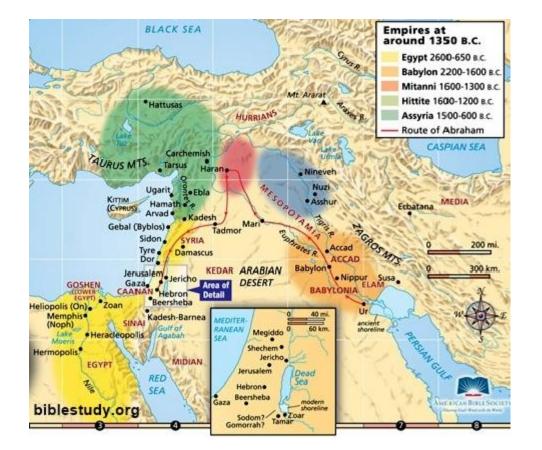
# The End of Sefer Devarim as a Window into the Theology of Moshe's Farewell Speech



#### Ari Mermelstein

# 1. Historical prologue (Deuteronomy 1:6–3:29; 5)

#### Treaty between Shattiwaza of Mittanni and Suppiluliuma I of Hatti

Thus says Shattiwaza, son of King Tushratta ... He would have killed me ... but I escaped from his hands ... The gods of the King of Hatti and the gods of the king of Mitanni caused me to reach his majesty, Suppiluliuma ... I fell at the feet of His Majesty, Suppiluliuma ... The Great King took me by the hand and rejoiced over me ... the Great King and Hero spoke as follows: "If I conquer Shuttarna and the troops of the land of Mitanni, I will not reject you but will adopt you as my son. I will stand by you and place you on the throne of your father. And the gods know My Majesty, Suppiluliuma ... never goes back on the words which issue from his mouth." Thus says Shattiwaza, son of Tushratta: I rejoiced at the words of the King, my lord, which I heard. ... And the gods of the Great King, King of Hatti, protected us, and the Hurrians whom Shuttarna had sent as protection to Irrite, as well as the chariotry and troops and chariotry which had sat within the city came out before us. We captured and destroyed all the…

