

ON THE ROLE OF BORDER REGIONS IN THE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM OF THE HITTITES¹

სასაზღვრო ოლქების როლი ხეთების იმპერიული მართვის სისტემაში

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Abstract

The represented work discusses the administration system of one of the state institutions of the Hittite Empire - namely, the system of governing of the border regions and the importance of the regions for the State itself. Along the whole border line of the Hittite Empire, there were established the so called “border regions;” there are no special terminology found in the Hittite texts denoting such regions. Such border regions or border settlements are denoted in the Hittite texts under their own names. The fact that the settlements belonged to the border regions is known from the old texts in which the settlements (towns) of the whole region are denoted according the names or the official status of their governors. Establishing border regions began from the period known as “Old Kingdom” but they are represented in all their fully developed forms in the period of the New Kingdom. The Hittite Kingdom (known also as Hatti Kingdom) took the image of the empire in the sense of its governing system. In the XIV-XIII centuries BC, the Hittite Kingdom became one of the strongest States in the world of those times. Unlike Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the main role in developing of the statehood belonged to the landownership, based on the irrigation systems, the main role in establishing the Hittite Kingdom was associated with the outer factors, due to which, the might of the state depended on the military success. The Hittite (Hatti) Empire, alongside with the expansionistic policies, often was impelled to struggle against their enemies. Their territories and especially the border regions were under the military threat from their neighbors. Due to such conditions, those territories were often attacked and destroyed by the foreign forces. In such circumstances defending the military borders were especially important, necessary and correspondingly, the special attention was paid to the defense of the borders. Each such region included the territories near the border lines which supposedly could coincide with the historically established administrative unit borders. In the border line regions, the basic duty of the governors of such regions, appointed by the King’s power - *BĒL MADGALTI* - along with their civil duties, were also to defend and strengthen the state borders. Their general duties can be compared with the markgraves of the middle centuries Europe and the Georgian noblemen called Eristavi, living at the border lines, in the period of the Georgian united monarchy, though the forms of the governing of the mentioned regions were radically different.

Key words: Assyriology, *BĒL MADGALTI*, border region, Hittite kingdom, markgraph, border, Noble Eristavi.

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აბსტრაქტი

ნაშრომში განხილულია ხეთების იმპერიის ერთ-ერთი სახელმწიფო ინსტიტუტის - სასაზღვრო ოლქების მმართველობის სისტემა და ამ ოლქების მნიშვნელობა სახელმწიფოსათვის. ხეთების სამეფოს მთელი სასაზღვრო ზოლის გასწვრივ ჩამოყალიბებული იყო ე.წ. "სასაზღვრო ოლქები", რომლის აღსანიშნავად ხეთურ ტექსტებში რაიმე სპეციალური ტერმინი არ მოგვეპოვება. ყოველი სასაზღვრო ოლქი, ან სასაზღვრო ოლქის დასახლებები ხეთურ ტექსტებში მოხსენებულია თავისი საკუთარი სახელით. ის, რომ ეს დასახლებები განეკუთვნება სასაზღვრო ოლქებს ვგებულობთ იმ ხეთური ტექსტების მიხედვით, სადაც დასახლების (ქალაქების) ან მთელი მხარის სახელი მოხსენიებულია ამ ოლქში დანიშნული მმართველის თანამდებობის ან წოდების აღმნიშვნელ სახელთან ერთად. სასაზღვრო ოლქების ჩამოყალიბება იწყება "ძველი სამეფოს" პერიოდიდან, მაგრამ მმართველობის დახვეწილი ფორმებით ის გვევლინება ახალი სამეფოს პერიოდში, როდესაც ხეთების სამეფომ მმართველობის თვალსაზრისით იმპერიულ სახეს იღებს. ძვ. წ. XIV-XIII საუკუნეებში ხეთების სამეფო იქცა იმდროინდელი მსოფლიოს ერთ-ერთ უძლიერეს სახელმწიფოდ. ეგვიპტისა და შუამდინარეთისაგან განსხვავებით, სადაც სახელმწიფოებრიობის ჩამოყალიბების საქმეში დიდი როლი ითამაშა საირიგაციო სისტემაზე დამყარებულმა მიწათმფლობელობამ, ხეთების სახელმწიფოს ჩამოყალიბების საქმეში გარკვეული როლი ითამაშა საგარეო ფაქტორმა, რომლის გამოც სახელმწიფოს სიძლიერე სამხედრო საქმეზე იყო დამოკიდებული. ხეთების სახელმწიფოს დაპყრობით საგარეო პოლიტიკის გატარებასთან ერთად, ხშირად უხდებოდა გარეშე მტრების მოგერიება. ამიტომ, ხეთების სახელმწიფოს ტერიტორიები და განსაკუთრებით, მისი სასაზღვრო რეგიონები შემოსეული მტრისაგან ხშირად განიცდიდა რბევას. ასეთ პირობებში ხეთების სამეფოს სამხედრო ძლიერება გამოიხატებოდა პირველ რიგში სახელმწიფო საზღვრის დაცვის ორგანიზაციაში. სასაზღვრო დაცვის საქმე ხეთების სამეფოში საკმაოდ მაღალ დონეზე იდგა. ხეთების სამეფოს თითოეული სასაზღვრო ოლქი მოიცავდა სასაზღვრო ზოლთან მიმდებარე ტერიტორიებს, რომელიც შესაძლოა ემთხვეოდა ისტორიულად ჩამოყალიბებული ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის საზღვრებს. სასაზღვრო ოლქში სამეფო ხელისუფლების მიერ დანიშნული მმართველის - *BĒL MADGALTI* - ის ძირითადი მოვალეობა სამოქალაქო ფუნქციებთან ერთად სამეფოს საზღვრის გამაგრება და დაცვა იყო. *BĒL MADGALTI* ზოგადი ფუნქციებით შეიძლება შევადაროთ ევროპის შუა საუკუნეების მარკგრაფებს და საქართველოს ერთიანი მონარქიის პერიოდის მონაპირე ერისთავებს, თუმცა ამ ოლქების მმართველობის ფორმები რადიკალურად განსხვავებულია.

