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## DIVIDING A GOD

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How does it happen that the same god or goddess is worshipped in more than one place? Normally we think of some local deity being syncretized to the nearest equivalent in a national pantheon. But among the Hittites there was another way of having one god in two places, and this shall be the subject of this paper.

One of the best preserved and well known of Hittite rituals is variously known as "The Transfer or Resettlement of the Black Goddess".<sup>1</sup> In 1968, Carruba showed that the Sumerian word sign translated "black" actually in this case stands for the word "night".<sup>2</sup> Thus we should understand the deity to be "Goddess of the Night." The ritual makes clear that there is an old temple where the deity was and a new temple where the deity will be. The colophon of the ritual tablet tells us that it was written by the priest of the Goddess of the Night "when someone *šarra-s* the Goddess of the Night separately". The culmination of the ritual happens when the deity is told to *šarra*-herself. A later revision of the ritual refers back to "when my ancestor Tudḫaliya, the Great King, *šarra-d* the Goddess of the Night from Kizzuwatna city (in the anti-Taurus Mountains of Cilicia)<sup>3</sup> and made

<sup>1</sup> KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86 w. dupl. KUB 29.5, KUB 12.23, KBo 16.85 + KBo 15.29 (+) KBo 8.90 (+) KUB 29.6 + KUB 32.68 + KBo 34.79, ed. H. Kronasser, *Die Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit: Das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi)*, [= *Schw. Gotth.*] SOAW 241/3 (Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* [=RIA] 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968):355 s.v. "G<sub>11</sub>. This is based on DINGIR-LUM GE<sub>6</sub>-ŠI ŠA URU Parnašša KBo 2.8 i 17. The LUM phonetic complement shows that the DINGIR is a word "god" and not a divine determinative. The ŠI phonetic complement shows that the GE<sub>6</sub> must be read as *mūš*, the genitive of the Akkadian *mūšu* "night", rather than Akk. *salnu* (or Hittite *dmkuš*) "black".

<sup>3</sup> It is usually assumed that Kizzuwatna City is the same as Kummanni (= Classical Comana Cataoniae, = modern Şahr) since the names frequently interchange in texts. (G. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 6 [Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978] 213, 221). Kizzuwatna-City was the capital of the independent state of Kizzuwatna which was subjected to Hattuša by Tudḫaliya II, (see R. Beal, "The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the Šunaššura Treaty," *Orientalia* NS 55 (1986) 424-445.

her separately in Šamuḫa<sup>4</sup> (probably in the vicinity of modern Sivas).<sup>5</sup> A different text reads: "Then, during the reign of my brother (Muwattalli II), I (Prince Hattušili) šarra-d Šaušga of Šamuḫa and made her new temples in Urikina".<sup>6</sup>

The verb *šarra-* has long been known by Hittitologists to have two clusters of meaning (1) "to cross (a line or boundary), from which is derived "to transgress (an oath)" and (2) "to divide". The former ("to cross, transgress") was thought to be always accompanied by the locative sentence particle *-kan*, while the latter ("to divide") lacks the *-kan*.<sup>7</sup> The *šarra-* that the deity is told to do to herself has the *-kan* and so should mean "to cross or transgress". This clearly makes no sense in the passage in the "Goddess of the Night" ritual. With the *-kan*-less *šarra-*'s meaning equally problematical, the translators resorted to *ad hoc* translations.<sup>8</sup>

The verb *šarra-* in these texts has thus been translated "transfer"<sup>9</sup> and "remove, move away"<sup>10</sup> by the main text's editor, Heinz Kronasser. This makes sense in an oracular inquiry: "The goddess who was determined by oracle to be *šarra-d*, [was determined by oracle] to be carried to Zithara. She will be placed(?)<sup>11</sup> in her inner chamber."<sup>12</sup> However, when I was writing the dictionary article on

<sup>4</sup> KUB 32.133 i 2-4, ed. Kronasser, *Schw. Gotth.* 58.

<sup>5</sup> G. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6:339f.

<sup>6</sup> KUB 21.17 ii 5-8.

