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SUBSTITUTION RITES AND SCAPEGOAT RITES IN HITTITE-LUWIAN RITUALS

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The Hittite-Luwian rituals of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions (CTH 758–763) contain substitution and scapegoat rites among the rich set of their ritual practices. The substitution rites represent a subset of purification rites and may involve animals or inanimate substitutes. Their terminology displays parallels with that of the substitution rites embedded in Hittite compositions, such as royal substitution rituals (CTH 419–421) or Prayer for Princess Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380), but there are also important differences. While the scapegoat rites show affinities with the substitution rites, these two categories can be defined separately. The systematic research into both groups of rites was conducive to arriving at several new textual interpretations of Hittite-Luwian rituals. Thus, the damaged passage from the Kuwattalla tradition mentioning “the supreme substitutes” finds a parallel in the texts of the Hittite royal substitution ritual (CTH 421), where different kinds of substitutes are sent to the gods of the Netherworld and to the gods living in the skies respectively. Feeding the *nakkiu*-spirits during the ritual echoes the passage from the Luwian conjuration belonging to the Tauriša tradition. The interpretation of the adjective *šaknuwant(i)-*, describing the sacrificial animal presented to the Storm-God, should have a positive connotation, according to its parallels with the description of the substitution ritual in the Prayer for Princess Gaššuliyawiya.

Keywords: Anatolian religion, Hittite-Luwian rituals, Puriyanni tradition, Kuwattalla tradition, substitution rites, substitute, scapegoat

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 INTRODUCTION. HITTITE-LUWIAN RITUALS AMONG THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF ANCIENT ANATOLIA¹

In the 2nd millennium BCE Luwians were one of the peoples who inhabited the territory of the Hittite Kingdom (Ḫatti). The traces of Luwian presence in Anatolia of the 2nd millennium BCE are Anatolian hieroglyphic texts and some passages in cuneiform tablets from the archives of Ḫattuša.

Multilingualism was a common feature of the Hittite kingdom. For example, archives of the Hittite capital contain texts in the Hittite, Akkadian, Sumerian, Hurrian, Palaic and Hattic languages.² The largest part of these texts focuses on religion.

Although the earliest cuneiform texts containing Luwian insertions are written in the Old Script³, the oldest Luwian ritual texts are preserved on Middle Script tablets. These ritual traditions were expanded and developed till the end of the 13th century BCE. In the Hittite-Luwian rituals the actions of participants were normally described on the Hittite language, but most of the incantations were recorded in Luwian.

Within the corpus of Hittite-Luwian texts the substitution rites are concentrated in the rituals booked in the catalog of Hittite texts (CTH) under numbers 758–763. They belong to Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions (CTH 758, CTH 759–762 respectively).⁴ Texts booked under CTH 763 contain rituals that can be related to either the Puriyanni or Kuwattalla tradition, although the majority of them probably belong to the latter.

All of these rituals have purification as their main purpose. The principal aim of the Kuwattalla tradition rituals is purifying the patient. In the texts of Puriyanni tradition it is a house that is to be purified, although some of its incantations still apply to the purification of a patient.

The rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition were performed by a practitioner carrying the title of the female attendant (^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ). In the course of the ritual, she utters incantations and prayers to the gods. Furthermore, she performs ritual actions such as preparation of offerings and utensils, making libations and destroying symbols of evil. The author of the original version of this ritual was a maid at the court of the king Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmunikkal in the early 14th century BCE.⁵ Moreover, some colophons of these Hittite-Luwian rituals mention the Old Woman Šilalluḫi as well.⁶ Kuwattalla probably came to Ḫattuša from the Lower Land populated with the Luwians, while texts mentioning Šilalluḫi show Hurrian influence and that is why Šilalluḫi probably came from the land of Kizzuwatna, which was partially populated with the Hurrians.⁷ Kuwattalla's ritual was copied and adapted by the scribes of Ḫattuša over subsequent Hittite history and in the later phases of the development of

¹ I am thankful to Ilya Yakubovich (Marburg) who made available to me the edition of Hittite-Luwian rituals ahead of its official publication [Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a; 2023b], to my supervisor Boris Alexandrov (Moscow) for his helpful comments and to Gary Beckman (Michigan) for his kindly help with the stylistic features of the article. In any event, all the mistakes that are made in this article are mine.

² van den Hout 2020, 8; Yakubovich 2022, 3–43.

³ Melchert 2003, 212.

⁴ Since classification of texts in the online version of CTH is subject to change, this article usually references the texts through their autographic publications (e.g. KUB/KBo numbers).

⁵ Güterbock 1983, 159.

⁶ Starke 1985, 73–78.

⁷ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023b, 285–288.

this tradition the rites of Šilalluḫi were incorporated into it. The corpus of all these texts is called the Kuwattalla tradition.

Not so much is known about the practitioner of the Puriyanni tradition. All manuscripts contain a male determinative before the name of Puriyanni,⁸ while his status and occupation remain unknown.

In both traditions the “lord of the ritual” plays an important role. It is he who has to be purified from various kinds of impurities. Sometimes he also pronounces incantations and performs ritual actions.

As was mentioned above, Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions contain substitution rites. An aim of such a rite was replacing the patient with a less important item or creature for the patient not to be afflicted by the anger of gods or remaining free of impurity. Substitution rites also appear in other Anatolian texts of the 2nd millennium BCE, for example, in the Hittite rituals of royal substitution (CTH 419–421), prayer for Princess Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380), ritual for Muršili’s aphasia (CTH 486), ritual of Puliša against a plague in the army (CTH 407), or ritual for the Great King Tutḫaliya (CTH 448). Although these compositions were written in Hittite, they contain traces of Luwian influence.⁹ Moreover, the rituals that developed under the impact of the Luwian milieu, for example, those of the Maštigga tradition (CTH 404, see section 5) include substitution rites as well. Similar practices could be found in texts from the land of Arzawa, which was inhabited by Luwic population groups. The above examples suggest a degree of correlation between Luwian elements and substitute rites in Hittite ritual texts.

This research will focus on the internal analysis of the substitution rites of the Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions. The following characteristics of the substitution rites will be described: the interpretation of the rites, their terminology, the fate and functions of the substitutes and the sequences of the rites. The scapegoat rites will be reviewed as well. Their terminology and ritual mechanisms will be described, as well as their differences from the substitution rites. In the course of this analysis some parallels and contrasts with the other ritual texts containing substitution and scapegoat rites will be discussed.

SUBSTITUTION RITE AS A RITUAL MECHANISM

It is important to give an exact definition of the substitution rite. For example, Kümmel supposed that if the misery of the patient is transferred upon the human, animal or object in the context of a substitution ritual, they are called substitutes.¹⁰ Gurney developed this theory and distinguished two kinds of rites: the first one with a ritual carrier and the second one with a substitute.¹¹ The main function of the ritual carrier is transferring the miasma that afflicts the patient. However, in the substitution rite the substitute is initially identified with the patient and only then bears both the miasma and the anger

⁸ KUB 7.14 i obv. 1, VSNF 12.50 iv 9'; KBo 29.1 iv 3'; KUB 35.57 i 1. Puriyanni appears once with the female determinative in a catalog entry KBo 31.6 iii 17'–18', but this is probably a secondary aberration.

⁹ For example, the term for a substitute that is used in the prayer for Princess Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380) has both Hittite and Luwian forms (see below).

¹⁰ Kümmel 1967, 2.

¹¹ Gurney 1977, 52.

of gods on behalf of the patient. In many other Hittitological works the ritual carrier of the first type is called a scapegoat. Haas described substitution rituals as a mechanism of purification and stressed that the identification of the substitute with the ritual patron can have various forms.¹²

In the Hittite-Luwian traditions, substitution and scapegoat rites are included in the ritual structures as one of the numerous means of the patient's purification. All ritual actions that are used for cleansing the ritual patron are called "purification rites" in this paper. Thus, the substitution and scapegoat rites play an important but not exclusive role in the Hittite-Luwian rituals.

