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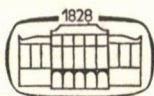
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REDIGIT

J. HARMATTA

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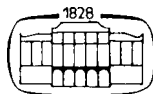
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BEROSOS AND THE MESOPOTAMIAN LITERATURE

Berosos¹ (= **Bēl-rē'ūšu*,² «Bēl is his shepherd»), the man of «Chaldean»³ i.e. of «Babylonian»⁴ origin, according to Tatianus,⁵ was «priest of Belos» of Babylon. This means — with other words — that he received his training in the temple of the Babylonian Marduk (^d*Bēl*), in the Esagila, one of the scientific centres⁶ of Hellenistic Mesopotamia.⁷ The work of Berosos, the «Babyloniaca»,⁸

¹ Or: Bêrôsos. The name was handed down in several Greek variants of writing. Among these already on the basis of the Akkadian etymology (see note 2), the *Βηρώσος* of Josephus Flavius, C. Ap. I 19 (§ 129), etc., and the *Βηρώσος* of Tatianus, Or. ad Gr. 36 seem to be most correct.

² The etymology of the name is due to C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, see RLA 2 (Berlin—Leipzig 1937) 2 a; cf. W. v. SODEN, RGG³ I (Tübingen 1957) 1069.

³ *ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος*, see Josephus Flavius: C. Ap. I 19 (§ 129); cf. Vitruvius: De arch. IX 6, 2; Moses Chorenensis: Hist. Arm. I 1.

⁴ *ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος*, see TATIANUS: Or. ad Gr. 36.

⁵ *ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βήλου*, ibidem.

⁶ As to Hellenistic Babylon see E. SCHMIDT: Die Griechen in Babylonien und das Weiterleben ihrer Kultur. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 56 (1941) 786—844; S. A. PALLIS: The History of Babylon 538—93 B. C. In: Studia Orientalia I. Pedersen . . . dicata. Copenhagen 1953. 275—294; F. WETZEL—E. SCHMIDT—A. MALLWITZ: Das Babylon der Spätzeit. Berlin 1957; H. KLENGEL: Babylon zur Zeit der Perser, Griechen und Parther. Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 5 (1962) 40—53. See also the literature quoted below, in note 7.

⁷ Works essential to the history of Hellenistic Mesopotamia: M. ROSTOVITZ: Seleucid Babylonia: Bullae and Seals of Clay with Greek Inscriptions. Yale Classical Studies 3 (1932) 1—114; A. FALKENSTEIN: Topographie von Uruk, I. Teil. Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit. Leipzig 1941. G. GOOSSENS: Au déclin de la civilisation babylonienne, Ourouk sous les Séleucides. Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 5^e série [Mémoires] 27 (1941) 222—244; G. H. SARKISYAN: Самоуправляющийся город Селевкидской Вавилонии. VDI 1952, I, 68—83; О городской земле в Селевкидской Вавилонии. VDI 1953, I, 59—72; Значение клинописной нотариально-правовой системы в городах Селевкидской Вавилонии. Eos 48 (1957) 29—44; S. K. EDDY: The Kind is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 331—34 B. C. Lincoln, Nebr. 1961; M. MEULEAU: Mesopotamien unter der Herrschaft der Seleukiden. In: Fischer Weltgeschichte 6 (Frankfurt a.M. 1965) 270—291; G. WIDENGREN: Geschichte Mesopotamiens. In: Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt., Bd. II, 4. Abschnitt: Orientalische Geschichte von Kyros bis Mohammed, Lief. 2. Leiden 1966. 1—31; H. J. NISSEN: Südbabylonien in parthischer und sasanidischer Zeit. XVII. DOT. Vorträge 3 = ZDMG Suppl. I. Wiesbaden 1969. 1036—1037 and BaM 6 (1973) 79—86 (the complete text); F. SCHACHERMEYER: Alexander in Babylon und die Reichsordnung nach seinem Tode. Wien 1970; J. SCHMIDT: Uruk-Warka. Zusammenfassender Bericht über die 27. Kampagne 1969. BaM 5 (1970) 51—96, esp. 75 ff. and in UVB XXVI—XXVII. Berlin 1973. 43 ff.; F. E. PETERS: The Harvest of Hellenism. A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christian-

preserved in excerpts and citations, is a summary of the history of the country, naturally in the ancient sense of the word «history», *i.e.* in accordance with the practice of ancient historiography, *viz.*: including in the elaboration also the mythical, legendary traditions of early times, which were, however, of historical authenticity according to contemporary public opinion. The dedication of the book was addressed to Antiochus (= Antiochus I Soter, 293— or 281—262 B. C.).⁹ Thus Berosos wrote it presumably about 280 B. C., already in his advanced age.¹⁰ The book is the most important monument of Babylonian-Greek syncretism. Its material consists of Babylonian traditions, but the realization, the composition shows a certain Greek taste.¹¹

Assyriology had turned earlier with keen interest towards the work of Berosos. However, the great summarization closing down the earlier investigations, *viz.* the book of P. Schnabel,¹² appeared exactly half a century ago. Since then at the most certain details have been examined.¹³ In the meantime,

ity. New York 1971. — The bibliography of publications of documents from this period is collected by J. OELSNER: ZA 61 (1971) 160 ff. On the language, literature and personal name source material of the Graeco-Babylonian contacts see A. UNGNAD: Zur Aussprache des Spätbabylonischen. MAOG 4 (Festschrift B. Meissner, 1928—29) 220—225; W. RÖLLIG: Griechische Eigennamen in Texten der babylonischen Spätzeit. Or 29 (1960) 376—391; E. SOLLBERGER: Graeco-Babyloniaca. Iraq 24 (1962) 63—72; W. RÖLLIG: Griechen. RLA 3, IX (Berlin 1971) 643—647, esp. § 2—3; J. OELSNER: Zur Bedeutung der «Graeco-Babyloniaca» für die Überlieferung des Sumerischen und Akkadischen. MIO 17 (1972) 356—364.

⁸ Its latest edition: F. JACOBY: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, III. Teil, C. I. Bd. Leiden 1958. In the following I quote by pages and lines.

⁹ Tatianus: Or. ad Gr. 36.

¹⁰ I do not touch the problems connected with the supposed emigration of Berosos to Kos. I only note that — if the relevant classical reports are worthy of credit at all — this emigration can probably be presumed only about 316 B.C., *i.e.* in the youth of Berosos, between his 25—35 years (he was born in the time of Alexandros). This, necessarily leads to the conclusion that later he returned to Babylon. For all this see I. M. ДИАКОНОВ: История Мидии. Leningrad 1956. 35 n 1. The chronological data mentioned by Tatianus, Or. ad Gr. 36, are obviously wrong.

¹¹ The whole structure of the work, the geographical introduction, the mentioning of the sources in advance, etc. point to Greek influence.

¹² P. SCHNABEL: Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur. Leipzig—Berlin 1923.

¹³ See first of all the reviews of P. Schnabel's book, which are important from the viewpoint of Assyriology and have not become out of date even today, e.g.: B. MEISSNER: DLZ 1924, 2158; J. LEWY: OLZ 28 (1925) 861—863; E. WEIDNER: AfK 2 (1924—25) 32—36; A. T. OLMSTEAD: JAOS 46 (1926) 85—87; as well as H. ZIMMERN: Die altbabylonischen vor- (und nach-) sintflutlichen Könige nach neuen Quellen. ZDMG 78 NF 3 (1924) 19—35; C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT: Neue Studien zu Berossos. Klio 22 (1928) 125—160; Berossos. RLA 2 (Berlin—Leipzig 1938) 1—17; TH. JACOBSEN: The Sumerian King List. (AS 11.) Chicago 1939; F. CORNELIUS: Berossos und die altorientalische Chronologie. Klio 35 (1942) 1—16; W. v. SODEN: Berossos. RGG³ I (Tübingen 1957) 1069; W. SPOERRI: Berossos. Der kleine Pauly 1 (1964) 1548; G. HUXLEY: Nikolaos of Damascus on Urartu. GrRoBySt 9 (1968) 319—320. — Unfortunately, the unpublished thesis of W. SPOERRI: Untersuchungen zur babylonischen Urgeschichte des Berossos und zu den Turnbausibyllinen (Habil.-Schrift Hamburg, 1961) was inaccessible for me. On the presumed astrological activity of Berosos see J. BIDEZ: Les écoles chaldéennes sous Alexandre et les Séleucides. AIPhOS 3 (1935) 41—89, esp. 48—52; S. TOULMIN: The Astrophysics of Berossos the Chaldaean. Isis 58 (1967) 65—76, and the discussion on this article, Isis 59 (1968) 91—94. Cf. also note 31 below.

however, the investigation of the literatures in cuneiform writing has advanced considerably in all fields. It becomes, therefore, more and more imperative to put also Berossos on the scale of our present knowledge, just as this has been done *e.g.* with the image of Babylon given by Herodotus already on several occasions,¹⁴ and now at last also with Ktesias.¹⁵ I am convinced that this task, *viz.* the disclosure of the Mesopotamian sources of Berossos, and — beyond the source-criticism — the analysis of his independent personality as a writer, today can no longer be accomplished in an isolated form. Berossos cannot be taken out from the whole of the culture of Hellenistic Mesopotamia. However, for the synthesis first much preparatory work of the most different character is required.¹⁶ The present paper is also intended to be such a preparatory work. My aim is not simply the analysis of the fragments of Berossos. I should like to examine the question of the knowledge and survival of Mesopotamian literature in the Hellenistic Age.

I

What could Berossos know of the monuments of the Mesopotamian literacy? The question can be divided into two parts. What was in the 4th to 3rd centuries B.C. available of the several thousand years old cuneiform literature in Babylon? And what was accessible of this material for Berossos?

It is well-known that most of the Greek or Roman writers dealing with the Orient, from Herodotus — let us say — to Pliny, from Aeschylus — let us say — to Lucianus were obliged to satisfy themselves with indirect informations, with data obtained second-hand, and very likely frequently with inaccurate informations. It seems that in this respect Berossos is an exception. It is true that the details of his life story are covered by impenetrable darkness. But at any rate his name points to the fact that he knew Akkadian. If he was

¹⁴ O. E. RAVN: Herodotus' Description of Babylon. København 1942; F. WETZEL: Babylon zur Zeit Herodots. ZA 48 NF 14 (1944) 45–68; W. BAUMGARTNER: Herodots babylonische und assyrische Nachrichten. ArchOr 18, I–II (1950) 69–106 = W. BAUMGARTNER: Zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt. Leiden 1959. 282–331; see also the literature quoted in note 6; cf. also R. DREWS: Herodotus' Other Logoi. AJPh 91 (1970) 181–191; R. S. RZCHILADZE: Поздний Вавилон в «Истории» Геродота. Tbilisi 1971.

¹⁵ F. W. KÖNIG: Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos. Graz 1972. On Ktesias see also G. GOOSSENS: L'histoire d'Assyrie de Ctesias. L'antiquité classique 9 (1940) 25–45, with the previous literature; R. DREWS: Assyria in Classical Universal Histories. Historia 14 (1965) 129–142.

