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IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

Edited by

H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa

1988

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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AHMET ÜNAL

THE ROLE OF MAGIC IN THE ANCIENT ANATOLIAN RELIGIONS  
ACCORDING TO THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BOĞAZKÖY –  
HATTUŠA\*

Within the cultural areas of the Ancient World there is hardly any other country which has witnessed all prehistorical and historical eras without interruptions, which has been a homestead to so many tribes of people with so many linguistic stratifications and so many cultural levels as Asia Minor. Although having been regarded as a cultural offspring of the “highly civilized” Mesopotamian South until the thirties of this century this small subcontinent now proves to be an independent cultural region with its manifold landscapes and climatic particularities; the research activities are still in process, every excavation campaign comes up with new surprises, and with material as well as epigraphic finds. It is the foremost task of research in the field of Ancient History and Archaeology to elaborate and represent the special achievements of this culture in connection with universal history, to make clear what Asia Minor can claim as its own in comparison with

\* Paper read September 1983 at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan in Tokyo. For the kind invitation and hospitality during my stay in Japan I would like to express my sincere thanks to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa. My thanks are also due to for their kind help Messrs. Yukiya Onodera, Sachihiko Omura, Hiroshi Hongo and Daisuke Yoshida. In the following paper I have been able to concentrate only upon certain aspects of magic in ancient Anatolia. The occasions on which magical ritual and imitative magic were practiced have been worked out as fully as possible through a reading of the cuneiform texts. I am certain that many historians of religion, ethnologists and social anthropologists will find in them new material for comparative studies. My general introduction and remarks concerning the nature and theory of magic have arisen from the need to make magic to some extent comprehensible as a phenomenon and occult science both for my own benefit and that of the general reader. In the preparation of this general discussion I found the volume *Magie und Religion: Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Magie* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1978), which was edited with great care by Leander Petzoldt, to be extremely helpful. The literature on this subject is simply enormous. It is often difficult for the layman to orient himself in it. In the discussion of Hittite practices, an area with which I am more familiar, I have employed for the most part primary sources. The sources, written in Hittite with cuneiform characters, are often difficult to understand. Many of the ritual texts have not yet been thoroughly edited. The texts compiled up until now, along with the relevant literature, are published in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris 1971) Nrr. 390–580 (Supplements in RHA 30, 1972, 106 sqq.). Two publications on Hittite magic were unfortunately not available to me during the writing of this paper: A. S. Kapelrud, “The Interrelation Between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion”, *Numen* 6, (1959) 32–50 (reprinted in A. S. Kapelrud, *God and His Friends in the Old Testament*, Oslo 1979, 165–183) and Engelhard, *Hittite Magical Practices* (Diss. Ann Arbor/Michigan 1977). Subsequent reading of both works, since I have come to Chicago, showed, however, that they have no direct bearing upon the present article.

countries like Babylonia, Egypt, Persia and the Greek world, and to determine what it adopted from elsewhere.

The topic of my paper, magic – Hittite *alwanzatar*, Japanese *mahô*, *majutsu* – is only one subject which must be carefully investigated in this respect. I also have to admit that this is my first effort to look into this subject more deeply.

My listeners will ask the question why the title of my paper does not read: “The Role of Magic in the Hittite Religion” instead of “in the Ancient Anatolian Religions”. Let me give a short explanation for this: we often make the mistake of attributing all phenomena which can be proved by the Boğazköy-texts to the Hittite religion because these texts were expressed in the Hittite language and were found in the Hittite State Archives. These texts include in fact many foreign elements which to this day cannot be perfectly distinguished and determined.

The Hittites migrated from the original Indo-European homeland between the Danube and the Ural mountains into Asia Minor as a people without culture and without important aspects of civilization, having neither a developed written language nor dogmatic religious ideals. They were the first people capable of uniting almost all of Asia Minor under a single military-political power. They established themselves gradually from the beginning of the second millennium on, first in central Anatolia then in the western, southern and southeastern areas, and finally in North Syria. During bitter struggles for leadership, an elite was formed, a dynasty which claimed in its official ideology that the Hittite king had been commanded by the Storm God to rule in his name over the lands of the Hatti. Following in the footsteps of the Kings of Akkad, they conquered the North Syrian cities of Alalakh, Aleppo, Kargamiš, Ugarit and even Babylon. The cosmopolitan ethnic structures which existed in Asia Minor at the time of the Hittite migration – the developed cultures of the Hattians, the Assyrians, who traded in the area, the Hurrians, the Kaškeans, the Arzawa-peoples and other indigenous inhabitants whose names are unknown – expanded with the extension of the Hittite Empire. The Hittites not only learned the art of writing – as in North Syria – but were also confronted with a new form of living and a completely new conception of the worship of gods. They encountered a new monumentality of secular and religious architecture, represented in palaces and temples of vast dimensions. Since their military power could not compensate for the vacuum existing in cultural, spiritual and religious matters, they had to adopt the indigenous cultural forms as the spiritual superstructure of their new state. This is the only way to explain the various foreign influences upon the Hittites. There was an ideal form of symbiosis in almost all fields of activity, especially in religion and art. Even the Hittite language was overwhelmed by the influx of loan-words from other highly developed languages.

I mention religion in the first place intentionally, because the foreign influences

are most evident in this area. A very large percentage of the 1000 gods of the Hittite pantheon is of foreign origin. This is demonstrated by their foreign names and by the foreign rites and prayers dedicated to them. It is characteristic that the Hittites preserved the names of these gods and the forms for addressing them in the language of their respective origins until the end of the Hittite empire (ca. 1200 B. C.). Owing mainly to this circumstance, we have in the texts of Boğazköy at least eight languages, giving this metropolis a unique character. For in no other capital of the ancient world – not even in Babylon, famous for its linguistic confusion – were so many languages spoken and written. And the number of languages not preserved in literary remains can only be imagined.

The Hittites appear, then, to have been in a way compilers of religious and ethnological information of the greatest variety. For this we owe them our thanks, since – to speak here only of magic and ethnology – they did what modern ethnologists, social anthropologists and historians of religion in Turkey have yet to accomplish.

In what follows I shall attempt to explain some of the principle features of ancient Anatolian magic, its role in religion or superstition and its practices and effects. In the study of antiquity such matters must be of interest, since they were of interest to the people of ancient Anatolia, who in turn constitute the object of our inquiry. I am aware that this subject is quite extensive and burdened with a multitude of linguistic, terminological, ethnological and historical difficulties.

I wish, accordingly, to restrict myself to the following 10 points:

1. Current theories concerning the origin of magic.
2. The question of the dichotomy between magic and religion.
3. A definition of magic and its means.
4. The principles of the Hittite-Anatolian religions.
5. Magic in the historical and juridical tradition of the Hittites.
6. Magic in the ancient Anatolian religions.
7. Examples of applied magical practices.
8. An illustrative ritual text.
9. A systematic overview of the occasions upon which magic was employed.
10. Imitative magic as the most frequently applied form of magic.

### *1. Current theories concerning the origin of magic*

Almost no other phenomenon has interested so many people since the 19th century as has magic – which is not to say that this interest has been in every case scientific. It is not possible to assign the study of magic to any one discipline –

scientific or otherwise. Missionaries, historians of religion, priests, ethnologists, social anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians, journalists, essayists, novelists, film directors, adventurers and even modern tourists have all taken up the subject. It is almost impossible to imagine therefore the variety of current perceptions and interpretations of magic.

Magic, like all superstitions phenomena, is a product of homo sapiens in his association with the manifold phenomena of his environment. There are many theories of its development, since at many points in its study fantasy is more in place than rigid regularity and a uniformly objective method. The early methods of research shared the somewhat condescending presumption that early, primitive man possessed little intellectual sophistication. Thus, according to E. B. Tylor<sup>1</sup> “an elaborate and systematic pseudo-science” arose from magic.<sup>2</sup> Sir James George Frazer,<sup>3</sup> elaborating Tylor’s hypothesis, postulated a continuous evolutionary development from magical pre-animism to religious animism and to “bastard science”, a theory which, while exciting much criticism, has not yet been decisively refuted.

The interpretation of magic has been further influenced by the inclusion of Mana belief,<sup>4</sup> of animism,<sup>5</sup> of the mystical world view,<sup>6</sup> of correspondence belief,<sup>7</sup> of the associative principle that “like produces like” (*similia similibus evocantur*), of the principle of opposition (*contraria contrariis*),<sup>8</sup> of the theory that an “*entente secrète*” exists between things in the causal sense,<sup>9</sup> of the emanative world view, of belief in secret powers,<sup>10</sup> of the traditional concept that magic is based on myth and custom,<sup>11</sup> of the theory that with magic man moves from the defensive to the offensive,<sup>12</sup> of the lack of the faculty of abstraction, of the ignorance of the principle of causality and rationality,<sup>13</sup> of the intuitive knowledge of powers and their

1 Primitive Culture (1871), <sup>5</sup>(1913) I 116: “Man as yet in a low intellectual condition, having come to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connection in reality.”

2 See the same author, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1870) and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol. 14 p. 624.

3 *The Golden Bough* <sup>3</sup>(1911) I, 1,224sq.

4 E. Bozzano, *Übersinnliche Erscheinungen bei Naturvölkern* (1948) 15, 17.

5 Cf. A. Vierkandt, in: L. Petzoldt (ed.), *Magie und Religion* (Darmstadt 1978) 146.

6 Vierkandt, op. cit. p. 147.

7 E. Spranger, *Urschichten des Wirklichkeitsbewußtseins* (Berlin 1934) 622.

8 L. Petzoldt, *Magie und Religion* (1978) VIII n. 1.

9 A. Gehlen, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 298.

10 C. Clemens, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 59, 78.

11 A. E. Jensen, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 278.

12 S. Reinach, *Orpheus* <sup>3</sup>(1909) 32.

13 K. Th. Preuss, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 223.



connections,<sup>14</sup> of the theory that magic is a subjectively, instinctively applied psychological technique of *homo divinans* in opposition to the experience of reality of *homo faber*,<sup>15</sup> of the necessity to ward off evil and distress,<sup>16</sup> and so on. It is possible to mention here only a fraction of the numerous theories about magic which have been expounded.<sup>17</sup> But I would like to emphasize that I cannot agree with the theory that magic is an older, earlier form of religion, since early man did not distinguish between magic and religion.

## 2. *The question of the dichotomy between religion and magic*

The discussion concerning the dichotomy between magic and religion is a basic question of objective approximation. The best method would be that which B. Landsberger has suggested for research into Babylonian-Assyrian cultures.<sup>18</sup> This method attempts to examine the phenomenal forms of cultures alien to the investigator, whether they are ancient or modern, in their own terms (*Eigenbegrifflichkeit*), without referring them to his own personal, moral, ethical, religious or cultural concept. This method is difficult, especially on account of the often scanty materials which have been left to us. How the subjective, interpretive approach is able on the other hand to manipulate its material is especially evident in the investigation and evaluation of magic.

J. Grimm wrote in 1875:<sup>19</sup> “Miracles are divine, magic is infernal”, and Simar formulated in 1894:<sup>20</sup> “Soothsayers like magicians want to break their way forcibly into the sanctuary of divine omniscience and omnipotence, they stretch their impure hands once again toward the tree of knowledge in order to assume a likeness to God.”

