ROYAL HITTITE INSTRUCTIONS

AND RELATED ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

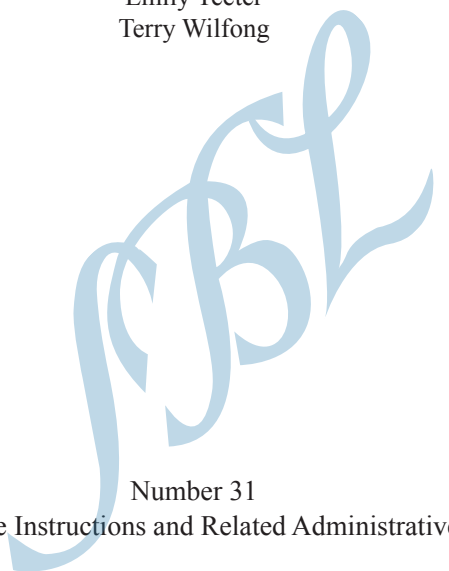
Society of Biblical Literature

Writings from the Ancient World

Theodore J. Lewis, General Editor

Associate Editors

Billie Jean Collins
Daniel Fleming
Martti Nissinen
William Schniedewind
Mark S. Smith
Emily Teeter
Terry Wilfong



Number 31
Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts

ROYAL HITTITE INSTRUCTIONS
AND RELATED ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

by Jared L. Miller

Edited by Mauro Giorgieri

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

ROYAL HITTITE INSTRUCTIONS AND RELATED ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

Copyright 2013 by the Society of Biblical Literature

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, Society of Biblical Literature, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Royal Hittite instructions and related administrative texts / edited by Jared L. Miller.
pages cm. — (Writings from the ancient world / Society of Biblical Literature ; Number 33)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-58983-769-0 (hardcover binding : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-58983-656-3 (paper binding : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-58983-657-0 (electronic format)
1. Hittites—Rites and ceremonies—Sources. 2. Hittites—Kings and rulers—Sources. 3. Oaths—Middle East. 4. Hittite language—Texts. 5. Inscriptions, Hittite. I. Miller, Jared L., author, editor.
DS66.R69 2013
939'.3—dc23

2013004122

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper conforming to ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R1997) and ISO 9706:1994 standards for paper permanence.

Contents

Series Editor's Foreword ix
Acknowledgments xi
Hittite Kings and Approximate Dates B.C.E. xii
Notes on Transliterations xiii
Signs and Conventions xv
Abbreviations xvii

Introduction
Hittite Instructions and Oath Impositions (and Related Administrative Texts) 1
Defining the Genre(s) 1
Defining the Corpus 9
A Brief History of Research 13
Origins and Development of the Obligation and Oath Texts 15
Envisioning the Setting 23
Terminology and Formulae 27
Notes on Literary Form, Style, and Structure 32
The Instructions as a Source for Hittite History, Religion, Society, and Thought 43
The Tablets and Their Scribes and Archives 55
Ancient Near Eastern Parallels 65

Chapter 1: Old Kingdom Sources
1. A Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries (*CTH* 272) 73
2. Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants concerning the Purity of the King (*CTH* 265) 78
3. Protocol for the Palace Gatekeeper (*CTH* 263) 88
4. Protocol for the Royal Body Guard (*CTH* 262) 98
5. Royal Decree on Social and Economic Matters (*CTH* 269) 122
6. An Akkadian Fragment Mentioning an Oath (*CTH* 275) 126

Chapter 2: Sources from the Reigns of Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I

7. Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors (*CTH* 261.II) 129
8. Tudḫaliya I's Decree on Penal and Administrative Reform (*CTH* 258.1) 134
9. Tudḫaliya I's Decree on Judicial Reform (*CTH* 258.2) 140
10. Tudḫaliya I[?]'s Instructions and Oath Imposition for All the Men (*CTH* 259) 144
11. Instructions and Oath Impositions for the Successions of Tudḫaliya I and Tudḫaliya III (*CTH* 271) 154
12. Instructions and Oath Imposition for Princes, Lords, and Military Officers (*CTH* 251) 168
13. Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Mayor (of Ḫattusa) (*CTH* 257) 182
14. Loyalty Oath of Town Commanders to Arnuwanda I, Ašmunikkal, and Tudḫaliya (*CTH* 260) 194
15. Instructions and Oath Imposition(s) of Arnuwanda I (*CTH* 275) 206
16. Decree of Queen Ašmunikkal concerning the "Royal Funerary Structure" (*CTH* 252) 208
17. Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Post Governors (*CTH* 261.I) 212
18. Instructions and Oath Imposition for Military Commanders (*CTH* 268) 238
19. Āsḫapāla's Oath Regarding an Obligation to Supply Troops (*CTH* 270) 242
20. Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel (*CTH* 264) 244

Chapter 3: Empire Period Sources

21. Instructions for Supervisors (*CTH* 266) 267
22. Instructions of Suppiluliuma I for the Military and a Corresponding Oath (*CTH* 253) 270
23. Oath of the Men of Ḫattusa to Ḫattusili III and Pudu-Ḫepa (*CTH* 254) 274
24. Instructions for Priests and Diviners (*CTH* 275) 276
25. Instructions for the UKU.UŠ-Troops (*CTH* 267) 280
26. Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Loyalty Oath Imposition for Lords, Princes, and Courtiers (*CTH* 255.1) 282
27. Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Oath Imposition for Courtiers (*CTH* 255.2) 294

28. Suppiluliu/ama II's Instructions and Oath Imposition for the Men of Ḫattusa (*CTH* 256) 308

Sources 315
Notes 323
References 415
Index of Divine Names 447
Index of Personal Names 448
Index of Geographical Names 450

SBL

Series Editor's Foreword

Writings from the Ancient World is designed to provide up-to-date, readable English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East.

The series is intended to serve the interests of general readers, students, and educators who wish to explore the ancient Near Eastern roots of Western civilization or to compare these earliest written expressions of human thought and activity with writings from other parts of the world. It should also be useful to scholars in the humanities or social sciences who need clear, reliable translations of ancient Near Eastern materials for comparative purposes. Specialists in particular areas of the ancient Near East who need access to texts in the scripts and languages of other areas will also find these translations helpful. Given the wide range of materials translated in the series, different volumes will appeal to different interests. However, these translations make available to all readers of English the world's earliest traditions as well as valuable sources of information on daily life, history, religion, and the like in the preclassical world.

The translators of the various volumes in this series are specialists in the particular languages and have based their work on the original sources and the most recent research. In their translations they attempt to convey as much as possible of the original texts in fluent, current English. In the introductions, notes, glossaries, maps, and chronological tables, they aim to provide the essential information for an appreciation of these ancient documents.

The ancient Near East reached from Egypt to Iran and, for the purposes of our volumes, ranged in time from the invention of writing (by 3000 B.C.E.) to the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 B.C.E.). The cultures represented within these limits include especially Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramean, Phoenician, and Israelite. It is hoped that Writings from the Ancient World will eventually produce translations from most of the many different genres attested in these cultures: letters (official and private), myths, diplomatic documents, hymns, law collections, monumental inscriptions, tales, and administrative records, to mention but a few.

