

Conference on
Jewish Studies

C I S M O R

ユダヤ学会議



C I S M O R ユダヤ学会議 —— 第11回

*Pilgrimage Through the Ages
In Religious and Non-Religious Context*

時代を通して見る巡礼

—— 宗教的及び非宗教的コンテクストにおいて ——

CISMOR SERIES OF ONLINE LECTURES FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR

2021-2022

同志社大学

Doshisha University

一神教学際研究センター

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CENTER FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF MONOTHEISTIC
RELIGIONS (CISMOR)
THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
DOSHISHA UNIVERSITY

第 11 回 CISMOR ユダヤ学会議
The 11th CISMOR Conference on Jewish Studies

*Pilgrimage Through the Ages:
In Religious and Non-Religious Context*

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CISMOR ユダヤ学会議 : CISMOR Conference on Jewish Studies

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Preface

For our 11th Conference on Jewish Studies – an ongoing gathering of international scholars which offers a wide range of studies on Jewish culture in correlation with other religious traditions – we chose the topic of pilgrimage. Unlike the previous ten conferences, which were held on the campus of Doshisha University in Kyoto, this time we had to hold a series of online lectures on the ZOOM platform, due to the COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions. The lectures were also made available to the general public on the CISMOR website.

The series of lectures offered various views on the essential components of pilgrimage in several periods of time and in different religious contexts. Each lecture consisted of an analysis of the way pilgrimages were conducted, in which way their purposes were understood, and what scholars could learn from this today. The topic of pilgrimage involves the research fields – to indicate the most obvious – of anthropology, history, literature, religious studies, as well as tourism in antiquity and modern times. To quote Alan Morinis: “[Pilgrimage] is rather a composite process pieced together from elements of mythological, ritual, belief, psychology, social roles, architecture, geography, literature, drama and art, and spiritual concerns.”¹ The papers included in this volume offer different perspectives on the topic, via the use of textual material relating to historical societies and the study of the ways that pilgrimage is conducted nowadays.

Initially, CISMOR conducted a program organized by its Jewish Studies Group of Research Fellows on the theme of “Revisiting the ‘Zion/Jerusalem/Holy Land’: View From the Biblical Text until Today” (「シオン／エルサレム／聖地」観の再検討：聖書テキストから今日に至るまで) including the topic of “Pilgrimage to Jerusalem”. A workshop was organized in which Dr. Hiraoka Kotaro and Dr. Anri Ishiguro presented two themes related to the topic of pilgrimage. The workshop took place on October 23, 2021 and was followed by the first online lecture by Prof. Ora Limor of the Open University of Israel. The two presentations by the Research Fellows were as follows²:

¹ Alan Morinis, ed. *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Contributions to the Study of Anthropology 7; Westport, CT.-London: 1992), 2.

² For a summary of these presentations see *CISMOR VOICE* 34 (5/2022), pp. 5-6.

Ada Taggar Cohen & Doron B. Cohen

“‘Pilgrimage’ in a Contemporary Meaning: American Jews as an Example” (「巡礼」の現代的解釈：アメリカ・ユダヤ人を事例に) by Dr. Anri Ishiguro.

“Pilgrimage in Medieval Jewish Bible Interpretation – Focusing on Abarbanel” (「中世ユダヤ聖書解釈における巡礼—アバルヴァネルを中心に—」) by Dr. Kotaro Hiraoka.

The lecture by Prof. Limor, held on October 23, 2021, was on pilgrimage in Christianity from a historical standpoint. The lecture by Prof. Ryosuke Okamoto, held on November 7, 2021, was on the modern concept of pilgrimage, as it is currently studied in the context of tourism. The lecture by Prof. Daniella Talmon-Heller, held on December 19, 2021, was on the place of pilgrimage to Mecca and other holy sites in Islam. Finally, the lecture by Prof. Ada Taggar Cohen, held on March 27, 2022, was on pilgrimage in the Hebrew Bible in correlation with the idea of sacred journeys conducted by the Hittite royal family to the cult centers of their country. The lecture of Dr. Kotaro Hiraoka is published separately in its lecture format with scholarly references.

Since three of the lectures were delivered in English and two were delivered in Japanese, we have chosen to publish them in their original languages. To each article we added an abstract in both languages.

Ada Taggar Cohen & Doron B. Cohen

Editors

Kyoto, December 2022

巻頭言

ユダヤ文化について他の宗教的伝統との関連の中で幅広く研究している研究者の国際的な集まりである第 11 回ユダヤ学会議(CJS11)において、「巡礼」というテーマが採択された。今回は、新型コロナウイルス感染症の世界的流行に伴う渡航制限のため、京都の同志社大学で開催された過去 10 回のユダヤ学会議とは異なり、Zoom プラットフォームによるオンライン開催となった。講演内容は、CISMOR のホームページで一般公開されている。

一連の講演では、いくつかの時代や異なる宗教的文脈における巡礼の本質的な構成要素について、様々な見解が示された。各講演は、巡礼がどのように行われ、その目的がどのように理解され、現代の研究者はそこから何を学ぶことができるか、という点の分析によって構成される。巡礼というテーマは、ごく簡潔に言うならば、人類学、歴史学、文学、宗教学、古代と現代の観光といった研究領域を内包するものである。アラン・モリニスの言葉を借りれば、「「巡礼」はむしろ、神話、儀式、信仰、心理学、社会的役割、建築、地理、文学、演劇と芸術、霊的な事柄といった要素が組み合わさった、複合的なプロセスである」³。この巻に収録された各論考は、歴史上の様々な社会に関する文献資料の読解や、現代の巡礼の実践方法に関する調査を通じて、このテーマについて多様な視座を提供する。

当初より CISMOR では、「シオン／エルサレム／聖地」観の再検討：聖書テキストから今日に至るまで」をテーマに、センターのユダヤ学研究部門による企画としてプログラムを実施しており、そこには「エルサレム巡礼」というテーマも含まれていた。第 11 回ユダヤ学会議は、2021 年 10 月 23 日、平岡光太郎氏と石黒安里氏がそのプログラムの一環として開催したワークショップにおいて、巡礼に関する二つの研究テーマについて発表することから始まった。同日には、本プログラム初となるオンライン講演が、イスラエル・オープン大学のオーラ・リモール氏によって行われた。リサーチフェローによる研究発表は、次の

³ Alan Morinis, ed. *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Contributions to the Study of Anthropology 7; Westport, CT.-London: 1992), 2.

二つであった⁴：

石黒安里「「巡礼」の現代的解釈：アメリカ・ユダヤ人を事例に」

平岡光太郎「中世ユダヤ聖書解釈における巡礼—アバルヴァネルを中心に—」

オーラ・リモール氏の講演は、歴史的な立場から見たキリスト教における巡礼についてであった。その後、2021年11月7日には、岡本亮輔氏が、観光という文脈において近年研究されている、巡礼の現代的概念について講演した。また、2021年12月19日には、ダニエラ・タルモン・ヘレル氏が、イスラームにおけるメッカとその他の聖地への巡礼の位置付けについて講演した。そして、2022年3月27日には、アダ・タガー・コヘンによる講演が行われ、ヒッタイト王家が自国の教団の中心地へと向かった聖なる旅についての思想との関連において、ヘブライ語聖書における巡礼について述べた。なお、平岡光太郎氏の講演については、講演内容をもとに学術文献による補足を加える形で別途出版される。

三つの講演は英語で、二つの講演は日本語で行われた。ここでは、各論考を原語で掲載し、両言語の抄録を付すこととした。

2022年12月 京都にて
編者 アダ・タガー・コヘン
ドロシ・B・コヘン

⁴ これらの発表要旨は *CISMOR VOICE* 34 (2022年5月) の5-6頁に掲載されている。

Figures (図表一覧)

Ryosuke Okamoto (岡本亮輔)

写真 1 : 教会内にある奇蹟のメダルのレリーフ

写真 2 : メジューゴリエの最初の出現があった場所

写真 3 : サンティアゴ・デ・コンポステラ大聖堂

写真 4 : サンティアゴを目指す巡礼者

写真 5 : 御神木に触れる参拝客

グラフ 1 : 巡礼証明書の発行数 1991～2019

Daniella Talmon-Heller (ダニエラ・タルモン・ヘレル)

Fig. 1: Drawing of the Ka‘ba, from a sixteenth-century illustrated manuscript of *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* by al-Anṣarī

Fig. 2: A Stencil lithograph from the second half of the 19th century

Fig. 3: A fourteenth-century miniature of the Mosque of Medina

Fig. 4: Jerusalem in the eleventh century (Drawing: Patrice Kaminsky, based on Amikam Elad’s map of eleventh-century Jerusalem)

Fig. 5: Tomb of Shaykh Muhammad al-Mawṣili

Fig. 6: Entrance to shrine of the head of al-Ḥusayn in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus

Fig. 7: Celebration of *mawṣim* in the courtyard of Mashhad Ra’s al-Ḥusayn, by the ruins of Ascalon, April 1943

Ada Taggar Cohen (アダ・タガー・コヘン)

Google Map of Israel and Turkey:

<https://www.google.com/maps/@34.6377459,26.733744,5218518m/data=!3m1!1e3>

Fig. 1: The Sphinx Gate of Alaça Höyük, in Çorum province, Turkey

Pilgrimage in the Ancient Near East: The Hittite Texts and the Hebrew Bible

**Ada Taggar Cohen
Doshisha University**

1. Introduction

Within the series of lectures at the Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions that looked at the different ways of interpreting the concept of “pilgrimage” in Christianity, Islam and our modern era, this paper examines the concept of pilgrimage in ancient societies, specifically the Hebrew Bible and its counterpart from the Hittite kingdom. The Hebrew Bible introduced the idea of pilgrimage for the Jewish tradition to follow, from Jerusalem of the Second Temple period, to the days when Jerusalem remained as a ruined memory. This paper will go back to the early appearance of pilgrimage in texts from the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East. Firstly, it will present the concept of pilgrimage as it arises in the two societies and then, through textual examples, will consider the concept of individual household pilgrimages as well as royal pilgrimages.