საძიებო სიტყვები: ასირიოლოგია, *BĒL MADGALTI*, სასაზღვრო ოლქი, ხეთების სამეფო, მარკგრაფი, მონაპირე ერისთავი.

Introduction

The Hittite Kingdom through the history of its existence, used to have several conquering battles but the defensive battles also were not rare for them. The Kingdom was surrounded by unfriendly neighbors. Consequently, the Hittites had organized quite high-level defensive structure and had the forces to defend their borders. Defense was one of the most important parts of their military organization. The border defense was not separated from the general military actions and the whole system of the governing, and was carried out under the joint command and control actions of the king's power and the governors assigned specially to the border lines. Our research work aims to analyze the peculiarities of governing actions in the border districts and to find out what were the roles of those districts in the whole system of imperial governing in the Hittite Kingdom.

We have used the data from the Hittitian texts as the sources for our investigations from the archives of Boghazkoi and Mashat-Hoyuk. From the material of Boghazkoi which is very rich we sorted out the data of so called instructions. The Hatti kings periodically adopted bylaws which represented the guiding documents for the operating personnel of the Royals, high officials or the aristocrats of the power and place. Such kinds of Royal documents are called instructions in historiography. (Schuler, 1956:223). When investigating the functions of the governors of the border districts and discussing the tasks of the border defence we generally rely on the instructions of the *BĒL MADGAL TI*. Those instructions deal with only one border region, which was situated at the eastern border of the state of Hittites (the Hatti State) and was owned by only one statesman – the governor of the given region. But according the data of Mashat-Hoyuk materials, and other Hittite sources, the functions of *BĒL MADGAL TI* pointed out in the instructions and other sources are identical to other regions government functions and obligations. By comparison of the mentioned sources it will be possible to generalize the issues related to the border regions of the state of Hittites such as the border guarding, the functions and obligations of the governor of the border region and other officials serving in the regions or the local government workers functioning at so called “king's houses” existing in the regions, settling of the deported people, giving working places to them within the local households, at the local law institutions, border guarding, keeping on the juridical activities at the borders and so on.

Along with the *BĒL MADGAL TI* instructions, as we have mentioned above, it was very important to our investigations, to work on the archive sources of Mashat-Hoyuk. The materials found during the archeological excavations in 1973-1979, done under name of Turkish Historical Society, by Professor T. Otsguk, namely, the Hittite texts. On 114 clay tablets which were excavated in the local ruins of the palace. Most of them are the letters (Alp, 1980), compiled by Hittite King in the capital town Khatusa and then were usually sent to the high rank persons in Mashat Hoyuk which at the Hittite times was called Tapika (=Tapigga) (Alp, 1980:58). Some letters were written by the official persons of the King's palace and were sent to Mashati *BĒL MADGAL TI*, to the writers. Minor part of the clay tablet letters were addressed by Mashati writers to the name of His majesty – the King of the Hittites.

