

THE
BABYLONIAN
GILGAMESH
EPIC

INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL EDITION
AND CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Volume I

A. R. George

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is fundamentally a work of textual reconstruction. It seeks to establish an accurate text of the Babylonian Gilgameš for use as a tool in the study of ancient Mesopotamian literature and thought. I have not brought to it the fashionable methodologies of modern literary criticism; that is for others to do. The research that underpins the editions of texts given in the following pages has already generated a translation published three years ago in Penguin Classics. That rendering was aimed at a non-specialist audience and concessions were made in the interests of readability. The translation that accompanies the editions offered below is for Assyriologists and scholars in related fields. Consequently it is in many places less fluent but I hope it is also more exact.

The volume is the culmination of more than sixteen years' personal labour, but it builds on the engagement of others with the text of the epic over a much longer period. Professor W. G. Lambert has been a ceaseless searcher after Gilgameš for almost fifty years. In the 1960s, especially, his publication of tablets from Babylon and Nineveh greatly added to our knowledge of the text and fuelled his intentions of writing a new edition to replace the obsolete book by R. Campbell Thompson. Dr I. L. Finkel's appointment to the staff of the British Museum in 1979 produced another spate of discoveries, which led to a tacit agreement with Lambert to edit the whole poem in partnership. When I arrived in London in 1985, looking for a new research topic, Lambert very generously invited me to join their effort, first by copying the Kuyunjik tablets and subsequently by beginning to write the editions. Both Lambert and Finkel placed at my disposal material they had already produced.

Lambert furnished me with his unpublished copies of the Old Babylonian tablet now split between Berlin and London (OB VA + BM), the two tablets from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₁₋₂), the Middle Babylonian tablet from Ur, since published (MB Ur), Assyrian MS **x**, and six sources of the Standard Babylonian epic (SB MSS **a**₁₋₂, **c**₂, **d**, **d**₂, **w**₁₋₂ and **z**). During the course of my work he drew my attention to still more manuscripts that he had identified (Assyrian MS **z** and SB MSS **E**₄, **V**₄, **Z**₂, **EE**, **i**, **s**, **t** and **v**, as well as parts of **F**₁, **W**₂, **P** and **d**₁). He also provided me with his personal transliterations of OB Harmal₁ and MB Ur.

Finkel made available to me several more sources of the Standard Babylonian epic that he discovered in the British Museum (SB MSS **e**, **k**, **m**₁, **p**, the larger parts of **c** and **h** and, at the last moment, a new piece of **n**), and also passed to me his copies of two stray fragments from Emar (MB Emar₂ **b** and **c**). Though other commitments prevented Lambert and Finkel from contributing more than these materials, nevertheless the debt that the work owes to both is very considerable. To them both I express especial gratitude.

Others, too, have been kind enough to contribute primary materials. Professor Aage Westenholz allowed me use of his copies of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II), a second piece

in Philadelphia (OB UM), the tablet from Nērebtum (OB Ishchali), and Middle Babylonian fragments from Ur, Nippur and Megiddo (MB Ur, MB Nippur₁, MB Megiddo), most of which have since been published in *Studies Lambert*. Professor Aaron Shaffer granted me use of his unpublished copy of the Yale tablet (OB III). Professor Egbert von Weiher allowed me access to his copies of three fragments from Uruk, well before their appearance in *Uruk IV* (SB MSS aa, cc and ee), and sent me unpublished photographs of two of them. Likewise Father Werner R. Mayer passed to me photocopies of J. van Dijk's copies of two pieces from Babylon in advance of their publication in *VAS XXIV* (SB MSS x and y), and Professor Stefan M. Maul made available to me photographs and copies of several tablets from Aššur before their publication in *MDOG* (Assyrian MS y₁₋₂, SB MSS c₁ and c₃). Professor Niek Veldhuis sent me his copies of Middle Babylonian exercises later published in *BiOr 56* and *JCS 52* (MB Nippur₂₋₄). Professor J. N. Postgate led me to the fragment here booked as SB MS W₃. Dr T. Kwasman shared with me his discovery of Rm 956, now part of SB MS d₁. Takayoshi Oshima sent me his copy of MB Megiddo.

Several scholars have generously allowed me to use drafts of unpublished articles. Professor Jacob Klein sent me his forthcoming study of Gilgameš's oppression of Uruk. Professor Michael Schwartz forwarded to me on request a paper on Gilgameš in Arabic magic. Professor W. G. Lambert furnished me with a draft of his treatment of an incantation in which Gilgameš appears as an underworld god, and with his edition of a fragment of Atra-ḥašis now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Professor Gonzalo Rubio made available to me two papers on Sumerian literary fragments of the Ur III period. Dr Douglas R. Frayne sent me a draft manuscript on the Sumerian Gilgameš.

Many scholars have contributed in other ways. The late Professor O. R. Gurney sent me an unpublished photograph of the Sultantepe tablet, SB MS f. Professor W. G. Lambert collated several signs on the same tablet during a visit to Ankara and passed to me prints of old photographs of George Smith's flood tablets (SB MSS C, J₁ and W₁). He also provided me with Edward Chiera's unpublished collations of the Pennsylvania tablet, as entered in the margins of Chiera's copy of *PBS X/3* and photocopied by David I. Owen. Professor Erle Leichty supplied me with prints of photographs of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II). Dr Laith M. Hussein passed on prints of photographs of the more poorly preserved tablet from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₂). Dr Eleanor Robson took and transmitted to me digital photographs of a Nimrud tablet in Baghdad (Assyrian MS z). Mr Daniel A. Nevez performed the same task in regard to a cast held by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (MB Nippur₂). Dr Rene Kovacs provided me with digital photographs of one of the tablets in the Schøyen Collection (OB Schøyen₂). She and Professor Jens Braarvig, in charge of the collection's publication, expedited my visit to the collection. Professor Miguel Civil sent me a photograph of the Schøyen collection's Sumerian fragments utilized in Chapter 12. Dr Tallay Ornan of the Israel Museum provided me with a photograph of the terracotta published in fig. 14 and drew my attention to the existence of a similar object in the Iraq Museum. Professor Aaron Shaffer gave me a copy of Haupt's *Nimrodepos*. Professor Stephen J. Tinney and Kevin Danti answered several requests for collation and other information relating to the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia. Other

colleagues who responded to queries were Dr Jeanette Fincke, Professor Robert Englund, Professor Manfred Krebernik, Professor Klaas R. Veenhof, Professor Alfonso Archi, M. Dominique Charpin, Dr Graham Cunningham, Dr Heather Baker, Dr John Merkel, Professor Miguel Civil, Professor Pietro Mander, Professor Karl Hecker, Professor Richard L. Zettler, Dr Yuval Goren, Dr Wayne Horowitz, M. J.-Cl. Margueron, M. Yves Calvet, Mr Terence Mitchell, Dr Stephanie Dalley and Mme Florence Malbran-Labat.

In the course of writing this book I have benefited hugely from the advice of those with more experience of Gilgameš than I. Most of the text of the epic was read in seminar with Professor J. D. Hawkins and Professor M. J. Geller between 1985 and 1991. The first draft of the text editions that make up Chapters 5, 6 and 11 was read by Professor Aage Westenholz between 1988 and 1994. The edition of SB Tablet I was read by the late Professor Thorkild Jacobsen in 1991. A large part of the whole book was read by Professor W. G. Lambert in 1998–9. The composite edition of the Standard Babylonian epic in Chapter 11 is derived from synoptic ('score') transliterations of all twelve tablets prepared at the outset of the project. In 1998 these transliterations were checked against the cuneiform copies by Mrs Janet Politi. It is hoped that eventually they will be posted in electronic form on an internet site. All these exercises led to very welcome improvements in my understanding of the text of the epic.

For the first time since Haupt's *Nimrodepos* the individual cuneiform text of every available piece of the Babylonian Gilgameš is given in the plates. The copies are largely from my hand, and all but one prepared from first-hand study of the original tablet, but I did not find it necessary to make new copies of everything. Those Late Babylonian sources published by Lambert in *CT 46* and not recopied since are reproduced here. So too are Finkel's copy of SB MS q, originally published in *AfO 29–30*, von Weiher's copy of SB MS ee from *Uruk IV*, Maul's copies of the tablets from Aššur in recent issues of *MDOG* and Oshima's copy of MB Megiddo. In addition I have been glad to include Lambert's previously unpublished copies of OB VA + BM, OB Harmal₁₋₂, SB c₂ and w₁₋₂ and Finkel's unpublished copies of all the fragments identified by him.

It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to the authorities of the many museums visited during the course of the writing of this book, to their trustees, directors and curators for permission to study and publish objects held in their keeping and to individual members of staff for assistance kindly given during my visits: the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr Terence Mitchell and Dr John Curtis, successive Keepers of the Department of the Ancient Near East (formerly Western Asiatic Antiquities), Mr C. B. F. Walker and Dr I. L. Finkel; Dr L. Jakob-Rost, Dr E. Klengel-Brandt and Dr Beate Salje, successive Directors of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, and Dr J. Marzahn, curator of cuneiform tablets; Professors J. A. Brinkman and W. Farber, successive curators of the tablet collections of the Oriental Institute Museum, the University of Chicago, Messrs John Nolan and Jonathan Tenney, assistant curators, and Mr John A. Larsen, museum archivist; Professors Åke W. Sjöberg, Erle Leichty and Stephen J. Tinney, curators of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia; Professors W. W. Hallo and Benjamin R. Foster, curators of the Babylonian Collection, the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, and Dr Ulla

Kasten; the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum and Dr Helen Whitehouse, Assistant Keeper, Department of Antiquities; Dr Veysel Donbaz and Dr Fatma Yıldız, curators of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; the Director and staff of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara; the curator of the Site Museum, Boğazkale, and Mr Peter Neve of the German archaeological expedition; the authorities of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and Dr Osnat Misch-Brandl, Curator of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages; Professor Sultan Moheesen and Dr Abdal Razzaq Moaz, successive Directors-General of Antiquities, the Ministry of Culture, Damascus, Dr Waheed Khayata, Director of the National Museum, Aleppo, and Dr Nasr Sharaf, curator of cuneiform tablets; Dr Muayyad Sa'ïd Damerji, formerly Director-General of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture, Baghdad, Dr Rabi' al-Qaisi, successive Directors of the Iraq Museum, Dr Bahija Khalil Isma'el and Dr Nawala al-Mutawalli, successive heads of the cuneiform section, Dr Donny George Youkhanna and Dr Ahmed Kamil Mohammed; Mr Martin Schøyen, proprietor of the Schøyen Collection, Norway, and Mrs Elizabeth Sørensen, librarian.

For consenting to the reproduction of printed materials over which they have rights, acknowledgements are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, the editors and publishers of *Archiv für Orientforschung*, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Baghdad and its director, Professor R. M. Boehmer, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and its secretary, Professor H. Freydank, and the Cuneiform in the Land of Israel project of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and its director, Dr Wayne Horowitz.

Finally I record my debt to those institutions and funding bodies that have contributed monies to enable me to study at first hand so many different sources in so many different countries: the British Academy, for awards in support of visits to the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, in March 1987, the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in April 1987, the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, in September 1991, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, in September 1992, the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, in September 1997, and the University Museum, Philadelphia, in June 2001; the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for awards in support of study in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, in September 1988 and May 1993, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, in September 1992, the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn., in September 1996, the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in September 1997, the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in the Septembers of 1998 and 1999, and the Schøyen Collection, Spikkestad, in July 2001; and finally the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, for grants in aid of study in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, and the National Museum, Aleppo, in September to October 1999 and March 2001.

In Baghdad I enjoyed in 1987 and 1989 the hospitality of the British Archaeological Expedition under successive directors, Dr J. A. Black and Dr Roger Matthews, and with the help of Dr Graham Philip. In Turkey in 1992 I had the use of the facilities of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Travel to Berlin in May 1993, March 1998 and December 2000 was expedited by the Freie Universität Berlin, and a visit to Philadelphia in September 1996 by the Kevorkian Fund of the University of Pennsylvania. Longer periods of leave abroad that greatly expedited my research and writing were spent in Iraq and the

United States of America in January to August 1989, funded by the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in Germany in October to December 2000, made possible by a Visiting Professorship at the Seminar für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, by kind invitation of Professor Stefan M. Maul. Research leave spent in the United Kingdom was underwritten by the School of Oriental and African Studies in January to March 1996 and September to December 1999, and by the Arts and Humanities Research Board in January to March 2001.

To those named in the preceding paragraphs, institutions and individuals, as well as to those whose names should have appeared but were omitted by oversight, go my heartfelt thanks. All of them have helped in one way or another to make this book. None of them is responsible for those errors of fact and opinion that surely lurk within.

The inception of my labour on Gilgameš coincided with the appearance of an extraordinary spoof article in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 4 October 1985 (Michael Krüger, 'Das 12. Buch: Entdeckungen der Gilgamesch-Forschung', brought to my attention by Professor Aaron Shaffer), which reported a loan by the Iraq Museum to the University of Washington of '13 Tontafeln mit bisher unbekanntem Texten aus dem Umfeld der Gilgamesch-Legende', and described the astonishing 'discovery', made on the basis of the supposed new material, that the epic's original ending had the god of the heavens, Anu, make Gilgameš immortal as his son and substitute. The following years produced surprises but nothing to match that either in boldness or in invention.

More solid developments greeted the closing stages of the book's preparation, with the discovery of the important early Neo-Assyrian fragments in Berlin and the exciting Old Babylonian pieces in Norway. Indeed, the spate of new sources for the epic—more recently a flood—shows no sign of drying up. On this account this book does not quite succeed in its objective, to bring together in one place all the currently extant sources of the Babylonian Gilgameš. Already another manuscript from Aššur is known, a source for SB Tablet I that Professor Stefan M. Maul discovered too late for inclusion here. A more intriguing tablet of Gilgameš is reported to have been unearthed in 1994 in the Late Bronze Age house of Urtenu at Ugarit. Enquiries about this text met with no reply, but I understand that M. Daniel Arnaud of the Sorbonne will publish it in due course. Other sources will surely follow.

A. R. George

London
26 April 2002

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

<i>List of Figures in the Text</i>	xv
<i>Bibliographical Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Other Conventions</i>	xxxv

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. The Literary History of the Epic of Gilgameš	3
Introduction	3
Gilgameš in Old Sumerian literature?	4
The Sumerian poems of Gilgameš	7
The origins of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš	17
The Old Babylonian Gilgameš	22
The Middle Babylonian Gilgameš	24
Šin-lēqi-unninni and the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic	28
The Epic of Gilgameš in the literary life of Babylonia	33
Case studies in the evolution of the epic	39
Tablet XII: what, when and why?	47
The Epic of Gilgameš outside the cuneiform tradition	54
2. The Name of Gilgameš and its History	71
3. Literary, Historical and Religious Traditions About Gilgameš	91
Gilgameš and the wall of Uruk	91
Gilgameš the hero	92
Gilgameš the king	101
Gilgameš the god	119
Other attestations of Gilgameš	136
4. Enkidu and Others	138
Enkidu	138
Humbaba	144
Ninsun	147

Šamḥat	148
Šiduri	148
Ur-šanabi and Sursunabu	149
Ūta-napišti, son of Ubār-Tutu	152

PART TWO: THE OLDER VERSIONS OF THE EPIC

5. Old Babylonian Tablets and Fragments	159
The Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB Tablets II and III)	159
A fragment in Philadelphia (OB UM)	216
Two tablets now in Norway (OB Schøyen)	219
An excerpt tablet from Nippur (OB Nippur)	241
The tablets from Šaduppûm (OB Harmal)	246
An excerpt tablet from Nērebtum (OB Ishchali)	259
A tablet in Baghdad (OB IM)	267
The tablet reportedly from Sippar (OB VA+BM)	272
6. Middle Babylonian Tablets and Fragments	287
The exercise tablets from Nippur (MB Nippur)	287
The Ur tablet (MB Ur)	294
The fragments from Boğazköy (MB Boğ)	306
The fragments from Emar (MB Emar)	326
The Megiddo fragment (MB Megiddo)	339
7. Assyrian Fragments of One or More Intermediate Versions	348
The fragments from Aššur (Assyrian MSS x and y)	353
A tablet from Nimrud (Assyrian MS z)	364
The excerpt tablet from Sultantepe (Assyrian MS e)	369
A variant version at Nineveh? (Kuyunjik MSS YY and ZZ)	373

PART THREE: THE STANDARD BABYLONIAN EPIC

8. The Manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Epic	379
On the Kuyunjik manuscripts	381
Tablet I	391
Tablet II	395
Tablet III	399
Tablet IV	400
Tablet V	403

Tablet VI	404
Tablet VII	406
Tablet VIII	408
Tablet IX	409
Tablet X	410
Tablet XI	411
Tablet XII	415
9. Introduction to the Text of the Standard Babylonian Epic	418
Textual variants and recensional differences	419
Some features of language and style	431
Spelling conventions in the Kuyunjik manuscripts	437
Concluding remarks	443
10. Synopsis and Exegesis of the Standard Babylonian Epic	444
Tablet I	444
Tablet II	455
Tablet III	458
Tablet IV	463
Tablet V	466
Tablet VI	470
Tablet VII	478
Tablet VIII	484
Tablet IX	490
Tablet X	498
Tablet XI	508
Tablet XII	528
11. Edition of the Standard Babylonian Epic	531
Summary list of manuscripts	531
Tablet I	535
Tablet II	558
Tablet III	572
Tablet IV	586
Tablet V	602
Tablet VI	616
Tablet VII	632
Tablet VIII	648
Tablet IX	666
Tablet X	676
Tablet XI	700
Tablet XII	726
Colophons of the manuscripts	736

VOLUME II

12. Bilgames and the Netherworld 172–End	743
Manuscripts	745
Transliteration	748
Translation of the Sumerian text	771
13. Critical and Philological Notes on the Standard Babylonian Epic	778
Tablet I	778
Tablet II	804
Tablet III	809
Tablet IV	817
Tablet V	821
Tablet VI	829
Tablet VII	844
Tablet VIII	852
Tablet IX	862
Tablet X	868
Tablet XI	878
Tablet XII and Bilgames and the Netherworld 172–end	898
<i>Bibliography</i>	906
<i>General Index</i>	951
<i>Philological Index</i>	963
<i>Selective Index of Quotations, Previous Publication, and Other Citations</i>	965
<i>Index of Cuneiform Tablets and Other Objects by Museum Number</i>	977

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Plates 1–147

LIST OF FIGURES IN THE TEXT

VOLUME I

1. Cylinder seal of dark brown agate and modern impression depicting Gilgameš and Enkidu despatching the Bull of Heaven. SC 1989; Neo-Assyrian style; height 3.9 cm, diameter 1.7 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 101
2. Stone mace-head dedicated to the divine Gilgameš by Ur-Numušda. SC 4577; probably Ur III; width 5.3 cm, diameter 6.7 cm. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 123
3. The tablet OB Schøyen₁, obverse (*left*) and reverse (*right*). SC 2652/5; height 3.6 cm, breadth 7.1 cm, thickness 2.8 cm. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 222
4. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, obverse (*left*) and reverse (*right*). SC 3025; height 20.3 cm, breadth 7.3 cm, thickness 3.2 cm. Photographs by M. Gallery Kovacs, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 228
5. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of upper obverse. Photographs by M. Gallery Kovacs, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 229
6. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of lower obverse. Photographs by M. Gallery Kovacs, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 230
7. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of upper reverse. Photographs by M. Gallery Kovacs, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 231
8. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of lower reverse. Photographs by M. Gallery Kovacs, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 232–3
9. The two fragments of OB VA + BM, joined to reveal consecutive text on the reverse. Scale 1 : 1. Photograph courtesy of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. 274
10. The tablet SB MS bb, obverse (*left*) and reverse (*right*). Scale 5 : 4. Photographs courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. 397
11. The tablet SB MS ee. Scale 5 : 4. The original number 23013 has been altered by hand to 23018. Photograph courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. 398
12. George Smith's Flood tablets, SB MSS J₁ (*top right*) and parts of W₁ (*top left*) and C (*bottom*), obverse. Photographed c.1873 when Smith was still rebuilding MS C. © The British Museum. 413
13. George Smith's Flood tablets, SB MSS J₁ (*top right*) and parts of W₁ (*top left*) and C (*bottom*), reverse. Photographed c.1873 when Smith was still rebuilding MS C. © The Trustees of the British Museum. 414

14. Terracotta plaque apparently depicting a man tearing out the heart of a slaughtered bull. Israel Museum 70.71.571; Old Babylonian; height 7.5 cm, width 13.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 477

VOLUME II

15. The two fragments of BN MS rr, rr₂ = SC 3361 (*top*) and rr₁ = SC 2887 (*bottom*). SC 3361: height 5.7 cm, breadth 9.0 cm, thickness 2.5 cm; SC 2887: height 11.2 cm, breadth 8.4 cm, thickness 2.5 cm. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection. 744

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAA</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool)
<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes</i>
<i>AASF</i>	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>AB</i>	Assyriologische Bibliothek
<i>AbB</i>	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung I: Kraus, <i>Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 43 und 44)</i> II: Frankena, <i>Briefe aus dem British Museum (LIH und CT 2–33)</i> VI: Frankena, <i>Briefe aus dem Berliner Museum</i> VIII: Cagni, <i>Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum (TIM II)</i> XI: Stol, <i>Letters from Collections in Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley</i> XII: van Soldt, <i>Letters in the British Museum</i> [1]
Abel-Winckler, <i>KGV</i>	Abel and Winckler, <i>Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen</i>
<i>ABL</i>	Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i>
<i>ACh Ištar</i>	Viroilleaud, <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne</i> . Fascicles 3 and 7. <i>Ištar</i>
<i>ACh Šamaš</i>	Viroilleaud, <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne</i> . Fascicles 2 and 6. <i>Šamaš</i>
<i>Acta Acad. Scient. Hung.</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>Acta Or</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>Acta Sum</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
<i>ADD</i>	Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i>
<i>ADFU</i>	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
<i>AfK</i>	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AHw</i>	von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
Ali, 'Letters'	Fadhil Abdulwahid Ali, 'Sumerian Letters'
Alster, <i>Proverbs</i>	Alster, <i>Proverbs of Ancient Sumer</i>
<i>AMT</i>	Thompson, <i>Assyrian Medical Texts</i>
<i>ANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>ANET</i>	Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (cuneiform texts) II: Jean, <i>Lettres</i> V: Dossin, <i>Lettres</i> X: Dossin, <i>La correspondance féminine</i> XIV: Birot, <i>Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Sagarâtum</i> XXVI/1: Durand, <i>Archives épistolaires de Mari</i> V/1
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (text editions) XXI: Durand, <i>Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies 11: Jacobsen, <i>The Sumerian King List</i> 16: Güterbock and Jacobsen, <i>Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger</i>
Aula Or	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft V/5: MacMillan, <i>Some Cuneiform Tablets Bearing on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria</i> X/1: Meek, <i>Cuneiform Bilingual Hymns, Prayers and Penitential Psalms</i>
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
Bagh. Mitt.	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAM	Köcher, <i>Die babylonische-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
Bauer, Asb	Bauer, <i>Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i>
Bauer, AWL	Bauer, <i>Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch</i>
BAW	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
BBR	Zimmern, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion</i>
BBS ^t	King, <i>Babylonian Boundary Stones</i>
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Cuneiform Texts I: Hilprecht, <i>Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur</i> VI/1: Ranke, <i>Babylonian Legal and Business Documents</i> XIV: Clay, <i>Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur</i> [1] XXXI: Langdon, <i>Historical and Religious Texts</i>

Behrens, <i>Ninegalla</i>	Behrens, <i>Die Ninegalla-Hymne</i>
Bezold, <i>Cat.</i>	Bezold, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection</i>
Biggs, <i>Šaziga</i>	Biggs, <i>Ša.zi.ga. Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations</i>
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies II: Nies and Keiser, <i>Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities</i> III: Keiser and Shin Theke Kang, <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem</i> IV: Clay, <i>Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia</i> VIII: Hackman, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Birot, <i>Tablettes</i>	Birot, <i>Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babylonienne ancienne</i>
BMS	King, <i>Babylonian Magic and Sorcery</i>
Böck, <i>Morphoskopie</i>	Böck, <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie</i>
Böhl	Böhl, <i>Het Gilgamesj-epos</i>
Böhl, <i>Leiden Coll.</i>	Böhl, <i>Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties</i>
Boissier, <i>Choix</i>	Boissier, <i>Choix des textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne</i>
Boissier, <i>DA</i>	Boissier, <i>Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages</i>
Böllenrücher, <i>Nergal</i>	Böllenrücher, <i>Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal</i>
BOR	<i>Babylonian and Oriental Record</i>
Borger, <i>BAL</i>	Borger, <i>Babylonische-assyrische Lesestücke</i>
Borger, <i>BIWA</i>	Borger, <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i>
Borger, <i>Esarh.</i>	Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</i>
Borger, <i>Zeichenliste</i>	Borger, <i>Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste</i>
Bottéro	Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i>
Braun-Holzinger, <i>Weihgaben</i>	Braun-Holzinger, <i>Mesopotamische Weihgaben der frühdynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit</i>
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan IV: Clay, <i>Epics, Hymns, Omens, and Other Texts</i>
BSA	<i>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Bulletin CSMS</i>	<i>Bulletin</i> , (Canadian) Society for Mesopotamian Studies
CAD	Oppenheim et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
Cavigneaux, <i>Gilgameš et la Mort</i>	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, <i>Gilgameš et la Mort</i>
Cavigneaux, <i>Textes scolaires</i>	Cavigneaux, <i>Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša harê</i>

Cavigneaux, <i>Uruk</i>	Cavigneaux, <i>Uruk. Altbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat Pe XVI-4/5</i>
CDOG	Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 1: Wilhelm, <i>Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch</i> 2: Renger, <i>Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früherer Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne</i>
Chicago Hittite Dictionary	Güterbock and Hoffner, <i>The Hittite Dictionary</i>
Cocquerillat, <i>Palmerais</i>	Cocquerillat, <i>Palmerais et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559–520)</i>
Cohen, <i>Eršemma</i>	Cohen, <i>Sumerian Hymnology: the Eršemma</i>
Cohen, <i>Lamentations</i>	Cohen, <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Mesopotamia</i>
Cooper, <i>Presargonic Inscriptions</i>	Cooper, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions 1. Presargonic Inscriptions</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
Craig, <i>ABRT</i>	Craig, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts</i>
CRRRA	Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 17: Finet, <i>Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> 19: Garelli, <i>Le palais et la royauté</i> 26: Alster, <i>Death in Mesopotamia</i> 28: Hirsch and Hunger, <i>Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. RAI</i> 30: Veenhof, <i>Cuneiform Archives and Libraries</i> 32: Hecker and Sommerfeld, <i>Keilschriftliche Literaturen</i> 43: Proseky, <i>Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East</i> 44: Milano et al., <i>Landscapes</i>
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 5, 13, 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 34: King, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 6: Pinches, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23: Thompson, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 28, 30, 31: Handcock, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 38, 39, 40, 41: Gadd, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 42: Figulla, <i>Cuneiform Texts . . .</i> 43: Figulla, <i>Old Babylonian Letters</i> 44: Pinches, <i>Miscellaneous Texts</i> 46: Lambert and Millard, <i>Babylonian Literary Texts</i> 50: Sollberger, <i>Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Economic Texts</i> 52: Walker, <i>Old Babylonian Letters</i> 58: Alster and Geller, <i>Sumerian Literary Texts</i>
CT Index	Walker, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Index to Parts I–L</i>
CTH	Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i>
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud IV: Wiseman and Black, <i>Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû</i>
Dalley	Dalley, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh', pp. 39–153 in ead., <i>Myths from Mesopotamia</i>
Dalley, <i>Edinburgh</i>	Dalley, <i>A Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Collections of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh</i>
Dandamaev, <i>Slavery David AV</i>	Dandamaev, <i>Slavery in Babylonia</i> Ankum et al., <i>Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino Davidi dedicatae</i>
Deimel, <i>Fara</i>	Deimel, <i>Die Inschriften von Fara</i>
Deimel, <i>ŠL</i>	Deimel, <i>Šumerisches Lexikon</i>
Delitzsch, <i>AL</i>	Delitzsch, <i>Assyrische Lesestücke</i>
van Dijk,	van Dijk, <i>Sumerische Götterlieder 2</i>
<i>Götterlieder II</i>	
van Dijk and Mayer,	van Dijk and Mayer, <i>Texte aus dem Rēš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka</i>
<i>Rēš-Heiligtum</i>	
DP	Allotte de la Fuÿe, <i>Documents présargoniques</i>
Durand, <i>Catalogue EPHE</i>	Durand, <i>Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études</i>
EA	Knudtzon et al., <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i>
Ebeling,	Ebeling, <i>Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'</i>
<i>Handerhebung</i>	
<i>Essays Emerton</i>	Day et al., <i>Wisdom in Ancient Israel</i>
<i>Essays Pope</i>	Marks and Good, <i>Love and Death in the Ancient Near East</i>
Falkenstein,	Falkenstein, <i>Sumerische Götterlieder 1</i>
<i>Götterlieder I</i>	
Falkenstein,	Falkenstein, <i>Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš 1</i>
<i>Inschriften Gudeas</i>	
Falkenstein,	Falkenstein, <i>Topographie von Uruk 1. Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit</i>
<i>Topographie</i>	
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 4: McEwan, <i>Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia</i> 5/I–II: Steible, <i>Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften</i> 9/I–II: Steible, <i>Die Bau- und Weihinschriften der Lagaš-II- und Ur-III-Zeit</i>
Farber, <i>Baby-Beschwörungen</i>	Farber, <i>Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale</i>
Farber, <i>Ištar und Dumuzi</i>	Farber, <i>Beschwörungrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi</i>
<i>Festschrift Friedrich</i>	von Kienle et al., <i>Festschrift Johannes Friedrich</i>
<i>Festschrift von Soden</i>	Dietrich and Loretz, <i>Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament</i>
1995	

<i>Finkelstein Mem. Vol.</i>	Ellis, <i>Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein</i>
<i>Florilegium marianum</i> 1	Durand, <i>Florilegium marianum. Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury</i>
<i>Florilegium marianum</i> 2	Charpin and Durand, <i>Florilegium marianum 2. Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot</i>
Flückiger-Hawker, <i>Urnamma</i>	Flückiger-Hawker, <i>Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition</i>
Foster, <i>Before the Muses</i>	Foster, <i>Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature</i>
Frahm, <i>Sanherib</i>	Frahm, <i>Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften</i>
<i>Fs</i> Boehmer	Finkbeiner et al., <i>Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens</i>
<i>Fs</i> Borger	Maul, <i>Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag</i>
<i>Fs</i> Oelsner	Marzahn and Neumann, <i>Assyriologica et Semitica</i>
<i>Fs</i> Renger	Böck et al., <i>Munuscula Mesopotamica</i>
<i>Fs</i> Römer	Dietrich and Loretz, <i>Dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik</i>
Fuchs, <i>Sargon</i>	Fuchs, <i>Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad</i>
GAG	von Soden, <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i>
Garelli, <i>Gilg.</i>	Garelli, <i>Gilgameš et sa légende</i>
Geller, <i>UHF</i>	Geller, <i>Forerunners to Uduĝ-hul</i>
George, Penguin	George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i>
George, <i>Topog. Texts</i>	George, <i>Babylonian Topographical Texts</i>
Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i>	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.</i>
Gray, <i>Šamaš</i>	Gray, <i>The Šamaš Religious Texts</i>
Grayson, <i>BHLT</i>	Grayson, <i>Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts</i>
Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i>	Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i>
Greengus, <i>Ishchali</i>	Greengus, <i>Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity</i>
Gurney, <i>MB Texts</i>	Gurney, <i>The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur</i>
Güterbock, <i>Kumarbi</i>	Güterbock, <i>Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos</i>
Haupt, <i>ASKT</i>	Haupt, <i>Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte</i>
Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i>	Haupt, <i>Das babylonische Nimrodepos</i>
HAV	<i>Hilprecht Anniversary Volume</i>
Hecker	Hecker, 'Das akkadische Gilgamesch-Epos', in <i>TUAT</i> III/4, pp. 646–744
Hecker, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	Hecker, <i>Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik</i>
Heidel	Heidel, <i>The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels</i>
Horowitz, <i>Cosmic Geography</i>	Horowitz, <i>Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography</i>
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient

I: Edzard, <i>Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient, Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966</i>	
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	14: Lacheman, <i>Excavations at Nuzi 5 Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Hunger, <i>Kolophone</i>	Hunger, <i>Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone</i>
Hunger, <i>Uruk I</i>	Hunger, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IEĜ</i>	
<i>ISET</i>	Çiğ et al., <i>Sumer Edebî Tablet ve Parçaları</i>
<i>Isin</i> II	Hrouda et al., <i>Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt 2. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1975–1978</i>
<i>Isin</i> III	Hrouda et al., <i>Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt 3. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983–1984</i>
ITT	Inventaires des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman
	V: de Genouillac, <i>Époque présargonique, époque d'Agadé, époque d'Ur</i>
<i>Jacobsen Mem. Vol.</i>	Abusch, <i>Riches Hidden in Secret Places</i>
Jacobsen, <i>Harps</i>	Jacobsen, <i>The Harps that Once . . .</i>
Jacobsen, <i>Treasures</i>	Jacobsen, <i>The Treasures of Darkness Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
Jean, <i>Tell Sifr</i>	Jean, <i>Tell Sifr, textes cunéiformes conservés au British Museum, réédités</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, «Ex Oriente Lux»</i>
Jeremias, <i>Izdubar-Nimrod</i>	Jeremias, <i>Izdubar-Nimrod, eine altbabylonische Heldensage</i>
Jestin, <i>NTSS</i>	Jestin, <i>Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak</i>
Jestin, <i>TSS</i>	Jestin, <i>Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak</i>
Jeyes, <i>OB Extispicy</i>	Jeyes, <i>Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen Texts in the British Museum Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	
<i>JRAS</i> (NS)	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (new series)
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>KAĜ</i>	Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts</i>
<i>KAR</i>	Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i>
<i>KAV</i>	Schroeder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i>
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
	VI/1: Jensen, <i>Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen</i>
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

	VI: Hrozný, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i>
	VIII: Otten, <i>Texte der Grabungen 1953 und 1954</i>
	IX: Otten, <i>Vorwiegend Texte der Grabungen 1955 und 1956</i>
	X: Güterbock and Otten, <i>Texte aus Gebäude K, 1</i>
	XIII: Otten, <i>Texte aus Stadtplanquadrat L/18, 2</i>
	XIX: Otten, <i>Aus dem Bezirk des Grossen Tempels</i> [1]
	XXII: Otten and Rüter, <i>Aus dem Bezirk des grossen Tempels</i> [2]
	XXXII: Otten and Rüter, <i>Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt</i>
	XXXVI: Wilhelm, <i>Literarische Texte in sumerischer und akkadischer Sprache</i>
King, <i>Cat. Suppl.</i>	King, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, Supplement</i>
King, <i>STC</i>	King, <i>The Seven Tablets of Creation</i>
Klein, <i>Šulgi</i>	Klein, <i>Three Šulgi Hymns</i>
Koch-Westenholz, <i>Liver Omens</i>	Koch-Westenholz, <i>Babylonian Liver Omens</i>
Kovacs	Kovacs, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i>
Kramer <i>AV</i>	Eichler, <i>Kramer Anniversary Volume</i>
Kraus <i>AV</i>	van Driel et al., <i>Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus</i>
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
	IV: Weidner, <i>Keilschrifturkunden</i> . . .
	VIII: Weidner, <i>Keilschrifturkunden</i> . . .
	XVII: Ehelolf, <i>Mythen und Rituale</i>
	XXX: Ehelolf, <i>Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> . . . seit 1931 [2]
	XXXIII: Otten, <i>Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache</i>
	XXXIV: Ehelolf, <i>Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> . . . 1931 und 1932
	XXXVI: Otten, <i>Vorwiegend Mythen, Epen, Gebete und Texte in althethitischer Sprache</i>
	XXXVII: Köcher, <i>Literarische Texte in akkadischer Sprache</i>
	LX: Klengel, <i>Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i>
<i>Kutscher Mem. Vol.</i>	Rainey, <i>kinattūtu ša dārāti</i>
Labat	Labat, 'L'Épopée de Gilgamesh', in id. et al., <i>Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique</i>
Labat, <i>Commentaires</i>	Labat, <i>Commentaires assyro-babyloniens sur les présages</i>
Labat, <i>TDP</i>	Labat, <i>Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux</i>
Laessøe, <i>Bit Rimki</i>	Laessøe, <i>Studies on the Assyrian Ritual bit rimki</i>
Lafont and Yıldız, <i>Tello Istanbul</i>	Lafont and Yıldız, <i>Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul</i>
Lambert, <i>BWL</i>	Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i>

Lambert, <i>Catalogue, 3rd Suppl.</i>	Lambert, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection. Third Supplement</i>
Lambert, 'Love Lyrics'	Lambert, 'The problem of the Love Lyrics', in Goedicke and Roberts, <i>Unity and Diversity</i>
Lambert and Millard, <i>Atra-ḫasīs</i>	Lambert and Millard, <i>Atra-ḫasīs. The Babylonian Story of the Flood</i>
Lambert and Millard, <i>Catalogue, 2nd Suppl.</i>	Lambert and Millard, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection. Second Supplement</i>
Landsberger, <i>Date Palm</i>	Landsberger, <i>The Date Palm and its By-Products According to Cuneiform Sources</i>
Langdon, <i>BL</i>	Langdon, <i>Babylonian Liturgies</i>
Leichty, <i>Catalogue VI-VIII</i>	Leichty et al., <i>Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI-VIII</i>
Leichty, <i>Izbu</i>	Leichty, <i>The Omen Series Šumma Izbu</i>
Lie, <i>Sar. LIH</i>	Lie, <i>The Inscriptions of Sargon II</i> King, <i>The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi</i>
Limet, <i>Lanthroponymie</i>	Limet, <i>Lanthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d'Ur</i>
Limet, <i>Métal</i>	Limet, <i>Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la III^e dynastie d'Ur</i>
Limet, <i>Sceaux cassites</i>	Limet, <i>Les légendes des sceaux cassites</i>
Litke, <i>God-Lists</i>	Litke, <i>A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists</i>
Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry</i>	Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i>
Livingstone, <i>Mystical Works</i>	Livingstone, <i>Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i>
<i>LKA</i>	Ebeling, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i>
<i>LKU</i>	Falkenstein, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk</i>
<i>LSS</i>	Leipziger semitische Studien
<i>LTBA</i>	<i>Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen</i>
I: Matouš, <i>Gegenstandlisten</i>	I: Matouš, <i>Gegenstandlisten</i>
II: von Soden, <i>Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten</i>	II: von Soden, <i>Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten</i>
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
II ² : Gelb, <i>Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar</i> . 2nd edn	II ² : Gelb, <i>Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar</i> . 2nd edn
III: Gelb, <i>Glossary of Old Akkadian</i>	III: Gelb, <i>Glossary of Old Akkadian</i>
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
12/II: Ebeling, <i>Bruchstücke eines politischen Propagandagedichtes Mari</i> . <i>Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>	12/II: Ebeling, <i>Bruchstücke eines politischen Propagandagedichtes Mari</i> . <i>Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
<i>MARI</i>	<i>Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
<i>Matouš Festschrift</i>	Hruška and Komoróczy, <i>Festschrift Lubor Matouš</i>

Maul, <i>Herz-beruhigungsklagen</i>	Maul, 'Herzberuhigungsklagen'. <i>Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete</i>
Mayer, <i>Gebets-beschwörungen</i>	Mayer, <i>Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“</i>
MCT	Neugebauer and Sachs, <i>Mathematical Cuneiform Texts</i>
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse II: Scheil, <i>Textes élamites-sémitiques, première série</i> XXII: Scheil, <i>Actes juridiques susiens</i> XXVII: van der Meer, <i>Textes scolaires de Suse</i>
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
Meissner, <i>BAW</i>	Meissner, <i>Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch</i>
<i>Mélanges Bîrot</i>	Durand and Kupper, <i>Miscellanea babylonica</i>
<i>Mélanges Finet</i>	Lebeau and Talon, <i>Reflète des deux fleuves</i>
<i>Mélanges Garelli</i>	Charpin and Joannès, <i>Marchands, diplomates et empereurs</i>
<i>Mélanges Limet</i>	Tunca and Deheselle, <i>Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad</i>
Menzel, <i>Tempel Mesopotamian Epic Literature</i>	Menzel, <i>Die Assyrische Tempel</i> Vogelzang and Vanstiphout, <i>Mesopotamian Epic Literature</i>
<i>Mesopotamian Magic</i>	Abusch and van der Toorn, <i>Mesopotamian Magic</i>
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon IV: Landsberger et al., <i>Emesal Vocabulary, Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts</i> V: Landsberger, <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets I-IV</i> VI: Landsberger, <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets V-VII</i> VII: Landsberger, <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets VIII-XII</i> VIII/1: Landsberger, <i>The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia 1. [ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu] Tablet XIII</i> VIII/2: Landsberger, <i>The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia 2. ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets XIV and XVIII</i> IX: Landsberger and Civil, <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablet XV and Related Texts</i> X: Landsberger et al., <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets XVI, XVII, XIX and Related Texts</i> XI: Reiner and Civil, <i>The Series ĤAR-ra = ĥubullu Tablets XX-XXIV and Related Texts</i> XII: Civil et al., <i>The Series Lú = ša and Related Texts</i> XIII: Civil et al., <i>Izi = išānu, Ká-gal = abullu and Níg-ga = makkūru</i>

	XIV: Civil et al., <i>Ea A = nāqu, Aa A = nāqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts</i>
	XVI: Finkel and Civil, <i>The Series SIG₇.ALAN = Nabnūtu</i>
	XVII: Cavigneaux et al., <i>The Series Erimḥuš = anantu and An-ta-gál = šaqū</i>
	SS 1: Civil et al., <i>The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts</i>
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft 1/I: Messerschmidt, <i>Die Inschriften der Stele Nabuna'ids</i> 12/III: Meissner, <i>Assyriologische Studien 4</i> 33: Eisser and Lewy, <i>Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe 1</i>
MVN	Materiali per il vocabulario neo-sumerico X: Grégoire, <i>Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes 1</i> XIII: Sigrist et al., <i>The John Frederick Lewis Collection 2</i>
NABU	<i>Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
Nasrabadi,	Nasrabadi, <i>Untersuchungen zu den Bestattungssitten in Mesopotamien</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts I: Langdon, <i>The H. Weld-Blundell Collection</i> IV: van der Meer, <i>Syllabaries A, B¹ and B with Miscellaneous Lexicographical Texts</i> VI: Langdon, <i>Babylonian Penitential Psalms</i> VII: Langdon, <i>The Herbert Weld Collection</i> XI: Gurney, <i>Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum</i>
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications 2: Luckenbill, <i>The Annals of Sennacherib</i> 53: Delougaz and Jacobsen, <i>The Temple Oval at Khafājāh</i> 78: McCown and Haines, <i>Nippur 1</i> 99: Biggs, <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh</i> 104: Gelb et al., <i>Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OPBF	Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund; Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
Oppenheim, <i>Dreams Or (NS)</i>	Oppenheim, <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i> <i>Orientalia</i> (nova series)
<i>Or Suec</i>	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>

Owen, <i>Nippur PAOS Papers Porada</i>	Owen, <i>Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur Proceedings of the American Oriental Society</i>
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
Parpola, <i>LAS</i>	Parpola, <i>Letters of Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal</i>
Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i>	Parpola, <i>The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh</i>
PAW	Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania I/1: Myrhman, <i>Babylonian Hymns and Prayers</i> I/2: Lutz, <i>Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts</i> II/2: Clay, <i>Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers</i> [3] V: Poebel, <i>Historical and Grammatical Texts</i> X/3: Langdon, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> XV: Legrain, <i>Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon</i>
Pettinato	Pettinato, <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i>
Pohl, <i>Rechtsurkunden</i>	Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen</i>
Postgate, <i>Palace Archive</i>	Postgate, <i>The Governor's Palace Archive</i>
Postgate, <i>Royal Grants</i>	Postgate, <i>Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees</i>
<i>Prosopography NA Empire</i>	Radner and Baker, <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i>
PRU	<i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i> IV: Nougayrol, <i>Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> V: Schaeffer, <i>Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PSD	Sjöberg et al., <i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Philadelphia</i>
R	Rawlinson et al., <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i> I: Rawlinson and Norris, <i>A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldea, Assyria, and Babylonia</i> II: Rawlinson and Norris, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> III: Rawlinson and Smith, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i>

	IV ¹ : Rawlinson and Smith, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i>
	IV ² : Rawlinson and Pinches, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i>
	V: Rawlinson and Pinches, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RAcc.	Thureau-Dangin, <i>Rituels accadiens</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
Reclam ^{2,4,5}	<i>Das Gilgamesch-Epos. Neu übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Albert Schott.</i> Durchgesehen und ergänzt von Wolfram von Soden, 2nd Reclam edn, 1958. Neu herausgegeben von Wolfram von Soden, 4th Reclam edn, 1982. 5th Reclam edn, 1989
Reiner, <i>Šurpu Rép. géogr.</i>	Reiner, <i>Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i>
	II: Edzard and Farber, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur</i>
	III: Groneberg, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit</i>
	V: Nashef, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit</i>
	VIII: Zadok, <i>Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts</i>
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
Richter, <i>Panthea</i>	Richter, <i>Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit</i>
Riftin	Riftin, <i>Staro-Vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniakh SSSR</i>
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1: Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC</i> 2: Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 1. (1114–859 BC)</i> 3: Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 2. (858–745 BC)</i>
RIMB	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2: Frame, <i>Rulers of Babylonia (1157–612 BC)</i>
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 2: Frayne, <i>Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)</i> 3/I: Edzard, <i>Gudea and his Dynasty</i> 3/II: Frayne, <i>Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)</i> 4: Frayne, <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)</i>

RLA	Ebeling et al., <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
Römer, SKIZ	Römer, <i>Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit</i>
RTC	Thureau-Dangin, <i>Receuil des tablettes chaldéennes</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria I: Parpola, <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, 1. Letters from Assyria and the West</i> II: Parpola and Watanabe, <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> III: Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i> VI: Kwasman and Parpola, <i>Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh 1. Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon</i> VII: Fales and Postgate, <i>Imperial Administrative Records 1. Palace and Temple Administration</i> VIII: Hunger, <i>Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings</i> IX: Parpola, <i>Assyrian Prophecies</i> X: Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> XII: Kataja and Whiting, <i>Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> XIII: Cole and Machinist, <i>Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> XIV: Mattila, <i>Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh 2. Assurbanipal through Sin-sarru-iškun</i>
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria, Bulletin</i>
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
Sallaberger, <i>Kalender</i>	Sallaberger, <i>Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit</i>
Salonen, <i>Landfahrzeuge</i>	Salonen, <i>Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, <i>Türen</i>	Salonen, <i>Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, <i>Vögel</i>	Salonen, <i>Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, <i>Wasserfahrzeuge</i>	Salonen, <i>Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien</i>
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBH	Reisner, <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i>
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 10: Owen and Wilhelm, <i>Nuzi at Seventy-Five</i>
Schwemer, <i>Rituale</i>	Daniel Schwemer, <i>Akkadische Rituale aus Hattusa</i>
Sefati, <i>Love Songs</i>	Sefati, <i>Love Songs in Sumerian Literature</i>
Selz, <i>Götterwelt</i>	Selz, <i>Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagas</i>

SEM	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Epics and Myths</i>
Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources'	Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh'
Sjöberg, <i>Mondgott</i>	Sjöberg, <i>Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen</i>
SLT	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Lexical Texts</i>
SLTN	Kramer, <i>Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul</i>
von Soden and Röllig, <i>Syllabar</i>	von Soden and Röllig, <i>Das akkadische Syllabar</i>
Speiser	Speiser, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh', in <i>ANET</i>
SRT	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Religious Texts</i>
Stamm, <i>Namengebung</i>	Stamm, <i>Die akkadische Namengebung</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Stol, <i>Epilepsy</i>	Stol, <i>Epilepsy in Babylonia</i>
Stol, <i>OB History</i>	Stol, <i>Studies in Old Babylonian History</i>
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
Streck, <i>Asb.</i>	Streck, <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige</i>
Streck, <i>Bildersprache</i>	Streck, <i>Die Bildersprache der akkadischen Epik</i>
STT	Gurney et al., <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i>
<i>Studies Diakonoff</i>	Dandamaev, <i>Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East</i>
<i>Studies Greenfield</i>	Zevit et al., <i>Solving Riddles and Untying Knots</i>
<i>Studies Hallo</i>	Cohen et al., <i>The Tablet and the Scroll</i>
<i>Studies Lambert</i>	George and Finkel, <i>Wisdom, Gods and Literature</i>
<i>Studies Moran</i>	Abusch et al., <i>Lingering over Words</i>
<i>Studies Oppenheim</i>	Biggs and Brinkman, <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim</i>
<i>Studies Reiner</i>	Rochberg-Halton, <i>Language, Literature, and History</i>
<i>Studies Sachs</i>	Leichty et al., <i>A Scientific Humanist</i>
<i>Studies Sjöberg</i>	Behrens et al., <i>DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A</i>
<i>Studies Talmon</i>	Fishbane and Tov, 'Sha'arei Talmon'
STVC	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents</i>
<i>Sumerian Gods</i>	Finkel and Geller, <i>Sumerian Gods and their Representations</i>
<i>Symbolae Böhl</i>	Beek et al., <i>Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae</i>
Szlechter, <i>TJA</i>	Szlechter, <i>Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la III^e Dynastie d'Ur et de la I^{re} Dynastie de Babylone</i>
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 71/VII: Klein, <i>The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur</i>
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre I: Thureau-Dangin, <i>Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne</i> III: Thureau-Dangin, <i>Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon</i>

	V: de Genouillac, <i>Textes économiques d'Oumma de l'époque d'Our</i>
	VI: Thureau-Dangin, <i>Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres d'Anu au temps des Séleucides</i>
	XV: de Genouillac, <i>Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre</i> 1
	XVIII: Dossin, <i>Lettres de la première dynastie babylonienne</i> 2
	XX: Lewy, <i>Textes cappadociennes, troisième série</i> 2
TCM	Textes cunéiformes de Mari
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
	III: Sjöberg and Bergmann, <i>The Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns</i>
Thompson, <i>DACG</i>	Thompson, <i>A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology</i>
Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i>	Thompson, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i>
Tigay, <i>Evolution</i>	Tigay, <i>The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic</i>
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
	II: van Dijk, <i>Old Babylonian Letters and Related Material</i>
	IV: van Dijk, <i>Old Babylonian Contracts and Juridical Texts</i>
	V: van Dijk, <i>Old Babylonian Contracts and Related Material</i>
	IX: van Dijk, <i>Texts of Varying Content</i>
Tournay and Shaffer	Tournay and Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i>
TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments
	I/4: Borger et al., <i>Historisch-chronologische Texte</i> 1
	III/3: Römer and Edzard, <i>Mythen und Epen</i> 1
	III/4: Hecker et al., <i>Mythen und Epen</i> 2
TuL	Ebeling, <i>Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier</i>
TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht
	Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
	NF III–IV: Bernhardt and Kramer, <i>Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur</i> 1–2
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
	IX/6: Lutz, <i>The Verdict of a Trial Judge in a Case of Assault and Battery</i>
UE	Ur Excavations
	II: Woolley, <i>The Royal Cemetery, a Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves</i>
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
	I: Gadd et al., <i>Royal Inscriptions</i>
	II: Burrows, <i>Archaic Texts</i>
	III: Legrain, <i>Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur</i>
	V: Figulla, <i>Letters and Documents of the Old Babylonian Period</i>

	VI: Gadd and Kramer, <i>Literary and Religious Texts</i>
	VIII: Sollberger, <i>Royal Inscriptions, Part II</i>
UET 2 Supplement	Alberti and Pomponio, <i>Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Unger, <i>Babylon</i>	Unger, <i>Babylon, die heilige Stadt</i>
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen
	1: Jordan, <i>Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka 1928/29</i>
	7: Nöldeke et al., <i>Siebenter Vorläufiger Bericht . . .</i>
	15: Lenzen et al., <i>XV. Vorläufiger Bericht . . .</i>
	18: Lenzen et al., <i>XVIII. Vorläufiger Bericht . . .</i>
	29–30: Schmidt et al., <i>XXIX. und XXX. Vorläufiger Bericht . . .</i>
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
	II: Zimmern, <i>Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit</i> 1
	V: Ungnad, <i>Neubabylonische Urkunden</i> 3
	X: Zimmern, <i>Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit</i> 2
	XII: Schroeder, <i>Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna</i> 2
	XVI: Schroeder, <i>Altbabylonische Briefe</i>
	XVII: van Dijk, <i>Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte</i>
	XXIV: van Dijk, <i>Literarische Texte aus Babylon</i>
Veenhof <i>AV</i>	van Soldt, <i>Veenhof Anniversary Volume</i>
Volk,	Volk, <i>Die Balaḡ-Komposition Ūru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi</i>
<i>Balaḡ-Komposition</i>	
<i>Wadi Brisa</i>	Weissbach, <i>Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II im Wādī Brīsā und am Nahr el-Kelb</i>
Walker and Dick,	Walker and Dick, <i>The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia</i>
<i>Mīs Pī</i>	
von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i>	von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> 2–3
II–III	
von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i>	von Weiher, <i>Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U</i>
IV–V	18 4–5
Westenholz	U. Westenholz and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh, Enuma elish</i>
Westenholz, <i>Legends</i>	J. Goodnick Westenholz, <i>Legends of the Kings of Akkade</i>
Westenholz, <i>OSP</i> 2	A. Westenholz, <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia</i> 2
Wiggermann,	Wiggermann, <i>Mesopotamian Protective Spirits</i>
<i>Protective Spirits</i>	
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>

WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZJ	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
Yang, <i>Adab</i>	Yang Zhi, <i>Inscriptions from Adab</i>
YOR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches V/3: Clay, <i>A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform</i>
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts I: Clay, <i>Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection</i> II: Lutz, <i>Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa</i> X: Goetze, <i>Old Babylonian Omen Texts</i> XI: van Dijk et al., <i>Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals</i> XII: Feigin and Oppenheim, <i>Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-iluna</i> XIII: Finkelstein, <i>Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters</i> XIX: Beaulieu, <i>Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
Zettler, <i>Ur III Temple</i>	Zettler, <i>The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur</i>

OTHER CONVENTIONS

The symbol // stands *passim* for ‘duplicates’ or ‘is a (near) duplicate of’. In transcription of poetry the single forward slash / denotes the boundary between two lines, the symbol | marks the boundary between adjacent stress-bearing units in the same line, and || signifies a pause or caesura.

In the tables of manuscripts that accompany the individual text editions in Chapters 5–7 and 11 the following abbreviations are used:

C	copy
P	photograph
T	transliterated text
Tr	translation

When these abbreviations appear in lower case (c, p, t, tr) they signify partial treatment, e.g. a translation of only part of the text.

Part One

INTRODUCTION

*The Literary History
of the Epic of Gilgameš*

INTRODUCTION

This book offers a new academic edition of the Babylonian text known today as the Epic of Gilgameš. It seeks to replace the long-obsolete edition of R. Campbell Thompson and the pioneering works of Paul Haupt and Peter Jensen which preceded that edition. In collecting between the covers of a single book every extant fragment of the Babylonian Gilgameš available at the time of writing, it aims to provide a definitive treatment that will place the study of the text on a sound footing until such time as future discoveries make another new edition necessary.

When applied to Gilgameš the term 'epic' is a coinage of convenience, for the word has no counterpart in the Akkadian language. By it is meant a long narrative poem describing heroic events that happen over a period of time. The Babylonian Gilgameš fits this definition well. The poem tells the story of a great king, the hero Gilgameš, who so tyrannizes the people of the city of Uruk that the gods create his counterpart, the wild man Enkidu, to divert him. Enkidu is brought up by animals but seduced by a prostitute and civilized. Gilgameš and Enkidu fight, become inseparable companions and go together on a risky adventure to fell timber in the far Cedar Forest. On the way Gilgameš has a series of terrifying nightmares but nevertheless they slay the forest's guardian, the divinely appointed Humbaba, and fell the cedar. On their return Gilgameš repudiates the overtures of the goddess Ištar and, with Enkidu's help, despatches the monstrous Bull of Heaven that she sends to exact vengeance. For these twin misdemeanours the gods sentence Enkidu to death and he falls sick. He has a vision of the Netherworld and dies, whereupon his friend is distraught with grief. After a magnificent funeral Gilgameš is consumed by the fear of death and sets off on a quest to the ends of the earth. The journey takes him where no mortal has been before, along the Path of the Sun and across the Waters of Death. He comes at last to the realm of the wise Ūta-napišti, who survived the great flood sent by the gods in time immemorial and was granted immortality as a result. Under his instruction Gilgameš learns that there is no secret of everlasting life and is made to recognize his own human frailties. He returns home a wiser man and sets down his story for the benefit of future generations.

The poem's climactic episodes make clear that it is more than just an exciting narrative of great deeds. Alongside the heroic feats lies a profound exploration of the limitations of the human condition. This, and the formal conceit of the epic, at least in its last version, that it comprises Gilgamesh's own words to those that come after, allows it to be read as a piece of 'wisdom' literature with a message for posterity.¹ The poem's preoccupation with human experience and values and its jaundiced view of the authority of individual deities have prompted some to read it as a humanistic work, even the 'first embodiment in dramatic form and in explicit statement of the idea of humanism'.² Nevertheless the poem is not completely impervious to the religiosity of the culture from which it stemmed. In its recognition of man's ultimate powerlessness under the supreme authority of the divine the epic bows to the religious ideology of its time. As a piece of literature the epic leaps the divide between then and now, alone among the poetic narratives of ancient Mesopotamia, but it remains a distinctively Babylonian creation, nonetheless.

The Babylonians referred to the poem by its opening words, 'Surpassing all other kings' (*šūtur eli šarrī*), later 'He who saw the Deep' (*ša naqba īmuru*), and as the Series of Gilgamesh (*iškar Gilgāmeš*). These titles, discussed more fully below, immediately reveal that the epic existed in at least two different versions. The truth is more complex than that, however. The story of Gilgamesh has a long history in the ancient Mesopotamian literary traditions. Not only are there several different versions of the Babylonian epic in Akkadian, depending on time and place, but there are also related poems in Sumerian. Some nineteen centuries separate the oldest Sumerian fragment from the latest Babylonian manuscripts. Indeed, one can well say that the compositions telling the tale of the legendary king of Uruk offer between them a paradigm of ancient Mesopotamian literature. This, the first of four introductory chapters, will place the various Gilgamesh texts in the context of the historical development of the literature of Sumer and Babylonia.³

GILGAMESH IN OLD SUMERIAN LITERATURE?

The earliest recognizable body of literature recovered from ancient Mesopotamia is the Old Sumerian corpus of narrative compositions from the Early Dynastic IIIa period, roughly

¹ See already George, *Epic of Gilgamesh* (Penguin), pp. xxxv–xxxvii. Note also G. Buccellati, 'Wisdom and not the case of Mesopotamia', *JAOs* 101 (1981), pp. 35–47, where the epic is adduced as one of several examples of Babylonian 'wisdom'; cf. especially p. 38: 'Gilgamesh (in its latest version) is the great paradigm of this type of inner adventure [i.e. the acquisition of knowledge through humility], a fact that has largely gone unnoticed because of the outer "epical" garb.'

² G. K. Gresseth, 'The Gilgamesh epic and Homer', *Classical Journal* 70 (Apr.–May 1975), p. 16; see also W. L. Moran, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh: a document of ancient humanism', *Bulletin CSMS* 22 (1991), pp. 15–22.

³ An earlier and much briefer attempt to do this is W. G. Lambert's essay 'Zum Forschungsstand der sumerisch-babylonischen Literatur-Geschichte', *ZDMG* Suppl. 3 (1975), pp. 65–9; though overtaken by the discoveries of recent years it remains a valuable account. The longer treatment by J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), is marred by a tendency to see the various second-millennium fragments of the epic as standing in a single lineal descent. Newly discovered sources have made it ever more clear that the second millennium was characterized by a profusion of deviant texts.

the mid-third millennium BC in the conventional chronology.⁴ Texts of this archaic corpus can be properly understood only when later versions are extant. Thus manuscripts of the Instructions of Šuruppak from Abu Šalabikh and Adab and three copies of the Keš Temple Hymn from Abu Šalabikh are largely comprehensible.⁵ Texts known only from archaic versions, such as the collection of 'zà.me-hymns', still present formidable problems of interpretation.⁶ This remains true when copies survive from different towns, as with the mythological texts from Abu Šalabikh, Mari and Ebla—for example, the Sumerian composition in praise of Amašumgal⁷ and an archaic Old Akkadian myth involving Šamaš and other deities.⁸

Three Sumerian texts from this archaic corpus have been claimed, at one time or another, as compositions involving Gilgamesh. First, a mythological text from Abu Šalabikh that describes the lovemaking of King Lugalbanda of Uruk and the goddess Ninsun has been supposed to relate the birth of Gilgamesh.⁹ Lugalbanda and Ninsun are well known in later Sumerian literary tradition as the parents of Gilgamesh but the hero's name does not occur in the fragment. In the current state of knowledge the interpretation of any part of the text as referring to a birth involves a high degree of imagination and should be repudiated as unproven. The succession of legendary kings of Uruk—Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, Gilgamesh—occupied a large proportion of the later corpus of poetic narrative in Sumerian, and the importance of this text for Gilgamesh studies is that it proves this dynasty was already a source of literary inspiration in the mid-third millennium.¹⁰

A second text is the composition in praise of Amašumgal that was mentioned earlier as an example of archaic literature known from copies found at Abu Šalabikh, Mari and Ebla. Before it was published the Ebla version of the text was claimed as a legend about Gilgamesh and Aratta,¹¹ but a scholarly study of the two Ebla tablets found no reference to

⁴ A brief list of this literature is given by J. A. Black, 'Some structural features of Sumerian narrative poetry: Appendix A', *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*, p. 92; for an extensive description of the texts from Fara and Abu Šalabikh see M. Krebernik, 'Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Šalābīh', in J. Bauer et al., *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (OBO 160/1; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1998), pp. 237–427.

⁵ For the former see B. Alster, *The Instructions of Suruppak* (Copenhagen, 1974), pp. 11–25, for the latter, R. D. Biggs, 'An archaic version of the Kesh Temple Hymn from Tell Abū Šalābīh', *ZA* 61 (1971), pp. 193–207.

⁶ R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīh* (OIP 99; Chicago, 1974), pp. 45–56; see further W. G. Lambert's review in *BSOAS* 39 (1976), pp. 428–32; M. Krebernik, 'Zur Einleitung der zà-me-Hymnen aus Tell Abū Šalābīh', in P. Calmeyer et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 151–7.

⁷ Biggs, *OIP* 99 278 // D. O. Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes aus dem Archiv L. 2769* (ARET V; Rome, 1984), nos. 20–1; a version from Mari is not yet published (TH 80.111, see Black, loc. cit.)

⁸ Biggs, *OIP* 99 326 (+ 342 // Edzard, *ARET* V 6, on which see W. G. Lambert, 'Notes on a work of the most ancient Semitic literature', *JCS* 41 (1989), pp. 1–32; id., 'The language of *ARET* V 6 and 7', and M. Krebernik, 'Mesopotamian myths at Ebla: *ARET* 5, 6 and *ARET* 5, 7', both in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (Quaderna di semiotica 18; Florence, 1992), pp. 41–62 and 63–149.

⁹ *OIP* 99 327, last edited by T. Jacobsen, 'Lugalbanda and Ninsuna', *JCS* 41 (1989), pp. 69–86; controversially reinterpreted by D. R. Frayne, 'The birth of Gilgamesh in ancient Mesopotamian art', *Bulletin CSMS* 34 (1999), pp. 39–49.

¹⁰ See already B. Alster, 'Lugalbanda and the early epic tradition in Mesopotamia', *Studies Moran*, p. 60.

¹¹ G. Pettinato, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla* (MEE 1; Naples, 1979), nos. 2093–4; cf. id., *Ebla. Un impero inciso nell'argilla* (Milan, 1979), p. 257.

Gilgameš.¹² According to later tradition, Amašumgalanna signifies the ruler of Uruk in his role as Dumuzi, the husband of Inanna. Dumuzi is the subject of a large body of later Sumerian literature and it would be no surprise to find a text devoted to his praise in the Old Sumerian corpus. Nevertheless, the claim of association with Gilgameš persists, for the composition has recently been referred to as the ‘Early Dynastic Hymn to Gilgameš’. For my part I see little in the text, if anything, to support the statement of the commentator who coined this title that ‘many allusions to episodes appearing in the later-attested Gilgameš cycle of legends do appear, and there can be little doubt that this composition as a whole glorified Gilgameš’.¹³

It is true that little of the text is readily intelligible, despite the fact that it is damaged only in its last sixth. However, the relatively complete state of preservation of the text immediately gives rise to a formal objection. Given that the Early Dynastic spelling of the name of Gilgameš is well known and immediately recognizable (see Chapter 2), an identification of this text as a hymn to Gilgameš rests on the unacceptable presumption that its composer omitted to identify by name the object of his adoration, unless he did so right at the end where the text is damaged. Perhaps in time detailed justification for this controversial interpretation will be put forward, but until then the text should be disregarded as far as the literary history of Gilgameš is concerned.

The third Old Sumerian tablet in question is not yet fully published and cannot be described definitively. Now in Norway as part of the Schøyen Collection, it has been provisionally identified by an anonymous cataloguer as an archaic manuscript of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven.¹⁴ Personal study of the piece did not lead to a specific identification but gave no grounds for agreeing with the cataloguer.

The early rulers of Uruk had a great impact on poets of the third millennium, much as the Trojan war and its aftermath had on Homer. The reigns of Enmerkar, Lugalbanda and Gilgameš entered legend as the heroic age of Sumer. One can imagine that court minstrels and storytellers began to compose oral ‘lays of ancient Uruk’ soon after the lifetime of these heroes, and it would then be no surprise for epic tales of Gilgameš and his predecessors in due course to appear in writing. At the moment one cannot be sure that this happened in the Early Dynastic period, but it had certainly happened by the end of the millennium.

¹² See Edzard, *ARET V*, p. 39: ‘Während Aratta in der Tat vorkommt, finde ich keinen deutlichen Hinweise auf Gilgameš. Protagonist ist, nach mehrfachem Vorkommen zu urteilen, sowie nach der Doxologie ‘Ama-ušum.’ Pettinato’s identification may have been based on a misreading of *ARET V* 21 v 2: GIŠ URU GA NE as bil₁(GIŠ.NE). ga.mes, but the comments of J. D. Bing, ‘Gilgamesh and Lugalbanda in the Fara period’, *ANES* 9 (1977), p. 2, suggest otherwise.

¹³ Frayne, *Bulletin GSMS*, p. 39, where ‘[*ARET V*] nos. 5 and 6’ is a misprint for nos. 20 and 21.

¹⁴ A colour photograph of the text, SC 2652/3, appears on the Schøyen Collection’s website at <http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/4/4.3/431.html> (ed. E. G. Sørensen, as read in June 2001). The accompanying notes report: ‘MS in Old Sumerian on clay, ca 2600 BC, 1 tablet, 8.3 × 9.1 × 2.4 cm, 3 columns, 25 compartments in cuneiform script . . . This is the earliest tablet of Gilgamesh, more than 600 years older than any other tablet known, written about 100 years after Gilgamesh died. Only 3 compartments have so far been read, seeming to be from Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven, one of the 5 tales that later merged to form the epic of Gilgamesh. The remaining 22 compartments need to be read to establish that the text really is Gilgamesh.’

THE SUMERIAN POEMS OF GILGAMEŠ

While the hero’s name is Gilgameš in Akkadian it is Bilgames in Sumerian (see Chapter 2). In referring to and quoting from the Sumerian poems I retain the Sumerian form of the name. So in English we read of Odysseus in Homer and Ulysses in Vergil. The relationship with Gilgameš claimed by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur in the last century of the third millennium is discussed below, in Chapter 3, the section on family connections. From the point of view of literary history the salient point is that what is for the moment our oldest published fragment of a Sumerian Gilgameš poem comes from the Ur III period. It is a fragment of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven from Nippur.¹⁵ In addition, there await publication at least two more fragments of the same period that give literary narrative concerning Gilgameš.¹⁶ One of them is too small to be useful. The other describes how Gilgameš, disporting himself with young men and women, interrupted the dancing to copulate with an otherwise unknown woman and kiss her. This fragment does not fit any of the poems of Gilgameš known from later periods, although it clearly reports the tradition in which the hero tyrannized his people with his excessive appetites for sex and play.

According to present understanding much of the courtly literature of this era—but evidently not all—was set down for posterity in King Šulgi’s academies at Nippur and Ur and developed into the traditional corpus of Sumerian literature that provided the curriculum of Old Babylonian scribal schools. The vast majority of manuscripts of the Sumerian poems about Gilgameš are the products of eighteenth-century scribal apprentices, but we can be reasonably certain that the other Gilgameš poems were once, like Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven, part of the literature of the Ur III period.¹⁷ Their function at this time was probably to provide entertainment at court. Music and singing were in all periods much in demand in ancient Mesopotamian palaces, as can be seen from lists of personnel from as far apart in time and space as Neo-Sumerian Girsu, Old Babylonian Mari and Neo-Assyrian Nineveh.¹⁸ Some idea of the circumstances in which the court poets sang can be had from the poem of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven, in which the hero’s musician, Lugalbagagal, plays while his master drinks beer. The royal poets of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi were familiar with the legends of their adopted ‘brother’, Gilgameš, and the poems that celebrated his exploits were surely part of the repertoire of palace minstrels of their time.

Leaving aside the fragments of Ur III date, there are five Sumerian poems that tell legends of Gilgameš, one of them existing in two versions. They survive in different degrees of

¹⁵ *IS ETI* 149, Ni 13230, edited by A. Cavigneaux, ‘Gilgameš et Taureau de Ciel’, *RA* 87 (1993), pp. 101–3.

¹⁶ IM 70101 = 6N-T 450 and IM 70131 = 6N-T 1005, to appear in Gonzalo Rubio’s forthcoming volume of Ur III literary tablets; I am indebted to Rubio for sharing with me his draft editions of these two tablets in advance of publication.

¹⁷ The literature on this point is summarized by L. Matouš, ‘Zur neueren Literatur über das Gilgameš-Epos’, *BiOr* 21 (1964), p. 5.

¹⁸ Fifteen musicians (nar) are listed for the royal household of Lagaš-Girsu in the Ur III inventory published by I. J. Gelb, ‘Homo ludens in early Mesopotamia’, *StOr* 46 (1975), p. 45, ii 16. A comparable Neo-Assyrian fragment records 61 female singers or musicians along with large numbers of other women of what must have been the queen’s household (*SAA* VII 24). Records from Mari listing the many female musical entertainers (*nartum*) resident at court are analysed by N. Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimri-Lim* (Florilegium marianum 4; Paris, 1999), pp. 69–82.

completion, depending on the state of preservation of the extant fragments and the extent to which the text written on them rendered the whole composition. Tablets from Ur, Mē-Turan and elsewhere sometimes provide fuller texts than the more numerous Nippur exemplars.¹⁹ By the eighteenth century it is unlikely that the traditional Sumerian corpus of literature was alive outside those places where scribes were trained. The rise of Babylon, whose kings had no interest in claiming links with the faded glories of Ur, surely killed off any demand that remained for Sumerian entertainment at court. The number of Old Babylonian manuscripts extant for any given composition of the Sumerian corpus thus reflects its popularity as a school copy-book. Bilgames and Hūwawa A, the story of Gilgamesh's expedition to the Cedar Forest, was by far and away the most popular of the five poems, a fact that is explained by the recent discovery that it constituted the last of ten compositions in the second group of set texts encountered by the would-be scribe.²⁰ In contrast, the second version, B, is much less well known and remains incomplete. Bilgames and Akka and Bilgames and the Netherworld both received much attention in the ancient schools and have been recovered almost in their entirety. Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven and the Death of Bilgames were much less in vogue and their plots have, for this reason, only recently been properly understood; neither of them is yet fully recovered.

I give the titles, synopses of plot and other details of the Sumerian poems of Gilgamesh as follows. The order of the texts is arbitrary.

Bilgames and Akka

Incipit: lú.kin.gi₄.a ak.kà, 'The Envoys of Akka'. Known to two ancient catalogues of literary texts as lú.kin.gi₄.a ak and, abbreviated, lú.kin.gi₄.a.²¹ Modern editions by W. H. Ph. Römer, *Das sumerische Kurzepos »Bilgames und Akka«* (AOAT 209/I; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980); D. Katz, *Gilgamesh and Akka* (Groningen, 1993); further sources in C. Wilcke, "'Gilgamesh und Akka". Überlegungen zur Zeit von Entstehung und Niederschrift . . .', in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik. Fs Römer* (AOAT 253; Münster, 1998), pp. 457–85.²²

The story tells how the city-state of Uruk achieved hegemony over the city-state of Kiš. Akka, king of Kiš, sends emissaries to Uruk, evidently to demand the submission of that city. Bilgames seeks the counsel of the elders, putting it to them that Uruk should not submit but should go to war. The elders counsel submission. Bilgames ignores their advice and puts the same proposal to the young men of the city. They agree with Bilgames, lauding his prowess and predicting the rout of Kiš. Bilgames orders his servant Enkidu to prepare for war. Very soon Akka arrives and lays siege to Uruk. Bilgames asks for a volunteer to challenge Akka to single combat. One of his personal guard, the valiant Birhūrturra (the reading of the name

¹⁹ Note also that Tablet XII of the Standard Babylonian epic derives from a version of Bilgames and the Netherworld more complete than that copied out at Nippur, which omits the hero's visit to the Moon God.

²⁰ See S. Tinney, 'On the curricular setting of Sumerian literature', *Iraq* 61 (1999), pp. 159–72.

²¹ S. N. Kramer, 'The oldest literary catalogue', *BASOR* 88 (1942), p. 15, 12; *UET* VI 123, 12, ed. S. N. Kramer, 'A new literary catalogue from Ur', *RA* 55 (1961), p. 171.

²² MS Z, the unpublished source cited by M. Civil, 'Reading Gilgamesh', *Aula Or* 17–18 (1999–2000), pp. 179–89, is in the Schøyen Collection, where it is SC 2652/1 (information courtesy Civil).

is uncertain), duly volunteers, but as soon as he leaves the city he is captured, beaten and brought before Akka. At that moment the steward of Uruk appears on the city wall and Akka asks Birhūrturra if this is Bilgames. Birhūrturra replies that it is not and that if it were battle would surely commence and, in an inevitable sequence of events, Akka would be defeated and captured. For his impudence he receives a second beating. Then Bilgames himself climbs on to the city wall. As the weak cower under the spell of his glory, the young men prepare for battle and, led by Enkidu, go forth from the gate. Meanwhile, Akka has spotted Bilgames on the rampart and asks Birhūrturra again whether it is his king who stands there. Birhūrturra replies in the affirmative and inexorably the sequence of events takes place exactly as he had predicted: battle commences and in due course Akka is defeated and captured. In the dénouement Bilgames addresses Akka as his superior, recalling how Akka had once given him safe refuge. Akka asks Bilgames to repay his favour and Bilgames accordingly lets him go free to Kiš.

Doxology: ⁴bil.ga.mes en kul.aba^{ki}.a.ke₄ zà.mi.zu dūg.ga.àm, 'O Bilgames, lord of Kullab, sweet is your praise!'

Bilgames and Hūwawa, Version A

Incipit: en.e kur lú.ti.la.šē, 'The Lord to the Living One's Land (or Mountain)'.²³ Known by its full title in five ancient catalogues.²⁴ Latest edition by D. O. Edzard, 'Gilgamesh und Hūwawa A', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 165–203, and *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 165–233.²⁵

In fear of death Bilgames turns his thoughts to deeds of glory and proposes an expedition to the fabled Cedar Mountain. His servant Enkidu tells him that he should seek the approval of the Sun God, Utu. This Bilgames does, giving as reason for the expedition that he has noted the impermanence of the human condition and wishes to establish his fame. Utu grants him the help of seven constellations to guide him on his journey. Bilgames mobilizes the young men of Uruk, arms them and sets out. The constellations lead him to the mountains where cedars grow.²⁶ After crossing seven mountain ranges in search of a suitable tree, finally he finds one to his liking. Without further ado he fells the chosen cedar and his companions cut it into logs. Thereupon Hūwawa, the cedars' guardian, awakes and launches at Bilgames one of his auras, the radiant numinous powers that protect him. Bilgames and Enkidu are stunned and fall unconscious. Enkidu wakes and eventually rouses Bilgames too.

²³ The translation of kur lú.ti.la as 'the mountains of the Urartians' by T. Jacobsen, 'The Gilgamesh epic: romantic and tragic vision', *Studies Moran*, pp. 231 f., fn. 1, is typically adventurous but improbable; see further J. Klein and K. Abraham, 'Problems of geography in the Gilgamesh epics: the journey to the "Cedar Forest"', in L. Milano et al. (eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East 3* (CRR 44/III; Padua, 2000), p. 65.

²⁴ *TCL* XV 28, 9', ed. Kramer, *BASOR* 88, p. 17, 10; *ibid.*, p. 15, 10; *UET* VI 123 9, ed. Kramer, *RA* 55, p. 171; *UET* V 86, 14; J. van Dijk, 'Ein spätaltbabylonischer Katalog einer Sammlung sumerischer Briefe', *OrNS* 58 (1989), p. 447, rev. 3' (an OB curricular catalogue of Sumerian literary compositions).

²⁵ Note the following collations and corrections, disregarding misprints (Ur MSS collated): l. 2, UrE: en ⁴bil₄.ga.mes.e [kur lú.ti.la.šē] gēštug₇.[ga].a.ni n[a.an.gub]; l. 41, UrA: [muš].sag.kal zú(oreme) ⁷bi₁[. . .], 'a serpent whose fangs (or tongue) . . .'; l. 66, UrF: gú.ru.na₁; l. 66a, UrF: akkil ka.bi.a; l. 102a, UnB: nu.ub!sig.ge.d[a]m; l. 148a, UrG: ni.te.ni e[š].àm; l. 152c, UrG: min.na.ne.ne.bi eškir₁ k[a.na . . .]; l. 152e, UrA: tuš.a mu.na₁.a[b.bé].

²⁶ Here and elsewhere the translation 'cedar' is conventional; for the problems, botanical and geographical, see Klein and Abraham's discussion in *CRR* 44/III, pp. 65–6.

Bilgames swears to discover the identity of his assailant. Enkidu describes to him the terrible being that is Hūwawa but Bilgames is confident that the two of them will succeed where one would fail.

As they approach Hūwawa's dwelling Bilgames is stopped in his tracks and a voice calls to him, telling him not to be afraid but to kneel on the ground.²⁷ Bilgames then pretends to wish to form a marital alliance with Hūwawa and offers him his sisters, Enmebaragesi and Peštur, as wives. He promises Hūwawa other pleasures of life that are evidently unknown in his remote mountain lair: fine flour, water in leathern bottles, sandals large and small, choice gemstones and other presents. For the betrothal of the sisters and the promise of each further gift the gullible Hūwawa surrenders one of his protective auras. These are conceptualized as great cedars, which Bilgames's men duly cut into logs for the journey home. When Hūwawa has no auras left and is helpless to attack, Bilgames strikes him and takes him prisoner. Hūwawa then pleads for his life, complaining to Utu of Bilgames's treachery. Bilgames shows him princely mercy but Enkidu warns that this is too dangerous: if they let Hūwawa go they will never see home again. As Hūwawa turns on Enkidu in anger, Enkidu cuts the ogre's throat. The heroes take his head to the god Enlil. Enlil angrily asks them why they have killed Hūwawa and tells them they should instead have treated him with every politeness. Enlil distributes Hūwawa's auras.

Doxology: kal.ga 4bil4.ga.mes mī.dug4.ga 4nissaba zà.mí, 'Honour to the mighty Bilgames, praise to Nissaba'.²⁸

Bilgames and Hūwawa, Version B

Incipit: i.a.lu4.lu4,²⁹ which appears in four ancient catalogues.³⁰ Edition by D. O. Edzard, '*Gilgameš und Hūwawa*'. *Zwei Versionen der sumerischen Zedernwaldepisode nebst einer Edition von Version 'B'* (BAW Sitzungsberichte 1993/IV; Munich, 1993).³¹

²⁷ The speaker is not identified but is sometimes taken as Hūwawa (Edzard, *TUAT* III/3, p. 546, fn. a; Tournay and Shaffer, p. 299; George, Penguin, p. 150), sometimes as Enkidu (Pettinato, p. 318; D. Frayne ed. B. R. Foster, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York, 2001), p. 110).

²⁸ Outside Nippur there were other versions of this doxology that mentioned Hūwawa and Enkidu; see Edzard, *ZA* 81, p. 232.

²⁹ This is the common spelling but there are interesting variants in the literary catalogues and elsewhere in the Gilgameš poems: ia4.a.lu4.lu4, i.a.lú.úlu and ia.lú.úlu (see the next footnote), i.a.lu.lu.un (Edzard, *ZA* 81, p. 224, 164), ia4.lu4.lu4 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 107, 120), ia4.lu4 (ibid., p. 120, 18), and a.lu4.lu4 (*PSDA*, p. 109); cf. perhaps i.(a).lum.ma in *OIP* 99 278 iii' 7 // *ARET* V 20 viii 4 // 21 ix 2. The variants make it difficult to believe that the common spelling should be interpreted literally, e.g. 'florissant de graisse' = 'magnifique d'embonpoint' (Cavigneaux), 'anointed one' (B. Alster, *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*, p. 66), 'Oh (you who are) anointed with fine oil' (D. Frayne, *Bulletin CSMS* 34 (1999), p. 46). Civil's translations, 'the one who thrives' (*Farmer's Instructions*, p. 89), 'exuberant' (*Aula Or* 17–18, p. 185), appear to take the first two signs as an exceptional verbal prefix chain. Edzard took them as exclamatory, rendering lum.lum *ad sensum* as 'Heldenhafter'. I suspect the whole sequence to be an interjection, *yalu-lu*; cf. the exclamations written a.lu.lu in lamentations and a.la.la in various contexts. (The paper by G. Marchesi, 'I-a lullum, ú-luh-ha-sú-sú. On the incipit of the Sumerian poem Gilgamesh and Hūwawa B', in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* 2 (Naples, 2000), pp. 673–84, announced in October 2001, appeared too late to be consulted here.)

³⁰ *TCL* XV 28, 36', ed. Kramer, *BASOR* 88, p. 18, 39: ia4.a.lu4.lu4; ibid., p. 15, 14: i.a.lu4.lu4; *UET* VI 123 10, ed. Kramer, *RA* 55, p. 171: i.a.lú.úlu; *UET* V 86, 16: ia.lú.úlu.

³¹ Corrections: l. 68, A better 'ú' di.gim! (cf. Bilgames and Hūwawa A 68); l. 88, B: úš nu.ub.sig;!ge.dam (with copy).

Version B is shorter than Version A and exhibits many minor variations. A major difference is one of plot. At the crucial point in the story, when Bilgames awakes at last from the sleep induced by Hūwawa's auras, instead of encouraging the fearful Enkidu with a show of bravado, the hero doubts his own ability to match the monster in strength and calls on his god, Enki, to 'emerge' in his words. Through the medium of Enkidu, who apparently blurts out the words Bilgames should use, Enki does exactly that and the plot moves directly on to the meeting with Hūwawa and Bilgames's deceitful diplomacy. The very end is missing, together with any doxology. Some speculate that in this version Hūwawa was spared.³²

Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven

Incipit: šul.mè.kam, 'Hero in Battle!', recorded in three ancient catalogues.³³ Edition by A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, 'Gilgameš et Taureau de Ciel (Šul.mè.kam). Textes de Tell Haddad IV', *RA* 87 (1993), pp. 97–129.³⁴

Following a hymnic prologue, Bilgames begins to converse with his mother, the goddess Ninsun. Ninsun gives him instructions to carry out his duties, though what he has to do is for the moment difficult to understand. The passage is repeated as narrative. Soon afterwards Inanna tries to detain Bilgames in her chamber so that he cannot fulfil his secular functions, here epitomized as sitting in judgement. The goddess of sexual love has other plans for him, proposing that he become lord to her lady.³⁵ In some versions Bilgames reports Inanna's overtures to his mother, adding that Inanna accosted him at the city gate in the lee of the wall, a place where prostitutes traditionally plied their trade. Ninsun forbids him to accept Inanna's gifts. Bilgames next encounters Inanna as he goes out to fulfil another of his lordly duties, to capture livestock to replenish the goddess's animal pens. He brusquely orders her out of his way. In the lacuna that follows one may imagine that he poured scorn on her, for when the text resumes, Inanna is found weeping. Her father, An, asks her why she is crying. She answers that it is because she has not been able to get her own way with Bilgames and asks her father for the Bull of Heaven, so that she can kill Bilgames. He objects that the Bull of Heaven grazes at the celestial horizon (for it is the constellation Taurus) and would have no food on earth. Throwing a tantrum Inanna starts to scream,

³² See J. Klein, 'Šulgi and Gilgameš: two brother peers (Šulgi O)', *Kramer AV*, p. 291; Edzard, *BAW Sitzungsberichte* 1993/IV, pp. 56–7; A. Ganter, 'Zum Ausgang von *Gilgameš und Hūwawa* Version B', *NABU* 1995/41. Klein interprets a fragmentary passage of Šulgi Hymn O as reporting the same tradition (*TAPS* 71/VII, p. 10, fn. 31). The passage, quoted below in Ch. 3, the sub-section on family connections, is hardly explicit on this point, however.

³³ *TCL* XV 28, 35', ed. Kramer, *BASOR* 88, p. 18, 38: šul.me.ka; ibid., p. 15, 11: šul.mè.ka; *UET* VI 123, 11, ed. Kramer, *RA* 55, p. 171: šul.mè.kam. The incipit means literally 'He is a Hero of Battle'.

³⁴ Collation: MS A (*VAS* X 196) rev. ii 21' reads en.tur not en.ga; other collations and corrections will appear in George, 'How women weep? Reflections on a passage of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven' in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (CRR 47; Helsinki, in press). An unpublished source is SC 2652/2 in the Schoyen Collection.

³⁵ The crucial line can now be read, thanks to the unpublished tablet now in Norway; the line is quoted below, in Ch. 9, the introduction to SB Tablet VI.

making a noise so infernal that An gives in. Inanna leads the Bull of Heaven down to Uruk, where it devours the date-groves and drinks the river dry.³⁶

Meanwhile Bilgames's minstrel, Lugalgabagal, is entertaining his king during a drinking session. Going outside to relieve himself he sees the Bull amid the devastation and returns to tell Bilgames. The news his minstrel brings in no way diverts the hero from his pleasure, for Bilgames calls for more ale and orders the music to recommence. Only when his thirst is quenched does he prepare for battle. He arms himself and instructs his mother and sister to make sacrifices in the temple of the god Enki. He vows to dismember the Bull of Heaven and give its meat to the poor. As Inanna looks on from the city wall, Bilgames and Enkidu tackle the Bull. Enkidu finds its weak spot and Bilgames duly dispatches the monstrous animal. He hurls one of its haunches at Inanna. Bilgames wishes he could treat her as he has the Bull of Heaven. And just as he had sworn, the carcass is dismembered and its meat given to the poor. Its horns, however, are dedicated to Inanna in her temple, E-anna.

Doxology: gud.an.na ug₃.ga kù 'inanna.ke₄ zà.mi.zu dūg.ga, 'the Bull of Heaven being slain, O holy Inanna sweet is your praise!' (Mê-Turan). A related text is the Gudam poem, a fragment about a mythical bull on the rampage in Uruk; the story mentions Lugalgabagal (as nar.a.ni lugal.gaba.gál.di, 'his minstrel, L.') and Inanna but not Bilgames.³⁷

Bilgames and the Netherworld

Incipit: u₄.ri.a u₄.sūd.rá.ri.a, 'In those Days, in those Far-Off Days'. One of the several texts known to the ancient catalogues as u₄.ri.a.³⁸ Edited by A. Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgames' (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963). Additional material is given by Claus Wilcke, *Kollationen zu den sumerischen literarischen Texten aus Nippur in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 19–21; A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, 'La fin de Gilgames',

³⁶ Ll. 28–9: gud unug⁴.(ga.ke₄) ú mu.un.gu₂.e id a.gi₆.lu (*var.* ág.i.lu, en.gi₇.(GIG).lu.a, en.UL(=gi₆l).lu.a, a.gi₆.lù) a i.na₈.na₈, rendered by Cavigneaux, *RA* 87, p. 124, as 'le Taureau, à Uruk, dévorait la végétation, la rivière, à grandes lappées(?), il en buvait l'eau'. The parallelism between the two lines suggests to my mind that the problematical a.gi₆.lu, etc., is instead a proper noun, the name of the waterway drained by the bull's thirst. The name allows for a good Sumerian etymology: a.gi₆, 'flood wave, current', lu // lù, 'turbid'. Since EN = urun the variants that employ this sign call to mind a syllabic rendering of the Iturungal (normally id.en^{um}.gal). However, in most reconstructions of local topography this waterway met the Euphrates a little downstream of Uruk, and the similarity between the two names may reflect scribal confusion rather than geographical equation.

³⁷ For an edition see W. H. Ph. Römer, 'Miscellanea Sumerologica II. zum sog. Gudam-Text', *BiOr* 48 (1991), 363–78.

³⁸ The composition has the same opening line as the Instructions of Šuruppak and shares an abbreviated form of the incipit, u₄.ri.a, with most manuscripts of Enki's Journey to Nippur and with a fourth text. The abbreviated version entered in seventh position in two of the curricular catalogues (u₄.ri.a in *TCL* XV 28, 6', ed. Kramer, *BASOR* 88, p. 17, 7, and in *ibid.*, p. 15, 7) is shown unambiguously to be Enki's Journey by the curricular catalogue published by van Dijk, *OrNS* 58, p. 447, 7: [u₄].ri.a nam.ba.tar.ra.ba. The twin entries for u₄.ri.a later in the first two catalogues signify either Bilgames and the Netherworld or the Instructions of Šuruppak and a further text (*TCL* XV 28, 13'–14', ed. Kramer, *BASOR* 88, p. 17, 14–15, and *ibid.*, p. 15, 20–1). The order and identity of the three compositions is established by one of the catalogues from Ur, where the full incipits of Enki's Journey, either Bilgames and the Netherworld or the Instructions of Šuruppak, and the fourth composition are given consecutively (*UET* VI 123, ed. Kramer, *RA* 55, pp. 171–2, 28–30): u₄.ri.a nam.ba.tar.ra, u₄.ri.a u₄.sūd₃.ta.ri.a, u₄.ri.a nig.du₂.e. It is uncertain which of these texts is meant by the abbreviated version of the incipit entered in the catalogue *TiM* NF III 56, 6.

Enkidu et les Enfers d'après les manuscrits d'Ur et de Meturan', *Iraq* 62 (2000), pp. 1–19. For a transliteration of ll. 172–end see below, Chapter 12.

This composition begins with a mythological prologue: a long time ago, shortly after the gods had divided the universe between them, there was a huge storm. As the god Enki was sailing down to the Netherworld, presumably to take up residence in his cosmic domain, the Abzu, hailstones piled high in the bottom of his boat and waves churned around it. The storm blew down a willow tree on the bank of the River Euphrates. Out walking one day, the goddess Inanna picked up the willow and took it back to her house in Uruk, where she planted it and waited for it to grow. She looked forward to having furniture made from its timber. As the tree grew it was infested by creatures of evil and Inanna was sad. She told the whole story to the Sun God, her brother Utu, but he did not help her. Then she repeated the story to the hero Bilgames. Bilgames took up his weapons and rid the tree of its vile inhabitants. He felled the tree and gave Inanna timber for the furniture she needed. With the remaining wood he made two playthings, apparently a ball and a mallet.³⁹

Bilgames and the young men of Uruk play with his new toys all day long. The men are worn out by their exertions and their women are kept busy bringing them food and water. The next day, as the game is about to restart, the women complain and the playthings fall through a hole deep into the Netherworld. Bilgames cannot reach them and weeps bitterly at his loss. His servant Enkidu volunteers to go and fetch them. Bilgames warns him about going to the Netherworld. If Enkidu is to avoid fatal consequences in the presence of the shades of the dead he must show the proper respect for them, acting with sensitivity and not drawing attention to himself. There in the Netherworld he will come upon the awful spectacle of the goddess Ereškigal, queen of the dead. Deathly pale and prostrate in perpetual mourning, clothes torn from her breast, she rakes her flesh with her fingernails and tears out her hair. Enkidu goes down to the Netherworld and blithely ignores Bilgames's instructions. He is duly taken captive by the Netherworld and fails to return.

Realizing with horror what has happened, Bilgames petitions the gods. Only Enki is willing to help him. He instructs the Sun God, Utu, to bring up Enkidu's shade as he rises from the Netherworld at dawn. Temporarily reunited, Bilgames and Enkidu embrace. In a long session of question and answer Bilgames asks Enkidu about conditions in the Netherworld. The principal message of the beginning of the heroes' dialogue is that the more sons a man has, the more the thirst that plagues his ghost in the afterlife will be relieved, for in Babylonia it was the responsibility of those who survived the deceased to offer his shade regular libations of fresh water. Shades who are childless suffer particularly badly, for nobody exists above on earth to make the vital offerings to them. The dialogue then turns to a discussion of those who have it in common that they cannot be buried whole, either because they have been disfigured by leprosy or other diseases or because violent ends have mangled their bodies. The particular horror of such a death was not just that the deceased was not whole when buried but that his disablement persisted for eternity in the afterlife. The revulsion towards dying without a full complement of body parts persists in the Near East today.

³⁹ For this understanding of the playthings see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB Tablet XII 1.

One recension adopts a moral tone, dealing also with those who have dishonoured their parents and others who have taken a god's name in vain. Like these, many shades are in for a grim experience in the afterlife but, besides the fathers of many sons, there are others who suffer less. Those who die of old age enjoy a comfortable existence, as blessed in death as in life. Stillborn children are compensated for their fate by an afterlife spent in luxury. However, those who are burned to death disappear in smoke and find no place in the Netherworld.⁴⁰ The message is that the ghosts of such people cannot be summoned from the Netherworld for the ritual offerings that other shades enjoy and so are fated always to haunt the living with thirst unassuaged and hunger unabated, the most feared of all revenant spirits. Burning to death was consequently the worst fate of all, a fitting climax to Enkidu's report. The horror of death by burning endures to this day in Islam.

In one tradition of copying the text ends at this point, but a tablet from Ur provides a continuation that gives a more explicit lesson in how to care for the dead. Enkidu reports that the shades of the 'sons of Sumer and Akkad', and particularly of Girsu, have been overrun by Amorite tribesmen, who keep them away from the places in the Netherworld where the libations of fresh water are received from the world above and force them to make do with foul, polluted water. When Bilgames discovers that the shades of his own forebears suffer the same fate he is shamed into filial piety. In the poem's conclusion he is prompted to fashion statues of his ancestors, to institute mourning rites for them and to instruct the people in the same rites.

Doxology: ur.sag ⁴bil.ga.mes dumu ⁴hin.sún.ka zà.mi.zu dùg.ga.àm, 'O warrior Bilgames, son of Ninsun, sweet is your praise!' (Ur).⁴¹

The Death of Bilgames

Incipit: am.gal.e ba.nú, 'The Great Wild Bull is Lying Down' (Mê-Turan only). Edition by A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la Mort. Textes de Tell Haddad VI* (Groningen: 2000), new study by N. Veldhuis, 'The solution of the dream: a new interpretation of Bilgames' death', *JCS* 53 (2001), pp. 133–48.⁴²

The poem begins with a lament for the stricken Bilgames. He has been seized by Namtar, the emissary of Death, and lies sick and delirious on his deathbed. In his guise as

⁴⁰ The absence of the shades of the burned from the Netherworld has been boldly explained by Alster as implying that death by burning brought 'total annihilation of body and soul' and an end to the cycle of life and death (B. Alster, 'The paradigmatic character of Mesopotamian heroes', *RA* 68 (1974), pp. 59–60). Bauer thought similarly, stating that 'das Verbrennen die völlige Auslöschung des Menschen bedeutete. "Ein Totengeist existiert nicht"' (J. Bauer, 'Der "schlimme Tod" in Mesopotamien', *Studies Sjöberg*, p. 24). However, the texts do not confirm that in Mesopotamian belief death by burning achieved such a result. In the Babylonian diagnostic handbook the ghosts of the burned, *ešem qali*, are a known menace to the living (*Sakikkū* LX 76, ed. Labat, *TDP*, p. 78: *ešem*(gidim) *qá-li-i iššabat*(dab)-su, 'the ghost of one burned to death has seized him'; XXVI 72, ed. Stol, *Epilepsy*, p. 70: *qāt*(šu) *ešem*(gud) *qa-li-i*, 'hand of a ghost of one burned to death'). The ghost of the one burned in a fire is cited among others that died unnatural deaths in an incantation-prayer from an exorcistic ritual against revenant spectres (*LKA* 84 obv. 27: *lu-u ešemmi*(gidim) *šá ina išāni*(izi) *qa-lu-u*, 'or the ghost of one who was burned in fire').

⁴¹ A Nippur manuscript held a shorter doxology, unfortunately broken: [. . .] zà.mi, 'Praise to [. . .]' (Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources', pl. 6, MS H vi 33').

⁴² Veldhuis's important article appeared too late to be utilized in this book. An unpublished source of the Death of Bilgames is housed in the Schøyen Collection as SC 3027; its text is a variant of Cavigneaux's MS N₃ ll. 20–end.

Nudimmud the god Enki shows Bilgames a vision, in which he finds himself at a meeting of the gods' assembly. The business in hand is his own destiny. The gods review his heroic career, his exploits in the Forest of Cedar, his journey to the end of the world and the wisdom he learned from Ziusudra, the survivor of the Deluge. Their predicament is that Bilgames, though a man, is the son of a goddess: should he be mortal or immortal? The final judgement seems to be voiced by Enki. The only mortal, he says, to achieve immortality is that self-same Ziusudra, but in special circumstances. Despite his divine birth Bilgames must descend to the Netherworld like other men. But there he will have a special position as the chief of the shades, sitting in judgement over the dead like Ningišzida and Dumuzi. Not only this, but after his death Bilgames will be commemorated among the living during an annual Festival of Lights, when young men will wrestle with each other. Then Enlil appears and explains in simpler terms the message of the dream thus far: Bilgames was born to be a king but he cannot escape the doom of mortal man. Even so, he is not to despair. In the Netherworld he will be reunited with his family and his beloved Enkidu, and he will be numbered among the lesser deities.

Bilgames awakes, stunned by what he has seen. The text is damaged at this point but it seems that the hero seeks counsel. At all events, the poem launches into a wholesale repetition of the dream, and the simplest explanation of this is that Bilgames is retelling the dream to those whose advice he seeks regarding its import (even if this verbatim repetition does ignore the expected change from third person in the narrative to first in the reportage). The reply of Bilgames's interlocutors is that he should not be sad. Death is inevitable, even for a king, and he should be pleased with the exalted status that he will enjoy after death.

A gap in the text intervenes at this point, after which, prompted by Enki, the people of Uruk set to work on building Bilgames's tomb. The break prevents us from knowing exactly how Enki communicated what was to be done, but the agent was apparently a dog rather than a man.⁴³ The message so conveyed evidently answered the question of where to site Bilgames's tomb so that it would be inviolable. As a result of Enki's wisdom the labour force diverts the River Euphrates and the tomb is built of stone in the river bed. The royal harem and entourage take their places in the tomb and prepare to accompany their king in the afterlife. To ensure that Bilgames and his retinue receive a favourable reception in the Netherworld, gifts are presented to the deities of Ereškigal's court. Then Bilgames himself is laid down. The doorway is sealed with a great stone fashioned for the purpose and the river is returned to its bed so that the site of the tomb cannot be discovered. The people of Uruk mourn their king.

Two different endings survive. One, less well preserved, simply voices the praise of Bilgames, the greatest of kings. The other, more didactic, explains that men past and present live on after death in the memories of those alive. First, the practice of placing votive

⁴³ M 238: maš.gi.bi ur.lugal.la bi.in.búr.lú n[a].me nu.búr.búr, 'that vision, the king's dog solved it, no man solved it'. The second statement seems to preclude the interpretation of ur.lugal.la as a reference to Bilgames's son, known as both Ur-lugal and Ur-Nungal, or alternatively as a reference to the human ur that act as champions of the rulers of Uruk and Aratta in other Sumerian epic poems (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 457–61 etc., Enmerkar and Enshūkešdanna 126–7). Or is this a joke at Ur-lugal's expense?

statues in temples ensures the continued invocation of the name of the dead individual, providing as it does a focus for his funerary cult. Second, the gods have so arranged matters that men beget families, whose function is to continue their line.

Doxologies: ^dbi[l₄].ga.mes [en] kul.aba,^{ki}.k[a? z]à.mi.zu òg.ga.àm, ‘O Bilgames, [lord] of Kullab, sweet is your praise!’ (Nippur); ^dereš.ki.gal ama ^dnin.a.zu.ke, zà.mi.zu òg.ga, ‘O Ereškigal, mother of Ninazu, sweet is your praise!’ (Mê-Turan).

It has often been emphasized that the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš are individual compositions, lacking the development of plot and common themes that hold together the episodes of the Babylonian epic.⁴⁴ This observation was corroborated by the absence of ancient evidence that grouped any of the texts together, outside some catalogues of incipits—where other groupings of texts on thematic grounds occur. However, such evidence has now come to light, for the version of Bilgames and the Netherworld current in Mê-Turan on the River Diyala ended with a short passage not present in the versions from Nippur and Ur, by which means the text was joined to the beginning of Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A. The passage comprises familiar lines put together as a bridge:

šà¹ba-sàg¹mu-ra¹-a¹ni¹ba-ug⁷
 lugal¹e¹nam-ti-la i-ki[n-kin]
 en-e kur l[ú t]i-la-šè¹géstug-ga¹[ni n]a-an-gub

Bilgames and the Netherworld, *Mt*, 27–9, ed. Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62, p. 13

The heart was stricken, his mood despaired (*lit.* his insides were dead).
 The king went searching for life,
 the lord did turn [his] mind to the Living One’s land (*or* mountain).

The first line is typical of Sumerian city laments, also appearing inverted in Bilgames and Ĥuwawa B 9, and adapted in the Death of Bilgames 86 // 176.⁴⁵ The second line recalls similar phrases in the bilingual Poem of Early Rulers and the Babylonian omen tradition.⁴⁶ The third line is the incipit of Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A.

Any attempt to consider the story of Gilgameš’s expedition to the Cedar Forest as a sequel of the story in which Enkidu was taken prisoner in perpetuity in the Netherworld defies logic, for it is very much the living Enkidu that accompanies Gilgameš to Ĥuwawa’s lair.⁴⁷ It seems to me that the two texts have been joined by someone familiar with the Babylonian

⁴⁴ A contrary view is that of J. D. Bing, ‘On the Sumerian Epic of Gilgameš’, *ANES* 7 (1975), pp. 1–11, who speculated that a political theme—tension between *en* and king—was a ‘distinctively Urukian motif’ that ‘brings together a number of episodes of the epic, and for this reason grounds exist for claiming that a Sumerian epic of Gilgameš existed in Uruk dating to Early Dynastic times’. Tension between secular and religious power was a constant factor in ancient Mesopotamian history, however, and not typical of Uruk in the Early Dynastic period alone. Moreover, the episodes identified as carrying this theme occur in the Akkadian and Hittite texts and not in the Sumerian poems. Consequently the evidence does not support a hypothesis of a unified Sumerian epic, oral or written, either in the mid-third millennium or later.

⁴⁵ For references see Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et La Mort*, pp. 43–4; S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 138.

⁴⁶ As already noted by Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62, p. 5, fn. 31; the relevant texts are quoted below in Ch. 3, the sub-sections on Crossing the ocean and on Omens mentioning Gilgameš.

⁴⁷ So already Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62, p. 5.

epic, in which the grief and horror that Enkidu’s death provokes in Gilgameš impel the hero on a search for eternal life. As will be argued later, the Living One of the incipit of Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A is the goal of his quest, the immortal Ziusudra, even though this figure plays no role in the story of Gilgameš’s expedition to the Cedar Forest as it survives.⁴⁸ The three-line bridge therefore is not evidence for a cycle of Sumerian poems. Instead it reveals that the epic story told by the Babylonian poems was already so well embedded in the literary mind in the early eighteenth century BC that people began to adapt the Sumerian poems to fit the expectations aroused by that poem.

In the eighteenth century, a period when Sumerian literature survived almost entirely among teachers and pupils, the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš enjoyed currency only in places of learning. Outside the world of education a new, vibrant poetry was in fashion, using the vernacular language, Babylonian Akkadian, with different degrees of literary affectation that speak for its use in a wide variety of contexts. By the late Old Babylonian period court literature in Sumerian had dwindled almost to nothing. Hymns in praise of the king and prayers to deities on his behalf increasingly used Akkadian.⁴⁹

THE ORIGINS OF THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF GILGAMEŠ

Among the many thousands of Old Babylonian school tablets so far recovered at Nippur, Ur, Isin and other sites are a very few that hold passages from compositions in Akkadian, enough to reveal that, alongside the Sumerian poems of Bilgames, students could also practise their writing skills by setting down passages of Babylonian Gilgameš. Of the several Old Babylonian tablets of the epic edited in this book, one is certainly from a school environment (OB Nippur from House F on Tablet Hill), another very probably (OB Ishchali). As many as four others might also be school tablets (OB IM, OB Harmal₁₋₂, OB Schøyen₂). The Babylonian epic was certainly not part of the traditional curriculum of scribal education in the eighteenth century, but the existence of contemporaneous library tablets inscribed with portions of the poem means that Gilgameš in Akkadian was already established in the written tradition. These library tablets, the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III) and two or three smaller pieces (OB UM, OB VA+BM, probably OB Schøyen₁)—or more probably others like them—may have been the sources from which the scribes of OB Nippur etc. took passages of the Babylonian epic, but this is not the only possible origin of such excerpts. The people of this time could have been familiar with Gilgameš stories in the vernacular Akkadian from an oral tradition. The Gilgameš motifs found on terracotta plaques of the Old Babylonian period support such a view, for they are more likely to reflect people’s knowledge of orally transmitted stories than to witness popular familiarity with a written version.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ On this topic see further below, Ch. 3, the sub-section on Crossing the ocean.

⁴⁹ The process of displacement of Sumerian by Akkadian in royal literature is clearly seen in the chronological list of Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian royal hymns compiled by Klein, *Sulgi*, pp. 226–34.

⁵⁰ On Gilgameš in art see Ch. 3, the sub-section on the Hero in art.

One can imagine that popular interest in Gilgameš was expressed in song, both in court circles and in the marketplace, and that people of all walks of life were used to hearing tales of Gilgameš sung in Akkadian. Young scribes may well have written down passages committed to memory after repeated exposure to sung versions of the story or, perhaps tired of the classical curriculum with its difficult Sumerian poetry, may even have improvised lines in Akkadian for the fun of it. It is significant that the single-column school tablets all hold text from one or other part of the episode of the expedition to the Cedar Forest. As already noted, the comparable Sumerian poem, Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A, held a special place in the school curriculum and the episode in question must have been the most familiar to learner scribes.

The question then arises, how far was the Old Babylonian material in Akkadian dependent on its Sumerian antecedents? In the sixty years since Sumerian literary texts first started to be understood as coherent wholes, the relationship of the Babylonian epic to the Sumerian poems has been examined several times.⁵¹ The results obtained can be recapitulated here in brief. Two episodes of the Standard Babylonian version of Gilgameš tell stories that were already the subject of one of the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš. The expedition against Ĥumbaba in Tablets III–V, which is also well represented in the Old Babylonian sources, can be compared with the two versions of Bilgames and Ĥuwawa. The encounter with Ištar and the Bull of Heaven in Tablet VI, which is not yet extant in the Old Babylonian period, has the same subject matter as Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven. Both episodes share a common plot in general terms but many details are different. Nowhere do passages of the Babylonian poem match any of the Sumerian texts line for line. Some individual lines of the Babylonian poem have counterparts in the Sumerian compositions but nowhere do the two languages tally word for word.

The account of the Deluge in Tablet XI of the Standard Babylonian epic was once thought to derive from the Sumerian flood myth—a text that has nothing to do with the Sumerian Gilgameš—though there was (and still is) no evidence for the incorporation of the flood story in any second-millennium text of the Babylonian Gilgameš. Since the relatively recent recovery of the Babylonian poem of Atra-ḥasīs this view has been revised and the flood story in Tablet XI has been recognized more exactly as a straightforward and sometimes verbatim adaptation of part of that poem. It is thus at least one step removed from Sumerian literary tradition. Tablet XII, on the other hand, is a literal translation of the latter part of Bilgames and the Netherworld and clearly a direct descendant of the Sumerian poem. The meetings of Gilgameš with the elders and townsmen of Uruk in Tablets II–III of the Standard Babylonian poem, also well attested in the Old Babylonian epic, recall similar passages in the early part of Bilgames and Akka but a direct dependence of the Babylonian on the Sumerian is not proved. Both compositions are making use of an

⁵¹ Note especially Samuel Noah Kramer, 'The epic of Gilgameš and its Sumerian sources: a study in literary evolution', *JAO* 64 (1944), pp. 7–23; L. Matouš, 'Les rapports entre la version sumérienne et la version akkadienne de l'épopée de Gilgameš', in P. Garelli (ed.), *Gilgameš et sa légende* (CRRA 7; Paris, 1960), pp. 83–94; Tigay, *Evolution*, Ch. 1.

established literary motif in which a ruler ignores the cautious counsel of the aged in favour of the aggressive urges of youth.⁵²

New evidence in both languages means that more can be said on this subject. Now that its text is almost completely recovered, the one Sumerian poem not mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the Death of Bilgames, can be seen to hold material in common with the death and funeral of Enkidu, as told in Tablets VII–VIII of the Standard Babylonian epic. The dream of doom and the presentation of grave goods to the chthonic gods are the two principal motifs that occur in both texts. The tomb in the river bed, in Mesopotamian literature found only in the Death of Bilgames, may also put in an appearance in Tablet VIII, but the passage in question is not yet complete and is open to other interpretations. Nevertheless, it looks very much as if the Sumerian Death of Bilgames shares a literary pattern with the death of Enkidu in Akkadian. Unfortunately, nothing is extant of this part of the Old Babylonian epic.

The reference to Gilgameš's journey to Ziusudra in the Death of Bilgames, also found in the newly recovered bilingual Poem of Early Rulers, shows that the quest for immortality that occupies Gilgameš in Tablets IX–XI of the Standard Babylonian epic—also known from corresponding passages of the Old Babylonian tablet reportedly from Sippar (OB VA + BM)—was in fact well known in Sumerian literary tradition.

It has previously gone unnoticed that the hero's interview with the spirit of Enkidu in Bilgames and the Netherworld very probably influenced Tablet VII, where in the gap that follows Enkidu's deathbed dream of the Netherworld a few traces of text survive to suggest that on waking he tells his friend of the conditions experienced in the afterlife by different individuals.⁵³

Finally, the new fragments of Bilgames and the Netherworld and the Death of Bilgames from Mêt-Turan both reveal that the contrast formerly observed between the servant Enkidu of the Sumerian poems and the bosom-friend Enkidu of the Babylonian epic was not as clear cut as commentators have conventionally supposed. When Enkidu is taken prisoner by Death in Bilgames and the Netherworld, Gilgameš weeps for him in terms that go far beyond a master regretting the passing of a loyal servant. And when he lies on his own deathbed he is consoled by the knowledge that in the Netherworld he will at last be reunited with his favourite companion, his 'precious friend and little brother'.⁵⁴ The language of these passages makes it clear that the deep love of Gilgameš and Enkidu was a theme that sometimes informed the Sumerian tradition as well as the Babylonian.

Though we obtain thus a picture in which there are more points of contact between the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš and the Babylonian epic than previously observed, nevertheless two essential points remain true with regard to the relationship between the two literary traditions. First, it grows ever clearer that there was no unified Sumerian

⁵² As also in the story of Rehoboam (1 Kgs. 12). The episode of Bilgames and Akka has repeatedly been used as evidence for the nature of political institutions of the third millennium but unwisely so; see R. T. Ridley, 'The saga of an epic: Gilgameš and the constitution of Uruk', *Or ns* 69 (2000), pp. 341–67.

⁵³ See in more detail Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet VII.

⁵⁴ For full documentation see below, the section of Ch. 4 on Enkidu.

Epic of Gilgameš nor even a cycle of related texts, only five separate and independent compositions. The fashioning around the character of Gilgameš of a majestic epic poem, with its great, uniting themes of power and kingship, wilderness and civilization, friendship and love, victory and arrogance, death and life, man and god—this was a Babylonian achievement.

The second point is that in reworking the story of the hero Gilgameš the Babylonian poet did more than adapt the traditional Sumerian literature. In one form or another the Sumerian tradition provided him with some material but other sources were also taken as inspiration. In this regard one thinks first of the legend of the wild man brought up by the animals. There is no sign of this motif in Sumerian literature, though it recurs in other Asian literatures and clearly had a wide currency;⁵⁵ the Sumerian stereotyping of nomads as barbarians is quite another issue. Other episodes extant in Old Babylonian versions that seem not to have been adapted from Sumerian sources, as our knowledge of the corpus now stands, are stages in the taming of Enkidu: the seduction and civilizing by a woman, the dreams portending Enkidu's coming, the combat between the two heroes. All these arose from a need to transform the character of Enkidu from beloved servant to *alter ego* and may have been original inventions. Elsewhere in the extant Old Babylonian epic the dreams about Ĥumbaba, the cursing of the prostitute, the tavern at the world's end and the myth of the Stone Ones all have no parallel in Sumerian literature. Either they are also original inventions or we have yet to discover their sources. Some of these sources may have been Akkadian. The race in darkness along the Path of the Sun is perhaps related to traditional Babylonian stories about Sargon of Akkade, who in the King of Battle and various omen apodoses is said to have marched through a region of darkness before emerging into sunlight.⁵⁶ The siting of the Cedar Forest in the Levant may also reflect the traditions about Sargon and Narām-Sîn, who claimed military successes in the uplands of Amanus and Lebanon.⁵⁷ We must leave out of this discussion episodes that are not certainly part of the Old Babylonian poem—most prominently the Deluge myth, taken over from the poem of Atra-ḥasīs, but also other, more incidental episodes that seem to have drawn eclectically on the mythology of Babylonia and neighbouring regions: the sundering of Lebanon, the cultural myths relating to new technology (oases, sail, deep-sea diving), the myth of the snake and the Plant of Rejuvenation. These may have been later additions and thus irrelevant to a discussion of the origins of the Babylonian poem in its oldest versions.

The presence in the Old Babylonian epic of so much material that seems to have no place in the traditional written literature of the day brings us to the question of the poem's dependence on oral traditions. Real certainty in this regard is made difficult by the obvious absence of evidence for oral literary traditions in long-dead languages. The presence of poetic features supposedly diagnostic of oral telling is evidence compromised by the probability that Babylonian poets adopted the language, style and plots of oral poetry as a conscious

⁵⁵ See most recently A. Panaino, 'Between Mesopotamia and India: some remarks about the Unicorn cycle in Iran', in R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies* (Melammu Symposia 2; Helsinki, 2001), pp. 149–79.

⁵⁶ On the Sargon material see J.-J. Glassner, 'Sargon "roi du combat"', *RA* 79 (1985), pp. 122–4.

⁵⁷ See further below, Ch. 3, the sub-section on Climbing mountains.

mannerism even when composing new written poems.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it is to my mind inconceivable that ancient Mesopotamia was without traditions of oral poetry throughout its long history, both because the majority of people in all periods could not read or write and in the light of the strong traditions of oral literature in the more recent Near East.

The Babylonian Gilgameš is one of several poetic narratives in literary Akkadian that appear fully developed as independent compositions in the Old Babylonian period; alongside Atra-ḥasīs there were also Etana, Anzū and other less long-lived mythological poems. None of these is likely to have sprung from a scholastic background, for at the time Sumerian was the language of instruction and composition. In the particular case of the Epic of Gilgameš, the spontaneity of the poetry and the lack of reliance on the Sumerian poems in matters of detail also makes it very improbable that it is the product of a Babylonian scholar-poet who sat down to write an Akkadian version of the Sumerian poems that he had learned during his education. The author may have known the Sumerian poems but I doubt that he actually used them as primary sources. It is easier to allow that these poems informed his work in a secondary way, as general background, but equally possible that the similarities between the Sumerian and Babylonian material is the result of their dependence on old legends, motifs and other traditional material held in common.

Like other mythological narratives in Akkadian the Epic of Gilgameš was captured in written form at a time when, under pressure from the new political masters, conventional forms were being abandoned. The royal court of Isin was traditionalist and had held to the old style of literature, though the scholars of the academy at Nippur mocked the abilities of their counterparts in the capital.⁵⁹ Under the kings of Larsa and, especially, Babylon, Akkadian joined Sumerian as the vehicle for royal literature. As already noted, royal hymns and inscriptions began predominantly to be phrased in the Akkadian language. Just as it seems the courts of Šulgi and his successors were entertained by minstrels singing the lays of Gilgameš and other ancient kings in Sumerian, so we can assume that, two hundred years later, the courts of Rīm-Sîn and Ĥammurapi heard singers tell the story of the great hero in a language they understood. The written poem of the Old Babylonian period that we possess today in fragments is best imagined as stemming from such a background.

The origins of the Old Babylonian epic are less easy to pin down in time. In my view the written text lies at the end of a long development as a poem transmitted orally. Diakonoff held the view that the origins of the Akkadian Gilgameš epic lay in the Old Akkadian period itself.⁶⁰ However, Old Akkadian forms are nowhere visible in the Old Babylonian epic; if Diakonoff was right, the language of the poem must have undergone in the interval a comprehensive modernization that completely expunged the old dialect. I find that improbable.

⁵⁸ For discussion of the problems that relate to orality in ancient Mesopotamian literature see M. E. Vogelzang and H. L. J. Vansiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?* (Lampeter, 1992), esp. the contributions of B. Alster, 'Interaction of oral and written poetry in early Mesopotamian literature' (pp. 23–69), J. S. Cooper, 'Babbling on: recovering Mesopotamian orality' (pp. 103–22) and P. Michalowski, 'Orality and literacy and early Mesopotamian literature' (pp. 227–45).

⁵⁹ See the pedagogical letter *VAS* XVII 44 ii 28ff. and dupls. edited by J. van Dijk, 'Ein spätbabylonischer Katalog einer Sammlung sumerischer Briefe', *Or NS* 58 (1989), pp. 448–52.

⁶⁰ I. M. Diakonoff, *BiOr* 18 (1961), p. 66, and elsewhere as reported by Matouš, *BiOr* 21 (1964), p. 5.

How exactly the oral material came to be committed to writing is impossible to deduce. In the days before voices could be recorded for posterity literate people must have been impelled to capture oral performance by the only means they knew, in writing. Whether the epic took the form that we know at that moment, or whether it passed through a further period of development as a written text, we cannot know. The interval between the time of the poem's incorporation into the written tradition and the date of the extant Old Babylonian tablets is also an unknown quantity.⁶¹ Nevertheless, such is the beauty and power of the Old Babylonian fragments that one may be sure that the poem was originally the work of a single poetic genius, whether he sang it or wrote it. In the last analysis this is the more important point.

THE OLD BABYLONIAN GILGAMES

It is time to consider in more detail what early Babylonian material we have and what we know of the poem's development in periods for which we have evidence. The texts of the Old Babylonian period are a mixed bunch. As already seen, there are four or five library tablets, by which I mean well-written tablets, usually divided into several columns, that were intended as permanent records of the text. Such tablets speak for the existence of a new written tradition in literary texts composed in Akkadian rather than Sumerian; they may have been the products of scribal apprentices, nevertheless. Two of these library tablets are the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II and III). They form a pair of tablets numbered two and three in a series called 'Surpassing All Other Kings' (*šūtur eli šarrī*), following the first line of the missing first tablet (OB I). Then there is the substantial fragment reportedly from Sippar (OB VA+BM), and also the much smaller pieces that run parallel with the Yale tablet without exactly duplicating it (OB UM, OB Schøyen₁). The last two sources at once make clear that there was more than one version of the epic established in the literary tradition of the Old Babylonian period. This much can also be supposed from the different formats displayed by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, with text divided into six columns, and the Sippar tablet (four columns).

Apart from these five pieces, we have six further Old Babylonian tablets on which excerpts of the epic were written (OB Schøyen₂, OB Nippur, OB Harmal₁₋₂, OB Ishchali, OB IM). They are all inscribed in single columns and at least some of them are the work of schoolboys. Where a given episode survives on more than one of these six tablets there is little verbatim agreement, as in the account of Gilgameš's desecration of the Cedar Forest (OB Ishchali and OB IM). Radically different accounts are extant of the first of Gilgameš's dreams from the journey to the Cedar Forest (OB Harmal₁ and OB Schøyen₂) and of the death of *Ħuwawa* (OB Ishchali and OB Harmal₂). This is further evidence for the existence in the early second millennium of more than one version of the Babylonian epic. Neverthe-

⁶¹ A few third-millennium spellings occur in OB Gilgameš—in the Yale tablet (OB III) and OB VA+BM—but these may have been scribal idiosyncrasies and are not necessarily symptoms of a long tradition of copying.

less, the text of the smaller of the two pieces in the Schøyen Collection is closely related to the text of the Yale tablet and attests to a continuity of written tradition already in the early second millennium. At least some of the single-column tablets were thus excerpts from a text or texts established in the written tradition and witnessed by the library tablets. Others may have resulted from a desire to set down the memory of an oral performance; still others were perhaps ad hoc compositions.

I have left out of this discussion a few Old Babylonian literary fragments found at Nineveh and recently published as possible pieces of the epic.⁶² In language and style the snatches of text preserved on the fragments in question have little or no connection with the extant Old Babylonian fragments of the epic, and no character from the epic occurs in them. Consequently they do not belong with the material collected here.

The episodes of the epic current on the Old Babylonian tablets that are certainly identified as sources for it are as follows. The Pennsylvania and Yale tablets provide a long sequence of text describing the taming of Enkidu and the preparations for the expedition to the Cedar Forest. All the single-column tablets offer episodes from the journey to the Cedar Forest, the slaying of *Ħuwawa* and the felling of the cedar. The tablet probably from Sippar holds episodes from Gilgameš's quest for immortality, when he travels the earth in search of the Flood hero. From this one can see that the essential elements of the narrative are already present in the Old Babylonian period. The incipit preserved on the Pennsylvania tablet shows that the epic began with the hymn *šūtur eli šarrī*, which survives embedded in Tablet I of the later epic.⁶³ Gilgameš's tyranny is presupposed by the taming of Enkidu, who was created to absorb the king's overabundant energy. The whole of the long episode of the Cedar Forest is represented. Enkidu's death is reported as the explicit reason for Gilgameš's wandering the ends of the earth. Gilgameš's subsequent quest for immortality is fully realized.

It appears that the epic was in this period already substantially the same in plot as it was in the better-preserved Standard Babylonian version current in the first millennium. The major elements missing are the fight with the Bull of Heaven, Enkidu's cursing and blessing of the prostitute, his vision of the Netherworld and the Flood myth. None of these missing elements is essential. The killing of *Ħumbaba* could have warranted Enkidu's death on its own, without further sacrilege being committed by slaying the Bull of Heaven; the prostitute's destiny and the vision of Hell are digressions that do not advance the plot; and the point of the story of the Flood could easily be made without telling the tale itself. It may be, therefore, that the Old Babylonian versions of the epic lacked these episodes. In regard to one of them it is worth noting that the Bull of Heaven is not acknowledged by other Old Babylonian poems that cite Gilgameš's achievements, and occurs in art only from the Middle Assyrian period.⁶⁴ Against that, one notes that the Bull of Heaven episode was

⁶² S. Dalley, 'Old Babylonian tablets from Nineveh; and possible pieces of early Gilgameš epic', *Iraq* 63 (2001), pp. 155–63.

⁶³ Lines 29–46, as first observed by A. Shaffer apud D. J. Wiseman, 'A Gilgameš epic fragment from Nimrud', *Iraq* 37 (1974), p. 158, fn. 22.

⁶⁴ See p. 99, on the Death of Bilgames and the Poem of Early Rulers.

included in the Hittite paraphrase. Though this is known from copies of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, it must be closely related to the Babylonian poem as it stood at the end of the Old Babylonian period. Future discoveries of text will reveal whether this episode occurred in the Old Babylonian epic or not.

The Old Babylonian fragments have in common that they all exhibit a simple poetic style and a narrative seemingly bare of philosophical and mythological adornment. The poetic style, in particular, has won the admiration of many modern scholars, who view the Old Babylonian text as aesthetically more pleasing than the 'ornate' and 'prolix' later version of the poem and as witness to a superior text.⁶⁵ The ancients themselves showed no such bias, for the Old Babylonian poem soon began to undergo alteration and adaptation.

THE MIDDLE BABYLONIAN GILGAMESH

Tablets from later in the second millennium offer glimpses of the epic at further stages in its development. The texts have been gathered in the chapter devoted to Middle Babylonian Gilgamesh tablets, but they are a disparate group of tablets that hold little in common. From southern Mesopotamia come the Ur tablet (MB Ur) and the school exercise tablets from Nippur (MB Nippur₁₋₃). The Late Bronze Age was a time when the cuneiform writing system was much in demand in the chanceries of Syria, Palestine and Anatolia, even putting in a brief but famous appearance in Egypt at El-Amarna. As a result Babylonian literary texts were copied throughout the West. Gilgamesh tablets have so far been recovered from Emar on the great bend of the Euphrates (MB Emar₁₋₂), from Ugarit on the Syrian coast (MB Ugarit, unpublished), from Palestine (MB Megiddo) and from Boğazköy in Anatolia, where at least two different versions of the Babylonian poem were known (MB Boğ₁₋₃). In addition, the story so caught the imagination that versions of it were composed in local languages, Hittite and Hurrian.⁶⁶ These remain the only languages of Gilgamesh narratives apart from Sumerian and Akkadian. A recent suggestion that the epic was dramatized in Elamite has been shown to be wrong.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See esp. J. S. Cooper, 'Gilgamesh dreams of Enkidu: the evolution and dilution of narrative', *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, pp. 39–44.

⁶⁶ For the Hittite paraphrase of Gilgamesh (CTH 341.III) see J. Friedrich, 'Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgamesh-Epos', *ZA* 39 (1930), pp. 1–82; H. Otten, 'Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesh-Epos', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), pp. 93–125; id., 'Zur Überlieferung des Gilgamesh-Epos nach den Boğazköy-Texten', in Garelli, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 139–43; E. Laroche, 'Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription, deuxième partie. Mythologie d'origine étrangère. XII. Gilgamesh', *RHA* 26 (1968), pp. 121–38; and *KBo* XIX 114–24. The Hurrian Gilgamesh from Boğazköy (CTH 341.II) still awaits an edition; see M. Salvini, 'Die hurritischen Überlieferungen des Gilgamesh-Epos und der Kešši-Erzählung', in V. Haas (ed.), *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (Xenia 21; Konstanz, 1988), pp. 157–72; M. Nakamura, 'Zum hurritischen Gilgamesh-Epos: ein neuer Zusammenschluß', *SCCNH* 10, pp. 375–8.

⁶⁷ In 1990 a tablet found in Armenia was published as a fragment of an Elamite version of Gilgamesh: I. M. Diakonoff and N. B. Jankowska, 'An Elamite Gilgamesh text from Argištihele, Urartu (Armavir-blur, 8th century B.C.)', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 102–23. This identification was demolished by H. Koch, 'Elamisches Gilgamesh-Epos oder doch Verwaltungstafel?', *ZA* 83 (1993), pp. 219–36. The tablet turned out to be a sixth-century private letter: F. Vallat, 'Épopée de Gilgamesh ou tablette économique de Persépolis? Ni l'un, ni l'autre!', *NABU* 1995/46.

The situation has been made more complex by the discovery of early Neo-Assyrian manuscripts that preserve text deviating from the Standard Babylonian version. These are edited in Chapter 7, where it is argued that they represent fragments of one or more intermediate editions of the epic that remained current on the periphery while the Standard Babylonian version became adopted as the standard or 'canonical' version in Babylonia. One of them, Assyrian MS y, shows clear affinities with the Old Babylonian Yale tablet while at the same time manifesting Assyrianisms of grammar and spelling. It is a late copy of a version with a long history and almost certainly bears witness to a Middle Babylonian recension of the Gilgamesh epic current in Assyria for some centuries, at least since the Middle Assyrian period. Thus it must be taken into consideration at this point in the discussion as well as later.

The episodes of the epic that are witnessed in these Middle Babylonian fragments are the taming of Enkidu (MB Nippur₁, MB Boğ₁), the expedition to the Cedar Forest (MB Boğ₁₋₃, MB Emar₁, Assyrian MS y, probably MB Nippur₂), Ištar and the Bull of Heaven (MB Boğ₁₋₂, MB Emar₂), and the doom, sickness and death of Enkidu (MB Boğ₁, MB Ur, MB Megiddo). Here one must also take account of contemporaneous versions of the story in other languages. The Hittite paraphrase survives only in fragments. The episodes extant are the fashioning of Gilgamesh, his tyranny, the taming of Enkidu, the expedition to the Cedar Forest, Ištar and the Bull of Heaven, the doom of Enkidu, Gilgamesh's wandering the world over, and the encounter with the immortal survivor of the Flood (Ullū). The Hurrian version remains largely unintelligible. The plot of the epic as it is known from mid- to late-second-millennium sources is thus revealed to be much the same as that observed in the Old Babylonian material, with the addition of the Bull of Heaven episode, the prostitute's destiny and Enkidu's dream of Hell. There is still no sign of the incorporation in any version of an account of the great Flood.

