

him] and [am giving] it back to [its] master." [She winds] the [th]read around the figures.

[Nex]t [she makes a thread] of red wool [in the same way and says: "Whoever has made] him blood red, [now, I am] tak[ing from him blood]redness [and] I am giv[ing it back to] i[ts master. She] winds the th[read around the figure]s.⁹⁰

In these paragraphs the threads represent evil. In the first, the thread is used to signify the binding influence of the evil. The thread is removed, signifying the loosening of the spell, and put back on figurines representing the sorcerer who caused the affliction.⁹¹ In the second paragraph, the evil is represented by a red thread. Similarly, in ensuing paragraphs of this ritual, black, yellow, and blue threads are employed in the same way. The colors represent the unnatural and mortifying evils that afflict the patient. They are removed and put on the figures, thus indicating the purification of the patient.⁹²

1.3.7 Annulment⁹³

This motif is exhibited in ritual actions which represent a reversal or cancellation of the impurity. This motif was present in the examples from the Malli ritual, cited in the previous section on concretizing, in

⁹⁰i 31–36, 37–40.

⁹¹On binding and loosing as a representation of evil and purification, see V. Haas, "Die Unterwelts- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im hethitischen Kleinasien," *Or* 45 (1976) 204–5 and Haas and Thiel, *Beschwörungsrituale*, 40–46.

⁹²For a discussion of thread manipulation, see Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte*, 156; Riemschneider, "Hethitisch 'gelb/grün,'" 141–47; L. Jakob-Rost, *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung* (KUB XXXIV 9+) (THeth 2; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1972) 86–87. Other examples of thread manipulation are Ambazzi ii 15–20; Anniwiyani i 10–25; Huwarlu i 27–32, 33–37; StBoT 8 iv 14–22; Tunnawi ii 28–40 and see the texts discussed, below. Though one may argue that threads are used as objects of transfer which absorb the evil from the patient (cf. Engelhard, "Magical Practices," 138–40), the fact that they are colored or "bound" on the patient indicates that they represent the evil rather than absorb it.

⁹³This category is taken from Vieyra, "Sorcier," 118.

which evil was put back on the sorcerer who caused it. Annulment is also seen in the onion analogy in the Samuha ritual. The practitioner is given an onion and says:

If before a god someone [keeps sa]ying the following:
"Behold, just as an onion is wrapped up with layers,
one [not] able to separ[ate] from the other, let evil,
oath, curse, and uncleanness be wrapped up like an
onion around the temple!" Now, behold, I have peeled
away this onion (and) have retained this one scanty
stalk. In this way may evil word, oa[th, cu]rse, and
uncleanness be peeled away from [befor]e the god! Let
the god and offerer be clean from th[at ma]tter!⁹⁴

Here, the supposition is that someone has used the analogy of an onion to bring impurity on the temple. The practitioner therefore reverses the curse by peeling the layers off the onion. The remaining bare stem represents the purified temple.⁹⁵

1.3.8 Disposal

This motif is manifested when evils or materials considered to be infected with evil or symbolizing evil are finally discarded. Since this particular motif is the subject of this larger study, no examples are necessary here. I mention this motif here separately only to give a more complete list of the various motifs appearing in Hittite rituals.

1.3.9 Prevention

This motif is evident in acts that seek to keep an evil from returning after it has been dispelled or to prevent it from having any effect in the first place.

In the Huwarlu ritual, a model dog is made and given the following commission:

⁹⁴Samuha rs. 36–41.

⁹⁵See also the next ritual action in the Samuha ritual (rs. 42–47), where it is supposed that the one who has brought evil on the god twisted a cord to the left. The evil is annulled by twisting the cord to the right. Cf. *KUB* 17.27 ii 28–41 (= *ANET*, 347); Engelhard, "Magical Practices," 136–40.

You are the small dog of the table of the king and queen. As during the day you do not let another man into the house, (so) let no baneful word in during this night!⁹⁶

Somewhat differently in the Malli ritual, cathartic materials loaded with evil are buried and secured in the ground with pegs to prevent the escape of the impurity:

She (i.e., the Old Woman) throws all this on the figures. The Old Woman takes up five breads, one jug of beer, peg(s), (and) *karšani*-plant. She goes outside. In the area she digs the ground (and) places the ritual materials therein. She scatters mud on top (and) smooths (it) over. She hammers the pegs. She says the following: "Whoever has bewitched this (person), now, I have taken his bewitching back (and) I have placed it down in the earth. I have fixed it. Let the bewitching (and) evil dreams be fixed! Let it not come back up! Let the Dark Earth (i.e., the nether world) keep it!"⁹⁷

In this example we have a hint of an additional feature of the prevention motif: asking the gods to keep the evil away from the patient. In the ensuing portion of this ritual, this sort of request is explicitly made, accompanied by appeasement offerings.⁹⁸ Such requests are frequent when impurities are being discarded.⁹⁹

The idea of disposing of evil so that it cannot return is also found in discarding impurities in the *ukturi*- dumping place or in sealing impure bathing water in a pot.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶Huwarlu i 23–26; cf. ii 13–23.

