

CLASSIFICATION AND NEW EDITION OF POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

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I am responsible for the classification and new edition of the “politico-administrative texts” on the research project co-ordinated by Professor Carruba¹.

I. Definition of the *corpus*.

Defined as “political and administrative texts” are all those documents drawn up with the purpose of establishing the rules that royal employees had to follow when carrying out their duties, and in their relationship with their king: in other words, the texts that are commonly defined in Hittitological literature as “instructions”², “instructions and protocols”³ and “instructions and oaths”⁴ and that were catalogued by E. Laroche under CTH 251-275⁵.

To these we must now add new, recently published fragments⁶; and also some texts provisionally entered by E. Laroche under other catalogue numbers, in particular those under CTH 212⁷. Instead, two texts must be excluded: those catalogued under CTH 252 and CTH 258. 1, as they have no specific recipient, and belong rather to the category of royal decrees⁸.

¹ The first publication is expected to be the new edition of the *BEL MADGALT* text. And here I'd like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Gernot Wilhelm for kindly making available the copies of the fragments yet unpublished.

² See, in general, the entry *Instruktionen, Hethiter*, by E. von Schuler, *RIA* 5 (1975) 114-117.

³ See, for example, E. Laroche, CTH, p. 35.

⁴ See, for example, E. von Schuler, *Historia*, Einzels. 7 (1964) 45-49.

⁵ The texts belonging to this group have been the object of many important studies; we should mention here the contributions, of a general nature, by E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw.* (1957); *idem*, *Historia (cit.)*; F. Imparati, *RHA XXXII* (1974) 149 ff.; N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22 (1976) 76-85; F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Lincei, Rendiconti*, 34 (1979) 51-55.

⁶ See KBo 40.16, in particular.

⁷ See KBo 16.28, for example.

⁸ CTH 252 is a decree of the queen, Ašmunikal, which deals with the exemption from the *šahhan* and *luzzi* obligations and with the attribution of some prerogatives to personnel and to property assigned to her own mausoleum: CTH 258. 1 is a decree issued by Tuthaliya I on his return from his famous expedition to Aššur to organise the country of Hatti, in ruins due to the king's long absence (for the analysis of this text, see, recently, S. De Martino – F. Imparati, *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology*, Ankara 1998, 395-400).

The document category under study is therefore made up of texts that (a) define the duties of dignitaries and functionaries in various sectors of the state administration, (b) that establish the ceremonial stages for the people who took part in them, and (c) that consent or require they take an oath of fidelity to their sovereign.

Therefore, as the politico-administrative texts are the legal tools to regulate the relationships of subordination in the kingdom, they constitute an homogeneous *corpus* as far as function and reference point are concerned; instead, from a formal, typological and content standpoint, there are substantial differences, of which the Hittite scribes were aware.

In fact, when preserved, the colophons of these documents show different definitions and distinguish tablets of the *išhiul* (binding/bond, allegiance), tablets of the *lingai*- (oath) and tablets that have no specific definition of genre⁹.

In the new classification of the politico-administrative texts, I think the ancient definition should be kept and the tablets of binding/allegiance be separated from those taking an oath, however, it should be noted that documents within these groups have a wide, formal variety.

To these three main groups, two more groups of documents will be added:

1) the first of these will be formed by the archaic texts¹⁰ issued most probably by Muršili I and addressed to various categories of state officials that I have defined as "proto-instructions" or proto-*išhiul* in which the sovereign's deliberations are shown as a consequence of previous events¹¹; this applies particularly to the texts: CTH 8, the so-called "palace chronicle"¹²; CTH 9, the so-called "fragments of the palace chronicles", some of which - particularly KBo 8.42 - are, probably, to be attributed to Hattušili I; CTH 24, the "admonitions of Pimpira"; CTH 272, the text that the sovereign addresses to the ^{LÜ.MEŠ}DUGUD "dignitaries"; and perhaps the text on price

revisions, CTH 269, also addressed to various officials, in the event it is related, according to E. Laroche¹³, to the tablet-label KUB 30.66 I 5', "first tablet of the *išhiul* of the market"¹⁴.