¹⁶ With all this I do not want to anticipate J. OELSNER's investigations bringing already many results and promising even more, see his publications: Ein Beitrag zu keilschriftlichen Königstitulaturen in hellenistischer Zeit. ZA 56 NF 22 (1964) 262–274, here, 274 n 43, he also writes about his plan of the comprehensive elaboration of the theme; cf. Or 34 (1965) 453; Eine Rechtsurkunde aus dem seleukidischen Uruk in der Hilfrechtsammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer. WZJ 19 (1970) 905–912; ZA 61 (1971) 159–170, ad CT 49; War Nippur Sitz einer spätbabylonischen Astronomenschule? WZJ 20 (1971) 141–149; Zur Bedeutung der «Græco-Babyloniaca» für die Überlieferung des Sumerischen und Akkadischen. MIO 17 (1972) 356–364.

priest of the Esagila, he also had to know some Sumerian. And in the Marduk temple of Babylon he could also study the texts in cuneiform writing.

But all of them? It is a fact known for a long time that part of the literature written in cuneiform was regarded as secret science. Tablets originally prepared in a cryptographic system of writing have been preserved,¹⁷ but much more important and characteristic than these are those texts, which are qualified as secret by their colophons.¹⁸ We could make a more detailed and more diversified picture about Mesopotamian secret literature only as a result of the recent investigations. R. Borger has collected the tablets containing secret ciphers nearly one decade ago, and he also prepared their analysis according to their contents.¹⁹ According to this, as secret science were qualified, among some other texts, the lists of names of gods, including also those, which contained the identification of the deities and stars; the lists of statues of gods and liturgical requisites; prescriptions regarding the repair of the statues of gods; the ritual books, omen-collections, incantations; as well as the — mostly linguistic — commentaries on all these, etc. Among the secret tablets there are also important literary and mythological texts. On the other hand, the chronology of the secret tablets has not been analysed by R. Borger, although this is far from being indifferent. In fact, the gradual becoming secret of the written tradition can be followed only on the basis of the chronology of the tablets, the phenomenon becomes historical through this. In the 2nd millennium B. C. only sporadically occur such colophons, which would refer to the secret character of the tablets. The cryptographic texts written at this time contain rather professional — «patent» — secrets, than secret science. We meet with the latter in larger quantities in the beginning of the period starting with the last decades of the 8th century B. C., and mainly in the second half of the 1st millennium B. C., that is in the late period. However, at this time also such types of texts were regarded as secret, the public character of which had not been limited earlier. This means that the traditional Mesopotamian scientific culture, and within the framework of this especially the special priestly

¹⁷ See G. CONTENAU: La cryptographie chez les Mésopotamiens. In: *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en honneur de A. Robert*. Paris 1957. 17–21; E. LEICHTY: in: *Studies Presented to A. L. Oppenheim*. Chicago 1964. 152 ff.; E. WEIDNER: *Geheimschrift*. RLA 3, III (Berlin 1964) 185–188; R. LABAT: *Cryptographie cunéiforme*. RA 59 (1965) 183; R. LABAT: *Jeux numériques dans l'idéographie susienne*. In: *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger*. (AS 16.) Chicago 1965. 257–260; K. JARITZ: *Geheimschriftssysteme im alten Orient*. Adeva-Mitteilungen, Heft 8 (Graz, Mai 1966) 11–15; C. J. GADD: *Omens expressed in Numbers*. JCS 21 (1967) 52–63; H. HUNGER: *Kryptographische astriologische Omina*. In: *lišān mithurti*. Festschrift W. v. Soden (Kevelaer — Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969) 133–145; E. REINER: *Deux cryptogrammes akkadiennes*. RA 63 (1969) 170–171.

¹⁸ On the colophons see H. HUNGER: *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. Kevelaer — Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968.

¹⁹ R. BORGER: *Geheimwissen*. RLA 3, III (Berlin 1964) 188–191; see also R. BORGER: *niširti bārūti*, *Geheimlehre der Haruspizin*. BiOr 14 (1957) 190–195; W. v. SODEN: AHw 795 ff. s.v. *niširtu*; 866 s.v. *pirištu*.

material of knowledge, became in fact esoteric only in the later period. From the investigations of R. Borger we also know that the secret tablets were accessible for the priests. Initiation, priestly education and priestly office were prerequisites for the survey of the whole of the tradition.

Berosos, who was a priest, on account of his position could reach the whole literature of the age, the fresh copies just like the «closed», library material.

II

All this — as compared with the previous interpretations — places a few details of the prefatory part of the «Babyloniaca» into a new light.

In the prologue, among the remarks on the sources used by Berosos we read²⁰ that Berosos found numerous «recordings» (*ἀναγραφή*) in Babylon. These recordings were preserved there from time immemorial, «with great care».²¹ The remark expresses exactly the same thing as the colophon of the tablets in cuneiform writing, when for example it writes as follows: *ki-ma gaba-ri labiri* (LIBIR.RA) *bābili^{ki} šaṭir* (AB.SAR), «Written on the basis of an old Babylonian specimen».²² However, beyond this, the whole formula of Berosos, especially the phrase *μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας*, points to the same thing as the colophon of the secret clay tablets. That is, Berosos used the ancient, carefully preserved, secret texts of the Babylonian temple. Berosos also gives the age of the recordings.²³ Now it is immaterial, whether the date handed down with different year numbers can be converted, and eventually how. Much more important than this is that Berosos adjusts himself even with the fantastically high figure to the character of Mesopotamian historical tradition.

In the eyes of posterity — in the later antiquity — Berosos was thought to be very well informed. This is testified by several appreciating remarks of the epitomists. Tatianus says about him that «he is a very reliable man».²⁴ Moses Chorenensis calls him «very well versed in all teachings».²⁵ This is, however, not the praise of some ordinary knowledge. Josephus specially mentions that «Berosos followed the oldest recordings».²⁶ Also here we can think only about Babylonian recordings, that is — in accordance with the nature of the thing — about the clay tablets of the Marduk temple. In this relationship the remark of Seneca deserves earnest interest, according to

²⁰ JACOBY: 367: 26 ff.; cf. 364: 30 ff.

²¹ . . . φυλάσσεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας.

²² F. REISNER: Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit. Berlin 1896. VII rev. 13 = H. HUNGER: Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone. Kevelaer . . . Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968. No. 163.

²³ Cf. JACOBY: 368: 1 ff.

²⁴ JACOBY: 365: 3: *ἀνὴρ ἰκανότατος*.

²⁵ JACOBY: 365: 24: *omnis doctrinae peritissimus*.

²⁶ *ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολονθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς*, see JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS: C. Ap. I 19 (§ 130) = JACOBY: 365: 12 ff.

which Berossos «interpreted Belus».²⁷ is here nothing else than the scientific tradition of the Babylonian temple of *Bēl*. All this is equivalent with the fact that in the introductory part of his work, Berossos himself refers to the ancient Babylonian recordings as his sources. On the basis of this, antiquity could more or less be clear about the fact that Berossos, as regards his thorough knowledge, is initiated in esoteric Babylonian priestly science, and his work conveys this science to the Greeks.²⁸

If we are conscious of the circumstance that Berossos undertook the summarization of the teaching of the ancient «Babylonian» recordings so to say intentionally, then we shall, undoubtedly, interpret also the remark differently from the interpretations made so far, which is made in the prefatory part of the «Babyloniaca» on the contents of the recordings used as sources, and by this — at least indirectly — on the subject of the book of Berossos. These recordings, as we read,²⁹ report «on the sky, [and on the earth],³⁰ and on the sea, and on the primordial origins, and on the kings, and on their deeds». The first item of the enumeration has so far unanimously been referred to the science on sky, to astronomy. This is an absolute mistake! There are several reasons to support this standpoint. 1. As this has recently been pointed out by O. Neugebauer, the most eminent scholar in ancient mathematics,³¹ in the preserved fragments of the «Babyloniaca» there is hardly any trace of mathematical astronomy. Moreover — in contrast to the generally accepted opinion³² —, in fact we have no evidence to prove that Berossos, the author of the «Babyloniaca» would have played any role in bringing Babylonian astronomy nearer to Greek science. 2. The word «sky», on the basis of the terminology of ancient oriental astronomy, in itself does not at all compel us to think about astronomy, the science of the stars. 3. Between the Greek text preserved with Syncellus and the Armenian translation of the *Χρονικαὶ κανόνες* of Eusebius just in this point we find a difference concerning the essence. The latter text mentions the «earth» («von der Erde» *ap.* Jacoby, *l.c.*) immediately after the «sky», as I quoted it above. And in fact the «sky», the «earth» and the «sea» are the most important principles of ancient oriental cosmogonies. Later on Berossos himself mentions the Akkadian word, more correctly name, which in the Akkadian cosmogonic myth most important in Babylon, *viz.* in the *Enūma eliš*, means

²⁷ SENECA: N. Q. III 29, 1: *Berosos, qui Belum interpretatus est.*

²⁸ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS: C. Ap. I 19 (§ 129) = JACOBY: 365: 12 ff., 11 cf. *ibidem* app. crit.

²⁹ JACOBY: 368: 2 ff. *περιέχειν δὲ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρωτογονίας καὶ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πράξεων.*

³⁰ See JACOBY: 368 left column 4; see also below.

³¹ O. NEUGEBAUER: *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*. Providence, Rh. I. 1957. 157.

³² On this recently B. L. VAN DER WAERDEN: *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*. Groningen 1965. 252, etc. The relationship of the Babylonian and Greek astronomy is reasonably judged *e.g.* by G. HUXLEY: *The Interaction of Greek and Babylonian Astronomy*. Belfast 1964.

the principle of the sea (*tī'āmat*).³³ Thus we have a well-founded reason to presume that in the introductory part of the «Babyloniaca» the word «sky» is directly and closely connected with those following it, among which the «earth» should be inserted also in the Greek text. Thus the phrase does not apply to astronomy, but — as it is shown by the ensemble of the «sky», the «earth» and the «sea» — to the cosmogonic myths, or, as it is said by Berossos with his word following just after these, to the «primordial origination» (*πρωτογονία*). This means that Berossos did not mention the Babylonian astronomic recordings as the sources of his work, but on the one hand — using a «Babylonism», «Akkadism» — the cosmogonic texts, and on the other hand, the monuments regarding «the kings and their deeds». Otherwise, these two — as we shall see later — cannot be separated sharply from each other.

III

The interpretation of the introductory part of the «Babyloniaca» expounded above, as regards its essence, differs from the opinion represented in the special literature so far. Naturally, no matter how the content of the introductory part is judged, in practice the investigators counted with the possibility that Berossos knew and used Babylonian mythological poetry. The two great mythological sujets of the «Babyloniaca», *viz.* the *theomachy*³⁴ and the *deluge*³⁵ are in such a close affinity with the relevant material of the cuneiform sources that the result of the first modern analyses, according to which in these stories Berossos followed the Babylonian sources, has been almost indisputable more or less a century.³⁶ With the new interpretation of the introductory part, I have tried to furnish a principled basis for this practical realization. However, we can go even farther than this. As regards the details of the myths, the wording, there are still many points to be clarified in the relationship of Berossos and the cuneiform tradition.

