WALKUI'S RITUAL (KBo 32. 176)

Alice MOUTON*

The Kizzuwatnian Walkui's ritual has been edited by René LEBRUN in 1999¹ Its incipit is as follows:

"Thus (speaks) Walkui, priest of the deity of the night: if a man, in a dream, eats the *wwa*-plant or some pork meat, (if) in the divine providence, he is let (in contact) with some pork meat (or if) in the divine providence, he finds in the temple among the (other) plants some *wwa*-plant, (then) he [will] sacrifice the *zwkiya*-offering with some fi[sh]².

Walkui is also mentionned by a tablet-catalogue³ which describes a ritual to be performed when someone sees the goddess of the night in a dream. Thus it seems that this deity was in direct relationship with the phenomenon of dreams. I would like to present here a synthesis of what we know about this deity.

The goddess of the night

An oracular text associates the deities of the night of different cities with several Šaušga⁴. The goddess of the night must therefore be an avatar of Ištar/Šaušga⁵.

This study takes part to my PhD-thesis "Le rêve au Proche-Orient au II ème millénaire av. J. -C.: étude des sources hittites mises en perspective avec le reste du Proche-Orient ancien" that I am now finishing both in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris) and Leiden University under the direction of Prof. J. -M. Durand and Prof. K. R. Veenhof. A more developped and documented version of this present paper will be published in French elsewhere.

Lebrun 1999.

² The colophon gives a slightly different version:

⁷First tablet (concerning) the words (of) Walkui, priest of the deity of the night: if ⁸ a person eats some urura-plant (or) some pork meat, ⁹ (or if) in the divine providence, ¹⁰ he finds ⁹ among (other) plants some urura-plant in the temple ¹⁰ (or if) in the divine providence, ¹¹ a pork is smitten in (its) flesh, for him (= the patient), I will sacrifice this offering. ¹²Finished.

³ KUB 8 . 71 Vo 7-12 and its duplicate KUB 55 . 24 2'-12'.

⁴ KBo 16. 97 Rev. 12-32 (Wegner 1981, 164).

Lebrun 1976, 137 and 198: R. Lebrun proposed to identify the goddess of the night with Sausga of Samuha because this same oracular text KBo 16. 97 Rev. 13 mentions a goddess of the night (of) Samuha.

Another text indicates the places where there was a temple of the goddess of the night. Ilse Wegner noticed that in these cities Ištar was also venerated, namely Akkade, Babylon, Susa, Elam and Ḥursag-kalama⁶. Ištar is traditionally considered as a heavenly body, namely Venus⁷. As a consequence, the goddess of the night, as a kind of Ištar, may also be the same, as already suggested by Volkert Haas⁸.

Furthermore, I believe that this identification of the goddess of the night with a heavenly body can be strenghtened by the Mesopotamian sources⁹. Several mesopotamian prayers are intended to the "deities of the night" (*ilānu mušiti*)¹⁰. In this context, the name "deities of the night" is given to stars and planets¹¹. These prayers can be recited in two main groups of contexts. The first group is exorcistic rituals against bewitchment, bad omens and "bad dreams" (hul ù meš)¹². The role of the deities of the night consists in being used as the intercessor of the mortal in presence of his personal gods. The second group of contexts is composed of rituals which help a person to receive a divine message, i. e., a diurnal or nocturnal omen (a vision, an unearthly sign, etc. or an ominous dream i. e., a message-dream)¹³. Some of these rituals are real incubations, namely rituals during which the person who wants to receive a message-dream sleeps in a special manner¹⁴. The mesopotamian deities of the night are thus also related to the dream.

⁶ KUB 29 . 4 (CTH 481) ii 43-45 (Wegner 1981, 164-165).

Joannès 2001, 421: the akkadian for Venus is Dilbat.

"Bad dreams"

But what is the status of the dreams described in Walkui's ritual, namely dreaming of eating some pork meat or some *wwa-plant?* It seems to me that our ritual has to be understood as an exorcistic ritual utilized for curing a person of "bad dreams". But why eating some pork meat or some *wwa-plant* in dream would be so dangerous? In other words, what kind of "bad dreams" are these dreams?

According to the texts, it seems that "bad dreams" can have the following origins:

- 1) divine: unfavorable omens ("warning-dreams");
- 2) demoniac: evil dreams, i. e., dreams whose origin is considered entirely demoniac (sent by ghosts or other devils); and deceiving dreams which are sent by evil spirits;
- 3) human and demoniac in the same time: this seems to be the case for the dreams that I called impure dreams, i. e., dreams sent by a devil but during which the spirit of the dreamer takes an active part. It means that the dreamer perpetrates a sin while he is sleeping¹⁵. The impure dreams were probably seen as a special kind of deceiving dream. The most frequent examples of this category are the sexual dreams.

