

PIGS AT THE GATE:
HITTITE PIG SACRIFICE IN ITS EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT

BILLIE JEAN COLLINS

Abstract

The consumption of pork in Hittite Anatolia is unlikely to have been a simple matter of geography or ethnicity, but was governed by a complex set of principles involving determiners like status, gender, and the level of cultic influence from religious sanctuaries. On the few occasions that the Hittite texts refer directly to eating pork, the context is highly ritualized, suggesting that special religious significance was sometimes attached to the eating of pig's flesh. Further, drawing on evidence from the societies surrounding the Mediterranean basin, a case can be made for the private nature of pig sacrifice in Hittite Anatolia. They were killed to ensure the wellbeing of the community and the fertility of humans and crops. A festival performed in Istanuwa to reaffirm the human-divine relationship may parallel the practice of sacrificing a pig at the ratification of treaties in the classical world. Finally, this animal's unique place among the domesticates extends to its role as a substitute for humans, a ritual motif that can be found throughout the Mediterranean in antiquity.

It is fitting that Anatolia, the site of the earliest domestication of pigs (Redding and Rosenberg 1998:74), should also provide such a wide range of textual evidence for this animal's cultic uses.¹ Pig sacrifice in Hittite Anatolia presents a unique challenge, as the pig was arguably the most versatile implement in the professional ritualist's toolkit. The inhabitants of Anatolia in the Hittite period harbored an ambivalent attitude toward the animal that expressed itself in many aberrant rites: These are, however, representative of

¹ I presented an early version of this article in 1996 at the Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research and I must thank Gary M. Beckman, H. Craig Melchert and Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. for offering very helpful comments at that time. I owe special thanks to Sarah Morris for taking an active interest in my work on pigs and encouraging me to look ever deeper into the Greek world of pig sacrifice. Finally, I extend my thanks to Ian Rutherford for organizing the Langford Symposium in 2005 and for including me among the list of speakers.

but one of the ritual dialects in the Mediterranean koiné. Data from the societies surrounding the Mediterranean basin go a long way toward informing our understanding of Hittite practices involving pigs, and vice versa.

“Between Altar and Table”

In his *Geography*, Strabo (64/3 BC-ca. AD 25) relates the story of Cleon, a thief who transgressed the sanctity of the sacred precinct in Comana in the Pontus in northeastern Anatolia by consuming pig flesh on the premises. Strabo writes that the sacred precinct “is most conspicuously free from the impurity of the eating of swine’s flesh; in fact, the city as a whole is free from it; and swine cannot even be brought into the city” (12.8.9). The connection between altar and table,² between what the gods will eat and what humans will eat, is evident in this testimonial. I mention the passage because I believe that the situation in Comana, its geographical remoteness and chronological tardiness notwithstanding, highlights a phenomenon that was considerably more pervasive in Anatolian antiquity—the Late Bronze Age in particular—than is generally assumed.³ Appealing to the practices of a city in the Pontus as a barometer for the Anatolian heartland might rate as a questionable exercise were it not for the fact that Strabo also informs us that Pontic Comana was consecrated to the same goddess and copied after the city of the same name in Cappadocia. “I might almost say that the courses which they have followed in their sacrifices, in their divine obsessions, and in their reverence for their priests, are about the same . . .” (*Geogr.* 13.3.32).

The pig enjoyed a relatively low status in Hittite society. It was considered unclean for all the same reasons that it was unclean elsewhere in the Near East, and the temple administrators were amply warned, “Neither pig nor dog is ever to cross the threshold (of the temple) . . . If a pig or dog does somehow force its way to the utensils of wood or clay that you have, and the kitchen worker does not throw it out, but gives to the gods to eat from an unclean (vessel), to that one will the gods give excrement and urine to eat

² This phrase was coined by Walter Houston (1993:157).

³ See, e.g., Güterbock (1938:107); Gurney (1940:101), von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974:111), Ünal (1985:429).

and drink” (*CoS* 1.83, §14). The texts tend to focus on the pig’s unpleasant squeal,⁴ and the fact that it lives in a sty.⁵ Urhi-Tesub (Mursili III), for example, was imprisoned by his usurper, Hattusili III, “like a pig in a sty” (Apology §11; *CoS* 1.77). In a prayer that Mursili II directed to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, he refers to the perpetually troublesome Kaska tribesmen as “swineherds and weavers of linen.”⁶ The most likely explanation for this characterization of Kaska is that pig raising (see below) and weaving were tasks performed by women. Given the Hittite concern with preserving masculinity, the characterization was thus not a favorable one. This is the only reference to swineherding in Hittite texts, and Beckman therefore suggests that it may not have constituted an occupational designation within Hittite society at all (1988:38). Pigs were best known to the inhabitants of the Hittite heartland as urban-dwellers, living among humans in villages and towns.

The oracle texts provide ample evidence of pigs invading the sacred precincts, indicating their proximity to public buildings. Oracular inquiries reveal that infractions by pigs were the cause of much cultic pollution, for example, when Zullanni, the GUDU₁₂-priest, failed to report a pig mounting an ass.⁷ Elsewhere, the temple brewer appears to have been at fault. He testifies: “My son died and I did not perform the rituals. I announced (my son’s death) solemnly in the temple. (Also:) A pig trespassed (lit. committed a sin), but I did not perform the ritual.”⁸ In addition, the Laws indicate that pigs could make a nuisance of themselves by invading a neighbor’s garden, field, or grain-heap (§86; Hoffner 1997:88).

The environment of Anatolia was, generally speaking, favorable for the raising of pigs, and it is unlikely that they were in competition with man for food, except in times of exceptional hardship. Pigs were inexpensive to keep so long as they were left to feed on whatever was available. Some pigs, though, were raised on grain, and for these, the investment would have been significant. Today’s

⁴ E.g., *KBo* 12.96 i 12' (*CTH* 433); *KUB* 14.1 rev. 92-94 (*CTH* 147).

⁵ *KUB* 35.148 iii 42 (*CTH* 412; see Collins 1990:215 w. n. 19; Hutter 2000:100).

⁶ *KUR* URU*Ga-aš-ga na-at LÚ.MEŠ* SIPA.ŠAḪ Û *LÚ.MEŠ* E-PIŠ GADA *e-eš-šir*, *KUB* 24.3 ii 38-39 w. par. *KUB* 24.4 i 25-26 (*CTH* 376).

⁷ *KUB* 18.9 iii 7-9 (*CTH* 580; Beal 2002:21). Cf. ii 22'-23'.

⁸ *LÚ.MEŠ* É.GAL *hu-uh-ha-aš pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en UM-MA INA hi-il-la-ni LÚ.TIN*¹.NA DUMU-RU-wa-mu-kân *ak-ta nu-wa-za SISKUR.MEŠ UL DÙ-nu-un nu-wa I-NA É.DINGIR-LIM an-da ú-e-ri-ya-an har-ku-un ŠAḪ-wa wa-aš-tíl DÙ-at SISKUR-ma-wa-za UL DÙ-nu-un*, *KUB* 5.9 obv. 25-28 (*CTH* 579; Starke 1990:393-94; Beal 2002:21).

pig farmer can expect two-thirds of his profit to go to feed. Thus, the Hittite Laws set a replacement value of twelve shekels on an adult grain-fed pig (§81; Hoffner 1997:85), making it more valuable than sheep, although not as valuable as cattle.⁹ Those animals not raised on cereals, “pigs of the courtyard,” were half the price. The pig had significant uses beyond providing meat. It was exploited heavily for its fat,¹⁰ which could be used for any number of purposes, including the manufacture of perfumes, and even in medical treatments.¹¹ It has been well documented that pigs, which are more intelligent than dogs, can be trained as guard animals, hunting animals, and even as “sheep pigs,” all roles traditionally associated with dogs (Hyams 1972:66-67). Pigs were also useful for hygienic reasons. As with dogs, their scavenging performed an essential sanitation service for man. That pigs were not included among the laws that establish prices for commodities (de Martino 2004:53) may be attributable to the likelihood that pig production was a non-regulated, local-level activity—that is, pigs were not a part of the integrated regional economy.¹²

The picture presented by the archaeological evidence for pig exploitation in the Hittite period is incomplete at best, with only a handful of sites reporting faunal remains over a significant period of time.¹³ Perhaps more important, we do not have evidence from rural areas to compare with the finds from urban centers.¹⁴ The

⁹ This was apparently not unusual; see Jameson (1988:98-99) on adult pigs as the next most expensive animal after cattle in classical Greece.

¹⁰ See Hoffner (1995:109) for the extremely high value placed on pig's fat in Anatolia.

¹¹ E.g., *ma-a-an UN-an* ^dDÌM.NUN.ME *ap-pi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu kiš-an DÜ-[zi] ŠA ŠAH BABBAR* ^u*šum-ma-an-za MUNUS-aš ša-ak-nu-mar [k]i-na-an-du-uš x[. . .] na-at* ⁱGISŠU.ÜR.MAN *me-na-ah-ha-an-da d[a-a-]i*, “When Lamashtu has hold of a person, then s/he (the physician) does as follows: [s/he takes] the *šummanza* of a white pig, the defecation of a woman, . . . [. . .] and combines it (the mixture) together with cypress oil,” *KBo* 21.20 i 16'-18' (*CTH* 461).

¹² See Zeder (1998:119 and *passim*) on the Habur region in the third millennium. She points out that this model explains why pigs are not mentioned in economic texts from Mesopotamia, as reported in Postgate (1992:166).

¹³ At Korucutepe in eastern Anatolia, pig remains in the Late Bronze Age were significant. Boessneck and von den Driesch (1974:111) suggest they were living under conditions of hardship, as indicated by their small size, but then, curiously, attribute the fact that so many were killed in their first year to the “refined tastes” of the Hittites, rather than to the possibility that pigs, which are typically kept as subsistence insurance (Redding and Rosenberg 1998:68), were being heavily utilized owing to hard times.