**

Two different cultural texts will be discussed in this paper. Being part of the larger culture of the Ancient Near East, they were, however, set apart in time and place. The Hittite Kingdom, which existed between 1650-1180, belongs to the second millennium BCE, and was located in Asia Minor (Turkey of today), while the ancient Israelite-biblical culture existed in approximately the years 1000-580 of the first millennium BCE and was located in the southern Levant (Land of Israel today). These cultures were not in direct contact historically, but still, in regard to the topic under discussion, there is much interest in comparing them.¹

A word on cultural heritage is needed before directly speaking about the Hittites and the Israelites to confirm my conviction of why such a comparison is viable.

Cultural heritage is a matter of historical layers. It grows up and develops, reaches a certain form and then by historical interventions might be changed. The changes can be the result of technological developments, natural disasters, and confrontation with other cultures, especially other cults, through peaceful exchange or via conquest and

subjugation. An important point to remember regarding local cults is that when not totally extinguished, they can survive for hundreds of years, even when the rulers' official cult changes direction. We are aware of holy places which continue to be considered holy even after they are transferred from one religion to another, which shows how sacredness can stick to a place – as shown in the example of Jerusalem– for several millennia. Many such examples can be found throughout the world, where a Christian church was built on a pagan temple, a Moslem Mosque replaced a Christian church and so on. In the Holy Land, and other places in the Middle East, some sites are venerated simultaneously by the followers of different religions, and in peaceful times pilgrims visit them indiscriminately. In both cultures we are discussing here, the changed identity of holy pilgrimage sites was very common.

**

In his introduction to the edited volume *Sacred Journey* (1992), Alan Morinis defined pilgrimage as follows:

[T]he pilgrimage is a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valuable ideal. At its most conventional, the end of the pilgrimage is an actual shrine located at some fixed geographical point. The place has acquired a reputation that draws pilgrims. [...] One who journeys to a place of importance to himself alone may also be a pilgrim.”²

In this definition, in an attempt to cover the meaning of pilgrimage in a general way, Morinis deals with the individual and his relations to a specific place, while it gives that individual the feeling of achievement of a “valuable ideal.” Such a definition would cover a religious and a non-religious definition for the pilgrimage in historical perspectives. Looking at the concept of pilgrimage in the ancient world we need to define it using the idea of “place and sacredness”. I will relate to this further in the following.

Catherine Bell speaking of Calendrical Rites says as follows: “Just as rites of passage give order and definition to the biocultural life cycle, so calendrical rites give socially meaningful definitions to the passage of time, creating an ever-renewing cycle

of days, months and years. [...] Like rites of passage, calendrical rites can be said to impose cultural schemes on the order of nature.”³ These insights of Bell will be discussed along with the biblical and the Hittite texts presented in the following.

2. The Hebrew Bible

The basic concept of pilgrimage is the visit to a sacred place through a journey. The aim of the journey in the Hebrew Bible, and, as we will see also in the Hittite world, was to worship a divine entity in its dwelling place, or the place where that deity had appeared – identified as “the house of god” (Heb. בית אל/הים *bet-el/ohim*; Hitt. *šīunaš parn-*). Visiting the sacred place is in order to bring presents to the deity or deities, and make sacrifices. The presents and sacrifices are expected by the deities. The act is essentially a personal one, even when organized by a higher institution, or done in a group/family, household.

Two types of pilgrimage activity can be discerned in the ancient world: a pilgrimage by an individual which presents a personal homage to the divine world – it could be together with the household members – or a state-pilgrimage that is called for or conducted by the rulers in order to consolidate their power. Evidence for both types of pilgrimage can be found in the Hebrew Bible and the Hittite texts.

The Hebrew Bible has instructions to the Israelites – as a nation and as individuals – regarding the visits to their god in the following passages:

Ex. 34:23 **שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹרְךָ אֶת־פָּנַי הָאֵלֹהִים וְיִהְיֶה אֲלֵהֶי יִשְׂרָאֵל:**

Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the LORD God, the God of Israel.

Ex. 34:24 **כִּי־אֹרִישׁ גּוֹיִם מִפְּנֶיךָ וְהִרְחַבְתִּי אֶת־גְּבוּלְךָ וְלֹא־יִחַמְדּוּ אִישׁ אֶת־אֶרְצְךָ בַּעֲלֹתָּ לָרְאוֹת אֶת־פָּנַי וְיִהְיֶה אֲלֵהֶיךָ שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה:**

For I will cast out nations before you, and enlarge your borders; no one shall covet your land when you go up **to appear before the LORD your God three times in the year.**

Ex 34:20 **וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פָנַי רִיקָם:** They shall not appear **before me empty handed**

Deut. 16:16-17 **שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹרְךָ אֶת־פָּנַי וְיִהְיֶה אֲלֵהֶיךָ בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר בְּתֵּג הַמַּעֲוֹת וּבְתֵּג הַשְּׂבָעוֹת וּבְתֵּג הַסִּכּוֹת וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת־פָּנַי וְיִהְיֶה רִיקָם:** איש כמתנת יגו

קְבַרְכֶּם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךָ אֲשֶׁר גָּמַלְךָ:

Three times a year all your males shall **appear before the LORD your God** at the place that he will choose: at the festival of unleavened bread, **at the festival of weeks, and at the festival of booths**. They shall not appear before the LORD **empty-handed**; all shall give as they are able, according to the blessing of the LORD your God that he has given you.

Deut. 31:11 בְּבוֹא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרֹאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר תִּקְרָא אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת גִּגְד כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם:

when all Israel comes to appear before the LORD your God at the place that he will choose, you shall read this law before all Israel in their hearing.

Num. 10:10 וּבַיּוֹם שֶׁמִּתְחַתֵּבֶם וּבְמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם וּבְרֵאשֵׁי חֲדָשֵׁיכֶם וּתְקַעְתֶּם בַּחֲצָצְרוֹת עַל עֹלְתֵיכֶם וְעַל זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמֵיכֶם וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

Also, on your days of rejoicing, at your appointed festivals, and at the beginnings of your months, you shall blow the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over your sacrifices of well-being; they shall serve as a reminder on your behalf before the LORD your God: I am the LORD your God.

These texts from (mainly the Priestly) biblical texts, which are concerned with the sacrifices offered at the place of the god – that is the temple(s)⁴ – present the main aim and reasoning for the pilgrimage: worshipers had to be seen before the god and bring it presents from their own produce. They were commanded to do this three times a year, during three calendric agricultural festivals: the Festival of Unleavened Bread in spring, the Festival of Weeks in early summer, and the Festival of Booths in autumn. They – only the males are specified (זָכָרִים) – had to come from around the country (leaving their families behind), without fearing that their houses would be attacked while they were gone. This indicates that the temple was not near their villages but rather that there was need for a journey. These texts also speak of an individual person or household visit to the temple. The temple location is not indicated which leads us to assume a period of different central temples such as in the cities of Gilgal, Shechem, Beit-El, Hebron, Dan, Beer-Sheba, Samaria, Jerusalem, and others, mentioned in Genesis in the books of Judges and Samuel. A journey that entails danger is to be understood as the devotion of the individual to his god.

3. The Hittite Texts

The Hittite texts include instructions similar to the biblical approach. In the Bible the demands come directly from the deity, through his messenger Moses, and thus the instructions are termed “תורת משה” (the law/instruction of Moses). In the Hittite texts the laws of the deities are transferred by the written texts of traditional cultic activities in reference to each deity, or cult center, or by a religious cult professional, according to his memory.⁵ Hittite kings will thus instruct the regional commanders regarding the temples to the gods, which had to be cared for in the following words (CTH 261):

§31' (ii 36'-41') Furthermore: Reverence for the gods must be maintained, and special reverence for the Storm-god is to be established. If some temple (roof) leaks, the margrave and the city commander must repair it. Or (if) some rhyton of the Storm-God or any cultic implement of another god (is) ruined, the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, and the *šiwanzanni*-priestesses will renew it.