<sup>7</sup> J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952) 183.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the usual translations cited below in nn. 9, 10, see also, A. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi*, AOS 14 (New Haven: AOS, 1938) 45, who translates *šarra-* with the reflexive particle *-za* as "to take possession of". It is true that all of our passages which contain a finite verb also contain the *-za*, but so do many other passages where the "taking possession" has just been stated with another verb such as "to plunder" *šaruwai-* (KUB 17.21 iii 1-3) or "to steal" *taya-* (KUB 40.91 iii 8-12, followed by a statement that there were three shares of 20 shekels each) and where a translation "divide up" makes the best sense. Goetze gave up his translation when he later translated KUB 17.21 in J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) 399.

<sup>9</sup> "umsiedeln", *Schw. Gotth.* (1963) 53 followed by among others O. Carruba, "dGL<sub>6</sub>", *RLA* 3 (1968) 355 ("verlegen"), R. Lebrun, *Samuha: Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976) 29 "transférer".

<sup>10</sup> "entfernen, amovere" *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* 1 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1966) 504, 531-33, following A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, Yale Oriental Series Researches 22 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940) 24 and followed by Del Monte & Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978) 214 "wegbringen".

<sup>11</sup> Reading traces *pé-e-du-ma-an-z[i SIXSA-a]t [i]-[a]n-'zi-ya'-aš-ši <I>-[N]A É.ŠA=ŠA*. Collation by H. A. Hoffner shows no space between the É.ŠA and the following ŠA.

<sup>12</sup> KUB 5.6 ii 70-72; *šarra-* is understood as "abgebrochen" by F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijawā-Urkunden*, ABAW NF 6 (1932) 285.

this verb a little over twelve years ago,<sup>13</sup> I grew suspicious of the by now traditional translation. The same oracular inquiry that we just quoted says several paragraphs later: "They will leave the goddess there for His Majesty and there he will *šarra-* her."<sup>14</sup> It makes little sense to take a deity to a place and then leave her there for the king to transfer her there—she's already there. More importantly, there were historical problems: Tudḫaliya II<sup>15</sup> goes to great lengths in his treaty with Kizzuwatna<sup>16</sup> to stress that Kizzuwatna was an independent country, which had come over to the Hittites voluntarily and the treaty between the two states is almost equal. It would not fit this supposedly equal relationship for Tudḫaliya to have removed a deity to Hatti from Kizzuwatna's very capital. Even less likely would Prince Hattušili have been able to remove the chief goddess, Šaušga, of one of Hatti's biggest cities to a smaller place, Urikina. Furthermore, as we have already noted, the translations of *šarra-* in these texts were entirely *ad hoc*, invented specifically for these passages, and bearing little or no relationship to the known meaning of the verb in other contexts.

Finally, Hittite has other ways with which to describe the transferring of gods from one place to another. Hattušili III says that his brother "picked up (*šara dā-*) [the gods] and ancestors from Hattuša (the old capital) and carried (*peda-*) them [to Tarḫuntašša (the new capital)]."<sup>17</sup> Elsewhere in describing the same event he uses the verb *arḫa amu-* "to carry off" literally "to cause to arrive away". "I was [not involved] in the order to transfer the gods (DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš am[ummaš]*)."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Finished 3-31-87. A fine new translation of the main text subsequently made by my then office colleague, B. J. Collins, in *The Context of Scripture*, ed. W. W. Hallo, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 173-177, based on my CHD manuscript correctly translates the key word.

<sup>14</sup> KUB 5.6 iii 27.

<sup>15</sup> One presumes that Tudḫaliya II is meant since Muršili II calls him "my ancestor". If Tudḫaliya III, who actually directly controlled Kizzuwatna, had been meant Muršili would presumably have called him "my grandfather". For Tudḫaliya III being Muršili's grandfather, see S. Alp, "Die hethitischen Tontafelentdeckungen auf dem Maşat-Höyük", *Belleten* 44/173 (1980) 56f. For the history of Hatti's relationship with Kizzuwatna see R. Beal, "The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the Šunaššura Treaty," *Orientalia* NS 55 (1986) 424-445, esp. 439-440, but needing to be modified since the incorrect translation of *šarra-* was used there.