In terms of literary history the Middle Babylonian tablets bridge the gap between the Old Babylonian material and the Standard Babylonian version current in the first millennium. The oldest pieces seem to be the edition represented by MB Boğ₁ (c. 1400 BC), which in places is very close to the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III). These fragments offer a glimpse of a poem that must have been imported to Hattusa, the Hittite capital, in the sixteenth or fifteenth centuries BC. The language has been modernized but the text is not far removed from its Old Babylonian antecedent. The text represented by MB Boğ₂, known from a tablet more than a century younger than MB Boğ₁, offers a very different version of the epic, best described as a paraphrase. In the dream episode on its obverse it matches an Old Babylonian tablet quite well (OB Schøyen₂) but the reverse offers little that compares with other versions of the epic. The serious corruptions show that not all the poem was still comprehensible, and speak for a process of transmission that included a long residence outside Babylonian-speaking lands. The text that survives on MB Megiddo exhibits the same problem and a similar history probably attaches to it.

By contrast, the poem extant in Emar of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries is comparatively close to the Standard Babylonian version. In places the text of MB Emar₂ runs parallel to Tablet VI with almost verbatim agreement, but elsewhere serious differences are seen.

Most notable is the inclusion of a section on Ištar's love of the nomad, a passage not present in the late text. The text represented by MB Ur can be described similarly. It matches Tablet VII of the Standard Babylonian epic in many lines but also includes a section not present there. The fragments gathered under the group MB Nippur are too small to reveal much, though MB Nippur₁ is also closely related to the Standard Babylonian version. Assyrian MS y falls midway between the Old Babylonian version represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (*šūtur eli šarrī*), or one similar to it, and the Standard Babylonian version, but in places it deviates from both. The edition it represents may be a remote descendant of *šūtur eli šarrī* but it cannot be considered a direct ancestor of the late text. The tablet from Ugarit is not yet available for study but is reported to be an independent composition based on the epic rather than a source for the epic itself.⁶⁸ No doubt it was a local composition.

The Babylonian Gilgameš of the mid- to late second millennium can be subdivided into the following groups:

- (a) Old or early Middle Babylonian texts exported to (Syria and) Anatolia in the sixteenth or fifteenth centuries: MB Boğ₁ (fifteenth- or fourteenth-century copy)
- (b) Local Akkadian paraphrases: MB Boğ₂ (thirteenth-century copy), MB Megiddo (fifteenth- or fourteenth-century copy?), perhaps MB Ugarit (twelfth-century copy?)
- (c) Translations into local languages: Hittite Gilgameš, Hurrian Gilgameš (fourteenth- to thirteenth-century copies)
- (d) Late Middle Babylonian texts from Babylonia: MB Ur (thirteenth- or twelfth-century copy), MB Nippur₁₋₃ (thirteenth-century copies?)
- (e) Late Middle Babylonian texts exported to Syria (and Anatolia?) in or after the Amarna period: MB Emar₁₋₂ (twelfth-century copies)
- (f) One or more Middle Babylonian recensions current in Neo-Assyrian copies: Assyrian MSS e, x, y, z, Kuyunjik MSSYY and ZZ (tenth- to seventh-century copies)

Group (a) is closely related to one or more Old Babylonian versions of the poem. Groups (b) and (c) represent foreign adaptations of late Old or Middle Babylonian versions of the epic. Groups (d) and (e) are more closely related to the Standard Babylonian version and clearly represent the epic at a later stage of development than Group (b). The same can be said for some of the fragments that make up Group (f), though MS y stands somewhere between Groups (a) and (e).

The picture that emerges from the Middle Babylonian tablets of Gilgameš fits what we know of the spread of Babylonian culture in the second millennium. The diaspora of the traditional literature of lower Mesopotamia was the result not of a single act of borrowing but of a steady process over many centuries. The written culture of southern Mesopotamia was

⁶⁸ Publication expected from D. Arnaud. Meanwhile see the notices given by P. Bordreuil and F. Malbran-Labat, 'Les archives de la maison d'Ourtenou', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1995, pp. 443–9, and by Malbran-Labat, 'La découverte épigraphique de 1994 à Ougarit (les textes akkadiens)', *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 36 (1995), p. 108; I quote also her further comment in a private communication: 'c'est une très belle tablette entière, d'un ductus soigné qui semble être un texte original, fait de "morceaux choisis"'. Malbran-Labat also mentions (*Studi micenei* . . . 36) that 'la "Maison de Rap'anu" contenait de même deux textes inspirés par cette œuvre', i.e., the epic of Gilgameš; nothing more about these texts is currently known to me.

already exported to the West in the Early Bronze Age, as we know from the finds of third-millennium tablets at Ebla, Mari and Tell Beydar. A small proportion of these tablets were inscribed with literary texts that originated in south Mesopotamia. In the Middle Bronze Age the cuneiform writing system continued to be used as far afield as, for example, Qatna and Alalakh in Transeuphratine Syria and Kaniš (Kültepe) in Anatolia.

New evidence shows that Babylonian intellectual culture continued to make an impact wherever the cuneiform script was used in this period. A tablet inscribed with an Old Assyrian version of a pseudo-autobiography of Sargon of Akkade was found in a merchant's archive at Kaneš in 1958 and recently published.⁶⁹ This find reveals that literature of Babylonian origin or inspiration was known in Cappadocia during the period of the Assyrian trading colonies, early in the second millennium. The merchants' presence in Anatolia over several generations must have resulted in some exchange of intellectual goods. The influence of traditional Babylonian education in Sumerian made itself apparent at Mari again in the Old Babylonian period, when local scribes were capable of composing literary letters in Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual format.⁷⁰ The discovery of a copy of the Sumerian King List at Tell Leilan (probably Šubat-Enlil) is another high-profile indication of the impact of the Babylonian intellectual legacy on the routes to the north and west.⁷¹

Future discoveries may uncover more Sumerian and Babylonian literature at these and other Early and Middle Bronze Age sites far from Babylonia. As matters stand, the literary traditions of Babylonia again had influence on Anatolian scribes in the Old Hittite period (seventeenth and sixteenth centuries). In the ensuing centuries it seems Babylonian literature was imported to Anatolia either through Hurrian intermediaries or directly.⁷² At the same time Sumerian and Babylonian texts were being copied in many other lands of the West. The role of Aššur and of Syrian scribal centres like Mari, Ugarit and Emar in this long period of transmission has not yet been the subject of a thoroughgoing study, but one can expect it to have been large. The considerable prestige that attached to the Akkadian language in the Late Bronze Age, as seen in the diplomatic correspondence of the Amarna period, meant that Babylonian texts traditionally associated with the teaching curriculum were much copied in the West in the two centuries before life was interrupted by the catastrophes that overtook the eastern Mediterranean in the twelfth century.

To sum up, the Middle Babylonian period, even more than the Old Babylonian period, is characterized by a proliferation of different versions of the epic, both in Babylonia and abroad. Into this mess stepped—perhaps—the figure of Sin-lēqi-unninni.⁷³

⁶⁹ Cahit Günbatt, 'Kültepe'den akadlı Sargon'a ait bir tablet', *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (Bilgiç Mem. Vol.; Ankara, 1997), pp. 131–55.

⁷⁰ See D. Charpin, 'Les malheurs d'un scribe ou de l'inutilité du sumérien loin de Nippur', in M de J. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial* (CRAI 35; Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 7–27.

⁷¹ Published by C.-A. Vincente, 'The Tall Leilan recension of the Sumerian King List', *ZA* 85 (1995), pp. 234–70.

⁷² For these questions see G. Beckman, 'Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian learning at Hattuša', *JCS* 35 (1983), pp. 101–3.

⁷³ 'Sin is one who accepts a prayer'; less probably Sin-lēqi-unninni, 'O Sin, accept my prayer': on the name see P.-A. Beaulieu, 'The descendants of Sin-lēqi-unninni', *Fs Oelsner*, p. 2. An item of evidence not cited by Beaulieu is the spelling of the second element of the name as *le-eg* (van Dijk and Mayer, *Rēs-Heiligum* no. 6, 42, 44: ⁴30-*le-eg-ēr*; no. 16 rev. 2':

SÎN-LĒQI-UNNINNI AND THE STANDARD BABYLONIAN GILGAMESĤ EPIC

It is well known that the Babylonians considered Sin-lēqi-unninni to be the man responsible for the epic. The evidence for this belief is a Neo-Assyrian list described by its modern editor as a catalogue of texts and authors. The entry for the Gilgamesĥ epic reads as follows:

iškar (ēš.gār) ^dG1š-gim-maš: ša pi-i^{md}sin(30)-le-qi-un-nin-ni^{lu}x[(x)x]

W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 66, VI 10

Series of Gilgamesĥ: from the mouth of Sin-lēqi-unninni, the [. .]⁷⁴

In this text the expression *ša pi* signifies authorship,⁷⁵ so it attests to a tradition in which the ‘series’ of Gilgamesĥ was held to be the work of a professional scholar called Sin-lēqi-unninni.

In colophons of the Standard Babylonian epic the Series of Gilgamesĥ is the title given to the text otherwise known by the incipit ‘He who saw the Deep’ (*ša naqba imuru*). The incipit sometimes reads *ša naqbi imuru*, ‘He who saw the Deeps’. It is not known whether singular or plural is original. The colophons differ in the manner of reference. The poem is identified by both incipit and series in the colophons of MSS A, C, D, F and O (all from Kuyunjik), a (Aššur) and o (Babylon), and probably also in the unplaced Kuyunjik fragment MS FF (restored). The order of citation is always incipit first, series second. The text is known by series only in the colophons of MSS H, N, Q and W (all Kuyunjik) and f (Babylon) and by incipit only in MSS G and B (both Kuyunjik). The latter, exceptionally, writes not the abbreviated incipit but the entire first line, [*ša naqba imuru i*]šdī māti. MSS R (Kuyunjik) and dd (Uruk) are too damaged to determine whether their colophons recorded only the incipit or both incipit and series. On all other first-millennium manuscripts no colophon survives.

Outside the colophons the text is listed by series in two inventories of accessions to the libraries of Aššurbanipal:

1 : *iškar* (ēš.gār) ^dG1š-g[im-maš]

K 13684+ ii’ 4’, ed. W. G. Lambert, *Kramer AV*, p. 314

1 MIN (= *iškar*) ^dG1š-gim-maš

SAAVII 49 = ADD 943+ i 8’, ed. S. Parpola, *JNES* 42 (1983), p. 12

⁷⁴EN.ZU-le-eg-un-nin-ni); le-eg can be parsed as literary construct of the participle but as an imperative only with difficulty.

⁷⁵ The end of the line contains the man’s profession, a bone of contention. Lambert read ^{lu}m[āš.maš . . .] and translated ‘the [magician . . .]’. According to the copy very little would be missing after this restoration, perhaps nothing, so that Sin-lēqi-unninni was by profession an exorcist. This is the generally accepted view. However, two other suggestions have been made. First, the identification of Sin-lēqi-unninni as a ‘divination priest or seer’ (*bārū*) by S. Dalley in J. C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads*, p. 258, alerts one to an alternative restoration: ^{lu}h[al . . .], ‘diviner’. This is possible. Second, the reading ^{lu}u[š.ku] proposed by G. J. P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, p. 13, fn. 43, and revived by Beaulieu, *Fs Oelsner*, p. 3, identifies Sin-lēqi-unninni as a *kalū*, ‘lamentation priest’. This restoration is discounted by the surviving trace.

⁷⁶ Lambert, *JCS* 16, p. 72.

References to the text by series, *iškar Gilgāmeš*, have also been supposed in a Neo-Assyrian fragment from Kuyunjik that relates to the cult of Ištar of Nineveh, but collation places this in doubt.⁷⁶

As we have seen, the incipit of at least one of the Old Babylonian versions of the epic, that represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, was ‘Surpassing all other kings’ (*šūtur eli šarrī*). In the Standard Babylonian version this phrase occurs at l. 29 of Tablet I, where the mood suddenly switches to triumphant hymning of Gilgamesĥ’s heroic glory and magnificent achievements. The preceding twenty-eight lines (SB I 1–28) were evidently attached later to form a new prologue, one that comprises a sombre reflection on the hero’s travails. This prologue includes the stanza that is repeated at the end of the epic, the famous lines that describe the walls of Uruk and the city that lies inside them, but we cannot yet determine whether the concluding stanza was present in the Old Babylonian epic or not. In comparing the Standard Babylonian version with the older manuscripts, as far as these are preserved, several other major changes stand out at a glance. Gilgamesĥ’s dreams of Enkidu move out of the narrative and are told at second hand. Ninsun’s role in the poem is greatly enlarged by a long monologue addressed to the Sun God. The narrative of the journey to the Cedar Forest is enormously expanded by long-winded repetitions. The tavern-keeper loses her speech of wisdom and with it her individuality as a character. Other major changes are suspected but, for lack of evidence, cannot yet be confirmed (see below). Many minor changes can also be observed. The evolution of the epic has been fully discussed elsewhere,⁷⁷ but some case studies generated by the new material are given later in this chapter.

Nothing else is known of Sin-lēqi-unninni except that many cult-singers (*kalū*) and other intellectuals of the priestly classes of Late Babylonian Uruk considered him their remote ancestor,⁷⁸ a claim that may have been inspired by intellectual ambition or wishful thinking rather than by truth. A Late Babylonian list of kings and scholars places him in the reign of King Gilgameš, an anachronism of obvious derivation.⁷⁹ Other traditional Babylonian authors were also associated with historical periods that long pre-date the time of composition of the texts for which they were held responsible. By this means texts were invested with the authority of great antiquity.⁸⁰ Sin-lēqi-unninni first appears as a scribal ancestor in the seventh century, but the name itself was already current in the late Old Babylonian period.⁸¹ Because several of the well-known scribal ancestors have names typical of the Kassite period it is suspected that the scholar named Sin-lēqi-unninni who was associated with Gilgameš lived in this era.⁸² However, no one can be sure on present evidence. No person of the Kassite period could be the original author of the epic, for, as we have seen, the oldest Babylonian fragments come from the mid-Old Babylonian period, perhaps five hundred years earlier. We have to allow the possibility that the Sin-lēqi-unninni associated with the

⁷⁶ The text is quoted in Ch. 3, the section on Other attestations.

⁷⁷ See Tigay, *Evolution*; and the further bibliography cited below in fn. 106.

⁷⁸ See Beaulieu, *Fs Oelsner*, pp. 1–16.

⁷⁹ The text is quoted below, in Ch. 3, the sub-section on the Sumerian King List.

⁸⁰ On this see W. W. Hallo, ‘On the antiquity of Sumerian literature’, *JAS* 83 (1963), pp. 174–5.

⁸¹ See the letter YOS XIII 102, whose addressee is (l. 1) ^{en.zu-le-qi-i-un-ni-ni}.

⁸² W. G. Lambert, ‘Ancestors, authors and canonicity’, *JCS* 11 (1957), pp. 4–5.

Gilgameš epic may have been an Old Babylonian. But a later date can be explained as appropriate by considering what we know of the development of Babylonian literature in the late second millennium.

The last centuries of the second millennium were a time of literary activity, especially the organization of much of the Babylonian literary tradition into canonical series, as exemplified by the activities of Esagil-kīn-apli and others. Esagil-kīn-apli came from a learned family, for he is referred to as the “son” of Asalluḫi-mansum, the sage of King Ḥammurapi.⁸³ According to the Exorcist’s Manual he was held responsible for many works of *āšipūtu* but also for important professional handbooks of divination, the great omen series of astrological and terrestrial portents (respectively *Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Šumma Ālu*).⁸⁴ Elsewhere colophons of catalogues of the handbook *Sakikkū* (SA.GIG) famously relate that in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (1067–1046 BC) Esagil-kīn-apli gathered together the many extant tablets of diagnostic omens and produced the edition that became the received text of the first millennium. The colophons describe the texts that he worked into a corpus as material *ša ul-tu ul-la zarā*(sur.[gibil])¹ *la¹ šab-tu₄ ū kīma*(gim) *qē*(gu)^{mes} *parkū/egrū*(gib)^{mes} *magabarā*(gaba.ri)¹ *lā tšū*(tuku),⁸⁴ ‘that since long ago had not been organized into a new edition but was tangled like threads and had no master version’. This description can probably be applied to much of the Babylonian literary tradition of the post-Old Babylonian centuries. Certainly it matches what we know of the state of the Gilgameš epic in the second half of the second millennium.

The notice in the catalogue of texts and authors should be read against this background of editorial work. In Babylonian tradition Sīn-lēqi-unninni was the man who produced the Series of Gilgameš. This information can be interpreted in two ways: (a) Sīn-lēqi-unninni was a legendary poet, like Homer, credited in later memory with composing the first version of the traditional Babylonian poem that in its final form went by the titles Series of Gilgameš and *ša naqba īmuru*, or (b) he was a later scholar held responsible for establishing the text of the Epic of Gilgameš in the form familiar from first-millennium copies. If (a), he lived early in the Old Babylonian period; if (b), he lived later in the second millennium. On present knowledge I am inclined to believe that (b) is right, and this assumption informs the rest of this section. Whether or not the poem’s editor really went by this name—and there is no reason to doubt that he did—I have followed Babylonian tradition in referring to the poem *ša naqba īmuru* as his creation.

It is not yet possible to determine exactly at what stage Sīn-lēqi-unninni—if it was he—intervened in the history of transmission of the epic. The poem entitled *ša naqba īmuru* is currently known from at least two periods. The older sources are the tablets from Aššurbanipal’s libraries at Kuyunjik and Neo-Assyrian private libraries in other cities, which can be no later than mid- to late seventh century. The younger sources are the tablets from Late Babylonian libraries, chiefly in Uruk and Babylon, which may be from any time in the fifth to first centuries BC. In both groups of sources the poem was divided into twelve

⁸³ See KAR 44 rev. 5–20 and duplicates, ed. M. J. Geller, ‘Incipits and rubrics’, *Studies Lambert*, pp. 248–51, 27–42.

⁸⁴ I. L. Finkel, ‘Adad-apla-iddina, Esagil-kīn-apli, and the series SA.GIG’, *Studies Sachs*, p. 148, A 51–2. As quoted here the passage follows the new copy of the cuneiform published as CTNIV 71.

tablets. There is no compelling reason to suppose that this division was not imposed by Sīn-lēqi-unninni. The Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian tablets furnish a text that is, allowing for minor recensional differences, consistent and fixed. We call it the Standard Babylonian version.

The existence of the variant early Neo-Assyrian manuscripts raises further issues that should be dealt with here. As already seen, Assyrian MS y is very different from the Standard Babylonian version, and is certainly a relic of a Middle Babylonian edition that remained current in Assyria alongside the Standard Babylonian version. The same can probably be said for MS x, though one must bear in mind that it is only a small fragment. MS e is essentially the same text as the Standard Babylonian version, displaying minor variants, though one cannot be sure its peculiarities do not stem from an older version. MS z, however, is different again, but extremely important for the history of the epic. For the most part it matches the Standard Babylonian version, but it has other text in place of the Flood story and perhaps a different ending. My explanation for this hybrid aspect is that MS z is a late copy of a Middle Babylonian version of the epic that in most places used the same wording as the Standard Babylonian version but also includes different matter. This puts it in the same category as the Middle Babylonian tablets from Ur and Emar.

The survival of one or more old editions of the epic into the first millennium, when they were—at least in Assyria—concurrent with *ša naqba īmuru*, is not without parallel. Something comparable can be observed with at least three other well-known literary compositions with long histories. The climactic battle between Ninurta and Anzū towards the end of the poem of Anzū occurs in two distinct first-millennium versions, the Standard Babylonian Tablet III known from tablets from Kuyunjik and Tarbiṣu and a very different account surviving only on two tablets from Sultantepe.⁸⁵ Aššurbanipal’s libraries at Nineveh held two different editions of the poem of Atra-ḫasīs, a Standard Babylonian version that also occurs at Babylon and Sippar, and an Assyrianizing recension so far known only at Kuyunjik.⁸⁶ Similarly, at Aššur there seem to have been two versions of Ištar’s Descent current in the Neo-Assyrian period, one that matches the edition extant at Nineveh and one that does not.⁸⁷ With all three texts, as with Gilgameš, it is a case of one or two Assyrian copies offering texts that to a greater or lesser extent deviate from the much better-attested editions known from Aššurbanipal’s libraries and other centres.

The question then arises, do the Middle Babylonian and early Neo-Assyrian tablets that present text very close to the Standard Babylonian version represent Sīn-lēqi-unninni’s text, *ša naqba īmuru*, at an early stage of its transmission, that is, soon after his lifetime, or are they

⁸⁵ SB Anzū III: CT 46 42 + W. G. Lambert, *AFO* 27 (1980), p. 82, K 14211 (Kuyunjik) // H. W. F. Saggs, *AFO* 33 (1986), pp. 21–8 (Tarbiṣu); Sultantepe text: *STTI* 23 // 25.

⁸⁶ SB Atra-ḫasīs: Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, MSS J–R and V, and Lambert, *AFO* 27, pp. 74–5, K 17853 and K 17752 (Nineveh), Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, MS x (Babylon), Sippar tablets (F. N. H. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, *Iraq* 58 (1996), pp. 147–90), and an unpublished LB tablet now in the Metropolitan Museum (edition forthcoming by Lambert in *CTMMA* 2); Assyrian recension: Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, MSS S + T + joining fragments (Lambert, *OrNS* 38 (1969), p. 533 + *AFO* 27, pp. 72–4 + *Mélanges Garelli*, pp. 412–14, K 21851), and MSS U and W(?).

⁸⁷ SB Ištar’s Descent: CT 15 45–7 + CT 34 18 // CT 15 48 (Nineveh) and KAR 1 (+) 288 (Aššur); variant text: *LKA* 62 rev.

variant versions of the sort he would have consulted in the process of establishing *ša naqba imuru*? I do not think that this question can be decided without knowing Sîn-lēqi-unninni's dates—and maybe not even then. Thus we cannot be sure that the text associated with Sîn-lēqi-unninni was not subject to intrusive editing after his lifetime. If MB Ur, MB Emar and Assyrian MS z are to represent *ša naqba imuru* as it stood in the late second millennium, we would certainly have to allow that Sîn-lēqi-unninni's text went through at least some changes over the ensuing centuries. If they are not, then we must accept that Sîn-lēqi-unninni kept large sections of the existing text unchanged. For the moment it is best to be aware that the expressions *ša naqba imuru*, meaning the text established by Sîn-lēqi-unninni, and Standard Babylonian version, meaning the text represented by the vast majority of first-millennium manuscripts, may not be exact synonyms.

Against this uncertainty it is possible to entertain a subjective view. My own feeling is that Sîn-lēqi-unninni was remembered in Babylonian tradition as more than a literary hack who established, after the manner of Esagil-kīn-apli, a single text of Gilgameš where there had previously been many. I believe his reputation as author (*ša pi* in the catalogue) rested on a greater achievement: that while producing a text in many places exactly faithful to one or other of his sources, he wrought at the same time major changes on the epic and cast the poem anew. Boldly put, I suggest that he was responsible for prefacing the paean to the hero's glory that opened the Old Babylonian epic *šūtur eli šarrī* with the more reflective prologue *ša naqba imuru* and for adding at the epic's end the closing lines that reprise that prologue. The new prologue converted the epic into autobiography in the third person, a genre of Mesopotamian belles-lettres known today as *narû*-literature. Such texts, supposedly written on stone tablets for the benefit of future generations, often have a didactic, moralizing tone.⁸⁸ Some lines of the new prologue are reminiscent of the Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn, perhaps in conscious imitation of that text. The new addition is more than a literary embellishment, however. It changed the thrust of the entire poem, placing emphasis on the hero's acquisition of wisdom and self-knowledge through hard experience and personal suffering. In reprising the prologue the ending offers a profound insight into the realities of human existence, with the city held up as a symbol of human activity and permanence. The effect of the change cannot easily be judged while we are unable to identify how older versions ended, but the mood at the close of the Standard Babylonian poem is just as pensive as the new prologue.

It was also, I maintain, Sîn-lēqi-unninni's idea to remould Šiduri's counsel as the sage homily of Ūta-napišti, thus transferring a moment of timeless advice to the climactic encounter that concludes Gilgameš's quest. Further, he interpolated the abbreviated telling of the Flood myth that teaches so emphatically the precarious nature of man's existence in a universe subject to the whim of reckless immortals. Finally, scholar that he was, Sîn-lēqi-unninni added a prose appendix to round off the Series of Gilgameš with a sermon that leaves no uncertainty about the fate of each and every mortal (Tablet XII). In this way the poem that told of the glorious feats and heroic exploits of the mightiest king of old was recast

⁸⁸ On this see most recently T. Longman III, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1991), pp. 128–9.

in Sîn-lēqi-unninni's hands as a sombre meditation on the doom of man. In the course of these changes much of the vitality of the original poetry may have been dissipated, but the poem became a vehicle for more than entertainment. Like the texts of the *narû*-genre to which the new prologue made reference, the epic in its new shape bore a clear message for posterity. If the original author of the written epic was a poet of genius unmatched in Babylonian history, the man who stamped his mark on the final version of the poem was a profound thinker of the same unique calibre.

The contrast in mood between the Old Babylonian fragments and the Standard Babylonian epic matches the change in outlook of Babylonian intellectuals during the second millennium.⁸⁹ In so far as we know it, the Old Babylonian poem was a hymn to heroism and kingly might, bursting with the confident exuberance of a young literature in a period of cultural rebirth. Sîn-lēqi-unninni's sombre meditation is less confident and more introspective, and brings the same despondent resignation to its consideration of the human lot that is displayed in other meditative works of the mid- to late second millennium, especially the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer and the Babylonian Theodicy. The reworking of the poem was consequently a modernization in thought as well as in language and style. The result was a text that holds much in common with what we call 'wisdom literature'.

THE EPIC OF GILGAMEŠ IN THE LITERARY LIFE OF BABYLONIA

When the full majesty of the Epic of Gilgameš became apparent in the early twentieth century it became the fashion to view it as the national epic of the Babylonians. The expression 'national epic' implies for me a long narrative composition that, to a greater or lesser degree, relates to the origin or identity of a people. Such poems necessarily describe the struggles for independence or wars against foreign oppressors from which a nation emerges new or reborn. They are often composed deliberately with the aim of forging a national identity, like the Aeneid. There is nothing of war in the Epic of Gilgameš, only heroic combat between individuals and between men and monsters, and the grim struggle with death. No great crisis in the life of Babylonia takes centre stage, only great crises in the life of a man. The poem's interest is not in what it means to be a Babylonian as opposed to, say, an Assyrian or an Elamite, but what it means to be a mortal human as opposed to an immortal god. On these counts the poem of Gilgameš is no national epic.

The poem's universal appeal and humanistic themes were understood early in the history of its recovery, and early commentators such as Peter Jensen plainly had a different understanding of what was meant by 'national epic'. Using the phrase a generation later in his introduction to a Turkish translation of the epic published in 1942, Benno Landsberger explained by way of justification that the poem had relevance to every Babylonian, that its hero represented the ideal of Babylonian manhood and that its chief subject was the

⁸⁹ See on this Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 14–17.

problems of human existence.⁹⁰ True as that is, I think that by citing nationality he missed the point. What he wrote would be truer still if the word 'Babylonian' were exchanged with 'human'. Böhl defended the phrase 'national epic' from another angle, pointing out that it had no rival in Babylonian poetry for power, beauty and scope.⁹¹ This is undeniably so, but whether it truly justifies the phrase is open to argument. It is certainly true that the epic is a long poem on a grand theme which is clearly a very great literary masterpiece, and thus stands in a definitive relation to Babylonian language and culture in the same way as the plays of Shakespeare do to English language and culture.

Some would reject the notion of the poem of Gilgameš as a 'national epic' on other grounds: that it was little known in antiquity. Other works of Babylonian literature—the Creation Epic, for example—are known from many more manuscripts and thus seem to have been demonstrably more popular in antiquity. Another factor that informs the claim that the poem did not enjoy great popular acclaim is a perception that the epic was poorly represented in first-millennium schools, where the text was neither much used to practise writing nor often quoted by Babylonian scholars in oral teaching. Only a single passage from Standard Babylonian Gilgameš appears on the extant Late Babylonian school exercise tablets, and lines from the text are, so far, cited only twice in the commentaries that derive from the oral instruction of scholar-teachers.⁹²

The question of the epic's place in Babylonian literate society and scribal education is one that needs discussion. It has been proposed above that, like the Sumerian poems of Šulgi's period, the Babylonian Gilgameš had its origins in court entertainment, though there is no direct evidence for this. Turning to the first millennium, one piece of evidence has been cited in favour of the oral performance of traditional narrative poems. The library of the family of *nargalhu*, 'chief singers', from seventh-century Aššur is suspected of revealing the kinds of compositions sung by the *nāru* in the Neo-Assyrian period.⁹³ This collection of tablets, which contains the only extant literary tablets written by scribes who style themselves as musical performers, is a fairly typical example of a first-millennium private library, including many school tablets and some archival documents alongside copies of traditional texts from the scribal tradition. Less typical is the prevalence among the latter of hymns and mythological poems. The mythological poems include a copy of Standard Babylonian Gilgameš Tablet VI (MS a).⁹⁴ The hymns, some of them associated with royal personages, were surely copies derived from their performance in cultic contexts. It may be that on occasion

⁹⁰ Later translated into German by F. R. Kraus: see B. Landsberger, 'Einleitung in das Gilgameš-Epos', in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, p. 31.

⁹¹ F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, 'Die Fahrt nach dem Lebenskraut', *ArOr* 18/II (1950), p. 111.

⁹² The exercise tablet appears here as MS y, a source for SB III 84–93. Lines quoted in tablets of 'commentary' are SB I 102–3 and SB VI 69; for details see Ch. 13, the philological commentary ad loc. On such tablets as products of oral instruction see George, 'Babylonian texts from the folios of Sidney Smith, Part 2', *RA* 85, pp. 139–40, and literature there cited. The claim of Stephanie Dalley, *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1998), p. 101, that 'excerpts of the Epic of Gilgameš were used in magical incantations' cannot be substantiated by any evidence known to me. For Gilgameš's role in magic see Ch. 3 below, the section on Gilgameš in exorcistic rituals.

⁹³ e.g. by J. Goodnick Westenholz, 'Oral traditions and written texts in the cycle of Akkade', *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*, pp. 152–3.

⁹⁴ A fuller description of the library is given below, in the introduction to the manuscripts of Tablet VI (Ch. 8).

family members sang or recited the mythological poems, too, but this remains uncertain. Other texts in their library, for example the lexical lists, were certainly not performed. And even if the mythological poems were performed, we do not know in what context and we cannot be sure that performed versions of these poems would have replicated the fossilized versions of the scribal tradition. There is certainly no proof that these and other compositions in the singers' library were performed at the royal court. To what extent, if at all, Babylonian narrative poems of the written tradition were still living literature in the mid-first millennium is unknown. What we learn from the singers' library is merely that senior family members taught their juniors the scribal art, and with it traditional written texts that bore on the family's occupation and informed its craft.

Moving from court to classroom, we have already seen that in the Old Babylonian period, when scribal training was conducted in Sumerian and used Sumerian set texts, nevertheless some learner scribes were demonstrating very capably that they could set down on clay episodes from Babylonian narrative poetry, whether by extemporizing, by composing from memory or by copying from a master tablet. The text most often selected for this exercise was Gilgameš.

At present we are much less well informed about scribal training in Babylonia later in the second millennium, but some evidence is available in the Middle Babylonian exercise tablets from Nippur.⁹⁵ These show that in the thirteenth century the Akkadian Gilgameš was a text that learner scribes encountered early in their careers. A better view of scribal education at about this time can be had from western centres in Syria and Anatolia. At Emar, Ugarit and Hattusa there is ample evidence for the Akkadian Gilgameš. At Emar it occurs as one of a small number of Sumerian and Babylonian literary texts of which copies were kept in the scriptorium excavated in the 1970s. The surviving colophons report that these tablets were the work of advanced scribes, but at least one of the compositions survives in more than one copy.⁹⁶ This fact suggests that the function of these texts in the scriptorium was pedagogic, a view that is reinforced by the selection of genres represented, which are typical of scribal training. Copied alongside Gilgameš were folk-tale (Enlil and Namzitarra, the Fowler and the Sun God), fable (Tamarisk and Date Palm), other wisdom literature (the Poem of Early Rulers) and traditional sayings (*šime milkam*), a small corpus of texts that constituted a smattering of literature alongside a great quantity of lexical lists.⁹⁷

A new study of the first-millennium school tablets that derive from Babylon, Sippar, Kiš, Ur and Uruk shows that then the elementary training of learner scribes fell into two phases.⁹⁸ Two distinct repertoires of texts were written on two different types of tablet. On

⁹⁵ See N. Veldhuis, 'Kassite exercises: literary and lexical extracts', *JCS* 52 (2000), pp. 67–94.

⁹⁶ The fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm, of which Msk 74128t and 74156d cannot be part of the better-preserved exemplar reconstructed by C. Wilcke, 'Die Emar-Version von "Dattelpalme und Tamariske"—ein Rekonstruktionsversuch', *ZA* 79 (1989), pp. 161–90, esp. 164. In the Poem of Early Rulers, Msk 74159j likewise cannot belong to the exemplar Msk 74123 (+) 74127ac + 74128x + 74132t + 74136b + 74137m + 74153 + 74159n + 74344 (rebuilt by the writer), but there is reason to doubt that it even belongs to the same composition (M. Civil, 'The texts from Emar-Meskene', *Aula Or* 7 (1989), p. 7).

⁹⁷ See further M. Civil, *Aula Or* 7, pp. 5–25.

⁹⁸ Petra Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT 275; Münster, 2001).

this evidence the less advanced of these phases was mostly given over to mastering the basic syllabary and lexicon but included the essential pantheon, the study of proverbs and an acquaintance with a very limited group of literary texts. These literary texts constituted a minor element in the first phase of instruction, for they are present on only a tiny number of the extant tablets. They include Gilgameš, the birth-legend of Sargon, the Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn, the literary letter once known as the Weidner Chronicle, a literary letter of Samsuiluna, and the Poor Man of Nippur. Oral versions of the legends of Gilgameš, Sargon and Narām-Sîn were probably well known to Babylonian children, and their early exposure to written texts about these fabled heroes of remotest antiquity in the first level of schooling sought to take advantage of this familiarity. The humorous Poor Man of Nippur, widely circulated in antiquity,⁹⁹ would also have been a familiar and entertaining tale. One may safely observe that young children will always show interest in a good story.

The second phase of elementary instruction exposed the student to much more literature, for the tablets typical of this phase often include several passages from different literary texts. When considered against the traditional body of literature passed down through the generations, however, the corpus of texts studied at this point was restricted. Apart from vocabularies and other advanced lexical texts it comprised principally compositions that extol Marduk and Babylon (notably *Enūma eliš*, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, the Marduk prayers and *Tintir = Babylon*) and texts related to exorcism. Its purpose, then, was twofold: to fill the student's mind with the theological and political ideology current in the capital and to prepare him for an apprenticeship as a junior *āšīpu*, a position that we know from colophons was held by many novice scribes. As far as exposure to literature goes, the storytelling that characterized the first phase has given way to more serious matters, the inculcation of a world-view and the acquisition of practical expertise.

What emerges from study of Late Babylonian school tablets is that the Epic of Gilgameš was not alone in being poorly represented as a copybook during the second phase of instruction. It seems that many traditional texts, including all the old mythological narratives such as Etana, Adapa, Anzū, Nergal and Ereškigal and Atra-ḫasīs, were completely ignored in elementary education. I believe that this was not because they were unpopular but because they did not suit the pedagogical needs of primary training in the first millennium BC.

It may be instructive to look at how things stood before the first millennium. It is clear that in the Old Babylonian period there came a point in his education when the pupil moved on from copying out short excerpts of traditional literature to inscribing long tablets with whole compositions or with substantial sections of them. This move marked the transfer of apprentice scribes from the elementary phases of education to a more advanced engagement with the text. It is the products of these advanced students that modern scholarship is currently employing in the task of recovering the Old Babylonian corpus of traditional Sumerian literature.

⁹⁹ On the distribution of this story see O. R. Gurney, 'The tale of the Poor Man of Nippur and its folktales parallels', *AnSt* 22 (1972), pp. 149–58; note also H. Jason, 'The Poor Man of Nippur: an ethno-poetic analysis', *JCS* 31 (1979), pp. 189–215.

More importantly for the present discussion, the Old Babylonian curriculum provides a model that can serve to shed light on the progress of later Babylonian scribes. Our knowledge of first-millennium scribal literature is dominated by the tablets from Kuyunjik, whence came the royal libraries that were collected by Aššurbanipal and his predecessors on the Assyrian throne and that provided the foundation-stone for the discipline of Assyriology. Although this collection of tablets remains the richest source of manuscripts for most Babylonian literary compositions, it was unique as a library of clay tablets. The norm for what we call a library, both in Babylonia and in Assyria, is a collection of tablets stemming from a domestic dwelling, typically tablets accumulated over several generations of a single family in which the men were employed in one or other of the intellectual professions—diviners, exorcists, cult singers—for which literacy had become necessary. The origin of many tablets, their time and place of composition, can often be determined from the colophons typically appended to the main text. And in Late Babylonian colophons of library tablets from Uruk and Babylon we read, time and again, that a given tablet belongs to So-and-so, a professional man, but was actually written out by Such-and-such, his son, nephew or other young relative.¹⁰⁰ Writers of such tablets often explicitly identify themselves in colophons as apprentices or junior professionals.¹⁰¹ A study of the careers of members of the scholarly families of Uruk in the Persian and Seleucid periods shows that writing scholarly tablets was generally a task for young men; the same tablets' owners, by contrast, were more senior, usually by a whole generation.¹⁰² Another revealing case is the two Middle Assyrian copies of a bilingual hymn to Ninisinna written on the same day by sons of the same father ('junior scribes'); each brother checked the work of the other.¹⁰³ It is more plausible to explain this event not as evidence that, for some reason, the father needed two copies of this text, but as witness to a test of the proficiency of scribal apprentices.

We know that the scribal art in Mesopotamia was, like many a traditional craft, passed down through the generations from father to son. It seems to me very likely that most tablets written by youngsters for their seniors are the final products of a boy's education. They were the proof that he had mastered the art of writing and the immense body of learning that went with it. In this view very many manuscripts of literary texts from the first-millennium sites—

¹⁰⁰ Son: Hunger, *Kolophone*, nos. 87–8, 91, 97–8, 100, 102–5, 143, 146–9, 167, 410; nephew: no. 92. At Uruk senior members of one of the well-known scholarly families also owned tablets written for them by other young relatives of the male line (e.g. *ibid.*, nos. 90, 93, 95B), and by younger members of one of the other families, who were very probably related by marriage (e.g. *ibid.*, nos. 89, 94, 95A, 96, 99).

¹⁰¹ See *ibid.*, index svv. *agašgū*, 'novice', *samallū* (*šehru/agašgū/daqqu*), '(junior/novice/little) apprentice', *upšarru šehru*, 'junior scribe', *asū šehru/agašgū*, 'junior/novice physician', *mašmaššu šehru/agašgū*, 'junior/novice exorcist', *sirašū šehru*, 'junior "brewer"', *lagarturru*, 'junior *lagar*-priest', *galaturru*, 'junior lamentation-priest'. Cf. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien*, pp. 215–16, who interprets these data as evidence for a higher, vocational level of instruction ('Fachausbildung').

¹⁰² See forthcoming studies by Eleanor Robson. Two such scholars' careers are already discussed by L. E. Pearce and L. T. Doty, 'The activities of Anu-belšunu', *Fs Oelsner*, pp. 331–41, where they conclude that 'there were two stages to a scribe's career. In the early stage, he wrote or copied tablets . . . later he owned tablets and may have continued his scribal activities as well' (p. 341). Contrary to their understanding, there is no evidence for the older Anu-belšunu as the writer of scholarly tablets after SE 84, when he was 21. Thereafter colophons cite him only as the owner of tablets written by his three sons in SE 108–21, when he was in middle age, or as these sons' patronym.

¹⁰³ *KAR* 15–16, ed. Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 44; see further George, *JRAS* 1987, p. 100.

Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, Uruk, Aššur, Sultantepe, Nimrud—whether found in domestic contexts, at the father's place of work or deposited in a temple as a votive gift, are effectively the counterparts of the Sumerian literary tablets from the little houses on Tablet Hill at Nippur. They are the products of scribes of junior rank who had progressed beyond the first two stages of the syllabus and were engaged in advanced study. The Kuyunjik tablets are exceptions.

Another argument can be marshalled here. It is an accepted fact, though not yet a properly documented one, that the process of scribal education in ancient Mesopotamia was such that it yielded more instances of excerpts and larger sections taken from the beginning of any given text or series of tablets than from the end. Would-be scribes tended to tackle new compositions by starting at the beginning; accordingly, our knowledge of many texts of the scribal tradition is unbalanced. This was so in the second millennium as well as the first,¹⁰⁴ and helps incidentally to explain why comparatively few of the Old and Middle Babylonian tablets of Gilgameš are sources for episodes from the second half of the epic. An examination of the first-millennium tablets in this regard is instructive. Seventy-two of the seventy-three manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš can be allocated to one or other tablet of the series. Those that come from elsewhere than Nineveh display an interesting distribution. Of the thirty-eight manuscripts in question no fewer than twenty-three are sources for the first third of the series, Tablets I–IV. Only fifteen are sources for Tablets V–XII. Leaving aside the manuscripts from Assyria (Aššur, Nimrud and Sultantepe), the distribution of the Late Babylonian sources is even more lopsided: twenty-two for Tablets I–IV and just eight for the remaining eight tablets. Among the tablets from Nineveh a very different picture is seen: the thirty-four manuscripts are distributed exactly in proportion, eleven for Tablets I–IV and twenty-three for the remainder. This analysis supports the idea that the Late Babylonian sources stem from an educational environment. We know that the tablets of Aššurbanipal did not, and it is clear from these figures that at Nineveh there was interest in the series as a whole.

Against this background the impression that the Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš was not used in pedagogy is seen to be false. Looking beyond the Kuyunjik collection, many of the total of nearly forty manuscripts may be the work of young scribes sitting their final examinations, as it were. Unfortunately only six of these manuscripts are well enough preserved to retain their colophons. In at least two cases (MS a from Aššur and MS b from Babylon) the tablet belongs to the father but was written by the son; two other colophons can plausibly be restored along the same pattern (MSS a and f from Babylon).

It was also exactly these scribes, nearing the end of their time as apprentices, who were responsible for the kinds of commentary tablets that write up the oral teachings of their masters.¹⁰⁵ And, as we have seen, Gilgameš was one of the texts that these scholars quoted

¹⁰⁴ So e.g. in the case of Bilgames and Hūwawa A eighteen exemplars of the first 'Teiltafel' are known, but only 24 of the remainder: 6 of the second Teiltafel, 9 of the third, 8 of the fourth and one of the fifth; figures from the list of manuscripts given by Edzard, *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 171–5.

¹⁰⁵ See further G. Meier, 'Kommentare aus dem Archiv der Tempelschule in Assur', *A/O* 12 (1937–9), pp. 237–40, and George, *RA* 85 (1991), pp. 139–40.

and expected their students to recognize and understand. These two factors, copying and recognition, imply a considerable familiarity with the epic on the part of advanced students.

To sum up, I would maintain that in the late second and the first millennium the Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš had two functions in training scribes. It was a good story and thus useful, in small quantities, for absolute beginners. And as a difficult classic of traditional literature it was studied at greater length by senior pupils nearing the end of their training. If its use in the formal curriculum of scribal education was limited in this way, this does not necessarily mean that the poem was unpopular in wider circles. Indeed, the evidence assembled in this discussion of Gilgameš in education also speaks for a considerable popularity among literate people. The number of manuscripts from centres excluding Nineveh far exceeds those of Anzū, Etana, Adapa, Nergal and Ereškigal, Atra-ḥasīs and Ištar's Descent put together. Of the great narrative poems only *Enūma eliš* exceeds Gilgameš in the number of its sources, and for the same reason that passages of it appear so often as excerpts on second-stage school exercise tablets. As a vehicle for inculcating ideology *Enūma eliš*, the holy writ of the cult of Marduk, held a unique place in the first-millennium tradition. On the number of extant manuscripts the Erra epic approaches Gilgameš in popularity, but it too has a special advantage, for the apotropaic function its poet claims for it was widely believed to be effective and some copies of the poem were produced as charms.

The presence of multiple copies of the epic in Aššurbanipal's libraries is further evidence for the popularity of Gilgameš, as is the existence of no fewer than eleven Old Babylonian library tablets and excerpts, and at least three pieces from Babylonia of the later second millennium, which has otherwise yielded almost nothing of Babylonian literature. The use of episodes from the epic as traditional motifs in ancient Mesopotamian art also speaks for a wide currency of the legends that surrounded him, if not necessarily for the popularity of the written poem itself. The surest sign of the epic's popularity as a copy-book lies in the well-observed fact of its appearance in Syria, Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. Only a limited selection of Babylonian literature was studied by boys learning to write cuneiform in the West, though libraries could hold representative selections of a wide spectrum of texts from the scribal tradition. No such text achieved the ubiquity of Gilgameš, and few others so struck the local people that they produced local versions in Hittite and Hurrian as well as Akkadian.

CASE STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE EPIC

Much has been written on the evolution of the text of the Babylonian Gilgameš epic from the first appearance of fragments of the epic in the Old Babylonian period, through the Middle Babylonian texts of the Late Bronze Age to the well-known epic current in libraries of the first millennium.¹⁰⁶ The main developments between the Old Babylonian

¹⁰⁶ The standard work is Tigay, *Evolution*; short studies that have dealt with this issue to some degree include J. R. Kupper, 'Les différentes versions de l'épopée de Gilgameš', in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, pp. 97–102; B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', *RA* 62 (1968), pp. 97–135; J. S. Cooper, 'Gilgamesh dreams of Enkidu: the evolution and dilution of narrative', *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, pp. 39–44.

and Standard Babylonian texts were summarized by Tigay in the conclusion to his monograph on the evolution of the epic:

Lines are reworded in degrees varying from negligible to complete, with some lines being dropped and many more added. In some cases the reformulation modernizes the language of the epic, and in a few cases the older text has been simplified, corrupted, or misunderstood; in many other cases, the editor seems to have simply revised according to his taste. Lines and sections are revised so as to be much more similar to related lines and sections in the late version, resulting in a repetitious, pedantic, and homogenized style. Numerous thematic and verbal motifs recur throughout the epic. In addition, entire sections or episodes are restructured.¹⁰⁷

In this development the Epic of Gilgameš is typical of the traditional narrative poetry of Babylonia.¹⁰⁸

The recovery of additional text of the epic presents further opportunities to compare passages that are extant in different versions of the epic. A comprehensive study of the relationships that exist between the various versions goes beyond the goals of the present volume and would repeat much of Tigay's treatment. This section will examine just four examples of passages that can be studied comparatively, all of which are chosen because new sources of text have come to light very recently.

The first such passage is the elders' response to Gilgameš's announcement that he intends to mount an expedition to the Cedar Forest. The Old Babylonian evidence remains the account on the Yale tablet (OB III). A later version of this is now to be read on an early Neo-Assyrian tablet from Aššur that holds a fragment of Middle Babylonian text going back to the Middle Assyrian period (Assyrian MS y). The Standard Babylonian text has benefited from the identification of three more Late Babylonian duplicates (MSS e, s and ee) that between them fully restore the text for the first time. First the Old Babylonian passage:

189	<i>šībūtum ša Uruk ribūtum</i>	
190	<i>siqra uterrū ana Gilgāmeš</i>	
191	<i>šeħrētūma Gilgāmeš libbaka našīka</i>	
192	<i>mimma ša tēneppušu lā tūde</i>	
193	<i>nišemmēma Ĥuwāwa šanū būnūšu</i>	
194	<i>mannum š[a im]ahħaru kakķīsu</i>	
195	<i>ana šūši [bēr]ā nummāt qīštum</i>	// OB III 108
196	<i>mannu [ša] u[r]ra]du ana libbīša</i>	// OB III 109
197	<i>Ĥuwāwa [rig]mašu abūbu</i>	// OB III 110
198	<i>pīšu Ġirrumma napīssu mūtum</i>	// OB III 111–12
199	<i>ammīnim taħšīħ anni'am epēša</i>	// OB III 113–14
200	<i>qabal lā maħār šupat Ĥuwāwa</i>	// OB III 115–16

OB III 189–200, translated on p. 203

¹⁰⁷ Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 244.

¹⁰⁸ See J. S. Cooper, 'Symmetry and repetition in Akkadian narrative', *JAOs* 97 (1977), pp. 508–12, a brief study comparing passages of OB Anzū, Etana and the Legend of Narām-Sin with their SB counterparts.

As the marginal notations show, the speech is partly a reprise of Enkidu's first speech of warning (OB III 106–16). Lines from Enkidu's second speech of warning are not repeated but they are given here for reasons of comparison with the later versions:

129	<i>kī nullak ibrī¹³⁰ ana qīšti [erēnim]</i>
131	<i>nāšīša Wēr[ma]¹³² dān lā šāl[il]</i>
133	<i>Ĥuwāwa Wē[r . . .]</i>
134	<i>Adad iš[īen]¹³⁵ šū [šanūm]</i>
136	<i>aššum šullum[u erēnim]</i>
137	<i>pulħi'ātīm sebe iš[īmšum Ellil?]</i>

OB III 129–37, translated on pp. 199–201

A fragment of a similar but more condensed version of the elders' speech survives in the older material from Boğazköy:

[<i>šībūtu ša Uruk . . .</i>]	// OB III 189–90
<i>ana mīnim ta[ħšīħ] annā^{6'} epēša</i>	// OB III 199
<i>[qabal lā maħār]r' šubat Ĥuw[āwa]</i>	// OB III 200
<i>[mannu ša^{7'} imahħaru kakķīsu?]</i>	// OB III 194?
<i>[ana šūši?] bēr! n[ummāt qīštu . . .]</i>	// OB III 195

MB Boğ, d 5'–7', translated on p. 315

Compare the Middle Babylonian version of the elders' speech from Aššur:

6'	<i>[iibūma mālik]ū rabūtu</i>	
	<i>izzaqurū [ana Gilgāmeš]</i>	
7'	<i>[šeħrētū] bēlī libbaka [našīka]</i>	// OB III 191
8'	<i>[(u) mimma] ša taqabbū magir [. . .]</i>	// OB III 192
9'	<i>[šeħrēt]ta bēlī [lī]bbaka [našīka]</i>	repetition of 7'
10'	<i>[(u) mimma] ša taqabbū magi[r . . .]</i>	repetition of 8'
11'	<i>[x x x x] x x Ĥubbebe dapīnu elī[ka . . .]</i>	
12'	<i>[pīš]u Ġirru siqirš[u mūtū?]</i>	// OB III 198
13'	<i>[x (x) x] x x bēri? lamāssu [qīštu?]</i>	// OB III 195
14'	<i>[mann]u ša urruđu ana libbi</i>	// OB III 196
	<i>Addu il[ēn] šū šanū]</i>	// OB III 134–5
15'	<i>[aššū] šullume erēnīšu</i>	// OB III 136
	<i>pulħēte ša nīši [išmū Ellil]</i>	// OB III 137

MS y₂ obv. 6'–15', translated on p. 359

Finally, the Standard Babylonian version of the elders' warning. The passage is one for which different sources preserve different orders of lines.¹⁰⁹ As given here the text follows the Late Babylonian MS ee:

287	<i>iibūma mālikē rabbūtu</i>	cf. MS y 6'
288	<i>iēmu utarri ana Gilgāmeš</i>	

¹⁰⁹ See in detail the section of Ch. 9 on Textual variants and recensional differences in the SB epic.

289	<i>ṣehṛēti Gilgāmeš libbaka našṭka</i> z adds [<i>ummaka</i>] <i>ūlidka</i>	//OB III 191 // MS y 4'
290	<i>u mimma ša tātammu (s: taq]abbū) ul ūde</i>	// OB III 192 // MS y 8'
291	<i>Ḫumbāba rigmaš abūbu</i>	// OB III 197 // SB II 221
292	<i>pīšu Gīrumma napīssu mūtu</i>	// OB III 198 // MS y 12' // SB II 222
293	<i>išemēmēma ana šūšu bēr rimmat qīštīšu</i>	// OB III 195 // MS y 13' // SB II 223
294	<i>āridu qīštīšu i[šabbassu lu'ru]</i> (MS ee only)	
295	<i>mannu ša urrađu ana qīštīšu</i>	// OB III 196 // MS y 14a' // SB II 224
296	<i>mannu ša igerrūšu ina Igīgī</i>	// SB II 226
297	<i>Adad iš[iltēn u šū šanū</i> 296–7 are transposed in MSS sz	// OB III 134–5 // MS y 14b' // SB II 225
298	<i>aššu šullumu eṛēni</i>	// OB III 136 // MS y 15a' // SB II 227
299	<i>ana pulḫāti ša nišī išimšu Ellil</i> SB II 287–99, translated on p. 571	// OB III 137 // MS y 15b' // SB II 228

Analysis of these passages shows immediately that there is no direct lineal descent from the Yale tablet through the related versions exported to Anatolia and Assyria and on to the Standard Babylonian text.¹¹⁰ This is not surprising. The three older texts are only samples of the many different versions extant in the second millennium, most of which are now lost. It is inherently improbable that we will ever recover the many missing links in a direct chain of descent from the Old Babylonian period to the seventh century.

A closer comparison is instructive. The opening couplet changes considerably, with the two later sources agreeing on the rewording of the first line but each going their own way with the second. The first line of the next couplet remains largely unchanged, but the sense of the second line is altered by the use of one or other of a choice of alternative verbs, *taqabbū* and *tātammu* for OB *iētenepušu*. In the Middle Assyrian text the couplet is repeated, but not in the Standard Babylonian. The description of Ḫumbaba in the two later versions uses lines that have appeared in two different passages of the Old Babylonian text. In the Standard Babylonian version the elders' warning has become more nearly a verbatim repetition of the speech made earlier by Enkidu. This editorial process, by which the text is expanded or otherwise altered to impose a greater similarity on originally dissimilar passages, is what Tigay called 'homogenization'.

During the process of 'homogenization' several of the lines describing Ḫumbaba were altered in one way or another. OB III 195 was seriously reworked and given a new verb, probably because the old verb was no longer understood. The two later passages do not agree on the new verb (OB *nummāt* ~ MA *lamāssu* ~ SB *išemēmēma*), nor on whence to derive it: *lamāssu* is plausible as an emendation of *nummāt*, if not a corruption; in the Standard Babylonian text *išemēmēma* is freely interpolated in a more radical restructuring and *nummāt*'s place is taken by a noun, *rimmat*. These facts confirm the later versions as not directly related. In OB III 196 // SB II 295 *libbīšu* gives way to *qīštīšu*, a minor substitution. Two additional lines are introduced: SB II 294 and 296, that develop OB III 196. Neither of

¹¹⁰ For a detailed exposition of the relationship between the Yale tablet (OB III), Assyrian MS y and SB II see the edition of MS y in Ch. 7.

them is present in the Middle Assyrian version of the passage. Both later versions terminate the elders' words with a passage of three lines from Enkidu's speech of warning. In both the first two lines are kept almost unchanged, though modernization of language is visible at least in the Assyrian tablet (OB *ištēn* ~ MA *iltēn*).¹¹¹ The third line (OB III 137) has been reworked, evidently because *pulḫā'atim sebe*, 'the seven terrors', was not understood.

The activities of the ancient editors can be seen more clearly in the second passage selected for comparison, the dream of the thunderstorm. On the important new tablet now in Norway (OB Schøyen₂) this is Gilgamesh's second dream; in the Standard Babylonian version of the epic it is his third.

34	<i>issi Adad eṛšetum irammum</i>	101	<i>ilsū šamū qaqqaru irammum</i>
35	<i>ūmu i"apir ūši ekletum</i>	102	<i>ūmu ušharrir ūšā ekletum</i>
36	<i>ibriq birqum innapiḫ išātum</i>	103	<i>ibriq birqu innapiḫ išātum</i>
37	<i>nablū išpū izannun mūtum</i>	104	<i>nablū išappū izzannun mūtum</i>
38	<i>ana rigim Adad emiš anāku</i>		
39	<i>īūma ūmu ēmi allaku ul ūde</i>		
40	<i>ađima kī'amma šuppūtum ibteli išātum</i>	105	[<i>id'</i>] <i>imma nebūtu ibteli išātu</i>
41	<i>nablū imtaqqutū itūrū la'miš</i>	106	[<i>istu?</i>] <i>imtaqqutū itūr ana tumrī</i>
42	<i>ekletum itawir Šamaš itašī</i>		
43	... <i>irdi'amma u ...</i>	107	[<i>ta'ald</i>] <i>amma ina šēri mitluka nile"i</i>

OB Schøyen₂ 34–43, translated on p. 235 SB IV 101–7, translated on p. 593

Here there are several places where short phrases and single words have changed. Usually the new expression is roughly synonymous with the old form of words (OB *Adad* ~ SB *šamū*, OB *eṛšetum* ~ SB *qaqqaru*, OB *i"apir* ~ SB *ušharrir*, OB *šuppūtum* ~ SB *nebūtu*, OB *la'miš* ~ SB *ana tumrī*). Less often the new expression echoes the sound of the older one but means something quite different (OB *ađima kī'amma* ~ SB [*id'*] *imma*). This last may be a change of wording that entered the scribal tradition by mistake, as an error arising from misheard dictation or auto-dictation. An example of modernization of language, apart from the ubiquitous loss of mimation, is the change in the phonetic realization of the consonant cluster /š + s/, from OB *issi* (sing.) to MB *ilsū* (pl.).

A larger difference is the length of the passage. Some lines of the Old Babylonian text have not survived, two whole couplets being absent (38–9, 42–3). In place of the latter couplet, which was probably all narrative relation of the dream, the later text has a standard line in which Gilgamesh asks his friend for help. From this we learn that the Standard Babylonian text is not always an expansion of the older versions; sometimes it gives a more concise text.

Other changes may be a matter of poetic metre. Where the Old Babylonian text ends a line with *ūši ekletum* (stress on the antepenultimate syllable), the late text imposes the regular 'trochaic' ending by changing singular to plural, *ūšā ekletum*, to achieve a stress on the penultimate syllable. The change of *išpū izannun* in the I/1 stem to *ištappū izzannun* in the iterative I/3 stem may also be a matter of metre but one cannot be sure. As a result of this

¹¹¹ The SB manuscripts write this word with a ligature, *l+en*, which can be read *ištēn* and *iltēn*.

change the tense of the second verb alters from present to preterite. Also in the matter of prosody, note that the division into couplets that is a hallmark of the older text (and of Old Babylonian Gilgameš in general) survives almost unscathed in the Standard Babylonian version.

The third passage for consideration is Gilgameš's nightmare about being caught in an avalanche and Enkidu's explanation of it as favourable. On OB Schøyen₂ the avalanche is Gilgameš's first dream en route to the Cedar Forest. In a Middle Babylonian edition represented by a fragment from Boğazköy it is the second.

5	<i>ina būdīya ēmidam šadi'am</i>	13'	<i>ina šuttīya ibrī šadū [. . .]</i>
6	<i>šadūm iqūpamma īsihan[ni]</i>	14'	<i>ūtadānmi šēpīya iššabat na[. . .]</i>
7	<i>birkiya iltazwi puluhtum</i>		
8	<i>aḫīya šalummatum uddannin</i>	15'	<i>[. . .] šalummatu uddannin</i>
9	<i>ištēn eḫlum labiṣ palām?</i>		<i>ištēn eḫ[lu . . .]</i>
10	<i>ina mātim nawirma dumqamma [damiq]</i>	16'	<i>ina māti damiqma dumuqšu</i>
11	<i>iṣbatma kubur emūqīya</i>		<i>[. . .]</i>
12	<i>šaplānu šadīmma ištālpanni</i>	17'	<i>šaplān ḫursāni ištālpannīm[a . . .]</i>
		18'	<i>mē iṣqānīma libbī ipš[ah (. . .)</i>
			<i>ina]^{19'} qaqqari ušaškin šēpī[ya]</i>
13	<i>Enkidu šuttam ipaššar</i>	20'	<i>Enkidu ana šuati izzaqqar</i>
	<i>issaqqaramma ana Gilgameš</i>		<i>iqabbī]^{21'} ana Gilgameš</i>
14	<i>inanna ibrī ša nillakūšum</i>		<i>ibrī ni[llak- . . .]</i>
15	<i>ul šadūmmā nukkur mimma</i>		<i>[ul ḫursān]^{22'} mimma nukkur</i>
16	<i>inanna Ḫuwāwa ša nillakūšum</i>		<i>Ḫ[uwāwa nillak- . . .]</i>
	<i>ul šadūmmā nukkur mimma</i>	23'	<i>ul ḫursān mimma nuk[kur . . .]</i>
17	<i>tennemmidāma iṣti'at teppuṣ</i>		
18	<i>ūšāmi? ša mūtīm.</i>		
19	<i>urta"ab uzzašu elūka</i>		
20	<i>ulawwa puluhtašu birkīka</i>	24'	<i>alka muḫḫi puluhta[. . .]</i>
		25'	<i>innamar [.]</i>
21	<i>u ša tāmurušu Šamašma šarru</i>	26'	<i>u eḫlu ša [tāmuru . . .]</i>
22	<i>ina ūmī ša dannatim išabbat qātka</i>	27'	<i>ša ēnīka [.]</i>
		28'	<i>ša pagrīk[a]</i>
		29'	<i>iūtīka [.]</i>
		30'	<i>arḫi[š . . .]</i>

OB Schøyen₂ 5–22, translated on pp. 233–5 MB Boğ₂ i 13'–30', translated on pp. 319–21

In this instance comparison must take account of the twin problems that beset the Middle Babylonian tablet: (a) it is not complete, and (b) it is—as is clearer from the corruptions on the reverse—not a reliable witness. Nevertheless, something can be said. Here again short phrases and single words have changed (OB *nawirma dumqamma damiq* ~ MB *damiqma dumuqšu*, OB *šadūm* ~ MB *ḫursānu*, OB *ša tāmurušu* ~ MB *eḫlu ša [tāmuru]*). Second, the two versions use different formulae to introduce direct speech. Third, there are places where the later text is much expanded: compare OB Schøyen₂ 22 with MB Boğ₂ i 27' ff.

On another occasion it seems that the Middle Babylonian version is longer because it conflates this passage with another dream. The mention in MB Boğ₂ i 18'–23' of a figure who gave the dreaming Gilgameš water is not a match for anything in OB Schøyen₂ but tallies with Enkidu's explanation of the dream of bull-wrestling, reported in one of the tablets from Tell Harmal:

10	<i>[i]um ibrī ša nellakūšum</i>
11	<i>ul rīnumma nukkur mimma</i>
12	<i>rīmū ša tāmuru Šamaš namrum</i>
13	<i>ina dannatim išabbat qātni</i>
14	<i>ša mē nādīšu išqūka</i>
15	<i>ilka mukabbī qaqqaḏīka Lugalbanda</i>

OB Harmal₁ 10–16, translated on p. 251

It must also be conceded that the reverse is true: that in places the later version is more concise than the older (compare OB Schøyen₂ 17–19 with MB Boğ₂). Here one should bear in mind that the Boğazköy tablet may not report the text fully. The Middle Babylonian text is too fragmentary to allow comparison of the two passages from the point of view of prosody.

The evolution of the narrative passages that punctuate the dream episodes can also be studied with new results. The stages of the journey, pitching of camp and waking from dream are reported in the Old Babylonian texts as follows:

Stage 1. The journey is not extant but the sleep and waking are:

1	<i>Gilgameš sakip nīl</i>
	<i>šunatam mušiyatum ūblaššu?</i>
2	<i>ina qablītīm šittašu ugallissu</i>
3	<i>itbe ūawwā ana ibrīšu</i>
4	<i>ibrī ātamar šuttam</i>
	<i>ammīnim lā tedki'anni mādiš palḫat</i>

OB Schøyen₂ 1–4, translated on p. 233

A variant version of Stage 1 on a school tablet does not report the full text:

1	<i>eḫma ana šūrim ša šadīm, napliš [. . .] . . .</i>
2	<i>šuttam ša ilī anāku ekmeḫu</i>
3	<i>ibrī šuttam aḫḫul</i>
	<i>kī laḫtat? kī ne-ma-at kī dalḫat</i>

OB Harmal₁ 1–3, translated on p. 249

Stage 2

25	<i>mālak ūmakkal šina u šalāšim</i>
26	<i>iḫū ana māi-Ibla</i>
27	<i>ūlma Gilgameš ana šēr šadīm</i>
28	<i>ūtanaḫlas kalīšunu ḫursānī</i>
29	<i>ina kimīšu ummidam zuqassu</i>
30	<i>šittum raḫi'at niši imqussu</i>

- 31 *ina qablūtim šittašu ugallissu*
 32 *ibe ūawwām ana ibrišu*
 33 *ibrī ātamar šanītam*
eli šuttim ša āmurū pānūim palḫat
 OB Schøyen₂ 25–33, translated on p. 235

- Stage 3
 82 *nubattam iskipū inīlū*
 83 *ibēma Gilgāmeš šuttašu ipaššaršum*
 84 *ibrī ātamar šaluštam*
 OB Schøyen₂ 82–4, translated on p. 239

- Stage 4
 9 *ibrī ātamar rebūtam*
 10 *etqet eli šalaštīn šunūtīya*
 OB Nippur obv. 9–10, translated on p. 243

In the knowledge that the three tablets quoted are unlikely to represent one and the same version of the Old Babylonian epic, one can only make provisional comments on the sequence of lines that intervene between the various dream episodes. Nevertheless, it seems evident that as the narrative proceeded the old poem used a progressively shorter set of lines to punctuate the dreams. A single counterpart of this narrative is extant among the material of the later second millennium:

- Stage 2
 5' *iššabtūni illakūni*
nubat[ta iskipū inīlū] cf. OB Schøyen₂ 82
 6' *šittu raḫū mūši iktaldaš[šu . . .]* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 30
 7' *ina mišil mušiti iddišu šitta[šu* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 2 // 31
*ibēma?]*⁸ *šutta izzaqqar ana Enkīdu* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 32
i[brī ātamar šanīta (šutta)] // OB Schøyen₂ 33
 9' *kī lā tadhānī minā[m erēku]* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 4b
 10' *Enkīdu ibri ātamar šutt[a* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 33
*kī lā]*¹¹ *tadhānī minām [erēku]* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 4b
 12' *eli išṭēn šuttīya šanītu [etqet?]* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 33b
 MB Boğ₂ i 5'–12', translated on p. 319

It is clear that a process of expansion has already begun. The better-preserved Standard Babylonian version provides an even sharper contrast with the Old Babylonian text. The following passage of twenty-two lines is repeated, with minor variants, no less than five times:

- ana ešrā bēr iksupū kusāpa*
ana šalašā bēr iškunū nubatta
ḫanšā bēr illikū kala ūmu
mālak arḫi u šapatti ina šalšu ūmu // OB Schøyen₂ 25
iḫū ana šadī Labnānu // OB Schøyen₂ 26
[an]a pān šamaš uḫarrū būru cf. OB III 268–
m[ē? . . .]škunū i[na . . .]pa OB III 270
ūma Gilgāmeš ina muḫ[ḫi] šadī // OB Schøyen₂ 27
mašḫassu utteqqā ana [ḫurs]āni cf. OB Schøyen₂ 28

- šadū bila šutta amāt [damiqtū?] lūmur* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 1b
īpušāššumma Enkīdu ana [šāšu? b]ū? zaqīqi
dalat šarbilli irreti ina bābīšu
ušnīšūma ina kippati [. . .] ušurti
[u? š]ū? kīma šešē [. . .] damma itatīl ina bābīšu
Gilgāmeš ina kinšū utammēda zuqassu // OB Schøyen₂ 29
[šit]tum reḫāt nišī elīšu imqut // OB Schøyen₂ 30
[ina q]ablūti šittašu uqatti // OB Schøyen₂ 2 // 31
ibēma utammā ana ibrišu // OB Schøyen₂ 3 // 32
ibrī ul talsānī ammīni erēku cf. MB Boğ₂ i 9'
ul talputanni ammīni šāšāku
ul ilu ūiq ammīni ḫamū širū'a
ibrī ātamar (x) šutta // OB Schøyen₂ 4 // 33 // 84 // OB Nippur 9
u šuttu ša āmurū kalīš šāšāt cf. OB Schøyen₂ 33b, OB Nippur 10, MB Boğ₂ i 12'
 SB IV 1–22 // 34–[55] // [79]–100 // 120–[42] // 163–[83], translated on p. 589 etc.

As can be seen from the marginal annotations, many of these lines have counterparts in the older versions of the text, so that it is clear what has happened. A process of standardization has taken place, with the heterogeneous narratives of the old versions being combined with additional lines of other origin into a composite whole, which is then repeated on each occasion. This development can be seen elsewhere in the late epic, notably in Gilgames's encounters with Šiduri, Ur-šanabi and Ūta-napišti in Tablet X, where an even longer passage is repeated three times. These are more examples of Tigay's 'homogenization'. The conflation of different lines into standardized passages of repetition yields a more monotonous narrative that robs the text of spontaneity and interest. From the aesthetic point of view the result is a poorer work of literature.¹¹² But, as argued above, the late version of the epic is a vehicle more for thought than entertainment. Message has become more important than style.

The Standard Babylonian epic stands at the end of a long history of editorial activity. And this activity did not end when Sin-lēqi-unninni established his text. Though the manuscripts of the first-millennium version provide a remarkably consistent text, they are not always unanimous. Significant variants provide evidence for the development over the centuries of minor recensional differences. The question of how fixed the Standard Babylonian text actually was will be investigated in Chapter 9, in the section on Textual variants and recensional differences.

TABLET XII: WHAT, WHEN AND WHY?

Tablet XII of the Standard Babylonian epic is a translation into Akkadian, more or less word for word, of much of the latter part of the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld.

¹¹² See already J. S. Cooper, 'Symmetry and repetition in Akkadian narrative', *JAS* 97 (1977), p. 510, commenting on Anzū, Etana and the Legend of Narām-Sin: 'The older texts have been reworked to their disadvantage, and our opinion of the SB corpus and its academic redactors is disappointingly diminished.'

This in itself is peculiar. Few Sumerian literary texts survived the great changes in the scribal curriculum and literary canon that occurred sometime in the mid- to late second millennium, and those that did were passed down, almost without exception, in bilingual format, Sumerian and Akkadian. Of all the Sumerian narrative poems about the legendary kings of Uruk, only one, the Lugalbanda epic, survived in this format.¹¹³ The only extant monolingual Akkadian translation of a Sumerian literary text apart from Tablet XII of Gilgameš is the Babylonian Instructions of Šuruppak, known from a fragment of a Middle Assyrian recension.¹¹⁴

As a translation, and a mechanical one at that, Tablet XII is different in style and language from the epic.¹¹⁵ One cannot detect in it the poetic genius that pervades the great poem. There are no literary touches. The word order and vocabulary are plain and unimaginative. The trochaic line-end of poetry is so often absent that the ancient translator evidently did not seek to impose it. In short, Tablet XII is basic prose. Then there is the very obvious inconsistency of plot. In the preceding epic Enkidu dies at the end of Tablet VII. At the beginning of Tablet XII he is alive. The text gives another account of how he died, being detained in the Land of No Return for drawing attention to himself when rash enough to descend there on an errand, and goes on to relate how his ghost, summoned from imprisonment in the Netherworld, gives Gilgameš an account of the conditions endured there by the shades of the dead.

A third factor is the structure of the preceding poem. The epilogue of Tablet XI brings the epic to a conclusion that is signalled in the poem's structure. Not only are lines of the prologue repeated to form a literary frame, but the division into eleven tablets is itself symmetrical. The first five tablets lead up to and describe Gilgameš's great success, the heroic adventure in the Cedar Forest. Tablet VI, in the middle, is a short and rapid episode that presents the protagonist at the peak of his glory. In the exploit described it looks back to the heroism of Tablets I-V; in the development of the plot it sets in motion the events that lead inexorably to the grief and desperation of Tablets VII-XI. These last five tablets lead up to and describe Gilgameš's famous failure, his solitary quest in search of immortality.¹¹⁶ And at the end the poet delivers his final thoughts of wisdom on the great theme of death and immortality. As a work of literature Tablets I-XI thus form a satisfying whole, structurally and thematically.

These three factors then—language, plot and structure—clearly mark Tablet XII out as a separate text with no original connection to the eleven-tablet epic. It is a prose appendix, designated Tablet XII because it was attached to the eleven-tablet poem as part of a series,

¹¹³ See the fragments from Nineveh edited by C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, as MSS B₁ and B₅; add also BM 123396, since published as CT 51 181.

¹¹⁴ KAR 27, ed. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 95 with new copy; also Alster, *Instructions of Suruppak*, pp. 121–2. A Sumerian prayer also survives in a monolingual Akkadian version, as well as in bilingual format as an *erishunga*: for editions of all three versions see W. G. Lambert, 'Dingir.ša.dib.ba incantations', *JNES* 33 (1974), pp. 267–322.

¹¹⁵ This point has also been made by Stephanie Dalley, 'Authorship, variation and canonicity in Gilgamesh and other ancient texts', *Interaction: Journal of the Terek Bach Foundation* 2 (1999), p. 41.

¹¹⁶ On the symmetrical structure of the poem see at length H. L. J. Vanstiphout, 'The craftsmanship of Sin-leqi-unninni', *OLP* 21 (1990), pp. 45–79.

'the series of Gilgameš'. No one sensitive to language and plot can disagree with this conclusion, which has been self-evident since Kramer made clear the tablet's Sumerian antecedents more than fifty years ago.¹¹⁷ We have to consider when it was appended and why.

The Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld was a popular copy-book in the eighteenth century. The date of the translation of its latter part into Akkadian prose cannot be determined with any certainty. The *terminus ante quem* is the end of the eighth century, when the Assyrian scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu writes in the colophon of MS N of making a copy of Tablet XII from an older master-copy. A perverse but strangely tenacious view is that it was most probably Nabû-zuqup-kēnu who was himself responsible for the text's translation and addition to the series.¹¹⁸ This position has been made more improbable by the discovery in the last forty years of two Late Babylonian manuscripts (MSS a and q). These two tablets, almost certainly from Babylon, speak for the inclusion of Tablet XII in the traditional text of the Series of Gilgameš as handed down over the centuries in the Babylonian capital. The literary products of the Assyrian court did not normally interest Babylonian scholars, with the exception of a clique at pro-Assyrian Uruk.¹¹⁹ Even if one disallows the objection raised by MSS a and q on the grounds that the scholars of Babylon may have acquired Tablet XII from Assyria via Uruk, there is still the testimony of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's own words. He copied his tablet from an old master-copy, therefore Tablet XII already existed in his time, if not long before.

One linguistic feature thought diagnostic of a late origin of the translation is the use of a variant form of the infinitive in the construct state (*parīs* or *parēs* instead of *parās* at SB XII 145). New evidence suggests that this form may not be as late as once thought; in any case, it might represent an intrusion of a word not original to the text. Other features, such as the vocabulary, look Middle Babylonian. The absence of Sumerian Gilgameš and most of the canonical Sumerian literature from the several first-millennium libraries known to us also suggests that the translation was made earlier rather than later, and so probably in the second millennium. One may suppose with good reason that Tablet XII was added to the Akkadian poem of Gilgameš at the time when the Standard Babylonian version, *ša naqba īmurū*, was redacted. It was thus the product of a Middle Babylonian editor—in convenient language, the work of Sin-lēqi-unninni.

The reason for the appendage of Tablet XII to the epic presents a much harder problem, however, and is a question that has provoked a wide variety of claims. Formerly arguments were put forward for its place in the epic in ignorance of its direct dependence on a Sumerian forerunner. Even after the breakthrough in understanding afforded by Kramer's recovery of the Sumerian text that lies behind Tablet XII, some scholars have continued to

¹¹⁷ S. N. Kramer, 'The Epic of Gilgameš and its Sumerian sources', *JAS* 64 (1944), pp. 22–3.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. F. M. Th. Böhl, 'Das Problem ewigen Lebens im Zyklus und Epos des Gilgameschs', *Opera minima. Studies en bijdragen op assyriologisch en Oudtestamenteisch terrein* (Groningen, 1953), pp. 250, 259–60; G. Komoróczy, 'Akkadian epic poetry and its Sumerian sources', *Acta Acad. Scient. Hung.* 23 (1975), p. 59.

¹¹⁹ On the introduction of Assyrian traditions of scholarship to Uruk in the seventh century and its subsequent transmission into the Seleucid era, see P.-A. Beaulieu, 'The cult of AN.ŠAR/AŠŠUR in Babylonia after the fall of the Assyrian empire', *SAAB* 11 (1997), pp. 65–7.

take the position that the epic is not complete without it. Most of them, but not all, are sensitive enough to literature to recognize that the last tablet is an appendage but nevertheless consider it in one way or another a meaningful one, even an essential one. It is legitimate to ask why Tablet XII was attached to the epic but one must always remember that in literary terms it is, so to speak, a parvenu. A survey of the various opinions expressed in favour of including Tablet XII in the epic shows that this has not always been the case.

Oppenheim held the view that Gilgameš learns from Enkidu's ghost 'about his inescapable fate', and considered it possible that 'the last tablet of the epic could be meant to be the crowning stone with the answer to the eternal question of mankind, namely that knowledge, not escape, is to be its goal'.¹²⁰ What Gilgameš hears from Enkidu, however, is not a message of his own inevitable doom—that is imparted to him by Ūta-napišti—but something much less personal and much more specialized, a report of the different levels of comfort and distress endured by the various lucky and unlucky shades. Komoróczy argues that 'the Akkadian Gilgameš epic elaborated only the first half of the Sumerian model', that is, the original Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, and that in supplying the missing second half Tablet XII completes the 'model'.¹²¹ Tablet XII thus functions as a 'conscious closing down of the ideas of the epic', added because the 'translator-poet of Tablet XII wanted to bring the Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš nearer to the Sumerian tradition'. The equation of Tablets I–XI with Bilgames and the Netherworld 1–171 is not, in my view, real, for they share neither plot nor theme. Nor do I see how the heroes' dialogue 'closes down the ideas' of the epic satisfactorily. Its parting message regarding commemorative ritual is tangential and no grand summation of the epic's great theme of life and death, so expertly concluded in Ūta-napišti's counsel and the poem's epilogue.

Alster floated the idea that Tablet XII was appended to the preceding text to treat 'relations between the living and the dead. It constitutes a paradigmatic pattern for life and death in which Gilgameš has to take part . . . the intention is certainly to show that Gilgameš does not stand outside the cycle.'¹²² If such is the intention it is only very allusively expressed in Tablet XII. For evidence of a more immediate relevance of Enkidu's answers to Gilgameš's personal circumstances Alster had to fall back on lines of the Sumerian poem that were not incorporated in the Akkadian translation. Abusch considers that the tablet was added to proclaim Gilgameš's role as king and judge in the Netherworld and to 'communicate to him the rules of the netherworld'.¹²³ There is, however, no explicit description of Gilgameš's chthonic functions detectable in Tablet XII, as there clearly is in the Sumerian Death of Bilgames, where divine status in the Netherworld is made a compensation for the hero's doom. A knowledge of conditions in the afterlife is not the same thing as instruction in a formal role there. While maintaining that Tablet XII was an addition, Kilmer considers it to be a 'dramatic capstone whereby the twelve-tablet epic ends on one and the same theme,

¹²⁰ A. Leo Oppenheim, 'Mesopotamian mythology II', *OrNS* 17 (1948), p. 20.

¹²¹ G. Komoróczy, *Acta Acad. Scient. Hung.* 23 (1975), pp. 58–60.

¹²² B. Alster, 'The paradigmatic character of Mesopotamian heroes', *RA* 68 (1974), pp. 57, 59.

¹²³ T. Abusch, 'Ishtar's proposal and Gilgameš's refusal: an interpretation of the Gilgameš Epic, Tablet 6, lines 1–79', *History of Religions* 26 (1986), pp. 184–7.

that of "seeing" (= understanding, discovery, etc.) with which it began'.¹²⁴ Her idea relies on an equation of *naqba* (or *naqbi*) in the epic's incipit with the Netherworld of Tablet XII. The *naqba*, however, is nowhere a term for the realm of the dead. Nor did Gilgameš 'see the depths' in Tablet XII 'through a hole'. Enkidu's ghost arose through a crevice and so Gilgameš heard about the Netherworld at second hand.

Vulpe finds the twelfth tablet a 'necessary and elegant conclusion' that 'suggests that Gilgameš shares the fate of Everyman'.¹²⁵ Here, again, I am sceptical that that is the true thrust of the heroes' dialogue. Harris 'would contend that Tablet XII is an integral part of the Gilgameš epic' on the grounds that 'central to its theme is the importance of family, the necessity of offspring to mourn the deceased and provide the *kispu* offering', but she has to admit that in Tablet XII Enkidu 'voices this view implicitly, if not explicitly'.¹²⁶ The existence of one common theme, among many, is not enough to prove textual 'integrity'. Other more wild ideas have been rebutted by others and do not need further discussion here.¹²⁷

The modern scholar who rejects most strongly the notion that Tablet XII is an addition to the text of the epic is Parpola. In a controversial article on the symbolism of what he calls the 'Assyrian Tree of Life' he states that 'in reality, nothing could be farther from the truth. Without the twelfth tablet, the Epic would be a torso because . . . it contains the ultimate wisdom that Gilgameš brought back from his arduous search for life.'¹²⁸ I would counter that such wisdom was learned from Ūta-napišti in Tablets X and XI. For Parpola this 'ultimate wisdom' is the 'precious secret' that reveals 'the way to Heaven'. In this way the epic can be interpreted as a 'mystical path of spiritual growth culminating in the acquisition of superior esoteric knowledge'. Parpola's exegesis of the sacred tree alerts us to the need to be aware that much in ancient Mesopotamian religious and intellectual life went unrecorded. Babylonian scholarship makes repeated references to its secrets, and it is no bad thing to search for signs of indigenous mysticism.

This is not the place for a discussion of Parpola's bold thesis on the mystical significance of the sacred tree.¹²⁹ However, his exegesis of the Epic of Gilgameš calls for comment. The development of the narrative of the twelve-tablet series supposedly encodes symbolically the ten deities that according to his theory correspond in Kabbalistic fashion with the 'nodes, volutes and circles' of the tree. I find the attempt to make a literary text such as Gilgameš fit a preconceived pattern most unconvincing. This is not to say that I reject any notion that the Epic of Gilgameš had for some a symbolic or mystical significance; it may well have done. But if it did so, it was a secondary development. Whatever it may have

¹²⁴ A. Draffkorn Kilmer, 'A note on an overlooked word-play in the Akkadian Gilgameš', *Kraus AV* (1982), p. 131.

¹²⁵ N. Vulpe, 'Irony and the unity of the Gilgameš epic', *JNES* 53 (1994), pp. 275–83.

¹²⁶ R. Harris, *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia* (Norman, Okla., 2000), p. 127.

¹²⁷ See e.g. J. Koch's answer to a recent solar interpretation of the 12-tablet epic in his review of W. Papke, *Die Sterne von Babylon. Die geheime Botschaft der Gilgameš* in *WO* 24 (1993), pp. 213–22.

¹²⁸ S. Parpola, 'The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the origins of Jewish monotheism and Greek philosophy', *JNES* 52 (1993), pp. 192–5.

¹²⁹ For a serious critique see J. S. Cooper, 'Assyrian prophecies, the Assyrian tree, and the Mesopotamian origins of Jewish monotheism, Greek philosophy, Christian theology, Gnosticism, and much more', *JAS* 120 (2000), pp. 430–44.

become, the poem itself has its origins in oral entertainment, not in any theological or intellectual pursuit. In a work of literature one cannot ignore as irrelevant the obstacles represented by the clear difference in style and separateness of plot observed between Tablets I–XI on the one hand and Tablet XII on the other. The poem makes sense as eleven tablets, not as twelve. Tablet XII is incontrovertibly an addition. That must be the starting point of any discussion of it.

Before considering what Tablet XII was for, a *caveat* should be added as a gloss to the preceding discussion. The text of Gilgameš is not yet completely recovered. All the scholars mentioned in the preceding paragraphs base their proposals on the content of only part of Tablet XII, namely Gilgameš's dialogue with Enkidu's ghost. As will be noted below in the introduction to Tablet VII (Chapter 10), a similar passage reporting the conditions of individuals in the Netherworld was almost certainly included in the epic in the logical place, when the dying Enkidu tells Gilgameš how he was granted a vision of the Netherworld in a dream. All that remains of that passage is a single phrase, but it is a very suggestive one (SB VII 221): [*āi*]amar zumuršu, 'I saw his person'. If Gilgameš did indeed learn the secrets of the Netherworld from Enkidu in Tablet VII, then the messages decoded by Oppenheim, Gordon and their successors in Tablet XII would already have been incorporated in the eleven-tablet poem. From the thematic point of view the addition of the dialogue in Tablet XII would become surplus to requirements. Further discoveries of text will confirm or rebut this point.

Why, then, was part of the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld saved from extinction, translated and appended to the ancient Babylonian poem, at such offence to our modern tastes? Perhaps the text itself holds the answer. The dialogue that concludes Tablet XII focuses on the rites of commemorative mourning that occurred at prescribed intervals after interment. It is particularly concerned with those who, for one reason or another, have left no descendants. The original order of lines was changed so that the translation terminates with the sorry picture of a shade forced to scavenge for food and drink like an animal because he has nobody to perform the proper commemorative rites.

The text of which Tablet XII is a partial translation also focuses on memorial offerings and, in the Ur version, offers by way of conclusion a reminder of the need for proper commemoration. There it seems that Gilgameš himself is given credit for instituting such rites, when he honours for the first time his deceased parents and ancestors:

guruš ki.sikil unug^{ki}.ga sag.tuk bu[r.š]úm.ma kul.[aba^{ki}]
alam.bi igi mu.un.bar.bar.re.ne im.ma.húl.húl.la
^dutu agrun.na.ta è.a sag mu.un.na.(il) {mi.ni.in.ág}
á.bi mu.un.da.an.ág
a.a.mu ù ama.mu a.si.^fig.ga nag.zé^l.en
u₄.nu.mu.un.da.sa,ám.da.dirig.ága.bi.in.ši.TAG.ne
^dbil.ga.mes.e ki.hul.a ba.an.šub
u₄ 9.kam ki.hul.a ba.an.šub
gur[uš] ki.sikil unug^{ki}.ga sag^l.tuku [b]ur.šu.ma k[u]l.aba^{ki} ér ba.še₈.še₈

UET VI 60 rev. 5'–13', ed. Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62 (2000), p. 8

The young men and women of Uruk, the old men and women of Kullab,
looking upon those (funerary) statues, they rejoiced.
As the Sun God came forth from his chamber (at dawn) he lifted(!) his head,
he (Bilgames) issued instructions,
'O my father and my mother, drink clear water!'
The day was not half gone . . . , they were . . .
Bilgames performed the mourning rites,
for nine days he performed the mourning rites.¹³⁰
The young men and women of Uruk, the old men and women of Kullab mourned.

The duration of rites of mourning over nine days is corroborated by an Ur III tablet that documents the distribution over such a period of rations to professional mourners commemorating the king's name (ki.hul lugal), and supported by references in a Standard Babylonian menology and, less certainly, in *Lugale* to a period of nine days during Abu, the month dedicated to Gilgameš, when young men wrestled in doorways, evidently to commemorate his name during a festival of ghosts.¹³¹

The overriding emphasis on commemoration displayed in the conclusions of Bilgames and the Netherworld and Tablet XII is surely important evidence for our investigation. Gilgameš was, from at least the latter part of the third millennium, a figure whose symbolic presence at rituals of burial and commemoration is well attested and may have been obligatory. What kind of invocation did people make to him at such times? Whatever the origins of the Sumerian and Babylonian compositions relating the dialogue with Enkidu—and they are literary, not sacred—it has to be asked whether one or both texts came in due course to be put to use in ways that were not originally intended. Put otherwise, 'because both language and cultural values change, we might imagine that the longer a non-cultic text remains in the stream of tradition, the less likely it is to have any function outside the scribal curriculum, and if it does, it will hardly be its original function.'¹³²

The function of the Standard Babylonian epic in the scribal curriculum has already been discussed. One may further wonder if Bilgames and the Netherworld and later Tablet XII came to be used in rituals of commemoration. In this regard it is interesting to see that the court scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu apparently made his new copy of Tablet XII, our MS N, very soon after news reached him of the death on the battlefield of Sargon II; the Assyrian king and those many of his soldiers who must have perished with him are exactly the figures with which the end of Tablet XII is concerned.¹³³ Perhaps the learned scribe was prompted

¹³⁰ Cavigneaux translates this line very differently: 'le neuvième jour il sauta(?) dans la chapelle funéraire' (A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, 'La fin de Gilgameš, Enkidu et les Enfers d'après les manuscrits d'Ur et de Meturan (Textes de Tell Haddad VIII)', *Iraq* 62 (2000), pp. 8, 12). Tournay and Shaffer render ki. hul. a. ba. an. šub as 'il arrive au lieu du rite funèbre' (p. 274, 12–13). It seems to me still that translating ki. hul. a. šub as the semantic as well as lexical equivalent of the Akkadian phrase, *kihullā nadi*, 'to perform mourning rites', gives the best sense. The two phrases are calques, even if the process is also expressed in Sumerian as gi. hul. a. mar (= gar).

¹³¹ See Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62, p. 8 and fn. 38, citing Lafont and Yıldız, *Tello Istanbul* I 893, Astrolabe B (KAV 218) and *Lugale* 645–6. The latter two passages are quoted below in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Gilgameš's Sanctuaries and cult.

¹³² J. S. Cooper, 'Babbling on: recovering Mesopotamian orality', in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*, p. 120.

¹³³ This is the thesis of E. Frahm, 'Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgameš-Epos und der Tod Sargons II.', *JCS* 51 (1999), pp. 73–90.

to prepare the new tablet less by private, philosophical reflection¹³⁴ than by the practical requirement of familiarizing himself with a text that was about to be needed. There are many references in the late period to commemorative offerings made to appease unspecified and anonymous ghosts. Was there in the first millennium, as there was in Hammurapi's time, a festival at which such offerings were made to the ghosts of dead soldiers and others whose bodies were never recovered for proper burial?¹³⁵ Could it have been that Tablet XII—or maybe the entire series of twelve tablets—was put to ritual use, sung or recited, for example, at funerals and in memorial cults? Was it perhaps performed at the funerals of kings?

The epic's central concern with death and its lesson that no man can live for ever, not even the greatest of heroes and wisest of kings, are eminently appropriate to occasions on which the living bury the dead, commemorate their names and succour their ghosts. If the epic came eventually to have a function in such a context, Tablet XII would still be an appendage, but not an idle one; as a postscript to the great poem it would form an eloquent reminder of the duties owed by men to their ancestral spirits.

All this is highly speculative. It may yet be that outside the world of scribal education the eleven-tablet epic itself served no practical purpose in the first millennium but was a literary fossil preserved for its own sake as a masterpiece of traditional literature. Tablet XII may have been added to the series of eleven tablets because, as a sermon on man's doom, it reprised emphatically the dominant theme of the eleven-tablet epic as reworked by Sîn-lēqi-unninni. On the other hand it may have been appended merely because, as a chance survivor of a largely forgotten literature, there was nowhere else to put it.¹³⁶ Time, perhaps, will tell.

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH OUTSIDE THE CUNEIFORM TRADITION

A last topic for discussion in this chapter is the question of the extent to which the Epic of Gilgamesh made a mark on later literature. In this respect I shall leave aside the question of identifying conceptual similarities with other great works of literature, a field that has provoked a rash of studies.¹³⁷ It will be more pertinent to this chapter to concentrate instead on the issue of whether the poem itself was transmitted outside the cuneiform tradition. Such a literary masterpiece could not really have failed to escape the fetters of the old writing

¹³⁴ As Frahm suggests, *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹³⁵ For the OB festival see J. J. Finkelstein, 'The genealogy of the Hammurapi dynasty', *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 96, 33–40, and pp. 113–16.

¹³⁶ See already W. G. Lambert, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104/1 (1985), p. 116, who draws attention to series that embrace very disparate texts and notes trenchantly that 'there is no more need to try to find precise relationships between the late Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic and the appended fragment than there is to interpret Jonah in the light of Obadiah'.

¹³⁷ See e.g. G. F. Held, 'Parallels between the Gilgamesh Epic and Plato's *Symposium*', *JNES* 42 (1983), pp. 133–41; W. L. Moran, 'Ovid's *blanda voluptas* and the humanization of Enkidu', *JNES* 50 (1991), pp. 121–7; P. Mander, 'Gilgamesh e Dante: due itinerari alla ricerca dell'immortalità', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Raffaele Sirri* (Naples, 1995), pp. 281–97.

system and find refuge in foreign parts—or could it? Two lines of enquiry need close examination. First is the relationship of the Homeric epics to the Epic of Gilgamesh, second the legacy of the latter to the literatures of the post-cuneiform Near East.

The question of ancient Near Eastern influence on the Iliad, Odyssey and other Greek literature has been the subject of considerable discussion; the relationship of Gilgamesh to Homer began to be explored almost as soon as the contents of the Babylonian poem were presented in a reliable form.¹³⁸ The positions taken vary between the two extremes of (a) dismissal of any resemblance as coincidental and (b) claims of direct influence east to west. Recent writers have tended towards position (b).

Literary influence is seen, correctly, as one of many types of foreign influence felt by the archaic Greeks—material goods, technology (including writing), intellectual ideas and cultural trends, the import of all these from the East to Greece made for what has been termed an 'orientalizing revolution'.¹³⁹ The fullest analysis of literary influence is Martin West's exhaustive study of the legacy of eastern literatures to Greece, which includes a very detailed exposition of Gilgamesh motifs in Homer and other similarities between the two bodies of material.¹⁴⁰ He adopts position (b), concluding that 'both the Iliad and Odyssey show, beyond all reasonable question, the influence of the Gilgamesh epic, and more especially the Standard Babylonian version of that poem, including the supposititious Tablet XII'.¹⁴¹

In considering the date and route of transmission West has a specific suggestion, suspecting 'some sort of "hot line" from Assyrian court literature of the first quarter of the seventh century'.¹⁴² Part of his argument for such a 'hot line' rests on two points, (a) that Homer's poems were inspired by a 'version of the Gilgamesh epic similar to that current in seventh-century Nineveh, marked out by the addition of the incongruous Tablet XII', and (b) that Tablet XII was itself the direct inspiration for the Nekyia of the Odyssey, in which Odysseus encounters the shades of the dead. The first point is undermined by the probability that Tablet XII was appended to the poem much earlier than the seventh century, for, as already noted, it is now known from Babylonian manuscripts as well as Neo-Assyrian. The 'window of opportunity' was thus much larger than the first quarter of the seventh century. The second point must be tempered by the report of the dead shades that survives as a fragment of text in the body of the eleven-tablet epic, where it seems to have been the climax of Enkidu's dream of the Netherworld in Tablet VII. This equally could be supposed the

¹³⁸ P. Jensen followed up his pioneering edition of the whole extant epic with an article entitled 'Das Gilgamesh-Epos und Homer. Vorläufige Mitteilung', *ZA* 16 (1902), pp. 125–34, with additional comments on pp. 413–14.

¹³⁹ See esp. W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

¹⁴⁰ M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997); to the bibliography on Gilgamesh and Homer assembled there (esp. p. 335, fn. 3) add T. Abusch, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh and the Homeric epics', in R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies* (Melammu Symposia 2; Helsinki, 2001), pp. 1–6. Abusch's paper makes presumptions about the historical development of the Gilgamesh epic that are unjustified and then seeks a parallel development in the Odyssey. This latter development is supposed in some way to exhibit the influence of the former development, even though the Greek poem in its oldest form is much younger than the Babylonian poem in its latest.

¹⁴¹ West, *East Face of Helicon*, p. 587.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 627.

'inspiration' for the Odyssey's Nekyia. The suggestion of a 'hot line' further supposes that the written epic was put to use as an entertainment at the Neo-Assyrian court. This is an assumption that cannot be proved.¹⁴³

Like others who have written on the subject, West is well aware that two major problems beset us in giving an account of how Homer's poems and the Epic of Gilgameš came to share motifs and have other points of narrative and articulation in common. First, we know nothing of the oral tradition of Mesopotamian popular literature that ran parallel with the scribal tradition, no doubt influencing it and being influenced by it from time to time. Gilgameš was composed to be sung, and must have continued to be sung in some form even after the various versions of the poem became fixed in writing. In my view it is unwise to suppose that all singers of the Babylonian Gilgameš rendered the poem in a version that was faithful to the fossilized text passed down in the scribal tradition. Those that could read may have used the written text to refresh their memories, but others that could not probably knew by heart a version of the poem at some remove. Therefore we are not in a position to say for sure what version of the story could have been encountered by the bards of Homer's poems or by those that influenced them.

Second, the Greeks may have encountered stories about Gilgameš in translation rather than the epic in its original language. The almost total loss of Phoenician and early Aramaic literature means that we have no direct evidence in the eastern Mediterranean of the first millennium for the presence of Gilgameš in those languages and literatures that acted as intermediaries between Mesopotamian culture and the Aegean. Whether there were stories about Gilgameš in Phoenician and Aramaic and how close they might have been to the written epic we know are consequently unknown quantities.

There is a third consideration here. Textual composition in the ancient Near East was often a matter of adapting and stitching together well-known motifs and mythologems, sometimes reusing blocks of lines from already existing compositions and sometimes adapting more freely. This must have been so in oral composition as well as written. The implication is that ancient poets had, memorized or otherwise at their disposal, a fund of familiar episodes and standard passages on which they might draw as they pleased. It is highly probable in a world where musicians, scholars and other experts are known to have travelled internationally that many staple motifs and patterns of narrative would have been held in common by poets composing in various different ancient Near Eastern languages.¹⁴⁴ Mesopotamian cultural influence on the West was always strong, but most prominently in the period when Akkadian was *lingua franca* in the Levant and Anatolia, which saw the export to the eastern Mediterranean littoral of traditional Babylonian written texts, including Gilgameš and the Flood myth. The influence of these texts on indigenous culture cannot accurately be gauged, but was certainly considerable enough to generate new versions and paraphrases in some of the languages written locally. A similar outcome was surely seen

¹⁴³ On the question of court entertainment in the late period see above, the section on the epic in Babylonian literary life.

¹⁴⁴ On patterns of narrative held in common by Gilgameš, Homer and later epic (represented by Beowulf) see A. B. Lord, 'Gilgameš and other epics', *Studies Moran*, pp. 371–80.

in oral literature, as Levantine poets assimilated the new forms and adapted them to their own purposes. Influence was also felt in the opposite direction and in other periods. Mythologems stemming from the Levant are already visible in Babylonia of the early second millennium.¹⁴⁵ Some can be detected in the Gilgameš epic.¹⁴⁶

The undeniable similarities between Homer and Gilgameš may accordingly not have arisen as a result of the influence of a contemporaneous version of the Babylonian epic (or a translated version) on archaic Greece, direct or indirect. More probably, Greek poetry imported from the eastern Mediterranean region motifs, episodes, imagery and modes of expression that were always traditional in the narrative poetry of the area or had been adopted into that poetry from Mesopotamia long before.¹⁴⁷ This position would best explain, for example, the currency of the 'fatal letter' motif in Sumerian literature of the eighteenth century BC (where the intended victim is Sargon), and its presence after a thousand-year interval in the biblical book of Samuel (Uriah) and the Iliad (Bellerophon).¹⁴⁸ Seen against such a pattern, Homer's tale of the adventures of Odysseus, so reminiscent of the wanderings of Gilgameš, his story of Achilles and Patroclus as two friends separated by death, so suggestive of Gilgameš and Enkidu, and Odysseus's interview with his dead mother and other shades, so similar to Enkidu's reports of the Netherworld—ancestral versions of all these, whether deriving ultimately from Mesopotamia or not, may have been present in Levantine poetry long before the time of the archaic Greeks. Similarly, shared imagery, such as when Gilgameš and Achilles are both compared in their grief to lions bereft of their cubs, can be explained as dependence on traditional forms. For this reason, while I acknowledge the many parallels between Gilgameš and Homer, I see the poems as much more distant relatives than do those who argue for direct influence.

The second matter that calls for comment is the question of whether the Epic of Gilgameš survived the death of cuneiform writing in Mesopotamia. It may be useful to pause here briefly to examine the evidence for general cultural continuity in the post-cuneiform age and then to consider the literature of Mesopotamia in the immediately preceding period. Here, too, there has been a good deal of recent research. With regard to the survival of Babylonian culture, what one finds is that in the early centuries AD there was considerable continuity in religion and in the traditional 'sciences' rooted in the old cuneiform learning.

¹⁴⁵ See W. G. Lambert, 'Interchange of ideas between southern Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine as seen in literature', in H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (CRAI 25; Berlin, 1982), pp. 311–16.

¹⁴⁶ See further Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet V.

¹⁴⁷ A similar point was made by N. Wasserman in his review of West, *East Face of Helicon*, in *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001), p. 262: 'Another possible reading of the evidence could suggest a Mediterranean "Kulturbund", . . . a cultural conglomerate shared by the various societies located around the Mediterranean basin.' Abusch offers a similar escape route for the problem he made for himself (see above, fn. 140): 'perhaps the Homeric works and the Epic of Gilgameš initially developed independently, though they may have drawn upon a common narrative tradition' (*Mythology and Mythologies*, p. 6). Lambert is more sure: 'it seems certain that Homer did not read Gilgameš, nor Hesiod the Epic of Creation. Rather the literary works are products from intellectual cultures interrelated in more than one way. Common traditions going back to neolithic times may be suspected, while interaction both oral and written no doubt took place in some cases in historical times' (W. G. Lambert, *Classical Review* 41/1 (1991), p. 114).

¹⁴⁸ For brief details see B. Alster, 'A note on the Uriah letter in the Sumerian Sargon legend', *ZA* 77 (1987), pp. 169–73, and further literature there cited; cf. West, *East Face of Helicon*, pp. 365–6.

Long after the demise of cuneiform writing the worship of ancient Mesopotamian gods continued at such northern centres as Aššur, Harran, Edessa, Hatra and Palmyra.¹⁴⁹ In Babylonia itself we have the word of Rab (Rav), a famous authority of the Babylonian Talmud who flourished early in the third century AD, that the temples of Bēl (Marduk) at Babylon and Nabû at Borsippa, among other ‘appointed temples of idol-worship’, were still in his day centres of regular year-round worship.¹⁵⁰ Pagan practices that represented corruptions of the old polytheism were still flourishing in rural Babylonia in the Sasanian period and continued until well after the arrival of Islam.¹⁵¹ Babylonian and Assyrian religious thought had been a powerful influence on the development of Judaism, and in Mesopotamia survived to play a part in shaping eastern Christianity, Mandaeen Gnosticism and, later, Islam.¹⁵²

At the same time Babylonian intellectual achievements had an impact far and wide, in the East as well as the West. In this way practical expertise in traditional medicine, divination, astronomy and astrology survived the death of cuneiform writing. Native Babylonian accounts of creation and ancient history found their way into late Greek scholarship: the cosmogony of *Enūma eliš* appears in the accounts of Greek writers down to the Neo-Platonist philosopher Damascius in the fifth century AD;¹⁵³ a history of Mesopotamia based on the Dynastic Chronicle, the Babylonian continuation of the Sumerian King List, was passed down by Berossus (third century BC) and those later Classical and Byzantine authors who quoted his *Babyloniaca*.¹⁵⁴ In Iran, India and Central Asia the influence of the cuneiform ‘sciences’ on native culture can be detected.¹⁵⁵ The question arises, where does literature fit in this pattern of survival and diffusion?

¹⁴⁹ See M. J. Geller, ‘The Last Wedge’, *ZA* 87 (1997), pp. 53–6; A. Salvesen, ‘Babylon and Nineveh in Aramaic sources’, in S. Dalley et al., *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 151–5; L. Dirven, ‘The exaltation of Nabû: a revision of the relief depicting the battle against Tiamat from the temple of Bel in Palmyra’, *WO* 28 (1997), pp. 96–116.

¹⁵⁰ The Babylonian Talmud, Abodah Zarah Folio 11b.

¹⁵¹ For pagan worship, magic and thought in Sasanian and early Islamic Mesopotamia see M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), pp. 384–400.

¹⁵² To the bibliography collected after the various chapters of Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, add M. J. Geller, ‘The influence of ancient Mesopotamia on Hellenistic Judaism’, in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 1 (New York, 1995), pp. 43–54; id., ‘Akkadian medicine in the Babylonian Talmud’, in D. Cohn-Sherbok (ed.), *A Traditional Quest: Essays in Honour of Louis Jacobs* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 102–12; id., ‘The survival of Babylonian Wissenschaft in later tradition’, in S. Aro and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *The Heirs of Assyria* (Melammu Symposia 1; Helsinki, 2000), pp. 1–6; J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, ‘Astrological and related omen texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic’, *JNES* 48 (1989), pp. 201–14. For the continuity of Babylonian ideas into Gnostic traditions see further C. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, ‘Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten’, *ZA* 89 (1999), pp. 65–87; C. Müller-Kessler, ‘Interrelations between lead rolls and incantation bowls’, *Mesopotamian Magic*, pp. 197–209. On the Babylonian background of Islam see further J. Hämeen-Anttila, ‘Descent and ascent in Islamic myth’, in R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies* (Melammu Symposia 2; Helsinki, 2001), pp. 47–67.

¹⁵³ See P. Talon, ‘*Enūma eliš* and the transmission of Babylonian cosmology to the West’, in Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies*, pp. 265–77.

¹⁵⁴ The fragments are edited by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* III C 1 (Leiden, 1958), pp. 364–95; see also S. M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (SANE 1/V; Malibu, 1978).

¹⁵⁵ G. Gnoli, ‘Babylonian influences on Iran’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III/3 (London, 1988), pp. 334–6; D. Pingree, ‘Legacies in astronomy and celestial omens’, in Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, pp. 125–37; N. J. Sims-Williams, ‘From Babylon to China: astrological and epistolary formulae across two millennia’, *La Persia e l’Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo* (Atti dei convegni Lincei 127; Rome, 1996), pp. 77–84.

By the mid-first millennium BC much of the traditional scribal literature of ancient Mesopotamia was very old. However, the Standard Babylonian corpus of the late second millennium and early first was not the only literature to exist in Mesopotamia under the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires. Some new texts were composed, but aside from royal inscriptions in the traditional manner they were comparatively few and in a very different style.¹⁵⁶ In anecdotal works that deal with historical subjects, like the Crimes of Nabû-šuma-iškun, the King of Justice and the Verse Account of Nabonidus,¹⁵⁷ an increasing interest is found in the nature of tyranny and oppression. Alongside these and other new compositions in Akkadian there was certainly a vital Mesopotamian Aramaic literature, now largely lost. Those works that survive, like the account of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s revolt on a long papyrus scroll from Egypt formerly in the Amherst collection,¹⁵⁸ the stories of Ahiqar and Tobit,¹⁵⁹ and parts of the biblical book of Daniel, are set in imperial Assyrian and Babylonian contexts. They concern the deeds of historical personages and were probably composed soon after the lifetimes of the characters involved.¹⁶⁰ They are not adaptations of any text in the cuneiform tradition. They bear witness to the new style of literature, anecdotal in form and moral in intent, but also much concerned with corrupt and tyrannical behaviour, especially of kings. Some of this literature was overtly Jewish or was later Judaized. Some of it certainly found its way into other cultures. The legend of Sardanapalus related by Ctesias and other Greek writers is clearly related to the Aramaic account of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s revolt.¹⁶¹ It may well be that other legends of Babylonian and Assyrian rulers transmitted by classical authors—for example the story of Semiramis in Herodotus—also derive from a lost Mesopotamian literature written in Aramaic.

As we have seen, some of the old works of the cuneiform scribal tradition, those that expounded practical knowledge about the physical and supernatural world and concrete information about the origin and history of the universe, were translated or adapted into other languages and continued to attract the interest of scholars after the demise of cuneiform writing. Simply put, what may be termed as Babylonian science was thought sufficiently valuable that it survived to live on in other cultures.

¹⁵⁶ See W. G. Lambert, ‘Literary style in first-millennium Mesopotamia’, *JAOs* 88 (1968), p. 124.

¹⁵⁷ Respectively von Weiher, *Uruk* III 58, ed. S. W. Cole, ‘The crimes and sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun’, *ZA* 84 (1994), pp. 220–52; *CT* 46 45, ed. W. G. Lambert, ‘Nebuchadnezzar, King of Justice’, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 1–11; and Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 27–97. The last two have since been re-edited by H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Großen* (AOAT 256; Münster, 2001), pp. 563–88.

¹⁵⁸ S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63* 1 (Amsterdam, 1985), pp. 31–7; see also R. C. Steiner, ‘Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: a tale of two brothers from the Aramaic text in demotic script’, *RB* 92 (1985), pp. 60–81; id., ‘The Aramaic text in Demotic script’, in W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture* 1 (Leiden, 1997), pp. 309–27.

¹⁵⁹ See Salvesen in Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, pp. 146–7.

¹⁶⁰ See J. C. Greenfield, ‘The Wisdom of Ahiqar’, in J. Day et al. (eds.), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel. Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 43–52; S. Dalley, ‘Assyrian court narratives in Aramaic and Egyptian: historical fiction’, in T. Abusch et al. (eds.), *Historiography in the Cuneiform World* (CRRA 45/I; Bethesda, Md., 2001), pp. 149–61.

¹⁶¹ See R. Steiner, ‘Papyrus Amherst 63: A new source for the language, literature, religion, and history of the Aramaeans’, in M. J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (JSS Supplement 4; Oxford, 1995), pp. 203–4.

Another category of Mesopotamian culture that survived the end of cuneiform is the folk-tale. There is the well-known case of the story we know as the Poor Man of Nippur that reappears after a long interval, more or less faithfully adapted, as the History of the First Larrikin in the Arabian Nights.¹⁶² But folk-tales are essentially oral and popular, and thus easily transmitted from culture to culture. The Poor Man of Nippur is almost without parallel in cuneiform literature and not a typical example of the written creative effort. Its survival in medieval Arabic certainly depended not on a translation of the written version from Akkadian into Aramaic or other languages but on its success as a piece of literature transmitted orally.

It is safe to assume that by the Parthian period many ancient and venerable texts of the cuneiform tradition were not living compositions in the sense that they were still part of court literature, handbooks of professional expertise, folk-tales or part of anyone's cultural and intellectual experience in other contexts. These texts—the Babylonian belles-lettres—may have been memorized, recited and copied out in the course of scribal education, but once this education abandoned the old writing system these texts expired with the deaths of the last generation to learn them. We can expect them not to have made the transition to Aramaic and Greek. There is an analogy to be drawn with the Old Babylonian period, when the scribal curriculum was modernized and many old works in Sumerian fell by the wayside as a consequence. Something similar—but more radical—must have happened nearly two millennia later when cuneiform writing ceased to be taught. The great bulk of the written legacy of the ancient Mesopotamian creative effort disappeared with the abandonment of the old medium of writing. The question must then be asked, what became of the Epic of Gilgameš, the masterpiece of this old literature?

Gilgameš himself was not forgotten in the post-cuneiform period. In fragments of the Book of Giants from Qumran he surfaces as Gilgamēš (*glgmyš*, var. *glgmys*), one of the antediluvian race of evil giants that in Jewish mythology were spawned by the fallen angels to corrupt the world of men.¹⁶³ Another of the giants, Ḥōbābīš (Qumran Aramaic *ḥwbbs*, var. *ḥwbbs*), is probably Ḥumbaba. From about the third century AD the Jewish Book of Giants was adopted as scripture by the followers of Mani. Fragments of the Manichaean Book of Giants found at Turfan in Central Asia mention Ḥōbābīš and a figure who may be Ūta-napišti.¹⁶⁴ Sections of the same scripture that are now lost preserved the memory of Gilgameš and the other wicked giants into late medieval times, when some of them found their way into Arabic conjurations against evil spirits written down by Al-Suyūṭī in the

¹⁶² See O. R. Gurney, 'The Sultantepe tablets V. The tale of the Poor Man of Nippur', *AnSt* 6 (1956), pp. 148–9; id., 'The tale of the Poor Man of Nippur and its folk-tale parallels', *AnSt* 22 (1972), pp. 149–58.

¹⁶³ J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), p. 313. The fragments containing Gilgameš's name have since been published by K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 119–21, G 6, l. 12, and G 9, l. 2; see further below.

¹⁶⁴ Ḥōbābīš is written in Manichaean Middle Persian as *ḥwb'byš*. Ūta-napišti is thought to occur as At(a)nabīš, Manichaean Middle Persian *'nbyš*; see J. C. Reeves, 'Utnapishim in the Book of Giants?', *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 110–15, reading Atambīš; further M. Schwartz, 'Qumran, Turfan, and Arabic magic', in *Charmes et sortilèges. Magie et magiciens* (Res Orientales 15, due in 2002), reading Atnabīš (I am grateful to Schwartz for allowing me to cite his article, which I was privileged to see in proof).

fifteenth century. Thus Gilgameš survives in Islamic magic as the malevolent demon Jiljamiš (*jłjmyš* and *jłjmwš*).¹⁶⁵ Ḥumbaba's name may survive in corrupted form in the same contexts.¹⁶⁶

Moving back to the ancient world one finds that the Greek rhetorician Aelian, writing *On the Nature of Animals* at the turn of the second century AD, illustrates a point about the love of animals for mankind with a tale of Gilgameš's miraculous birth and survival. King Seuechoros (i.e. Enmerkar) of Babylonia was warned that his daughter's child would usurp his throne and, as a way of thwarting the prediction, had her locked up forthwith. Despite this precaution she became pregnant—by a 'nobody'—and duly gave birth. The baby was thrown from the citadel but saved by an eagle. The eagle took the child to a gardener and he grew up to become Gilgamos, who 'ruled over the Babylonians', fulfilling his destiny.¹⁶⁷ This legend is nowhere present in the extant Epic of Gilgameš or elsewhere in the cuneiform scribal tradition, though it does hold three points in common with that tradition: (a) Gilgameš was a successor of Enmerkar, (b) he was of uncertain parentage and (c) he was a king of Babylonia.¹⁶⁸ These details show that the legend was informed by some genuinely Babylonian knowledge. Others are probably the result of contamination from other sources, both Babylonian (the flight of Etana) and foreign. Aelian himself noted that the Persian dynastic ancestor Achaemenes was traditionally nursed by an eagle.

Some six centuries after Aelian the Nestorian Christian writer Theodor bar Konai passed on a list of twelve postdiluvian kings that were held to have reigned in the era between Peleg, a descendant of Noah's son Shem, and the patriarch Abraham. Both the tenth, *gmygws* or *gmngws*, and the twelfth, *gnmgws* or *glmgws*, who was king when Abraham was born, probably represent garbled spellings of Gilgameš.¹⁶⁹

The post-cuneiform texts cited in the preceding paragraphs preserve the memory of Gilgameš as one of the great kings of old, either as a legendary figure of remote antiquity (Aelian, Theodor bar Konai) or demonized as a figure of the old, pagan mythology and accordingly evil (the Book of Giants, and the Manichaean and Islamic traditions that derived from that source). The survival of Gilgameš's name in this way is not proof of the survival of the epic nor even of any dependence on the epic itself. The presence of Gilgameš, Ḥumbaba and, probably, Ūta-napišti as giants in the Book of Giants shows that this text was in some way related to the old literary traditions that told of the great Babylonian hero who cut cedar in Lebanon and wandered the world in search of life. The source of its information could perhaps have been the Babylonian epic poem in some written or spoken form, but this is not an unavoidable conclusion and may not be a safe one. As will be seen in Chapter 3, exactly these of Gilgameš's exploits were also much reported in other literature, particularly in the corpus of omen texts. Likewise, the names of Ḥumbaba and Ūta-napišti are

¹⁶⁵ J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony* (Cincinnati, 1992), p. 121; Schwartz, op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ For Ḥumbaba in Islamic magic see the end of the section on his name in Ch. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Aelian, *De natura animalium* xii 21. Cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, pp. 29–30; C. Wülke, *Studies Sjöberg*, pp. 562–3.

¹⁶⁸ For documentation of these traditions in cuneiform texts see Ch. 3.

¹⁶⁹ In Hespel and Draguet's vocalization 'Gamigos' and 'Ganmagos': see Théodore bar Koni, *Livre des scolies* 1, trans. R. Hespel and R. Draguet (Louvain, 1981), p. 130.

not restricted to the epic. The figure of Gilgameš, especially, is present in so much of the traditional cuneiform literature of the first millennium that it can be no surprise that his name lived on long after clay tablets ceased to be read and copied.

The recent resurgence of scholarly interest in the post-cuneiform culture of the Near East has brought a new crop of studies claiming to present evidence for the adaptation of the Epic of Gilgameš into other Near Eastern languages and for the survival into the post-cuneiform period of episodes and themes drawn from the epic.¹⁷⁰ These ideas will be examined in turn.

The full publication of the Qumran fragments of 4QEnGiants that mention Gilgameš has prompted the following comment:

One chapter of [the Book of Enoch], known as the Book of Watchers, contained a story about Gilgameš and his monstrous opponent . . . Even more recently another episode has been pieced together from Qumran which relates a dream of Gilgameš about a divine court of judgement set in a heavenly garden with trees. The interpreter of the dream is Enoch, who takes the part that Enkidu played in the Akkadian *Epic of Gilgameš*.¹⁷¹

The facts are these:¹⁷² first, it is true that Gilgameš and Ĥumbaba (as Ĥōbabiš) occur in the Qumran fragments but as the text stands they seem to be incidental characters in a story that revolves around other giants and is unrelated to any known episode of the Gilgameš epic. This view is confirmed by abridgements of the text in later sources, the Hebrew Midrash of Šemḥazai and ʿAzaʿel¹⁷³ and the Manichaean Book of Giants.¹⁷⁴ The extant fragments do not justify in any way a claim that the Book of Enoch ‘contained a story about Gilgameš and his monstrous opponent’.

Second, the supposed dream of Gilgameš about divine judgement in a garden. What the relevant part of the Qumran Book of Giants relates is this: the giants ʾOhyah (Uhja) and Hahyah (Hahja) reported their dreams to their father, Šemīḥazah (Semiasa); Gilgameš appears near the end of this passage but it is not clear how he was connected with the action. Some suppose that the only three words certainly preserved on the line of scroll in question (4Q531 Frag. 22, 12: [. . . g]lḡmys ʾmr [h]lmkh [.]š[. . .]) coincide exactly with a self-contained clause, and propose on this improbable assumption that Gilgameš has had a dream and is asked to tell it. Others punctuate differently and refrain from placing such an interpretation on what is a very fragmentary passage. In the context it seems more likely that

¹⁷⁰ For older suggestions in this direction, largely discredited, see the works of Peter Jensen, especially *Das Gilgameš-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (2 vols.; Strasbourg 1906, Marburg 1929).

¹⁷¹ Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, p. 43.

¹⁷² An overview of the story line of 4QEnGiants is given by Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 303–8. The fragments are conveniently published by K. Beyet, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 258–68, G 1–14 etc., with additional pieces in the *Ergänzungsband*, pp. 119–21, G 6 and G 9–10, and again by L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Tübingen, 1997). The definitive publication, with further additions and joins, of the fragments that mention Gilgameš and Ĥumbaba is É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 22. Textes araméens, première partie* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 28–38, 4Q530 Frgs. 2ii + 6 + 7 i + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 (?); pp. 74–8, 4Q531 Frg. 22.

¹⁷³ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 321–8.

¹⁷⁴ W. B. Henning, ‘The Book of Giants’, *BSOAS* 11 (1943–6), pp. 57–60, Fragment j; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 334.

Šemīḥazah asked ʾOhyah to tell his dream. ʾOhyah’s account of his dream falls in a lacuna; no doubt it was followed by Hahyah’s. Two small fragments of dream episodes are sometimes placed here. One tells of a tree sending forth three shoots, the other of writing being washed from a stone tablet. According to the Midrash the dreams that Heyyâ (ʾOhyah) and ʾAheyâ (Hahyah) told their father concerned an angel erasing the writing on a great stone tablet, all save four words, and an angel cutting down all the trees in a garden, except one that had three branches. Both dreams very obviously symbolize the coming Flood, in which were to perish giants and men alike, all save Noah and his three sons.

To return to the Qumran text, Šemīḥazah’s sons went next to the assembly of their fellow giants. There ʾOhyah told the giants ‘what Gilgameš (*glgmys*) had said to him and Ĥōbabis yelled’ (4Q530 Frgs. 2 ii+, 1–2: w[w]hyh ʾhwy ʾnwn z {m}ʾ zy ʾmr lh glgmys wḥ[w]bbs ʾphʾ). It is unclear what this message was that provoked Ĥumbaba so, but it made the giants glad; it was not, therefore, a dream of apocalypse. Then the two brothers had more dreams, which they told the assembly on waking. The first (evidently Hahyah’s) was about a garden being destroyed by fire; ʾOhyah’s was about the Almighty seated in judgement on the world. Both dreams can be supposed to predict the coming destruction of the world in the Flood. The text goes on to tell how the other giants were frightened and sent the messenger Mahawai to the ends of the earth in the furthest east to have the dreams interpreted by the wise Enoch. In my view a close study of the sources of the Book of Giants shows no connection with any of the dreams of Gilgameš in the epic, whether interpreted by Enkidu or by Ninsun. If, as he appears in this episode, Enoch reminds us of any character in ancient Mesopotamian literature, it is Ūta-napišti not Enkidu, for they share great wisdom and geographical location.

A second suggestion is that motifs occurring in the Epic of Gilgameš may inform the Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres, as it is known from Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI. This is a fragmentary Greek manuscript, probably written in the fourth century AD, that tells the legend of two brothers who were wicked magicians at the pharaonic court in Egypt and adversaries of Moses and Aaron. It has recently been proposed that ‘two themes in the Apocryphon [of Jannes and Jambres] can be linked with the *Epic of Gilgameš*: of the intruder who enters Paradise and cuts down a tree; and of the unrepentant wise man who has sinned and who curses the prostitute at the time of his death’.¹⁷⁵ The motifs of the epic in question are clearly (a) Gilgameš felling cedar in Ĥumbaba’s sacred forest and (b) Enkidu cursing Šamḥat the prostitute on his deathbed. A closer examination of the text is instructive. With regard to the tree-felling theme, what the Apocryphon says is this: Jannes’s mother dreamt that someone holding an iron saw cut down a cypress leaving ‘three spans’ standing; a second report tells of an angel of God sawing down a cypress, leaving three spans, after which Jannes built a wall around the ‘paradise’ to protect it.¹⁷⁶ Mention of the prostitute comes at the end of the story, when Jambres conjures up the soul of his brother from Hell and Jannes tells him of the grim afterlife that sinners endure there. The prostitute is mentioned as the worst of these sinners.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ So Salvesen in Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁶ A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 106–8 and 112–14.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 254–6.

The précis of these two passages quoted above are thus exposed as disingenuous. Is the story of an angel felling a tree in Jannes's *paradeisos* (παράδεισος), which means simply 'garden', but leaving part standing, really derived from the tale of Gilgameš felling cedar in the forest of the gods? Not for me. The obvious precursor is the dream of the garden and the tree with three shoots that foretells the Deluge in the Book of Giants. The second fragment of the Apocryphon at issue holds no curses and is spoken by a ghost, not by a man on his deathbed. The common ground with the cursing of Šamḫat in Tablet VII of the Babylonian epic is minimal. One would rather note that here is another instance of the epic motif of a man learning from a departed dear one the conditions that await him in the afterlife. Even if one accepts that the Apocryphon contains Gilgameš motifs other than this, it is clear that the use to which they are put is independent of the story from which they came. The evidence does not speak for the survival of the epic as a coherent whole.

A third example of such a claim is the story of Combabos in the *De Dea Syria* attributed to Lucian (born c. AD 115). A new study of this story states that the Gilgameš epic 'provides a very plausible model for the Combabos story, and considering the many thematic and structural similarities of the two stories, it can hardly be doubted that the former indeed served as a model for the latter'.¹⁷⁸ The story of Combabos is briefly as follows: King Seleucus ordered his best friend, the handsome Combabos, to accompany Queen Stratonice to Hierapolis to build a new temple. In order to refute any future accusation of misconduct with the royal lady, Combabos castrated himself, sealed the severed organs in a jar and gave it to Seleucus for safekeeping in his absence. In Hierapolis, Stratonice duly fell for Combabos but he told her what he had done and she was thereafter content to love him platonically. However, false rumours of a love affair reached Seleucus and Combabos was summoned to trial. Combabos asked for the jar, opened it and displayed its contents to his accusers. King Seleucus showered him with gifts. Combabos returned to Hierapolis, finished the temple and died. The king erected a statue in his honour.

The thematic parallels between Combabos's story and the epic are claimed as follows: Seleucus and Combabos are friends, like Gilgameš and Enkidu; Combabos goes on a building expedition, while Gilgameš and Enkidu go to the Cedar Forest; Combabos is tempted by Stratonice as Gilgameš is tempted by Ištar; Combabos emasculates himself and Enkidu is claimed to do the same in Tablet VI; Combabos dies, like Enkidu; Seleucus makes a statue of him, as Gilgameš does of Enkidu. Other parallels are the beauty of Gilgameš and Combabos, the name Combabos, supposedly derived from Ḫumbaba, and the presence in the stories of cultic aetiologies relating to the status of Combabos and Enkidu in cults of goddesses. Leaving aside (a) that Combabos is thus an implausible amalgam of both Gilgameš and Enkidu, (b) that there is no reason for supposing that Combabos is Ḫumbaba, apart from a coincidence of sound, (c) that Gilgameš and Enkidu do not go to the Cedar Forest to visit a temple of Ištar, even supposing that *parak Irrinī* in SB V 6 signified such a thing (which it does not), and (d) that to match the stories structurally Combabos's self-

¹⁷⁸ C. Grotanelli, 'The story of Combabos and the Gilgamesh tradition', in R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies* (Melammu Symposia 2; Helsinki, 2001), p. 25. Grotanelli confides that the section of his paper that draws a detailed comparison between Combabos and the epic is the work of Simo Parpola.

mutilation must be moved to a point after the failed seduction instead of before it—there is still the claim of Enkidu's emasculation to substantiate.

The idea that Enkidu was a castrate is Simo Parpola's.¹⁷⁹ He bases his argument on the passage of Tablet VI in which Enkidu tears off a haunch of the Bull of Heaven's carcass and throws it at Ištar. The evidence he brings forward to support this position is (i) that *imittu*, the word for 'haunch', is a homophone of *imittu*, 'right hand', and that the right hand, in turn, is a euphemism for 'penis' in Matthew 5: 29, (ii) that Enkidu's falling into a pit made by the Bull of Heaven's snort earlier in the episode can be related to the pit that sheltered the man who castrated a bull in a ritual of the cult of Cybele, and (iii) that when Enkidu is apostrophized by Gilgameš as *kūdanu ʿardu*, literally 'a banished, refugee mule', in his lament, this epithet refers to Enkidu's emasculated status. Even without pointing up the difficulty raised by the fact that Enkidu tears off the bull's *imittu*, not his own, the first two points are just too tenuous to stand. The third is misguided. Mules are infertile but have genitals, nevertheless. The dead Enkidu is a mule because he had no offspring. The mule is 'banished' not because Enkidu is 'rejected' (Parpola) but because death has removed him from the land of the living, so that he eludes Gilgameš's grasp.

Grotanelli's conclusion is less fantastic:

The transition of the Gilgamesh tradition into the story of Combabos would seem to be paradigmatic of what happened to the Mesopotamian/ancient Near Eastern cultural heritage at the transition to the Hellenistic and Roman age. Old ideas were taken over and preserved, but reworked into a completely new literary form which better corresponded to the new social and political order but at the same time largely masked the origin of the inherited ideas.¹⁸⁰

I do not agree that the story of Combabos is an adaptation of any episode of the Gilgameš epic, but the final sentence articulates an entirely plausible hypothesis.

Next, there is the tale of Buluqiya. Buluqiya's story was incorporated in some versions of the Arabian Nights but also in at least one other composition. The hypothesis that this story was a 'descendant of the Epic of Gilgamesh' was advanced by Stephanie Dalley in 1991.¹⁸¹ Later the relationship was modified to 'distant descendant'.¹⁸² The presence in the Buluqiya narrative of motifs similar to those in Gilgameš has long been known. An expert Arabist summarized scholarly opinion forty years ago as follows:

Baghdād is situated in the region of ancient Babylonia: it is probable, therefore, that ancient Babylonian ideas should have survived there until Islamic times and might be reflected in the [Arabian] Nights . . . Khiḍr the Ever-Youthful has a Babylonian prototype; the journeys of Bulūkiyā and the water of life fetched by Prince Aḫmad may reflect motifs of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh. But Khiḍr and the water of life were probably transmitted to the Arabs by the Romance of Alexander, and the journeys of Bulūkiyā became known to them through Jewish literature.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA IX; Helsinki, 1997), p. xcvi, fn. 140.

¹⁸⁰ Grotanelli in Whiting, *Mythology and Mythologies*, p. 27.

¹⁸¹ S. Dalley, 'Gilgamesh in the Arabian Nights', *JRAS* NS 1 (1991), pp. 1–17.

¹⁸² Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia*, pp. 171–2.

¹⁸³ E. Littmann, 'Alf layla wa-layla', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edn, I (Leiden, 1960), p. 363.

Dalley seems intent on pushing for a closer connection, putting forward three grounds in support of her hypothesis: 'overall story line, phonetic transmission or else translation of personal names, and certain close similarity in points of detail'. To take the second point first, of which the principal application is an equation of the names Buluqiya and Bilgames: there is no evidence that the old pronunciation Bilgames (as opposed to the spelling "bil.ga.mes) survived into the first millennium. All the evidence from cuneiform and alphabetic sources is that by that time the name was always pronounced with initial /g/ (see Chapter 2). As a name, Buluqiya is not a version of Gilgameš. Nor are any other names in Buluqiya's story (Affan, Yamlika, Solomon, Gabriel, Sakhr, Al-Khidhr) obviously Mesopotamian in origin.¹⁸⁴ They are Arabic and Hebrew. But that is not fatal to Dalley's hypothesis. When stories move from one language to another the names of the characters often change.

As regards overall story line, Dalley summarizes the quests of Gilgameš and Buluqiya jointly as follows:

A king leaves his country and travels far abroad with one faithful companion, searching for immortality. As a result of bravery in a heroic but sacrilegious feat, the faithful companion dies, leaving the king to travel on alone, and to visit cosmic regions peopled by immortal individuals. A plant that confers rejuvenation is unsuccessfully proffered as an alternative to immortality. The hero finds that he cannot attain immortality, although he meets a sage-like figure who has made the transition from mortal to immortal.¹⁸⁵

It seems to me that this summary disguises the different order of episodes in the respective plots in order to make them appear more similar than they really are.

