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Did the Storm God of Zippalanda have a Mother or a Wife?

Remarks about the Cults of Kataḫḫa and the Sun Goddess of the Earth in Zippalanda and Ankuwa

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Abstract. Two important female deities of the Hittite Pantheon are related to the Storm God of Zippalanda: the Sun Goddess of the Earth, surely worshipped in the same city, and the Hattian Kataḫḫa “The Queen”, whose cult flourished in the nearby town Ankuwa. Beyond that, in the Late Hittite period all the local Storm Gods were openly adopted by the main couple of the pantheon, the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of Ḫatti, as clearly represented in the prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Possible ties and relations among these female deities and the Storm God of Zippalanda, and the ways of their cults in the cities of Ankuwa and Zippalanda are analyzed here.

Keywords. Storm God, festivals, goddess.

The Pantheon of Zippalanda was fully analyzed by M. Popko (1994: 32-49) who based his research on festival texts, mainly dating back to the 13th century BC. They are the main source for reconstructing it and showing possible discrepancies between the state religion and cults that were practiced in the city. The aim of the present article is to show how festival texts from the late Hittite period preserve different layers of religious traditions concerning the structure of the local panthea of Zippalanda and the neighbouring city Ankuwa.

The main deity of Zippalanda is a Storm God² who in the State Pantheon is a son of the Sun Goddess of Arinna and of the Storm God of

¹ This article is dedicated to Franca Pecchioli.

² Pecchioli suggests that the god could be identified as Wašezzili/Taḫawašezzu (Pecchioli Daddi 1999: 156 with ref. to Haas 1994: 426, 445, 589). However see for example KUB 41.50 rev. III 5'-11'. This is a paragraph of a festival text in which several gods receive offerings. Among them the Storm God of Zippalanda (who follows the Sun

Ḫatti, as explicitly stated in a Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna (CTH 384: KUB 21.27+ IV 27'-49'; see also see KUB 41.29 obv. III 6'-10'; Popko 1994: 33 and 216). Descriptions of festivals in the city of Zippalanda show, instead, a strict connection with the Sun Goddess of the Earth³ and the Storm God of Heaven (Popko 1994: 34-35:). In some texts related to the cult of the Storm God of Zippalanda offerings are made to him in the Temple of Ereškigal (KUB 41.30 III 23'-25').⁴

The question about the relationship between the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in respect of the Storm God of Zippalanda is of difficult solution. We can suggest a difference between two religious views of the late Hittite period: in one, local Storm Gods were equated among each other and transformed in sons of the main couple of deities of the State Pantheon of Ḫattuša, and a second one in which the local Pantheon of the city of Zippalanda had developed a structure similar to the Pantheon of the other “holy city”, Nerik, as it is outlined, for example, in KUB 36.90 (obv. 8'-13') (Rieken *et al.* 2015). Here the Storm God of Nerik is called son of the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of the Earth (here named EREŠ.KI.GAL).⁵ Of course it would be interesting to analyze whether the evidence of the Sun Goddess of the Earth as mother of both these important local Storm Gods depends on a mutual influence of their cults.⁶

Texts of the Late Hittite period preserve the memory of the relationship between the Storm God of Zippalanda and the Sun Goddess of the Earth in festivals that took place in the city. The text KUB 58.6+ obv. I 10'-12', for example, mentions that these two deities were worshipped in the same temple of Zippalanda together with the Storm God of Heaven (^D10 AN-E, Popko 1994: 34).

As a matter of fact, two important female deities of the Hittite Pantheon are related to the Storm God of the city: not only the Sun Goddess of the Earth, surely worshipped in the same city, but also the Hattian deity mentioned as Kataḫḫa “The Queen”, whose cult flourished in the nearby town Ankuwa (Laroche 1947, 28; Taracha 2016: 322-326).⁷ Her parental relationship to the god is uncertain. Popko suggested that Kataḫḫa was the spouse of the god, remarking, however, that no proof of this tie is attested to in texts concerning the cult of Zippalanda (Popko 1994: 35).

