù ki-a-am [.....]

26) a-na ^dUTU i-^r na^r [-an-na.....]

27) ù bá-la-aṭ[.....]

28) šum-ma LUGAL KUR Ḫa[-at-ti₇.....]

29) ^r a^r-^r na^r nu-kúr-ta₅ UGU-ia [il-la-ak (?)]

30) ^r ù^r šàr-ru EN-ia ÉRIN.^r MEŠ^r ^r ša^r-b[i pí-ṭá-te]

31) ^r ù^r GIŠ.GIGIR.ḪI.A id-din-an-ni

32) [a]-^r na^r i-^r re^r-eš-šú-ti-ia

33) ù KUR-šu ša LUGAL EN-ia ^r aš^r-^r šur^r

34) ša-ni-tam i-na ḫa-mut-iš

35) [uš]-še-ra-am LÚ.^r DUMU^r.^r KIN^r-ia

36) ^r ù^r ^r lu^r-^r ú^r il₅(?)-^r kà^r [-am]

37) ^r ù^r mi-i-na-am-me-e ša id-din-(nu)-ni₇

¹⁴³⁵ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 271-272 (translation); cf. IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 15-16 (transliteration and translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 638-643 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 243-244 (translation).

- 38) LÚ.MEŠ 'Ha'-za-an-nu-ú-tu₄
 39) ù a-na-ku lu-ú ad-din
 40) 'ù' 'LUGAL' EN-ia DINGIR-ia ù dUTU-ia
 41) [lu-ú] ad-din a-di dá-ri-ti

Translation

(1–5) [Sp]eak [to] the king, [my lord, my god and my sun god], the message of Az[iru, your servant:] Seven times and seven times at [the feet of my lord,] my god and my sun god, [have] I [fallen].

(6–8) Now may the king, my lord, take cognizance of me, that [your] servant am I forever. From the words of my lord I will not depart.

(9–16) My lord, from before I have desired to serve the king, my lord, but the senior officials of Šumur have not been permitting me. And now, I have not committed any dereliction or anything else against the king, [m]y lord. The king, my lord, knows the (real) rebels.

(17–19) And whatever the request [of the king, my lord], verily will I give it.

(20–24) And [...] to [...] and [...] and [.....]

(25–33) So thus [...] for the sun god, no[w...] and sustenance [...] If the king of the land of **Ha[tti]**...should come(?) against me in a hostile manner, then (may) the king, my lord, grant to me the [regular] troops and the chariotry, for my assistance. Then will I protect the land of the king, my lord.

(34–36) Furthermore, with all due haste release my envoy so that he may 'come hither.'

(37–41) And whatever the city rulers have been giving, thus I will verily give. So, O king, my lord, my god and my sun god, [veri]ly will I give.

In this letter Aziru of Amurru reaffirms his loyalty to the pharaoh and requires the Egyptian king to provide a military help to face the menace of the Hittites, in order to protect the pharaoh's land: it is not clear if Aziru was asking for an actual support against a specific attack, or if the sentence is included in the general framework of the vassal agreement, as the presence of the hypothetical conjunction *šumma* in Vs. 28 could suggest.

18. EA 161 (Liverani¹⁴³⁶, LA 243) = CTH 188 = BB 35, BM 29818:

Aziru to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Reply to the accusation for having welcomed a Hittite messenger instead of an Egyptian one; reply for the delays in the reconstruction of Sumura”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 799-801:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na LUGAL GAL-bi EN-ia DINGIR-ia* ^d[UTU-ia]
02) *um-ma* ¹A-zi-ri ¹LÚ ¹İR-ka-ma
03) *7-šu* ¹7-šu ¹a¹-¹na¹ ¹GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia ¹DINGIR¹-[i]¹a¹ ^dUTU!(ÉRIN)-ia
am-qut

-
- 04) *EN-ia a-na-ku* LÚ ¹İR-ka ¹ù *i-na* *kà-ša-dì-ia*
05) *a-na pa-ni* LUGAL EN-ia ¹ù *aq-ta-bi*
06) *gáb-bi a-ma-te*^{MEŠ}-ia ¹a¹-¹na¹ *pa-ni* EN-ia
07) *EN-li-mi a-na* LÚ.MEŠ *sa-ar-ru-ti*
08) *ša i-kà-lu-ú-ni*₇ *kàr-ši-ia*
09) *a-na pa-ni* LUGAL EN-ia *la-a te-še-em-me-e*
10) *a-na-ku-mi* LÚ ¹İR-ka *a-dì dá-ri-ti*

-
- 11) ¹ù *aš-šum* ¹Ha-an-i LUGAL EN-ia *iq-ta-bi*
12) *EN-ia i-na* URU *Tu-ni-ip aš-bá-ku*
13) ¹ù *la i-de*₄ *i-nu-ma kà-ši-id*
14) *im-ma-ti*-¹i¹-*me-e i-še-em-mé*
15) ¹ù *e-te-él-li i-na ar-ki-šu*
16) ¹ù *la-a a-kà-ša-ad-šu*
17) ¹ù *li-ik-šu-ú-ud* ¹Ha-an-i
18) *i-na šul-mi* ¹ù *li-iš-al-šu*
19) LUGAL EN-ia *ki-i-me-e ú-ta*-¹na¹-*bal-šu*
20) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia ¹ù ¹Be-ti-DINGIR *iz-za-zu-ni*₇
21) *a-na pa-ni-šu* GU₄.MEŠ ¹ÚZ.MEŠ ¹ù MUŠEN.MEŠ
22) NINDA-šu KAŠ.MEŠ-šu *i-din-nu-ni*₇

-
- 23) ¹ANŠE¹.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *at-ta-din*
24) [a]-¹na¹ KASKAL-ni-šu ¹ù LUGAL EN-ia

Lo.ed.

- 25) ¹a¹-¹ma¹-¹te¹^{MEŠ}-ia ¹li¹-*iš-mé*
26) ¹i¹-¹na¹ *a-la-ki-i-ia a-na mu-ḥi* LUGAL EN-ia

Rev.

- 27) ¹Ha-an-i *i-la*-¹ak¹ ¹a¹-¹na¹ *pa-ni-ia*
28) *ú-ut-ta-na-ab-bal-ni ki-i-ma*
29) ^{MUNUS}*um-mi ki-i-ma a-bi*
30) ¹ù *i-na-an-na* *i-qá-ab-bi* EN-ia
31) *iš-tu-mi pa-ni* ¹Ha-an-i
32) *ti-ir-ta-qí-i-mi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*nu-ka*
33) ¹ù ^dUTU!(ÉRIN) *lu-ú i-du-ú-ni*₇
34) *šum-ma la i-na* URU *Tu-ni-ip aš-bá-ku*

-
- 35) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum bá-na-i-šu* *ša* URU *Šu-mur*

¹⁴³⁶ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 273-275 (translation); cf. IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 31-35 (transliteration and translation); GILES 1997, pp. 413-414 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 650-653 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 247-248 (translation).

- 36) *šàr-ru EN-ia iq-ta-bi LUGAL.MEŠ KUR Nu-ḥa-aš-še*
 37) *na-ak-ru it-ti-ia ù URU.ḪI.A-ia*
 38) *i-le-^req^r-qú-ni^r i-na UZU^rí-i ¹Ḫa-ti-ip*
 39) *ù la ^rú^r-bá-an-ni-ši i-na-an-na*
 40) *i-na ḥa-mut-iš ú-bá-an-ni-še*

- 41) *ù EN-ia lu-ú i-de₄ i-nu-ma*
 42) *BAR-šu-nu ša ú-nu-te^{MEŠ} ša id-din*
 43) *LUGAL EN-ia ¹Ḫa-ti-ip i-le-^req^r-qè*
 44) *ù KÙ.GI.MEŠ ù KÙ.BABBAR-pa ša LUGAL*
 45) *EN-ia id-din-an-ni gáb-bá i-le-eq-qè*
 46) *¹Ḫa-ti-ip ù EN-ia lu-ú i-de₄*

- 47) *ša-ni-tam ap-pu-na-ma LUGAL EN-ia*
 48) *iq-bi am-mi-i-ni-mi tu₄-ta-na-bal*
 49) *LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ri LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti^r*
 50) *^rù^r LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ri-ia la tu₄-ta-na-bal*
 51) *ù an-nu-ú KUR EN-ia ù šàr-r[u]*
 52) *EN-ia iš-ku-na-^ran^r-ni*

Up.ed.

- 53) *^ri^r-na LÚ.MEŠ ḥa-za-nu-ti*

Lft.ed.

- 54) *li-il-li-kà-am LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ri be-li-ia*
 55) *ù gáb-bi ša aq-ta-bi a-na pa-ni be-li-ia lu-ú-din*
 56) *^rTIN!^r.ZI.MEŠ GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ Ì.MEŠ GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ù GIŠ.MEŠ li-^rdin^r*

Translation

(1–3) To the Great King, my lord, my god, [my sun god]; Message of Aziru, your servant: Seven times and seven times at the feet of my lord, my god, my sun god, have I fallen.

(4–10) My lord, I am your servant, and on my arrival before the king, my lord, I spoke of all my affairs in the presence of the king, my lord. My lord! Do not listen to the treacherous men who are slandering me before the king, my lord. I am your servant forever!

(11–22) And concerning Ḫan^ri has the king, my lord, spoken. My lord, I was in the city of Tunip and I did not know that he had arrived. As soon as I heard, then I went up after him but I did not overtake him. So may Ḫan^ri arrive safely so that the king, my lord, may question him about how I entertained him. My brothers and Bêt^rili put themselves at his service. Cattle, small cattle, and fowl, his food (and) his drink did they furnish (him).

(23–26) I provided horses and asses for his journey. So may the king, my lord, heed my words. When I come to the king, my lord,

(27–34) Ḫan^ri came out to meet me and he was taking care of me like a mother and like a father. But now my lord says: “You hid yourself from Ḫan^ri.” May your gods and the sun god be witnesses whether I was in Tunip.

(35–40) Furthermore, concerning the rebuilding of the city of Šumur, the king, my lord, has spoken. The kings of Nuḡasse are hostile to me and they are taking my cities at the command of Ḫatip so I have not rebuilt it. Now I will rebuild it in all haste.

(41–46) And may my lord be apprised that Ḫatip is taking half of the things that the king, my lord has given (to me). And Ḫatip is taking all the gold and the silver that the king, my lord, gave to me. So may my lord be apprised.

(47–53) Furthermore, moreover, the king, my lord, said: “Why do you entertain the envoy of the land of **Hatti** but my envoy you do not entertain?” But this is the land of my lord, and the king, my lord placed me among the city rulers.

(54–56) May the envoy of my lord come, and all that I said before the king, my lord, will I surely do. Let him (the envoy) furnish provisions, ships, oil, weapons and wood.

Aziru (king of Amurru) wrote this letter to the pharaoh (probably Amenhotep III) to justify himself from an accusation moved to him by the Egyptian king: Amenhotep had accused his vassal to have welcome the Hittite messenger instead of the official envoy of the pharaoh, **Hani**¹⁴³⁷. Aziru excuses saying that he was in Tunip and therefore not able to provide a good welcome to the Egyptian messenger. It is noteworthy the expression used by the Syrian king to show his innocence: *ù an-nu-ú KUR EN-ia ù šàr-r[u] / EN-ia iš-ku-na-^r an^r-ni*, “But this is the land of my lord, and the king, / my lord placed me among the city rulers” (Rs. 50-51): this sentence is considered by Moran as “one of the more notable *ignoratioes elenchi* in the Amarna letters”¹⁴³⁸. From the context of the letter it is not possible to know whether or not the king was guilty of the charges moved against him by the pharaoh: nevertheless, this event can be considered as one of the first signals for the ambiguous behaviour of the king of Amurru.

¹⁴³⁷ For **Hani**, see ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 11, no. *9 and RANKE 1935, p. 229, no. 28.

¹⁴³⁸ MORAN 1992, p. 248, note 6.

**19. EA 164 (Liverani¹⁴³⁹, LA 247) = CTH 187 = VS XI 88 (cf. WA 38), VAT 249:
Aziru to Tuttu (in Akkadian).**

“Request for a safety oath to betake himself in Egypt”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 810-813:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) ʾa-na 1Tù-u-tù EN-ia a-bi-ʾia
02) um-ma 1A-zi-ri 1R-ka-ma
03) a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qut

-
- 04) 1Ha-ti-ip i-il-la-kà-am
05) ù ú-ub-bá-ʾla-am a-ma-te^{MEŠ}
06) LUGAL EN-ia bá-ʾnu-ʾta₅ ù DUG.GA-ta
07) ù ha-ad-ia-ku ma-gal ma-gal
08) ù KUR-ia ʾù ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia
09) LÚ.MEŠ 1R ša LUGAL EN-ia
10) ù LÚ.MEŠ 1R 1Tù-u-tù EN-ia
11) ha-du 4-ʾni₇ ʾma-ʾgal ma-gal
12) i-nu-ma i-ʾil-la-kà-am
13) ša-ar-ru ša LUGAL EN-ia
14) UGU-ia iš-ʾtu a-ma-te^{MEŠ}
15) EN-ia DINGIR-ia d^rUTU-ia
16) ù iš-tu ʾa-ma-te^[MEŠ] 1Tù-u-tù
17) EN-ia ʾla a-pa-aṭ-ṭar

-
- 18) EN-ia ʾa-nu-um-ma 1Ha-ti-ip
19) iz-za-az it-ti-ia
20) a-na-ku ù šu-ú-ut ni-il-la-ak
21) EN-ia šàr KUR Ha-at-ti₇

Lo.ed.

- 22) i-il-la-kà-am i-na KUR Nu-ʾha-ʾaš-ʾše
23) ʾù la i-le-e-ʾe a-la-kà
24) [l]i-ip-tu₄-ur šàr KUR Ha-ʾat-ti₇

Rev.

- 25) ù a-nu-um-ma i-il-la-ʾak
26) a-na-ku ù 1Ha-ti-ip

-
- 27) LUGAL EN-ia a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ia
28) li-iš-me-e EN-ia pal-ha-ku
29) iš-tu pa-ni LUGAL EN-ia
30) ù iš-tu pa-ni 1Tù-u-tù
31) ù a-nu-um-ma DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
32) ù LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ri-ia ù lu-ú-ʾta₅-ʾam-ʾmi
33) 1Tù-u-tù ù LÚ.MEŠ GAL-bu-te^{MEŠ}
34) ša LUGAL EN-ia ù lu-ú a-al-ʾla-ak

-
- 35) ù ki-i-ia-am 1Tù-u-tù
36) ù LUGAL EN-ia ù LÚ.MEŠ GAL-bu-te^{MEŠ}
37) šum-ma-mi ni-iš-ku-un!(UK?) mi-im-ma

¹⁴³⁹ LIVERANI 1998, p. 277 (translation); cf. IZREʾEL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 36-39 (transliteration and translation); GILES 1997, p. 416 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 660-663 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 251-252 (translation).

- 38) UGU ¹A-zi-ri ša la SIG₅-iq
 39) ù ki-i-ia-am tu₄-ut-ta-mi
 40) a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ù a-na ^dA
 41) ù a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku
 42) ù ¹Ha-ti-ip ^{LÚ}IR LUGAL bá-nu

- 43) ¹Tù-u-tù lu-ú ti-i-de₄
 44) ¹i-nu-ma a-la-kà-ak-ku

Translation

(1–3) To Tutu, my lord, my father: the message of Aziru, your servant. At the feet of my lord have I fallen.

(4–17) Ḫatip has come, and he has brought the lovely, sweet words of the king, my lord, and I have rejoiced very greatly. Also, my land and my colleagues (brothers), the servants of the king, my lord and the servants of Tutu, my lord, rejoiced very greatly. Since the breath of the king, my lord has come to me. From the words of my lord, my deity, my sun god, and from the words of Tutu, my lord, I do not deviate.

(18–20) My lord, now Ḫatip is staying with me. He and I will come (together).

(21–26) My lord, the king of the land of **Ḫatti**, has come to the land of Nuḡasse and I am unable to come. Let the king of the land of **Ḫatti** depart, and then I will come and also Ḫatip.

(27–34) May the king, my lord, heed my words. My lord, I fear before the presence of the king, my lord and before the presence of Tutu. And now, my deities and my envoys, I verily swear. Tutu and the senior officials of the king, my lord, I will verily come.

(35–42) So thus, Tutu and the king, my lord, and the senior officials (must swear): “If we have imputed anything that is unseemly to Aziru.” So thus you must swear by my deities and by Aten. And then I and Ḫatip the servant of the king are guiltless.

(43–44) Tutu, may you be apprised that I will come to you.

The king of Amurru Aziru writes to Tutu¹⁴⁴⁰, an Egyptian official, informing him about a message received by Ḫatip¹⁴⁴¹, who brought him the greetings of the pharaoh.

The rest of the letter refers to a visit of Aziru and Ḫatip to the pharaoh, probably in Egypt: Aziru explains he would be not able to meet the pharaoh in person, because of the pressure of the Hittite army in the land of Nuḡašše; the king of Amurru informs the Egyptian official that he would reach Egypt only after the departure of the Hittites from that country. The events which Aziru refers to could be envisaged within the first campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I against Egyptian vassals in Syria or even before, considering that Ḫatip served under Akhenaten¹⁴⁴².

¹⁴⁴⁰ For Tutu, not to be confused with his homonym quoted in the ÄHK, see LAROCHE 1966, p. 192, no. 1391; cf. ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 22, no. 62 and RANKE 1935, p. 383, no. 23.

¹⁴⁴¹ For this Egyptian messenger in Amurru during Akhenaten’s reign, see ALBRIGHT 1946, p. 12, no. 12 and RANKE 1935, p. 257, no. 22.

¹⁴⁴² See previous note.

20. EA 165 (Liverani¹⁴⁴³, LA 246) = CTH 187 = VS XI 89 (cf. WA 33), VAT 325:

Aziru to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Summoned at court to exculpate himself, Aziru defers the visit because of the incumbent Hittite menace”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 814-817:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-n]a L[UGAL EN-ia DINGIR-ia ^dUTU-ia]
02) um-ma ^{r1}[A-zi-ri ÌR-ka-ma]
03) 7-šu u ^{r7}[-šu a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qut]
-

- 04) EN-ia DINGIR-i[a ^dUTU-ia]
05) mi-i-na-am a[p-pu-na-ma ú-bá-'a-i]
06) pa-ni LUGAL EN-i[a ^dUTU-ia]
07) bá-nu-ta ú-bá-'a[-i a-ma-ra]
08) a-di dá-ri-ti ù [a-na-ku]
09) 'ù' ¹Bá-a-lu-ia 'LÚ'.^rMEŠ' [ÌR-ka]
-

- 10) KUR LUGAL EN-ia a-na-aš-šú-ur
11) ù pa-ni-ia a-na LÚ.MEŠ ÌR-tu₄
12) ša LUGAL EN-ia i-na šul-mi
13) 'pa'-'ni' LUGAL EN-ia bá-nu-ti lu-ú a-[mur]
-

- 14) 'EN'-ia a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku
15) 'ù' ¹Ħa-ti-ip ni-il-la-'ak'
16) 'ù' li-i-de₄ 'EN'-ia i-nu-ma
17) [kà]-aš-dá-ku 'i'-'na' ħa-mu[t-i]š
-

- 18) 'LUGAL' 'KUR' 'Ħa'-'at'-'ti₇' [i-na KUR Nu-ħa-aš-še]
19) a-ši-ib ù pal[-ħa-ku iš-tu pa-ni-šu]
20) as-sur_x(ŠUR)-r[i-m]i [i-na KUR MAR.TU]
21) [i]-na KUR-[š]u š[a LUGAL EN-ia i-la-kà-am]
-

Lo.ed.

- 22) [ù] UGU a-ma-[ti an-ni-ti]
23) 'iz'-'za'-'az' l[i-ip-tu₄-ur]

Rev.

- 24) 'ù' li-tu₄-ur 'i'-'na' [KUR-šu]
25) 'ù' a-nu-um-ma a-al-[la-kà-am]
26) 'a'-'[na]'-'ku' 'ù' ¹Ħa'-'ti'-'ip' [a-na-ku]
27) 'LÚ'.^rÌR' 'LUGAL' bá-ni 'ma'-'gal' 'ma'-'[gal]
-

- 28) [EN-ia] 'mi'-'im'-'ma' 'i'-'na' ^rUZU^rŠÀ' 'EN'[-ia]
29) [la ta-ša-kà]-an 'kà'-aš-'dá'-ku
30) 'pa'-'ni'-'ia'-'ma' 'a'-'na' 'LUGAL' KUR Ħa-at-'ti₇'
31) 'ù' [a-n]u[-um-m]a kà-aš-dá-'ku'
32) 'a'-'na' 'a'-'[ma-ri pa-]ni ^dUTU 'EN'-'ia'
33) 'EN'-'ia' [a-na-ku i]-na [URU Tu₄-ni]-ip
34) aš-bá-ku 'ù' i-la-kà-[am LUGAL] KUR Ħa-a[t-t]i₇
-

¹⁴⁴³ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 276-277 (translation); cf. IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 40-43 (transliteration and translation); GILES 1997, pp. 416-417 (translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 662-667 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 252-253 (translation).

- 35) *i-na KUR MAR.TU KUR LU[GA]L EN-ia*
 36) *ki-^ri⁷ la ú-^rwa^r-aš-šar-^ran^r-^rni^r*
 37) *LUGAL EN-ia a-na na-ša-ar KUR-^ršu^r*
 38) *ù ^ri^r-^rna^r-an-na i-na KUR Nu-ḫa-aš-še*
 39) *a-ši-ib 2 1-ti KASKAL-nu ^ri^r-na URU Tu₄-ni-^rip^r*
 40) *ù pal-ḫa-ku iš-tu ša-ḫa-ṭi-šu*
 41) *URU Tu₄-ni-ip li-ip-ṭu₄-ur*
-
- 42) *^rša^r-^rni^r-^rtam^r EN-ia a-na ^rLÚ^r.MEŠ^r ^rsa^r[-ar-ru-ti]*
 43) *la ^rte^r-še-em-me-e a-^rna^r[-ku ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia]*
 44) *^rù DUMU.MEŠ-ia ^rLÚ^r.^rMEŠ^r [ÌR ša LUGAL EN-ia]*
 45) *a-di dá-ri-^rti*

Translation

(1–3) [T]o the k[ing, my lord, my god, my sun god]; the message of [Aziru, your servant: Seven times and seven [times have I fallen at the feet of my lord.]

(4–9) My lord, [m]y god, [my sun god,] what, m[oreover, do I seek?] The beautiful face of the king, m[y] lord, [my sun god] do I seek [to behold] forever and [I] and Ba¹luya are [your] ser[vants].

(10–13) I protect the land of the king, my lord, and my intention (face) is to the service of the king, my lord. In safety would I l[ook] on the beautiful [f]ac[e] of the king, my lord.

(14–17) My lord, now, I and Ḫatip will come so may my lord be apprised that I will arrive with all due alacr[ity].

(18–21) The king of the land of **Ḫatti** is situated [in the land of Nuḡasse,] and [I am] af[raid of him], lest [he come to the land of Amurru, t]o the land [of the king, my lord].

(22–27) [So] because of [this] matter, I am standing pat. L[et him depart,] and let him return to [his own country] and then I will [come], I and Ḫatip. [I] am a [ser]vant of the most gracious king.

(28–41) [My lord, don't ta]ke anything to heart. I am coming. My concern is the king of the land of **Ḫatti**, but now I am coming to s[ee the fa]ce of the sun god, my lord. My lord, [I] am located in [the city of Tun]ip and [the king] of the land of **Ḫatti** is coming to the land of Amurru, the land of the king, my lord. If only the king, my lord, would permit me to guard his land. But now he (the king of **Ḫatti**) is located in Nuḡasse, two one day marches from Tunip and I am afraid of his attacking the city of Tunip. May he depart!

(42–45) Furthermore, my lord, don't listen to the tr[aitorous] men. I [and my brothers] and my sons are ser[vants of the king, my lord,] forever!

The topic of this letter, presenting Aziru's and Ba¹luya's¹⁴⁴⁴ fear for the Hittites' military advance against Amurru, strictly resembles that of the previous letter, to which I refer for the general comment. Probably (but it stands just as a suggestion) the Hittites came much closer to the borders of Amurru, pushing Aziru to write directly to the pharaoh: in this case, EA 165 should be dated after EA 164 (addressed to Tutu), being therefore addressed to Amenhotep IV.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ba¹luya, i.e. Aziru's brother: see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 161, 164.

**21. EA 166 (Liverani¹⁴⁴⁵, LA 249) = CTH 187 = VS XI 90 (cf. WA 31), VAT 250:
Aziru to Ḫaay (in Akkadian).**

“Letter to the Egyptian vizier, asking for security guarantee to come in Egypt”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 818-821:

Transliteration

Obv.

01) [a-]ṛna¹ Ḫa-ṛa¹-i ŠEŠ-ia

02) um-ma ḪA-zi-ri ŠEŠ-ka-ma

03) a-na UGU-ka lu-ú šul-mu

04) ù iš-tu ÉRIN.MEŠ ša-bi pí-ṭá-ti₇

05) ša LUGAL EN-ia ma-gal lu-ú šul-mu

06) mi-i-na-am ap-pu-na-ma

07) ú-bá-¹i pa-ni LUGAL EN-ia

08) bá-nu-ta ú-bá-¹i-i

09) a-na-ku ù DUMU.MEŠ-ia

10) ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia gáb-bu LÚ.MEŠ ÌR

11) ša LUGAL EN-ia bá-ni

12) a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku ù Ḫa-ti-ip

13) ni-il-la-kà-am i-na-an-na-ma

14) i-na ḫa-mut-iš Ḫa-a-i

15) ^{UZU}lib-bá-ku-nu lu-ú i-de₄

16) i-nu-ma kà-aš-dá-ku

17) [i]š-tu a-ma-te^{MEŠ} EN-ia

Lo.ed.

18) ṛla¹ a-pa-aṭ-ṭar

19) ù iš-tu a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ku-nu

Rev.

20) ṛa¹-ṛna¹-ku LÚ.ÌR ša EN-ia

21) LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti₇ i-na KUR N[u]-ṛḫa¹-aš-še

22) a-ši-ib ù pal-ḫa-ku

23) iš-tu pa-ni-šu as-sur_x(ŠUR)-ri-mi

24) i-na KUR MAR.TU i-la-⟨kà⟩-am

25) ù šum-ma URU Tù-ni-ip

26) iš-ḫi-iṭ-ma 2 1-tì KASKAL-nu i-na a-šar a-ši-ib

27) ù pal-ḫa-ku iš-tu pa-ni-šu

28) ù UGU a-ma-ti šu-wa-ti

29) iz-za-az a-di pa-ṭá-ri-šu

30) ù a-nu-um-ma i-il-la-kà-am

31) i-na ḫa-ṛmut¹-iš-ma

32) a-na-ku ù Ḫa¹-ti-ip

Translation

(1–5) [T]o Ḫa¹i, my brother, the message of Aziru, your brother: May it be well with you and with the troops of the regular army of the king, my lord, may it be very well indeed.

¹⁴⁴⁵ LIVERANI 1998, p. 278 (translation); cf. IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 43-45 (transliteration and translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 666-669 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 254 (translation).

(6–11) What, moreover, do I seek? It is the beneficent face (presence) of the king, my lord that I seek. I and my sons and my brothers, all are servants of the king, my beneficent lord.

(12–16) Now I and Ḫatip are coming immediately, with haste. Ḫa‘i, may your heart know that I am coming.

(17–20) [F]rom the words of my lord I do not depart and from your (pl.) words. I am the servant of my lord.

(21–29) The king of the land of **Ḫatti** is located in the land of N[u]ḡasse and I am afraid of him in case he might <co>me to the land of Amurru. And if he attacked the city of Tunip, it is only two day-marches from the place where he is located. So I am afraid of him and because of that matter, I am standing pat until his departure.

(30–32) And then I am coming quickly, I and Ḫatip.

EA 166 deals with the same topic of the previous two letters: Aziru informs Ḫaay about the imminent advance of the Hittite troops moving towards Amurru and Tunip, after having conquered the kingdom of Nuḫḫašše: Aziru is afraid (see the verb *palāḫum*¹⁴⁴⁶, Rs. 22) about the quick progression of the Hittite conquests and asks military supports from Egypt.

¹⁴⁴⁶ CAD 12 (P), pp. 37-48; cf. BLACK – GEORGE – POSTGATE 2000², p. 261.

22. EA 167 (Liverani¹⁴⁴⁷, LA 248) = CTH 187 = VS XI 91 (cf. WA 32), VAT 326:
Aziru to Tuttu (in Akkadian).
“Topic similar to EA 164”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 822-825:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na ¹Tù-u-tù EN-ia a-bi-ia]
02) [um-ma ¹A-zi-ri ÌR-ka-ma]
03) [a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qut]
04) [a-na muḥ-ḥi EN-ia lu-ú-šul-mu]
[-----]
05) [iš-tu a-ma-te^{MEŠ} LUGAL EN-ia]
06) [la a-pa-]aṭ-ṭar[ù iš-tu a-ma-te^{MEŠ}-ka]
07) [la a-pa-]aṭ-ṭar[a-di dá-ri-ti]

- 08) [mi-i-n]a-am ap-⁷pu⁷-[na-m]a [ú-bá-⁷a-i]
09) [pa-ni LU]GAL bá-nu-⁷ta⁷ ⁷ú⁷[-bá-⁷a-i a-ma-ra]
10) [a-na-ku ÌR-]ka⁷ ⁷ú⁷ [DUMU-ka]

- 11) [LUGAL] KUR Ḥa-at-ti⁷ [i-na KUR Nu-ḥa-aš-]še
12) [a-š]i-ib ù [i-ip-tu⁴-u]r
13) ⁷ù⁷ a-nu-um-ma ⁷i⁷-⁷na⁷-[an-na-ma]
14) a-na-ku ù ¹[Ḥa-ti]-⁷ip⁷
15) ni-il-la-⁷kà⁷-⁷am⁷ [i-na ḥa-mut-i]š

- 16) mi-im-ma-a[m-ma i-na ^{UZU}lib -bi-ka]

Lo.ed.

- 17) ⁷la⁷ ta-ša-⁷kà⁷-⁷an⁷ ⁷kà⁷-⁷aš⁷-⁷dá⁷-[ku]
18) ⁷i⁷-na šul-mi ù pa-ni E[N-ia]
19) [l]u-ú a-mur bá-nu-ta⁵-am

Rev.

- 20) [i-]na ⁷KUR⁷ Nu-ḥa-aš-še LUGAL KUR Ḥa-at-[ti⁷]
21) ⁷a⁷-⁷ši⁷-⁷ib⁷ ù pal-ḥa-ku iš-tu pa-ni-š[u]
22) 2 1-⁷en⁷ ⁷KASKAL⁷-nu i-na a-šar a-ši-ib
23) ⁷iš⁷-⁷tu⁷ ⁷URU⁷ ⁷Tu⁴-ni-ip ù pal-ḥa-ku
24) ⁷ù⁷ ⁷li⁷-ip-tu⁴-ur ù kà-aš-dá-ku
25) ⁷as⁷-sur_x(ŠUR)-ri an-na-⁷kà⁷-am i-na KUR MAR.TU
26) ⁷KUR⁷ ⁷EN⁷-⁷ia⁷ ⁷i⁷-⁷il⁷-la-kà-am-ma
27) ⁷ù⁷ ⁷pal⁷-⁷ḥa⁷-⁷ku⁷ ⁷iš⁷-tu KUR EN-ia

- 28) ¹Tù⁷-u-⁷tù⁷ ⁷i⁷-⁷na⁷-⁷an⁷-⁷na⁷ a-mur
29) ^{UZU}lib⁷-⁷bi⁷-⁷ia⁷ ù a-ma-⁷te⁷-ia
30) ⁷am⁷-⁷ma⁷-la ⁷i⁷-⁷na⁷ ti-ir⁷-ší ^{UZU}lib⁷[-bi-ka]
31) [ik-ta-]aš-⁷du⁷ ⁷it⁷-⁷ti⁷ ¹Tù-u-tù ⁷EN⁷[-ia]
32) [EN-ia] ⁷lu⁷-⁷ú⁷ ⁷ḥa⁷-⁷dì⁷-ia-ta
33) [i-nu-ma] kà-aš-⁷dá⁷-ku a-na-ku
34) [a-na a-ma-a-]ri pa-ni ⁷LUGAL⁷ [EN-ia].

¹⁴⁴⁷ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 277-278 (translation); cf. IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 46-49 (transliteration and translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 668-671 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 254-255 (translation).

(1–4) [To Tutu, my lord, my father; the message of Aziru your servant: At the feet of my lord have I fallen. May it be well with my lord.]

(5–7) [From the words of the king, my lord, I do not de]part[and from your words I do not de]part [forever].

(8–10) [Wh]at, more[ove]r, [do I seek?] [To see] the beautiful [face of the ki]ng [do] I [seek]. [I am] your [servant] and [your son].

(11–15) [The king of] the land of **Hatti** [is loc]ated [in the land of Nu]g[as]se. Let him [depar]t and then [verily(?)] I and [Hat]ip will co[me with alacri]ty.

16–19) Don't take anythi[ng to heart]. I am coming. In safety may I see the beautiful face of [my] lo[rd].

(20–24) In the land of Nu]g[as]se, the king of the land of **Hat[ti]** is located and I am afraid of him. In the place where he is located it is two day marches from the city of Tunip so I am afraid. Let him depart and I will come.

(25–27) Let him surely not come here to the land of Amurru, the land of my lord. So I am afraid for the land of my lord.

(28–34) Tutu, now look: My intention and my words in accordance with the indication of [your] hea[rt, have rea]ched Tutu, [my] lord. My lord, may you rejoice [because] I am coming myself [to see] the face of the king, [my lord.]

This letter, sent by Aziru (king of Amurru) to Tutu¹⁴⁴⁸, reports a message quite similar to that of EA 164 (*supra*, text no. 25): the Hittite king had conquered the land of Nuḫḫašše and menaces to move further against Amurru. It is noteworthy the specification of the distance between the position of the Hittite king and Aziru's city, described as follows: "In the place where he is located it is two day marches from the city of Tunip so I am afraid" (Rs. 21-23); Aziru's fear is thus surely understandable, considering the close distance of the Hittite army.

In the end, Aziru tries to manage a possible meeting with Tutu (and possibly the pharaoh), recently delayed because of the imminence of the enemies.

¹⁴⁴⁸ For this person, see *supra*, comment to text no. 25.

23. EA 170 (Liverani¹⁴⁴⁹, LA 253) = CTH 188 = VS XI 94 (cf. WA 143), VAT 327:

Ba'luya and Batti-Ilu to Aziru, who is probably in Egypt (in Akkadian).

“News about the movements of the Hittite troops; considering the ambiguity of Aziru’s policy (between submission and opposition), it is probable that the letter should not to be read by the Egyptians”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 832-835:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na LUGAL EN-ni*
- 02) *um-ma^{1d} IŠKUR-lu-ia ù um-ma*
- 03) *¹Be-ti-DINGIR a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ni ni-am-qut*
- 04) *a-na muḥ-ḥi EN-ni lu-ú šul-mu*
- 05) *ù an-na- kam^v iš-tu KUR.MEŠ-šu*
- 06) *ša EN-ni dan-niš šul-mu*

-
- 07) *EN-ni mi-im-ma-am-ma*
 - 08) *i-na lib-bi-ka la ta-ša-kán*
 - 09) *lib-bá-ka la tù-uš-ma-ra-aš*
 - 10) *EN-ni ki-i-me-e te-le-é'-e-mi*
 - 11) *ù pa-ni-šu-nu ša-bat \\ zu-zi-la-ma-an*
 - 12) *ki-i-me-e i-na aš-ra-nu*
 - 13) *la ú-wa-aḥ-ḥé-ru-ka*

-
- 14) *ša-ni-tam ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR **Ha-at-ti**₇*
 - 15) *¹Lu-pa-ak-ku il₅-te-qú-nim*
 - 16) *URU.ḪLA KUR Am-qí ù iš-tu*
 - 17) *¹A-ad-du-mi il₅-te-qú-nim-mi*

Lo.ed.

- 18) *ù be-lí-ni li-i-de₄*

-
- 19) *ša-ni-tam ki-a-am ni-iš-te-mé*

Rev.

- 20) *¹Zi-dá-na*
- 21) *il₅-li- kam^v-mi*
- 22) *ù 9 x 10,000(SIG₇^v).MEŠ ÉRIN.MEŠ GÌR*
- 23) *it-ti-šu ša il₅-li-kam^v*
- 24) *ù a-ma-ta la nu-tar-ri-iš*
- 25) *šum-ma i-na ki-it-ti i-bá-aš-šu-nim*
- 26) *ù i-kà-ša₁₀-du-nim*
- 27) *i-na KUR Nu-ḥa-aš-še*
- 28) *ù ¹Be-ti-DINGIR*
- 29) *a-šap-pár a-na pa-ni-šu*
- 30) *ki-i-me-e pa-ni-šu-nu*
- 31) *ni-ša-ab-bat ù LÚ.DUMU.KIN-ip-ri-ia*
- 32) *ar-ḥi-iš a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
- 33) *a-ša₁₀-ap-pár ki-i-me-e a-ma-tam*
- 34) *ut-te-er-ka šum-ma i-bá-aš-ši*
- 35) *ù šum-ma ia-nu*

¹⁴⁴⁹ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 282-283 (translation); cf. DIETRICH – LORENTZ 1969, pp. 16ff.; GILES 1997, pp. 417-418; IZRE'EL 1991, vol. 2, pp. 55-58 (transliteration and translation); KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 676-679 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 257-258 (translation).

- 36) *a-na* ¹GAL.DINGIR ù ¹ÌR-^dURAŠ
 37) *a-na* ¹DUMU-*a-na* ù ¹GAL-ší-id-^rqí

Up.ed.

- 38) *um-ma* ¹A-mur-^dIŠKUR
 39) *a-na muḥ-ḥi-ku-nu lu-ú šul-mu*
 40) *lib-ba-ku-nu la tù-uš-ma-ra*
 \\ *ša-nim*

Lft.ed.

- 41) ù *mi-im-ma i-na ŠÀ-ku-nu la ta-ša-kán-*
 \\ *nu-nim*
 42) ù *an-na- kamV iš-tu É.MEŠ-ku-nu*
 43) *dan-niš šul-mu ù a-na* ¹A-na-ti
 44) *šul-ma qí-bi*

Translation

(1–6) To the king, our lord, the message of Ba‘luya and the message of Beti-ili: at the feet of our lord, have we fallen. May it be well with our lord. And here from the lands of our lord, it is very well.

(7–13) Our lord, don’t take anything to heart; don’t make your heart sick. Our lord, whenever you are able, meet with them so that they do not delay you there.

(14–18) Furthermore, the troops of the land of **Hatti** (and) Lupakku have taken the cities of the land of ‘Amqi and they have taken from Addumi and may our lord be apprised.

19–29) Furthermore, we have heard, “Zidana has come and 90,000 foot troops are with him which have come.” But that word, we have not confirmed, whether in truth they really are. But if/when they arrive in the land of Nuḡasse, then I will send Beti-ilu to meet him.

(30–35) When we establish contact with them, then I will send my envoy immediately to you, so that he may give a reply to you whether it really is or whether it isn’t.

(36–44) To Rabi-’ilu and ‘Abdi-URAŠ, to Binana and Rabišidqi, the message of Amur-Ba‘alu: May it be well with you. Do not make your hearts sick and don’t take anything to heart. And here with your households it is very well. And say “hello” to ‘Anatu.

Ba‘luya¹⁴⁵⁰ and Batti-Ilu¹⁴⁵¹ (Aziru’s brothers) are writing to the king of Amurru, who was actually in Egypt (probably, fulfilling the visit to the pharaoh quoted in the previous letter). The two princes inform the king about the advance of the Hittite army, led by the generals Lupakku and Zitana, with 9000-10000 infantrymen¹⁴⁵², conquering the cities of Amka, an event also reported in the “Deeds of Šuppiliuma” (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 1). If the notice would be confirmed, the troops of Amurru would be sent against the Hittites in the land of Nuḥḥašše, led by Bati-Ilu himself. One of Aziru’s brother (which one, it is not clear in the text) promises to promptly inform the king of the developments in the situation.

The letter ends with greetings sent to some people in Egypt, probably other members of Aziru’s family who had escorted the king to the Nile Valley.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For this person, see KLENGEL 1992, pp. 161, 164.

¹⁴⁵¹ For this person, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 25, 194-195.

¹⁴⁵² LIVERANI 1998, p. 283, note 34, stresses some difficulties in translating the passage: “Scritto ‘9 10.000’, normalmente da intendersi ‘9 per 10.000’ dunque 90.000. Ma la cifra è spropositata. Forse si intende ‘9(.000) -10.000’ che è già un grosso esercito per l’epoca”. Differently, MORAN 1992, p. 257 (“90.000”).

**24. EA 174 (Liverani¹⁴⁵³, LA 224) = CTH 187) VS XI 98 (cf. WA 160), VAT 1585:
Bieri of Ḫašabu to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Denunciation of Aitakama’s attack, request of help for the reconstruction”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 844-845:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a]-na LUGAL E[N-ia DINGIR-ia ^dUTU-i]a
- 02) ^rqí^r-bí-m[a]
- 03) um-ma Bi-i₁₅-ri [ÌR-k]a
- 04) LÚ URU Ḫa-ša-bu
- 05) a-na šu-pa-li up-^rri^r
- 06) GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
- 07) 7 ù 7 am-qú-ut
- 08) a-mur-mi ni-i₁₅-nu i₁₅-ba-ša-nu
- 09) a-na KUR Am-qí^r URU^r.^rDIDLÍ.Ḫ[LI.A]
- 10) LUGAL EN-i^ra^r
- 11) ^rù^r a-li-^ruk^r ^rI₁₅-[tá-kà-ma]
- 12) [LÚ UR]U Qí-in-sà
- 13) [a-na] pa-ni ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 14) [KUR Ḫ]a-^rat^r-t[i₇]

Lo.ed.

- 15) ^rù^r ša-ka₄-^ran^r [URU.DIDLÍ.ḪLI.A]

Rev.

- 16) [LU]GAL EN-ia
- 17) a-na i₁₅-ša-t[i]
- 18) ù li-de-mi
- 19) LUGAL EN-ia
- 20) ù li-di-na LUGAL ^rEN^r[-ia]
- 21) ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-tá-a-tí₇
- 22) ù ni-pu-uš URU.DI[DLI.ḪLI.A]
- 23) LUGAL EN-ia
- 24) ù ni-ša-ab
- 25) a-na URU.DIDLÍ.ḪLI.A
- 26) LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 \ ^dUTU-ia

Translation

(1–7) Speak [t]o the king [my] lo[rd, my god, m]y [sun god], the message of Bi^ri, [yo]ur [servant,] the ruler of Ḫašabu: beneath the dirt of the feet of the king, my lord, seven (times) and seven (times) have I fallen.

(8–26) Look, as for us, we are in the land of ‘Amqí, the cities of the king, my lord, and I[takama], [the ruler of the ci]ty of Qinsa (Qidši) came [at] the head of troops of [the land of Ḫ]atti and he set [the cities if the ki]ng, my lord, on fire. So may the king, my lord, be apprised and may the king, my lord, give regular troops that we may regain the cit[ies] of the king, my lord and so that we may dwell in the cities of the king, my lord, my god and my sun god.

In this letter, the king of Ḫašabu¹⁴⁵⁴ (Bieri¹⁴⁵⁵) informs the pharaoh (probably Amenhotep IV) about the Hittite attack in the region of Amka, supported by Aitakama (king of Kadesh). The expression

¹⁴⁵³ LIVERANI 1998, p. 259 (translation); cf. DIETRICH – LORENTZ 1969, pp. 16ff.; GILES 1997, p. 418; KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 682-685 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 260 (translation); WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 268-269.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Ḫašabu, as suggested in LIVERANI 1998, p. 259, note 12, could be identified with Tell Hašbe, 12 km SW to Baalbek.

¹⁴⁵⁵ For this person, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 145, 165 and KLENGEL 1992, p. 178.

used to describe Aitakama's behaviour, *ana pānī alāku* (Vs. 11-13) is explained by Moran under these regards:

“*ana pānī alāku* has here been taken to mean to go ‘towards, to’”¹⁴⁵⁶, which has been followed by Kitchen¹⁴⁵⁷ [...]. Neither meaning seems satisfactory. It does not seem likely that Egyptian vassals would be ordered to march at the head of Egyptian troops, and it is not clear why the vassal should go to meet the Egyptian troops. Having made preparations for their arrival, he would rather wait for, and then join, them, adding his forces to theirs and proceeding on the march. [...]”.

Therefore, it seems clear that Aitakama had helped the Hittites in their advance towards Amka, setting on fire some cities previously under the Egyptian control. In the end, Bieri asks the pharaoh to send him some archers, to regain the cities conquered by the Hittites.

¹⁴⁵⁶ MORAN 1992, p. 260, note 2¹⁴⁵⁶, quoting KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, p. 685: “gegangen ist abe[r] E[dagam]a, / [der Mann] von Kinza, / [ent]gegen der Kriegern / [von H]a[t][a]”. Cf. also here the reference to THUREAU-DANGIN 1922, p. 95.

¹⁴⁵⁷ KITCHEN 1962, p. 14, note 4.

**25. EA 175 (Liverani¹⁴⁵⁸, LA 225) = VS XI 99 (cf. WA 163), VAT 1588:
Ili-Daya of Ḫazi to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).**

“Denunciation of Aitakama’s attack, request of help for the reconstruction”.

RAINEY Z¹L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 846-847:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na] LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR[-ia dUTU]-ia
- 02) [qí]-bí-ma
- 03) [um-m]a DINGIR-da-a-ya-n[i ÌR-ka]
- 04) ʾLÚʾ URU Ḫa-sí a-na šu-pa-ʾ liʾ
- 05) up-ri GÌR-pí LUGAL EN-ia
- 06) 7 ù 7 am-ʾ qúʾ -ut
- 07) a-mur-mi ni-i₁₅-nu i₁₅-ba-š[a]-ʾ nuʾ
- 08) a-na KUR Am-qí URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A L[U GAL] ʾENʾ-ʾ iaʾ
- 09) ʾùʾ ʾaʾ -li-uk¹I₁₅-[tá-kà-m]a
- 10) ʾLÚʾ KUR Qí-in-sà ʾaʾ [-na pa-ni]
- 11) ʾÉRINʾ.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-[tí7]
- 12) [ù š]a-ʾ ka₄ʾ -a[n URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A]
- 13) [LUGAL EN-ia a-na i₁₅-ša-ti]
- 14) [ù li-de-mi LUGAL EN-ia]
- 15) [ù li-di-na LUGAL EN-ia]

Lo.ed.

- 16) [ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-tá-ti7]
- 17) ʾùʾ [ni-pu-uš URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A]

Rev.

- 18) ʾLUGALʾ [EN-ia]
- 19) ʾùʾ [ni-ša-a]b <a-na URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A>
- 20) a-na LUGAL ʾENʾ-ia

Translation

(1–6) [Sp]eak [to] the king, my lord, [my] god, my [sun god]; [the mess]age of Ilu-Dayyān[i], [yo]ur [servant], the ruler of the town of Ḫasi: beneath the dirt of the feet of the king, my lord, seven (times) and seven (times) have I fallen.

(7–20) Look, as for us, [we] are in the land of ‘Amqi, the cities of the ki[ng], my lord and I[takam]a, the ruler of the land of Qinsa (Qidši) has come at [the head] of troops of the land of Ḫat[ti] and [s]et [the cities of the king, my lord on fire. So may the king, my lord, be apprised and may the king, my lord give regular troops]th[at we may (re)gain the cities] of the ki[ng, my lord] and [so that we may dwell] in <the cities of> the king, my lord.

The content of this letter is the same as the previous one: just the sender is different, being the present tablet have dispatched by Ili-Daya¹⁴⁵⁹, king of Ḫazi.

¹⁴⁵⁸ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 259-260 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 684-687 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 260-261; WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 268-269.

¹⁴⁵⁹ For this king, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 145, 165 and KLENGEL 1992, p. 178.

26. EA 176 (Liverani¹⁴⁶⁰, LA 226) = CTH 188 = BB 46, BM 29829:

A vassal to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Content as the previous letters”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 848-849:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR-ia dUTU-ia]
- 02) [qí-bí-ma]
- 03) [um-ma...ĪR-ka]
- 04) [LÚ URU...a-na šu-pa-li]
- 05) [up-]r ri' ĠĪR-pí LUGAL EN-'ia'
- 06) 7 ù 7 am-qú-ut
- 07) a-mur-mi ni-i₁₅-nu i₁₅-ba-š[a-nu]
- 08) a-na KUR Am-qí URU.DIDLĪ.ĪI.A L[U GAL EN-]ia
- 09) ù a-li-uk ¹E-tá-[kà-ma]
- 10) 'LÚ' KUR Qí-in-sà a-na pa-ni
- 11) 'ÉRIN'. 'MEŠ' KUR 'Ĥa' -[a]t-ta
- 12) [ù š]a-ka₄-an' URU.DIDLĪ.ĪI.A LU[GAL E]N-ia
- 13) [a-n]a [i₁₅]-š[a-t]i
- 14) [ù li-de-mi LUGAL EN-ia] (traces)

Rev.

- 15) [ù li-di-na LUGAL EN-ia]
- 16) [ÉRIN.MEŠ] 'pí-' 'tá'-'a'-t[li₇]
- 17) 'ù' ni-pu-uš URU.DIDLĪ.ĪI.A
- 18) LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR-ia 'd'U[TU-ia]
- 19) ù ni-ša-ab
- 20) a-na URU.DIDLĪ.ĪI.A LUGAL EN-ia

Translation

(1–6) *[Speak to the king, my lord. my god, my sun god; the message of ..., your servant, the ruler of Beneath the di]rt under the feet of the king, my lord, seven (times) and seven (times) have I fallen.

(7–13) Look, we were in the land of 'Amqí, the cities of the k[ing,] my [lord], and Eta[kama,] the ruler of Qinsa (Qidši), came at the head of the troops of the land of **Ĥatta** and he [s]et the cities of the ki[ng, my lord, o]n [fi[re].

(14–20) [So may the king, my lord, be apprised. And may the king, my lord, grant] regular army [troops] that we may (re)gain the cities of the king, my lord, my god, [my] s[un god] and we may dwell in the cities of the king, my lord.

This letter reports a message very close to that in the previous two letters (EA 174 and 175). Unfortunately, the name of the sender (surely a Syrian vassal of the pharaoh) is not preserved on the tablet.

¹⁴⁶⁰ LIVERANI 1998, p. 260 (translation); cf. KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 686-687 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, p. 261; WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 268-269.

27. EA 196 (Liverani¹⁴⁶¹, LA 213) = CTH 187 = VS XI 111 (cf. WA 159 + 143), VAT 1592 + 1710:

Biryawaza to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Answer to a pharaonic message, with the motifs of the protection and of the listening. Dramatic denunciation of the violences suffered on the fault of Biridašwa, Hittites’ alley”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 898-901:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) [a-na LUGAL EN-i]a[q]í-b[í-ma
- 02) [um-ma¹Bir₅-i]a-¹wa-¹za¹ 'ÌR[-ka]
- 03) [a]-na 'GÌR'. 'MEŠ' 'LUGAL' 'EN' <-ia> '7' a-¹na¹ [pa-ni]
- 04) ší-bi-¹ta-¹a-¹an am-¹qut¹
- 05) 'ù' i[š]-¹te-¹me 'i'-¹nu'-[m]a ša-pár L[UGAL]
- 06) E[N-ia¹...]sa-ia [ù] [n]a-a[š]-r[a-k]u
- 07) ù [ur-ru-u]d a-na-¹ku¹ [L]UG[AL] E[N-i]a
- 08) i-n[a aš-r]i an-ni 'ti'-[i]k-šu[-da-a]m-mi
- 09) [ar-ħi-iš ÉRIN GA]L 'LUGAL' 'EN'-ia
- 10) 'a'-¹na¹ m[a-ħar LUGAL KUR Ĥa-]at-[ti₇^{KI}]
- 11) 'ma'-¹šar¹ [LU]G[AL EN-ia paṭ-ru]
- 12) i[š-t]u m[u]-ħi-ia 'a'-¹na¹-¹ku¹ [1-en ÌR]
- 13) 'LUGAL' 'ša' 'ir'-ti₇-ħa-ti₇ 'a'-n[a ša-šu]
- 14) [ù l]i-¹de¹ LUGAL EN-ia 'ù'
- 15) [gáb-b]i ÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
- 16) [i]t-ta-al-ku EGIR!
- 17) [LUGAL] KUR Ĥa-at-ti₇^{KI} ù
- 18) [ka-aš-]du gáb-bi MÁŠKIM. 'MEŠ'
- 19) [LUGAL E]N-ia ša 'uš'-š[u-ni]
- 20) [.....]
- 21) [.....]
- 22) [.....]

Lo.ed.

- 23) [.....]
- 24) [.....]

Rev.

- 25) [.....]
- 26) [.....]i]a[.....] \\i[a]
- 27) [.....]DAM.MEŠ-ia
- 28) [ù] 'É'.GI.A ù
- 29) [ša-k]a-an i-na ÚR \\ su-ni-[šu]
- 30) [š]a-ni-tam i-nu-ma la-ma-ad
- 31) [LUGAL] EN-ia a-wa-ta₅ a-ni-ta₅
- 32) la-a i-pa-aš ip- <ša> an-na LÚ iš-tu
- 33) 'da'-ri-ti₇ ša-ni-tam
- 34) 'yu'-wa-ša-ra-ni-mi LUGAL EN[-ia]
- 35) '1' me-ti LÚ.MEŠ a-na 'na'-ša-¹ri¹ 'Ì[R-ka ù]
- 36) [a-n]a na-ša-¹ri¹ 'URU'.DIDLI.ĤI.A LUGAL EN-[ia]
- 37) [a-d]i 'i'-ma-ru ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-ťá-ti₇
- 38) [LUGA]L EN-ia ù la-a
- 39) [y]i-qù-ul LUGAL EN-ia
- 40) [iš-]tu ip-ši an-ni ša

¹⁴⁶¹ LIVERANI 1998, p. 253 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, p. 420; KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 722-725 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 273-274 (translation); WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 268-269.

- 41) [i]-pa-aš^{1r} Bi⁷-ri-da-aš-wa
 42) [i-nu-]ma yi-na-ma-aš KUR.KI
 43) [LUGAL] EN-ia ù URU.DIDLI.[HI.A-šu]

Translation

(1–4) [Sp]ea[k to the king, m]y [lord; the message of Biry]awaza, [your]servant: [A]t the feet of the k[in]g, <my> l[ord], 7 times on [the face] (and) seven times, have I fallen.
 (5–13) And I have heeded when the k[ing, my] l[ord,] sent [...]saya [and] I am on guard. And I [have serv]ed the [k]in[g], [m]y lo[rd] in this [plac]e. May [the gre]at [army] of the king, my lord, arrive [quickly] bef[ore] the king of the land of **Hatt**i. The garrison of the [ki]n[g, my lord, departed from me. I am [the one servant of] the king that remains to [him].
 (14–20) [So may] the king, my lord, be apprised that [al]l of the servants of the king, my lord, have gone away after(!) [the king] of the land of **Hatt**i and all the commissioners [of the king,] my [lo]rd, that came forth [have arriv]ed [...].
 (21–26) [.....]
 (27–29) [.....] my wives [and] my daughters in law and [he p]ut (them) in his lap (= had intercourse with them).
 (30–33) [F]urthermore, inasmuch as [the king], my lord, learned of this matter, never has a man done such a de<ed>.
 (33–38) Furthermore, may the king, [my] lord, send me one (or two?) hundred men to protect [your servant and] to protect the cities of the king, [my] lord, until I see the regular troops of [the kin]g, my lord.
 (38–43) And may the king, my lord, not [ke]ep silent [conce]rning this deed that Biridashwa [has] done [whe]n he caused (?) the land of [the king], my lord, and [his] citi[es] to desert.

The message reported on this tablet, sent by king Biryawaza of Upe to the pharaoh, deals with the king's congratulation for the arrival (finally!) of a military help from Egypt to face the Hittite advance in Syria (Vs. 5-13).

Biryawaza further informs the pharaoh about the defection of other former Egyptian vassals, who passed to the Hittite side (Vs. 14-20). The Syrian king describes the atrocities perpetrated by the Hittites, and by Biridašwa¹⁴⁶² of Yanu'ammu¹⁴⁶³ *in primis*, who raped the king's wives and daughters-in-law, underlining the seriousness of this event (Rs. 32-33: *la-a i-pa-aš ip-ša an-na LU iš-tu / ʿ da⁷-ri-ti⁷ ša-ni-tam*, "never has a man done such a de<ed>"). Because Biridašwa had caused other Syrian lands to defect Egypt, Biryawaza pleas the pharaoh to send some troops to avoid further riots (Rs. 38-43).

¹⁴⁶² For this king, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 165, 174, 266 and KLENGEL 1992, p. 162. Differently, Na'aman considered him as king of Ašartu: NA'AMAN 1988, p. 181.

¹⁴⁶³ Yanu'ammu is identified with Tell el-Na'am to SW to Lake Tiberias (SAARISALO 1927, pp. 44-45, 112-118 and RIA V, pp. 258-259), or with Tell el-Šinab, in Bašan (NA'AMAN 1977).

28. EA 197 (Liverani¹⁴⁶⁴, LA 212) = CTH 188 = BB 43, BM 29826:

Biryawaza to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“Biryawaza protects Kumidi and the Egyptian interests, against enemies fighting in the South (Biridašwa, in the Ḥauran zone) and in the North (Arzawiya of Ruḥizzi, on the the Upper Orontes), both loyal to the Hittites”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 902-905:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 04) [a-na LUGAL EN-ia qí-bí-ma]
-03) [um-ma ¹Bir₅-ia-wa-za ÌR-ka]
-02) [a-na ĜÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia 7 a-na pa-ni]
01) [7-ta-an-ni am-qut]
00) [a-mur ¹Ar-sà-wu-ya]
01) [yi-ì]q-bi a-[na ¹.....]
02) ¹ÌR'-ka i-na URU A-[ra-ri ? a-na]
03) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR-šu [i-di-in₄-šu-ni]
04) a-na LÚ.MEŠ SA.GAZ ù la-a ta[-di-in₄-šu-ni]
05) a-na LUGAL EN-ia u mi-ia-ti₇ a-¹na¹-ku >¹ù¹<
06) ÌR a-na ia-ši-ia a-na-mì LUGAL gáb-bu
07) yi-mur-ma ¹Bi-ri-da-aš-wa ip-ša an-na
08) ù yi-⟨MAŠ⟩-na-mu-uš URU Ya-nu-am-ma UGU-ia
09) u yi-du-ul KÁ.GAL a-na EGIR-ia
10) ù yi-il₅-qé GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ i-na URU Aš-tar-ti₇
11) ù ya-di-in₄-šu-ni a-na LÚ.MEŠ SA.GAZ
12) ù la-a ya-di-in₄-šu-¹ni¹ a-na LUGAL EN-ia
13) yi-mur-ma šàr URU Bu-uš-ru-na
14) ù šàr URU Ḥa-lu-un-ni u ti₇-pa-šu
15) nu-kúr-ta it-ti ¹Bi-ri-da-aš-wa
16) a-na mu-ḥi-ia u ti₇-iq-bu-na
17) al-ka-am-mi nu-du-uk ¹Bir₅-ia-wa-za
18) ¹ù¹ la-a ni-wa-aš-ši-ru-šu a-na
19) [KUR Ta]ḥ-šì_x(ŠE) ù i-pa-ṭar a-na-ku iš-tu
20) [qa-ti-š]u-nu ù iz-zi-iz i-na

Lo.ed.

- 21) [KUR A-pí ù] ¹URU¹ Di-maš-qa i-nu-ma
22) [ti₇-mu-ru k]i-i ur-ru-¹du¹

Rev.

- 23) [LUGAL EN-ia ti₇]-iq-bu-n[a]
24) [ÌR.MEŠ šàr KUR Ḥa-a]t-ti₇ ni-nu
25) ù a-na-ku iq-bu ÌR šàr KUR Mi-iš-r[i]
26) a-na-ku ù yi-la-ak ¹Ar-sà-wu-ya
27) a-na URU Qì-i[s-sà] ¹ù¹ yi-il₅-qa
28) ÉRIN.MEŠ ¹A-¹zi¹-[ri] ¹ù¹ iš-ba-at
29) URU Ša-ad-du u ya-di-in₄-ši a-na
30) LÚ.MEŠ SA.GAZ u la-a ia-di-in₄-ši
31) a-na LUGAL EN-ia ù a-mur ¹I-ta-at-ka
-ma
32) ḥu-li-iq KUR Qì-is-sà u an-nu-ú
33) ¹Ar-sà-wu-ya qa-du ¹Bi-ri-da-
\aš-wa

¹⁴⁶⁴ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 252-253 (translation); cf. GILES 1997, pp. 420-421; KNUDTZON 1915, vol. 1, pp. 7724-729 (transliteration and translation); MORAN 1992, pp. 274-275 (translation).

- 34) *yu-ḥa-li-qú* KUR A-pí
 35) *ù li-pa-qa-ad* KUR.KI-šu LUGAL *la-a-mì*
 36) *til-qú-ši* LÚ.MEŠ *na-ak-ru-tu*
 37) *i-nu-ma* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ia nu-kúr-tu a-na ia-ši-ia*
 38) *a-na-ku i-na-ša-ru* URU *Ku-mì-di* URU LUGAL
 39) 'EN'-*ia* *ù lu-ú yu!*(UD)-*ša-lim* LUGAL *a-na ÌR-*
 \\\rš
 40) [*la-a y*]i-zi-ib ÌR-šu LUGAL
 41) [*ù lu-ú*] *tì7-da-ga-lu* LUGAL.MEŠ [KUR *Qì-is-sà*?]
 42) [*ù*] 'LUGAL' .MEŠ KUR A-pí š[*um-ma*]

Lft.ed.

- 43) ...*a-ta-mar* ÉRIN.MEŠ *pí-ṭá-ti7*

Translation

- (4–0) [Speak to the king, my lord; the message of Biryawaza, your servant: at the feet of the king, my lord, seven (times) on the face and seven times have I fallen. Look, Arsawuya]
 (1–5) [sp]oke [to PN,] your servant in the city of A[raru(?)] concerning his horses (and) his chariots, “[Hand them over] to the ‘*apîru* men but do not h[and them over] to the king, my lord.”
 (5–6) Who am I? A servant! It is to the king that everything of mine belongs.
 (7–12) Biridashwa saw this deed and incited the town of Yanu‘am against me and he barred the gate behind me and he took the chariots from the town of Ashtartu and he handed them over to the ‘*apîru* men and did not hand them over to the king, my lord.
 (13–19) The king of the town of Bušruna and the king of the town of ‘Allônu saw (this) and they made war on me with Biridashwa, and they were saying, “Come on! Let’s kill Biryawaza and not let him get away to [the land of Ta]ḥsi.”
 (19–21) But I escaped from their [grip] and I took a stand in the [land of Api and] the city of Damascus.
 (21–26) When [they saw t]hat I serve [the king, my lord, they] kept sayin[g],
 “We are [servants of the land of **Ḫa**]tti.” But I kept saying “I am the servant of the king of the land of Egypt[t].”
 And Arsawuya went
 (27–31) to the town of Qi[ssa] (Qedesh) and he took the troops of Azi[ru] and he seized the town of Shaddu and he handed it over to the ‘*apîru* men and did not hand it over to the king, my lord.
 (31–34) Look! Itatkama has caused the loss of Qissa (Qedesh) and behold Arsawuya with Biridashwa is causing the loss of the land of Api.
 (35–42) So may the king attend to his land lest the enemies take it. While my associates (brothers) are hostile to me, I am guarding the city of Kômidi, the city of the king, my lord. So may the king bring peace to his servant; may the king [not a]bandon his servant [and may] the kings of [the land of Qissa? and] the kings of the land of Api see wh[ether]
 (43) [.....] I beheld the regular troops

The text reported on this tablet is surely one of the most informative about the Hittite advance in Syria: Biryawaza¹⁴⁶⁵ writes to the pharaoh reporting him the defection of some Syrian vassals, who had betrayed their alliance with Egypt passing to the Hittites (probably encouraged by Biridašwa, king of Yanu‘ammu).

Biryawaza also states that the former Egyptian vassals had delivered some horses and chariots of the pharaoh to the Hittite army. The kings of Bušruna¹⁴⁶⁶ and Ḫalunni are accused of betrayal, supporting Biridašwa and probably seizing Biryawaza in Tahši, but the latter succeeded in refuging at Abi, the city from which he probably dispatched the present letter¹⁴⁶⁷.

¹⁴⁶⁵ This king is also quoted in EA 12, 20, 22 and 33: see *supra*, texts nos 12, 20, 22 and 33.

¹⁴⁶⁶ For the many toponyms quoted in this letter, see BELMONTE MARÍN 2001, s.v.

¹⁴⁶⁷ For the reading A[duru] instead of A[bi], see LIVERANI 1998, p. 252, note 29.

Later on, Biryawaza reports the arrival of Arzawiya to Kadesh where he took Aziru's troops and seized the city of Šaddu, giving him to the enemies (the *'apîru*): eventually, Biridašwa's and Arzawiya's betrayal is compared with that of Aitakama of Kadesh.

At the end of the missive, Biryawaza implores the pharaoh not to forget his ally, sending military aids to prevent the defection of other cities.

29. EA 363 (Liverani¹⁴⁶⁸, LA 227) = CTH 187 = THUREAU-DANGIN 1922, p. 107, AO 7097: Abdi-Riša to the pharaoh (in Akkadian).

“One of four very similar letters (EA 174-176, 363), written by the same scribe on the same occasion, denouncing the Hittite attack suffered by Aitakama of Kadesh. This episode is also told in an Hittite document (CTH 40)¹⁴⁶⁹, of the period of Šuppiluliuma I; so all the letters should belong to the last period of the Amarna archive”.

RAINEY Z'L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 1238-1239:

Transliteration

Obv.

- 01) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* ^dUTU-*ia*
- 02) *qí-bí-ma*
- 03) *um-ma* ÌR-*re-ša* ÌR-[˘]UT[˘]-*ka*
- 04) [˘]LÚ[˘] URU E-*(ni)-ša-sí a-na šu-pa-li*
- 05) *up-ri* GÌR-*pí* LUGAL EN-*ia*
- 06) *7 ù 7 am-qú-ut*
- 07) *a-mur-mi ni-i₁₅-nu i₁₅-ba-ša-*(nu)**
- 08) *a-na* KUR Am-*qí* URU.DIDLÌ.ĦÌ.A LUGAL EN-*ia*
- 09) *ù a-li-ik!(UK) ¹E-tá-ka₄-ma*
- 10) LÚ URU KUR *Qí-in-sà*
- 11) *a-na pa-ni* ÉRIN.MEŠ **Ħa-at-ta**
- 12) *ù ša-ka₄-an* URU.DIDLÌ.ĦÌ.A
- 13) LUGAL EN-*ia*

Lo.ed.

- 14) *a-na i₁₅-ša-ti₇*

Rev.

- 15) *ù li-de-mi*
- 16) LUGAL EN-*ia*
- 17) *ù li-dí-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*
- 18) ÉRIN.MEŠ *pí-tá-a-ta*
- 19) *ù ni-pu-uš*
- 20) URU.DIDLÌ.ĦÌ.A [˘]LUGAL[˘] EN-[˘]*ia*[˘]
- 21) *ù ni-[˘]ša[˘]-ab*
- 22) *a-na* URU.DIDLÌ.ĦÌ.A
- 23) LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia*
\\^dUTU-*ia*

Translation

(1–7) Speak to the king, my lord, my god, my sun god; the message of ‘Abdi-rēša, your servant, the ruler of the city of ‘Ê(ni)-šâsi: Beneath the dirt under the feet of the king, my lord, seven (times) and seven (times) have I fallen.

(7–14) Look, we are in the land of ‘Amqi, the cities of the king, my lord and Aitakama, the ruler of the city of Qinsa (Qedesh) came at the head of the **Hittite** army and he set the cities of the king, my lord, on fire.

(15–23) So may the king, my lord be apprised and may the king, my lord, provide regular troops that we may (re)gain the cities of the king, my lord, and so that we may dwell in the cities of the king, my lord, my god, my sun god.

¹⁴⁶⁸ LIVERANI 1998, pp. 260-261 (translation); cf. MORAN 1992, pp. 361-362 (translation); RAINEY 1970 (transliteration and translation); THUREAU-DANGIN 1922, pp. 94-95 (transliteration and translation); WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 268-269.

¹⁴⁶⁹ See GÜTERBOCK 1956b, pp. 93-94.

EA 363, sent by king ‘Abdi-riša (defined as “man of Enišaši”¹⁴⁷⁰, ‘LÚ’ URU *E-(ni)-ša-sí*, Vs. 4) to the pharaoh (probably Amenhotep IV), also deals with the Hittite advance in Syria, under the reign of Suppiluliuma I. The king informs the pharaoh about the arrival of a Hittite army led by Aitakama of Kadesh, burning some Syrian cities, specifically in the land of Amka and requires the shipping of military support from Egypt.

¹⁴⁷⁰ For the identification of this person, see KLENGEL 1969, pp. 146, 165 and KLENGEL 1992, p. 178; cf. LIVERANI 1998, p. 261, note 17 (quoting NA’AMAN 1988, pp. 187-188: “Na’aman propone di leggere *İR-ša-ri* (hurrita) ma senza adeguate ragioni”); HESS 1993, pp. 16-17; Moran 1992, p. 362, note 2: “NA’AMAN 1988, pp. 187f., suggests that *-ri-ša* is a mistaken metathesis for *-la-ri*, an element well known in Hurrian names. Against this proposal is the fact that ‘servant of ...’ is a type of name unattested among the Hurrians (Gemot Wilhelm, private communication)”. About Enišaši, see LIVERANI 1998, p. 261, note 18: “WEIPPERT 1970, pp. 259-272 intende *e-(ni)-ša-zi* (qui e in EA 187) come ‘la sorgente degli Shasu’ (egiz. *‘n-š2sw*). Ma il termine egiziano Shasu è improbabile in un toponimo siriano. Dubbi ha espresso anche Na’aman 1988, pp. 188-190, il quale propone un raffronto col toponimo *ša-za-e-na* (attestato a Kamid el-Loz); e identico a Shazhima di EA 203 nel Hauran e all’assiro Sazanu, cf. EPH’AL 1971”; cf. RAINEY Z”L 2015, vol. 2, p.1628: “URU *E-(ni)-ša-sí* has been recognized as the equivalent of URU *E-ni-ša-si*20[^{K1}] in EA 187:12. WEIPPERT 1970 and RAINEY 1970:91 have independently come to the conclusion that this town was to be equated with the *‘a-yi-n-ša-šú*, No. CN 11 of the temple of Amenhotep III (EDEL 1966:25) and No. 5 of the Thutmose III topographical list. It is still the most likely interpretation of the entry *‘n-ša-šú* in Papyrus Anastasi I 19:1-2 (1989–1990:73a+b)”.

1.3.2: THE CUNEIFORM TEXT FROM QANTIR/PI-RAMESSE

Among the documents attesting direct contacts between Hatti and Egypt (besides EA 41-44), we can remember a small fragment of a letter found in Qantir/Pi-Ramesse in 2003 excavation season¹⁴⁷¹. It consists of a rim of a cuneiform, limestone tablet (no. FZN, i.e. Fundzettelnummer, 2003/0260, IN, i.e. Inventarnummer, 2801¹⁴⁷²), published in 2003¹⁴⁷³, found in the Ramesside capital, in a layer just above a palace structure dating to the time of Ramses II¹⁴⁷⁴ (anyhow, the object is defined as “out of context”). Its measures are: height, $x + 4.96 + y$ cm; width, $x + 4.95$ cm; thickness, $2.0 \text{ cm} + x$ ¹⁴⁷⁵. Here two photographs of the find spot¹⁴⁷⁶ and the tablet itself¹⁴⁷⁷:



Figs 119-120

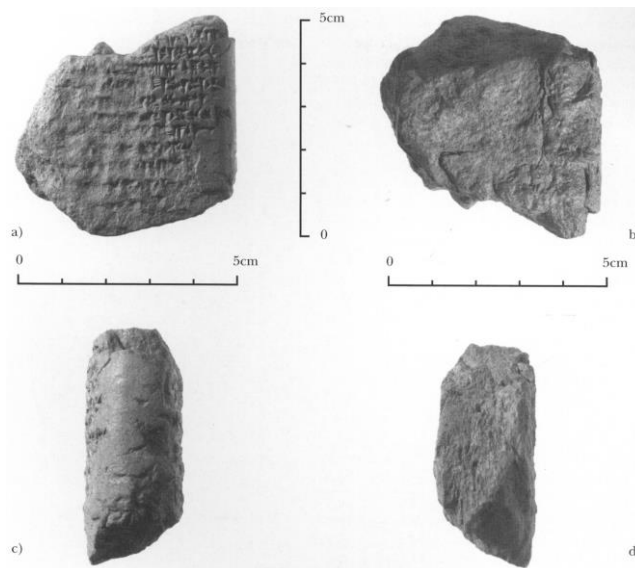


Fig. 121

¹⁴⁷¹ More precisely, it was found on 30th August 2003. I thank Henning Frazmeier (director of the archaeological mission of the “Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim” at Qantir) for his helpful information and support in discussing this document.

¹⁴⁷² PUSCH–JAKOB 2003, p. 146, note 5: “FZN: 2003/0260, Funddatum: 30. August 2003, Befund text: „in veriegeltem Lehm neben Ofen nach Abtrag der K(alkstein)Splitt(schicht) rel. a“, Inventarnummer: IN 2801 (Magazin des Projektes Ramses-Stadt)”.

¹⁴⁷³ PUSCH–JAKOB 2003.

¹⁴⁷⁴ *Ivi*, p. 143, note 1: “Grabungsplatz Q VII-e/6, 7,25 m NS, 8,69 m WO, 4,765 m üNN, Schicht rel. a, Bauschicht rel. Ba”.

¹⁴⁷⁵ *Ivi*, p. 146.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Ivi*, p. 144, fig. 1-2.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Ivi*, p. 147, fig. 3: a) Vs.; b) Rs.; c) right band; d) fractured left band.

The text (in Akkadian) is preserved for just few lines (approximately 12), but in its original (unbroken) version¹⁴⁷⁸ should have been composed of 60 lines, with 25-30 signs for each¹⁴⁷⁹. A good sketch of the tablet if offered in the aforementioned publication¹⁴⁸⁰, together with a very good picture of the “Vorderseite”¹⁴⁸¹:

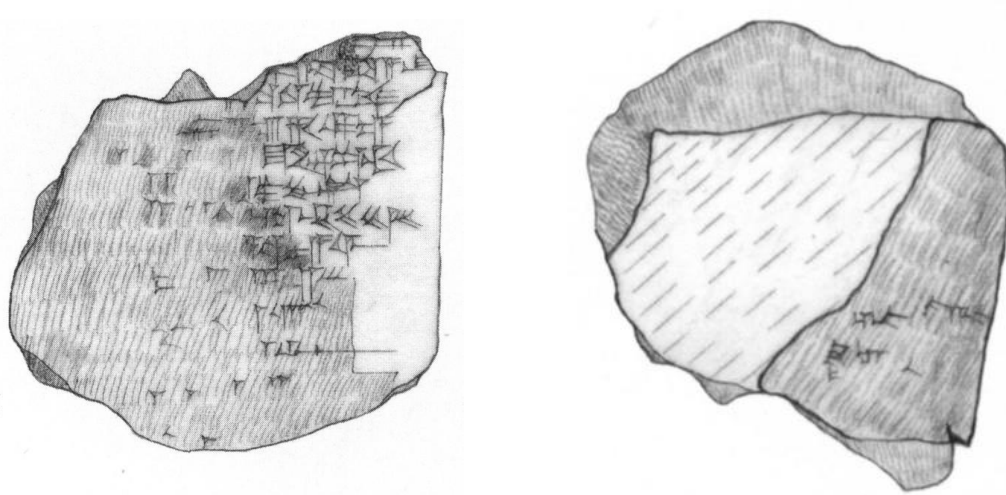


Fig. 122

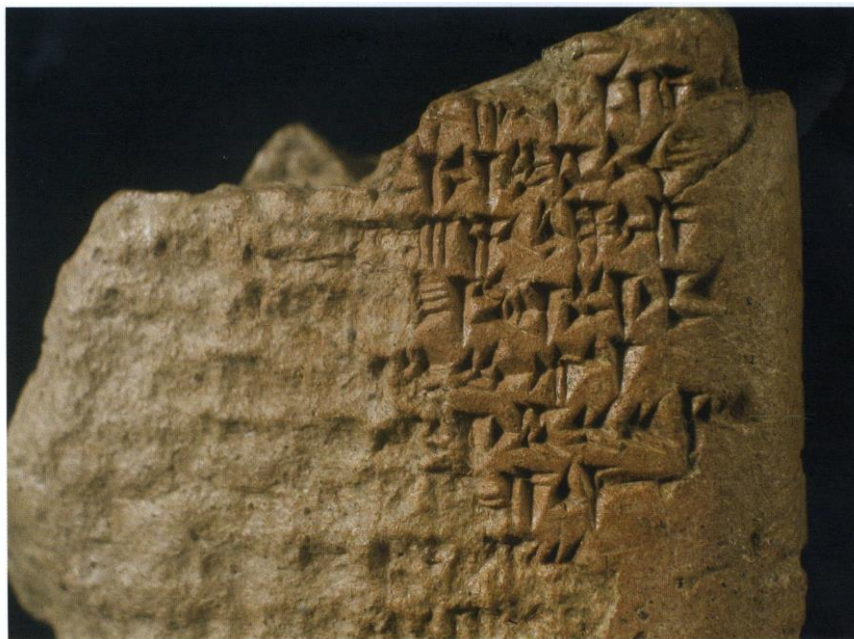


Fig. 123

Here the transcription and translation, as offered by Pusch and Jakob¹⁴⁸²:

Transcription

Translation

¹⁴⁷⁸ Considering the total height of about 10 cm.

¹⁴⁷⁹ PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 148, note 10: Pusch and Jakob make a comparison with other letters, and specifically 1965/c (= KBo XXVIII 23), a letter sent by Ramses to the queen Puduḥepa, published by Edel as ÄHK Nr. 43 (E 10) in EDEL 1994, pp. 106-109, pl. XLIVf.

¹⁴⁸⁰ PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 148, fig. 4.

¹⁴⁸¹ *Ivi*, p. 149, fig. 5.

¹⁴⁸² *Ivi*, p. 148.

Vs. ?

1' [...] 'x-ni' ?	[...] ...
2' [...DU]MU [?] a-na ša-a-šu	[...der So]hn [?] diesem
3' [...] 'qa' -qa-ra-tu ₄	[...] die Gebiete
4' [...] 'lu' -ú ħa-de-e	[...] mögen sich freuen
5' [...] ma-a' -du-ti	[...] viele [...]
6' [...t]a-ša [?] i-pu-uš	[...]... machte er [...]
7' [...]- 'še [?] -ša' EN.KUR.KUR.MEŠ	[...Ram]ses [?] , der Herr der Länder
8' [...] 'a-na ia' -ši	[...] mir
9' [...] x x DINGIR.MEŠ	[...]...die Götter
10' [...] x x x x	[...]...
11' [...] x x	[...]...
12' [...] x x	[...]...

Rs. ?

nur wenige unverwertbare Spuren

Despite of the mere state of conservation of the tablet, the authors provide some useful integrations: in Vs. 7', it is quite likely to reconstruct the name (¹*Ri-a-me-še-ša*) of pharaoh Ramses II, (maybe of the sender/addressee of the letter), an integration also supported by the following title EN.KUR.KUR.MEŠ, "the Lord of the Two Lands (i.e. Egypt)".

In their publication of the text, Pusch and Jakob left open the possibility of the origin of the letter, but strengthening the possibility of its Hittite origin¹⁴⁸³. First, Pusch underlines the comparison of some peculiar signs (*uš*, *ú*, and *ra*) with the same signs as attested in sure Hittite letters¹⁴⁸⁴. Despite of this fact, on the contrary, Pusch notes that the *plene* (hypertrophic) writing of "ma" (line 5') is not typical of the Hittite use. Nevertheless, it is not strictly against the possibility of a Hittite provenience of the fragments, considering that a lot of variant writing are attested in the ordinary practise of the Hittite chancellery.

Another important fact to be taken into account is the way of writing the syllable " a' ": normally, in the Hittite texts¹⁴⁸⁵, it is written with the sign *aḫ*, while in 2003/0206 the use of the sign *a'*, typically used in the Mesopotamian texts, is attested. However, this is not a proof of the Mesopotamian origin of the letter, considering that this writing is attested in a letter written by Ḫattišili III to the Babylonian king Kadašman-Enlil II¹⁴⁸⁶. Furthermore, the same writing is also attested in some letters written by the pharaoh to Ḫattušili III or to Tudḫaliya IV (KUB III 28 Vs. 4 = EDEL 1994, No. 69; KUB III 44 Vs. 21 = EDEL 1994, No. 74). Against the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin stands the particular writing, in line 7', of the pharaoh's title "Lord of the Two Lands", rendered with the Sumerogram EN.KUR.KUR.MEŠ, which should to be read as the Akkadian *bēl māṭāti*, approximately the same as the Egyptian *nb t3wy*: usually the title is written by the Egyptian scribes as *ni-ib ta-a-ui*, like in the letters published by Edel¹⁴⁸⁷.

All these considerations led Pusch to regard this letter as sent by the Hittite king to the pharaoh. Unfortunately, given its very lacunose state of preservation, it is quite difficult to speculate about the content of the letter. By the way, Pusch makes some attempt of understanding the topic of the text, by analysing some lexical features: the verb form 'lu' -ú ħa-de-e (line 4'), is usually constructed with the particle "lū" complemented with a word in genitive (in this case we should find *phadū*, translated

¹⁴⁸³ PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, pp. 148-150.

¹⁴⁸⁴ These comparisons are presented in PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 149, note 1. For *uš*, see KUB III 40, in HAGENBUCHNER 1988, No. 341; for *ú*, see KBo XXVIII 68 Rs. 10', *ibid.*, No. 319; for *ra*, see KUB III 46 Vs. 5 (letter of Ḫattušili to Ramses?), in EDEL 1994, p. 41 (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 33.f).

¹⁴⁸⁵ Like in the letter written by the Hittite queen Puduḫepa to Ramses, KUB III 24 + KUB III 59, in EDEL 1994, E20 Vs. 17' (see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 23).

¹⁴⁸⁶ KBo I 10: 60, in HAGENBUCHNER 1988, no. 204.

¹⁴⁸⁷ EDEL 1994, pp. 168-177.

by Pusch as “Freund”. In our document, however, instead of the typical construction, we can read the word *hadē* (a stative, feminine, plural form, a contraction from *hadiā*), attested in Old-Babylonian texts from Mari, but not in the Hittite correspondence of the 2nd mill. BC. The subject of this verb should be the word *qaqqarātu* in line 3’, translated as “die Gebiete”. Thus, all the sentence should be translated as “the lands (are/may be) in happiness”¹⁴⁸⁸.

Moreover, line 2’ quotes “a son” (DUMU) who should have made peace in the lands. Considering that the “lands” are in happiness because of the actions of a “son”, all the context could be referred to an enthronement of a new king (maybe the successor of Ḫattušili III) who brought peace in the countries¹⁴⁸⁹. In this sense, the word *ma-a’-du-ti* in line 5’ could retrieve §10 of the Egypto-Hittite treaty of peace, where Ramses is requested to guarantee the succession to the throne of Ḫattušili III’s legitimate son, defending him from all the eventual enemies and opponents. Here the text of the Treaty¹⁴⁹⁰:

Babylonischer Text

Hieroglyphischer Text

§ 10: Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren

1a		1a	[ptr p]3-[t3] n Ḫt p[3-]t[3 n Kmt]
B		b	(20) [ḫtp snsn r nḫḫ] m[-s3] p3[.n] ḫ
	(40) u amur māru š[a ^m]Ḫattušili šar māt		
2a	Ḫatti l[ū i]nneppuš šarru{’ti’} māt Ḫatti	2a	
b	(41) [in]a ašri ^m Ḫattušili abī-šu	b	
c	arki šanāti mādūti ša ^m Ḫattuš[ili] šar	c	
	māt Ḫ[atti]		
3		3	k3 dd
4		4	jw.j r šmt [m-]s3 [p3]y.<j> š3y
5		5	ḫr [jr] R ^c -ms-sw [mrj-jmn] p3-ḫq3- ^c 3 n Kmt ḫ r nḫḫ
6a		6a	[mt]w.tw jj[t r] p3[-t3 n Ḫ]t
b		b	[r djt jr]y[.sn p3y.<j> šrj]w m p[3.]sn nb
c		c	r t[m] djt jry[.w n.s]n [ky] [m p3.sn nb]
7a	(42) [u] šumma mā[rū] ša māt Ḫatti	7a	ḫr j[r jr]y.w (21) [bt3 r.f]
	ītepsū ḫīṭa ana muḫḫī-šu		
b		b	[kn]y.sn r djt.f n.sn r nb
A		A	[m] djt gr Wsr-m3 ^c t-r ^c stpn[-r ^c] [p3-]ḫq3- ^c 3 [n] Kmt [m] r3.f [r] nḫḫ
B	adi [ḫRiamašeša] mai- ^d ama[n]a (43)	B	j[m]m [jw]t.f <i>oder</i> j[m]m [jw]t[.f n.]f
	išappar ṣ[ābī] narkabātī ana < rēšūtī-šu		
C		C	[mtw.]f ḫ p3-t3 [n] Ḫt
D	u > utâr gimilla ana šâšu	D	[mtw.]f [ḫ]n [w]š[b n] p[3]-wr- ^c 3 [n Ḫ]t
D’		D’	[m m]j[t]t [n p]3[-t3 n Ḫ]t

Babylonischer Text (Übersetzung)

Hieroglyphischer Text (Übersetzung)

§ 10: Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren

¹⁴⁸⁸ A similar expression is attested in KBo III 24 Vs. 9’ (a letter written from Puduḫepa to Ramses II, see EDEL 1994, pp. 138f.: see *supra*, section 1.2.1, text no. 23) as noted by M. Görg in GÖRG 2003, p. 25.

¹⁴⁸⁹ This is Pusch’s opinion in PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 150.

¹⁴⁹⁰ EDEL 1997, pp. 38-41.

1a		1a	[Siehe], das [Land] Ḫatti (und) das Land [Ägypten]
B		b	(20) [sind (auch)] na[ch unser]em Leben [auf ewig friedlich und verbrüdert].
2a	(40) Und siehe, der Sohn des Ḫattušili, des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, so[ll] zum König des Landes Ḫat[ti] gemacht werden	2a	
b	(41) [a]n der Stelle des Ḫattušili, seines Vaters,	b	
c	nach vielen Jahren des Ḫattuš[ili], des Königs des Landes Ḫ[atti].	c	
3		3	(Mit) anderen Worten:
4		4	Ich werde mei[nem] Schicksal folgen (= sterben),
5		5	Aber Riamašeša mai[-amana], der Großkönig von Ägypten, [soll] ewig (= lange) leben;
6a		6a	und [man] soll [in] das [Land] Ḫatti kommen,
b		b	[um zu veranlassen, daß sie meinem] Sohn [zu] ihrem Herrn [machen].
c		c	und um nicht zuzulassen, [daß sie si]ch [einem andern zu ihrem Herrn] machen.
7a	(42) [Und] wenn die Söh[ne] des Landes Ḫatti ein Vergehen gegen ihn verüben sollten,	7a	We[nn] sie aber [gegen ihn ein Vergehen verüb]en,
b		b	Indem sie [ablehne]n, ihn sich zum Herrn einzusetzen,
A		A	so soll Wašmuaruia šatepna[ria, der] Großkönig von Ägypten, [mit] seinem Munde niemals schweigen;
B	Dann soll [Riamašeša] mai-amana (43) Tr[uppen und W]agen zu <seiner Hilfe> schicken	B	er soll ko[mm]en (<i>oder</i> : er soll [zu] ihm ko[mm]en)
C		C	und das Land Ḫatti [vern]ichten
D	<und> ihm Genugtuung verschaffen	D	und dem Großfürsten [von Ḫatti Ge]nugtu[ung ver]schaffen.
D'		D'	[und eb]enso dem [Land Ḫatti].

Further comments about this text were also proposed by M. Görg in a paper published in 2003¹⁴⁹¹. A noteworthy integration is advanced for line 2': Görg proposed to reconstruct before the expression *a-na ša-a-šu* the word *šulmu* ("health/greeting"), obtaining the standardized and stereotyped formula *šu-ul-mu a-na ša-a-šu*, "health/greeting to him", often attested in the EA correspondence¹⁴⁹². In the end, Görg stressed the possibility that the passage in line 6' ...*t]a/ša i-pu-uš* "machte er" could be connected to the sentence *ḫa-aṭ-ṭa ša i-pu-uš*, representing probably a remark about the unfaithful behaviour of Urḫitešub¹⁴⁹³. Lastly, Görg supports his hypothesis that the

¹⁴⁹¹ GÖRG 2003.

¹⁴⁹² See *supra*, section 1.3.1, *passim*.

¹⁴⁹³ GÖRG 2003, p. 25.

document was sent after the stipulation of the Treaty, because of the mention of the gods (DINGIR.MEŠ, l. 9') who would have been guarantors of the oath¹⁴⁹⁴.

In a paper published in 2010¹⁴⁹⁵, F. Breyer, provided a new facsimile of the text (here *infra*)¹⁴⁹⁶ and stressed the possibility of a Hittite origin of the letter, according to the palaeographical analysis of three signs: *ha*, MEŠ and EN)¹⁴⁹⁷.

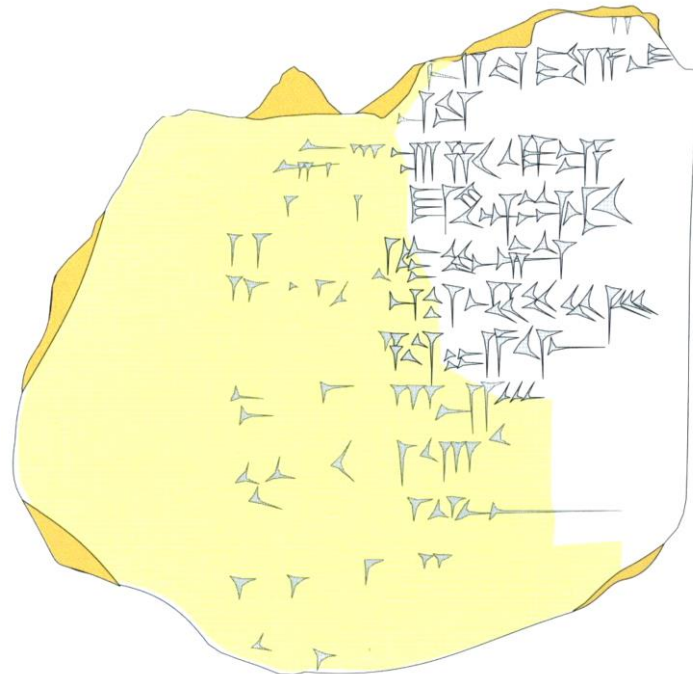


Fig. 124

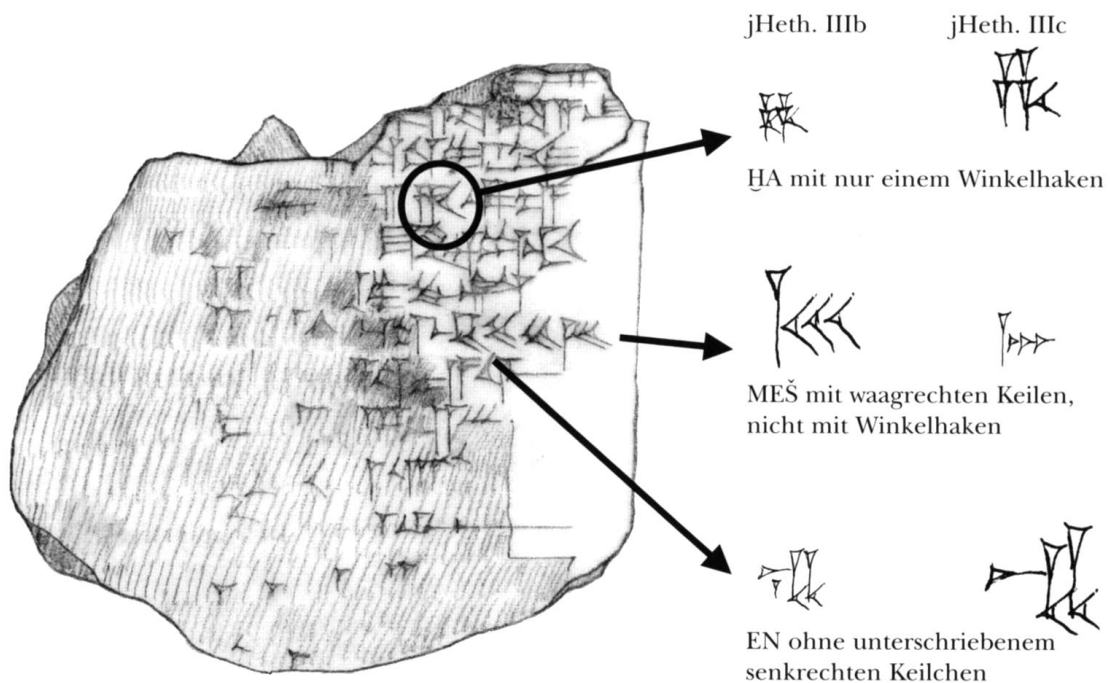


Fig. 125

¹⁴⁹⁴ GÖRG 2003, p. 26.

¹⁴⁹⁵ BREYER 2010c: these remarks were later included in BREYER 2010a, pp. 281-283.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *Ivi*, p. 48, fig. 2.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Ivi*, p. 47, fig. 1.

Considering that the form of these signs resembles more the “New Script” form (Junghethitische) IIIc, instead of the previously attested IIIb, the author proposed in the end that the document has not been sent during the reign of Ḫattušili III, but at the time of Tudḫaliya IV. This proposal of dating is indeed noteworthy, considered also the supposed content of the text: the Hittite king Tudḫaliya IV, successor of the previous sovereign Ḫattušili III, is remembering to Ramses II the promise signed by the Treaty, i.e. to support the legitimate king against other enemies or rivals to the Hittite throne. In this case, this could be considered as the last (or, at least, one of the latest) document, attesting a direct contact between Egyptian and Hittite kings. A second important remark to be stressed is the find spot of the tablet fragment, Qantir/Pi-Ramesse, the only other place in Egypt (besides Amarna) where cuneiform tablets have been discovered, so far.

2. CHAPTER II: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTEFACTS

2.1.: HITTITE OBJECTS FOUND IN EGYPT

2.1.1 Introduction

This section is devoted to present a catalogue, as complete as possible, with all the Hittite (or generically Anatolian objects) found in Egypt. The artefacts are listed (as in section 2.2.3) according to their find spot, following an alphabetical order. The timespan here considered as a chronological limit for the selection of the objects lasts from the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom, until the end of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms (i.e. ca. 17th cent. - end of 8th cent. BC¹⁴⁹⁸): however, some incursions in previous periods (i.e., Egyptian OK) will be presented, considering some materials pre-dating the dawn of the Hittite Old Kingdom, but still coming from the Anatolian area (thus, attesting the beginning of the contacts between the two lands). The data about each object are presented following this general form:

Cat. no.: number of the item in this catalogue (used to make reference in other sections).

N.B.: The catalogue no. “E + #” is an abbreviation for “*Object found in Egypt, no. ...*”, used to make references to the objects in other sections.

Site: name of the sites (MODERN NAME/ANCIENT NAME).

Object: typology of the object.

Material: material(s) of the object.

Dimensions: dimensions of the objects.

Inscription: description of the inscribed/engraved text, with transliteration and translation.

Strat. date: dating of the object according to its archaeological context (find spot).

Comp. date: dating of the object according to its stylistic features, inscription, and possible *comparanda*.

Context: description of the archaeological context.

Description: brief description of the object.

Excavation number: number given to the objects by the excavators.

Current location/mus. number: current location of the object with its catalogue number.

Bibliography: useful bibliography.

Image source: list of the published photos; in **bold** are the pictures used in this catalogue.

Notes: further notes.

For reason of conciseness, I do not offer here (as for the following section 2.2.3) a complete comparison of all the presented objects with other possible foreign *comparanda*¹⁴⁹⁹: being these sections intended to present a catalogue, I just limit myself to the presentation of the artefacts, offering, when available, some bibliographic reference to other studies. I eventually present some general remarks about this topic in the conclusion at the end of this section (and in the final conclusions, too).

First of all, in 2010, S. Helft submitted a dissertation¹⁵⁰⁰ entitled “*Patterns of Exchange/Patterns of Power: a New Archaeology of the Hittite Empire*”, devoted to the analysis of objects imported by Ḫatti from other countries and, conversely, exported from Anatolia to other lands. The results of her work are briefly summarized in the following table¹⁵⁰¹:

¹⁴⁹⁸ For what concerns the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms and their chronology, I accept the lists in BRYCE 2012, pp. 301-309 and LIVERANI 2013, p. 451 table 26.1.

¹⁴⁹⁹ I aim to further discuss this topic in forthcoming contributions.

¹⁵⁰⁰ HELFT 2010.

¹⁵⁰¹ *Ivi*, p. 205, tab. 8.2.

Distribution of Hittite finds in foreign contexts, by region

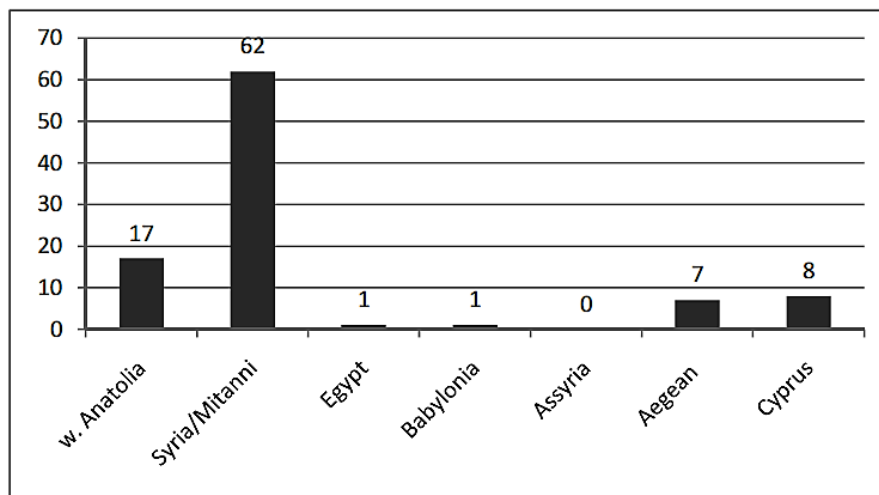


Fig. 126

From the table it is clear that just one object is considered by the author as clear Anatolian import, i.e. the silver and golden statuette found at Tell el-Amarna (*infra*, Cat. no. 1).

In another table, Helft summarized all the artefacts found in Egypt, relevant for the analysis of the contacts between this country and the Ḫatti land¹⁵⁰²:

Hittite imports in Egypt

Tell el Amarna	Egypt	pendant	silver	18-19 th dynasty hoard, southern sector of merchants quarter	1330-1245	14-13 th cent.	144
Tell el Amarna	Egypt	Amarna Letters, EA 41-44	clay	palace	18 th dynasty, 14 th cent.	14 th cent.	N/C
Pi-Ramses	Egypt	shield molds	limestone	18-19 th dynasty workshop for chariotry and weapons			N/C
Pi-Ramses	Egypt	Akkadian tablet	clay	"vicinity" of glass furnace in latest stratigraphic sequence above official building	19 th dynasty	13 th cent.	N/C

Fig. 127

As it is clear in the first table, just one object is surely a clear Hittite import/imitation; however, in the second table, also the EA letters 41-44, the shield models and the cuneiform tablet from Qantir are added. By the way, I found out some more objects that could be added to the list proposed by Helft. Here follows the catalogue of these artefacts (listed and described as explained above).

¹⁵⁰² HELFT 2010, pp. 104-105, tab. 4.1.

2.1.1.E1: AMARNA/AKHETATON

Cat. no.: E1.

Site: Amarna.

Object: Hittite pendant.

Material: gold and silver.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: some undecipherable Hittite hieroglyphs.

Strat. date: 18th-19th dyn., 14th-13th cent.

Comp. date: 14th-13th cent.

Context: “crock of gold” hoard.

Description: Hittite pendant in silver and gold.

Excavation number: 285.

Current location/mus. number: Cairo, Egyptian Museum, J 55408.

Bibliography: M. BELL 1986; BREYER 2010a, pp. 98-99.

Image source: M. BELL 1986, pp. 146-147, figs nos III.1-III.2 and pl. 8, figs 1-4.

Notes: “h. 2.86 cm cap made of gold. Figure wears long robe and carries bowl? In right hand. Ring on back and separate stand of silver. Found in southern sector, merchant’s quarter. Parallel to example from Boğazköy (BOEHMER 1972, no. 1795)” [HELT 2010, p. 284, no. 144].





Figs 128-132

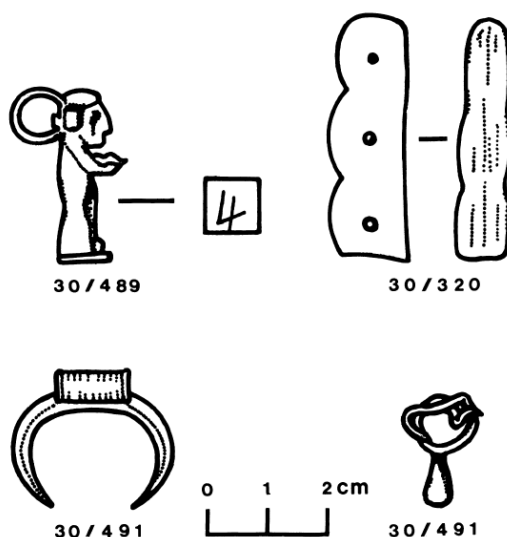


Fig. 133

A complete description and analysis of the object has been provided by M. Bell¹⁵⁰³:

“Hittite pendant (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, J 55408), dated to the 18th dyn., from the so called ‘Crock of Gold’ hoard (together with gold and silver ingots and silver scrap, jewellery and vessels: a possession of a metalsmith or a robber’s loot). Firstly, published by H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten 2*, London 1933, 59: 30/489 ‘Hittite god in silver with a gold cap’; pl. 43.2, 4. Standing male figure, 11 g in weight, 2,86 cm high, darkish-gray on the surface, in good condition, triangular section. A separate plate of silver has been attached to the feet to form a base. On the back is a worn metal ring, apparently also silver, 0,15 cm thick and 0,92 cm in diameter. The ring seems attached to the figure’s head by a small, raised plug or pin. The facial features of the figure are quite summarily executed, with chunky, typically large ears and blob-like eyes. ‘Expression lines’ under the eyes look almost chipped or gouged out. The mouth is not indicated, and the chin is only a small protuberance. The figure seems to wear a cap made of a small flattened pellet of gold¹⁵⁰⁴. The tiny bowl (or loaf of bread?) extended in his right hand is a simple concave disc of silver,

¹⁵⁰³ M. BELL 1986, pp. 145ff.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Ivi*, note 5: “For the combination of gold and silver in Hittite work see MUSCARELLA 1974, no. 123; BITTEL 1976, p. 159. Cf. also KOŠAK 1982, pp. 195-97, for gold pendants, inlaying, and statuettes; 198, for silver statuettes and inlaying; this reference was kindly brought to my attention by M. Schroeder. Slightly later texts mention bimetallic figures: ROST 1961/1963 – these references were kindly provided by S. Košak. For the cap, cf. CHD L (3/1), pp. 85-86 s.v. ‘lupan(n)i-

now slightly battered at the edges. The undetailed left hand appears to rest against the chest or waist. The lower body is more difficult to understand as it is so schematically rendered. The figure seems to wear a long skirt, and the lack of any detailing in the garment at the back would support this idea. It is, however, difficult to interpret the raised rectangle on the front. As there is the slightest horizontal indication of a belt at the waist, it could conceivably represent some sort of sash, or a fold, oddly turned out at the end¹⁵⁰⁵. From the side, however, it is possible to see this ‘tie’ as an advancing leg, emerging from a long robe – a pose familiar from other media¹⁵⁰⁶. If an advancing leg is meant, the frontal view must be judged an unsuccessful representation. On the base of the figurine are several incised scratches, described as forming ‘a mark like a figure 4’. They appear to be fortuitous. None of the Hittite parallels is reported to have an inscribed base. That the figure is indeed Hittite work is almost sure, and a good parallel can be found in the small gold goddess excavated at Kayalı Boğaz holding a bowl in her right hand, with a ring on the back¹⁵⁰⁷. The small size, pose, chunky facial treatment, and plinth are all much like the Amarna piece. The small seated goddess in silver in the Schimmel collection¹⁵⁰⁸ has a similar form with bowl, large ears, separately made plinth base, and suspension loop. There are other similar small figures with suspension rings¹⁵⁰⁹. They would seem to have had an amuletic function and, as such, would represent divinities, perhaps being tiny replicas of cult statues¹⁵¹⁰. The Hittites were, of course, well known to the Egyptians¹⁵¹¹ and may have been present, presumably with their religious trappings, at Amarna¹⁵¹².