# 2. Allegiance of בני ישראל to the covenant

Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon	Deuteronomy 6:4–9	דברים ו:ד–ט
You shall love Assurbanipal, the	Hear, O Israel! The LORD is our God, the	שְׁמַע, יִשְׂרָאֵל : יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ,
great crown prince designate,	LORD alone. You shall love the LORD	יְהוָה אֶחָד. ה <b>וְאָהַבְּתָּ, אֵת</b>
son of Esarhaddon, king of	your God with all your heart and with all	יְהוָה אֱלהֶיךָ, בְּכָל-לְבָבְךָ
Assyria, your lord, like	your soul and with all your might. Take to	<b>וּבְכָל-נַפְשְׁדָּ, וּבְכָל-מְאָדֶדָּ</b> . ו וְהַיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֵה, אֲשֵׁר
yourselves. This treaty which	heart these instructions with which I charge	אַנֹכִי מִצַוּך הַיּוֹםעַל-לְבָבֵך. ז אַנֹכִי מִצַוּך הַיּוֹםעַל-לָבָבֵך.
Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has	you this day. Impress them upon your	<b>וּשְׁנַּרְתָּם לְבָנֵיף</b> , וְדְבַּרְתָּ בָּם,
confirmed and concluded with you	children. Recite them when you stay at home	בּשִׁבְתָּדְ בְּבֵיתֶדְ וּבְלֶכְתָדְ בַדֶּרֶדְ,
on behalf of Assurbanipal, the	and when you are away, when you lie down	וּבְשָׂכְבְּדְ וּבְקוּמֶדְ. ה וּקְשַׁרְתָּם
great crown prince designate and	and when you get up. Bind them as a sign on	לְאוֹת, עַל-יָדֶדָ ; וְהָיוּ לְטֹטָפֹת,
his brothers, sons by the same	your hand and let them serve as a symbol on	בין עיניד. טוּכְתַבְתָּם עַל-
mother as Assurbanipal, the great	your forehead; inscribe them on the doorposts	מְזֶזוֹת בֵּיֹתֶדּ, וּבִשְׁעָרִידְ. {ס} י וְהָיָה כִּי יְבִיאֲדְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶידָּ,
crown prince designate, by	of your house and on your gates. When the	אַל-הָאָרֵץ אַשֵׁר נִשְׁבַּע לַאַבתֵיד
making you take an oath, you	LORD your God brings you into the land that	לְאַבְרָהָם לִיִצְחָק וּלִיַעֵקב
shall speak to your sons and	He swore to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and	לְתֶת לָדְ . עַרִים גְּדלת וְטבת,
grandsons, your seed and your	Jacob, to assign to you—great and flourishing	אֲשֶׁר לא-בָּנִיתָ יב השָׁמֶר
seed's seed which shall be born	cities that you did not build take heed that	לְדָ, פֶּן-תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת-יְהוָה, אֲשֶׁר
in the future, and give them	you do not forget the LORD who freed you	הוּצִיאַד מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, מִבֵּית עַבָּדִים. <b>יג אֶת-יִהוָה אֵלהֵיד</b>
orders as follows: "Guard this	from the land of Egypt, the house of bondage.	תּירָא, וְאֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹד; וּבִשְׁמוֹ,
treaty. Do not sin against your	Revere only the LORD your God and	תשבע. יד לא תלכון, אחרי
treaty and annihilate yourselves,	worship Him alone, and swear only by His	אֶלהִים אֲחֵרִיםמֵאֶלהֵי,
do not turn your land over to	name. Do not follow other gods, any gods	הָעַמִּים, אֲשֶׁר, סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם.
destruction and your people to	of the peoples about you— for the LORD	טו כִּי אֵל קַנָּא יְהוָה אֱלהֶידָּ,
deportation. May this matter	your God in your midst is an impassioned	בְּקַרְבֶּדּ: פֶּן-יֶחֱרֶה אַף-יְהוָה אלבנד בד נבוימינדד מויל
which is acceptable to god and	God—lest the anger of the LORD your	אֲלֹהֶיךּ, בָּדָ, וְהִשְׁמִידְדָ, מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדַמָה יוֹ שַׁמוֹר
mankind, be acceptable to you too,	God blaze forth against you and He wipe	תּשְׁמִרוּן, אֵת-מִצוֹת יְהוָה
may it be good to you. May	you off the face of the earth. Be sure to keep	אֵלהֵיכֵם, ועדתיו וחקיו, אַשֵּר
Assurbanipal, the great crown	the commandments, decrees, and laws that the	צְּנָדָ. יֹח וְעָׁשִׁיֹתָ הַיָּשָׁר וְהַטוֹב,
prince designate, be protected for	LORD your God has enjoined upon you. Do	בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָהלְמַעַן, יִיטַב לָדָ,
(his) lordship over the land and the	what is right and good in the sight of the	וּבָאתָ וְיָרַשְׁתָּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַכְּוֹהָה אַשְׁרָ-וַשְׁרָש
people, (and) may his name later be	LORD, that it may go well with you and that	ַהַּטֹּבָה, אֲשֶׁר-נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לַאֲבֹתֶידָּ. יט לַהֲדֹף אֶת-כָּל-
proclaimed for the kingship. <b>Do</b>	you may be able to possess the good land that	איִבֵידָ, מִפָּנֵידָ, כַּאֲשֵׁר, דְּבֵר
not place any other king or any	the LORD your God promised on oath to	ייין אין אין אין אין אין אין אין אין אין
other lord over you."	your fathers,	