⁹⁷Malli ii 16'–25'. On nailing down evils with pegs, see Ambazzi iv 28–32; Riemschneider, "Hethitisch 'gelb/grün,'" 146 (citing *VBoT* 3 iii 9–16); E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (WDWLS; Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America and the University of Pennsylvania, 1935) 121 (citing *KUB* 12.44 iii 2–9); and also Engelhard, "Magical Practices," 115–17; Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte*, 159. Compare also Birth Ritual H ii 4'–8' where pegs are fixed outside a room, perhaps as an apotropaic device (see the note of G. Beckman, "Hittite Birth Rituals" [PhD diss., Yale University, 1977] 121–22).

⁹⁸Malli ii 26'–33', 34'–39'.

⁹⁹Cf. Ambazzi iv 28–32; House Purification iii 1–12.

¹⁰⁰See chap. 9, section 9.4.2, below.

One last motif which we have seen already in some of the examples in the discussion on analogy, entreaty and appeasement is that of invigoration. This is when, after the evil has been removed, rites and prayers are performed to bring health and well-being to the patient.¹⁰¹

1.4 HITTITE PARALLELS: THE TEXTS

We are now ready to examine a few Hittite rituals of disposal and compare them with the biblical scapegoat rite. I will treat each ritual passage separately, giving a translation followed by a discussion.

1.4.1 The Ritual of Pulisa

- i
1. [Th]us (says) Pulisa [if the king]
 2. smites the [la]nd of an enemy an[d from the border of the land of the enemy]
 3. he marches [away of the land of the enemy]
 4. [ei]ther some [male]god [or a female god among(?)]
 5. the people a plague occur[s]
-
6. When he [marches a]way from the border of the land of the enemy,
 7. they take one prisoner and one woman of the land. [On which road] the ki[ng]
 8. came from the land of the enemy, to that road the king m[oves].
 9. All the leaders move down to him. One prisoner
 10. and one woman they bring forth to him. He removes the clothes from himself.
 11. They put them on the man. But on the woman
 12. [they p]ut clothes of a woman. The king speaks

¹⁰¹See the examples in sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5. Also cf. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte*, 155–56. To this category belongs the Glückwunschformel (see A. Kammenhuber, "Hethitisch *innarauqatar*, (LÚ)KALA-tar und Verwandtes," *MSS* 3 [1958] 33–36; also Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual*, 18; G. Szabó, *Ein hethitisches Entsühnungsritual für das Königspaar Tuthaliya und Nikalmati* [THeth 1; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1971] 66, 87, n. 7).

13. thus to the man—bu[t] if it is [not] convenient to the king, then he sen[ds] another person. That one
14. takes care of the rite. That one [spe]aks [to the] man thus: “If
15. some male god of the enemy land has caused this plague, b[ehol]d, to him
16. I have given the decorated man as a substitute man. At his head this o[ne is gr]eat,
17. at the heart this one is great, at the member this o[ne is gre]at.
18. You, male god, be appeased with t[his de]corated man.
19. But to the king, the [leaders], the ar[my, and the]
20. land of Hatti, tur[n yourself fa]ithfully. [] But
21. let this prisoner b[ear] the plague and carry (it) ba[ck into the land of the enemy.”]

22. And [t]o the woman he speak[s] likewise regarding the fema[le go]d.

23. Afterward, [they drive up] one bull and one e[we] of the la[nd] of the enemy.
24. Him, his ears, earrin[gs(?)]
25. red wool, green wool, bla[ck] wool, [white wool] from the king’s
26. mouth he dra[ws] forth. [He speaks the following:]
27. “In regard to the king becoming blood [red, green,]
28. [d]ark, and white]
29. [th]is back to the land of the en[emy]
30. and [to the king] himself, the leaders, the ar[my], the [ho]rse[s]
31. [do not] pay attention, (but) take note of it for the land of the enemy.” []
32. [] takes. It on emmer []
33. [The bull with e]arrings
34. He spe[aks] thus: “The god of the en[emy who caused this plague]
35. if he is a male god, to you I have gi[ven] the deco[rated],
36. [ear]ringed approved(??) [bull]. You, male god,
37. be appeased. Let [th]is bull carry [this plague]
38. back into the land of the enemy. [To the king, the]

- king'[s sons],
39. the leaders, the army, and the la[nd of Hatti turn yourself faithfully."]
-
40. Afterwards, the deco[rated] ewe []
41. he speaks likewise, regarding the female god []
-
- 42–43. Then th[ey se]nd forth the decorated bull [and the ewe to the prisoner] and the woman.
(The rest is broken.)