In the confrontation with the monotheistic religions – especially the Judeo-Christian faith – and their value conceptions magic was categorized in early studies as valueless in comparison to these developed religions. It was considered to be in fact their enemy and a work of the devil. Against the same background K. Beth still interpreted magic in 1914 as a “system of exploitation”, and the magi-

14 K. Zeininger, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 144.

15 Th. W. Danzel, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 82.

16 B. Malinowski, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 94.

17 For further orientation see the bibliography in Petzoldt, op. cit. pp. 421; Murray and Rosalie Wax, *ibid.* pp. 382.

18 “Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt”, *Islamica* 2 (1926) 355–372, reprinted by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt 1965).

19 *Deutsche Mythologie* II <sup>4</sup>(1875) 861 sqq.

20 *Der Glaube* <sup>3</sup>(1894) 7,10–11,29, here cited after E. von Petersdorff, *Daemonologie* II (1957) 170.

cian as an “exploiting genius”,<sup>21</sup> forgetting however that religions exploit just as much. In 1912 E. Durkheim stressed the social character of religion in opposition to the anti-social, egocentric character of magic.<sup>22</sup>

Almost all the investigators who accept the dichotomy between magic and religion assume that in both cases higher powers are active, which, according to Frazer,<sup>23</sup> one compels in the case of magic, but obtains in that of religion. Carl Clemen in 1921 in “Über Wesen und Ursprung der Magie”<sup>24</sup> interpreted magic not only as at the very least a component of the older religions—like Malinowski,<sup>25</sup> Vierkandt,<sup>26</sup> Hillpach,<sup>27</sup> Jensen,<sup>28</sup> etc.<sup>29</sup> – but also appreciated it in its social function, that is, as serving the community.

One must be especially thankful to the efforts of mostly Swedish scholars,<sup>30</sup> who have pointed out the dependence of previous research on the religious and religio-philosophical views of Luther, Calvin, Kant and Schleiermacher. They have indicated at the same time the ever present, though latent connection of religion with magic and vice versa: “Orthodox believers should be careful in the condemnation of the laws of magic, since without knowing they themselves often subscribe to them when they go to church. Every religious ceremony contains certain magical elements.”<sup>31</sup> I would like to indicate here that there was always a distinction between white magic, which continues to exist today, and black magic,

21 In: Petzoldt, *Magie und Religion* (1978) 32, cf. also p. 46.

22 *Les élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912) 60. See also K. Beth, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 30; A. Bertholet, *ibid.* p. 110. The French scholars H. Hubert and Mauss, *Esquisse d’une théorie générale de la magie*, in: *Année Sociologique VII* (1902), likewise place the public religious cult above magical rites which were not similarly organized. They define as magical “*tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d’un culte organisé*”.

23 *The Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup> (1911) I, 1. Formulated already by Tylor.

24 In: Petzoldt, *Magie und Religion* (1978) 48.

25 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 103sq.

26 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 147.

27 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 253.

28 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 278.

29 The literature on this subject is very extensive, see Petzoldt, op. cit. 421sq.; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (1961) 26 n. 5.

30 P. Browe, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930) 134sq.; V. Ferm (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York 1945) 461; E. Ehnmark, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 302sq.; O. Pettersson, *ibid.* 313sq. M. and R. Wax, *ibid.* 323sq. The study of Wax is very critical and original; it has been criticized by some authors in their comments (*ibid.* 354sq.) on many points unjustly and polemically.

31 E. Underhill, *Mysticism* (1952) 152. Compare also the pertinent remarks of A. Vierkandt, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 147: “Rationalism, which has governed our culture during the last centuries, has not provided us with a complete understanding of human culture. From the most cursory observations to the most penetrating theories it has everywhere attributed too much calculation and intention to human affairs. Our task today is to attain a full and genuine picture of human culture

which was not condemned for the first time by the monotheistic religions, but was already forbidden in the laws of Hammurabi (§ 2), in the Middle Assyrian laws (§ 47)<sup>32</sup> and in the Hittite laws (see below).

When research into magic was in its early stages, there existed a general prejudice among scholars for developed cultures and developed religions. This contributed to a general disregard for all that was comparatively primitive, including the practice of magic.<sup>33</sup> Current research tends to draw no distinction between these two phenomena,<sup>34</sup> but speaks instead of magical religion or religious magic, in the awareness that there is no religion without magic. In fact, so many features of ritual, sacrifice, prayer, faith and intention are common to both phenomena that they appear difficult to separate. This, at least, is what my paper will attempt to show. But permit me first to pose the question regarding the criteria of magical phenomena: What is magic and what are its means?

### 3. *What is magic and what are its means?*

Magic is simply the attempt to deal with certain elemental forces. Just as human activities like hunting, gathering, animal husbandry, agriculture, war and the exploitation of nature are ascribed to the need to fulfil objective necessities, so magic is grounded in man's observation that he is subject to certain forces and powers (so-called *numina*) as well as to certain events, which he cannot explain empirically or causally and against which he cannot defend himself by technical or rational means. According to A. Bertholet, "Magic is a dynamic mode of conception practically applied for self-interested ends."<sup>35</sup> It represents a logical inference from empirical observation, not impulsive speculation, not a cult of demons or a heterodoxy. According to Malinowski,<sup>36</sup> primitive man would not have been able to master his problems without the power and guidance of magic, nor would he have been able to reach higher levels of culture. Magic came to be the most important remedy of the ancients, something to which they could turn in emergency,

... The picture presented of magic is likewise distorted and its nature viewed misleadingly in terms of rational and intentional activity".

32 E. Reiner, "La magie babylonienne", in: *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Sources Orientales VII, Paris 1966) 73; for a fuller translation see ANET<sup>2</sup> (1969) 166, 184.

33 L. Lévy-Bruhl, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 1 sqq.

34 This is correct with the recognition that the idealizing, pure religion occurs only in theological doctrine, see Ehnmark, in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 303. Whether a given rite or prayer is to be categorized as religious or magical is often difficult to determine, since this depends upon an understanding of the consciousness and intention of the supplicant.

35 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 125.

36 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 106.

crisis, occasions of emotional excitement, defeat, sickness, poverty, and death. Without magic they would have fallen victim to resignation and fatalism. Clemmen<sup>37</sup> indicates in addition that magic “has contributed in manifold ways to the development of science”, for “the belief in mysterious powers that things are supposed to possess has led to the discovery of their true powers”, as in chemistry and medicine. One could also mention literature, mythology, historical consciousness, physics, astrology, pharmacy and psychotherapy in this connection.

Many kinds of magic have been known since antiquity: *Goëtia*, *Mageia* and *Theurgia* which may roughly be explained as magical practices intended to benefit the client directly, to harm others and to ward off evil respectively. What now are the distinguishing characteristics of magic as such? Ruth Hill Useem<sup>38</sup> has formulated them clearly in terms of the concept of magic outlined by Murray and Rosalie Wax.<sup>39</sup> Her definition, with which I concur, is briefly as follows:

“Magic consists of (1) rites performed by actors for establishing the proper relationship between the participant (that is, the suppliant, author’s note) and (2) other beings (gods, demons, powers, etc., author’s note) (human or nonhuman) in order that a more favorable balance of (3) power should exist in situations in which some kind of (4) risk or hazard is involved (one must therefore make the pact against injury and harm as carefully as possible, author’s note); the actors (the magicians, author’s note) have (5) pragmatic knowledge of the efficacy of the rites and the reality of the Power and beings (even though they cannot be ‘sensed’ in the ordinary ways of everyday mortals), because there are (6) confirming results which are sense-perceived in the ordinary manner; the ‘reality’ of the beings with Power can be made to disappear if the confirming results can be brought about by (7) alternative rites which posit new beings with Power (new magical behavior) . . .”

The autobiography of a member of the Kwakiutl in Canada, written in his native language, shows that the magician, sorcerer or medicine man requires a particular education. Training in pantomime, sleight-of-hand, the art of deception, the simulation of ecstatic states, the practice of auscultation, midwifery, etc. are all part of it.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the means which are at the magician’s disposal are not only of various sorts, they must also be properly employed on the basis of the “pragmatic knowledge” of the rites referred to above.<sup>41</sup> Important in this respect are:

37 In: Petzoldt, op. cit. 78.

38 *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963) 512.

39 *Ibid.* and in: Petzoldt, op. cit. 323sqq.

40 F. Boas, *The Religion of the Kwakiutl*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology X (New York 1930) Part II, 1sqq.

41 Useem, loc. cit.

1. The choice of the appropriate time<sup>42</sup>
2. The knowledge of the psycho-telepathic effect of threats, which can lead in the case of the parties affected to weird feelings of guilt, death or enchantment<sup>43</sup>
3. The interpretation of symptoms, which appear to confirm the aims of the magician, for example *signa oblativa* dreams, wish fulfillment etc.
4. Submission to suggestion and auto-suggestion, that is (following Claude Lévi-Strauss<sup>44</sup>):
  - a. The belief of the magician in himself and the effectiveness of his techniques
  - b. The belief of the client in the power of the magician<sup>45</sup>
  - c. “The trust and the demands of public opinion, which continually constitute a kind of field of gravitation in which the relationships between the sorcerer and his subjects lie . . .”

The numerous practices performed by the magician in addition to these can be mentioned here only in a supplementary way. Among them are: summoning of gods or demons – the human or inhuman beings mentioned above – (*invocatio*), conjuring (*incantatio*), exorcism, charms for cursing and blessing, contagious magic, charms with an imputed medical value which employ unusual powers and remedies, purification rites, which have a hygienic as well as cathartic effect, substitution (for penance or sacrifice), particular procedures for producing psychological shock, hypnosis, etc.

#### 4. *The principles of the ancient Anatolian-Hittite religions*

Owing to lack of time I am unfortunately unable to give even a short resumé of the complex Hittite religion. I can only list its most important features. I have already mentioned that the official Hittite pantheon contains at least 1000 gods. Accord-

42 The Buffalo Dance of the Dakotas is a good example: when the buffalo herds do not appear for a long time, the whole tribe performs the buffalo dance day and night until the buffalos actually reappear. “So they never fail; and they think they have been the means of bringing them”, see Catlin, *Illustration of the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians* (London 1876) I 126sq.

43 See W. B. Cannon, “‘Voodoo’ Death”, in: *American Anthropologist* 44 (1942); C. Lévi-Strauss, in: Petzoldt, *Magie und Religion* 256.

44 op. cit. 257sq.

