

## CONTENTS

Preface Introduction Selected Bibliography

### PART ONE

#### DEFINING MAGIC AND RITUAL POWER

- Jonathan Z. Smith *Trading Places*  
 Fritz Graf *Excluding the Charming: The Development of  
 the Greek Concept of Magic*  
 Robert K. Ritner *The Religious, Social, and Legal Parameters of  
 Traditional Egyptian Magic*

### PART TWO

#### MAGIC AND RITUAL POWER IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

- Richard H. Beal *Hittite Military Rituals*  
 Billie Jean Collins *Ritual Meals in the Hittite Cult*  
 J. A. Scurlock *Magical Uses of Ancient Mesopotamian Festivals of the Dead*

### PART THREE

#### MAGIC AND RITUAL POWER IN JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

- Brian B. Schmidt *The "Witch" of En-Dor, 1 Samuel 28, and  
 Ancient Near Eastern Necromancy*  
 Stephen D. Ricks *The Magician as Outsider in the Hebrew Bible and  
 the New Testament*  
 Jonathan Seidel *Charming Criminals: Classification of Magic in  
 the Babylonian Talmud*  
 Michael D. Swartz *Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Judaism*  
 Rebecca Lesses *The Adjuration of the Prince of the Presence:  
 Performative Utterance in a Jewish Ritual*

### PART FOUR

#### MAGIC AND RITUAL POWER IN GREEK ANTIQUITY

- William M. Brashear *New Greek Magical and Divinatory Texts in Berlin*  
 Roy Kotansky *Greek Exorcistic Amulets*  
 Leda Jean Ciraolo *Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri*  
 Christopher A. Faraone *The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens:  
 Multicultural Influences on a Late-Hellenistic Incantation*  
 David Martinez *"May she neither eat nor drink": Love Magic  
 and Vows of Abstinence*  
 Sarah Iles Johnston *Defining the Dreadful: Remarks on the Greek  
 Child-Killing Demon*

### PART FIVE

#### MAGIC AND RITUAL POWER IN ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUITY

- Oliver Phillips *Singing Away Snakebite: Lucan's Magical Cures*  
 Jacques van der Vliet *Satan's Fall in Coptic Magic*  
 Jason David BeDuhn *Magical Bowls and Manichaeans*  
 Todd Breyfogle *Magic, Women, and Heresy in the Late Empire:  
 The Case of the Priscillianists*

### CONCLUSION

#### MYTH, MAGIC, AND THE POWER OF THE WORD

- David Frankfurter *Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice  
 of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells*

### PLATES

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EDITED BY

MARVIN MEYER

AND

PAUL MIRECKI



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## CHAPTER FOUR

### HITTITE MILITARY RITUALS

Richard H. Beal

From approximately 1800 to 1175 BCE the Hittites were one of the great kingdoms of the ancient Near East, ruling much of Anatolia and often Syria, and successfully holding their own against such kingdoms as Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> Their records are preserved on cuneiform tablets, largely excavated from the royal archives at the site of their capital Hattuşa, modern Boğazkale. Alongside annals, treaties, letters, instructions, land-deeds, literature, prayers, oracular results and festival instructions are found numerous magic rituals devoted to such diverse subjects as birth, healing, impotence, insomnia, counter-magic, family dissension, building, and infertile grapevines. Some are well preserved, some poorly preserved. It is not my aim here to discuss Hittite magical techniques<sup>2</sup> but rather the use made of magic in one important aspect of Hittite life: the military. I shall list and discuss the various rituals employed by the army to deal with the situations that it would encounter during the course of doing its duty to preserve the Hittite state.<sup>3</sup>

When soldiers were inducted into the Hittite army, they and/or their junior officers had to take an elaborate oath. In actions and in words, soldiers subjected themselves to a series of conditional curses that would take effect if they were disloyal. Here is a quotation from such an oath: "[The officiant] places wax and mutton-fat into their hands. Then he throws them into a fire, and says, 'As this wax melts and mutton-fat fries, so may he who breaks the oath and deceives the Hittite king melt like wax and fry like mut-

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank H. A. Hoffner and J. A. Scurlock for reading and making many valuable suggestions on this paper. Any mistakes which remain are, of course, my own responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> For which see D. Engelhard, "Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> I am preparing English translations of all of these rituals, together with transliterations and philological commentary where appropriate, as "Hittite Military Ritual Texts in Translation." Text numbers in the footnotes refer to this work.

