

# ACTA ANTIQUA

## ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

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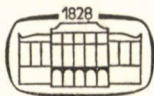
I. BORZSÁK, I. HAHN, J. HORVÁTH,  
ZS. RITOÓK, Á. SZABÓS. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS

REDIGIT

J. HARMATTA

TOMUS XXI

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AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

1973

ACTA ANT. HUNG.

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## A MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA KLASSZIKA-FILOLÓGIAI KÖZLEMÉNYEI

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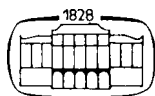
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G. KOMORÓCZY

## «THE SEPARATION OF SKY AND EARTH»\*

THE CYCLE OF KUMARBI  
AND THE MYTHS OF COSMOGONY IN MESOPOTAMIA

K. Marót, one of the admittedly great personalities of classical studies in Hungary, can be a stimulating example even today, among other things also by reason of the universality of his scientific interest. The problems of Greek epic poetry stood originally in the centre of his studies, but to the solution of these he collected elucidating sources also from seemingly very distant fields.<sup>1</sup> While investigating the threads connecting the Greek culture of the early centuries with the East, the fresh results of the research of the Ancient Orient did not escape his attention either.<sup>2</sup> Just therefore, his heritage lays obligations also on the investigators of the Ancient Orient. The memory of his activity will — of course — be preserved by us in a proper way, if we undertake those tasks, in the accomplishment of which he had been engaged; if we strive to continue what he had initiated.<sup>3</sup> And if eventually we step on other paths than those on which he had started off, or if we arrive at other results than those he had come to: this is also done in the spirit of his scientific activity.

The passages of cosmogonic concern in Hesiod's *Theogonia*<sup>4</sup> (lines 116 ff.), the myths of *κοσμογονία*,<sup>5</sup> *θεογονία* and *θεομαχία*, were examined by K. Marót

\* This paper, in its original form, was delivered at a symposium dedicated to the memory of Professor K. MARÓT. The occasion justifies it that with his studies of cosmogonic subject I deal in greater detail than the stricter theme of this paper in itself would require it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Á. R. SZALAY: Marót Károly irodalmi munkássága (The Literary Work of K. Marót). AntTan 2 (1955) 189–198; 11 (1964) 5–6.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of several earlier papers of his, now I only refer to two great works of his, see K. MARÓT: Die Anfänge der griechischen Literatur. Vorfragen. Budapest 1960; Az eposzeia helye a hősi epikában (The Place of the Epopeia in the Heroic Epic Poetry). Budapest 1964.

<sup>3</sup> J. HARMATTA's words in his lecture entitled «Kronos és a titánok» (Kronos and the Titans), the 6th June, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. WEST: Hesiod, Theogony. Oxford 1966.

<sup>5</sup> The word itself does not occur with Hesiod, but the concept, which in Greek thinking developed very likely only later, can of course be applied also to the corresponding passage of the *Theogonia*, see already H. FLACH: Das System der hesiodischen Kosmogonie. Leipzig 1874.

several times.<sup>6</sup> In his last works dedicated to this complex of themes — declining «the examination of the Pre-Hellenic form of matriarchy»<sup>7</sup> — he defined the essence of the myth of Hesiodic cosmogony as a certain «elementary idea»,<sup>8</sup> and thus he regarded the comparative investigations to the understanding of the *Theogonia* as practically unnecessary.

K. Marót was led to this idea, besides other considerations, by the — otherwise very noble — intention to protect the poetic individuality, the creative ability of the poet, in this case that of Hesiod. However, he was still mistaken in the measuring of the importance of the Near Eastern myths, to be placed beside Hesiod. In fact, the affinity of contents existing between the cosmogony of Hesiod and the relevant myths of the Ancient Western Asia can by no means be forced into the concept of «elementary ideas»,<sup>9</sup> which is today of too dubious value also otherwise, but it can definitely be explained with historical and cultural contacts.

The real problem, by which — in the field of cosmogony — the research in Hesiod<sup>10</sup> is occupied today, is by no means identical with that examined

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K. MARÓT: *Ἄγλας ὀλοόφρων*. PhW 46 (1926) 585–590; Kronos und die Titanen. SMSR 8 (1932) 48–82, 189–214; Die Antike und der Orient. Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny (Archivum Philologicum) 59 (1935) 184–191; Vallástörténet és ókortörténet (= Histoire des religions et histoire de l'antiquité). EPhK 60 (1936) 37–44 (Summary in French, pp. 42 ff.); Uranos et Gé. Un aspect du matriarchat préhellénique. In: Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologique et Ethnologique (Bruxelles 1948). Tervuren 1960. 153–154; History and Ethnology. FolEthn 1 (1949) 24–33; Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde. Acta Ant. Hung. 1 (1951) 35–66.

<sup>7</sup> To this objective see W. STAUDACHER: Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde. Ein vorgriechischer Schöpfungsmythos bei Hesiod und den Orphikern. Diss. Tübingen 1942. (Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig.)

<sup>8</sup> J. MARÓT: Acta Ant. Hung. 1 (1951) 57 («... Elementargedanke im Sinne Bastians...»).

<sup>9</sup> The theory of A. BASTIAN (1826–1905) expounded — among other things — in his work entitled *Ethnische Elementargedanken in der Lehre vom Menschen*. Berlin 1895, today can hardly require any thorough criticism. As to its valuation see H. BALDUS, in: *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D. L. SILLS, 2 (1968) 23–24.

<sup>10</sup> On the history and present problems of the research in Hesiod an excellent panorama is given by: Hesiod, ed. E. HEITSCH. (Wege der Forschung, 44.) Darmstadt 1966; *Hésiode et son influence. Six exposés et discussions*. (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 7.) Vandoeuvres-Genève 1962; to questions of detail cf. H. SCHWAB: *Hesiods Theogonie. Eine unitarische Analyse*. (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., Sb. 250, V.) Wien 1966; G. P. EDWARDS: *The Language of Hesiod in Its Traditional Context*. (Publications of the Philological Society, 22.) Oxford 1971; B. PEABODY: *The Winged Word. A Study in the Technique of Ancient Greek Oral Composition as Seen Principally in Hesiod's «Work and Days»*. 1971 [Not accessible for me.]. Those studies are instructive also for the investigators of Ancient Orient which have been published by A. HOEKSTRA on the poetical role of the traditional formulae of Hesiod and Greek epic poetry, for example: *Hésiode et la tradition orale. Contribution à l'étude du style formulaire*. *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957) 193–225; *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes*. (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afl. Letterkunde, NR 71, 1.) Amsterdam—London 1964, 1969<sup>2</sup>; *The Sub-Epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition*. (Verhandelingen... 75, 11.) Amsterdam—London 1969. — Also from the viewpoint of the theme discussed by us especially important are two studies in the collected volume entitled *Типология и взаимосвязи литератур древнего мира*. Moscow 1971, which introduced the methods of structuralist literary scholarship also in the Soviet science of literature, disclose important parallelisms between the *Theogonia* and the similar Near

by K. Marót. However, the chosen subject was approached by him also in this case with the wide knowledge of the facts usual with him.<sup>11</sup> Thus his studies can give stimulation in many directions even today, although, as a matter of fact, their formal aims and results must be regarded as outdated.

In reality it appears to be absurd to try to find in the myth of cosmogony — that in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. could look back upon a past of at least one or two millennia, and that during this time spread from Mesopotamia as far as Boiotia — such elements to which a primary social and historical source value could be attributed.

The cosmogonic myths<sup>12</sup> must be treated in final conclusion as colourful ideas of mythological thinking,<sup>13</sup> according to the essence of the matter as a

Eastern myths, in the field of the contents as well as in the functional field, see P. A. GRINTSER: Две эпохи литературных связей. 7—67, esp. 22 ff.; E. M. MELETINSKY: Мифы древнего мира в сравнительном освещении. 68—113, esp. 87 ff. (The other studies of the volume are also interesting and novel!)

<sup>11</sup> It is sufficient to refer to the fact that the studies of E. FORRER (see below, note 19) were utilized by K. MARÓT several years earlier than by many of his classical philologist contemporaries, even if he assumed a negative standpoint.

<sup>12</sup> Of the very rich and ramifying special literature dealing with the cosmogonic myths, I can only mention here a few important works which are connected also with the subject of my present paper. A comprehensive review of the theme is e.g. H. SCHWABL: Weltschöpfung. In: PWRE Suppl. 9 (1962) 1433—1582; and M. L. WEST: Hesiod, Theogony. Oxford 1966. 1—16; a mainly folk-lore material is discussed e.g. by J. FRAZER: Creation and Evolution in Primitive Cosmogonies. London 1935; H. BAUMANN: Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythos der afrikanischen Völker. Berlin 1936, reprint 1964; E. V. JAMES: Creation and Cosmogony. A Historical and Comparative Inquiry. (Numen, Suppl. 16.) Leiden 1969; A. SEIDENBERG: The Separation of Sky and Earth at Creation. Folklore 70 (1959); 80 (1969) 188—196; of theoretical character are for example R. PETTAZZONI: Myths of Beginnings and Creation Myths. In: *idem*: Essays on the History of Religions. (Numen, Suppl. 1.) Leiden 1954. 24—37; M. ELIADE: Gefüge und Funktion der Schöpfungsmythen. In: Die Schöpfungsmythen. (Quellen des Alten Orients, 1.) Einsiedeln 1964. 9—34; as to the cosmogony of the ancient world see L. PRELLER—C. ROBERT: Griechische Mythologie, 1. 1. Berlin 1887,<sup>4</sup> Nachdruck 1928. 29 ff.; F. LUKAS: Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker. Leipzig 1893; the valuation of ancient ideas connected with the theme, from the viewpoint of history of philosophy see F. M. CORNFORD: A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's Theogony (1941). In: *idem*: The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays. Cambridge 1967. 95—116; *idem*: Principium sapientiae. The Origins of Greek Philosophical Thought. Cambridge 1952; G. THOMSON: The First Philosophers. Studies in Ancient Greek Society, II. London 1955; with the comparative examination of ancient oriental cosmogonies deal for example S. G. F. BRANDON: Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East. London 1963; *idem*: Ancient Near Eastern Cosmogonies. Studia Missionalia 18 (Rome 1969) 247—270; F. WÜRTHWEIN: Chaos und Schöpfung im mythischen Denken und in der biblischen Urgeschichte. In: Zeit und Geschichte. Dankgabe an R. BULTMANN. Tübingen 1964. 317—328; G. J. BOTTERWERK: Die Entstehung der Welt nach den altorientalischen Kosmogonien. Bibel und Leben 6 (1965) 184—191; W. HARRELSOHN: The Significance of Cosmogony in the Ancient Near East. In: Translating and Understanding the Old Testament. Essays in Honor of H. G. May. Nashville, N. Y. 1970. 237—252; F. B. J. KUIPER: Cosmogony and Conception: A Query. History of Religions 10, 11 (1970) 91—138; W. v. SODEN: Der Mensch bescheidet sich nicht. Überlegungen zu Schöpfungserzählungen in Babylon und Israel. In: Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae F. M. Th. de Lagre Böhl dedicatae. (Studia F. Scholten memoriae dicata, 4.) Leiden 1973. — See also below, notes 14, 16, 63—66, 70.