§34' (iii 4-8) Whatever springs (are) in the city, sacrifices are established for (those) springs: Let them celebrate them and attend to them. They must definitely attend (also) to those springs for which there is no sacrifice. Let them not omit them. They must consistently sacrifice to the mountains and rivers for which there are rites.⁶

The establishment of cultic activity had to be under the local administration – as of old – “Now attend to it again. Let them restore it. As it was built before, let them rebuild it in the same way.” The locals would celebrate their gods, especially those of nature. The maintenance of the cult by the cult professionals came first, but secondly, we find the participation of the public who were expected to take part in the visit to the temple in a calendrical festival: CTH 264 §15 iv 2-6

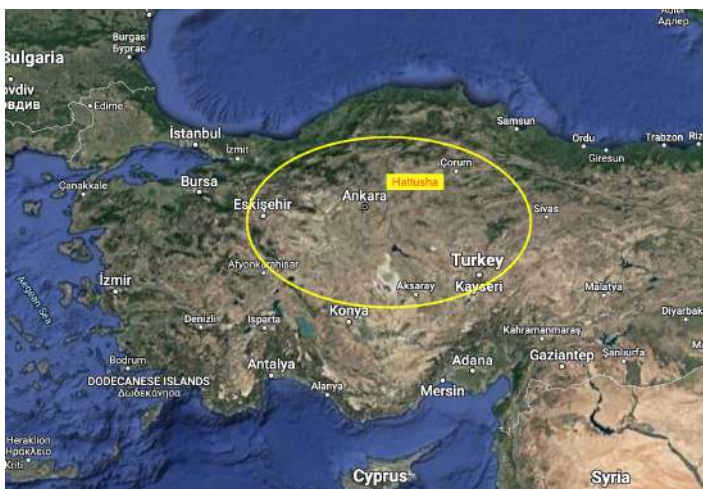
if [to a god] there is some [festival/rite], either a thick bread [or what newborn animal, you farmers, have ready for the gods, present it promptly at the right time.
Before a [man] eats it, to the soul of the gods
bring it promptly. Let the gods not be kept waiting for it.⁷

The two cultures have the same formation in regard to the individual / household / royal pilgrimage, that relates directly to the calendric festivals and rituals expected by the gods, although it is a clear human decision, based on the seasons.⁸

* *

4. The Landscape

Before discussing the concept of festivals and cultic worship as part of the pilgrimage in the two cultures, I would like to briefly describe the landscape of both regions, since the landscape also correlates with the creation of sacred places. The core region of the older Hittite kingdom was located in the central parts of Anatolia. This region was identified by the Hittites as “the land of the Storm God of Ḫatti” and the central city – its capital – was Ḫattuša (Bogazköy today). The land is wide spread; at its center is a wide, high plateau surrounded by ranges of high mountains, which in many ancient cultures were considered to be the abode of gods. The country thrived mainly on agriculture and animal husbandry, and depended on the rainy season for water, and therefore the rain-bringing Storm God was always a major deity. The region’s rivers and springs were also part of the complex world of divine entities which constituted the Hittite religion. Springs, mountains and special rock formations were considered divine, a manifestation place for a deity to which homage was paid by visits to conduct rituals. The intertwining of natural phenomena and divine powers is attested by the Hittite political treaties, which were concluded with the calling upon a long list of deities to be the witnesses to these treaties.⁹ At the end of the list, we find natural phenomena: “the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, the winds, and the clouds, they shall be witnesses to this treaty and oath.” International trade was carried out along the east to west roads, which were also routes for cultural exchange.



<https://www.google.com/maps/@34.6377459,26.733744,5218518m/data=!3m1!1e3>

The Land of Israel also depended on the rainy season of winter, and during the hot summers when rain was scarce wells and springs dried up and the population suffered. The land consists of a hilly region with flat valleys and the long seashore of the Mediterranean Sea. Livelihood depended on agriculture. This land was also a cross land for international roads, mainly going from south to north in this case. The Canaanite deities, the precursors of the God of Israel, were also weather gods, such as the storm-god Ba'al. Some deities were connected with specific sites and were named after them, such as Beit El, "the House of El", which we find in the story of Jacob and in later traditions. Although in their religious reforms some of the kings of Judah tried to obliterate previous cults and promote only one god YHWH, many traditions—in particular those connected with specific holy sites in the northern kingdom—persisted for a long time.



<https://www.google.com/maps/@32.2648123,33.1885992,1074096m/data=!3m1!1e3>

5. Worship of the Gods

Both regions are on cross-roads and thus were influenced by other cultures. Much of the worship to the deities under the royal houses of both cultures was composed of the state festivals connected with the seasons. In regard to the Hittites, the festivals connected with specific places, which can be considered local cults, were a continuation of previous cults that existed before the Hittite royal house was established around 1650 BCE. The indigenous people were named, based on their language, “Ḫattians”, and seemingly they gave the land of Ḫatti its name. The people we call Hittites today spoke the Nešili language and therefore should have been named Nešites by scholars, but since they were identified in the 19th century with the biblical Hittites, in correlation with the region of Ḫatti, that became their name in scholarly history. They called themselves “The people of Ḫatti-land” or “The people of Ḫattuša”. As a migrating population arriving in Anatolia at the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the Hittites adopted the cultic worship of the Ḫattians and added their own cultic beliefs to the practice. Later, they were also influenced—on the royal level at least—by the Ḫurrian religious cultic practices.¹⁰

The Israelites were also, according to the biblical texts, a migrating population who made the land then called “Canaan” their own. They too adopted previously-

existing sacred places and cults, and in some cases the deities Ba'al and Asherah, as well as probably some other local deities. Not only Canaanite deities were identified with specific locations, but YHWH, too, was identified with specific sites such as "YHWH of Samaria" and "YHWH of Teyman".¹¹ Similarly, the Hittites had as well as the Storm-god of Ḫatti, whose main abode was the great temple of Ḫattuša, the Storm-God of the city of Zippalanda, the Storm-god of the city of Nerik, of Ḫurma, of Ḫalpa, of Kaštama, and many other Storm-gods, to whom local festivals were celebrated.

The Hittite texts prescribed the obligation to worship the deities at their local shrines. The texts indicate clearly which deity in which city or at which mountain should be worshiped, and the calendric period is in many cases also indicated, most often spring or the beginning of autumn: spring was the time before the king went out to battle, and autumn was after returning to rest during the winter. The Hittite calendar of festivals was packed, with many more festivals than the ones suggested in the biblical verses quoted above, which only prescribed three annual festivals.

According to collected lists of festival names and names of deities celebrated in different locations around the country there were more than 160 festivals in the Hittite calendar. The question of whether all those festivals were for the entire population is probably to be answered negatively. The festivals can first be divided into festivals celebrated by the royals, and those celebrated in local shrines without the participation of a member from the royal family. Thus, we have what is termed in Hittology "Local cults" vs. "State cults". The State cults were the festivals celebrated with the participation of a certain member of the royal family or by the larger family, including the king and queen and their children and in-laws, while the population was not mentioned. However, in the local cultic texts the instructions were given to the priests on how to include and interact with the population during the festivals. In the Hebrew Bible we are less aware of such a division, although we might see some similarities where we encounter attempts to describe historical accounts, which I will discuss further on. The main reason for this difference derives from the Pentateuch being a collection of texts prescribing cultic laws to the Israelites as a group of people.

6. Textual reference to the festivals

The festivals in both cultures seem to be presented in the form of a list. In the biblical texts we encounter Leviticus chapter 23 and Deuteronomy chapter 16, which list the three major festivals to YHWH. The list in the Hittite text instructing the temple

personnel looks similar in its intent but concerns the priests only. The following commandments come from a text titled “Instructions to Temple Personnel” (CTH 264): §4 lines 39–49

Fu[rthe]rmore: The festival of the month, the festival of the year,
the festival of the stag, the f[al]l [fes]tival the [fe]stival of the spring,
the thunder festival, the [fe]stival of *hiyara*, the festival of *pudaḥa*,
the festival of *hišuwa*, the festival of [*ša*]tlašša, the festival of the rhyton,
the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest] the festivals of the Old Men,
the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the festival of *daḥiya*,
the festivals of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot, the festivals of *ḥaḥratar*,
or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša, if you do not celebrate them
along with all cattle, sheep bread, beer and with wine set up (for the gods),
but (from) those (people) giving it (the offerings), you - Temple-Men - from them
you'll keep taking payment, you will cause them (the offerings)
to fall short of the will of the gods.¹²

The festivals indicated here are already numerous compared with the Bible, and it is important also to note that they seem not to relate to seasonal festivals alone, but also social-class festivals, which could be interpreted as festivals ordered for the cult professionals, in relation to their gods.

7. Terminology of Festival(s)

In the Hebrew Bible reference is made to all festivals using the following terms: מועד “appointed time”, מקרא קדש “holy convocation”, and חג “festival/celebration”. We also find the term חג-יהוה “YHWH’s festival”. The seasons are also indicated by terms such as אביב, קציר, אסיף – spring, harvest, gathering – for the major festivals, as well as ראש חודש “head of the month”.

In Hittite texts the major term for festival is written in the Sumerogram EZEN(4), read in Akkadian as *isinnu*,¹³ which in a Hittite text is correlated with the Hittite noun *kalleštarwana-*. The noun *kalleštarwana-* is probably derived from the Hittite verb *kallešš-* meaning “to call”, “to summon”, or “to evoke” (a deity).¹⁴ Here it presents us with the main function of a festival: to call the god/s to a feast and a celebration, as is the combination in the Hebrew text מקרא קדש standing for the same concept, a call

for a holy encounter. In Lev. 23:2 the text reads as follows:

Lev. 23:2 דַבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־תִּקְרָאוּ אֹתָם מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ
אֵלֶּה הֵם מוֹעֲדָי:

Speak to the people of Israel and say to them: These are **the appointed festivals of YHWH** that you shall proclaim as **holy convocations**, these are my **appointed festivals**.