The story of Buluqiya survives in three versions. It can be told briefly as follows. On succeeding to the throne of Israel Buluqiya discovers a secret document and goes on a quest for the Ring of Solomon. In order to obtain it Buluqiya and his comrade, Affan, force the Queen of Serpents (otherwise Queen Yamlika) to surrender the juice of a magic plant, which enables them to walk on water. In doing so they ignore her offer of a plant of rejuvenation. They walk over the sea to Solomon's tomb, but fail to take the ring when Affan is incinerated by the dragon that guards the tomb (alternatively a drop of liquid diamond turns him to dust). Buluqiya travels on, meeting a giant who guards an island of apple trees. (In one version the episodes of tomb and giant are transposed.) Then he is taken beyond the mountain that encircles the world to the realm of the King Sakhr, who gained immortality by drinking from the Fountain of Life guarded by the wise Al-Khidhr. From King Sakhr Buluqiya learns why God made the world. He is transported home, or, in another version, tours the universe and finally himself meets Al-Khidhr, who sends him home.

It is clear from this that the 'overall story line' of Buluqiya is not very similar to the plot of the written Epic of Gilgameš. Two big differences stand out. Gilgameš's quest for immortality begins with the death of his friend, while Buluqiya's quest ends there. Buluqiya ignores

¹⁸⁴ In identifying Al-Khidhr as the Babylonian Atra-ḥasis and the Ugaritic *kt-r-w-ḥss* Dalley has to admit that 'the similarity between the three elements *atra*, *kt-r* and *ḫadhir* is therefore superficial, and could only be explained as transmission by invoking a reinterpretation each time that altered the consonants slightly' (*JRAS* NS 1, p. 9). By such methods almost any name can be turned into another.

¹⁸⁵ Dalley, *JRAS* NS 1 (1991), p. 7.

a plant with rejuvenating properties in pursuit of a greater prize. Gilgameš obtains such a plant as a consolation, having already failed in his quest, and then loses it through carelessness. What the two narratives have in common is not so much plot, beyond the fact that both compositions involve legendary kings going on impossible quests, as what Dalley called 'points of detail'. These details—the plant of rejuvenation, the death of the companion in danger, the magic realm of an immortal king beyond a cosmic mountain—cannot be denied. However, they are the stuff of fairy tales, the sorts of motifs that recur in many literatures. They may be distantly descended from the written Epic of Gilgameš but other sources are also possible. The island of apple trees guarded by a giant, for example, to my mind recalls not Hūmbaba and his Cedar Mountain but Atlas and the Garden of the Hesperides. The tale of Buluqiya, like other folk-tales of the medieval Middle East, clearly exhibits the influence of Jewish and Greek literature. These, it is true, made use of narrative patterns and themes that were very old, and some of these elements may have been adapted from Gilgameš or been adapted by it. But the tale of Buluqiya is so far removed from the period of cuneiform writing that speaking of the influence on it of compositions of the cuneiform scribal tradition is so speculative as to be almost meaningless. How much else there was that stood in between!

An attempt to bridge this gap is the aim of a subsequent article by the same scholar.¹⁸⁶ The notion expounded there is the lineal descent of the Tale of Buluqiya from the Gilgameš Epic via the Odyssey and the various versions of the Alexander Romance set against a background of a continuity of tradition in Greek, Jewish and Islamic mysticism. In its exposition many contentious observations are made and taken as fact, so that the argument becomes less and less convincing.¹⁸⁷ Dalley's conclusion is that the

¹⁸⁶ S. Dalley, 'The Tale of Bulūqiyā and the *Alexander Romance* in Jewish and Sufi mystical sources', in J. C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigraphy* (Adanta, Ga., 1994), pp. 239–69.

¹⁸⁷ I am not competent to offer a critique of any but the Assyriological aspects of the argument, where I find errors of fact and interpretation. 'Two parts of the story [of Gilgameš], concerning Hūmbaba as a giant, and the tale of the Flood, were incorporated in the Aramaic book of Enoch found at Qumran' (p. 240): the presence of the names Gilgameš and Hūmbaba in versions of the Book of Giants from Qumran and of Hūmbaba and Ūta-napišti in the version from Turfan does not allow a presumption that their stories, as known from the Epic of Gilgameš, were still attached to them. As far as Gilgameš and Hūmbaba are concerned, the episode of the Book of Giants in which they occur bears no relation to the epic (see above). The fragments that mention Ūta-napišti likewise have no connection with any episode of Gilgameš (for the text see Reeves, *JBL* 112, p. 114). 'The name and character of al-Khiḏr contains elements that can be traced back to the Babylonian sage Atra-ḥasis' (p. 242): the resemblance between the names is superficial and of no consequence (see above). In the Alexander Romance Al-Khiḏr 'acts as a guide leading Alexander through the Land of Darkness to the Waters of Life in a passage long recognized as containing themes traceable to the Epic of Gilgameš' (p. 242): very similar themes, yes, but not proved as traceable to the epic as opposed to held in common with the epic, where Atra-ḥasis is, in any case, not Gilgameš's guide but his goal. 'A very early sequence of the same type as the crossing of Seven Seas by Bulūqiyā and Affān (though land-based rather than by sea) in which a series of journeys or trials leads to the ultimate goal is evident in the Sumerian tale of Gilgameš and Huwawa. The heroes there, Gilgameš and Enkidu, cross seven mountains to reach the Forest of Pine with its guardian Huwawa. The Pine Forest in later tradition exemplified by the Tale of Bulūqiyā was equated with Paradise and the Garden of Eden' (p. 245): this comparison seems to imply that Gilgameš's expedition to the Cedar Forest was a trial undergone to attain paradise. About two and three-quarter millennia separate the most recent extant source for the Sumerian poem from the oldest source of the Tale of Buluqiya, an interval just too great to permit the exegesis of the former on the basis of the latter. 'When Gilgameš wanted to induce a dream-vision, Enkidu drew a magic circle within which Gilgameš sat "with his chin on his knees," whereupon he experienced an apocalyptic dream of the Netherworld' (p. 254): none of Gilgameš's dreams incubated by the ritual

ascetic milieu identified for remnants of the Epic of Gilgamesh, first at Qumran and later among the Manichaeans, developed through Gnostic groups of late antiquity into new groups during the early Middle Ages. These new groups, Sufis on the one hand and Jewish mystics on the other, used modified versions of the Babylonian Epic [of Gilgamesh] in the Tale of Bulūqiyā.¹⁸⁸

For me, the connection of the poem of Gilgamesh with ascetism is not proven, nor is the story of Bulūqiyā properly described as a modified version of the epic.

There is more. Dalley goes on to observe that the 'pattern of construction in certain parts of the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Alexander Romance and the Tale of Bulūqiyā seem[s] to reflect the rituals and the stages through which initiates must pass, rather than giving rise to them through exegetical development'.¹⁸⁹ Maintaining that 'points of resemblance between the Odyssey and the Epic of Gilgamesh may be explained as the result of development from a similar background of mystical practices',¹⁹⁰ she comes to the conclusion, it seems, that the Epic of Gilgamesh and the later works of literature she believes to be versions of it, all were composed to be 'mystical stories symbolizing the stages through which a mystic proceeded towards communion with God', or, in Gilgamesh's case, wisdom. As far as Gilgamesh is concerned, I do not believe that the evidence, when placed against the long history of Mesopotamian literature and intellectual culture, lends itself to such a conclusion. One may make a case for the last version of the poem as revealing a path to enlightenment, but the high profile it gives to the notion that wisdom is the prize of life is absent from the second-millennium copies and is, in my view, the result of Sîn-lēqi-unninni's reworking. I see nothing in the Old Babylonian epic that warrants its interpretation as a mystical story. So my final response to Dalley's hypothesis is much the same as it was to Parpola's exegesis of the twelve tablets of the series as a 'mystical path to spiritual growth': I do not reject outright any notion that the poem came to have for some a symbolic or mystical significance, but such a significance was not in the mind of its original creator.

Even more remote from the cuneiform tradition than the story of Bulūqiyā is the tale of Shamshum aj-Jabbar (the Mighty Samson), an Arabic folk-tale still current in Iraq in the twentieth century AD. A recent study of this tale in the light of ancient Mesopotamian literature finds several motifs common also to written texts of the cuneiform tradition.¹⁹¹ At least two of these motifs occur in the Epic of Gilgamesh: (a) a wise man, apparently immor-

described is apocalyptic or about the Netherworld. 'During the several days of ceremonies [of the Babylonian New Year] not only was the Epic of Creation recited or enacted, but also the king entered the temple of the New Year festival and "took the hands of Bēl," i.e., communed with the deity and perhaps took part in a *hieros gamos*' (pp. 257–8): the Epic of Creation was recited on 4 Nisannu (as also on 4 Kislimu, at least) but there is no evidence for an enactment. The moment when the Babylonian king 'took the hands of Bēl' occurred when he led Marduk's statue forth from his temple E-sagil on procession to the Akītu temple. The expression does not signal any kind of spiritual communion but simply the king's participation in the procession as Marduk's page, as it were. The idea that the New Year, as it was celebrated at Babylon in the first millennium BC, included a sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) is now discredited, for utter lack of evidence.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 263.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 263–4.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 244.

¹⁹¹ H. L. J. Vanstiphout, 'Shamshum aj-Jabbar: on the persistence of Mesopotamian literary motifs', *Veenhof AV*, pp. 515–27.

tal, who dwells in a land beyond the great sea, and (b) the death and burial of a beloved (in the folk-tale Shamshum's son). Similarities with the epic are also seen in the type of story and the type of hero:

The story as we have it implies the survival of all these different *motifs*, of different origins, for thousands of years . . . It also implies the persistence of the type of story with these characteristic features, and the type of *hero* who finally reaches wisdom and so is an example to us all, but also, by handing over the story to us, a teacher.¹⁹²

Set against the literary background examined above, this speaks of an intellectual approach to storytelling that persists over many millennia. Individual motifs and patterns of narrative, the building blocks of traditional stories about heroes of bygone days, combine with the typically Middle Eastern cultural preoccupation with learning and wisdom and the typically human preoccupation with death and immortality to produce works of literature in which resound the distant echoes of ancient Babylonian narrative poetry. That is all.

We have seen that the memory of Gilgamesh as a great king of early pagan history endured for centuries after the demise of cuneiform writing. Given the widespread distribution of copies of the written epic in time and space and the probable existence of a counterpart or counterparts in oral traditions, it would be a surprise if the poem had no effect on the literatures of neighbouring peoples and of immediately following cultures. However, from the point of view of the history of the epic it is important to note that none of the texts reviewed above presents real evidence for the wholesale adoption of the story into other languages, for any adaptation of the whole or for the continuing existence in the post-cuneiform periods of the epic that we know. The mentions of Gilgamesh in texts of the post-cuneiform eras reveal no certain knowledge of the Babylonian epic that celebrated him. They tell us only that Gilgamesh was known to later civilizations as (a) a great king of old and (b) a magic power. These are the very same traditions that are so often reported by the two principal bodies of Babylonian professional knowledge, the lore of the diviner and the lore of the exorcist. Against this background it seems likely that the survival of Gilgamesh's name into later times owed more to the dissemination of Babylonian practical knowledge ('science') than to any influence of the epic itself.

In considering the Babylonian intellectual legacy one must always be aware of what has been lost. There may have been an account of Gilgamesh in Berossus's third-century narrative of Mesopotamian history (the fragmentary *Babyloniaca*), and traditions relating to Gilgamesh may also have been handed down on Aramaic papyri and as oral tales, if not also by other means. The legend transmitted by Aelian may ultimately have stemmed from such a context.¹⁹³ And, as we have seen, it is a story very different from that of the cuneiform epic tradition. With regard to the proposed cases of literary continuity discussed above, all one can say is that individual themes and episodes of Gilgamesh, where they are suspected of

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 526.

¹⁹³ It has been suggested that the source of Aelian's story was Berossus himself. I doubt this, on the grounds that the *Babyloniaca* is demonstrably much more accurately informed by ancient Mesopotamian written traditions than Aelian's passage.

surviving in later literatures, were transformed by a variety of intermediate stages, about which we can know almost nothing, into the very different tales of very different worlds.

To conclude, ancient Greek and medieval Jewish and Arabic literature undoubtedly bore at great remove at least some imprint of the literature that was the greatest achievement of the high civilization of ancient Mesopotamia. In any reconstruction of how the ancient corpus of Babylonian literature could inform the literary creativity of other civilizations it is necessary (a) to allow for the existence of common narrative patterns and motifs and (b) to postulate intermediate landing stages in Aramaic, Phoenician, Hellenistic Greek and probably other languages. It is therefore unfortunate that we know almost nothing of literature in the Levant in the period immediately after the Late Bronze Age, and so little of Aramaic literature in southern Mesopotamia between the era of cuneiform scholarship and the early Arabic writers. It was surely texts of this kind that expressed the concerns of the imperial era of Nineveh and Babylon, and it is texts of this kind that one might expect to have had relevance in the empires of Parthia and the Sasanians. But papyrus does not endure, and one can point to few instances of continuity of old Aramaic literature into the Arabic-speaking world.

A famous exception is the story of Ahiqar, which surfaces in medieval Arabic as the tale of Hayqar the Sage in the Arabian Nights. Perhaps this survival contains a lesson. The ancient version of the story is immediately recognizable in the Arabic. Plot and characters are essentially unchanged. Much the same is true of a much earlier story, the myth of the Flood. Because the Flood episode in Gen. 6–8 matches the older Babylonian myth so well in plot and, particularly, in details, few doubt that Noah's story is descended from a Mesopotamian account. Had the Epic of Gilgameš survived as a coherent poem in later periods we might expect it, too, to be as easy to recognize as the stories of Ahiqar and the Flood. If, for example, the Qumran Book of Giants could be shown to report a battle between Gilgameš and Hôbabiš in a cedar forest, if the tale of Buluqiya told of the hero encountering scorpion-men, racing the sun, punting to the Waters of Death or succumbing to sleep for six days and seven nights, then this section would have reached a different conclusion. But no such details are recognizable in the texts examined above. My conclusion is simple: the epic that we know died with the cuneiform writing system, along with the large proportion of the traditional scribal literature that was of no practical, scientific or religious use in a world without cuneiform.

2

The Name of Gilgameš and its History

The conventional rendering of the hero's name as Gilgameš follows the equation ${}^d\text{GIŠ.GIN.MAŠ} = {}^d\text{gi-il-ga-meš}$ in a Late Babylonian commentary to which attention was first drawn by Pinches in 1890.¹ Gilgameš is essentially a variant of the Sumerian Bilgames (or Bilgameš). The oldest spelling of the name comes from Fara (ancient Šuruppak) in the mid-third millennium:

- ${}^d\text{GIŠ.BIL.PAP.ga.mes}$

In the Fara god list: Deimel, *Fara* II 1 rev. iii 25²

This spelling includes a complex of signs, GIŠ:BIL:PAP (a), that at Fara also occurs as an element of several personal names.³ Related sign-groups are PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL (b) and PA:BIL:GA (c).⁴ There is no doubt that sign-groups (b) and (c) signify the Sumerian compound noun *pa-bilga*, of which (c) is a phonetic spelling. This compound, which also occurs as *pa-bilgi*, denotes an older kinsman of one's paternal family.⁵ The compound comprises (i) *pa*, 'senior, firstborn' (usually written PAP = pa₁), a term that often distinguishes the eldest brother from his juniors,⁶ and (ii) *bilga*, 'offshoot, fruit'.⁷

¹ T. G. Pinches, 'Exit Gištubar!', *BOR* 4 (1889–90), p. 264, l. 4. The text was republished as *CT* 41 43, ed. Labat, *Commentaires*, pp. 112–13.

² Ed. M. Krebernik, 'Die Götterlisten aus Fara', *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 182, 7'. The signs are set down over two lines: AN GIŠ BIL PAP | GA MES, where the symbol | denotes the switch from one line to the next.

³ Rarely abbreviated—I note only GIŠ.PAP (Deimel, *Fara* III 15 vii 1), GIŠ.BIL (Jestin, *TSŠ* 878 iii 2), PAP.BIL (ibid. 521 ii 5) and perhaps GIŠ (Jestin, *NTSŠ* 65 + xxx vii 10).

⁴ For Fara PNs formed with GIŠ:PAP:BIL, PA:GIŠ:PAP:BIL and PA:BIL:GA see F. Pomponio, *La prosopografia dei testi pre-argonici di Fara* (Studia semitici 3; Rome, 1987), pp. 59–62 and 204–5, where the sign-group GIŠ:PAP:BIL is given a value bil.

⁵ See the references collected by Å. W. Sjöberg, 'Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen', *HSAO* I, pp. 212–19. For forms with Auslaut in -i note the spellings pa₁.bil.gi in Proto-*Lu* 411 (MS G, *MSL* XII, p. 70) and pa₁.bil.gi = a-bi a-bi, 'grandfather', in *Lu* III iv 74a (*MSL* XII, p. 127).

⁶ See Sjöberg, *HSAO* I, pp. 216–17.

⁷ See ibid. pp. 212–19, and *PSD* B, s.v. bil₂-ga 2.1, '(male) descendant', = *per'um*, *sehrum*, *inbum*. The use of *bilga*, 'offshoot, fruit', with reference to a forebear (ibid., s.v. bil₂-ga 2.2, '(male) ancestor', = *abu*, *bānū*) is very rare outside lexical texts and can be explained as abbreviation of the more common *pa-bilga*, 'senior kinsman'. As will become apparent, the syllable /ga/ or /gi/ is not always expressed in writing. I leave aside the question of whether the word ended in a consonant cluster, i.e. *bilg*. The question of whether the initial consonant of this word was always /b/ is taken up below.

If at Fara PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL (b) and PA:BIL:GA (c) spell the compound *pa-bilga*, what does GIŠ:BIL:PAP (a) signify? To answer this question one must look at still older sources. On the archaic tablets from Ur, which are several centuries older than the Fara documents, there occurs a name written once PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL:GA (d),⁸ once PAP:X:BIL:GA (e),⁹ but frequently PA:PAP:X:BIL:GA (f), where x resembles a flattened DU (*UET II* sign list no. 377, hereafter identified as GIŠ_x).¹⁰ This name is undoubtedly Pabilga, presumably an abbreviation of one or more names compounded with this kinship term. Several compound personal names include related sign-groups without PA, namely PAP:GIŠ_x:BIL:GA (e) and, omitting GA, the group PAP:GIŠ_x:BIL (g).¹¹ The signs PAP:GIŠ_x/GIŠ:BIL are often (but not always) written one over the other in a ligature, with a small PAP squeezed between BIL, above, and GIŠ_x or GIŠ, below; thus it seems they were a recognized complex and it would not be misleading often to transliterate BIL + PAP + GIŠ_(x). The variation between GIŠ and GIŠ_x suggests that the Ur tablets date from a time when sign no. 377 = GIŠ_x began to lose its distinctive identity and was being replaced by GIŠ, so that some tablets exhibit the old sign and some the replacement.¹² Provisionally one may conclude that names which contain as one of two or more elements the sign-groups PAP:GIŠ_x:BIL:GA (e) and PAP:GIŠ_x:BIL (g) are compounds of Pabilga. Together with the spelling (e) for Pabilga on its own, these spellings establish that the sign PA was expendable. If so, the sign PAP renders the first element of the compound *pa-bilga* and should be read pa₄. It is, in short, a logogram,¹³ one that endures in Old Babylonian spellings (fn. 5). Accordingly the Fara spelling ^dGIŠ:BIL:PAP.ga.mes represents a name compounded with *pa-bilga*, namely Pabilga-mes.

This conclusion conflicts with the conventional view that in the sign-group PAP:GIŠ:BIL (a) the sign PAP signifies what are elsewhere the extra wedges that turn BIL = NE into BİL (later NE-šēššig).¹⁴ The notion that at Fara and Ur PAP:GIŠ:BIL = GIŠ.BİL = bil and PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL = PA.GIŠ.BİL = pa.bil has been accepted and applied to the transliteration of proper nouns generally. Further evidence can be brought to bear on this issue:

1) In the earliest scripts, as found on tablets from Uruk, Jemdet Nasr and Ur, the wedges that distinguish BİL from BIL are not PAP, as that sign is known from the same tablets. They comprise a single or double pair of crossed oblique wedges, while PAP is a horizontal wedge crossed by an oblique. This is not therefore a case of an infix sign that could be written

⁸ *UET II* 2 ii 3: BIL | PAP | GA GIŠ | PA.

⁹ *UET II* 112 i 13: BIL | PAP GA | X.

¹⁰ For references to the name see *UET II* proper names nos. 589–90, 601, 799–800, and D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 53 (1959), p. 14, fn. 17.

¹¹ See *UET II* proper names nos. 74, 325–6, 337, 363–4, 416, 713, 798.

¹² Two damaged names may exhibit a spelling of the sign-group with both GIŠ and GIŠ_x: *UET II* 85 i 5, 92 ii 4.

¹³ In both its common values the logogram PAP denotes somebody not of one's peer group: pa₄, 'senior kinsman', kūr 'enemy'. With the crossed lines of PAP contrast the parallel lines of tab, 'peer, equal'; conceptually the two signs PAP and TAB correspond to the modern symbols ≠ and = respectively (see already Labat, *Manuel*, p. 2).

¹⁴ See A. Falkenstein, 'Gilgameš. A. Nach sumerischen Texten', *RLA III* (1957–71), p. 357: 'BIL.PAP nur graphische Variante zu BİL ist'; most recently M. Krebernik, 'Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Šalābiḫ', in J. Bauer et al., *Mesopotamien: Späturuk Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (OBO 160/1; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1998), p. 282: 'Neben GIBIL = NEšššig existiert die Kombination NE.PAP in GIŠ.NE.PAP = bil'. This analysis already informed Langdon's note on 'NE + PAP' in *OECT VII* (1928), p. 10, and Burroughs's grouping of PAP.BIL with BİL = GIBIL in his sign list of 1935, *UET II*, pl. 9, no. 103.

independently, like KA × NINDA = GU₇; in short, originally BİL was not BIL × PAP, even though it came later to look like such a compound at Fara and Abu Šalabikh.

2) Neither in Uruk nor in Jemdet Nasr writing does BİL become separated into PAP and BIL.¹⁵ The same can be said of the later script in use at Early Dynastic Lagaš.

3) On the archaic tablets from Ur BİL is written as earlier at Uruk and Jemdet Nasr, with the additional wedges firmly inside BIL (*UET II* sign nos. 103c–f); the combination PAP:BIL occurs on them only in the presence of GIŠ and GIŠ_x = sign no. 377.¹⁶ This functional distinction between BİL and PAP:BIL speaks against their equation.

4) An important variant of the sign-group PAP:GIŠ:BIL occurs at Ur in the name AMAR-É-PAP:GIŠ:BİL, in which BİL has its usual form, BIL × 'KASKAL'.¹⁷ The existence of a sign-group PAP:GIŠ:BİL (h), containing both PAP and the extra wedges that distinguish BİL from BIL, again undermines the conventional view.

5) When the sign-groups in question are first encountered, at Ur, PAP can be written remote from the BIL.¹⁸ A search of the very many attestations of Fara personal names containing the sign-group PAP:GIŠ:BIL brought to light many other instances when PAP and BIL are not adjacent; often they are separated by the GIŠ,¹⁹ but on several occasions by other elements of the name.²⁰ In the Fara spelling of the divine name Pabilsag, ^dPA:SAG:BIL:GIŠ:PAP,²¹ we find the same phenomenon: the PAP is remote from BIL. Although the placing of signs in Early Dynastic writing is arbitrary it is not expected that individual components of compound signs be set down much apart. Accordingly PAP cannot stand for the extra wedges that distinguish BİL from BIL.

Consequently the provisional conclusion drawn above remains. As part of a sign-group GIŠ:BIL:PAP the sign PAP is not present as a secondary element, to turn BIL into BİL as it were, but exists in its own right as a logogram, pa₄. For this reason the two god lists from Abu Šalabikh that offer ^dpa.PAP.BIL.sag and ^dpa.BIL × 'PAP'.sag as variant spellings of Pabilsag must, in the absence of other evidence for an equation of PAP:BIL and BİL, be read ^dpa₄.bil.sag and ^dpa.bil.sag respectively.²²

It follows that the PA that occurs in sign-groups (b), (d) and (f) is an expendable phonetic gloss on the logogram pa₄,²³ and the first element of the compound thus appears

¹⁵ See M. W. Green et al., *Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (ADFU 11; Berlin, 1987), p. 213, no. 214; Jemdet Nasr: Langdon, *OECT VII*, pp. 10–11, nos. 69–71.

¹⁶ Burroughs, *UET II*, pl. 30 sub no. 377.

¹⁷ *UET II* 255 ii 4': É BIL AMAR | PAP GIŠ. This is not the name Amar-Egibil, which is always spelled AMAR:É:BİL, and must represent Amar-Epabilga.

¹⁸ *UET II* 74 iii 2': BIL | PA GIŠ | PAP GA = Pabilga.

¹⁹ Jestin, *TSS* 46 left 2', 869 i 3, 873 ii 2'; *NTSS* 165 rev. v' 3; Deimel, *Fara III* 6 v 6, 18 vii 3, 68 iii 3, 72 xi 4, 76 v 2, 5, vi 10, vii 10, 77 ix 15, 80 ii 2, 95 ii 2.

²⁰ Jestin, *TSS* 100 viii 1: GIŠ PAP | Á | NU KÚŠ | BIL = Pabilga-á-nu-kúš; Deimel, *Fara III* 77 xi 5: PAP GIŠ | Á KÚŠ | NU BIL = the same; 78 vii 7: PAP GIŠ | AN MUŠEN PA BIL = Pabilga-Anzu (but entered sub bil₄-Anzu by Pomponio, op. cit.); *CT* 50 i i 6: PAP GIŠ | AN MI MUŠEN | BIL = Pabilga-Anzu.

²¹ Deimel, *Fara I* 1 ix 4: AN PA SAG | BIL GIŠ | PAP, ed. Krebernik, *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 176.

²² *OIP* 99 83 v 5' // 84 obv. iii' 2', ed. P. A. Mander, *Il pantheon di Abu-Šalabikh*, pp. 12, 231; 15, 231 (misread). See already R. D. Biggs, *JNES* 27 (1968), p. 145; H. Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 270.

²³ As already seen by Jacobsen in 1939, *AS* 11, p. 187.

variously as pa₄, pa and ^{pa}pa₄. The sign BIL expresses part of the second element phonetically. The sign GIŠ, originally an entirely different sign that is here transliterated GIŠ_g, also expresses the second element of the compound. Since it has no value /ga/ it can only be a logogram for *bilga*,²⁴ though one that was evidently restricted to the sign-groups encountered above.²⁵ Accordingly it is possible to draw up the following list of transliterations of these sign-groups:

(a) GIŠ:BIL:PAP	pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ) ^{bil}
(b) PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL	^{pa} pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ) ^{bil}
(c) PA:BIL:GA	pa.bil.ga
(d) PA:PAP:GIŠ:BIL:GA	^{pa} pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ) ^{bil-ga}
(e) PAP:GIŠ _x :BIL:GA	pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ _x) ^{bil-ga}
(f) PA:PAP:GIŠ _x :BIL:GA	^{pa} pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ _x) ^{bil-ga}
(g) PAP:GIŠ _x :BIL	pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ _x) ^{bil}
(h) PAP:GIŠ:BIL	pa ₄ .bilga (GIŠ) ^{bil}

In this way the name spelled ⁴GIŠ:BIL:PAP.ga.mes at Fara is correctly rendered ⁴pa₄.bilga(GIŠ)^{bil-ga}.mes = Pabilga-mes. This is a good archaic Sumerian personal name. As already seen, the first element of the name was common in Sumerian names of the middle centuries of the third millennium, and occurs also in the divine name Pabilsag, which very plausibly means ‘Chief senior kinsman’. The whole is exactly paralleled by Lugal-mes in the later Sumerian onomasticon.²⁶ Pabilga-mes means ‘the forebear (was) a hero’.²⁷ As a royal name it can be compared with the names of two early rulers of Umma, Pabilga-gi(?) and Pabil-gal-tuk.²⁸ As will become apparent, the first element of the compound *pa-bilga* was dropped after the Fara period, so that the name became Bilgames, which might, alternatively, mean ‘the offspring (is) a hero’. Both translations are appropriate for the heroic king of old *par excellence* but in view of the name’s history and the parallel name Lugal-mes, in which the first element clearly refers not to the child but to a figure of honour, I find the

²⁴ A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 254, was thinking similarly when he wrote concerning later spellings of the name that, ‘It may well be that GIŠ.BIL.GA is ultimately another example [fn. compare ²³geš^{tu}g²³] of an ideogram accompanied by its phonetic spelling, i.e. ²³gilga²³. However, he identified BIL as a logogram and GIŠ as a phonetic element, *gil*, otherwise unattested.

²⁵ Note that the equation giš = *ma-ru* reported by Deimel, *ŠL* II, p. 508, no. 296: 13, is based on a miscopy and must be discounted (V R 21 no. 4, 39 = *STC* II pl. 52).

²⁶ For this name in the Ur III period see Limet, *L’anthroponymie*, pp. 168 and 316, ‘Le roi est un héros’.

²⁷ Essentially as elucidated by S. N. Kramer, ‘The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian sources’, *JAO* 64 (1944), p. 11, fn. 15: ‘the father, the hero’. Others have translated the name similarly, e.g. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 254: ‘the heroic ancestor’; E. Sollberger, ‘Une lecture du signe GIN’, *AfO* 16 (1953), p. 230: ‘la forme originale du nom est *bilgames*, ou *bilga* = “le vieux, l’ancien”’; I. M. Diakonoff and N. B. Jankowska, *ZA* 80 (1990), p. 104: ‘the ancestor (or “elder kinsman”) is a hero’. Earlier Jacobsen had presented a typically original etymological interpretation of the name as ‘man (mes) who is germ of a new tree’, i.e., “a man who is to become originator of a family” (*AS* 11, p. 189, fn. 48). Falkenstein quickly dismissed this idea as based on false assumptions (*Grammatik*, p. 9, fn. 1).

²⁸ Pabilga-gi(?), king of Umma (or Gišša?), dedicated a statue to Enlil: LUGAL | PA ŠAR × DIŠ | GIŠ BIL GA | AN EN LIL | GI₄ (Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 265); Pabil-gal-tuk, *ensi* of Umma, was defeated by Ur-Nanše of Lagaš: BIL GIŠ | PA GAL TUK (J. S. Cooper, ‘Studies in Sumerian lapidary inscriptions, II’, *RA* 74 (1980), p. 107, iv 5). The paleography precludes an equation of the two rulers (Cooper, loc. cit.).

former more convincing. Falkenstein rendered the hero’s name with a slightly different nuance of *mes*, as ‘der “Alte” ist ein junger Mann’.²⁹ A dissenting view, that Bilgames means ‘offshoot of the *mes*-tree’,³⁰ can be rejected on the grounds that nowhere is the name identifiably a genitive compound.

Another spelling of the mid-third millennium occurs in texts from the Lagaš area in the twenty-fourth century BC:

2. ⁴GIŠ.BIL.gi₁₁.mes (or ⁴GIŠ.BIL.gim.mes)

At Early Dynastic Girsu as a god in offering lists, topographical names and the personal name Ur-Bilgames: see G. Selz, *Götterwelt*, pp. 105–6

Here the PAP is no longer present, signifying that the compound *pa-bilgi* has been abbreviated to *bilgi*, as also happens in the lexical lists.³¹ In the light of the preceding discussion the sign-group GIŠ.BIL is again a combination of logogram and phonetic complement, strictly GIŠ^{bil}. Later in the third millennium this sign-group and its variant, GIŠ.BIL, could be employed to render the syllable /bil/ (also /pil/) outside contexts where the use of the logogram GIŠ was appropriate³²—the words *bilga*, *pa-bilga* and the names formed with them, Bilgames and Pabilgas³³—so that one might posit a value bil_x for GIŠ and transliterate the sign groups GIŠ.BIL and GIŠ.BIL as bil_x(GIŠ)^{bil/bil}. This development was limited, however, for the two sign-groups soon lost their place in the syllabic repertoire.³⁴ It would be as pedantic to insist on such a style of transliteration as to render the sign *geš^{tu}g* as ^{gi}pi^{tu}g or ^{gi}geš^{tu}g^{tu}g, and just as fussy to look at, and from here on I adopt the conventional transliterations bil for the sign-group GIŠ.BIL and bil₄ for GIŠ.BIL.

The penultimate sign of spelling no. 2 has been explained variously. Falkenstein read bil.gi₁₁.mēš in his *Grammatik* and *Einleitung*³⁵ but used the transliteration bil.aga_x.mēš when he wrote his article on Gilgamesh in *RLA*.³⁶ Some recent writers have canonized the latter reading as bil.agà.mes.³⁷ However, the presence of alternative forms *bilga* and *bilgi* in some

²⁹ Falkenstein, *RLA* III, p. 357. This interpretation has become popular because, thus understood, the name is considered by some to anticipate the Akkadian *šbu išahir amūlu*, ‘The Old Man Has Grown Young’, in SB XI 299; cf. already on this point, F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, *RLA* III, p. 370, Tournay and Shaffer, p. 9. However, in no understanding of the passage can this Akkadian phrase be a name of Gilgamesh and the comparison is barren.

³⁰ J. Klein, *Kutscher Mem. Völ.*, p. 94, fn. 5; S. Parpola, ‘The esoteric meaning of the name of Gilgamesh’, *CRR* 43, p. 325. This view arose from lines of the Marriage of Mardu that describe something (the city Ninab?) metaphorically as the forebear (not the offshoot!) of different kinds of tree (ll. 7–8, new edn by J. Klein, ‘The god Martu in Sumerian literature’, *Sumerian Gods*, pp. 99–116). Even if the phrase in question, bil.ga ²³mes me.en, ‘you are the ancestor of the *mes*-tree’, contains, as Klein supposes, a pun on Bilgames’s name—though I cannot see what such an allusion would add to the story—it cannot be used as evidence for the meaning of his name.

³¹ e.g. *MSS* XII, p. 127, *Lu* III iv 73–4a: bil(GIŠ.BIL) = *a-bi a-bi*, a.a.a = *a-bi a-bi*, pa₄.bil.gi = *a-bi a-bi*; cf. p. 47, OB *Proto-Lu* 408–12: a.a.a, ad.da, ad.ad.da, pa₄.bil.ga, bil(GIŠ.BIL).

³² For the use of the two sign-groups in syllabic spellings of the late third millennium see Gelb, *MAD* II², pp. 84–5.

³³ For spellings of Pabilsag with GIŠ.BIL and GIŠ.BIL see Falkenstein, *Grammatik*, p. 8.

³⁴ In the second millennium the sign bil (GIŠ.BIL) is very rare outside spellings of *bilga* and *pa-bilga* (for a single attestation in Sumerian see *PSD* B s.v. bil: ‘to burn’), and bil₄ (GIŠ.BIL) seems to be attested only in the hero’s name.

³⁵ A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik* (AnOr 28, 1949), p. 8, and *Einleitung* (AnOr 30, 1966), p. 67.

³⁶ *RLA* III, p. 357, after Sollberger, *AfO* 16 (1953), p. 230.

³⁷ e.g. Selz, *Götterwelt*, pp. 105–6; Krebernik, *AoF* 21 (1994), p. 6.

Old Babylonian lexical texts (fn. 5) commends Falkenstein's original reading.³⁸ Either way, the sign GIN is interpreted phonetically, like GA in the Fara spelling (no. 1). Spelling no. 2 from Early Dynastic Lagaš denotes the name Bilgames or Bilgimes.

The Lagaš spelling is the first so far recorded that dispenses with the sign PAP in the complex of signs that expresses the name's first syllable. What we may call the standard Sumerian spelling of the name first appears shortly afterwards. It is essentially the Fara spelling without PAP, and occurs as two variants, with additional wedges on the BIL (3a) and without (3b). This spelling remained current throughout the long history of cuneiform writing, very occasionally with the third and fourth signs transposed. It occurs *passim* in Ur III inscriptions and documents, in the Ur III personal name Ur-Bilgames and in Old Babylonian copies of Sumerian literary and scholarly texts. After the demise of much of Sumerian literature in the mid-second millennium the old spelling and its variants survived particularly, but not exclusively, in scholarly texts, lexical lists and other bilingual contexts. The following notes mainly report early and late attestations and variants in the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš:

3a. ^dbil(GIŠ.BIL).ga.mes, properly ^dGIŠ^{bil-ga}-mes

A god in pre-Sargonic and later dedicatory inscriptions;³⁹ in the toponym du₆-Bilgames in a pre-Sargonic administrative document from Adab;⁴⁰ the hero's name in an Ur III Gilgameš text,⁴¹ in the majority of manuscripts of the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš, perhaps also in Gudea's cylinders;⁴² in a Middle Babylonian exorcistic ritual written in a north Mesopotamian (Assyro-Mittannian) script but found at Boğazköy;⁴³ in the fragments of the Babylonian epic from Emar (MB Emar₁₋₂) and in the Weidner god list from Ras Shamra;⁴⁴ in a Middle Assyrian copy of the great Babylonian god list;⁴⁵ in later copies of Babylonian scholarly texts.⁴⁶

3b. ^dbil₄(GIŠ.BIL).ga.mes, properly ^dGIŠ^{bil-ga}-mes

The hero's name in a minority of manuscripts of the Sumerian poems, especially those from elsewhere than Nippur;⁴⁷ in the Old Babylonian personal name ^dbil₄.ga.mes-ga-mil (Riftin

³⁸ So already Parpola, *CRA* 43, pp. 316–17 with fns. 4, 9, reading bil.gim.mes. He also adduces the Elamite *Atapel-gimmaš*, etc., as evidence in favour of such a reading but the etymology of this name probably has nothing to do with Gilgameš (see below, fn. 55).

³⁹ See M. Krebernik, 'Ein Keulenkopf mit Weihung an Gilgameš im Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin', *AoF* 21 (1994), p. 7, and below, Ch. 3, fn. 127.

⁴⁰ Yang, *Adab*, A 693, 5, brought to my attention by W. G. Lambert.

⁴¹ IM 70101 = 6N-T 450, see Ch. 1, fn. 16.

⁴² Gudea, *Cyl. B* xxiii 16: [*GIŠ].BIL.ga.[me]s?da, ed. Edzard, *RIEME* 3/I, p. 100.

⁴³ *KUB XXXVII 88+* = *KB* XXXVI 29 iv 7', ed. Schwemer, *Rituale*, p. 98, 173.

⁴⁴ J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V 119, 187.

⁴⁵ An = *Anun* VI 284–6; Litke, *God-Lists*, p. 220 and pl. 40, 122–4.

⁴⁶ Lexical text: *Hh* IV 341, MS F; group vocabulary: *CT* 18 30 iv 6; both quoted below, in Ch. 3.

⁴⁷ Kramer's statement (*JAO* 64, p. 11, fn. 15) that 'in all the Nippur material, the second sign is bil. not BIL' is contradicted by the modern editions of the Sumerian poems now available. The spelling with GIŠ.BIL occurs in Nippur manuscripts of Bilgames and Akka and Bilgames and the Netherworld (though much less often than GIŠ.BIL in both) and in Nippur manuscripts of Bilgames and Hūwawa (where it is the spelling in more than half the name's attestations). A study of Bilgames and Hūwawa A in particular shows that most tablets from Ur, Kiš and unknown provenances favour the spelling with GIŠ.BIL. This is not evidence for the rise of a separate, peripheral tradition, however, for some manuscripts waver from one spelling to the other (KIA, NiA and UnB, sigla according to D. O. Edzard, 'Gilgameš und Hūwawa A. I.

35, 4); in an excerpt of the Babylonian epic on a Middle Babylonian school tablet (MB Nippur₃); in Middle Assyrian copies of Babylonian scholarly texts;⁴⁸ in first-millennium copies of such texts.⁴⁹

Less common variants of the standard spelling also occur, with third and fourth signs transposed:

4a. ^dbil(GIŠ.BIL).mes:ga

The deified hero in an Ur III account of offerings, *BIN* III 607 obv. 10

4b. ^dbil₄(GIŠ.BIL).mes:ga

The hero's name in Bilgames and Hūwawa A 66a, MS UrF (Ur)

With GIŠ omitted:

4c. ^dbil.ga.mes

On a mace-head of Ur III date, SC 4577,⁵⁰ and in the colophon of a fragment of Hurrian Gilgameš from Boğazköy, *KUB* VIII 60

4d. ^dbil.ga.mes

The hero's name in Bilgames and Hūwawa A 47, MS Sid (Sippar) and in an unpublished source of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven (SC 2652/2 rev. 19)

4e. ^dbil.ga.(mi).iš

Entry in the Nippur god list, *SLT* 125 rev. ii 6' (// 124 viii 5: [*^dbil₄.ga.m[es]])

With GA omitted:

4f. ^dbil.mes

Short spelling in the personal name Ur-Bilgames in a Sargonic-period legal document *BIN* VIII 175, 38,⁵¹ occurs also on a Middle Babylonian school tablet (MB Nippur₂); the GA is omitted as in many personal names at Fara and the spelling can properly be rendered ^dbilga(GIŠ)^{bil}.mes

4g. ^dbil₄.mes

In a Late Babylonian copy of the Standard Babylonian version of the Weidner god list,⁵² where it may be a mistake for spelling no. 26c

There are also other abbreviated forms of the standard spelling:

Teil', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 165–203; id., 'II. Teil', *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 165–233). Note that, for all the difficulties they present, the tablets from Mē-Turan, far from Nippur in the Diyala basin, exhibit only the spelling ^dGIŠ.BIL.ga.mes. The single published Ur III manuscript of Gilgameš provides no conclusive evidence for the spelling current in pre-OB copies of the Sumerian poems, for the name of the hero is damaged at the only point it occurs: Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven MS Na obv. 8': ^dGIŠ.[x.g]a.[mes] (cf. A. Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 102).

⁴⁸ Bilingual menology: *KAV* 218 ii 6 (Sumerian line); omens: *KAR* 434 rev. 5; both passages are quoted below, in Ch. 3, the sub-sections on Sanctuaries and cult and Omens mentioning Gilgameš.

⁴⁹ God list: *CT* 25 28, K 7659, 2'-4', passage quoted below, in Ch. 3, the section on Gilgameš the god.

⁵⁰ Edited below, Ch. 3, the section on Gūgameš the god.

⁵¹ Ed. D. O. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends* (Munich, 1968), pp. 102–3.

⁵² Ash. Mus. 1924–1478 ii' 2 (coll.). The published copy, *OECTIV* 141, is profoundly misleading, having telescoped ll. 1–3 into two. At the beginning of the right-hand column read [*x]x šā? / [*b]il₄.mes / ^dwe-er / ^da-nu-tum. Lines 15–16 of the same column read, against the copy: ^dlugal.edin.an.na / ^dlugal.gir.lá. There is text on the reverse that van der Meer did not copy.

- 5a. ^dbil(GIŠ.BÍL).ga
The hero's name in Bilgames and Akka 15, MS C (Nippur); possibly an error for the standard spelling, no. 3a
- 5b. ^dbil(GIŠ.BÍL).(ga)
In the Ur III personal name ur-^dbil.(ga) (Schneider, *Götternamen*, p. 30, 160–1; Limet, *Lanthroponymie*, p. 538). Since a god ^dGIŠ.BÍL is otherwise unknown it can be assumed that this name is a variant of Ur-Bilgames
- 5c. ^dbil₄(GIŠ.BIL)
The hero's name in a fragment of the Old Babylonian epic (OB Harmal₂)
- 5d. ^dGIŠ
The hero's name in the majority of Old Babylonian fragments of the epic: OB II and III, OB UM, OB Schøyen₂, OB Ishchali, OB VA + BM

Even if no. 5a is discounted as evidence, the other spellings vouch for a short form of the name. Since in the third millennium the sign GIŠ was used as a logogram for *bilga*, then not only no. 5a but also nos. 5b–d also stand for the bisyllable. As we shall see, an abbreviated form of the name Gilgameš existed in the early Old Babylonian period, witnessed by the purely phonetic spelling *ge-el-ga* (no. 7), and the spellings nos. 5a–d can attest either to that or to another short form, Bilga.

The spelling *ge-el-ga* is just one of a proliferation of writings of the name current in the early to mid-second millennium. Here they are arranged roughly in chronological order:

6. *ge-el-ga-mi-iš*, etc.
Masculine personal name in an unpublished Old Assyrian letter from Kültepe⁵³
7. ^d*ge-el-ga*
The abbreviated name in an early Old Babylonian liver omen, YOS X 42 i 2
8. ^dgi.bil.[ga.mes?]
In an Emesal cult song to the 'lord of Kullab . . . son of Ninsun', VAS II 1 ii 26⁵⁴
9. ^dGIŠ-ga-maš
In Akkadian personal names, *puzur*(MAN)-^dGIŠ-ga-maš and ^dGIS-ga-m[aš?-. . .], attested in Elam at the time of the *sukkalmaš*⁵⁵

⁵³ AMM 162-48-64 from Kültepe (kt k/k 49), now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. The letter, from Aššur-rabi, is addressed to Nuḫšatum, well known as the wife of Ennam-Aššur, and Gelgameš. For this information I am indebted to K. Hecker, who reported the presence of the name Gilgameš at Kaniš in *TUAT* III/4, p. 646, fn. a. It is possible in an Old Assyrian document to read this name in many different ways (*gi-íl-ga-me-eš*, *ke-el-ká-mi-iš* etc.). Note that forms of the name with initial /k/ occur later in peripheral Akkadian of the north-west and may ultimately derive from an Assyrian pronunciation.

⁵⁴ For a transliteration of this text see A. Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 110, fn. 22.

⁵⁵ *MDP* XVIII 230 = XXII 41, 2; XXII 62, 21. The Elamite name *at-ta-pe-el-gi-maš*, *-pi-íl-gi-im-ma-aš*, *-pe-er-gi-im-maš*, *-pe-el-ki-(im)-ma-aš*, to which references were first collected by V. Scheil, *MDP* XXII, p. 85, has been understood to mean 'Pelgimmaš is the father', in which 'Pelgimmaš' was identified as a phonetic rendering of Bilgames. However, at least two Elamite scholars have rejected this analysis in favour of different etymologies. W. Hinz understands the name to mean: 'He gladdens the father' (*ZA* 58 (1967), p. 77: 'Den Vater beglückte er'); R. Zadok breaks the name into *atta*, 'father', *PIL* 'possibly = *pila* "maintain, restore"' and *kim-š* or the geographical name *Kimaš* (*The Elamite Onomasticon* (Naples, 1984), nos. 18, 100 and 181). For this reason, and because we already have the very different spelling *giš-ga-*

10. *gi-il-ga-m[i-iš?]*
Syllabically written Sumerian incantation of the Ea-Marduk type found at Boğazköy but most probably written in Babylonia, *KBo* XXXVI 13 ii' 15'
11. ^d*gal-ga-mi-iš*, with Hurrian ending ^d*gal-ga-mi-šu-ul*
The hero's name in Hurrian fragments *KUB* VIII 60 rev. 17', 144 i 21, *KBo* VI 33 = *KUB* VIII 61 i 8'

The spread of cuneiform and the literatures written in it took the Sumerian and Akkadian languages outside the Mesopotamian heartland. Scribes in faraway places, such as Susa in Elam, Hattusa in Anatolia and Ugarit and Emar in Syria, gained some mastery of Akkadian but their understanding of Sumerian was often poor. Though traditional spellings could be used (cf. spelling no. 3a at Hattusa, Emar and Ugarit), there was a tendency to write Sumerian words and names syllabically (nos. 6, 10–11, later nos. 18–20). The abbreviated Gelga (no. 7) shows that syllabic writings were also current in Babylonia itself.

All these phonetic renderings of the name show that the form of the name familiar to the Late Babylonian commentary (no. 24, *gi-il-ga-meš*) and to post-cuneiform scholars (no. 27, *glgmys* etc.) was already established by the early second millennium. The several phonetic differences exhibited by these spellings in transliteration need comment. Two are mirages. First, the apparent difference in the final consonants of the names normalized as Bilgames and Gilgameš is generated by modern systems of transliteration and very probably reflects no ancient reality.⁵⁶ Second, the vowel /a/ in the first syllable of Hurrian spelling no. 11 can best be explained by reference to a western orthographic tradition whereby signs CaC can have the value CiC (and vice versa).⁵⁷ The sign *gal* can thereby be given the value *gi*_x.

The change in the initial consonant from bilabial /b/ to velar /g/ is real, however. It is explainable in terms of Sumerian phonology, where the two plosives /b/ and /g/ occur as variants.⁵⁸ In Ablaut this variation occurs in a limited environment, usually where the consonant is followed by /ur/ or /un/. However, one example of /bir/ : /gir/ is known and a certain case of the variation /bil/ : /gil/ is attested by a phonetic spelling in an Ur III legal document, where *nam.i.gi.la* is written for *nam.ibila*, 'position of heir'.⁵⁹ On these grounds it is fully

maš at contemporaneous Susa, it seems wise to discount the different writings of the PN *Attapeginmaš* as evidence for a pronunciation of the name of Gilgameš.

⁵⁶ On the pronunciation of the Sumerian consonant transcribed as /s/ see I. J. Gelb, *MAD* II², p. 35. Syllabic spellings of Sumerian words show that Babylonians of all periods heard Sumerian *mes* as /miš/ or /meš/: see OB *šar-ru mi-iš-lam-mi-(im)* for Lugal-(E)-meslam (Lambert, *BiOr* 30 (1973), p. 362, 63–4), OB-MB Boğazköy [e-m]i-iš-lam-mi for E-meslam and *mi-ša-la-te-e* for Meslamtaea (*KUB* XXX 6 iii 6'–11', ed. *MSL* XIII, pp. 152–3, Proto-*Kagal*), SB gloss [t]u-uš-me-iš on é.tuš.mes (*KAV* 42 rev. 5', ed. George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 180, GAB 166).

⁵⁷ Examples in Hittite and Hurrian writing are SAR = *šra*, DAM = *dima*, KAD = *ki*_o (also Neo-Assyrian), KAR = *kir*, SAL = *šal*, LAM = *lib*; cf. the reverse phenomenon, ŠTR = *šar*, DIN = *tar*, NIR = *nār* (also Middle Assyrian), PIŠ = *paš*. See C. Rüster and E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (StBoT Beiheft 2; Harrassowitz, 1989).

⁵⁸ The occasional alternation of /b/ and /g/ in Sumerian has provoked considerable discussion: see e.g. M. Civil, *JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 59–61; S. Parpola, *StOr* 46 (1975), pp. 250, 252; A. Cavigneaux, 'Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten: Überlieferungsprobleme' (PhD, Munich, 1976), pp. 54–5; Thomsen, *Sumerian Language*, §24; J. A. Black, 'The alleged "extra" phonemes of Sumerian', *RA* 84 (1990), pp. 109–10.

⁵⁹ Owen, *Nippur* 920, 4, cited by C. Wilcke, *Wer las und schrieb in Babylonien und Assyrien* (BAW Sitzungsberichte 2000/VL; Munich, 2000), p. 66 (as *NATN* 920) and discussed on p. 37.

conceivable that the word written GIŠ.BÍL.ga, conventionally understood as *bilga*, may have existed as *gilga* in an alternative or dialect form, thus allowing a form Gilgames alongside Bilgames even in the third millennium.⁶⁰

Spelling no. 8, newly identified by Cavigneaux in an Emesal context but unfortunately incomplete, looks as if it might contain a phonetic complement, i.e. ⁸gil_x(BIL). If so, it supports the notion of an alternative pronunciation of the name in Sumerian. However, it is also possible that it should be explained as an error arising from confusion of ^dGIŠ.BIL, etc., with ^dBIL.GI = Gibil, the fire god.

Gilgameš is the form of the name adopted by speakers of Akkadian, as revealed by the phonetic spellings in the oldest Akkadian contexts, which exhibit an initial velar (nos. 6–7). Names, in particular, often undergo phonetic change when transferred from one language to another (cf. Odysseus–Ulysses). In this view Bilgames was, in the late third millennium, the literary pronunciation of the name, current in courtly and scribal circles, and Gilgameš the form heard on the street. Accordingly Gilgameš is the form expected in the Old Babylonian Akkadian epic texts of the eighteenth century, for these are certainly closer to their popular, oral roots than the traditional Sumerian poems copied out in the same period.

Spelling no. 9 is the oldest of the many spellings that write the first syllable with GIŠ and no BIL or BÍL and also end in *maš*. These become common later in the second millennium, as can be seen from the variety of writings of the name first attested on tablets of the Late Bronze Age:

12. ^dGIŠ-*gim-maš*

Deified in a mid-second-millennium copy of a *zi . . . pàd* incantation, BM 54716 rev. 14';⁶¹ the common spelling of the hero's name at Hattusa: MB Boğ₁₋₂, the majority of Hittite Gilgameš fragments, and Hurrian fragment *KBo XIX 124*

Variants of this spelling are:⁶²

12a. ^dGIŠ-*gim*

The hero's name in Hittite fragment *KBo X 47d iv 1*, presumably in error for spelling no. 12

⁶⁰ In this regard note the well-known ambivalence of the signs NE and NE-šeššig, which have values bil : gibil, and bil : gibil respectively (cf. Wilcke, op. cit., p. 37). By analogy with doublets such as sumun : sun, nimin : nin_s, sakar : sar one might propose values gil, and gil_x for BIL and BÍL. There is in fact no explicit evidence that the word for 'offshoot' written GIŠ.BÍL.(ga) was pronounced *bilga* not *gilga*. Proto-*Diri* gives [x]-il GIŠ.BÍL = *pe-er-_hu-[um]*, *ge-eh-ru-um*, *me-es-x*, *in-bu-[um]*, 'offshoot, young(ster), . . . , fruit', where the vital gloss is conventionally restored [bil]-il (e.g. *CAD IJ*, p. 144; *PSD B*, p. 153). Other evidence comes from *LuV(?) 1–3* (*MSL XII*, p. 140): [š⁶²]GUL, ⁶³isimu(GUL)⁶⁴, GIŠ.BÍL = *pe-(er)-_hu*, where the twin entry for GUL might bear witness to a word *gul* as a synonym of *isimu* and GIŠ.BÍL in the meaning 'offshoot'. This *gul* would then be a variant spelling of *gilga* : *bilga*.

⁶¹ Ed. W. G. Lambert, 'A rare exorcistic fragment', in T. Abusch (ed.), *Jacobsen Mem. Vol.* (Groningen, 2002; I thank Lambert for making this article available to me in manuscript). Lambert writes, 'it would appear that this is a late Old Babylonian or early Kassite-period tablet', and favours the later date on grounds of palaeography. However, the fragment is too small to offer much palaeographic evidence, and there are so few north Babylonian tablets certainly from the early Kassite period that comparison cannot yield definite results. The piece looks typically Old Babylonian (cf. Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, p. 154). Those other second-millennium literary tablets that have been identified in this collection (82–5–22) hold texts typical of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum.

⁶² The intriguing ^dGIŠ.GÍN.BÁRAG listed by Deimel, *ŠL IV*, p. 58, no. 562: 61, is a mirage.

12b. ^dGIŠ-PAN-*maš*

The hero's name in a minority of Hittite Gilgameš fragments and in Hittite birth-omen tablet *KBo XIII 34 iii 13'*

12c. ^mPAN-*maš*

The hero's name in MB Megiddo

13. ^dGIŠ-*gim-maš*, very rarely ^{md}G.

The hero's name in MB Ur, early Neo-Assyrian MS x (Aššur) and in all first-millennium copies of the Standard Babylonian epic. Outside the epic it occurs first in Middle Assyrian copies of Babylonian scholarly texts,⁶³ and is found *passim* in first-millennium copies of such texts

14. GIŠ-*kin-bar-ra*

In the Sumerian column of *Hh XX–XXII Ras Shamra A iv 35*, opposite no. 18 (passage quoted in Chapter 3, the sub-section on Digging wells)

15. ^(md)GIŠ-TUK-*maš*

In the Sumerian column of *Hh XXII Emar 124'* (coll.), opposite no. 20; in the conventionally written Sumerian column of the Poem of Early Rulers from Emar, opposite nos. 16 and 19 (Arnaud, *Emar VI/4 767, 13*)⁶⁴

16. ^{md}*ki-iš-mas-su*

The phonetic rendering of no. 15 in the syllabic Sumerian column of the same text

17. ^dGIŠ-TUK

An abbreviation of no. 15 found in early Neo-Assyrian sources of the epic, Assyrian MSS y (Aššur) and z (Nimrud)

18. *gal-ga-meš* (or *gil_x-ga-meš*)

In the Akkadian column of *Hh XX–XXII Ras Shamra A iv 35*, opposite no. 14

19. ^m*kil-[x x]*

In the Akkadian column of the Poem of Early Rulers from Emar, opposite nos. 15–16

20. *ki-il-ga-mes*

In the Akkadian column of *Hh XXII Emar 124'*, opposite no. 15

The syllabic spellings nos. 18–20 bear witness to the pronunciation of the name already seen in the early second millennium, but with the option of an unvoiced initial consonant, Kilgameš. This variant may already have occurred much earlier in the second millennium at Kaniš (no. 6) and is perhaps a north-western phenomenon. Nevertheless, the Babylonians often pronounced Sumerian /g/ as /k/ and it would be no surprise if the name could be pronounced Kilgameš in Babylonia, too.

Alongside these syllabic spellings other writings were used that are less obviously exact renderings of the name. These are the spellings that, like no. 9, display initial GIŠ and final

⁶³ Bilingual menology: *KAV 218 ii 13* (Akkadian line); An = *Anum VI 284*: Litke, *God-Lists*, p. 220 and pl. 40, 122; both passages are quoted below, in Ch. 3, the section on Gilgameš the god.

⁶⁴ Full citations below, Ch. 3, the sub-sections on Digging wells and Crossing the ocean.

maš (nos. 12–17). These spellings need some explanation. The sign *maš* is easily dealt with, for it is certainly phonetic, a rendering of the Sumerian word *mes* or *mēš*.⁶⁵ The initial *GIŠ* can be understood in the light of the preceding discussion, where its origin has been seen to be the logographic function of *GIŠ* and its predecessor, *GIŠ*, for the word *bilga* in third-millennium orthography. A principle of logographic writing is that phonetic complements are expendable where the understanding is not in doubt. Accordingly the sign *BIL* was not an essential requirement in the spelling of the word *bilga* in personal names where this reading of *GIŠ* was obvious.⁶⁶ Thus the Old Babylonian spelling no. 9, *GIŠ-ga-maš* from Susa, can be understood as *bilga*(*GIŠ*)⁶⁷-*maš*. Here the second sign, *ga*, is clearly phonetic, as it was in the third millennium and in the standard spelling (nos. 1, 3).

The later spellings nos. 12–17 are fundamentally the same as no. 9 but exhibit a different sign between *GIŠ* and *maš*, in place of the phonetic *ga*. Two of these signs, *GIM* (no. 12) and *KIN* (no. 14), can be explained as phonetic variants of *ga*, for they can be read *gim* (or *kim*) and *kin* (or *qī*) respectively. Spellings nos. 12 and 14 thus display the variation in middle vowel, /i/ instead of /a/, that arises from the doublet *bilga* : *bilgi* and has already been noted for the name at Early Dynastic Lagaš (no. 2). However, the signs *PAN* (no. 12bc) and *TUK* (nos. 15, 17) have no suitable phonetic value, and *GÍN* = *gim* (no. 13) is not common. These spellings need further explanation.

If we examine again the spellings of Gilgameš's name with initial *GIŠ* and no *BIL* or *BIL*, we see that, except for the famous *GIŠ-GÍN-maš* of the Standard Babylonian epic, these spellings were until very recently all found outside Mesopotamia proper, in Syria and Anatolia and at Susa. They remain a hallmark of the periphery but, now that *GIŠ-gim-maš* (no. 12) is attested in mid-second-millennium Babylonia, one can see that such spellings are not necessarily the result of provincial ignorance or bad practice but can be of south Mesopotamian origin. Peripheral areas often preserve old-fashioned ways. The example of the spelling of Enkidu's name is instructive. Ever since the recovery of the Sumerian spelling *en.ki.du*,₁₀, the writing *en-ki-dū* used in the Standard Babylonian epic has been viewed as late, perhaps a coinage of Middle Babylonian scholars. Then it appeared at Boğazköy and Emar in the mid- to late second millennium, more recently at Middle Babylonian Nippur and, most instructively, in the Diyala before Hammurapi. The late third millennium was a time when unconventional syllabic spellings proliferated.⁶⁷ Probably *en-ki-dū* is an old phonetic spelling that had a limited currency in the second millennium until, for whatever reason, it was chosen as standard in the Standard Babylonian epic (see further below, Chapter 4). The

⁶⁵ Though the sign *MES* has no accepted value /maš/ in cuneiform writing, a vestige of such a pronunciation may survive in the lexical list *A*, in which the words *mes* and *maš* have an area of meaning in common: ^{meš}mes = *et-lum* 'young man', *ru-bu-u* 'prince', *ma-rum*, 'son' (*MSL* XIV, p. 344, *A* III/5 17–19) and ^{maš}maš = *a-ša-re-du* 'leader', *ma-rum* 'son' (*ibid.*, p. 227, *A* I/6 93, 97). Others interpret the Sumerian part of the equation *maš* = *māru* 'son' differently, as a variant of *amar*, 'calf', or *māš*, 'goat' (*CAD* M/1, p. 308: 'young (of goat or sheep)'). That seems an explanation born of desperation.

⁶⁶ A clear example in the Fara PNs that are compounded with *bilga* is Pa₄.bilga-ā-nu.kūš once spelled *GIŠ:PAP-KÚŠ:NU:A* (Deimel, *Fara* III 15 vii 1).

⁶⁷ The diversity of spelling in the Neo-Sumerian documents has recently been studied by Wilcke, *BAW Sitzungsberichte* 2000/VI, pp. 34–49.

various spellings of Gilgameš with *GIŠ* and no *BIL* or *BIL* fit the same pattern. In the mid-second millennium they are most typical of the peripheral regions (*GIŠ-gim-maš*, *GIŠ-PAN-maš*, *GIŠ-TUK-maš*, *GIŠ-kin-bar-ra*, *GIŠ-GÍN-maš*) but appear also in Babylonia (*GIŠ-gim-maš* and *GIŠ-GÍN-maš*). Older evidence for such spellings comes from Susa (*GIŠ-ga-maš*), not from Babylonia proper, but in what are essentially well-written Babylonian texts there is no reason why this has to be a local coinage. However, like *en-ki-dū*, *GIŠ-gim-maš* is not a spelling that conforms with the Old Babylonian syllabary. Probably we should reckon with the idea that it is an old-fashioned spelling of late third-millennium origin.

We have seen that the late Old Babylonian or Kassite-period spelling *GIŠ-gim-maš* (no. 9) looks like a simple variant of *GIŠ-ga-maš*. The spelling *GIŠ-GÍN-maš* (no. 13), which surfaces in Middle Babylonian, now comes into the picture. We have already met phonetic use of the sign *GÍN* in the pre-Sargonic spelling *bil.gi₁₁/gim.mes* (no. 2). Previous commentators thought it unlikely that the spelling *GIŠ-gim-maš* had any direct connection with this ancient writing.⁶⁸ However, both of them considered it a first-millennium phenomenon. We now know that this writing is attested in a Middle Assyrian copy of a Babylonian scholarly text. The gap is thus narrowed; it is worth seeking evidence that undermines their objections further.

Though a phonetic use of the *GÍN* sign for the syllable /ga/ is indeed unknown in the second millennium, glosses in Old Babylonian lexical texts show that the sign was known to have a pronunciation /gim/.⁶⁹ Here a new piece of evidence can be adduced. The old Nippur month name Addaru was conventionally written ⁱⁱše.kin.ku₅. A variant writing is now known to have been in use in south Mesopotamia in the Isin-Larsa period, namely ⁱⁱše.gin.ku₅.⁷⁰ The use of the sign *GÍN* for the sound /kin/ in a Sumerian word shows that a pronunciation of *GÍN* as /gin/, /gim/, etc. existed outside scholarly contexts. Accordingly, the sign *GÍN* in the spelling *GIŠ-gim-maš* is phonetic and the whole is a variant of *GIŠ-gim-maš* that uses a rare value. It may have arisen as an Old or early Middle Babylonian coinage, but one cannot exclude a connection with the Lagaš orthography. Scribes were often exposed to old documents and some must have tried to learn from them and imitate them.

This brings us to the spellings *GIŠ-TUK-maš* (no. 15) and *GIŠ-kin-bar-ra* (no. 14), so far found in Syrian tablets of the Late Bronze Age. The spelling *GIŠ-TUK-maš* at Emar, previously emended to *GIŠ.KIN!-maš*,⁷¹ has to be taken at face value now that we have early Neo-Assyrian manuscripts of Gilgameš that use the sign group *GIŠ-TUK* to write the hero's name, for it is obvious that this sign group is an abbreviation of *GIŠ-TUK-maš*. Where the

⁶⁸ Falkenstein, *RLA* III, p. 357: 'ein Zusammenhang mit der Schreibweise der vorsargonischen Texten aus Girsu erscheint ausgeschlossen'. Parpola, *CRR* 43, p. 317, fn. 9: 'no examples of *GÍN* = /a)ga/ are available from the second and first millennia, and the possibility that the spelling ^dGIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ as such could have anything to do with Pre-Sargonic ^dbil-GÍN-mes seems excluded'.

⁶⁹ *MSL* XIV, p. 59, Proto-*Ea* 718: ⁱⁱmešgim(gin); p. 134, iii 7–8: ⁱⁱmešgim(gin) = *ši-ig-lum*, *pa-a-šum*. See already Parpola, *CRR* 43, p. 316, fn. 5.

⁷⁰ G. Beckman, 'Month XII', *NABU* 2000/46; the spelling occurs on an administrative record dated in the reign of Rim-Sin I.

⁷¹ C. Wilcke in J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau (eds.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung* (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 138 ff., at the suggestion of A. Cavigneaux.

Emar version of *Hh XXII* reads GIŠ-TUK-*maš*, the copy from Ugarit has GIŠ-*kin-bar-ra*. In this latter spelling *bar-ra* is obviously corrupt, the result of a misunderstanding as to how to read *maš* (or even *mas-su*). The signs TUK and KIN (*qi*) can easily be confused at Emar, Ugarit, Hattusa and elsewhere in the West, as indeed also in some cursive Old Babylonian. Very provisionally I propose that both GIŠ-TUK-*maš* and GIŠ-*kin-bar-ra* are descended from a Middle Assyrian spelling *GIŠ-*qi-maš* or an Old Babylonian spelling *GIŠ-*kin-maš*. Both would be simple variants of the attested GIŠ-*gim-maš* and GIŠ-*gim-maš*.

The spelling GIŠ-PAN-*maš* (no. 12b) in some fragments of Hittite Gilgameš (fourteenth century BC) was waved aside by Friedrich as a mistake for GIŠ-*gim-maš* (no. 12).⁷² In his editions all but one of the many attestations of this spelling are corrected to GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ without the emendation being acknowledged. The emendation of the Hittite text continued to go unmarked, even after the publication of MB Megiddo, for the editors of that text misread its variant, PAN-*maš* (no. 12c), as GIM-*maš*, so that its valuable testimony remained unheard.⁷³ The writing GIŠ-PAN-*maš* has accordingly attracted no attention. At present there are six fragments of the Hittite Gilgameš that use only this spelling and two that mix GIŠ-PAN-*maš* and GIŠ-*gim-maš*.⁷⁴ Outside the name I have not been able to find in the Hittite Gilgameš any example of PAN written for GIM, though the sign GIM occurs often enough. This distribution suggests that if we are dealing with an error, it is an old error, perhaps Old Babylonian in origin, that was repeated in the copying process by scribes working from faulty masters. If the mistake was made only once, it was probably made in Syria, for the spelling PAN-*maš* in MB Megiddo is not likely to have arisen under the influence of Anatolian scribal practice.

As noted already, the history of the spelling of the name shows that even alone, without BIL or BİL, GIŠ is a logogram to be read *bilga* or *bilgi* and so came also to stand for *gilga*. From this point of view all these spellings with GIŠ and no BİL or BIL are readily explicable as part logographic and part syllabic (*gilga^{gim}-maš* etc.). The situation is complicated, however, by further evidence from Emar. In Syria Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual texts were often provided with a syllabic rendering of the Sumerian, which served to pass on the sound of the Sumerian version of the text. The syllabic version acts as a crib, guiding the reader in the pronunciation of Sumerian text conventionally spelled in a mixture of logograms and syllabic signs. The Akkadian text of the Emar version of the Poem of Early Rulers, in which Gilgameš's name is preserved only as *kil-[x x]*, surely contained the form *Kilgameš*; in this way both the Emar bilinguals that mention Gilgameš, the Poem of Early Rulers and *Hh XXII*, offer the same contrast of GIŠ-TUK-*maš* (Sumerian line) and *Kilgameš* (Akkadian line). It is clear from the syllabic version of the Sumerian text of the Poem of Early Rulers,

⁷² See J. Friedrich, 'Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgameš-Epos', *ZA* 39 (1930), p. 32.

⁷³ H. Otten, 'Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), pp. 93–125, reads GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ throughout; E. Laroche, 'Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription', *RHA* 82 (1968), pp. 7–24, reads GILGAMES throughout.

⁷⁴ Only GIŠ-PAN-*maš*: *KUB*VIII 51 (+) 53, VIII 62, XVII 3, XXXVI 73, *KBo* XIX 114, XXII 92; mixed: *KUB*VIII 50 and 56 (+) 57; only GIŠ-*gim-maš*: *KUB*VIII 48–9, VIII 52, VIII 55 (+) XXXIII 123, VIII 58–9, XXXIV 124, XXXVI 72, LX 14, *KBo* X 47c, XIX 117–20, XIX 122, XXII 91, and O. R. Gurney, in H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman (eds.), *Kaniššuar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock* (Chicago, 1986), fig. 5.

as handed down at Emar, that the name in the Sumerian version of the line was not to be pronounced as in the Akkadian version. If the scribe is to be believed it was instead pronounced *Kišmassu* (spelling no. 16).

I have earlier proposed that the Syrian writings GIŠ-TUK-*maš* and GIŠ-*kin-bar-ra* are derived from a putative spelling *GIŠ-KIN-*maš*, to be read *GIŠ-*qi-maš* or *GIŠ-*kin-maš*. In my view the Emar scribe who wrote *ki-iš-mas-su* as an aid to reading GIŠ-TUK-*maš* is guilty of haplography; what he meant to write was *ki-iš-ki-mas-su*. Whether or not the emendation is accepted, his spelling of the first syllable as /kiš/ indicates that in the late second millennium, in Syria if not elsewhere, spellings with GIŠ and no BİL or BIL were understood to use the sign GIŠ for its common phonetic value, *giš*. Clearly, somewhere in the long history of transmission the original logographic function of GIŠ had been forgotten and scribes had made the assumption that this sign, like those that followed it, was syllabic. The implication is that, alongside Bilgames and Gilgameš, there arose as a result of this false understanding of the written name a pronunciation Gišgamaš, Gišgimmaš (unvoiced Kiškamaš, Kiškimmaš). It is quite conceivable that the first syllable of Gilgameš was pronounced /giš/ (or /kiš/) not only at Emar but, at some time, somewhere, also in south Mesopotamia.⁷⁵ On the evidence currently available it would be unwise to come to a dogmatic conclusion on this question. In this book I transliterate GIŠ-*gim-maš* etc., but admit that the evidence from Emar may not bear witness to an isolated phenomenon.

The mid- to late second millennium is remarkable for the abundance of different spellings of the name of Gilgameš that are attested in texts written then. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the same can be said in relation to Enkidu's name. This phenomenon may well stem from the climate of orthographic variety that characterized scribal culture of the mid-second millennium. It is clear that some scribes of the period enjoyed employing cryptic and unusual orthographies.⁷⁶ The Sumerian used in Kassite-period seal inscriptions and in royal inscriptions from the Kassite and Second Isin dynasties is notable for recherché words and spellings. From such a climate of scribal virtuosity arose, for example, the spelling ⁴nin.ezen. na for Ninisinna⁷⁷ and, with each component of the name of Marduk's temple at Babylon carefully substituted by a synonym, èš.gú.zi for é.sag.íl.⁷⁸ Another probable feature of this period is the 'back-translation' of Akkadian names into a kind of erudite and artificial Sumerian, as exemplified by entries in the 'bilingual' list of scribal ancestors (V R 44 ii–iii) and by the tale of Ninurta-pāqīdat's Dog-Bite.⁷⁹ Unusual spelling is not confined to Babylonia, for royal scribes of a twelfth-century Assyrian vassal state use the writing KUR A for *māt Mari*, 'the land of Mari'.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ As an incidental observation one may remark that many early twentieth-century scholars supposed that the hero's name could take the form *Gūšgimmaš*, including A. Ungnad, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911), p. 76; Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1930), p. 33; and Jastrow and Clay, *YOR* IV/3, p. 26.

⁷⁶ See the cryptographic medical text from the reign of Gulkišar published by C. J. Gadd and R. C. Thompson, 'A Middle Babylonian chemical text', *Iraq* 3 (1936), pp. 87–96.

⁷⁷ In inscriptions of Adad-apla-iddina, ed. Frame, *RIMB* 2, pp. 58, 1, 61, 3; also in *KAR* 54, 9' (NA).

⁷⁸ See George, *House Most High*, gazetteer entry no. 274.

⁷⁹ See further George, *Iraq* 55 (1993), pp. 63–4.

⁸⁰ S. M. Maul, *Die Inschriften von Tall Bderi* (BBVO Texte 2; Berlin, 1992), p. 30.

Such a scribal culture produces a delight in rare and archaic phonetic values (cf. GÍN = *gim*), but it also throws up more peculiar orthographies. There is now the odd writing GIŠ-*kal*-TUK to consider. As matters now stand this spelling of Gilgameš's name first appears in twelfth-century Assyria, though in a good Babylonian text:

21. [^dGIŠ-*ka*]l-TUK, etc.

In An = *Anum* VI 285, copy Litke, *God-Lists*, pl. 40, 124; the restoration follows the name of Gilgameš's boat in *Hh* IV 341–2: ^{giš}má.GIŠ.kal.tuk, ^{giš}má.GIŠ.tuk, ^{giš}má ^dGIŠ.giš.tuk (full passages quoted below, Chapter 3, the section on Gilgameš the god)

Related spellings occur in first-millennium texts:

22. [^d(x)]x.TUK

In An = *Anum* VI 284a, copy CT 25 28, K 7659, 3' (full passage quoted below, Chapter 3, the section on Gilgameš the god)

23. kal.ga.imin = ^dbil.ga.mes, *muqtablu*, *alik pāna*

In CT 18 30 iv 6–8, a group vocabulary commenting on names in the Gilgameš legends (full passage quoted below, Chapter 3, the section on Crossing the ocean)

Spellings nos. 21–2 can hardly be dissociated from the spelling GIŠ-TUK-*maš* (no. 15) and the abbreviated GIŠ-TUK (no. 17). The existence of further compounds of GIŠ and TUK suggests deliberate manipulation of the spelling. In ancient cuneiform scholarship the writing of a name can be adapted to impart information about the nature and function of its bearer. In this way spellings that include the signs GIŠ and TUK might have been favoured (if not coined) as a scholarly exercise in revealing a characteristic of the hero Gilgameš for which he became celebrated in the Babylonian epic tradition: he was a man of extraordinary wisdom.⁸¹ The spelling ^dGIŠ-*kal*-TUK (no. 21) offers the possibility of an additional exegesis that makes allusion to the hero's strength as well as his wisdom.⁸² It remains possible, however, that these spellings have other origins. Since GIŠ = *bilga*, the sequence of signs GIŠ.kal.tuk can be understood as a name Bilga-kaltuk, a close parallel to Pabil-gal-tuk, the Early Dynastic ruler of Umma whose existence is recorded in an inscription of Ur-Nanše of Lagaš.⁸³ On the other hand, the sign *kal* in GIŠ-*kal*-TUK recalls the western spellings *gal-ga-mi-iš* (no. 11) and *gal-ga-meš* (no. 18); perhaps it glosses GIŠ.

The spelling kal.ga.imin (no. 23) is a writing even more *recherché* than ^dGIŠ-*kal*-TUK (no. 21). Though both may incorporate phonetic elements from the repertoire of second-millennium spellings, they are so speculative in intent as to reflect an actual pronunciation no longer. It is better to consider them not as spellings of the name Gilgameš but as independent names of the hero. The name kal.ga.imin probably signifies 'strongest of all', where imin 'seven', is a symbolic number. The group vocabulary in which the name is equated with Gilgameš has this to say about imin:

⁸¹ The signs *giš-tuk* evoke the Sumerian word *geštu*, written ^{giš}pu^{tu} etc., meaning 'ear; understanding, wisdom' (*uznu*, *hasiṣu*) and also 'wise, perceptive' (*hasṣu*); cf. also Sumerian *giš-tuku*, 'to hear'.

⁸² Sumerian *kal(āg)*, 'strong' (*danānu*) and *tuk(u)*, 'have, acquire' (*išā, rašū*).

⁸³ See above, fn. 28. I owe this observation to W. G. Lambert.

imin	=	<i>kiš-šā-tu</i>	everything
imin	=	<i>sebet(7)^{et}</i>	seven
imin	=	<i>bābilu(kā.dingir)</i>	Babylon
imin	=	<i>ú-ru-uk</i>	Uruk
imin	=	<i>ki-ši</i>	Kiš
imin	=	<i>ia-mut-ba-la</i>	Yamutbal

CT 18 29 ii 19–24

Accordingly, one might also render kal.ga.imin as 'mighty one of Uruk', but a geographical qualification does not suit the name's simultaneous equation with *muqtablu*, 'warrior', and *alik pāna*, 'leader', and should probably be discounted. Whatever the interpretation of imin, it is Gilgameš's physical prowess that is at issue.

The principle noted above, that the written components of a name imparted knowledge about the nature of its holder, perhaps explains why the spelling GIŠ-*gim*-*maš*, with its rare phonetic use of the sign GÍN, became the standard first-millennium writing. Here again it is instructive to consider the writing of Enkidu's name. An old phonetic spelling, *en-ki-dū*, became standard probably because it was susceptible to an interpretation that could not be derived from the traditional, logographic spelling en.ki.dùg (see Chapter 4). Maybe it was felt that Gilgameš's name was best open to etymological exegesis when it was spelled GIŠ-*gim*(TÜN)-*maš*. Enquiries have already been made in this direction. Because the sign tün (GÍN) means 'axe', some have seen in this spelling an allusion to the dream in which Gilgameš saw an axe symbolizing Enkidu.⁸⁴ Two recent discussions have sought to find other meanings in it. Saporetti draws attention to the Sumerian expression *giš tün bar*, 'to cleave wood with an axe', which he sees as lying behind the entire spelling.⁸⁵ Parpola looks for a deeper meaning. In his view the spelling hides an 'encoded message' identifying the hero with the sacred tree, viz. the one 'who matched [MAŠ] the tree [GIŠ] of balance [GÍN]'.⁸⁶ Certainly it is not wrong to scan ancient writing for different levels of meaning, obvious and cryptic. It has already been remarked that Babylonian scholars themselves were fond of the speculative interpretation of names in particular. This was not a trivial pursuit but a means of revealing profound truth about the nature and function of deities and their attributes. Some of their esoteric scholarly lore was committed to writing, but it may be that much of it will always remain hidden from us because it was passed down orally as secret knowledge. In the absence of ancient corroboration such imaginative hypotheses as Saporetti's and, especially, Parpola's are as difficult to disprove as prove. But I cannot allow that the spelling GIŠ-*gim*-*maš* was deliberately coined for speculative purpose. Placed in the company of the several other spellings that share one or other of its features (initial GIŠ, second syllable representing /ga/, /gim/ or /kim/, third syllable *maš* instead of *mes*), the writing GIŠ-*gim*-*maš* has

⁸⁴ e.g., Böhl, *RLA* III, p. 370. His further comment, 'die mögliche Bedeutung der jüngeren Schreibung: *giš-gin-maš* (= *giš-tün-maš*) als die "Zwillingsaxt" oder "Doppelaxt" (Labrys): ein Bild unverbrüchlicher Freundschaft', is even more speculative and unconvincing.

⁸⁵ C. Saporetti, 'tün.bar = "tagliare"', in L. Cagni (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (Naples, 1984), p. 404.

⁸⁶ S. Parpola, 'The esoteric meaning of the name of Gilgameš', *CRR* 43, pp. 315–29.

its origin in old traditions of spelling. If it was subject to speculative etymology and cryptography, that was a secondary development.

Spelling no. 13 was very common in the first millennium. Less common writings of the name on tablets of first-millennium date have been noted above as spellings nos. 3a–b, 4g, 17 and 22–3. Note also nos. 24–6:⁸⁷

24. ^dgi-il-ga-^rmes¹

In the Late Babylonian commentary, CT 41 43, 54595 obv. 4⁸⁸

25a. ^dgal.sag.[me]s?

In a schoolboy's copy of the SBWeidner god list from Babylon: Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, pp. 96 and 183, 201: 79.B.1/207 + 159⁸⁹

25b. ^dgál.sag¹.mes

SBWeidner god list: *ibid.*, 79.B.1/221⁸⁹

26a. ^dbil?.sag?.mes

SBWeidner god list: *ibid.*, 79.B.1/221⁸⁹

The form *Bilsagmes* is attested in first-millennium copies of other texts, as well as in archival documents from seventh-century Uruk and Aššur:

26b. ^dbil(GIŠ.BÍL).sag.mes

Uduḡḡul V: CT 16 13 ii 42; as a personal name in Neo-Assyrian, *SAA XIV 70 rev. 1, 71 rev. 4* (where it is misread as ^{md}GIŠ-GIBIL-šak-šid)

26c. ^dbil,(GIŠ.BIL).sag.mes

Omen apodoses, K 8639, 4 and 10; NA MS of the litany *Uruammairrabi X*;⁹⁰ NB land register from Uruk, Pohl, *Rechtsurkunden II* no. 2, 22⁹¹

26d. ^dbil,(GIŠ.BIL).sag.gá.mes

26e. ^dbil,(GIŠ.BIL).ga.sa[g.(mes)?]

Variant spellings in a Gattung II (zi . . . pād) incantation: Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 (1953), p. 388, 79 // *STT* 210 rev. 19'

Spelling no. 24 is the writing that established the common pronunciation of the hero's name. The two variants collected under no. 25 and at least four of the five collected under

⁸⁷ The supposed presence of Gilgameš's name in a Neo-Assyrian source of *Nabnītu XXIII* (CT 12 50 i 17', as read by e.g. Falkenstein, *RLA III*, p. 358) has proved to be a phantom (see now *MSL XVI*, p. 213, 54: giš.tūn.bar [r] a = ^{ne}ne-tum). Also to be discounted is Ebeling's emendation of *PBS I/2 112, 68* (Gattung III) to read ^dbil-ga(!)-miš(!) (*ArOr* 21, p. 396). The name has been collated by W. G. Lambert as ^dil-ti-lam? (*Jacobsen Mem. Vol.*, p. 207, 70), and recollated by me with the same result.

⁸⁸ See above, fn. 1.

⁸⁹ The 79.B.1 tablets, from the temple of Nabū ša ḫarē in Babylon and now in the Iraq Museum, were not available for collation at the time of asking.

⁹⁰ K 3327 + 4655, 14; copy by I. L. Finkel in *M. Civil, Aula Or 1* (1983), p. 46. A LB fragment of the Weidner god list from Kiš may have meant to use this spelling rather than no. 4g, q.v.

⁹¹ Last sign collated by P.-A. Beaulieu, 'A land grant on a cylinder seal and Assurbanipal's Babylonian policy', in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul vicino oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* (Naples, 2000), p. 32. Beaulieu's emendation of the whole to ^dGIŠ.BIL.KA!(SAG).MES is unnecessary in the light of the several other first-millennium spellings with SAG adduced here. An older false emendation is ^dpa-bil-sag-MES, as given by Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 48, and repeated by Cocquerillat, *Palmerais*, p. 106.

no. 26 have in common the old final element *mes*. In preferring *bil*, GIŠ.BIL and GIŠ.BÍL to GIŠ, spelling no. 26 also harks back to an older way of writing the name. This spelling is already traditional, for where there are duplicate manuscripts of the texts in question they all use one or other version of it. These points show that new writings of the name continued to be coined in the first millennium, but they were self-consciously archaistic, inspired less by the conventions of the second millennium than by those of the third. The presence of *sag* as the middle element of spellings nos. 25–6 is an innovation, however, that seeks to associate Gilgameš with the god Pabilsag.⁹²

Traditions relating to Gilgameš spread into other literatures and after the death of cuneiform writing were kept alive in various languages (see Chapter 1, the section on the Epic of Gilgameš outside the cuneiform tradition). The spellings of the name so far attested in the post-cuneiform traditions are as follows:

27. *glgmyš*, var. *glgmys*

In the Aramaic version of the Book of Giants (c.50 BC, Qumran)⁹³

28. Γίλαμος

In Aelian, *De natura animalium* xii 21 (fl. AD 200)

29a. *gmygws*, var. *gmngws*

29b. *gnmgws*, var. *glmgws*

Syriac spellings of two postdiluvian kings in the writings of the Nestorian Theodor bar Kōnai (fl. eighth century AD);⁹⁴ all are probably corruptions of an original **glgmws*

30. *jljmyš*, var. *jljmwš*

Arabic spellings in incantations of Manichaean inspiration collected by Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Raḥma fī l-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikma* (fifteenth century AD)⁹⁵

These spellings all report, more or less faithfully but with some corruption or phonetic adjustment according to language, the pronunciation Gilgameš.

It has been maintained that the Buluqiya of the Arabian Nights is a version of the name Gilgameš in its Sumerian form as Bilgames.⁹⁶ The fact that all the post-cuneiform spellings of the name are unanimous in rendering the opening consonant as /g/ (Arabic /j/) shows that the form Bilgames was not current in the spoken language of the late first millennium BC, and makes such a view improbable.

According to the rules that govern the placing of stress in Babylonian Akkadian—we know nothing of Sumerian and should be wary of imposing a Babylonian accent on the Assyrians—the name Gilgameš will be stressed on the middle syllable, *Gilgámeš*, for it often

⁹² Cf. Falkenstein, *RLA III*, p. 358: 'wohl eine Kontamination von G. und "pa-bil-sag".'

⁹³ J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), p. 313; É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 22. Textes araméens, première partie* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 28, 2; 74, 12.

⁹⁴ *Mimrā* II 120, read from Theodor bar Kōnī, *Liber scholiorum I* (Louvain, 1954), p. 117. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 89, using the edition of Lewin, cited the spellings *gmygmws*, *gmngws* and *glmgws*, 'reflecting an original *glgmws*'.

⁹⁵ J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony* (Cincinnati, 1992), p. 121; M. Schwartz, 'Qumran, Turfan, and Arabic magic', in *Charmes et sortilèges. Magie et magiciens* (Res Orientales 15, due in 2002).

⁹⁶ S. Dalley, 'Gilgamesh in the Arabian Nights', *JRAS* ns 1 (1991), p. 8, and elsewhere.

appears at the end of lines of poetry and should therefore fit the metrical pattern known to conclude the poetic line, in which the penultimate syllable bears stress.⁹⁷ Accordingly forms of the name with an open middle syllable should be rendered with a long middle vowel, *Gilgāmeš*, *Kilgāmeš*, *Kiškīmaš*.⁹⁸ Forms with closed middle syllables, such as *Gilgimmaš* and putative *Gišgimmaš*, will naturally take stress on the penultimate syllable.

⁹⁷ Von Soden formerly maintained that proper nouns were exempt from this rule but later changed his mind and proposed the stress *Gilgāmeš* (*ZA* 71 (1981), p. 170). Hecker included Gilgameš in a selected list of proper nouns that he believed to break the rule of penultimate stress (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 102–3). However, he does not substantiate the implication of his list that, for example, Enkidu is stressed *Enkidu* or *Enkidú* but not *Enkidu*. In this book I have assumed that proper nouns do fit the pattern of penultimate stress when they appear at the line's end, but I recognize that further study is needed.

⁹⁸ Note that *CAD* now routinely normalizes the name as *Gilgāmeš*. In my experience native speakers of Arabic invariably pronounce the middle syllable as long, but in the West the pronunciation Gilgameš is so entrenched that it probably cannot be shifted. A similar fate has been suffered by Ulysses, which the English like to pronounce Yooly-seas.

3

Literary, Historical and Religious Traditions about Gilgameš

It is obvious from the data collected in the previous chapter that the poems that relate the epic deeds of Gilgameš in Sumerian and Akkadian are far from the only sources of knowledge about this hero. As a mighty king of old and a god of the Netherworld, Gilgameš appears in a wide variety of ancient Mesopotamian texts and in some Babylonian and Assyrian art. Some account of the traditions that relate to him in the long history of ancient Mesopotamian civilization will be given in this chapter.¹

The ancient documents that record the supposed existence in history of an early king called Bilgames are not contemporaneous. They belong to later scribal tradition and are inseparable from it. The only exception is the monumental inscription of an Old Babylonian ruler that cites Bilgames as a former builder of the wall of Uruk. Though this text, too, probably relies for that information on literary tradition rather than hard evidence, it will be discussed first. There is no doubt, however, that literary texts can contain historical truths, and not only the epic narratives of early kings do so. Literature and history are interwoven in our sources and so it is desirable, as well as practical, next to treat together the traditions relating to Gilgameš as hero and king. Finally, this chapter will consider the deified Gilgameš and the role he was given in Netherworld theology.

GILGAMEŠ AND THE WALL OF URUK

The literary frame of the Standard Babylonian epic is the famous exhortation to climb on to Uruk's walls, voiced in the poem's prologue by the narrator to his audience and at its conclusion by the hero to his companion, Ur-šanabi. In the prologue the poet claims the walls as Gilgameš's handiwork, while at the same time relating that its foundations were laid by the Seven Sages, primeval beings who brought to man the arts of civilization. This view reflects an old tradition in which Uruk was considered (rightly) the cradle of early civilization. Its

¹ For a previous treatment of the subject see W. G. Lambert, 'Gilgameš in religious, historical and omen texts, and the historicity of Gilgameš', in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, pp. 39–56.

walls were evidently thought to be as ancient as the city itself, though naturally it would have been conceded that they had from time to time been repaired or renewed, like all brick structures. The conceit of the epic's prologue is that when he rebuilt the city's wall, Gilgameš had his story—namely the epic—inscribed on a stone tablet that was embedded in the brickwork as a kind of foundation deposit.² The tradition that Uruk was fortified by Gilgameš is found outside the epic in stone tablets of Anam (or Dingiram etc.), a ruler of Uruk in the nineteenth century BC, which record how he rebuilt the defences of Uruk previously constructed by Gilgameš:

AN.àm² ab.ba ugnim³ unug^{ki}.ga.ke,⁴ dumu dingir:dingir-še-me-a⁵ bād unug^{ki}.ga
 6nig.dīm.dīm.ma libir.ra⁷ 4bil₄.ga.mes.ke,⁸ ki.bi bi.in.gi₁.a

BEI 26, ed. D. Frayne, *RIME* 4, pp. 474–5.

Anam, sheikh of the army of Uruk, son of Ilān-šeme'ā, who restored the wall of Uruk, the ancient structure of Gilgameš.

Anam's attribution of the old city wall to Gilgameš is unlikely to have been based on any real evidence, such as the recovery of a foundation inscription. More probably it reflects belief in an already established tradition that the enormous and ancient wall of Uruk could only be a legacy of the greatest king of old. That is not to say that the tradition was mistaken. Many have pointed out that the Sumerian narrative poems hold a memory of inter-city conflicts, particularly between Kiš and Uruk, that would provide good reason for the fortification of cities by early rulers. Anam's report fits the archaeological situation, for the wall's surviving brickwork comprises almost entirely plano-convex bricks of early to mid-third-millennium date with only occasional traces of a wall of Old Babylonian bricks.³ The simplest explanation of this state of affairs is that the Old Babylonian wall was built on top of the very substantial ancient construction. The later wall was Anam's work. Subsequently his superstructure was eroded almost completely, exposing the older courses of Early Dynastic brick that lay underneath.

GILGAMEŠ THE HERO

The prologue of the Standard Babylonian epic extols the hero as one who travelled far and wide and summarizes his heroic career as a great feat of exploration. It mentions three achievements especially: that he opened passages over the mountains, that he dug wells in the uplands and that he crossed the oceans in search of Ūta-napišti (SB I 37–44). These exploits, amply recorded in the later epic, have left their mark elsewhere in the literary traditions of Babylonia.

² See Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet I.

³ See A. von Haller, 'Die Stadtmauer', *UVB* 7, p. 43; an argument that dates the third-millennium wall to the end of the Early Dynastic I period has been advanced by H. J. Nissen, 'The city wall of Uruk', in P. J. Ucko et al. (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972), pp. 793–8.

Climbing mountains

The opening of passages in mountains is a feat which might allude to Gilgameš's journey along the Path of the Sun, for this achievement certainly took him through the mountain of the sunrise and is characterized in one of the Old Babylonian texts as a mountain journey.⁴ That journey, however, is not certainly a passage *over* mountains and there is a more convincing explanation, that the reference is to the crossing of the seven mountain ranges of the Cedar Forest. This exploit is described in a formulaic passage of the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and Hūwawa:

hur.sag 1.kam.ma in.ti.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni nu.mu.ni.in.pā
 [hur.sag 2.kam.ma in.ti.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni nu.mu.ni.in.pā]
 hur.sag 3.kam.ma im.te.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni
 hur.sag 4.kam.ma im.te.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni
 hur.sag 5.kam.ma im.te.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni
 hur.sag 6.kam.ma im.te.bal^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni
 hur.sag 7.kam.ma bal.e.da.ni^{6b}eren šā.ga.ni mu.ni.in.pā

Bilgames and Hūwawa A 61–2;⁵ cf. B 60–1⁶

He crossed the first mountain range, he did not find the cedar he wanted,⁷
 he crossed the second mountain range, he did not find the cedar he wanted, etc., etc.
 On crossing the seventh mountain range, he found the cedar he wanted.

The seven mountain ranges of this journey recur in other epic narratives that describe adventures in the Persian highlands to the east.⁸ In the Babylonian epic they became transmuted into the hills, five in number, on which Gilgameš and Enkidu make their successive camps during the journey to the far north-west. One of the Old Babylonian tablets now in Norway records how, from the top of one such hill, Gilgameš scanned the mountain ranges, evidently scouting the land ahead for a first glimpse of the Cedar Forest.⁹

The change in location of the mountains and their forest probably reflects historical reality.¹⁰ Both eastern and western uplands were, at different times and for different states, sources of cedar and other building timber. Sargon and Narām-Sîn of Akkade raided the Cedar Forest and the Cedar Mountain respectively after conquering Ebla and other north

⁴ OBVA + BM iv 10: *ša aššuram šadi*.

⁵ D. O. Edzard, 'Gilgameš und Hūwawa A. II. Teil', *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 187–8. The Nippur manuscripts have only the first and last lines of the sequence. The extra lines are read from the Sippar source (SiA 61b–e). A tablet from Ur preserves parts of the second line with the significant variants typical of this manuscript (UrF 61a): hur.sag [2.kam bi.r]i.bal [š]eren [šā.ga.a]ni [n]u.mu.[u.un.na]šub.

⁶ D. O. Edzard, 'Gilgameš und Hūwawa'. *Zwei Versionen der sumerischen Zedernwaldepisode nebst einer Edition von Version 'B'* (BAW Sitzungsberichte 1993/IV), pp. 22–3.

⁷ Lit. 'his heart did not show (him) a cedar there'.

⁸ Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 170 and 509, Lugalbanda Epic II 344; see G. Steiner, 'Hūwawa und sein "Bergland" in der sumerischen Tradition', *Acta Sum* 18 (1996), p. 198.

⁹ OB Schøyen, 27–8.

¹⁰ See further A. R. George, 'Gilgameš and the cedars of Lebanon', *Archaeology and History in Lebanon*, autumn 2001 (London), pp. 8–12; also J. Klein and K. Abraham, 'Problems of geography in the Gilgameš epics: the journey to the "Cedar Forest"', in L. Milano et al. (eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East 3* (CRRA 44/III; Padua, 2000), pp. 63–73.

Syrian city-states.¹¹ That one source of the Akkadian kings' cedar was Mount Amanus is stated in another inscription of Narām-Sîn and confirmed by the newly published Old Assyrian text about Sargon.¹² A year-name of Narām-Sîn reports his felling of cedar in Lebanon, too.¹³ Gudea's temple of Ningirsu was roofed with beams rafted to Sumer both from Makkan and Meluḥḥa in the east and from 'Amanus, the Cedar Mountain' in the west.¹⁴ In the second millennium Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari felled cedar near the Mediterranean shore, either on Amanus or on Lebanon.¹⁵ Šamsī-Adad I of Assyria reports a visit to Lebanon, following which he was able to roof the temple of Enlil at Aššur with cedar.¹⁶ Several later Assyrian kings report fetching timber from Lebanon more explicitly, beginning with Tiglath-pileser I at the end of the second millennium, and Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon repeatedly mentions the exploitation of the forests of both mountains.¹⁷ An important new detail provided by one of the Old Babylonian tablets now in Norway is that, on their journey to the Cedar Forest, Gilgameš and Enkidu travel the road to the 'land of Ebla', a location that the later text alters to 'Mount Lebanon'.¹⁸ Mention of Ebla recalls the landscape made part of heroic narrative by Sargon and Narām-Sîn and suggests very strongly that the tale of the heroes' expedition to the mountains of the far north-west was informed by the memory of historical events in the reigns of those kings.¹⁹

Digging wells

Gilgameš's association with wells and digging them is most explicitly seen in the late account of the journey to the Cedar Forest, when at each camping place he digs a well, as the text puts it, 'facing the sun'.²⁰ The Old Babylonian Yale tablet reveals that in doing so Gilgameš is carrying out the instructions of the elders of Uruk, and that the purpose of this well is to provide water to fill his drinking bottles and to pour in libation to his guardians, the Sun God Šamaš and the deified Lugalbanda.²¹ Another Old Babylonian tablet records that, in order to survive while wandering in the wilderness, Gilgameš dug wells 'that never existed before'.²² In these passages 'well' means only a hole that reaches as far as the groundwater, not an elaborate construction.

The association between the hero and wells found expression outside the epic in the geographical lists of *Hh* XXII, in which the 'well of Gilgameš' routinely follows the 'well of Sargon'. The late version of this text is preceded by three forerunners:

¹¹ Sargon inscription no. 11, ed. Frayne, *RIME* 2, pp. 28–9; Narām-Sîn inscription 5, ed. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 133.

¹² Narām-Sîn inscription 29, ed. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 140; C. Günbatı, 'Kültepe'den akadlı Sargon'a ait bir tablet', *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (Bilgiç Mem. Vol.; Ankara, 1997), pp. 131–55.

¹³ Westenholz, *OSP* 2, 16 iv 6–8: in [kur la-a]b-na-an [erēnam(eren) ib-tú-qám.

¹⁴ Gudea, Cyl. A xv, ed. Édzard, *RIME* 3/L, p. 78; Statue B v 28, ed. *RIME* 3/L, p. 33: ama.a.núm ḥur.sag.eren.ta.

¹⁵ Yaḥdun-Lim brick inscription 52–9, ed. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 606.

¹⁶ Šamsī-Adad I inscription 1, ed. Grayson, *RIMA* 1, pp. 48–51.

¹⁷ See M. Weippert, 'Libanon. §3.1.2. Mesopotamische Texte', *RLA* VI (1980–3), pp. 644–5.

¹⁸ OB Schøyen; 26, SB IV 4 etc.

¹⁹ So already Westenholz, *OSP* 2, p. 41.

²⁰ SB IV 38–9 and parallels.

²¹ OB III 268–71.

²² OB VA + BM i 3'–4'.

íd pú lugal-gi.na

íd (pú) GI[Š.BÍL.ga.mes?]

OB forerunner: C.-F. Jean, *RA* 32 (1935), p. 174, rev. i 45–6

[pú lu]gal-gi.na = šar-ru-uk-ki

[pú GI]Š-kin-bar-ra = gal(gil)-ga-meš

Ras Shamra *Hh* XX–XXII, Recension A: *MSL* XI, p. 49, iv 34–5

pú [lug]al-gi.(na) = bu-ur-ti šar-ru-ki

pú GIŠ-T[U]K-maš = bu-ur-ti ki-il-ga-mes

Emar *Hh* XXII 123'–4' (coll.); cf. D. Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4 559²³

pú lugal-gi.na = MIN [Šarru-kīn]

pú ^dGIŠ-gim-maš = MIN [Gilgāmeš]

SB *Hh* XXII (LB XXIII?): von Weiber, *Uruk* III 114A iv 17–18

The wells dug on the way to the Cedar Forest are not the only candidates for this 'well of Gilgameš'. Another possibility is that the entry refers to the legendary pool where Gilgameš famously lost the magic plant of rejuvenation as he returned to Uruk. Though he did not dig it himself, there was certainly reason to associate it with him. Alternatively it might refer to something outside the epic traditions.

Just such an association of Gilgameš with wells is found in a Standard Babylonian ritual that includes the instruction *būrti*(pú) ^dbil₄.ga.mes *taqabbi*(dug₄.ga), 'you say "Well of Gilgameš!"'²⁴ This invocation is the last item of preparation in opening up a new well before the actual digging starts, and signifies either that the well-digger simply says these two words aloud or, less probably, that he recites an incantation beginning with this phrase. Either way, the invocation of Gilgameš in this context indicates that the hero's association with wells was traditional. As the archetype of all successful well-diggers, mention of his name would bring good luck to the enterprise. There is another connection: before the first water to issue from the new well is drunk, some must be poured in libation to Šamaš, to the Anunnaki and to the ghosts of one's kith and kin. The well is a point of contact with the Netherworld,²⁵ whose authorities and mortal inhabitants must be appeased lest they resent the intrusion. The well itself belongs to Gilgameš in his capacity as ruler of the Netherworld.²⁶

Crossing the ocean

In the epic the crossing of the ocean at the end of the world is Gilgameš's final exploit, for it led to his meeting with Ūta-napišti and the end of his quest. According to the old prologue

²³ Read from the fragments Arnaud, *Emar* VI/2 Msk 74187 ii 20' + VI/1 74122u i' 14' and VI/2 Msk 74199v, 5'; Arnaud read the second line of first column as pú-Giš-gi[n]-maš (*Emar* VI/4 559, 124'), Wu Yuhong as giš-aga₂ (sic!) -maš (*NABU* 1998/103), but personal collation determined that the third sign on Msk 74199v, 5', is T[U]K.

²⁴ *Šumma ālu* XVII: R. Caplice, *Or* NS 40 (1971), p. 150, 32'; cf. M. Civil *apud* Caplice, *Or* NS 42 (1973), p. 512, rev. 3'.

²⁵ As Lambert noted in Garelli, *Gilg.*, p. 43.

²⁶ Cf. the remarks of Bottéro, *CRRA* 26, p. 47, fn. 73: 'le "Puits de Gilgameš" (*Pū Gilgameš*) invoqué dans *Šumma ālu*, désignait-il une cavité particulièrement impressionnante ou fameuse, ou constituait-il la dénomination d'un accès à Enfer?' For Gilgameš in the Netherworld see further below, the section on Gilgameš the god.

embedded in the Standard Babylonian version he returned to restore to their former glory the temples and cults swept away by the flood. Gilgameš's encounter with Ūta-napišti is attested outside the epic in omen apodoses in Middle Assyrian and first-millennium copies (see below). It also informs a group vocabulary that contains a section commenting on the names of persons associated with Gilgameš. The text is known from a Neo-Assyrian copy:

kal.ga.imin	=	ᵇbil.ga.mes	Gilgameš
kal.ga.imin	=	muq-tab-lu	warrior
kal.ga.imin	=	a-lik pa-na	leader
zi.sùd.da	=	UD-na-púš-te	Ūta-napišti
a.rá.imin	=	en-gi-dù	Enkidu

CT 18 30 iv 6–10

However, the earliest extant witnesses to this tradition are two Sumerian compositions extant in Old Babylonian copies, the Death of Bilgames and the Poem of the Early Rulers. Both of them identify Gilgameš's most memorable achievements as the journey to the Cedar Forest and the even longer journey to find the Flood hero. In the Death of Bilgames the stricken hero's exploits are summed up for him by the gods in the proceedings of a divine assembly revealed in a deathbed dream:

[. . .] ḥar.ra.an.dib.dib.ba¹ a.na.me.a.bi¹
⁸⁵erin giš.dili kur].bi.ta.mu.un.e₁.da
^dḥu.wa.wa.tir].bi.ta.sag.giš.ra.ra.da
 [na.rú.a.mu.gu]b.bu.nam.u₄.da.u₄.ul.lí.a.aš
 [é.dingir.re.e.ne.k]i.gar.gar.ra.ba
 [zi.u₄.sud.rá.aš(. . .)]sá.mi.ni.in.du₁₁.ga
 [me.ke.en.gi.ra. . .]ḥa.lam.ma.libir.ra.u₄.ul.lí.a
 [á.ág.gá.bi.lu.da.kalam.m]a.šè.im.ta.an.e₁.da
 [š.u.luḥ.ka.luḥ.b]i.si.im.sá.sá.a
 [. . . a].ma.ru.gú.kin.kalam.ma.mu.un.zu.a

SEM 24 'obv.' 1'–10', ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 15, restored from:

inim.zu.ḥar.ra.an.di.id.bi.a.a.na.ám.me.a.bi
⁸⁵erin giš.dili kur.bi.ga.an.¹e¹.dè
^dḥu.wa.wa.tir.bi.ta.sag.giš.ra.ra.za
 na.rú.a.u₄.ul.lá.šè.me.gub.gub.bu.uš.me.da.u₄.li.šè
 é.dingir.re.e.ne.ki.gar.gar.ra.a.ba
 zi.u₄.sù.ta.l.aš.ki.tuš.bi.a.sag.im.ma.ni.t[i]
 me.ke.en.gi.ra.ke₄.ki.ud¹ba.ḥa¹.la.me.eš.x[. . .]u₄.ul.¹i¹.šè
 [á.ág¹.gá.bi.lu.ṭa.kalam.ma.aš¹im.ta.a.ni¹
 šu.¹luḥ.ka.luḥ.x(x).si.mu.un.si.sá¹.e
 a.¹ta².x[(. . .)a.m]a?.ru.gú.kin.kur.kur.ra.x[. . .]

Composite text, M 52–61 // 143–52, after Cavigneaux, op. cit., pp. 27 and 30

Your matter—having travelled each and every road,
 having fetched that unique cedar down from its mountain,
 having smitten Ḥuwawa in his forest,
 having set up inscribed monuments for future days,
 having founded temples of the gods,
 you reached Ziusudra in his abode.
 The rites of Sumer, . . . forgotten since days of old,
 the rituals and customs, you brought them down to the land.
 Its rites of hand-washing and mouth-washing, you put them in good order.
 [From before the] Deluge it was you who made known all the duties of the land.

This synopsis of Gilgameš's accomplishments casts him in the role of a great explorer, whose journeying far and wide brought him to Ḥumbaba's cedar mountain and to the realm of Ziusudra. The wording of the passage—and perhaps also of lines of Šulgi O quoted below—implies that these two exploits were in one tradition held to have been achieved in succession, even as part of the same expedition to the furthest east. The opening lines of Bilgames and Ḥuwawa A can be re-examined in this light. The text that follows tells of the hero's expedition to the Cedar Forest and his return with the severed head of its guardian. The incipit, however, raises expectations of a different quest:

en.e.kur.lú.ti.la.šè.géštug.ga.ni.na.an.gub
 en⁴bil₄.ga.mes.e.kur.lú.ti.la.šè.géštug.ga.ni.na.an.gub

Bilgames and Ḥuwawa A 1–2, ed. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991), p. 167

The lord did turn his mind to the Living One's land (*or* mountain),
 the lord Bilgames did turn his mind to the Living One's land (*or* mountain).

Though some have supposed that the Living One is Ḥuwawa,²⁷ nothing we learn of him corroborates or explains why he might bear such an epithet. Who can the one so styled be if not the survivor of the great Deluge, the only man to achieve immortality? In pointing out that the Sumerian Cedar Forest lay to the east, in the same direction as the place where Ziusudra was settled after the Deluge, Kramer already thought it 'not impossible that lú-ti-la is a descriptive epithet of Ziusudra'.²⁸ As already noted in Chapter 1, in one tradition the poem of Bilgames and Ḥuwawa A was turned into a sequel of Bilgames and the Netherworld, so that the motive for Gilgameš's journey to the 'Living One's land' is a bid to escape man's mortal doom. The parallel with the Babylonian epic, in which Gilgameš is driven to seek Ūta-napišti after Enkidu's death has aroused in him an all-consuming fear of death, is unmistakable. The 'Living One' is the immortal survivor of the mythical flood.²⁹ Thus understood, the incipit means that the tale we know as Bilgames and Ḥuwawa must once

²⁷ See most recently Steiner, *Acta Sum* 18 (1996), pp. 187–90.

²⁸ Kramer, *JAS* 64 (1944), p. 13, fn. 48; cf. *ibid.*, p. 18, fn. 82, a view retracted in *id.*, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 4 with fn. 2.

²⁹ See A. Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62 (2000), pp. 5–6 and fn. 33: 'il me semble clair que le "Vivant", c'est à dire l' "Immortel" auquel il fait allusion dans ce vers, n'est autre que Ziusudra; même si l'histoire de GH (au contraire de la version akkadienne) ne contient pas la moindre allusion à la quête de Ziusudra, la référence implicite à ce thème (ou peut-être même à un récit qui ne nous est pas parvenu) devait déjà être évidente pour tous les auditeurs mésopotamiens.'

have included a narrative of Gilgamesh's journey Ziusudra. The mismatch between opening lines and plot in the poem as handed down in Old Babylonian schools can most easily be explained as having arisen as a result of the abridgement of a much longer text by expunging the episode concerning Ziusudra.

To return to the passage of the Death of Bilgames quoted previously, the poet also credits Gilgamesh with bringing back from Ziusudra proper knowledge of the antediluvian cultic ideals, evidently forgotten since the time of the Deluge. This view agrees with the late epic's prologue, which celebrates the hero as one who refounded the temples and reintroduced the rituals that had been destroyed and interrupted by the great cataclysm (SBI 42–4). The tradition here reported is consistent with one ancient notion that, following the Flood, an interval of barbarity elapsed before kingship was again established in the land, an era in which the lack of government was detrimental to human society.³⁰ Even after the reintroduction of kingly functions, only the greatest of kings was able in time to restore the antediluvian order and then only because he had been instructed in these matters by the Flood hero himself.

This notion of human history casts Gilgamesh as a kind of cultural hero. There are other reflections of this aspect of his that deserve mention before I go on to examine the Poem of Early Rulers. These relate to the achievements of exploration already discussed. The discovery of the various wells or oases that opened a passage across the desert from the middle Euphrates to Lebanon must have revolutionized long-distance travel in upper Mesopotamia.³¹ If Gilgamesh was traditionally the first to make this journey, on his expedition to the Cedar Forest, it would be logical for him to be given the credit for the discovery of the techniques of survival that made desert travel possible. Other feats reported in the epic as if done for the first time in human history by the great hero are sailing over the ocean, diving to the seabed and, with Enkidu, bull-slaying. On each occasion it seems that Gilgamesh's inventiveness enabled him to develop a new technology to perform a previously impossible task.³² These passages speak for a tendency to attribute the discovery of new knowledge (and the rediscovery of old) to a great hero of the distant past, and are probably examples of aetiological folklore. They compare with the famous episodes of Sumerian legend in which Lugalbanda improvises the art of making fire with flint and Enmerkar invents the technique of recording the spoken word by writing on clay.³³

The Poem of Early Rulers is a wisdom composition that teaches the transience of human existence and achievement. It forms part of a collection of related texts that survives on Old

³⁰ See esp. the text published by E. Sollberger as 'The Rulers of Lagaš', *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 279–91.

³¹ Mention of Tadmor (Palmyra) in documents from Kültepe and Mari proves that the great route across the Syrian desert existed by the beginning of the second millennium: see F. Joannès, 'Palmyre et les routes du désert au début du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C.', *MARI* 8 (1997), pp. 393–415. It was probably very much older.

³² See SBVI 132–46, X 181–3 and XI 287–93.

³³ See, respectively, W. W. Hallo, 'Lugalbanda excavated', *JASOS* 103 (1983), p. 179, and G. Komoróczy, 'Zur Ätiologie der Schriftefindung im Enmerkar-Epos', *AoF* 3 (1975), pp. 19–24. A variation on this pattern occurs in the Sumerian Sargon legend, where King Ur-Zababa of Kiš invents the envelope to hide his plans from the eyes of his envoy, only for that envoy, destined to become the celebrated Sargon of Akkade, to thwart him by breaking it open: B. Alster, 'A note on the Uriah letter in the Sumerian Sargon legend', *ZA* 77 (1987), pp. 169–73.

Babylonian tablets from Sippar and Nippur, as well as on a fragment from Kuyunjik,³⁴ but at present it is best preserved on its own in a bilingual version current at Ugarit and Emar in the twelfth century. The lines that relate traditions pertaining to Gilgamesh occur in the course of a passage which points out that even the most famed and glorious of ancient kings came eventually to nothing:

[me.e⁴bil.ga.mes z]i.u₄.sud.rá.gin-, nam.ti i.kin.kin

[me.e hu-wa-wa (. . .)] ba.an.za.za dab?.ba?.ta

[me.e en.ki.du₁₀ (. . .)]x BAD dar.ra.ke₄

CT 44 18 ii' 5'–7', restored from:

[me].e^{md}giš-tuk-m[aš^mzi.su.ud.r]a.[g]in-, nam.ti.la.kin.[kin]

me-e^{md}ki-iš-mas-su [. . .]-ki nam-ti-la k[i?ik?-ki?]

a-le-e^mkil-[ga-mèš? š]a k[i-ma^mzi-su]-ud-ra na-pu-u[l-ta? [x]x [(x)]

[me].e^mhu-wa-wa[a . . . z]a?.da mu.x[. . .]

me-e^mh[u- . . .]x x[. . .]

[a-le-e^m]hu-[. . .-t]i? i-na [. . .]

[me.e]^men.k[i.]

[me-e^m]n-ki-dù nam-ka-lag-g[a] x[x x]-ta mu-un-na-an-te

[a-le-e^m]en-ki-du (Ugarit: -dù) [š]a da-an-nu-ti i-na māti(kur)⁴ ú-[x x]

Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4 767, 13–15 (coll.) // Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V 164, 1'–2'³⁵

Where now is Gilgamesh, who sought life like Ziusudra?

Where now is Hūwawa, . . . ?³⁶

Where now is Enkidu, who . . . mighty ones in (or from) the land?

Here the essential skeleton of the story of Gilgamesh, as recounted in the late epic, is already present: the mighty Enkidu, who matched Gilgamesh in strength, the expedition they undertook together against Hūmbaba in his Cedar Forest, and the fruitless quest for immortality that took the bereaved hero across the ocean to meet the Flood hero. The only significant episode missing is the story of Ištar and the Bull of Heaven, about which the Death of Bilgames was also silent. This tale, well known in the Old Babylonian period from the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven, is not an essential part of the plot, for Enkidu was condemned to die as much for killing Hūmbaba as for insulting Ištar. Its absence from the Poem of Early Rulers does not diminish the point of the composition.

³⁴ To the list of manuscripts presented by B. Alster, 'The Sumerian Poem of Early Rulers and related poems', *OLP* 21 (1990), pp. 6–7, add *SLTN* 131 rev. iii 7 ff. (see M. Civil, *RA* 63 (1969), p. 179, fn. 1), Msk 74159n (see M. Civil, *Aula Or* 7 (1989), p. 7) and K 6917 + 13679 (see W. G. Lambert, 'Some new Babylonian wisdom literature', *Essays Emerton*, p. 38).

³⁵ Ed. C. Wilcke, 'Die Sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit', in J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau, *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung* (Colloquium Rauricum, 1; Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 138 ff. New editions: Alster, *OLP* 21, pp. 5–25, M. Dietrich, 'Ein Leben ohne Freude . . .'. Studie über eine Weisheitskomposition aus den Gelehrtenbibliotheken von Emar und Ugarit', *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 9–29; cf. Lambert, *Essays Emerton*, pp. 37–41. The Emar text of the quoted lines is reconstructed from Arnaud, *Emar* VI/1, Msk 74132t, 3'–7' (+) 74123x, 1' + 74127ac-, 5'–10' + VI/2, Msk 74344, 5'–8'. A new copy of the rebuilt tablet will be published elsewhere.

³⁶ Wilcke: 'nachdem ihm gehuldigt und er gepackt wurde'; Alster: 'who was caught having bit the grass', reading [k] ba.an.za.za.

The hero in art

Both Gilgameš's heroic monster-killing exploits are recorded in art from the early second millennium and later.³⁷ Two different scenes depicting the slaying of Humbaba are found on Old Babylonian clay plaques from Larsa and elsewhere, and the same scenes also occur on cylinder seals from Mittanni, Nuzi and later Assyria and Babylonia, and on an early first-millennium Luristan-type bronze situla perhaps from Babylonia.³⁸ The motif passed into the art of neighbouring regions—Syria, Anatolia and Iran—but one cannot be certain that after this transition the image still recorded the contest between the two heroes and Humbaba. Gilgameš's victory in the Cedar Forest is perhaps also commemorated by an Old Babylonian figurine in the Louvre that depicts a bearded hero standing on a head of the kind usually identified as Humbaba's.³⁹

Bull-wrestling is an occasional motif in ancient Mesopotamian art from the Early Dynastic II period onwards. A related scene of bull-slaying, so far not found before the early second millennium, typically involves two men, one anchoring the bull by holding its tail and stepping on its hind leg and the other preparing to despatch it. This scene, depicted on clay plaques as well as cylinder seals,⁴⁰ exactly illustrates the technique Enkidu uses in the epic to tackle the mythical Bull of Heaven, but it may not be confined to that particular episode and thus one cannot be sure of a bull-slaying scene's relevance to Gilgameš unless there is some distinguishing feature that speaks in favour. When the bull is winged, for example, it seems very likely that the scene depicts Gilgameš and Enkidu in combat with the celestial bull, for the Bull of Heaven's mythical home was in the sky. Examples of bull-slaying scenes with winged bulls occur on second-millennium cylinder seals from Nuzi and Assyria and on later seals from Babylonia and Assyria. Another exemplar, of Neo-Assyrian origin, is made available for the first time in this book (Fig. 1).⁴¹

The existence of both motifs in Mesopotamian art, and their endurance through the centuries, speak for the circulation of the stories of Gilgameš's monster-slaying outside the narrow circles of courtly entertainment and the scribal community. Other scenes and motifs

³⁷ See R. Opifcius, 'Gilgamesch und Enkidu in der bildenden Kunst', in H. Pohle and G. Mahr (eds.), *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1869–1969* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 286–92. The fullest evidence is presented and discussed by W. G. Lambert, 'Gilgamesh in literature and art: the second and first millennia', *Papers Porada*, pp. 37–52 with pls. 7–11, reissued in abridged form in J. Maier (ed.), *Gilgamesh: A Reader* (Wauconda, Ill., 1997), pp. 50–62. For some of the problems of identifying unlabelled images as episodes of the epic see P. Amiet, 'Le problème de la représentation de Gilgameš dans l'art', and G. Offner, 'L'épopée de Gilgameš, a-t-elle été fixée dans l'art?', both in Garelli, *Gilg.*, pp. 169–73 and 175–81. See also A. Green, 'Myths in Mesopotamian art', in *Sumerian Gods*, pp. 137–9.

³⁸ See Lambert, *Papers Porada*, pls. 8–10, 1–18.

³⁹ Drawing: P. Amiet in Garelli, *Gilg.*, p. 70, fig. 8; photograph: M.-T. Barrelet, 'Remarques sur une découverte faite à Tell al Rimah: "Face de Humbaba" et conventions iconographiques', *Iraq* 30 (1968), pl. 75c; see further R. Opifcius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelieff* no. 485 and p. 225. Note Lambert's caution, however, that 'not all the figures that bear a "Huwawa" face in Old Babylonian terracottas can be considered representations of this demon' (*Papers Porada*, p. 51, fn. 45). Accordingly he rejects the Louvre figurine as irrelevant. Given the popularity in art and literature of the story of Gilgameš and Huwawa in the period in question I am inclined nevertheless to give this figurine the benefit of the doubt.

⁴⁰ See the plaque first published by R. Opifcius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelieff* (Berlin 1961) no. 496: p. 227 and pl. 14; a selection of seal impressions depicting this scene is given by Lambert, *Papers Porada*, pl. 11, 23–7.

⁴¹ SC 1989, photographed and published by kind permission of Mr Martin Schøyen.

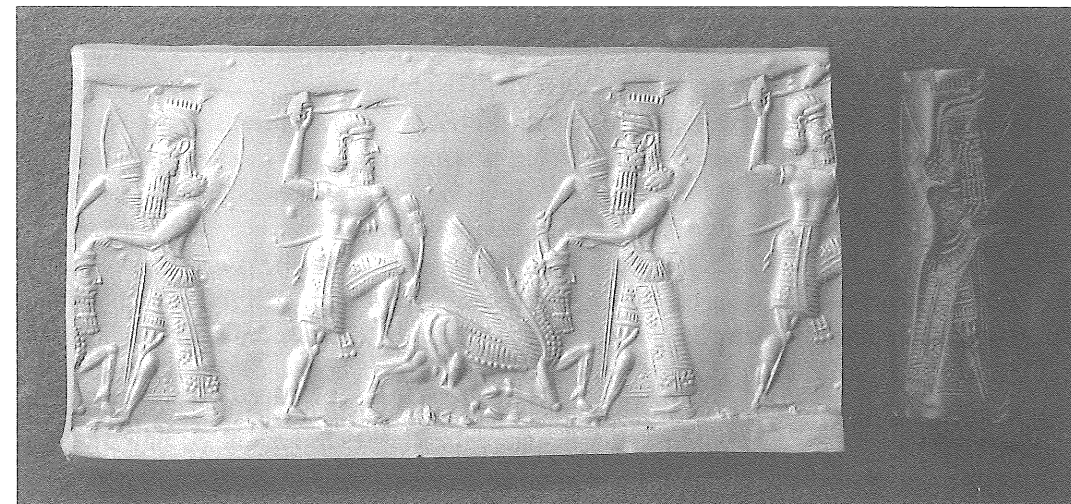


FIG. 1. Cylinder seal of dark brown agate and modern impression depicting Gilgameš and Enkidu despatching the Bull of Heaven. SC 1989; Neo-Assyrian style; height 3.9 cm, diameter 1.7 cm.

in ancient Near Eastern art are sometimes identified with episodes from the Gilgameš poems but remain unconvincing.⁴²

GILGAMESH THE KING

The Poem of Early Rulers holds Gilgameš up as an example of a great king of old whose achievements, like those of every mortal, counted eventually for naught. In other Sumerian texts the most celebrated attestations of Gilgameš as an important ruler of long ago are found in the Sumerian King List and the Tummal chronicle. These compositions, along with Anam's building inscription, preserve a memory of Gilgameš as an early ruler of Uruk and are thus witness to an ancient tradition that Gilgameš was an historical figure. Though there is still no proof of the historicity of Gilgameš as a ruler of Uruk, there have been recent developments that shed further light on the period. The evidence can be presented as follows.

The Sumerian King List

The great list of kings of Sumer and Akkad was, in the form that we know it, compiled early in the second millennium, from sources already current, to legitimize the kings of Isin as the successors of the Ur III dynasty.⁴³ The redactor's aim was to show, wrongly, that throughout

⁴² A recent case in point is D. Frayne's adventurous article on 'The birth of Gilgameš in ancient Mesopotamian art', *Bulletin CSMS* 34 (1999), pp. 39–49.

⁴³ Modern introductions to the list are D. O. Edzard, 'Königslisten und Chroniken. A. Sumerisch. §1. Die Sumerische Königsliste', *RLA* VI, pp. 77–84; and, with translation, W. H. Ph. Römer, 'Die sumerische Königsliste', *TUAT* I/4, pp.

history the legitimate kingship of the land had resided in one city at a time.⁴⁴ There are other grounds for mistrusting the list's historical validity. One recension was prefaced with the kings of the antediluvian age, before the legendary Flood that wiped out civilization, and both versions draw on mythological traditions as well as historical fact. The text soon became part of the scribal literature of the Old Babylonian period. Later it was extended and furnished with an Akkadian translation, a version Assyriologists call the Dynastic Chronicle, which was still current late in the first millennium when it was adapted and incorporated into the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus.⁴⁵ Though the passage of the Dynastic Chronicle that should mention Gilgameš is not yet recovered, another late text does record him as a king of early antiquity, namely the Seleucid-period copy of a list of kings and sages,⁴⁶ where l. 12 reads [*ina tarši?* ^{md}bil.ga.m]es šarri(lugal)⁴⁷ ^{md}šini(30)-lēqi(ū)-unninni(ēr) ^{lu}um-man-nu, '[in the time of] King Gilgameš Šin-lēqi-unninni was (chief) scholar'. In this case, as in others, the juxtaposition of king and scholar is an obvious anachronism. The list ends with Esarhaddon and his counsellor Ahuqar, which yields a *terminus post quem* for the text's compilation in the seventh century BC.

Gilgameš's position as one of the great kings of ancient legend also informed post-cuneiform sources. The surviving instances where his name occurs in Jewish, Manichean, Syriac, Greek and Arabic sources all preserve a distant memory of a great figure of remote antiquity, either correctly as a king or, mythologized in the Book of Giants, as a superhuman force for evil. These sources have already been discussed at the end of Chapter 1, the section on the Epic of Gilgameš outside the cuneiform tradition.

A rough indication of how much historical fact was known concerning the early rulers in the Sumerian King List and the Dynastic Chronicle is the length of reign attributed to each. At the beginning of the lists the lengths of reign are preposterously long, being examples of a widespread myth that early men lived to fantastic ages; at the end the years attributed to each king are corroborated by date lists and can be accepted as fact. The calculation and recording of the length of kings' reigns was the most conspicuous feature of early Mesopotamian historiography. The point in the king lists where years of reign cease to be exaggerated marks the transition from data deriving from legend to data based on historical record. This is not always a sure indicator of historicity, of course, for kings of legend may have been just as much historical figures as kings whose existence is corroborated by other evidence.

328–37. The most recent list of manuscripts is given in C.-A. Vincente, 'The Tall Leilān recension of the Sumerian King List', *ZA* 85 (1995), pp. 234–70.

⁴⁴ See P. Michalowski, 'History as charter', *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 237–48; and C. Wilcke, 'Genealogical and geographical thought in the Sumerian King List', *Studia Sjöberg*, pp. 557–69, who marshals good arguments for the list being an expansion of one originally compiled in the reign of Šulgi.

⁴⁵ On the Dynastic Chronicle, which remains very fragmentary, see Grayson, *Chronicles*, pp. 139–44; additions by W. G. Lambert, 'A new fragment from a list of antediluvian kings', *Symbolae Böhl*, pp. 270–5; I. L. Finkel, 'Bilingual chronicle fragments', *JCS* 32 (1980), pp. 65–80.

⁴⁶ Published by J. van Dijk, 'Die Tontafeln aus dem rēš-Heiligtum', in H. J. Lenzen et al., *UVB* 18, pp. 43–61, copy: pl. 27, and again by van Dijk and Mayer, *Rēš-Heiligtum* no. 89.

⁴⁷ Partly erased, probably in error.

The first rulers after the Flood belonged, according to the Sumerian King List, to a 'dynasty' of Kiš—in fact, a succession of short dynasties and individuals of no stated dynastic connections.⁴⁸ Among these rulers is, eleventh in the list, Etana, famous in mythology for his flight to heaven on an eagle's back and accredited with a reign of 1,560 years. Nine kings later is Enmebaragesi, who has left inscriptions that prove him to be an historical personage, even though the list records a reign of 900 years. This sequence of kings thus progresses from prehistoric legend to historical fact. According to the list, Enmebaragesi's son, Akka (625 years), was the last king of this sequence of rulers at Kiš, for the city was defeated in battle and 'kingship was carried off to E-anna', i.e. Uruk. In the list of rulers of Uruk that follows, Gilgameš is in sixth place, and is the last king of the sequence with an obviously inflated length of reign. His entry reads as follows:

⁴bil.ga.mes (var. ⁴bil.ga.mes) ab.ba.ni líl.lá en kul.ab.ba.ke₄ (var. kul.la.ba.ke₄) mu 2,6 i.ak
Sumerian King List iii 17–20, ed. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, pp. 89–90

Bilgames—his father was a phantom—was lord of Kullab, he reigned 126 years.

The title borne by Gilgameš in this entry recurs in the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and in hymns of Šulgi.⁴⁹ In the Sumerian poems Gilgameš is also often called en.tur, 'young lord'.⁵⁰ The royal title *en* was especially associated with Kullab and Uruk, where it effectively signified 'king'.⁵¹

According to the king list Gilgameš's son, Ur-Nungal (var. Ur-lugal, the name by which he is known in the Tummal text), reigned after him for thirty years, followed in turn by his son, Udul-kalamma, for fifteen years. As round figures in the sexagesimal system, these lengths of reign are suspect but there is no reason to doubt the record that Gilgameš founded a short-lived dynasty. From this one can judge that, in the tradition extant at the time the list was compiled, Gilgameš lived on the threshold of history. This is borne out by his association elsewhere in Sumerian literature with Enmebaragesi, a figure of proved historicity, and his son, Akka. The principal evidence for this association is (a) a tradition that Gilgameš defeated Enmebaragesi, witnessed in Šulgi Hymn O (quoted below), and (b) a tradition that, after a siege of Uruk, Gilgameš defeated Akka, as celebrated in the poem of Bilgames and Akka. A new factor is reported in a newly recovered source of the Sumerian King List: (c) a tradition that Dumuzi, Gilgameš's predecessor (according to the list),

⁴⁸ On this point see J. Klein, 'A new Nippur duplicate of the Sumerian Kinglist in the Brockmon Collection, University of Haifa', *Aula Or* 9 (1991), p. 125, fn. 10.