The goal of this ritual is to banish a plague, caused by an angry deity, that breaks out among the Hittite army as it is returning from battle waged in an enemy's land.¹⁰² To achieve this purpose, two humans, a male and female captive from the foreign country (line 7), and a bull and ewe, also from the foreign land (line 23), are selected as substitutes and bearers of the plague.

Various motifs of purification appear interwoven throughout this ritual. Attention is first directed to those manifested in the case of the male prisoner. The first thing to note is that the prisoner is offered as a gift of appeasement to the angry deity. He is clothed with the king's attire (lines 10–11), after which the king (or his representative, lines 13–14) seeks to entice the god to accept the man as a gift and be reconciled. He does this by indicating to the god that the man is "decorated" (line 16) and that he is a possessor of superb physical qualities (lines 16–17).¹⁰³ This positive description is capped with the request that the deity be appeased with the prisoner (line 18).

But the prisoner is more than a gift to the god. By putting on the king's clothes he becomes a substitute for the king. This is made explicit in the prayer where he is called a "substitute man" (*LÚ PU-ḪI-*

¹⁰²For an example of real plague occurring after contact with an enemy, see the "Plague Prayers of Mursilis," paragraph 4 (= *ANET*, 395).

¹⁰³On the commendation or praise of the substitute to the god, see Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*, 120–21. We will see, below, the praising of rams to a god in the Ashella ritual (lines 20–21). In the Gassuliyawiya Prayer (vs. 10–14), a substitute is praised before the afflicting divinity: "For you, this is my substitute. I have sent her to you decorated. (In comparison) to me, she is good, she is pure, she is brilliant, she is white, she is furnished with everything. Now god, my lord, look on this one." Also compare the Huwarlu ritual, ii 9–10, below.

ŠU; line 16). Of course, he is not only a substitute for the king, but for the whole of the army afflicted by the plague and, more generally, the people of the land, as indicated by the request that the god establish peaceful relations with the king, the army, its leaders, and the land of Hatti (lines 19–20).

The woman is treated in much the same way as the man (note the clothing difference in lines 11–12), and so we, like the ritual's author, Pulisa, need not say much about her except to note that her rite is performed with regard to a female deity (line 22). It appears that rather than taking an oracle to determine if a male or female deity was responsible (cf. line 4), as was possible when the source of evil was unknown,¹⁰⁴ the performers of the rite would use both a man and a woman to cover all possibilities.

In the last part of the ritual (lines 22–41), a bull and ewe (note again the sexual congruence corresponding to the male and female divinities; cf. lines 40–41) are prepared to serve the same functions as the humans. The instructions given apply directly to the bull, but it is clear from lines 40–41 that the ewe was treated similarly. A notable difference in this part of the ritual is the appearance of the motif of concretization. Various colored threads are pulled from the mouth of the king and placed on the bull (lines 25–26).¹⁰⁵ The prayer which follows this placement of the threads shows that they represent the evil that has been affecting the king (lines 27–31). By being concretized, the evil can be symbolically transferred from the king to the animal, leaving the king unaffected. But, as is possible and expected with ritual symbols, the colored threads have multiple meanings and therefore signify more than just evil. They are also a decorative device to make the animal more attractive to the deity. These, together with the earrings (cf. lines 24, 33), make the animal acceptable as a propitiatory offering (lines 35–37).^{105a}

¹⁰⁴Cf. Mursilis Sprachlähmung (vs. 9–11) where the cause for Mursili's affliction is determined by oracle.

¹⁰⁵The text does not expressly say that the wools are placed on the animal. However, this is to be understood from the context of other similar rites (cf. Gurney, *Aspects*, 48; Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*, 120).

^{105a}W. W. Fowler (cited apud V. Turner, "Sacrifice as Quintessential Process: Prophylaxis or Abandonment," *HR* 16 [1977] 203) says the decorating of an animal in Roman sacrifice was to "mark it off from the other animals as holy."

At the end of the rite, after all the preparations and prayers are completed, the animals and people are sent away to the enemy land (lines 20–21, 37–38, 42–43). This means that they are not simply substitutes to suffer the evil in the place of the army, but are also transporters of evil which carry it away to an innocuous locale.