¹⁴ The work being done at Kamen-Kalehöyük, a rural village with a Hittite occupation, is a welcome exception to this rule. See Hongo (1998).

faunal evidence from the Hittite capital at Boghazköy suggests that, at least in the Late Bronze Age, the pig maintained its level of importance (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:48), which was, however, minor compared with sheep, goat, and cattle. In the Empire period, domestic pig remains represent only 7 percent of the total faunal remains in the Lower City, while cattle are 36.6 percent and ovicaprids 50.6 percent (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:20). Most of the published animal bones come from the quadrant J-K/20 in the residential section of the lower city, north of the Great Temple.¹⁵ In comparison, faunal remains recovered from the citadel were sparse, and were concentrated along its southern wall. Of the 190 animals bones recovered on the citadel, eleven were from domestic pigs (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:18). On Büyükkaya, used primarily as a granary in the thirteenth century, but also possibly the site of some cultic activity,¹⁶ pigs represent only 2.4% of the faunal remains compared with 5.4% in the Iron Age (von den Driesch and Pöllath 2003:295). The remains of three pigs were also found in the nearby cemetery at Osmankayaşı (Herre and Röhrs 1958:63, 70-71); the only other animals found at the cemetery were equids (13), dogs (6), sheep (3), and cattle (1). Unfortunately, we can only speculate as to why pigs were placed in the cemetery. In the Hittite-period city of Kuşaklı-Sarissa, pig bones were less frequent than at Boghazköy relative to other animals (von den Driesch and Vagedes 1997:125-26)¹⁷ and faunal specialists have identified subtle differences in the consumption patterns between elites and lower town occupants: In the residential area, pigs comprise 4.7 percent of remains compared with 3.5 percent on the Temple terrace (1997:130).¹⁸

¹⁵ The faunal analysts claim that the faunal remains were primarily leftovers from butchering or kitchen refuse (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:12-13) based on the patterns of cut marks on the bones. However, as I have argued elsewhere (1989:287), the presence of cut marks on the bones only indicates that the animal was butchered; it is not evidence that lion or leopards—or pigs or that matter—were eaten. See von den Driesch and Boessneck (1981:65) on butchering methods.

¹⁶ As reported on the excavations' official website: <http://www.hattuscha.de/eng/themen/05-forschung/bueyuekkaya/forschung-bueyuekkaya.htm>, viewed April 30, 2006.

¹⁷ Von den Driesch and Vagedes attribute this to less hospitable environmental conditions (1997:131).

¹⁸ Compare the findings of Zeder (1998:118) for third-millennium Tell Leilan. Here, there is a dramatic difference in the quantity of pigs between the citadel and the lower city, where pigs constitute fifty percent of the faunal remains.

In both Mesopotamia and Egypt, pigs are rarely featured in art, infrequently mentioned in texts, and their cultic use is extremely limited. Yet the archaeology suggests they were a common sight both along the Nile and in the towns along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The numerous words for pigs of different varieties in Akkadian (Salonen 1974:8), indicate that they were utilized extensively in Mesopotamia, certainly for their highly valued fat as much as their meat (Postgate 1992:166). Pigs were otherwise unclean animals, no more welcome in a temple than a dog (Scurlock 2002:393). Nevertheless, whatever restrictions may have been placed on pork consumption seem to be the result of taboos in connection with particular cults (Houston 1993:155-56; Scurlock 2002:392-93). Widespread prohibitions against pork consumption were a late introduction (Postgate 1992:166).

The paucity of pictorial and textual references to pigs in Egypt seems to support Herodotus's (*Hist.* II.47) account that swine and swineherds were considered unclean there. But the rules of food avoidance vary considerably in ancient Egypt and in some periods pigs were counted among the temple possessions.¹⁹ Moreover, archaeologically, pigs were abundant in areas associated with working class or peasant-related activities (Hecker 1982:62; 1984; Brewer 2002:440-42), at least in the New Kingdom. It seems therefore that pig avoidance in Egypt may have been defined according to social class and particular times of the year (Brewer 2002:443).

The situation in Anatolia is not terribly different. Just as scarce in Hittite art²⁰ as they are in Near Eastern iconography generally, pigs were also nevertheless a common sight in the towns and villages of Anatolia, yet pork rarely made its way onto the offering tables of the gods.²¹ Their frequent appearance in the texts is attributable to the unusually high number of magic rituals that are preserved in the Hittite archive. A close inspection of the texts hints at a fairly complex set of culinary guidelines for pork consumption in Anatolia generally.

¹⁹ Amenhotep III offered one hundred adults and one thousand piglets to the temple of Ptah at Memphis, while Seti I allowed pigs to be raised inside the temple consecrated to Osiris at Abydos (Brewer 2002:442).

²⁰ The "curious razor-back animal" published by Hetty Goldman in *AJA* 42 (1938) 46, fig. 38 and two pig rhyta mentioned in *KUB* 44.6 obv. 3' and 4', as well as the boar figures in precious metal included in the KILAM festival (Singer 1983:92-93) are among the few representations known to us.

²¹ See Collins (1996); de Martino (2004:50).

Pigs for the Gods

The few examples of pigs actually placed before a deity involve rites that stray far from the ceremonies that constitute the normal maintenance of the cult.²² One of these takes place in Kuliwisna, in the Lower Land. Here, the Hittite queen officiates during a pig sacrifice that is directed to the Utniyantas-deities, who appear to be local deities connected with the land (Trémouille 2002:361 n. 38): “They drive out a pig and they kill it. They hold a thin loaf of bread under the blood and place it back before the deity. But the pig they prepare(?). They gut it and inflate its entrails. They butcher [it]. The pig’s head they [. . .]. In/On it the entrails (acc.) they [. . .].”²³ The preparation of the victim, although not entirely clear, is unique, and calls to mind the inflated pig’s bladders on display in the Spring fertility rites of the Morris dancers in England.

²² Pigs are listed among other animals destined for ritual use. A boar and sow are included among the festival paraphernalia in Luwian-populated Istanuwa (in the Lower Land), along with livestock, horses, mules, asses, dogs and deer (*KUB* 35.142 obv. 3'-7' [Starke 1985:323; Collins 1989:142] and its duplicate *KUB* 55.38 [Starke 1990:600-602]), but the fate of these animals is not preserved and it cannot be assumed that they were sacrificed to the gods. Indeed, except for the livestock, none of the animals listed was normally offered and it is easily possible that their presence was for purposes other than sacrifice. The same holds for another fragmentary late ritual, in which a boar is included with goats, rams, a bull, and a puppy; puppies were not offering animals and its presence here should cause us to question whether any of these animals were offered (*KBo* 22.125 i 3'-7' [*CTH* 456]). Similarly, a Middle Hittite text from the Hattian milieu, *KBo* 21.82 iv 14' (*CTH* 734), records the distribution of beer-bread, a pig, and a puppy to the storehouse manager of Hattusa for purposes unknown. Cf. also the boar offered with a bull, two rams, three goats, and a puppy in *KBo* 22.125 i 3'-7' (*CTH* 456). That animals listed in rituals and festivals are not always destined for the table is demonstrated by Zuwi's Ritual, which utilizes a pig with various livestock, a dog, and a puppy, to cleanse a person who has committed *hurkel*, that is, a sexual offense (Hutter 2000:103). The animals are present in the ritual to secure the removal of the sin, not as offerings. For pigs and puppies together, see also the fragments 547/s:5' (*CTH* 470) and *KBo* 31.88 iv 3' (*CTH* 455).

²³ *na-aš-ta ŠAH pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an-zi na-an-kán ku-na-an-zi nu e-eš-ha-ni kat-ta-an NINDA.SIG kat-ta-an ap-pa-an-zi na-at-ša-an PA-NI DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa ti-an-zi ŠAH-ma e-eš-ša-an-zi [na]-an-kan pít-tal-wa-an mar-kán-zi na-aš-ta UZUge-en-zu pa-ri-an-zi [na-an]-kán mar-kán-zi nu SAG.DU ŠAH [o-o-a]n-zi nu-uš-ši UZUge-en-zu a-x [-o]-x, KUB 43.56 iii 11'-17' (*CTH* 330; *CHD* P, 9 sub *parai*-. As Trémouille notes (2002:361), “Le rôle de la reine, dans la partie conservée du texte, consiste simplement à offrir l’animal aux divinités *udniyantas*, à verser de la bière d’un récipient *KUKUB*, à poser sur la table en osier, devant la (statue de la) divinité, 7 gros pains de *memal* ainsi que du *memal* (pris) dans un panier” (= iii 6'-10'). That is, she is not directly involved in dispatching the animal.*

In another (Middle Hittite) festival celebrated by the Queen, *KBo* 20.89, Hannahanna (NIN.TU), goddess of childbirth and motherhood, is the recipient of a piglet: “[They dedicate²⁴] one piglet to Hannahanna [and] they cook that same [pig]let in a pot.”²⁴ As Trémouille notes (2002:361), here too, the animal is cut into pieces; its head and entrails are mentioned on the rev.² (ll. 3'-4') of the tablet. At the end of the first day of this two-day ritual, the queen enters the inner chamber, and after washing her hands, pours libations for Hannahanna and the Fate Goddesses (Gulses).