⁴⁹ Bilgames and Akka 15, 40, 51, 100, 113, Bilgames and Īuwawa A 76, B 31, Death of Bilgames N₁ obv. 9', N₃ 42, M₁ 10, Šulgi O 32 and 41: ⁴bil.ga.mes en kul.ab⁴.a.ke₄; Šulgi C, MS F = STVC 59, 16: ⁴bil.[g]a.mes en kul.ab[⁴a⁴.gin?]; Šulgi O 32, restored by ISET II 1 Ni 4535, 6'–7': ⁴bil.ga.mes en kul.aba⁴.a.ke₄.

⁵⁰ Bilgames and Īuwawa A 76: en.tur kul.aba⁴.ke₄; without geographical qualification, *ibid.* 167, B 4, 75, Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven Nb obv. 4, A (*VAS* X 196) rev. ii 21' (coll.), Death of Bilgames M 45, 84 // 174, 126, M₄ 8. The reading en.tur (rather than en.bānda) is assured by an unpublished source of the Death of Bilgames now in the Schøyen Collection (SC 3027 obv. 18: ud.bi.a en.tur.re en ⁴bil.ga.mes.e, quoted by permission of Mr Martin Schøyen).

⁵¹ See W. W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), pp. 3–8; P. Steinkeller, 'On rulers, priests and sacred marriage: tracing the evolution of early Sumerian kingship', in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 102–37.

defeated Enmebaragesi in single combat.⁵² As Klein notes, these three traditions are less likely memories of the same historical event, by which Uruk threw off the suzerainty of Kiš in one mighty coup and took over its position as chief power in Sumer, than evidence that the final conquest of Kiš was only achieved after an extended period of intermittent warfare in which the fortunes of both sides were mixed and the power of Kiš eroded gradually.⁵³ The final victor was evidently Gilgameš, for the 'dynasty' of Kiš ends with Akka and defeat by Uruk. This decisive moment at the dawn of history in Early Dynastic Sumer is surely an important reason for Gilgameš's reputation in later times as a 'mighty king' and his adoption by the kings of Ur as a symbol of southern hegemony.

The Tummal text

The Tummal text is a repetitive literary composition, much used as an exercise in Old Babylonian schools for its paradigmatic qualities, that purports to chronicle the building activities of various rulers in relation to different shrines in the temple of Enlil at Nippur, and their sons' restorations of the sanctuary of Ninlil in nearby Tummal.⁵⁴ The first five sections of the text culminate in Ur-Nammu's rebuilding of E-kur, i.e. the entire temple, a well-known historical event, and Šulgi's restoration of Tummal.⁵⁵ They run in the following pattern:

RN₁ (lugal.e) TN₁ (é (once bára) ^den.lil.lá) in.dù RN₂ dumu RN₁ tum.ma.al^{ki}.e pa
 bí.(i).è ^dnin.lil tum.ma.al^{ki}.šè in.túm (var. in.tùm) a.rá n.kam.(a) tum.ma.al^{ki} ba.šub
 RN₃ (lugal.e) TN₂ in.dù RN₄ dumu RN₃ tum.ma.al^{ki}.e pa bí.(i).è etc.

After Ali, 'Letters', pp. 99–100, 1–26

These five sections relate the activities of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi to the deeds of much earlier kings. The sixth section contends that the pious treatment of Enlil and Ninlil observed in early times and under the first two kings of Ur continued under the dynasty's other three kings, from early in Amar-Suen's reign to the coronation of Ibbi-Sin. Perhaps the text was composed to mark that event. A seventh section, not always present, falls after the subscript on some manuscripts and is clearly a later addition made to promote a view that matters continued undisturbed into the reign of the notorious usurper Išbi-Erra, founder of the Isin dynasty. The sixth section, subscript and seventh section read:

mu (^d)amar.^dsuen.ka.ta en.na (^d)i-bi-^dsin lugal.e en.am.gal.an.na en ^dinanna
 unug^{ki}.ga maš.e in.pà.dè ^dnin.lil tum.ma.al^{ki}.šè i.DU.DU

⁵² Klein, *Aula Or* 9, pp. 125–6.

⁵³ For a different view, though one formed without knowledge of tradition (c), see D. Katz, *Gilgamesh and Akka* (Groningen, 1993), pp. 14–15.

⁵⁴ See E. Sollberger, 'The Tummal inscription', *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 40–7; Ali, 'Letters', pp. 99–104; D. O. Edzard, 'Königslisten und Chroniken. A. Sumerisch. §3. Die Tummal-*"*Chronik*"*', *RLA* VI, pp. 85–6; note also the electronic edition by J. A. Black et al., www-etsl.orient.ox.ac.uk text no. 2.1.3.

⁵⁵ For Ur-Nammu's work on the E-kur see Frayne, *RIME* 3/II, p. 17. Šulgi built a new barge for Ninlil's procession to Tummal (yr 8; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 97–8) and made a new bed for the same goddess (yr 14), which may have been furniture for her shrine at Tummal.

ka lú. ^dinanna ašgab.gal ^den.lil.lá.šè sar.re
^diš-bi-^dēr-ra é.kur.(ra).igi.gál.(lá) é.šutum (var. šutum) ^den.lil.lá in.dù

After Ali, 'Letters', p. 100, 27–33

No modern translation of the whole in English is available in print, so one is given here:

King Enmebaragesi built uru.na.nam, 'The Very City', the house of Enlil; Akka, son of Enmebaragesi, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal.

Tummal was abandoned for the first time.

King Mesannepadda built bur.šú.šú.a^{ki}, 'Covered Jars', the house of Enlil; Meskiagnunna, son of Mesannepadda, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the second time.⁵⁶

Bilgames (^dbil.ga.mes, var. ^dbil.ga.mes) built du.^(d)númun.bur.ra, 'Mound of Rushes', the throne-dais of Enlil; Ur-lugal, son of Bilgames, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the third time.

Nanne⁵⁷ built ^gškiriri.maḥ.(a), 'Sublime Garden', the house of Enlil; Meskiag-Nanna, son of Nanne, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the fourth time.

Ur-Nammu built é.kur, 'House, Mountain'; Šulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the fifth time.

From the year Amar-Suen (became) king (AS yr 1) until (the year) King Ibbi-Sin chose by divination Enamgalanna as *en*-priest of Inanna at Uruk (IS yr 2), Ninlil went repeatedly to Tummal.

Written down at the dictation of Lu-Inanna, chief tanner of Enlil.

Išbi-Erra built é.kur.igi.gál, 'House, Mountain Endowed with Sight', the storehouse of Enlil.⁵⁸

Much of this text, perhaps all the first four sections, may be apocryphal. There was a shrine called Du-numun-burra at Nippur,⁵⁹ but the connection with Gilgameš is not confirmed by other evidence. The Tummal text is important, nevertheless, because it places Gilgameš in the company of Enmebaragesi, Mesannepadda, Meskiagnunna and, perhaps, Aannepadda, men who are attested as historical figures by their own inscriptions,⁶⁰ and because it reiterates the tradition that his son followed him on the throne of Uruk.

⁵⁶ Most manuscripts transpose the second and third paragraphs (see Sollberger, *JCS* 16, pp. 40–1).

⁵⁷ This is thought by some to be Aannepadda, son of Mesannepadda of Ur: see E. I. Gordon, *BASOR* 132 (1953), p. 29. Nanne's work on the temple of Enlil is also recorded in a long anecdote incorporated in Proverb Collection 3 (Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 86, 3, 31). The same literature also records, more briefly, that he destroyed a temple built by Mesilim or Mesannepadda (*ibid.*, p. 218, 14, 16, bilingual). Recent scholars are sceptical of the identification with Aannepadda. Alster annotates the longer anecdote about Nanne (whom he dubs 'the eternal loser') with the remark, 'presumably a fictitious ruler who never succeeded in completing any undertaking' (Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 380). Michalowski calls Nanne 'a pre-Sargonic ruler known only from later literary compositions' (*JNES* 37 (1978), p. 345).

⁵⁸ Some manuscripts transpose the last two sentences, others omit the last sentence.

⁵⁹ See George, *House Most High*, gazetteer no. 190.

⁶⁰ Enmebaragesi: *OIP* 53, p. 147, no. 2; Edzard, *ZA* 53 (1959), p. 9 (both ed. Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 213); Mesannepadda: J. Boese, *ZA* 68 (1978), p. 19 (ed. *FAOS* 5/II, pp. 272–3); Aannepadda: *UET* VIII 1, etc. (ed. *FAOS* 5/II, pp. 273–7); Meskiagnunna: *UET* VIII 2 (ed. *FAOS* 5/II, pp. 277–8). It remains to be shown whether or not Akka of Kiš can be the same as the otherwise unknown ak lugal umma^{ki}, 'Ak(a), king of Umma', who dedicated an inscribed bead of lapis lazuli to Inanna at some time in the Early Dynastic period (*MVN* X 1, ed. Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 266).

Another association of Gilgameš and Enmebaragesi occurs in the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and Ħuwawa A, in which the hero offers to bring Ħuwawa his sisters Enmebaragesi and Peštur as wife and concubine respectively. This is a parody of the royal marriages arranged for diplomatic purposes in Ur III times, as in other eras, and a topical one, for the name Peštur, 'Little Fig', is very close in sound to that of one of Šulgi's daughters.⁶¹ The name of Peštur's sister is identical with Gilgameš's adversary, Enmebaragesi of Kiš. Because Enmebaragesi is acceptable as the name of a high priestess as well as a king, this fact has provoked two responses: (a) Enmebaragesi of Kiš really was Gilgameš's sister and thus indeed a woman,⁶² and (b) Enmebaragesi of Kiš was a man and his name was used in the episode of Bilgames and Ħuwawa for comic effect.⁶³ It is not possible at present to know which response is right. But the passage provides a further instance of the association of Gilgameš and Enmebaragesi in the literary traditions of early second-millennium Mesopotamia.

On the evidence presented above it seems likely that there was once a King Bilgames in Uruk, just as there may have been in Britain a real King Arthur. But the Gilgameš of the epic traditions is a literary character, to whom any number of originally disparate traditions have accrued. It is a vain hope to find in history such a hero of legend.

Family connections

The Sumerian King List and the Tummal text depict Gilgameš as a man of uncertain origin who rose to power and founded a short-lived dynasty at Uruk. That a phantom was Gilgameš's father in the king list is a good example of a well-known motif in folklore that legendary figures in very ancient history often spring from obscure, if not mythical backgrounds.⁶⁴ In the Hittite Gilgameš the hero is said to have arrived in Uruk from elsewhere, implying that he was not brought up there.⁶⁵ The tradition of Gilgameš's uncertain parentage endured beyond the end of Mesopotamian civilization, for in the second century AD Aelian recorded that Gilgameš's mother, a princess, became pregnant by a 'nobody'.⁶⁶

Another tradition of Gilgameš's parentage existed. In Old Babylonian tablets of the epic his mother is always identified as the goddess Ninsun,⁶⁷ while the Standard Babylonian text records in addition that he was a native of Uruk and implies that his father was Lugalbanda.⁶⁸ Elsewhere in texts of the Babylonian epic Lugalbanda is Gilgameš's personal god,⁶⁹ but his traditional pairing with Ninsun at Uruk makes him a kind of father or stepfather of Gilgameš.⁷⁰ This filial relationship is also attested in an oath exclaimed on several different

⁶¹ For the Ur III princess *pēš.tur.tur*, 'Tiny Mouse', see Sigrist et al., *MVN* XIII 657, 5; Frayne, *RIME* 3/II, p. 168.

⁶² A. Shaffer, 'Gilgamesh, the Cedar Forest and Mesopotamian history', *JAS* 103 (1983), pp. 309–13.

⁶³ D. Katz, 'Enmebaragesi king of Kiš a sister of Gilgameš?', *NABU* 1995/29.

⁶⁴ Cf. Sargon of Akkade, Moses, Achaemenes, Romulus and Remus, etc.

⁶⁵ *KUB* VIII 57, 10, ed. Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1930), pp. 4–5.

⁶⁶ See Ch. 1, the section on the Epic of Gilgameš outside the cuneiform tradition.

⁶⁷ OB II 234–7: *kīma išēnna ummaka ūlīdka, rīntum ša supūrim Ninsunna*; OB Harmal, 42: *ūlīdka litum ša supūrim Ninsunna*. A pre-Sargonic mace-head reports similarly (below, fn. 127).

⁶⁸ SB I 30: *[qa]rdū lillīd Uruk*; SB I 35–6: *rīnu ša Lugalbanda Gilgameš giṣmālu emūqi, ēniq arḫi širti Rīmat-Ninsun*.

⁶⁹ OB III 271, OB Nippur 8, OB Harmal, 15–16, SB VI 165.

⁷⁰ See further C. Wilcke, *RLA* VII, pp. 117–32.

occasions by the hero in the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and Ħuwawa and the Death of Bilgames: a.a.mu (var.: a.a.ugu.gá) kù⁴lugal.bàn.da, '(by my mother Ninsun who bore me,) by my father holy Lugalbanda (var. adds: who sired me)!'⁷¹ In the Sumerian King List Lugalbanda follows Enmerkar as one of Gilgameš's predecessors on the throne of Uruk, though he and Gilgameš are separated by Dumuzi. No family relationships are recorded there, however.

Ninsun is also found as Gilgameš's mother in two further texts. The first is the Poem of the Mattock. This composition, dense with allusion, has been thought in the following passage to make several references to themes associated with Gilgameš:

en.e⁶⁵al.a.ni.guḍ.gin₇ur₅im.ša,
eri₁₁.gal⁶⁵al.sag.ki.a.túm.ma.àm
idim.lú⁶⁵al.e.ki.ta.túm.ma.àm
šul.idim.an.na.šeš.bàn.da⁴nè.eri₁₁.gal.(ka)
ur.sag⁴bil₄.ga.mes.(e) (var. ra)⁶⁵al.e.sa.pār.ra.àm
dumu⁴nin.sún.ka⁶⁵gisal.e.dub.sag.gá.(àm)
⁶⁵al.e.id.da.kinda.gal.la.àm

Poem of the Mattock 73–9, ed. M. Civil, *JNES* 28 (1969), p. 70, fn. 1; Edzard, *Studies Lambert*, p. 132

The lord: his mattock bellows like a bull,
the grave: the mattock it is that bears a person into the earth,
the depths: man was brought forth from the earth by the mattock.
The noble hero of heaven, little brother of Nergal,
warrior Bilgames: at the mattock he is a catch-net!
Ninsun's son: at the oar he is foremost!
At the mattock he is the river's chief barber!

Civil expounds this passage as follows:

[Line] 73 plays with the name of the hoe (al) and the Bull of Heaven (*alū*). Puns based on Akkadian words are found elsewhere in the poem. Line 74 refers to the burial of Enkidu or the tomb of Gilgameš in Uruk. For line 75, cf. Akk. Gilgameš XII 78 ff. [i.e., the raising of Enkidu's ghost from the netherworld, now XII 85 ff.] . . . line 78 is of course a reference to the punting poles of Gilgameš X.

Still more pertinently, Gilgameš uses the ⁶⁵gisal in a damaged episode at the beginning of the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven. However, I am not convinced that any but ll. 76–8 (and perhaps 79) refer to Gilgameš. The likening of the hero's prowess with the mattock to a hunting net (77) is not an allusion to anything in the epic tradition but refers instead to his chthonic functions. The mattock is the tool of burial (as in l. 74) and the net is a metaphor for the shades' captivity in the Netherworld, over which Gilgameš presides. How the oar (78) fits this context is a mystery in a text that abounds in them. For our

⁷¹ Bilgames and Ħuwawa A 89, 92: D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 196–7; B 15, 103, cf. 131: id., *BAW Sitzungsberichte* 1993/IV, pp. 18–31; Death of Bilgames N, obv. 14, ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 22.

purposes the most intriguing detail of the passage quoted is the formalization of the relationship between Gilgameš and Nergal as one of brotherhood. This is without parallel but clearly expresses a close link between the two as gods of the Netherworld (on which see further below, the section on Gilgameš the god).

A second text, Old Babylonian *eršemma* no. 171, describes the goddess Gula as ù.tu.da {NI *sup ras.*} en ^dbil₄.ga.mes, 'the one who gave birth to the lord Bilgames'.⁷² If this is not a different tradition, it expresses Gilgameš's relationship to Ninsun syncretistically, for by some theologians Ninsun and Gula were equated, as too were their consorts, Lugalbanda and Ninurta.⁷³ Curiously, no ancient source yet discovered makes anything of this connection between Gilgameš and the hero-god Ninurta.

The tradition by which Gilgameš's parents were Ninsun and Lugalbanda is fully developed in mythology. It is an early example of the divine parentage of kings, a metaphor that is a very common element of royal ideology from the earliest historical periods.⁷⁴ The first two kings of the Ur III dynasty, Ur-Nammu and especially Šulgi, professed in several of their hymns and other inscriptions exactly the same divine parentage, maintaining that Ninsun was their 'mother' and that, for Šulgi at least, Lugalbanda was their 'father' too.⁷⁵ In doing so they also claimed a family relationship with Gilgameš. The fraternal connection between Ur-Nammu and Gilgameš is recorded in the Death of Ur-Nammu⁷⁶ and made explicit in one of the king's hymns of self-praise, Ur-Nammu C:

šu.dug₄.ga.e ^dnanna.a me.en
šeš ^dbil₄.ga.mes gu.la me.en
[dumu t]u.da ^dnin.sún.ka me.en numun nam.en.na me.en

TCL XV 12, 111–13, ed. Flückiger-Hawker, Urnamma, p. 218

I am the one made by the hand of Nanna,
I am the brother of Bilgames the Great,
I am [the child] born of Ninsun, I am the seed of lordship.

Šulgi records his brotherhood with Gilgameš in Šulgi O 50 etc. (quoted below); in Šulgi D 292:⁷⁷ šeš ku.li.ni en ^dbil₄.ga.mes, 'his brother-friend, lord Bilgames'; in Šulgi C, MS F obv. 11':⁷⁸ šeš ku.li.mu ^db [i]l₄.ga.mes.ra, 'for my brother-friend, Bilgames'; and, with allusion to shared sagacity, in Šulgi C 102–5:

ša.mu ^dištaran(ka.di) kur.kur.ra me.èn
šul.gi sipa.zi ke.en.gi.ra me.èn

⁷² *CT* 42 7 iii 41, ed. Cohen, *Eršemma*s, p. 99, 109.

⁷³ See the passage of the Weidner god list cited in Ch. 13, the commentary on SB III 15.

⁷⁴ On this topic see Å. W. Sjöberg, 'Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher', *Or Suec* 21 (1972), pp. 87–112; W. W. Hallo, 'The birth of kings', *Essays Pope*, pp. 45–52.

⁷⁵ Evidence for these relationships has been collected by A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 50 (1952), pp. 73–7; W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966), p. 137, fn. 54, and J. Klein, *Kramer AV*, p. 271, fn. 1.

⁷⁶ Ur-Nammu A 143, quoted below in the section on Gilgameš in the Netherworld.

⁷⁷ Ed. Klein, *Šulgi*, p. 82.

⁷⁸ *STVC* 59, ed. G. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns*, p. 262.

šeš ku.li.mu ^dbil₄.ga.mes.gin₇
zi.du mu.zu érim.du mu.zu

STVC 50 obv. 20–3 // 51, 33–6, ed. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns*, p. 256

As to my mind I am the Ištarān of all the lands,
I, Šulgi, being the steadfast shepherd of Sumer.
Like my brother-friend Bilgames,
I know who behaves honestly, I know who behaves dishonestly.

The mention of the divine judge Ištarān in the last passage makes it very clear that here Šulgi refers to Gilgameš's qualities as a fair arbitrator of justice, a facet of his nature which alludes to one of his underworld functions (see below).

The language of kinship employed in these and other passages has led many to believe that the dynasty of Ur originally hailed from Uruk.⁷⁹ There is evidence that Ur-Nammu and Šulgi were related by blood or marriage to Utu-ḫengal, the ruler of Uruk who expelled the Gutians from Sumer. In his reign Ur-Nammu held the post of provincial governor in Ur.⁸⁰ Through a purported kinship with the ancient kings of Uruk who were Utu-ḫengal's distant predecessors, Ur-Nammu and his successor sought to legitimize their own kingship in Ur, evidently seeing a reflection of their own family's history and accomplishments in the tales of Sumer's heroic age.⁸¹ It was conventional for a Babylonian king to view his predecessors, even those unrelated to him, as ancestors, but Ur-Nammu's and Šulgi's description of their relationship with expressions of brotherhood, especially šeš ku.li, 'brother-friend', is of a different order. Gilgameš seems, indeed, to have been the patron deity of these kings. On this account the Sumerian poems of Gilgameš were no doubt popular entertainments at the royal court of Ur, and very probably they found at the same time their final form as written texts in the scribal tradition established by Šulgi.

The association of Gilgameš with this family was perhaps begun by Utu-ḫengal. In the famous text reporting his victory over Tirigan of Gutium the composer describes how the gods came to Utu-ḫengal's aid and joined his campaign. Among them was 'Bilgames, son of Ninsun'.⁸² Utu-ḫengal's selection of him in this text can be seen as already reflecting some kind of special relationship between Gilgameš and Utu-ḫengal's kin.

⁷⁹ e.g. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 204, fn. 35; Falkenstein, *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 56.

⁸⁰ According to Wilcke's reading of the fragmentary votive inscription *UETI* 30, 15, Ur-Nammu, while still governor of Ur and not yet king, made a dedication to Ningal for the life of Utu-ḫengal [še.a.ni], 'his brother' (see C. Wilcke, *CRR*A 19, p. 193; Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 296, follows suit). A propagandistic chronicle of the Ur III dynasty, known from a Late Babylonian copy (Hunger, *Uruk I 2*), records a tradition that Šulgi was the grandson of Utu-ḫengal (l. 10: [𒀭]šul-gi mār(dumu) mārti(dumu.munus) šul^mutu-ḫē-en-gāl šār uruk[?]), 'Šulgi, son of the daughter of Utu-ḫengal, king of Uruk', see C. Wilcke, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 143). This is exactly the relationship that Aelian records as connecting Gilgameš and Enmerkar and may be an expression of a literary motif rather than an historical truth.

⁸¹ An extensive discussion of the significance of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi's claims of kinship with Ninsun, Lugalbanda and Gilgameš, as well as with Utu, is C. Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg*, pp. 561–6. He also points out that Pirigme and Gudea of Lagaš claimed Ninsun for a mother, too; but his restoration of Cyl. B xxiii 13 as proclaiming Gudea's brotherhood with Gilgameš (p. 566) does not look compatible with the way the remaining signs and traces of that line are distributed in the case.

⁸² Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 286, 62–3: ^dbil₄.ga.mes dumu ^dnin.sún.na.ke., who either appoints Dumuzi-Amāušumgalanna as Utu-ḫengal's constable (maškim) or is appointed by him. Frayne takes the former view, Römer the latter (W. H. Ph.

The principal witness to the traditions about Gilgameš that were current in the time of Šulgi is his hymn O.⁸³ This is still in a fragmentary state, but enough survives to show that the text begins with a hymnic prologue extolling the city of Ur and continues with a visit by King Šulgi to a sanctuary of the divine Gilgameš. There follows the long dialogue in which they engaged. The speeches of Gilgameš, in particular, are almost entirely missing. The three of which anything certain remains all end with an identical affirmation of Šulgi's pre-eminence in the land, lugal ke.en.gi.ra gir mu.un.gub.me.èn, 'you are the king who "sets the foot" on Sumer'.⁸⁴ This endorsement of Šulgi's rule by the greatest king of legend is surely the point of the composition. Šulgi addresses Gilgameš at least four times. Each time his words are prefaced by the same four lines of narrative:

šul.gi sipa.(zi) ke.en.gi.ra.ke,
 šeš.ku.li.ni en bil.ga.mes
 nam.kala.ga.na.mu.ni.in.i.i
 nam.ur.sag.gá.na.mu.ni.in.pà.pà.(dè)
 Šulgi O 49–52 // 85–8 // 138–41 // CBS 10900 b 5–8

Šulgi, the steadfast shepherd of Sumer,
 praised in his might
 his brother-friend, the lord Bilgames,
 invoking him in his warriorhood.

The first speech extols Gilgameš's supremacy in war, his victory over Enmebaragesi and the consequent transfer of kingship from Kiš to Uruk:

kala.ga.mè.a.úru.gul.gul
 šen.šen.na.sag.giš.ra.ra.bi
 zé.na.bád.kù.ga! á.sig.ge.kin.gá
 é.[k]išk^{ki}.šè⁸⁵rukul.zu.ba.ta.a.è
 ur.[s]ag.imin.bi.šeš,!? (copy: LÚ × BAD).a.mi.ni.dab_s
 [lugal.ki]šk^{ki}en.me.bára.ge₄.e.si
 [muš.gin₇? sa]g.gá.na.gir.mu.na.ni.ús
 nam.lugal.kiš^{ki}.ta.unug^{ki}(var.šeš.UNUG^{ki}).šè{x}ám.mi.túm
 kul.aba₄^{ki}uru¹[⁴s]uen.ù.tu.da.pa.im.ma.ni.è
 Šulgi O 53–61, after Klein, *Kramer AV*, p. 278⁸⁵

Mighty in battle, destroyer of cities,⁸⁶
 in combat most murderous,

Römer, 'Zur Siegesinschrift des Königs Uruhegal von Unug (±2116–2110 v. Chr.)', *Or NS* 54 (1985), p. 283; id., 'Die Tontafeln Uruhegals von Unug', *TUAT* 1/4, p. 317.

⁸³ See the edition by J. Klein, 'Šulgi and Gilgameš: two brother peers (Šulgi O)', *Kramer AV*, pp. 271–92. Additional fragments are UM 29-13-990 (unpublished, ll. 3–13) and *ISCT* II 1 Ni 4535 (ll. 27–34); see Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne*, p. 58.

⁸⁴ Šulgi O 84 // 137 // CBS 10900 b 4.

⁸⁵ On this passage see in addition the treatments of D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 53 (1959), pp. 19–23, and C. Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg*, pp. 561–2.

⁸⁶ Or, with *PSDA* 2, p. 98, 'a devastating flood'.

siege-engine of the holy wall,⁸⁷ one skilled with the slingstone,
 you despatched your weapons against the house of Kiš!
 You took captive(!) there its seven heroes.
 Enmebaragesi, [king of] Kiš,
 you crushed his head underfoot [*like a snake's*.]
 You brought kingship from Kiš to Uruk (var. Ur),
 you made resplendent Kullab, the city of Sin's birth.

The variant Ur, if not a modern misreading of Kullab,⁸⁸ implies that Šulgi considered the royal houses of Uruk and Ur to be one and the same and thus that Gilgameš's establishment of a ruling dynasty in Uruk was a precedent for Ur-Nammu's founding of the Ur III dynasty at Ur. Šulgi's second address to his divine patron is much damaged. It apparently recalls Gilgameš's capture of Hūwawa, his subsequent presentation of his victim to Enlil, and his triumph over foreign lands. He then asks for his protection:

a.ba.za.gin₇kaskal.ku[r. . .]ħar.ra.an.x[. . .]⁸⁹
 kala.ga.erin.k[ur.ra. . .]
 tir.¹maħ¹[.]
⁸⁵má.x[.]
 ħu.wa.w[a.]
 ní.imin.[na.ni.]
 KA.tur.tur.x.x.x.x[. . .]
 ki.tuš.ki.gar.ra.ni.ta.i[m.]
⁴en.lil.ra.ēš.c.nib[ru^{ki}.a. . .]ZÉ.mu.na.ni.[x(x)x]
 ur.sag.dab.ba.zu.ù.x.x.x.x
 ama.lú.tu.ra.dumu.úr.ra.mu.na.ni.túm
 ú.dug₄.ka.ba.ba.zu.kur.kur.ra.ma.ra.an.ti
⁴bil.ga.mes.nir.gál.u[n]ug^{ki}.ga
 u₄.nam.tág.ga.nam.gú.bi.e?_x
 ki.bala.ħul.gig.ga.sag.x.gin₇.x.x
 nam.maħ.gal.gal.zu.pa.bí.è.á.bad.ħa.mu.[è.DU?]
 Šulgi O 91–106 (coll.), ed. Klein, *Kramer AV*, p. 280

Who, like you, [has taken] the road to the [*Living One's*] land
 (or mountain), the journey to [*Ziusudra* . . .]
 [has cut down] the mighty cedar in the mountains,
 [.] the lofty forest,
 [and has transported the timber . . .] by boat?
 Hūwawa [you]
 [his] seven terrors [you]
 the little [.]
 from his well-founded abode [you brought him down,]
 to Enlil in his house [at] Nippur [. . .] you . . . [. . .]

⁸⁷ Compare Šulgi C 52: zé.na.bád.da.gin₇, 'like a siege-engine at a wall'.

⁸⁸ i.e. kull.aba₄; see Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg*, p. 562. The tablet, in Istanbul, needs collation.

⁸⁹ Restore perhaps ku[r.lú.ti.la]ħar.ra.an.z[fi.(u₄).sùd.rá. . .] and cf. the incipit of Bilgames and Hūwawa A.

The warrior that you captured ,
 the mother of a sick (baby) put the child on his (*sc.* your?)
 lap.⁹⁰
 Your roaring sheriff afflicted the foreign lands for you,
 O Bilgames, on whom Uruk relied,⁹¹
 storm of retribution whose oppression . . .
 . . . the evil rebel land like the head of a . . .
 Your great and glorious deeds were resplendent, may you
 [extend over me] an outstretched arm!

The king's third speech survives only in its opening line, which reads ⁴īstaran di.ku₃ kalam.ma tī.la (Šulgi O 142), perhaps 'Istarān, judge who gives life in the land'. How this relates to Gilgameš remains uncertain. Istarān and Gilgameš have two attributes in common. Both are divine judges, Istarān among men and Gilgameš in the Netherworld, and both have an association with Anu, for Istarān is 'great Anu' and Gilgameš hails from Anu's terrestrial abode.⁹² In addition, Gilgameš seems to have enjoyed some special significance in Dēr, the city where Istarān was worshipped. A Late Babylonian tablet from Uruk, copied out from an older tablet from Dēr, lists a ⁸¹⁵kīrē(kiri₆) ^{md}GIŠ-gim-maš, 'garden of Gilgameš', as one of eighteen 'gardens' (perhaps date-groves) at Dēr.⁹³

A fourth speech of Šulgi occurs on a Middle Babylonian manuscript of Šulgi O, but is too fragmentary to add anything to the present discussion.⁹⁴

Šulgi's hymnists, then, held Gilgameš responsible for ending the hegemony of Kiš and knew the story of his expedition against Ħuwawa, perhaps also the tale of his journey to Ziusudra. They also credit him with defeat of the 'rebel lands'. In this they anticipate more explicit statements of his dominion over all the kings of the world, a tradition amply recorded in the copious Babylonian literature concerned with divination.

Omens mentioning Gilgameš

In the omen tradition an observed arrangement of the entrails can sometimes be identified as *amūt* PN, 'omen (*lit.* liver) of So-and-so', where the person is a famous king of old. Gilgameš occurs as one of these ancient rulers. A single example of a Gilgameš omen is known from the Old Babylonian period:

[Maš l]i-bu e-pi-ik a-mu-ut ^dge-el-ga / [ša ma-h]i-ra-am la i-šu-ú

YOS X 42 i 2-3

[If the] heart is massive, it is an omen of Gilgameš, [who] had no equal.

⁹⁰ This line also occurs in l. 89 of the Sumerian hymn to Ninegal (ed. Behrens, *Ninegalla*, p. 32), where it evidently refers to a custom of bringing the goddess sick children in the hope of healing (see *ibid.*, p. 119). In the present context the line is a symbolic metaphor alluding to Gilgameš's merciful treatment of the captured Ħuwawa, whom he may have spared in one version of the tale (see above, Ch. 1, fn. 32).

⁹¹ Or, 'prince of Uruk'.

⁹² On Istarān see W. G. Lambert, *RLA* V, p. 211.

⁹³ Von Weither, *Uruk* IV 185 rev. 7', alongside a 'garden' of Gantaš, the traditional founder of the Kassite dynasty.

⁹⁴ CBS 10900 b 9-13, ed. Klein, *Kramer AV*, p. 284. Collations: the word di.ku₃ in l. 10 is doubtful; the gloss in the same line is x [x] x šu šá.

Occasionally connections can be observed between the protases of omens and their apodoses. In this case the massive body part symbolizes the gigantic Gilgameš. The description of Gilgameš as *sans pareil* is standard in omen literature, occurring repeatedly in later texts.

Three fragments are extant on which are collected liver omens that pertained to Gilgameš. The older piece is Middle Assyrian and comes from Aššur (A); the second, previously unpublished, is a Neo-Assyrian piece from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh (B); and the third is a Neo-Babylonian fragment from either the same provenance or from Babylonia (c). The discovery of MS B makes it more likely that a single text is at issue, and the fragments can be edited together as follows.

A	VAT 9488	KAR 434 rev.(!) 4'-13' (coll.), apodoses ed. Lambert in Garelli, <i>Gilg.</i> , pp. 44-5
B	Rm 535	Copy: Pl. 35 ⁹⁵
c	Rm 907	Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 49 (coll.), apodoses ed. Lambert, loc. cit.
1	A 4'	šīrū(uzu) ^{mes} ša i-na tuṭ-pi la-a šaṭ-ru-ma ina pi-i um-m[a-ni . . .]
2	A 5'	[BE ina] amūti(bà) manzāzu(ki.gub) 9 amūt(bà) ^{md} bil ₄ .ga.m[es ša māhira lā išū (. . .)]
	c 1'	[. . .] [šēru(edin)] x[. . .] (may belong to l. 3)
3	A 6'-7'	[(BE ina] amūti(bà) manzāzu(ki.gub) rēš(sag)-su ù qablā?(murub ₄) ^{mes} -šū pa-ās-ta-ma išid(suḥuš)-su ki-[ma . . . KIMIN . . . 7' ša k]i-ma zi-sud-ra balāṭa(tī.la) iš-te-ú-ma ḥarrān(kaskal) zi-sud-r[a . . .]
	c 2'-3'	[. . . balāṭa iš-te]-[u ¹ -ma ḥarrān(kaskal) z[i-sud-ra . . . 3' . . .] ana māti(kur)-šū [. . .]
4	A 8'	[BE rēš(sag)?] šulmi(silim) ultu(ta) qutun(sig) marti(zé) išdud(gid) ^{md} -ma išid(suḥuš)-su ana ⁸¹⁵ kakki(tukul) itūr(gur)-ma šapliš(ki.ta) i[ttul(igi) . . .]
	c 4'-5'	[. . .] i[ttul(igi) amūt(bà) ^{md} ^d GIŠ-gi[m-maš . . . 5' . . .] ^d ḥu[m-ba-ba [. . .]
5	A 9'	[BE x ana r]ēš(sag) marti(zé) is-ḥur KIMIN šarri(20) danmi(kal.ga) šá ⁸¹⁵ qišti(tir) [⁸¹⁵ erēni . . .]
	c 6'	[. . . (⁸¹⁵ er)ēna(eren) ikkišu(ku ₃) ^{md} -ma x[. . .]
6	A 10'	[BE 2-ta marā]tu(zé) ^{mes} maṣraḥ(sur)-ši-na ištēn(1)-ma mē(a) ^{mes} -ši-(na) uštaddinā(sum.sum) ^{md} KIMIN šarri(20) [danmi(kal.ga) . . .] ⁹⁶
	B 1'-2'	[. . . s]um ^{mes} amūt(bà) ^{md} [. . . 2' . . . ⁸¹⁵ qišti(i)(tir) ⁸¹⁵ erē[ni(eren) . . .]
	c 7'-8'	[. . . amūt ^d GI]š-gim-maš šarri(lugal) dan-[ni . . . 8' . . . ⁸¹⁵ qišti(i)(tir) erēni(eren) [. . .]
7	A 11'	[BE 2-ta marrātu(zé)] ^{mes} kayyāntu(sag.uš) irrik(gid.da)-ma mū(a) ^{mes} -ši-na i-ḥi-qa K[IMIN . . .]

⁹⁵ Rm 535 was identified as an omen tablet mentioning Gilgameš by the late Ulla Jeyes and subsequently drawn to my attention by Cornelia Wunsch.

⁹⁶ Similar protases occur, with differing apodoses, in YOS X 11 v 10; *KUB* IV 73, 1; and *KAR* 423 iii 23.

- B 3'–4' [. . .] *-qa amūt(bā)*^{ut} ^dGĪŠ-*gim-*[*maš ša . . .*^{4'} . . . *māta* (or *kibrāt erbetti*)] *i-be-*[*lu* (. . .)]
- c 9' [. . . *amūt*^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *da[n-ni . . .]*
-
- 8 A 12'–13' [BE 2-*la marrātu*(zē)^{mes} *k*] *ayyāntu*(sag.uš) *eli*(ugu) *-ši-na rakbat*(uš)^{ut} *ū mē(a)*^{mes} *-[ši-na . . .*^{13'} . . .] *-i šarrāni*(lugal)^{mes-ni} *a-ši-bu-ut parakkī*(bāra)^{mes} *qāt*(t(šu) . . .)]
- B 5'–6' [. . .] *mē(a)*^{mes} *-ši-na uštaddinā*(sum)^{mes} [.] *para*kkī(bāra)^{mes} *qāt*(šu) *-su ikšūdu*(kur)^{du} [. . .]
- c 10'–11' [. . . *uštaddi*nā(sum)^{mes} *amūt*(bā)^{ut} [^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš . . .*^{11'} . . .] *-ū ina āl*[*i*(uru)? . . .]
-
- 9 AB The continuations of A (ll. 14'–20') and B (ll. 7'–10') contain no surviving traces of apodoses mentioning Gilgameš. Perhaps the manuscripts diverge from this point.
- c 12'–14' [. . . *amūt*^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šar*-*ru dan-nu* [. . .^{13'} . . .] *-a-a-an* [. . .^{14'} . . .] x x[. . .]

- Extispicial portents that were not written on a tablet but [copied down] from the oral exposition of a master-scholar:
- [If in] the liver there are nine 'stations', it is an omen of Gilgameš, [who had no equal . . .] wilderness [. . .]
- [(If in] the liver the top and the middle parts of the 'station' are 'effaced' and its base is like [. . .], it is an omen of Gilgameš, who] sought life like Zisudra and [made] the journey to Zisudra [. . .] to his land [. . .]
- [If the *top*] of the 'well-being'-mark extends from the neck of the gall-bladder and its base turns back to the 'weapon'-mark and faces downwards, it is an omen of Gilgameš, [who . . .] Humbaba [. . .]
- [If the . . .] goes round [to the] top of the gall-bladder, it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king who cut down the forest of cedar and [. . .]
- [If there are two gall]-bladders with a single cystic duct and so they mingle their fluid, it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king [who . . . the] forest of cedar [. . .]
- [If there are two gall-bladders and] the normal one has grown long so their fluids mix together, it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king [who . . . and] ruled [the land (or world) (. . .)]
- [If there are two gall-bladders and the] normal one is riding on top of them and they mingle their fluid, it is an omen of [Gilgameš, the mighty king who . . .] conquered (all) the kings who sat on thrones [. . .] . . . in the *city* [. . .]
- [If . . . , it is an omen of Gilgameš, the] mighty king [. . .] . . . [. . .]

Two identical apodoses of Gilgameš appear on an unpublished fragment cited by CAD A/2, p. 97:

[. . .] *a*mūt(GĒME) ^dbil₄.sag.mes *šā kibrāt erbetti*(ub.da.limmu.ba) *ibē*[*lu*(e[n]?)^{du}?]

K 8639, 4 and 10, coll.

[(protasis lost): it] is an omen of Gilgameš, who ruled the four quarters of the world.

Isolated Gilgameš omens occur on several other fragments from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh. Some are well preserved. Among these are variants of KAR 434 rev. 5' that occur together as alternatives in *Manzāzu* commentary no. 2:

BE *manzāzu*(na) 9 (var. 6) *amūt*(bā)^{ut} ^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *dan-nu šā māhira* (gaba.ri) *lā tšū*(tuk)^u *šarru*(lugal) *dannu*(kal.ga) *ina māti*(kur) *ibašši*(gál)^[u]

BE *šamū*(man)^u *ina amūti*(bā) *manzāzu*(na) 9 (var. 5) *amūt*(bā)^{ut} ^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *dan-nu šā māhira*(gaba.ri) *lā tšū*(tuk)^u

K 7149, 12'–14' and dupls., ed. Koch-Westenholz, *Liver Omens*, p. 162, 73–4, var. from 83-1-18, 452+

If there are nine (var. six) 'stations', it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king who had no equal: there will be a mighty king in the land.

If, alternative (ly), in the liver there are nine (var. five) 'stations', it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king who had no equal.

Another complete omen is the following, from *Pān tākalti* commentary no. 4:

BE *šulmu*(silim) *kīma*(gim) *ru-bu-uš bu-ri amūt*(bā)^{ut} ^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *dan-ni šā māhira*(gaba.ri) *lā tšū*(tuk)^u

K 4063, ed. Koch-Westenholz, *Liver Omens*, p. 414, 29⁹⁷

If the *šulmu* is like bullock's dung it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king who had no equal.

The same apodosis, with or without additional phrases, occurs in other more fragmentary omen tablets from Aššurbanipal's libraries:⁹⁸

BE *martu*(zē) *kīma*(gim) *lī-piš-ti x x*[(. . .) *amūt*^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri* *danni*] | *šā māhira* (gaba.ri) *lā tšū*(tuk)^u *kīma*(gim) e x[. . .]

CT 30 12, Rm 480 obv. 14'–15' // 41, K 3946+ obv. 9'–10'

[. . . *amūt*^dGĪŠ-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *dan-nu šā māhira*(gaba.ri) *lā tšū*(tuk)^u *šā iqbū*(dug₄)^u IGI x[. . .]

K 6058, catch-line (copy Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 759)

⁹⁷ I. Starr observes that 'protasis and apodosis are related here by means of an association of ideas', the bullock calling Gilgameš to mind through the bovine imagery used of him in literature (*JCS* 29 (1977), pp. 157–8). In the epic the hero is often *rīmu* but *bīru* only in MB Boğe, a circumstance that undermines Starr's idea. A detailed study of protases and apodoses in the extant omen literature would show whether such a tenuous connection was really intended by the ancients, as opposed to being invented by modern minds.

⁹⁸ See Lambert in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, p. 45.

[BE . . . *amū*^u ^dG1Š-*gim-maš šar*] *ri*(lugal) *dan-ni* / [*ša māhira*(gaba.ri) *lā išū*(tuk)]-*ū*
 CT 28 48, K 182+ rev. 13–14; cf. Koch-Westenholz, *Liver Omens*, p. 423,
Pān tākalti commentary no. 6

A fourth well-preserved apodosis deviates from this standard formula:

[. . .]x *amūt*(bā)^u ^dG1Š-*gim-maš šarri*(lugal) *dan-nu šā šadi*(kur)^{mes} *rabūti*(gal)^{mes} *ū-nak-ki-pu*
 K 8291, 20'–1', copy Starr, *JCS* 29, p. 165; cf. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 914

[(protasis lost)]: it is an omen of Gilgameš, the mighty king who 'gored' the great mountains.

Another, different again, appears in the standard series of birth omens:

BE *sinništu*(munus) *ūlid*(ū.tu)-*ma qaqqad*(sag.đu) *šēri*(muš) *šakin*(gar) *amūt*(bā)^u
^d*nin-giš-zi-da šā māta*(kur) *ikkalu*(gu-) / *amūt*(bā)^u ^dG1Š-*gim-maš šā māta*(kur)
ibēlu(en) *šar kiššati*(šú) *ina māti*(kur) *ibašši*(gál)^š
Šumma izbu II 6

If a woman gives birth and it has a snake's head: it is an omen of Ningišzida, who devours the land; it is an omen of Gilgameš, who ruled the land. There will be a 'king of the world' in the land.

This omen also exists in a damaged Hittite version from the mid- to late second millennium.⁹⁹ In the post-Old Babylonian liver-omen tablets it does not seem possible to postulate a connection between any of the protases and the figure of Gilgameš, with the one debatable exception noted in fn. 97. The birth omen, however, exhibits an obvious association of ideas. The snake is a symbol of Ningišzida, the 'chamberlain' (*guzalū*) of the Netherworld, which sooner or later consumes every living being; Gilgameš is Ningišzida's colleague there; and Gilgameš, a great king whose rule stretched far and wide, appropriately augurs the rise of a new king of universal dominion.

In all these omens Gilgameš appears in the apodosis. There is, however, one omen in which he occurs in the protasis. The context, in Tablet X of *Šumma ālu*, is the repair of cult-objects and shrines and the performance of other pious acts:

D1Š ^dG1Š-*gim-maš ū-dī-iš ki-šir libbi*(ša) *ili*(dingir)-*šū ip*[*paṭtar*(du₈)-*šū?*]
 CT 40 11, 73, ed. Nötscher, *Or* 39–42 (1929), p. 30¹⁰⁰

If one renovates a Gilgameš, the wrath of one's god will [be dispelled.]

The omen evidently refers to the repair or replacement of some figurine or statue of Gilgameš, such as those that are attested in rituals (see below, the sub-section on Gilgameš in exorcistic rituals).

⁹⁹ *KBo XIII 34* iii 11'–15', ed. K. K. Riemschneider, *Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung* (StBoT 9; Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 26. The hero's name is there written [^dG1Š-PAN-*maš* (iii 13')].

¹⁰⁰ New edition by S. M. Freedman, *If a City is Set on a Height* 1 (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 168.

Omen apodoses that refer to the exploits of ancient kings such as Narām-Sin and Amar-Suen are conventionally called 'historical omens'. The present consensus is that information found in them has little or no historical value.¹⁰¹ Much of it should be treated as literature rather than historiography. This is certainly true of the apodoses that mention Gilgameš, for most of them pass on clichés also present in the Babylonian epic texts. They depict him as a mighty king without equal,¹⁰² lord of all the princes of the earth,¹⁰³ who journeyed to the Cedar Forest, vanquished Humbaba and felled his cedar,¹⁰⁴ and, roaming the wilderness,¹⁰⁵ sought out the Flood hero in a quest for immortal life,¹⁰⁶ before returning home to Uruk.¹⁰⁷ This is much the same information as that provided by the Death of Bilgames and, in particular, the Poem of Early Rulers and it is most significant that, like those Sumerian compositions, the omens know the Flood hero by the name of Zisudra and not by the names given him in the epic. This is an indication that the omen apodoses allude not to the Old Babylonian epic texts but to the more traditional Sumerian literature of the early second millennium.

One apodosis certainly deviates from these clichés and another may. The tradition in which Gilgameš 'gored the great mountains' does not find explicit expression in the epic poems, and sounds like a hymnic expression of the hero's dominion over the foreign lands.¹⁰⁸ The broken word]-*a-a-an* in Rm 907, 13', might be restored as [*da*]-*a-a-an*, 'judge',¹⁰⁹ perhaps with reference to Gilgameš's position post mortem as ruler of the dead (on which see below). This is by no means certain, however, for it would be the only reference in the omen literature to the chthonic Gilgameš. The signs in question might equally well be part of a protasis, in which case the common term *ka*]-*a-a-an*, 'normal', is as feasible a restoration.

The Letter of Gilgameš

Gilgameš's dominion over the world finds another late expression in the Babylonian text known as the Letter of Gilgameš. This fictional composition was formerly known only from three duplicating tablets found at Sultantepe.¹¹⁰ Now that these are joined by a Late

¹⁰¹ See e.g. J. S. Cooper, 'Apodotic death and the historicity of "historical" omens', *CRR* 26, pp. 99–105; E. Reiner, 'New light on some historical omens', in K. Bitrel et al. (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to H. G. Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 257–61.

¹⁰² Succinctly expressed in the epic at SB I 45–6.

¹⁰³ *KAR* 434 rev. 13' // Rm 535, 6'; K 8639, 4 and 10; the OB incipit *šūtur eli šarri* = SB I 29 implies exactly this, and possibly the broken line SB I 5 reported the same tradition.

¹⁰⁴ *KAR* 434 rev. 9' // Rm 535, 2' // Rm 907, 5'–6', 8'.

¹⁰⁵ Rm 907, 1'?

¹⁰⁶ *KAR* 434 rev. 7'; Rm 907, 2'.

¹⁰⁷ Rm 907, 3', perhaps also 11'.

¹⁰⁸ Starr, *JCS* 29, p. 157, refers to imagery in the Babylonian epic describing the hero as a goring bull and to passages outside the epic in which military action against a foreign land is described as 'goring', but in the extant texts the two metaphors are not combined with reference to Gilgameš.

¹⁰⁹ So Lambert in Garelli, *Gilg.*, pp. 44–5.

¹¹⁰ *STT* 40–2, ed. O. R. Gurney, 'The Sultantepe tablets VI: a letter of Gilgamesh', *AnSt* 7 (1957), pp. 127–35; see also F. R. Kraus, 'Der Brief des Gilgamesh', *AnSt* 30 (1980), pp. 109–21; B. R. Foster, 'A postscript to the Gilgamesh letter', *AnSt* 32 (1982), pp. 43–4; id., *Before the Muses*, pp. 805–7.

Babylonian exemplar, probably from Sippar,¹¹¹ the Letter of Gilgameš must no longer be considered an Assyrian oddity but part of the traditional scribal literature of Babylonia. Indeed, it belongs to a growing corpus of bogus royal missives.¹¹² These letters were popular in first-millennium intellectual circles, for copies of at least three of them were kept in the priestly library found in the temple of Šamaš at Sippar in 1986. If any of them had an origin and purpose outside the pedagogical environment, it was perhaps to legitimize received ideology. The composers of the letters of the king of Isin and of Samsuiluna both sought to establish a prerogative or right by faking a document proving the existence of an ancient precedent: the former shows dutiful patronage of Marduk's temple at Babylon to be a condition of successful kingship, the latter speaks of submission to royal power as the proper conduct of the priestly classes.¹¹³

The Letter of Gilgameš is concerned with foreign relations. As its sender, King Gilgameš makes enormous demands of tribute from his correspondent, a foreign king otherwise unknown, ostensibly to provide precious materials for 'my friend Enkidu' and perhaps for other purposes. The demands are made under threat of devastating military action. The letter certainly promotes the ideology that the kings of Babylonia were owed by right the submission and tribute of foreign lands, but one cannot imagine that it was ever used as an instrument of diplomacy. The letter of Kurigalzu, which also includes a long list of booty, may have had a similar purpose.

The traditions relating to Gilgameš that are preserved in the Letter of Gilgameš are partly represented in the epic and partly not. The hero is described as 'favourite of Šamaš', a position implicitly his in the epic, but at the same time 'beloved of Marduk'. His god is Lugalbanda, as in the epic, but only in the company of Sîn, Šamaš, Palil or Nergal, Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, Zababa and 'the god my lord'. The occasion for the correspondence purports to be a lack of response to Gilgameš's earlier request for precious materials—obsidian, lapis lazuli and gold—also demanded in connection with his 'friend Enkidu'.¹¹⁴ These materials were probably needed for the fashioning and decoration of the lavish funerary statue reported in Tablet VIII of the Standard Babylonian epic. The new demand is for, among other things, a huge quantity of gold for fixing on Enkidu's chest—a detail which fits exactly with Gilgameš's stated intention in the epic that the statue's 'chest shall be of gold'¹¹⁵—and thousands of semi-precious stones with which to make *takšīrus*, necklaces strung with beads (presumably also to adorn the statue).¹¹⁶ The subscript of the letter

¹¹¹ Ni 2869, identified by M. J. Geller, who kindly made available to me his unpublished hand copy. The fragment is suspected of being a stray from Scheil's Sippar tablets (Si).

¹¹² On this corpus see Westenholz, *Legends*, pp. 141–2. To the other examples known to her, namely two letters of Sargon, the letter of a king of Isin previously known as the Weidner Chronicle and a letter of Samsuiluna, add a letter of Kurigalzu (Wiseman, *BSOAS* 30 (1967), pp. 495–504 // Dalley, *Edinburgh 77* // unpublished tablet from the Sippar library now in the Iraq Museum).

¹¹³ See further F. N. H. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, 'Tablets from the Sippar library III: two royal counterfeits', *Iraq* 56 (1994), pp. 135–7.

¹¹⁴ *STT* 40 // 41 // 42, 10: [ana i-ra]t⁴en-ki-dù-ib-ri-ia ša ra-ka-si, 'things to bind on [to the] chest of my friend Enkidu'.

¹¹⁵ SB Tablet VIII 71: *iratka ša ħurāši*. For this passage of the letter and the golden chest of the deceased see below, Ch. 13, the commentary *ad loc*.

¹¹⁶ Kraus interprets *takšīru* as 'Gebinde', following his article on this word in *Rd* 64 (1970), pp. 59–60. There, because in medical contexts the object so designated often occurs as a prophylactic, he maintains that Gilgameš required the

repeats the common epithet of the omen apodoses: *ši-pir-ti*⁴G1[š-gim-maš] šarri(lugal) *dan-nu* š[al m]āhira(gaba.ri) *la i-šu-ú*, 'message of Gilgameš, the mighty king who had no equal'.¹¹⁷

A full expression of the tradition of Gilgameš's dominion over the entire world comes in the introduction to the letter:

*um-ma*⁴G1[š-gim-maš šā]r úrim^{ki} mār(dumu) *kul*-[a]ba^{ki}-*ma*
*bi-nu-ut*⁴a-nu¹ [⁴en-lil] *u*⁴é-a mi-gir⁴šā-maš na-[r]am⁴marduk(amar.utu)
 šā ki-ma qé-e [x x x x x] *l-tu išid šamē*(an.úr) *a-di elāt šamē*(an.pa) *mātātī*(kur.kur)
naphar(nigin)-*ši-na i-be-lu*
 ú šarri(lugal)^{mes} [a-ši-bu-ut] *parakkī*(bára)^{mes} *ú-na-ás-šā-qu šēpi*(gir)^{min.mes}-*šú*
 šarri(lugal) *šā ul-ti*[ú ši-it⁴šamši a-d]i e-reb⁴šamši(utu)⁸ *mātātī*(kur.kur)
naphar(nigin)-*ši-na kūma*(gim) *qé-e u*[š]-*ta-ti-en-kām-ma*

STT 40 // 42, 2–6

Thus (says) Gilgameš, king of Ur, son of Kullab, creature of Anu, [Enlil] and Ea, favourite of Šamaš, beloved of Marduk, who like a *cord* [. . .], who rules all lands from horizon to zenith, and whose feet (all) kings [that sit on] thrones do kiss, the king who from [east] to west has made all lands . . . like a *cord*.

The most remarkable feature of the letter is encountered in the very first line of this passage: Gilgameš was considered by the composer of the letter to have been a king of Ur, though one who hailed from Kullab in Uruk. This is no mistake, for Ur occurs repeatedly in the text as the city of Gilgameš. This association with Ur as well as Uruk must be a distant legacy of the efforts of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi of Ur to identify themselves in their considerable literary output as brothers of the great hero.

The tradition of Gilgameš's worldwide dominion observed in the omen apodoses and other texts of the second and first millennia is a reflection of several historical truths. The cultural hegemony of Uruk at the end of the fourth millennium, the political and military success of the same city under King Bilgames in the early third millennium and the unprecedented foreign conquests of the kings of Akkade about four hundred years later—all these achievements are united in the figure of Gilgameš of Uruk, 'the mighty king who had no equal'.

GILGAMEŠ THE GOD

The deified Gilgameš is first found in the Early Dynastic god list from Šuruppak (Fara), ⁴pa.GIš.bil.ga.mes.¹¹⁸ The accommodation of the hero as a minor figure in the pantheon of Sumer and Babylonia is given formal expression in other god lists, too. His presence in the

gemstones 'für den kranken Enkidu' not for a statue. However, comparison of this passage with SB Tablet VIII 67 ff. makes it certain that the decoration of a statue is indeed the issue.

¹¹⁷ *STT* 40 // 42, 45, coll. Gurney, *AnSt* 8 (1958), p. 245. For *šipirti* *STT* 40 may read [ama]t(ka), 'word'.

¹¹⁸ Deimel, *Fara* II 1 rev. iii 25, ed. Krebernik, *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 182, 7'.

example from Abu Salabikh has been suspected, but the entry is severely damaged and the decipherment remains uncertain.¹¹⁹ In the Old Babylonian period the deified Gilgameš appears in single-column god lists from Nippur and Isin, respectively ^dbil.ga.(mi).iš, var. [^d]bil₄.ga.m[es]¹²⁰ and ^dbi[₄.ga.mes].¹²¹ The early Old Babylonian version of the Weidner list breaks off at the point where comparison with the later versions leads us to expect Gilgameš's entry.¹²² He is entirely absent from the Louvre list (*TCL* XV 10). However, he is given full treatment in An = *Anum*, the Middle Babylonian list that ultimately developed from the Louvre list, where he follows [^dla-ša]-na-an = ŠU. A Middle Assyrian copy holds three entries for Gilgameš:

[^d GIŠ-g]im-maš	=	^d bil.ga.mes
[^d GIŠ-ka]l-TUK	=	MIN
[^d bil.g]a.mes	=	MIN

An = *Anum* VI 284–6, cf. Litke, *God Lists*, p. 220

A Neo-Assyrian excerpt tablet of the same list has four entries:

[^d]a-ša-na-a[n : ŠU]	[^d GIŠ-gim-maš : ŠU]
[^d (x)]x.TUK : [MIN]	[^d GIŠ-ka]l-TUK : MIN]
^d bi ₄ ([^d GIŠ ¹ .BIL).ga.me[s]	[MIN]

CT 25 28, K 7659, 2'–4' (coll.)¹²³

Another traditional list, recording the names of boats of the gods, is clearly related:

^{si} má.giš.kal.tuk	=	<i>e-lep</i> ^d bil.ga.mes (var. ^d GIŠ-gim-maš)
^{si} má.giš.tuk	=	MIN MIN
<i>Hh</i> IV 341–2, MSS AF ¹²⁴		
^{si} má ^d giš.x[(y)] (x ≠ k[all])	=	[<i>elep Gilgameš</i>]
^{si} má ^d giš.tu[k]	=	[MIN MIN]
^{si} má ^d giš.giš.tuk	=	[MIN MIN]

Hh IV 341–2a, MS K = *LTBA* I 10 (VAT 10219) rev. i' 5'–7' (coll.)

The different names of Gilgameš witnessed in these three passages are discussed above, in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁹ Biggs, *OIP* 99 no. 83 obv. ii 12': [^d]BIL.[PAP?G]IŠ?.[ga?mes?]. Cf. P. Mander, *Il pantheon di Abu-Salabikh* (Naples, 1986), p. 59, no. 164.

¹²⁰ *SLT* 125 rev. ii 6' // 124 viii 5.

¹²¹ Wilcke, *Isin* III, pp. 93 f., fig. 11: A vii 13 // B viii 17.

¹²² E. Weidner, 'Altbabylonische Götterlisten', *AJK* 2 (1924), p. 5, VAT 7759 rev. vi. We expect Gilgameš in l. 21, following Kabta, Ninsianna and Ninlilu in ll. 18–20, but as copied the traces read ^dnir¹[x (x) x]. In l. 22 only the divine determinative remains and, after that, nothing.

¹²³ In l. 3' a reading [^d]L.TUK is excluded by collation; the surviving wedges suggest si[G].MIN.TUK. Lambert's collation in l. 4' in Garelli (ed.), *Gilgameš*, p. 46, is confirmed; cf. Litke, *God Lists*, p. 220.

¹²⁴ A new duplicate is the school exercise tablet BM 66609 published by Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, p. 518. Only the right-hand sub-column survives (obv. 5–6): [. . .] *e-lep* ^dGIŠ-gim-maš, [. . .] MIN ^dMIN.

Gilgameš also occurs in versions of the Weidner god list from twelfth-century Ugarit and first-millennium Babylonia, where he falls between Ninlilu and Wēr.¹²⁵ An Old Babylonian fragment from Susa contains lines from a god list whose second column, of the three preserved, reads as follows:

1' [^d]ēr-r[a-x]	5' ^d sur di nu
2' ^d ēr-ra-ak	6' ^d hu-wa-w[a]
3' ^d a-pil-KU.DU	7' ^d we-x[(x)]
4' ^d bil ₄ .ga.mes	8' ^d x[(x) x]

P. E. van de Meer, *MDP* XXXVII 286 ii 1'–8'

The deity sandwiched between Gilgameš and Hūwawa is unknown to me. I wonder whether this is not, in fact, a miscopied ^den-ki-du₁₀. The section would then be dependent on the literary tradition of the epic texts. The god that follows Hūwawa might be ^dwe-e[*r*]. Wēr appears in the Old Babylonian Yale tablet of the epic in connection with Hūwawa (OB III 131–3) but also follows Gilgameš in the Weidner god list, so the grounds for his inclusion at this point in the list, if he is correctly restored, would be twofold.

In the hierarchical lists Gilgameš finds no fixed place in the ranks of the gods. In An = *Anum* Ereškigal and the chthonic deities occupy the latter part of Tablet V and Nergal opens Tablet VI. Gilgameš appears near the end of Tablet VI but he is separated from Nergal by various demons, who have solid connections with the Netherworld, and by Amurru and his spouse Ašratum, who are less obviously chthonic. There he is identified by none of the Netherworld functions attributed to him in literary texts (see the next two sections of this chapter). After Gilgameš come very minor deities of uncertain identity before the tablet closes with collective terms for dead and chthonic deities. Thus the list declines to give the deified hero a role in the courts of Ereškigal and Nergal, but recognizes his place generally among the gods of the Netherworld.

Other lists fail to express even this attachment. Gilgameš, it seems, was for some a minor figure. However, in the Ur III period, when Ur-Nammu and Šulgi professed a special devotion to him, he was acknowledged as an important member of the pantheon, for he is included in a short theological composition of that date, that specifies the different places or functions of ten deities in the cosmic scheme. Gilgameš is here in elevated company:

^d en.lil nibru ^{ki} âm.si	Enlil occupies Nippur,
ama ^d nin.lil é.kur.ré âm.si	Mother Ninlil occupies E-kur,
^d nanna. ^d EN:ZU an.né âm.si	Nanna-Suen occupies the sky,
^d inanna kur.kur.ré âm.si	Inanna occupies all lands,
^d en.ki a.eštub.ku ₆ un.nir.e âm.si	Enki occupies the carp-waters, (E)-unir (i.e., the Apsû),
^d nè.erigal ₆ (UNUG) kur.gal.e âm.s[i]	Nergal occupies the great Netherworld,
ur.sag ^d nin.urta šen.šen.e âm.si	Hero Ninurta occupies battles,

¹²⁵ J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V 119, 187: ^dbil.ga.mes; Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, p. 96, 201–2; *OECT* IV 114 ii' 2. The LB tablets have been collated: see Ch. 2, spellings nos. 4g, 25ab and 26a.

^d nuska sukka.l.zi bá.ra.kù.ge àm.si	the steadfast vizier Nuska occupies the pure throne-dais,
^d bil.ga.mes nam.en.e àm.si	Bilgames occupies the office of lord,
^d nin.šubur kalam.e àm.si	Ninšubur occupies the land.

Å.W. Sjöberg, *Or Suec* 23–4 (1974–5), p. 181; cf. pp. 167, 171–2

The significance of the verb *si*, ‘to fill’, in construction with the locative-terminative seems to be ‘to reside (on)’,¹²⁶ here with connotations of ‘presiding over’. The background for Gilgameš’s control of *nam.en*, ‘lordship’, is presumably his place in the literary tradition, already noted, as the *en* of Kullab *par excellence*. All the other deities listed in this composition are major figures of the Sumerian pantheon and the author clearly considered Gilgameš a significant power.

Mace-heads dedicated as votive objects to Gilgameš (usually written ^dbil.ga.mes) by private individuals in the middle and late third millennium confirm the evidence of the Fara list, that Gilgameš entered the ranks of the gods early, and show that he was soon the object of religious devotion.¹²⁷ An addition to their number is a fine example now in the Schøyen Collection and published here for the first time by permission of Mr Martin Schøyen. The inscription reads as follows:

^d bil.ga.mes.ra	To Bilgames
ur- ^d nu.muš.da	Ur-Numušda,
àga.ús	the officer,
a mu.na.ru	dedicated (this).

SC 4577, photograph in Fig. 2

The Sumerian personal name Ur-Bilgames, ‘creature of Bilgames’, also bears witness to the deified hero’s place in the affections of the common people. It is first recorded in the mid-third millennium and becomes relatively popular in the Ur III period.¹²⁸ Akkadian personal names that attest to the deified hero are the Old Babylonian ^{md}bil₄.ga.mes-*ga-mil*, ‘Gilgameš is merciful’, the name of the active party in a hire contract, perhaps from Larsa, dated in the reign of Samsuiluna, and Puzur-Gilgameš, ‘Protected by Gilgameš’, and Gilgameš-[. . .], known from documents of similar date from Susa.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Cf. the names Enmebaragesi and Lugalzaggesi, and see A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1950), p. 126, and Sjöberg, *Or Suec* 23–4, p. 176, who there translated ‘pervade’. For more recent interpretations see *PSD* B, p. 139, *bá.ra.ge—si*, ‘to enthrone on a dais’, citing I. 8, and *PSD* A/1, p. 66, translation of I. 5: ‘Enki has filled the . . . [=un.nir] with carp-filled waters’. Neither of these new translations works for the whole composition.

¹²⁷ Pre-Sargonic mace-heads: Braun-Holzinger, *Weihgaben*, p. 45–6, K 16 = H. de Genouillac, *RA* 10 (1913), p. 101, no. 2: ^dbil.ga.mes / lugal kalag éše.NE.¹ra?; K 17 = *YOS* I 3: ^dbil.ga.mes; K 18 (unpublished, forthcoming from B. André-Salvini); M. Krebernik, ‘Ein Keulenkopf mit Weihung an Gilgameš’, *AoF* 21 (1994), p. 8, 1–2, 6: ^dbil.ga.mes / lugal kalag NE.ra / . . . kalag.ga dumu ^dnin.sún.ka.ra, perhaps from Uruk. Ur III mace-head: Braun-Holzinger, *Weihgaben*, p. 63, K 94 = Steible, *FAOS* 9/II, p. 355, no. 1, 1: ^dbil.ga.mes.

¹²⁸ *BIN* VIII 175, 38 (Sargonic period?); for bearers of the name in Ur III documents see Limet, *Lanthroponymie*, p. 538.

¹²⁹ *Riftin* 35, 4; *MDP* XXII 41, 2; 62, 21. The Assyrian personal name Gilgameš is perhaps an abbreviation of one of these Akkadian names (see Ch. 2 sub spellings nos. 6 and 26b).

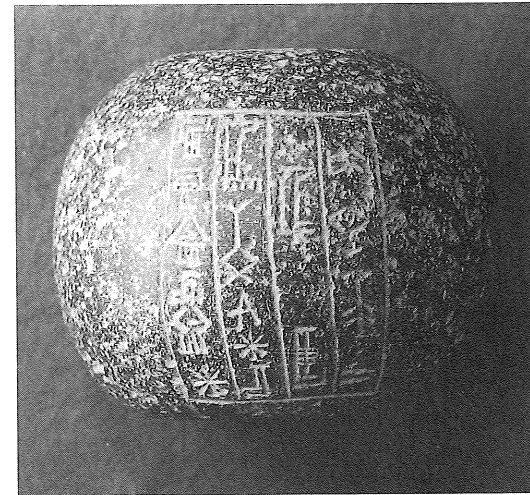


FIG. 2. Stone mace-head dedicated to the divine Gilgameš by Ur-Numušda. SC 4577; probably Ur III; width 5.3 cm, diameter 6.7 cm.

Sanctuaries and cult

A place *du*₆ ^dbil.ga.mes^{ki}, evidently located in central Sumer, occurs in an administrative document from Early Dynastic Adab.¹³⁰ It is not clear whether this place, literally the ‘mound of Bilgames’, takes its name from a sacred location dedicated to the deified hero (*du*₆ = ‘cult-platform, shrine’) or from an ancient ruin-mound associated by legend with the greatest king of antiquity (*du*₆ = ‘tell’).

¹³⁰ Yang, *Adab*, A 693, 6. The text concerns the administration of date groves. Other locations mentioned are Nippur (*nibru*^{ki}, I. 7) and nearby *é da.da*^{ki} (I. 4).

Documents from pre-Sargonic Lagaš record that Gilgameš received offerings during the ‘courtyard festival’ of the goddess Baba and the festival of the god Lugalurubar.¹³¹ These offerings were presented at a cultic location known as gr̄⁴bil.gi₁₁.mes.ka, ‘the river-bank of Bilgames’.¹³² This place was outside Girsu on the procession road to and from Bad-tibira and Uruk, probably on the waterway id.nun. The business of the Lugalurubar festival was the ritual commemoration of the shades of dead rulers of Lagaš, members of their families and other important figures.¹³³ The ceremony evidently took place in the presence of a representation of Gilgameš. Such rituals also took place at the river-bank of Gilgameš in the month of Baba’s festival¹³⁴ and it is therefore likely that the offering made to Gilgameš at this time was also part of the ceremonies attached to the ancestor cult. The nature of these festivals in honour of the departed suggests that Gilgameš’s function in them was as ruler of the shades of the dead, not as a local deity or deified ancestor.¹³⁵ Gilgameš’s dominion over the dead is documented below. It was by his leave that the deceased ancestors could participate in the offerings made to them. There was also a tradition that Gilgameš himself was responsible for instituting proper rites of commemoration, having learned from Enkidu’s ghost how tormented an existence was led in the Netherworld by those shades who lacked for water.¹³⁶ Other locations associated by name with Gilgameš in the Lagaš area, possibly also on the id.nun, were the é.bar⁴bil.gi₁₁.mes, ‘“outside house” of Bilgames’, and what was probably its gate, ká⁴bil.gi₁₁.mes, ‘gate of Bilgames’. A building or buildings attached to (Sum. dū.a, literally ‘built at’) both locations appear in documents recording the delivery and storage of fish, vegetables and cereal. Thus there appears to have been a whole complex of buildings associated with Gilgameš at this time; but it is not known whether any part of it had a cultic purpose.

At Ur, later in the third millennium, Ur-Nammu presented a vase, according to its base dedicated to ⁴bil.ga.mes en.DIM.gig^{ki}, ‘Bilgames of Ennegi’, when he rebuilt the temple of Nanna at Ur.¹³⁷ It was found in the Ur III ‘mausoleum’, where it may have been used in rites conducted as part of a funerary cult. Gilgameš’s association with Ennegi is unsurprising, for this town was known as the ‘Cutha of Sumer’, a place where the cults of Ninazu and other

¹³¹ For the god Gilgameš in third-millennium Lagaš see generally M. E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Md., 1993), pp. 54–5; Selz, *Götterwelt*, pp. 105–6.

¹³² Baba festival: J. Bauer, *AWL* 155 ix 8, x 9; *DP* 54 rev. ii 7, iii 4, ed. S. M. Chiodi, *Offerte ‘funebri’ nella Lagaš presargonica 2. Documentazione epigrafica* (Rome, 1997), p. 70; Lugalurubar festival: VAT 4875 viii 8, ix 5, ed. Chiodi, *Offerte ‘funebri’* 2, pp. 180–1.

¹³³ On the individuals concerned see T. Kobayashi, ‘The ki-a-nag of Enentarzi’, *Oriens* 21 (1985), pp. 11–12; Chiodi, *Offerte ‘funebri’* 1, pp. 7–23.

¹³⁴ *DP* 218 rev. i 6, *DP* 222 rev. ii 7 // *RTC* 58 rev. i 1, all ed. Chiodi, *Offerte ‘funebri’* 2. A fourth document recording offerings to ancestors on the river-bank of Gilgameš is not explicitly dated to any festival: Bauer, *AWL* 165 rev. v 8, ed. Chiodi, *Offerte ‘funebri’* 2, p. 25.

¹³⁵ See A. Westenholz, *AJO* 42–3 (1995–6), p. 221, fn. 21.

¹³⁶ This tradition is reported by the end of the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, as quoted in Ch. 1, the section on Tablet XII: what, when and why?

¹³⁷ Inscription published by E. Sollberger, *UET* VIII 21, ed. Braun-Holzinger, *Weihgaben*, p. 217, Ständer 9; Frayne, *RIME* 3/II, pp. 82–3. For the identification of en.DIM.gig^{ki} as Ennegi(r) see C. Wilcke, *CRR* 19, p. 197, fn. 85; Frayne, *BiOr* 40 (1983), 96; F. Carroué, *Acta Sum* 15 (1993), pp. 36–7.

chthonic deities were celebrated.¹³⁸ The cult of Gilgameš at Ur is also implied by the hymn Šulgi O, which relates how Šulgi visited Gilgameš in E-kišnugal, Nanna’s cult-centre there (see the passages quoted above, the sub-section on Family connections).¹³⁹ An account dated in the reign of Šu-Sîn perhaps records an allocation of wool for the clothing of a cult-stature of Gilgameš at Ur.¹⁴⁰

Another vase-base inscribed with a dedication to Gilgameš is AO 185b, which comes from Girsu and attests to the continuing cult of Gilgameš there.¹⁴¹ Its date is uncertain, but the spelling of the name as Bilgames not Bilgimes (i.e. with GA not GÍN) makes it unlikely that it is pre-Sargonic and we may assume provisionally that it is Neo-Sumerian. Administrative documents of the Ur III period from Telloh, Drehem and Umma report Gilgameš receiving offerings at Girsu,¹⁴² Uruk¹⁴³ and Nippur.¹⁴⁴ In this last Gilgameš is listed among the divine residents of the temple of Ninurta. At least two administrative officials of Gilgameš occur in connection with the provision of the cult at Nippur: one in a delivery note from Drehem (Šulgi yr 45) and another in a list of disbursements from Nippur dating to the reign of Ibbi-Sîn.¹⁴⁵ In documents of the Old Babylonian period there are several references to land cultivated to provide offerings for Gilgameš at Nippur.¹⁴⁶

In texts from later times we hear nothing of offerings made to cults of Gilgameš. Given the context it is unlikely that the traditional ‘garden of Gilgameš’ at Dēr, encountered above in the sub-section on Family connections, is to be understood as a date-plantation supplying a cult. Similar doubts apply to a like-named location attested at Uruk in the time of Aššurbanipal. A register of landholdings of the temple E-anna includes the following entry: *naphar*(pap) 7 gr̄⁶kirāti(kiri₆)^{mes} 1 lim 8 me mi-ši-ih-ti qaq-qa-ru [gr̄⁶kirē(kiri₆)]¹ ⁴bil.sag¹mes¹, ‘total: seven date-plantations, 1800 (cubits) the measurement of the plot, the Garden of Gilgameš’.¹⁴⁷ Comparison with other entries in the register shows that *kirē Gilgameš* is a topographical name cited to determine the location of the seven plantations at issue. It was probably located immediately east of the city.¹⁴⁸ As a toponym of Uruk the Garden of Gilgameš no doubt arose from the local connection with the legendary king; probably the same was true at Dēr.

Nevertheless there is one reference to Gilgameš in a cultic context in post-Old Babylonian times. In the bilingual menology of Astrolabe B we find him honoured at a

¹³⁸ On Ninazu at Ennegi see W. G. Lambert, ‘The theology of death’, *CRR* 26, p. 61.

¹³⁹ Klein, *Kramer AV*, p. 278, 29 ff.; elsewhere Klein has suggested that this fragmentary passage describes Šulgi installing a statue of the deified hero in Nanna’s temple (*TAPS* 71/VII, p. 10).

¹⁴⁰ *UET* III 1505 ix 8: sik.ba ⁴GIŠ.BIL?.[x (x)]; see Richter, *Panthea*, p. 358, fn. 1409.

¹⁴¹ Braun-Holzinger, *Weihgaben*, p. 315, Ständer 3: ⁴bil.ga./mes [lugal.(a)].ni.

¹⁴² De Genouillac, *ITT* V 6822 rev. 6: 1 sila₄ ⁴bil.ga.mes.

¹⁴³ *BIN* III 607 obv. 10: ⁴bil.mes.ga; cf. Sallaberger, *Kalender*, p. 212, fn. 1003.

¹⁴⁴ As ⁴bil.ga.mes lugal, ‘King Bilgames’, in *TCLV* 6053 i 19 (Šulgi 41) and *MVN* X 144 iv 5 (Ibbi-Sîn 2); cf. Sallaberger, *Kalender*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁵ Respectively *CT* 32 35, 103444 obv. 2: 1 gu, ki šabra ⁴bi.ga.mes.ta; and Zettler, *Ur III Temple*, p. 266, 5 NT 436+6 NT 438 rev. 18: šabra ⁴bil.ga.mes.

¹⁴⁶ References to a šā šuku ⁴bil.ga.mes are collected by Richter, *Panthea*, p. 131 (erroneously ⁴bil.ga.mes).

¹⁴⁷ Pohl, *Rechtsurkunden* II no. 2, 22; see Ch. 2, fn. 91.

¹⁴⁸ So on the plan published by Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pl. 3b, where the divine name is misread as PA.BIL.SAG.MES.

regular festival in the month of Abu. This Middle Babylonian text holds Abu, the fifth month of the Babylonian year, sacred to Gilgameš, adding commentary of a ritual nature:

guruš gēšba lirim.ma iti ⁴bi₄.ga.mes ud.9.kam ká.ne.ne a.da.min
 araḥ ⁴GIS-gim-maš tu-šu-ú u₄-mi et-lu-tu ina bābāti(ká) ^{meš}-šú-nu (ina?) ú-ma-āš
 al(ú)-ba-ri ul-te-šu-ú

KAV 218 ii 5–7, 13–15; cf. G. Çağrgan, *Belleten* 48 (1984), p. 405, 29–30

The month of Gilgameš: for nine days the young men fight in their doorways in wrestling matches and trials of strength. (Akk.; Sum. in disorder.)

These rites presumably imitate the legendary struggle of the two heroes Gilgameš and Enkidu in the doorway of the wedding house. They are held to honour Gilgameš's memory, nine days being the conventional duration of commemorative rituals honouring the dead.¹⁴⁹ The connection between Abu and physical contest is maintained by a menology embedded in the Late Babylonian Nippur Compendium: *a-bu* = ^{gš}kakku(tu[ku]l) *mīt-hur-ti ú-ma-ši a-ba-ri*, 'Abu: warfare, contest of wrestling and trials of strength'.¹⁵⁰ The Sumerian poem of the Death of Bilgames makes reference to the same activity. In the dream that precedes his death Gilgameš hears the following description of rites conducted by torchlight in the month of the festival of lights (^{it}NE.NE.gar = Abu):

nam.lú.úlu níg a.na sa₄.a.ba
 alan.bi u₄.ul.li.a.šè a.ba.da.an.dím.ma!(tablet: K1D)
 šul guruš igi.du₈ u₄.sakar.gin₇ zag.du₈ hu.mu.ta.an.ak.eš
 igi.bi.a gēšba lirim.ma si a.ba.da.ab.sá
 iti.NE.NE.gar ezen gidim.ma.ke₄.ne
 e.ne.da nu.me.a igi.bi.a u₄ nam.ba.an.gá!gá

Death of Bilgames N₁ // N₂ v 6–11, ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 16;
 cf. J. van Dijk, *HSAO* I, p. 249

Men, as many as are given names,
 when their statues are fashioned for future days,
 the warriors, the young men and the onlookers shall make a semi-circle around a
 doorway (*lit.* form a doorway like a crescent),
 and in front of it (*or* them) wrestling matches and trials of strength will be conducted.
 In the Month of Torches, the festival of ghosts,
 without him being present light shall not be provided before them.

This passage appears to be an aetiology, hidden in the guise of a forecast, of age-old rites of Abu that commemorate and care for the dead through rituals conducted in the presence of funerary figurines.¹⁵¹ In addition to the wrestling bouts it appears that the festival

¹⁴⁹ On this period see the discussion of the end of Bilgames and the Netherworld in Ch. 1, the section on Tablet XII: what, when and why?

¹⁵⁰ *TIM* IX 60 and duplicates, ed. George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 154, 24'.

¹⁵¹ As already implied by Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 187. On Abu as a month of funerary rites see M. E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Md., 1993), pp. 319–21; M. Civil, *Aula Or* 1 (1983), p. 50; J. A. Scurllock, 'Magical uses of Mesopotamian festivals', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 93–107.

included a torchlit ceremony for the shades of the dead. It seems a representation of Gilgameš had to be present on this occasion, much as at the festivals honouring the dead ancestors of rulers of pre-Sargonic Lagaš. A further allusion to the rites of Abu may be found in *Lugale*, when Ninurta blesses the *kurgarrānum*-stone and other minerals:

[ezen? gid]m? .ma.ke₄ ḥé.em.ma.ša₆.ge
 [. . . u₄].¹⁹ guruš u₄.sakar.ra z[ag.d]u₈ / [(. . .)] hu.mu.ra.an.ak

Lugale 645–6 from van Dijk, *Lugale* II, pl. 28, MS U₂; cf. p. 168 and I, p. 136

May you be made beautiful at [*the festival*] of ghosts (i.e. in Abu),
 [. . . for] nine [days] may the young men in a semi-circle make for you a doorway.

The stone's role in the festival was evidently that it furnished raw material for funerary figurines of the deceased. In a damaged passage that characterizes the festival of Abu as a festival of Dumuzi, the late version of the cultic lament *Uruammairabi* singles out for mention, among the gods of the chthonic assembly, Dumuzi, Gilgameš and Ningišzida. Gilgameš is accorded high rank:

⁴bi₄.ga.mes (*var.* ⁴bi₄.sag.mes) umun.ki.t[. . .]
 be-el er-še-ti [. . .]

Langdon, *BL* no. 8 rev. 3–4, variant from K 3327+¹⁵²

Bilgames, lord of the Netherworld [. . .]

Gilgameš's involvement with the realm of the dead, clearly observed in the passages cited and already noticed in his association with ancestor cults at Lagaš and Ur, is given formal expression in the many texts that attribute to him various chthonic functions. These will be discussed next.

Judge and ruler of the shades in the Netherworld

Gilgameš's Netherworld connections are explicitly mentioned in the Standard Babylonian epic when Ninsun, commending Gilgameš to the care of Šamaš, displays foreknowledge of her son's doom. He will 'rule the black-headed race with Irnina' and will 'dwell in the Land-of-No-Return with Ningišzida'.¹⁵³ The notion of Gilgameš as one of the rulers of the Netherworld has a long history. We have already encountered a passage of the Poem of the Mattock in which Gilgameš is described as 'Nergal's little brother'. An Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian hymn to Utu that pays special attention to the sun god's role as supreme judge of the dead calls Gilgameš the 'ruler of the Netherworld': [⁴bi₄.ga.mes en₅.si kur.ra.ke₄].¹⁵⁴ In the Death of Ur-Nammu Gilgameš is a senior chthonic deity, 'king of the Netherworld' (l. 95: ⁴bi₄.ga.mes lugal kur.ra.ke₄), who receives as part of the funeral proceedings a gift of weapons (ll. 92–4).¹⁵⁵ In the list of gods to whom gifts are made in that text Gilgameš falls

¹⁵² Ed. M. Civil, 'The 10th tablet of úru am-ma-ir-ra-bi', *Aula Or* 1 (1983), pp. 45–54.

¹⁵³ SB III 105–6: *ul itiri Irnini šalmāt qaqqadi ib[ē]l, ul itiri Ningišzida ina māt lā tārī [uš]ab*.

¹⁵⁴ M. E. Cohen, 'Another Utu hymn', *ZA* 67 (1977), p. 14, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Ed. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma*, pp. 117–18.

between Nergal and Ereškigal,¹⁵⁶ another indication that in some circles he enjoyed a very high rank among the chthonic deities. The same text reports that he sits in judgement in the Netherworld:

šeš ki.ág.gá.ni⁴bil₄.g[a.mes.da?]
e.ne di kur.ra i.ku₅.dè ka.aš kur.ra i.bar.re

Ur-Nammu A 143–4 (coll.), ed. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma*, p. 126

(Ur-Nammu) [alongside] his beloved brother Bilgames,
himself passes judgement in the Netherworld, hands down verdicts in the Netherworld.

The Sumerian poem we know as the Death of Bilgames explains that the hero was promised exactly this function in a deathbed dream, as compensation for having to die. Gilgameš, born of a goddess and famously ‘two-thirds god and one-third human’, presents the gods with a dilemma as to whether his final destiny should be divine or human. Enki, as always, has the solution: the hero shall be a god but only in death. The passage survives twice over in the newly published tablets from Mêt-Turan, written in partly syllabic Sumerian:¹⁵⁷

e.ne.šè⁴bil.ga.mes igi.bi.ba.ni.ib.tu
šu nam.ama.a.ni nu.mu.un.da.kar.kar(var. TE.TE).ed.nam
⁴bil.ga.mes gidim.bi.ta.ki.ta.ug₅.ga
GIR.NITA kur.ra hé.ak.¹igi.du.gidim.(bi) hé.nam
di.da.mu.un.ku₅.da.ka.aš.bar¹ba?.bar¹.re
dug₄.ga.a.zu.inim⁴nin.giš.zi.da(⁴)dumu.¹zi.da.gin₇¹(var. ke₄)ba.e.dugud

Death of Bilgames M 78–83 // 168–73, ed. Cavignaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 28 and 31

And now one looks on Bilgames:
despite his mother we cannot show him mercy!
Bilgames, in the form of his ghost, dead in the underworld,
shall act as governor of the Netherworld, shall be indeed chief of its shades!
He will pass judgement, he will hand down verdicts,
what he says (text: you say!) will carry the same weight as the word of Ningišzida and
Dumuzi.

The resulting triad of gods, Gilgameš, Ningišzida and Dumuzi, clearly had some special function in the Netherworld, for we have already met them grouped together in the cultic lament *Uruammairrabi*, as quoted at the end of the preceding section. The tradition of the chthonic Gilgameš is well attested in other literature. ‘Mighty Gilgameš’ occurs among other gods of the Netherworld—Nergal, Ningišzida, Bidu and Etana—in a Sumerian elegy

¹⁵⁶ The list of gods is tabulated below, in Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet VIII.

¹⁵⁷ The twofold presence of the long sequence of lines reporting the dream is to be explained as (a) the gods’ communication to the dying Bilgames of his ultimate destiny (M 49–125) and (b) the hero’s verbatim repetition of it to his advisers (M 140–[216] // N₁ vi 1). As a literary strategy the repetition serves two purposes: it emphasizes the importance of the secret knowledge imparted to the hero and introduces an element of suspense by delaying the progression of the narrative.

known from Old Babylonian copies.¹⁵⁸ An *eršemma* of the same period mentions Gilgameš as in some way related to Nergal but evidently not as his brother, as in the Poem of the Mattock (see above). The context is a lament for the dead Nergal; ⁶šidag⁴bil₄.ga.mes, ‘the poplar tree (of?) Bilgameš’, appears to be enjoined to comfort the mourner.¹⁵⁹

In Sumerian and bilingual *zi . . . pād* incantations in first-millennium copies Gilgameš routinely appears among the gods of the Netherworld. In Gattung II he occurs near the end of a long list of such deities. First come the twins Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, then the pairs of spouses Nergal and Ereškigal, Ninazu and Ningirida, the trio Ningišzida, Azimua and Ningeštūnanna, the couple Namtar and ̄Hušbišag, their daughter ̄Hedimkug, Divine Punishment (⁴nir.da), the gatekeeper Bidu, and other minor officers, Šaršarbid(a) and Etana. Then comes Gilgameš:

zi⁴bil₄(GIŠ.BIL).sag.gá.mes GIR.NITA kur.ra.ke₄ hé.(pād)
niš⁴MIN šak-ka-nak-ka er-še-ti lu-ú ta-mat
Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 (1953), p. 388, 79–80a //

zi⁴bil₄.ga.sa[g.(mes)?] GIR.NITA kur.ra.ke₄ [h]é.(pād)
STT 210 rev. 19’

Be you adjured by the life of Gilgameš, the governor of the Netherworld!

He is followed by Lugalamašpae and Uqur.¹⁶⁰ In the *zi . . . pād* section of *Uduḫul V* Gilgameš occurs at the head of a list of minor Netherworld deities, namely Ningišzida, the Seven Divine Doors and the Seven Divine Bolts of the Netherworld, Bidu, ̄Hušbišag and ̄Hedimkug:

zi⁴bil(GIŠ.BIL).sag.gá.mes¹GIR.NITA¹kur.ra.ke₄ hé.(pād)
niš⁴MIN šak-ka-nak-ka eršet¹(ki)^{im} MIN (= lū tamāta)
CT 16 13 ii 42–3

Be you adjured by the life of Gilgameš, the governor of the Netherworld!

Gilgameš’s place as a leading deity of the Netherworld is enshrined in a Late Babylonian cultic explanatory text which comments on a kettle-drum ritual. Among the deities represented at the ritual are the divine twins, Lugalirra and Meslamtaea. This pair is sometimes explained in terms of more important deities, Sin and Nergal. The commentator makes this assertion but first explains Meslamtaea as Gilgameš:

⁴lugal-ir₉-ra⁴šin(30) māru(dumu) reš-tu-ú¹šá¹en-lil⁴mes-lam-ta-è-a⁴GIŠ-gim-maš
⁴GIŠ-gim-maš⁴nergal(u.gur) āšib(dūr) eršet¹(ki)^{im}

F. Thureau Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), p. 145, obv. 8–9¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Å. W. Sjöberg, ‘The first Pushkin Museum elegy and new texts’, *JAOS* 103 (1983), p. 315, 96: kala.ga⁴bil.ga.mes; cf. Lambert, ‘A rare exorcistic fragment’, *Jacobsen Mem.Vol.*, p. 207.

¹⁵⁹ *CT* 15 14, 35 and 37, ed. Cohen, *Eršemma*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁰ Note also later in Gattung II, in broken context following Ningišzida (Ebeling, *ArOr* 21, p. 392, 63*–4*): zi⁴GIŠ-gim-maš[. . .], [niš⁴MIN ib-].

¹⁶¹ See *ibid.*, p. 149; Lambert in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, p. 39; Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, pp. 191 and 202.

Lugalirra is Sin, the first-born son of Enlil. Meslamtaea is Gilgameš. Gilgameš is Nergal, who dwells in the Netherworld.

Nergal's position as king of the realm of the dead is also Gilgameš's according to the incipit of an otherwise lost incantation prayer. This incipit occurs as the catch-line of an *Ušbur-ruda* incantation against curse and witchcraft known from a Late Babylonian copy: én ^dGIS-gim-maš šār eršeti(ki) ^{im} rapašti(dagal) ^{im} dayyān(di.ku₅) la ʔa-tim, 'O Gilgameš, king of the teeming Netherworld, unbribeable judge'.¹⁶² Further attestations of Gilgameš as king and judge of the dead appear in the exorcistic rituals discussed after the following section.

Ferryman of the dead

Gilgameš performed another duty in the Netherworld. A mid-second-millennium zi . . . pād incantation that lists the deities of the Netherworld and their chthonic duties reports that Gilgameš acts as the ferryman of the dead, a Babylonian Charon:

zi ^dnè.eri₁₁.gal ^den.lil kur.ra.ke, hé.pād
 zi ^dereš.ki.gal.la nin eri₁₁.gal an.na.ke, hé.pād
 [z]i ^den.nam.tar.re sukka kur.ra.k[e, hé.pād]
 [z]i ^dbí.du₈ i.du₈ kur.r[a.ke, hé.pād]
 [z]i ^dGIS-gim-maš lú ^{ma} má.1 lah(UD) ¹ [kur.ra.ke, hé.pād]

BM 54716 rev. 10'–14', coll.; cf. W. G. Lambert, 'A rare exorcistic fragment', in *Jacobsen Mem. Vol.*, p. 210

Be adjured by the life of Nergal, the supreme ruler of the Netherworld,
 be adjured by the life of Ereškigal, the mistress of lofty Hades,¹⁶³
 [be adjured by the] life of Lord Namtar, the vizier of the Netherworld,
 [be adjured by the] life of Bidu, the gatekeeper of the Netherworld,
 [be adjured by the] life of Gilgameš, the boatman of [the Netherworld!]

Another incantation based in this tradition is preserved on a Late Babylonian fragment, excavated at Uruk and now in Baghdad, that tells how Gilgameš controlled the shades' crossing of the Ĥubur and perhaps, like Charon, received from them payment:

[én] ^dGIS-gim-maš a-šib er-kal-l[i . . . (undeciphered gloss: ma/ba la x[. . .])
 [mu-š]e-bi-ru ^{id} ĥu-bur a-l[i-ik? . . .
 [al]-la-ka šā er-kal!(E)-li t[a . . .
 [a]-ri-du šā eršeti(ki) ^{im} qa-tuk-k[a . . .
 [x] ^{mes} ina né-bé-ru ta-maḥ-ḥar [. . .
 [x]x ina né-bé-ru ta- . . .

von Weiher, *Uruk V* 251, 2'–7', coll.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Published by von Weiher, *Uruk II* 25, 25.

¹⁶³ Probably a mistake for 'lofty mistress of Hades' (lit. 'Great City'), deriving from the imposition of Akkadian word order on Sumerian phrases.

¹⁶⁴ It may be useful to future scholars to know that this fragment, W 22667/4c, is kept with the three others that share the same excavation number (W 22667/4a, b and d) in a box marked IM 135166. The gloss cannot be read as any part of *malānu*.

[Incantation.] O Gilgameš, who dwells in Hades, [. . .
 [the] ferryman of the Ĥubur, who travels [. . .
 [the] traveller to Hades you [. . .
 [he that] descends into the Netherworld is under your control [. . .
 you receive [the . . .]s at the ferry crossing [. . .
 you [. . .] at the ferry crossing [. . .

In discussing the first of these passages Lambert notes the existence, in the list of cultic barges in *Hh V*, of two boats of Gilgameš among those of other deities.¹⁶⁵ However, as he observes, we cannot be sure that either of them was the mythical ferry of the dead and not a vehicle for ritual procession. Elsewhere the shades' boatman was not Gilgameš but Ĥumuṭ-tabal, and it is also possible that Ur-šanabi had this function.¹⁶⁶ Less certain in its allusion to the ferry of the dead is the much older Emesal cult song that perhaps describes Gilgameš travelling on water.¹⁶⁷

Given Gilgameš's manifold functions in the Netherworld, and especially his responsibility for conveying the dead safely into its custody, it is not surprising to find him represented at rites of burial. His presence at funerary cults in pre-Sargonic Lagaš and, probably, Ur has already been noted. An Assyrian funerary ritual maintains the tradition, more than 1,500 years later, when it mentions the setting up of ritual trays (*paššuru*) before 'great Antu', ^dGIS-gim-maš and the 'sailors', and the placing of vessels of beer and wine before the same two deities.¹⁶⁸ The sailors are presumably the crew of Gilgameš's infernal ferry. Another Assyrian source for rituals of burial is one that describes the grave-goods an Assyrian king, either Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal, placed in his father's tomb. Among the offerings interred with the deceased were some horses, which occur in a passage where some have seen the name Gilgameš. However, this turns out to be a mirage: the reference is in fact to Šamaš.¹⁶⁹

The 'gate of Gilgameš' attested in two first-millennium medical prescriptions as the source of a magic ingredient, namely old oil,¹⁷⁰ is perhaps a euphemism for the mouth of the

¹⁶⁵ Passages quoted above, in the section of this chapter on Gilgameš the god.

¹⁶⁶ See Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet X.

¹⁶⁷ *VAS* II 1 ii 19–31, ed. A. Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 110, who comments 'il faut peut-être imaginer une procession en bateau.' The damaged condition of this text does not allow us to discover why, on this occasion, Gilgameš (p. 78, spelling no. 8) rides in a boat—if indeed that is really what he is doing.

¹⁶⁸ Ed. W. von Soden, 'Aus einen Ersatzopferitual für den assyrischen Hof', *ZA* 45 (1939), p. 44, ll. 43–7; Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, p. 36. According to J. Scurlock, 'K 164 (*BA* 2, p. 635): new light on the mourning rites for Dumuzi?', *RA* 86 (1992), p. 55, 'great Antu' is Ereškigal, the queen of the Netherworld.

¹⁶⁹ K 6323+ iii 16, photograph in Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, pp. 26–7. Johns' copy, *ADD* 941 iii 6', has ^dGIS-gim-maš. J. MacGinnis, 'A Neo-Assyrian text describing a royal funeral', *SAAB* 1/I (1978), p. 3, ii' 6', maintained the idea that Gilgameš was present, but read ^dGIS ANŠE(?) [x]. Nasrabadi followed Johns (*Bestattungssitten*, p. 28). Collation does not confirm either reading: I saw ^dGIS PAP A[B (or similar) x], but T. Kwasman persuades me that this must be a poorly written ^dGIS. NU₁₁. [GAL], i.e. Šamaš (private communication).

¹⁷⁰ *KAR* 186 rev. 10 = *BAM* 311, 60'. DIŠ KIMIN (= ana antašubbē nasāḫi) ēš-me-ku atbaru(ad.bar) parzillu(an.bar) lušē(i.sumun) bāb(ká) ^dGIS-gim-maš ina maški(kuš), 'To expel antašubba-disease: malachite, basalt, iron, old oil from the Gate of Gilgameš. (wear) in a leather (bag)' (cf. *CAD* E, p. 367); cf. similarly *AMT* 46 no. 5 obv. 3': DIŠ KIMIN napnate(lal) ^{ku} atbaru(ad.bar) lušē(i.sumun) bāb(ká) Tablet: NAB) ^dGIS-gim-maš . . .', 'If ditto, a poultice of basalt and old oil from the gate of Gilgameš [. . .]'.
 . . .

funnel or other opening through which periodic offerings were made to one's ancestors.¹⁷¹ The usual liquid poured in such libations was cold water, but oil was among the other liquids that could also be offered.¹⁷²

Gilgameš in exorcistic rituals

As judge and ruler of the shades Gilgameš wielded a special authority in the realm of the dead; as the ferryman of the River Ĥubur he played an important part in the removal of shades to the secure confines of the infernal regions. Accordingly, Gilgameš's role as a Netherworld deity is much attested in the exorcistic literature of the post-Old Babylonian periods, where a common response to the perceived malign influence of trouble-making demons, witches and ghosts was their banishment to the Netherworld. Gilgameš was naturally one of the authorities whose consent was needed to effect such removal. His earliest attestation in this role in exorcism comes in a fragmentary Middle Babylonian copy of a Sumerian Marduk-Ea incantation, found at Hattusa. The Netherworld context is assured by mention of other chthonic deities and the thrust of the incantation seems to be protection against sorcery.¹⁷³

A Standard Babylonian incantation against witchcraft reports at length the magical practices by which a practitioner of the black arts typically seeks to harm a person. Among the many ways of symbolizing the victim's death by destroying an image of him is to conduct a ritual dispatching it across the infernal river: [MIN ana^dGI]š-gim-maš id-di-nu-ma^{id} Ĥu-bur ú-[še-bi]-ru,¹⁷⁴ '[They have made images of me,] handed them over [to] Gilgameš and so [sent] them across the River Ĥubur.' Here the reference is again to Gilgameš as the Babylonian Charon.

The Babylonian exorcist's principal weapon against sorcery was the *Maqlū* ritual, typically performed at the end of the month Abu. The end of Abu, already noted for its funerary

¹⁷¹ On this see Å. W. Sjöberg, 'Beiträge zum sumerischen Wörterbuch', *AS* 16, pp. 63–4, and the dictionaries s.vv. a.pap and *arūtu*. The Sumerian word is a compound, literally 'water-channel'. Most imagine it to be some kind of pipe or tube inserted in the ground. The archaeological evidence for libation pipes at tombs is poor, however, though a few unambiguous examples of libation installations have been found in connection with graves of the historical periods: see B. Gronenberg, *AoF* 17 (1990), p. 257, and further O. Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon*, p. 156; J. Margueron, *MARI* 3 (1984), p. 209. The roof of one of the vaulted tombs found below the floor of the North-West Palace at Nimrud in 1989 was pierced by a vertical pipe, sealed above by a paving slab, that might have been used for libations. It may be that the libations of which the texts speak were also made at symbolic locations not identified archaeologically, perhaps the well-known *ki.a.nag*, 'place where water is drunk'. In principle, water poured anywhere on the ground would soak in and eventually seep down to the shades in the Netherworld. The technique is described in ll. 70–1 of the Sumerian hymn to Ninegal (ed. Behrens, *Ninegalla*, p. 32): a.pap kur.ra.ke, gal ša.mu.ra.ab.tag₁(x) / a.mu.pà.da ša.mu.ri.dub, 'before you he opens the "water-channel" of the Netherworld, before you he pours in the water of name-commemoration'. Commenting on a.pap in that passage B. Alster has remarked, 'perhaps it is rather a jar with a hole in the bottom, like the Greek *piñhos*' (*Acta Sum* 5 (1983), p. 15, fn. 40).

¹⁷² As in the Incantation to Utu 140, describing funeral rites (B. Alster, *Acta Sum* 13 (1991), p. 58): a.pap gal.a.ni¹lál¹ kaš i.dug.ga ša.ba mu.na.ni.ib.tum, 'through his (sc. the shade of the deceased's) big water-channel *syrrup*, ale and sweet oil are despatched into it (sc. the Netherworld)'.

¹⁷³ *KBo* XXXVI 13 ii' 15': *gi-il-ga-m[i-iš]*. Note in ii' 18' [n]a-am-ta-a[r] for the deadly 'nam.tar, and in ii' 16' *bi-it-tu* probably for the infernal gatekeeper, 'bi.du₂; ii' 3', 11': *ú-uš-šú* probably for *uš₁.zu*, 'sorcerer' (cf. Wilhelm, *KBo* XXXVI, p. iv); ii' 7': *ka-ĥu-ul* for *ka.ĥul*, 'evil mouth'.

¹⁷⁴ W. G. Lambert, 'An incantation of the *maqlū* type', *AJO* 18 (1957–8), p. 292, 42.

rites, was the Babylonian All Souls' night, when the spirits of the dead were considered especially prone to return to the land of the living. The gates of hell were briefly open as the ghosts came and went, a circumstance that afforded a particularly good opportunity for dispatching all kinds of malign forces down to the Land of No Return.¹⁷⁵ As already seen in the bilingual menology quoted above, in the sub-section on Sanctuaries and cult, Gilgameš was especially honoured during this time of year. *Maqlū*, which effects the banishment of sorcerous powers to the Netherworld, often calls on his authority. Gilgameš's involvement in the rituals of *Maqlū* is attested by the incantations themselves and by other sources.¹⁷⁶ The short incantation *én eršetu eršetu eršetumma*, 'Netherworld, Netherworld, O Netherworld', from early in the ritual, begins by invoking Gilgameš as a dominant power in the struggle against sorcery: ^dGIš-gim-maš *bēl(en) ma-mi-ti-ku-nu*, 'Gilgameš is the controller of your (the witches') curse.'¹⁷⁷ Later he appears in the context of an ill-wisher handing over some symbol of his victim to the control of the Netherworld, of which Gilgameš is the representative.¹⁷⁸ This is also the background to a fragmentary therapeutic prescription for a man suffering from a whole range of symptoms ('Universal-Symptombeschreibung'), which mentions Gilgameš and the month Abu. The aetiology of the sufferer's symptoms is witchcraft:

[*amēlu*(lú) š]ū(bi) *ka-šip mē(a)*^{mes} *zikurrudē*(zi.ku₅.ru.[d]a)-šú *ĥe-bu-ú-[šú]*
[šārat(sig)?] *zumri*(su)-[šú] *a-na* ^dGIš-gim-m[*aš id-di-nu?* (. . .)]
ina erēb(ku₄)^{ab} *abi*(izi) *šalmī*(nu)^{mes}-šú *ib-n*[*u-ú* . . .]
ana iti 3.kam u₄ 10.kam *ú-za-bal-ma ki*[špū(uš₁)!]-šú *ippaššar*(būr)
BAM 231 i 16–18 // 332 i 1'–2'¹⁷⁹

That [man] is bewitched, the waters of the cutting-off of his life are drawn [for him, *hair* from his] body [*they handed over*] to Gilgameš, at the beginning of Abu they fashioned figurines of him. [. . .] He will languish for one hundred days and then [*the spells that afflict him*] will be undone.

According to this passage the delivery of symbols of the victim to Gilgameš can best be effected early in Abu. Perhaps already some representation of Gilgameš was set up in preparation for the rituals that took place later in the month, concerning which a letter of Nabūnādin-šumi, chief exorcist at the Assyrian court, to King Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal reports that a figurine of Gilgameš (*šalam*(nu) ^dGIš-gim-maš) symbolized the god's presence during the performance of *Maqlū*.¹⁸⁰ The letter prescribes a performance of the ritual for the king's mother in the month Abu, probably on the twenty-eighth day. Gilgameš's participation in the rites pertaining to the care and appeasement of the dead brought with it a sym-

¹⁷⁵ On this secondary function of the festivals of the dead see Scurlock, 'Magical uses of Mesopotamian festivals' (fn. 151).

¹⁷⁶ On the connections between *Maqlū* and Gilgameš see already T. Abusch, 'Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft literature: texts and studies, Part 1', *JNES* 33 (1974), pp. 259–61.

¹⁷⁷ *Maqlū* I 38. The witches' curse is the penalty they have incurred by their nefarious activities.

¹⁷⁸ *Maqlū* IV 54: [. . . *ana*] ^dGIš-gim-maš *ta-ad-di-na*, 'you handed [. . . over to] Gilgameš'.

¹⁷⁹ See already Parpola, *LAS* II, p. 204; Scurlock, 'Magical uses of Mesopotamian festivals' (fn. 151), p. 105.

¹⁸⁰ *SAA* X 274 = *ABL* 56 rev. 5, ed. Parpola, *LAS* no. 208.

bolic access to the Netherworld and so afforded an illicit opportunity for ill-wishers to work witchcraft on an unsuspecting victim.

Another occasion on which a figurine of Gilgameš appears is a Middle Babylonian ritual against ghosts known from a Boğazköy tablet.¹⁸¹ There the making of a figurine of Gilgameš (*šalam* (alam) ^dbil.ga.mes) is prescribed in a fragmentary context, but certainly as part of an exorcism.

The classic example of the exorcism of ghosts by removal to Gilgameš's custody in the Netherworld survives in first-millennium copies, *KAR 227* and its duplicates.¹⁸² It is not known where the ritual was performed, but it is unlikely to have been in a temple or other cultic building. More probably the location was chosen by the exorcist to suit the needs of the individual case. The sequence of ritual acts is well preserved. After various preparations the exorcist prostrates himself before Šamaš, Gilgameš and the Anunnaki.¹⁸³ These are, respectively, the supreme judge of the Netherworld, the ruler of the shades and the chthonic deities collectively. Their presence at the ritual would have been denoted symbolically by figurines or more abstract representations. The prostration is followed by a prayer to Šamaš, in which the exorcist forces the troublesome ghost to vow by Šamaš and Gilgameš that he will return to the Netherworld.¹⁸⁴ Then comes the famous prayer to Gilgameš as judge of the Netherworld, which begins as follows:

ṛen¹⁸⁵ ^dGIS-gim-maš šarru(lugal) *gīt-ma-lu dayyān*(di.ku_s) ^da-nun-n[*a-ki*]
rubū(nun) *muš-ta-lu rap-pu šá nišī*(ùg) [^{mes}]
ha-²-it kib-ra-a-ti šatam(šà.tam) *eršeti*(ki)^{um} *bēl*(en) *šaplāti*(ki.ta) [^{mes}]
dayyāna(di.ku_s)-*ta-ma ki-ma ili*(dingir) *ta-bar*-[ri]
ta-az-za-az ina eršeti(ki)^{um} *ta-gam-mar di*-[na]
dī-in-ka ul in-nen-ni ul im-meš a-ma[t-ka]
ta-šal ta-ša-ṭi ta-da-ni ta-bar-ri u tuš-te-š[èr]
^dšamaš(utu) *šip-ṭa u purussā*(eš.bar) *qa-tuk-ka ip-qid*
šarrū(lugal)^{mes} *šakkanakkū*(GIR.NITA)^{mes} *u rubū*(nun)^{mes} *maḥar*(igi)-*ka kam-su*
ta-bar-ri te-re-ti-šū-nu purussā(eš.bar)-*šū-nu ta-par-ra-as*
ana-ku annanna(nenni) *mār*(a) *annanna šá il*(dingir)-*šū annanna* ^dištar(15)-*šū annannū*
šá muršu(gig) *im-ḥu-ra-an-ni-ma di-na a-na da-an*
purussā(eš.bar) ^da-na *pa-ra*-[^{si}] *maḥar*(igi)-*ka ak-mis*
dī-ni dī-in [*purussā*(eš.bar)-*a*]-[*a purus*(ku_s)^{ur}]
ú-suḥ mur[ša(gig) *šá*] *zumri*(su)-[*ia*]
kuš-šid mīn-ma lem-n[u x x] x [x x]
lemutta(nig.ḥul) *šá ina zumrīya*(su.mu) [*bašū* . . .]

KAR 227 ii 7–11 // Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 53, 1–11 // *LKA 89* ii 14–22¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ *KUB XXXVII 88+* = *KBo XXXVI 29* iv 7', ed. Schwemer, *Rituale*, p. 98, 173.

¹⁸² Ed. *TuL*, pp. 122–33.

¹⁸³ *KAR 227* i 40–2: [*ana pān*] ^dšamaš(utu) *ana* ^d[. . .] / [*ana* ^da-nun-na]-*ki tuš-x*[. . .] / [*ana* ^dGIS]-*gim-maš tuš-ke*[n . . .] // *LKA 90* i 2': [. . . ^dGIS]-*gim-maš* x x x.

¹⁸⁴ *KAR 227* ii 3–5: *ana kur.nu.gi.a šu-kun pān*(igi)-*k*[a? x x x] / *tum₁-ma-ta lū taurra*(gur)^{ur} *tum₁-ma-tū* ^dGIS-[*gim-maš*] / ^dú ^dšamaš(utu) *dayyāni*(di.ku_s) *ana du-ru-uš-šī-k*[a a-lik], 'Make your way to the Land of No Return! [. . .] You are adjured, you must not return! You are adjured by Gilgameš and Judge Šamaš, [go] to your resting place!'

¹⁸⁵ This sign present on *LKA 89* only.

¹⁸⁶ Ed. *TuL*, p. 127; Lambert in Garelli, *Gilgameš*, p. 40.

O King Gilgameš, superb judge of the Anunnaki,
 judicious prince, neck-stock of the people,
 who surveys the world regions, overseer of the underworld, lord of the nether regions,
 you are a judge, watching with the eye of a god.
 Present in the Netherworld you hand down final judgement,
 your verdict is not altered, [your] word is not cast aside.
 You enquire, you examine, you judge, you watch and then you set things aright;
 Šamaš delegated to you verdict and decision.
 Kings, governors and nobles are bowed down in your presence,
 you examine their omens, you make a decision concerning them.
 I, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose goddess is So-and-so,
 I, whom sickness has befallen, hereby bow low in your presence
 for the rendering of a judgement, for the making of a decision.
 Judge my case, make my [decision]!
 Eradicate the sickness [of my] body,
 drive out the Evil Thing [. . .]
 [expe!] the evil that [resides] in my body!

The prayer, spoken by the sufferer not by the exorcist, continues over many more lines in standard fashion, relating the offerings and gifts the sufferer presents to win the attention of the power invoked,¹⁸⁷ and in return asking again for the banishment to the Netherworld of the unseen forces responsible for his plight.¹⁸⁸ The end of the prayer to Gilgameš is followed by an instruction that the sufferer prostrate himself before the deified hero in the most reverent way possible, after which the exorcist will present him to the Anunnaki.¹⁸⁹ After the sufferer's prayer to the Anunnaki come two further prayers in which the sufferer addresses, first, the ghosts of his ancestors and, second, an unknown shade. In each Gilgameš is again cited as one of the authorities of the Netherworld, alongside Šamaš alone and then in the company of Šamaš and the Anunnaki.¹⁹⁰

Gilgameš's function as ruler of the shades in the Netherworld meant that the banishment there of malign influences emanating from the black arts and troublesome ghosts necessarily took place under his authority and with his consent. The triad of powers invoked in *KAR 227*—Šamaš, Gilgameš, the Anunnaki—takes account of the source of Gilgameš's authority over the dead, which is delegated to him by the supreme judge, Šamaš, and exercised on behalf of the community of Netherworld deities, the Anunnaki.

¹⁸⁷ Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 53 obv. 18–25.

¹⁸⁸ *LKA 90* obv. ii // *KAR 227* ii 43–8 continuing on to *LKA 90* iii 1–9 // Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 53 rev.

¹⁸⁹ *LKA 90* iii 10–11 // Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 53 rev. 1': *kīma*(gim) *an-nam ana maḥar*(igi) ^dGIS-*gim-maš imtanū*(šid) ^dpal-ḥš *pa*[l-ḥš] / *uš-ken ana maḥar*(igi) ^da-nun-na-ki *tu-gar-rab-šū-ma ká[m iqabbi*(dug.ga)], 'When he has recited this before Gilgameš he prostrates himself with extreme reverence. You bring him into the presence of the Anunnaki and [he speaks as] follows.'

¹⁹⁰ *KAR 227* iii 14 // *LKA 89* iii 8': *ina u₁-mi an-né-e maḥar*(igi) ^dšamaš(utu) ^dGIS-*gim-m*[aš] *i-ziz-za-nim-ma*, 'On this day stand present before Šamaš and Gilgameš!'; *KAR 227* iii 31 and 41 // *LKA 89* iii 23' and 33': ^dšamaš(utu) ^dGIS-*gim-maš* ^da-nun-na-ki.

OTHER ATTESTATIONS OF GILGAMESĚ

The small Neo- or Late Babylonian fragment BM 34314 (Sp 426), published as *CT* 46 31, was described in the summary catalogue of that book as 'almost certainly a piece of the Gilgamesh Epic'. It remains unplaced, but Lambert's copy is reprinted in Pl. 115. In the left-hand column the only meaningful traces are those of GilgamesĚ's name, which can be restored in l. 5', [^dGiĚ]-*gim-maĚ*. The right-hand column contains a succession of six lines, each commencing with a second-person verb (1': *uĚ*-[. . .], 2': *tag-x*[. . .], 3': *tap-x*[. . .], 4': *tag-x*[. . .], 5': *tag-x*[. . .], 6': *taĥ-x*[. . .]), and then (l. 7') ^den.k[ĭ or ^den-k[ĭ-i-dĭ. It may be that this is not a piece of the epic at all, but a fragment of an incantation.

An unplaced Kuyunjik fragment that names GilgamesĚ is K 13880, first published by Thompson (*Gilgamish*, pl. 8). It comes from the middle of a tablet of uncertain format (new copy in Pl. 35).

1' . . .] x [. . .
 2' . . .] KI UD *taĥ-ta*-[. . .
 3' . . .] *arrĭ*(lugal)^{mes} *ĭ-taĥ*-[. . .
 4' . . .] x-ru *la-bi-r*[u . . .
 5' . . .]-us *ana-ku at-x*[. . .
 6' . . .] x-ep-pi-la-i *amĭti*(*gĕme*)^{mes} [. . .
 7' . . .] x-tum [. . .
 8' . . .] ^dGiĚ-g] *ĭm-maĚ* [. . .
 9' . . .] maĥ [. . .
 10' . . .] x [. . .

The more text of the Standard Babylonian epic is discovered, the less likely it is that this fragment belongs to it.

A larger fragment of interest that is certainly no part of the epic is a Neo- or Late Babylonian piece, BM 78108, that may mention GilgamesĚ in col. iii, ll. 2 (^dGiĚ-g] *ĭm-maĚ*) and 5 (^dGiĚ?]-*gim-maĚ*). The text concerns the *mĕr-bĕnĭtu*, boats and the River Ulĕy. Its publication is expected from I. L. Finkel, who is thanked for making available to me his hand copy.

An Assyrian ritual in which GilgamesĚ may be associated with ŒamaĚ is known from an early Neo-Assyrian fragment found at AĚġur, VAT 10398, 6': [. . .] ^du]tu? ^dbi₄.ga.me.s x[. . .].¹⁹¹ Not enough of this piece survives to place the ritual in proper context; it may or may not have to do with exorcism.

Another Neo-Assyrian ritual fragment that mentions GilgamesĚ is Rm 908 from Kuyunjik, previously thought to refer to the Series of GilgamesĚ (*iĚkar GilgĕmeĚ*). Collation reveals that what is probably at issue in the two lines in which GilgamesĚ occurs is a bed.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ I thank Stefan Maul for showing me his photograph of this unpublished fragment and allowing its quotation here.

¹⁹² The sign in question is not an exact replica of the GĒR in l. 4.

l. 1: [. . .] ^{erĚ}u([n]ĕ) *ana* ^dGiĚ-gim-maĚ Œi-pir MAN x[. . .]

l. 9: [. . .] ^{er}Ě([n]ĕ) ^dGiĚ-gim-maĚ DIĚ AĚ x

Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 50 (coll.); cf. Livingstone, *SAA* III 49

The ritual, which belongs to the cult of IĚtar of Nineveh, involves a scribe of Borsippa resident in AĚġur and Arbil and mentions fixing styluses to the waists of the participants and the goddess.¹⁹³ In what capacity GilgamesĚ appears here is uncertain.

¹⁹³ The tying of writing instruments to the waist also occurs in an unpublished ritual of Babylon, edition forthcoming.

Enkidu and Others

ENKIDU

The name of Gilgamesh's bosom friend, written en.ki.dùg (en.ki.du₁₀), is good Sumerian. One other example of this personal name occurs, in an early list of personal names and professions from Fara, where it is written en.ki.dùg.ga.¹ The final /a/ is either the adjectival suffix or expresses a genitive relation between *en* and *ki-dug*. Either way the name means 'lord (of) the pleasant place'.² Similar names were current during the rest of the third millennium, though Enkidu itself does not recur.³ The spellings of the name in the second and first millennia can be tabulated as follows:

^(d) en.ki.dùg, ^(d) en-ki-du ₁₀	Sumerian poems of Bilgames, OB II-III, OB UM, OB Schøyen ₁ , OB Ishchali, OB VA + BM, MB Ur; also OB lullaby <i>OECT XI 2</i> , 16
^(dm) en-ki-dù	Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven Ma 116, 119 (Mê-Turan), ⁴ MB Boğ ₁ , MB Nippur ₃ , SB Gilgameš, also MB Poem of Early Rulers (Emar syllabic Sumerian line, Ugarit) ⁵

¹ Deimel, *Fara II* 28 ii 12. At this point collapses Dossin's often stated view that the name was originally 'En-gidu, . . . à interpreter "le seigneur de la cannaie"', as last expressed in his article 'Enkidou dans l' "Épopée de Gilgameš"', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Series 5*, 42 (1956), p. 591.

² So already Lambert, *Papers Porada*, p. 38, with fn. 4. Kramer, *JAOs* 64 (1944), p. 11, fn. 15, supposed that the Sumerian poems' spelling of the name plus agentive postposition, where marked, with -e not -ge meant that the name ended in a vowel not a consonant and thus that the use of the sign DÙG was 'an orthographic phenomenon . . . not to be taken as the Sumerian word dùg "good"'. This position disintegrates in the face of many variant spellings, especially in the Gudea corpus, e.g. Statue B viii 56 kù ^dgá.nùm.dùg.e and Cyl. A iv 2 ^dgá.nùm.dùg.ge. Falkenstein understood such variation on the phonological level, as the occasional omission of consonants in *Auslaut* even before vocalic suffixes (A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, §18 2b). It is more likely a matter of spelling style rather than phonetics.

³ On personal names of pre-Sargonic times and of the Ur III period that follow the pattern x-ki-dùg see Alberti and Pomponio, *UET 2 Supplement*, pp. 49-50, Limet, *L'anthroponymie*, p. 262, and the discussion by W. G. Lambert, 'The names of Umma', *JNES* 49 (1990), p. 79. The variable element is usually a town, temple or other location, e.g. abzu.ki.dùg, 'The Apsû is a pleasant place', but, as Alberti and Pomponio note, 'the first element also includes some common words'. Enkidu falls into this group.

⁴ Note that Römer's reading en.ki.dù in Bilgames and Akka 42, MS B (*AOAT* 209/I, p. 29), disagrees with the copy's en.ki.dùg (*TuM NF IV* 5).

⁵ Arnaud, *Emar VI/4* 767, 15, quoted in full in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Crossing the ocean.

^(dm) en-ki-du	Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven Mb 1?; ⁶ MB Boğ ₁ , MB Megiddo, Hittite Gilgameš <i>KBo X 47 passim</i> , also Poem of Early Rulers (Emar, Akkadian line)
^d en	OB Schøyen ₂
^d en-ki-du ₄	MB Boğ ₂ , Hittite Gilgameš, e.g. <i>KUBVIII 53</i> , 27
^d en-gi-du ₄	Hittite Gilgameš <i>KUB XVII 3</i> i 7
^d en-ki-ia + case ending	Hittite Gilgameš <i>KUB XVII 2</i> , 4'-5', Hurrian fragment <i>KBo VIII 144</i> i 18
[^(dm)]en-ki-tu	MB Emar ₁ ? (damaged)
^d en-kid	Early Neo-Assyrian MS x
^d en-ki-di	Early Neo-Assyrian MS y
a.rá.imin = en-gi-dù	Group vocabulary <i>CT 18 30</i> iv 10, quoted in full above, Chapter 3, the sub-section on Crossing the ocean

Note also the following spelling, though it may prove to be irrelevant:

en-ki-du-ù	BM 71584 obv. i 6', glossing [. . .].du.um in an unpublished god list
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The conventional Sumerian spelling of the hero's name, en.ki.dùg without any divine determinative, is found in the great majority of copies of the Sumerian poems and in some Old Babylonian copies of the Babylonian epic. Spellings with the divine determinative occur in some manuscripts of the Sumerian poems from places other than Nippur,⁷ and the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets also write the name with the determinative. This spelling, ^den-ki-du₁₀, lived on in Babylonia into at least the latter part of the second millennium. The short Old Babylonian spelling, ^den, is presumably an abbreviation of it. The spelling that is used in the Standard Babylonian epic, ^den-ki-dù, had already surfaced long before, in the Diyala region in a copy of a Sumerian Gilgameš poem. It is next seen in Anatolia, in fragments of a version of the epic closely related to the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, and then in a Middle Babylonian exercise tablet from Nippur.

A wide variety of syllabic writings of the name appears in western copies of Sumerian literary compositions and of the Babylonian epic. In the Syrian version of the Poem of Early Rulers it is uncertain whether the conventionally written Sumerian line used ^men.k[i.dùg] or ^men.k[i.dù]. The latter graces the syllabically written Sumerian line and ^men-ki-du occurs in the Akkadian line. This phonetic spelling with *du* occurs in Palestine (MB Megiddo) and at Hattusa, both in the Hittite Gilgameš and in an Akkadian Gilgameš tablet that offers both ^den-ki-du and ^den-ki-dù (MB Boğ₁). The Hittite and Hurrian Gilgameš use at least three

⁶ Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 107, 126: ^den-ki¹-d[u]; the traces are not fully legible on the published photograph (*ibid.*, p. 129).

⁷ Bilgames and Hūwawa A 175-6, 179, MSS KiA (Kiš) and UnB (no provenance; the same manuscripts also give Hūwawa the determinative), Bilgames and the Netherworld Mt₁, 21, 21, Death of Bilgames M₁, 201 (Mê-Turan).

further spellings, commonly ^d*en-ki-du*₄, but also ^d*en-gi-du*₄ and ^d*en-ki-ta*+case ending. Another phonetic writing of the west may be *en-ki-tu* at Emar. In early Neo-Assyrian tablets one finds further phonetic orthographies, ^m*en-kid* and ^m*en-ki-di*.

As with the spelling of the name of Gilgamesh, it must be asked why the spelling of Enkidu's name in the late epic uses a sign, GAG, with a phonetic value not normal in this period, *dù*. This spelling led early commentators to read the name as ^d*Ea(en.ki)-bāni*(*dùg*). Though they were subsequently proved wrong, at least two modern scholars consider that the spelling with *dù* is intended to make exactly that point, that Enkidu was the creature of Ea.⁸ So indeed he seems to have been, for if the Mother Goddess was responsible for Enkidu's birth, it was using Ea's know-how that she did it—and probably at his instigation.⁹ However, now that we know that the spelling *en-ki-dù* was already in use in the Diyala in the early Old Babylonian period, it is no longer possible to suppose that it arose against a background of orthographic experimentation by Middle Babylonian scribes. More probably its presence at Mē-Turan represents a provincial attachment to an old phonetic spelling of the name, for the sign GAG had the phonetic value *dù* in late third-millennium writing but not afterwards. If so, the writing ^d*en-ki-dù* was not originally coined as a vehicle for a meaning, 'Ea created (him)'. Nevertheless, it may eventually have found favour in the latter part of the second millennium exactly because of the opportunity it offered for the speculative etymology that became in vogue at that time. In this way an old, syllabic spelling was adopted because it could be interpreted to add a pertinent fact to what was known of its bearer, something that could not be articulated by the Sumerian spelling *en.ki.dùg* or by any plain writing such as *en-ki-du*.

In Babylonian poetry Enkidu's name most probably exhibited a long middle syllable, *Enkīdu*, for it falls on occasion at the line's end where a trochaic stress pattern is expected.¹⁰

Two conflicting traditions relating to Enkidu are visible in the Sumerian and Babylonian epic texts. More prominent in the Sumerian material is the tradition that Enkidu was the servant of Gilgamesh. The terms used are *ir* (var. *ir*₁₁), *da.ni*,¹¹ 'his servant', and, less commonly, *šubur.a.ni*,¹² an archaic, literary word that means much the same.¹³ The relationship is also defined when Gilgamesh is referred to as Enkidu's *lugal*, 'king'.¹⁴ The other tradition, which so powerfully informs all the Babylonian epic texts, is that Enkidu was Gilgamesh's bosom friend and companion (*ibru*). Something of this tradition has long been visible in the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, in which the reunion of Bilgames with the shade of his dead servant is described with some warmth:

⁸ Bottéro, p. 69, fn. 1; S. Parpola, *SAAIX*, p. xciii; id., *CRR* 43, p. 318.

⁹ See Ch. 5, the introduction to MB Nippur₁.

¹⁰ Von Soden's assertion that Enkidu's name 'in den altbab. Gilg.-Dichtungen am Versende nicht bezeugt ist' (*ZA* 71 (1981), p. 170) is refuted by clear examples in the Pennsylvania, Yale and Chicago tablets (OB II 52, 95, 148, OB III 70 damaged, 78, 90, 118, 139 damaged, OB Ishchali 10'), and now also by OB Schøyen: 65 and 77.

¹¹ Bilgames and Akka 42 MS A, Bilgames and Hūwawa A 3, 8, 160, 163, B 63, 90, 136, 139, Bilgames and the Netherworld 177.

¹² Bilgames and Akka 42 MSS B1, Bilgames and the Netherworld 241, 243, Mt₁ 11.

¹³ On *šubur* see I. J. Gelb, 'Terms for slaves in ancient Mesopotamia', *Studies Diakonoff*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁴ Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven A rev. ii 17. Bilgames and the Netherworld 206.

gú.ni.gú.da.mu.ni.(in).lá.ne.mu.un.su.ub.bé
 èn.tar.re.im.(mi.in).kúš.ù.ne
 á.ág.gá.kur.ra.igi.bí.(in).duḥ.[á]m?
 nu.uš.ma.ab.bé.en.ku.li.mu.nu.uš.¹ma¹.[ab.b]é.en

Bilgames and the Netherworld 244–7

He hugged him tight and kissed him,
 in asking and answering they made themselves weary.
 'Did you see the way things are ordered in the Netherworld?
 If only you could tell me, my friend, if only you could tell me!'¹⁵

The use of the word *ku.li*, the Sumerian equivalent of *ibru*, indicates an informal relationship bordering on equality. The recent recovery of versions of the Sumerian poems from Mē-Turan has revealed that the tradition of an intimate friendship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu informs the Sumerian literature more than previously thought. A passage of Bilgames and the Netherworld omitted by the Nippur manuscripts, where it would fall after l. 221, records Gilgamesh's grief at the failure of Enkidu to return from his mission to retrieve his master's playthings from the realm of the dead:

u₄.ḥul.gál.da.en.na.¹u₄.¹imin.[n]a.šè
 šubur.ra.a.ni.^den.ki.dùg {ra} kur.ta.nu.mu.un.è.dè
 lugal.e.i.lu.mu.un.na.bé.é[r.gi]g.še_x(A.IGI).še_x(A.IGI)
 šubur.šà.ga.a.mu.tab.ba.gi.n[a.m]u.a[d.g]i₄.¹gi₄.¹a.¹mu¹kur.ra.i[m?].ma.an.dab

Bilgames and the Netherworld Mt₁ obv. 10–13; cf. Cavigneaux, *Iraq* 62 (2000), p. 9

From (that) evil day to the seventh day thence,
 his servant Enkidu came not forth from the Netherworld.
 The king uttered a wail, he wept bitter tears,
 'My favourite servant, [my] steadfast companion, the one who counselled me—the
 Netherworld has [seized him!]'

The final line of this quotation recurs later in the Mē-Turan manuscript, when Gilgamesh seeks help from Enlil (l. 22); it is again absent from the Nippur sources.

The most poignant expression of Gilgamesh's love for Enkidu in the Sumerian poems is found in the Death of Bilgames, whose content is now properly revealed thanks to the finds at Mē-Turan. As the great king lies stricken on his bed, Enlil appears to him in a dream and tells him that death at last has caught up with him. The time has come for him to make the journey to the land of the dead, the place where his ancestors lie. There, too, his loved ones await him:

¹⁵ Civil states that 'nu-uš (from *nu-šè) is used to form rhetorical questions' and translates *nu.uš.ma.ab.bé.en* in this line as 'are you not going to tell me?' (*M. Civil, Aula Or* 1 (1983), p. 51). However, earlier in the same poem the verb *nu.uš.ma.da.gál.(ja).ám* (ll. 172–4) is not susceptible to such an interpretation, and accordingly I have here adhered to the conventional rendering of the prefix *nuš-* (on which see W. H. Ph. Römer, *Kramer AV*, pp. 371–8).

ama.zu nin₉.zu lú.ga.a.zu
 ku.li kal.la.zu tu.ús.a.a.zu
 ku.li ^den.ki.dùg guruš an.ta.a.zu

Death of Bilgames M 110–11 // 200–1 // N₄ rev. 1–2; cf.
 Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 22, 29 and 32–3

Your mother, your sister, your *siblings*,¹⁶
 your precious friend, your little brother,
 your friend Enkidu, the young man your companion.