The substitution rite includes three steps, which I shall call sub-rites. First of all, the substitute must be verbally introduced as such, or its similarities with the ritual patron must be expressed through appropriate gestures.¹³ In the present paper this is called the sub-rite of establishing equivalence. It is the main component of the substitution rites in the rituals under discussion. The second step of a substitution rite is the transfer of impurity from the patient to his/her substitute. In this context, it does not matter whether a substitute is a living being, its replica or an inanimate item conventionally related to living beings.¹⁴ The third step is a disposal of the substitute, which can be destroyed or removed to distant places.

The first step of the substitution rites is always absent in the scapegoat rites. The scapegoat is not an equivalent of the patient, and strictly speaking does not even require the presence of a patient, since the scapegoat rite can be performed for the whole country, as is for example the case in the ritual of Uḫḫamuwa of Arzawa against plague (CTH 410)¹⁵ or more famously in the Hebrew Bible (Lev. 16:7–10). The transfer of impurity obviously constitutes a shared feature of the substitution and scapegoat rites. As for the disposal of a scapegoat, the use of this very term implies its expulsion as opposed to destruction.¹⁶

The substitution and scapegoat rites belong to the broad category of contagious rites. Frazer supposed that sympathetic magic rites could be divided into two kinds: homeopathic and contagious.¹⁷ Homeopathic magic works through the principle of imitation. Thus, the destruction of a clay figurine imitating an enemy soldier before the battle in hope that the real enemy would be damaged as a result is an example of homeopathic magic. Contagious magic works through the principle of contact. The

¹² Haas 1994, 895–896.

¹³ Haas 1994, 895–896; Goedegebuure 2002, 70–72.

¹⁴ An example of an inanimate substitute is a pot functioning as a substitute for the head.

¹⁵ In the course of this ritual the ram is introduced as a ritual carrier, which is used in the case of an epidemic, which affected the whole country (see HT 1 obv. ii 17–33). For the nuances of this ritual practice, combining the functions of a sacrifice and releasing a scapegoat, see Иванов 2023a, 252–253.

¹⁶ Cf. Gurney 1977, 52: "The function of the [scapegoat] is to be 'let go'; that of the [substitute] is to be offered in place of the patient to the numen who is thought to be attacking him. But the distinction between the two conceptions sometimes becomes blurred". A partially overlapping case are those substitution rites where the substitute is expelled and not destroyed at the end of the ritual. Usually these are the rites involving human substitutes. Based on such examples, Soysal (Soysal 2004, 103–104, n. 10, 11) noted that scapegoat rites and substitution rites contain intersections in Hittite texts, despite the near-complementary distribution between their terminologies. In contrast, in my definition of the substitution and scapegoat rites I strictly separate these two categories, focusing on the rite of establishing the equivalence. It is also easier for me to do it since the rites involving human substitutes do not occur in the Hittite-Luwian rituals.

¹⁷ Frazer 1925, 11–17.

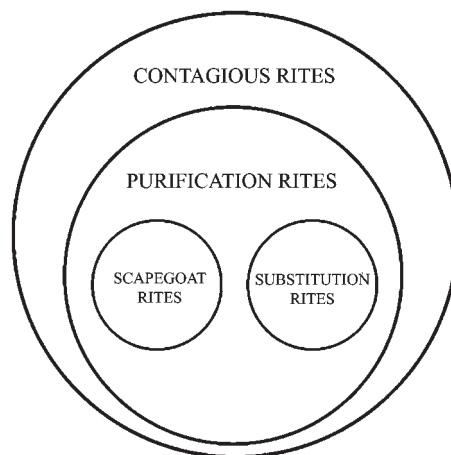


Fig. 1. Contagious rites, purification rites, substitution rites and scapegoat rites.

relationship between the items that were once tied in some way continues even after their contact has ended. For example, a contagious rite can be based on the idea that having someone's hair or fingernails gives control over this person to a ritual practitioner.¹⁸ Frazer also thought that both principles can frequently be combined in specific rites. The sub-rites of *comparing* the patient with his substitute and the *transfer* of the patient's impurity help to define the substitution rites as a special case of contagious magic.¹⁹

This application of contagious magic includes substitution and scapegoat rites but extends further, also including, for example, the purification rite involving the *taluppilump* and other rites of the same type (see Section 5); as well as the rites, which involved the magically attacking people through the subjects that somehow connected with them, for example their footprints.²⁰ While such rites normally imply contact between the patient and the purifying substance, which is subsequently destroyed, as long as the purification agent is not explicitly compared with the patient, it does not function as his substitute. Furthermore, the rites that involve establishing equivalence but do not target the ritual patron must likewise be excluded from the list of the substitution rites.²¹ The

¹⁸ Frazer's (Frazer 1925, 12) classification of rites underwent further developments in the later Hittitological literature. For example, Haas (Haas 1994, 878–879) follows a similar dichotomy in the classification of Hittite magic rituals, but adds the principle of antipathy to Frazer's principle of sympathy. The principle of sympathy implies the connection of objects on the ground of their likeness (e.g., a snake and a tie), while the principle of antipathy connects the opposite objects (e.g., a fertile seed and barren salt). One of the manifestations of sympathy is contiguity, which implies the connection between the adjacent objects, or the whole and its part (e.g., parts of a house and all the household, a house and its master, a human and his body parts). Torri (Torri 2003, 5) observes that Frazer's classification was not full, but it remains a base for all the terminology in the further study of comparative religion. She proposed another systematization (Torri 2003, 17) based on the hypothesis that analogical magic functions in the incantations through the principles of metaphor or metonymy.

¹⁹ Gurney 1977, 48, with reference to scapegoat rites. Bottéro 1992, 142.

²⁰ Frazer 1925, 44.

²¹ For example, the equivalence between a clay figurine and an enemy soldier, which was mentioned above, is not a part of a substitution rite.

hierarchical relationships between different rites addressed in this section are reflected in the figure below.

One of the most important attributes of the purification rites is a ritual carrier. In the cultures of the Ancient Near East, there was a widespread idea that impurity can never be destroyed inside the patient.²² This is why it was considered necessary to separate impurity from him or her, and only then it could be removed or destroyed. A ritual carrier is such an item or living being that takes the patient's impurities upon itself. Upon doing this, the ritual carrier becomes contaminated, so it must be destroyed together with the impurities or sent to a remote and uninhabited place.

The term ritual carrier is used as a hypernym for a substitute, which should be destroyed at the end of the rite, and a scapegoat, which should be expelled to a distant place.²³ Many objects could be turned into a ritual carrier. An animal ritual carrier could be used as a scapegoat, and in such a case it should carry impurity far away from the patient, or as a sacrificial animal, which should lead to its destruction. Moreover, a ritual carrier could be introduced like an alternative to the patient, which would make it a substitute, or it could be used for purifying larger entities like house or country.

Table 1.

