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By « witchcraft » I wish to designate any techniques of harmful magic, what the Hittites call *alwanzatar*. This paper is not supposed to be an exhaustive overview but rather a selection of some aspects of this practice. Some of the questions I am going to address have already been asked, but I believe that several elements of answer deserve new emphasis.

1. Selected sources

A. The ritual of Maštigga from Kizzuwatna against quarrels in a household (CTH 404.1): this text has been last edited and analyzed by Jared Miller in 2004. Although the *incipit* does not mention it, it is known to deal with witchcraft because it mentions « tongues », i.e. « evil tongues » and curses (*hurtai-*).

B. A ritual against King Tudhaliya's bewitchment (KUB 24.12+; CTH 448.4.9): it is an exorcistic ritual for releasing the king. It has been edited by Piotr Taracha in 2000².

C. A ritual against Ziplantawiya's witchcraft (CTH 443): Gabriela Szabó has produced the *editio princeps* of this composition in 1971³ and Alexei Kassian published a new edition in 2000⁴. See also Daniel Schwemer's comments on that text⁵.

D. The ritual of the Old Woman Hebattarakki from Zuharuwa⁶ against bewitchment (CTH 397): several passages of this composition have been edited in David Engelhard's doctoral dissertation. This ritual probably comes from Mukiš⁷.

E. The ritual of Alli from Arzawa against bewitchment (CTH 402): this ritual was first edited by Liane Jakob-Rost in 1972, but several emendations have been made since that time.

Beside those rituals which are specifically concerned with bewitchment, others have a broader use. For instance, several purification or exorcistic rituals mention bewitchment as a source of defilement. However, I will not study them in detail here.

2. Who practices witchcraft?

¹ An extended and French version of this article will be published in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. The used abbreviations can be found in H. G. Güterbock/H. A. Hoffner (ed.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (= CHD), L-N, Chicago 1989:xxi-xxix; CHD P, Chicago 1997:vii-xxvi; CHD Š, Chicago 2002:vi-viii.

² Taracha 2000, 86-95.

³ Szabó 1971.

⁴ Kassian 2000.

⁵ Schwemer 2007a, 260-261.

⁶ The reading is attested by the duplicate KBo 54.13.

⁷ Contra Hutter 2003, 252 : Kizzuwatna. Mukiš : Schwemer 2007a, 267 : KBo 54.13 mentions [... MUNUSŠU.G]I URU_{URU} zu-ha-ru-wa ŠA KUR URU_{URU} mu-[kiš ?].

Testimonies coming from the Hittite Laws, Telepinu's Edict and historical records seem to indicate that anybody could practice witchcraft. One may, for instance, bewitch a person simply by mentioning his name while killing a snake.

However, one may also suggest that practicing witchcraft requires a particular gift for this art. In this case, ritual experts would be able to perform harmful magic. Evidence in favor of this interpretation is the ambiguity of some incantations used in the so-called « white magic ». Anti-witchcraft incantations on one hand, and oath incantations on the other include a curse. The only difference between those two types of incantations is that in the case of an oath, the curse is only « conditional », if I may use Fritz Graf's expression⁸: it will occur only if perjury is perpetrated.

Magic is ambivalent: it may be both benevolent and malevolent at the same time. In the Hittite Laws an expert who performs a purification ritual and then places the remains of his ritual in someone's field or house is viewed as a sorcerer.

Besides, harmful magic is not exclusive to popular social classes, but the elite practice it as well. Historical records mention several persons close to the royal sphere who are accused of practicing witchcraft⁹. As Edward Evans-Pritchard showed for the African world, these accusations of witchcraft are a way of explaining unhappy events and of trying to control them.

3. What forms does bewitchment take?

A. The « evil tongue »: the “evil tongue” is one of most frequent manifestations of witchcraft in Hittite texts. I will come back to it in the following part on techniques.