The term מועדי יהוה literally “YHWH’s meeting times” are correlated with “holy convocations” which can also be termed as “holy assembly” in which the god(s) are invoked and invited to the feast. The major Hittite festivals have included prescriptions for “great assembly”: h. *šalli ašeššar* translated literally as “great/grand/important seat, place” cf. Hebrew אהל מועד // המקום. It refers to the very special meals conducted on the festival day, where the congregation serves the god(s). For example the largest Hittite festival of the spring the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival indicates as follows: “The next day the king and queen enter the city of Taḫurpa; the king drives up to Taḫurpa in a chariot. In the *ḫalentu*-house¹⁵ the **great assembly** takes place.” In the Bible we find the entrance to the Tent of Meeting as the place for worship:

Num. 10:3 וְתִקְעוּ בָהֶן וְנִזְעְדוּ אֵלָיָהּ כָּל־הָעֵדָה אֶל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:

When both are blown, the whole congregation shall assemble before you at the entrance of the **tent of meeting**

There is emphasis regarding the idea of the timing of the festivals to be celebrated. The biblical text indicates this such:

Num. 28:2 צַו אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אֶת־קָרְבְּנִי לַחֲמִי לֶאֱשִׁי רִיחַ גִּיחְחִי תִשְׁמְרוּ
לְהַקְרִיב לִי בְמוֹעֲדָיו:

Command the Israelites, and say to them: My offering, the food for my offerings by fire, my pleasing odor, you shall take care to offer to me **at its appointed time**.

Num. 9:2 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּמוֹעֲדָיו:

Num. 9:3 בָּאָרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר־יוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים תַּעֲשׂוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ כְּכֹל־חֻקְתּוֹ וּכְכֹל־

מִשְׁפָּטֵי תַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם:

Let the Israelites keep the Passover at **its appointed time**. On the fourteenth day of this month, at twilight, you shall keep it at **its appointed time; according to all its statutes and all its regulations you shall keep it**

Similarly, the Hittite command to the temple personnel says: (CTH 264) §9 lines 57-69:

Furthermore: You who are Temple-Men, if you do not celebrate the festivals **on the time of (each) festival**, and the spr[ing] festival you celebrate in the fall, (or) the fall festival you celebrate in the spring, if the right time to perform a festival has come, and the one who is to perform it comes to you, the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, and to them, the Te[mple]-Men, he seizes their knees (saying): “The harvest (is) before me,” or marriage, or a journey, or some other matter, “Support me, and let meanwhile the aforementioned matter pass before me. But, as soon as the aforementioned matter has passed before me, I shall celebrate the festival accordingly.” Do not act (according) to the man’s will.¹⁶

This passage shows also the connection between the priesthood and the population regarding their responsibility to celebrate the festivals on time. In an early historical text of king Ḫattušili I (1650) at the installation of his heir to the throne, Muršili I, he says: (CTH 9 §21)

Be very careful about the matter [of the gods]. Their sacrificial loaves, their libations, their [ste]w, and their groats must be kept ready for them. You (Muršili) **must [not] postpone** (them), nor fall behind. If you were to [postpone (them)], it would be evil, (as indeed was) the former (condition). So be [it]!¹⁷

Indeed, king Tudḫaliya IV several hundred years later, prays to the Sun-goddess of

Arinna with the following words:

“I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not interchange the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festival of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn.¹⁸

Place and time go hand in hand to create a cosmos in which humans and gods exist together. The biblical and the Hittite texts explain clearly this mutuality of the relations between the people and the divine world.

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Returning to the idea of the visit to the gods which stands at the core of the concept of pilgrimage, as indicated in the biblical texts quoted above, the two cultures show that the main idea of relations with the divine world is to worship the deity at its holy abode, and thus there is a need to create a “house” for the deity and then maintain it as the deity will come to reside in it or at least visit it in response to the human call.

Temples were the result of activity conducted either by local communities or by the ruling authorities. Houses for the gods are written in cuneiform Sumerograms as É DINGIR = read in hitt. *šiunaš parna* and correlating with the Hebrew expressions for temple: בית יהוה // בית-אל that is, “the house of YHWH” or “the house of El”. This house was the place where the deity met with the worshipers, and for this reason the worshipers were supposed to come and visit and pay homage.

Attempting to look at both cultures through a historical lens, we can see the royal houses activities regarding the construction of temples or establishing or re-establishing cultic activities. When I use the term “historical” texts for the Bible, I refer to texts from the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles that aim to tell the acts of YHWH in the history of Israel and Judah. There are several texts which relate stories regarding pilgrimage and I will mention five of them. The first one falls under the designation “individual pilgrimage”, while the others can be regarded as “state” or “royal pilgrimages”:

1. The family pilgrimage which Samuel's father's house conducted every year to the temple of Eli the priest at Shiloh, in 1Sam 1:3: "Now this man used to go up year by year from his town to worship and to sacrifice to the LORD of hosts at Shiloh." The pilgrimage was conducted once a year and not three times as in the commandments of the Torah. Furthermore, the entire family, including the wives, went to the temple, not the males alone.
2. The festival King David celebrated when bringing the Ark of YHWH to Jerusalem in 2Sam 6. A festival was organized and participated in by the king himself on the occasion of bringing the holy presence of his personal god to his capital. This was accompanied by the sacrifice of a great number of animals. Since there was a journey here of the divine symbol into the temple, I assume the festival was a pilgrimage made by David.¹⁹
3. The pilgrimage King Solomon made to worship at the temple of Gibeon in 1Kings 3:4–15. This story is crucial in the comparison with the Hittite cult practice, and I will develop it below.
4. The construction of temples by Jeroboam I in Beit-El and in Dan, where he expected the population of his kingdom to worship instead of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which became the capital of the enemy kingdom, in 1Kings 12:26–33.
5. The great Passover festival celebrated by King Hezekiah in Jerusalem, to which Israelites from the north and south came in 2Chronicle 29–30. This chapter tells the story of the renewal of worship in the temple in Jerusalem, to which all the Israelites including those from the destroyed Northern kingdom were invited to attend for the festival of the spring.

What can be seen in the list of examples from the biblical texts is that most of them relate to royal activities, which are easier to compare with the Hittite material, since the Hittite texts mainly give a picture of cultic activity performed by the royal family. However, let me start with the first example, from the Book of Samuel, which is not of a royal pilgrimage but rather reflects the pilgrimage of a household –probably a prosperous one–to the main temple of the region. The entire family went to the temple every year to make sacrifices, sit there to eat and celebrate while also being able to pray for their well-being. An interesting similarity to an episode mentioned in this story can be found in a Hittite text. In the instructions to the Temple personnel a warning is

given regarding disturbances during the festival, when the people visit the temple, as follows:

(CTH 264 §12 lines 35-43)

Furthermore: You [who are] SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests, AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the Temple-Men, [if there is a] *tuhmeiant*-(man?) inside the temple, or in another sacred building someone gets drunk; If he is disturbing inside the temple, and he causes a quarrel, and breaks up a festival, let them beat him. [Furth]er, let him celebrate that festival as set up ready with ox(en), sheep, bread (and) beer. [...] Be very careful with a quarrel.²⁰

Looking back at the biblical text in the first chapter of Samuel, we find the priest Eli checking whether Hannah was drunk. Here is their conversation, 1 Samuel 1:12-17:

וְהָיָה כִּי הִרְבֵּתָהּ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְעָלִי שָׁמַר אֶת־פִּיהָ:
וְחִזָּה הָיָה מִדְּבָרָתָהּ עַל־לִבָּהּ רַק שְׁפָתֶיהָ נִזְנוּת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע וְנִחְשְׁבָהּ עָלִי לְשֹׁפָרָה:
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ עָלִי עַד־מָתִי תִשְׁתַּכְּרִין הַסִּירִי אֶת־יִיגָד מֵעֲלִיךְ:
וַתַּעַן חֲנָה וַתֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲדֹנָי אֵשָׁה קִשְׁת־רִיחַ אֲנִכִּי וְגִיּוֹן וְשִׁכָר לֹא שָׁתִיתִי וְאֶשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה:
אֶל־תִּתֵּן אֶת־אֲמָתְךָ לִפְנֵי בַת־בְּלִיעַל כִּי־מָלַב שִׁתִּי וְכַעֲסִי דִּבַּרְתִּי עַד־הֵנָּה:
וַיַּעַן עָלֶי וַיֹּאמֶר לָכִי לְשָׁלוֹם וְאֵלֶּהִי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתֵּן אֶת־שְׁלָתְךָ אֲשֶׁר שָׁאֲלָתָּ מֵעַמּוֹ:

As she continued praying before the LORD, Eli observed her mouth. Hannah was praying silently; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard; therefore, Eli thought she was drunk. So Eli said to her, “How long will you make a drunken spectacle of yourself? Put away your wine.” But Hannah answered, “No, my lord, I am a woman deeply troubled; I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I have been pouring out my soul before the LORD. Do not regard your servant as a worthless woman, for I have been speaking out of my great anxiety and vexation all this time.” Then Eli answered, “Go in peace; the God of Israel will grant the petition you have made to him.”