Characteristic features of substitutes and scapegoats

Type of carrier	Focus on the patient	Equivalence with the patient	Animate	Human	Destruction	Expulsion
Scapegoat (<i>nakkušši</i>) in the Puriyanni tradition	-	-	+	-	-	+
Substitute (<i>tarpašša</i>) in the Puriyanni tradition	+	+	-	-	?	?
Scapegoat (<i>nakkušši</i>) in the Kuwattalla tradition	+	-	+	-	-	+
Substitute (<i>tarpašša</i>) in the Kuwattalla tradition	+	+	+ / -	-	+	-
Substitute (<i>tarpašša</i> / <i>tarpalli</i>) in the Hittite royal substitution rituals	+	+	+ / -	+ / -	-	+

TERMINOLOGY OF THE SUBSTITUTION RITES

As was mentioned above, the main feature of the substitution rite is the sub-rite of establishing equivalence. The identification of the substitute with the ritual patron could be held in three ways: through the use of the specific term, through the verbal description that marks their identity, or through the ritual action that fulfills the same goal. Moreover, the substitution rite must contain ritual gestures or incantations that belong to the sub-rites of transferring impurity or disposing of a substitute.

²² Ambos 2012, 92–93.

²³ This is the stance of (Mouton 2014, 558), although the performances without a patient are not addressed in detail in this paper.

An important feature of the substitution rites is its specific terminology. Although a substitution rite could be held without mentioning the substitute as such, the presence of such a term strictly indicates that we are dealing with a substitute. In Hittite-Luwian rituals the term *tarpašša-* is used for indicating a special kind of ritual carrier.

Tarpašša- is a Luwian noun, occasionally borrowed into Hittite. It was derived from the Luwian verb root *tarp-* with the meaning “to tread” and the assumed metaphoric meaning “to substitute” (cf. German *treten* “to tread” and *vertreten* “to substitute”²⁴). In the Hittite cuneiform sources it is used for indicating any substitute, whether a ritual tool, an animal, or even a human.

As was mentioned above, this term appears in the Hittite ritual texts containing substitution rites. Most frequently, however, it is replaced with its Hittitized synonym *tarpalli-*. Sometimes both terms appear in the same text, for example, the prayer for Princess Gaššuliyawiya.²⁵ The term *tarpalla-* is not to be confused with *tarpanalla-*, which means “rival” or “usurper”.²⁶ This additional derivative of the root *tarp-* appears in Hittite texts, which describe a political life of the kingdom, such as treaties with vassal states,²⁷ or in mythological contexts, for example, with reference to the divine opponents of the Storm-god in the Song of Ullikummi belonging to the Kumarbi-cycle.²⁸

The equivalence of Hittite *tarpalli-* and Luwian *tarpašša-* is supported by their appearance in similar ritual formulae. For example, an empty pot is called “*tarpašša-* of the head” in the texts of the Kuwattalla tradition.²⁹ A piglet that is used as a ritual carrier is called “*tarpašša-* of the body and the head”.³⁰ Hittite parallels could be found in the Maštigga tradition (CTH 404). For example, the Old Woman calls a black sheep “*tarpalli-* of the head and entire body”.³¹ Moreover, a pot is also called “*tarpalli-* of the head” (Hitt. SAG.DU *tarpalli-*) in a text attributed to Maštigga.³²

Some scholars identify a possible Luwian parallel to the use of the clay pot as a model of the head in a myth belonging to the Tauriša tradition.³³ The myth tells us that the gods did not invite the diseases of the head and the eyes to a feast organized by the Sun-god.³⁴ The diseases became angry, and then someone set up³⁵ the pot in lieu of the patient’s head. The Luwian verb *tarpīta*³⁶ occurring in the same passage was proposed as an indicator of the substitution ritual and translated as “substituted”.³⁷ Nevertheless, subsequent researchers rejected this proposal and supposed that the verb

²⁴ Yakubovich 2002, 204; Tischler 1993, 203–206.

²⁵ CTH 380, KBo 4.6 obv. 11', 29', rev. 14'.

²⁶ Tischler 2001, 169; Starke 1990, 233–234.

²⁷ Beckman 1999, 77–78.

²⁸ Güterbock 1951, 146–147; 1952, 26–29.

²⁹ Luw. ḫarmaḫaššiš tarpāššaš, KUB 35.71+ ii 3, KBo 29.63 r.col. ii 6', KUB 35.70 ii 23.

³⁰ Luw. waššinaššiš ḫarmaḫaššiš tarpaššaš, KUB 35.24+ obv. 15', KUB 35.43 iii 19'.

³¹ Hitt. SAG.ḪI.A-aš tueggaš ḫūmandāš tarpalliš (Miller 2004, 75).

³² Miller 2004, 101.

³³ CTH 764.1, KBo 43.223+ iii 17'–23'. The Hittite-Luwian compositions CTH 764–766 mentioning the Protective god of Tauriša, his father the Sun-god and his mother Kamrušepa can be considered together as the Tauriša tradition, on the grounds of their function, pantheon, linguistic features and formulaic repertoire (Mouton, Yakubovich 2021, 38–46).

³⁴ Steitler 2017, 387.

³⁵ Luw. [dū]wanda KBo 43.223+ iii 19' (Melchert 1988, 217).

³⁶ CTH 764.1, KBo 43.223+ iii 18'.

³⁷ Josephson 1979, 181–182.

in question expresses an action of the angry diseases and has a negative sense.³⁸ Despite this difference of opinion, the interpretation of this whole passage as a description of a substitution rite is maintained in the literature.³⁹ Nevertheless, the structural parallels with other texts of the Tauriša tradition suggest that this passage should describe the hostile acts caused by the offended character.⁴⁰ Therefore, the comparison of the head with a pot in the Tauriša tradition applies to the evil actions of the diseases (“turned his head into a pot” or something similar), not to a substitution rite.

One fragment belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition contains a fragmentary line that mentions *šarliaššanzi tarpāššānzi* (Luw.) “substitutes of the superiors”.⁴¹ The beginning and end of this sentence are lost in a lacuna, but the parallel to such a concept can be found in the Hittite royal substitution rituals, which mention two large groups of the gods: the Upper gods that live in heaven and the Lower gods that live in the Netherworld. During the Great Substitution Ritual (CTH 421), the substitutes presented to these kinds of gods are called “an upper living substitute” (Hitt. *šarazziš TI-anza PUḪ=ŠU*, KUB 17.14 rev. 16’) and “a lower substitute” (Hitt. *katterraš PUḪ=ŠU*, KUB 17.14 rev. 17’) respectively. The ritual of the Kuwattalla tradition that mentions “substitutes of the superiors” refers several times to the Luwian Storm-god Tarḫunt, who is invited to look at various substitutes. Since Tarḫunt is a heavenly god, it is likely that the substitute for the Upper gods is mentioned in the relevant context of the Kuwattalla tradition.

There is a passage in the same paragraph that lists additional actors.⁴² Unfortunately, it is broken, but it mentions a woman, an equal person (*annauliš*)⁴³ and a substitute (*tarpaššaš*). It could be translated as “whether she (is) a woman, (then) here she (is). Whether he (is) [a ..., (then) here he (is)]. Whether he (is) of equal rank, whether he (is) a substi[tute ...]”.⁴⁴ Thus, being an equal and being a substitute appear to be two mutually exclusive possibilities in the relevant passage.

This interpretation seems to contradict the evidence of Hittite texts. The substitute is designated with the term *ānt-* “equal” in one of the fragments of Zuwi’s ritual (CTH 412⁴⁵). This problem cannot be fully solved within the framework of the present research, but one can propose a hypothesis that the terms *ānt-* and *annawali-* were semantically different. The adjective *ānt-* could be used if something has changed its position to become equal with something else, while *annawali-* is used when two things are equal by their nature.⁴⁶

³⁸ Steitler 2017, 398.

³⁹ Steitler 2017, 399.

⁴⁰ The myths of the Tauriša tradition begin with a story about a collapse, and then a god explains to another what has gone wrong. The best-preserved part of the relevant story is a speech of the Protective god of Tauriša (KBo 43.223+ iii 1’–27’). He tells the Sun-god what has happened, repeating the beginning of the myth word by word. The end of the preserved fragment (KBo 43.223+ iii 26’–27’) describes the blazing sky with the same words that occur at the end of the mythological narrative (KBo 43.223+ iii 5’–6’). Therefore, the speech of the Protective god should also be devoted to the description of the disaster.