B. « Evil eyes »: in an article to appear in Michel Tardieu's *Festschrift*, I have shown that distinct concepts are hidden behind the expression “evil eyes”. Sometimes it designates the anger of gods and men, and on that case it is unrelated to witchcraft. However, other contexts mention a link between the “evil eyes” and witchcraft. The ritual of Annā from Kaplawiya, for instance (KUB 12.44 iii 2'-9'): « In the place where (there is) the (entrance) gate of the vineyard, I dig the earth behind the gate on that side and on the other. I place three *hatalkiš*-plants on that side and on the other in the hole. § I say: ‘May the evil person, the evil tongues (and) the evil eyes be nailed down by the *hatalkiš*-plants¹⁰!’ » Here the concept of « evil eyes » seems close to the one observed by the folklorists: an envious person must have used witchcraft for provoking the sterility of the vineyard, in order to harm its owner.

C. « Bad dreams »: « bad dreams » are mentioned several times in direct relation with witchcraft. Allī's ritual associates bewitchment and “bad dreams”. The same association is found in the ritual of Ehal-Tešub from Aleppo. I think that this is a sufficient reason to believe that, according to the Hittites, some “bad dreams” are provoked by witchcraft. As I have already studied this aspect elsewhere¹¹, I do not dwell on it here. But let me simply remind

⁸ Graf 1994, 185.

⁹ Tawananna against Muršili II, Arma-Tarhunta against Hattušili III, etc.

¹⁰ KUB 12.44 iii 2'-9' (Haas 1988, 138-139) : *nu ŠA* ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.GEŠTIN *kuwapi KÁ*^{HA}-*eš nu KÁ*-*aš EGIR-an kēz kēzziya tēkan paddahhi n=ašta kēz kēzziya pattešni anda 3* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkiš tittanummi § nu kiššan temi idāluš=wa=(š)šan antūwahza idāluš EME-aš idālawa IGI*^{HA}-*wa* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkišnit katta tarmān ēšdu.*

¹¹ Mouton 2007, 54-55.

you that such an association between “bad dreams” and witchcraft is also well attested in the Mesopotamian corpus, as Sally Butler has shown¹².

D. The case of Hebattarakki’s ritual: Hebattarakki’s ritual is a special case in the Hittite corpus on witchcraft. In that text, it seems that bewitchment takes the form of demoniac entities that one can call by name (i 18-20): « I have uninstalled/removed Agalmati from you (litt. outside of you), I have driven Ānnamiluli out of your head¹³. »

4. How do magic practitioners carry out bewitchment?

A. The « evil tongue », i. e. a particular type of curse: the « evil tongue » is a form of bewitchment¹⁴, but can also be considered as a technique of witchcraft.

In the ritual against Ziplantawiya’s witchcraft, some details are given about the way she attacked her brother Tudhaliya (KBo 15.10+ i 18-21): « The evil (words) which she pronounced against Tudhaliya, Nikalmati and their children, she has made (them under the shape of) tongues against them [=Tudhaliya and his family]. She has mentioned them in an evil manner across to the Sun deity of blood (and) to the Stormgod, she has bewitched them¹⁵. » The main function of the ritual is, according to the text itself, to pacify (*lilai-*) the two deities that are involved in this affair. It indicates, I think, that Ziplantawiya, in order to curse her adversary, has accused this latter of having perpetrated a sin against those same deities, and that event inevitably provokes their anger. This kind of curse consisting in accusing one’s adversary of a sin is well known in magical papyri from Hellenistic Egypt, but it is also mentioned in the neo-assyrian *Maqlû* composition¹⁶.

B. Enchantment (French « envoûtement »): what I call enchantment is the technique of representing a person under the shape of a figurine in order to make the person thus represented suffer harmful magic¹⁷. The use of figurines is very frequent in Hittite harmful magic. It even is mentioned in the Hittite Laws (paragraph 111). The deposition fragment KUB 40.83 which was edited by Rudolf Werner attests the fact that the victim’s name was written on the figurine¹⁸. The ritual KUB 24.12+ is an important evidence because it depicts the enchantment process (ii 19-23): « At the same time, the scribe speaks thus: ‘[As] a (hair of) eyebrow, an eyelash (or a hair) of beard has been [*placed/fixed*] on a figurine of a young man (representing) Tudhaliya, he has been bewitched and he has been entrusted [to you], Sun goddess of the earth¹⁹ ... ».