Besides the sources we have mentioned above the most important sources we used in our work are the texts of the Hittite rules, Kings' Annals, the text by Telifinu, the texts by King of the Hittite Kingdom, so called “Immune certificates,” and the State contracts.

During the investigation of tsuch problems as the border defence and the border regions governments we relied mainly on the sources mentioned above: in the case of the governing system in

the border regions, the issues related to agricultural and other activities in the mentioned regions and so on. We have used the scientific literature existed on the sphere of our investigations in Russian and European languages; besides that, we relied also on our own published works (akhalkatsi, 2011).

The Methods

Our research work was carried out by means of combining several methods of historical researches. As the research work was founded directly on Hittite historical sources, within one historical-cultural society; to determine the reliability of the sources they were checked through comparative-historical and cause-effect relations analyses, which gave us possibility to determine the time-space measurements of the sources as well as to conduct analysis of their contents. Through generalizing and abstracting, we were able to restore the general picture of controlling the border regions of the Hittite Kingdom. When researching the separate issues (such as the interrelations between the central power and local government units in the border regions, special rights and duties of every separate organization and so on), we used the systemic analysis, especially the method of structural-functional analysis.

Discussion and Results

In the border regions of the Hittite Kingdom governing was carried out by the representatives of the central power (*BĒL MADGALT*) together with close co-operation of the local self-governing representatives (“citizens community”) *LÚMAŠKIM.URUKI* and rural community (*LÚ.MEŠŠU.GI*) (Менабде, 1965:135-137). The local self-governing was linked with the community (either citizens or rural one). The old rural communities as it is well known were growing due to the necessity of mutual help and cooperation between the village farms, in order to cultivate land together and to make common irrigation systems so in the countries where the common irrigation systems were used the communities used to unite into the larger communities or they even made up the whole state one state. On the ground of the several types of unifications several large communities or states were established (Струве, 1965:106). Due to the highland conditions of Anatolia the specific features of the origination and development of the Hittite tribes differed from the same processes in Mesopotamia and Egypt (Дьяконов, 1963:21-22).

In the Hittite Kingdom the smaller agricultural communities were concentrated around the large town-like communities called *halzi* (in word by word translation, *halzi* means “fortress” and by its inner meaning it denotes a province, district, region); according the Hittite texts, it can unite 5-20 settlements (Гиорградзе, 1991:24). For example, in the annals by Mursili II, we read: „The town of Syian with its surrounding settlements and the town of Ushtanu with its surroundings too...” (Менабде, 1965:134). Those were not only the administrative centres but also the centres of trading and craft activities (Янковская, 1963:48). The states have been usually developed out of such associations which is led usually by a single person. Resulting from the formation of the state, the function of the community as the owner of the land gradually dies but the community itself goes on

existing as a “civil organization” (Дъяконов, 1963:33). “The civil character: of the community is expressed in the fact that it becomes an organic part of the State, peculiar kind of a local government (Тюменев, 1956:137). The community which is formed and organized does not oppose the State but contravise, it logically fits in the social structure and represents its important cell. (Менабде,1965:135).

The process of “absorption” of the communities by the State and turning them into the local powers in the Hittite kingdom is clearly shown in many Hittite texts where the facts of delivering “stone houses” to the whole communities are mentioned many times (Менабде,1965:135). This fact is also confirmed by the information about appointing the governors by the King in many towns of the region. The whole tribes or communities were often given to the governors; for example, we read that King Khatusil I appointed his son Khutsia to govern the town of Tappasanda which was the type of the community association (Sommer, Falkenstein, 1938:8-9). But it must be said that appointing the governors by the king did not mean that local governments were cancelled. The kings always tried not to have conflicts with the local governments and tried to consider and follow the local traditions. Border regions represent a good example of the above said. The information about such regions is saved in the instructions of the functions of “*BĒL MADGAL TI*.”

BĒL MADGAL TI was obliged, when taking decisions on the local problems, to consider the position of the local government. According the instructions, the spheres of their cooperation were multiple: the local court cases, the sphere of religious cult and services, different agricultural and other activities. For example, the King in one of his instructions points out that local temple needed to be restored: “the temple which needs attention to be in order should be restored and duly arranged by the region governor and local supervisor” (KUB XIII 2 II 37–39; Schuler, 1957:46). The same can be said about the court which should judge about all the local cases (those cases were not the subject at the King’s court). The governor of the region was obliged to fulfill these activities: “(9) after that, the border region governor (auriyaš ÉN-aš), town supervisor (^{LÚ}MAŠKIM.URU^{KI}) and the elderly men should discuss (^{LÚ}.MEŠ ŠU.GI) the cases (10), make decisions and come to the decision which should be executed(11). As it was from the Old times, the court always came to strict decisions against the serious crimes (12); according the law in which towns the decisions were executed the same actions (13) will be done” (KUB XIII 2 II 9-13; Schuler, 1957:47).