For example, the origin of the name Omorka could not be clarified up to the present time. At Berossos the name occurs in the story of the theomachy.³⁷ There Berossos writes that a woman was the leader of the miraculous beings of

³³ See JACOBY: 371: 26 ff.

³⁴ The Mesopotamian traditions and Berossos are shown together for example by A. HEIDEL: *The Babylonian Genesis. The Story of the Creation*. Chicago 1954². Esp. 75 ff.

³⁵ The Mesopotamian traditions and Berossos are shown together for example by A. HEIDEL: *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*. Chicago 1958². Esp. 116 ff.; and recently W. G. LAMBERT — A. R. MILLARD: *Atra-ḥasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*. Oxford 1969. Esp. 134 ff.; see also note 54 below.

³⁶ G. SMITH: *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*... London 1875.

³⁷ JACOBY: 371: 25 ff. — An earlier attempt for etymology can be found in the article of P. HAUPT: *Omoroka and Thalath*. *AJPh* 39 (1918) 306–311 (*u m e n g u r, «mother of the depth of the sea»); see also D. O. EDZARD, in: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Bd. I. Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient. Stuttgart 1965. 123 s.v. *Schöpfung* 5.

the chaos, the statues of which he saw in the temple of Belus. Her name was *῾Ομόρκα*, which is «in the Chaldean language» *Θαλάτθ*, and its Greek translation is «sea» (*θάλασσα*), and its numerical value is equal to that of Selene. The name occurs also in several variants in the manuscript tradition,³⁸ but taking also the numerical value of the letters into consideration³⁹ only the form *῾Ομόρκα* can be regarded as correct. At the same time it seems to be doubtless that the word *Θαλάτθ* said to be a «Chaldean» (= Akkadian) word is a corruption of the text under the influence of the Greek translation following it, and in its place we must expect the Greek equivalent of the Akkadian *ti'āmat*.⁴⁰ The word *Ταύθη* occurring at Damascius more or less fulfils those phonetic rules, which are known to us from the Akkadian—Greek transliteration from this period.⁴¹

The interpretation of the name Omorka is furnished by a phrase in the *Enūma eliš*.⁴² Here, on Tablet II, the gods, upon the encouragement of Anšar, prepare to fight against the powers of the chaos, and especially against Ti'āmat. None of the gods ventures to undertake the fight. Now Ea draws his son Marduk aside and instructs him what he must do (II 100 ff.):

<i>mut-ti-iš an-šár</i>	<i>qit-ru-bi-iš ti-ḫi-e-ma</i>
<i>[e]-pu-uš pi-ka i-zu-za</i>	<i>e-ma-ru-uk-ka ni-i-ḫu</i>

The interpretation of the two lines is not easy. We find very differing solutions in the current translations and commentaries.⁴³ I would translate them as follows:

Before Anšar — go near him,
open your mouth;⁴⁴ (she) fumed — curb the flood.

The crux of the passage, and its most important element, is the word *e-ma-ru-uk-ka*. The previous translations brought it into connection with the verb *amāru* «to look», «to see»,⁴⁵ from which more or less the following translation resulted: «if he beholds you», namely Anšar beholds Marduk, then «he will

³⁸ JACOBY: 371 app. crit.

³⁹ These are: 70, 40, 70, 100, 20, 1; and 200, 5, 30, 8, 50, 8; both groups added up make 301. In the cryptographic cuneiform texts the writing of the names in numbers is very frequent, see the literature quoted in note 17 above.

⁴⁰ See W. ROBERTSON SMITH: ZA 6 (1891) 339; JACOBY: 372 app. crit.

⁴¹ Cf. A. UNGNAD: OLZ 26 (1923) 424–426; MAOG 4 (1928–29) 220–225, as well as the more recent literature quoted in note 7.

⁴² The new edition of the cuneiform text: W. G. LAMBERT: *Enūma eliš*. The Babylonian Epic of Creation. The Cuneiform Text. Oxford 1966; 1967².

⁴³ Cf., besides the translations in circulation, A. L. OPPENHEIM: Or 16 (1947) 221: «and state your conditions! Take your stand before him (without fear) he will be peaceful when he sees you»; CAD A II 7 s.v. *amāru*: «having been angry(?) at your word(s), they will be appeased at seeing you».

⁴⁴ Literally! The phrase is otherwise frequently an idiom, see A. L. OPPENHEIM: Idiomatic Accadian. JAOS 61 (1941) 251–271, esp. 261.

⁴⁵ Cf. W. v. SODEN: AHw 40 ff.; CAD A II 5 ff.

calm down», «he will regain his composure».⁴⁶ It was recognized by W. v. Soden⁴⁷ that the meaning of the word is not this but it derives from Sumerian. On the basis of this the word *emarukku* (a hapax legomenon) occurring in this passage of the *Enūma eliš* should be explained from the Sumerian word a - m a - r u or a - m á - u r u₃. The meaning of the Sumerian word is «flood», «deluge».⁴⁸ In our opinion the Akkadian word can directly be derived from the Sumerian form a - m a - r u - k a m < *a - m a - r u - (a) k - à m; the initial e - can be found already in Sumerian.⁴⁹ The «flood», mentioned here by the *Enūma eliš*, is the water of the primeval chaos, Ti'āmat. Thus Ea encourages Marduk to take up the fight with Ti'āmat.⁵⁰

All this means that Berossos denominates the principle of the sea of the primeval chaos, the female Ti'āmat with such a word, which is used also commonly, but in this peculiar sense occurs only in the *Enūma eliš*. The Sumerian word in the literary texts is the name of the «deluge». The investigators counted already before with the possibility that Berossos wrote the theomachy on the basis of the *Enūma eliš*.⁵¹ Now — on the basis of the aboves — I feel that this is doubtless.

Otherwise, the surprisingly long after-life of the Babylonian myth of theomachy is shown by Damascius, viz.: his famous § 125 of the *Περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν*⁵² mentions nearly all the more important mythological names occurring in the *Enūma eliš*.

IV

In the case of the other mythological sujet of the «Babyloniaca» mentioned above we can also attempt the nearer definition of the sources of Berossos. In the deluge-story again a proper name can be our guide.

The exempted king, who is rescued from the general destruction, at Berossos bears the name Xisuthros (Ξίσουθρος).⁵³ It is a fact proved long ago

⁴⁶ From the verb *nāhu*, see W. v. SODEN: AHw 716 D l d α.

⁴⁷ Cf. W. v. SODEN: AHw 42; 211; 716.

⁴⁸ To the literary occurrences of the word see J. J. A. VAN DIJK: SGL II 40 ff.; W. H. PH. RÖMER: SKIZ 105; see besides this the Sumerian Kings List and the Sumerian epic of deluge, with which I shall deal below.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. SOLLBERGER: The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur. Locust Valley, N. Y. 1966. 99 No. 49.

⁵⁰ Thus we can drop the assumption of A. L. OPPENHEIM, according to which Marduk with his deed not mentioned in the epic offended Anšar, and therefore he has to appease him (cf. Or 16, 221). It is hardly imaginable that the epic would keep silent about such an important event. — The pair of verbs *ezēzu* — *nāhu* appears in a similar connection for example with E. EBELING: Die akkadische Gebetsserie «Handerhebung». Berlin 1953. 46; 89.

⁵¹ See A. HEIDEL: The Babylonian Genesis. The Story of the Creation. Chicago 1954.² 75 ff.

⁵² C. A. RUELLE, ed. Paris 1889. — For the moment it is unclarified, from where Damascius took his information.

⁵³ JACOBY: 377: 5, etc.; at Abydenus the name is Seisithros (see JACOBY: 401: 11).

that the Mesopotamian deluge-story was well known to Berossos.⁵⁴ The myth has several epic elaborations. The hero bears in each a name indicating his character, viz.: *z i - u₄ - s u d - r á* = «life for long day(s)»; *atram-ḥasis* = «of streaming wisdom»; *ūta-na'ištim* = «he found life»; *ūm-napišti(-rūqu)* = «the day of life ([is] distant)». This circumstance suggests the idea that the name of the hero is not traditional, as e.g. that of Gilgameš or Enkidu, but occasional, i.e. it came into existence on the occasion of the myth of deluge. It was invented by epic poets, this is why it could more or less be altered from epic to epic. Well, it has been known for a long time that the name of Xisuthros derives from the Sumerian name *Zi'usudra*.⁵⁵ However, it has not been attempted so far to find an answer to the question, from where Berossos took the name? The name of *Zi'usudra*, beside the text of the Sumerian epic of deluge,⁵⁶ which is its most characteristic place of occurrence, sporadically appears also elsewhere in the cuneiform records,⁵⁷ but these data, with the exception of one, have no significance from the viewpoint of Berossos. Only two compositions can be taken into consideration as the sources of Berossos: the Sumerian epic of deluge and the Sumerian King List. As regards the King List,⁵⁸ the competent and «official» version of the text, generally spread in the first half of the 2nd millennium B. C., does not mention the name of *Zi'usudra*. *Zi'usudra*, as the last king of the antediluvian age, appears only in one peculiar version of the list,⁵⁹ and also here only the name is mentioned, without any epic feature. The name of Xisuthros occurs with Berossos for the first time in the list of the antediluvian kings. On the basis of this we could also think that Berossos took the name from a list of kings. However, the Xisuthros of Berossos is not merely a king, but also an epic hero. Although the King List refers to the deluge, it does not describe or even mention the myth. On the other hand, the elaborations of the myth in Akkadian do not call the hero *Zi'usudra*. If Berossos would have taken the list of the antediluvian kings, including the name of *Zi'usudra*, from one of the Sumerian lists of kings, and the myth of deluge from an Akkadian epic in circulation, and only from that, then he would not have used the same name in both places. The name Xisuthros comes from elsewhere,

⁵⁴ These are now discussed in a summarized form by G. PETTINATO: *La tradizione del diluvio universale nella letteratura cuneiforme*. *Bibbia e Oriente* 11 (1969) 159–173.

⁵⁵ On the name see A. POEBEL: *Historical Texts* (PBS 4, I, Philadelphia 1914) 48–50; TH. JACOBSEN: *The Sumerian King List*. Chicago 1939. 103 note 189.

⁵⁶ Published by A. POEBEL: *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (PBS 5, Philadelphia 1914) 1; elaborated by *idem*: *Historical Texts* 7–70; its more recent translation by S. N. KRAMER, in: *ANET* 42 ff.; its completely new elaboration by M. CIVIL: *The Sumerian Flood Story*. In: W. G. LAMBERT—A. R. MILLARD: *Atra-ḥasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*. Oxford 1969. 138–145; 167–172.

⁵⁷ The data are collected by A. POEBEL, see in note 55 above.

⁵⁸ Elaborated by TH. JACOBSEN: *The Sumerian King List*. Chicago 1939.