Kataḫḫa surely had a strong, independent cult in her city of Ankuwa. In some of the texts that refer to her Ankuwa cult the goddess is connected to the city of Zippalanda: IBoT 1.29 is a MH tablet that records a festival performed in Ankuwa by the prince (DUMU.LUGAL), while the king is performing (the same?) festival in the capital city, as the following reconstruction of the *incipit* of the text shows (differently Taggar Cohen 2010: 116 and Mouton 2011: 3):

A. IBoT 1.29 obv.; B. KUB 51.57 (+) KBo 45.52 = A. obv. 1-2:

- 1 [(*ma-a-an* ^{URU})*An-ku-i A-NA* ^D*Ka-taḫ-ḫa* EZEN₄ *ḫa-a*[*š-šu-ma-aš*]
- 2 [(*i-en-zi*) *nu* LUGAL-*uš* ^{URU}*Ḫa-a*]t-tu-*ši A-NA* [*(pa-iz-zi)*]

Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God, rev. III 6') and Wašezzili (who follows the Storm God of the KILLAM rev. 10'), whose name is spelled *Wa_a-a-še-ez-za-al-li-in*. On the other hand, the same god is mentioned in IBoT 1.29, surely a festival of Ankuwa: in obv. 19-22. twelve priests are mentioned, among them ^LUSANGA ^DIM and LÚ ^D10.

³ She is also the mother of the Storm God of Nerik (Haas 1970: 99). See further in this text. About the Sun Goddess of the Earth in Hittite sources see now Steitler 2017: 229-245 and 417-423.

⁴ The association among these three gods emerges surprisingly also in a magical ritual, CTH 447. This text is dedicated to the Sun Goddess of the Earth and is performed for the royal couple and their heirs. In the final part of the ritual, however, conjurations are addressed to the Storm God of the Heaven and the Storm God of Zippalanda, a deity that usually does not appear in this kind of texts, since his sphere of action is limited to the official cult (Popko 2003: 31-32). M. Popko rightly suggests that this ritual was supposed to take place in the vicinity of the city, as is confirmed by geographical and environmental elements, and for this reason the local Storm God was mentioned (Popko 2003: 81-82). Although this proposal does not fully resolve this unusual situation, it is however conceivable.

⁵ About the use of this ideogram for the name of the Sun Goddess of the Earth, see Torri 1999: 85-89.

⁶ See also the analysis of Haas 1970: 100; see other remarks further on in the present article.

⁷ Kataḫḫa “The Queen” is a general term used for several female deities of central Anatolia.

“When in [Ankuwa for the goddess Kataḥḥa]ḥa they celebrate the Festival of Be[getting] [and the King in Ḥat] tuša goes to [...]”.⁸

In this text the main deity is called “Kataḥḥa of Zippalanda”: obv. 27’ [D^K]a-taḥ-ḥi-in^{URU} Zi-ip-pa-la-[an]-te-el. In the same text (obv. 32’), she receives offerings together with the Storm God of Zippalanda, D^{IM}, and D^{UTU}.⁹

The link of Kataḥḥa with the Storm God of Zippalanda seems to be mentioned also in some OH texts that celebrate the gods of the Pantheon in Ḥattuša, as for example the tablet of the KI.LAM festival KBo 17.21++ rev. 57, although the name has to be almost fully restored: [LUGAL-u]š UŠ-KE-EN^{DIM} URU Zi-ip-la-an-da Û^{D^K}[a-taḥ-ḥi-in],¹⁰ and KBo 25.12++ IV 4’ [D^{IM} URU Zi-i]p-la-an-d[a] Û^{D^K}Ka-taḥ-ḥi[-i-in].¹¹

It seems that the relationship between Kataḥḥa of Ankuwa and the Storm God of Zippalanda is constant until the late Empire period, as a paragraph of the LH text KBo 45.69 demonstrates:¹²

obv. I

6’ []^{LÚ}SIPA[]
 7’ [^{LÚ}NAR.]GAL^{URU} An[-ku-wa]
 8’ [L]Ú^{D10} 1 UDU x[]
 9’ [š-u]p-pi-ya-aḥ-ḥi[]
 10’ [nu-k]án UDU MUNUS.ÁŠ²¹³[GAR]
 11’ [A-N]A^DḤa-taḥ-ka []
 12’ [1 UD]U A-NA^{D10} URU Zi-pa[l-ta]
 13’ [ši-]pa-an-ti^{<UZU>}rš-u-up-pa¹ []
 14’ [ḥu-]u-e-š-u-wa-az zé-e[-an-ta-az]
 15’ [ti-a]n-zi 1 NINDA.UDU pír-ši-ya

“[] The Shepard[], the]Great[Singer] of An[kuwa], [the M]an of the Storm God one sheep x[] [he makes] pure [] and [he con]secrates a [young] female sheep for the goddess Kataḥḥa [], [one she]ep for the Storm God of Zippal[anda]. They [p]ose (for the deity) the flesh (choosing) from the raw and the cooked. He (the Man of the Storm God?) breaks a loaf of bread in the form of a sheep”.