ton-fat.' (The soldiers) reply, 'So be it!' ... They bring in women's clothing, and a distaff and a spindle (symbols of womanhood); and they break an arrow (symbol of manhood). You speak to them (the troops) as follows: 'What are these? Are these not the dresses of a woman, which we have here for (your) oath? Whoever breaks these oaths and does evil to the king and the queen and the royal princes, let these oath-gods change him from a man into a woman. Let them change his soldiers into women. Let them dress them like women and cover their heads with kerchiefs. Let them break their bows, arrows and (other) weapons in their hands and put in their hands distaff and spindle.'<sup>4</sup> ... He places in their hands a [male] figurine, its belly filled with water.<sup>5</sup> He says, 'See the man who previously took this oath before the gods and then broke it. The oath-gods seized him. His belly is swollen. He holds up his swollen belly in front with his hands. May the oath-gods seize whoever breaks these oaths. May his belly swell.<sup>6</sup> May the sons of Išhara<sup>7</sup> [live] in him and feed on him.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For this type of magic see H. A. Hoffner, "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals," *JBL* 85 (1966): 326-34. For parallels from Hatti and an Arabic chronicle dealing with the Persians, see N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten (=StBoT) 22 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 75f. with n. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Such statuettes have been found archeologically, see J. Börker-Klähn, "Illustrationen zum hethitischen Eidritual," in *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, ed. H. Otten et al. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 69-72.

<sup>6</sup> For the association of innards filled with water (dropsy=edema) in other ancient cultures, esp. Kassite and later Mesopotamia, Israel and Vedic India, see N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 71-73.

<sup>7</sup> Išhara is called the "Queen of the Oath" in the curse formula of an edict (KUB 26.43 + KBo 22.56 rev. 19, edited and translated by F. Imparati, "Una concessione di terre da parte di Tudhaliya IV," *Revue hittite et asianique* XXXII [1974]: 36f.). She is also known to inflict disease. The goddess is often associated with the Moongod Kušuh, "lord of the oath." Išhara, as well as the Moon-god as "lord of the oath," seem most at home in Kizzuwatna (= Cilicia) and N. Syria. (See G. Frantz-Szabó, "Išhara," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 5.177f.) H. Kronasser's (*Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* 1 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963-66], 186) and Oettinger's (*StBoT* 22, 74) contention that the presence of Išhara in the Middle Hittite 1st Military Oath, well before the Hurrianization of the Hittite cult (late New Hittite), shows these deities to be natively Hittite can be ignored since there was an earlier stage of imports from Syria and Kizzuwatna after the conquest of these places by the Middle Hittite king Tudhaliya II. (Note especially that the newly found Hittite/Hurrian bilingual ritual—KBo 32:10-104, ed. E. Neu, *StBoT* 32 [forthcoming] is in Middle Hittite/Middle Script. See H. Otten, "Die Tontafelfunde aus Haus 16," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1984): 372-75. Išhara is mentioned in KBo 32.11, KBo 32:37

As can be seen from this quotation, what would happen to the oathbreaker was illustrated with a graphic analogy. The oath-taker subjected himself to potential punishment by holding, touching or licking the objects used in the analogy, thus establishing a physical link between himself and the oath. The whole exercise was simultaneously explained with words. The words of the oath were also linked to the troops by having them orally add, "So be it." The multiple punishments of the person who broke the oath were usually seen as being carried out by "oath-deities" or by the oaths themselves, although sometimes "the Stormgod," "the Moongod" or "the gods of Hatti" were asked to carry out the punishment. In the briefer paragraphs the punisher is not mentioned; if comparative evidence is any indication, the objects used in the oath ceremony would have been capable, by themselves, of enforcing the oath.<sup>9</sup>

The analogies that we have seen above were to wax and mutton-fat, melting in heat, conveying a threat of melting; a broken arrow and the wearing of women's clothing and the carrying of women's stereotypical objects: spindle and distaff conveying a threat of being turned into women; and a figurine of a man with swollen belly and filled with water conveying a threat of looking like this due to disease. Other oaths in the same text include an analogy to a blind and a deaf man; to a figurine (?) thrown face-down on the ground and squashed underfoot; to the crackling of rock-salt and sinews thrown into a fire; to the grinding, cooking and mashing of the malt and grains used in making beer—the malt here and the salt in the previous example do double duty since it is also pointed out that they cannot reproduce. There is also an analogy to yeast in breadmaking, with the threat that disease will make the oath-breaker crumble and puff up; and to a bladder-balloon squashed underfoot and emptied of air, with the threat that the oath-breaker's house will similarly be emptied of people and animals. Water poured on a fire, extinguishing it, is used on analogy with

and KBo 32:64). For the widespread worship of Išhara in both Semitic and Hurrian cultures and the antiquity of this worship, see A. Archi, "Substrate: Some remarks on the formation of the west Hurrian pantheon," in *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, ed. H. Otten et al., (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 9-10.