# 3. God's affection for His people

Deuteronomy 7:5–11	דברים ז:ה-יא
<ul> <li>(5) Instead, this is what you shall do to them: you shall tear down their altars, smash their pillars, cut down their sacred posts, and consign their images to the fire.</li> <li>(6) For you are a people consecrated to the LORD your God: of all the peoples on earth the LORD your God chose you to be His treasured people.</li> <li>(7) It is not because you are the most numerous of peoples that the LORD set His heart on you and chose you—indeed, you are the smallest of peoples;</li> </ul>	(ה) בִּי־אִם־כְּה תַּעֲשׁוּ לָהֶׁם מִזְּבְּחֹתֵיהֶם תּּתֹּצוּ וּמַצבֹתָם תְּשַׁבֵּרוּ וַאֲשֵׁירַהֶם תְּנַדֵּעוּו וּפְסִילֵיהֶם תִּיּרְכְּוּן בָּאֲשׁ: (ו) בִּי עֵם קָדוּשׁ אַתֶּׁה לַיהוֶה אֱלֹהֵיוּ בְּדָּ בְּחָ בַחָר ו יְהוֶה אֱלֹהֶיוּ לִהְיוֹת לוֹ <b>לְעַם סְגַלֶּה</b> מִכּּל הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּגֵי הָאֲדָמֵה: (ס) (ז) לְא מֵרַבְּכֶם מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים חָשַׁק יְהוֶה בָּכֶם וַיִּבְחַר בָּכֵם בַּי־אַתֶּם הַמְעַט מִכָּל־הָעַמֵּים:
<ul> <li>(8) but it was because the LORD loved you and kept the oath He made to your fathers that the LORD freed you with a mighty hand and rescued you from the house of bondage, from the power of Pharaoh king of Egypt.</li> <li>(9) Know, therefore, that only the LORD your God is God, the steadfast God who keeps His covenant faithfully to the thousandth generation of those who love Him and keep His commandments,</li> <li>(10) but who instantly requites with destruction those who hate Him—never slow with those who reject Him, but requiting them instantly.</li> </ul>	(ח) כִּיֹ מֵאַהַבָּׁת יְהוֹה אֶתְכָּם וּמִשְׁמְרָוּ אֶת־הַשְׁבֵעָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעׂ לַאֲבְתֵיכָם הוֹצִיא יְהוֶה אֶתְכָם בְּיָד חַזָּקֵה וַיִּפְדְדּ מִבֵּית אֲבָדִים מַיָּד פַּרְעָה מֵלֶדּ־מִצְרֵיִם : (ט) <b>וְיִדֵּעְתָּ</b> פֵּי־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶידּ הָוּא הָאֱלֹהֵים הָאֵל הַנָּאֶמֶׁן שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרֵית וְהַהֶסֶד <b>לְאֹהֲבֵיו</b> וּלְשׁמְרֵי מצותו [מִצְוֹתֶיו] לְאָלֶף דְּוֹר: הַבְּרֵית וְהַהֶסֶד <b>לְאֹהֲבֵיו</b> וּלְשׁמְרֵי מצותו [מִצְוֹתֶיו] לְאָלֶף דְּוֹר: (י) וּמִשַׁלֵּם <b>לְשׂוְאֶיו</b> אֶל־פָּנָיו לְהַאֲבִידֵוֹ לְא יְאַחֵר לְשְׁוֹּאוֹ אֶל־פָּנָיו

# Treaty between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Huqqana of Hayasa

You, Huqqana, benevolently protect My Majesty, and stand behind only My Majesty. You shall not recognize anyone else beyond that. And I, My Majesty, will benevolently protect you. Later, I will protect your sons, and my son will protect your sons. And if you always behave well and benevolently protect My Majesty, then I, My Majesty, will later act favorably in regard to your sons, and my son will benevolently protect your sons. I, My Majesty, will protect you.

# Opening salutation of a letter from Suppiluliumas II to Ammurapi

No[w you belong] to the Sun, your lord; You are [his serva]nt, his treasure (*sglth.at*). Now, [how is it that] you do not acknowledge (*yd'm.l.yd'*t) the Sun, your lord? Why have you not come to me, the Sun, your lord, for one year, for two years?