⁴¹ KUB 35.24+ rev. 3”.

⁴² KUB 35.24+ rev. 4”–5”.

⁴³ This Luwian word was borrowed into Hittite as *annawali* ‘equal’ (Yakubovich 2021, 237–238), which is used in diplomatic texts, such as treaties and royal correspondence (Puhvel 1984, 64–65).

⁴⁴ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 213.

⁴⁵ Goedegebuure 2002, 70.

⁴⁶ Ivanov 2023b, 42–49.

The Luwian term for “substitute” is found in the Puriyanni tradition as well. For example, a wooden figurine is called “*tarpašša-* of the ritual patron” (EN SISKUR, *tarpāššaš*).⁴⁷ This figurine is mentioned twice in the texts of the Puriyanni tradition.⁴⁸ In the first context it is placed near a *huwaši*-stone and dressed in fine clothes. In the second context it is mentioned as someone who should pick up all the bewitched items and present them to the Storm-god of the Open Country.⁴⁹ Both contexts belong to the second columns of the respective tablets and therefore correspond to the adjacent parts of the ritual. At some point between KBo 22.137 and KUB 35.54, dough figurines are attached to the patient by means of ropes, which are subsequently cut off (see section 5). Thus, it is highly possible that a dough figurine is bound not to the ritual patron himself,⁵⁰ but to a substitute figurine that represents him. Thus, the ritual patron is not personally involved in the most dangerous rites of the Puriyanni tradition. The dough figurines, which represent the miasmas, are attached to his wooden substitute, and the same substitute replaces the ritual patron during the transfer of the contaminated utensils to the Storm-god.

The designation of the substitute in the Puriyanni tradition finds parallels in the Hittite rituals for the Sun-goddess of the Earth (CTH 448). One of them includes the parallel term “*tarpalli-* of the body of the ritual patron” (EN SISKUR *ŠA NI₂ TE tarpalli-*⁵¹), which is represented by a full-height statue of king Tudḫaiya. Others refer a person who is affected with the *tarpalli-*, e.g. “*tarpalli-* of the prince-priest” (*ŠA DUMU.SANGA tarpalli-*⁵²), “*tarpalli-* of the queen” (*ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL tarpalli-*⁵³), “*tarpalli-* of the king and the queen” (*ŠA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL-ia tarpalli-*⁵⁴).

According to the Hittite-Akkadian lexical list,⁵⁵ the term *tarpalli* has the Akkadian equivalent *DINĀNU*.⁵⁶ Another Akkadian equivalent for the substitute occurring in Hittite texts is *PŪHU*. It appears in the royal substitution rituals (CTH 421) and the ritual of Puliša against a plague in the army (CTH 407). It is also the source of the Hurrian ritual term *puḫugari* “substitute”, which is found in the ritual for Muršili’s aphasia.⁵⁷

After an object or animal is called *tarpašša-*, it acquires a special ritualistic sense. Alternatively, the same object or animal can be introduced by a special gesture, which has an equal value in the context of the ritual.

In the Hittite-Luwian ritual tradition there is only one description of the gesture used for the sub-rite of establishing equivalence. It is bestowing the patient’s clothes upon the substitute.⁵⁸ Thus, a wooden figurine, which is called “a substitute of the

⁴⁷ KUB 35.54 obv. ii 23’–26’, KUB 7.14 obv. ii 3’.

⁴⁸ KBo 22.137 obv. ii 4. The wooden figurine is mentioned in the lacuna in the relevant passage, but the restoration is borne out by its general sense.

⁴⁹ KUB 35.54 obv. ii 23’.

⁵⁰ KUB 35.54 obv. ii 23’–45’.

⁵¹ Contrary to what is conjectured in (Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 28).

⁵² Taracha 2000, 88–89.

⁵³ Taracha 2000, 84.

⁵⁴ Taracha 2000, 54.

⁵⁵ Taracha 2000, 73.

⁵⁶ CTH 303, KBo 1.42 rev. iv 28.

⁵⁷ Tischler 1993, 207.

⁵⁸ CTH 486, KBo 4.2 rev. iii 50–53, 56 ff. Tischler 1993, 640.

⁵⁹ As a parallel outside the Hittite-Luwian rituals, one can mention the king giving his clothes to his substitute during a royal substitution ritual (CTH 419, KUB 24.5+ 21’–22’) and a ritual against plague

ritual patron”,⁵⁹ is mentioned in Puriyanni’s ritual. In the next step of the ritual this figurine is dressed up in “fine clothes”, which belong to the patient.⁶⁰ It is an example of establishing the equivalence by making the substitute look like the ritual patron. Such gestures are rare in the available corpus, because the sub-rite of establishing equivalence may have been prototypically aligned with verbal expressions.

Ritual gestures directed at the substitute are supposed to reflect its functions and roles in the ritual. They could be divided into two types, according to the sub-rites where they are used, namely, gestures related to transferring impurity and disposing of the substitute. Moreover, different kind of substitutes can be accompanied by different kinds of ritual gestures in the course of the ritual.

Gestures of transferring impurity mark the second step of the substitution rite. It is important to stress that these gestures could appear in various purification rites, which is why their presence does not define the substitution rite, unlike gestures of establishing equivalence. Verbs denoting the transfer of impurity could appear in both Hittite and Luwian, because the description of the necessary actions is recorded in Hittite, but the incantations can repeat it in Luwian.

The frequent ritual gesture in the Hittite-Luwian traditions is waving the ritual carrier over the patient’s head or in another ritually important location. It is designated by the Hittite verb *wahnu-* “to turn”. A Luwian incantation normally accompanies this operation. Substitution rites containing this action appear in the Kuwattalla tradition.⁶¹ For example, the Old Woman waves an empty pot above the ritual patron⁶² and utters a Luwian incantation. Then the patient and the Old Woman stroke (?) this pot, turn it over and pronounce another Luwian incantation.⁶³ Unfortunately, the end of this rite is lost in a lacuna in both manuscripts, which is why it is impossible to determine the fate of the pot.

In the course of another rite the Old Woman waves a piglet above the ritual patron⁶⁴ after the incantation describing the transmission of the patient’s miasma to the piglet’s body parts. Other examples of waving a ritual carrier over the ritual patron cannot be considered as a part of the substitution rite, because there is no accompanying evidence for establishing the equivalence between the two.

Another ritual gesture that conveys the transmission of impurity to the substitute, is holding it toward the patient.⁶⁵ In the recently mentioned rite, before waving the substitute piglet above the ritual patron, the Old Woman holds it to the left, to the right, in front and behind the ritual patron. The Luwian incantation concerning the piglet mentions only two directions: “I have led it to his left/right”,⁶⁶ but the Hittite description of the same action, which appears in a parallel rite involving a sheep, mentions four directions: “to the right ... to the left ... in front ... behind”.⁶⁷

(CTH 407, KBo 15.1 obv. i 10–11).

⁵⁹ KUB 35.54 obv. ii 23’–26’; KUB 7.14(+) obv. ii 3’–5’.

⁶⁰ KBo 22.137+ obv. ii 4–8.

⁶¹ KBo 29.6(+) obv. ii 19; KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 26, rev. iii 33’.

⁶² Hitt. *šer arḫa wahnuzzi*.

⁶³ KBo 29.63 ii 1’–10’; KBo 29.6(+) obv. ii 18–23.

⁶⁴ KBo 29.55+ rev. iii 17’–19’, 32’–33’.

⁶⁵ Hitt. *anda epp-*.