It becomes clear from the citations that governing as a process was carried out according the instructions given by a king, by the representatives of his power and the local self-government and as for the elder people(^{LÚ}.MEŠ ŠU.GI), it is clear that they are representataives of the communities. In the instructions they are mentioned alongside with the servants of the temples: (26) “as for the settlements, to which the governor of the border region will go(27), in order to count up the the elder people (^{LÚ}.MEŠ ŠU.GI), priests (^{LÚ}.MEŠSANGA), those who anoint the oil (^{LÚ}.MEŠGUDU) and religious servant women (god mothers)(^{SAL}.MEŠ AMA.DINGIR) ” (KUB XIII 2 II 37-39; Schuler, 1957:46). As for the “supervisor (governor)” of the town, (^{LÚ}MAŠKIM.URU^{KI}), according the texts it becomes clear that they all are representatives of the civile power; by whom the city governor was appointed – by the king or the society, it is unknown but from other Hittite texts (Kbo VI 28; KUB XXVI 43 II 12), where we can find out information about freeing several large farms and religious temples from the taxes, we learn that a

town supervisor is mentioned alongside with the ruler of the country (EN KUR⁷⁷) and the ruler of the border region (EN MADGALTI). From these texts we have known that the ruler of the border region was appointed by the King. The ruler carried out all the tasks of the king's government. He carried out all the rules designed by the king's power within his region. In the text brought from the instructions we can see that when judging the local law cases the *BĒL MADGAL TI* the court based its judging on the town's supervisor (as a representative of a town's society) and on the elderly people's judgement (as representatives of the rural society). So, E. Menabde supposes that such "relations between the king's power and the city power representative makes us think that appointing of ^{LU}MAŠKIM.URU^{KI} meant a well known compromise: "Town governor" appointed by the king out of the elderly men of the local society" (Менабде, 1965:137). We suppose so due to the facts that the obligations (sakhan and luts) determined by the governing power at those times were prescribed to the peasantry were considered to be paid by a town supervisor as well; we can find some material about those responsibilities in the texts we mention here (Kbo VI 28; KUB 43 II). In the first text we can read: "(22) I freed Khequr Pirva from the daily sakhan and luts (ša-šh-ha-nilu-uz-zišA UD.KAM^{MI}),...(24), from the obligations to the governor of the country ([*EL-KI*]/EN KUR⁷⁷), also from the obligations to the head of the border region (*ELKIMAŠKIM.URU^{KI}*)... Let nobody use that (word by word – take, possess) (Менабде, 1965:39). The second text is also of the same character (KUB XXVI 43 II). We see from the given text that a king frees people from several obligations. It is clear that the obligations were established by the king's power. If the town supervisor had been elected (or assigned) by the elderly people of the town, then the state obligations assigned to the supervisor (as it is seen from the text) could not be stated by the king's power. On the other side, the town supervisor was a defender of the local town (society) interests which can clearly be seen from the texts of the instructions. Thus, we think that suppositions offered by E. Menabde are very close to reality.

The central power always tried to use the local self-government for their own interests. The communities self-governing gradually became a part of the whole state governing mechanism. "Such close interactions with the community government from the side of the State government is not surprising taking into consideration that the first of the mentioned ones emerged not out of nothing, on the empty place but it gradually emerged from the other." (Менабде, 1965:137). Such mutual interests led to compromises at last, 1943:44), which revealed the same way: the community recognized the king's power and on its turn, the power was obliged to take local traditions and customs into consideration (Менабде, 1965:137). It becomes clear from the instructions of *BĒL MADGAL TI* that judging a crime committed in the border district in the place (if the crime was not of the general crime against the State), it was not subjected to the king's court then the local rules and traditions played the most important role and trial process did not go out of the local borders. (Менабде, 1965:137). According the *BĒL MADGAL TI*- instructions, the general functions of the local statesmen of the border regions and the governor assigned by the kingdom power were not clearly merged. Both of these sides, despite their different social state, in many spheres of the region governing, (in the judicial system, administration, religious, cult service systems) were always oriented to the state interests; for example, making decisions about the court cases, both sides acted according the general interests of the state – they acted so as to guarantee making decisions according the local traditions, keep justice, not allow the process to carry on in the interests of any side caused by any kinds of injustice, for example, bribery