45 The patient’s trust in the person treating him plays as large a role in magic as it does in medicine, psychotherapy and religion. Compare also E. Bozzano, *Übersinnliche Erscheinungen bei Naturvölkern* (1948) 139sq.: “In the alleviation of the harmful effects produced by a magical charm it is very often not the greater powers of the magician in question which are effective, but rather the faith which the patient places in his claims. If he believes them, he is saved, but it is really autosuggestion which has worked the miracle in this case.”

ing to the Hittite concept these gods had an anthropomorphic character, not only in their external form, but in their essential nature as well. Their desires, needs and so on were the same as those of men.<sup>46</sup> Therefore it was necessary to provide them with food and drink in accordance with fixed rites and to arrange festivals<sup>47</sup> for their entertainment to keep them in a good mood. The texts provide evidence of about 165 festivals of this sort. If one was missed, the divinity in question grew angry and caused trouble of various kinds: disease,<sup>48</sup> for example, drought and distress,<sup>49</sup> failure, infertility, etc. Omens and oracles were required to determine who had angered what god, why and how.<sup>50</sup>

One can remark in general that the Hittites did not possess a self-image which contained a concept of a perfect or ideal man, either in a juridical or religious sense. Human beings were equally prone to crime in the juridical sense<sup>51</sup> and to sin in the religious sense.<sup>52</sup>

The texts themselves teach that man is a peccable being.<sup>53</sup> When Kantuzzili in his prayer<sup>54</sup> assesses his own sincerity and his just deserts in the eyes of the gods, the extent to which human beings are capable of crime, theft and corruption emerges clearly nonetheless. The texts of oracles and legal documents are full of scandals and frauds perpetrated against the gods and confiscations of sacred property.<sup>55</sup> To give one example:<sup>56</sup> During a ceremony in which the image of a god was to be transported to a new site, the sheep needed as sacrificial victims were stolen. "Runners" were able to locate them again at the city gate.

Not only, however, are men imperfect. The gods too have faults in the eyes of the faithful. This is shown most clearly in prayers in which they are accused of injustice – something unthinkable in the case of the omnipotent deities of monotheistic religions. The weakness of the gods is further revealed in their subjection

46 This is very apparent in KUB XIII 4 obv. 1 21 sq.

47 See the countless EZEN-texts.

48 Thus an angry god produces sickness in a man, KUB V 6. Compare also KBo XX 31 obv. 4 sq. (par. KUB XII 21): "If your subject sins against you, (so make) him (sick), but do not kill him!" It is unclear to me however, whether this is addressed to the gods or men. See also KUB XXIII 85.4 sqq. and Kantuzzili Prayer rec. II 9 sqq. (CTH nr. 374).

49 Cf. Telipinu Myth.

50 A. Ünal, Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof (THeth. 6, 1978).

51 The Hittite words are *hurkel-*, *natta ara* etc.

52 *waštai-*, *waštul*.

53 2. Pestgebet § 9 I sq. Some other texts record honestly that the human being is untrustworthy. Al. III 16; Kup. § 21 D 16; Targ. I 28, see in detail A. Ünal, Hittit Sarayındaki Entrikalarla İlgili bir Fal Metni (Ankara 1983) 6 and n. 27–28.

54 KUB XXX 10 obv. 11 sqq.

55 A. Ünal, THeth. 6 (1978) 14 sqq.

56 ABoT 14 obv. IV 5–6.

to sorcery<sup>57</sup> – although it is unclear whether this is practiced upon them by men or by other gods.

The anthropomorphic nature of the gods is most clearly evident in the principle “*do ut des*” – a pragmatic attitude which far surpasses that of the Romans<sup>58</sup> and whose fundamental concept is the same as that expressed in the words of one mystic, “I know that God could not exist for one instant without me.”<sup>59</sup> A few examples should be enough to show the pragmatic sense of the Hittites and that in spite of their apparent piety they did not subject themselves to their gods absolutely and without question.<sup>60</sup> It is still an open question whether Mesopotamian legends like the Atra-ḫasis myth, in which the creation of mankind is explained by the gods’ dependence upon human beings,<sup>61</sup> provide the models for this Hurrian concept.

1. In one passage of the Kumarbi-Myth Ea advises the gods not to destroy humanity, since human beings offer sacrifices to the gods. How could the gods live without men? Who would bring the gods their bread and wine? Otherwise the Storm God would have to plow and Ištar and Ḫepat would have to grind.<sup>62</sup>
2. In his prayers Muršili II entreats the gods to stop the epidemic because otherwise mankind, which provides for the gods, would die out.<sup>63</sup>
3. In the Gaššulawiya prayer there is an attempt to persuade the god that Gaššulawiya will be his loyal servant if he will keep her alive.<sup>64</sup>
4. The attempt to tie sacrifices to the gods’ prior fulfillment of human wishes is very clear in the Votive texts of King Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.<sup>65</sup>
5. One year when the king made no military campaigns the festival normally held at the beginning of military expeditions was also not performed.<sup>66</sup>
6. A divinity can be threatened, if he or she fails to fulfil the request of a supplicant. We read for example in KBo XI 10 III 18sq. : “Go, Sun God of the Earth.

57 KUB VII 2 IV 4; 47 obv. 1sq.; XLI 22 rev. III 9sq. (?); IBoT II 115 + obv. I 2.

58 A. Ünal and A. Kammenhuber, KZ 88 (1974) 159 and n. 8.

59 K. Zeininger, in: Petzoldt, Magie und Religion p. 143.

60 For similar examples in Mesopotamian religions see F. Blome, Die Opfermaterie in Mesopotamien und Israel (1934) 18sq.

61 G. Wilhelm, Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurrer (1982) 88.

62 KUB XXXIII 100 + XXXVI 16 III 8–21, J. Siegelová, StBoT 14 (1971) 46; L. Jacob-Rost, Das Lied von Ullikummi (1977) 58; A. Ünal, Belleten 175 (1980) 478.

63 KUB XIV 14 + rev. 34sq. (and par.); XXIV 3 + obv. II 3sq. (and par.).

64 KBo IV 6 rev. 21sq.

65 KUB XV 1–30; XXI 27 + III 36sq. Cf. KBo IV 6, Ünal and Kammenhuber, KZ 88 p. 159 and n. 7–8.

66 KUB XXVII 1 obv. I 20–22, 31–34, R. Lebrun, Samuha, un foyer religieux de l’empire hittite (1976) 75sq.; I. Wegner, Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien (AOAT 36, 1981) 121 n. 384sq.

Do and perform everything well. If you do not, may the oath-gods of this ritual seize you, Sun God of the Earth.”

7. A supplicant who has evidently been disappointed addresses the Storm God:<sup>67</sup> “Storm God, my Lord, give them (the sacrificial gifts) back to me!” [The Storm God] in reply: “You have given them to me once and for all. Now do you demand them back?”
8. Gods as well as men are said to profit from the fruits of the earth: “Storm God, my Lord, make the rain bountiful and surfeit the dark earth, so that the sacrificial bread of the Storm God may thrive.”<sup>68</sup> This request may be compared to a passage from the Book of Common Prayer, which Pettersson quotes:<sup>69</sup> “Send us, we pray you, the soft rain in this our distress, so that we may harvest the fruits of the earth for our use and for your glory.”
9. In a ritual against the sexual impotence the patient promises to the goddess cult places, temple, servants, cattle and sheep if she helps him to recover from his ailment. The children to be born after his recovery, he promises to his goddess, would be her servants<sup>69a</sup>.

In the religious concept of the Hittites the gods do indeed appear as higher, superior powers; one can deal with them, however, as with human beings; they can be persuaded, aroused to pity and even deceived.

The festivals prescribed in the official calendar and the regularly performed sacrifices could be regarded as prophylactic or protective measures. However, should an emergency arise through the neglect of the cults or in some other way, there are also particular means of defense. There are prayers,<sup>70</sup> litanies, penances and absolution<sup>71</sup> and very often the rites of white magic, which possess many features in common with the official descriptions of festivals.<sup>72</sup>

These principles of the Hittite religion and its understanding of the nature of

67 KBo XIII 161 rev.r.col. 1sqq.

68 KUB XXV 23 rev. IV 57sqq., A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup>(1957) 150 and n. 7; A. Ünal, *Belleten* 163 (1977) 452 and n. 27.

69 In: Petzoldt, *Magie und Religion* p. 321sq.

69<sup>a</sup> KUB IX 27 + KUB VII 8 obv. I 46–48, II 9–13.

70 Compare especially the occasion of the Kantuzzili Prayer (i. e. the sickness of this prince) and the prayer of Muwatalli KUB VI 45 and par. obv. I 1sqq.: “If anything oppresses (*nakkeš*) a man, let him utter this prayer.” In both cases one could just as easily employ a magician. For example King Muršili II attempted to end a serious plague in the Hittite domains with entreaties to the gods in the form of prayers (Plague Prayers, see A. Götze, *KIF* 1 (1927–1930) 164sqq.; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittite* (1980) 112sqq.) while he employed magical means to treat the impairment of his speech (aphasia) which followed upon a psychological shock he received during a storm (A. Goetze – H. Pederson, *MS* 1934, 4sqq.).

71 Hittite *šarnikzel* and *zankilatar*.

72 See A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> p. 152sqq.; E. Laroche, *CTH* p. 69.



divinity explain how it was possible for magic to occupy a position of importance in the domain of religion. The important role of magic in the ancient Anatolian religions, which composed a kind of state religion, is clear also in the great body of magical literature. It was stored in the state archive at Ḫattuša – I do not use the word “library” intentionally, since it might give the impression that there was a sort of “public library” at Ḫattuša – and it was as large as that which contained religious texts for the official rites, festivals and prayers. Might it be possible to speak of a “state magic” as well?

##### 5. *Magic in the historical and juridical tradition of the Hittites*

A few examples, arranged in chronological order, should be enough to demonstrate the Hittites’ disapproval of so-called black magic, which, as mentioned above, was forbidden in almost all religions. Magical acts performed by Old Women<sup>73</sup> are first recorded during the reign of Ḫattušili I.<sup>74</sup> It is not entirely clear however, whether these women, legitimate sorceresses in later times, were feared even by the king, whose consort Ḫaštayar was evidently associated with them, on account of their magical powers or their political intrigues. The complete prohibition of sorcery came later in the famous Telipinu Decree.<sup>75</sup>

Magic caused some serious problems in the reign of Muršili II. In the course of her disputes with the reigning queen, the wife of the king’s father Šuppiliuma I, employed magical means in repeatedly cursing the young wife of Muršili II until the latter finally died.<sup>76</sup>

The use of magic for political ends played an important role as well during the struggle for power between Arma-Tarhunta and his nephew Ḫattušili (III) over the province of the “Upper Country”. Arma-Tarhunta is supposed to have employed sorceresses to bewitch his opponent.<sup>77</sup>

Disturbances caused by magic probably preceded the purification rituals for the king, queen and temple.<sup>78</sup>

That black magic was strictly forbidden and punished by death must be considered – given the relatively mild Hittite legal code – as having been dictated by

73 SAL.ŠU.GI = *ḫašawa-*, H. Otten, ZA NF 16 (1952) 231 sqq. All the attestations are collected now by F. P. Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell’ anatolia itta* (1982) 581 sqq.

74 HAB III 65 sqq., see M. Vieyra, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (1966) 104; S. R. Bin-Nun, THeth. 5 (1975) 120 sqq.; V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter* (1977) 22 sqq.