Exodus 19:3–6	שמות יט:ג–ו
And Moses went up to God. The LORD called to him from the mountain, saying, "Thus shall you say to the house of Jacob and declare to the children of Israel: 'You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to Me. Now then, if you will obey Me faithfully and keep My covenant, <b>you shall be My treasured possession among all the</b> <b>peoples.</b> Indeed, all the earth is Mine, but <b>you shall be to Me a</b> <b>kingdom of priests</b> and a holy nation.' These are the words that you shall speak to the children of Israel."	ג וּמֹשֶׁה עָלָה, אֶל-הָאֱלָהִים; וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו יְהוָה, מִן- הָהָר לֵאמר, כּּה תּאמַר לְבֵית יַעֲקָב, וְתַגִּיד לְבֵנִי יִשְׁרָאֵל. ד אַתֶּכם רְאִיתֶם, אֲשֶׁר עָשִׁיתִי לְמִצְרָיִם; וְשָׁתָּה, אִם-שְׁמוֹע תִּשְׁמְעוּ בְּקֹלִי, וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם, אֶת- בְּרִיתִיו <b>ַהְיִיתֶם לִי סְגֵלָה מִכָּל- הָעַמִּים</b> , כִּי-לִי כָּל- הָאָרֶץ. ו ו <b>וַאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ-לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהַנִים</b> , וְגוֹי הָאָרֶץ. ו ו <b>וַאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ-לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהַנִים</b> , וְגוֹי

דברים טז:טז	שמות כג:יז
שָׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשְׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָל-זְכוּרְדָּ אֶת-פְּגֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶידָּ, בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָרבְּחַג הַמַּצּוֹת וּבְחַג הַשְּׁבֻעוֹת, וּבְחַג הַפֻּפּוֹת; וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת-פְגֵי יְהוָה, רֵיקָם	שָׁלשׁ פְּעָמִים, בַּשְׁנָהיֵרָאֶה, כָּל-זְכוּרְדָ, אֶל-פְּנֵי, הָאָדֹן יְהוָה
Three times a year—on the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on the Feast of Weeks, and on the Feast of Booths—all your males shall appear before the LORD your God in the place that He will choose. They shall not appear before the LORD empty-handed,	Three times a year all your males shall appear before the Sovereign, the Lord.

