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ZIPPALANDA AND ANKUWA: THE GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.*

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The recent publication of *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien* has stirred renewed interest in the Hittite cult city of Zippalanda. The present review challenges the author's association of Zippalanda with the site of Alaca Höyük and defends an alternative possibility based on the reviewer's own work in central Turkey's Yozgat province.

THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOK *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien* appears at a very appropriate time and is bound to spur further research into a variety of interesting questions related to Hittite history and geography. As the most thorough attempt to evaluate critically evidence related to the Hittite cult center of Zippalanda, the book deserves a careful examination.

The primary goal of *Zippalanda* is to provide a complete overview of Hittite texts associated with the town of Zippalanda, as well as to describe its topography, cult, and relationships with other central Anatolian cities (p. 5). This aspect of his project is well done and makes the book a valuable resource. In the process, however, M. Popko attempts to secure the identification both of Zippalanda with the well-known Hittite settlement at Alaca Höyük (pp. 29–31) and of nearby Kalehisar/Karahisar with Mt. Dağha, an associated cult area (pp. 26–29, 31). This other aspect of the book, while interesting, is not compelling, and it is to this part of the volume that I wish to address the majority of my comments.

The main body of the manuscript contains the collection of transliterated and translated Hittite texts (in German) which either mention the town of Zippalanda or are related to the important "Festival of Zippalanda." These appear in the Spartan style typical of the *Texte der Hethiter* series. Accompanying commentaries provide useful explanations of the texts. The manuscript itself is plain and bereft of any accompanying photos, maps, or charts.

Such illustrative material would have been useful for helping the reader to visualize the topographic and geographical setting. Inasmuch as the Alaca orthostats play such a significant part in Popko's attempt to link Zippalanda with Alaca Höyük (see below), photographs of the stone carvings would have been useful. Technically, the manuscript is very well done, though a few minor typographic errors and omissions mar the final manuscript. Note, for example, p. 36, n. 1, where Bergötter should be Berggötter; p. 93, where an extra *von* is included before Šanahhuita in the twelfth line; p. 96, where KBo XVII 11 should be added after KBo XVI 71 in Ah. Text; p. 147, where KBo XVI 49 IV is transposed to read KBo XVI IV 49; and p. 327, where the first mention of Alaca should be noted as having occurred on p. 13. None of these flaws affects the integrity of the manuscript.

The publication of *Zippalanda* is very timely since recent work in the Kanak Su Basin of central Anatolia (see map) has revived interest in the historical geography of the region. Not only has renewed work begun at Alişar Höyük (Gorny 1994, 1995a), but additional work has been carried out at nearby Çadır Höyük (Gorny 1995b) and atop the important site of Kerkenes Dağ (Summers and Summers 1994). Other excavations have been carried out recently by the Yozgat Museum at Mercimek Tepe (in Yozgat itself) and at Cemalli Höyük (in the Gelinçüllu Dam area).

My own thoughts regarding Zippalanda are colored by our work at Alişar Höyük which has been discussed in several previous publications (Gorny 1990; 1993; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; and forthcoming). In my dissertation (Gorny 1990: 395–436), for instance, I defended the idea that Alişar is to be equated with the Hittite town of Ankuwa (for other views, see Gurney 1973; Forlanini 1980; and Ünal 1984), while also suggesting that nearby Kuşaklı Höyük (figure 1) could be the site of Hittite

* This is a review article of: *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien* by MACIEJ POPKO. *Texte der Hethiter*, vol. 21. Heidelberg: UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG C. WINTER, 1994. Pp. xiii + 335.



Fig. 1. View of Kuşaklı Höyük (von der Osten's "höyük near Küçük Köhne") as viewed from the south.