⁵⁹ WB 62, edited by S. LANGDON: *The Wedl-Blundell Collection*, II. *Historical Inscriptions* (OECT 2, Oxford 1923) tablet VI; elaborated by *idem*: *The Chaldean Kings Before the Flood*. *JRAS* 1923, 251–259.

eventually from an epical myth of Zi'usudra. If we look at the two Sumerian texts, the King List and the myth, exactly in the elaborations of the theme of deluge, are not as distant from each other, as we could think at first sight. The Sumerian Epic of Zi'usudra begins with the enumeration of the antediluvian cities. At the same time the first paragraph of the Sumerian King List, the list of the antediluvian cities and kings, with which we shall deal also later, is proved to have come from a mythological source.⁶⁰ Thus it can be presumed that there was such a Sumerian composition, which in an epical way told both the myths of the antediluvian age and of the deluge, and the Sumerian King List, on the one hand, and the Epic of Zi'usudra, on the other, equally took their material from this composition. At any rate, the Epic of Zi'usudra, with regard to its contents, its genre and its structure is nearer to this inferable primary elaboration of the myths of deluge than the «official» Sumerian King List. In all probability, Berossos used one of the versions of the Sumerian King List. This has long been obvious from the names and dates used by him. But we must presume that besides this he also had another source, an epic of deluge, which stood near to the Epic of Zi'usudra known by us.

This recognition has a double meaning. On the one hand, for Berossos it confirms the authenticity of the author as the interpreter of the Mesopotamian traditions. On the other hand, for Assyriology it can prove that the Sumerian literary compositions of the first third of the 2nd millennium B. C. were accessible, and — to a certain extent — even known also in the latest periods of the history of the records written in cuneiform. In the living existence of Mesopotamian literature, the Sumerian epic of deluge was digested by the Akkadian elaborations — just like the sown seed by the sprouting plant —: as from the 1st millennium B. C. it has no direct trace. In my opinion, however, Berossos can prove that it was preserved by the archives even at this time.

Nearly all the copies of the Sumerian King List preserved to us were written in the first half of the 2nd millennium B. C. However, we also know about a copy from the library of Aššur-ban-apli.⁶¹ In the chronological order this is followed by the catalogue of Berossos. The latest known evidence for the knowledge of the Sumerian King List in late antiquity is the list, found in 1959—60 in Warka.⁶² The tablet is dated from 165—4 B. C.⁶³ It is the list of the

⁶⁰ See H. ZIMMERN: Die altbabylonischen vor- (und nach-) sintflutlichen Könige nach neuen Quellen. ZDMG 78 NF 3 (1924) 19—35; TH. JACOBSEN: The Sumerian King List. Chicago 1939. 55—77; F. R. KRAUS: Zur Liste der älteren Könige von Babylonien. ZA 50 NF 16 (1952) 29—60; J. J. FINKELSTEIN: The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet. JCS 17 (1963) 39—51; W. W. HALLO: Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension. JCS 17 (1963) 52—57; Antediluvian Cities. JCS 23 (1971) 57—67.

⁶¹ TH. JACOBSEN: The Sumerian King List. Chicago 1939. 11 (K).

⁶² Published by J. VAN DIJK, in: H. LENZEN: 18. vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Berlin 1962. 44—52. In the following: UVB 18.

⁶³ Cf. m u-147-k a m ^{an-ti-i-ku-su} l u g a l, as to the conversion of the date see R. A. PARKER · W. H. DUBBERSTEIN: Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. — A. D. 75. Providence, Rh. I. 1956.

antediluvian kings and the «seven sages» connected with them. The text is of unequalled significance in every respect. The names of the «seven sages»⁶⁴ (a b g a l = *apkallu*)⁶⁵ can be collated with the names of those «hemidaimons», which — presumably after Berossos — are mentioned by Abydenus.⁶⁶ Up to now the names of these «hemidaimons» could not been shown from the cuneiform sources. The names of kings of the Warka list accurately follows the forms of names of the Sumerian King List. This means that its compiler in the 2nd century B. C. (!) was able to come at a copy of the Sumerian King List. The «seven sages» bear all pure Sumerian names. This list cannot be invented, even on the basis of the fact that some of its names occur also in the earlier sources. This list of names was also taken by the compiler of the Warka list from earlier sources. I do not see any obstacle to our presuming the same thing also about Berossos, not only in connection with the Sumerian King List, but also in connection with other texts, e.g. with the Sumerian epic of deluge or with list of the a b g a l - s.

Berosos mentions three cities from the antediluvian period. These are «Babylon»,⁶⁷ «Pautibibla»⁶⁸ and «Larancha».⁶⁹ As it is known, all the three names can be identified, viz. with the names of Babylon, Bad-tibira and Larak.⁷⁰ The Sumerian King List and the Epic of Zi'usudra mention not three but five antediluvian cities. These are as follows: Eridu, Bad-tibira, Larak, Sippar and Šuruppak. It is obvious that Berossos followed this list. It is true that with him instead of Eridu we find Babylon, but this could be a modification of the tradition of local character. Bad-tibira and Larak were so insignificant in the 1st millennium B. C. that their names can originate only from the ancient tradition, and not from contemporary mythology. If Berossos mentions these two names, then this is a sure evidence to the effect that he wants to adhere to Sumerian traditions. Many of the investigators believe⁷¹ that Berossos disregarded the last two names of the list. In all probability this is not the case. Sippar occurs also at Berossos, and as we shall see soon, in no insignificant role. It is true that Šuruppak formally is really missing, but this can easily be explained.

⁶⁴ To these see H. ZIMMERN: Die sieben Weisen Babyloniens. ZA 35 (1923) 151--154; for an exhaustive enumeration of the further (rich) literature see J. J. A. VAN DIJK: La sagesse suméro-accadienne. Leiden 1953. 20 note 56; see also E. REINER: The Etiological Myth of the «Seven Sages». Or 30 (1961) 1—11; W. W. HALLO: On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature. JAOS 83 (1963) 167—176, esp. 175 ff.; D. O. EDZARD, in: Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I. Stuttgart 1965. 38.

⁶⁵ To the word itself see M. V. SODEN: AHw 58; cf. CAD A II 171 ff.

⁶⁶ JACOBY: 400: 11 ff.; for the analysis of the names see J. VAN DIJK, in: UVB 18, 47 ff.

⁶⁷ JACOBY: 374: 26.

⁶⁸ JACOBY: 375: 21; cf. 400: 10 (Abydenus).

⁶⁹ JACOBY: 377: 2.

⁷⁰ On the names see for the last time TH. JACOBSEN: The Sumerian King List. Chicago 1939. 71 ff., note 17; 74, note 24. — To the location of Bad-tibira cf. V. CRAWFORD: The Location of Bad-tibira. Iraq 22 (1960) 197—199.

⁷¹ For the last time for example W. W. HALLO: JCS 23 (1971) 63.

In fact, in the literary tradition Šuruppak is sometimes a city name and sometimes a personal name (father of Zi'usudra,⁷² thus also in the already mentioned version of the Sumerian King List⁷³), and Berossos was obviously confused by the indetermination. With other words, if we disregard the actualizing modifications, we must find that Berossos faithfully follows the Sumerian mythological tradition on the antediluvian period also in respect of the city names.

The name of Sippar gives us a good opportunity to take into account the Mesopotamian sources of Berossos also in connection with another passage. Berossos describes that Xisuthros, before going on board of the ship made by himself to escape this way from the deluge, upon the order of «Kronos» in Sippar, city of «Helios» he buried certain writings, which contained «the beginning, middle and end of everything».⁷⁴ Then, when the deluge came to an end, he dug out the writings and gave them to the people.⁷⁵ Helios, the sun-god, corresponds to the Akkadian Šamaš. Sippar is really the city of Šamaš. The remark on the contents of the books simply means «everything». Its nearly complete Akkadian parallel can be found in the colophon of a literary text from the 1st millennium B. C. recently published by W. G. Lambert.⁷⁶ The text of Berossos should be understood so that the deluge avoided Sippar. This could be in the age of Berossos an at least half a millennium old tradition. The text of the Akkadian Epic of Erra mentions:⁷⁷ *šá uru^usi-par āl ga-a-ti šá bēl mātāti ina a-qar pa-ni-šu a-bu-bu la uš-bi-'u-šú*, «As (regards) Sippar, the ancient city: the Lord of the lands (= Bēl) did not let the deluge to go across the surface of its land».⁷⁸ The scripture from before the flood is a commonplace in the Akkadian literature of the 1st millennium B. C. Aššur-ban-apli, as he himself writes it, «studied the stone inscriptions from before the flood, which are enigmatic, obscure, confused».⁷⁹ As it is written in the prologue of the Akkadian epic from the Neo-Assyrian age, Gilgameš «brought news from

⁷² As in the text entitled «Instructions of Šuruppak», which through a recent find has been known from the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., see R. D. BIGGS: JCS 20 (1966); 78; M. CIVIL—R. D. BIGGS: RA 60 (1966) 1 ff.; W. G. LAMBERT: BWL 92 ff.

⁷³ See note 59.

⁷⁴ JACOBY: 378: 27 ff.

⁷⁵ JACOBY: 380: 29 ff.

⁷⁶ W. G. LAMBERT: Literary Style in First Millennium Mesopotamia. JAOS 88 (1968) 123—132, see 132 obv. 12 ff., rev. 11 ff.

⁷⁷ According to the latest attempt for dating, viz. the opinion of W. v. SODEN, it was written about 765—763 B. C., see Ugarit-Forschungen 3 (1971) 255 ff.

⁷⁸ IV 50; see F. GÖSSMANN: Das Erra-Epos. Würzburg 1956; L. CAGNI: L'epopea di Erra. Roma 1969; Das Erra-Epos, Keilschrifttext. Rome 1970.

⁷⁹ M. STRECK: Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige. Leipzig 1916. 256: 18—19, previous to this he mentions the Sumerian and Akkadian (= from Agade) texts; cf. TH. BAUER: Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Leipzig 1933. II. 84 ff. note 3; W. v. SODEN: AHw 98 s. v. *batālu* (cf. CAD B 41); 435 s. v. *kanāku* (cf. CAD K 137); 651 s. v. *mihištu*; as to this, and to the further data, see also W. G. LAMBERT: JCS 16 (1962), 72, ad VI 15.

before the flood».⁸⁰ The colophon of a medical text gives this as its source: «... according to the mouth of the ancient sages (*apkallēmeš e*), who (lived) before the flood».⁸¹ In a literary inscription the king of Sippar, who calls himself the successor of Enmeduranki, mentions his predecessor with the following attribute: «seed preserved from before the flood».⁸² Enmeduranki is in the Sumerian King List also the antediluvian king of Sippar (*e n - m e - e n - d ú r - a n - n a*, I 26). But he also appears at Berosos (*Ἐνεδωράγγος*, Jacoby 376: 8) and in the Warka list (*e n - m e - d u r - a n - k i*, I 7). Finally let us mention an incantation, the title of which is as follows: «Incantation of Alulu, of the antediluvian king».⁸³ Alulu also appears in each of the above mentioned lists. But we can mention cuneiform sources also for the last motif of the passage of Berosos under discussion, to the digging out of the antediluvian written works. About the middle of the 1st millennium B. C., and especially in the last century of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and then in the Neo-Babylonian Empire people turned with growing interest towards the monuments of the past.⁸⁴ They paid attention not only to the texts at hand, preserved in libraries, but sometimes also carried on excavations in order to find certain old inscriptions. For example the excavation report of Nabû-na'id is impressive even today.⁸⁵ The long known text material was recently completed by W. G. Lambert with a more poetic description than those known so far.⁸⁶ In the given relationship it deserves our attention that the finds of Nabû-na'id came to light in Sippar. It is not impossible that old texts were found in Sippar also later on, in the second half of the 1st millennium B. C.⁸⁷ In fact, the city continued to be an important cultural centre of Mesopotamia up to the latest times.⁸⁸ The finds of texts, whether they were accidental, or the reward of exploratory endeavour, definitely added considerably to the fact that Sippar, the «ancient city» (*u r u - u l - l a = āl šāti*,⁸⁹ in the interpretation

⁸⁰ I, I 6.