# 4. Covenantal stipulation: A vassal's betrayal of his sovereign

The state of the s	133_2.33 (33)-2.33 (33)-2.34
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Treaty between Arnuwanda I of Hatti and the Men of IsmerikaIf anyone [ut]ters a malicious word before you [whether it is a border lord,] or a commoner, or a Hitt[ite o]r a Kizzuwatner, or his people, his own father, his mother, his brother, his sister or his son, [his] relative by marriage. Whoever says such a word, no one is to h[i]de him, but shall rather seize him and expose him! If in the midst of my country any city sins, then you people of Ismerika	דברים יג:ז-יט בַּכִּי יְסִיתְדָּ אָחֵידָ בָן־אָמֶדְ אוֹ־בִּנְדָּ אוֹ־בִתְדָ אַוֹ   אֲשֶׁע חֵילָדָ אָוֹ הַעֲדֶ אֲשֶׁר כְּנַכְשִׁדָ בַּפֵּתֶר לַאמֶר גַלְכָה וְנַעַבְדָה אֱלֹהֵים אֲחֵרִים אֲשֶׁר לָא יָדַעְתָּ אַתָּה וַאֲבֹתֶידָּ מַאֱלֹהֵי הַעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִילַתֵיכָם הַקּרבַים אַשֶׁר לָא יָדַעְתָּ אַתָּה וַאֲבֹתֶידָּ מַאֱלֹהֵי הַעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִילַתֵיכָם הַקּרבַים אַשֶׁר לָא יָדָעָתָּ אַתָּה וַאֲבֹתֶידָּ מַאֱלֹהֵי הַעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִילַתֵיכָם הַקּרבַים אַבֶּיד אָוֹ הַרְחֹקִים מִמֶדָ מַקְצָה הָאָרָץ יַרְאדַקַבָּה הָאָרָץ אַרִיקבָּה הָאָרָץ וּיִדַיקְצָה הָאָרָץ הַיַרְעָבִיקַבָּה וָנַעַבְדָרָם הַיַרָּעָמִית בְּאַבָנִים וָמֵת בַּי בִפַּשׁ לְהַדֵּיחָדָּ מַעַל יְהוָה אֲלֹהֶידּ הַמּוֹצִיאָדָ מֵאָרָן הַיַקַלְתָּוֹ בָאַבָנָים וָמֵת בִּי בִפַּשׁ לְהַדֵּיחָדָ מַעַל יְהוָה אֵלהֶידּ הַמּוֹצִיאָדָ מַאָּרָי וּסְקַלְתוֹ בָאַבָנִים וָמֵת בִּי בְקַשׁ לְהַדֵּיחָדָ מַעַל יְהוָה אֵלהֶידּ הַמּוֹצִיאָדָ מָצְרָיִם מְבֵּיתוּ אָרָיזים מָצְרָים מְבֵּית שְׁבָדָים גַיְרָהָיָם מְאַרָיָם הַבָּרָינָיד וּשָׁשָּרָים וָמָד בָי הָדָדָים אָקרָים מְצָרָים הָאַרָדָים אָרָרָים מְצָרָים הָאָרָין גַּרָידִים אָבָרָים מָשָּרָים הָאָרָרָין אָרָרָים מְבָּינִידָדָי הַעָרָים אָחָרָים אָקוּין וּיָדָרָעָין אָרָרָים מָבָּירָין בָאַבָּנִים הָאָרָין אָרָרָים מְבָּרָים הָבָרָים הַאַרָרָין אָרָרָים מָאָרָהיין בַאַרָרָים אָבָרָים הַאַנָרָין אָרָין בַירָים אָשָרָים הָאַיָין בָאַרָין בַיַרָין אָשָּיין וּידָים אָבָיים וּיָין בַאַרָיים אָעָריין בָידָים אָינוּין בָידָרָים אָיָדיים אָבָיים בָּמָרָין גַיָּרָאָרָין בַעָּרָדָהָן בַיַיָּרָין אָעָרָין הָיָרָים אָיָרָין אַיָּין אַין גַיָּאַרָים אָעָרָין בָעַיָּדָאָן אָינוּין בָעָרָיָה אָנוּין בַעָין אָעָשָּין בָירָין בָעָרָיןין בָעָרָין אָעָין גַייָריישָרָר גַעָין בָעָרָרָרָין אַרָאָין בַעָרָין אַין גַין גַעַרָּדָיָהָין בַעַיָרָין בַיָעָין אַינוּין בַיעָרָין גַעָין בַיירָרָין בַעַרָרָיָעָין בַעָין בָעַיָּין בָעָין בָין בַיין גַעָין בַעָין בַיעָריין בַיָין בַיָין בָיין בַיין בַיין בַיין בַיָרָין אַין בַיין בָיין בַיין בַיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בַיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בָיין בַי
shall enter it, and strike [that city] including the men. You shall bring the	ַיָּשְׁלְיָם אֲבֵּהָים אֲשֶׁר כָּא יְדַיְגְנָם . וְדָרַשְׁתָּ וְחָקַרְתָּ וְשָׁאַלְתָּ הֵיאֵב וְהַגֵּה אֱמֶת נָכִוֹן הַדָּבָּר נֶעֶשְׂתֶה הַתּוֹעֵבָה הַזָּאת בְּקַרְבֵּדּ:
conquered civil folk before His Majesty; however, [you take] the cattle and the	הַפָּה תַּכָּה אֶתיּיִשְׁבֵי הָעֵיר ההוא [הַהָיא] לְפִי־ְחָרֶב הַחֲרֵׁם אֹתָהּ וְאֶת־כָּליאֲשֶׁר־בָּהִ וְאֶת־בְּהֵמְתָּה לְפִי־חֵרֵב :
sheep. If, however, in the midst of a city any house s[ins, th]is house including the	ּוְאֶת־כָּלִישְׁלָלָה תִּקְבּּאָ אֶליתִּוֹךְ רְחֹבָה וְשָׁרַפְתָּ בָאֵשׁ אֶת־הָאֵיר וְאֶת־כָּל־שְׁלָלָה כָּלִיל לַיהוָה אֶלהֶידְ וְהִיְתָה מֵּל עוֹלָם לָא תִבָּנֶה עוֹד : וְלָאִיִדְבַּק בְּיָדְדָ מְאָוּמָה מִרַהַחֵרֶם לְמַעַן יָשׁוּב יְהוָה מֵחֲרוֹן אַפּוּ וְנֵתַן־לְדָ רַחֲמִים
men is to die; the servants you shall bring [to His Majesty], you take, however, the cattle and sheep. [If] any individual person sins, [he alone shall die.]	ּוְרַחַמְדָ וְהִרְבָּדְ כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבְּע לַאֲבְעָידָ: כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶידָּ לִשְׁמר אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוְדָ הַיָּוֹם לַאֲשוֹת הַיָּשְׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶידָּ: (ס)
	6 If anyone secretly entices you—even if it is your brother, your father's son or your mother's son, or your own son or daughter, or the wife you embrace, or your most intimate friend—saying, "Let us go
	worship other gods," whom neither you nor your ancestors have known, 7 any of the gods of the peoples that are around you, whether
	near you or far away from you, from one end of the earth to the other, 8 you must not yield to or heed any such persons. Show them no pity or compassion and do not shield them. 9 But you shall surely kill them;
	your own hand shall be first against them to execute them, and afterwards the hand of all the people. 10 Stone them to death for
	trying to turn you away from the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery. 11 Then all Israel shall hear and be afraid, and never again do any such wickedness. 12 If you hear it said about one of the towns that the Lord your God is
	giving you to live in, 13 that scoundrels from among you have gone out and led the inhabitants of the town astray, saying, "Let us go and worship other gods," whom you have not known, 14 then you shall inquire and make a thorough investigation. If the charge is established
	that such an abhorrent thing has been done among you, 15 you shall put the inhabitants of that town to the sword, utterly destroying it and everything in it—even putting its livestock to the sword. 16 All of its
	spoil you shall gather into its public square; then burn the town and all its spoil with fire, as a whole burnt offering to the Lord your God. It shall remain a perpetual ruin, never to be rebuilt. 17 Do not let