These goddesses appear to have been frequent recipients of pork: “One cooked piglet and one pitcher of ordinary beer and wine [. . .] they place these before Hannahanna”;²⁵ “One pig, one ram and one plow ox in good condition, (and) a fat cake: Let these be (given) to the Gulses.”²⁶ Anzili and Zukki, goddesses also associated with birth, and companions of the mother and Fate Goddesses,²⁷ find themselves in the presence of a pig, this time only a model, during a ritual: “She takes a little from each stew and takes it there (to) the wood that is sitting before the pig of dough, but the remainder of the stews they set before Anzili.”²⁸

The Hittite queen's association with pig sacrifice is reinforced by a tablet outlining the events of the *nuntariyasha*-festival, which indicates that on the 35th day, the queen celebrates the festival (EZEN) of the pig.²⁹ Trémouille believes that the pig is present in *KBo* 20.89 as a symbol of fertility; indeed this is likely to be the case for each of the pig sacrifices over which the Queen officiated. The animal's association with fertility is well known.³⁰ The Benedictions for Labarna, for example, appeal to the pig in applying a touch of agrarian magic: “Just as a single pig gives birth to many piglets, let every single branch of this vineyard, like the pig, bear many grape

²⁴ [. . .] 1 ŠAḪ.TUR A-NA ḏNIN.TU x[. . . ŠAḪ.]TUR-pát IŠ-TU DUGUTÚL za-nu-wa-an-z[i], *KBo* 20.89 obv.² 9'-10' (CTH 646).

²⁵ 1 ŠAḪ.TUR zé-e-a-an-ta-an Û 1 DUG KA.GAG GEŠTIN [. . .] nu a-pa-a-at-ta A-NA DINGIR.MAḪ pé-ra-an ti-an-zi, *KUB* 55.53 obv. 13'-14' (CTH 434).

²⁶ 1 ŠAḪ 1 UDU.NITA 1 GU₄.APIN.LÁ SIG₅-an-za NINDA.İ E.DÉ.A ki-i-ma A-NA ḏGul-ša-aš e-eš-du, *KBo* 11.10 ii 15'-16' (CTH 447; ed. Popko 2003:24, 35).

²⁷ See Beckman (1983:79-80). See Popko for their association with Zippalanda (1994:45).

²⁸ na-aš-ta IŠ-TU TU₇.ḪI.A ku-e-ez-zi-ya te-pu da-a-i nu PA-NI ŠAḪ iš-na-aš ku-iš GIŠ-ru ki-it-ta-ri na-at-ša-an a-pi-ya da-a-i TU₇.ḪI.A-ma hu-u-ma-an-da A-NA PA-NI ḏAn-zi-li ti-an-zi, *KUB* 17.23 i 11-14 (CTH 439); cf. ii 39'.

²⁹ *KUB* 51.15 rev. 6' (CTH 626; Nakamura 2002:70-71; de Martino 2004:52).

³⁰ Otten and Siegelová (1970:32, 36); Trémouille 2002:362; Collins (2002b).

clusters.” Following this incantation is a long list of offerings to individual deities (ll. 23'-61'), but only the queen of the Underworld receives a piglet: “for the Sun-goddess of the Earth, one piglet to the fertile(?) earth.”³¹ The connection between pigs and agrarian magic may have a long prehistory if pig figurines from the Neolithic, imprinted before firing with kernels of grain, may be interpreted in this way (Gimbutas 1982:211-15).

The focus of the rituals over which the Queen officiated on the body parts of the sacrificed pigs is shared by an Old Hittite festival that is known to us only from its distribution lists, in which the head and testicles(?) (ÚR) of pigs and bulls feature prominently.³² The animals are killed by the *hapiya*-men and the wolfmen, functionaries³³ who are responsible for distributing the parts to the towns of Salampa, Katapa, and Kartapaha. The *hamina*-men of the three towns in question each receive one entire pig. However, the anointing priests, the wise women of the palace, and the cooks and scepter bearers of the gods each receive only the testicles(?), while the cup-bearers of the deity receive both the testicles(?) and the heads of the animals. It would be useful to know what each one did with his allotment. The festival to which this ration list belongs is a variation of the KI.LAM (Gatehouse) Festival celebrated in Zippalanda.

Notably, the wolfmen appear again in a festival for the goddess Tetewatti, presenting the deity with pork, although the meaning of his actions are not clear: “When the wolfman *hulhuliyas* the pork, he gives it to the priest of Tetewatti and the priest of Tetewatti sets it on the offering table in front of the deity. Then two wolfmen dance before the deity. The cultic prostitutes dance opposite.”³⁴

³¹ *nu-za* 1 ŠAH *ma-a-ah-ha-an* ŠAH.TUR.ĤI.A *me-ek-ku-uš ha-aš-ki-iz-zi ke-e-el-la-az ŠA* GISKIRI₆.GE[ŠTIN] 1-aš-ša GIS₆*ma-a-ah-la-aš ŠAH-aš i-wa-ar mu-u-ri-uš me-ek-ku-uš ha-aš-ki-id-du . . .* 1 ŠAH.TUR *A-NA KI šu-uh-mi-li ták-na-aš* ^dUTU-i KUB 43.23 rev. 19'-22', 57'-58' (CTH 820).

³² Old Hittite version: *KBo* 20.2 + *KBo* 25.15 (+) *KBo* 16.71 + *KBo* 17.14 + *KBo* 20.4, 16, 24 + *KBo* 25.13 (+) *KBo* 20.3 (+) *KBo* 25.24; New Hittite duplicate *KBo* 2.12 (+) *KBo* 20.30. Edited by Popko (1994:94-129); line numbers refer to his edition.

³³ In one case the text reads, “When the people of Ulusna kill their pig<s>, they give one pig to the *hamina*-men” (Popko 1994:102 l. 12'). This is the only reference in the texts to pig slaughter as a village-wide event. It is also interesting to note that the villagers were tithed one pig for the festival.

³⁴ *ma-ah-ha-an-ma* LÚUR.BAR.RA ŠA ŠAH UZU *hu-ul-hu-li-[ya-az-zi n]a-at A-NA* LÚSANGA ^dTi-ti-wa-at-ti *pa-a-i na-at-ša[-an* LÚ]SANGA ^dTe-te-wa-at-ti *PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ZAG.GAR.RA da-a-[i] § [na]m-ma* 2 LÚMEŠUR.BAR.RA *PA-NI*

Among the reports ordered by Tudhaliya IV that describe the restoration of the Spring and Autumn Festivals in various villages is a tablet (*KUB* 12.2) that lists the distribution of sheep and piglets to the *huwaši*-s (standing stones). The Sun-goddess of the Earth, the divine spring Kuwannaniya, the *zawalli*-deities, Pentarushi, three lesser storm gods and an assortment of “male deities” attached to the cults of other, more senior, male deities all receive piglets rather than sheep. I have argued elsewhere (Collins 2006) for the chthonic nature of the deities who receive piglets in this text, and the special nature of the rites that would have been performed in their honor.

Remains of feasts involving piglet holocausts in a sanctuary context at the small site of Ayios Konstantinos (in the Peloponnese) may indicate a special connection between the consumption of piglets and religious practices in Mycenaean Greece. Hamilakis and Konsolaki distinguish a type of feast in which sanctuaries were given small quantities of foodstuff to be consumed in religious feasting rituals (as opposed to state banquets): “In the smaller feasts, the participants may have privileged access to the cosmological powers that their active participation in the rite would perhaps have confirmed” (2004:147). We must consider the possibility that the piglets of *KUB* 12.2 were intended for such socially significant feasts (assuming they were intended for feasts at all)—although evidence for piglet holocausts is rare in the Hittite material³⁵—and that the consumption of piglets in the ritual examples cited here had a special religious meaning for the participants. They were not state-sanctioned festivals, but rituals performed for private individuals or groups in which feeding large numbers of people was not the goal, that is, they were socially restricted (see Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004:146-47).

DINGIR-LIM tar-ku-wa-an-zi MUNUS.MEŠ KAR.KI[D-ya] me-na-ah-ha-an-da tar-ku-wa-an-zi, *KBo* 23.97 i 5-9 w. dupl. *KUB* 7.19 obv. 2'-6' (*CTH* 639; ed. Pecchioli Daddi 1992:103-4).

³⁵ See Tunawī's Ritual (*CTH* 409) below; and *KUB* 44.57:5'-7': GÌR-za-kán ŠU-an 1-aš ha-at-ti-[eš-ni ti-an-zi ^{LU}AL]AM.ZU₉-za ŠAḪ.TUR ha-a-ši [še-er e-ep-zi nu o-]x-aš-du-un lu-uk-kán-zi “[They place] a foot and a hand, one each, [in] the pit. The jester [holds] a piglet [over] the hearth and they set [. . .] . . . on fire” (*CTH* 670). On holocausts, as well as substitutions and scapegoat rites, as elements of a substratum that extended from southwestern Anatolia to the Levant, rather than a Hurrian/north-Syrian influence, see Miller (2004:464-68).

Pigs for Man

Occasions when humans are described eating pork are even more rare and certainly as unusual as those involving the gods.³⁶ For example, a piglet is killed in a Hattian ritual to counteract a lunar omen that is affecting a newborn:

[I]f the moon gives an omen and in giving the omen it strikes [a per]son, then I do as follows: I dig the earth. Into the hole I take the *karaā* of a pig (and) the dung of a h[orse(?)] (and) [after]ward, I stick a piglet (into it). § If it is a girl child, I take a she-piglet. If it is a boy child I take a he-piglet, and I drive in (nails) over (it). We will take seven nails of iron, seven nails of bronze, seven nails of copper (and) stone to the gate. We bow at the door of the inner chamber. If at any time it (i.e., the door) opens, we will take that stone and we will nail (it in) place. § “A pin of copper— . . .—We draw it up and drive in (nails) over (it). They cook the piglet. Then they bring it back. I take a little bit (from) every body part and I present (them) to the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Then I say as follows: *palhīn waiṭkatīu tuḫurīpa watuḫaš turu*. I break a thick loaf. § I take the piglet and carry it into the inner chamber. The female attendants eat it. The bones, however, they bring to the kitchen and I sell them.³⁷

If the piglet in this ritual is a substitute for the child (and why else would the child's gender determine that of the piglet?), then it is especially remarkable that the animal was eaten, as this is not typically the fate of substitutes.³⁸ The offering of portions of the piglet

³⁶ In *KBo* 10.16 iv 5-6 (*CTH* 658), a piglet is eaten, presumably by humans, in an unclear context. The context in which a piglet is offered in *KBo* 10.37 iv 32 (*CTH* 429) is equally unclear. Several lines later, the animal's products, including its fat, are offered: *ŠA ŠAḤ.TUR-ya* [o o]x *QA-TAM-MA BAL-ti* . . . *ŠA [ŠA]Ḥ.TUR UZUḪ [QA-TAM-]MA šī-pa-an-ti* (iv 39-42).