Significant funding was made available by the Society of Biblical Literature for the preparation of this volume. In addition, those involved in preparing

this volume have received financial and clerical assistance from their respective institutions. Were it not for these expressions of confidence in our work, the arduous tasks of preparation, translation, editing, and publication could not have been accomplished or even undertaken. It is the hope of all who have worked with the Writings from the Ancient World series that our translations will open up new horizons and deepen the humanity of all who read these volumes.

Theodore J. Lewis
The Johns Hopkins University

Acknowledgments

I would like first of all to thank Mauro Giorgieri, whose thorough reading of the manuscript and countless comments, suggestions and corrections were simply invaluable. My appreciation is also due to all those scholars who have worked on these texts before me, whose efforts made possible any further progress made in these pages. I would also like to thank Billie Jean Collins for originally suggesting that I treat the Instructions for the Writings from the Ancient World series and her tireless and patient aid during the production process, as well as Ted Lewis for his constant support as the volume developed.

I would further like to express my appreciation to Gernot Wilhelm and the rest of the team of the section "Hethitische Forschungen" at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, i.e., Silvin Košak, Gerfrid Müller, Francesco Fuscagni and Gabriella Stivala, for making available the wonderful resources of the Portal, and above all the *Konkordanz*, which have revolutionized the field of Hittitology. Those who have selflessly contributed various invaluable materials to the Portal should also be recognized and thanked, i.e. Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, Paola Dardano, Rita Francia, Detlev Groddek, Massimiliano Marazzi, Jana Součková and Marie-Claude Trémouille.

I would also like to thank my colleagues Birgit Christiansen, Elena Devecchi, Amir Gilan, Federico Giusfredi, Joost Hazenbos, Alwin Kloekhorst, Elisabeth Rieken and Andrej Sidel'tsev for valuable discussions and suggestions on various matters relating to the texts presented here. Special thanks go to Itamar Singer for reading a final draft copy and for his many insightful comments and corrections. Rukiye Akdoğan deserves particular appreciation for her constant willingness to check tablets and take photos in the museum in Ankara. Chiara Cognetti has earned my appreciation for her diligent cross-checking and proofing, as has Sophie Cohen for her carefully creating the indices.

Sincere thanks are due as well to Walther Sallaberger, who has created and maintained an environment at the Institut für Assyriologie and Hethitologie at the LMU München that is so conducive to quality work and research.

Hittite Kings and Approximate Dates b.c.e.

As the Hittites employed no calendrical system in their textual sources, Hittite chronology is heavily dependent on the Assyrian, Egyptian and Babylonian chronologies, which themselves contain their own uncertainties, and all dates provided here are therefore (sometimes rather rough) approximations only. The dates assume (1) a fall of Babylon around 1545 (see, e.g., Boese 2008: 209 and n. 28); (2) that no Ḫattusili II is to be placed among the predecessors of Suppiluliuma I; (3) that only two Tudḫaliyas (I and III!) reigned before Suppiluliuma I, whereby Tudḫaliya III nevertheless retains his conventional numbering; (4) that evidence is presently insufficient for placing Kantuzili (father of Tudḫaliya I), Tudḫaliya the Younger (son of Tudḫaliya III and brother of Suppiluliuma I), or Kuruntiya (son of Muwattalli II and king of Tarḫuntassa) among the Hittite kings, though all three are very real possibilities. For recent summaries of the chronological situation see Beckman 2000; Bryce 2005: 375–82; Pruzsinszky 2009. For periodization, see p. xvi.

Ḫuzziya	
Labarna	
Ḫattusili I	ca. 1590s–1560s
Mursili I	ca. 1560s–1540s
Ḫantili I	
Zidanta I	
Ammuna	
Ḫuzziya I	
Telipinu	ca. 1480s–1460s
Alluwamna	
Ḫantili II	
Taḫurwaili	
Zidanza II	
Ḫuzziya II	
Muwattalli I	
Tudḫaliya I	ca. 1420s–1390s
Arnuwanda I	ca. 1390s–1370s
Tudḫaliya III	ca. 1370s–1350s
Suppiluliuma I	ca. 1355–1330
Arnuwanda II	ca. 1330
Mursili II	ca. 1330–1300
Muwattalli II	ca. 1300–1280
Mursili III / Urḫi-Teššub	ca. 1280–1273
Ḫattusili III	ca. 1273–1245
Tudḫaliya IV	ca. 1245–1210
Arnuwanda III	ca. 1210–1208
Suppiluliu/ama II	ca. 1208–1190

Notes on Transliterations

1. Since Hittite is a Subject-Object-Verb language, while English employs a Subject-Verb-Object order, and since Hittite places most pronouns at the beginning of the sentence, it is often difficult or impossible to keep all the elements of the English translation in the same line as the Hittite source if one provides a line-for-line translation, unless one violently manipulates the English syntax, as Beckman (1983), e.g., decided to do with his translations of the birth rituals. For the same reasons, if one employs normal English syntax but chooses nevertheless to insert superscripted line numbers into the translation, as has been done in the present volume, it is impossible to insert each and every line number without discrepancies. The translations here are thus provided with a line number if and when the Hittite and English syntax allows.
2. The basis of the transliterations in this volume is, when available, photographs of the original tablets, and failing these, then the published hand copies. When it was possible to arrive at a better reading on the basis of the photographs vis-à-vis a published hand copy, it has not always been noted, so that there will occasionally be discrepancies between the transliterations and the hand copies.
3. As Streck (2006: 228–33) has shown, the combinations /t+š/, /d+š/ and /ṭ+š/ yield affricates in Akkadian. Cases such as É-*ZU* (*bīt*+*šu*) are therefore transliterated with the signs of the Z-series (e.g., É-*ZU*) rather than with those of the S-series (e.g., É-*SÚ*), as is traditional.
4. An AḪ sign whose vowel cannot be determined is transliterated *Vḫ*.
5. The present volume treats ^{URU}*ḪA.AT.TI* and ^{URU}*ḪAT.TI* as logographic writings, which seems quite certain to be the case, and also assumes that "Ḫattusa" and, for KUR ^{URU}*ḪA.AT.TI*/*ḪAT.TI*, "Land of Ḫattusa," would in general be the appropriate reading, as this seems also to at least generally have been the case, though not certain in every instance (see Starke 1996: 153 and n. 54; Weeden 2011: 244–50).

6. Only substantial variants in duplicate mss. are noted, either in footnotes or, if warranted, by placing them side by side (No. 2, §§13″–14″; No. 14, §§1–21, 23′, 26′; No. 17, §§11, 16, 27, 54–55).