⁸¹ To the frequently quoted colophon see for the last time H. HUNGER: *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968. 142 No. 533.

⁸² W. G. LAMBERT: Enmeduranki and Related Matters. JCS 21 (1967) 126-138, esp. 128: 8.

⁸³ Quoted by W. G. LAMBERT - A. R. MILLARD: *Atra-ḫasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*. Oxford 1969. 27 (e).

⁸⁴ About this in a summarized form see G. GOOSSENS: *Les recherches historiques à l'époque néo-babylonienne*. RA 42 (1948) 149-159.

⁸⁵ See ST. LANGDON: NBK p. 224 ff. (to the further literature see for the time being R. BORGER: HKL 284), and p. 254 ff. (and R. BORGER: *loc. cit.*).

⁸⁶ W. G. LAMBERT: A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus. AfO 22 (1968-69) 1-9. - On the value of the chronological calculations of Nabû-na'id see F. SCHMIDTKE: *Die Fehldatierung Naramsins durch Nabonid*. WdO 1, II (1947) 51-56.

⁸⁷ To the modern Sippar finds of texts see for example V. SCHEIL: *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*. Le Caire 1902.

⁸⁸ But see now J. OELSNER: *War Nippur Sitz einer spätbabylonischen Astronomenschule?* WZJ 20 (1971) 141-149, by whom the classical data understood on Sippar (e.g. Pliny, H. N. VI 123) are disputed to the favour of Nippur.

⁸⁹ See CAD § 116 ff., esp. 118 b, 2'.

of W. W. Hallo⁹⁰ straight «eternal city», cf. with the concept of the *urbs aeterna*), became one of the crystallization points of the legends on the past. Thus the legend of Sippar occurring at Berossos can be brought in connection with the many centuries old Mesopotamian traditions. Obviously, in the development of the legend the discovery of the old writings is the starting point. But exactly in Mesopotamia the motive of the hiding is not a mere invention either. The royal building inscriptions, which were buried at the laying of the foundations,⁹¹ were addressed to the posterity finding the tablet later on, frequently from a «diluvial» distance.

It is not necessary to touch also the other motives of the story of deluge at Berossos. These have been handled with proper attention also hitherto, and their close relationship to the cuneiform sources was pointed out everywhere. I should like to deal in brief only with one detail. Berossos writes that part of the ship of the deluge «has been preserved in the Kurdish mountains of Armenia, and there are people who carry away the tar taken off from the ship to use it for the averting of diseases».⁹² On the problem, which I wanted to touch, in fact I have already told my opinion in the translation, *viz.* that in my opinion the phrase ἐν τοῖς Κορδυάλοις ὄρεσι refers to the mountainous region of Kurdistan, to the territory mentioned by other classical writers under the name *Κορδυή* or *Κορδορνή*,⁹³ and which — partly — coincides with the region of the NE oil fields of present-day Iraq. The tar layers on the surface of the area were also known to the classical writers (*e.g.* Strabo XVI 1, 24). The country of Madga, from whose «mountains» tar was transported to Southern Mesopotamia since the 3rd millennium B. C., has to be placed here.⁹⁴ Naturally, the aetiology of Berossos recognizably shows the influence of the Akkadian epics of deluge, perhaps most probably of Tablet XI of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš. The mountain, on which the bark is stranded here, the mountain of Nišir, is also in the north, even if not exactly in the area of Urartu (the memory of which has been preserved by 'Arārāt ~ Ararat of the Old Testament), but at any rate near to it. The Akkadian epic also mentions the tar used to the building of the bark (XI 65). As far as I know, Berossos is the first to relate about the remainders of the bark of the deluge.

⁹⁰ W. W. HALLO: JCS 23 (1971) 65 ff.

⁹¹ About the custom see R. S. ELLIS: *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*. New Haven — London 1968. 94 ff.; and 169 ff., here we can also find the enumeration of the material from the 3rd millennium B.C. up to the Persian age.

⁹² JACOBY: 381: 21 ff.; ep. 402: 9 ff. (Abydenus).

⁹³ Cf. BAUMGARTNER: P^W 7 (1912) 1594 foll. Otherwise to the ancient oriental sources regarding Kurdistan see, among others, G. R. DRIVER: *The Dispersion of Kurds in Ancient Times*. JRAS 1920, 563 — 572; E. A. SPEISER: *Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today*. AASOR 8 (1928) 1 — 41; C. J. EDMONDS: *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*. London 1957.

⁹⁴ To this see A. FALKENSTEIN: IGL 51; H. SAUREN: *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale*, Napoli 31 (1971) 165 — 182.

V

Up to the present time the cuneiform material, which could be placed beside the words of Berossos dealing with «prehistoric» age, was very meagre. However, at present the Sumerian texts throw light upon the Mesopotamian sources of Berossos from an unexpected side.⁹⁵

«In Babylon», says Berossos immediately when from the geographic description he pass over to the story, «there was an immense mass of people, and these lived in disorder, like the animals».⁹⁶ Or, according to the even more characteristic wording of the Armenian translation of Eusebius: «... they lived without constraints, like the senseless animals and wild sheep».⁹⁷ In this wording, even if it is not spoken out, «Babylon» is still the only city of the ancient times, *the* city. According to the description of Berossos, men learn city-planning only later on. This idea is a commonplace in Sumerian mythological poetry. In various cosmogonic myths Nippur, Uruk, Isin, Kiš, Eridu and many other cities appear as the only city of early times.⁹⁸

The reference of Berossos to the beastlike way of living of the first men⁹⁹ also harmonizes with a characteristic idea of Sumerian mythology. According to the Sumerian mythological texts at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C., man, before he came to know the grain, lived like the sheep. I quote the most characteristic passage.¹⁰⁰

u k ù - e u d u - [g i m] ú k a - b a m u - n i - [i b - k ú]
«The people, like the sheep, ate the grass with their mouths.»¹⁰¹

The Sumerian mythographer does not yet regard them as real men. In the words «with their mouths» (k a - b a) he does not use the pronominal personal suffix belonging to the grammatical class of the «diving», but that belonging to the category of the «soulles», the «objects», thus he classifies them as animals.

n a m - l ú - u l ù - u₄ - r i - a - k e₄ - n e
n i n d a - k ú - ù - d è n u - m u - u n - z u - u š - à m
túg n ì - m u₄ - m u₄ - b i n u - m u - u n - z u - u š - à m

⁹⁵ The first investigator, who in connection with the interpretation of Berossos referred to old Sumerian texts, is C. J. GADD: *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*. London 1948. 10 ff.

⁹⁶ JACOBY: 369: 1 ff.: ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι, [...] ζῆν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, left column.

⁹⁸ About this in more detailed form see G. KOMORÓCZY: *AntTan* 18 (1971) 178, and note 9 (in Hung.).

⁹⁹ Cf. also LUCRETIVS: *De rerum natura* V 911; OVIDIUS: *Fasti* IV 395—402, etc.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. G. PETINATO: *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen*. Heidelberg 1971. 32 ff.

¹⁰¹ «How did the grain come to Sumer?» see S. N. KRAMER—I. BERNHARDT: *Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur I* (TMH NF III, Berlin 1961) 5: 1; cf. Å. W. SJÖBERG: *BiOr* 20 (1965) 45; W. HEIMPEL: *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur*. Rome. 1968. 223 No. 10.11.

u k ù g i š - g e - n a s u - b é m u - u n - g i n
 u d u - g i m k a - b a ú m u - n i - i b - k ú
 a - m ú - s a r - r a - k a i - i m - n a g - n a g a - n e

«The mankind of olden times
 did not yet know to eat bread,
 did not yet know putting on of garments,
 people went about with naked limbs,
 like the sheep, with their mouths they ate grass,
 drank water from ditches.»¹⁰²

In the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. a few Sumerian texts applied this idea of mythology also in contemporary relations. For example a royal hymn writes about the enemies of king Ur-Ninurta (from Isin, end of the 20th century B. C.) as follows:

u d u - g i m k a ú k ú ħ a - b a - u r ₄ - u r ₁
 g ú a n a g ħ a - b a - g á - g á

«Like the sheep, (An) should cause them to eat
 grass with (their) mouths,
 So should he cause them to drink water
 with (their) throaths.»¹⁰³

And a lamentation characterizes the awful state of the Country after the fall of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur as follows:

u k ù - s a g - g i ₆ - g e ú - ħ i - a u d u - g i m b i - i b - k ú - a
 «The black-headed people ate grasses, like the sheep»¹⁰⁴

As it is shown by the quotations, the Sumerian mythological texts compare the pre-civilization humanity to the sheep, and describe their way of living similar to that of the sheep. This idea, in this form, is unknown in the Akkadian mythology of the 2nd and 1st millennia B. C. Its strongly transformed version applied to one man can be found in the Epic of Gilgameš, in the description of Enkidu, who lived among the wild animals; the passage had

¹⁰² «Sheep and Grain», recently see G. PETTINATO: Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen. Heidelberg 1971. 86 ff.; cf. W. HEIMPEL: Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. Rome 1968. 223 ff. No. 10.12. Quoted: lines 20 to 25 of the composition. As to the translation of line 23 see A. FALKENSTEIN: WdO 1, II (1947) 45; C. WILCKE: Das Lugalbandaepos. Wiesbaden 1969. 160.

¹⁰³ A. FALKENSTEIN: ZA 49 NF 15 (1949) 106; 24; cf. *ibidem* 128; W. HEIMPEL: Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. Rome 1968. 224 No. 10.24.

