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ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

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NIGHT AND DAY, IN WAR AND IN PEACE*

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Recently Professor Lin has edited, under his *nom de plume* Ri Zhi, some instruction texts inscribed on bamboo slips from Yunmeng belonging to the State of Qin (3rd century B.C.). It is my privilege and pleasure to offer him on the occasion of his venerable jubilee a small Hittite text of the same genre.

While modern scholarship makes a distinction between treaties regulating conduct between the Hittite king and external partners, i.e., rulers of equal rank and appanage kings on one hand, and instructions regulating the conduct between the king and groups of officials and functionaries on the other, the Hittite themselves used the same word¹ for both genres: *išbiul*, from *išbi-la*- "to bind" (cf. Lat. ob-ligatiō "obligation": ligō "to bind"). In both cases, the king and his partners lay down a set of binding regulations, witnessed by the gods who are to avenge any breach of agreement. Consequently, the wording in both genres is frequently almost identical, so that it is sometimes difficult to classify incompletely preserved texts.

Such is the case with CTH 268, entitled by E. Laroche "Traité ou protocole," while in the CHD the label fluctuates.² The text displays features

*Abbreviations follow the usage of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD). I thank R.H. Beal, H.G. Güterbock, and E. Neu who kindly read the first draft and made some helpful comments.

¹Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *apud* K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden*, Leiden 1983, 171.

²S.v. *labbiyai*- 2.a. (instr., MH), CHD 3:9a; s.v. *laman mng. i* (treaty, MH?/MS?), CHD 3:36a; s.v. *lammar* 2.a. (instr., MH), CHD 3:36f.; s.v. *mān*

peculiar to the so-called Middle Hittite period,³ the script shows palaeographically earlier forms and can be determined as Middle Script (MS).⁴ Thus, the text can be safely dated to ca. 1400 B.C.⁵

qbv. (= KUB 23.82 + KUB 21.47)

 x+2 [ca. 25 signs]x-*la-aš* ERIN.MEŠ.ḪI.A [
 3' [-n]u-un nu-za a-ra-u-*re*[-
 4' [š]a-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-uz[-zi
 5' []x pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén
 6' x[-]a na-ak-ki-i[š
 7' am-me-e[*l* na-a]k-ki-iš e-eš-d[u
 8' pl-ra-an(-)x[]x A-NA SAG.DU-K[U-NU]
 9' ZI.ḪI.A-KU-NU A-RA-MA-[NI-KU-NU ... A-NA
 S]AG.DU-*IA*
 10' ZI-*IA* A-RA-MA-NI-*IA* []x ṽa-aḫ-nu-ṽa-an ḫar-
du
 11' nu-mu-za UD-ti GE₆-an-ti ḫa-[...]uš-ki-
iš-ga-tal-li-iš-ša
 12' e-eš-tén nu-mu-za ma-a-an URU-x[...] a-pl-*ia*
pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén
 13' ma-a-an-mu-za *la-aḫ-ḫi-ma* ku-ṽ[a- ...]x EGIR-
pa UZUGABA-aš
 14' ṽa-ar-ši-*ia-an-za* e-eš-du ma-a-an-m[u ... i]š-
ki-ša
 15' ṽa-ar-ši-*ia-an-da* e-e[š-du

 16' ma-a-an-mu ZAG-az-ma GÜB-za hu-i-*ia-an-te-eš*
nu-za x-x-an-da-az ṽa-ar-ši-*ia-an-za* e-eš-li-it

7.a.1'.d' (treaty/protocol, MH/MS), CHD 3:152b; s.v. *mān* 8.a.1' (treaty, MH/MS), CHD 3:157f.; s.v. *mekki*-1.a. ([no indication of genre], MH/MS), CHD 3:345b; s.v. *mema*- 7.b.2'.b'. (treaty, MH/MS?), CHD 3:259b.

³E.g., pl. pres. 2 -*tani* obv. 25', rev. 5', 6'.

⁴E.g. TAR, E, URU, IK, AK, LI; although there are no "stepped" shapes of ID and DA which are typical for the MS, the text displays no counterindications for a later dating.

⁵Cf. the relatively unequivocal dating by the CHD (note 2 above).