Zippalanda (Gorny 1990: 433–34).¹ Popko's publication, however, which identifies Alaca Höyük with Zippalanda, calls into question the equation of both Alişar with Ankuwa and Kuşaklı with Zippalanda. Since Ankuwa and Zippalanda are often noted in association with each other, they must have been reasonably close. Therefore,

¹ In 1927, von der Osten identified this site as "the hüyük west of Küçük Köhne" (von der Osten and Schmidt 1930: 37, 39, fig. 32) or "the hüyük near Küçük Köhne (von der Osten 1929b: 37, figs. 31–32), but the villagers identify the site as Kuşaklı, the same name provided for Forrer a year earlier (Forrer 1927: 33; cf. von der Osten 1929b: 31, n. 1). This is the flat-top mound about ten kilometers west of the modern Turkish town of Sorgun and not to be confused with other mounds bearing the same name. In fact, I suspect that von der Osten abstained from using the name in order to avoid confusion with another mound with the same name on the east side of Çomak Dağ (von der Osten and Schmidt 1930: 31, fig. 21, p. 22, map 1). However, since the formal identification of the mound seems more appropriate than the informal designation used by von der Osten, I shall continue to identify the mound as Kuşaklı Höyük throughout this paper.

if Zippalanda was located at Alaca, as the author suggests, it would probably preclude the identification of Alişar with Ankuwa. This fact was not lost on Popko, who identifies Ankuwa with Eskiypar (p. 32; also cf. Temizer 1988: xxvii–xxix). This turn of events calls for some thoughtful reflection on the reasons behind Popko's identification of Zippalanda with Alaca and how the whole issue relates to Alişar and Ankuwa.

To begin with, I believe that the relative locations of Ankuwa and Zippalanda (vis-à-vis Boğazköy) can be pieced together with a variety of Hittite sources. The first piece of evidence comes from the lengthy description of the itinerary taken by a royal retinue to meet the obligations of the springtime AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival (Güterbock 1960). The text states that after leaving Ḫattuša, the procession moves on to the area of Ḫaitta for the thirty-second and thirty-third days of the festival with an apparent stop at Mt. Pişkurunwa. The nights of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth days are spent in and around Ḫurranāšša. The king finally reaches Zippalanda on the thirty-sixth day and proceeds to Ankuwa for the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth days. The distance between the two communities, therefore, is clearly one day's travel or less.

The distance between Ankuwa and the capital is suggested by a cult trip narrated in KUB 25.28 i 1–10,² which states that Ankuwa is reached after a three-day journey from the capital, with stops at Imralla and Һupikašša. Assuming a pace of thirty to thirty-five kilometers a day, the trip suggests a distance of one hundred kilometers, more or less, or roughly the distance between Boğazköy and Alişar. If Ankuwa could be reached from Zippalanda in less than a day, as indicated by the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival texts, the two towns must have been no more than thirty to thirty-five kilometers apart.

That Ankuwa is south of Zippalanda may be deduced from several additional texts. The first (KBo 30.155 rev. 4–11; KUB 20.25 + 10.78) makes it clear that Ankuwa was reached from Zippalanda via the “southern road” (KASKAL.IM.U₁₉.LU). Hence we have our first directional clue: Ankuwa lies south of Zippalanda.

The *nuntarriyašhaš* or autumn festival, provides a parallel, but abbreviated, version of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM itinerary which points us in the same direction. Festival texts indicate that the Hittite king, after performing his cultic duties in the capital, travels “down” (*katta*) to Һarra-našši and Zippalanda by way of the “Zippalanda Gate” (KUB 55.5 obv. [?] i 10', restored in Houwink ten Cate 1988: 174; and Košak 1976: 61; for the Zippalanda Gate see also KUB 44.33 obv i 10 and KBo 22.209 obv. 1). After brief stopovers at these two towns on the twelfth and thirteenth days of the festival, the king heads back to Һattuša by way of Taḫurpa. This text is important for our purposes since it provides a second clue for the direction of Zippalanda.