<sup>8</sup> Translation of the last sentence follows A. Goetze, in J. Pritchard, *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 354, against Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 41f. For the texts quoted see below n. 11.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* 1 (London: Macmillan, 1926), 518-69—reference courtesy of J. A. Scurlock.

oathgods similarly extinguishing the lives of the oathbreaker, his family, animals and crops. Water is also poured onto the ground, where it is swallowed up by the ground, with the threat that the same thing will happen to oathbreakers. The same act with wine represents the ground swallowing up the oathbreaker's blood.<sup>10</sup> The persistence of the reddish-brown color of tanned leather is used to illustrate the persistence of the pursuing oath-gods. The officiants break models of plow, wagon and chariot, with the threat that the oathbreaker's plow, wagon and chariot will be smashed. An oven is used due to the fact that nothing grows on the ground that is inside it. The heaviness of a rock is analogous to the heaviness of the disease that will be in the oathbreaker's innards, and the mixing of wine and water illustrate that the illness and innards of an oathbreaker cannot be unmixed. Broken sections involve torches, cedar splints, oxhide, clay and the smashing of jars.<sup>11</sup>

Before a campaign, the officers were given magical help. According to the ritual of Azzari, the Hurrian female physician, she would recite an incantation over some fine oil and then anoint with it the commanding "lord of the army," his horses, his chariot and implements of war.<sup>12</sup>

There was also a long ritual called "When the soldiers go away from the land to campaign and [they go] to the enemy land to fight." In this ritual, the practitioner lights a fire in the plain, sacrifices bread and wine and summons the gods to eat and drink. How exactly this was intended to protect the army and give them

<sup>10</sup> The spoken words here make an even stronger equation between the oath-takers' blood and the wine: "This is not wine. It is your blood." For a similar phrase in a Neo-Assyrian treaty see Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 74f. Note also *Iliad* 3:292ff.

<sup>11</sup> "Ritual for When They Lead the Troops for the Oath" (= Text 1) = *CTH* 427, see N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, *StBoT* 22 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), with edition of the Hittite, German translation, and extensive notes and commentary.

1st oath, 1st tablet: D: KBo 21.10, C: KUB 40.13 obv.!, E: Bo 6881.

1st oath, 2nd tablet: A: KBo 6.34 + KUB 48.76; B: KUB 40.16 + KUB 7.59 ++; C: KUB 40.13 rev.!, F: KBo 27.12, old tr. by A. Goetze, in *ANET*<sup>3</sup> (ed. J. Pritchard), 353f.

2nd Oath: KUB 43.38.

A number of oaths with similar use of analogous magic from the Greco-Roman and medieval Christian world are listed by J. Friedrich, "Der hethitische Soldateneid," *ZA* 35 (1924): 170-72. See also C. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine, and Mutilated Animals," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 60-80.

<sup>12</sup> (Text no. 3 =) KUB 30.42 i 8-14 (catalog entry), transliteration and French translation by E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*<sup>2</sup> (= *CTH*) (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 162.

victory is unknown since the remainder of the ritual is broken away.<sup>13</sup>

Since chariot horses were nearly as important to the success of the Hittite army as the fighting men, it is not surprising that before a campaign chariot horses went through a purification ritual designed to remove, burn away and wash off evils from them.<sup>14</sup>

Another woman, Nikkaluzzi, wrote a ritual designed to protect the Hittite general and ensure that it was his opponent who was killed. "We made two figurines, [one of cedar] and one of clay. [On the one] of cedar we placed the name of the enemy of His Majesty, but on the one of clay [we put] the name of Hismi-Sarruma." The figures were presumably both thrown into a fire, whereupon the cedar figure of the enemy burned up while the clay figure of the Hittite was baked solid.<sup>15</sup> The Hittites had a strong concept of the just war; only if one's cause was legitimate would the gods give one victory in battle. By throwing both figurines into the fire, both underwent a sort of trial by fire. In this way, the war was symbolically transformed into a judicial ordeal by battle in which the injured party (the Hittites) was vindicated and the aggressors (the enemy) were found guilty and punished.