<sup>13</sup> The term originates from the works of E. CASSIRER, see Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken. (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 1.) Berlin 1922; Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, 2. Das mythische Denken. Berlin 1925 = Mythical Thought.

kind of *scholarship* or *teaching*.<sup>14</sup> The cosmogony of Hesiod, that is the earlier and foreign ideas behind it, are no direct documents of the daily circumstances of the societies preserving and transmitting them, but rather the ancient relics of the mythological world concept, of recognition and abstraction which of course, as myths, were excellently suitable for poetical modelling.<sup>15</sup>

According to the present state of research, the cosmogony of Hesiod is definitely of oriental origin, more exactly it comes from Western Asia.<sup>16</sup> As regards the details, however, the generally accepted results are already much less. The main reason for it, I believe, is the fact that — in spite of several valuable preliminary studies — the relation to each other of the cosmogonic myths of the cultures of the Near East is so far not clear.

But let us stick to Hesiod for some more time. Some scholars who saw farther than the coasts of the Aegean Sea had observed already earlier those motives which place the preserved works of Hesiod beside the monuments of the Eastern literatures.<sup>17</sup> And when in Boğazköy, on tablets of Hittite language, the myth of the god Kumarbi came to light,<sup>18</sup> there were already some scholars

New Haven 1955. — As to the concept cf. TH. GASTER: *Mythic Thought in the Ancient Near East*. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (1955) 422–426; A. E. JENSEN: *Mythos und Erkenntnis*. *Paideuma* 9 (1963) 63–75; F. CH. KESSIDI: *От мифа к логосу. Становление греческой философии (From Myth to Logos. The Development of Greek Philosophy)*. Moscow 1972.

<sup>14</sup> About this in greater detail see G. KOMORÓCZY: *A Biblia és az ókori kelet, I.: A «papi kódex» teremtés-története (The Bible and the Ancient Near East, I.: The Creation-Story of the «Priestly Codex»)*. *Világosság* 13 (1972) 546–555; II.: *Az ember teremtése a «papi kódex»-ben (II.: The Creation of Man in the «Priestly Codex»)*. *Ibidem* 14 (1973) 15–22.

<sup>15</sup> As to the question of the connection of world concept and art see G. LUKÁCS: *Die Eigenart des Aesthetischen*. H. Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied/Rh., Berlin—Spandau 1963. pp. 442 ff. (Ch. VI, Part II).

<sup>16</sup> We have to count with the possibility of the oriental influence also in the case of other Greek cosmogonies, cf., only of the studies dealing (also) with the Near East, for example: M. WEST: *Three Presocratic Cosmogonies*. *ClQ* 56 NS 13 (1963) 154–176; O. EISSFELDT: *Phönikische und griechische Kosmogonie*. In: *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne. (Colloque de Strasbourg, 1958)*. Paris 1960. 1–15 = *idem*: *Kleine Schriften, III*. Tübingen 1966. 501–512; H. SCHWABL: *Die griechischen Theogonien und der Orient*. In: *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*. Paris 1960. 39–56; as well as U. HÖLSCHER: *Anaximander und die Anfänge der Philosophie*. *Hermes* 81 (1953) 257–277, 385–418; G. S. KIRK—J. E. RAVEN: *The Presocratic Philosophers*. Cambridge 1957. — As to the analysis of the cosmogony of Hesiod see also G. S. KIRK: *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*. Cambridge 1970. 213 ff., who values also the oriental relations of Hesiod in accordance with their significance. See also below, note 19.

<sup>17</sup> Thus e.g. R. REITZENSTEIN: *Altgriechische Theologie und ihre Quellen. Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 4 (1924–1925, Leipzig 1927) 1–19* = In: *Hesiod*, ed. by E. HEITSCH. Darmstadt 1966. 523–544.

<sup>18</sup> For the first time mentioned by E. O. FORRER: *Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le Proche-Orient préhistorique*. *JA* 217 (1930) 227–252, esp. 238 ff. (on the basis of a fragment of the Song of Ullikummi), then extensively *idem*: *Göttergeschichte als Weltgeschichte im Alten Orient*. *FuF* 11 (1936) 398–399; *idem*: *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche*. *AIPHOS* 4 (= *Mélanges F. CUMONT*, II. Bruxelles 1936) 687–713; *idem*, in: *Atti del 19. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti (1935)*. Roma 1938. 59–63. — In comparison to the first publications of E. FORRER, certain corrections are carried out in the interpretation of the text by

who presumed that at this time we do not have to do with a simple parallel but eventually with the direct sources of Hesiod.<sup>19</sup>

H. G. GÜTERBOCK: ZA 44 (1938) 90-93. - Following this, investigations received a real upswing by the fact that H. OTTEN published the cuneiform tablets relating to the theme, see *Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache*. (KUB, 33). Berlin 1943, and to this cf. H. G. GÜTERBOCK: Or 12 (1943) 338-357. The first arrangement, elaboration and evaluation of the fragments are attached to the name of H. G. GÜTERBOCK, see Kumarbi. *Mythen vom churritischen Kronos...* (Istambuler Schriften 16). Zürich 1946, cf. E. H. STURTEVANT: JCS 1 (1947) 353-357; E. LAROCHE: RHA 8, No. 47 (1947-48) 20-24; A. GOETZE: JAOS 69 (1949) 178-183; as well as H. G. GÜTERBOCK: The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod. AJA 52 (1948) 123-134. Further texts were published by H. OTTEN: *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi*. (DAW, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 3). Berlin 1950; cf. H. G. GÜTERBOCK: BiOr 8 (1951) 91-94; *idem*: Oriens 4 (1951) 137-139; A. LESKY: OLZ 48 (1953) 429-431. As to the further literature see below, notes 19, 29.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. D. BARNETT: The Epic of Kumarbi and the Theogony of Hesiod. JHS 65 (1945) 100-101 (already he counts with the possibility that the figure of Iapetos - judged from the article Adana by Stephanos Byzantios - can be connected to the local tradition of Adana in Asia Minor, cf. now J. HARMATTA, see above, note 3); H. OTTEN: Vorderasiatische Mythen als Vorläufer griechischer Mythenbildung. FuF 25 (1949) 145-147; R. DUSSAUD: Les antécédents orientaux à la Théogonie d'Hésiode. AIPOS 9 (= Mélanges H. GRÉGOIRE, I. Bruxelles 1949) 227-231; A. LESKY: Das Kumarbiepos. Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft 2 (1949) 90-91; *idem*: Hethitische Texte und griechischer Mythos. Anzeiger der ÖAW 87 (1950) 137-159; *idem*: Zum hethitischen und griechischen Mythos. Eranos 52 (1954); *idem*: Griechischer Mythos und Vorderer Orient. Saeculum 6 (1955) 35-52 = in: Hesiod, ed. by E. HEITSCH. Darmstadt 1966. 571-601; G. STEINER: Griechische und orientalische Mythen. Antike und Abendland 6 (1957) 171-187 (translation of the related texts). - From the more recent literature see P. WALCOT: The Text of Hesiod's Theogony and the Hittite Epic of Kumarbi. ClQ 49 NF 6 (1956) 198-206, and cf. below, note 28; H. ERBSE: Orientalisches und Griechisches in Hesiod's Theogonie. Philologus 108 (1964) 2-28; D. THOMPSON: The Possible Hittite Sources for Hesiod's 'Theogony'. La parole del passato 22 (1967) 241-251; C. S. LITTLETON: Lévi-Strauss and the 'Kingship in Heaven'. Journal of the Folklore Institute 6 (1969) 80-84; *idem*: Is the 'Kingship in Heaven' Theme Indo-European? In: Indo-European and Indo-Europeans. Philadelphia 1970. (Not accessible for me.); *idem*: The 'Kingship in Heaven' Theme. In: Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans. Studies in Indo-European Comparative Mythology. Ed. J. PUVIEL. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1970. 83-121; M. POPKO: Orientalna geneza «Teogonii» Hezjoda. Meander 26 (1961) 463-473. - This enumeration, of course, cannot be complete; see also below, note 23. - Although from a greater distance, those parallels also belong here, which have been discovered by recent investigation between Hesiod and the Near Eastern literatures in other fields. From the similarly rich literature see F. DORNSEIFF: Antike und Alter Orient. (Kleine Schriften, I.) Leipzig 1956: Altorientalisches zu Hesiods Theogonie (1937): 35-59; Hesiods Werke und Tage und das Alte Morgenland (1934): 72-95, etc.; as well as I. TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL's several studies, e. g.: The Pandora Myth. Acta Ethnogr. Hung. 4 (1955) 99-128 = Pandora-Mythen. In: *idem*: Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte. Budapest-Amsterdam 1966. 49-75; Гомер и Гесиод. Moscow 1956. 28 ff.; Der Mythos vom Goldenen Zeitalter und den Inseln der Seligen. URg 133-154; cf. Die Mythe von dem goldenen Zeitalter und ihre orientalischen Beziehungen. In: Труды XXV. международного конгресса востоковедов. (Москва 1960), I. Moscow 1962. 495-501; Die orientalische Verwandtschaft des Prooimions der hesiodischen Theogonie. Acta Orient. Hung. 5 (1955) 45-74 = URg 155-180. - In my opinion it is not justified that the most recent investigation, which otherwise pays a keen attention to the prooimion of the *Theogonia* (see H. MAEHLER: Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars. [Hypomnemata, 3]. Göttingen 1963. 35 ff.), entirely disregards the question of the oriental parallels; although the new Near Eastern source material would render possible the sober judgement of the relationships.



Parallel with this the attention of many turned towards the mythology of other territories of the Near East. The sources of Hesiod were sought by several scholars in the Babylonian cosmogonic epic (*Enūma eliš*),<sup>20</sup> while others looked for his sources to the Phoenician traditions (Sanchuniathôn and Philôn of Byblos respectively).<sup>21</sup> The doubts about the authenticity of the Sanchuniathôn have vanished after the discovery of the Ugaritic literature.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, regarding the origin of Hesiodic cosmogony no uniform standpoint has been formed up to the present time.<sup>23</sup> However, in my opinion, the dispute

<sup>20</sup> The new edition of the cuneiform text of the *Enūma eliš*: W. G. LAMBERT: *Enuma eliš. The Babylonian Epic of Creation. The Cuneiform Text.* Oxford 1966. — For the lack of up to date, new translations, for the time being the earlier elaborations have to be used, e.g. R. LABAT: *Le poème babylonien de la création (Enūma eliš).* Paris 1935; A. HEIDEL: *The Babylonian Genesis. The Story of the Creation.* Chicago 1951<sup>2</sup> (reprint 1954); E. A. SPEISER, in: ANET 60–72, on this now see A. K. GRAYSON, in: ANET Suppl. (1969) 501 ff. — The cosmogony of the epic is discussed in detail by R. LABAT: *Les origines de la formation de la terre dans le poème babylonien de la création.* In: *Oriens antiquus.* (Analecta Biblica, 12.) Rome 1959. 205–215. Cf. also D. O. EDZARD, in: WbM 121 ff. (Schöpfung, 4); H. E. HIRSCH: *Enūma eliš.* In: KLL 2 (1966) 2171–2173; R. LABAT, in: *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique. Textes babyloniens, ougaritiques, hittites. (Le trésor spirituel de l'humanité. Collection dirigée par J. CHEVALIER.)* Paris 1970. 36–70. A. KRAGERUD: *The Concept of Creation in Enūma eliš.* In: *Ex orbe religionum.* Studia G. Widengren. Leiden 1972. Vol. I. — On the ritualist analysis of the epic, also with regard to the ritual significance for the cosmogonic epic, see R. PETTAZZONI: *Der babylonische Ritus des Akitu und das Gedicht der Weltschöpfung.* In: *Eranos Jahrbuch* 19 (Zürich 1950) 403–430.