75 Tel. rev. IV 30 sqq.

76 KUB XIV 4 rev. III 18 sq., 22, cf. Ünal, THeth. 3 (1974) 39 sq.

77 KUB XXI 17 obv. I 7 sqq.; Hatt. I 34, II 77 sq., see in detail Ünal, op. cit. pp. 96.

78 M. Vieyra, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (1966) 104.

necessity. Hittite laws define the practices of black magic: It is black magic when one does not burn the refuse after a cultic purification but places it in the field or house of another person instead.<sup>79</sup> It is likewise black magic when one kills a snake and recites the name of another person according to a magical formula (presumably in the form: “as this snake dies, so may he also die”).<sup>80</sup> A practice of the same sort using clay is also mentioned in a fragmentary context.<sup>81</sup>

### 6. *Magic in the Ancient Anatolian religions*

Magic did not occupy a strong position in ancient Anatolia only as a religious practice. It was an independent institution as well. It is strange that the Hittites, to whom we owe the transmission of our material, do not appear to have had their own magic, since most of their magical practices stem from the Hurrian milieu, which had a strong influence upon the Hittite religion at least from the middle of the 15th century. Hurro-Kizzuwatnean rituals, Luwian rituals, which were greatly influenced by the Hurrian models, Arzawa rituals, Babylonian rituals, Hattian rituals (in the form of conjuring formulas and litanies) and, perhaps, Anatolian-Kanisian rituals are the next most common forms.<sup>82</sup>

The magical rituals were carried out most frequently by what were termed *ḫaššawa-* (<sup>SAL</sup>ŠU. GI) “old/wise women”,<sup>83</sup> augurs,<sup>84</sup> magicians,<sup>85</sup> doctors,<sup>86</sup> priests of certain gods,<sup>87</sup> midwives,<sup>88</sup> *purapi*-people, hierodules,<sup>89</sup> *patili*-priests or men whose profession is not mentioned.<sup>90</sup>

We know almost nothing about the education of these magicians. But genealogical data suggest that their profession was as a rule hereditary. It is at least certain that several members of the same family practiced it. We hear only once in the Hittite laws<sup>91</sup> of the sale of a trained augur for 25 Shekels, about 200

79 Hittite Laws § 44b.

80 op. cit. § 170.

81 op. cit. § 111.

82 To the Kanisian layer may belong KBo VII 58 + ? KUB XXXIII 70 rev. III 6 and KBo XII 106.

83 See above n. 73 and V. Haas and J. Thiel, AOAT 31 (1978) 22sq.

84 LÚMUŠEN.DÙ, LÚIGI.MUŠEN.

85 LÚAZU, LÚḪAL.

86 LÚA.ZU.

87 LÚŠANGA ḐNN, LÚ ḐNN, SAL É. DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ŠA ḐNN.

88 SALŠÀ.ZU.

89 SALSUḪUR.LAL, especially in Luwian layer.

90 Man or woman from the city NN, subject or servant of god NN, see in detail O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977) 44sq.

91 Hittite Laws § 177.

grams of silver. It is not clear though whether he was an expert in magic or an augur at an oracle.<sup>92</sup>

Magicians were probably paid by being allowed to keep the sometimes substantial remains supplied by the sacrificers. In some cases there appears to have been compassionate consideration shown for the relative wealth or poverty of the patient: a poor man had to provide one cow, one sheep and four goats, while a wealthier patient had to provide one cow, six sheep and two goats as sacrificial victims.<sup>93</sup>

As we will see below, the Hittite magicians had a fixed formula for almost every situation. That these formulaic instructions were not only literary topoi, but were actually applied in concrete cases, is proved by the mention of patients by name in some magical rituals.<sup>94</sup> In other cases the texts add the remark: “I give the patient’s name”.<sup>95</sup> The Tunnawi-ritual shows clearly how magic, in this case black magic, arose.<sup>96</sup> According to it, one can make someone ritually impure through the agency of gods, the dead (spirits) or men by calling down upon him the anger of the gods, the terror of the dead (spirits) or the curses (lit. “many tongues” or “evil tongues”) and the wickedness of men respectively.<sup>97</sup>

### *7. A selection of applied magical practices*

By means of magical practices human beings defend themselves – both actively and passively – and seek to further their own interests. The circumstances which induce them to act may be either positive or negative. Death, bewitchment, disease, infertility, the anger of the gods, fear, perjury, curses, malicious gossip, acts of violence, tears, ritual impurity, and so on are among the negative occasions on which magic may be employed. Magical practices are as various as the situation in which they are used: in the arousing of divine sympathy, in the combating of curses, in conjuring, in exorcism by means of scapegoats, in cathartic rites, that is, by purification with water, fire etc., in symbolic burial, in the symbolic destruction of images made of clay, dough, tallow, wax etc., in

92 A. Ünal, RHA 31 (1973) 48.

93 KUB XVII 24 II 16sq., cf. XXVII 59 I 26–28, H. G. Güterbock, Oriens 15 (1962) 347sq.

94 For example KBo XV 10 + mentions Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal and 2029/g obv. II 8 gives the name of patient as Atta; see Ünal, *The Ritual of Ḫantitaššu* (forthcoming).

95 Cf. Chicago Hittite Dictionary III/1 (1980) 33sq.

96 Tunn. II 30–33.

97 Tunn. II 37sq., 60.

psychotherapy, in the conveyance of the patient through an artificial gate,<sup>98</sup> in innumerable kinds of manipulation and so on.<sup>99</sup> Many magical rituals seem to have a medical component, employing treatment with medicinal herbs or dietary and hygienic means. The remainder serves to placate the gods or the demons of disease and distress with gifts and sacrifices.

There is a noticeable similarity between the magical rituals of the Hittites and the purification rites of the Israelites. This was probably the result in both cases of a common Hurrian influence.

#### 8. *An illustrative ritual text*

##### Ritual Against Domestic Quarrel<sup>100</sup>

These are the words of Maštigga, the woman from Kizzuwatna: If a father and (his) son, or a husband and his wife, or a brother and (his) sister quarrel, when I reconcile them, I treat them as follows:

(5) She takes black wool and wraps it in mutton fat; *tiššatwa* they call it. She presents it to the sacrificer and speaks as follows: “Whatever thou spokest with (thy) mouth (and) tongue – see, here is *tiššatwa*! Let it be cut out (10) of your body these days!” She throws the tongues into the hearth.

Afterward the Old Woman takes salt, tissue, *fat* and wax. She makes the wax into tongues and waves [them over the two] sacrificers. She also waves the salt and the [fat and] the tissue over them, [present]s it to them and they [flatten it] with (their) left (15) hands.

The Old Woman speaks as follows: “In whatever curses you indulged, let now the Sun-god turn those curses (and) tongues toward the left!” And she throws them into the hearth.

The red wool (and) the blue wool that (20) had been placed upon the bodies of the two sacrificers, the two figures of dough that had been placed before them, and the hands and tongues of dough that had been placed upon their heads, those the Old Woman removes. She cuts the strings off them, the Old Woman breaks the two hands and the tongues of dough to pieces.

(25) She then waves them over them and speaks as follows: “Let the tongues of these [days] be cut off! Let the words of these days be cut off!” And she throws them [into the hearth].

98 G. F. del Monte, OA 12 (1973) 107sqq.

99 Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> 152sqq. For imitative magic see below p. 32sqq.

100 KBo II 3 and its duplicates. Translation given here according to A. Goetze, ANET<sup>2</sup> (1969) 350sq., see also L. Jacob-Rost, MIO 1 (1953) 345sqq.

Afterward the Old Woman takes ([a tray] and [places] (30) seven tongues [and seven hands . . .] upon it. She waves it over the two sacrificers and [speaks] as follows: “The day at which ye satisfied your hunger – see here the tongues and the hands of that day. See, the father Sun has now nailed them down.” And she puts them into the hearth.

The Old Woman takes water and dough. She sprinkles the water upon them (36) and purifies them. Then she waves the dough over them and speaks as follows: “Be ye cleansed of mouth and tongue!” And she puts the dough into the hearth.

They drive up a (white) sheep. The Old Woman presents it to the two sacrificers and speaks as follows: “Here is a substitute for you, (40) a substitute for your persons. Let that tongue and that curse stay in (its) mouth!” They spit into its mouth.

She speaks as follows: “Spit ye out those evil curses!” They dig a hole in the ground, cut the sheep up over it, and then put it into it.

(45) They put 1 thin sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

They drive up a black sheep, the Old Woman presents it to them and speaks as follows: “For your heads and all parts of your bodies the black sheep is a substitute. In its mouth (and its) tongue (50) is the tongue of curses.” She waves it over them.

The two sacrificers [spi]t into its mouth. They cut up the sheep and dismember it. They [kindle] the hearth and [burn] it.

They pour honey (and) olive oil over it. She [brea]ks a sacrificial loaf (55) and throws it into the hearth. She also pours out a libation of wine.

The Old Woman takes a small pig, she presents it to them and speaks as follows: “See! It has been fattened with grass (and) grain. Just as this one shall not see the sky and shall not see the (other) small pigs again, (ii) even so let the evil curses not see these sacrificers either!”

She waves the small pig over them, and then they kill it. They dig a hole in the ground (5) and put it down into it. They put a sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

The Old Woman makes a kneading-pan of clay. She puts into it a little dough into which she throws a little black *cumin*. She waves it over the two sacrificers (10) and speaks as follows:

“Just as this clay does not return to the clay pit and this *cumin* does not turn white and cannot be used for seed a second time;

“(as) this dough does not get into a sacrificial loaf for the gods, even so let the evil tongue not get to the body of the two sacrificers!”

(The following sections are not intelligible as yet.)

The Old Woman [waves] water over the two sacrificers and purifies them. She also [waves] the dough over them.

(30) Aferward she again makes a kneading-pan of clay and pours oil into it. She severs the blue wool and throws the severed end in. The Old Woman hides it under the coats of the two sacrificers.

And she speaks as follows: “This is the kneading-pan of Ishtar. May they get away to good life! May they hide from evil matter likewise!”

Afterwards she takes a *hupuwai* vessel and fills it with wine, plain olive oil (and) honey; she adds figs, raisins, tissue, salt (and) mutton-fat.

(40) She pours the (content of the) *hupuwai* into the hearth, breaks the *hupuwai* to pieces and speaks as follows: “Let the *hupuwai* be broken with mouth (and) tongue!”

When the Old Woman has broken the *hupuwai* to pieces, (45) she also breaks a sweet loaf and throws (the crumbs) into the hearth.

They drive up a sheep and call it “substitute”. The Old Woman takes 1 sweet sacrificial loaf (and) 1 jug of wine.

While offering the sheep to the Sun-god the Old Woman speaks as follows: (50) “O Sun-god! Here is a substitute in their place, with mouth and tongue.” She consecrates the sheep, breaks the loaf and pours out the wine. A white sheep they do not kill again; the Old Woman gets it.

(The next sections are mutilated and therefore omitted here.)

(iii 10) They light fires on the right and on the left; in between they set seven stone pillars in the ground. The Old Woman presents one sacrificial loaf weighing 1 *tarnas* and a cheese to the two sacrificers and they touch it with their hands.

(15) The Old Woman breaks the sacrificial loaf, pours out a libation of wine and speaks as follows:

“Whoever erected these stone pillars in this one place – see, now they totter. Whatever issued from the mouths (and) the tongues of the two sacrificers on that day – let those words totter in the same way!”