Further remarks have been advanced by D. Breyer:

“In Tell el-Amarna wurde ein Hortfund gemacht, der Schmuck und Silber wahrscheinlich aus dem Besitz eines Gold/Silberschmiedes enthielt. Unter den Schmuckstücken fand sich ein Anhänger (30/489), der – obschon 1933 publiziert – erst 1986 von M. Bell als hethitisch identifiziert wurde; Parallelen aus Boğazköy legen nahe, dass es sich um eine hethitische Arbeit handelt. Er ist aus Silber und stellt eine stehende Figur dar, ist nur 2.8cm hoch und wiegt 11g. Auf der Rückseite ist ein Ring angebracht, sodass er mit einem Band um den Hals getragen werden kann: die Figur hält eine Schale in der Hand und hat einen charakteristischen Mantel an. Der Hortfund enthielt nicht nur außergewöhnlich viel Silber, sondern hatte auch einen ausgesprochen hohen Wert: 74.18 dbn Gold + 86.237 dbn Silber, was dem damaligen Gegenwert von 172 Kälbern oder 42 männlichen Sklaven entspricht”¹⁵¹³.

: ‘According to reliefs, the headdress worn by the king and the Sungod was a round cap’. This reference was kindly pointed out to me by S. Košak”.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Ivi*, note 8: “Cf. the ‘long-sleeved, simple garment’ with a ‘wide fold in relief at the center’ of a 5.8 cm tall bronze statuette published by ÖZGÜÇ 1974, with references. ‘Although a slight bulging at the front is visible at the lower edge of the fold we are not able to assert that it represents the feet’. The statuette may also have held a cup, now lost. This reference, along with many illuminating comments, was kindly given to me by J.V. Canby”.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Ivi*, note 10: “BITTEL 1976, figs 177, 185, 229, 234-237; MUSCARELLA 1974, no. 123”.

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Ivi*, note 13: “BITTEL 1957, pp. 30-31, pl. 27, h. 2.0 cm, plinth 1 x 1.1 cm; BOEHMER 1972, p. 173, pl. 62.1795a-d; BITTEL 1976, pp. 161, 332, fig. 171, 14th or 13th cent. BC; ORTHMANN 1975, p. 435, pl. 370a ‘... um 1400/1200’; this reference was kindly given to me by J.V. Canby”.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *Ivi*, note 14: “MUSCARELLA 1974, p. 131; ca. 1400-1200 BC, h. 3.2 cm, plinth 1.6 x 1.8 cm., 21.9 g. Also cf. BITTEL 1984, p. 102 and no. 14 for the Alaca Höyük bronze statuette”.

¹⁵⁰⁹ *Ivi*, note 15: “Çiftlik seated goddess in gold, 14th or 13th cent. BC, h. 1.85 cm: BITTEL 1976, pp. 161, 332, fig. 170; BITTEL 1984, p. 102, pl. 19d. Schimmel Collection, gold goddess with ring on back, right hand extended, plinth base, h. 4.3 cm, plinth 1 x 6 cm, 23.2 g., 1400-1200 BC: MUSCARELLA 1974, no. 125, with references; BITTEL 1976, pp. 162, 332, fig. 173; BITTEL 1984, pp. 102, 103, no. 16, pl. 19e. Compare the work on the 1.5 cm tall child to the Amarna piece. Cf. also the striding male in gold in the British Museum: BITTEL 1976, pp. 159, 332, fig. 168, ca. 1300 BC, h. 4 cm; Ras Shamra electrum triad: BITTEL 1976, pp. 166, 332, fig. 180, 14th cent. BC, h. 3 cm; Louvre, gold walking male with suspension loop: MUSCARELLA 1974, no. 125”.

¹⁵¹⁰ *Ivi*, note 16: “BITTEL 1957, pp. 30-31”.

¹⁵¹¹ *Ivi* note 17: LÄ II, pp. 1176-79; cf. also 318; MURNANE 1985. For a possible military action against the Hittites in the Amarna Period, see SCHULMAN 1978a, pp. 43-48; SCHULMAN 1985. For the proposed Amarna queen’s Hittite marriage, see SCHULMAN 1979a and KRAUSS 1978”.

¹⁵¹² *Ivi*, note 18: “The Hittites may have taught the Egyptians to write cuneiform: K. Riemschneider cited in BECKMAN 1983a, p. 112 and note 70. This reference was kindly given to me by H.G. Güterbock. Cf. also DRENKHAHN 1967”.

¹⁵¹³ BREYER 2010a, pp. 98-99.

Because of the importance of this object, we can propose here some *comparanda* (already suggested in Bell's notes): a quite similar statuette is held in the Schimmel Collection of the Metropolitan Museum (*infra*, fig. 123), described by Muscarella as follows¹⁵¹⁴:

“Seated Goddess. Silver; height 1/4 in. (3.2 cm); Central Anatolia (Hittite), ca. 14th-13th century B.C.; gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989; 1989.281.17; ex coll.: Norbert Schimmel; *Ancient Art* 1974, no. 131; *Troja bis Amarna* 1978, no. 136. The goddess wears a high-necked, long gown and a fillet; her hair is articulated only at the back, where it is plaited. Her round face is typically Hittite, with a sharp nose and small mouth, as are her large ears. She sits on a narrow chair with raised sides and no back support. The whole unit is cast solid and rests on a separately made solid plinth placed to one side. In her extended right hand the goddess holds what seems to be a plate; in her left, held against her breast, is an object, perhaps a cup. The remains of a suspension loop exist at the back. At Kayali Bogaz, near Boğazköy, a small gold figurine very similar to our example, also with a suspension loop, was recovered. Both probably represent the same goddess. Hittite texts describe a goddess, Anzili, as seated and holding a silver bowl. While we cannot be certain, this description may identify our figure”.



Fig. 134

The statuette has been identified with the Hittite goddess Anzili/Enzili, a figure well described by Taracha:

“According to one Middle Hittite text from Kuşaklı/Şarišša, concerning the cult of the Storm-god of Ziplanda in Hurma, his concubine there was E/Anzili, whose name is also written with the logogram *IŠTAR*¹⁵¹⁵. Anzili was also the concubine of the Storm-god of Şarišša. [...] The cult of Huwaššanna was celebrated also in Kuliwišna, where the chief gods of the local pantheon included the Storm-gods of Hiššašhapa and Kuliwišna. The latter received offerings together with a goddess whose name is written with *D¹IŠTAR-li* (Anzili?), and the tutelary LAMMA god¹⁵¹⁶. This is evidence of a considerable differentiation of the local pantheons. [...] It is not known whether the Storm-god of Hurma is identical with the local allomorph of the Storm-god of Ziplanda, mentioned together with his consort Anzili in a text from Kuşaklı/Şarišša. KuT 53: see 31.2 with n. 289¹⁵¹⁷. [...] Other gods vanish as well: storm-gods, including the Storm-god of Kuliwišna, the solar deity (see 3.1.4), Inar, a *kurša*-bag, as well as Hanaḥanna/DINGIR.MAḤ, the mother and fate goddesses DINGIR.MAḤ^{MEŠ/HIA} Gulšeš, and the goddesses Anzili and Zukki summoned in the birth rituals”¹⁵¹⁸.

¹⁵¹⁴ AA. VV. 1992, p. 8, with fig. 1989.281.17 (paragraph by O. W. Muscarella).

¹⁵¹⁵ *Ivi*, note 289: “KuT 53. G. Wilhelm *apud* MÜLLER-KARPE 2002, p. 345. In this connection, Wilhelm (p. 350) cites an unpublished text 1320/z which mentions the Storm-god of Ziplanda (obv. 8', 13') and Anzili (obv. 16', rev.]8, 10). For the cult of the Storm-god of Ziplanda in Hurma, see also KUB LVI 56 IV 1ff., PECCHIOLI DADDI – BALDI 2004, p. 497. 499f., 503f.; PECCHIOLI DADDI 2006, p. 125f.”

¹⁵¹⁶ *Ivi*, p. 118, note 645: “KBo XV 33 + KBo XV 35 I 8ff.; GLOCKER 1997, pp. 60-61”.

¹⁵¹⁷ *Ivi*, p. 118, note 646.

¹⁵¹⁸ TARACHA 2009, pp. 56, 117-118, 156.

Further details about the goddess have been provided by Haas¹⁵¹⁹: “Desweiteren werden im Kult der Stadt die Gottheiten Anzili, Ḫaršawa, Ḫalmuitri, die „Herrin des Palastes“, Taḫišu und die Schutzgottheit des zeriyyalli-Kultgerätes verehrt¹⁵²⁰”.

Another comparison can be advanced with another golden statuette coming from Boğazköy, today kept at the Museum of the Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, described as “necklace bead in the shape of seated goddess and dated to the 15th cent. BC:



Fig. 135

It is also noteworthy to analyse more in detail some other objects (specifically some golden jewels) found together with the Hittite pendant in the so-called “crock of gold”: a moon-shaped pendant/earring, listed as 30/491, very similar to another one from the Uluburun shipwreck (KW 892), here as fig. 124¹⁵²¹:



Fig. 136

A catalogue of an exposition hold in Bochum, provide the following information¹⁵²²:

“Kolye Ucu. Uluburun Batığı. M. Ö. 14ç yüzl. U. 4,5 cm; Y. 0,9 cm; K. 0,5 cm; Ağ. 16,5 g. Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi. Env.-No. 7.5.87; Kazı No. KW 892. Masif altından, yarım ay ya da “C” biçiminde yapılmış kolye ucu. Yarım ayın alt ortasında şerit biçimli ve dilimli geniş bir zincir geçirme gözü bulunur”¹⁵²³.

The same object is also described in ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 351, no. 217:

¹⁵¹⁹ HAAS 1994, p. 590.

¹⁵²⁰ *Ivi*, note 350: “KUB XLII 87 Rs. V 5’ ff., POPKO 1988, p. 281”.

¹⁵²¹ ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 351 with fig. 111; cf. YALÇIN – PULAK – RAINER 2006, p. 599, no. 111.

¹⁵²² YALÇIN – PULAK – RAINER 2006, p. 599, no. 111.

¹⁵²³ The following English translation is mine: “Necklace pendant. Uluburun shipwreck. 14th cent. BC; w. 4.5 cm; h. 0.9 cm; th. 0.5 cm; wg. 16.5 g; Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi. Inventory no. 7.5.87; excavation no. KW 892. Necklace pendant made of pure gold, in a ‘C’ shape. The lower half part presents a through-hole (probably for a string) decorated with vertical rows”.

“It is therefore noteworthy that a pendant depicting a nude goddess (cat. no. 213), a pendant shaped like a crescent (fig. 11 l), and also sun-disc pendants (but none with only the eight-rayed star motif) found together on the Uluburun ship perhaps replicate the symbols of the Canaanite pantheon”.

It is possible that the “crock of gold” represented a hoard of precious objects, coming from different area of the Mediterranean basin, thus attesting such items withing a long period tradition.

2.1.1.E2: GIZA

Cat. no.: E2.

Site: Giza.

Object: four jars for beer.

Material: clay.

Dimensions: see *infra*.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: see *infra*.

Comp. date: see *infra*.

Context: see *infra*.

Description: beer-jars.

Excavation number: see *infra*.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: see *infra*.

Image source: BREYER 2010, pp. 83-84, figs 1-2; REISNER 1955, fig. 95 and pl. 53.

Notes: REISNER 1942, pp. 166, 410-411, 472, 474 (description of the archaeological context).

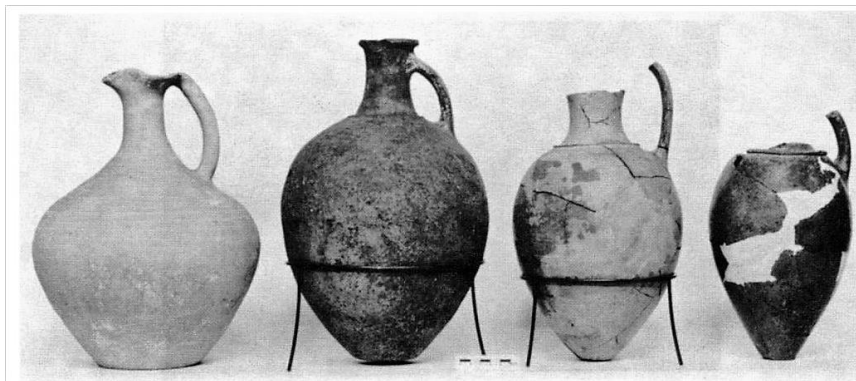


Fig. 137

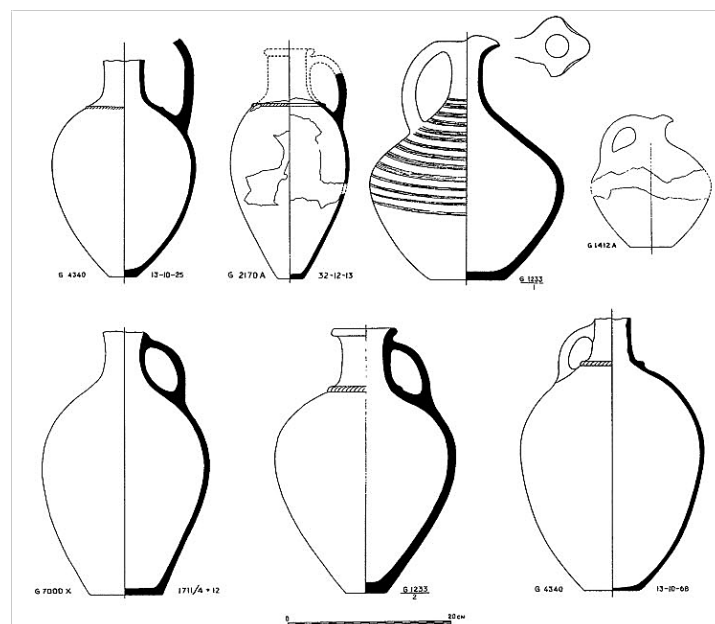


Fig. 138

These beer jars has been connected by D. Breyer with some vessels described in some Egyptian texts as containers for a particular quality of beer coming from Kizzuwatna (i.e., from the Anatolian area):

“In der Anastasi-Papyri werden mehrfach Guter aus Kizzuwatna genannt. Dabei handelt es sich um Bier oder um Koniferenholz.

hnk.t n(.i) Kti „Kizzuwatna-Bier“:

- pAnast. III. A 2 Bier für die Diener
- pAnast. IV. 16:1 in Zusammenhang mit Wein aus Syrien (Hurri)
- pAnast. IV. 16:4 „Kizzuwatna-Bier des Palastes“
- pAnast. V. 4:1 entspricht p Anast. IV. 12: 11ff. (siehe unten)
- pDeM 273:2

In pAnast. IV. 12:11ff. wird näher auf die Natur des Bieres eingegangen. Demnach muss es sich um ein ziemlich starkes bzw. stark riechendes Gebräu gehandelt haben. Interessanterweise wird in diesem Zusammenhang ein vorderasiatisches Lehnwort verwendet (EA 14, III 40: *mazigda*), und auch die anderen Textstellen enthalten Lehnwörter.

ir šp wn mn-č-k-ti

iw š.t mḥ.ti m hn k.t Kti

mṭw rm č pry r iry p3 g3y n bw=n r w3y

(12:12) *wnn.w*... Liste von Tieren ... (13:1)

m p3 hnm i:ir.w t3

š3-b-r

m- čr wn p3 mnti

„Immer, wenn ein Krug

voll mit Kizzuwatna-Bier geöffnet wird,

und die Leute hinausgehen, um einen Becher (davon) zu nehmen,

dann (finden sich ein), wegen des Geriches des

Alkohols

(nach) dem Öffnen des Gefäßes.

In pAnast. III, 3:6 wird das Getränk als *hnk.t Kti n(.i) t3 mni.t* „Kizzuwatna-Bier des Hafens“ bezeichnet, d.h. als „Importbier“. Allerdings wurde das qualitativ sehr hochstehende und teure Bier offenbar in Ägypten nachgebraut, was nicht verwundert, da Bier in der Bronzezeit nicht lange haltbar war und folglich nur für den sofortigen Verbrauch produziert wurde. Da hier. belegten Brauer sin Palästinenser, die „kommen“ *hr ir.t hnk.t Kti n(.i) pr(.w)-nsw 'nh(.w) wč3(.w) šnb(.w) srm.t n(.i) t3 'n.t* „um Kizzuwatna-Bier des Palastes LHG und *srmn.t*-Bier des 'n.t (unkl.) zu machen“ (pAnast. III. A:5). Man könnte dies mit dem Pilsbier vergleichen, das zuerst in Pilsen gebraut wurde und danach auch andernorts, weswegen die Pilsner Brauart zu einem Eigenbegriff wurde. Das Bier taucht nicht in den üblichen Versorgungslisten, etwa in Deir el-Medine auf, außer bei Sonderzuteilungen wie in 20. des 2. Monats der *3ḥ.t*-Jahreszeit im 7. Regierungsjahr Merenptahs (OKairo 25504). Demnach handelte es sich um etwas Besonderes, da nicht alle Tage zu genießen war. Von Großen Interesse ist nun der Fund einiger kilikischer Gefäße im Kontext der 4. Dynastie in Giza, die eindeutig FD III-zeitlich datieren und als Transportamphoren für Bier aus Kilikien gedient haben könnten (Abb. 1-2). Auch in der Amarnazeit lässt sich hethitische Keramik in Ägypten nachweisen, und zwar handelt es sich bei dieser um eine Form von Weingefäßen, die bislang als „syrisch“ bezeichnet wurde (Abb. 3), jedoch, wie R. Holthoer festgestellt hat, anatolisch ist. Sie hat Ähnlichkeiten mit Gefäßdarstellungen aus Abusir (Sahure: Altes Reich) und tritt verstärkt ab der Amarnazeit auf. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt wurde diese Gefäßform auch in Ägypten selbst hergestellt, weshalb ihr Vorhandensein kein sicherer Hinweis auf Importe aus Kleinasien sein kann. Über die Bierstellung in Anatolien und die Bedeutung des Bieres sowohl im Alltagsleben als auch im Kult sind wir sehr gut unterrichtet. Weil das Sumerogramm KAŠ „Bier“ (heth. *sessar*) jedoch auch in der Verbindung mit GĒŠTIN „Wein“ vorkommt, ist manchmal leider nicht ganz klar, was denn nun genau gemeint ist, ob Wein, Bier, allgemein ein alkoholisches Getränk („Vergorenes“) oder gar „Feinbier“ (heth. *krunnun*). Immerhin können jedoch verschiedene Biersorten unterschieden werden. Da wäre zum einen das DUG.KA.GAG(.A) ein Bier geringerer Qualität das KAŠ.LÀL „Süßbier“ (wörtlich „Honigbier“). Unklar ist sie Abgrenzung bei den Lexemen *marnuwan-*, *walḥi-*, *limma-* und *ḥulḥul*, die mit KAŠ determiniert werden. Zum Konsumieren des Bieres war wegen der Schwebstoffe der Gebraucht eines Trinkhalms (heth. *ummiya-*)

vonnöten. Eine der interessanten Funde des Schiffswracks von Uluburun ist ein solches Trinkröhrchen aus Blei. Ein besser erhaltenes Exemplar wurde in Tell el-Amarna gefunden (British Museum EA 55148), bronzene Siebchen solcher Trinkröhrchen auch aus Pi-Ramesse/Qantir. Sowohl aus Ägypten, als auch aus Anatolien sind Darstellungen bekannt, auf denen die Verwendung des Trinkröhrchens gezeigt wird: am bekanntesten ist die Grabstele eines nach Auskunft von Ikonographie und Personennamen „asiatischen“ Mannes aus Tell el-Amarna. Generell muss Bier wie in allen Grundnahrungsmittel gelten: dass die anatolischen Biere jedoch durchaus stark gewesen sein können, zeigt ein Text, in dem an die Götter appelliert wird, sich doch an *walhi-* und *limma-* zu betrinken (KUB LIX 44, Vs. 18)¹⁵²⁴.

Here follows the description of the single objects as provided by Reisner:

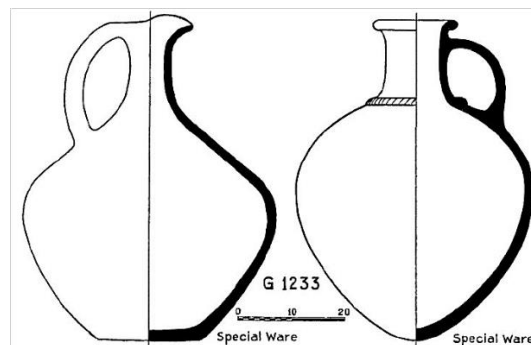


Fig. 139

“Objects: original furniture found in chamber:

(1) special ware with cream slip; one-handed jug, type B-LIII; long slender neck with lip spout opposite handle; h. 30 cm; d. mouth rim, 6.0 cm; w. with spout, 7.2 cm; d. neck, 4.0 cm; with neck, with handle, 9.4 cm.; d. body, 23.5 cm; d. base, 10.0 cm. On east side of coffin displaced by collapse of coffin. Fig. 234 c.

(2) Special ware with cream slip; one-handed jug of type A-LIII; with tapering base rounded at bottom; h. c. 30 cm; d. rim, 7.8 cm; d. neck, 5.5 cm; w. neck and handle, 12 cm; d. body, 21.8 cm; cord ridge around base of neck: found on west of coffin again upset by collapse. Fig. 234 c¹⁵²⁵.

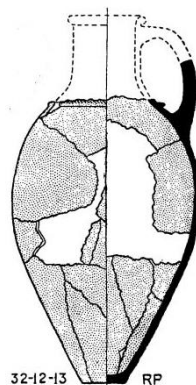


Fig. 140

“32-12-13: special ware: one-handed jug with cord in relief around base of neck; type B-LIII b; broken into 35 frags.; h. 23-6 cm; d. rim, 6 cm; d. neck, 5.6 cm; d. body, 14 cm; d. base, 3.2 cm. Photo. A 7065 (2/5). See Fig. 274¹⁵²⁶.

¹⁵²⁴ BREYER 2010a, pp. 83-84, figs 1-2.

¹⁵²⁵ REISNER 1942, pp. 410-411.

¹⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

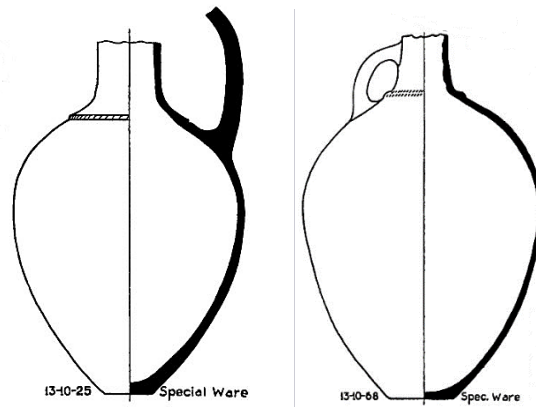


Fig. 141

“13-10-25: special ware, cream slip, pebble burnish; mouth and top of handle missing; raised cord around base of neck; h. 25.5 x (27?) cm; d. neck, 3.6 cm; d. body, 15.9 cm; d. base, 3.6 cm. Photo. B 2092 (2/2). Fig. 285. 13-10-68: special ware, cream slip, burnished; mouth missing; cord ridge around base of neck; h. 34+ cm; d. neck, 7.0 cm; d. body, 22.4 cm; d. base, 7.0 cm. Photo. B 2092 1/1-2. Fig. 285”¹⁵²⁷.

“(1) G 7000 X: the secret tomb of Hetep-heres I; the alabaster coffin had been moved into the chamber and stood on the east side with its northern end about 60 cm. from the doorway; it had stood on boards and under the boards was a hammer-stone”¹⁵²⁸.

In the end, the presence of such jars inside the Giza necropolis attests the presence of contacts between the Egyptian Old Kingdom and some parts of the Anatolian area (at least Kizzuwatna); unfortunately, no further information about direct contacts between Egypt and the Hittites can be argued from these artefacts, pre-dating the beginning of the Hittite kingdom¹⁵²⁹.

¹⁵²⁷ REISNER 1942, pp. 472, 474.

¹⁵²⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 166.

¹⁵²⁹ Nevertheless, besides this last remark I decided to include these objects in the catalogue, being them a certain clues of contacts between Egypt and Anatolia in general.

2.1.1.E3: GUROB/MR-WR

Cat. no.: E3.

Site: Gurob.

Object: statuette.

Material: wood.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: reign of Amenhotep III (18th dyn., 1390-1353 BC).

Context: /

Description: statuette of a harper, in a Hittite shape.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: University College of London, No. Inv. UC 16670.

Bibliography: <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/texts/kahun/41.htm>; CABROL 2000, pp. 356-357; DE VOS 2010; KEMP 1978; PETRIE 1890, p. 41; POLITI 2001; THOMAS 1981, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 724.

Image source: <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/texts/kahun/plate18.htm>; CABROL 2000, pp. 356-357, no. 93; DE VOS 2010, p. 113, figs 1-2; PETRIE 1890, pl. 18, no. 38; THOMAS 1981, vol. 2, pl. 56, no. 724.

Notes: discovered before 1860.

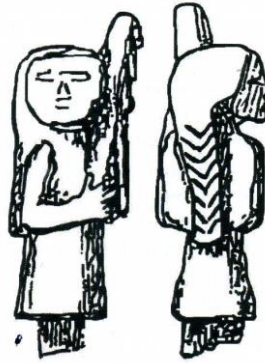


Fig. 142

The following description of this statuette is provided by Petrie:

“Another figure of a foreigner was found at Gurob (XVIII, 38), carved in wood; it represents a harper, whose hair is dressed in the pigtail, which is a well-known characteristic of the Hittites, and is not found with any other race represented on the Egyptian monuments. This must therefore be a carving of a Hittite harper, and such an instrument is not unknown in Hittite sculpture. A third work which betrays the foreign hand is the bronze mirror with figure handle (XVIII, 4). The mechanical part of the design, a figure handle, the form of the mirror, and the lotus at the socket, are all Egyptian; but the idea of the female holding the dove in the hand comes altogether from abroad - no figure holding a bird is known in pure Egyptian design - it is the characteristic of the Phoenician Venus; and when we look at the details, the lankness of the limbs, the features, and the style of the hair, we again see the tokens of a foreign hand. To assign the manufacture of this to a Phoenician or Cypriote workman living in Egypt, solves all the peculiarities of it; and we may add it to the foreign elements of Gurob. The actual remains of the bodies found in the tombs show that the race came from abroad; in tomb 23 was a body with a copious black wig, and beneath that a scalp of yellow or light brown hair¹⁵³⁰; the juxtaposition of these proving the unaltered condition of each: in tomb 24, again, yellow hair remained on the skull, and in tomb 25 was a young man with dark hair, but a light skin¹⁵³¹.

¹⁵³⁰ See UC 30139, presented in section 1.1, under text no. 8.i; cf. POLITI 2001, p. 111.

¹⁵³¹ PETRIE 1890, p. 41 (on-line at <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/texts/kahun/41.htm>).

The comparison offered here between the statuette and the actual remains of human hair could hint to an identification of the woman portrayed on the artefact as a foreigner: unfortunately, whether she actually was Hittite, or not, it is not possible to be argued with certainty¹⁵³².

¹⁵³² For a specific comparison between this statuette and other similar features of the Hittite art and iconography, see DE Vos 2010, pp. 113-124.

2.1.1.E4: QANTIR/PI-RAMESSE

Cat. no.: E4.

Site: Qantir/Pi-Ramesse.

Object: shield “models”.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: FZ 84/1 = 104 x 104 cm (shield motif = 84 x 74 cm); FZ 83/1198 = 58 x 62 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: shield motif (FZ 84/1) = Stratum B/2 (“teilweise R. II post Jahr 30/34”¹⁵³³).

Comp. date: /

Context: excavation areas QI-D/4.5¹⁵³⁴ and QI-F-02.03 (see PUSCH – TASIAUX 1990, p. 77, fig. 1): found together with other tools for chariots (for which see PRELL 2011, p. 114, fig. 50 and p. 125, fig. 59 with previous bibliography).

Description: shield “models” in an 8-shape.

Excavation number: FZ 84/1; FZ 83/1198.

Current location/mus. number: Egyptian Museum in Cairo; Tell el-Dab’a storerooms¹⁵³⁵.

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, pp. 484-490; NIBBI 2002; PUSCH 1989; PUSCH 1993, PUSCH – TASIAUX 1990.

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 486, figs 85-86; PRELL 2011, p. 218, 236, fig. 102, 110 PUSCH 1989, pl. 29; PUSCH 1993, pp. 136-137, figs 135-138; PUSCH – TASIAUX 1990, p. 104, fig. 12 and pl. VII.

Notes: found in 1983 by the “Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim” mission.



Figs 143-144



Figs 145-146

¹⁵³³ PUSCH – TASIAUX 1990, p. 78, table.

¹⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*: “B/2a: nördl. Abschnitt: bis zu 2,10 m starke Hauptmauern, Pflaster, großer Hof mit Umgang aus oktogonalen Pfeilern; „Gasse“ zwischen Hof und südl. Abschnitt. Südl. Abschnitt: Bis zu 1,10 m starke Hauptmauern, kleinere Räume mit Werkstattabfällen aus verschiedenen Materialien; Räume mit Säulen, geweißten und bemalten Böden u. Wänden; Änderung der Raumaufteilung in Relation zu Str. B/2b. Funktion: Milit. Anlage: Streitwagen-„Garnison“; multifunktionale Werkstätten”.

¹⁵³⁵ I heartily thank Henning Franzmeier, director of the excavation at Qantir, for this information and for many other useful suggestions.

These two objects found at Qantir has been interpreted and described (see bibliography quoted above) as limestone models of 8-shaped “Hittite” shields: they were found in a context probably related to an area connected with the production of weapons¹⁵³⁶. It is not clear if they were actually used as a mould (it does not seems so likely) or just as iconographic models on the base of which the actual metal (bronze) objects were produced (I prefer to share this second hypothesis)¹⁵³⁷. What is important for our topic is the shape of the shields themselves which resembles those used by the Hittites as attested on the reliefs of the battle of Kadesh (see *supra*, fig. 143, top) and on another depiction of a Hittite soldier found at Zincirli/Sam’al¹⁵³⁸:



Fig. 147

According to Breyer’s interpretation’s, similar shields are also later attested on reliefs of the period of Ramses III, from Medinet Habu:

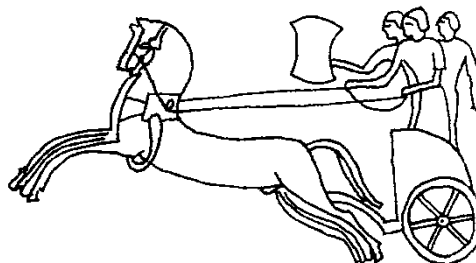


Fig. 148

“Auch der trapezförmige Schild wird von Hethitern getragen, und zwar in eine Szene aus Medinet Habu, den Totentempel Ramses’ III. Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Darstellung der „Eroberung Arzawas“ (in Westanatolien), die von Ramses III. kopiert wurde. Ansonsten tragen die Hethiter neben dem Achterschild einen Rechteckschild. Das Gehörn-element könnte auf den Wettergott hinweisen, dessen Symboltier der Stier war.”¹⁵³⁹.

¹⁵³⁶ For other chariot elements (“Jochsattelknäufen” and “Panzerschuppen”) found within the same context, see BREYER 2010a, pp. 487-490, figs 89-90 (cf. PUSCH 1993, pp. 133-135, figs 131, 134).

¹⁵³⁷ Differently, NIBBI 2002, p. 83: “The moulds are for making a metal frame of the shape of a shield with a ‘waist’”.

¹⁵³⁸ Picture of the original orthostat are available on the site “Hittite Monument”, at link: <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/zincirli/>. NIBBI 2002, p. 85, questioned this interpretation: “If the sides of a shield with a long waist like the Kheta example were pulled back at that point, and fastened, it would not produce a figure-of-eight shape. We would have two areas with a tube-like piece in the middle, rather like the one held by the well-known figure at Zinjirli from the Late Hittite period and similar to the one portrayed on a red jasper lentoid seal in the Metropolitan Museum”. For this last comparison, see NIBBI 2002, p. 86, fig. 6.

¹⁵³⁹ BREYER 2010a, p. 485.

Breyer also accepted (as already proposed by von Soden) to recognize in the Hurrian term *urukmannu* the actual word used by the Hittites to define this kind of shields:

“Von Soden führt ein Wort wahrscheinlich hurritischen Ursprungs auf, das einen Teil solcher Schilde bezeichnet: *urukmannu*. Das Lexem ist an zwei Orten bezeugt: EA 22: 1 47 [...]; EA 22, III 42-44”¹⁵⁴⁰.

Therefore, Breyer concludes:

“Dem Wort nach war die *urukmannu*-Tartsche ursprünglich eine hurritische Form und wurde später von den Hethitern übernommen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Träger und Hersteller der Schilde zusammen mit der ersten hethitischen Prinzessin nach Pi-Ramesses gelangt sind und die Model auch erst in diese Zeit datieren”¹⁵⁴¹.

Breyer has also particularly stressed the importance of these finds, highlighting:

“Sie bezeugen eine weitreichende Zusammenarbeit ägyptischer und anatolischer Schmiede und sind Beleg nicht nur für die friedlichen Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und dem Hethiterreich, sondern darüber hinaus auch für sehr intensiven technologischen Austausch”¹⁵⁴².

A. Nibbi, instead, questions a direct comparison with the Hittite shields attested also at Kadesh, underlining the possibility of a Minoan origin of such a shape:

“The suggestion by Dr. Pusch that these moulds were used to make Kheta (‘Hittite’) shields must be considered with some caution. If we compare the shape of this mould with the shape of the Kheta shields on the reliefs, we see that ‘waist’ is longer on the Kheta shield and much shorter on the Qantir mould. Furthermore, the central metal strip through the centre of the Qantir mould does not appear on the Kheta shield. The term ‘figure of eight’ for any shield with a ‘waist’ is, strictly speaking, misleading. It is the ‘Minoan’ shield of this shape which best matches this term”¹⁵⁴³.

In the end, it is therefore possible that this typology of shield, originally coming from the Minoan area, spread both towards Egypt and Anatolia: what seems more interesting for our topic is that the Egyptians, from the battle of Kadesh until at least the reign of Ramses III, particularly connected this shield shape to the Anatolian (i.e. Hittite/Arzawean) culture.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *Ivi*, p. 486.

¹⁵⁴¹ *Ivi*, p. 487.

¹⁵⁴² BREYER 2010a, pp. 484-485.

¹⁵⁴³ NIBBI 2002, p. 83.

2.1.1.E5: TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN (KV 62)

Cat. no.: E5.

Site: Tutankhamon's tomb (KV 62).

Object: jars for wine.

Material: clay.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: reign of Tutankhamun (ca. ?-1324 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Valley of the Kings, tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Description: winejars described as "Syrian" or "Hittite".

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: (Cairo Museum?).

Bibliography: HOLTHOER 1992.

Image source: HOLTHOER 1992, p. 314, fig. 1.

Notes: similar to another one found in Eskiyaapar.

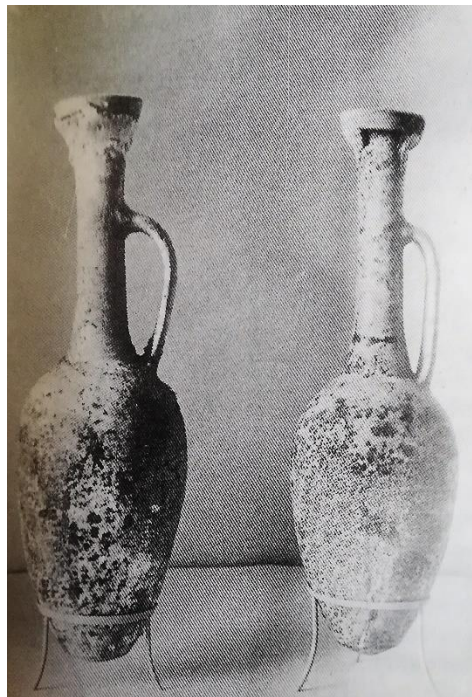


Fig. 149

In a paper presented on the occasion of the 6th International Congress of Egyptology (Turin, 1st-8th September 1991), R. Holthoer¹⁵⁴⁴ suggested that this typology of jars, previously defined in literature as "Syrian" winejars, could instead have a clear parallel with Anatolian artefacts. These artefacts are attested in Egypt during the Amarna period (Amenhotep III - Tutankhamun, 1364-1347 BC) and could represent a new type of vessel "introduced as a consequence of a foreign influence"¹⁵⁴⁵. Two of these winejars were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun and described by H. Carter as "Syrian Winejars"¹⁵⁴⁶. They are also defined by Holthoer as follows:

"Their shape is shortly described as 'medium broad jars with very tall and narrow neck, modelled liprim (B5) and modelled, pointed base (2). The vertical handle extends from the neck to the upper body (Vnu1)'"¹⁵⁴⁷.

¹⁵⁴⁴ HOLTHOER 1992.

¹⁵⁴⁵ *Ivi*, p. 313.

¹⁵⁴⁶ CARTER 1933, p. 146, pl. 1; cf. LESKO 1977, p. 23.

¹⁵⁴⁷ HOLTHOER 1992, p. 313.

The archaeometric analysis and comparison of these jars with others found at Malqata and Amarna, clearly hints to a local production of the vessels, being realized with limestone-tempered Egyptian Marl clay¹⁵⁴⁸; therefore, it is clear that these jars were not produced in Syria¹⁵⁴⁹.

Moreover, the possibility of Syrian influence in shape is stated on the base of the Syrian jar attested on the pictorial offering scene of the tomb of Sahure, at Abusir (5th dyn.)¹⁵⁵⁰. However, the form of the handle clearly differs, and it is also to be considered that the typical shape of Syrian winejars presented double, surmounting handles, as portrayed in many Theban tombs of the 18th dyn.¹⁵⁵¹. A solution is therefore advanced by Holthoer:

“When searching for parallels for the so called ‘Syrian’ Winejars, none were found in the said area. In the year 1988 I came across some jars stored in the Museum of Anatolian Civilization in Ankara, which as for their shape [here as fig. 150] and size (height: 50 cm) resemble the Egyptian jars. They are displayed in the showcase 76, originate from the excavations in Eskiypar and are dated to the old Hittite Period (1650 - 1975 BC). Their ware is different from that of the Egyptian ones, being brown and redcoated, burnished (W1.12) and unburnished (W1.11). Their rim is modelled (A4) and the base rounded (1), however, very similar to a modelled and pointed (2) one. The handle extends from the neck to the upper body (Vnu1). This parallel seems to me as a plausible one for the Egyptian ‘Syrian’ winejars. The contacts with the Hittites became a fact during the Amarna-period in Egypt, a little later than the date of the Anatolian winejars. It is to be noted, that it takes time for a prototype to be introduced in new surroundings, either as containers for imported wine or just as an attractive shape to be copied in a local ware”¹⁵⁵².

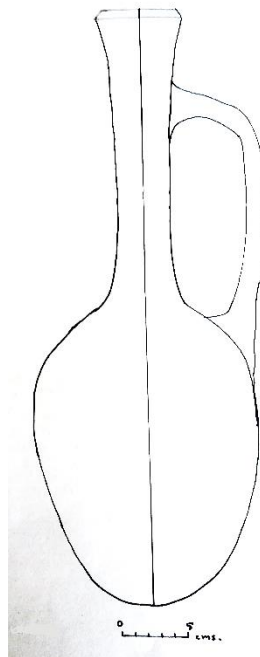


Fig. 150

¹⁵⁴⁸ BOURRIAU 1981, p. 15 (fabric designated as “D” = “W4.22” in HOLTHOER 1977).

¹⁵⁴⁹ BOURRIAU 1981, p. 123, no. 244.

¹⁵⁵⁰ HOLTHOER 1992, p. 315, fig. 2.

¹⁵⁵¹ For further references, see HOLTHOER 1992, p. 313 (tomb of Sebekhotep, TT63 and tomb of Nebamun, TT 17) and p. 315, fig. 3.

¹⁵⁵² HOLTHOER 1992, pp. 313-314.

2.2: EGYPTIAN OR “EGYPTIANIZING” OBJECTS FOUND IN ANATOLIA AND NORTH SYRIA

2.2.1: General introduction

The purpose of this section is both to provide a comprehensive account of all the data already published and to add new information and photographic material about Egyptian or “Egyptianizing” objects from Anatolia and North Syria. For reason of conciseness, I do not offer here (as for the following section 2.1) a complete comparison of all the presented objects with other possible foreign *comparanda*: due to the catalogue-nature of this section, I just limit myself to the presentation of the artefacts, offering, when available, bibliographical references to other studies. I eventually present some general remarks about this topic in the conclusion at the end of this section (and, widely, in the final conclusions of the dissertation). The timespan here considered as a chronological limit for the selection of the objects is the same already stated above, lasting from the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom, until the end of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms (i.e. ca. 17th cent. - end of 8th cent. BC¹⁵⁵³).

Previous researches about this topic have already been conducted by some scholars¹⁵⁵⁴. Two of these works (HELFT 2010, KOZAL 2006) are PhD dissertations and provide at the end very useful catalogues of materials that I often quote in the catalogue.

Here, at the very beginning, I report some lists and maps kept from some of these publications. Firstly, Durgun proposed in her paper a list of Egyptian objects found in Anatolia¹⁵⁵⁵ (just limited to the BA)¹⁵⁵⁶:

site	period in Egypt	period in Anatolia	object	material	context
Alalakh	Pre-dynastic	Late Chalcolithic	palette	slate	house level XVI
Troy	Early-dynastic	Early Bronze Age	scepter	faience	megaron with ritual function, Troy III
Northwest Anatolia	OK (5th Dyn.)	Early Bronze Age	cylinder seal of office	gold	unknown
Acemhöyük	MK	MBA/Assyrian Colony Period	plaque figures (lions, deer, sphinx, monkey)	hippopotamus ivory	Sankaya palace Acemhöyük
Acemhöyük	MK	MBA/Assyrian Colony Period	lion leg furniture supports	hippopotamus ivory	Sankaya palace Acemhöyük
Acemhöyük	MK	MBA/Assyrian Colony Period	sphinx furniture supports	hippopotamus ivory, gold ivory	Sankaya palace Acemhöyük
Acemhöyük	MK	MBA/Assyrian Colony Period	furniture leg support with monkey	hippopotamus ivory	Sankaya palace Acemhöyük
Tepebağ Höyük	MK (12th Dyn.)	Middle Bronze Age	statue of the Nurse Sitsnefru	gabbro or diabase	found during construction
Yahşihan Höyük	MK	Middle Bronze Age	Ka statue dedicated to Osiris by Kerison of Ili	inscribed stone	burial
Boğazköy (Hattuša)	Hyksos	LBA (Old Hittite)	vessel with Khyan's cartouche	obsidian	houses by the Great Temple
Alacahöyük	NK	LBA (Old Hittite)	Bes figurine	ivory	cult center
Ortaköy (Sapinuwa)	NK	LBA (Middle Hittite)	inlaid lotus hair ornament	gold and stone inlay	settlement
Uluburun shipwreck	NK (18th Dyn.)	Late Bronze Age	Nefertiti's scarab seal	gold	shipwreck cargo
Uluburun shipwreck	NK	Late Bronze Age	plaque with Ptah's name	steatite	shipwreck cargo
Uluburun shipwreck	NK	Late Bronze Age	Bes figurines	tin	shipwreck cargo
Uluburun shipwreck	NK	Late Bronze Age	half-cut ring (scrap metal)	electrum	shipwreck cargo
Uluburun shipwreck	NK	Late Bronze Age	blue beads	faience	shipwreck cargo
Panaztepe	NK (18th Dyn.)	Late Bronze Age	scarab seal (Amenothep III)	frit or faience	burial

¹⁵⁵³ For what concerns the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms and their chronology, I accept the lists in BRYCE 2012, pp. 301-309 and LIVERANI 2013, p. 451 table 26.1.

¹⁵⁵⁴ See mainly BREYER 2010a; DURGUN 2017; HELFT 2010, KOZAL 2006; ÖZKAN 2007; SOWADA 2001.

¹⁵⁵⁵ DURGUN 2017.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Please note that Alalakh is here quoted in the original source, despite it has to be considered as a Syrian site, instead a proper Turkish one.

site	period in Egypt	period in Anatolia	object	material	context
Boğazköy (Hattuša)	NK	LBA (Middle Hittite)	sphinx figurine	blue glazed	n/a
Boğazköy (Hattuša)	NK	LBA (Middle Hittite)	stone vessel fragments	alabaster	palace
Boğazköy (Hattuša)	NK	LBA (Middle Hittite)	axe	bronze	n/a
Boğazköy (Hattuša)	NK (19th Dyn.)	LBA (Late Hittite)	stele (dated to Ramses II)	red sandstone	palace/ in "Audienzhalle"
Carchemish (Karkamiš)	NK (19th Dyn.)	LBA (Late Hittite)	macehead with Ramses II's cartouche	stone	n/a
Alacahöyük	NK	Late Bronze Age	Djet and Horus ornaments	bone carving	cult center
Alalakh	NK	Late Bronze Age	bowl with offering formula	blue glazed frit	rubbish pit of a temple
Alalakh	NK	Late Bronze Age	duck shaped toiletry box	ivory	level IV palace

Fig. 151

A second similar list is provided by Helft¹⁵⁵⁷:

Site	Region	Object	Material	Context	Strat. Date	Comp Date	Cat. no.
Alaca Höyük	Hatti	Inlay plaque	bone	?	16-12 th cent.	?	118
Alişar Höyük	Hatti	scarab	limestone	section X 19, d. 1.7 m, Alişar IV	14-12 th cent.?	?	119
Alişar Höyük	Hatti	scarab	limestone	Trench 60, unstratified, Alişar IV	14-12 th cent.?	?	120
Alişar Höyük	Hatti	scarab	limestone	Trench 60, unstratified Alişar IV	14-12 th cent.?	?	121
Alişar Höyük	Hatti	scarab	serpentine	Trench II, unstratified Alişar IV	14-12 th cent.?	17-16 th cent.	122
Boğazköy	Hatti	vessel (with Chian cartouche)	obsidian	square L/18 (near House on the Slope) in alluvial layer postdating Hittite Empire	BK III- 13 th cent.	17-16 th cent. (15 th dynasty)	123
Boğazköy	Hatti	frag of stele	stone	Büyükkale, n/15, debris outside Hittite fortifications	?	13 th cent. (19 th dynasty)	124
Boğazköy	Hatti	vase	alabaster	Büyükkale level III, square u/7	13 th cent.	?	125
Boğazköy	Hatti	ax	bronze	Temple 26	?	Early 18 th dynasty	126
Boğazköy	Hatti	scarab	?	surface, northern Lower City, area J/23	?	?	127

¹⁵⁵⁷ HELFT 2010, pp. 103-105, tab. 4.1.

Frakdin	Hatti	scarab	faience	Refuse layer above Hittite level with Phrygian pottery	?	Thutmose III	128
Frakdin	Hatti	scarab	faience	Refuse layer above Hittite level with Phrygian pottery	?	Amenhotep III	129
Kaman-Kalehöyük	Hatti	scarab	faience	Level 2-	Phrygian 9 th cent.?	19 th dynasty	130
Kaman-Kalehöyük	Hatti	scarab	faience	Level 2	Phrygian 9 th cent.?	19 th dynasty	131
Kaman-Kalehöyük	Hatti	scarab	faience	Level 2 -not associated with architecture	Phrygian 9 th cent.?	18 th dynasty	132
Kaman-Kalehöyük	Hatti	scarab	faience	Level 2 -not associated with architecture	Phrygian 9 th cent.?	18 th dynasty	133
Kirrikale	Hatti	statue	stone	Late Antique burial	4 th cent.CE?	13 th dynasty	134
Ortaköy	Hatti	plaque	bronze	Building B, middle storeroom	14 th cent.	?	135
Ortaköy	Hatti	Hair ring/earring?	gold	Ruins of Building A	14 th cent.	18 th dynasty	136
Mersin-Soli	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	scarab	?	Cremation grave, Square G8	LBII		137
Mersin-Soli	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	scarab	?	square F9, near an urn in ash level	LBII	18 th dynasty,	138
Tarsus	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	inlay	blue faience	Area B, Unit Le	12 th cent.?.	19 th dynasty	139
Tarsus	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	inlay	frit	Area A, houses above Hittite Temple	12 th cent.?.		140
Tarsus	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	scarab	faience	Area B, depth 16.40 m	LBII 13 th cent.	19 th dynasty	141
Tarsus	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	scarab	frit	Area B, depth 16 m	LBII 13 th cent.	19 th dynasty	142
Tepebag (Adana)	Hatti/Kizzuwatna	statue	Stone	Tepebağ	Hellenistic-Roman	MK, 13 th dynasty	143

Fig. 152

Helft also summarized in a scheme all the foreign objects found in Anatolia¹⁵⁵⁸:

Table. 8.1 Breakdown of Imports into Hatti by Region

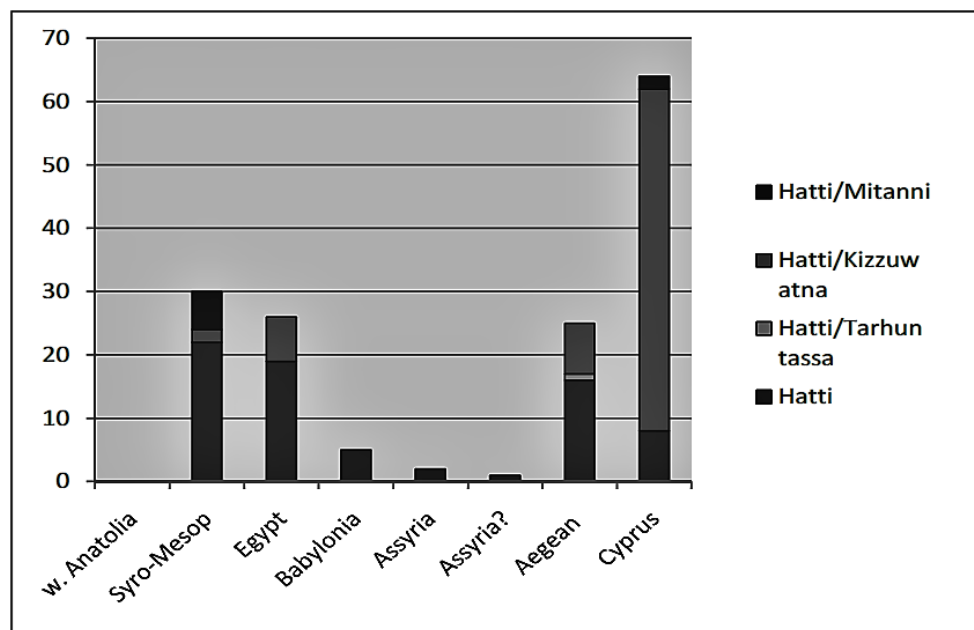


Fig. 153

Both Helft and Kozal provide also some maps where the objects are located in their original find spots¹⁵⁵⁹:

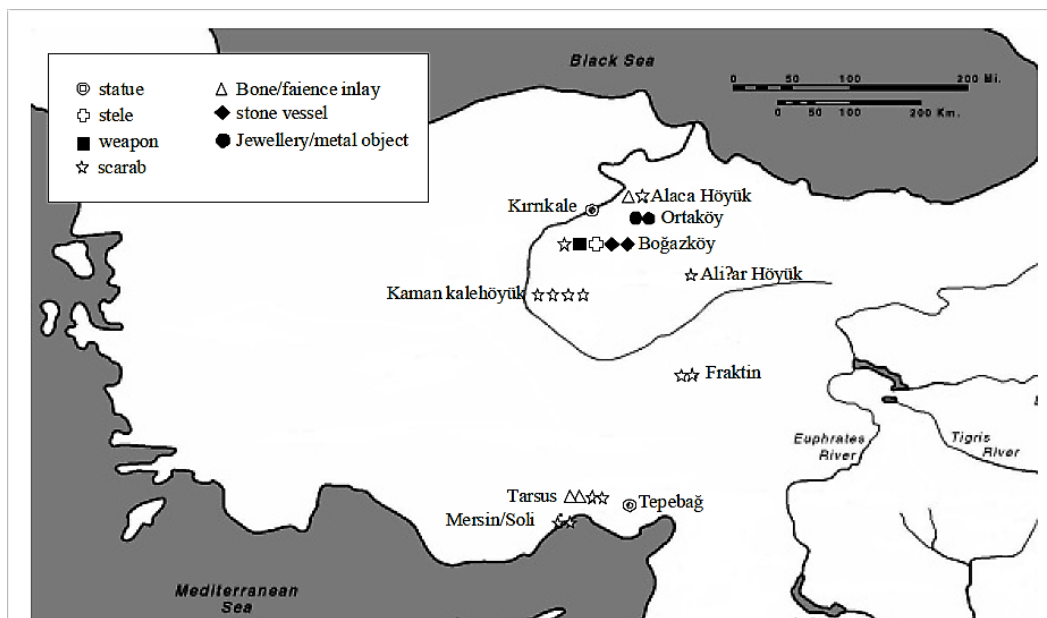


Fig. 4.2 Egyptian and Egyptian Style Objects in Hatti

Fig. 154

¹⁵⁵⁸ HELFT 2010, pp. 204, tab. 8.1.

¹⁵⁵⁹ HELFT 2010, pp. 110-105, fig. 4.2 and KOZAL 2006, p. 279, map. 11.

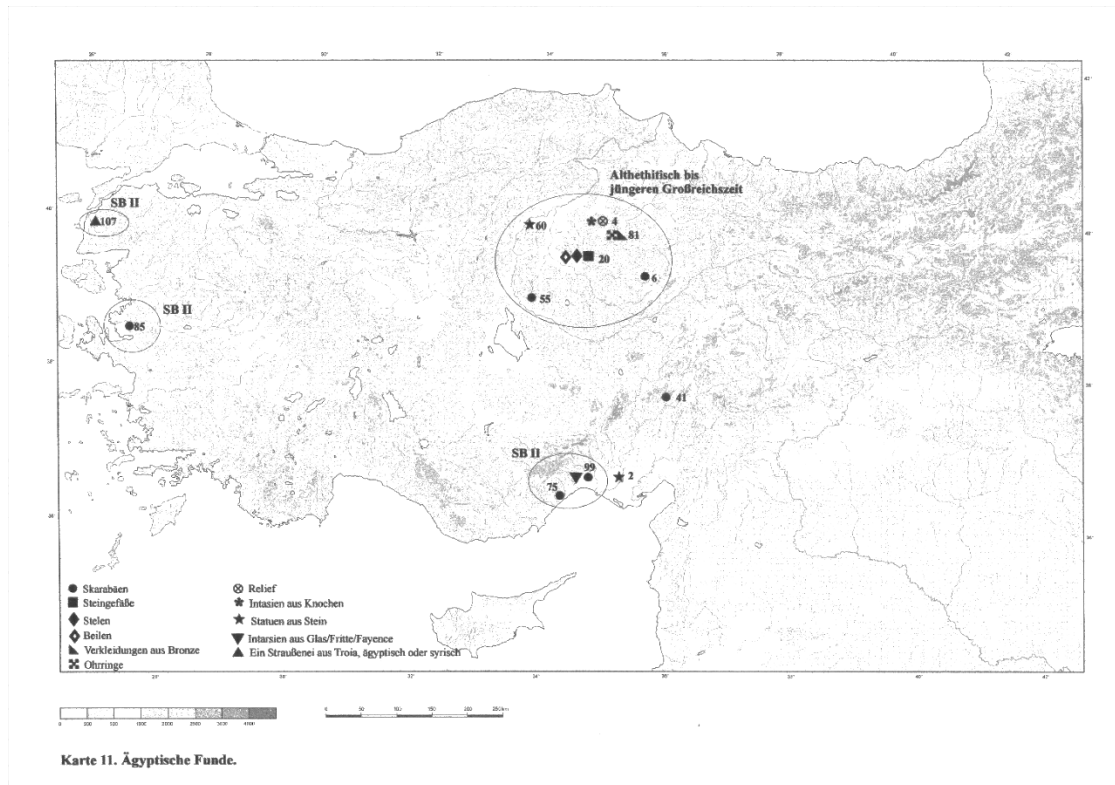


Fig. 155

Eventually, Helft tried to cross the archaeological artefacts with the most important historical events, in a fair chronological scheme¹⁵⁶⁰:

Table 4.2 Egyptian Historical Data and Finds		
	Historical Data	Archaeological Data
Middle Kingdom-Hyksos peiod		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bes plaque- Alaca "dd" inlay- Alaca MK statues Khyan lid
18 th dynasty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thutmose III claims tribute from Hatti Kurustuma treaty? Suppiluliuma I corresponds with widow Sends congratulations to Smenkhare? Horemheb lists Hittites among conquered peoples (Karnak) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bronze ax - Boğazköy Amenhotep III scarab - Fraktin Bronze plaque- Ortaköy Gold earring – Ortaköy "chiefs of Kheta" represented as Syrians (Thutmose III) "accurate" representations of Hittites (Horemheb)
19 th dynasty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ramses fights Muwatalli in Battle of Qadesh Ramses and Hattusili sign the Silver Treaty Reliefs of Battle of Qadesh showing Hittites Ramses marries Hattusili's eldest daughter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stele- Boğazköy Alabaster vase- Boğazköy Amarna pendant? Shield molds at PiRamses Letter from Hatti- PiRamses Scarabs Hittites in battle reliefs (Sety I, Ramses II, Ramses III)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abu Simbel relief of Hattusili and Maathornefrure Images of Hittite captives at Medinet Habu (Ramses III) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hattusili and Maathorneferura on Marriage Stela Abu Simbel

Fig. 156

¹⁵⁶⁰ HELFT 2010, pp. 114-115, tab. 4.2.

2.2.2: Catalogue of the objects

The purpose of this section is to provide a catalogue, as complete as possible, collecting all the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects found in the area under the domination of the Hittites, in the main core of Anatolian area and in North-Syria. The artefacts are listed (as in section 2.1) according to their find spot, following the alphabetical order. The data about each object are presented following this (already explained) general form:

Cat. no.: number of the item in this catalogue (used to make reference in other sections).

N.B.: The catalogue no. “A + #” is an abbreviation for “*Object found in Anatolia, no. #*”, used to make references to the objects in other sections.

Site: name of the sites (MODERN NAME/ANCIENT NAME).

Object: typology of the object.

Material: material(s) of the object.

Dimensions: dimensions of the objects.

Inscription: description of the inscribed/engraved text, with transliteration and translation.

Strat. date: dating of the object according to its archaeological context (find spot).

Comp. date: dating of the object according to its stylistic features, inscription, and possible *comparanda*.

Context: description of the archaeological context.

Description: brief description of the object.

Excavation number: number given to the objects by the excavators.

Current location/mus. number: current location of the object with its catalogue number.

Bibliography: useful bibliography.

Image source: list of the published photos; in **bold** are the pictures used in this catalogue.

Notes: further notes.

ADANA (TEPEBAĞ HÖYÜK)/ADANIYA

1. **Cat. no.:** A1.

Site: Adana (Tepebağ Höyük), ancient Kizzuwatna.

Object: statue.

Material: black granite/gabbro or diabase (paint).

Dimensions: h. 38.6 cm; w. 20.7 cm; d. 26.5 cm.

Inscription: hieroglyphic inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: MK, 12th dynasty, time of Sesostri II (1845-1837 BC).

Context: built into later wall.

Description: statue of Satsneferu, Sesostri II's nurse. “Schwarzer Granit. Eine niederkniende Figur auf einem viereckigen Block. Ihre linke Hand liegt auf der Brust. Die ägyptisch-hieroglyphische Inschrift befindet sich auf dem Rock der Figur” [KOZAL 2006, cat. 650]. “During the Old Kingdom, women were often depicted seated in this position at the feet of their husbands; now the same attitude has been elevated to a statuary pose in its own right. In the Middle Kingdom, many small statuettes were created of anonymous nursing women, but here Sitsnefru's name is inscribed on a statue of considerable size and presence. She was surely attached to an elite, perhaps even royal, household” (<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544176>; last access).

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 18.2.2 (Rogers Fund, 1918).

Bibliography: ALBERSMEIER 2002, p. 83 (No. 484), p. 92 (No. 532); ARNOLD 2015, pp. 144-45 (No. 77), BITTEL 1970, p. 114; BREYER 2010a, p. 94; ERMAN 1883a, pp. 440-442; EVERS 1929, pl. 62; GIRINGER 2000, pp. 81-82, fig. 7; HAYES 1953, p. 215; HELFT 2010, p. 104, tab. 4.1, p. 284, nr. 143; KOZAL 2006, p. 183, cat. 650; KST 37/2, pp. 191-208; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 89; WINLOCK 1921, pp. 209-210; <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544176>.

Image source: ALBERSMEIER 2002, p. 83 (No. 484), p. 92 (No. 532); ARNOLD 2015, pp. 144-45 (No. 77); BREYER 2010a, p. 94, fig. 4; **ERMEN 1883a, p. 441**; HAYES 1953, p. 215, fig. 132; HELFT 2010, p. 284

(No. 143); GIRINGER 2000, pp. 81-82, fig. 7; KOZAL 2006, p. 183 (No. 650); KST 37/2, p. 208, fig. 9; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 89, fig. 1; <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544176>).

Notes: found in 1882. “Found in Adana, Turkey, in excavating the foundation of the house of Rev. Montgomery of the American Mission in about 1882. Purchased by the Museum from his family in New York, 1918” (<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544176>).



Figs 157-158

ALACA HÖYÜK/ARINNA(?)

1. Cat. no.: A2.

Site: Alaca Höyük.

Object: plaquette.

Material: bone.

Dimensions: h. 5 cm; w. 2.2 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 16th-12th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: level II, depth 2.5-4 m.

Description: inlaid, bone plaque with an incised *djed*-pillar.

Excavation number: Al. 63.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ARIK 1937; BREYER 2010a, p. 97; DE VOS 2002, pp. 46-47; HELFT 2010, p. 276 (No. 118); KOZAL 2006, p. 205 (No. 666); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92.

Image source: ARIK 1937, pl. LIX, fig. 63; BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 16; HELFT 2010, p. 276 (No. 118); KOZAL 2006, p. 205 (No. 666); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92, fig. 6.

Notes:



Fig. 159

2. Cat. no.: A3.

Site: Alaca Höyük.

Object: statuette.

Material: ivory.

Dimensions: h. 3.80 cm; w. 1.70 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: Alaca Höyük II.

Description: ivory statuette of a kneeling man.

Excavation number: Al. i 14.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 89 (No. 52); BARNETT 1982, p. 33; BITTEL 1976, p. 71; KOŞAY – AKOK 1966, pp. 64, 182-183; HARPER 1969, p. 161; KOZAL 2006, p. 326 (No. 1218).

Image source: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 89, fig. 52; BARNETT 1982, p. 33, pl. 27, a-b; BITTEL 1976, p. 71, fig. 46; KOŞAY – AKOK 1966, pls. 30-31; HARPER 1969, p. 161, fig. 11; KOZAL 2006, p. 326 (No. 1218).

Notes: this statuette seems to be for many features typical of North-Syrian art; just the gesture recalls in some way some Egyptian depictions (see “General comment”, section 3.1, for a further analysis).



Fig. 160

3. **Cat. no.:** A4.

Site: Alaca Höyük.

Object: plaque.

Material: /

Dimensions: h. 4.70 cm; w. 2.70 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: Alaca Höyük II.

Description: fragment of a plaque.

Excavation number: Al. m 84.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 97; KOSAY – AKOK 1966, pp. 65, 183; KOZAL 2006, p. 326 (No. 1219).

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 15; KOŞAY – AKOK 1966, pl. 31; KOZAL 2006, p. 326 (No. 1219).

Notes: just the sketch is provided in publication (no pictures of the object).



Fig. 161

4. **Cat. no.:** A5.

Site: Alaca Höyük.

Object: plaque.

Material: bone.

Dimensions: h. 4.9 cm; w. 3.5 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: Old Hittite period (MBA, 2nd mill. BC).

Comp. date: MK (?).

Context: Alaca Höyük II; Old Hittite stratum.

Description: bone plaque in a figure of Bes.

Excavation number: Al/a. 88.

Current location/mus. number: Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, no. 13186.

Bibliography: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 148 (No. 87); BITTEL 1976, p. 69; BREYER 2010a, p. 97; KOŞAY 1944, pp. 31, 33; KOZAL 2006, p. 199 (No. 647); KULAÇOĞLU 1992, pp. 121, 201 (No. 141); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92; SCHAEFFER 1948, p. 283.

Image source: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 148, fig. 87; BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 14; KOŞAY 1936, pl. XLIV; KOŞAY 1944, pl. XLIV; KOZAL 2006, p. 199 (No. 647); KULAÇOĞLU 1992, pp. 121, 201 (No. 141).

Notes: found in 1936.



Fig. 162

5. **Cat. no.:** A6.

Site: Alaca Höyük.

Object: plaquette.

Material: bone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: /

Description: bone plaque in a bird shape (hawk?).

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92.

Image source: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92, fig. 5.

Notes: /



Fig. 163

ALIŞAR HÖYÜK/ANKUWA(?)

1. Cat. no.: A7.

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: hieroglyphic inscription (?) with the signs *nh* and *nb*.

Strat. date: Alişar IV (ca. 1400-1200 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: level (Plot) X 19, depth 1.7 m, among an assemblage of Alişar IV pottery (but maybe in a disturbed context, because of the presence also of Alişar V and *terra sigillata* sherds).

Description: limestone scarab with the depiction of the god Horus in hawk form, bearing the double crown. To the right, a cobra (uraeus) with the red crown of Lower Egypt. To the left, the sign for *nh*. Below the hawk the sign for *nb*. The surface is grayish-white with light yellowish- brown stains.

Excavation number: b611.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 199); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 430); OIP 19, p. 263; OIP 29, pp. 418-419, 421.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 199); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 430); **OIP 19, p. 263, fig. 346 (1); OIP 19, p. 419, fig. 479 (2).**

Notes: found in 1928-1929 excavation seasons. A brief analysis of the artefact was provided by T.G. Allen (OIP 19, p. 263): “The back of the scarab is date in general to the period between 1400 and 1200 B.C. The design shows in the center Horus as a falcon wearing the double crown (made by combining those of Upper and Lower Egypt). Before the falcon stands the sign of ‘life,’ and behind him is a cobra (the *uraeus*-serpent) wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. The serpent probably represents the Delta goddess Uto (often called Buto)”.



FIG. 346.—EGYPTIAN SCARAB. PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS, ACTUAL SIZE. DRAWING OF DESIGN ON THE BASE. SCALE, 3:1

Figs 164-165

2. Cat. no.: A8.

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: h. 2.2 cm; d. 1.2 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: Alişar IV (ca. 1400-1200 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: trench 60, depth 3.3-3.6 m.

Description: scaraboid limestone seal with geometric motifs on the base. Elissoidal shape with lengthwise perforation.

Excavation number: 3101.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 120); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 431); OIP 7, p. 47.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 120); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 431); OIP 7, p. 47, fig. 41.

Notes: this scaraboid and all the following ones can be easily described as typical of North-Syria; lacking a good picture of the upper side (probably, but not surely, showing a scarab), it is impossible to define them as entirely “Egyptianizing”.



Fig. 166

3. **Cat. no.:** A9.

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: h. 1.2 cm; d. 1.0 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: Alişar IV (ca. 1400-1200 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: trench 60, depth 3-4 m, pit?

Description: scaraboid limestone seal with geometric motifs on the base. Circular shape with lengthwise perforation.

Excavation number: 3102.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 121); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 432); OIP 7, p. 47.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 277 (No. 121); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 432); OIP 7, p. 47, fig. 41.

Notes: /



Fig. 167

4. **Cat. no.:** A10

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: serpentine.

Dimensions: h. 1.9 cm; d. 0.6 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: trench II, depth 1.2 m

Description: scaraboid serpentine seal with geometric motifs, maybe of Hyksos influence¹⁵⁶¹, on the base. Elissoidal shape with lengthwise perforation.

Excavation number: 2398.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 122); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 433); OIP 7, p. 47.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 122); KOZAL 2006, p. 130 (No. 433); OIP 7, p. 47, fig. 41.

Notes: /



Fig. 168

5. **Cat. no.:** A11.

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: *udjat*-eye.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: th. 0.4 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: mixed Alişar V and VI refuse in O 11.

Description: *udjat*-eye in light green frit. Perforated through the long axis.

Excavation number: a76.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: OIP 20, p. 61.

Image source: OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83.

Notes: /



a 76

Fig. 169

¹⁵⁶¹ See HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 122), quoting Tufnell.

6. **Cat. no.:** A12

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: *udjat*-eye.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: th. 0.43 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: Level 3 of M 13.

Description: *udjat*-eye in light green frit. Perforated through the long axis.

Excavation number: a541.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: OIP 20, p. 61.

Image source: OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83.

Notes: /



a 541

Fig. 170

7. **Cat. no.:** A13

Site: Alişar Höyük.

Object: *udjat*-eye.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: th. 0.35 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: found during the removal of the walls of Level 3 in M 11.

Description: *udjat*-eye in white frit with decoration in dark green colour, applied in relief.

Excavation number: a767.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: OIP 20, p. 61.

Image source: OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83.

Notes: /



a 767

Fig. 171

ANKARA (ROMA HAMAMI)

1. Cat. no.: A14.

Site: Ankara, Roma Hamami (Roman Baths).

Object: plaque.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: 2.4 x 1.8 x 0.63 cm.

Inscription: Hieroglyphic inscription; face A, twice the *nomen* (Son of Ra) of the pharaoh, in the double cartouche: *mr(y) 'Imn R^c-ms-sw* ("Born of Ra, Beloved of Amun"); face B, twice the *praenomen* of the pharaoh, always in the double cartouche: *wsr m3^ct R^c stp n R^c* (The Justice of Ra is powerful, Chosen of Ra").

Strat. date: Roman/Phrygian period (?).

Comp. date: New Kingdom, 19th dyn., reign of Ramses II (1279-1213 BC).

Context: 1H layer (with Phrygian pottery).

Description: white fayence plaque, engraved with the name of pharaoh Ramses II in Egyptian hieroglyphs. It is perforated through the perpendicular axis and a groove for the string (not preserved) encircles the whole object.

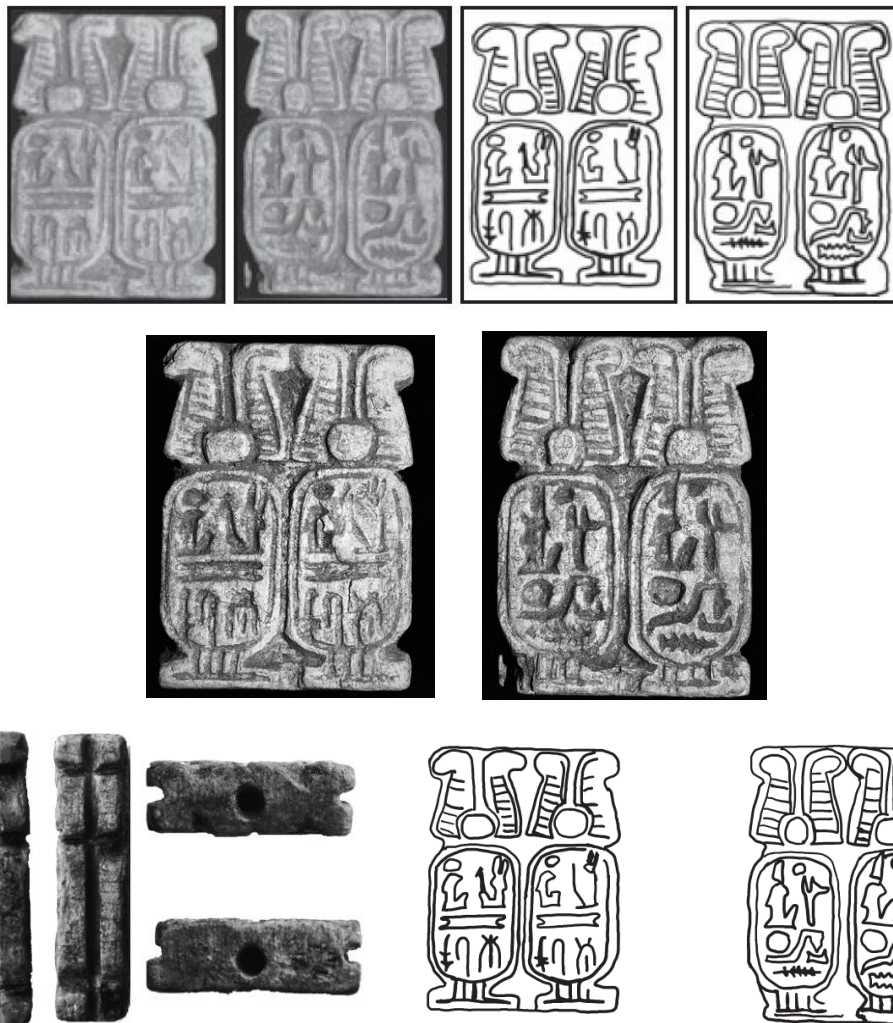
Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations.

Bibliography: MCKKSY 19, pp. 347, 350; PEKER 2013.

Image source: MCKKSY 19, p. 362, fig. 15; PEKER 2013, pp. 541-542, fig. 1-5.

Notes: found in 2009 excavation season.



Figs 172-176

BOĞAZKÖY/HATTUŠA

1. Cat. no.: A15.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: axe.

Material: bronze.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 14-13th cent.?

Comp. date: early 18th dyn.

Context: Temple 26 (Upper City).

Description: bronze axe in a typical Egyptian shape (G-VIII type).

Excavation number: Bo 85/449.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 96; DE VOS 2002, p. 46; GENZ 2006, p. 189; HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 126); KLENGEL 2002b; KOZAL 2006, p. 210 (No. 682); KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT 1969, p. 38; NEVE 1993, p. 29.

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 8; HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 126); **KOZAL 2006, p. 210 (No. 682)**; NEVE 1993, p. 29, fig. 70.

Notes: “Neve suggests belonged to north Syrian or Egyptian ‘guestworker’. Bronze shop existed at temple”¹⁵⁶².



Fig. 177

2. Cat. no.: A16.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: stela fragment.

Material: red sandstone.

Dimensions: 5.7 x 4 x 4 cm.

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs. The preserved portion of the texts reads: “In Babylon is the beloved” (H. Grapow, quoted in BOEHMER 1972, p. 208). A possible reconstruction of the inscription is, “King NN of Atum, ruler of Heliopolis is loved in Babylon”¹⁵⁶³.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: early 19th dyn.

Context: Büyükkale Square n/14, debris by Hittite city wall.

Description: fragment of a red sandstone stela with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

Excavation number: Bo 212/g (= No. 2159 *apud* BOEHMER 1972).

Current location/mus. number: /

¹⁵⁶² HELFT 2010, p. 279.

¹⁵⁶³ *Ivi*, p. 278, No. 124.

Bibliography: BITTEL 1938, p. 18; BITTEL 1970, p. 116; BITTEL 1983, p. 164; BOEHMER 1972, p. 208; BREYER 2010a, p. 97; DE VOS 2002, p. 46; DURGUN 2017; GENZ 2006, pp. 188-189; HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 124); KOZAL 2006, p. 210 (No. 682);

Image source: BITTEL 1938, p. 18, fig. 5; BITTEL 1970, p. 116, fig. 27; BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXXX (No. 2159); BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 17; HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 124); KOZAL 2006, p. 210 (No. 682); Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz (PhotoPhotoarchiv: N07018-7021: <http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw.php?n=212/g&b=+N07018+N07019+N07020+N07021>).

Notes: cf. CTH 1001.

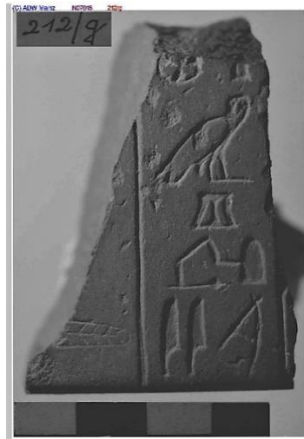
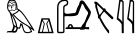







Fig. 178

An interpretation of the text of this artefact is offered by Boehmer:

“Zu dem Fragment einer ägyptischen Stele (Nr. 2159) hat sich H. Grapow vor vielen Jahren wie folgt geäußert: „Das Bruchstück zeigt den untersten Teil einer senkrechten Zeile mit nach rechts Gewänder ägyptischen Hieroglyphen. In dem links anschließenden offenbar schriftlosen Flächenraum unbekannter Ausdehnung ist unten ein sehr leicht eingekratztes Zeichen zu erkennen, welches, falls es überhaupt gleichzeitig mit der Inschrift und also ägyptischer Herkunft ist, *vielleicht* den oberen Teil einer Feder darstellen könnte; die Deutung ist mehr als unsicher, zumal nicht einzusehen ist, was das Zeichen, besser, das Gekennzeichnete, dort soll. – Ob sich nach rechts hin weitere Inschriftzeichen anschlossen, welche im Text der vorhandenen letzten vorangegangen sein müßten, ist nicht auszumachen. Die erhaltenen Zeichen  besagen „in Babylon (bei Memphis in Ägypten!), der Geliebte“. Vor dem  sieht man noch , also einer Städtenamen, welcher möglicherweise zu  zu ergänzen sein könnte, falls die Schmalheit des Zeichenrestes rechts eine Ergänzung zu  erlaubt. Man könnte sich das Ganze, falls über dem das Wort  „Heliopolis“ gestanden hat, etwa so ergänzen: „[König NN, von Atum dem Herr von] Heliopolis in Babylon geliebt“. Mehr läßt sich mit gutem Gewissen über das sauber geschnittene Bruchstück nicht sagen, dessen Zeichenformen nicht eine sichere Datierung erlauben. es spricht ja aber an sich alles für das späte Neue Reich, etwa die Zeit Ramses' II“¹⁵⁶⁴.

3. **Cat. no.:** A17.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: fragment of a vessel.

Material: obsidian.

Dimensions: h. 2.9 cm; w. 5.9 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription, quoting the name of the Hyksos king Chian.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 15th dyn. (17th-16th cent. BC).

Context: Square L/18 (near the House on the Slope) alluvial layer postdating the Hittite Empire.

Description: obsidian fragment carrying the name of pharaoh Chian.

¹⁵⁶⁴ BOEHMER 1972, p. 208.

Excavation number: Bo 325/s.

Current location/mus. number: Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, No. 2178.

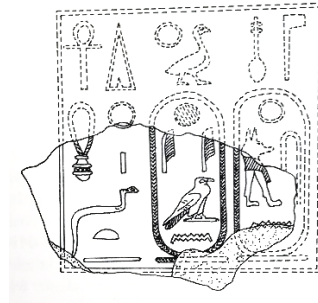
Bibliography: BITTEL 1970, p. 117; BITTEL 1983; BOEHMER 1972, p. 211; BREYER 2010a, p. 95; DE VOS 2002, p. 50; HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 123); FALKNER ET AL. 1963, p. 246; GENZ 2006, p. 188; KLENGEL 2002, p. 30; KOZAL 2006, pp. 96-97 (No. 321); LECLANT in Or Ns 33; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91; REDFORD 1992, p. 120; STOCK 1963; TAD 11/1 (1961), p. 14.

Image source: BITTEL 1970, p. 117, fig. 28 (2); BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXXXII (No. 2178) (1); BREYER 2010a, p. 95, fig. 6; HELFT 2010, p. 278 (No. 123); FALKNER ET AL. 1963, p. 245, fig. 45; KOZAL 2006, pp. 96-97 (No. 321); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 4; TAD 11/1 (1961), pl. VIII, fig. 4.

Notes: discovered in 1960 excavation season.



2178



Figs 179-180

4. **Cat. no.:** A18.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: vase.

Material: alabaster.

Dimensions: h. 22.5 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 13th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: Büyükkale III, Square u/7.

Description: alabaster vase.

Excavation number: Bo 222/a (= Nr. 2179).

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BOEHMER 1972, p. 211, 214; DE VOS 2002, p. 46; GENZ 2006, p. 189; HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 125); KOZAL 2006, p. 96 (No. 320).

Image source: BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXXXII (No. 2179); HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 125); KOZAL 2006, p. 96 (No. 320).

Notes:



Fig. 181

5. **Cat. no.:** A19.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: scarab.

Material: /

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: surface, Lower City, area J/23.

Description: /

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BITTEL 1936, p. 26; GENZ 2006, p. 189; HELFT 2010, p. (No. 127); MELLINK 1962, p. 74.

Image source: /

Notes: found during 1960 excavation season. Unfortunately, no pictures of this artefact are available.

6. **Cat. no.:** A20.

Site: Boğazköy.

Object: sphinx figurine.

Material: frit/fayence.

Dimensions: h. 1.5 cm, l. 1.52 cm, w. 0.88 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 15th-14th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: Büyükkale IVa, Square u/12, terracing debris under Empire period mud packing.

Description: blue frit/fayence figurine of reclining sphinx. Two holes through the piece vertical and horizontal. Diamond shaped markings on underside.

Excavation number: Bo 336/q (= No. 1860).

Current location/mus. number: Boğazkale Museum.

Bibliography: BOEHMER 1972, pp. 179-180; BREYER 2010a, p. 97; CLINE 1991, p. 134; HELFT 2010, p. 270 (No. 99); KOZAL 2006, p. 195 (No. 632); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91.

Image source: BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXV (No. 1860);

Notes: photo by J. Lehner (courtesy of A. Schachner)¹⁵⁶⁵; BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 13; HELFT 2010, p. 270 (No. 99); KOZAL 2006, p. 195 (No. 632).



Fig. 182

¹⁵⁶⁵ I am very grateful to Andreas Schachner (DAI, Deutsche Archäologische Institut, Istanbul) for his kindness in providing me this picture and more useful information.

A good comparison for this object is suggested by E. H. Cline:

“A serpentine or steatite sphinx statuette (Heraklion Museum no. 384; P1. XXIc) was found in a late MM III or early LM I tomb context at Ayia Triadha, Crete. Small, couchant and wingless, with a large circular depression in the centre of its back, this statuette has been the subject of much debate, both in terms of its use and its origins. Parallels can be drawn with Mesopotamian statuettes of similar size, material and style, which appear to have been used as lamps or, less likely, as inkwells. Additional parallels, primarily the ‘Hathor curls’ framing the face, can also be drawn with the monumental Hittite sphinxes found, for example at Alaca Höyük.s However, smaller sphinx statuettes do not seem to be Hittite repertoire. A small (2-5 cm.) couchant sphinx in blue frit, pierced through the body, was found at Boğazköy in a Late Bronze Age thought to be an Egyptian, or possibly a Syro-Palestinian, import. Figurines are known from LBA contexts elsewhere in the Eastern e.g. Syro-Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus, used there as weights, pendants, occasionally as votive figurines. One should note especially the bronze shape of a small, couchant and wingless sphinx recently found shipwreck (KW no. 468; P1. XXI d). Rather than being an inkwell previous scholars have suggested, the Ayia Triadha sphinx should as a weight, with the depression in the centre of its back originally bring the object to a precise mass. Similar lead-filled haematite and have been found on the Kaş shipwreck and at Kalavassos-Ayios Cyprus. It seems most likely that the sphinx statuette at Ayia Triadha from the Eastern Mediterranean or is a Minoan piece based upon or Egyptian prototypes. A Central Anatolian Hittite or even an origin cannot, however, be ruled out”¹⁵⁶⁶.

¹⁵⁶⁶ CLINE 1991, p. 134.

ESKIYAPAR

- Cat. no.:** A21.
Site: Eskiyaapar.
Object: *udjat*-eye.
Material: frit.
Dimensions: /
Inscription: no inscription.
Strat. date: /
Comp. date: /
Context: /
Description: frit *udjat*-eye.
Excavation number: /
Current location/mus. number: /
Bibliography: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 93.
Image source: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 93, fig. 7.
Notes: /



Fig. 183

FIRAKTIN

1. **Cat. no.:** A22.

Site: Firaktin.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the name Kafer-Ka. About the inscription, a good reading is provided by K. Seele: “Es lassen sich sicher identifizieren die Zeichen Schlange (Uräus), Käfer; nicht ganz sicher ist das dritte Zeichen. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass unten im Original oder im abdruck etwas fehlt, könnte dieses Zeichen das bekannte Zeichen *ka*’ sein. Es ist so gut wie sicher, dass die drei Zeichen keinen Personennamen konstituieren, sondern eine Anhäufung von Glückssymbolen, wie sie sich häufig auf skarabäen finden; genauer: das Zeichen (Schlange) ist häufig als ein solcher Glücksbringer, andererseits wieder die Kombination (Käfer + *Ka*’), was eine Stütze für die vermutete Ergänzung des dritten Zeichens bildet. Aus Gründen des Stils ist dieser Skarabäus vermutlich in die 18. Dynastie zu datieren (Ausgeschlossen ist die Zuweisung an Thutmoses III)”¹⁵⁶⁷.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 18th dynasty, reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC).

Context: refuse layer containing Phrygian pottery, 60 cm above the last Hittite level.

Description: fayence scarab.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: FALKNER 1954; HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 128); LECLANT in *OrNS* 27; ÖZGÜÇ 1948; ÖZGÜÇ 1955.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 279 (No. 128); ÖZGÜÇ 1955, fig. 37.

Notes: found during 1947 excavation campaign.



Fig. 184

2. **Cat. no.:** A23.

Site: Firaktin.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the name of pharaoh Amenhotep III, *nb-m'3t-Rc*. About the inscription, a good reading is provided by K. Seele: “Enthält den Namen des Königs Amenhotep III in

¹⁵⁶⁷ Seele's quotation in ÖZGÜÇ 1955, p. 307.

der Schreibung *nb-m't-R* (cf. Rowe, *Catalogue [sic.] of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museums [sic.]*, Pl. XV, No. 562, 563)¹⁵⁶⁸.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 18th dyn., reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC).

Context: refuse layer containing Phrygian pottery, 60 cm above the last Hittite level.

Description: fayence scarab.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: FALKNER 1954; HELFT 2010, p. 280 (No. 129); KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 438); ÖZGÜÇ 1948; ÖZGÜÇ 1955.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 280 (No. 129); KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 438); ÖZGÜÇ 1955, fig. 36.

Notes: found during 1947 excavation campaign.



Fig. 185

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

GORDION, YASSIHÖYÜK¹⁵⁶⁹

1. Cat. no.: A24.

Site: Gordion, Yassihöyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: composition scarab, pale blue.

Dimensions: h. scarab 0.75 cm; seal, l. 1.5 cm; w. 1.1 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: EIA (1100-950 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: “Citadel Mound, NE Building, Rubble bed, W wall. The scarab was found in the rubble bedding of the NE Building, which probably went up around 850 BC. Little pottery was found, but what there was dated to the Early Iron Age. The scarab was roughly contemporary with the pottery”¹⁵⁷⁰.

Description: “Blue scarab with deep incisions on bottom face. The scarab is eroded and abraded but retains clear indications of eyes, mandibles, and a small clypeus on its head. All six legs are also clearly shown, and faint indications of hair and other detailing survive. Traces of the line dividing the prothorax from the elytra survive, but the upper surface of the scarab is too badly worn to determine if the humeral callosities or the suture dividing the wings were indicated. The sealing surface of the scarab is carved with a line running around it roughly 0.002 m in from the outer oval edge of the seal. A horizontal line divides the face in two unequal parts, with the bottom being approximately three-fifths of the area and the upper two-fifths. The upper part has been badly damaged, but two omega-like Hathor symbols survive. Below the division line, two uraei face out, their tails sloping up to form a point at the center of the seal. Below this, a bipartite compound triangle on a slightly curved bottom line is clearly carved. Mended from four chips. Complete but for chips in edges. Back of scarab scraped”¹⁵⁷¹.

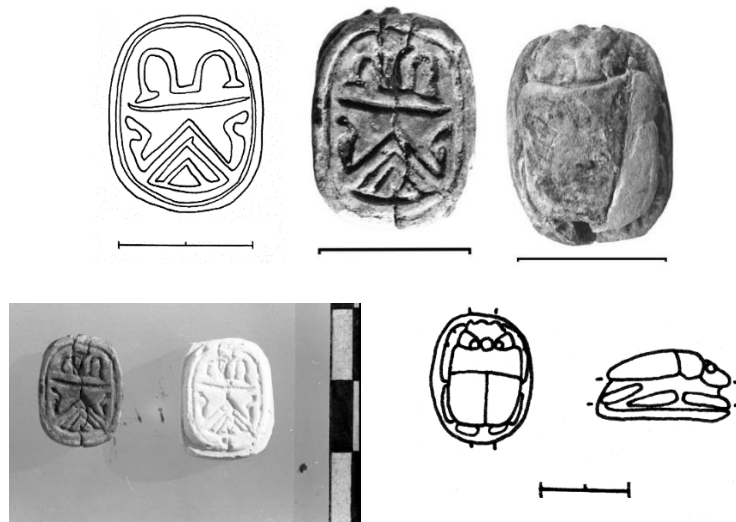
Excavation number: 7856 SS 212

Current location/mus. number: Penn Museum, Pennsylvania.

Bibliography: DUSINBERRE 2005, p. 41; LECLANT in *OrNS* 37; YOUNG 1966, p. 273.

Image source: DUSINBERRE 2005, No. 15; Penn Museum Gordion Archive (images R581-7, R581-8, R614-24, R614-25, R614-26); YOUNG 1966, pl. 74, fig. 13.

Notes: found on 22th May 1965.



Figs 186-190

¹⁵⁶⁹ For all the photographs about Gordion's objects I have to heartily thank Brian Rose (Director of Gordion excavation) and Gareth Darbyshire (Penn Museum). I have to remark that many more scarabs have been found at Gordion, not included in the present catalogue because of chronological reasons, being dated (both for stratigraphy or other comparisons) later to the Hittite or Post-Hittite era (mostly belonging to the “Phrygians”, i.e. Mushki period). For further information about these artefacts, see DUSINBERRE 2005, pp. 41ff.

¹⁵⁷⁰ DUSINBERRE 2005, p. 41.

¹⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*

A description of this artefact is offered by Dusiñberre:

“This scarab is an Egyptianizing artifact, rather than being a true Egyptian product; the triangles are very non-Egyptian (E. Teeter, personal communication March 25, 2004). It most closely resembles Egyptian seals dating to the 21st dynasty (the beginning of the Third Intermediate period, ca. 1085-950 BCE). It thus serves as evidence for the international interactions Gordion enjoyed in the Early Iron Age, and possibly for the arrival of new inhabitants at the site with new artistic tastes and affiliations. The seal is a particularly useful clue, as so little of the Early Iron Age mound has been excavated. See Teeter and Wilfong 2003, nos 53, 67, 90, 170, 171”¹⁵⁷².

2. Cat. no.: A25.

Site: Gordion/Yassihöyük.

Object: seal.

Material: composition.

Dimensions: l. 1.2 cm; w. 1.0 cm; h. 0.8 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: MBA (2000-1700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: “Tumulus H, Cut III, Burial H-4. This is an inexpensive version of a Hittite pithos burial, in which the deceased was buried in a cookpot. It dates to the late Middle Bronze Age. The seal itself is earlier, however. Resting on soft dirt was found a small burial cookpot (2072 P 646), oriented N-S with its mouth at the south, made of reddish brown clay, with a simple turned rim and handles pulled out from the rim. Three mudbricks made a wall around the mouth. Inside were found the bones of a child, still very small but old enough to have erupted teeth, lying in a contracted position on the left side, with his or her head at the mouth of the pithos. The child’s bones were somewhat collapsed from their original position when the pithos was opened. On one wrist was a bronze spiral bracelet (2218 B 415); lying at the back was a yellow buff bowl (1925 P 621), following the manner of Hittite period adult pithos burials at Gordion. In among the bones and earth were found a number of artifacts: a necklace of small black and white round paste beads, black watermelon-seed beads, and one red stone bead (1923 J 69); Catalogue of Seals 35 shells; one tube bead and innumerable very tiny simple beads. One bronze object in with the tiny beads may have been the clasp of the necklace. Additionally were found another bronze object (1999 B 329); two small bronze earrings of twisted wire; another bronze bracelet (2219 B 416); two silver rings (ILS 111); lead ring fragments (2224 ILS 125); a long bronze watermelon head pin (1996 B 327); another tiny bronze pin; and this stamp seal (1924 SS 70)”¹⁵⁷³.

Description: “A stud seal with a strongly arched back, from which protrudes a small knob set off from the rest by a groove. The seal is pierced across its smaller diameter, at the same height as the groove. The sealing face is carved so that its signs are left in relief, to leave an impression of grooves. A ridge defines the outer edge of the oval, slightly thinner at top and thicker on sides and bottom. A horizontal line divides the face into two zones, the upper roughly twice as large as the lower. The upper area is filled by a curvilinear device like an elongated omega, with its bottom ends curling up and out to join the line of the outer edge. The lower area is divided in half by a vertical line that joins the horizontal. Intact”¹⁵⁷⁴.

Excavation number: 1924 SS 70.

Current location/mus. number: Penn Museum, Pennsylvania.

Bibliography: DUSIÑBERRE 2005, pp. 34-35; KOZAL 2006, pp. 126-127 (No. 418).

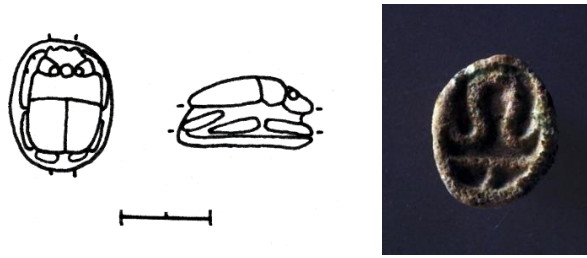
Image source: DUSIÑBERRE 2005, No. 13; GÜTERBOCK 1980, p. 51, fig. 1; MELLINK 1956, p. 42, pl. 23m-n; **Penn Museum Gordion Archive (images G-795, R148-22).**

Notes: found on 23rd September 1951.

¹⁵⁷² DUSIÑBERRE 2005, p. 41.

¹⁵⁷³ *Ivi*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Ivi*, p. 34.



Figs 191-192

A description of the object is offered by Dusinberre:

“This seal is of the button-seal type, of a class called ‘stud seals’ in Hogarth 1920:19 and familiar from the First Intermediate period in Egypt (2160-2055 BCE) [Brunton 1927: pl. 32] (throughout the catalogue, Egyptian chronology follows dates given in Shaw 2000). Its shape and imagery are of a type that was surprisingly widespread in Anatolia. Composition seals that are identical or almost identical have been found at Achemhöyük, Alishar, Hammâm et-Turkmân, Kanish, and Karahöyük, and impressions of this type have been found at Karahöyük and Achemhöyük. The seal from Alishar, unfortunately not from a good context, is identical to that from Gordion, as is that from the palace at Achemhöyük. The others resemble it very closely. For Achemhöyük, see Tezcan 1958:527, fig. 23. For Alishar, see von der Osten 1937:419, fig. 479. For Hammâm et-Turkmân, see van Loon 1983:6, fig. 9A. For Kanish, see Özgüç 1986:206, pls. 44, 45. For Karahöyük, see Alp 1968:217, figs. 162-163. For an impression at Karahöyük, see Alp 1968:217, fig. 164. For the impression at Achemhöyük, see Özgüç 1986:206-7, pl. 46. See also Boehmer 1989:40. The quality of the composition and the simplicity of the imagery demonstrate that this seal type was not made in Egypt; its frequent discovery in central Anatolian sites suggests it probably originated with a more local manufacturer. As M. J. Mellink has suggested (Mellink 1956:42), ‘The close similarity of these seals shows them to have been made in and exported from a common manufacturing center and presumably the same workshop. The production of composition is likely to have been concentrated in some of the major early Hittite towns with direct Oriental contacts.’ J. Mellaart also suggests the 2nd and 3rd-millennium Anatolian artifacts were made locally (Mellaart 1962:32). The majority of these objects made of composition dates to the Assyrian Trade Colony period (Özgüç 1986:207), the period dating ca. 1950-1750 defined by the presence of a trading colony, or karum, at the Karum Kanesh (Kültepe), levels II and Ib. Other trading colonies have been excavated at Achemhöyük, the Karum Hattush (Boğazköy), and Alishar. We may therefore with confidence assign this seal to the early 2nd millennium and local production. It is interesting that it was excavated from a grave dating rather later. It is doubly interesting that its ultimate use seems to have been strikingly different from its original. Although some of the seals of this type were certainly used as stamp seals in the late Early and early Middle Bronze Age, as the discovery of their impressions demonstrates, the one found in this Hittite-era child’s grave at Gordion was probably not used by the child as an administrative tool and may instead have been valued for amuletic force. This notion is given additional weight by the fact that the seal from Hammâm et-Turkmân was also found in a child’s tomb, where it was part of a necklace of composition beads. The imagery on the seal may have influenced parental decision to use it in this manner: the looped figure at the top of the seal probably derives from the Egyptian and Egyptianizing ‘Hathor’ symbol. Hathor was goddess of many things, including love, music, life, joy, beauty, destruction, and death. The seal thus may give a glimpse of grieving parents, burying a child with an appropriate symbol”¹⁵⁷⁵.

¹⁵⁷⁵ DUSINBERRE 2005, p. 35. The bibliographical references here quoted are not included in the present dissertation.

GÖZLÜ KULE/TARSUS¹⁵⁷⁶

1. **Cat. no.:** A26.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: *udjat*-eye.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: end of LBA/EIA?¹⁵⁷⁷

Comp. date: /

Context: Area A, house above Hittite Temple.

Description: inlaid frit *udjat*-eye.

Excavation number: 38.1151.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1956 (text), pp. 339-340 (No. 24); HELFT 2010, p. 283 (No. 140); LECLANT in *OrNS* 30/3.

Image source: GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), p. 455, fig. 24; HELFT 2010, p. 283 (No. 140).

Notes: /



Fig. 193

2. **Cat. no.:** A27.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: scarab.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: l. 2.1 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: end of LBA/EIA?

Comp. date: 19th dynasty (1292-1191 BC).

Context: Area B, depth 16 m.

Description: frit scarab.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Concerning the scarb/scaraboids from Tarsus, I just included those dated from the MBA to MIA; I did not considered other scarabs/scaraboids without a precise stratigraphic context or dating to a later period (after 700 BC), belonging to the Assyrian phase of the site and thus not relevant for our topic. Contacts between Egypt and Tarsus lasted for many centuries, at least until the 4th cent. BC, as it is attested by a scaraboid seal found on the site; see KST 30/2, p. 54 (and p. 60, fig. 12): “C7 17 açmasının güneyinde dolgu tabakasında ele geçirilen bir kemik *scarabaeus* tipi mührün alt yüzünde mısır hiyeroglifleri bulunmaktadır. Yazının verdiği bilgiler dışında bu cins mühürler tasvir edilen böceğin kanat, baş, göz ve bacaklarının nasıl stilize edildiğine göre sınıflandırılıyor. Konunun uzmanları tarafından ilk değerlendirmeleri yapılan bu mühür J. F. Quack ile S. Muenger’in ifadelerine göre içinde Tanrı Amon’un adı geçen ve Erken Demir Çağına tarihlenen güney Levant veya Mısır üretimi olmalı. R. Ritner ise yazıyı farklı yorumluyor: Ritner’e göre yazının okunuşu ‘Güneş Tanrısı Re adına adalet sağlayan (herkes) süsün’. Ayrıca bu okunuşa göre cümlenin *basiliphoric* yani bir firavunun tahtadını süsleyen cümle olmasını mümkün görüyor, zira bu cümlenin sadece 2 yıl tahtta kaldığı bilinen firavun Teos için kullanılan epithet olduğunu düşünüyor. Bu durumda mühür 30. Hanedanlığa yani İ.Ö. 4.yy.ın ortasına tarihlenebilir”.

¹⁵⁷⁷ For all the dating about IA at Tarsus, see GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 20: “EIA, ca. 1100-850 BC; MIA: ca. 850-700 BC; LIA: ca. 700-520 BC” (cf. *ivi*, p 14).

Excavation number: 37.159.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1956 (text), pp. 230, 234, 238, 340 (No. 25); HELFT 2010, p. 284 (No. 142); KOZAL 2006, p. 129 (No. 428).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), p. 455, fig. 25; **HELFT 2010, p. 284 (No. 142)**; KOZAL 2006, p. 129 (No. 428).

Notes: /



Fig. 194

3. Cat. no.: A28.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: inlay.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: h. 3.3 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: end of LBA/EIA?

Comp. date: 19th dynasty (1292-1191 BC).

Context: Area B, Unit Le, depth 16.15 m.

Description: blue fayence inlay in openwork design.

Excavation number: 38.897.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1956 (text), p. 340 (No. 26); HELFT 2010, p. 283 (No. 139); KOZAL 2006, p. 206 (No. 669).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), p. 453, fig. 26; **HELFT 2010, p. 283 (No. 139)**; KOZAL 2006, p. 206 (No. 669).

Notes: /



Fig. 195

4. Cat. no.: A29.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: h. 1.6 cm; w. 1.2 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: unstratified.

Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC)?.

Context: /

Description: cream white fayence scarab displaying a kneeling figure (woman?). Cf. ALBRIGHT 1936, pl. XVII, no. 6 (from Tell Beir Mirsim); ROWE 1936, pp. 74 (no. 282, from Tell ed-Duweir) and 139 (no. 579, from Tell el-‘Ajjūl), with pls VII and XV.

Excavation number: 37.532.

Current location/mus. number:

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1956 (text), p. 238 (No. 29).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), fig. 29.

Notes: /



Fig. 196

5. **Cat. no.:** A30.

Site: Gözli Kule/Tarsus.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: h. 0.8 cm; w. 1.3 cm; l. 1.8 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

Strat. date: end of LB/EIA?

Comp. date: 19th dynasty (1292-1191 BC).

Context: Area B, depth 16.40 m.

Description: fayence scarab.

Excavation number: 38.825.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 96; GOLDMAN 1956 (text), p. 23, 239 (No. 37); HELFT 2010, pp. 283-284 (No. 141); KOZAL 2006, p. 206 (No. 427).

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 9; GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), p. 394, fig. 37 (1); HELFT 2010, pp. 283-284, No. 141 (2); KOZAL 2006, p. 206 (No. 427).

Notes: *comparanda* from Tell ed-Daba E/I (17th-16th cent. BC).



Figs 197-198

6. **Cat. no.:** A31.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: seal impression.

Material: clay.

Dimensions: w. (of impression) 0.9 cm; l. (of impression) 1.3 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: MIA (ca. 850-700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Section B, Room Pc 14.80 floor.

Description: “Impression of seal with oval base, injured and incomplete [...]. Two rows of animals separated by horizontal line. Above: (tentative description) recumbent stag with bird on back; bird of prey; man? Kneeling on one knee. Horizontal scratch through upper half of design. Below: bull following cow”¹⁵⁷⁸. “The first design in this group (1) is an impression made by a seal with oval base in a thick setting the imprint of which bounds the seal design by a groove with semicircular section. The original could have been a scarab in a mount such as those from Tell El-Ajjul¹⁵⁷⁹ or one from Tee Beit Mirsim¹⁵⁸⁰, all dated in M.B. II. The seal design showing rows of animals in two registers, might be compared to those of minutely carved Egyptian scarabs of a type in which hieroglyphs are arranged in several registers. A fine example of such a scarab in gold setting was dated by Petrie in the time of Thothmes III and said to have been found at Kahun¹⁵⁸¹. Another similarly engraved piece, likewise reproduced by Petrie, is not a scarab but an oval stone engraved on both sides and set in a bronze ring¹⁵⁸². Such Egyptian examples are more likely prototypes for 1 than Palestinian scarabs with small hieroglyphs of which those known to the writer have the signs arranged vertically in columns parallel with the long axis of the scarab¹⁵⁸³, whereas the Egyptian examples here cited have the hieroglyphs arranged horizontally. Perhaps a local engraver tried to imitate such an admittedly exceptional Egyptian example in 1, replacing by small animals the hieroglyphs of the Egyptian original. The reason for assuming the hand of a Southeast Anatolian or North Syrian engraver is that the proportions of the stocky bull with relatively long body and short legs differ from Iron Age Egyptian or Assyrian designs but correspond to renderings in Neo-Hittite reliefs such as those from Carchemish and Zincirli^{1584,1585}.

Excavation number: 36.528.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 347-348, 356 (No. 1).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), p. 162, fig. 1.

Notes: /



Fig. 199

7. **Cat. no.:** A32.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

¹⁵⁷⁸ GOLDMAN 1963, text, p. 356, no. 1.

¹⁵⁷⁹ PETRIE 1934, vol. 4, pl. VII, nos 167, 184, 257, 264 (Hyksos period) ; cf. ROWE 1936, pl. IV, nos 134-135.

¹⁵⁸⁰ ALBRIGHT 1938, p. 125, fig. 3 (cf. p. 44); see also ROWE 1936, pl. V, no. 182.

¹⁵⁸¹ PETRIE 1925, pl. VI, no. 628A and p. 20, §34.

¹⁵⁸² PETRIE 1925, pl. VI, no. 629A and p. 20, §35.

¹⁵⁸³ ROWE 1936, pls V, nos 172, 207, VI, nos 217, 219.

¹⁵⁸⁴ BOSSERT 1942, p. 214, fig. 853 and p. 241 figs 942-945; cf. WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pl. B, no. 49,b.