<sup>21</sup> The Greek text see C. MÜLLER: FHG III 560–573, and recently F. JACOBY: FGH III C 2. Leiden 1958. p. 802 ff., No. 790. Cf. C. CLEMEN: *Die phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos.* (MVAG 42, III.) Leipzig 1939.

<sup>22</sup> See O. EISSFELDT: several studies of his, e.g.: *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Funde von Ras Schamra.* ZDMG 88 NF 13 (1934) 173–184, esp. 181 ff.; *Zur Frage nach dem Alter der phönizischen Geschichte des Sanchuniaton.* FuF 14 (1938) 251–252 = *Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton.* Halle 1939. 67–71 = *Kleine Schriften*, II. Tübingen 1963. 127–129; *Religionsdokument und Religionspoesie, Religionstheorie und Religionshistorie; Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton, Philo Byblius und Eusebius von Cäsarea.* ThBl 17 (1938) 185–197 = *Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton.* Halle 1939. 75–95 = *Kleine Schriften*, II. Tübingen 1963. 130–144; *Phönizische Überlieferungen als Quelle für die Bücher 40–43 der Dionysiaca des Nonnos von Panopolis.* In: *Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton.* Halle 1939. 128–151 = *Kleine Schriften*, II. Tübingen 1963. 241–257; *Art und Aufbau der phönizischen Geschichte des Philo von Byblos.* Syria 33 (1956) 88–98 = *Kleine Schriften*, III. Tübingen 1966. 398–406; *Phönikische und griechische Kosmogonie* (see above, note 16); *Taautos und Sanchuniaton.* (AW Berlin, Sb. 1952, No. 1.) Berlin 1952; *Sanchuniaton von Beirut und Humilku von Ugarit.* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, 5.) Halle 1952. — Cf. recently P. R. WILLIAMS: *A Commentary to Philo Byblius' Phoenician History.* Diss. Univ. of Southern California 1968. (Microfilm; cf. DA 29 [1969] 3594 A.)

<sup>23</sup> Hesiod's source is seen in the material of the *Enūma eliš* e.g. by G. STEINER: *Der Sukzessionsmythos in Hesiods Theogonie und ihren orientalischen Parallelen.* Diss. Hamburg 1958 (Not accessible for me.); P. WALCOT: *Hesiod and the Near East.* Cardiff 1966. 27–54. — An ancient Indo-European myth is presumed, on the basis of Persian source material, by S. WIKANDER: *Hethitiska myter hos greker och perser.* Vetenskaps-Societen i Lund, Årsbok 1951, 35–56; *idem*: *Histoire des Ouranides.* Cahiers du Sud 36, No. 314 (1952) 9–17. — For the Semitic origin argued e.g. M. C. ASTOUR: *Semitic Elements in the Kumarbi Myth. An Onomastic Inquiry.* JNES 27 (1968) 172–177, see also below, note 34. — The direct source of the myth is looked for by J. MAKKAY: *Early Near Eastern and South East European Gods.* Acta Hung. Arch. 16 (1964) 3–64 in the mythology of the Balkan–South-Eastern European neolithic age; cf. *idem*: *A Kronos–Kumarbi–Enlil probléma (The Kronos–Kumarbi–Enlil Problem).* AntTan 10 (1963)

can be decided on the basis of rather simple arguments. The main evidence for a direct relationship of the mythological compositions is — usually — the identity of names. The details and motives of the composition can comparatively easily be changed. These are by every people, and even by nearly every poet adjusted to the local traditions and to their own literary taste. Very often the names are changed too, they are substituted for more familiar ones. After the pattern of the *interpretatio Graeca* we can speak about Hurrian, Hittite, Phoenician, etc. interpretation. Therefore, if in spite of all this unusual, strange names, appearing isolated in the traditions of the literature concerned, occur in a text, this almost always testifies the foreign origin of the material, and thus it is the sign of certain direct interregional contacts. The investigators of the history of Greek religion have established already long ago that neither Uranos nor Kronos plays an important part in the cult; in fact, the name of Kronos cannot be even explained from Greek.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, several of the most important names of the cosmogonic parts of the *Theogonia* can be connected either with the name in the *Enūma eliš* or with those of Sanchuniathōn only with great difficulty, or eventually they cannot be connected at all. At the same time the close affinity of the former ones with the corresponding names of the Kumarbi myth is quite obvious.<sup>25</sup> And what is even more important: the Greeks could get acquainted with the name and myth of Kronos only from the Kumarbi myth.<sup>26</sup> The cosmogony preserved in Asia Minor stands nearest to Hesiod; this is the region where the sources of the *Theogonia* can definitely be looked for. The relations pointed out by the investigations of the last one or two decades, on the basis of a much richer source material than the earlier one, between Asia Minor and the early Greeks,

252–262 (in Hung.), but see also below, note 84. — That view has the comparatively largest number of followers according to which the Greeks got acquainted with the Near Eastern cosmogonic myth through the Phoenicians, see — besides the relevant parts of the works mentioned already above — for example T. L. B. WEBSTER: *Homer and Eastern Poetry*. *Minos* 4 (1956) 104–116.

<sup>24</sup> For previous attempts, which tried to explain the name of Kronos, see e.g. M. MAYER: Kronos. In: *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. by W. H. ROSCHER. 2, 1 (1890–1897) 1452–1573, esp. 1507 ff. (Kult), 1526 ff. (Herkunft), 1546 ff. (Etymologie); M. POHLENZ: Kronos. In: *PWRE* 11 (1922) 1982–2018; H. FRISK: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 11. Heidelberg 1961. 24 ff.; W. FAUTH: Kronos. In: *Der kleine Pauly* 3 (1969) 355–364, esp. 346 ff. — An idea pointing too far is e.g. S. JANEZ: Kronos und der Walfisch. *Linguistica* 2 (= *Slavistična Revija* 9, 1956, Suppl.) 54–56. — All the propositions made so far, in final conclusion, have been undemonstrable; the name in Greek is unmistakably foreign. — On the late, secondary character of the cult of Kronos, having nothing common with the cult of Uranos, besides the lexicon entries mentioned above, a satisfactory information is given for example by K. SCHUBERT, in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis, 1965) 1631 ff., 3166.

<sup>25</sup> See already H. G. GÜTERBOCK: *Kumarbi*. Zürich 1946. 115, where the names occurring in the different versions of the myth are arranged in a synoptic table; since then this has been repeated also by several scholars.

<sup>26</sup> Decisive proofs have been given by the lecture of J. HARMATTA, quoted already, see above, note 3.

undoubtedly form a certain system.<sup>27</sup> In general we do not have to do with the borrowing of some final, closed text — in fact this would hardly be likely because of the «scholarly» character of the ancient oriental literary works —, but with a many-sided, profound cultural (and not only cultural) contact. The adoption of the cosmogonic myth also belongs in this system.

All the mythological sources of Asia Minor, which can be brought into connection with Hesiod, have recently been analyzed thoroughly by the — already quoted — excellent book of P. Walcot.<sup>28</sup> But his aim was not the complete elaboration of the life story and development of the cosmogonic myths of Asia Minor either, but «only» the examination of the Eastern sources of Hesiod. Therefore, in the material of Asia Minor he did not carry on investigations of source-criticism independent from Hesiod, although this could perhaps have averted his apparently most serious mistake, viz. that he presumed a close relation between the *Enūma eliš* and the *Theogonia*.

At this time I am interested more closely exactly in this question, with other words in the development of the cosmogonic myths of Asia Minor.

After the publication of the tablets from Boğazköy containing the Kumarbi myths,<sup>29</sup> it has immediately become clear that the material of these myths, although it has been preserved in the Hittite language, cannot be a genuine Hittite tradition, but it is of Hurrian origin.<sup>30</sup> The names in the

<sup>27</sup> I mention only a few works from the latest literature: R. WERNER: Neu gesehene Zusammenhänge im Ostmittelmeerraum des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends. *AsSt* 21 (1967) 82–98; W. KRAUSE: Griechisch-orientalische Lehnwortbeziehungen. Ein referierender Versuch. In: *Festschrift K. VRETSKA*. Heidelberg 1970. 89–115. See also below, notes 55–56.

<sup>28</sup> P. WALCOT: *Hesiod and the Near East*. Cardiff 1966.

<sup>29</sup> The term «Myths of Kumarbi» is in fact a collective noun: it comprises several separate literary works in the Hittite language. Of these we know two more thoroughly. 1. «The Kingdom in Heaven» (modern title), see E. LAROCHE: *Catalogue des textes hittites*. (Études et commentaires, 75). Paris 1971. No. 344; the latest transliteration of the Hittite text: E. LAROCHE: *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription*, II. *Mythologie d'origine étrangère*. (= *RHA* 26, No. 82 [1968]) No. XV, p. 39 ff.; cf. also P. MERIGGI: I miti di Kumarbi, il Kronos currico. *Athenaeum* 41 (1953) 101–157. 2. *Išḫamaiš d'ullikummi*, «Song of Ullikummi» see E. LAROCHE: *Catalogue* No. 345; its edition: H. G. GÜTERBOCK: *The Song of Ullikummi*. Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth. *JCS* 5 (1951) 135–161; 8 (1952) 8–42. — The authoritative translation up to the present remains: A. GOETZE, in: *ANET* 120–125. See also M. POPKO: *Pieśń o Ullikummi*. *Euhemer* 76 (1970, II) 19–27. — To those other — similarly epic — works, in which Kumarbi also plays an important role, see E. LAROCHE: *Catalogue* No. 343, 346; H. OTTEN: *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi*. Berlin 1950; J. FRIEDRICH: *Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten*. *Schwangerschaft der Berggottheit Wašitta*. *JKF* 2 (1952) 144–153, esp. 150 ff. — The Hittite text material is analyzed also from the viewpoint of literary criticism by B. DE VRIES: *The Style of Hittite Epic and Mythology*. Diss. Brandeis University, 1967. (Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. No. 68–3404.) 23 ff., 31 ff., 168 ff., etc. Cf. also H. G. GÜTERBOCK: *Hittite Mythology*. In: *Mythologies of the Ancient World*. Ed. S. N. KRAMER. (Anchor Books.) Garden City 1961. 139–179, esp. 155 ff.; E. v. SCHULER: in: *WbM* 182 fol., 185, 204 ff.; A. KAMMENHUBER: *Hurritische Mythen*. In: *KLL* 3 (1967) 2267–2274, esp. 2267 ff., No. I., 1–3; M. VIEYRA, in: *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*. Paris 1970. 544 ff.