Signs and Conventions

ut-ni	Lower case italics in the transcriptions represent phonetically spelled words.
KUR	Small capitals represent logograms derived from the Sumerian language.
MA-AT	Small capitals in italics separated by hyphens represent logograms derived from the Akkadian language.
ḪA.AT.TI	Small capitals in italics separated by periods represent logographically written (generally Anatolian) words, usually proper names. This represents a slight innovation vis-à-vis common conventions, allowing the necessary distinction between logographically and phonetically written PNs, GNs, and DNs, while avoiding using the same convention, i.e., small caps in italics separated by hyphens, for what are in fact two distinct categories, namely, logographic writings derived from Akkadian words and logographic writings of Anatolian words.
URU	Determinatives and the plural markers $^{\text{HI.A}}$ and $^{\text{MEŠ}}$ are superscripted, whereby the determinatives $^{\text{DINGIR}}$, $^{\text{MUNUS}}$ and $^{\text{DIŠ/1}}$ are abbreviated $^{\text{d}}$, $^{\text{f}}$, and $^{\text{m}}$, respectively.
AN	Full-sized capitals represent the sign itself (as opposed to any of its readings) and/or signs that can be read but not interpreted, e.g., if it is uncertain whether an AN should be read DINGIR, *an* or $^{\text{d}}$.
𒹻, 𒹼	A so-called *Glossenkeil*, i.e., a single or a double wedge used by the scribe to indicate, generally, a word of foreign, most often Luwian, origin.
x	Illegible sign/traces.
< >	Scribal omission; enclosed sign to be inserted.
{ }	Errant scribal insertion; enclosed sign to be ignored.
* *	Indicate signs written over an erasure or over other sign traces.
?	Reading/restoration of sign uncertain.
(?)	Reading/restoration of word/phrase uncertain.

!	Nonstandard or errant sign, to be read as given in ensuing parentheses. The exclamation and question marks are sometimes used together when a sign should seemingly be read as given, but the traces do not seem to be amenable to the suggestion.
′	Accompanies line numbering that does not begin with the tablet's or column's original first line.
″	Accompanies line numbering following a further gap (or gaps) of uncertain length.
[ ]	Indicate break in text; signs partially enclosed are partially preserved.
⌊ ⌋, ⌈ ⌉	Half brackets indicate damaged but readable signs, the upper brackets suggesting the damage is more on the upper, the lower more on the lower portion of the sign
[x x]	Break of approximately x signs.
[…]	Length of break indeterminate or not provided.
( )	1. In transcriptions, parentheses enclose a) signs restored from a duplicate when placed within square brackets, and b) the sign actually present on the tablet when an alternative reading, indicated with an exclamation mark, is preferred instead. 2. In translations, they enclose elements necessary for a sensible English translation, but not employed or required by the source language.
~	Signals "uncertain/possible hyphen" in transliteration.
italic	An English word in italics in the translations indicates an uncertain interpretation.
+	Indicates a direct join between two tablet fragments.
++	Indicates direct joins among three or more tablet fragments.
(+)	Indicates that fragments are assumed to belong to the same tablet but do not join directly.
//	Indicates duplicate texts.
ā, *ē*, *ī*, *ū*	Plene writings of Hittite words when rendered in transcription are provided with the macron, which is thus intended to indicated no more than the graphic plene writing.

Abbreviations

General

abl.	ablative
Akk.	Akkadian
acc.	accusative
act.	active
comm.	(genus) commune
dem.	demonstrative
d.l.	dative-locative
DN	divine name
dupl.	duplicate
eras.	erasure
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
GN	geographical name
Hitt.	Hittite
imp.	imperative
indic.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
lit.	literally/literature
LNH	Late New Hittite
loc.	locative
MB	Middle Babylonian
med.-pass.	medio-passive
MH	Middle Hittite
ms./mss.	manuscript/manuscripts
nom.	nominative
neut.	(genus) neutrum
NH	New Hittite

ISBL

OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
OH	Old Hittite
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
poss.	possessive
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
refl.	reflexive
rev.	reverse
RN	royal name
sg.	singular
Sum.	Sumerian
tant.	tantum

The use of the abbreviations OH, MH, NH, and LNH can be confusing not only to nonspecialists, but even to Hittitologists, first because they can refer either to historical periods or to paleographical dating of mss., and second, because both the periodization of Hittite history and views on the particulars of paleographical dating vary from school to school, sometimes even from scholar to scholar. In the current volume, OH, MH, and NH are used in the historical sense to refer to the periods from Labarna and Ḫattusili I to Telipinu, from Alluwamna to Tudḫaliya III, and from Suppiluliuma I to Suppiluliu/ama II, respectively, while OH, MH, NH and LNH refer, when relating to paleography, to the periods, respectively, from the beginning of Hittite cuneiform writing to the immediate predecessors of Tudḫaliya I, from ca. Tudḫaliya I to ca. Suppiluliuma I, from ca. Suppiluliuma I to ca. Ḫattusili III, and from ca. Ḫattusili III to Suppiluliu/ama II.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

AASOR 16	*One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts*. Transliterated by R. H. Pfeiffer, with translations and commentary by E. A. Speiser. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 16. New Haven, 1936
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJNES	*Aramazd. Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	American Oriental Series
ArAn	*Archivum Anatolicum*
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
ArOr	*Archív Orientální*
AS	Assyriological Studies
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo*
Belleten	*Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BMECCJ	*Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan*
Bo	Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy / Ḫattusa between 1906–1912
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956–
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Jack M. Sasson. New York, 1995.
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1980–
CLL	*Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CTH	*Catalogue des textes hittites*; supplements in *RHA* 30 (1972) 94–133 and *RHA* 33 (1975) 68–71
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
EDHIL	Kloekhorst, Alwin. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden, 2008.
Eothen	Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico
FHL	Fragments hittites du Louvre
GrHL	Hoffner, Harry A., Jr. and H. Craig Melchert. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Winona Lake, IN, 2008
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs
HBM	*Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara, 1991
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HED	Jaan Puhvel. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin, 1984–
HEG	Tischler, Johann. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck, 1977–
HHw	Tischler, J. *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* (2nd ed.).

	Innsbruck, 2008
HS	*Historische Sprachforschung*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HT	*Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from the Tablets in the British Museum*
HW^2	Friedrich, J. and A. Kammenhuber. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (2nd ed.). Heidelberg, 1975
HZL	Rüster, C. and E. Neu *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*. StBoT Beifheft 2. Wiesbaden, 1989
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Seçme Metinler)
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IL	*Incontri Linguistici. Rivista delle Università degli Studi di Trieste e di Udine*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAC	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
KASKAL	*KASKAL: Rivista di Storia, Ambiente e Culture del Vicino Oriente Antico*
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
Konkordanz	Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MesCiv	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MesZL	*Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OrNS	*Orientalia Nova Series*
PIHANS	Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
RAnt	*Res Antique*
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RO	*Rocznik orientalistyczny*
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
StAs	Studia Asiana
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StBoT Beih.	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TUAT Erg.	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Ergänzungslieferung
TUATNF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VO	*Vicino Oriente*
VSNF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
Xenia	Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte*
ZvS	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*

Black Sea
TUMMANNA
KASKA
PALA
Nerik?
Sea of Marmara
Hakpis(sa)?
UP
AZZI
Troy
WILUSA
LAND
Sanahuitta?
HAYASA
Hattusa
OF
Samuha?
PERLAND
SEHA R.
LAND
HATTI
Lazpa
MASA
Marrassantiya River
Salt Lake
ISUWA
TAURUS MTS.
Nenassa?
Tegarama?
ALSE
PITASSA
Purushanda?
Kussara
SUBARI
ARZAWA MINOR
Lawazantiya?
ANTI
Apasa
HAPALLA
Kummanni?
LOWER LAND
Tuwanuwa
HURRIAN LANDS
Milawata
MIRA
Ursu?
KIZZUWADNA
NIHRIYA?
MITANNI
Tigris River
Carchemish
TARHUNTASSA
LUKKA
Ura?
Aladar Range
MUKIS
Aleppo
Alalah
Euphrates River
ASSYRIA
UGARIT
BARGA
NIYA
NUHASSE
Emar
ASTATA
Orontes R.
Mediterranean Sea
Tunip?
ALASIYA
Sumur
Qatna
Kadesh
SYRIAN DESERT
AMURRU
AMKA
0
200 km
Gubla
Babylon