<sup>16</sup> Translated by G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 13-22.

<sup>17</sup> *The Apology of Hattušili III* ii 102, ed. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 24 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981) 10f.

<sup>18</sup> KUB 14.7 i 7-8, ed. P. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 35 (Leiden, 1974) 125f.

So, aside from the presence of the *-kan*, what is the problem with a meaning "to divide"? The presence of the *-kan* is not an insurmountable problem. A look through the examples of the verb *šarra-* yields the passage: "If you ever take the god's food offering, ... and do not bring it to him, but you only give it halfway. ["Half" is literally "middle division" the latter noun being *šarra-*, a noun related to our verb.] Let this business of dividing (*šarrumaš*, verbal noun) be a capital offense for you. Do not divide (*šarra-*) it. Whoever divides (*šarra-*) it dies."<sup>19</sup> In the last two sentences the verb *šarra-* is accompanied by a *-kan*. One could translate "Do not transgress it. Whoever transgresses it dies," with the "it" referring vaguely to the "matter", but considering that nouns derived from the verb "to divide" were found earlier in the passage, it seems better to follow the precedent of both previous translations<sup>20</sup> of this text and assume that despite the presence of the *-kan*, the verb *šarra-* means "divide". Even clearer is the sentence: "Then they divide up (*šarra-*) wine from the temple of Maliya from (lit. of) three wine vessels," and they carry it to five temples in different vessels.<sup>21</sup> Here the sentence contains a *-kan*, but the meaning cannot be "cross, transgress", and so must be "divide". The exact nuance of *-kan*, which by this later period of the language had absorbed the function of what were once five separate "locative" particles, is still indistinctly understood by Hittitologists. It is entirely possible, though not yet demonstrable that while the meaning of *šarra-* to cross had always required a *-kan*, the usage with the goddess would, if we ever find this usage in an older phase of the language, show one of the four other sentence particles whose usage later was absorbed by *-kan*.

The translation of *-kan šarra-* with object a deity as "to divide a deity" is supported by the fact that the Hittite introduction to the ritual for the Deity of the Night specifically says that "from that temple of the Deity of the Night he builds another temple of the deity of the Night, and then he settles the deity separately."<sup>22</sup> The word

<sup>19</sup> KUB 13.4 i 50, 56-59 (instructions for temple personnel, pre-NH/NS).

<sup>20</sup> E. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, (Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1935) 150f.; A. Süel, *Hitit Kaynaklarında Tapınak Görevlileri ile ilgili bir Direktif Metni*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 350 (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985) 30f. ("bölerse" [= "divides, separates"]).

<sup>21</sup> *namma=kan GEŠTIN IŠTU É M[(aliya)] ŠA 3 DUG GEŠTIN šarranzi KUB 20.49 i 1-2(-8) (hišuwu-fest., MH/NS), restored from KBo 20.114 vi 9-10(-20).*

<sup>22</sup> i 3-4.

"separately" (*hanti*) was incorrectly translated "elsewhere"<sup>23</sup> by Kronasser since it made no sense with his translation "transfer".

So what of the ritual of the Goddess of the Night? Hittite is one of the world's few nonsexist languages, so we would not actually know this was a goddess for sure if it were not for the fact that she wears a *kureššar* ("shawl"), a typical piece of Hittite feminine headgear,<sup>24</sup> and that she is addressed with the feminine form of an Akkadogram *tarâmî* "you (f.sg.) love".<sup>25</sup> Since 1968, most other scholars have accepted Carruba's interpretation and the argument has shifted to whether this "Goddess of the Night" is an entirely separate deity or a form of a deity better known by some other name and if so, which one.<sup>26</sup>

Lebrun<sup>27</sup> suggests equating DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> with *IŠTAR*/Šaušga a

<sup>23</sup> Kronasser, *Schw. Gotth.* 6f. "anderswo"; cf. 40. For the same reason Puhvel, *HED* 3:92 invents a meaning "instead" for *hanti* in this passage.

<sup>24</sup> iv 30.

<sup>25</sup> iii 45, see Kronasser, *Schw. Gotth.* 40.