I would suggest that the dreams of Walkui's ritual are "impure dreams", it means that the person by eating pork meat or some *wwa-*-plant is performing a sin in his dream¹⁶. As *wwa-* is an *hapax legomenon*, we can not conclude anything about it. But is there any possibility to think that eating some pork meat was tabooed at least in Kizzuwatna where this ritual comes from? We can distinguish three kinds of taboos:

- 1) something can be forbidden because it is considered as belonging exclusively to the deities¹⁷;
- 2) in the contrary a thing can be tabooed because it is considered as impure by itself;
- 3) there are also temporary taboos, i. e., things which are forbidden only on a certain period or in a certain circumstance¹⁸

Haas 1994, 352: According to V. Haas the goddess of the night is the evening star. Gary Beckman has recently shown that the effigy of the deity of the night made during the ritual CTH 481 was indeed corresponding to the firmament and its light (Beckman 2002, 38: the goddess is represented with "stars of silver and gold"). Contra Ünal 1993 who suggested that the goddess of the night was the Lamaštu-demoness.

G. Beckman has recently shown the affinities existing between the ritual CTH 481 and the "babililiritual" (Beckman 2002, 37). This interpretation would confirm the filiation which existed between the "Hittite" DINGIR GE₆ and the Babylonian deities of the night.

They are dated from Old Babylonian period until the first millennium B. C. Mayer 1976, 427-429. Butler 1998, 354 and 367.

Butler 1998 354 and 367 shows that the deities of the night are the heavenly bodies (ii 52-53). Enbiluh and Ninbiluh are called "stars of the night" (mull să mu-ši-t[i]) in another passage of the same ritual (ii 44). This identification of the deities of the night which stars and planets is also shown by KUB 4. 47. This latter is a ritual against insomny where a prayer to the deities of the night is integrated (Rev. 32-48). After a long list of heavenly bodies, the expression "deities of the night" appears twice. Among these deities of the night, there are both male and female divinities, as it is shown by KUB 4. 47 Rev. 41: DINGIR MU-ŠI-TI.

Prayer *Maqlû* Tablet I *1-5* against bewitchment (Meier 1937, 7). K. 2315+ 19-109 is a prayer to deities of the night used for neutralising a bad omen (Oppenheim 1959).

¹³ In the Old Babylonian Prayer to the deities of the night AO 6769 (Dossin 1935, 181), the person asks for a divine sign -casual (omen) or not (oracle).

This is especially the case of the text edited by Butler 1998, 353 and 366 (ii 44-49).

The dreamed events were considered as real as what we call nowadays "reality" namely the period when we are awake. Therefore, committing a sin in a dream must have been as important as during the day.

Some prayers indicate indeed that a human being can commit a sin without being aware of it. For instance, Kantuzzili, in his prayer (CTH 373) asks the god to explain which sins he has commited.

See a passage the prayer of Kantuzzili (KUB 30 . 10 Obv. 12'-13').

Van der Toorn 1985, 33 has studied the Mesopotamian food prohibitions which are often concentrated on certain periods.

It has been argued that the pig was seen as an impure animal both in Mesopotamia and Anatolia¹⁹. Was it really the case and was eating its flesh totally tabooed?

The Neo-Assyrian Dream-Book and the pig

Before exploring the Anatolian sources, let us consider the Neo-Assyrian Dream-Book of Niniveh²⁰ which makes some allusions to the pig in dreams:

- 1)" If one gives him (= the dreamer) pork meat: it is not good meat "21.
- 2) Another part dealing with eating or touching pork meat by the king has unfortunately only its protasis preserved²².
- 3) In another passage, the protasis is not entirely known. It says: "[If he *ditto*] and meets a pig: he will have children, his heart will be happy."²³. Meeting a pig is not dangerous by itself, otherwise it would never have been breeded. Only eating its flesh seems negative.
- 4) A fragmentary passage shows that eating some pork meat in a dream requires to perform a *šigu* incantation/prayer afterward, i. e., an expiatory prayer²⁴. This context seems the closest to the one shown in Walkui's ritual. We shall try to check this interpretation.