(KUB XIII 2 III 26)). Despite such cautious actions from the both sides, their functions differed significantly. The local government (according the texts we represented from the instructions, they were “town governor” and “the elderly people” conducting the juridical cases, according the local traditions, they maintain the peculiarities of themselves as peculiar characteristics of the local government, at least for some spheres. As for *BĒL MADGAL TI*, their functions were quite different. As representatives of the central power, their important role in the judge meant, from one side, recognition of the king's power by the local government and from the other – by help of *BĒL MADGAL TI* the king's power had control over the local government. Besides that, in case if the crime was very serious and had state significance, all the functions fully transferred to *BĒL MADGAL TI* – to arrest the guilty persons and submit the case to the royal court. So, in many spheres, despite the mutual actions of the *BĒL MADGAL TI* and the local power, their functions.

In the sphere of religious cult *BĒL MADGAL TI* fulfils the role of supervisor. Every tribe had own deity representing the symbol of unity and independence. *BĒL MADGAL TI* was obliged to reckon with the local cult and local traditional rituals (Schuler, 1957:46). For this reason, he had certain contact not only with the local government (the elderly people) but with the religious servants (priests, female religious servants, anointing women...) (Schuler, 1957:26-27). *BĒL MADGAL TI*, first of all, was obliged to care about the temples existing in his region, to conducting the religious services in those religious temples. In the border region the temple servants fulfilled the existing religious rituals but it should have been carried out under the supervision of *BĒL MADGAL TI*, as it was his duty. To be attentive and careful to the local Gods was a part of the king's power policies. The power always tried to penetrate deep into the local community's life as the attention was mostly expressed through penetrating into religious cult servicing by representatives of the power, in our case, by *BĒL MADGAL TI*.

In the sphere of agriculture *BĒL MADGAL TI* carried on and controlled the activities of the local community. Despite the fact that a community, as a collective owner of the land, was losing its functions gradually, along with strengthening the state power, the parting of the land and its repartition processes were carried out within community by its local officials. The king, as a supreme ruler of the Hittite kingdom, could make own corrections to the process (Менабде, 1965:141). *BĒL MADGAL TI* as a representative of the king, in our opinion, could control the activities taking place in the communities. The local government represented supporting base for the governor of the border region. The direct information data about the relations between *BĒL MADGAL TI* and the local government, in the sphere of agricultural activities, were not discovered in the Hittite texts but we can conclude that in the border region *BĒL MADGAL TI* carried out the state obligations related with the control over the local agricultural activities, basing on the cooperation with the local society government.

In the border region the activities related to the mobilization of new local military detachments represented one of the main functions of the *BĒL MADGAL TI*. Completing new supporting military units and sending them to the localities were determined by the official State responsibilities Alp, 1980:40; <https://hittitertexts.com/en/tools/reader/text/10518/HKM14>). According the & 54 of the Hittite laws and the instructions of the *BĒL MADGAL TI* (Schuler, 1957:48; KUB XIII 2 III 33-35), These state obligations were not the individual obligations for each of the warriors but they were the

obligations for the different agricultural farms and communities to supply the state forces with the supporting units. For that reason, *BĒL MADGALTI* took support from the local community government in the process of the military forces mobilisation.

Suppressing the agricultural communities by the state did not take a little while, this process took a long period. It can be discussed as the process of the integration of the state and the communities which can explain the fact that the state was gradually formed by the same structure as its regional communities which can be seen from maintaining the community traditions and rules in the whole state, for example, existence of the collective responsibility for the crimes committed in the Hittite state (Koroshec, 1950:187-209), described in the 6 of the Hittite rules: “if a man is killed somewhere on the field, (other one’s field) and if he is a free man, then that man (on the field of whom) gives a field, and a part of not cultivated earth, also 1 mina 20 sicl silver. If it is a woman, then – 3 sicl of silver. If it is not a field or cultivated earth, which belongs to other man, then the place should be measured such way: 3 danna to one side and 5 danna another side and the heir of the killed man will take from this built up area. If there is not any built up area, then he cannot regain anything” (Иванов, 1963:78). It is clear that for the crime committed on the built up area (of community) the whole community was responsible for the crime, but even already in the “old kingdom” period, the principle of the collective responsibility was gradually restricted. From the times of Theliphinus, the principle of individual responsibility for the crime was settled in the legislation. The letter of mashat is interesting from this viewpoint 75/45:

1 *UM-MA* ^dUTU^{Šr}-*MA A-NA* ^mGa-aš-šu-ú
2 *QÍ-BÍ-MA*
3 ki-i-mu ku-it *ŠA* ^mMar-ru-ú-wa
4 LÚ^{URU}Hi-im-mu-wa ḥa-li-ya-tar ḥa-at-ra-a-eš
5 pa-ra-a-wa-ra-an-kán ne-eḥ-ḥu-un
6 na-an-mu tup-pí-ya-az ḥa-at-ra-a-eš
7 pa-ra-a-wa-ra-an-kán ne-eḥ-ḥu-un
8 ki-nu-na-aš nam-ma *Ú-UL* ú-et
9 ki-nu-na-an *A-NA* LÚ^{SIG5} pé-ra-an
10 ḥu-i-nu-ut na-an *MA-ḤAR* ^dUTU^{Šr}
11 li-li-wa-aḥ-ḥu-u-an-zi'
12 ú-wa-te-ed-du

(Alp, 1980:38; <https://hittitertexts.com/en/tools/reader/text/10517/HKM13>).

The mentioned change in jurisdiction reflected the real situation. The community gradually became less isolated and became a part of the State (Менабде, 1965:141). The governor designed on the position by the king of the State controlled and led the activities in the community, had control over the religious cult serving, participated in the court proceedings and so on. Community as a unity of collective land owner joined the royal lands and often integrated in the joint royal (state) farm. (Янковская, 1963:35-55). Only in the process of joining the community to the royal agricultural farm, it remained its integrity as a civil and partially as agricultural unit (Менабде, 1965:141).

As we have seen, in the border regions *BĒL MADGAL TI* sometimes had obligation of control along with the local community self-government. From the system of the self governing we should first of all name the elder people of the communities. (^{LÚ}.MEŠŠU.GI). We can learn from the instructions of *BĒL MADGAL TI* as well as from the many Hittite historical sources (ДЪЯКОНОВ, 1952:292; Schuler, 1959:56) that the elderly people represented the local government and they retained administrative and court functions too. It is clearly seen not only from our discussions about the instructions but from §71 of Hittite jurisdiction: “if a person finds an ox, a horse, or a mule, he is obliged to take it to the king’s gate. If he finds them in the settlements and the the elder people let him take it to his house, he will take it until the owner finds the animal and he will not be counted as a thief but if he takes an animal to his house without permission he will be punished as a thief” (გორგაძე, 1990:218). Along with the elderly people, the town supervisor also represented the local government (^{LÚ}MAŠKIM.URUKI) (Goetze, 1957:102). In some spheres (court, administrative, religious, cult serving) *BĒL MADGAL TI* cooperated with local government and even shared part of his functions with them. How exactly the functions shared within the community local governing members, it is not known to us (in our case we mention the functions of elderly people and a town’s supervisor).

Besides the elderly people and a supervisor of a town, with whom *BĒL MADGAL TI* had contacts within the region under his control, we should also mention the representatives of the local religious cult services. Those were the local priests (^{LÚ}.MEŠŠANGA), anointing persons and God servant mothers (^{LÚ}.MEŠGUDU), (^{SAL}.MEŠ AMA.DINGIR) (KUB XIII 2 II 26-27, 32, 41,45; KUB XIII 2 III 19-21). The religious servants held very important roles and were respected very much in the Hittite kingdom as well as in the other Ancient East states. The priests represented social layer which was respected and came after the governing aristocracy (the aristocrate social layer, the high officials as well) by its importance (გიორგაძე, 1991:111). The information about the priests can be found in the old religious texts (ritual texts, prayers, so called “instructions for the temple servants” and others). According these texts, they participated in the cult service, managed the farms of the temples, had influence over society and were respectful and presigious and so on (Macqueen, 1986:109; Gurney, 1969:109). The priests represented solid support for the king’s power. So, it is clear why the issue of the religious cult services had their significant place in the life of the border regions. . The religious sphere was supervised by the *BĒL MADGAL TI*. As the representative of the king’s power, he controlled all the issues related to the religious service. But we meet no evidence in the Hittite sources about his immediate participation in the service.

We cannot say anything about the temple servants (priests, oil anointers, mothers of God) and their legal status in their sphere of service or about the rights and interdependence of the local region temple servants towards the so called state level temples servants who served in the temples of so called high deities (those temples also situated in the same border region): as the written sources available for us do not give any information about such interrelations, we cannot say anything about them.