¹² Butler 1998, 53-57.

¹³ ^DAgalmatin=ta awan arha tittanunun ^DĀnnamilulin=ma=ta=(k)kan SAG.DU-az awan arha šuwanun.

¹⁴ This fact is illustrated, among other things, by the expression *idālamuš alwanzinnuš* EME^{HA} « the evil bewitching tongues » in the ritual against Ziplantawiya’s bewitchment KBo 15.10+ i 30-31 (Kassian 2000, 28).

¹⁵ *nu idālu kue ITT[I] ¹Duthaliy[a U] ^fNikalmāti ANA DUMU^{MES}=ŠUNU mēmiškit nu=šmaš* EME^{HA} [*išš*]išta n=uš=kan išhanāš ^DUTU-i ^DIM-ni parānta [*idā*]u memiškit n=uš alwanzahhiškit.

¹⁶ Bernand 1991, 77. *Maqlû* : *aššu^{munus}uš₁₁ ukaššipanni elēnītum ubbiranni dingir-ya u^dištar-ya ušissū* (Meier 1937, 7 : I 4-6). See also Abusch 1999, 91-92. Reichardt 1998, 17 considers the « evil tongue » to be a simple slander rather than a curse. However, I believe that the numerous mentions of « evil tongue » in exorcistic rituals show by themselves that this phenomenon is viewed as very dangerous.

¹⁷ Le Petit Robert, 788.

¹⁸ Werner 1967, 64-65.

¹⁹ Taracha 2000, 88-89 : [*nu=kan ^{Lj}ūDUB.SAR anda kiššan memāi [GIM[?]-a]n=wa=kan ANA ¹Tudhaliya ALAM ^{LU}GURUŠ [ī]nniri laplapi zamankur [...-an] ēšta nu=war=at alwanzahhan [nu tuk K]I-aš ^DUTU-i EGIR-pa maniyahhan ēšta*. For a different transliteration, see CHD L-N, 167.

C. Other attested techniques: Ammihatna's ritual indicates that someone can be defiled by bewitched food. Although we have no parallel in the Hittite texts that I know of, Tzvi Abusch has noticed the expression *šammī ša kišpī* (« herbs of witchcraft ») in a letter from Mari²⁰, and that expression clearly refers to the use of herbs having the power of bewitching and/or poisoning an object or food-stuffs.

5. What are the possible consequences of bewitchment?

Witchcraft provokes two kinds of troubles which are related to each other: 1) impurity, that physical and psychic state that creates a greater distance between a person and his gods; 2) illness that injures the person's body.

Volkert Haas has also mentioned the feeling of paralysis of the bewitched person²¹. Allaiturahhi's ritual states that the victim has his « mouth bound »²², the « eyes (full) of mist »²³. The same composition indicates that the bewitched person is « nailed (down to the earth) » (*GIŠ-ruantan*) and totally « bound » (*išhiyantān*)²⁴. Tunnawi(ya)'s ritual that Albrecht Goetze edited shows that bewitchment may provoke a dysfunction of the organs of reproduction and even a miscarriage²⁵. Hebattarakki's ritual indicates that bewitchment can provoke a fever²⁶.

Although most of our texts refer to bewitchment of one or at most two persons, it has to be noted that a whole group of persons can be bewitched at the same time²⁷. That is what mentions, for instance, the tablet-catalogue KUB 30.51+ (iv 12'-14'): « If, in the land of Šalattani, a lot of people die because of witchcraft²⁸. » In that particular case, it is possible that the king of Šalattani is considered as the main victim of the bewitchment and that the inhabitants of his city are perceived as « collateral damage », if I may use this expression. Besides, several texts show that bewitchment may attack both a person and his gods, together with his house and goods. Pupuwanni's ritual is one of the illustrations of this phenomenon, but we might also mention a passage of the oracular report KUB 5.6 in which both My Sun and his deity are said to be bewitched by Mašhuluwa (KUB 5.6 iii 17-19).