Introduction

The texts presented in this volume were composed in the Hittite language (except for No. 6) and written with the Hittite variant of the Mesopotamian cuneiform script, which was impressed upon clay tablets. They were all found, as far as can be determined, among the remains of the archives of Ḫattusa, the capital of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1600–1190 B.C.E.), located next to the modern village of Boğazkale (formerly Boğazköy), ca. 135 km east of Ankara.[1] These archives are nearly exclusively royal collections, thus reflecting royal interests and perspectives, and this is the case with the texts of the present volume as well. The common denominator among the Hittite instructions and oath impositions (and related administrative texts) presented here, which represent a rather diverse array of genres and typologies, is their role in defining and regulating the relationships between the royal institution and its subordinate personnel along with the duties and responsibilities of the latter. They are thus, in the broadest sense, administrative and normative compositions. Among these, those that can be seen as "obligation and oath" compositions form the core category both numerically and thematically, while a number of decrees and protocols have been included as well.

Hittite Instructions and Oath Impositions (and Related Administrative Texts)

Defining the Genre(s)

In its most essential form the Hittite "instruction" composition—the label by which they are most commonly known—consists of the royal prescription of a set of obligations or instructions (Hitt. *ishiul-*) addressed to a professional class or classes within the internal state administration. Instructions in this distilled form, however, are rare; those that are labeled merely "instructions" in this volume are for the most part actually fragmentary sections of the much longer

compositions that they represent (Nos. 7, 13, 17, 21, 24, 25) and presumably would have contained, or at least referred to, the other constitutive element of the genre as well, that is, the oath (Hitt. *lingai*). Most of the other documents often referred to as "instructions" and treated in this volume in fact include an oath imposition or oath prescription (or several) as well (Nos. 6?, 10–12, 15.1, 18, 22, 26–28), or at least refer to one (No. 2, §8″). The oath of these texts, likewise prescribed by the king, would have been sworn by the subordinate(s) before the gods, who served as witnesses and guarantors to what was thus a unilateral contractual agreement. There seems to be no evidence in any of the compositions at hand suggesting that the king would have sworn a corresponding oath, though he seems to have, at least in some cases, sworn one or in some way to have been bound by one when concluding vassal treaties (Altman 2003; cf. Christiansen and Devecchi 2013, §A.4).[2]

The terms *išḫiul-*, "bond, obligation," and *lingai-*, "oath," are central to defining the genre. The first, *išḫiul-*, is derived from the verb *išḫai-*/*išḫiya-*, "to bind," and thus literally means "bond." It can be translated depending on context as "instruction," "obligation," "contract," or "treaty."[3] The second term, *lingai-*, "oath; curse," is likewise a deverbal substantive, from *link-*, "to swear."[4]

This combination, the prescription of obligations (*išḫiul-*) paired with the imposition or prescription of an oath (*lingai*), constitutes what the Hittites seemed to have regarded as a textual category, what one might call an "obligation and oath" genre; and it is this dual structure that distinguishes these "obligation and oath" documents from, for example, epistolary texts authored by the king, which often contain instructions in a style and pertaining to matters quite similar to what one might find in the "instructions," or from edicts, which are composed of similar normative, prescriptive statements, but are not connected with an oath or any other response on the part of the subordinate.[5]

"Instruction" seems therefore not to have been a textual category for the Hittites, but is a genre created by modern researchers into which more or less similar texts have been grouped. Naturally, this does not invalidate this Hittitological category, which can indeed be useful, but merely dates it. Those compositions that modern researchers refer to as such form part of a genre that Hittite scribes would have seen as obligation and oath texts and which, in fact, they labeled either as "obligation" (*išḫiul-*) or "oath" (*lingai-*) texts or, on occasion, both (e.g., No. 15.1).[6] Further, these terms were not used only for the texts concerning internal administration treated in this volume, but also for what are today regarded as state and vassal treaties. While differences can be observed between the texts we term "instructions" and those we label "treaties," which are therefore valid and useful modern categories, Hittite scribes referred to both

with the same terms, *isḫiul-* and/or *lingai-*.[7] Both together, two sides of the same coin, constitute an obligation and oath composition. As noted elsewhere (Miller 2011b: 2),

> The Hittites apparently did not develop a category, or employ a word, for the summation of the two elements *isḫiul-* and *lingai-*. They refer to the combined "contract" or "treaty" always as the "obligation/bond" (*isḫiul-*), the "oath" (*lingai-*), or both. From this fact, however, one cannot necessarily deduce that these were two separate genres. Text categorization depends on the usage of words and concepts, not merely on the number of terms extant. One could contrast, e.g., Hittite usage of the designations SISKUR/SÍSKUR and $EZEN_4$, which can in fact be correlated not only with nearly exclusively discrete phenomena, but also with largely discrete textual categories. This is decidedly not the case with the distribution of *isḫiul-* and *lingai-*, which, though obviously referring to two different real-world phenomena, do not correlate well with distinct textual genres.

Upon reflection the Hittites' categorization of "instructions" and "treaties" together is more reasonable and coherent than it might seem at first glance, for the essence of all such "treaties," "contracts," and "instructions" was the sovereign's imposition of the obligations (the *isḫiul-*) upon the subordinate party, that is, the defining of its role and responsibilities within the state administrative structure, and the subordinate's requisite swearing of an oath to uphold those stipulations before the gods (the *lingai-*).[8] Naturally, this pattern could just as well apply, for example, to a Syrian or western Anatolian vassal king swearing allegiance to his Hittite sovereign as to civil servants in Ḫattusa promising to carry out their duties as the king expected them to do. That the Hittites indeed grouped "treaties" and "instructions/oaths" together is further illustrated by the fact that not only treaties such as that concluded between Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntassa were inscribed on tablets of metal, in this case bronze (Otten 1988), and placed in the temples of selected deities, so was at least No. 14 in the present volume, a Loyalty Oath of Town Commanders to Arnuwanda I, Ašmunikkal and Tudḫaliya (3.A, §2′), and one suspects that this was regularly or at least often the case (see Watanabe 1989).

Moreover, Giorgieri (2005: 323) has recently emphasized the Loyalty Oaths' "formale und strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten mit den eidlichen Abmachungen, die die Hethiter mit anatolischen Volksstämmen trafen wie etwa die sogenannten 'Kaškäer-Verträge' oder der 'Išmiriga-Vertrag,'" as well as with the "Treaty" with the Ḫabiru (*CTH* 27; Otten 1957; Giorgieri 1995: 69–89; Bemporad 2009) and the Loyalty Oath Imposition of Ḫattusili III (*CTH* 85.2; Giorgieri 1995: 268–73; Singer 2001b: 399–403). The "Treaty" with the Ḫabiru indeed contains all the elements of the typical obligation and oath composition:

it addresses the oath takers in the 2nd pl., sometimes employing a 3rd-person impersonal; some portions show the 1st pl., indicating what the oath takers were to enunciate; one section even slips into the 1st sg.; and it includes curses upon those that would break the oath. Moreover, the Ḫabiru seem likely to have constituted units associated with the Hittite military, and thus an entity within the state, not a foreign entity with which a "treaty" would have been ratified, as was the case with the Kaska. In the Loyalty Oath Imposition of Ḫattusili III, this sovereign requires all Ḫattusa to swear an oath to his own descendents rather than those of Mursili III / Urḫi-Teššub, whom he had deposed, as well as to Ulmi-Teššub / (Kuruntiya) in his role as king of the secundogeniture in Tarḫuntassa. The fragmentary text breaks off with a list of divine witnesses and either an oath imposition or the reciting of the oath in the 1st pl., now lost in the breaks.