<sup>26</sup> H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual* (KBo XIX 128), StBoT 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971) 45f. shows that DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> is sometimes, at least, to be read *Išpanza* "Night", based on parallel lists of gods, where it follows the Moongod and the Star. A. Archi, "Il culto del focolare presso gli ittiti," *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 16 (1975) 79f. notes a deity *Išpanzašepa* "Night-spirit" who occurs in much the same company in some texts as *Išpanza* does in others so that the two seem to be variants of one another.

In the Vow of Puduhepa (text assembled by H. Otten and V. Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lehwani*, StBoT I [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965]) a woman's name is in one place written DINGIR.GE<sub>6</sub>-wiya (i.e., Nightdeity-wiya) i 17 (in A i 17, C i 3) and in another place (and in a different copy) written <sup>230</sup>-wiya (i.e., Moongod-wiya) S i 8 = combined iii 33. This led E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite* (Paris, 1951) 78, *Les noms des hittites* (Paris, 1966) 40 s.v. Armawiya, followed by Carruba, *RIA* 3 (1968) 355 to equate DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> with the Moongod. A. Goetze, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20 (1966) 51, casts doubt on the equation. In any case, Otten's list, mentioned above, has DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> listed separately from the Moongod, so even if "god of the night" could be used as an epithet of the Moongod and even as a way of writing Moongod, at other times "god(dess) of the night" was a separate deity. Since our ritual concerns a goddess, in this case, at least, there is no question of DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> being the Moongod, who was a male for the Hittites.

A. Ünal, "The Nature and Iconographical Traits of 'Goddess of Darkness'", *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993) 639-644, argues that "the goddess of darkness" (sic) is to be equated with the demoness Lamaštu. However the fragmentary text employed by Ünal, KUB 55.24, probably records a dream describing a Lamaštu-like demoness in the temple of DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>. Had the dreamer simply seen DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> there would have been no reason to describe the form of the creature seen, but it could have simply been said that DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> was seen. And, there would be no reason to throw out all the evidence associating DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> with night time things, dreaming and being a respectable deity, that had been assembled by earlier scholars.

<sup>27</sup> *Samuha, foyer religieux de l'empire hittite*, Publications de l'institut orientaliste de Louvain 11 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976) 28-31.

goddess also resident in Šamuḫa. *IŠTAR*'s Mesopotamian counterpart was, among other things, both the evening and morning star, so it would make some sense for *IŠTAR* in this form to be called "the goddess of the night". Especially convincing for our particular ritual is the fact that the cult statue of "the goddess of the night" gets a suit of male clothing and a suit of female clothing,<sup>28</sup> which would be particularly appropriate to *IŠTAR*/Šaušga who is either female or male,<sup>29</sup> depending on whether she appears as the morning or the evening star. Also significant is the fact that, of the cult centers of Mesopotamia, from which the goddess is summoned in the course of the ritual,<sup>30</sup> at least three (Akkad, Babylon and Hursagkalamma) are associated with the cult of the goddess *Ištar*.

Before the Goddess of the Night can be divided, she has to have a new home. While they are building the new temple, they manufacture the cult statue and various ritual paraphernalia. The statue is to be made of gold encrusted with silver, gold and semiprecious stones such as lapis, carnelian, alabaster and "Babylon-stone", that is to say cast glass. This is to be made identical in every respect to the statue of the goddess which already exists.<sup>31</sup> As we shall see, however, there is one difference—the old goddess wears a white shawl and the new goddess a red one.

A number of items of interest appear among the ritual paraphernalia. Besides the statue itself, the goddess has a gold sun disk called Pirinkir,<sup>32</sup> a gold navel and a pair of gold *purka* (apparently a body part) inlaid with cast glass. These tiny objects have their own carrying case of stone inlaid with gold and semiprecious stones. Several of the goddesses' broaches are made of iron inlaid with silver (no doubt in niello technique), a reminder that in the second millennium, iron was still a precious metal. She is also provided with musical instruments, boxwood or ivory combs, two sets of clothing for her cross-dressing, an assortment of tables, chairs and footstools, and a small bronze basin to be used when she is bathed. Her privacy is to be protected with tapestries made from all five colors of wool and hung from bronze pegs fastened to either side of the entranceway to her courtyard.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> §8 i 44-50.