The two sacrificers overturn the stone pillars with (their) feet and throw them into the fire. (25) The fine garments which they are wearing they cast off and the Old Woman gets them.

She waves a pot over them, takes the DUG.LIŠ.GAL off their heads and sp[eaks] as follows: “See! [I have taken the DUG.LIŠ.GAL] off your heads. [Let the evil] words [be taken off in the same way]!” (35) [. . .] the two sacrificers break the pot with their feet and [she says as follows: “Let them break] all the words [of mouth (and) tongue in the same way]!”

The Old Woman takes the Sun’s *hay*, calls it *tiwariya* and rubs down the limbs of the two sacrificers.

She speaks as follows: “Let the evil words of mouth (and) tongue be rubbed away from you!”

(iv) The Old Woman takes water with a cup or an amphora and presents it to the two sacrificers; salt is also put in. The two sacrificers pour the water over their heads, (5) they also rinse their hands (and) their eyes.

Then they pour it into the horn of an ox. The two sacrificers seal it up and the Old Woman speaks as follows:

(10) “On the day when the olden kings return and examine the state of the land, – then, and then only, shall this seal be broken.”

### 9. *A systematic overview of the occasions upon which magic was employed*

Magical rituals resemble medical prescriptions. A case is first diagnosed and then the proper ritual means for removing the cause of disorder are determined. The final prescriptions are set down for the most part in standard topoi: “When this and this is the case, then I apply this ritual; . . . then I treat him/it as follows; . . . then I heal him/it thus; . . . then I enchant him/it thus; . . . then I take the following sacrificial material”, etc. The name, profession and origin of the magician performing the ritual is stated at the very beginning.

The occasions on which magic has been employed encompass almost all aspects of human life. If one accepts the somewhat doubtful conclusion that magic is a concomitant of a religious society,<sup>101</sup> then, given the extensive role of magic in Hittite society, one could have to categorize it too as religious. But – as the texts demonstrate – it was also a “belligerent” and “agricultural society”. The distinction is artificial and invalid, since all these aspects are in fact necessary. Early societies could not live without any of them.

We cannot completely ascertain all the occasions on which the Hittites were accustomed to employ magic. Most of them are known only through the catalogue of the state archives. It is likely that magic was also practiced in the giving of oaths by partners to a contract, as was also the case among the Assyrians, Canaanites and other West Semites.<sup>102</sup>

In what follows I will give a short selection of the most important situations in which magic was used.<sup>103</sup> This summary should indicate as well how important magic was and how it in many cases assumed the function of religion, medicine, jurisprudence and even of certain social services.

101 J. Puhvel, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. by G. Cardona (1973) 371, 375; A. Ünal, *Bulleten* 175 (1980) 477.

102 M. Vieyra, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (1966) 104 and n. 4.

103 For a brief outline see L. Furlani, *La religione degli hittiti* (1936) 185sqq.; A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957) 152sqq.; O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977) 44sqq.; *ibid.* *The Hittites*<sup>2</sup> (1981) 162sqq.

Magic was employed in the following cases:

### I. Human suffering

1. Various diseases,<sup>104</sup> like headache, coughing, the loss of one's voice, diseases of the eye, wounds produced by falling from a wagon (traffic accidents?), jaundice, diseases of the mouth,<sup>105</sup> blisters,<sup>106</sup> diseases of the inner organs,<sup>107</sup> heart attack,<sup>108</sup> low spirits (depression?),<sup>109</sup> impotence,<sup>110</sup> insomnia,<sup>111</sup> bad dreams,<sup>112</sup> anxiety,<sup>113</sup> beaten man (?),<sup>114</sup> disturbed years (?),<sup>115</sup> abnormalities in pregnancy and birth,<sup>116</sup> miscarriage on account of ritual impurity,<sup>117</sup> and so on.
2. Epidemics among men, in the army and among cattle<sup>118</sup>
3. Death on account of ritual impurity and perjury<sup>119</sup>
4. Death of the king, queen or other members of the ruling dynasty (*šalliš waštaiš*)<sup>120</sup>
5. Purification from the evil of <sup>D</sup>GAZ.BA.A.A.<sup>120a</sup>

### II. Human crimes

1. Perjury<sup>121</sup>
2. Acts of violence, murder<sup>122</sup>

104 KBo XII 100 obv. 1 sqq.; KUB XXX 26 obv. I 1 sqq.; 43 rev. III 23 sqq.; 46 r. col. 4 sq.

105 KUB VIII 36 obv. II 3 sqq., rev. III 1 sqq.; KUB XVII 8 rev. IV 7–14. For other cases see also KBo XIII 99; 248; XXI 15–21; XXII 100–102; XXIII 4; KUB VIII 38; XII 24; XXXII 112; LI 18, C. Burde, StBoT 19 (1974) 18 sqq.; A. Ünal, Belleten 175 (1980) 485 sqq.

106 *alpanza* KUB VII 1 + obv. I 1 sqq., rev. IV 7 sqq.

107 KUB VII 1 + obv. I 1 sqq., rev. IV 10 sqq.; XXX 49 rev. IV 12 sqq., 21 sqq.

108 KUB XXX 67 rev. III 6.

109 KBo XV 25 obv. I 1 sq., rev. III 32 sqq.

110 KBo XXII 110 obv. 1 sqq.; KUB VII 5 + 8 + IX 27 obv. I 1 sqq.

111 KUB IV 47 obv. 1 sqq.

112 KUB IV 47 obv. 1 sqq.; XXX 51 obv. II 19 sqq.; 56 rev. III 12 sq.

113 KUB XXX 43 rev. III 17 sqq.; 65 + rev. III 7 sqq.; XXXIII 70 rev. III 6 sq. It is possible that the last three cases concern some kind of mental disturbances.

114 KBo XXII 101 rev. ? 4, 7 (fragmentary); KUB XXXV 18 (and par.) obv. I 1 sqq.; XLI 5 rev. 3. Meaning is obscure, see in detail A. Ünal, THeth. 6 (1978) 118 sqq.

115 KBo XI 14 obv. I 1 sqq.; KUB XXX 51 obv. II 19 sqq. Meaning is also unknown.

116 KBo V 1 obv. I 1 sqq.; VII 130 III 7; KUB XVII 28 obv. II 2, 7 sq.

117 KUB VII 53 + obv. I 1 sqq. = Tunn.

118 KBo XV 1 obv. I 1 sqq.; KUB VII 54 (and par.) obv. I 1 sqq., II 7 sqq.; IX 31 (and par.) obv. I 1 sqq., II 43 sqq.; 32 (and par.) obv. 1 sqq.

119 KUB XXX 51 + 45 + HSM 3644 obv. I 17 sqq.

120 KUB XXX 16 + XXXIX 1 obv. I 1 sq., see H. Otten, HTR (1958) 18, 118 sq.

120<sup>a</sup> KUB LIV 34 I 1 sqq. with dupl. KBO XXIX 191.

121 KBo XV 1 obv. II 5 sqq.; KUB XXX 51 + obv. II 18.

122 KUB XVII 34 obv. I 2 sqq.



3. Enchantment<sup>123</sup>
4. Malicious gossip, imprecation<sup>124</sup>
5. Curse<sup>125</sup>
6. Desecration of a grave<sup>126</sup>
7. Incest<sup>127</sup>
8. Exchange of a female infant in the cradle (?)<sup>128</sup>

### III. Human feelings and activities

1. Anger of the king and queen<sup>129</sup>
2. Prognosis of the king's death<sup>130</sup>
3. Consultation with the dead (spirits)<sup>131</sup>
4. Purification rituals for the king and queen<sup>132</sup>
5. Purification rituals for houses, temples, cities and men<sup>133</sup>
6. Ritual for accession to the throne<sup>134</sup>
7. Building rituals<sup>135</sup>
8. Repair (??)<sup>136</sup> of the temple<sup>137</sup>
9. Suckle of a child<sup>138</sup>

- 123 KUB VII 33.1sq.; IX 39 obv. I 1; XXIV 9 + obv. I 1sq.; 14 obv. I 1sq., rev. III 9sq.; XXX 65 + rev. III 5sq.; XLV 24 rev. IV 7sq.; IBoT II 116 rev. 4sq.; Bo 3397 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.
- 124 KBo III 8 + II 18; XI 11 I 1sq.; XV 10 + obv. I 1sq.; KUB VII 1 rev. IV 13sq.; XXX 48.12sq.; 49 rev. IV 26sq.
- 125 KBo X 6 obv. I 3sq.; 37 rev. IV 51sq.; KUB XIV 4 obv. II 13sq., rev. III 1sq., IV 22sq.; XXX 51 + obv. II 23sq.; 67 rev. III 7sq.
- 126 34/i + obv. I 12.
- 127 KBo XII 115 rev. 1sq.; KUB XLI 11.2sq., 32; IBoT ii 117 rev. 2sq.; Bo 6464 line 11sq.; 827/z line 1sq.; YBC 3991, H. A. Hoffner, *Orient and Occident* (1973) 84, 86, 88sq.
- 128 KUB XXX 50 + rev. V 8sq.
- 129 KBo XIV 68 (+) obv. II 8; KUB XXX 67 rev. III 106.
- 130 KUB XV 2 rev. 5sq. Compare the oracular questions in this regard in KUB VI 7 + XVIII 58 rev. III 2sq., as to whether the king will die this year or in 2 to 8 years.
- 131 KUB XXX 60 + KBo XIV 70 obv. I 18sq.
- 132 KBo XXI 82 rev. V 5sq.; KUB XXVIII 80 obv. I 6sq., rev. IV 1sq.
- 133 KBo XIV 68 (+) (and par.) obv. II 5sq.; XXIV 39 rev. 7sq.; KUB VII 14 obv. I 1sq.; 29 obv. 1sq.; 41 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.; XXX 35 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.; 47 rev. IV 7sq.; 50 + rev. V 11sq.; 51 + 45 + HSM 3644 obv. II 8sq.
- 134 KBo X 34 obv. I 1sq., rev. IV 10sq.; KUB IX 10 rev. (IV) 2sq.; X 45 rev. III 23sq.; XLVI 4 rev. VI 16sq.
- 135 KUB II 2 (and par.) obv. II 37sq.; XXX 51 + obv. II 11sq.; XXIX 1 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.; 4 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.; 412/b + obv. 1sq.
- 136 *uranai-*, meaning of the word very obscure, see S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Ankara 1983) 268sq.
- 137 KBo XI 2 obv. I 3; 3 obv. I 1sq.; 5 rev. VI 31.
- 138 KUB XXX 67 rev. III 4sq.