¹⁰⁴ W. HEIMPEL: Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. Rome 1968. 224 No. 10.13. On the whole of the lament see S. N. KRAMER: Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur. Eretz-Israel 9 (W. F. Albright Volume, 1969) 89—93; S. N. KRAMER - I. BERNHARDT: Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur, II (TMH NF IV, Berlin 1967) 14 ff. ad No. 16.

in the Old Babylonian version only a few words,¹⁰⁵ but in the Neo-Assyrian version a somewhat longer form.¹⁰⁶ Here the most striking element of the description is the hairiness of Enkidu. This motif, alone, occurs on several occasions in the texts from the 1st millennium B. C., sometimes again with reference to the «prehistoric» times, for example in an incantation: *ap-kal-lu šá sig-ba-ra-a uš-šu-ru*, «the sage (*apkallu*), whose long hair is let out».¹⁰⁷ Another text calls the already mentioned Enmeduranki «the long-haired of Šamaš».¹⁰⁸ The long hair (*s í g - b a r - r a* = *sigbarû*)¹⁰⁹ could mean always long hairs on the body. Thus primitive man was «hairy» also according to the conceptions of the 1st millenium B. C. However, this is still far from the description of primitive man by Berosos. Thus the idea of the sheep-like way of living of primitive man could not be taken by Berosos from the mythology of the 1st millennium B. C. Therefore we have to presume that he knew such Sumerian texts, in which this idea occurs.

In the first part of his work, in the short description of the geography and natural conditions of the country, Berosos mentions an uliginal plant, some kind of root, which is edible, and which is of identical value with the barley (bread).¹¹⁰ He also gives the local name of the kind of root, *viz.: ὀνομά-ζεσθαι αὐτὰς γόγγαζ*. The name is *gong* also in the Armenian translation of Eusebius. The word, which has not been identified so far can be probably collated with the Akkadian plant name *kungu* or *gunqu*.¹¹¹

VI

In the whole material of the «Babyloniaca» — undoubtedly — the name¹¹² and myth¹¹³ of Oannes had the greatest influence¹¹⁴ on posterity.

¹⁰⁵ Pennsylvania tablet, I 18; II 52.

¹⁰⁶ I, II 36 ff.

¹⁰⁷ W. G. LAMBERT: JCS 21 (1967) 133 b *ad* line 25.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem* 132: 25.

¹⁰⁹ The more detailed analysis of the word *s í g - b a r - r a*, with further source-data, see Å. W. SJÖBERG: JCS 21 (1967) 278, No. 8. Cf. also W. W. HALLO: CRRA 17 (Ham-sur-Heure 1970) 125: 44 and p. 132. The Sumerian hymn on the temple of Enki in Eridu (E'engura) also give a similar description of Enki, see line 48. — Be it said only by the way that similar ideas can also be found in Jewish literature, see Genesis Rabba c. 14 *ad* Gen. 2:7 (A. WÜNSCHE: Der Midrasch Bereschit Rabba. Leipzig 1881. 66). Cf. Jud. 5:2.

¹¹⁰ JACOBY: 368: 12 ff.

¹¹¹ See W. v. SODEN: AHW 506 ff.; CAD K 539; cp. R. C. THOMPSON: A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany. London 1949. 12.

¹¹² In the manuscript tradition the name occurs in several variants; of these the form Oannes, Ὠάννης, if we do not take its Greek ending into consideration, perfectly satisfies the akkadian etymology of the name (about this see below).

¹¹³ JACOBY: 369: 7 ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. J. STURM: PWRE 17, II (1937) 1677—1679; of the earlier literature worthwhile to see even today the article by A. JEREMIAS, in: W. H. ROSCHER, ed., Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Vol. 3, Part I. Leipzig 1897—

Interest was enhanced by the fact that the myth of Oannes is in close affinity with well-known myths of the culture creating or inventing gods and heroes of classical mythology and folk-lore.¹¹⁵ Assyriology could solve the enigma of Oannes only slowly and gradually — but not completely so far.

The starting point was the outward appearance of Oannes, his peculiar half fish and half human body.¹¹⁶ This was brought into connection already by F. Lenormant with the fish cult of Eridu or with the figure of the god Ea.¹¹⁷ Mesopotamian mythology really keeps account of the fishman.¹¹⁸ A Babylonian catalogue, which describes the outward appearance of the deities, introduces him as follows: «His head: . . .¹¹⁹head; according to his hands: man; he wears a belt; from his head to his belt: man; from his belt on his body: fish; his name is *kulullu*; he belongs to the god Ea».¹²⁰

Several attempts have been made for the explanation of the name Oannes.¹²¹ The etymology has been given by the Warka list mentioned already several times.¹²² This list gives the names of the antediluvian kings and the sages (a b g a l) connected with them, side by side, linked to each other. Both lists of names tally with the two lists of names published by Berossos and — following Berossos — by Abydenus on the antediluvian kings and «hemidaimons» respectively. On the Warka list among the sages the first name is U'an (u₄ - d a n), and at Abydenus the first name among the sages is Oannes. This renders it doubtless that at Berossos the name Oannes derives from the

1902. 577—593. — Among the less known ancient data the *Katà Γαλιλαίων λόγος* of Emperor Julian, 176 AB, is worth mentioning. — Aelianus (De nat. anim. V 27), referring to Theophrastus, writes that the fish comes out from the river and grazes on the land; this, at least from a distance, reminds of the already mentioned Mesopotamian ideas. Of the new European literature we can mention for example the work of G. FLAUBERT entitled «Tentation de Saint Antoine», in which Oannes also appears (Part 5).

¹¹⁵ On the figures of the culture bringing gods or heroes see A. VAN DEURSEN: *Die Heilbringer*. Groningen 1931; A. KLEINGÜNTHER: *Πρώτος εὐετής*. (Philologus Suppl. 26, I, Leipzig 1933); H. TAGNAEUS: *Le héros civilisateur*. *Studia Ethnographica Uppsaliensia*, II, 1950; W. HIRSCHBERG: *Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*. Stuttgart 1965. 244 ff. (Kulturheros); 306 ff. (Mythische Vorzeitwesen).

¹¹⁶ Cf. E. UNGER: *Fischkentauro*. *RLA* 3, I (Berlin 1957) 70—71; and especially E. BUSCHOR: *Meerimänner*. München 1941.

¹¹⁷ F. LENORMANT: *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes*. Paris 1874. = *Magie und Weissagekunst der Chaldäer*. Jena 1878. 376 ff.

¹¹⁸ *kulullu*, on the word see W. v. SODEN: *AHW* 501 b *kulūlu* III; CAD K 526 ff.

¹¹⁹ *kissugu*, on the word of uncertain meaning see recently CAD K 429; A. SALONEN: *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien*. Helsinki 1970. 208. The possibility of interpreting the word as a kind of fish is precluded by this description.

¹²⁰ F. KÖCHER: *Der babylonische Göttertypentext*. *MIO* 1 (1953) 57—107, the quotation: 80: VI 5 ff. Cf. CAD K 526 foll.

¹²¹ According to the most popular view it derives from the akkadian word *ummānu* «master»; to other attempts see E. WEIDNER: *AfK* 2 (1924—25) 35; F. HOMMEL, in: *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur*. Festschrift M. F. v. OPPENHEIM. Berlin 1933. 41—44; B. HROZNÝ—F. HOMMEL: *ArchOr* 7 (1935) 1—5, etc.

¹²² J. VAN DIJK, in: *UVB* 18, 44 ff.; in the following — in this paragraph — essentially I follow him.

Sumerian name U'an.¹²³ The Sumerian name is the shorter form of u_4 -(d)a n - a - d a - p à ; this latter is a name indicative of character, viz.: «Light shining together in the sky (or: with the god An)». On the basis of the Warka list it has become clear that the name of U'anadapa is mentioned also by other texts. According to the propagandistic poem written against Nabû-na'id¹²⁴ the king wanted to build a temple to such a god, whose *ul i-di zi-kir-šû u₄-ma-danum-a-da-pà*, «name is not known to U.»¹²⁵ We have to do here with the god Šin of Harrân. (In the text the name U. appears in an Akkadized form.) In 201 B. C. Anu-uballit, alderman of Uruk, by his Greek name Kephalon, in his building inscription attributes the construction of the main temple of Uruk, the Bît-Rēš to U'anadapa.¹²⁶ Two catalogues of authors from the Hellenistic age, published by W. G. Lambert,¹²⁷ also mention the name. In one of these we read that certain literary works «were dictated» by *ma₄-an-na-a-da-pà*,¹²⁸ and in the other we find that he is the author of various «antediluvian» collections of incantations.¹²⁹ The name U'anadapa is known in two shorter forms. One of these is U'an, which appears in the colophon of an Uruk tablet from the Hellenistic age:¹³⁰ «... what u_4 -d a n wrote». The other shorter form of the name is Adapa, name of the well-known Akkadian mythological hero. Thus the Adapa myth originates from the same mythological concepts, as the Oannes myth of Berossos. This makes it clear, why Adapa appears among the seven prehistoric sages, and even at their head.¹³¹ An important bilingual text, restored by E. Reiner,¹³² writes about the seven «shining» (*z a l á g - g a = nam-ru-tu₄*) *apkalu*'s that they are «the fish(es) of the sea» ([*s u ḥ u*] r - k u₆ a - a b - b a = *pu-rad tam-ti*)¹³³ and «were grown up in the river» (*í d - d a m ú - m ú - d a = šá ina na-a-ri ib-ba-nu-ú*). This characterization also points towards the bodily figure of Oannes. The connection of the name Adapa to

¹²³ We cannot accept the assumption of J. VAN DIJK (l.c. 47), according to which the Greek form does not derive from Sumerian, but from Akkadian, viz. we know the Akkadianized transcription of the name (see below), and it is entirely different. It is not necessary to presume that in the name u_4 -dan the pronunciation u(d) preserved also at this time. Otherwise see also W. W. HALLO: JAOS 83 (1963) 175 ff.

¹²⁴ S. SMITH: Babylonian Historical Texts. London 1924. 27 ff., and tablets V – XI; the extensive literature dealing with the text see R. BORGER: HKL I 490.

¹²⁵ II 3; another interpretation is given by B. LANDSBERGER – Th. BAUER: ZA 37 NF 3 (1926) 90 note 4.

¹²⁶ Its latest elaboration A. FALKENSTEIN: Topographie von Uruk, I. Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit. Leipzig 1941. 6.

¹²⁷ W. G. LAMBERT: A Catalogue of Text and Authors. JCS 16 (1962) 59–77.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem* 64: K 2248, 6 ff.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem* 66: K 9717, etc., 15 ff.

¹³⁰ R. C. THOMPSON: A Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library. London 1927. 29 ff., tablet I; quoted by J. VAN DIJK, in: UVB 18, 49, and by W. G. LAMBERT: JCS 16 (1942) 74 [I know it only from these].

¹³¹ Cf. D. O. EDZARD, in: Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I. Stuttgart 1965. 39.

¹³² E. REINER: The Etiological Myth of the «Seven Sages». Or 30 (1961) 1–11.

¹³³ As to the fish species *purādu* see A. SALONEN: Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien. Helsinki 1970. 216 ff.; W. V. SODEN: AHW 880. — E. REINER: Or 30 (1961) 9 draws the attention to the fact that the Epic of Erra (I 162) identifies the seven *apkalu* with the *purādu* fish; see now L. CAGNI: L'epopea di Erra. Rome 1969. 197 ff.

this circle of ideas is also confirmed by a word list, in which the equivalent of the Sumerian phrase ù - t u - a - a b - b a «sea-born» is in Akkadian the word *a-da-pu*.¹³⁴ The central motif of the epic of Adapa, the celestial voyage of Adapa, is included in the meaning of the name U'anadapa. Thus the theory of F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl — set up on the basis of another train of thought —, that the Adapa of the Akkadian epic, the king of Eridu, is the historization of a myth,¹³⁵ has been verified. Therefore, summing up all this, the name and figure of Oannes is authentically Mesopotamian: it originates from the traditions on the *apkallu*'s and thus, in final conclusion, from the cult of Eridu, from the mythology of Enki-Ea.