⁶⁶ Luw. *ipalāti=du=(w)an/išarwilati=pa=du=(w)an ḫuinūwahḫa* KBo 29.55+ rev. iii 17’–23’; KUB 35.24+ obv. 17’–18’.

⁶⁷ Hitt. *ZAG-az ... GÜB-laz ... UZU GABA-az ... iškiyaz* KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 19–21.

The next ritual gesture associated with transmitting the impurity is spitting it out. The mode of spitting depends on the ritual carrier, namely whether it is a tool or animal, and what sort of animal it is. Spitting can be mentioned in both Hittite (*allap(p)ahly-*) and Luwian (*tappa-*). For example, during the rite of the substitute piglet, after waving it above the patient, the ritual patron spits on it from afar, while the Old Woman says that he spat his miasmas away.⁶⁸ Spitting from afar emphasizes that the ritual patron should not approach the piglet. In contrast, in a parallel context, during the transmission of impurity to a sheep a patient is expected to spit directly into its mouth⁶⁹.

A ritual phrase that underscores the contact between the patient and his/her substitute is one more important component of the substitution rite. Such incantations appear in the Kuwattalla tradition. For example, in the manuscripts of the Great Ritual,⁷⁰ different body parts of the patient are listed and compared with the corresponding limbs of the substitute pig. An incantation is pronounced, declaring that a patient doesn't overcome his impurities with his own body parts any longer. Then, it is declared that the substitute takes impurities to its limbs. Finally, it is proclaimed that the substitute fully decontaminates the patient.⁷¹ A similar incantation is contained in a small fragment mentioning the *tiššatwa*.⁷² This Luwian word refers to an inanimate model, which is used as a ritual carrier. Since other texts of the Kuwattalla tradition do not mention the *tiššatwa*-tool, it is impossible to be sure about other ritual gestures connected with it. Maštigga's ritual against domestic quarrels tells us more about the *tiššatwa*-tool. The Old Woman wraps a piece of tallow in the white and black wool and calls it *tiššatwa*. Then she holds it (Hitt. *ēpzi*) over the ritual patrons, pronounces the incantation for removal of the evil tongues from them and throws *tiššatwa* into the hearth.⁷³ The *tiššatwa* of the Kuwattalla tradition would have been prepared in the same way as in Maštigga's ritual, although the incantation pertaining to it is different.

Gestures of disposing of the substitute mark the end of the substitute rite. They describe the way of neutralizing the negative substances which were transferred to the substitute. For example, the pot that was contaminated with the miasmas of the ritual patron must be smashed (Hitt. *arḫa duwarni-*).⁷⁴ The piglet, which is an animal substitute, should be offered to the Warlike Storm-God, who is requested to look at it (Luw. *mamma-*).⁷⁵ Offering an animal to the deity should be accompanied with its slaughter, but texts of the Kuwattalla tradition do not at all mention animal dispatches. Slaughters of *tarpalli*-animals are, however, attested in parallel rites of the Maštigga

⁶⁸ KBo 29.55+ rev. iii 34'–37'; KUB 34.62+ obv. ii 15'–17'.

⁶⁹ KBo 51.220:1'–5'; KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 27–30.

⁷⁰ KUB 35.24+ obv. 5'–13'; KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 22–25, rev. iii 5'–15'.

⁷¹ KUB 35.24+ obv. 14'–16'; KBo 29.55+ iii 17'–19'.

⁷² KBo 29.22+ l.col. 3'–11'.

⁷³ Miller 2004, 66–68.

⁷⁴ KUB 35.71+ obv. ii 10–11.

⁷⁵ KUB 35.24+ obv. 1'–5''; KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 36–40. On the other side of the same tablet KBo 29.55+ one finds a rite involving a white sheep. The manipulations with it are the same as those involving a piglet. A white sheep is conjured to take over the patient's miasmas, it is turned around him, its limbs are matched with the patient's limbs, the patient spits on it. The end of this rite features the consecration of the white sheep to the Warlike Storm-god. It is therefore highly likely that this white sheep represents a substitute, although it is not named as such in the preserved part of the text. Note that the white sheep is called a substitute in the matching (although partly broken) context of the Maštigga ritual against domestic quarrels (Miller 2004, 74).

tradition.⁷⁶ This gesture is not a sacrifice in an ordinary sense, but an execution of the possible fate of the ritual patron without affecting him personally. The deity should accept the slaughtered substitute instead of the patient, not as an ordinary gift, but as a means to placate his anger.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the final parts of other rites mentioning *tarpašša-* are lost. There is, however, a high probability that they were not much different, and the substitute was destroyed in some way.

Thus, the main peculiarity of the substitution rite consists in the designation of a substitute. The ritual gestures and incantations that mention *tarpašša-* could be divided into three groups, according to the sub-rites they belong to. The sub-rite of establishing equivalence contains expressions of connection between the patient and his/her substitute and/or a description of providing the substitute with some objects linked with a patient, for example, his clothes. A special group of terms describes the process of transferring impurity to the substitute and is expressed by verbs Hitt. *waḥnu-* “to turn”, Luw. *ḫuinū(wa)-* “to lead”, Hitt. *allap(p)ahḫ-* and Luw. *tappa-* “to spit”. The sub-rite of disposing of a substitute is a sacrifice of a special kind, which causes the deity to stop attacking the ritual patron and to focus on accepting his/her substitute and destroying the miasmas by which this animal or object was contaminated. These terms and gestures indicating the type of *tarpašša-*, the purpose of its use, and its final fate represent necessary conditions for referring to a particular part of the ritual as a substitution rite.

TERMINOLOGY OF *NAKKUŠŠI-* RITES

The substitution rites, which frequently feature the term *tarpašša-*, should be distinguished from ritual practices where the term *nakkušši-* is used. The Hittite noun *nakkušši-* is translated as “scapegoat, carrier (to remove evils)”⁷⁸. There was a previous discussion whether the word *nakkušši-* came from Luwian or Hurrian,⁷⁹ but the recent studies proved that this noun is derived from the Hurrian verb *nakk-* “to let go, release”.⁸⁰ The appearance of *nakkušši-* in a text strictly implies the performance of a scapegoat rite, which is called *nakkuššahit-* in Luwian.⁸¹ This form contains the Luwian abstract suffix *-ahit-*,⁸² so it could be literally translated as “status of a scapegoat”,⁸³ while the

⁷⁶ Miller 2004, 73–76.

⁷⁷ See (Kümmel 1967, 4). For the development of this practice in Mesopotamia see the parallels mentioned in (Furlani 1932, 215–216, 282–285). The first example mentioned in the latter paper is the ritual Utukkū Lemnūtu. A piglet and a goat function there as substitutes (Akk. *pūḫī*) and are slaughtered. The demon utukku should take their souls instead of the patient’s one. This is the same kind of contagious magic that we trace in the Kuwattalla tradition. The second example is a part of the treaty between Aššur-nērārī V and Mati’-ilu of Arpad. The ram is slaughtered, and a statement is made that the same would happen to Mati’-ilu if he breaks his oath. Thus, it is an example of homeopathic magic based on the same rite. The same function of the substitutes in the ritual Utukkū Lemnūtu is described in (Geller 2016, 10). The substitute should neutralize the actions of the demons and ghosts that are aimed at the humans.

⁷⁸ CHD (L–N), 376–377.

⁷⁹ Puhvel 2007, 52–58. Kloekhorst 2008, 594.

⁸⁰ Melchert 2014, 225. For the parallel use of the Hurr. verb *nakk-* and Hitt. *parā tarḫu-* ‘release’ see [Neu 1990: 226–227]. For the connection between *nakk-* and *nakkušši-* see [Richter 2012: 261–262].