10. Anointing of a man with a special herb<sup>139</sup>
11. Ritual for name-giving to a new born child<sup>140</sup>

#### IV. Interpersonal relationships

1. Contention between family members<sup>141</sup>
2. Strife between friends<sup>142</sup>
3. Disobedience of subordinates<sup>143</sup>

#### V. Military occasions

1. Swearing-in of troops<sup>144</sup>
2. Ritual at the beginning of a campaign<sup>145</sup>
3. Ritual upon return from a victorious campaign<sup>146</sup>
4. Ritual after a military defeat<sup>147</sup>

#### VI. Cultic and religious practices

1. Substitution<sup>148</sup>
2. Conjunction of the earth<sup>149</sup>
3. Enchantment of personal gods<sup>150</sup>
4. Anger of gods against men<sup>151</sup>
5. Errors in cultic practices<sup>152</sup>
6. Offenses against the Sun God<sup>153</sup>
7. Appearance of the Black God in a dream<sup>154</sup>
8. Resettlement of gods and extension of the cult<sup>155</sup>
9. Erection (?) (of the statue) of the Storm God<sup>156</sup>

139 KUB XXX 43 rev. III 20sqq.

140 KUB XXX 55 rev. III? 10, cf. H. A. Hoffner, JNES 27 (1968) 198sqq.

141 KBo II 3 + obv. I 1sqq., see above p.25sq. and n. 100.

142 KUB XVII 28 obv. II 33sqq.; XXX 36 obv. I 1sqq.

143 KUB XXX 51 + obv. II 14sqq.; 56 rev. III 10sqq.

144 KBo VI 34 + (and par.) rev. IV 18.

145 KUB IV 1 (and par.) obv. I 1sqq.; XXX 42 obv. I 8sqq.

146 KBo XV 21 + IBoT III 93 obv. I 1sqq.

147 KBo XXIII 55; KUB XVII 28 rev. IV 43sqq.

148 KUB XXX 42 rev. IV 3sq.; 1963/c rev. VI 16sqq.

149 KUB XXX 52 rev. 4.

150 KUB VII 2 rev. IV 4sqq.; 47 obv. 1sqq.; XLI 22 rev. III 9sqq.

151 KUB XXX 51 + obv. I 12sqq.

152 KBo XII 116 rev. 2sqq.; XXIII 1 + obv. I 1sqq., II 17sqq., 23sqq.; KUB VIII 71.10sqq.; XXX 42 rev. IV 19sqq.; LVI 55 rev. IV 3sqq.

153 KUB XXX 51 + obv. I 14sq.

154 KUB VIII 71.24sq. and KUB LV 24 which now includes this ritual.

155 KUB VIII 69 rev. 3sq.; XXX 56 rev. III 15; XXXII 133 obv. I 1sqq.

156 KUB VII 20 (and par.) obv. (I) 1sqq.; XXX 47 obv. I 7sq.

10. Evocation of the gods<sup>157</sup>
11. Numerous “mouth-washing rituals” (*itgaḫi-/itkalzi-*)<sup>158</sup> partially in the Hurrian language, whose applications are unknown
12. Various formulas for conjuring the Hattian gods, written partially in Hattian<sup>159</sup>

VII. Natural events as a sign of divine will (*signa oblativa*)

1. Storm, thunder, lightening<sup>160</sup>
2. Signs provided by the sun and moon<sup>161</sup>
3. Earthquakes (??)<sup>162</sup>
4. Observation of birds<sup>163</sup>
5. Infertility of the vineyards<sup>164</sup>
6. Plagues of grasshoppers<sup>165</sup>

VIII. Mating of animals (?)<sup>166</sup>

IX. Rituals and sacrifices on other occasions<sup>167</sup>

*10. Imitative magic as the most frequently applied form of magic*

I have given a general sketch above of the origins of this type of magic. Imitative magic, which is also called homoeopathic, analogical illustrative or sympathetic magic, was the most popular form of Hittite magic. I have also mentioned that similarity and opposition are its basic principles: “*similia similibus evocantur*” or “*contraria contrariis*”. Gestures are one type of this imitative mode of action.<sup>168</sup> The gestures of a bowler attempting to direct his ball after releasing it is a classical

157 KBo XXIV 45 (and par.) rev. 19; XXVII 193 rev. IV 1sq.; KUB XV 31 (and par.) obv. I 1sq.; 34 obv. I 1sq.; XXX 56 rev. III 4; 34/i + XXX 65 + obv. I 3.

158 V. Haas, SMEA 16 (1975) 221sq.; Haas – J. Thiel, AOAT 31 (1978); M. Salvini – I. Wegner, SMEA 22 (1980) 87sq.

159 KBo XXV 112; 114–117; 119–120; KUB VIII 41 obv. II 1sq.; XXVIII 75 rev. III 4sq.; XXXI 143a +; XLIII 27 etc.

160 KBo XII 106 obv. I 1sq.; XVII 74 obv. I 1; 78 obv. I 1sq., 9sq.; KUB XXVIII 4 (and par.) obv. I; XXX 57 + 59 l. col. 8sq.; MS obv. I 1sq.

161 KUB XVII 28 obv. I 1sq.; XXX 42 obv. I 15; 55 rev. ? 12.

162 KUB VII 28 obv. 2sq.; XXX 55 III? 6.

163 KBo IV 2 obv. I 1sq.; X 6 obv. I 12sq.; KUB XXX 47 obv. I 4sq.

164 KUB XII 44 + KBo XXVII 108 obv. II 27sq.

165 KBo X 6 obv. I 5sq.; cf. KUB XXX 42 I 18.

166 KUB XXX 46 r. col. 7sq.

167 KUB VII 1 rev. III 29sq.; VIII 71.21sq.; XXX 48.15sq.; 49 rev. IV 12sq.; XXXII 129 + obv.

(I) 1sq.; XLIII 55 obv. III 10sq.; VBoT 24 obv. I 1sq., rev. IV 32sq., 36sq.; 108/e line 1sq.

168 Ad. E. Jensen, in: L. Petzoldt (ed.), *Magie und Religion* (1978) 186.

example. Or an experience common from our childhood: pointing at an intended target before throwing something (stone) at it as a way of insuring one's aim. This is a form of imitative magic which most of us have practiced without being aware of it. We are accustomed also to express our displeasure at things we do not like by means of word, gesture and mimic. The same is true when the image of an enemy is destroyed in the hope – expressed in an incantation or charm – that he too may perish. To give an example from modern Turkey of what I think is a traditional magical practice: When a pet runs away or is lost, its owner goes to the local imam, since there are no more magicians, and asks him to protect the animal from predators with a magical charm. The priest takes either a pocketknife or a piece of rope and says: “As I shut this pocketknife or knot this rope, may the jaws of the wolf also remain closed until this animal is found again.” The belief in the effectiveness of this application of imitative magic is so strong, that it is absolutely necessary, after the pet has been recovered, to open the knife again or untie the rope so that the wolf does not starve to death.

As long as we do not understand what forces and animistic conceptions underlie imitative magic in its original mode of expression, this type of magical practice could be simply categorized as naive and primitive. It must, as Jensen says,<sup>169</sup> be attributed to a lack of intellectual sophistication and a confused knowledge of causal connections.

Another type of this magic is that which takes the part for the whole (*pars-pro-toto*) and has been practiced by almost all peoples as a kind of love magic. Its underlying premiss is that whatever happens to the part – a lock of hair or a fingernail are most commonly used – will happen to the whole as well.

I have briefly described the relationship of magic to science and art already. Along with medicinal magic, imitative magic has its greatest significance in its relationship to the natural sciences. The following comparative formulae, used in imitative magic, may all be traced back to empirical observations. Nowhere else do the Hittite texts show such precise observations of natural events and circumstances, a fact which led me several years ago to deny to the Hittites themselves any talent for observing and describing natural phenomena,<sup>170</sup> since I mistakenly considered these passages to be either *topoi* or to stem from the observations of other peoples. Today I must say that the inception of Hittite science is to be sought in their magical rituals, since only there will one discover the origins of their medicine, pharmacy, physics, psychology, art and, what is even more important, the observation of natural phenomena.

<sup>169</sup> Jensen, loc. cit.

<sup>170</sup> A. Ünal, *Belleten* 163 (1977) 447sqq.; *Belleten* 175 (1980) 475sq.; *Or.* 52 (1983) 166sq. and n. 11.

In conclusion I would like to provide you with some idea of the extent of the spectrum encompassed by imitative magic among the Hittites. I have listed the various subjects with which it deals, quoting only the first words of the charm used in each case. The charms take the form of comparisons, which accompany an action or gesture which, in turn, is supposed to gratify a wish or ward off something undesirable. The fixed linguistic formula in Hittite is “*mahḥan . . . apeniššan*”, which means “just as this is or is done, so may this be or be done.”

## I. Imitative magic employing natural signs and phenomena

### A. Imitative magic with plants

1. Just as the fig is sweet . . .<sup>171</sup>
2. Just as the vine and raisin contain wine . . .<sup>172</sup>
3. Just as the raisin is sweet . . .<sup>173</sup>
4. Just as the vine has roots below and tendrils above . . .<sup>174</sup>
5. Just as the oil tree contains oil . . .<sup>175</sup>
6. Just as the tree dries out without water . . .<sup>176</sup>
7. Just as the tree is provided with fruit and puts forth shoots . . .<sup>177</sup>
8. Just as wheat is pure . . .<sup>178</sup>
9. Just as wheat swells in water . . .<sup>179</sup>
10. Just as sesame contains oil . . .<sup>180</sup>
11. Just as sesame breaks to pieces and sheds its husks . . .<sup>181</sup>
12. Just as a colored bloom grows . . .<sup>182</sup>
13. Just as the *gangati*-weed is clean . . .<sup>183</sup>
14. Just as the soapwood cleans dirty cloth and it becomes white . . .<sup>184</sup>
15. Just as one plants *artarti*- and *maršigga*-trees . . .<sup>185</sup>

171 KUB XVII 10 II 16sq.; XXXIII 1 II 1sq.; 62 II 16sq.; HT 100.6sq. For the pips of figs see KUB XVII 12 III 8sqq.; XXXIII 68 II 7.

172 KUB XVII 10 II 19sq.; 12 III 8sqq.; 13.5sq.; XXXIII 68 II 13sqq.

173 KUB XXXIII 76.14sqq.

174 KUB XXIX 1 rev. IV 13sqq.

175 KUB XVII 10 II 19.

176 KUB XII 62 obv. 16sq., rev. 11sqq.

177 Tunn. rev. IV 15sqq.

178 KUB XVII 10 II 24sq.; XXXIII 1 III 5sq.; 5 rev. ? III 5sqq.

179 KUB VII 58 I 2sqq.

180 KUB XVII 13.9sq.

181 KUB XXXIII 68 II 8sq.

182 KUB XXXIII 68 II 1sq.

183 KUB VII 29 Rs. ! 6sqq.

184 KBo IV 2 I 44sq.; X 37 I 45sq.

185 KUB XXIX 1 IV 23sqq.

16. Just as the tuber is put forth by the reed . . .<sup>186</sup>
17. Just as a reed which has been cut off cannot grow together again . . .<sup>187</sup>
18. Just as the white thorn is white in spring and red in summer . . .<sup>188</sup>
19. Just as the white thorn plucks the forelock of the kid and the cow and the wool of the sheep . . .<sup>189</sup>
20. Just as the laurel (??) (<sup>GiS</sup>*alanza*) cleans shepherds and cowherds . . .<sup>190</sup>
21. Just as barley nourishes men, cattle, sheep and animals . . .<sup>191</sup>
22. Just as the onion is surrounded by skins and one does not let go of the other . . .<sup>192</sup>
23. Just as the juniper (*eya-*) is always green and its leaves do not fall off . . .<sup>193</sup>
24. Just as straw in a barn . . . (and) is destroyed . . .<sup>194</sup>

#### B. Imitative magic with animals

1. Just as a young pig grows fat on grass and grain and after his death can see neither the sky nor the other young pigs . . .<sup>195</sup>
2. Just as one sow bears many piglets . . .<sup>196</sup>
3. Just as the watchdog does not allow strangers into the palace . . .<sup>197</sup>
4. Just as the dog heals his nine joints by licking . . .<sup>198</sup>
5. Just as the mule is sterile and does not give birth . . .<sup>199</sup>
6. Just as the vultures and the foxes eat the liver of the sheep . . .<sup>200</sup>
7. Just as sheep and cows favor their offspring . . .<sup>201</sup>
8. Just as the ram mounts the ewe so that she becomes pregnant . . .<sup>202</sup>
9. Just as the sheep licks salt . . .<sup>203</sup>

186 KUB XVII 10 II 31sq.; XXXIII 3 III 19sq.

187 KUB VII 1 (and par.) I 24sqq.

188 KUB XXXIII 54 + 47 II 13sq.

189 KUB XXXIII 54 + II 14sqq.; Tunn. III 33sqq.

190 KUB VII 53 III 13sqq.; Tunn. IV 47sqq.

191 KBo IV 2 I 58sqq.

192 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 27sqq.