When the army reached the enemy's land, another ritual would be performed, in which the Hittites presented to the gods a legal justification for the war, together with a number of offerings. "They sacrifice one sheep to Zithariya. They say as follows: 'The god Zithariya keeps prostrating himself to all the gods. That which was Zithariya's perpetual share,<sup>16</sup> the lands which he wandered,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> (Text no. 2) A: KBo 34.38; B: KUB 57.20; C: KUB 9.1 iii 31-iv 12; D: KBo 34.39; E: KUB 30.51 rev. 7'-8' (library catalogue entry), transliterated S. Košak, review of A. Archi, *KUB* 57, *ZA* 78 (1988): 310f.

<sup>14</sup> (Text no. 8) A: KBo 10.44, B: KUB 29.56, C: KUB 51.14, = *CTH* 644, transliteration and German translation by B. Rosenkranz, "Ein neues hethitisches Ritual für <sup>d</sup>LAMA KUŠkuršaš," *Or*, n.s. 33 (1964): 253-55; A obv. 13-21 by B. J. Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42 (1990): 220 with n. 49 (into English).

<sup>15</sup> (Text no. 4) KUB 7.61 = *CTH* 417.1, partial English translation by H. G. Güterbock, "The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 2 (1954): 387 n. 44. Contrary to Güterbock, PU-Sarruma cannot be a Hittite king, since in another text, KBo 4.14 iii 40, it is said that PU-Sarruma "died." Hittite kings did not "die"; they "became gods."

<sup>16</sup> The word translated "perpetual share" is *ukturi-*. As an adjective this means "perpetual" and as a noun "incinerator, pyre" (cf. H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften 37 [1958], 141), a place where among other things corpses and impurities were safely disposed. In this text Von Schuler and Goetze (see below n. 19) have translated the term "Kultplätze" and "place of worship,"

where they used to give him great festivals,<sup>18</sup> now the Kaškeans have taken them for themselves. The Kaškeans began the hostilities. They continually boast of their power and strength. They belittle you gods. Now Zithariya keeps prostrating himself to all the gods. He keeps bringing you (his) lawsuit. All you gods, judge his lawsuit. Let it be a considerable revenge for the gods. Those (lands) are not taken away from Zithariya alone. They are taken away from all you gods—from the Sungoddess of Arinna, the [Storm]god of Nerik, the Stormgod, the Protective Deity, Telipinu and from all the gods. His cities are taken from you. Now Zithariya keeps bringing his lawcase to you gods. [Take] your own lawcase to heart for yourselves. Judge your own lawcase. Judge the lawcase for Zithariya. O gods, destroy the land of the Kaška. Let each deity look after his own perpetual (allotment?) and take it back for himself.” Afterwards the enemy’s gods were summoned: “O gods of Kaška-land, we have called you to assembly. Come, eat, drink and listen to the lawcase which we now are bringing to you. The gods of Hatti have <taken> nothing from you gods of Kaška. They have done nothing oppressing against you. And you gods of Kaška made trouble and expelled the gods of Hatti from the land. You took their land for yourselves. The Kaškeans started the trouble. They took away the cities from the Hittites. They expelled them from fields, pastures, and their vineyards. The gods and men of Hatti are calling for the shedding of blood.” After a lacuna the text ends with a rousing statement: “Eat and drink. G[o (?)] back and defe[at] the enemy.”<sup>19</sup>

Ensuring victory in battle, however, did not necessarily guarantee a successful conclusion to the war. On a typical campaign, most of the army’s time would have been spent on the march, in camp,

respectively.

<sup>17</sup> From the resumption in i 41-42, this must be *weh-* + acc., “to wander lands.” Differently, E. Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*, StBoT 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 198 “vorhanden sein” (“exist”), E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškaer* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 168f. “zuwenden” (“bestowed upon”), A. Goetze, *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 354 “fall into turmoil.” Other examples of *weh-* “to wander,” cited by Neu, take datives, not accusatives: *dankuwai takanzi pi weh-*, HUR.SAG.MES-*aš anda weh-*.

<sup>18</sup> *iške-* must here be the iterative of *iya-*; note the resumption in i 41 with *išša-* the durative of *iya-*.

<sup>19</sup> (Text no. 10) A: KUB 4.1 i-iii 14; B: KUB 31.146; C: KUB 48.86 iv; D: Bo 7960 (H. Otten & Chr. Rüster, ZA 67 [1977]: 59); E: 26/r = CTH 422, A&B transliterated and translated into German in E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškaer*, 168-74, English tr. A. Goetze, *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 354f.

or besieging an enemy city. Although no texts mention it, one can presume, based on records of other wars, that military camps could be as hazardous for the troops as actual combat and that, during prolonged sieges, more people, both besiegers and besieged, would have died of disease than from battle. At least six different rituals attempted magically to rid army camps of devastating diseases and to pass them to the enemy.