2) The second, small group of documents, which I analysed in the Studies in honour of Maciej Popko¹⁵, have, in the *incipit* or in the colophon, the double typological definition of "*išhiul* and *lingai*- tablet". The texts of this group are (1) KUB 26.10 (*ex* CTH 275), document (in my opinion) addressed by Arnuwanda I to the lord of the seal; (2) according to M. Giorgieri's restoration of the colophon (IV 1-3)¹⁶, KUB 31.102 (*ex* CTH 275), text addressed to more than one category of officials; (3) and the fragment of Middle Hittite tradition KBo 16.28 (*ex* CTH 212), which involves various dignitaries together.

II. Typology.

According to ancient definitions, the main typologies are therefore:

A) the *išhiul* texts.

The texts thus defined are identified by the fact that they all contain very precise and detailed provisions addressed to various categories of royal employees, meant to establish their functions and operating tasks.

They are documents, mostly issued by sovereigns, but at times are scribal compositions too, where the provisions (defined as *uddar/memiya(n)*-/AWĀTU/INIM) may be formulated in the imperative or indicative mood (alternating between second and third person singular and plural). At other times, they are in hypothetical form, and often come with the scansion "to/about/in *such* matter/ to this (he/you/they) be very careful"¹⁷ or "*to this matter* attention/respect shall be paid"¹⁸.

The documents forming part of this group are divided in 4 subgroups.

1) Prescriptive texts of strong technical content issued by the sovereigns in imperative form:

1.1.) we have, with colophon¹⁹, the text issued by Arnuwanda I to define the job responsibilities and duties of the official in charge of defence and security of the capital, the ^{LÜ}HAZANU, CTH 257²⁰; and still by Arnuwanda I, the text addressed

¹³ CTH, p.38, n. 1.

¹⁴ See E. Laroche, CTH, p. 180.

¹⁵ F. Pecchioli Daddi, in P. Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica*, Warsaw 2002, 261-268.

¹⁶ M. Giorgieri, *I testi ittiti di giuramento* (Diss.), Firenze 1995, 22, 326-327.

¹⁷ Cf. CHD, N, 340-341.

¹⁸ Cf. CHD, N, 344.

¹⁹ KUB 26.9+ IV 12'-13' (= CTH 257); KUB 40.57 IV 10 (= CTH 261).

²⁰ Edition by F. Pecchioli Daddi, OA 14 (1975) 93-136; H. Otten, Or 52 (1983) 133-142.

⁹ As we know, the typological definition "tablet of binding/allegiance" (and, at times, in texts written in Akkadian, the "tablet of binding/allegiance and oath") was also used for documents that the Hittite sovereigns issued to formalise, in juridical terms, the relationships with foreign political subjects, in other words, the so-called "treaties": according to Hittite political ideology, which did not distinguish between internal and external (domestic or foreign), state officials and kings not from Hatti were, in fact, placed on the same level, and documents addressed to them by the Hittite sovereign were defined based on the purpose of the text (of binding/allegiance, in this specific case), and not according to the recipient. Cf., recently, G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1996, p. 2.

¹⁰ KUB 36.104 (CTH 8. D), KBo 8.42 (CTH 9. 5), KBo 22.1 (CTH 272) are Old-Hittite original texts; the other texts have come to us in recent copies.

¹¹ For the analysis of these documents, we will refer to the articles by A. Archi, FsLaroche (1979) 37-48; S. Košak, FsOtten² (1988) 195-202; F. Pecchioli Daddi, OAMisc I (1994) 75-91; *eadem*, *Studia Mediterranea* 9 (1995) 321-332.