Those compositions that land in the category obligation and oath are thus not just instructive or didactic texts, but are simultaneously legally binding administrative documents or contracts, which come into force upon the subordinate's swearing of an oath in front of its divine witnesses. In his treatment of the Hittite state treaties, which appeared already eighty years ago, Korošec (1931: 29) described these relationships clearly and concisely when he wrote, "*Išḫiul* ist der vom Großkönig aufgestellte Vertragsinhalt, der durch die nachfolgende Beeidigung (h. *lingaiš*) seitens des Vasallen zum rechtsverbindlichen Vertrag wird."[9] Indeed, this description is valid for essentially all the *isḫiul*- and *lingai*-texts, not just the treaties, which were the focus of Korošec's study. Those texts generally called "instructions" may sometimes emphasize more the obligations that the subordinates were to fulfill; the vassal treaties in addition emphasize in a "historical prologue" the relationship that has obtained between lord and servant; while the "military oaths" are concerned above all with the oath that the soldiers are to swear along with the rites and curse formulae connected with them. Nonetheless, all these compositions, which belong to such seemingly widely disparate categories to the modern reader, would have belonged to the same category, an obligation and oath genre, for the Hittite.

This approach to the "instructions" and "oaths," which is in fact the more traditional view, runs somewhat against the grain of some more recent research, which has tended to separate the "instructions" and the "(loyalty) oaths" into two separate genres (e.g., Pecchioli Daddi 2005b), even concluding that the Hittite scribes themselves maintained such a distinction and that they are therefore emic textual genres (p. 600). However, that Hittite scribes did not use the terms *isḫiul*- and *lingai*- to designate two distinct textual categories is shown, inter alia, by Pecchioli Daddi's (2002a: 266) own statement concerning Tudḫaliya I?'s Instructions and Oath Imposition for All the Men (No. 10), "which is called

išḫiul" by its scribe in its colophon, "but, in reality, contains an imposition of oath," along with, one might add, a series of obligations. No. 9 could also be mentioned in this context, since its preserved paragraphs are most closely related to No. 8, suggesting that it should be categorized as an edict or decree, despite it being placed in the oath category by its colophon.

Giorgieri (2005: 323) has similarly emphasized the loyalty oaths' "große Abweichungen gegenüber den technischen, fast ausschließlich auf die mittelhethitische Zeit zurückgehenden, sogenannten 'Instruktionen' oder 'Dienstanweisungen,' die Aufgaben und dienstliche Verpflichtungen verschiedener Beamtengruppen systematisch und detailliert festlegen," and pleads for the "Ansatz einer besonderen Textgattung … Beamten- und Bevölkerungseiden," which he characterizes as loyalty oaths (323–34). Presumably realizing that much speaks against such a segregation, Giorgieri (326, n. 17) wrote in the same paper that "alle Beamten- und Bevölkerungseide—darunter auch die Eide von Volksstämmen wie jene der Kaškäer—sowie die 'Vasallenverträge' … als eine einzige Textform zu verstehen (sind)."

Starke (1995b: 75), on a similar tack to Pecchioli Daddi's, has asserted concerning Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Oath Imposition for Courtiers (No. 27) that "eigentlich schon ein allgemeiner Vergleich mit der *BĒL MADGALTI*-Instruktion (läßt) erkennen, daß sie mit dieser Textgattung nichts gemein haben," and that in Tudḫaliya's text, in contrast to the Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Post Governors (No. 17, i.e., the *BĒL MADGALTI*-Instruction), "von dienstlichen Obliegenheiten der Prinzen, Herren und LÚ.MEŠSAG keine Rede (ist)." That this latter assertion is not entirely correct can be seen in Starke's following comments, where he writes, after pointing out that Tudḫaliya in the incipit imposes an oath upon the addressees (p. 76):

> Mit diesen Worten ist zugleich der Inhalt des Textes umrissen; denn die nachfolgenden Absätze bzw. Paragraphen spezifizieren—wie übrigens auch die Paragraphen des anderen, nicht in seinem Anfang erhaltenen Textes für Prinzen, Herren und LÚ.MEŠSAG!—lediglich die einzelnen Verpflichtungen, die sich aus der Loyalitätserklärung zugunsten des Königs und seiner Nachkommenschaft ergeben.

In other words, while in the incipit Tudḫaliya IV specifies the occasion on which the text was composed, namely, his coronation, and dictates (a perhaps abbreviated version of) the oath that his addressees are subsequently to recite, the remainder of the composition consists of the duties and obligations (Starke's *Verpflichtungen*) thereby incumbent upon the subordinates, that is, instructions, even if these pertain, as must be granted, largely to issues of loyalty to the sovereign.[10] Asserting that the obligations in this case are derivative from the

loyalty oath does little to change the fact that the composition consists of both obligations and oath.

Since I have expressed elsewhere my reservations about this artificial, etic division of the compositions at issue into two separate genres (Miller 2011a: 1–8; see also Beckman 1999: 2; Devecchi 2012), I can limit the discussion here to a few brief comments. First, both "instruction" and "oath" texts contain instructions or commands directed to the subordinates in question, the difference being primarily the precise nature or nuance of the obligations. Even the paradigmatic Oath of Āsḫapāla (No. 19), for example, contains not only the oath spoken by the subordinates, but also more or less detailed obligations, in this case the exact number of military units, and from which towns, are to be sent to Ḫattusa to serve the state, and further, how Āsḫapāla and his comrades are to react to enemy movements. This oath was thus sworn in relation to a set of specific obligations. In fact an "instruction" or "obligation" is a logical prerequisite to an oath, as the oath taker must express his acquiescence to some stipulation, even if this consists, for example, (almost) entirely of personal loyalty to the king and his descendents (Miller 2011b: 1–2 and n. 1). The converse would not necessarily be the case, but in practice, hardly an instruction text (or treaty) is entirely devoid of some reference to oath and/or divine sanction. Second, and most importantly, Hittite usage of the terms *isḫiul-* and *lingai-* when used to categorize a composition does not correspond to the categories that we would like to see as "instructions" and "oaths." Hittite scribes use them almost interchangeably when applying them to texts of the type at hand (Miller 2011b: 3–8).

Having emphasized the unity of the obligation and oath genre, it must be recalled that the texts treated in the present volume are quite heterogeneous in nature, since some few belong to other genres entirely and since the style and structure of even those that clearly do belong to the genre vary considerably. In the compositions presented here, then, (at least) the following eight text elements can be distinguished. Most occur together with others in a single document, while only some few texts contain only one of these elements, so that only rarely do these eight categories also constitute textual genres. The titles given to the various compositions are an attempt to extract the most fundamental, constitutive one to two elements and are generally drawn from these eight categories.