The best preserved is Ašhella’s ritual. This ritual begins in the army camp in the evening. The generals and colonels each are given a ram and white, red, and green strands of yarn. The exorcist braids the yarn into a single strand for each officer and attaches a bead and rings of iron and lead. The officers each tie their yarn to their rams’ horns and necks. Then they tie the rams up in front of their tents for the night, orally promising them to whatever deity is causing the plague. The next morning the officers place their hands on the rams and recite, Whatever deity made this plague, now see—rams are standing. They are fat with liver, heart and limbs. Let the flesh of humankind then become distasteful to him. Be satisfied with these rams. An adorned woman is seated before the king’s tent. Each ram is matched with a jug of beer and a loaf of thick-bread. The woman is matched with a jug and three loaves. The officers bow behind the rams and the king bows behind the woman. The rams and the woman, the thick-bread and the beer are carried through the army. The woman and the sheep are then encouraged to flee Hittite territory, while the soldiers say, “What evil exists in the people, oxen, horses, mules and donkeys of this army—now, see those rams and woman have removed it from the army; whatever land meets them, let that one take this evil plague.”

The second day is spent in a different place in the plain sacrificing rams, billy goats, beer, bread, and various vessels, trying to get on the good side of the deity who caused the plague. The food is cooked and offered, and the deity summoned to see his or her dinner, to “eat and drink like a deity” and “not forsake (a single) person.” They abandon the knives used for the sacrifice, thus leaving behind the evil that they contain in the place where the sacrifice was performed. When they depart from the place of the ritual, they wash their hands in salty water and walk between two fires to wash and burn away residual evil. There is then a sacrifice of more billy goats, bread and wine to the Protective Deity of the Implements used and abandoned in the ritual earlier in the day. After this, all concerned eat and depart.

At dawn on the third day, again out on the plain, a billy goat, a

wether, a pig, three thick-breads and a pot of beer are offered to the deity who caused the plague, and he is begged to come enjoy himself by eating and drinking and to be at peace with the land and army of Hatti. After this all concerned eat, drink and depart.

At dawn on the fourth day, at yet another place on the plain, they sacrifice a bull and virgin ewe to the divine pair of the Hittite pantheon, the Stormgod and the Sungoddess, and several sheep to all the other gods.<sup>20</sup>

In this ritual, by means of various colors of wool, various strands of the evil were transferred from the officers to the ram.<sup>21</sup> By spending the night in the camp, the ram absorbed yet more evils. Other evils were transferred when the officers put their hands on the rams and bowed to them. Finally, carrying the rams, the woman, bread and beer through the army was intended to draw out evil from the rest of the army. When the participants drove the rams and woman across the border, the evil now resident in the rams and the woman was commanded to leave Hatti and go to the enemy. It is interesting to note that the rams were matched one to one with each high officer, with an even tastier morsel matched with the king. Was each animal (or woman) intended to serve as a personal substitute for one of the commanders and the king? or, was the woman a scapegoat for the army as a whole, and did the rams take the evils of each individual regiment/brigade? or were all of the above true? While serving as scapegoats, the same rams (and woman) simultaneously served as a sacrifice to propitiate the god who had caused the plague in the first place. The efficacy of this procedure was assured by further offerings and prayers to the deity who had caused the plague. The intent of the sacrifices to the chief gods of the pantheon and to all the other gods on the last day was presumably that these gods, by accepting their share of the sacrifices, would agree to put social pressure on the god causing the plague so that he would desist and accept the sacrifices. Presumably it was also hoped that the gods would act as guarantors of the plague god's decision to terminate the plague.

<sup>20</sup> (Text no. 11) A: KUB 9.32 + Bo 4445 (ZA 64:244); B: KUB 9.31 iii 14ff.; C: HT 1 iii 1 - iv 43; D: KUB 41.18 ii 2-iii; E: KUB 41.17 iii-iv 25; F: KBo 13.212 rev.; G: FHL 95; H: 218/q = CTH 394, edited and translated into Turkish by A. Dinçol, "Aşhella Rituali (CTH 394) ve Hititlerde salgın hastalıklara karşı yapılan majik işlemlere toplu bir bakış," *Belleten* XLIX/193 (1985): 11-26, German translation by H. M. Kümmel, in *Religiöse Texte: Rituale und Beschwörungen*, *Texten aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* 2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1987), 285-88.