The positive caracteristics of the pig according to the Hittite texts

1) Fertility of the pig: According to the Hittite texts, the pig, when buried under the foundations of a house, was said to guarantee its prosperity²⁵. Indeed, some fragments of Hittite rituals mention the reputed fertility of the pig. Some Mesopotamian texts are even more explicit and refer to the exceptionnal sexuality of this animal²⁶.

For Mesopotamia, see van der Toorn 1985, 33. For Anatolia, see Kümmel 1967, 152. Ertem 1965, 71-78 has collected some occurrences in his book about the Anatolian fauna according to Hittite texts.

It is at least partly a copy of an older model, maybe an Old Babylonian one. Indeed, some Middle Babylonian copies of the Dream-Book are indeed attested. They have some common features with the Neo-Assyrian exemplary, see Oppenheim 1956, 313-314 and Scheil 1913.

Oppenheim 1956, 278 and 323 line x + 16.

Oppenheim 1956, 293-294 and 337. The king is called "divine throne" (bara2) in all this section. Every time the pig is mentioned, the following or preceeding case is about the dog.

²³ Oppenheim 1956, 275 and 319.

Oppenheim 1956, 315 iii x + 4-5. For the *šigu* prayers, see Mayer 1976, 111 and van der Toom 1985, 117 and followings.

KUB 40 . 23 and duplicates: Haas 1994, 540 note 9.; edition by Kühne 1972, 250-251.

Otten & Siegelová 1970, 32 (Bo 3617 and duplicates, lines 4'). Ehelolf 1933, 5 and CHD L-N, 112 (VAT 13042 Obv. 19-22). For Mesopotamian "love songs" see Cooper 1996, 51 note 16. Also in the šà.zi.ga rituals against sexual impotency (Biggs 1967, n. 12).

2) The pig and the gods: In a ritual of Hattian origin²⁷, a piglet is cooked, partly offered to the Sun goddess of the earth and partly eaten by the priestesses. A cult inventory and a fragment of a festival mention some pigs as (food -)offerings to different deities²⁸. Most of these latters are of Hattian origin, namely the Sungoddess of the earth, the Storm-god of Nerik and Hannahanna. In a tablet of rations of the KI.LAM festival, three pigs are the share of a priest of the Storm-god²⁹. Another ration list indicates that a killed pig is given to a *hamina* (a temple official taking part of Hattian ceremonies)³⁰. The pig was also represented under the shape of vessels which were utilized during the royal funerary rituals³¹. A " pig of the deity Panunta" is mentionned in Tunnawiya's ritual. We do not know who is this deity yet but Manfred Hutter has suggested that it could be a chthonic one because of the seemingly relationship between the pig and the netherworld in the same context³². Therefore, the pig was related to the netherworld in the Hittite heartland.

The negative caracteristics of the pig

1) The pig as substitute in rituals: Several Anatolian exorcistic rituals request that a pig is sacrified and then buried into a pit. It is the case of the *mantalli* of Maštigga³³, and of the Ḥantitaššu's ritual, where this burying is accompanied by an incantation which dedicates that pig to the deities of the netherworld³⁴. In a ritual for purifying

²⁷ KUB 17. 28 = CTH 730: Hauptmann 1975, 67 and Ertem 1965, 75.

²⁹ KBo 10 . 31 iii 17'-18' (Singer 1983-84, II, 103).

Van den Hout 1994, 67. The inventory text KUB 44 . 6 i 3'-4' (Haas 1994, 532 note 322) mentions two rhyta under the shape of pig made of bronze. Ertem 1965, 73 gives references for vases and figurines under the shape of pigs discovered during archaeological excavations.

Hutter 1988, 123. For the occurrences of the "pig of Panunta", see Onomasticon I, 348.

Cult inventory KUB 12.2 i 16-17, iii 3-4, iii 13-19, iv 10-13, iv 16-17. Fragment of festival KBo 20.89 Obv'. 9'-10' (Collins 1989, 285 note 917). In the Ašhella's ritual against an epidemy, the case is slightly different: a he-goat and a pig are sacrificed for the gods of the enemy (Dincol 1985, 19 and 25). I do not believe we shall imagine that there was a sheep with the goat and the pig because two out of three copies give the sign NITA, instead of UDU. Futhermore, the goat and the pig are both impure animals, which is not the case of the sheep. It would therefore make less sense to read the sign UDU here. Even if these two animals are sacrificied as food-offerings to the gods, it is not totally impossible to conceive they are substitutes in the same time: when a substitute is buried into a pit, is it not regarded as a food-offering to the deities of the Netherworld?