¹⁵⁸⁵ GOLDMAN 1963, text, pp. 347-348.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: serpentine.

Dimensions: h. 0.5 cm; w. 1.1 cm; l. 1.5 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: MIA (ca. 850-700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Section B, West end of North Street, 14.30 m.

Description: “Scaraboid. Dark red serpentine [...]. Walking quadruped; triangular object under body; traces of enclosing line”¹⁵⁸⁶. “The design of 2, however, though badly worn and not permitting of a definite classification, suggests nevertheless in the stiff, match-like lines for the body and foreleg of the walking animal – relations to designs of Egyptianizing seals and a plaque from Lachish¹⁵⁸⁷ which belong in turn to well-defined Palestinian groups¹⁵⁸⁸. Miss Tufnell dated these seals just quoted in Iron I-II and the plaque in the XXI Egyptian dynasty (1085-950 B.C.). Since 2 is so worn, it was probably made quite early in the Middle Iron period or even earlier and any influence on the seal design must have come from such samples as the plaque”¹⁵⁸⁹.

Excavation number: 38.542.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 348, 356 (No. 2).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), p. 162, fig. 2.

Notes: /



Fig. 200

5. **Cat. no.:** A33.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: h. 0.5 cm; w. 1.0 cm; l. 1.4 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: MIA (ca. 850-700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Section B, ash pit on ca. 14.10 m floor in area south of Xa.

Description: light blue-green frit scaraboid. GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 356 (no. 3): “Debased rendering of Egyptian god Bes. Drilling over each shoulder”; GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 348-349: “The faïence scaraboid (3) also has an Egyptianizing design in the figure of the god Bes, who may be recognized by his headdress indicated by three lines spreading from the top of his head. The rendering of the figure in 3 with arms indicated by semicircles and two disks above the shoulders, finds its closest parallel in a stone scarab (or scaraboid?) from Naukratis¹⁵⁹⁰, where Bes is shown between two monkeys. The rest of the figure in 3, however, with protrusions at the legs, differs from the Naukratite examples as well as from all other

¹⁵⁸⁶ GOLDMAN 1963, text, p. 356, No. 2.

¹⁵⁸⁷ TUFNELL 1953, pl. 44, nos 93-95 and pl. 45, no. 130.

¹⁵⁸⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 371-372.

¹⁵⁸⁹ GOLDMAN 1963, text, p. 348.

¹⁵⁹⁰ PETRIE 1886, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 149.

renderings of Bes¹⁵⁹¹. Perhaps these protrusions were meant to render the god's fat, crooked legs. Another interpretation may be that they are abbreviated indications of snakes such as those held by the god on a relief from Karatepe¹⁵⁹², and commonly found on later Phoenician scarabs¹⁵⁹³. The unusual feature of the god's legs in 3 suggests that it was carved beyond the orbit of traditional abbreviations of Bes, conceivably by a local seal cutter".

Excavation number: 36.526.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 348-349, 356 (No. 3).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), pl. 162, fig. 3.

Notes: /



Fig. 201

6. Cat. no.: A34.

Site: Gözülü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: scaraboid.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: h. 0.6 cm; w. 1.5 cm; l. 1.4 cm.

Inscription: Hieroglyphic inscription: *nfr, m³.t, ^cnh*.

Strat. date: MIA (ca. 850-700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Section B, floor ca. 14.00 m.

Description: light blue-green frit scaraboid. "A more common type of seal is 4, a scaraboid which has on the base Egyptian hieroglyphs that spell out the wish 'beauty, truth, life' (*nfr, m'at' ankh*). Material, size, and hieroglyphs correspond to those of a group of scarabs found in excavations of Lindos in Rhodes, dated eighth to earlier sixth century B.C.¹⁵⁹⁴. The same type of scarab but with different hieroglyphs was found in Cyprus¹⁵⁹⁵, Naukratis¹⁵⁹⁶, and a considerable number were discovered at Greek sites"¹⁵⁹⁷.

Excavation number: 36.429.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 349, 356 (No. 4).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), pl. 162, fig. 4.

Notes: /

¹⁵⁹¹ GJERSTAD ET AL. 1934-1938, vol. 2, Atlas, pl. CCXLVI, fig. 26 (Ajia Irini 2303); MNN 133 from Al Mina (Ashmolean Collection); VON DER OSTEN 1957, no. 94.

¹⁵⁹² BOSSERT ET AL. 1950, pl. XVIII, 89 (cf. *infra*, under "Karatepe").

¹⁵⁹³ FURTWÄNGLER 1900, pl. VII, no. 21; WALTERS 1926, pl. VII, no. 370.

¹⁵⁹⁴ BLINKENBERG 1931, col. 372 and pl. 62, nos 1545 to 1548.

¹⁵⁹⁵ GJERSTAD ET AL., 1934-1938, vol. 2, Atlas, pls CCXLIV-CCL *passim*.

¹⁵⁹⁶ PETRIE 1886, pls XXVII, XXXVIII *passim*; GARDNER 1888, pl. XVIII.

¹⁵⁹⁷ GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 349.



Fig. 202

7. **Cat. no.:** A35.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: pendant.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: h. 1.2 cm; w. 0.8 cm; l. 2.2 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: EIA? (ca. 1100-850 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: Fill in pit, ca. 16.50 m.

Description: “Light greenish blue faïence; recumbent lion on flat base. Suspension loop broken”¹⁵⁹⁸ (for further notes, see *infra*, description under A37).

Excavation number: 38.768.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 393-394, 397 (No. 35).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), pl. 181, fig. 35.

Notes: /



Fig. 203

8. **Cat. no.:** A36.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: pendant.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: h. 1.1 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: MIA (ca. 850-700 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: North Street, ca. 14.30 m.

¹⁵⁹⁸ *Ivi*, p. 397, no. 35.

Description: “Faïence; head of negroid type; hair inlaid in black; transverse perforation. Base of neck broken”¹⁵⁹⁹ (for further notes, see *infra*, description under A37).

Excavation number: 38.535.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 393-394, 397 (No. 36).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), pl. 181, fig. 36.

Notes: /



Fig. 204

9. **Cat. no.:** A37.

Site: Gözlü Kule/Tarsus.

Object: *udjat*-eye.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: max. measure: 2.9 cm; th. 0.7 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: EIA (ca. 1100-850 BC).

Comp. date: /

Context: intrusion, ca. 15 m.

Description: “Light blue to green faïence; details incised and painted black. Edges broken [...]. “The remaining objects – pendants in the form of a negroid head (36), a recumbent lion (35), and an Uzat eye (37) – were probably imported from Egypt by way of Cyprus or Palestine. The negroid head with its inlaid black hair is one of a type which was widely exported from Egypt”¹⁶⁰⁰.

Excavation number: 38.516.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 393-394, 397 (No. 37).

Image source: GOLDMAN 1963 (plates), pl. 181, fig. 37.

Notes: /



Fig. 205

¹⁵⁹⁹ *Ivi* no. 36.

¹⁶⁰⁰ GOLDMAN 1963 (text), pp. 393-394 and *ivi*, no. 37.

IMAMOĞLU

1. **Cat. no.:** A38.

Site: Imamoğlu.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription (not so clear readable from the only published sketch): the image of a sphinx in the middle; to the left, a sign that resembles M13: “Papyrus. Phonogram *w3d/w3d*, also *wḏ/wḏ* in later texts. Ideogram for *w3ḏ* ‘papyrus column’¹⁶⁰¹); to the right, the name of the god Amun-Re is inscribed (*Jmn-R^c*).

Strat. date: LBA (or maybe IA).

Comp. date: /

Context: Area 6H, inside a pit grave where a skeleton has been found. The burial objects were put near to the head and the chest of the deceased.

Description: fayence scarab with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

Excavation number: I.84/64/6.13 (6).

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: KST 7, p. 182; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 96.

Image source: KST 7, p. 192, fig. 4.

Notes: discovered during 1984 excavation season.

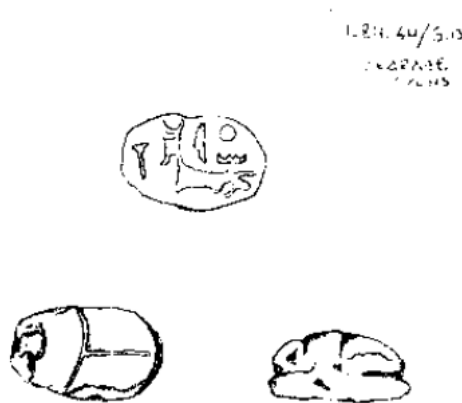


Fig. 206

2. **Cat. no.:** A39.

Site: Imamoğlu.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription(?); completely unreadable.

Strat. date: LBA (or maybe IA).

Comp. date: /

Context: Area 6H, inside a pit grave where a skeleton has been found. The burial objects were put near to the head and the chest of the deceased.

Description: fayence scarab with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

Excavation number: I.84/64/6.13 (5).

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: KST 7, p. 182; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 96.

¹⁶⁰¹ ALLEN 2014³, p. 484.

Image source: KST 7, p. 192, fig. 4.

Notes: discovered during 1984 excavation season.

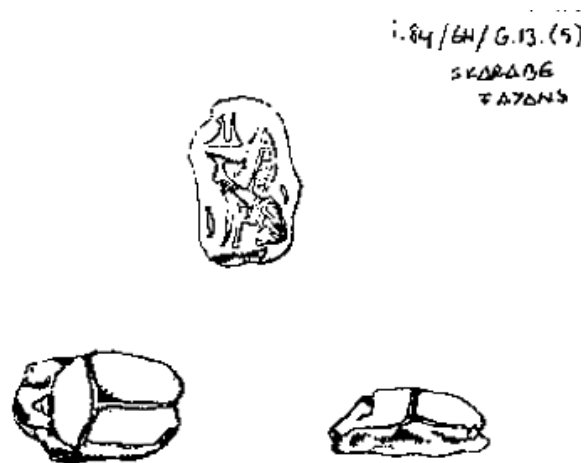


Fig. 207

İZMİR

1. **Cat. no.:** A40.

Site: İzmir

Object: “Opferständer”.

Material: /

Dimensions: /

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription; dedicatory inscription of pharaoh Thutmose III: *s3 R^c Dḥwtj-ms-nfr-ḥpr jr n=f mn.w=f n.t=f Jmn-R^c ḥ.t=f jr.t=f ḥw.t-^c3.t m m3w Mn-ḥpr-R^c 3ḥ mn.w jr=f d.w^cnḥ*, “the son of Re Thutmose-beautiful-manifestation, building his monuments, which (are done) for him, Amun-Re, to build a great sanctuary, renewing Menkheperre, glorious (of) the monuments he builds, given life”.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 18th dyn., reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC).

Context: /

Description: “Opferständer”, with a clear fracture on the top and a central band containing an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 96.

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 7.

Notes: maybe originally coming from Karnak.



Fig. 208

KAMANKALE HÖYÜK

1. **Cat. no.:** A41.

Site: Kamankale Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: steatite.

Dimensions: h. 0.7 cm; l. 1.6 cm; w. 1.0 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: /

Description: greyish yellow steatite scarab with Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols. Further information: “The right half is broken away. From the shape of the beck, it seems to belong to Petrie’s group T: chatarsius of group N: scarabeus with smooth clypeus and merging head. The square head is not very clear but in the middle of clypeus and edge of the head there is a small hole. One of the eyes is preserved; although it is not certain, the inlay may be blue glass, Egyptian blue, or faience. The other eye is missing, part of the area broken away. On the side of the base, two parallel lines are grooved. On the oval base, two uraei with a falcon between them are engraved inside the oval”¹⁶⁰².

Excavation number: 130040 (YH13-51) = E9/e11.

Current location/mus. number: Kamankale Höyük Museum.

Bibliography: AAS 19, p. 51.

Image source: AAS 19, p. 51, fig. 73.

Notes: /

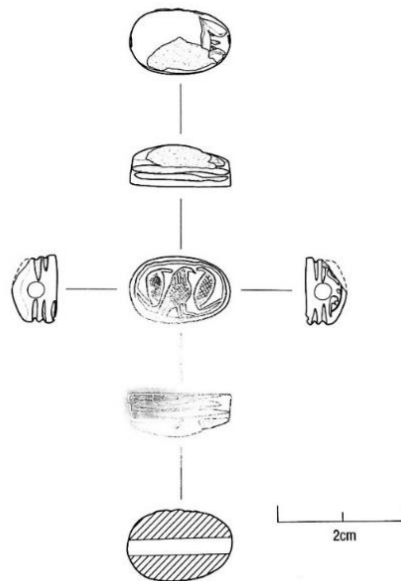


Fig. 209

2. **Cat. no.:** A42.

Site: Kamankale Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions:

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: LBA/Phrygian (9th cent. BC)?

¹⁶⁰² AAS 19, p. 51.

Comp. date: 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC).

Context: Level 2.

Description: fayence scarab with geometric motifs on the base.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 96; HELFT 2010, p. 280 (No. 130); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 434); MORI – OMURA 1993, p. 55 (T. 2.8).

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 11; HELFT 2010, p. 280 (No. 130); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 434); MORI – OMURA 1993, T. 2.8.

Notes: /



Fig. 210

3. **Cat. no.:** A43.

Site: Kamankale Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: LBA/Phrygian (9th cent. BC)?

Comp. date: 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC).

Context: Level 2.

Description: fayence scarab with an unrecognizable figure on the base.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 96; HELFT 2010, p. 280-281 (No. 131); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 435); MORI – OMURA 1993, p. 55 (T. 2.9).

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 11; HELFT 2010, p. 280 (No. 131); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 435); MORI – OMURA 1993, T. 2.9.

Notes: /



Fig. 211

4. **Cat. no.:** A44.

Site: Kamankale Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription?

Strat. date: Phrygian (9th cent. BC)?

Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC).

Context: Level 2.

Description: fayence scarab with the Horus bird and the sun disk of Ra (just symbols or also proper hieroglyphs?). Further information is provided by Kozal: “Beschreibung: Fayence. Vollständig. Nach Alfred Grimms Beschreibung sind auf dem Siegel Kreise vorhanden, die einen Vogel und die Sonne symbolisieren. Der Vogel repräsentiert Horus und die Sonne den Gott Ra. (Die Abbildung ist allerdings so schlecht, dass man nichts erkennen kann)”¹⁶⁰³.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 132); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 436); KST 10/1, p. 356.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 132); KOZAL 2006, p. 131 (No. 436); KST 10/1, p. 367, fig. 10/1.

Notes: /



Fig. 212

5. **Cat. no.:** A45.

Site: Kamankale Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: sign of a bird with a man in the mouth (= Amun?).

Strat. date: Phrygian (9th cent. BC)?

Comp. date: 18th dynasty (1539-1292 BC).

Context: Level 2.

Description: fayence scarab with sign of a bird with a man in the mouth (= Amun?). Further information is provided by Kozal: “Beschreibung: Fayence. Vollständig. Ägyptische Hieroglyphen. Ein Vogel, dessen Hals von einem Menschen gehalten wird. Über dem Vogel befindet sich ein Kreis. Nach Alfred Grimm

¹⁶⁰³ KOZAL 2006, p. 131.

lässt dieses sich als der Gott Amun lesen. (Die Abbildung ist so schlecht, dass man nichts erkennen kann)¹⁶⁰⁴.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 133); KOZAL 2006, pp. 131-132 (No. 437); KST 10/1, p. 356.

Image source: HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 133); KOZAL 2006, p. 121 (No. 437); KST 10/1, p. 367, fig. 10/2.

Notes: /

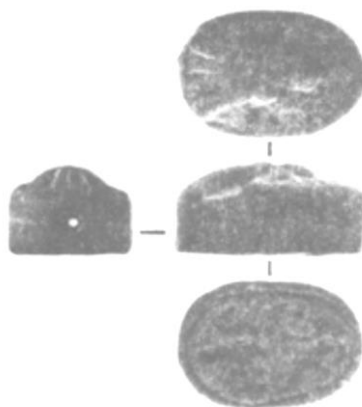


Fig. 213

¹⁶⁰⁴ KOZAL 2006, pp. 131-132.

KARAHÖYÜK (KONYA)

1. **Cat. no.:** A46.

Site: Karahöyük (Konya).

Object: seal.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: two hieroglyphs.

Strat. date: 18th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: Level 2.

Description: oval fayence seal; the only published information is offered by Leclant: “Karahüyük (près de Konya): Un sceau en faïence de forme ovale, où sont gravés deux hiéroglyphes notant sans doute le nom du propriétaire, a été découvert en 1960 dans un niveau daté du XVIII^e siècle avant J.-C.”. Further remarks can be found in FALKNER ET AL. 1963, pp. 252-253: “Eine Tiefgrabung im Gebiet zwischen dem Tell und der Stadtmauer ergab Pithos-Gräber. Einer der Pithoi war mit einem Relief verziert, das eine Hausfassade mit Säulen und einem Fenster zeigt. Bemerkenswert ist ein ovales Stempelsiegel aus Fayence, da es zu drei ähnlichen, kürzlich (im Alischar und Gordion) gefundenen Siegeln ein genaues Gegenstück bildet. Es wird angenommen, daß diese vier Siegel aus derselben Werkstatt stammen. Auf dem Stempelsiegel, das der Schicht I angehört, befinden sich zwei Hieroglyphenzeichen, die vermutlich den Namen des Besitzers angeben” (Leclant in *OrNS* 34, p. 224).

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: FALKNER ET AL. 1963, pp. 252-253; LECLANT in *OrNS* 34, p. 224.

Image source: no pictures or sketches are available.

Notes: found in 1960.

KARATEPE (ASLANTAŞ)

1. **Cat. no.:** A47.

Site: Karatepe (Aslantaş).

Object: relief.

Material: stone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 8th cent. BC.

Context: gate orthostats.

Description: gate orthostats with the depiction of Bes.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ALKİM 1948-1949, p. 24; ÇAMBEL 1948, p. 156; MATTHIAE 1963, pp. 36-37; MELLINK 1950, p. 144; O'CALLAGHAN 1950, p. 355; VON BISSING 1951-1952, pp. 88-94; <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/karatepe>.

Image source: BOSSERT ET AL. 1950, pl. XVI, fig. 78; MATTHIAE 1963, pl. XXIII; <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/karatepe>.

Notes: the relief is numbered as NE-I-NO-1.



Fig. 214

2. **Cat. no.:** A48.

Site: Karatepe/Aslantaş.

Object: relief.

Material: stone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 8th cent. BC.

Context: gate orthostats.

Description: gate orthostats with the depiction of Bes. Further information is provided by Matthiae:

“Ad un assai evidente archetipo egiziano si connettono, invece, le lastre NE-IIb-NE-2 e NE-I-NO-1 con le raffigurazioni della tipologia del Bes egiziano¹⁶⁰⁵. Tuttavia, anche in questo caso non si può parlare di un influsso diretto della tradizione iconografica egiziana, ma deve trattarsi piuttosto di un’eredità siriana del II millennio a.C., come documenta l’attestazione della tipologia nella glittica cilindrica del Tardo Bronzo¹⁶⁰⁶ e la presenza della stessa divinità con diversi caratteri iconografici negli avori degli inizi dell’età del Ferro^{1607,1608}.”

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ALKİM 1948-1949, p. 24; ÇAMBEL 1948, p. 156; MATTHIAE 1963, pp. 36-37; MELLINK 1950, p. 144; O’CALLAGHAN 1950, p. 355; VON BISSING 1951-1952, pp. 88-94; <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/karatepe>.

Image source: BOSSERT ET AL. 1950, pl. XVIII, fig. 89; MATTHIAE 1963, pl. XXV; <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/karatepe>.

Notes: the relief is numbered as NE-IIb-NE-2.



Fig. 215

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cf. MATTHIAE 1963, pp. 36-37, note 27: “Il carattere egittizzante dei rilievi è stato immediatamente riconosciuto da ÇAMBEL 1948, p. 156; ALKİM 1948-1949, p. 24; O’CALLAGHAN 1950, p. 355; MELLINK 1950, p. 144. Uno studio delle tipologie di Bes da connettere con la lastra di Karatepe è quello compiuto da VON BISSING 1951-1952, pp. 88-94”.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Cf. MATTHIAE 1963, p. 37, note 28: “OIP 22, Nr. 329, p. 51, pl. XXIII”.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *Ivi*, note 29: “L’osservazione è di O’CALLAGHAN 1950, pp. 357-358”.

¹⁶⁰⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 36-37.

KARKEMISH¹⁶⁰⁹

a. Artefacts of sure Egyptian origin:

1. Cat. no.: A49.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: head-mace.

Material: stone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses (II/III?): *nb ḥꜥ.w Jmn-mꜣt-Rꜥ*, “the lord of the appearance, Amun-maat-re”.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: unknown find spot.

Description: a stone head-mace with the cartouche with the name of Ramses (maybe II/III?).

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 11; WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 159.

Image source: WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pl. LXXI, fig. c.

Notes: /



Fig. 216

2. Cat. no.: A50.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: bowl.

Material: alabaster.

Dimensions:

Inscription: offering inscription: ... *rnp.t nfr(.t) n nb=s*, “... a good year of/for her lord”.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: House D¹⁶¹⁰ (situated in the Outer Town of the city).

Description: fragment of an alabaster “New Year” offering bowl.

¹⁶⁰⁹ For a brief overview about the materials from Karkemish, see DE PIETRI 2016 and ZECCHI 2014a. As stated in the introduction, I will not present here the many artefacts dating after the Assyrian conquest of Karkemish (i.e. ca. 717 BC): for these artefacts see the bibliography quoted in this note. Nevertheless, I will include some artefacts whose dating (nor stratigraphic or comparative) is ensured, being it possible they belonged to a previous period.

¹⁶¹⁰ WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 125ff.; I do not make mention of the alabaster vessel in WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 45 because I am not sure it has Egyptian origins (the only clue could be the material, the alabaster, so common in the Nile Valley). Some further Egyptian influences could be found also in the figurines in WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pp. 252-257, pl. LXIV c: also in this case the material, the lapis lazuli, is typically Egyptian.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 11; WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 125ff.

Image source: CAVRIANI 2016, fig. 4e; **WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 44.**

Notes: /

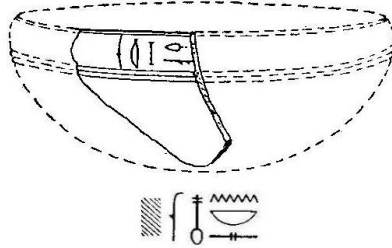


Fig. 217

3. **Cat. no.:** A51.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: flask.

Material: /

Dimensions:

Inscription: offering inscription quoting a fragmentary name like *Jmn-j/wp(w)-...*¹⁶¹¹.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: House D¹⁶¹² (situated in the Outer Town of the city).

Description: fragment of a “New Year” offering flask: just the rim and the neck are preserved.

Excavation number:

Current location/mus. number:

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 11; WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 125ff.

Image source: CAVRIANI 2016, fig. 4f; **WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 46.**

Notes: /



Fig. 218

b. **Artefacts with Egyptian influence (quite surely of local production):**

4. **Cat. no.:** A52.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: mask.

Material: steatite.

Dimensions: /

¹⁶¹¹ WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 46.

¹⁶¹² *Ivi*, pp. 125ff.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: House D¹⁶¹³ (situated in the Outer Town of the city).

Description: a human mask of white steatite, with strong Egyptian details.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXII, fig. a.

Notes: /



Fig. 219

5. **Cat. no.:** A53.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: amulet.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: found in the Water Postern.

Description: a green glazed fayence amulet of a Bes: just the head, wearing a plumed crown, is preserved.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 2.

Notes: /



Fig. 220

¹⁶¹³ WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 125ff.

6. **Cat. no.:** A54.
Site: Karkemish.
Object: amulet.
Material: fayence.
Dimensions: /
Inscription: no inscription.
Strat. date: /
Comp. date: /
Context: found in the Water Postern.
Description: a green glazed fayence amulet of an *udjat*-eye.
Excavation number: /
Current location/mus. number: /
Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.
Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 4.
Notes: /

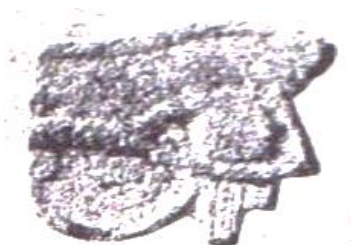


Fig. 221

7. **Cat. no.:** A55.
Site: Karkemish.
Object: amulet.
Material: fayence.
Dimensions: /
Inscription: no inscription.
Strat. date: /
Comp. date: /
Context: found in the Water Postern.
Description: a green glazed fayence amulet of the goddess Sekhmet: just the head, wearing the double crown and a *nemes*, is preserved.
Excavation number: /
Current location/mus. number: /
Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.
Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 7.
Notes: /



Fig. 222

8. **Cat. no.:** A56.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: amulet.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: found in the Water Postern.

Description: a green glazed fayence amulet of a Bes(?): just the head, wearing a plumed crown, is preserved (however, the facial features are very corroded).

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. c, no. 11.

Notes: /



Fig. 223

9. **Cat. no.:** A57.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: amulet.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: surface find.

Description: a green glazed fayence amulet of a Bes: complete but very corroded.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 6.

Notes: /



Fig. 224

10. **Cat. no.:** A58.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: amulet.

Material: frit.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: found near to the Great Staircase of the Temple of the Storm-god.

Description: a blue-glazed frit amulet of a Bes or Ptah-Patecus (with a very local influence): almost complet, apart from the left leg.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 175 (*k*).

Image source: WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pl. LXXI e.

Notes: /



Fig. 225

11. **Cat. no.:** A59.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: scarab.

Material: steatite.

Dimensions: l. 4 cm; w. 2 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic (incised) inscription quoting Neferkara, the *praenomen* of Shabaqo, the second king of the 25th dynasty (722-655 BC; reign: 722-707 BC): *Nfr-k3-R^c*. On the top of the main face, above an image of a couched lion wearing an *atef* crown, there is the name of the god Amon.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: ca. 722-707 BC.

Context: unknown find spot.

Description: green glazed (traces of) steatite scarab, elytra marked, pierced longitudinally, base inscribed with the *praenomen* of Shabaqo.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: London, British Museum, BM EA40663 (registration no. 1925,0715.2).

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12.

Image source: BM website (see *infra*).

Notes: more information at the BM website:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=164547&partId=1&searchText=40663&page=1.



Figs 226-227

12. **Cat. no.:** A60.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: scarab.

Material: steatite(?).

Dimensions: l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.23 cm; d. 8.2 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: Ramesside(?) / Late Period(?) (722-332 BC), or maybe 22nd dyn.(?)/21st dyn.(?) (1250-1050 BC).

Context: unknown find spot.

Description: beige steatite or glazed composition scarab: engraved in the centre of the base, a falcon, flanked by two winged uraei; below, a bird “en face” with outspread wings; above, a similar bird, inverted. Wings and bodies of uraei hatched. Roughly made. Hole pierced through longitudinally. Back and side badly chipped.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: London, British Museum, BM 102688 (registration no. 1908,0613.74).

Bibliography: DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; GIVEON 1985, p. 160, no. 5.

Image source: BM website (see *infra*).

Notes: more information at the BM website:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1636339&partId=1&searchText=102688&page=1.



Figs 228-229

13. **Cat. no.:** A61.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: scarab.

Material: steatite.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: area of the Royal Buttress, close to the King's Gate.

Description: white steatite scarab.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4749.

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 197.

Image source: WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 197, fig. 81.

Notes: /



Fig. 230

14. **Cat. no.:** A62.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: stamp-seal(?); scaraboid(?).

Material: stone.

Dimensions: l. 1.43 cm; w. 1.11 cm; d. 0.79 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: from against the South wall of House H.

Description: oval, greyish pink stone stamp-seal or scaraboid with straight sides and convex back; hole pierced through longitudinally; incised design including a drill-hole on front surface of eye and brows (?); section of front missing; cracked at back.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: London, British Museum, BM 116162 (registration no. 1922,0511.295).

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 132.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, p. 132, pl. XXVI, b.9, 9*.

Notes: more information at the BM website:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1567547&partId=1&searchText=116162&page=1.

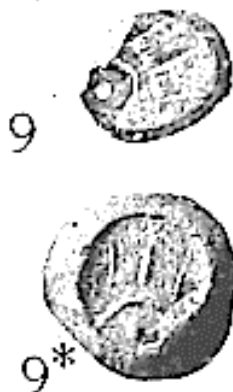


Fig. 231

15. Cat. no.: A63.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: stamp-seal(?); scaraboid(?).

Material: stone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: Late Hittite?

Context: from a storage-jar in the Northern sector of House G.

Description: ovoid black pebble scaraboid seal engraved with the figure of a winged sphinx.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; WOOLLEY 1921, p. 132.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, p. 132, pl. XXVI, b.11, 11*.

Notes: /



Fig. 232

16. Cat. no.: A64.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: 5 false-door fragments.

Material: /

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: /

Context: coming from houses-sites D, E, G and H.

Description: five false-door fragments in an Egyptian shape.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 126, 151-152.

Image source: WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 197, 151-152, fig. 59.

Notes: /

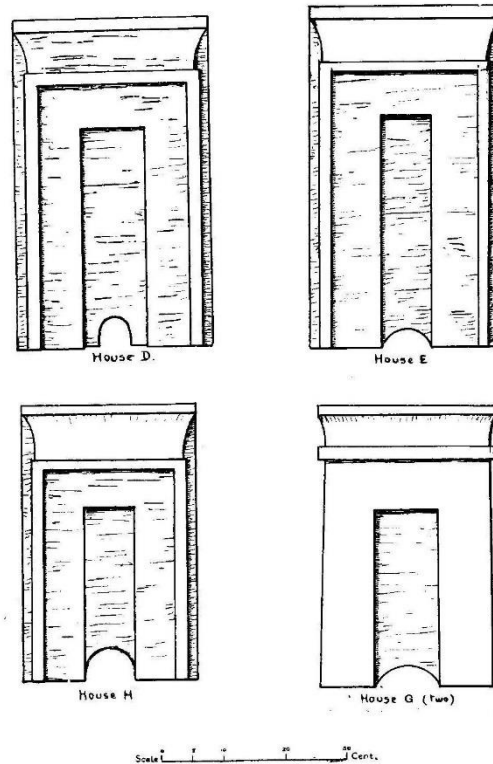


Fig. 233

17. **Cat. no.:** A65.

Site: Karkemish.

Object: scarab.

Material: paste.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: /

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 19th dyn.(?), 1292-1191 BC.

Context: staircase of the Storm-god temple.

Description: “a blue paste scarab, Egyptian, the design obliterated, fairly early type, perhaps 19th Dynasty”¹⁶¹⁴.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: CAVRIANI 2016; DE PIETRI 2016, p. 12; WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 175 (*l*).

Image source: unfortunately, no pictures are available.

Notes: no more information, apart from the quotation in WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952 (see *supra*).

¹⁶¹⁴ WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 175 (*l*).

KINET HÖYÜK

1. **Cat. no.:** A66.

Site: Kinet Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: glass.

Dimensions: l. 1.5 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 8th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: from '01 E/H 254 L. 520 layer (Period 8).

Description: green glass scarab seal; on the seal face two figures in a horse-drawn chariot are depicted.

Excavation number: KNH-1100.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 97; KST 24/1, p. 285.

Image source: KST 24/1, p. 296, fig. 10.

Notes: found during 2001 excavation season.

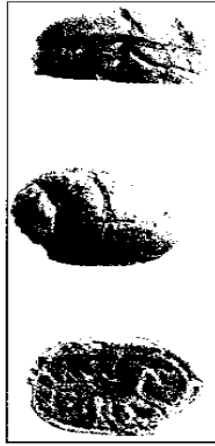


Fig. 234

KIRIKKALE (YAHŞIHAN HÖYÜK)

1. **Cat. no.:** A67.

Site: Kırıkkale (Yahşihan Höyük).

Object: statuette.

Material: black granite.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: one vertical line on the back with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription, quoting the name of the owner, Keri: “*ḥtp dy (ny)-šwt Wšyr nb ḥnḥ Wp-w3wt n k3 n(y) Kry yr(yw)-n ... y ...* An offering which the king gives [to] Osiris the lord of life [and to] Upwawet for the spirit of *Kry*, begotten of [name of parent lost except for the final letter *y*] ...”¹⁶¹⁵.

Strat. date: Hellenistic-Roman period.

Comp. date: MK, 12th dynasty (1939⁺¹⁶-1760 BC).

Context: reused in Late Hellenistic-Roman tomb.

Description: black granite statuette of a standing man, named Keri, with a vertical, Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription on the back.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, No. 3477.

Bibliography: BITTEL 1976, p. 69; BITTEL 1983, pp. 162-163; BREYER 2010a, p. 95; HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 134); KOZAL 2006, p. 200 (No. 649); VON DER OSTEN 1927, p. 100, 124; OIP 5, pp. 64-67; VON DER OSTEN – ALLEN 1927, pp. 293-296; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 90; PÁLFI 1945; ROEDER 1927, pp. 545-548 (cf. XXXI, p. 426); SCHEDE 1930.

Image source: BITTEL 1976, p. 69; BREYER 2010a, p. 94, fig. 5; HELFT 2010, p. 281 (No. 134); KOZAL 2006, p. 200 (No. 649); VON DER OSTEN 1927, p. 100, fig. 19; **OIP 5, p. 66, fig. 101 and pl. VI a-b**; VON DER OSTEN – ALLEN 1927, pp. 293-296, fig. 11-14; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 90; PÁLFI 1945; ROEDER 1927, pp. 545-548 (cf. XXXI, p. 426); SCHEDE 1930.

Notes: /



Figs 235-236

¹⁶¹⁵ Transliteration and translation by Allen, in OIP 5, p. 66.

MERSIN-SOLI

1. **Cat. no.:** A68.

Site: Mersin-Soli.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 13th cent. BC.

Comp. date: 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC).

Context: cremation grave, square G8 (HELFT 2010, p. (No. 137)).

Description: fayence scarab.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, p. (No. 137); ÖZKAN 2007, pp. 94-95; YAĞCI 2008.

Image source: YAGCI 2008, p. 1226, fig. 9.1.

Notes: found with WS II sherd, animal bones, bronze pin and Hittite bulla (HELFT 2010, p. (No. 137)).



Fig. 237

2. **Cat. no.:** A69.

Site: Mersin-Soli.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 13th cent. BC?

Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC).

Context: Square F9, d. 15.98 m (HELFT 2010, pp. 282-283 (No. 137)).

Description: fayence scarab.

Excavation number: No. 69.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: HELFT 2010, pp. 282-283 (No. 138); KOZAL 2006, pp. 129-130 (No. 429); ÖZKAN 2007, pp. 94-95; YAĞCI 2003a, p. 94; YAĞCI 2003b, pp. 7-8.

Image source: HELFT 2010, pp. 282-283 (No. 138); KOZAL 2006, pp. 129-130 (No. 429); YAĞCI 2003a, p. 101, fig. 5; YAĞCI 2003b, pp. 7-8, fig. 4.

Notes: "found with gold earring and WS II sherd. Dated 18th dynasty, Thutmose III. Objects were used as funerary offerings and then spread from destruction. Fn. 94- originally dated to 14th cent. but urn nearby can be dated to end of 13th cent"¹⁶¹⁶.

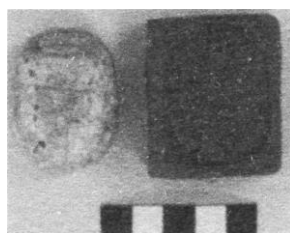


Fig. 238

¹⁶¹⁶ HELFT 2010, pp. 282-283 (No. 138).

ORTAKÖY/ŞAPINUWA

1. Cat. no.: A70.

Site: Ortaköy/Şapinuwa.

Object: jewel (earring).

Material: gold and precious stones.

Dimensions: h. 2.70 cm; w. 2.0 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 15th-14th cent. BC.

Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC).

Context: /

Description: gold earring in a shape of lotus bloom.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Çorum Museum, No. 28-1874-90.

Bibliography: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 185 (No. 111); DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN – ALPARSLAN (eds.) 2013, p. 180; HELFT 2010, p. 282 (No. 136); KOZAL 2006, pp. 290-291 (No. 1051); KST 14/2, p. 499; ÖZKAN 2007, pp. 90-91; SÜEL – SÜEL 1997.

Image source: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 185 (No. 111); DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN – ALPARSLAN (eds.) 2013, p. 180, fig. 2; HELFT 2010, p. 282 (No. 136); KOZAL 2006, pp. 290-291 (No. 1051); ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3; SÜEL – SÜEL 1997, p. 74, fig. 23.

Notes: /



Fig. 239

2. Cat. no.: A71.

Site: Ortaköy/Şapinuwa.

Object: plaque.

Material: bronze.

Dimensions: h. 4.5 cm; w. 6.4 cm.

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: 15th-14th cent. BC.

Comp. date: /

Context: Building B, middle magazine.

Description: bronze plaque of a head in profile.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Çorum Museum, No. 2-73-98.

Bibliography: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 185 (No. 110); HELFT 2010, p. 282 (No. 135); KOZAL 2006, pp. 206 (No. 670); KST 14/2, p. 499; KST 21/1, pp. 321-326; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 90.

Image source: ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 185 (No. 110); HELFT 2010, p. 282 (No. 135); KOZAL 2006, p. 206 (No. 670); KST 21/1, p. 325, fig. 6.

Notes: “man in profile, Süel argues for non Egyptian manufacture primarily based on shape of nostrils (in Beyond Babylon, no. 110)”¹⁶¹⁷. “Diğer eser tunçtan bir adam başı kabartmasıdır. Gözü boş olan eserin bir kaplamaya ait olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Hafır eseri saç stilinden dolayı kraliçe Haçepsut zamanına tarihlemek istemektedir”¹⁶¹⁸.



Fig. 240

3. Cat. no.: A72.

Site: Ortaköy/Şapinuwa.

Object: mace head.

Material: granite(?).

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC)?

Context: /

Description: stone (granite?) mace head.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Çorum Museum.

Bibliography: KST 14/2, p. 499; KST 21/1, pp. 321-326; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 90; SÜEL 1996, p. 12.

Image source: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3.

Notes: /



Fig. 241

¹⁶¹⁷ HELFT 2010, p. (No.).

¹⁶¹⁸ ÖZKAN 2007, p. 90.

4. **Cat. no.:** A73.
Site: Ortaköy/Şapinuwa.
Object: jewel.
Material: gold.
Dimensions: /
Inscription: no inscription.
Strat. date: /
Comp. date: 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC)?
Context: /
Description: gold jewel in a bloom shape.
Excavation number: /
Current location/mus. number: Çorum Museum.
Bibliography: ÖZKAN 2007, pp. 90-91.
Image source: ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3.
Notes: /



Fig. 242

OYLUM HÖYÜK

1. Cat. no.: A74.

Site: Oylum Höyük.

Object: scaraboid (kauroid).

Material: bone or ivory.

Dimensions: l. 1.5 cm; w. 1.0 cm; h. 0.5 cm.

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs: *Jmn-R^c* with two *nb* signs on the sides.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: 18th-19th dyn. (1539-1191 BC), according to KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 118-119; D. Raue (in KST 18/1, p. 191) dated it to the first half of the 1st mill. BC.

Context: X11a, Level 6.

Description: bone or ivory scarab/kauroid, with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription.

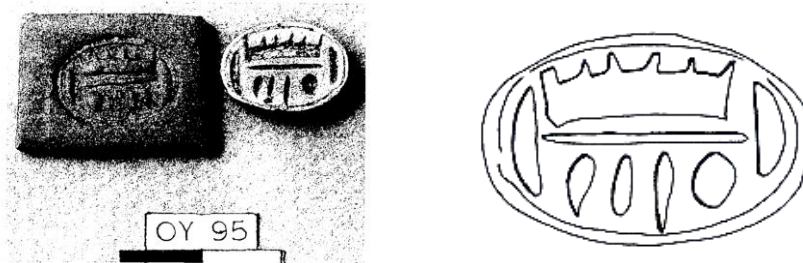
Excavation number: OY 95-11.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: KST 18/1, p. 191; KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 118-119.

Image source: KST 18/1, p. 196, fig. 2; KUCHAREK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48a.

Notes: found during 1995 excavation season.



Figs 243-244

2. Cat. no.: A75.

Site: Oylum Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.2 cm; h. 0.7 cm.

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs: cryptographic writing.

Strat. date: 1st cent. BC.

Comp. date: according to KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 120-121, from Hyksos period (1650-1540 BC, “Anra-group”) to the late 21st dyn. (1076-944 BC).

Context: layer R15.

Description: limestone scarab, with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription: cryptographic writing.

Excavation number: OY 97-55.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 119-121.

Image source: KUCHAREK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48b.

Notes: /

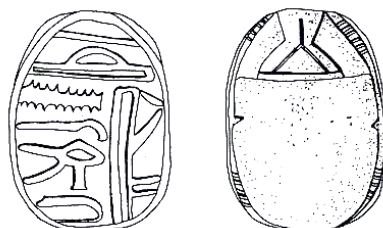


Fig. 245

3. **Cat. no.:** A76.

Site: Oylum Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.2 cm; h. 0.7 cm.

Inscription: inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs/symbols: an *uraeus* snake on the left and a Maat plume on the right (maybe a rendering for the royal name of pharaoh Amenhotep III, *Nb-m3^ct-R^c*, or for the name of god Amun, *Jmn*, in retrograde reading).

Strat. date: MBA/LBA.

Comp. date: according to KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 121, NK (about 1550 BC).

Context: layer Y11a.

Description: fayence scarab, with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription/signs.

Excavation number: OY 97-56.

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 121.

Image source: KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48c.

Notes: /

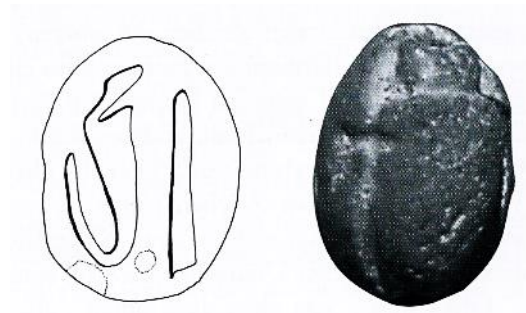


Fig. 246

PANAZTEPE-MENEMEN

1. **Cat. no.:** A77.

Site: Panaztepe-Menemen.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence or frit.

Dimensions: h. 0.7 cm; w. 1.02 cm; l. 1.41 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription: name of pharaoh Amenhotep III, *Nb-m3^ct-R^c nfr.wy-h^c*.

Strat. date: "Panaztepe, Gräberfeld Periode I, Phase 3"¹⁶¹⁹.

Comp. date: 18th dyn., reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC); according to C. Mlinar (in KST 25/2, p. 247), 12th cent. BC.

Context: "Quadr. N-12; Pithosgrab L."¹⁶²⁰.

Description: fayence or frit scarab with the name of Amenhotep III.

Excavation number: Pz 85/24.

Current location/mus. number: Izmir Archaeological Museum, No. 9968.

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 97; DURGUN 2017; ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2000, p. 74; JAEGER – KRAUSS 1990; KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 439); KST 25/2, p. 247; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 94.

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 12; DURGUN 2017; ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2000, p. 74, fig. 5a; JAEGER – KRAUSS 1990, fig. 1; **KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 439)**; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 94, fig. 10.

Notes: /

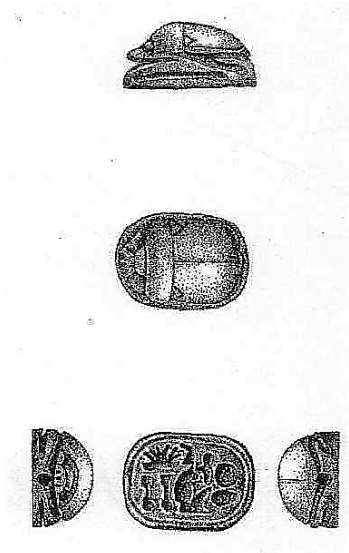


Fig. 247

2. **Cat. no.:** A78.

Site: Panaztepe-Menemen.

Object: scarab.

Material: fayence or frit.

Dimensions: h. 0.75 cm; w. 1.3 cm; l. 1.8 cm.

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription: name of Amun-Ra, *Jmn-R^c*.

Strat. date: "Panaztepe, Gräberfeld Periode I, Phase 3"¹⁶²¹.

Comp. date: according to C. Mlinar (in KST 25/2, p. 247), 12th cent. BC.

Context: "Quadr. N-12; Pithosgrab L."¹⁶²².

Description: fayence or frit scarab with the name of the god Amun-Ra.

¹⁶¹⁹ KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 439).

¹⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶²¹ *Ivi*, No. 440.

¹⁶²² *Ibid.*

Excavation number: Pz 85/25.

Current location/mus. number: Izmir Archaeological Museum, No. 9969.

Bibliography: BREYER 2010a, p. 97; DURGUN 2017; ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2000, p. 74; JAEGER – KRAUSS 1990; KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 440).

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 12; ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2000, p. 74, fig. 5b; JAEGER – KRAUSS 1990, fig. 2; KOZAL 2006, p. 132 (No. 440).

Notes: /

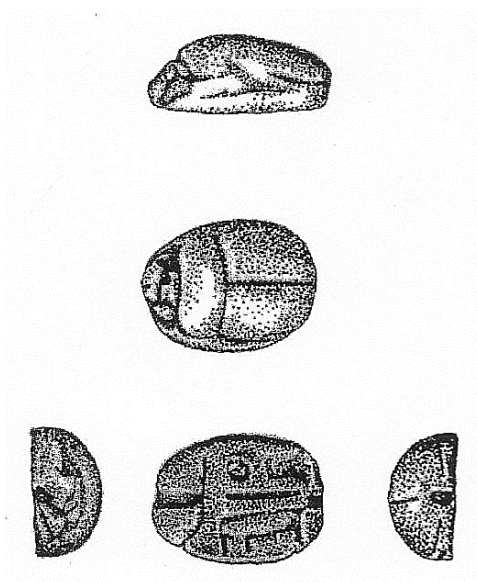


Fig. 248

SABUNIYE HÖYÜK

1. **Cat. no.:** A79.

Site: Sabuniye Höyük.

Object: scarab.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: Egyptian hieroglyphic name of pharaoh Thutmose III (*Mn-hpr-R^c*).

Strat. date: LBA-IA I.

Comp. date: 18th dyn., reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC); S. Özkan made a comparison with this scarab and a cylinder seal found in the same context, saying that they could be North-Syrian imitation of Egyptian objects: “Bununla birlikte Prof. Dr. Süleyman Özkan’ın stilistik ilk incelemesine göre ünük grup olarak tanımlanan bu grup örnekleri Mısır etkili yerel üretim olarak Kuzey Suriye’de M.Ö. 1700-1500 yıllarında görülmektedir”¹⁶²³.

Context: Operation B.

Description: limestone scarab with the name of Thutmose III and a winged scarab. Small fracture in the area of the head.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: Hatay Archaeological Museum, No. 6875.

Bibliography: KST 32/4, p. 302 (cf. JAEGER 1982); PAMIR 2013, p. 176.

Image source: KST 32/4, p. 311, fig. 6; PAMIR 2013, p. 189, fig. 4.

Notes: found during 2008 excavation season. There are two more scarabs from Sabuniye (nos 6863, 6923), held in the Hatay Archaeological Museum, too: unfortunately, they have just been quoted in PAMIR 2013, p. 176, but with no pictures.



Fig. 249

¹⁶²³ H. Pamir’s quotation in KST 32/4, p. 311.

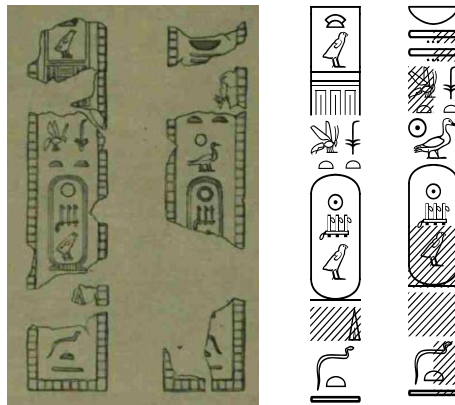
2.2.3: Finds dated before the Hittites

As already stated in the methodological introduction (see sections 0.1-0.4), the topic of this research is to provide a useful and as much as possible complete catalogue of all the Egyptian or “Egyptianizing” objects found within the Anatolian area, during the chronological framework of the Hittite Empire and the Neo-Hittite states (so, from ca. 1700 BC until ca. 700 BC).

By the way, I would like to provide at the end of this catalogue some information about some Egyptian objects found in Anatolia, before the dawn of the proper Hittite period: this data is surely interesting in order to better understand the antiquity of the contacts between Egypt and Anatolia. Three find spots are notably recorded: 1) Dorak, 2) the Pactolus Valley and 3) Troy.

1) DORAK

Let us start from Dorak: in many publications¹⁶²⁴ a mention is made of an ancient treasure found in the area of Dorak, not far from to the ancient city of Troy. The so-called “treasure” has been found (it is said) in a double-tomb near to the modern village of Dorak: among the other object dated to the Yortan culture¹⁶²⁵, two golden plaquettes engraved with the cartouche of pharaoh Sahure (5th dyn., ca. 2428-2416⁺²⁵ BC) was found (maybe a decoration of a wooden throne).



Figs 250-251

The inscription on the golden laminae reads:

(Figs 250-251, first lamina, on the left):

[...] *h^c-w* [...] *n(y)sw.t-bity S3h-w-R^c [d(w) ^cn^h] dt*

“[...] the Lord of the Upper and Lower Egypt Sahure, [given him life], forever”.

(Figs 250-251 second lamina, on the right):

nb t3.wy n(y)sw.t[-bity] S3h-[w]-R^c [...] dt

“[...] the Lord of the Two Lands (i.e. Egypt) Sahure, [...], forever”.

About these objects two problems arise:

¹⁶²⁴ For the so-called “Dorak affair”, see: AA. Vv. 1971, p. 391; LECLANT in OrNS 30/3, p. 397; 31, p. 337; 32, p. 211; 38, pp. 298-299; 40, p. 261; 43, p. ...; LLOYD 1967, pp. 29-33, fig. 23; MELLAART 1959 and 1966; PEARSON – CONNOR 1967; SCHACHERMEYR 1959-1960, p. 231 and Id. 1964, p. 341; STEVENSON SMITH 1965, pp. 9-11, 34, 133 VAN DE WALLE 1966, p. 108; WARD 1961b, p. 137, no. 1 and p. 138; cf. YOUNG 1972 and VERMEULE – VERMEULE 1970.

¹⁶²⁵ More information about the “archaeological” context is in LLOYD 1967, pp. 29: “On a small rock promontory, overlooking Lake Apolyont, near Bursa, a large cist-grave measuring ten feet by six contained the body of a local ruler and his wife: a smaller one had a single male burial and nearby ‘pithos’ burials were perhaps those of servants”.

1) the authenticity of the objects themselves is not ensured¹⁶²⁶: they have been seen in 1958 by J. Mellaart in Izmir, in the private collection of a lady called Anna Papastrati who allowed Mellaart to draw and publish them some years later¹⁶²⁷. The artefacts are later completely disappeared.

2) Whether considering the object as authentic, there is still a chronological problem: the reign of king Sahure is dated to the mid of the 3rd mill. BC: how could we explain that an original Egyptian artefact of the 5th dyn. reached the Anatolian land in so early times? And who brought it there? And, eventually, which should be the relationship with the Yortan culture, who the graves (allegedly) belonged to? In any case, I am not going to consider this object in the proper catalogue, because it pre-dates the foundation of the Hittite ancient kingdom and has no relation to our topic.

2) PACTOLUS VALLEY

The second Anatolian site where it is said that Egyptian objects have been found is the Pactolus Valley, near Sardis.

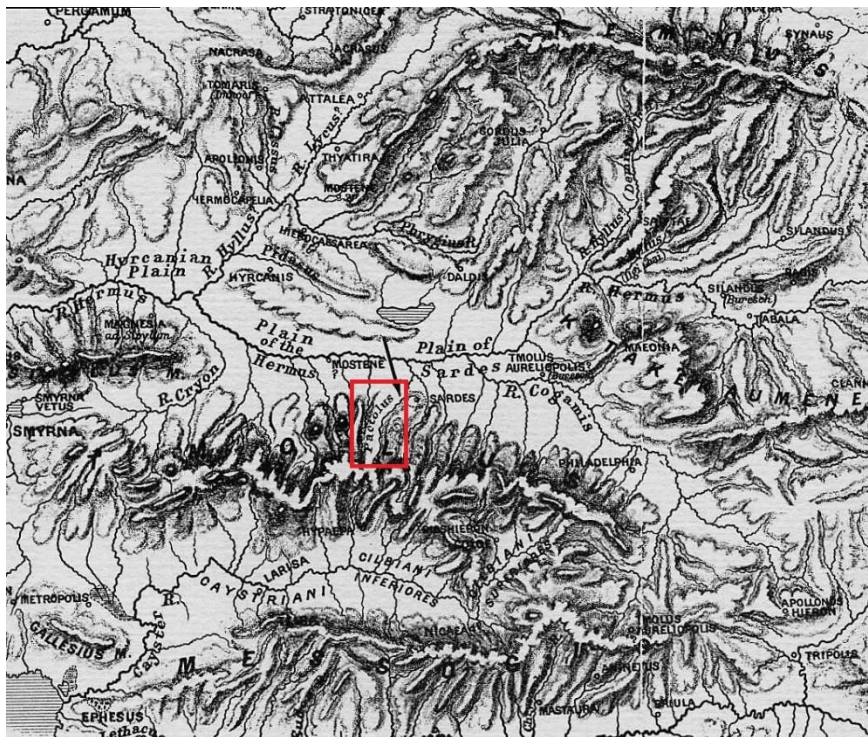


Fig. 252

Here, in a tomb maybe belonging to a princess, a group of 125 gold jewels¹⁶²⁸ (dated to the EBA) was found together with a gold Egyptian cylinder seal¹⁶²⁹, inscribed with the names of pharaohs Menkawhor and Djedkare (Isesy), who reigned in the Old Kingdom, during the 5th dyn. (ca. 2373-2366⁺²⁵ BC and 2365-2322⁺²⁵ BC). All the objects are now kept at the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) in Boston, received in 1968 as a centennial gift to celebrate the foundation of the museum¹⁶³⁰.

¹⁶²⁶ See e.g., SOWADA 2001, p. 10: “Egyptian objects said to be from Dorak in Anatolia (MELLAART 1959), are viewed with considerable scepticism and not regarded as genuine evidence of Egyptian contact with Anatolia”; cf. *ivi*, p. 146: “Again the veracity of these finds is so hotly debated that they cannot be seriously considered as evidence for direct or even indirect Egyptian contact with the region. The objects cannot be even located for further study”. Cf. KANTOR 1992, p. 21 and SCHULMAN 1979b, pp. 86-87.

¹⁶²⁷ The only report of the discovery is in MELLAART 1959, with the sketches made in Papastrati’s house.

¹⁶²⁸ For the pictures of these items see YOUNG 1972 and VERMEULE – VERMEULE 1970.

¹⁶²⁹ MFA Boston, Centennial gift 1968.68.115.

¹⁶³⁰ YOUNG 1972, p. 11, fig. 8.



Figs 253-254

These are the catalogue data of the MFA¹⁶³¹:

“SEAL OF OFFICE

Egyptian

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5, reign of Djedkare Isesi
2381–2353 B.C.

DIMENSIONS

Height x diameter: 6.4 x 2.9 cm (2 1/2 x 1 1/8 in.)

ACCESSION NUMBER

68.115

MEDIUM OR TECHNIQUE

Gold

ON VIEW

Ancient Egyptian Large Sculpture (Mycerinus) (Gallery 108)

COLLECTIONS

The Ancient World

CLASSIFICATIONS

Seals. Cylinder seal in four soldered pieces over clay base-outer sheet, inner tube, top and bottom. Inscription cold-cut: six vertical registers, one horizontal around bottom. Reigns of Menkawhor (2497-2489 (WSS) or 2422-2414 (CAH)) and Djedkare Isesy (2489-2450 (WSS) or 2414-2375 (CAH)). Hole at top of register.

PROVENANCE

1968, sold by George Zacos (dealer), Basel, Switzerland, to the MFA. (Accession Date: April 10, 1968)

CREDIT LINE

Centennial purchase with funds donated by Landon T. Clay”.

A good description of the item is provided by the curator of the collection:

“To most scholars who look at the collection the most interesting object will probably be the cylinder seal which forms a prominent and handsome part of it. Gold cylinders are rare in this age-one thinks of Mycerinus’ seal in Berlin-and this is big, 64 mm. high, 30 mm. thick. The hieroglyphs show that this had been the personal

¹⁶³¹ Permanent link: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/seal-of-office-150473>.

seal of a Fifth Dynasty official who had apparently advanced in position from the reign of Menkawhor to the reign of Djedkare, as would be natural in a public career. The titles are inscribed in seven registers, one horizontally around the bottom, six vertically above. For Menkawhor, around the bottom, the seal's owner was Overseer of the Tenant Farmers of the Pyramid called Netjer; for Djedkare, above, interspersed with repetitions of the Horus name of the King, Djed-Kaw, and his Gold name, Hor-Djed, he was Palace Official, Tenant Farmer, Master of Secrets or Privy Councillor, and Priest of the Pyramid called Nefer of Djedkare"¹⁶³².

As above for Dorak, three questions arise:

- 1) is the object itself original?
- 2) actually, the location of the find spot is a matter of doubt: do we have precise information about the find spot of the treasure (unfortunately, no actual archaeological context could be supposed)?
- 3) how is it possible to find in Anatolia, in so early times, an original Egyptian gold seal?

Some alleged answers to these questions have been submitted by Vermeule-Vermeule and Young:

1) "A final point about the authenticity and provenance of the crucial Egyptian cylinder seal. This, of all objects in the find, is the easiest to authenticate, both on the basis of a text that contains information hitherto unavailable to Egyptologists and from the standpoint of manufacture, including carefully flaring sides (that have been said by one scholar of early seals to show contemporary Akkadian influence) and the clay-filled hollow core. This seal has been with the Early Bronze Age gold since the find was first noticed, even when the objects were in the hands of those who knew nothing of its historical importance, least of all that the hieroglyphs were Egyptian"¹⁶³³.

2) "It is not known exactly where this group of ornaments comes from-one presumes, from a place still undiscovered along the eastern Mediterranean coast where Egyptian ships might pass. The style of the ornaments is not to be matched precisely in any excavated coastal site; it exhibits metallurgical links with the productions of the Levant, Ur in Mesopotamia, the slightly later work at Troy and Poliochni, and some habits of technique in the Cyclades and the Thyreatis, if Berlin's jewellery really comes from there. In an age when innovations of technique spread rapidly from one coastal kingdom to another, and along the great inland river routes, this is exactly what one would expect; and the cylinder gives a general date of not far from 2400 B.C. This is the period when Aegean products like Cycladic idols were circulating widely on foreign shores, and when trade links among Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia, and even Anatolia were increasingly vigorous. One thinks of the disputed cartouche of King Sahure reported by James Mellaart from the notorious Dorak treasure, or the Cilician jar found at Giza in a shaft subsidiary to the burial of Prince Aank-haf in the reign of Khufu. Egyptians were exploring abroad, and the barbaric but energetic lands encircling the eastern Mediterranean were exploiting them in turn"¹⁶³⁴.

3) "How this lower colleague of Ptah-hotep's lost his seal abroad can only be a matter of speculation. Both Menkawhor and Djedkare were interested in Byblos, like Sahure before them; their names have been found on alabaster jars there. Did they send an official as a diplomatic or commercial ambassador to the shores of the Mediterranean beyond Egypt, one of those couriers who, as the text says, 'departs having willed his goods to his children for fear of lions and Asiatics?' Did he carry his seal as credentials, to be married, or murdered, or perhaps robbed abroad?"¹⁶³⁵. "It is likely that the Egyptian gold seal was carried by a courier from Egypt. Although the name of the bearer is not recorded on the cylinder, it is quite evident from the inscription what his duties were. Under Menkawhor he was 'Inspector of Tenant Farmers of the Pyramid called Netjer.' He also served Menkawhor's successor, Djedkare, as 'Master of Secrets and House Official of the Palace'"¹⁶³⁶.

Further, T. Young has proposed in a paper a possible reconstruction of the ancient trades in these areas¹⁶³⁷:

¹⁶³² VERMEULE – VERMEULE 1970, p. 34.

¹⁶³³ *Ivi*, p. 41.

¹⁶³⁴ *Ivi*, p. 37.

¹⁶³⁵ VERMEULE – VERMEULE 1970, pp. 34-37.

¹⁶³⁶ YOUNG 1972, p. 13.

¹⁶³⁷ *Ivi*, p. 10, fig. 7.

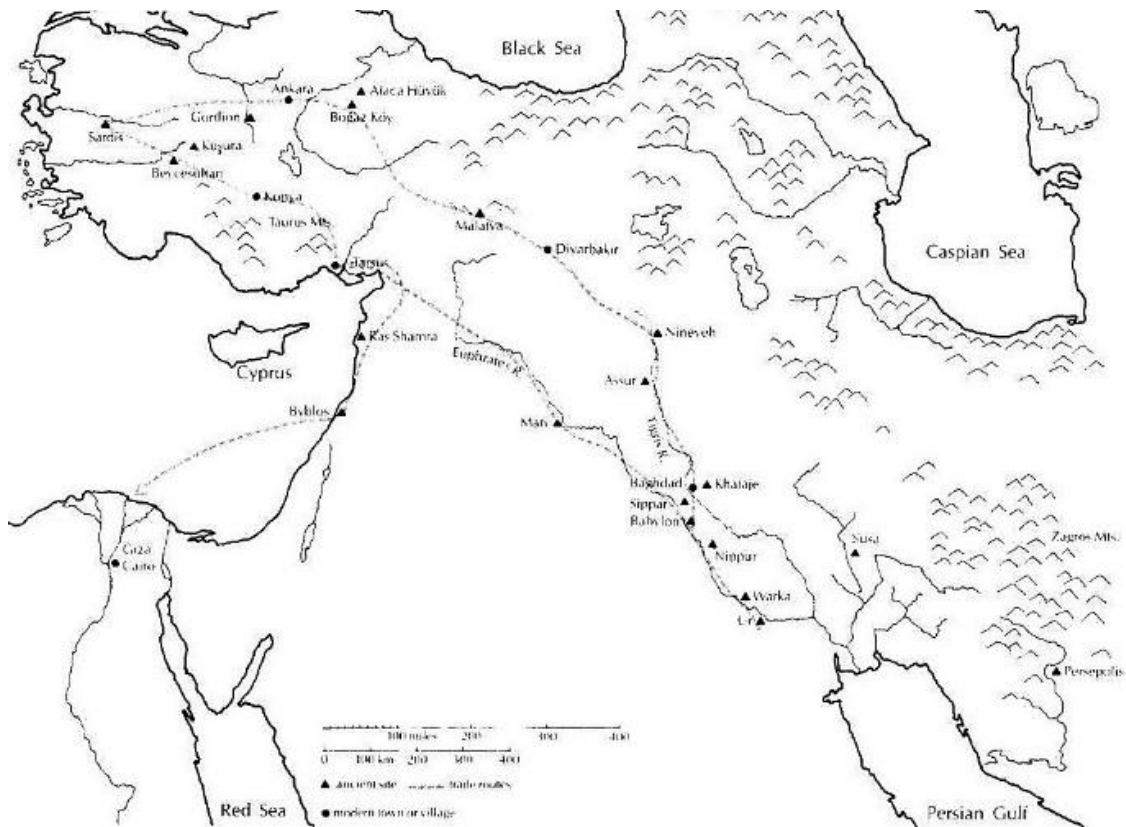


Fig. 255

3) TROY-HISARLIK/WILUSA

A third site where an Egyptian, dated prior to the Hittite Empire, object was found is Troy. Here, a fayence mace-head has been discovered, dating, according to radiocarbon analysis, to 2200-2000 BC. This artefacts, because of its dating, was not included in the previous section: I instead add it into the present one, as for general documentation (following the form already used in section 2.3.2):

Site: Troy-Hisarlık/Wilusa.

Object: mace-head.

Material: fayence.

Dimensions: /

Inscription: no inscription.

Strat. date: /

Comp. date: Troy II, 2300-2200 BC (radiocarbon dating).

Context: from the Megaron (G6 square).

Description: fayence mace-head.

Excavation number: /

Current location/mus. number: /

Bibliography: BRANDAU ET AL. 2004, p. 47; BREYER 2010a, p. 98; KST 21/1, p. 298; ÖZKAN 2007, p. 88.

Image source: BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 18; KST 21/1, p. 295, fig. 4.

Notes: found during 1998 excavation season.



Fig. 256

3. FINAL COMMENT ABOUT THE PREVIOUS SECTIONS

3.1: General comment¹⁶³⁸

This final section of the dissertation is devoted to a double goal:

- 1) to summon up the major data presented in the previous chapters;
- 2) to advance some further research lines on some peculiar and more interesting topics.

I obviously begin from “**Chapter I: Textual and epigraphical sources**”. In **section 1.1 (“Egyptian sources”)**, I presented the Egyptian texts quoting the toponym “Ḫatti”: in sum, about 18 entries were discussed (on a total of 45 texts), spanning from the reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1479-1425 BC) until the “Onomasticon of Amenemope”, dated to the 21st-22nd dyn. (ca. 1076-746 BC).

The “genres” of these texts spanned from the historical, official accounts (such as the “Annals”), including lists of tribute (Thutmose III and Amenhotep II), and (of course) the texts reporting the battles between Egypt and the Hittites under Seti I and Ramses II, the “Siege of Dapur”, the text of the “Libyan war” of Merneptah (ca. 1213-1203 BC) and the wars fought against the Sea People under Ramses III (ca. 1187-1157 BC). Moreover, the topographical lists¹⁶³⁹ (surely, Horemheb, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III), a donation stela dated to the reign of Ay (ca. 1321 BC), the love song quoting the “flower of Ḫatti (ca. 1292 BC) and the inscriptions (both on papyri and stone statues) mentioning the Hittite princess Maathorneferure. Eventually, many other papyri mentioning the Hittite toponym (papAnast. IV, the “Satirical letter of Hori” [= papAnast. I and papClère I], papKoller I, papChester Beatty IV, papTurin CGT 54031, papBM 10068 and the “Onomasticon of Amenemope” itself).

Despite the chronological timespan considered in this work, we also have to recall the quotation of Ḫatti dating to the reign of pharaoh **Taharqa** (25th dyn. ca. 690-644 BC) in the temple of Mut at Karnak: this mention, occurring in a time when the Hittite Empire has already disappeared from many centuries, reveals the long-lasting memory of the Anatolian counterpart in the Egyptian “geographical mind” or (at least) the possibility of including the Hittites in such a kind of “historical memory”, testifying the survival of just a toponym (nothing more than a mere name) until the 7th cent. BC (when, of course, no actual contacts with Hittites or Neo-Hittites entities has been possible). The last entry to be considered is the inscription of **Ptolemy XIII** (ca. 51-47 BC) from Kom Ombos, quoting an *ḫr Ḫdt3y/Ḫt3j*, allegedly interpreted as “the chief of the Hittite land”: however, the spelling of the toponym “Ḫatti” is here wired, and probably could refer to another country.

Further research themes can be retrieved from the analysis of some particular texts: of special interest seems to be the quotation of the *ḫr.w n k3.w* in the “**Annals of Thutmose III**” (campaign of the 42nd years, i.e. 1437 ca. BC = Urk. IV 732f.): these items have been proposed to be interpreted as silver *rhyta* (Akkadian *bibrû*) from Ḫatti or, at least, in an Hittite/Levantine shape (with the bull protome); more in detail, it revealed to be quite interesting to advance a methodological approach¹⁶⁴⁰ that compared both the textual sources together with the iconographical depictions (such as those from the tombs of Menkheperasoneb [TT 86], the tomb TT 91 [unknowing owner] at Thebes and that of Meryre II, at Amarna). In the end, both a Hittite or Aegean origin for such vessels seems to be likely. Another interesting remark can be advanced about an expression quoted in text 1.d, “The Annals of Thutmose III” related to his 17th Asiatic campaign (ca. year 1437 BC). The Egyptian term *Ḫt3 ʿ3*, “Great(er) Ḫatti”, should represent not just a translation of a generic term related to the Hittite land, but, more specifically, a loan word from the Hittite language, i.e. *Ḫattušaš ḫūmanz*, “all Ḫattuša”, used as a peculiar *terminus technicus* in the Hittite diplomatic texts. On this base, Breyer argues that regular diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Hittites should be “occurred much

¹⁶³⁸ I put in **bold** some terms, hoping to help the reading of this chapter.

¹⁶³⁹ For an analysis of all the topographical lists quoting Ḫatti, see DE PIETRI, (forthcoming, b).

¹⁶⁴⁰ I have recently presented about this topic a contribution entitled “An investigation about the *ḫr.w n k3.w* in Thutmose III’s Annals: a possible identification with Hittite *rhyta*?”, on the occasion of the conference “Graduate Annual Research Discussions on Egypt and Nubia [GARDEN] VI”, held at the DAIK (Cairo) on 23rd February 2019. Further information discussed on this topic at that conference will be published in a forthcoming contribution.

earlier than previously thought”. It should be also noteworthy to better investigate the semantic field of the Egyptian term ʿ3, “great”: does it refer to a qualitative or a geographical sphere? That is, does it describe the Hittite land as “big”, meaning “the big/strong/powerful” land or just a geographical description for the entire Anatolian area? Under this respect, it is important to underline that the word used is ʿ3 and not *wr*: both these terms are commonly translated as “big” and both the distinction and the distributional use of them is not so clear, but it should be interesting to note that sometimes ʿ3 is used as adjective for *wr*, mostly in the NK, to refer to a foreign chief. So, it is possible to define that the core meaning of ʿ3 in this case does not express a geographical but a qualitative (i.e. “high rank”) denotation.

The text of the “**Annals of Amenhotep II**” (text 2), instead, reveals the first attestation of a typical formula of submission, described with the expression *r dbḥ ḥtp.w ḥr ḥm=f r js.wt rdj.t n=sn nfn ʿnh*, “(they decided) to ask peace (*ḥtp.w*) to His Majesty [i.e., the pharaoh] to give them the breath of life”. The request for the breath of life (*nfn ʿnh*) is a quite stereotypical sentence attested in many texts quoting Ḥatti, until the period of Ramses III (see text 15.b in the catalogue, section 1.1).

Moreover, the reading of the toponym Ḥatti in a topographical list of the period of **Amenhotep III** (18th dyn., 1390-1353 BC), from the temple of Soleb (with a parallel list at Karnak), deserves better attention and analysis: the strange spelling *Ḥ(y)t(j)[...]* + T14 plus N25 or *Ḥt(jy)* + N25 could represent the first attestation of such a toponym within a topographical list.




The “**Donation stela of Ay**” (text 3), coming from Giza and dated to ca. 1323-1320 BC (Urk. IV, 2109, 16), quoting “a Hittite field” (*3ḥ.t n(3) Ḥt3*) also needs a better insight: if it was indeed a camp for Hittite prisoners or an encampment for Hittite officials is still not clear, and, unfortunately, no other parallel texts or similar references to this expression are attested, so far. Thus, the question still remains open to further investigations.

A particular comment can be devoted to the “genre” of the **topographical lists**¹⁶⁴¹. About 36 topographical lists, reporting toponyms of Asiatic countries, are engraved on temples or statues, dating between the reigns of Thutmose III and Taharqa¹⁶⁴²: in this long timespan, the basic structure of these lists underwent no many transformations and sometimes later lists turned out to be mere copies. Furthermore, the toponyms are sometimes chronologically out of context and the geographical criterion of grouping names is often unclear. However, these documents deserve to be regarded as an important source, besides other historical accounts, for the study of the relationships between Egypt and foreign countries and can provide a glimpse into the Egyptian view of the world. Among the foreign countries, the toponym *Ḥt(3)* is listed in 12 topographical lists:

No.	Pharaoh	Place	Dyn.	Dating
1	Amenhotep III	Karnak and Soleb	18 th dyn.	1390-1353 BC
2	Horemheb	Karnak, 10 th pylon		1319-1292 BC
3		Karnak, statues		
4	Seti I	Karnak	19 th dyn.	1290-1279 BC
5		Qurnah, 1 st pylon (on sphinxes)		
6				
7	Ramses II	Abydos	1279-1213 BC	
8		Luxor		
9		Karnak		
10	Ramses III	Medinet Habu (Pavilion)	20 th dyn.	1187-1157 BC
11		Karnak, temple of Amun		
12	Taharqa	Karnak, temple of Mut	25 th dyn.	690-644 BC

¹⁶⁴¹ About this topic, see DE PIETRI forthcoming, b.

¹⁶⁴² SIMONS 1937.

The contacts between Egypt and the Hittites are well-known¹⁶⁴³ and besides the historical accounts, topographical lists provide further information about the development of these relationships, across actual history and distant memory. During Amenhotep III's reign¹⁶⁴⁴, no monumental inscriptions seem to quote Ḫatti. However, Simons¹⁶⁴⁵ suggested to read the name Ḫatti in two topographical lists of this pharaoh in the temples of Soleb (on columns) and Karnak¹⁶⁴⁶. These inscriptions¹⁶⁴⁷ highlight the unusual spelling of the name Ḫatti: instead of the common writing , *Ḫt(3)* [+ T14 plus/or N25], it is attested  *Ḫ(y)t(j)[...]* + T14 plus N25¹⁶⁴⁸ or  *Ḫt(jy)* + N25¹⁶⁴⁹. It is quite likely to consider this toponym as referring to Ḫatti because of chronological reasons and because of the position of the name within the list, just after Babylon (*Sngr*) and Naharin (*Nhrn*), very close to Crete (*Kftjw*), Kadesh (*Qdš*) and Tuni (Tnp), a spot frequently occupied by Ḫatti¹⁶⁵⁰. The second list is dated to Horemheb and is carved on the 10th pylon at Karnak¹⁶⁵¹; it does not present particularly features and offers the usual sequence of names. However, it is noteworthy that the list was copied, many centuries later, by pharaoh Taharqa¹⁶⁵².

Another list dated to **Horemheb** is inscribed on the socle of a statue from Karnak¹⁶⁵³: Ḫatti appears in the middle of the list, preceded by Babylon and Naharin, the “Nine Bows” and the unclear Meshu, interpreted both as an African or Asiatic name¹⁶⁵⁴. After Ḫatti, Arzawa confederation is mentioned: the presence of this toponym could possibly reflect a first step towards a better knowledge of the ethnical and geographical nature of the Anatolian area.

Two lists carved in the Karnak temple of Amun belong to the reign of **Seti I**¹⁶⁵⁵: the “Eastern Triumph Scene” carries 39 names of countries subjugated by the pharaoh¹⁶⁵⁶. The toponyms are encircled in wall-shaped rings and lie just below the feet of the triumphant king in the common scene of smashing the enemies¹⁶⁵⁷. The name-ring of the Hittite land (no. 23) depicts a kneeling person with his hands bound with a rope on his back, his facial features including a wig and a pointed beard. As for many other inscriptions, the name of the Hittite land is listed near to those of Naharin, Retchenu and Sangar; interesting additions are the “Bedouins of Asia(?)” (*Mntj.w*) and *Sṯt* (probably the

¹⁶⁴³ BREYER 2010; EDEL 1994 and 1997.

¹⁶⁴⁴ When the relationships between Egypt and the Hittites are well-attested thanks to the El-Amarna letters: see CORDANI 2017 and RAINEY Z"L 2015.

¹⁶⁴⁵ SIMONS 1937, pp. 132-133, lists nos IX-X.

¹⁶⁴⁶ This occurrence is noteworthy if linked to El-Amarna letters 31-32 (RAINEY Z"L 2015, vol. 1, pp. 326-331), exchanged between Amenhotep III and Tarḫundaradu, king of Arzawa, an Anatolian confederation (for which see ALPARSLAN 2015 and HEINOLD-KRAHMER 1977).

¹⁶⁴⁷ LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 88, a. The second inscription (from Karnak) is described by Lepsius in LD, Text, III, p. 9, but no more pictures are available.

¹⁶⁴⁸ SIMONS 1937, p. 132, list no. IX, series a, no. 8.

¹⁶⁴⁹ *Ivi*, p. 133, list no. X, no. 2.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Moreover, the spelling of the name has already been considered by both the Wb and Gauthier's onomasticon as another form for Ḫatti itself: see GAUTHIER 1925-1931, vol. 4, pp. 188-189; Wb III, p. 349.

¹⁶⁵¹ Further information in PM II, p. 187, no. 578 and SIMONS 1937, pp. 50 ff.

¹⁶⁵² It is slightly possible to recognize a later occurrence of Ḫatti in an inscription of Ptolemy XIII (1st cent. BC): however, the spelling of the name does not ensure a certain reading as *Ḫt(3)*.

¹⁶⁵³ SIMONS 1937, pp. 135-136, list no. XII.

¹⁶⁵⁴ HL1, p. 1153, no. 41744: “Meschu (eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”. SIMONS 1937, p. 135, note 6 proposed to interpret the name as Asiatic or also African (making a comparison with Taharqa's copy of the inscription, which preserves African names at this spot).

¹⁶⁵⁵ After the Amarna period, Seti I decided to strengthen again the Egyptian position in Asia: therefore, the Egyptians and the Hittites directly faced on the battle field. The report of this confrontation provides us a glimpse into the conception that the Egyptians had of the Hittites, in a useful comparison with the later accounts of Ramses II. For a brief historical introduction, see VAN DIJK in SHAW 2003², pp. 286ff.; GRIMAL 2011⁹, pp. 319ff. Further information is in MURNANE 1985, mostly on pp. 58ff. (Hittite War) and OIP 107, pp. 103ff.

¹⁶⁵⁶ OIP 107, pp. 48ff.

¹⁶⁵⁷ The title of the scene, above the prisoners on the left, says: “¹Smiting the chiefs of the nomadic Bedouins ²(of) all remote foreign countries, (of) all Fenkhu-lands ³of the furthest reaches of Asia (and of) the great circuit of the sea” (OIP 107, p. 50).

Sehel)¹⁶⁵⁸. A similar list is presented in the “Western Triumph Scene”¹⁶⁵⁹: in both the inscriptions “Ḫatti” displays the usual spelling, with the exception of the determinative: instead of the more common T14, the “throe-stick”, plus/instead of N25, the “mountain range”, it is attested as determinative the sign N18, the “strip of sand”, used to define “desert, foreign land”¹⁶⁶⁰. It seems the Hittite land to be defined as a “desertic land”, something very different from the fertile Nile Valley, and a dangerous places, because of its “desertic” landscape, a description that indeed does not fit with the green Anatolian highlands¹⁶⁶¹; it could instead be interpreted as an Egyptian reference to the Hittite territories in Syria, better fitting with a desertic description.

Another Seti I’s list quoting Ḫatti is attested at Qurnah, on the socle of the north-eastern of two sphinxes originally placed against the back of the 1st pylon. The inscription reports 43 name-rings of Asiatic captives¹⁶⁶²: the Hittite land is displayed at the very beginning of the list, just after the “Nine Bows”. The list also offers another name of a smaller Anatolian entity, **Iṣuwa** (as in the Karnak list), while lacks in quoting other Anatolian toponyms such as Arzawa (already mentioned in Horemheb’s list) or Kizzuwatna, that will be introduced only in the lists of Ramses II. The reading of *Jsy* as Iṣuwa is noteworthy, because it could be identified with the Hittite area of Iṣuwa, located in the eastern part of Anatolia¹⁶⁶³.

The following list is engraved on the walls of the 1st pylon of **Ramses II**’s temple at Abydos¹⁶⁶⁴. The names were allegedly translated by Mariette: “1° *Tahennou* (la Lybie); 2° *Nahran* (la Mésopotamie); 3° *Senkour*; 4° *Kheta*; 5° *Keftou* (la Phénicie sidonienne); 6° *Amasi* [...]; 7° *Pat*; 8° *Asour*; 9° *Patti Schou*”¹⁶⁶⁵. All these lands belong to the northern part of the world within the Egyptian geographical mind¹⁶⁶⁶: the list starts from the West, with Tjehenu, i.e. the Libyans¹⁶⁶⁷, followed by Naharin and Sangar, the name used for Babylon at that time¹⁶⁶⁸. After Sangar, the quotation of Ḫatti appears¹⁶⁶⁹.

On some colossi of Ramses II, at the entrance of the temple of Luxor¹⁶⁷⁰, there are two topographic lists including Ḫatti¹⁶⁷¹: some of the toponyms are those already attested in the two lists of Seti I. In addition, Simons reports a second list (XXIIg), mentioning Ḫatti¹⁶⁷². In comparison to the previous ones, this inscription offers a better insight into the periphery of the Ḫatti land, quoting particular areas belonging to the Anatolian sphere: in fact, toponyms 14 and 15 refer to the areas of **Kizzuwatna** and **Arzawa**.

¹⁶⁵⁸ The term *Mntj.w* is considered by Hannig as the name of a mountain (HL1, p. 1150, no. 41669; the same in HL3, p. 72, s. v. “Asien”), while *Stt* is translated by the epigraphers of the Oriental Institute as “Asia” (OIP 107, p. 84); on the contrary, Hannig considers *Stt* as “Sehel” (HB1, p. 1187, no. 42488).

¹⁶⁵⁹ OIP 107, pls 17a-b.

¹⁶⁶⁰ See e.g. ALLEN 2000, p. 436.

¹⁶⁶¹ The importance of analysing these lists together with the battle scenes has already been stressed by the team of the Epigraphic Survey of the Chicago House: “Used in conjunction with the battle scenes, the name-rings thus supply additional evidence for the extent of Seti I’s campaigning in the Middle East” (OIP 107, p. 47).

¹⁶⁶² SIMONS 1937, p. 59. Further information is in PM II, pp. 408ff. Copy in LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 131a.

¹⁶⁶³ Map from ASVOA, pl. XVI. Differently, Hannig interpreted the name as Cyprus or an unattested *Assuwa, described as a place located in “Westkleinasien” (HL1, p. 1118, no. 40988).

¹⁶⁶⁴ See MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pl. 2a: “List of the people of the North” (here as Fig. 73).

¹⁶⁶⁵ MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pp. 12-13.


¹⁶⁶⁶ Mariette divided the two lists on the first pylon in “Liste des peuples du Nord” (MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, “Table des matières” and pl. 2a) and “Liste des peuples du Midi” (MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, “Table des matières” and pl. 2b).

¹⁶⁶⁷ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 116*ff., no. 239.

¹⁶⁶⁸ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 209*f., no. 286; a discussion about the equation Sangar = Babylon is in GARDINER 1947, vol. 2, pp. 323f., no. 239.

¹⁶⁶⁹ GARDINER 1947, vol. 1, pp. 127*ff. (no. 245), 179*; vol. 2, p. 324.

¹⁶⁷⁰ One of them is portrayed here in a picture from the frontispiece of SIMONS 1937 (Gaddi’s photograph).

¹⁶⁷¹ DARESSY 1894, pp. 49-50. The same list was also published by Kyle in 1908¹⁶⁷¹, where the name of Ḫatti is spelled in a different way: 

¹⁶⁷² SIMONS 1937, p. 155; the position and the inscription itself are described as follows: “Statue in court before second pylon, left of entrance to colonnade: west side: 16 name-rings with Semitic (bearded) figures”.

On the southern face of the 9th pylon at Karnak, another topographical list is engraved¹⁶⁷³, portraying Ramses II libating to the god Amun; the inscription, consisting of two series disposed on two wings, lies below this scene. The list does not offer further insights about the representation of the Hittites: the name Ḫatti is listed among a quite usual series of names, with no particular additions to previous lists. Only two aspects deserve to be stressed: 1) the quotation, for the first time together with Ḫatti, of Iqpet/*Ukupta¹⁶⁷⁴, a not better defined city in North Syria, not far from Aleppo; 2) the presence, just after Ḫatti, of the region of Iṣuwa, the eastern Anatolian confederation quoted above.

A topographical list dated to the reign of **Ramses III** is carved in the so called “Pavilion” at Medinet Habu¹⁶⁷⁵. Here, the toponyms are not encircled into the usual name-rings, but included in a kind of “caption” that describes the different portraits of the subjugated chiefs, represented according to common facial features attested also in other depictions¹⁶⁷⁶. The Hittite king presents a peculiar qualification: *m sqr-^cnh*, “as a captive”¹⁶⁷⁷, an expression that literary means “a man to be killed, whom one has left alive”¹⁶⁷⁸; the king is considered as a prisoner among other captives that ask for “the breath of life”, *nf n ^cnh*, a topic formula that was applied the first time to the Hittites in the period of Amenhotep II¹⁶⁷⁹. Like wild animals, foreigners living outside Egypt’s borders represented the forces of chaos: it was pharaoh’s duty to subdue them, preserving the harmony of the universe”¹⁶⁸⁰.

The name of Ḫatti is also preserved on the socle of a statue in Ramses III’s temple of Amun at Karnak¹⁶⁸¹. Despite its poor state of preservation, it is possible to compare this short list with that at Medinet Habu which quotes “**Hatti: - Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia**”¹⁶⁸². In this case, as suggested by Kitchen’s translation, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia seems to be described as parts of the Hittite empire which was composed of different entities, smaller vassal states or confederations. In the mind of an ancient Egyptian, it would be quite difficult to understand the deeply different “geographical nature” of the Hittite empire.

The last quotation of Ḫatti in topographical lists is dated to the reign of **Taharqa** and is carved on the base of a small statue, found in the temple of Mut at Karnak (today preserved in the Cairo Museum). The list, which presents the name-rings displayed on the four sides of the base¹⁶⁸³, is not an innovation and it turns to be a mere copy of the aforementioned inscription of Horemheb¹⁶⁸⁴.

In sum, topographical lists provide a further insight into the mind and the view of the world of the ancient Egyptian people; more in detail, the mention of Ḫatti is peculiar, because of the importance of the counterpart and the historical events that involved both these countries. Besides the triumphal and monumental accounts of the pharaonic propaganda, these documents allow to reconsider the role of this atavic enemy under a different perspective. However, in the end, the Egyptian topographical lists confirm the position of Ḫatti within the whole world of the subjugated

¹⁶⁷³ Further bibliography in PM II, p. 181, no. 542.

¹⁶⁷⁴ HL1, p. 1120, no. 41017; “Iqpet, *Ukupta (in Nordsyrien, bei Aleppo; eine Örtlichkeit in Asien)”; cf. EDEL 1975, pp. 60ff.). Other quotations are in lists of Seti I (SIMONS 1937, list XIII, no. 33 and list XIV, no. 31) and two more lists of Ramses II (SIMONS 1937, list XXI, no. 36 and list XXIV, no. 18).

¹⁶⁷⁵ For a comment on the Medinet Habu lists, see KAHN 2016.

¹⁶⁷⁶ See e.g. the faience plaques portraying foreigners from Medinet Habu, temple of Ramses III (Egyptian Museum of Cairo, JE 36457; see SCHULZ – SEIDEL 1999, p. 396, fig. 115) and similar others from the same find spot (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. nos 03.1569, 03.1571-1573; see ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 268-269, nos 168a-d).

¹⁶⁷⁷ Wb IV, p. 307, nos 12-19: “als Gefangener”.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Wb I, p. 196, no. 1: “ein zu erschlagender, den man am Leben gelassen hat”.

¹⁶⁷⁹ See Urk. IV, 1309, 13: *dbḫ ḥtp.w ḥr ḥm=f r js.wt rdj.t n=sn nf n ^cnh*, “(they decided) to ask *ḥtp.w* to His Majesty to give them the breath of life”.

¹⁶⁸⁰ L.M. Berman in ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 268. A similar remark is in BREYER 2010a, p. 445: “Diese Darstellungen sind mehr oder weniger typisiert, zeigen jedoch Charakteristika, die auf der Beobachtung realer Vorbilder basieren”.

¹⁶⁸¹ The inscription I am referring to is on the western colossus; unfortunately, no pictures of this colossus were available to me, so I report here the image of the other one, which is a perfect twin; see OIP 25, pl. 6, A, D-H.

¹⁶⁸² KRI V, 39, 16f.

¹⁶⁸³ SIMONS 1937, p. 103.

¹⁶⁸⁴ It is possible to find this information in the section dedicated to the list of Horemheb, which represents the original text for the Taharqa’s copy. A wider analysis of the text is in SIMONS 1937, p. 187, list no. XXXVI. For the text itself, see DE ROUGE – DE ROUGE 1877-1879, pl. 299, no. 7: “*Ḫt3*”; cf. MARIETTE 1875, vol. 2, pl. 45, a, 2.

and therefore subordinated countries which asked to the pharaoh the eternal breath of life. Sometimes, in our historical reconstructions, we deal with just some toponyms, which seem to be just mere words: it is our responsibility to make these names to speak aloud and provide us with historical information.

Apart from the topographical lists and the official historical accounts, it is interesting to note that the toponym “Hittite land” is also attested in other “**minor documents**”, sometimes in later periods. Among them, papyri reporting lists of goods, satirical letters, royal instructions and hymns. Some of these evidences will be presented in this comment, showing as the memory of the Kadesh conflict evolved during the centuries, giving up the “propagandistic aura” of the contemporary sources and taking on some less official traits: a mirror-history of the Egypto-Hittite conflict. The following table resumes the attestations of the Hittites in some less known documents¹⁶⁸⁵:

No.	Title	Find spot	Description	Dyn.	Dating	
1	DONATION STELA OF AY	Giza	Donation document	18 th dyn.	3 rd year, 3 rd month of <i>shemu</i> season, 1 st day”: ca. 1321 BC	
2	OCAIRO CGC 25218 + ODEM 1266, GRUP B	Deir el-Medineh	Love song	beginning 19 th dyn.	ca. 1292 BC	
3	PAP. 32795-FRAGM. U	Gurob	List of textiles	19 th dyn.	/	
4	LISTS OF SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES AND PROCESSION OF THE “BERGGÖTTER”	Luxor	Topographical list			
5	PAPANAST. II	Saqqara	“Praise of the Delta Residence”			reigns of Merneptah (1213-1203 BC) and Seti II (1202-1200 BC)
6	PAPANAST. IV	Saqqara ?	Instructions for pharaoh’s arrival			reign of Seti II (1202-1200 BC)
7	PAPANAST. I	Saqqara	“Satirical letter of Hori”			reign of Seti II (1202-1198 BC), Siptah (1197-1193 BC) or Tausret (1192-1191 BC)
8	PAPCLÈRE I	Unknown		19 th -20 th dyn.	1292-1077 BC	
9	PAPKOLLER I	Memphis ?		late 19 th dyn.	/	
10	PAPCHESTER BEATTY IV	Unknown	Letter with a list of supplying?	19 th -20 th dyn.	1292-1077 BC	
11	PAPTURIN CGT 54031	Unknown	Hymns of Ramses VI and VII	20 th dyn.	1190-1077 BC	
12	PAPBM 10068	Unknown	Tomb Robberies	20 th dyn.	reign of Ramses IX, ca. 1129-1111 BC	

¹⁶⁸⁵ About this particular topic, see also my brief poster “Kadesh, beyond the conflict: the memory of the Hittites in some Egyptian ‘minor’ documents”, presented at the “5th Annual Birmingham Egyptology Symposium: *Conflict in Ancient Culture*”, 11th May 2018, University of Birmingham, UK; available online at link: https://www.academia.edu/36647149/Kadesh_beyond_the_conflict_the_Hittites_in_Egyptian_minor_documents.

13	PAPGOLÉNISCHEFF IV, 1-3	El-Hibah	Onomasticon of Amenemope	21 th -22 nd dyn.	ca. 1076-746 BC
----	-------------------------	----------	--------------------------	---	-----------------

The attestation of the toponym “Ḫatti” in historical accounts or royal narrative is quite expectable: it is much more noteworthy, indeed, the quotation of such a name within text such as the “**Love song no. 21**” on ostrakon oCairo CGC 25218 + oDem 1266, quoting “a **flower** from Ḫatti”, or the **Gurob pap.UC32795 (frag. U, Petrie)**, describing a **funerary practice** that resembles some Hittite customs (i.e., the burying and burning of the deceased’s objects). Other interesting texts can be found in **papAnast. II**, 2, 1, ff., (= papAnast. IV 6, 1ff.), reporting the “Praise for Pi-Ramesse” and mentioning the complete submission of the Hittite land to the power of the pharaoh (i.e., Seti II, ca. 1202 BC). Moreover, **papAnast. IV**, Rto, 13.8-17.9, reporting the “Instructions for pharaoh’s arrival”, is very informing, because of the quotation of a typical Hittite kind of oil (named as *qḏwr*) and stallions (whose name is given as *gw*) specifically described as coming from Ḫatti.

Furthermore, the text of the so-called “**Satirical letter of Hori**” (papAnast. I = papBM EA 10247, l. 18.7, with a parallel in papClère I, Vso ll. X+3), datable respectively to the reign of Seti II (ca. 1202-1198 BC) or Siptah (ca. 1179-1193 BC), and generally to 19th-20th dyn., provides an interesting insight into the Egyptian vision of the Hittite world and culture: as a matter of fact, the Hittite land is described as a foreign and distant land, such as the Upe province, whose knowledge is considered as a requisite within the skills of a well-trained and experienced scribe.

Another Egyptian papyrus, **papKoller I, 6** (dated to the late 19th dyn.), mentions a specific kind of Hittite weapon (i.e., a type of javelin), called in the Egyptian text *nw.j n Ḫt3*. This kind of spear/javelin was often depicted in many scenes of battle (such as the Kadesh struggle), showing as the Egyptian preserved also in both the literary accounts and in “minor” documents the memory of this kind of weapon which was probably seen as typical and peculiar of the Hittite soldiers at all.

PapChester Beatty IV = papBM EA 10684, Vso 7.3-10.15, l. 7.7 (19th-20th dyn., ca. 1292-1077 BC) also offers an attestation of a typical Hittite good, inside a list of a supplying(?): it is in fact quoted a kind of peculiar marble, described as *wbh.t n Ḫt3*, “marble from Ḫatti”, that I suggested could probably have been interpreted as a particularly precious marble, coming from the area of **Ḫupišna** (ancient Kybistra, nowadays called Ereğli, in the Konya plain). Marble was probably considered as a typical good (or “gift/tribute”) coming from Anatolia, being already attested in the “Annals of Thutmose III” (8th campaign, 33rd regnal year, i.e. ca. 1446 BC), quoting *‘3.t ḫḏ.t jnr ‘3 2*, “2 big pieces (literally ‘blocks’) of marble” (from Ḫatti).

Also another papyrus kept in the “Museo Egizio”, Turin (**papTurin CGT 54031**, Vso, l. 89.6), reporting some hymns datable to the reigns of Ramses VI and VII (i.e. 20th dyn., ca. 1190-1077 BC), offers an interesting glimpse on the Egyptian knowledge of the Hittite realm. In this text, the pharaoh is described as a person able to “**destroy the Hittite land from the mountains**”, an image that portrays both an inner vision on the Hittite geography (probably reported by some Egyptian officials or functionaries travelling in Anatolia for diplomatic or commercial purposes), and an ideological image of the Egyptian king as the lord of the nature and the *kosmos*, capable of subverting and changing also the geographical nature of the Anatolian landscape (which is known for its mountain plateaus).

A further strange mention of the Hittite land is preserved in **papBM 10068**, reporting some “Tomb robberies” of the 20th dyn. (Ramses IX, ca. 1129-1111 BC). The text quotes as follows: “The trader Seri son of Seniri belonging to the chief of the Hittite troops Senunozem(= Sennedjem?) of the department (?) of Mermeshaf (*p3 ḫ3 n Mr-mš^c=f*, “the fortress of M.”), 1 *deben* of silver”. The mention of a “**chief of the Hittite troops**” (named as Senunozem) is very interesting: it is a clear proof that also at the end of the 20th dyn. there was people leaving in Egypt, or (more probably) that some Hittite soldiers previously moved to Egypt, lived there and probably were buried according to the Egyptian customs, being also their tombs robbed at the end of the 20th dyn.

The last papyrus quoting the Hittites is the “Onomasticon on Amenemope” (**papGolénischeff IV, 1-3**), dated to the 21st-22nd dyn. (i.e. 1076-746 BC), reporting the toponym “Ḫatti” in a more

“proper” geographical way, listing the Kashka people, the Danww/na (the Aegeans), the Hittites themselves, Lukka, Pidaša, the Arzawa confederation, Karkemish, and Kedi (i.e., Kizzuwatna). The papyrus attests indeed a quite significant and deep knowledge of Anatolian and, even wider, of the Eastern Mediterranean geography: after many centuries of struggles and contacts, Egyptian people listed “Ḫatti” as one of the other countries comprised into the Levantine/Near Eastern area of their “geographical mind”.

Section 1.2.1 (“Hittite texts of MBA and LBA, in Akkadian and Hittite”) presented all the Hittite texts of the 2nd mill. BC (both in Akkadian and Hittite), quoting the toponym *Miṣri/Mizri* (i.e., “Egypt”). In total, 60 entries have been considered (on a total of about 173 texts)¹⁶⁸⁶. The texts were presented according to their “genre”, following the list of the HPM website (based on LAROCHE 1971): historical texts, letters, administrative and technical texts, hymns and prayers, rituals, cult inventories, praxis (oracle reports, dreams and vows), festival and ritual cults.

The **historical texts**¹⁶⁸⁷ included “The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I”, the “Annals of Muršili II”, “The Apology Ḫattušili III”, “The Decree of Ḫattušili III about Arma-Tarḫunta”, and many treaties (with Amurru, Nuḫašše, Wiluša, Karkemish, Kuruštama, and of course Egypt). The **letters** included the Egypto-Hittite correspondence (regarding the period after the battle of Kadesh, the stipulation of the Treaty and the following marriages), a letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II, another from Puduḫepa to Niqmaddu III of Ugarit, a third one of Bentešina of Amurru to Ḫattušili III, and other fragments of letters in both Akkadian and Hittite. The further **historical fragments** include fragments of royal annals, contracts or court instructions and other historical undefined texts. The **administrative and technical texts** involve accountings of goods (clothes, fabrics, jewels and jewellery), receipt certificates and fragments of inventories. The **hymns and prayers** considered “The prayers of Muršili II for the plague” and “The prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna”. The **rituals** involve mostly rituals texts related to Kizzuwatna (evocation rituals). The **cult inventories** include only “The inventory of Manninni”. Among other texts, **praxis texts, oracle reports** and some **reports of dreams and vows** are mentioned. The **festival ritual and cults** regarded some fragments of ritual texts and an “Evocation ritual for Ištar of Ninive”.

Apart from the historical accounts and the treaties, it is noteworthy to considered how in some documents (such as **CTH 76**, section 1.2.1, text no. 8, the “Treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša”) it is clearly stated the position of the Egyptian king inside the “Club of powers” of that time: the pharaoh is considered as a peer of the king of Babylonia, Ḫanigalbat and Assyria, as well, displaying the international balance of powers of that period. In many treaties it is also possible to note how Egypt was considered as the more influencing counterpart of the Hittite Empire, being many vassal states of the Anatolian or North Syrian area continuing passing from the Egyptian to the Hittite sphere of influence, or the contrary; the most emblematic case is, of course, that of Bentešina of Amurru, whose betraying probably led to the outcome of the battle of Kadesh itself.

A further emblematic document is surely **CTH 134**, “The Treaty with (relative to) Kuruštama”, probably dated to the late 15th cent. BC, reporting the allege moving of some Anatolian people from their homeland to an area under the Egyptian control (very probably the Egyptian

¹⁶⁸⁶ As already explained in the introduction to the section, I examined DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 and the supplement in DEL MONTE 1992, to find out the occurrences of the toponym “Egypt” within the Hittite documentation. However, during August 2018, I had the possibility of checking the original labels of Del Monte – Tischler’s onomasticon, kept in the archives of the “Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur”, in Mainz. I thank Gerfried Müller and Daniel Schwemer for the permission to work at the “Akademie”; my thanks also to Charles Steitler and Matteo Vigo for having welcomed me in the archives. During this research period, I was able to retrieve some more Hittite texts quoting Egypt, not considered in DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978 and in DEL MONTE 1992 (for many different reasons); unfortunately they are still not included in my catalogue, because they present just the transliteration, lacking of a proper translation, so far. I am going to publish these further texts in a later supplement to the present dissertation.

¹⁶⁸⁷ I do not report here all the CTH numbers of the documents, which could be easily retrieved in the table at the beginning of section 1.2.1.

possessions in North Syria); in this document it is clearly stated a peaceful situation between Ḫatti and Egypt, in a period earlier to the outcome of the struggle in Syria (under Seti I and Ramses II)¹⁶⁸⁸.

Paragraph C of the letter section is devoted to the presentation of all the **letters** exchanged between the Hittite and the Egyptian courts. Despite the monumental work devoted to this topic by E. Edel¹⁶⁸⁹, the recent Italian publication of the translations of some Egypto-Hittite letters by V. Cordani¹⁶⁹⁰ pinpointed some problems: in fact, Edel proposed many integration to the original tablets, sometimes just on the base of the comparison with parallel letters (“Parallelbriefe”), but not so sure and unequivocal. A new edition of the original tablets, with the transliteration and the translation avoiding all Edel’s integration seems to be necessary, in order to reach the actual situation presented by these documents. In any case, I decided to present the texts as published by Edel, because of the lack of further complete editions of those letters: however, I propose myself to devote a further research in preparing a new edition of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence without all Edel’s integrations and avoiding interpretations based just on mere parallels. I do not provide here other particular remarks about the correspondence, referring to the singular comments at the end of each text.

A very interesting insight into these letters can be offered by comparing them with the actual **inventory lists** of goods or accounts referring as coming from Egypt (texts nos 47-51). At the end of all the letters quoting the dispatch of mutual gift, I provided some tables that resume the quality and the quantity of the goods exchanged between the two courts: the comparison with the aforementioned inventory lists could be very useful in understanding which gifts actually were stored in the Hittite palace or, at least, in the storerooms of the royal capital. An interesting investigation could also be devoted to the analysis of the different kinds of **garments and clothes** described as gifts in the letters: a crossed comparison with actual artefacts kept in some Egyptian museums (and, above all, the “Museo Egizio” in Turin) could shed further light on the kind of fabric used to craft the many clothes described as *lubūlti* LUGAL, *maklalu* and *miku*-quality fabrics (or generically as SIG₅.MEŠ). Another noteworthy comparison can be advanced for what concerns the quotation of some wedding gifts (as e.g. in KBo XXVIII 21 and 22, text no. 20.a or also KBo XXVIII 18, text no. 20.d), such as **horses** and **cattle**, quoted also in the “Stela of the First Marriage” (section 1.1, text no. 8.f).

Another very important topic regards the dispatch from Egypt to Ḫatti of **physicians** (such as the famous Pariamahu) or **medicaments**, as e.g. in KBo XXVIII 23 (text no. 21.a) where 5 ^{DUG}*kukubu* ša Ū.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅, (“5 *kukubu*-vessels with fine medicaments for the eyes”) and 20 GI.MEŠ ša Ū.MEŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ SIG₅ (“20 chests with fine medicaments for the eyes”) are mentioned among the other gifts¹⁶⁹¹.

A remark was also proposed about **KUB III 68** (section 1.2.1, text no. 22.1), giving the text the possibility of a more precise dating for the so-called “Second Marriage” (see section 1.1, text no. 8.h). In this letter, Ramses informs Puduḫepa to have received a letter by Wašmuarianaḫta, reporting a message from the Hittite queen. Wašmuarianaḫta is also appointed by the pharaoh to bring a gift to Puduḫepa and to her daughter, probably the second princess married by Ramses. Puduḫepa also asks Ramses to consider the Hittite princess as his legitimate royal wife. Ramses reassures the Hittite

¹⁶⁸⁸ As for the *status quaestionis* about the dating of this document, see mostly SIMON 2007 and SINGER 2004.

¹⁶⁸⁹ EDEL 1994.

¹⁶⁹⁰ CORDANI 2017.

¹⁶⁹¹ About the topic of the exchange of medical knowledge and physicians between Egypt and Ḫatti, see mostly ALLEN 2006; BRESCIANI – DEL TACCA 2005; VON DEINES – GRAPOW 1959; EDEL 1976; GERMER 1979 and 2008; LEFEBVRE 1956a and b; NUNN 1956; WESTENDORF 1999; more in general for an overview about medicaments in the Aegean area, see MILANI – CARRUBA 1986. For ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia, see COCKITT – ROSALIE 2010. Further researches about ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia and its connections with medical practices are being currently conducted by a team of the University of Manchester, by the “KNH Centre for Biomedical Egyptology” (<http://www.knhcentre.manchester.ac.uk/research/previousandcompletedresearch/pharmacyproject/>). More research about the figure of the “physician expert in pharmacopoeia” (probably the Egyptian *jr.t phr.t*) is currently being developed (as a topic for her PhD dissertation) by Elena Urzi (University of Rome, “Sapienza”), under the tutoring of Paola Buzi (see e.g. URZI 2018).

queen that he would have considered his new wife in a way appropriated to her royal rank. At the end of the letter, Ramses mentions the scribe and physician **Pariamaḫu**, whose name is also attested in KUB III 66 + Winckler 24 (see previous text) and in KUB III 67 (*supra*, text 26.n); the mention of both the second Hittite princess and Pariamaḫu within the same letter, could offer a further, precious information about the dating of the “Second Marriage”: if Pariamaḫu had been sent in Ḫatti to help in fixing the health of Kuruntiya, king of Tarḫuntašša, it is clear that this fact happened during the last part of Kuruntiya’s life (see *supra*, comment to text no. 26.n), after to the worsened of his health, (datable between 1237-1223 BC332): it is therefore also possible to date the Second Marriage after ca. 1237 BC. Further research about this topic could be allow to better date this very important (and unfortunately still less documented) event. This is another clear proof that only throughout a comparison of both the Egyptian and the Anatolian sources it would be possible to reconstruct a piece of information about the history of Egypt and ancient Near East.