<sup>30</sup> On the historical and cultural background see H. G. GÜTERBOCK: *The Hurrian Elements in the Hittite Empire*. *CHM* 2 (1954) 383–394; F. IMPARATI: *I Hurriti*. Firenze

Hittite text — the names of deities and the toponyms — point to the fact that the more original, Hurrian form of the myth could develop somewhere in Northern Mesopotamia.<sup>31</sup> The Hurrian form of the name Kumarbi, more correctly Kumarbiš (in Hittite nominative), is Kumarwe<sup>32</sup> or Kumurwe.<sup>33</sup> In fact this is no proper name, but a designation derived from a place name,<sup>34</sup> or, quite exactly, an appellative.<sup>35</sup> The Kumarbi myth can be regarded as a Hurro-Hittite myth with full justification.

The Mesopotamian elements of the myth, on the basis of the pioneering initiative of E. Forrer, were examined more thoroughly for the first time — and for the last — by E. A. Speiser.<sup>36</sup> Since his statements — perhaps with the exception of one, to which we shall return later on — in the essential matters do not require any modification even today; in the following I shall discuss only those elements which are of significance from the viewpoint of my theme.

Following E. Forrer and E. A. Speiser, the scholarly public opinion of today represents the standpoint that the Hurrian-Hittite Epic of Kumarbi originates from Mesopotamia.

If we examine the connections between the Mesopotamian and Hurro-Hittite cosmogonic myths more thoroughly, we find that the material divides almost automatically into two major groups.

1. A few names of gods, but by far not all of them; and the principle of the grouping of the cosmogonic gods.

2. Certain elements of the *sujet* of the myths, e.g. the fight of the gods, forced succession of generations, castration, etc.

1964. — Of course, the process, at the «terminal» point of which the elaboration of the Hurrian myth in Hittite language stands, is much more complicated than what is expressed by the word «borrowings». Those peoples, which got acquainted with the cosmogonic myth discussed here, all had their own highly developed, independent cultures also themselves. They transformed the foreign influences according to their own ideas. It is unimaginable that the myth of cosmogony should be *foreign* in the world concept — at the most it can be of *foreign origin*.

<sup>31</sup> In the myth an important role is given to the city of Urkiš (in the region of the Hābūr, in Northwestern Mesopotamia). To its significance cf. A. KAMMENHUBER, in: *Der kleine Pauly* 3 (1969) 376 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Written in this form in the Hurrian texts at Ma'ri and Hattuša.

<sup>33</sup> Written in this form in Nuzu; and it appears in this form also in a recently published Sumero-Hurrian-Hittite list of words (Ugaritica V.).

<sup>34</sup> As to this — and also as regards the preceding two notes — cf. M. C. ASTOUR: *Semitic Elements in the Kumarbi Myth. An Onomastic Inquiry*. JNES 27 (1968) 172 — 177. The place name, deduced already earlier as the etymon of the name of Kumarwe but so far unidentifiable, can now be identified with him on the basis of the lists of North Syrian place names of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. However, his final conclusions regarding the genesis of the myth, based on the etymological analysis of the place names, cannot be accepted.

<sup>35</sup> The name appears in a mythological text — in Hurrian — from Ugarit in the form *'il kmrb*, that is «the god Kumarbi», quite accurately «El of Kumar», see A. HERDNER: *CTCA* No. 166: 6—8, with the earlier literature.

<sup>36</sup> E. A. SPEISER: *An Intrusive Hurro-Hittite Myth*. JAOS 62 (1942) 98—102.

The connections to be included in the 1st group lead to very old layers of the Mesopotamian traditions; in contrast to this the elements of the 2nd group almost without exceptions point towards the *Enūma eliš*.

First we must deal with the material of the 2nd group.

Up to the latest times, when the *Enūma eliš* was held by the investigators almost unanimously for a monument of the Old Babylonian period (of the 18th to 17th centuries B. C.), it was obvious to think that this epic came to Asia Minor, even immediately by Hurrian mediation. However, the more recent investigations led to other results in respect of the dating of the *Enūma eliš*. The early date was rejected by L. Matouš on the basis of the grammar of the text.<sup>37</sup> O. E. Ravn and later on H. Schmökel examined the history of the development of the Marduk cult through the statistical account of the names of gods appearing in the year names of the state calendar and in the personal names,<sup>38</sup> and essentially they arrived at the conclusion that in the Old Babylonian period Marduk — although there are several important signs of his cult — was neither an officially popularized, nor a spontaneously popular deity, and he became really such only by the end of the 2nd millennium B. C., although there had been certain endeavours also earlier to rearrange the pantheon to the favour of Marduk. W. G. Lambert, taking into account also the other literary monuments of the Marduk cult,<sup>39</sup> unambiguously arrived at the conclusion that the leading place in the pantheon was won by Marduk not in the Old Babylonian period, but much later, practically only at the time of the IIInd dynasty of Isin, more exactly during the reign of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I, in the last third of the 12th century B. C.<sup>40</sup> All this could not remain without any consequences regarding the dating of the *Enūma eliš*. To put it briefly, this way it does not seem to be likely that the work could come into existence earlier than the second half of the Kassite period, say the 13th to 12th centuries B. C.<sup>41</sup> W. G. Lambert could also state that the epic is not a norm of the Mesopotamian cosmogonic conception; it is much more a «sectarian and aberrant» composition.<sup>42</sup> Investigating the development of the formal

<sup>37</sup> L. MATOUŠ: Zur Datierung von *Enūma eliš*. ArchOr 29 (1961) 30–34.

<sup>38</sup> O. E. RAVN: The Rise of Marduk. Acta Orient. 7 (1929) 81–90; H. SCHMÖKEL: Hammurabi und Marduk. RA 53 (1959) 183–204. — Neither of them draws the final conclusions resulting from their data.

<sup>39</sup> See W. G. LAMBERT: An Address of Marduk to the Demons. AfO 17 (1954–56) 310–321; 19 (1959–60) 114–119; *idem*: Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians. AfO 19 (1959–60) 47–66. — Cf. also W. v. SODEN: Zur Wiederherstellung der Marduk-Gebete BMS 11 und 12. Iraq 31 (1969) 82–89.

<sup>40</sup> W. G. LAMBERT: The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion. In: The Seed of Wisdom. Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek. Toronto 1964. 3–13; see also *idem*: Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians. JSS 13 (1968) 104–112.

<sup>41</sup> W. G. Lambert (see note 40) thinks exactly of the years about 1100 B. C.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. W. G. LAMBERT: A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis. JThSt NS 16 (1965) 287–300.

marks of Mesopotamian epic poetry,<sup>43</sup> in the last few years I also arrived at the conclusion that the *Enūma eliš* as a literary work is a routine-epic, and does not bear the mark of the great creative periods of epic poetry in the Akkadian language.<sup>44</sup>

These new results have rendered timely the revision of the relationship between the *Enūma eliš* and the Hurrian-Hittite cosmogony. The Kassite or post-Kassite dating of the *Enūma eliš* makes it for us impossible in anticipation to see the source of the Kumarbi myths in the text of the Akkadian epic preserved for us. On the other hand, the view has remained popular up to the present day according to which the *Enūma eliš*, whether it was written earlier or later, in its «canonic» form, is the rewritten version of old Mesopotamian traditions, of lost, but presumable texts, «prototypes». This conception is supported by several known phenomena of Akkadian literary history, at least seemingly. It is a known fact that quite a number of epics, which came definitely into existence in the Old Babylonian period, later on — as a result of rewritings, major insertions, etc. —, received a new form, some of them even several times. This would mean that in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. there still existed a Mesopotamian epic *sujet*, which described the cosmogony in a way similar to that of the — later — *Enūma eliš*. On this basis we ought to presume that the source of the Hurrian-Hittite cosmogonic myth was this «Proto-*Enūma eliš*». But the analogy is erroneous, and it becomes more and more clear to us that the above mentioned view does not hold its ground: there has never been a «Proto-*Enūma eliš*».

The solution of the problem is rendered possible by the analysis of the contents of the *Enūma eliš* on the basis of the history of traditions. Choosing the results of W. G. Lambert for a starting point, we can make a more exact picture of the sources of the *Enūma eliš* than before.

As it is known, the first part of the epic, the cosmogony, consists of two major units. These are the theogony and the theomachy.

The origin of the myth of theogony was clarified in the last few years. It was pointed out first by W. G. Lambert,<sup>45</sup> and — immediately after him and now already with full explicitness and in a direct form — by Th. Jacobsen<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> G. KOMORÓCZY: A šumer hősi epika. (Az epikus költészet korszakai Mezopotámiában. I.) [The Sumerian Heroic Epic Poetry. (Periods of Epic Poetry in Mesopotamia. Part I.)] *Ethnographia* 84 (1973) 1 - 28; A šumer mitológiai epika. Eposz és epikus ábrázolás az akkád irodalomban. [The Sumerian Mythological Epic Poetry. Epic and Epical Style in Akkadian Literature. (Parts II - III.)] *Ethnographia* 83 (1973) 274 - 300. (Both in Hung., with Res. in German and Russian.)

<sup>44</sup> G. KOMORÓCZY: *Ethnographia* 84 (1973) 284 ff.

<sup>45</sup> W. G. LAMBERT: *JThSt* NS 16 (1965) 290; cf. *idem*: The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year. The Conflict in the Akitu House. *Iraq* 25 (1963) 189 - 190.

<sup>46</sup> TH. JACOBSEN: The Battle Between Marduk and Tiamat. *JAOS* 88 (1968) 104 - 108. - TH. JACOBSEN in regard to the dating of the borrowing of the myth represents a standpoint different from what I — following L. MATOUŠ, W. G. LAMBERT and others — regard as acceptable, and although unsaid, he seems to return to the former Amurrú theory of A. T. CLAY.

that the theomachy of the *Enūma eliš*, the fight of Marduk against the creatures of the primordial chaos, is not based on the Mesopotamian traditions, but it is alien: it originates from the Ugaritic mythology. In Ugarit, or perhaps in the area of the Syrian-Canaanite coastal region in general, the theomachy is an originally central theme in mythology,<sup>47</sup> and everything points to the fact that — on the basis of the natural archetypes — it also developed here.

Old Mesopotamian mythology — according to the present state of the scholarship — did not know the theomachy: in the Sumerian texts the well-ordered world developed without its gods being compelled to fight with each other. Although we find the fights of different deities also there, but these fights do not constitute a part of the cosmogonic process, and even in their most final form, *e.g.* in the Sumerian Epic of Ninurta<sup>48</sup> — with which, at the time, E. A. Speiser compared the Kumarbi myth<sup>49</sup> —, they cannot be measured to the theomachy of the *Enūma eliš*. The decisive difference appears just in the cosmogonic function of the fight of gods.