<sup>21</sup> See Engelhard, "Hittite Magical Practices" (Ph.D. diss.), 136-40, esp. 140.

In a second ritual, the officiant scatters a bit of straw and crumbles a bit of bread, apparently inside his room/tent. In the evening he gathers these fragments up into a basket and carries them outside. A woman stands in the entranceway and screams. The offerings are carried away, while the officiant says, "See, I've brought you [foo]d (?), O deity, and I've brought food for your dogs." The same ritual is performed for any person whose tent is affected. The ritual is repeated on a second and probably on a third day as well.<sup>22</sup> Apparently the image employed here is that of collecting up the day's table-scrap and throwing them out to the dogs lurking around the house. The scream of the woman presumably was part of the image of throwing out the table-scrap, namely, chasing the dogs away from the yard. Startled, the dogs could have been expected to grab the food and run off into the blackness.<sup>23</sup> Presumably, these scraps were thought to have been sitting out all day collecting the evils of the house. The intent of the ritual is that the scraps be carried from the affected dwelling, thrown away at a distance, picked up by the god's dogs and carried far away. This is an appropriate image since this plague deity apparently had a court of hounds. The scraps thus have an explicit second meaning, as an offering to the plague deity and his hounds.

A third, badly broken ritual was authored by an auspex named Maddunani. The ritual mentions two puppies, a pig, a clay statue, offerings, prayers, an uncultivated place, and the act of going through the army, all, in so far as can be seen, in a relatively standard way for these rituals. The ritual is unusual in that it was intended to be performed not by an exorcist/liver-diviner or "old woman," but rather by an auspex and an old man. The ritual is also unusual in that during the ritual and again at the end, a specific auspicial sign is looked for.<sup>24</sup> This presumably was designed to assure those performing the ritual that the deity concerned was

<sup>22</sup> (Text no. 12) A: KUB 41.17 i; C: 283/q, = CTH 424; edited and translated into German by V. Souček, "Ein neues hethitisches Ritual gegen die Pest," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 9 (1963): 167-72.

<sup>23</sup> For a very similar use of dogs in a rite in China used to get rid of ghosts see E. Ahern, *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1973), 198—reference courtesy of J. A. Scurlock.

<sup>24</sup> Ritual of Maddunani against Plague in the Army (Text no. 14) CTH 425.1 = A: KUB 7.54 i 1-ii 6; B: KUB 54.65 + IBoT 4.16 rt. col. 1'-6' + KUB 56.59; A i 5-9 transliterated with English translation, H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*, American Oriental Series 55 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1974), 71; ii 1-6 transliterated by H. Otten & Chr. Rüster, *ZA* 72 (1982): 139f.; D: KUB 57.114 (+) KUB 55.9 rt. col. 3-8.

accepting the ritual.

A fourth ritual against plague in the army was authored by a certain Dandanku, also an auspex. In this ritual the participants mix straw and red, blue, black, green and white wool together and scatter them at a crossroads. It is explained that the straw is for the horses of the horsemen who accompany the god Yarri, and the wool is for his female attendants. The god Yarri was an archer who was occasionally thanked for giving the army victory. At other times he and his associates, the underworld heptad, were blamed for plague in the army.<sup>25</sup> The participants are to move to an uncultivated place to offer to this heptad a cut-up kid, piglet and puppy and to libate beer and wine three times to them. This is repeated in its entirety on the second day. On the third day the ritual takes place in the plain. Here a billy goat is sacrificed to Yarri, his heptad and attendants, and is cooked and eaten with bread and wine. Then a donkey is brought in and faced toward the enemy with the request, "Yo, Yarri, you made evil in this land and army. Lift up this donkey and carry it to the land of the enemy." This, unlike the other rituals against plague in the army, requires the participation of the client who requested and paid for the ritual. This client did not have to be the king or a general since the ritual adds that if the client is poor, a clay donkey can be substituted for the real donkey. After the participants are finished with the donkey, they string a bow and place an arrow in it. But then he (the officiant? the client?) pours the remaining arrows out from the quiver onto the ground, saying, "O god, keep shooting the enemy land with these arrows. But when you come into the land of Ḫatti, let your quiver be closed. Let your bow be unstrung." Then everyone returns from the plain. The fourth and last day contains more offerings and drinking to Yarri and his heptad but is largely broken away.<sup>26</sup>

A short ritual against plague in a fortress simply tells one to tie up a sheep at the edge of the fortress, and tell the deity who made the plague that the sheep is for him and that he should go to the enemy land and not into the fortress.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See H. Otten, "Jarri," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 5.267f.