6. How can bewitchment be neutralized?

This aspect has been well studied both by David H. Engelhard²⁹ and, more recently, by Marie-Claude Trémouille³⁰. Therefore, I will not develop too much this part. Only a few points will be emphasized.

²⁰ Abusch 2002, 80 : ARMT 26/2.314 has been edited by Charpin 1988, 75-77.

²¹ Haas 1994, 887.

²² *iššaš= (š)ta dammenkuwar* « to be bound for the mouth ».

²³ IGI^{HA} -*waš=ma=ta=(k)kan kammaran* « mist of the eyes ». KUB 24.13 ii 5-6 : Haas/Wegner 1988, 109.

²⁴ KBo 12.85+ i 30-31 : Haas/Wegner 1988, 127.

²⁵ KUB 7.53+ i 4-5 : Goetze 1938, 4-5.

²⁶ SAG.DU=KA=*ma=(d)du=(š)šan pahhur kištanunun* (« I have extinguished the fire (of) your head »).

²⁷ The greek texts attest an analogous belief : Graf 1994, 190.

²⁸ *mā[n]* KUR *Šalattani anda alwanzahhi[t] akkiškittari*.

²⁹ Engelhard 1970, 61-71.

³⁰ Trémouille 2004, 162-164.

A. Use of figurines

A.1. Anthropomorphic figurines or the « anti-enchantment » technique: Alli's ritual focuses on the use of five anthropomorphic figurines of clay. The incantations of the composition show that those figurines symbolize the witch or wizard.

The figurines are described the following way (§ 1 :4-8³¹): « Five clay figurines among which two (are) male. They carry *kuršas* and tongues lie inside. Three female figurines. They wear a *kureššar*-head-dress³². » The incantations which compare the sorcerer with the figurines state (§ 4:22-31): « Sun deity of the hand, (see) those sorcerers! If (it is) a man (who) treated ritually this person, may he carry it on his back; may he take them back! May he carry it on his back. But if (it is) a [woman] (who) treated him ritually, (and if) you, Sun deity, you recognized her (as such), may it be <her> *kureššar*-head-dress, may she keep it on her head! May she take them back³³! » Representing the sorcerer under the shape of a figurine is a way to make him present during the ceremony. Keeping the alternative male or female most probably indicates that the identity of the sorcerer is unknown.

A.2. Non anthropomorphic figurines: Among non anthropomorphic figurines, tongue figurines are the most frequently mentioned in the Hittite texts. It is due to the frequent allusion of « evil tongues » as a bewitchment technique. Tongue figurines can be made of clay, dough or wax. Šehuzzi's ritual for healing a bewitched person³⁴ states: « Mud of *šalwana*-, mud of ants, riverbank clay, all seeds, malt (and) beer-bread. They mill them backwards and mix them into the clay. I make figurines of mouth and tongues. I fill them of ash, (the tongues) and the mouth, I cover them with clay and I seal them³⁵. » Maštigga's ritual also mentions hand figurines in a context referring to curses. Volkert Haas appropriately considers hand and tongue figurines as the symbols of the two main magical acts: manual and oral acts³⁶.

B. Curses against a previous curse: Alli's ritual contains an unusual incantation (§ 6:36-39) : « May [the be]witchment be ... *dukanzi*! May she take it in (her) womb! May it³⁷ escape from the pig's peg! May it return to its owner³⁸! » This passage has several difficulties. But I think that Craig Melchert found the key of the whole passage: he suggested that we translate *dukanzi/tukkanzi* by « cultivation, breeding »³⁹ and proposed a logical link between that sentence and the following ones. According to him, the expression « the pig's peg » is used for designating the sex of the animal. In this incantation, the ritual expert pronounces a kind of « counter-curse », so to speak: she wants the witch to have a sexual intercourse with a pig so that her witchcraft would return to her womb that way.