This is just why the relation of the cosmogonic theomachy of the *Enūma eliš* to the earlier Mesopotamian traditions — of different character — deserves attention. In another relationship I had already an opportunity to point out that the motif of the work and strike of the gods,<sup>50</sup> which at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C. was one of the central themes of mythological poetry with cosmogonic subjects (*Enki and Ninmah*, *Epic of Atrahasis*, etc.), and in which the divine society of olden times is not divided, and separated into two contrasting groups, not on the basis of generations, but according to the pattern of social division — that is the motif is already missing from the *Enūma eliš* and the other late cosmogonies, and it is replaced, at the identical point of the structure of the myth, by the theomachy. This means at the same time that in the myth of the cosmogony one of the elements of the traditional *sujet* was replaced in the second half of the 2nd millenium B. C. by another myth.

It is striking that in the motifs of the *Enūma eliš* there are many non-traditional elements also otherwise. Thus the epic has become, to a certain extent, of heterogeneous character. We do not only find parallel narratives

<sup>47</sup> Of the rich literature on the subject see O. KAISER: *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres*. (ZAW, Beih. 78.) Berlin 1962.<sup>2</sup> — To the other theomachies of the Ugaritic mythology cf. U. OLDENBURG: *The Conflict Between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*. (Dissertationes ad historiam religionum pertinentes, 3.) Leiden 1969.

<sup>48</sup> Two Sumerian epic works can be taken into account, *viz.*: the *lugal-e u<sub>4</sub> me-lám-bi nír-gál* and the *an-gim dí-m-ma*; to these see D. O. EDZARD, in: *WbM* 114 foll., to the bibliographic data of the editions of texts see R. BORGER: *HKL* I 147–148; 189; C. WILCKE, *Afo* 24 (1973) 18.

<sup>49</sup> E. A. SPEISER: *JAOS* 62 (1942) 98–102, esp. 101 ff.; his error, to which I referred above, consisted of this.

<sup>50</sup> G. KOMORÓCZY: *Istenek munkája és sztrájkja. A sumer-akkád mitológia társadalomképe, új megvilágításban*. (Work and Strike of Gods. New Light on the Social Picture of the Sumero-Akkadian Mythology.) *AntTan* 20 (1973) 1–28 (in Hung.).

and internal contradictions, but also such motifs which are entirely new, or — just like the theomachy — seem to be expressly of different or foreign origin. I can mention only some examples. The development of the universe is told by the epic twice, *viz.* for the first time as *genesis*, coming into being, and for the second time as *creatio*, creation; for the first time as the duality of Anšar and Kišar (I. 12), and for the second time as the development of the sky and — this is unsaid — the earth from the body of Ti'āmat split in two (IV. 137 ff.). If we look at it from the viewpoint of the Sumerian cosmogonic myths, the figure of Mummu is entirely unintelligible (cf. I. 4; I. 30 ff. and I. 66 ff.).<sup>51</sup> The passage on the defeat of Apsû (I. 61 ff.), however obscure the wording is, very likely relates to the castration of the deity.<sup>52</sup> In Mesopotamian literature this motif does not occur elsewhere, but the description of the scene stands without any parallel, quite the same whether we accept this interpretation or not.

Under such circumstances we have well founded reasons to presume that the cosmogonic *sujet* of the *Enūma eliš* — the myth of the cosmogony in its whole, that is not only the theomachy but also the preceding passages — developed under some foreign influences. Taking into consideration that both the Phoenician and the Hurro-Hittite cosmogonic myths are earlier than the *Enūma eliš*, this means first of all influence from the West.

For a long time it was a wide-spread conception that the mythology of the whole Ancient Near East is nothing else than the irradiation of the «Babylonian» — Mesopotamian — traditions. This view received a central place in the Pan-Babylonism, perhaps in the most extreme branch of the diffusionist trends in the decades about the turn of the century,<sup>53</sup> and although since then scholarship, the investigation of the cuneiform sources itself, have definitely rejected the majority of the doctrines of Pan-Babylonism<sup>54</sup> — but at all events its essence, its theoretical frames — nevertheless, the view that Mesopotamia was always a deliverer in the cultural contacts of the countries of the Ancient Near East is still tempting, mostly unworried and perhaps only in practice. We have no reason to deny that in certain periods the culture of Mesopotamia really played an initiative and stimulating role in the Near East, but this role

<sup>51</sup> As to the figure of Mummu at an earlier date see F. M. TH. (DE LIAGRE) BÖHL: Mummu = Logos? OLZ 19 (1916) 265–268; ST. LANGDON: The Babylonian Conception of Logos. JRAS 1918, 433–449; W. F. ALBRIGHT: The Supposed Babylonian Derivation of the Logos. JBL 39 (1920) 143–151, and cf. *idem*: Ea-mummu and Anu-adapa in the Panegyric of Cyrus. JRAS 1926, 285–290; for a many-sided new analysis see A. HEIDEL: The Meaning of Mummu in Akkadian Literature. JNES 7 (1948) 98–105; cf. also W. v. SODEN: AHw 672 s. v.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. A. L. OPPENHEIM: Or 16 (1947) 212.

<sup>53</sup> As a rule, Pan-Babylonism is not registered by the entries «diffusionism» of the ethnographic and historicultural dictionaries.

<sup>54</sup> On the critics of Pan-Babylonism see recently G. KOMORÓCZY: A Biblia és az ókori kelet (The Bible and Ancient Orient). In: L. RÁPCSÁNYI (ed.): A Biblia világa (World of the Bible). Budapest 1972. 69–107, esp. 78 ff.



cannot be absolutized. And in Mesopotamia just the second half of the 2nd millennium B. C. was a period of comparatively minor brilliance. The rich source material which since the virulent decade of the Pan-Babylonist theory has come to light from other territories of the Near East, and the results brought by the more profound examination of the relations,<sup>55</sup> all point to the fact that in the 2nd millennium B. C. a characteristic *koiné* developed in the Ancient East — in Western Asia —, of course not in the language but (if we may expand the meaning of the word so much) in the cultural field,<sup>56</sup> several essential factors of which were old or more recent Mesopotamian initiatives, but to these quite a number of different, frequently not less important, elements were added from other cultures of the Near East. The *koiné* was really a *common* culture, and Mesopotamia also borrowed much from its treasures. By way of illustration I only refer to one phenomenon, specially belonging to the history of literature and thus standing near to our theme. In the very beginning the inscriptions in Asia Minor — just like the royal inscriptions in the Ancient Near East in general — followed Mesopotamian patterns. However, Hittite annalistics starting to develop in the period of Hattušili I, and becoming classical under Muršili II,<sup>57</sup> later on furnished itself stimulation to the further development of the genre of royal inscriptions also in Mesopotamia.<sup>58</sup> This influence considerably promoted the rising of the genre to the level on which we find it in Assyria in the last third of the 2nd millennium B. C. and then in the Neo-Assyrian period.

Within the framework of the Near Eastern *koiné* of the 2nd millennium B. C. we can well recognize those channels through which the cultural influence of the west, of Asia Minor, and — at this time — more closely mostly the Hittite cultural influence came to Mesopotamia. Without having an opportunity to examine the question now in greater detail, by way of example I refer to the prophetic «autobiography» of Marduk, one of the very exciting monuments of Akkadian literature of historical legends (*narû*), which was recently reconstructed by R. Borger in a masterly manner.<sup>59</sup> The text, which — in all probab-

<sup>55</sup> Cf. W. ST. SMITH: Interconnections in the Ancient Near East. A Study of the Relationships Between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia. New Haven — London 1965.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. F. SCHACHERMEYR: Ägäis und Orient. Die überseeischen Kulturbeziehungen von Kreta und Mykenai mit Ägypten, der Levante und Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 93.) Wien 1967. — The question of the eastern relations of the Greeks is discussed in connection with the Near Eastern *koiné* by P. WALCOT: The Comparative Study of Ugaritic and Greek Literatures. UF 1 (1969) 111 — 118; 2 (1970) 273 — 275.

<sup>57</sup> See A. KAMMENHUBER: Die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung. Saeculum 9 (1958) 136 — 155; *idem*, in: KLL 3 (1967) 1734 — 1736; H. OTTEN, in: Neuere Hethiterforschung, ed. by G. WALSER. (Historia, Einzelschriften, 7.) Wiesbaden 1964. 19.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. G. KOMORÓCZY: Asszír királyfeliratok (Assyrian Royal Inscriptions). In: Világirodalmi Lexikon (Lexicon of World Literature). I. Budapest 1970. 421 (In Hung.).

<sup>59</sup> R. BORGER: Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten. Zwei prophetische Texte. BiOr 28 (1971) 3 — 24.

ility — came into being in the period of Nabû-kudurri-ušur I,<sup>60</sup> tells (I. 7 ff.) that Marduk, «who goes about in the mountains», went to the land of Hattu, in its interior he erected the throne of his power as a chief god (his «Anu»-ship). He spent altogether 24 years there and during this time he «made permanent»<sup>61</sup> the (commercial) routes of the sons of Bābil. The «travel» of Marduk in Asia Minor began in 1595/4 B. C., by the event that Muršili I occupied Babylon, and as part of the booty he carried away also the statues of the gods. On the basis of the data of the historical sources it is clear that in the Kassite period Babylon — all the time, but especially in the 13th century B. C. — maintained very close relations with the Hittite Empire,<sup>62</sup> which at this time stood on the culminating point of its power and of its influence over the Near East. The political and economic relations obviously rendered also the contacts of intellectual life possible. After all, the *koinê* always develops in the process of the lasting and many-sided international contacts.

Now we can already start to discuss the above mentioned group 1 of the identical features of the Mesopotamian and Hurrian-Hittite cosmogonic epics, viz. those elements which undoubtedly originate from Mesopotamia, and from here were adopted by the Hurrian-Hittite mythology. As I have already mentioned, we include in this group a few names of gods, and besides these also the principle of grouping of the cosmogonic gods.

The original cosmogonic conceptions living in the cultures of Mesopotamia were known for a long time almost exclusively from late sources, viz. mainly from literary works written or copied in the 1st millennium B. C. However, in the course of the last two or three decades the situation has changed. The investigations of S. N. Kramer,<sup>63</sup> Th. Jacobsen<sup>64</sup> and first of all J. van Dijk<sup>65</sup> have disclosed new, and partly very early source material. This

<sup>60</sup> R. BORGER: BiOr 28 (1971) 21. — As regards the role of Nabû-kudurri-ušur in the history of the Marduk cult see W. G. LAMBERT's studies mentioned above (note 40) and besides this J. A. BRINKMAN: A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia. (AnOr, 43.) Rome 1968. 104 ff.

<sup>61</sup> GIN-in, read: *ukîn*; on this interpretation of the word see CAD K 162, 1, f. (R. BORGER: *loc. cit.* 16, uses the word «begründen».)