This text written in three columns on each side was prepared during the time of Tuḥaliya IV, as revealed by the names of the scribes mentioned in the colophon, the instructor Ḥalwaziti and his pupil Piḥami (Torri 2008: 733) (rev. VI 1’-6’). The same colophon states that the text records a [festival] of Zippalanda (spelled *Zi-pal-ta*), though the season is not specified. It is mainly performed by a NAR.GAL, a singer not usually mentioned in Hittite festival texts (Torri 2006: 291-295). He is a singer from Ankuwa (according to the possible restoration in I 7’) and this would explain why the first paragraph mentions the goddess Kataḥḥa at first, followed by the Storm God of Zippalanda.

⁸ As declared in KUB 25.28 obv. I 1-10, the journey from the capital city to Ankuwa lasted at least 3 days: the *ḥupralla* mentioned there needs to spend a night in Imralla, and a second night in Ḥuppigašša. He gets to Ankuwa on the evening of the third day. The journey of the king, or the prince, and his retinue was probably much slower although during the *nuntarriyašša*-Festival the travel to Zippalanda lasted two days. During this festival the king does not go to Ankuwa, but in the Spring-Festival, the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM, the travel to Ankuwa, through the mountain Daḥa, lasted at least one day more (Torri 2015: 365-367). It is impossible that the celebrants are starting the festival in Ḥattuša and move to Ankuwa on the second day, thus we have to consider that the incipit recalls the celebration of two parallel festivals, one by the king (in Ḥattuša) and one by the prince in Ankuwa and its vicinity. See Torri 2004: 461-469.

⁹ At least in this period the Storm God of Zippalanda was not considered a son of the main divine couple of Ḥatti (see above).

¹⁰ Following Neu 1980: 56 with n. 202.

¹¹ According to the proposal of Singer 1984:38.

¹² But this is only an example. See also KBo 30.12 rev. VI 5-6, part of the later version of the KI.LAM-festival.

¹³ The surface of the tablet is abraded, and the sign is not clear. It seems however the best possible solution.

The fact that these two deities are mentioned together from the Old Hittite period onward, however, still does not provide any certainty about their possible ties.

Another interesting text, KBo 45.129, mentions these two gods in a group of seven deities (although because of a probable scribal mistake only five gods are listed):

KBo 45.129 rev. V

22' *iš-ḫa-ni-i* EGIR-*an-da* IŠ-TU KAŠ.GEŠTIN

23' *AŠ-RI*^{HL.A} *ir-ḫa-an-zi* LUGAL-*uš ti-ya-zi*

24' ^{GIŠ}ZA.GAR.RA-*ni* BAL-*an-ti*

25' EGIR-ŠU 7 *ir-ḫa-⟨an⟩-iz-zi*

26' ^DTe-le-pi-nu-un ^DḪa-taḫ-ka₄-*an*

27' ^DUTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na* ^DMe-ez-zu-ul-*la*

28' ^D10 ^{URU}Zi-ip-pa-la-*an-da*

“After the blood offering they go around the places with KAŠ.GEŠTIN. The king comes forward. He libates to the altar. Then he goes around for 7!¹⁴ times: Telepinu, Kataḫḫa, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Mezulla, the Storm God of Zippalanda”.

The roots of this relationship must perhaps be sought in the close link between the two cities (Crasso 2008: 92-93). Historical sources in this regard are missing: Ankuwa was an important center of the old Assyrian trade market during the 19th century BC (Kaneš Ib; Büyükkale 4d).¹⁵ In this phase no mention is made of a city that could be identified with the one later called Zippalanda. On the other hand, Hittite sources ascribe an important religious role to this city, as is already stated in the Laws (§50-51; Hoffner 1997: 61-62). In this same composition Ankuwa, instead, is not considered. During the Old Hittite period Ankuwa seems mostly an administrative place (See Gorny 1991: 412 ff; Crasso 2005: 147-158). According to the *Landschenkungsurkunden* 5, 7, 8, and 41 (Wihlem 2012), it seems possible that at some point during the 16th century BC the city lost its importance and part of its possessions, which were transferred to Šapinuwa.

