

## **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.

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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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.”<sup>2</sup>

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.”<sup>3</sup> 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. *šiunaš 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־זָכוֹר וְאֶת־פָּנָיו הִאָּדָן וְיִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:**

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

Ex. 34:24 **כִּי־אֶרְיֵשׁ גּוֹיִם מִפְּנֵיךָ וְהִרְחַבְתִּי אֶת־גְּבוּלְךָ וְלֹא־יִתְמַד אִישׁ אֶת־אֶרְצְךָ בְּעֶלְתָּךְ לְרֵאוֹת אֶת־פָּנָי וְיִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיךָ 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 פָּנָי רִיקִים:** They shall not appear **before me empty handed**

Deut. 16:16-17 **שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים וּבַשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹר וְאֶת־פָּנָיו הִאָּדָן וְיִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיךָ בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר בְּתֹג הַמַּצּוֹת וּבְתֹג הַשְּׂבָעוֹת וּבְתֹג הַסִּבּוֹת וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת־פָּנָיו רִיקִים:** איש כמתגנת יגו

בְּבִרְכַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר גָּמַרְלָךְ:

**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 בְּבֹא כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרֵאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר 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 שֶׁמִּחֲתַתֶּם וּבַמּוֹעֲדֵיכֶם וּבִרְאֵשֵׁי חֲדָשֵׁיכֶם וּתְקַעְתֶּם בַּחֲצֹצְרוֹת עַל עַלְתֵיכֶם וְעַל זְבַחֵי שְׁלֵמֵיכֶם 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)<sup>4</sup> – 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 (זְכָרֶיךָ) – 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

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#### **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.<sup>9</sup> 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.

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## 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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".<sup>11</sup> 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 *hišuwu*, 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.<sup>12</sup>

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*,<sup>13</sup> 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).<sup>14</sup> 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־תִּקְרְאוּ 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*-house<sup>15</sup> 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 וְנוֹעְדוּ אֵלַיִךְ כְּלִי־הַעֲלֹה 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־קִרְבְּנֵי לַחֲמֵי לְאִשֵּׁי רִיחַ גִּיחְחֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ  
לְהַקְרִיב לִי בְמוֹעֲדָי:

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** בְּאֶרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר־יּוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ כְּכֹל־חֻקְתּוֹ וּכְכֹל־

משפטיו תעשו אתו:

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.<sup>16</sup>

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]!<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup>

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. *šiu-naš 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.<sup>19</sup>
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.<sup>20</sup>

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, 1Samuel 1:12-17:

וְהָיָה כִּי הִרְבֵּתָהּ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְעָלִי שָׁמַר אֶת־פִּיהָ:  
 וְחִזָּה הִיא מְדַבְּרֶת עַל־לִבָּהּ בְּרַק שְׂפָתֶיהָ נְעוּת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע וְנִחְשְׁבָהּ עָלַי לְשִׁפְרָה:  
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ עָלִי עַד־מָתַי תִּשְׁתַּכְּרִין הַסִּירִי אֶת־יַיִן מֵעַל־יָדַי:  
 וַתַּעַן חַגָּה וַתֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲדַנִּי אִשָּׁה קִשְׁת־רוּחַ אֲנִכִּי וְגִיוֹן וְשִׁכָר לֹא שָׁתִיתִי וְאֶשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לִפְנֵי  
 יְהוָה:  
 אֶל־תִּסֶּן אֶת־אֲמַתְךָ לִפְנֵי בַת־בְּלִיעַל כִּי־מְרֹב שִׁיתִי וְכַעֲסִי דִבַּרְתִּי עַד־הַנָּה:  
 וַיַּעַן עָלַי וַיֹּאמֶר לְכִי לְשִׁלּוֹם וְאֵלֶהִי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתֵּן אֶת־שְׁלֹתֶךָ אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַלְתְּ 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.<sup>21</sup> 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 offer a goat to [the deity]].<sup>22</sup>

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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.<sup>23</sup>

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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 Kataḥḫa 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.<sup>24</sup>

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 12<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> 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 מְזֻמָּר

גְּיֵהֲנָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאֲתָהּ תִּבְלֵן וְנִשְׁבִּי בָּהּ:  
 פִּי־הָיָא עַל־יַמִּים וְסִדָּהּ וְעַל־הַרְוֹת וְכֹנֶנֶתָהּ:  
 מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְּהַר־יְהוָה וּמִי־יָקֹום בְּמִקְוֹם קִדְשׁוֹ:  
 נָקִי כַפַּיִם וְבֵרֶר־לֵבָב אֲשֶׁר | לֹא־נִשְׁאַ לְשָׁוֵא נִפְשֵׁי וְלֹא נִשְׁבַּע לַמֶּרְמָה:  
 יִשְׂא בְּרִכָּה מֵאֵת יְהוָה וְצִדְקָה מֵאֵלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
 הֲלֵה דָוִד דְּרִישׁוֹ [דְּרִישׁוֹ] מִבְּקִשֵׁי פְּנֵיהֶּ יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה:  
 שְׂאוּ שַׁעְרֵיכֶם וְרֹאשֵׁיכֶם וְהִנְשִׂאוּ פִתְחֵי עוֹלָמְכֶם וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:  
 מִי זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד יְהוָה עֲנִיזוּ וְגִבּוֹר יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר מִלְחָמָה:  
 שְׂאוּ שַׁעְרֵיכֶם וְרֹאשֵׁיכֶם וְהִנְשִׂאוּ פִתְחֵי עוֹלָמְכֶם 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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_B_C,_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* (2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Ḫattušili 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.