Among the other gifts that have been said to be exchanged between the two realms, there are the **udjat-eyes** (see KBo XXVIII4, text no. 21.d), which reveal to be a very particular item, probably connected to some cultic/apotropaic purposes; this topic will be further investigated in the conclusions about the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” artefacts found in Anatolia (see *infra*).

The **accounting** texts provide us with different kind of goods that were exchanged between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts: chests (containing many kinds of objects), clothes (sometimes dedicated to some peculiar gods, such as Ḫepat and Šarruma), silver *rhyta* (in the shape of a lion), beakers, bracelets (sometimes described as decorated with *penki*-ornaments), stamp-seals, blue stones (maybe Egyptian blue lapis lazuli?), sun-discs, a copper pot and different fabrics; furthermore, the receipt certificates listed as CTH 247 also describe golden emblems (probably some kind of standards). Other fragments of inventories (CTH 250) list “a sheep made of black iron” and “silver objects”, described as standing, and one alabaster item.

The last “genre” of texts is that comprising **hymns** and **prayers**: these texts include CTH 378, “The Prayer of Muršili II, for the plague”, already widely commented in section 1.2.1, texts nos 52.a-c and 53. Text no. 54 reports instead a “Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun goddess of Arinna”, probably containing a reference to the battle of Kadesh. Section VII reports some rituals: CTH 483, an “Evocation ritual of Kizzuwatna”, where the “powerful gods of the cedar” are evoked from many lands, including Egypt, which is quoted just after Alašiya, Alzi, Babylonia, Šanḫara (probably another toponym referring to the not local people living in the area of Babylon).

The following section VIII includes some **cult inventories**, such as CTH 504, “The inventory of Manninni”, describing a red container decorated with “Egyptian” gold and lapis lazuli and 6 golden protomes(?) of *rhyta* (“Maul”, in the translation provided in by Siegelová¹⁶⁹², rendering the original Akkadian “6 *BI-IB-RU* GUŠKIN”).

The section dedicated to the **praxis texts** (B. I. and II.) includes **oracles reports**, such as CTH 582, a mixed oracle also quoting the “MUŠEN Ḫurri”, and probably applied on the occasion of a military confrontation towards Egypt (allegedly, the battle of Kadesh itself?) and fragments of **dreams** and **vows**, like CTH 590, in which probably Ḫattušili III is invoking the goddess Ištār against a struggles towards troops coming from Egypt. In the second text presented under the same CTH no., KUB LVI 22 (text 58.b), it is said that Ištār herself is going to submit the land of Egypt in the hands of the Hittite king: probably, the text can be considered as a vow preluding to a military confrontation between the Hittites and Egypt (the battle of Kadesh, too?).

The last section (X. “Festival rituals and cults”) reports **various rituals**, such as CTH 669, which seems to refer, despite its lacunary state of preservation, to a ritual activity performed by the Hittite king who libates(?) in the name of the “king of Egypt” (LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*MI-IŠ-RI*), pronouncing a wishing formula (SIG₅-in e-eš-du) towards him. This text is indeed very interesting, because it could report a cultic activity performed by the Hittite sovereign in the capital (or in another

¹⁶⁹² SIEGELOVÁ 1986, pp. 448-449.

main Hittite cultic city), in a period of good relationships with the Egyptian king (probably just after the establishment of the Treaty of peace)¹⁶⁹³.

The last quoted text (no. 60 = CTH 716), is included into the HPM section “H. Cult of Ištar”, and reports an **evocation ritual** of this goddess who is asked to come from many countries. Among them, also Egypt has been proposed to be read, unfortunately just as an integration in l. 34/39 (depending of the different parallel texts considered)¹⁶⁹⁴. I also aim to devote a further contribution analysing more in detail these kind of ritual texts quoting Egypt¹⁶⁹⁵.

In **section 1.2.2 (“Neo-Hittite texts of IA, in hieroglyphic Luwian”)**, I presented all the (unfortunately few) inscriptions of the 1st mill. BC in Hieroglyphic Luwian, quoting Egypt: the first is stela **Karkemiš A6**, dated to the 8th cent. BC, reporting a building inscription of the regent Yariris for the prince Kamanis (section 1.2.2, text no. 1). In the text, Egypt is quoted as one of the extreme borders of the ancient known world, together with Babylon. The dating of the inscription to the 8th cent. is quite noteworthy, because it is known that many Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” artefacts have been found at Karkemish, also dating to this century in particular (see *supra*, section 2.2, cat. nos A49-A64 and *infra*, comment).

The second one is the inscription **Aleppo 7** (section 1.2.2, text no. 2), carved on a statue of a lion by Taita, thus probably dating to the 11th cent. BC: despite a so earlier dating, I decided to include this inscription in section 1.2.2 because it clearly deals with the Neo-Hittite state of Ḫalab, and could represent an interesting insight in the so-called Anatolian “Dark Ages”, the transition period after the “collapse” of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1180 BC). The text probably is connected to the trades of mules to/from (the case ending is not so clear in the text) Egypt, shedding further and new light on a not so well documented period of the contacts between Egypt and North Syria. Unfortunately, no extant Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects were found at Ḫalab, thus supporting such a relationship also on the respect of the archaeological *côté*.

The following **section 1.3** reports the cuneiform text found in Egypt: the first part (**section 1.3.1**) summons up all the El-Amarna letters directly exchanged between Egypt and Anatolian entities, or also other missives just quoting the Hittites, providing the pharaoh (and us) with historical information about Ḫatti. The toponym is attested 51 times in 35 letters, with many different spellings presented in the table at the beginning of that section.

Paragraph **1.3.1.1 (“The EA letters directly exchanged between Egypt and Anatolia”)** includes **EA 31-32** (texts nos 1-2) exchanged between the king of Arzawa, Tarḫundaradu, and the pharaoh, written in Hittite and related to the management of a marriage agreement. Among the various objects sent by the pharaoh to Tarḫundaradu it is interesting to note the presence of the (stone?) *kukkubu*-vessels (^{NA4}KU-KU-BU), containing wine or oil (according to the different integrations to the passage), and also quoted in the later Egypto-Hittite correspondence of the period of Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (see comment *supra*). EA 32 is, of course, very important because of the request of the Arzawean king to receive all the letters written in Nešite (i.e., Hittite): the existence itself of EA

¹⁶⁹³ I thank Matteo Vigo for having discussed with me this text during my staying at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz* (August 2018), providing further insights and suggestions for further researches.

¹⁶⁹⁴ The integration of “Egypt” has been proposed in FORLANINI 2000, p. 11, and supported by Francesco Fuscagni in his edition of the text for the HPM (see FUSCAGNI (ed.) 2009 sqq., hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1). I thank Francesco Fuscagni for his kindness in revising with me the original transliteration of the tablet at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz* (August 2018): despite the intriguing (and possible) integration of the toponym “Egypt” in this line, it is also possible (as already suggested by FORLANINI, *loc. cit.*) to integrate the name of Babylon (i.e. ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA), as proposed on the base of the comparison with evocation ritual CTH 483, where the name of Babylon just follows that of Aššur (KUB XVI 31 Ro. I 57). Only an analysis of the original tablet could be definitely solve this lacuna.

¹⁶⁹⁵ I thank Doris Prechel and Eva Maria Huber for having welcomed me in Mainz at the *Institut für Altertumswissenschaften – Altorientalische Philologie* of the *Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz* (during August 2018 and later on February 2019), allowing me to research about my dissertation and about the preparation of a contribution about the Hittite rituals quoting Egypt.

31, written in Egypt, testifies the presence at the pharaonic court of scribes well trained in Egyptian, Akkadian and Hittite. Moreover, **EA 41-44** (texts 3-6), redacted in Akkadian and sent/received by Šuppiluliuma I and Zita to Ḫuriya (i.e., Amenhotep IV = Akhenaten), concern the enthronement of the new pharaoh and the felicitation for renewed good relationships between the two countries, despite some gripes moved by Šuppiluliuma I to the pharaoh, accused not to observe the diplomatic wishing formulae in addressing him. EA 41 also reports as gifts sent to the pharaoh 2 silver *rhyta*, one in the shape of a stag and the second in the shape of a steinbock (for the importance and the interesting of *rhyta* as typical gifts sent by Ḫatti to Egypt, see comment *supra*). EA 42 is also interesting because it reports in the colophon the name of Ruminta, the Hittite scribe who was uncharged of writing the missive. EA 43 reports instead the announcement of the murdered of the Mittanian king Tušratta, while EA 44 reports a message sent by Zita (Šuppiluliuma I's brother) to the Egyptian king, wishing health to the pharaoh and sending him some prisoners (probably Kaška).

Paragraph **1.3.1.2** (“**The EA letters quoting the Hittites**”) reports all the El-Amarna letters not directly sent or received by/from Egypt/Ḫatti, but with other Near Eastern sovereigns, but all providing information about the Hittite: these letters reveal are very useful in providing a glimpse into the actual knowledge of the Anatolian political situation as seen under Egyptian mind and perspective. The senders of these missives are in general the king of Mittani Tušratta (also writing in Hurrian, see EA 24, text no. 8), the king of Alašiya, Ammistamru of Ugarit, Addu-Nirari of Nuḫašše, Akizzi of Qatna, the inhabitants of Tunip, Rib-Adda and Ili-rapiḫ of Byblos, Abi-milku of Tyre, Aziru of Amurru, Bieri of Ḫašabu, Ili-Daya of Ḫazi, Biruyawaza of Damascus and Abdi-Riša, king of Enišasi (a no better defined place in Syria). The Egyptian addressees are in general pharaohs Amenhotep III and IV, Tuttu and Ḫaay, important Egyptian officials, the second one also vizier (only in EA 164, EA 166, and EA 167 texts nos 25, 27 and 28). EA 170 (text no. 29) was instead sent by Ba'luya and Batti-Ilu to their brother Aziru, probably during his stay in Egypt.

The second part of section 1.3 (**section 1.3.2; “The cuneiform text from Qantir/Pi-Ramesse”**) presents a small tablet fragment found at Qantir/Pi-Ramesse¹⁶⁹⁶. The object (FZN 2003/0260), discovered during 2003 excavation season, reports just few lines in Akkadian, containing the incipit of a letter of international correspondence. Despite both the sender and the addressee of the missive are not clearly quoted, for many palaeographical reasons (above all, the analysis of the *ductus* of some diagnostic signs) it has been proposed to recognize in the fragment a letter exchanged between Egypt and Ḫatti, during Ramses II's reign, and more in detail on the occasion of the enthronement of a new Hittite king (Tuthaliya IV?), comparing line 3' of the fragment with §10 of the Egypto-Hittite treaty. In any case, the document itself deserves further analysis and attention, because it is the only cuneiform document found in Egypt, outside El-Amarna; more in detail, further petrographic and archaeometric analyses on the matrix and the clay of the tablet could provide some more information about the origin of the object itself¹⁶⁹⁷.

Chapter II (“Archaeological artefacts”) was entirely devoted to the presentation of as far as possible complete catalogues of all the Hittite (or Hittite-shaped) objects found in Egypt (section 2.1) and of all the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” artefacts found in Anatolia (section 2.2), during a timespan from ca. 17th cent. BC (the dawn of the Hittite kingdom), until the 8th cent. BC (the Assyrian definite conquest of Anatolia). I decided to include in the catalogue generally only those objects whose archaeological find spot is known, and just few other artefacts (coming from private collection or the antiquity market) are quoted as a comparison. Mostly as far as section 2.1, some materials pre-dating this timespan are in any case presented, being probably a proof of some contacts between Egypt and

¹⁶⁹⁶ I thank Henning Franzmeier, field director of the “Qantir-Piramesse Project”, for having so kindly shared with me interesting information about the objects coming from Qantir, including the tablet fragment (personal communication, August 2018).

¹⁶⁹⁷ Henning Franzmeier confirmed me that no petrographic or archaeometric analyses have been performed, so far (personal communication, August 2018).

the pre-Hittite Anatolia (see e.g. the beer-jars presented as E2). In compiling these catalogues, several troubles and limits occurred:

1) it is sometimes very difficult to clearly define an object as “Hittite-inspired” or “Egyptianizing”, and sometimes it is also quite hard to distinguish an original Egyptian object from its local imitations;

2) for the majority of the artefacts quoted, I had no possibility to directly access the actual objects, sometimes because their current location in museums or collections is unknown, or because of some limitations caused by the bureaucracy of the States where these objects are kept: therefore, the data here provided are, unfortunately, mostly coming from secondary sources, i.e. academic publications;

3) in many circumstances, and most of all in the case of very ancient excavations, the objects lack a precise dating and a well-defined archaeological context (find spot): thus, it was impossible to offer both the stratigraphic and the actual dating of many artefacts;

4) I am perfectly aware of the partiality of these catalogues, and it is clear that they do not have to be considered as definitive tools, but capable to be improved and complemented with further objects and data;

5) for the most part of the objects, I decided not to provide a deep and analytical comparison and study, preferring to make references to other previous publication, because of the catalogue-nature of this second chapter: in fact, it would have been impossible to dedicate such an in-depth study in a so short space and time; therefore, I propose myself to devote further researches just on the analysis and the comparisons of the object here presented only as a catalogue (that I hope could be in any case be useful to have a quite complete insight into this topic).

Section 2.1 (“Hittite objects found in Egypt”) presents 5 entries (catalogued as E1-E5): a Hittite pendant from El-Amarna (E1), 4 beer-jars from Giza (E2), a harper statuette from Gurob (E3), 2 models(?) of shields in a 8-shape from Qantir (E4) and eventually 2 winejars from the tomb of Tutankhamun (E5). Speaking about the percentage or quantity of objects exported from Ḫatti elsewhere, those found in Egypt are actually not so many (surely, only 2) in comparison with those coming from e.g. the Aegean (7) or Cyprus (8)¹⁶⁹⁸. We have, of course, to include among the objects coming from Anatolia also EA 32, 41, 42-44 (if they are not to be considered as local copies of original messages), and probably the small tablet fragment from Qantir (see *supra*, section 1.3.2), if it was really addressed to the pharaoh by a Hittite sovereign, and the letter of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence of the period of Ramses II and Ḫattušili III/Tuthaliya IV (considering also the so-called “*insibiya*-Briefe”). The two more interesting objects are sure **E1** and **E3**, because they can be compared with other actual objects found in Anatolia; for what concerns the other artefacts, I leave the question open: the beer-jars from Giza (**E2**) are described in literature as “Hittite”, but they actually pre-date the Hittite kingdom; thus, it seems to me more likely (and fair) to define them as “Anatolian-shaped”, at most. As for the 8-shaped models of shields from Qantir (**E4**), it is indeed possible they have been some “models” (not, of course, in the sense of “moulds”), to obtain weapons imitating a Hittite (or at least Levantine) form of shield (I refer to the bibliography quoted in the section for a further insight). For what concerns the 2 winejars found in KV 62 (**E5**), it is possible, in my humble opinion, to recognize them as local imitation (I think not actual imports, also because of the matrix itself) of a typology of liquid-storage vessels probably originating from Northern Syria or Southern Anatolia (see the comparison proposed in HOLTHOER 1992 with the jar from Eskiyaapar).

In the end, it is clear that the most of the information about relationships between Egypt and the Hittites comes mostly from the textual sources (presented in section 1.1) rather than from actual objects found in Egyptian sites.

¹⁶⁹⁸ See *supra*, section 2.1.1, Fig. 126.

Section 2.2, presenting “**The Egyptian or ‘Egyptianizing’ objects found in Anatolia and North Syria**” includes surely much more material; in sum, I included 79 artefacts that can be considered as Egyptian imports or local imitation (“Egyptianizing”) of Egyptian original objects. The recognition of the material started after having deeply consulted some previous publications devoted to similar topics (BREYER 2010a; DURGUN 2017; HELFT 2010; KOZAL 2006; ÖZKAN 2007; SOWADA 2001), as already explained in paragraph 2.2.1. Some tables at the beginning of this paragraph (Figs 151-156) resume the materials considered within these aforementioned works, providing also a map (Figs 154-155) with the geographical location of the major Egyptian finds in Anatolia. As it is clear from the analysis of these tables, I considered much more artefacts than those listed by in previous works: this is mostly because I included not only 2nd mill. BC objects but also finds of the first centuries of the 1st mill. BC (until the 8th cent. BC) and because I added some other sites not considered in those catalogues (e.g. Karkemish).

It is quite noteworthy to make some considerations on the base of Fig. 153 (from HELFT 2010, p. 204, tab. 8.1.): it is clear from the table that the major number of imports in Anatolia from abroad comes from Cyprus (Alašiya), with about 60-65 items; then follow the Syro-Mesopotamian area (30 items), Egypt (25-30 items), the Aegean (20-25 items), Babylon (5-10 items) and Assyria (less than 5 items). However, if we consider as coming from Egypt or “Egyptianizing” all the 81 artefacts presented here, it would seem that Egypt takes the first spot in this list, instead of the third one. It is, of course, understandable that the major number of finds comes from the inner portion of the Hittite realm, i.e. the inner part of the Halys plateau: nevertheless, many more sites are considered in the present catalogue (see paragraph 2.2.3), showing as probably also other peripheral areas entertained contacts (direct or indirect) with the Nile land. Also in this section the timespan considered is the same as for section 2.1, thus ca. 17th-8th cent. BC.

As for section 2.1, also for the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects from Anatolia (**section 2.3.2**) I do not provide an in-depth comment with *comparanda* for each artefact, because this is not indeed the topic of this work and this goal deserves a further and wider space (some preliminary remarks can be easily found in the bibliographical references quoted in the forms). Nevertheless, I will pinpoint some peculiarities and general remarks about the whole catalogue, following the alphabetical, topographical order of the sites where the objects were found. I will advance, as it will clear, more questions than answers, proposing some topics for further researches (that could include also a more detailed comparison with Egyptian originals).

As for **A1**, the statue of Satsneferu, I was firstly quite reluctant in adding it into the catalogue, being it datable to the 12th dyn., during the reign of Sesostri II (ca. 1845-1837 BC), thus pre-dating the Hittite kingdom. By the way, being sometimes statues quoted as a gift the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, I eventually decided to quote it, just as a general information, considering the possibility that it could have been brought in Anatolia, during the second half of the 2nd mill. BC, in an area (Kizzuwatna) that was under the Hittite sphere and very well-known to the Egyptians (see the many quotations within the topographical lists). Unfortunately, stratigraphic information about the item are still missing, and therefore the question remains unsolved.

Quite more interesting are the objects coming from **Alaca Höyük**, A2-A6: the bone plaque **A2** with the carving of the *djed*-pillar comes from a stratigraphic context dated to the Hittites (i.e. 16th-12th cent. BC) and could be considered as a local reproduction (probably an applique for some furniture) of the Egyptian motif; it is also possible, however, to regard it as an Egyptian original import: the question arising concerns the reason for which the object (as the others, too) arrived to Arinna and not to the capital Hattuša. The ivory statuette **A3** can be instead considered as a local imitation of an Egyptian original, considering the gesture of the kneeling man touching his right shoulder with the left hand. I am instead not so confident in advancing further remarks about **A4**, being the object documented just by a sketch, without any picture: it seems to portray a kneeling man, represented with his arms tied on the back with a rope, a gesture that could resemble the representation of captives typical of the Egyptian iconography, attested on many battle reliefs. On the plaque **A5**, it is clearly recognizable a local imitation of the Egyptian god Bes (or more probably his forerunner

Aha) and also the material (bone, as for A3) hints to a production from the Anatolian area. The same consideration can be advanced for the plaque **A6**, portraying a hawk, possibly inspired by the representation of the Egyptian god Horus: the question (if this interpretation can be supported, but I remain still not completely convinced), is how the Hittites (or in general Anatolian people) got inspiration for such a representation.

The items found at **Alişar Höyük** (A7-A13) consist of a scarab (A7), 3 scaraboids (A8-A10) and 3 *udjat*-eyes (A11-A13). The limestone scarab **A7** carries the representation of the signs ^c*nh* and *nb*, together with the depiction of a hawk carrying the double crown and that of a *uraeus*: this item could be considered as an import from Egypt, despite the strange shape of the ^c*nh* sign, and interpreted as a personal gift or an amulet belonging to some Egyptian officials travelling in Anatolia for some purposes (probably political or commercial). Also the dating provided by T.G. Allen (1400-1200 BC)¹⁶⁹⁹ could support this interpretation. The scaraboids **A8-A10** can be included into the catalogue just for what concerns their shape and it is still not clear to me if on the other side of the items the scarab is actually portrayed or not (given to the lack of any picture or sketch); the geometrical motifs or patterns could be instead also be easily explained as local Anatolian decorations, apart from the last one, A10 which could also be resemble some Hyksos parallels (see the bibliography in the form). Furthermore, it seems to me an interesting topic for further researches a comparison between the use of the seal in both Egypt and Anatolia considering also the possibility of mutual influences in uses or manufacture. The three *udjat*-eyes **A11-A13** seem instead to be actual imports from Egypt: possibly, A12 and A13 could also be considered as local imitation, but the low quality of the available pictures and the lack of sketches (besides to the unknown location of the objects themselves in a specific museum) do not allow further insights or precise comparisons.

A more interesting remark can be advanced for what concerns the fayence plaque with the name of Ramses II (no. **A14**), found in the **Roman Baths at Ankara**: despite the stratigraphic context is described as datable to the Phrygian or the Roman periods, a detail that seems to be hinting to a not so clear context, the artefact itself can be easily dated into the New Kingdom, 19th dyn., reign of Ramses II (1279-1213 BC), or at most some years later. It is possible that the object reached Anatolia during the Hittite empire period, when the contacts with Egypt were stronger, in the years of the “Pax Hethitica”, and lasted there for many centuries, till to slightly later periods, because of the importance of the item itself.

Even more interesting are, of course, the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” materials coming from the Hittite capital, **Boğazköy/Ḫattuša** (A15-A20). No particular information is provided about the bronze axe **A15**, despite the clear Egyptianizing shape of the weapon. It is possible in my opinion to further investigate an idea already presented by Neve¹⁷⁰⁰, who considered the weapon as produced by a Syrian or an Egyptian “guest worker” who crafted it in Ḫattuša (maybe in one of the bronze shop near to the Temple I. By the way, neither textual sources or other archaeological attestations can still confirm this hypothesis. The most important and clear artefact surely coming from Egypt is clearly the stela fragment inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs, found in Büyükkale (**A16**). The presence of the inscription hints evidently to an original artefact: by the way, it remains to be better investigated the reconstruction of the inscription as “King NN of Atum, ruler of Heliopolis is loved in Babylon”, provided by Helft¹⁷⁰¹, and mostly because of the quotation of the toponym “Babylon” (of course, the Egyptian one, if we trust Helft interpretation¹⁷⁰²). Also the following item (**A17**), the obsidian fragment of a vessel quoting the name of the Hyksos pharaoh Chian deserves a particular attention: its absolute dating can be easily located in the 15th dyn. (i.e. ca. 17th-16th cent. BC), while the fragment was found in a context (an alluvial layer in Square L/18, near to the “House on the Slope”) datable after the “end” of the Hittite empire. It is possible that the fragment reached the capital during the Hittite period (unfortunately, it is not possible to make any other chronological assumption) and was

¹⁶⁹⁹ OIP 19, p. 263.

¹⁷⁰⁰ NEVE 1993, p. 29.

¹⁷⁰¹ HELFT 2010, p. 278, No. 124.

¹⁷⁰² See the catalogue for further comments about this topic.

found in a clearly secondary context. The alabaster vessel **A18**, also found in Büyükkale (Level III, Square u/7) is dated according to the stratigraphy to the 13th cent. BC: both the material and the shape effectively hint to an Egyptian origin, and it is maybe possible that the vessel was brought to the Hittite capital containing some goods (see correspondence). No further remarks can be proposed for scarab **A19**, said to have been discovered in 1960 on the surface, in the Lower City (area J/23), given to the lack of pictures, sketches and other information about the object. The last item is **A20**¹⁷⁰³, the blue frit (or fayence) sphinx figurine found in Büyükkale (Level IVa, Square u/12) in a terracing debris under an empire period mud packing is surely one of the most interesting objects: datable on the base of its stratigraphic context to the 15th-14th cent. BC, it could be interpreted both as a pendant (given to the presence of two holes) or as a weight too, as suggested by Cline¹⁷⁰⁴, who considered the artefact as an import from the Syro-Palestinian area.

Also for the *udjat*-eye coming from **Eskiyapar (A21)**, no further remarks can be proposed, being of lack of any precise information about both context and therefore dating as well: nevertheless, the shape itself of the object appears to be quite less Egyptian, thus I support a local production, imitating some other Egyptian originals; it is also important to remember that *udjat*-eyes are quoted as gifts in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence (see e.g. section 1.2.1, texts nos 21.b and 26.k).

The two scaraboids found at **Firaktın (A22 and A23)** are instead provided with a more precise dating, both within the 18th dyn.: the first one to the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC) and the second to that of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC). Despite of this clear dating, both of them have been found in a layer containing Phrygian pottery, 60 cm above the last Hittite level: it is possible that also these objects reached the Hittite land during the Egyptian NK and then were handed down till a far later period.

Scarab **A24**, found at **Gordion/Yassihöyük** is datable to the EIA (1100-950 BC) and is decorated with the “*omega*-sign” (which is sometimes interpreted as a Hathoric symbol) and a double snake; it is quite difficult it has been a seal of some Egyptian official travelling in Anatolia and therefore I am much more confident in speaking of local production. Also **A25**, a seal dating to the MBA (2000-1700BC), found in a tumulus and carrying the same “*omega*-sign” can be regarded under the same respect¹⁷⁰⁵.

The following site to be considered is **Tarsus**, where many Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects have been found (A26-A37). **A26** is an *udjat*-eye dated to the LBA or slightly to the EIA, coming from an area insisting just above the Hittite temple: because of its features, it can be considered as a local production. **A27**, a scarab datable also to LBA/EIA, presents a comparative dating to the 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC), according to the bibliography quoted in the form; also the fayence inlay **A28**, presenting an open work design pattern, could be dated within the same period, while scarab **A29**, displaying the kneeling figure of maybe a woman, can be allegedly dated by comparison to the 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC); the fayence scarab **A30** presents instead some closer comparison with some other artefacts from Tell ed-Dab’a, being thus datable to the 17th-16th cent. BC. The seal impression **A31**, decorated with what seem to be two crocodiles, presents just a possible stratigraphic date to the MIA (ca. 850-700 BC), thus being placed in the very last phase considered in this catalogue, despite Goldman¹⁷⁰⁶ advances some comparisons with previous artefacts of the NK, hinting to a transmission of this kind of decoration through the Palestine area towards Anatolia. A similar analysis can be proposed for the scaraboid seal displaying a walking quadruped (**A32**) and datable to the MIA, too; however, also for this object, Goldman¹⁷⁰⁷ proposed a previous date, to the 21st dyn (ca. 1085-950 BC), on the base of a comparison with some designs on a plaque found at Lakish¹⁷⁰⁸. Scaraboid **A33**,

¹⁷⁰³ I thank Andreas Schachner, director of the excavation at Boğazköy (DAI, Istanbul) for the pictures and all the other suggestions received during our meeting in May 2017.

¹⁷⁰⁴ CLINE 1991, p. 134.

¹⁷⁰⁵ See more precisely the quotation of DUSINEBERRE 2005, p. 35, reported in the form of the object.

¹⁷⁰⁶ GOLDMAN 1963, text, pp. 347-348.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Ivi, text, p. 348.

¹⁷⁰⁸ See form for further detail.

stratigraphically dating the MIA carrying the depiction of a Bes figure (or Aha), seems to be a local imitation of an original artefact, with a clear parallel from Naukratis (see form, under description¹⁷⁰⁹). The figure of Bes is quite interesting also if compared to the other depiction of this god on the orthostates from Karatepe (see *infra*). The other scaraboid **A34**, reporting the signs *nfr*, *m3^c.t*, *cnh*, is also datable at the MIA and finds clear parallels from Lindos, Cyprus, Naukratis and other Greek sites (see form¹⁷¹⁰). The pendant amulet in the shape of a crouched sphinx, or maybe a simple lion (**A35**), probably dating to the EIA, is quite interesting also for the comparison with the other sphinx figurine found at Hattuša (see *supra*, no. A20), being probably both used as amulets (for a necklace, maybe?). Another pendant is **A36**, depicting the head of negroid type, stratigraphically datable to the MIA: together with A35 and **A37**, a fayence *udjat*-eye datable to the EIA, this object is considered by Goldman¹⁷¹¹ as an import “from Egypt by the way of Cyprus or Palestine” (see form of object no. A37).

Another fayence scarab (**A38**) was found at **Imamoğlu**, carrying a hieroglyphic inscription quoting the god Amun and dating to the LBA/EIA(?); its find spot is quite interesting, because it has been placed in a grave near to the head of the deceased, showing as the object was included into the burial goods. A second, probably uninscribed, scarab (**A39**) was discovered in the same context.

One of the most interesting objects found in Anatolia and representing a sure import from Egypt, is the so-called “Opferständer” found at **İzmir (A40)**. Unfortunately preserved only for the lower part, it was surely an offering altar in the typical Egyptian conical shape. The frontal part of the object quotes a dedicatory inscription to Thutmose III, giving a precise dating for the object within the reign of this pharaoh (i.e. 1479-1425 BC). Probably coming from Karnak, the artefact could have been sent to Anatolia during the 18th or the 19th dyn.; even more likely, it could be considered as a votive altar left by the pharaoh during one of its numerous campaigns in the Near East¹⁷¹².

Moreover, 5 scarabs were also found at **Kamankale Höyük (A41-A45)**. The first one (**A41**) is made of steatite and is inscribed with some hieroglyphic symbols; because of the presence of a pierced hole, it could have been used as an amulet (possibly hang to a necklace). **A42** is a fayence scarab datable to the 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC) on a comparative base and was found in a LBA or Phrygian context; the same dating has been proposed also for **A43**, a fayence scarab presenting an unrecognizable figure on the left and an *uraeus* on the right. **A44** could instead be dated to a slightly earlier period, i.e. the 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC) and is decorated with the Horus hawk and the sun disk of Ra. The last scarab, **A45**, is datable as A44 and displays the figure of a bird with a man in its mouth. It is possible that all these scarabs reached Anatolia during the NK and lasted there for many centuries, being considered as amulets or just as ornamental objects, since their use as seals seems to be excluded (for the lack of any proper personal name).

Unfortunately, the only scarab seal coming from **Karahöyük (Konya), A46**, cannot be deeper analysed, because of the absence of any picture; by the way, despite its earlier dating (according to Leclant¹⁷¹³, the 18th cent. BC) it could be compared with the other seals found at Gordion and Alişar.

Entries nos **A47-A48** represent a very famous case of Egyptian influence on the Neo-Hittite iconography: they consist of two reliefs displayed on two orthostates of the North gate of the site of **Karatepe (Aslantaş)**, where two figures of Bes are carved; the reliefs can be easily dated to the 8th cent. BC. Despite the typical Egyptian features of the god, I agree with P. Matthiae in recognizing a pure Syro-Levantine influence in the transmigration of this iconographic motif¹⁷¹⁴.

One of the most important sites for the study of the relationships between Egypt and the Hittite/Neo-Hittite kingdom is surely **Karkemish**¹⁷¹⁵. Here, 17 Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects

¹⁷⁰⁹ Quoting GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 356 (no. 3).

¹⁷¹⁰ Quoting GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 349.

¹⁷¹¹ GOLDMAN 1963 (text), p. 397 (no. 37).

¹⁷¹² See in general CAVILLIER 2003.

¹⁷¹³ See form of the object, under “Description”.

¹⁷¹⁴ MATTHIAE 1963, pp. 36-37, reported in the form of the object.

¹⁷¹⁵ See DE PIETRI 2016 and ZECCHI 2014a.

have been found (A49-A65). Objects A49-A51 are considered as imports from Egypt, while the following ones (A52-A65) just show a clear Egyptian influence in the shape or in other features. **A49** is a stone head-mace inscribed with the name of a Ramses (II/III?), while **A50-A51** are respectively fragments of an alabaster new-year bowl and flask, coming from House D in the Outer Town. Unfortunately, no stratigraphic data are provided in the publications, but on a comparative base we could suggest a dating to the NK, when this kind of objects were quite common. **A52** is a steatite human mask showing some Egyptian traits in the shape of the eyes and in general in all the facial features. A53-A58 are all amulets, in many materials, portraying a Bes (**A53**), an *udjat*-eye (**A54**), the goddess Sekhmet (**A55**), other two Bes figures (**A56-A57**) and a Bes or a Ptah-Patecus (**A58**); for all these items it not possible to provide a precise dating, but according to their find spots it is likely that they came from 1st mill. contexts. **A59** is a steatite scarab quoting the *praenomen* of Shabaqo (25th dyn., ca. 722-707 BC), while **A60** does not present any proper name, showing just a falcon surrounded by two winged-*uraei*: its dating has been proposed between the 19th dyn. or the Late Period. The other white steatite scarab **A61** is simply decorated with the image of a hawk and a *hpr* sign, presenting raining arms, and what seems to be a *nb*-sign in the lower part. **A62** is described as a stone stamp-seal or a scaraboid presenting a not clear decoration (probably an eye with brows); **A63** is a stone stamp-seal or a scaraboid decorated with the image of a winged sphinx: both the scaraboid come from House G and can therefore be dated to the Late Hittite period. Entry **A64** includes 5 false-door fragments found in Houses D, E, G and H, whose purpose and attestation at Karkemish are quite unclear, being these objects usually related to funerary contexts: however, they were found in domestic places, thus could be interpreted as a kind of amulet. The last object, **A65**, is a paste scarab found on the staircase of the Storm-god temple and allegedly dated by Woolley and Barnett to the 19th dyn., i.e. 1292-1191 BC (see form): unfortunately, no pictures or sketches are offered and no further considerations can be advanced.

Another glass scarab was found at **Kinet Höyük (A66)**: it carries no inscription and its stratigraphic emplacement hints to a dating to the 8th cent. BC. On the seal face, two figures in a horse-drawn chariot are depicted, a scene not attested (as far as I know) on Egyptian seals: thus it is probable a local product.

A very important object (**A67**) has been discovered at **Kırıkkale (Yahşihan Höyük)**: it is a black granite statuette with a hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillar quoting the name of the owner, Keri. Despite the stratigraphic dating hints to the Hellenistic-Roman period, the statuette itself can be easily dated to the MK, and more precisely to the 12th dyn. (1939+16-1760 BC). It is therefore likely (even if not conclusive) that the statuette was brought in Anatolia during the Hittite domination, and then lasted until it was reused in a Late-Hellenistic-Roman grave.

A fayence scarab was also found at **Mersin-Soli (A68)**: the stratigraphic date can be established around the 13th cent. BC, while the comparison with other Egyptian artefacts shows a dating to the 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC). The object, surely a local imitation, was found in a cremation grave, together with animal bones, a bronze pin and a Hittite bulla: thus, this is one of the few objects for which we can suppose some direct involvement with the Hittites. A second fayence scarab (**A69**) was found in the same site, with a similar stratigraphic dating, but with an absolute dating to the 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC); according to S. Helft (see form), it could be even more precisely dated within the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC), and used as a funerary offering.

Besides the Hittite capital **Ḫattuša**, another important Hittite city where Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects come from is **Ortaköy**, the ancient **Šapinuwa**. Here, 4 objects were found: **A70**, a golden earring in the shape of a lotus bloom encrusted with precious stones, datable to the 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC); **A71**, a bronze plaque with a head in profile, showing typical Egyptian features (stratigraphic date: 15th-14th cent. BC); **A72**, a granite head-mace which found some comparisons within the 18th dyn. and eventually a golden jewel (very likely a pendant of a necklace) in a bloom shape (**A73**), datable to the same dynasty. It is quite difficult to establish in this case which artefact could be an original import and which instead represents a local production, because of the

high quality of the objects: by the way, I suggest to consider at least A70 as an actual original piece coming from Egypt.

Three scarabs/kauroid were also found at **Oylum Höyük** (A74-A76). The first one (**A74**), made of bone or ivory, is inscribed with the name of the god Amun-Ra and two *nb*-signs; its dating is debated between Kucharek (18th-19th dyn.)¹⁷¹⁶ and Raue (first half of the 1st mill. BC)¹⁷¹⁷. The limestone scarab **A75** reports some signs disposed in a cryptographic writing: the dating proposed by Kucharek for this objects spans between the Hyksos period (1650-1540 BC, “*Anra*-group”) and the 21st dyn. (1076-944 BC)¹⁷¹⁸. **A76** is a fayence scarab probably quoting a cryptographic writing of the royal name of Amenhotep III or that of the god Amun (in this case, with a retrograde reading); its stratigraphic date hints to the MBA/LIA, while Kucharek proposed a dating within the NK (ca. 1550 BC)¹⁷¹⁹.

Further fayence of frit scarabs have also been found at **Panaztepe-Menemen**: **A77**, coming from a pithos grave and datable to the reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC), whose name is inscribed on the scarab and **A78** found in the same context and carrying the name of the god Amun-Ra. These two seals seem to be actual original objects from Egypt, because of the palaeography of the signs (however, the available pictures are not so clear and trustable).

A limestone scarab was also discovered at **Sabuniye Höyük** (**A79**), carrying an inscription with the name of pharaoh Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC), in a stratigraphic context datable to LBA-IA I. S. Özkan proposed that this scarab and another cylinder seal found in the same context could be North-Syrian imitation of actual Egyptian objects¹⁷²⁰.

In the end, summoning up all the different types of objects, we can obtain the following data (listed alphabetically):

Object	Number of items	Cat. no.
False-doors	5	A64 (5 items)
Figurines or amulets	7	A20, A53, A54, A55, A56, A57, A58
Furniture	2	A28, A40
Jewellery	2	A70, A73
Masks	1	A52
Pendants	2	A35, A36
Plaquettes	6	A2, A4, A5, A6, A14, A71
Reliefs	2	A47, A48
Scaraboids	7	A8, A9, A10, A32, A33, A34, A74
Scarabs	27	A7, A19, A22, A23, A24, A27, A29, A30, A38, A39, A41, A42, A43, A44, A45, A59, A60, A61, A65, A66, A68, A69, A75, A76, A77, A78, A79
Seals and seal impressions	5	A25, A31, A46, A62(?), A63(?)
Statues	1	A1
Statuettes	2	A3, A67
Stelae	1	A16
<i>Udjat</i> -eyes	6	A11, A12, A13, A21, A26, A37
Vessels	4	A17, A18, A50, A51

¹⁷¹⁶ KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 118-119.

¹⁷¹⁷ KST 18/1, p. 191.

¹⁷¹⁸ KUCHAREK 2001, pp. 120-121.

¹⁷¹⁹ *Ivi*, p. 121.

¹⁷²⁰ KST 32/4, p. 311, reported in the object form.

Weapons (also ceremonial)	3	A15, A49, A72
---------------------------	---	---------------

As it is evident from the data displayed in this table, the most common objects exchanged between the two courts are the scarabs (27 items) and the scaraboids (7 items), together with the figurines or amulets (7 items), the plaquettes (6 items) and the *udjat*-eyes (6 items).

In the following table, I summon up all the find spots of the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects found in Anatolia and North-Syria (alphabetical order of find spots):

Place	Number of items
Adana, Tepebağ Höyük	1
Alaca Höyük	5
Alişar Höyük	7
Ankara (Roman Baths)	1
Boğazköy	6
Eskiyapar	1
Fırtın	2
Gordion	2
Gözlü Kule/Tarsus	9
Imamoğlu	2
İzmir	1
Kamankale Höyük	5
Karahöyük (Konya)	1
Karatepe	2
Karkemish	20
Kinet Höyük	1
Kırıkkale	1
Mersin-Soli	2
Ortaköy	4
Oylum Höyük	3
Panaztepe-Menemen	2
Sabuniye Höyük	1

The major part of the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects comes from Karkemish (20 items) and Gözlü Kule/Tarsus (9 items), Alişar Höyük (7 items) and Boğazköy (6 items). It seems quite clear that the objects are more concentrated in the central Anatolian area, closer to the Hittite capital, or next to the coast (maybe because of the presence of shores). The quest and analysis of the Egyptian/“Egyptianizing” objects could be enlarged, including also other North-Syrian sites (or cities on the Syrian-Turkish border) not considered in the present catalogue, but under the Hittite domination or, at least, in their sphere of influence (such as Alalakh, Byblos, Emar and Ugarit). By the way, in this catalogue I decided to include only the Hittite cities of the proper Anatolian area, apart from Karkemish¹⁷²¹, and a presentation of other Syrian site could have been out of context.

The last **paragraph 2.3.3 (“Finds dated before the Hittites”)** firstly presents three artefacts pre-dating the dawn of the Hittite domination in Anatolia: the first one, the golden plaque with the name of Sahure, allegedly coming from **Dorak** graves (as said by Mellaart), has been quoted just for completeness: it is nowadays very clear that it was instead either an “imagination” of Mellaart mind (thus, a mystification, to be malignant) or a fake object shown to Mellaart (see the long story explained in the paragraph) who faithfully trusted it as an original object coming from Dorak tombs. In any case, the problem does not subsist, being the actual object never seen or recoverable today (as far).

¹⁷²¹ For which see DE PIETRI 2016 and ZECCHI 2014a.

The second object dated before the Hittite period is a golden cylindrical seal with the names of pharaohs Menkawhor and Djedkare, OK, 5th dyn. (ca. 2373-2366⁺²⁵), kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and reported to come from the **Pactolus Valley**, near Sardis, from a grave of a princess, dated to the EBA. In this second case, because of the actual presence of the object, if the information given about the provenance is correct, we could consider this artefact as the first one found in Anatolia and surely coming from Egypt (being for sure not a local imitation). The next obvious question arises about the reason for the presence of a royal seal in Anatolia in a so early period: could have it been a gift? Or a sign of power given to an official or a functionary travelling between the two countries of behalf of the pharaonic court (given the titles and duties displayed on the seal: see the section for a further comment)? A conclusive answer to this question is still unfortunately not possible to be given, and all other hypotheses just stay on the floor of mere speculations.

The third object found in Anatolia and pre-dating the Hittites is represented by the fayence mace-head found at **Troy** (Level II), dated by means of radiocarbon analyses to 2200-2000 BC: as for this object, considering the geographic position of Troy, it could easily possible to speculate about an import directly from Egypt or through the medium of the eastern Aegean area (Cyprus?).

3.2: Topics for further researches

In the end, I would like to point out some other possible fields for further researches that can be envisaged¹⁷²²:

- 1) the prosopographical analysis of the many names of officials and messengers quoted in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence¹⁷²³;
- 2) the investigation of some peculiar objects quoted in the textual sources, comparing them with actual artefacts or their representation (such as the case of the Hittite *rhyta*);
- 3) the role and the importance of the physicians and in general the role of Egyptian medical knowledge as an immaterial “gift” shared with the Hittites;
- 4) the reasons for mentioning Egypt in some “minor” documents, such as the peculiar case of the Hittite ritual texts¹⁷²⁴;
- 5) an analysis of some possible loan words between the two countries¹⁷²⁵;
- 6) the study of the ancient trades (both terrestrial and maritime) used by the Egyptians and the Hittites (for both military or commercial purposes);
- 7) an in-depth analysis of the Egyptian finds from Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks (not included in this catalogue because of both chronological and geographical reasons) in the light of the Eastern Mediterranean trades;
- 8) the study of some classical authors presenting references, sometimes historically misrepresented, to the Egypto-Hittite relationships (as the passage of Diodorus quoted at the beginning of the Introduction, section 0, as an exergue).

¹⁷²² At a first step of my research, I have thought to devote some other chapters: Chapter III, “Relationships between Egypt and Anatolia: trades and officials”, divided into three sub-sections: Section 3.1, “Trades and harbours”; Section 3.1.1, “The trades of Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks”; Section 3.2, “Egyptian and Hittite envoys”. This third chapter was later cut of, because the first two chapter took a lot of space. I would like to devote further researches and singular publications about these specific topics. I thank both George F. Bass (Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Texas A&M University Chairman Emeritus, Institute of Nautical Archaeology) and Cemal M. Pulak (Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University, Vice President and Director of Research in Turkey of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Bodrum) for many information kindly shared with me about this topic.

¹⁷²³ About this topic and the following ones, I am working about the publication of some other contributions.

¹⁷²⁴ About the mention of Egypt in some Hittite “minor” documents, see also DE PIETRI 2018 (poster presentation available online at:

https://www.academia.edu/36647149/Kadesh_beyond_the_conflict_the_Hittites_in_Egyptian_minor_documents).

¹⁷²⁵ See BREYER 2010a.

I hope that these further researches could be shed much more light on a topic which indeed deserves a better insight and a deeper analysis.

3.3: Final conclusions

At the end of this so long work (for which in part I apologise with the readers), I would like to summon up some peculiar topics which I consider as a stone foundation for any future research about the theme of the Egypto-Hittite relationships, even underlining some major limit of the present work:

1) First of all, an important feature of this work has to be strengthened, regarding my methodological approach: all the analysis of both the philological and archaeological evidences has been performed considering a double approach that merges both the Egyptological and the Near Eastern knowledge. Such an approach, already applied by other scholars in the past, as Elmar Edel did (for instance) is a kind of a “double-edged sword”: on one hand, it provides a general overview on both the sources; on the other hand, it does not allow a so deep insight and analysis of the documentation itself. By the way, this is a feature already underlined in the general introduction of this work (section 0.4), which is the basic nature of this dissertation.

2) A limit is for sure represented by the miscellaneous provenance of the texts quoted, whose transliterations and translations come from many different authors (being thus sometimes wired or, at least, un-uniformed to the reader).

3) I am also completely aware of the inner limits of the catalogue itself: as for the textual sources, in some occurrences I was not able to provide a complete transliteration or translation of the original text, just providing the bibliographical references, when available. A period of research spent during August 2018 (and later on February 2019) in the archives of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz* allowed me to find out some more Hittite texts quoting Egypt, which are not all included in the present catalogue (section 1.2.1); by the way, I am going to include them in the final publication of this thesis¹⁷²⁶. For what concerns the archaeological sections (2.1 and 2.2) I am also aware about the limits of the criteria (both chronological and typological) applied in the selection of the objects; moreover, I am also sure that the catalogue has to be considered as a “work in progress”, being the possibility of new finds to be taken into account.

In the end, let me allow to add some last few words about the general methodology displayed in this work and a final wish. I truly believe that only throughout a multidisciplinary approach the ancient paths of the history can be retrieved as a whole. This kind of studies are achievable only thanks to the collaboration between scholars of both Egyptology and ancient Near Eastern studies (and, in this peculiar case, mostly Hittitologists). Such a work and effort are not completely affordable by the work of only a person and requires instead a team of specialists working together, analysing the multicultural sources of the pre-classical Mediterranean¹⁷²⁷. I hope that such an approach could be achieved, shedding much more light on an important chapter of the ancient history, i.e. the relationships and mutual contacts between two of the most important civilizations of the past, the Egyptians and the Hittites, who in many occasions had the chance of encountering, struggling and making peace together.

And as for ancient people, I would like to express a similar wish for a fruitful collaboration between modern scholars of both Egyptology and Near Eastern studies, repeating the words of the Treaty established between Ramses II and Hattušili III:

¹⁷²⁶ Just a preliminary comment about this (*inshallah*) forthcoming work: at the time of the publication, I will live aside all the transcriptions, transliterations and translations of the original texts here quoted, limiting myself in offering to the scholars my own commentary to both texts and archaeological materials.

¹⁷²⁷ An important conference held in Pisa on the 5th-6th June 2017 (“Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull’Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia”) offered the opportunity of reflecting about this topic; for an insight, see the proceedings published in BETRÒ ET AL. 2018. A second edition of this conference is going to be held at Napoli on 13th-14th July 2019.

“Siehe, wir machen unsere Bruderschaft und unseren Frieden, indem er besser ist als die Bruderschaft und die Friede von früher”¹⁷²⁸.



¹⁷²⁸ EDEL 1997, p. 24, ll. 14ff.

4. LIST OF FIGURES

Section 1.1.2

Fig. 1: Topographic list of Taharqa, Temple of Mut, Karnak (after MARIETTE 1875b, vol. 2, pl. 45, a, 2).

Fig. 2: Inscription of Ptolemy XIII, Kom Ombos (after DE MORGAN ET AL. 1909, p. 81, no. 630E).

Section 1.1.3

Fig. 3: Temple of Amun-Re, 6th pylon, Karnak

(CNRS-CFEETK 102686: <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=102686>).

Fig. 4: Table with the military expeditions of Thutmose III (after BREYER 2010a, table on p. 128).

Fig. 5: Annals of Thutmose III, Karnak, 41st year

(CNRS-CFEETK 170795: <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=170795>).

Fig. 6: List of objects in Thutmose III's Annals (after BREYER 2010b, table on p. 80).

Fig. 7: Detail of Fig. 14.

Fig. 8: Bull *rhyton*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 1989.281.11

(MET: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327400>).

Fig. 9: Tomb of Menḥeperrasonob, TT 86 (after WRESZINSKI 1923-1938, vol. 1, p. 290).

Fig. 10: Detail of the tomb of Menḥeperrasonob, TT 86

(OIPA, negatives no. 7888: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/1cc71475-5ce5-400b-a5a2-cbed07a92961>).

Fig. 11: Cretan tributaries in the tomb of Merire II, Amarna (after BREYER 2010a, p. 447, fig. 73).

Fig. 12: Tribute in the tomb of Menḥeperrasonob, TT 86 (after WRESZINSKI 1923-1938, vol. 1, p. 274).

Fig. 13: Sketch of the tribute scene tomb of Menḥeperrasonob, TT 86 (after DE GARIS DAVIES 1933, pl. 4).

Fig. 14: Tomb of unknown, TT 91 (after WRESZINSKI 1923-1938, vol. 1, p. 290).

Fig. 15: Topographical list of Amenhotep III, Soleb (after LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 88, a).

Fig. 16: Karnak, temple of Amun-Re, 10th pylon (after SIMONS 1937, p. 51, plan 8)

Fig. 17: Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, 10th pylon

(OIPA, negative no. 8802: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/d70e9d7a-a618-4c31-97bb-04acda2e2882>).

Fig. 18: Topographical list of Horemheb, Karnak, statues

(OIPA, negative no. 8552 (online link: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/d70e9d7a-a618-4c31-97bb-04acda2e2882>)).

Fig. 19: Depiction of subjugated people, tomb of Horemheb, KV 57 (after BOESER 1911, vol. 4, pls 21-25).

Fig. 20: Drawn of the scene in Fig. 19 (after BREYER 2010a, p. 447, fig. 72).

Fig. 21: Supposed depictions of "Hittites" (after BREYER 2010a, p. 446, figs 70-71).

Fig. 22: Fragment of relief depicting Hittites, OI Inv. No. 10591 (reproduced on courtesy of the OIPA: P 64463; N 43471).

Fig. 23: oCairo CGC 25218 + oDeM 1266, Group B: Love Song No. 21 (after DARESSY 1901, pls 43-45).

Fig. 24: Location of the inscriptions of Seti I, Karnak (after SIMONS 1937, p. 54, plan IX).

- Fig. 25: Triumphant scene of Seti I, with topographic list 1, Karnak (after OIP 107, pls 15a, c).
- Fig. 26: Triumphant scene of Seti I, with topographic list 2, Karnak (after OIP 107, pls 17a-b).
- Fig. 27: Battle scene of Seti I, Karnak (after OIP 107, pl. 34).
- Fig. 28: Processional scene of Seti I, Karnak (after OIP 107, pl. 35).
- Fig. 29: Transcription of a section of the text of the processional scene in Fig. 28 (after GUIEYSSE 1889, p. 71).
- Fig. 30: Processional scene of Seti I, Karnak, according to Lepsius (after *LD*, Tafelwerk III, pl. 130b).
- Fig. 31: Presentation scene of Seti I, Karnak (after OIP 107, pl. 36).
- Fig. 32: Location of the inscription of Seti I at Qurnah (after SIMONS 1937, p. 60, plan X).
- Fig. 33: Transcription of the topographical list of Seti I at Qurnah (after *LD*, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 131a).
- Fig. 34: Map indicating the location of Išuwa (after ASVOA, pl. XVI).
- Fig. 35: Map with the location of the “marriage stelae” (after BREYER 2010a, p. 303, fig. 50).
- Fig. 36: The “Poem” of the battle of Kadesh (after BREYER 2010a, pls 5-6).
- Fig. 37: The “Bulletin” of the battle of Kadesh (after BREYER 2010a, pl. 12).
- Figs 38-43: The “Reliefs” of the battle of Kadesh (after BONDIELLI – ELLI, pp. 239-256).
- Fig. 44: Stela fragment related to the battle of Kadesh; Berlin, Inv. No. 31604 (after ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 266-267, no. 166).
- Fig. 45: Fragment depicting Hittite heads; OI Inv. No. E1356
(reproduced on courtesy of the OIPA: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/62d8d03d-c5e5-4cdf-af20-bf6fef134287>).
- Fig. 46: Supposed depictions of “Hittite” heads (after SIMONS 1937, pp. 192, 223).
- Fig. 47: The Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III, Karnak (“The Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project”, University of Memphis: <http://www.memphis.edu/hypostyle/welcome>).
- Fig. 48: Stela of the “First Marriage”, Abu Simbel (<http://ahmedsaleh3000.blogspot.it/2013/09/the-marriage-stela.html>).
- Fig. 49: Drawn of the stela of the “First Marriage”, Abu Simbel (after *LD*, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 196).
- Fig. 50: Stela of the “Blessing of Ptah”, Abu Simbel (after *LD*, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 194).
- Fig. 51: The Coptos stela of the “Second Marriage” (after PETRIE 1896, pl. 18, no. 1).
- Fig. 52: Sketch of the Coptos stela of the “Second Marriage” (after KITCHEN – GABALLA 1969, p. 15, fig. 1).
- Fig. 53: The “Bentresh” stela, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. C 284
(https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stele_di_Bentresh#/media/File:Bakhtan_stele_Louvre.JPG).
- Fig. 54: Gurob, pap. UC32795 = fragm. U, Petrie
(© 2015, UCL: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/gurob/archive/uc32795-f.gif>).
- Fig. 55: Gurob, pap. UC32795 = fragm. U, Petrie; transcription
(<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/gurob/papyri/uc32795.gif>).
- Fig. 56 : Fair, curly hair after tomb 23/24(?) at Gurob; UCL, Accession No. UC 30139
(reproduced on courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL).

- Fig. 57: Steatite plaquette with the names of Ramses II and Maathorneferure; UCL, Accession No. UC 61296 (© 2015, UCL: <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx>, under Accession No. 61296).
- Fig. 58: Steatite plaquette with the names of Ramses II and Maathorneferure, after Tell el-Yahudiyeh; British Museum, BM 2265 (after GRIFFITH 1890, pl. XI, no. 21).
- Fig. 59: Inscription quoting Maathorneferure, on a colossus of Ramses II at Tanis (<http://www.cartigli.it/Fotografie/Immagini/Maat.jpg>).
- Fig. 60: Transcription of the inscription of the colossus at Tanis (after PETRIE 1885, pl. V, 36B).
- Fig. 61: The peculiar determinative used to determine Ḥattušili III on the colossus inscription (after BREYER 2010a, p. 452, fig. 79).
- Fig. 62: Detail of Ḥattušili III in the stela of the “First Marriage” at Abu Simbel (detail of <http://ahmedsaleh3000.blogspot.it/2013/09/the-marriage-stela.html>).
- Fig. 63: Detail of the Hittite princess in the stela of the “First Marriage” at Abu Simbel (detail after LD, III, 7, pl. 196).
- Fig. 64: Desert inscription quoting the name of Neferure, daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II (after DE MORGAN ET AL. 1894, p. 41, no. 181bis).
- Fig. 65: Inscription quoting the name of the princess Neferure; temple of Seti I at Abydos (after MARIETTE 1869, pl. 4a).
- Fig. 66: The siege of Dapur (after ROSELLINI 1982, pl. 108).
- Fig. 67: Detail of the battle of Kadesh (after BRENTJES 1995, p. 337, fig. 2).
- Fig. 68: Abydos, Temple of Ramses II: passages related to the battle of Kadesh (after MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pls 4-5).
- Fig. 69: Detail of the Abydos inscription (after KUENTZ 1928, pl. 2, fig. 2).
- Fig. 70: Line of the Abydos inscription quoting the Hittites (after KUENTZ 1928, pl. 24).
- Fig. 71: Detail of the determinative used for *phrr*, photo (after KUENTZ 1928, pl. 2, fig. 2).
- Fig. 72: Detail of the determinative used for *phrr*, sketch (after KUENTZ 1928, pl. 6, fig. 2).
- Fig. 73: Abydos, Temple of Ramses II: list of subjugated Asiatic people (after MARIETTE 1880, vol. 2, pl. 2a).
- Fig. 74: Colossus of Ramses II at the entrance of the Luxor temple (after SIMONS 1937, frontispiece).
- Fig. 75: Location of the inscriptions of the Luxor temple (after SIMONS 1937, p. 68, plan XV).
- Fig. 76: Karnak, 9th pylon: lists of subjugated countries (OIPA, negative no. 6207: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/d70e9d7a-a618-4c31-97bb-04acda2e2882>).
- Fig. 77: Karnak, 9th pylon: lists of subjugated countries, detail (after KITCHEN 1965, pl. 14, fig. 17).
- Fig. 78: Fragment of stela, after Bubastis, Festival Hall (after NAVILLE 1891, pl. 36, E).
- Fig. 79: Karnak, 7th pylon: text of the Libyan war of Merneptah (CNRS-CFEETK 154712: <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=154712>).
- Figs 80, 81: Details of Fig. 79.
- Fig. 82: Merneptah’s stela, Egyptian Museum of Cairo; JE 31408, CGC 34028 (<http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=1883>).

- Fig. 83: PapAnast. II, British Museum; BM EA10243, 2
(BM: http://britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00434/AN00434683_001_1.jpg)
- Fig. 84: PapAnast. IV, British Museum; BM EA 10249
(BM: http://britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00435/AN00435810_001_1.jpg).
- Fig. 85: PapAnast. I, British Museum; BM EA 10247 (detail)
(BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00435/AN00435785_001_1.jpg).
- Fig. 86: PapClère, British Museum; BM EA 10684 (after POSENER 1950, p. 77, fig. 3).
- Fig. 87: PapKoller, col. 1, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung); PapBerlin 3043 (after RAGAZZOLI 2012, p. 235, pl. 1).
- Fig. 88: PapKoller, col. 1, Berlin, staatliche Museen zu Berlin (after Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung); PapBerlin 3043, detail of l. 6 with toponym Ḫatti (after RAGAZZOLI 2012, p. 235, pl. 1).
- Figs 89-90: Scenes of the battle of Kadesh with Hittite soldiers carrying spears (after LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011, pp. 132-133, figs 5.2, 6).
- Figs 91-92: Typical Hittite spearheads after Kuşaklı and Ḫattuša (after LORENZ – SCHRAKAMP 2011, p. 130, fig. 6.3 and BEAL 2002, p. 100, figs. 12-13).
- Fig. 93: Pitchfork spearheads, Gaziantep Museum, Turkey (after BEAL 2002, p. 102, fig. 16).
- Fig. 94: Relief portraying king Tuḫaliya IV carrying a spear, Ḫattuša (after BEAL 2002, p. 101, fig. 15).
- Fig. 95: PapChester Beatty IV, British Museum; BM EA 10684
(BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00424/AN00424775_001_1.jpg).
- Fig. 96: Location of the Medinet Habu list (after SIMONS 1937, p. 86, plan XIX).
- Fig. 97: List of subjugated people, Medinet Habu, Pavilion (after LD, Tafelwerk, III, pl. 209, b).
- Fig. 98: List of subjugated people, Medinet Habu, Pavilion (after OIP 94, pl. 600, B).
- Fig. 99: List of subjugated people, Medinet Habu, Pavilion: detail of the Hittite ruler (after MEYER 1914, pl. II).
- Fig. 100: Faience plaques after Medinet Habu, temple of Ramses III; Egyptian Museum of Cairo, JE 36457 (after SCHULZ – SEIDEL 1999, p. 396, fig. 115).
- Fig. 101: Faience plaques after Medinet Habu, temple of Ramses III; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. nos 03.1569, 03.1571-1573 (after ARUZ ET AL. 2008, pp. 268-269, nos 168a-d).
- Fig. 102: Location of the colossus of Ramses III, Karnak (after SIMONS 1937, p. 87, plan XX).
- Fig. 103: Colossus of Ramses III, Karnak (after OIP 25, pl. 6, A).
- Fig. 104: Detail of the colossus of Ramses III, Karnak (after OIP 25, pl. 6, D-H).
- Fig. 105: PapTurin CGT 54031, Turin, “Museo Egizio” (after CONDON 1978, p. 82, pl. 4/89).
- Fig. 106: Transcription of PapTurin CGT 54031 (after PLEYTE – ROSSI 1869, vol. 2 planches, pl. 89)
- Fig. 107: Detail of the name of Ḫatti in PapTurin CGT 54031 (after CONDON 1978, p. 82, pl. 4/89).
- Fig. 108: PapBM 10068, reporting cases of tomb robberies; British Museum
(© BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00377/AN00377417_001_1.jpg).

Section 1.2.1.2

Fig. 109: Stone bowl with an offering formula for Sennefer, stablemaster of Horemheb; mottled granite, outer diameter 34 cm, inner diameter 31 cm; inscription band, 2.5 cm in width (after REDFORD 1973, p. 42, fig. 1).

Fig. 110: Travertine vessel of Horemheb, found at Ugarit (RS 17.420 + 17.421), Damascus Museum (after LAGARCE 2008, p. 268, fig. 6).

Fig. 111: The cuneiform version of the Treaty of Kadesh: CTH 91, Akkadian, 1269 BC; Istanbul Archaeological Museum (on-line picture).

Section 1.2.2

Fig. 112: Stela A6 after Karkemish, 8th century BC; Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Inv. No. 90 (this photo is mine, 2016).

Fig. 113: Transcription of the text on stela A6, see Fig. 104 (after CHLI, vol. 3, pl. 33).

Fig. 114: Particular of the stela A6, l. 2, with the toponym “Egypt”; see fig. 104 (this photo is mine, 2016).

Fig. 115: Particular of the transcription of the text on stela A6, l. 2, with the toponym “Egypt”; see Fig. 105 (after CHLI, vol. 3, pl. 33).

Fig. 116: Photos of inscription Aleppo 7, by K. Kohlmeyer (after HAWKINS 2011b, p. 46, fig. 8a-d).

Fig. 117: Laser scan of inscription Aleppo 7, by A. Kai-Browne (after HAWKINS 2011b, p. 47, fig. 9a).

Fig. 118: Transcription of the hieroglyphic text of inscription Aleppo 7, by J.D. Hawkins (after HAWKINS 2011b, p. 47, fig. 9a).

Section 1.3.2

Figs 119-120: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), in its archaeological context (after PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 144, figs 1-2).

Fig. 121: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), detailed pictures of the obverse (a), the reverse (b), right side (c) and left side (d) (after PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 147, fig. 3).

Fig. 122: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), sketch (after PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 148, fig. 4).

Fig. 123: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), detailed of the obverse (after PUSCH – JAKOB 2003, p. 148, fig. 4).

Fig. 124: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), approximate transcription of the text (after BREYER 2010b, p. 48, fig. 2).

Fig. 125: The cuneiform tablet found at Pi-Ramesse (FZN 2003/0260), palaeographical analysis of some peculiar signs (after BREYER 2010b, p. 46, fig. 1).

Section 2.1.1

- Fig. 126: Table with the distribution of Hittite finds in foreign contexts, by region (after HELFT 2010, p. 205, tab. 8.2).
- Fig. 127: Hittite imports in Egypt (after HELFT 2010, pp. 104-105, tab. 4.1).
- Figs 128-132: Hittite pendant after Amarna (30/489); Cairo Museum, J 055408 (after M. BELL 1986, p. 146, fig. III.1 and pl. 8, figs 1-4).
- Fig. 133: Hittite pendant after Amarna (30/489) and other objects after the “crock of gold” hoard (30/320, 30/491) and after a well-house (30/491); Cairo Museum (after M. BELL 1986, p. 147, fig. III.2).
- Fig. 134: Hittite silver statuette; h. 3.2 cm; after Central Anatolia (Hittite), ca. 14th-13th cent. BC.; gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (ex-collection of Norbert Schimmel); no. 1989.281.17 (MET: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327406>).
- Fig. 135: Hittite golden statuette of seated goddess; h. 2 cm; after Boğazköy, ca. 15th cent. BC; Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (after AA. VV. 1998, p. 136, fig. 217).
- Fig. 136: Golden pendant in the shape of a moon-crescent, after Uluburun shipwreck; excavation no. KW 892 = museum no. 7.5.87; ca. 14th cent. BC; w. 4.5 cm; h. 0.9 cm; th. 0.5 cm; wg. 16.5 g; Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi (after ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 351, fig. 111).
- Fig. 137: Beer jars (of Kizzuwatnean type?) after Giza; picture (after REISNER 1955, pl. 53).
- Fig. 138: Beer jars (of Kizzuwatnean type?) after Giza; sketch (after REISNER 1955, fig. 95).
- Figs 139-141: Detailed sketches of the beer jars (after REISNER 1955, figs 234c, 274, 285).
- Fig. 142: Statuette of a harper, after Gurob; University College of London, No. Inv. UC 16670 (after DE VOS 2010, p. 113, figs 1-2).
- Figs 143-144: Shield model FZ 84/1 after Qantir/Pi-Ramesse and its find spot; ca. 13th cent. BC; limestone, 104 x 104 cm; Cairo Museum (after PUSCH 1993, p. 136, figs 135-136).
- Figs 145-146: Shield model FZ 83/1198 after Qantir/Pi-Ramesse (obverse, reverse); ca. 13th cent. BC; limestone, 58 x 62 cm; Tell el-Dab’a storerooms (after PUSCH 1993, p. 137, figs 137-138).
- Fig. 147: Depiction of a “Hittite” soldier after Zincili/Sam’al (after BREYER 2010a, p. 487, fig. 88).
- Fig. 148: Depiction of a chariot with a soldier carrying a 8-shaped shield; 20th dyn., reign of Ramses III (1187-1157 BC) (after BREYER 2010a, p. 487, fig. 87).
- Fig. 149: Two winejars after the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), ca. ?-1324 BC (after HOLTHOER 1992, p. 314, fig. 1).
- Fig. 150: Sketch of the Hittite winejar after Eskiyyapar; h. 50 cm; Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (after HOLTHOER 1992, p. 315, fig. 2).

Section 2.2.1

- Fig. 151: Table with the list of Egyptian objects found in Anatolia (after DURGUN 2017).
- Fig. 152: Table with the list of Egyptian objects found in Anatolia (after HELFT 2010, pp. 103-105, tab. 4.1).
- Fig. 153: Table resuming the foreign objects found in Anatolia (after HELFT 2010, pp. 204, tab. 8.1).

Fig. 154: Map of ancient Anatolia with the find spots of the Egyptian artefacts (after HELFT 2010, pp. 110-105, fig. 4.2).

Fig. 155: Map of ancient Anatolia with the find spots of the Egyptian artefacts (after KOZAL 2006, p. 279, map. 11).

Fig. 156: The most important events between Egypt and Anatolia and the most important Egyptian finds (HELFT 2010, pp. 114-115, tab. 4.2).

Section 2.2.2

Fig. 157: Statue of Satsneferu; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 18.2.2; Rogers Fund, 1918 (after MET website: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544176>).

Fig. 158: Inscription of the statue of Satsneferu, fig. 157 (after ERMAN 1883a, p. 441).

Fig. 159: Bone plaque with an incision of a *djed*-pillar; Alaca Höyük; h. 5 cm; w. 2.2 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 276, No. 118).

Fig. 160: Ivory statuette of a kneeling man; Alaca Höyük; h. 3.80 cm; w. 1.70 cm (after ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 89, fig. 52).

Fig. 161: Plaque of a kneeling man; Alaca Höyük (after KOŞAY – AKOK 1966, pl. 31).

Fig. 162: Bone plaque portraying a Bes figure; Alaca Höyük II; MK (?); excavation no. Al/a.88; h. 4.9 cm; w. 3.5 cm; Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, no. 13186 (my picture, May 2017).

Fig. 163: Bone plaque in a bird shape (after ÖZKAN 2007, p. 92, fig. 5).

Fig. 164: Limestone scarab; Alişar Höyük, Alişar IV level; excavation no. b6111 (after OIP 19, p. 263, fig. 346).

Fig. 165: Detail of artefact in fig. 164 (after OIP 19, p. 419, fig. 479).

Fig. 166: Limestone scaraboid seal; Alişar Höyük, Alişar IV level; excavation no. 3101; h. 2.2 cm; d. 1.2 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 277, No. 120).

Fig. 167: Limestone scaraboid seal; Alişar Höyük, Alişar IV level; excavation no. 3102; h. 1.2 cm; d. 1.0 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 277, No. 121).

Fig. 168: Serpentine scaraboid seal; Alişar Höyük, Alişar IV level; excavation no. 2398; h. 1.9 cm; d. 0.6 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 278, No. 122).

Fig. 169: *udjat*-eye in light green frit; Alişar Höyük, Alişar VI/V level (?); excavation no. a76; th. 0.4 cm (after OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83).

Fig. 170: *udjat*-eye in light green frit; Alişar Höyük; excavation no. a541; th. 0.43 cm (after OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83).

Fig. 171: *udjat*-eye in white frit; Alişar Höyük; excavation no. a767; th. 0.35 cm (after OIP 20, p. 61, fig. 83).

Figs 172-176: Fayence plaque with the name of Ramses II; Ankara, Roma Hamamı; New Kingdom, 19th dyn., reign of Ramses II (1279-1213 BC); Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations; 2.4 x 1.8 x 0.63 cm (after PEKER 2013, pp. 541-542, fig. 1-5).

Fig. 177: Bronze axe in a typical Egyptian shape (G-VIII type); Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, Temple 26 (Upper City);

early 18th dyn.; excavation no. Bo 85/449 (after KOZAL 2006, p. 210; No. 682).

Fig. 178: Fragment of a red sandstone stela with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription; Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, Büyükkale Square n/14, debris by Hittite city wall; early 19th dyn.; excavation no. Bo 212/g; 5.7 x 4 x 4 cm (© Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, N07018 <http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw.php?n=212/g&b=+N07018+N07019+N07020+N0702>).

Fig. 179: Obsidian fragment carrying the name of pharaoh Chian; Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, Square L/18; 15th dyn.; excavation no. Bo 325/s; h. 2.9 cm; w. 5.9 cm; Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, No. 2178 (after BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXXXII, No. 2178).

Fig. 180: Hypothetical reconstruction of the artefact in fig. 179 (after BITTEL 1970, p. 117, fig. 28).

Fig. 181: Alabaster vase; Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, Büyükkale III, Square u/7; 13th cent. BC (?); excavation no. Bo 222/a; h. 22.5 cm (after BOEHMER 1972, pl. LXXXII, No. 2179).

Fig. 182: Blue frit/fayence figurine of reclining sphinx; Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, Büyükkale IVa, Square u/12; 15th-14th cent. BC; excavation no. Bo 336/q (= No. 1860); h. 1.5 cm, l. 1.52 cm, w. 0.88 cm; Boğazkale Museum (photo by J. Lehner, on courtesy of A. Schachner, DAI Istanbul).

Fig. 183: Frit *udjat*-eye; Eskiyyapar (after ÖZKAN 2007, p. 93, fig. 7).

Fig. 184: Fayence scarab; Fıraktın; 18th dyn., reign of Thutmose III, 1479-1425 BC (after HELFT 2010, p. 279, No. 128).

Fig. 185: Fayence scarab; Fıraktın; 18th dyn., reign of Amenhotep III 1390-1353 BC (after HELFT 2010, p. 280, No. 129).

Figs 186-190: Blue scarab; Gordion, Yassihöyük; EIA (1100-950 BC); excavation no. 7856 SS 212; Penn Museum, Pennsylvania; h. scarab 0.75 cm; seal, l. 1.5 cm; w. 1.1 cm (© Penn Museum Gordion Archive, images R581-7, R581-8, R614-24, R614-25, R614-26).

Figs 191-182: Scaraboid “omega” seal; Gordion, Yassihöyük; MBA (2000-1700 BC); excavation no. 1924 SS 70; Penn Museum, Pennsylvania; l. 1.2 cm; w. 1.0 cm; h. 0.8 cm (© Penn Museum Gordion Archive, images G-795, R148-22).

Fig. 193: Inlaid frit *udjat*-eye; Gözülü Kule/Tarsus, Area A, house above Hittite Temple; end of LBA/EIA?; excavation no. 38.1151 (after HELFT 2010, p. 283, No. 140).

Fig. 194: Frit scarab; Gözülü Kule/Tarsus, Area B; LBA/EIA?; excavation no. 37.159; l. 2.1 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 284, No. 142).

Fig. 195: Blue fayence inlay in openwork design; Gözülü Kule/Tarsus, Area B; end of LBA/EIA?; excavation no. 38.897; h. 3.3 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 283, No. 139).

Fig. 196: White fayence scarab displaying a kneeling figure; Gözülü Kule/Tarsus, unstratified; 18th dynasty (1539-1292 BC)?; excavation no. 37.532; h. 1.6 cm; w. 1.2 cm (after GOLDMAN 1956 (plates), fig. 29).

Figs 197-198: Fayence scarab; Gözülü Kule/Tarsus, Area B; end of LB/EIA?; excavation no. 38.825; h. 0.8

cm; w. 1.3 cm; l. 1.8 cm (after GOLDMAN 1956, plates, p. 394, fig. 37; HELFT 2010, pp. 283-284, No. 141).

- Fig. 199: Seal impression; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, Section B, Room Pc; MIA (ca. 850-700 BC); excavation no. 36.528; w. (of impression) 0.9 cm; l. (of impression) 1.3 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 162, fig. 1).
- Fig. 200: Serpentine scaraboid; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, Section B; MIA (ca. 850-700 BC); excavation no. 38.542; h. 0.5 cm; w. 1.1 cm; l. 1.5 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 162, fig. 2).
- Fig. 201: Frit scaraboid; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, Section B; MIA (ca. 850-700 BC); excavation no. 36.526; h. 0.5 cm; w. 1.0 cm; l. 1.4 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 162, fig. 3).
- Fig. 202: Frit scaraboid; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, Section B; MIA (ca. 850-700 BC); excavation no. 36.429; h. 0.6 cm; w. 1.5 cm; l. 1.4 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 162, fig. 4).
- Fig. 203: Lion pendant; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, after the fill of a pit; EIA? (ca. 1100-850 BC); excavation no. 38.768; h. 1.2 cm; w. 0.8 cm; l. 2.2 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 181, fig. 35).
- Fig. 204: Pendant in the shape of a negroid head; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus, North Street; MIA (ca. 850-700 BC); excavation no. 38.535; h. 1.1 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 181, fig. 36).
- Fig. 205: Fayence *udjat*-eye; Gözlü Kule/Tarsus; EIA (ca. 1100-850 BC); excavation no. 38.516; max. measure: 2.9 cm; th. 0.7 cm (after GOLDMAN 1963, plates, p. 181, fig. 37).
- Fig. 206: Fayence scarab; Imamoğlu, Area 6H; LBA or IA; excavation no. I.84/64/6.13 (6) (after KST 7, p. 192, fig. 4).
- Fig. 207: Fayence scarab; Imamoğlu, Area 6H; LBA or IA; excavation no. I.84/64/6.13 (5) (after KST 7, p. 192, fig. 4).
- Fig. 208: “Opferständer” with a hieroglyphic inscription of Thutmose III; İzmir (after Karnak?); 18th dyn., reign of Thutmose III, 1479-1425 BC (after BREYER 2010a, p. 96, fig. 7).
- Fig. 209: Steatite scarab; Kamankale Höyük; h. 0.7 cm; l. 1.6 cm; w. 1.0 cm; excavation no. 130040 (YH13-51) = E9/e11; Kamankale Höyük Museum (after AAS 19, p. 51, fig. 73).
- Fig. 210: Fayence scarab; Kamankale Höyük, Level 2; LBA/Phrygian (9th cent. BC)? - 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC); h. 0.7 cm; l. 1.6 cm; w. 1.0 cm (after HELFT 2010, p. 280, No. 130).
- Fig. 211: Fayence scarab; Kamankale Höyük, Level 2; LBA/Phrygian (9th cent. BC)? - 19th dyn. (1292-1191 BC); (after HELFT 2010, p. 280, No. 131).
- Fig. 212: Fayence scarab; Kamankale Höyük, Level 2; Phrygian (9th cent. BC)? - 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC); (after HELFT 2010, p. 281, No. 132).
- Fig. 213: Fayence scarab; Kamankale Höyük, Level 2; Phrygian (9th cent. BC)? - 18th dyn. (1539-1292 BC); (after HELFT 2010, p. 281, No. 133).
- Fig. 214: Relief portraying an Egyptianizing figure of Bes; Karatepe (Aslantaş), North gate orthostats; 8th cent. BC reference no. (in bibliography) NE-I-NO-1 (after MATTHIAE 1963, pl. XXIII).
- Fig. 215: Relief portraying an Egyptianizing figure of Bes; Karatepe (Aslantaş), North gate orthostats; 8th

cent. BC reference no. (in bibliography) NE-IIb-NE-2 (after BOSSERT ET AL. 1950, pl. XVIII, fig. 89).

Fig. 216: Stone head-mace with a *cartouche* of Ramses II/III; Karkemish (after WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pl. LXXI, fig. c).

Fig. 217: Alabaster “New Year” offering bowl; Karkemish, House D (after WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 44: hieroglyphic transcription is mine).

Fig. 218: Fragment of a “New Year” offering flask; Karkemish, House D (after WOOLLEY 1921, p. 127, fig. 46: hieroglyphic transcription is mine).

Fig. 219: Steatite human mask; Karkemish, House D (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXII, fig. a).

Fig. 220: Fayence amulet of Bes; Karkemish, Water Postern (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 2).

Fig. 221: Green glazed frit *udjat*-eye; Karkemish, Water Postern (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 4).

Fig. 222: Fayence amulet of the goddess Sekhmet; Karkemish, Water Postern (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 7).

Fig. 223: Green glazed fayence amulet of Bes(?); Karkemish, Water Postern (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. c, no. 11).

Fig. 224: Fayence amulet of Bes; Karkemish, surface find (after WOOLLEY 1921, pl. XXVI, fig. b, no. 6).

Fig. 225: Frit amulet of Ptah-Patecus; Karkemish, Great Staircase (after WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, pl. LXXI e).

Figs 226-227: Green glazed steatite scarab with the *praenomen* of Shabaqo; Karkemish; ca. 722-707 BC; l. 4 cm; w. 2 cm; London, British Museum, BM EA40663; registration no. 1925,0715.2; (© BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=164547&partId=1&searchText=40663&page=1).

Figs 228-229: beige steatite or glazed composition scarab; Karkemish; Ramesside(?) / Late Period(?) (722-332 BC), or maybe 22nd dyn.(?)/21st dyn.(?) (1250-1050 BC); l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.23 cm; d. 8.2 cm; London, British Museum, BM 102688; registration no. 1908,0613.74; (© BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1636339&partId=1&searchText=102688&page=1).

Fig. 230: Steatite scarab; Karkemish, Royal Buttress; Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4749 (after WOOLLEY – BARNETT 1952, p. 197, fig. 81).

Fig. 231: Stone stamp-seal or scaraboid; Karkemish, House H; l. 1.43 cm; w. 1.11 cm; d. 0.79 cm; London, British Museum, BM 116162; registration no. 1922,0511.295 (© BM: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1567547&partId=1&searchText=116162&page=1).

Fig. 232: Stone stamp-seal or scaraboid; Karkemish, House G (after WOOLLEY 1921, p. 132, pl. XXVI, b.11, 11*).

Fig. 233: False doors; Karkemish, Houses D, E, G, H (after WOOLLEY 1921, pp. 197, 151-152, fig. 59).

- Fig. 234: Green glass scarab; Kinet Höyük, after '01 E/H 254 L. 520 layer (Period 8); 8th cent. BC; l. 1.5 cm; excavation no. KNH-1100 (after KST 24/1, p. 296, fig. 10).
- Figs 235-236: Black granite statuette of Keri; Kırıkkale (Yahşihan Höyük), reused in a Late-Hellenistic/Roman tomb; MK, 12th dynasty (1939⁺¹⁶-1760 BC); Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, No. 3477 (after OIP 5, p. 66, fig. 101 and pl. VI a-b).
- Fig. 237: Fayence scarab; Mersin-Soli, after a cremation grave, square G8; 13th cent. BC, original of 19th dyn., 1292-1191 BC (after YAĞCI 2008, p. 1226, fig. 9.1).
- Fig. 238: Fayence scarab; Mersin-Soli, Square F9; 13th cent. BC?, original of 18th dyn., 1539-1292 BC; excavation no. 69 (after KOZAL 2006, pp. 129-130 (No. 429)).
- Fig. 239: Golden earring; Ortaköy/Şapinuwa; 15th-14th cent. BC, original of 18th dyn., 1539-1292 BC; h. 2.70 cm; w. 2.0 cm; Çorum Museum, No. 28-1874-90 (after ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3).
- Fig. 240: Bronze plaque of a male head in profile; Ortaköy/Şapinuwa, Building B; 15th-14th cent. BC; h. 4.5 cm; w. 6.4 cm; Çorum Museum, No. 2-73-98 (after ARUZ ET AL. 2008, p. 185, No. 110).
- Fig. 241: Granite(?) mace-head; Ortaköy/Şapinuwa; 18th dyn., 1539-1292 BC(?); Çorum Museum (after ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3).
- Fig. 242: Gold jewel in a bloom shape; Ortaköy/Şapinuwa; 18th dyn., 1539-1292 BC(?); Çorum Museum (after ÖZKAN 2007, p. 91, fig. 3).
- Figs 243-244: Ivory or bone scaraboid; Oylum Höyük, X11a, Level 6; 18th-19th dyn. (1539-1191 BC); l. 1.5 cm; w. 1.0 cm; h. 0.5 cm; excavation no. OY 95-11 (after KST 18/1, p. 196, fig. 2; KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48a).
- Fig. 245: Limestone scarab; Oylum Höyük, layer R 15; Hyksos period (1650-1540 BC) to 21st dyn. (1076-944 BC); l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.2 cm; h. 0.7 cm; excavation no. OY 97-55 (after KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48b).
- Fig. 246: Fayence scarab; Oylum Höyük, layer Y11a; NK (about 1550 BC); l. 1.7 cm; w. 1.2 cm; h. 0.7 cm; excavation no. OY 97-56 (after KUCHARÉK 2001, p. 119, fig. 48c).
- Fig. 247: Fayence or frit scarab with the name of Amenhotep III; Panaztepe-Menemen, Quadr. N-12, Pithosgrab L.; 18th dyn., reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 BC); h. 0.7 cm; w. 1.02 cm; l. 1.41 cm; excavation no. Pz 85/24; Izmir Archaeological Museum, No. 9968 (after KOZAL 2006, p. 132, No. 439).
- Fig. 248: Fayence or frit scarab; Panaztepe-Menemen, Quadr. N-12, Pithosgrab L.; 12th cent. BC; h. 0.75 cm; w. 1.3 cm; l. 1.8 cm; excavation no. Pz 85/25; Izmir Archaeological Museum, No. 9969 (after KOZAL 2006, p. 132, No. 440).
- Fig. 249: Limestone scarab with the name of Thutmose III; Sabuniye Höyük, Operation B; 18th dyn., reign of III (1479-1425 BC); Hatay Archaeological Museum, No. 6875 (after PAMIR 2013, p. 189, fig. 4).

Section 2.2.2

- Fig. 250: Sketch of the “alledge” golden plaque engraved with the name of Sahure; modern fake(?)

(after MELLAART 1959, p. 754, fig. 1).

Fig. 251: Transcription of the golden lamina in fig. 250 (my transcription with JSesh program).

Fig. 252: Map with the location of the Pactolus Valley (after YOUNG 1972, p. 4, fig. 1).

Fig. 253: Golden cylinder seal of an Egyptian official, carrying the name of pharaoh Djedkare Isesi, Old Kingdom, 5th dyn. (2381–2353 B.C.); Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) in Boston, Centennial gift 1968.68.115; height: 6.4 cm, diameter: 2.9 cm (after YOUNG 1972, p. 11, fig. 8).

Fig. 254: Modern impression of the seal in fig. 253 (after MFA website:

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/seal-of-office-150473>.

Fig. 255: A tentative reconstruction of the ancient trades in Anatolia and neighbouring areas during the Old Kingdom period (after YOUNG 1972, p. 10, fig. 7).

Fig. 256: Fayence mace-head; Troy-Hisarlık/Wilusa, Megaron, G6 Square; Troy II, 2300-2200 BC (after BREYER 2010a, p. 97, fig. 18).

5. ABBREVIATIONS

5.1: General abbreviations

BA	Bronze Age
ca.	circa
cent.	century
dyn.	dynasty
EA	El-Amarna letters (LA in LIVERANI 1998-1999).
EIA	Early Iron Age
IA	Iron Age
JE	Journal d'entrée (Musée du Caire)
jh.	Junghethitisch
k.A.	keine Angabe
KV	King Valley
LA	see <i>supra</i> EA
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LIA	Late Iron Age
<i>Loc. cit.</i>	<i>Locus citatus</i>
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
mh.	Mittelhethitisch
MIA	Middle Iron Age
mill.	millennium
MK	Middle Kingdom
NK	New Kingdom
<i>NS</i>	<i>Nova Series</i>
PN	Personal Name
RS	Ras Shamra (= Ugarit)
sjh.	Spätjunghethitisch
SU	Stratigraphic Unit
<i>s.v.</i>	<i>sub voce</i>

5.2: Bibliographical abbreviations

In this list we will include just the abbreviations quoted in our text, including those related to websites: for the other abbreviations (mainly for the HPM labels and in the transliteration and translation of the texts) see HPM.

<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestinian Exploration Quarterly</i> – Jerusalem, 1875ff.
AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> – New York, 1925ff.
ÄÄ	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i> – Wiesbaden, 1960ff.
AAS	<i>Anatolian Archaeological Studies (Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology, The Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan)</i> – Mitaka (Tokyo), 1992ff.
AASOR	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> – Boston, 1918ff.
ÄAT	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments</i> – Bamberg - Wiesbaden, 2000ff.
<i>AbhRheinWestfalAkWiss</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> – Opladen, 1972ff.
ABoT	BALKAN K. 1948, <i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> , İstanbul.
<i>Academy</i>	<i>Academy</i> – London, 1869ff.
<i>AcScTorino</i>	<i>Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino</i> – Torino, 1865ff.
<i>ADTCFD</i>	<i>Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi</i> – Ankara, 1942ff.
AEO	GARDINER, A.H. 1947, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> , Oxford.
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> – Berlin - Graz, 1926ff.

ÄHK	EDEL E. 1977, <i>Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköy in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache. Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen, Band II: Kommentar.</i> (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 77), Opladen.
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli – Napoli, 1955ff.</i>
AIPHOS	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves – Bruxelles, 1933ff.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America – Boston, 1885/1897ff.</i>
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures – Chicago 1895ff.</i>
Ä&L	<i>Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant – Wien, 1990ff.</i>
AMM	<i>Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzezi – Ankara.</i>
ANE	CHAVALAS, M.W. (ed.) 2006, <i>The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation</i> , Oxford.
ANEM	Ancient Near Eastern Monographs – Atlanta, Buenos Aires, 2008ff.
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies – Leuven, 1980ff.
ANET	PRITCHARD, J. B. (ed.) 1969 ³ , <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , Princeton-New Jersey.
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara – London, 1951ff.</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments – Kavelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn – Münster, 1968ff.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen – Berlin, 1974ff.</i>
ÄOP	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
AOS	American Oriental Series - New Haven.
ArAnz	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger – Berlin, 1849ff.</i>
ArOr	<i>Archív Orientální – Praha, 1929ff.</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies – Chicago.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte – Le Caire, 1900ff.</i>
AST	<i>Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları – Istanbul, 1983ff.</i>
ASVOA	FORLANINI, M – MARAZZI, M. 1986, <i>Atlante storico del Vicino Oriente antico, fasc. 4.3. Anatolia: l'impero hittita</i> , Roma.
ATS	Ancient Textiles Series – Oxford
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeological Review – New York, 1975ff.</i>
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo – Barcelona, 1983ff.</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research – New Haven, 1921ff.</i>
BB	BEZOLD, C. – BUDGE E.W. 1892, <i>The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum</i> , London.
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge – Bonn, 1974ff.
BCBO	Biblioteca de Ciencias Bíblicas y Orientales – Madrid.
BCSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies – Toronto, 1981ff.</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Études – IFAO, Le Caire.
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar – New York, 1979ff.</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale – IFAO, Le Caire, 1901ff.</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis – Leiden, 1943ff.</i>
BMECCJ	<i>Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan – Wiesbaden, 1984ff.</i>
BMSAES	<i>The British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan – London, 2002ff.</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen – München, 1976ff.</i>
BoHa	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša – Berlin, Mainz.
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie – Paris, 1949ff.</i>

<i>BullInstÉg</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institute d'Égypte – Le Caire, 1859ff.</i>
BSAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte – Hamburg.
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique – Paris, 1869ff.</i>
CAD	AA. VV. 1956-2010, <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , 21 vol., Chicago
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History – Cambridge
CANE	SASSON, J.C. (ed.), <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> , New York
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth – Bruxelles, 1925ff.</i>
CGC	Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire – Le Caire
CFEETK	Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East – Leiden, Boston, Köln
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago – Chicago, 1980ff.
CHLI	HAWKINS J. D. 2000, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian</i> , 3 vol., Berlin – New York.
<i>CivCatt</i>	<i>Civiltà Cattolica – Roma, 1850ff.</i>
CNES	Caucasian and Near Eastern Studies, Georgian Academy of Sciences, I. Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology – Tbilisi
<i>CollAn</i>	<i>Colloquium Anaticum/Anadolu Sohbetleri (Institutum Turcicum scientiae antiquitatis cum collaboratione Societatis Anatolicae/ Türk eskiçağ bilimleri enstitüsü Societas Anatolica'nın işbirliği ile – İstanbul, 2002ff.</i>
CoS 1-3	HALLO W.W. (ed.) 1997ff., <i>The Context of Scripture</i> , Leiden - Boston.
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres – Paris, 1857ff.</i>
CTH	LAROCHE E. 1971, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> , Paris (with supplement in RHA XXX, 1972, 94-133 = CTH Suppl., und RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68-71); online version on HPM: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie – Dresden, 2002ff.
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology – Oxford, 1985ff.</i>
DFIFAO	Documents de Fouilles publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale – IFAO, Le Caire.
<i>DLZ</i>	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung – Berlin, 1880ff.</i>
DZA	Digitalisierte Zettelarchiv des Wörterbuches der ägyptischen Sprache (in TLA)
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica – Bonn 1983ff.</i>
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain – Leiden, 1961ff.
FoRa	Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt – Berlin, 1998ff.
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie) – Göttingen, 1972ff.</i>
<i>GSAI</i>	<i>Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana – Roma-Firenze-Torino, 1887ff.</i>
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs – Padova, 1996ff.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik – Leiden 1952ff.
HDT	BECKMAN, G. 1996, <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> , Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 7, Atlanta.
HDT ²	BECKMAN, G. 1999 ² , <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Second Edition</i> , Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 7, Atlanta, Georgia.
HHW	TISCHLER, J. 2001, <i>Hethitisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Innsbruck.
HL1	HANNIG, R. 2015 ⁶ , <i>Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch</i> , Hannig-Lexica 1, Darmstadt.

HL3	HANNIG, R. 2014 ² , <i>Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch – Ägyptisch</i> , Hannig-Lexica 3, Darmstadt.
HPM	Hethitologie Portal Mainz: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html
HZL	RÜSTER, CH. – NEU, E. 1989, <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten</i> , StBoTB 2, Wiesbaden.
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> – Jerusalem, 1950ff.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> – New York-Berlin, 1892ff.
IM	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> – Istanbul, 1933ff.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> – Paris 1806ff.
J. Biogeogr.	<i>Journal of Biogeography</i> – New Jersey, 1974ff.
JAEI	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i> – Arizona, 2009ff.
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> – Köln-Leiden-Boston, 2001ff.
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> – New Haven, 1843ff.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</i> – Boston, 1962ff.
JAS	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i> – Amsterdam, 1974ff.
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> – New Haven, 1947ff.
JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> – London, 1914ff.
JKF	[Anadolu Araştırmaları] <i>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen</i> – Istanbul, 1954ff.
JIES	<i>Journal of Indo-European Studies</i> – Washington, 1973ff.
JIIA	<i>Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology</i> – online journal
JMEOS	<i>Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society</i> – Manchester, 1912ff.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> – Chicago, 1842ff.
JOAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichische Archäologischen Institutes</i> – Wien, 1932ff.
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i> – Jerusalem, 1920ff.
JSOR	<i>Journal of the Society of Oriental Research</i> – Chicago, 1917ff.
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> – Toronto, 1977ff.
Kaskal	<i>Kaskal. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico</i> – Roma, 2004ff.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy – Leipzig, 1916-1923 - Berlin, 1954ff.
KlasF	<i>Kleinasiatische Forschungen I</i> – Weimar, 1927-30.
KRI	KITCHEN K. A. 1969-1990, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Bibliographical</i> , 7 vols., Oxford.
KRITA	KITCHEN K. A. 1993ff., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations</i> , 7 vols., Oxford.
KRITANC	KITCHEN K. A. 1993ff., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Notes & Comments</i> , 7 vols., Oxford.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy – Berlin, 1921ff.
LÄ II	HELCK, W. (hg.) 1977, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Band 2 (Erntefest – Hordjedef), Wiesbaden.
LÄ III	HELCK, W. – WESTENDORF, W. (hg.) 1980, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Band 3 (Horhekenu – Megeb), Wiesbaden.
LÄ IV	HELCK, W. – WESTENDORF, W. (hg.) 1982, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Band 4 (Megiddo – Pyramiden), Wiesbaden.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient – Paris
LD	LEPSIUS, R. 1849, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> , Berlin.
MÇKKS	<i>Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Yayınları</i> – Ankara, 1990ff.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo; bis 1944: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo</i> – Berlin-Wiesbaden, 1930-1969; Mainz 1970ff.

<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i> – Berlin, 1899ff.
<i>MFAB</i>	<i>Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin</i> – Boston, 1903-1926.
MH	Medinet Habu, 9 vols. (= OIP Publications) – Chicago (online: https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/oriental-institute-publications-oip)
MIFA0	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale – IFAO, Le Caire.
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> – Berlin 1953ff.
<i>MSL</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique</i> – Paris, 1868ff.
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph</i> – Beyrouth, 1906ff.
<i>MVAeG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i> – Leipzig, 1896-1944.
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i> – Paris, 1987ff.
NH	LAROCHE, E. 1966, <i>Les noms des Hittites</i> , Paris.
NH ₁	LAROCHE, E. 1981, <i>Les noms des Hittites : Supplément</i> , Hethitica IV, pp. 3-58.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (also available online: https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/oriental-institute-publications-oip)
OIP 5	VON DER OSTEN, H. H. 1927, <i>Exploration in Central Anatolia. Season of 1926</i> , Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 7	VON DER OSTEN, H. H. – SCHMIDT E. F. 1932, <i>The Alishar Hüyük Season of 1927, part II</i> , Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 8	AA. VV. 1930, <i>Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III</i> , Medinet Habu, vol. 1, Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 22	VON DER OSTEN, H. H. 1934, <i>Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E. T. Newell</i> , Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 25	AA. VV. 1936, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume I. Ramses III's Temple with the Great Enclosure of Amon, Part I</i> , Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 55	HÖLSCHER, U. 1951, <i>The Excavation of Medinet Habu. Vol. 4, The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III. Part 2</i> , Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 94	AA. VV. 1970, <i>The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts</i> , Medinet Habu, vol. 8, Chicago-Illinois.
OIP 107	AA. VV. 1986, <i>The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> , 4 vols, OIP 107, Chicago-Illinois.
OIPA	Oriental Institute, Photographic Archive (https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/index.php)
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> – Leuven, 1974ff.
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> – Leuven, 1970ff.
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> – Leipzig - Berlin, 1898ff.
<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del Centro per l'Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente</i> – Roma, 1962ff.
<i>OrNS</i>	<i>Orientalia (Nova Series)</i> – Roma, 1932ff.
<i>PEF</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund</i> – London, 1869-1936
<i>Phasis</i>	<i>Phasis: Greek and Roman Studies</i> – Tbilisi, 1999ff.
PIHANS	Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul – Leiden, 1985ff.
PM I	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1994 ² , <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. I: The Theban Necropolis. Part I. Private Tombs</i> , Oxford.
PM II	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1972, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. II: Theban Temples</i> , Oxford.

PM II ²	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1994 ² , <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. II: Theban Temples</i> , Oxford.
PM IV	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1968 ² , <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. IV: Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)</i> , Oxford.
PM V	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1939, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. V: Upper Egypt: Sites</i> , Oxford.
PM VII	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R.L.B. 1951, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. Vol. VII: Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt</i> , Oxford.
PRU III-IV	NOUGAYROL, J. 1955-1956, <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i> , III-IV, Paris.
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> – London, 1878-1918
PSD	The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary: http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd1/index.html
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> – Paris, 1844ff.
RANT	<i>Res Antiquae</i> – Bruxelles, 2004ff.
RCont	<i>Revue Contemporaine</i> – St. Petersburg, 1910-1916
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> – Paris, 1933ff.
RecTrav	<i>Recueil des Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i> – Paris, 1870ff.
Rép. On.	M.-C. Trémouille, <i>Répertoire Onomastique</i> , HPM: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes – Wiesbaden.
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i> – Paris, 1930-1978.
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité</i> – Liège, 1952ff.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie) – Berlin (later, also New York), 1928ff.
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali (Scuola orientale – Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università di Roma)</i> – Roma, 1970ff.
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> – Heidelberg, 1974ff.
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> – Chicago, 1931ff.
SEP	<i>Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia</i> – Ghezzano La Fontina, 2004ff.
SITH	Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques (http://sith.huma-num.fr/)
SMA	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i> – Göteborg.
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i> – Roma, 1966ff.
SPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i> – Berlin, 1882-1921.
StudAs	<i>Studia Asiana</i> – Roma, 2002ff.
StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten</i> – Wiesbaden 1965ff.
StBoTB	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten: Beihefte</i> – Wiesbaden 1988ff.
StMed	<i>Studia Mediterranea</i> – Pavia, 1980ff.
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i> – Tel Aviv, 1974ff.
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i> – Ankara, 1933ff.
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> – Philadelphia, 1769ff.
TheolTijd	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i> – Wageningen, 1946ff.
THeth	<i>Texte der Hethiter</i> – Heidelberg, 1971ff.
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae: http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/
TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> – London, 1872-1893.
TUAT NF	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge</i> – Gütersloh, 2004ff.
TÜBA-AR	<i>Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi/Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology</i> – Ankara, 2013ff.

UF	<i>Ugarit Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas</i> – Neukirchen, 1969ff.
Ugar. III	SCHAEFFER, C.F.A. (ed.) 1956, <i>Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras-Shamra VIII</i> , Paris.
Urk. IV	SETHE K. – HELCK W. 1906-1958, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV, Leipzig - Berlin.
Urk.Üb. IV	BLUMENTHAL, E. – MÜLLER, I. – REINEKE, W.F. (eds) 1984, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16</i> , Berlin.
VAB	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> – Leipzig, 1907-1916.
VBoT	GÖTZE, A. (ed.) 1930, <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> , Marburg.
VO	<i>Vicino Oriente. Annuario dell’Istituto del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma</i> – Roma, 1978ff.
VS XI-XII	SCHRÖDER, O. 1915, <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , Hefte 11-12, Berlin.
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> – Leiden, 1951ff.
WA	WINCKLER, H. – ABEL, L. 1889-1990, <i>Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna</i> , Berlin.
Wb	ERMAN A. – GRAPOW, H. 1926-1963, <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> , I-VII, Leipzig - Berlin.
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> – Göttingen, 1967ff.
Wresz. Atlas	WRESZINSKI W. 1913-1936, <i>Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> , 5 Bde., Leipzig.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft – Leipzig, Berlin 1900ff.
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> – Wien, 1887ff.
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete - Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> – Leipzig - Berlin, 1887ff.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> – Berlin-Leipzig, 1863ff.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> – Wiesbaden, 1867ff.
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> – Leipzig - Boston, 1878ff.
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf den Gebieten der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> – Berlin, 1875ff.

5.3: Abbreviation of Inv. Nr. of Akkadian and Hittite texts or objects kept in Museums

AnAr	Inventory numbers of the “Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi”, Ankara
AO	Inventory numbers of the “Louvre Museums”, Paris
BM	Inventory numbers of objects in the “British Museum”, London
Bo	Inventory numbers of the tablets from Boğazköy
E	Etüt: nachträglich inventarisierte Fragmente in Ankara Museum, vorwiegend aus dem Schutt der Grabungen von Winckler-Makridi
FHL	DURAND, J.-M. – LAROCHE, E. 1982, <i>Fragments hittites du Louvre</i> , in Aa. Vv., <i>Mémorial Atatürk : Études d’archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes</i> , Institut Français d’études anatoliennes : Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations : Synthèse 10, Paris, pp. 73-107.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
NBC	Inventory numbers of the “Nies Babylonian Collection”, Yale
RS	Objects from the site of Ras Shamra/Ugarit
VAT	Inventory numbers of the texts in the “Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin”, Berlin
Winckler	Fragments of Winckler’s excavations – “Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi”, Ankara

5.4: Abbreviation of find spots of Hittite texts

Bk	Büyükkale (buildings A, etc.)
T I	Temple I
HaH	“Haus am Hang”

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

N.B.: A very good, thematically ordered, bibliography is provided in BREYER 2010a, pp. 569-618. Cf. also on the "Systematische Bibliographie" of the HPM (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html>).

AA. VV. 1971, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 1, part 2, Cambridge.

AA. VV. 1986, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 4 vols, OIP 107, Chicago-Illinois.

AA. VV. 1992, *Ancient Art. Gifts from the Norbert Schimmel Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 49/4 (Spring).

AA. VV. 1997, *L'impero ramesside. Convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, Roma.

AA. VV. 1998, *Museum für Anatolische Zivilisationen*, Ankara.

AA. VV. (eds) 2002, *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*, Bonn.

ADLER, H.P. 1976, *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni*, AOAT 201, Neukirchen.

AHMED, S.T. 1965, *Untersuchung zur grossen Liste der Weihgeschenke Thutmosis' III. für Amon in Karnak*, Göttingen.

AKURGAL, E. 1950, *Beyraklı. Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Alismyrna*, Ankara.

AKURGAL, E. 1966, *Orient und Okzident*, Baden-Baden.

ALBERIC, M. 2014, "Étude chimique et structurale de l'ivoire d'éléphant moderne et ancien", HAL archives-ouvertes, Thèse de doctorat de l'Université Pierre et Marie Curie, Paris [on-line link: <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01132313>].

ALBERSMEIER, S. 2002, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des Ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein.

ALBRIGHT, W.F. 1934, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, American Oriental Series 5, New Haven, Connecticut.

ALBRIGHT, W.F. 1936, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. II: The Bronze Age", *AASOR* 17 [= The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. II: The Bronze Age (1936 - 1937)], pp. XI, XIII, XV, XXI, XXIII, XXIV; 1-79, 81-93, 95-141.

ALBRIGHT, W.F. 1946, "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography 1500-1200 B.C.", *JNES* 5/1 (January), pp. 7-25.

ALGAZE, G. – BREUNIGER, R. – LIGHTFOOT, C. – ROSENBERG, M. 1991, "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989-1990 Seasons", *Anatolica* 17, pp. 175-240.