³⁷ [*ma-a-a*]n ^dSIN-aš *ša-ki-ya-az-zi nu-kán ša-ki-aš-ni* [o U]N-an GUL-ah-zi *nu ki-iš-ša-an i-ya-mi* [na]m-ma «*ki-i*» *da-ga-an-zi-pa-an pád-da-ah-hi* [nu-kán] *ha-at-te-eš-ni an-da ŠAḤ-aš kar-aš* [ANŠE.KUR.R]A(?)^{aš} *ša-ak-kar da-ah-hi* [EGIR-a]n-da ŠAḤ.TUR *ha-ad-da-ah-ha-ri* § *ma-a-an DUMU.MUNUS nu ŠAḤ.TUR.MUNUS da-ah-hi ma-a-an DUMU.NITA nu ŠAḤ.TUR.NITÁ da-ah-hi še-er-ra tar-ma-a-mi* 7 ^{GIŠ}KAK ŠA AN.BAR 7 ^{GIŠ}KAK ŠA ZABAR 7 ^{GIŠ}KAK ŠA URUDU ^{NA4}AN.NA *a-aš-ki tu-um-me-ni nu É.ŠÁ-na-aš* ^{GIŠ}IG *hi-in-ku-wa-ni ma-a-an ku-wa-pi-it-ta ha-a-ši nu-za a-pu-u-un NA₄-an tum-me-ni nu pé-e-da-an tar-mi-iš-ka-u-e-ni* § *ša-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš-ša URUDU-aš nu-uš-ša-an a-ta-an-ta ša-ku-iš-ki-ū na-an še-er hu-i-nu-um-me-ni na-an tar-ma-a-u-e-ni ŠAḤ.TUR za-nu-wa-an-zi na-an EGIR-pa ú-da-an-zi nu-kán ku-wa-pi-it-ta ha-ap-pé-eš-ni te-pu da-ah-hi nu tak-na-aš* ^dUTU-i BAL-an-tah-hi *nu ki-iš-ša-an te-mi pal-hi-i-in wa-i-it-ka-ti-u tu-hu-ri-pa wa-tu-ha-aš tu-ru-u Û NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-ši-ya-mi* § *ŠAḤ.TUR-an da-ah-hi na-an É ŠÁ-na an-da pé-e-da-ah-hi na-an MUNUS.MEŠSUḪUR.LÁ a-da-an-zi ha-aš-ta-e-ma A-NA ^EMUḪALDIM pé-e-da-an-zi na-at ha-ap-pa-ri-ya-mi*, *KUB* 17.28 i 1-24 (*CTH* 730.1).

³⁸ Unless there are two piglets, one that is buried as a substitute and one that is eaten.

(a first fruits offering?)³⁹ to the Sun-goddess of the Earth is also interesting in light of the proposed connection between fertility, the cult of the dead, and child sacrifice as a first fruit offering in deuterio-Isaiah (Ackerman 1990:42-43; 1992:152-63). At least thematically connected to this ritual is the pig fetus found buried in a pit within the Hittite rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya adjacent to Chamber B (Hauptman 1975:65-67), the funerary chamber for Tudhaliya IV, with its image of the Death-god carved in relief in the form of a dagger.

Another occasion on which pork is unequivocally eaten by humans occurs in a festival for the goddess Teteshapi. The context is fragmentary but, as in the previous example, it is a piglet (not a pig) that is eaten and it is most likely women in service to the goddess who are the consumers: “[S/he] tak[es] up [. . .]. For the priestess s/he takes a cup [. . .] and they swallow down the piglet. [. . .] they hit. The side x[. . .] § The priestess [. . .-s] Teteshapi. . .”⁴⁰

The only Hittite meal involving a pig out of which we can make immediate sense as a “normal” sacrifice occurs in Ashella’s ritual (from Hapalla), which describes an offering of a goat, a ram and a pig to the god who has caused a plague in the army: “At day-break on the third day, they bring one goat, one ram, and one pig. After they prepare three thick loaves and one pitcher of beer, they drive them to an uninhabited region in the countryside. They spread out branches, place the three thick loaves again, and dedicate the goat, ram and pig to that god who made this plague in the army (saying): ‘Let that deity eat. Let that deity drink. And in the land of Hatti and in regard to the army of the land of Hatti let there be peace. Let him (the deity) be turned in favor (to the army).’ They eat and drink. Then they come away.”⁴¹ There is no

³⁹ Compare Eumaeus’ sacrifice of a pig in honor of Odysseus, his guest. The portion given to the Olympian gods was taken from each part of the pig—first fruit offerings—that were sprinkled with barley and tossed into the fire (*Od.* 14.427-429; Petropoulou 1987:136-37, 141).

⁴⁰ Bo 6594 iii² 2’-6’ (*CTH* 738; see Neu 1980:99 for a transliteration).

⁴¹ *I-NA UD.3.KAM ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta ka-ru-[(ú-wa-ri-wa-ar hu-u-da-ak nu)]* 1 MÁŠ.GAL 1 UDU.NITÁ 1 ŠAH u-un-ni-an-zi [(EGIR-an-na 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA)] 1 DUG hu-up-pár KAŠ ha-an-da-a-an-zi na-a[(š LIL-ri nam-ma ta-me-e-da-ni aš-ri)] pé-en-na-an-zi nu la-ah-hur-nu-uz-zi [(iš-pa-ra-an-zi)] nu-uš-ša-an 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA EGIR-pa ti-an-zi [(nu-kán MÁŠ.GAL UDU.NITÁ ŠAH)] a-pé-da-ni-pát A-NA DINGIR-LIM š-pa-an-d[(a-an-zi ku-iš-kán DINGIR-LUM)] ki-i UŠ-an ŠA KARAŠ i-ya-at nu-wa a[(pa-a-aš DINGIR-LUM az-zi-iš-ki-id-du)] ak-ku-uš-ki-id-du nu-wa-ra-aš A-NA KUR URU[(Ha-at-ti Ū)] ŠA URUHa-at[(ti)] KARAŠ me-na-ah-ha-an-da ták-šu-la-an-za e-eš-du nu-wa-ra-aš-kán an-da-an aš-šu-lì ne-ya-ru nu-za a-da-an-zi a-ku-

reason to doubt that the pork is consumed by both man and god here. Yet, as the single example among the dozens of descriptions of ritual meals available to us, it stands out.⁴² I will return to this point below.

A historico-literary narrative provides one of the most intriguing and problematic passages involving the eating of pork. Probably dating to Hattusili I (de Martino 2002:77), *KBo* 3.60 describes a military expedition conducted in remote regions inhabited by tribes of cannibals. The allied forces encounter the cannibals, and their general, Kaniu, puts the enemy leader to a test to determine whether they are mortal or divine: “Kaniu took cooked pork and set it before DUMU.MAḪ.LÍL (saying): ‘If he *hazziya*-s this then (he is) a god, but if he does not *ha*[*zziya*-] it then (he is) a man, and [a mortal] we can fight.’ DUMU.MAḪ.LÍL [took] the pork and ate it. [He gave] them {i.e., his comrades} to eat. [He] gave them to drink.”⁴³ The verb *hazziya*- appears in other contexts with the meaning “pierce, hit, inscribe (a tablet).” It is also a specialized term for animal butchery, similar to *mark*-, *kuer*-, and *huek*-, and is the preferred term to describe the usual method for killing pigs (“to stick a pig”).⁴⁴ But if there is a play on words here, its exact nature is elusive. If we follow Güterbock in understanding the term abstractly to mean “to recognize,” (as in “hit [the mark]”)⁴⁵ then the passage could mean that if the chief of the cannibals is able to distinguish the meat before him as pork and not human flesh, and therefore

an-zi na-at-za ar-ha ú-wa-an[(*-zi*)], *KUB* 9.32 + *Bo* 4445 rev. 9-19, w. dupls. *HT* 1 iv 18-30, *KUB* 9.31 iv 13-27 (*CTH* 394).

⁴² But note *KUB* 48.86++ (*CTH* 422), a ritual performed before battle, whose colophon (iv 7'-9') reads DUB.2.KAM ŠA ŠAḪ (or TIR?) QATL.

⁴³ *ma-ni-ú-uš UZU.ŠAḪ zé-e-an-da-an da-a-aš ša-an* ^mDUMU-^dENⁱ.LÍL-aš *pé-ra-an da-a-iš ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an ki-i ha-az-zi-zi ta-wa DINGIR-L[UM] ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an na-at-ta-ma ha-a*[*z-zi-zi*] *ta-wa an-tu-wa-ah-he-eš ta-wa* *[a-an-du-ki-in] za-ah-hu-u-e-ni* ^mDUMU-^dENⁱ.LÍL UZU ŠAḪ [*da-a-aš*] *ša-na-ap e-ez-ta a-da-an-na-aš-ma-a*[*š pa-iš*] *a-ku-wa-an-na-aš-ma-aš pa-i*[*š*], *KBo* 3.60 ii 12-19 (*CTH* 17; ed. Güterbock 1938:104-5, 111).