193 KUB XXIX 1 IV 17sqq.

194 Bo 2968 obv. ? 5sqq., H. A. Hoffner, AOAT 22 (1973) 84.

195 KBo II 3 I 56sqq.

196 Bo 3617 I 4; VAT 13042 rev. 19sqq., H. Otten – J. Siegelová, AfO 23 (1970) 32, 36.

197 KBo IV 2 I 22sqq.

198 KUB XXXV 148 + rev. III 14sqq.

199 Bo 550 rev. IV 7sqq., H. Otten, HTR (1958) 138.

200 KUB XXIV 14 rev. IV 19sqq., E. Laroche, JKIF 1 (1950) 174sqq.

201 KUB XXXIII 70 obv. ? II 14; 71 rev. IV 4sqq.; XLVI 52 obv. ? 13sqq.

202 KUB VII 41

203 KBo XI 14 obv. I 21.

10. Just as the new born sheep is not able at first to see the sky, the earth and its mother's breast . . .<sup>204</sup>
11. Just as animals "dry out" without water . . .<sup>205</sup>
12. Just as the wool of sheep is matted . . .<sup>206</sup>
13. Just as in/on this red wool (there is something) glistening . . .<sup>207</sup>
14. Just as the message (?) of the lamb is soft . . .<sup>208</sup>
15. Just as the thighs of the sheep stand like *arlip* . . .<sup>209</sup>
16. Just as the cow is tethered . . .<sup>210</sup>
17. Just as the blood red pelt remains blood red . . .<sup>211</sup>
18. Just as the fish out of water cannot get back into the water . . .<sup>212</sup>

C. Imitative magic with food

1. Just as the broth is clean . . .<sup>213</sup>
2. Just as the broth is separated and no *pid dunza* or *pakšuwa* (lump?) is present in it . . .<sup>214</sup>
3. Just as the sweet *galaktar* food placates the gods . . .<sup>215</sup>
4. Just as malt is dry and is not used as seed corn or made into bread . . .<sup>216</sup>
5. Just as beer spices and malt are blended and mixed together . . .<sup>217</sup>
6. Just as yeast causes dough to rise . . .<sup>218</sup>
7. Just as honey is sweet . . .<sup>219</sup>
8. Just as butter is soft . . .<sup>220</sup>
9. Just as one can calm an angry and anxious man with beer . . .<sup>221</sup>
10. Just as sweet milk is sweet . . .<sup>222</sup>

204 HT 6 + KBo IX 125 rev. IV 21 sqq., E. Laroche, OLZ 1959, 275.

205 KUB XII 62 obv. 16sq., rev. 1sqq.

206 KBo XX 82 II 21sqq.

207 KUB XV 34 II 26sqq.

208 KUB XXXIII 19 III 11sqq.

209 KUB XXIX 1 rev. IV 10sqq.; XXXIII 68 III 18sqq., cf. HW<sup>2</sup> p. 313.

210 KBo XX 82 II 21sq.

211 KBo VI 34 + III 46sqq.

212 KBo II 3 I 38sq.

213 KBo XIV 108 II 9sqq.; XXIII 1 + obv. I 35sqq., rev. III 17sqq.

214 KBo XXIII 1 + obv. I 32sqq., II 13sq., rev. III 17sqq.; KUB XLIII 58 obv. II 8sqq., 45sqq., rev. III 1sqq.

215 KBo XII 85 + (and par.) obv. II 54sq.

216 KBo VI 34 + II 31sqq.; KUB XVII 10 III 16sqq.; XXXIII 11 III 2sqq.

217 KUB XVII 10 II 23; XXXIII 1 III 8sqq.; XLI 23 II 18sqq.

218 KBo VI 34 + I 35sqq.

219 KUB XVII 10 II 25sqq.; 12 III 13sqq.

220 KUB XVII 10 II 26.

221 KUB XXXIII 1 III 10sqq.

222 KUB XXXV 5 obv. ? II 8sq.

- D. Imitative magic with metals and minerals
1. Just as the stone is heavy and without feeling . . .<sup>223</sup>
  2. Just as copper is firm and lasting . . .<sup>224</sup>
  3. Just as gold is lasting, firm and unalloyed . . .<sup>225</sup>
  4. Just as salt has no seeds and can bring forth nothing green . . .<sup>226</sup>
- E. Imitative magic with the gods
1. Just as the gods disseminate and grind *šepit* and *ewan* . . .<sup>227</sup>
  2. Just as the iron in the sky came to the Storm God and holds up the sky . . .<sup>228</sup>
  3. Just as the Sun God and the Storm God are eternal . . .<sup>229</sup>
  4. Just as the priest restrains the swift Storm God . . .<sup>230</sup>
  5. Just as the gods and men love one another . . .<sup>231</sup>
- F. Imitative magic with human beings
1. Just as a father and mother love their children . . .<sup>232</sup>
  2. Just as the deaf cannot hear nor the blind see nor the lame walk . . .<sup>233</sup>
  3. Just as the enemy desires evil for the king of the Hittites . . .<sup>234</sup>
  4. Just as one can allay hostility with peace . . .<sup>235</sup>
  5. Just as mankind is mortal . . .<sup>236</sup>
- G. Imitative magic with various instruments and objects
1. Just as the door turns on its hinge . . .<sup>237</sup>
  2. Just as the bolt pushes back the lock and the door opens . . .<sup>238</sup>
  3. Just as the wagon . . .<sup>239</sup>

223 KBo XXIII 9 obv. I 14sq.; KUB VII 58 I 2sq.; XLIII 38 rev. 25sqq.

224 KBo IV 1 obv. 8sqq.

225 KBo IV 1 obv. 41sq.

226 KBo VI 34 + II 16; XVI 56 + KUB XXXIV 85 I 9sq.; C. Kühne, Festschrift H. Otten (1973) 162.

227 KUB XXIX 1 rev. III 9sqq.

228 KUB XXXIV 77 obv. 9sq.

229 KBo XVII 1 + III 1sq.

230 KUB XVII 10 rev. V 4sqq.

231 KBo XXII 126 (and par.) obv. 4sqq.

232 KUB XXXIII 70 obv. ? II 14sq.; 71 IV 4sq.; XLVI 52 obv. ? 13sqq.

233 KBo XXIV 9 + 1696/u obv. I 5sq.; KUB XII 62 rev. 7sqq. Cf. also KBo VI 34 + III 2sqq.

234 KUB VII 46 rev. 10sqq.

235 KUB XXIV 9 + obv. II 9.

236 KUB XXX 16 + XXXIX 1 obv. I 10sq.

237 KBo XII 112 rev. 7sq.; XXI 6 I 6.

238 KBo XIII 109 III 6sqq.

239 KUB XXXIII 49 III 1sqq.



4. Just as the wheel turns . . .<sup>240</sup>
5. Just as the rear wheel can never catch the front wheel . . .<sup>241</sup>
6. Just like a boat's cargo (wooden statues, glass bowls, etc.) which falls into the river can never be recovered . . .<sup>242</sup>
7. Just as the spoon (?) (<sup>GI</sup>*tipaš*) causes the water boiling out of a pot to recede . . .<sup>243</sup>
8. Just as the *huwaši*-stones (solitary stelae?) fall over . . .<sup>244</sup>
9. Just as the tower falls down . . .<sup>245</sup>
10. Just as the oven brings forth nothing green . . .<sup>246</sup>
11. Just as women's clothes, the skirt and the spindle are symbolic for the female sex . . .<sup>247</sup>
12. Just as the hot lamp burns or shines (?) . . .<sup>248</sup>
13. Just as the *ali* cloth is clean . . .<sup>249</sup>
14. Just as the fuller smooths the cloth (felt?) so that no threads or lint remain . . .<sup>250</sup>

#### H. Imitative magic with natural processes and natural conditions

1. Just as heaven and earth are eternal . . .<sup>251</sup>
2. Just as heaven and earth can never touch one another . . .<sup>252</sup>
- 2a. Just as the sky is pure . . .<sup>252a</sup>
3. Just as the mountains are high and forested . . .<sup>253</sup>
4. Just as the sun above runs across (?) the sky and has given light in all the lands . . .<sup>254</sup>

240 KUB XXXIII 103 II 6sq.

241 KBo XI 14 II 22sq.; KUB XXXVI 91 (+) XLIII 68 rev. 10sqq.

242 KUB XXXIX 71 rev. IV 17sq. For a similar example from Assyria compare the letter of Asarhaddon: Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* nr. 24; E. Reiner, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (1966) 84.

243 KUB XVII 10 IV 4sqq.

244 KBo II 3 III 17sqq.

245 KUB XVII 27 II 33sq.

246 KBo VI 34 + III 36sqq.

247 KBo VI 34 + II 42sq.

248 KUB XXXIII 76.2sqq. (fragmentary).

249 KBo XIV 108 II 9sqq.; XXIII 1 + obv. I 30, rev. III 9sq.; KUB XV 42 II 6sqq.; XLIII 58 II 19sqq.

250 KBo XIII 109 II 6sqq.; KUB XXVII 67 II 25sqq., III 30sqq., cf. XLIII 58 II 19sqq.

251 KBo XVII 1 + III 1sq.

252 KUB XXXIV 79.8sqq.; XXXV 54 II 41sqq., P. Meriggi, *RHA* 67 (1960) 92.

252<sup>a</sup> KUB XXV 20 + XLVI 23 rev. 20–23 with par. KUB XI 23 rev. VI 1sqq.