⁸¹ KUB 35.57 obv. i 6; KBo 29.3+ obv. i 9; KUB 35.16(+) rev. iv 5’; KBo 9.141 rev. iv 18’; KUB 35.15 rev. iii(!) 4; KUB 35.65 obv. ii 12’, 19’.

⁸² Starke 1990, 168; Kloekhorst 2008, 594.

⁸³ Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 54.

meaning “scapegoat rite” follows from the context.⁸⁴ Another derivative of *nakkušši-* is a Luwian denominative verb *nakkušša(i)-* “to perform a scapegoat rite”,⁸⁵ which is used in the same incantations.⁸⁶ There are also parallel forms in Hittite, namely the noun *nakkušatar* “status of a scapegoat, scapegoat rite” and the verbs *nakkuššiya(e)-* “to be a scapegoat” and *nakkuššešš-* “to become a scapegoat”.⁸⁷

Thus, *nakkušši-* is a type of ritual carrier that should transport the miasmas far away from the place of pollution.⁸⁸ In the Hittite-Luwian ritual tradition a goat⁸⁹ as well as a sheep⁹⁰ could function as *nakkušši-*animals. As was shown above, only a piglet is called *tarpašša-* in the Kuwattalla tradition, thus, the kinds of animals used in these two ritual practices may constitute one more difference between them.

There is little about the initial part of the scapegoat rite in Hittite-Luwian rituals. A fragmentary descriptive part of one rite belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition apparently refers to the patient calling the animal *nakkušši-*.⁹¹ This ritual gesture gives a new role of a ritual carrier to the animal under discussion.

The only sub-rite of impurity transfer that is attested in connection with a *nakkušši-* is embedded in a description of arranging a sacrifice for evil spirits. The Old Woman holds (Hitt. *katta ēpzi*) the soft bread, which was placed on three stones, above the head of a scapegoat. Thereupon she pronounces the incantation mentioning a scapegoat rite. Then she crumbles bread, libates beer and utters another incantation, directed at the violent spirits (Luw. *hūwaliyanzi*), with a request to eat and drink.⁹² Thus, the miasmas are probably transferred from the scapegoat to the bread, which is later designated as food for the evil spirits, in other words, impurity is given over to the creatures with negative functions. Furthermore, it is possible that this ritual action finds a parallel in a conjuration from Hittite-Luwian texts belonging to the Tauriša tradition, which mentions giving various substances to those associated with them.⁹³ Since a *nakkušši-*animal should be given to the Old Woman, it should previously be purified from the miasmas of the patient, and this explains the rite of contaminating the bread.

The sub-rite of contaminating the bread with impurity of the ritual carrier appears in other rites of the Kuwattalla tradition as well. For example, the Old Woman holds the bread above the head of a white sheep that was contaminated with the patient’s miasmas.⁹⁴ Other ritual gestures directed at the white sheep match those directed at the substitute animal, although the sheep is never directly called a substitute in the

⁸⁴ For example, see KBo 9.141 rev. iv 14’–18’: “For a while we [have been performing] conjurations (on account of) judgments, curses, (and) [perjuries, past] (or) present, [of the dead (or) the living]. Now, [we] perform[ed] the scapegoat rite. [May (those) be affected b]y the scapegoat rite!” (Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 260–261).

⁸⁵ On the stem of this verb see (Sasseville 2020, 194–195) and (Melchert, Yakubovich 2022, 16).

⁸⁶ KUB 35.16(+) obv. i 21”, rev. iv 4’; CTH 761.2.4 KBo 9.141 rev. iv 17’; KUB 35.15 rev. iii 4.

⁸⁷ CHD (L–N), 375, 377.

⁸⁸ van Brock 1959, 129–130.

⁸⁹ For example, KUB 35.57 obv. i 6: 1 MÁŠ.GAL *šallaš nakušah[iti]*.

⁹⁰ For example, KBo 10.42 rev. iv 4’: UDU MÁŠ.GAL *nakuššit*.

⁹¹ KUB 32.124 obv. i 1’–7’.

⁹² KUB 35.16(+) rev. iv 1’–15’, KBo 9.141 rev. iv 8’–22’, KUB 35.15 obv. ii(!) 7’–rev. iii(!) 13.

⁹³ KBo 13.260 obv. iii 24–34.

⁹⁴ KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 34–35; KUB 35.44 obv. 1’–5’.

KUB 35.44 obv. 3’ contains a preverb “down” (Hitt. *katta*) in a fragmentary context, while KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 34 features “up” (Hitt. *šer*), which implies a contrast between these two parallel versions (Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 294).

preserved part of the text (see above n. 15). I suppose that during this sub-rite the miasmas are transferred from the ritual carrier to the bread, because the animal is to be subsequently consecrated to the Storm-God and thus should be clean. Moreover, such a sub-rite appears as a part of the *ikkunawar*-sacrifice. The Old Woman performs it before consecrating a sheep to the Sun-God.⁹⁵ There are no descriptions of any further manipulations with the bread in either of these cases. Since it became a receptacle for miasmas it is likely that it should be destroyed or thrown away.

The purity of the ritual carriers that are dedicated to the gods is also mentioned in Hittite texts. A good example of it can be found in the text of Prayer to Lelwani for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380), which dwells on the advantages of the ritual carriers devoted to the goddess of the Netherworld.⁹⁶ First of all, a woman is involved in the ritual as a substitute and designated once by the Luwian term *tarpašša*.⁹⁷ This woman is compared to Gaššuliyawiya and it is stated that this substitute is excellent, pure, radiant, pale, and endowed with everything.⁹⁸ All the animals that act as substitutes in this rite are described as “fattened” and “dressed up in festive garments”.⁹⁹ Thus, the substitute should be attractive to the god in any case.¹⁰⁰

In the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition the ritual carriers are contaminated with the impurity of the ritual patron. Naturally, in such a state they could not be offered to the gods.¹⁰¹ Therefore, before being consecrated, the ritual carrier goes itself through a purification rite: as argued above, it releases its miasmas into the bread. This bears on the interpretation of the Luwian word *šaknuwant(i)-*, which characterizes the sacrificial animal during the invocation to the Warlike Storm-god.¹⁰² Judging by its Hittite equivalents, it can be translated as either “defiled”¹⁰³ or “fatty”, although in the latter case it rather a Hittite loanword than a cognate.¹⁰⁴ The purification of the ritual carrier with the bread before its consecration indicates, together with the parallels from other texts, that the meaning of the Luwian adjective *šaknuwant(i)-* should have positive connotations.

Despite the fact that *nakkušši-* takes the patient’s miasmas upon himself, there are no examples of ritual gestures for establishing the equivalence between the *nakkušši-* animal and the patient. This is hardly due to the bad preservation of the texts. *Nakkušši-* is not an equivalent for the ritual patron,¹⁰⁵ but merely the container for impurities, functioning similarly, for example, to a *taluppi*-lump.

Other texts of the Hittite-Luwian traditions imply that the *nakkušši-* animal should not be killed during the ritual. It is led away, and then the Old Woman takes it for herself alive.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in a metaphoric sense, the ritual carrier takes the miasmas from the ritual

⁹⁵ KUB 9.6+ rev. iv 13’–21’.

⁹⁶ Singer 2002, 70–73.

⁹⁷ KBo 4.6 obv. 11’.

⁹⁸ KBo 4.6 obv. 12’–14’.

⁹⁹ KBo 4.6 obv. 12’–14’.

¹⁰⁰ Goedegebuure 2002, 70–72.

¹⁰¹ The god himself could be contaminated with impurity. See (Puértolas Rubio 2023, 372).