⁴⁴ [*ma*]-*a-an* ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-az* [^{UR}]^U*Dam-mi-el-ha pa-a-an-zi I-NA* ^{URU}*Tu-ug-ga-aš-tu-wa* 1 ŠAḪ *ha-az-zi-an-zi ták-ku-uš-ma-aš Ū-UL-ma ha-ap-zi-ta na-at-ta ha-az-zi-an-zi*, “When from Hattusa they go to Dammeha, in Tuggastuwa they *hazziya*- one pig. However, if it is not ordained for them, then they will not *hazziya*- it,” *KBo* 11.34 i 1-6 (*CTH* 670). For *hatta*-/ *hazziya*- cf. Ünal (1996:67); Kassian et al. (2002:377 “stick”); Puhvel (*HED* 3:248-55). For *hap*-, see Puhvel (*HED* 3:112; “work out, succeed”); Pecchioli Daddi (2001:559 with n. 33 “available”); Mouton (2004:92, n. 27; “fruit”).

⁴⁵ See Güterbock (1938:111; “to recognize”), Neu (1974:82-84), Soysal (1988:119 n. 41; w. *-šan* “merken”).

rejects it, he shows himself to be a god. But if on the other hand he fails to notice the switch, he shows himself to be a mortal. Such an understanding would mean that the passage has little or no value in determining Hittite attitudes toward pork consumption—the pork is merely a substitute for the cannibals' preferred meat, human flesh. If this is in fact how the text should be understood, then it is an early example of the ritual motif of the pig as substitute.

A ritual from the Middle Hittite period for dealing with ominous dreams provides far more conclusive evidence for pork avoidance in Hittite Anatolia. It describes the ritual that Walkui, priest of the Deity of the Night, recommends in the event that “a man eats an *urura*-herb or pork in a dream, or if by divine chance he comes across an *urura*-herb among the herbs in the temple, or if by divine chance he comes into contact with a pig carcass.”⁴⁶ Even though the offence occurs in circumstances beyond the offender's control, sin nevertheless accrues to the individual, who, as a result, must undergo an extensive cleansing ritual.⁴⁷ This ritual and the cult of the Deity of the Night are at home in Kizzuwatna, a region rich in Hurrian traditions, and the ritual has been used to argue for regional and ethnic dietary differences in Anatolia—that is, that Hurrian Kizzuwatna practiced pork avoidance to an extent not seen elsewhere in Anatolia (Mouton 2004:101; de Martino 2004:55). However, it is by no means clear that the pork avoidance suggested by this text extended beyond the reach of the cult of this particular goddess.

Women and Pigs

That pig raising was a woman's domain⁴⁸ is a possibility that Melinda Zeder notes, “has interesting, as yet unexplored, implications for those interested in the role of gender in emergent complexity”

⁴⁶ *ma-a-an an-du-wa-ah-ha-aš za-aš-hi-ya u-ru-ra-a-an*^{SAR} UZU ŠAH *e-ez-za-zi na-aš-ma-kan pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-ni u-ru-ra-a-an*^{SAR} A-NA SAR.ḪIA *an-da I-NA É. DIN=*GIR-LIM *an-da ú-e-mi-i-e-ez-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ša-an pa-ra-a ha-an-da-a-a[n-n]i A-NA KUŠ ŠAH an-da wa-al-ah-ta-ri, KBo 32.176 rev. 7'-11'.*

⁴⁷ See Mouton (2004:91-92) for similar encounters and their treatment in the Neo-Assyrian Dream Book. For an edition of Walkui's Ritual, see Lebrun (1999:601-8).

⁴⁸ Among the Seltaman of Papua New Guinea, for example, “small pigs, like small children, were the affair of women and when one was put down, usually out in the gardens or on the village margins, men had no reason to enter the circle of aroused expectations” (Whitehead 2000:72).

(1998:120). Nowhere in the eastern Mediterranean is the connection between women and pigs more evident than in the Thesmophoria, celebrated in honor of Demeter and Kore, whose central feature was the deposition of piglets into a pit (*megaron*), on the first day of the festival. The rotted remains of the piglets were later retrieved by "Bailers" who placed them on the altar of the goddess. The separation from male society and the reclining of the women on litters made of a special wood with anaphrodisiac qualities to encourage mensus, served to reaffirm the fecundity of the wives who participated in the festival (Detienne 1989:147). The myth of Kore encapsulates this connection between marriage, fertility, and the earth. When she sank into the earth, the pigs of the swineherd Eubouleus were swallowed up as well. It is in memory of this that the pigs were thrown into the *megaron* of Demeter and Kore (Clinton 1988:78-79). The Thesmophoria was the most widespread festival in ancient Greece (Burkert 1985:242) and *megara* have been excavated in western Anatolia at Cnidos (still containing the remains of piglets) and Priene. Recently, excavators have also found evidence of nocturnal sacrifices along the lines of the Thesmophoria in the Artemesion at Ephesos (Forstenpointner 2001). Here, a high percentage (30%) of the animals were suckling pigs (that is, less than two months old; 2001:66). The practice of depositing piglets into pits probably came to Greece via Anatolia (Collins 2002b) and it is surely no coincidence that many of the excavated *megara* of Demeter are located on Anatolian soil.

The association of the pig with female sexuality and fertility is affirmed in Greek myth. Circe raised pigs, and only the intervention of Hermes prevented her from turning Odysseus into one (*Od.* X.302-335), while Theseus did battle with the sow of Crommyon, which had been raised by a woman. The prolific Latin writer, M. Terentius Varro (d. 27 BC), wrote of the antiquity of pig sacrifice in Italy:

The Greek for pig (Latin *sus*) is *hus* but formerly it was *thus*, derived from *thuein*, meaning to offer as a sacrifice, for it seems that victims were chosen from the race of swine for the earliest sacrifices; evidence of which remains in the tradition that pigs are sacrificed at the initiation to the mysteries of Ceres, that at the beginning of peace, when a treaty is ratified, a pig is slaughtered, and that in solemnizing a marriage the ancient kings and mighty men of Etruria sacrificed a pig first (as²) bride and bridegroom (?), a practice which the earliest Latins and the Greek colonists in Italy seem also to have followed. For our women, above all however the wet nurses, identify the female vulva of virgins with *porcum* and the Greek with *choiros*

indicating that it is a suitable symbol of a wedding. (*Res Rusticae* II, 4:9-10)⁴⁹

According to Varro, then, the Etruscans sacrificed pigs in connection with marriage, to seal a treaty agreement, and during initiation into the mysteries of Ceres (Demeter), that is, during ceremonies that mark a beginning (Spaeth 1996: 67-68). Speyer suggests that the word play with *porcus/choiros* meaning referring both to piglet and to the vulva of virgins indicates that the pigs offered in the Thesmophoria were substitutes for (and symbolic of) the sacrifice of a young girl (1993:32), just as Kore had been sacrificed.

In Anatolia, pigs lived in the domestic sphere and it is easy to imagine that their raising fell largely to women. It is not surprising that pigs came to be associated with women's fertility. Although no marriage ceremonies have survived in the Hittite sources, fully grown sows, or their sexual organs, were used in magic rituals designed to ensure a woman's ability to conceive.⁵⁰ As a symbol of fecundity, pigs were invoked in analogic magic in order to secure the wellbeing of the community, and models of pigs might be laid in the foundations of buildings with the same goal in mind.⁵¹ Most of the special actions involving pig sacrifice cited above have some connection to fertility. The goddesses to whom a pig is offered, including the Sun-goddess of the Earth, Hannahanna, the Gulses, and Tetewatti, all have associations with birth and fertility, while the Utniyantes appear to be supernatural beings connected to the land. The Queen's particular role as royal patron in pig sacrifices should probably be understood as part of this same symbology. As a member of the elite, we might expect her to avoid contact with

⁴⁹ Translation by Ian Rutherford, personal communication.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., *KUB* 36.83 i 3-7, iv 5-9; *Bo* 3617 i 4'-17'; *KUB* 12.44 iii 16-19 (Collins 2002b).

⁵¹ [*ma-ah-ha-an-ma-kā*]n ša-ma-na-aš an-d[(a hu-u)-... nu ki-iš-ša-an] me-ma-i ke-e-da-ni-wa [m(a-ah-ha-an A-N)A ŠAH o (-ša/ut-tar)] me-ek-ki nu-za me-ek-ki (ha-aš-ki-iz-z)i nu ke-e-(da-ni-ya URU-ri) ʿe¹-eš-du [(nu an-t)u]-uh-ša-aš-ša ŠAH-aš i-wa-ar [ki-i(t-la-ru an-t)u-u]h-še-et GU₄.HI.A<-i> UDU.HI.A-it hal-ki-i[t... n]a-aš-ta ke-e-ez URU-az ar-ha [(x-)...] du-uš-ga-ra-za iš-du-uš-du-uš-k[i-id-du], *KUB* 59.44 obv. 7'-13' with duplicates *KUB* 40.23 i 6'-12' and *KBo* 23.90 i 2'-7' (*CTH* 470; Kühne 1972:251-52; cf. Ünal 1999:220; de Martino 2004:51). Contra de Martino, no actual pig is placed in the foundation. However, in another foundation ritual, two pigs of copper are buried beneath the courtyard during the construction of a house: 2 ŠAH ŠA URUDU na-aš K[Á.GAL-aš an-d]a da-a-i ga-an-ku-u-wa-ar-ma-aš Ū-UL ku-it-ki du-uk-ka-[ri], *KBo* 4.1 rev. 27-28 (*CTH* 413; ed. Boysan-Dietrich 1987:58-59, who, however, reads KA₅.A').

pigs, but as a woman, she could preside during the sacrifice of one in local, socially restricted rituals designed to ensure the prosperity of the land.