253 KUB XXXIV 77 obv. 14sq.

254 KUB XXXIV 77 obv. 3sqq.; FHL 1.4sq.

5. Just as the wind blows away the chaff and carries it out to sea . . . <sup>255</sup>
- 5a. Just as wind and rain are not capable of removing the stones . . . <sup>255a</sup>
6. Just as fire burns . . . <sup>256</sup>
7. Just as water is clean and can be used to clean costly raiment and utensils . . . <sup>257</sup>
8. Just as the black earth drinks up the water . . . <sup>258</sup>
9. Just as the water is poured out . . . <sup>259</sup>
10. Just as water puts out fire . . . <sup>260</sup>
11. Just as water flows off the roof and never returns through the gutter . . . <sup>261</sup>
12. Just as water in a pipe does not flow backwards . . . <sup>262</sup>
13. Just as one can not raise the mountains nor lay hold of the valleys . . . <sup>263</sup>
14. Just as the salt dump (??) (*bubuwaḫi*) brings forth no vegetation . . . <sup>264</sup>
15. Just as the current of a river cannot be turned around . . . <sup>265</sup>
16. Just as the spring spews forth mud from the black earth . . . <sup>266</sup>
17. Just as rain water washes filth and dirt from the city . . . <sup>267</sup>
18. Just as dust lets itself be wiped away . . . <sup>268</sup>
19. Just as the cliff is eternal . . . <sup>269</sup>

#### I. Imitative magic with customs and usages

1. Just as the servants and subjects [may see] the king and the gods from a distance . . . <sup>270</sup>

255 KBo X 45 II 52sqq.; KUB VII 41 II 52sqq.

255<sup>a</sup> KBo XVII 62+63 rev. IV 7sq.

256 KUB XXXIII 28 III 11sqq.

257 KUB XLIII 58 I 40sqq.

258 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 63sq.

259 KBo X 45 I 24sqq.; KUB XIII 3 II 29sqq., III 1sq.

260 KBo VI 34 + IV 4sqq.; Maşat 1981 obv., published on the cover of T. Özgüç, Maşat II (1982).

261 KBo XIII 134 rev. 14sqq.; KUB VII 41 I 28sqq., cf. rev. IV 37sqq.

262 KUB XVII 10 III 25sqq.; XXXIII 28 III 13sqq.; 49 II 3sqq.

263 KUB XII 62 rev. 3sqq.

264 Mattiwaza-Treaty, A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957) 152sqq.; M. Vieyra, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (1966) 105.

265 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 39sqq.

266 KUB XVII 27 II 8; Tunn. I 36sq.

267 KUB VII 41 IV 37sqq.

268 KUB XXIV 9 + III 7.

269 KBo XV 10 II 5sq., III 51; KUB XLIII 23 rev. 15sqq.

270 KBo XIII 50.4sqq.

- J. Imitative magic with a millstone
  1. Just as the small kernel escapes the millstone . . .<sup>271</sup>
  2. Just as the beer spices are ground with the millstone . . .<sup>272</sup>
- K. Imitative magic with pregnancy
  1. Just as the pregnant woman, the pregnant cow and sheep give birth . . .<sup>273</sup>
- L. Imitative magic with mythical means
  1. Just as things go into the bronze bowls with leaden lids in the earth or in the sea and do not come out again . . .<sup>274</sup>
- M. Imitative magic with the corners of the house
  1. Just as the four corners of the house are permanently on the ground and do not sway . . .<sup>275</sup>

## II. Imitative magic performed with artificial signs

- A. Manipulation of animals
  1. Eagles and hawks are released into the air<sup>276</sup>
  2. A plow animal is struck about the feet<sup>277</sup>
- B. Parts of animals used as symbols of fertility
  1. The sex organs of a sow are buried in an infertile vineyard<sup>278</sup>
- C. Manipulation of seeds and utensils
  1. Seeds are soaked to deprive them of their fertility<sup>279</sup>
  2. A rope is untwined<sup>280</sup>
  3. A rope is twined like a cord<sup>281</sup>
  4. Cords, knots and bindings are cut<sup>282</sup>
  5. A millstone is turned backwards<sup>283</sup>

271 KBo XI 14 II 20sq.

272 KBo VI 34 + II 19sqq.

273 KUB VII 41 IV 32sqq.; Tunn. IV 8sq.

274 KUB XXXIII 3 III 7sqq.; 24 (+) IV 6sqq.; 66 II 9sq.

275 KBo IV 1 (and par.) obv. 14sqq.

276 KUB XXX 33 IV 6sqq.

277 KUB XXX 16 + I 10sq., H. Otten, HTR (1958) 18sq.

278 KUB XII 44 + III 18.

279 KBo IV 2 I 7sqq.; KUB IX 25 + XXVII 67 obv. 3sqq.

280 KUB XVII 27 II 34.

281 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 35sq.

282 KBo X 37 I 39sqq.; XV 10 III 18; KUB XLI 21 IV 12sq.

283 HT 35 rev. 5sqq.

6. A stake is driven into the earth<sup>284</sup>
- D. The alteration of material
1. Dolls of wax, tallow and mud are destroyed, deformed, etc.<sup>285</sup>
  2. Onions are peeled<sup>286</sup>
  3. A soap plant is cut off and crumbled<sup>287</sup>
  4. A tuft of hair and wool is plucked from a sheep<sup>288</sup>
  5. Fine oil is sprinkled using a clump of wool<sup>289</sup>
- E. The imitation of natural processes
1. Wine and water are mixed<sup>290</sup>
  2. Wine and water seep into the earth<sup>291</sup>
  3. Water is poured into the gutter<sup>292</sup>
  4. Torches are lit and extinguished<sup>293</sup>
  5. Kindling is lit to illuminate the four corners of the house<sup>294</sup>
  6. The bodies of the supplicants are wiped with the “sun plant”<sup>295</sup>
  7. [Just as] you anoint [yourself with oil, so also] let these oaths be smeared [on your body!]<sup>296</sup>
  8. Just as you put a garment [on your body], so also put these oaths on yourself!<sup>297</sup>
  9. Ears of wheat are flayed so that the kernels fall out<sup>298</sup>
- F. The burning of various objects
1. Fibers are melted in a flame<sup>299</sup>
  2. Salt is burned in a flame<sup>300</sup>

284 KBo XIV 103 IV 5sqq.

285 KBo VI 34 + III 12sqq.; Tunn. II 14sqq.

286 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 27sqq.

287 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 20sqq.

288 KUB XVII 10 IV 1sqq.

289 KUB XV 34 II 26sqq.

290 KUB XLIII 38 rev. 17sqq.

291 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 65sq.

292 KUB XXX 33 (and par.) IV 2sqq.

293 KUB XLIII 38 obv. 6sqq.

294 KUB XVII 10 III 14sqq.; XXXIII 11 III 10sqq.; 28 III 8sqq.; 49 III 6sqq.

295 KBo II 3 III 39sqq.

296 KUB XXVI 25 II? 4sqq.

297 KUB XXVI 25 II? 4sqq., cf. CHD III/1 (1980) 66b.

298 KBo XXV 122 II 3sqq., O. Carruba, StBoT 2 (1966) 33; N. Oettinger, Stammbildung (1979) 236.

299 KBo VI 34 + II 5sqq.

300 KBo VI 34 + II 5sqq.

3. Wax and sheep fat are melted in a flame<sup>301</sup>
4. Bones are burned and thrown into a river<sup>302</sup>
5. Various objects are burned and thrown away<sup>303</sup>
6. A goat and a *šunaššura* bird are burned and buried in the dark earth<sup>304</sup>
7. Plants containing alkali are burned and converted to soap<sup>305</sup>

G. Objects are shattered, smashed and destroyed

1. Pots, ovens, models of plows and chariots, etc. are shattered and broken apart<sup>306</sup>
2. A bladder is crushed flat with the foot<sup>307</sup>
3. Small figures are crushed under foot<sup>308</sup>
4. A reed is cut off with a hatchet<sup>309</sup>
5. Brushwood is burned<sup>310</sup>
6. Kernels of *šepit* and *ewan* are trampled to pieces<sup>311</sup>

H. Extinguishing with water

1. A fire is put out with water<sup>312</sup>
2. Water and beer are poured over glowing pebbles<sup>313</sup>
3. Burning fir cones are extinguished with water<sup>314</sup>
4. Glowing stones and burning fir cones are made to shriek, crack apart and become dumb in water<sup>315</sup>

I. Various objects are transported from their place of origin

1. Lumps of earth are taken and brought to another place<sup>316</sup>
2. Water is dipped from a spring and taken away<sup>317</sup>

301 KBo VI 34 + I 47 sqq.

302 KBo XI 10 II 10sqq., III 23sqq.; 72 III 11 sq.

303 KUB XV 39 I 17.

304 KBo XII 91 IV 4sqq., cf. KUB XXX 34 IV 25sqq.

305 KUB XXIX 7 rev. 12sqq.

306 KBo II 3; VI 34 + III 36sqq.; KUB XLIII 38 rev. 1 sqq.; Tunn. III 9, 19.

307 KBo VI 34 + III 30sqq.

308 KBo VI 34 + III 24sqq.

309 KUB VII 41 I 24sqq.

310 VBoT 24 III 42sqq.

311 KUB XXIX 1 III 9sqq.

312 KBo IV 2 I 12; XXI 6 rev. 7sq.; KUB IX 25 + obv. 4sqq.; XVII 10 III 22sq.; 27 III 7.

313 KUB XXXIII 49 II 6sqq.; VBoT 24 IV 1sqq.

314 KUB XXVII 67 II 5sqq., III 9sqq.

315 KUB VII 58 I 1sqq. and dupl. XLV 20, E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968) 68.

316 KBo IV 12 I 48sqq.; KUB XII 59 + II 20sqq.; XVII 27 II 7sqq.

317 KBo XIII 131 III 1sqq.

3. Images of malicious tongues are thrown onto a field<sup>318</sup>J. Fragmentary texts<sup>319</sup>

I hope that I have been able to indicate with these examples the enormous importance which magic assumed alongside religion in the notions of life and cultic observance held by the people of ancient Anatolia.

*<sup>D</sup>Ištanuš mahḥan ukturiš na-aš šer arahza nepišza ḥuyanza n-ašta udniyaš ḥumandaš lalukešnuwan ḥarzi dušgarawana lammara apeniššan šiwattuš-šmuš lalukešnuwandu.*

“Just as the sun is eternal and runs across the sky above and gives light in all lands, so also may happy hours lighten your days”

318 KBo X 37 III 21sq.; XV 10 II 12sq., III 54sq.

319 KBo XII 133 rev. 6; XV 30 II 1sq.; XVII 62 + 63 IV 10/5, 11/6; 90 II 15 (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> s. v. *appai-*); XX 34 rev. 8; XXI 12.12; XXII 126 obv. 4sq.; XXIII 9 I 8sq.; XXV 184 III 9sq.; XXVII 24 (and par.) rev. 1sq.; KUB VII 16 rev. 6sq.; 46.9sq. (par. Bo 3085 I 12sq.); IX 4 II 32sq.; 7 obv. II 5sq.; XXXII 131 + KBo XVII 54 IV 13sq. (par. KUB XXXIII 35.3sq.; 49 II 6sq.); XXXIII 138 obv. 2sq.; XXXIV 85.2sq.; XXXV 92 obv. 32sq.; 148 + VII 57 III 29sq., 34sq.; XXXVI 96 obv. 12; XXXIX 87.5sq.; XLVI 45 rev.? 7sq.; Bo 3182 rev. 3sq., H. Otten, KBo XXII p. V n. 2.