³¹ The used numbering follows the one of my online edition of CTH 402.

³² 5 ALAM IM ŠÀ.BA 2 LÚ nu^{KUŠ} *kurša[s]* *karpan harkanzi* n=ašta anda EME^{MEŠ} *kiantari* 3 MUNUS^{MEŠ} n=at TUG^{TUG} *kurišnanteš*.

³³ *kiššeraš* DUTU-uš *kāša alwanzinieš antuhšeš nu kūn UN-an mān LÚ-iš iyan ha[rzi]* n=at *kāša iškišaz karpan harzi* n=e=za EGIR-pa *dāu* n=at *iškišaz karpan harzi [m]ān=an [MUNUS-z]a²=[m]a iyan harzi n=an zik* DUTU-uš *šakti [n=a]t<=ši>* TUG^{TUG} *kureššar ēšdu* n=at=šan INA SAG.DU=ŠU *šiyān hardu* n=e=za EGIR-pa *dāu*.

³⁴ KUB 9.39 + KUB 43.59 i 1 : *mān UH₇-a[h]handan SIG₅-ahmi*.

³⁵ (KUB 9.39 + KUB 43.59 i 2-8 : CHD Š, 109) : [n]u=za *šaluinaš purut lalaušnaš purut wa[p]puwaš* IM-an NUMUN^{HA} *hūmanda* DIM₄ BAPPIR n=at EGIR-pa *parašza mallanzi* n=at IM-ni IGI-anda *immianzi* nu ALAM^{HA} KAxU EME^{HA} DÜ-mi n=at KAxU-iš *haššit šunnahhi* n=at IM-nit *ištappi* n=at *šiyami*.

³⁶ Haas 1994, 884.

³⁷ Duplicate D has -at instead of -aš, see Craig Melchert's comment on this passage.

³⁸ [nu a]lwanzata *dukanzi* x[...] *ēšdu* n=an *haššannit dāu* ŠAH=ma=aš=kan^{GIS} GAG-az *išparzašdu* n=at EGIR-pa *BĒLĪ=ŠU paiddu*.

³⁹ Melchert 1999, 20-22.

Another example of « counter-curse » is to be found in Allaiturahhi's ritual (KUB 17.27 iii 12-15; 18): « May a donkey urinate on them (= the words of the bewitchment UH₇-*naš uddār*)! May an ox defecate on them! May a human being pass and spit on (them)! (...) May the thousand gods curse the sorcerer [...]»⁴⁰! Other deities who are asked to curse the sorcerer are listed afterward, but the passage is partly broken. One may also think of the incantation pronounced during Pittei's ritual against the bewitchment of a new born child, the incantation is a bit problematic but comprises several curses⁴¹.

C. Other techniques: other techniques of counter-magic are attested. Purification techniques (lustration, exorcism and even substitution) might be used in such a context. Other techniques rather seem to be borrowed from therapeutics. For instance, in Alli's ritual, the Old Woman fabricates twice a kind of plaster that she wraps around one of the patient's body parts while pronouncing an incantation of analogical magic (§ 29 et 30). A similar procedure is mentioned in Maštigga's ritual (§ 43). Finally, note the use, in Hebatarraki's ritual, of dog excrement mixed with barley flour and several plants. The mixture is applied on the patient then it apparently is burned as a fumigation, because the accompanying conjuration states (KUB 24.14 i 22-24): « I have expelled the dog's odor outside of you, I have burned as a fumigation the *šalpas* (in singular in the duplicate) of the dog, the flesh of the dog and the bones of the dog»⁴².