I think that the use of “down” (*katta*) in KUB 55.5 obv. (?) i 10' is a topographic indicator hinting at the direction of Zippalanda. Since Alaca Höyük and Eski-yapar are at the same altitude as the Hittite capital, the usage of “down” is significant and makes a trip to the lower altitudes of the south a more likely alternative than one in the opposite direction. It may, in fact, refer to a trip in the direction of the Hittite “lower lands,” an area clearly south of the capital. This scenario fits well with the Kanak Su Basin which would have been reached after a gradual descent from the Hittite capital. The most direct line of travel would have run from Boğazköy (Һattuša) through Yozgat and Kerkenes Dağ (near Kuşaklı Höyük) to Alişar and on to Kültepe (Kaniš), though several alternative routes are also possible. However, since

the steep height of Kerkenes posed an obstacle to a direct route, the main road may have followed the Eğri Su, as it does today, and circumvented Kerkenes Dağ before proceeding southward to Alişar and Kültepe. This route was probably a major road in Hittite times and plausibly corresponds to the “southern road” mentioned above.

Alişar-Ankuwa's strategic position along this “southern road” apparently made it a convenient gathering point for the Hittite army from the Old Hittite period onward (Gorny 1990: 431). Furthermore, its location (along with Zippalanda) vis-à-vis the southern theater of action in the Hurrian wars provides further evidence that Ankuwa lay south of Boğazköy (Kempinski and Košak 1982: 100–109; Gorny 1995c). This route would have continued south(east) from Kaniš to towns such as Šugziya, Һurma, Lawazantiya, Һaššu, and Uršu before continuing to Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. As we shall see, the evidence for Zippalanda does not contradict this depiction but complements it very well.

If we accept the evidence cited above, Ankuwa lay approximately one hundred kilometers south of Һattuša and thirty to thirty-five kilometers south of Zippalanda. Zippalanda, therefore, should lie between sixty and seventy kilometers south of the capital (cf. also Houwink ten Cate 1988: 182–83, n. 27) and about thirty kilometers north of Ankuwa. This is the precise situation of Boğazköy, Kuşaklı, and Alişar. Imralla and Һupikašša in KUB 25.28 i 1–10 are mentioned only there and it remains unclear whether these towns represent alternative stops along the same route on which Zippalanda was situated or whether they suggest a different route. This possibility that the Zippalanda-Ankuwa region could be reached by several routes is apparently confirmed in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM texts when the king and the queen are said to “determine the road” (KASKAL-*an-ma daranzi*, see Güterbock 1960: 84, 87), an apparent allusion to some sort of oracular practice. This penchant for letting the gods decide the itinerary, however, may also account for stops at the otherwise unknown communities of Imralla and Һupikašša.

Several additional facts commend the identification of Kuşaklı Höyük with Zippalanda. In the first place, there is an uncanny resemblance of Alişar to Kuşaklı Höyük. Here again one finds a high mound surrounded by a lower terrace. Initially, I wondered if this morphological similarity was indicative of parallel cultural and historical developments that might point to the type of close relationship that the Hittite texts seem to imply for Ankuwa and Zippalanda. The distinct boundaries of the terrace suggest it was once encircled by a fortification wall and, indeed, the remnants of a Hittite period gate are still visible on the lower terrace (figure 2). The gate is now in ruins, but initial observations suggested that it resembled the Boğazköy gates, complete with elliptical

² Abbreviations follow Hans G. Güterbock and Harry H. Hoffner, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vol. 3.1 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago, 1980), xxi–xxxi.



Fig. 2. The terrace gate at Kuşaklı Höyük. Kerkenes Dağ and the valley leading up to it are visible in the center.

entry (Forrer 1927: 33; von der Osten 1929b: 37, figs. 31–32; Gorny 1990: 433). Such a construction clearly places Kuşaklı in the Hittite Empire period, and in fact, during our 1994 work, a Hittite Empire period platter was found in the refuse of a pit dug by villagers on the interior side of the gate. Additional Hittite pottery was observed across the entire site.