<sup>26</sup> (Text no. 15) CTH 425.2 = A:KUB 7.54 ii 7- iv, B: IBoT 4.16 rt. col. 7' + KUB 56.59 ii 7-iii + KUB 54.65 ii-iii!, partially edited and translated into German by H. Klengel, "Zu einem Ablenkungszauber bei Krankheit im hethitischen Heer (KUB LIV 65)," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11 (1984): 175f.

<sup>27</sup> (Text no. 13) A: KUB 41.17 ii 1-17; B: KBo 22.121 i 1-16 = CTH 424, ed. V. Souček, "Ein neues hethitisches Ritual gegen die Pest," *Mitteilungen des*

One of the rituals specifies that when the army recovers, the king and the troops are to give an exaltation ritual to whatever deity has been causing the plague, and that the king, the generals and the captains are to give whatever presents to the deity that they wish.<sup>28</sup>

If things were going badly for the army, a ritual could be performed to turn things around: "When it gets scary in the field for a 'lord of the army,' or when all goes right for the enemy in battle, and it doesn't go right for our boys, (one performs the following ritual)."<sup>29</sup> The ritual itself unfortunately is broken away. Another ritual on the same tablet and presumably for the same purpose reads, "Throw hot fir cones and a hot stone into water. As the fir cones and the stone hiss and then cool and become silent, so may the manhood, battle, and renown<sup>30</sup> of you and your troops likewise grow cold and be extinguished. Like the stone, let them become deaf and dumb. Let their bowstring and arrow and slingstone (?)<sup>31</sup> be put (down). And let it grow cold. The gods march on our side. The (former) kings speak on our behalf. The multitude has hurried to our side. The gods have given boys to our army with manhood and bravery (?)."<sup>32</sup>

As the enemy closed in on a Hittite city, another ritual was performed which had the title "The Ritual of Heaven and Earth." The ritual is unusual and badly broken. The ritual involved the king, who would have been expected in most cases to be personally commanding an army in the field, the other officers, the non-commissioned officers, and even the scribe. The first paragraph involves seeking a male horse and bringing it to a mare of "the place of procreation."<sup>33</sup> The horse is eventually released toward the enemy, and it is said that it will bring the destruction of the enemy land. Dare one suggest that the returned enemy male horse is supposed to plant thoughts of mares in the minds of the other

*Instituts für Orientforschung* 9 (1963): 169-73.

<sup>28</sup> (Text no. 16) KUB 17.16 iv.

<sup>29</sup> (Text no. 19) KUB 7.58 i 18-22 (NS), transliterated and translated into English in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* L-N (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980-89), 116b.

<sup>30</sup> Literally "news."

<sup>31</sup> Literally "stone of Alminala-town."

<sup>32</sup> (Text no. 18) A: KUB 7.58 i 1-17; B: KUB 45.20 i 1-32; C: IBoT 2.118 lf.col.; E: KUB 23.112 ii? = CTH 426.1; A i 1-12 transliterated and translated into German by E. Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*, StBoT 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 68.

<sup>33</sup> Presumably meaning either "a brood mare" or "a mare in heat."

enemy stallions, thoughts that will distract them from their military duties? Next the participants take a wheel and say it is from the land of Zidapara.<sup>34</sup> The king grasps the wheel and sets it in motion while asking the gods to roll it against the (enemy) Hurrian land and to follow it there.<sup>35</sup> After a long lacuna, there is an offering of a sheep and some thick-breads. Then the participants wash out the braziers. After they perform a libation of wine and bow three times to heaven and earth, the wash water goes through some unusual type of object, is carried away in a leather bucket and is eventually dumped into ox stomachs. Then "the entire (army) libates away the enemy troops with what they washed out of the braziers" and simultaneously asks the "seven deities" (perhaps the seven underworld deities addressed in anti-plague rituals) to carry away plague and to do evil to the enemy.<sup>36</sup> The prominence of horses and wheels leads me to suspect that this ritual was designed to help the Hittite chariotry defeat the enemy chariotry, but any parallels that might help elucidate this sadly broken text would be most welcome.