KBo 20.16 ++ (Singer 1983-84, I, 23). The same sentence is repeated several times, for instance in KBo 20.16 Rev. 9' and 12': Š]AḤ-ŠU-NU ku-na-an-zi 1 ŠAH A-NA ha-mi-i-[ni] pí-an-zi "They kill their pig(s) (and) they give one pig to the hamina.". A similar sentence is repeated in KBo 2.12 as well. I thank very much Dr. Billie Jean Collins for having given me these two references. Concerning the hamina, see Mestieri 111-113.

³³ CTH 404 (Rost 1953, 356-357). For the Kizzuwatnian cultural elements of the Maštigga's ritual, see Haas & Wilhelm 1974, 46. ii 45-49.

³⁴ KBo 11 . 14 = CTH 395 iii 5-18 (Ünal 1996, 22).

the army after the battle³⁵ not only a piglet, but also a young dog and a prisoner are cut into two parts. These latters are placed on each side of a gate through which passes the army. In the Tunnawi(ya)'s ritual of the river³⁶, the pig is associated with the ram and the dog. They are obviously the substitutes of the offerer³⁷. They are burned afterwards (iii 17-18). Burning a substitute is one of the ways for neutralizing impurity³⁸. Another one is letting the pig-substitute go away as a scape-goat *nakkušši*, like it is maybe the case in another ritual of Tunnawiya edited by Manfred Hutter³⁹.

Thus most of the texts show that the pig was used as a substitute offered or not to the deities of the netherworld⁴⁰.

2) <u>Comparisons with late Mesopotamian texts: breeded but impure animal</u>: Both in Mesopotamia and in Anatolia, the pig is breeded, as it is shown not only by the Hammurapi's code and the Hittite Laws but also by the Muršili's prayer to Telepinu⁴¹. For this reason, we can believe that pork meat is sometimes eaten in these cultures⁴²:

35 KUB 17 . 28 = CTH 426 (Masson 1950) iv 45-55. Other fragments of rituals are close to this text: Künnmel 1967, 152-155.

³⁶ CTH 409: Goetze 1938.

³⁷ It is specified that these animals should be female if the offerer is a woman but male if it is a man (i 11-13).

That is probably why there are two fires at both sides of the cathartic gate in the ritual for the defeated army mentioned above. The Ašhella's ritual (CTH 394 - Dincol 1985- Vo 1-4) against an epidemy gives a similar testimony.

Hutter 1988. For Kizzuwatnian traces in this ritual, see Hutter 1988, 127-133. During that ritual the Old Woman uses a piglet made of dough and a living one. The fake one stays nearby whereas the living one is sent away, probably as a scape-goat *nakkušši* (*tuwa wahnuškanzi*). In the Kizzuwatnian ritual of Allaituraḥḥi, some figurines of pig and dog are also probably used as substitutes (Haas & Thiel 1978, 106-107 ii 29').

Hauptman 1975, 64-67. The excavations of Yazılıkaya have discovered an offering of a piglet. That offering was probably a substitute offered for the deities of the netherworld as well. Some Palestinian examples of the same kind of rite have also been found (de Vaux 1958, 250). Another example of this use of the pig can be found in a Kizzuwatnian ritual of the Old Woman (KUB 9 . 4: Haas & Wilhelm 1974, 56 note 1).

There are even laws dealing with stealing a sow (Laws § 83-86 = Hoffner 1997, 86-88). It is remarkable that immediately after these sentences about the pig start the ones dealing with the dog (Laws § 87-90 = Hoffner 1997, 88-90). A law dealing with stealing a pig exists also in the Hamurabi's code (Richardson 2000, 44-45 L8). In the Muršili's prayer to Telepinu (CTH 377 ii 14-16-Gurney 1940, 34-35), every element of daily human life is mentioned: grains, vines, fruit-trees.

oxes, sheeps, goats, pigs, mules, horses and the wild environment. Some texts even mention the existence of a swine-herd (LÚŠAḤ or LÚSIPA ŠAḤ): Mestieri, 25.