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Further insight into the Hittite local cults is gained through the texts including descriptions and instructions for setting up local cults regarding the two seasonal festivals, autumn and spring. During the autumn festival a large sealed vessel filled with grain was placed before the deity (or deities) of the city. When spring came this vessel was opened, the grain milled, and bread was made with the flour. The temple personnel who were responsible for its care and preparing the sacrifices, also took the statue of the god from its pedestal in the shrine and moved it to its stela outside of the city. They washed and anointed the statue and the stela and offered it food and beverages. They also ate and drank themselves. In the evening they returned the statue to its shrine. The next day they joined the locals in the festival by having sports contests and war games.²¹ The following example shows that the king himself took care of establishing the shrine, and that the quantity of sacrifices to be offered was also fixed in advance. All these festivals are indicated as being celebrated mainly to the local Storm-god. An example of a Hittite text (KBo 2.7 obv. 18–)

Town of Wiyanuanta: (Deities) Storm God of Ḫurša; Sun Goddess; Inara; Pirwa. His Majesty established statues and a temple. His Majesty instituted: for the Storm God of Ḫurša: 1 PA of wheat for the *ḫarsi*-vessel; 3 BÁN of wheat for the Sun Goddess; 3 BÁN of wheat for Inara; 3 BÁN (of wheat) for Pirwa (Autumn festival)

When in the fall they pour 1 PA of wheat into the *ḫarsi*-vessel for the Storm God of Ḫurša, they offer 1 sheep to the Storm God. 2 BÁN of flour, 1 *ḫuppar*-vessel of beer, 1 vessel of 3 BÁN at the altar; 4 BÁN of flour, 2 vessels [... for display]. His festival is arranged. (Spring festival)

When spring comes (and) it thunders, they open up the *ḫarsi*-vessel. They break 3 loaves of sweet bread; they fill the *talaimmi*-vessels. They grind (and) mill the wheat, and [they o]ffer a goat to [the deity].²²

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Moving on to the concept of royal pilgrimage, the biblical examples show how the royal houses of Israel and Judah used the location of the temple to their political

advantage. I will start with King David's move of a sacred artifact to his worshiping place in the city which he had recently conquered and made his capital. David thus created a holy location attached to his palace. It was identified as a tent, but was erected on a previously sacred place which he had acquired from the previous ruler, King Arawnah (2Samuel 24). He also acquired his Goren or "threshing floor". Here too we can see the phenomenon whereby a sacred place remained sacred even with the change of the rulers' religion. The festival for bringing the Ark of YHWA to Jerusalem was certainly a special one for the king. It was a royal festival but its exact time in the year is not given. David created a holy place in his capital for his personal god. The great temple would be built by his son. And here comes the next story about Solomon in Gibeon. The text in 1Kings 3:4 clearly indicates the reason for the king's journey to Gibeon, "The king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, for that was the principal high place; Solomon used to offer a thousand burnt offerings on that altar." At that time Gibeon rather than Jerusalem was the central worshiping place, and it was to that place the king went to experience an incubation dream. He stayed overnight in the temple to encounter the deity who appeared to him in a dream. It was not during a special festival but rather during a visitation, maybe part of his inauguration ceremonies, a pilgrimage the king made to the great temple outside his capital.

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We find the Hittite kings performing similar acts. The Hittite king and queen as well as the crown prince and princess would travel the country to visit important deities and pay them homage. The journey could be during the specific times of festivals, but it could also be for special acts of worship by the royals, with no connection to a seasonal festival. During the festivals the king and queen traveled to cultic centers at a distance of one to three days from the capital.

For example, the Hittite king Tudḫaliya II introduced a specific cult to a temple in a city called Šamuḫa, and his descendent re-enforced it. He pronounced the cult instructions as follows (KUB 32.133 obv. i 8–10): "In the future, whenever, the king or the queen or the prince or the princess, will come to (=visit) the temple of the Goddess of the Night of Šamuḫa, they shall perform these rituals." The text then specifies the cultic activity for the royals as they come to worship the deity at Šamuḫa.²³

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A parallel activity to the visit of Solomon to Gibeon can be found in a ritual titled as a festival prescribed for a Hittite prince, the heir to the throne, as he is to make a pilgrimage to visit the goddess Kataḫḫa of the city of Ankuwa (CTH 633). This goddess is an ancient Ḫattian goddess identified as “queen”, and Ankuwa is an ancient cultic center prior to the Hittite kingdom’s rule over the region. The prince leaves Ḫattuša on a three-day journey to Ankuwa with his entourage. When he arrives, he conducts specific rituals to the goddess on the compound of the temple, and mentioned in the last act of the text is an incubation scene, where he is sleeping in the temple, evidently to enter into communication with the goddess.

CTH 633: iv, 46’-56

He goes into the *arzana*-house. Over there, too, he requests to eat. Three warm-breads, ten *labku*-breads, ten barley-breads, ten sweetbreads of three *upnu*-measure of barley, one *wakšur*-vessel of milk, two *ḫuppar*-vessels of beer. Twelve KAR.KID-women sit down in front of him, and they eat (and) d[ri]nk. [At t]hat night the prince they purify in that same way; when they make him lie down to sleep: at either side of his head, they place two thick-breads, [At] either side of his feet two thick-breads they place. After that, with beer [arou]nd they mark them. As, however, [he is shaking?] the KAR.KID-women wake [him] up.²⁴

However, spectacular pilgrimages were conducted by the king and queen according to the prescriptive festival texts during the spring and the autumn festivals. Both festivals included cultic activities conducted over a full month. In the Spring, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival was celebrated with the king being instructed on how to leave the capital and travel to the city of Taḫurpa, and together with the queen return to Ḫattuša to conduct the specific festive rituals. Several days later the king traveled to the city of Arinna, where he worships the great Sun-goddess of earth. In the following days the king and the queen are back in Ḫattuša celebrating different gods in their temples in the capital. The main gods to be celebrated were the Storm god of Zippalanda and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The Storm God of Ḫatti was celebrated only on the 12th day. However, this festival was regarded as a very important one as it opened the new

year, and brought about the blessings of the gods. The old year's "sign" (probably), was deposited in the *hešta*-temple of the underworld deity (Lelwani). The vessel of grain stored in the autumn was opened and bread for the gods was prepared from it. This is symbolic in regard to continuation, and traveling from the capital to the other towns symbolizes the continued rule over the land by the royal family, supported by the divine world.

Traveling around the country may have become at a certain time a burden to an aging king and thus a prince or a princess was sent from the royal family to perform the rites and festivals. However, in general there were festivals that were to be conducted by the prince (heir to the throne) as well as princesses.²⁵

Some of the Hittite festivals would find their main performance acted in the capital. One of the most elaborate festivals that became known to Hittitologists from the early deciphered texts is the KILAM festival.²⁶ Its name is translated as the "Gatehouse"-festival. This festival is mentioned in oldest Hittite manuscripts. In the latest versions discovered, it was described as a central three-day festival performed once a year exclusively to the gods of Ḫatti in the capital, in which the deities worshiped were the Ḫattian gods. In this festival the king and queen inspected a procession of gods moving towards the temple of the goddess of grain, followed by a line of administrators from different regions of the kingdom who stood at the gate of their houses offering breads, livestock, and beverages for the king and queen to inspect. It was a symbolic pilgrimage from the towns in the core land of Ḫatti to the capital to pay homage to the gods therein. On observation of the formation of the city of Ḫattuša, the southern part of the city reveals a special structure that has been interpreted by archeologists as a religious structure.²⁷

During the festivals, the Hittite king and queen would travel with their entourage to other cities and worship the different gods. The festivals as such had an important political impact. While the members of the royal family were traveling through the country, they were showing their power of rule over the land, worshiping the local gods who thus supported and acknowledged their rule.

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To return to the Israelite kings mentioned above, Jeroboam I identified politically the borders of his kingdom by establishing or renewing royal temples in the north city of Dan and the southern city of his kingdom, Beit El. At Beit El we are told he came

from his capital Shechem to make sacrifices to YHWH (1Kings 12). The borders of the country at the time of David and Solomon were Dan in the North and Beer-Sheba in the south (2Sam 24:2; 1Kings 5:5). An interesting change regarding Rehoboam, Solomon heir to the throne, tells that he came to the religious city of Shechem to be royally inaugurated by the northern tribes. "Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had come to Shechem to make him king" (1Kings 12:1). It is well attested in other biblical texts that this city was regarded sacred, including the two mountains surrounding it, Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal. Jeroboam I indeed settled in it at his inauguration, when separating Israel from Judah.

As for the story of Hezekiah king of Judah, he is said to have sent messengers to the entire land "great Israel" (as it was named in the time of Solomon before the kingdom was divided into Israel in the north and Judah in the south), the land conquered by the Assyrian in his time. His call for the population to make a pilgrimage to a great festival of over a week in Jerusalem for the god YHWH, was a political act in attempt to solidify the north with the south under the identity of the one god YHWH.

2Chr 30:5: "So they decreed to make a proclamation throughout all Israel, **from Beer-Sheba to Dan**, that the people should come and keep the Passover to the LORD the God of Israel, at Jerusalem; for they had not kept it in great numbers as prescribed."