- ALKIM, H. 1971-1972, “Explorations and Excavations in Turkey, 1969”, *Anatolica* 1, pp. 1-81.
- ALKIM, U.B. 1948-59, “Résultats archéologiques des fouilles de Karatepe”, *RHA* 9, pp. 1-35.
- ALLAM, S. 2010, “Der Vertrag Ramses’ II. mit dem Hethiterkönig Ḫattušili III. (nach der hieroglyphischen Inschrift im Karnak-Tempel)”, in M. Lang – H. Barta – R. Rollinger (eds), *Staatsverträge, Völkerrecht und Diplomatie im Alten Orient und in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Wiesbaden, pp. 81-116.
- ALLEN, J.P. 2000, *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge.
- ALLEN J.P. 2006, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, New York.
- ALLEN, J.P. 2014³, *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge.
- ALLEN, T.G. 1926-1927, “A Middle Kingdom Egyptian contact with Asia Minor”, *AJSLL* 43, pp. 294-296.
- ALP, S. 1991, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, Ankara.
- ALP, S. 1998, “Zur Datierung des Ulmitešup-Vertrags”, *AoF* 25, pp. 54-60.
- ALP, S. – ERKUT, S. 2002, “Hitit Kralı III. Hattušili ile Kraliçe Puduhepa’nın Gümüş Tablet Üzerindeki Mühürleri/The Seals of the Hittite King Hattušili III and the Queen Puduhepa on a Silver Tablet”, *TÜBA-AR* 5, pp. 1-6.
- ALT, A. 1932, “Zur Topographie der Schlacht bei Kades”, *ZDPV* 55, pp. 1-25.
- ALT, A. 1943, “Noch einmal zur Schlacht bei Kades”, *ZDPV* 66, pp. 1-20.
- ALTMAN, A. 2008, “Ugarit’s Political Standing in the Beginning of the 14th Century BCE Reconsidered”, *UF* 40, pp. 25-64.
- ANDRENUCCI, S. 2005, “Gli scarabei di Ramesse II: caratteristiche tipologiche e stilistiche”, in F. Pecchioli Daddi – M.C. Guidotti (eds), *Narrare gli eventi. Atti del convegno degli egittologi e degli orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra “La battaglia di Qadesh”*, StudAs 3, Roma, pp. 9-20.
- ANDREU, G. – CAUVILLE, S. 1977, “Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (I)”, *RdÈ* 29, pp. 5-13.
- ANONYMUS, 1978, “Résumé de conférences faites par des Belges”, *Akkadica* 9, pp. 44-47.
- ANTHONY, F.B. 2017, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1372 BC)*, London.
- ARBELI, S. 1999a, “[Two Parallel Stories that Relate to the Marriages between the Hittite and the Egyptian Kingdoms during the 14th-13th centuries BCE]”, in Y. Avishur – R. Deutsch (eds), *Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. M. Heltzer*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, pp. 19*-26* (Hebrew).
- ARCHI, A. 1971, “The Propaganda of Ḫattušiliš III”, *SMEA* 14, pp. 185-215.
- ARCHI A. 1974, “Il sistema KIN della divinazione ittita”, *OA* 13, pp. 113-144.

- ARCHI, A. 1986, “Rev. of: J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen, Heidelberg, 1975-1984”, *OrNS* 55/3, pp. 340-345.
- ARCHI, A. 1997, “Egyptians and Hittites in contact”, *VO* 1, pp. 1-15.
- ARCHI, A. 2002, “Ittiti e Egiziani: due culture a confronto”, in M.C. Guidotti – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramses II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, pp. 21-27.
- ARIK, R.O. 1937, *Les fouilles d’Alaca Hoyuk*, Ankara.
- ARNOLD, D. 2015, “Statue of the Nurse Sitsnefru”, in A. Oppenheim – D. Arnold – D. Arnold – K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, New York.
- ARSLAN, M. – AKALIN, M. – TALAAKAR, A. 2011, “Roma Hamamı 2009 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları”, *MÇKKS* 19, pp. 341-362.
- ARTZI, P. 1993, “EA 43, An (Almost) Forgotten Amarna Letter”, in A.F. RAINEY (ed.), *Kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, Tel Aviv, pp. 7-10.
- ARUZ, J. – GRAFF, S.B. – RAKIC, Y. (eds) 2013, *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia, New York.
- ARUZ, J. ET AL. 2008, *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, New York-New Haven-London.
- ASSMANN, J. 1984, “Rev of: V. Condon 1978, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Turin CG 54031*, Munchen”, *JEA* 70, pp. 165-168.
- ASSMANN, J. 1985, “Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten: Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesch”, *Mannheimer Forum* 83-84, pp. 175-231.
- BALKAN, K. 1954, *Kassitenstudien, I: Die Sprache der Kassiten*, New Haven.
- BALL, C.J. 1889, “The letter of the King of Arzapi to Amenophis III”, *Academy* 916, p. 343.
- BARNETT, R.D. – ČERNÝ, J. 1947, “King Ini-tešub of Charchemish in an Egyptian Document”, *JEA* 33 (Dec.), p. 94.
- BARNETT, R.D. 1956, “Phoenicia and the Ivory Trade”, *Archaeology* 9/2 (June), pp. 87-97.
- BARNETT, R.D. 1982, “Ancient Ivories in the Middle East”, *Qedem* 14, Jerusalem.
- BARTA, W. 1983, “Akencheres und die Witwe des Nibhururia”, *GM* 62, pp. 15-21.
- BARTELMUS, A. – STERNITZKE, K. (eds) 2017, *Karduniaš: Babylonia under the Kassites: the proceedings of the symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011 = Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums, 30. Juni bis Juli 2011*, 2 vols, Boston-Berlin.

- BASS, G.F. 1961a, “A Bronze Age Shipwreck”, *Expedition, The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* 3/2 (Winter), pp. 2-11.
- BASS, G.F. 1961b, “The Cape Gelidonia Wreck”, *AJA* 65, pp. 267-276.
- BASS, G.F. ET AL. 1989, “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign”, *AJA* 93 (January), pp. 1-29.
- BEAL, R.H. 1986, *The Organization of the Hittite Military: a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the division of the humanities in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*, Chicago.
- BEAL, R.H. 2000, “The Ten Years Annals of Great King Muršili II of Ḫatti (2.16)”, in W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture. Vol. II: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, pp. 82-90.
- BEAL, R.H. 2002, “I reparti e le armi dell’esercito ittita”, in M.C. GUIDOTTI – F. PECCHIOLI DADDI (eds), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramses II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, pp. 93-108.
- BEAN, G.R. – MITFORD, T. B. 1970, *Journals in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, Denkschriften Österr. Akad. 102, Wien.
- BECKMAN, G. 1983a, “Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša”, *JCS* 35/1-2 (Jan.-Apr.), pp. 97-114.
- BECKMAN, G. 1983b, *Hittite Birth Rituals. Second Revised Edition*, StBoT 29, Wiesbaden.
- BECKMAN, G. 1997a, “New Joins to Hittite Treaties”, *ZA* 87, pp. 96-100.
- BECKMAN, G. 1997b, “Review of E. Edel 1994a, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, AbhRheinWestfalAkWiss 77, Opladen”, *BiOr* 54, pp. 423-427.
- BECKMAN, G. 1999², *Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Second Edition*, Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 7, Atlanta, Georgia.
- BECKMAN, G.M. – BRYCE, T.R. – CLINE, E.H. 2011, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 28, Atlanta.
- BELL, L. 1986, “Une nouvelle version de l’inscription de Bakhtan de Ramsès II et la fête d’Opet dans la légende tardive”, *Dossier Histoire et Archéologie* 100 (= *Égypte. Louqsor, temple du ka royal*), janvier, p. 25.
- BELL, M. 1986, “A Hittite Pendant from Amarna”, *AJA* 90/2, pp. 145-151.
- BELL, M. 1991, *The Tutankhamun Burnt Groups from Gurob: Bases for Absolute Chronology of LH III A and B*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- BELLION, M. 1987, *Catalogue des Manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés*, Paris.

- BELMONTE MARÍN, J.A. 2001, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.*, RGTC 12/2, Wiesbaden.
- BEMPORAD, A. 2002, “Per una riattribuzione di KBo 4.14 a Šuppiliuma II”, in S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Firenze, pp. 71-86.
- BERAN, T. 1967, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy. Teil I. Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der vor- und althethitischen Perioden und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige*, WVDOG 76 (BoHa 5), Berlin.
- BETRÒ, M. ET AL. 2018, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull’Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia. I Convegno Nazionale*, Pisa.
- BILABEL, F. 1927, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Heidelberg.
- BILGEN, A.N. (ed.) 2015, *Seyithömer Höyük I*, Istanbul.
- BIRCH, S. 1841-1844, *Select Papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum*, London.
- VON BISSING, W. F. 1951-52, “Zu zwei in Karatepe zutage gekommene Reliefs mit ‘Bes’-Figuren”, *JKF* 1, pp. 88-94.
- BITTEL, K. 1938, “Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1937”, *MDOG* 76, p. 13-47.
- BITTEL, K. 1957, *Boğazköy 3*, Berlin.
- BITTEL, K. 1970, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites*, Oxford.
- BITTEL, K. 1976, *Les Hittites*, Gallimard.
- BITTEL, K. 1983, *Hattuscha. Hauptstadt der Hethiter. Geschichte und Kultur einer altorientalischen Großmacht*, Köln.
- BITTEL, K. 1984, *Boğazköy 6*, Berlin.
- BITTEL, K. 1986, “Bildliche Darstellungen Ḫattušili’ s III. in Ägypten”, in H.A. Hoffner – G.M. Beckman (eds), *Kaniššuar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*, AS 23, Chicago, pp. 39-48.
- BLACK, J. – GEORGE, A. – POSTGATE, N. (eds) 2000², *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, Wiesbaden.
- BLEIBERG, E. 1988, “The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: An Examination of B3kw(t)”, *JARCE* 28, pp. 157-178.
- BLEIBERG, E. 1996, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt*, Norman (Oklahoma).
- BLINKENBERG, CHR. 1931, *Lindos, Fouilles de l’Acropole 1902-1914, I, Les petites objects*, Berlin.

- BLUMENTHAL, E. – MÜLLER, I. – REINEKE, W.F. (eds) 1984, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16*, Berlin.
- BOEHMER, R.M. 1972, *Die Kleinfunde von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 7, Berlin.
- BOESER, P.A.A. 1911, *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, IV, Den Haag.
- BÖHL, F.M.TH. 1916, “Ausgewählte Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaz-Köi”, *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 50, pp. 160-215, 303-326.
- BOISSIER, A. 1892, “Notes sur les lettres de Tell el-Amarna”, *ZA* 7, pp. 346-349.
- BONDIELLI, P. – ELLI, A. 2012, *Ramesse II e gli Hittiti*, Torino.
- BORCHARDT, L. 1913, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa’3hure’*, 2, Ausgrabungen der Deutsche Oriental Gesellschaft 7, Leipzig.
- BORCHARDT, L. 1930, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, N^{os} 1-1294, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, Teil 3, Berlin.
- BORGHOUTS, J.F. 1983, “Ramses II en de Hittieten. Stelen over een huwelijksalliantie in de 13e eeuw voor Chr.”, in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije aasten vertaalden toegelicht*, Leiden, pp. 16-24.
- BORGHOUTS, J.F. 1984, “The First Hittite Marriage Record: Seth and the Climate”, in F. Daumas (ed.), *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, Montpellier, pp. 13-16.
- BORGHOUTS, J.F. 1986, *‘Duizend goden van Chatti en duizend goden van Egypte’*. *De relaties tussen Egypte en de Hettieten*, Leiden.
- BÖRKER-KLÄHN, J. 2002, “Götterkämpfe? Historie!”, in S. De Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Firenze, pp. 109-140.
- BOSSERT, H.TH. 1942, *Altanatolien*, Berlin.
- BOSSERT, H.TH. 1950, “Reisen in Kilikien”, *OrNS* 19, pp. 122-125.
- BOSSERT, H. ET AL. 1950, *Karatepe Kazilari*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V Seri 9, Ankara.
- BOTTERWECK, J.G. 1950, “Der sogenannte ḫattische Bericht über die Schlacht bei Qadesch, ein verkannter Brief Ramses’ II”, in Aa. Vv. (eds), *Alttestamentliche Studien (Festschrift F. Nötscher)*, BBB 1, Bonn, pp. 26-33.
- BOURIANT, U. 1895, “Lettre de M. Bouriant à M. Max Müller, sur le mur d’Horemheb à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 17, pp. 41-44.
- BOURRIAU, J. 1981, *Umm el Gaab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge.

- BRAND, P.J. 2000, *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical & Art Historical Analysis*, Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- BRANDAU, B. ET AL. 2004, *Resimlerle Troya*, Ankara.
- BREASTED, J. H. 1903, *The Battle of Kadesh. A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy*, Chicago.
- BREASTED, J.H. 1906, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, 5 vols, Chicago.
- BREASTED, J.H. 1921, *A History of Egypt*, London.
- BREASTED, J.H. 1926, *Histoire de l’Egypte (traduction en français)*, Bruxelles.
- VON BREDOW, I. 2017, *Kontaktzone Vorderer Orient und Ägypten*, Geographica Historica 38, Stuttgart.
- BRENTJES, B. 1995, “Der hethitische Königsfetisch ^{KUŠ}*kurša* auf ägyptischen Reliefs der Ramessidenzeit”, *AoF* 22, pp. 334-347.
- BRESCIANI, E. 2002, “La conquista della sposa mitannica: l’‘impresa difficile’ nella realtà storica e nella novella del ‘principe predestinato’”, in S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Firenze, pp. 141-144.
- BRESCIANI, E. 2007⁴, *Letteratura e poesia dell’Antico Egitto. Cultura e società attraverso i testi*, Torino.
- BRESCIANI, E. – DEL TACCA, M. 2005, *Arte medica e cosmetica alla corte dei faraoni*, Pisa.
- BREYER, F. 2004, “Anatolisches Sprachmaterial in ägyptisch-hieroglyphischen Inschriften - ein Vorbericht”, in T. Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis. Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt, Basel 9.-11. Juli 2003*, AOAT 310, Münster, pp. 259-270.
- BREYER, F. 2010a, *Ägypten und Anatolien. Politische, kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte zwischen dem Niltal und Kleinasien im 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wien.
- BREYER, F. 2010b, “Die Etymologie von *tekri-*, einem *hapax legomenon* in den ‘Mannestaten Suppiluliumas’”, *AoF* 37, pp. 95-103.
- BREYER, F. 2010c, “Hethitologische Bemerkungen zum Keilschrift ‘Zipfel’ aus Qantir/Pi-Ramesse”, *Ä&L* 20, pp. 43-48.
- BREYER, F. 2010d, “Thutmosis III. und die Hethiter. Bemerkungen zum Kurustama-Vertrag sowie zu anatolischen Toponymen und einer hethitischen Lehnübersetzung in den Annalen Thutmosis’ III”, *SAK* 39, pp. 67-83.
- BREYER, F. 2010e, “Egyptological Remarks concerning Daḥamunzu”, *Ä&L* 20, pp. 445-451.
- BRÖGELMANN, E. 1936, “Noch einmal: Die Hyksosfrage”, *ZDMG* 90, pp. 441-443.

- BROZE, M. 1989, *La princesse de Bakhtan. Essai d'analyse stylistique*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 6, Bruxelles.
- BRUGSCH, H. 1859, *Histoire d'Égypte dès les premiers temps de son existence jusqu'à nos jours*, Leipzig.
- BRUGSCH, H. 1862-1885, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, Leipzig.
- BRUGSCH, H. 1877, *Geschichte Ägypten's unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig.
- BRUGSCH, H. 1891, *Historisch-Biographische Inschriften Altaegyptischer Denkmäler*, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum 5, Leipzig.
- BRUYN, M.J. DE 1989, "The Battle of Qadesh: Some Reconsiderations", in O.M.C. Haex – H.H. Curves – P.M.M.G. Akkermans (eds), *To the Euphrates and Beyond. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Mauritis N. van Loon*, Rotterdam, pp. 135-165.
- BRYAN, B.M. 1998, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III", in D. O'Connor – E.H. Cline (eds), *Amenhotep III. Perspectives on His Reign*, Ann Harbor.
- BRYCE, T. 1988, "Tette and the Rebellions in Nuhassi", *AnSt* 38, pp. 21-28.
- BRYCE, T. 1998, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford.
- BRYCE, T. 2003, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East. The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age*, London-New York.
- BRYCE, T. 2005, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford.
- BRYCE, T. 2006, "The 'Eternal Treaty' from the Hittite Perspective", *BMSAES* 6, pp. 6-11.
- BRYCE, T. 2007a, "A View from Hattusa", in G. Leick (ed.), *The Babylonian World*, New York-London, pp. 503-514.
- BRYCE, T. 2007b, *Hittite Warrior*, Oxford.
- BURCHARDT, M. 1909, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen. Band II: Listen der syllabisch geschriebenen Wörter sowie der altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen*, Leipzig.
- BURCHARDT, M. 1911, "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit", *ÄZ* 49, pp. 69-80.
- BURNE, A.H. 1920, "Some Notes on the Battle of Kadesh; being a military commentary on Professor J.H. Breasted's book, *The Battle of Kadesh*, University of Chicago Press, 1903", *JEA* 7, pp. 191-195.
- BURNET, A. 1963, "Hittites et Égyptiens face à face", *Les Beaux-Arts, Numéro spécial* 11 (26 Septembre 1963).
- CABROL, A. 2000, *Amenhotep III. Le magnifique*, Paris.
- ÇAMBEL, H. 1948, "An archaeological introduction to a recently discovered Hittite site in southern Anatolia", *Oriens* 1, pp. 147-162.

- CAMINOS, R.A. 1954, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford.
- CAMINOS, R.A. 1956, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, Oxford.
- CAMMAROSANO, M. 2009, “A Coregency for Muršili III?”, *AoF* 36, pp. 171-202.
- CAMPBELL, E.F. 1964, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, Baltimore.
- CANNUYER, C. 2010, “Le « grand mariage » hittite de Ramsès II et son empreinte dans la mémoire égyptienne”, in I. Klock-Fontanille – S. Biettlot – K. Meshoub (eds), *Identité et Altérité Culturelles. Le cas des Hittites dans le Proche-Orient ancien – Actes de colloque, Université de Limoges 27-28 novembre 2008*, Bruxelles, pp. 87-104.
- CAPLICE, R. 2002⁴, *Introduction to Akkadian*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior 9, Roma.
- CARTER, H. 1933, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, III, London.
- CAQUOT, A. 1978, “La lettre de la reine Puduḫepa”, in I. Schaeffer de Chalon – A. Schaeffer-Boehling (eds), *Ugaritica VII*, Mission de Ras Shamra 18, Paris, pp. 121-134.
- CARA, C. DE 1888, “Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto. Ricerche di archeologia egizio-libica”, *CivCatt* 903; 909; 916; 918; 920; 921; 922; 925; 929, pp. 275; 279-298; 414-434; 672-683; 141-151; 287-301; 414-430; 25-46; 532-548.
- CARA, C. DE 1889, “Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto. Ricerche di archeologia egizio-libica”, *CivCatt* 931; 934; 936; 938; 939, pp. 15-36; 420-434; 668-681; 165-178; 282-299.
- CARRUBA O. 1995, “La Grecia e l’Egitto nel II millennio”, *Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 129, pp. 141-160.
- CARRUBA, O. 1967, “*Rhyta* in den hethitischen Texten”, *Kadmos* 6, pp. 88-97.
- CARRUBA, O. 1976, “Le relazioni fra l’Anatolia e l’Egitto intorno alla metà del II millennio a.C.”, *OA* 15, pp. 295-309.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1930, “Pipḫurijaš(!) = Ai”, *Kemi* 3, pp. 33-38.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1931, “L’Égypte, le Mitanni et les Hittites de 1418 à 1350”, *RHA* 1/3, pp. 61-71.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1932, *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, Paris.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1935-1937, “L’Égypte et le Hatti vers 1302”, in Aa. Vv. (eds), *Mélanges Maspéro*, MIFAO 66, Le Caire, pp. 357-360.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1955, “La lettre 101 de Tell el-Amarna”, *JA* 243, pp. 135-138.
- CAVAIGNAC, E. 1956, “L’Égypte et les Hittites de 1370 à 1345”, *Syria* 33, pp. 42-48.
- CAVILLIER, G. 2001, *Il faraone guerriero. I Sovrani del nuovo regno alla conquista dell’Asia tra mito, strategia bellica e realtà archeologica*, Torino.

- CAVILLIER, G. 2002, “Le campagne ‘asiatiche’ di Ramesse II dopo la battaglia, in M.C. Guidotti – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, p. 206-211.
- CAVILLIER, G. 2003, *Tuthmosi III: Immagine e strategia di un condottiero*, Torino.
- CAVILLIER, G. 2005, “Il ‘Bollettino di Guerra’ nella prassi narrativa Ramesside: la battaglia di Qadesh”, in F. Pecchioli Daddi – M.C. Guidotti (eds), *Narrare gli eventi. Atti del convegno degli egittologi e degli orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra “La battaglia di Qadesh”*, StudAs 3, Roma, pp. 83-98.
- CAVILLIER, G. 2006, *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramses II alla conquista dell’Asia, fra mito, storia e strategia*, Torino.
- CAVILLIER, G. 2012, *Corso di Neoegiziano*, Torino.
- CAVRIANI, M. 2015, “Su un amuleto egiziano da Karkemish”, *Ocnus* 23, pp. 49-58.
- CAVRIANI, M. 2016, “Aegyptiaca at Karkemish. A new analysis of the finds from the British and Turco-Italian excavations”, unpublished poster presented at the 10th ICAANE, Vienna, Austria, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 25-29 April 2016 (downloadable online at the following link: https://www.academia.edu/31692845/Aegyptiaca_at_Karkemish_10th_ICAANE_Vienna_2016).
- CAZELLES, H. 1970-1971, “La « Lettre du général » (Ugaritica V). Les enseignes et la bataille de Kadesh”, *MUSJ* 46, pp. 31-50.
- ČERNÝ, J. 1935, *Ostraca hiératiques (Catalogue Général du Musée égyptien du Caire, 25501-25832)*, Le Caire.
- ČERNÝ, J. 1956, “A new Hittite royal name in an Egyptian inscription”, in F. Tauer – V. Kubičková – I. Hrbek (eds), *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia*, Praha, pp. 72-75.
- ČERNÝ, J. 1976, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, London-New York-Melbourne.
- ČERNÝ, J. – EDEL, E. 1960, *Abou Simbel : Décret de Ptah*, Le Caire.
- CHABAS, F.-J. 1858, “Traduction et analyse de l’inscription hiéroglyphique d’Ibsamboul, contenant le récit d’un épisode de la guerre de Ramses II contre la confédération des H’itas”, *RAr* 15, pp. 573-588, 701-736.
- CHACATRJAN, V.N. 1978, “Nekotorye voprosy chronologii Chettskogo carstva / Some Questions relating to the periodization of the Hittite Kingdom”, *Drevnij Vostok* 3, pp. 93-106.
- CHAMPOLLION, J.-F. 1833, *Lettres écrites d’Égypte et de Nubie*, Paris.
- CHANTRAINE, P. 1974, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grec – Histoire des mots, Tome III, A-II*, Paris.
- CHANTRE, E. 1898, *Recherches archéologiques dans l’Asie Occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce 1893-1894*, Paris.
- CIMMINO, F. 1985, *Ramesses II il Grande*, Milano.

- CLINE, D.H. – CLINE, E.H. 2014, “Text Messages, Tablets, and Social Networks: The ‘Small World’ of the Amarna Letters”, in J. Mynářová – P. Onderka – P. Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again – The Crossroads II*, Praha, pp. 17-44.
- CLINE, E.H. 1991, “Hittite Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean”, *AnSt* 41, pp. 133-143.
- COCHAVI-RAINEY, Z. 2011, *The Akkadian Dialect of Egyptian Scribes in the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE*, AOAT 374, Münster.
- COCKITT, J. – ROSALIE D. (eds) 2010, *Pharmacy and medicine in ancient Egypt: proceedings of the conferences held in Cairo (2007) and Manchester (2008)*, BAR International Series 2141, Oxford.
- COENEN, M. 1994, “A propos de la stèle de Bakhtan”, *GM* 142, pp. 57-59.
- COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.) 2000, *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations*, Baltimore-London.
- COHEN, Y. 2006, “Hittite Historical Texts I: ‘The Hittite-Egyptian treaty’”, in M.W. Chavalas (ed.), *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, Malden-Oxford-Victoria.
- COLLINS, B.J. 2007, *The Hittites and their World*, Atlanta.
- CONDON, V. 1978, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period: Papyrus Turin CG 54031*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 37, München.
- CONDER, C.R. 1884, “Hamathite and Egyptian-Hittite geography”, *PEF* 14, pp. 18-19.
- CONDER, C.R. 1889a, “The King of Arzapi’s letter”, *Academy* 98, p. 98.
- CONDER C.R. 1889b, “Notes: Mejarkon; Tarku; Asia Minor Words; King Orry’s stone; Essebu; Jerash texts; The Tell Amarna tablets; Recent notes on the Hittites”, *PEF* 9, pp.24-32, 82-90.
- CORDANI, V. 2011, “Aziru’s Journey to Egypt and its Chronological Value”, in J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads – Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, Prague, pp. 103-116.
- CORDANI, V. 2017 (ed.), *Lettere fra Egiziani e Ittiti*, Torino.
- CORNELIUS F. 1973, *Geschichte der Hethiter*, Darmstadt.
- CORNIL, P. – LEBRUN, R. 1975-1976, “Fragments hittites relatifs à l’Égypte”, *OLP* 6-7, pp. 83-108.
- CRUM, W.E. 1939, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford.
- CZYZEWSKA, I. 2007, *A Letter from Puduḥepa Queen of Hatti to Ramses II Pharaoh of Egypt (KUB 21.38 = CTH 176)*, Master Thesis, Concordia University, Montreal.
- D’ALFONSO, L. 2007, “The Treaty between Talmi-Teššub King of Karkemiš and Šuppiluliyama Great King of Ḫatti”, in D. Groddek – M. Zorman (eds), *Tabularia Hethaeorum – Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, DBH 25, Wiesbaden, pp. 203-220.

- D'ALFONSO, L. 2014, "The Kingdom of Tarhuntassa: A Reassessment of its Timeline and Political Significance", in P. Taracha (ed.), *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, September 5-9, 2011*, Warsaw, pp. 216-235.
- D'ASCOLI, A. (ed.) 2014, *Consumption of perfumed oil in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East: funerary rituals and other case studies*, JIA 01/2014.
- DAM, K. VAN 1995, "De annalen van Toetmosis III", *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 20/1, pp. 67-83.
- DARESSY, G. 1894, "Notes et remarques", *RecTrav* 16, pp. 123-131.
- DARESSY, G. 1901, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 25001-25385. Ostraca*, Le Caire.
- DARESSY, G. 1910, "Litanies d'Amon de temple de Louxor", *RecTrav* 32, pp. 62-69.
- DARNELL, J. – MANASSA, C. 2007, *Tutankhamun's Armies: Battle and Conquest During Ancient Egypt's Late 18th Dynasty*, Hoboken (NJ).
- DARNELL, J.C. 1991, "Supposed Depictions of Hittites in the Amarna Period", *SAK* 18, pp. 113-140.
- DAVIES, B.G. 1997, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, Jonsered.
- DAVIS, D. 1990, "An early treaty of friendship between Egypt and Hatti", *BACE* 1, pp. 31-37.
- DAVIS, V.L. 1982, "Rev of: V. Condon 1978, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Turin CG 54031*, Munchen", *JAOS* 102/1, pp. 175-176.
- DAVOLI, P – AHMED, M.N. 2006, "On Some Monuments from Kiman Fares (Medinet el-Fayyum)", *SEP* 3, pp. 83-85.
- VON DEINES, H. – GRAPOW H. 1959, *Worterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, Berlin.
- DE PIETRI, M. 2016, "Relationships between Egypt and Karkemish during the 2nd millennium BC: a brief overview", in E. Foietta et al. (eds), *Cultural & Material Contacts in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Workshop 1-2 December 2014, Torino*, Sesto Fiorentino, pp. 9-15.
- DE PIETRI, M. 2018, "Kadesh, beyond the conflict: the Hittites in Egyptian 'minor' documents", Poster presented at the 5th Annual Birmingham Egyptology Symposium "Conflict in Ancient Culture", 11th May 2018, University of Birmingham (available online at link: https://www.academia.edu/36647149/Kadesh_beyond_the_conflict_the_Hittites_in_Egyptian_minor_documents).
- DE PIETRI, M. (forthcoming, a), "From Thebes to Arslantaş: Egyptian Iconography on Ivories through Ugarit, Byblos and Megiddo", in M. Iamoni (ed.), *Proceedings of the international congress "Broadening Horizon 5: Civilizations in Contact", June 5 to 8, Università degli Studi di Udine*, vol. 1 ("The Neolithic – Chalcolithic transition in Upper Mesopotamia", "The Levant in the Bronze Age" and "The East Mediterranean during the Iron Age" / Session 1, Session 2 and Session 4).

- DE PIETRI, M. (forthcoming, b), “The vile chief of Ḫatti as captive”: topographical lists as a source for Egypto-Hittite contacts”, to be published in the proceedings of “The Fourth British Egyptology Congress”, 7th -9th September 2018, University of Manchester (UK).
- DER MANUELIAN, P. 1987, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26, Hildesheim.
- DE VOS, J. 2002, “À propos des Aegyptiaca d’Asie Mineure date du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.”, *Hethitica* 15, pp. 43-63.
- DE VOS, J. 2004a, “Les mentions des Louvites dans les sources égyptiennes. Qawê, Qode et la Biographie de Sinouhé”, in M. Alparslan – M. Doğan-Alparslan (eds), *Colloquium Anatolicum III/Anadolu Sohbetleri III*, Istanbul, pp. 147-194.
- DE VOS, J. 2004b, “Les représentations égyptiennes de Khattusili III: à propos de l’usage des empreintes de sceaux royaux par la chancellerie égyptienne”, in O. Casabonne – M. Mazoyer (eds), *Antiquus Oriens. Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun (Volume I)*, Collection KUBABA-Série Antiquité 5, Paris, pp. 175-200.
- DE VOS, J. 2007a, “Les relations égypto-hittites : Apologie d’un retour aux sources de la diplomatie antique”, *Bulletin de la Societas Anatolica* 1, pp. 41-47.
- DE VOS, J. 2007b, “Un substantif hittite désignant l’huile dans les sources égyptiennes ? À propos du Kiz(z)uwatna et de l’huile d’olive parfumée destinée aux soldats de Séthy”, *Bulletin de la Societas Anatolica* 1, pp. 13-17.
- DE VOS, J. 2008a, “Quelques remarques relatives aux pérégrinations des diplomates, au fil des relations égypto-hittites (IIe millénaire avant J.-C.)”, *RANT* 5, 309-322.
- DE VOS, J. 2008b, “Ramsès III et les cités néo-hittites de Syrie septentrionale : note géographique à propos de toponymes mentionnés à Medinet Habou”, *CollAn* 7, pp. 157-166.
- DE VOS, J. 2010, “Amour, musique et poésie au gré des relations égypto-hittites. Réflexions autour d’une statuette de harpiste « hittite » de Médinet el Gourob/Miour”, in I. Klock-Fontanille – S. Biettlot – K. Meshoub (eds), *Identité et Altérité Culturelles. Le cas des Hittites dans le Proche-Orient ancien – Actes de colloque, Université de Limoges 27-28 novembre 2008*, Bruxelles, pp. 105-126.
- DEGEN, R. 1967, “Zur Schreibung des Kaška-Namens in ägyptischen, ugaritischen und altaramäischen Quellen. Rev. of: E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškaer. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1965”, *WdO* 4, pp. 48-60.
- DEL MONTE, G.F. – TISCHLER J. 1978, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, RGTC 6, Wiesbaden.
- DEL MONTE, G.F. 1992, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, RGTC 1/2, Wiesbaden.

- DEL MONTE, G.F. 1993, *L'annalistica ittita*, Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 4.2, Brescia.
- DEL MONTE, G.F. 2008, *Le gesta di Suppiluliuma, L'opera storiografica di Mursili II re di Hattusa*, vol. 1, Pisa.
- DELAPORTE, L. 1938, "Qadesh sur l'Oronte", *RHA* 4/31, p. 288.
- DELMAS, A.B. – CASANOVA, M. 1990, "The lapis lazuli sources in the ancient East", in M. Taddei (ed.), *South Asian archaeology 1987: proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice*, Roma, pp. 493-505.
- DER MANUELIAN, P. 1987, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, Baltimore.
- DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, CH. 1952, "Hommage d'un poète à la princesse lointaine", *Kêmi* 12, pp. 34-45.
- DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, CH. (ed.) 1976, *Ramsès le Grand*, Paris.
- DEVAUCHELLE, D. 1986, "Notes sur la stèle de Bentresh", *RdÉ* 37, pp. 149-150.
- DEVECCHI, E. 2005, *Trattati internazionali ittiti*, Brescia.
- DEVECCHI, E. 2012a, "The Amarna Letters from Hatti. A Palaeographic Analysis", in T. Boiy et al. (eds), *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift karel Van Lerberghe*, OLA 220, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, pp. 143-154.
- DEVECCHI, E. 2012b, "Aziru, Servant of Three Masters?", *AoF* 39, pp. 38-48.
- DEVECCHI, E. 2015, "The International Relations of Ḫatti's Syrian Vassals, or How to Make the Best of Things", in B. Eder - R. Pruzsinszky (eds), *Policies of Exchange. Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East in the 2nd millennium BC*, Wien, pp. 117-126.
- DEVECCHI, E. – MILLER, J.L. 2011, "Hittite-Egyptian Synchronisms and their Consequences for Ancient Near Eastern Chronology", in J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads – Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1-3, 2010*, Prague, pp. 139-176.
- DIAKONOFF, I.M. 1971, *Hurrisch und Urartaisch*, Munich.
- DIETRICH, M. 2001, "Der Brief des Kommandeurs Šumiyānu an den ugaritischen König Niqmepa' (RS 20.33). Ein Bericht über Aktivitäten nach der Schlacht bei Qadeš", *UF* 33, pp. 117-191.
- DIETRICH, M. – LORETZ, O. 1969, "Der Amarna-Brief VAB 2, 170", in R. Stiehl – H.E. Stier (eds), *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für F. Altheim*, Berlin, pp. 14-23.
- DIVON, S.A. 2008, "A Survey of the Textual Evidence for "Food Shortage" from the Late Hittite Empire, in L. d'Alfonso et al. (eds), *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires. History, Landscape, and Society. proceedings of the Kostanz Emar Conference*, AOAT 349, Münster, pp. 101-109.

- DODSON, A. – HILTON, D. 2004, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, London.
- DOELLER, J. 1903, “Die Hethiter in der heil. Schrift u. in ägyptischen, assyrisch Inschriften”, *Kultur* 4, pp. 389-394.
- DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN, M. – ALPARSLAN, M. (eds) 2013, *Hittiter. Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğu/Hittites. An Anatolian Empire*, Istanbul.
- DONADONI, S. – ČERNÝ, J. 1960, *Abou Simbel : Stèle du Mariage*, Le Caire.
- DONADONI, S. 2001, “Un frammento di stele ramesside dai Kiman Fares”, in Cervelló Autuori, J. – Quevedo Álvarez, A.J. (eds), ... *ir a buscar leña (Estudios Lopez)*, Barcelona, pp. 99-102.
- DRENKHAHN, R. 1967, “Ausländer (Hethiter und marijannu?) in Amarna”, *MDAIK* 22, pp. 60-63.
- DURAND, J.M. – LAROCHE, E. 1982, “Fragments Hittites du Louvre”, in Aa. Vv., *Mémorial Atatürk. Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes*, Paris, pp. 73-107.
- DURGUN, P. 2017, “Across the Great Green: Egyptian objects in Anatolia”, Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), Kansas City.
- DUSINBERRE, E.R. M. 2005, *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*, Philadelphia.
- ECHT, G. 1984b, “Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Qadisch (Qidša)”, *GM* 80, pp. 23-53, 55-57.
- EDEL, E. 1948, “Neue Keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Boğazköytexten”, *JNES* 7/1 (January), pp. 11-24.
- EDEL, E. 1950, “KBo I 15+19, ein Brief Ramses' II. mit einer Schilderung der Kadešschlacht”, *ZA* 49, pp. 195-212.
- EDEL, E. 1952, “Die Rolle der Königinnen in der ägyptisch-hethitischen Korrespondenz von Boğazköy”, *IF* 60, pp. 72-85.
- EDEL, E. 1952-1953, “KUB III 63, ein Brief aus der Heiratskorrespondenz Ramses' II.”, *JKIF* 2, pp. 262-273.
- EDEL, E. 1953a, “Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs”, *ZDPV* 69, pp. 97-176.
- EDEL, E. 1953b, “Weitere Briefe aus der Heiratskorrespondenz Ramses' II.: KUB III 37, KBo I 17 und KUB III 57”, in W.F. Albright et al. (eds), *Geschichte und Altes Testament: Albrecht Alt zum 70. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 16, Tübingen, pp. 29-63.
- EDEL, E. 1960, “Der geplante Besuch Hattušiliš III. in Ägypten”, *MDOG* 92, pp. 15-20.
- EDEL, E. 1969, “Die Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft im 21. Jahr Ramses' II.”, *OrNS* 38/2, pp. 177-186.
- EDEL, E. 1973, “Hethitische Personennamen in Hieroglyphischer Umshrift”, in E. Neu – Ch. Rüster (eds), *Festschrift Heinrich Otten: 27. Dezember 1973*, Wiesbaden, pp. 59-70.

- EDEL, E. 1974, "Zwei Originalbriefe der Königmutter Tūja in Keilschrift", *SAK* 1, pp. 105-146.
- EDEL, E. 1975, "Identifikationen topographischer Namen in den konventionellen Namenszusammenstellungen des Neuen Reiches", *SAK* 3, pp. 49-73.
- EDEL, E. 1976, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 205, Göttingen.
- EDEL, E. 1977, "Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe von ??? in den Ramsesbriefen", *GM* 25, pp. 59-62.
- EDEL, E. 1978a, "Der Brief des ägyptischen Wesirs Pašijara an den Hethiterkönig Ḫattušili und verwandte Keilschriftbriefe", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 4, pp. 117-158.
- EDEL, E. 1978b, "Ein neugefundenes Brieffragment der Witwe des Tutanchamun aus Boghazköy", *Orientalistika* 2, pp. 33-35.
- EDEL, E. 1983, "Der ägyptisch-hethitische Friedensvertrag zwischen Ramses II. und Hattusili III.", in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Band I: Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte. Lieferung 2: Staatsverträge*, Gütersloh, pp. 135-153.
- EDEL, E. 1984, *Neue Deutungen keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter und Personennamen*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 375, Opladen.
- EDEL, E. 1985, "Der Seevölkerbericht aus dem 8. Jahre Ramses' III. (MH II, pl. 46, 15-18). Übersetzung und Struktur", in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 97, 2 vols, Le Caire, vol. 1, pp. 223-238.
- EDEL, E. 1992, "GAD.TÚG maklalu gleich jdg, etwa „Mantel, Umhang“", in H. Otten et al. (eds), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, pp. 127-135.
- EDEL, E. 1994a, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, *AbhRheinWestfalAkWiss* 77, Opladen.
- EDEL, E. 1994b, "Bo 92/129. Ein neues Brieffragment in hethitischer Sprache aus der Korrespondenz zwischen Ägypten und Hatti", *Westdeutscher Verlag*, pp. 114-117.
- EDEL, E. 1996, "Bo 92/129, ein neues Brieffragment in hethitischer Sprache aus der Korrespondenz zwischen Ägypten und Hatti", *ZA* 86, pp. 114-117.
- EDEL, E. 1997, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III. von Ḫatti*, *WVDOG* 95, Leipzig-Berlin.
- EDEL, E. – GÖRG, M. 2005, *Die Ortsnamenlisten im nördlichen Säulenhof des Totentempels Amenophis' III*, *ÄAT* 50, Wiesbaden.
- EPH'AL, I. 1971, "Ša-za-e-na = Ša-za-na", *IEJ* 21, pp. 155-157.

- EL-SAADY, H. 1999, "The External Royal Envoys of the Ramessides: A Study on the Egyptian Diplomats", *MDAIK* 55, pp. 411-425.
- ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ A. 2000, "Überblick über die Siegelfunde von Bakla Tepe, Liman Tepe und Panaztepe", in I. Pini (ed.), *Minoisch-Mykenische Glyptik, Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion V. Internationales Siegel-Symposium* (Marburg, 23.-25. September 1999), *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft* 6, Berlin, pp. 67-77.
- ERMAN, A. 1880, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, Leipzig.
- ERMAN, A. 1883a, "Eine ägyptische Statuette", *ZDMG* 37, pp. 440-442.
- ERMAN, A. 1883b, "Die Bentreschstele", *ZÄS* 21, p. 54.
- ERMAN, J. 1923, *Die Literatur der Ägypter*, Leipzig.
- EVERS, H.G. 1929, *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reiches*, München.
- FALKNER, M. 1954, "Ausgrabungen in Boghazköi und Fraktin", *AfO* 17, pp. 441-442.
- FALKNER, M. ET AL. 1963, "Ausgrabungen und Forschungsreisen", *AfO* 20, pp. 206-299.
- FAULKNER, R.O. 1941, "Egyptian Military Standards", *JEA* 27 (Decembre), pp. 12-18.
- FAULKNER, R.O. 1953, "Egyptian Military Organization", *JEA* 39, pp. 32-37.
- FAULKNER, R.O. 2002¹⁰, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford.
- FAULKNER, R.O. 1958, "The Battle of Kadesh", *MDAIK* 16, pp. 92-111.
- FECHT, G. 1984a, "Das „Poème“ über die Qades-Schlacht", in H. Altenmüller – D. Wildung (eds), *Festschrift Wolfgang Helck*, *SAK* 11, Hamburg, pp. 281-333.
- FECHT, G. 1984b, "Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Qadesh (Qidsu)", *GM* 80, pp. 23-53.
- FISHER, M. 2013, "A Diplomatic Marriage in the Ramesside Period: Maathorneferure, Daughter of the Great Ruler of Hatti", in B.J. Collins – P. Michalowski (eds), *Beyond Hatti – A Tribute to Gary Beckman*, Atlanta, pp. 75-120.
- FISCHER-ELFERT, H.-W. 1992, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. Textzusammenstellung*, Wiesbaden.
- FONTAN, E. – REICHE, I. 2011, "Les ivoires d'Arslan Tash (Syrie) d'après une étude de la collection du Musée du Louvre : mise en œuvre du matériau, traces de polychromie et de dorure, état de conservation", *ArcheoSciences* [En ligne], 35 : <http://archeosciences.revues.org/3210>; DOI: 10.4000/archeosciences.3210.
- FORLANINI, M. 1980, "La prima lista di VBoT 68 e la provincia di Arinna", *SMEA* 22, pp. 71-81.
- FORLANINI, M. 1983, "Gasipura et Gazziura", *Hethitica* 5, pp. 11-19.

- FORLANINI, M. – MARAZZI, M. 1986, “Anatolia: l’impero hittita”, in M. Liverani – L. Milano – A. Palmieri (eds), *Atlante storico del vicino Oriente antico*, issue 4.3, Roma.
- FORRER, E.O. 1926a, *Forschungen 1. Band/1. Heft: Die Arzaova-Länder*, Berlin.
- FORRER, E.O. 1926b, *Forschungen 2. Band/1. Heft*, Berlin.
- FORRER, E.O. 1936, “The Hittites in Palestine. I”, *PEQ* 68, pp. 190-203.
- FORRER, E.O. 1937, “The Hittites in Palestine. II”, *PEQ* 69, pp. 100-115.
- FOX, M.V. 1980, “The Cairo Love Songs”, *JAOS* 100/2, pp. 101-109.
- FOXVOG, D.A. 2016, *Elementary Sumerian Glossary* (online at https://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdlp/cdlp0003_20160104.pdf).
- FRANZMEIER, H. ET AL. 2014, “Late Bronze Age Imports at Qantir: Petrographic and Contextual Analysis of Fabric Groups”, *JAEG* 6 (3), pp. 11-21.
- FREU, J. 1974, “La lettre EA 116 de Rib Addi, prince de Byblos, au pharaon Akhenaton, et les Hittites à El Amarna”, *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Nice* 21, pp. 15-47.
- FREU, J. 1992, “Les guerres syriennes de Suppiluliuma et la fin de l’ère amarnienne”, *Hethitica* XI, pp. 39-101.
- FREU, J. 2003, *Histoire du Mitanni*, Collection KUBABA-Série Antiquité 3, Paris.
- FREU, J. 2004, *Suppiluliuma et la veuve du pharaon : Histoire d’un mariage manqué - Essai sur les relations égypto-hittites*, Collection KUBABA-Série Antiquité 5, Paris.
- FREU, J. 2008, *L’apogée du nouvel empire hittite*, Paris.
- FREU, J. – MAZOYER, M. 2007, *Les débuts du nouvel empire hittite. Les Hittites et leur histoire*, Collection KUBABA-Série Antiquité 12, Paris.
- FREU, J. – MAZOYER, M. 2008, *L’apogée du Nouvel Empire hittite*, Collection KUBABA-Série Antiquité 14, Paris.
- FRIEDRICH, J. 1932, *kleinasiatischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin.
- FRIEDRICH, J. 1937, “Das Siegel des hethitischen Königs Ḫattušili III. nach der ägyptischen Fassung seines Vertrages mit Ramses II.”, *AA* 6, pp. 177-190, 315.
- FRIEDRICH, J. 1942, “Keilschriftlich-Ägyptisches aus der Amarna- und Hethiterzeit”, *OrNS* 11, pp. 109-118.
- FRIEDRICH, J. 1960, *Hethitisches Keilschrift-Lesebuch*, Teil 1, Heidelberg.
- FRIEDRICH, J. – KAMMENHUBER, A. 1975-1984, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg.
- FRISK, H. 1991, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols, Heidelberg.
- FROOD, E. 2006, “A Ramessid statue from Abydos bearing a sacred emblem”, *JEA* 92, pp. 250-255.

- FURLANI, G. 1946, “Una corrispondenza diplomatica del II millennio a.C. (Il carattere diplomatico e politico delle lettere di El-Amarna)”, *Nuova Rivista Storica* 30, pp. 3-28.
- FURLANI, G. 1949, “Ispirazione egiziana dell’edicola reale degli Hittiti?”, in A.E. Breccia (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Ippolito Rosellini pubblicati a cura dell’Università di Pisa*, Pisa, pp. 385-398.
- FURTWÄNGLER, A. 1900, *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Klassischen Altertum*, vol. 1, Leipzig - Berlin.
- GABOLDE, M. 2012, *Ghost Egyptian-Hittite/Hittite-Egyptian loan-words*, *GM* 233, pp. 109-113.
- GANSELL, A.R. ET AL. 2014, “Stylistic clusters and the Syrian/South Syrian tradition of first millennium BCE Levantine ivory carving: a machine learning approach”, *JAS* 44, pp. 194-205.
- GARCÍA TRABAZO, J.V. 2002, *Textos religiosos hititas: Mitos, plegarias y rituales*, BCBO 6, Madrid.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1911, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Leipzig.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1935, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series*, Vol. I: Text; Vol II: Plates, London.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1936, *The Egyptian Origin of Some English Personal Names*, *JAOS* 56/2, pp. 189-197.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1937, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7, Bruxelles.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1947, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Oxford.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1948, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, Oxford.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1953, “The Harem at Miwēr”, *JNES* 12/3, pp. 145-149.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1957³, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1960, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford.
- GARDINER, A.H. 1961, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford.
- GARDNER, E.A. 1888, *Sixth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, Oxford.
- GARIS DAVIES, N. DE 1905, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, part II - The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, London.
- GARIS DAVIES, N. DE 1933, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)* TTS 5, London.
- GAUTHIER, H. 1925-1931, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, 7 vols, Le Caire.
- GENZ, H. – MIELKE, D.P. (eds) 2011, *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, *Colloquia Antiqua* 2, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA.
- GENZ, H. 2004, “Eine mykenische Scherbe aus Boğazköy”, *ArAnz* 2004/1, pp. 77-84.

- GENZ, H. 2006, “Imports and their Methodological Implications for Dating Hittite Material Culture”, in D.P. Mielke – U. Schoop – J. Seeher (eds), *Strukturierung und Datierung in der Hethitischen Archäologie*, BYZAS 4, pp. 185-196.
- GENZ, H. 2011, “Foreign Contacts of the Hittites”, in H. Genz – D.P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, Colloquia Antiqua 2, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, pp. 301-332.
- GERMER, R. 1979, *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanze im Alten Ägypten*, Diss. Hamburg.
- GERMER, R. 2008, *Handbuch der Altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, Wiesbaden.
- GESTOSO, G.N. 2008, “Las técnicas de dominación imperial egipcia en Asia bajo Tuthmosis III: propaganda y realidad”, *Aegyptus Antiqua* 10, pp. 49-60.
- GESTOSO SINGER, G.N. 2008, “El Intercambio de Bienes entre Egipto y Asia Anterior desde el reinado de Tuthmosis III hasta el de Akhenaton”, *ANEM* 2, Buenos Aires.
- GILES, F.L. 1972, *Ikhnaton: Legend and History*, Rutherford-Madison-Teaneck.
- GILES, F.J. 1997, *The Amarna Age: Western Asia*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 5, Warminster.
- GIORGADZE, G.G. 1956, *Iz istorii plemen, proživavšich k severu i severovostoku ot Chettskogo gosudarstva (Kaški)* [Aus der Geschichte der nördlich und nordöstlich vom hethitischen Staate lebenden Stämme (Kaškäer)], Autoreferat der Dissertation, Tbilisi 1956.
- GIORGIERI, M. – MORA, C. 1996, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a. C.*, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 32, Como.
- GIORGIERI, M. – MORA, C. 2010, “Kingship in Ḫatti during the 13th Century: Forms of Rule and Struggles for Power before the Fall of the Empire”, in Y. Cohen – A. Gilan – J.L. Miller (eds), *Pax Hethitica - Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, StBoT 51, Wiesbaden, pp. 136-157.
- GIORGIERI, M. 2010, “Il frammento di lettera KBo 8.14: un nuovo tentativo di interpretazione”, in I. Singer (ed.), *ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis – Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Tel Aviv, pp. 64-75.
- GIRINGER, S. 2000, “Tepebağ Höyük (^{URU}Adaniia) Kizzuwatna Ülkesinin Başkenti miydi?”, in E. ARTUN – M. S. KOZ (eds), *Efsaneden Tarihe, Tarhiten Bugüne Adana: Köprü Başı*, Istanbul, pp. 71-85.
- GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI, V. 1921, “Appunti di etnologia egiziana”, *Aegyptus* 2, pp. 179-198.
- GIVEON, R. 1964, “Toponymes ouest-asiatique à Soleb”, *VT* 14, pp. 239-255.
- GIVEON, R. 1985, *Egyptian scarabs from Western Asia from the collections of the British Museum*, Gottingen.
- GJERSTAD, E. ET AL. 1934-1938, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Finds and Results of the excavation in Cyprus*, I-III: 1, 2, Stockholm.

- GLATZ, C. – MATTHEWS, R. 2005, “Anthropology of a Frontier Zone: Hittite-Kaska Relations in Late Bronze Age North-Central Anatolia”, *BASOR* 339, pp. 47-65.
- GLOCKER, J. 1997, *Das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna: Textzeugnisse eines lokalen Kultfestes im Anatolien der Hethiterzeit*, Eothen 6, Firenze.
- GOEDICKE, H. 1966, “Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh”, *JEA* 52, pp. 71-80.
- GOEDICKE, H. (ed.) 1985a, *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore.
- GOEDICKE, H. 1985b, “The ‘Battle of Kadesh’: A Reassessment”, in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore, pp. 77-121.
- GOETZE, A. 1924a, *Kleinasiens zur Hethiterzeit eine geographische Untersuchung*, Heidelberg.
- GOETZE, A. 1924b, “Rev. of: H. Zimmern – J. Friedrich, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Šubbiluliumaš und der Witwe des Bib/pururias (d.i. Amenophis IV.?)*”, *ZA* 35 (1924), pp. 37-42”, *OLZ* 27, pp. 581-582.
- GOETZE, A. 1924c, “Šuppiluliumas syrische Feldzüge”, *Klio* 19, pp. 347-350.
- GOETZE, A. 1929, “Zur Schlacht von Qadeš”, *OLZ* 32, pp. 832-838.
- GOETZE, A. 1930, “Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš”, in F. Sommer – H. Ehelolf (eds), *Kleinasiatischen Forschungen*, Weimar, pp. 161-251.
- GOETZE, A. 1933, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, in F. Sommer (ed.), *Hethitische Texte in Umschrift, mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*, MVAeG, 38. Band, Leipzig.
- GOETZE, A. 1947, “A New Letter from Ramesses to Ḫattušiliš”, *JCS* 1/3, pp. 241-251.
- GOLDMAN, H. 1956, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 2, Princeton, New Jersey.
- GOLDMAN, H. 1963, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 3, Princeton, New Jersey.
- GOLÉNISCHEFF, W. 1902, “Offener Brief an Herrn Professor Gr. STEINDORFF”, *ZÄS* 40, pp. 101-105.
- GOODWIN, C.W. 1858, *On the hieratic papyri*, Cambridge.
- GÖRG, M. 2003, “Ramses II. in neuen keilschriftlichen Zeugnissen”, *BN* 119/120, pp. 24-26.
- GOREN, Y. ET AL. 2011, “Non-destructive Provenance Study of Cuneiform Tablets Using Portable X-ray Fluorescence (pXRF)”, *JAS* 38, pp. 684-696.
- GRANDET, P. – MATHIEU, B. 2007, *Corso di Egiziano geroglifico*, Torino (translation of the original French version: GRANDET, P. – MATHIEU, B. 2003, *Cours d'égyptien hiéroglyphique*, Paris).
- GRIFFITH, F.L. 1890, “The antiquities of Tell el Yahûdîyeh, and miscellaneous work in Lower Egypt during the years 1887-1889”, in E. Naville, *The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias: Belbeis, Samanood, Abusir, Tukh el Karmus. 1887*, Egypt Exploration Fund 7, London.
- GRIFFITH, F.L. 1923, “Akhenaton and the Hittites”, *JEA* 9, pp. 78-79.

- GRIMAL, N. 1988, *Historie de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris.
- GRIMAL, N. 2006, "Les listes de peuples dans l'Égypte du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C. et la géopolitique du Proche-Orient", in E. Czerny et al. (eds), *Timelines: studies in honour of Manfred Bietak*, Leuven, vol. 1, pp. 107-119.
- GRIMAL, N. 2011⁹, *Storia dell'antico Egitto*, Roma-Bari.
- GRODDEK, D. 2002, "Ägyptisch-Hethitisches", in T.A. Bács (ed.), *A Tribute to Excellence - Studies offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 17, Budapest, pp. 273-278.
- GRODDEK, D. 2004, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KUB 20*, DBH 13, Dresden.
- GRODDEK, D. 2007, "Zu den neuen ägyptisch-hethitischen Synchronismen der Nach-Amarna-Zeit", *GM* 215, pp. 95-107.
- GRODDEK, D. 2008a, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 22*, DBH 24, Wiesbaden.
- GRODDEK, D. 2008b, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 50*, DBH 28, Wiesbaden.
- GRODDEK, D. 2008c, "«Ägypten sei dem hethitischen Lande Bundesgenossen!» Zur Textherstellung zweier Paragraphen des Kuruštama-Vertrages", *GM* 218, pp. 37-43.
- GRODDEK, D. 2010, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 54*, DBH 31, Wiesbaden.
- GRODDEK, D. 2011, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 47*, DBH 33, Wiesbaden.
- GUIDOTTI, M.C. – PECCHIOLI DADDI, F. (eds) 2002, *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno.
- GUIEYSSE, P. 1886, "Texts historiques d'Ipsambuol", *RecTrav* 8, pp. 126-143.
- GUIEYSSE, P. 1889, "Iscrition historique de Séti I^{er}", *RecTrav* 11, pp. 52-77.
- GUNDLACH, R. – RAEDLER, C. – ROTH, S. 2005, "Der ägyptische Hof im Kontakt mit seinen vorderasiatischen Nachbarn. Gesandte und Gesandtschaftswesen in der Zeit Ramses' II.", in W. Bisang – Th. Bierschenk – D. Kreikenbom – U. Verhoeven (eds), *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens. Akten zum 2. Symposium des SFB 295, Mainz, 15.10.–17.10.2001*, Würzburg, pp. 39-67.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1956a, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II", *JCS* 10/2, pp. 41-68.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1956b, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II (Continued)", *JCS* 10/3, pp. 75-98.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1956c, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II", *JCS* 10/4, pp. 107-130.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1960, "Mursili's accounts of Suppiluliuma's dealings with Egypt", *RHA* 18 (66), pp. 57-63.

- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1968, "Oil Plants in Hittite Anatolia", *JAOS* 88/1 (January-March), pp. 66-71.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1986, "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History", in M.J. Mellink (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War*, Bryn Mawr, pp. 33-44.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1989, "Hittite kursa „hunting bag“", in A. Leonard – B.B. Williams (eds), *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to Helene J. Kantor*, SAOC 47, Chicago, pp. 113-119.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. 1998, "To Drink a God", in H. Erkanal – V. Donbaz – A. Uguroghlu (eds), *XXXIVème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Istanbul, 6-10/VII/1987)*, Ankara, pp. 121-129.
- GUTGESELL, M. 1984, *Der Friedensvertrag. Ramses und die Hethiter - Geheimdiplomatie im Alten Orient*, Hildesheim.
- HAAS, V. 1973, "Rev. of: H. Otten, *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon*, StBoT 15, Wiesbaden", *Kratylos* 16, pp. 211-213.
- HAAS, V. 1982, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen. Riten, Kulte und Mythen. Eine Einführung in die altkleinasiatischen religiösen Vorstellungen*, Mainz.
- HAAS, V. 1994, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion*, Leiden-New York-Köln.
- HAAS, V. 2006, *Die hethitische Literatur*, Berlin-New York.
- HAAS, V. – WEGNER, I. 1997, "Überlegungen zu den Paragraphen 6, 11 und 19 des Mittani-Briefes", *AoF* 24, pp. 337-351.
- HAFEMANN, I. – VOOS, J. 1985, "„Dieser Sturm möge ganz und gar vernichtet werden“. Frieden und Krieg in Ägypten und Vorderasien", *Das Altertum* 31, pp. 12-19.
- HAGENBUCHNER, A. 1989, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2 vols, THeth 15-16, Heidelberg.
- HAIDER, P.W. 1984, "Die hethitische Stadt Arušna in ägyptischen Ortsnamenlisten des Neuen Reiches", *GM* 72, pp. 9-14.
- HALL, H.R. 1913, *Catalogue of Egyptian scarabs, etc. in the British Museum*, vol. 1, London.
- HALL, H.R. 1921, "Egypt and the external world in the time of Akhenaten", *JEA* 7, pp. 39-53.
- HALL, H.R. 1923, "The Hittites and Egypt", in W.M. Calder – W.H. Buckler – W.M. Ramsay (eds), *Anatolian studies presented to sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, Publications of the University of Manchester 160, Manchester, pp. 165-186.
- HANNIG, R. 2014², *Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch – Ägyptisch*, Hannig-Lexica 3, Darmstadt.
- HANNIG, R. 2015⁶, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, Hannig-Lexica 1, Darmstadt.
- HARI, R. 1967, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet*, Paris.

- HEROLD, A. 1999, *Streitwagentechnologie in der Ramses-Stadt. Band 1: Knäufe, Knöpe und Scheiben aus Stein. Band 2: Bronze an Pferd und Wagen*, FoRa 2-3, Berlin.
- HARPER, P.O. 1969, "Dating a Group of Ivories from Anatolia", *Connoisseur* (Nov. 1969), pp.156-162.
- HARRIS, J.R. 1961, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, Berlin.
- HASEL, M.G. 1998, *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant ca. 1300-1185 BC*, London-Leiden-Köln.
- HASSAN, S. 1929, *Le poème dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh*, Le Caire.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 1975, "The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian", *BMSAES* 14, pp. 73-83.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2009a, "The Arzawa letters in recent perspective", *BMSAES* 14, pp. 73-83.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2009b, "Cilicia, the Amuq and Aleppo: new light in a dark age", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72.4, pp. 164-173.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2011a, "The Seals and the Dynasty", in S. Herbordt – D. Bawanypeck – J.D. Hawkins (ed), *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, BoHa 23, Mainz, pp. 85-102.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2011b, "The inscriptions of the Aleppo temple", *AnSt* 61, pp. 35-54.
- HAYES, W.C. 1937, *Glazed tiles from a palace of Ramesses II at Qantir*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers 3, New York.
- HAYES, W.C. 1953, *Scepter of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- HAYES, W.C. 1959, *Scepter of Egypt II: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part II: The Hyksos period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- HEFFRON, Y. 2014, "The Material Culture of Hittite 'God-drinking'", *JANER* 14/2, pp. 165-185.
- HEINOLD-KRAHMER, S. 1977, *Arzawa*, Heidelberg.
- HEITZER, M. – EITAM, D. (eds) 1978, *Olive Oil in Antiquity. Israel and neighbouring countries from Neolithic to Early Arab period. Conference 1987*, Haifa.
- HELCK, W. 1960, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen", *MDOG* 92, pp. 1-13.
- HELCK, W. 1961, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin.
- HELCK, W. 1962 (1971²), *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien in 3. u. 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ÄA 5, Wiesbaden.

- HELCK, W. 1963, “Urḫi-Tešup in Ägypten”, *JCS* 17/3, pp. 87-97.
- HELCK, W. 1964a, “Die Ägypter und die Fremden”, *Saeculum* 15, pp. 103-114.
- HELCK, W. 1964b, “Tkw und die Ramses-Stadt“, *VT* 15, pp. 35-48.
- HELCK, W. 1975, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden.
- HELCK, W. 1979, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Darmstadt.
- HELCK, W. 1993, “Das Hyksos-Problem”, *OrNS* 62/2, pp. 60-66.
- HELFT, S. 2010, *Patterns of Exchange/Patterns of Power: A New Archaeology of the Hittite Empire*, PhD Dissertation in Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania.
- HELLBING, L. 1979, *Alasia Problems*, SMA 57, Göteborg.
- HERBIN, F.-R. 1986, “Une version inachevée de l’onomasticon d’Aménémopé (P. BM 10474 vo)”, *BIFAO* 86, pp. 187-198.
- HERBORDT, S. – BAWANYPECK, D. – HAWKINS, J.D. 2011, *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullien aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, BoHa 23, Mainz.
- HESS, R.S. 1993, *Amarna Personal Names*, Winona Lake.
- HOCH, J.E. 1994, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton.
- HOFFNER, H.A. JR. 1994, “The Hittite word for ‘Oil’ and its Derivatives”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 107/2, pp. 222-230.
- HOFFNER, H.A. JR. 1995, “Oil in Hittite Texts”, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58/2 (= *Anatolian Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Neve*), pp. 108-114.
- HOFFNER, H.A. JR. 1997, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition*, Leiden-New York-Köln.
- HOFFNER, H.A. JR. 2002, “Hittite Letters”, *CoS* 3, pp. 43-53.
- HOFFNER, H.A. JR. 2009, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, Atlanta.
- HOFFNER, H.A. – MELCHERT, H.C. 2008, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, Indiana.
- HOGARTH, D.G. 1914, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum. Part I: Introductory*, London.
- HOIBERG, D.H. (ed.) 2010¹⁵, *Encyclopædia Britannica. I: A-Ak – Bayes*, Chicago-Illinois.
- HOLMES, Y.L. 1975, “The Messengers of the Amarna Letters”, *JAOS* 95, pp. 376-381.

- HOLTHOER, R. 1977, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The pottery. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia 5:1*, Lund.
- HOLTHOER, R. 1992, "Hittite origin of the 'Syrian Winejars'", in AA. VV. (eds), *Sesto congresso internazionale di egittologia*, vol. 1, Torino, pp. 313-316.
- HOLTON PIERCE, R. 1971, "Egyptian Loan-Words in Ancient Greek", *Symbolae Osloenses* 46, pp. 96-107.
- HORNBLOWER, G.D. 1922, "Some Hyksos Plaques and Scarabs", *JEA* 8, pp. 201-206.
- HORNUNG, E. – KRAUSS, R. – WARBURTON, D.A. 2006, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HdO 83, Leiden-Boston.
- HORNUNG, E. – STAEHELIN, E. 1976, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz.
- HORNUNG, E. 1979, "Chronologie in Bewegung", in M. Gorg – E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979*, Bamberg, pp. 247-252.
- HOUT, TH.P.J. VAN DEN 1992, "Der Fall Zannanza: KUB XIX 20 + KBo XII 23", *Privatdruck für die 39. RAI, Heidelberg*.
- HOUT, TH.P.J. VAN DEN 1993, "De zaak Zannanza. Een Egyptisch-Hettitisch brievendossier", *Phoenix. Tijdschrift voor de archeologie en geschiedenis van het Nabije Oosten* 39, pp. 159-167.
- HOUT, TH.P.J. VAN DEN 1994, "Der Falke und das Kücken: der neue Pharao und der hethitische Prinz?", *ZA* 84, pp. 60-88.
- HOUT, TH.P.J. VAN DEN 1995a, "Khattushili III, King of the Hittites", *CANE*, pp. 1107-1120.
- HOUT, TH.P.J. VAN DEN 1995b, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*, StBoT 38, Wiesbaden.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1963, "The Date of the Kurustama Treaty", *BiOr* 20, p. 274.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1967, "Mursili's north western campaign: a commentary", *Anatolica* 1, pp. 44-61.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1969, "Hittite Royal Prayers", *Numen* 16, pp. 81-98.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1987, "The Sun God of Heaven, the Assembly of Gods, and the Hittite King", in D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei. Essays on the History of Religions*, Leiden.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1994, "Urḫi-Teššub Revisited", *BiOr* 51, pp. 233-259.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 1996, "The Hittite Dynastic Marriages of the Period between ca. 1258 and 1244 B.C.", *AoF* 23, pp. 40-75.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, PH.H.J. 2006, "The Sudden Return of Urḫi-Teššub to his Former Place of Banishment in Syria", in Th.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuthaliya IV – Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden*, Leiden, pp. 1-8.

- HROZNÝ, B. 1931, “La deuxième lettre d’Arzawa et le vrai nom des Hittites indo-européens”, *JA* 218, pp. 307-320.
- IGNATOV, S. 1986, “Notes on Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II”, *Acta Centri Historiae “Terra Antiqua Balcanica”* 1, pp. 99-103.
- IZRE’EL, SH. 1991, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*, 2 vols, Harvard Semitic Studies 41, Atlanta.
- IZRE’EL, SH. 1997, “Review of E. Edel 1994a, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, AbhRheinWestfalAkWiss 77, Opladen”, *ZA* 87, pp. 141-147.
- JAEGER, B. – KRAUSS, R. 1990, “Zwei Skarabäen aus der mykenischen Fundstelle Panaztepe”, *MDOG* 122, pp. 153-156.
- JAEGER, B. 1982, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperr*, Freiburg.
- JACQUET-GORDON, H. 1981, *Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I*, *BIFAO* 81, pp. 41-46.
- JANSSEN, J.J. 2008, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medîna, Words for Clothing*, London.
- JASINK, A.M. 1995, *Gli Stati Neo-Ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica*, *StMed* 10, Pavia.
- JASINK, A.M. 2005, “Micenei e Vicino Oriente”, in F. Pecchioli Daddi – M.C. Guidotti (eds), *Narrare gli eventi. Atti del convegno degli egittologi e degli orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra “La battaglia di Qadesh”*, *StudAs* 3, Roma, pp. 209-224.
- JESUS, P.S. DE 1978, “Metal Resources in Ancient Anatolia”, *AnSt* 28, pp. 97-102.
- JIRKU, A. 1937, *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Orstnamen*, Leipzig.
- JUNGE, F. 2005², *Late Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford.
- KADRY, A. 1981, “Some Comments on the Qadesh Battle”, *Bulletin du centenaire. Supplément au BIFAO* 81, pp. 47-55.
- KAHN, D. 2011, “One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward: The Relations Between Amenhotep III, King of Egypt and Tushratta, King of Mitanni”, in S. Bar - D. Kahn – J. Shirley (ed.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, Leiden-Boston, pp. 136-154.
- KAHN, D. 2016, *The historical background of a topographical list of Ramesses III*, in R. Landgráfová – J. Mynářová (eds), *Rich and great: studies in honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the occasion of his 70th Feast of Thot*, Prague, pp. 161-168.
- KAMMENHUBER, A. 1991, “Nochmals: der hethitische König trinkt Gott NN”, in W. Gross – H. Irsigler – T. Seidl (eds), *Text, Methode und Grammatik – W. Richter zum 65. Geburtstag*, St. Ottilien, pp. 221-226.

- KANTOR, H.J. 1992, "The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Correlations before the First Intermediate Period", in R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies on Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, pp. 3-21.
- KARASU, C. 2003, "Why Did the Hittites Have a Thousand Deities?" 2003, in G. Beckman – R. Beal – G. MacMahon (eds), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake, Indiana, pp. 221-235.
- KELP, U. 2004, *Der Einfluss des späthethitischen Kulturraumes auf Orthostaten in Gordion*, in M. Novák – F. Prayon – A.-M. Wittke (eds), *Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes: Gütertausch - Kulturkontakt - Kulturtransfer. Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkolleges „Anatolien und seine Nachbarn“ der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, AOAT 323, Münster, pp. 285-298.
- KEMP, B. J. 1978, "The Harim-Palace at Medinet el-Ghurab", *ZÄS* 105, pp. 122-133.
- KEMP, B. J. 2000, *Antico Egitto - Analisi di una civiltà*, Milano.
- KEMPINSKI, A. 1983, "Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der Letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v.Chr.)", *ÄAT* 4, Wiesbaden.
- KESTEMONT, G. 1981, "Accords internationaux relatifs aux ligues hittites (1600-1200 av. J.C.). Dossier C : Le dossier égyptien", *OLP* 12, pp. 12-78.
- KINAL, F. 1943, "Amarna Çağında Mısır'ın Önasya Münasebetleri/Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien in der Amarna-Zeit", *ADTCFD* 2, pp. 99-106.
- KING, L.W. – HALL, H.R. 1907, *Egypt and Western Asia in the light of recent discoveries*, London.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1962, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs. A Study in Relative Chronology*, Liverpool.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1964, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II", *JEA* 50, pp. 47-70.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1965, "Theban Topographical Lists, Old and New", *OrNS* 34, pp. 1-9.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1966, "Suppiluliuma", in Aa. Vv. (eds), *I protagonisti della storia universale*, fasc. 66, Milano, p. 260.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1974, "*prd* > *ptr* = 'mule' in New Kingdom Egypt?", *GM* 13, pp. 17-20.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 1982, *Pharaoh Triumphant. The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*, Warminster.
- KITCHEN, K.A. 2004⁶, *Il Faraone trionfante. Ramses II e il suo tempo*, Roma-Bari.
- KITCHEN, K.A. – GABALLA, G.A. 1969, "Ramesside Varia II", *ZÄS* 96, pp. 14-28.
- KITCHEN, K.A. – LAWRENCE, P.J.N. 2012, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*, 3 vols, Wiesbaden.
- KNAPP, A.B. 2018, *Seafaring and Seafarers in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden.

- KLENGEL, H. 1964, "Aziru von Amurru und seine Rolle in der Geschichte der Amārnazeit", *MIOF* 10, pp. 57-83.
- KLENGEL, H. 1965a, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Syrienpolitik des Amenophis IV./Echnaton", *Das Altertum* 11, pp. 131-137.
- KLENGEL, H. 1965b, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. Teil 1 – Nordsyrien*, Berlin.
- KLENGEL, H. 1969, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. Teil 2 – Mittel- und Südsyrien*, Berlin.
- KLENGEL, H. 1970, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. Teil 3 – Historische Geographie und allgemeine Darstellung*, Berlin.
- KLENGEL, H. 1974, "„Hungerjahre“ in Ḫatti", *AoF* 1, pp. 165-174.
- KLENGEL, H. 1992, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, Berlin.
- KLENGEL, H. 1999, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*, Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- KLENGEL, H. 2002a, *Hattuschili und Ramses: Hethiter und Ägypter - ihr langer Weg zum Frieden*, Mainz am Rhein.
- KLENGEL, H. 2002b, "From War to Eternal Peace: Ramesses II and Khattushili III", *BCSMS* 37, pp. 49-56.
- KLENGEL, H. 2011, "History of the Hittites", in H. Genz – D.P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, *Colloquia Antiqua* 2, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, pp. 31-46.
- KLINGER, J. 2002, "Die hethitisch-kaškäische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der Großreichszeit", in S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, *Eothen* 11, Firenze, pp. 437-451.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2008, *Etymological Dictionary of The Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden-Boston.
- KNUDTZON, J.A. 1897, Knudtzon J.A., "Der Cheta-Fürst S' -p' -rw-rw in Keilschrift", *ZÄS* 35, p. 141.
- KNUDTZON, J.A. 1902, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, Leipzig.
- KNUDTZON, J.A. 1915, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 vols, (Anmerkungen und Register bearbeitet von O. Weber und E. Ebeling), VAB 2, Leipzig (reprint 1964, Aalen).
- KOEHL, R.B. 2013, "Bibru and Rhyton: Zoomorphic Vessels in the Near East and Aegean", in J. Aruz et al. (eds), *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia, New York, pp. 238-247.
- KOPPEN, F. VAN 2017, *The Early Kassite Period*, in A. Bartelmus – K. Sternitzke (eds), *Karduniaš: Babylonia under the Kassites: the proceedings of the symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011 = Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums, 30. Juni bis Juli 2011*, 2 vols, Boston-Berlin, vol. 1, pp. 45-92.
- KOROŠEC, V. 1950, "Mednarodni odnošaji po klinopisnih poročilih iz el-amarnskega in hetitskega državnega arhiva/International Relations according to Cuneiform Reports from the Tall al-Amarna and Hittite State

- Archives”, *Zbornik znanstvenih razprav juridicne fakultete v Ljubljani* 23, pp. 291-383 [English Résumé, pp. 390-397].
- KOROŠEC, V. 1975b, “Über die Entwicklung von völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen in der El-Amarna Zeit”, *RIDA* 22, pp. 47-70.
- KOŠAK, S. 1978, “The Inventory of Manninni (CTH 504)”, *Linguistica* 18, pp. 99-123.
- KOŠAK, S. 1982, *Hittite inventory texts (CTH 241-250)*, THeth 10, Heidelberg.
- KOŞAY, H.Z. – AKOK, M. 1966, *Alaca Höyük Kazısı*, Ankara.
- KOŞAY, H.Z. 1938, *Alaca Höyük Hafriyatı 1936*, Ankara.
- KOŞAY, H.Z. 1944, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük*, Ankara.
- KOURA, B. 1999, *Die „7-Heiligen Öle“ und andere Öl- und Fettnamen*, Dissertation Universität Münster, *Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia* 2, Aachen.
- KOZAL, E. 2006, *Anatolien im 2. Jt. v.u.Z. und die Hinterlassenschaften materieller Kultur aus dem Ostmittelmerraum, insbesondere Zyperns*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Philosophie der Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen.
- KRAUSS, R. 2007, “Eine Regentin, ein König und eine Königin zwischen dem Tod von Achenaten und der Thronbesteigung von Tutanchaten”, *AoF* 34, pp. 294-318.
- KRONASSER, H. 1966, *Etymologie der Hethitischen Sprache*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden.
- KUCHAREK, A. 2001, “Die Skarabäen vom Oylum Höyük”, *IM* 51, pp. 118-121.
- KUENTZ, C. 1925a, “La stèle de mariage de Ramses II”, *ASAE* 25, p. 181.
- KUENTZ, C. 1925b, “Une nouvelle édition du « Poème de Pentaour »”, *CRAIBL* 1925, pp. 242-246.
- KUENTZ, M.C. 1928, *La bataille de Qadech. Les textes (« Poème de Pentaour » et « Bulletin de Qadech ») et les bas-reliefs*, MIFAO 55, Le Caire.
- KÜHNE, C. 1973, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*, AOAT 17, Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- KÜHNE, C. – OTTEN, H. 1971, *Der Šaušgamuwa Vertrag (Eine Untersuchung zu Sprache und Graphik)*, StBoT 16, Wiesbaden.
- KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT, E. 1969, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*, Berlin.
- KULAÇOĞLU B. 1992, *Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, Gods and Goddesses*, Istanbul.
- KUPPER, J.R. 1992, “Karkémish aux III^{ème} et II^{ème} millénaires avant notre ère”, *Akkadica* 79-80, pp. 16-23.
- KYLE, M.J. 1908, “Some geographic and ethnic lists of Ramses II at the temple of Luxor”, *RecTrav* 30, pp. 219-223.

- LACAU, M.P. 1909, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Vol. XLV, Nos 34001-34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire, Tome première – Première fascicule*, Le Caire.
- LACKENBACHER, S. 1994, “KUB III 38”, *NABU* 1994/50, p. 1994/57.
- LAGARCE, B. 2008, “Réexamen des monuments du palais royal d’Ougarit inscrits en hiéroglyphes égyptien conservés au Musée National de Damas”, in V. Matoïan (ed.), *Le mobilier du palais royal d’Ougarit*, Ras-Shamra – Ougarit 17, Lyon.
- LANGDON, S. – GARDINER, A.H. 1920, “The Treaty of Alliance between Ḫattušili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt” *JEA* 6/3 (Jul.), pp. 179-205.
- LAROCHE, E. 1949, “Le vœu de Puduḫepa”, *RA* 43, pp. 55-78.
- LAROCHE, E. 1958, “Études sur les hiéroglyphes hittites”, *Syria* 35, pp. 263-275.
- LAROCHE, E. 1959, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite*, Paris.
- LAROCHE, E. 1966, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris.
- LAROCHE, E. 1971, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris.
- LAROCHE, E. 1981, “Les noms des Hittites : Supplément”, *Hethitica* IV, pp. 3-58.
- LAZZARIDES, C.A. 1922, *De l’évolution des relations internationales de l’Égypte pharaonique*, Paris.
- LEBRUN, R. 1976, *Samuha. Foyer religieux de l’empire hittite*, Louvain-La-Neuve.
- LEBRUN, R. 1980, *Hymnes et prières hittites*, *Homo Religiosus* 4, Louvain-La-Neuve.
- LEBRUN, R. 2014, *Présence et pouvoir à Ougarit : le cas de DUMU.LUGAL*, Louvain-La-Neuve.
- LEBRUN, R. – DEGREVE, A. 2008, “Fragments hittites relatifs à l’Égypte”, *RANT* 5, pp. 121-131.
- LECLANT, J. [Various titles, about Egyptian finds in Egypt and elsewhere], *OrNS* 30/3, 31- 34, 35, 37, 43, 49, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 69, *passim*.
- LECLANT, J. 1979, “A propos des antiquités égyptiennes découvertes dans les sanctuaires isiaques d’Asie Mineure”, in Aa. Vv. (eds), *Florilegium anatolicum, Mélanges offerts à E. Laroche*, Paris, pp. 207-218.
- LEFEBVRE, G. 1925, “Une version abrégée de la « Stèle du mariage »”, *ASAE* 25, pp. 34-45.
- LEFEBVRE, G. 1944, “Encore la stèle de Bakhtan”, *CdÉ* 19 (38), pp. 214-218
- LEFEBVRE, G. 1949, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l’époque pharaonique*, Paris.
- LEFEBVRE, G. 1956a, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l’époque pharaonique*, Paris.
- LEFEBVRE, G. 1956b, *La médecine égyptienne de l’époque pharaonique*, Paris.
- LEGRAIN, M.G. 1914, “Au pylône d’Harmhabi à Karnak (X^e pylône)”, *ASAE* 14, pp. 13-44.
- LEIBOVITCH, J. 1947, “Quelques éléments de la décoration égyptienne”, *BullInstÉg* 28, p. 181.

- LEPSIUS, C.R. 1849-1858, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Berlin.
- LESKO, L.H. 1977, *King Tut's Wine cellar*, Berkeley.
- LESKO, L.H. 1982-1990, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 5 vols, Berkeley.
- LICHTHEIM, M. 1975, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Readings, volume I: The Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdoms*, Los Angeles.
- LICHTHEIM, M. 1976, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Readings, volume II: The New Kingdom*, Los Angeles.
- LICHTHEIM, M. 1980, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings, volume III: The Late Period*, Los Angeles.
- LIVERANI, M. 1971, "Zannanza", *SMEA* 14, pp. 161-162.
- LIVERANI, M. 1983, "Aziru, servitore di due padroni", in O. Carruba – M. Liverani – C. Zaccagnini (eds), *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*, *StMed* 4, Pavia, pp. 93-121.
- LIVERANI, M. 1990a, "Hattushili alle prese con la propaganda ramesside", in M. Marazzi – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Gedenkschrift Einar von Schuler (28.10.1930-15.2.1990)*, *OrNS* 59, pp. 207-217.
- LIVERANI, M. 1990b, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.*, Padova.
- LIVERANI, M. 1998, *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*, Brescia.
- LIVERANI, M. 1999, *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 2. Le lettere dei "Grandi Re"*, Brescia.
- LIVERANI, M. 2002, "Il 'corriere rapido' nelle lettere di el-Amarna", in S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in Memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, *Eothen* 11, Firenze, pp. 491-496.
- LIVERANI, M. 2013, *The Ancient Near East. History, Society and Economy*, London-New York.
- LLOYD, S. 1967, *Early Highland People of Anatolia*, London.
- LORENZ, J. – SCHRACKAMP, I. 2011, *Hittite Military and Warfare*, in H. Genz – D.P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, *Colloquia Antiqua* 2, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA.
- LORTON, D. 1974, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII*, Baltimore.
- LOYRETTE, A.M. 1976, "Notes sur la bataille de Qadesh", in Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt (ed.) 1976, *Ramsès le Grand*, Paris, pp. XXXVI-XLVI.
- LUCKENBILL, D.D. 1921, "Hittite Treaties and Letters", *AJSLL* 37, pp. 161-211.
- LUNDH, P. 2002, *Actor and event. Military Activity in Ancient Egyptian Narrative Texts from Thutmosis II to Merneptah*, Uppsala.

- LUTZ, H.F. 1919, “The Dd-emblem of Osiris”, *JAOS* 39, pp. 196-205.
- MANASSA, C. 2003, *The Great Karnak inscription of Merneptah: grand strategy in the 13th century BC*, Yale Egyptological Studies 5, New Haven, CT-Oxford.
- MARCHETTI, N. (ed.) 2014, *Karkemish. An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna.
- MARIETTE, A. 1875a, *Les listes géographiques des pylônes de Karnak comprenant la Palestine, l'Éthiopie, le pays des Somâl*, Leipzig.
- MARIETTE, A. 1875b, *Karnak. Étude topographique et archéologique*, Leipzig.
- MARIETTE, A. 1869, *Abydos. Description des fouilles*, Vol.1, Paris.
- MARIETTE, A. 1880, *Abydos. Description des fouilles*, vol. 2, Paris.
- MARIZZA, M. 2007, *Dignitari ittiti del tempo di Tuthaliya I/II, Arnuwanda I, Tuthaliya III*, Eothen 15, Firenze.
- MARTIN, G.T. 1979, “A Block from the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb in Chicago”, *JNES* 38/1, pp. 33-35.
- MARTINO, S. DE 1996, *L'Anatolia occidentale nel medio regno ittita*, Firenze.
- MARTINO, S. DE 2007, “Il trattato tra Ḫatti e Alašiya, KBo XII 39”, in M. Alparslan – M. Doğan-Alparslan – H. Peker (eds), *VITA – Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, Istanbul, pp. 483-492.
- MARTINO, S. DE 2008, “Relations Between Ḫatti and Alašiya According to Textual and Archaeological Evidence”, in G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Ḫattuša – Boğazköy - Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients. 6. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 22.-24. März 2006, Würzburg*, Wiesbaden, pp. 247-263.
- MARTINO, S. DE 2010³, *Gli Ittiti*, Roma.
- MARTINO, S. DE 2011, *Hurrian Personal names in the kingdom of Ḫatti*, Eothen 18, Firenze.
- MARTINO, S. DE 2014, “Il ruolo politico di Karkemish in Siria durante il periodo imperiale ittita”, in N. Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish. An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna, pp. 86-92.
- MASCHERONI, L.M. 1983, “Il modulo interrogativo in Eteo III: usi argomentativi”, in O. Carruba – M. Liverani – C. Zaccagnini (eds), *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*, StMed 4, Pavia, pp. 123-140.
- MASPERO, G. 1888, “Le pays d'Alasia”, *RecTrav* 10, pp. 209-210.
- MASPERO, G. 1890, “The daughter of the prince of Bakhtan and the spirit that possessed her”, *Records of the Past, NS* 3, pp. 36-45.
- MATHIEU, B. 1996, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne. Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire*, BdÉ 115, Le Caire.
- MATTHIAE, P. – PINNOCK, F. – SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. (eds) 1995, *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà urbana. Trent'anni di scavi dell'Università di Roma “La Sapienza”*, Milano.

- MATTHIAE, P. 1963, *Studi sui rilievi di Karatepe*, Roma.
- MATTHIAE, P. 1969, "Empreintes d'un cylindre paléosyrien de Tell Mardikh", *Siria* 46, pp. 1-43.
- MATTHIAE, P. 1985², *I tesori di Ebla*, Roma-Bari.
- MAYER, W. – MAYER-OPIFICIUS, R. 1994, "Die Schlacht bei Qadeš. Der Versuch einer neuen Rekonstruktion", *UF* 26, pp. 321-368.
- MAZOYER, M. – AUFRERE, S.H. (eds) 2013, *De Hattuša à Memphis. Jacques Freu in honorem*, Paris.
- MEEKS, D. 1997, "Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la troisième période intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme", *BiOr* 54, No. 1-2, pp. 32-61.
- MEISSNER, B. 1917, "Der Staatsvertrag Ramses II von Aegypten und Hattusils von Hatti in akkadischer Fassung", *SitzBPreussAkWiss* 20, pp. 267, 282-295.
- MEISSNER, B. 1918, "Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zum Hattireiche nach hattischen Quellen", *ZDMG* 72, pp. 32-64.
- MELCHERT H.C. 1981, "'God-Drinking': A Syntactic Transformation in Hittite", *JIES* 9, pp. 245-254.
- MELLAART, J. 1959, "The Royal Treasure of Dorak", *The Illustrated London News*, 28th November, pp. 754ff.
- MELLAART, J. 1966, *Sunday Times*.
- MELLINK, M.J. 1950, "Karatepe. More light on the dark ages", *BiOr* 7, pp. 141-150.
- MELLINK, M.J. 1962, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 66/1 (January), pp. 71-85.
- MELLINK, M.J. 1964, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 68/2 (April), pp. 149-166.
- MELLINK, M.J. 1970, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 74/2 (April), pp. 171-172.
- MELLINK, M.J. ET AL. 1966, *Art Treasures of Turkey*, Washington.
- MERCER, S.A.B. 1924, "The Hittites, Mitanni and Babylonia in the Tell el-Amarna Letters", *JSOR* 8, pp. 13-28.
- MERCER, S.A.B. 1939, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets*, Toronto.
- MERIGGI, P. 1967, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico*, Roma.
- MEYER, E. 1913, *Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*, SPAW (1913), pp. 769-801.
- MEYER, E. 1914, *Die Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, Berlin.
- MEYER, G. 1992, "Hurija und Piphururija", *GM* 126, pp. 87-90.
- MILANI, C. – CARRUBA, O. 1986, *La farmacia nel mondo minoico-miceneo ed egeo-anatolico*, Chieti.

- MILLER, J.L. 2007a, “Amarna Age Chronology and the Identity of Nibhururiya in the Light of a Newly Reconstructed Hittite Text”, *AoF* 34, pp. 252-293.
- MILLER, J.L. 2007b, “Mursili II’s Dictate to Tuppi-Tessub’s Syrian Antagonists”, *Kaskal* 4, pp. 121-152.
- MILLER, J.L. 2007c, “Joins and Duplicates among the Boğazköy Tablets (21-30)”, *ZA* 97, pp. 133-141.
- MILLER, J. 2007c, “The Kings of Nuḫḫašše and Muršili’s *Casus belli*”, D. Groddek – M. Zorman (eds), *Tabularia Hethaeorum – Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, DBH 25, Wiesbaden, pp. 521-534.
- MILLER, J.L. 2008, “The Rebellion of Ḫatti’s Syrian Vassals and Egypt’s Meddling in Amurru”, in A. Archi – R. Francia (eds), *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia, Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005, Parte II*, SMEA 50, Roma, pp. 533-554.
- MITCHELL, T.C. – SEARIGHT, A. 2008, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals, III. Impressions of Stamp Seals on Cuneiform Tablets, Clay Bullae, and Jars*, London-Boston.
- MIZRACHY, Y. 2012, “The Eight Campaign of Thutmose III Revisited”, *JAET* 4/2, pp. 24-52.
- MONTE, G.F. DEL 1985, “Muršili II e l’Egitto”, in S.F. Bondi – S. Pernigotti – F. Serra – A. Vivian (eds), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa, pp. 161-167.
- MONTET, P. 1960, “De Tjarou à Qadech avec Ramses II”, *RHA* 18/67, pp. 109-115.
- MOOREY, P.S. 1969, *Archaeology, Artefacts, and the Bible*, Oxford.
- MORA, C. 1987, *La glittica anatolica del II millennio a.C.: classificazione tipologica. I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica*, StMed 6, 2 vols, Pavia.
- MORA, C. 1990, *La glittica anatolica del II millennio a.C.: classificazione tipologica. I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica. Primo supplemento*, StMed 6, Pavia.
- MORA, C. 1993, “Lo ‘status’ del re di Kargamiš”, *OrNs* 62, pp. 67-70.
- MORA, C. 2000, “Per una migliore utilizzazione della corrispondenza reale assiro-ittita come fonte storica”, in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, Napoli, pp. 765-782.
- MORA, C. 2004, “Sigilli e sigillature di Karkemiš in età imperiale ittita I. I re, i dignitari, il (mio) Sole, in *OrNS* 73/4 (= Fs Carruba), pp. 427-450.
- MORA, C. 2012, “Rev. of: S. Herbordt – D. Bawanyeck – J.D. Hawkins, *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, BoHa 23, Mainz, 2011”, *OrNS* 81, pp. 398-402.
- MORA, C. – GIORGIERI, M. 2004, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Ḫattusa*, HANE/M 7, Padova.
- MORAN, W.L. 1987, *Les lettres d’El-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon. Traduction avec la collaboration de Haas V. et Wilhelm G. Trad. française de Collon D. et Cazelles H.*, LAPO 13, Paris.

- MORAN, W.L. 1992, *The Amarna Letters. Edited and Translated*, Baltimore-London.
- MORET, A. – DAWY, G. 1923, *Des Clans aux Empires*, Paris.
- MORGAN, J.-J. DE ET AL. 1894, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 1, Wien.
- MORGAN, J.-J. DE ET AL. 1909, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 3, Wien.
- MORI, M. – OMURA, S. 1993, “A Preliminary Report on the Third Excavation at Kaman-Kalehöyük in Turkey (1988)”, *BMECCJ* 7, pp. 43-74.
- MORSCHAUSER, S.N. 1988, “Using history: reflections on the Bentresh Stela”, *SAK* 15, pp. 202-223.
- MOUTON, A. 2007, *Rêves hittites. Contribution à une histoire et une anthropologie du rêve en Anatolie ancienne*, CHANE 28, Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- MÜLLER, M. 2010, *Akkadisch in Keilschrifttexten aus Ägypten*, AOAT 373, Münster.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1893, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1897, “Geographische Einzelheiten”, *MVAeG* 3, pp. 273-278.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1898, “Der Chetiterkönig der Amarnatafeln”, *OLZ* 1, pp. 153-155.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1902, *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II. und des Chetiterkönigs, im Originaltext herausgegeben und übersetzt*, MVAeG 7/5, Berlin.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1909, “Das Auftreten der Chetiter in den ägyptischen Inschriften”, *OLZ* 12, pp. 427-429.
- MÜLLER, W.M. 1906, 1910, *Egyptological Researches*, 2 vols, Washington.
- MÜLLER-KARPE, A. 2002a, “Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 2001”, *MDOG* 134, pp. 331-351.
- MUMFORD, G. 2007, “Egypto-Levantine Relations during the Iron Age to Early Persian Periods (Dynasties late 20 to 26)”, in T. Schneider - K. Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*, AOAT 347, Münster, pp. 141-204.
- MURNANE, W.J. 1985, *The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, SAOC 42, Chicago.
- MURNANE, W.J. 1995, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, (edited by E.S. Meltzer), Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 5, Atlanta, Georgia.
- MUSCARELLA, O. (ed.) 1974, *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, Mainz.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. (ed.) 2011a, *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads – Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, Prague.

- MYNAROVA, J. 2006, "Ugarit: 'International' or 'Vassal' Correspondence?", in P. Charvát – B. Lafont – J. Mynářová – L. Pecha (eds), *L'état, le pouvoir, les prestations et leur formes en Mésopotamie ancienne, Actes du Colloque assyriologique franco-tchèque, Paris, 7-8 novembre 2002*, Praha, pp. 119-128.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. 2009, "From Amarna to Ḫattušaš: Epistolary Traditions in the Amarna and Ramesside Correspondence", in P. Maříkova Vlčková – J. Mynářová – M. Tomašek, *My Things Changes Things – Social Developments and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages*, Prague, pp. 111-117.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. 2011b, "Wretched Fallen One of Ḫatti or Hero? An Image of the Hittite King in the Egyptian Sources", in J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads – Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, Prague, pp. 235-248.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. 2012, "From the mountain or from the kiln? *Lapis lazuli* in the Amarna Letters", in G. del Olmo Lete – J. Vidal – N. Wyatt (eds), *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks. Studies in Honour of Wilfred G. E. Watson*, AOAT 394, Münster, pp. 63-70.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. 2014, "Lost in Translation. An Egyptological Perspective on the Egyptian-Hittite Treaties", *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 35/2, pp. 3-8.
- NA'AMAN, N. 1977, "Yeno'am," *TA* 4, pp. 168-77.
- NA'AMAN, N. 1988, "Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kāmid el-Lōz 'Apiru Letters", *UF* 20, pp. 178-194.
- NA'AMAN, N. 1995, "Tushratta's Murder in Shuppiluliuma's Letter to Akhenaten (EA 43)", *Abr-Nahrain* 33, pp. 116-118.
- NA'AMAN, N. 1996, "Ammishtamru's letter to Akhenaten (EA 45) and Hittite Chronology", *AuOr* 14/2, pp. 251-257.
- NACK, E. 1962, *Ägypten und der Vordere Orient im Altertum Länder und Völker zwischen Nil und Euphrat*, Wien.
- NEUMANN, G. 1961, *Untersuchungen zum Weiterleben hethitischen und luwischen Sprachgutes in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden.
- NEVE, P. 1993, *Ḫattuša - Stadt der Götter und Tempel*, Mainz am Rhein.
- NAVILLE, E. 1891, *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, Egypt Exploration Fund 8, London.
- NAVILLE, E. 1930, *Détails relevés dans les ruines des quelques temples égyptiens*, Paris.
- NIBBI, A. 1974, "Some remarks on ass and horse in ancient Egypt and the absence of the mule", *ZÄS* 6, pp. 148-168.
- NIBBI, A. 2002, "The Figure-of-Eight Shield Moulds from Qantir", *DE* 52, pp. 83-88.

- NICHOLSON, P.T. – JACKSON, C.M. – TROTT, K.M. 1997, “The Ulu Burun Glass Ingots, Cylindrical Vessels and Egyptian Glass”, *JEA* 83, pp. 143-153.
- NOTH, M. 1941, “Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien (Ramses II. in Syrien)”, *ZDPV* 64, pp. 39-74.
- NOTH, M. 1948, “Die Stadt Kades am Orontes in der Geschichte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.”, *WdO* 1, pp. 223-233.
- NOVÁK, M. 2004, “Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes auf Assyrien, Urartu, Palästina und Ägypten”, in M. Novák – F. Prayon – A.-M. Wittke (eds), *Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes: Gütertausch - Kulturkontakt - Kulturtransfer. Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs „Anatolien und seine Nachbarn“ der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, AOAT 323, Münster, pp. 299-305.
- NUNN, J.F. 1956, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, London.
- OLDFATHER, C.H. 1933, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vol. 1, Cambridge-London, p. 169.
- OPPENHEIM, A.L. 1967, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, Chicago.
- ORLAMÜNDE J. 2001, “Überlegungen zum hethitischen KIN-Orakel”, in Th. Richter – D. Prechel – J. Klinger (eds), *Kulturgeschichte. Altorientalische Studien für V. Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Saarbrücken, pp. 295-311.
- ORTHMANN, W. 1975, *Die alte Orient*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14, Berlin.
- OSHIRO, T. 1979, “[Über die von Ägyptern geschriebenen hethitischen Briefe]”, *Oriental-gaku ronshū (Collected papers for the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan)* 22, pp. 75-88 (Japanese).
- VON DER OSTEN, H.H. 1927, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor*, *AJSLL* 43, pp. 73-176.
- VON DER OSTEN, H.H. 1957, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Sylvius von Aulock*, *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* 13, Uppsala.
- VON DER OSTEN, H.H. – ALLEN T. G. 1927, “The Ancient Settlement at Kürigin Kale in Asia Minor”, *AJSLL* 43, pp. 293-296.
- OTTEN, H. 1955, “Die inschriftlichen Funde [1954]”, *MDOG* 88, pp. 33-36.
- OTTEN, H. 1971, *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon. (Wörter beginnend mit zu...)*, *StBoT* 15, Wiesbaden.
- OTTEN, H. 1979, “Ein weiterer Ramses-Brief aus Boğazköy”, in M. Gorg – E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979*, Bamberg, pp. 314-317.
- OTTEN, H. 1981, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung*, *StBoT* 24, Wiesbaden.
- OTTEN, H. 1988, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.*, *StBoTB* 1, Wiesbaden.

- OU DA, N.M. 2003, *Die Mittel der internationalen Kommunikation zwischen Ägypten und Staaten Vorderasiens in der späten Bronzezeit, Inaugural Diss.*, Freiburg.
- ÖZGÜÇ, N. 1955, “Finds at Fıraktın”, *Bellekten* 19, pp. 306-307.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1948, “Ankara Üniversitesi Adına Yapılan Fraktın Kazısı ve Tetkik Gezileri/Excavations at Fraktın near Develi and Researches in Anti-Taurus Region”, *Bellekten* 12, pp. 260-267.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1974, “A Bronze Hittite Statuette”, in K. Bittel – P.H.J. Houwink ten Cate – E. Reiner (eds), *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Istanbul, pp. 253-255.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1986, “Glazed Faience Objects from Kanish”, in M. Kelly-Buccellati (ed.), *Insight Through Images, Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 21, Malibu, pp. 201-208.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1986, *Kültepe-Kaniş II, New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East*, Ankara.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1992, “New Glazed Faience Objects from Kanish”, in B. Hrouda et al. (eds), *Von Uruk nach Tuttul, eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger Studien und Aufsätze von Kollegen und Freunden*, München, pp. 159-162.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T. 2003, *Kültepe. Kaniş/Neša*, Istanbul.
- ÖZKAN, S. 1998, *Anadolu (Hitit - Luvi) hieroglif yazatlarında geçen tanrıö şahıs ve çoğrafya adları / Divine, Personale and Geographical Names in the Anatolian (Hittite - Luwian) Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, İstanbul.
- ÖZKAN, S. 2007, “Ülkemizde bulunmuş eski Mısır eserlerine göre Anadolu-Mısır ilişkileri”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 22/1 (Temmuz), pp. 77-116.
- PÁLFI, J. 1945, “Eine ägyptische Statue aus Anatolien”, *OrAnt* 5-12, pp. 110-112.
- PALLAVIDINI, M. 2016, *Diplomazia e propaganda in epoca imperiale ittita. Forma e prassi*, Wiesbaden.
- PAMIR, H. 2013, “Sabuniye: A Late Bronze-Iron Age Port Settlement on the North Eastern Mediterranean Coast”, in K. A. Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA., pp. 173-194.
- PANAGIOTAKOPULU, E. 2004, “Pharaonic Egypt and the origins of plague”, *J. Biogeogr.* 31, pp. 269-275.
- PARDEE, D. 1983/1984, “Ugaritic”, *AfO* 29/30, pp. 321-329.
- PARKER, V. 1999, “Reflexions on the Career of Ḫattušili III until the Time of his Coup d’État”, *AoF* 26, pp. 269-290.
- PARROT, A. 1947, *Le Département des Antiquités Orientales. Guide Sommaire*, Paris.
- PEARSON, K. – CONNOR, P. 1967, *The Dorak Affair*, London.

- PECCHIOLO DADDI, F. 1982, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita*, Incunabula Graeca LXXIX, Roma.
- PECCHIOLO DADDI, F. 2002, "Fonti ittite per la battaglia di Qadesh", in M.C. Guidotti – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, pp. 168-169.
- PECCHIOLO DADDI, F. – GUIDOTTI, M.C. (eds) 2005, *Narrare gli eventi. Atti del convegno degli egittologi e degli orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra "La battaglia di Qadesh"*, StudAs 3, Roma.
- PEDEN, A.J. 1994, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 3, Jonsered.
- PEET, T.E. 1915, "The Early Relations of Egypt and Asia", *JMEOS* 4, pp. 27-48.
- PEET, T.E. 1920, *The Mayer Papyri A & B*, London.
- PEET, T.E. 1930, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Oxford.
- PEKER, H. 2013, "An Amulet with the Names of Ramesses II from the Roman Baths at Ankara", in K. A. Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010*, ANES Supplement 42, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA.
- PENDLEBURY, J.D.S. 1935, "Hittite figuré à el-Amarna, sur un bas-relief découvert pendant les fouilles de 1933-34", *JEA* 21/2, pp. 129-135.
- PERNIGOTTI, S. 2010, *L'Egitto di Ramesse II tra guerra e pace*, Torino.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1885, *Tanis. Part I., 1883-4*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1886, *Naukratis Part I, 1884-1885, Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1888, *Tanis. Part II. Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1890, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1891, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob 1889-90*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1896, *Koptos*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1925, *Buttons and Design Scarabs, British School of Archeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, 24th Year, 1918*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1934, *Ancient Gaza*, 4 vols., London.
- PEYRONEL, L. 2008, *Storia e archeologia del commercio nell'Oriente antico*, Roma.
- PIACENTINI, P. 2000, "Una nuova acquisizione dell'Università degli studi di Milano: gli autografi e la biblioteca di Elmar Edel", in S. Russo (ed.), *Atti del 5. Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia: Firenze, 10-12 dicembre 1999*, Firenze, pp. 185-189.

- PIACENTINI, P. 2006, *Gli archivi egittologici dell'Università degli Studi di Milano, 1. Il fondo Elmar Edel*, Milano.
- PIEPER, M. 1925, "Zum Hyksos-Problem", *OLZ* 28, pp. 417-419.
- PILAVCI, T. 2017, *Drinking a God and Sacrificing a Drink: Agency of the Hittite Libation Vessels*, unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University Academic Commons [<https://doi.org/10.7916/D87P99ZS>].
- PINTORE, F. 1978, *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII*, Roma.
- PITARD, W.T. 1987, *Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until Its Fall to the Assyrian in 732 B.C.E.*, Winona Lake.
- PLEYTE, W. 1869, "De veldslag van Ramses den Groote tegen de Cheta", *TheolTijd* 3, pp. 221-244.
- PLEYTE, W. – ROSSI, F. 1869, *Papyrus de Turin*, 2 vols, Leiden.
- PODANY, A.H. 2010, *Brotherhood of Kings. How International Relations shaped the Ancient Near East*, Oxford.
- POETTO, M. 2002, "Intorno al pittogramma luvio geroglifico 197", in L. Gordesiani (ed.), *Gregor Giorgadze von Kollegen und ehemaligen Studenten zum 75. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Tblisi.
- POHL, A. 1952, "Personalnachrichten", *OrNS* 21, pp. 361-377.
- POLITI, J. 2001, "Gurob - The Papyri and the 'Burnt Groups'", *GM* 182, pp. 107-111.
- POLVANI, A.M. 1988, *La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti. Parte prima*, Eothen 3, Firenze.
- POPKO, M. 1988, "Die Götter von Zippalanda", *Šulmu* 3, pp. 273-286.
- POSENER, G. 1934, "À propos de la stèle de Bentresh", *BIFAO* 34, pp. 75-76.
- POSENER, G. 1936, *La première domination perse en Égypte : recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, Le Caire.
- POSENER, G. 1950, "Section finale d'une sagesse inconnue (Recherches littéraires, II)", *RdE* 7, pp. 71-84.
- POSENER, G. 1952, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh, tome II (N^{os} 1109 à 1167)*, DFIFAO 18, Le Caire.
- POSENER, G. 1957, "Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XII^e et XIII^e dynasties", *Syria* 34, pp. 145-163.
- PRELL, S. 2011, *Einblicke in die Werkstätten der Residenz. Die Stein- und Metallwerkzeuge des Grabungsplatzes Q I*, FoRa 8, Hildesheim.
- PRITCHARD, J. 1969², *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, New Jersey.
- PUHVEL, J. 1984, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin-New York-Amsterdam.
- PUHVEL, J. 2003, "'God-drinking' and beyond", *ZVS* 116, pp. 54-57.
- PUSCH, E.B. 1989, "Ausländisches Kulturgut in Qantir-Piramesse", in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des 4. Internationalen Ägyptologischen Kongresses München 1985*, Bd. 2, BSAK 2, pp. 249-256.