¹² Edition by P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto e il racconto in età antico-hittita: la cosiddetta "cronaca di palazzo"*, Roma 1997.

to the head of the province, the *BĒL MADGALTI*, CTH 261²¹, which contains very detailed provisions related to all the sectors of this official's activity (military, administrative, religious and judicial);

1.2.) without colophon: CTH 266²², a text from the age of Middle Kingdom, where the sovereign addresses probably a lord (*BĒLU*) of province, so that he could check production in the territory of his jurisdiction; and CTH 267²³, also a Middle Kingdom text, in which the king gives his provisions related to the employment of UKU.UŠ troops for the construction work on borderline territories.

2) Texts, descriptive in character, like a manual, that are expressed in the indicative form and without scansion:

2.1.) we have, with colophon²⁴, the Middle-Hittite text of the royal bodyguards, *MEŠEDI*, CTH 262²⁵, which contains the extremely detailed description of the ceremony carried out on the occasion of the so-called "sortie du roi", and where the procedures followed by the palace employees in their job of escorting the king are listed in a precise and orderly way. Since the first lines of the tablet are badly preserved we do not know whether the *incipit* contained the name of a promoting king or, rather, it was the work of scribes, as the similarities to the document addressed to the gatekeeper (CTH 263) would lead us to believe.

3) Texts that are punitive and prohibitive in character related to the sacred matters:

3.1.) we have, with colophon²⁶, CTH 264²⁷, the text addressed to all the temple employees in Hattuša (employed in worship and in production), which has come down to us in a Imperial Age copy, but of Middle-Hittite tradition²⁸. Provisions prevail not in the positive but in the negative (do not steal, do not contaminate, do not be corrupt, do not get drunk, etc.); punishments are set down (like pillory²⁹ and even capital punishment³⁰), as well as fines³¹ and trials by ordeal³²: the document

²¹ *Editio princeps* by E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw. (cit.)* 36-65; for a recent translation, see G. McMahon, in W.W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture I*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1997, 221-225.

²² Treatment by K.K. Riemschneider, *ArOr* 33 (1965) 336-340; cf. also F. Imparati, *Stato Economia Lavoro nel Vicino Oriente antico*, Milano 1988, 232, 238 nn. 30-32.

²³ Treatment by R.H. Beal, *THeth* 20 (1992) 45-46, n.178.

²⁴ IBoT 1.36 IV 53.

²⁵ New edition by H.G. Güterbock – Th. Van den Hout, *The Hittite instruction for the royal bodyguard*, AS 24, Chicago 1991.

²⁶ KUB 13.4 IV 78-81; see also IBoT 4.5 Rev. 1'-3'.

²⁷ See, now, A. Stiel, *Hitit Kaynaklarında. Tapınak Görevlileri. Bir Direktif Metni*, Ankara 1985; for a recent translation, see G. McMahon, *op. cit.*, 217-221.

²⁸ For this, see CHD, *passim*.

²⁹ Cf., for example, KUB 13.4 III 30-34.

³⁰ Cf., for example, KUB 13.4 I 59', II 11'.

³¹ Cf., for example, KUB 13.4 IV 8-11, 22-24.

³² Cf., for example, KUB 13.4 IV 52-55, 69-70.

therefore has a repressive rather than a regulatory aim and this is underlined by the use of locutions typical of judicial texts and of the *takku* hypothetical conjunction.

3.2.) Without the colophon, we have the ancient or Middle Hittite text (a copy written during the fourteenth century³³ has come down to us) CTH 265³⁴, dictated in the first person by a sovereign to impose his kitchen workers and those in his personal service to observe precise specifications of purity so that he would avoid any risk of contamination. Just like the previous text, it sets down punishment and trials by ordeal³⁵. However, there are specific elements that reflect compositional techniques used in the proto-*išhiul* and in some texts from the age of the Middle Kingdom (see CTH 251 and 271): the king speaks and acts in the first person and requests that his personnel take an oath every month³⁶; also included is a narration of a so-called "paradigmatic example"³⁷, though with an admonishing purpose.