The biblical scapegoat rite, though having a general scheme like that of the Pulisa rite, significantly contrasts with it. One of the main differences in the biblical rite is the lack of the appeasement motif. In Lev 16 as it is presently constituted, there is no angry deity to appease. It is true that the goat is sent to Azazel. But that is all we know about Azazel; he figures only as the goal to which the goat is sent. He otherwise has no part to play in the rite and concomitant theology. The Hittite rite, on the other hand, is wholly devoted to the appeasement of an angry deity mentioned repeatedly as an active agent throughout the ritual. The contrast between the treatment of the deity in the Pulisa rite to that of Azazel in the Bible—and I cannot stress this difference enough—underscores the impression that Azazel is not to be thought of as a demon receiving an appeasement offering, but merely as a signifier of the destination of impurity.

The lack of the appeasement motif in the scapegoat rite is also observed in the treatment of the dispatched goat. It is not decorated, sacrificed, or otherwise made appealing as a gift of appeasement to Azazel. It is simply sent away as a carrier of evil.

This leads to another significant contrast. In the Pulisa rite, the persons and animals are substitutes. They become the object of the god's wrath and plague. In the Bible's rite, the goat is just a transporter of impurity. There is no indication that the goat suffers in the place of the people when their sins are placed on it.

Both rites are essentially similar in that the impurity is removed from the community and sent away from it to the open country or to the enemy land. The difference in the specific place of disposal is determined partly by each society's concept of the proper place of evil and partly by the geographical setting of the rites. As for the Bible, communicable impurity is generally disposed of outside the habitation.¹⁰⁶ Thus the open country is sufficiently remote for disposal, yet sufficiently close for the convenience of those performing the ritual. In Hittite ritual, the enemy land is often designated as a place of disposal. In this particular rite, it is chosen because the evil originates from it, and the army,

¹⁰⁶See chap. 9.

according to the context, is still close enough to the foreign land to make disposal there possible.¹⁰⁷

Finally, deserving of mention is the difference between the evils removed in the two rites. In the Bible, Israel's *sins* are placed on the animal, whereas in the Pulisa rite, a deity-caused *plague* is dispatched.¹⁰⁸ The difference is not terribly significant since elimination rites may treat any one of a number of evils. But the difference is important since it brings to our attention the fact that the evil in the scapegoat rite is not a demonically active force attacking Israel.¹⁰⁹

1.4.2 The Ritual of Ashella

1. Thus (says) Ashella, the man of Hapalla:
 2. If in the land or in the army a plague occurs (variant: if the year is bad/inimical and i[n] the army [a plague occurs]),
 3. I perform this ritual:
-
4. I take this (variant: I do the following): When day becomes night,
 5. all whoever are the leaders of the army, each
 6. one prepares a ram. If the ram(s) are white
 7. or black it does not matter. A cord
 8. of white wool, red wool, (and) green wool I wind together. He weaves them (into) one(?).
 9. I bring together one *erimmatu*-bead and one ring of iron and lead (variant: one ring of chalcedony).
 10. I bind them on the necks and horns of the rams.
 11. They bind them (i.e., the rams) before the tents at night.
 12. They say the following at that time: "Whatever god is moving about,
 13. whatever god has caused this plague, for you, behold, these rams
 14. I have tied up. Be herewith appeased!"

¹⁰⁷See chap. 9, section 9.4.2.

¹⁰⁸On the similarity and difference of mere pollution versus the anger of a deity in Greek religion, see Parker, *Miasma*, 8–10.

¹⁰⁹For non-Priestly examples of disposal in a foreign land, see chap. 9, n. 150.

-
15. At morning, I drive them to the open country. With each ram
 16. they take a jug of beer, one thick bread, (and) one cup of milk(?). Before the tent of the king
 17. he has a decorated woman sit. He places with the woman one *huppar*-vessel of beer and three thick breads.
-
18. Then, the leaders of the army place their hands on the rams.
 19. Thereupon, they say the following: "Whatever god has caused this plague,
 20. now, behold, the rams are standing; they are very fat in liver,
 21. heart, and member.
 22. Let the flesh of humans be hateful to him. Moreover,
 23. be appeased with these rams." The leaders of the army show reverence
 24. to the rams, and the king shows reverence to the decorated woman.
 25. Then they bring the rams and the woman, the bread, and the beer out through the army.
 26. They drive them to the open country. They go and make them run inside the border of the enemy
 27. (so that) they do not arrive at any place of ours.
 28. Thereupon in this way they say: "Behold, whatever evil of this army
 29. was among men, cattle, sheep, horses, mules,
 30. and donkeys, now, behold,
 31. these rams and woman have taken it out from the camp.
 32. Whoever finds them, may that land receive this evil plague."