- 17' nu-mu I-NA KUR LUKÚR a-ya-an ar-ḫa li-e
ku-iš-ki pld-da-a-i n[u-]mu-kán an-da li-e ku-
iš-ki
- 18' da-la-i nu ḫu-u-ma-an-za hu-u-da ḫar-du nu-kán
LUKÚR ku-ḡ[a-u-]re¹-ni ku-iš-ma-mu a-ya-
an ar-ḫa(-)k[u-
19' pld-da-a-i šu-me-ša-an e-ep-tén nu ku-iš am-mu-
uk LUKÚR šu-ma-a-aš-ša-aš LUKÚR
re¹-eš-du na-an la-aḫ-bi-ja-a[t-tén]
- 20' ma-a-na-aš 1 LÚ-LUM ma-a-na-aš me-ek-ki-iš
ma-a-na-aš ERIN.MEŠ ku-iš-ki ma-a-na-at KUR-e
ku-it-ki
- 21' ma-a-na-at te-li-pu-ri-i ku-it-ki ma-a-na-aš
URU-aš ku-i-š-aš im-ma ku-iš an-tu-u-ya-aḫ-ḫa-
aš
- 22' na-an ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ták-ša-an kar-ši za-aḫ-
bi-ja-ad[-du-]ma-at na-an li-e da-li-eš-te-ni

- 23' ma-a-an-mu i-da-la-u-ya-an-ni-ja ku-iš ya-ag-
ga-ri-[(a-u-a)n-zi ša-an-ḫa-zi šu-ma-a-ša
- 24' ḫa-at-ra-a-mi nu-mu-uš-ša-an ma-a-an ya-ar-ri
lam-n[i-i] Ú-UL e-er-te-ni na-aš-ma-at šu-me-
eš-ma
- 25' iš-ta-ma-aš-ta-ni na-at ma-a-an A-NA DUTU-
šI ḫu[-u-da-]a-ak Ú-UL me-ma-at-te-ni
- 26' a-pa-a-aš-ša-aš-ma-aš ma-a-an Ú-UL
LUKÚR na-an la-aḫ[-bi-]a-at-te-ni Ú-UL
- 27' nu-uš-ma-ša-at ŠA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM ki-
it-¹ta¹[-ru o o o o o]x-a-an LUGAL-uš

- 28' [na-a]š-ma-mu ku-i[š]x-aḫ-ḫa-aš i-da[-
...] (traces)

rev. (= KBo 19.58 + KUB 23.82)

-
- x+2 []x-aš-¹ma¹-aš-kán ma-a-an ki-iš-šu-ya-an-
ti-1[a
- 3' [pl-e-]ḫu-te-ez-zi na-aš-ma ma-a-an šu-m[e-eš
- 4' [i-]re¹-zi na-aš-šu tar-pa-ni-ja-aš ut-tar n[a-
aš-ma(?)
- 5' [iš-t]a-ma-aš-ta-ni nu ma-a-an a-pl-ni-i[š-šu-
- 6' [te-e]k-ku-uš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ni nu-uš-ma-ša-x[
- 7' [an-tu-uḫ-š]a-an ma-a-an ḫu-u-da-a-ak Ú-UL e-
ep-t[e-ni
- 8' [an-t]u-uḫ-ši EGIR-an ti-ja-at-te-ni nu-uš-ma-
aš-kán NI-I[š DINGIR-LIM

- 9' [QA-D]U DAM.MEŠ-KU-NU DUMU.MEŠ-KU-NU ar-ḥa
 ḥar-ni-in-kán-du [
 10' [da-g)a-an-zi-pa-az ŠUMMEŠ-KU-NU NUMUN-
 KU-NU¹-ja ar-ḥa ḥar[-ni-in-kán-du]

 11' [šu-me-e)n-za-an-na ku-iš ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-iš nu-
 uš-ma-aš ma-a-an [
 12' [nu-u]š-ma-aš dUTU-šI-in pí-ra-an
 SIG₅-in me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi [
 13' [na-a)n iš-ta-ma-aš-kitg-tén ma-a-an-ša-ma-
 aš-kán ki-iš-šu-ya-an-ma[
 14' [ya-a]g-ga-a-ri-ja-aš-ša-aš ut-tar pí-ra-an pí-
 e-ḥu-te-ez-zi n[a-
 15' [o [ra¹-pí-ni-iš-šu-ya-an-ti an-tu-uḥ-ši EGIR-
 an ti-ja-at-te-ni n[u-
 16' [EGI]R-an li-e tar-na-an-zi

 17' [nu k)a-a-ša ki-e-da-ni li-in-ki-ja-aš LI-IM
 DINGIR.MEŠ tu-I[i-ja
 18' [dUT]U ŠA-ME-E dUTU URU_A-ri-in-na
 du URU_{ḥa}-at-ti dIM URUZi-i[p-
 pa-la-an-da dIM UR]UPit-te-ja-ri-ga
 19' [dIM]M URU_{Ne}-ri-ik dIM URU_{ḥa}-la-
 ap dIM [UR]ULi-i[b]-zi-n[a ...
 dIM]M URU_{ša}-ri-iš-ša
 20' [dIM]M KI.LAM dŠe-ri d[ḥu-ur-ri]
 x x x [... dIM KARA]Š
 21' [dLAMMA KU]Škur-ša-aš 'd'[LAMMA
 ...] (blank)
 22' [] x x []x-aš
 23' [] x
 24' []x-x-x
 dZ[A]-BA₄-BA₄

TRANSLATION

obv.