C. J. Gadd pointed out already in 1948 that the myth of Oannes is not alien to certain Sumerian mythological poems.¹³⁶ Those texts, to which C. J. Gadd referred — thanks to the efforts of S. N. Kramer and A. Falkenstein —, have become accessible also for others in the meantime. The «Enki and the World Order»¹³⁷ is a large scale didactic poem on the arrangement of the world. It celebrates the god Enki as the lord of fertility. Enki, who created the animals (lines 12 ff.) and the cereals (26 ff.), travels — partly by ship (cf. 171—173) — through the Sumerian «oikumene», and then in the Country he installs the gods of the crafts in their offices one after the other, including Iškur, the «water commissioner» (k u - g á l) of the sky and the earth (307 ff.), the man of the plough, the yoke, the furrow, the ditch and the canal (316 ff.); the voluptuous mistress of the cereals, the pea, and the flax (324 ff.); the bricklaying man, with his implements, the hoe and the mould (333 ff.); the great master builder, who constructs the sanctuary (338 ff.); the deities of the field animals (347 ff.) and the stabling animal keeping (356 ff.); the judge «bringing in the verdicts of the gods» (375 ff.); the mistress of weaving (379 ff.); the divine midwife (394 ff.); the whore of the sky (401 ff.); the seamstress of the Country (404 ff.); the goddess of the measuring cane, the measuring line, and the boundary-stakes (410 ff.). I did not describe the deeds of Enki in detail for their own sake; the didactic poem is really the myth of origins of the Sumerian civilization. Enki is a culture creating god also in other myths. In the «Enki and Ninhursag»¹³⁸ he is the creator of canal-building and irriga-

¹³⁴ Igi-tuh I 107, quoted by CAD A I 102.

¹³⁵ F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL: Mythos und Geschichte in der altbabylonischen Dichtung. In: Opera minora. Groningen 1953. 217—233; cf. Die Mythe vom weisen Adapa. WdO 2, V—VI (1959) 416—431. — My agreement does not apply to the parts of the first study dealing with Gilgamesh.

¹³⁶ C. J. GADD: Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East. London 1948. 10 ff.; he is followed by D. O. EDZARD: Oannes. In: Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I. Stuttgart 1965. 117.

¹³⁷ S. N. KRAMER — I. BERNHARDT: Enki und die Weltordnung. Ein sumerischer Keilschrift-Text über die «Lehre von der Welt»... WZJ 9 (1959—60) 231—256; A. FALKENSTEIN: Sumerische religiöse Texte, 4. «Enki und die Weltordnung». ZA 56 NF 22 (1964) 44—113.

¹³⁸ S. N. KRAMER: Enki and Ninhursag. A Sumerian «Paradise» Myth. New Haven 1945.

tion; of horticulture and fruit production; of the fibre plants and the weaving pit; of the grasses and medical plants; the mistress of weaving is also his daughter. In the «Enki and Ninmah»¹³⁹ Enki is «wise», expert, «creator», «master of all crafts». In a so-called «competition» disputation (a - d a - m i n - d u₁₁ - g a, tenzone, Rangstreitdichtung), from which we have already quoted above, entitled «Sheep and Grain»,¹⁴⁰ Enki creates the sheep and the grain, with the help of which men can rise from their beastly life. In another one, entitled «Bird and Fish»¹⁴¹, Enki laid the foundations of the dwelling-places; from his hand flows the water of life, in which the productive seed strikes root; he digs canals, ditches and furrows; builds cities, villages and sheepfolds. A myth, the «Enki and Innin»,¹⁴² the frame of which is the divine-voyage,¹⁴³ gives the long list of the divine «powers» (m e)¹⁴⁴ of Enki. The enumeration¹⁴⁵ covers every field of Sumerian civilization, social organization and religiosity.

The similarity of the deeds of Enki and Oannes is not simply the affinity of the myths. The Sumerian myths of the origin of culture, like the aetiological myths in general, are tracings back, they start out from the existing things, and attribute the creation of these to the gods or heroes of olden times. The Sumerian myths lived in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. in several, essentially equivalent versions. Those achievements of civilization, for which the texts reviewed above praise Enki, according to other texts are the creations of Enlil, Nisaba or others.¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is not much if with Berosos we presume only the general knowledge of these myths. We must think about more than this, namely that he knew texts, especially texts connected with Enki.

¹³⁹ J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Hauniae* 28 (1964) 24 ff.; G. PETTINATO: *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen*. Heidelberg 1971. 86 ff.

¹⁴⁰ See for the last time G. PETTINATO: *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen*. Heidelberg 1971. 86 ff.

¹⁴¹ See S. N. KRAMER: *Sumerian Literary Tablets from Ur*. In: *CRRA* 11 (Leiden 1964) 93–101, esp. 97 ff. = *UET* 6, I 38–41.

¹⁴² See S. N. KRAMER: *Sumerian Mythology*. Philadelphia 1944. 64 ff.; A. FALKENSTEIN: *ZA* 56 NF 22 (1964) 45 ff.; S. N. KRAMER: *Enki and His Inferiority Complex*. *Or* 39 (1970) 103–110.

¹⁴³ On this see D. O. EDZARD: *Götterreisen*. In: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I. Stuttgart 1965. 75–77; H. SAUREN: *Besuchsfahrten der Götter in Sumer*. *Or* 38 (1969) 214–236; Å. SJÖBERG: *Götterreisen nach sumerischen Texten*. *RLA* 3, VI–VI (Berlin 1969) 480–483; D. REISMAN: *Ninurta's Journey to Eridu*. *JCS* 24 (1971) 3–8; similar to this is the journey of the divine weapons, see R. HARRIS: *The Journey of the Divine Weapon*. In: *Studies B. Landsberger*. Chicago 1965. 217–224.

¹⁴⁴ To the concept of the m e see R. LANDSBERGER: *Schwierige akkadische Wörter*, I. *AfK* 2 (1924–25) 64–68; G. R. CASTELLINO: *Il concetto sumerico di «me» nella sua accezione concreta*. In: *Analecta Biblica* 12 (Rome 1959) 25–32; K. OBERHUBER: *Der numinose Begriff ME im Sumerischen*. Innsbruck 1963; D. O. EDZARD: *Me*. In: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I. Stuttgart 195. 98–99; J. VAN DIJK, in: *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. by J. P. ASMUSSEN – J. LAESSØE, I. Göttingen 1971. 440 ff.

¹⁴⁵ See J. J. A. VAN DIJK: *La sagesse suméro-accadienne*. Leiden 1953. 19; S. N. KRAMER: *The Sumerians*. Chicago 1963. 116.

¹⁴⁶ About this in detail see G. KOMORÓCZY: *Zu den Anfängen der Mythographie im Alten Orient*. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 19 (1971) 179–199, esp. 180 ff.

Berosos says about Oannes that he also compiled a written work «on the origins and society» (*περὶ γενεᾶς καὶ πολιτείας*), and he gave the book to men.¹⁴⁷ The catalogue of authors from the Hellenistic age records the god Ea as the author of literary works.¹⁴⁸ Among the compositions attributed to him there are collections of omina, liturgic prescriptions and cosmogonic myths, partly also accessible for us.¹⁴⁹

The phrase of Berosos, with which he summarizingly characterizes the things invented by Oannes, namely that Oannes gave to men «everything that belongs to civilized life» (*πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν ἀνήκοντα βίου*),¹⁵⁰ harmonizes with the summarizing Sumerian word denoting civilization: this word is *n ì - d u₇*.¹⁵¹

The myth of Oannes has altogether two elements, which cannot be brought into connection with the mythology of Enki, viz. the invention of writing and «land-measuring».¹⁵² We know the Sumerian myth of the invention of writing, it can be read in the Epic of Enmerkar,¹⁵³ but here¹⁵⁴ Enmerkar, the ruler of Uruk, appears as inventor. About the passage of Berosos mentioning land-measuring, the distant Sumerian parallel of which is the above mentioned passage of the «Enki and the World Order» (lines 410 ff.), I have-already pointed out by another occasion¹⁵⁵ that it can be explained with the Mesopotamian legal practice in the 2nd and 1st millennia B. C. In the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C., when the final form of the mythology of Enki — in the above-mentioned poems — took shape, mathematical sciences were still such new fields of the intellectual life of Mesopotamia that the mythological explanation of their coming into existence was nearly unimaginable. Thus in these two cases we must count with later formations of myth.

The initial and concluding motifs of the myth of Oannes, viz. that Oannes «in the first year» emerged from the sea, and then again submerged into the sea,¹⁵⁶ on the basis of the cuneiform sources could not be reassuringly explained up to the present time. The latest attempt was the remark of D. O.

¹⁴⁷ JACOBY: 370: 9 ff.

¹⁴⁸ W. G. LAMBERT: JCS 16 (1962) 64: K 2248, 4; cf. *ibidem* 72 ff.

¹⁴⁹ See *ibidem* 68 ff.

¹⁵⁰ JACOBY: 369: 29 ff.

¹⁵¹ See for example Gudea, Cyl. A I 4; XVIII 25; B XVII 12, etc.; cf. A. FALKENSTEIN: GSGL II 123; W. H. PH. RÖMER, in: *lišān mithurti*. Festschrift W. v. SODEN. Kevelaer — Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969. 279.

¹⁵² JACOBY: 369: 23, and 27.

¹⁵³ S. N. KRAMER: Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta. Philadelphia 1952; R.-R. JESTIN: Le poème d'En-me-er-kar. RHR 151 (1957) 145 — 220; I. T. KANEVA: VDI 90 (1964, IV) 191 — 225.

¹⁵⁴ Lines 502 ff.; about this in detail see G. KOMORÓCZY: Periods of Epical Poetry in Mesopotamia, I. The Sumerian Heroic Epics. (In Hung.) Ethn. 84 (1973) 1 — 28.

¹⁵⁵ G. KOMORÓCZY: Ein assyrischer König in der arabischen Überlieferung. Altorientalische Forschungen 1 (Berlin 1974) 153 — 164.

¹⁵⁶ JACOBY: 369: 7 ff.; and 370: 3 ff.