- PUSCH, E.B. 1993, "Pi-Ramesse-geliebt-von Amun, Hauptquartier Deiner Streitwagentruppen. Ägypter und Hethiter in der Delta-Residenz der Ramessiden", in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die Ägyptische Sammlung*, Mainz, pp. 126-144.
- PUSCH, E.B. – JAKOB, S. 2003, "Der Zipfel des diplomatischen Archivs Ramses' II", *Ä&L* 13, pp. 143-153.
- PUSCH, E.B. – TASIAUX, CH. 1990, "Metallverarbeitende Werkstätten der frühen Ramessidenzeit in Qantir-Piramesse/Nord", *Ä&L* 1, pp. 75-113.
- QUACK, J.F. 2002, *Da wurden diese zwei große Länder zu einem Land*, in Aa. Vv. (eds) 2002, *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*, Bonn, pp. 288-293.
- RADEMAKERS, F.W. – REHREN, T. – PERNICKA, E. 2017, "Copper for the Pharaoh: Identifying multiple metal sources for Ramesses' workshops from bronze and crucible remains", *JAS* 80, pp. 50-73.
- RAGAZZOLI, CH. 2012, "Un nouveau manuscrit du scribe Inéna? Le recueil de miscellanées du Papyrus Koller (Pap. Berlin P. 3043)", in V.M. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, *ÄOP* 1, Berlin 2012.
- RAINEY, A.F. 1970, *El Amarna Tablets 357-379. Supplement to J.A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, AOAT 8, Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- RAINEY, A.F. 1973, "Reflections on the Battle of Qadesh", *UF* 5, pp. 280-282.
- RAINEY, A.F. (ed.) 1993, *Kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, Tel Aviv.
- RAINEY Z"L, A.F. 2015, *The El-Amarna Correspondence. A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets*, 2 vols, Leiden-Boston.
- RANKE, H. 1910, *Keilschriftliches Material zur Altägyptischen Vokalisation*, Berlin.
- RANKE, H. 1923, "Keilschriftliches", *ZÄS* 58, pp. 132-137.
- RANKE, H. 1935, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York.
- REDFORD, D.B. 1967, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, Near and Middle East Series 3, Toronto.
- REDFORD, D.B. 1973, "New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemheb", *BASOR* 211 (Oct.), pp. 36-49.
- REDFORD, D.B. 1984, *Akhenaten. The Heretic King*, Princeton (New Jersey).
- REDFORD, D.B. 1992, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton (New Jersey).
- REDFORD, D.B. 2003, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, Leiden.
- REINACH, M.S. 1886, "Chronique d'Orient", *Rev. Arch.* 3^e Sér. 7, p. 165.
- REISNER, G.A. 1942, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 1, London.
- REISNER, G.A. 1955, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, Cambridge-Massachusetts.

- RIEKEN, E. – SASSEVILLE, D. 2012, “Hethitisch *kuwapi* UL, *kattan išḫaššarwahḫ-* und KUB 21.38 Vs. 14”, *AoF* 39, pp. 124-129.
- RIEMSCHEIDER, K. 1958, “Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden”, *MIO* 6, pp. 321-381.
- ROBIOU, F. 1868, “Sésostriis d’après les nouveaux documents”, *RCont* 65, p. 461.
- ROEDER, G. 1919a, *Aegypten und Hethiter*, Leipzig.
- ROEDER, G. 1919b, “Hethiter und Ägypter. Ein Kalupfum Syrien vor viertausend Jahren”, *Asien* 16, pp. 127-133.
- ROEDER, G. 1927, “Eine ägyptische Steinfigur aus Kleinasien”, *OLZ* 30, pp. 545-548.
- ROOS, J. DE 2002, “Vows concerning Military Campaigns of Ḫattušiliš III and Tuḫališaš IV” , in S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia antica: studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Firenze.
- ROOS, J. DE 2005, “Die Hethiter und das Ausland”, in D. Pritchard (ed.), *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der späten Bronzezeit*, Eothen 13, Firenze, pp. 39-58.
- ROOS, J. DE 2006, “Materials for a Biography: The Correspondence of Puduḫepa with Egypt and Ugarit”, in Th.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫališaš IV – Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden*, Leiden, pp. 17-26.
- ROOS, J. DE 2006, “The Correspondence of Puduḫepa with Egypt and Ugarit”, in Th.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *The life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫališaš IV*, Leiden, pp. 17-26.
- ROOS, J. DE 2007, *Hittite Votive Texts*, PIHANS 109, Istanbul.
- ROSATI, G. 2002, “La pace egizio-ittita: Hattusili e Ramesse definiscono la pace”, in M.C. Guidotti – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds.), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, pp. 216-219.
- ROSELLINI, I. 1832, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia. Tomo primo: monumenti storici*, Pisa.
- ROST, L. 1956, “Die ausserhalb von Boğazköy gefundenen hethitischen Briefe”, *MIO* 4, pp. 328-350.
- ROST, L. 1961/1963, “Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen”, *MIO* 8 (1961), pp. 161-217; 9 (1963), pp. 175-239
- ROSKOWSKA-MUTSCHLER, H. 2007, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 44, DBH 22*, Wiesbaden.
- ROTH, S. 2005, “„In schönem Frieden befriedet und in schöner Brüderschaft verbrüderet“. Zu Motivation und Mechanismen der ägyptisch-hethitischen diplomatischen Kontakte in der Zeit Ramses’ II.”, in D. Pritchard (ed.), *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der späten Bronzezeit*, Eothen 13, Firenze, pp. 179-226.
- ROUGE, E. DE – ROUGE, J. DE 1877-1879, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, Paris.
- ROUGE, E. DE 1866a, “Traité entre Ramsès II et le prince de Chet”, *RAr* 13, pp. 268-275.

- ROUGE, E. DE 1886b, “Traduction du traité entre Ramsès et Hattusil”, *Études historiques sur les traités publics chez les Grecs et les Romains*, pp. 243-252.
- ROWE, A. 1936, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Le Caire.
- ROWE, L.E. 1908, “Egyptian Portraiture of the XX Dynasty”, *MFAB* 6/36 (December), pp. 47-50.
- ROWTON, M.B. 1959, “The Background of the Treaty between Ramesses II and Ḫattušiliš III”, *JCS* 13/1, pp. 1-11.
- ROWTON, M.B. 1966, “The Material from Western Asia and the Chronology of the Nineteenth Dynasty”, *JNES* 25, pp. 236-242.
- RÜSTER, C. – NEU, E. 1989, *Hethitische Zeichenlexikon*, StBoTB 2, Wiesbaden.
- SAARISALO, A. 1927, *The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali*, Helsinki.
- SADOWSKA, M. 2000, “Semenkhare and Zananza”, *GM* 175, pp. 73-77
- SAINT-CLAIR, G. 1890, “Sutekh, chief god of the Hittites”, *PEF* 20, p. 210.
- SALLABERGER, W. 2006, *Leipzig-Münchner sumerischer Zettelkasten*, (online link: http://www.assyriologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte/sumglossar/zettelkasten2006_09.pdf).
- SAMEH, I. – GOELET, O. 2015, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos. Volume 1: Wall scenes*, 2 vols, Atlanta.
- SAYCE, A.H. (ed.) 1890, *Records of the Past. Being English Translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia – New Series*, vol. 4, London.
- SAYCE, A.H. 1894, “[plates]”, in W.M.F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London, pls XXXI-XXXIII.
- SAYCE, A.H. 1899, “Hittite Notes”, *PSBA* 21, pp. 194-223.
- SAYCE, A.H. 1922, “Texts from the Hittite capital relating to Egypt”, *Ancient Egypt*, part 3, pp. 65-70.
- SAYCE, A.H. 1926, “What happened after the Death of Tut’ankh-amūn”, *JEA* 12/3-4, pp. 168-170, 315.
- SAYCE, A.H. 1927, “The Hittite Correspondence with Tut-Ankh-Amon’s Widow”, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 33-35.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1979a, “Vasi iscritti di Chefren e Papi I dal Palazzo Reale G di Ebla”, *Studi Eblaiti* 1, pp. 33-43.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1979b, “Un oggetto faraonico della XIII dinastia dalla ‘Tomba del Signore dei Capridi’”, *Studi Eblaiti* 1, pp. 119-128.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1988a, “Ebla e il paese dei faraoni”, *Storia e Dossier* 23, pp. 423-459.

- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1988b, “Les relations entre Ebla et l’Égypte au IIIème et au IIème Millénaires av. J.-Chr.”, in H. Hauptmann – H. Waetzoldt (eds), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla. Akten der internationale Tagung Heidelberg, 4.-7. November 1986*, Heidelberg, pp. 372-393.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1991a, “Gli intarsi egittizzanti del Palazzo Settentrionale di Ebla”, *Scienze dell’Antichità* 5, pp. 423-459.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1991b, “Hathor Signora di Biblo e la Baalat Gebal”, in Aa. Vv. (eds), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma, pp. 401-406.
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G. 1995, “La cultura egiziana a Biblo attraverso le testimonianze materiali”, in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Biblo. Una città e la sua storia. Atti del Colloquio di Roma (Roma, 5-7 dicembre 1990)*, Roma, pp. 37-48.
- SCHACHERMEYR, FR. 1959-1960, “Die Königsgräber von Dorak”, in Aa. Vv., “Ausgrabungen und Forschungsreisen”, *AfO* 19, pp. 229-232.
- SCHACHERMEYR, FR. 1964, *Die minoische Kultur des Alten Kreta*, Stuttgart.
- SCHAEFFER, C.F.A. (ed.) 1956, *Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras-Shamra VIII*, Paris.
- SCHAEFFER, C.F.A. 1948, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l’Asie Occidentale (IIIe et IIe millénaires)*, London.
- SCHÄFER, H. – ANDRAE W. 1925³, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, Berlin.
- SCHARFF, A. – MOORTGAT, A. 1950, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, München.
- SCHUDE, M. 1930, “Archäologische Funde Türkei”, *ArAnz* 45, pp. 432-443.
- SCHIAPARELLI, E. 1885, “Una prima lettera sulla grande confederazione dei Cheta o Ittiti”, *AcScTorino* 20, pp. 757-747.
- SCHIAPARELLI, E. 1888a, “(Sur les Hyksos)”, *GSAI* 2, pp. 134-136.
- SCHIAPARELLI, E. 1890, “Seconda lettera sulla grande confederazione dei Cheta o Ittiti”, *AcScTorino* 25, pp. 11-22.
- SCHNEIDER, T. 2002, “Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung”, *Ä&L* 12, pp. 257-272.
- SCHNEIDER, TH. 1992, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114, Freiburg.
- SCHOTT, S. 1950, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder: mit Marchen und Liebesgeschichten*, Zurich.
- SCHROEDER, O. 1915a, *Die Tontafeln von el-Amarna II*, Leipzig.
- SCHROEDER, O. 1915b, “Zum sog. 2. Arzawa-Brief (VAT 342)”, *OLZ* 18, pp. 231-232.

- SCHROEDER, O. 1916, “Zum sogenannten 2. Arzawa-Brief (Vat 342)”, *OLZ* 19, p. 138.
- SCHROEDER, O. 1917, “Zu Berliner Amarnatexten. Rev. of: J.A. Knudtzon – O. Weber, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. Transkribierter Text, mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen. Anmerkungen und Register bearb. von Weber O. und Ebeling E.*, Leipzig, 1907-1915”, *OLZ* 20, pp. 105-106.
- SCHULER, E. VON 1965, *Die Kaškäer. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien*, Berlin.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1961, “Three Shipwrecked Scarabs, *Expedition* 3/4 (Summer), pp. 24-25.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1962, “The N’rn at the Battle of Kadesh, *JARCE* 1, pp. 47-53.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1964, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, Berlin.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1967, “The scarabs”, in G. Bass, “Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck”, *TAPS* 57 (December), pp. 143-147.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1978a, “Ankhesenamun, Nofretity and the Amka Affair”, *JARCE* 15, pp. 43-48.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1978b, “Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy. The Treaty of Year 21”, *JSSEA* 8, pp. 112-130.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1979a, “Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom”, *JNES* 38/3 (July), pp. 177-193.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1979b, “Beyond the Fringe: Sources for Old Kingdom Foreign Affairs”, *JSSEA* 9/2, pp. 79-104.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1985, “Helmets and Hittites: An Amarna War in Asia”, *International Association of Egyptologists: Abstracts of Papers* [Fourth International Congress of Egyptology: abstracts of papers, Munich, 26th August-1st September 1985, Munich, pp. 215-216.
- SCHULMAN, A.R. 1988, “Hittites, Helmets and Amarna: Akhenaten’s First Hittite War”, in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. 2, Toronto, pp. 54-79.
- SCHULZ, R. – SEIDEL, M. (eds) 1999, *Egitto: la terra dei faraoni*, Colonia.
- SCHWEMER, D. 2006a, “Briefe aus dem Archiv von el-Amarna”, in B. Janowski – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Band 3: Briefe*, (= TUAT-NF 3), Gütersloh, pp. 173-175.
- SCHWEMER, D. 2006b, “Ein Brief des hethitischen Großkönigs (EA 41)”, in B. Janowski – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Band 3: Briefe*, (= TUAT-NF 3), Gütersloh, pp. 190-191.
- SETHE, K. 1926, “Neue Forschungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und dem Chattireiche auf Grund ägyptischer Quellen”, *DLZ* 39, pp. 1873-1880.
- SHARPE, S. 1837-1856, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources*, London.
- SHARPE, S. 1862, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, London.
- SHAW, I. (ed.) 2000, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.

- SHAW, I. (ed.) 2003², *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford (paperback edition).
- SHIRUN-GRUMACH, I. 1998, “Kadesh Inscription and Königsnovelle”, in C.J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptology*, Leuven, pp. 1067-1073.
- SIEGELOVÁ, J. – TSUMOTO, H. 2011, “Metals and Metallurgy in Hittite Anatolia”, in H. Genz H. – D. P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*, Colloquia Antiqua 2, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, pp. 275-300.
- SIEGELOVÁ, J. 1966, “Chetitě a Egypt/Das Chatti-Reich und Ägypten”, *Nový Orient* 21, pp. 175-177.
- SIEGELOVÁ, J. 1986, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente*, 3 vols, Praha.
- SIEGELOVÁ, J. 2011, *Geschenk oder Geschäft? Wovon zeugt die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*, in V. Callender et al. (eds.), *Times, Signs and Pyramids. Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Praha, pp. 323-334.
- SIMON, Z. 2007, “Zur Datierung des Kuruštama-Vertrages”, in K. Endreffy – A. Gulyás (eds), *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists, 31 August – 2 September 2006, Budapest*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 18, Budapest, pp. 373-385.
- SIMON, Z. 2009, “Kann Armā mit Haremhab gleichgesetzt werden?”, *AoF* 36, pp. 340-348.
- SIMON, Z. 2010, “Hethitisch-luwische Fremdwörter im Ägyptischen?”, *GM* 227, pp. 77-92.
- SIMON, Z. 2011, “The Identification of Qode. Reconsidering the Evidence”, in J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads – Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, Prague, pp. 249-269.
- SIMON, Z. 2013, “Den hethitischen Präsenz in der Levante während der Spätbronzezeit: Archäologische vs. schriftliche Quellen”, *AoF* 40, 2, pp. 295-313.
- SIMONS, J. 1937, *Handbook for the study of Egyptian topographical lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden.
- SINGER, I. 1987, “Oil in Anatolia according to Hittite Texts”, in M. Heitzer – D. Eitam (eds), *Olive Oil in Antiquity. Israel and neighbouring countries from Neolithic to Early Arab period. Conference 1987*, Haifa, pp. 183-186.
- SINGER, I. 1988a, “Megiddo Mentioned in a Letter from Boğazköy”, in E. Neu E. – C. Rüster (eds), *Documentum Asiae minoris antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, pp. 327-332.
- SINGER, I. 1988b, “‘Emeq Saron or ‘Emeq Siryon’?”, *ZDPV* 104, pp. 1-5.
- SINGER, I. 1991, “‘Land of Amurru’ and the ‘Lands of Amurru’ in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty”, *Iraq* 53, pp. 69-74.

- SINGER, I. 1998, “From Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli’s Reign”, in S. Alp – A. Süel (eds), *III. Uluslararası Hittitoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum, 16-22 Eylül 1996 – Acts of the 3rd International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996*, Ankara, pp. 535-541.
- SINGER, I. 1999, “A Political History of Ugarit”, in W.G.E. Watson – N. Wyatt (eds), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO 1, Leiden, pp. 603-733.
- SINGER, I. 2000, “New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire”, in E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: a Reassessment*, Philadelphia, pp. 21-33.
- SINGER, I. 2001, “The Treaties between Karkamiš and Ḫatti”, in G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie (Wurzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999)*, StBoT 45, Wiesbaden, pp. 635-641.
- SINGER, I. 2002a, “La Siria dopo Battaglia di Qadesh”, in M.C. Guidotti – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, Livorno, pp. 198-205.
- SINGER, I. 2002b, *Hittite Prayers*, Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World Series 11, Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- SINGER, I. 2004, “The Kuruštama Treaty Revisited”, in D. Groddek – S. Röbke (eds), *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, DBH 10, Dresden, pp. 591-607.
- SINGER, I. 2006a, “The Hittites and the Bible Revisited”, in A.M. Maeir – P. de Miroschedji (eds), *“I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times”*. *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, Winona Lake, pp. 723-756.
- SINGER, I. 2006b, “The Urḫi-Teššub affair in the Hittite-Egyptian Correspondence”, in Th.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV – Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden*, Leiden, pp. 27-38.
- SINGER, I. 2006c, “Ships Bound for Lukka: A New Interpretation of the Companion Letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523”, *AoF* 33/2, pp. 242-262.
- SINGER I. 2007, “Who Were the Kaška?”, *Phasis* 10, pp. 166-178.
- SINGER I. 2009, “Who were the Kaška?”, in I. Tatišvili – M. Hvedelidze – L. Gordesiani (eds), *Caucasian and Near Eastern Studies XIII. Giorgi Melikishvili Memorial Volume*, CNES 13, Tbilisi, pp. 246-264.
- SINGER, I. 2010, *The Calm before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the End of the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant*, Atlanta.
- SINGER, I. 2012, “[The First Treaty Between Hatti and Egypt]”, in M. Gruber et al. (eds), *All the Wisdom of the East. Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, OBO 255, Fribourg-Göttingen, pp. 47*-54* [Hebrew], 55*-56* (English abstract).

- SINGER, I. 2013a, “Two Notes on the Sea Links between Egypt and the Hittite Empire”, in M. Mazoyer – S.H. Aufrère (eds), *De Hattuša à Memphis. Jacques Freu in honorem*, Paris, pp. 165-168.
- SINGER, I. 2013b, “Hittite Gods in Egyptian Attire: A Case Study in Cultural Transmission”, in D. Vanderhoof – A. Winitzer (eds), *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter B. Machinist*, Winona Lake, pp. 433-457.
- SINGER, I. 2013c, “Between scepticism and credulity: In defence of Hittite historiography”, in E. Cancik-Kirschbaum – J. Klinger – G.W. Müller (eds), *Diversity and Standardization: Perspectives on ancient Near Eastern cultural history*, Berlin, pp. 173-214.
- SMITH, A.H. 1892, *A Catalogue of Sculptures in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Brit. Mus.*, vol. 2, London.
- SMITH, J.M.P. 1929, “On the Trail of the Hittites. Rev. of: H.H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia, Season of 1926*, OIP 5: Researches in Anatolia 1, Chicago, 1929”, *AJSLL* 46, pp. 212-213.
- SMITH, W.S. 1965, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, Yale.
- SOGGIN, A. ET AL. (eds) 1995, *Dizionario di Ebraico e Aramaico Biblici*, Roma (Italian translation of: REYMOND, P. 1991, *Dictionnaire d’Hébreu et d’Araméen Bibliques*, Paris).
- SOMMER, M. 2001, “Der Untergang des hethitischen Reiches: Anatolien und der östliche Mittelmeerraum um 1200 v.Chr.”, *Saeculum* 52, pp. 157-176.
- SOWADA, K.N. 2001, “Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom: a Re-appraisal of the Archaeological Evidence”, PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Arts, University of Sidney, Sidney.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1977-1978, “On the Bentresh stela and related problems”, *JSSEA* 8/1, pp. 11-18.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1979a, “Egyptian-Hittite Relations at the Close of the Amarna Period and Some Notes on Hittite Military Strategy in North Syria”, *BES* 1, pp. 55-89.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1979b, “The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study”, *JARCE* 16, pp. 29-47.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1981, “Considerations on the Hittite Treaty between Egypt and Hatti”, *SAK* 9, pp. 299-358.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1982, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven-London.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1983, “The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenophis II”, *JSSEA* 13, pp. 89-101.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1985a, “Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh”, in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore, pp. 1-42.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 1985b, “Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses, II: The ‘Bulletin’”, in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore, pp. 43-75.

- SPALINGER, A.J. 1999, “Rev of: E. Edel 1997, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattuşili III. von Hatti*, WVDOG 95, Leipzig-Berlin”, *JAOS* 119, pp. 166-167.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 2002, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative. P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, Wiesbaden.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 2005, *War in Ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom*, Malden.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 2011, “Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs”, in S. Snape – M. Collier (eds), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, Bolton, pp. 475-491.
- SPALINGER, A.J. 2012, “Divisions in Monumental Texts and their Images: The Issue of Kadesh and Megiddo”, in M. Gruber et al. (eds), *All the Wisdom of the East. Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, OBO 255, Fribourg-Göttingen, pp. 373-394.
- SPIEGELBERG, W. 1896, “Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah”, *ZÄS* 34, pp. 1-25.
- SPIEGELBERG, W. 1897, in W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*. 1896, London, pp. 26-28.
- SPIEGELBERG, W. 1928, “Eine Ichneumonbronze mit hieroglyphischer und karischer Inschrift”, *OLZ* 31, pp. 545-548.
- SPIEGELBERG, W. 1929, *Eine ägyptische Göttergruppe aus Syrien*, *OLZ* 32, pp. 7-9.
- STARKE, F. 1981, “Ein Amarna Beleg für *nbw nfr* ‘gutes Gold’”, *GM* 53, pp. 55-61.
- STARKE, F. 1989, “Review of: H.A. Hoffner – G.M. Beckman (eds), *Kaniššuwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*, *AS* 23, Chicago”, *BiOr* 46, pp. 653-660.
- STAVI, B. 2015, *The Reign of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I. The Contribution of the Hittite Documentation to a Reconstruction of the Amarna Age*, *THeth* 31, Heidelberg.
- STEFANINI, R. 1964, *Una lettera della regina Puduhepa al re di Alasija (KUB XXI 38)*, Firenze.
- STEMPEL, R. 2007, “Identification of Nibhururiya and the synchronism in the Egyptian and Hittite chronology in the light of newly reconstructed Hittite text”, *GM* 213, pp. 97-101.
- STEVENSON SMITH, W. 1965, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, Yale.
- STIPICH, B. 2014, “Zulapi – eine Grossmacht im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien?”, in Z. Csabai (ed.), *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas*, Budapest.
- STOCK, H. 1963, “Der Hyksos Chian in Boğazköy”, *MDOG* 94, pp. 73-80.
- STURM, J. 1939, *Der Hettiterkrieg Ramses' II*, WZKM Beihefte 4, Berlin.
- SÜEL, A. – SÜEL, M. 1997, “Sapinuwa: Découverte d’une ville hittite”, *Archéologia* 334 (Mai), pp. 68-74.
- SÜEL, M. 1996, *Ortaköy-Şapinuva Arkeoloji Araştırmaları*, Ankara.

- SÜRENHAGEN, D. 1981, “Zwei Gebete Hattušilis und der Puduhepa. Textliche und literaturhistorische Untersuchungen”, *AoF* 8 pp. 83-168.
- SÜRENHAGEN, D. 1985, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht. Zu historischen Aussagen und literarischer Stellung des Textes CTH 379*, StudMed 5, Pavia.
- SÜRENHAGEN, D. 2006, “Forerunners of the Hattusili-Rameses Treaty”, *BMSAES* 6, pp. 59-67.
- TARACHA, P. 2009, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*, Wiesbaden.
- TAYLOR, J.A. 2001, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*, London.
- TEFNIN, R. 1981, “Image, écriture, récit. À propos des représentations de la bataille de Qadesh”, *GM* 47, pp. 55-76.
- THOMAS, A.P. 1981, *Gurob: A New Kingdom Town. Introduction and Catalogue of Objects in the Petrie Collection*, Warminster.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F. 1922, “Nouvelles lettres d’El-Amarna”, *RA* 19/2, pp. 91-108.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F. ET AL. 1931, *Arslan Taş*, Paris.
- TISCHLER, J. 1983, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, Innsbruck.
- TISCHLER, J. 2001, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Innsbruck.
- TOGNON, B. 2005, “La tecnica divinatória del MUSEN HURRI in ambito ittita”, *AION* 65/1-4, pp. 27-49
- TOMKINS, H.G. 1882, “The Campaign of Rameses II in his fifth year against Kadesh on Orontes”, *TSBA* 7, pp. 390-406.
- TRÉMOUILLE, M.-C. 1998, “Les souverains de attuša curatores aquarum”, in S. de Martino – F. Imparati (eds), *Studi e Testi*, Eothen 9, vol. 1, pp. 183-199.
- TREVISANATO, S.I. 2007, “The ‘Hittite plague’, an epidemic of tularemia and the first record of biological warfare”, *Medical Hypothesis* 69, pp. 1371-1374.
- TROY, L. 1986, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala.
- TUFNELL, O. 1953, *Lachish III. The Iron Age*, Oxford.
- ÜN, G. 1989, “Müzemize Londra’nin Satın Alınarak Getirilen Bir Tablet Parçası”, *AMM* 1988 pp. 3-7
- ÜNAL, A. 1974, *Hattušili III. Teil II: Quellen und Indices*, THeth 4, Heidelberg.
- ÜNAL, A. 1980-1983, “Kuruštama”, *RIA* 6, pp. 373-374.
- URZÌ, E. 2018, “La farmacopea egizia: rimedi naturali nei papiri medici del Nuovo Regno”, (online link: <https://djedmedu.wordpress.com/2018/07/18/la-farmacopea-egizia-rimedi-naturali-nei-papiri-medici-del-nuovo-regno-di-elena-urzi/>).

- VALBELLE, D. 1990, *Les Neufs Arcs. L'Égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris.
- VAN DEN HOUT, TH.P.J. 1997, *Apology of Hattušili III (I.77)*, CoS 1, pp. 199-206.
- VANDERSLEYEN, C. 1995, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, II: De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, Paris.
- VAUMAS, E. de 1970-1971, "Sur le mouvement tournant effectué par Ramses II à la veille de la bataille de Qadesh", *MUSJ* 46, pp. 51-61.
- VELIKOVSKY, I. 1978, *Ramses II and His Time*, London.
- VERCOUTTER, J. 1962, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition 1961", *Kush* 10, pp. 109-116.
- VERGOTE, J. 1961, *Toutankhamon dans les archives hittites*, PIHANS 12, Istanbul.
- VERMEULE, E. – VERMEULE III, C. 1970, "Aegean Gold Hoard and the Court of Egypt", *Curator* 13/1, pp. 32-42.
- VERNUS, P. 1992, *Chants d'amour de l'Égypte antique*, Paris.
- VIGO, M. 2010, "Linen in Hittite Inventory Texts", in C. Michael – M.L. Nosch (eds), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, ATS 8, Oxford-Oakville, pp. 290-332.
- VIGO, M. 2014, "The use of (perfumed) oil in Hittite rituals with particular emphasis on funerary practices", *JIA* 01/2014, pp. 25-37.
- VINCENTELLI, I. 1971, "Alleanze o paragoni?", *RSO* 46/3-4 (dicembre), pp. 143-148.
- VIREY, PH. 1891, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie*, Paris.
- VOGEL, F. 1888, *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*, 2 vols, Leipzig, p. 83.
- VON DER WAY, T. 1984, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht*, Hildesheim.
- WACHSMANN, S. 1986, "Is Cyprus Ancient Alashiya? New Evidence from an Egyptian Tablet", *BAR* 49, pp. 37-40.
- WAINWRIGHT, G.A. 1960, "Menephtah's Aid to the Hittites", *JEA* 46, pp. 24-28.
- WALDE, A. – HOFMANN, J.B. 1938, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols, Heidelberg.
- WALLIS BUDGE, E.A. 1909, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, London.
- WALTERS, H.B. 1926, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, London.
- WARBINEK L. 2017, "The ^{MUNUS.MEŠŠ}ŠU.GI and the KIN Oracle. New Perspectives on the Oracle Inquiry", *AoF* 44/1, pp. 111-120.

- WARBURTON, D.A. 1994, "The Egyptian Response to the Hittite Threat as Seen from the Amarna Letters", in H. Gasche – M. Tanret – C. Janssen – A. Degraeve (eds.), *Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offerts en hommage à Léon De Meyer*, Leuven, pp. 433-438.
- WARD, W.A. 1961a, "Comparative Studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic", *JNES* 20/1 (Jan.), pp. 31-40.
- WARD, W.A. 1961b, "Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B.C.", *OrNS* 30/1, pp. 22-45.
- WARD, W.H. 1844-1872, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, Paris.
- WASMUTH, M. – ÖGÜT, B. 2010, "A Syro-Hittite Weather-God in Egypt?", in P. Matthiae et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, May, 5th-10th 2008, "Sapienza" – Università di Roma*, Wiesbaden, pp. 567-578.
- WEINSTEIN, J. 1989, "The Gold Scarab of Nefertiti from Ulu Burun: its Implications for Egyptian History and Egyptian-Aegean Relations", *AJA* 93/1 (Jan.), pp. 17-29.
- WENTE, E. 1990, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World Series 1, Atlanta.
- WESTENDORF, W. 1977, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg.
- WESTENDORF, W. 1999, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin. 1.-2. Band*, HdO, 36/1-2.
- WIEDEMANN, A. 1879, *Hieratische Texte aus den Museen zu Berlin und Paris in Facsimile mit Übersetzung und sachlichem Commentar*, Leipzig.
- WIGGERMANN, F.A.M. 2006, "The seal of Ilī-padâ, grand vizier of the Middle Assyrian Empire", in P. Taylor (ed.), *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*, London-Torino, pp. 92-99.
- WILHELM, G. 1984, "Zur Paläographie der in Ägypten geschriebenen Keilschriftbriefe", in H. Altenmüller – D. Wildung (eds), *Festschrift Wolfgang Helck*, SAK 11, Hamburg, pp. 643-653.
- WILHELM, G. 2004, "Pentešina (Bentešina)", *RIA* 10, pp. 387-388.
- WILHELM, G. 2005, "Kadesch und der Friedensvertrag der 'Supermächte'", in Ü. Yalcin – C. Pulak – R. Slotta (eds), *Das Schiff von Uluburun. Welthandel vor 3000 Jahren. Katalog der Ausstellung des Deutschen Bergbau-Museums Bochum vom 15.7.2005 bis 16. Juli 2006 (Bochum)*, pp. 235-240.
- WILHELM, G. 2006, "Briefe aus den Archiven von Ḫattuša", in B. Janowski – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Band 3: Briefe*, (= TUAT-NF 3), Gütersloh, pp. 235-240.
- WILHELM, G. 2009, "Muršilis II. Konflikt mit Ägypten und Haremhab's Thronbesteigung", *WO* 39, pp. 108-116.

- WILHELM, G. 2012, “Šuppiluliuma I. und die Chronologie der Amarna-Zeit”, in R. Hachmann (ed.), *Kāmid el-Lōz 20: Die Keilschriftbriefe und der Horizont von El-Amarna*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 87, Bonn, pp. 225-257.
- WILSON, J.A. 1927, “The texts of the battle of Kadesh”, *AJSLL* 43, pp. 266-287.
- WILSON, J.A. 1950, “Egyptian Treaty. Treaty between the Hittites and Egypt”, *ANET*, pp. 199-201.
- WILSON, J.A. 1951, *The Burden of Egypt*, Chicago.
- WILSON, P. 1997, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: a lexicographical study of the texts in the temple of Edfu*, OLA 78, Leuven.
- WINCKLER, H. 1890, *Der Tontafelfund von Tell el-Amarna*, Berlin.
- WINLOCK, H.E. 1921, “An Egyptian Statuette from Asia Minor”, *N.Y.Metro.Bull.* 16, pp. 209-210.
- WINTER, E. 1971, “Eine ägyptische Bronze aus Ephesos”, *ZÄS* 97, pp. 146-155.
- WINTER, I.J. 1976, “Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution”, *Iraq* 38/1 (Spring), pp. 1-22.
- WIRTH, A. 1923, *Vorderasien und Ägypten in historischer, politischer, kultureller und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht geschildert*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig.
- WIT, C. DE 1953, “Le Pays de Bakhtan dans la stèle de Bentresh”, *AIPHOS* 12, pp. 123-132.
- WITTHUHN, O. ET. AL. 2015, *Die Bentresch-Stela: Ein Quellen- und Lesebuch. Forschungsgeschichte und Perspektiven eines ptolemäerzeitlichen Denkmals aus Theben (Ägypten)*, Göttingen.
- WOOLLEY, C.L. 1921, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum. Part II: Town Defences*, London.
- WOOLLEY, C.L. – BARNETT R.D. 1952, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum III. Part III: The Excavation in the Inner Town*, London.
- WOUTERS, W. 1989, “Urḫi-Tešub and the Ramses-Letters from Boghazköy”, *JCS* 41/2, pp. 226-234.
- WRESZINSKI, W. 1923-1938, *Atlas zur alt-ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 3 Bd., Leipzig.
- YAĞCI, R. 2003a, “The Stratigraphy of Cyprus WS II and Mycenaean Cups in Soli Höyük Excavations”, in B. Fischer et al. (eds), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions: Proceedings of the International Workshop (Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002)*, Istanbul, pp. 93-106.
- YAĞCI, R. 2003b, “Beyaz Astarlı (White Slip) II Kapları ve I.Ö. II. Binde Kıbrıs Soli İlişkileri”, *Adalya* 6, pp. 1-19.

- YAĞCI, R. 2008, “A Grave at Soli Höyük from the Hittite Imperial Period”, in İ. Delemen et al. (eds), *Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı. EUERGETES. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, II. Cilt, Antalya, pp. 1217-1226.
- YAKAR, J. 2008, “The Archaeology of the Kaška”, in A. Archi – R. Francia (eds), *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia, Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005, Parte II*, SMEA 50, Roma, pp. 817-827.
- YALÇIN, Ü. – PULAK, C. – RAINER, S. (eds.) 2006, *Uluburun Gemisi. 3000 Yıl Önce Dünya Ticareti*, Bochum.
- YEIVIN, S. 1934, “A new Egyptian source for the history of Palestine and Syria”, *JPOS* 14, pp. 194-229.
- YOUNG, R.S. 1966, “The Gordion Campaign of 1965”, *AJA* 70/3, pp. 277-278.
- YOUNG, W.J. 1972, “The fabulous Gold of the Pactolus Valley”, *Boston Museum Bulletin* 70, 359, pp. 5-13.
- YOUNGBLOOD, R.F. 1961, *The Amarna Correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos (EA 68–96)*, Doctoral Dissertation, Dropsie College, Philadelphia.
- YOYOTTE, J. 1981, “Le general Djehouty et la percetion des tributes syriens”, *BSFE* 92, pp. 33-51.
- WEIPPERT, M. 1970, “Die Nomadenquelle”, in A. Kuschke – E. Kutsch (eds), *Archäologie und Altes Testament, Festschrift für Kurt Galling*, Tübingen, pp. 259-272.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 1970, “KBo I 14 e il monopolio hittita del ferro”, *RSO* 45, pp. 11-20.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 1973, *Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII*, Roma.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 1983, “Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen”, *JNES* 42/4, pp. 245-264.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 1990, “The Forms of Alliance and Subjugation in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age”, in L. Canfora et al. (eds), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma ideologia funzione*, Roma, pp. 37-79.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 1999, “Aspetti della diplomazia nel Vicino oriente antico (XIV-XIII secolo a.C.)”, *Studi Storici* 40, pp. 181-217.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 2000a, “The Interdependence of the Great Powers”, in R. Cohen – R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations*, Baltimore-London, pp. 141-153.
- ZACCAGNINI, C. 2000b, “Review of E. Edel 1994a, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, AbhRheinWestfalAkWiss 77, Opladen”, *OrNS* 69, pp. 439-442.
- ZECCHI, M. 2014a, “Karkemish in the Egyptian Sources”, in N. Marchetti (ed.), *Karkemish. An Ancient Capital on the Euphrates*, Bologna, pp. 99-106.
- ZECCHI, M. 2014b, “A Note on Two Egyptian Seal Impressions from Karkemish”, *OrNS* 83, pp. 202-206.
- ZIMMERN, H. – FRIEDRICH, J. 1924, “Der Briefwechsel zwischen Šubbiluliumaš und der Witwe des Bib/pḫururias (d.i. Amenhophis IV.?)”, *ZA* 35, pp. 37-42.

7. SITOGRAPHY

The present sitography provides references to some important links, frequently quoted in the dissertation. I do not include the links quoted just ones (apart from quotations of texts whose edition is provided online). The last access-date to all the links listed here or presented in the volume is 30th September 2018.

7.1: List of Hittite text whose translation is provide online in HPM:

CTH	Eds	Link
53	WILHELM 2006ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_svh/intro.php?xst=CTH%2053&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=G.%20Wilhelm
62	WILHELM –FUSCAGNI 2013ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_svh/intro.php?xst=CTH%2062&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=G.%20Wilhelm%20%E2%80%93%20F.%20Fuscagni
378.2	RIEKEN ET AL. 2015ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_gebet/intro.php?xst=CTH%20378.2&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=E.%20Rieken%20et%20al
378.4	RIEKEN ET AL. 2015ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_gebet/intro.php?xst=CTH%20378.4&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=E.%20Rieken%20et%20al
378.7	RIEKEN ET AL. 2015ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_gebet/intro.php?xst=CTH%20378.7&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=E.%20Rieken%20et%20al
379 (= 72)	RIEKEN ET AL. 2015ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_gebet/intro.php?xst=CTH%20379&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=E.%20Rieken%20et%20al
384.1	RIEKEN ET AL. 2015ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_gebet/intro.php?xst=CTH%20384.1&prgr=&lg=DE&ed=E.%20Rieken%20et%20al
716.1	FUSCAGNI 2009ff.	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/txhet_besrit/intro.php?xst=CTH%20716.1&prgr=&lg=IT&ed=F.%20Fuscagni

7.2: Other useful sites:

TREMOUILLE, M.-C., <i>Répertoire Onomastique</i> , HPM	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html
HPM: Systematische Bibliographie, 7.5. Überregionale Beziehungen, 75.4. Hethiter und Ägypten	http://www.hethport.uniwuerzburg.de/hetbib/hetsys_abfrage.php?c=75.4
Laroche's CTH list	http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/
Hittite monuments	http://www.hittitemonuments.com/
Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae	http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/
SITH (Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques) – Project Karnak	http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak
The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary	http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd1/index.html

APPENDIX A (Related to Sections 1.1 and 1.2.1.2)

Most important texts, just reported without any comment

In this appendix, I report all the most important texts concerning the Egypto-Hittite relationships which are listed in the catalogue (sections 1.1 and 1.2.1): the texts are entirely quoted in transliteration and translation, but without any further comment (for which I refer to the present and the final bibliography).

- **Related to Section 1.1 (texts nos 8.a-b, d)**

12. TEXTS OF THE REIGN OF RAMSES II (19th. dyn., 1279-1213 BC): THE KADESH BATTLE AND THE TREATY

a. The “Poem”

I report in the following pages the hieroglyphic texts and the transliteration as in CAVILLIER 2006 and the translation from *KRITA* II.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.

¹⁷²⁹ Cf. KUENTZ 1928, pp. 212-326.

54. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪

- 112.
- 113.
- 114.
- 115.
- 116.
- 117.
- 118.
- 119.
- 120.
- 121.
- 122.
- 123.
- 124.
- 125.
- 126.
- 127.
- 128.
- 129.
- 130.
- 131.
- 132.
- 133.
- 134.
- 135.
- 136.
- 137.
- 138.
- 139.

Transliteration

CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 98-100:

1. H3t-^c m p3 nhtw n nsw-bit Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c S3 R^c R^c-ms-sw mry Imn di ^cnh dt ir.n.f m p3 t3 n Ht Nhrn m
2. p3 t3 n Trtw m Pds m p3 Drdny m p3 t3 n Ms m p3 t3 n Krkš
3. hn^c Rk m Krkmš Kd t3 n Kdš m p3 t3 n Tkr^t Mšnt ist hm.f m nb
4. rnpw pr-^c iwty sn-nw.f hpšwy.f y wsrw ib.f wmt phty.f mi Mntw m 3t.f nfr 3bwt mi Ttm
5. h^c.tw n m33 nfrw.f wr nhtw hr h3swt nbt n rh.tw šsp.f r ^ch3 sbty dr m rk mš^c.f p3y.sn
6. kr^c hrw n ^ch3 t3w-pdt n mitt.f kn sw r hfnw dmd šmw n hr.f ^ckw m ^cš3t iw ib.f
7. mh m phty.fy šhm h3ty m wnw^t hw-ny-r-hr mi ht m tr.s n wnn mn ib mi k3 hrw hr
8. b3wy bw hmt.n.f t3 nb dmd bw rh s h3 smnt r-h3t.f hfnw bdš n ptr.f nb sndt ʕ
9. hmhmt m h3ty nw t3w nbw wr šfty wsr f3w mi Swth [hr tp dw tnr/hr (?)] m ib n h3styw mi m3i
10. h3 m int i3wt wd m knt ty hb.n.f hft-hr n dd m ^cb^c mn^h šhrw nfr tp-rd gm.tw m
11. t3y.f wšbyt tpt šd mš^c.f hrw ^ch3 nhw ʕ n t3y.f nt-htri in šmsw.f n^hm muf3yt.f
12. iw ib.f mi dw n hmt nsw-bit Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c S3 R^c R^c-ms-sw mry Imn di ^cnh ist rf spdd.n hm.f p3y.f mš^c t3y.f
13. nt-htri šrdn n h3kt hm.f in.n.f m nhtw hpš.f sdb^h m h^cw.sn nbw dd n.sn
14. tp-rd n ^ch3 n^ct pw ir.n hm.f m hd mš^c.f nt-htri.f hn^c.f šsp.n.f tp w3t nfrt r mš^c
15. m h3t-sp 5 3bd 2 n šmw sw 9 sš hm.f p3 htm n T3rw iw.f šhm mi Mntw m pr.f H3swt nbt hr isdd r-h3t.f
16. wrw.sn hr msy inw.sn bštw nbw iw m ksw n sndt n b3w hm.f šmw mš^c.f hr n3 gw3wt
17. iw.w mi nty hr mtw n Kmt hr m-ht hrw sw hr nn ist hm.f m R^c-ms-sw mry Imn p3 dmi
18. nty m t3 int p3 ^cš wd3 hm.f m hd hr m-ht ph.n hm.f r t3 tšt Kdš ^ch^c.n hm.f šmw n hr.f
19. mi it.f Mntw nb W3st d3.n.f mšdt nt Trnt m p3 mš^c tpy n Imn di.f nhtw n Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c
20. spr hm.f r dmi n Kdš Ist p3 hr hsy n Ht iw šhw.f n.f h3swt nbt r š3^c phwy n p3 ym
21. p3 t3 n Ht iw r-dr.f p3 Nhrn m-mitt p3 Trtw, Drdny, p3 Kškš, n3 Ms
22. n3 Pds, p3 Ir-wn, p3 Krkš, Rk, Kdwdn, Krkmš, Tkr^t, Kd
23. p3 n3 n Ngs r-dr.f, Mšnt, Kdš bw w3h.f h3st tm int.s m t3 nb w3
24. n3y.sn wrw im hn^c.f s nb hr mš^c.f nt-htri.w ^cš3 r ikr n r-^c mitt.sn hbs.sn
25. dww inwt st mi p3 snhm m-di ^cš3.sn bw w3h.f hd nb m t3.f fh.f sw m ht.f
26. nbt rdi.n.f st n h3swt nbt r int.w m-di.f r ^ch3 ist p3 hrw hsy n Ht hn^c h3swt ^cš3wt nty hn^c.f ^ch^cw k3pw
27. hry(w) hr mht i3bt dmi n Kdš ist hm.f w^cw hr-tp.f hn^c šmsw.f p3 mš^c n Imn hr mš^c m-s3.f
28. p3 mš^c n P3-R^c hr d3t t3 mšdt m h3w rsy dmi n šb^tn m w3t itrw r p3 nty hm.f
29. im p3 mš^c n Pth hr rsy dmi n Trnm p3 mš^c n Swth hr mš^c hr w3t iw ir.n hm.f
30. skw tpw m h3wty nb n mš^c.f ist st hr mryt m p3 t3 n p3 Imr ist p3 wr hsi n
31. Ht ^ch^c m hry-ib mš^c nty hn^c.f n pr.n.f r ^ch3 n snd n hm.f ist rdi.n.f iwt rmtw htrw knw
32. ^cš3 r-ikr mi p3 š^c.iw.sn m hmt rmt hr htr iw.sn ^cpr m h^cw nb n ^ch3 mk rdi(w) ^ch^c.sn
33. k3pw h3 dmi n Kdš ^ch^c.n.sn pr m t3 rit rst n Kdš š^c.f.sn p3 mš^c n P3-R^c m
34. hry-ib.f iw.w hr mš^c iw bw rh.sn iw bn st hr r ^ch3 wn.in p3 mš^c nthtri m hm.f hr bdš
35. hr-h3t.sn ist hm.f smn hr mhty dmi n Kdš hr t3 rit imntt n Trnt ^ch^c.n.tw iw
36. r dd{t}.f n hm.f ^ch^c.n hm.f h^cw mi it.f Mntw šsp.n.f hkrw ^ch3 t3y.f sw m p3y.f tryn
37. sw mi B^cr m wnw^t.f htr ʕ nty hr hm.f nhtw m W3st n ihw ʕ n Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c mry Imn n hn(w)
38. ^ch^c.n hrp.n hm.f m ifd ^ch^c.n.f ^ck m-hnw p3 hrwy n n3 n hrw n Ht iw.f w^c hr-tp.f n ky hn^c.f
39. šmt pw ir.n hm.f r nw n h3.f gm.n.f in^h sw 2500 n ^c n htrw m t3y.f w3t bnr m phrrw
40. nb n n3 n hrw n Ht hn^c h3swt knw nty hn^c.sn m Trtw Ms, Pds iw.sn m s 3
41. hr htr iw irw sm3w iw bn sr hn^c.i iw bn kdⁿ iw bn w^cw n mš^c bn krw^c
42. p3y.i mš^c t3y.i nt-htri m mrkht hr-h3t.sn n smn.n w^c im.sn r ^ch3 hn^c.sn
43. ^ch^c.n dd.n hm.f ih r.k trii t.i Imn is p3.n it.i hm hr s3.f hr n3 iry.i hnw
44. m-hmt.k is bn šm.n.i ^ch^c.n.i hr r.k bw th.i šhr wd.n.k ʕ.wy sw nb ʕ n Kmt r dit h^cm h3styw
45. ih hr ib.k nn n ʕmw Imn hsyw hmw ntr is bn iry.i n.k mnw ^cš3w wrt mh.i
46. t3y.k hwt-ntr m n3y.i h3kt Kd.i n.k hwt.i nt h^h m rnpwt di.i n.k ht.i nb(t) m imt-pr hrp.i n.k
47. t3 nb dmd r sd3 p3y.k http-ntr di.i m3^c n.k db^cw m iw3w hr h3w nb ndm sti bw w3h.i nfr h3 drt.i

48. r tm irt.w m p3y.k wb3 kd.i n.k bhñwt 3w s^hc.n.i n3y.sn snwt ds.i in.n.i n.k thñw m 3bw
49. iw ink ir m^y inr st3.i n.k mñšw m w3d-wr r hnt n.k b3kt h3swt ih k3.tw hpr sp šrf r
50. p3 nty hr hn.f n p3y.k šhr ir nfr n p3 nty hr ip.k k 3ir.tw n.k m ib mrr 3š.n.i n.k it.i Tmn iw.i m hry-ib
51. 3šwt n rh.i st h3swt nbt dmd.sn r.i iw.i w^c.kwi hr-tp.i n ky hn^c.i iw h3^c wi p3y.i mš^c 3š
52. bw nw.n w^c r.i m t3y.i nt-htri wnn.i hr sgbw n.sn bw sdm.n n.i w^c im.sn iw.i hr 3š
53. gm.n.i 3h n.i Tmn r hñw n mš^cw r hfnw m nt-htri r s db^c n sn hr hrdw iw.sn dmd m ib w^c
54. bn k3t n rmt knw 3h Tmn r.sn ph.n.i n3w hr šhr n r.k Tmn bw sny.i p3y.k šhr ist irr.i
55. sm3^cw m phwy h3swt iw hrw.i phr m Twnw šm^cw gm.n.i Tmn iw dr 3š.i n.f di.f n.i drt.f hn^c.i tw.i
56. h^c.kwi 3š.n.f n-h3.i m hr r hr n hr.k tw.i hn^c.k in kit.k drt.i m-di.k 3h.kwi r hfnw
57. ink nb nht mr knt gm.n.i ib.i wmt h3ty.i m ršwt p3 irr.i nb hr hpr tw.i mi Mntw
58. tw.i hr stt hr imny.i hr kf^cw m smhy.i tw.i mi Swth m 3t.f m hr.sn gm.n.i p3 2500 n^c n htr
59. wn.i m-hnw.sn hpr m gbgbt r h3t ssmt.i bw gm.n w^c drt.f r h3 im.sn h3ty.w
60. bdš m hwt.sn (n) snd.i bw gm.n.w h3ty.sn r t3t n3y.sn niwyw diw.i h3.sn
61. hr mw mi h3 mšhw iw.w hr hr hr.sn m w^c hr w^c iw.i hr hdb im.sn r mr.n.i bw nw.n w^c n h3.f bn ky
62. hr 3n.f p3 h3 nb im.sn n tst.f sw ist p3 wr hsy n Ht h^c m hry-ib mš^c.f hn^c nt-htri.f
63. hr ptr p3 h3 n hm.f w^c hr-tp.f iw bn mš^c.f hn^c.f bn nt-htri.f iw.f hr h^c 3nw
64. tnbh snd h^c.n di.n.f iwt wrw knw iw w^c nb im.sn hr n3y.f htrw iw.sn 3pr m h^cw.sn
65. nw r-ht p3 wr n Trtw pn p3 Ms p3 wr n Irwn pn p3 Rk pn Drdny
66. p3 wr n Krkmš p3 wr n Krkš pn Hrb n3 snw n pn Ht twt m bw w^c
67. dmd.sn m h3 n^c n htr iw m 3k3 n hr.w r t3 ht ms.n(i) wi r.sn iw.i mi Mntw diw.i dpt.sn
68. drt.i m kmt 3ti w.i hr w^cw^c im.sn sm3 m st.sn w^c hr 3š im.sn n sn-nw.f hr bn rmt pw p3 nty
69. m-hnw.n Swth 3 phty B^r m h^c.f bn irw.n rmt m n3 ir.f n3 pw n w^c w^cty hd hfnw iw bn mš^c hn^c.f
70. bn nt-htri my.n n 3s w^cr.n r-h3t.f wh3.n n.n p3 3nh tpi.n t3w mk p3 nty hr
71. ms.f r hñhñ hr gnw drt.f 3t.f nbt bw rh.tw t3t-pdt niwy m mitt iw.tw hr
72. ptr.f iw m hpt w3t ist hm.f m-s3.sn mi hñ iw.i hr hdb im.sn n whs.n.i iw.i hr
73. dit hrw.i r 3š r p3y.i mš^c r-dd smn.tn smn h3ty.tn p3y.i mš^c ptr.tn p3y.i nht
74. iw.i w^c.kwi iw Tmn r nby.i iw drt.f hn^c.i hsy.wy sw h3ty.tn t3y.i nt-htri bn 3šw mh ib
75. im.tn grw is n wn w^c im.tn iw iry.i n.f sp nfr m p3y.i t3 Ts bn h^c.n.i m nb iw.tn m nmhyw
76. diw.i iry.tn wrw m k3.i r^c nb diw.i s3 hr ht it.f rwi.i bin nb nty m t3 pn h3^c.i n.tn n3y.tn
77. b3kw diw.i n.tn kñw nñm m-3.tn p3 nty nb hr dbh sprwt iry.i m-3.k wi hr.i n.f r^c nb bw pw nb.i irt.w
78. n mš^c.f n 3ir.n hm.f n ib.tn diw.i hms.tn m n3y.tn dmiw iw bn irt wpt n w^cw t3y.i nt-htri
79. m-mitt irw diw.i n.sn w3t r niwt.sn r-dd gm.i st mitt p3 hrw m t3y wnw tñn r h3 hr ptri iry.tn
80. sp hsy dmd m bw w^c bw h^c rmt im.tn r dit drt.f hn^c.i iw.i hr h3 w3h k3 n it.i Tmn h3 tw.i hr
81. Kmt mi it itw.i nty bw ptri Hrw bw h3.w hn^c.f hpt iw bw iy w^c im.tn r sddt
82. wpt. {tw}.f m p3 t3 n Kmt Hy p3 sp nfr n p3 hrp mnw knw r W3st niwt Tmn p3 bt3 irw p3y.i mš^c
83. hn^c t3y.i nt-htri 3y r ddt.f ptri diw n.i Tmn p3y.f nhtw iw bn mš^c hn^c.i bn nt-htri
84. diw.f ptri t3 nb w3 p3y.i nht hr hpš.i iw.i w^c.kwi iw bn wr m-s3.i iw bn kdn iw bn
85. w^cw n mš^c bn sny ir h3swt ptrw.i r sddt rn.i r-š3 h3swt w3w n rh.tw ir p3 why
86. nb hr drt.i im.sn st h^cw 3nw hr m3 irt.n.i ir ph.i r hñw im.sn bw ir rdwy.w smnt hr
87. w^cr.sn n3 nty nb hr stt m k(3).i hr hnrw n3y.sn h3w iw.sn hr phr r.i hr ir dr ptri
88. Mnn3 p3y.i kr^cw r-dd inhw wi rht 3š3t n htrw wn.in.f hr bdš ib.f hsy sndt 3t wrt
89. k.t(i) m h^c.f h^c.n dd.n.f n hm.f p3y.i nb nfr p3 hk3 tnrw p3 nñw 3 n Kmt hrw h3 tw.n
90. h^c.n w^c.n m-hnw p3 hrw mk h3^c n p3 mš^c nt-htri ir.k h^c r nñm.w hr r n ih
91. imi.tw w^cb.n šd.k n Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c h^c.n dd.n hm.f n p3y.f kr^cw smn.tw smn h3ty.k p3y.i
92. kr^cw iw.i r k im.sn mi hnt bik iw.i hr hdb hr w^cw^c hr h3^c r iwtñ ih tr
93. hr ib.k n3y hmw nty bw hd.n hr.i n hñw im.sn wn.in hm.f hr hrp 3s h^c.n.f k m ifd m-hnw
94. p3 hrw r p3 nty sp 3 n k im.sn iw.i mi B^r m-s3.sn m 3t šhm.f iw.i hr hdb im.sn
95. n whs.n.i hr ir dr ptri wi p3y.i mš^c t3y.i nt-htri r-dd tw.i mi Mntw hpš wsr
96. Tmn p3y.i it hn^c.i n sp iry.f n.i h3swt nbt m dh3 r-h^c.i wn.in.sn hr msy.w w^c sp-sn
97. r hny n p3 ihy hr tr n rwyht gm.n.w h3swt nbt k(t).i im.sn sdr m hdyt hr snf.sn
98. m h3wty nb nfr n p3 Ht m hrdw hr snw n3y.sn wr diw.i hd t3 šht n
99. t3 Kdš bw rh.tw r st dgs m-di 3š3w.sn h^c.n p3y.i mš^c iw r dw3.i hr.sn n3y.i wrw

100. iw r s^{c3} hps̄.i t3y.i nt-htri m mitt hr swh3 m rn.i hr hy p3 h3wty nfr smn h3ty
101. šdy.k p3y.k mš^c t3y.k nt-htri ntk s3 Tmn irw m wy.fy fh.k p3 t3 n Ht hr hps̄.k kny
102. ntk h3wty nfr n mitt.k nsw h3 hr mš^c.f hrw h3 ntk s3 h3ty tp m skw bw d^cr.n.k
103. t3 nb dmd m bw w^c ntk s3 nht m-b3h mš^c.k r-hft-hr t3 r-dr.f n dd m b^c mk Kmt w^cf h3swt
104. s3w.k i3t n Ht n dt h^c.n dd.n hm.f n p3y.f mš^c n3y.f wrw m-mitt t3y.f nt-htri ih r.tn
105. tr n3y.i wrw p3y.i mš^c t3y.i nt-htri hmw h3 is bn ir.n rmt s^{c3}.f m niwt.f iw.f iw irw.f
106. knw m-b3h nb.f nfr 3 rn hr h3 m r^c sp-sn tr.tw s hr hps̄.f dr hr-h^ct is bw ir.i nfr n w^c im.tn
107. p3y.tn h3^c wi w^c.kwi m-hnw p3 hrw sbk.wy sw m-di.tn nh tr p3y.tn ssny t3w
108. iw.i w^c.kwi is bw rh.tn r-dd m ib.tn ink p3y.tn sbty n bi3 n pt ih k3.tw m sddt iw.tw hr
109. sdm.f p3y.tn h3^c.i w^c.kwi n sn-nw iw bw iy n.i wr ssny w^c r dit drt.f hn^c.i iw.i hr h3
110. hd.i hh n h3s(w)t iw.i w^c.kwi iw.i hr nht m W3st Mwt hr.ti n3yw.i htrw 3w ntsn
111. n3 gmw.i r šsp drt.i iw.i w^c.kwi hr h3 h3swt š3w(t) h3my.i r n3y.i dit wnm.sn wnmt ds.i
112. m-b3h.i tnw hrw iw.i m h^c.i ntsn n3 gmy.i m-hnw p3 hrw hn^c kd n Mnn3 p3y.i
113. kr^cw m-di n3y.i wb3w n hnwty nty r-gs.i n3 mtrw r h3 ptri gm.i st
114. wh^c hm.i hr knt hn^c nht šhr.n.i hfnwdmd m hps̄.i hd-t3 tsw.n.i skw
115. m h3 tw.i hr.kwi r h3 mi k3 spd tw.i h^c.kwi r.sn mitt Mntw
116. pr.kwi m hkrw n knt nht k.kwi m skw hr h3 mi htt bik hrt tp.i hr šhr n.i
117. hftyw.i di.s hh.s m nsrt m hr n hrw.i tw.i R^c mi m h^c.f tp dw3yt sttw.i
118. wbd.n.s h^c n sbiw w^c hr š im.sn n sn-nw.f hr.tn s3w.tn imi.tn h^cm.f
119. mk3 Šhmt wrt t3 nty hn^c.f sy m-di.f hr ssmt.f drt.s hn^c.f ir p3 nty nb hr šmt r h^cm.f
120. hr iw hh n ht r wbd h^c.f wn.in.sn hr hpr h^cw w3ww hr sn-t3 m drt.sn
121. r-hft-hr.i wn.in hm.i hr šhm im.sn iw.i hdb im.sn n whs.n.i iw.w m gbgbt
122. r-h3t ssm.t i sdr phdw m bw w^c hr snf.sn wn.in p3 wr hr hsy n Ht hr h3b
123. hr sw3s hr rn.i mitt R^c hr dd ntk Swth B^cr m h^cw.f t3y.k hryt m tk3 m p3 t3 n Ht
124. h^c.n rdi.n.f iwt wpwty.f hr š^ct m drt.f hr rn wr n hm.i hr swd3 ib r hm n stp-s3 nh wd3 snb n
125. R^c-Hr-3hty k3 nht mry M3^ct ity mk mš^c.f tnrw hr hps̄.f sbty n mnfyf.f hrw h3 nsw-bit Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c
126. s3 R^cm 3i nb hps̄ R^c-ms-sw mry Imn di nh dt dd b3k im di.f rh.tw r-nty ntk s3 R^c pr m h^cw.f diw.f n.k t3w nb dmd m bw w^c
127. ir p3 t3 n Kmt p3 t3 n Ht tiw st n3y.k b3kw st hr rdwy.k diw st n.k P3-R^c it.k šps(y)
128. m ir šhm im.n mk b3w.k 3w phty.k dns.ti hr t3 n Ht in iw nfr p3y.k hdb n3y.k b3kw
129. iw hr.k h33y im.sn n(n) n^c mk iry.n.k sf hdb.k hfnw tw.k iy.ti m p3 hrw bw w3h.k iw^cwt
130. m ir dri hnw.k nsw nht 3h hrt r h3 imi n.n t3w h^c.n wh^c.n hm.i m nh w3s iw.i mi Mntw m 3t.f
131. hd.f hpr h^c.n rdi.n hm.i st3.tw n.i h3tyw nbw n mš^c.i hn^c nt-htri n3y.i wrw r-dr.w twt
132. m bw w^c r dit sdm.sn p3 šhm h(3)b.n.f hr.f h^c.n rdi.n.i sdm.sn nn mdwt h3b n.i p3 wr hsy n Ht
133. wn.in.sn hr dd m r w^c nfr r-ikr hrt ity nb.n n wn t3y m http iw.k hr irt.f n nymt.f
134. tw hrw kn.d.k h^c.n wd.n hm.f sdm(.sn) mdwt.f di.n.f m http hntyt hst hm.f m http r T3-Mri
135. hn^c n3y.f mš^c t3y.f nt-htri nh dd w3s nb hr.f ntrw ntrwt m-s3 h^cw.f hr dr n.f t3w nbw n snd.f
136. phty hm.f mk.n.s mš^c.f hswt nbt m i3w n hr.f nfr ph m http T3-Mri r Pr-R^c-ms-sw mry-Imn
137. 3 nhtw http m h^c.f n nh w3s mi R^c imy 3hty.f ntrw t3 pn n.f m nyny hr dd ty.wy s3.n
138. mry.n nsw-bit Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c s3-R^c R^c-ms-sw mry Imn di nh rdi.n.sn n.f hh m hbw-sd dt hr st R^c
139. t3w nbw h3swt nbt hr htbw hr tbwty.f<y> r nhh hn^c dt

Translation

KRITA II, pp. 2-14:

1 Beginning of the Triumph of the King of S & N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, [beloved of the Gods], Ramesses II Meriamun, given life forever, **2** which he achieved: against the **Hatti**-land, Naharina, and against the land of Arzawa; **3** against Pidassa, (and) against the Dardanaya (land); **4** against the land of Masa, against the land of Qarqisha, and Lukka; **5** against Carchemish, Qode, (and the) land of Qadesh; **6** against the land of Ugarit, (and) Mushnatu. **7** Now, His Majesty was a youthful lord, a hero without peer; **8** his arms were powerful, his heart bold, his strength (was) like Montu's in his hour: - **9** Fine in appearance like Atum, at seeing his beauty, one rejoices. - **10** Mighty in victories over all foreign countries, one never knows when he may begin to fight. - **11** Strong rampart around his army, their shield on the day of fighting. - **12** An archer unequalled, more valiant than hundred-thousands rolled into one. - **13** Going straight ahead, entering the thron, his heart confident in his strength. - **14** Ruthless in the hour of combat, like fire in the instant that it devours. - **15** Determined like a bull poised in the arena, he thinks nothing (even) of every land combined. - **16** Even a thousand men cannot withstand him hundred-thousands despair just at the sight of him. - **17** Master (through) fear, great of war-cry in the hearts of all lands - **18** Mighty in renown, rich in splendour, like Sutekh on the mountain-tops - **19** [Dreaded] in the hearts of foreigners, like a fierce lion in a valley of wild game - **20** Going forth bravely, returning after triumphing personally, without Speaking boastfully. - **21** Effective in counsel, good at planning, one finds (me needful) in his first reply. - **22** Rescuer of his infantry on the day of battle, great protector of his chariotry. - **23** Bringing his followers (safe home), saving his troops, his heart (steady) as a mountain of copper. - **24** (Such is) the King of S & N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramesses II given life. **25** So now, His Majesty issued supplied to his infantry and chariotry, **26** (and the) Sherden-warriors that His Majesty had captured, when he brought them in by the triumph of his strong arm; **27** they being kitted-out with all their weapons, and the plan of campaign given to them. **28** Thus, His Majesty travelled north, his infantry and his chariotry accompanying him. **29** He made a good start to the march in Year 5, 2nd month of Shomu, Day 9, {to the despised land of Syria, on his 2nd campaign of victory}. **30** His Majesty passed the fortress of Sile, he being strong as Montu at his forays. **31** All foreign lands trembled before him, their chiefs presenting their tribute; **32** and every (would-be) rebel submitting through fear of the wrath of His Majesty. **33** His army went through the (narrow) passes just like someone on the (open) roads of Egypt. **34** Some time after this, **35** see, His Majesty was in Ramesses II the Town, which is in the Valley of the Conifers. **36** His Majesty travelled on northwards. Now when His Majesty had reached the ridge of Qadesh, **37** then His Majesty went straight on, like his father Montu, Lord of Thebes; **38** and he crossed the ford of (the river) Orontes, **39** with the 1st Army-Division of Amun who gives victory to Usimare Setepenre. **40** (Thus) His Majesty arrived at the town of Qadesh. **41** Now, the despicable Fallen (chief) of **Hatti** had come; **42** he had gathered round himself all foreign countries to the (furthest) limits of the sea: - **43** The entire land of **Hatti** had come; that of Naharina likewise, and that of Arzawa; **44** Dardanaya, that of Gasgas, that (*var.*: those) of Masa; **45** those of Pidasa, that of Arwana, that of Qarqisha, (and) Lukku; **46** Kizzuwatna, Carchemish, Ugarit, **47** Qode; the entire land of Nuhasse; Mushnatu; (and) Qadesh; - **48** he left not (even one) country which was not brought, of every distant land. **49** Their rulers were there with him, each man with his forces; **50** their chariotry was vast in extent, unequalled; **51** they covered hill and valley, they were like the locust-swarm in their multitude; - **52** he left no money ("silver") in his land, he had stripped himself of all his property; **53** he gave it to all the(se) countries, to bring them with him, to fight. **54** Now, the despicable Fallen (chief) of **Hatti**, along with the many lands that were with him, **55** stood hidden and ready, on the North-East of the (town) of Qadesh. **56** Now, His Majesty was all alone, with (just) his followers, - **57** the division of Amun marching behind him; - **58** the division of Pre crossing the ford, **59** in the area South of the town of Shabtuna, **60** at a distance of 1 *iter* from His Majesty was; - **61** the division of Ptah being to the South of the town of Arnam; - **62** (and) the division of Seth (still) marching along the road. **63** His Majesty had drawn the first battle-line from all the leaders of his army. **64** Now, they were on the shore (*or* bank) in the land of Amurru. **65** Now, the despicable Ruler of **Hatti** stood amidst the army which was with him, **66** he could not come out to fight, for fear of His Majesty. **67** So, he sent out men and chariotry, abundant, exceedingly numerous like the sand, **68** they being three men to a chariot-span, {they formed their units of three, every runner of the land of the fallen ones of **Hatti**}, **69** they being armed with every (kind of) weapon of war. **70** See, they had been made to stand hidden behind the town of Qadesh. **71** Then they emerged on the South side of Qadesh, - **72** and attacked the division of Pre at its middle, as they were **73** marching, unaware, and not preparing for fighting. **74** Then His Majesty's troop and chariotry collapsed before them. **75** Now His Majesty was established on the North of the town of Qadesh, on the West side of the Orontes. **76** Then one came to report it to His Majesty. Then His

Majesty appeared (gloriously) like the father Montu, **77** he took his panoply of war, and girded himself his coat of mail; - **78** he was like Baal in his hour. **79** The great (chariot)-span which bore His Majesty was (named) *Victory in Thebes*, of the Great Stable of Usimare Setepenre, *Beloved of Amun*, of the Residence. **80** Then His Majesty set forth at a gallop, **81** he plunged into the midst of the forces of the Hittite foe, **82** he being entirely on his own, no-one else with him. **83** So, His Majesty went on to look around him; **84** he found 2500 chariot-spans hemming him in, all around him, **85** even all the champions (“runners”) of the Hittite foe, along with the numerous foreign countries who were with them: - **86** from Arzawa, Masa, Pidasa; {from Gasgas, Arwanna and Qizzuwatna; from Aleppo, Ugarit, Qadesh and Lukka;}- **87** they were 3 men to a chariot-span, acting as a unit. **88** But there was no high officer with me, no charioteer, **89** no army-soldier, no shield-bearer. **90** But my army and my chariotry melted away before them, **91** none could withstand them, to fight with them. **92** Then said His Majesty: “Indeed, what’s up with you, my father Amun? **93** Has a father ever ignored his son? **94** Now, have I done anything without you? **95** Do I not go and stop at your word? I have not disobeyed a(ny) plan that you commanded! **96** How (much) great(er) is he, the great Lord of Egypt, (than) to allow foreigners to approach his path! **97** What are they to you, O Amun, these Asiatics, despicable and ignorant of God! **98** Have I not made for you monuments in a great multitude? **99** I have filled your temple with my captures! **100** I built for you my Memorial Temple, and I assigned you all my property by testament. **101** I presented to you every land in (its) entirety, to supply your sacred offerings. **102** I caused to be offered to you myriads of cattle, with all sweet-smelling herbs. **103** I neglected no good deed, to fail to do them in your courts. **104** I built for you great {stone} pylon-towers, **105** and erected their flagstaves myself. **106** I brought for you obelisks from Elephantin , it being I who acted as stone-carrier. **107** I directed for you ships on the sea, to ferry for you the products of foreign countries. – **108** What will people think, if (even) a minor mishap befalls him that depended on your counsel? **109** Do good to him who counts on you – the people will serve you with a will. **110** I have called on you, O Amun, **111** while I am amidst multitudes whom I know not. **112** All the foreign countries have united against me, I being (left) entirely alone, no-one else with me. **113** My regular troops have abandoned me, **114** no one of them has looked for me, from my chariotry. **115** When I kept on shouting out to them, **116** none of them heeded me, as I called out.” – **117** Amun I found more help to me than millions of troops, than hundred-thousands of chariotry, **118** than ten-thousands of men, whether brothers of offspring, (even) if united in one will. **119** There is no achievement of (however) many men, but Amun is more help than them! **120** I have attained this (much), O Amun, by the counsels of your mouth. I have never (“not”) overstepped your counsel.” **121** see, I made petition from the back of beyond, **122** my voice echoing in Thebes. **123** The moment I called to him, I found Amun came. **124** he gave me his hand, being with me, and I was happy. **125** As (close as) face to face, he spoke out (from) behind me “Forward! **126** I am with you, I am your father, my hand is with you! I am more useful to you than hundred thousands of men. I am the Lord of Victory, who loves bravery”. **128** My heart I found strong, my mind joyful. **129** All I did came off (well), I was like Montu, **130** I shot to my right, and captured to my left. **131** I was like Seth in his moment, in their right. **132** I found that the 2500 chariots, in whose midst I was, **133** fell prostrated before my horses. **134** None of them was able to fight, **135** their hearts quailed in their bodies through fear of me. **136** All their arms were weak, they could not shoot, **137** they could not steady their minds, to seize their javelins. **138** I made them plunge into the water, as crocodiles plunge, **139** so, they fell on their faces one on (top of) another. **140** I slaughtered them just as I wished, **141** none looked behind him, no other turned around, **142** whoever of them fell, he did not raise again. **143** Now, the despicable Ruler of **Hatti** was standing amidst his infantry and chariotry, **144** watching the attack by His Majesty, alone, on his own, **145** having with him neither his infantry nor his chariotry, **146** so he [= the Hittite] just stood, turning back, cringing, fearful. **147** Then he sent forth many chiefs, each of them with his chariot-spans, **148** equipped with their weapons of war **149** the Ruler of Arzawa and the one of Masa, the Ruler of Arwanna, **150** the one of Lukku, the one of Dardanaya, **151** the Ruler of Carchemish, the Ruler of Qarqisha, and the one of Aleppo, **152** the brothers of Him of **Hatti**, all assembled as one. **153** They united as one thousand chariot spans and came straight on forward into the fire! **154** I launched myself against them, being like Montu. **155** I gave them a taste of my fist (“hand”) in the space of a moment **156** I wrought mayhem among them, slain on the spot. **157** One cried out to another amongst them, (saying) **158** He is no mere man, he that is among us (it’s) Seth great of power, (very) Baal in person. **159** Not the acts of a mere man are the things that he does, they belong to one utterly unique! **160** One who defeats myriads, no troops with him, no chariotry. **161** Let’s come away quickly, let’s flee before him, **162** let’s seek life for ourselves, that we may breathe air. **163** See, he who would venture out to approach him, at once, his hand and all his limbs go weak. **164** None can draw a bow or even (wield) a spear **165** when they see him coming, striding in from a distance. **166** Now, His Majesty was after them like a griffon, **167** I slaughtered among them, without letting up. **168** I raised my voice to call out to my troops, saying **169** Stand firm, be bold-hearted, my troops,

170 see my triumph, (all) of my own, **171** with only Amun to be my protector, his hand with me. **172** And how cowardly are your hearts, my chariotry, **173** it's no use trusting in you either! **174** Was there not one of you, for whom I did good in my land? **175** Did I not arise as Lord, when you were poor? **176** I caused you to become great men by my beneficence daily, **177** I set a son over his father's property, I expelled all evil that had been in this land. **178** I left your servants for you(r use), **179** I gave you (back) others who had been taken from you. **180** (As for) anyone who requested petitions, "I'll do (it, - here) I am", I said to him daily. **181** No master has done for his army, the things that I have done at your wish. **182** I allowed you to dwell in your towns, **183** without doing military service. **184** My chariotry equally, I sent home on the road to their towns, **185** saying: **185** I shall find them just as (easily as) today, in the hour of meeting for battle." **186** Now see - you did a rotten trick, all together as one: **187** Not a man of you stood firm to give me a hand as I fought. **188** As the spirit of my father Amun endures, O that I were in Egypt! - **189** Like the Forefathers, they who saw no Syrians, **190** (who never fought Him, even remotely!) - **191** And not one of you having come to boast of your ("his") service, in the Land of Egypt." **192** How much better, (just) to raise many monuments for Thebes, city of Amun! **191** The wrong that my troops and chariotry did is greater than can be told. **195** See, Amun has given me his victory, **196** no troops being with me, and no chariotry. **197** He caused every distant land to see my victory by my strong arm, **198** I being alone, no high officer with me, **199** no charioteer, no soldier of the infantry, no groom. **200** The foreign lands that beheld me shall tell of my fame ("name") as far as distant lands yet unknown. **201** As for any of them that escaped my hand, they stood, turning back, looking at what I had done. **202** If I penetrated amid millions of them, their legs could not stay firm, and they fled. **203** All those who shot in my direction, **204** their arrows then scattered when they reached me. **205** Now when Menna my shield-bearer saw **206** that a huge number of chariots hemmed me in, **207** then he was dismayed, his heart sank, and stark fear possessed his body. **208** Then he said to His Majesty: "My good Lord, **209** O mighty Ruler, great Protector of Egypt on the day of battle, **210** we stand alone in the midst of the foe! **211** See, the troops and chariotry have abandoned us, **212** why do you stay to save them? **213** Let's get clear, save us, O Usimare Setepenre! **214** Then said His Majesty to his shieldbearer: **215** Be firm, be bold-hearted, my shield-bearer! **216** I shall go into them like the pounce of a falcon, **217** killing, slaughtering, felling to the ground, **218** What are these effeminate weaklings to you, **219** for millions of whom, I care nothing?" **220** Then His Majesty set off quickly, **221** and he went off at a gallop, into the midst of the foe, for the 6th time of attacking them. **222** "I was like Baal in the moment of his power. **223** I killed among them, I did not let up. **224** Then, when my troops and chariotry saw me, **225** than I was like Montu, **226** my arm strong, **227** Amun my father being with me instantly, **228** turning all the foreign lands into straw before me, - **229** then they presented themselves one by one, **230** to approach the camp at evening time. **231** They found all the foreign lands, amongst which I had gone, lying overthrown in their blood, - **232** namely all the fine(st) warriors of the **Hatti**-(land), **233** the children and brethren of their ruler. **234** I had made white the countryside of the land of Qadesh, none could find space to tread, by reason of their sheer number. **235** Then my army came to praise me, their faces [amazed/averted], at seeing what I had done. **236** My officers came to extol my strong arm, **237** and likewise my chariotry, **238** boasting of my name, thus: **239** "What a fine warrior, who stiffens morale, **240** that you should rescue your troops and chariotry! **241** You are the son of Amun, achieving with his arms, **242** you devastate the land of **Hatti** by your valiant arm. **243** You are the fine(st) warrior, without your peer, **244** the king who fights on his army's behalf, on the day of conflict. **245** You are great-hearted, foremost in the battle-line, **246** you did not bother about any of the lands, (even) united as one. **247** You are great in victory in front of your army, **248** in the presence of the entire land, without boastful claims. **249** O Protector of Egypt, who curbs the foreign lands, you have broken the back of **Hatti** forever!" **251** Then said His Majesty to his troops and his officers, **252** and likewise (to) his chariotry: **253** "What's wrong with you, my officers, **254** my troops and my chariotry, who do not know (how to) fight? **255** Does a man not make himself honoured in his city, **256** at his return, when he has played the hero before his lord? **257** Fair indeed is fame ("name") won in battle, over and over, from of old, a man is respected because of his strong arm. **258** Have I done no good to (even) one of you, **259** (for) your abandoning me, alone amidst the strife? **260** How lucky, indeed, is he among who is alive, **261** (for) your sniffing the air, while I was (left) on my own! **262** Don't you know in your minds, that I am your rampart of iron? **263** What will be said in gossip, when it is heard of, - **264** your abandoning me, I being (left) alone, without companion? **265** And neither high officer, chariot-warrior nor soldier came, to give me a hand, **266** as I fought! I repulsed a million foreign lands, on my own, **267** with (only) *Victory in Thebes* and *Mut is Content*, my great chariot-steeds. **268** It was they whom I found to help me, **269** when all alone I fought with multitudinous foreign lands! **270** I shall stoop to feeding them myself, personally, **271** every day that I am in the Palace! **272** It was they whom I found amidst the strife, with the charioteer **273** Menna, my shield-bearer,

274 and with my household butlers who were at my side, 275 those who are my witnesses regarding the fighting. See, - I found them!" 276 My Majesty desisted from (further) valour and triumph, (for) I had overthrown myriads by my strong arm. 277 When dawn came, I marshalled the battle-line in the fight, 278 I was prepared to fight like an eager bull. 279 I appeared against them like Montu, arrayed in the accoutrements of valour and victory. 280 I entered into the battle-lines, fighting like the pounce of a falcon, 281 my Uraeus-serpent overthrowing my enemies for me, 282 she spat her fiery flame in the face(s) of my foes. 283 I was like Re, in his appearing at the dawn, 284 my rays, they burned up the bodies of the rebels. 285 One of them called out to his fellows: 286 "Look out, beware, don't approach him! 287 See, Sekhmet the Mighty is she who is with him, she's along with him, on his horse, her hand with him! 288 As for anyone who goes to approach him, then a fiery flame comes to bum up his body!" 290 Then they took (their) stand at a distance, doing homage with their hands before me. 291 Thereupon My Majesty seized them, 292 killing among them, without letting up, 293 (as) they sprawled before my horses, 294 lying overthrown together in their blood. 295 Thereupon the despicable, defeated Ruler of **Hatti** sent (a message), 296 honouring my name like (that of) Re, 297 saying: 298 "You are (very) Sutekh, Baal in person, 299 dread of you is like a torch-brand in the land of **Hatti**." 300 Then he despatched his envoy. bearing a letter in his hand, in the mighty name of My Majesty., 301 sending greetings to the majesty of the palace of: *Horus-Falcon*, Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat, 302 Sovereign who protects his army, valiant through his strong arm; 303 Rampart of his troops on the day of battle; 304 King of S & N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, 305 *Son of Re*, possessor of the strong arm, Ramesses II, given life forever. 306 "This (humble) servant speaks, he makes it known that: 307 you are the (very) Son of Re, who came forth from his body; he assigned to you all lands together, united as one. 208 As for the land of Egypt and the land of **Hatti**, - they are yours, 309 - your servants - they are under your feet, Pre your augustus father has granted them to you. 311 Do not overwhelm us! 312 See, your power is great. 313 Your might lies heavy upon the land of **Hatti**. 314 Is it good, that you kill your servants, 315 your face fierce against them, without your pity (on them)? 316 See, you spent yesterday, slaughtering myriads. 317 You came today, 318 and you left no heirs! 319 Do not be (so) harsh in your words, O Victorious king! 320 Peace is better than war; - grant us breath!" 321 So, My Majesty desisted in life and domination. I being like Montu in his moment (of triumph), 322 when his attack has succeeded. 323 Then My Majesty had brought in to me all the leaders of my infantry and my chariotry, 324 and all my high officers, assembled all together, 325 in order to hear the words that the despicable Ruler of **Hatti** had sent to me. 327 Then they spoke out in unison: 328 "Excellent, indeed, is peace, O Sovereign our Lord! 329 There is no dishonour ("blame") in peace, when you make it. 330 Who shall resist you on the day of your wrath?" 331 Then His [*var.*: My] Majesty decreed that his word be heeded. 332 I [*var.*: he] turned peacefully southwards. 333 His Majesty set off back to Egypt peacefully, with his troops and chariotry, 334 all life, stability and dominion being with him, the gods and goddesses being the talismanic protection for his body, 335 and subduing for him all lands, through fear of him. 336 It was the might of His Majesty that protected his army, 337 all foreign lands praising his fair countenance. 338 Arrival peacefully in Egypt, at Pi-Ramesses Great-in-Victories, 339 and resting in his Palace of life and dominion, like Re who is in his horizon. 340 The gods of the land <come> to him greeting, saying: 341 "Welcome, our beloved Son, King of the S & N, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life!" - 342 according as they have granting him a million jubilees and eternity upon the throne of Re, 343 all lands and all foreign lands being overthrown and slain beneath his sandals, eternally and forever.

P. Sallier, Colophon:

This text [was written] in Year 9, 2nd month of Shemu, Day <1>, of the King of S & N Egypt, Usima[re] Setepenre, LPH, Son of Re, Ramesses II, LPH, given life eternally and forever like his father Re. It has come to completion successfully ... For the spirit of the Chief Archivist [of the Treasury of Pharaoh, LPH, Amenemone,] the Scribe of the Treasury of Pharaoh, [LPH], A[men]emwia, and [the Scribe of] the Treasury of Pharaoh, [LPH,]. Made by the Scribe Pentaweret [.....].

b. The "Report" or "Bulletin"

I quote in the following pages the hieroglyphic texts and the transliteration as in CAVILLIER 2006 and the translation from KRITA II.

Hieroglyphic text

CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 83-85¹⁷³⁰:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.

¹⁷³⁰ Cf. KUENTZ 1928, pp. 327-361.

- 50.
- 51.
- 52.
- 53.

Transliteration

CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 86-87:

1. H3t-sp 5 3bd 3(-nw) n Šmw sw 9 hr hm n R^c-Hr k3 nht mry M3^ct nsw-bit Wsr-M3^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c S3 R^c R^c-ms-sw mry Imn di n^ch dt
2. Ist hm.f hr Dhy m wdyt.f snwt nt nht rsw nfr m n^ch wd3 snb m im3w n hm.f hr tst rst nt Kdš
3. m-ht nn hr tr n dw3yt h^c(t) hm.f mi wbn R^c [šsp].n.f hkrw nw it.f Mntw
4. wd3 nb m hd spr r [hm.f] h3w rsy dmi n Šbtn Ty.in Šsw 2 n3 n
5. mhwt Šsw r dd n hm.f m n3y.n snw nty m 3w n mhwt m-di p3 hrw n Ht
6. di iwt.n n hm.f r dd iw.n r irt b3kw n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb mtw.n rwi.n m-di p3 hrw n Ht
7. dd.in hm.f n.sn st tnw n3y.tn snw di iw.tn r dd p3y šhr n hm.f dd.in.sn n hm.f st
8. m p3 nty p3 wr hsy n Ht im p3 wn p3 hrw n Ht m p3 t3 n Hrb hr mht Twnp snd.f
9. n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb r tyt m hntw dr sdm.f r dd Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb iw m hd Ist d dn3 Šsw
10. n3y mdwt dd.sn n hm.f m d3 iw m p3 hrw n Ht di iwt.sn r ptr p3 nty hm.f im n ib n tm
11. dit hr sw p3 mš^c n hm.f r h3 hn^c p3 hrw n Ist p3 hrw n Ht di iwt n3w Šsw r dd n3w mdwt n hm.f
12. iw.f iw hn^c mš^c f nt-htrw.f hn^c wrw n t3 nb nty m tww n p3 t3 n Ht
13. mš^c.w nt-htrw.w in.n.f m-di.f m nhtw r h3 hn^c mš^c n hm.f h^c grg hr
14. n-h3 Kdš t3 isy iw n rh hm.f r-dd st im wšd p3 Šsw 2 nty m-b3h
15. n^ct hm.f m hd spr r mht imnty Kdš w3h ihw n mš^c n hm.f im sndm hm.f hr isbt nt d^cmw hr
16. mhty Kdš hr t3 rit imntt nt Irnt Tyt.in h3pytw nty m šmsw hm.f hr h3pytw 2 n
17. p3 hrw n Ht st3.w m-b3h dd.in hm.f n.sn nttt ih ddt.n.sn tw.n p3 wr n Ht
18. ntf di iwt.n r ptr p3 nty hm.f im dd.n hm.f n.sn sw tnw ntf p3 hrw n Ht mk
19. sdm.i r-dd sw m p3 t3 n Hrb hr mht Twnp dd.n.sn n hm.f ptr p3
20. wr hsy n Ht iw hn^c h3swt knw nty hn^c f in.n.f m-di.f m nhtw p3 t3 n Drdny p3 t3 n Nhrn
21. p3 Kškš n3 Ms n3 Pds p3 t3 n Krkš hn^c Rk p3 t3 n Krkmš
22. p3 t3 n Trtpw p3 t3 n Tkrṯ p3 Trwn p3 t3 n Ins Mwsnt Kdš Hrb p3 t3 n Kd r-dr.f
23. st pr hr mš^c.w hn^c nt-htrw hr n3y.sn h^cw nw r-ht
24. š3w st r š^c wdbw pt st h^cw hr r h3 n-h3 Kdš t3 ist
25. h^c.n rdi.n hm.f š^c.tw srw m-b3h r dit sdm.sn mdwt nbt dd.n p3 h3pytw 2 n
26. p3 hrw n Ht nty m-b3h dd.in hm.f n.sn ptr.tn p3 šhr nty
27. n3w imy-r h3swt hn^c n3 wrw n n3w t3w n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb im.f ir.sn h^c hr dd n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb tnw hrw
28. p3 wr hsy n Ht m p3 t3 n Hrb hr mht Twnp sw w^cr r-h3t hm.f dr sdmw.f r-dd mk Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb
29. iw hr.sn hr dd n hm.f m-mnt ptr ir.i sdm m t3y wnwt m-di p3y h3pytw 2 n p3 hrw n Ht
30. r-dd p3 hrw hsy n Ht iw hn^ch3swt š3 nty hn^c f m rmt ssmwt knw mi p3 š^c ptr st h^c k3p
31. n-h3 Kdš t3 ist iw bw rh n3 imy-r h3swt hn^c n3y.i wrw nty n3 t3w n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb r-ht.sn
32. dd n.n st iw dd.n srw nty m-b3h wšb.sn n ntr nfr r-nty bt3 3 p3 irw n3 imy-r h3swt
33. hn^c n3 wrw n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb p3 tm dit smt.tw n.sn r p3 nty p3 hrw n Ht m p3 nty nb sw im
34. mtw.sn dd smi.f n Pr-3 n^ch wd3 snb m-mnt h^c.n rdi m hr n t3ty r 3s mš^c n hm.f
35. iw.sn hr mš^chr w3t rsy dmi n Šbtn r int.w r p3 nty hm.f im
36. ist wnn hm.f sndm hr mdt m-di srw iw p3 hrw hsy n Ht iw hn^c mš^c f nt-htrw.f
37. m-mitt h3swt š3t nty hn^c f d^cy.sn t3 mšdt nty hr rsy n Kdš h^c.n.sn
38. k m-hnw p3 mš^c n hm.f iw.sn hr mš^c iw bw rh.sn h^c.n bdš.n p3 mš^c
39. nt-htrw n hm.f r-h3t.sn m hd r bw nty hm.f im h^c.n inh

40. p3 hrw n n3 n hrw n Ht n3 šmsw n hm.f nty r-gs.f h^c.n gmh st hm.f wn.in.f hr
41. h^c 3s h^c.n.f hr r.sn mi it.f Mntw šsp.n.f hkrw h3 t3y.f
42. sw m p3y.f tryn sw mi Swth m 3t shm.f h^c.n.f ts r nhtw m W3st
43. p3y.f htr 3 iw.f hr hrp 3s w^cw hr-tp.f hm.f shm ib.f wnty n rh.tw h^c
44. r-h3t.f w.f nb hr rkh ht wdb.n.f h3st nbt m hh.f irty.f(y) hs3y dr m3.f st
45. b3w.f hr nbyt mi ht r.sn n d^cr.n.f hh m h3styw ptr.f st mi dh3
46. iw hm.f hr k m-hnw p3 hrw n n3 n hrw n Ht hn^c h3swt š3t nty hn^c.sn
47. iw hm.f mi Swth 3 phty mi Shmt m 3t nšny.s iw hm.f hr hdb p3 hrw n
48. p3 hrw hsy n Ht r-dr.f hn^c n3y.f snw r-dr.w m-mitt wr nb n h3swt nbt iy hn^c.f
49. mš^c.w nt-htrw.w hr hr hr.sn m w^c hr w^c.iw hm.f hr sm3 st m st.sn iw.sn m gbgbt
50. r-h3t ssmwt.f iw hm.f w^cw n ky hn^c.f wn.in hm.f hr dit h3 p3 hrw n n3 n hrw n Ht
51. hr hr.sn m w^c hr w^c m h3 mshw r p3 mw nw Trnt iw.i m-s3.sn mi h^ch hd.i h3swt nbt
52. iw.i w^c.kwi iw h3^c wi p3y.i mš^c t3y.i nt-htrw bw h^c w^c im.sn nw n^ch n.i mr wi R^c
53. hsi wi it.i Ttm ir shr nb dd.n hm.i ir.i st m m3^ct m-b3h mš^c.i nt-htrw.i

Translation

KRITA II, pp. 14-18:

1 ‘Year 5, 3rd month of Shomu, Day 9, under the Majesty of: Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat; 2 ‘King of S & N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses H, given life forever. 3 Now, His Majesty was in Syria (Djahy) on his 2nd victorious campaign. 4 A happy awakening in life, prosperity and health, in His Majesty's tent, on the ridge South of Qadesh. 5 After this, in the early morning, 6 His Majesty appeared as when Re shines, and he assumed the accoutrements of his father Montu. 7 The Lord [=the King] proceeded North, and (His Majesty) reached the area South of the town of Shabtuna. 8 There came 2 Shasu, from the Shasu tribesfolk, to say to His Majesty: 9 “It is our brother, who are tribal chiefs with the Fallen One of **Hatti**, 10 who have sent us to His Majesty, saying: 11 “We shall become servants of Pharaoh, LPH, an ourselves from the Ruler of **Hatti**.” 12 Then said His Majesty to them: “Where are they, your brothers 13 who [se]nt you to speak of this matter to His Majesty?” 14 Then said they to His Majesty: “They are where the despicable Chief of **Hatti** is, 15 for the Fallen One of **Hatti** is in the land of Aleppo, to the North of Tunip. 16 He feared Pharaoh, LPH, too much to come southward, 17 when he heard that Pharaoh, LPH, was coming northward.” 18 Now, these (2) Shasu said these things, and lied to His Majesty. 19 (For) it was the Fallen One of **Hatti**, who had sent them, to find out (“see”) where His Majesty was, 20 so as to prevent His Majesty's army from being prepared to fight with the Fallen One of **Hatti**. 21 Now, the Fallen One of **Hatti** had sent the Shasu to say these things to His Majesty, 22 having come with his troops and chariotry, 23 along with the rulers of every land that was in the territory of the land of **Hatti**, 24 and their troops and chariotry, 25 which he had brought with him as allies, to fight with His Majesty's army, 26 he standing ready and prepared behind Old Qadesh – 27 but His Majesty did not know that they were there. 28 The 2 Shasu who were in the (royal) presence were interrogated(?) 29 So, His Majesty travelled on northward, arriving at the North-West of Qadesh. 30 The camp of His Majesty's army was pitched there, 31 and His Majesty sat on the throne of electrum, 32 to the North of Qadesh, on the West side of the (river) Orontes. 33 Then came a scout who was in His Majesty's service, 34 bringing in 2 scouts of the Fallen One of **Hatti**; they were ushered into the (royal) presence. 35 Then said His Majesty to them: “What are you?” 36 What they said: “We belong <to> the Ruler of **Hatti** – 37 he it is who sent us, to see where His Majesty is.” 38 His Majesty said to them: “Where is he himself, the Ruler of **Hatti**? 39 See, I have heard that he is in the land of Aleppo, to the North of Tunip.” 40 They said [to] His Majesty: “See, the despicable Ruler of **Hatti** has (already) come, 41 along with the many foreign lands that accompany him, whom he has brought with him as allies, 42 (from all the foreign lands who belong to the area of **Hatti**): 43 (the land of Dardanaya), the land of Naharina; 44 that of Gasgas, those of Masa, those of Pidassa; 45 the land of Qarqisa, and Lukku, (and) the land of Carchemish; 46 the land of Arzawa, the land of Ugarit, that of Arwanna; 47 the land of Alshe, Mushnatu, and Qadesh; 48 Aleppo, and the entire land of Qode. 49 They are furnished with their infantry and chariotry, (bearing their combat-weapons); 50 they are more numerous than the sands of the seashore. 51 See, they stand equipped, ready to fight, behind Old Qadesh!” 52 Then His Majesty had the high officers summoned into the (royal) presence, 53 to let them hear all the words that the Fallen One of **Hatti**'s 2 spies had spoken. 54 Then said His Majesty to them: “You see the situation (in) 55 which are the garrison-commanders and governors of foreign territories, together with the chiefs of the lands

of Pharaoh, LPH, (that) **56** they stand (there) saying daily to Pharaoh, LPH: **57** The despicable Ruler of **Hatti** is in the land of Aleppo, north of Tunip, - **58** having fled before His Majesty, when he heard (the report): “See, Pharaoh has come!” - so they say, speaking to His Majesty daily! **60** But see, I have heard this very hour, **61** from these 2 spies from the Fallen One, of **Hatti**, that **62** the despicable Fallen One of **Hatti** has (already) come, with the numerous foreign countries accompanying him, **63** with men and chariotry, as many as the sand (of the shore). **64** See, they stand hidden behind Old Qadesh – (so, it is said) – **65** and my governors of foreign territories **66** and my chiefs, in whose charge are the lands of Pharaoh, LPH, could not **67** tell us that they [=Hatti] had arrived!” **68** The high officers who were in the (royal) presence spoke and replied to the Good [god] thus: “(This is) a great crime that the governors of foreign territories and chiefs (of Pharaoh, LPH) have committed, (in) **70** not causing (the location) of the Fallen One of **Hatti**, wherever he is, to be reported to them,**71** that they might report it to Pharaoh, LPH, daily.” **72** Then the Vizier was ordered to hurry-up His Majesty’s army **73** that was (still) marching (from) south of the town of Shabtuna, **74** in order to fetch them to where His Majesty was. **75** But (even) as His Majesty sat talking with the high officers, **76** the despicable Fallen One of **Hatti** came with his troops and his chariotry, **77** and also the numerous foreign lands that were accompanying him. **78** They crossed the ford (just) South of Qadesh, **79** then they entered in amongst His Majesty’s troops **80** as they marched unawares. **81** Then His Majesty’s troops and chariotry quailed before them, **82** on their way North, to where His Majesty was. **83** Then the foes from the Fallen One of **Hatti** surrounded His Majesty’s subordinates who were by his side. **84** Then His Majesty caught sight of them, so he arose quickly. **85** (Then) he raged against them, like his father Montu (Lord of Thebes). **86** He took up his panoply of war, he girded himself with his coat of mail, **87** he was like Sutekh [*var.*: Baal] in his moment of power. **88** Then he mounted (“Victory in Thebes”), his chariot-span [*var.*: horses], **89** he setting off quickly, being all alone. **90** His Majesty was strong, and his heart firm, none could stand before him. **91** All his patch blazed with fire, he burnt up every foreign land with his hot breath. **92** His eyes became savage when he saw them, his might flared like fire against them. **93** He paid no heed to (even) a million aliens, he looked upon them as on chaff. **94** Then His Majesty entered into the hostile ranks of the fallen ones of **Hatti**, **95** along with the many foreign lands who were with them, **96** His Majesty being like Sutekh great in strength, like Sekhmet in the moment of her fury. **97** His Majesty slew all the hostile ranks of the despicable Fallen One of **Hatti**, **98** along with all of his great chiefs and **99** likewise all the rulers of all the foreign lands that came with him, **100** and their troops and chariotry, fallen on their faces, one upon another. **101** His Majesty slaughtered and slew them, fallen on the spot, **102** as they (lay) sprawling before his horses, **103** His Majesty being alone, none other with him. **104** So His Majesty forced the hostile ranks of the fallen ones of **Hatti** to plunge on their faces. **105** sprawling one upon another, plunging like crocodiles, into the waters of Orontes. **106** I was after them like a griffon, I defeated all the foreign lands, being alone, **107** my troops and chariotry abandoned me, **108** none of them stood looking back. **109** As Re lives for me and loves me, and as my father Atum favours me, **110** regarding everything of which My Majesty has spoken, - I truly did them, in the presence of my troops and my chariotry.

c. The Treaty

I will not offer a proper comment to the text, because the bibliography about this document is numerous and well-known¹⁷³¹; I just report the hieroglyphic text as provided by Cavillier¹⁷³², and the transliteration and German translation from Edel¹⁷³³.

¹⁷³¹ See e.g., ALLAM 2010; BONDIELLI – ELLI 2012, pp. 143-148; BORGHOUTS 1986, pp. 17-19; BRYCE 2006; COHEN 2006; CORDANI 2017, pp. 22-24; DEVECCHI 2005, pp. 265-267; EDEL 1969; EDEL 1983; EDEL 1997; GUTGESELL 1984; KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 583-597; KITCHEN 2004⁶, pp. 108-118; KLENGEL 2002a, pp. 75-93; KLENGEL 2002b; LANGDON – GARDINER 1920; MEISSNER 1917; MÜLLER 1902; PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 36-40; 96-105; DE ROUGE 1866a, b; ROWTON 1959; SPALINGER 1981; SPALINGER 1999; WILSON 1950.

¹⁷³² CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 108-110.

¹⁷³³ EDEL 1997. English translations in ANET, pp. 199-201; KITCHEN – LAWRENCE 2012, pp. 583-594; KRITA II, pp. 79-85; LANGDON – GARDINER 1920; Italian translations in BRESCIANI 2007⁴, pp. 286-291; PERNIGOTTI 2010, pp. 96-105.

Hieroglyphic text

CAVILLIER 2006, pp. 108-110:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.

- 54.
- 55.
- 56.
- 57.
- 58.
- 59.
- 60.
- 61.
- 62.
- 63.
- 64.