4) Texts that also contain elements typical of the oath-taking tablets:

4.1.) the text CTH 259³⁸, addressed by a Tuthaliya (in my opinion Tuthaliya I) "to all men" (that is, to the various categories of royal officials) to be pledged with an oath regarding their responsibilities, is defined as *išhiul*³⁹. The specific provisions (*uddar*), expressed in the imperative form and similar to those contained in the text for the *BĒL MADGALTI*, albeit less detailed, are preceded by the list of gods invoked as witnesses and guarantors of the oath (added immediately after the heading)⁴⁰ and are followed by the blessing and curse formulas that end the document before the colophon⁴¹.

In conclusion, the only common element to the texts examined herein is the technical nature of the stipulations; instead, the formulation of the provisions is different and probably the *incipit* is too. The cohesion of this group of documents therefore depends primarily on the political and regulatory function that the texts have, and also on the historical time to which they belong, since they all date back to the Middle-Hittite period.

B) The *lingai*- texts

These documents usually contain provisions of generic type, and primarily focus on the theme of fidelity to the king, to his designated heir and their descendants.

³³ See H. Otten – Ch. Rüster, *ZA* 67 (1977) 55-56.

³⁴ See the translation by E. von Schuler, *TUAT I* (1982) 124-125.

³⁵ Cf. E. Laroche, *FsOtten* (1973) 185-186.

³⁶ KUB 13.3 II 20-III 2.

³⁷ KUB 13.3 III 24-35. For this definition, see M. Marazzi, *Eothen* (1988) 121.

³⁸ See, recently, the treatment by M. Giogieri, *op. cit.*, 137-205.

³⁹ KUB 13.20 IV 7'-8'.

⁴⁰ KUB 26.11 I 7' ff.

⁴¹ KUB 13.20 IV 3'-6'.

They are identified by the oath-taking component expressed by the solemn curse formula ("these oaths will seize him/them and will destroy him/them with his/their wife/wives and children!")⁴², by the oath formulas placed at the end of the paragraph ("let it be placed under the oath!")⁴³ and/or by the list of deities invoked as witnesses, which may be placed at the beginning⁴⁴, in the middle⁴⁵ or at the end⁴⁶ of the text. Unlike the *išhiul* texts, the *lingai*- texts span a wide chronological area - from the Middle Kingdom to the end of the Imperial age.

The documents belonging to the *lingai* group are divided into two subgroups: (1) the oaths requested by the king and (2) the swearing of oaths by the employees in the first person.

1) Oaths requested by the king:

1.1.) with the colophon preserved⁴⁷:

1.1.1.) a fragmentary text of the Middle Hittite period, KUB 13.7 (CTH 258.2)⁴⁸, the "second tablet of the oath of the great king Tuthaliya" (in my opinion, Tuthaliya II/III), probably addressed to various categories of employees. It should be noted that this oath applies to specific cases (i.e. judicial procedures which require the king's intervention) and also provides for penal sanctions (death or deposition) for the guilty.

1.1.2.) The text addressed by Tuthaliya III/IV to the SAG men from the city of Ušša (CTH 255.2)⁴⁹ at the time of Tuthaliya's ascent to the throne⁵⁰. In this case the pledge required by the king of his most trusted men (meaning the LÚMEŠ SAG, literally "the men of the head")⁵¹ does not apply to specific tasks, but only to their loyalty to the sovereign and his legitimate descendants. One should note the systematic recurrence of the formula at the end of the paragraph: "(this) be placed under the oath" (GAM NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} kittaru/GAR-ru).

1.1.3.) The oath imposed by Šuppiluliuma II to all the people of Hatti (CTH 256)⁵²; this fragmentary text shows a composite structure: an *arkuwar* (a response,

⁴² Cf. CHD. L. 68.

⁴³ Cf. CHD. L. 65.

⁴⁴ CTH 253. 1; CTH 254.

⁴⁵ CTH 256; CTH 260.

⁴⁶ CTH 251; CTH 268.

⁴⁷ KUB 13.7 IV 1-7 (= CTH 258. 2); KUB 26.1+ IV 54-56 (= CTH 255. 2); ABOT 56 IV 16'-19' (= CTH 256)

⁴⁸ See, now, the treatment by M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 122-136.