<sup>29</sup> I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*, AOAT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981) 41f.

<sup>30</sup> §24 iii 43-44.

<sup>31</sup> §§1-2.

<sup>32</sup> The goddess is often found in the company of Šaušga. See V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 415f.

<sup>33</sup> §§3-8.

On the second day before sunrise they bring strands of red, blue and natural yarn, fine-oil,<sup>34</sup> a shekel of silver, a bolt of *gazarmul*-fabric, three pieces of thin-bread and a jug of wine from the house of the founder of the new temple. They go to where the waters of purification are and collect purification water.<sup>35</sup>

A separate ritual for the Pirinkir, from which we may probably reconstruct the "waters of purification" ritual, has as follows. "The *katra*-woman takes one *HALTIKKUTU*-vessel, two thin breads, one pitcher of wine and a bit of fine oil and she goes to draw the waters of purification. When she arrives at the well, she breaks up thin breads and throws them down into the well. She libates wine down in and drips fine oil down in. Then she draws water and brings it up to the portico and places it on wicker potstands. To the *HALTIKKUTU*-vessels she ties a linen *gazarmul*, one strand of blue, one strand of green and one strand of [...] yarn and one shekel of silver."<sup>36</sup> Our ritual was presumably similar, except that the yarn was red, blue and natural. The object of the offerings to the well is to pay it for the water used in the ritual. Part of what is tied to the water vessels (perhaps, to judge from the "wool" determinative which usually precedes it, just the braided strand of wool) forms a housing for the deity, known in Hittite as an *ulīhi*.<sup>37</sup>

The purification water is taken from the new temple to the old temple. The water is to spend the night on the roof of the old temple, sleeping beneath the stars. They take red wool and stretch it out in seven directions, thus forming seven paths for the deity. Each path is extended using the fine oil. The deity is asked to return from the mountain, from the river, from the plain, from the heavens and from the ground.<sup>38</sup> Having thus pulled the deity into the *ulīhi* from wherever she happens to be hanging out, they bind this woolen *ulīhi* onto the deity's statue. The rest of the day is spent collecting the necessary materials for the next day's ritual.<sup>39</sup>

The following morning at dawn with the stars still standing in the sky (that is the morning of the third day) the water is brought down

<sup>34</sup> The Sumerogram I.DÜG.GA literally means "fine oil". It is unclear whether this actually meant "(oil-based) perfume" as Landsberger suggested, *apud* J. Friedrich, *Heithitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter/Universitätsverlag, 1952) 277.

<sup>35</sup> §9 i 55-60.

<sup>36</sup> KUB 39.71 i 22-32.

<sup>37</sup> The *ulīhi* is mentioned in broken context in the following paragraph of the Pirinkir ritual: KUB 39.78 i 11.

<sup>38</sup> §9 i 60-66.

<sup>39</sup> §§10-11.

from the roof and taken into the temple, thus bringing the Deity of the Night who in her aspect of morning star has been attracted down from the heavens into the water into her old temple. The new temple's founder goes into the presence of the goddess and bows before her. Since it is now daytime, the deity of the night is no longer in the heavens but in the underworld, or perhaps simply elsewhere. So, then the deity's priest and the founder each pull up the deity seven times from the netherworld using a ritual pit,<sup>40</sup> called an *ābi*.<sup>41</sup> The pit is paid for its services by dropping in a shekel of silver. Also involved in the ritual is more red, blue and undyed wool, more fine oil, a white shawl, a few gemstones, five more thin-breads, some thick bread, a small cheese, and another jug of wine.<sup>42</sup> The text does not indicate this, but one presumes that the further stands of wool into which bits of the goddess keep getting pulled are attached to the original tassel of strands (the *ulīhi*) attached to the statue.