And there, in death, they will be reunited:

é nin₉.a.ta nin₉ me.šī.du.un (Nippur: mu.e.šī.du)
 é lú.ga.a.ta lú.ga.me.šī.du.un
 za.a.zu mu.šī.du.un kal.la.zu mu.šī.du.[un]

Death of Bilgames M 117–18 // 206–9 // N₄ rev. 8–10

From the sister's house the sister will come to you,
 from the *sibling's* house the *sibling* will come to you,
 your own one will come to you, your precious one will come to you.

There is no doubt that the 'precious one' is Enkidu. Thus the tradition in which Enkidu was Gilgameš's dearest companion is now revealed as informing at least two of the Sumerian poems. The love they shared was not an invention of the Old Babylonian Gilgameš epic. There is no sign, however, in any of the Sumerian poems of the notion of Enkidu as a wild man, born outside civilization and succoured by wild animals. This story, which has parallels in the folklore of other cultures, has the appearance of having been taken over from some other source. It suits the poet's purpose to have the challenge to Gilgameš's tyranny come from outside, for no normal man could match him in strength.¹⁷

As well as generating the narratives of Enkidu's birth, early existence and taming in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II) and the late epic (SB I–II), the story of Enkidu's strange origin informs the phrase *waldam šerim miṭlukam ile*¹⁸ 'the wild-born was able to give counsel' (OB Harmal₂ 47, OB IM 19) and its later counterparts.¹⁸ The loyal retainer Enkidu often counsels Gilgameš in the Sumerian poems, and is lamented in that capacity in the passage of Bilgames and the Netherworld quoted above. The notion, however, that a man of no education and culture was best suited to be counsellor is an unusual one; the juxtaposition of the

¹⁶ The translation 'sibling' is a guess from the context; Cavigneaux translates 'neveu?'. Parallel passages in other texts pair nin₉, 'sister', with šeš, 'brother': see *TCL XV* 37 rev. 22–3, ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort* p. 66: nin₉.zu . . . šeš.zu; and, with reference to the passage of the Death of Bilgames quoted immediately after the present one, the bilingual text *IAS XVII* 49, 23'–7', ed. Cavigneaux, op. cit., p. 68: [é ni-na-tal] ni-in me-še-du-ú-ul : [iṣ-tu bi-ti] i a-ḫu-ti-ša a-ḫa-tu [ij-li-ka-ku] / [é s]i-sa-ta si-is me-še-d[u-ú-ul] : [iṣ-tu bi-ti] a-ḫe¹-šū a-ḫu i-li-ka-k[u], 'from the sister's house the sister comes to you, from the brother's house the brother comes to you' (so Sum., Akk. has minor differences); finally a prayer to Utu, Cohen, *ZA* 67 (1977), p. 10, 47–8, ed. Cavigneaux, op. cit., p. 71: é nin₉.nin₉.da nin₉ me.šī.du / é šeš.šeš.da šeš me.šī.du, 'from the sisters' house the sister will come to you, from the brothers' house the brother will come to you'.

¹⁷ On Enkidu as archetypal savage see A. Westenholz and U. Koch-Westenholz, 'Enkidu—the noble savage?', *Studias Lambert*, pp. 437–51.

¹⁸ SB IV 26: ša i¹aldamma ina šeri [miṭluka ile¹]; 107: [ta¹aldamma ina šeri miṭluka nile¹].

two opposing facets of Enkidu's character in one line perhaps expresses exactly that paradox. The preservation of the tradition of the counsellor Enkidu in the Babylonian epic texts deserves comment. Enkidu's coming is eagerly anticipated by Gilgameš, who yearns for a friend to counsel him. His wish comes true: Enkidu acts as counsellor throughout the episode of the Cedar Forest, beginning with his warnings of the danger. The quoted phrase and its variants appear when Enkidu explains his friend's nightmares, when he advises Gilgameš to despatch Humbaba and when he urges him to find a fine cedar to provide timber for Enlil's door. In the literature of ancient Mesopotamia the explanation of dreams is a task often performed by an intimate female—for example, Ninsun in the Pennsylvania tablet and Geštinanna in Dumuzi's Dream—and this is perhaps the key to Enkidu's filling of the role. As Gilgameš's most intimate companion he was naturally also his confidant. A more thought-provoking (but anachronistic) view is that 'Enkidu, sent by the gods to match and reform Gilgamesh, is the partner of Gilgamesh in the Manichaean sense of a spiritual counterpart, a divine twin sent by God to convey noble counsel'.¹⁹ However that may be, in Enkidu's role as Gilgameš's counsellor lies the probable solution to the strange equation a.rá.imin = Enkidu in the group vocabulary quoted in Chapter 3. The word a.rá, 'way, behaviour', can have overtones of 'good counsel', to the extent that it was sometimes interpreted by Babylonian scholars as *māliku*, 'counsellor'.²⁰ Perhaps, then, a.rá.imin was meant by the list's composer to convey the notion 'counsellor *par excellence*'.

Outside the Sumerian and Babylonian epic poems Enkidu had almost no existence. The entry [^dx (x)].ḫi = érin x x in the god list An = *Anum VI* 287 is restored to read [^den.ki].dùg by Litke but this is far from certain, since Enkidu appears in no other god list,²¹ has no cult and seems not to have been assimilated into the pantheon in any capacity. Elsewhere he occurs in an Old Babylonian incantation to quiet a baby whose cries keep the household awake, where he is understood to be a potential source of the problem's resolution:

[^ma¹-an-na-am¹⁶ lu-uš-pu-ur a-[n]a en-ki-du₁₀
 ša-ki-in ša-la-a-aš-ti¹⁸ a-na ma-aš-ša-ra-tim
 li-iš-ba-as-sú-ú-mi²⁰ [šā¹ iš-ba-tu-ú šabītam(maš.dà)
 l[ī]-ka-as-ši-šū¹-mi²² [ša ú¹-ka-as-sú-ú ar-wi-[am]
 OECT XI 2, 15–22, ed. *ibid.*, pp. 19–21²²

Who should I send to (summon) Enkidu,
 him that set the number three for the watches, (saying)
 'Let him catch him, who caught the female gazelle,
 let him bind him, who bound the male gazelle?'

¹⁹ S. Dalley, 'Gilgameš and Manichaean themes', *Aram* 3 (1991), p. 28.

²⁰ Notably in the name of Marduk, 'a.rá.nun.na, translated as *ma-lik* 'é-a in *Enūma eliš VII* 97 and as *ma-lik* 'en-lil u 'é-a in the commentary published by King, *STC II* 61 ii 20. In other commentaries and lexical texts a.rá can be rendered *milku*, *iḫmu* and *tašimtu* (see *PSD A/1*, p. 151).

²¹ Unless in *MDP XXVII* 286 ii 5', quoted above in Ch. 3, the section on Gilgameš the god, and in *BM 71584* obv. i 6', as cited above.

²² So arranged the text produces two couplets. On this passage see also Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, pp. 36 and 155, and *id.*, 'Mannam lušpur ana Enkidu: some new thoughts about an old motif', *JNES* 49 (1990), p. 309.

Here is a tradition that evidently holds Enkidu responsible for determining that there should be three watches. A Babylonian day and night lasted six watches of four hours each, so three watches were the length of daylight and of darkness on an ideal, equinoctial day. The association of Enkidu with the three watches probably alludes to his temporary position as the shepherds' nightwatchman, as described in the Pennsylvania tablet and the later epic.²³ As one who stayed awake all night he would be in a position to establish the length of the time of darkness. The significance here seems to be that he would on that account be best able to impose night-long sleep on a restless infant. The continuation alludes to Enkidu's youth in the wilderness. Just as he caught and bound the nimble gazelles, so the expectation is that he will be able to catch the baby and bind it with sleep. This implies a tradition of the young Enkidu as a hunter quite at odds with the tale of his early years in the epic, where he is known for releasing animals caught in traps.

HUMBABA

Humbaba was the guardian of the Cedar Forest, placed there by Enlil to deter would-be intruders seeking the valuable timber. He is essentially anthropomorphic in the Sumerian and Babylonian texts that relate his encounter with Gilgameš, but at the same time represents the terrifying numinous power of the remote and ancient forest and has tree-like characteristics.²⁴ The old form of Humbaba's name is conventionally rendered *Huwawa*; it first occurs as a personal name in Ur III documents, spelled variously *hu-wa-wa*, *hu-ba-ba* and *hu-ú-ú* (= *hu-ba₆-ba₆* or *hu-wa_x-wa_x*).²⁵ It belongs to a common pattern of name with reduplicated second syllable; such names, of no obvious linguistic affiliation, are often styled 'Banana'-names.²⁶ The spelling *hu-wa-wa*, sometimes with divine determinative, is usual in the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and in the Old Babylonian Gilgameš texts, except for OB Schøyen₂, which abbreviates it to ^d*hu* and ^d*hu-wa*, and OB Harmal₂, which writes *hu-bi-bi*. This last variant also occurs at Mari, where ornamental 'heads of *Huwawa*' occur several times in administrative documents, written *rēš(sag) hu-bi-bi*.²⁷ The evidence from Mari and Tell Harmal speaks for a normalization *Huppipi*—the first syllable is closed, as is explicit in later spellings—as a variant of *Huwawa* in what may be called the Diyala tradition.²⁸

²³ OB II 118: *Enkidu mašaršunu awilum erum*; SB II 62: *Enkidu naqissunu ē[rū? amē]u?* See already Farber, *JNES* 49, p. 303, who also mentions the possibility of an allusion to the dream sequence in SB Tablet IV, 'where Enkidu is shown awake while Gilgameš sleeps'. It is not yet clear that Enkidu does indeed stay awake on those nights; all we know is that he takes up a position in the doorway.

²⁴ According to the Sumerian poem Bilgames and *Huwawa*, the auras that emanated from him were cut up like lumber; see further G. Steiner, 'Huwawa und sein "Bergland" in der sumerischen Tradition', *Acta Sum* 18 (1996), pp. 208–12; N. Forsyth, 'Huwawa and his trees: a narrative and cultural analysis', *Acta Sum* 3 (1981), pp. 13–29.

²⁵ Limet, *Lanthroponymie*, pp. 111 and 430–1; C. Wilcke, 'Huwawa/Humbaba', *RLA* IV, p. 530.

²⁶ On the history of scholarly opinion regarding 'Banana'-language and 'Banana'-names see G. Rubio, 'On the alleged "pre-Sumerian substratum"', *JCS* 51 (1999), p. 3.

²⁷ See M. Guichard, 'Trophées de Huppipi', *NABU* 1994/74.

²⁸ A close relationship existed between the Akkadian of the Diyala and that of the Middle Euphrates. It arose as a result of the scribal culture of Ešnunna being the chief influence on the reform of writing practices at Mari; see D. Charpin,

Other western texts use the southern spelling *hu-wa-wa*: an inventory of jewellery from Qatna that lists a 'face of H.',²⁹ the Hittite and Hurrian paraphrases of the epic, and the Middle Babylonian version of the Poem of Early Rulers (quoted above in Chapter 3, the sub-section on Crossing the ocean). In Hittite and Hurrian the inflected endings fit an *Auslaut* in /i/ rather than /a/, and suggest therefore that in Anatolia *hu-wa-wa* might be read *hu-pi-pi* or *hu-wi-wi*.³⁰ At Alalakh the eponymous gemstone is spelled ^{ma}ḫúb.be.be.³¹ From this it seems that the Diyala tradition's *Huppipi* was also the usual pronunciation in north Mesopotamia and Syria. One cannot, however, let these peripheral spellings dictate that we read *hu-wa-wa* as *hu-pi-pi* everywhere.³² Writings of the reduplicated syllable as /ba/ are long established, coming from the first millennium as well as the third. Early Neo-Assyrian fragments of the epic from Aššur write both *hu-be-be* and *hu-ba-ba* (Assyrian MS y). There the name is apparently subject to the Assyrian rule of vowel harmony, so *Hubbubu*, *Hubbaba*, *Hubbebe*. The spelling in Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts of the epic is uniformly *hum-ba-ba*. This evidence proves a continuity of vocalization with /a/ and shows that *Huwawa* is a valid pronunciation for the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. It is not surprising that variant pronunciations existed. A similar phonetic variety can be observed in the spellings of the lizard and the stone ornament that bear *Huwawa*'s name: *huwawūtum* or *hupipūtum* in Old Babylonian, *hubbibītū*, *humbibītū*, *humbabītū* and even *humbubītū* later.³³ The name often occurs at the end of the poetic line, so that despite the apparent vowel harmony in Assyrian MS y, we expect nevertheless a stressed penultimate syllable, *Huwāwa*, *Humbāba*.

Humbaba was famous for his unusual physiognomy. Several omens record the observation of *Humbaba*'s visage in the faces of human adults and newborn humans and lambs. Commentaries explain that a bulbous nose and big eyes are the characteristic features:

DIŠ pān(igi) ^d*hu-wa-wa šakin(gar) i₁₁-šār-rū*
 ina(igi) ^{min} u app[u(kir₄) . . .]

Böck, *Morphoskopie*, p. 250, 7

If his face looks like *Huwawa*, he will grow rich.
 (Commentary:) eyes and nose [. . .]

šumma(BE) *sinništu*(munus) *ši-kin hu-wa-wa ūlīd(ù.tu) šarru(lugal) u*
mārū(dumu) ^{mes}-šū ina āli(uru) uššū(è) ^{mes}

Šumma izbu I 78, ed. Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 39

If a woman gives birth to (something with) the shape of *Huwawa*, the king and his sons will depart from the city.

Mélanges Birot, p. 55, fn. 35; *RA* 82 (1988), p. 186; *Florilegium marianum* 1, p. 37; *NABU* 1993/110; M. Guichard, *NABU* 1994/74.

²⁹ J. Bottéro, 'Les inventaires de Qatna', *RA* 43 (1949), p. 204, 190: *pa-ni hu-wa-wa*.

³⁰ See Guichard, *NABU* 1994/74.

³¹ *MSL* X, p. 39, 57: RS recension of *Hh* XVI.

³² Contra Guichard, *NABU* 1994/74.

³³ See Wilcke, *RLA* IV, p. 530; *CAD* H, p. 234.

šumma(BE) *lahru*(u₈) *nēša*(ur.maḥ) *ūlid*(ù.tu)-*ma pān*(igi) ^d*ḥu-wa-wa šakin*(gar)
rubū(nun) *māhira*(gaba.ri) *ūl irāšši*(tuk)³⁴ *māt*(kur) *nakri*(kūr)-*šū ikkal*(gu₇)

Šumma izbu V 56, ed. Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 78

išd(suḥuš) *appi*(kir₄) *qa-ta-an qaqqad*(sag.du) *appi*(kir₄) *rabi*(gal) *īnā*(igi)^{meš}-*šū ma-gal rab-ba-a*

Commentary 191–2, ed. Leichty, *Izbu*, pp. 218–19

If a ewe gives birth to a lion and it has a face like *Ḥuwawa*, the prince will have no equal, he will consume the land of his enemy.

(Commentary:) The base of the nose is narrow, the head of the nose is big, its eyes are very large.

šumma(BE) *iz-bu zi-im ḥu-wa-wa šakin*(gar) [.]

Šumma izbu XVII 49', ed. Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 169³⁴

If a foetus has a face like *Ḥuwawa* [.]

The frequency with which *Ḥumbaba's* name is written *ḥu-wa-wa* in these first-millennium tablets suggests that the omen tradition relating to *Ḥumbaba* was fixed in the Old Babylonian period.

Ḥumbaba's distinctive features could also be observed in the entrails of sacrificial animals, as in the late Old Babylonian tablet first published by Sidney Smith, which contains on the reverse the famous depiction of *Ḥumbaba* staring forth from the coils of a sheep's intestines.³⁵ The face illustrates one of the omens written on the obverse:

šumma(BE) *ti-ra-nu rēš*(sag) *ḥu-wa-wa šakin*(gar) *amūt*(bā) *šar-ru-ki-in ša māta*(kur)³⁴
i-be-lu

S. Smith, *AAA* 11 (1924), p. 113 and pl. 13

If the intestines look like *Ḥuwawa's* head, it is an omen of Sargon, who ruled the land.

The omen lived on into the first millennium in slightly different form:

šumma(BE) *tīrānū*(šā.nigin) *kīma*(gim) *pān*(igi) ^d*ḥum-ḥum* // *ḥum-ba-ba amūt*(bā)³⁴ *šār*
ḥammā'i(im.gi) *šā māta*(kur) *kalāša*(dù.a.bi) *i-be-el*

BRM IV 13, 65, variant from K 3805, 3 (Boissier, *Choix*, p. 91)

If the intestines are like the face of *Ḥumḥum* (var. *Ḥumbaba*), it is an omen of a usurper who will rule the entire land.

The presence of the *Ḥumḥum* in one manuscript is not enough to establish an equation between this obscure deity and the guardian of the Cedar Forest.³⁶

³⁴ A fourth mention of *Ḥuwawa* in the extant *Izbu* series may occur on the fragment K 12887, 12 (Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 197): ^d*ḥu-wa-wa*.

³⁵ On the date of this piece see Wilcke, *RLA* IV, p. 534.

³⁶ As assumed by S. I. Feigin, 'Ḥum-Ḥum', *Miscellanea Orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel* (AnOr 12; Rome, 1935), pp. 82–100. *Ḥumḥum* was a minor deity resident in the north Babylonian town of Dūr-Šarrukku (Dūr-Šarru-kīn, Sippar-Aruru) whose cult statue was returned by Esarhaddon.

Since Jensen first suggested the identification some have supposed that *Ḥumbaba* was none other than the Elamite deity *Ḥumban*.³⁷ Given that, in the form *Ḥuwawa*, it was a common personal name in the third millennium this is highly improbable. It is nevertheless true that one late editor may have confused the guardian of the Cedar Forest and the god of Elam. The case in point is an incantation prayer to Dumuzi which calls for that god to hand over the sufferer's tormentors to *dan-ni* ^d*ḥ[um]-ba-ba* (Aššur MS) // ^d*ḥum-ba* (Bab. MS) *gallē*(gal₄.lá) *la ba-bil pa-ni*, 'mighty *Ḥumba*(ba), the merciless demon'.³⁸ It may be, however, that neither *Ḥumbaba* nor *Ḥumban* was meant, but *Lumma*.³⁹

The figure of *Ḥumbaba* lived on after the death of cuneiform in the Book of Giants, where he appears with Gilgameš and other giants as *Ḥōbabiš*, *Ḥōbabis* or *Ḥōbābiš* (Qumran Aramaic *ḥwbbš/s*, Manichaean Middle Persian *ḥwb'byš*).⁴⁰ It seems that the name percolated through to later Arab writers in at least two forms, *Hummāmah*, the Manichaean 'sprit of darkness', who occurs in an Islamic polemic,⁴¹ and *ḥḥwš*, apparently corrupt for **ḥwb'bwš* (*Ḥōbābōš*), in fifteenth-century Arabic versions of Manichaean-inspired incantations.⁴² A connection with Lucian's self-castrato *Combabos* is unlikely, however.⁴³

NINSUN

The name of Gilgameš's mother combines the Sumerian words 'mistress, lady' and 'wild cow'. The word 'wild cow' exists in two forms, a long variant *sumun* (GUL = sūmun)⁴⁴ and a contracted variant *sun* (GUL = sún). This explains why the goddess's name is both *Ninsun-na*, as in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 236–7): *nintum ša supūrim* (or *supūrī*) ^d*nin-sún-na*, and also *Ninsumunna*, as in one of the tablets from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₂ 42): *litum ša supūrim* (or *supūrī*) *ni-in-su-mu-na*. The long spelling also occurs in the Emesal form *Gašan-sumuna* in a Sumerian cult-song, ka.ša.an.su.mu.na (*VAS* II 31 i 9). Two things are clear from the references in Old Babylonian Gilgameš: (a) the name, though perhaps originally 'lady wild-cow', was understood as a genitive compound, 'lady of the wild cows',⁴⁵ and

³⁷ A view most recently upheld by J. Hansman, 'Gilgamesh, Humbaba and the land of the ERIN-trees', *Iraq* 38 (1976), pp. 23–35, who draws unsafe historical conclusions from the literary tradition.

³⁸ Farber, *Ištar und Dumuzi*, p. 134, 130; cf. Wilcke, *RLA* IV, p. 535.

³⁹ Farber, *Ištar und Dumuzi*, pp. 172–3.

⁴⁰ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 311; Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*, p. 124. The definitive editions of the two Qumran fragments that mention *Ḥumbaba* are now É. Puech, *Qumrān Grotte 4 22. Textes araméens, première partie* (Oxford, 2001), p. 28, 4Q530 Frgs. 2 ii+ 2: *ḥ[w]bbš*; S. J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4 26* (Oxford, 2000), p. 13, 4Q203 Frg. 3, 3: *ḥwbbš* (L. Stuckenbruck).

⁴¹ Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*, pp. 125–6.

⁴² See M. Schwartz, 'Qumran, Turfan, and Arabic magic', in *Charmes et sortilèges. Magie et magiciens* (Res Orientales 15, due in 2002).

⁴³ See Wilcke, *RLA* IV, p. 531, and further the section of Ch. 1 on the Epic of Gilgameš outside the cuneiform tradition.

⁴⁴ See *MSL* XIV, p. 55, Proto-*Ea* 588: ^{su-mu}*un*GUL.

⁴⁵ See further T. Jacobsen, 'Lugalbanda and Ninsuna', *JCS* 41 (1989), p. 74; also A. Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 109, fn. 17.

(b) Ninsun was herself conceptualized as a 'cow of the fold(s)'. In the Standard Babylonian epic the same metaphor is pervasive, for Gilgamesh's mother is there apostrophized as an 'exalted cow' (SB I 36: *arḫu šīrtu*) and regularly referred to as *Rīmat-Ninsun*, 'Wild-Cow Ninsun' (SB I 260 etc.).⁴⁶

ŠAMḤAT

Šamḥat is the name given to the prostitute (*ḥarimtu*) in the Standard Babylonian epic, first occurring (restored) in SB I 140. In the Old Babylonian Pennsylvania tablet the name appears as Šamkatum.⁴⁷ The name is the feminine of the adjective *šamḫu*, itself deriving from the verb *šamāḫu*, which denotes superlative beauty of the flesh combined with lush growth and physical wellbeing. The adjective occurs in both genders as a personal name. However, there is an obvious allusion to the common noun *šamḫatu*, which is a synonym of *ḥarimtu* and so marks Šamḥat out as the prostitute *par excellence*. The etymology of the word suggests that *šamḫatu* carries overtones of vivacity and voluptuousness, both considerable advantages in the profession. As a name it was borne by at least one such woman outside the epic.⁴⁸

Šamḥat's position in Uruk is not revealed in the epic, for it is not material to the story, but one should note that, as the cult centre of Ištar, goddess of sexual love, Uruk was a city well known for the number and beauty of its prostitutes (cf. SB I 230–1). Many of these women were cultic prostitutes employed in the temples of Ninsun (cf. SB III 42) and Ištar (cf. SB VI 158–9), others perhaps servants of other of the city's sanctuaries. After seducing Enkidu in the wild Šamḥat is very keen to take him back to Uruk, specifically to the temple of Anu and Ištar, and I suspect on this account that she is to be imagined as a prostitute belonging to that establishment. In translating *ḥarimtu* I have used the old-fashioned word 'harlot' to help convey the alien nature of this kind of institutional prostitution.

ŠIDURI

The name of the ale-wife is not preserved in the Old Babylonian texts. In the Standard Babylonian epic she bears the name Šiduri only in the line that introduces her: ^dSI-*du-ri*.⁴⁹ Thereafter she is known by her occupation, *sābītu*. Probably the Old Babylonian epic texts used the same device. The Hittite Gilgamesh writes this name as ^zzi-*du-ri*.⁵⁰ In transcription

⁴⁶ On this goddess see further C. Wilcke, 'Ninsun', *RLA IX*, pp. 501–4.

⁴⁷ With case endings in narrative (OB II 50, 135, 175), in the absolute state when vocative (OB II 140).

⁴⁸ Szelechter, *TJA*, p. 112, as noted by W. G. Lambert, who comments that names such as Šamḥatum and Kezertum, a rough synonym, 'are well known for ladies of this type' (in V. Haas (ed.), *Außenseiter und Randgruppen* (Xenia 32), p. 137).

⁴⁹ SB IX catch-line = X 1. The name bears the divine determinative in MS K but not in MS D.

⁵⁰ *KUB XVII 3*, ed. Friedrich, *ZA 39* (1930), p. 22, iii 9.

the name is usually rendered Siduri but, as will be evident from the following, whatever its origin it is more accurately transcribed as Šiduri. The present orthography thus represents the petrified survival in the literary tradition of another third-millennium spelling, where the sign SI represents the sound /ši/ (the Boğazköy orthography is of no consequence for the nature of the opening sibilant).

The name is discussed most recently by W. G. Lambert in connection with the hymn to Ištar as the Queen of Nippur, the ancient title of which was *Ullā Šiduri*, 'Extol the goddess Šiduri!'⁵¹ In Lambert's view 'the goddess in the Gilgamesh Epic, living on the edge of the world, is clearly not Ištar, but she was assimilated by Middle Babylonian times', when the god lists that identify the two were compiled. In these lists Šiduri is written ^dši-*du-ri*, but once ^dši-*du-ri*, using archaic orthography, as in the Standard Babylonian epic. According to *Šurpu* the field of this goddess is wisdom.⁵² This ties in with the ale-wife's function in the Gilgamesh epic, in which she gives the hero sage advice. Lambert interprets the name of this goddess, which is also attested as a personal name in an Ur III document, as Akkadian Ši-dūrī, meaning 'She is my wall (i.e. protection)'. As he notes, the situation is complicated by the existence of a Hurrian word *šiduri*, which is glossed 'young woman' in the synonym list Explicit *Malku I*.⁵³ Lambert was uncertain whether the divine name had any relation to this word. It, too, has a divine application, being an epithet particular to the young goddess Allanzu, who is the š. of Hebat.⁵⁴

Since Ištar is typically a young woman too, an alternative position is to view the name of the Babylonian goddess and the Hurrian epithet as one and the same word, rather than as a matter of coincidence. In this analysis the Hurrian word would have been taken into use as a personal name by speakers of Akkadian in the third millennium; just such a name often occurs in north Mesopotamia of the early second millennium.⁵⁵ A folk etymology in which the name was interpreted after the Akkadian pattern *šī* + predicate, common in the third millennium, would then be secondary. Further evidence may help decide one way or the other.

UR-ŠANABI AND SURSUNABU

Sursunabu, the name of the ferryman in the Old Babylonian tablet probably from Sippar (OB VA + BM), is a name of uncertain origin. In the later epic it is replaced by Ur-šanabi, written ^mur-^dšānabi in tablets from Kuyunjik and Babylonia (^mur-^dšānabi in MS W) but ^mur-^šu-na-be in Assyrian MS Z from Nimrud. The old theory that Sumerian personal names

⁵¹ W. G. Lambert, 'The Hymn to the Queen of Nippur', *Kraus AV*, p. 208.

⁵² *Šurpu II 173*: ^dši-*du-ri lip-tur* ^dištar *né-me-qi*, 'May Š., the goddess of wisdom, undo (it)'.

⁵³ A. D. Kilmer, *JAOs 83* (1963), p. 434, 178: *ši-^du-ri = ar-[a]-tum*.

⁵⁴ E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris, 1980), p. 229.

⁵⁵ e.g., at Chagar Bazar: O. Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak* (AOAT 3; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), p. 24.

read Ur-DN might have to be read Sur-DN, for which the two names of Ūta-napišti's ferryman were adduced as evidence, is no longer tenable.⁵⁶

On account of its unusual second element, Ur-šanabi is itself not a typical Sumerian name. It is interpreted in a bilingual list of personal names as 'man of Ea': ^mur.šanabi! = ^mamē.^dé-a.⁵⁷ Like other names in the Sumerian column of that list, Ur-šanabi is probably an artificial back-translation from Akkadian.⁵⁸ Whether one reads it in Sumerian or Akkadian, the name is appropriate to a boatman, particularly one who crosses a cosmic waterway such as the ocean at the edge of the world, for Ea's watery domain lies at the edge of that ocean. The equation made in the list relies on the tradition in which the sign 40, which in sexagesimal notation signifies both the fraction two-thirds and the integer forty, is the mystic number of the god Ea, as recorded most eloquently in *A II/4*:

ni-mi-in	40 =	^d é-a
^d é-a	40 =	^d é-a
ša-na-bi	40 =	^d é-a

MSL XIV, p. 285, 195–7

The equation 40 = Ea is also found in the esoteric explanatory text i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a⁵⁹ and in a metrological commentary.⁶⁰ This equivalence belongs to a system of notation in which certain numbers became orthographies for certain gods.⁶¹ The system is not in evidence in its full form before the later second millennium, when it is best known from Middle Assyrian personal names.⁶² Nevertheless, the number 30 is commonly used for Sîn in the Old Babylonian period and 50 is a writing of Enlil in an inscription of Ḥammurapi.⁶³ The usage of 30 for Sîn was once thought to occur in the Ur III period, in the personal name Nūr-Sîn, but collation has demolished the single attestation proposed.⁶⁴ However, a sure

⁵⁶ The names Sursunabu and Ur-šanabi were seen as identical by T. G. Pinches, who was the first to put forward this theory (*PSBA* 25 (1903), p. 200). A. Poebel based his reading sur_x(UR) in such names on the same evidence (*JAOs* 57 (1937), p. 54, fn. 22). The phrase sur_xnanše in the Lagaš inscription Ent. 1 v 1, which was adduced as further evidence for the value sur_x(UR) by E. Sollberger, *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 11, fn. 4, is not convincingly a personal name (T. Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 (1957), p. 124, fn. 72). It is more acceptable as a topographical name (see H. Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 108; cf. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, pp. 63–4, fn. 5), and thus does not support the proposed identity. The question of Ur- and Sur- in Sumerian names has been re-examined by Lambert and Steinkeller (P. Steinkeller, '(z)a-āš-da = kiššānum', *RA* 74 (1980), pp. 178–9; W. G. Lambert, 'Ur- or Sur-?', *RA* 75 (1981), pp. 61–2; id., 'Ur- or Sur- again', *RA* 76 (1982), pp. 93–4).

⁵⁷ *V R* 44 iii 48, ed. W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957), p. 13.

⁵⁸ For this feature of the list see George, *Iraq* 55 (1993), pp. 63–4.

⁵⁹ Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, p. 30, 8.

⁶⁰ *CT* 22 49 i 9', 11'–12', ed. George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 134.

⁶¹ See, in general, W. Röllig, 'Götterzahlen', *RLA* III, pp. 499–500; Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, pp. 47–8.

⁶² This has provoked one scholar wrongly to contend that 'the practice of writing divine names with numbers emerged under the Middle Assyrian Empire and represents a genuinely Assyrian innovation; previously only the name of the Moon God had been written this way' (S. Parpola, *JNES* 52 (1993), p. 182, fn. 88). Even ignoring the evidence presented below, the presence of the system already in the god list *An = Anum* makes it likely that, even if the Assyrians made the greater use of it as an orthographic convention, nevertheless they borrowed it, along with so much else in the field of intellectual endeavour, from Babylonia.

⁶³ *LIH* 59, 7, ed. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 337.

⁶⁴ I. J. Gelb, *MAD* II², p. 213: *nu-ūr-30*, now read *nu-ūr-eš-tár* (coll. Maeda, *Acta Sum* 2 (1980), p. 212; H. Waetzoldt, *NABU* 1990/96, fn. 3).

example of numerical notation occurred at about this time on a cylinder seal on which the common name Ur-Lugalbanda is written ur-20-bān.da.⁶⁵

Other early evidence has been proposed for numbers 40 and 50. First is the suggestion of another occurrence of the name Ur-šanabi, in an inscription of Ur-Nanše of Lagaš. In Ur-Nanše's inscription a man whose name is written ur-40 is appointed the human consort of the goddess Nanše.⁶⁶ According to Sollberger this name is to be understood as 'Man of Ea' by reference to the equation 40 = Ea, who as Nanše's father is seen as appropriate.⁶⁷ As such this name might be read as either Ur-šanabi or Ur-nimin. In either case the second element of the name, as written, would not be typical of traditional Sumerian anthroponymy. On this account it is wise to reject Sollberger's 'Man of Ea' and view the orthography instead as a phonetic rendering of the common Sumerian name Ur-nigin (cf. /niġin/ > ES /ninin/). A second candidate for numerical notation in the third millennium is Ningirsu's temple at Girsu, the famous é.ninnu, which can be interpreted according to the same system to signify the temple's divine owner (50 = Enlil and Ninurta).⁶⁸ This would take the system of numerical notation back to the Early Dynastic period, for Ningirsu's temple is so named by Enannatum I.⁶⁹ However, at least one other temple of Ningirsu has a name that is unintelligible,⁷⁰ and it may yet be that the 50 in Eninnu is a rebus writing for something we do not understand. Accordingly, the antiquity of the numerical system of notation is not established before the Ur III period.

The newly discovered spelling ^mur-šū-na-be exhibits the same internal vocalization as the Old Babylonian Sursunabu, and this makes it more likely that the latter name was a corruption of Ur-sunabu, and already a pseudo-Sumerian name. The name Ur-šanabi was coined early enough to be taken over into the Hittite Gilgameš, where it is written ^m(u)-ur-ša-na-bi and ^dur-ša-na-bi.⁷¹ These spellings confirm the reading of 40 as šanabi.

In the epic Ur-šanabi's job was to captain the ferry that crossed the cosmic ocean between the end of the world and Ūta-napišti's realm. If we are to believe Berossus's report that Xisuthros's pilot accompanied him and his family when they joined the company of the gods, Ur-šanabi was also master of the great ark at the time of the flood. Since, in crossing the world ocean, he had to pass through the waters of death, it may well be that he was also considered a kind of Babylonian Charon, the ferryman of the Styx.⁷²

⁶⁵ A. Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne, fouilles de Lagash (Tello) et de Larsa (Senkereh) (1931–1933)* (Paris, 1954) no. 188; I owe this reference to W. G. Lambert. Parrot placed the seal in the Isin-Larsa period; Dominique Collon informs me privately that an Ur III date is more probable.

⁶⁶ Steible, *FAOS* 5/I, UrN 24 iii 3.

⁶⁷ E. Sollberger, *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 26.

⁶⁸ A. Falkenstein, *Inschriften Gudeas*, p. 117, fn. 1, wrote, 'In Eninnu möchte ich keinen Hinweis auf Enlil, dem die Zahl 50 eignete, sehen, da diese Zahlenzuordnung viel jünger ist als der Name des Heiligtums.' However, he was ignorant of the evidence that shows the system to be much older than then thought.

⁶⁹ See George, *House Most High*, p. 134, where, however, I translated é.ninnu with reference to the fuller form of the name, 'House of the Fifty White Anzu Birds'. This breaks the rule that normally governs noun and number syntax in Sumerian, but names often preserve inverted word order.

⁷⁰ i.e. é.ba.gára at Lagaš.

⁷¹ Respectively *KUB* VIII 50 iii 6, 13, ed. Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1930), p. 24, and *KUB* XXXIII 124 iv 3, ed. Friedrich, *ZA* 39, p. 26; copies from the late fourteenth century.

⁷² See Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet X.

ŪTA-NAPIŠTI, SON OF UBĀR-TUTU

The name of the Flood hero, written (^m)UD-napišti(zi)^{im} in late Gilgameš,⁷³ is well known to be an interpretation in Akkadian of the Flood hero's Sumerian name, Ziusudra.⁷⁴ The latter name, later Zisudra, properly means 'Life of distant days'. In the Akkadian version zi yields *napištu*, 'life', *u*₄ remains UD, and *sù.rá* equals *rūqu*, 'far-away', which in Standard Babylonian Gilgameš is the Flood hero's epithet. An Old Babylonian Gilgameš text preserves a variant form *ú-ta-na-iš-tim* (OBVA + BM), a version of the name that is the only attestation of a word **na'ištum* or **nīštum*, 'life'.⁷⁵

Outside the Gilgameš epic the name is preserved in the Middle Assyrian copy of the Babylonian Instructions of Šuruppak, where (^m)UD-na-pu-u[š-te?] is the Akkadian version of Ziusudra;⁷⁶ in the group vocabulary quoted above, in the sub-section of Chapter 3 on Crossing the ocean, where *zi.sù.da* = UD-na-pūš-te; and in the text that accompanies the Babylonian map of the world, where it is written [^m]d¹UD-zi^{im}.⁷⁷ The last text is more revealing, for there UD-napišti appears in broken context along with Sargon of Akkade and Nūr-Dagān of Burušanda. In his commentary on this text Horowitz was content to remark that 'the line lists three famous figures from the third millennium who are associated with far-away places'.⁷⁸ However, there is a closer connection. Nūr-Dagān is indeed, as Horowitz notes, Sargon's opponent in the Middle Babylonian epic known as King of Battle.⁷⁹ However, in an Old Babylonian legend of Sargon one destination of this king is the land of a certain *Ū-ta-ra-pa-āš-tim*.⁸⁰ Nougayrol went so far as to propose an identity between Nūr-Dagān and this Uta-rapaštim.⁸¹ However that may be, the mention of UD-napišti in the map fragment certainly ties in with Uta-rapaštim in the Old Babylonian Sargon legend. Whether this is a case of mistaken identity on the part of the map fragment, or whether Uta-rapaštim is a third version of the name of the Flood hero, cannot be determined with any certainty.

In all versions the name presents the same problem of parsing. If the element UD in late version of the name and *ú-ta* in the old version are taken to signify the transitive verb *ūta*, then according to the usual laws of grammar the following noun ought to be in the accusative case. Previous commentators, such as Heidel and Speiser, recognized this difficulty but still wished the name UD-napišti to mean, appropriately, 'He found life'. An alternative solution, put forward by von Soden, has been to view the names as constructed after the pattern

⁷³ SB I 40, IX 6 and X–XI passim. The phonetic complement can be omitted.

⁷⁴ See, e.g. Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 229–30; Bottéro, p. 66, fn. 3.

⁷⁵ Since there is an appropriate root *vnš* in Akkadian (>*nēšū*, 'to live'; *nīšu*, 'life'; etc.), I see no reason to insist on *na-iš-tim* being an error for—or corruption of—*na-pi-iš-tim*. It could be either a broken orthography of a word **nīštum* or **nāštum*, which would be the feminine verbal adjective in use as an abstract noun, or a defective writing of an archaic, uncontracted form of the same adjective, **na'ištum*.

⁷⁶ Lambert, *BWL*, p. 95 = B. Alster, *Instructions of Suruppak*, p. 121, obv. 2, 4; cf. below.

⁷⁷ CT 22 48 obv. 10', ed. W. Horowitz, *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 148; id., *Cosmic Geography*, p. 23.

⁷⁸ *Iraq* 50, p. 161; *Cosmic Geography*, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Westenholz, *Legends*, pp. 102–3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69, 58.

⁸¹ J. Nougayrol, *RA* 45 (1951), p. 179, fn. 2.

damqam īnim, but no sense can yet be obtained from the first element if it is to be an adjective **utam*.⁸²

A dissenting opinion which has found less support is that of Clay and Ravn, who ignored the Old Babylonian evidence and read the name in the Standard Babylonian epic as *ūm-napišti*, 'day of life'.⁸³ Komoróczy also took this view, supposing that such a reading 'must be regarded as the translation of the Sumerian' Ziusudra.⁸⁴ The recently discovered spelling *īnbyš* in Manichaean Middle Persian decisively refutes this idea (see below). Moreover, a translation of *zi u₄ sù.ra* into Akkadian would not invert regens and rectum. It is also hard to understand what the phrase 'day of life' would signify. Nevertheless, a similar position was adopted by Durand, who in commenting on the word *ú-ut-ka* in a Mari letter posited a noun 'ūt/dum, emprunt savant au sumérien ud, signifiant "le jour"; and translated the Flood hero's name as "Jours-de-vie (longs)", en parallèle avec le sumérien *zi-u₄-sù-rá*.⁸⁵ The problems here are (a) that the construct of a word **ūtum* ought not to be *ūta* and (b) that the 'parallel' again assumes an inversion, for *zi-u₄-sù.ra* means 'Vie-de-jours-long'. Durand does not exclude the possibility that the word in his letter is *ūdum*, 'threat, menace; evil portent'. I take the view that it is exactly that and reject a loanword 'day'.

There are Old Akkadian names with the verb *watā'um* that shed light on the problem. The name of Narām-Sin's daughter, Tūta-napšum (*tu-tá-na-ap-šum*), shows a similar disregard for the rules of normal grammar but must mean 'She has found life', i.e. the baby survived birth and the crucial perinatal period. Also relevant, because it confirms this analysis of *tu-tá*, is the name of Šar-kali-šarri's queen, Tūta-šar-libbīš (*tu-tá-šar-lī-bī-iš*), 'She has found the king of her heart', a name presumably taken on betrothal.⁸⁶ If the second elements of Uta-na'ištim, Uta-rapaštim and UD-napišti are genitive, as the presence of mimation makes unavoidable in the OB names at least, then they are still no harder to explain as the objects of *ūta* than the nominative *napšum* in the first of the Old Akkadian names. Thus there can be little doubt that the Akkadian name extracted from Sumerian Ziusudra was understood to mean either 'He found life' or 'I found life' and that it should therefore be normalized Ūta-napišti.

It should be noted, in any case, that in the sources in which the name actually appears in the form UD-napišti, i.e., copies from the first millennium, there is no reason why *zi^{im}* should not be read as accusative *napišti*, yielding a name Ūta-napišti, 'I found my life' (cf. the comparable Old Akkadian names Ālī-ūta', Ūta'-abī, Ūta'-ahī, Ūta'-bēlī).

⁸² W. von Soden, *JNES* 19 (1960), p. 165: '? der Kehle (? des Lebens)'; *AHW*, p. 1445.

⁸³ Clay, *YOR* V/3, p. 23; O. E. Ravn, *Acta Or* 22 (1955), p. 49.

⁸⁴ G. Komoróczy, *Acta Ant. Acad. Scient. Hung.* 23 (1975), p. 61.

⁸⁵ J.-M. Durand, *ARM* XXVI/1, p. 423.

⁸⁶ For these ladies, first brought to my attention by A. Westenholz, see P. Michalowski, 'Tudanapšum, Naram-Sin and Nippur', *RA* 75 (1981), pp. 173–6; P. Steinkeller, 'Comments on the seal of Aman-Eštar', *NABU* 1993/9; further bibliography in D. Frayne, *RIME* 2, pp. 175 and 198–9, to which add an unpublished stone item, probably a cosmetics palette, reportedly seen in London late in 2001, bearing the inscription *šar-kā-lī-šār-ri šār a-kū-dē^{ti} tu-tá-šar-lī-bī-iš na-ra-ma-at šarrim* (lugal), 'Šar-kali-šarri, king of Akkade: Tūta-šar-libbīš, the king's beloved' (cf. Frayne's E2.1.5.2003). I. J. Gelb's reluctance to place these names under *watā'um* in *MAD* III, p. 82, seems overly cautious.

The name given to the father of Ūta-napišti in SB IX 6 and XI 23 is Ubār-Tutu. There it is written ^mubar(EZEN × KASKAL)-^dtu-tu (MSS from Kuyunjik and Babylon) and ^m[u]-bar-t[^u-tu] (Assyrian MS z ii 13', from Nimrud). As is well known, this person appears in one version of the Sumerian King List as the last king before the Deluge, where the name is written ubur.tù.tù and ubur.tu.tu.⁸⁷ In the Dynastic Chronicle the dynasty of Šuruppak (properly Šuruppag in Sumerian contexts)⁸⁸ comprises both Ubār-Tutu, written ubar.^d[tu.tu], and his son, who in this text, under his Sumerian name Ziusudra, himself immediately precedes the Deluge.⁸⁹ The same tradition survives in the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus, according to which Ubār-Tutu (Otiartes) reigned (at Larak not Šuruppak) for eight *saroi* and was succeeded by his son Ziusudra (Xisouthros, Sisouthros), who reigned for a further eighteen *saroi*.⁹⁰ In one list of antediluvian kings, however, this twosome is accidentally developed into a family of three generations:

^mšuruppag dumu ubur.tu.tu mu šár:šár.šár:šár.šár:šár.šár:šár.šár:šár
^mzi.u₄.sud.rá dumu šuruppag.ge mu šár × u
 2 lugal šuruppag^{ki}
 OECT II, pl. 6, W-B 62, 9–11

Šuruppak, son of Ubār-Tutu: 28,800 years;
 Ziusudra, son of Šuruppak: 36,000 years;
 two kings (in) Šuruppak.

This same development is found in the standard version of the Instructions of Šuruppak:

šuruppag^{ki} dumu ubur.tu.tu.ke,
 zi.u₄.sud.rá dumu.ni.ra na na.mu.un.ri.ri
 B. Alster, *Instructions of Suruppak*, p. 34, 7–8

Šuruppak, son of Ubār-Tutu,
 gave advice to his son Ziusudra.

The Akkadian translation of this couplet can be restored as follows:

^mšu-ru-u[p-pa-ku-ù mār ^mubar-^dtu-tu]
^mUD-na-p[u-uš-te? mārāšu iššar]

Cf. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 95 = Alster, op. cit., p. 121, obv. 1–2

⁸⁷ T. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 74, 32.

⁸⁸ For the consonant in *Auslaut* see the references cited by C. Wilcke, *ZA* 68 (1978), p. 202, and W-B 62, 10, quoted below. On the toponym in general see M. Krebernik, 'Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Šalābīh', in J. Bauer et al., *Mesopotamien: Späturuk Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (OBO 160/I; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1998), p. 239, and Ch. 13 below, the commentary on SB XI 11.

⁸⁹ W. G. Lambert, *Symbolae Böhl*, p. 273, 11–12.

⁹⁰ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* III C 1 (Leiden, 1958), p. 377. Note that the Greek spellings of the name, Zisuthros in Berossus and Sisythes in Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, render not old-fashioned Ziusudra but Zisudra (Zisuddu), a version of the name found in cuneiform texts of the late second and the first millennium (see e.g. the Poem of Early Rulers and the omen texts quoted in Ch. 3).

The first of these lines may incidentally be the source of SB Gilgameš XI 23:¹⁰ *šuruppakū mār Ubār-Tutu*. The development of the genealogy from one of two generations to one of three generations appears to have taken place as a result of the misunderstanding of the toponym Šuruppak.⁹¹

The name Ubār-Tutu is of a type common in the earliest Akkadian onomasticon and means 'friend of the god Tutu'. The orthographies with the signs ubur (OB) and ubar (SB) are not Old Akkadian practice, however, and perhaps indicate later, secondary interpretations of the name as '(nurtured at) the teat of Tutu' (though Tutu was a male deity) and 'under the protection of Tutu'.⁹²

Like Gilgameš and Ĥumbaba, Ūta-napišti lived on after the death of the cuneiform tradition as a legendary giant in the Jewish Book of Giants. His name does not yet appear in any piece of the Aramaic text of this work from Qumran, but occurs in fragments of a later version found at Turfan in Central Asia. There it is written At(a)nabiš (Manichaean Middle Persian *ʾnbyš*).⁹³

⁹¹ The idea that this development was owed to a misunderstanding of the place name was the suggestion of B. Landsberger, publicized by H. Zimmern and T. Jacobsen (see *AS* 11, p. 76, fn. 32). Rebuffing this view, W. G. Lambert, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 19, compared W-B 62 with the ED versions of the Instructions of Šuruppak, in which, as understood at that time by M. Civil and R. D. Biggs, the signs ŪR.AŠ following the name Šuruppak were to be taken as his son, and thus evidence for an extra generation between Šuruppak and Ziusudra. However, ŪR.AŠ now seems to be an epithet of the protagonist, not the name of his son (see Alster, *Instructions of Suruppak*, p. 25; Wilcke, *ZA* 68, p. 202, suggests it stands for ūrum, 'father-in-law'). The old view holds good.

⁹² For ubara = *hidimmu* see George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 40, *Timūr* I 48, and lexical references on p. 264.

⁹³ J. C. Reeves, 'Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?', *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 110–15, reading Atambīsh; see further M. Schwartz, 'Qumran, Turfan, and Arabic magic', in *Charmes et sortilèges. Magie et magiciens* (Res Orientales 15, due in 2002). The idea proposed there, that 'nbyš' was "translated" into Hebrew, at the end of serial calquing and reinterpretation . . . , by ordinary Hebrew *nḥ* . . . vocalized onomastically as *nāḥ*, is not compelling. On the connections between the Mesopotamian Flood hero and Noah see further J. R. Davila, 'The Flood hero as king and priest', *JNES* 54 (1995), pp. 199–214.

Part Two

THE OLDER VERSIONS
OF THE EPIC

Old Babylonian Tablets and Fragments

Eleven tablets of the Babylonian Gilgameš epic are currently known to date from the early centuries of the second millennium. This represents a considerable improvement on the situation that existed when the sources for the epic were last collected in a single volume. At that time, in 1930, Campbell Thompson already had at his disposal the two largest pieces, the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, and the larger part of a third tablet originally published by Bruno Meissner. Over the intervening seven decades a further seven pieces have become available, including a fragment that joins Meissner's piece. Another two tablets are published in this book for the first time. The place of these eleven tablets in the history of the epic has been discussed in Chapter 1. This chapter presents editions of them. In the absence of other meaningful criteria for ordering them they are given in a sequence that loosely follows the plot of the epic.

THE PENNSYLVANIA AND YALE TABLETS (OB TABLETS II AND III)

The two famous Old Babylonian tablets of Gilgameš housed in the University Museum in Philadelphia and the Yale Babylonian Collection in New Haven are commonly known respectively as the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, or 'P' and 'Y'. They were purchased at about the same time from the same dealer and form a pair. Very similar in clay, size and general appearance, they exhibit the same format of three columns on each side, the same orthographic conventions and, most importantly, they are inscribed in hands that are indistinguishable. In addition, the two tablets have in common the presence on their edges of rounded lumps of clay of irregular size. The function of these knobs, which were fixed on after the tablets were inscribed, is uncertain.¹ As far as I know they are a unique feature, and they may have been an idiosyncrasy of the scribe who wrote these particular tablets.

¹ The scholars who first edited the tablets themselves disagreed: Stephen Langdon suggested they were to aid the holding of the tablet, Morris Jastrow that they were to protect the edges when the tablets were in store (for bibliography see the tables of previous publication below).

The identification of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets as parts of a series, and in fact consecutive tablets of that series, rests on three well-known pieces of evidence. First, the brief colophon of the Pennsylvania tablet designates it as dub 2.kam.ma, which indicates that it is Tablet II and thus part of a series of at least two tablets.² Second, the same colophon cites what proves to be the first half of a line that turns up near the beginning of the late text, *šūtur eli šarrī* (SB I 29). Since this is evidently the title of the composition, it will also be the incipit of the whole text, which means that the line later embedded in the epic as SB I 29 was the first line of the edition of the epic represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets.³ Third, comparison of the story line of the Yale tablet with the late text makes it certain that this tablet followed immediately after the Pennsylvania tablet and is therefore Tablet III of this Old Babylonian edition.

It is impossible to determine, at the present time, whether the edition represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets was in any way a standard edition. The facts that the lines of the Yale tablet become more squeezed on the reverse, and that even so the scribe had to cram text on to the left edge of the tablet, suggest that he felt obliged to reach a set point in the story before completing the tablet. That set point may have been dictated by considerations of narrative, for it falls at the beginning of the journey to the Cedar Forest, but it was very likely also the end of Tablet III in the set of tablets from which he made his copy.

The orthography of the tablets is certainly southern. For example, the syllable (or half-syllable) /pi/ is written with the sign *pi* rather than *pí*(BI), and the spelling observes the rigorous distinction, first noted by Goetze,⁴ between the double consonant /ss/ < /š + š/ of pronominal suffix/ and the double consonant /ss/ < /dental + š/. The former is written with a sign from the /š/ range followed by a sign from the /s/ range, e.g. *-is*(IŠ)-*su*,⁵ and the latter is written with signs from the /z/ range, e.g. *-is-sú*(ZU).⁶ Elsewhere in these tablets the syllable /sV/ is consistently written with the /z/ range, i.e. *sà*, *sí*, *sú*.⁷ There are occasional inconsistencies in the inventory of signs that are probably to be explained as old-fashioned spellings

² The colophon of the Yale tablet is lost to us; it no doubt occupied all or part of the missing third sub-column on the tablet's left edge.

³ As first noticed by A. Shaffer apud D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 37 (1974), p. 158, fn. 2.

⁴ A. Goetze, 'The sibilants of Old Babylonian', *RA* 52 (1958), pp. 137-49; id., 'The Akkadian dialects of the Old Babylonian mathematical texts', in *MCT*, p. 146.

⁵ *ú-mi-is-su-ma* (II 9), *ú-la-ab-bi-is-su* (II 70), *i-ku-ús-su-um-ma* (II 144), *na-pi-is-su* (III 112), defectively *na-pi-su* (III 198); in other cases such spellings are archaisms (see fn. 8). The same convention is used for /ss/ < /šs/ in forms of the verb *šasūm*: *li-is-si-a-am* (III 147); *is-si-ma* (III 173, 222); that the second sibilant of this verb was not heard as a conventional /s/ is indicated by the orthography *iš-ta-si* (II 143) instead of *iš-ta-si*.

⁶ *a-wa-as-sà* (II 66), *qá-as-sú* (II 73), *ši-ma-as-sūm* (II 164), *i-ra-as-sú* (II 230), *[nu-ga?-a]l-li-is-sú* (III 102), *iš-pa-as-sú* (III 241), *šu-pa-as-sú* (III 275); defectively *i-ra-sú* (II 231), *lu-uk-šu-sú-ma* (III 184), *ú-nu-sú* (III 236), probably also ...]*x-a-ka-sú* (III 231).

⁷ *sú-qi-im* (II 27, 179), *sí-ma-at* (II 97), *as-sà-am-mi-im* (II 102), *sí-qi-ir-šu* (II 142), *sí-qi-ri* (II 165), *sí-ip-pa-am* (II 220, 225), *sú-pu-ri* (II 236), *[lu-u]k-sú-ma-am* (III 159), *lu-uk-sú-ma* (III 187), *sí-qi-ra* (III 190), *sí-qi-ir* (III 201), *ip-pa-al-sà-am-ma* (III 202), *ki-ib-si-ka* (III 260); *li-is-ta-si-ig* (III 260, 261); *mi-si* (III 267); *ta-ša-sà-as* (III 271). It is, of course, very likely that the combinations of signs conventionally transliterated *is-su* and *is-si* express sibilants that were still differentiated in the OB period: see Goetze, *RA* 52, p. 140, who identifies the former sibilant as /s/. Note that /ss/ < /st/ seems to be rendered inconsistently in these tablets: *is-sà-qar-am* (II 2, 16 and *passim*), *is-sa-ak-pu* (II 114), *ú[?]-sà-aq-qi-ir* (II 121); the verb *saqārum* is, however, a special case (see below, fn. 133).

that reproduce third-millennium practice.⁸ Double consonants are so written more often than not, at least until towards the end of the Yale tablet, at which point space is short and defective spellings eventually predominate.⁹

Final mimation is often lacking,¹⁰ which may speak for a date later in the Old Babylonian period, rather than earlier, as also may the nasalization of /CC/ rendered orthographically as /nC/ or /mC/.¹¹ Here other factors must be taken into account. The dearth of late Old Babylonian archival documents from the far south of Babylonia following the reign of Samsuiluna indicates that after the catastrophes of the mid- to late eighteenth century BC the main centres were depopulated. Since the spelling conventions employed by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets speak for a southern origin, their date will be eighteenth-century at the latest. Nevertheless the script they exhibit is more cursive than copies of Sumerian literary compositions from the eighteenth-century houses at Nippur and Ur and thus gives the impression of being later. This problem can be solved by supposing that schoolboys were taught to use, when writing the old corpus of Sumerian texts, a script that was more old-fashioned than that in everyday use, and that the more cursive hand of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (and others not part of the traditional corpus) is an everyday script.¹² Among the eleven Old Babylonian tablets copied for this book, only three tablets display more old-fashioned hands. One of these is certainly the work of a Nippur student (OB Nippur), another probably (OB UM); the third, from Ishchali, may also be a school tablet. Further

⁸ Clear examples are *qá-ti-is-su-nu* (III 239) instead of expected *qá-ti-iš-šu-nu*, *ú-kà-ra-bu* (III 245) instead of *ú-ka-ra-bu*; if for *miššum*, *mi-is-su* (III 145) is also an Old Akkadian spelling. OB VA + BM also exhibits a small number of third-millennium spellings.

⁹ Defective spellings: *ka-ka-bu* (II 6), *ú-na-ša-qu* (II 11, 21), *ta-mar-šu-ma ta-ša-du* (II 20), *uš-[ta]-ma-ša-ru* (II 43), *a-na-tal-ka* (II 53), *na-ma-aš-ia-e* (II 54, 85, 188), *uk-ta-ši-id* (II 116), *iq-ru-mi-ni* (II 149), *pa-da-tam* (II 183), *i-ra-sú* (II 231), *uš-ta-di-nu* (II 20), *nu-ma-at* (III 108, 195), *i-te-nè-pu-šu* etc. (III 143, 192), *ta-dar* (III 144), *ta-gá-bi* (III 156), *uš-ta-da-nu* (III 164), *lu-uk-šu-sú-ma* (III 184), *lu-uk-si-ma* (III 187), *[i-m]a-ša-ru* (III 194), *na-pi-su* (III 198), *a-pa-la-ah-šu-ma-a* (III 204), *lu-uš-li-ma* (III 219, 232), *i-la-ka* (III 229), *ú-nu-sú* (III 236), *ú-kà-ra-bu* (III 245), *i-ka-ra-bu-šu* (III 247), *i-ma-li-ku* (III 248), *i-šú-ur?* (III 256), *er-ni-ta-ka* etc. (III 257, 264, 265), *li-is-ta-si-ig* (III 260, 261), *ta-ša-du-ú* (III 262), *li-ib-la-ku* (III 263), *tu-ša-ma-ru* (III 266), *nu-ba-ti-ka* (III 268), *ta-na-qi* (III 270), *ta-ša-sà-as* (III 271), *du-ug-la-ni* (III 274), *li-li-ik* (III 285). Partly defective: *aš-si-a-šu-ma* (II 114), *is-sà-qar-am* (*passim*) for *issaqqaram*, *ša-aš-š-nu* etc. (II 29, 31, III 124, 166) for *šaššim*, *at-ta-la-ku* etc. (III 107, 276) for *atallaku*. Double /w/ is necessarily written defectively: *i-wa-li-id-ma* etc. (II 18, 47, 186, III 151), *i-ta-wa-a-am* etc. (II 25, 144, 182), *šu-wu-ra-ma* (III 250, 256). Words where a double glottal stop might be predicted are also necessarily written defectively, either with *hV*: *úr-[a-]a-mu* (II 46), *šu-ur-ra-am* (II 107), with *Vh*: *el-ti-i* (II 9), or with *V* only: *ú-na-i-du* (III 41). It is uncertain whether such words should be normalized as, for example, *šu'uram* or *šū'uram*. In this book I have adopted the former convention.

¹⁰ More than fifty times: *še-ri* (II 18), *ša-du-ú* (19), *ša-aš-š-nu* (29), *mu-ša-bi* (58, 60), *qá-aq-qá-ri* (64, 227), *gu-up-ri* (75, if not plural), *ši-is-ba* (85), *ma-ti* (98, 214), *mu-ti* (111), *uk-ki-ši* < *ukkišim?* (140), *mi-nu* (146), *e-mi* (153), *ša-a-ri* (155, 157), *wa-ar-ka-nu* (161), *lu-ša-nu* (192), *mu-ši* (199), *sú-pu-ri* (236, if not for pl. *supūrī*), *[š]-bu-ti* (III 44), *da-pi-nu* (97), *ma-an-nu* (109, 140, 196), *a-bu-bu* (110, 197), *tar-bi-a* (151), *la-bu* (152), *pa-ás-na-qi* (156), *šu-ma* ([160], 188), *lu-uš-ta-ak-na* (160), *lu-mu-ša* (161), *ki-iš-ka-ti-i* (163; sg., cf. 161: *ki-iš-ka-ti-im*), *[pu-uh-]ra*, *um-ma-nu*, *ip-ta-š-ra* (all 173), *lu-uk-si-ma* (187), *si-ig-ra* (190), *šu-ul-mi* (215), *ul-la-nu* (219), *li-ib-bi* (233), *kaskal-na* (252), *tap-pa-a* (255), *utu-šu* (257), *ša-di-a* (261), *li-ib-la-ku* (263), *še-eh-ri*, *ku-uš-da* (both 265), *um-m]a-nu*, *li-ib-bi* (both 281), *an-ni-a* (282).

¹¹ Apparently present in *uš-[a]-an-da-nu-ni-iš-šu* (II 204), however one restores it, and definitely in *ti-ta-nam-ba-la* (III 183). According to A. Goetze in *MCT*, p. 147, this is a southern tendency in OB.

¹² The selection of different scripts for different functions is a topic worthy of attention. It is best seen in the juxtaposition throughout the second and first millennia of archaic or archaizing monumental scripts, as used on stone monuments, and the more cursive clay scripts.

work on the palaeography of Old Babylonian tablets will bring this question of scripts into sharper focus.

The language of the two tablets is distinguished from prose by metre, word order and vocabulary, but few of the devices of the high poetic Old Babylonian style are to be found here. Occasionally one encounters the terminative ending,¹³ the construct state in *-u*,¹⁴ and other features characteristic of the 'hymno-epic' style,¹⁵ but usually the poet avoids such things.

In the transliteration of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets I have followed the lead of von Soden in assuming that many lines of poetry extend over more than a single line of script on the tablet.¹⁶ In these tablets a line of poetry will always start at the beginning of a line of the tablet and close at the end of a line of tablet (with the exception of OB III 262–5, where there is disorder), but it can extend over either one or two such lines. There is one occasion where a line of poetry apparently occupies three lines of the tablet (OB II 222–4). This is a case of parallel couplets, where a previous line (OB II 218–19) is repeated in expanded form with explicit subjects, and on this account it may represent a special case. Among the other Old Babylonian tablets, the second Philadelphia piece (OB UM) is similar to the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets in the arrangement of poetic lines. Most other tablets of this period normally set down one poetic line on one line of tablet, with some doubling up of two lines on one (OB Schøyen_{1–2}, OB Nippur, OB Harmal₁, OB Ishchali, OB IM, OB VA+BM). Poetic lines that on the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets extend over two lines of tablet occupy only one line of tablet when they recur in these and later manuscripts.¹⁷ The principle of one line of poetry per line of tablet, with occasional doubling up, became standard practice in committing Babylonian poetry to writing down to the end of the first millennium. Among manuscripts of the Gilgameš epic the exceptions are the second tablet from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₂), tablets from the West (MB Boğ_{1–2}, MB Emar_{1–2}, MB Megiddo) and a few late manuscripts of Middle Babylonian recensions (Assyrian MSS **e**, **x** and **z**); on these tablets the beginning and ends of poetic lines sometimes do not coincide with the division of lines on the tablet.¹⁸

I have kept to a traditional analysis of the metrical system, which recognizes a pattern of lines comprising either four units of stress ('beats') separated midway by a pause or caesura, or three units of stress without a caesura.¹⁹ Successive four-beat lines will quicken

¹³ Three times only: *awīlīš* (II 109), *bīlīš* (149), *qātissunu* (III 239).

¹⁴ Five times: *alāku mānaḥūka* (II 146), *rebtu māi* (214), *šullumu [erēnim]* (III 136), *ēlu šam[ā]r* (140), *danānu garrādūtika* (145).

¹⁵ Declined form of the determinative-relative pronoun: *šār* (II 3); epenthetic vowels in irregular positions: *šunatam* (II 1) for *šuttam*, *habtatam* (II 103) for *kabatam*, *riḡmašu* (III 110 // 197) for *riḡimšu*; apocopated prepositions: *[i]n* (III 103), and possibly *aš-šadiša* (III 119); archaic lack of contraction: *šamā* (II 6, III 140), *mūde'at* (II 15) against *mūdāu* (II 37); note also hypercorrect *šadi'a* (III 261) for *šadu'am*?

¹⁶ Though my arrangement of the lines does not always agree with his: cf. the transcription of parts of OB Tablet II in W. von Soden, 'Untersuchungen zur babylonischen Metrik, Teil I', *ZA* 71 (1981), pp. 180–3.

¹⁷ OB II 104–5 recurs as OB Schøyen₂ 24. Many lines that are split on OB II and III recur as single lines in SB I–III.

¹⁸ See further the discussion of this phenomenon in Ch. 7.

¹⁹ This metrical pattern was first discussed by H. Zimmern; see especially his articles 'Ein vorläufiges Wort über babylonische Metrik', *ZA* 8 (1893), pp. 121–4, and 'Ueber Rhythmus im Babylonischen', *ZA* 12 (1897), pp. 382–92. The recent examination of G. Buccellati, 'The Akkadian metrical system: constitutive units', *Studies Moran*, pp. 109–14,

the tempo, while successive three-beat lines will achieve a slower, more measured effect. Half-lines are rare, except in the formula that introduces direct speech, *issaqqaram ana PN*. Scanned in this way the text of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets falls into regular couplets bound by syntax and meaning. The couplets, too, hang together in pairs to form four-line stanzas or quatrains.

Passages of the two tablets can be set out as examples, showing the division of the text into stanzas, couplets, lines and stress-bearing units:

ibēma | Gilgāmeš || šunatam | ipāššar
*issāqqaram | ana ummīšu*²⁰
*ummī | ina šār*²¹ | *mušītīya*
šamḥākūma | attanāllak || ina birīt |
eḷūtīm

ḥaššinnūmma | šāni | būnūšu
āmuršūma | aḥtadu | anāku
arāmšūma | kīma aššatim || aḥābbub | eḷšu
elqēšūma | aštakānšu | ana aḥīya

OB II 1–36

*ipzirūnimma(?) | kākkabū | šamā*²¹

... rum | ša Anim || imqutam | ana šērīya
aššūma | iktabit | eḷīya
*unīssūma | nūššašu | ul eltē*²¹

irūbma | ana libbi Ūruk | ribītīm
iphur | ummānum | ina šērīšu
izzizāmma | ina sūqim || ša Ūruk | ribītīm
paḥrāma | nišū || ūawwā | ina šērīšu

Ūruk | mātum || pāḥir | eḷīšu
eḷūtūm | unāššaḡū | šēpīšu
ummīdma | pūtū || imidū | yāti
aššī'aššūma | atbalāššu | ana šērīki

anāmi | Gilgāmeš || māšil | padāttam
lānam | šāpil || ešēmtam | pūkkul
*minde | ša iwwāldu | ina šadīm*²²
šizba | ša nammašē | ūenniḡ

ūmmi | Gilgāmeš || mūde'at | kalāma
issāqqaram | ana Gilgāmeš
minde | Gilgāmeš | ša kīma kāti
*ina šēri | iwwalīdma || urabbīšu | šadū*²²

kayyānā | ina Ūruk | niqī'atum
eḷūtūm | ūellīšū || šākin | lušānu
ana eḷlīm | ša išarū | zīmūšu
ana Gilgāmeš | kīma ilīm || šakīššum |
mēḥrum

tammarsūma | taḥāddu | ātta
eḷūtūm | unāššaḡū | šēpīšu
teddiraššūma | tatarraššu | ana šērīya
[i]ttilāmma | itamar | šanītam

*ana Išhara*²³ | *mayyālum | nadīma*
Gilgāmeš | itti wārdatim || ina mūši |
innēmīd

[i]tbe | ūawwām | ana ummīšu
[ūm]mī | ātamar | šanītam
[. . .] *mē U.L.A | ina sūqim | [ša Ūru]k-ribītīm*
ḥaššinnu | nadīma || eḷīšu | pāḥrū

ūtakšamma | ittaziz | ina sūqim
iptaras | alāktam | ša Gilgāmeš

OB II 177–203

offers a statement of the basic principles in modern terms. See also M. L. West, 'Akkadian poetry: metre and performance', *Iraq* 59 (1997), pp. 175–87.

²⁰ Or with elision, *an-ummīšu*, *an-aḥīya*?

²¹ Or with apocopation, *iš-šār*, *ib-birīt*, *aš-šērīya*, *aḡ-Gilgāmeš*, etc.

²² Or trisyllabic? The pronunciation of circumflexed vowels at the end of a line of poetry is uncertain.

²³ Or *Išhāra*?

Gilgāmeš | pīšu | īpuš[amma]
 issāqaram | ana E[nkīdu]
 mānmu | ibrī || ēlū | šam[āṛ]
 ilūma | itti šamšim || dāriš | ú[šbū]
 awilūtūmma | manū | ūmūša
 mimma | ša ūnenēppušu | šārūmma

átta | annānūmma || táddar | mūtam
 mīssu | danānu | qarrādūtīka
 lullīkma | ina pānīka
 pīka | līssi'am || īiḫe | ē tādur

šumma | amtaqut || šumī | lū ušzīz
 Gilgāmešmi || itti Huruwāwa | dāpinim ||
 taqūmtam | ištu

For comparison I add also two sections of other well-preserved Old Babylonian Gilgameš texts:

Gilgāmeš | sākīp | nīl
 šīnatam | mušīyatam | ubl[āš]u(?)
 ina qablītīm | šītašu | ugallīssu
 itbe | ūawwā | ana ibrīšu

ibrī | ātamar | šūtām
 ammīnim | lā tedki'anni || mādiš |
 pālha[i]
 ina būdīya | ēmidam | šādī'am
 šadūm | iqūpamma | šīhān[mi]

birkīya | iltawi | pulūhtum(!)
 aḫīya | šalūmmatum | uddānīn
 ištēn | ēlum || lābiš | [pal]ām(?)
 ina mātim | nawīrma || d[u]mqamma |
 d[āmiq](?)

išbātma | kūbur | em[ūq]īya
 šaplānu | šadīmma | ištālpānī
 Enkīdu | šūtām | ipāššar
 izzaqqaramma | ana Gilgāmeš

inānna | ibrī | ša nillakūšum
 ul šadūmmā | nūkkur | mimma

tawwaldamma | tárbi'a | ina šērīm
 išḫīkāma | lābu || kalāma | tīde

etlūtum | iḫbutū | maḫárka
 . . . kukāma [kákka]b(?) šiwīti
 [u át]a(?) | kīma pasnāqi | taqābbi
 [pīka | ir]mām || tulēmmīn | libbi

[qātī] l | uškūnma || [lū]ksamam | erēnam
 [šūma | ša] dāriū || anāku | luštākna
 [ālkam | i]brī || ana kiškattīm | lumūḫa
 [pāšī] l | išpukū | ina maḫrīni

OB III 138–62

inānna | Huruwāwa | ša nillakūšum
 ul šadūmmā | nūkkur | m[im]ma

tennemmidāma | ištī'at | tēppuš
 ūšām(?) | ša mūtīm |
 urtā'ab | ūzzašu | elīka
 ulāwwa | pulūḫtašu | birkīka

u ša tāmurušū | Šamāšma | šārru
 ina ūmī | ša dānmatīm || išābbat | qāika
 dāmqa | Gilgāmeš || šūttašu | iḫdu
 ilīš | libbašūma || pānīšu | ittāmrū

OB Schøyen₂ 1–24

[ibrī] ša arammūšu | dānniš |
 itīya | ittāllaku || kálu | marš[ātīm]
 Enkīdu | ša arammūšu | dānniš
 itīya | ittāllaku || kálu | marš[ātīm]

illīkma | ana šīmatu | awilūtīm
 ūrrī | u mūšī || elīšu | ābki
 ul addīššu | ana qebērim
 ibrīman | itābbi'am | ana rigmīya

sēbet | ūmīm || u sēbe | mušī'āim
 adi tūltum | imqutam | ina appīšu
 ištu warakīšu | ul ūta | balātam
 attanāggīš | kīma ḫābilim || qabātu | šēri

inānna | sābītum || ātamar | pānīki
 mūtam | ša ātanāddaru | ay-āmur
 sābītum | ana šāšum || izzaqqaram | ana
 Gilgāmeš
 Gilgāmeš | ēš | tadāl

balātam | ša tasāḫḫuru | lā tūtta
 inūma | ilū || ibnū | awilūtām

mūtam | iškunū | ana awilūtīm
 balātam | ina qātīšunu | iššābtū

átta | Gilgāmeš || lū māli | karāška
 ūrrī | u mūšī || ḫitāddu | átta
 ūmīšam | šūkun | ḫidūtām
 ūrrī | u mūšī || sūr | u mēlil

lū ūbbubū | šubātūka
 qaqqādka | lū mēsi || mé | lū ramkāta
 šūbbi | šēḫram || šābitu | qātīka
 marḫītum | liḫtaddām | ina sūnīka

OB VA+BM ii 0'–iii 15

Analysed in this way, the poetry of the three editions of Old Babylonian Gilgameš represented by the four tablets quoted here is of very similar construction. This is not to say that differences between the samples cannot be detected. On a superficial level, it might be remarked that the tablet in Norway (OB Schøyen₂) is rather prone to the three-beat line, with only six four-beat lines occurring in the twenty-eight lines of the sample. The fragment divided between Berlin and London (OB VA+BM) is exceptional in another way, having two half-lines of two beats each in the twenty-eight lines quoted: *ul addīššu | ana qebērim* and *lū ūbbubū | šubātūka*. Slower lines and half-lines are both devices that alter the tempo of poetry and might thus be used for poetic effect. Each device might then be characteristic of a particular passage. It is equally possible that these features might be hallmarks of their respective editions generally. With such small samples it is not possible to determine which (if any) of these possibilities is the correct one. More text is needed—as well as a modern study of Old Babylonian poetry in general.

Recognition of the divisions of poetry is an important tool in the correct translation of a passage. The pause that divides a four-beat line which holds two clauses will decide the proper placement of an indirect object or other prepositional phrase. Thus in OB II 33 *arāmsūma | kīma āššatīm || aḫābbub | ēlšu* the simile belongs to the first clause, not the second—though naturally it is appropriate to both. The end of a couplet coincides with a pause in the syntax, one that in English will most often be marked with a full stop. For this reason it is clear, for example, that *ištēn ēlum* in OB II 120 is not parallel with, or an expansion of, *awilum ērum* in OB II 119, as has often been assumed. The two phrases refer to different characters. Many further instances could be adduced where proper recognition of the units of poetry results in a correct division of syntactical units. The further elucidation of the constituent units of the various types of Babylonian poetry and the application of the results to the extant corpus of texts is a task too large to be undertaken here.

The Pennsylvania tablet (OB Tablet II)

The Pennsylvania or 'P' tablet was bought in 1914 from a dealer in New York.²⁴ According to its first editor, Stephen Langdon, the tablet was 'said to have been found at Senkereh, ancient Larsa near Warka'.²⁵ The colophon tells us the overall line-count, 240 lines, so that it is possible to judge the extent of the break at the tablet's bottom edge and thus to present the text with a consecutive numeration of lines.²⁶

The text of the Pennsylvania tablet opens with Gilgameš telling his mother a dream (ll. 1–14). In this dream he had been walking about in fine fettle and high spirits. The sky was full of stars, so it was night-time. Suddenly what was apparently a meteorite had fallen to the ground in front of him. He had tried to pick it up but it was so heavy that he had difficulty in lifting it. A crowd had gathered around and the men of fighting age were kissing it. With their aid Gilgameš had finally moved the object and carried it away to his mother. In the next passage Gilgameš's mother explains the dream to him (15–23): it meant that someone like Gilgameš had been born out in the wild hill-country, beyond the fringes of civilization. When Gilgameš saw him he would be glad and, while the young men kissed him, he would hug him and lead him to her. Oddly she does not comment on the struggle Gilgameš had to move the meteorite, which is obviously symbolic of the wrestling match that constitutes his first encounter with Enkidu in reality.²⁷

Gilgameš then has another dream and tells it to his mother on waking (24–36). This time he had come across a strange-looking axe lying in the street. When he saw it he fell in love with it, treating it like a wife and placing it by his side. His mother replies, but more briefly than before, so that most of what she says is lost in the break at the bottom of column i (37–43). No doubt she tells Gilgameš that he is about to find a friend, as she does, at greater length, in the later epic (SB I 288–93). Her speech ends with the prophecy that she will make the newcomer the equal of Gilgameš.

The scene then changes from Uruk to the country, where the prostitute Šamkatum has seduced the wild man Enkidu and they are making love (44–9). After his appetite is exhausted the prostitute professes astonishment that such a fine fellow should live rough with the animals and suggests to Enkidu that he should go back to Uruk with her, specifically to the temple E-anna, 'the home of Anu' (50–60). In the city and the great temple at its heart, men's energies are engaged in the higher activities of civilization; the implication of these damaged lines for Enkidu seems to be that, like any civilized man, he will discover in Uruk a proper place in human society that is not to be found in the wilderness (61–5). Her

²⁴ A. Westenholz, *Studies Lambert*, p. 445.

²⁵ Langdon, *PBS X/3*, p. 207. The catalogue entry, made by Langdon in 1917, states simply 'Warka?', though this was later changed to 'Sippar', certainly wrongly. Jastrow thought it likely that the provenance was the 'mounds at Warka, from which, about the year 1913, many tablets came into the hands of dealers' (*YOS IV/3*, p. 18).

²⁶ This had already been done by Jastrow and Clay, though with different results because they assumed a strict 40 lines for each of the 6 columns. In fact the tablet is less closely written on the reverse, so that I have allowed more lines for the earlier columns and fewer for the later (col. i: 42 ll., ii: 42 ll., iii: 43 ll., iv: 39 ll., v: 38 ll., vi: 36 ll. + colophon). The numeration adopted in Perinato's translation is slightly different again, but achieves a total of 242 lines.

²⁷ Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (TAPS 46/III; Philadelphia, 1956), p. 215.

words find favour; she dresses him in half her clothing and leads him by the hand 'like a god' to a camp of shepherds (66–76).²⁸ Renger, who correctly argued for this reading of the simile in OB II 74, supposed that the point of the image was that Šamkatum led Enkidu like an introducing deity leading a human worshipper, as in the scenes of 'presentation' commonly depicted on cylinder seals.²⁹ The objection is that the introducing deities in such presentations are always goddesses;³⁰ since Šamkatum is also female we would expect a simile that compared her to such a divine intercessor to read *kīma iltim* (or *īštarim*), 'like a goddess', not *kīma ilim*. In my view there is instead an allusion to cultic events at which divine statues were 'taken by the hand'. This phrase famously applied at the New Year festival in Babylon, in which the god Marduk, represented by his statue, was led in procession by the king. The lesser-known rituals of *mīs pī* show that it is standard on occasions when human participants accompany divine statues on procession.³¹ In this regard it is significant that Enkidu has already been compared to a god (OB II 53).

With the simile thus understood, Enkidu does not 'follow timidly' (Renger) after Šamkatum but cuts a magnificent figure, almost god-like. The shepherds gather around the imposing newcomer admiringly, comparing him with Gilgameš and identifying him as the legendary wild man of the hills (77–86). The comparison with Gilgameš presents the picture of an archetypal heroic pair of mythology, the dominant partner tall and slim, his helpmate not quite so tall, but stockier: *lānam šapil ešemtam pukkul*. The shepherds then offer Enkidu bread and beer, hospitality which Enkidu, brought up by the animals in the wild, is not equipped to accept (87–92). Šamkatum comes to his rescue, explaining that the bread is for eating and the beer for drinking, and Enkidu duly sets about his new diet (93–102). This first stage of his conversion into a civilized being ends with him drunk on beer, laughing and singing (103–5). The completion of his metamorphosis is achieved when he adopts the external trappings of civilized man: his shaggy body is shaved, he is anointed with perfumed oil and dressed in a proper garment (106–8). Now a man, he does battle with the animals, keeping watch at night over the shepherds' flocks and chasing away wolves and lions (109–19). Thus the episode of Enkidu's taming closes with him taking mankind's side in the perpetual struggle to order and control the wilderness from which he came.

The focus of the narrative then switches to an unnamed man (l. 120: *īštēn eḫlum*), but the text is interrupted by the considerable break at the bottom of column iii and the top of column iv, which accounts for the loss or mutilation of fourteen lines (121–34). When the text resumes, Enkidu is found enjoying himself in the prostitute's company, no doubt still in the shepherds' camp. Catching sight of a passer-by (who, if the present interpretation is correct, is the mysterious unnamed man) and wanting to know his business, he sends

²⁸ The old dispute as to the reading of the simile is settled by MB Boğ, *Fragment a, 7: kīma ilim* (cf. also SB II 36: *kīma ilī*).

²⁹ J. Renger, 'Gilg. P ii 32 (*PBS 10/3*)', *RA 66* (1972), p. 190.

³⁰ I thank Dominique Collon for confirmation of this point, made in a private communication.

³¹ See BM 45749, 5, 59, 60 (ed. Walker and Dick, *Mīs Pī*, pp. 70–3): *qū(šu) ilī(dingir) tašabū(dab)*, 'you take the god's hand'.

Šamkatum to fetch him (135–44). When questioned the stranger reveals that he has been invited to a wedding and is on his way there now with a gift of food.³² He goes on to explain that, in polite society, people do get married, and that in Uruk a special custom prevails, which allows King Gilgameš the right to take any bride on her wedding night, ‘he first of all, the bridegroom afterwards’ (145–63). Enkidu is shocked by this revelation. The man’s words evidently prompt him to turn his thoughts from the rural life of the shepherds to the great city of Uruk, for, after the interruption of the break at the top of column v, the text finds him already on the way there (164–75). When Enkidu enters the city the people gather around him, comparing him with Gilgameš in a repetition of the phrases already used by the shepherds (177–89). There then follows a section in which, as I understand it, the poet paints in a little background, describing how Uruk was the scene of regular festivals, at which the young men made merry and a champion was appointed to rival the king (190–5). The text does not say so explicitly but it becomes clear that Enkidu has arrived by chance during just such a festival and that he, the very ‘image of Gilgameš’, exactly fits the part of Gilgameš’s rival. The poet next directs our attention to Gilgameš’s customary role in weddings: when the preparations have been made—‘for Išhara (the goddess of weddings) the bed was laid out’—he joins the bridal procession at night (196–9).³³

The focus then returns to the narration of the plot. As Gilgameš nears the house of the wedding ceremony, Enkidu comes forward and blocks his progress down the street (200–3). The crowd starts chattering excitedly (204), but the break at the top of column vi intervenes. When the text resumes, Gilgameš is in a rage and Enkidu is still in his path (208–14). The confrontation is resolved by the famous wrestling match, with Enkidu taking up a position blocking the doorway of the house where the wedding is to take place (215–26). This contest was firmly established in the traditions of Babylonian folklore, being also mentioned in the bilingual menology of Astrolabe B.³⁴ Wrestling in doorways is also implied by a passage of Šulgi hymn C, which utilizes the same imagery as our passage in the context of young men’s games:

dub.lá.mu.ù KAXA? mu.da.a.[ab].dug₄ At my door-jamb I fought with them,
gu.ù.dù.gin₇ si?.bi.ta mu.[g]i.eš I turned them back by their horns like bulls.

Šulgi C 136–7, ed. J. Klein, *Studies Hallo*, p. 128

Gilgameš and Enkidu’s fight also calls to mind the practice of mock combat at weddings attested in other cultures, and may be a literary echo of contests of strength held at early

³² For the Old Babylonian custom of taking food on trays to the wedding banquet see S. Greengus, ‘Old Babylonian marriage ceremonies and rites’, *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 59–61, where this passage is adduced as evidence. Greengus considers it possible that the stranger accosted by Enkidu was ‘a bridesman or paranymp of the groom’.

³³ The couplet, like the two that precede it, describes an habitual custom not yet the specific event when Enkidu appears on the scene: see below, the notes on ll. 196–9.

³⁴ The passage of the menology is quoted in Chapter 3, the sub-section on Gilgameš’s Sanctuaries and cult. According to van Dijk, *Studies Lambert*, p. 129, the opening section of *LKA* 76, in which students of Nippur block the gate of their city’s temple, also recalls the confrontation between the two heroes; without further context, however, the parallel is not compelling.

Mesopotamian marriage ceremonies.³⁵ The fight comes to an end with Gilgameš the victor, for, as the text of the tablet closes, Enkidu concedes publicly that Gilgameš is truly the rightful king (227–40). The closing couplet might be seen as a standard expression of homage, with which a defeated enemy acknowledged that his bid for hegemony had not gained divine approval.

Two topics raised in the text of the Pennsylvania tablet are of particular interest because of their extraordinary implications. The first, and more discussed, is the custom of *ius primae noctis* or *droit de seigneur*, which seems to be inescapably attested in the description of the wedding festivities, especially ll. 159–60. Although this custom is attested at various times in cultures all over the world, there is, outside this passage, no definite evidence for it from ancient Mesopotamia in the historical periods.³⁶ Von Soden has tried to play down the significance of the passage, arguing that the situation it describes is bound up with the rites of sacred marriage and doubting whether it evinces the existence in Babylonia of a privilege of which kings availed themselves at will.³⁷ The identification of the wedding as a sacred marriage is, however, highly debatable,³⁸ and the language insists that Gilgameš, in this passage specifically identified as *šarrum ša Uruk*, ‘king of Uruk’, is acting in his capacity as the ruler of his subjects, not in any priestly function as consort of the goddess of Uruk.

The second exceptional subject is that of the nature of the festival in which, as I see it, Enkidu found himself taking part as the ‘rival’ of Gilgameš. As with the custom of *ius primae noctis*, there does not seem to be any historical evidence for a festival, at Uruk or elsewhere in Sumer or Babylonia, during which the king defended his position in a physical contest with a people’s champion. Wrestling matches between men of fighting age are known to have taken place at times of festival³⁹ and it is not inconceivable that kings might once have taken part, for Šulgi boasts of his pre-eminence in both wrestling and armed combat on the practice field.⁴⁰ Serious single combat involving ancient kings was not unknown⁴¹ and loss of the throne by violence can be found in mythology, notably those stories in which

³⁵ See already Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 188–9, and compare the martial contest in the Sumerian Marriage of Mardu that leads to the victorious protagonist demanding a bride (J. Klein, ‘The god Martu in Sumerian literature’, *Sumerian Gods*, p. 114, 68–75; I owe this point to Douglas R. Frayne). For depictions of ancient Mesopotamian wrestling in art see Gratianna Offner, ‘Jeux corporels en Sumer. Documents relatifs à la compétition athlétique’, *RA* 56 (1962), pp. 31–8.

³⁶ For opposing views on the prevalence of this practice in Mesopotamia see Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 339–40, and S. Greengus, ‘Babylonian marriage ceremonies and rites’, *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 68–9.

³⁷ W. von Soden, ‘Gab es in Babylonien die Inanspruchnahme des *ius primae noctis*?’, *ZA* 71 (1981), pp. 103–6.

³⁸ See further below, the notes on ll. 196–9.

³⁹ On wrestling during the month of Abu see Ch. 3, the sub-section on Gilgameš’s sanctuaries and cult. Note also a bilingual hymn to Ninurta that reports wrestling in honour of Ninurta on his triumphant entry to Nippur (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 120, rev. 6–7): gurus á.tuku.bi.géšba.lirum.ma.mu.ra.an.ra.[a.e.ne] : *et-lu-tu be-el e-mu-qi ina ú-ma-si u a-ba-ri im-tah-ha-šú-ni-ik-kul*, ‘for you the athletic young men fight each other in wrestling matches and trials of strength’.

⁴⁰ Šulgi C 129–40 as quoted by J. Klein, ‘A self-laudatory Šulgi hymn fragment from Nippur’, *Studies Hallo*, pp. 128–9.

⁴¹ A new source for the Sumerian King List seems to report a tradition that Dumuzi subdued Enmebaragesi in single combat (J. Klein, ‘A new Nippur duplicate of the Sumerian King List’, *Aula Or* 9 (1991), p. 125): šu.aš.en?.me.bára.ge.?.e.si.nam.ra.‘i’?.ak?, ‘he smote E. single-handed’.

successive generations of gods kill their forebears. It seems that this is exactly the allusion that the poet makes in comparing Gilgameš, when faced with this challenge, to a god.⁴² The best preserved of these stories in Mesopotamia is the late and untypical Theogony of Dunnu, but traces of myths in which better-known gods topple their king by violence are abundant.⁴³ The theme of violent removal of those in power informs such compositions as the Myth of Anzû, in which Ninurta, the young champion of the gods, kills Anzû to dispossess him of the instruments of supreme power (the Tablet of Destinies) and thereby earns elevation to a more senior position. The story of Marduk and Ti'āmat is later but offers a nearer parallel: the younger generations of the gods choose a champion to defeat their ancestral mother (or in some traditions her consort Qingu), and his success is rewarded with the kingship. The ritual expression of this myth as the procession to the Akītu temple and the symbolic battle there, the central event of each New Year festival at Babylon, attests to the existence of a belief that the king of the gods had to confirm his position by a display of physical supremacy at regular intervals. Since the behaviour and social practices of gods as described in mythology are likely to have had their origin in the behaviour and social practices of the culture that generated the mythology, it is legitimate to propose that in Mesopotamia periodic challenges to the king, and the wresting from him of the kingship by the successful challenger, were once, in some early, prehistoric period, within the bounds of human experience. In the New Year festival at Babylon, the slapping of Marduk's earthly counterpart, which happens before he is reinstated as king, may be seen as a symbolic vestige of just such a violent conflict.

If the festival described in this tablet is a literary echo of an ancient ritual long since discontinued,⁴⁴ the same can hold true for the description of the privilege Gilgameš enjoyed, as king, at weddings. In this regard it is significant that the poet describes both customs with some care, the one in the words of the passing stranger enlightening Enkidu, the other in the

⁴² The key line is *ana Gilgameš kīma ilīm šakiššum mehrum* (194–5); see further the notes on ll. 192–5.

⁴³ See Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, pp. 151–6.

⁴⁴ J. Bottéro considers that the festival described in this passage may have been particularly instituted to allow the challenge to Gilgameš's domination that Enkidu's arrival affords: 'on dirait qu'afin de célébrer l'arrivée d'un individu, non seulement exceptionnel en soi, mais que la population pressent capable de se mesurer avec son souverain—selon le plan des dieux . . . —pour abattre sa superbe et stopper ses excès, on célèbre, dans la ville, déjà en proie à des cérémonies liturgiques sans nombre, une fête particulière' (Bottéro, p. 229, fn. 1). In drawing attention to the place of festivities in ritualized customs of hospitality, J.-J. Glassner has proposed that the function of the festival was specifically to celebrate Enkidu's arrival ('L'hospitalité en Mésopotamie ancienne. Aspect de la question de l'étranger', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 66–71). However, the two couplets that describe the festival begin with the statement that they were 'regular' (*kayyānā*), and the hypothesis put forward here is that the festival was a regularly occurring event rather than an isolated one.

words of the narrator. These passages are designed to inform the listener as well as Enkidu, and they signal that the practices they describe were strange also to the poet's Old Babylonian audience.

A third case of the preservation in this tablet of very old material is probably to be observed in the description of E-anna, the principal temple of Uruk, as the 'home of the god Anu' (ll. 58, 60: *mūšabi ša Anim*). The temple E-anna is the principal sanctuary of Uruk.⁴⁵ As Charpin has demonstrated, Ištar took precedence over Anu in Uruk and E-anna in the Old Babylonian period and was not eclipsed by Anu until the Persian and, especially, the Seleucid eras.⁴⁶ The pairing of the two deities in the SB version of this passage, *mūšab Anim u Ištar* (SB I 210), is comparable with their pairing, in the same order, in the Code of Hammurapi and other Old Babylonian inscriptions mentioned by Charpin (*Sîn-kāšid*, *Anam*). From this point of view it is most strange that the OB Pennsylvania tablet mentions as resident in E-anna only Anu, ignoring Ištar completely. The answer to this problem lies in the temple's history. That Anu had originally taken precedence over Ištar in E-anna can be inferred from three pieces of evidence: (a) the temple's name, 'House of Heaven (= An)', (b) the existence of a tradition that Inanna stole E-anna from An,⁴⁷ and (c) the conventional order of the pairing Anu and Ištar even in the Old Babylonian period, when the cultic reality was that Ištar was the chief deity of Uruk and E-anna. The high profile of Anu in the present passage is symptomatic of his evident seniority over Ištar in the epic generally (which is expressed as a father–daughter relationship in SB Tablet VI and in the Sumerian tale of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven). This seniority is presumably a relic of the former theological status quo. In short, the lack of reference in OB II 58 and 60 to the goddess Ištar, the deity who, in the Old Babylonian period, took precedence in Uruk and E-anna, suggests the text is informed by a theological ranking that obtained in a much earlier period, some time before Inanna's exaltation in the Sargonic period.

The new copy of the tablet that accompanies this edition was prepared from the original tablet, from the cast, which is a better witness to the text in those places where the surface of the tablet subsequently sustained damage, and from new prints of the photographs published by Langdon.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See in general George, *House Most High*, gazetteer entry no. 75.

⁴⁶ D. Charpin, 'Inanna/Eštar, divinité poliade d'Uruk à l'époque paléo-babylonienne', *NABU* 1994/39.

⁴⁷ See the Sumerian mythological composition published by J. J. A. van Dijk, 'Inanna raubt den "großen Himmel"'. *Ein Mythos*, *Fs Borger*, pp. 9–31.

⁴⁸ These prints were supplied to me through the kindness of Erle Leichty.

CBS 7771

The Pennsylvania tablet (OB II)

Copy: Pls. 1-3

Previous publication

1917	S. Langdon, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (PBS X/3)	CPTTr
1920	M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay, <i>An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic</i> (YOR IV/3), pp. 62-86	TTr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 20-4	T
1974	D. I. Owen, <i>Horizon</i> 15/1 (1974), p. 114 (obv. only)	P
1997	J. Huehnergard, <i>A Grammar of Akkadian</i> (HSS 45), pp. 475-84	T
2000	A. Westenholz, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , pp. 446-8	C

Text

col. i

1	<i>it-bé-e-ma</i> ^d GIŠ šu-na-tam i-pa-aš-šar	// SB I 245
2	<i>is-sà-qar-am a-na um-mi-šu</i>	// SB I 245
3	<i>um-mi i-na ša-a-at mu-ši-ti-ia</i>	// SB I 246
4	<i>ša-am-ḥa-ku-ma at-ta-na-al-la-ak</i> ⁵ [i-na] ¹ bi-ri-it eṭ-lu-tim	
6	<i>ip-zi?-ru-nim^l-ma ka-ka-bu ša-ma-i</i>	// SB I 247
7	x (x)-rum ša a- ^l nim ^l im-qu-tam a-na še-ri-ia	// SB I 248
8	<i>aš-ši-šu-ma ik-ta-bi-it e-li-ia</i>	// SB I 249
9	<i>ú-ni-is-su-ma nu-uš-ša-šu ú-ul el-ti-'i</i>	// SB I 250
10	<i>uruk^{ki} ma-tum pa-ḥi-ir e-li-šu</i>	// SB I 251
11	<i>eṭ-lu-tum ú-na-ša-qu šu-pi-šu</i>	cf. SB I 254-5
12	<i>ú-um-mi-id-ma pu-ti¹³ i-mi-du ia-ti</i>	
14	<i>aš-ši-a-šu-ma at-ba-la-aš-šu a-na še-ri-ki</i>	// SB I 257
15	<i>um-mi</i> ^d GIŠ mu-de-a-at ka-la-ma	// SB I 259
16	<i>is-sà-qar-am a-na</i> ^d GIŠ	// SB I 260
17	<i>mi-in-de</i> ^d GIŠ ša ki-ma ka-ti	
18	<i>i-na še-ri i-wa-li-id-ma</i> ¹⁹ ú-ra-ab-bi-šu ša-du-ú	
20	<i>ta-mar-šu-ma ta-ḥa-du at-ta</i>	
21	<i>eṭ-lu-tum ú-na-ša-qu šu-pi-šu!</i>	
22	<i>te-ed-di-ra</i> ^l aš!?-{x}-šu ^l -ú-ma ²³ [ta] ^l tar-ra-aš- ^l šu a-na ^l še- ^l ri-ia ^l	
24	[i]t-ti-lam-ma i-ta-mar ša-ni-tam	// SB I 273a
25	[i]t-bé i-ta-wa-a-am a-na um-mi-šu	// SB I 274
26	[um]- ^l mi a-ta ^l -mar ša-ni-tam	// SB I 276
27	[x x x] me?-e U.L.A i-na sú-qí-ím ²⁸ [ša uru] ^{ki} ri-bi-tim	// SB I 277

Selected modern translations

1949	A. Heidel, <i>The Gilgamesh Epic</i> , pp. 26-33
1950	E. A. Speiser, 'Tablet II. Old Babylonian version', <i>ANET</i> , pp. 76-8
1970	R. Labat, <i>Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique</i> , pp. 157-62
1982	W. von Soden, <i>Das Gilgamesch-Epos</i> , Reclam ⁴ , pp. 23-9 (composite with SB)
1989	S. Dalley, 'Tablet II', <i>Myths from Mesopotamia</i> , pp. 136-41
1992	J. Bottéro, 'Tablette de Philadelphie (P)', <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 219-31
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Pennsylvania (1)', <i>La saga di Gilgameš</i> , pp. 241-9
1994	K. Hecker, <i>TUAT</i> III/4, pp. 649-54
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 62-74
1997	U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 146-50
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), pp. 101-7

Translation

col. i

1	Gilgameš arose to reveal a dream,
2	saying to his mother:
3	'O mother, during the course of this night
4	I was walking about lustily ⁽⁵⁾ in the company of young men.
6	The stars of the sky hid from me, ⁴⁹
7	a . . . of Anu fell down before me.
8	I picked it up but it was too heavy for me,
9	I pushed at it but I could not move it.
10	The land of Uruk was gathered about it,
11	the young men kissing its feet.
12	I braced my forehead and ⁽¹³⁾ they supported me,
14	I picked it up and carried it off to you.'
15	The mother of Gilgameš, well versed in everything,
16	said to Gilgameš:
17	'For sure, Gilgameš, one like yourself
18	was born in the wild and ⁽¹⁹⁾ the upland reared him.
20	You will see him and you will rejoice,
21	the young men will kiss his feet.
22	You will hug him and ⁽²³⁾ bring him to me.'
24	He lay down and saw another dream.
25	He arose to talk to his mother:
26	'O mother, I have seen another.
27	[. . .] . . . in the street ⁽²⁸⁾ of Uruk-Main-Street,

⁴⁹ Or, reading *ib^lbi?-ru-nim^l-ma*, 'The stars of heaven were passing over my head.'

- 29 ḥa-aš-ši¹-nu na-di-i-ma³⁰ e-li-šu pa-aḥ-ru // SB I 278
 31 ḥa-aš-ši-nu-um-ma ša-ni bu-nu-šu
 32 a-mur-šu-ma aḥ-ta-du a-na-ku
 33 a-ra-am-šu-ma ki-ma aš-ša-tim³⁴ a-ḥa-ab-bu-ub el-šu // SB I 284
 35 el-qé-šu-ma aš-ta-ka-an-šu³⁶ a-na a-ḥi-ia
 37 ḥum-mi^dGIŠ^dmu^d-da-at^dka-la^d-ma // SB I 286
 38 [is-sà-qar-am]^dal^d-[na^dGIŠ] // SB I 287
 39–42 lost

col. ii

- 43 aš-šum uš-[ta]-ma-ḥa-ru it-ti-ka // SB I 290
 44 ^dGIŠ š[^u-n]a-tam i-pa-šar cf. SB I 298–9
 45 ^den-ki-[du₁₀ w]a-ši-ib ma-ḥar ḥa-ri-im-tim // SB II 1
 46 úr-t[a-']a₄-mu ki-la-al-lu-un
 47 ḥe¹-[r]a-am im-ta-ši a-šar i-wa-al-du
 48 ūmī(u₄)¹ 7 mu-ši-a-tim // SB I 194
 49 ^den-[ki-du₁₀ t]e-bi-i-ma⁵⁰ ša-[am-ka-ta]m ir-ḥi // SB I 194
 51 ḥa-r[i-im-tum p]i-ša i-pu-ša-am-ma // SB I 206
 52 is-sà-qa[r-am] a-na^den-ki-du₁₀ // SB I 206
 53 a-na-tal^dka^den^dki-du₁₀ ki-ma ilim(dingir) ta-ba-aš-ši // SB I 207
 54 am-mi-nim [i]t-ti na-ma-aš-te-e⁵⁵ ta-at-ta-[n]a-la-ak ḥe-ra-am // SB I 208 // II 29
 56 ḥal^d-kam lu-úr-de-ka⁵⁷ a-na libbi(šà) [uru]^kri-bi-tim // SB I 209
 58 a-na bītim(é) e[l-l]im mu-ša-bi ša a-nim // SB I 210
 59 ^den-ki-du₁₀ ti-bé lu-ru-ka
 60 a-na é.[an.n]a m[u-š]a-bi ša a-nim
 61 a-šar [šit]-it^dku-nu ne^dpe-ši-tim
 62 ú at-t[a-m]a ki-[ma]^da-wi-li-im-ma¹63 ta-aš-[ta-ka]-a[n?]ḥa^d-ma-an-ka
 64 ḥal^d-ka-ti-ma i^dna^dqá-aq-qá-ri⁶⁵ ma-a-ak re-i-im
 66 iš-me a-[w]a-as-sà im-ta-gàr qá-ba-ša
 67 mi-il-[k]um ša sinništum(munus)⁶⁸ im-ta-[q]ú-ut^dna^dlibbi(šà)-šu
 69 iš-ḥu-ut [l]i-ib-ša-am⁷⁰ iš-ti-nam^dú^dla-ab-bi-is-su // SB II 34
 71 li-ib^dša^d[a]m ša-ni-a-am⁷² ši-i^dit^dta-al-ba-aš // SB II 35
 73 ḥa-ab^dta^dat qá-as-sú⁷⁴ ki-ma^dilim(dingir)¹ i-re^ded^d-de-šu // SB II 36
 75 a-na^dgu-up-ri¹ša re-i-im⁷⁶ a-š[a]r [t]ar-ba-ši-im // SB II 37
 77 i-na [še]^dri-šu¹i[p]-ḥu-ru re-iu-ú // SB II 38
 78 ḥi^dm[a?] (x) x x x-šu⁷⁹ [.]x
 80 [a-na-mi^dGIŠ ma-ši-il pa-da-tam] // SB II 40
 81 [la-nam ša-pi-il⁸² e-še-em-tam pu-uk-ku-ul] // SB II 41
 83 [mi-in-de ša i-wa-al-du⁸⁴ i-na ša-di-i-im] // SB II 42

- 29 an axe was lying and ⁽³⁰⁾ (people) were gathered around it.
 31 The axe itself, its appearance was strange;
 32 I saw it and became glad.
 33 I loved it like a wife, ⁽³⁴⁾ caressing and embracing it,
 35 I took it up and put it ⁽³⁶⁾ at my side.⁵⁰
 37 The mother of Gilgameš, well versed in everything,
 38 [said] to [Gilgameš:]

Lacuna

col. ii

- 43 ‘. . . so that I shall make him your equal.’
 44 As Gilgameš was relating the dream,
 45 Enkidu was sitting before the harlot.
 46 The two of them were making love together,
 47 he forgot the wild where he was born.
 48 For seven days and seven nights
 49 Enkidu was erect and ⁽⁵⁰⁾ coupled with Šamkatum.
 51 The harlot opened her mouth,
 52 saying to Enkidu:
 53 ‘I look at you, Enkidu, you are like a god,
 54 why with the animals ⁽⁵⁵⁾ do you range through the wild?’
 56 Come, I will lead you ⁽⁵⁷⁾ to Uruk-Main-Street,
 58 to the sacred temple, the home of Anu.
 59 Enkidu, arise, I will take you
 60 to E-anna, the home of Anu.
 61 Where [men] are engaged in labours of skill,
 62 you, too, [like a] true man, ⁽⁶³⁾ will [make a place for] yourself.
 64 You are familiar (enough) with the territory ⁽⁶⁵⁾ where the shepherd dwells.’
 66 He heard her words, he consented to what she said:
 67 a woman’s counsel ⁽⁶⁸⁾ struck home in his heart.
 69 She stripped off her clothing, ⁽⁷⁰⁾ dressed him in one part,
 71 the other part ⁽⁷²⁾ she put on herself.
 73 Holding his hand, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ she was leading him like a god,
 75 to the shepherds’ camp, ⁽⁷⁶⁾ the site of the sheep-pen.
 77 The shepherds gathered about him,
 78 like [.] ⁽⁷⁹⁾
 80 ‘[In build he is the equal of Gilgameš,]
 81 [(but) shorter in stature, ⁽⁸²⁾ sturdier of bone.]
 83 [For sure it is he who was born ⁽⁸⁴⁾ in the upland,]

⁵⁰ Also, ‘I made it into my brother.’

col. iii

- 85 *ši-iz-ba ša na-ma-aš-te*¹⁸⁶ *i-te-en-ni-iq*
 87 *a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-ḥar-šu* // SB II 44
 88 *ip-te-eq-ma i-na-aṭ-ṭal*⁸⁹ *ù ip-pa-al-la-as* // SB II 46
 90 *ú-ul i-de*^d *en-ki-du*₁₀⁹¹ *aklam*(ninda) *a-na a-ka-lim*
 92 *šikaram*(kaš) *a-na ša-te-e-em*⁹³ *la-a lum-mu-ud*
 94 *ḥa-ri-im-tum pi-ša i-pu-ša-am-ma* // SB II 49
 95 *is-sà-qar-am a-na*^d *en-ki-du*₁₀ // SB II 49
 96 *a-ku-ul ak-lam*^d *en-ki-du*₁₀⁹⁷ *si-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-im*
 98 *šikaram*(kaš) *ši-ti ši-im-ti ma-ti*
 99 *i-ku-ul ak-lam*^d *en-ki-du*₁₀¹⁰⁰ *a-di ši-bé-e-šu*
 101 *šikaram*(kaš) *iš-ti-a-am*¹⁰² *7 as-sà-am-mi-im*
 103 *it-tap-šar kab-ta-tum i-na-an-gu*
 104 *i-li-iš libba*(šà)-*šu-ma*¹⁰⁵ *pa-*¹*nu-šu it*¹*-tam-ru*
 106 *ul-tap-pi-*¹*it*¹ *gallābum*(¹šū¹,i)¹⁰⁷ *šu-'u₅-ra-am pa-ga-*¹*ar-šu*¹
 108 *ša-am-nam ip-ta-ša-aš-ma*¹⁰⁹ *a-wi-li-iš i-we*
 110 *il-ba-aš li-ib-ša-am*¹¹¹ *ki-ma mu-ti i-ba-aš-ši*
 112 *il-qé ka-ak-ka-šu*¹¹³ *la-bi ú-ge-er-re*
 114 *is-sa-ak-pu rē*^{[ú(sipa)]^{mes}} *mu-ši-a-tim*
 115 *ut-tap-pi-iš bar-ba-ri*¹¹⁶ *la-bi uk*¹*ta*¹-*ši-id* // SB II 60
 117 *it-ti-lu na-qi-[d]u ra-bu-tum* // SB II 61
 118 ^d*en-ki-du*₁₀ *ma-*¹*aš*¹-*ša-ar-šu-nu*¹¹⁹ *a-wi-lum*¹*e*¹-*ru-um* // SB II 62
 120 *iš-*¹*te*¹-*en eṭ-lum*¹²¹ *[a-na] b[ū(è)? e-m]i? ú[s?]-sà-aq-qi-ir* // SB II 63
 122 ¹*i-na* [x]-¹*at-ta?-tim* x x x x

123–7 lost

col. iv

128–34 lost

- 135 ¹*it-ti*¹ [*ša-a*]*m*¹ *ka-tim*¹³⁶ *i-ip-pu-*¹*uš*¹ [*u*]*l-ša-am*
 137 *iš-ši-ma i-ni-šu*¹³⁸ *i-ta-mar*¹*a*¹-*wi-lam*
 139 *is-sà-qar-am a-na ḥaritim*(kar.kid)
 140 *ša-am-ka-at uk-ki-ši a-wi-lam*
 141 *a-na mi-nim il*¹*li*¹-*kam*¹⁴² *si-qi-ir-šu lu-*¹*uš*¹-*me!*(ŠU)
 143 *ḥa-ri-im-tum iš-ta-si a*¹*wi*¹-*lam*
 144 *i-ku-ús-su-um-ma i-ta-w[a]-aš-šu*
 145 *e-ṭi-il e-eš ta-ḥi-s[ā-a]m*
 146 *mi-nu a-la-ku ma-na-aḥ-t[i-k]a*
 147 *eṭlum*(guruš) *pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-[m]a*
 148 ¹*is-sà-qar*¹-*am a-na*^d *[n-ki-du]*₁₀

col. iii

- 85 the milk of the animals⁽⁸⁶⁾ he used to suck.
 87 They put bread before him,
 88 he *watched intently*, gazing⁽⁸⁹⁾ and staring.
 90 Enkidu did not know⁽⁹¹⁾ how to eat bread,
 92 how to drink ale⁽⁹³⁾ he had never been shown.
 94 The harlot opened her mouth,
 95 saying to Enkidu:
 96 'Eat the bread, Enkidu,⁽⁹⁷⁾ the thing proper to life;
 98 drink the ale, the lot of the land.'
 99 Enkidu ate the bread⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ until he was sated,
 101 he drank the ale,⁽¹⁰²⁾ seven jugs (full).
 103 His mood became free, he was singing,
 104 his heart became merry and⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ his face shone bright.
 106 The barber treated⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ his body so hairy,
 108 he anointed himself with oil and⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ became a man.
 110 He put on a garment,⁽¹¹¹⁾ becoming like a warrior,
 112 he took up his weapon⁽¹¹³⁾ to do battle with the lions.
 114 (When) the shepherds lay down at night,
 115 he massacred all the wolves,⁽¹¹⁶⁾ he chased off all the lions.
 117 The senior herdsman slept:
 118 Enkidu was their watchman,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ a man wide awake.
 120 A certain fellow⁽¹²¹⁾ *had been invited to the wedding house*,
 122 in . . . [.]

Lacuna

col. iv

- 135 With Šamkatum⁽¹³⁶⁾ he was pleasuring himself.
 137 He lifted his eyes,⁽¹³⁸⁾ he saw the man,
 139 he said to the harlot:
 140 'Šamkatum, bring the man over:
 141 why he came here,⁽¹⁴²⁾ I would *hear* his reason.'
 143 The harlot hailed the man,
 144 she went up to him and talked to him:
 145 'Where do you hurry to, fellow?
 146 what is your toilsome journey?'
 147 The fellow opened his mouth,
 148 saying to Enkidu:

- 149 *bi-ti-¹iš e-mu-tim iq-ru-ni-ni¹*
 150 *ši-ma-a-at ni-ši-i-ma¹⁵¹ hi-ia!-ar kal-lu-tim*
 152 *a-na paššūr(banšur) sak-ki-i e-¹še¹-en*
 153 *uk-la-at bīt(é) e-mi ša-a-a-ḥa-tim*
 154 *a-na šarrim(lugal) ša uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim*
 155 *pe-ti pu-ug ni-ši a-na ḥa-a-a-ri*
 156 *a-na^dGIŠ šarrim(lugal) ša uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim*
 157 *pe-ti pu-ug ni-š[i]¹⁵⁸ a-na ḥa-a-a-¹ri¹*
 159 *aš-ša-at ši-ma-tim i-ra-aḥ-¹hi¹*
 160 *šu-ú pa-na-nu-um-ma¹⁶¹ mu-tum wa-ar-ka-nu*
 162 *i-na mi-il-ki ša ilim(dingir) qá-bi-ma*
 163 *i-na bi-ti-iq a-bu-un-na-ti-šu¹⁶⁴ ši-ma-as-súm*
 165 *a-na sí-iq-ri eṭ-lí-im¹⁶⁶ i-ri-qú pa-nu-šu*

col. v

167–73 lost

- 174 *x x¹su? lu¹ [. . . .]*
 175 *i-il-la-ak^d[en-ki-du₁₀]¹⁷⁶ ú ša-am-ka-t[um] ¹wa-ar¹-ki-šu*
 177 *i-ru-ub-ma a-na libbi(šá) uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim*
 178 *ip-ḥur um-ma-nu-¹um¹ i-na še-ri-¹šu¹*
 179 *iz-zi-za-am-ma¹i¹-na sú-qi-im¹⁸⁰ ša uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim* // SB II 100
 181 *pa-aḥ-ra-a-ma ni-šu¹⁸² i-ta-wa-a i-na še-ri-šu* // SB II 104
 183 *a-na-mi^dGIŠ¹ma¹-ši-il pa-da!(ID)-tam*
 184 *la-nam [š]a-pi-il¹⁸⁵ e-še-em-tam¹ [pu-u]k-ku-ul*
 186 *m[i-in-de ša] ¹i-wa-al¹-du¹⁸⁷ i-n[a š]a-di-i-¹im¹*
 188 *ši-iz-¹ba ša na-ma¹-a[š-te]-¹e¹¹⁸⁹ i-te-en-¹ni¹-iq*
 190 *ka-a-a-na i-na¹uruk^{ki} ni-qi-a-tum*
 191 *eṭ-lu-tum¹ú¹-te-el-lí-šu¹⁹² ša-ki-in lu-ša-nu*
 193 *a-na eṭlim(guruš) ša i-ša-ru zi-mu-šu*
 194 *a-na^dGIŠ ki-ma i-li-im¹⁹⁵ ša-ki-iš-šum me-eḥ-rum* // SB II 110
 196 *a-na^diš-ḥa-ra ma-a-a-lum¹⁹⁷ na-¹dí¹-i-ma* // SB II 109
 198 *^dGIŠ it-¹ti¹ [w]a-a[r-d]a-[t]im¹⁹⁹ i-na mu-ši¹in¹-né-[mi]-¹id¹*
 200 *i-ta-ak-¹ša¹-am-ma²⁰¹ it-ta-š[i-iz]¹i¹-na sūqim(sila)* cf. SB II 100
 202 *ip-ta-ra-a[s a-l]a-ak-tam²⁰³ ša^dGIŠ* // SB II 102
 204 *[x x (x) x uš-t]a-an-da-nu-ni-iš-šu*

- 149 'I have been invited⁵¹ to a wedding ceremony;
 150 it is the lot of the people⁽¹⁵¹⁾ to take a bride in marriage.
 152 I shall load the ceremonial table
 153 with tempting foods for the wedding feast.
 154 For the king of Uruk-Main-Street,
 155 the "people's net"⁵² will be open for the one who has first pick.
 156 For Gilgameš, the king of Uruk-Main-Street,
 157 the "people's net"⁵² will be open⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ for the one who has first pick.
 159 He will couple with the wife-to-be:
 160 he first of all,⁽¹⁶¹⁾ the bridegroom afterwards.
 162 By divine consent it is ordained;
 163 when his navel-cord was cut⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ she was destined for him.
 165 At the fellow's words⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ his face turned pale.

Lacuna

col. v

- 175 There goes Enkidu,⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ with Šamkatum following him.
 177 He entered Uruk-Main-Street,
 178 a crowd gathered around him.
 179 He stood there in the street⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ of Uruk-Main-Street,
 181 the people, gathered together,⁽¹⁸²⁾ talked about him:
 183 'In build he is the equal of Gilgameš,
 184 (but) shorter in stature,⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ sturdier of bone.
 186 For [sure it is he] who was born⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ in the upland,
 188 the milk of the animals⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ he used to suck.
 190 Sacrifices were held regularly in Uruk:
 191 the young men disported themselves,⁽¹⁹²⁾ a champion was appointed.
 193 For the fellow whose features were fair,
 194 for Gilgameš, like a god,⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ a rival was appointed.
 196 For Išhara the bed⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ was laid out,
 198 Gilgameš would meet⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ with the young woman⁵³ by night.
 200 He came forward and⁽²⁰¹⁾ stood in the street;
 202 he blocked the path⁽²⁰³⁾ of Gilgameš.
 204 [. .] they were discussing him.

Lacuna

⁵¹ Lit. 'they invited me'.⁵² Probably a term for the bridal veil; see the notes ad loc.⁵³ Or, 'young women'.

col. vi

205–7 lost

- 208 ¹i²-¹a₄-a[n-ni-ip?]
- 209 ^dGIŠ b[a?-.]
- 210 i-na še-¹ri¹-š[u]
- 211 i-¹a₄-an-ni-i[p x x x x]
- 212 it-bé-ma ^de[n-ki-du₁₀]²¹³ a-na pa-ni-¹šu¹
- 214 it-tam-ḫa-ru i-na ri-bi-tu ma-ti // SB II 114
- 215 ^den-ki-du₁₀ ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik²¹⁶ i-na¹ ši-pi-šu // SB II 111
- 217 ^dGIŠ e-re-ba-am ú-ul id-dí-in // SB II 112
- 218 iṣ-ša-ab-tu-ma ki-ma le-i-im²¹⁹ i-lu-du cf. SB II 113
- 220 si-ip-pa-am i'-bu-tu²²¹ i-ga¹-rum ir-tu-ut // SB II 115
- 222 ^dGIŠ ú¹[^den¹-ki-du₁₀]²²³ iṣ-ša-ab-tu-ú-ma²²⁴ ki-ma le-i-im i-lu-du
- 225 si-ip-pa-am i'-bu-tu²²⁶ i-ga¹-rum ir-tu-ut
- 227 ik-mi-is-ma ^dGIŠ²²⁸ i-na qá-aq-qá-ri ši-ip-šu
- 229 ip-ši-iḫ uz-za-šu-ma²³⁰ i-ni-i' i-ra-as-sú
- 231 iš-tu i-ra-sú i-ni-²u₅
- 232 ^den-ki-du₁₀ a-na ša-ši-im²³³ is-sà-gar-am a-na ^dGIŠ
- 234 ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka²³⁵ ú-li-id-ka
- 236 ri-im-tum ša sú-pu-ri²³⁷ ^dnin-sún-na
- 238 ul-lu e-li mu-ti re-eš-ka
- 239 ¹šar¹-ru-tam ša ni-ši²⁴⁰ i-ši-im-kum ^den-lil

dub 2. ¹kam.ma¹¹šu¹-tu-ur e-li š[ar-ri]

edge: 4 [š]u-ši

Notes

1. A switch in tenses from past (*ibēma*) to present (*ipaššar*) in Akkadian narrative is conventionally construed as an indication of adverbial relation, the present clause denoting consecutive, final or simultaneous action (cf. *GAG*³ §§158f, 159a). Recently, however, Streck has rightly called attention to the fact that verbs introducing direct speech generally use the present tense and that this usage is an idiomatic peculiarity found in other ancient Near Eastern languages, especially Sumerian, which uses *marû* forms (M. P. Streck, *Zahl und Zeit*, pp. 109–111; id., *Or NS* 64 (1995), pp. 51–3). Jacobsen had already commented briefly on this peculiarity in Sumerian and Akkadian and provided the explanation: in these formulae the present tense denotes unfinished action, for the speech is yet to be heard (T. Jacobsen, *ZA* 78 (1988), p. 191). Since *ipaššar* in this line introduces direct speech it might be set in the present for that reason only, but it cannot easily be settled whether (a) Gilgameš rose in order to tell his dream or (b) he rose and, having risen, told it. For comparable problems see the syntactically parallel ll. 25 and 51–2, and the notes ad loc.; later examples: SB III 120: *Enkidu issamma išakkana iemu*, IV 95 etc.: *ibēma ūammā ana ibrišu*.

Trisyllabic *šunatam* instead of *šuttam* is an example of the intrusion before the feminine *-t-* of

col. vi

Lacuna

- 208 *He was growing [angry]*
- 209 Gilgameš [.] *the doorway.*
- 210 In front of him [.]
- 211 he was growing angry [.]
- 212 Enkidu moved⁽²¹³⁾ towards him,
- 214 they confronted each other in the Main-Street-of-the-Land.
- 215 Enkidu blocked the doorway⁽²¹⁶⁾ with his foot,
- 217 he did not allow Gilgameš to enter.
- 218 They grappled each other, bending their backs⁽²¹⁹⁾ like a bull,
- 220 they smashed the door jamb,⁽²²¹⁾ the wall quaked.
- 222 Gilgameš and Enkidu⁽²²³⁾ grappled each other,⁽²²⁴⁾ bending their backs like a bull,
- 225 they smashed the door jamb,⁽²²⁶⁾ the wall quaked.
- 227 Gilgameš knelt,⁽²²⁸⁾ his (other) foot on the ground,
- 229 his anger subsided and⁽²³⁰⁾ he broke off (from the fight).
- 231 After he had broken off (from the fight),
- 232 Enkidu said⁽²³³⁾ to him, to Gilgameš:
- 234 'As one unique⁵⁴ your mother⁽²³⁵⁾ bore you,
- 236 the wild cow of the fold,⁵⁵⁽²³⁷⁾ Ninsunna.
- 238 You are exalted over warriors:
- 239 the kingship of the people⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Enlil fixed as your lot.'

Colophon: Tablet II, 'Surpassing all other kings'. 240 (lines)

⁵⁴ Or, 'as first (in rank)'.
⁵⁵ Or, 'folds'.

what in common language would be an unnecessary epenthetic vowel. This is a mark of literary style of the sort found in texts in 'hymno-epic' style, e.g. *ta-ma-tum* for *tāmtu* in *Enūma eliš* (for other examples see W. von Soden, *ZA* 40 (1931), pp. 225–6). It is also found occasionally in later Gilgameš: see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style.

6. The first word is problematic on account of the difficult second and third signs. The readings so far proposed are: *ib-ba-šu-nim-ma* (Langdon; coll. J. S. Cooper, *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, p. 41; Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 270; B. Foster, *Essays Pope*, p. 25; Hecker, *TUAT* III/4, p. 649), and, based on the collation of E. Chiera, *ip¹ta¹ru¹nim-ma* (T. Jacobsen, *Acta Or* 8 (1930), p. 65, fn. 3), also *ip-taḫ¹-[r]u-nim-ma* (W. von Soden, *OLZ* 50 (1955), 514; *ZA* 53 (1959), p. 210; *CAD* K, p. 47) and *ip-ḫ[u-r]u¹-nim-ma* (von Soden, *ZA* 69 (1979), p. 156; Tournay and Shaffer). None of them is wholly convincing to my eyes: the two signs in question most resemble *mu*, *zi* (cf. l. 179) or *bi* (cf. l. 1; certainly not *ba*) and *ru* (*šu* less likely). There is no root \sqrt{bmr} or \sqrt{pmr} and consequently one is left with *pazārum* or *ebērum*. Neither is free from difficulties. The former is not hitherto attested in the I/1 stem, except as an infinitive cited in a commentary on *Šurpu* II 84, in which it is an abstraction extrapolated from the transitive II/1 stem (*ḫe-su-ú = pa-za-ru šá mim-ma ú-pa-za-ru*, 'to conceal'

= “to hide”, (as in) one who hides something”: Reiner, *Šurpu*, p. 51, 37–8). However, its vowel class is probably *i/i*, as can be seen from the IV/1 perfect *ittapzer* (OA *i-tap-ze-er*. *KBo IX 9, 3*). Here *ipzīrūnimma* would imply that suddenly all the stars faded from view as a prelude to the action described in the next line. The verb *ebērum* has a lesser impact but may still be considered. It usually means to cross over water but in the Creation Epic describes a passage across the sky (*Enūma eliš* IV 141; cf. also Marduk and Zarpanitum as *ēbir šamē* and *ēbirat šamē* in prayers from the New Year rituals, *RAcc.*, pp. 134–5, 240, 254). Here it might refer either to the slow progress of the constellations through the night sky or to the fleeting passage of shooting stars. With either verb the ventive is used to relate this motion to Gilgameš.

7. Here again the first word is difficult to decipher. Von Soden read it as *ar-rum* and held this to be the same as *ar-rum* in the synonym list *Malku III 7*, which explains *namšaru*, ‘dirk’, and other similar words (*ZA 69*, p. 156; *AHw*, p. 1544). However, there remains considerable doubt about this reading, for two reasons. First, an everyday word is expected in the right-hand column of *Malku*. The common noun *arrum*, ‘decoy bird’, does not seem plausible either here or in *Malku*, and *arrum* as a term for a weapon, if in fact it exists, is very rare. The only other occurrence of it listed in *AHw* is in an inventory of miscellaneous property where the nature of the item written *ar-ru-um* is completely uncertain (Biro, *Tablettes*, 35, 15). *CAD* does not admit *ar-rum* as a designation of a weapon and takes the entry in *Malku* as a mistake for *pat-rum*, ‘dagger’. Second, the decipherment of the broken sign or signs before *rum* in our line is by no means secure. The word is certainly not *k[i-i]š-rum* or *š[i-i]p-rum*, but *[x-e]l-rum* is perhaps possible, and if Tournay and Shaffer’s *[še-e]l-rum*, ‘un corps céleste’ (*L’épopée*, p. 62, fn. 2), is inadmissible to my eyes, then conceivably *š[i]l-rum* is not. The later text replaces OB II’s phrase with *kīšru ša Anim*, ‘knot of the sky’ (SB I 248), which as a meteorite seems to be a piece of the solid matter from which the sky is made (see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 125). Though the two terms are parallel they are not necessarily synonymous, for it was not beyond the later editors to reinterpret phrases that they found obscure. Nevertheless, a reading *š[i]l-rum* is admissible for *šīrum* and one wonders whether *šīrum ša Anim*, ‘the flesh of Anu’, might not also refer to a piece of the fabric of the sky.

As is clear from l. 22, the phrase *ana šēriya* means simply ‘into my presence’ (cf. Jacobsen, *Acta Or* 8 (1930), p. 67, fn. 2, and *eli/elu šēriya* in the SB epic).

9. In order to achieve the expected stress pattern, *el-ti-’i* must be parsed as I/3 preterite *el-té-’i* (so already *AHw*, p. 547).

12. This line was the subject of an ingenious explanation by Jacobsen, *Acta Or* 8, p. 67, fn. 3, who saw *pūtam ummudum* as evidence for the use of the tumpline, i.e. a forehead strap as depicted in friezes from Ur. To the literally minded this has an attraction, since it explains how Gilgameš finally managed to carry something that was too heavy for him at the first attempt. However, we need not insist that a poetic narrative reports every development of plot. Gilgameš pushes the meteorite with forehead (and hands) pressed hard against it, and the men push him, so that their combined effort eventually sets it rolling (cf. A. Ungnad, *ZA 34* (1922), p. 17: ‘ich stemmte mich mit der Sturm dagegen, wobei sie mir halfen’).

16. The formula PN₁ *issaqqaram ana* PN₂ is the simplest of the common formulae used in Gilgameš for introducing direct speech. The verb is I/2 present, reciprocal because it initiates a conversation.

17. The dictionaries take *minde* as an expression of uncertainty (*AHw* ‘vielleicht’; *CAD M/2* ‘perhaps, possibly, who knows?, who can say?’). But the point is that Ninsun is wise and does know (*mūde’at kalāma*), and so I follow Moran and earlier scholars in ascribing to this word an assertive meaning (W. L. Moran, *JCS* 31 (1979), pp. 94–5).

20. Like Cooper and von Soden I do not believe that the indistinct traces after *ma*, which Langdon argued about with Jastrow and Clay, are actually to be read as a sign.

22. I could not see enough room for Foster’s *w-ed-di-ra-aš?-[šū] [m]i-šū-ú-ma*, ‘the people will embrace him and . . .’ (*RA 77* (1983), p. 92); such a reading is also unlikely on grammatical grounds, for in verbal conjugation this tablet, like other OB Gilgameš, uses not the archaic 3rd fem. sg. prefix *ta-* but regular OB *i-*, and in any case *nīšū* is so rarely singular that one would expect *iddi-rāšu* or *iddirānišū*. In fact, there does not seem to be enough missing in the middle of the line to give two good words, so it is difficult to avoid resolving the difficulty in the traditional way by ignoring as a mistake or an erasure the traces of wedges that fall before *šū* (cf. von Soden, *OLZ* 50, 514; *ZA 69*, p. 156).

25. For the sequence of tenses see the notes on l. 1, above.

27. Neither Langdon’s *e-mi-a* (also Jastrow and Clay, Tigay), nor Chiera’s *e-ši-e* (Jacobsen, *Acta Or* 8, p. 66; also A. Schott, *ZA 42* (1934), p. 102; Speiser; von Soden, *ZA 53*, p. 210; *ZA 69*, p. 156), nor Tournay and Shaffer’s *[el] pi-e-mi-a* (*L’épopée*, p. 63, fn. 5: ‘sur mes cuisses’) agrees exactly with the tablet, on which the third preserved sign is to my eyes clearly different from *mi*, being in fact *ul*. What has escaped attention until now is that this entire line of poetry appears again in the Yale tablet, where, infuriatingly, the beginning of the line is also lost: [x x x]-[e] ul. *ina sūqim ša Uruk ribūtum* (OB III 174). There the context seems to be the convening of the assembly, but the decipherment of what precedes *ina sūqim* defeats me (most emend to *ul-ša*, ‘exuberance’). The late text, perhaps baffled also, omits the phrase entirely (SB I 277).

28. ‘Main-Street’ is an epithet signifying that Uruk was famous for its *ribūtum*, the principal public thoroughfare of a city. It is also used of Akkade, once in an Old Assyrian pseudo-autobiography of Sargon (C. Günbattu, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997), p. 133, 1–2: *šār a-ke-di-e ri-be-tim*) and once by Hammurapi (CH iv 50–2: *qer-bu-um a-kà-dè^{ki} ri-bi-tim*).

34. On *habābu* see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 186.

35–6. As already seen by Schott and K. Hecker (see Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 83, fn. 36), the phrase *astakanšu ana ašīya* is ambiguous, no doubt intentionally. Note that the symbolism of this dream is reprised in Gilgameš’s lament for Enkidu, in which he refers to him as *haššin ašīya* (SB VIII 46; so already Cooper, *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, p. 40, fn. 6).