In the border region controlled by him, the *BĒL MADGAL TI* took not only the local self government for his support but the bureaucracy of the local region also supported him. The bureaucracy worked in the different spheres, for example, in the agricultural sphere of the “King’s

house”, or of the so called “stone house” and others.); and the military forces supported him as well. They were the main supporters of the *BĒL MADGALTI* and this fact can be understood easily, as establishing the border region as an administrative unit was conditioned by the necessity of borders defence.

All the military forces which were accumulated in the border region were subordinated to the *BĒL MADGALTI*. Certain part of the military units permanently presented in the border region and their direct duty was to defend the borders. The defensive forces were called in the Hittite sources as “border fighters”. “border guards”, “fighters of the border posts” (aurija ERIN^{MEŠ} – “border posts units (fighters)” or ^{LÚ}aurijalla (^{LÚ}aurijatalla) (Kammenhuber, 1984:20). Besides the units mentioned here, the other military forces also were arranged in the region, on the several defensive objects (“reinforced towns and other settlements” and other military objects as well (KUB XXXI 86 II 7, 22, 25; KUB XIII 2 III 14); there also were dislocated a number of the units (infantry and warriors with wheel chariots) and they were dislocated from one place to another according to the military orders of the King. (Alp, 1980:40, 45-46). Any kinds of commanders (horsemen or infantry, commanders of fortresses and others), everybody were subordinated and united within the country’s military forces located in the border region and their commander *BĒL MADGALTI*. *BĒL MADGALTI* was a general commander of the border region’s military forces. It commanded over all the military operations which took place in the border district. For this reason, despite which border garnisons or which supporting forces were under the command (including those who were dislocated from other regions in accordance with the King’s order during the major situation), everybody were subordinated to the *BĒL MADGALTI*. The above mentioned military forces represented the main support for *BĒL MADGALTI* who carried out his major function – border defence by means of those forces though sometimes he used them for other administrative missions as well.

As we have seen the functions of the *BĒL MADGALTI* – also his rights and responsibilities, it becomes clear that he fulfilled all his duties and main functions in his region through his own control systems. But besides the letters of Mashati, where some state men (military or civil) are named as we can suppose to be directly working in the official apparatus of *BĒL MADGALTI* we do not have any documental evidence about existence of such apparatus or residential place of the *BĒL MADGALTI*. We can only suppose that the men whose names are indicated in Mashati, which are supposed by Sedat Alp to be the writers in the region governor’s office.

BĒL MADGALTI, due to his obligations, often travelled in his controlled region. It can be supposed that his official management apparatus was not restricted only to one administrative centre. The officials directly subordinated to the *BĒL MADGALTI*, can be supposed to function in all settlements of the border region. We can read what the responsibilities of the personnel were (in the cases pointed here by us those persons were the office writers and military men), this question is difficult to answer exactly. One thing is clear – the *BĒL MADGALTI* carried out all his functions directly through the work of the official system.

BĒL MADGALTI was a representative of the Hittite official service aristocracy and as such, he owned his property, his property position and without them he would not be able to have his own

place high circles of the Hittite aristocratic society. As an important official at the court he also could have some additional sources of wealth.. This was expressed by the fact that the state responsibilities prescribed to the officials in the king's power service, officially implied the benefits for the *BĒL MADGAL TI*-as well. The documents prescribing the mention condition are saved in the so called "Hittite immune confirming documents" where different kinds of state responsibilities are mentioned and responsibilities related to *BĒL MADGAL TI*-as well. One of such texts is composed Khatucsil III and Fudukhef. The texts tells us about freeing a cult service building from the state obligations (the text Kbo XI 28, back side); its content is as follows:

"(22) I liberated Khekur-Pirva (i.e. a cult building) from the everyday sakhan and luts for the following works: loosening the field with special brush;

23) cultivating the field, free from bringing wool, wood pieces, from bringing wheat and wood

(24) for the houses of the people working for king's family, from bringing small cattle, obligations for the country ruler, the commander of the border guard, from obligations to the head of the town;

(25) from delivering horses for training and let nobody use (take, owe)....

(27)... I freed them (i.e. the people of Khequr purva) and let them be free.

(28) the word by Tabarna Khatucsil, great king and also, Fudukhepas, great queen of Khati kingdom...

(29) will not anybody deny this and will not break this! And if anybody denies....

(30) the (obligations) of the Khekur pirva (obligations), and will sakhani (31) and lutc be fulfilled " (Гиоргадзе, 1991:39).

In the obligations of *BĒL MADGAL TI* parallel to other obligations, it is also said in the text compiled by the name of Khatucsil (Kbo VI 29 III 18-27), which is connected to the well known Urkhitesuph conflict and in which we read:

"(18) ..[and] a house (it means, a farm), [which belongs to the God of Ishtar, from the Samukha town (19)(20) from the sakhan and luts to the owner of the country and to border line commander, from delivering big and small cattle to them).