8. To Conclude

Pilgrimage in the ancient world of the Hittites and the Israelites was part of the order set down by the divine, through traditions kept by professionals. Through specified seasonal festivals, the deities were to be celebrated for their mutual existence with humans as their servants. However, pilgrimage must also be placed in a social and a political context. The idea of visitation to a holy place, a place considered traditionally sacred, was a basic activity in the societies of the ancient world. Local communities have worshiped their local deities for centuries by supporting the local temple(s), through visiting the shrines and worshiping the gods at special times of the year thus maintaining the order of life through the changing of the seasons. In a cult designated by the authorities, the rulers were the initiators and implementers of the worship of the gods. By caring for the specific regional temple, the king manifested his control over that region. Thus, the fact that the king himself visited the deity showed that the deity supported the king.

The priesthood in the Hittite kingdom was state organized and the royal house

controlled and maintained the cult centers around the country.²⁸ They established a specific priesthood in different key regions and provided for different temples in order to maintain cult activities, specifically during festival times. The royal houses in ancient Israel and Judah did likewise, as indicated by the activities of David who established the Levites throughout the kingdom, and Solomon who followed him (2Chr. 11:14). Further we learn of Jeroboam I establishing a northern system (1Kings 12:28–33).

In order to maintain their divine support and demonstrate it publicly, the kings traveled between the temples and sacred places that existed traditionally in the region and founded or strengthened existing temples. They then traveled personally within their borders to display their control of the region, paying homage to the gods that supported them.

Psa. 24:1-10

לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר

גִּיהֲנָה הָאֶרֶץ וּמִלֹּאֲהָ אֲבָל וְנֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ:
 פִּי־הָאֵל עַל־יָמִים יִסְדָּהָ וְעַל־נִהְיֹת יְכוֹנְנָהּ:
 מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְהֶרְיָהּ וּמִי־יָקֹם בַּמָּקוֹם קִדְשׁוֹ:
 נָקִי כַפָּיִם וְבֶרֶךְ לֵב אֶשֶׁר | לֹא־נִשְׁאַ לִשְׁוֹא נִפְשִׁי וְלֹא נִשְׁבַּע לַמֶּרְמָה:
 יֵשֶׁא בִּרְכָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה וְצִדְקָה מֵאֲלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:
 הֲלֹךְ דָּוִד דִּרְשׁוּ [דִּרְשׁוּ] מִבְּקִשֵׁי כְנָיִף יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה:
 שְׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים | רֹאשֵׁיכֶם גִּיהֲנָשׁוּ פֶתְחֵי עוֹלָם וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:
 מִי זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד יְהוָה עֲנִיז וְגִבּוֹר יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר מִלְחָמָה:
 שְׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים | רֹאשֵׁיכֶם וּשְׂאוּ פֶתְחֵי עוֹלָם וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:
 מִי הוּא זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הוּא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד סֵלָה:

The earth is YHWH's and all that is in it,
 the world, and those who live in it;
 Who shall ascend the mountain of YHWH?
 Those who have clean hands and pure hearts,
 Lift up your heads, O gates!
 and be lifted up, O everlasting doors!
 that the King of glory may come in.
 Who is this King of glory?

The LORD(YHWH) of hosts,
he is the King of glory. *Selah*



Fig. 1 The Sphinx Gate of Alaça Höyük, in Çorum province, Turkey. The gate and the walls are covered with images of the Hittite king and queen leading the cult personnel to the temple to make sacrifices to the god and goddess. The construction of the gate is dated to the 14th century BCE.

([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Sphinx_Gate,_14th_century_B C,_Alacahöyük,_Turkey_\(26136316945\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Sphinx_Gate,_14th_century_BC,_Alacahöyük,_Turkey_(26136316945).jpg))

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- 1 The fact that these two cultures were not historically related, but still the Hebrew Bible carries some traditions that can be compared with those of Anatolia, has drawn scholars in the past to look for the origin of the biblical traditions in Anatolia. See with references: “The Religious Cultural Heritage of the Hittites and the Hebrew Bible Description of the Ancient Israelite Religion: A Transmission of Concepts,” in *Cultural Diversity in the Ancient Near East: Archaeological and Textual Aspects - Proceedings of an International Conference on the Ancient Near Eastern World held at Doshisha University April 13-14, 2019* (Edited by Ada

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- Taggar Cohen; Kyoto: Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, Doshisha University, 2021), 1-22. This paper does not try to set up rules nor theories for understanding and interpreting the concept of pilgrimage in the ancient world but rather show examples of the presentation of pilgrimage in the two societies, that have impacted the religious and cultic world of these societies. It is a textual study and thus does not try to involve anthropological readings.
- 2 Alan Morinis, "Introduction," in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Ed. by Alan Morinis; Greenwood Publishing, 1992), 4.
 - 3 Catherine Bell, 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 103.
 - 4 In the Hittite cult we are speaking of a large number of gods and temples. However, regarding the Hebrew Bible there were many temples before the concept of one city with one temple Jerusalem became the custom law. Most scholars agree that this was a comparatively late development starting with king Hezekiah (727-698 BCE).
 - 5 See Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Ritual as Divine Law: The Case of Hittite Royal Cultic Performance and its Biblical Correspondence," *Orient* 55 (2020), 23–37. Esp. relating to the divine law concept see p. 14–17.
 - 6 Translation of Gary McMahon, *Context of Scripture* 1 (William W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 223–4.
 - 7 See for the text in Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood* (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 2006), 80–81.
 - 8 The demand to fear the god of Israel is clearly similar to the Hittite demand to fear the gods. See for example Deut. 14:23 "And before the LORD your God, in the place that he will choose, to make his name dwell there, you shall eat the tithe of your grain, of your wine, and of your oil, and the firstborn of your herd and flock, that you may learn to fear the LORD your God always" (למען תלמד ליראה את יהוה אלהיך).
 - 9 For basic understanding of Hittite political treaties see Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd edition; Edited by Harry A. Hoffner Jr. WAW7; Atlanta: SBL, 1999).
 - 10 For a description of the Hittites origin and history see Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
 - 11 For these divine names see the inscriptions from the excavations at Kuntillet Ajrud: Ze'ev Meshel, *Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Horvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Edited by Liora Freud; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012). See also a study of the Hittite and the Israelite deities in Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Concept of the Divine in Hittite Culture and the Hebrew Bible: Expressions of the Divine" *JISMOR* 9 (2014), 29–50.
 - 12 For the text and the translation see Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood*, pp. 53, 76.
 - 13 See the *Chicago Akkadian Dictionary* I p. 195ff.: for "religious festival".
 - 14 Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* Vol. 4: K (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997), 22–24.
 - 15 This is a cultic building adjacent to the temple from where the king and queen after they get dressed, go to the rituals in the temples, and then return.
 - 16 For the text see Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood*, pp. 53, 76.
 - 17 For the translation see Gary Beckman, "Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I," *Context of Scripture* 2 (edited by William W. Hallo; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 79–81.
 - 18 The translation is by Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2002), 108.

- 19 See Daniel Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honour of Peter Machinist* (edited by David S. Vanderhoof and Abraham Winitzer; Penn State University Press, 2013), 75–95.
- 20 For the text see Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite priesthood*, pp. 58, 79.
- 21 See KBo17.35, translation by Charles W. Carter, "Hittite Cult-Inventories" (PhD Dissertation the University of Chicago, 1962), 123–153.
- 22 Following Charles W. Carter, "Hittite Cult-Inventories," (PhD Dissertation the University of Chicago, 1962), 90–104.
- 23 On this text see Ada Taggar-Cohen, *Hittite Priesthood*, pp. 177f. see below footnote 24.
- 24 The text has been discussed in Ada Taggar-Cohen, "The Prince, the KAR.KID Women and the *arzana*-house: A Hittite royal festival to the goddess *Kataḫḫa* (CTH 633)," *AoF* 37,1 (2010), 113–131.
- 25 The beginning of the ritual regarding the installation of the Goddess of the night in the city of Šamuḫa instructs as follows: KUB 32.133 i 7–10 "And in the future, if in the temple of the Deity of the Night of Šamuḫa, either the king, or the queen, either the prince or princess goes into the temple of the Deity of the Night of Šamuḫa, these rituals must be carried out." See Jared L. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals* (StBoT 46; 2004), 312. Thus CTH 633 referenced on the previous note Ada Taggar-Cohen, "The Prince, the KAR.KID Women and the *arzana*-house"; and CTH 647 in Piotr Taracha *Two Festivals Celebrated by a Hittite Prince (CTH 647.I and II-III): New Light on Local Cults in North-Central Anatolia in the Second Millennium BC* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017).
- 26 For the texts of this festival and its construction see Itamar Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM-Festival* (StBoT 27–28; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). For the construction of the city Ḫattuša, see Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and their World* (Archaeology and Biblical Studies 7; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2007), 33ff.
- 27 Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and their World*, p. 15.
- 28 For a detailed description see Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Hittite Priesthood - State Administration in the service of the Gods: Its Implications for the Interpretations of Biblical Priesthood," *Biblische Notizen* N.F. 156 (2013), 155–175.

Abstracts / 要旨

A.