43. In the later text the ‘making equal’ of Enkidu (SB I 258, etc.) refers to his adoption by Ninsun. Whether this is already so in the OB epic cannot yet be proved. The present line could also be translated ‘because/so that he will set himself up as your rival,’ which is of course exactly what Enkidu does. However, the dream is clearly a prediction of love and brotherly behaviour, not of conflict.

46. The restoration goes back to von Soden, *OLZ* 50, 514, and is now supported by the LB manuscripts of SB I 300. For *kilallūn* instead of *kilallān* in OB (and MA) Akkadian see *GAG*³ §69 i.

48. It is conventional to restore ‘six days and seven nights’ in this line, following the example of SB I 194. However, the evidence now suggests that where the late text has this formulation the OB text had ‘seven days and seven nights’ (undamaged in OB VA + BM ii 8’; see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB XI 128), and so the broken numeral is here read 7 instead of 6. A stray wedge after this numeral, not seen by previous copyists, is not convincingly the remains of a *ka*m (cf. l. 56), and is ignored as an error.

49. I read *ša-[am-ka-ta]m* rather than *ša-[am-ka-a]t* (cf. von Soden, *ZA 53*, p. 210) because elsewhere in the tablet the name appears with a case ending (ll. 135, 175), except where vocative (l. 140).

51–2. This is the first example extant in OB Gilgameš of the longest of the common literary

formulae used in Gilgameš and other poetic narratives for introducing direct speech (see F. Sonnek, *ZA* 46 (1940), pp. 225–35). The verb *īpuš* or *īpušam* (preterite), often with enclitic *-ma*, is followed by *issaqqaram* or SB *izakkara* (both present), sometimes in the SB epic with *iqabbi* (also present) sandwiched between them. Sequences of preterite and present are often construed as signifying adverbial relationships (see above, on l. 1). In this formula final and simultaneous action are both appropriate and I have usually rendered *iqabbi* (where included) with a final clause and *issaqqaram* with a participle. However, in dealing with this formula in his study of the present tense Streck maintains that because verbs introducing direct speech use the present tense as a matter of course, even in isolation, the sequence *īpuš* (preterite)—*iqabbi/izakkara* (present) is not a matter of circumstance, intention or result but a temporal one (M. P. Streck, *OrNS* 64 (1995), pp. 51–3). I do not see that this is necessarily so. With an ambiguous case like *pišu īpušam issaqqaram* it is impossible to know for sure whether to translate with a participle (as I have chosen to do), with a final clause ‘he opened his mouth in order to speak’ or with a succession of events, ‘he opened his mouth (and) spoke’. However so, where the formula has both *iqabbi* and *izakkara* it is in any case reasonable to place these two verbs in a simultaneous relationship.

61–3. The restorations put forward for this couplet by Jastrow and Clay (also Jacobsen, *Acta Or* 8, p. 71; Tournay and Shaffer; cf. Heidel, Speiser, Labat), are not wholly sustained by the traces or grammar. Though the later text has a couplet beginning *ašar*, it is otherwise quite different: *ašar Gilgameš gimālu emūqi | u kī rīni ugdaššaru eli eļlūti* (SB I 211–12). The last word of l. 61 is certainly *nēpešētum* (contra von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 210), which refers to the skilled work of craftsmen, diviners, exorcists and other professions learnt through a long apprenticeship. As I read the traces, the word before it must be [x]-ID-x-^lnu^l, and accordingly the I/2 stative *šikunū* recommends itself. Here it has an impersonal 3rd pl. subject, but in l. 63, where attention turns to the specific case of Enkidu (*ramānka*), the same verb begs to be restored in the active, *taštakkan*. The restorations of ll. 62–3 remain provisional, however, not least because they produce text that does not yield a satisfactory quatrain. Like ll. 56–60 and 66–72, ll. 61–5 should yield four full lines of poetry.

64. The first sign is clearly *al*, if compared with other examples of the sign in which the horizontal wedges in the latter part of the sign are written one over the other (cf. OB III 200, 202, 230). Langdon, Jastrow and Clay and most translators read *al-ka ti-ba* for *alkam tibām < tibi’am*, i.e. ‘come, arise’, but the orthography is too defective to be compelling. The alternative reading of the fourth sign, adopted here, is open to two different interpretations: either *alkati-ma*, ‘it is my behaviour’ (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 59, p. 210: ‘mein Wandel ist . . .’) or 2nd masc. sg. stative *alkāti-ma* (cf. OB III 252: *alik harrāna*; for *parsāti* governed by a masculine subject see below, the note on *sehrēti* in OB III 191). For me the latter interpretation yields better sense than the former.

65. Unless one emends to *ma-a-a-al*, ‘bed’, there seems little option but to follow von Soden in taking *ma-a-ak* as ‘St. constr. eines unbekanntes *nomen loci* von *niākum*, “coitieren”’ (*OLZ* 50, 514), i.e., **māyāk rē'im*, where the shepherd beds his women. Dalley’s ‘no more sex’ (i.e. *māk rehēm*, lit. ‘absence of coupling’?) is discounted on grounds of meaning and idiom.

76. The stem of the *nomen loci* with prefixed *t* is listed as **tapras* in *GAG*³ §56k. There *tarbašum* is a parade example of the stem, but it is well known that in Assyrian dialect the second syllable of this word must be long because it is not subject to vowel harmony (*tar-ba-še*: *KAJ* 20, 9; 175, 5; *KAV* 96, 14; *SAA* XIII 71 obv. 9; *tar-ba-šu*: *SAA* VI 277, 4; VIII 71, 5). Dialectal variation of this kind is known in Akkadian (e.g. Bab. *amātu < n’w*, Ass. *abutu*) and the entry in *AHW* is accordingly ambivalent: *tarba/āšu(m)*. However, it is interesting to note that here the metrical requirement of the line-end requires a penultimate stress: *ašar tarbāšim*. The implication is that the word was pronounced *tarbāšum* in Babylonian, too.

80–4. These lines are restored from the later parallel, ll. 183–7.

88. The first word is difficult. It is commonly parsed as from *pi’āqum*, ‘to become narrow’. One idea is that it has to do with narrowing of the eyes: von Soden, *AHW* s.v. (‘ellipt. das Auge zuknaufen (um genau zu sehen)’; cf. Reclam²: ‘er sah genau hin’). The same word may appear in *Enūma eliš V* 65: *ip-te-eg-ma šamē(an)‘ u ergeta(ki)‘^{um} x x x*, ‘Er inspizierte Himmel und Erde . . . [.]’ (so Lambert, *TUAT* III/4, p. 589, though others parse it from *patāqu*). Ideas that rely on narrowness differently understood are Speiser’s ‘he gagged’ and von Soden’s earlier rendering ‘es wurde ihm eng, er wurde beklommen’ (*OLZ* 50, 514; cf. Reclam²). Others translate *ad sensum* and see the verb as indicating embarrassment or distrust. The solution adopted here is that *iptēq* is an isolated example of a I/1 stem of intensive *puqu*, ‘to pay attention, concentrate’. The late text reads *ip-te-gi*, which may or may not be *iptēq*.

93. Or, ‘not yet been shown’: so Stol, *OB History*, p. 53, fn. 30, who cited this line as an example of the emphatic *lā* in a main clause meaning ‘not yet’ as well as ‘not at all’, ‘never’. For another possible instance of this usage in this book see SB I 108: *lā ide nišī* (var. *ilī*) and the commentary ad loc.

98. The alliteration in this line beautifully conveys the prostitute’s amused tittering.

99. The incompletely erased *a* before *ak-lam* suggests that the scribe was going to write *a-ka-lam* (as in l. 87) or even *a-ak-lam*, but changed his mind. There may have been metrical reasons for preferring *aklam* to *akalam* but as yet this remains speculation.

103. The form *kabiatum*, for regular *kabattum*, was listed by von Soden in his study of ‘hymnopic’ idiom as an example of the fem. sg. noun in *-at-* instead of *-t-*, comparable with *šunatum* for *šuttum* (W. von Soden, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 225), and is viewed by both dictionaries as a literary alternative to *kabattum*. The present attestation appears to be the only instance so far of *kabiatum* in status rectus. All other examples of the stem *kabiat-* known to me have pronominal suffixes attached, and are thus examples of literary *napšatka* for common *napīštaka* (ibid., pp. 222–3; *GAG*³ §65f).

104–5. The line recurs in OB Schøyen, 24, describing Gilgameš’s reaction to the favourable interpretation of his first dream en route to the Cedar Forest.

106. The penultimate sign has caused problems. The reading [šu].i was first proposed by Jastrow and Clay, after the suggestion of H. F. Lutz (the unpublished collation of E. Chiera agrees). Lack of space clearly rules out [ma-li]-i, the suggestion of A. Schott (*ZA* 42 (1934), p. 105). Von Soden first proposed *mī-i* (*ZA* 59, p. 210), then, more plausibly, [m]al-i (*ZA* 71, p. 181, fn. 25; also Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, p. 199, *Studies Moran*, p. 237: ‘he washed with water’, and others). Much though I would have liked to confirm this last reading, however, careful examination of the traces convinced me that the sign in question is too tall and narrow to be *ma*, but it may well be *šu*.

107. For nouns and adjectives in reverse order see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style.

115–16. The verbs *utappiṣ* and *uktaššid* are examples of use of the I/3 stem to report action repeated on a series of objects (see *GAG*³ §91f).

117. The phrase *nāqīdū rabūtum*, lit. ‘great herdsmen’, is strange. Von Soden transcribes *rabbūtum* (*ZA* 71, p. 181) and translates ‘die alten Hüter’ (Reclam²), but the italics indicate his doubt whether the word can have such a meaning outside certain set usages. Foster suggested that this is a reference to the imagery found in prayers to the gods of the night, in which the going to bed of the Great Ones symbolizes the still quiet of the night (*Essays Pope*, p. 30; cf. SB I 232). I think von Soden was nearer the mark.

120. Most translators, if not all, have taken the phrase *ištēn eļum* to describe Enkidu, but recognition of how the lines of tablet divide into lines and couplets of poetry makes it clear that this phrase begins a new poetic line (so too in the late text, SB II 63; cf. already von Soden, *ZA* 71, p. 181). Thus

it need not be in apposition to *awilum erum*. The word *ištēn* is often mistranslated in this kind of context; sometimes it functions as little more than an indefinite article, as in the tale of the Poor Man of Nippur, where *ištēt(1)st narkabta(gigir) li-di-nu-nim-ma* means simply 'let them give me a chariot' (STT 38, 76; also 80). In this way the phrase *ištēn eḫlum* serves to introduce a new character, for the moment anonymous. Compare its use in introducing figures seen in dreams (OB Schøyen, 9; MB Boğ₂ obv. 15; MB Ur 65 // SB VII 168; *Ludlul* III 9, 23; *SAA* III 32 rev. 10; Kummā's Dream; L. Messerschmidt, *MVAG* I/1 (1896), p. 76, vi 6: Nbn), and, as here, anonymous persons encountered in waking life, like a character in the Poor Man of Nippur (STT 38, 142: *i-bar-ram¹ ma ištēn(1)st eḫla(guruš)*, 'spying a certain fellow') and Aššurbanipal's dream interpreter (Streck, *Asb*, pp. 32, iii 118; 190–1, 25: *ištēn(1)st ša-ab-ru-u*). The usage is not restricted to human subjects (*BAM* 248 iii 10): *iltēt(1)st arḫulūtu(āb) šā d sin(30) géme^d suen.na šum-šā*, 'there was (once) a cow of Sin, her name was Maidservant of the Moon'. The equivalent usage occurs in Sumerian, though often mistranslated: *guruš.diš.ām*, 'there was a man', in Gudea's dream (Cyl. A iv 14), *lú ki.sikil diš.ām*, 'there was a young woman', in Sargon's (J. S. Cooper and W. Heimpel, *JAOs* 103 (1983), p. 75, 22). In the present line the person described as *ištēn eḫlum* is likely to be the man first seen by Enkidu in ll. 137–8.

121. What follows *ištēn eḫlum* is difficult. Von Soden has suggested various restorations, most recently reading *a-na [ši-ni-š]u i-za-aq-qi-ir*, with the comment 'den Hirten gegenüber erscheint Enkidu doppelt so groß' (ZA 71, p. 181, fn. 26; otherwise see ZA 59, p. 210; *AHw*, p. 1313). The traces I saw do not sustain this, or any earlier ideas. The verb *izaqqir*, which may be intransitive or transitive, seems in any case a curious one in the context: it would either describe the man as protruberant or standing proud in some way, or he is himself piling something high. Unfortunately the late text is also difficult at this point but seems to mention the wedding ceremony (SB II 63: *būt em^l*) to which it later transpires the man is going. I have restored the middle of the line accordingly. The verb at the end should be preterite, which makes a reading ¹*i/iš¹-sà-aq-qi-ir* unlikely, and so I assume a II/2 stem of *saqārum* with the meaning 'to be summoned by name'.

122. The later text probably has *[ina libb]i Uruk supūri ana . . .* (SB II 64), but *i-na [šā] uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim¹* does not look possible in our line, so it would appear that the two versions diverge. In the lacuna that follows, the narrator may have described why or how the stranger's journey brought him to the shepherds' camp, but while ll. 121–2 remain incompletely deciphered we cannot know.

136. The expression *uḫsam epēšum* is found elsewhere in the myth of Erra, where it describes his enjoyment of his wife in their bed-chamber (I 20). Here too the subject is a man having a good time with a woman in private, so that the expression would seem to have sexual overtones. In this regard the occasional coupling of *uḫsu* with *kuzbu* and its equation with Sumerian *ma.az* are revealing; see especially the pairing in OBG T XIII 6–7:

hi.li	=	<i>ku-uz₄-bu-u[m]</i>	allure
ma.az	=	<i>ù ul-šū-um</i>	and pleasure

PBS V 149; cf. *MSL* IV, p. 120, where R. Hallock and B. Landsberger translated *uḫsum* as 'lust'

140. The verb *ukkušum* usually means 'to drive away' but here must refer to motion in the opposite direction, towards the speaker, since Enkidu wants to know the man's business and to do that he will need to speak to him (against Reclam², 'laß den Menschen fortgehen', and others). Mimnation is optional in this text so it may be that this nuance is expressed by a ventive, *ukkiš¹ < ukkiš^{im}*.

142. The last word of the poetic line is still a problem. To my eyes the signs are *lu-uš-šū¹* (so also

Langdon, Jastrow and Clay). Emendation to *lu-uš-me!* goes back to G. Dossin (*La pâleur d'Enkidu*; also Böhl, p. 112). Others prefer *lu-uš-si!* (von Soden, ZA 59, p. 211, Reclam², etc.) and Westenholz's copy actually reads *lu-uš-si* (*Studies Lambert*, p. 447, iv 8'); but would Enkidu wish to call the stranger by name, when it is the prostitute who will hail him? A third suggestion is *lu-u[š]-(al)-šu* (*CAD* Z, p. 115; cf. Tournay and Shaffer, *L'Épopée*, p. 68, fn. 21: *lu-u [š]al-šu (sic)*, orthographically improbable). The solution adopted here is prompted by taking the poetic line (ll. 141–2) as a whole: Enkidu wishes to know not the stranger's name but what brings him to those parts: *ana minim illikam*. This usage of *siqrum* (*zikru*), meaning 'explanation, reason', is also found in similar context in Atra-ḫasis, when Anu advises Enlil to send his vizier to learn why the gods have mutinied:

si-iq-ra ša^di-gi-gu¹ il¹-mu-ú ba-bi-iš-ka
li-ši-ma [^dnuska li-il-ma-da a-mat-su-un]

OB Atram-ḫasis I 113–15 (restored after SB Atra-ḫasis II 3–4: Al-Rawi and George, *Iraq* 58 (1996), p. 162)

The reason why the Igigi surrounded your gate:
let Nuska go out and learn their business.

144. Some have proposed that the stranger is the subject of the first verb and Enkidu of the second, others that Enkidu is the subject of both, but these seem unnecessary complications. As Enkidu has instructed, the prostitute simply asks the man to state his business and the couplet of direct speech is hers (ll. 145–6). When in due course the man reveals his explanation, he does so to Enkidu, not to the woman who runs the errand. Enkidu has learned that in civilized life women are subservient, so he remains seated while Šamkatum does his bidding.

149. On the *būt emim/emūtum* as the scene of the wedding festivities and, secondarily, a term for the ceremony that took place there, see J. J. Finkelstein, 'Ana bīt emim šasū', *RA* 61 (1967), pp. 127–36, especially, for discussion of this passage, p. 133.

150. Foster wondered whether the plene writing *ši-ma-a-at* indicated a rhetorical question (*Essays Pope*, p. 30). For me it marks the plural construct state, *šimāt*.

151. I have followed von Soden in reading *hi'ār kallūtum* (see ZA 59, p. 211, where the parallel *ana kallūtum ihīrūši* is cited from an OB legal document; cf. B. Landsberger, *David AV*, p. 83). The first sign is near enough *hi*, and the second has the right number of horizontal wedges for *ia*, but in one rank instead of two. If this is unacceptable, it might be taken as *a sup. ras*. A dissenting view, espoused by J. J. Finkelstein, retains Langdon's *tu-ga-ar* (*JAOs* 90 (1970), p. 251; Foster, *Essays Pope*, p. 30). This reading is itself an emendation of the signs, as Finkelstein noted, and produces a word of unknown root, **tūšarum*, the existence of which remains in doubt (Finkelstein: 'bower'; Foster: 'seclusion').

153. In his discussion of 'hymno-epic' style von Soden took word written *uk-la-at* as an example of the literary construct state *napšat*, as opposed to common *napīšti* (ZA 40 (1931), p. 223). However, as the adjective *šayyahātum* shows, it is plural, *uklāt*, and so a regular form. Von Soden corrected his misparsing in *AHw*, p. 1406.

155. Older scholars also tried *epēšū(dū)st* instead of *ni-šū*, but without a convincing result (Jastrow and Clay; O. E. Ravn, *BiOr* 10 (1953), pp. 12–13). The meaning of *pu-ug nišū* is disputed. Von Soden presented lexical evidence for the meaning 'net' (Hh VI 167: st*sa.tur = pu-ū-gu*), and commented: 'hier ist p. offenbar das Netz, das über das Ehebett gezogen wird zur Absonderung von den anderen

im gleichen Raum Schlafenden' (ZA 59, p. 211). Labat refined this idea, identifying *pūg nišī* as 'un filet qui, dans la maison des parents, pouvait isoler la part de la demeure et la couche réservées aux nouveaux mariés, et derrière lequel, le jour des noces, la jeune épouse attendait sans doute son mari', and drawing attention to the existence of such an item among the Marsh Arabs of more modern Iraq (Labat, *Religions*, p. 160, fn. 3). Such a screen would be needed especially if the newly wedded couple were expected to consummate their marriage in the *bū emim* during the course of the festivities. The word *nišī* would then refer to the family, a term which includes the guests at the wedding, rather than the population in general. However, I am not convinced that any kind of net would make an effective screen. The usual word for a curtain is well known, *šiddum*.

Another view is that the word in question is a part of the body with gynaecological connotations, as originally proposed by Jastrow and Clay: 'hymen(?)'. The lexical evidence available suggests *pūqum* is the bottom or backside (*MSL* XIV, p. 140, 13: ^{du-ur}dūr = *pu-qū-[um]*). On the evidence of diagnostic omens D. A. Foxvog argues that *pūqu* is 'a paired body part below the crotch (*sūnu*) and belly (*rebiū*), and below or at the level of the knees (*birkā*), but above the feet (*šēpā*)' (*Studies Sjöberg*, p. 171). As a further guide he adduces an image which occurs in an OB divination prayer, where a lamb is described as *ša i-na pu-qi* (var. *pu-qū-ū*) *ša-a-ti it-ta-ap-ši* (J. Nougayrol, *RA* 38 (1941), p. 87, obv. 4 // *YOS* XI 23, 3). He renders this as 'pressed out from the *pūqi* of a ewe', and in the light of it translates the passage under comment as 'the loin(s) of the people are open to (both) lovers'. However, this position fails to convince for three reasons: (a) the passage of divination prayer is better rendered as '(a lamb) who (when newborn) flopped about unsteadily at the hindquarters of a ewe', and consequently is not evidence for an especially close connection between *pūqum* and the birth-canal, (b) the 'loins of the people' is implausible as a reference to the maidenhead of brides, and (c) all human beings, not just females, have a pair of *pūqum* (Labat, *TDP* 142, 61', reading *pu-qa-šū* with Foxvog). Clearly the word is not another term for the female genitals or the birth-canal. Thus one falls back on the lexical equivalence with the Sumerian *dūr*, 'bottom'. Acknowledging the probable etymology from *√pyq*, *pūqum* is likely to be the cleft of the bottom; when paired presumably it refers to the buttocks (as, indeed, it was translated in our passage by Dalley, *Myths*, p. 152). The *pūq nišī* may well open, but not, one hopes, at the consummation of a marriage. Accordingly I reject the anatomical *pūqum* in this passage.

A third possibility involves common sense. It is known that in Assyrian respectable married women went veiled in public places (*MAL* §40) and the likelihood is that Babylonian women also took the veil at their weddings (see *SB* VIII 59 and C. Wilcke, 'Familiengründung im Alten Babylonien', in E. W. Müller (ed.), *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung* (Munich, 1985), pp. 282–3). The only person entitled to unveil a new bride is her bridegroom. The verb *petūm* seems eminently suited to such an action. Accordingly, I strongly suspect that the expression *pūg nišī*, 'people's net' or 'family's net', is a term for the veil itself and that this line refers to the initiation of intimacy by the act of parting the bride's veil.

The person who parts the veil should be the bridegroom but in Uruk this was not the case, for Gilgameš exercised the right of *ius primae noctis*. The word written *ha-a-a-ri* cannot be, as it is sometimes taken, the infinitive, which in OB is of course *hi'ārum* or *hiyārum* (as in l. 151). Instead it is to be understood in the light of the lexical equation *ha-a-a-ru* = *ha-^fi-[ru]*, 'h. = bridegroom' (*IR* 36 no. 2 ii 40), but it is not simply a variant spelling of the latter, for in OB this is *hāwirum* rather than *hāyirum*. The word is thus *hāyyārum*, using the **parrās* stem of habitual practice, and singular (without mimation), referring to Gilgameš, because as ll. 159–61 reveal, he does not take the part of the bridegroom once in his life but many times. This word is understandably rare, since men normally take a *hūrtum* only once, and neither dictionary allows it an entry of its own (note, however, the

transcription *hajāri* by von Soden, *ZA* 71, p. 182, and the translation 'Erstwerber' in Reclam²⁻⁵). Outside this passage and the lexical list it appears only in Borger, *Esarh.* §49 Anm., where it is a literary variant of *hā'iru*. It is not impossible that the entry in the synonym list was derived from scholarly exegesis of this very passage.

162. Von Soden, *ZA* 71, p. 182, fn. 27, preferred to read DINGIR as *Anim* ('sicher besser') rather than *ilim*, but elsewhere in this text Anu's name is spelled syllabically *a-nim* (ll. 7, 58, 60).

165. It is simplest to analyse the genitive noun *si-iq-ri* as a regular OB plural construct state but that is not the only possible parsing. In his study of 'hymno-epic' style von Soden adduced this spelling as a rare example of genitive singular construct in *-i* (*ZA* 40 (1931), p. 211). The genitive construct in *-i* (i.e. retaining the case vowel) is standard grammar in Old Akkadian and such formations in literary Babylonian can be explained as archaisms (another instance can be found in *OB* IM 27). In the present case an alternative solution for those that require *siqrum* to be singular would be to posit crasis, *si-iq-re-eḫ-li-im* < **siqr-eḫlim*.

166. The half-line *iriqū pānūšu* also occurs in *OB* Schøyen₂ 63 // 66 // 75.

179. The verb *izuzzum* in the ventive seems to express location; cf. *SB* IV 161 *nizzaza* (var. *nizzazzu*) *eli šērīšu* (LB manuscripts); IV 192 *izzamma* (imp.); VII 167 *azzaza?* (*az-za-zi*, var. *az-za-zu*).

186–7. The restoration of the end of the line relies on MB Boğ, Fragment a, 11: *i-n)a ša-di-i* (see already G. Wilhelm, *ZA* 78 (1988), p. 109). There is not enough room for Tournay and Shaffer's *i-ki[u-ul šam-mi] ša-di-i-im* (*Lépopée*, p. 71, fn. 32). The beginning of the line is restored after *SB* II 42: *mindēma alid ina šadi*, var. *mindēma Enkidu ilittāšu šadūmma*, the point being that Enkidu's reputation has gone before him and the crowd has no difficulty in identifying him. A restoration *m[i-in-de a-šar]* has also been suggested, by J. C. C. Kamminga, *Akkadica* 36 (1984), p. 18.

190. This line introduces two couplets of commentary by the narrator, in which he reminds his audience that Uruk is famous for its festivals. The word *ni-qi-a-tum* was first so read by von Soden, *ZA* 59, p. 212; earlier scholars had read *kak-ki-a-tum*. Von Soden's reading is supported by the fact that on this tablet the upright wedges of *ni* are not always visible (as in ll. 9 and 157).

191. Most recent scholars read the second word as *ū-te-el-li-lu*, with Langdon (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 59, p. 212; id., *ZA* 71, p. 182; Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 279, etc.; Tournay and Shaffer opt for the same reading, but derive it from 'elēlu, "se réjouir"', an otherwise unattested verb). However, the last sign is *zu*, not *lu*. This compels us to resurrect an older view, represented by the translations of Heidel, Speiser (both: 'rejoiced') and Finkelstein (*JAO* 90, p. 252: 'were celebrating'), that this word is part of *elēšum*. It seems improbable that the rarely attested derived stem *utellušum* (II/2 or II/3) means exactly the same as simple *elēšum* (I/1), 'to become merry'. The evidence of the lexical texts is not conclusive:

zag gub.gub.bu	=	<i>ū-te-el-lu-šu</i>
zag gu.ul.gu.ul	=	KIMIN
nī ul.ul	=	MIN
nī il.ile	=	KIMIN

MSL XVI, pp. 302–3, *Nabnītu* R 202–5

<i>ū-tāl-lu-šu</i>	=	<i>nar-[bu-ū?]</i>
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CT 18 31 obv. 12 = *Malku* VIII 28

I have taken *ū-te-el-li-lu* as II/2, factitive and reflexive.

192–5. There is no consensus as to the second word of l. 192. It is clearly *lu-ša-nu* on the tablet (so also Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 279), but Langdon read *ip-ša-nu* and translated ‘project’, Jastrow and Clay *ur-ša-nu*, ‘leader’. Von Soden suggested *ma?-ša-nu*, ‘Kupfertopf’ (*ZA* 59, p. 212; Reclam²: ‘Schale’). Finkelstein followed Landsberger’s lead in reading *lu-ša-nu* with the tablet and took it as the musical instrument (or part of a musical instrument) usually attested as *lušānu* (*JAOS* 90, p. 252). This interpretation is now adopted by von Soden also (*AHw*, p. 1572; Reclam⁴), and has found favour with other recent translators.

The key to the meaning of the word, in my view, lies with the correct understanding of the context, and the best guide to this is the phrase *šakiššum meḫrum* in l. 195. This clause is exactly parallel with *šakin lu-ša-nu* in function (both round off their respective couplets). The word *meḫrum* means ‘counterpart, rival’. Enkidu has arrived in Uruk at a time of festival when someone is set up as the ‘rival’ of Gilgameš (cf. the more suggestive rendering in *CAD M/2*, p. 57: ‘warrior of equal rank’). This rivalry attracts the simile ‘like a god’, an allusion to the single combat of the gods in mythology, when a divine champion defeats a threatening rival (Ningirsu/Ninurta and the Asakku, Anzū, and the Slain Heroes; later Marduk and Tī’āmat; etc.). The comments made about Enkidu by first the shepherds (ll. 80–2) and then the townsmen of Uruk (ll. 183–5), stressing how like Gilgameš he is in build and strength, have already intentionally prepared the minds of the audience for his selection as this ‘rival’. Gilgameš had, until Enkidu’s arrival, been without equal in the city (see SB I 63–72). As soon as the poet describes the special rites that were conducted at Uruk, the listener guesses that the mighty Enkidu, fêted by the young men in Gilgameš’s dream, has to be the one they choose to make the challenge, i.e. the *lu-ša-nu* and the *meḫrum*. In the light of the context of a challenge to Gilgameš, Jastrow and Clay’s *uršānum*, ‘warrior’, is attractive, even though it necessitates emendation of the first sign. Rather than emend, however, it seems preferable to propose a comparable word *lušānum*, derived from putative Sum. *lú saḡ* just as *uršānum* is borrowed from *ur.saḡ*. The meaning of *lú saḡ*, lit. ‘foremost man’, would fit exactly a champion chosen from among the menfolk of the city to challenge the supremacy of their chief.

In l. 193 *išaru*, usually ‘straight, just’, is assumed to have a meaning which is not customary, but which finds a semantic parallel in English. The word has been proposed as a double entendre with *išarum*, ‘penis’ (Dalley, *Myths*, p. 152), ostensibly anticipating Gilgameš’s role in the ensuing episode, i.e., the wedding. Such a double entendre is not compelling, for it produces no sense.

196–9. With this couplet the poet moves on to the custom that motivated Enkidu to leave the shepherd’s camp and come to Uruk, namely Gilgameš’s supplanting of the bridegroom at weddings. Some have seen the mention of the goddess Išhara as an allusion to a sacred marriage. Von Soden has proposed that the apparent rite of *ius primae noctis* described in ll. 159–61 is not a generalized practice but a sacred marriage ceremony in which a newly wedded bride impersonates the goddess, i.e., Išhara (*ZA* 71, p. 104). As the *en* of Kullab Gilgameš can be expected to have taken part in such a ceremony with Inanna, but the place of Išhara in the cults of Uruk is uncertain. Since in the religious traditions of the OB period Išhara is Ištar in the particular function of divine patron of the nuptial period (see OB Atram-ḫašis I 299–304), I am more inclined to understand ‘bed of Išhara’ as simply a literary expression for the bed on which the marriage is to be consummated (so also J.-J. Glassner, *ZA* 80 (1990), p. 67: ‘le nom d’Išhara n’est autre qu’une allusion à une banale nuit de nocés’; cf. earlier J. J. Finkelstein, *RA* 61 (1967), p. 133; id., *JAOS* 90, p. 252).

It is uncertain whether Gilgameš met the ‘girl’ (*wardatim*) in the street, or the ‘girls’ (*wardātim*). Either way, what is meant is that Gilgameš used to join the procession of the bride’s family as it accompanied her and the groom from her father’s house to the house of the bridegroom’s family, the *bīt emim* (on this custom see S. Greengus, *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 71–2). The implication

is that he takes the groom’s place here as well as in the bridal bed. The tense of the verb, for metrical reasons normalized *innēmmid* not *innemid*, is present of habitual action. The phrase *ina mūši(m)* confirms the significance of the tense, that the line does not describe a specific occasion but an habitual event, for *mūšum* refers to night and night-time in general, while a specific night is regularly *mušūtum*; see M. Stol, *WZKM* 86 (1996), p. 417, fn. 12, and N. Wasserman’s discussion of the two words as an example of *nomen unitatis* (*mušūtum*) v. *nomen generis* (*mūšum*), to appear in the chapter on Merismus in his *Style and Form in Old Babylonian Literary Texts* (Leiden, forthcoming).

200–3. The subject of the verbs of this couplet is obviously Enkidu, suddenly emerging from the crowd. The poet does not mention his name, a device which perhaps signifies the fact that Gilgameš does not know who this imposing stranger is.

204. If the only surviving word of this line is correctly restored, the crowd exchanges thoughts on who the man might be. Neither the old reading *da-na-ni-iš-šu* nor Oppenheim’s [*an*]-*da-na-ni-iš-šu* (*Orns* 17, p. 29) is supported by the tablet. Tournay and Shaffer emend to *da-da-ni-iš-šu* and translate ‘il empoigna sa nuque’, but if by this is meant the terminative *dādāniš-šu* then the spelling is against it (*-is-su* would be expected; see fn. 8 of this chapter).

208 and 211. The reading *i’annip* < *anāpum* follows von Soden, *AHw*, p. 320.

212. Since Enkidu is already standing (l. 200), the force of *tebūm* here is to move into action.

214. The phrase *ribūtu māti* is perhaps the name of a street of Uruk, just as it is the name of a street in an OB house deed from Hana (*TCL I* 237, 6: *ri-bi-it mātim*). In another Old Babylonian tablet it is an epithet of the city of Uruk as a whole (OB Schøyen₁ obv. 5’: *Uruk ribūtu m[ātim]*).

219 // 224. On the verb *lādum*, ‘to crouch low, go down on one’s knees’, see von Soden, *OLZ* 50, 514. Especially instructive is the use of the verb to describe a date palm bending under its burden of fruit (*CT* 41 29 obv. 19; *Šumma ālu*). Here, however, the image evoked by the poet is of an ox (ll. 218 // 224: *lē'im*) with head lowered and forelegs bent for fighting (see also OB Harmal₁ 6). Others propose a derivation of *le-i-im* from *lē'um*, literally ‘expert’, sc. in wrestling (e.g. Labat: ‘tel le lutteur exercé’; also *CAD L*, p. 36; etc.). The word may be intentionally ambiguous (cf. J. Renger in F. J. Oinas (ed.), *Heroic Epic and Saga*, pp. 40–1). But, on the other hand, it seems a little too obvious for men engaged in wrestling to be compared to wrestlers. The simile of the ox is especially apt, for in any kind of wrestling it is essential to maintain as low a centre of gravity as possible.

220 // 226. I prefer *irtut*, with penultimate stress (regular ‘trochaic’ ending) to *irtūd* (final stress?), against von Soden, *ZA* 59, p. 212; so already Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 281.

227–8. The ambiguous language of this poetic line—ambiguous at least to us—has generated conflicting interpretations, that Gilgameš is the victor (which suits the plot) and that Enkidu is the victor (which does not). In my opinion the line is best explained by Oppenheim, according to whom the kind of wrestling that Gilgameš and Enkidu engage in is that depicted on cylinder seals (*Orns* 17, pp. 29–30). He proposes that ‘this last verse describes exactly . . . the position of the victorious wrestler, who has succeeded in lifting his opponent from the ground, holding him by his girdle over his head while bending his own knee’ (cf. similarly Glassner, *ZA* 80, pp. 69–70). That the fight should be settled this way has already been predicted in the dream of the meteorite, in which, after a great struggle, Gilgameš succeeded in lifting it (ll. 8–14). More recent interpretations of the line are less convincing. D. Charpin, *NABU* 1992/123, considers it unlikely that *kamāsum* can describe attitudes of submission and victory, and proposes that *ikmis* refers to the manner in which Gilgameš, having succeeded in getting past Enkidu, took his place at the wedding feast: ‘accroupi par terre’. Finet supposes that *kamāsum* is the attitude of the defeated not the victor and proposes to solve the difficulty consequent on this interpretation by imposing on the text a sequence of

changes of subject that to me seems most improbable (A. Finet, 'La lutte entre Gilgameš et Enkidu', *Mélanges Limet*, pp. 45–50).

234–7. A similar expression occurs in OB Harmal₂: *ūlidka litum ša supūrim* (or *supūri*) *Nin-sumunna* (l. 42). On Ninsun's name see the relevant section of Ch. 4.

The Yale tablet (OB Tablet III)

The Yale tablet is considerably longer than the Pennsylvania tablet but much less well preserved, especially on the obverse. As already stated, it was purchased by Yale University at about the same time as the University Museum acquired the Pennsylvania tablet from the same dealer and was most probably written by the same man. Accordingly, the remarks made earlier concerning the provenance of OB Tablet II hold good for OB Tablet III.

Enkidu having acknowledged the suzerainty of Gilgameš at the end of Tablet II, the first episode preserved in Tablet III describes how the pair become firm friends. It is evident that this episode includes direct speech (ll. 10–17) but it is not clear who is speaking to whom, though the suspicion is that Enkidu is talking to Gilgameš. The subject matter is a proposal, presumably by Gilgameš, that provokes in Enkidu the same horror and disbelief as the expedition to the Cedar Forest will later, but beyond that no more can be said. Following the direct speech is the kiss that seals their friendship (18–19) and then a succession of heavily damaged lines interrupted by a lacuna (20–41). Part of this section is to be restored from another Old Babylonian tablet, where the text describes how Enkidu proposes to reward the prostitute for bringing him into Uruk and friendship with Gilgameš (OB Schøyen₁ obv.). When the text of the Yale tablet resumes at the bottom of column i we learn that the prostitute is still involved in the story. The identity of those who address her is not preserved but probably it is Gilgameš and Enkidu (42–3).

The upper part of column ii contains the fragmentary remains of a speech, presumably by Gilgameš, to his mother, the goddess Ninsun, her reply, and the unhappiness that her words provoke in Enkidu (56–76). This episode is the forerunner of that given in SB II 162 ff., also rather fragmentary. Both are presumably concerned with Gilgameš's introduction of Enkidu to his mother, as foretold in her explanation of his second dream (OB II 43). The text of the Yale tablet becomes better preserved nearer the bottom of column ii and at the top of column iii. Here Gilgameš asks the cause of Enkidu's sadness (77–81). In reply Enkidu laments his loss of strength, an enfeeblement that is evidently the result of the immediately preceding narrative or, in hindsight, of his seduction earlier in the story (82–8). Despite the lacuna that intrudes between these lines and the next section of text, it is clear that Gilgameš attempts to brighten Enkidu's mood by proposing an expedition to the Cedar Forest to kill the ogre that lives there, the savage Hūwawa (89–103). A slightly different version of this episode is preserved in an Old Babylonian fragment probably from Nippur (OB UM). The whole passage is the equivalent of SB II 193–215: the lacuna at the beginning of Gilgameš's speech (between ll. 90 and 97) can very probably be filled with SB II 194–201, while the material missing in the lacuna SB II 202–12 probably developed from a version of ll. 97–103.

Enkidu's reaction to Gilgameš's idea is to warn his new friend of the terrors that such an adventure would hold (104–16). He has met Hūwawa and knows him and his forest to be a lethal adversary. Gilgameš's answer is largely lost in the lacuna that intervenes half-way down column iii, but enough remains to indicate that he is not at all intimidated by Enkidu's warning and intends, in the full knowledge that the mountain of the Cedar Forest is the home of the gods, nevertheless to fell cedar there (117–26). The notion that the pantheon dwelt on the Cedar Mountain is a western one, imported into Babylonia from the Levant.⁵⁶ In a speech that runs over on to column iv Enkidu again warns Gilgameš against the expedition, adding that the guardian of the forest is a god called Wēr,⁵⁷ and that the ogre Hūwawa has at his disposal seven 'terrors' to keep the trees safe from the depredations of mortal men (127–37).⁵⁸ In the later text Enkidu's two speeches are reworked as SB II 216–29 and Gilgameš's first reply is omitted. Gilgameš's second reply is full of youthful bravado. He spouts some old maxims about the brevity of a man's life on earth (138–43) and taunts Enkidu for his feeble lack of bravery, suggesting that his friend follow in the safety of his shadow (144–7).⁵⁹ He looks forward to the glory that battle with Hūwawa will bring him, contrasts Enkidu's fearsome reputation with his present cowardice and announces his wish to achieve everlasting fame by felling the sacred cedars (148–62). This speech survives, with some alterations, in Assyrian MS y₁ (Chapter 7 below) but is otherwise recast into SB II 230–41. The theme of making one's name, which is so central to the first half of the Babylonian epic, is taken over from the Sumerian story of Bilgames and Hūwawa, but the motivation for it here is not, as there, the fear of dying. That is reserved for the second half of the epic.

Gilgameš and Enkidu then begin preparations for the journey. Though damaged in part by the tapering off of the tablet at the bottom of column iv, this section is nearly complete. First the two heroes make their way to the forge of the coppersmiths and come away equipped with weaponry on an heroic scale (163–71; cf. SB II 242–53). Then Gilgameš secures the gates of Uruk and convenes the city's assembly (172–7). The short lacuna between columns iv and v intervenes but it is clear that Gilgameš announces to the elders his intention of making an expedition against Hūwawa, to cut down cedar and make a name (179–88); the speech is also present in Assyrian MS y₂ (obv. 1'–5') but worded very differently in the late text (SB II 261–71). The elders give their response in a speech that warns

⁵⁶ See A. R. George, 'The Day the Earth Divided: a geological aetiology in the Babylonian Gilgameš Epic', *ZA* 80 (1990), p. 219; W. G. Lambert, 'Interchange of ideas between southern Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine as seen in literature', *CRAI* 25, pp. 313–15.

⁵⁷ Wēr is the Babylonian name for the god Mēr, a storm god known principally in Syro-Mesopotamian context, especially at Mari (as Itūr-Mēr), but also found in Babylonia, where he was identified with Adad (see G. Dossin, 'Inscriptions de fondation provenant de Mari', *Syria* 21 (1940), pp. 156–7; W. G. Lambert, 'The pantheon of Mari', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 534–5; M. Krebernik, 'Meru', *RLA* VIII, p. 73). His western provenance fits the present context, of course, for the Cedar Forest of the Babylonian epic was situated in Levant.

⁵⁸ The reference of the word *puluhtum* is to Hūwawa's seven deadly auras, which in the Sumerian story of Bilgames and Hūwawa are known as *nī.te* or *me.lám* (A 192–200) and which elsewhere in the Old Babylonian material are called *melemmū* and *namirirru* (OB Ishchali 12'–13', 16')

⁵⁹ Oppenheim saw in these lines a mocking inversion of 'the custom following which the loyal friend and servant has to take the lead in danger and battle' (A. L. Oppenheim, 'Mesopotamian mythology II', *Oriens* 17 (1948), pp. 31–2).

Gilgameš against letting his enthusiasm run away with him and thereafter is mostly a reprise of Enkidu's first warning (189–200). In the Standard Babylonian text, but not in Assyrian MS **y**, a speech of Enkidu to the elders is interpolated before the elders' reply; taken together, both speeches comprise a considerable expansion of the older text (SB II 272–99). Gilgameš can only laugh and scorn their fears; the speech is largely lost both here (201 ff.) and in the late text (SB II 300 ff.) but survives in fragmentary form on Assyrian MS **y**₂ (obv. 16'–22').

When the text of the Yale tablet resumes after the lacuna that intervenes half-way down column v, Gilgameš is being wished well for his journey (211–15). The identity of the speaker is lost in the lacuna, but comparison with the later text indicates that he is the elders' spokesman (as in Assyrian MS **y**₂ obv. 23' and SB III 1–12). There follow the fragmentary lines that conclude column v, in which Gilgameš prays to the sun god, Šamaš, traditionally the guardian of travellers. Gilgameš asks his protection in the coming adventure (216–21).

The top of column vi finds Gilgameš in tears and beseeching the favour of his personal god, who is later revealed as Lugalbanda, his deified predecessor and, in one tradition, his father. As read here, he promises to reward Lugalbanda's aid with a new temple fitted out with thrones and other splendid furnishings (229–36). Gilgameš and Enkidu then kit themselves out with their weaponry and are ready to depart (237–44). At this point, presumably

YBC 2178

The Yale tablet (OB III)

Copy: Pls. 4–6

Previous publication

1920	M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay, <i>An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic</i> (YOR IV/3)	CTTr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 25–9	T
1992	J. Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 84 f., fig. 3 (rev. only)	P

Text

col. i

1–9 lost

- 10 [x (x) x]-x-¹im? ša¹-bi-iš¹ ib²?-ri¹¹ i¹-[n]a?¹-ak¹-ku-ud pa-ag-rum
 12 a[m-mi-ni]m ta-aḥ-ši-iḥ¹³ a[n-n]i-a-am¹ e¹-p[e]-ša-am
 14 [x (x)]x mi-im-ma [(x x)-a]m? ma-di-iš¹⁵ [t]a-aḥ-ši-iḥ
 16 ¹lu¹-uš-x-ú [x (x)]x-tim
 17 ši-ip-ra-¹am¹ ša l[a i-b]a-aš-šu-ú i-na mātim(kalam)

as the pair leave the city, the young men of the city briefly salute Gilgameš and the elders launch into a long speech of advice, counselling him to look after himself and be guided by the experienced Enkidu, who knows the road (245–56). They call on Šamaš to make the journey easy and to send Gilgameš pleasing messages at night (272–63). The reference is to the dreams that the hero will see on the occasion of each camp and that Enkidu will interpret as favourable (OB Schøyen₂, OB Harmal₁, OB Nippur, MB Boğ₂, SB IV). Finally the elders ask Lugalbanda to ensure the success of the expedition and advise Gilgameš to keep both gods friendly with frequent libations of water from the wells he digs when he camps for the night (263–71).⁶⁰

In a speech that brings the text to the bottom of column vi, Enkidu encourages Gilgameš, confident that he knows where to find their prey, and tells him to send back the crowd of young men who are evidently following them out of the city (272–8). The remaining text was inscribed in three short columns on the left edge of the tablet. The first two of these are fragmentary and the third, which may have contained little more than the colophon, is lost entirely. It is clear nevertheless that Gilgameš ordered the crowd to return home and that as the crowd obeyed they called out a further prayer to Lugalbanda and Šamaš (278–89).

⁶⁰ This instruction anticipates the digging of wells at each camping place in SB Tablet IV. On Gilgameš and wells see Ch. 3, the sub-section on Digging wells.

Selected modern translations

1949	A. Heidel, <i>The Gilgamesh Epic</i> , pp. 33–40
1950	E. A. Speiser, 'Tablet III. Old Babylonian version', <i>ANET</i> , pp. 78–80
1970	R. Labat, <i>Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique</i> , pp. 163–8
1982	W. von Soden, <i>Das Gilgamesch-Epos</i> , Reclam ⁴ , pp. 29–37 (composite with SB)
1989	S. Dalley, 'Tablet III', <i>Myths from Mesopotamia</i> , pp. 142–7
1992	J. Bottéro, 'Tablette de Yale (Y)', <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 232–45
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Yale', <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 251–61
1994	K. Hecker, <i>TUAT</i> III/4, pp. 654–9
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 80–6, 89–90, 93–8
1997	U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 145–60
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), pp. 107–15

Translation

col. i

1–9 lost

- 10 '[. . .] is gripped, my friend,⁽¹¹⁾ the body palpitates.
 12 Why do you desire⁽¹³⁾ to do this thing?
 14 [. . .] anything [. . .]⁽¹⁵⁾ do you desire so much?
 16 Let me . . . [. . .] . . .
 17 a feat that does not (yet) exist in the land.'

- 18 *it-ta-aš-qu-ú-ma*¹⁹ ¹*i*¹-*pu-šu ru-’u_s-tam*
 20 [x x]x[x]x *uš-ta-di-nu*
 21 [.]x¹ *uš-bu*¹
 22 [.]x
 23 [.]x [. .]
 24 [*ar-šū? ib-ra-am? ma*]-¹*i*¹-*kam!* ¹*a*¹-[*n*]*a-k[u]* // OB Schøyen obv. 1’-2’
 25 [*ša a-ta-ma-ru-šu? i-n*]*a šu*-¹*na-tim*¹ // OB Schøyen obv. 1’-2’

26–38 lost but for a few traces

- 39 [x (x)] *nam* [.]x
 40 [x]x *i*[*b?-ra?-a*]*m?*
 41 [x (x)] *ú-na-i-du* x[x *i*]*i*
 42 [*si-i*]*q-ra-am ú-t[e-er]-ru*⁴³ [*a-na*] *ha-ri-i[m-ti]* *m*
 44 [x (x) x-b] *u-ma a-na bi*[*t(è) šī?*]-*bu-ti*

col. ii

45–55 lost

- 56 ¹*i-na ma-a*¹-*r*[*i-(i)-ki?*]
 57 *ma-ḫi-ra-am* [.]
 58 *šu-uk-ni-šum*-¹*ma*¹ [.]
 59 *la-al-la-r*[*u*]
 60 *um-mi*^d[*GIŠ*] // SB II 165
 61 *i-na ba*-[*bi-šu?*]
 62 *šá ú-x*[.]
 63 *i-na r*[*i?-bi-it?*]
 64 ¹*ta*¹-[.]
 65 *ša-a*[*r-pi-iš*]-¹*ru*¹ // SB II 174
 66 ¹*ú*¹-[*ul?* -*i*]*m?* // SB II 175
 67 [.]x
 68 [. *uḫ-ta-an?-n*]*i*-¹*ib*¹
 69 [.]x
 70 x[. ^d*en-ki-d*]*u*₁₀
 71 *i-n*[*a-šu im-la*]-¹*a di*¹-*i*[*m-ta*]*m* // SB II 180
 72 *i*[*il-mi-in l*]*i-ib-ba*-¹*šu*-[*ma*]⁷³ [*mar?*]-[*ši-iš?*] *uš-ta-mi-i*[*ḫ*]
 74 [*i-na-(a)* ^d*e*]*n-ki-du*₁₀ *im-la-a di-im-tam*
 75 [*il-mi-in*] *li-ib-ba-šu-m*[*a*]⁷⁶ [*mar-ši-i*]*š?* *uš-ta-mi-i*[*ḫ*]
 77 [^d*GIŠ i*] *t-bal*(AB)-*lam pa-ni-šu*
 78 [*is-sà-qar-am*] *a-na*^c*en-ki-du*₁₀¹ cf. SB II 185
 79 [*am-mi-nim ib-r*]*i i-na*-¹*ka*⁸⁰ [*im-la-a*]-¹*di-im*¹-*tam* // SB II 186
 81 [*il-mi-in li-ib-b*]*a-ka*⁸² [*mar-ši-iš?* *tu-uš-ta-n*]*i-iḫ*

- 18 They kissed each other and ⁽¹⁹⁾ formed a friendship,
 20 [.] they discussed.
 21 [.] they sat down,
 22 [.] . . .
 23 [.] . . . [. .]
 24 *I* [*have acquired a friend, a*] *counsellor,*
 25 [*the one that I kept seeing in*] *dreams.*

Lacuna

- 40 [.] *friend*
 41 [. . .] they extolled⁶¹ [. . .]
 42 They gave answer ⁽⁴³⁾ [to] the harlot:
 44 ‘[. . .] *go into* the house [of the] *elders.*’

col. ii

Lacuna

- 55 ‘. . .’ ⁽⁵⁶⁾ in [*your*] presence.
 57 a rival [.]
 58 Establish for him [.]
 59 mourners [.]’
 60 The mother of [Gilgameš]
 61 ‘In [*his*] *gate* [.]
 62 which . . . [.]
 63 In the *main* [*street*]
 64 you [.]
 65 Bitterly [.]
 66 [*Enkidu possesses*] no [. . .]
 67 [.]
 68 [. *grew*] *thickly.*’
 69 [.]
 70 [.] *Enkidu.*
 71 [His] eyes [brimmed with] tears,
 72 his heart grew vexed and ⁽⁷³⁾ he sighed *heavily.*
 74 *Enkidu’s* [eyes] brimmed with tears,
 75 his heart [grew vexed] and ⁽⁷⁶⁾ he sighed [*heavily.*]
 77 [Gilgameš] showed pity,
 78 [saying] to *Enkidu:*
 79 ‘[Why,] my [friend, did] your eyes ⁽⁸⁰⁾ [brim with] tears,
 81 your [mood turn sad, ⁽⁸²⁾ (why) did you] sigh [*heavily?*]’

⁶¹ Or, ‘they informed’.

- 83 ^de[n-ki-du₁₀ pi-šu i-pu-ša]-[am-ma] // SB II 188
 84 is-sà-[qar-am] a-na ^dGİŞ // SB II 188
 85 ta-ab-bi-a-tum ib-ri ⁸⁶ uš-ta-li-pa da-da-ni-ia
 87 a-ḥa-a-a ir-ma-a-ma ⁸⁸ e-mu-qi i-ni-iš
 89 ^dGİŞ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma // SB II 193
 90 is-sà-qar-am a-na ^den-ki-du₁₀ // SB II 193

col. iii

- 91–5 lost
- 96 [. -a]m?
 97 [. ^dḥu-wa¹-wa da-pi-nu
 98 [. . . i ni-n]a-ra-[aš-š]u ⁹⁹ [te-em-šu? li-iḥ]-[li-iq]
 100 [i-na qi-iš-ti] ⁸¹⁵erēnim(eren) ¹⁰¹ [a-šar] ^d[ḥu-wa-w]a! wa-aš-bu
 102 [i nu-ga?-a]l^dli¹-is-sú ¹⁰³ [i]n^dḥu-wa-wa
 104 [^den-ki]-du₁₀ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma // SB II 216
 105 is-sà-qar-am a-na ^dGİŞ // SB II 216
 106 i-de-ma ib-ri i-na šadi(kur)ⁱ
 107 i-nu-ma at-ta-la-ku it-ti bu-lim
 108 a-na 1 šu+ši bērā(danna) ^{104am} nu-ma-at qi-iš-tum // SB II 223
 109 [ma-an-nu ša¹ur-ra-du a-na libbi(šà)-ša // SB II 224
 110 ^d[ḥu-w]a-wa ri-ig-ma-šu a-bu-bu // SB II 221
 111 pi^dšū^dgirrum(gira)-ma ¹¹² na-pi-is-su mu-tum // SB II 222
 113 am-mi-nim ta-aḥ-ši-iḥ ¹¹⁴ an-ni-a-am e-pe-ša-am
 115 qá¹ba¹-al la ma-ḥa-ar ¹¹⁶ [š]u-pa-at ^dḥu-wa-wa
 117 [^dG]İŞ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 118 [is-sà-qa]r-am a-na ^den-ki-du₁₀
 119 [ša qištim(tir)? i]b^dri¹ lu-li-a ša-di-ša
 120 [.]-tim
 121 šu-[.]x x
 122 a-na x x š[a]
 123 mu-ša-ab ili(dingir)^m [⁸²⁰ e²]-[nu-na-ki?]
 124 ḥa-aš-ši-nu-[um]
 125 at-ta l[u-ú]
 126 a-na-ku lu-[ú]
 127 ^den-ki-du₁₀ pi-šu i-pu-[ša-am-ma]
 128 is-sà-qar-am a-na [^da GİŞ]
 129 ki-i ni-[i]l^dla¹-ak i[b-ri] ¹³⁰ a-na qi-iš-ti ⁸¹⁵erēnim(eren)
 131 na-ši-ir-ša ^dwe-er-[ma] ¹³² da-a-an la ṣa-l[i-i]l
 133 ^dḥu-wa-wa ^dwe-e[r . . .]
 134 ^dadad(iškur) iš-[te-en] ¹³⁵ šu-ú [ša-nu-um] // SB II 225

- 83 Enkidu opened [his mouth],
 84 saying to Gilgameš:
 85 ‘Sobs, my friend, ⁽⁸⁶⁾ have knotted the sinews of my neck,
 87 my arms have gone limp and ⁽⁸⁸⁾ my strength ebbed away.’
 89 Gilgameš opened his mouth,
 90 saying to Enkidu:

col. iii

Lacuna

- 97 ‘[.] ferocious Ḥuwawa,
 98 [. . . let us] slay him, ⁽⁹⁹⁾ [so his power] is no more!
 100 [In the Forest] of Cedar, ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ [where Ḥuwawa] dwells,
 102 [let us] startle him ⁽¹⁰³⁾ in his lair!’
 104 Enkidu opened his mouth,
 105 saying to Gilgameš:
 106 ‘I knew (him), my friend, in the uplands,
 107 when I roamed here and there with the herd.
 108 For sixty leagues in each direction the forest is a wilderness,
 109 who is there can venture inside it?
 110 Ḥuwawa, his voice is the Deluge,
 111 his speech is fire and ⁽¹¹²⁾ his breath is death.
 113 Why do you desire ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ to do this thing?
 115 An unwinnable battle ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ is the ambush of Ḥuwawa.’
 117 Gilgameš opened his mouth,
 118 saying to Enkidu:
 119 ‘I would climb, my friend, [the forest’s] slopes,
 120 [.]. . .
 121 . . . [.]
 122 . . . [.]
 123 The home of the [Anunnaki] gods,
 124 an axe [.]
 125 May you [be]
 126 let me [be]’
 127 Enkidu opened his mouth,
 128 saying to [Gilgameš]:
 129 ‘How can we go, my friend, ⁽¹³⁰⁾ to the Forest of [Cedar]?
 131 The one who guards it [is] Wēr, ⁽¹³²⁾ he is mighty, never sleeping.
 133 Ḥuwawa [was appointed by] Wēr,
 134 Adad is the first, ⁽¹³⁵⁾ he [the second!]

col. iv		
136	<i>aš-šum</i> [š ^u]-ul-lu-m[u ^{erēnīm} (eren)]	// SB II 227
137	<i>pu-ul-ḫi-a-tim</i> 7 [i ¹]-š[i-im-šum ^d en-lil?]	// SB II 228
138	^d GIŠ <i>pi-šu i-pu-š[a-am-ma]</i>	// SB II 230
139	<i>is-sà-qar-am a-na</i> ^d e[n-ki-du ₁₀]	// SB II 230
140	<i>ma-an-nu ib-ri e-lu-ú ša-m[a-i]</i>	
141	<i>i-lu-ma it-ti</i> ^d šamšim(utu) <i>da-ri-iš u[š-bu]</i>	
142	<i>a-wi-lu-tum-ma ma-nu-ú</i> u ₄ -mu-ša	// SB II 234
143	<i>mi-im-ma ša i-te-né-pu-šu ša-ru-ma</i>	// SB II 235
144	<i>at-ta an-na-nu-um-ma ta-dar mu-tam</i>	
145	<i>mi-is-su da-na-nu qar-ra-du-ti-ka</i>	
146	<i>lu-ul-li-ik-ma i-na pa-ni-ka</i>	
147	<i>pi-ka li-is-si-a-am ṭi-ḫe e ta-du-ur</i>	
148	<i>šum-ma am-ta-qū-ut šu-mi lu uš-zi-iz</i>	
149	^d GIŠ-mi it-ti ^d ḫu-wa-wa da-pi-nim ¹⁵⁰ [ia ¹ -qum-tam iš-tu	
151	<i>ta!</i> (1)-wa-al-dam-ma tar-bi-a i-na šērim(edín) // OB Schøyen, rev. 3' // SB II 237	
152	<i>iš-ḫi-ṭi-ka-ma la-bu ka-la-ma ti-de</i> // OB Schøyen, rev. 4' // SB II 238	
153	<i>eṭ-lu¹ tum iḫ-bu-tu¹ ma¹ ḫar-ka¹</i> // OB Schøyen, rev. 5' // SB II 239	
154	x [x] ¹ [ku ¹ -ka-ma ¹⁵⁵ [ka-ka-a]b? šī-wi-ti	
156	[ú at-ṭi]a? <i>ki-ma pa-ás-na-qi₄ ta-qá-bi</i> // SB II 232	
157	[pi-ka ir]-ma-a-am tu-lem-mi-in li ¹ [ib ¹ -bi	// SB II 233
158	[qá-ti l]u-uš-ku-un-ma ¹⁵⁹ [lu-u]k ¹ su ¹ -ma-am ^{erēnam} (eren)	
160	[š ^u -ma ša] <i>da-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ta-ak-na</i>	
161	[al-kam i]b-ri a-na ki-iš-ka-ti-tim lu-mu-ḫa // SB II 241	
162	[pa-ši li]-iš-pu-ku i-na maḫ-ri-ni	
163	[iš-ša-a]b-tu-ma a-na ki-iš-ka-ti-i i-mu-ḫu	
164	[wa ¹ -aš-bu uš-ta-da-nu um-mi-a-nu // SB II 247	
165	<i>pa-ši iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim</i> // SB II 249	
166	<i>ḫa-aš-ši-ni</i> 3 bilā(gú) ^{ta.ām} iš-tap-ku	
167	<i>pa-at-ri iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim</i>	
168	<i>me-še-le-tum</i> 2 bilā(gú) ^{ta.ām}	
169	<i>ši-ip-ru</i> 30 ma-na ^{ta.ām} ša a-ḫi-ši-na	
170	[i]ḫ-zu pa-at-ri 30 ma-na ^{ta.ām} ḫurāšum(kù.sig ₁₇)	
171	^d GIŠ ú [en-ki ¹ -du ₁₀ 10 bilā(gú) ^{ta.ām} ša-ak-nu	
172	[a-bu-u]l-la-t[i(m) ša] [uruk ^{ki} 7 i-dī-il-ma!](SU)	
173	[pu-uḫ-ra] is ¹ -si-ma ¹ um-ma-nu ip-taḫ-ra	
174	[x x me?] ¹ [e ¹ UL.A i-na sūqim(sila) ša uruk ^{ki} ri-bi-tim	
175	[. . . ^{erēnīm} k]ussī(gu.za)-š ^u ^d GIŠ	
176	[i-na sūqim(sila)? ša uruk ^{ki}] ri-bi-tim	
177	[um-ma-nu-um? u]š-ša-ab i-na maḫ-ri-šu	

col. iv

136	In order to safeguard [the cedar,]
137	[Enlil] assigned [him] the Seven Terrors. ⁷
138	Gilgameš opened his mouth,
139	saying to Enkidu:
140	‘Who is there, my friend, that can climb to the sky?’
141	Only the gods have [dwelled] forever in sunlight.
142	As for man, his days are numbered,
143	whatever he may do, it is but wind.
144	Here are you, afraid of death!
145	For what purpose is the strength of your valour?
146	I will walk in front of you,
147	you can call to me, “Go to, do not fear!”
148	If I fall, I should have made my name:
149	(men will say) “Gilgameš joined battle with ferocious Ḫuwawal!”
151	You were born and grew up in the wild,
152	a lion attacked you and you experienced all.
153	Grown men fled from your presence,
154	[the] evening [star] even . . . you.
156	[But (now)] you speak like a weakling,
157	[with your] feeble [talk] ⁶² you have vexed my heart.
158	Let me start work ⁶³ and ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ chop down the cedar!
160	[A name that] is eternal I will establish for ever!
161	[Come,] my friend, I will <i>betake myself</i> to the forge,
162	[let] them cast [hatchets] in our presence!
163	They took [each other (by the hand)] and <i>betook themselves</i> to the forge,
164	(where) the craftsmen were sitting down in discussion.
165	Great hatchets they cast,
166	they cast axes of three talents each.
167	Great daggers they cast:
168	the blades were two talents each,
169	half a talent were the crests of their handles,
170	the daggers’ gold mountings were half a talent each.
171	Gilgameš and Enkidu had a load of ten talents each.
172	He bolted the seven city gates of Uruk,
173	he convened [the assembly] and the crowd gathered around.
174	[. . .] . . . in the street of Uruk-Main-Street,
175	Gilgameš [<i>sat down on</i>] his throne.
176	[In the street of Uruk]-Main-Street,
177	[the crowd was] sitting before him.

⁶² Lit. ‘[your mouth went] limp’.⁶³ Lit. ‘let me set [my hand]’.

- 178 [^dGIŠ *ki-a-am?* *i-q*]á-ab?-*bi*
 179 [*a-na ši-bu-tim* *ša uruk^{ki} ri*]i-bi-tim
 180 [*ši-me-a-ni-ni ši-bu-tum* *ša uruk^{ki}*]¹ri¹-[*bi-ti*]im

cf. SB II 260

Probably one line missing

col. v

- 182 *ilam*(dingir) {GIŠ} *ša i-qá-ab-bu-ú lu-mu-ur*
 183 *ša šu-um-šu it-ta-nam-ba-la ma-ta-tum*
 184 *lu-uk-šu-¹sú¹-ma i-na qi-iš-ti^{eris}erēnim*(eren)
 185 *ki-ma da-an-nu pe-er-ḥu-um* *ša uruk^{ki} 186 lu-ši-eš-mi ma-tam*
 187 *qá-ti lu-uš-ku-un-ma lu-uk-sú-ma^{eris}erēnam*(eren)
 188 *šu-ma ša da-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ták-nam*
 189 *ši-bu-tum* *ša uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim* cf. SB II 287
 190 *si-iq-ra ú-te-er-ru a-na^dGIŠ* // SB II 288
 191 *še-eḥ-re-ti-ma^dGIŠ libba(šà)-ka na-ši-ka* // SB II 289
 192 *mi-im-ma ša te-te-né-pu-šu la ti-de* // SB II 290
 193 *ni-ši-em-me-ma^dḥu-wa-wa ša-nu-ú bu-nu-šu*
 194 *ma-an-nu-um s[a i-m]a-ḥa-ru ka-ak-ki-šu*
 195 *a-na 1 šu+ši¹ [bērā(danna)^m nu-ma-at qištum*(tir) // SB II 293
 196 *ma-an-nu¹ša¹ u[r-ra]-du a-na libbi(šà)-ša* // SB II 295
 197 *^dḥu-wa-wa¹ri-ig¹-ma-šu a-bu-bu* // SB II 291
 198 *pi-šu^dgirrum*(gira)-*ma na-pi-su mu-tum* // SB II 292
 199 *am-mi-nim taḥ-ši-iḥ an-ni-a-am e-pe-ša*
 200 *qá-ba-al la ma-ḥa-ar šu-pa-at^dḥu-wa-wa*
 201 *iš-me-e-ma^dGIŠ si-qi-ir ma-li¹ki-šu¹* // SB II 300
 202 *ip-pa-al-sà-am-ma i-ši-iḥ a-na ib-r[i-š]u* // SB II 301
 203 *i-na-an-na¹ib¹-ri ki-a-am-m[a . . .]*
 204 *a-pa-la-aḥ-šu-ma-a¹ú¹-u[?]*
 205 *¹ú¹-ul [.]* ²⁰⁶ [x]x x[.]

207–10 lost

- 211 *š[u-ú?]*
 212 *li-x[. -k]a*
 213 *il-ka l[i-ši-ši-ra-am ši-p]i-ka*
 214 *ḥarrānam*(kaskal) *li-ša-a[l-x x x-a]k?-ka*
 215 *a-na kārīm*(kar) *ša uruk^{ki} ṭi-ḥe-a i-na š]u-ul-mi* // SB III 1 // 215
 216 *ka-mi-is-ma^dGIŠ [i-na ma-ḥar? ^dšam]šim*(utu)
 217 *a-wa-at i-qá-ab-b[u-ú . . .]x-am*
 218 *a-al-la-ak^dšamšu*(utu) sm a-š[ar ^dḥu-wa-wa?]
 219 *ul-la-nu lu-uš-li-ma na¹pi¹-i[š-ti bu-ul-li-iḥ?]*

- 178 [*Thus* Gilgameš] spoke
 179 [to the elders of Uruk]-Main-Street:
 180 ‘[Hear me, O elders of Uruk-Main]-Street!
 181 [.]’

col. v

- 182 I will see the god of whom they speak,
 183 whose name the lands do constantly repeat.⁶⁴
 184 I will conquer him in the Forest of Cedar,
 185 that Uruk’s offshoot is mighty⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ I will have the land learn.
 187 Let me start work⁶⁵ and chop down the cedar,
 188 a name that is eternal I will establish for ever!⁷
 189 The elders of Uruk-Main-Street
 190 gave answer to Gilgameš:
 191 ‘You are young, Gilgameš, and carried away by enthusiasm,⁶⁶
 192 whatever you do, you cannot understand.
 193 We hear of Ḥuwawa, (that) he is strange of visage:
 194 who is there can withstand his weapons?
 195 For sixty [leagues in each] direction the forest is a wilderness;
 196 who is there can venture inside it?
 197 Ḥuwawa, his voice is the Deluge,
 198 his speech is fire and his breath is death.
 199 Why do you desire to do this thing?
 200 An unwinnable battle is the ambush of Ḥuwawa.’
 201 Gilgameš heard the speech of his advisers,
 202 he looked at his friend and laughed:
 203 ‘Now, my friend, how [*I am frightened!*]
 204 Shall I fear him (so much) that I *cannot* [.?]
 205 [Shall I] not [.?]

Lacuna. When the text resumes someone is blessing Gilgameš on his journey.

- 211 ‘*He* [.]’
 212 May he [.] you!
 213 May your god [straighten (the path for)] your feet,
 214 May he let your [.] the journey,
 215 [come back] in safety to the quay of Uruk!
 216 Gilgameš was kneeling [*in the presence of*] Šamaš,
 217 the words he was saying [.]:
 218 ‘I am going, O Šamaš, to the place [*of Ḥuwawa*],
 219 let me come through safely, [*keep me*] alive!

⁶⁴ Lit. ‘the lands keep bringing’.⁶⁵ Lit. ‘let me set my hand’.⁶⁶ Lit. ‘your heart is carrying you’.

- 220 *te-er-ra-an-ni a-na kārīm(kar) š[al? uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim?*
 221 *ši-il-[l]am šu-ku-u[n e-li?-ia]*
 222 *is-si-ma^dGIŠ u[r-]*
 223 *te-er-ta-š[u]*
 224 *ekallum(é.^fgal^h)? x[.]*
 225 UD x[.]
 226 x[.]
 227 x[.]
 228 *i-na [.]*

col. vi

- 229 *[e-li du]^fri ša ap-pi-šu i^l-[l]a-ka di-ma-tum*
 230 *[lu-li-ik?] i^l-li harrānam(kaskal) ša la al-[l]i-ku ma-ti-ma*
 231 *[. . .]x-a-ka-sú i-li^fla^li-de*
 232 *[lu-tu-u]r? lu-uš-li-m[a] a-na-ku*
 233 *[lu-mu-ur? pa-n]i-ka i-na [h]u-ud li-ib-bi*
 234 *[lu-ub-ni?-k]um bi-tam [š]a la-le-ka*
 235 *[lu-uš-ku-u]n^fka i^l-[n]a kussî(gu.za)^{mes}*
 236 *[.] ú-nu-sú*
 237 *[. . . pa-at-r]u ra-bu-tum*
 238 *[. . . qá-á]š-tum ú iš-pa-tum*
 239 *[. . .] qá-ti-ís-su-nu*
 240 *[^dGIŠ i]l-te-qé pa-ši*
 241 *[x (x) x]-ri iš-pa-as-sú²⁴² [ú qa]št[am(pan)] an-ša-ni-tam*
 242 *[iš-ku-un p]a-tar-[š]u i-na ši-ip-pi-šu*
 243 *[iš-ša-a]k-nu i^fip^l-pu-šu a-la-kam*
 244 *[e]lūtum(guruš)?^mis ú-kâ-ra-bu^dGIŠ*
 245 *[x]x-ti tu-ut-te-er a-na libbi(šà) ālim(uru)^{ki}*
 246 *[ši-b]u-tum i-ka^fra^l-bu-šu²⁴⁸ [a-n]a harrānim(kaskal) i-ma-li-ku^dGIŠ*
 247 *[e i]a-at-kal^dGIŠ a-na e-mu-qi-ka // SB III 2 // 216*
 248 *[i-n]a-ka lu šu-wu-ra-ma ú-šur ra-ma-an-ka cf. SB III 3 // 217*
 249 *[li-i]l-lik^den-ki-du₁₀ i-na pa-ni-ka // SB III 6 // 220*
 250 *[ur-h]a-am a-me-er a-lik harrāna(kaskal)^{na} cf. SB III 8 // 222*
 251 *[i-d]e? ša qištim(tir) né-re-bé-tim cf. SB III 223*
 252 *[ša^d]hu-wa-wa ka-li-šu-nu ši-ib-qi₄-šu*
 253 *[a-li]k mah-ra tap-pa-a ú-ša-lim // SB III 4 // 218*
 254 *[ša i]n-na-šu šu-wu-ra^fpa-gâr-šu i^l-š[ú-ur?] cf. SB III 5 // 219*
 255 *[li-ša-a]k^fšil(T1)-id-ka^ler-ni^fta^l-ka^dšamšu(utu)^š[^u]*
 256 *[na^l-aq-bi-a-at pi-ka li-kal-li-ma i-na-k[a]*
 257 *li-ip-te-kum pa-da-nam pe-ḥi-tam*

- 220 Bring me back to the quay of [*Uruk-Main-Street*]
 221 Place (your) protection [over me!]⁶⁷
 222 Gilgameš summoned the [.]
 223 his instruction⁶⁷ [.]
 224 ‘*The palace* [.]’

Traces of 3 more lines

- 228 In [.]

col. vi

- 229 tears were streaming [down the] sides of his face:⁶⁸
 230 ‘[*I will go*,] my god, on a journey I have never made,
 231 its [. . .], my god, I never knew.
 232 [Let me return] home in safety,
 233 [let me look on] your face with happy heart!
 234 [I will build] you the house of your desire,
 235 on thrones [I will set] you!⁶⁹
 236 [.] his equipment,
 237 [.] great [daggers].
 238 [.] bow and quiver,
 239 [*were placed*] into their hands.
 240 [Gilgameš] took up the hatchets,
 241 [. . .] his quiver⁽²⁴²⁾ [and the] bow of Anšan.
 242 [He placed] his dagger in his belt,
 243 [(so)] equipped they started the journey.
 244 [*The young men*] hailed Gilgameš:
 245 ‘[. . .] you (shall?) have sent back inside the city.’
 246 [The] elders blessed Gilgameš,⁽²⁴⁸⁾ giving him advice for the journey:
 247 ‘[Do not] rely, O Gilgameš, on your strength (alone)!
 248 Keep your eyes peeled,⁶⁹ and watch out for yourself!
 249 [Let] Enkidu go before you,
 250 he is experienced in [the] path, well travelled in the road.
 251 [*He knows*] the ways into the forest,
 252 all the tricks of Hūwawa.
 253 “The one who went in front kept his comrade safe;
 254 the one whose eyes were peeled⁷⁰ [protected] himself!”
 255 May Šamaš permit you achieve your ambition,
 256 may your eyes show (you) what you have talked of!
 257 May he open for you the paths that are shut,

⁶⁷ Or, ‘his oracle’.

⁶⁸ Lit. ‘wall of his nose’.

⁶⁹ Lit. ‘let your eyes be gleaming’.

⁷⁰ Lit. ‘gleaming’.

- 260 *ḥarrānam*(kaskal) *li-iš-ta-si-iq a-na ki-ib-si-ka*
 261 *ša-di-a li-iš-ta-si-iq a-na šēpi*(gīr)-*ka*
 262 *mu-ši-it-ka a-wa-at ta-ḥa-du-ú*²⁶³ *li-ib-la-ku*
*ḏlugal-bàn-da li-iz-zi-iz-ka*²⁶⁴ *i-na er-ni-ti-ka*
 265 *ki-ma še-eh-ri er-ni-ta-ka ku-uš-da*
 266 *i-na na-ri ša ḥu-wa-wa ša tu-ša-ma-ru*
 267 *mi-si ši-pi-ka*
 268 *i-na nu-ba-ti-ka ḥi-ri bu-ur-tam*
 269 *lu ka-a-a-nu mû*(a) *ellūtum*(sikil) *i-na na-di-ka*
 270 [*k*] *a-šú-tim me-e a-na ḏsamšim*(utu) *ta-na-qi*
 271 [*il-k*] *a ta-ḥa-sá-as ḏlugal-bàn-da*
 272 [*ḏen-ki-d*] *u₁₀ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am is-sà-qar a-na ḏGIŠ*
- 273 [(x x) a-š] *ar ta-aš-ták-nu e-pu-¹uš¹ a-la-kam*
 274 [*a-a ip*] *-la-aḥ libba*(šà)-*ka ia-ti du-ug-la-ni*
 275 [*i-na q*] *ištīm*(tir) *i-de-a-am šu-pa-as-sú*
 276 [*ù ḥarrānam*(kaskal)? š] *a? ḥu-wa-wa it-ta-la-ku*
 277 [...] *x qi-bi-ma te-er-šu-nu-ti*

left edge

- 278 [(...)...] *x x x ba la*
 279 [(...) a-a? i] *l-li-ku it-ti-ia*
 280 [(...)...] *-l? -ma-ku-nu-ši-im*
 281 [(...) um-m] *a-nu i-na ḥu-ud li-ib-bi*
 282 [(...) iš-mu] *-¹u¹ an-ni-a qá-ba-šu*
 283 *eḏlūtum*(guruš)^{mes} *uš-te-[.....]*
 284 *a-lik ḏGIŠ lu x[.....]*
 285 *li-lik il-k[a i-na pa-ni-ka?]*
 286 *li-ša-ak-ši-i[d-ka er-ni-ta-ka ḏsamšū*(utu)^{ak}
 287 *ḏGIŠ ù ḏe[n-ki-du₁₀.....]*
 288 *mu-de(-)eš-x[.....]*
 289 *bi-ri-i[?.....]*

Remainder, perhaps 6 lines, lost

Notes

10. In his transliteration of the opening lines of the tablet in *Essays Pope*, p. 31, Foster reads the end of the line as *úr-ba-ri* but without translating. There seem to be too many wedges present to read ^{mes}eren (so Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée*, p. 80, fn. 1) and I have kept to the original reading of Jastrow and Clay.

11. Tournay and Shaffer read [*im-ta*]-*aq-ú-ut* (*L'épopée*, p. 80, fn. 2). The trace at the beginning of the line precludes this, but [*i*]-*[m]a-aq-ú-ut* is possible. They also sustain the old reading of the

- 260 may he ready the road for your footsteps!
 261 May he ready the mountain for your feet,
 262 may each night bring you a thing you will be glad of!
 263 May Lugalbanda assist you ⁽²⁶⁴⁾ in your victory;
 265 attain your desire like a little child!
 266 In Ḥuwawa's river, for which you are aiming,
 267 wash your feet!
 268 When you camp for the night, dig a well;
 269 in your bottle should be fresh water always.
 270 You must pour cool water (in libation) to Šamaš,
 271 you must remember your [god,] Lugalbanda.⁷
 272 Enkidu opened his mouth,
 saying to Gilgameš:
 273 'Where you are minded begin the journey,
 274 [let] your heart [have no] fear, keep your eyes on me!
 275 [In the] forest I knew his lair,
 276 [and the ways] that Ḥuwawa wandered.
 277 Speak [to the crowd] and send them home!'

left edge

- 278 '[.....].....
 279 [..... they should not] go with me,
 280 [.....] ... to you.⁷¹
 281 [(...) The] crowd with happy heart,
 282 [(...) they [heard] what he had said.
 283 The young men ... [..... :]
 284 'Go, Gilgameš, let [.....]
 285 May your god go [before you]!
 286 May [Šamaš] permit you achieve [your ambition]!
 287 Gilgameš and Enkidu [.....]
 288 ... [.....]
 289 Between [.....]

The text breaks off

⁷¹ 'You' is plural.

following word as *wa-aq-rum* but to my eyes the antepenultimate sign is *pa*, not *wa*. As I understand it, Enkidu is describing his intense physical reaction to whatever terrifying and impossible undertaking (see l. 17) Gilgameš has proposed in the lacuna.

12–13. The line reappears later in this tablet, ll. 113–14 and 199.

14. Tournay and Shaffer's reading of the beginning of the line as [*ni-še*]-*mi-im*-[*ma*], 'nous entendons' (*L'épopée*, p. 80, fn. 3), does not convince on orthographic and contextual grounds.

Although the idiom *ana mādiš* is not yet found before the Erra Epic (V 25), it is very tempting to read after *mimma* simply *ammādiš* (Foster).

16. The first word was read *lu-uš-šu-ú* by Foster, who left it untranslated, and the whole line as *lu-uš-ta-ú* [*aš-šum e-pi-ri-š-tim*, 'je voudrais m'informer au sujet de l'entreprise', by Tournay and Shaffer (*L'épopée*, p. 80, fn. 4). From *šutawūm* one would expect *lu-uš-ta-wi*, however, and the sign before *tim* is hardly *iš*. Other possibilities are *lu-ús-si*, 'let me summon', and *lu-uš-ta-ú*, 'let me fly away', but while the next word or words are undeciphered and the syntactic connection with *šipram* in l. 17 uncertain, it is best to speculate no further.

17. The line recurs in OB Harmal 17.

20. The traces do not support the restorations [*it-ta-aš-bu*] (Foster, *Essays Pope*, p. 31) or [*wa-aš-bu*] (Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée*, p. 80, fn. 7).

24–5. These two lines of tablet are related to OB Schøyen obv. 2': *Enkīdu mālikam ša anāku āwamarūšu ina šunātīm*. However, l. 24 is squeezed in such a way that one suspects the presence of an additional word at the beginning of the line. I have restored accordingly (cf. OB Schøyen₂ obv. 1').

26–7. The traces of these lines do not quite coincide with the expected continuation as it appears on OB Schøyen obv. 3': *Enkīdu ana šāšim issaqqaram ana harimtim*, or with any obvious variation of this.

28. Here one might read [*al-ki-im ha-ri-im-i*] *um?* with OB Schøyen obv. 4', were it not for the problem reported in the preceding note.

41. Foster's restoration [*at-ri*] (*Essays Pope*, p. 32, fn. 35) and Tournay and Shaffer's *k[a-ti]* (*L'épopée*, p. 81, fn. 8) are both disallowed by the trace after *una''idū*.

44. At the beginning Foster restores [*iš-tu i-ru*]-*bu* (though room is a little short), and Tournay and Shaffer [*i-te-er*]-*bu*, 'ils entrèrent' (*L'épopée*, p. 81, fn. 10). However, this is as likely direct speech as narrative, so [*li-ru-b*]-*u-ma*, 'let them go in', also comes to mind. The reading *bū šībūti* is Foster's. *CAD* S, p. 10 (s.v. *sābūtu*), offers *bū* [*š*]-*im-ti*, citing OB Atram-ḥašis I 249, but, as Foster notes, the sign *bu* is clear. Any reading *sa-[x-b]u-ti* is ruled out on orthographic grounds, *sa* not being a value used by this scribe (see above, fn. 7 of this chapter).

60–6. These lines are an earlier version of SB II 165–75, from which some restorations are taken.

68. The restoration relies on SB II 176, where the subject is Enkidu's shaggy hair, and on the use of the verb *hutannubum* to describe flowing locks in SB I 60 and 107. Others have assumed Ninsun's point to be not that Enkidu's hair was thick but that in the wild it was never cut.

77–8. The verb of l. 77 has often been read *ú-s]a-ap-pil*, following von Soden, *OLZ* 50 (1955), 514 (*-pil* in *AHw*, p. 1169). However, to my eyes the last sign is not *pil*, nor even *di*, but *lam*, cursive as often in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 87, 137, 140, 143). The same couplet occurs in OB Schøyen₂ 65: *Gilgāmeš itbalam pānīšu, izzaqqaramma ana Enkīdu*.

86. The derivation of *uš-ta-li-pa* is unclear. *CAD* identifies the form as a III/1 perf. of *elēpum*, 'to be tangled, crossed', but comments that the meaning is uncertain. One might have expected *uštālipā*. *AHw* enters it under a verb *alāpum* Št, 'machten unbeweglich (??)'. I have translated ad hoc in the spirit of *CAD* and *AHw*. A less likely possibility is to read *uštālipā* < *šalāpum* II/1 perf., 'to unsheath, pull out'. In the following line Enkidu complains of limpness of limbs and general weakness and it is not out of the question that this enfeeblement has affected his neck: 'sobs, my friend, have extracted the sinews from my neck', i.e. he cannot hold his head up any more.

98–100. The restorations proposed for these lines by Schott, *ZA* 42 (1934), p. 108, and followed by most translators, are too elaborate for the space available.

102. To my eyes the conventional reading [*li*]-*li-is-sú* is not supported by the traces. As l. 116's *šupat* shows, the noun *šubtum* appears in this text in the variant form *šuptum*, common in OB.

105. The erased sign is the first sign of an abortive ⁴*en-ki-du*₁₀.

108 // 195. For *bērā* see the study of the construction and writing of metrological units in the distributive by M. A. Powell, 'The adverbial suffix *-ā* and the morphology of multiples of ten in Akkadian', *ZA* 72 (1982), pp. 89–98. As noted by Landsberger (*RA* 62 (1968), p. 113), the sign before *danna* is not *IGI-gumū* (i.e., 10,000) but an abbreviated ligature of *šu-šī*. The SB text has *60-šu bēr* and would hardly be guilty of a revision downwards. The penultimate word has been read in several different ways: Jastrow and Clay proposed *nu-ma-at*, which Langdon connected *nu-ma-at* with 'Arabic *nawā*' (*JRAS* 1929, p. 346). Thompson read *bat-ba-at* < *battubattu*, though this word is not found outside Assyria. Then Landsberger proposed *til-ma-at*, 'ist umgeben' (loc. cit.), which he derived from the root \sqrt{hw} , supposing an exceptional metathesis *tilmât* < *liwât*. In support of this decipherment he cited *ri-ma-at* in SB II 293, which he read as *tal-ma-at* ('Überlieferungsfehler für *tilmât* oder Plural von *talwîtu*'). However, now that the SB word is securely deciphered as *rimmat*, after the parallels elsewhere in SB II (223 and 280), and now that Assyrian MS *y*₂ obv. 13' supplies another word again (*lamāssu*), the reading *til-ma-at* has lost all foundation and looks very implausible on orthographic and lexical grounds (see already C. Wilcke, *RLA* IV, p. 533). The way out of the difficulty is to accept that the OB word is not related to its later counterparts and to assume that later editors, to whom *nu-ma-at* was obscure, replaced it and otherwise altered the line—in SB II by interpolating *išemēmā*—to produce a satisfactory meaning. Schott's original comment that *nu-ma-at* must be a stative governed by *qīstum* holds good (*ZA* 42, p. 108), and the only possible verb in our present knowledge of Akkadian is *nawūm*. Though often translated as 'to lie in ruins, to be laid waste', the sense of this verb seems to be as much to do with a lack of human presence as to do with ruined buildings (cf. the cognate noun *nawūm*, which refers to the uninhabited regions beyond the arable land, the great tracts of largely empty country where sheep were pastured). The absence of human occupation is a conception which suits every occurrence and exactly fits the inaccessible and unvisited Cedar Forest (cf. von Soden, 'liegt unberührt': *Reclam*^{4,5}). Consequently I take the verb to mean 'to be (come) a desolation, wilderness'. The stative of the II/1 adjective will be an elative of the simple stem. The fact that we have *nummât* rather than *nuwât* is no objection in the light of the existence in good OB contexts of comparable attestations of the cognate noun (*MSL* XII, p. 158, OB *Lu* A 263: *na-me-e*; XIII, p. 229, *Kagal* I ii 62: *na-mu-¹ú*¹, late OB). The three couplets that begin with this line are repeated as ll. 195–200.

109 // 196. The verb *warādum* is the standard verb for entering a forest in Gilgameš, even when the forest in question is known to be situated, like the Cedar Forest, on uplands (OB Ishchali 37': *ūridma irtahiš qīštam*, SB II 224 // 281 // 295: *mannu ša urradu ana qīšīšu*, II 229 // 286 // 294: *ārid qīšīšu*). Neither dictionary accepts J. V. Kinnier Wilson's bold contention that *warādum* can refer to upward motion as well as downward (in Garelli, *Gilg.*, p. 106, fn. 1).

110–12 // 197–8. This couplet is taken over unchanged into the late text (SB II 221–2 // 278–9 // 291–2). The second line also appears in OB Nippur 14 // rev. 3', describing an Anzū-bird, and, with a minor alteration, in Assyrian MS *y*₂ obv. 12'. The wording is reminiscent of the description of Hūwawa in the Sumerian tale:

ur.sag zú.zú.ni zú ušumgal.la.kam
igi.ni igi pirig.gá.kam
giš.gaba.ni a.gi₆ du₇.du₇.dam
sag.ki.ni giš.gi bi.gu₇.a lú nu.mu.da.te.gá.e.dam

Bilgames and Hūwawa A 99–102, ed. D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991), p. 200

The warrior's teeth are the teeth of a dragon,
his eye is the eye of a lion,
his breastbone is a surging flood-wave,
his forehead is (fire) that consumes a reed-bed:
no man is to go near him!

In ll. 110 // 197 the form *rigmašu* in place of the regular *rigimšu* is a rare example in OB Gilgamesh of high literary style. For other examples of the pronominal suffixes attached to **pars/pirs/purs* nouns in this way see W. von Soden, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 214 (but note that *zērāšu*, given there as an Oakk example, is a regular accusative of a noun from a finally weak root in triptotic declension before the suffix). For such formations in the SB text see Ch. 9, the section on Language and style, sub (i).

119. Others have read at the beginning [*ša* ^{er} *er* *enim* (eren) or even [*ša* *qišti er* *enim* (for which room looks short, however written) but to my eyes the traces fit *ib-ri* better. What is restored before *ibrī* depends on how one construes what comes after. The reading adopted here goes back to Schott (Reclam²: 'ich will ihren Berg ersteigen'). Though the verb *elūm* is very seldom construed with the object climbed in the accusative—outside the fixed idiomatic usage of the same phrase, e.g. *šadāšu ūlī*, meaning a person disappeared—note the construction *elū šamāri* in l. 140 below and the repeated phrase *nīlū šadā* in the late text (SB VIII 52, X 31 // 128 // 228). But there are other possibilities: (a) emend to *lu-li a-na* *ša-di-ša*, (b) interpret the signs as *lūlī aš-šadāša* (so E. Ebeling, *AfO* 8 (1932–3), p. 228; von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 213; *AHw*, p. 206; *CAD* E, p. 118), which would be an example, unique in this text, of the apocopated preposition prefixed to the noun, or (c) abandon the possessive suffix and boldly posit a new adverb, *šadāšam*, 'mountainwards' (cf. *GAG* §67 g). Scott's reading and solutions (a) and (b), with their fem. possessive, preclude the restoration of masc. *erēnum* and favour [*ša* *qištim*]. Solution (c) would make an anticipatory genitive of this sort unlikely and the old staple [*al-kam*] would then recommend itself.

120–1. There is no line missing between these two, despite Clay's copy at '120'.

123. The restoration is taken from OB Ishchali 38': *mūšab Enunnakkī* and OB IM 16–17: *mūšabi ūlī Enunnakkī*; cf. SBV 6: *mūšab ūlī parak Irnīnī*.

134–5. This poetic line is now restorable from SB II 225 // 282 // 297; cf. also Assyrian MS y₂ obv. 14'. For *ištēnum*, 'first', see, e.g., OB II 70 and SB Gilg XI 225 // 237 (and, generally, *AHw*, p. 400, 4). The point seems to be that the storm god holds supreme authority over the forest as its guardian, and Īḫuwawa, placed there by him (l. 133) and confirmed in his function by Enlil (l. 137), is next in the line of command.

136. Jastrow and Clay's original reading *šu-ul-lu-m*[*u* stands, against the emphatic objection of von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 213 ('gewiß *šu-ul-lu-u*[*m*!']). The form exhibits the final *-u* found on many nouns in construct state in literary Old Babylonian.

137. The later texts have the line as *ana pulhātī (y pulhēte) ša ništi ištīmšu Ellilī* (Assyrian MS y₂ obv. 15'; SB II 219b // 228 // 285 // 299). Though others have thought differently—Tigay reads *i-[dīm-šu ^{en-lil?}]* (p. 283), Tournay and Shaffer read *ir-[ta-al-bi-iš]* (p. 85, fn. 40)—I assume that the OB line ends in the same way. With regard to the first word, von Soden noted (*ZA* 53, p. 213) that the value *hū* for 𒀗.A is not found in Akkadian context but proposed the reading *pu-ul-hū-tim* nevertheless; the value has found its way into his syllabary (von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*, p. 47). This strategy is unnecessary, however, for 'broken' fem. pl. nouns are an occasional feature of Akkadian (I owe this observation and the following references to W. G. Lambert): OB *i-na um-me-a-tim (ummātīm) um-šum ib-ba-aš-ši*, 'in summer there will be a heatwave' (*YOS* X 22, 22); MB *be-el ma-ti-a-ti (mātātī)*, 'lord of the lands' (*BEI* 41+46, 2; Kurigalzu); LB *a-ba-aš-lam i-na gi-ninda-na-kum ū-ma-an-di-da*

mi-in-di-a-tam (mindātī), 'the surveyor measured the dimensions with a twelve-cubit rod' (*BEI* 84 ii 25–7, cf. 38 *mi-in-di-a-tim*; Nbp). Note also, in this book, a 'broken' dual, *bir-ki-a-šū* for *bir-kāšu* in a LB manuscript (SB I 200, MS n).

140–50. These lines have been translated by Thorkild Jacobsen in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRRA 26), p. 21 (cf. *Studies Moran*, p. 239; *Treasures of Darkness*, pp. 202–3). The restoration of l. 140 presupposed there ('who could lay hold of the sky') is ruled out on grounds of space.

141. As a dactyl, the restoration *u[š-ša-bu]* is ruled out on metrical grounds, so we restore the preterite (with Tournay and Shaffer, p. 86, fn. 42). Others take *i-lu-ma* as defective for the singular *ilumma* and restore *u[šab]* (so most recently von Soden, *ZA* 71 (1981), p. 183).

145. Certainly *mi-is-su*, not *mi-iš-šu*. According to the conventions of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets the spelling indicates a word *missu* derived from **mīš*+pronominal suffix. The usual analysis, however, is *mīššu(m)* from *mīn*+terminative (*GAG*³ §67 g). If this latter etymology is to hold good, the present orthography must be an example of old-fashioned spelling (for others see above, fn. 8 of this chapter).

150. I agree with W. G. Lambert that the first sign is not *tu* (*JSS* 24 (1979), p. 271, from the unpublished copy of Shaffer) but to my eyes it is *ta* rather than *iš*. The spelling *ta-qum-tam* is meant for *tuqumtam*, as anticipated by von Soden, *OLZ* 50, 514, and newly confirmed by the Assyrian MS y₁ 5', which has the logogram *giš.lá*. A similar syllabic spelling is also known from an OB school textbook from Nippur (Å. W. Sjöberg, *ZA* 83 (1993), p. 4, 14': ^{ki-se-ē} ^{bi} URXUR = *a-šar ta-qum-tim*); the existence of two examples of this form of the word implies lexical variation of the kind exhibited by the pair *tarbu'tum* : *turbu'tum*. The expression *tuqumtam šatām* is a vividly figurative idiom, literally 'to weave battle', that likens the parry and thrust of man-to-man combat to the interlacing of warp and weft on the loom. It occurs in other texts: in an OB legend about Narām-Sin (C. B. F. Walker, *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 191, i 1; also Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 278): *qā-ab-lam iš-ta-tu i-na mu-uh-ḫi-ša*¹, 'he joined battle against her (or it)'; in Bullussa-rabi's hymn to Gula (W. G. Lambert, *Or NS* 36 (1967), p. 122, 111): *šā-tu-ū a-na-an-tum*, '(Ninurta, who joins combat); and in a late hymn to Ninurta (W. R. Mayer, *Or NS* 61 (1992), p. 21, 2a): [*i*]-*na qē-reb te-še-e a-šar šā-ta-at a-nun-tu*, 'in the midst of havoc, where combat is joined'. The image is elaborated in a bilingual litany which celebrates the goddess Inanna's role in combat (K. Volk, *Balag-Komposition*, p. 200, *Uruammairabi* XXI 72): *mè.a gu mu.dun.dun // ina ta-ḫa-zi qē-e a-šar-tu*², 'in battle I interweave the threads'.

151. The conventional emendation of the verb is confirmed by the presence of this line, with *tawwaldamma* correctly rendered, on another Old Babylonian fragment (OB Schøyen₁ rev. 3'). The late text also agrees: *ta''aldamma tarbā i[na šēri]* (SB II 237).

153. The reading *iḫ-bu-tu* < *abūtum* B/I 1 'to flee', proposed in *NABU* 1991/19.1, is now confirmed by Assyrian MS y₁ 6 and a newly published source for SB II 239 (MS e), which both read *iḫ-bu-tu*.

154. The reading of Tournay and Shaffer, [. . .] *i-mu-ur-ka-ma* (p. 86, fn. 47), is not borne out by the traces.

155. In the interpretation of *ši-ḫi-ti* I follow Tournay and Shaffer; *ši-pe-ti*, 'feet', is also possible (Pettinato). The line of poetry represented by 154–5 may have survived as a trace in Assyrian MS y₁ (7': . . . [*x-tim*]) but is not extant in the late text, which has instead *mūdū libbaka tuqu[nu amir?]* (SB II 240).

156. As already noted in *NABU* 1991/19.5, *kīma pasnāqim* in the OB text is the equivalent of the late text's *pismuqiš* (SB II 232, IV 233, V 100). The beginning of the line is restored after Assyrian MS y₁ 7': *u atta Enkidu ak[ī pasnāqi taqabbī]*.

157. Restored after SB II 233 and V 101. I take the expression *pūm ramūm* to be an idiom for lack of boldness. It can be rendered more literally, as by Tournay and Shaffer: 'ta bouche marmorée'.

158–60. Restored from the parallel couplet, ll. 187–8. In l. 160 the verb *luštaknam* is I/2 of permanence (*AHW*, p. 1137) but the force of the ventive is less certain; it is usually rendered as 1st sg. dative, e.g. 'for myself', but this is not a way of expressing the reflexive in conventional grammar. Instead the affix may have been added for metrical reasons, to avoid ending the line with the dactyl *luštakan*.

161. The beginning of the line is restored after SB II 241. At the end and in l. 163 the verb remains a curiosity, translated ad hoc (see *AHW*, s.v. *māhum* and p. 1572). Tournay and Shaffer prefer to emend to *lu-si-ḫa*, 'je veux l'assigner' (*Lépopée*, p. 86, fn. 55), but the dactyl *lušiham* is unwelcome from a metrical point of view.

162. *pa-si* is restored in the light of l. 165 (so first Ungnad, *ZA* 34 (1922), p. 19).

163. The restoration follows Schott, *ZA* 42, p. 109.

165–9. This passage is saved from monotony by three occasions on which a noun and its attribute are separated by the predicate. For this literary effect see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style, sub (vi).

166. The distributive form *bilā* < *biltum* is reconstructed by analogy with distributive *ammā* (wr. *am-ma-a*) < *ammatum*; see Powell, *ZA* 72, p. 91.

169. A *šiprum* is typically a tapering projection like a horn or a comet's tail (see *CAD* §, s.v.). Here the word occurs in a line that falls between those describing the daggers' blades and pommels and are qualified as being 'of the blades' sides'. The reference can only be to a projecting crossguard that keep the user's hand from slipping on to the blade (so already Labat: 'crête de leur garde'). Good examples of blades furnished with such projections are the famous gold daggers from the royal cemetery at Ur. The curved guard projects out from the blade on either side in the manner of two horns or crests (photographs: Woolley, *UE* II, pls. 155, 157).

170. A similarly composite dagger, with a blade of hard metal and *iḫzus* of gold, is reported by Aššurbanipal: *paṣar*(gír) *parzilli*(an.bar) *šib-bi šá iḫ-zu-šú ḫurāšu*(kù.sig.₇), 'an iron dagger (worn in) the belt, whose mountings are gold' (*V R* 2 ii 12, ed. Streck, *Asb*, p. 14). The word *iḫzu* is conventionally understood as a mounting for decorative inlay. In a dagger *iḫzus* are most easily imagined as forming the main component of the hilt's pommel, since soft metal and decoration are most appropriate to this part of a weapon.

171. For the ten talents of battle gear see also OB Ishchali 37': *biltam ša ešer bilat ilqe*.

174. As noted earlier, this obscure line has already been encountered in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 27–8).

178–80. Restorations of ll. 178–9 follow Heidel and others. The sign before *bi* in l. 178 is more like *ta* than *ab* but there is very little difference between them. Though in the late text Gilgameš addresses at this point the young men of Uruk, not the elders (SB II 260–1), it is the elders that will answer here (see l. 189), so *šibūtum* is preferred in ll. 179–80 to *epūtum*. The imperative *šime'aninim* is restored after the parallels SB II 240 and VIII 42–3.

182. A reference to *Ḫuwawa* is needed where the tablet has ^dGIŠ. The solution adopted here, that the sign GIŠ is superfluous and DINGIR is to be read as a logogram not a determinative, was proposed by von Soden, *ZA* 71 (1981), p. 183, v 1. Alternatively the two signs may be a straightforward error that the scribe has failed to erase. Others have taken it as self-reference: 'I, Gilgameš' (Heidel, etc.). Such a usage would be exceptional.

183–200. This passage is extant in much reduced form in MB Boğ, Fragment d, where *it-na-na-ajm-bā-lu* confirms the reading *itanambalā* (already coll. F. J. Stephens, *Or NS* 25 (1956), p. 273,

fn. 1) against Clay's *itanammalā* and proves that von Soden was right to move his support from the one to the other (*ZA* 53 (1959), p. 214 *contra* *OLZ* 50 (1955), 514).

187. That the orthography *lu-uk-sú-ma* stands for the ventive *luksumam*, not for *luksumma* (as transcribed by von Soden, *ZA* 71, p. 183, v 6), is shown by the fuller spelling [*lu-u*]k-sú-ma-am in the parallel (l. 159).

191. The use of a masc. 2nd sg. stative in *-āti* with reference to Gilgameš has probably already occurred in OB II 64, *alkāti*. It is also found in the late version of this line (SB II 289), though not in Assyrian MS y₂ obv. 9', which has *ṣḫrē]ta*. According to von Soden the usage, normal in Old Assyrian, is 'selten archaisch' in Old Babylonian (*GAG* §75 c.1). Elsewhere in literary OB one finds, with reference to Šamaš, *na-ši-a-ti* (*YOS* XI 23, 10: divination prayer); the form occurs also in MB: G. Frame, *RIMB* 2, p. 18, 8: *āš-ba-a-ti*, of Marduk (Nbk I, NA transcript). The doublet *parsāti*: *parsāta* in the stative conjugation exactly matches the masc. 2nd sg. of the accusative independent pronoun, which in Old Babylonian can be *kāti* as well as *kāta*.

195–200. For these three couplets see above, on ll. 108–16.

204–6. The Assyrian MS y₂ gives us an idea what to expect in this broken passage (18'): *apal-lahmā ul allaka ana mahrišu, illak* [. . . .].

211–12. The subject is no doubt Šamaš, who is paired with Gilgameš's personal god (213: *ilka*) in other such prayers (cf. ll. 257–64, 270–1, 285–6).

214. The traces do not support *li-te-er-ka* (J. C. C. Kamminga, *Akkadica* 36 (1984), p. 19; Tournay and Shaffer, p. 93, fn. 79).

217. I take this line as narrative, not as direct speech, because the vocative, which in Gilgameš consistently falls in the first line of a speech, does not appear until l. 218.

219. The meaning of *šalāmum* + ventive is here to come through an experience unharmed, as in CH §2 (river ordeal).

221. Other restorations are possible, e.g. *e-li* or *a-na re-ši-ia*.

222–3. This fragmentary passage could be the equivalent of SB III 207 ff., in which Gilgameš gives instructions for the orderly running of the city in his absence. Most have interpreted the episode as a whole (ll. 216 ff.) as Gilgameš praying to Šamaš for an oracle, which, when given (l. 223: *tētašu*), is taken to be of evil portent, in view of Gilgameš's anxious state of mind in ll. 229 ff. Such an analysis remains possible.

229. The line is restored from the parallel *eli dūr appišu/ya illakā dīmāšu/ya* in later Gilgameš (SB XI 139 and 309) and also in Nergal and Ereškigal, where the tears are shed by the eponymous Queen of the Netherworld (*STT* 28 iv 52' // Hunger, *Uruk* I 1 v 7a). It no doubt belonged to the common repertoire of stock lines. The phrase *dūr appi*, lit. the 'wall of the nose', otherwise occurs only in SB XI 137 and the lexical list *Ugumu* (*MSL* IX, p. 68, B 15: [bād].kir.₁.mu = *du-ur ap-pi-ia*).

230. The presence of *ilī*, surely vocative singular, makes it difficult to accept Dalley's very different understanding of the damaged lines that follow, which supposes them addressed in frustration to Enkidu (*Myths*, p. 146; *Aram* 3 (1991), p. 31).

231. Apparently not *alkassu*, unless one emends (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 214).

235. The traces do not appear to allow [*lu-še-ši-i*]b-ka. Kamminga's restoration, *Akkadica* 36, p. 19, is ruled out on grounds of space.

239. Elsewhere in literary OB the terminative *qātiš-šumu* would be spelled *qā-ti-iš-šu-nu* (e.g. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 22 (1925), p. 170, 14: *qā-ti-iš-ša*; B. Gronenberg, *RA* 75 (1981), p. 110, v 26: *qā-ti-iš-šu*; p. 127, viii 8: *qā-ti-iš-ša*; cf. ead., *AJO* 26 (1978–9), pp. 24–6, for attestations of terminative+pron. suffixes on other words. Note that example B I d5 *ra-i-mi-iš-sa* is a misprint for *ra-i-mi-iš-ša*). The present orthography is exactly that which was current in the Sargonic period (cf.

qá-ti-is(1š)-su = qātiš-šu in e.g. *PBS V* 36 rev. iii' 17; *UET I* 275 iii 5; both Narām-Sin, and is thus to be explained as an archaic spelling. In the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets other spellings of this type, VŠ+SV, are used where /ss/ is a development of /š+s/ of pronominal suffix/ (see above, fn. 5).

241. Perhaps, with *AHW*, p. 1591, [*it-ta-ri*], 'he lifted up'. Anšan is of course the well-known Elamite city located at Tall-i Malyān (see E. Reiner, 'The location of Anšan', *RA* 67 (1973), pp. 57–62; and, in general, W. M. Sumner, 'Tall-e Maljān', *RLA VII*, pp. 306–20). What was special about bows in the Elamite style is unknown.

244. The beginning of the line has provoked different solutions: some restore [*um-m*]a-nu (following von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 214), others [*ina sū*]qim (following von Soden, *Reclam*², p. 37, 'auf der Straße'). To my eyes neither fits the traces, and I prefer a solution which provides a climax to the preparations (cf. Westenholz and Westenholz, p. 156, 185: 'da de var parate').

245. In the absence of a preposition before Gilgameš, *ú-ga-ra-bu* is hardly *qurrubum*, 'to approach' (Penguin). Despite the contrasting spelling of *i-ka-ra-bu-šu* in l. 247 the verb of the present line must also be a form of *karābu*. The spelling represents a survival of third-millennium practice. The verb takes the present tense because, as a *verbum dicendi*, it introduces speech.

246. Von Soden took the verb as II/2 preterite, restored [*ina m*]a-ti, and translated 'Wann würdest du zurückgebracht in die Stadt?', but with the comment 'es ist nicht klar, . . . was damit gemeint wird' (*ZA* 53, p. 214; see similarly *Reclam*² but note *Reclam*²: 'bring zurück zur Stadt!'). Others have translated similarly (Dalley, Hecker), or as if the verb was a simple I/1 present, either as a question (Heidel, Labat, Bottéro, and, restoring [*im-m*]a-ti, Tournay and Shaffer, p. 95, fn. 98), a wish (Speiser) or a prediction (Pettinato). The verb is unsuited to a question relating to Gilgameš's anticipated return—unless it is future perfect, i.e. II/1 transitive—and notably lacks the ventive ending that would be expected if it referred to the hero's homecoming. Apart from the problems raised by *tuttēr*, the first word is also open to doubt: Clay's copy did not suggest that the broken sign could be *ma* and to my eyes it is more like *ne*. Rather than an interrogative, the broken word might be the object of transitive *tuttēr*.

249–71. The elders' speech occurs in the late text in slightly different form (SB III 1–12 // 225–36).

252. The tablet has *a-me-er*, as already copied by Clay and Shaffer (unpublished). The reading *a-we-ir* put forward by Jastrow and Clay (*YOR IV/3*, p. 94) is presumably a misprint or uncorrected error, unfortunately repeated by Thompson, *Gilg.*, and revived by D. O. Edzard, *Acta Sum* 16 (1994), p. 2.

254. The reading *šibqīšu* goes back to von Soden, *OLZ* 50 (1955), 514, though the penultimate sign turns out to be *qī*, rather than *qi* (as also in *pa-ās-na-qi*, l. 156).

255–6. The couplet is remarkable for the tense of its verbs. In l. 256 there is hardly room to restore *i-[na-sa-ar]* and *ušallim* in l. 255 is certainly preterite. Some have ignored the tense, while others have seen an allusion to some otherwise unknown episode in which Enkidu saved a companion earlier in his career. The key, however, is the phenomenon recently discussed by W. R. Mayer, 'Das "gnomische Präteritum" im literarischen Akkadisch', *Or NS* 61 (1992), pp. 373–99. Mayer observed that in texts such as the Šamaš Hymn and Marduk Prayer No. 2 the preterite tense is found alongside the present and stative in verbs that refer to the typical: 'Bei Aussagen über typische Situationen, Geschehnisse, Handlungen und Verhaltensweisen finden wir hier nämlich nebeneinander den Stativ, das Präsens—und das Präteritum, letzteres manchmal sogar in Parallelismus mit einem Präsens' (p. 392). The parallelism he notes is exactly that occurring between *ušezzeb* and *išsur* in the late version of this couplet (SB III 4–5: *ālik mahri tappā ušezzeb / ša ūdu idū ibiršu išsur*, cf. SB III 218–19). Mayer expected to find the 'gnomic preterite' in Akkadian proverbs and

everyday expressions but noted just one example. I am inclined to think that this couplet contains two more (Kovacs took the same view of the late equivalent of the couplet). Other apparently proverbial sayings in SB Gilgameš using the 'gnomic preterite' are to be found in SB VII 75–6: *ana balṭi [. . .] izibū nasāsa / [mī]tu(?) ana balṭi nissata izib;* VII 86–7: [*ša i*]qbū ul itūr ul i[psī] / . . . iddū ul itūr ul ipšī; X 318 var.: *lullā mūtu ul ikrubā (karābi) ina māti*.

261. The spelling *ša-di-a* attests to a 'hypercorrect' uncontracted form of *šadūm*, a false archaism that also occurs in OB Schøyen₂ 5. The word for 'mountain' (originally *šadwum*?) is given in OAKK and some OB texts as *šadu'um*; the homophonous word *šadūm*, 'east wind', however, in uncontracted form appears as *šadi'um* in Akkadian of the third millennium (Gelb, *MAD III*, pp. 264–5) and as a loanword in OB Sumerian (E. Gordon, *JAOs* 77 (1957), p. 71, 4, 9: ^{im}sa₁₂.ti.um).

263–4. These lines present an instance—exceptional for the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets—of the boundary between two poetic lines falling in the middle of a line of tablet. With regard to *lizzizka*, in the idiom 'to aid' *izuzzum* is normally construed with the dative suffix, not the accusative (as pointed out by Hecker, *TUAT III/4*, p. 658).

265. The opinion of Oppenheim, that *kīma šehrim* is simply a way of saying 'quickly' (A. L. Oppenheim, *Or NS* 17 (1948), p. 33, fn. 2; cf. id., *JAOs* 61 (1941), p. 269, fn. 103), must be modified in the light of the evidence of the OB love incantations from Isin, which reveal that *ermittam kīma šehrim kašādum* is a stock image: *a-di ki-ma še-eh-ri-im e-le-eq-qū-ū er-ni-[it-ti]*, 'until, like a child, I obtain my own way' (C. Wilcke, *ZA* 75 (1985), p. 204, 111); cf. also *am-mi-ni ki-ma še-eh-ri-im la-ḫi-im er-ni-ta-ka le-em-né-et*, 'why, like a tiny child, is your (insistence on getting) what you want so annoying?' (ibid., p. 200, 54). In Wilcke's words, 'es ist vielmehr das Bild des hartnäckig entgegen jeder Vernunft auf der Erfüllung seiner Wünsche bestehenden Kindes gemeint' (ibid., p. 207).

266–7. The 'river of Hūwawa' is otherwise unknown and does not quite ring true as the object of Gilgameš's strivings: his stated ambitions are to defeat Hūwawa by force of arms and to fell the cedars under his protection. One thus has some sympathy for those who prefer *nārum*, 'to slay', to *nārum*, 'river', but Speiser's rendering, 'after the slaying of Hūwawa', mistranslates *ina nārim*, which as an infinitive construction would mean 'while slaying, by slaying'. As the text stands this would be a curious way of inciting Gilgameš to stand awash in Hūwawa's blood and accordingly I have stayed with 'river'. But it may be that we are misled by a defective text, for l. 267 *mišī šepīka* is unusually short for a poetic line.

271. For Lugalbanda as the personal god (*ilum*) of Gilgameš in the Akkadian epic, see explicitly OB Nippur 8, OB Harmal 15–16 and SB VI 165.

273. Von Soden read [*ki*]-*ma ta-aš-tan-nu < šanānum* I/2, 'so, wie du gekämpfst hat' (*ZA* 53, p. 215; cf. Speiser: '[Since] contend thou wilt'), and this decipherment has found its way into his syllabary as a parade example of OB use of the value *tan* (von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*, p. 33; also *AHW*, p. 1162; CAD Š/1, p. 369). However, such a reading is very doubtful. First, the traces do not allow [*ki*]-*ma*. Second, the third sign of the verb is not certainly *tan*. There is no example of the syllabic value *tan* elsewhere in the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (the only time the syllable is written it is spelled *ta-an*: OB II 204), but when the KAL sign is used, on occasion for *eḫum* (guruš: II 147, 193, III 283), it does not match the sign in question here, which has too many vertical wedges to be read so. Instead it compares favourably with the certain *tāk* in l. 188. But there remains a problem of meaning: given that *taštaknu* should be transitive, whether I/1 or I/2, what is its object? With some hesitation I assume that the phrase is an abbreviation of the idiom *ašar pānīka taštaknu*.

278. Definitely not *it-ta-nam-ba-la* (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 215).

280. The restoration of Tournay and Shaffer, [*lu-pu-uš ša i*]-*ma-ku-nu-ši-im* (p. 97, fn. 116), does not agree with the traces.

283. Perhaps *šutēmuqum*, 'to beseech fervently', as proposed in *AHw*, p. 214.

286. The restoration assumes a repetition of l. 257. Others have read *li-ša-ak-lim* (*CAD* K, p. 525; Tournay and Shaffer, p. 98, fn. 121).

A FRAGMENT IN PHILADELPHIA (OB UM)

The tablet UM 29-13-570 was identified as a piece of Old Babylonian Gilgameš epic in 1961 by M. Civil.⁷² The bulk of the 29-13 collection was excavated at Nippur but the presence of purchased tablets in the UM collections means that the provenance is not completely certain for all pieces in the collection.⁷³ One orthographic feature looks northern and alien to Nippur practice, though it occurs where the text is damaged and open to alternative decipherments.⁷⁴ Too little text is preserved to infer much about the tablet's date from internal evidence. The script looks older than that found on the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets,⁷⁵ but is similar to that employed on many eighteenth-century school tablets from Nippur. Two orthographic features that hint at an earlier date are the absence of the divine determinative before the name of Enkidu and a reluctance to express geminated consonants.⁷⁶ In any case, if it derives from Nippur the fragment is unlikely to be younger than the abandonment of Nippur in the Samsuiluna's 29th year (1721 BC).

The piece comes from towards the bottom of the left edge of a large unbaked tablet of

⁷² As noted by Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 40, fn. 3.

⁷³ On the provenance of the UM collections see P. Gerardi, *A Bibliography of the Tablet Collections of the University Museum* (OPBF 8; Philadelphia, 1984), p. ix.

⁷⁴ See i 11' and the note thereon.

⁷⁵ The signs MI (i 2', rev. 2'), AN and KA (both rev. 6') are diagnostic in this regard.

⁷⁶ There are only 4 relevant words, but in 3 of them the scribe makes do with a single consonant: *ta-bi-a-tum* (i 6'), *li-bi-im* (7'), *li-bi* (10'); the odd one out is a mixture of defective and *plene* style, *is-sà-gar-am* for *issaqqaram* (i 5', rev. 7').

UM 29-13-570

OB UM

Copy: Pl. 7

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2000 A. Westenholz, *Studies Lambert*, p. 449

C

Text

col. i

1' *i-na*^f*a*^l-[*ka im-la-a di-im-tam*] // OB III 79-80 // SB II 186
 2' *il-mi-i*[*n li-(ib)-ba-ka*]^{3'}[*li*?]¹*-ip-x x*[...] // OB III 81-2
 4' *en*^f*ki*¹*-du*₁₀^f*a*^l-[*na*]^f*š*[*a-ši-im*]^{5'}*is-sà-gar-am*^f*a*^l-*n*[*a*^dGIŠ] // OB III 83-4 // SB II 188
 6' *ta-bi-a-tum* *i*[*b-ri uš-ta-li-pa-ni-ni?*] // OB III 85-6
 7' *i-na li-bi-i*[*m*...] ^{8'}*e-mu-qi* [*i-ni-iš*] // OB III 87-8
 9' *i-na-a-a im*^f*la-a*^f [*di-im-tam*]

several columns. The presence of decimal markers—marginal wedges to mark every tenth line—at obv. i 5' and rev. 4' indicates that this was a library tablet. The left edge of the tablet is crudely but deliberately scored with three parallel channels that call to mind the fingernail marks found in place of seal impressions on the edges of deeds, contracts and other legal documents as evidence of an individual's compliance with the transaction (*supru*). The purpose of the marks on the present fragment cannot be the same and they remain without explanation.

The subject matter of the surviving text of column i is the misery of Enkidu and the solicitude that this awakes in Gilgameš, an episode better known from the Yale tablet, which provides a close parallel (OB III 79-90), and also preserved, somewhat differently, in the late text (SB II 186-93). What remains of the reverse seems to deal with a conversation of Enkidu and Gilgameš; the wording at first calls to mind lines of column iii of the Yale tablet (OB III 115-18). However, if these lines were to represent that passage and if the text missing between the obverse and reverse of the Philadelphia fragment occupied roughly the same number of lines as are used by the Yale tablet to tell the same story, only a little over twenty lines would be missing between our two fragments of text. Given that the tablet was multi-columned, such a lacuna would be much too short: the text on the left-hand column of the reverse should occur at a point much later in the story. A more likely location is the episode of the elders' warning and Gilgameš's subsequent speech to Enkidu, an episode that occupies the middle of column v on the Yale tablet (OB III 200 ff.), or even some later conversation of Gilgameš and Enkidu on the way to the Cedar Forest.

Though some lines of UM 29-13-570 are shared with the better-preserved Yale tablet, it is far from being a duplicate of that text. Quite apart from the lack of complete agreement between the two texts, the Philadelphia fragment certainly began at a point a little later in the story than the Yale tablet. Nevertheless, to judge from the extant fragments of text it can be seen as witness to an edition of the epic very similar to that represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets.

Translation

col. i

0' '[Why, my friend, (1) did your] eyes [brim with tears,]
 2' [your heart] grow vexed? (3) Let [...] . . . !'
 4' Enkidu said to [him,] (5) to [Gilgameš:]
 6' 'Sobs, my [friend, have knotted my being,]
 7' in the heart [...] (8) my strength [ebbed away.]
 9' My eyes brimmed [with tears,]

10' $\text{[}\tilde{u}^1\text{-bi}^1\text{il-me}^1\text{-[en?} \dots \text{]}^{11'}\text{[a-y]i-ip-}[\dots \dots \text{]}]$
 12' $\text{[}^d\text{Gi}\text{]}\tilde{s}\text{[p}\tilde{r}\text{(ka)-}\tilde{s}u\text{ i-pu-}\tilde{s}a\text{-}(\text{am})\text{-ma}]$ // OB III 89 // SB II 193
 13' $\text{[is-s}\tilde{a}\text{-qar-am a-na en-ki-du}_{10}\text{]} // \text{OB III 90 // SB II 193}$

rev.

1' x[.....]
 2' $\text{[mi}^1\text{-na t[e?} \dots \dots \text{]}]$
 3' $\text{[}\tilde{s}u^1\text{-ni-x}[\dots \dots \text{]}]$
 4' $\text{[i}^1\text{-[n]a q}\tilde{a}\text{-ab-[li-im} \dots \text{]}^5'\text{[}\tilde{s}u^1\text{-pa-at [(}^d\text{)hu-wa-wa?}]$
 6' $\text{[}^d\text{Gi}\text{]}\tilde{s}\text{[p}\tilde{r}\text{(ka)-}\tilde{s}u\text{ i-pu-}\tilde{s}a\text{-}(\text{am})\text{-ma}]$
 7' $\text{[is-s}\tilde{a}\text{-q[ar-am a-na en-ki-du}_{10}\text{]}]$
 8' x[.....]

Notes

i 3'. This apparent precativ, perhaps the counterpart of the vetitive in l. 11', replaces the Yale tablet's *maršiš(?) tuštāniḥ* (OB III 82; cf. 73 // 76).

i 4'. The Yale tablet has at this point the more common formulation *Enkidu pīšu ipušamma* (OB III 83).

i 6'. At first sight it is tempting to restore this line, like ll. 1'-2' and 5', verbatim from the Yale tablet (OB III 85-6): *tabbi'ātum ibrī uš-ta-lī-ḫa dādānīya*. However, space is short and I have assumed that a more economical wording was used.

i 7'. Here again, the tablet offers wording different from the Yale tablet, which for this line has *aḫāya irmāma emūqī iniš* (OB III 87-8).

i 9-11'. This couplet, which repeats ll. 1'-3' in the first person, is absent from the Yale tablet. With regard to the apparent vetitive in l. 11', the spelling *a-wa* for the particle *ay* + vowel (i.e.: *a-ia_s*, *a-yi*, *a-iū*) is common at OB Mari (see *CAD A/1*, p. 218) and, later on, elsewhere in the West (Amarna and Ugarit). In the OB period it also occurs on the Diyala, in the spelling *a-yi-gu-ū* for *ay igū* (Greengus, *Ishchali* no. 18, 15; see W. Sommerfeld, *Or NS* 53 (1984), p. 446). It is perhaps another example of the scribal practices of Ešnunna that more and more are seen to influence the writing and language of Mari as well as the Diyala towns (see below, the introduction to the Harmal tablets, fn. 102). The value *yi(wa)* is exceptional in Babylonia proper. As noted in the standard modern syllabary (von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*, p. 43; cf. p. 14*), it is found there on the seal of one III-ay-ēniš in an OB letter (*CT* 43 48, ed. *AbB I* 48, 3: *i-lī-a-ye(1A)-e-^rni-iš?*); seal: *i-lī-a-wa-e-mi-iš*). This letter displays orthography typical of north Babylonia (e.g. l. 9: *ṣi-bu-su e-pé-ša-am*), but it cannot be ruled out that the man who made the seal was trained in Ešnunna-style writing. With regard to the present tablet, the conclusion is that, if the restoration of i 11' is correct (and it may not be), the fragment is a northern intruder in the Nippur corpus. Since the UM collections contain purchased pieces as well as excavated tablets, one cannot determine whether such an intrusion took place in antiquity or in modern times.

i 12'-13'. The standard formula is restored here because it occurs at exactly this point in the Yale tablet (OB III 89-90). However, as well as this formulation in a couplet (also rev. 6'-7'), the Philadelphia fragment also uses the alternative formulation in a single poetic line, PN₁ *ana šāšim issaqqaram ana* PN₂ (i 4'-5'), and the present lines could be restored thus also.

10' my heart grew [vexed ... ^(11') Let] not [.....!]
 12' Gilgameš [opened his mouth,]
 13' [saying to Enkidu:]

Long lacuna

rev.

2' 'What *do you* [.....?]
 3' ... [.....]
 4' In battle [...] ^(5') the lair of [*Huwawa*.]
 6' Gilgameš [opened his mouth,]
 7' saying [to Enkidu:]

Remainder lost

rev. 4'-5'. These two lines of tablet are taken as constituting a single line of poetry on the grounds that they probably represent a variation on the Yale tablet's *qabal lā maḫār šupat Huwāwa* (OB III 115-16 // 200).

TWO TABLETS NOW IN NORWAY (OB SCHØYEN)

Two Old Babylonian tablets of the Gilgameš epic are housed in the Schøyen Collection in Norway. Their ancient provenance is not known. Beyond the fact that both the Schøyen pieces are Old Babylonian, they are in no sense similar and probably derive from different archaeological contexts. Their publication for the first time in this volume represents a very significant addition to our knowledge of the Old Babylonian epic, and produces at the same time a real improvement in our understanding of related episodes of the later versions.

OB Schøyen₁

The smaller of the two pieces in the Schøyen collection is a fragment from near the top edge of a tablet inscribed with a single column of text. To judge from the curvature of the surfaces of the surviving fragment, about five-sixths of the tablet are missing, perhaps more. When complete the tablet may well have contained as many as sixty lines of text on each side.

The tablet is the work of a competent scribe, being very professionally executed. Each line is carefully ruled and on several lines these rulings have been extended on to the right edge with extra horizontal wedges. The tablet was inscribed in extremely neat and regular handwriting. No truly diagnostic orthographies are present to characterize the spelling as distinctively south Babylonian or north Babylonian. Mimimation is usually expressed, but not

always.⁷⁷ Double consonants are written defectively as often as not.⁷⁸ There is a single example of a consonant geminated for orthographic rather than phonetic reasons.⁷⁹

The text is Old Babylonian poetry of the unadorned kind usual in the Akkadian Gilgameš. The only evidence of higher style is the use of final *-u* on one of the two nouns present in the construct state.⁸⁰ Couplets are employed. A noteworthy feature is a heavier than normal incidence of independent pronouns, but in such a small sample of text it is not safe to draw definite conclusions as to whether this has any significance. The use of such pronouns makes some lines longer than those usually employed in Old Babylonian Gilgameš. It may be these are to be divided in two and analysed each as a couplet (obv. 1', 2', 5', 6').

The text preserved on the obverse is almost entirely new, but allows the identification of a similar passage in the damaged section that intervenes in the middle of column i of the Old Babylonian Yale tablet (OB III). Towards the bottom of the reverse of OB Schøyen₁ are three lines that occur later in the Yale tablet, in the fourth column, early in Gilgameš and Enkidu's debate about the Cedar Forest, and that are retained at the same point in the story in the Standard Babylonian version of the epic (SB II). Thus the two scraps of text won from this new fragment are fixed in relation to the epic as a whole as falling immediately after Gilgameš and Enkidu become friends, in the fragmentary episodes that lead up to the preparations for the expedition to the Cedar Forest. The gap between the two passages represented by the obverse and reverse of this new fragment occupies 125 lines of the parallel Yale

⁷⁷ The 2 exceptions are *ib-ra* (obv. 6'), where space is short, and [*la*]-*bu* (rev. 4'), where it is not.

⁷⁸ Defective: *a-ta-ma-ru* (obv. 2'), *lu-da-mi-qá-am* (obv. 4'), *tu-ka-li-mi-ni* (obv. 6'); fully expressed: *aš-šum* (obv. 5', 6'), *li-ib-bi* (obv. 5'), *at-ta* (rev. 2'); mixed: *iz-za-qar* (obv. 3'), *ta-wa-al-dam-ma* (rev. 3'), where double /w/ is necessarily written defectively. Words where a double glottal stop might be predicted are also necessarily written defectively: *nu-ḫi-dam* (rev. 2') for *nu^hidam* (or *nū'idam*?).

⁷⁹ *iz-za-qar-ra-am* (obv. 3') for *izzaqqar-am*, where the consonant at the morpheme boundary is repeated in order to append a suffix with vocalic *Anlau*. This is a hallmark of third-millennium orthography (see further Ch. 13, the commentary on SB V 1).

⁸⁰ *ri-bi-tu m[a-tim]* (obv. 5').

SC 2652/5

OB Schøyen₁

Copy: Pl. 7; photographs: Fig. 3

Text

obv.

- 1' [a]r?-[šī? ib?-ra?-am? ma!?-lī?-ka?-am? a?]-n[a?-ku? ša? a?-ta?]-[ma?-ru?]-[šū? ina?
šunātim?]
- 2' [a]en-ki-du₁₀ ma-li-ka-am a-na-ku ša a-ta-ma-ru-[šū i]-[na šu-na-tim] // OB III 24-5
- 3' aen-ki-du₁₀ a-na ša-šī-im iz-za-qar-ra-am a-na ḫa-ri-ī[m-tim]
- 4' al-ki-im ḫa-ri-im-tum lu-da-mi-qá-am ka-a-š[i-im]
- 5' aš-šum te-er-dī-im ia-ti a-na li-ib-bi uruk^{ki} ri-bi-[tu] m[a-tim]

tablet (OB III 26-150). However, there many lines of poetry are written on two lines of tablet—at least seventeen in the part of the tablet at issue—so that the gap reduces to 108 lines at most. This figure tallies with the estimate noted above that the obverse and reverse of OB Schøyen₁ originally contained about 120 lines. It therefore appears that the text of the tablet represented by the new fragment would have been similar to that known for many years on the Yale tablet. It is not, therefore, an ad hoc composition but witness to an established tradition.

The text of the obverse begins with someone acknowledging Enkidu as the counsellor he had already often seen (obv. 1'-2'). Clearly this is Gilgameš speaking, for the allusion is to the well-known dreams that presaged Enkidu's coming and to his mother's explanation of them as foretelling that he would find a friend to counsel him. The same line can be restored in the first column of the Old Babylonian Yale tablet (OB III 24-5), though it seems that what follows was not identically worded. In the following lines of OB Schøyen₁, which can be identified as two couplets, Enkidu addresses the prostitute, promising to reward her for bringing him into Uruk and providing him with a handsome companion (3'-6'). He refers to Gilgameš, of course, who became the friend he longed for shortly after they ended their fight. Two broken lines follow, evidently a couplet of narrative describing action in the third person (7'-8'). Presumably these lines and the missing continuation realize Enkidu's intention by describing what happened to the prostitute after her role in the plot was finished. This is compatible with the text of the Yale tablet, for when that source resumes near the bottom of column i it presents narrative in which a plural subject responds to something the prostitute has said.

The first line of the reverse of OB Schøyen₁ is unintelligible but probably begins with a volunative verb and is thus direct speech (rev. 1'). The speech continues with a command (2') and then the three lines that are known from other versions (3'-5'). These lines come from a conversation between Gilgameš and Enkidu in which Gilgameš, dismayed by Enkidu's opposition to the proposed expedition against Ḫuwawa, reminds his friend of his upbringing in the wild, when he put to flight lions and huntsmen alike.

Translation

obv.

Only a few lines are missing from the beginning of the tablet.

- 1' '[I] have acquired a friend, the counsellor [that I kept] seeing [in dreams,]
- 2' Enkidu, the counsellor that I kept seeing [in dreams!]
- 3' Enkidu said to her, to the harlot:
- 4' 'Come, O harlot, let me do for you a favour,
- 5' because you led me here, into Uruk-Main-Street-of-the-[Land,]

- 6' aš-šum^l tu^l-ka-li-mi-ni dam-qá-am tappâm(tab.ba)^{a-am} ia-ti ìb-ra
 7' [x x x x x]x-ri-tim ša uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
 8' [x x x x x x x]^l nu^l x x ni-ši-ma i-te-r[u-ub]

rev.