There follows another ritual involving red, blue and natural yarn plus oil, and the two types of bread in the deity's storehouse. On the evening of the same day, when it is dark enough for stars to be visible, the new temple's founder enters the old temple, but this time he does not bow to the deity. A blood ritual is performed with the sacrifice of a bird and either a kid or a lamb. Also involved in the ritual are some blue, red and natural yarn, a white shawl, some blankets and plenty of bread and wine, plus cheese, butter, and honey. The ritual pit gets a further gift of a shekel of silver. Then there is a ritual of praise accompanied by the sacrifice of a sheep along with more bread and wine. A shekel of silver and some *gangati*-herb serve to purify the founder and the deity. Last but not least, they make a holocaust of a lamb. Also involved in this ritual are yet more bread and wine, butter and honey as well as barley flour—the last presumably also intended as a burnt offering. Only now does the founder bow to the deity, and then he goes home.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, the servants of the deity, armed with the usual shekel of silver, red, blue and natural yarn, fine oil, bolt of *gazamul*-fabric, thin bread and wine repeat the ritual of drawing the waters of purification and bring the waters to the old temple. They put this water of purification on the roof where it is to spend the night beneath the

stars. Their final task is to get ready the ritual paraphernalia for the following day. Part of this is taken up onto the roof for the well-being ritual for the deity Pirinkir, who, as we saw above, is a sundisk of gold weighing a shekel. The rest goes inside the temple for the well-being ritual of the Deity of the Night. The founder gets ready a gift of a silver necklace or a silver star ornament for the deity.

On the fourth day in the evening, when it is dark enough for stars to be visible, the new temple's founder comes into the temple and looks after Pirinkir by offering her ritual of well-being on the roof. Presumably this is intended to get Pirinkir's goodwill for the subsequent actions. The Deity of the Night who in her aspect as the evening star has been attracted down from the heavens into the water in the basin is brought down from the roof to participate in the offering for wellbeing in the temple, and receives a scattering of dough balls and fruit. The two rituals of wellbeing appear to have been quite similar, involving in addition to the usual red, blue and natural yarn, fine oil, bread and wine, various types of herb and bean soup and porridge, oil cakes, dried fruit, beer, and a sheep. The Deity of the Night also gets butter, honey, and a bolt of fabric and the ritual pit gets another shekel of silver. The seventh and last triple strand to be produced is twice the normal size—made from two strands each of wool instead of the usual one each; altogether, we have two triple strands for the morning star, two for the storehouse, and three for the evening star. At the end of the day the new temple's founder pays the deity, the priest, and the *katra*-women, bows and goes out.<sup>44</sup>

The fifth day consists simply of offerings that appear to be a breakfast of bread, herb soup and beer for the deity. The text states that the ritual of the old temple is finished.<sup>45</sup> Since the most important rite of all has yet to occur in the old temple, presumably this means that the ritual preparations in the old temple for this most important rite have been completed, i.e., both aspects of the Deity of the Night have been drawn into her temple and all has been made well.

This most important rite is called the *tuhālzi*-ritual, a word of unknown meaning. Fine oil is poured into a wood *tallai*-vessel. Then someone, perhaps the new temple's founder,<sup>46</sup> says in front of the Deity: "You are an important deity. Take care of yourself. Divide your divinity. Come to the aforementioned new temples. Take an

<sup>40</sup> §12.

<sup>41</sup> Related to Hebrew *'ōb*, and Akkadian *apu*, Sumerian *ab.lál.kur.re*, etc. See H. Hoffner, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967) 385-401 and J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* A 99-102 with further bibliography.

<sup>42</sup> §10-11 i 69-73, ii 4-5.

<sup>43</sup> §§10-14.

<sup>44</sup> §§17-18.

<sup>45</sup> §19.

<sup>46</sup> The text suddenly changes from plural, which functions as the indefinite in Hittite, to singular verbs, but omits a subject. It could also be the priest of the Deity of the Night who is meant.

important place for yourself.”<sup>47</sup> Then they draw the deity out from the wall using red wool seven times. He, the founder(?), takes the *ulīhi*, which has been hanging on the deity’s cult statue since the second day, and places it into the wood *tallai*-vessel of oil, and the vessel is sealed.<sup>48</sup> The reason for delaying this ritual so long is presumably to ensure that the new temple does not end up with, say, only the morning star, and leave the old temple with only the evening star. Now, with any luck, the new temple’s fair share of the divinity is ensconced in the *tallai*-vessel and both temples will end up with all aspects of the divinity.