<sup>62</sup> To this see now E. CASSIN: in: Fischer Weltgeschichte, 3: Die altorientalischen Reiche, II. Frankfurt/Main 1966. 28 ff.

<sup>63</sup> S. N. KRAMER: Sumerian Mythology. Philadelphia 1944. (New York 1961<sup>2</sup>); From the Tablets of Sumer. Indian Hills 1956 = History Begins at Sumer. (Anchor Books.) Garden City 1959. Ch. 13: Man's First Cosmogony and Cosmology; cf. also *idem*: The Sumerians. Their History, Culture, and Character. Chicago 1963. 112 ff., 292 ff.

<sup>64</sup> TH. JACOBSON: Mesopotamia. In: H. FRANKFORT et al.: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. Chicago 1946 = Before Philosophy. (Pelican Books.) Harmondsworth 1949. 135–234; Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article. JNES 5 (1946) 128–152 = Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture. Cambridge, Mass. 1970. 73–103.

<sup>65</sup> J. VAN DIJK: Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne, I. Acta Orient. Hauniae 28 (1964) 1–59; Sumerische Religion. In: Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte, ed. by J. P. ASMUSSEN–J. LAESSØE–C. COLPE. I. Göttingen 1971. 431–496, esp. 447 ff.

has rendered it possible that now we examine already also the historical changes of the mythological world concept. Summing up the lessons of fundamental importance offered by the investigations of details in connection with the new texts,<sup>66</sup> it has to be stated that in the early times — which essentially means the 3rd millennium B. C., the classical period of Sumerian poetry — more or less generally accepted, systematic conceptions had not yet developed on the origin of the world, and there is no colourful cosmogonic mythology full of events either. In place of these we only find rather primitive antecedents, with scanty references, with conceptions of *ad hoc* character, mostly mutually excluding each other. However, it is sure that the problem of *origin* — and within this the cosmogony — occupied their thinking and imagination.

In final conclusion Mesopotamian cosmogonic mythology is of speculative origin. In order to demonstrate the character of archaic cosmogonic speculation, quite briefly, and making no allusion even to the — otherwise very instructive — variants of the types, I am going to present those conceptions regarding the beginnings of the world which have been recorded by the Sumerian literary texts.<sup>67</sup>

As primary elements of cosmogony there appear:

*a:* a n - k i, the inseparable unity of «sky and earth»; this is divided by itself (!) into two parts, there appear the gods, and then civilization develops on the earth;

*b:* u r a š, «earth», and <sup>d</sup>u r a š, «the goddess Uraš»; this gives birth to the plants and the animals, and she is also the mother of the gods;

*c:* n a m m u, «water-depth», or <sup>d</sup>n a m m u, «the goddess Nammu»; this gives birth to the sky and the earth;<sup>68</sup>

*d:* d u <sub>6</sub> - k ù, «the shining (= holy) hill»; the first life comes out of the earth here, here live the ancient gods, who — in order to have someone who provides them with food and drink — create man, and entrust the work of agriculture to him.

The primary element of cosmogony — in the early conception — is usually either the earth, or the sky (heaven) and the earth, or the water.

<sup>66</sup> I can list only a few of the studies discussing the subject in a comprehensive form (but see also note 12 above); see CH.-F. JEAN: Les traditions suméro-babyloniennes sur la création d'après les découvertes et les études récentes. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 67 (1940) 169 — 186; F. SCHMIDTKE: Die Urgeschichte der Welt im sumerischen Mythos. *Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 1 (1950) 205 — 233; G. CASTELLINO: Les origines de la civilisation selon les textes bibliques et les textes cunéiformes. *VT Suppl.* 4 (1957) 116 — 137; W. G. LAMBERT: Origins in Ancient Mesopotamian Society. In: *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists* (New Delhi 1964), II. New Delhi 1968. 33 — 34. — A good collection of the most important texts of reference: *La naissance du monde*. (Sources orientales, 1.) Paris 1959. = *Die Schöpfungsmythen*. (Quellen des Alten Orients, 1.) Einsiedeln 1964.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Hauniae* 28 (1964) 16 ff.; W. G. LAMBERT, in: *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists*, II. 33 ff.

<sup>68</sup> The texts use that character which according to the reading e n g u r generally means «ocean» (ŠL 484).

Later on also an alternating principle appears, the eternal time. The phrase which — although inaccurately but for lack of a better possibility — we translate like this, is in Akkadian *dūr dāri* (and its variants: *dūri dāri*, *dūr dār*, etc.);<sup>69</sup> the meaning of its basic word is «lasting», «long», and eventually «eternal» (i.e. span of time). In the texts of everyday subjects it always relates to the future, and never to the past.<sup>70</sup> However, about the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. it appears in a list of names of gods as the ancestor of Enlil.<sup>71</sup> According to this the concept of time became a deity, and as such it became the primary element of cosmogony. Eternal time, especially in the series of the cosmogonic principles, is by all means a sign for thinking develops into more abstract. Later on also another pair of words with similar meaning appears among the deities of lower rank of the lists, viz. <sup>d</sup>*alma* and <sup>d</sup>*alama*, or <sup>d</sup>*halma* and <sup>d</sup>*halama*.<sup>72</sup> Both the name and the ideas attached to it are recognizably of western Semitic origin, cf. with the biblical Hebrew word <sup>ʾ</sup>*ōlām*,<sup>73</sup> which, however, — we make haste to add — did not become the name of a god. The western Semitic vernacular form of the word could come to Mesopotamia through borrowing. These new Akkadian names of gods, which otherwise have been preserved in the periphery of the pantheon, unambiguously point to the

<sup>69</sup> To the word see W. v. SODEN: AHw 164 s. v. *dāru(m)*; 178 s. v. *dūru(m)* 2e; CAD D 107 ff. s. v. *dār*, esp. c.; 197 ff. s. v. *dūru* B.

<sup>70</sup> As it has been shown by L. KÁKOSY, in Egypt the ideas relating to cosmogony and the final times respectively can be interchanged, and as regards their essence they are related. In Mesopotamia I do not find any trace of such a thing. See L. KÁKOSY: *Schöpfung und Weltuntergang in der ägyptischen Religion*. Acta Ant. Hung. 11 (1963) 17–30. — To the concept of the Egyptian eternal time see L. KÁKOSY: *Az egyiptomi öröklét fogalom* (The Egyptian Eternity Concept). AntTan 19 (1972) 165–174 (in Hung.), and besides the literature quoted here, see e.g. E. IVERSEN: *Horapollon and the Egyptian Conception of Eternity*. RSO 38 (1963) 177–186. An important detail question is the evolution of the Egyptian mythological antecedents of the concept of *aion*, to which see L. KÁKOSY: *Osiris-Aion*. ÖAnt 3 (1964) 15–25, with further literature. — Exactly in connection with the subject discussed by us it is worth mentioning that the Late Hellenistic theology identified Kronos with the deified concept of time (Chronos), and obviously not merely on the basis of the consonance of the two words. This idea, with the utilization of Egyptian sources, was analyzed by R. PETTAZZONI, see: *Kronos-Chronos in Egitto*. In: *Hommages à J. Bidez et à F. Cumont*. (Collection Latomus, 2.) Bruxelles 1949. 245–256; *Kronos in Egitto*. In: *Scritti in onore di I. Rosellini*, I. Pisa 1949. 275–299; *Aion-(Kronos)-Chronos in Egypt*. In: *idem*: *Essays in the History of Religions*. (Numen, Suppl. 1.) Leiden 1954. 171–179. — At this moment I feel that the Egyptian source material — although it is perhaps richer than that of any other culture — is no suitable for the investigation of the concepts of eternal time from the viewpoint of their genesis. The historical stratification of the Mesopotamian data is much clearer.

<sup>71</sup> W. G. LAMBERT, in: *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists*, II. 33 ff.

<sup>72</sup> To the way of derivation of the word see the pairs of names of the *Lahmu-Lahamu* type (cp. CAD L 41 ff.); it is evident that the deification took place on the influence of Mesopotamian theology. The adoption of the word was promoted by the fact that the pair *Halma-Halama* can easily be identified with the pair *Lahmu-Lahamu*.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. E. JENNI: *Das Wort 'ōlām im Alten Testament*. ZAW 64 (1952) 197–248; 65 (1953) 1–35. It is a comparatively late phenomenon also in Hebrew that the word unambiguously means *aion*. On the etymology see also CAD A, I 364 s. v. *almā*; J. AISTLEITNER: WUS 232, No. 2036 *'lm* II («unabsehbare Zeit»).

fact that in the 2nd millennium B. C. Mesopotamia stood open before foreign influences.

The views — as a rule short, sometimes hardly half a sentence long references — to be made out from the texts are not to be taken into account at this time. Of these — and this much is clear already now — we cannot compose such a mythology, which at least approximately would be of equal value either with the *Enūma eliš* or with the Kumarbi myths. The nature of the Sumerian cosmogonic conceptions is entirely different from that of the myths of the 2nd millennium B. C.

As can be seen, Sumerian cosmogony is of strongly speculative character. It is obvious that — let us say — the idea of a n - k i is nothing else than an analogical explanation. It was brought about by a visual experience, viz. the sight of the sky merging in the horizon with the level land.<sup>74</sup> When (to borrow the phrase of G. Thomson) «the first philosophers» wanted to evoke with words the olden times, the — naturally unknown — beginnings of the universe, they necessarily resorted to the known, viz. to their experiences; for example in this case to the sight of the known «beginning» of space. But the natural archetype can easily be observed not only here, but also behind the other ideas. The idea of the hill (the «shining hill») connects with the sight of the Southern Mesopotamian lands, which at that time, just like today, were marshy (hōr) and were habitable only in the islands. To the cosmogonic speculations the well observed phenomena of the natural surroundings serve as a starting point, viz. the unknown is imagined on the analogy of these. (This is the explanation for the numerous alternating *principia*.) It is well known that the analogical deduction is the most important means of primitive thinking in order to gain knowledge about those things which are outside the sphere of direct experience.

In the history of development of the cognitive activity, cosmogonic speculation has two more important antecedents. On the one hand, certain observations, empiric cognitions; and on the other hand, the ability to follow back, the ability to put the question, interest for the *origin*, which is undoubtedly an evidence for the high level of thinking.

The interest for the *origin* is curiosity for the past. Cosmogonic speculation came obviously into existence when the man of society could perceive the difference between past and present, long ago and now, viz. the change

<sup>74</sup> Although it is seldom a fortunate thing to base too much on the ethnographic parallels at the analysis of ancient mythology — especially because these are usually selected by us deliberately from the always heterogeneous material, and thus in reality they do not prove anything —, now I still have to refer to such a «parallel», the value of which lies just in its negative character. It is generally known that among the peoples of Oceania there existed such cosmogonic ideas, according to which in olden times sky and sea formed an inseparable whole. There, where the horizon is on the plane of the sea, *this* idea is the natural one.

which brings about a new condition. Cosmogonic speculation cannot be separated from the historical thinking.