The Ashella ritual manifests the same general concerns as the Pulisa ritual, but with some interesting variation. The evil in the two is the same: a plague caused by an angry deity in the army or, as Ashella adds, in the land in general (line 2). An unspecified number of rams (one for each leader of the army, lines 4-6) and a woman (line 17), all probably spoils from the enemy land like the substitutes in the Pulisa rite, are selected to be carriers of the evil.

The Ashella rite contains the same purification motifs as does the Pulisa rite. First to be observed is the concretizing of evil in the placement of colored wools, an *erimmatu*-bead, and a ring of iron and lead on the rams (lines 8–10). This placement surely signifies the transfer of evil to the animals though there is no explicit act of removing the wools and other objects from the patient symbolizing the transfer as in the Pulisa rite. But if the motif of transfer is not clearly evident in the placement of the wools, it is certainly to be found in the bringing of the rams and woman through the army (lines 25–26).¹¹⁰ This is similar to the Roman ritual of *lustratio* in which a bearer of impurity is led or carried about an area or among people from which it will take the evil.¹¹¹ By passing through the army, the rams and woman receive the evil and are then disposed of.¹¹²

The disposal of the impurity here is much the same as that in the Pulisa rite, but prescribed in a little more detail. The rams and woman are driven to the open country (lines 15, 26) and then further on to the enemy land (line 26). The final release of the evil carriers is

¹¹⁰Cf. G. Furlani, *La religione degli Hittiti* (Storia delle religioni 13; Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1936) 219, n. 125.

¹¹¹See Boehm, "Lustratio," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 13 (1926) 2029–39; Parker, *Miasma*, 225–26. Cf. Servius on Vergil's *Aeneid*, ii 75, cited in J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1908; reprint, London: Merlin, 1962) 107–8. A specially prepared person is "led about through the whole city to the accompaniment of curses, in order that upon him may fall all the ills of the whole city, and thus he is cast headlong down."

¹¹²Another Hittite ritual contains an excellent example of *lustratio*:

He/she brings a goat and *šurašura*-bird through the city. From which gate they take people out to execute (them), from it you take out these (animals). In which place people die, to that place you bring them. They burn the goat and bury the *šurašura*-bird. He/she says: "as this goat and *šurašura*-bird has gone down under the earth, so may this sickness, blood, oath, and the tongue of the many go down under the earth."

(*KUB* 30.34 iv 19–29; partially cited in Engelhard, "Magical Practices," 161; H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (DAWBIO 37; Berlin: Akademie, 1958] 9.)

accompanied by a prayer stating that they have taken away the evil (lines 28–31). The last line adds the hope that the plague become active in the enemy land.

One motif present in the Ashella rite not found in Pulisa is that of prevention. The carriers are not just sent to the enemy land, but are taken there in such a way that they will not be able to return to the land of Hatti (line 27). Though a sure way of preventing their return would be to put them to death, it appears that they were only led to a place where foreigners would find and keep them (line 32).¹¹³

In addition to the motifs of concretizing, transfer, disposal, and prevention, the motifs of appeasement and substitution appear. Appeasement is indicated by the decoration of the rams with wools and the necklace made of *erimmatu*-beads and a metal ring (lines 7–10), and the decoration of the woman (lines 16–17).¹¹⁴ This idea is further seen in leaving the rams over night with a prayer to the plague causing deity that he be appeased with the rams (lines 12–14). The request for appeasement occurs again in a later prayer where the superb physical qualities of the rams are pointed out to the god (lines 19–23). The rams and woman are also provided with beer, bread, and milk which are certainly to be understood as appeasement offerings to the god (lines 16–17, 25).

Substitution is visible in the prayer that accompanies the handlaying rite (lines 18–23). The leaders ask the god to be satisfied with the rams instead of their human flesh. Here is expressed the idea that plague is the god's feasting on human victims. The god is therefore offered a more pleasing object on which to feast so that the humans may be left alone.

As we turn to a comparison with the scapegoat rite, much of what was said in the comparison of the Pulisa and scapegoat rites applies here. The feature of an angry deity who needs appeasement stands again in stark contrast to the shadowy figure of Azazel in the Bible. This is a further indication that Azazel is not to be considered a being who needs to be propitiated. The lack of the idea of appeasement in the Bible is

¹¹³Cf. 1 Sam 6:10–16.

¹¹⁴Haas (*Berggötter*, 173–74) suggests that the *erimmatu*-bead and metal ring form a type of amulet which prevents the evil from spreading. R. Stefanini (private communication), more correctly, believes that they are representations of the evil (private communication).