The quantity of breeded pigs in a region depends on its environment for the swine needs a lot of water for keeping its bodily temperature (Houston 1993, 137). Parayre 2000, 162 has shown that some pigs were breeded only for being eaten later on. The famous KBo 3 . 60 also mentions that a man (DUMU.MAH.LIL) eats some cooked pork meat. But this text could be the translation of an akkadian text (Soysal 1988, 109). Furthermore the context is still difficult to understand with certainty. Therefore this text can not provide us a convincing testimony.

indeed, the pig does not have any other function -except that of scavenger⁴³. Beside this, a food which would have been regarded as impure would not have been given as offering to the gods. Several attestations can also be found in Mesopotamian texts⁴⁴. In spite of this fact, late Mesopotamian literature makes some allusions to the impurity of the pig *per se*. A proverb written on an Neo-Assyrian tablet -but which can come from earlier time itself- says for instance:

"The pig is not pure [...] bespattering his backside, making the streets smell, polluting the houses. The pig is not fit for a temple, lacks sense, is not allowed to tread on pavements, an abomination to all the gods, an abhorence [to (his) god], accursed by Šamaš."⁴⁵. An ominal text shows that eating beef or pork meat renders a man impure; he shall then not approach a temple⁴⁶. The pig was even used during therapeutic/exorcistic rituals, especially for the šà.zi.ga rituals i. e., rituals against sexual impotency⁴⁷. It is also used as substitute in exorcistic rituals against the Lamaštu-demoness⁴⁸

Association between the pig and the dog: two impure animals

Both the Hittite ritual texts that I mentioned and the Mesopotamian sources document a frequent association between the pig and the dog⁴⁹: each of them are obviously substitutes which absorbe the impurity of the offerer(s)⁵⁰. This association pig-dog can also be found in Hittite Laws⁵¹ and in the instructions for the temple

³ Houston 1993, 193 and 199.

For instance, in TCL 10 . 45:4-5 (CAD Š₁, 104 -Old Babylonian text from Larsa), "four pieces of pork meat" are given "for a man's food". Another text describes the treatment which has to be given to anyone who can not keep in his stomac garlic, leeks, beef meat, pork meat or beer (Küchler 1904, 5-6 line 2. New translation in CAD Š₁, 104).

⁴⁵ Lambert 1960, 215 lines 13-16.

⁴⁶ CT 39 38 Rev. 11: CAD Š₁, 104.

Biggs 1967, n. 27: in that šā.zi.ga ritual, one makes some figurines, places them at the patient's head, removes them and then observes the behaviour of a pig. If this latter approaches the figurines it means that the illness comes from Ištar (su dištar hand of Ištar), if it does not, the illness comes from bewitchment.

See for example Myhrman 1902, 154-157. It is also mentioned in black magic rituals where it -or a dog, a bird or a fish- eats the image of a person for bewitching her (Lambert 1957-58, 292 line25).

⁴⁹ Concerning the dog in neo-assyrian sources, see Villard 2000.

It shall be noticed that pigs and dogs which are sacrificied as substitutes have to be young animals. Does it mean that these latters were regarded as more efficient substitutes (Masson 1950, 23) or that it was a way of "recycling" too numerous babies of pigs and dogs? Collins 1990, 211 thinks that phenomenon has to be explained by the fact that puppies were valueless "since they had not yet been trained as sheepdog, watchdog, or hunting dog.".

Hoffner 1997, 157 (KBo 6. 26 iv 16-19): having a sexual intercourse with a pig or a dog is punished by death penalty. But every tabooed sexual relationship is punished in the same way (incest, sexual pairing with a sheep or a cow, etc.), not only the one with a dog or a pig.

officials where we learn that a pig or a dog was absolutely forbidden in the kitchen of a temple, in order to let the daily bread pure⁵². Indeed, some oracular texts mention that a pig or a dog has entered a temple and thus commited a sacrilege (*maršaštarri*-)⁵³. This association between the pig and the dog can be explained by several factors:

- 1) Even if they are breeded -like it is the case, even in a small scale in Anatolia, Mesopotamia and even in Syria⁵⁴-, they are often regarded as impure because they eat their own excrements and every kind of garbage which are themselves impure. In KBo 10 . 37, it is written: "For the horse (its food is) barley (and) mixed fodder, for cattle (it is green) fodder, but for dogs (and) pigs their food is garbage." ⁵⁵⁵.
- 2) Always scraping the ground, they are also frequently associated with the netherworld in traditional religions⁵⁶. It seems that it is also the case in the Anatolian ones⁵⁷. According to the Hittites and also to the Mesopotamians, the netherworld is the main origin of impurity i. e., all that is the antithesis of life/health and purity, namely illness and *a fortiori* death.
- 3) Another source of impurity is sexual intercourse even if it is not what the society regarded as a deviant one. As both the pig and the dog are also famous for their sexual performence, their impurity can also be attributed to this factor.
- 4) Both the dog and the pig have a special status: they are close to the human beings as pets but they are not herbivorous like the other pets (sheep and oxes)⁵⁸. Therefore, they are isolated from the other animals. The best illustration of that is the Muwatalli's prayer to the assembly of the gods where the king asks the Sun-

god of heaven to give his judgement over "man, dog, pig and the wild animals". Furthermore, as omnivorous animals, they can even eat some corpses, they are thus also related to death⁶⁰.