EDEL 1997, pp. 16-83:

Transliteration

1) Vorspann

Angabe des Datums

- 1 (1) (1) rnpt-sp 21 tpj prt sw 21
 1 (2) hr hm n nj.swt-bjt
 1 (2) Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c s3 R^c R^c-msj-sw mrj jmn
 1 (2) dj ^cnh d.t nhh
 1 (3) mrjj Jmn-r^c Hrw-3htj
 1 (3) Pth rsj jnb.f nb ^cnh-t3wj
 1 (3) Mw.t nb.t Jšrw Hnsw nfr-htp
 1 (4) h^cw hr s.t Hrw nt ^cnh(j).w
 1 (4) mj jt.f R^c-Hrw-3htj d.t sp 2 nhh
 1 (5) (2) hrw pn jst hm.f r dmj n Pr-R^c-msj-sw mrj-jmn
 1 (6) hr jrt hss(t) jt.f Jmn-r^c Hrw-3htj
 1 (6) Jtm nb t3wj Jwnw(j)
 1 (7) Jmn n R^c-msj-sw mrj-jmn Pth n R^c-msj-sw mrj-jmn
 1 (7) [Suth] ^c3-ph^tj s3 Nw.t
 2 (1) mj rdj.sn n.f nhh n hbw.sd
 2 (1) d.t m rnp.wt htp(.wt)
 2 (1) jw t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb(.w) hdb hr tb.wtj.f(j) d.t

Ankunft der Boten

- 2 (2) (3) jjt wpwtj-njsw.t jdnw Nmtj n tj-nt-htp
 2 (3) wpwtj-njsw.t []
 2 (4) [wpwtj-nj-sw.t]
 2 (5) wpwtj [n] p3-t3 n [Ht] N[rqil](?) [TI]-tisb
 2 (6) [wpwtj] sn.[nw] n Ht R^c-[ms]
 2 (7) wpwtj [n p3-t3 n Kk]rmis Ypsil

- 3 (1) hr [p3] ^c[nw] n [hḏ rdj.n] (4) wr-^c3 n Ht Htsil
 3 (1) jnj.tw r pr-^c3 ^cnh wḏ3 snb
 3 (2) r dbh [ht]p[w hr hm n nj.swt-bjt]
 3 (2) [Wsr-m3^{ct}-r^c] stp.n-r^c s3 R^c R^c-msj[-sw] mrj-jmn
 3 (3) dj ^cnh d.t nhh mj jt.f R^c r^c nb

Abschrift des Vertrages in ägyptischer Übersetzung

- 3 (4) mjt(j)¹ n p3-^cnw n hḏ rdj.n wr-^c3 n Ht Htsil
 3 (4) jnj.tw r pr-^c3 ^cnh wḏ3 snb
 3 (5) m dr.t wpwtj.f (5) Tl-tisb wpwtj.f R^c-ms
 3 (6) r dbh htpw hr hm [n nj.swt-bjt]
 3 (6) [Wsr-m3^{ct}-]r^c [stp.n-]r^c s3 R^c R^c-msj-sw mrj-jmn
 3 (7) k3 n hq3.w
 3 (7) jrj t3š.wf r mrj.nf m t3 nb

A. ÜBERSCHRIFT DES VERTRAGS AUF DER SILBERTAFEL

§ 1A+B Überschrift, vermengt mit Absender-Adressat-Angabe

- 1a p3-nt-^c jrrw wr-^c3 n Ht Htsil p3-tl
 b p3-šrj n Mursl (6) p3-wr-^c3 n Ht tl
 c p3-šrj n p3-šrj n Spl[u]l[u p3-wr-^c3 n Ht t]l
 d hr ^cn n hḏ
 e n Wsr-m3^{ct}-r^c stpn-r^c p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt tl
 f p3-šrj n Mn-m3^{ct}-r^c p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt tl
 g p3-šrj n p3-šrj n Mn-phṯj-r^c (7) p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt tl
 h
 i
 k

< § 1B Absender-Adressat (steckt in § 1A+B) >

- 2a
 b
 c
 d
 e
 f

§ 1C Zweck des Vertrags

- 3a p3-nt-^c nfr n htp n sns
 b dj htp nfr
 c=e [r-jwd.n r nhh]
 d [dj sns nfr]
 e=c [r-jwd].n [r] nhh

§ 2 Vorgeschichte des Vertrags

- 4a jr r-h3t n-dr nhh
 b jr p3-šhr n p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt jrm p3-wr-^c3 n Ht
 c bw dj p3-ntṛ hrw
 d r jwd.sn m nt-^c <r nhh>
 5a hr jr m (8) h3w Mutl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht p3y.j sn
 b jw.f hr ^ch3 j[rm R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn] p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt
 *c = 12 jr ḏ[r] hn[n] Mutl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht p3y.j sn m-s3 p3y.f š3y
 *d = 13 jw Htsil hr hms m (11) wr-^c3 n Ht hr t3-jsbt n p3y.f jt

B. ALLGEMEINE FREUNDSCHAFTSERKLÄRUNGEN

§ 3 Hattušili hat den Vertrag wieder aufgenommen

- 6a hr jr hr-s3 š3^c-m p3-hrw

- b ptr Htsl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht [m] nt-^c
 c n djt mn p3-s_{hr}
 d jrrw p3-R^c jrrw Suth
 e n p3-t3 n Kmt (9) jrm p3-t3 n Ht
 f
 g r tm djt hpr hrwy r-jwd.sn r nh_h
 7a ptr [jr]wy sw Htsl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht m nt-^c
 b < hr ^cn n h_d >
 c jrm Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt š3^c-m p3-hrw
 d r djt hpr htp nfr sns nfr
 e r-jwd.n r nh_h
 8 (10) jw.f sns n jrm.j
 9 jw.f htp jrm.j
 10 jw.j sns.n.kw jrm.f
 11 jw.j htp.kw jrm.f r nh_h
 12 = *5c jr d[r] hn[n] Mutl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht p3y.j sn m-s3 p3y.f š3y
 13 = *5d jw Htsl hr hms m (11) wr-^c3 n Ht hr t3-jsb[t] n p3y.f jt
 14 p[tr]-j hr hp[r] jrm R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt
 15 jw n[fr p3 s_{hr}] [n]? p3.n htp p3.n sns n
 16a jw nfr sw r p3-htp r p3-sns n h3wtj
 b wnw m p3-t3 < n Kmt m p3-t3 n Ht >
 17a ptr-j m p3-wr-^c3 n Ht
 c! jrm (12) [Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p]3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt
 b m htpw nfr m sns nfr
 18a [jr]j n3-hrdw n3-[h]rdw [n] p3-wr-^c3 [n] Ht sns n htp
 b jrm [n]3-[h]rdw [n]3 hrdw n R^c-ms-sw [mrj-jmn] p3-hq3-^c3 n Km[t]
 < r nh_h >
 19 jw.[w] m p3.n s_{hr} n sns n [m] p3.n s_{hr} (13) [n htp]
 20a [jr] p3-t3 n K]mt jrm p3-t3 n Ht
 b htp sns n mj qd.n r nh_h
 21 jw bw hprn hrwy r-jwd.sn r nh_h

§ 4A; 4B. Gegenseitiges Nichtangriffsversprechen

§ 4A. Hattušili soll Ägypten nicht angreifen

- 22a jw bw jrj < Htsl > p3-wr-^c3 n Ht thj r p3-t3 n Kmt
 b r nh_h r jt3 nkt jm.f

§ 4B. Ramses soll Hatti nicht angreifen

- 23a jw bw jrj Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-hq3-^c3 n Kmt thj r p3-t3 (14) [n Ht]
 b [r jt3 nkt j]m.f r nh_h

§ 5A;5B. Hattušili und Ramses erneuern den früheren Vertrag

§ 5A. Hattušili erneuert den Vertrag

- 24a
 b
 c
 d
 e jr p3-nt-^c mtj wnw dj m h3w Splulu < m > p3-wr-^c3 n Ht
 f m mjtt p3-nt-^c mtj wnw -- m h3w Mutl p3-wr-^c3 n Ht p3y.j jt
 25a mh.j jm.f
 b
 26a
 b

§ 5B. Ramses erneuert den Vertrag

- 27a ptr mh R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt (15) [m p3-nt-^c]
 b [j]rrf jrm.n n sp s3^c-m p3-ḥrw
 28 mh.n jm.f
 29 jrr.n m p3j šḥr mtj

C. SPEZIELLE BESTIMMUNGEN

§§ 6+7; 8+9 Defensivbündnis gegen äußere und innere Feinde

§ 6 Ḥattušili soll Ramses gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen

- a jr jw ky ḥrwy r n3-t3w n Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt
 b mtw.f hb n p3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt
 c r ḏd "mj mdj.j m nḥtw r.f"
 A jrj p3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt (16) [j]t n.f m nḥt
 B [jrj p]3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt ḥdb p3y.f ḥrwy
 C
 D
 E
 F ḥr jr jw bn jb n p3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt < r > šmt
 G jw.f ḥr djt ḥnn p3y.f mš^c t3y.[fj nt-ḥtr
 H=B m[t]w.f ḥdb p3y.f ḥrwy
 I=E

§ 7 Ḥattušili soll Ramses gegen innere Feinde unterstützen

- a r-pw [j]r qnd R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn (17) [p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt]
 a' r b3kw s3wj
 b jw jrj.sn ky t3j r.f
 c' mtw.f šmt r ḥdb.w
 d
 e
 A
 B jrj p3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt jrm.f [r fh]
 C p3-ntj nb [j]w.w r [qn]d [r.w]

§ 8 Ramses soll Ḥattušili gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen

- a ḥr [jr jw] ky ḥrwy r p3-w[r-^G3 n Ḥt]
 b [mtw.f hb n Wsr-]m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c [p]3-(18)[ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt]
 c
 A [jw-f r] j]t n-f m nḥtt
 B r ḥdb p3y.f ḥrwy
 C jr jw jb n R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt r j]t
 D=A jw.f[r j]t
 E [mtw.f ^cnn w]š[b n p3-t3] n Ḥt
 F ḥ[r j]r jw [bn jb n Wsr-m3^ct-]r^c [stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt r j]t
 G j]w.f ḥr djt ḥnn p3]y.[f (19) mš^c t3j.f nt-h]tr
 H=B
 I=E mdj ^cnn wšb n p3-t3 n Ḥt

§ 9 Ramses soll Ḥattušili gegen innere Feinde unterstützen

- a ḥr jr
 a'
 b thj b3kw n p3-wr-^c3 n Ḥt r.f
 c
 d
 e mtw R^c-ms-[sw] mrj-jmn [p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt sdm?]
 A
 B [jrj Wsr-m3^ct-]r^c [stpn-r^c p3-]ḥ[q3-^c3 n Kmt r fh]
 C [p3-ntj nb jw.w r qnd r.w]

§ 10 Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren

- la [ptr p]3-[t3] n **Ht** p[3-]t[3 n Kmt]
b (20) [h̄tp snsn r nh̄h] m[-s3] p3[.n] ʿnh
2a
b
c
3 k3 dd
4 jw.j r šmt [m-]s3 [p3]y. < j > š3y
5 hr [jrj] R^c-ms-sw [mrj-jmn] p3-ḥq3-ʿ3 n Kmt ʿnh r nh̄h
6a [mt]w.tw jj[t r] p3[-t3 n **Ht**]
b [r djt jr]y[.sn p3y. < j > šrj]w m p[3.]sn nb
c r t[m] djt jry[.w n.s]n [ky] [m p3.sn nb]
7a hr j[r jr]y.w (21) [bt3 r.f]
b [kn]y.sn r djt.f n.sn r nb
A [m] djt gr Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn[-r^c] [p3-]ḥq3-ʿ3 [n] Kmt [m] r3.f [r] nh̄h
B j[m]m [jw]t.f *oder* j[m]m [jw]t[.f n.]f
C [mtw.]f fh̄ p3-t3 [n] **Ht**
D [m]tw.f [ʿn]n [w]š[b n] p[3]-wr-ʿ3 [n **Ht**]
D' [m m]j[t]t [n p]3[-t3 n **Ht**]

< § 10B. **Hattušili** soll die Thronfolge des ägyptischen Kronprinzen garantieren >
Entfällt

**§§ 11+12; 13+14 Auslieferung hochrangiger Flüchtlinge und von Flüchtlingsgruppen;
Auslieferung einfacher Flüchtlinge**

§ 11 Hattušili soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a [jr w^cr w^c-rm]t[-ʿ3 < m p3-t3 n Kmt >]
b [mtwf jjt n] p3-wr-ʿ3 n **Ht**
c m-r-pw w^c-dmj
d
e
f (22) [m n3]y n t3w n R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-ʿ3 n Kmt
g=b mtw.sn jjt n p3-wr-ʿ3 n **Ht**
A bn jrj p3-wr-ʿ3 n **Ht** r šsp.w
B
C jrj p3-wr-ʿ3 n **Ht** djt jnj.tw.w n Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-ʿ3 n Kmt p3y.sn n[b ʿnh̄ w̄d3] snb
D
E

§ 12 Hattušili soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a r-pw jr w[^cr w^c]-rmt̄
b r-pw rmt̄ 2 jw bw rh̄.tw.w
c (23) [m p3-t3 n Kmt]
g mtw.sn jjt r p3-t3 n **Ht**
h r jrt b3kw n ky
B
D
E bn jw.tw r w3h̄.w m p3-t3 n **Ht**
C jw.tw r jnt.w n R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-ʿ3 n Kmt

§ 13 Ramses soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a r-pw jr w^cr w^c-rmt̄-ʿ3 m p3-t3 n **Ht**
b m[tw.f jjt n Wsr-m3]t-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥ[q3-ʿ3] n Kmt
c r-pw w^c-n-dmj
d r-pw w^c-q^ch̄

e r-pw (24) [w^c-nw.t (?)]
 f m] n3y < n > p3-t3 n **Ht**
 g mtw.w jjt n R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt
 A bn jrj Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt r šsp.w
 B
 C₁
 C₂ jrj R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt djt jnj.tw.w n p3-[w]r-[^c3 n **Ht**]
 D
 E bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w < m p3-t3 n Kmt >

§ 14 Ramses soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

a m mjtt jr w^cr w^c-rmṯ
 b r-pw rmṯ 2 (25) [jw b]w rḥ.tw.w
 c
 g mtw.sn jjt r p3-t3 n Kmt
 h r jrt b3kw n kth
 B
 D
 E bn jrj Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt w3ḥ-w < m p3-t3 n Kmt >
 C jw.f r djt jnj.tw.w n p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht**

§§ 15; 16 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge

< § 15 **Hattušili** soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >

Entfällt

§ 15 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 11 + 12 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 13 + 14 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war; man kann nämlich davon ausgehen, daß *kabtu* „Vornehmer“ bedeutungsmäßig dem Begriff LÚ GAL „Großer“ entspricht, so daß die §§ 15 + 16 auch nichts anderes beinhalten als die §§ 11 + 12 und 13 + 14.

< § 16 **Ramses** soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >

Entfällt

§ 16 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 13 + 14 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 11 + 12 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war. Begründung siehe oben.

§ 17; 18 Amnestie für ausgelieferte Flüchtlinge

§ 17 **Hattušili** soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Ramses soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

a jr w^cr w^c-rmṯ m p3-t3 n Kmt
 b r-pw 2 r-pw 3
 c m(33)[t]w.sn jjt n p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht**
 B jrj p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht** mḥ j[m.s]n
 C mtw.f d[jt] jnj.tw.w ^cn n Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c[3] n [K]mt
 F
 G ḥr jr p3-rmṯ ntj jw.tw r jntf n R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt
 H (vgl. P) m dy jry.tw s^ch^c p3y.f bt3 r.f
 I m dy (34) fḥ.tw p3y.f pr n3y.f ḥmwt n3y.f ḥrd[w]
 K [m dy fḥ.tw.f]
 L [mdy ḥdbj.tw.f]
 M m dy thj.tw r jrtj.f r msdrwj.f
 N r r3.f r rdwj.f
 O
 P (vgl. H) m [d]y jr[y].tw [s^ch^c bt3] nb r.f

Ramesseum:

a.b.c Weggebrochen
 B [jrj p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht** mh jm.]sn
 C mtw.f djt jnj.tw.w ^cn n Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Km[t]
 F-N Weggebrochen
 M [... (6') ... r jrtj.f r msdrwj.f]
 N [r r3.f r rdwj.f]
 O
 P m dy jry.tw s^cḥ^c bt3 nb r.[f]

§ 18 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Hattušili soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

a m mjtt jr w^cr rmt m p3-t3 n **Ht** jw.f m w^c
 b jw.f m 2 jw.f m 3
 c mtw.w jjt n Wsr-m3^ct-r^c stpn-r^c (35) p3-ḥq3-^c3 n Kmt
 B jmj mh R^c-ms-sw mrj-jmn p3-ḥq[3-^c3 n Kmt jm.sn]
 C [mtw.f dj]t jnj.tw.w n p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht**
 F
 G
 H (vgl. P) mt[w] tm p3-wr-^c3 [n **Ht**]t s[^cḥ^c p3y.sn] bt[3] r.sn
 I mtw.[tw t]m fh p3y.f [pr] n3y.f ḥmwt n3y.f ḥr[d]w
 K
 L mtw.tw tm ḥdb{tw}f
 M mtw.tw tm thj r msdrwj.f (36) r jrtj.f
 N r r3.f r rdwj.f
 O
 P (vgl. H) mtw.tw tm s^cḥ^c bt3 nb r.f

Ramesseum:

a [m mjtt j]r [w]^c[r rmt m p3-t3 n **Ht** jwf m w^c]
 b.c.B-G Weggebrochen
 [(7')]
 H (vgl. P) [mtw tm] p3-wr-^c3 [n **Ht**]t s^cḥ^c p3.sn bt3 [r.s]n
 I [m]tw.tw tm fh p3.f pr n3.f ḥmwt n3y.f ḥrdw
 K m dy fh.[tw.f]
 L (8') m dy ḥdb.tw.f
 M m dy thj[-tw r msdrwj.f r jrtj.f]
 N [r r3.f r rdwj.f]
 O
 P (vgl. H) [mtw.tw] tm s^cḥ^c bt3 [nb r.f]

§§ 19; 20 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge

< § 19 Hattušili soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >
 Entfällt

§ 19 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 13 + 14 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 11 + 12 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war.

< § 20 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern >
 Entfällt

§ 20 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in §§ 11 + 12 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 13 + 14 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war.

D. SCHWURGÖTTERLISTE; FLUCH- UND SEGENSEFORMELN

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

a) Einleitung

a (25) jr n3j mdwt n p3-nt-^c

- [jrrw] p3-wr-^{c3} n **Ht** jrm R^c-m[s-sw mrj]-jmn p3-ḥq3-^{c3} (26) [n Kmt]
 b [jw.w] m sš hr p3j ^cn n ḥd
 a' jr n3j mdwt
 A ḥ3 n ntr m ntrw ^cḥ3wtj m ntrw ḥmwt m n3y < n > p3-t3 n **Ht**
 B mdj ḥ3 n ntr m ntrw ^cḥ3wtj m ntrw ḥmwt m n3y n p3-t3 n Kmt
 C st mdj.j m mtr.w [sdm]w n3j mdwt

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

b) Zumeist Wettergötter

- b 1 (26) p3-R^c p3-nb n t3-pt
 b 2 p3-R^c n dmj n 'Arnn^{Fr}
 b 3 (27) Suth^S p3-nb n t3-pt
 b 4 Suth^S n **Ht**^{Fr}
 b 5 Suth^S n dmj n 'Arnn^[Fr]
 b 6 Suth^S n dmj n Dp'alnd^{Fr}
 b 7 Suth^S n dmj n Piir^{Fr}
 b 8 Suth^S n dmj n Hissp^{Fr}
 b 9 Suth^S n dmj n Sris^{Fr}
 b 10 Su[th^S] n dmj n Hlp^{Fr}
 b 11 Suth^S n dmj n Lḥsin^{Fr}
 b 12 Suth^S (28) [n dmj n H]r[m]^{Fr} oder N]r[q]^{Fr} oder S]r[djs]^{Fr} oder H]r[s]^{Fr}
 b 13 [Suth^S]^S [n dmj n 'Ud^{Fr}][?]
 b 14 [Su]th^S [n d]mj [n] S[pinw^{Fr}] oder S[mḥ^{Fr}]
 b 15 [Suth^S] n [Tth]i'^{ms^S}
 b 16 Suth^S n dmj n Shipin^{Fr}

Zeichenerklärung für die hieroglyphische Umschrift:

S Determinativ für den Gott Seth (Gardiner, Zeichenliste C 6).

Fr Determinativ für das Fremdland (Gardiner, Zeichenliste N 25).

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

c) Sonstige Götter

- c 1 (28) ^cntr^K n p3-t3 n **Ht**^{Fr}
 c 2 p3-ntr n Dithrriy^{Fr} (Dithariy^{Fr})
 c 2 p3-ntr n Krdis^[Fr]
 c 4 p3-ntr n Hrpntlys^{Fr} (Hapntlys^{Fr})
 c 5 (29) t3-ntrt^K n dmj Krḥn^{Fr}
 c 6 t3-ntrt^K n Dir^{Fr}
 c 7 t3-ntrt^K n Nnw^{Fr}
 c 8 t3-ntrt^K n Din^{Fr}
 c 9 p3-ntr < n > Nint^[Fr]
 c 10 p3-ntr [n K]lt^{Fr}
 c 11 p3-ntr n Hbt^{Fr} t3-ḥmt-nswt n t3-pt
 c 12 n < 3 > -ntrw nbw ^cnḥ
 c 13 t3-ntrt t3-ḥnwt p3-jwt
 c 14 {t3-ḥnwt n ^cnḥ}
 c 15 Ishr^K t3-ḥnwt < n ^cnḥ

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

d) Götter von Ḥatti, Kizzuwatna und Ägypten; kosmische Götter

- d 1 < n3-ntrw ^cḥ3wtj >
 d 2 < n3-ntrw ḥmwt >
 d 3 < n3- > (30) ḏww
 d 4 n3-jtrwy n p3-t3 n **Ht**^{Fr}
 d 5 n3-ntrw < ^cḥ3wtj >
 d 6 < n3-ntrw ḥmwt > n p3-t3 n Qidwdn^{Fr}

d 7 Jmn
d 8 p3-R^c
d 9 Sutḥ
d 10 n3-ntrw ḥ3wtj
d 11 n3-ntrw ḥmwt
d 12 n3-ḏww
d 13 n3-jtrwy n p3-t3 n Kmt
d 14 t3-pt
d 15 p3-jwtn
d 16 p3-ym ḥ3
d 17 p3-t3w
d 18 n3-šn^cw

Zeichenerklärung für die hieroglyphische Umschrift:

K (Kobra) Determinativ für ägyptische Göttinnen (Gardiner, Zeichenliste I 12). Es findet sich bei den asiatischen, aber in Ägypten heimisch gewordenen Gottheiten c 1 (ḥAstartu) und c 15 (Isḥara), außerdem wie üblich bei ntrt "Göttin" c 5-8. Fr Determinativ für "Fremdland" (Gardiner, Zeichenliste N 25).

§§ [22+23]; 24+25 Fluch bei Verletzung des Vertrags; Segen bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

< § 22 Fluch gegen Ramses und die Ägypter bei Verletzung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§ [22] (und 24) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 27 des babylonischen Textes (= § 26 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags).

< § 23 Segen für Ramses und die Ägypter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§ [23] (und 25) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 26 des babylonischen Textes (= § 27 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags).

< § 24 Fluch gegen Ḥattušili und die Hethiter bei Verletzung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§24 (und [22]) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 27 des babylonischen Textes (= § 26 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags).

< § 25 Segen für Ḥattušili und die Hethiter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§ 25 (und [23]) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 26 des babylonischen Textes (= § 27 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags).

§ 26 Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrages

x jr n3j md<wt>
b! (31) ntj ḥr p3j ḥn n ḥḏ n p3-t3 n Ḥt n p3-t3 n Kmt
a! jr p3-ntj bn jw.f r s3w.sn
c
d
e
A jrj ḥ3 n ntr n p3-t3 n Ḥt

B mdj ḥ3 n ntr n p3-t3 n Kmt
 C
 D+x r ḥ p3y.f pr
 y p3y.ft3
 z n3y.fb3k.w

b! a!: Im babylonischen Text des § 27 sind die Sätze umgekehrt gestellt: a.b, ergänzt.

§ 27 Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

a ḥr jr p3-ntj jw.f r s3w.tj n3j mdw<t>
 b ntj ḥr p3j^c n n ḥd
 c jw.w m **Ht**
 d jw.w m rmt.w (32) Kmt
 e mtw.w tm jrt ḥmḥmw r.sn
 A jrj ḥ3 n ntr n p3-t3 n **Ht**
 B mdj ḥ[3] n ntr n p3-t3 n Kmt
 D! r djt snb.f
 C!+x r djt^c ḥ.f jrm n3y.f pry.t
 y jrmp3y.ft3
 z jrm n3y.f b3k.w

3. Anhang

§ 28; 29 Beschreibung der Siegel der von Hattušili ausgestellten Vertragstafel mit der ägyptischen Übersetzung der Siegellegenden

§ 28 Das Siegel auf der Vorderseite der Tafel

1 (36) ntj m ḥrj-jb p3-^cnw n ḥd ḥr t3y.f rwj3t ḥ3wt(t)
 2 ḥp_jw m twt n Suth ḥr [q_{nj} twt n p3-wr]-^c3 [n **Ht**]^{Fr}
 3 jnḥw m smdt md[w] m ḏd
 4 = 13 p3-ḥ[t]m n Suth
 5 = 14 p3-ḥq3 n t3-pt
 6 p3-ḥtm n p3-nt^c jrrw Ḥtsl
 7 p3-wr-^c3 (37) n **Ht** tl
 8 p3-šrj n M[r]sl p3-wr-^c3 n **Ht** tl
 9
 10
 11
 12 [ntj m] ḥnw p3-jnḥw < n > p3-ḥpwj
 13 = 4 p3-ḥ[tm n Suth]
 14 = 5 [p3-ḥq3 n t3-pt]

§ 29 Das Siegel auf der Rückseite der Tafel

1 [ntj m ḥrj-jb ḥr t]3y.f k[t] rwj3t
 2 ḥpwj < m > rpy(t) n [t3]-ntrt n **Ht** ḥr qnj rpy(t) n wrt n [**Ht**]^{Fr}
 3 jnḥw < m > [sm]dt mdw m ḏd
 4 = 13 p3-ḥtm n p3- (38) R^c n dmj n 'Arnn
 5 = 14 p3-nb n p3-t3
 6 p3-ḥtm n Putuḥip
 7 t3-wrt n p3-t3 n **Ht**
 8 t3-šrjt n p3-t3 n Qidwdn
 9 t3-[ḥm-ntr[?] n p3-R^c n] 'Arnn
 10 <t>3-ḥnwt n p3-t3
 11 t3-b3kt < n > t3-[ntr]t
 12 [ntj m] ḥnw p3-jnḥw n p3-ḥpwj
 13 = 4 p3-ḥtm n p3-R^c n 'Arnn
 14 = 5 p3-nb n t3 nb

§ 30 Siehe hinter § 27, S. 78, Babylonischer Text.

Translation

1) Vorspann

Angabe des Datums

- 1 (1) Jahr 21, erster (Monat) der Saatzeit
1 (2) unter der Majestät des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten
1 (2) Wašmuaria šatepnaria, Sohnes des Re, Riamašeša mai-amana,
1 (2) dem für immer und ewig Leben gegeben ist,
1 (3) geliebt von Amun-Re, von Harachte,
1 (3) von Ptah, der sich südlich von seiner Mauer befindet, dem Herrn von Anchtawi,
1 (3) von Mut, der Herrin von Ischru, und von Chons-Neferhotep,
1 (4) der auf dem Horusthron der Lebenden
1 (4) wie sein Vater Harachte für immer und ewig erschienen ist.
1 (5) (2) An diesem Tag befand sich seine Majestät in der Stadt Pi-Riamašeša mai-amana
1 (6) und tat, was sein Vater Amun-Re, Harachte,
1 (6) Atum, der Herr der beiden Länder, der Heliopolitaner;
1 (7) Amun von Riamašeša mai-amana; Ptah von Riamašeša mai-amana
1 (7) und Seth, der groß ist an Kraft, der Sohn der Mut, loben,
1 (1) dem entsprechend, daß sie ihm eine Unendlichkeit von Sed-Festen
2 (1) und eine Ewigkeit von friedlichen Jahren geben mögen,
2 (1) indem alle Flachländer und alle Bergländer für immer unter seine Sandalen geworfen sind, -

Ankunft der Boten

- 2 (2) (3) Da kamen der Königsbote, Stellvertreter der Wagentruppe Nemti,
2 (3) der Königsbote [.....],
2 (4) [der Königsbote],
2 (5) [der Bot]e [des] Landes [Hatti] N[erikaili (und) Tili-]teššup,
2 (6) der [B]o[te] zwei[ter Klasse] von Hatti Ria[massi (und)
2 (7) [der Bot]e [des Landes Kark]amiš Pijaššili
3 (1) mit der Silbertafel, [die] (4) der Großfürst von Hatti, Hattušili,
3 (1) zum Pharao, er lebe, sei heil und gesund, bringen ließ
3 (2) um Frieden zu erbitten [bei der Majestät des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten,
3 (2) Wašmuaria] šatepnaria, Sohnes des Re, Riamašeša mai-amana,
3 (3) dem für immer und ewig Leben gegeben ist wie seinem Vater Re jeden Tag.

Abschrift des Vertrages in ägyptischer Übersetzung

- 3 (4) Abschrift der Silbertafel, die der Großfürst von Hatti, Hattušili
3 (4) zum Pharao, er lebe, sei heil und gesund,
3 (5) durch die Hand seines Boten Tili-teššup und seines Boten Riamašši bringen ließ
3 (6) um Frieden zu erbitten bei der Majestät [des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten,]
3 (6) [Wasmua]ria [satepna]ria, Sohnes des Re, Riamašeša-mai-amana,
3 (7) des Stieres unter den Herrschern,
3 (7) der seine Grenzen nach Belieben in jedem Land festsetzt.

A. ÜBERSCHRIFT DES VERTRAGS AUF DER SILBERTAFEL

§ 1 A+B Überschrift, vermengt mit Absender-Adressat-Angabe

- 1a Der Vertrag, den der Großfürst von Hatti, Hattušili, der Starke,
b der Sohn des Muršili, (6) des Großfürsten von Hatti, des Starken,
c der Sohn des Sohnes des Šuppil[uliu, des Großfürsten von Hatti, des Star]ken,
d auf einer Silbertafel geschlossen hat
e für Wašmuaria šatepnaria, Großkönig von Ägypten, den Starken,
f den Sohn des Minmuaria, des Großkönigs von Ägypten, des Starken,
g den Sohn des Sohnes des Minpaḥtaria, (7) des Großkönigs von Ägypten, des Starken.

h
i
k

< § 1 B Absender-Adressat (steckt in § 1 A+B) >

2a
b
c
d
e
f

§ 1 C Zweck des Vertrags

3a der gute Friedens- und Bruderschaftsvertrag,
b der guten Frieden
c=e [zwischen uns für immer] stiftet, (und)
d [der gute Bruderschaft]
e=c [zwischen] uns [für] immer [stiftet].

§ 2 Vorgeschichte des Vertrags

4a Früher, (schon) von Ewigkeit her,
b was das Verhältnis zwischen dem Großkönig von Ägypten und dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** angeht,
c so ließ der Gott durch einen Vertrag < auf ewig > nicht zu,
d daß Feindschaft zwischen ihnen entsteht.
5a In (8) der Zeit des Muwattalli aber, des Großfürsten von **Hatti**, meines Bruders
b da kämpfte er mi[t Riamašeša mai-amana], dem Großkönig von Ägypten.
*c=12 Nachdem Muwattalli, der Großfürst von **Hatti**, mein Bruder, zu seinem Schicksal geeilt war,
*d=13 setzte sich Hattušili als (11) Großfürst von **Hatti** auf den Thron seines Vaters.

B. ALLGEMEINE FREUNDSCHAFTSERKLÄRUNGEN

§ 3 Hattušili hat den Vertrag wieder aufgenommen

6a Danach aber, vom heutigen Tage an,
b siehe, da befindet sich Hattušili, der Großfürst von **Hatti**, [in] dem Vertrag,
c der das Verhältnis dauerhaft machen soll,
d das der Sonnengott geschaffen hat, und das der Seth geschaffen hat,
e für das Land Ägypten (9) und das Land **Hatti**,
f
g um zwischen ihnen niemals Feindschaft entstehen zu lassen.
7a Siehe, Hattušili, der Großfürst von **Hatti**, hat sich verbündet durch den Vertrag
b < auf der Silbertafel >
c mit Wašmuaria šatepnaria, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, vom heutigen Tage an,
d+e um zwischen uns für immer guten Frieden und gute Bruderschaft zu stiften,
8 (10) indem er mit mir verbrüder ist,
9 indem er mit mir friedlich ist,
10 indem ich mit ihm verbrüder bin (und)
11 indem ich mit ihm für immer friedlich bin.
12= *5c Nachdem Muwatalli, der Großfürst von **Hatti**, mein Bruder, seinem Schicksal gefolgt war,
13= *5d setzte sich Hattušili als (11) Großfürst von **Hatti** auf den Thron seines Vaters.
14 S[ieh]e, ich bin (im Bund) zusammen mit Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig Ägyptens,
15 indem [das Verhältnis uns]eres Friedens (und) [uns]erer Bruderschaft g[ut ist];
16a indem es (das Verhältnis) besser ist als der (frühere Frieden (und) als die frühere Bruderschaft,
b die in dem Land < Ägypten (und) in dem Land **Hatti** > existierte.
17a Siehe, ich als der Großfürst von **Hatti**
c! befinde mich mit (12) [Wašmuaria šatepnaria,] dem Großkönig Ägyptens,
b in gutem Frieden (und) guter Verbrüderung;

- 18a (auch) die Enkel des Großfürsten von **Hatti** sollen sich verbrüdern und friedlich
 b sein mit den Enkeln des Riamašeša [mai-amana,] des Großkönigs von Ägypten, <für immer,>
 19 indem [sie] sich in unserem Verhältnis der Brüderschaft (und) [in] unserem Verhältnis (13) [des Friedens] befinden;
 20a [(auch) das Land Ä]gypten und das Land **Hatti**
 b sollen friedlich sein (und) sich verbrüdern wie wir für immer,
 21 ohne daß jemals zwischen ihnen Feindschaft aufkommt,

§ 4A;4B Gegenseitiges Nichtangriffsversprechen

§ 4A. Ramses soll Hatti nicht angreifen

- 22a ohne daß < Hattušili >, der Großfürst von **Hatti**, jemals das Land Ägypten angreift,
 b um irgendetwas aus ihm wegzunehmen.

§ 4B. Hattušili soll Ägypten nicht angreifen

- 23a ohne daß Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig von Ägypten, jemals das Land (14) **Hatti** angreift,
 b um irgendetwas aus ihm wegzunehmen.

§ 5A;5B Hattušili und Ramses erneuern den früheren Vertrag

§ 5A Hattušili erneuert den Vertrag

- 24a
 b
 c
 d
 e Was den festgelegten Vertrag angeht, der hier zur Zeit des Šuppiluliuma, des Großfürsten von **Hatti**, bestand,
 f und ebenso den festgelegten Vertrag, der zur Zeit des Muwattalli, des Großfürsten von **Hatti**, meines Bruders(!), bestand,
 25a so habe ich ihn wiederaufgenommen;
 b
 26a
 b

§ 5B Ramses erneuert den Vertrag

- 27a siehe, (auch) Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig von Ägypten, hat (15) [den Vertrag] wiederaufgenommen
 b (und) von diesem Tag an ist es, daß er mit uns zusammen handelt.
 28 Wir haben ihn wiederaufgenommen,
 29 (und) nach diesem festgelegten Verhältnis ist es, daß wir handeln.

C. SPEZIELLE BESTIMMUNGEN

§§ 6+7, 8+9 Defensivbündnis gegen äußere und innere Feinde

§ 6 Hattušili soll Ramses gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen

- a Wenn ein auswärtiger Feind gegen die Länder des Wašmuaria šatepnaria, des Großkönigs von Ägypten, zieht,
 b und der zum Großfürsten von **Hatti** schickt,
 c mit den Worten: „Komm mit mir als Verstärkung gegen ihn!“,
 A so soll der Großfürst von **Hatti** (16) [zu ihm als Verstärkung kommen,]
 B [und d]er Großfürst von **Hatti** soll seinen Feind erschlagen.
 C
 D
 E
 F Aber wenn der Großfürst von **Hatti** nicht (selbst) gehen will,

G so soll er seine Truppen und seine Wagen schnellstens kommen lassen
H=B und seinen Feind erschlagen.
I=E

§ 7 Hattušili soll Ramses gegen innere Feinde unterstützen

a Oder wenn Riamašeša mai-amana, (17) [der Großkönig von Ägypten],
a' auf Untertanen von sich zornig ist,
b nachdem sie ein anderes Vergehen gegen ihn verübt haben,
c und er auszieht, um sie zu erschlagen,
d
e
A
B so soll der Großfürst von **Hatti** (im Bunde) mit ihm alle [vernichten,]
C [auf die] sie zornig sein werden.

§ 8 Ramses soll Hattušili gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen

a Aber [wenn ein] auswärtiger Feind gegen den Großfürst[en von **Hatti** zieht,]
b [und er zu Waš]mua[ria] šatepnaria, [d]em (18) [Großkönig von Ägypten, schickt,]
c
A [so soll er] zu ihm als Verstärkung kommen,
B um seinen Feind zu erschlagen.
C Wenn Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig von Ägypten, kommen will,
D=A so soll er [kommen,]
E [und dem Land] **Hatti** Genugtuung verschaffen.
F Aber wenn [Wasmuari]a [šatepnaria, der Großkönig von Ägypten, nicht kommen will,]
G [so soll er] seine (19) [Truppen und seine] Wagen schnellstens kommen [lassen]
H=B
I=E und dem Land **Hatti** Genugtuung verschaffen.

§ 9 Ramses soll Hattušili gegen innere Feinde unterstützen

a Aber wenn
a'
b Untertanen des Großfürsten von **Hatti** sich gegen ihn vergehen,
c
d
e und Riamase[sa] mai-amana, [der Großkönig von Ägypten, es hört,]
A
B [so soll Waš]mua[ria] [šatepnaria, der Groß]kön[ig von Ägypten, alle vernichten,]
C [auf die sie zornig sein werden].

§ 10 Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren

1a [Siehe], das [Land] **Hatti** (und) das Land [Ägypten]
b (20) [sind (auch)] na[ch unser]em Leben [auf ewig friedlich und verbrüdet].
2a
b
c
3 (Mit) anderen Worten:
4 Ich werde mei[nem] Schicksal folgen (= sterben),
5 aber Riamašeša mai[-amana], der Großkönig von Ägypten, [soll] ewig (= lange) leben;
6a und [man] soll [in] das [Land] **Hatti** kommen,
b [um zu veranlassen, daß sie meinen] Sohn [zu] ihrem Herrn [machen],
c und um nicht zuzulassen, [daß sie si]ch [einen ändern zu ihrem Herrn] machen.
7a Wefnn] sie aber [gegen ihn ein Vergehen verüb]en,
b indem sie [ablehne]n, ihn sich zum Herrn einzusetzen,
A so soll Wašmuaria satepna[ria, der] Großkönig von Ägypten, [mit] seinem Munde niemals
schweigen;

- B er soll ko[mm]en (oder: er soll [zu] ihm ko[mm]en)
- C und das Land **Hatti** [vernichten
- D und dem Großfürsten [von **Hatti** Ge]nugtu[ung verschaffen.
- D' [und eb]enso dem [Land **Hatti**].

< §10B. Hattušili soll die Thronfolge des ägyptischen Kronprinzen garantieren >
Entfällt

§§ 11 + 12; 13 + 14 Auslieferung hochrangiger Flüchtlinge und von Flüchtlingsgruppen; Auslieferung einfacher Flüchtlinge

§ 11 Hattušili soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a [Wenn ein Großer < aus dem Lande Ägypten > flieht,]
- b [und er zu dem] Großfürsten von **Hatti** [kommt],
- c oder eine Stadt
- d
- e
- f (22) [aus d]enen der Länder des Riamašeša mai-amana, des Großkönigs von Ägypten,
- g=b und sie zu dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** kommen,
- A so soll sie der Großfürst von **Hatti** nicht aufnehmen;
- B
- C der Großfürst von **Hatti** soll sie (vielmehr) dem Wašmuaria šatepnaria, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, ihrem Herrn, [- er lebe, sei heil und] gesund - bringen lassen.
- D
- E

§ 12 Hattušili soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a Oder wenn [ein] Mensch
- b oder zwei Menschen, die man nicht kennt,
- c (23) [aus dem Land Ägypten] fl[iehen]
- g und in das Land **Hatti** kommen,
- h um dem anderen Diener zu sein,
- B
- D
- E so soll man sie nicht im Lande **Hatti** bleiben lassen;
- C man soll sie (vielmehr) zu Riamašeša, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, bringen.

§ 13 Ramses soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a Oder wenn ein Großer aus dem Lande **Hatti** flieht
- b und [zu Wasmu]a[ria] šatepnaria, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, [kommt],
- c,d,e oder eine Stadt, oder ein Distrikt, oder (24) [ein Bezirk (?)]
- f [aus] denen des Landes **Hatti**,
- g=b und zu Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, kommt,
- A so soll sie Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig von Ägypten, nicht aufnehmen;
- B
- C₁
- C₂ Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig von Ägypten, soll sie (vielmehr) zu dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** bringen lassen
- D
- E und man soll sie nicht bleiben lassen.

§ 14 Ramses soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a Ebenso, wenn ein Mensch
- b oder zwei Menschen, (25) die man nicht kennt,
- a' <aus dem Land **Hatti** > fliehen

- g und in das Land Ägypten kommen,
h um den anderen Diener zu sein,
D
E so soll Wašmuaria šatepnaria, der Großkönig von Ägypten, sie nicht bleiben lassen;
C er soll sie (vielmehr) dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** bringen lassen.

§§ 15; 16 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge
< § 15 Hattušili soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >
Entfällt

§ 15 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 11 + 12 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 13 + 14 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war; man kann nämlich davon ausgehen, daß *kabtu* „Vornehmer“ bedeutungsmäßig dem Begriff LÚ GAL „Großer“ entspricht, so daß die §§ 15 + 16 auch nichts anderes beinhalten als die §§ 11 + 12 und 13 + 14.

< § 16 Ramses soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >
Entfällt

§ 16 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 13 + 14 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 11 + 12 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war. Begründung siehe oben.

§§ 17; 18 Amnestie für ausgelieferte Flüchtlinge
§ 17 Hattušili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Ramses soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

- a Wenn ein Mensch aus dem Lande Ägypten flieht,
b oder zwei oder drei,
c und (33) sie zu dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** kommen,
B so soll sie der Großfürst von **Hatti** ergreifen
C und sie wieder zu Wašmuaria šatepnaria, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, bringen lassen.
F
G Was aber den Menschen angeht, den man dem Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, zurückbringen soll,
H dem soll sein Vergehen nicht angerechnet werden;
I (34) man soll sein Haus, seine Frauen (und) seine Kinder nicht vernichten,
K [(und) man soll ihn (selbst) nicht vernichten],
L man soll ihn [nicht töten],
M man soll seine Augen, seine Ohren,
N seinen Mund (und) seine Füße nicht verstümmeln;
O
P man soll ihm überhaupt kein [Vergehen anrechnen].

Ramesseum

- a.b.c Weggebrochen
B [so soll] sie [der Großfürst von **Hatti** ergreifen]
C und sie wieder zu Wašmuaria šatepnaria, dem Großkönig von Ägypten, bringen lassen.
F-N Weggebrochen
M [man (6') soll seine Augen, seine Ohren],
N [seinen Mund (und) seine Füße nicht verstümmeln];
O
P man soll ihm überhaupt kein Vergehen anrechnen.

§ 18 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Hattušili soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

- a Ebenso, wenn ein Mensch aus dem Lande Hatti flieht, sei es einer,
b seien es zwei, seien es drei,
c und sie zu Wašmuaria šatepnaria, (35) dem Großkönig von Ägypten, kommen,
B so soll [sie] Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig [von Ägypten], ergreifen
C und sie zu dem Großfürsten von **Hatti** bringen lassen;

- F
G
H der Großfürst [von H]atti soll ihnen [ihr] Vergehen nicht anrechnen],
I [man] soll sein [Haus], seine Frauen oder seine Kinder nicht vernichten,
K
L man soll ihn nicht töten,
M man soll seine Ohren, (36) seine Augen,
N seinen Mund (und) seine Füße nicht verstümmeln,
O
P man soll ihm überhaupt kein Vergehen anrechnen.

Ramesseum:

- a [Ebenso, w]enn [ein Mensch aus dem Lande **Hatti** fl]ieh[t, sei es einer],
b.c.B-G Weggebrochen
[(7')]
H der Großfürst von **Hatti** soll ihnen ihr Vergehen [nicht] anrechnen,
I man soll sein Haus, seine Frauen oder seine Kinder nicht vernichten,
K man soll [ihn] (selbst) nicht vernichten;
L (8') man soll ihn nicht töten,
M [man] soll [seine Ohren, seine Augen],
N [seinen Mund (und) seine Füße] nicht verstümmeln,
O
P [man soll ihm überhaupt] kein Vergehen anrechnen.

§§19;20 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge; Auslieferung einfacher Flüchtlinge

< § 19 Hattušili soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern >

Entfällt

§ 19 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 13 + 14 des babylonischen Textes (= § 18 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war.

< § 20 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern >

Entfällt

§ 20 fiel im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da sein Inhalt bereits in den §§ 11 + 12 des babylonischen Textes (= §§ 13-14 des hieroglyphischen Textes) enthalten war.

D. SCHWURGÖTTERLISTE; FLUCH- UND SEGENSFORMELN

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

a) Einleitung

- a (25) Was diese Worte des Vertrags angeht, [den] der Großfürst von **Hatti** mit Riama[šeša mai
]amana, dem Großkönig (26) [von Ägypten abgeschlossen hat],
b [die sind] schriftlich (niedergelegt) auf dieser Silbertafel,
a' Was diese Worte angeht:
A Die tausend Gottheiten, seien es männliche Gottheiten, seien es weibliche Gottheiten aus den
(Gottheiten) des Landes **Hatti**,
B und die tausend Gottheiten, seien es männliche Gottheiten, seien es weibliche Gottheiten aus
den (Gottheiten) des Landes Ägypten,
C die sind bei mir als Zeugen, die diese Worte [hör]en:

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

b) Zumeist Wettergötter

- b 1 (26) der Sonnengott, der Herr des Himmels,
b 2 die (!) Sonnengottheit der Stadt Arinna,
b 3 (27) der Seth, der Herr des Himmels,

- b 4 der Seth von **Hatti**,
- b 5 der Seth der Stadt Arinna,
- b 6 der Seth der Stadt Zippalanda,
- b 7 der Seth der Stadt Pit(!)riq,
- b 8 der Seth der Stadt Hissaspa,
- b 9 der Seth der Stadt Sarissa,
- b 10 der Seth der Stadt Halab,
- b 11 der Seth der Stadt Lihsina,
- b 12 der Seth (28) [der Stadt Hu]r[ma]
- b 13 [der Seth] [der Stadt Uda],
- b 14 [der Seth] [der Stadt Sa]pinuwa (*oder Sa[muḫa]*),
- b 15 [der Seth] des [Don]ners (?),
- b 16 der Seth der Stadt Saḫpina,

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

c) Sonstige Götter

- c 1 (28) die ʿAs'tartu des Landes **Hatti**,
- c 2 der Gott von Zitharija,
- c 3 der Gott von Karzis,
- c 4 der Gott von Ḥapantallias,
- c 5 (29) die Göttin der Stadt Karaḫna,
- c 6 die Göttin von Šer,
- c 7 die Göttin von Ninuwa,
- c 8 die Göttin von Šen,
- c 9 der Gott < von > Ninatta,
- c 10 der Gott [von Ku]litta,
- c 11 der Gott von Ḥbt, die Königin des Himmels,
- c 12 die Götter, < die > Herren des Eides,
- c 13 die Göttin, die Herrin der Erde,
- c 14 {die Herrin des Eides,}
- c 15 Išhara, die Herrin < des Eides >,

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

d) Götter von **Hatti**, Kizzuwatna und Ägypten; kosmische Götter

- d 1 < die männlichen Gottheiten, >
- d 2 < die weiblichen Gottheiten, >
- d 3 < die > (30) Berge
- d 4 < (und) die > Flüsse des Landes **Hatti**;
- d 5 die < männlichen > Gottheiten
- d 6 < (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten > des Landes Qizuwatna;
- d 7 Amun,
- d 8 der Sonnengott
- d 9 (und) Seth;
- d 10 die männlichen Gottheiten,
- d 11 die weiblichen Gottheiten,
- d 12 die Berge
- d 13 (und) die Flüsse des Landes Ägypten.
- d 14 Der Himmel,
- d 15 die Erde,
- d 16 das große Meer,
- d 17 der Wind
- d 18 (und) die Sturmwolken.

§§ [22+23]; 24+25 Fluch bei Verletzung des Vertrags; Segen bei Einhaltung des Vertrags
 < § 22 Fluch gegen Ramses und die Ägypter bei Verletzung des Vertrags >
 Entfällt

Die §§ [22] (und 24) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 27 des babylonischen Textes (= § 26 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags),

< § 23 Segen für Ramses und die Ägypter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§ [23] (und 25) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 26 des babylonischen Textes (= § 27 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags),

< § 24 Fluch gegen Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Verletzung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§24 (und [22]) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 27 des babylonischen Textes (= § 26 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags).

< § 25 Segen für Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags >

Entfällt

Die §§25 (und [23]) fielen im hieroglyphischen Text weg, da deren Inhalt in geraffter Form in § 26 des babylonischen Textes (= § 27 des hieroglyphischen Textes) folgte (Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags).

§ 26 Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags

- x Was diese Worte angeht,
- b! (31) die auf dieser Silbertafel des Landes **Hatti** und des Landes Ägypten stehen,
- a! (und) was den angeht, der sie nicht halten wird,
- c
- d
- e
- A so sollen die 1000 Götter des Landes **Hatti**
- B sowie die 1000 Götter des Landes Ägypten
- C
- D+x sein Haus,
- y sein Land
- z (und) seine Diener vernichten.

§ 27 Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

- a Was aber den angeht, der diese Worte halten wird,
- b die auf dieser Silbertafel stehen,
- c - seien sie < Leute > aus **Hatti**
- d (oder) seien sie Leute aus Ägypten -
- e (32) und die sie nicht außer acht lassen werden,
- A so sollen die 1000 Götter des Landes **Hatti**
- B sowie die 1000 Götter des Landes Ägypten
- D! ihn gesund sein lassen
- C!+x (und) ihn leben lassen mitsamt seinen Häusern,
- y mitsamt seinem Land
- z (und) mitsamt seinen Dienern.

3. Anhang

§ 28; 29 Beschreibung der Siegel der von Hattušili ausgestellten Vertragstafel mit der ägyptischen Übersetzung der Siegellegenden

§ 28 Das Siegel auf der Vorderseite der Tafel

- 1 Was in der Mitte der Silbertafel auf ihrer Vorderseite ist:
2 Eine figürliche Darstellung mit dem Bild des Seth beim Umarmen [des Bildes des]
Groß[fürsten von **Hatti**]
3 umgeben von einer Randinschrift mit dem Wortlaut:
4 = 13 „Das Siegel des Seth,
5 = 14 des Herrschers des Himmels;
6 das Siegel des Vertrags, den Hattušili abgeschlossen hat,
7 der Großfürst (37) von **Hatti**, der Starke,
8 der Sohn des Muršili, des Großfürsten von **Hatti**, des Starken.
9
10
11
12 [Was] innerhalb der Umrandung der figürlichen Darstellung ist:
13 = 4 Das Sie[gel des Seth,]
14 = 5 [des Herrschers des Himmels].

§ 29 Das Siegel auf der Rückseite der Tafel

- 1 [Was in der Mitte auf] ihrer Rückseite ist:
2 Eine figürliche Darstellung mit dem weiblichen Bild [der] Göttin von **Hatti**, beim Umarmen
des weiblichen Bildes der Fürstin von **Hatti**,
3 umgeben von einer Randinschrift mit dem Wortlaut:
4 = 13 „Das Siegel des (38) Sonnengottes der Stadt Arinna,
5 = 14 des Herrn des Landes;
6 das Siegel der Puduḥepa,
7 der Fürstin des Landes **Hatti**,
8 der Tochter des Landes Kizzuwatna,
9 der [Priesterin(?) des Sonnengottes] von Arinna
10 der Herrin des Landes,
11 der Dienerin der Göttin“.
12 [Was] innerhalb der Umrandung der figürlichen Darstellung ist:
13 = 4 Das Siegel des Sonnengottes von Arinna,
14 = 5 des Herrn jeden Landes.

§ 30 Siehe hinter § 27, S. 80, Babylonischer Text (Übersetzung).

- Related to Section 1.2.1.2¹⁷³⁴

12. CTH 91: TREATY OF ḪATTUŠILI III WITH RAMSES II OF EGYPT (Appendix A)
(Akkadian; 13th century BC: 1269 BC)

DEL MONTE – TISCHLER 1978:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo I 7 Vs. 4 und passim (akk.)
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri</i>	KBo I 25+ passim (akk.)

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo I 25+ KUB III 11+ KUB XLVIII 73 Vs. 19 (br.), 22

EDEL 1997, pp. 18-80:

Transliteration

A. ÜBERSCHRIFT DES VERTRAGS AUF DER SILBERTAFEL

§ 1A Überschrift im engeren Sinn

- la (1) [rikiltu ša ^mR]iamaš[eša mai-]^damana sarru rabû šar [māt **Miṣrī** īpušu]
b
c
d [muḫḫi tuppi ša kaspi]
e (2) qadu ^mḪattušili [šarri rabî] šar māt Ḫatti aḫī-šu
f
g
h an[a māt **Miṣrī** qadu māt Ḫatti]
i (3) ana nadāni salām[a rabā aḫḫu]tti rabīti
k ina bēri-šunu adi d[ārīti]

§ 1B Absender - Adressat als Vertragspartner

- 2a kīa[m] (4) ^mRiamašeša mai-[^d]amana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣrī** qarrā[du š]a gabbi
mātāti
b mār (5) ^mMinmuaria šarri rabî šar māt **Miṣrī** qarrādi
c mār māri-šu ša ^mMinpaḫtaria šarri rabî (6) šar māt **Miṣrī** qarrādi
d ana ^mḪattušili šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti qarrādi
e mār ^mMuršili šarri rabî (7) šar māt Ḫatti qarrādi
f mār māri-šu ša ^mŠuppiluliuma šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti qarrādi

§ 1C Zweck des Vertrags

- 3a
b amur anumma attadin (8) aḫḫutt[a dam]iqta salāma damqa
c ina bēri-[n]ni adi dārīti
d ana nadāni salāma damqa aḫḫūta damiqta
e (9) in[a bērit] māt **Miṣrī** qadu māt Ḫatti adi dārīti

§ 2 Vorgeschichte des Vertrags

- 4a kīam
b amur tēma ša šarri rabî šar māt **Miṣrī** (10) [u ša šarri rabî] šar māt Ḫatti ultu dārīti
c ili ul inandin ana epēši nukurta
d ina bēri-šunu (11) [ina rikilti ad]i dārīti
5a
b
*c
*d

¹⁷³⁴ The number of the entries quoted here are the same as in section 1.2.1.2.

B. ALLGEMEINE FREUNDSCHAFTSERKLÄRUNGEN

§ 3 Ramses hat den Vertrag wieder aufgenommen

- 6a
b amur ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣri** < ina rikilti >
c < ana nadāni > ana epēši tēma
d (12) š[a ^dUTU īpušu] u ša ^dIM īpušu
e ana māt **Miṣri** qadu māt Ḫatti
f ina tēmī-šu < nu > ša ultu dārīti
g (13) an[a lā nad]āni ana epēši nukurta ina bē[rī-šunu an]a šati
7a u adukul (14) ^mRi[amašeš]a mai-^damana šarru rabû šar māt [**Miṣri**] ītepuš ina rikilti
b muḫḫi ṭuppi ša kaspi
c (15) qadu [^mḪattušili]li šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti aḫī-šu a[di ū]mi annî
d ana nadāni sulummā damqa aḫḫūta damiqta
e (16) ina b[ērī-ni adi] dārīti
8 u ŠEŠ-ḫū i[tti-ja]
9 < u salim itti-ja >
10 u ŠEŠ-āku itti-šu
11 u salmāku itti-šu (17) adi d[ārīti]
12
13
14 [amur n]īnu n{in} ippuṣ aḫ[ḫ]ūt-ni u [salā]ma-ni
15
16a u damiq eli aḫḫūti u salāmi ša pānānu
b (18) ša māt **Miṣri** u mā]t Ḫatti
17a amur ^mRijamašeša šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣri**
b ina salāmi damqi ina aḫḫutti damiqti
c (19) itti [^mḪattušili]li šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti
18a amur mārū ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana < šarri rabî > šar māt **Miṣri** (20) salmū aḫ[ḫū]
b [qad]u mārī ša ^mḪattušili šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti adi dārīti
19 u šunu aki tēmī-ni (21) ša aḫḫū[t-ni u sa]lām-ni
20a u māt **Miṣri** qadu māt Ḫatti
b u salmū ŠEŠ^{meš} kī nīnu adi dārīti
21

§ 4A;4B. Gegenseitiges Nichtangriff s versprechen

§ 4A. Ramses soll Ḫatti nicht angreifen

- 22a (22) u ^mRia[masšeš]a mai-^damana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣri** lā ugarra < ana > māt Ḫatti
b ana laqê mimma (23) ina libbī-š[u] iṣṣāti

§ 4B. Ḫattušili soll Ägypten nicht angreifen

- 23a u ^mḪattušili šarru rabû šar māt Ḫatti lā ugarra ana māt **Miṣri**
b (24) ana laqê [mimm]a ina libbī-šu iṣṣāti

§ 5A;5B. Ramses und Ḫattušili erneuern den früheren Vertrag

§ 5A. Ramses erneuert den Vertrag

- 24a [a]mur paršu ša dārīti
b ša ^dUTU u ^dIM īpušū (25) ana māt **Miṣri** q]adu māt Ḫa[t]ti
c salāma u aḫḫutta
d ana lā nadāni nukurta ina bēri-šunu
e
f
25a (26) u amur ^mR[iamašeš]a mai-^damana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣri** iṣṣabat-šu
b ana epēši šulmi adi ūmi annî
26a (27) amur māt **Miṣri** qadu māt Ḫatti

b u salmū u ŠEŠ-ḫū adi dārītū

< § 5B. *Ḫattušili erneuert den Vertrag* >

Entfällt

27a

b

28

29

C. SPEZIELLE BESTIMMUNGEN

§§ 6+7; 8+9 *Defensivbündnis gegen äußere und innere Feinde*

§ 6 *Ramses soll Ḫattušili gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen*

a u šumma nakru šanū (28) illaka ana māt Ḫatti

b u ḫattušil[i šar māt Ḫatt]i išappar ana ajāši

c ummā: “alka ana ajāši (29) ana rēšūtī-ja ana šašu”

A

B

C

D

E

F

G u ḫRi[amašeša ma]i-^damana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣrī** (30) išappar šābī-šu (u) narkabāti-šu

H u idakkū [nakir-šu]

I [u g]imilla utār a[n]a māt Ḫatti

§ 7 *Ramses soll Ḫattušili gegen innere Feinde unterstützen*

a (31) u šumma ḫattušili šarru rabû šar māt Ḫatti [irta’u]b

a’ ana muḫḫi ard[ī-š]u attū-šu

b [u i]ḫtaṭū ana muḫḫi-šu

c’

d (32) u tašappar ana ḫRiamašeša šarri rabî šar māt **Miṣ[rī] mu]ḫḫi-šu**

e

A adi ḫRiamaš[eša m]ai-^damana (33) šābī-šu narkabāti-šu išappar

B u uḫallaqū

C gabbi [š]a ira’ub ana muḫḫi-šunu

§ 8 *Ḫattušili soll Ramses gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen*

a [u šumm]a nakru sanū illaka (34) ana māt **Miṣrī**

b u ḫRiamašeša mai-^damana [šar m]āt **Miṣrī** aḫū-ka išap[par] ana ḫattušili (35) šar māt Ḫatti aḫī-šu

c ummā: “alka ana rēšūtī-ja ana muḫḫi-šu”

A

B

C

D

E

F

G adi ḫattu[šili ša]r māt Ḫatti (36) išappar šābī-šu narkabāti-šu

H u idāk nakrī-ja

I

§ 9 *Ḫattušili soll Ramses gegen innere Feinde unterstützen*

a u šu[m]ma ḫRiamašeša ma[i]-^da[m]a[n]a [ša]r [mā]t **Miṣrī** (37) irta’ub

a’ ana muḫḫi ardī attū-šu

b u šunu ṭep[š]ū ḫīṭa ana muḫḫi[-šu]

c

d u [anāk]u a[šappa]r (38) ana ḫattušili (šarri rabî) šar māt Ḫatti aḫī-ja muḫḫi-šu

e
 A adi ^mHattušil[i šarru rabû šar māt Ḫa]tti aḫū-ja (39) išappar šābī[-šu] narkabāti-šu
 B u uḫallaqū
 C gabbī [ša] anāku ar[a'ub ana muḫḫi-šunu]

§ 10 Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren

la
 b
 2a (40) u amur māru š[a ^m]Hattušili šar māt Ḫatti l[ū i]nneppuš šarru{^rti¹} māt Ḫatti
 b (41) [in]a ašri ^mHattušili abī-šu
 c arki šanāti mādūti ša ^mHattuš[ili šar māt Ḫ]atti
 3
 4
 5
 6a
 b
 c
 7a (42) [u] šumma mā[rū] ša māt Ḫatti ītepsū ḫīṭa ana muḫḫi-šu
 b
 A
 B adi [^mRiamašeša] mai-^dama[n]a (43) išappar š[ābī] narkabāti ana < rēšūtī-šu
 C
 D u > utâr gimilla ana šâšu
 D'

< § 10B Ḫattušili soll die Thronfolge des ägyptischen Kronprinzen garantieren >
 Entfällt

§§ 11 + 12; 13 + 14 Auslieferung hochrangiger Flüchtlinge und von Flüchtlingsgruppen (§§ 11, 13);
 Auslieferung einfacher Flüchtlinge (§§ 12, 14)

§ 11 Ramses soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

a [u šumma 1 amīlu rabû inn]ammit (44) ina māt Ḫa[tti]
 b
 c u [šu]mma 1 ālu
 d
 e
 f ina mātā[ti š]a šar māt Ḫatti
 g u i[llaka ana ^mRi]amašeša mai-^dam[ana] (45) šarri rabî ša[r māt **Miṣri**]
 A
 B [adi ^mR]iamaše[ša mai-^damana šarru rabû šar māt **Miṣri**] iṣabbat-šunu < ti >
 C
 D (46) u inan[din-šunūti ina qāt ^mHattušili šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti bēlī-šunu]
 E

§ 12 Ramses soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

a [u šum]ma 1 amīlu illaka
 b (47) < u > šumma 2 [amīlū ša lā idī]
 c
 g [u illakū ana ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana]
 h ana epēši arduṭti ana ša[nūti]
 B (48) adi ^mR[iamašeša mai-^damana iṣabbat-šunūti]
 D [u inandin-šunūti ina qāt ^mḪa]ttušili šar māt Ḫatti
 E
 C

§ 13 Ḫattušili soll aus Amurru kommende hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a (49) u šum[ma l amīlu rabû innammit ina māt **Miṣrī**]
 b [u illaka ana māt Amurri]
 c [u šu]mma ištēn ālu
 d
 e
 f < ina mātāti ša šar māt **Miṣrī** >
 g=b (50) u i[llaka ana šar māt Amurri]
 A
 B [adi ^mBentešina šar māt Amurri **išabbat**-šunūti]
 C₁ [u u]šebbil-šunūti ana šar māt Ḫa[tti] (51) bēlī-[šu]
 C₂ [u ^mḪattušili šarru rabû šar māt Ḫatti ušebbil-šunuti ana ^mRiamašeša mai-^d]amana šarri rabî šar māt
Miṣrī
 D
 E

§ 14 *Ḫattušili soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

- a (52) u [šumma l amīlu innambit]
 b [u šumma 2 amīlū ša lā idī]
 c [u innambitū ina māti ša šar māt **Miṣrī**]
 g
 h (53) u l[š ippušū arduṭta ana šâšu]
 B
 D [adi ^mḪattušili šarru rabû šar māt Ḫatti in]andin-šunūti ina qāt aḫī'
 E (54) u i[na māt Ḫatti lā ušēšib-šunūti]
 C

§§ 15; 16 *Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge*

§ 15 *Ramses soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

- a [u šumma innambit l kabtu ina māt Ḫatti]
 b [u šumma 2] amīlū
 c (55) u l[ā ippušū arduṭta ana šar māt Ḫatti]
 d [u innambitū ina māti ša šarri rabî šar māt Ḫ]atti
 e=c' (56) ana l[ā epēši arduṭti ana šâšu]
 B [adi ^mRiamašeša mai-^d]amana **išabbat**-šunūti]
 C u ušebbil-šunūti (57) ana [^mḪattušili šarri rabî šar māt Ḫatti] aḫī-š[u]
 E [u lā ušēšib-šunūti ina māt **Miṣrī**]

§ 16 *Ḫattušili soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

- a [u šumma] innambit (58) l k[abtu ina māt **Miṣrī**]
 b [u šumma 2 amīlū]
 c
 g [u ill]akū ana m[āt Ḫatti]
 h
 B [adi ^mḪa]ttušili (59) šar[ru rabû šar māt Ḫatti **išabbat**-šunūti]
 C [u uš]ebbil-šunūti ana ^mR[iamašeša mai]-^d]amana (60) [šarri rabî šar māt **Miṣrī** aḫī-šu]
 E

§§ 17; 18 *Amnestie für ausgelieferte Flüchtlinge*

§ 17 *Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Ḫattušili soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren*

- a [u šumma] innabbit l amīlu in[a māt Ḫatti]
 b [u šumm a 2 amīlū (61) [u šumma 3 amīlū]
 c [u illakū-ni ana] ^mRiamašeša mai-^d]amana šarri rabî šar māt **Miṣrī** aḫī(=ŠEŠ-*hi*)
 B (62) [ad]i [^mRiamašeša] mai-^d]amana šarru rab[û šar māt **Miṣrī** **išabbat**-šunūti]
 C [u ušebbil-šunūti an]a ^mḪattušili aḫī-šu(=ŠEŠ-*šu*)
 F (63) u š[un]u ŠEŠ-ú
 G

H u ḫīṭa-šunu [lā immidū-šunūti]
 I
 K
 L
 M [u lišānī-šunu īnē-šunu lā i]nappalū
 N (64) u uznē-šunu šēp[ē-šunu lā inakkisū]
 O [u bītātī-šunu lā uḫallaqū qadu assātī-šunu qad]u šeḫḫerūtī-šunu
 P

§ 18 *Ḫattušili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Ramses soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren*

a (65) u šumma [innambit l amīlu ina māti ša ^mRiamašeša šarri rabī šar māt **Miṣrī**]
 b u šumma 2 amīl[ū] u šumma 3 amīlū
 c (66) u i[llakū-ni ana ^mḪattušili šarri rabī] šar māt Ḫatti aḫī[-ja]
 B [adi ^mḪattušili šarru rabū šar māt Ḫ]atti (67) aḫū-j[a i]šabbat-šunūti
 C u uše[bbil-šunūti ana ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana šarri rabī šar] māt **Miṣrī**
 F (68) u ^mRiamašeša šarru rabū š[ar māt **Miṣrī** u ^mḪattušili ŠEŠ-ú]
 G
 H [u ḫīṭa-šunu lā immidū-šunūti]
 I
 K
 L
 M [u lišānī-šunu ī]nē-šunu (69) lā inappalū
 N u [uznē-šunu šēpē-šunu lā inakkisū]
 O [u bītātī-šunu lā uḫallaqū (70) qa]du assātī-šunu qadu šeḫḫerūtī-šunu
 P

§§ 19; 20 *Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge (zusammenfassende Wiederholung der §§ 11 + 12 und 13 + 14)*

§ 19 *Ramses soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

a [u šumma l amīlu rabū innambit ina māt Ḫatti]
 b [u šumma l ālu]
 c [u innabbitū ina māt] Ḫatti
 d (71) u illakū a[na māt **Miṣrī**]
 e=a' [u šumma l amīlu innambit ina māt Ḫatti]
 f=b' [u šumma 2 amīlū]
 g=c' [u inna]bbitū (72) ina māt Ḫatt[i]
 h=d' [ana alāki ana māt **Miṣrī**]
 C [adi ^mRiamašeša ušebbil-šunūti ana aḫī-šu a]ppunāna
 F' (73) amur mārū [māt Ḫatti u mārū māt **Miṣrī** šalmū]

§ 20 *Ḫattušili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

a [u šumma amīlū innabbitū ina māt **Miṣrī**]
 b
 c
 d
 e
 f
 g
 h ana alāki (74) [ana māt Ḫatti]
 C [adi ^mḪattušili šarru rabū šar māt Ḫatti ušebbil-šunūti ana aḫī-šu appu]nāna
 F' amur ^{< m >}Ḫ[attušili] (75) [šarru rabū šar māt Ḫatti]
 [u ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana šarru rabū šar māt **Miṣrī**] aḫū-ka š[almū]

D. SCHWURGÖTTERLISTE; FLUCH- UND SEGENSEFORMELN

§ 21 *Schwurgötterliste*

a) *Einleitung*

Weggebrochen

Babylonische und hethitische Parallelen aus anderen Verträgen:

a	mīnumme awāte ^{meš} ša riksi u ša māmīti	
b	ina libbi ṭuppi annīti šaṭrat	
a'		
A.B	[<i>LI-IM</i> DINGIR ^{meš} . . .]	DINGIR ^{meš} ša EN ^{meš} māmīti ...
C	naš kut[ruaḥḥun]	-----
	nu ištamaškandu	liltemû
	[nu kutrueš ašandu]	u lû šībūtu

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

b) Zumeist Wettergötter

Weggebrochen

Entsprechungen zur hieroglyphischen Liste aus anderen Verträgen:

b 1	^d UTU EN šamê
b 2	^d UTU ^{uru} Arinna
b 3	^d U EN šamê
b 4	^d IM ^{uru} Ḫatti
b 5	^d IM ^{uru} TÚL-na
b 6	^d IM ^{uru} Zippalanda
b 7	^d U ^{uru} Pittejarik
b 8	^d U ^{uru} Ḫiššašḥapa
b 9	^d U ^{uru} Šarišša
b 10	^d IM ^{uru} Ḫalab
b 11	^d U ^{uru} Liḫzina
b 12	^d U ^{uru} Hurma
b 13	^d U ^{uru} Uda
b 14	^d U ^{uru} Šapinuwa <i>oder</i> Šamuḫa
b 15	[^d U ... ?]
b 16	^d U ^{uru} Šaḫpina

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

c) Sonstige Götter

Weggebrochen; Entsprechungen zur hieroglyphischen Liste aus anderen Verträgen:

c 1	^d LAMMA KUR Ḫatti
c 2	^d Ziḫarija
c 3	^d Karziš
c 4	^d Ḫapantalijaš
c 5	^d LAMMA ^{uru} Karaḥna
c 6	^d IŠTAR LÍL (= šēri)
c 7	^d IŠTAR ^{uru} Ninuwa
c 8	^d IŠTAR šēni
c 9	^d Ninatta
c 10	^d Kulitta
c 11	^d Ḫepat šarrat šamê
c 12	^d XXX bēi nīš ilim
c 13	^d EREŠ.KI.GAL
c 14	{šarrat māmīti}
c 15	^d Išḫara šarrat nīš ilim

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

d) Götter von Ḫatti, Kizzuwatna und Ägypten; kosmische Götter

Weggebrochen; Entsprechungen aus anderen Verträgen:

d 1	DINGIR ^{meš} LÚ ^{meš}
d 2	DINGIR ^{meš} MUNUS ^{meš} ša kur ^{uru} Ḫatti
d 3	

- d 4
d 5 DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš}
d 6 DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša KUR^{uru} Kizzuwatni
d 7 [^damana]
d 8 [^dUTU]
d 9 [^dIM]
d 10 DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš}
d 11 DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša < KUR >^{uru} Amurri
d 12 HUR.SAG^{meš}
d 13 ÍD^{meš}
d 14 AN
d 15 KI
d 16 A.AB.BA GAL
d 17 IM^{meš}
d 18 urpī^{meš}

§§ [22+23]; 24+25 Fluch bei Verletzung des Vertrags; Segen bei Einhaltung des Vertrags
§ 22 Fluch gegen Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Verletzung des Vertrags

Weggebrochen

- a' [[([Rs. -4']) šumma ^mHattušili ([-3']) u mārū māt Hatti rikilta annīta lā inaššarū]
A [adi DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš} DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša māt Hatti]
B [([-2']) u DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš} DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša māt **Miṣrī**]
C [uḫallaqū zēra ša ^mHattušili qadu mārī māt Hatti]

§ 23 Segen für Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

Weggebrochen

- a [[(-1')] u šumma ^mHattušili u mārū māt Hatti rikilta annīta inaššarū]
A' [[(0')] adi ilū ša māmīti inaššarū-šunūti]
B' [u pānī-šunu unammarū]

§ 24 Fluch gegen Ramses und die Ägypter bei Verletzung des Vertrags

- a' [[([Rs. 0')] u šumma ^mRiamašeša (1') mai-^damana u mārū māt **Miṣrī** rikilta annīta lā inaššarū]
A [adi DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš}] (2') DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša māt **Miṣrī**]
B [u DINGIR^{meš} LÚ^{meš} DINGIR^{meš} MUNUS^{meš} ša māt Hatti]
C [uḫallaqū zēra] (3') ša ^mRiama[šeša mai-^damana qadu mārī māt **Miṣrī**]

§ 25 Segen für Ramses und die Ägypter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

- a [u šumma ^mRiamašeša mai-^damana] (4') u mārū < māt > **Miṣrī** rikilta annīta inaššarū]
A' [adi ilū ša māmīti inaššarū-šunūti]
B' (5') u pānī-š[unu unammarū]

§ 26 Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

- a [u ša inaššar amātē annāti]
b [ša muḫḫi ṭuppi annīti ša kaspi]
c
d
e
A (6') adi ilū [rabūtu ša māt Hatti]
B [qadu ilī rabūti ša māt **Miṣrī**]
C [uballaṭū-šu]
D+x [u] (7') ušallam[ū-šu qadu bītātī-šu]
y [mātī-šu]
z [ardī-šu]

§ 27 Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags

- a [u ša ul inaššar amātē annāti]

b [ša muḫḫi ṭuppi annīti ša kaspi]
 c
 d
 e
 A [adi] (8') ilū ra[bûtu ša māt Ḫatti]
 B [qadu ilī rabûti ša māt **Miṣri**]
 C
 D+x [uḫallaqū bīs-su]
 y [mās-su]
 z [ardī-šu]

§ 30 Die Siegel der von Ramses ausgestellten Vertragstafel

(10') ^{na4} KĪŠI[B ša ...

(11') ^{na4} KĪŠIB ša [...

Translation

A. ÜBERSCHRIFT DES VERTRAGS AUF DER SILBERTAFEL

§ 1A Überschrift im engeren Sinn

l a (1) [Der Vertrag, den R]iamaš[eša mai-]amana, der Großkönig, der König [des Landes **Ägypten**,]
 b
 c
 d [auf einer Silbertafel geschlossen hat]
 e (2) mit Ḫattušili, [dem Gro]ß[könig], dem König des Landes Ḫatti, seinem Bruder,
 f
 g
 h für [das Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫatti],
 i (3) um so (auch) [großen] Friede[n] und große [Brüders]chaft
 k zwischen ihnen für i[mmer] zu stiften.

§ 1B Absender-Adressat als Vertragspartner

2a S[o] (sagt) (4) Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, der Hel[d
 a]ller Länder,
 b der Soh[n] des (5) Minmuaria, des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, des Helden,
 c der Enkel des Minpaḫtaria, des Großkönigs, (6) des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, des Helden,
 d zu Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, dem Helden,
 e dem Sohn des Muršili, des Großkönigs, (7) des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, des Helden,
 f dem Enkel des Šuppiluliuma, des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, des Helden:

§ 1C Zweck des Vertrags

3a
 b Siehe, ich habe jetzt (8) [gu]te Brüderscha[ft] und guten Frieden
 c zwischen uns für immer gestiftet,
 d um so (auch) guten Frieden und gute Brüderschaft
 e (9) zw[ischen] dem Lande **Ägypten** und dem Lande Ḫatti für immer [zu stiften.]

§ 2 Vorgeschichte des Vertrags

4a So (spricht er):
 b Siehe, was das Verhältnis des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, (10) [und des
 Großkönigs], des Königs des Landes Ḫatti, seit jeher angeht,
 c so wollte der Gott (11) [durch einen Vertrag au]f ewig nicht zulassen,
 d daß Feindschaft zwischen ihnen entsteht.

5a
 b
 *c
 *d

B. ALLGEMEINE FREUNDSCHAFTSERKLÄRUNGEN

§ 3 Ramses hat den Vertrag wieder aufgenommen

6a

b Siehe, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, < befindet sich in dem Vertrag >

c < um > das Verhältnis entstehen < zu lassen >,

d (12) d[as der Sonnengott geschaffen hat, un]d das der Wettergott geschaffen hat

e für das Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫatti

f in ihrem Verhältnis von Ewigkeit her, (und)

g (13) um zwische[n ihnen n]iemals Feindschaft entstehen zu [las]sen.

7a Fürwahr, (14) Ri[amašeš]a, mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes [**Ägypten**], hat sich verbündet durch den Vertrag

b auf der Silbertafel

c (15) mit [Ḫattušili], dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti, seinem Bruder, v[om heutigen Ta]ge [an],

d+e um (16) zwischen uns für] immer guten Frieden und gute Bruderschaft zu stiften,

8 indem er mi[t mir] verbrüdet ist,

9 < indem er mit mir friedlich ist, >

10 indem ich mit ihm verbrüdet bin (und)

11 indem ich mit ihm (17) für i[mmer] friedlich bin.

12

13

14 [Siehe, w]ir machen [unsere] Bruderschaft (und) unseren [Frie]den,

15

16a indem er besser ist als die Bruderschaft (und) der Friede von früher,

b die es im Land **Ägypten** und im Lan]d Ḫatti gab.

17a Siehe, Rijamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**,

b befindet sich in gutem Frieden (und) in guter Bruderschaft

c mit [Ḫattušili], dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti.

18a Siehe, die Söhne des Riamašeša mai-amana, des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes **Ägypten**, sind friedlich (und) verbrü[der]t

b [mit] den Söhnen des Ḫattušili, des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫatti für immer,

19 indem sie sich entsprechend unserem Verhältnis [unserer] Bruderschaft und] unseres [Frie]dens (verhalten).

20a und indem das Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫatti

b friedlich und verbrüdet sind wie wir auf ewig.

21

§ 4A;4B Gegenseitiges Nichtangriff s versprechen

§ 4A Ramses soll Ḫatti nicht angreifen

22a Ria[mašeš]a mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, soll niemals das Land Ḫatti angreifen,

b um irgendetwas (23) aus i[hm] wegzunehmen.

§ 4B Ḫattušili soll Ägypten nicht angreifen

23a Und Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, soll niemals das Land **Ägypten** angreifen,

b (24) um irgend [etwas] aus ihm wegzunehmen.

§ 5A;5B Ramses und Ḫattušili erneuern den früheren Vertrag

§ 5A Ramses erneuert den Vertrag

24a Siehe, die für die Ewigkeit festgelegte Ordnung,

b die der Sonnengott und der Wettergott (25) für das Land **Ägypten** und das Land Ḫatti geschaffen haben,

c (nämlich) Frieden und Bruderschaft,

d um keine Feindschaft zwischen ihnen zuzulassen, -

e
f

25a (26) siehe, Riamašeša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, hat sie
wiederaufgenommen

b um Frieden zu schaffen von diesem Tage an.

26a (27) Siehe, das Land Ägypten und das Land Ḫatti

b sind befriedet und verbrüderet auf ewig.

< § 5B Ḫattušili erneuert den Vertrag >

Entfällt

27a

b

28

29

C. SPEZIELLE BESTIMMUNGEN

§§ 6+7, 8+9 *Defensivbündnis gegen äußere und innere Feinde*

§ 6 *Ramses soll Ḫattušili gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen*

a Und wenn ein auswärtiger Feind (28) gegen das Land Ḫatti zieht,

b und Ḫattušil[i, der König des Landes Ḫatt]i, schickt zu mir

c mit den Worten: „Komm zu mir (29) zu meiner Hilfe gegen ihn!“,

A

B

C

D

E

F

G so soll Ri[amašeša ma]i-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, (30) seine Truppen
und seine Wagen senden,

H und sie sollen [seinen Feind] erschlagen

I [und er soll de]m Lande Ḫatti [Ge]nugtuung verschaffen.

§ 7 *Ramses soll Ḫattušili gegen innere Feinde unterstützen*

a (31) Und wenn Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti,

a' auf Unterta[nen] von sich [zornig sein sollte],

b nachdem sie sich gegen ihn vergangen haben,

c

d (32) und du dem Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypt[ten]**, des]halb
schickst,

e

A dann soll Riamaš[eša m]ai-amana (33) seine Truppen und seine Wagen schicken,

B und die sollen alle vernichten,

C auf die er zornig ist.

§ 8 *Ḫattušili soll Ramses gegen äußere Feinde unterstützen*

a [Und wen]n ein auswärtiger Feind (34) gegen das Land **Ägypten** zieht,

b und Riamašeša mai-amana, [der König des La]ndes **Ägypten**, dein Bruder, zu Ḫattušili, (35) dem
König des Landes Ḫatti, seinem Bruder, schickt,

c mit den Worten: „Komm zu meiner Hilfe gegen ihn!“

A

B

C

D

E

F

G dann soll Ḫattu[šili, der Köni]g des Landes Ḫatti, (36) seine Truppen und seine Wagen senden

H und meinen Feind erschlagen.

§ 9 *Hattušili soll Ramses gegen innere Feinde unterstützen*

a Und wenn Riamašeša ma[i-amana, der Köni]g [des Land]es **Ägypten**,
a' (37) auf Untertanen von sich zornig sein sollte,
b nachdem sie ein Vergehen gegen [ihn] verübt haben,
c
d und [ic]h (38) zu Hattušili, (dem Großkönig)²⁹, dem König des Landes Hatti, meinem Bruder,
deshalb s[chick]e,
A dann soll Hattušil[i, der Großkönig, der König des Landes H]atti, mein Bruder, (39) [seine] Truppen
und seine Wagen schicken,
B und die sollen alle vernichten,
C [auf die] ich zo[rnig bin].

§ 10 *Ramses soll die Thronfolge des hethitischen Kronprinzen garantieren*

la
b
2a (40) Und siehe, der Sohn des Hattušili, des Königs des Landes Hatti, so[ll] zum König des Landes
Hat[ti] gemacht werden
b (41) [a]n der Stelle des Hattušili, seines Vaters,
c nach vielen Jahren des Hattuš[ili, des Königs des Landes H]atti.
3
4
5
6a
b
c
7a (42) [Und] wenn die Söh[ne] des Landes Hatti ein Vergehen gegen ihn verüben sollten,
b
A
B dann soll [Riamašeša] mai-amana (43) Tr[uppen und W]agen zu < seiner Hilfe > schicken
C
D < und > ihm Genugtuung verschaffen
D'

< § 10B *Hattušili soll die Thronfolge des ägyptischen Kronprinzen garantieren* >

Entfällt

§§ 11 + 12; 13 + 14 *Auslieferung hochrangiger Flüchtlinge und von Flüchtlingsgruppen; Auslieferung einfacher Flüchtlinge*

§ 11 *Ramses soll hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern*

a [Und wenn ein Großer] (44) aus dem Lande H[atti f]lieht,
b
c oder eine Stadt
d
e
f aus den Länder[n des Königs des Landes Hatti,]
g [und zu Ri]amašeša mai-am[ana], (45) dem Großkönig, dem Köni[g des Landes **Ägypten** kommt,]
A
B [dann] soll sie [Ri]amaše[ša mai-amana, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**] ergreifen
C
D (46) und [sie in die Hand des Hattušili, des Großkönigs, des Königs von Hatti, ihres Herrn], geb[en].
E

§ 12 *Ramses soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern*

- a [Und we]nn ein Mensch kommt,
 b (47) oder zwei [Menschen, die man nicht kennt,]
 c
 g [und sie zu Riamašeša mai-amana kommen]
 h um dem and[eren] Dienst zu leisten,
 B (48) dann [soll sie] R[iamašeša mai-amana ergreifen]
 D [und sie in die Hand des Ḫa]ttušili, des Königs des Landes Ḫat[ti, geben].
 E
 C

§ 13 Ḫattušili soll aus Amurru kommende hochrangige Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingsgruppen ausliefern

- a (49) Und we[nn ein Großer aus dem Lande **Ägypten** flieht]
 b [und ins Land Amurru geht,]
 c [öd]er eine Stadt,
 f < aus den Ländern des Königs des Landes **Ägypten** >
 g=b (50) und [zum König von Amurru] g[eht,]
 A
 B [dann soll sie Bentišina, der König des Landes Amurru, ergreifen]
 C₁ [und] sie zum König des Landes Ḫat[ti, (51) seinem] Herrn bringen lassen,
 C₂ [und Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, soll sie zu [Riamašeša mai-]amana, dem
 Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, [bringen lassen].
 D
 E

§ 14 Ḫattušili soll einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a (52) Und [wenn ein Mensch flieht,]
 b [oder zwei Menschen, die man nicht kennt,]
 c [und sie aus dem Lande des Königs des Landes **Ägypten** [fliehen],
 g
 h (53) und [ihm] ni[cht Dienst leisten wollen,]
 D [dann soll] sie [Ḫattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes Ḫatti], in die Hand des Bruders¹
 [g]eben
 E (54) und [soll sie nicht im Lande Ḫatti bleiben lassen].
 C

§§ 15; 16 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge

§ 15 Ramses soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a [Und wenn ein Vornehmer aus dem Lande Ḫatti flieht,]
 b [oder zwei] Menschen,
 c (55) und [sie dem König des Landes Ḫatti] ni[cht Dienst leisten wollen,]
 d [und sie aus dem Lande des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes Ḫ]atti [fliehen],
 e=c' (56) um [ihm] n[icht mehr Dienst zu leisten,]
 B [dann soll sie Riamašeša mai-amana ergreifen]
 C und sie (57) zu [Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes Ḫatti], se[inem] Bruder, bringen
 lassen,
 E [und er soll sie nicht im Lande **Ägypten** bleiben lassen].

§ 16 Ḫattušili soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a [Und wenn] (58) ein V[ornehmer aus dem Lande **Ägypten**] flieht,
 b [oder zwei Menschen,]
 g [und] sie in das L[and Ḫatti ge]hen,
 B [dann soll Ḫa]ttušili, (59) [der Groß]kö[nig, der König des Landes Ḫatti, sie ergreifen]
 C [und sie] zu R[iamašeša mai-]amana, (60) [dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, seinem
 Bruder, bringen lassen.
 E

§§ 17; 18 Amnestie für ausgelieferte Flüchtlinge

§ 17 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Hattušili soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

- a [Und wenn] ein Mensch aufs dem Lande Hatti] flieht,
b [od]er zwei Menschen, (61) [oder drei Menschen,]
c [und sie zu] Riamašeša mai-[amana, dem Großkönig, dem König des Landes **Ägypten**, dem
Bruder, [gehen,]
B (62) [dan]n [soll sie Riamašeša] mai-amana, der Großkönig, [der König des Landes **Ägypten**,
ergreifen]
C [und sie z]u Hattušili, seinem Bruder, [bringen lassen],
F (63) denn s[i]e sind verbrüdet.
G
H Und ihr Vergehen soll man ihnen nicht anrechnen,
I
K
L
M [und ihre Zungen (und) ihre Augen soll man nicht herausb]eißen,
N (64) und ihre Ohren (und) [ihre] Fü[ße soll man nicht abschneiden,]
O [und ihre Häuser mit ihren Frauen u]nd ihren Kindern [soll man nicht vernichten].
P

§ 18 Hattušili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern; Ramses soll die Ausgelieferten amnestieren

- a (65) Und wenn [ein Mensch aus dem Lande des Riamašeša, des Großkönigs, des Königs des Landes
Ägypten, flieh]t,
b oder zwei Menschen, oder drei Menschen,
c (66) und [sie zu Hattušili, dem Großkönig], dem König des Landes Hatti, [meinem] Bruder, ge[hen,]
B [dann] soll sie [Hattušili, der Großkönig, der König des Landes H]atti, (67) mei[n] Bruder, ergreifen
C und [sie zu Riamašeša mai-amana, dem Großkönig, dem König] des Landes **Ägypten** bring[en
lassen],
F (68) denn Riamašeša, der Großkönig, der König des Landes **Ägypten**, und Hattušili [sind
verbrüdet.]
G
H [Und ihr Vergehen soll man ihnen nicht anrechnen,]
I
K
L
M [und ihre Zungen] (und) ihre [Au]gen (69) soll man nicht herausreißen,
N und [ihre Ohren (und) ihre Füße soll man nicht abschneiden,]
O [und ihre Häuser (70) m]it ihren Frauen und ihren Kindern [soll man nicht vernichten].
P

§§ 19;20 Auslieferung hochrangiger und einfacher Flüchtlinge (zusammenfassende Wiederholung der §§ 11 + 12 und 13 + 14)

§ 19 Ramses soll hochrangige und einfache Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- a [Und wenn ein Vornehmer aus dem Lande Hatti flieht,]
b [oder eine Stadt,]
c [und sie fliehen aus dem Lande] Hatti,
d (71) und sie kommen i[ns Land **Ägypten**,]
e=a' [und wenn ein Mensch aus dem Lande Hatti flieht,]
f=b' [oder zwei Menschen,]
g=c' [und sie fl]iehen (72) aus dem Lande Hatti,
h=d' [um ins Land Ägypten zu gehen,]
C [dann soll sie Riamašeša t]rotzdem [seinem Bruder bringen lassen.]
F' (73) Siehe, die Söhne [des Landes Hatti und die Söhne des Landes **Ägypten** sind in Frieden.]

§ 20 Hattušili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern

- c 6 die Ištar des Feldes,
- c 7 die Ištar der Stadt Ninuwa,
- c 8 die Ištar des Kleinviehs,
- c 9 Ninatta,
- c 10 Kulitta,
- c 11 Hebat, die Königin des Himmels,
- c 12 der Mondgott, der Herr des Eides,
- c 13 Herrin der Unterwelt (als Eigenname der Göttin),
- c 14 {die Königin des Eides }
- c 15 Išhara, die Königin < des Eides. >

§ 21 Schwurgötterliste

d) Götter von Hatti, Kizzuwatna und Ägypten; kosmische Götter Weggebrochen; Entsprechungen aus anderen Verträgen:

- d 1 die männlichen Gottheiten,
- d 2 (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes Hatti;
- d 3
- d 4
- d 5 die männlichen Gottheiten
- d 6 (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes Kizzuwatni;
- d 7 [Amana,]
- d 8 [der Sonnengott]
- d 9 [(und) der Wettergott;]
- d 10 die männlichen Gottheiten
- d 11 (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des < Landes > Amurru;
- d 12 die Berge,
- d 13 die Flüsse,
- d 14 der Himmel,
- d 15 die Erde,
- d 16 das große Meer,
- d 17 die Winde
- d 18 (und) die Wolken.

§§ [22+23]; 24+25 Fluch bei Verletzung des Vertrags; Segen bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

§ 22 Fluch gegen Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Verletzung des Vertrags

- a' [(Rs. -4')] Wenn Hattušili ([-3']) und die Söhne des Landes Hatti diesen Vertrag nicht halten,]
- A [dann sollen die männlichen Gottheiten (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes Hatti]
- B [([-2')] und die männlichen Gottheiten (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes **Ägypten**]
- C [den Samen des Hattušili vernichten mitsamt den Söhnen des Landes Hatti];

§ 23 Segen für Hattušili und die Hethiter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

- a [([-1')] und wenn Hattušili und die Söhne des Landes Hatti diesen Vertrag halten,]
- A' [(0')] dann sollen die Eidesgötter sie beschützen]
- B' [und ihr Antlitz freudig machen.]

§ 24 Fluch gegen Ramses und die Ägypter bei Verletzung des Vertrags

- a' [(Rs. 0')] Und wenn Riamašeša (Rs. 1') mai-amana und die Söhne des Landes **Ägypten** diesen Vertrag nicht halten,]
- A [dann sollen die männlichen Gottheiten] (2') (und) die weibli[chen] Gottheiten [des Landes **Ägypten**]
- B [und die männlichen Gottheiten (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes Hatti]
- C [den Samen] (3') des Riama[šeša mai-amana vernichten mitsamt den Söhnen des Landes **Ägypten**;]

§ 25 Segen für Ramses und die Ägypter bei Einhaltung des Vertrags

- a [und wenn Riamašeša mai-amana] (4') und die Söhne < des Landes > **Ägypten** diesen Vertrag halten,]

- A' [dann sollen die Eidesgötter sie beschützen]
 B' (5') und i[hr] Antlitz [freudig machen.]

§ 26 *Segen für jeden Partner bei Einhaltung des Vertrages*

- a [Was den angeht, der diese Worte hält,]
 b [die auf dieser Silbertafel stehen,]
 c
 d
 e
 A (6') dann sollen die [großen] Götter [des Landes **Ägypten**]
 B [und die großen Götter des Landes Hatti]
 C [ihn leben lassen]
 D+x [und (7') ihn] gesund sein lassen [mitsamt seinen Häusern.]
 y [seinem Land]
 z [(und) seinen Dienern.]

§ 27 *Fluch gegen jeden Partner bei Verletzung des Vertrags*

- a [Was (aber) den angeht, der diese Worte nicht hält,]
 b [die auf dieser Silbertafel stehen,]
 c
 d
 e
 A [dann] sollen (8') die gr[oßen] Götter [des Landes Hatti]
 B [und die großen Götter des Landes **Ägypten**]
 C
 D+x [sein Haus,]
 y [sein Land]
 z [(und) seine Diener vernichten.]

§ 30 *Die Siegel der von Ramses ausgestellten Vertragstafel*

- (10') Das Siegendes ...
 (11') Das Siegeldes [...]

APPENDIX B (Related to Section 1.2.1.2)
Information about Hittite texts (from HPM website)

This appendix collects all the information reported in the HPM site concerning the Hittite texts (in Hittite and Akkadian languages) quoted in section 1.2.1.2; the texts follow the order already presented in that section. In the tables, the following information are provided:

- *Inv. Nr.* = number of the tablet itself
- *Publ.* = publication of the cuneiform transcription
- **CTH** = Laroche's number = LAROCHE E. 1971, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris (with supplement in RHA XXX, 1972, 94-133: CTH Suppl., und RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68-71); online version on HPM: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>
- *Find spot* = place (archaeological context) where the tablet was found
- *Dat.* = dating of the document according to the ductus and the palaeography
- *Bibliography* = bibliographical references¹⁷³⁶

1. CTH 40: THE DEEDS OF ŠUPPILULIUMA I¹⁷³⁷
(Hittite, 13th century BC)

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
199/a		KUB 34.25	40.IV.1.E 2	Bk. A: Geb. A Rm. 4		s. G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 93; <i>vgl.</i> D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114. - Zu möglichen Zusammenschlüssen v. H.G. Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 47f.
293/b		KBo 14.12	40.IV.1.E 3	Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte	jh.	s. D. Groddek, AoF 23, 1996, 101f. (Nr. 21); id., DBH 11, 2004, 342; id., RANT 5, 2008, 114; J. Hazenbos, ANE, 2006, 238f.; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 93-95; <i>vgl.</i> F. Starke, StBoT 23, 1977, 190; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 33ff.; Th. van den Hout, GsImparati, 2002, 867 Anm. 33; I. Singer, GsForrer, 2004, 593f.; id., FsMazar, 2006, 731; J. Klinger, HbOr I/83, 2006, 318; Zs. Simon, STAE 18, 2007, 375; P. Dardano, OrNS 77, 2008, 65; F. Breyer, AoF 37, 2010, 97; M. Weeden, StBoT 54, 2011, 213; B. Alexandrov, NABU 2011/2, 27 (Nr. 23); B. Christiansen, AOAT 391, 2011, 41; A. Taggar-Cohen, VT 61, 2011, 468; F. Breyer, Eothen 19, 2013, 21; B. Christiansen - E.
	+284/c			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, längs der Ostwand. Tablettenschutt		
	+346/c			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, längs der Südhälfte der Ostwand, im Tablettenschutt		
	+494/c	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, längs der Südhälfte der Ostwand, im Tabl.-Schutt				

¹⁷³⁶ For the abbreviation used in these bibliographical references, see the HPM "Abkürzungsverzeichnis": <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonkabkrz.html>.

¹⁷³⁷ The number of the entries quoted here are the same as in section 1.2.1.2.

	+555/c	KBo 14.12		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 6, Südende, Tabl.-Schutt	Devecchi, BN 156, 2013, 71; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 239, 291, 293; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 216.
	+562/c				
	+568/c				
	+575/c				
	+1414/c	KBo 39.280		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt	
	+2730/c	KBo 14.12		Bk. A: Nördlich der nordwand von Raum 5 des Gr. Geb.	
	+301/cA			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, längs der Südhälfte der Ostwand, im Tablettenschutt	
700/b		KBo 14.11	40.IV.1. E ₁	Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte	s. G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 92f.; vgl. J. Boley, IBS 97, 2000, 335; D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114
	+464/c			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, längs der Südhälfte der Ostwand, im Tabl.-Schutt	
378/f		KBo 14.10	40.IV.1.D	Bk. C: Büyükkale r/16. Unter der phrygischen Burgmauer. - Ziegelroter gebr. Ton	s. G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 92; vgl. S. Košak, StBoT 34, 1992; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 32ff.; D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 264f.
639/f		KBo 14.9	40.IV.1.B	Bk. C: Büyükkale q/17. Im Schutt außerhalb der phryg. Burgmauer. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton	s. G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 90f.; vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 89 [B4]; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 32f.; D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 148; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 263f.
953/u		KBo 19.45	40.IV.3	T.I: alter Grabungsschutt, L/19. - dunkelgrauer, gebr. Ton.	Join mit Bo 6552 und Bo 7744 J.L. Miller (1.4.2007); id., ZA 98, 2008, 118f. (Nr. 31); G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 96f.; vgl. W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 32f.; id., OLZ 96, 2001, 13f.; J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 88; id., Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 85f.; id., Débuts, 2007, 278; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 24 mit Anm. 69; P.
	+Bo 4543	KUB 19.4		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch	
	+Bo 6552	KUB 23.8			

	+Bo 7744			Join - [In Istanbul]		Cotticelli-Kurras, 2. IKH, 1995, 91; A.A. Korolöv, Studia Linguarum 2, 1999, 286f.; S. de Martino, AoF 32, 2005, 292; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 149f.
	+Bo 9181	KUB 19.4		[In Istanbul]		
1812/u		KBo 50.11	40.IV.4.A	T.I: alter Grabungsschutt L/19. - dunkelbeigefarb ener, gebr. Ton.	sjh.	Join D. Groddek (10.11.2006); s. D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 110-115; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 97f.; <i>vgl.</i> R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 332 Anm. 1267; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, JEOL 34, 1995-96, 58; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 102 [B4]; J. Klinger, GsImparati, 2002, 449; id., CDOG 6, 2008, 283; D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 9-11; J. Puhvel, Aramazd IV/1, 2009, 56; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 150f.
	+Bo 2783	KUB 21.10		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]	jh.	
	+Bo 2368	KUB 19.13				
Bo 1844		KUB 31.25	40.IV.2	---: [In Istanbul]		s. D. Groddek, GM 218, 2008, 41 Anm. 27; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 96; <i>vgl.</i> B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 149.
Bo 2003		KBo 5.6	40.IV.1.A	T.I*: J. Siegelová, Hrozný, 2015, 68: "... kann man m.E. voraussetzen, dass sie [sc. Fragmente] aus dem Großen Tempel stammen". - [In Istanbul]	sjh.	s. M. Forlanini, Hethitica 10, 1990, 112; J. Klinger, StBoT 37, 1996, 34 mit Anm. 11; id., StBoT 45, 2003, 287 Anm. 41; id., TUATNF 2, 2005, 147-150; id., HbOr I/83, 2006, 318 Anm. 74; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 86-90; <i>vgl.</i> A.R. Schulman, JARCE 15, 1978, 43; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 24f., 42; P.W. Haider, BiOr 47, 1990, 74ff.; R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 409f. Anm. 1539f.; T.R. Bryce, Hethitica 11, 1992, 7; id., Letters, 193ff.; J. Puhvel, KZ 106, 1993, 37; id., FsKošak, 2007, 585; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 193 Anm. 66; id., Literatur, 2006, 83-85; W. Helck, Hethitica 12, 1994, 17ff.; H.A. Hoffner, 2. IKH, 1995, 193; J. Klinger, ZA 85, 1995, 85, 87; C. Karasu, ArchAn 2, 1996, 42; F. Starke, ZAR 2, 1996, 140; E.F. Wente, JNES 57, 1998, 310f.; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 94f., 192; J. Freu, FsPopko, 2002, 103 Anm. 62; id., Šuppiliuma, 2004, 39ff.; id., RANT 3, 2006, 231; id., Débuts, 2007, 269, 273-277; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 32ff.; O.R. Gurney, FsHoffner, 2003, 125; A. Gilan, 5. IKH, 2005, 363 Anm. 21; id., ZA 104, 2014, 198; A. Taggar-Cohen, THeth 26, 2006, 376; L.
Bo 4687		KUB 31.7	40.IV.1.C	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	
	+Bo 9540					

					<p>Bell, War & Peace, 2007, 104; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 98, 139f., 179, 194f.; D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 100 Anm. 24; id., RANT 5, 2008, 114; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, FsKošak, 2007, 378; A.V. Sideltsev, FsKošak, 2007, 625; id., AoF 41, 2014, 94f.; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 115; A. Kloekhorst, IEED 5, 2008, 864, 944; id., StBoT 56, 2014, 301, 611; Th. Richter, CDOG 6, 2008, 193; A. Teffeteller, 6. IKH, 2008, 764; F. Breyer, AoF 37, 2010, 95-97; id., Eothen 19, 2013, 21; A. Daues, FsMelchert, 2010, 11; S. Luraghi, FsMelchert, 2010, 254; A. Nikolaev, JAOS 130, 2010, 63; G. Wilhelm, SBA 87, 2012, 242; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 46f.; M.G. Maier, DBH 42, 2013, 213; J.L. Miller, Eothen 19, 2013, 116; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 172f., 251, 397, 533; E. Korn - J. Lorenz, WO 44, 2014, 66 Anm. 33; J. Lorenz - I. Schrakamp, AOAT 413, 2014, 58; E. Rieken, WO 44, 2014, 166; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 263f.; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 139-149; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 215f.</p> <p>s. G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 91f.; <i>vgl.</i> P. Taracha, FsKošak, 2007, 663; D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 150.</p>
Bo 69/395		KBo 22.9	40.IV.4.B	<p>T.I: Tempel I, vor Mag. 10, in altem Grabungsschutt. - ziegelroter gebr. Ton</p>	<p>s. D. Groddek, DBH 24, 2008, 20f.; id., RANT 5, 2008, 114; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 99; <i>vgl.</i> Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, FsLaroche, 1979, 157; id., JEOL 34, 1995-96, 58; R.H. Beal, Theth 20, 1992, 332 Anm. 1267; H. Klengel, HbOr 1/34, 1999, 102 [B4]; A.A. Korolëv, Studia Linguarum 2, 2001, 287; J. Klinger, GsImparati, 2002, 449.</p>
Bo 92/157		KBo 42.72	40.IV.1.F	<p>Bk.: Büyükkale, Südost, nördlich des hethitischen Turmes im Ausgrabungssch utt. - Ziegelroter bis hellbrauner, fein</p>	<p>jh.</p> <p>s. R. Lebrun - A. Degrève, RANT 5, 2008, 125f.; G.F. Del Monte, L'opera I, 2009, 96; <i>vgl.</i> D. Groddek, RANT 5, 2008, 114.</p>

				geschlammter Ton mit Resten eines hellen Überzuges.		
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**2. CTH 49: TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA I AND AZIRU OF AMURRU
(I: Akkadian; II: Hittite, 14th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
276/i		KBo 10.12	49.II	Bk. K: Büyükkale m- n/10-11. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton	jh.	s. G. Beckman, ZA 87, 1997, 96f. (Nr. 1); id., HDT ² , 1999, 36-41; I. Singer, CoS 2, 2003, 93-95; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 427-438; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 207-212; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, Syria, 1992, 128 mit Anm. 223 und passim; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 138 [A8]; G.N. Knoppers, JAOS 116, 1996, 694 Anm. 147; F. Starke, ZAR 2, 1996, 175; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, StBoT 45, 2001, 356; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 242; L. d'Alfonso, BZAW 365, 2006, 314f.; D. Gromova, UF 39, 2007, 296; ead., Eothen 19, 2013, 108; Ö. Sir Gavaz, Kubaba 7/15, 2010, 35f.; I. Yakubovich, Luvian, 2010, 185; B. Christiansen, StBoT 53, 2012, 223; G. Beckman, CRRAI 52, 2014, 117 mit Anm. 7; R. Meneghel - A. Rizza, AION NS 2, 2014, 90.
	+310/p						Bk. K: Büyükkale x/7, Archiv K, Tabl.- Schutt. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton
	+199/pA-D, F					
	(+)199/pE	KBo 10.12a				
	(+)Bo 9188	KUB 48.71		---	k.A.	