"Pig Principles" in Hatti

One currently popular explanation for the Levitical rules governing pork avoidance is that the prejudice against pigs and pork developed originally among sheep and goat pastoralists (the ancestors of the Israelites and Arabs) who viewed pig herding/farming with disgust (Firmage 1992:1134; Hesse 1995:215; cf. Hyams 1972:70-71). However, other "pig principles" (Hesse and Wapnish 1997:239) may also be at play. The role of ecological (wet vs. dry), economical (rural vs. urban), and social (ritual vs. secular, and class) determiners in defining pork consumption (Hesse and Wapnish 1997:240-53), and the possibility that pork use fluctuated depending on the level of political centralization (Zeder 1996:307; 1998:119-20) are theories that have strong proponents in the current debate. In any case, it is unlikely that ethnicity or geography alone defined who ate pork and who abstained from it, and this acknowledgment frees us to look at the Anatolian evidence with fresh eyes.

In his book, *Purity and Monotheism*, Walter Houston makes the case for Syria-Palestine that "wherever cultic practice had a significant influence on diet, pig meat was avoided. There will usually be a high degree of connection between dietary and sacrificial practice, between altar and table" (1993:157). Most sacrifices, he contends, are eaten, and most people are likely to assume that their gods have the same dietary preferences as they have themselves. For the Hittites, the intimate connection between divine and human preferences is spelled out in the Instructions to the Temple Officials, at least where it concerns a pig or dog entering the temple precinct: "Further, neither pig nor dog may come through the doors into the place where the bread is broken. (Are) the mind of man and god somehow different? No! In this which (is concerned)? No! The mind (is) one and the same" (*CoS* 1.83, §2).

According to Houston (1993:157), the connection between altar and table results from two factors. First, "wherever the cultic norms of the official sanctuaries were influential enough, the dietary repertoire was confined to the "clean." Second, most people were too poor to eat meat except during special occasions, usually cultic, in which the sacrifices would have been of animals acceptable to the

deity. If either or both of these principles can be applied to Anatolia—and the example of Comana suggests that the first one at least can—it would go a long way towards explaining the picture presented by the texts.

In sum, the “pig principles” that can be reconstructed for Hittite Anatolia based on the available evidence include primarily social determiners. The archaeological evidence suggests that members of the non-elite consumed pork, although it was always a supplementary food to sheep and cattle. That pork was a low-status food has been argued for Egypt (see above) and Syria-Palestine (Hesse 1995:213) and certainly cannot be ruled out for Anatolia as well (Collins 1989:284-86; 2002a:249; cf. von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:61-62; Ünal 1985:422). Among this category of individuals would have been soldiers, thus perhaps accounting for the pork eaten in Ashella’s Ritual. In addition, pork was consumed by certain (female) attendants on ritual and festival occasions dedicated to certain (female) deities, raising the possibility of gender-specific, as well as cult-specific food rules. Moreover, when pork is consumed in Hittite texts, the context is highly ritualized and we must assume, until there is evidence to suggest otherwise, that special religious significance was attached to the eating of piglet’s flesh on those occasions for those participants.

The Tsembaga of New Guinea offer a possible model to explain those occasions when pigs are sacrificed in Anatolia.⁵² Within this tribe, pigs are seldom eaten on occasions that are not ceremonial. Outside of festival times, they are sacrificed in association with marriage (the pork is distributed widely), with misfortune and emergency (e.g., illness and injury; the pork is eaten by those afflicted), and with warfare (only the men participating in the fighting consume the sacrificial victim; Rappaport 1967:81-82). Within Hittite ritual, it may be possible to reconstruct a similar complex of food rules that explain the apparent contradictions in our sources. We know, for instance, that pigs were sacrificed in connection with fertility, both human and agricultural (Collins 2002b), and that, in times of crisis, they were offered as a substitute for the afflicted (see below). A connection with warfare is a more difficult case to make and our evidence for such a prescription may be limited to

⁵² I am not the first to draw on New Guinea as a model. Redding and Rosenberg use it as well, “not as an analogy, but to create a model for pig use in the Middle East and to test that model with data from the Middle East” (1998:66).

Ashella's ritual. Still, it is not impossible that warfare was one exigency that allowed for the unrestricted consumption of pork.

Piglets and Substitution

In Mesopotamia, a ritual designed to expel the *asakku*-demon uses a piglet substitute: "[Take] a piglet; [put it] at the head of the afflicted person. Remove its heart (and) [put it] on the man's epigastrium. [Sprinkle] its blood on the sides of the bed. Disarticulate the piglet and spread (the pieces) out over the sick man, then purify and cleanse that person with pure sweet water from the holy water basin and pass the censer and reed torch by him and scatter seven and seven cakes baked in ashes at the outer gate and give the piglet as his substitute and give (its) flesh instead of his flesh, (its) blood instead of his blood so that they may take (it instead of him). Give the heart which you put on his epigastrium instead of his heart so that they may take (it instead of him)" (Scurlock 2002:386). Burkert believed that this Mesopotamian ritual was the source of the Greek custom of purification by sprinkling piglet blood, although the Mesopotamian rite contains an element—laying parts of an animal on the corresponding parts of a patient—that is absent in the Greek rite.

Tunnawiya's "Ritual of the Ox" is intended to lift from the royal couple the threat of death and includes a substitution ritual comparable to the Mesopotamian example, in which the disarticulated parts of a sheep are matched to the twelve parts of the patient's body. In this case, it is the element of aspersion (sprinkling the blood over the patient) that is missing. The ritual then uses two substitute piglets, one living and one of dough. The live piglet is waved at a distance, but the piglet of dough is held up to the patient while the wise woman recites cryptic mythologems designed to move the purification from the human to the divine level. "Then the wise woman calls him out by name, the one whom she is treating: 'Let him go infiltrate my house and let it, the piglet of Panu[nta], be jo[in]ed to him! Those who brought the bur[den] of the soul and the oppression of the body—to them I will giv[e] it, the piglet of Panun[ta], from the swamp(?). . . . And let it be pleasant for them! § It roots the meadow and it turns up the *artarti* plant. It roots the mountain and it turns up water. Let it root them (the evils) out (on) his twelve body parts and on (his) vigorous knee

joint!” The rooting is a ritual pun and recalls the eighth day of the royal funerary ritual in which a pig rhyton(?) symbolically “diverts water” for the livestock of the decedent by rooting in the earth.⁵³

After listing the various ills that the piglet is to remove, the text continues, “Then she mention[s] by name the [per]son [whom] she is treating (adding:) “[Whoever] set him (as a victim) for the Death-god of the bronze ŠAGARI, now I am ta[king] him [away from the Death-go]d of the bronze ŠAGARI. And I am setting it, the piglet of [Panu]nta (as a substitute).”⁵⁴ Beckman sees the association of the piglet substitute with the Death-god as partaking of the same constellation of ideas as that exhibited at Yazilikaya with the pig foetus and the dagger god (1990:54).

Another of Tunnawiya’s rituals was designed particularly for those whose ability to conceive has been affected and thus neatly combines fertility and substitution: “If it is a man, then they take a black ram, but if it is a woman, then they take a black ewe; one black piglet, one black puppy. If it is a man then the piglet should be male, but if a woman then female” (i 11-13). After the rest of the ritual paraphernalia is listed, a purification is performed with each object: “Then she lifts the piglet over him/her and recites the incantation of the piglet. Then she lifts the puppy over him/her and recites the incantation of the puppy” (i 36-38). At the end of the ritual, after the other now-sullied ritual implements are thrown into the river, the puppy and piglet are disposed of by immolation (iii 17-18).⁵⁵

While waving the animal may be characteristic of Luwian substitution rituals, the sacrifice of an animal into a pit was particularly prevalent in rituals from Kizzuwatna, as part of a Luwian-Hurrian symbiosis (Taracha 2000:202-4; Hutter 2003:251).⁵⁶ In Hantitassu’s

⁵³ See the edition of Kassian et al. (2002:376-77).

⁵⁴ *KUB* 55.20 + *KUB* 9.4 + Bo 7125 + Bo 8057 §§23', 24', 30' (*CTH* 760; ed. Beckman 1990:39, 47; his translation is used here). See also the closely parallel text *KUB* 9.34 and duplicates, edited by Hutter (1988:21-43).

⁵⁵ *ma-a-an LÚ-aš nu UDU.SIR GE₆ da-an-zi ma-a-an MUNUS-za-ma nu UDU.SÍG.MUNUS GE₆ da-an-zi 1 ŠAḪ.TUR GE₆ 1 UR.TUR GE₆ nu ma-a-an LÚ-aš nu ŠAḪ.TUR.NITÁ ma-a-an MUNUS-za-ma na-at MUNUS-TIM* (*KUB* 7.53 i 11-13); *EGIR-an-da-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an ŠAḪ.TUR še-er e-ep-zi nu ŠA ŠAḪ.TUR hu-<uk>-ma-in hu-uk-zi EGIR-an-da-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an UR.TUR še-er e-ep-zi nu ŠA UR.TUR hu-uk-ma-in hu-uk-zi* (*KUB* 12.58 i 36-38); [*nu UR.TU*]R ŠAḪ.TUR *dam-mi-li pé-e-di pé-e-da-an-zi* [*na-aš IZI-iš*] *wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* 12.58 iii 17-18), (*CTH* 409).

⁵⁶ Miller (2004: 464-48) argues for substitution and scapegoat rites as elements of a south Anatolian substrate, whence it entered Greece in the west and Kizzuwatna and, from there, Syria and the Levant in the east.

ritual, the Kizzuwatnean wise woman describes her technique for aiding a person in release from sin.⁵⁷ When night falls, the petitioner digs a hole in the ground and kills a piglet, “‘sticking’ it downward” so that its blood flows into the pit (iii 5-10). Various offerings of grains and breads are placed into the pit and the primordial deities are invited to eat the food and drink the blood of the piglet (iii 11-19). The doors to the Underworld are symbolically opened and the divine images of the Underworld deities are set around the pit to draw the deities up from the earth. Finally, they are invoked to plead with the Sun-goddess of the Earth, queen of the Underworld, on behalf of the petitioner so that his or her offense may be forgiven (iii 20-31). The piglet is thus sacrificed to aid in securing the petitioner’s release from sin, following which, it is butchered and offered to the Sun-goddess of the Earth (iii 32-37).