- x+2 [] the troops of ...
 3' [] I [sai]d(?): "Let them be
 exempt!"
 4' [] taxes and duties
 5' [] you (pl.) pro-
 tect!
 6' [Just as your own person is] important [to
 you],

- 7' let [likewise] my [person] be important [to you]!
- 8' Above [the interests of] your own persons,
9' your own lives, and your own selves [the interests] of my person,
10' my life and myself must be considered!
-
- 11' Night and day be my gu[ardsmen, my ...], and my watchmen!
- 12' If you are with me [in a ...] town, protect me there!
- 13' If some[where] on a campaign, [the enemies are rushing before] me, let the front
14' protection be satisfactory, if [they are rushing behind] me, let the rear
15' protection be satisfactory!
-
- 16' If they are rushing on my left and on my right, may I be adequately protected from the flanks!
- 17' In the enemy territory, let no one run away from me and let no one
18' leave me alone. Let everybody show readiness, and we will smite(?) the enemy. Whoever runs away
19' from me some[where], you must seize him! Whoever is my enemy must be your enemy, and you must fight him!
- 20' Whether it is one man, or many, or some troops, or some country,
21' or some district, or a town--whatsoever person (it may be)--fight him faithfully all together,
22' do not let him be!
-
- 23' Also, if somebody plans with evil intent a rebellion against me, and (if) I write
24' to you, and you do not instantly come to my aid, or, (if) you
25' hear about this and do not report it immediately to My Majesty,
26' and if you do not treat him as your enemy and do not even fight him
27' - let this be placed under oath to you! [...] the King.
28' Or, [if] somebody against me [...]

rev.

 x+2 If [somebody comes before] you in such [a mat-
 ter, or ...

3' brings [a word of ...], or, if yo[u ...

4' he makes, or, (if) a word of uprising [...

5' you hear, and if in this [matter ... but you do
 not]

6' denounce [this]; (if) to you [...

7' If you do not seize [such] a man immediately [

8' or you (even) lend support to [such] a man--let
 the divine oaths [seize you (?)]

9' and let them destroy you [togethe]r with your
 wives and your children, let them

10' obliterate from the face of the [dark] earth
 your names and your offspring!

 11' And if the first-ranking among you [...-s be-
 fore] you

12' and he mentions My Majesty favorably before
 you,

13' (then) obey him! But if he brings before you
 such [...

14' [or] a word of his(?) rebellion, a[nd you ...

15' [or] lend your support to such a man.

16' may [the divine oaths] not forgive you!

 17' Lo, in this (matter) [we have invoked] to the
 ass[embly] the Thousand Gods of oath [and let
 them bear witness:]

18' The Sungod of Heaven, the Sungoddess of Arinna,
 the Stormgod of Hatti, the Stormgod of Zi[ppa-
 landa, the Stormgod of] Pitte[ariga,

19' the Stormgod of Nerik, the Stormgod of Halab,
 the Stormgod of Lihzin[a, ... the Stormg]od of
 Šarišša,

20' the Stormgod of the Marketplace, (the divine
 bulls) Šeri [and Hurri, ... the Stormgod of
 the Army Cam]p,

21' [the Patron] (of) the Hunting Bag, t[he Patron

...

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

obv. 3' the traces in the handcopy of KUB 23.82
 favor a reading -u-'e'[-, perhaps *arayē[s*