Between Kuşaklı and Alişar lies Kerkenes Dağ, a large granite massif on which is located a tall mound encircled by massive walls dating to approximately the sixth century B.C. If Kuşaklı is identified as Zippalanda, Kerkenes would have to be equated with Mt. Dağha, the important cult center associated with the town. While Popko's alternative site does display a nice Phrygian altar (von der Osten 1929a; 99 and figs. 163–70), it has not been shown to have had a spring, a feature noted in the Zippalanda texts. Kerkenes seems to fit the evidence for Mt. Dağha much better. The mountain is not large by most standards, but it clearly stands out from every direction and is a point from which the entire region can be observed. There is no need, however, for the moun-

tain to be very large and we should be careful not to focus on largeness or monumentality when we should be concerned with location and function. Thus, while Kerkenes is an impressive height, it is fairly easy to ascend, especially from the Kuşaklı side where it can be approached by means of a long valley that begins directly opposite the city's terrace gate (figure 2). This would be important, especially when a rather elderly king was attempting to make the ascent.

The crest of Kerkenes Dağ stands out clearly behind Kuşaklı (figure 3; cf. also von der Osten and Schmidt 1930: 37, fig. 32), and activities taking place on its summit would have been clearly seen from the town below. Admittedly, however, there are no visible remains of a Hittite cult area on Kerkenes as one would expect on Mt. Dağha (pp. 26–29). Such a cult area, however, does not have to be large and could easily have been destroyed or covered by the massive Iron Age remains that now cover the site. The interior of the site, however, does feature several springs (Schmidt 1929: 224, fig. 4; reproduced in Summers and Summers 1994: 4, fig. 3), one



Fig. 3. Kuşaklı Höyük (seen just above the line of trees) with the crest of Kerkenes Dağ rising immediately behind it.

of the topographic requirements of Mt. Dağha (p. 27). Along one such stream on the northwest side of the site is a dam made of large worked stones, the date of which is not known. It may be that the remains on a Hittite cult area should be sought in the vicinity of these springs.

Popko's rationale for pushing the location of Zippalanda north and away from the Kanak Su Basin is based primarily on the identification of Tapikka with the site of Maşat Höyük, a mound located 150 kilometers northeast of the Hittite capital (Özgüç 1978: 51). Tapikka is one of seven towns noted in KBo 16.78 obv. 1 5' ff., a list which includes Şanaḫḫuita, Tapikka, Taptiga, Takašta, Katapa, Karaḫna, and Ḫattuša. Of these seven, only Ḫattuša is securely located. Tapikka may be situated at the site of Maşat Höyük (Alp 1977; Özgüç 1978: xiv), but not necessarily (cf. Yakar 1980: 90–91). The other towns have not been identified, though two (Şanaḫḫuita and Katapa) have traditionally been thought to lie south of the Hittite capital. One should also consider that these towns are not part of an itinerary, only the roll call of AGRIGS taking part in festival activities and does not,

therefore, provide a convincing reason for locating the entire group northeast of Boğazköy, as Popko would do (Singer 1983). However, even if Tapikka were located at Maşat Höyük, there is no reason to locate the rest of these towns northeast of Boğazköy. In addition, Zippalanda is not even included in the list, though it might be expected to be found in the vicinity of Katapa. Furthermore, the distance to Eskiyaşar (twenty-five kilometers northeast of Boğazköy) seems too small to justify the type of three-day trip to Ankuwa (above) mentioned in KBo 30.155 rev. 4–11; KUB 20.25 + 10.78. In any case, this text does not require locating Zippalanda northeast of Boğazköy.

Popko also assumes that Zippalanda must lie in the mountain area to the north of Boğazköy because of its association with Mt. Dağha (p. 11). Such an assumption, however, is not secure since, as anyone who has traveled through the region knows, mountains can jut out from the plain at any given point on the plateau. This is precisely the case in the Kanak Su Basin where several peaks clearly stand out above the plain. These peaks

include Kerkenes Dağ, Sivri Tepe, and Çomak Dağ. Clearly, a location in a mountainous area north of Hattuša is not necessary to meet the requirements of the text.