Predating Hantitassu’s ritual by centuries, the monumental structure discovered during the 1999 campaign at Tell Mozan (ancient Urkesh), provides physical evidence for the kind of ritual Hantitassu prescribes. The structure consists of a stone-lined circular pit with a square antechamber to which access was gained by means of ladder. Its main phase dates to about 2300 BC (Kelly-Buccellati (2002:133). The pit measures five meters in diameter and to date has been dug down six meters with possibly another meter to go. Within it, half a dozen shallow depressions about ten centimeters in diameter had been dug out. These were filled with ash, pebbles, and seeds. In addition, there were the remains of dozens of animals, including sixty piglets and twenty puppies. The remains of some sixty sheep or goats and twenty donkeys were also found. The animals, with the exception of the puppies, had been carefully butchered. Parts of one adult dog and a dog figurine were also found and a spouted vessel shaped like a pig’s head, an anthropomorphic vessel, a handful of copper/bronze pins and silver or lead rings, and clay animal figurines complete the list of finds. The remains filled the circular pit in a regular build-up of layers with minimal compaction, suggesting few had access to it. All strata contained similar faunal evidence, although some had more than others, indicating that its use remained consistent over the years (Kelly-Buccellati (2002:140).

In the Hurro-Hittite rituals from Kizzuwatna, pits⁵⁸ were dug using various implements—e.g., knives, hoes, spades, or axes—and

⁵⁷ *KB* 11.14 (*CTH* 395; ed. Ünal 1996:22-24, 30; cf. Collins 2006:44-45).

⁵⁸ Hittite scribes used various words for pits in the texts. The Hurrian term *āpi-* seems to be used in connection with the sacrifice of lambs and birds as

offerings of various grains and liquids, including wine, beer, and oil, were lowered into them. Models in precious metal were also placed in the pits including, in one case, a model ear, which invited the infernal powers to listen to the petitioner's prayer, and a ladder, which invited the powers of the lower world to ascend into the upper, much like the ladder that accessed the circular pit. Animal sacrifices were also made into the pits, with the blood of the victim either smeared around the lip of the pit or directed to flow into it. The sacrifices included adult sheep, which were offered up and then eaten by the humans in a ritual meal that they shared with the gods, while lambs and birds were given entirely to the pits as food offerings for the Underworld deities.

The structure at Hurrian Urkesh served similarly as a channel to the Underworld, in which animals were sacrificed either as offerings to malevolent forces, or for the release of the ritual patron, or both. The location of the structure at Urkesh adjacent to the royal palace suggests a similar royal use at this ancient Hurrian capital and the excavators believe that a platform situated between the structure and the palace may have connected them in a kind of ritual complex (Kelly-Buccellati 2002:142).

Hattusa, too, may have had such structures. One vaulted chamber located in the area of the Südberg may have been constructed as a channel or path to the Underworld (DINGIR.KASKAL.KUR; Hawkins 1990:314). At the back of the chamber, beneath a relief of the Sun-god, lies a shallow depression that was presumably used for offerings. The structure is associated with a large sacred pool that served as a channel to the Underworld. Inside a building (the Südbau) near to this structure a two-by-two-meter-square rock-lined pit was excavated (Neve 1993:pl. 142). This too, it has been suggested, must have been a ritual pit for communicating with the Underworld. Two miniature bronze axes, models of the implements that would have been used to dig the pit, were found lying nearby.

Purification from Murder

In Greece, piglet sacrifice was the usual form of purification from murder. The purification from blood by blood is a kind of substi-

offerings to the deities of the Underworld, while Hittite *hattsšar* seems to be the appropriate term when piglets are sacrificed. It is therefore interesting that *hatta-* is the preferred term for pig slaughter. For *āpi-* cf. Hoffner (1967), Ünal (1996:68).

tution, in which the pig dies in place of the murderer, although Parker prefers to see it merely as one application of “Greek religion’s most powerful form of action, the killing of an animal” (1983:372). The fullest description of purification of blood guilt in Greek myth is that which Circe carried out on Jason and Medea, as recounted by Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argonautica* IV.700-717; Clinton 2005:169). Holding up a suckling pig, she cut its throat and sprinkled their hands with its blood; then she poured offerings to Zeus of Purification, with invocations. Circe’s attendants then carried the polluted remnants outside while she remained at the hearth and made burnt offerings and libations to appease the Erinyes and Zeus (Parker 1983:370). Orestes underwent a similar rite (*Eumenides* 284, 450; Parker 1983:386-87). A Greek vase in the Louvre depicts his purification at Delphi, with Apollo holding the piglet over his head. Historical examples of purifications from murder were performed by a priest or official of the community (Parker 1983:374).

No piglets can be linked directly to murder purification in the Hittite material, although rituals were available to deal with bloodshed. One text suggests performing the “Ritual of Blood” (*iāhanaā* SISKUR) as a remedy for the murder of a prince but, unfortunately, we know this rite only by its title.⁵⁹ Mastigga, a ritual professional from Kizzuwatna, specialized in conflict resolution, and her rituals offer the closest parallels to the Greek practice. One of these is performed on a person guilty of murder, although in what remains of this ritual (Miller 2004:133-43), Mastigga does not utilize a piglet. Another of her rituals though, which was designed to reconcile members of a family who have quarreled, does use a piglet, along with sheep and a puppy, all as substitutes for her patrons: “Then the wise woman takes the piglet and holds it over them (the ritual patrons) and she speaks thus: ‘Here it is fat with grass and grain;’⁶⁰ this piglet will not see the sky again, and will not see (other) piglets again. Likewise, let the evil curses also not see these ritual patrons!’ § Then he waves the piglet over them. Thereafter, they kill it, they dig (a pit in) the earth, and they place the piglet down (in the pit). Then they place sweet thick bread

⁵⁹ *KUB* 14.14 + *KUB* 19.2 rev. 10' (*CTH* 378). Cf. also the catalogue *KBo* 31.6 iii 8'-10', which refers to an Arzawan ritual to be performed in case of bloodshed.

⁶⁰ Grain-fed pigs are attested in the laws as distinct from, and twice as valuable as, ordinary pigs (see also de Martino 2004:53-54). This text suggests that piglets intended for sacrifice fell into the former category.

down on it, she libates wine, and they cover over (the pit in) the ground" (§24-25 in Miller 2004:76-78). Although the animal is inevitably killed, there is no mention of the blood—it is the act of waving the animal that completes the purification.⁶¹

A *lex sacra* from Selinus on Sicily (fifth century BC) describes a piglet sacrifice to Zeus as part of a purification to rid a murderer of his *elasteros*, the vengeful dead. The Hittite pantheon includes beings who appear to have a similar function to the Greek *elasteros* (Collins 2006:43 with n. 25). The *zawalli*-deities were spirits or genii not only of persons, but of places (e.g., cities) and institutions (e.g., temples), and they could be represented by a statue or *huwasi*.⁶² Oracular inquiries were undertaken to determine which *zawalli* might be angry, suggesting that they were potentially dangerous entities if neglected. The *zawalli* may be divine spirits dwelling in, or representing, the living as well as the dead (van den Hout 1998:82-83). If this is the case, then perhaps the term *zawalli* had a semantic range similar to *elasteros*, which could refer not only to the soul of a dead person or another supernatural agent sent by that soul (an avenger) but also to the blood of that person upon

⁶¹ In Greece, purification of humans and of spaces by means of sprinkling piglet blood is well known. A functionary called a peristiarchos would circuit an ecclesia or theater, or even an entire city with a piglet prior to public gatherings. The animals were then disposed of at a crossroads. According to Clinton, although the piglet's blood is sprinkled, this is not central to the rite, and the purification was effected by the piglet itself, which absorbed the pollution. On Delos (and at Eleusis), according to Clinton, there is ample evidence that piglets used to circle the island or other spaces to be purified were burned afterward (2005:171). Clinton has suggested that immolation was reserved for piglets employed for polluted places as opposed to groups of people (2005:174). In these cases again, the purification was effected by the piglet not the blood; although the blood is allowed to drip, there is not enough of it for it to be significant.

The closest Hittite parallel to this is the ritual for establishing an additional temple for the Goddess of the Night, a sheep is offered to the deity "for reconciliation" (*enumašši-*, §33; Miller 2004:297) and slaughtered so that its blood flows into a pit. The image of the deity, the wall and all the paraphernalia in the new cella are smeared with the animal's blood in order to purify it, and the fat of the sheep is burned. The text states that no one is to eat the animal's flesh. There is an important difference here from the Greek examples just cited, in that the blood, not the animal itself, is the agent of the purification. Another obvious difference is the animal. Piglets in Hittite ritual are used to purify people but never spaces—although we might also speculate that a sheep was used instead of a piglet because pigs were forbidden in the cult of this particular goddess, as suggested above.

⁶² On the *zawalli* deities, see Archi (1979:81-94), van den Hout (1998:82-83). On the use of statues to control the dead, see Johnston (1999:59-60).

the murderer's hands (Johnston 1999:142-43). Although there is no direct evidence either for or against an association with bloodshed, the fact that the *zawalli*-deities are offered a piglet in the cult inventory *KUB* 12.2 (see above), invites comparison.

At the end of column B of the Selinuntine *lex*, the following instruction is given: "Whenever one needs to sacrifice to the Elasteros, sacrifice as to the immortals. But let him slaughter (the victim so that the blood flows) into the earth" (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:16-17). The practice of "slaughtering up" or "slaughtering down" depending on which deity is to receive the offering is common to both Greek and Hittite praxis. One Hittite ritual directed to the inhabitants of the Underworld with the purpose of cleansing a house of bloodguilt (among other evils), includes the sacrifice of a lamb into a pit with the specific goal of propitiating malevolent forces.⁶³ Piglets were also typically sacrificed in a downward direction.