The cosmogonic descriptions known to us from the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C. — from Sumerian literature —, are all very laconic. The texts hardly contain anything else than the definition of the primitive state, the «olden times»,<sup>75</sup> confined only to a few more significant marks. A much more intensive interest manifests itself in them for the origin of man, civilization and work. The Sumerians were interested in the origin of the world not for its own sake. As a matter of fact the object of the cosmogonic introductory part of the epics is so to say to erect a «time coulisse» behind some story which took place in olden times. Primitive thinking had always brought the cosmogonic past into close connection with the history of mankind.<sup>76</sup> It is hardly an accident that the Sumerian epic which — in its introductory lines — contains the most detailed description of the a n - k i cosmogony, borrowed the real subject of the *Gilgameš*, *Enkidu and the Nether World* from the legends of the historical past.

However, it can be verified also in another way that every cosmogonic idea is in final conclusion a speculative concluding back. In the literature of the Ancient Near East, also in Mesopotamia, a characteristic form of the description of olden times is comparatively frequent. These descriptions, with a designation borrowed from Hesiod (cf. *Erga* 109 ff.), used to be called «golden age» myths.<sup>77</sup> «The wolf does not carry away the lamb» — one of the Sumerian texts says.<sup>78</sup> The description, in itself, on the basis of the classical parallels,<sup>79</sup> could eventually also be regarded even as a «golden age» idea. But, in fact, this is not the point. This sentence, and all the similar sentences, according to the essence of the utterance, can be worded as follows: «In olden times such-and-such a thing did not (yet) exist.» On the other hand, this formula, with regard to both

<sup>75</sup> In Sumerian u<sub>4</sub>-r i-a, «in illo die», cf. J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Hauniae* 28 (1964) 16 ff.

<sup>76</sup> The best evidence for this are chapters 1 and 2 of the Genesis.

<sup>77</sup> See S. N. KRAMER: *Man's Golden Age: A Sumerian Parallel to Genesis XI*, 1. *JAOS* 63 (1943) 191–194. — In Sumerian literature two passages give a more detailed description: the introductory part of the epic «Enki and Nihmah» (esp. lines 13 ff.), and the epic «Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta», in which the description appears as the magic of Nudimmud (= Enki) (lines 136 ff.). — The evolution of the Egyptian so-called golden age myths was profoundly analyzed by L. KÁKOSY, see *Urzeitmythen und Historiographie im alten Ägypten*. In: *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt*, I. *Alter Orient und Griechenland*, ed. by E. CH. WELSKOPF. Berlin 1964. 57–68; *Az egyiptomi aranykor-mítoszok történeti fejlődése és társadalmi vonatkozásai* (Historical Evolution and Social Relations of the Egyptian Golden Age Myths). *AntTan* 14 (1967) 1–16 (in Hung.). — As regards Hesiod I refer to the study of I. TRENCSÉNYI-WALDAFFEL (see note 19 above).

<sup>78</sup> Enki and Ninmah, line 16.

<sup>79</sup> Just for the sake of indication: Vergilius, IV. *Ecl.*; Isaiah 11:6 ff.; cf. I. TRENCSÉNYI-WALDAFFEL: *Die Mythe von dem goldenen Zeitalter und ihre orientalischen Beziehungen*. In: *Труды XXV. Международного конгресса востоковедов*. (Москва 1960), I. Moscow 1962. 495–501; B. GRATZ: *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*. (Spudasmata, 16.) Hildesheim 1967.

its structure and its function, forms a series with descriptions of other texts with different contents but similarly relating to olden times, with such for example: «It has no fertile land, it has no furrows»;<sup>80</sup> «The name of the sheep did not exist»;<sup>81</sup> «The city of Girtab did not exist»;<sup>82</sup> etc. In the same series belongs the introductory passage of the *Enūma eliš*: «When above the heaven had not been named (= did not exist), below the earth was not called by a name; Apsû, the first, their begetter, and Mummu-Ti'āmat, who gave birth to all of them — their waters were mingled; the clump did not joined together, rush was not seen; when none of the gods existed, they had no names, they had no fate . . .» (I. 1–8). None of the descriptions wants to represent some happy primeval condition, but concludes from the existing situation, by a simple negation, to the initial condition. The primitive age is the non-existence, unsettledness of the present conditions. Thus, the olden times myths in reality do not idealize, do not represent a «golden age», but — denying certain elements of the existing world — in a speculative way construct the initial state (*principium*), from which either the universe, or civilization, or even any element of these — with the application of the principle of «origin» — can be deduced.

It is worth attention, just from the viewpoint of the theme discussed here that according to the earliest Sumerian concept sky and earth separate into two parts automatically, without any external power, *e.g.* divine interference. This means that Sumerian cosmogonic speculation regarded the development of the universe, in its elementary form, as the self-movement of the *principium*. I remark only incidentally that this idea did not sink entirely into oblivion even later on, *viz.* cosmogony in the known myths is usually origin and not creation, even if it is mostly followed by certain creative acts. Even for this reason we cannot deem that frequent method correct which, without any differentiation, gets together the mythological conceptions regarding the coming into existence of the world as «creation-myths». Of course, the theological formula says unambiguously creation. There is also a Sumerian text, more correctly group of texts, in which the sky and the earth are separated by the god Enlil.<sup>83</sup> But in the Sumerian literary tradition this motive

<sup>80</sup> Enki and Ninmah, line 38.

<sup>81</sup> Sheep and Grain, line 6.

<sup>82</sup> Marriage of the god Martu, line 1.

<sup>83</sup> Creation of the Hoe, lines 4 ff. On the composition see C. WILCKE, in: RLA 4. I (Berlin 1972) 36 ff., 7. — In the Sumerian text there is no mention about what certain investigators earlier wanted to gather from it, *viz.* that Enlil would have separated the sky from the earth with the hoe (𒂍*sa*). According to the text the hoe — as its determinative show, a wooden implement — was brought about by Enlil only after the separation of sky and earth! Thus, all those explanations, which presumed to recognize in the «hoe» of the Sumerian text — or, even less accurately and without any lexicographic evidence, in the «hatchet» — the prototype of the appliance used by Kronos in the castration of Uranos (*Theogonia*, 162, cf. 175), or, according to an allusion of the Ullikummi-song, to the separation of sky and earth (recently *e.g.* J. MAKKAJ, see note 84

characteristically connects with the official view of the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C. (Third Dynasty of Ur—Isin), with the theology of Nippur, and however great its influence was, it is probably no ancient tradition, but a tendentious new interpretation. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that Enlil does not appear as a deity separating sky and earth in Sumerian mythology in general, but systematically for the first time in the theology of Nippur flourishing at the end of the 3rd millennium B. C. — and thus the motif comes immediately under a different judgement.<sup>84</sup>

The elements of Mesopotamian origin of the Hurro-Hittite cosmogonic myth, viz. certain names of gods and the principle of the grouping of the cosmogonic gods, do not originate from the Sumerian cosmogonic speculation; their sources must be sought in other fields of tradition.

The investigations carried out hitherto have pieced together with great care the Mesopotamian data explaining the figures of the gods of the Kumarbi-myth, viz. Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi, Storm God.<sup>85</sup> It is true that these gods are

below), are eliminated by themselves. In fact, the character of the reference to the hoe was correctly recognized already by H. G. GÜTERBOCK: Kumarbi. Zürich 1946. 108.

<sup>84</sup> J. MAKKAY tried to explain the origin and Mesopotamian relation of the Kronos myth with a new theory, see J. MAKKAY: Early Near Eastern and South East European Gods. Acta Arch Hung. 16 (1964) 3—64; cf. *idem*: A Kronos-Kumarbi-Enlil probléma (The Kronos-Kumarbi-Enlil Problem). AntTan 10 (1963) 252—262 (in Hung.). According to his theory, the castration motif of Hesiod's *Theogonia* — through the «sickle» (Greek: ἄρπη) — connects with a characteristic idol-type of the late neolithic age of South-Eastern Europe, with the so-called «god carrying a sickle» (see on this already before him J. CSALOG: Die anthropomorphen Gefässe und Idolplastik von Szegvár-Tűzköves. Acta Arch. Hung. 11 [1959] 7—38); following him N. KALICZ: Clay Gods. The Neolithic Period and Copper Age in Hungary. Edition «Corvina». Budapest 1970. 38 ff. and Pls. 32—34), which, however, is rooted in the same ancient mythological ideas as the «early sources relating to Enlil» in Mesopotamia (J. MAKKAY: AntTan 10, 262). This would mean that — according to J. MAKKAY — the late neolithic mythologies of the Near East, South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans equally knew such a myth in which the masculine supreme god of the pantheon separates the sky from the earth with a sickle. This conception was refuted by J. HARMATTA on the basis of the Graeco-Hittite contacts (see note 3 above). To his arguments we can add that J. MAKKAY's explanation cannot be accepted even from the view-point of Mesopotamia. As we have pointed out, Enlil's role in the cosmogony is not at all very early, and it is not in the least a neolithic tradition. The circumstance that he would have used an appliance of any kind to the separation of sky and earth, is not mentioned even in those texts, which otherwise attribute the arrangement of the world in olden times to him (see note 83 above). The basis of J. MAKKAY's theory, viz. that sky and earth would have been separated by the sickle, or by the god carrying a sickle, appears to be an absurdity even in itself, since in fact where did people — in an agriculturist culture like the Near Eastern and South East European neolithic period! — dig or hoe with a sickle?! (The conceptions relating to the creation of the world do not start out from the harvest.) Besides this it cannot be demonstrated that the Greek ἄρπη (more accurately: ἄρπη καρχαρόδονος) would be identical with the Hittite *kuruzzi* and *ardala*, or with the Sumerian word 𒂗𒂗𒂗. The idol of Szegvár-Tűzköves, the so-called «god carrying a sickle» — if it is a god at all! —, is very likely connected with agriculture, but it cannot be either Enlil or his variant, or a cosmogonic deity, separator of sky and earth. Under these circumstances, I must regard J. MAKKAY's theory, in its whole as well as in its details, as unfounded.

<sup>85</sup> See H. G. GÜTERBOCK: Kumarbi. Zürich 1946. 105 ff.; E. A. SPEISER: JAOS 62 (1942) 98;102.



not entirely unknown in Mesopotamia either, but it is not enough to pay attention only to the names themselves: their weight and their roles must also be examined. Newertheless, it cannot be denied that among those mentioned above only Anu is regarded as a significant deity in Mesopotamia. Kumarbi is recognizably a form-variant of Enlil, however we have no reason to see him identical with Enlil also in the Hurrian-Hittite myth.<sup>86</sup> He is another deity, although he bears certain features of Enlil. As a whole he cannot be called a really Mesopotamian deity. The Storm God, one of the main figures of the Hurrian pantheon (Tešub),<sup>87</sup> is always of secondary rank in Mesopotamia. And Alalu is so insignificant<sup>88</sup> that without the gleam of the Kumarbi-myths he could hardly receive any attention.