anything devoted to destruction stick to your hand, so that the Lord
may turn from his fierce anger and show you compassion, and in his
compassion multiply you, as he swore to your ancestors, 18 if you obey
the voice of the Lord your God by keeping all his commandments that
I am commanding you today, doing what is right in the sight of the
Lord your God.

#### 5. Oath and call for witnesses

#### Treaty between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Huggana of Hayasa

You, Huqqana, benevolently protect My Majesty, and stand behind only My Majesty. You shall not recognize anyone else beyond that. And I, My Majesty, will benevolently protect you. Later, I will protect your sons, and my son will protect your sons. And if you always behave well and benevolently protect My Majesty, then I, My Majesty, will later act favorably in regard to your sons, and my son will benevolently protect your sons. I, My Majesty, will protect you.

# I have now placed these words under oath for you, and we have now summoned the Thousand Gods to assembly in this matter.

The Sun-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Storm-god of Hatti, the Storm-god of Aleppo, the Storm-god of Arinna, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, the Storm-god of Sapin- uwa, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god of Hisashapa, the Storm-god of Sahpina, the Storm-god of the Army, the Storm-god of the Market(?), the Storm-god of Uda, the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Pitti- yarik, the Storm-god of Samuha, [the Storm-god] of Sarissa, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of the Ruin Mound, the Storm-god [of ...], the Storm-god of Hulasa, Hebat of Uda, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, the Tutelary Deity, the Tutelary Deity of Hatti, Zithariya, Karzi, Hapantaliya, the Tutelary Deity of Karahna, the Tutelary Deity [of the Countryside], the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag, Aya, Ishtar, Ishtar of the Countryside, Ishtar of Nineveh, [Ishtar] of Hattarina, Ishtar, Queen of Heaven, Ninatta, Kulitta, the War-god, the War-god of Illaya, the War-god [of Arziya], all the deities of the army, Marduk, Allatu, [the Sun-goddess] of the Earth, Huwassanna of Hupisna, Ayabara of Samuha, Hantitassu [of Hurma], Katahha of Ankuwa, [Ammamma] of Tahurpa, the Queen of Katapa, Hallara of Dunna, the [mountain-dweller] gods, the [mercenary] gods, all the deities of Hatti, the deities [...] of the land, the deities of heaven, the deities of the earth, the mountains, [the rivers, the springs, the clouds], heaven, the earth, the great sea - they [shall be witnesses].