The most important element in Popko's argument, however, appears to be the linkage of the Zippalanda texts with the offering scenes from the Alaca Höyük orthostats (p. 31). This linkage is based on the fact that the literary materials describing the festival for the Stormgod of Zippalanda describe the veneration of two stormgods, the older Stormgod of the Sky (known in Hattuša as the Stormgod of Hatti) and a younger Stormgod of Zippalanda (p. 30). The latter is the son of the Stormgod of the Sky and the Sungoddess of the Earth (known in Hattuša as the Sungoddess of Arinna). Popko's primary argument is based on his claim (pp. 32–37) that such an ordering also appears on the orthostat slabs found at the entrance of Alaca Höyük. He asserts (pp. 35–36) that the younger stormgod (the Stormgod of Zippalanda) is the main participant in the festival while the older Stormgod (the Stormgod of the Sky) plays a passive role and remains in the shadow of his wife and son. This may, in fact, be the case, as the Stormgod of Zippalanda appears to play an increasingly important role in the late Empire period. Nevertheless, to suggest that this triumvirate can be used as a means of identifying Alaca Höyük with Zippalanda seems to stretch the evidence too far.

The linkage Popko proposes between Alaca Höyük and Zippalanda is problematic on several counts. In the first place, it assumes that the seated weathergod represents the Stormgod of the Sky (p. 30; cf. Bittel 1976: 195, fig. 221) while the younger stormgod, the Stormgod of Zippalanda, is represented on another slab by a steer (p. 30; cf. Bittel 1976: 191, fig. 214). None of this can be stated with certainty since there is no corroborating epigraphic evidence on the orthostats. Taking into account that the representation of the steer is set directly opposite that of the seated goddess on the interior entrance to the gate, while the seated stormgod is positioned on the exterior wall, it may be that the sculptors simply meant to portray the Stormgod of the Sky in different views. If however, it can be proved that two different stormgods were intended in the stone representations (i.e., older and younger stormgods, as proposed by Popko), it would still not mean that the Alaca scenes must represent activities taking place in Zippalanda. In fact, I do think it is likely that the two carvings are meant to represent two stormgods. (See pp. 33, 214–17, where the Stormgod of Zippalanda is said to be the son of the Sungoddess of the Earth, implying that the Stormgod of the Sky was his father.) I do not believe, however, that the representations found on the Alaca orthostats are to be associated only with events surrounding the cult activities occurring at

Zippalanda. More likely, they are a conventional representation of the divine family as the highest ranking deities of the Hittite state cult (pp. 33–34) and may well reflect a long-standing Anatolian religious tradition (see below). As such they could be expected to appear in cult activities taking place anywhere throughout central Anatolia and would be just as likely found at Arinna as at Zippalanda. One need only recall that such a combination is also found in the syncretistic stone-cut images at Yazılıkaya, where Šarruma, who is often syncretized with the Storm God of Nerik (KUB 21.27 + rev. iv 42'; see Haas 1970: 107 ff.; but cf. Deighton, 1982: 103, n. 4), as well as with the Stormgod of Zippalanda (p. 32–33), is represented as the son of Tešup (the Stormgod of Hatti) and Hepat (the Sungoddess of Arinna).

Strictly speaking, Popko's hypothetical representation of the younger stormgod as a steer on the Alaca orthostats could refer to the third part of what we have seen is a divine triumvirate, but because of the rampant syncretism taking place during the late Hittite Empire period, it is unclear whether he is being represented as the Stormgod of Nerik, the Stormgod of Zippalanda, or even their Hurrian counterpart, Šarruma.³ The sungoddess is also affected by this syncretism: she is identified with the goddess Eriškigal in cult texts dedicated to both the Stormgod of Nerik and the Stormgod of Zippalanda (p. 36). In any case, it seems clear that these three divinities (father, mother, and son) have a long association in Anatolia's religious history and, in whatever manifestation they appear, their presence can be seen running throughout the warp and woof of Anatolian religion (see Balkan 1992). Thus, their presence probably cannot be limited to one site, as Popko attempts to do. This identification, which seems to be the main foundation upon which the Alaca-Zippalanda equation rests, appears very