Conclusion about Walkui's ritual and not to eat pork-meat

The only Anatolian text I found where pork meat is eaten during a ritual is from Hattian origin⁶¹. We should also consider the fact that the goddess for whom that ritual is dedicated is the Sun goddess of the earth i. e., a chtonic deity. Beside this, a festival of the pig happens during the 35th day of the festival of the haste which may have some Hattian roots as it is shown by the presence of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess⁶². Maybe Kizzuwatnian culture was more suspicious than Hattian region towards pork meat, like late Mesopotamian cultures? This interpretation remains a simple assumption.

As a conclusion, as the pig is famous for its impurity, it is forbidden in certain regions -like Kizzuwatna?- to eat it before trying to communicate with the gods. Eating pork meat renders a person impure, even if it is only in a dream, and that person must purify herself afterwards.

In Walkui's ritual, the astonishing thing is that the dreamer has to perform a whole exorcistic ritual because of the appearance of such a dream. Why does it need such a long and complexe treatment? If the text would have specified an occasion during which that dream should be avoided, then it would have explained why it seemed such a dangerous event. But it is not the case. Therefore I would suggest another interpretation. The text mentions the eventuality that the person sees some *urura*-plant inside of the temple. So maybe that ritual is to be performed only for a special kind of dreamer namely the priests of the goddess of the night themselves or even the king? Indeed, both the priests and the king have a special relationship with purity: they must be almost constantly pure because of their frequent contact with the gods. As a result, an impure dream is much more dangerous for them than for the "normal" persons. These latters probably do not need to be pure frequently.

KUB 13 . 4 i 14-20 (Sturtevant & Bechtel 1935, 148-149 and Süel 1985, 22-23).
 KUB 5 . 9 Obv. 28-30 (the scene described here by the "chief" of "the men of the palace of the grand-fathers" -i. e., the funerary temple- Hellani takes place in the temple itself -lines 25-26. In KUB 5 . 10 i 19-23, a dog has committed an equivalent sacrilege by entering the temple of lštar of Niniveh (CHD L-N, 198).

For an attestation in Mari see Durand 1997, 345-347 n. 214: a dog and a pig are given as food to a lion which is enclosed in a zoo. Once more, the two animals are associated. As no published administrative text from Mari (Durand 1983) gives any attestation of pork meat for the moment, it seems that it was not an appreciated food there. We should although consider this hypothesis as such because a silentio argument will never be a convincing one.

⁵⁵ CHD L-N, 337 (ii 15-17).

It is the case in Greece where the pig was originally linked to the cult of the goddess of the netherworld Demeter: it is thrown into a pit as an offering to the deity (de Vaux 1958, 259). That rite remains us the Anatolian ones.

Moyer 1969, 96. This chthonic character of the pig and the dog has been already suggested by Kümmel 1967, 152.

⁵⁸ Houston 1993, 199.

⁵⁹ CTH 381 iii 16-17: Singer 1996, 20 and 39. Güterbock 1958, 242 specifies that even if these Hittite prayers have herited from Mesopotamian tradition, "the inclusion of the animals, and especially of dog and pig, among the persons whom the Sun God judges" is one of the "concepts that are peculiar to the Hittites".

⁶⁰ Some Neo-Assyrian treatises' curses are as follows: "May dogs and swines eat your flesh!" (Wiseman 1958, 64 line 451).

It would although be worthy to check all the references about pig in Hittite texts for being sure of that point, work that I was unable to do for this contribution.

Nakamura 2002, 70-71 (the sign is clearly ŠAH in the copy). Can have that festival of the pig a funerary function? The NIN.DINGIR participates to the hattico-hittite festivals (Mestieri 420).

Thus, even in the places where eating pork meat was regarded as impure, this latter was not tabooed in the same way that in the Jewish and Muslim religions⁶³. Exactly like a man who had a sexual intercourse with his own wife did not commit a sin but became impure, eating pork meat may have been tolerated for normal people. The only obligation consisted in purifying oneself before going to holy -and thus pureplaces, namely the temple and probably also some sectors of the palace.

Abbreviations

HdO: Handbuch der Orientalistik (Brill, Leiden-New York-Köln).

HEG: J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar, IBS 20 1983-.

LAPO: Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris).