(21) . . . from delivering the wood material,

(22) wheat, grass, wood

(23) delivering the horses to be trained, from doing the kinds of constructing works

(24) providing the auxiliary detachments (from all this) are freed

(25) let it be with you and by will of the goddess Ishtar from Samukha city

(26) let no one come for sakhan and luts),

(27) not anyone come for it" (Гиоргадзе, 1991:39).

As we can see from the cited texts, in favor of the *BĒL MADGAL TI* some obligations are stated out of which we should firstly mention "everyday responsibilities" which were fulfilled in everyday manner, by immediate producers working in the certain farms). As it is seen from the text, such obligations were fulfilled in favor of the "owner of the country", the commander of the border defending forces (*BĒL MADGAL TI*), the governor of the city and the King himself. (Гиоргадзе,

1991:42). As for the other obligations, which had to be fulfilled in favor of king of the country, of the statesmen, also in favor of the God (i.e. of the temple), as it is understood, these implied “monthly” or “yearly” responsibilities or responsibilities in general (Гиоргадзе, 1991:42).

There is no information about what was exactly supposed in the obligations which were supportive for the *BĒL MADGAL TI*. There are no information in the texts about it. We can think that obligations of *BĒL MADGAL TI* could be different from the royal sakhan and luts, as we understand it because we know that royal responsibilities consider such works as fixing up the royal roads, building and repairing the fortresses and others. It is clear that such works were not supposed to be done by *BĒL MADGAL TI*.

We know that in the Hittite kingdom which included quite vast territories, (especially in the times of the “new Kingdom”), there were several border regions and consequently, several governors. There is no mentioning about any special governor of those historical times, neither about their obligations in the texts which we studied; so, the question is: the obligations assigned to the *BĒL MADGAL TI* could be spread all over the kingdom territories or were circled only by the region of the service of *BĒL MADGAL TI*.

We can think that *BĒL MADGAL TI* used to realize control over execution of the settings made by them, as obligations did not imply only payment in nature products but also fulfilling other kinds of work. In the regions where *BĒL MADGAL TI* had no concerns (such regions were the not-border regions), there was no need for such obligations. The content of the 14th paragraph of the text (KUB XXVI 43 II) hints to think so: “neither a commander of the border guard, nor a man of other obligations need to come up to the border gate”; this shows that *BĒL MADGAL TI* controlled execution of the obligations; thus we think that obligations set for benefit of the *BĒL MADGAL TI* (sakhan and luts) were carried out directly in border region under its control.

BĒL MADGAL TI can be compared to the marcgraves of the Medieval Europe or to the border defenders Eristavi of the Mediieval Georgia by their functions the forms of governing of the mentioned regions are quite different. Marcgraves were officials by their general functions in the Frankian state in the VII-X centuries. They were border-line districts governors having even more rights than other seniors, grafs, namely they have the rights of possessing the military forces, to distribute the incomes from their territories by their own regards and to widen their possessions with new territories (BCE. https://bigenc.ru/world_history/text/2186692). As for the institution of the Georgian noblemen Eristavi, living in the border districts, they were obliged to conduct all the necessary activities as it was established and confirmed for the border region noblemen as necessary to complete along with recognition activities as well. Existence of the institution of the border supervisors is confirmed in the XI century sources but at those times, this instution was denoted by the Persian term “marzipan” (Javakhishvili, 1982; 339-340). The fact of returning back the estate, Hereti, Zorakert-Tamir (North Armenia), Javakheti, Artaani, Shavsheti – Speri, Kari. In the XII-XIII centuries the governors of the mentioned regions were the defending feudals (abuladze, ..., 2017: <https://bit.ly/31lz3wE>).

Thus, *BĒL MADGAL TI*, having enough power over his governed region, fulfills his functions from one side relying on his own subordinate officials and on the military forces but on the other side – relying on the local self governing system. In both cases he was basing on the common interests of the State, By means of the military forces he carried on fulfilling one of his main duties –to defend his

State and the second – to defend the state border. His apparatus of the officials fulfilled the administrative functions and as for the local self-governing, here we see cooperation with the *BĒL MADGALTI* and sharing functions with them in some spheres. Conducting such policies with the community self-governing, the king's power strengthens in the corresponding locations and as for the community which gradually loses its functions of the collective governor, takes its place in the state system as the local "civil power".

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