- 1' ^l lu^l-x x x x [. . .] x x [x x x] / [. . .]
 2' at-ta nu-ḫi-dam ia-š[i-im . . .] x x a-n[a x x] x x
 3' ^l ta^l-wa-al-dam-ma ta[r-bi-a-a]m i-na šērīm(edin) // OB III 151 // SB II 237
 4' [iš-ḫi-i]i?-[ka?] ^l [la]-bu^l-ma ka-la-ma ti-de // OB III 152 // SB II 238
 5' [eṭ-lu-tum iḫ-bu-tu ma-ḫa-a]r-ka // OB III 153 // SB II 239

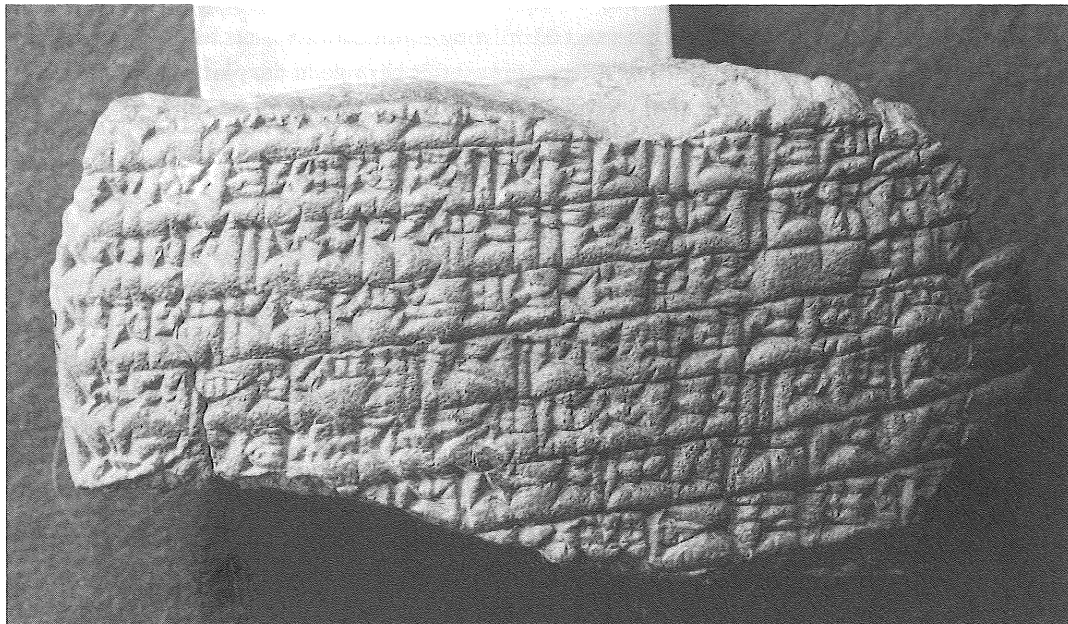


FIG. 3. The tablet OB Schøyen, obverse (*left*) and reverse (*right*). SC 2652/5; height 3.6 cm, breadth 7.1 cm, thickness 2.8 cm.

- 6' because you showed me a fine companion, (showed) me a friend.'
 7' [. . .] . . . of Uruk-Main-Street,
 8' [. . .] he (*or* she) entered.

Long gap

rev.

Long gap

- 1' 'Let me [. . .] . . . [. . .]'
 2' as for you, inform for me [. . .] to . . .
 3' You were born and grew [up] in the wild,
 4' a lion [attacked] you and you experienced all.
 5' [Grown men fled from] your [presence, . . .]'

Remaining few lines lost



FIG. 3. *Continued*

Notes

obv. 1'–2'. These lines are related to the words spoken by Gilgameš in the late version when Ninsun explains to him the significance of his dreams (SB I 296–7): *ibrī māliku anāku lurši / [lu]ršīma ibrī māliku anāku*. As restored here the first fully preserved line lacks a main verb. In the parallel, however, which is written over two lines on the Yale tablet, there is room for one at the beginning of the line (OB III 24). My reading of the preceding line of this fragment is provisional, but solves the problem by restoring the text to yield a typical strophe, in which a sequence of units is repeated with one replaced by a proper noun (cf. similar patterns in Hecker, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 146–50). The result is better a quatrain than a couplet:

<i>arši ibram mālikam anāku</i>	a + b + c + d
<i>ša ātammarūšu ina šunātīm</i>	B
<i>Enkidu mālikam anāku</i>	e + c + d
<i>ša ātammarūšu ina šunātīm</i>	B

obv. 5'. Uruk is commonly described as *ribūum* in Old Babylonian Gilgameš, but this line uses a longer form of the epithet. In Gilgameš the phrase *ribūu mātim* also occurs (without Uruk) in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 214), where it is the scene of Enkidu's first encounter with Gilgameš.

OB Schøyen₂

The second piece of Old Babylonian Gilgameš in the Schøyen Collection is a complete tablet, a great rarity for the second-millennium epic. The text is inscribed in a single column on each side and on the bottom edge, yielding a total of 84 lines. The handwriting is inelegant, and the lines uneven and tightly packed, without rulings; on both counts the document resembles a poorly executed private letter or other inscription of an impermanent nature. Orthographic mistakes are not unknown (l. 7: *lu-tum* for *puluhtum*, 26: *iṭ-ḫu* for *iṭḫū*). Nevertheless, the poetry is well constructed. One line of tablet usually holds one line of poetry, but on at least ten occasions a couplet, so that the 84 lines of tablet yield a minimum of 94 poetic lines. On five occasions the second line of such a couplet is the standard formula *izzaqqaramma ana PN*, which is shorter than the conventional line and can be viewed as a half-line. The language is once again plain; the only marks of elevated style are two superfluous epenthetic vowels (*šunatam*, l. 1, elsewhere in this tablet *šuttum*, etc.; *mušiyatum*, also l. 1, for *mušitum*), an instance of the terminative ending (*la'miš*, l. 41), and a possible example of construct state in *-u* (*šaplānu šadīm*, l. 12); this latter might alternatively be construed as a locative *-u(m)*. The demonstrative pronoun is contracted (*šāti*, ll. 71, 73).

The spelling conventions deserve some comment. Uniquely on this tablet the names of Enkidu and *Ḫuwawa* are abbreviated, respectively to ^d*en* and to ^d*ḫu* and ^d*ḫu-wa*. The obvious explanation is that these names are shortened by analogy with the common ^d*Gīš* = *Gilgameš*. Mimation is present in all but a few instances.⁸¹ Double consonants are almost

⁸¹ *ub-[[a-]u* (l. 1, if correctly restored), *i-ta-wa-a* (3), *šar-ru* (21), *u₄-mu* (35, 39), *im-qū-us-sū* (30), *am-mi-ni* (66); also *ša-ap-la-nu* (l. 12) if locative.

always so written.⁸² The treatment of sibilants and other diagnostic consonants and syllables does not adhere to the conventions of northern or southern Babylonia, as defined by Goetze and others,⁸³ but is mixed. The following features are noteworthy:

- /s/*: *sa-ki-iṭ* (l. 1), *i-si-ḫa-an-[ni]* (6) are 'northern'; *[na-a]k-si-im* (63) is 'southern'; *iz-za-aq-qā-ra-am-ma* or *is-sā-aq-qa-ra-am-ma* (13, 44, 65, 68, 77) is a special case and not diagnostic (see fn. 133 below)
- /š/* written *ši*: *še-er* (27), *ki-im-ši-šu* (29), *er-še-tum* (34), *ú-ši* (35), but once *zi*: *it-ta-ši* (42)
- /ṣu/* written *zu*: *ir-ta-aḫ-ṣú* (54)
- /ss/*: *ú-ga-al-li-is-sú* (2, 31), *zu-qā-as-sú* (29), *im-qū-us-sú* (30) (all < /t + š/) are not diagnostic but *is-si* < *išsi* (34) is 'southern'
- /as/* written *ás*: *it-ta-na-ap-la-ás* (28) is 'northern'
- /iš/* written *AB*: *en-ni-iš*, (38) is 'Mari' or third millennium
- /pi/* written *pi*: *i'-a-pi-ir* (35), *ú-še-pi-iš* (81) are 'southern'; written *BI*: *in-na-pi-iḫ* (36) is 'northern'
- /qu/* written *GU*: *i-qū-pa-am-ma* (6), *im-qū-us-sú* (30), *im-ta-aq-qū-tu* (41), *i-ri-qū* (63, 66, 75), 'southern'
- /tu/* written *DU*: *i-tū-ma* (39), 'southern'

Another Old Babylonian Gilgameš tablet that offers mixed orthography is one of the tablets now in Baghdad (OB IM). Further study is needed on Old Babylonian regional orthography; it may be that by such means light will eventually be shed on the provenance or background of these and other such tablets.

The text of OB Schøyen₂ relates the first two of Gilgameš's dreams on the expedition to the Cedar Forest and Enkidu's subsequent explanation of them. It therefore fills the gap that existed in our knowledge of the Old Babylonian epic between the end of the Yale tablet, where the heroes begin their journey to the forest, and other Old Babylonian tablets from Tell Harmal and Nippur, which also relate dreams from the sequence. At the same time it provides a means of restoring fragmentary parts of a Middle Babylonian version from Anatolia (MB Boğ) and Tablet IV of the Standard Babylonian version. A dramatic new detail that emerges from the text is that the goal of Gilgameš and *Ḫuwawa*'s journey is in this edition the 'land of Ebla' (*māt Ibla*, written in l. 26 with crasis, *ma-ti-ib-la*). The late text's version of the same line has instead *šadū Labnānu*, 'Mount Lebanon', and this well-known range is already associated with *Ḫuwawa* and the Cedar Forest in the Old Babylonian tablet from Nērebtum (OB Ishchali 31'). Evidently the line of OB Schøyen reflects a time when a mountain source of cedar lay within the territory of Ebla. This is a detail of geography that

⁸² There are only 3 genuine exceptions: *ub-[[a-]u* (1, if correctly restored), *te-ed-ki-a-ni* (4), *da-nu-um* (74). Double */w/* is necessarily also written defectively: *i-ta-wa-a* (3), *ú-la-wa* (20), *i-ta-wa-am* (32). Where grammar predicts a double glottal stop the phonetic sequence is written with *Vḫ + V*: *ur-ta-a'-a-ab* (19), *i'-a-pi-ir* (35).

⁸³ A. Goetze, 'The sibilants of Old Babylonian', *RA* 52 (1958), pp. 137–49, esp. pp. 140–1; id., 'The Akkadian dialects of the Old Babylonian mathematical texts', *MCT*, p. 146; note also von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*, where northern and southern Old Babylonian are distinguished in column 5 of the sign list as 2a and 2b respectively.

also occurs in Sumerian literature, according to a passage that reports the assembling of materials for the construction of Nanna's processional barge:

⁶³a.da.mál.bi kur šim ⁶³eren.na.ta
⁶⁴aš.ím.babbar.e mu.na.da.an.ri.ám
⁶⁵ù.bi tír íb/íb.la.ta
⁶⁴aš.ím.babbar.ra mu.na.da.an.ri.a
⁶⁵ù.suḫ.bj ⁶⁵tír šim ⁶⁵eren.na.ta
⁶nanna ⁶suen mu.na.da.an.ri.a

Nanna's Journey 68a-72, ed. A. J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur*, p. 50

From the mountain of cedar resin its boat-beams
they fetched for Ašimabbar,
from the forest of Ebla its planks
they fetched for Ašimabbar,
from the forest of cedar resin its pine-(logs)
they fetched for Nanna-Suen.

For geographical reasons the location of Ebla's forest was more likely to have been on nearby Mount Amanus than in the Lebanon ranges.

The new tablet begins with Gilgameš asleep, as there comes to him a dream (l. 1). In the middle of the night he awakes startled and tells Enkidu that he has had a nightmare, complaining at the same time that his friend did not wake him (2-4).⁸⁴ Gilgameš had dreamed that he had been trying to stop a mountain falling but that it had collapsed on him, burying him under an avalanche (5-6). Though his legs had thereby been incapacitated, a bright light had appeared in the darkness and given him strength (7-8). The light had emanated from a man of shining beauty, who had pulled him out from where he had been trapped (9-12). Enkidu replies by explaining that the mountain must symbolize ̜uwawa, who is altogether unlike anything else (13-16). The presence of the interrogative enclitic *-mā* in this explanation (l. 15) makes it clear that *ul šadūm* is a rhetorical question, 'is he not the mountain?' and not a negative statement, as the two parallels in the dream explanations from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₁) and Boğazköy (MB Boğ₂) were previously understood.⁸⁵ Accordingly, the accompanying phrase (*nukkur mimma*, 'he is something very strange') can no longer be interpreted to signify that ̜uwawa is different from the object observed; it

⁸⁴ Compare the later versions, where instead Gilgameš wonders whether it was Enkidu that woke him (MB Boğ₂ i 9'-10'; SB IV 18-19 and parallels).

⁸⁵ These parallels, too, must now be translated as questions. For interrogative *-mā* see *GAG* §123b.

means that he is a unique being, quite unlike any other creature. In this regard it is significant that ̜uwawa is never represented in the dream episodes as an anthropomorphic figure but always as a non-human adversary: an avalanche (here and in MB Boğ₂), a thunderstorm (later in this tablet), a bull (OB Nippur), an *Anzū*-bird (OB Nippur) and a wild bull (OB Harmal₂). All these things have in common an awesome power and elemental ferocity that makes them fitting symbols of the Cedar Forest's terrible guardian.

Enkidu continues that, once face to face with ̜uwawa, Gilgameš will accomplish a task never achieved before, though before so doing he will encounter furious resistance (17-20). The man in the dream, he adds, was the sun god, who will help Gilgameš in his hour of need (21-2). Enkidu's explanation restores Gilgameš to optimistic good humour (23-4). The pair continue their journey non-stop for three days and then camp on a hilltop, where Gilgameš surveys the landscape before falling asleep (25-30). The motif of surveying the landscape reflects a passage of the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and ̜uwawa, in which the hero and his men cross seven mountain ranges in their search for cedar.⁸⁶ It does not survive into the late version of the epic, where each summit is instead the scene of rituals to incubate a dream.

In the new tablet Gilgameš again wakes startled in the middle of the night and tells Enkidu his second dream, which was even more terrifying (31-3). He had been caught in a terrible thunderstorm, his ears deafened by the crashing thunder, the darkness relieved only by great flashes of lightning that set the ground ablaze (34-9). Then the fire had died out and the sun had appeared; the second line of this couplet is damaged but it is likely that the sun had shown Gilgameš the way to safety (40-3). Enkidu replies (44). His explanation is almost entirely lost in the very damaged section that runs from the bottom edge of the tablet down the upper reverse, but he concludes that the dream bodes well (45-53). As they continue their journey they can already hear ̜uwawa roaring in the distance (54-7). Enkidu, who has met ̜uwawa before, shows very visible signs of fear and Gilgameš, concerned, asks him why (58-67). Enkidu worries that they will not be able to withstand ̜uwawa's unstoppable assault (68-76). Gilgameš's reply is marred by damage but clearly represented a show of bravado (77-81). The two heroes next make a camp for the night and Gilgameš, woken by a third dream, duly begins to tell it to Enkidu (82-4). With the first line of his speech the text comes to a halt, though the tablet was not yet fully inscribed. It is possible that this line functions as a catch-line, for it marks an appropriate place to break the text between one tablet and a second.

For a comparative study of sections of this text with passages from later versions of the epic see above, the section on 'Case studies in the evolution of the epic' in Chapter 1.

⁸⁶ Bilgames and ̜uwawa A 61-2 // B 60-1, passage quoted above, in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Climbing mountains.



FIG. 4. The tablet OB Schøyen₂ obverse (*left*) and reverse (*right*). SC 3025; height 20.3 cm, breadth 7.3 cm, thickness 3.2 cm.

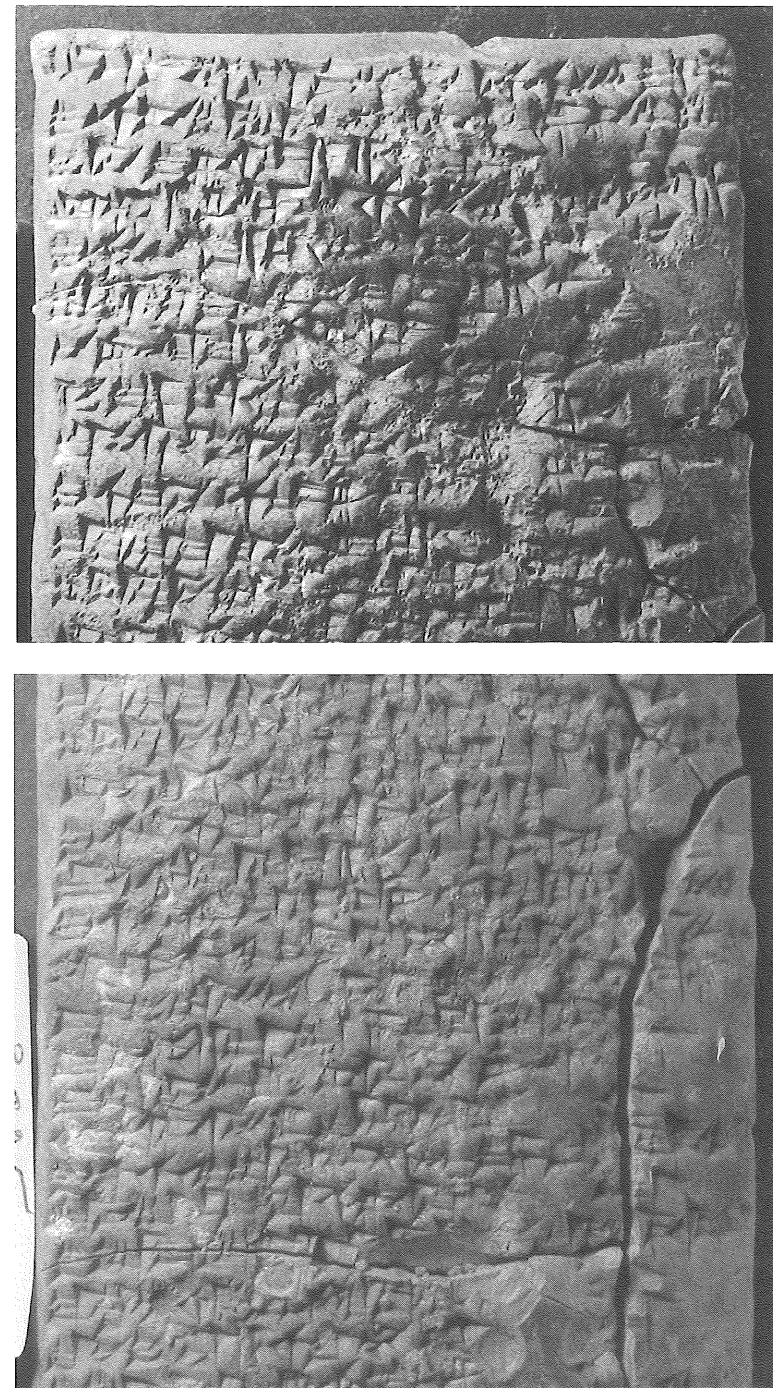


FIG. 5. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of upper obverse.

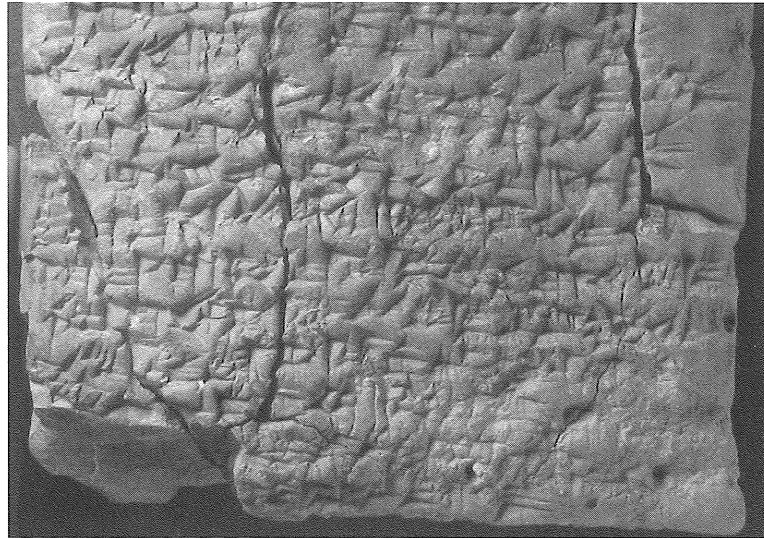
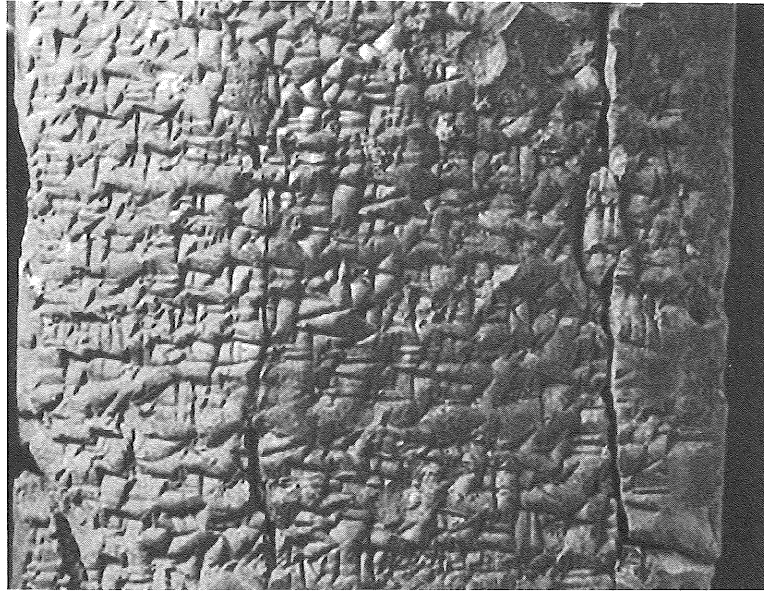


FIG. 6. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of lower obverse.

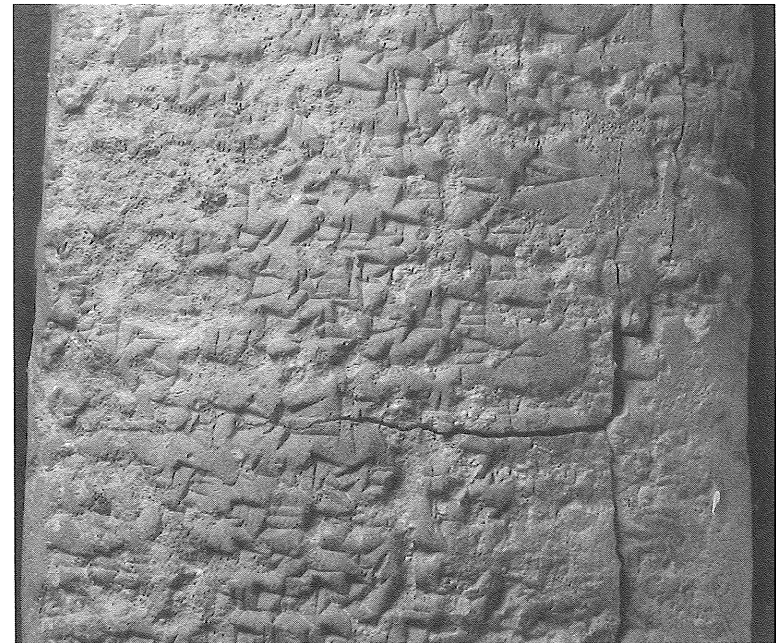
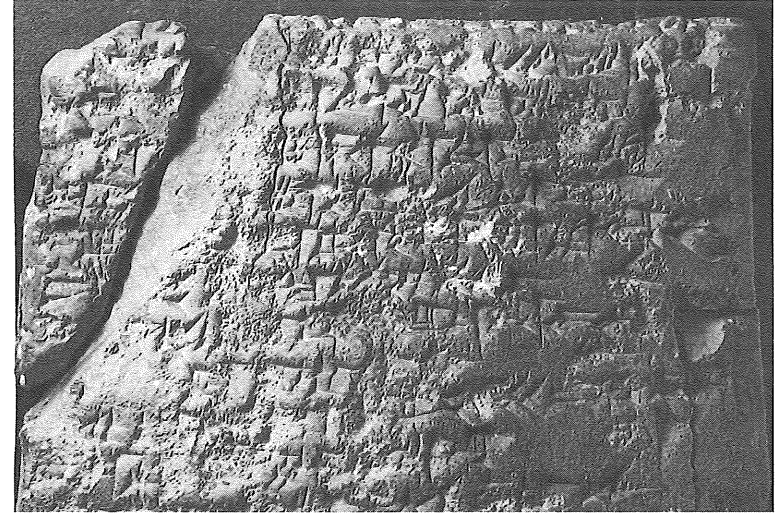
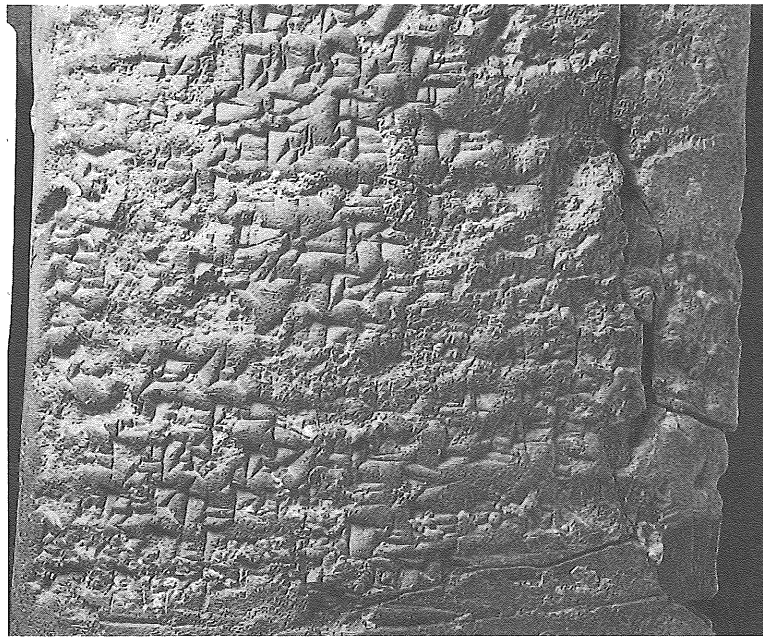


FIG. 7. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of upper reverse.

FIG. 8. The tablet OB Schøyen₂, details of lower reverse.

SC 3025

OB Schøyen₂Copy: Pls. 8, 9; photographs:
Figs. 4–8*Previous publication*2001 The Schøyen Collection web site,
<http://www.nb.no/baser.schoyen/4/4.3/432.html>

P (obv. only)

Text

obv.

- 1 ^dGiš sa-ki-ip ni-il
 šu-na-tam mu-ši-ia-tum ub-l[a?-š]u?
 2 i-na qá-ab-lī-tim šī-^lit^l-ta-šu ú-ga-al-lī-is-sú cf. SB IV [16]
 3 it-bé i-ta-wa-a a-na ib-ri-šu // SB IV [17]
 4 ib-ri^l-ta-mar šu-ut-tam // MB Boğ₂ i 8' // SB IV [21]; cf. OB Harmal₁ 3a
 am-mi^l-nim^l la te-ed-ki-a-ni ma-di^l-iš pa-al-^lha^l-[at] cf. MB Boğ₂ i 9'
 5 i-na bu-di-ia e-mi-da-am ša-di-a-am
 6 ša-du-um i-qù-pa-am-ma i-si-^lha-an-[ni]
 7 bi-ir-ki-ia^l-il^l-ta^l-wi (pu)-lu-(ul)-tum
 8 a-^lhi-ia ša-lum-ma^l-tum^l ud-da-an-ni-in // MB Boğ₂ i 14'–15'
 9 iš-te-en e^l-lum la-bi^l-iš^l [pal]â(bala)?-a-am cf. MB Boğ₂ i 15'



FIG. 8. Continued

Translation

obv.

- 1 Gilgameš was lying down at rest;
 the night brought him a dream.
 2 In the middle watch of the night he awoke with a start,⁸⁷
 3 he arose to talk to his friend:
 4 'My friend, I have seen a dream!
 Why did you not rouse me? It was very frightening!
 5 With my shoulder I was propping up a mountain;
 6 the mountain collapsed on me and girt me around.
 7 Terror encircled my legs,
 8 a radiant brightness gave strength to my arms.
 9 There was a man, clad in a royal [mantle,]

⁸⁷ Lit. 'his sleep startled him'.

- 10 *i-na ma-tim na-wi-ir-ma d[u-u]m-qá-am-ma d[a-mi-iq?]* cf. MB Bo_g i 16'
- 11 *iš-ba-at-ma ku-bu-ur e-m[u-q]i-ia*
- 12 *ša-ap-la-nu ša-dí-ím-ma iš^dta-al-pa-an¹-ni* // MB Bo_g i 17'
- 13 ^d*en šu-ut-tam i-pa-aš-ša-ar*
iz-za¹aq-qá¹-ra-am¹ma¹a¹na^dGIš cf. MB Bo_g i 20'
- 14 *i-na-an-na ib-ri ša ni-il-la-ku¹šum¹* // MB Bo_g i 21'-2'
- 15 *ú-ul ša-du-um-ma-a nu-uk-ku-ur mi¹im-ma¹* // MB Bo_g i 22'-3'
- 16 *i-na-an-na^dhu-wa ša ni¹il¹-la-ku-šu[m*
ú-ul]šadūm(kur)-[m]a nu¹uk-ku¹-ur m[i-im]¹ma¹
- 17 *te-en-né-em-mi-da-ma iš-ti-a-at te¹ep¹-pu-uš*
- 18 *ú!?-ša-am ša mu-tim¹šim? x x x ka ri¹*
- 19 *ur-ta-a²-a-ab uz-za¹šú¹e-li-ka*
- 20 *ú-la-wa pu-lu¹uh¹-ta¹šú¹bi-ir-ki¹ka¹*
- 21 *ú ša ta-mu-ru-šu^dšamaš(utu)¹ma šar-ru¹* cf. MB Bo_g i 26'
- 22 *i-na u₄-mi ša da-an-na-tim i-ša-ab¹ba¹-at qá-at-ka*
- 23 *dam-qá-at^dGIš šu-ut-ta-šu¹i¹h-du¹* // MB Bo_g i 30'-1'
- 24 *i-li-iš li¹ib-ba-šu-ma pa-nu¹šú¹it¹-ta¹am-ru¹* // MB Bo_g i 31'
- 25 *ma-la¹ak¹tūmakka(ud.1.¹kam)¹šú¹na ú ša-la¹šim¹* // SB IV 82
- 26 *šu-nu it¹hu-(ú) a-na ma-ti¹ib-la¹* // SB IV 82
- 27 *i-li-ma^dG[i]š a-na še-er šadīm(kur)* // SB IV 85
- 28 *it-ta-na-ap¹la¹ás ka-li-šu-nu¹hur¹sa-MI* cf. SB IV 86
- 29 *i-na ki-ím-ši-šu ú-um-mi-dam zu-qá-[a]s-sú* // SB IV 92
- 30 *ši-it-tum ra-hi-a-at ni-ši im-qu¹us¹sú* // SB IV 93
- 31 *i-na qá-ab-li-tim ši-it-ta-šu ú-ga¹al¹-li-is-sú* // SB IV 94
- 32 *it-bé i-ta-wa-am a-na ib-ri-[š]u* // SB IV 95
- 33 *ib-ri a-ta-mar ša-ni-tam* // SB IV [54] // 99
- e-li šu-ut-tim¹ša¹a-mu¹ru¹pa-ni-tim pa-al¹ha-at¹* cf. SB IV 100
- 34 *is-si^dadad(iškur) er-še-tum i-ra-am-mu-um* // SB IV 101
- 35 *u₄-mu i²-a-pi¹ir¹ú-ši ek-le-t[u]m* // SB IV 102
- 36 *[i]b-ri¹iq¹bi¹ir¹-gum in-na-pi-ih¹i-[š]a-tum* // SB IV 103
- 37 *[n]a-ab-lu iš¹pu¹-ú i-za¹an¹-nu-un mu-t[u]m* // SB IV 104
- 38 *a-n[a] ri-gi-im^dadad(iškur) en¹ni-iš¹a-na¹ku¹*
- 39 *i¹tú¹ma u₄-mu¹e¹mi a¹al¹-la-ku ú-ul i¹de¹*
- 40 *a-dí-ma ki-a-am-ma šu-up-pu-tum ib-te-li i-ša-tum* cf. SB IV 105
- 41 *[n]a-ab-lu im-ta-aq-gù-tu i¹tú¹-ru la-a²-mi-iš* // SB IV 106
- 42 *[e]k-le-tum it-ta-wi-ir^dša[maš(utu) i]t¹ta¹-[š]i*
- 43 *x x x x ir-dí-a-am¹ma ú¹-x x [(x)] x*
- 44 ^d*en šu-ut-ta]m i-pa-aš-ša-[a]r*
iz-za¹-a[q-qá-ra-a]m-ma a-na^dGIš cf. SB IV 108
- 45 *[x x x x]x-ma^dadad(iškur) i¹ta¹-ás-[x]*

- 10 he was shining brightest in the land and was most [comely] in beauty.
- 11 He took hold of my upper arm,
- 12 from under the mountain itself he pulled me forth.⁷
- 13 Enkidu explained the dream,
saying to Gilgameš:
- 14 'Now, my friend, the one to whom we go,
15 is he not the mountain? He is something very strange!
- 16 Now, Hūwawa to whom we go,
17 is he not the mountain? He is something very strange!
- 17 You and he will come face to face and you will do something unique.
- 18 The one of death *came forth*
- 19 His fury will be enraged against you,
20 terror of him will encircle your legs.
- 21 But the one you saw was King Šamaš,
22 in times of peril he will take your hand.⁷
- 23 It being favourable, Gilgameš was happy with his dream,
24 his heart became merry and his face shone bright.
- 25 A journey of one whole day, two, then a third,
26 they drew near to the land of Ebla.
- 27 Gilgameš climbed up to the top of a hill,
28 he looked around at all the mountains.
- 29 He rested his chin on his knees,
30 the sleep that spills over people fell on him.
- 31 In the middle watch of the night he awoke with a start,⁸⁸
32 he arose to talk to his friend:
- 33 'My friend, I have seen another!
It was more frightening than the previous dream I saw.
- 34 Adad cried aloud, while the land was rumbling,
35 the day shrouded itself, darkness went forth.
- 36 Lightning flashed down, fire broke out,
37 flames flared up, while death was raining down.
- 38 From the sound of thunder⁸⁹ I was growing weak,
39 the day went dark, I knew not where I was going.
- 40 *At long last* the fire that flared so high died down,
41 the flames diminished little by little, they turned to embers.
- 42 The gloom brightened, the sun shone forth,
43 . . . he led here and . . .⁷
- 44 [Enkidu] explained the [dream],
saying to Gilgameš:
- 45 '[. . .] . . . Adad . . .'

⁸⁸ Lit. 'his sleep startled him'.⁸⁹ Lit. 'at the voice of Adad'.

edge

46 [x x x x x] x x x x x a-^fal^l

47 [x x x x x] x x x x x x

48 [x]x x [x x]x ma x x x x na ši x

rev.

49 [i]-^fša?-tum?^l [ša it?-i]a?-ap-pa-^fhu-^fkum^l el-le-^ftum^l50 x x x [x n]a-ab-^fli^l ù ka-ak-[k]i-^fšu^l51 x^fša^l x x nam a-na ki?-da^fil-^fli^l52 da-am-[qá š]u-na-tu-ka^fi^l-lum id-^fka^l53 ^fši-ib^l-[qá-t]i?-ka^fia-ka-aš?-ša?^f-ad ar-^fhi-^fiš^l54 ir-t[a-a]h-š[ú] u_a-ma-^fam^l ù mu-ši-^ftam^l55 x x am x x id x ú ma re-ši-^fim x x x56 x x x ur^fú^lum x x bu57 [u_a]-mi-^fša-am^l [i]š-[t]e-né-^fem^l-mu-ú^fri-gim^l ^dhu58 i-[d]e?-^fšu^l-[m]a m[a]-aš-š[a-a]r e-re-^fnim^l59 ^fša ú^l-[tá]r-ru k[a-l]i-ši-na i-^fra^l-tim60 [^dhu-wa m]a-a[š]-^fša-ar^l e-re-nim^fša ú^l-[t]ár-ru ka-li-ši-na i-ra-tim61 [x x x] x^fni?^l x i ga x x e?-r[e-ni]m?62 [x x x] x x x^fšu-ur^l-me-ni63 k[i-ma na-a]k-si-^fim^l i-ri-^fqú^l pa-[n]u-[š]u

64 i-r[u-ub a-d]i-ir-tum a-na [l]i-ib-[b]i-š[u]

65 ^dGİŠ i[t-b]a-^fla-am^l pa-ni-šuiz-^fza-aq-qá^l-r[a-a]m-ma a-na ^den66 ^fam-mi-ni ib-ri i-ri^l-qú pa-nu-k[a]67 ^fi^l-r[u-u]b a-di-ir-tum a-n[a l]i-ib-bi-^fka^l68 ^den pa-šu^l i-pu-ša-am-m[ai]z-^fza-aq-qá-ra-am-ma^l [a-n]a ^dGİŠ69 aš-ši-ma^fib^l-ri i-x x a ta x x [x k]am?70 a-ši-ma x x ti^fim^l ih x x in?71 ma-an-nu-^fum^l-[m]a ilam(dingir) ša-ti^fi-ge-er^l-[r]e-[š]u72 ^fša da-an^l-nu^fka^l-ak-ka-šu i-na qá^l-[t]i-š[u]73 ^dhu^fša-ti^fni-ge-er-re-š[u]74 ^fša da-nu^l-um ka-ak-ka-šu i-n[a qá-ti-š]u75 ^fú ki^l-[a-a]m^fma ib-ri i^l-r[i]-^fqú pa^l-nu-[a]76 i-ru-[ub]a-di^l-ir-tum a-na l[i]-^fib^l-[b]i-[ia]77 ^dGİ[š p]a-šu^fi^l-pu-ša-am-maiz-za-aq-q[á-ra]-am^fma a-na^l [^de]n78 ú-u[?]^f x [x] hi iš ši x x x ma x [(x)] x x x x

edge

46-8 not deciphered

rev.

49 'The bright fire [that was] kindled for you.

50 ... flames and his weapons,

51 he will go up outside.

52 Your dreams are favourable, a god is your strength,

53 you will quickly achieve your plans.⁹⁰

54 On they sped that day and night,

55 head ...

56

57 daily they were hearing the voice of Hūwawa.

58 He knew him, the guardian of the cedar,

59 him that repels every advance,⁹⁰

60 [Hūwawa, the] guardian of the cedar,

61 him that repels every advance.⁹⁰

62 [...] cedar,

63 [...] cypresses.

64 [His] face turned pale, like a severed (head),

65 terror entered his heart.

66 Gilgameš took pity on him,

67 saying to Enkidu:

68 'Why, my friend, did your face turn pale,

69 and terror enter your heart?'

70 Enkidu opened his mouth,

71 saying to Gilgameš:

72 'I lifted, my friend,

73 I

74 Who can withstand that god,

75 whose weapon is mighty in his hand?

76 Shall we withstand that Hūwawa,

77 whose mighty weapon is in his [hand?]

78 And so, my friend, my face turned pale,

79 terror entered my heart.'

80 Gilgameš opened his mouth,

81 saying to Enkidu:

82 'Not

⁹⁰ Lit. 'turns back chests, all of them'.

- 79 x x x iq-bi a-^fna? [(x)] x ak? mi? id [(x)]
 80 [e ta-du-ur]¹ e[n] x x ia-a-ti
 81 [qá?]-ab-[l]am? š[a] la ti-du-ú ú-še-pi-iš x x x
 82 nu-ba-at-tam is-ki-p[u] i-ni-lu
 83 [ú]-[be]-[ma] ^dGIS! šu-ut-ta-šú i-pa-aš-ša-a[r-šú]m
 84 [ib-ri a]¹-ia-mar¹ ša-lu-uš¹-tam

Notes

1. This line of tablet contains a couplet. The literary form *šunatum* in the second poetic line occurs elsewhere in Gilgameš, but on this tablet the word is otherwise the common *šuttum* (for the distribution of the two forms in Gilgameš see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 245). At first sight the spelling *mu-ši-ia-tum* looks plural (*mušīātum*), but must be parsed as singular (normally *mušūtum*) for two reasons: (a) it is logical in the metaphor employed that a dream seen on a particular night is conveyed to the sleeper by a singular night, not by a plurality of them, and (b) there is not room to restore in agreement with *mušīātum* a plural verb, *ubl[ānišš]u(m)*. This is the expected verb; for another instance of *šuttam wabātum* see SB IV [9] // 42 // 87 // 129 // 170: *šadū bila šutta*. Two explanations for the spelling *mu-ši-ia-tum* can be put forward: (i) *ia* is an error for *i*, and (ii) the spelling records a literary form of *mušūtum* with an epenthetic vowel that is redundant in normal grammar, *mušīyatum* (cf. *šuttum* : *šunatum*). The intrusion of such a vowel between a vowel /i/ long by contraction and the feminine marker *-t-* triggers the appearance of a glide /y/. An unnecessary epenthetic vowel in this position is a rare phenomenon, but one also seen in first-millennium copies of the hymn to the Queen of Nippur, which offer the spellings *e-li-ia-tu* for *eliyatu* < *elītu* and *te-li-ia-ut-ma*, *te-li-ia-a-tum* // *te-li-i-tū* for *telīyatu(mma)* < *telītu* (see W. von Soden, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 226; W. G. Lambert, *Kraus AV*, p. 176). Adopting explanation (ii) absolves the scribe of guilt.

4. The final sign was evidently obliterated when the reverse was inscribed.

5. Another example of the ‘hypercorrect’ uncontracted accusative *šadi’am* (against expected *šadu’am*) occurs in the Yale tablet; see further the notes on OB III 261.

7. The line is emended to match Enkidu’s reiteration in l. 20. The word *birkum* is literally ‘knee’ but it appears frequently in parallel with words for arm, as it does again here; for example, *Ludhul* II 77–8: *man-gu iš-bat i-āi-ia* / *lu-tū im-ta-qut eli bir-ki-ia*, ‘stiffness has taken hold of my arms, feebleness has befallen my “knees”’ (cf. below, SB IV 242). In Akkadian the knee is the key body part in human motion, as below in SB I 200: *ittazizšā birkāšu ša illakā būšū*, and in expressions for a running race, *lišim birkim*, and a fast runner, *pātan birkī*. Variant phrases that open several OB incantations typify a threatening dog as *urruḥ birkā*, ‘swift-legged’, and *urruk birkā*, ‘long-legged’ (see I. L. Finkel in *Mesopotamian Magic*, pp. 215–19, Texts 1 and 2, LB 2001 and VAT 8355). These and many other instances bear witness to a literary usage of the word, *pars pro toto*, signifying the lower limb as a whole.

9. Whatever the figure is wearing, it prompts Enkidu to identify him as a king (l. 21), just as his brightness and beauty (l. 10) identify him also as the sun. I know of no word that fits both the need for a royal symbol and the traces other than *palūm*. The exact item of regalia denoted by this word is uncertain: some identify it as a staff of office, others as a mantle; the use of *labiḥ* is a point in favour of the latter.

10. The line’s later counterpart omits *nawirma* (MB Boğz i 16’): *ina māti damiqma dumuqšu*.

- 79 . . . he spoke
 80 Do not fear, O Enkidu, . . . me!
 81 I have undertaken . . . a battle that you do not know.
 82 They pitched camp for the night, they lay down;
 83 Gilgameš arose to reveal his dream to him:
 84 ‘My friend, I have seen a third!’

11. The word *emūqum* is here a body part. The dual of body parts is often employed with this word, even when it more commonly denotes the abstract concept, ‘strength’. Lexical texts make clear that the body part in question is ‘arm’, e.g. Proto-*Aa* 463:1–4 (*MSL* XIV, p. 100): ‘á, ‘arm’ = *e-mu-ú-qum*, *i-du-um*, *qá-an-nu-um*, *a-ḥu-um*.

14–16. Lines from this quatrain are repeated as a couplet in a later episode, provisionally placed at SB IV 215–16: *ibrī ša nillakašš[u nukkur mimma]* / *Ḥumbāba ša nišlakaššū nukkur mimma*.

16. Here, too, it seems that the end of the line of writing was obliterated when the reverse was inscribed.

17. This line is reminiscent of OB Harmal₁ 16–17: *nennemmidma išti’at neppeš*.

18. As provisionally rendered here, the line relates back to some event that Gilgameš saw in his dream. While the end of the line is undeciphered other readings of the first word are possible: *ú-l-ša-am*, ‘arrow’, *nél-ša-am*, ‘mighty one’, or *níl-ša-am*, ‘contempt’ (cf. *nāšum*, ‘to scorn’).

21–2. This couplet has a close parallel in Enkidu’s explanation of the bull-wrestling dream (OB Harmal₁ 12–13): *šimū ša tāmuru Šamaš namrum* / *ina dannatim išabbat qāni*.

23. A more predictable line would transpose the second and third words: *damqat šuttašū Gilgameš iḥdu*.

24. This line also occurs in the Pennsylvania tablet, describing Enkidu when drunk in the shepherds’ camp (OB II 104–5), and again, though slightly garbled, in MB Boğz i 3’–4’ // [31’].

25–6. This couplet is the counterpart of the late text’s *mālak arḥi u šapatti ina šalši ūmi iḥū ana šadi Labnānu* (SB IV 4 // 37 // [82] // 123–4). The lack of *plene* writing of the final vowel of *iḥū* may be explained as signifying a crisis or running together of *iḥū* and *ana*; see also the similar case in OB Harmal₁ 17: *i-ba-aš-šu-i-na* for *ibaššū ina*.

27–8. A version of this couplet appears as a command on OB Harmal₁ 1: *elīma ana šūrim* (or *šūrim!*?) *ša šadīm, napliš . . .*

28. The loanword Sum. *ḥur.saḡ* is later *ḥursānu*. The spelling of the final consonant with a sign from the *mV*-range also occurs in OB Anzū II 55: [*šu-ub-ri-iq im-ḥu-ul-l*] *i-ka¹ li-qū-lu ḥur-sag-MU* // 79: [*ú-ša-ab-ri-iq im-ḥul-lī-š*] *u¹ i-qū-lu i-lu ḥur-sag-MU* (restored after SB II 4: *šub-riq im-ḥul-li-ka lil-li-ku eli-šū*). Both scribes follow Sumerian usage, where *MI* and *MU* have the values *ḡ₆* and *ḡ₁₀* respectively. Such spellings indicate a pronunciation of the loanword in this period as *ḥursāḡum*.

34. In the later version of this line Adad is replaced by *šamū*, *eršetum* by *qaqqaru*.

35. The verb *i’apir* is an irregular IV/1 form of *apārum*; in later texts *innapir* occurs as expected (for other verbs *primae* aleph that are deviant in the IV stem see *GAG*³ §97j). The SB text reads *ušḥarrir* instead. The last word exhibits antepenultimate stress, singular *ēkletum*. The SB text makes it plural, *eklētū*.

37. The late text turns *išpū* and *izannun* into iteratives, *ištappū* and *izzannun*. Said of fire *šapū A* is not ‘to flicker’ (*CAD* Š/I, p. 488) but ‘to flare up’, for with other subjects it carries a meaning

'boom', 'surge', 'billow'. A telling passage is a sequence of omens in *Šumma Ālu* in which a lamp is reported as *namir*, 'bright', and *ēnu*, 'dull', then *šapu*, 'flaring', and *nēb*, 'calm' (CT 39 34, 29–32). The two pairs of staves contrast first the lamp's light and then the steadiness of its flame.

39. The spelling *e-mi* for *ēma* occurs once elsewhere in Old Babylonian, in a legal document from Tell Sifr (Jean, *Tell Sifr* no. 29, 5: *e-mi i-si-iq-šu*), explained in CAD E, p. 136, as a 'sandhi' writing. A second occurrence where crasis is impossible, *ēmi allaku*, means that *ēmi* can no longer be dismissed in this way but is a genuine lexeme.

40. The first half of the line is the counterpart of the later version's [*id*] *imma*, which suggests that *adīma kī'amma* at some point in the tradition ceased to be understood. Literally it means 'as far as so'. Shorn of enclitics the phrase appears several times elsewhere: BIN 4 228, 9: *a-di ki-a-am wa-ās-ba-a¹-ku*, TCL XX 117, 15: *a-di ki-a-am a-we-lum ha-am-da-tim iš-pu-ra-kum* (both OA letters), VAS XVI 131, 6 (ed. AbB VI 131): *a-di ki-a-am bé-re-e a-na mi-ni ta-al-li-ik* (OB letter). In the Old Assyrian letters the expression *adi kī'am* means 'for that reason' or similar, in the Babylonian example perhaps 'for so many' (I am grateful to K. R. Veenhof for his thoughts on these passages, communicated privately). Neither rendering fits the present instance and I have translated ad hoc. The adjective written *šu-up-pu-tum*, replaced by *nebūtu* in the late text, can be derived from the II/1 stem of *šapū* A, 'to flare up', or III/1 stem of *nabū* C, 'to shine brightly'; either way it is an elative. I have opted for the former parsing, in view of *nablū išpū* in l. 37. For nouns that occur separated from their adjectives and for the reversal of the conventional order, noun + adjective, see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style.

41. The verb *imtaqqūtū* exhibits the I/3 stem in its function as descriptive of action gradually accomplished, defined by von Soden, GAG³ §91f, as 'sukzessiv ("nach und nach") und augmentativ ("immer mehr")'; for examples of similar use of the *-tan-* modification in this book see SB VI 120 *imtaqqūtū*, VIII 136–201 *uktallim*, VIII 216–17 *umtallī*, XI 159 *ukiūn*, XI 221 *šitakkani* // XI 223 *ištakkan*. The rare *la'miš* is replaced by *ana tumrī* in the SB text. The present line is the earliest occurrence of this adverb and, implicitly, the noun *la'mu* from which it derives.

45. Perhaps one should emend to *i-ša!-ās-[si]*, 'Adad was crying aloud'.

53. Perhaps instead *ši-ib-[q]i-ka¹*.

54. Compare in a letter from Shemshara (J. Laessøe and T. Jacobsen, JCS 42 (1990), p. 144, 8–9): [*k*] *a-al mu-ši-im ra-aḫ-ša-am al-ka-am*, 'run all night long to get here'.

58. Enkidu's prior knowledge of *Ḫuwawa* is amply attested elsewhere in the epic; but the reading of the first word is uncertain in the context. An alternative decipherment is *i-[i]s¹si¹-[m]a*, 'he yelled', in which case *Ḫuwawa* would be the subject of a repeated couplet fitting the pattern abc-def-abc-def: *issīma mašsar erēnim* | *ša uarru kalīšina irātīm* | [*Ḫuwawa*] *mašsar erēnim* | *ša uarru kalīšina irātīm*. But this reading would presuppose an unusual *plene* spelling of *issi*.

63 // 66 // 75. Enkidu's face has previously paled in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 165–6): *ana siqrī eḫim iriḫū pānūšu*. The simile restored in l. 63, *kīma naksim warāqum*, is very reminiscent of a longer phrase, *kīma nikis bīni arāqu*, 'to turn as pale as the stump of a tamarisk tree', which describes Ereškigal's bloodless face (*pānū*) in the Descent of Ištar and Nergal and Ereškigal (CT 15 45, 29 // KAR 1, 29; STT 28 iii 21'). A restoration [*ni-i*] *k-si-im* is precluded by the traces, however. Here the simile clearly signifies fear; see further Streck, *Bildersprache*, pp. 70–1.

64 // 67 // 76. A similar line occurs in SB II 191: [*ir*] *ub adīru ana libbīya*, also with reference to Enkidu.

65. The same couplet occurs in the Yale tablet (OB III 77–8).

82. What should be a variation on this line is partly extant at SB III 85 (MS aa): *nubatti x x inillū*.

AN EXCERPT TABLET FROM NIPPUR (OB NIPPUR)

The tablet IM 58451 (excavation number 3N-T 376), now in Baghdad, was excavated on Tablet Hill at Nippur in the season 1951–2. The find-spot was TA 205 XI-2, which means Area TA, Locus 205, Level XI, Floor 2. Locus 205 is the big back room of House F, a private house that, before the crisis of 1739 BC, served as a scribal school. In its various building phases this little school yielded altogether more than 1,300 tablets and fragments, being the most productive such establishment recorded at Old Babylonian Nippur.⁹¹ The tablet IM 58451 was found in the immediate company of some 210 other tablets of literary and lexical content. As a literary tablet written in Akkadian, it is a rare piece to find in a school curriculum that was dominated by the Sumerian tradition.

The piece is a single-column Old Babylonian tablet, inscribed with some care. As expected in a tablet from Nippur, the orthography is consistently 'southern'.⁹² Double consonants are usually marked *plene*.⁹³ Mimation is almost always written.⁹⁴ Some erasures and spelling mistakes are present.⁹⁵ Though these corroborate the evidence of the findspot that the tablet was an apprentice's exercise, the presence at l. 10 of a 'decimal marker'—that is, an oblique wedge of the kind inscribed in the margin of every tenth line—normally a hallmark of library copies, is symptomatic of this scribe's accomplishment and seriousness of intention. Other orthographic peculiarities are the unconventional *plene* writings *ta-na-ṭa-a-al* (3) and *ta-mu-ru-ū* (7), the spelling *ū-še-te-bé-ka* for *ušetbēka* (rev. 5') and the arbitrary use of *qi* (1) and *qī* (2, 10). The text is again in good Old Babylonian poetry of the unadorned kind,⁹⁶ and a strict division into couplets can be observed.

Neither Gilgameš nor Enkidu is named in OB Nippur but the mention of *Ḫuwawa*, Lugalbanda and Šamaš, together with the general context, makes the tablet readily identifiable as a text of Gilgameš. The episode preserved deals with two dreams experienced by the hero on his approach to the Cedar Forest. The pattern of the dream episodes in other versions is that half-way through the night Gilgameš awakes in a panic from a terrifying dream and tells it to Enkidu. Enkidu is able to offer a favourable explanation of the dream. In the late text the dreams occur while Gilgameš and Enkidu are camped each third night on a mountain and are provoked by long rituals of incubation (SB Tablet IV). Shorter narrative passages punctuate the dream episodes in the newly recovered Old Babylonian tablet now

⁹¹ For a description and history of House F see E. Stone, *Nippur Neighborhoods*, pp. 56–9; a plan of the building as it was in the building phase Level XI-2 is given there on pl. 18, and an inventory of tablets found in Locus 205 appears on pp. 173–4. Some of the tablets retrieved from this room were certainly in secondary contexts. Stone writes that 'some [tablets were] built into a bench and a box, and others [were found] along the walls. Perhaps these latter were originally on shelves or in bags attached to the walls' (p. 56).

⁹² Diagnostic spellings: *ap-pa-al-sà-am-ma* (11), *pi-ša, na-pi-is-sa* (both 14, rev. 3'), *ka-ap-pi-ša* (17), *ša-lum-ma-sà* (rev. 4').

⁹³ Exceptions: *ta-na-ṭa-a-al* (3), *qá-qá-dí-ka* (8), *šu-mu-ū* (rev. 2'), *ta-pa-la-ḫa-am* (rev. 4').

⁹⁴ Exceptions: *we-ru* (7), *da-an-nu* (rev. 6').

⁹⁵ Note *šu* for *ša* in rev. 2' and 6', and *ta* for *ša* in rev. 4.

⁹⁶ There is one occasion when a terminative ending is employed (1: *qīšūš*), and archaic *šamāṭ* appears for *šamē* (11). On the poetics see the comprehensive discussion of J. Renger, 'Ein altbabylonischer Gilgameš-Text aus Nippur', *Studios Lambert*, pp. 101–2.

in Norway (OB Schøyen₂). No such details of circumstance are provided in OB Nippur, however, for this text consists entirely of direct speech. The narrative formulae for denoting the various speakers that are standard in most of the epic are also lacking, so that the speakers' identities must be deduced from the context. The dreams at issue are identified as the third and fourth such dreams, but the excerpt given here is not an episode that is complete in itself. Not only is Gilgameš's relation of the third dream missing, so that we only learn of it from Enkidu's explanation, but the explanation of the fourth dream is quite certainly unfinished, and it would seem that, for some reason, the scribe did not complete the tablet as intended.

Briefly summarized, Enkidu's explanation of the third dream (obv. 1–8) is that the events foretold in previous dreams are now about to unfold, that battle with the terrible Hūwawa is at hand and that Gilgameš will overpower him through brute force. The imagery is of bull-wrestling and one can assume therefore that the dream itself was of a fight with a bull. A dream involving a bull is described in OB Harmal₁, but the explanation given there differs and it seems that the two dreams are not an exact match. In the present text Enkidu further

IM 58451 (3N-T 376)

OB Nippur

Copy: Pl. 10

Previous publication

- 2000 A. Cavigneaux and J. Renger, 'Ein altbabylonischer Gilgameš-Text aus Nippur', *Studies Lambert*, pp. 91–103 CPTT

Text

obv.

- 1 *ib-ri ni-iq-te-ri-ib qí-iš-ti-iš*
 2 *šú-n[a-tu]m qí-it-ru-ba a-ru-uh ta-ḫa-zu-um*
 3 *nam-ri-ri ša i-lim ta-na-ta-a-al*
 4 *ḫu-wa-wa ša i-ta-na-an-da-ru ka-ab-ta-at-ka*
 5 *at-ta ta-at-ta-ak-ki-ip-ma ki-ma le-i-im | tu-ša-ab-ra-aq-šu*
 6 *re-šú-šu tu-ša-ap-pa-al i-na da-an-nu-ti-ka*
 7 *pu-ur-šu-mu-um ša ta-mu-ru-ú il-ka we-ru*
 8 *ba-ni qá-qá-dí-ka^d lugal-bàn-da*
 9 *ib-ri a-ta-mar re-bu-ta-am*
 10 *e-et-qè-et e-lí ša-la-aš-ti-in šu-na-ti-ia*
 11 *ap-pa-al-sà-am-ma^d anzâm(im.dugud)^{mušen-an} i-na ša-ma-i*
 12 *it-bè-ma¹ ki¹-ma er-pe-tim i-ša-ú el-ni*
 13 *x x-uh-tum-ma šu-un-nu-ú pa-nu-ú-ša*

explains that an old man, who must have played some part in the dream, is to be identified as Gilgameš's guardian deity, Lugalbanda.

In the fourth dream (9–19), which Gilgameš describes as even more horrifying than the first three, he sees gliding across the sky what he identifies as one of the mythical eagles (or rocs) called Anzû. It is a female but is described in terms characteristic of Hūwawa, whom it accordingly symbolizes. Then a man appears and, though the text begins to fail, it is clear he rescues Gilgameš from his plight and disables the bird. Following a short lacuna where the bottom of the tablet is broken away, the text resumes with Enkidu's explanation of the fourth dream (rev. 1'–6'). After repeating part of the narrative in the same way that Gilgameš's mother repeated back to him his first dream of Enkidu in the late version of the epic (SB I 261–7), Enkidu predicts that when Gilgameš is prostrate with terror in the presence of the enemy, he himself will come to his rescue. Further, the man in the dream was the sun god, Šamaš. But we discover no more, for at this point the scribe broke off from his exercise.

Other translations

- 1992 J. Bottéro, 'Troisième et quatrième rêves prémonitoires', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 248–9
 1994 K. Hecker, 'Eine Tafel aus Nippur', *TUAT* III/4, pp. 660–1
 1994 R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, 'Troisième et quatrième songes', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, p. 112
 1997 U. and A. Westenholz, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 142–3
 1999 A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Penguin), pp. 116–18

Translation

obv.

- 1 'My friend, we have come close to the forest,
 2 (what was foretold in) dreams is near at hand, battle is swift (upon us).
 3 You will see the radiant auras of the god,
 4 of Hūwawa, whom your mind does ever fear.
 5 You will lock horns and batter him like a bull,
 6 you will force his head down with your strength.
 7 The old man you saw is your mighty god,
 8 the one who begot you, Lugalbanda.
 9 'My friend, I have seen a fourth,
 10 it surpasses my (other) three dreams!
 11 I watched an Anzû-bird in the sky,
 12 up it rose like a cloud, soaring above us.
 13 It was a . . . , its face was very strange,

- 14 *pi-ša^dgirrum(gira)¹na-pi-is-sa mu-tu[m]*
 15 *et-lu[m-ma?]ša-ni bi-ni-ta-a[m]*
 16 [x x x x]x-š[?]ma¹iz-za-aš i-na mu-ši-ti-ia
 17 [x x x x]x ka-^dap-pi-ša iš-ša-ba-at i-di
 18 [x x x x]x-ma it-ta-di-i-ši / [i-na ma-aš]-ri-ia
 19 [.]x-^dgi¹e-li-ša

Several lines missing

rev.

Several lines missing

- 1' *i[t-bé-ma ki-m]a [e]r-p[e-ū]m / ^di-š[a-ū] el-ni*
 2' [x x-t]um-ma^dšū¹-nu-ú pa-nu-ú-šu (sic!)
 3' *pi-ša^dgirrum(gira)¹na-pi-is-sa mu-tum*
 4' *ša!(TA)-lum-ma-sà ta-pa-la-ša^dam¹at!-ta!*
 5' *e¹-TE-en ši-ip-ša^dú-še-te-bé-ka a-na-ku*
 6' *e¹-lum ša ta-mu-ru^dšamaš(utu) da-an-nu*

Notes

5. The line divides into two equal halves, with a pause at the caesura: *átta | tattakkítma || kima lé'im | tušabrāqšu*. The bull belongs with the second verb. Renger read *tušaprakšu* and translated 'als war er ein Ringer, wirst [Du] ihm (den Hals) zur Seite drehen'; this is perhaps reading too much into *šupruku*, 'to put in the way'. Hecker follows Renger but I side with Bottéro, Tournay and Shaffer, who render the clause 'tu l'abattras comme un taureau'. The bull develops the imagery of the first part of the line in a way that a wrestler would not. The causative stem of *barāqu* is used figuratively for violent destruction of an enemy: see the passages quoted in *CAD B*, p. 104, 2 c, and note *Maliku I 107: šub-ru-qu = da-a-ku*, 'to kill' (A. D. Kilmer, *JAO S* 83 (1963), p. 426).

6. The significance of forcing the bull's head down (flat on the ground?) is probably that this is how a bull-wrestler breaks a bull's neck. Contra Hecker, *TUAT III/4*, p. 661, fn. 6a, *rēšū* is not plural but dual, as often.

7. Others have taken *wi-ru* as the god Wēr, though Renger and Bottéro drew attention to the problem such an interpretation posed with regard to the Yale tablet, where Wēr is the guardian of the Cedar Forest and thus an ally of Gilgamesh's enemy (OB III 131). Here, as elsewhere in the epic, Gilgamesh's god is not Wēr but Lugalbanda (see OB III 271, OB Harmal, 15–16 and SBVI 165), and Wēr is thus quite out of place for this reason too. Accordingly one is led to look for a suitable adjective or common noun that can be written *wi-ru*. The existence of such a word can perhaps be supported by the lexical entry *Maliku I 52: i-ru = ga-aš-ru* (A. D. Kilmer, *JAO S* 83 (1963), p. 425; also p. 435, Explicit *Maliku I 143*). This adjective probably also appears in the OB text about Narām-Sîn and Erra, where Erra is described as *wi-ru-um ša-ka-al-mu-šu*, 'mighty terror' (W. G. Lambert, *BiOr*

- 14 its speech was fire, its breath was death.
 15 [There was a] man, strange of form,
 16 [he . . .] and was standing there in my dream.⁹⁷
 17 [He . . .] its wings, he took hold of my arm,
 18 [. . .] . . . and he cast it down [before] me.
 19 [.] . . . upon it.⁹⁸

Lacuna

rev.

- 0' '[You watched an *Anzû*-bird in the sky,]
 1' up [it rose like a] cloud, soaring above us.
 2' It was a [. . .], its face was very strange,
 3' its speech was fire, its breath was death.
 4' While you fear its awesome splendour,
 5' I shall . . . its foot, I shall enable you to arise!⁹⁸
 6' The man you saw was mighty Šamaš . . .'

⁹⁷ Lit. 'in my night'.

⁹⁸ This couplet can also be translated as reportage: 'While you were fearing its awesome splendour, I . . . ed its foot, I enabled you to arise.'

30 (1973), p. 361, 37; cf. note on p. 363). The absence of mimation in our text is unusual, but note also *da-an-nu* in rev. 6'.

8. As W. G. Lambert tells me (private communication), the phrase *bāni qaqqadim* in the meaning 'father, sire' is a calque from Sumerian *sag.dù* (vars. *du/dug₄*), for which see G. R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)*, p. 181; Å. W. Sjöberg, *TCS III*, p. 54. Note especially in an inscription of Samsuiluna: *danna dingir sag.du.mu.še: a-na^dsin(en:[zu]) ilim(dingir) ba-ni-ia*, 'for Sîn, the god who begot me' (D. Frayne, *RIME 4*, p. 381, 41–2 // 39).

10. For a *plene* spelling comparable to *e-et-qè-et*, and from the same verb, see the imperative *e-et-qà-ni-i-ma*, 'pass me by!', in the OB narrative poem about Narām-Sîn and Apišal (v 7; ed. Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 182). The form *šalaštim* compares, as Renger noted, with *erbettim* in *ki-ib-ra-a-at er-bé-ti-in*, 'four world-regions', in a fragmentary OB text about Sargon of Akkade (*BRM IV 4, 4–5*, ed. Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 34). The parallel is more instructive than Renger saw, however, for the gender of the number is the same as the noun. The absence of polarity thus marks the phrase *šalaštim šunāīya* as comprising two nouns, though in apposition rather than in a possessive construction such as *kibrāt/sūq/šār erbettim*. Usual language would yield *šalaš šunāīya*. *šalaštim* is a group of three ('triad') comparable with *erbettum*, 'group of four', *hamiltu*, 'group of five' and *sebettum*, 'heptad'. For nunation in OB see now *GAG³ §§44c* (possessive pronouns), 63c (miscellaneous).

12. At the beginning of the line the reading *iūbēma* (against Renger: *š[a] x x*), which Bottéro ('il s'élança', also Tournay and Shaffer) and Hecker ('er erhob sich') also saw, means that *i-ša-ū* is not the present subjunctive of the 'hollow' root *šū*, but the plain present of a variant II + III-Aleph

root (*u/u*). As Renger noted, *šâ'u* also describes the characteristic behaviour of the mythical lion-headed eagle, the *Anzû*-bird, in an inscription of Aššurnasirpal II (now Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 260, 74). The verb seems to cover soaring, wheeling and swooping, i.e. the flight pattern typical of large birds of prey. Division of the poetic line into units indicates that the simile occurs before the caesura and so belongs in the first clause not the second: *ibēma | kīma ērpetim || išā'u | ēlmi*.

13. To my eyes the traces of the first word do not allow Renger's *nap-lu-ūh-tum-ma*, 'da war eine Schreckensgestalt', though it cannot be discounted that some of the traces on my copy are remnants of poorly erased signs. I can offer no firm decipherment, only the comment that *dul-lul-ūh-tum-ma*, 'there was confusion', is as likely as *napluštumma*, if not more so. One must also bear in mind that in the parallel line, rev. 2', the space suggests that word is written more concisely, with three signs instead of four. The word *šummū* could also be translated 'double', but here probably has implications of monstrousness (cf. Bottéro, 'son aspect était monstrueux'). The face of Anzû was a byword for horror, even the very image of death, as we know from Enkidu's dream on his deathbed (MB Ur 65–6 // SBVII 168–9) and elsewhere (see the commentary on MB Ur 66).

14 // rev. 3'. This line is commonly used in earlier episodes to describe Hūwawa himself: see OB III 110–12 // 197–8 and note.

17. The traces copied by Cavigneaux after *i-di* run over, as he indicates, from the reverse.

rev. 4'–5'. The structure of the couplet is enhanced by the opposition of *atta* and *anāku*. The first word of l. 5' remains a problem. Renger proposed derivation from *eīnum*, and translated 'werde ich anstoßen', but the meaning of this verb is very obscure. A more secure candidate is *tēnum* (*e-te₄-en*, 'I shall mill'), but the sense leaves a lot to be desired. The unusual spelling of *ušetbēka* recalls the use of CV signs for VC in an older tradition of orthography, as for example at Ebla. On this see below, the introduction to OB Harmal₁.

THE TABLETS FROM ŠADUPPŪM (OB HARMAL)

Two tablets of Old Babylonian Gilgameš were excavated at Tell Harmal (Tell Ḥarmal), ancient Šaduppūm, and are now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. They were both recovered during the third season of excavations, in August 1947, in Level II of Room 211, part of a private dwelling house.⁹⁹ The period of the dated archival tablets found in this occupation level is primarily the reign of Ibāl-pī-El II of Ešnunna.¹⁰⁰ Level II terminates in a destruction associated with the invasion of Ešnunna by the Elamite–Babylonian–Mariote alliance, the event that led to the end of Ibāl-pī-El's rule in year 28 of Ḥammurapi of Babylon (1765 BC).¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Information from J. J. A. van Dijk, 'IM. 52615: un songe d'Enkidu', *Sumer* 14 (1958), p. 114; id., 'Textes divers du musée de Baghdad III', *Sumer* 15 (1959), p. 9, and from Laith Hussein via W. Sommerfeld. Room 211 is not featured on the plan given by Taha Baqir, *Sumer* 2 (1946), pp. 30 f., which records the work of the first two seasons only and does not illustrate the central quarter where the house in question was situated. The exact location of the house and analysis of its contents thus await the definitive report on the excavations at Tell Harmal now being prepared by P. A. Miglus and Laith Hussein.

¹⁰⁰ M. deJ. Ellis, 'Old Babylonian texts from Tell Harmal—and elsewhere?', *Studies Sacks*, p. 121.

¹⁰¹ See D. Charpin, 'A propos du site de Tell Harmal', *NABU* 1987/117; Laith M. Hussein and P. Miglus, 'Tell Harmal: die Frühjahrskampagne 1997', *Bagh. Mitt.* 29 (1998), pp. 35–6.

OB Harmal₁

The better preserved of the two pieces is IM 52615, a conventional single-column Old Babylonian exercise tablet. It is not well written. There are several cases where signs seem to be omitted by accident (see ll. 3, 5, 17), and the boundaries of the lines of poetry do not always coincide with the boundaries of the lines as written on the tablet (see ll. 15–17). Where the text is badly damaged, in ll. 6–9, these factors make added difficulties for the decipherer.

The text is composed in regular poetry, for the most part constructed in couplets, and exhibits, like most Old Babylonian Gilgameš, a marked lack of the high literary style that is often characterized as 'hymno-epic'. An interesting feature of both tablets from Tell Harmal is the use of *ne-* instead of *ni-* in the first-person plural of the verb.¹⁰² The orthography of OB Harmal₁ is otherwise unremarkable. Double consonants are seldom written *plene*;¹⁰³ mimation is always marked.

As in OB Nippur, neither Gilgameš nor Enkidu is named. However, the presence of Šamaš and Lugalbanda and the general context make the attribution of this piece to the epic certain. The text again comprises an account of the portentous dreams that Gilgameš experienced on the journey to the Cedar Forest. And again like OB Nippur, the text is entirely direct speech and the identities of the speakers have to be determined from the context.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, ll. 2–9 of this text are clearly spoken by Gilgameš, for they report how the speaker, suddenly woken from sleep, related a dream he had been experiencing. Since he refers to it simply as 'a dream' and does not mention any previous vision, this nightmare is very likely the first of the sequence in the version of the epic in question. Parallel lines on other Old Babylonian tablets use ordinal numbers to refer to the later dreams,¹⁰⁵ and report that each in turn is more frightening than the previous one.

In the present dream the hero found himself grappling with ferocious wild bulls. Though what follows is badly damaged, it is clear that someone rescued him from his predicament and that this person or another gave him water. The remaining text (ll. 10–17), in which

¹⁰² All instances are verbs *primae aelep*. Two are 'ohne Umlaut': OB Harmal₁ 10: *ne-la-ku-šum* for *nillakūšum*; OB Harmal₁ 43: *ne-ta-al-ka* for *nūttalkam*; two are 'mit Umlaut': OB Harmal₁ 16: *ne-in-ne-mi-id-ma* for *ninnemmidma* (or *nennemmidma?*); 17: *ne-pē-iš* for *nippēš* (or *neppēš?*). However, there are 2 instances in another OB Gilgameš tablet from the Diyala where neither verb is *primae aelep*, OB Ishchali 11': *ne-ša-ka-ma* for *nīšakkanma*, 16': *ne-iš-te-i* for *mīšte*¹⁰² (or *nešte*¹⁰²?); contrast OB Harmal₁ 17: *ni-iš-ku-un*. The prefix *ne-* also occurs in the Old Babylonian of Mari (so von Soden, *GAP* §75d*, where, however, the explanation 'für n-' seems implausible). It is thus another example of what may be called the Diyala tradition of writing (see Ch. 4, the section on Hūmbaba, fn. 28). The spelling of the syllable *[ni]* with the sign *ne* is not limited in OB texts to the verbal prefix, however, and it is not usually clear whether such spellings are evidence for pronunciation or a matter of orthographic variation (transliteration with *ni* is often possible). One occasion on which the usage of signs probably does point to a different pronunciation is in a letter of Zimri-Lim's sons to their father, where the spelling *pa-mi-ne* (*ARM* II 57, 6), 'our faces', is unlikely to stand for *pāwāni*.

¹⁰³ Defective: *šī-ta-am* (2), *šū-tam a-tū-ul* (3), *i-ša-se-šu qa-qa-ra-am i-le-te, i-ta-ki-ip* (5), *i-ša-ba-at* (7, 13), *du-mi* (8, uncertain), *ū-su-ki*, *[iš-q]i-a-ni* (9), *ne-la-ku-šum* (10), *nu-ku-ur* (11), *mu-ka-bi-iš qa-qa-di-ka* (15), *ne-pē-iš* (17); *plene*: *aš-ša-ab-ta-nim* (4), *iš-lu-pa-a[n-ni]* (8, uncertain), *ri-mu-um-ma, mi-im-ma* (11), *da-an-na-tim* (13), *i-ba-aš-šu-ū* (14); mixed: *ne-in-ne-mi-id-ma* (16) for *ninnemmidma* (or *nennemmidma?*).

¹⁰⁴ Note that the second change of speaker occurs at the point where the tablet turns from obverse to reverse. It is uncertain whether this fact is coincidental or significant.

¹⁰⁵ OB Schøyen, 4: *ātamar šuttam*, 33: *ātamar šanītam*, 84: *ātamar šaluštam*, OB Nippur 9: *ātamar rebūtām*.

someone explains the nightmare, is clearly spoken by Enkidu. In his view the bull that forced Gilgameš to the ground symbolized the unusual figure of the fearsome Hūwawa. A second object, described as a bright face, was the sun god Šamaš. His presence in the dream must be hidden in the damage, but no doubt he is the subject of the verb *išlupa[nmi]*, 'he pulled [me] forth', in l. 8, as in the parallel dream on OB Schøyen₂. The figure who gave Gilgameš water, however, was his divine guardian, his father Lugalbanda. The expedition enjoys the protection of Šamaš and Lugalbanda at the elders' behest (see the Yale tablet, OB III 257–65). Enkidu concludes with optimism that he and Gilgameš stand together on the brink of great things.

IM 52615 (HL³ 286)OB Harmal₁

Copy: Pl. 11

Previous publication

- 1957 J. J. A. van Dijk, 'Textes divers du musée de Bagdad II', *Sumer* 13, pl. 12
(cited there as IM 52265) C
- 1958 J. J. A. van Dijk, 'IM. 52615: un songe d'Enkidu', *Sumer* 14, pp. 114–21 TTr
- 1963 W. von Soden, 'Beiträge zum Verständnis des babylonischen Gilgameš-Epos',
ZA 53, pp. 216–19 TTr
- 1976 J. J. A. van Dijk, *TIM* IX no. 43 C

Text

obv.

- 1 ^le-lⁱ-i-ma a-na šu-ri-im ^lša^l šadīm(kur)
na-ap-lⁱ-is x[x] x x x x
- 2 ši-ta-am ša i-li a-na-ku ek-mé-ku
- 3 ^lib^l-ri šu-tam a-tū-ul
ki la-(ap?)^lta-at^l ki ne-ma^l at ki da-al^l-ha-at
- 4 a^lna^l-ku rīmī(am) ^lmes šé^l-ri-im aš-ša-ab-ta-nim
- 5 i-ša-se-šu qa-qa-ra-am i-le-te
tar-bu-u²-ta-šu i^lta-ki^l-ip ša-me-e {x}
- 6 i-na pa-ni-šu a-na^lku? al?-tu^l-ud
- 7 i-ša-ba-at na-x[x x x x-i] a? la-wi-at a-ḫi-ia
- 8 x-ia iš^llu^l-pa-a[n-ni x x x] x-im i-na du?-ni (x) ki x
- 9 ^lú-su^l-ki il-l[ī]/i[ū]-x[x x] x-ti-ia
me-e na-dī-šu [iš-q]i-a-ni

The first line of the tablet, which represents two lines of poetry, contains instructions for someone to go up to the highest part of the mountain and look around. Now that a narrative version of this couplet has surfaced in OB Schøyen₂, the question of who is speaking to whom is resolved. These are Enkidu's instructions to Gilgameš.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ So already B. Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), p. 100, fn. 9. Of recent translators only Bottéro adopts Landsberger's position: 'c'est, semble-t-il, Enkidu qui parle et conseille à Gilgameš d'aller dormir au sommet de la montagne, pour obtenir un rêve' (*L'épopée*, p. 246, fn. 1).

Principal other translations

- 1969 A. K. Grayson, *ANET*³, p. 504 (B)
- 1970 R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, p. 173
- 1982 W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Reclam⁴, pp. 40–1
- 1989 M. Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p. 33, 58–72 (ll. 4–17 only)
- 1992 J. Bottéro, 'Un rêve prémonitoire de Gilgameš', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 246–7
- 1992 G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Bagdad', *La saga di Gilgameš*, p. 263
- 1994 K. Hecker, 'Die Tafeln von Tell Harmel', *TUAT* III/4, pp. 659–60
- 1994 R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, 'Deuxième songe: le buffle', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 109–10
- 1997 U. and A. Westenholz, *Gilgamesh*, p. 142
- 1999 A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Penguin), pp. 118–19

Translation

obv.

- 1 'Go up on to the mountain crag,
look at [. . .] . . .'
- 2 'I have been robbed of the sleep of the gods!
- 3 My friend, I saw a dream:
how *ominous* it was, how . . . , how confused!
- 4 I had taken hold of (some) bulls from the wild —
5 (one) was cleaving the ground with its bellowing,
the cloud of dust it made was thrusting into the sky —
6 in front of it *I leaned myself forward*.
- 7 It was seizing . . . [. . .] was enclosing my arms.
8 . . . he pulled [me] forth [. . .] . . . *by force* . . .
- 9 My cheek . . . [. . .] my . . . ,
[he gave] me water to drink from his waterskin.²

rev.

- 10 [i-l]um ib-ri ša¹ ne¹-la-ku-šum
 11 ú-ul ri-mu-um¹ ma¹ nu-ku-ur mi-im¹ ma¹
 12 [zi-mu¹ ša ta-mu-ru^a šamaš(utu) na-am-ru¹ um¹
 13 [i¹-na da-am-na-tim i-ša-ba-at qa-at-ni
 14 ša me-e na-di-šu iš-qu-ka
 15 il-ka¹ mu¹-ka-bi-i qa-qa-di-ka¹⁶ a¹ hugal-bân-da
 ne-[i]n-ne-mi-id-ma¹⁷ iš-ū-a-at ne-pé-iš
 ši-ip-r[a]-am ša la i-ba-aš-šu-(ú) i-n[a] <ma>-tim

Notes

1. This line is—at least in part—an imperative counterpart of a narrative couplet in OB Schøyen₂ 27–8: *ūima Gilgameš ana šer šadim | ittanaplas kalšunu hursānī*. The meaning of *šū-ri-im* is taken from Semitic cognates, as proposed by von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 217; but the new parallel offers another solution, that *šū-ri-im* is a spelling mistake for *šer-ri-im*. The traces after *napiš* were read *a-na* [eq]-li-im by Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), p. 100, but neither copy supports this. Nor does any spelling of *hursānī* look possible at the end of the line.

3. The emendation of the second verb follows von Soden. The word *ne-ma-at* defies obvious interpretation as it stands. Alongside the etymology put forward by von Soden (*apū*, ‘to become dim’), one thinks also of *nawī’at*, ‘it was a desolation’ (on *naw/mūm* see the notes on *nū-ma-at* in OB III 108).

4. The remarkable plural ventive ending on the singular *aššabātānim* elicited from von Soden another OB example, *ki ta-da-am-mi-qu-nim* in the poem often called ‘Man and his God’ (J. Nougayrol, *RB* 59 (1952), p. 246, re-edited by W. G. Lambert, *Studies Reiner*, p. 192, 57, who translates ‘that you are well favoured’). Von Soden’s hope that a larger number of examples would eventually elucidate the usage has not yet been fulfilled. T. Jacobsen put forward an ingenious explanation in his discussion of the ‘ablative accusative’, analysing *-nim* instead as ‘departive’ *-n* and ‘the expected, but hitherto missing, first singular common dative pronominal suffix *-im*, “for me”’ (*JNES* 22 (1963), p. 26). It remains a virtuoso position, unsubstantiated by further enquiry, though B. R. Foster also views the ending as expressing the 1st person reflexive (*Essays Pope*, p. 41, fn. 42: ‘I captured for myself’). Tournay and Shaffer’s emendation to 1st person pl. *miššabātānim* (p. 109, fn. 11) does not make parsing the suffix any easier. In our present state of knowledge these are desperate remedies and it seems wise to resort to neither of them. Thus I ignore the ending and keep to von Soden’s ‘ich packte gerade’.

5. Though elsewhere in this tablet the scribe writes *ina* and *ana* in full—at least, as transliterated here—the spelling *i-ša-se-šu* very probably represents a pronunciation *iš-šasēšu*. Lambert’s copy disposes of the problematical *i-na tu-ur šamē* (von Soden; van Dijk read *i-x-x-ip*). I assume the verb is *nakāpum* 1/2 separative, in the present tense to match *ilēte*. Alternatively one might read *itakkip* <*takāpum*, ‘tinging the sky with colour’ (W. G. Lambert, personal communication).

7. I read *la-wi-at* with Lambert’s copy, against van Dijk, *TIM* IX, p. xi.

9. Attractive though it is, the reading *il-pu-i[a-ni]* (van Dijk, loc. cit.; von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1439) does not appear compatible with the traces in either of the published copies.

rev.

- 10 ‘My friend, the [god] to whom we are going,
 11 is he not the wild bull? He is something very strange!
 12 The countenance that you saw was shining Šamaš,
 13 he will take our hand in adversity.
 14 The one who gave you water to drink from his waterskin
 15 was your god who honours you, ⁽¹⁶⁾ Lugalbanda.
 We shall join forces and ⁽¹⁷⁾ do a thing unique,
 a feat that does not (yet) exist in the land!’

11. That the first clause is a question is made clear by the new parallel, OB Schøyen₂ 15: *ul šadim-mā nukkur mimma*. In the matter of the last word I follow van Dijk, *Sumer* 14, p. 115, who in *TIM* IX, p. xi, vigorously rejects the reading *mi-im-m[u-šu]* proposed by von Soden, *ZA* 53, p. 216. The latter restoration is ruled out for the following reasons: (a) the break appears to be too small to accept both *mu* and *šu*; (b) in order to align the ends of lines with the right-hand edge, the scribe of this tablet routinely leaves a big gap before the last sign, but never before the last but one: thus only one sign is expected after *mi-im*; and (c) the parallels have *mimma*, OB Schøyen₂ 15 // 17 and MB Boğ, obv. 23’: *ul hursān | mimma nuk[kur]*, the latter already noted by Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), p. 116. Landsberger’s translation of the present line, ‘nicht im mindesten ist der Wildstier widrig’, assumes an unusual word order in which the subject (*rīnumma*) splits the predicate (*ul nukkur*). Like von Soden I divide the present line into two clauses, with a caesura at their common boundary: *ūl | rīnumma || nukkur | mimma*.

12. Van Dijk and von Soden suggested a reading of the first word as *ri¹-mu*. The traces recorded on Lambert’s copy do not concur and I have adopted the reading proposed by J. Renger, *Studies Lambert*, p. 96. Now that the pattern of the dreams is more clearly understood, Renger’s objection to *ri-mu*, that in this tablet *rīnum* should be written with mimation, is reinforced by the consideration that the wild bull certainly symbolizes *Ḫuwawa*, not *Šamaš*. *Šamaš* was well known for his *zīmu*, which was proverbially bright; the word became a technical term for the light emitted by the sun and other celestial bodies (see *CAD* Z, p. 121, and note Renger’s translation ‘Lichtgestalt’). This and the following line find a parallel in a couplet of Enkidu’s explanation of the avalanche dream (OB Schøyen₂ 21–2): *u ša tāmuru Šamaš šarru | ina ūmi ša dannatim išabbat qātkā*.

16. For Lugalbanda as Gilgameš’s personal god see also OB III 271 and note thereon.

16–17. The line is related to OB Schøyen₂ 17: *tennemmidāma ištī’at teppuš*.

17. On the penultimate sign see van Dijk, *TIM* IX, p. xi: ‘MA or MU impossible, hardly NA, most likely BE or NU, but NA is not excluded.’ The emendations given here are confirmed by the appearance of the same line in the Yale tablet (OB III 17): *šipram ša lā ibaššū ina mātim*; cf. already Landsberger, *RA* 62, p. 116, fn. 68. The lack of *plene* marking of the final *-ū* in this tablet may alternatively be explained as signifying a running together of *ibaššū* and *ina* (Lambert). Note the comparable spelling *i-ḫu-a-na* (OB Schøyen₂ 26) for *iḫū ana*.

OB Harmal₂

This large, squareish tablet, museum number IM 52750,¹⁰⁷ is in very bad condition and any transliteration must be very provisional. The decipherer is handicapped by more than the condition of the tablet, for in places the spelling is unconventional or inconsistent. This is most evident in the names of the characters: Gilgameš is ⁴bil₄(GIŠ.BIL), short for ⁴bil₄.ga.meš, and Ħuwawa is *ĥu-bi-bi* (or *ĥu-pi-pi*), as at Mari. Enkidu's name does not occur, so far as one can see. But note also the strange spellings of the construct states in *i-na ba-a-ba ĥu-bi-bi* (l. 17) and *mi-qi-te me-ĥe-e-ma* (19). If these spellings of *bāb* and *miqit* are not explained as idiosyncrasies of the scribe or one of his predecessors, they may represent a survival in a provincial centre of a long obsolete orthographic practice, attested in the middle third millennium at Ebla, in which CV signs sometimes stand for VC (or just C).¹⁰⁸ Other nouns in the construct state exhibit final *-u* of literary style.¹⁰⁹ Another example of high style is *ikribuš* (37), with apocopated pronominal suffix. In the only certain example of a first-person plural verb the prefix *nī-* is written *ne-*, as in OB Harmal₁.¹¹⁰ Mimiation is written less regularly than in OB Harmal₁. Double consonants are written *plene* very rarely. Here, much more than in OB Harmal₁ but in common with some other Old Babylonian copies of poetry from Diyala sites,¹¹¹ the scribe did not observe the convention by which the beginnings and ends of lines on the tablet coincide with the beginnings and ends of lines of poetry. In poetry the division between lines is vital for comprehension, so this failure to observe them places a further obstacle in the way of understanding the text of this tablet.

The text inscribed on OB Harmal₂ is, once again, mostly direct speech and also an excerpt from the story of Gilgameš's expedition against Ħuwawa. The matter is a conversation between Gilgameš and Enkidu and another between the two heroes and Ħuwawa. When connected sense first becomes apparent, comparison with the late version shows that Gilgameš is encouraging Enkidu for the coming fight (l. 5; cf. SB IV 241). Still, one of them is frightened (12). The tracks of their quarry can be seen in the forest (14–15; cf. SB V 4–5).

¹⁰⁷ This number is wrongly cited as IM 22750 by Bottéro, p. 250 (also Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée*, p. 129) and as IM 52760 in the Penguin, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸ This suggestion was made privately by W. G. Lambert, who has drawn attention to this phenomenon at Ebla in L. Cagni (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, p. 394, in *OrNS* 55 (1986), p. 158, and in *JCS* 41 (1989), p. 22; see also M. Krebernik, 'Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla', *ZA* 72 (1982), pp. 224–6. In the early second millennium such spellings are not completely unknown even in the scribal schools of Nippur: note e.g. *ū-še-te-bē-ka* for *ušetēka* in OB Nippur rev. 5'.

¹⁰⁹ Certainly *ašru lā alākim* (l. 16), if not locative, and *simāu ēkalli* (47), probably also *pūtu napīštīya* (41).

¹¹⁰ See above, fn. 102, and the note below on l. 11.

¹¹¹ e.g. manuscripts of the fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm (ed. Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 155–7) and a Sargon legend (*TIM* IX 48, ed. Westenholz, *Legends*, pp. 78–93) from Tell Harmal.

Gilgameš reflects on how dangerous their quest is (16), but remains determined to win through to Ħuwawa's lair (17). The reply is a warning that expresses Enkidu's concern about Ħuwawa's terrible power (19–20). With that, the text fails us for a sequence of fifteen lines at the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse.

The first certain phrase on the reverse involves *qišātim*, 'woods' (36). The following line mentions *melammū*, 'auras', which certainly signify Ħuwawa's protective radiance and confirm the context as an episode of the expedition to the Cedar Forest. According to the tablet from Nērebtum (OB Ishchali), the *melammū* divert Gilgameš's attention after he has taken Ħuwawa captive, and that is what may be happening here. At this point it seems that a second conversation begins, and the name of Gilgameš appears in the same line (38). It is safe to assume that he is not the speaker but the one spoken to, but the obscurities are such that it is uncertain whether Enkidu or Ħuwawa is speaking. However, good sense prevails from l. 41, in a passage related to the lines of the late text that follow immediately after Ħuwawa's capture (SB V 144 ff.). In ll. 41–2 someone, no doubt Ħuwawa, begs for his life and goes on to acknowledge Gilgameš's semi-divine birth (cf. SB V 144–6). The text then deteriorates but holds a reference to 'my night' (43) and to a command issuing from the mouth of Šamaš (44; cf. SB V 147). Possibly these lines contain a declaration by Ħuwawa that he was forewarned of Gilgameš's triumph by the sun god in a dream. The speaker concludes by offering to grow for Gilgameš's exclusive use the three kinds of timber for which the Cedar Forest was famous (46; cf. SB V 154–5).¹¹² Next, the narrator reports Enkidu's intuitive gift for counsel, using instead of his name the epithet *waldam šerim*, 'wild-born' (47), an expression that is typical of the episode of the Cedar Forest. To judge from the later parallel (SB V 156 ff.), Enkidu on this occasion launches into a speech warning Gilgameš not to heed Ħuwawa's entreaties (48). The text then becomes very fragmentary indeed, and although it continues for seven or so lines at the foot of the reverse and a further eight on the left edge, I can make nothing of them.

The text of OB Harmal₂ thus covers the heroes' approach to the Cedar Forest, their capture of its guardian, Ħuwawa, and the parley that follows. The first encounter between Gilgameš and Ħuwawa (of which we have no account in Akkadian) is missing in the lacuna at the end of the obverse, as is the fight itself. The slaying of Ħuwawa may have been dealt with at the end of the reverse and on the left edge, but the traces do not seem to throw up any similarity with the account of his death on OB Ishchali. In any event, the tale is told very much more concisely than in the later version, which expends 167 lines (SB IV 241–V 157) on the equivalent of this tablet's ll. 5–48.

¹¹² Ħuwawa's role as forest manager, as it were, who makes the cedars grow, is explicitly recorded in the Hittite version of this passage; see H. Otten, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), p. 116, 48–52.

IM 52750 (HL³ 295)OB Harmal₂

Copy: Pls. 12, 13

*Previous publication*1959 J. J. A. van Dijk, 'Textes divers du musée de Bagdad III', *Sumer* 15, pp. 9–10
and pls. 3–4, 13–15C P

1976 J. J. A. van Dijk, *TIM* IX no. 45

C

Provisional transliteration

obv.

1–2 missing

3 x x x x x x [.]

4 x x ni i x x x ib-ri x x [.]

5 [k]i-ma li-li-si l[i-i]š-ša-pu ri-g[i-im-ka . . .]

6 [l]i-ku-nu x x x x di ka [(x)] x x [x x] x [. . .]

7 x [. .] x tu hi il ka x x x [x] x x [x x]

8 x x [. .] [ú]ul x x [x (x) x] x tu [x] x tam [(x)]

9 [x] x [. .] x [x] x [x x x] x x tu x⁴bi [L₄]

10 [x] x [.] x x [x] x x x ri [x (x) x]

11 [. .] x [. .] x x ni-mi-da-am x [x (x)] x [(x)]

12 a-na ša-x x x x x x [x] x-tim iš-¹ta-¹hu-¹u-¹x x x x [(x)]

13 x x [(x) x te er x [(x)] x [x (x) ⁴b]il₄? x x x-ri-šu i-x [(x)]

14 [i-nu-¹ma¹ ib-ri ni-x x x ib ri¹ša¹ hu-bi-bi i-¹ta¹-l[a-ku]

15 [š]a-ki-in ki-ib-su šu-¹te-š¹ir pa-da-nu-ma¹ša na¹ x¹ ki-ib¹-s [u]

16 [n]e-ta-al-ka aš-šu-ru la a-la-ki-im id-ka [x] x x

17 [i ni-iš¹-ku-un¹ka²]-ka i-na ba-a-ba hu-bi-bi x di x [(x)]

18 [x x x] x-bi-a-tum il-qé x x x aš-tú ša šé-ri

19 [i-sa-qa-r] a-am a-na ib-ri-šu mi-qí-te me-¹he-e-ma

20 [hu-bi-bi ki-ma] ⁴adad(iškur) [i-ša-¹ha¹-am a-na šé¹ri-ni¹]

21 [x x x] x du ku tu ma x x x x x x hu x [x]

22 [x x x] x ka ru hu x x x x e x x x [x]

23 [x x x] x x tu x x x [. .] x x [x x]

24 [.]

25 [x x x] šu x [.]

26 [x x] x at x [.]

27–8 illegible traces of two more lines on the bottom edge

rev.

29 [x x] x [x] x [. .] x x x [. .]

30 [x x] im x [. .] x x x ba-a[l . . .]

31 x x x [.] x x x ša ap/at ta x [x x x]

OLD BABYLONIAN TABLETS AND FRAGMENTS: OB Harmal₂

255

Provisional translation

obv.

1–3 missing or too broken for translation

4 ' my friend . . . [.]

5 Let [your] shout boom loud like a kettledrum!

6 Let . . . be firm ?

7–10 too broken for translation

11 '[.] . . . support [. . .]

12 to he has become afraid . . .

13 Gilgameš . . .

14 when, my friend, we . . . that Hūwawa comes and [goes]

15 there is a track, the way is well trodden, . . . track.

16 We have come to a place where one should not go! Your arm . . .

17 Let us set a weapon in the gate of Hūwawa! . . . '

18 [. . .] . . . took . . . The fierce one of the wild

19 [declared] to his friend, 'The onslaught of a tempest is

20 [Hūwawa! Like] Adad he will swoop down on us!'

21–35 too broken for translation

32 x x [.]x ħa x x x x [x (x) x]
 33 [.]x x x ma tam x x [x]x x x [x (x) x]
 34 [x x x]x x x [x x x]x x x x x x [x x x x]
 35 x x x-šū a-x[.]
 36 ⁱna qí-ša-ti-ma x x x x x x x x x x x
 37 x-mi ik-ru-bu-uš pānam(igī) a-na me-e-lam-mi iš-ta-ka-an x[(x)]-šū
 38 ^ana ħa-ta-im ba-la-tám-ma ^uul ba-al-tà-nu ^{bi}[l₄ x]x x-nam?
 39 [r]e-qé-et-ka ta-x x [x] mu-ħa-šū i-na ba-li ħu-x [x (x) x]
 40 [n]a-ap-li-is-ma x [x]x x i-sí lu i-pa-li-is x [x]
 41 [p]u-tu na-pi-iš-ti-ia ^uš[?]ra-am-ma ^{bi}l₄ i-na x-li-^{ka}
 42 ^uli-id-ka litum(áb) ša su-^{pu}ri ni-in-su-mu-na
 43 la-ma? [te]-ie-li-(a)? šadī(kur) ^{di}ia[?] x i?-na x x ša mu-ši-ia a-[(x)]x-ma?
 44 i-na pī(ka) ^dšamaš(utu) da-pi-nim qú-ra-di-[im? i]š-me-e bi ir [(x)]x
 45 ša-ad-de-e ^{bi}l₄ ta-ak-t[a]-x x an x [x x x] x
 46 [l]u-ra!?-bi-a-ku ^{erē}nam(eren) ^{šur}mēnam(šū.úr.mìn) ^{su}pa-lam ši-ħu-t[im i-š]i
 47 [s]i-ma-tu ekallim(é.gal) wa-al-da šērim(edin) ^{mi}it-lu-kam i^l[e]-i
 48 [i]b-ri a-wi-lum ħu-bi-bi ú-ul x x-šū?-tim la x x [x] x
 49 [x]x x-nu-tu ^dšīn(en.zu)? 30 i-di ni x ri x iħ ni x x x x
 50 [x x]x x x du? ^{tu}i-šī^l x ni x li x [x (x)]x [x]
 51 [. . .]x x x[. . .] x x x mi [. . .]
 52 [.]x [. . .]x ma x ri [. . .]
 53 [.]x x[. . .]

54-5 at least two lines missing at bottom and on edge

left edge, col. i

56' xⁱša lu ti ka x šū ^{da}ka ta
 57' [x]x ma ar x ti a-ni-iħ a-na zi x i
 58' [x x x x]x x x x ri ir
 59' [.]x

left edge, col. ii¹¹³

60' x x x x ša 30 x x x x [x x]
 61' x x x tam lu ma x x ru ú x x
 62' em-qú-ú x x [x]x x x x
 63' [x x]x x x[.]

¹¹³ Separating the two columns of text on the left edge are some unplaced signs: x aga x

36 In the woods
 37 . . . greeted him, he turned his gaze to the radiant auras, to smite
 38 its . . . 'We are not truly alive, O Gilgameš, . . .
 39 is distant from you, you . . . , the top of his head . . . [. . .]
 40 Look! . . . had he looked at the trees . . .
 41 *Have mercy on my life*, O Gilgameš, in your . . .
 42 The cow of the fold,¹¹⁴ the goddess Ninsun, bore you!
 43 *Before you came up my mountains . . . in . . . of my night I . . .*
 44 From the mouth of mighty hero Šamaš [I] heard . . . [. . .]
 45 the mountains, O Gilgameš, you have . . . [. . .] . . .
 46 Let me grow for you cedar, cypress and *supālu*-juniper, the tallest trees
 47 fit to decorate a palace! The wild-born was able to give counsel:
 48 'My friend, a man will not . . . Ħuwawa'
 49 . . . *the moon god*

Remainder too broken for translation

¹¹⁴ Or 'folds'.

Notes

5. As van Dijk already saw, this line also occurs in the late version (SB IV 241): [*kīm*]a lilissi lū šapu r[*igimka*].

11. The spelling of the only decipherable word would normally allow a parsing as a 1st person pl. verb (< *emēdum*) as well as an accusative noun. However, with verbs *primae Aleph* the Harmal Gilgameš tablets favour a verbal prefix spelled *ne-* and therefore I assume this is the noun, *nēmedum*.

14–15. As van Dijk also noted, this is similar to a couplet of the late version: *ašar Ħumbāba ittal-laku šakin kibsu | Ħarrānātu šuitēsurāma tubbat girru* (SB V 4–5). Here it is evidently direct speech, not narrative. At the end of l. 15 there may be dittography: ¹ša-ki-l-in! ki-ib¹-s[u]? The spelling *šu-te-ši-ir* for the regular OB stative *šuitēsur* finds a parallel in another literary tablet from Tell Harmal, the fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm, in which the construct state of the infinitive is likewise rendered (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 155, IM 53946, 4: [a-n]a šu-te-ši-ir ma-tim). An orthography attested twice over is more easily seen as a reflection of local pronunciation or dialect than as a spelling mistake. As Lambert points out (*ibid.*, p. 328), the regular infinitive *šu-te-šu-ur* also occurs at Tell Harmal, in a bilingual excerpt of *Inninišagurra* (now *TIM IX* 21, 9, ed. Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 (1975), p. 188, 118).

16. The spelling *aš-šu-ru* for *ašru* can also be interpreted as local pronunciation. A similar expansion may happen in the OB incantation *TIM IX* 66, 4: *aš-šu-nu-gal-lam* // 65, 2: *aš-nu-ga-la-am* (both ed. I. L. Finkel, *Mesopotamian Magic*, p. 226), where the word *aš(šu)nugallum* refers to a snake.

17. The sequence *i niškun kakka ina bāb Ħuwāwa* makes for a line of poetry as it stands, but the passage is so broken it is impossible to be absolutely sure that the verb and the locative phrase belong together. However, *kakkam šakānum* makes good sense as a suitably symbolic act. See also the OB Sargon tale from Tell Harmal (*TIM IX* 48), where the clause *iš-ku-un ka-ki-šu* (l. 13), ‘he set in place his weapons’, describes one of the things that Sargon did after taking possession of the Cedar Forest. Westenholz translates, ‘readied his weapons’ (Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 82), but a symbolic interpretation is suggested by the following clauses, *i-ta-qi ni-qi-šu il-bi-in ap-pa-šu*, ‘he made his sacrifices, he paid homage’. The three actions can be understood in the context as ritual acts marking Sargon’s conquest of the territory and his thanksgiving to the divine power or powers that made it possible. What Gilgameš and Enkidu intend to do is to mark their conquest of Ħuwawa’s domain.

18. The phrase . . . *-tu ša širim* is evidently an epithet of Enkidu, the subject of [*issaqqar*]am ana *ibrīšu* in the next line, and comparable with *walḏam širim* (l. 47). None of the synonyms for ‘offspring’ seems to fit the traces. Provisionally I assume that the signs *aš-ū* (i.e. *waštum*) are the result of a misunderstanding of *walḏum* in the light of the phonetic development *š* + dental > *l* + dental, already well attested in OB in the noun *ilānum* < *ištānum*, ‘north wind, north’ (*CAD I*, p. 269, 1d1; *GAG*³ §30g*).

20. The verb *i-ša-ḥa-am* is most easily parsed as from *šā’u* (i.e., *išā’am*), but Adad is not an obvious subject in this regard. Perhaps the spelling is corrupt for the more suitable *išaggum*, ‘he will thunder’.

37. Van Dijk read [*imū*]mi *ikrubušši*, ‘lorsqu’il l’eut prié’, and, identifying obverse and reverse differently from me, saw the context as Gilgameš’s prayer to Ninsun earlier in the story (cf. SB III 23 ff.). Room for *i-nu-mi* is lacking, however, and the traces are also against it. The form *ikrubušši* is not a viable one; *ikrubu-š* is good hymno-epic style, leaving *š* to be explained separately. At the end Van Dijk read *ši-[pī]-šu*, ‘il dirigea ses pas’, but the new copy casts doubt on this. My understanding is that the object of *ištakan* has already been expressed, as *pānam*(igi).

38. Use of the sign *Ħ* for *ū* is typical of Mari orthography but occurs also at Tell Harmal and elsewhere in the Diyala basin (see Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 80). It can be seen as diagnostic of the

Diyala tradition. The phrase *balāamma ul balāru* is clearly an example of a paronomastic infinitive construction, but an exceptional one in this period. There are very few examples of the accusative singular of the paronomastic infinitive in OB, three being noted by M. Stol, *OB History*, p. 105; this, the fourth, is the first with enclitic *-ma*. OB paronomastic infinitives with *-ma* otherwise follow the model *parāsumma*, which Aro and von Soden analyse as locative (see J. Aro, *StOr* 26 (1961), pp. 112–13, 4.8; *GAG*³ §150a*). The only other example of *parāsumma* is very late, in Erra IV 112: *na-ḥa-am-ma ul ta-nu-uh*, ‘you found no peace at all’.

39. One is tempted to read *ina ba-li ḥu-b[i-bi]*, ‘without Ħuwawa’ (in which case the speaker of ll. 38–40 would be Enkidu), but in this period the preposition is *baḥum*.

42. These words parallel those with which Ħumbaba acknowledges Gilgameš’s divine origin at this point in the later text (SB V 146): *u ilitti ša [Rimat-Ninsun] atta*, and echo more closely still Enkidu’s acceptance of Gilgameš’s royal status at the end of the Pennsylvania tablet: *kāma išēnma ummaka ūlīdka | rīntum ša supūrim* (or *supūri*) *Ninsunna* (OB II 234–7). For the long form of the goddess’s name see Ch. 4, the section on Ninsun.

44–5. These lines seem to be ancestral to SBV 147: *ina pī Šamaš u šadi t[asp]unma(?)*.

46–7. The classic case of *rubbūm* with trees and plants is Codex Hammurapi §60: *mu 4.kam kīri’am(kiri) ū-ra-ab-ba*, ‘he shall grow the date plantation for four years’; cf. SB VI 105: *lirabbi šammī*. The three trees mentioned here occur together in Sumerian literature as sources of timber for grand building projects: ^{erēn}erēn ^{šu.úr.min}šu.úr.min ^{za.ba.lum}za.ba.lum ^{taškarin}taškarin (Curse of Akkade 134); ^{erēn}erēn ^{šu.úr.me}šu.úr.me ^{za.ba.lum}za.ba.lum (Gudea Cyl. A xii 5). In Akkadian note Mt Ħašur as *šad erēni*(erēn) *bi-šit erēni*(erēn) *šurmēni*(šur.min) *šiqūt-ti šu-pa-li*, ‘mountain of cedar, place of origin(?) of cedar, cypress, almond, *supālu*-juniper, etc.’ (*BBR* 75 obv. 6–7; SB divination prayer). The phrase *šūhūtīm iššī simātu ekallim* is reminiscent of the passage of the late text in which Ħumbaba, pleading for his life, promises to reserve various kinds of timber for his conqueror (SBV 154–5): *lušurka asa [. . .] iššī bāliti ekal[li . . .]*. The reversing of the usual order of noun and adjective probably stresses the latter: see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style.

47. The last four words recur in OB IM 19 and can be identified as a stock line. The phrase *walḏam širim* can be added to the list of phrases that use this construction, as studied by E. Reiner, ‘*Damqam nīm* revisited’, *StOr* 55 (1984), pp. 175–82 (Type 3). This line is an older version of the line and a half which conclude at least two dream episodes in SB IV (26–7: [*š*]a i’aldamma ina [*š*]ri miḥka ile’[i] / [*iza*]kkara ana ibrīšu, 107: [*ta*]’aldamma ina šeri miḥka nile’[i]). Another variant occurs in OB Harmal₂ 18–19.

AN EXCERPT TABLET FROM NĒREBTUM (OB ISHCHALI)

The tablet A 22007 is also known as the Bauer tablet, after its first editor, and the Chicago tablet, after its present location in the Oriental Institute Museum. It was found in December 1935 in secondary context in the smaller of the two Old Babylonian temples excavated at Ishchali (Iščālī, Šajālī) in the Diyala basin, most probably the site of the ancient town of Nērebtum.¹¹⁵ The find spot of the tablet was Temple B, 4–V.30 (Room 4, Square V.30),

¹¹⁵ See B. Gronceberg, *Rep. géogr.* III, pp. 176–7.

highest level, where it was discovered in fill along with other literary fragments (excavation number 35-T 117).¹¹⁶ The temple was originally thought to have been dedicated to Šamaš but is now attributed to Sin.¹¹⁷ The recently published plan shows Room 4 to lie immediately adjacent to the temple's cella.¹¹⁸ However, the room had no direct access to the cella, and contained a bread oven. No other tablet has this provenance in Greengus's catalogue of findspots.¹¹⁹ If Bauer's report of other literary fragments is reliable, these pieces would presumably be among those tablets that were allocated at the division to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. The few literary pieces from Ishchali now in Chicago, which exhibit several different provenances, are mostly lexical excerpts and other school practice tablets; this is indirect evidence that the Gilgameš tablet may originally also have come from a pedagogical context.

The excerpt is well written, in regular poetry divided into strict couplets. The language is plain for the most part, with little stylistic adornment.¹²⁰ As in the tablets from Tell Harmal, there is a preference for the verbal prefix *ne-* rather than *ni-*;¹²¹ provincial dialect is visible in the contraction /i'a/ > /e/.¹²² Mimetic is almost always expressed in writing.¹²³ Only about a third of double consonants are written *plene*.

¹¹⁶ According to the site director, Thorkild Jacobsen, as reported by T. Bauer, 'Ein viertes altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamesch-Epos', *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 258: 'die Tafel lag ungebraunt im Füllschutt zusammen mit einigen andern literarischen Fragmenten'; cf. P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region* (OIP 63), pl. 203.

¹¹⁷ H. D. Hill et al., *Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyala Region* (OIP 98), p. 82.

¹¹⁸ For the plan see Hill and Jacobsen, *OIP* 98, p. 78. It may be added that the cella itself, Room 3 of the same square (3-V.30), was the provenance of the largest group of tablets from Ishchali, an administrative archive of at least 34 tablets (Greengus, *Ishchali*, pp. 8–9).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–7. Jacobsen reports several objects retrieved from this room: 'a copper lamp, three stone maceheads, and one fragment of a macehead' (*OIP* 98, p. 80; cf. the catalogue on p. 148, which adds a fragment of terracotta plaque).

¹²⁰ Construct state is occasionally in *-u* (ll. 7' [. . .] *x-mu ilika*, 30' *mašaru qištim*, 34' *mašaru erēnim*). Note also the attached preposition, *iq-qīšim* (17').

¹²¹ See *ne-ša-ka-ma* (11'), *ne-iš-te-i* (16'). Note also the writing *el-qē* (*il-qē*) for *ilqe* in l. 37'.

¹²² L. 4', if correctly restored. This feature, first established in Old Babylonian by W. G. Lambert as standard at Mari ('The language of Mari', *CRR* 15, pp. 29–38), also occurs in the Diyala and, very occasionally, further south (see *GAG*³ §16k* and bibliography there cited).

¹²³ Exceptions: *ū-ū-ba* (23'), *ū-ḫa-ra* (39').

A 22007 (Ish. 35-T 117)

OB Ishchali

Copy: Pl. 16

Previous publication

- 1957 T. Bauer, 'Ein viertes altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamesch-Epos',
JNES 16, pp. 254–62
- 1979 S. Greengus, *Ishchali* no. 277

C T T r
C

Between a quarter and a third of the tablet is missing, so that the beginning of the text and most of the end are lost. What remains is somewhat damaged, particularly on the obverse, where a loose surface flake, recorded by Bauer, Greengus and Westenholz in diminishing degrees of preservation, is now entirely missing.¹²⁴ The text is an excerpt from the expedition to the Cedar Forest. It tells of the slaying of the forest's guardian, the monstrous *Ḫuwawa*, and the felling of his cedars. When the obverse becomes intelligible we are in the middle of direct speech, which may be the end of a conversation between Gilgameš and *Ḫuwawa* (ll. 1'–5'). Evidently the combat between them is over: Gilgameš has dealt the telling blow and stands victor, with *Ḫuwawa* at his mercy. Enkidu encourages Gilgameš to kill *Ḫuwawa* and cannot understand why Gilgameš is sparing his life (6'–9'). Gilgameš is worried about losing *Ḫuwawa*'s auras. They have a life of their own and he can see them scurrying off into the depths of the forest (10'–13'). Enkidu replies that the auras, like fledgling birds lost from the nest, cannot stray far from their master and again urges Gilgameš to kill *Ḫuwawa* and his household (14'–18'). Gilgameš gives in to Enkidu's will, takes up his weapons and deals *Ḫuwawa* a second blow, to the neck (19'–22'). Though the text of ll. 23'–37' suffers from damage to the middle of each line, it is clear that Enkidu joins in and that at this further assault *Ḫuwawa* falls stricken to the ground. Then Gilgameš deals with the rest of *Ḫuwawa*'s household, including the seven auras.

After further blows *Ḫuwawa* lies dead, for we hear of him no more, and Gilgameš takes up his weapons and marches into the heart of the forest (36'–8'). He and Enkidu then set about acquiring timber, and Enkidu chooses a tall tree from which, as we know from OB IM 22–8 and the later version (SB V 292–8), he will make a gate for Enlil's temple (39'–43'). The bottom of the reverse is missing but the end of the excerpt is preserved, partly erased, on the left edge. Enough remains to reveal that this was the episode of rafting the logs down the Euphrates (1''–2'').

¹²⁴ The copy of A. Westenholz remains unpublished. The copyist is thanked for generously placing it at my disposal.

Selected translations

- 1969 A. K. Grayson, *ANET*³, p. 504 (C)
- 1970 R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, pp. 180–1
- 1982 W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Reclam⁴, pp. 52–3 (A a)
- 1989 S. Dalley, 'Tablet IV (?)', *Myths from Mesopotamia*, pp. 147–8
- 1992 J. Bottéro, 'La victoire sur *Ḫuwawa*', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 250–4
- 1992 G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Chicago (2)', *La saga di Gilgameš*, pp. 264–6
- 1994 K. Hecker, 'Das Bauer-Fragment', *TUAT* III/4, pp. 662–3
- 1994 R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, 'La mort de *Ḫuwawa*', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 124–6
- 1997 U. and A. Westenholz, *Gilgameš*, pp. 143–5
- 1999 A. George, *The Epic of Gilgameš* (Penguin), pp. 119–21

Text

obv.

About 10 lines missing

- 1' [.] *h*u-wa-wa
 2' [.]x i-ba-ki a-n[a . . .]x
 3' [.]x a-pa-li-i[s . . .]
 4' x[.] i₅-ba-ta-[an]-ne¹-ti
 5' is-[.]x x-ne¹em¹ [a-n]a¹šé-ri¹-ni
 6' en!-[ki-du₁₀ a-n]a š[a-šum i-sa-qa]-ra¹-[am]¹ [a-na^dGIŠ
 7' ne¹-er hu¹-wa-wa ha[r-ha-ra-am? x x]x-mu i₅li(dingir)^{mes}-ka
 8' [x x x]x¹im¹ x[x (x) x]-tim
 9' a[m-mi-nim?] x x x x¹ia¹-[aš-i]a-ka-an gi-mi-lam /¹a¹-na šé-ri-šu
 10' ^dGIŠ¹ [a-na š]a-[šum i-sa-qa-ra-a]m¹ a¹-na en-ki-du₁₀
 11' i-na¹an¹-na-ma¹ib¹-r[i li]¹-ta-am¹ ne-ša-ka-ma
 12' me-le¹em¹-mu¹ i-ha¹li¹-qú i-na qi-ši-im
 13' me-le¹em¹-mu i-ha¹-[a]li¹-qú¹-ma nam-ri-ru¹i¹-ru-pu / a-na¹er¹?-pi
 14' en-ki-du₁₀ a-na ša-šum i-sa-qa-ra-am a-na^dGIŠ
 15' ib-ri i-šú-ra-am ba-ar-ma e-ša-am i-la-ku wa-at-mu-šu

edge

- 16' me-le-em-mi wa-ar-ka-tam i ne-iš-te-i
 17' ki-i-ma wa-at-mu ir-ta-na-pu-du i-qi-ši-im
 18' ša-a-tu tu-úr ne-er-ma mu-t[a-b]i-il-š[u] / ne-er x x x

rev.

- 19' [iš¹-me¹GIŠ^d si-qi-ir ra-e-šú]
 20' il-qé ha-ši-nam i-na qa-ti-šu
 21' iš-lu-up nam-ša-ra-am i-na ši-ib¹-bi-šu
 22' ^dGIŠ¹ i¹ne-er ki-ša-da-am¹
 23' en-ki-du₁₀ i¹bi-ir-šu i-pu-uš li-ib¹-ba
 24' i-ša-al-x x x x x [i]m-qú-ut
 25' dam-šu ub¹ba-lu x x ha-ar¹-ru
 26' hu-wa-wa ma-ša-ra-am¹i-ne-er-ma ka¹-qá-ra-am
 27' a-na ši-na bé-er [(x x)]¹ru-qi¹-iš
 28' it-ti-šu¹i-ne-er¹ x x x x x-ri-qi₄?
 29' qi-ša-tim x[x] x x [x (x)]-ú
 30' i-ne-er ha¹-ar-ha-ra-am ma-ša¹-ru qi-iš-tim
 31' ša a-na¹ri-ig-mi-šu ul-ta¹-ti-(ú)? sa-ri-a ú la-ab-na-an
 32' ip-x x [x-š]u x x šadú(kur)^{mes}

Translation

obv.

Several lines missing

- 1' [.] Hūwawa:
 2' '[.] was crying for [.]
 3' [.] I look at [.]
 4' [.] took hold of us,
 5' . . . [. . .] . . . before us.
 6' Enkidu said to him, to Gilgameš:
 7' 'Smite Hūwawa, the [ogre, . . .] of your gods!
 8' [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . ,
 9' [Why, my friend, have] you had mercy on him?
 10' Gilgameš [said] to [him,] to Enkidu:
 11' 'Now, my friend, we must achieve victory!
 12' The auras are escaping in the wood,
 13' the auras are escaping and the radiant sheens are fading¹²⁵ into the mist.'
 14' Enkidu said to him, to Gilgameš:
 15' 'My friend, catch a bird and where will its chicks go?

edge

- 16' Let us look for the auras later,
 17' as the chicks run here and there in the wood!
 18' Smite him a second time and slay the one who serves him . . . !'

rev.

- 19' Gilgameš heard the word of his companion.
 20' He took up (his) axe in his hand,
 21' he drew forth the dirk from his belt.
 22' Gilgameš smote the neck,
 23' Enkidu his friend gave encouragement.
 24' He he fell,
 25' the ravines carrying . . . his blood.
 26' Hūwawa the guardian he smote to the ground,
 27' for two leagues [(. . .)] afar.
 28' With him he smote ,
 29' the forests he [. . .] . . .
 30' He slew the ogre, the forest's guardian,
 31' at whose yell were split asunder Sirion and Lebanon.
 32' . . . the mountains . . . ,

¹²⁵ Or, reading *irrubū*, 'entering'.

- 33' *iḫ-x[x]x-šū^rir^r-tu-tu ka-la ḫur-ša-nim*
 34' *i-ne^rer^rḫa-ar-ḫa-ra-am ma-ša-ru^{er}erēnim(eren)*
 35' *ḫe-pu-tim ra-x x x [x (x) x]x*
ir^ris^r-tu-ma se-bé-et i-ne-ru
 36' *šū-uš-ka-al-lam^rša^ris^r[i-ta?] bilat(gú)? ú? nam^rša-ar^r8 bilat(gú)¹*
 37' *bil-tam ša 10 bilat(gú) il₅-qé!*
ú^rri-id-ma^rir-ta-ḫi-(is) qí-iš-tam
 38' *mu-ša-ab e-nu-na-ki pu-zu^rra^rmi-ip-te-e*
 39' ^aGIS *i-ší ú-ba-ta-aq en-ki-du₁₀ ú-ḫa-ra ur-ba-zi-li*
 40' ^r*en-ki-du₁₀ a-na ša-šum^ri-sa-qa-ra-am a-na^aGIS*
 41' [.]^dGIS *ne-er^{er}erēnam(eren)*
 42' [.]š *a i-te-e-ka*
 43' [.]³⁰*qana(gi)*

Gap of 10 or 12 lines, then left edge (mostly erased):

- 1" [. . .] x x x [x x]-^rri^r-im pu-ra-tim x (x)-li
 2" [. . .] x x x x x x^{er}erēnam(eren)

Notes

1'. Given that in the later version of the text Enkidu's incitement to kill is preceded by a lengthy conversation between Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa, possibly this line should be restored to give '[Gilgameš said to him, to] Ḫuwawa'.

7'. On Ḫuwawa as *ḫarḫarum* see below, l. 30'. Though there and in l. 34 he spells the first syllable of this word with the signs *ḫa-ar*, the scribe also knew the sign *ḫar* (l. 33: *ḫur-ša-nim*). What follows is not obviously restorable; perhaps *la na-r)a-mu iṭka*, 'whom your gods bear no love'?

11'. The spelling *ne-ša-ka-ma* represents *nišakkanma*.

13'. The masculine counterpart of the common *erpetu* otherwise appears only in *MSL* IV, p. 38, *Emesal* Voc. III 119–22, as a counterpart of *dungu*, 'cloud'.

17'. Although the scribe uses an apocopated preposition nowhere else, the writing *i-qi-ši-im* probably represents *iq-qišim*. Bauer's reading *di-ši-im*, 'spring grass', is not impossible.

18'. Von Soden's reading of the last word as *i[t-r]i-šū* (*ZA* 53 (1959), p. 219) is not sustained by the traces.

20'–1'. Variations on this passage are found in SB V, also describing the despatching of Ḫumbaba (263: *išluḫ [namšara ina] iāšū*), in SB IX, when Gilgameš does battle with lions (15–16: *išši ḫa[šsinna] ana iāšū / išluḫ [namšar] šibbišū*), and twice in SB X, when he destroys the Stone Ones in the forest and when he returns there to make punting poles (93–4 // 164–5: *išši ḫašsinna ana iāšū / išluḫ namšara [(ina) šibbišū]*). Twice the lines are combined with another, *kīma šiltāḫi ana bīršuru imqut* (SB IX 17, X 96; see further Ch. 13, the commentary on the former). The passage also appears in the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal, when Nergal plunders the forest of *mēsu*-wood for timber to make a throne for Ea:

iš-ši ḫa-aš-ši-in-nu ina i-di-šū :
[iš]-lu-pu nam-ša-ri ina šip-pi-šū

Hunger, *Uruk* I 1 ii 3a–b

- 33' . . . all the uplands trembled.
 34' He slew the ogre, the cedar's guardian,
 35' the broken . . . [. . .].
 As soon as he had slain (all) seven,
 36' the war-net of *two talents* and dirk of eight talents,
 37' a burden of ten talents he took up,
 he went down and trampled through the forest.
 38' He discovered the secret abode of the Anunnaki,
 39' Gilgameš felling the trees, Enkidu choosing the *best timber*.
 40' Enkidu said to him, to Gilgameš,
 41' [.] Gilgameš, smite the cedar!
 42' [.] at your side,
 43' [.] thirty reeds long.'

Break

- 1" [. . .] . . . Euphrates . . .
 2" [. . .] . . . cedar.

The lines are evidently standard repertoire, individually and in combination.

23'. The decipherment of the line's verb as *īpuš* makes it difficult to retain a literal translation of *libbam* (e.g. Dalley 'struck at (?) the heart', Pettinato 'trafisse il cuore', and Hecker 'traf sein Herz'). With Lambert I understand the phrase *libbam epēsum* to mean 'give encouragement' (cf. his translation of ll. 19'–23' in *Papers Porada*, p. 42), comparable with the well-known idiom *libbam šakānum*, 'to hearten, encourage, comfort'. However, the late version, though badly damaged at this point, gives Enkidu a more physical role and expands the line to include the lungs (SB V 265): *En[kidu libba? il]putu adi ḫašē ištalpu*.

24'. To my eyes the beginning of the line cannot be read *i-ša-al-ši-* (Bauer); *i-ša-al-li-* also looks improbable.

25'. The traces do not appear to allow *nen-šū-tum* (Bauer); Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée*, p. 126, fn. 25, also saw that the first word must be *dam-šū*.

26'. Given the vocalization, a reading *ka-bi-ra-am* derived from *kabrum*, *kabartum*, 'stout' (cf. Bottéro), is discounted and I retain Bauer's *kaqqaram*.

28'–9'. This couplet is the narrative that realizes Enkidu's earlier instruction, *muttabišu nēr* . . . (l. 18'), but the object in l. 28' cannot yet be read.

30'. The reading *ḫarḫaram* here and in l. 34' was discovered by A. Westenholz (see *AHw*, p. 1559). It has usually been translated 'scoundrel', 'villain' or similar (von Soden: 'Schurke'; Bottéro: 'scélérat'; Pettinato: 'brigante'; Tournay and Shaffer: 'vaurien'). The image of Ḫuwawa as some kind of worthless rogue is not one that accords with what the epic tells us elsewhere. He is evil of aspect and an enemy of mankind, but guarding the cedar is his destined task and not a matter of villainy. In connected context the word *ḫarḫaru* is otherwise known only from the Babylonian Theodicy, where it refers to some rascal undeserving of promotion (l. 77; cf. also l. 221). The translation 'scoundrel' is derived from the late synonym list *Maliku* VIII 125–6 (*STT* 394) and the commentary on the Theodicy (see W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 76 and 83). In both *ḫarḫaru* is associated with various

rogues and social misfits: *išhappu*, *guzallu*, *šērum* (or *terrum*) and *kulu'u*. Given what we know of Hūwawa, my suspicion is that *harharu* acquired the moral overtone of lawless behaviour as a late, secondary development and earlier meant simply something like 'monster', 'freak'. Hūwawa's appearance was nothing if not monstrous.

31'. Saria is the OB form of SB Sirara or Siraya, the Babylonian version of biblical and Ugaritic Mt Sirion (or Sarōn), which traditionally forms a pair with Mt Lebanon (see e.g. George, *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 217–18; A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford, 1989), p. 119). In recently published texts from Mari the two mountain ranges occur together as Sarian (sometimes contracted to Sarēn) and Labnan (see D. Charpin, *RA* 92 (1998), p. 88). The present line attests to a tradition in which the high ridges either side of the Levantine Rift Valley were riven apart by Hūwawa's terrible yell. In the later text the rift is created instead during Gilgameš's wrestle with Hūmbaba (SBV 133–4).

32'–3'. At the beginnings of these lines Bauer's *ip-ša-ḥu* is definitely ruled out. Much as I would like to agree with Tournay and Shaffer's *ip-šu pi-šu* (p. 126, fnn. 32–3), the traces do not support this reading of the second and third signs. If I have read the verb correctly in 1. 33' *kala hursānim* is the subject of the clause, not the object; *kala* as nominative demonstrates again that in the Old Babylonian period the original correlation between the declension *kalu*, *kala*, *kali* and the triptotic case system was beginning to break down.

35'. A subordinating conjunction is unlikely to appear in the middle of a verse, so it seems that this long line must be two lines of poetry: *hepūtūm ra . . . [x] / ištūma sebet inēru*. Otherwise one must read *iš-tū-ma . . . inērū*, 'they spread out and slew'. I prefer to keep the verbs singular, like those of the following lines. Seven is the number of Hūwawa's auras, of course, so that this line concludes the slaughter of his household.

37'. It seems that here also two poetic lines are squeezed out to one line of tablet. Ten talents is also the weight of each hero's battle gear in the Yale tablet (OB III 171). The emendation to *irtahīš* was pointed out to me by W. G. Lambert; it follows the parallel in OB IM obv. 16.

38'. This line also occurs in OB IM (obv. 17–18). The alternative to the crasis proposed by Bauer (= *puzzuram ip-te*), is to read *pu-sū-um-mi ip-te*, 'he opened the veils' (Parpola, *SAA Gilg. V* 238; cf. already Pettinato, Tournay and Shaffer, Westenholtz). The objections to this analysis are that (a) *pustumum* seems to be only a garment, not a curtain of the kind used in temples (which is *šiddum*), and (b) with no preposition before *mūšab ilē*, *ip-te* would be forced to govern two objects. In either analysis the image is of the violation of the most sacred part of a sanctuary, which is normally hidden from human gaze. The tradition in which the mountain of the Cedar Forest is the home of the gods is not native to Babylonia; see Ch. 10, the introduction to SBV.

39'. I read *urbazillī* (Bauer: *ur-ma-zi-li*; see *AHW* s.v. *urmazillu*) in the light of the later text, which has *hur-ba-zal-lu* (SBV 291), presumably a form of the same word. The customary understanding of the last two words is that Enkidu was digging up the tree-stumps. Tree-stumps are not useful as lumber, and now that the later text has the verb *ištene* it is clear that in this line *ú-ḥa-ra* is from *hi'ārum* (*uḥarra*, ventive) not *herūm*. The II/1 stem, previously unattested for *hi'ārum*, suits the plurality of the object the verb governs. As I see it, while Gilgameš fells one tree Enkidu is busy choosing the next (cf. already Tournay and Shaffer: 'Enkidu choisit une bille de bois rare').

41'–3'. From the parallel passages in OB IM and SBV it is likely that Enkidu is pointing out to Gilgameš the tree he wants felled in order to make the door for Enlil's temple. The measurement of 30 reeds is the equivalent of about 90 metres.

1'–2'. Cf. SBV 297 ff.

A TABLET IN BAGHDAD (OB IM)

Apart from OB Harmal₁₋₂ and OB Nippur, a further tablet of Old Babylonian Gilgameš is known in the collections of the Iraq Museum at Baghdad. It is one of many pieces grouped under the collective number IM 21180, but the individual number within the group is no longer known and the tablet is provisionally identified as IM 21180x.¹²⁶ Though sometimes ascribed to Tell Harmal, the number indicates that this tablet was registered before excavations began at that site and reveals nothing of its provenance beyond that it is likely to come from somewhere within Iraq.¹²⁷ It is certainly from Babylonia rather than a peripheral region, but an examination of the orthography, which exhibits both 'north Babylonian' and 'south Babylonian' features in the terminology of A. Goetze, does not help determine more than that.¹²⁸ Mimatio is always written; double consonants are written defectively more often than not.