Conclusion

Bewitchment consists in establishing a magical bond between two persons: the sorcerer and his victim. Beside allusions made to that symbolic bond uniting the antagonists, several ritual sequences materialize that bond under the shape of a rope that the ritual expert should unbind: it is the case in Allaiturahhi's ritual⁴³, for instance. Behind that particular representation, a second concept is present: the bond hampers the bewitched person, it paralyzes him. By the same logic, when the ritual expert wraps wool around the sorcerer's figurine(s), like it is the case in Alli's ritual, it is a way to paralyze him⁴⁴.

Besides, if the sorcerer managed to harm his victim, it is because he managed to hold off the victim's gods⁴⁵. In order to do so, he has provoked the gods' anger either by blaming the victim for having sinned, or by defiling him. After such an event occurs, the gods consider the bewitched person as a perfect stranger. In a recent article, Ilya Yakubovich⁴⁶, with Elisabeth Rieken's help, suggests that the hittite root **alwanza-* could also be found in the luwian adjective **aliwanna/i-*, **alunna/i-* which would mean « enemy, stranger » much like the latin

⁴⁰ Haas/Wegner 1988, 194 and Haas 2007, 18 : *n=at=kan ANŠE-aš šehurreškiddu [n=at]=kan GU₄-uš kammaršieškiddu DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-uš=šan [kuiš] šer arha iyattari nu=(š)šan šer [all]appahhiškiddu*; iii 18 : [...]x=war=an UH₇-an UN-an L[*l*]M DINGIR^{MES} hurzaškand[u].

⁴¹ Beckman 1983, 178-179.

⁴² ŠA UR.GI₇=ma=(t)ta waršulan awan arha parhun ŠA UR.GI₇=ma šalpaš (KUB 24.15 i 22 : *šalpan*) UZU UR.GI₇^{UZU}GİR.PAD.DU UR.GI₇=ya šimišiyānun.

⁴³ KUB 17.27 ii 37'-41' : Haas/Wegner 1988, 193.

⁴⁴ The same simile occurs in a neo-assyrian war ritual recently published by Daniel Schwemer. In that ritual, the enemy is suspected of having the power to « bind » (*russū*) the king's weapons. For this meaning of *russū*, see Schwemer 2007, 39.

⁴⁵ On this topic, see Abusch 1999.

⁴⁶ Yakubovich 2008.

aliēnus. I find this theory attractive, because of what I have just mentioned: bewitchment is above all perceived as an alienation.

For neutralizing bewitchment, one should repeat the same magical gestures in reverse, like Maurice Vieyra wrote⁴⁷. But I believe that the spoken words are even more efficient than the gestures for undoing bewitchment. The performative character of the incantations is clear: by describing a phenomenon, the ritual expert wishes to fix it in reality and, at the same time, he suggests to the gods the way to act. When bewitchment is undone, the ritual expert holds it off either by nailing it down and burying it or by burning it. The first two techniques illustrate the chthonian character of impurity, as several scholars have already noticed. Impurity is one of the main consequences of bewitchment. Therefore, its relation with the underworld is worth underlining. It may be considered as an indirect testimony of an existing relationship between witchcraft and the realm of the dead. This relationship is very well attested in other ancient societies like Egypt, Greece and Rome (think of the famous *defixio* technique involving a dead spirit in an enchantment) and I would not be surprised to find it clearly mentioned in a Hittite text one day. Although I have not yet found any examples, note that a magical bond related to witchcraft and existing between a living person and a dead spirit is however mentioned in the oracular report KBo 2.6 edited by Theo van den Hout⁴⁸.

If I am correct, bewitching someone means attracting him irresistibly to the underworld. We should remember the expression *taknaz da-* « take/remove from the earth » of the substitution rituals. This expression has a very concrete meaning in such a context. The bewitched person is, against his will, in a betwixt and between situation. He is in what the anthropologists call in liminal state, which is considered as a dangerous situation: he has started entering the realm of the dead without being included completely. So the magical bond that paralyzes him and ties him to the sorcerer must be cut in order to prevent him from being snapped up by the Dark Earth.

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⁴⁷ Vieyra 1966, 106.

⁴⁸ van den Hout 1998, 196-217.

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