⁴⁹ See E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw. (cit.)*, 8-21.

⁵⁰ KUB 26.1+ I 1-5.

⁵¹ For this category of employees, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *SCO* 27 (1977) 108-109.

⁵² See, now, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 292-319.

a justification, or a prayer)⁵³ to the principal gods of the country, in fact, precedes the oath stipulation addressed to all the people as it maintains "the allegiance to the dead" (ŠA GIDIM^{H1.A} *išhiul*)⁵⁴. The oath stipulation is accompanied by a long list of gods and articulated by the formula "let this matter be placed under the oath!".

1.2.) With no colophon we have:

1.2.1.) the text addressed by a sovereign from the Middle-Hittite period to the troops engaged in military campaigns so that it may ensure the king's safety in battle, CTH 268⁵⁵. The provisions are in the imperative form and are articulated by the oath formula ("let this be placed for you under the oath") and by curse formulas, unusual at times (aside from the usual formula "the oaths will destroy you together with your wives and children", also found is "from the black earth your names and your descendants will be cancelled"⁵⁶ and "oaths will not forgive you for this fact"⁵⁷). In the last part, you may see the list of the gods invoked as witnesses.

1.2.2.) The very fragmentary document CTH 253. 2⁵⁸ is to be entered here. It is addressed by Šuppiluliuma I to the troops that are requested to be faithful to their king and queen; the articulated formulas are not preserved.

1.2.3.) The oath stipulating fidelity to the king and his direct descendants addressed by Tuthaliya III/IV, first (§§ 1-21), to all the lords and to the DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL and, then (§§ 22-31), to the SAG men, CTH 255. 1⁵⁹. At the end of paragraphs there is the formula "let it be placed under the oath", and sometimes the curse formula.

1.2.4.) Belonging to this group might also be the text issued, in my opinion⁶⁰, by Tuthaliya I/II, CTH 251⁶¹, which contains the imposition of an oath addressed to various categories of employees (summarised in the formula "all Hattuša"⁶²). At the end of the text the list of the gods as witnesses and the solemn curse formula ("these oaths may seize him and destroy him with his wife and children") can be seen. It should be noted that, similar to the "second tablet of *lingai*- of the king Tuthaliya" (CTH 258. 2), the provisions, expressed in the imperative form, apply to specific cases - mainly to the military, and penal sanctions are spelled out. Furthermore, there are some references in this text to the tie that binds the officials to the sovereign, and

⁵³ See, now, A. Kammenhuber, *HW²* I, 311-313; J. Puhvel, *HED*, 1-2, 148-151.

⁵⁴ ABOT 56 III 9'.

⁵⁵ Editions by S. Košak, *JAC* 5 (1990) 77-86, and by M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 237-253.

⁵⁶ KBo 19.58 (+) KUB 23.82 Rev. 9'-10'.

⁵⁷ KBo 19.58 (+) KUB 23.82 Rev. 15'-16'.

⁵⁸ Edition by M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 259-260.

⁵⁹ See E. von Schuler, *op. cit.*, 22-33.

⁶⁰ See F. Pecchioli Daddi, *FsPopko (cit.)*, 265-266.

⁶¹ For the updated edition, with previous bibliography, see M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 96-116.

⁶² KBo 16.24(+) I 62'-63'.

paradigmatic examples are included, similar to the *išhiul* CTH 259 and CTH 265, respectively (but possibly even to the *lingai*- CTH 271)⁶³.

1.2.5.) The texts CTH 271⁶⁴, known as “protocols of dynastic succession”, contain not only oath impositions⁶⁵ but often paradigmatic examples⁶⁶. An oath imposition by the king and queen is also in KUB 36.109 (CTH 275).