For all the other abbreviations, see H. G. Güterbock & H. A. Hoffner (ed.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1989- (= CHD) and A. L. Oppenheim et al. (ed.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 1964- (= CAD)

Authors

- Beckman 2002: G. Beckman, Babyloniaca Hethitica: The "babilili-Ritual" from Boğazköy (CTH 718), in: K. A. Yener & H. A. Hoffner (ed.), Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock, Winona Lake, 2002, 35-41.
- **Biggs 1967:** R. D. Biggs, ŠÀ.ZI.GA. *Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*, TCS 2, 1967.
- **Butler 1998:** S. A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, AOAT 258, 1998.
- **Collins 1989:** B. J. Collins, *The Representation of Wild Animals in Hittite Texts*, PhD in Yale University, 1989.
- Collins 1990: B. J. Collins, The Puppy in Hittite Ritual, JCS 42/2, 1990, 211-226.

- Cooper 1996: J. S. Cooper, Magic and M(is)use: poetic promiscuity in Mesopotamian Ritual, in: M. E. Vogeslzang & H. L. J. Vanstiphout (éd.), Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian. Proceedings of the Groningen group for the study of Mesopotamian Literature 2, Cuneiform Monographs 6, 1996, 47-57.
- Dinçol 1985 : A. Dinçol, Ašhella rituali (CTH 394) ve Hititlerde salgın hastalıklara karşı yapılan majik işlemlere toplu bir bakış, *Belleten* 49 / 193, 1985, 1-40.
- **Dossin 1935:** G. Dossin, Prières aux "dieux de la nuit" (AO 6769), *RA* 32, 1935, 179-187.
- Durand 1983: J.-M. Durand, Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du palais de Mari, ARM 21, 1983.
- **Durand 1997:** J. -M. Durand, Les documents épistolaires de Mari I, LAPO 16, 1997.
- Ehelolf 1933: H. Ehelolf, Heth. *milit* = "Honig", OLZ 36, 1933, 1-7.
- Ertem 1965: H. Ertem, *Boğazköy metinlerine göre Hititler devri Anadolu'sunun faunası*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Fakültesi Yayınları 157, 1965.
- Goetze 1938: A. Goetze, The Ritual of Tunnawi, AOS 14, 1938.
- Gurney 1940: O. R. Gurney, Hittite Prayers of Mursili II, AAA 27, 1940.
- **Güterbock 1958:** H. G. Güterbock, The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun, *JAOS* 78, 1958, 237-245.
- Haas 1994: V. Haas, Geschichte der hethitischen Religion, HdO 1/15, 1994.
- Haas & Thiel 1978: V. Haas & H. J. Thiel, Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah (h) i und verwandte Texte, AOAT 31, 1978.
- Haas & Wilhelm 1974: V. Haas & G. Wilhelm, Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna, AOATS 3, 1974.
- Hauptmann 1975: H. Hauptmann, Die Feldsspalte D, in: K. Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya, BoHa IX, 1975.
- **Hoffner 1997:** H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites. A critical Edition, DMOA* 23, 1997.
- Houston 1993: W. Houston, *Purity and Monotheism. Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 140, 1993.

⁶³ Van der Toom 1985, 34-35 (see notes 338-339 for bibliographic references): "The 'unclean' animals were not under all circumstances prohibited as food. Although pigs provoked a general disgust, pork was a dish commonly enjoyed". Parayre 2000, 163 quotes a medio-assyrian text which specifies that Hurrian people could have some pigs among their pets.

- van den Hout 1994: T. van den Hout, Death as a Privilege. The Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual, in: J. M. Bremer, T. van den Hout & R. Peters (ed.), Hidden Futures. Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World, Amsterdam, 1994, 37-75.
- **Hutter 1988:** M. Hutter, Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung. Das Ritual der Tunnawiya für ein Königspaar aus mittelhethitischer Zeit (KBo XXI 1-KUB IX 34-KBo XXI 6), OBO 82, 1988.
- **Joannès 2001:** F. Joannès, Ištar, in: F. Joannès (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne*, Paris, 2001, 421-424.
- Kronasser 1963: H. Kronasser, Die Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit. Das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi), Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch- historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte 241. Band, 3. Abhandlung, Wien, 1963.
- **Küchler 1904:** F. Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin*, Assyriologische Bibliothek 18, 1904.
- **Kühne 1972:** C. Kühne, Bemerkungen zu kürzlich edierten hethitischen Texten, *ZA* 62, 1972, 236-261.
- **Kümmel 1967:** H. M. Kümmel, Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König, StBoT 3, 1967.
- **Lambert 1957-58:** W. G. Lambert, An Incantation of the Maqlû Type, *AfO* 18, 1957-58, 288-299.
- Lambert 1960: W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, Oxford, 1960.
- **Laroche 1973:** E. Laroche, Etudes de linguistique anatolienne, *RHA* 31, 1973, 83-99.
- **Lebrun 1976:** R. Lebrun, *Samuha, foyer religieux de l'empire hittite*, Publication de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 11, 1976.
- **Lebrun 1980:** R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et Prières Hittites*, Homo Religiosus 4, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1980.
- **Lebrun 1999:** R. Lebrun, Fragment d'un rituel de Walkui, prêtre de la déesse de la nuit (KBo XXXII 176 = Bo 83/902), *ArOr* 67, 1999, 601-608.
- **Masson 1950:** O. Masson, A propos d'un rituel hittite pour la lustration d'une armée: le rite de purification par le passage entre les deux parties d'une victime, *RHR* 137, 1950, 5-25.