The aim of column A of the Selinuntine inscription "appears to have been to gain the good will of a series of figures associated both with the survival and success of families and with the dangers of pollution, arising particularly from bloodshed" (Jameson 1994:44). One of these is Zeus Meilichios, whose role, the editors of the *lex* suggest, is to protect the group to which he belongs against hostile *elasteroi* from outside the group, a role consistent with the god's close identification with groups or individuals and their welfare (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:119-20).

More than one scholar has entertained the possibility of a connection between Zeus Meilichios and Molech, the Punic god who allegedly received children in cannibalistic feasts (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:92, 137-41). In closer proximity to Carthage than any other Greek settlement, Selinus would later come under Punic occupation, and, although the area sacred to Meilichios in Selinus is not a tophet, the editors of the *lex* do not rule out the possibility of a merging of the two traditions in the Archaic period (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:92, 140). Meilichios did not receive human sacrifices, but he did on occasion receive pig sacrifices, as suggested by a relief from Peiraeus in Attica (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:82). In addition, Xenophon describes holocaust sacrifices of piglets that he performed "after the custom of his family"

⁶³ "He goes to the river bank and takes oil, beer, wine, *walhi*-drink, *marnuan*-drink, a cupful (of) each in turn, sweet oil cake, meal, (and) porridge. He holds a lamb and he slaughters it down into a pit" (*CoS* 1.68, §11).

to Zeus Meilichios, a further clue to the private or family-oriented nature of this deity's cult (*Anab.* 7.8.1-6; Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:83).⁶⁴

In 1971, a relief that probably illustrates the practice of child sacrifice, was unearthed at Pozo Moro, Spain. It is carved on a stone funerary monument that dates to approximately 500-490 BC and is generally believed to be of Punic construction. The relief depicts a monster with two heads, one above the other, seated before a table on which a piglet is lying. The monster's left hand holds its rear leg. In addition, two children, each in a bowl, are being offered to the monster (Rundin 2004:425-47). Charles Kennedy believes the Monster is Death, i.e., Molech, and the children are being offered to him in a cannibalistic sacrificial meal (1981:212-13). No burials of either children or pigs were found in the immediate vicinity and the tower itself may never have served as a locus for sacrifices. The pig on which the monster dines Kennedy thus connects with an alleged (but as yet unsubstantiated) eastern Mediterranean use of pigs for funerary banquets (1981:214; Rundin 2004:435). In my view, it is far more likely that the piglet in the relief is being offered *instead* of a child. That is, the Pozo Moro relief is another, visual, manifestation of the motif of a pig(let) substituting for a human, a motif that clearly resonated with most of the civilizations that flanked the Mediterranean.

Pigs at the Gate

Outside of the Pentateuch, the Hebrew Bible refers, rather obliquely, to the prohibition against pork only three times, each in Isaiah (65:2-5; 66:3; 66:17; Ackerman 1992:203). Isaiah 66:3 contrasts proper cult performance with acts that are prohibited:

Whoever slaughters an ox is like one who kills a human being;
 whoever sacrifices a lamb, like one who breaks a dog's neck;
 whoever presents a grain offering, like one who offers swine's blood;
 whoever makes a memorial offering of frankincense,
 like one who blesses an idol.

These have chosen their own ways,
 and in their abominations they take delight.

⁶⁴ On the private nature of pig sacrifice in Greece generally, see Jameson (1988:98-99). See also Petropoulou who argues that Eumaeus' sacrifice of a pig for Odysseus was a domestic offering for consumption of meat at home (1987:145-48).

Each of these “abominations” alludes to magical performances that had a certain currency in the larger world of the eastern Mediterranean. The quintessentially pagan custom of worshiping cult images is the least obscure of these, but the Hittite evidence may hold the key to helping to clear up the enigma of the others. We know, for instance, that the Hittites resorted to battle-line human sacrifices on more than one occasion: “If the troops are defeated by the enemy, then they prepare the offerings behind the river as follows. Behind the river they sever a human, a billy-goat, a puppy (and) a piglet. On one side they set halves and on the other side they set the (other) halves. In front (of these) they make a gate of hawthorn and stretch a *tiyamar* up over it. Then on one side they burn a fire before the gate (and) on the other side they burn a fire. The troops go through, but when they come alongside the river, they sprinkle water over them(selves).”⁶⁵ These animals and the human are neither scapegoats nor substitutes, but were sacrificed in response to imminent threats to the community. The late example of the motif in Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.39), although attributed to the Persians, indicates the long history and wide distribution of the rite in the eastern Mediterranean. Greek cases of human sacrifice have been argued away as imaginative or purely mythological (see e.g., Jameson 1991:213-17; Hughes 1991), but Achilles’ sacrifice of twelve Trojan warriors along with nine dogs on the funeral pyre of Patroklos (*Il.* 23:172-77) suggests that this ritual motif was well known. The human sacrifice in Isa 66:3 may thus allude to extreme forms of ritual killing, such as those performed in military contexts.

Breaking a dog’s neck (conceptually the same as cutting the animal in half) belongs to a related ritual motif used specifically in the context of covenant-making. The puppy and goat used in a ceremony at Mari (Sasson 1976:202) are replaced in Gen 15:9-10 and Jer 34:18-20 with livestock and birds. A similar ritual, albeit with a different goal, was practiced in Arzawa. Maddunani’s ritual against an epidemic in the army required a purificatory sacrifice: “Then afterward he takes for himself one kid, one piglet and one puppy, and over in a remote location they cut them in half for the Seven. Afterwards he libates a little bit of beer (and) wine three

⁶⁵ *KUB* 17.28 iv 45-55 (*CTH* 426; ed. Kümmel 1967:151; *CoS* 1.61). Cf. *KUB* 17.17:8'-10' (*CTH* 455; ed. Kümmel 1967:153).

times for the Seven.”⁶⁶ The dedication of the victims and the subsequent libations to the Seven Deities, the “bloodthirsty and fearful companions of the pestilence god Yarri” (*CHD* s.v. *pairra-*), illustrates the expected binary approach to purificatory rites when malevolent forces are involved, namely, propitiatory sacrifices combined with metaphorical cleansing (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993:73-74). The Hittite rite may not be so far removed from the covenant-making ceremonies of Syria-Palestine if the propitiation of malevolent forces and the restoration of divine good will can be thought of in terms of a covenant.

Finally, the offering of pig’s blood in Isa 66:3 probably has less to do with breaking the Levitical prohibition per se (contra Ackerman 1992:205), than with the use of pigs as sacrifices in substitution rituals or rituals of reconciliation or, most likely, in sacrifices having to do with fertility, since the offering of pig’s blood is contrasted with cereal offerings. Fertility rites are also among the activities condemned in Isa 65:2-5 and Isa 66:17, along with necromancy, incubation and eating swine’s flesh (Ackerman 1992:208-10).

Not at all a part of secret, mystery religions, as argued by de Vaux (1958) and refuted by Ackerman (1992), pig sacrifice was about beginnings. Pigs were killed in private or group ceremonies to mark transitions like birth and marriage and, as substitutes, provided some measure of assurance that death could be held at bay. Treaties too were transitions. Livy describes how the early Romans concluded an alliance (*Roman History* I.24) by sacrificing a pig. While killing it with a silex blade, the priest made the following vow: “Let him who breaks the alliance be killed like this pig!” (Graf 1997:208). Varro (see above) informs us of the antiquity of ratifying a treaty with the sacrifice of a pig, a tradition that appears to go back at least as far as Homer, whose hero, Agamemnon, sacrificed a boar in an oath ceremony (*Il.* XIX.258-268) and, rather than eating it, threw it into the sea to be eaten by the fish.

Sacrificed in rituals of reconciliation, pigs also helped to reaffirm the human-divine relationship. Perhaps it was in the spirit of sealing a covenant that the people of Istanuwa celebrated their festivals of reconciliation with their gods (Hutter 2003:241). The occasional participation of members of the royal family notwithstanding, these

⁶⁶ *KUB* 7.54 ii 20-24 w. dupl. *KUB* 56.59 ii 16'-20' (*CTH* 425; ed. Collins 1990:214 with n. 16).

festivals in Kuliwisna were performed by the local people on their own behalf as part of private religion in the Lower Land (Hutter 2003:246). One festival text (*KBo* 4.11) describes the offerings presented to their gods: cattle for the Storm-god and Sun-god, a sheep each for ^dLAMMA, Suwasuna, Wandu, Siuri, Iyasalla, ^dLAMMA GAL, and Immarsiya, and a goat for the male deities. Following these offerings, over the course of three days, pigs are killed “at the gate,” presumably of the city.⁶⁷ Although sheep and cattle are killed with them, the language of the text makes it clear that the focus of attention is on the pig sacrifice. In Hittite religious symbolism, the gate signified transitions—from one space to another or one state to another. The sacrifice at the gate of Istanuwa is perhaps symbolic of renewal, embodied by the pig, on whose death the prosperity of the land and its people depended.

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⁶⁷ “They stick (i.e., slaughter) two pigs at the gate in this way: § First, (on) day one: 2 cows, 7 sheep, 1 sheep, 2 pigs. § For the second day: 7 sheep, 1 pig he offers up. § For the third day: 6 sheep, 1 pig he offers up, *KBo* 4.11 obv. 9-12 (CTH 772; see Starke 1985:339-40 for a transliteration). Cf. 1 ŠAḪ.TUR *na-an ku-e-ez* ^{hi}lam-na-az [. . .], *KUB* 52.98 ii 3 (CTH 530).

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