1. **Instructions**: These texts and text passages are the most abundant and thus the most varied in the corpus. They are often spoken by the superior—usually, but not always, the king—to his subordinates in the 2nd sg. or 2nd pl., but are nearly as often styled in an impersonal 3rd sg. or pl., either in the imp. or the (pres.-)fut., the latter

often carrying the force of the imp. (Thus one occasionally will see a verb translated as an imperative, though the Hittite verb is formally a pres.-fut.) They may, sometimes seemingly randomly, switch from the 2nd to the 3rd person (e.g., Nos. 17, §§21–22; 24, §§1′–2′) or from sg. to pl., a feature that is not uncommon in other Hittite text genres as well, such as Annals. They are directed to specific persons or groups of persons, occupations or classes. They are usually a mixture of prescriptive and prohibitive clauses. Occasionally positive, but more often negative, consequences are added, including blessings and imprecations, often with reference to the oath deities, sometimes of an entirely secular, penal nature (e.g., No. 8, §§11″–12″). A variety of secondary devices is found within this category, including historical examples in narrative form (e.g., No. 2, §§13″–15″) and rationalization (e.g., No. 2, §6″).

2. **Oath Impositions or Prescriptions**: These texts or text passages are as a rule addressed by the superior—generally the king—in the 2nd sg. or pl. to the subordinate. Like the instructions or directives, they detail acceptable and inacceptable behavior, but strongly emphasize the latter and repeatedly stipulate what behavior is to be placed under oath (e.g., No. 27, §§5′, 9″–17″, 20″–21″, 23″–28″, 30″–35″) and often refer to the catastrophic consequences of breaking the oath or contain an imprecation concerning what the oath deities should do to the transgressor (e.g., Nos. 18, §8″; 26, §9″–11″; 27, §22″). They tend to focus on loyalty to the king and the royal family. The oath to be articulated by the subordinates may be cited explicitly (e.g., No. 2, §8″; No. 27, §1), but usually it is only referred to. Oettinger (1976: 82) fittingly called such texts *Eidesvorschriften*.
3. **Oath**: These texts or text passages are styled as spoken by the subordinate or subordinates in the 1st sg. or pl. (e.g., Nos. 14 and 19). They are generally addressed to the king, queen, and heir apparent and are spoken before the summoned oath deities (e.g., Nos. 22.2, §§2′–3′; 23). They often include a detailed repetition of the instructions and directives to which the subordinate is expressing his acquiescence (e.g., Nos. 14 and 19). It is conceivable that the so-called Military Oaths (*CTH* 427, 493; Oettinger 1976; Collins 1997: 165–68), which consist of ritual actions and accompanying conditional curses as well as the occasional expression of agreement on the part of the soldiers or subordinates, illustrate how one should envision the actual oath-swearing ceremony or rites.

4. **Protocols**: These are represented essentially by Nos. 3 and 4. They simply prescribe the proper protocol or procedures in the given setting for the given officials. They are distinguished from the other compositions by their 3rd person indic. rather than imp. narrative style and the lack of any reference to an oath or to punishment. They are not styled as the word of the king and presumably did not carry the same authority.
5. **Edict or Decree**: These texts or passages consist of an authoritative statement or statements carrying the force of law (e.g., No. 16).[11] They are for the most part composed in an impersonal 3rd person, but exceptions are hardly rare, especially in No. 5, dubbed here a Royal Decree on Social and Economic Matters, which one might even want to classify as an instruction.
6. **Reform**: These passages employ a formulation akin to "Something was x, but now it shall be y" (e.g., No. 5) or are presented more generally as a corrective vis-à-vis an earlier state of affairs (No. 8). They are closely related to the edicts or decrees and might be considered a subcategory thereof.
7. **Reprimand**: These texts or text passages merely accuse the subordinate(s) of failing to fulfill existing obligations and reprimand him/them for it. As far as is preserved, No. 1 consists entirely of a royal (i.e., princely) reprimand.
8. **Summoning of or address to the oath deities**: These passages are spoken to the deities, either impersonally in the 3rd pl. (No. 28, §9′) or directly in the 2nd pl. (e.g., No. 28, §§1–3). They most often constitute simple invitations to be present (e.g., No. 18, §10″) but may extend to rather lengthy addresses (No. 28, §§1–3).

The greater part of the texts presented in this volume can thus be categorized as "Instructions and Oath Impositions" (Nos. 2, 10–12, 15, 18, 26–28) along with some seven further compositions classified here as "Instructions" (Nos. 7, 13, 17, 20–21, 24, 25), though, as noted, these latter might well belong to the "Instruction and Oath Imposition" category, too, even if the available fragments preserve only instructions. Of these, only Nos. 13, 17, and perhaps 20 even raise a suspicion of perhaps having included no oath imposition at all. None of the four admittedly rather fragmentary versions of No. 13 makes any mention of an oath, even though No. 13.1–2 seem likely to preserve beginning and end of the composition; and although No. 13.2 is apparently not finished with the single tablet preserved, it makes no reference whatsoever to any oath in its otherwise extensively preserved or restorable text. No. 15.1, though so

poorly preserved, is considered an "Instruction and Oath" due to its explicit mention of both in §1, while No. 15.2 is more tentatively placed in the same category due to the formulation "obligation of purity" (§1) and the assumption that those who would have allotted an evil death in §2 would have been the oath gods. The nearly fully preserved No. 20 prescribes drinking ordeals (§§18′–19′) aimed at discovering thieves, but these cannot simply be equated with the imposition of an oath connected with a text's instructions (see Giorgieri 2002: 319–20; cf. Marazzi 2010: 202–4, 207–8). Thus, the possibility must be granted that these might be merely "Instructions," even if there are no fully preserved instruction texts that can unequivocally be shown to be exclusively "Instructions" and not "Instructions and Oath Impositions."[12] No. 22 has also been classified as an "Instruction and Oath" text on the highly tentative assumption that Nos. 22.1 and 22.2 belong together. Nos. 5, 8, 9, and 16 are classified as "Decrees," though tentatively, due to their state of preservation. Nos. 14, 19, and 23 are considered to be "Oaths" or "Loyalty Oaths." Nos. 3 and 4 are categorized as "Protocols." Finally, No. 1 is classified as a "Royal Reprimand," though comparison with other compositions (cf. Marazzi 2007) might suggest that those portions that are no longer preserved might have contained a royal decree or instructions. No. 6 is too fragmentary for reliable attribution to a genre.

Defining the Corpus

The definition of the corpus presented in the current volume and the criteria according to which compositions were included or excluded are rather complex and, it must be admitted, not absolutely rigid and consistent, partly due to the nature of the textual material, partly due to the disparity between Hittite and modern categories, as noted above, and partly resulting from modern research history and convention. In initial discussions with Billie Jean Collins, who first suggested the possibility of preparing such an anthology, and Ted Lewis, the General Editor of the Writings from the Ancient World series, the volume was originally envisioned as a repository of the "Hittite Instructions," without it being entirely clear to any of us what a disparate group of texts was in fact generally ascribed to the "instructions" and how challenging it would be to formulate criteria according to which a sensible selection of texts could be chosen and for which a suitable overarching book concept and title could be found. It also became clear once work on the volume commenced in earnest that the characterization and categorization of many of the well-known texts initially assumed to belong to the genre were neither necessarily self-evident

nor fully and convincingly established by the secondary literature. While the efforts along these lines encased in this volume will surely not render further discussion superfluous, it is hoped that they will make a positive contribution in this direction.