2) The second subgroup of texts with the swearing of oaths in the first person are all without colophons. Based on the headings, we distinguish (1) documents where the name(s) of those taking the oath is stated beforehand, and (2) documents whereby the name of the sovereign to whom the oath is sworn is stated beforehand:

2.1.) For the first type we have:

2.1.1.) the Middle Hittite tablets of the fidelity oath pronounced by the UGULA LIM and by the LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD of three peripheral districts, personally and in the name of their own troops, in front of Arnuwanda, Ašmunikal and the *tuhkanti* Tuthaliya on occasion of the monthly oath, sworn to the reigning family all over the country of Hatti, CTH 260⁶⁷. The list of the Hatti gods⁶⁸ and district deities⁶⁹, placed in the middle of the documents, assure the respect for the pledges sworn.

2.1.2.) The brief document of the Middle Hittite age, KBo 16.50 (CTH 270)⁷⁰, that preserves the oath wherein Ašhapala and “those who are with him” pledged to supply troops to the sovereign and to inform the governor of their province on the movements of the enemy. The oath formula is also present in this case.

2.2.) The second type includes:

2.2.1) the tablet KUB 26.57 that preserves the *incipit* of the monthly oath taken by “whoever was in Hatti” to Šuppiluliuma, to Taduḫepa, to princes and their descendants (CTH 253. 1)⁷¹. The list of the gods invoked as witnesses is at the beginning of the text⁷²;

2.2.2.) the text KUB 21.46, similar to the previous one, preserves the *incipit* of the oath given by “whoever was in the country of Hatti” to Hattušili, to Puduḫepa, and their children and descendants (CTH 254)⁷³. Here, too, is the list of gods at the

beginning of the text (I 11 ff.). Given the strict analogies with the previous text, it is likely that this is a monthly oath as well.

In my opinion, the two oath-taking texts CTH 124⁷⁴ and 125⁷⁵, which record the personal pledge to the sovereign by important personages at the time of Šuppiluliuma II, do not belong to this document typology *sensu stricto*: in these texts, there is a preamble on the relationship between the personages and the king that justifies the pledge itself. Therefore, the structure of these documents is likened, especially, to the model used for the writing of the treaties.

C) Texts with no typological definition.

At the present time, only CTH 263, the text addressed to the gatekeeper of the acropolis shows a title in the colophon that does not define any document type. However, it describes the occasion which the provisions apply to (“first tablet of the sleeping up (in the palace)”) ⁷⁶. Nevertheless, the text is positively similar in form and structure to the tablet of allegiance for the king’s bodyguards (CTH 262). Indeed, it is a composition, descriptive in nature (as noted by the use of the indicative form of the verb) and, thus to say, like a manual, which the scribes drew up so that they could use a tool to verify the accuracy of ceremonial procedures.

III. Formation⁷⁷.

The formation of these document types is strictly connected to the reorganisation of the Hittite state promoted by the sovereigns of the Middle Kingdom: Tuthaliya I/II and, above all Arnuwanda I, to whom we owe the structure of the administration system which, although it remained practically unchanged, granted the management of the Anatolian territory even into the Imperial Age.

Such reorganisation, based on specific job assignments to the various categories of officials, involved the introduction of new tools to control the activities of the royal staff: 1) the tablets of bond/allegiance containing precise provisions and that have permanent validity, were used to assign the responsibilities to specific categories; 2) the oath-taking tablets, renewed periodically and/or in exceptional situations, were to require fidelity to the sovereign and to demand that the pledges undertaken by more than one group simultaneously were honoured.

⁷⁴ See, now, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 278-280.

⁷⁵ See, now, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 281-286.

⁷⁶ KBo 5.11(+) IV 26’.

⁷⁷ For this question, cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *FsPopko (cit.)*, 266-268.

⁶³ Cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ Treatments by O. Carruba, *SMEA* 18 (1977) 175-195; S. De Martino, *Eothen* 4 (1991) 6-10; M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 117-121, with previous bibliography.

⁶⁵ KUB 36.114, for example.

⁶⁶ KUB 34.40; KUB 36.113, for example.

⁶⁷ New edition by M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 212-230.