- Mayer 1976: W. Mayer, Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der Babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen", Studia Pohl: Series maior 5, 1976.
- **Meier 1937:** G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO Beiheft 2, 1937.
- **Moyer 1969:** J. C. Moyer, *The Concept of ritual Purity among the Hittites*, PhD in Ancient History in the Brandeis University, 1969.
- Myhrman 1902: D. W. Myhrman, Die Labartu-Texte. Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu, ZA 16, 1902, 141-200.
- **Nakamura 2002:** M. Nakamura, *Das hethitische nuntarriyaš ḫa-Fest*, PIHANS 94, 2002.
- **Onomasticon :** B. H. L. Van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, Part I-II-III, HdO 1 / 33, 1998-2001.
- Oppenheim 1956: A. L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society NS 46/3, 1956.
- **Oppenheim 1959:** A. L. Oppenheim, A New Prayer to the "Gods of the Night", in: Studia Biblica et Orientalia III, Oriens Antiquus, *AnBi* 12, 1959, 282-301.
- Otten & Siegelová 1970: H. Otten & J. Siegelová, Die hethitischen Gulš-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung der Menschen, *AfO* 23, 1970, 32-38.
- Parayre 2000: D. Parayre, Les suidés dans le monde syro-mésopotamien aux époques historiques, in: Les animaux et les hommes dans le monde syro-mésopotamien aux époques historiques, Topoi supplément 2, 2000, 141-206.
- **Richardson 2000:** M. E. J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws. Text, Translation and Glossary*, The Biblical Seminar 73. Semitic Texts and Studies 2, Sheffield, 2000.
- Rost 1953: L. Rost, Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzwist, MIO 1, 1953, 345-379.
- Scheil 1913: V. Scheil, Textes élamites-sémitiques, MDP 14, 1913.
- **Singer 1983-84:** I. Singer, *The Hittite* KI.LAM *Festival*, I-II, StBoT 27-28, 1983-84.

- **Singer 1996 :** I. Singer, Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381), ASOR, 1996.
- Soysal 1988: O. Soysal, Einige Überlegungen zu KBo III 60, VO 7, 1988, 107-128.
- **Sturtevant & Bechtel 1935:** E. H. Sturtevant & G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomacy, William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series*, 1935.
- **Süel 1985:** A. Süel, *Hitit Kaynaklarında tapınak görevlileri ile ilgili bir direktif metni*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 350, 1985.
- van der Toorn 1985: K. Van der Toorn, Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia.

 A comparative study, Studia Semitica Neerlandica, Assen, 1985.
- **Ünal 1993:** A. Ünal, The Nature and iconographical traits of "Goddess of darkness", in: M. J. Mellink et al. (ed.), *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, 639-644.
- **Ünal 1996:** A. Ünal, *The Hittite Ritual of Ḥantitaššu from the City of Ḥurma against troublesome years*, Publications of Turkish Historical Society Serial VI n.45, 1996.
- de Vaux 1958: R. de Vaux, Les sacrifices de porcs en Palestine et dans l'Orient ancien, in: J. Hempel & L. Rost (ed.), Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung Otto Eissfeldt, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 77, 1958, 250-265.
- Villard 2000: P. Villard, Le chien dans la documentation néo-assyrienne, in: Les animaux et les hommes dans le monde syro-mésopotamien aux époques historiques, Topoi supplément 2, 2000, 235-249.
- Wegner 1981: I. Wegner, Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien, Hurritilogische Studien III, AOAT 36, 1981.
- Wiseman 1958: D. J. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon, Iraq 20/1, 1958.