...And if you do not tell me about him, but even [hide] him, or go over to him, abandoning My Majesty—if you act thus, these oath deities will not leave you alone, nor on your account will they leave alone that man to whom you go over. They shall destroy him. And the oath gods shall not neglect this matter in regard to both of you, and they shall not make it permissible for both of you. They shall destroy both of you together and thereby fulfill the wishes of My Majesty. But if you, Huqqana, protect only My Majesty and take a stand only behind My Majesty, then these oath gods shall benevolently protect you, and you shall thrive in the hand of My Majesty.

Deuteronomy 29–30	דברים כט–ל
You stand this day, all of you, before the LORD your God— your tribal heads, your elders and your officials, all the men of Israel,	אַתֶּׁם נִצְּבִים הַיּוֹם כִּלְכֶׁם לְפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם רָאשֵׁיכֶם שִׁבְּטֵיכֶם זִקְנֵיכֶם וְשִׁטְרֵיכֶּם כָּל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל: 
 to enter into the covenant of the LORD your God and its sanctions, which the LORD your God is concluding with you this day, with its sanctions;	ל <b>עַבְרְדָׁ בִּבְרֵית יְהוֶה אֱלֹהֶידּ וּבְאָלָתֵ</b> וֹ אֲשֶׁר <sup>ַ</sup> יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶׁידָ פַּׁרֵת עַמְדָּ הַיָּוֹם:
to the end that He may establish you this day as His people and be your God, as He promised you and as He swore to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.	לְ <b>מַעַן הָקִים־אֹתְדָּ הַיּוֹם l לוֹ לְעָׁם וְהָוּא יֵהְיֶה־לְדְ לֵאלהִים</b> פַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר־לֶדְ וְכַאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעֹ לַאֲבֹתֶידְ לְאַבְרָתָם לְיִצְחָק וִלְיַעֲקֹב:
Perchance there is among you some man or woman, or some clan or tribe, whose heart is even now turning away from the LORD our God to go and worship the gods of those nations—perchance there is among you a stock sprouting poison weed and wormwood.	ַיַּיַשׁ בָּכֶם אֵישׁ אוֹ־אִשְׁה אָוֹ מִשְׁפָּחָה אוֹ־שָׁבֶט אֲשֶׁר לְבָבוֹ פֶּרְיוָשׁ בָּכֶם אֵישׁ אוֹ־אִשְׁה אָוֹ מִשְׁפָחָה אוֹ־שָׁבָט אֲשֶׁר לְבָבוֹ פְּרֶהֵם פֶּרְיֵשׁ בָּכֶּם שֶׁרֶשׁ פְּרֶה רָאשׁ וְלַעְנֵה: 
 The LORD will single them out from all the tribes of Israel for misfortune, in accordance with all the sanctions of the covenant recorded in this book of Teaching.	<b>ןהִבְּדִּילָו יְהוָה</b> ׁ <b>לְרָעָׂה מִכָּּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּכֹלֹאָלָוֹת</b> הַבְּּרִית הַכְּתוּבָּה בְּסֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה: 
 See, I set before you this day life and prosperity, death and adversity.	ְרְאֵׁה נָתָתִּי לְפָנֶׁי <del>ך</del> ְ הַיּׁוֹם אֶת־הַחַיָּים וְאֶת־הַאֵּוֹב וְאֶת־הַמָּוֶת וְאֶת־הָרֵע: 
But if your heart turns away and you give no heed, and are lured into the worship and service of other gods, I declare to you this day that you shall certainly perish; you shall not long endure on the soil that you are crossing the Jordan to enter and possess.	ןאִם־יִפְגֶה לְבָבְךָּ וְלָא תִשְׁמֵע וְנִדַּחְתָּ וְהֵשְׁתַּחֲ(יִתָ לֵאלֹתִים אֲחֵרֶים וַעֲבַדְתָּם: הַגַּדְתִּי לָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבָד תּאבֵדוּן לא־תַאֲרִיכֵן יָמִים עַל־ תַאֲדָּמָה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עבר אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן לָבָא שֻׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתֵּה:
I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day: I have put before you life and death, blessing and curse. Choose life—if you and your offspring would live— by loving the LORD your God, heeding His commands, and holding fast to Him.	ַהַעִידׁתִי בְכֵם הַיּוֹם ֶאֶתִיהַשְׁמַיִם וְאֶתִיהָאָרֶץ הַחַיֵּים וְהַפָּוֶת נְתַּתִּי לְפְגֶידְ הַבְּרָבָה וְהַקְלָלֶה וּבָחַרְתָּ בַּחַיִים לְמַעַן תִּחְיֶה אַתָּה וְזָרְעֶדּ: לְאַהֲבָה אֶתִיְהוֶה אֱלהֶׁידָּ לִשְׁמַעַ בְּקֹלוּ וּלְדָבְקָה׳בֵו