⁶⁸ KUB 31.44 II 29 ff.

⁶⁹ KUB 31.44 III 5’-6’; KUB 31.42 III 15’-17’.

⁷⁰ See, recently, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 234-236, with previous bibliography.

⁷¹ See, now, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 254-258, with previous bibliography.

⁷² KUB 26.57 I 14 ff.

⁷³ See, now, M. Giorgieri, *op. cit.*, 261-267.

Connected to different temporal extension of the validity of the documents that belong to the two typologies, is the fact that, whereas all the *išhiul* texts date to the pre-Imperial period (when the administrative system of the state was first structured), the *lingai*- texts were drawn right up to the end of the Hittite state.

To compose these documents, the scribes, in the absence of already-defined models, probably revamped the compositional schemes of the ancient Hittite texts, related to the activities of officials (which we may define as “proto- *išhiul*”: CTH 8, 9, 24, 272; 269) and some treaties with one or more partners (see CTH 27; CTH 144; treaties with Kizzuwatna), from whom they picked up the *išhiul* and *lingai*- definitions and the use of paradigmatic examples, as in some texts (see CTH 251, 265, 271).

The formation of *išhiul* and *lingai*- as autonomous textual typologies underwent an adjustment phase testified by documents that contain elements typical of both genres (see, especially, CTH 259 and 251, attributable to Tutḫaliya I/II, and KBo 16.28) and the double typological definition “tablet of bond and oath” in the heading (KUB 26.10, by Arnuwanda I) or in the colophon (KUB 31.102).

3) *išhiul* (with colophon; * without colophon):

Middle Kingdom	Tutḫaliya I	CTH 259	All men	Oath-taking
	Arnuwanda I	CTH 257	LÚ ḪAZANNU	Prescriptive, Technical
	Arnuwanda I	CTH 261	BĒL MADGALTI	Prescriptive, Technical
	?	*CTH 266	BELU(?)	Prescriptive, Technical
	?	*CTH 267	UKU.UŠ troops	Prescriptive, Technical
	?	CTH 262	LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI	Descriptive, ceremonial
	?	CTH 264	Temple employees	Punitive, prohibitive
	?	*CTH 265	Palace workers	Punitive, prohibitive; paradigmatic example

4) *lingai*-

4.1) oaths requested by the king (with colophon; *without colophon):

Middle Kingdom	Tutḫaliya I/II	*CTH 251	All Ḫattuša	Paradigmatic example; reference to <i>išhiul</i>
	?	*CTH 271	Dignitaries	Paradigmatic example
	Tutḫaliya II/III	CTH 258.2	Various categories	Specific cases; penal sanctions
	?	*CTH 268	Troops	Unusual curse formulas
	?	*KUB 36.109	Dignitaries	King and queen

Empire	Šuppiluliuma I	*CTH 253.2	Troops	King and queen; generic
	Tuthaliya III/ IV	CTH 255.2	LÚMEŠ SAG	Generic
	Tuthaliya III/ IV	*CTH 255.1	Lords, king's sons, LÚMEŠ SAG	Generic
	Šuppiluliuma II	CTH 256	All the people of Ḫattuša	<i>Arkuwar; išḫiul</i> for the dead

4.2) *lingai*-/ oath sworn in first person

Middle Kingdom	Arnuwanda I	*CTH 260	UGUḶA LIM, LU.MEŠDUGUD	Name of the king stated beforehand; monthly oath
	?	*CTH270	Ašḫapala and those who are with him	Name of the king stated beforehand; technical
Empire	Šuppiluliuma I	*CTH 253,1	Whoever was in Ḫatti	Name of those taking the oath stated beforehand; monthly oath
	Ḫattušili III	*CTH 254	Whoever was in Ḫatti	Name of those taking the oath stated beforehand; monthly oath (?)

5) Text with no specific definition of genre

Middle Kingdom	?	CTH 263	Gate-keeper	“Tablet of the sleeping up”; descriptive; ceremonial
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