In the 13th century BC the firm religious bonds between the cities of Ankuwa and Zippalanda are clearly outlined in the Summary Tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festival, in which the king moves from Zippalanda to Ankuwa in the very last days of the festival (34th-35th / 36th-38th) (Güterbock 1960: 84 and 87). The best preserved text for reconstructing the journey of the king and the statue of the Storm God on the route connecting Zippalanda, the Mountain Daḫa and Ankuwa is KUB 20.96 (Popko 1994: 190-197), which is probably the description of the celebrations that started in days 34-35 of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (according to VSNF 12.1): After coming from a mountain, whose name is lost but which is probably Mount Puškurunuwa, the king goes to Zippalanda. From there he goes to Mount Daḫa together with the statue of the god. After the rites on the mountain the king leaves the coach (^{GIŠ}*huluganni*) and mounts a wagon (^{GIŠ}GIGIR). He drives to Ankuwa while the statue of the god is brought back at night to its temple in Zippalanda. Thus the god does not take part in the celebration in the town of Kataḫḫa. The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival ends in Ankuwa with the celebration of the Festival of the Rain (EZEN₄ ZUNNI).¹⁶

The effigy of the Storm God travels along the southern route to Ankuwa during some other celebration that is mentioned in KBo 30.155(+KUB 10.78+ KUB 20.25 (KBo 30.155 rev. VI 2'-5'; and the Colophon KUB 10.78+KUB 20.25 rev. VI 7'-11'; Popko 1994: 304-309; Crasso 2008: 94-96), a winter festival of the *kurša*-bag

¹⁴ Either we amend number 7 to 5, or we should suppose that the scribes forgot a pair of deities.

¹⁵ See Crasso's recent studies on the city and the sources of the Hittite period: Crasso 2005; ead. 2006; ead. 2008.

¹⁶ The text KBo 13.214 says that in winter the king moves from Zippalanda to Katapa, in Spring instead he travels from Zippalanda to Ankuwa. See also the colophon of KUB 59.1 VI 13'-19': "Second tablet, not finished. When the king in Spring goes to Ankuwa for the Festival of the Rain", and the colophon KBo 22.214 VI 1'-3' "First Tablet of the Festival of the Rain in Ankuwa, not finished. Hand of Alalimi".

of the Storm God of Zippalanda (KBo 30.155 rev. VI 2'-5'): "As soon as the *kurša*-bag takes the southern route (KASKAL.IM.U₁₉.LU) and from Zippalanda goes to Ankuwa...".

The vicinity of Ankuwa and Zippalanda, and the mutual penetration and exchange of religious beliefs between these two cities, can be compared with the situation of Nerik and Kaštama and the tie between the Storm God of Nerik and Zašhapuna in the texts related with the cult of Nerik.¹⁷ At some point in Hittite history there was an attempt to develop a homogeneous pantheon, in which gods were related through parental ties. We do not know when deities of different cities were grouped into an organized system based on a family structure. On the other hand, some of these ties already existed in the older pantheon of the core of the Land of Ḫatti. The pantheon of Kaštama seems to be absorbed and adapted to the one of Nerik during the late Hittite period (Archi 2006: 157). In Kaštama, however, Zaliyanu with his paredra Zašhapuna were at the head of the local pantheon and were more important than the Storm God of Nerik (CTH 321: KBo 3.7 IV 15-20). Thus we see that deities in their own cities preserved specific features that they had apparently lost in coming into contact with the religious systems of other local pantheons.

The "Prayer of Muwatalli to the Assembly of the Gods" provides an interesting element for the present discussion (CTH 381; Singer 1996). As is known, the gods invoked in this prayer are grouped according to their cities. As concerns Nerik (I 68-70) the prayer mentions its Storm God and the gods of Kaštama in the same paragraph. The paragraph mentioning Zippalanda (I 57-58) does not refer at all to Kataḫḫa or any other deity of Ankuwa, but only to the Storm God, the Mountain Daḫa and the male and female gods of the town and the mountain. The goddess Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa is mentioned much further on in the prayer (II 60-61), together with a Storm God of the Rain. Therefore the theological construction of the Muwatalli's Prayer does not take into consideration the Old Hittite connection between Zippalanda and Ankuwa. We may also remark that this older tie is not constantly stressed in religious texts: the gods' lists of CTH 630, the Festival for the Moon and the Thunder, mentions the Storm God of Zippalanda (KBo 21.85+ IV 13') immediately after Aštanu/Ištanu, Taru, Tappinu and Ḫulla, thus showing the existence already in the MH period of a family similar to the one stressed in the Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna.¹⁸ The goddess Kataḫḫa is mentioned as the last in a group of deities led by Telepinu and Wurunkatte (KBo 21.85+ IV 17'-21').¹⁹