³ If Šarruma, the patron god of Tudḫaliya IV, is intended in this representation, it would suggest that this king was also active at Alaca which, in light of his numerous building activities across Anatolia, is not surprising. The presence of a dam and basin at nearby Gölpınar (Arik 1937: 10–13, n. 1) similar in style to the Sacred Pool associated with Tudḫaliya IV at Boğazköy (Neve 1992) may be another indication of Tudḫaliya's interest in Alaca. The iconography of this Stormgod, however, is of a more traditional Anatolian style, as opposed to the Hurrian-inspired representations of Šarruma at Yazılıkaya. This may be attributed, if Alaca is equated with Arinna, to the conservative and specialized nature of the town which can be traced back to the Hittite's Hattic predecessors. The fact that the Sungoddess of Arinna, Šarruma, and Mt. Hulla are associated with each other in KUB 27.13 i 5 ff., however, makes this a strong possibility.

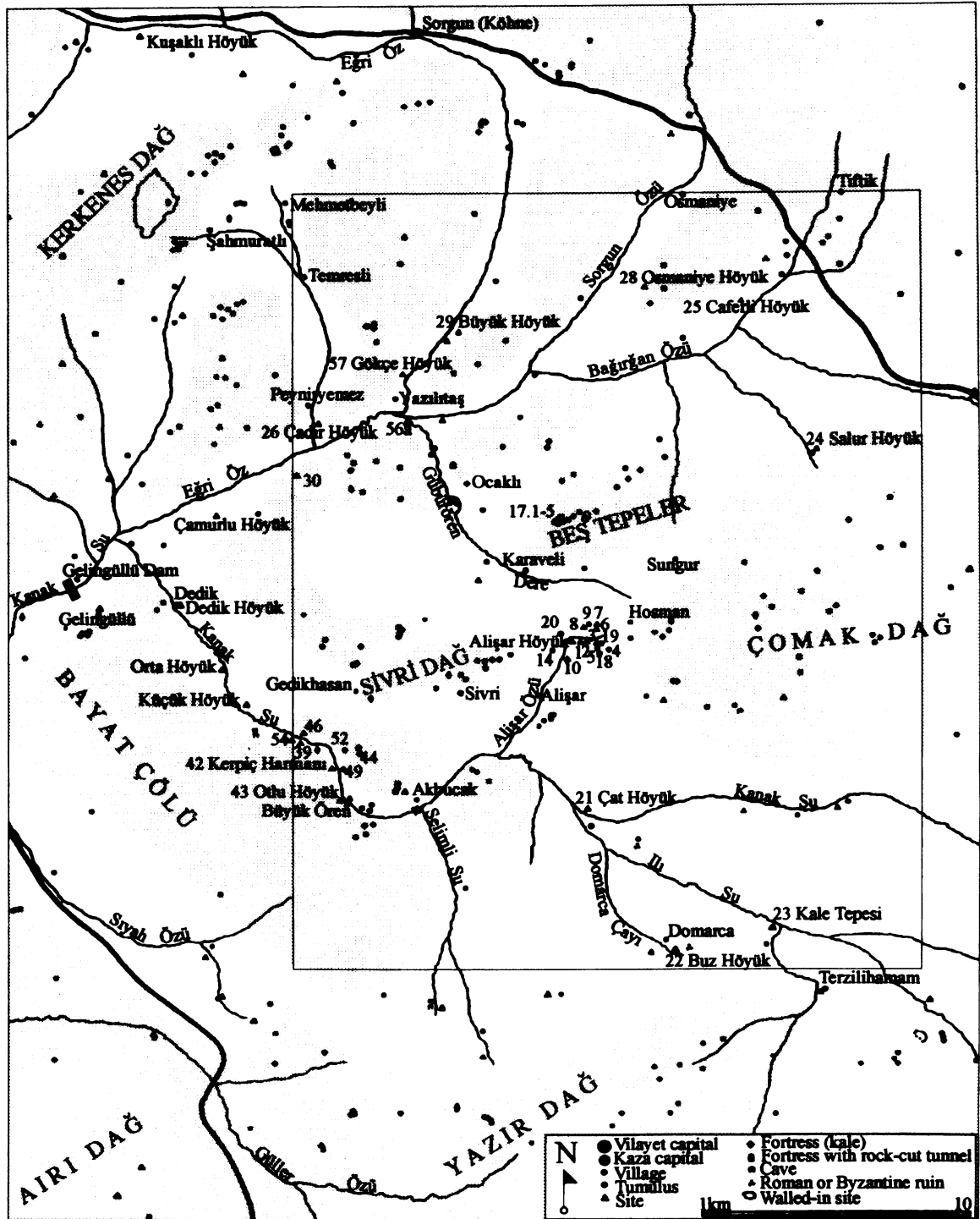


Fig. 4. Map of the Kuşaklı-Çadır-Alişar Area. (Alişar Survey Marked by Rectangle)

tenuous, and without that iconographic evidence, there is little else to commend Popko's equation.

Popko also attempts to construct links between what the texts say about city topography at Zippalanda and what was actually found at Alaca Höyük. While this may be an interesting exercise, there is nothing to tie securely the archaeological finds to the texts. Most of the evidence he cites is of a generic type and could just as easily be applied to Kuşaklı. For instance, the texts mention that a bridge had to be crossed before entering Zippalanda (p. 22). While there is a stream at Alaca that fits the textual setting (most other sites qualify too), the reference could just as easily have been to a bridge over the Eğri Su which runs just north of Kuşaklı Höyük. Other natural or architectural elements mentioned in the texts include a copse between the bridge and the city gate, a palace with storerooms or magazines, a temple for the weathergod which stands above the palace, a house of washing, and cult steles (pp. 18–21). Curiously, none of these elements is physically attested at Alaca Höyük; this may be an accident of discovery. Such elements could just as easily be located within the mound at Kuşaklı. In the final analysis, there is nothing in this description to link Alaca with Zippalanda.