¹⁰² This invocation appears four times in the texts of the Kuwattalla tradition. In KUB 35.24+ rev. 1” and KUB 35.44 obv. 6’–7’ these words are spoken about an unknown animal, in KUB 35.21 rev. 11’ they may refer to a puppy, and in KBo 29.55+ obv. ii 36–37 the animal in question is a white sheep.

¹⁰³ The negative connotations are proposed for this term in (Hutter 2019, 343).

¹⁰⁴ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 214–215.

¹⁰⁵ Gurney 1977, 52.

¹⁰⁶ KBo 9.141 rev. iv 19’; KUB 35.15 rev. iii 6; KBo 10.42 rev. iv 5’.

patron, and then transfers it to the bread for the evil spirits. Then the purified scapegoat is used as a payment for the Old Woman. The last transfer represents a unique parallel between the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions.¹⁰⁷

In conclusion to the discussion of the *nakkušši*-animal in Hittite-Luwian rituals, a brief description of scapegoat rites in other ancient cultures should be presented. Such rites are attested in the Bible (Lev. 16), cuneiform¹⁰⁸ and Aramaic¹⁰⁹ texts from Syria, compositions from the archives of Ḫattuša attributed to different parts of Anatolia, and Classical sources related to Ionia. Thus, it was a widespread ritual practice, which is why different opinions exist about its origin and development. One hypothesis suggests that it came to the Hittite kingdom from northern Syria via Kizzuwatna.¹¹⁰ There is a variation of this hypothesis, claiming that the scapegoat rite first appeared in Syria, and then the Syrian tradition became the basis for the most complicated ritual practices of western Anatolia.¹¹¹ The second hypothesis advocates the invention of the scapegoat rites in the Luwian milieu of southern or south-western Anatolia, without any Hurrian or north-Syrian influence.¹¹² There is a refined version of this hypothesis, according to which southern Anatolia was under the cultural influence of the Hurrians already in the Old Hittite period.¹¹³ And the third opinion proposes that there were two disconnected traditions. Their centers were situated in Syria (including the land of Kizzuwatna) and western Anatolia respectively.¹¹⁴ It is impossible to give preference to one of these theories within the framework of the present research, but the discussion above shows that the development of the *nakkušši*-rites had its own direction and was detached from the evolution of substitution rites in Ancient Anatolia.

The ritual practices referring to the *nakkušši*-animal cannot be added to the corpus of the substitution rites. The terms *nakkušši*- and *tarpašša*- are strictly independent from one another in Hittite-Luwian rituals. They mark different rites, which probably developed in distinct traditions, despite the fact that they could be used in the same rituals and serve similar purposes.

THE PLACE OF SUBSTITUTION RITES IN HITTITE-LUWIAN RITUALS

This section is dedicated to the structure of the Hittite-Luwian rituals and the role of the substitution rites in these performances.¹¹⁵ Moreover, since rituals are constructed for a particular goal, it is important to understand how the substitution rites contribute to such goals.

The Hittite-Luwian rituals are designed against impurity that oppresses the ritual patron. The emergence of impurity in a human body could be the result of the patient's own

¹⁰⁷ In the texts of the Maštigga tradition the *nakkušši*-animals are also given to the Old Woman as a payment for the performance of the ritual (Miller 2004, 92–93).

¹⁰⁸ See ARET XI 1 i 19 – ii 7 and ARET XI 2 i 7 – 21 (Zatelli 1998, 254–255).

¹⁰⁹ See the inscription of king Barrākib for king Panamuwa II (Tropper 1993, 129–130).

¹¹⁰ Kümmel 1967, 192–193. Gurney 1977, 51.

¹¹¹ Haas 2003, 134–138.

¹¹² Miller 2004, 466–467.

¹¹³ Taracha 2000, 212.

¹¹⁴ Melchert 2003, 235–236; Mouton 2014, 573–576.

¹¹⁵ The structure of the Kuwattalla tradition can be reconstructed on the basis of its partial parallelism with the Mastigga tradition, although their possible differences should be taken into consideration.

actions¹¹⁶ or the bewitchment caused by the sorcerer,¹¹⁷ who can be either a human or an evil spirit. Thus, the rituals against impurity should have two basic goals: to purify the patient and to destroy the cause of his/her pollution. The Hittite-Luwian traditions include both kinds of rites, while their positions in the ritual structure may be culturally-specific.

Besides the substitution rites, the Hittite-Luwian rituals contain a wide range of purification rites. The remaining purification rites use different types of ritual carriers, such as the *taluppi*-lump, which appears in both Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions, the *tiššatwa*-tool and a pot with vegetable soup, which are used only in the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition. The *nakkušši*-rites are used in both traditions and also belong to the purification rites. Various rites connected with water are included in the range of the purification rites as well.¹¹⁸

Different types of rites were used for destroying the patient's enemy, who caused his bewitchment. The sorcerer's actions could harm the patient in two ways: either by causing his impurity and depriving him of the support of his gods, or by provoking his illness.¹¹⁹ The potential enemies are mentioned many times in the curse formulae of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions, while their rites avail themselves of various figurines to represent them. These can be either anthropomorphic sculptures or clay models of hands and tongues, which reflect two kinds of the bewitchment, one accomplished with spells and the other with gestures. As was previously argued, the homeopathic magic is used in Frazer's view for attacking the enemy,¹²⁰ and this point is supported by the data of the Hittite-Luwian rituals.

Puriyanni's ritual of purifying the house features a rite of cutting off figurines. Two ritual gestures are associated with it. First, a figurine is waved above the patient's head and then the rope that connects it is cut in hope that the negative substances will be separated from the ritual patron and his deities in the same way.¹²¹ There are two possible interpretations of the functions of these dough figurines: they represent either ritual carriers for the patient's miasmas¹²² or the evil *nakkiu*-spirits.¹²³ In the first case we are dealing with just another purification rite, but the second interpretation makes it a homeopathic rite for attacking the evil spirits, which harm the ritual patron. What follows is the withdrawal of the negative things from the house by means of a scapegoat, and then the purification of the house and the patient with water.

The rites for the destruction of the patient's enemy appear in the Kuwattalla tradition as well. Thus, the Old Woman holds two dough figurines before the Sun-God and asks him to protect the ritual patron from his enemy, whether it is a human being or an evil spirit.¹²⁴ The tablet on which this rite is described contains an incipit paragraph in its

¹¹⁶ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023b, 310–312.

¹¹⁷ Mouton 2010, 515.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, the rites of sprinkling the patient and his house with salt water, which appear in the Puriyanni tradition (KUB 35.54 rev. iii 12–16).

¹¹⁹ Mouton 2010: 519.

¹²⁰ See section 2.

¹²¹ Waving a dough figurine above the patient's head is mentioned in KUB 35.54 obv. 6'–7'; KUB 35.55 rev. iii 3'–4'. The rope that is used to attach the dough figurine occurs in KBo 22.137+ ii 10; IBoT 3.96+ obv. ii 8; KBo 39.181(+) obv. ii 7'–14'.

¹²² Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 28.

¹²³ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 34–35.

¹²⁴ KBo 29.3+ obv. ii 15–29.

beginning. Thus, it is the first tablet of the series, which is why we can propose that this rite was placed toward the beginning of the Old Woman's ritual actions.

In a later version of the Kuwattalla tradition, the Old Woman takes copper nails and nails with them the liver and heart of a sacrificial animal. Then she states that they represent models of the enemy's liver and heart. So, the enemy is stricken back with this spell and cannot harm the ritual patron any longer.¹²⁵

A partly similar rite of nailing down the *nakkiu*-spirits is also included in the Kuwattalla tradition.¹²⁶ It is a homeopathic rite, which is directed not at the unspecified enemy, unlike the previous one, but at the otherwise known evil spirits. The Old Woman takes twenty nails of bronze, twenty nails of some other material and thirty pegs of wood. She nails down the *nakkiu*-spirits with those implements and pronounces a Luwian incantation mentioning the Sun-God.