In light of these sources we may suggest that in the period of Muwatalli the nature of the association between Kataḫḫa and the Storm God of Zippalanda was still perceived as something different than the connections among the gods of Nerik and Kaštama. It has yet to be proved that the two young Storm Gods were later, under Ḫattušili III, assimilated. Sources just show a connection between the Storm God of Zippalanda and the city of Nerik in the prayers for the Sun Goddess of Arinna composed in the period of the royal couple Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.²⁰

A votive text of the period of Ḫattušili III, KUB 15.1, could be significant for a better understanding of the relationship between the Storm God of Zippalanda and Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa. The third column, from l. 17' refers to a fire in Ankuwa (de Roos 2007: 94-95). Three gods in succeeding paragraphs are summoned to rescue the city: The goddess Kataḫḫa (III 17'); the Storm God of Heaven (III 22'); the Storm God of Zippalanda (III 27'). To each of them the Majesty promises a model of the city made of silver and eight sheep, thus assigning to them the same rank. If these gods are listed according to a kind of hierarchy, then we could suppose that the goddess named Kataḫḫa "the Queen", and the Storm God, the main male deity of the Hittite pantheon, who in Ankuwa may have an association with the rain, comprise the main couple of Ankuwa. They are followed by a second Storm God, who is the Storm God of Zippalanda, usually considered a son of the main Storm God.

¹⁷ The gods are worshipped in the same temple in KBo 2.4, obv. I 33-35 (for example). As known in the texts concerning the festivals of Kaštama, Zašhapuna is the wife of Mount Zaliyanu. Also in the case of Nerik and Kaštama the relationships among their gods should be fully investigated. Haas 1970: 79-87.

¹⁸ Laroche 1973: 83. Soon after these gods there is also the Storm God of Nerik (^D*Ne-e-ra-a-ak*).

¹⁹ Laroche 1973: 84.

²⁰ According to Haas 1970: 107-109 these two "young" Storm Gods were melted in a single deity when the city of Nerik was lost. I do not agree with this view, as is shown in the following of the present work. See also the remarks of Klinger 1996: 150.

Of course, this text refers to a very late pantheon that strongly recalls the divine family presented by Puduḥepa in her prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. On the other hand, since it is a description of a festival in Ankuwa dedicated to the goddess Kataḥḥa – as the colophon states – it could still preserve some local tradition according to which the main deity, Kataḥḥa, was associated to a local Storm God (^D10 É-TIM ^{URU}Ankuwa, I 15’).

We could suggest that from a point of view of the religious system of Ankuwa Kataḥḥa was a “Mother Goddess”²³ and the Storm God of the neighboring city, Zippalanda, was a son of the Storm God of the Heaven.²⁴ The latter was the husband of Kataḥḥa. In Zippalanda a slightly different pantheon existed: the family of this same god was made up of a Sun Goddess of the Earth (under whose definition a number of local female deities could be hidden) and the Storm God of Heaven.

Also, an equation between the goddess Kataḥḥa and the Sun Goddess of the Earth is not unmanageable (Taracha 2017: 133): the third column of text KBo 17.89++ reports a list of local hypostases of the Sun Goddess of the Earth (Torri 1999: 90-91). Among them, one after the other, are a Sun Goddess of the Earth of Zippalanda and a Sun Goddess of the Earth of Ankuwa (III 10-11).

In the State Pantheon, late in the Empire period, all the local Storm Gods were openly considered as sons of the main couple,²⁵ the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of Ḫatti, as clearly represented in the prayer of Puduḥepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. However, festival texts still show contradictions and differences caused by the stratification of several local religious beliefs.

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²³ About Kataḥḥa as epithet of the Great Goddesses of central Anatolia see now Taracha 2017: 132-133. In the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival the cult of a deity mentioned as Kataḥḥa is performed during an *ḫadauri*-rite in the Temple of DINGIR.MAḪ: KBo 45.16+KBo 49.64 III 9’-10’ (23rd Day of the Festival). In the *nuntarriyašḫa*-Festival the priestess NIN.DINGIR enwraps the distaff in the Temple of Kataḥḥa (KUB 59.2 II 6).

²⁴ See also the list KBo 4.13+ I 17. Forlanini 2007: 260, and Archi 2015: 14-17.

²⁵ Often recalling some existing older tradition (see above).

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