Meanwhile the new clothing and implements have been carried into the new temple.<sup>49</sup> The *tallai*-vessel containing the *ulīhi* is carried to the new temple and put down apart from the cult statue. Since one cannot be sure that the deity indeed has been transported in the *ulīhi* in the *tallai*-vessel, another ritual of drawing the deity is performed either on the same day or, if the founder of the temple prefers, on another day. This time the ritual takes place at a riverbank in a rural area. Tents have been pitched in anticipation of the ritual. At the river, using fine oil, a red scarf, twenty thin breads, a jug of wine and some leavened bread and cheese they draw seven paths and coax the deity to return from the old cult centers of Mesopotamia—from Akkad, from Babylon, from Susa, from Elam, from Hursagkamma—or from wherever else she might be—from the mountain, the river, the sea, the valley, the meadow, the sky, the ground.<sup>50</sup> Possibly the riverbank has been chosen because the river could be seen as a road connecting Hatti to the Mesopotamian cities where the goddess is worshipped,<sup>51</sup> and the rural setting is appropriate to the other locations from which the goddess is being lured. A new *ulīhi*, consisting of a single strand of red wool in its own *tallai*-vessel is created in the usual way.<sup>52</sup> They carry the new *ulīhi* into a tent and place it on a wicker table, that is, on a portable altar. An appetizer of oil, honey, fruit, bread, cake, cheese, barley flour and wine is set out. These are intended to accompany the sacrifices of a kid for the ritual of blood and a lamb for the ritual of praise. A lamb is burned as a holocaust (as presumably is the barley flour). The rest of the meal, consisting of soup and porridge, warmed bread, beer and wine is

<sup>47</sup> iii 26-28.

<sup>48</sup> §§21-22 iii 23-32.

<sup>49</sup> §20.

<sup>50</sup> §§22-24.

<sup>51</sup> This is merely a supposition. Rivers certainly were seen to connect to the netherworld. See V. Haas, *Religion*, 464f.

<sup>52</sup> iii 39, 51.

served to the deity.<sup>53</sup> Then the new *ulīhi* is carried to the founder’s house accompanied by music and a strewing of sour bread, crumbled cheese and fruits. The deity is circled with amber(?),<sup>54</sup> which perhaps created a magic circle intended to keep her always in some way in the house of the new temple’s founder. Then they move to the storehouse, presumably of the temple. You will remember that one of the places that a ritual had been performed in the old temple was in the storehouse. They dedicate a lamb for the holocaust ritual, which is accompanied by bread, oil cake, oil, ghee, honey and fruit in addition to the usual barley flour. This time, there is no ritual of blood or ritual of praise. Then they carry the new *ulīhi* to the new temple and attach it to the new cult statue.<sup>55</sup> For the last time, the usual shekel of silver, red, blue and natural yarn, fine oil, bolt of fabric, bread and wine are taken for the drawing of waters of purification. The water is to spend the night on the roof of the new temple, sleeping beneath the stars.<sup>56</sup>

The next morning (presumably at dawn with the stars still standing in the sky) they open the *tallai*-container with the old *ulīhi* inside that they have brought from the old temple. They mix the old oil inside the *tallai*-container with the water which they intend to use to wash the wall of the temple.<sup>57</sup> Although the text does not say so, this wash water is presumably the purification water that has spent the previous night on the roof.<sup>58</sup> So if the deity in her aspect of morning star has been drawn down from the heavens into the water, she is now mixed with whatever essence they had brought from the old temple and which had seeped from the *ulīhi* into the surrounding oil. When the walls are washed with this mixture, they become ritually pure and,<sup>59</sup> remembering that the deity had been drawn from the walls of the old temple, presumably now the deity is being absorbed into the walls of the new temple. The old *ulīhi*, which during the course of the ritual in

<sup>53</sup> §§25-26 ii 49-62.