**“Loca Desiderata”（憧れの場所）：
キリスト教文化における聖域と聖地巡礼**

オーラ・リモール

巡礼とは、聖地をめぐる旅であり、象徴的な意味を持つ身体的行為である。巡礼者は、聖地を「自らの目で」見ることを、聖地に触れ、聖地で祈ることを目指す。あらゆる宗教において、聖域への巡礼は、神の住まう上方への旅であり、魂の内部への旅でもある。聖地との出会いがもたらす強いインパクトは、多くの巡礼者がその体験を文学にする必要性を感じる理由ともなっている。キリスト教の巡礼文学は *itineraria*（旅行記）と呼ばれ、巡礼者が書いたもの、巡礼者のために書いたもの、巡礼者について書いたものなど数百点の作品がある。そして、その主要テーマは、聖地とその神聖な伝統である。

キリスト教の巡礼は、聖なるものに近づきたいという信者の自発的行為として始まった。ユダヤ教における第二神殿への巡礼とは異なり、キリスト教の巡礼は宗教的な戒律ではない。しかし、巡礼はキリスト教の宗教的行為の中心的要素となり、大きな現象となった。このことへの批判も一部ではあったものの、救済の歴史における劇的な出来事が起こった場所を特定したいという信者たちの衝動に勝つことはなかった。

聖地巡礼の主な特徴は4世紀に形成された。聖地とそこへと至る順路における政治状況や、キリスト教信仰の内的発展による変化にもかかわらず、聖地巡礼は数百年にわたって有効であり続けたのである。そして、4世紀に巡礼は大きな現象となり、名誉ある行為となった。巡礼者たちは東と西からやってきた。そして、その多くは、復活祭や聖墳墓奉献祭（9月14日）の前後に訪れたのであるが、その目的は、聖地で行われる荘厳な典礼に参加するところにあった。聖地周辺に住む修道士たちは、巡礼者たちの世話をし、食料や住居を提供し、巡礼者たちの精神をケアした。また、聖地での案内役や、巡礼のための特別な典礼の実施、巡礼者への *eulogiae*（祝福）すなわち聖地特有の祝福の力を持つ土産物の授与なども、修道士たちが行った。

聖地とは、その境界内で起こった特殊で象徴的な出来事を記念する特別な場所のことであり、エルサレムは其中でも傑出した聖地である。キリスト教

とユダヤ教にとって、エルサレムとは世界の中心であり、また、世界の軸、へそ、天地創造が開始された宇宙的場である。エルサレムへの巡礼とは「巡礼の原型」であり、「あらゆる巡礼の中の巡礼」とであると定義される。エルサレムの影響力は、地理的にも宗教的にも無限大である。エルサレムは聖なる場所の巨大な集合体であった。政治的、経済的な観点から見ると、エルサレムは長い間周辺都市であったが、ユダヤ教とキリスト教にとっては宗教的経験の中心地であった。

キリスト教信者にとって、エルサレムの聖なる地図は、キリスト教の本質を支える歴史ドラマの舞台である。それは信仰の地図であり、*loca desiderata*（憧れの場所）の地図である。エルサレムは、この世で最も天国に近い場所と広く信じられている。アブラハムの三つの宗教では、死者の復活と最後の審判という終末の出来事がエルサレムで行われるとされている。その場に近づくために、エルサレムで人生の最後を迎えることを目指す巡礼者さえいた。そのような巡礼者たちは、地上の都市の中に天上の都市を探したのである。彼らにとって、地上のエルサレムは天国への入り口であり、世界の中心であり、最も神聖な場所であった。

“*Loca Desiderata*”:

Sacred Space and Holy Land Pilgrimage in Christian Culture

Ora LIMOR

Pilgrimage is a journey to a holy place, a physical act loaded with symbolical meaning. Pilgrims aim to see the holy places "with their own eyes", touching them and praying in them. In all religions, pilgrimage in space is also a journey upwards to God, and inside to the soul. The strong impact of encounter with the holy places helps to explain why many pilgrims feel a need to put down their experiences in writing. Christian pilgrimage literature, known as *itineraria* (itinerary), holds hundreds of works, including texts that were written by pilgrims, for pilgrims or about pilgrims, and its main theme is the holy places and their sacred traditions.

Christian pilgrimage started as a spontaneous act of believers, who felt the need to come close to the holy. Although unlike Jewish pilgrimage to the Second Temple Christian pilgrimage is not a religious commandment, it became a central element of Christian religious behavior and a vast phenomenon. The criticism it aroused in certain circles could not fight the impulse of believers to spot the places where the dramatic

events of the history of redemption took place.

The main traits of Holy Land pilgrimage were formed in the fourth century and remained valid for hundreds of years, despite changes caused by political situation in the Holy Land and on the way to it, and internal developments in Christian piety. During the fourth century, pilgrimage became a great phenomenon and a prestigious act. Pilgrims came from the east and the west. Many of them came for Easter and around the festival of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (14 September), in order to take part in the solemn liturgies enacted in the holy places. Monks living near the holy places took care of the pilgrims, provided them with food and shelter and looked after the pilgrims' spiritual needs. They were the guides in the holy sites, performed the special pilgrimage liturgy, and gave the pilgrims *eulogiae*, "blessings", namely, souvenirs that held benedictory powers special to the holy places.

Holy places are special sites that commemorate extraordinary, symbolical, events that happened within their boundaries, and Jerusalem is the holy place par excellence. For Christian and Jews Jerusalem is the center of the world, the *axis mundi*, the omphalos, the cosmic place from which creation begun. Pilgrimage to her was defined as "prototypical pilgrimage" and "the pilgrimage of all pilgrimages". Her area of influence is boundless, both in geographic and in religious terms. Jerusalem is a massive mosaic of holy places, and although from the political and economic perspectives Jerusalem was long a peripheral city, it has always been at the center of Jewish and Christian religious experience.

For Christians, the sacred map of Jerusalem is the stage of the historical drama that underlies the very essence of Christianity. It is a map of beliefs, of longed-for places - "loca desiderata". Jerusalem is widely believed to be the nearest place to heaven on earth. In all three Abrahamic religions the events of the end of time - the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment - will take place in Jerusalem. Some pilgrims aimed to end their life in Jerusalem, so as to be close to the place of these events. Such pilgrims looked for the heavenly city within the earthly one. For them, Jerusalem on earth was the gateway to heaven, the center of the world, the holy of holies.

B.

世俗社会の聖地巡礼：信仰なき巡礼ツーリズムの広がり

岡本亮輔

聖地巡礼は、世俗化が進展する先進社会でもっとも活発な宗教行動の1つである。特に欧米のキリスト教会で伝統的に行われてきた礼拝や儀礼への参加者が時とともに減少し、宗教的な価値観や規範への疑義が公に唱えられるようになる中、それに反比例する形で聖地巡礼はますます多くの人々を動員するようになっていく。本稿では、制度宗教や組織宗教がその権威や影響力を失う世俗社会における聖地巡礼、具体的には聖母出現地、徒歩巡礼、パワースポット現象の3つの形態を取り上げ、それぞれにおいてメディアが果たす役割に注目しながら、これらを脱信仰化する巡礼ツーリズムとして捉え返してみたい。

聖母出現については、近代最初と言える奇蹟のメダル教会からメジュゴリエまでの歴史的系譜を踏まえると、聖母の可視化・多動化と呼べるような傾向が観察できる。聖母出現はそもそも教会の組織的信仰にとって危険なメッセージをもたらしかねない不要な奇蹟であり、当初、聖母は一枚の絵として出現する。だが、その後の聖母たちは徐々に饒舌になり、次第に身振りも伴うようになってくる。メジュゴリエの終わらない聖母出現はその極北にあり、メディアが拡充した現代社会への過剰適応と言える。

徒歩巡礼については、本論文では2000年代以降の再活性化が著しいサンティアゴ巡礼を中心に分析した。この巡礼で目的地となるのは、使徒の聖遺物が祀られる大聖堂であり、その点では極めて伝統的なカトリックの聖地巡礼である。しかし、その巡礼路を歩くのは伝統的な意味での信仰者ではない。彼らの旅を動機づけ、枠づけているのはキリスト教信仰ではなく、キリスト教に批判的なメディア作品である。そして、サンティアゴ巡礼で生まれた目的地である聖地よりも、そこまで歩く道のりそのものを重視する観点は、日本で再生する巡礼ツーリズムにも取り込まれている。

日本の2000年代のパワースポット・ブームは、宗教の私事化と脱制度化という現代宗教の変容が先端的に表出したものである。そこでは、本来は宗教制度が管理する聖地に世俗のメディアから発信される様々な言説が入り込み、伝統的な信仰とは必ずしも関連しない実践を生み出す。そして、時として伝統宗教側がそれらを流用する。日本の伝統宗教である仏教や神道には体系的教義という防護壁がないため外部の語りの影響を受けやすく、その結果として、伝

統宗教のスピリチュアル化と呼べるような状況が指摘できるのである。

Pilgrimages in a Secular Society: The Spread of Religious Tourism without Faith

Ryosuke OKAMOTO

Pilgrimage is one of the most active religious activities in increasingly secularized developed societies. As the number of people participating in traditional worship services and rituals, especially in the Christian churches of Europe and the United States, declines over time, and doubts about religious values and norms are publicly voiced, pilgrimages are mobilizing more and more people in inverse proportion to this decline. In this paper, we will focus on three forms of pilgrimage in secular societies where institutional religions and organized religions have lost their authority and influence, specifically, pilgrimage to sites where the Virgin appears, pilgrimage on foot, and the “power spot” phenomenon in Japan.