It was previously noted that the primary goal of *Zippalanda* was to publish the corpus of textual materials related to Zippalanda in a way that would illuminate the history and function of this important town and its cult. In this regard, Popko has done an admirable job and has made many contributions. (One is the clarification of the role played by the Stormgod of Zippalanda and his position in the Hittite pantheon.) On the other hand, his

attempt to secure the identification of Zippalanda with Alaca Höyük is unsuccessful. Careful examination of both the texts and the geography still suggests a southern locale for Zippalanda. In the end, Popko's hypothesis is plagued by generalities and uncertainties while producing no clear link between the town of Zippalanda and the remains of Alaca Höyük. Because of this I favor the association of Alaca with the important Hittite town of Arinna (Erkut 1992).⁴ Kuşaklı Höyük, on the other hand, appears to fit well the requirements for an identification with Zippalanda. We can only hope that future excavations at Alaca, Alişar, and Kuşaklı will settle this question definitively.

⁴ In my opinion, the mound at Alaca and its temple-palace is more than likely Arinna's sacred precinct and represents only the core of a larger city that is yet to be defined. As Peter Neve (1995: 301) has pointed out, the lion Gate discovered by Arik (1937: 18–21 figs. 28) in what is now the museum garden was actually found *in situ* and is probably the beginning of a processional route leading from an outer wall to the ceremonial Sphinx Gate through which one entered into the sacred area. In addition, Kalehisar (Humann and Puchstein 1890; von der Osten 1929: 98–99, figs. 166–71), which Popko sees as Mt. Dağha (above), may be a reused site of Hittite origin and, in that case, it might be equated with Mt. Hülla (del Monte and Tischler 1978: 114) which had associations with the Sungoddess of Arinna (KBo 14.142 i 7 ff.). As such, this large rock outcrop would have to be seen as part of the larger sacral complex and future excavations could be expected to show links between it and the city's topography.

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