Of course, despite the best efforts of strategists and magicians, defeats did occur. "If the troops are defeated by the enemy, they perform the far-side-of-the-river ritual. On the far side of the river, they cut in half a person, a billy goat, a puppy and a piglet. Half of each they place on this side and half on that side. In front they build a gate of hawthorn. Overtop they draw a rope. In front of this, on either side, they light a fire. The troops go through the middle. When they reach the river, they splash them with water. Afterwards they perform the ritual of the battlefield for them in the usual way." That is, whatever impurity caused the defeat was magically removed from the troops by the hawthorn's scraping, the fire's burning, the water's purification and the power of the severed corpses. The soldiers were then magically reinducted into soldiering, using the standard battlefield ritual.<sup>37</sup> They could thus

<sup>34</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>35</sup> For a parallel to this wheel rolling against the enemy land, note the dream in which a disk (Hebr. *kikkar*, cf. Akk. *kakkaru*) of bread rolls into the Midianite camp and flattens a Midianite tent; the disk of bread is then explained as the sword of Gideon into whose hand Yahweh has given the Midianites (Judges 7:13-14—reference courtesy of H. Hoffner).

<sup>36</sup> (Text no. 7) KUB 9.1 ii 13- iii 30.

<sup>37</sup> (Text no. 17) KUB 17.28 iv 45-56 = CTH 426.2, edited and translated into German by H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, StBoT 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 151-52, and into English by B. J. Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," *JCS* 42 (1990): 219f. with n. 44. Cf. C. Faraone, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 71 n. 45, 79 with n. 73.

put their defeat behind them and, with morale high again, look forward to their next victory.

It is interesting to note that the ritual actions performed in this ritual are nearly identical to those performed in the ritual to purify the army's chariot horses, which I mentioned earlier.<sup>38</sup>

After a victory, it was time to give thanks to the gods. Usually a percentage of the booty was dedicated to them. Sometimes an entire town and its hinterland would be emptied of its gods and people and dedicated to the Hittite Stormgod as pasture for the divine bulls who pulled his chariot. Removing the people was easy. The gods of the enemy were more of a problem. Removing the gods was accomplished by using an evocation ritual. Tables were set up to the right and left and offerings put on them. Included was a jug of beer with the enemy gods' names on it. A fire-pan and brazier burned incense. From the tables long scarves of red, white and blue material were rolled out and declared to be roads for the gods. These were extended into nine roads of fine oil, nine roads of honey and nine roads of pap. The gods were summoned to follow the roads to the table. A sheep was then sacrificed to the male gods of the city and another to the goddesses of the city, and the roasted liver and heart were put on the offering table. After the gods were out of the city, the king, dressed in the robes of kingship, made the enemy city sacrosanct; this was symbolized by pouring out a vessel of wine while saying, "This city was hateful to me." The king then summoned the Stormgod, thanked him for giving it to him, and explained that he had now consecrated it and was laying a curse on any person who would resettle it.<sup>39</sup> This could be symbolically indicated by sowing the site with fennel (a weed that grew particularly well on abandoned settlements). The latter

<sup>38</sup> For other Hittite rituals involving the severing of puppies see B. J. Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," *JCS* 42 (1990): 211-26. Cited there are similar rituals known from the Bible and classical authors. The latter appear to be the closest to the Hittite: Livy XL 6 describing a purification of the Macedonian army; Hdt VII 41 describing a ritual of the Persian army, but misunderstood by Herodotos and turned into a typical Greek tyrant story. In the biblical examples the ritual is similar but the object is entirely different. Here those who pass between the parts of the severed animal(s) (Yahweh himself in Gen 15:9-10 and the notables of Judah in Jer 34:18-20) subject themselves to conditional curses; that is, the Hebrew rituals are more like the Hittite military oath than the Hittite and Greek military purification rituals.

<sup>39</sup> (Text no. 21) KUB 7.60 = CTH 423, edited and translated into German by V. Haas & G. Wilhelm, "Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna," *AOAT Sonderreihe* 3 (1974): 234-39, and edited and translated into French by R. Lebrun, "Le fragment KUB VII 60 = CTH 423," *Hethitica* 11 (1992): 103-15.



part of this ritual must have somehow been reversible, since an early Hittite king, Anitta of Kuššara and Neša, emptied and laid such a curse on the city of Ḫattuš,<sup>40</sup> which one of his successors was to later make the Hittite capital.

In summary, in the military, as in every other facet of Hittite life, magic played an important role. It helped ensure loyalty and gave soldiers the confidence to go into battle; it supported morale and, when necessary, rebuilt it. That it was successful can be seen from the fact that Hittite armies ranged from the Hellespont to the Ḫabur for two and a half centuries and that their kingdom lasted some 600 years in a tough neighborhood.

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<sup>40</sup> KBo 3.22:48-51 (Anitta's annals, Old Hittite Script), ed. E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, StBoT 18 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), 12f.