Edzard with the conciseness of an encyclopedic note, *viz.*: «Die Tradition, die einen Ort am Meer als Ausgangsort der Zivilisation in Babylonien annimmt, ist uralt (→ Inanna und Enki). Ein dem Bericht des Berossos zugrunde liegender Mythos läßt sich jedoch bisher nicht sicher nachweisen . . . »¹⁵⁷ According to this would the myth of Oannes be the allegory of the (pre)historic role of Eridu? The explanation is not satisfactory. It is not justified to separate the culture of Eridu from the development of the whole of South Mesopotamia. The «Enki and Innin» also otherwise does not deal with the origins of civilization, but about the story that Innin steals the divine «powers» of Enki from Eridu and takes them to Uruk.¹⁵⁸

The sea mentioned by Berossos (*Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*) is the Persian Gulf, or perhaps some inner bays of this, the Sumerian *a b z u*, and Akkadian *apsû*.¹⁵⁹ And the «first year» of Berossos — in my opinion — is the olden time of Sumerian mythology, and not only in the identity of the idea (this is rather obvious), but also according to the way of expression. The Sumerian ideas about the olden time were analysed by a fundamental article of J. van Dijk.¹⁶⁰ This article collected also the places of occurrence of the Sumerian phrase *u₄ - r i - a*, «in illo die».¹⁶¹ The phrase appears in the cosmogonic introduction of the Sumerian mythological epics in a threefold formula composed according to the rules of the so-called altering repetition.¹⁶²

<i>u₄ - r i - a</i>	On that day . . .
<i>g i₆ - r i - a</i>	On that night . . .
<i>m u - r i - a</i>	In that year . . . ¹⁶³

The Sumerian epic entitled «Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Nether World»¹⁶⁴ also begins with this threefold formula. The plot proper of the epic is preceded by a long mythological introduction, *viz.* the story of the *h a l u b*-tree. And this story also has its own introduction, *viz.* a cosmogonic myth. I believe that this cosmogonic myth, if we interpret it in the proper way, gives an explanation for the motif of the emerging of Oannes from the sea. The first lines of the

¹⁵⁷ D. O. EDZARD: in: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I. Stuttgart 1965. 117.

¹⁵⁸ About this in detail see G. KOMORÓCZY: *Az epikus költészet korszakai Mezopotámiában*, II. A šumer mitológiai epika (Periods of Epical Poetry in Mesopotamia. II. The Sumerian Mythological Epics.). *Ethn.* 84 (1973) 274–278.

¹⁵⁹ On the word see W. V. SÖDEN: *AHW* 61; *CAD* A II 194 ff.

¹⁶⁰ J. VAN DIJK: *Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne*, I. *Acta Orient. Hauniæ* 28 (1964) 1–59.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem* 16 ff.; cf. also J. VAN DIJK: *Sumerische Religion*. In: *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. by J. P. ASMUSSEN—J. LAESSØE, I. Göttingen 1971. 431–495, esp. 452 ff.

¹⁶² About this in detail see G. KOMORÓCZY: *Theoretical Problems of Translation of Sumerian Poetry*. (In Hung.) *Fil. Közl.* 18 (1972) 237–266, and esp. part VI, *Theory of the Sumerian Verse*, 6.3; 7.2.

¹⁶³ Here I did not strive to give to the translations any aesthetical value.

¹⁶⁴ S. N. KRAMER: *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-Tree*. Chicago 1938; cf. J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Hauniæ* 28 (1964) 17 ff.

text describe the development of the world, the separation of the sky and the earth, and then the conquests of the gods of the cosmos:

At this time the sky	was seized by An,
the earth	was seized by Enlil,

and to Ereškigal the nether world was left as a present.¹⁶⁵

This is followed by the — as I would call it — myth of the «landing» of Enki:

b a - u ₅ - a - b a	b a - u ₅ - a - b a
a - a k u r - š è	b a - u ₅ - a - b a
de n - k i k u r - š è	b a - u ₅ - a - b a . . .

On his setting off,	on his setting off,
of the father towards the country	on his setting off,

On Enki's setting off towards the country . . .

The key of the interpretation of the paragraph is the word *k u r*. According to the opinion of S. N. Kramer the word *k u r*, in the mythological texts, is an infernal monster.¹⁶⁶ On the basis of the through criticism of Th. Jacobsen,¹⁶⁷ the «*k u r*-mythology» of S. N. Kramer is today already generally rejected. The problems of the passage were touched for the last time by A. Falkenstein.¹⁶⁸ He sees in it a short allusion on the voyage of Enki «gegen das Bergland (kaum gegen die Unterwelt)». I believe that this interpretation does not hit the mark either. Apart from the problem, how could Enki go to the mountainous region — by ship, this explanation cannot fit the paragraph into the framework of the introduction. The cosmogony in the beginning of the epic narrates the story of the evolution of the world from the separation of the sky and the earth to the appearance of the *h a l u b*-tree, the tree of Innin, on the bank of the Euphrates. On all this 25 lines are given, and even this is full of repetitions demanded by the poetical form. It can hardly be imagined that such an allusion could have been included in it, which has nothing to do with the subject of the introduction, or at least of the later parts. But, as a matter of fact, in the further parts of the epic the mountainous region does not appear at all. Thus the translation «Bergland» must very likely be dropped. The meanings of the word *k u r* were recently examined by E. I. Gordon, in another relation, but on the basis of a careful collection of material.¹⁶⁹ It is true that among the

¹⁶⁵ To the interpretation of the paragraph see TH. JACOBSEN: JNES 5 (1946) 138—143 = TH. JACOBSEN: *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass. 1970. 122 ff.

¹⁶⁶ S. N. KRAMER: *Sumerian Mythology*. Philadelphia 1944. 76 ff.

¹⁶⁷ TH. JACOBSEN: JNES 5 (1946) 128—152 = TH. JACOBSEN: *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass. 1970. 104—131, 353—365. here esp. 121 ff.

¹⁶⁸ A. FALKENSTEIN: RLA 3, V (Berlin 1968) 362 a.

¹⁶⁹ E. I. GORDON: The Meaning of the Ideogram «KASKAL.KUR = «Underground Water-course» and its Significance for Bronze Age Historical Geography. JCS 21 (1967) 70—88.

known meanings of the word in the literary contexts the meaning «country» is the most unfrequent, but still, we have data also on this meaning, and in my opinion the passage under discussion must also be interpreted on the basis of the meaning «country». In the introduction of the epic Enki embark ship.¹⁷⁰ The rostrum of his ship cuts through the water «like the wolf», its stern, «like the lion», strikes it the water down. Enki — although this is not told expressis verbis —, navigates on the waters of the Apsû. And where else could he travel than to Sumer? In the plot of the epic later on an important role is given to him. The «country» where his ship proceeds, cannot be either the nether world or a foreign country, this would be simply meaningless in the given context. The word *k u r* stands here obviously in place of the word *k a l a m*, usual otherwise in the literary texts, perhaps just because the meaning of the latter is too definitive.¹⁷¹ If we see the conceptual contents of the cosmogonic myth, summing up the points discussed up to now, the word *k u r* is near to the concept which we would denote with the word «world». Summing up what has been said hitherto, all this means that the mythological introduction of «Gilgames, Enkidu and the Nether World» comprises a myth, according to which Enki arrived in South Mesopotamia from sea, from the direction of the Apsû. In the given relationship there is no need for me to analyse this myth separately. It is enough if I state that such a Sumerian myth did exist. (Similarly, the Sumerian hymn on the temple E'engura of Enki in Eridu, lines 33—34, alludes to the myth that the god Enki arrived to Sumer by the Abzu). Thus, in the background of the emerging of Oannes from the sea stands the Sumerian myth of Enki's «landing» discussed now.

The closing motive of the Oannes myth, the submerging of Oannes into the sea, can also be shown from the cuneiform sources. The full, epical expounding is for the time being not in our hands, but one of the allusions of the Epic of Erra can relate to this: *um-ma-a-ni šu-nu-ti a-na apsi ú-še-rid-ma*, «I sent down these 'masters' to the Apsû» — Marduk says here.¹⁷² Again there is no need for me to try to clarify the somewhat obscure allusion completely. Now it is sufficient for us to see that Mesopotamian mythology knew about the submerging in the sea of the mythical beings belonging in the circle of Enki (Ea). More, and more accurate, data than this we can only expect from new texts.

In the last part of the paragraph on Oannes, Berosos (cf. Jacoby 369: 31 ff.) writes that since then, that is after the appearance of Oannes, hardly any-

¹⁷⁰ *u₃* = *rakābu*, as regards the word see W. v. SODEN: AHw 944; A. SALONEN: *Nautica Babylonica*. Helsinki 1942; A. SALONEN: Notes on the Stem r-k-b in Akkadian. *ArchOr* 17, II (1949) 313—322.

¹⁷¹ (On the synonymous meaning of the words *k u r* and *k a l a m* see also E. SOLLBERGER: *JCS* 21 [1967] 282, note 20.

¹⁷² I 147; cp. E. REINER: *Or* 30 (1961) 9; L. CAGNI: *L'epopea di Erra*. Rome 1969. 190 ff.

thing was invented by anybody. This statement has no literal antecedents in the cuneiform texts, still, in a peculiar way, it proves the adherence to the old traditions. In fact, in Sumerian mythology, as this is shown by the «Enki and the World Order» or the other texts mentioned above, with the culture creating act of the deity the world becomes definitive, that is it arrives at a state in which more «inventions» are already not needed, in which there is everything «required for a civilized life».

Finally, there is a question, touching the essence. Could Berossos know these texts? The classical Sumerian literature is practically unknown from the clay tablets of the 1st millennium B. C. Still we have a proof, which shows in a striking way that the old clay tablets were accessible to the scholars, scribes and poets of the 1st millennium B. C. Tablet XII of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh was annexed to the preceding eleven tablets probably in the Neo-Assyrian age. Well, the new text is a literal translation from Sumerian, the second half of the original text of the «Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World».¹⁷³ In order to be able to prepare the translation, the learned poet, of course, also had know the original text. Thus we can count with the possibility that the Sumerian text of the «Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World» was still accessible at the end of the 8th century B. C. But the myth of Enki's «landing», in which we could recognize one of the sources of the Oannes-myth of Berossos, can be read similarly in the same Sumerian epic, *viz.* in its first half.

VII

The above analyses have expounded in detail and — it seems — they have supported what could be concluded already from the prologue of Berossos. Berossos really used old Babylonian mythological sources for the concept of this «Babyloniaca».¹⁷⁴ Naturally, he took his informations not exclusively from these. He stands in the development of Mesopotamian mythological tradition, and if he writes something eventually in a different way from the old texts, it is in general no «error», «misinterpretation» or «distortion», but probably a new element of historical consciousness transformed from time to time. Still, a considerable part of the material of the book shows the influence of Sumerian

¹⁷³ About this in detail and with the outline of the background of cultural history, see G. KOMORÓCZY: Akkadian Epic Poetry and its Sumerian Sources. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 23 (1975) in the press.

¹⁷⁴ The part of Berossos in the transmitting of the Sumerian literature may be compared with that of Sanchuniathon and Philo Byblius in connection with Ugaritic and Old Canaanite mythology.

mythology, even in a few such points where the contact cannot be explained with the mediation of Akkadian texts or oral tradition. This shows that, on the one hand, Sumerian literature after the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. was not «lost», but — as the literary taste and the world concept have changed — it was pushed to the periphery, and that, on the other hand, the late period brought along with it the revival of the past, of the old mythology which, although unread, was still preserved.

Budapest.