In order to see the relationships correctly, we must examine the role of Anu. The god of the sky, more correctly the deified sky, undoubtedly belongs among the most important figures of the pantheon. However, it is striking that he does not receive a meritorious role in the cosmogonic myths.<sup>89</sup> He is placed at the lead of the pantheon by entirely different sources, viz. the lists of the names of gods.

The lists of the names of gods represent a very old layer in Mesopotamian literacy.<sup>90</sup> The first monuments have been preserved still from the archaic period of writing. Later on again and again new lists were prepared. These lists are always scholarly works. A characteristic theological idea asserts itself in them, but they do not explain it: the theological attitude of the compilers is only revealed by the order of the names.

At the times after the middle of the 3rd millennium B. C., and then in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C., when we have already a larger quantity of sources, in the lists of names of gods — in respect of the systematization — two types can be distinguished. With one of the types I range compilations, in which a fertility god, in most of the cases Enki, is at the head, while in the other group the list is headed by An(u). The theology of the lists of the latter type in the course of time wins almost exclusive acceptance, and the compilers of the lists of gods regarded as canonical finally accepted the priority of An = Anu.

<sup>86</sup> In the further parts of the story Enlil himself also appears.

<sup>87</sup> As to the figure of Tešub see E. v. SCHULER: in: WbM 208 ff.

<sup>88</sup> On the data relating to the — absolutely insignificant — deity named Alalu/u see A. DEIMEL: PB (= ŠL IV, 1. Rome 1950) No. 949, 22; cf. K. TALQUIST: Akkadische Götterepitheta. (StOr, 7.) Helsingfors 1938. 250 ff.

<sup>89</sup> The mythological role of An, or Anu is discussed by H. WOHLSTEIN: Anu in den Urzeitsmythen. RSO 36 (1961) 159–183; Die Gottheit An-Anu in der sumerisch-akkadischen Literatur. WZB 12 (1963) 845–850; Die Gottheit An-Anu in sumerisch-akkadischen Urzeitsmythen. In: In memoriam E. Unger. Baden-Baden 1971. 55–73. See also M. LEIBOVICI: Le dieu-ciel dans les religions du Proche-Orient. In: Ex orbe religionum. Studia G. WIDENGREN. Leiden 1972. Vol. I.

<sup>90</sup> See W. G. LAMBERT: Götterlisten. In: RLA 3, VI (Berlin 1969) 473–479.

The systematizing principle of the lists, on the basis of which the order of the names of gods is fixed, implicitly lays down also certain ideas of theology.<sup>91</sup> Usually those gods are placed side by side, who — according to the given theology — form one group, or even one «family». At the same time, however, the order of the names does not necessarily mean a genealogical relation, especially not in the case of the great gods; it rather denotes the hierarchy of the gods, established according to theological and cultic viewpoints.

The order of the gods of the Hurrian-Hittite myth of Kumarbi obviously stands nearer to the theology of Anu, and according to this it is attached to Mesopotamia with the threads of the scholarly cosmogony.

Up to now little attention has been paid to the fact — although it seems to be a conspicuous characteristic of the myth — that the succession of Alalu, Anu and Kumarbi is no relation of father and son, is no descent but a mere order. The principle of compilation is the same as in the lists of the Sumerian names of gods. The only difference is that the Hittite text added a mythological  *sujet*  to the enumeration.

The first three members of the series of gods are solitary masculine gods. The masculine principle asserts itself with such a consistency that, when in the story it comes at last to begetting, this does not take place in its natural way, but in a quite bizarre form,  *viz.*  Kumarbi bites off and swallows — to follow the euphemism of the Hittite text — the «thigs» or «knee» ( *paršinuš* ) of Anu, and although he spits them out soon, it is already in vain, because the «masculinity» of Anu has been conceived, and he becomes pregnant from it. It makes a special trouble in the assembly of the gods, in what way, through which opening of his body, Kumarbi should bear his burden. This motif, from the viewpoint of the Sumerian traditions, is nothing else than the application of the genealogical principle<sup>92</sup> to such a material which is originally strange to it.

The motif of begetting plays an important role also in Mesopotamian mythology. To all appearances it is one of the ideas originally attached to the figures of the fertility gods.<sup>93</sup> It is frequent in the expressly theological myths, moreover in one or two texts it is also used to the description of cosmogony.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> About this writes in detail — on the basis of early sources — J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Haunia* 28 (1964) 6 ff.; *Introductions cosmiques des listes de dieux*; cf. also W. G. LAMBERT: *Göttergenealogie*. In: *RLA* 3, VI (Berlin 1969) 469–470.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. P. PHILIPPSON: *Genealogie als mythische Form*. *Studien zur Theogonie des Hesiod.* (Symbolae Osloenses, Suppl. 7.) Oslo 1936 = *idem*: *Untersuchungen über den griechischen Mythos*. Zürich 1944. 7–42 = In: *Hesiod*, ed. by E. HERTSCH. Darmstadt 1966. 651–687. — Regarding the background of the genre concerning the history of literature cf. L. RAMLOT: *Les généalogiques bibliques. Un genre littéraire oriental*. *Bible et vie Chrétienne* 60 (1964) 53–70.

<sup>93</sup> See G. KOMORÓCZY: *Egy sumer theogóniai motívum (A Sumerian Motif of Theogony)*. *AntTan* 18 (1971) 177–209, esp. 193 ff. (in Hung.); cp. Å. W. SJÖBERG: *Or* 35 (1966) 287–290; *idem*: *Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher*. *OrSuec* 21 (1972) 87–112.

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g. the *Dispute of Tree and Reed*; cf. J. VAN DIJK: *Acta Orient. Haunia* 28 (1964) 34 ff.; *Les nocces cosmiques*.

However, the long genealogical line, which makes out the essence of the cosmogony of the *Enūma eliš*, is entirely unknown in the early texts. Otherwise the begetting scenes of Sumerian mythology are always characterized by extreme anthropomorphism. In most of the cases the situations are also natural.

According to this, in the Hurro-Hittite Kumarbi-myth the principle of compilation known from the lists of the names of gods and the Sumerian anthropomorphic theogonic motif are combined, that is they are contaminated.

All things considered, the development of the myth of Kumarbi — in my opinion — can be imagined as follows. As it is well-known, the Hurrians got in contact with Mesopotamian culture already in a very early period.<sup>95</sup> It can be presumed that the material, which in the myth of Kumarbi finally proved to be really of Mesopotamian origin, became known to them also in the early times, eventually still in the last third of the 3rd millennium B. C., or at the latest in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. The cosmogonic speculations of the Sumerians at this time did not yet develop into real, long mythological *suĵets*. What the Hurrians borrowed from Mesopotamia, was essentially the material of a higher education, *viz.* names of gods, lists of words, doctrines of primitive scholarship, speculative ideas, formations of thinking and deduction, etc.<sup>96</sup> The myth developed then with them from this raw material, such as it is. At any rate Hurrian mythology developed outside the closer circles of Mesopotamian culture. Its products can be regarded as the own cultural treasures of the Hurrians. It can be presumed that the lively plot of the Kumarbi-myth is also their invention. In this relationship it is not immaterial either that the central figure of the myth, *viz.* Kumarbi also bears a Hurrian name.

For the time being we do not know any clay tablet in the Hurrian language, which would contain the myth of Kumarbi or parts of it.<sup>97</sup> Under such circumstances, without texts, it is rather pointless to talk about the relations of the Hittite composition preserved to us and the unknown Hurrian source material. I shall not do it either. However, I still should like to word one idea,

<sup>95</sup> See I. J. GELB: Hurrians and Subarians. (SAOC, 22.) Chicago 1944; *idem*: Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period. In: Festschrift *J. Friedrich*. Heidelberg 1959. 183–194. — It belongs to this relationship that incantations published recently by J. VAN DIJK (Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte. [VS, NF 1.] Berlin 1971), cannot be closely connected with the traditions of the genre of incantation as known from Mesopotamia, see J. VAN DIJK: *ibidem* 9.

<sup>96</sup> The mythological and literary material, which came to Asia Minor through the mediation of the Hurrians, is known in a comparatively rich and many-sided form, cf. *e.g.* with the text elaborations of J. FRIEDRICH: ArchOr 17, I (= SH, I, 1949) 230–254; ZA 49 NF 15 (1949) 213–255, etc. It can be presumed that this kind of mediation, in which otherwise the Hurrians always modified something in the adopted texts, is a somewhat later phenomenon than the Mesopotamian roots of the cosmogonic poetry of the Hurrians.

<sup>97</sup> But E. LAROCHE: Catalogue No. 345, refers to the fragments of the Hurrian version of the Song of Ullikummi, also himself in an uncertain form; for the time being we cannot say anything about this text.

even if in a cautious form. As I see, it is hardly likely that the Hittite text would be a literal translation, an exact copy of some Hurrian model. No; on the one hand, because the translation — in the modern sense — of the mythological epics in the Ancient East is still a very rare exception;<sup>98</sup> and, on the other hand, because the Hittite version — whether it follows a written model or was written on the basis of oral tradition — was prepared in any case with a definite purpose, and its designation, which for the time being is unknown to us more closely, necessarily influenced the final formation of the text. At any rate, the invocation and the prooimion — in this form — seem to be a Hittite literary characteristic.<sup>99</sup> And the striking phenomenon that the text calls the gods of the Heaven «kings», and even defines the time of their reign, directly points to court view, and as a whole resembles to the way of compilation of Hittite annalistic chronicle writing. The nine years' period of the reign of each «king» is obviously of symbolic value.<sup>100</sup> But also otherwise it is self-evident, irrespective of all this that the Hittites, when they translated the Hurrian epic myth into their own language, at the same time they also fitted the text to their literary taste.

The Hurrian-Hittite cosmogonic myth lived once very likely not only in that one form, which has been preserved by the Hittite texts. It is almost sure that it also had oral versions. These were very likely spread over the whole territory of Asia Minor. According to all indications the Greeks got acquainted with it exactly in Asia Minor. However, the influence of the myth did not only spread towards the west, but it also asserted itself in the east, in the Near Eastern cosmogonic myths of the period,<sup>101</sup> of course not excluding the *Enūma eliš* either.

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<sup>98</sup> See G. KOMORÓCZY: A šumer költészet fordításának elvi kérdései (Questions of Principle of the Translation of Sumerian Poetry). *Filológiai Közlöny* 18 (1972) 237 — 266, esp. 240 ff. (in Hung.).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. B. DE VRIES: The Style of Hittite Epic and Mythology. Diss. Brandeis University, 1967. 127 ff.

<sup>100</sup> The poet obviously wanted to use a «round» figure of symbolic value. However, it is not likely that the number 9 would be in connection with the period of gravidity, because this was counted in 10 months also by the Hittites, as it becomes immediately clear also from the Song of Ullikummi.

<sup>101</sup> About the mediating role of the Hurrians see E. A. SPEISER: The Hurrian Participation in the Civilisations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. CHM 1 (1954) 311 — 327 = *idem*: Biblical and Oriental Studies. Collected Writings. Philadelphia 1967. 244 — 269.