In the end a rather pragmatic approach combined with a few novel considerations on the characterization and categorization of the texts has determined what has been included and what has been excluded. Essentially all of those texts generally referred to as "instructions" in the Hittitological literature, and which are sufficiently preserved, have been included, though some in fact emphasize primarily or almost exclusively the oath that so often accompanied them, and though others could well be regarded as royal decrees to which no oath would have been sworn, and still others constitute protocols rather than instructions. The categorization presented by E. Laroche in his *Catalogue des textes hittites*, where Nos. 251–275 are placed under the heading *Instructions et protocoles*, despite their heterogeneity (Giorgieri 2005: 322–23), remains influential here as well, even if one might reassess some of his assignments today. Just as one could legitimately question the inclusion of this or that text, one could also protest the exclusion of others. It is largely Laroche's placement of Āsḫapāla's Oath (No. 19) among his *Instructions et protocoles* (*CTH* 270), for instance, that accounts for its inclusion in the present volume, while most of the other comparable oaths, such as the Loyalty Oath of a Scribe (*CTH* 124; Laroche 1953: 71–75; Giorgieri 1995: 278–80; Glocker 2009),[13] the Oath of the SA.GAZ- or *ḫabiru*-troops (*CTH* 27; Giorgieri 1995: 69–89; Bemporad 2009)[14] or Ḫattusili III's Loyalty Oath Imposition (*CTH* 85.2; Giorgieri 1995: 268–73; Singer 2001b: 399–403), have been excluded. Similarly, Laroche's placement of the Decree of Queen Ašmunikkal Concerning the "Royal Funerary Structure" (No. 16) at *CTH* 252 has influenced the decision to include it here, while other edicts and decrees have been omitted (*CTH* 5, 19, 44, 57, 63, 64, 86–90).

Further, the volume includes what are often classified as Loyalty Oaths, partly due to Laroche's categorization, to some degree due to some partially new—or rehabilitated—insights. First, as discussed above, the distinction between "instructions" or "obligations" (Hitt. *išḫiul*-) and the "oath" (*lingai*-) was found to be a largely unsatisfactory basis on which to divide Hittite compositions into genres, since Hittite scribes seem for the most part not to have segregated them. Second, most of the texts sometimes referred to as Loyalty Oaths are not oaths per se, but impositions or prescriptions of oaths (Nos. 10–12, 18). They are prescribed by the king and consist for the most part of sometimes detailed portrayals of hypothetical and real situations along with the subordinates' expected behavior and often, in contrast, prohibited potential behavior. Thus, they are essentially "instruction" texts, even if these instructions or direc-

tives pertain primarily, though not exclusively, to modes of behavior relating to the royal family rather than concrete tasks and duties. These Oath Impositions should be distinguished from the actual oaths, sworn by the subordinates themselves in the 1st person, "promissory oaths" in Giorgieri's (2005: 324) terminology (Nos. 14, 19, 23). Third, while several of the compositions generally referred to as instruction texts can be subsumed under a genre "obligation and oath," others, despite close parallels as far as their delegation of duties is concerned, clearly must be kept separate from them, for example, No. 3, a Protocol for the Palace Gatekeeper, and No. 4, a Protocol for the Royal Body Guard. These two compositions share a narrative-like 3rd person indic. pres.-fut. style throughout and are devoid of imperatives or address in the 2nd person. It appears, therefore, that they do not constitute directives issued by the king or other royal authority to which the subordinates in question would at some point have sworn an oath. Neither composition includes any reference to oath deities, curses for breaking an oath or anything akin to punishment either secular or divine. They seem rather to comprise something more like instruction manuals, stage directions or protocols, perhaps compiled by those responsible for organizing the texts' respective routines.

As noted, those texts known to modern researchers as state and vassal treaties were placed by the Hittites essentially in the same category as the obligation and oath texts. Fortunately, there is a relatively simple way to distinguish between the two, a distinction, again, that is largely modern. Those texts dealing with internal, domestic administration, that is, within the Hittite heartland up to and including the frontier posts, are included within the present volume, while those concerning external Hittite administration, that is, the state and vassal treaties, are excluded. Thus, texts such as the MH Indictment of Mita of Paḫḫuwa (*CTH* 146; Beckman 1999: 160–66), which in its latter paragraphs contains passages evincing close parallels to some of the instructions; Arnuwanda I's Treaty with or Royal Decree for the Elders of Ura (*CTH* 144; de Martino 1996: 73–79), which shows certain similarities to some of the Oath Impositions; Ḫattusili III's Treaty with or Royal Decree for the People of Tiliura (*CTH* 89; von Schuler 1965a: 145–51; González Salazar 1994); and other more or less analogous texts (*CTH* 46, 47, 65, 93–95, 100, 107, 108, 115) have been neglected, as they apparently pertain to foreign or subject entities.

That Hittite and Hittitological categories often do not correspond precisely represented quite a challenge when deciding which texts to include and which to ignore for the present volume. The compositions known as the Military Oaths, for example, are clearly closely related to texts such as No. 14 (Loyalty Oath of Town Commanders to Arnuwanda I, Ašmunikkal, and Tudḫaliya) and No. 27 (Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Oath Imposition for Courtiers).

The latter's primary manuscript is summarized in its colophon with the phrase, "When they bring the army to (swear) an oath" (KBo 6.34++ iv 18–19; Oettinger 1976: 14–15; Collins 1997: 165; Christiansen 2008), suggesting that its Hittite scribe saw it as belonging to the obligation and oath genre. Indeed, one might reasonably assume that just such rites and oath-taking ceremonies would have constituted a common response to those compositions that preserve primarily the instructions issued by the king.[15] Since the focus of the Military Oaths is the ritual procedures accompanying the taking of the oath, however, Laroche, not entirely without justification, included them among the rituals (*CTH* 427, 493). A representative passage from these texts, in which a ritual expert performs the rites and articulates the imprecations while the soldiers express their consent, reads as follows (KBo 6.34++ i 47′–ii 4; Oettinger 1976: 8–9; Collins 1997: 165):

> Then he places wax and sheep fat in their hands, and he casts it into the flame, and he says, "Just as this wax melts and the sheep fat separates, may he who breaks the oath and deceives the [king of] Ḫattusa melt like the wax, and may he be separated like the sheep fat!" And they say, "So be it!"