With regard to the appearance of the Virgin, if we take into account the historical genealogy from the first modern church of the Miraculous Medal to Medjugorje, we can observe a trend that can be called the visualization and hyperactivity of the Virgin. In the first place, the apparition of the Virgin is an unnecessary miracle that could bring a dangerous message to the organized faith of the Church. For this reason, the Virgin initially appeared as a picture, but later on she becomes more and more eloquent and gestural. The never-ending appearance of the Virgin in Medjugorje is the extreme of this trend, and can be said to be an over-adaptation to the modern society.

Next, in this paper, we will focus on the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, which has been remarkably revitalized since the 2000s. The destination of this pilgrimage is the cathedral where the relics of the apostle is enshrined, and in this respect, it is a very traditional Catholic pilgrimage. However, the people who walk the pilgrimage route “Camino” are not the faithful in the traditional sense. It is not the Christian faith that motivates and frames their journey, but media works that are critical of Christianity. The values that emphasize the journey itself rather than the destination, the holy land, that emerged from the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, can also be found in the revival of pilgrimage tourism in Japan.

The “power spot” boom of the 2000s in Japan is the latest manifestation of the transformation of modern religions. By nature, sacred sites are under the control of

religious institutions. However, in the power spot boom, various discourses from the secular media have entered the sacred sites and created practices that are not necessarily related to traditional beliefs. And sometimes the traditional religions appropriated them. The Japanese traditional religions of Buddhism and Shinto do not have the protective barrier of systematic doctrines, and are therefore susceptible to outside narratives, and as a result, we can point to a situation that can be called the spiritualization of traditional religions.

C.

中東におけるイスラームの巡礼：概論

ダニエラ・タルモン・ヘレル

メッカ巡礼は、クルアーンにおいて命じられた、旅することが可能な全てのムスリム男女に課された義務であり、イスラームにおける五つの柱のうちの一つである。本稿では、イスラーム以前の多神教徒の儀式である、カアバの黒石を祭る神殿への訪問が、いかにして、西暦 630 年頃にイスラームという一神教に組み込まれ、ムスリムの結束の証となったのかを、神学的・政治的に説明する。5 日間にわたるハッジ（メッカ巡礼）の複雑な儀式を概観し、その象徴的、歴史的、神秘的な意味について論じる。また、カイロやダマスカスなどの都市において出発する商隊や帰還した巡礼者のために行われたいくつかの儀式についても論じる。

今日、メッカへの巡礼者は、マディーナという街にある預言者ムハンマドの礼拝堂と墓を擁する複合施設への訪問を通じて、預言者に敬意を表す。ただし、預言者ムハンマドにゆかりのあるその他の場所や、イスラームにおける重要都市、預言者ムハンマドより前の諸預言者や、その後の重要人物の墓への訪問（アラビア語でズィヤーラ）については、今もなおイスラーム学者の間で論争が続いている。本稿では、ズィヤーラの是非に関する法学書や宗教書における議論と、ズィヤーラが、特にスーフィズムの影響を受けたムスリム社会において絶大な人気を博した理由について論じる。特に、イスラームにおける第三の聖地であるエルサレムへのズィヤーラと、中世の中東地域においてイスラームの聖地が形成された歴史的過程について詳述する。ズィヤーラの目的地としては、偉大な学者や預言者の遺物を所蔵しているモスクの廟から、ほとんど無名の地元の聖人に捧げられた田舎の祭壇まで、様々な場所が含まれるように

なった。死後の審判における執り成し、癒し、赦免などを求め、男女問わず信者たちが個人的に訪問するようになった場所もあれば、マワーリド（聖人の誕生日や命日の祝祭）や、マワースィム（季節の集いである）として知られる、地域社会で毎年開かれる祝祭の中心地となった場所もある。そのようなマワーリドやマワースィムの中心地は、宗教的信仰を、社交、商業、娯楽と結びつけるものであるため、純粹主義者の辛辣な批判を招いた。また、20世紀には、パレスチナとイスラエルにおけるいくつかの例に顕著である通り、中東における国家建設や内戦を背景に、高度に政治化された巡礼地もあった。

14世紀初頭の有力な原理主義思想家イブン・タイミーヤをはじめとするスンナ派の聖廟崇拝反対派は、根拠のない「革新」をムスリムの慣習に導入したとしてシーア派を非難している。また、一部の美術史家も、巡礼の典型的な目的地である墓碑建築の発展において、シーア派が顕著な粹割を果たしたと考えている。これらの推測についての論争は継続中であるが、シーア派が、宗教指導者や殉教者の墓地をアリー一族への献身的愛を示す場と見なし、それらの墓地への訪問を推奨していることは明らかであり、それらの聖地はイスラームの巡礼という文脈において注目に値する。また、スンナ派とシーア派との軋轢や、ムスリム、キリスト教徒、ユダヤ教徒の緊張関係にもかかわらず、聖地において、彼らは互いに巡礼者やその擁護者として一体化しているという現象にも、注目すべきであろう。

Islamic Pilgrimage in the Middle East: An Overview

Daniella TALMON-HELLER

Pilgrimage to Mecca, a Qur'anic commandment incumbent on every Muslim man and woman who can make the trip, is one of the five "pillars" of Islam. In my paper I explain how, theologically, and politically, the pre-Islamic pagan rites of the visitation of the shrine of the Black Stone of the Ka'ba became part and parcel of the monotheistic religion of Islam around 630AD, and a hallmark of the unity of the Muslims. I offer a walk through the intricate rituals of the 5-days long *hajj* and discuss their symbolic, historical, and mystical meanings, as well as some of the rituals that accompanied the departing caravans and returning pilgrims in cities such as Cairo and Damascus.

Nowadays, pilgrims to Mecca also pay their tribute to the Prophet Muhammad by

visiting his mosque and tomb complex in the city of Medina. The visitation (*ziyāra* in Arabic) of other places connected with the Prophet, other cities important to Islam, and tombs of earlier prophets and later religious figures, has been and still is contested among Muslim scholars. I discuss the arguments for and against the *ziyāra* in legal and devotional texts, and the reasons for its great popularity, especially in Muslim societies influenced by Sufism. I elaborate on the *ziyāra* to Jerusalem (the third holy city for Islam), and on the historical process of the formation of Islamic sacred geography in the medieval Middle East. It came to include a wide variety of sites, ranging from the mausolea of great scholars and mosques holding relics of the Prophet, to rural shrines dedicated to almost anonymous local saintly figures. Some of those sites elicited private visits of devotees – women and men – seeking intercession, healing, or remission of sins. Other sites became the focus of annual communal celebrations known as *mawālīd* (in honor of the anniversary of the birth/death of holy men) or *mawāsim* (seasonal gatherings). The latter combine religious devotions with socialization, commerce, and fun, that draw the harsh criticism of purists. In the twentieth century, against the backdrop of nation-building projects and national conflicts in the Middle East, some pilgrimages became highly politicized. A couple of examples from Palestine and Israel to demonstrate this point.

Sunni opponents of tomb-worship, beginning with the influential fundamentalist thinker of the early 14th century Ibn Taymiyya, blame the Shi‘is for having introduced this unwarranted "innovation" into the practice of Muslims. Some art-historians also tend to attribute to Shi‘a Islam a prominent role in the development of monumental funerary architecture, typical of pilgrimage destinations. While these conjectures are debated, there is no doubt that Shi‘i Islam encourages visits to the graves of its Imams (spiritual leaders) and martyrs as venues for devotion to the house of ‘Ali, and its holy places certainly deserve special attention in the context of Islamic pilgrimage. Also worthy of attention is the phenomenon of shared sacred sites, which – despite the animosity between Sunnis and Shi‘is, and the tensions between Muslims, Christians, and Jews – drew a mixed batch of pilgrims and patrons.

D.**古代近東における巡礼：ヒッタイト語文書とヘブライ語聖書**

アダ・タガー・コヘン

古代近東の巡礼は、宗教的、政治的、経済的な要素において、後代の多くの歴史と文化における巡礼と共通している。本論考では、ヘブライ語聖書に記される前 9 世紀から前 7 世紀の巡礼とその規定について、また、前 16 世紀から前 12 世紀の中央アナトリアに存在したヒッタイトの首都ハットゥシャで発見された資料に記される巡礼とその規定について議論を行う。王室の定める巡礼とは別に、個人による巡礼が行われていた様子からは、暦に基づく明確な季節の順序が、巡礼に伴いどのように作り出されたのかを知ることができる。また、それは、巡礼の動機とそこから得られる利益における、いくつかの類似性を示すものでもある。なお、本論考では、個人の巡礼と王室の巡礼とに分けて資料を扱う。

**Pilgrimage in the Ancient Near East:
The Hittite Texts and the Hebrew Bible**

Ada TAGGAR COHEN

Pilgrimage in the Ancient Near East shares its religious, political, and economic components with many later historical and cultural pilgrimages. Both biblical commandments as well as occurrences of pilgrimage in the Hebrew Bible from the 9th to the 7th centuries BCE, and in the texts found in the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša in central Anatolia that existed between the 16th-12th centuries BCE are discussed in this paper. Individual pilgrimage indications, next to royal designated pilgrimages show how on the one hand a certain calendric seasonal order was created with these pilgrimages, and on the other some similarities in the motives and the gains that followed these pilgrimages. The paper divides the treatment of the texts into individual's pilgrimages and royal pilgrimages.

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