In addition, nailing down (Hitt. *katta tarmāi*-) negative substances is mentioned twice in the Maštigga tradition.¹²⁷ In the first rite the Old Woman nails down seven clay tongues, which symbolize the evil speech. Then she utters a Luwian incantation and places them into the hearth.¹²⁸ Another rite of pegging is located at the end of the same Maštigga ritual. The Old Woman pounds seven copper pegs into the earth and pronounces a Luwian incantation, which orders the mouths and tongues to be pegged. In both cases the rites of pegging down the evil substances are followed by purification rites.

On the whole, a number of rites found in the archives of the Hittite capital are directed against the bewitchment of the patient. Although they belong to a variety of religious traditions, their aims are broadly similar. During the purification the patient should be freed from the bewitchment, but before this happens, he should strike back at the enemy, not letting him or her repeat the attack. This is why a ritual practitioner should ideally use both contagious and homeopathic rites in the course of the same ritual.

For example, the Arzawa ritual of Āllī (CTH 402) begins with constructing clay models representing the sorcerer or sorceress that harmed the patient. The Old Woman should transfer the bewitchment of the ritual patron back to the sorcerers.¹²⁹ On the fourth day of the ritual the practitioner purifies the patient with the *taluppi*-object made of pistachios and soap (§29). Despite the fact that the bulk of Āllī's ritual is devoted to transmitting the impurity back to the sorcerers, it includes a rite that purifies the ritual patron at the very end.

The ritual against Ziplantawiya (CTH 443), who is accused of bewitching her brother king Tudḫaliya I, contains incantations, which proclaim that "the evil tongues" initially made to harm Tudḫaliya should now hold Ziplantawiya.¹³⁰ This rite is directed at the appeasement of the annoyed gods and proclaiming well-being for Tudḫaliya, his wife Nikkalmati and their descendants.¹³¹ Although it does not mention the purification rites in its preserved part, the rites for striking back at Ziplantawia are followed there by the rites for entrusting well-being to the royal family.

¹²⁵ KUB 35.81(+) rev. iv 3'-11'.

¹²⁶ KUB 35.13+ r.col. 1'-21'.

¹²⁷ Yakubovich, Mouton 2023a, 87.

¹²⁸ Miller 2004, 72.

¹²⁹ Collins 2022, 33-37.

¹³⁰ Kassian 2000, 24-33, 36-41, 58-61, 66-67, 72-73.

¹³¹ Kassian 2000, 35, 43-47, 60-63, 64-65.

Summing up, the homeopathic rites for destroying the enemy or negative substances affecting the patient are presumably located in the beginning part of the Puriyanni tradition. They are mentioned twice in the beginning and in the end of various versions of the Kuwattalla tradition. The structure of the rites attributed to Kuwattalla is not as clear as that of the Puriyanni tradition, but the comparison with the Maštigga tradition helps to reconstruct a sequence where the homeopathic rites are followed by the purification rites. Thus, one can conclude that purification from contagious substances typically follows striking back at the causes of impurity in the Hittite-Luwian rituals. At the same time, the purification rite(s) could be repeated two or more times in course of the same ritual. In a such way, the Hittite-Luwian rituals represented complicated structures, which involved both homeopathic and contagious principles of magic. The substitution rites belonged to their building blocks.

6. CONCLUSION

The following conclusions were drawn during this investigation of the substitution rites in the Hittite-Luwian rituals. The substitution rite belongs to a broad category of the contagious rites and consists of three sub-rites: establishing the equivalence, transferring impurity, expelling the substitute. The substitute is designated by the Luwian term *tarpašša-*.

Both animals acting as ritual carriers and clay pots can be called *tarpašša-* in the Hittite-Luwian rituals. A wooden figurine functions as a substitute for the ritual patron in the Puriyanni tradition and is endowed with a more important role in the ritual than was previously supposed.

The Kuwattalla tradition displays parallels with the Hittite compositions featuring substitution rites. Thus, the term *tarpašša-* denotes a substitute in the Prayer to Lelwani for the Recovery of Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380). Two kinds of substitutes are mentioned in the texts of the royal substitution ritual (CTH 421): the upper substitute for the gods above and the lower substitute for the gods of the Netherworld. In the broken context of one rite of the Kuwattalla tradition the substitute has a definition “of the supreme”, which implies that it is a Luwian term for the substitute for the upper gods. At the same time, the Luwian term “equal” is used in the same paragraph as the opposite of a substitute, whereas the parallel passages from the Hittite texts mention equality between the patient and the substitute.

The scapegoat rites featuring a *nakkušši-*animal, which can be a sheep or a goat, do not belong to the substitution rites, but use partly similar practices. Their analysis has shown that the impurities of the patient, which contaminated the *nakkušši-*animal, are further transferred to the bread that should be fed to the evil spirits in the Kuwattalla tradition. The feeding of the *nakkiu-*spirits with the impure bread echoes the conjuration from the Tauriša tradition that describes different spirits consuming substances that represent them. After the transfer of the impurity to the bread an animal can be consecrated to a god or given to the ritual practitioner as a payment. At this point, the ritual carrier is freed from the patient’s miasmas and thus no longer dangerous. Therefore, the adjective *šaknuwant(i)-*, which describes the sacrificial animal, must have positive connotations and reflect the dignity of the offering.

In the structure of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions, the substitution rites are grouped together with other purification rites, which normally follow the homeopathic rites. Although the substitution rites play a more modest role in the Hittite-Luwian rituals than in the Hittite royal substitution rituals, they are still important for purifying the ritual patron from the miasmas.

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ПОДМЕННЫЕ ОБРЯДЫ И ОБРЯДЫ КОЗЛА ОТПУЩЕНИЯ В ХЕТТО-ЛУВИЙСКИХ РИТУАЛАХ

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Записанные клинописью на глиняных табличках хетто-лувийские ритуалы, принадлежащие к традициям Пурияни и Куватталлы (СТН 758–763), названным по именам их авторов, состоят из множества более мелких обрядов, в число которых входят также подменные обряды и обряды козла отпущения. Подменные обряды заключались в перемещении нечистоты с заказчика ритуала на животное или неодушевленную фигурку (заместителя) с последующим его уничтожением. Терминология хетто-лувийских подменных обрядов имеет параллели с хеттскими царскими подменными ритуалами (СТН 419–421) и молитвой за царевну Гассулиявию (СТН 380). Обряды козлов отпущения имеют сходства с подменными обрядами, но эти две категории нужно рассматривать отдельно. Представленный в исследовании систематический анализ обрядов обоих видов позволил прийти к новым интерпретациям хетто-лувийских ритуалов. Так, плохо сохранившийся пассаж из традиции Куватталлы, упоминающий «верхних заместителей», можно объяснить с помощью параллели из хеттского царского подменного ритуала (СТН 421), где разные виды заместителей (живые и неодушевленные) предназначены для разных групп богов: небесных божеств и богов Подземного мира. Упомянутый в хетто-лувийских ритуалах обряд кормления духов *nakkiu-* отражён в тексте лувийского заговора, принадлежащего к текстам так называемой традиции города Таурисы (СТН 764–766). Также на основе параллели с Молитвой за царевну Гассулиявию (СТН 380) автор приходит к выводу, что прилагательное *šakniwant(i)-*, которым в ритуалах Куватталлы описывается посвящаемое богу Грозы животное, должно описывать положительные характеристики жертвы.

Ключевые слова: анатолийские религии, хетто-лувийские ритуалы, традиция Пурияни, традиция Куватталлы, подменные обряды, заместители, козёл отпущения