Finally, it should perhaps be noted explicitly that this volume does not include didactic or wisdom literature, though the term "instructions" could in other contexts easily allow one to suspect that it might. The Sumerian Instructions of Šuruppak, for example, have received the same modern label as the texts treated here, though this composition consists largely of pithy, didactic proverbs concerning moral and ethical matters and thus can be considered wisdom literature. The Hittite instructions are in this sense certainly not didactic, as a rule, though some of the obligations imposed do relate to issues of morality and ethics. In fact, the Hittite archives contain hardly a text that could be considered wisdom literature per se, concerning which Hutter (2009) has recently provided an overview. Perhaps the closest parallels would be the Hurrian parables found together with the Song of Release (Neu 1996; Wilhelm 2001; Haas 2006: 177–92), the so-called Palace Anecdotes (Dardano 1997; 2011; Klinger 2001a: 61–64; Gilan 2007) or the Decree of Pimpira (*CTH* 24; Cammarosano 2006), with its ethical and didactic instructions for the young king Mursili I.[16]

The texts of this volume are presented for all intents and purposes in chronological order, as far as can be established. The texts from what can be seen as the zenith of the instruction genre, those of the reigns of Tudḫaliya I and his successor Arnuwanda I, occupy the central part of the volume, chapter 2, while earlier comparanda and the first examples of the genre comprise chapter 1, and

the latest texts, those from the Empire period beginning with Suppiluliuma I, form chapter 3.

A Brief History of Research

The very first Hittite instruction fragment published in hand copy was HT 28, by L. W. King, which appeared in 1920. It was soon followed by the more substantial KBo 5.11, by B. Hrozný, in 1921. The instructions then had to wait until the thirteenth volume of KUB, by H. Ehelolf, which appeared in 1925, to see their first more significant publication, a volume that contained nearly twenty tablets and fragments, including some of the best preserved and most important texts to this day. Further larger groups appeared in KUB 26 (1933) and 31 (1939) and, following the war, in KUB 36 (1955) and 40 (1968). The last significant collection of fragments appeared in 2006 in KBo 50. To date some twenty fragments identified as belonging to the instructions are yet to be published. These have, however, been incorporated into the present volume on the basis of photo evidence available at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin and the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz.

Though various instruction texts had been sporadically quoted in previous research literature, it was the publication of KUB 13 that allowed Friedrich in 1928/29 to present an edition of the better preserved cols. ii–iii of the Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants Concerning the Purity of the King (No. 2 in the present volume). The first full edition of a Hittite instruction text, that addressed to the Priests and Temple Personnel (No. 20), was published by Sturtevant in 1934. By the time of Friedrich's and Sturtevant's publications, Hittite was already quite well understood, and their translations provide generally high quality and accurate representations of the documents, even if advances since that time have allowed numerous improvements and corrections. Editions of further major texts were published by Alp in 1947 (No. 7) and von Schuler in 1956 (Nos. 10, 14), while in 1950 Goetze published translations or partial translations of three other important texts (Nos. 2, 17, 20).

Though dedicated primarily to the state and vassal treaties, Korošec's work from 1931 often referred to instruction texts as well and thus formed the first major attempt to evaluate what is called here the obligation and oath compositions in their legal and diplomatic contexts. The next major milestone is constituted by von Schuler's *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* from 1957, in which several of the major instruction texts known at that time (Nos. 17, 26, 27) were treated with transliteration, translation, and concise commentary. His succinct introductory *Bemerkungen* (pp. 1–7) show that the instructions and oaths, as

well as their relationship to the treaties, were already well understood as a genre by this time.

The following decade saw less activity in the area of the instructions, with Jakob-Rost's (1966) edition of the Protocol for the Royal Body Guard (No. 4), published in hand copy already in 1954, the only major advance. In the 1970s, in contrast, appeared a number of studies and text editions (del Monte 1975a; 1975b; Marazzi 1979; Oettinger 1976; Otten 1974; 1979; Pecchioli Daddi 1975; 1979; Rizzi Mellini 1979), which both increased the number of major compositions available in a full edition and allowed a fuller exploitation of the instructions and oaths for their wealth of information concerning Hittite state administration, society, and culture as well as the reassessment of some assumptions that had been made on a narrower textual foundation. This went hand in hand with the growing understanding of ductus and other aspects of paleography, which allowed Hittite texts to be roughly dated independently of their content.

The 1980s saw Süel's (1985) edition of the Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel and Houwink ten Cate's (1983) discussion of the instruction genre, in which many translations of passages appeared as well, along with Imparati's (1982) investigation of internal Hittite administrative structure, which references instructions and oaths extensively. The following decade witnessed the fundamentally important study by Giorgieri (1995) on the entire corpus of Hittite oath compositions and Güterbock and van den Hout's (1991) new edition of the Instructions for the Royal Body Guard, which placed the text on a significantly more robust philological foundation. Other important studies included Košak's (1990) edition of the Instructions and Oath Imposition for Military Commanders (No. 18) and Westbrook's and Woodard's (1990) edition of Tudḫaliya I's Decree on Penal and Administrative Reform (No. 8), while updated translations of three important compositions (Nos. 4, 17, 20) were presented to a wider audience in an anthology of ancient Near Eastern texts (McMahon 1997).

Finally, the first decade of the new millennium saw again a series of instructions translated in a volume for a wider audience (Klinger 2001a) as well as Pecchioli Daddi's (2003a) new edition of the Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Post Governors (No. 17), while a third full edition of the Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel appeared (Taggar-Cohen 2006). Pecchioli Daddi (2005b) and Mora (2008) also presented updated classifications and brief assessments of all instructions, oaths and edicts, which they refer to as "politico-administrative" and/or "political-juridical" texts, as well as a more thorough review of the MH instructions in particular (Pecchioli Daddi 2005a), while d'Alfonso (2006a; 2008) contributed to further elucidat-

ing their nature and placing them within their cultural milieu. At the same time, Giorgieri (2001, 2002, 2005, 2008), who had written his dissertation on the loyalty oaths (1995), published a number of highly insightful studies illuminating various aspects of the instructions and oath texts. Most recently, Christiansen (2008) has completed her dissertation containing a systematic and exhaustive examination of curse and oath formulas in the Hittite political-historical documentation.

Origins and Development of the Obligation and Oath Texts

Several hypotheses and schema, differing rather substantially in some respects, have been put forth by various scholars to account for the attested stages and diverging forms witnessed in the texts at hand.

Origins and Old Hittite Compositions

Von Schuler (1957: 2–3) proposed that the obligation and oath texts would have been derived from the state treaties, but advances in the dating of texts subsequently showed that the instructions, initially thought all to have been NH documents, also reached deep into the MH period, invalidating his hypothesis. Von Schuler (1976–1980: 117) later placed the OH edicts and decrees along with No. 1, a Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries, at the beginning of the development of the instructions, which would thus have evolved "aus konkreten Anweisungen des Königs."

Among more recent scholars Pecchioli Daddi (e.g., 2005b: 600–601; 2002a: 262) has linked the origins of the obligation and oath genre with texts such as the Palace Anecdotes[17] and the Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries (No. 1), both of which belong to the oldest phase of Hittite text creation, labeling them "proto-*išḫiul*." She sees in No. 2, the Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants Concerning the Purity of the King, which she dates to Arnuwanda I, the developmental link between them (2005a: 284). I have suggested (Miller 2011b; see also Gilan 2007: 299–300; Christiansen 2008: 259–63; Cammarosano 2006: 10–12; Klinger 2005a: 358) that the designation "proto-*išḫiul*" overemphasizes to some degree the similarities among them, and that these two early Hittite compositions (the Palace Anecdotes and the Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries) and similar texts can perhaps be compared with the later instructions at most with regard to their didactic aspects. The Palace Anecdotes, for instance, composed in a narrative style in the 3rd person, show no signs of a contractual nature or divine sanction, and the terms *išḫiul-* and