**3. CTH 53: TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA I AND TETTE OF NUḪAŠŠE
(Middle Babylonian, 14th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 1578	KUB 3.2	53.B	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	Joinvorschlag E. Devecchi (30.7.2009); s. G. del Monte, OAC 18, 1986, 142-155; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 54-58 (Nr. 7); G. Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 53 (2006sqq.); E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 186-192; <i>vgl.</i> O. Carruba, FsAlp, 1992, 77; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 138 [A7]; V. Haas, Materia, 2003, 474; L. d'Alfonso, BZAW 365, 2006, 311-316; H.A. Hoffner, FsKořak, 2007, 390; J. Pringle, FsHawkins, 2010, 194; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.
Bo 2970	KBo 1.4	53.A	T.I*: H. Winckler an B. Güterbock (8.6.1907), s.		Tafel vorliniert; s. G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 54-58 (Nr. 7); G. Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 53 (2006sqq.); B. Christiansen, StBoT 53,

			Alaura 2004 - [In Istanbul]		2012, 232-235; E. Devecchi, CRRAI 54, 2012, 637-645; ead., Trattati, 2015, 186-192; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 407-418; vgl. V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 385 Anm. 42; F. Starke, ZAR 2, 1996, 155; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 27 Anm. 71; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 138 [A7]; A. Altman, UF 33, 2001, 27-47; id., Prologue, 2004, 224, 256ff.; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, StBoT 45, 2001, 352, 355f.; D. Schwemer, Wettergott, 2001, 495 Anm. 4059; id., AfO 51, 2005/2006, 224; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 242; S. Alaura, GsForrer, 2004, 141; G. Wilhelm, TUATNF 2, 2005, 122f.; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 220, 268f.; id., StOront 6, 2009, 12; D. Gromova, UF 39, 2007, 285; Ch. Lebrun, RANT 8, 2011, 216; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 227f.; M. Pallavidini, DBH 48, 2016, 55.
--	--	--	-----------------------------	--	---

4. CTH 61: THE ANNALS OF MURŠILI II

(61.I: TEN-YEARS ANNALS; 61.II: DETAILED ANNALS; 61.III: UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS)

(Hittite, 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
249/v	KBo 50.30	61.II.4	T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton	sjh.	Joins Bo 2633 + 249/v sowie mit 817/v stammen von J.L. Miller (1.6.2005), der mit Bo 9587 von O. Soysal (Februar 2011); s. J.L. Miller, FsKošak, 2007, 521-534; vgl. T.R. Bryce, AnSt 38, 1988, 21-28; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 55, 103f.; A. Gilan, 5. IKH, 2005, 364 Anm. 29; P.M. Goodegebuure, FsdeRoos, 2006, 173; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 180, 548f.; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 212; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 39; D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 25f.; O. Soysal, Anatolica 38, 2012, 172f.; id., CollAn 11, 2012, 314; id., CHDS 2, 2015, 54f.; E. Korn - J. Lorenz, WO 44, 2014, 66 Anm. 31; I. Singer, 8. IKH, 2014, 904.
+Bo 2633	KUB 14.17		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		Goetze 1933
+Bo 6829					
+Bo 6959					

5. CTH 62: TREATY BETWEEN MURŠILI II AND DUPPI-TEŠUB OF AMURRU

(II: Hittite, 14th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
456/z		KBo 50.28	62.A	T.I: Grosser Tempel, Süd, Schnitt II, obere Schicht. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton	jh.	Joinvorschlag mit Bo 2027 J.L. Miller (25.4.2005), mit Bo 69/957 F. Fuscagni; s. G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 59-64 (Nr. 8); I. Singer, CoS 2, 2003, 96-98; E. Devecchi, CRRAI 54, 2012, 637-645; ead., Trattati, 2015, 214-220; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 469-482; G. Wilhelm - F. Fuscagni (ed.) hethiter.net/: CTH 62 (2013sq.); <i>vgl.</i> C. Kühne - H. Otten, StBoT 16, 1971, 46 Anm. 93; P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 96-100; G.F. del Monte, FsBresciani, 1985, 161-167; id., OAC 18, 1986, 160ff.; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 14f.; F. Starke, StBoT 31, 1990, 543; H. Klengel, Syria, 1992, 167 mit Anm. 453; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 143 [B5], 171 [A3]; R. Lebrun, TES, 1992, 19-26; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 458 Anm. 82; Reichardt, Diss., 1998, 25f.; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 56; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, StBoT 45, 2001, 355; D. Schwemer, Wettergott, 2001, 490 Anm. 3999, 495 Anm. 4059; A. Archi, GsImparati, 2002, 50; S. Zeilfelder, FsNeumann ² , 2002, 529; A. Altman, Prologue, 2004, 361-370; D. Gromova, UF 39, 2007, 297; H.A. Hoffner, FsKošak, 2007, 390; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 108; A.V. Sideltsev, FsKošak, 2007, 614; id., AoF 42, 2015, 204 Anm. 32; M. Zorman, FsKošak, 2007, 762 Anm. 107; ead., KZ 126, 2015, 136; D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 24f., 41-43; M. Mazoyer, Apogée, 2008, 357f.; B.E. Alexandrov - A.V. Sideltsev, RA 103, 2009, 77; P. Goedegebuure, Kategorien, 2009, 101; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 331, 423; Ch. Lebrun, RANT 8, 2011, 216; J. Puhvel, Aramzd 6, 2011, 70; B. Christiansen, StBoT 53, 2012, 225-228; E. Devecchi, AoF 39, 2012, 45; C. Brosch, AoF 40, 2013, 329; B. Christiansen - E.
		(+)Bo 2027		KBo 5.9			T.I *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join
	(+)Bo 69/957	KBo 22.39		T.I: Tempel I, Schutthalde vor Propylon. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton		

					Devecchi, BN 156, 2013, 74; P. Dardano, OrNS 82, 2013, 62; ead., FsTischler, 2016, 47f.; E. Korn - J. Lorenz, WO 44, 2014, 68 Anm. 37; J. Lorenz - I. Schrakamp, AOAT 413, 2014, 41; A. Sideltsev - M. Molina, IF 120, 2015, 214, 235; M. Zorman, KZ 126, 2015, 131; M. Pallavidini, DBH 48, 2016, 55f. – Bo 6691 war ursprünglich Teil von Bo 2027, wie in der Autographie von KBo 5.9 Vs. II 13'-18' noch klar zu sehen ist, von der es später abgebrochen und neu nummeriert wurde.
Bo 69/730		KBo 50.25		T.I: Tempel I, östlich vor Mag. 10, aus Kanal ohne Deckstein. - grauer gebr. Ton	s. J.L. Miller, KBo 50, S. V (zu Nr. 25): "allerdings sieht die Handschrift ... wie die von KUB 14.5++ aus."; G. Wilhelm - F. Fuscagni (ed.) hethiter.net/: CTH 62 (2013sqq.); E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 214-220; <i>vgl.</i> D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 22; J.L. Miller, Eothen 19, 2013, 129; A.V. Sideltsev, Tipologija, 2014, 205; id., AoF 42, 2015, 254.
	(+)Bo 3011	KUB 3.119	62.B	T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]	

6. CTH 63: DECREE ABOUT A BORDER CONFLICT BETWEEN NUḪAŠŠE AND BARGA AND DEAL WITH DUPPI-TEŠŠUB OF AMURRU (Hittite; 15th-14th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1713/u	KBo 50.77	63.A	T.I: aus Grabungsschutt L/19. - grauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	Joins mit Bo 3903, Bo 4739, Bo 7539 und 1713/u stammen von J.L. Miller (27.3.2006, 16.11.2006, 20.11.2006), mit Bo 10118 von F. Fuscagni (25.1.2012); wegen der abweichenden Handschrift kann 1459/u nicht dazu gehören; s. J.L. Miller, Kaskal 4, 2007, 121-152; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 169-173 (Nr. 30); <i>vgl.</i> P. Meriggi, FsOttens, 1973, 208; N. Boysan-Dietrich, THeth 12, 1987, 12; T.R. Bryce, AnSt 38, 1988, 23f., 26ff.; id., Hethitica 11, 1992, 7; H. Klengel, Syria, 1992, 151ff.; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 172 [A8]; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 243 Anm. 36; H.C. Melchert, JCS 50, 1998, 45f.; M.C. Astour, UF 31, 1999, 41; A. Altman, UF 32, 2000, 1-10; id., Prologue, 2004, 149, 165-173; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 92; J. Freu, Hethitica 15, 2002, 79; id., Débuts, 2007, 227; id., Apogée, 2008, 39, 49-53; id., StOront 6, 2009, 16f.; H. Hoffner - C. Melchert, GsImparati, 2002, 381; P. Goedegebuure,

					<p>Diss., 2003, 330, 335; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 215, 272f., 295f., 385, 421, 499f., 505; L. D'Alfonso, StMed 17, 2005, 58 Anm. 164; id., Diritti, 2008, 353f.; id., AoF 38, 2011, 165, 169; A. Taggar-Cohen, THeth 26, 2006, 376; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, Erfassung, 2007, 203; J.L. Miller, FsKošak, 2007, 528; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 129; M.E. Balza, Diritti, 2008, 394; D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 67; A. Bemporad, SMEA 51, 2009, 78f.; Li Zheng, 7. IKH, 2010, 1021; I. Yakubovich, Luvian, 2010, 372; S. de Martino, Eothen 18, 2011, 59; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 139f.; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686; I. Singer, Kaskal 8, 2011, 164; S. Görke, AOAT 416, 2014, 49; Ch. Lebrun, PIOL 66, 2014, 274; A.V. Sideltsev, AoF 41, 2014, 86, 104f.; id., Tipologija, 2014, 215; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 228; M. Zorman, KZ 126, 2015, 136. - VAT 7428 Zusatzstück = KUB 23.126 besteht aus den drei Fragmenten Bo 7396 + Bo 9613 + Bo 9546. - (Schreiber ^mTatigganna).</p>
--	--	--	--	--	---

7. CTH 72: REPORT ABOUT THE CONTRAST WITH EGYPT IN SYRIA AND THE PRAYER TO THE GODS' ASSEMBLY
(Hittite; 14th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1259/u	KBo 50.24	72	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt L/19. - hellgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	<p>Join mit Bo 2442 sowie 359/v, 707/v J.L. Miller (27.12.2004, 11.10.2015), Gesamtjoin (ohne E 586) J.L. Miller (25.2.2015, aufgreifend die Überlegung von I. Singer, Diversity, 2013, 198 Anm. 122);</p> <p>s. D. Sürenhagen, StMed 5, 1985; I. Singer, Prayers, 2002, 66-69 (no. 14); D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 95-107; id., DBH 28, 2008, 19-21; id., DBH 36, 2011, 15, 126f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 252-293; id., FsKošak, 2007, 531; id., Kaskal 4, 2007, 139f. mit Anm. 47; id., 6. IKH, 2008, 533-554 (mit Joinskizze und Photos); id., 8. IKH, 2014, 538; R. Lebrun - A. Degève, RANT 5, 2008, 127-129; Zs. Simon, AoF 36, 2009, 340-348; G. Wilhelm, WO 39, 2009, 108-116; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 379 (2015sqq.); eid, hethiter.net/:CTH 389.45 (2015sqq.) [nur 707/v];</p> <p>vgl. M. Marazzi, SMSR 49, 1983, 327; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 25 Anm. 30; T.R. Bryce, JEA 76, 1990, 99; D.</p>

						<p>Davis, BACE 1, 1990, 33; R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 410 Anm. 1540; J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 82; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 385 Anm. 27; 388 Anm. 75; 451 Anm. 19; 661 Anm. 168; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 30f. Anm. 89; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 145 [B11], 174 [A17], 176 [A23.11]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 69f.; M.R. Bachvarova, Diss., 2002, 215; ead., JANER 6, 2006, 131; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 40; Zs. Simon, STAE 18, 2007, 376; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 45-50; S. de Martino, AoF 37, 2010, 193; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 146-157; E. Devecchi, AoF 39, 2012, 38f.; G. Wilhelm, SBA 87, 2012, 245-247; I. Singer, Diversity, 2013, 198 (in Anm. 121 verschrieben als KBo 19.15++); P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 189f., 385f.; M.B. Hundley, AoF 41, 2015, 188 Anm. 89; A.V. Sideltsev, AoF 42, 2015, 216; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 286f. - Auch CTH 379.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

8. CTH 76: TREATY BETWEEN MUWATALI II AND ALAKŠANDU OF WILUŠA (Hittite, 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
145/s		KBo 12.36	76.C	HaH: L/18, Haus am Hang, Makridi-Schutt. - ziegelroter gebr. Ton	sjh.	<p>Join mit Bo 9042 F. Fuscagni (9.3.2011). Der von E. Laroche, CTH 76.C als ein weiteres Anschlußstück zitierte Text KUB 21.2 (= Bo 454 + Bo 2403) bzw. KBo 4.5 (= Bo 2403) gehört zur ersten Tafel dieser Version (inzwischen + KUB 48.95 = Bo 5850); s. G. Beckman, HDT², 1999, 87-93 (Nr. 13); E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 151-159; <i>vgl.</i> S. Heinhold-Krahmer, THeth 8, 1977, 91, 156 Anm. 182; S. de Martino, Eothen 5, 1996, 35ff.; K.M. Reichardt, Diss., 1998, 70; H. Roszkowska-Mutschler, DBH 16, 2005, 330; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 229.</p>
	+Bo 402	KUB 21.4		HaH *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		
	+Bo 2079	KUB 21.5				
	+Bo 2520					
	+Bo 3658					
1382/u		KBo 19.73a	76.A	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt L/19. - beigefarbener, gebr. Ton.	jh.	<p>Joins mit 269/v und 934/v stammen von J.L. Miller (4.3.2005, 4.4.2005; ZA 97, 2007, 126f.), mit Gurney 2 von J. Lorenz (24.7.2006), mit 1274/u, 1140/v D. Groddek (30.3.2007); s. G. Beckman, HDT², 1999, 87-93 (Nr. 13); S. Heinhold-Krahmer, FsHaider, 2006, 53-80; ead., THeth 8, 1977, 91, 159, 161f.; ead., FsFreu, 2013, 64-68; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 547-564; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 151-159;</p>
	+Bo 2093	KUB 21.1		T.I *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		
	+Bo 2471					

					<p>Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 352 Anm. 284; id., Literatur, 2006, 89-95; F. Imparati, FsHouwink ten Cate, 1995, 143-157; K.M. Reichardt, Diss., 1998, 55; J.M. González Salazar, FsGarrido Herrero, 1999, 268-278; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 42 Anm. 45, 92 [B3], 177 [B4], 205 [B1], 220 [B1], 237 [A3]; V. Parker, AoF 26, 1999, 269-290; D. Groddek, UF 33, 2001, 216; id., FsTischler, 2016, 94; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 83, 105; B.J. Collins, HbOr I/64, 2002, 243; ead., Divine, 2008, 74f.; P. Goedegebuure, Sprache 43, 2002/3, 19f.; ead., 6. IKH, 2007, 331; ead., UCLA 24, 2013, 37f.; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 255, 315, 323, 455, 457f., 473, 496, 535; A. Gilan, 5. IKH, 2005, 363 Anm. 24; H.C. Melchert, FsHerzenberg, 2005, 91; id., FsTischler, 2016, 204; J. de Roos, Eothen 13, 2005, 40f.; H.A. Hoffner, ANE, 2006, 266-270; id., FsKořak, 2007, 390, 393, 396; id., FsBeckman, 2013, 142-144; id., GsOtten, 2015, 65; I. Singer, bmsaes 6, 2006, 41; A. Taggar-Cohen, THeth 26, 2006, 372f.; ead., Covenant, 2011, 20f.; ead., JISMOR 9, 2014, 35; T. Bryce, FsKořak, 2007, 119; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 132, 158, 221-224; A. Daus, 6. IKH, 2007, 196f.; A. Mouton, FsDinçol, 2007, 524-527; ead., CHANE 28, 2007, 88-91; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 44, 89, 134; M. Zorman, FsKořak, 2007, 762f. Anm. 104, 110; ead., KZ 126, 2015, 136; N. Oettinger, Kategorien, 2009, 200; P. Dardano, 7. IKH, 2010, 183; ead., OrNS 82, 2013, 57, 62; ead., RANT 10, 2013, 123f.; ead., FsTischler, 2016, 49f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 37, 2010, 175; I. Yakubovich, Luvian, 2010, 187, 373f., 399; M. Dođan-Alparslan - M. Alparslan, IM 61, 2011, 91f.; M. Dođan-Alparslan, SOA 1, 2012, 35-38, 59, 62-64, 68-80, 110, 122f.; M. Marazzi, FDA 1, 2012, 85; E. Rieken - D. Sasseville, AoF 39, 2012, 127; M. Vigo, FsCarruba², 2012, 288; J. Lorenz, CRRAI 56, 2013, 172; L. d'Alfonso, 8. IKH, 2014, 220; S. Görke, AOAT 416, 2014, 48f.; A. Kloekhorst, StBoT 56, 2014, 611; A.V. Sideltsev,</p>
--	--	--	--	--	---

					Tipologija, 2014, 207; A. Teffeteller, 8. IKH, 2014, 973; M. Cammarosano - M. Marizza, WO 45, 2015, 162; M.B. Hundley, AoF 41, 2015, 195; A. Sideltsev - M. Molina, IF 120, 2015, 229, 232; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 126.
674/v		(publ.)		T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton	s. H. Otten, StBoT 24, 1981, Tafel II-III (Autographien), Joinskizze S. 60f.; vgl. J. Puhvel, JIES 26, 1998, 161; A. Kloekhorst, IEED 5, 2008, 841; A. Nikolaev, JAOS 130, 2010, 67 Anm. 28; P. Dardano, RANT 10, 2013, 122; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 128, 233, 321, 477f., 500, 552; J. Lorenz - I. Schrakamp, AOAT 413, 2014, 48f.
	+Bo 10416	KBo 3.6	81.B	T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]	

10. CTH 83: REPORT OF ḪATTUŠILI III ABOUT THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS OF ŠUPPILULIUMA I (Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 2631					s. A. Ünal, THeth 3, 1974, 67f.; id., THeth 4, 1974, 6f.; vgl. C. Mora, Athenaeum 65, 1987, 555; T.R. Bryce, AnSt 39, 1989, 19-30; id., Hethitica 11, 1992, 7; R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 290 Anm. 1097f.; J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 45; id., Débuts, 2007, 247, 297; A. Kempinski, GsKutscher, 1993, 87f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 146 [B15], 249 [A36]; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 53f.; Y. Arıkan, 6. IKH, 2007, 42f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 282; A. Kloekhorst, IEED 5, 2008, 857; Ö. Sir Gavaz, Kubaba 7/15, 2010, 33; G. Wilhelm, SBA 87, 2012, 230; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 45; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 125; I. Singer, Trans 46, 2014, 69; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 68, 101-105.
+Bo 3535	KUB 19.9	83.1.A	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	

11. CTH 86: DECREE OF ḪATTUŠILI III CONCERNING THE PROPERTY OF ARMA-TARḪUNTA (Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
-----------------	--------------	------------	------------------	-------------	---------------------

Bo 2454						s. A. Ünal, THeth 4, 1974, 18-31; <i>vgl.</i> A. Archi, UF 5, 1973, 16f.; H. Eichner, Sprache 21, 1975, 163f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 206 [B4], 239 [A9]; R. Lebrun, StBoT 45, 2001, 327 Anm. 3; J.L. Miller, StBoT 46, 2004, 360 Anm. 514; id., Interfaces, 2008, 70 mit Anm. 23; M. Popko, JANER 5, 2005, 84; A. Mouton, FsdeRoos, 2006, 10; ead., CHANE 28, 2007, 92f.; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 225; H.A. Hoffner, FsKořak, 2007, 389, 395; D. Schwemer, Abwehrzauber, 2007, 263; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 144; V. Haas, Orakel, 2008, 92; P. Goedegebuure, Kategorien, 2009, 98; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 304, 424; M. Cammarosano, AoF 39, 2012, 12; A. Gilan, ZA 104, 2014, 200; M.B. Hundley, AoF 41, 2015, 185 Anm. 67.
	+Bo 2518					
		KUB 21.17	86.1.A	---	jh.	
	+Bo 9435			[In Istanbul]		
Bo 4561		KUB 31.27	86.1.B		sjh.	s. A. Ünal, THeth 4, 1974, 18-31; R. Lebrun, Samuha, 1976, 144-150; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 206 [B4] (verschrieben als KUB 21.27).

12. CTH 91: TREATY OF ḪATTUŠILI III WITH RAMSES II OF EGYPT (Akkadian; 13th century BC: 1269 BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
81/f		KBo 28.115	Bk. E: Büyükkale n-o/13. Im Schutt in Höhe der ersten Bauschicht. - Ziegelroter gebr. Ton mit hellem Überzug	sjh.	s. E. Edel, WVDog 95, 1997, 2-12 und 64*f. (Joinskizze); G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 96-100 (Nr. 15); T.R. Bryce, BMSAES 6, 2006, 1-11; Y. Cohen, ANE, 2006, 244-248; A. Pérez Largacha, Historiae 6, 2009, 53-85; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 573-582; I. Singer, FsMachinist, 2013, 433-457; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 265-270; <i>vgl.</i> W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 44-46; D. Davis, BACE 1, 1990, 33f.; H. Klengel, Syria, 1992, 119 mit Anm. 164; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 238 [A5]; R. Lebrun, TES, 1992, 48-59; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 68f., 133; Y. Cohen, THeth 24, 2002, 40f.; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 244f.; A. Altman, Prologue, 2004, 474ff.; S. Roth, Eothen 13, 2005, 186-189; T.R. Bryce, bsaes 6, 2006; V. Haas, Literatur, 2006, 229; L. Bell, War & Peace, 2007, 108-110; M.E. Balza, Diritti,
	+24/r		Bk. E: Büyükkale h-i/12-13, Schutt über Geb. E. - ziegelroter gebr. Ton		
	+Bo 6549	KUB 3.121	Bk. E *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		
	+Bo 6674				
		91.A			
	+Bo 10403	KBo 1.7			

						2008, 395; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 211-216; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 142f.; B. Christiansen, StBoT 53, 2012, 266; G. Beckman, CRRAI 52, 2014, 122; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 230; M. Pallavidini, DBH 48, 2016, 60.
Bo 1331		KUB 3.120	91.B	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	Mit Randleiste; s. E. Edel, WVDOG 95, 1997; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 96-100 (Nr. 15); E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 265-270; vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 238 [A5]; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 244f.; T. Bryce, bmsaes 6, 2006, 1-11; D. Sürenhagen, bmsaes 6, 2006, 59-67; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.
	+Bo 6503	KUB 3.11		---		s. Photo BoFN 5428 (Edel, op.cit. S. 70*).
	+Bo 9143					s. Photo BoFN 5428 (Edel, op.cit. S. 70*).
	+Bo 9153					s. Photo BoFN 5428 (Edel, op.cit. S. 70*).
	+VAT 6207	KBo 1.25				
	+VAT 13572	KUB 48.73				

13. CTH 92: TREATY OF ḪATTUŠILI III WITH BENTEŠINA OF AMURRU
(Middle Babylonian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
408/u	KBo 28.116	92	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt, L/19. - hellgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	s. G.F. del Monte, OAC 18, 1986, 178-187; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 100-103 (Nr. 16); id., JCS 35, 1983, 109f.; E. Devecchi, Palaeography, 2012, 50-62 (zum Duktus); ead., CRRAI 54, 2012, 637-645; ead., Trattati, 2015, 220-225; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 565-572; vgl. J. Tischler, IBS 37, 1981, 31, 59f.; I. Singer, UF23, 1991, 329f.; R. Lebrun, TES, 1992, 26-31; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 216 Anm. 201; id., Königtum, 1999, 189; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 146 [B17], 177 [B5], 205 [B2], 239 [A6]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 191; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, StBoT 45, 2001, 348f.,
+1243/u	KBo 28.117		T.I: alter Grabungsschutt L/19. - grauer, gebr. Ton.		
+E 250	KBo 65.252		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join		

					359; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 246; A. Altman, Prologue, 2004, 371-383; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, Erfassung, 2007, 197f.; M.E. Balza, Diritti, 2008, 396; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 208-211; Ö. Sir Gavaz, Kubaba 7/15, 2010, 37; M. Weeden, StBoT 54, 2011, 29, 138 ("...script that displays a distinct Syrian influence while keeping a basically Boğazköy ductus"); M. Doğan-Alparslan, SOA 1, 2012, 113; Sh. Gordin, StBoT 59, 2015, 341; M. Pallavidini, DBH 48, 2016, 61.
	+VAT 7422	KBo 1.8			Auch publiziert als KUB 3.8.

**14. CTH 98: LETTER(?) MENTIONING BENTEŠINA AND EGYPT
(Hittite; 13th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 7002	KUB 21.39	98	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 85f.; A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 438f. (Nr. 328); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 246 [A22.5]; M. Bányai, Anatolica 36, 2010, 6; B. Stipich, GsVargyas, 2014, 338f.

**15. CTH 105: TREATY OF TUTHALIYA IV WITH ŠAUŠGAMUWA OF AMURRU
(Hittite; late 13th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1198/u		(publ.)	T.I: alter Grabungsschutt L/19. - hellgrauer, teils dunkelockerfarbener, gebr. Ton.		s. C. Kühne - H. Otten, StBoT 16, 1971; Joinskizze S. 4, Autographie S. 80; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 103-107 (Nr. 17); I. Singer, CoS 2, 2003, 98-100; id., Iraq 53, 1991, 70f.; G.M. Beckman et al., Ahhiyawa, 2011, 50-68; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 595-608; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 225-232; <i>vgl.</i> V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 114f. Anm. 58; 281 Anm. 228; H. Klengel, FsHouwink ten Cate, 1995, 159-172; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 146 [B20], 207 [B12], 276 [A4]; E. Devecchi, ZA 100, 2010, 244, 250-254; S. de Martino, Troia, 2011, 188f.; B. Christiansen, StBoT
	+1436/u		T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt L/19. - beigefarbener, gebr. Ton.	sjh.	
	+Bo 4372	KUB 8.82	T.I *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		
	+Bo 69/821	(publ.)	T.I: Tempel I, Schutthalde vor Mag. 5 - 9. - brauner gebr. Ton		

					53, 2012, 230; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 296.
670/v			105.A	T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - graubrauner gebr. Ton	<p>In KUB 23.1 ist das Fragment nur als VAT 7421 zitiert, an den Photos BoFN 929 und BoFN 1430, sowie in den Umschriften von H. Ehelolf und seinen Mitarbeitern sind dazu noch folgende Nummern angeschlossen: Bo 2757, Bo 3748, Bo 4098, Bo 7531, Bo 7816, Bo 8601; VAT 7421 Zusatzstück = Bo 2757;</p> <p>s. C. Kühne - H. Otten, StBoT 16, 1971; Autographie S. 79, Joinskizze S. 2f. (s. dazu D. Groddek, IJDL 2, 2005, 20); G. Beckman, HDT², 1999, 103-107 (Nr. 17); I. Singer, CoS 2, 2003, 98-100; G.M. Beckman et al., Ahhiyawa, 2011, 50-68; E. Devecchi, CRRAI 54, 2012, 637-645; ead., Trattati, 2015, 225-232; Kitchen - Lawrence, Treaty, 2012, 595-608; vgl. H. Berman, Diss., 1972, 76; H. Cancik, Grundzüge, 1976, 65; J. Puhvel, FsLaroche, 1979, 301; id., FsMelchert, 2010, 303f.; J. Tischler, IBS 37, 1981, 60f.; H.C. Melchert, ZVSE 32, 1984, 137 (verschrieben als KUB 13.1); id., 2. IKH, 1995, 270; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 83f.; C. Zaccagnini, FsPugliese Carratelli, 1988, 295-299; T.R. Bryce, OJA 8, 1989, 304f.; id., HbOr I/68, 2003, 71 Anm. 50; id., FsHoffner, 2003, 71 Anm. 28f.; id., Letters, 2003, 211f.; O. Carruba, GsMoreschini, 1989, 145; G. Steiner, UF 21, 1989, 393-411; E. Cline, Historia 40, 1991, 6; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 23 mit Anm. 64 (verschrieben als KUB 32.1+); 366 Anm. 378; Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 1995, 102f., 114; H. Klengel, FsHouwink ten Cate, 1995, 159-172; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 146 [B20], 178 [B9], 207 [B12], 224 [B17], 253 [B2], 276 [A4]; J.D. Hawkins, AnSt 48, 1998, 16 Anm. 68f.; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 50, 101, 131; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, StBoT 45, 2001, 348, 357; J. Klinger, StBoT 45, 2002, 286 mit Anm. 39; M.R. Cataudella, GsImparati, 2002, 186f. Anm. 35ff.; A. Altman, Prologue,</p>

					<p>2004, 440-460; M. Alparslan, 5.IKH, 2005, 38f.; L. d'Alfonso, BZAW 365, 2006, 317; I. Yakubovich, JNES 65, 2006, 46; R.H. Beal, War & Peace, 2007, 84; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 158; D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 99 Anm. 19; M. Van De Mieroop, History, 2007, 167; C.G. Thomas - C. Connat, Trojan War, 2007, 143f.; M. Zorman, FsKošak, 2007, 763 Anm. 121; ead., KZ 126, 2015, 134; M. Zorman, KZ 126, 2015, 135 (verschrieben als KUB 23.1); İ. Taş, IV. Tudhaliya, 2008, 210-230, 249-263; R. Fischer, DBH 26, 2010, 59f.; J. Lorenz - E. Rieken, FsWilhelm, 2010, 225 Anm. 21; I. Yakubovich, Luvian, 2010, 379; M. Bányai, Anatolica 37, 2011, 208 Anm. 6; J. Freu, Déclin, 2011, 25, 165-167; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 687 (verschrieben als VAT 7412); A.V. Sideltsev, AoF 38, 2011, 86; M. Yamada, RA 105, 2011, 203 Anm. 31; E. Devecchi, AoF 39, 2012, 39f.; M. Doğan-Alparslan, SOA 1, 2012, 23f., 104f.; C. Brosch, AoF 40, 2013, 315; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 256, 312, 478, 529; S. Görke, AOAT 416, 2014, 47; J. Lorenz - I. Schrakamp, AOAT 413, 2014, 59; I. Singer, 8. IKH, 2014, 901; M. Pallavidini, DBH 48, 2016, 61.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--

16. CTH 122: TREATY OF ŠUPPILULIUMA II WITH TALMI-TEŠŠUB OF KARKAMIŠ (Akkadian; late 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
434/t	KBo 12.41	122.1.A	HaH: L/18 c/5, nachheth. Bereich. - Roter gebr. Ton, Reste von hellem Überzug.	sjh.	<p>s. L. d'Alfonso, FsKošak, 2007, 203-220; M. Giorgieri, Diss., 1995, 281-286; I. Singer, StBoT 45, 2001, 635-641; <i>vgl.</i> H. Otten, MDOG 94, 1963, 7; I; R. Lebrun, Samuha, 1976, 219f.; O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 151f.; C. Mora, Athenaeum 66, 1988, 561; H.C. Melchert, 2. IKH, 1995, 272; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 37 Anm. 111; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999,</p>
+630/u	KBo 13.225		HaH: aus Çakıl über Pithoshaus L/18 - a/5. - rotbrauner, gebr. Ton.		

					<p>285 [B5], 298 [B1], , 301 [3]; 304 [14]; Th. van den Hout, StBoT 45, 2001, 215ff.; R. Lebrun, GsForrer, 2004, 410; A. Bemporad, Kaskal 3, 2006, 74 Anm. 29; C. Mora, AOAT 349, 2008, 86; G. Torri, 6. IKH, 2008, 774; ead., FsMayer, 2010, 386; M. Giorgieri - C. Mora, FsSinger, 2010, 139; J. Freu, Déclin, 2011, 177, 180f.; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686; Sh. Gordin, AoF 38, 2011, 182 Anm. 33; id., StBoT 59, 2015, 127; B. Christiansen, StBoT 53, 2012, 241-244; T.S. Scheucher, Diss., 2012, 135; J. Lorenz, JCS 65, 2013, 165, 167; Li Zheng, 8. IKH, 2014, 461 Anm. 9; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 231f. - Ehemals CTH 125, CTH 213. (Schreiber [...], Schüler von ^mMera-A.A. = ^mMeramuwa).</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--

17. CTH 134: TREATY WITH (RELATED TO) KURUŠTAMA
(Akkadian; probably late 15th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
246/m	KBo 8.37	134.A	Bk. A: Büyükkale r/10. - Hellroter gebr. Ton	jh.	<p>s. I. Singer, GsForrer, 2004, 591-607; D. Groddek, GM 218, 2008, 37-43. Zur Datierung J. Klinger - E. Neu, Hethitica 10, 1990, 140f.; Zs. Simon, STAE 18, 2007, 373-385; vgl. C. Kühne, ZA 62, 1973, 252-254; D. Sürenhagen, StMed 5, 1985, 29-39, id., bmsaes 6, 2006, 59-67; G. Kestemont, OLP 12, 1981, 62ff.; D. Davis, BACE 1, 1990, 32; G. Beckman, JAOS 118, 1998, 592; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 96 Anm. 48 (verschrieben als KUB 8.37), 106 [A8]; S. Roth, Eothen 13, 2005, 186 mit Anm. 26; F. Fuscagni, HPMM 6, 2007, 42; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 29, 51-53; S. de Martino, AoF 37, 2010, 193; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 264f. - Dupl. KUB 23.7 (= Bo</p>

					6519), KUB 40.28 (= Bo 5279), Bo 6943.
1519/u		KBo 53.250	134.B	T.I: alter Grabungsschutt L/19. - grauer, gebr. Ton.	Join D. Groddek (28.1.2008); s. I. Singer, GsForrer, 2004, 591-607; D. Groddek, GM 218, 2008, 37-43; vgl. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 96; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 106 [A8]; F. Fuscagni, HPMM 6, 2007, 155; D. Groddek, DBH 24, 2008, 25f.; id., KZ 122, 2009, 53f.; E. Devecchi, Trattati, 2015, 264f.
	+Bo 3508			T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join	
	+Bo 6519	KUB 23.7		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]	
	+Bo 6943			T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join	
	+Bo 69/352	KBo 22.15		T.I: Tempel I, vor Mag. 10, in altem Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton	

C. LETTERS

I. EGYPTIAN-HITTITE CORRESPONDENCE

48. CTH 154: LETTER OF ŠUPPILULIUMA I TO AY(?) (Hittite; second half 14th century BC: 1323-1320 BC?¹⁷³⁸).

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>	
154/s	KBo 49.13	154	HaH: L/18, untere Grabung, Makridi-Schutt in b 6. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton	jh.	Joinvorschlag G. Torri, KBo 49 S. IV ist sehr unsicher; s. Th.P.J. van den Hout, ZA 84, 1994, 60-88 (ohne 154/s); vgl. W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 26-32; T.R. Bryce, JEA 76, 1990, 97-105; P.W. Haider, BiOr 47, 1990, 75, 79f.; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 24 Anm. 69; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, 2. IKH, 1995, 104; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 141 [A13]; H.A. Hoffner, JAOS 120, 2000, 70; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 193; Y. Cohen, THeth 24, 2002, 123f. (Text 32); J. Freu, FsPopko, 2002, 104 mit Anm. 62; id., Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 86f.; id., Débuts, 2007, 285; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 61 mit Anm. 108; P. Goedegebuure, Die Sprache 43 2002/3, 9; ead., Diss., 2003, 251; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 125, 445, 516f.; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 197; J. Klinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 239 Anm. 10; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 32; D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007,	
	(+)591/s		KBo 12.23			HaH: L/18, vor der Westfront Haus am Hang im Makridischutt. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton
	(+)VAT 7476		KUB 19.20			HaH*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join

¹⁷³⁸ Thus the dating of Ay's reign, according to HORNUNG – KRAUSS – WARBURTON 2006, p. 493.

						101 Anm. 26; id., DBH 40, 2013, 11; A. Kosyan, FsHarutyunyan, 2008, 277 Anm. 39; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686, 692f.; E. Devecchi, FsLerberghe, 2012, 144; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 166.
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

49. CTH 155 + CTH 156: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III ABOUT URḪI-TEŠUB¹⁷³⁹
(Akkadian; first half 13th cent.: before or just after 1269 BC).

CTH 155:

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
371/i	KBo 28.3	155	Bk. D: Büyükkale o/11-12. Magazin 8, Mitte. - Hellgrauer gebr. Ton	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 50f. (Nr. 20) mit Tafel I; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 221 [B7.1]; D. Bodi, UF 35, 2003, 32 Anm. 12; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 91; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 34.
(+)Bo 1749	KUB 3.22		---: ÄHK II 77: kopiert von H. Winckler am 4.8.1906 [theoretisch Bk. E, s. ibid. 139 zu KUB 3.43 + 395/i] - [In Istanbul]		

DEL MONTE 1992:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Publication</i>
KUR <i>mi-iz-ri-i</i>	KBo XXVIII 3 Vs. 1

CTH 156:

HPM:

<i>Inv. Nr.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 693	KUB 3.30	156.B	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 64-69 (Nr. 25); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.6].
(+)Bo 9127	KUB 3.31				
Bo 8267	KUB 3.36	156			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 52f. (Nr. 21); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 221 [B7.2].
VAT 6169	KBo 1.15	156.A	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 95: von Winckler am 8.8. bzw. 6.8.1906 kopiert; Fundort also sehr wahrscheinlich Archiv E		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 58-65 mit Taf. XIV-XV (Nr. 24); <i>vgl.</i> W. Wouters, JCS 41, 1989, 231f.; H. Klengel, CDOG 1, 1997, 371 Anm. 53; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 206 [B5], 222 [B7.5]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 82; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 89f., 218f.; A.M. Jasink, StudAs 3, 2005, 247; I.

¹⁷³⁹ For what concerns the letters included in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, I am not going to provide a wider comment (for which I refer, in general, to CORDANI 2017 and EDEL 1994a, vol. 2); thus, I will limit the comment just to some major remarks, underlining the topic of the letter itself.

	(+)VAT 6172	KBo 1.22		Bk. E *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join	Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 31f.; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686; Zs. Simon, BN 156, 2013, 26 Anm. 64.
	+VAT 7669	KBo 1.19		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 95: von Winckler am 8.8. bzw. 6.8.1906 kopiert; Fundort also sehr wahrscheinlich Archiv E	

50. CTH 157: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; between ca. 1269 and 1246/1245 BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
283/b		KBo 28.8	Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 124- 127 (no. 47); vgl. H. Otten, MDOG 87, 1955, 15; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 327.
	+419/b		Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 5, T.-Schutt, nordwestl. Viertel		
	(+)2362/c	KBo 28.10	Bk. A: Gr. Gebäude, Raum 5, nordende, Tabl.-Schutt		
	+507/i	KBo 28.8	Bk. A *: Büyükkale o/8		
	(+)262/q	KBo 28.9	Bk. A: Büyükkale v/11, Phryg. Störung in heth. Schicht. - gebrannter roter Ton		
644/c		KBo 28.21	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, Mitte, im Tablettenschutt.		
	(+)1098/c		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 6, nördl. der Mitte, Tabl.- Schutt.		
	+2123/c		Bk. A: Gr. Gebäude, Raum 5, nordende, Tabl.- Schutt.		
	(+)461/e		Bk. A *: Büyükkale o/15. Im Schutt der Grabung Makridis. - Brauner gebr. Ton, ziemlich grob		
	(+)1298/v		Bk. A *:		

			Büyükkale z/16, Oberflächenfund. - hellroter gebr. Ton	
	+Durham 2463	KBo 28.22	Bk. A *: Lord Warkworth describing his visit to Boğazköy in 1897: "I tried to procure one uninjured specimen, but without success, for although the villagers are constantly finding small broken pieces, they do not attempt to penetrate below the surface...".	J.N. Postgate, JCS 24, 1972, 175 (no. 74); in Gulbenkian Museum, northumberland Collection, University of Durham.
	(+)VAT 6156	KBo 1.9	Bk. A *: ÄHK II 162: wurde als Streifund "oben am Felsen mit dem Brunnen von Ismael gebracht" am 20.101905.	
1295/v		KBo 28.18	Bk. H: Büyükkale Geb. H vor Innenfront phryg. Burgmauer aus losem Schutt. - rötlicher rauh gebr. Ton	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 154f. (no. 60).
383/z		KBo 28.42	---: von Bauern gebracht, aus den SO- Magazinen des Gr. Tempels? - ziegelroter gebr. Ton [ÄHK II 204 Anm. 178: aus Archiv E?]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 132- 134 (no. 50); vgl. J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 327.

51. CTH 158: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO PUDUḪEPA
(Akkadian; between ca. 1269 and 1246/1245 BC).

HPM:

Inv. no.	Publ.	CTH	Find spot	Dat.	Bibliography
177/b					
+277/b					
+370/b					
+664/b					
+687/b					
+1756/c	KBo 28.4	158	Bk. A: groses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 116-123 (no. 46); vgl. W. von Soden, OrNS 56, 1987, 103; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 206 [B6]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 125.
+343/e			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 3, dicht an der Westwand-Mitte, auf dem Zimmerfussboden		
			Bk. A *:		

				Gekauft. - Graubrauner gebr. Ton	
1965/c		KBo 28.23		Bk. A: Gr. Gebäude, Raum 5, nordende, Tabl.- Schutt.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 106ff. (no. 43); G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 135-137 (no. 22F); vgl. I. Singer, FsOtten ² , 1988, 331f.; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, AoF 23, 1996, 73 Anm. 57; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 65f.; J. de Roos, Eothen 13, 2005, 44-46.
	+1985/c				
	+2032/c				
	+2075/c				
	+2114/c				
	+2126/c				
	+2358/c				
	+2366/c				
	+2372/c				
	+2244/cA				
	+2244/cB				

52. CTH 159: WEDDING LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III AND PUDUḪEPA (Akkadian; between ca. 1269 and 1246/1245 BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
66/d		KBo 28.26	159	Bk. N: Büyükkale, w/17. Wenig über den Felsboden. - Gelbbrauner, grober, Ton, gebrannt		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 158-161 (no. 64).
465/z		KBo 28.7		T.I: Grosser Tempel, Oststrasse, Schutthalde. - grau- olivfarbener gebr. Ton		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 190-193 (no. 84).
Bo 1231		KUB 3.63	159.2	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 205: ... am 5. und 6.8.1906 von Winckler kopiert und stammen also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Archiv E. - [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 135-139 (no. 51, 52); ÄHK II, 205-215; vgl. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 1989, 469f. (no. 376); T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 116; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 327.
	(+)Bo 1356	KUB 3.64		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 215: Sehr wahrscheinlich Archiv E, da das Fragment von H. Winckler ... am 9.8.1906 kopiert wurde. - [In Istanbul]		
	(+)Bo 5354	KUB 3.63		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 205: ... am 5. und 6.8.1906 von Winckler kopiert und stammen also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Archiv E. - [In Istanbul]		
Bo 1859		KUB 3.57	159.1.B	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 218: Als Parallelbrief zu KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 wird er im gleichen Archiv, also E, deponiert worden sein... - [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 144f. (no. 55); vgl. S. Görke, CRRAI 52, 2014, 370.
Bo 5784		KUB 3.37	159.1.A	Bk. E *:		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 140-143 (no. 54);

	+Bo 9128			ÄHK II 217: ... wurde von H. Winckler am 20.8.1906 kopiert und stammt also höchstwahrscheinlich aus den damals in Archiv E laufenden Ausgrabungen. - [In Istanbul]		<i>vgl.</i> I. Singer, HSS 41, 1991, 170; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 243 [A19.I.5]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 152; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 117; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686; B. Stipich, GsVargyas, 2014, 338f.
	+VAT 6161	KBo 1.17		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 217: ... wurde von H. Winckler am 21.10.1905 kopiert als ein ... "vom Boden aufgelesenes Fragment" ... handelt es sich sehr wahrscheinlich um den Berghang bei Archiv E ...		
Bo 9177			159.?	---		CTH-Bestimmung F. Fuscagni (13.11.2011).

53. CTH 160: LETTER OF PUDUḪEPA TO RAMSES II
(Akkadian; between 1269 and 1246/1245 BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 6626	KUB 3.24	160	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 215: ... kopiert von H. Winckler am 5.8.1906, also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Archiv E stammend. - [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 138-141 (no. 53); <i>vgl.</i> M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 195; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 329; M. Fisher, FsBeckman, 2013, 82.
+Bo 9124	KUB 3.59		Bk. E *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		

54. CTH 161: LETTER OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; after 1269 BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
166/b		KBo 28.1	Bk. A: über Raum 4 d. gr. Geb., jedoch in geringer Tiefe in bewegtem Boden	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 22-24 (no. 4); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 242 [A19.I.1]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 87; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 241.
(+)577/b			Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte		
+1199/c			Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt		
+216/e			Bk. A: Büyükkale s/10. Im Schutt über d. heth. Niveau. - Brauner gebr. Ton, ziemlich grob		

55. CTH 162: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI AND PUDUḪEPA
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
66/r	KBo 28.27	162	Bk. E: Büyükkale h/12, unter oberen phryg. Schichten über Geb. E. - rötlich- ockerfarbener gemagerter Ton, Oberfl. grau verfärbt	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 196f. (no. 89).
19/u	KBo 28.52		HaH: L/18 - c/5, aus altem Grabungsschutt. - hellbrauner, gebr. Ton.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 156f. (no. 62); ÄHK II, 1994, 21: "Das 'Haus am Hang', das wir als Grabungsstelle Wincklers im Jahre 1907 als theoretische Fundstelle von Ägypterbriefen oben erwähnt haben, scheidet mangels jedes positiven Belegs aus".
403/w	KBo 28.32		Bk. D: Büyük Kale p-q/10-11 nord. - Brauner gebr. Ton.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 200-203 (no. 94); vgl. J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 332.
Bo 1254	KUB 3.25		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 273: Höchstwahrscheinlich Archiv E, da der Text am 8.8.1906 von H. Winckler kopiert wurde. - [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 182f. (no. 77); ÄHK II, 1994, 273f. (höchstwahrscheinlich aus Bk E).
Bo 1295	KUB 3.27	162.A	---: [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 70-73 (no. 26); vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.7]; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, AfO 48/49, 2001-2002, 104; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 218 mit Anm. 10; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 35; J. Freu, Origines, 2007, 63.

**56. CTH 163: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
2644/c		KBo 28.6	Bk. A: nordwestlich ausserhalb von Raum 6 des Gr. Geb.	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 112-116 (no. 45); vgl. T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 125; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 329, 332.
	+412/d		Bk. A: Büyükkale. Westl. außerh. d. nordteils v. Raum 6 des Magazingeb., obere Lage d. Tabl.-Schutt. - Gebr. Ton, rotbraun, rauh		
	(+)122/e		KBo 28.5			Bk. A: Büyükkale u/9, Tablettenschutt. -

				Hellrotbrauner gebr. Ton, ziemlich grob	
132/e		KBo 28.13	163.1	Bk. A: Büyükkale u/9. Tablettenschutt. - Grober gebr. Ton, innen rotbraun, Oberfläche dunkelbraun	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 180f. (no. 76) mit Tafel XXI-XXII.
	+AnAr 9131	ABoT 1.59		Bk. A *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join	
353/f		KBo 28.35	163	Bk. E *: Büyükkale o/12. Im Schotter vor der W- Front des NW-Turms. - Blass-rotbrauner gebr. Ton, grob	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 26-29 (no. 6); zum Fundort v. id., ÄHK II, 1994, 44; <i>vgl.</i> C. Mora, SEVO 3, 2006, 141; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 218f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 326; Ch. Lebrun, PIOL 66, 2014, 171.
	(+)Bo 6273	KUB 3.126		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 43: KUB III 126 wurde am 11.8.1906 von H. Winckler kopiert, also stammt er sehr wahrscheinlich aus Archiv E - [In Istanbul]	
	+Bo 9126	KUB 3.43		Bk. E *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]	
652/f		KBo 28.30		Bk. C: Büyükkale p-q/16-17. Im Schutt außerhalb der phryg. Burgmauer. - Hellroter gebr. Ton mit gelblichem Überzug	
	+28/n			Bk. H: Büyükkale s/15, phrygisch II. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton	
	+127/r			Bk.: Büyükkale, z/14, aus nachhethitischer Schicht, bei Verbreiterung eines Schnittes von 1954 nach Westen. - Gebr. Ton, im Bruch ziegelrot, mit braunem Überzug	
673/f		KBo 28.41		Bk. C: Büyükkale p-r/16-17. Schutt außerhalb der Burgmauer, obere Lage.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 92f. (no. 35); <i>vgl.</i> V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 265.

				- Ziegelroter gebr. Ton, außen braun, körnig	
26/i		KBo 28.37		Bk. D: Büyükkale q-r/12-13, 1. Schicht. - Grauer gebr. Ton	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 204f. (no. 96).
297/i		KBo 28.33		Bk. D: Büyükkale l-n/10-11. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton [ÄHK II 297: ... doch wird das Fragment aus A stammen...]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 198f. (no. 92).
395/i		KBo 28.19		Bk. D: Büyükkale, Gebäude D, Magazin 8	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 86-89 (no. 32) mit Tafeln IV-V; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.13]; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 36.
	+Bo 1576	KUB 3.42		---: ÄHK II 139: theoretisch Archiv E, da von H. Winckler am 7.8.1906 kopiert; <i>vgl.</i> KUB 3.22 + 371/i. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 94f. (no. 37); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 243 [A19.I.5]; J. de Roos, Eothen 13, 2005, 55.
9/k		KBo 7.11		Bk. A: Büyükkale w/11. Ecke, Raum 6, mit älteren phryg. Scherben	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 234f. (no. 113). Zum Fundort v. ÄHK II, 1994, 356.
31/m		KBo 36.104		Bk. A: Büyükkale, im Schutt südwestl. vom Archiv. - Grauer gebr. Ton, sandig	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 24f. (no. 5); M. Giorgieri, FsHawkins, 2010, 64-75; <i>vgl.</i> Sh. Izre'el, ZA 87, 1997, 145; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 242 [A19.I.1]; C. Zaccagnini, OrNS 69, 2000, 441; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 218; B.E. Aleksandrov, VDI 4(275), 2010, 114.
87/m		KBo 8.14		Bk. A *: Büyükkale x/11, in oberer phryg. Schicht. - Grauer gebr. Ton, etwas sandig [ÄHK II 41: Da x/11 die Gegend unmittelbar vor dem Westeck des Archivs A bezeichnet, dürfte das Fragment sicherlich aus diesem Archiv stammen]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 188f. (no. 80); <i>vgl.</i> I. Singer, JAOS 117, 1997, 734; id., in E.D. Oren (ed.), The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment (University Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium Series 11) - The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
119/n		KBo 28.28		Bk.: Büyükkale, Südhang, Schutt unmittelbar auf dem Hangpflaster, westl. des großen Schnittes. - Bräunlicher gebr. Ton	

					2000, S. 25; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, StBoT 45, 2001, 193f.; J. Freu, Ugarit, 2006, 120; id., Homère, 2008, 92; K. Strobel, Eothen 16, 2008, 18.
588/s		KBo 28.16		Unterstadt: Suchschnitt D, Quadrat F 1, Hittite Level on wall III H (u) 1. - graubrauner, auf der Schriftfläche fast schwarzer Ton [ÄHK II 85: M/18, vermutlich also verschleppt aus den Archiven von Tempel I]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 56f. (no. 23); vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.4].
115/v		KBo 28.15		T.I: L/19 aus altem Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 194f. (no. 87); vgl. J. Freu, Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 40.
1322/v		KBo 28.20		Bk. M: Büyükkale w-x/18, Schuttfüllung vor phryg. Burgmauer. - hellgrauer gebr. Ton	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 192f. (no. 86).
AO 9408		FHL 98		---: ÄHK II 203: Von Reisenden in der Türkei erworben und dem Louvre-Museum übergeben.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 130-133 (no. 49); ÄHK II, 1994, 204: wahrscheinlich o.A. zu KBo 28.42 (= 383/z); vgl. T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 116.
Bo 2667		KUB 3.67		T.I*: ÄHK II 260: Am 3.7.1907 von H. Winckler kopiert, also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Tempel I. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 170f. (no. 71); vgl. C. Zaccagnini, JNES 42, 1983, 251; S. Alaura, Eothen 10, 1999, 17; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 243 [A19.I.6], 282 [A19]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 125; A.A. Nemirovski, VDI 2(245), 2003, 5ff.; J. de Roos, Eothen 13, 2005, 49; J. Freu, Déclin, 2011, 72f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 330; C. Mora, RA 107, 2013, 25.
Bo 3642		KUB 3.52		---: [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 20f. (no. 3); vgl. H. Klengel, FsWegner, 2007, 166 Anm. 73; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 218; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 325.
Bo 5192		KUB 3.45		Bk. E*:	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 427f. (no. 316);

				ÄHK II 149: Sehr wahrscheinlich Archiv E, da der Text am 2.8.1906 von H. Winckler kopiert wurde. - [In Istanbul]		E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 92-95 (no. 36).
Bo 6872		KUB 3.62	163.2	T.I *: ÄHK II 131: Am 1.7.1907 von H. Winckler kopiert, also höchstwahrscheinlich aus dem Archiv von Tempel I stammend. - [In Istanbul]	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 78-81 (no. 29); vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.10].
Bo 9333		KUB 3.34	163	T.I *: ÄHK II 274: Von H. Winckler am 7.7.1907 kopiert, also ziemlich sicher aus Tempel I stammend. - [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 182-185 (no. 78); vgl. H. Klengel, AoF 1, 1974, 167; id., HbOr I/34, 1999, 286 Anm. 600; id., FsWegner, 2007, 165 Anm. 67; Sh.A. Divon, AOAT 349, 2008, 102f.; J. Freu, Déclin, 2011, 228; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 330; I. Singer, FsFreu, 2013, 165f.; Ch. Lebrun, PIOL 66, 2014, 81, 281.
Bo 69/564		KBo 28.31		T.I: Tempel I, vor Mag. 11-12, in altem Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 168f. (no. 70); vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 282 [A19].
NBC 3934				T.I *: ÄHK II 79: von H. Winckler am 30.6.1907 kopiert, kurz nachdem die Grabung am Tempel I wieder angefangen war, also sehr wahrscheinlich aus dem Archiv von Tempel I		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 52-57 (no. 22); vgl. W. Fauth, UF 11, 1979, 245 (verschrieben als KUB 21.37); C. Zaccagnini, JNES 42, 1983, 250; Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 1995, 130; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.3]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 91; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 34f.

57. CTH 164: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO PUDUHEPA (OR OTHER PRINCES)
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
645/c	KBo 28.11	164	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, Mitte, im Tablettenschutt.	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 128f. (no. 48); vgl. H. Otten, MDOG 87, 1955, 15.
+1157/c			Bk. A:		

			Gr. Geb., Raum 5, zwischen Mittelachse und Ostwand, 13 - 18 m von der Südwand, im Tablettenschutt.	
	(+)44/1	KBo 28.12	Bk. D: Büyükkale, q/12. Geb. D, Raum 14. - Braunrötlicher gebr. Ton [ÄHK II 198: Da Gebäude D kein Archiv ist, muß das Fragment 44/1 so oder so dorthin verschleppt worden sein]	
1087/c		KBo 28.2	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 6, nördl. der Mitte, Tabl.-Schutt.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 194f. (no. 88).
1353/c		KBo 28.14	Bk. A: Grosses Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 110ff. (no. 44); vgl. J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 327.
	+1666/c		Bk. A: Nördlich ausserhalb von Raum 5 des Gr. Geb., Tabl.-Schutt.	
	+2442/c		Bk. A: Büyükkale v/10. Raum 5 des Magazins, nordteil, Fußbodenniveau. - Braunroter gebr. Ton, Schriftfläche braungraubraun	
54/f		KBo 28.40	Bk. A: Büyükkale t/13. - Brauner gebr. Ton, sandig	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 190f. (no. 82).
247/n		KBo 28.29	Bk.: Büyükkale aa/13, im Schutt der phrygischen Burgmauer. - Orangelgelber, sandigrober gebr. Ton.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 206f. (no. 98).
90/q		KBo 14.55	Bk. K: Büyükkale, Osthang, Schutt vor Geb. K. - gebrannter ziegelroter Ton	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 48f. (no. 19); ÄHK II, 1994, 74.
259/r		KBo 28.17	Bk.: aus Füllschutt älter phryg. Burgmauer, bb/18. - grauer, gebr. Ton.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 196f. (no. 91).
1188/u		KBo 28.93	T.I *:	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 88-91 (no. 33).
Bo 1803		KUB 3.69		

				ÄHK II 142: Kopiert am 27.7.1907 von H. Winckler in Boghazköi, also ... ziemlich sicher aus den Archiven des Tempels I. - [In Istanbul]	
Bo 2683		KUB 3.66	164.2	T.I *: ÄHK II 260: Am 2.7.1907 von H. Winckler kopiert, also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Tempel I. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 170-173 (no. 72) mit Taf. IX; <i>vgl.</i> C. Zaccagnini, JNES 42, 1983, 251; S. Alaura, Eothen 10, 1999, 17; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 282 [A19]; A.A. Nemirovski, VDI 2(245), 2003, 5ff.
	+Winckler 24			T.I *: ÄHK II 260: Am 2.7.1907 von H. Winckler kopiert, also höchstwahrscheinlich aus Tempel I.	
Bo 2759		KUB 3.68	164.3	T.I *: ÄHK II 264: Von H. Winckler am 6.7.1907 kopiert, also sichr aus den Archiven von Tempel I. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 174f. (no. 73).
Bo 5216		KUB 3.47	164	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 122: Höchstwahrscheinlich Archiv E, da der Text von H. Winckler am 23.7., 26.7. und 9.8.1906 kopiert wurde. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 72-75 (no. 27); <i>vgl.</i> A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 451f. (no. 342); H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.8]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 217f. Anm. 9-10; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 35.
	(+)Bo 7351	KUB 3.58		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 122: Höchstwahrscheinlich Archiv E, da der Text von H. Winckler am 9.8.1906 kopiert wurde. - [In Istanbul]	
Bo 77/17		KBo 28.46		T.I: K/20 II/3, Schutt Makridis. - gelbgrauer, mit feinem Sand gemagerter Ton.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 42f. (no. 14); vgl. J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 202.
VAT 7677		KBo 1.21	164.1	---	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 148f. (no. 57); <i>vgl.</i> T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 117; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.
Winckler 414			164	Bk. E *: ÄHK II 286: Von Winckler am 9.8.1906 unter dieser Nummer kopiert, also	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 188f. (no. 81).

				höchstwahrscheinlich aus dem Archiv E stammend.		
--	--	--	--	---	--	--

Cf.

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
=> E 1082	KBo 68. 169	832	T.I: T.I, Magazin 8	k.A.	Cf. KUB 13.6 + IV 11'-17' (CTH 164).

58. CTH 165: LETTERS OF RAMSES II TO AN UNKNOWN ADDRESSEE
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1735/c		KBo 28.44	Bk. A: Grosses Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt.	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 46f. (no. 17); id., FsAlp, 1992, 133; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 129f. (no. 22C); <i>vgl.</i> A. Bemporad, GsImparati, 2002, 76 Anm. 24; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 202; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 326; Ch. Lebrun, PIOL 66, 2014, 81f.
	+1913/c				
	+2066/c				
	+2371/c	165			
154/v		KBo 28.36	T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - hellgrauer gebr. Ton			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 42-45 (no. 15).
Bo 4740		KUB 3.28	T.I*: E. Edel, ÄHK II, 1994, 258: "Wohl aus den Archiven von Tempel I wie die anderen insibja-Briefe". - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 168f. (no. 69); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 282 [A19].	
	+Bo 9335			165.3	
Bo 7879		KUB 3.44	--- ÄHK II 267: Fundort: Unbekannt. Da höchstwahrscheinlich die insibja-Formel vorliegt, sollte der Brief aus den Archiven des Tempels I stammen. - [In Istanbul]	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 176f. (no. 74); <i>vgl.</i> A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 357 (no. 248); H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 282 [A19]; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 524.	

59. CTH 166: LETTER OF RAMSES II TO KUPANTA-KURUNTA OF MIRA
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 2132		KUB 3.23	Bk. E*: ÄHK II 125: Sicherlich Archiv E, da beide [sc. KUB 3.23 und 3.84] am 26./31.7. bzw. 1.8.1906 von H.	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 74-77, Tafel XVIII-XIX; G. Beckman, HDT ² ,

				Winckler kopiert wurden. - [In Istanbul]		1999, 130f. (no. 22D); vgl. W. Wouters, JCS 41, 1989, 226ff.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.9], 242 [A19.I.4]; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, AfO 48/49, 2001-2002, 104 Anm. 120; ead., WO 37, 2007, 232 Anm. 11; T.R. Bryce, HbOr I/68, 2003, 72 Anm. 52; id., FsHoffner, 2003, 68 Anm. 25; id., Letters, 2003, 92, 217f.; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 30f.; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 229f.; M. Bányai, Anatolica 36, 2010, 4; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.
	+VAT 6168	KBo 1.24		Bk. E *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join		
	+VAT 6168 Zusatzstück	KUB 3.84		Bk. E *: ÄHK II 125: Sicherlich Archiv E, da beide [sc. KUB 3.23 und 3.84] am 26./31.7. bzw. 1.8.1906 von H. Winckler kopiert wurden.		

60. CTH 167: LETTERS OF NAPTERAS, RAMSES II'S WIFE, TO PUDUĦERA (Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
74/e	KBo 28.49	167.2	Bk. A: Büyükkale t/10. Im Schutt über dem heth. Niveau. - Rotbrauner gebr. Ton, grob		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 42f. (no. 13).
335/o	KBo 9.43		T.I *: von Bauern gebracht, angeblich Hang von Büyükkale gegen Großen Tempel. - Grauer gebr. Ton	k.A.	s. G. Ün, AMM 1988 [1989] (mit Photo); E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 40-43 (no. 12) mit Tafel XX-XXI; ÄHK II, 1994, 63 mit Anm. 42; id., FsAlp, 1992, 133; G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 129 (no. 22B); H.A. Hoffner, CoS 3, 2003, 51; vgl. C. Zaccagnini, OrNS 69, 2000, 441; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 325.
+Privat 6	KBo 1.29	167.1	T.I *: ÄHK II 63: ... wurde von H. Winckler am 2.7.1907 kopiert und stammt aus Tempel I. - Privatbesitz Dr. Hahn, dann Sammlung Erlenmeyer, 1988 versteigert in London, erworben von der		

				Londoner Antiquariatshandlung Bernhard Quaritch für 34100 Pfund. Erworben vom Anadolu Medineyetleri Müzesi.	
--	--	--	--	---	--

61. CTH 168: LETTERS OF THE QUEEN MOTHER TUJA TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
762/b		KUB 34.2	Bk. A: grosses Gebäude, Raum 4, T.-Schutt, nördl. Hälfte	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 36-38 (no. 10).
	+1647/c		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt		
426/w			KBo 28.50		Bk. D: Büyük Kale p-q/10-11 nord. - Brauner gebr. Ton.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 38f. (no. 11).

62. CTH 169: LETTERS OF RAMSES AND THE EGYPTIAN PRINCES ŠUTAḪAPŠAP AND RIAMAŠEŠA, TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
17/f	KBo 28.47	169	Bk. D: Büyükkale p/15. Im Schutt der ersten Bauschicht. - Brauner gebr. Ton	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 30f. (no. 7); <i>vgl.</i> S. de Martino, Eothen 18, 2011, 47; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 325.
VAT 13067	KUB 3.70		T.I *: ÄHK II 59: Am 8.6.1907 von H. Winckler kopiert, kurz nach Beginn der Grabungen am Tempel I der Unterstadt; also wohl von daher stammend.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 34-37 (no. 9); G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 128 (no. 22A); <i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 219f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 326; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.

63. CTH 170: FRAGMENTS OF EGYPTIAN-HITTITE CORRESPONDENCE
(Akkadian; 14th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
204/a	KBo 28.39	170	Bk. A: Geb. A Rm. 4	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 204f. (no. 96).
961/c	KBo 28.38		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 6, Mitte, Tabl.-Schutt.	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 190f. (no. 83).

1168/c		KBo 28.34		Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, zwischen Mittelachse und Ostwand, 13 - 18 m von der Südwand, im Tabl.-Schutt.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 196f. (no. 90).
1270/c		KBo 28.68		Bk. A: Grosses Geb., Raum 5, nordteil, Tabl.-Schutt.		s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 430f. (no. 319).
	+133/n			Bk.: Büyükkale. - Hellroter gebr. Ton		
	+134/x			Bk.: Büyükkale, Westhang, im Schutt (y/21). - hellroter gebr. Ton		
1990/c		KBo 36.101		Bk. A: Gr. Gebäude, Raum 5, nordende, Tabl.-Schutt.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 192f. (no. 85).
225/d		KBo 28.51		Bk. M: Büyükkale x/17. Etwa Niveau d. zweiten Bauschicht. - Rotbrauner gebr. Ton		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 14f. (no. 1); <i>vgl.</i> W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 25 Anm. 30; H. Klengel, HbOr I34, 1999, 141 [A12]; C. Zaccagnini, OrNS 69, 2000, 440; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 284; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 43; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 165.
35/k		KBo 7.10		Bk. A: Büyükkale w/12-13, phryg. Schutt		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 200f. (no. 93).
301/u		KBo 28.48		T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt, L/19. - schwärzlich gebr. Ton.		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 32-35 (no. 8); <i>vgl.</i> D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 98 Anm. 16; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 325, 332.
	+Bo 69/608			T.I: Tempel I, im heth. Kanal, östlich von Mag. 10, der hier ohne Decksteine erhalten ist. - dunkelgrauer, im Inneren hellbrauner gebr. Ton		
1073/u		KBo 50.183		T.I: Grabungsschutt L/19. - dunkelgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	s. D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 125f. (Heiratskorrespondenz mit Ägypten); id., GM 218, 2008, 41 Anm. 26 (zu CTH 158); R. Lebrun - A. Degrève, RANT 5, 2008, 130.
2/v		KBo 28.96	170.?	T.I: L/19 aus altem Grabungsschutt. - hellgrauer gebr. Ton	k.A.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 354 (no. 244).
305/v		KBo 57.3	170	T.I: L/19 alter Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 44-47 (no. 16); J.L. Miller, ZA 97, 2007, 133;

	+750/v	KBo 28.45		T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton		<i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 221; D. Groddek, DBH 36, 2011, 1f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 326.
	+Bo 2334	KUB 4.95		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		
319/w		KBo 18.20		Bk. D: Büyük Kale p-q/10-11, unter Fussboden des phrygischen "Pfeilerhofes" in steinigem Schutt. - Ziegelroter, sandiger gebr. Ton.		s. C. Mora - M. Giorgieri, HANE/M 7, 2004, 85f.; E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 232f. (no. 112); <i>vgl.</i> A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 321 (no. 220); Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 1995, 227; C. Mora, GsCagni, 2000, 779; J. Freu, FsKořak, 2007, 287; M. Giorgieri, CDOG 5, 2011, 185.
AnAr 9462		ABoT 2.300	170.?	---		s. R. Akdođan, DBH 32, 2010, 145.
Bo 25		KBo 2.10		Bk. E*: O. Weber, KBo 2, Vorw.: "Die in diesem Hefte veröffentlichte Texte stammen aus der Gruppe A..."; F. Hrozný, MDOG 56, 1915, 21: Gruppe A, gefunden auf dem "Westabhang von Böyük- Kale ...besonders in den Räumen eines Palastes..." - [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 48f. (no. 18).
Bo 678		KUB 3.39		---: [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 150- 153 (no. 59); <i>vgl.</i> J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 328.
Bo 1657		KUB 3.41	170	Bk. E*: ÄHK II 316: Am 8.8.1906 kopiert von H. Winckler. Fundort also sehr wahrscheinlich Archiv E. - [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 208f. (no. 100).
Bo 1673		KUB 3.26		Bk. E*: ÄHK II 316: Gefunden am 31.7.1906, kopiert von H. Winckler am 7.8.1906. Herkunft also ziemlich sicher aus Archiv E. - [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 208f. (no. 99).
Bo 2115		KUB 3.65		Bk. E*: ÄHK II 245: Am 1.8.1906 von H. Winckler in Bođazköy kopiert, also liegt höchstwahrscheinlich der Fundort E vor. - [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 160- 163 (no. 65); A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 358f. (no. 250).
Bo 2219		KUB 3.49		---: [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 150f. (no. 58); A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 358 (no. 249).

Bo 2288		KUB 3.38			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 210f. (no. 102); vgl. S. Lackenbacher, NABU 1994/3, no. 57; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 149 (verschrieben als KBo 3.38).
Bo 3361		KUB 3.51			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 16-19 (no. 2); vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 242 mit Anm. 458 (verschrieben als KUB 3.1); T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 124; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 218; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 325; I. Singer - G. Gestoso Singer, GsVargyas, 2014, 319.
	+Bo 3454				
Bo 4836		KUB 3.124			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 98f. (no. 41); vgl. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 469 (no. 374); J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 330.
Bo 5743		KUB 3.46			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 146f. (no. 56); vgl. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 451 (no. 341); T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 116.
Bo 5890		KUB 3.40			s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 337f. (no. 229); vgl. J. Freu, FsKošak, 2007, 286.
Bo 6233		KUB 3.123			s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 154-157 (no. 61).
Bo 6560		KUB 3.33			jh. s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 478 (no. 405).
Bo 7748		KUB 3.29			k.A. s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 158f. (no. 63).
Bo 9154		KUB 3.32			
Bo 92/129		KBo 31.40		Bk. K: Büyükkale, Gebäude K, Südwestteil. Alter Grabungsschutt. - Hellbrauner, im Kern (bis knapp unter die Oberfläche) hell- dunkelgrauer, mittelfein bis grob gemagerter Ton.	mh. s. E. Edel, ZA 86, 1996, 114-117; R. Lebrun - A. Degrevè, RANT 5, 2008, 124; vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 244 [A19.II.3]; S. de Martino, AoF 32, 2005, 292; J. Klinger, HbOr I/83, 2006, 316 Anm. 59.
VAT 6167		KBo 1.23		---	k.A. s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 166f. (no. 68); vgl. W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 240f.

II. ROYAL LETTERS

64. CTH 172: LETTER OF HATTUŠILI III TO KADAŠMAN-ENLIL II (Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 1802	KBo 1.10	172	Bk. *: Winckler, Tagebuch 14.6.1907: "Kale" - [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 281-300 (no. 204); G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 138-143 (no. 23); id., JCS 35, 1983, 106f., 111; id., JAOS 133, 2013, 206f.; H.A. Hoffner, CoS 3, 2003, 52f.; id., 6. IKH, 2007, 377; K.R. Mineck, ANE, 2006, 275-279; A.A. Nemirovski, VDI 262/3, 2007, 3-27; C. Mora, RA 107, 2013, 23-28; vgl. H.M. Kümmel, StBoT 3, 1967, 97f.; C. Burde, StBoT 19, 1974, 5f.; C. Zaccagnini, JNES 42, 1983, 253f.; W. Wouters, JCS 41, 1986, 229f.; I. Singer, HSS 41, 1991, 170; Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 1995, 50; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, 2. IKH, 1995, 105; F. Starke, ZAR 2, 1996, 143 Anm. 13f.; N. Na'aman, AoF 25, 1998, 61-67; S. Alaura, Eothen 10, 1999, 18ff.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 206 [B8], 223 [B9], 244 [A20.2]; id., FsWegner, 2007, 164; Y. Cohen, StBoT 45, 2001, 80 Anm. 37; id., THeth 24, 2002, 113-118; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 60ff., 131f.; D. Schwemer, Wettergott, 2001, 430 Anm. 3572; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 126ff., 215; J. Freu, FsHoffner, 2003, 111 Anm. 63; id., Débuts, 2007, 291; id., Apogée, 2008, 225f., 260-266; L. D'Alfonso, OLZ 99, 2004, 58-60; id., StMed 17, 2005, 50, 133, 158; J. de Roos, Eothen 13, 2005, 47-49; J. Klinger, HbOr I/83, 2006, 324; M. Herles, AoF 34, 2007, 323; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, CDOG 6, 2008, 215 mit Anm. 37 (verschrieben als KBo 1.110); A. Gilan, Epic, 2009, 61; M. Bányai, Anatolica 36, 2010, 2f.; Li Zheng, 7. IKH,

						2010, 1022; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 159f.; Y. Feder, Blood, 2011, 238; M. Giorgieri, CDOG 5, 2011, 185; M. Yamada, RA 105, 2011, 201; B. Christiansen, StBoT 53, 2012, 83; H.A. Hoffner, FsBeckman, 2013, 145; S. Görke, CRRAI 52, 2014, 364.
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

65. CTH 176: LETTER OF PUDUHEPA TO RAMSES II
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 2045						s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 216-223 (no. 105); A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 325-327 (no. 222); G. Beckman, HDT ² , 1999, 131-135 (no. 22E); id., JCS 35, 1983, 109; H.A. Hoffner, Letters, 2009, 281-290; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 174; W. Wouters, JCS 41, 1989, 233f.; D. Symington, AnSt 41, 1991, 121; S. de Martino - F. Imparati, 2. IKH, 1995, 106f.; E. Neu, FsPuhvel, 1997, 152; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 37 Anm. 112; I. Singer, 3. IKH, 1998, 537; id., bmsaes 6, 2006, 44f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.14], 244 [A19.II.1]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 41, 156; D. Schwemer, Wettergott, 2001, 443 Anm. 3692; Th. van den Hout, StBoT 45, 2002, 216; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 114f.; J. Freu, Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 157ff.; id., Ugarit, 2006, 224; id., Apogée, 2008, 232-235, 267f.; J. de Roos, FsdeRoos, 2006, 20, 22f.; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Kontakte, 2007, 201f.; A. Mouton, CHANE 28, 2007, 25, 43 Anm. 48; Sh.A. Divon, AOAT 349, 2008, 101f.; V. Haas, Orakel, 2008, 126, 163; M. Bányai, Anatolica 36, 2010, 4f.; id., Anatolica 37, 2011, 227f.; Li Zheng, 7. IKH, 2010, 1022; M. Giorgieri, CDOG 5, 2011, 185; E. Rieken - D. Sasseville, AoF 39, 2012, 124-129; P. Goedegebuure, UCLA 24, 2013, 35; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 237f., 254, 300f., 308, 322, 394, 418, 424, 539, 541f.; B. Stipich, GsVargyas, 2014, 337; A. Taggar-Cohen, JISMOR 9, 2014, 35; J.L. Miller, NABU 2016/2, 76 (no. 46).
	+Bo 3975	KUB 21.38	176	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	

66. CTH 187: FRAGMENTARY LETTERS OF THE KING
(Akkadian and Hittite; 14th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
-----------------	--------------	------------	------------------	-------------	---------------------

238/r		KBo 18.21	187.1	Bk. K: Büyükkale y/5-6, im Schutt vor der untersten Terrassenmauer von Geb. K. - gebrannter hellroter Ton	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 231f. (no. 111); P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 91f.; vgl. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, AoF 23, 1996, 50.
AO 7097		(publ.)	187	Amarna	k.A.	EA 363; vgl. A.R. Schulman, JARCE 15, 1978, 44f.
Ashmolean Museum 1207	EA 3; s. E. Devecchi, FsLerberghe, 2012, 148.					
Ashmolean Museum AN1893.1-	EA 43; s. P. Artzi, GsKutscher, 1993, 7-10, mit Photo Plate I; vgl. W.L. Moran, LAPO 13, 1987, 214; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 77; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 271. - (Alte Inventarnummer Ashmolean Museum 1207).					
Bo 528		KUB 23.105		---: [In Istanbul]		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 230f. (no. 110); T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 118; J. de Roos, FsdeRoos, 2006, 24; J. Freu, FsKošak, 2007, 287.
Bo 1940		KUB 60.128			sjh.	s. D. Groddek, Studia Aegyptiaca 17, 2002, 277f.; id., DBH 20, 2006, 128.
Bo 4904		KUB 57.125		---	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 226f. (no. 108); A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 332f. (no. 225); vgl. N. Oettinger, FsHoffner, 2003, 312; S. de Martino, Eothen 18, 2011, 15.
Bo 84/489		KBo 32.200		T.VIII: M/9 - g/9-10, aus Brandschutt über Südmauer des heth. LZ- Gebäudes. - braun bis rotbraun gebrannter Ton weicher Substanz	k.A.	s. P. Neve, Oberstadt, 1999, 168.
Cairo 4752		(publ.)		Amarna		EA 116; vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.12]; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 285.
Cairo 4759	EA 52; vgl. H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 139 [A11.6].					

VAT 326					EA 167; s. Sh. Izre'el, HSS 41, 1991, 46-49; <i>vgl.</i> A.R. Schulman, JARCE 15, 1978, 45; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.19]; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 111; D. Gromova, UF 39, 2007, 298.
VAT 1585					EA 174; <i>vgl.</i> A.R. Schulman, JARCE 15, 1978, 44; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.21]; J. Freu, Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 62; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 129; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 54.
VAT 1639					k.A. EA 140; <i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 55f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.15]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 40; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 44; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 158; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 53.
VAT 1655					k.A. EA 42; s. E. Devecchi, FsLerberghe, 2012, 147f.; <i>vgl.</i> Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 31; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.
VAT 1656					k.A. EA 44; s. H.A. Hoffner, Letters, 2009, 279-281; E. Devecchi, FsLerberghe, 2012, 148f.; <i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 98; id., Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 82; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 139 [A11.3]; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 31f.; Y. Goren et al., JAS 38, 2011, 686.

67. CTH 188: LETTERS TO THE KING OR TO THE QUEEN
(Akkadian and Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
375/w	KBo 18.30	188	Bk. D: Büyük Kale p-q/10-11 nord. - Gelblichgrauer sandiger gebr. Ton.	jh.	s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 93f.; A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 93 (no. 59); <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, Syria, 1992, 174 mit Anm. 486.

BM 29820				EA 53; <i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 63ff.; id., FsPopko, 2002, 96; id., Débuts, 2007, 248f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 139 [A11.7]; D. Gromova, UF 39, 2007, 305f.; ead., Eothen 19, 2013, 106.
BM 29824				EA 59; <i>vgl.</i> W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 13, 17; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.10]; A. Altman, UF 33, 2001, 1-25; Y. Goren et al., MSIA 23, 2004, 118; D. Gromova, Eothen 19, 2013, 109f.
BM 29826				EA 197; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.23]; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 252; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 54.
BM 29829				EA 176; <i>vgl.</i> V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 43; V. Cordani, Eothen 19, 2013, 54.
Cairo 4757				EA 75; <i>vgl.</i> J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 53, 55; id., FsPopko, 2002, 91, 93; id., Šuppiluliuma, 2004, 49f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 140 [A11.11]; A.A. Nemirovski, VDI 3(238), 2001, 10ff.; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 221f.; id., StOront 6, 2009, 13; D. Gromova, UF39, 2007, 279f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 284f.; V. Cordani, Kaskal 8, 2011, 149f.; G. Wilhelm, SBA 87, 2012, 248f.; B. Stavi, THeth 31, 2015, 105-110.

68. CTH 189: LETTER OF PUDUḪEPA TO NIQMADDU III OF UGARIT
(Ugaritic; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
RS 17.434	189	Ugarit:	k.A.	s. D. Pardee, AfO 29, 1983-1984, 321-329; id., CoS 3, 2003, 96f.; H. Niehr, TUATNF 3, 2006,

	+RS 17.434(A)	Ugarit, Königspalast, Raum 56	266f.; <i>vgl.</i> A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 382 (no. 271); I. Singer, HbOr I/39, 1999, 693f.; J. Freu, RANT 1, 2004, 120; id., Ugarit, 2006, 60; id., Déclin, 2011, 161; J. Mynářová, GsSegert, 2006, 454; J. de Roos, FsdeRoos, 2006, 25. - CTH-no. nach Collins, CTH.
	+RS 17.434(B)		
	+RS 17.435		
	+RS 17.436		
	+RS 17.437		
	+RS 17.438(A)		
	+RS 17.438(B)		

69. CTH 193: LETTER OF BENTEŠINA OF AMURRU TO ḪATTUŠILI III
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
141/m	KBo 8.16	193	Bk. G: Büyükkale x/10. - Roter gebr. Ton	jh.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 371f. (no. 260); Sh. Izre'el, HSS 41, 1991, 103f.; <i>vgl.</i> H. Otten, MDOG 88, 1955, 33; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, THeth 8, 1977, 243, 323; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 246 [A22.1]; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 256; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 140f.

70. CTH 208: FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS IN AKKADIAN
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	CTH	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>	
65/a		208	Bk. A: Geb.A Rm. 4	k.A.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 375-377 (no. 263); Sh. Izre'el, HSS 41, 1991, 100-102; <i>vgl.</i> H. Otten, MDOG 88, 1955, 33f.; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, BiOr 51, 1994, 244; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 246 [A22.1]; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 256.	
	KBo 28.54					
42/c	+282/a			KBo 36.103	jh.	s. R. Lebrun - A. Degréve, RANT 5, 2008, 124f.
1572/c				KBo 28.69	---	k.A.	Tafel teilweise vorliniert; s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 432 (no. 320).
Bo 1314						

	+Bo 1764			[In Istanbul]		s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 379-381 (no. 267); vgl. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, BiOr 51, 1994, 245f.; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 223 [B10], 246 [A22.3]; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 33; id., AoF 33, 2006, 246; M. Bányai, Anatolica 36, 2010, 6; B. Stipich, GsVargyas, 2014, 338f.
	+Bo 1885	KUB 3.56				
89/v		KBo 28.43		T.I: L/19 aus Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton		s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 212f. (no. 103).
Bo 1473		KUB 3.50		---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 90f. (no. 34); vgl. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 428 (no. 217).
Bo 7880		KUB 3.35				s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 208- 211 (no. 101); vgl. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 356f. (no. 247).

71. CTH 209: FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS IN HITTITE
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1837/u	KBo 18.44	209	Bk. D: p/10, phryg. Aufschüttung 1 b. - ockerfarbener, gebr. Ton.	mh.	s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 95; A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 192f. (no. 145); S. de Martino, AoF 32, 2005, 303f.
Bo 13	KBo 2.11	209.12	Bk. E *: O. Weber, KBo 2, Vorw.: "Die in diesem Hefte veröffentlichte Texte stammen aus der Gruppe A..."; F. Hrozný, MDOG 56, 1915, 21: Gruppe A, gefunden auf dem "Westabhang von Böyük-Kale ...besonders in den Räumen eines Palastes..."	jh.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 392-397 (no. 302); H.A. Hoffner, Letters, 2009, 352-354; G.M. Beckman et al., Ahhiyawa, 2011, 145-149; vgl. S. Košak, Linguistica 20, 1980, 42; E. Cline, Historia 40, 1991, 5; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 247 [A25]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 157; A.M. Jasink, StudAs 3, 2005, 211 Anm. 9; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Kontakte, 2007, 199f.
Bo 1610	KUB 26.89	209.5	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 214f. (no. 104); P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 86- 88; A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 336f. (no. 228); vgl. S. de Martino - F. Imparati, 2. IKH, 1995, 106; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 261; J. de

					Roos, FsdeRoos, 2006, 23; P. Dardano, GsNeu, 2010, 54f.
Bo 1714	KUB 26.53	209.20	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 224-227 (no. 107); A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 232f. (no. 177).
Bo 3297	KUB 26.90	209.6	---: [In Istanbul]	sjh.	s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 88f.; A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 13f. (no. 8); <i>vgl.</i> I. Singer, HSS 41, 1991, 170 Anm. 54.

E. HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

72. CTH 211: FRAGMENTS OF ANNALS (Akkadian; 14th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 6614	KUB 40.30	211.20	---	mh.?	
1456/u	KBo 50.95	211	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt L/19. - hellgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	s. D. Groddek, DBH 28, 2008, 80; R. Lebrun - A. Degrève, RANT 5, 2008, 129f.; <i>vgl.</i> H.A. Hoffner, FsOtten, 1973, 104; H. Otten, StBoT 17, 1973, 29 Anm. 50; J.L. Miller, KBo 50, 2006, VIII (vielleicht zu KBo 3.3++, v. sub Bo 7396, CTH 63.A).

73. CTH 212: FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT OR INSTRUCTION (Hittite; 15th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
780/f	KBo 31.71	212.15	Bk. D: Büyükkale o-p/15-16. Schutt vor der phryg. Burgmauer. - Hellroter gebr. Ton, rechte Schriftfläche verbrannt	jh.	s. D. Groddek, GsKorolev, 2002, 81-87; I. Singer, Trans 46, 2014, 69-77; <i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, AoF 2, 1975, 47ff.; id., Syria, 1992, 110 mit Anm. 118; P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 89-91; M. Popko, AoF 28, 2001, 149.
+802/f	KBo 16.32		Bk.: Büyükkale r/17. Schutt vor der heth. Burgmauer. - Hellroter gebr. Ton		

74. CTH 214: FRAGMENTS OF HISTORICAL TEXTS (Hittite; 15th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1158/c	KBo 16.42	214.13	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 5, zwischen Mittelachse und Ostwand, 13 - 18 m von der	mh.	<i>vgl.</i> H. Klengel, OA 15, 1976, 85f.; J. Klinger, OLZ 95, 2000, 11; id., GsNeu, 2010, 164; S. de Martino, AoF 32, 2005, 292; id.,

				Südwand, im Tabl.-Schutt.		Eothen 18, 2011, 79; G. Torri, AoF 32, 2005, 396; A. Kosyan, Aramazd, IV/2, 2009, 88f.; M. Forlanini, FsFales, 2012, 279f.; id., FsLanfranchi, 2014, 254.
	+1931/c			Bk. A: Gr. Gebäude, Raum 5, nordende, Tabl.- Schutt.		
	+1964/c					
	+2097/c					
Bo 6486		KUB 26.76	214.12.D	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	s. G.M. Beckman et al., Ahhiyawa, 2011, 168-171 (CT 186); <i>vgl.</i> S. Košak, Linguistica 20, 1980, 42; A.M. Jasink, StudAs 3, 2005, 211 Anm. 8; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Kontakte, 2007, 195f. Anm. 49, 197; A. Mouton, CHANE 28, 2007, 98; E. Devecchi, Philippika 86,1, 2015, 231.

**75. CTH 215: UNDIFFERENTIATED FRAGMENT OF HISTORICAL TEXTS
(Hittite; 13th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 69/357	KBo 22.14	215	T.I: Tempel I, vor Mag. 10, in altem Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton	k.A.	s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 96; D. Groddek, DBH 24, 2008, 25 (zu CTH 134?); id., GM 218, 2008, 42 Anm. 29.

**76. CTH 216: FRAGMENTS OF AKKADIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).**

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
401/c		KBo 28.24	216	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 80-85 (no. 30, 31); ÄHK II, 1994, 138; <i>vgl.</i> C. Zaccagnini, JNES 42, 1983, 250; M. Forlanini, CRRAI 48, 2005, 112 Anm. 6; id., OrNS 81, 2012, 136; id., L'Anatolie, 2014, 73 Anm. 23; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 222 [B7.11-12]; T. Bryce, Letters, 2003, 124; I. Singer, FsdeRoos, 2006, 35f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 330.
	+893/c				
	+902/c				
	+149/m				
	+415/n				149/m wurde auch als KBo 8.13 publiziert.

				Büyükkale n/11. - Hellbrauner gebr. Ton		
154/q		KBo 14.54		Bk. A: Büyükkale v/13, Grube unter phryg. - Dunkelroter hart gebr. Ton.	jh.	
Bo 4837		KUB 3.81	216	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 478 (no. 406); E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1974, 98f. (no. 40).
Bo 7550		KUB 3.83	216	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. E. Edel, ÄHK I, 1994, 164f. (no. 67); <i>vgl.</i> A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 458f. (no. 348).
Bo 5431		KUB 3.82	216	---: [In Istanbul]	k.A.	s. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, 1989, 470 (no. 377); <i>vgl.</i> J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 331; I. Singer, FsFreu, 2013, 165.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL TEXTS

B. ACCOUNTINGS

47. CTH 241: INVENTORIES OF CHESTS

(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
157/f	KBo 18.173	241.7.B	Bk. B: Büyükkale p-q/13-14. Im Schutt der Grabung Makridi, oder wenig unter der ehemaligen Oberfläche. - Roter gebr. Ton, stellenweise schwarzgrau, mit hellem Überzug		s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 33; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 400- 403; <i>vgl.</i> J. de Roos, PIHANSt 109, 2007, 12; M. Gander, THeth 27, 2010, 17; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 268.
416/n	KBo 9.91	241	Bk. D: Büyükkale n/11. - Ziegelroter gebr. Ton	jh.	s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 24- 29; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 329-335; <i>vgl.</i> A. Archi, RSO 52, 1978, 22; A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 133f.; D. Symington, AnSt 41, 1991, 120 Anm. 65; R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 83 mit Anm. 293; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 585 Anm. 294, 678 Anm. 20, 787 Anm. 108, 792 Anm. 130; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 283 [A23]; M. Popko, FsHaas, 2001, 328 Anm. 9; id., StBoT 50, 2009, 16f., 95; A. Taggar-Cohen, THeth 26, 2006, 190; C. Mora, FsKošak, 2007, 539; M. Forlanini, Eothen 16, 2008, 162; J. Siegelová,

						FsVerner, 2011, 333; S. Hutter-Braunsar, 8. IKH, 2014, 362.
Bo 941		KUB 42.14	241.3.A	---		s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 19-22; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 388ff.; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Studi e ricerche 1, 1981, 50ff.; ead.; Eothen 3, 1988, 146; M.-C. Trémouille, SMEA 34, 1994, 93; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 333.
Bo 1439		KUB 42.11		---		s. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, FsVergote. 1975/1976, 100-108; S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 31-39; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 388ff.; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 127, 138, 173; D. Symington, AnSt 41, 1991, 118f. mit Anm. 57; C. Mora, FsKošak, 2007, 539; J. de Roos, PIHANSt 109, 2007, 12; M. Alparslan - M. Doğan-Alparslan, TÜBA-AR 12, 2009, 185; B.I. Faist - J.-P. Vita, NABU 2010/1, 7 (no. 07); M. Gander, THeth 27, 2010, 17; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 331-333; E. Korn - J. Lorenz, WO 44, 2014, 64 Anm. 26; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 268; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 246f.
	+Bo 4829	KUB 42.11	241.7.A	---		

61. CTH 243: INVENTORY OF CLOTHES AND FABRICS
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
167/d	KBo 18.181	243.6	Bk. B: Büyükkale r/14. Raum 5, westl. Teil. - Brauner gebr. Ton, grob	jh.	s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 118ff.; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 363ff.; G.M. Beckman et al., Ahhiyawa, 2011, 176-182; <i>vgl.</i> H.M. Kümmel, StBoT 3, 1967, 75; E. Neu, StBoT 26, 1983, 264 Anm. 50; N. Boysan-Dietrich, THeth 12, 1987, 79; E. Cline, Historia 40, 1991, 4f.; D. Symington, AnSt 41, 1991, 119; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 197 Anm. 95; J. Klinger, StBoT 37, 1996, 443 Anm. 3; P. Taracha, ArOr 67, 1999, 680; id., CHANE 5, 2000, 134, 145; A.M. Jasink, StudAs 3, 2005, 211 Anm. 11; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Kontakte, 2007, 200 Anm. 108; J. Hazenbos, Erfassung, 2007, 103 Anm. 42; R. Lebrun,

						RANT 5, 2008, 366; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 332; M. Weeden, StBoT 54, 2011, 320; M. Giorgieri - C. Mora, 54. CRRAL, 2012, 657; G. Baccelli et al., ATS 18, 2014, 124 Anm. 293; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 267.
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

62. CTH 245: INVENTORY OF JEWELS AND JEWELLERY
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 4905	KUB 42.64	245.2	---	jh.	s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 148-151; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 426-429; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 155, 173; F. Starke, StBoT 31, 1990, 47, 208; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 331; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 248.

63. CTH 247: RECEIPT CERTIFICATE
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 7916	KUB 42.84	247.1	---	jh.	s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 154-156; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 124-129; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 156; F. Starke, StBoT 31, 1990, 208; S. de Martino, Eothen 18, 2011, 83; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 331; C. Mora - M. Vigo, CMP-SR 3, 2012, 188f.

64. CTH 250: FRAGMENTS OF INVENTORIES
(Akkadian; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
21/q	KBo 14.72	250	Bk.: Büyükkale aa/13 nordost, in phrygischer Schicht unter Burgmauerschutt. - Gelblichgrauer, weicher gebr. Ton	jh.	s. S. Košak, THeth 10, 1982, 162; J. Siegelová, Verw., 1986, 432f.; <i>vgl.</i> A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 131f.; J. Siegelová, FsVerner, 2011, 331.

VI. HYMNS AND PRAYERS

65. CTH 378: PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II, FOR THE PLAGUE
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
-----------------	--------------	------------	------------------	-------------	---------------------

1961/u		KBo 54.7	378.7	T.I: Grabungsschutt L/19. - grauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	s. R. Lebrun - A. Degrève, RANT 5, 2008, 130f.; D. Groddek, DBH 31, 2010, 6; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/ : CTH 378.7 (2015sqq.). - Cf. KUB 14.8 (= Bo 2803) Vs. 21'ff.	
Bo 2050		KUB 14.13	378.4.A	---	---	Join mit Bo 7019 J. Lorenz (23.2.2015); s. I. Singer, Prayers, 2002, 64- 66 (no. 13); E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/:CTH 378.4 (2015sqq.); <i>vgl.</i> V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 25 Anm. 73; id., Orakel, 2008, 128; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 130 [B8], 145 [B10.4], 173 [A16]; S.E. Kimball, GsCarter, 2000, 139; M. Hutter, StBoT 45, 2001, 221, 228, 234; D. Crasso, Kaskal 2, 2005, 153 Anm. 63; A. Taggar-Cohen, THeth 26, 2006, 370; ead., JISMOR 9, 2014, 33; P. Sanders, OTS 55, 2007, 186; B.J. Collins, Divine, 2008, 69; S. Luraghi, FsMelchert, 2010, 261; G. Torri, GsNeu, 2010, 323; Ch. Lebrun, RANT 8, 2011, 214; J. Lorenz, JCS 65, 2013, 165; P. Dardano, WO 44, 2014, 180; P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 216.	
	+Bo 4245	KUB 23.124					[In Istanbul]
	+Bo 7019						---
Bo 2803		KUB 14.8	378.2.A	---: [In Istanbul]	jh.	s. I. Singer, Prayers, 2002, 57- 61 (no. 11); J.V. García Trabazo, BCBO 6, 2002, 305- 329; Th. van den Hout, ANE, 2006, 263-266; J. Klinger, TUATNF 7, 2013, 117-120; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/:CTH 378.2 (2015sqq.); <i>vgl.</i> G.M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 157; id., CoS 1, 2003, 215; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 42; T.R. Bryce, JEA 76, 1990, 99; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 37 Anm. 109; 335 Anm. 173; 577f. Anm. 238; id., Literatur, 2006, 255-259; H.C. Melchert, JAOS 117, 1997, 713; id., JCS 50, 1998, 46; id., JANER 1, 2001, 154; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 144 [B10.2], 173	

						<p>[A16]; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 38f.; M. Bachvarova, JANER 6, 2006, 129; V. Cambi, Tempo, 2007, 175; J. Freu, Débuts, 2007, 278f.; D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 103f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 531f.; A. Mouton, FsDinçol, 2007, 528; ead., 28, 2007, 121-123; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 109; P. Sanders, OTS 55, 2007, 183; S.I. Trevisanato, Medical Hypotheses 69, 2007, 1372; B.J. Collins, Divine, 2008, 76; B. Christiansen, Fatale Sprachen, 2009, 45f.; ead., StBoT 53, 2012, 119-121; I. Yakubovich, Luvian, 2010, 55, 398; M. Hutter, CRRAI 54, 2012, 666; P. Goedegebuure, UCLA 24, 2013, 40; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 157, 190, 511f., 554; A. Kloekhorst, StBoT 56, 2014, 38 Anm. 82, 616; Ch. Metcalf, ZA 105, 2015, 47 Anm. 24, 49; id., Gods, 2015, 194f.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

66. CTH 379: “FIFTH” PRAYER OF MURŠILI II, FOR THE PLAGUE, TO THE ASSEMBLY OF GODS (Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1259/u	KBo 50.24	72	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt L/19. - hellgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	<p>Join mit Bo 2442 sowie 359/v, 707/v J.L. Miller (27.12.2004, 11.10.2015), Gesamtjoin (ohne E 586) J.L. Miller (25.2.2015, aufgreifend die Überlegung von I. Singer, Diversity, 2013, 198 Anm. 122); s. D. Sürenhagen, StMed 5, 1985; I. Singer, Prayers, 2002, 66-69 (no. 14); D. Groddek, GM 215, 2007, 95-107; id., DBH 28, 2008, 19-21; id., DBH 36, 2011, 15, 126f.; J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 2007, 252-293; id., FsKořak, 2007, 531; id., Kaskal 4, 2007, 139f. mit Anm. 47; id., 6. IKH, 2008, 533-554 (mit Joinskizze und Photos); id., 8. IKH, 2014, 538; R. Lebrun - A. Degrève, RANT 5, 2008, 127-129; Zs. Simon, AoF 36, 2009, 340-348; G. Wilhelm, WO 39, 2009, 108-116; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 379 (2015sq.); eid, hethiter.net/: CTH 389.45 (2015sq.) [nur 707/v]; vgl. M. Marazzi, SMSR 49, 1983, 327; W.J. Murnane, Kadesh, 1985, 25 Anm. 30; T.R.</p>

					<p>Bryce, JEA 76, 1990, 99; D. Davis, BACE 1, 1990, 33; R.H. Beal, THeth 20, 1992, 410 Anm. 1540; J. Freu, Hethitica 11, 1992, 82; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 385 Anm. 27; 388 Anm. 75; 451 Anm. 19; 661 Anm. 168; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 30f. Anm. 89; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 145 [B11], 174 [A17], 176 [A23.11]; M. Liverani, Relations, 2001, 69f.; M.R. Bachvarova, Diss., 2002, 215; ead., JANER 6, 2006, 131; V. Parker, AoF 29, 2002, 40; Zs. Simon, STAE 18, 2007, 376; J. Freu, Apogée, 2008, 45-50; S. de Martino, AoF 37, 2010, 193; E. Devecchi - J.L. Miller, Crossroads, 2011, 146-157; E. Devecchi, AoF 39, 2012, 38f.; G. Wilhelm, SBA 87, 2012, 245-247; I. Singer, Diversity, 2013, 198 (in Anm. 121 verschrieben als KBo 19.15++); P. Goedegebuure, StBoT 55, 2014, 189f., 385f.; M.B. Hundley, AoF 41, 2015, 188 Anm. 89; A.V. Sideltsev, AoF 42, 2015, 216; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 286f. - Auch CTH 379.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	---

67. CTH 384: PRAYER OF PUDUḪEPA TO THE SUN GODDESS OF ARINNA (Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
546/u		KBo 51.26	384.1.A	T.I: aus altem Grabungsschutt, L/19. - hellgrauer, gebr. Ton.	jh.	<p>s. D. Sürenhagen, AoF 8, 1981, 108-122; J.V. García Trabazo, BCBO 6, 2002, 353-377; I. Singer, Prayers, 2002, 101-105 (no. 22); id., FsHaas, 2001, 398; M. Mazoyer, Apogée, 2008, 346-356; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 384.1 (2015sqq.); vgl. G.M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 233 mit Anm. 13; id., JNES 45, 1986, 21; id., CoS 1, 2003, 215; H.G. Güterbock, FsOttent², 1988, 116f.; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 31 Anm. 89; 386 Anm. 48; 425 Anm. 49; 428f. Anm. 70, 75; 445 Anm. 27; 505 Anm. 116; 589 Anm. 334; 596 Anm. 395; 695 Anm. 161; id., Literatur, 2006, 259-269; J. Klinger, StBoT 37, 1996, 150; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 36f. Anm. 107, 113; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 207 [B9], 224 [B16], 251 [A47]; V. Parker, AoF 26, 1999, 280; J. Boley, IBS 97, 2000, 193f., 204,</p>
	+676/v			T.I: L/19 Grabungsschutt. - grauer gebr. Ton		
	+695/v					
	+Bo 2125					
	+Bo 2370					
	+Bo 8159	KUB 21.27		T.I*: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		

						269; P. Taracha, CHANE 5, 2000, 182 Anm. 72; I. Singer, FsHaas, 2001, 398; H. Hoffner - C. Melchert, GsImparati, 2002, 383f.; J. de Roos, FsdeRoos, 2006, 20f.; I. Yakubovich, JNES 65, 2006, 39; A. Mouton, FsDinçol, 2007, 527; A. Kloekhorst, IEED 5, 2008, 324, 408G. Torri, KSK 3, 2008, 180; T.R. Bryce, CollAnt 2, 2011, 88; Y. Feder, Blood, 2011, 221; M. Weeden, StBoT 54, 2011, 149; A. De Vos, FsLerberghe, 2012, 160; J. Lorenz, CRRAI 56, 2013, 172f., 177; H.C. Melchert, 8. IKH, 2014, 503; S. Hutter-Braunsar, CNES 16, 2015, 32f.
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

VII. RITUALS

B. RITUALS OF KIZZUWATNA

68. CTH 483: EVOCATION RITUAL (Hittite; 15th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 3720		483.IA			Join F. Fuscagni (14.3.2007); s. J.V. García Trabazo, BCBO 6, 2002, 571-595; F. Fuscagni (in Vorbereitung); <i>vgl.</i> T.R. Bryce, BiOr 45, 1988, 675; A.M. Polvani, Eothen 3, 1988, 91f.; F. Starke, StBoT 31, 1990, 119; E. Badali, THeth 14/1, 1991, 327; D. Symington, AnSt 11, 1991, 117 Anm. 49; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 4, 1991, 79f.; E. Neu, FsČop, 1993, 140; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 453 Anm. 40; 458 Anm. 76; 466 Anm. 40f.; 516 Anm. 34; 642 Anm. 39; 695 Anm. 158; 729 Anm. 128; 816 Anm. 241; id., Materia, 2003, 96f. Anm. 439ff., 279f., 335, 656; M. Marazzi, FsBelardi, 1994, 138; V. Haas et al., ChS I/9, 1998, 44-47 (no. 9); M. Forlanini, CRRAI 44, 1999, 9f.; E. Rieken, StBoT 44, 1999, 212; G. Wilhelm, AOAT 298, 2002, 67; G. Torri, StudAs 2, 2002, 104, 144; A. Mouton, RHR 223, 2006, 260; S. Patri, StBoT 49, 2007, 50; S.Ö. Savaş, FsDinçol, 2007, 668; A. Kloekhorst, IEED 5, 2008, 976f.; A.V. Sidel'tsev, 6. IKH, 2008, 694; id., 7. IKH, 2010, 710, 716, 721; J. Puhvel, Aramazd IV/2, 2009, 81; M. Gander, THeth 27, 2010, 75-77; D. Schürr, Klio 92, 2010, 10; Y. Erbil - A. Mouton, JNES 71, 2012, 61; P. Dardano, OrNS 82, 2013, 30, 44, 48; ead., 8. IKH, 2014, 239; ead., WO 44, 2014, 177, 185, 187f.; H.C. Melchert, 8. IKH, 2014, 501; M. Vigo, JIA no. 01/2014, 29; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT
+Bo 8027					
+VAT 7427	KUB 15.34		-	mh.	

						57, 2015, 352. - 1821/u ist Dupl. zu KUB 15.38 (= Bo 3779) I 13'ff.
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

69. CTH 504: INVENTORY OF MANNINI
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>		<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
157/s		KBo 13.127	504.1	HaH: L/18, untere Grabung, b 6, in Makridi-Schutt. - hellbrauner gebr. Ton	jh.	s. S. Kořak, <i>Linguistica</i> 18, 1978, 99-123; J. Siegelová, <i>Verw.</i> , 1986, 441-452; <i>vgl.</i> E. Neu, <i>StBoT</i> 25, 1980, 143 Anm. 478; M. Poetto, <i>Sprache</i> 29, 1983, 39f.; A.M. Polvani, <i>Eothen</i> 3, 1988, 153, 172f.; F. Starke, <i>StBoT</i> 31, 1990, 373, 423, 509 mit Anm. 1875, 516; V. Haas, <i>HbOr</i> I/15, 1994, 531 Anm. 311; 536 Anm. 363; I. Hoffmann, <i>GsForrer</i> , 2004, 379; M. Valério - I. Yakubovich, <i>FsIvanov</i> , 2010, 111; J. Siegelová, <i>FsVerner</i> , 2011, 331; B. Bellucci, <i>FsCarruba</i> ² , 2012, 45; P. Cotticelli Kurras, <i>FsCarruba</i> ² , 2012, 82; M. Giorgieri - C. Mora, 54. <i>CRRAI</i> , 2012, 657; M. Cammarosano, <i>WO</i> 43, 2013, 84 ("(+) KUB 42.78, KBo 31.54"); P. Dardano, <i>OrNS</i> 82, 2013, 57; ead., 8. <i>IKH</i> , 2014, 251; W.J.I. Waal, <i>StBoT</i> 57, 2015, 248.
	(+)Bo 2613	KUB 12.1		HaH *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join - [In Istanbul]		

B. PRAXIS

I. ORACLE REPORTS

70. CTH 582: ORACLE FRAGMENTS
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
Bo 8969	KUB 52.67	582	---	jh.	
459/w	KBo 47.230	582.?	Bk. D: Büyük Kale p-q/10-11 nord, Steinschutt. - Ziegelroter gebr. Ton.	sjh.	s. D. Groddek, <i>DBH</i> 33, 2011, 181f.; <i>vgl.</i> E. Rieken, <i>StBoT</i> 44, 1999, 104 Anm. 474; D. Groddek, <i>WO</i> 38, 2008, 252.

II. DREAMS AND VOWS

71. CTH 590: FRAGMENTS OF DREAMS AND VOWS
(Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
-----------------	--------------	------------	------------------	-------------	---------------------

220/e		KBo 41.60	590	Bk. A: Büyükkale s/10. Im Schutt über d. heth. Niveau. - Roter gebr. Ton mit hellem Überzug	jh.	s. J. de Roos, Diss., 1984, 286-288, 424-427; id., GsImparati, 2002, 181ff.; id., PIHANSt 109, 2007, 136-140, 153f.; R. Lebrun, Samuha, 1976, 213f. (no. 46); <i>vgl.</i> F. Gentili Pieri, Studi e ricerche 1, 1981, 45f.; G.M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 237 Anm. 40; I. Singer, HSS 41, 1991, 166; H. Klengel, HbOr I/34, 1999, 204 [A6]; P. Goedegebuure, 5. IKH, 2002; ead., StBoT 55, 2014, 158; E. Rieken, 5. IKH, 2002; M.-C. Trémouille, AOAT 337, 2006, 211 Anm. 60.
	(+)381/n	KBo 9.96		Bk. A: Büyükkale u/12, außerhalb der Südmauer von A/B. - Ziegelroter gebr. Ton mit hellem Überzug		
Bo 4594		KUB 56.22		---			s. J. de Roos, PIHANSt 109, 2007, 258f.; vgl. R. Lebrun, StBoT 45, 2001, 329; M.-C. Trémouille, AOAT 337, 2006, 203 Anm. 35; A. Mouton, CHANE 28, 2007, 256.

X. FESTIVAL RITUALS AND CULTS

C. VARIOUS RITUALS

72. CTH 669: LONGER RITUAL FRAGMENT (Hittite; 13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
VAT 7467	KUB 20.2	669.12	---	jh.	s. A. Archi, OrNS 55, 1986, 343; D. Groddek, DBH 13, 2004, 5-7; <i>vgl.</i> E. Badalì, THeth 14/1, 1991, 163f.; V. Haas, HbOr I/15, 1994, 338 Anm. 202; D. Yoshida, THeth 22, 1996, 141.

H. CULT OF IŠTAR

73. CTH 716: EVOCATION RITUAL FOR IŠTAR OF NINIVE, OFFICIATED BY THE LÚ.ĪHAL WITH THE LÚ.MEŠNAR (Hittite; 15th-13th century BC).

HPM:

<i>Inv. no.</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>CTH</i>	<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
926/c	KBo 39.170	716.1.E	Bk. A: Gr. Geb., Raum 6, südl. Teil, Tablettenschutt.	jh.	s. D. Groddek, DBH 11, 2004, 220; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (2009sqq.); <i>vgl.</i> J.L. Miller, StBoT 46, 2004, 375. - Dupl. KBo 2.9 (= Bo 12) IV 9-16.
660/f	KBo 21.48	716.1.D	Bk. C: Büyükkale r/15-16. Hinter der südl.	mh.	s. B.J. Collins, CoS 1, 2003, 164f.; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (2009sqq.);

				Stützmauer des Schachtes. - Roter gebr. Ton		<i>vgl.</i> A.V. Sidel'tsev, 6. IKH, 2008, 699; J. Klinger, GsNeu, 2010, 156 Anm. 12; V. Pisaniello, VO 19, 2015, 275.
22/k		KBo 44.193	716.1.C	Bk. A: Büyükkale w/12, tiefere Lage der phryg. Schuttschicht	sjh.	s. B.J. Collins, CoS 1, 2003, 164f.; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (2009sqq.); <i>vgl.</i> M. Forlanini, CRRAI 44, 1999, 11; Th. van den Hout, ZA 96, 2006, 282; H. Roszkowska-Mutschler, DBH 22, 2007, 176; G. Beckman, GsOtten, 2015, 28.
	(+)Bo 34	KBo 2.36		---: nach O. Weber, KBo 2, Vorw., sollte es der "Gruppe A" (Texte aus Bk. E) gehören		
228/u		KBo 35.170	716.1.B	T.I: L/19, aus altem Grabungsschutt. - ockerfarben, gebr. Ton.	jh.	Join F. Fuscagni (4.12.2006); s. D. Groddek - A. Kloekhorst, DBH 19, 2006, 210; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (2009sqq.). - Dupl. KBo 2.9 (= Bo 12).
	(+)Bo 6885			T.I *: Fundort bestimmt durch Join		
Bo 12		KBo 2.9	716.1.A	Bk. E *: O. Weber, KBo 2, Vorw.: "Die in diesem Hefte veröffentlichte Texte stammen aus der Gruppe A..."; F. Hrozný, MDOG 56, 1915, 21: Gruppe A, gefunden auf dem "Westabhang von Böyük-Kale ... besonders in den Räumen eines Palastes..." - [In Istanbul]	sjh.	s. B.J. Collins, CoS 1, 2003, 164f.; ead., RGRW 141, 2002, 230; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (2009sqq.); <i>vgl.</i> A. Archi, OA 16, 1977, 298ff.; H.A. Hoffner, GsFinkelstein, 1977, 108; id., FsKořak, 2007, 390; A.N. Asan, DBH 41, 2014 [1988], 311f.; G. Beckman, FsOtten ² , 1988, 41f. Anm. 60; E. Badalı, THeth 14/1, 1991, 208; E. Neu, FsČop, 1993, 150; Th.P.J. van den Hout, GsKlíma, 1994, 109; M.-C. Trémouille, Eothen 7, 1997, 171 Anm. 580; V. Haas et al., ChS I/9, 1998, 162 (no. 86); M. Forlanini, CRRAI 44, 1999, 11; M. Ofitsch, StBoT 45, 2001, 481; M.R. Bachvarova, Diss., 2002, 161f., 174f.; ead., FsBeckman, 2013, 27 Anm. 18; V. Haas, Materia, 2003, 619, 716f.; id., AOAT 318, 2004, 219; J.L. Miller, StBoT 46, 2004, 374 mit Anm. 558; id., Interfaces, 2008, 69; S.Ö. Savaş, FsDinçol, 2007, 671; İ. Tař, JAA 125, 2007, 28; J. Yakar - A. Taffet, FsDinçol, 2007, 783; W.J.I. Waal, StBoT 57, 2015, 503.