<sup>54</sup> *hūšti*-stone. Identification by A. M. Polvani, *La terminologia dei Minerali nei testi ittiti*, Eothen 3 (Florence: Elite, 1988) 18-27, followed cautiously by Puhvel, *HED* 3:412f. The verb *arḥa wahnu-* literally means “to make something rotate”. The object is the god, and the amber is in the instrumental. The translation above follows Collins. Puhvel, *HED* 2:412 translates “swing at”, presumably since the phrase with the addition of the preverb *šer* “above” (*šer arḥa wahnu-*) means to wave over, but in this latter phrase the substance waved is in the accusative while that over which it is waved is in the dative-locative.

<sup>55</sup> §§26-27 iii 62-iv 7.

<sup>56</sup> §28.

<sup>57</sup> §30 iv 22-26.

<sup>58</sup> §28.

<sup>59</sup> §30 iv 26-27.

the old temple had been tied to the cult statue, is bound to the red scarf of the new cult statue.<sup>60</sup>

On the evening of the same day, when it is dark enough for stars to be visible, they take two bronze knives which were made at the same time as the cult statue and dig an *ābi* (ritual pit). Then they slaughter a sheep down into it. The divine image, the wall of the temple and all the divine implements are made ritually pure with the blood. The fat, however, is burned—no one is to eat it.<sup>61</sup> So if the deity in her aspect of evening star has been drawn up from the Netherworld into the blood, she has now been introduced to her new temple. This action completes the installation of the new version of the deity in the temple.

"The ritual for settling the Goddess of the Night separately" continues, but its continuation is unfortunately lost. What is missing is at the very least a further set of rituals of well-being, to judge from instructions to collect bread, oil cake, various types of herb and bean soup and porridge, beer, wine, and fruit.<sup>62</sup>

In summary, it can be seen that with the key verb *šarra-* properly understood, the way to have two separate cult centers for the same deity was to have that deity divide his or her divinity and then to have that allomorph of the original physically moved and/or coaxed though a repeating pattern of variations of ritual actions into the new construction. Thus, the goddess in the oracular query was being moved to the city of Zithara in order for the king to divide her there. In the ritual for the Goddess of the Night *ritual* Tudḫaliya II would not have been stealing from his new Kizzuwatnan ally but rather would have been honoring him by wanting a copy of one of the Kizzuwatnan goddesses for one of his cities. Similarly, Prince Hattušili was not removing the cult of Šaušga of Šamuḫa from Šamuḫa but was rather creating a duplicate cult for her allomorph in Urikina.

<sup>60</sup> §31.

<sup>61</sup> §32.

<sup>62</sup> §29

## TRANSLATING TRANSFERS IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

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Rituals of transferal, in which an afflicted subject is freed of a problem at the expense of another, are commonly found in both ancient and modern magico-religious traditions. Westermarck's classic study of modern Moroccan ritual and belief<sup>1</sup> provides valuable insights into the way in which the ancient participants in such rituals may have understood what was supposed to be happening when a healing substance was, as it were, infected with an ill by transferal from a patient.

Westermarck's informants spoke of an abstract quality, the *bas*, which was imagined as actually passing out of the patient and into the surrogate in the course of the rite. "The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. ... So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to save its owner or his family from misfortune. ... All over Morocco it is believed that the accidental breaking of an object ... 'takes away the *bas*' from its owner. ... It is good to lose a thing, it takes away the *bas*."<sup>2</sup> "One of my informants ... expressed the opinion that the *baraka* of the prayer (said by a man not used to praying) does not directly kill the animal (which died as a result of the prayer), but that the sin of the owner, which is removed from him by the prayer goes into the animal and kills it."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, more mundane and specific ills can be extracted from a patient by appropriate rites. Rather closer to home in Merry Olde England, "In former days persons afflicted with fits used to ... sleep all night under the altar-table in the church, holding a live cock in their arms. 'In the morning they would let the cock go, when the bird took off all the fits with him and died soon after.'"<sup>4</sup>

But do these interesting testimonies lead us anywhere, or are we left with an explanation which applies only to modern Mediterranean folklore? Not only did ancient Mesopotamians also speak of evil

<sup>1</sup> E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols. (London, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck, *Morocco*, vol. 1: 607-608.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck, *Morocco*, vol 1: 227.

<sup>4</sup> G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 94.