#### 6. Curses and blessings

### Treaty between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mittanni

They shall stand and listen and be witnesses to these words of the treaty. If you, Prince Shattiwaza, and you Hurrians do not observe the words of this treaty, the gods, lords of the oath, shall destroy you [and] you Hurrians, together with your land, your wives, and your possessions. They will draw you out like malt from its husk. As one does not get a plant from the midst of ... so you, together with any other wife whom you might take (in place of my daughter), and you Hurrians, together with your wives, your sons, and your land, shall thus have no progeny. And these gods, who are lords of the oath, shall allot you poverty and destitution. And you, Shattiwaza—they shall overthrow your throne. And you, Shattiwaza—these oath gods shall snap you off like a reed, together with your land. Your name and your progeny by another wife whom you might take shall be eradicated from the earth. And you, Shattiwaza, together with your land, because of not delivering goodness and recovery among the Hurrians—you shall be eradicated. The ground shall be ice, so that you will slip. The ground of your land shall be a marsh of ..., so that you will certainly sink and be unable to cross. You, Shattiwaza, and the Hurrians shall be the enemies of the Thousand Gods. They shall defeat you.

If you, Prince Shattiwaza, and you Hurrians observe this treaty and oath, these gods shall protect you, Shattiwaza, together with your wife, [daughter of the King] of Hatti, her sons and grandsons, and you Hurrians, together with your wives and your sons, and [together with your land]. And the land of Mittanni [shall return] to its former state. It shall prosper and expand. And you, Shattiwaza, your sons and grandsons by the daughter of the [Great] King, [King of Hatti]—the Hurrians shall accept you (!) for kingship for eternity. [Prolong the life] of the throne of [your father]; prolong the life of the land of Mittanni.

# Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon, 472-86

May all the grea[t go]ds of heaven and earth who inhabit the universe and are mentioned by name in this tablet, strike you, look at you in anger and curse you grimly with a painful curse. Above, may they take possession of your life; below, in the netherworld, may they make your ghost thirst for water. May shade and daylight always chase you away, and may you not find refuge in a hidden cor[ner]. May food and water abandon you; may want and famine, hunger and plague never be removed from you. Before your very eyes may dogs and swine drag the breasts of your young women and the penises of your young men to and fro in the squares of Assur; may the earth not receive your corpses but may your burial place be in the belly of a dog or a pig. May your days be dark and your years dim, may darkness which is not to be brightened be declared as your fate. May your life end in exha[ustion and slee]plessness.

# 7. Deposition of Treaty

# Treaty between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mittanni

A duplicate of this tablet is deposited before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, since the Sun-goddess of Arinna governs kingship and queenship. And in the land of Mittanni a duplicate is deposited before the Storm-god ... It shall be read repeatedly, for ever and ever, before the king of the land of Mittanni and before the Hurrians. Whoever, before the Storm-god ... alters this tablet, or sets it in a secret location—if he breaks it, if he changes the words of the text of the

tablet—in regard to this treaty we have summoned the gods of secrets and the gods who are guarantors of the oath. They shall stand and listen and be witnesses...

Well I know how defiant and st	ffnecked you are: even now,
while I am still alive in your mid	st, you have been defiant
toward the LORD; how much r	nore, then, when I am dead!
Gather to me all the elders of	your tribes and your
officials, that I may speak all	these words to them and
that I may call heaven and ea	rth to witness against them.
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# Opening salutation of a letter from Suppiluliumas II to Ammurapi

No[w you belong] to the Sun, your lord; You are [his serva]nt, his treasure (*sglth.at*). Now, [how is it that] you do not acknowledge (*yd'm.l.yd'*t) the Sun, your lord? Why have you not come to me, the Sun, your lord, for one year, for two years?