- ašandu*); HW² s.v. *araya-* ii.7.d reads -u-*u*[a-.
- 5'-10' cf. Huqq. i 18-21.
- 9' A-RA-MA-NI- instead of expected A-NA RA-MA-NI-, cf. N. Oettinger, StBoT 22, 1976, 55 n. 11.
- 11' F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 1982, 458 restores *ba[-li-ia-tal-li-eš]* "guardsmen," without the determinative LÚ.MEŠ.
- 14'-16' *varšiant-* part. from *varšila-* "to please, appease, satisfy"; here used in the sense of "to protect adequately, offer satisfactory protection."
- 18' cf. KUB 13.20 i 19, ed. S. Alp, Belleten XI/43, 1947, 406-407. For *buda-*, cf. also C. Kühne - H. Otten, StBoT 16, 1971, 47f. The restoration *ku-u[a-u-]e'-ni* is very uncertain. The attested pres. pl. 1 of *kuen-* "to strike, smite, kill" is *kuenummeni*. A pret. pl. 1 *kueyen* with the nasal reduction would permit a similar form in the present tense. For the weak grade in pres. pl. 1, see G.R. Hart, AnSt 30, 1981, 52ff.
- 20'-22' see CHD 3, 157f., s.v. *mān* 8.a.
- rev. 4' *tarpani-*, see S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Theth 8, 1977, 288. To the passages quoted there, add *tarpanin iia-* KBo 27.6:3' (hist.).
- 10' see CHD 3, 36, s.v. *laman* mng. i.
- 11' lit.: "If [he] who (is) the first-ranking among you..."
- 12' see CHD 3, 259, s.v. *mema-* 7.b.2'.b'.
- 14' the hapax legomenon [*ya*]ggar*i*aššaš can be either sg. gen. of *yaggari*ašša-, or it can be analyzed as [*ya*]ggar*i*aš=šaš "of his rebellion." In the latter case, the stem can be either *yaggari-* or *yaggari*a-.

We are now equipped to inquire into the nature of this text. It can be confidently dismissed as a treaty: no external partner could be asked to stay night and day at the side of the king. Therefore it must be an instruction text. We only have to determine with whom.

It is obvious that one party of the agreement is the Hittite King, while the other is addressed by him in the second person plural, hence it is a group

of people. At least one of them is considered their actual or potential leader ("the first-ranking among you," rev. 11'). Most clauses are stereotypes and could apply even to a treaty. But there is also a striking stipulation, namely the policing of the realm. This group has to quell anything from a dissent of an individual to an uprising of a whole district or even country. For such a task, a considerable fighting force is needed, an army corps with special skills. In this context, the Treaty with Išmeriga⁶ first comes to mind: the people of the country of Išmeriga have to provide a contingent of UKU.UŠ-troops whose duty it is to suppress quite ruthlessly any rebellion, be it in a city, be it in a single household, be it an individual dissent.⁷

The other duty of this task force is to protect the king at home, in peace ("in a town," obv. 12'), and on the battlefield, in war (obv. 13'). Now R.H. Beal has shown convincingly that the UKU.UŠ-troops together with the *sarikuša*-troops formed the Hittite standing army, as opposed to the levied troops.⁸ If this is true, then our instructions cannot be aimed at them. If our interpretation of the text is correct, this army corps had to stay near and around the king on the battlefield and was not allowed to follow the enemy in hot pursuit.

Another striking clause is rev. 11'-16' where the members of the group in question have the explicit duty to commit insubordination if they deem the highest ranking among them to be disloyal to the king. Such a stipulation seems unthinkable in any regular army.

The most appropriate group for the protection of the king in all situations and at all times would be his bodyguards, his "Praetorian Guard." The Hit-

⁶Ed. A. Kempinski - S. Košak (n. 4).

⁷KUB 23.68 obv. 25'-28', rev. 1-2; cf. S. Rosi, *SMEA* 24, 1984, 110.

⁸R.H. Beal, *The organization of the Hittite army*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986, 117-132.

tite label for "bodyguards," known only as an Akkado-gram, is LU.MESMEŠEDI.⁹ Indeed, the instructions for the bodyguards have long been known,¹⁰ but only the first tablet is preserved.¹¹ In it, only the ceremonial duties of the bodyguards are described. L. Jakob-Rost pointed out in her edition that a continuation tablet containing an oath of allegiance to the king is expected.¹² I suggest that this is our present text.

If this conclusion is correct, it changes our view of the corps of bodyguards quite radically. From the evidence to date it is unclear "whether there were only several dozen MEŠEDI in Hatti or considerably more."¹³ If the present text is really aimed at them, we would have to accept a relatively large elite corps of trusted men, part of which protected the king always and everywhere, with enough reserves left to send contingents around the realm to pacify any disorders.

On the following page is a join sketch. The join itself cannot be confirmed physically as long as pieces of the same tablet remain divided between the museums in Istanbul and Ankara.

⁹See most recently H.G. Güterbock, *JNES* 48, 1989, 310, with a new interpretation "man of the spear."

¹⁰IBOT 1.36 (CTH 262), ed. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11, 1966, 165ff.

¹¹IBOT 1.36 iv 53 (colophon) DUB.1.KAM SA LU ME-SE-DI is-bi-u-l[a-a]š U-UL QA-TI "First tablet of the instructions for the bodyguard. Not finished."

¹²L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11, 1966, 166.

¹³R.H. Beal, *Hittite army*, 274.

KUB 21.47+KUB 23.82+KBo 19.58