Though neither Gilgameš nor Enkidu is named explicitly in OB IM, the identification of the text as Gilgameš is secured by the close parallels it provides to other versions of the epic. The tablet is more or less complete, but regrettably not in a condition that allows a full decipherment. It has been recopied and some account can be given of it. The first fifteen lines are too damaged to yield very much, but at the beginning Gilgameš and Enkidu appear to be walking hand in hand in the Cedar Forest (ll. 3–4). In ll. 6 ff. one of them is speaking. A badly damaged passage of narrative follows, in which someone is killed. If it is Hūwawa then we must accept that this account of his death is very different from that found in OB Ishchali. Otherwise it may be one of his household. From l. 17 to the bottom of the tablet the text is much easier to decipher. As in OB Ishchali Gilgameš and Enkidu go deep into the heart of the forest, violating its sanctity as the home of the gods. Enkidu praises Gilgameš for his feat of arms and asks him to fell a mighty cedar (20–1). From this cedar he intends to make a door for Enlil's temple in Nippur, and Enlil and his people will be delighted (22–9). At this point the tablet turns. The reverse is hardly legible at all, which is unfortunate, because by comparison with the late text (SBV 299–302) its thirty lines must have either contained a much fuller account of the cutting of the cedar for Enlil's door, and its rafting down the Euphrates, or continued on to another episode. I can only make out *ubbalaššināti*, 'I/he/it will bring them (fem.)' (l. 34), and *imidamma*, 'he loaded me' (l. 36), which may describe how the lumber was brought off the mountain. In the late text the next episode is the arrival of Gilgameš back in Uruk and Ištar's proposal (SBVI 1 ff.),

¹²⁶ Other tablets of the group are IM 21180, 1 = *TIM IX* 62 (obv. ed. Geller, *UHF*, p. 40, MS L); IM 21180, 15 = *TIM V* 44; 21180, 21 = *TIM IX* 67; 21180, 29 = *TIM II* 81, ed. *AbB VIII* 81; 21180y = *TIM IX* 63; 21180z = *TIM IX* 74.

¹²⁷ The register of *TIM V* notes that IM 21180, 15 was acquired by confiscation, and that no doubt goes for the entire group. All the other published tablets in the group are of OB date, and all are Sumerian incantations except for *TIM IX* 67 (Akkadian incantation), *TIM II* 81 (letter) and *TIM V* 44 (field lease, Samsuiluna year 11).

¹²⁸ 'North Babylonian': /pi/ is written *pī* not *pī*; /si/ is written *sī* not *sī*. 'South Babylonian': /ay/ and /ayV/ are written *a-a* not *a-ia*; /su/ is written *sū* not *su*; /ss/ < /šš/ is written *Vš-sV* (*ru-pu-ús-sa, li-ri-ís-si-im*); note also the use of *š* and *ḡ*, not *ḡ* and *ḡ*, as in the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III). Cf. A. Goetze, *MCT*, pp. 146–7; *RA* 52 (1958), pp. 137–49. By the same criteria the other Akkadian texts in the group IM 21180 (*TIM IX* 67, II 81 and V 44) were all written in southern Babylonia.

and one would like to know whether events in the Old Babylonian epic also followed this sequence.

IM 21180x

OB IM

Copy: Pls. 14, 15

Previous publication

1976	J. J. A. van Dijk, <i>TIM IX</i> no. 46	CPt ¹³⁰
1982	W. von Soden, <i>Das Gilgamesch-Epos</i> , Reclam ⁴ , p. 54 (A b)	tr
1992	J. Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 250	tr
1994	R. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 138–40	TTr
1994	K. Hecker, 'TIM 9, 46', <i>TUAT III/4</i> , pp. 663–4	tr
1997	U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , p. 145	tr

Text

obv.

1 not preserved

- 2 [.]¹ [ú-ba-lu-nim?]¹
 3 [.] qí-iš-tim
 4 [. -i] i iṣ-ša-ab-tu
 5 [. .] ab x [x x] x ḥa x x-at-tim
 6 [. .] x-ma i ni-ú-ši-ib we-da-ni
 7 [. .] x ka-uk?-ka-ab li-x x x x
 8 [. .] x-ma i ni-ú-ši-ib we-da¹ ni¹
 9 x [. .] x ša^{erēnim} (erin) ma-ša-a [r qí-iš-tim]
 10 x [. .]¹ [ša¹ -ba-at-sú [. .]]
 11 x [. .] ni ip? pu x [. .]
 12 m [a . . .] x^{7?} ki? -iṣ-ri ki-x x ba x x x [(x x)]
 13 zi-za-na-am i [. .] -ra-am-mu-ú ar-ta-am mu-ba-x x [(x x)]
 14 ḥa- [. .] x-ru x x-tim ba-ṣu x ši im x ab x [x] / im
 15 i- [x (x) x] x-am x x x-am i-né-er-ma te-ri-ik [(x x)]
 16 i- [né-er?] ḥa-am-ši-šū-ú
 17 [di-x (x) x ir-ia¹ -ḥi-iṣ qí-iš?-iam (ša)]^{erēnim} (eren)?¹
 mu-ša-bi-i-l¹⁸ e-nu-na-ki pu-zu¹ ra¹ -mi-ip-te
 19 wa-al-dam ṣe! - [ri-im¹ mi-il¹ -lu-ka-am i-le-?]
 is-sà-qá-r [a-am] / a-na ib-ri- [šū]
 20 i-na du-ni-ka-ma ma-ša-ra-am te-né-ra-am
 21 mi-nu-ú-um ú-ba-ša-ka qí-iš-tam ša GIŠ (erēnim (eren))

¹³⁰ The photograph (*TIM IX*, pl. 80) is of the obverse only.

What of the text is intelligible is good poetry, in regular couplets, though there is at least one place where the lines of poetry do not seem to coincide exactly with the lines of tablet.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ See ll. 16–18 and perhaps also ll. 21–2.

Translation

- 2 [.] they bring.
 3 [.] forest,
 4 [.] they held (hands?).
 5 [.]
 6 [. .] and let us sit down on our own.
 7 [.] star . . .
 8 [. .] and let us sit down on our own.
 9 [. .] of the cedar, the guardian [of the forest,]
 10 [. .] will seize him [. .]
 11 [.] . . . [. . .]
 12 [. .] seven knots
 13 . . . [. .] . . . foliage . . . ,
 14 [. .]
 15 [. .] . . . he slew and . . . ,
 16 he [smote] five times.
 17 . . . he went trampling through the forest (of) cedar,
 18 he discovered the secret abode of the Anunnaki gods.
 19 The wild-born was able to give counsel,
 he said to his friend:
 20 'By your strength alone you slew the guardian,
 21 what can bring you dishonour? The forest of (cedar) wood⁽²²⁾ lay low!

- 22 *šu-né-el šu-wi-a-am*⁶¹⁸ *erēnam*(erin) *ši-ḥa-am*
ša mu-ḥa-šu | *ša-ma-ayī*(A.A) *ša-an-nu*
 23 *lu-pu-uš*⁶¹⁸ *daltam*(ig) *ša qá-na ru-pu-ús-sa*
 24 *a-a*^[ir-šir?] *ša-ga-ma-am si-pa-am li-lí*^[ik?]
 25 *a*^(DİŠ)-*ma-at le*^[ta-ša] *qá-na ru-pu-ús-sa*
 26 *a-a it-ḥe-ši-im a-ḥu-um i-lu-um li-ra-a*^[m!-šī]
 27 *a-na bi-ti en-líl li-bé-el pu-ra-*[a]t-tum
 28 *li-iḥ-du-ú-ma um-ma-an nippur*(nibru)^{k[ī]} ²⁹ *li-ri-is-si-im en-líl*

rev.

30 not preserved

31–3 illegible traces only

- 34 [x (x)]x *ub-ba-la-ši-na-ti na-*[. . .]
 35 [x x x]-*ak-bu i-di* x x x [. . .] / [. . .]
 36 x (x) x *i-mi-dam-ma ni-x* x x [. . .]
 37 [x x x]-*ma me-e i*^[za]-x x x [x x x] x
 38 [x x x x]x-*im-ma*^[me-e i-za]-x x [x x x] x
 39 *i-x x x x ma x x ra a* [x x x x]x-*im*

40–7 illegible traces only

48–57 surface missing

top edge

- 58 [.] ¹-*ri-im?* [(x)]
 59 [.]x-*ri-bu* [(x)]

Notes

6 // 8. The variants *ni-ú-ši-ib* and *ni-ši-ib* for the expected *nūšib* seem to suggest an exceptional cohortative *i niwšib/nūšib*, analogous with *i nipqid*. I assume *wēdāni* to be an OB adverb comparable with SB *ēdāmš* (*Ludlul* I 79). It can be added to the adverbs collected by W. Farber, ‘Altbabylonische Adverbialbildungen auf -āni’, *Kraus AV*, pp. 37–47; see further George and Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 60 (1998), p. 198 on 48.

10. Cf. the later line *u ārid qišūšu iṣabbassu lu’tu* (SB II 229, 286?)

13. The word *zi-za-na-am* is curiously written, half on the tablet’s left edge. There are two possible meanings: (a) a kind of grasshopper or locust, well attested, and (b) a half-share or measure known only from the lexical entry *MSL* XVI, p. 162, *Nabnītu* XVII 238: ½.tar = *zi-za-nu*. Which is appropriate here—if either—is uncertain.

14. Perhaps *ḥa*-[ar-ḥa-ra-am ma-ša]-ru *qi-iš-tim*, with OB Ishchali 30’, but the rest of the line is obscure.

17–18. OB Ishchali is similar (37’–8’: *ir-ta-ḥi-(iṣ) qištam* | *mūšab Enunnakkī puzzuram ip̄te*), but what precedes and follows is different.

19. The same line occurs in OB Harmal₂ 47, q.v.

- 22 Seek out for me a tall cedar,
 whose top vies with the heavens!
 23 I will make a door whose breadth is a reed-length,
 24 let it not *have* a pivot, let it travel (in) the door jamb.
 25 Its side will be a cubit, a reed-length its breadth,
 26 may no stranger draw near it, may a god have love for [it!]
 27 To the house of Enlil the Euphrates shall take it,
 28 may the folk of Nippur rejoice and ⁽²⁹⁾ may Enlil delight in it!

Remainder too damaged for translation

21. *giš* is probably defective for ⁶¹⁸*erēnim*. More is missing if the line is to make sense as it stands, so I presume that *šunēl* belongs at the end and has slipped to l. 22 by mistake.

22. Von Soden (‘die dir nun gehört’) and Hecker (‘deine’) took the second word as the accusative independent possessive pronoun, evidently reading *ku-wa-a-am*. However, the expected form in OB is *kām*. Bottéro (‘un Cèdre extraordinairement élevé’) evidently parsed it as the accusative adjective *šūpām* (cf. Tournay and Shaffer: *šu-pi-a-am*), but the uncontracted form would be *šūpu’am* not *šūpi’am*. I suppose it to be the verb *še’um* in the imperative of the rare II/1 stem, with a glide in place of the glottal stop. This couplet exhibits an emphatic alliteration on /š/ lacking in the later version, which has *ibrī nittakis erēna šūḥa* | *ša muḥḥašu šamē nakpu* (SB V 293–4).

27. As read, the genitive construct state *bīti* either (a) retains its case-vowel, exhibiting the old-fashioned ending (as in OB II 165), or (b) exhibits crasis, *bī-llil*. One might instead read *qá-ti*, ‘to the hands of Enlil’.

28. An alternative but less plausible reading is *li-iḥ-du ú-šu-um-gal nippur*⁶¹⁸, ‘let the dragon of Nippur become glad’.

35. I did not quite see van Dijk’s *i-de-el a-bu-ul* [*qištīm*].

THE TABLET REPORTEDLY FROM SIPPAR (OB VA+BM)

The tablet here referred to as OB VA+BM comprises two contiguous fragments of a four-column tablet. The fragments were purchased separately in Baghdad in 1902 and are now housed in Berlin and London. The provenance of the Berlin piece was reported as Sippar (specifically Abu Habba) by the dealer in whose possession Bruno Meissner first saw it. While this provenance is thus not secure, neither is it unlikely, since for some years the antiquities market had been flooded with tablets from Sippar. The London piece arrived in the British Museum as part of a mixed collection of purchased tablets, among which are many Old Babylonian letters and legal documents, some omen texts and a few mathematical tablets.¹³¹ Most of these are certainly from Sippar.¹³² The orthography of the tablet is to a large degree consistent with that found in other literary and scientific texts suspected of having a north Babylonian provenance.¹³³ So the dealer may well have given accurate information. The larger fragment, VAT 4105, is from the bottom edge of a tablet inscribed with four columns of text. According to Meissner, the lowest third of the tablet is preserved, which means that the original tablet contained about forty-five lines of text in each column, in all 180 lines. The smaller piece, BM 96974, is a thick flake from the reverse of the tablet, and thus provides a continuation of columns iii and iv of VAT 4105.

A. R. Millard, who first copied the London fragment, considered that it was a 'virtual certainty' that BM 96974 and VAT 4105 were parts of the same tablet but doubted that there was a possibility of a physical join.¹³⁴ He noted that the width of the only column surviving

¹³¹ 1902-10-11, from the dealers A. P. Samhiry and F. A. Shamash. Some of the OB letters and contracts have been published in *CT* 29 and *CT* 33 (for a list see *CT Index*, p. 35; seal impressions from the envelopes of two of these, *CT* 29 37 and 33 26a, are published as *CT* 52 191-2), and in *AbB* XII. Nine omen texts from this collection are published by U. Jeyes, *OB Exstipicy* nos. 1, 8, 9, 11-16 (see also her remarks on p. 4); one, no. 11, is dated to King Ammišaduqa. Another was published by J. Nougayrol, *RA* 66 (1972), p. 141, BM 97877. The mathematical tablets known to me are BM 96954 + 102366 + ŠE 93 and BM 96957 (see E. Robson, *JCS* 49 (1997), pp. 53-4). The latter also joins a piece in Berlin, VAT 6598.

¹³² See W. van Soldt's survey of the collection in *AbB* XII, pp. ix-x, in which he identifies two archives of letters certainly from Sippar, and two probably so. Legal documents from this collection date to the reigns of kings from Hammurapi to Ammišaduqa, many belonging to the archive of a certain III-išme'anni (see the marriage contracts edited and cited by K. R. Veenhof, *Mélanges Finet*, pp. 181 ff., 185, fn. 10; also E. Woestenburg and Bram Jagersma, *NABU* 1992/28).

¹³³ The orthography is similar to, but not identical with, that employed by Jeyes's omen tablets (see *OB Exstipicy*, p. 5). The following 'north Babylonian' habits are observed: *bi* is consistently used for *pi* (ii 9', iv 1, 24); the sequence *ay(a)* is written *a-ia* (i 13', ii 13') not *a-a* (cf. A. Goetze in *MCT*, p. 147); the signs TA, TĒ, TŪ, rather than DA, DI, DŪ, are used for the emphatic *tá, tē, tū*, with one possible exception; *áš* and *uš* are used with the values *ás* (iv 10) and *ús* (i 5'). Also 'northern', in Goetze's terminology, is the consistent use of *sa, si* and *su*. Use of ZA, ZI, ZU for *sá, sí, sú*, which is 'southern' practice (except in cases of the assimilation of /sibilant/ + /šV/ > /ssV/), can only be posited in the spelling *iz-la-gar-am*, but the phonological shape of this verb can vary between *saqáru, zaqáru* and *zakáru* according to dialect, period and genre, and its spelling is not reliable evidence for the value *sá* in this text. However, on the single occasion of the assimilation of /sibilant/ or /dental/ + /šV/ > /ssu/, the spelling *-ús-su* is found, which Goetze would find southern, not northern: see the note on i 5'. For /ši/ the sign *ši* is used *passim*, except in *ha-ši-na-am* (iv 26), which may be influenced by third-millennium practice (*ha.zi, ha.zi.in, ha.zi.na*), but this does not seem to be diagnostic of south or north, for the unarguably southern Pennsylvania and Yale tablets also use it. A more definite archaic orthography is *hi-ta-ad-dú* in iii 7.

¹³⁴ A. R. Millard, 'Gilgamesh X: A new fragment', *Iraq* 26 (1974), p. 100. A full bibliography of publication of VAT 4105 and BM 96974 is given in the table below.

complete on BM 96974, the left, tallied exactly with the width of column iv of VAT 4105, as measured by W. G. Lambert. The additional observation that the traces of the tops of two signs copied by Lambert in the last line of VAT 4105, column iii, exactly match the signs preserved at the same point on the first line of BM 96974, column iii (AL and TU), encouraged the supposition that the two pieces would in fact join at that point. When it became possible eventually to put this idea to the test, the fragments were offered up to each other and did indeed join as expected. A record of this join is published here in the form of a photograph of the reverse of the tablet taken to mark the occasion (Fig. 9).¹³⁵

The tablet gives an account of Gilgamesh's wandering in the wild and unknown country, and his encounters with the ale-wife and with the ferryman Sursunabu. It thus provides the text of episodes that in the late epic are mostly recounted in Tablet X. For this reason the tablet has often been referred to, without comment, as OB Tablet X. While no colophon survives, such a description is misleading. The Old Babylonian epic *šūtur eli šarri* was certainly divided into tablets, of which we have Tablets II and III. The present tablet has the appearance of a library tablet, which suggests that it was not a scribal exercise like some of the other Old Babylonian Gilgamesh tablets, but it does not share the six-column format of the big tablets from Pennsylvania and Yale; the text it contains also displays a fondness for the construct state in final *-u* that is not a hallmark of the six-column tablets.¹³⁶ On formal grounds, then, of outward appearance and literary style OB VA+BM is unlikely to belong to the same edition of the epic as the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets. Accordingly it is not sensible to speculate on what number tablet of a series it might be.

The text opens in column i with an episode that has no surviving counterpart in the Standard Babylonian epic. The poet describes how Gilgamesh survived while wandering in the wilderness, killing wild animals for food and clothing and, if I read correctly, digging wells for water (i 1'-4'). Šamaš speaks to him, warning of the futility of his quest for life (i 5'-8'). From this detail we learn that Gilgamesh's wandering has the same purpose in this text as in the later version of the epic: to achieve immortality. Later, in his encounter with Sursunabu, Gilgamesh reveals that his search is for the survivor of the Flood, and it seems plausible that a meeting with the Flood hero is already his goal from the beginning of his wandering.¹³⁷ Gilgamesh replies with great emotion that while he still has life he must use it to the full, against the day when he will see the sun no more (i 9'-15'). In column ii he encounters the ale-wife.

¹³⁵ The two fragments were temporarily reunited at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, on 6 July 1994 during the 41st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. I should like to take the opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to Dr J. E. Curtis of the British Museum for arranging the transport of BM 96974 to Berlin, and to Frau Dr E. Klengel-Brandt and Dr J. Marzahn of the Vorderasiatisches Museum for facilitating the join and arranging the photography.

¹³⁶ For this stylistic feature see i 1' *tisānu* (if not *tisānu*) [. . .], i 11' *libbu eršetim*, i 12' *kalu šanāim*, i 15' *šarūru šamsi*, ii 1', 3' *kalu maršāim*, ii 4' *šimatu awilūim*, ii 11' *qabaltu šeri*, iii 12' *šabitu qānka*, iv 11' *wašā'u šamsi*.

¹³⁷ The contention that 'originally, then, Utanapishtim was not part of the tale and Gilgamesh roamed without a goal until he met Siduri' (T. Abusch, 'Gilgamesh's request and Siduri's denial, Part 1', *Studies Hallo*, pp. 1-14, esp. 9) is overly speculative, resting as it does on the unjustified assumption that the ale-wife's advice to Gilgamesh in OB VA + BM iii is better suited to an earlier version of the story in which Siduri was the goal of Gilgamesh's wanderings. As already noted in Ch. 1, we now know that Gilgamesh's encounter with the Flood hero informs some Sumerian literature and was clearly established in OB literary traditions. This makes it even more improbable that the OB Gilgamesh epic did without Ūta-napišti.

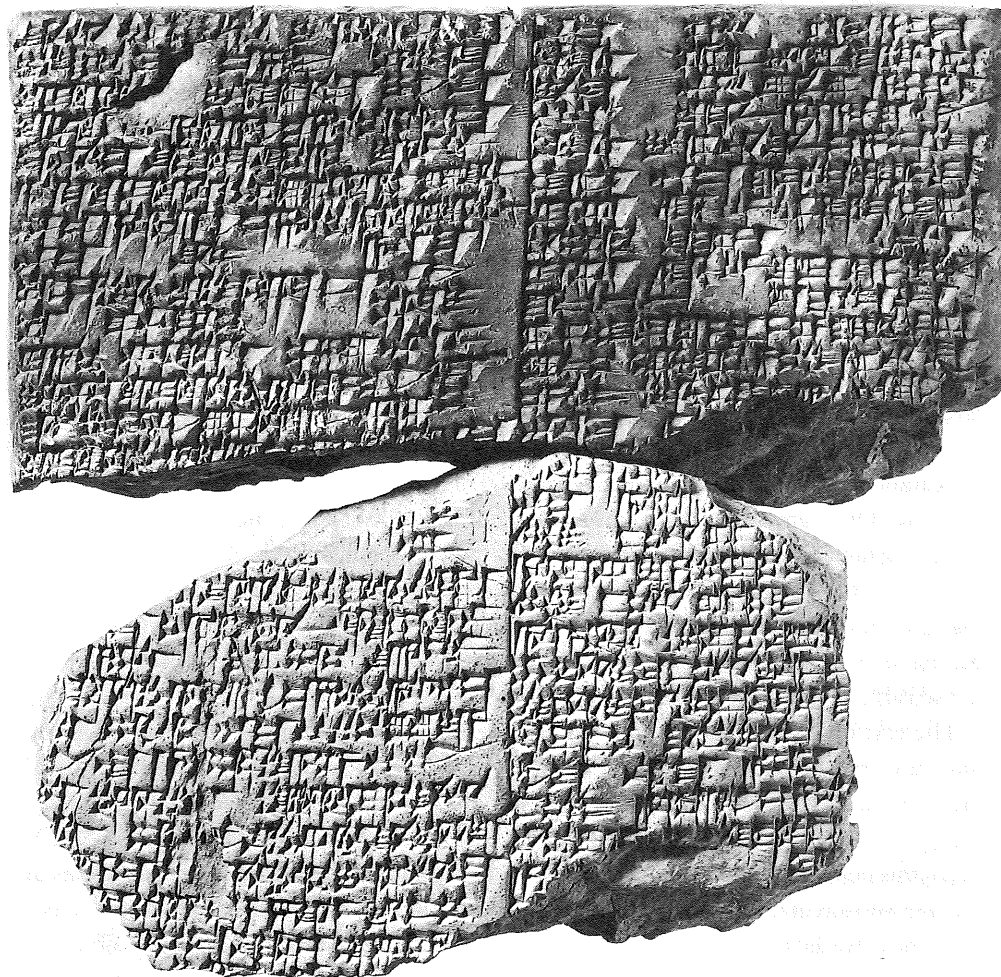


FIG. 9. The two fragments of OBVA+BM, joined to reveal consecutive text on the reverse. Scale 1 : 1.

When the text resumes he is explaining to her the reason for his wretchedness, relating the story of Enkidu's death and his own wanderings (ii 1'-11'; cf. SB X 47-71). The fact that he has travelled so far as to reach the ale-wife only reaffirms his desire to escape death (ii 12'-14').¹³⁸

The ale-wife replies with the same words that Šamaš used, that his efforts at finding life are without hope of success (iii 1-5). In what is a justifiedly famous passage of lyrical poetry,

¹³⁸ A more elaborate interpretation of this passage is Abusch's view that Gilgameš 'is proposing to the goddess . . . he wishes to live with an immortal woman because she is capable of endowing him with eternal life' (T. Abusch, 'Mourning the death of a friend: some Assyriological notes', in B. Walfish (ed.), *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume 1* (Haifa, 1993), p. 56; further, id., 'Gilgameš's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part I: The meaning of the dialogue and its implications for the history of the epic', *Studios Hallo*, pp. 1-14; ditto 'Part II: An analysis and interpretation of an Old Babylonian fragment about mourning and celebration', *ANES* 22 (1993), pp. 3-17). In my view this highly individual idea rests on an extremely adventurous over-interpretation of the extant text.

though one that is curiously absent from the Standard Babylonian epic at this point, she counsels him on the nature of man's lot. Her advice is often considered as an encouragement of hedonism, but in fact it merely states that a man should content himself with a life of ordinary, domestic comfort, enjoying the simple pleasures that derive from plenty to eat and drink, clean clothes and a wash, and children and a wife (iii 6-15). Very similar advice is given in Ecclesiastes 9: 7-9: 'Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart . . . Let thy garments be always white; and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of thy life . . . for that is thy portion in life'.¹³⁹

Gilgameš is too grief-stricken to consider the sense of what she says, and asks her whether she can help him find a way across the ocean to the immortal hero of the Flood, here known as Ūta-na'ištim (iii 16-24; cf. SB X 72-7). As she begins her reply the text breaks off, but enough remains to show that, as in the Standard Babylonian epic, she points out that none has made that journey before (iii 25-8). And, as in the late epic, she must have directed him to Ūta-na'ištim's boatman, for when the lacuna ends Gilgameš has already immobilized Sursunabu (Ur-šanabi) and is busy smashing the Stone Ones (iv 1; cf. SB X 106 ff.). When his assailant returns from this task Sursunabu asks who he is and also gives his own name (iv 2-6). In Gilgameš's reply the Old Babylonian text lacks the long repetition of the wanderings, already told to the ale-wife. Instead Gilgameš reports his journey in the briefest terms. He has come around the mountains by the 'hidden road of the sunrise' (iv 7-11).¹⁴⁰ This phrase evokes the episode of the late version of the epic in which Gilgameš follows the path of the sun (SB IX 138-70). This is hidden, of course, because the sun's journey during the night is dark and unknown to men. In the late epic the episode takes the form of a race against time under the mountains of Māšu. Though the road to the edge of the world is associated with the passage of mountains here also, there is no way of knowing whether such a race through darkness was part of the story in Old Babylonian times. But the association of Šiduri, Sursunabu and Ūta-na'ištim with a journey to the sunrise means at least that the poet was familiar with the tradition according to which the hero of the Flood lived at the edge of the world in the east.¹⁴¹

Next Gilgameš asks the boatman to show him the way to Ūta-na'ištim (iv 12-13; cf. SB X 149-54). Sursunabu's reply is badly damaged, but he seems to agree to take Gilgameš in his boat (iv 14-18). After further thought, however, Sursunabu points out that the Stone Ones were the means of passage but now lie broken, so Gilgameš must cut punting poles to effect a crossing (iv 19-28; cf. SB X 155-62). At this point the tablet breaks off, with space enough remaining at the end of column iv for Gilgameš to have carried out Sursunabu's instructions and set off with him in the boat (cf. SB X 163-83). The encounter with the Flood hero is thus reserved for the following tablet of the series, which still awaits discovery.

¹³⁹ Some have considered the epic to be a source for Ecclesiastes (Qohelet), even though the ale-wife's counsel dropped out of the Babylonian poem between the Old Babylonian period and the first millennium: see J. de Savignac, 'La sagesse du Qôhéleth et l'épopée de Gilgameš', *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978), pp. 318-23. A more cautious view is given by K. van der Toorn, 'Echoes of Gilgameš in the Book of Qohelet? A reassessment of the intellectual sources of Qohelet', *Veenhof AV*, pp. 503-14.

¹⁴⁰ Col. iv 11: *urham reqētam waqā'u Šamši(m)*. The translation is justified in the notes, ad loc.

¹⁴¹ According to the Sumerian Flood Story, in 'the land of Dilmun, towards the sunrise' (l. 260); see further Ch. 10, the introductions to SB Tablets IX, X and XI.

VAT 4105 + BM 96974

OB VA+BM

Copy: Pls. 17–19

Photograph of reverse: Fig. 9

Previous publication

VAT 4105

- 1902 B. Meissner, *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgames Epos. MVAG 7/I* CPTTr
 1903 T. G. Pinches, 'Gilgameš and the hero of the Flood', *PSBA 25*, pp. 113–22, 195–201 CTTTr
 1930 R. C. Thompson, *Gilgamish*, pp. 53–4 T

BM 96974 (1902–10–11, 28)

- 1964 A. R. Millard, 'Gilgamesh X: a new fragment', *Iraq 26*, pp. 99–105 TTr
 1965 A. R. Millard, *CT 46* no. 16 C
 1967 W. von Soden, 'Kleine Beiträge zu Text und Erklärung babylonischer Epen. 1. Ein neues altbabylonisches Bruchstück zum Gilgameš-Epos', *ZA 58*, pp. 189–92 TTr

Text

- i 1' [x x x] ri-mi ti-šā-nu¹ [x x] x x x
 2' [il-ta-b]a-aš ma-aš-ki-šu-nu i-ik-ka-al ši-ra-am
 3' [ú-ḫar-r]i? bu-ra-tim^dGIŠ ša la ib-ši-a ma-ti-i-ma
 4' [iš?]-ti-i-ma me-e i-re-ed-de ša-ri
 5' ^dšamšu(utu)^{su} i-ta-šu-uš i-da-aq-ú-ús-su
 6' iz-za-qar-am a-na^dGIŠ
 7' ^dGIŠ e-eš ta-da-al
 8' ba-la-tám ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ru la tu-ut-ta
 9' ^dGIŠ a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-qar a-na qú-ra-di-im^dšamši(utu)^{si}
 10' iš-tu e-li še-ri-im a-ta-al-lu-ki da-li-im
 11' i-na li-ib-bu er-še-tim sa-ka-pu-um ma-DU(tú?)-ú
 12' at-ti-il-lam-ma ka-lu ša-na-tim
 13' ¹i-na-ia ša-am-ša-am! li-i-ti!(IB)-tú-la-a-ma na-wi-ir-tam lu-uš-bi
 14' re-¹qé-e¹et ek-le-tum ki ma-ši na-wi-ir-tum
 15' ma-ti-[ma] mi-¹tum¹ li-mu-ra-am ša-ru-ru^dšamši(utu)^{si}

There follows a gap of about 30 lines.

- ii 0' [ib-ri ša a-ra-am-mu-šu da-an-ni-iš] // SB X 55
 1' ¹it-ti-ia it¹-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-š[a-a-tim] // SB X 55
 2' en-ki-du₁₀ ša a-ra-am-mu-šu da-an-ni-iš // SB X 56

Selected translations

- 1949 A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, pp. 69–71 (VAT 4105 only)
 1950 E. A. Speiser, 'Tablet X: Old Babylonian version', *ANET*, pp. 89–90 (VAT 4105 only)
 1969 A. K. Grayson, *ANET*³, p. 507 (BM 96974 only)
 1970 R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, pp. 204–7, 208, fn. 1 (cols. ii–iv only)
 1982 W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Reclam⁴, pp. 79–84
 1989 S. Dalley, 'Tablet X(?)', *Myths from Mesopotamia*, pp. 149–51
 1989 M. Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p. 85, fn. 1 (iii 1–14 only)
 1992 J. Bottéro, 'Morceaux complémentaires de Berlin et de Londres', *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 255–61
 1992 G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Berlino e Londra', *La saga di Gilgamesh*, pp. 266–9
 1994 K. Hecker, 'Die Meissner-Millard Tafel', *TUAT III/4*, pp. 664–7
 1994 R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgameš*, pp. 198, 203–4, 207–9
 1997 U. and A. Westenholz, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 157–60
 1999 A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Penguin), pp. 122–6

Translation

- i 1' [. . .] wild bulls, *the aurochs of* [. . .]
 2' [he] clothed himself in their skins, eating their flesh.
 3' Gilgameš [*dug*] wells that never existed before,
 4' [*he*] drank the water as he chased the winds.
 5' Šamaš became worried, so he *bent down* to him,
 6' he spoke to Gilgameš:
 7' 'O Gilgameš, where are you wandering?
 8' You cannot find the life that you seek.'
 9' Gilgameš spoke to him, to the hero Šamaš:
 10' 'After roaming, wandering through the wild,
 11' within the Netherworld will rest be *scarce*?
 12' I shall lie asleep down all the years,
 13' but now let my eyes look on the sun so I am sated with light.
 14' The darkness is hidden,¹⁴³ how much light is there?
 15' When may a dead man see the rays of the sun?

Lacuna. When the text resumes Gilgameš is speaking to the ale-wife:

- ii 0' '[My friend, whom I love deeply,]
 1' who with me went through every danger,
 2' Enkidu, whom I love deeply,

¹⁴³ Or, 'is the darkness far?'

- 3' *it-ti-ia it-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-ša-a-tim* // SB X 56
 4' *il-li-ik-ma a-na ši-ma-tu a-wi-lu-tim* // SB X 57
 5' *ur-ri ù mu-ši e-li-šu ab-ki* // SB X 58
 6' *ú-ul ad-di-iš-šu a-na qé-bé-ri-im* // SB X 59
 7' *ib-ri-ma-an i-ta-ab-bi-a-am a-na ri-ig-mi-ia*
 8' *se-bé-et u₄-mi-im ù se-bé mu-ši-a-tim*
 9' *a-di tu-ul-tum im-qú-tam i-na ap-pi-šu* // SB X 60
 10' *iš-tu wa-ar-ki-šu ú-ul ú-ta ba-la-tám*
 11' *at-ta-na-ag-gi-iš ki-ma ha-bi-lim qá-ba-al-tu še-ri*
 12' *i-na-an-na sa-bi-tum a-ta-mar pa-ni-ki*
 13' *mu-tam ša a-ta-na-ad-da-ru a-ia a-mu-ur*
 14' *sa-bi-tum a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-qar-am a-na^dGIŠ*
 iii 1 ^dGIŠ *e-eš ta-da-a-al*
 2 *ba-la-tám ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ru la tu-ut-ta*
 3 *i-nu-ma ilū(dingir)^{mes} ib-nu-ú a-wi-lu-tam*
 4 *mu-tam iš-ku-nu a-na a-wi-lu-tim*
 5 *ba-la-tám i-na qá-ti-šu-nu iṣ-ša-ab-tu*
 6 *at-ta^dGIŠ lu ma-li ka-ra-aš-ka*
 7 *ur-ri ù mu-ši ḫi-ta-ad-dú at-ta*
 8 *u₄-mi-ša-am šu-ku-un ḫi-du-tam*
 9 *ur-ri ù mu-ši su-ur ù me-li-il*
 10 *lu ub-bu-bu šú-ba!(KU)-tu-ka*
 11 *qá-qá-ad-ka lu me-si me-e lu ra-am-ka-ta*
 12 *šú-ub-bi še-eḫ-ra-am ša-bi-tu qá-ti-ka*
 13 *mar-ḫi-tum li-iḫ-ta^l ad-da-a-am^l i-na su-ni-^lka^l*
 14 *an-na-ma ši-i[m-ti a-wi-lu-tim?]*
 15 ^lša^l *ba-al-tú x[.]*
 16 ^dGIŠ *a-na ša-a-š[i-im iz-za-qar-am a-na sa-bi-tim]*
 17 *mi-nam sa-bi-ti ta-ta^l wi-i^l [x (x) x x]*
 18 *a-na ib-ri-ia li-ib-bi ma-r[u-uš x x x]*
 19 *mi-nam sa-bi-ti ta-ta-wi-i x[(x) x x]*
 20 *a-na en-ki-du₁₀ li-ib-bi ma-ru-u[s x x x]*
 21 *wa-aš-ba-ti-i-ma sa-bi-ti i-na sa-pa-[an-nu ti²āmtim(a.ab.ba)?]*
 22 *am-ra-ti-i-ma li-ib-ba-ki ka-l[a x (x) x x]*
 23 *ki-ib-sa-am ku-ul-li-mi [x (x) x]*
 24 *šum-ma na-tú ti²āmtam(a.ab.ba) [lu-bi-ir]*
 25 *sa-bi-tum a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-qar-a[m a-na^dGIŠ]* // SB X 78
 26 *ú-ul ib-ši^ldGIŠ ša^l ki-ma ka-ta x[x x x]* // SB X 79
 27 *a-li-ī[k? x x x] ma-a[n-nu-um x x]*
 28 ^lma^l-[am-ma? . . .] x [. . .] cf. SB X 80

The rest of the column, about 20 lines, is lost.

- 3' who with me went through every danger:
 4' he went to the destiny of mankind,
 5' I wept over him day and night.
 6' I did not give him up for burial—
 7' "Maybe my friend will rise at my cry!"—
 8' for seven days and seven nights,
 9' until a maggot dropped from his nostril.
 10' After he was gone I did not find life,
 11' as I wandered like a trapper through the midst of the wild.
 12' Now, ale-wife, I have seen your face,
 13' but I would not see death, that ever I fear.
 14' The ale-wife spoke to him, to Gilgameš:
 iii 1 'O Gilgameš, where are you wandering?
 2 You cannot find the life that you seek:
 3 when the gods created mankind,
 4 for mankind they established death,
 5 life they kept for themselves.
 6 You, Gilgameš, let your belly be full,
 7 keep enjoying yourself, day and night!
 8 Every day make merry,
 9 dance and play day and night!
 10 Let your clothes be clean!
 11 Let your head be washed, may you be bathed in water!
 12 Gaze on the little one who holds your hand!
 13 Let a wife enjoy your repeated embrace!
 14 Such is the destiny [of mortal men],
 15 that one who lives [.]'
 16 Gilgameš [spoke] to her, [to the ale-wife:]
 17 'Why, O ale-wife, do you talk [. . . ?]
 18 My heart is sick for my friend [. . .]
 19 Why, O ale-wife, do you talk [. . . ?]
 20 My heart is sick for Enkidu [. . .]
 21 You dwell, O ale-wife, on the shore [of the ocean],
 22 you are familiar with all [. . .]
 23 Show me the way! [. . .]
 24 If it can be done [I will cross] the ocean!
 25 The ale-wife spoke to him, [to Gilgameš:]
 26 "There was not, Gilgameš, one like you [. . .]
 27 One who travels [. . .] who [. . . ?]
 28 Nobody [.]"

Lacuna. When the text resumes Gilgameš has fallen on the Stone Ones:

the *ma* of Meissner's [ma]tīma. No more slender alternative occurs to me. Read so, the couplet continues the narrative of Gilgameš's wanderings, which were already the subject of the preceding couplet. Gilgameš is also given credit for digging wells in the prologue (SB I 39). That passage also summarizes the wanderings that led him to Ūta-napišti (SB I 37–42) and so confirms the appropriateness of the restoration here. The digging of wells in remote places is also a feature of the journey to the Cedar Forest, of course (SB IV *passim*), but that is not the context here. For other evidence concerning the hero and wells see Ch. 3, the sub-section on Digging wells. In the second half of l. 4' 'chasing the winds' is an image that aptly sums up the distance Gilgameš covered and the fact that his travels took him to all points of the compass. Since winds cannot be caught, the expression also hints at the futility of his quest.

i 5'. My translation of *i-da-ak-ku-ús-su* follows von Soden's suggestion in ZA 53 (1959), p. 220, refined in the light of AHw, p. 1550, *daqāšum* 'sich hinabbeugen'. CAD D proposed *i-da-ak-ku-ús-su*, 'it (the despair of Gilgameš) pained him' (s.v. *dakāšu*). Note that, according to Goetze, assimilation between a sibilant and the 3rd masc. sg. suffix should have yielded *i-da-ak-ku-us-sú* in a north Babylonian text; the present orthography he would view as 'southern' (cf. A. Goetze, RA 52 (1958), p. 138). The Old Babylonian omen texts from Sippar also show occasional intrusion of 'southern' spelling, with some tablets exhibiting no consistency in the use of signs (see Jeyes, OB *Extispicy*, p. 5). Such peculiarities may have arisen from the use of southern originals as master copies or from other factors such as local variation in scribal training.

i 7'–8'. This couplet is repeated at iii 1–2.

i 10'. This line, like much of Gilgameš's speech, is difficult, and open to various interpretations. In the past the situation was aggravated by uncertainty as to what sign lay between *a-ta-al* and *ki*. Meissner (followed by Pinches) copied *lu*, but his transliteration, *lu(?)*, indicates that he was not completely sure. According to Lambert's copy the sign is *ku*, which suggests *attalku kī dālim*, 'after I have gone over the wild like a hunter' (cf. *dayyālu*, an expedition for hunting or reconnaissance: Grayson, RIMA 2, p. 175, 80–1: Tukultī-Ninurta II; Parpola, SAA I 13, 17': Sargon II). Pinches took the end of the line similarly, translating 'as a wanderer'. But even if one accepts the orthographies *a-ta-al-ku* and *da-li-im* for *attalku* (which would normally be written *at-ta-al-ku*) and *dayyālim* (better *da-a-a-li-im* or *da-ia-li-im*), one is still left with the suspicion that the I/3 stem of *alākum* is the expected form. Moreover, with regard to the sign in question, even on the photograph the horizontal wedges can be seen to run strongly through the upright wedge and on to the next (confirmed by personal collation). Though this next upright is partly overwritten by the initial oblique wedge of *ki*, it may nevertheless belong to the preceding sign and not to *ki*, which on this tablet is sometimes written in an abbreviated form, with only one upright visible. A good example of such an overlap (and of abbreviated *ki*) is the sequence *ša ki* in iii 26. Thus to me the sign between *a-ta-al* and *ki* is not *ku* but *lu*. Accordingly I follow V. K. Šileiko's analysis of the second half of the line as two infinitives in apposition, *ištu . . . atalluki(m) dālim* (see Schott, ZA 42 (1934), p. 132). The syntax is unusual but not unattested. Though *ištu* is not so common before an infinitive as some other prepositions, examples do occur (see J. Aro, StOr 26 (1961), pp. 258–9); and for two infinitives governed by a single preposition and not co-ordinated with *-ma* see CHv rev. xxiv 71–3: *pu-ru-sé-e ma-tim a-na pa-ra-si-im ḥa-ab-lim šu-te-šu-ri-im*, 'in order to determine the verdicts of the land, to set right the wronged'.

i 11'. Meissner's original reading of the sign between *tim* and *ka* was *kak*. A reading *sa-ka-bu-um* was first proposed by Pinches. Thompson emended to *kak-ka-di?* (cf. Heidel, Speiser). Von Soden rejected *kak* on the grounds that it was not a phonetic value in use in Old Babylonian times (OLZ 50 (1955), 515; in fact *kak* is attested in the Old Babylonian period, though it is rare, e.g., VAS XVI

= AbB VI 88, 8: *kaq-qā-di kaspim*). He suggested *sa-ka-pu-um ma-du-ú*, 'war das Ausruhen viel?' (also CAD S, p. 74; Jacobsen, *Studies Moran*, p. 240; Pettinato). Another proposal is *kak-ka-bu-um ma-du-ú* (CAD L, p. 174). As my collation shows, the horizontals of the sign read *sa* do converge a fraction, and it is thus not quite like other cases of this sign on this tablet (i 8', ii 12', 14', iii 2, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25). However, the wedges do not meet, as they surely would in *kak* (cf. *nī, ir*). Pinches's reading is vindicated.

As for the final word, this is conventionally understood as an interrogative form of *mādum*, following von Soden. It is difficult to understand the relevance of *sakāpum mādū*, since a rhetorical question so phrased, without a negation, invites the answer 'No!' (in desperation CAD S interpolates negation without comment: 'is there not enough lying down?'). The following line makes it clear that Gilgameš anticipates an afterlife of perpetual sleep. In this line he need not ask rhetorically if there is (or was, or will be) rest in the Netherworld: he knows it for a fact. Thus I prefer a derivation from *mašim*. On a north Babylonian tablet one expects *ma-tū* (TU)-ú not *ma-tū* (DU)-ú, to be sure, and TU is used for /t/ elsewhere in OBVA + BM. However, another non-northern spelling has already been noted in this tablet and other OB literary tablets from Sippar display similar inconsistencies (see the note on i 5').

i 12'–15'. These two couplets are best understood in relation to the theme of *dalāpum*, 'doing without sleep, not stopping for rest', which pervades the SB epic at this point in the story (SB X 281 ff., 297–8). Gilgameš realizes that he will close his eyes enough when the time comes: while he still lives he wants to keep them open at all times, thus to gain the most conscious life he can. In l. 12' the verb has been parsed as I/3 preterite (AHw, p. 407). It makes a better form—and better sense—as I/1 present < **tīl*: *atūllamma*. In l. 13' the emendation of *ib* to *ū* is conventional, going back to Meissner. An alternative would be to assume that the orthography was correct, and that *libūlā* is an otherwise unrecorded variant of the standard *libūlā*: 'in respect to the sun, should my eyes cease taking my fill of brilliance?' In l. 14' most follow Meissner and take *re-qé-e-et* from *rēqum*, 'distant'. The lengthened (or stressed) second syllable would then mark a question, von Soden's 'Frageform' (ZA 53, p. 220): 'ist die Finsternis fern?'. In this tablet the adjective 'distant' appears as the common form *rūqum* (iv 6) and as the much rarer *rēqum* (iv 13, 16). Grammatically and lexically von Soden's analysis presents no problem. Nevertheless, it is also possible to take *re-qé-e-et* as the statue of *raqūm*, 'to hide'. The variant *reqūm* appears at Nuzi, but also in other Babylonian, if one accepts the evidence of MSL XIV, p. 176, Ea I 17: ²²ab-zāḥ = *né-er-qu-u* (MA copy). The phrase *urḥam re-qé-e-tam*, which appears later in this text (iv 11), must be parsed similarly (see below, ad loc.); cf. also *li-ir-te-ḫi-ma* (*lirtēkūma* or *lirtēqūma?*) in SBVII 62. Here, of course, 'darkness' signifies death—compare the Netherworld's sobriquet as *bū ekletim*, 'House of Darkness'—just as, in the second half of the line, 'light' is a metaphor for life. The point is that in Babylonian thinking the day of a man's death may be known to the gods, but it remains hidden from the man (cf. SB X 322). Accordingly Gilgameš may well go on to ask how much life he has left. On grounds of meaning the statement *reqēt ekletum*, i.e. 'death is hidden', seems preferable to a rhetorical question, *rēqēt ekletum*, i.e. 'is death distant?'

ii 0'–9'. This passage is taken over almost verbatim by the later text, though there l. 7' is omitted and ll. 5' and 8' are conflated (SB X [55–60] // 132–7 // 232–7). In view of the tense of *itabbi'am* I follow Heidel in taking l. 7' as a direct quotation of Gilgameš's own words at the time of Enkidu's death. The 'seven days and seven nights' of l. 8' is the counterpart of 'six days and seven nights' in the SB version (on this development see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 194).

ii 11'. In the light of the two verbs *ḥabālum* A, 'to wrong', and *ḥabālum* C, 'to snare', the word *ḥābīlum* is open to two interpretations: 'bandit' or other wrongdoer (CAD H, p. 16; cf. von Soden,

Dalley, Pettinato), and ‘trapper’ (Heidel, Speiser, Jacobsen). In SB I the word clearly refers to the hunter, and I take it thus here too.

iii 1–2. This couplet repeats i 7’–8’.

iii 7. There seems no option but to take *hi-ta-at-tu* as *hi-ta-ad-dū*, an example of archaic orthography.

iii 13. The word *marḫūtum* is rare indeed, found outside this line in SB XI (ll. 211, 214, and 272), in a wisdom fragment from Ugarit (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 116, 4), and in the synonym list Explicit *Malku I*, which defines its meaning as ‘wife’ (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, *JASOS* 83 (1963), p. 436, 173–4: *m.* = *hi-ir-tum, āš-šā-tu*). The proposal of Tzvi Abusch that ‘we should probably translate *marḫūtum* in M iii 13 not as “wife”, but as “prostitute/harlot” or the like’, is an idea arising from his highly contentious speculation on the development and function of the episode (see Abusch, *Studies Hallo*, p. 9, fn. 38; *ANES* 22 (1993), pp. 3–17). It is better to give priority to the opinion of the ancient synonym list.

iii 14. The conventional restoration, going back to Meissner, is *ši-pir*, ‘the task [of mankind]’ (note that the spelling *ši-p*[*i-ir*] is not likely, on the grounds that elsewhere on this tablet *pi* is written *pī*, in the northern convention: see above, fn. 133). To my eyes *im* looked more likely. In any case *šimtum* is the more appropriate word: this line alludes to the function given to man by the gods at his creation, and thus the couplet rounds off Šiduri’s homily by returning to the subject matter which introduced it (iii 3–4). Gilgameš is constantly reminded of his mortal destiny.

iii 15. Or¹ *ša¹ ba-al-tū-u[m . . .*

iii 17 // 19. Restore perhaps *an-ni-tam*.

iii 21. Restored after SB X 1.

iii 23–4. This couplet appears as two in SB X 74–7 // 151–4, whence the restoration *lūbir*. In l. 23 perhaps restore *ia-ši-im*. Outside the formula PN₁ *ana šāši¹um izzaqqaram ana* PN₂, in this text the dative independent pronoun is used without a preposition: see iv 5, 20.

iii 26. Perhaps restore *m[a-ti-i-ma]*, ‘ever before’.

iii 27. If not *ālik* then *a-li x[. . .]*, ‘where . . .?’

iv 9. The emendations are those of Thompson (also Jensen and Schott, *ZA* 42, p. 134); *iš-di é-an-ni* is nearer to what is written, but inferior in sense.

iv 11. No doubt with an eye to the common use of *urḫu rūq(a)tu* as a stock phrase in SB Gilgameš, most take the word *re-qé-e-tam* as the feminine singular of the adjective *rēqum*, i.e., for *rēqtam*. There are two problems. First, the intruding vowel; second, the *plene* writing of that vowel. In *ZA* 53, p. 220, von Soden justified such an analysis by reference to the orthographies of feminine adjectives with an unnecessary anaptyctic vowel (sometimes marked *plene*, e.g. *te-li-ia-a-tum*), collected by him in *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 226, in the Hymn to the Queen of Nippur (now W. G. Lambert, *Kraus AV*, p. 173). This type of hypercorrect, pseudo-archaic orthography is now seen as typical of long literary prayers in late copies (see Lambert, *Afo* 19 (1959–60), p. 49), and the comparison is not germane. SB Gilgameš occasionally uses words with unexpected epenthetic vowels but these are never written *plene* (see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style), nor is OB VA + BM a text that ever writes a short unstressed vowel *plene*. For these reasons I suggest an alternative reading *reqētam* < *raqūm/reqūm*, ‘to hide’ (see above, on i 12’–15’); this would be the first appearance of the verbal adjective (**paras*).

iv 18. Reading *iš-ḫi-tā-am*, ‘he leapt forth’, yields a word that does not fit the context easily. Von Soden suggested that the reference is to Ūta-na’išūm’s successful ‘leap’ from a mortal state into the eternal world of the gods (*ZA* 58 (1967), p. 192). Pettinato’s translation, ‘dove è saltato fuori, accosta la tua mano’, presumes a reading at the end of the line *lu te₄-eḫ-ḫi qà-ta* (similarly Millard, *Iraq* 26,

p. 102), but von Soden’s ‘will ich dich heranbringen’ is grammatically better. This voluntative form makes an imperative likely in the first half of the line: ‘do this for me so that I can take you there’. Accordingly one might read *šu-iš-ḫi-tā-am* < *šušḫiam*, an example of ‘broken’ orthography. Note that in the examples of such orthographies collected by B. Groneberg (*JCS* 32 (1980), pp. 156–8), the expression of the expected syllable /CuC/ by signs in the pattern of *Cu-iC* is the most commonly occurring type and the second consonant is very often a sibilant. The verb *šahāpum* is used of crossing a water-course from one bank to the other, not only those that can be leapt literally (*palgu*, in a proverb and hemerologies: Lambert, *BWL*, p. 253–4, 9 and note), but also big rivers such as the Tigris and Lower Zab (*TCL* III 10: *pal-gi-iš ú-šā-ās-ḫi-iš*, Sargon II; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 45, 86: *a-tap-piš ú-šā-ās-ḫi-iš*). In this analysis Sursunabu’s speech is ironic: in the private knowledge that Gilgameš has destroyed the boat’s means of propulsion, Sursunabu invites him to ‘make its (the boat’s) [. . .] leap across’ the ocean as if it were a ditch; then he will be able to take him to Ūta-na’išūm.

iv 19. Compare the Yale tablet, *wašbū uštaddanū ummi’ānū* (OB III 164; cf. also SB II 247). There is not room here for [*wa-āš-bu*]-^f *ú¹-ma*, however, so I opt for the preterite.

iv 20. Von Soden recently restored the name of Gilgameš at the beginning of the line (*Reclam*³, p. 84, 22), but the following text seems to preclude this. Earlier he had suggested [*šu?-ma*] (*ZA* 58, p. 190). There is a trace of the tail of a low horizontal wedge running through the remaining vertical wedge at this point, just above the heads of the first two vertical wedges of *ur*. Note the distinct forms of the 3rd masc. sg. dative pronoun in this text: here *šu’āšim*, but after a preposition, *šāšum* (ii 14’, iii 25, iv 4, 14, 21). Von Soden thought that the variation was caused by matters of rhythm (*ZA* 58, p. 192).

iv 21–4. The edge of the tablet has sustained damage since Millard copied it, with the result that all traces of *su*, *šu* and *as* have disappeared, and *i* is less well preserved than it was.

iv 26–7. Cf. SB X 159–60. The exact meaning of the word *parišum* (Sum. ^ggi.muš) has been discussed in detail by W. G. Lambert, who presents evidence in favour of its function as a paddle (*JNES* 33 (1974), p. 302). Two texts show that this object was what one used for keeping a boat afloat in the narrows of a river (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 116, A 7: *parišu*), and for added motive power when navigating upstream against the current (W. Schramm, *Or NS* 43 (1974), p. 162, 21’: [^ggi]muššu; SB Adapa). Both passages suggest a pole wielded to keep a boat out of the shallows. In the present text, the enormous length of the poles—one *suppān* being 60 cubits, about 30 metres—implies that they were primarily envisaged as punting-poles long enough to reach the ocean floor. These were consequently immense pieces of wood, wielded by a mighty hero, and thus, in Lambert’s words, ‘not of normal navigation’. The form *suppā*, with the distributive suffix *-ā*, is discussed by M. A. Powell, who points out the parallel formations *ammā*, *šiqlā* and *ubānā* (*ZA* 72 (1982), pp. 93–4).

iv 28. As von Soden pointed out, the broken sign before *kum* could be *lu*, *ru* or *ib* (*ZA* 58, p. 192); he suggested [*lu-qā-ri-i*] *b-kum*. In taking *še-re-e-t[im]* in this line as *še(r)ētum*, literally ‘nipples’, rather than *šerretum*, ‘(nose)-rope’, I follow W. G. Lambert, *JNES* 33, p. 302, who called attention to the use of the synonym *tulā*, ‘breast’, in the late parallel (SB X 161 // 167). The ‘teat’ of a punting pole is probably to be understood as a round lump or boss attached to the bottom end (cf. Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge*, p. 104, s.v. *tulā*). Outside OB Gilgameš the term *šerret pariši* is found in *Hh* IV and similes in omen texts. The lexical entry ^gŠIBIR.gi.muš = *še-ret pa-ri-si* (*Hh* IV 409) is unsatisfactory on philological grounds: though *eškiri*(ŠIBIR) means *šerretum*, ‘(nose)-rope’, of course, the determinative argues for a reading šibir, ‘staff’, and the Sumerian side of the equation looks suspect. The dictionaries are at odds over whether to pay attention to the determinative or not: *CAD* ignores

it (§, p. 135: 'rope used as an oarlock'), *AHW* accepts it (p. 1092: 'Haltestange für Ruder'). Perhaps ŠIBIR is a mistake for ubur. In the protases of omen texts *ser-ret parīsi* describes the features of the liver known as the *šulmu* (Koch-Westenholz, *Liver Omens* no. 64, 46), and the *manāzu* (ibid. nos. 3, 37; 19, 96). Koch-Westenholz translates 'knob of a punting pole'; it is certainly easier to imagine a part of the liver being shaped like a teat than like a rope or a staff.

6

Middle Babylonian Tablets and Fragments

Eighteen tablets and fragments from the later second millennium are presented in this chapter as sources for the epic in the Middle Babylonian period. Only one of these sources, MB Boğ₂, was available when the Babylonian Gilgameš was last assembled in a single book. As already explained in discussing the epic's literary history, the Middle Babylonian tablets are a disparate collection of texts from different centuries and very different provenances. They are witness to a complex period in the epic's transmission that was characterized by a considerable divergence between the various different versions spawned by the Old Babylonian editions of the earlier second millennium. In the absence of more coherent criteria, the eighteen tablets are ordered here so that tablets from Babylonia precede those from the West. Fragments from a given site are dealt with together. Thereafter the order is determined by place in the epic's plot.

THE EXERCISE TABLETS FROM NIPPUR (MB NIPPUR)

The status of the Akkadian Gilgameš epic as a standard copy book in the Late Bronze Age, within Babylonia as well as abroad, has become clearer with the discovery at Nippur of extracts from the epic on school exercise tablets of the Kassite period. So far at least two such extracts have been identified and two more are possibilities. They are presented here as MB Nippur₁₋₄.

The most intelligible of these exercise tablets are the two that can be securely identified as sources for the epic. They were excavated together on Tablet Hill at Nippur in 1949. The findspot was TB 34 B (Area TB, Locus 34, Level B). This is a much disturbed level of post-Old Babylonian occupation.¹ Four other tablets came from the same findspot. Two of these

¹ For this findspot see McCown and Haines, *OIP* 78, p. 69, fn. 21: 'Levels B and A (see Pl. 65) were represented only in the narrow spurs left by trenches of the previous expedition. These areas were small, isolated, and at the edge of the mound. Levels A and B cannot be dated [accurately] because they contained such a mixture of pottery.' The late Thorkild Jacobsen recollected that this level 'dates after OB and is probably MB' (private communication).

can be identified as post-Old Babylonian exercise tablets on grounds of content.² Only one is datable more exactly, 2N-T 83 to the Persian period, but this piece is now known to have been part of fill and thus has no bearing on the date of the others.

The fragment here referred to as MB Nippur₁ has been recognized as a source for the epic since it was excavated, but it has been properly published only in recent years. The distinctive format exhibited by this tablet—a literary extract on the long axis, a lexical one on the short—is more helpful in determining its date. It is a format common in exercise tablets from Nippur, but not typical of early Old Babylonian times.³ According to Civil's classification of lexical tablets this format is characteristic of Middle Babylonian or early Neo-Babylonian times.⁴ More precisely, many exercise tablets displaying this format were found in 1975 (13N) on the West Mound of Nippur in a stratified context dated to the reigns of the Kassite kings Kudur-Enlil and Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1254–1233).⁵

The lentil-shaped tablet found alongside MB Nippur₁ and here known as MB Nippur₂ was published over fifteen years ago in transliteration but only properly discussed very recently. The format and content of the tablet are again post-Old Babylonian: the obverse and reverse contain different texts, the two extracts are aligned with different axes and on one side there are clusters of wedges ('nine-signs') of the kind found on the Kassite-period business exercises from Nippur.⁶

The script and the orthography of MB Nippur_{1,2} concur with a date in the Middle Babylonian period. Diagnostic here is the use of *qa* in MB Nippur₁ and the use in both extracts of mimation only where it can be expressed by one of the common CVm signs.⁷ It seems likely that the pieces are genuine documents of this period rather than later copies. Taken together they give reason to doubt Westenholz's supposition that Tablet Hill was not occupied by scribes from the reign of Samsuiluna until the eighth century.⁸ But if he is right, we can suppose nevertheless that the two tablets were written somewhere other than Tablet Hill, either on the West Mound or elsewhere, and, whether preserved by intention or accident, imported onto Tablet Hill at some unknown date, there eventually to be unearthed in their secondary, much disturbed context. For the purposes of this book the exact place of writing is not crucial.

² For details see N. Veldhuis, *BiOr* 56 (1999), 390; further id., 'Kassite exercises: literary and lexical extracts', *JCS* 52 (2000), pp. 68–9.

³ See Civil, *MSL* SS 1, p. 89; George, *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 71.

⁴ M. Civil, 'Ancient Mesopotamian lexicography', in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Near East*, pp. 2305–14, esp. 2308: Type V. Not everyone agrees. Jacobsen held the view that this format 'turns up in late OB and perhaps later'. Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources', described the fragment MB Nippur, as Old Babylonian. But these views were not informed by present knowledge.

⁵ Locus WB 63 Floors 2–3. I owe this information to Jorge R. Abitia-Neves (University of Chicago).

⁶ See Veldhuis, *BiOr* 56, 390.

⁷ Note *a-wi-lam* (MB Nippur₁, 2 and 7), *a-ḫa-tam* (5) and *dam-qu-tum* (MB Nippur₂, 2), but *ma-a-da* (MB Nippur₁, 2), *e-mu-qa* (3), and *iz-za-qar-ši* (6).

⁸ See A. Westenholz, *Studies Lambert*, p. 445, who for this reason thought of MB Nippur₁ that 'we may be dealing with a [Late Babylonian] exercise copy of a Middle Babylonian original'.

MB Nippur₁

Though the hand is practised, errors of omission and commission mark out the scribe of this tablet, A 29934, as a learner.⁹ The seven lines of text preserved on the obverse are taken from an episode well known from Tablet I of the Standard Babylonian epic, in which the gods find a solution to the problem posed by Gilgameš's misuse of his royal power in Uruk. On this occasion the present version offers a fuller text. The suggestion is put to the divine council that the mother goddess, Aruru, should be summoned and instructed to create a being who would rival Gilgameš, so that the city of Uruk might have peace. I suspect that this speech is to be placed in the mouth of Ea, who habitually solves crises with this kind of initiative.¹⁰ Aruru is duly summoned and told her task, either by Anu or by Enlil, who are the speakers of these lines in variant versions of the later text. Though the language of the fragment is echoed in SB I 94–8, in which Aruru, having answered the summons, is given her instructions to create Gilgameš's counterpart, namely Enkidu, only ll. 5 and 7 have exact counterparts in the SB epic. This is because, on the one hand, the speech I ascribe to Ea is missing from the later text, and, on the other, the text of MB Nippur breaks off one line into the instructions. These were no doubt realized by a repetition of the precative lines in the imperative and I have restored the translation accordingly. A comparable sequence of suggestion and narrative realization, also involving Ea and the mother goddess, is found in the poem of Anzû, which can act as a partial model for our passage:

⁴nin-ši-kù pa-a-šú i-pu-us¹-ma i-qab-[bī]
a-na ⁴a-nim u ⁴da-gan a-m[a-ti i]-zak¹-[kar]
[ī]l-su-nim-ma ⁴be-let-ilī(dingir)^{mes} a-ḫat ilī(dingir)^{me} [rabūti(gal)^{mes}]
i¹-peš-ia ma¹ li-kát¹ ilī(dingir)^{mes} aḫḫē(šeš)^{mes} [-šá]
šur-bu-us-su li-ta-mu-ú ina p[u-uh-ri]
ilū(dingir)^{mes} ina pu-uh-ri-šú-nu li¹ kan¹-nu-ú-[-šī]
a-mat¹ ina lib-bi-ia i-ba-āš-šú-ú a-na šá¹ a¹-[šá lu-uh-bī]
is-su-nim-ma ⁴be-let-ilī(dingir)^{mes} a-ḫat [ilī(dingir)^{mes} rabūti(gal)^{mes}]
i¹-peš-ia ma-li-kát ilī(dingir)^{mes} [aḫḫē(šeš)^{mes} -šá], etc.

SB Anzû I 165–78: W. L. Moran and W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 31 (1979), pp. 113–14 // *CT* 46 39, 110–11

Ninšiku opened his mouth to speak,
saying a word to Anu and Dagan:
'Let them summon Bēlet-ilī, the sister of the [great] gods,
the expert one, counsellor of the gods, [her] brothers!
Let them proclaim her supremacy in the [assembly,]
let the gods do [her] honour in their assembly!
The matter that is in my mind to her [I will tell!]
They summoned Bēlet-ilī, the sister of [the great gods,]
the expert one, counsellor of the gods, [her] brothers. Etc., etc.

⁹ See l. 5: *is-s]u-(ú)*; l. 7: *a-a-ru* for *a-ru-ru*.

¹⁰ As in Atra-ḫašis and the Descent of Ištar: see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 96.

¹¹ Collated.

This passage is also one in which Ea's initiative results in the mother goddess supplying an individual who will resolve a crisis of misused power. Her son Ninurta, already born, will be a match for the usurper Anzû just as Enkidu will be for the tyrant Gilgamesh.

A 29934 (2N-T 79)

MB Nippur₁

Copy: Pl. 20

Previous publication¹²

1982	J. H. Tigay, <i>Evolution</i> , pp. 192 f., 266 f. and 297 (Gilg. Ni.; obv. only)	P T Tr
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Tavoletta di Chicago (1)', <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i> , p. 250	Tr
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , p. 49, fn. 43	T tr
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), pp. 127-8 (obv. only)	C Tr
2000	A. Westenholz, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , p. 445	C

Text

obv.

- 1 [d a-ru-ru li]-is-su-ú ra-bi-[tam]
 2 [ši-i ib-ni-m]a a-wi-lam ma-a-da
 3 [li-ib-ni ma-hir?]-šu lu da-an e-mu-qa
 4 [it-ti-šu li-i]š-ta-an-na-an-ma uruk^{ki} li-iš-^f tap^l-ši-ih
 5 [d a-ru-ru is-s]u-(ú) a-^ha-tam // SB I 94
 6 [d a-num (or d en-lil) a-na šá?]-ti-ma iz-za-gar-ši
 7 [at-ti-i-ma] [d¹ a-ru! (A)-ru tab-ni-i a-wi-lam // SB I 95

rev.

gš-list (from *Hh* III-VII?), almost totally destroyed

Translation of the obverse

- 1 '[Let] them summon [Aruru], the great [one,]
 2 [she it was created] numerous mankind.
 3 [Let her create] his [equal], to be one mighty in strength,
 4 [let] him vie [with him] and so let Uruk be rested!
 5 They [summoned Aruru], the sister,
 6 [Anu (or Enlil)] said to her:
 7 '[You it was], O Aruru, who created mankind,

A continuation of 2 lines can be restored as follows:

[create now his equal, to be one mighty in strength,]
 [let him vie with him and so let Uruk be rested!]

¹² There also exists an unpublished copy of the late J. J. Finkelstein, from which ll. 2-4 were quoted by Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources', p. 23, fn. 3.

Notes

1. Here and in SB I 94 Aruru is the 'great one' not only because she is important but also because, as a form of the mother goddess, she is the gods' senior, a position formalized by her epithet 'big sister of Enlil' (see below, on l. 5). In short, *rabitu* implies that she is very old. Her counterpart, Anu, commonly receives the same epithet for the same reason, the sky being self-evidently very ancient.

2. The use of *mādu* to qualify *awīlu* can only be understood if the noun is collective (cf. already Tigay, *Evolution*, p. 192). Cf. below, on l. 7.

3-4. This couplet compares with a triplet in the later text: *eninna binī zikiršu / ana ūm libbīšu lū mah[ir?]* / *lištannanūma Uruk lištap[ir?]* (SB I 96-8). I avoid restoring *zikiršu* in l. 3 of the present text because I understand it to mean Ea's idea, for reasons given in the commentary, ad loc., and I presume Ea is speaking. The restored word *māhiršu* has the advantage of finding an echo in SB I 97 but other synonymous words are possible.

5. The emendation follows the later text: *Arūru issū rabitu* (SB I 94). Aruru's title of 'sister' is documented for Sumerian and bilingual texts by Å. W. Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 74 (add *Lugale* 413); there she is typically the (elder) sister of Enlil. In Babylonian texts the mother goddess is 'sister' of all the gods: SB Anzû I 167 // 172, quoted above; W. von Soden, *ZA* 68 (1978), p. 68, OB Atram-ḫasīs 296: ^dma-mi [a-h]a²-sū-nu (cf. Tigay, op. cit.); note also, in another account of the creation of man, ^dbe-let-ilī^{mes} aḫat(nin) ilī^{mes} rabūt^{mes} (W. R. Mayer, *OrNs* 56 (1987), p. 56, 11', 31'), where it is again Ea who so addresses her.

6. The restoration of Anu is encouraged by the certainty in the later text that these words are spoken by him (SB I 100: *zikru ša Anim*). Though one might have expected *ana šāsīmma*, it is difficult to escape the restoration *ana šātūma*.

7. Jacobsen has suggested that *awīlam* here, and in the late text (SB I 95: *ati Arūru tabnū [amēla]*), should be understood to refer to Gilgamesh, 'in the Old Babylonian sense of "city ruler"' (*Studies Moran*, p. 235, fn. 8). This seems an unlikely sophistication, especially in the light of *awīlam māda* in the parallel line (l. 1).

MB Nippur₂

The lenticular tablet IM 57836 contains on the reverse a unilingual extract from *Hh* V and on the obverse three lines of Babylonian Gilgamesh. To N. Veldhuis, who made this identification from a cast, these lines evoked the episode in which the scorpion-man wishes Gilgamesh well for his journey on the path of the sun.¹³ However, the match is far from exact, for it presumes in l. 1 a combination of SB IX 128 and 131 and apparently also the omission of material counterpart to SB IX 132-3. Veldhuis supposed that MB Nippur₁₋₂ both 'exhibit a text that is relatively far removed from the Standard Babylonian version'.¹⁴ With MB Nippur₁ we have seen that the relationship between the epic as represented by that extract and the Standard Babylonian text is more intimate than at first one might think, and for this

¹³ SB IX 128-34: *eninna t[a- . . .] / girtabull[ū] pāšu ipušma iqabbī] / ana Gilgāmes ša[rri] šir iḫ amātu izakkar[?]* / *alīk Gilgāmes . . .] / šadū Māšū [iḫ- . . .] / šadū hur[sāmū . . .] / šalmeš [i- . . .]*.

¹⁴ Veldhuis, *BiOr* 56, 391-2.

reason one may seek a context for the extract on MB Nippur₂ that makes for a better match than the episode of the scorpion-man.

The classic context for well-wishing in the epic is the long preparations for the journey to the Cedar Forest, during which the heroes are blessed by the elders of Uruk, by Gilgameš's mother, the goddess Ninsun, and by the young men of Uruk. In the light of a mention of Šamaš alongside Gilgameš in l. 1 of this extract, the most probable context is Ninsun's appeal to Šamaš for her son's safety on his journey, a monologue that in the late version extends over more than seventy lines (SB III 46–118). Ninsun's speech remains fragmentary in places and is interrupted by at least one lacuna, so it is very possible that the extract copied out on MB Nippur₂ had a close counterpart in SB Tablet III.

It is interesting that all six excerpt tablets extant from the preceding centuries are witnesses to some part or other of the Cedar Forest episode (OB Schøyen₁₋₂, OB Nippur, OB Harmal₁₋₂, OB IM, OB Ishchali). Clearly the tale of the heroes' expedition against Humbaba appealed to apprentice scribes in the Old Babylonian period like no other part of the epic. It would not be surprising to find another extract from that episode in Kassite-period Nippur.

IM 57836 (2N-T 75)

MB Nippur₂Copy: Pl. 20¹⁵*Previous publication*

1983–4 R. Falkowitz, 'Round Old Babylonian school tablets', *Afo* 29–30, p. 37
1999 N. Veldhuis, *BiOr* 56, 391

T
CT*Text*

- obv.
(a) 1 *i-na-an-na*^dšamaš(utu) ^abi[l.m]es x x x x 'Now, O Šamaš, Gilgameš . . .
2 *dam!*^lqu^l-t[u]m x[x x x x] favourable [. . . .]
3 *šal-mi-iš*^lli-il^l-l[i-ik]] may he go in safety [. . . .]'
(b) lines of repeated 'nine'-signs

rev.

Hh V 235–9, unilingual version

¹⁵ I was not able to see the original tablet at first hand; the copy was prepared from digital photographs of the casts now in Chicago, kindly supplied by Daniel A. Nevez of the Oriental Institute, and subsequently adjusted after personal collation.

Note

1. Falkowitz read the hero's name as ^dgilga[meš₂], Veldhuis as ^dgiš-bil-g[a]-[. . .]. The traces of the broken signs after ^dbil(GIŠ.BIL) do not read ^lga.mes^l; to my eyes [m]es looks certain as the first sign after bil. Comparable spellings also occur in the third and first millennia (see Ch. 2, spellings no. 4f–g).

MB Nippur₃

The lenticular tablet CBS 14167 has the opening of *Hh* II on the reverse and a single line mentioning Gilgameš on the obverse. The words are not a full line of poetry and are not paralleled in the extant epic. However, in a text where Gilgameš is often in dialogue with Enkidu and other persons there are many occasions when such a phrase would be very suitable.

CBS 14167

MB Nippur₃

Copy: Pl. 21

*Previous publication*2001 N. Veldhuis, 'Kassite exercises: literary and lexical extracts', *JCS* 52, pp. 72 and 88 CT*Text*

obv.
^dbil₄.ga.mes *i-ša-sa-šu* Gilgameš was calling to him.

rev.

Hh II 1–4*MB Nippur₄*

UM 29-16-606 is an oblong fragment inscribed only on the obverse. About one third of the tablet is missing at the left side. The fragment of text preserved on it perhaps mentions Enkidu but the last line is reminiscent of OB Anzū I 30, where the gods are also in a state of confusion: *pa-aḫ-ru i-gi-gu i-(qá-tu)-ru da-al-ḫu-ma*, 'the Igigi were assembled, becoming despondent in their confusion'. Though the present lines might describe the consternation of the gods at the hubris of Gilgameš and Enkidu, there is no passage of this sort in the extant epic and the fragment remains doubtful as a source for the Babylonian Gilgameš.

UM 29-16-606

MB Nippur₄

Copy: Pl. 21

*Previous publication*2001 N. Veldhuis, 'Kassite exercises: literary and lexical extracts', *JCS* 52, pp. 72 and 88 C T*Text*

- 1 [. . .]x-ab^den-ki-dùl? al-[x] . . . Enki (or Enkidu?) . . .
 2 [. . .]x(a?)-hi-tum i-tak-ka-lu . . . keep consuming
 3 [. . .] ilū(dingir)^{mes} dal-hu . . . the gods were perturbed.

THE UR TABLET (MB UR)

The Middle Babylonian tablet of Gilgameš from Ur was first published by C. J. Gadd in 1966.¹⁶ The exact archaeological provenance of the piece is not recorded. Gadd records that it 'was found during the excavations at Ur, but in circumstances unknown'. Though I adhere to the convention of calling it the Ur tablet, we cannot be entirely certain that the tablet was excavated at the site of Ur itself. If it was not found in controlled excavation, it could have come from anywhere. The tablet is complete except for the bottom corners, and inscribed with sixty-nine lines of text, thirty-five in a single column on the obverse and thirty-four in a single column on the reverse. While we are fortunate in that the piece is largely whole, the tablet has nevertheless sustained a good deal of surface damage, and remains one of the most difficult to read of all the sources for the Babylonian epic. Happily the text preserved on MB Ur for the most part runs parallel, with some differences, mostly minor, with ll. 90–171 of Tablet VII of the Standard Babylonian edition.

The episodes retailed on MB Ur begin with Enkidu on his deathbed at dawn (1–2). In tears he recalls those he holds responsible for introducing him to civilization, namely the hunter and the prostitute. The former he curses in brief, invoking Šamaš to deny the hunter the same importance as his peers (3–6). Enkidu blames the hunter for his own failure to match up to Gilgameš. I take this to mean that Enkidu understands that his premature demise will deny him the achievements and reputation won by his friend.¹⁷ The hunter is at fault presumably because he set in train the whole sequence of events that led to Enkidu's early death. Enkidu then asks Šamaš to ensure that the hunter enjoys no success in the field, so his earnings suffer (7–8). The significance of this curse may be twofold, with application not only to the specific individual that introduced Enkidu to Šamḥat but also, by way of

¹⁶ Further studies of major portions of the text have been made by B. Landsberger and W. G. Lambert: see the bibliography given below.

¹⁷ Foster has proposed an additional level of meaning in suggesting a play on *ibru*, 'friend', and *epriu*, 'food allowance'. He translated *ay inšā mala eprišu* as 'may he not attain what will feed him' ('Gilgameš: sex, love and the ascent of knowledge', *Essays Pope*, p. 37), but this seems, in my view, to stretch *mašū* beyond its meanings, 'to be sufficient, enough', 'to be equal to (something), as competent as (someone)'.

social commentary, to others engaged in the same trade. These people, whom the epic shows to be lone figures working at the fringe of civilization, were perhaps considered beyond the pale socially, much like uncouth backwoodsmen. Certainly, hunters were typically poor and without prospects, as we learn from the apodosis of a physiognomic omen that characterizes an individual as *ša-a-a-ad ilappin(úku) adi(en) lā bašē(gal) illak(gin)*,¹⁸ 'he is a hunter: he will grow poor, he will amount to nothing'. Consequently such men were not expected to achieve the positions of importance to which their peers might aspire.

Next Enkidu vents his fury on the prostitute (9–13). She is given a fuller treatment, no doubt because the ambivalence of her social position was much more fertile ground for comment. First the unpleasant aspects of a prostitute's life are described (14–40) and then, following Šamaš's intervention (41–7), the rewarding ones (48–58).

The text then continues with Enkidu's relation to Gilgameš of his dream of the night before, describing how in the midst of a cosmic thunderstorm a monstrous figure had grabbed him and overpowered him (59–69). In SB Tablet VII Enkidu's assailant is revealed to be Death, and the dream develops into the famous description of the Netherworld. In MB Ur, however, the scribe runs out of space on the tablet just as Death lays hold of Enkidu. Possibly he continued the episode on another tablet, subsequently lost or as yet undiscovered, but the format of MB Ur suggests that it is a scribal exercise and not a library tablet. The number of mistakes in orthography and grammar that the tablet contains is rather high in comparison with both the Old Babylonian six-column tablets (OB II and III) and the Standard Babylonian library copies, and this, together with the lack of colophon, would tend to confirm the identification of MB Ur as the work of an apprentice.

The language of the tablet is good Middle Babylonian, with regular inflections and some dialect forms.¹⁹ On the basis of the handwriting and spelling Gadd suggested that the date of the tablet was late Middle Babylonian, perhaps 'the early eleventh century BC' when the kings of the Second Isin Dynasty were active at Ur.²⁰ The dated Middle Babylonian archival texts from Ur are spread from 1292 to 1079 BC, with the greatest concentration of tablets falling within the rough span 1250–1170.²¹ This evidence suggests that Gadd's estimate may be a little low. But since one cannot even be sure of Ur as the provenance it is futile, on present evidence, to speculate further.

The date of the tablet raises the question of the relationship of the text represented by MB Ur to the Standard Babylonian edition traditionally ascribed to the Middle Babylonian scholar Šin-lēqi-unninni. The similarity of the Ur tablet to the late text is not so great as to suggest that it is the identical edition. The number of differences between MB Ur and the late text is much greater than between variant manuscripts of the latter. In the Standard Babylonian text there are many instances where single words differ from their

¹⁸ Böck, *Morphoskopie*, pp. 266, 34 A₁; 67.

¹⁹ Note the typically MB prevalence of /e/ instead of /a/ before /i/ in II-stem and III-stem verbs: MB Ur 16 *lišeḫhi* // SB VII 109 *lišahhi*, Ur 26 *liqellipū* // VII 118 *liqallipū*, Ur 28 *lideppir*, Ur 39–40 *ušemimmi*, Ur 52 *linessisa* // VII 155 *linassisa*, Ur 55 *limellā*, Ur 69 *uddemim(?)* // VII 171 *uddanninmi*; a single exception is Ur 17 *liballil*. Another MB form is perhaps Ur 6 *inšā* // VII 96 *imšā*.

²⁰ C. J. Gadd, 'Some contributions to the Gilgameš Epic', *Iraq* 28 (1966), pp. 106–7.

²¹ O. R. Gurney, *MB Texts*, pp. 13–14.

counterparts in MB Ur,²² and in some lines the former uses longer phrasing.²³ Several entire lines are present in the late version that are missing from MB Ur.²⁴ Elsewhere the Ur tablet has words that are missing from the Standard Babylonian text²⁵ and, on one occasion, a whole couplet.²⁶ Differences of wording over several lines occur twice. The more substantial is the relation of Šamaš's intervention after Enkidu has cursed the prostitute. The text offered by MB Ur 43–7 has nothing in common with SBVII 134–47. Although the Ur tablet is badly damaged at this point, it is quite clear that the SB version represents a completely different telling of the episode. The second instance occurs at the end of Enkidu's blessing of the prostitute, where MB Ur 59–61 has more words in common with its SB counterpart (VII 162–4) but is nevertheless substantially different. In the Ur tablet the poet focuses at

²² See MB Ur 2 *ibakki* // SBVII 91 *inambī*, Ur 7 *lū haris* // VII 97 *hullūq*, Ur 12–13 *izziru* // VII 104–5 *izru*, Ur 19 . . . *lūtum* // VII 112 . . . *ix-nu*, Ur 20 *ella ay irši* // VII 113 *mimma ē tarši*, Ur 22 *dimmūt lalēki* // VII 115 [*dinnūtūki ša lalēma*, Ur 23 *paḥāri* // VII 116 *ša harāni*, Ur 24 *mayyālu* // VII 117 *mašallu*, Ur 26 *ešgu baltu* // VII 118 [*baltu u a*] *šāgu*, Ur 32 *ur* [...] // VII 122 *qadū*, Ur 54 *šupra u kišāda* // VII 157 *šurra uqna u ḥurāša*, Ur 55 *limellā uzniki* // VII 158 *lū niddinki*, Ur 69 *yāši uddennin(?)* // VII 171 *udanninanni yāši*.

²³ MB Ur 4 *amḥurka Šamaš* // SBVII 93–4 [*amḥurka Šamaš aššu aqrati* // *nap*] *ištūya*, Ur 10 *ḥarimta* // VII 101 [*ḥarim*] *ti Šamḥat*, Ur 18 *bū unāti* // VII 111 [*bū* . . .] *u banāti*, VII 115 at end (undeciphered), Ur 57 *lišeribki* // VII 160 *lišeribki kāsī*, Ur 60 *uštabbal mimmu kabtatīšu* // VII 163–4 *uštabbal i utūlu edānuššu / ida* [*bbub mi*] *mmū kabtatīšu ana ibrišu*, Ur 62 *ina šunai mušūya* // VII 165 *šunai aṭṭul mušūya*, Ur 65 *ištēn eḥlu* // VII 168 *ša ištēn eḥli*, Ur 66 *ana anzi* // VII 169 *ana ša anzē*.

²⁴ SBVII 99, 103, 107, 129. ²⁵ MB Ur 5 *lā'etī*, 21 *bātu*, 66 *nā'ir*. ²⁶ MB Ur 28–9.

U. 000 (no number)

MB Ur

Copy: Pls. 22, 23

Previous publication

1966	C. J. Gadd, <i>UET VI</i> no. 394	C
1966	C. J. Gadd, 'Some contributions to the Gilgamesh Epic', <i>Iraq</i> 28, pp. 105–21	T Tr
1968	B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 124–30 (ll. 6–8, 13–40, 53–69 only)	ttr
1992	W. G. Lambert, in V. Haas (ed.), <i>Außenseiter und Randgruppen</i> (Xenia 32), pp. 129–31 (ttr of ll. 11–40, 48–58 only), 158–61	C ttr
2000	A. Westenholz, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , pp. 449–50	C

Text

obv.

1	<i>mi-im-ma še-ru i+na na-m[a-rī]</i>	// SBVII 90
2	<i>iš-ši re-ši-šu^d en-ki-du¹⁰ [a-na] pān(igi) ^dšamaš(utu) i-b[a-ak-kī]</i>	// SBVII 91
3	<i>[a-na] pān ša-ru-ri ša ^dšamaš il-la-ka [a di-m] a-š[u]</i>	// SBVII 92
4	<i>am-ḥur-ka ^dšamaš aš-šum ša-a-a-di ḥa-bi-[li amē] i(lū)</i>	// SBVII 93
5	<i>a-na la-[e]¹-ti ša la u-šam-ša-an-[nī] ma-l[a ib-ri-ia]</i>	cf. SBVII 94–5
6	<i>ša-a-a-d[u a] in-ša-a ma-la ib-ri-šu</i>	// SBVII 96
7	<i>né-mel-š[u l] u ḥa-ri-[is]¹ i-di-šu mu-ut-ti</i>	// SBVII 97
8	<i>[ḥu] ḥar-sa(sic!)-[a]t [zita(ḥa.la)-šu i+na] ma!-ah-r[ī]-[ka]</i>	// SBVII 98

first on Gilgameš,²⁷ who had been patiently sitting in front of Enkidu while the latter cursed and blessed the prostitute in turn. The Standard Babylonian version omits all mention of Gilgameš at this point, and instead stresses Enkidu's troubled state of mind.

All this suggests that MB Ur has to be regarded as a witness to a version of the epic distinct from the one that became standard in the libraries of the first millennium. This presents us with two alternative hypothetical solutions, depending on whether we view Sin-lēqi-unninni's work as petrified from the twelfth century or as subject to later revision. First, MB Ur might be descended from a tradition that was very similar to the text reworked by the great redactor of Uruk—perhaps the very text itself—which survived into the twelfth and eleventh centuries at Ur, if nowhere else, but was later abandoned in favour of the Standard Babylonian version. Second, MB Ur might represent an early recension of Sin-lēqi-unninni's edition, which could have been subject to continuing minor editorial work until perhaps as late as the eighth century.

It would be foolish to claim that with this new edition a definitive decipherment of MB Ur has been achieved. Though progress has been made, as anticipated by Gadd in his original edition, by the bringing to the task of several pairs of what he called 'younger eyes', a comparison between the copy published here and the others made recently by Lambert and Westenholz demonstrates that there is still disagreement in the reading of some traces.

²⁷ As the signs appeared to me and Westenholz, though Lambert's copy indicates that he read [*en-ki-du¹⁰*], with Landsberger.

Other translations

1969	A. K. Grayson, <i>ANET³</i> , pp. 505–6 (ll. 1–6, 15–27 only)
1987	B. Foster, <i>Essays Pope</i> , pp. 37–40 (ll. 5–6, 11–40, 48–58 only)
1992	J. Bottéro, 'Tablette d'Ur', <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 263–7
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Versione da Ur', <i>La saga di Gilgameš</i> , pp. 273–6
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgameš</i> (Penguin), pp. 128–31

Translation

obv.

1	At the very first light of dawn,
2	Enkidu lifted up his head, weeping before Šamaš.
3	Before the rays of the sun his tears were flowing:
4	'I hereby appeal to you, Šamaš, concerning the hunter, the trapper-man.
5	As for the "shackler", who did not let me be a match for [my friend,]
6	may the hunter not be a match for his friend!
7	May his income be cut! Diminish his earnings!
8	May his share (of the profits) be cut in your presence!

- 9 *ul-tu ṣa-[a-a-d]a iz-zu¹ru¹ ma-l[*a libbi*(šà)-š]u* // SBVII 100
 10 *ù ḥarimta(kar.kid) ¹libba(šà)¹-šu a-ra-ra u[b-l]a* // SBVII 101
-
- 11 *al-ki šam-¹ḥat šl¹-ma¹ta¹ lu-šl¹[m-k]i* // SBVII 102
 12 *lu-uz-zu-ur¹ki¹ iz-zi-ra¹ra¹-ba¹a¹* // SBVII 104
 13 *ḥa-an-ṭi-iš ḥar-piš¹ iz-zi¹-ru-ú-a¹ li-iṭ-ḥu-ú a-na ka¹-šl¹* // SBVII 105
-
- 14 *e te-pu-šl¹ bū(é) ¹la-le¹-ki* // SBVII 106
 15 *e tu-uš-bi i+na x x x ¹ša¹ ardāti(ki.sikil)^{mes}* // SBVII 108
 16 *su(sic!)-bat¹ki¹ dam-qa qa¹qa¹-ru? li¹-še-eh-ḥi* // SBVII 109
 17 *¹lu-bar¹ i-si-in-na-ti-ki šak¹-ru i+na tu-[ur]¹bu-¹li-bal-lil* // SBVII 110
 18 *¹e tar-šl¹-i¹ bū¹ú-na-a-ti¹* // SBVII 111
 19 *x x ¹lu-ú?-[t]um ša [p]a-[ḥa]¹-ri¹* // SBVII 112
 20 *x (x) [x] šam-ḥat [(x)] lú ¹ri-ba? -ki? x el-la¹ a-a ir-šl¹* cf. SBVII 113
 21 *x x x [x²]paššūru(banšur) šu-mu-uh¹ ni-šl¹ bal-tum a-a imadī(šub)^d i+na? būi-ki?¹* // SBVII 114
 22 *d[ī]-in-nu-ut la¹le¹-ki lu-ú¹ dak¹-kan ka!?-x[(. . .)]* // SBVII 115
 23 *iš-pal-lu-ur-ti pa-ḥa¹ri lu¹-ú¹ mu-ša¹-bu-k[ī]* // SBVII 116
 24 *ḥur-ba-[t]um ¹lu-ú¹ ma-a-a-la-k[ī]* // SBVII 117a
 25 *šl¹il-li dūri(bād) lu¹-ú man-za-zu-k[ī]* // SBVII 117b
 26 *¹e-še¹-gu bal-tu li-qel-li-pu še-p[ī]-ki* // SBVII 118
 27 *[ša-ak-r]u ú ṣa-mu-ú li-im-ḥa-(su) le-e[t-ki]* // SBVII 119
 28 *[x x] x-aš (or ina?) su-qí al-tam-ma¹ki li¹-de¹ep-pi¹-[ir]*
 29 *[x x x x] i-iš-ša-ki-in¹ša¹-al-[tum]*
 30 *[x x x be-e] l-ti dī!(KI) -ni e-l[ī-ki li-il]-si* // SBVII 120
 31 *[ūr būi-ki? a-a i-se-e] r i-[tin-nu]* // SBVII 121
 32 *[i+na x (x) x-ki li-i] r-bi-šu ur. [. . .]* // SBVII 122
 33 *[. . . a-a iš-š] a-kin q[ī-ri-tum]* // SBVII 123
 34 *[.] x [. . .]* // SBVII [124]
 35 *[.] x [. . .]* // SBVII [125]

rev.

- 36 *[. . .] x-ti i-x x ¹ta¹-ri-im-t[*a-ki*?]* // SBVII 126
 37 *[ša? lu-bar ta-ke-e] l-ti lu-ú x-ḥi-tu[m]* // SBVII 127
 38 *[x x su-n] i¹su¹-uh¹-ḥu-ú lu-ú ni-di-in x x* cf. SBVII 128-9
 39 *[aš-šum ia] -šl¹el-la¹ u-šem-tin-ni* // SBVII 130
 40 *[ú ia-š] i¹el-la tu¹-šem-tin-ni i-na šēri(edin)-ia* // SBVII 131
-
- 41 *[^dšamaš iš-me] zi¹kir¹ pi-šu* // SBVII 132
 42 *[ul-tu ul-la-num-ma tuk-k] u¹ul¹-tu ša-me-e i-ša-as-sa-šum-m[*a*]* // SBVII 133
 43 *[.] ṣa¹a-a¹-da ḥa-bi-la amēla(lú)*
 44 *[.]-ki¹la lu¹ dam-qat*

- 9 After he had cursed the hunter to his [heart's] content,
 10 he decided to curse the harlot also.
-
- 11 'Come, Šamḥat, I will determine a destiny for you,
 12 I will curse you with a great curse,
 13 my curses shall afflict you swiftly and soon!
-
- 14 May you not found a household to delight in!²⁸
 15 may you not sit down in the young women's chamber!
 16 May the ground defile your fine-looking garment!
 17 May the drunkard smear with dust your festive gown!
 18 May you never acquire a house with utensils and pots,
 19 [. . .] . . . of the [potter]!
 20 . . . Šamḥat, may your . . . man not acquire a pure . . . !
 21 May [. . .] the table, the people's abundance and pride, not be set *in your house!*
-
- 22 May the bed you delight in be the *bench* of a [. . .]!
 23 May the crossroads of the potter be where you sit!
 24 May the ruined houses be where you bed down!
 25 May the lee of the city wall be where you stand!
 26 May briar and thorn skin [your] feet!
 27 May drunk and sober strike [your] cheek!
 28 May [the *rabble*] of the street congregate in your brothel!
 29 [*In your tavern*] may there be fights!
 30 [May . . .] be plaintiff, [may she] claim against [you]!
 31 [May the] builder [not plaster *the roof of your house!*]
 32 [*In your bed-chamber*] may there lie [*wild*] dogs!
 33 [. . . may no] banquet [take] place!

Traces of 2 lines

rev.

- 36 [. . .] . . . [your] present.
 37 [. . .] purple [raiment] may . . . !
 38 May a defiled [. . .] be the gift of . . . !
 39 [Because] you made me weak, me who was pure!
 40 [And me] who was pure, you made me weak when I was in the wild!
-
- 41 [Šamaš heard] what he had spoken,
 42 [straight away] a voice cried to him from the heavens:
 43 '[.] hunter, trapper-man,
 44 [.] . . . she/it should be lovely.

²⁸ Lit. 'make the house of your delight'.

45	x[. ^d en]-ki-du ₁₀ bu-la x ^r du ^r x-tu-ma	
46	[[i- šam ^r]-ha ^r -tum ^r ? x ra ^r ?-du-ú ^r -m ^r ?]	
47	ta-za-x[. . .] bu [x x]x ki-i ^r te ^r -el-li	
<hr/>		
48	al-ki šam-h[at ši-ma-ta lu-šim]- ^r ki ^r	// SB VII 151
49	pi-ia ša iz-z[u-ru]- ^r ki ^r [[i-tur] ^r ú ^r ki ^r]-[ru-u]b-ki	// SB VII 152
50	ša-ak-ka-na-ak ^r ku ^r ú ^r r[u-bu]- ^r ú ^r li-ra-mu ^r -ki	// SB VII 153
51	^r ša 1 ^r bē ^r (danna) li ^r -im-ha-aš ^r ša ^r -par-šu	// SB VII 154
52	ša 2 bē ^r li ^r -né-si ^r -sa qí-im-ma-as-su	// SB VII 155
53	a-a ik-la-ak-ki ^r re-du-ú me-si ^r -ir-ra-šu ^r li-ip-tur-ki ^r	// SB VII 156
54	li-din-ki šu-up-ra ^r ú ^r ki-ša-da ^r	// SB VII 157
55	an-ša-ab-tu tur ^r -tu-ri ^r li-mel-la ^r a uz-ni-ka ^r	// SB VII 158
56	ana ^r e ^r li(guruš.lú) ša ku ^r -un ^r nu ^r {nu} ku-nu-nu-šu iš-pi[k-ku-šu ša-a]p ^r ku ^r	// 159
57	^d ištar(innin) le-e-at ^r ili(dingir) ^{mes} li-še-rib-ki ^r	// SB VII 160
58	^r áš ^r -šu-mi-ka li-né-zib um-mi ^r 7 hī ^r -tum	// SB VII 161
59	^r GIŠ ^r gim-maš ^r a-šib ^r ma-ḥar ^r -šu	
60	u[š-t]a ^r ab ^r -bal mim-mu kab-ta-ti-šu	cf. SB VII 163–4
61	^r i-qab ^r -ba-aš-šu ana ša-šu	
<hr/>		
62	m[i-i]m-mu ib-ri ^r i-na šu-na-at mu-ši ^r -ti-ia	// SB VII 165
63	i[l-su]-ma ša-mu-ú ^r qa-q-a-ru ^r i-pu-ul	// SB VII 166
64	^r i-na bi-ri ^r -šu-nu ^r az-za-aš ^r ana-ku	// SB VII 167
65	1 ^r e ^r lu(guruš.lú) uk-ku ^r -lu ^r pa-nu ^r -šu	// SB VII 168
66	a-na ^r an-zi ^r -i ^r na- ^r i ^r ir pa ^r -nu-šu ma-áš-lu ^r	// SB VII 169
67	ri-it ^r ti ^r né-ši ^r ri-it ^r -t[a-šu]	// SB VII 170a
68	šu-pu-ur e-ri-i šu-up-r[a-šu]	// SB VII 170b
69	iš-bat-ma qí-im-ma-ti ia ^r -šī ^r ? ud-de ^r -e[n ^r ?-nī ^r]n?	// SB VII 171

Notes

1. In the SB text this line becomes *mimmū šēri ina namāri*, and is standard repertoire in the second half of the epic (see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB VII 90).

2–3. For other examples of this standard couplet see SB VI 82–3 and commentary.

4. The word *amḥurka* utilizes the ‘performative’ preterite (for this in Gilgameš see SB III 11 and commentary).

5. The verb *lāṭu* is commonly used to describe the function of a *rappu*, a kind of wooden shackle, perhaps a neck-stock, with which prisoners of war could be restrained (on *rab ri.ri = rappu lāṭu* see George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 304). The use here of the participle, apparently to describe the hunter, suggests that the *rappu* was also an instrument used in hunting.

8. Gadd and Lambert both copied the first two signs of the line as GIŠ.HUR. Landsberger interpreted these as ⟨li⟩-iš-hīr (properly *hīr*), and thus sought a line different from that preserved in the SB text. However, there seems to me (and to Westenholz) to be more to the first sign than three wedges. Accordingly I am encouraged to read the text in the same way as the SB, though in doing so one is forced to accept the spelling *ḥar-sa-at* for *ḥaršat* (cf. a comparable spelling in l. 16). To my

45	[.] Enkidu, the animals . . . ,
46	May [. <i>the</i>] prostitute
47	You [. . .] . . . <i>how will you go up?</i>
<hr/>	
48	‘Come, Šamḥat, [I shall determine a destiny for] you,
49	my mouth that cursed you shall return and bless you:
50	May governors and noblemen love you,
51	may he who is one league (distant) slap his thigh!
52	May he who is two leagues (distant) shake out his locks,
53	may no soldier be slow to undo his belt for you!
54	May he give you fingernail and necklace,
55	with <i>multiple</i> ear-rings may he deck your ears!
<hr/>	
57	May Ištar, most able of the gods, send you in
56	to a man whose household is well off, whose storage [bins are heaped] high!
58	On your account may the first wife be deserted, the mother of seven!’
59	Gilgameš was sitting before him.
60	Mulling over what was on his mind,
61	(Enkidu) spoke to him:
<hr/>	
62	‘All (that I saw), my friend, in the dream of this night:
63	the heavens thundered and the earth gave echo,
64	with me standing (there) between them.
65	There was a man, his expression was grim,
66	his face was like a ravening <i>Anzū</i> -bird.
67	[His] hands were a lion’s paws,
68	[his] claws were an eagle’s talons.
69	He seized me by the hair and <i>overpowered me</i> .’

eyes the sign before *ah*, later in the line, is unrecognizable as it stands; I assume that it is *ma* written over a partly erased *ah*, and again seek to reconcile the MB text with the SB version.

11–13. For a parallel to the formula used to introduce the curse see the passage of Ištar’s Descent quoted in Ch. 10, the introduction to SB Tablet VII (on 100–5). The form *šmata*, with epenthetic vowel, is literary for *šanta* (see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style). The rare word *izziru*, the counterpart of the SB version’s *izru*, appears to be an **ipris* formation from \sqrt{nzr} (see *AHW*, p. 1564).

15. This curse ensures the ostracism of the prostitute from the company of her peers. In the context of the preceding line, it excludes her from the normal family life which provided Babylonian women with social position and protection. There are four badly damaged signs between *i-na* and *ki.sikil^{mes}*, only the last of which is readily identifiable: though it has sustained some interior damage, the outline shape of it fits either *it* or *ša* (note that SB has *in[a x] šā*). From the point of view of sense, Gadd’s é. [éš(for éš).dam] is not likely, since the *aštammu* is the typical haunt of the prostitute, not of respectable family women. Landsberger read é-x-x. Lambert’s reading, *bū^r qí-re-el^r*, is not wholly

borne out by the traces: the second and third signs are not compatible in my view. In Babylonian literature the archetypal place of abode of young women is the *maštaku* (MB *maltaḳu*), the private part of the house to which the only man granted automatic access was the husband. No other building or chamber is so repeatedly associated with *ardatu* (M. J. Geller, *AJO* 35 (1988), p. 15, ll. 36, 38, 40; *Ardat lili* incantation; *LKU* 43 obv. 6; E. Reiner, *JNES* 33 (1974), p. 224, 8; syncretistic hymn to Nanāy; *CT* 16 9 i 26–7: *Udughu* IV; MacMillan, *BA* V, p. 620, rev. 20–1 // *SBH* 58, 14–15; cf. Cohen, *Lamentations*, p. 618). However, this word is only possible if one emends to ¹*ma-aš-(ta)-ki ša¹ ardāti*. It may be that what the scribe actually wrote was ¹*ma-aš-qi-it¹ ardāti*. Though young women no doubt frequented watering places daily, to draw water and socialize, nevertheless *mašqūt* does not sit happily with the qualification *ardāti*, and it seems to me that banning the prostitute from the local well, as it were, would not be the most direct way of describing her exclusion from the company of respectable women. For the moment it is safest to conclude that the traces remain without a secure decipherment.

16. It has been customary to read the first word *su-nu-ki*, following Gadd's original decipherment. In a MB text which observes regular inflections, I am not convinced that *sūnuki*, 'your lap', can be accusative, unless one takes it as a deviant form of hymno-epic *sūmuk*. The second line of the couplet is concerned with clothing, and so to my mind a garment of some kind is best expected in the first. The adjective *damqu* is in any case not common for a part of the body, let alone the prostitute's lap, but it is the conventional qualification of good-quality fabric (note especially *šu-ba-tu damqu* (sig.) in the synonym list *CT* 18 11 ii 16–17). Although *sūmu* can designate a garment in administrative texts, in literature it is very rare in such usage. Accordingly I read *su-bat-ki* as erroneous for *šubātiki*, and see in the spelling the same phonetic phenomenon that was observed in l. 8, *har-sa-at* for *haršat*.

The third word in the line was read *qa¹du¹-tu[m]*, 'mud; sediment, (beer) dregs', by Landsberger, Foster and Lambert. To my eyes the second sign cannot be *du* but is very possibly another *qa* (Westenholz's copy agrees), which makes the word *qaqqaru* the most likely candidate for restoration. The ground soils the prostitute's finery because, on occasions when more comfortable accommodation is lacking, it is there that she must ply her trade (as also implied in l. 24). In both lines of this couplet the poet draws attention to the irony of the prostitute's situation: though her job requires her to look attractive, it can also require her to get her finery dirty.

17. Foster reads the first word *hub?*-š, but what remains of the first sign rules this out; *lubār isin-nāti* is also found in SB VIII 48. The penultimate word was tentatively read *tu-[r]e!/-e!/-[r]u?-ū* by von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1373, s.v. *iūrū*, a hapax legomenon which he derived from *arū*, 'to vomit'. However, the traces seem to rule this out: there is space for four signs, not three, and the third of these seems to have the right shape for *bu* (cf. Lambert's copy). Thus the sordid picture of the drunkard puking over the hapless prostitute must be replaced by the graphic image of her rolling around with her drunken customer in a cloud of *turbu¹u*, the dust stirred up in the course of conducting her business in the open.

18–19. Though *bū unāti* can be a storeroom for household equipment and furniture (as in the title of the functionary *šatam bū unāti*), the point of this couplet is surely that the prostitute will not have a house full of dishes, pots and pans, and the nice things a housewife traditionally likes to acquire (cf. l. 14). In this regard it is interesting that counterpart of the simple *bū unāti* in the SB text is *[bū? . . .] u banāti*, '[a house full of . . .] and lovely things' (l. 111). The first word of the second line seems to be in apposition to *bū unāti*, despite being nominative, but I have not found a suitable decipherment. The SB version is again preserved only in the latter half of the line but seems to be different here too.

20. What precedes *ella ay irši* is all very doubtful; the line does not tally well with the late version, which is, in any case, also only partly preserved.

21. The phrase *šu-muḥ niš¹* elsewhere occurs as an epithet of cereal crops, ⁴*nissaba* (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 158, 16: Tamarisk and Date Palm); here, together with *baltu*, it apparently refers to food set out on the tray or table (cf., in the late version, *tar]āš paššūri*: SB VII 114). The traces at the end of the line favour ¹*ina būti-ki¹* as much as ¹*it-na būti-ki¹* (see below on l. 28). As a whole this line looks much too long, and one might have expected a division after *šumuḥ niš¹*. However, the line is retained as a single one (with omission of *bāltu*) in the SB version (l. 114). The significance of the line appears to be that the prostitute, shunned by society, will not find guests prepared to eat in her company (cf. l. 33).

22. The word *dinnūtu* is treated in *Hh* IV 147 and *Nabnūtu* IV 209: ⁶⁵*ná.aš.ná = dīn-nu-tum* (*MSL* V, p. 163; cf. XVI, p. 84). The significance of the Sumerian term appears to be that this is a bed for single occupancy, and its use in the present context thus implies that the *dakkannu* is the place where the prostitute is to sleep, rather than where she entertains clients. The term *dakkannu*, in Sumerian *da.ga.na* and *daggan*, is most recently discussed by P.-A. Beaulieu, who translates 'room, bedroom, private quarters' (*ZA* 82 (1992), pp. 101–3). It is something typically occupied by women and old men. Its association in *Šurpu* with parts of the door has encouraged the translations 'Türöffnung' (*AHW*) and 'porch', but, like its Sumerian counterpart, it can be a place where one sleeps. In the NB document from Uruk which prompted Beaulieu's discussion, a *dakkannu* is occupied by a temple slave (*ZA* 82, p. 99 = *YOS* XIX 110, 7). That is the point here: the prostitute must make do with very inferior sleeping accommodation. In the present context the *dakkannu* appears to be what she sleeps on, rather than in, and a translation 'bedroom' would be too broad.

23. The 'crossroads of the potter' refers to a junction of roads in the potter's quarter (so Foster), probably traditionally a poor neighbourhood, and maybe outside the urban area proper, near the clay-pits (cf. Oppenheim's remarks in *Or* NS 17 (1948), p. 41, fn. 4).

24. Gadd and Landsberger read the first word *har-ba-tu₄*. With Foster and Lambert I follow *CAD* in reading *hur-ba-tum*, the plural of *huribtu*. Von Soden now analyses it as the plural of the adjective *harbu* I (*AHW*, p. 1559); on *harbāu*, 'uncultivated land', see recently M. Stol, *BSA* 4 (1988), p. 173 (sc. *eqlēu?*). The form *māyṣālaki*, with epenthetic vowel, is literary for *māyṣālki* but results in an unsatisfactory dactyl at the end to the line; the SB text offers a trochee, the plural *mašallūka*.

25. The shaded ground below the city wall was a traditional place for the prostitute to attract customers. See the orgiastic OB cult-song of Ištar: *eḫ-lu-ut a-li-ku-nu pu-uh-ḫi-ra-nim-ma a-na ši-il-li du-ri-im i ni-lik*, 'gather together the young men of your city and let us go to the shade of the wall' (W. von Soden, *Or* NS 60 (1991), p. 340, 13–14); for a parallel passage in Ištar's Descent see Ch. 10, the introduction to SB VII (on 102–4).

28–9. This couplet is not present in the SB text. In l. 28, as Lambert noted, before *su-qi* a reading *ina* is in conflict with the scribe's habitual writing *it-na*. However, the scribe does use both *a-na* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 66) and *ana* (56, 62), so the reading *ina* is not ruled out absolutely. In fact, it may already have occurred at the end of l. 21. The last word of the line can also be read ¹*ti¹-de-ep¹-pīr¹*; I agree with Lambert in elucidating this *ideppir* (II/1) by reference to the verb used in the l/1 stem in Tablet I of the late version to describe the thronging of wild animals at the water-hole (SB I 111 // 176) and the jostling of the crowd congregated around Enkidu, when newly arrived in Uruk (SB I 253 // II 105). NA manuscripts of these lines spell the verb ambiguously, *ideppir* or *iteppir*, but the LB manuscripts offer *iteppir* not *ideppir*. Perhaps the first radical became unvoiced over time.

30. The emendation relies on SB VII 120. For *šasū* with the nuance of 'to make a claim in law, sue', see *AHW*, p. 1196, G 13 (cf. *CAD* Š2, p. 155, 'to summon' in legal contexts). The person who sues the prostitute is female (*bēti dīm*).

31. The restoration at the very beginning of the line is traditional, going back to Landsberger. The evidence for the roof as the object of the verb *sēru* is now collected in *CAD* S, p. 228 (see also

AbB XII 17); *igar būi-ki* is also possible, of course (cf. Dalley, p. 130, 77). A dissenting voice is Foster, who reads the verb as *i-ši-ir < ešēru*, ‘to design’), employing a most unusual value (*Essays Pope*, p. 38).

32. Though the SB text has *li-ir-bi-si qa-du-ú*, it is noteworthy that *rabāšu* is not a verb associated with birds, and I am not convinced that we are constrained to force the later text on to the broken word preserved here. To me the sign UR suggests not so much a variation of *uru.ḫul.a^{msen} = qadū* (cf. Lambert) as dogs (i.e. ur.[gi.^{ms}] = *kalbū*; so also Foster). Dogs are commonly the subject of *rabāšu*.

37. The first sign of the last word was read *taš* by Gadd, Landsberger, von Soden (*AHW*, p. 1338, s.v. *tašhātu*, ‘Schwängerung(?)’), and Foster, but *mal* by Lambert (*mal-ti-tum*, ‘dedicated thing’). I could only see four wedges, three upright and one horizontal, and am not persuaded that either *taš* or *mal* is right. Instead one might take it as an incomplete *ri*, which produces two alternative decipherments, *rehēru*, ‘remnants’, and *rihātu*, ‘something engendered or produced, creation’. But while the text remains in such poor condition and the SB version is also in a fragmentary state, it cannot be certain which decipherment is correct, if any.

38. Lambert restored [*ú-lap su-ni*] here, which makes good sense, though of course not just prostitutes, but all women, have to endure *ulāp sūni šuhhū*, ‘a soiled sanitary towel’. This restoration seems to be based on the late text, which at this point reads *x-lap su-ni šah-[ḫu-ú . . .]* (SB VII 128). However, the difficulty is that *x ≠ ú*: see further Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc.

39–40. Enkidu’s purity in the wild was sexual (for *ellu* in this meaning see the references collected by M. Stol, *JEO* 32 (1991–2), p. 65, fn. 160). Note in this regard that in the late epic the verb used to record the loss of Enkidu’s virginity, for which he here so savagely upbraids the prostitute, is *šuhhū*, ‘to defile’; see further Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 199; the verb used here, *šumtū*, is also found in that episode, though in the II/1 stem (SB I 201; on the parallelism in vocabulary, which also yields a correspondence MB *ella* : SB *ullula*, see further the commentary on SB I 199). The implicit purity of the virgin male is well known from exorcistic rituals that require the participation of ‘a youth who has never known a woman’ (¹⁰*šuhāru*(tur) *ša sinništa*(munus) *lā idū*(zu): *STT* 73, *passim*; *AMT* 61 no. 5, 12).

42. The restoration comes from the SB version, IV 195 and VII 133. It is possible that *tukku* represents a late expansion not present in MB Ur, in which case the trace before *ul-tu* is of *ullānum-m]a*.

51–2. As noted by Foster, these lines describe on the one hand the frustration of the prostitute’s potential client, while yet a league off, and on the other the eager preparations that mark, while even further away, his excited anticipation of an encounter with her. For the phrase *šapra mahāšu*, see also Mayer I. Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (= *Studia Pohl* 12/I), pp. 380–4, who views it as expressing acute disappointment or chagrin. Here it is more a gesture of angry frustration, as also in Istar’s Descent, where it is the reaction of Ereškigal on discovering that she has been tricked by the cunning Ašūšu-namer. For *qimmata nussusu* see SB VI 2, where it is what Gilgameš does on returning to Uruk from the Cedar Forest, and one of the toiletry preparations that transform him from a dirty traveller into the object of Istar’s desire. The implication of the distances mentioned in these lines is that the client is a traveller on the road, and the poet thus acknowledges that men away from home, whether commercial agents or military men, can be enthusiastic patrons of prostitutes.

54–5. This couplet describes the jewellery and trinkets with which the appreciative customer showers a good prostitute. According to Lambert, ‘the hoof, or claw, is a manufactured item of jewellery’, though the dictionaries indicate that *šapru* is usually a decorative ornamentation at the foot of legs of furniture or at the end of a handle. However, the horde of jewellery from the harem tombs recently found under Aššurnāširpal II’s NW palace at Nimrud includes sets of jewellery for the

hand, comprising four finger-rings each joined by a chain of worked gold to a wrist bracelet (two exemplars can be seen in Muayad Damerji, *Gräber assyrischer Königinnen aus Nimrud*. Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 45 (1998), p. 32, fig. 40, middle right). The effect is of gold fingers or talons stretching like a hen’s foot over the back of the hand, and this might conceivably be what is meant by *šapru*. An alternative solution might be that the well-off prostitute, and maybe other women, adorned their fingernails (*šapru*) with gold leaf or some other expensive material. It may be significant, though, that the SB version has a different text, reading instead *šurra uqnā u ḫurāša* (l. 157). One motive for altering a received text is a failure to understand what it means.

The word *tur-tu-ri* appears in the SB version and elsewhere as *tu(t)turru*, a term most recently discussed by J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1992/34, who presents evidence from Mari that it means ‘ornaments annexes’, revising his earlier view that it signified granulated decoration (*ARMT* XXI, pp. 231–2). As a qualification of ear-rings this word probably signifies an elaborate piece of jewellery with several pendants or other component parts. Either the scribe of MB Ur has inadvertently reversed the first two signs of what may have been an unfamiliar word or the word is a reduplication, *<*turtur*. The word qualifies *anšabtu* as a genitive, for *anšabtu* can only be an object of *limellā* if status constructus with old-fashioned *Auslaut* in *-u*. It is not the only grammatical problem in this line. Von Soden already anticipated the new, but admittedly obvious, decipherment *uznīka* (‘lege er an deine Ohren’). The masculine possessive suffix is a bad howler, but one that is repeated with *āš-šu-mi-ka* in l. 58.

56. The reading *ku-nu-nu-šu* seems unavoidable: from the traces of the first sign [*k*] *i-nu-nu-šu* does not look possible. I agree with Lambert in viewing this, a hapax legomenon, as a variant of *ganūmu*, which, as well as storehouse, also denotes the home where one’s family lives (as in *Erra IV* 84, 99, 102) and even the household or family itself (*LKA* 52, 19). The word before it was read *ku-un-ni[u-ku]* by Lambert, but to my eyes the damaged traces of the end of this word are not compatible with such a reading: though not absolutely clear, the third and fourth signs seem to be the same shape, i.e. *ku-un-nu-nu*. If this decipherment is correct the scribe is guilty of dittography. The *ganūmu kunnu* is a secure, permanent family home, exactly what the prostitute lacks when she has no wealthy patron, as the curses have earlier repeatedly stated. Here, if we take ll. 56–8 together, a career is envisaged for her in which, through the intervention of Istar, the patron of prostitutes, she attracts the devotion of a rich man who installs her in his house and divorces his first wife, the mother of his sons. For the poet this entry into family life in a secure domestic environment marks the most fortunate potential achievement of the common prostitute.

57. For Istar’s epithet ‘most able of the gods’ see e.g. Scheil, *RA* 15 (1918), p. 176, 12: *le-i-it i-li* (Agušaya); *KAR* 144, 13: *le-e-it il^{mes} rabūt^{mes}* (incantation); cf. *BMS* 32 = Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 122, 14: *le-’-at* [. . .] (incantation); *KAR* 158 i 15: *le-a-at a-bi-ša* (song incipit).

60. *mimmu*, a rare form of the construct state of *mimmū*, already occurs in OB letters (*CT* 6 7a, 7: *a-na mi-mu bū(é) a-bi-šu-nu*; *YOS* II 111, 16: *mi-im-mu tu-ša-ad-di-nu*) and in MB (boundary stone of Melišihu: *MDP* II 104 iii 45: *mim-mu id-di-nu-šu*). In SB it is commoner (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 265, rev. 8: *nig.nam dingir.ra // mim-mu ili*, ‘the property of a god’; in omen apodosis: Böck, *Morphoskopie*, p. 83, 116–17: *mim-mu ili*(dingir)/šarri(lugal); *KAR* 376 rev. 11: *mim-mu būti(é) šāti(bi)*), though some references may be the NB indefinite *mimmu < mimma*.

63. This line recalls the very similar one that introduces the description of Gilgameš’s third dream in SB IV 101: *ilsū šamū qaqqaru irammum*.

66. The use of the status absolutus suggests that word *nā’ir* may be taken as a name of the *Anzū*-bird (note the pairing *an-ze-e na-’-i-ri* in the enumeration of monstrous images depicted in silver and copper by Esarhaddon at the gate of E-gašan-kalama, the temple of Istar-Ninlil at Arbil:

Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 33, 10). The terrible features described in ll. 66–8 belong to the agent of Death, as is implicit in the SB version, in which the dream continues with the binding of Enkidu and his forcible abduction into the presence of Ereškigal. The fact that the figure displays the face of the *Anzû*-bird confirms the identification, for according to a phrase quoted by a commentary on *Sakikku* VII, 'Death (has) the face of Anzû': *ša iqbû/qabû^u mu-ú-tu pa-ni^d anz[î(anzu)^{mušen} (ša-kin)]* (Hunger, *Uruk* I 32 rev. 12; cf. George, *RA* 85 (1981), p. 157). The Vision of Kummâ attests to another tradition, in which Death has the head of a dragon: *'mu-ú-t[ú?] qaqqad mušhušši ša-ki-in* (Livingstone, *SAA* III, p. 71, 3); but other chthonic beings in this text have the head of Anzû (ibid., 5: *Ḫumuṭ-tabal*, the ferryman), or, utilizing the identical phrase as SB VII 169, his face (10: *ištēn eṭ-lum*, i.e. an unidentified demon, . . . *a-na ša an-zi-i pa-nu-šu ma-āš-lu*). Though there the demon Namtar and Death (*'mātu*) are separate, elsewhere they are equated (*nam-ta-ru = mu-u-ti: LTBA* II 1 v 54 // 2, 264 // 3 iv 3), and in other literature the agent of Death is often personified as Namtar, who brings death to mankind and was accordingly given a place in the pantheon as the vizier of Ereškigal (see the references collected in *CAD* N/1, p. 248).

67–8. These lines articulate what are probably typical attributes of Mesopotamian monsters: compare a Sumerian version of them in Bilgames and *Ḫuwawa* A 37 // 59 // B [38]: *šu pirig.gá umbin ḫu.rí.in.na*, 'paws of a lion, talons of an eagle', where these are attributes of the first of the zoomorphic constellations that Utu gives Gilgameš to guide his expedition to the Cedar Forest.

69. Read after SB VII 171: *udanninanni yāšī*. For *dunnunu* with the dative cf. *dutannunu* in omen apodoses (e.g. *YOS* X 25, 21: ¹⁶*nakar(kūr)-ka ud-da-na-an-na-ak-kum*, 'your enemy will strive to overpower you'; II/3?).

THE FRAGMENTS FROM BOĞAZKÖY (MB BOĞ)

In excavations that have been conducted intermittently from 1906 to the present day, the capital of the ancient Hittites at Hattusa, modern Boğazköy (now Boğazkale), has surrendered many thousands of cuneiform tablets, in Sumerian and Akkadian as well as in Hittite, other Anatolian languages and Hurrian.²⁹ The material of Mesopotamian origin embraces the usual range of Babylonian literature handed down in the scribal tradition: Sumero-Akkadian exorcistic literature (*āšipūtu*), omen literature (*bārūtu*, *Enūma Anu Enlil*, *Šumma izbu*, etc.), hemerologies, proverbs, school literature and lexical texts, Akkadian hymns and prayers, and a tiny smattering of mythological-epic texts.³⁰ Some of these texts were equipped with a Hittite translation, while others, like Atra-ḫasīs, Gilgameš and the King of Battle, inspired less slavish Hittite paraphrases.³¹

²⁹ For an overview of the archives and libraries of Boğazköy see E. Laroche, 'La bibliothèque de Hattusa', *ArOr* 17/II (1949), pp. 7–23; K. Bittel, 'Das Archiv in Gebäude K', *MDOG* 91 (1958), pp. 57–61; E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (= *CTH*; Paris, 1971); H. Otten, 'Archive und Bibliotheken in Hattusa', in K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries* (CRRA 30; Istanbul, 1986), pp. 184–90; P. Cornil, 'Textes de Boghazköy. Liste des lieux de trouvaille', *Hethitica* 7 (1987), pp. 5–72.

³⁰ See in general Laroche, *CTH* 299–316, 341, 531–60, 792–819. For the bilinguals see further J. S. Cooper, 'Bilinguals from Boghazköi. I', *ZA* 61 (1971), pp. 1–22; id., 'Bilinguals from Boghazköi. II', *ZA* 62 (1972), pp. 62–81. For the pedagogical texts see G. Wilhelm, 'Zur babylonisch-assyrischen Schultradition in Hattusa', in *Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (First International Congress of Hittitology)*; Ankara, 1990), pp. 83–93.

³¹ For Atra-ḫasīs in Hittite (*CTH* 347) see J. Siegelová, 'Ein hethitisches Fragment des Atra-ḫasīs Epos', *ArOr* 38 (1970), pp. 135–9; the Akkadian fragment of Atra-ḫasīs cited there in fn. 12 is now published in G. Wilhelm's copy, *KBo* XXXVI 26.

Excavation at Boğazköy has so far yielded eight pieces of Akkadian Gilgameš. These have come to light in at least two different general locations, namely the royal palace on Büyükkale and a building in the upper city, and in the course of three different seasons distributed evenly between the first series of excavations before the First World War, the second series between the wars, and the postwar series. The first of these finds was a large fragment from the late empire period, here designated MB Boğ₂. The second was a small and unrevealing fragment, edited below as MB Boğ₃. The third and most important discovery was of a group of fragments of the middle Hittite period, here collected under the designation MB Boğ₁.

MB Boğ₁

Eight fragments of Gilgameš were found in 1983 in the cellars of House 16 in the upper city at Boğazköy, a building whose ground plan suggests that it was a temple (findspot Square L/9-f/3).³² There they numbered among a small library belonging to the temple or its priest, that also yielded pieces of an important Hurro-Hittite bilingual text.³³ Two of the Gilgameš fragments were joined to a third, to make six pieces in all: Bo 83/614, 615, 625, 627 + 641 + 658, 633 and 634. These were quickly made public by the late H. M. Kümmel in a paper to the 32nd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Münster in July 1985, entitled 'Akkadische Gilgameschtexte aus Boghazkeui', and subsequently edited by Gernot Wilhelm in an article that appeared in 1988.³⁴ According to Otten and Wilhelm the script indicates that the pieces date from about 1400 BC ('vorgroßreichzeitlich'), and that they were written in Anatolia. They also agreed in a suspicion that the fragments could come from more than one tablet, but that they appear to be the work of one man. The snippets of text provided by the six fragments run parallel with passages of the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III), especially, but also with parts of the late epic (SB I–VII).

Fragment (a) is a large piece from the top right-hand corner of a big library tablet. The obverse gives an account of the taming of Enkidu that compares closely with the relevant passages of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II) and SB Tablets I–II. The text is a little more condensed than the Old Babylonian version. The sixteen lines of text preserved on the obverse constitute twenty-nine lines of poetry, as I reconstruct them. These twenty-nine lines run parallel with thirty-three poetic lines of the Pennsylvania tablet (set out in fifty-two lines of tablet, OB II 51–102). The reverse of Fragment (a) has text from the encounter with *Ḫuwawa*, but this episode is much condensed compared with OB Ishchali and SB Tablet V.

³² See the preliminary report and plan of P. Neve, 'Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1983', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1984, pp. 347, 366–7.

³³ According to the inventory of finds, 112 tablets, or fragments of tablets, were retrieved (ibid., p. 372). A preliminary report on the tablets was given by H. Otten, 'Die Tontafelfunde aus Haus 16', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1984, pp. 372–5. The library has been published in copy, with other tablets from the vicinity, by H. Otten and C. Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt (KBo XXXII)*; Berlin, 1990). A ground-plan of House 16 can also be found in ibid., p. xvii.

³⁴ Full bibliographical details are given in the table below (p. 310).

Fragment (b) is a small flake from the middle of a multi-column tablet. Mention is made of a mother, presumably Gilgamesh's, and other key words are *iṣabtu* and *malē*. These suggest that the piece belongs to an episode parallel with the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III) and SB Tablets II–III, probably Gilgamesh and Enkidu's wrestling match, but the exact context remains uncertain.³⁵

Fragment (c) is an obverse flake which, to judge from the manner in which the slope of the ruled lines alters, comes from near the bottom edge of a tablet, if not actually from the very bottom.³⁶ The text is concerned with preparations for the journey to the Cedar Forest, specifically the arming of the two heroes. What little remains does not tally with the Yale tablet's account of the same episode (OB III 165–71).

Fragment (d) is a small flake which, on the evidence of Otten's copy, Wilhelm placed at the top of the reverse. However, to my eyes no trace of an edge remains on the tablet, and the ruling perhaps suggests that the text sets in a little way down the column. The fragment reports the ambition of Gilgamesh in wording very close to the Yale tablet, though slightly condensed (// OB III 182–200).

Fragment (e) is a flake from the right edge, which Wilhelm could not place in context. To me the words *lullikam*, 'may I come (back)', and *ina āli*, 'in the city', suggest that this piece is from a speech by Gilgamesh requesting a blessing for a safe return from the Cedar Forest. In the Yale tablet such a prayer is addressed directly to Šamaš (OB III 216–21), while in the late text Gilgamesh makes a similar plea to his mother (SB III 24–34), so that she herself intercedes for him with Šamaš. It is not clear whom he addresses here, though the overall brevity of the text would indicate that Šamaš is more likely than Ninsun.

Fragment (f), reconstructed from three pieces, is a piece from the middle. The text is from the episode in which Enkidu relates to Gilgamesh how, in a dream, he has seen the great gods in counsel, and they have condemned him to die. In the late text this passage falls in the missing beginning of SB Tablet VII and so in the Babylonian epic is preserved only here, but the substance of the episode is already well known from the much better-preserved Hittite paraphrase.³⁷

The question now arises as to which fragments belong together and which do not. Otten thought that five of the six pieces could be from the same tablet, the exception being Fragment (b) on account of the colour of the clay and the small size of the script.³⁸ In

³⁵ That Fragment (b) dealt with the wrestling match between Gilgamesh and Enkidu was suggested by Wilhelm (*ZA* 78, p. 110). The word *iṣabtu* does indeed occur in that context (OB II 218 // SB II 113), and the mention of the mother recalls Enkidu's words of homage upon accepting defeat (OB II 234–7: *kīma iṣṣenma ummaka ūlīdka / rīntum ša supūri Ninsunna*). For this reason I follow Wilhelm's lead in the placing of Fragment (b), but note that *iṣabtu* in itself is too common to be diagnostic: in the early part of the epic it also occurs in the Yale tablet when the two heroes go to the forge (OB III 163), and in the late text when Gilgamesh comforts Enkidu and again when they visit Ninsun (SB II 182, III 19). Future discoveries of text may, as ever, bring about a revision of the current view.

³⁶ Contra Wilhelm, *ZA* 78, p. 111. The hatching on Otten's copy shows that he did not interpret the ruling as coinciding with the bottom edge.

³⁷ See J. Friedrich, 'Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgamesh-Epos', *ZA* 39 (1930), pp. 16–19; E. Laroche, 'Le songe d'Enkidu', *RHA* 26, pp. 131–2; R. Stefanini, 'Enkidu's dream in the Hittite "Gilgamesh"', *JNES* 28 (1969), pp. 40–7.

³⁸ Quoted by Wilhelm, *ZA* 78, p. 110. However, experience with joins in the British Museum and other collections shows that in a large tablet the colour of the clay is not a reliable criterion for deciding whether a given fragment belongs to it or not. As for the size of the script, it can be seen from the photographs reproduced to scale in *ZA* 78, pp. 104 f., that

making up a new entry for *CTH* 341 Wilhelm accepted that Fragments (a), (c) and (d) were parts of the same tablet. He thought (b) and (f) might be parts of that tablet, too, but he could not be sure whether (e) belonged with (a) or with (b).³⁹ The key lies with the big piece, Fragment (a). It was not clear to Otten and Wilhelm whether the tablet from which this fragment derived was of more than one column per side or not.⁴⁰ Collation in 1992 did not yield certainty either way, but considerations of layout may help in deciding the issue. If the tablet was single-columned it would then be Tablet II in a series in which Tablet I covered disproportionately little ground (a Prologue, the tyranny of Gilgamesh, the creation of Enkidu) and Tablet II disproportionately much (the taming of Enkidu, the wrestling match, the preparations for the journey to the Cedar Forest, the journey itself, the encounter with Hūwawa). We have no way of knowing the exact state of the epic at Hattusa at the time this tablet was written but one might expect a better balance. Fragment (b) could not be part of a single-columned manuscript of such a Tablet II but would be from a second copy with a different layout.

If, on the other hand, the tablet represented by Fragment (a) was a multi-column tablet, we would then have in Fragment (a) the beginning of col. ii and the end of col. iii. The text of col. i would presumably have begun at the beginning of the epic and the text of col. iv would have ended well past the middle. Even though the text would certainly have omitted long sections that occur in other versions of the epic, it is clear from the surviving passages that the tablet represented by Fragment (a) would then have been very large indeed, but not impossibly so. In addition, one might then propose that all six pieces of MB Boğ₁ are parts of a single tablet of four columns (see below).

Col.	Extant pieces	Episodes
i	missing	[Prologue, tyranny of Gilgamesh, creation of Enkidu]
ii	a obv. (+) b (+) c	Taming of Enkidu, wrestling match, proposal to visit Cedar Forest, visit to armoury
iii	d (+) e (+) a rev.	Debate over wisdom of expedition, prayers to Šamaš, [march to Cedar Forest], encounter with Hūwawa
iv	f	[Death of Hūwawa, felling of cedar, Ištar's proposal, Bull of Heaven], Enkidu's dream of doom, [Enkidu's death and funeral, Gilgamesh's lament]

This seems to me to be the neatest solution.

The edition of Gilgamesh that these fragments represent was written in regular couplets of

the question is to do less with the size of the characters than with the spacing of the lines. Fragment (b), which comes from the left margin of a column, has cramped lines. Fragment (e), from the right edge, has widely spaced lines. The difference in spacing is a function of the variation in slant of the lines as one progresses down each column: compare the reverse of Fragment (a).

³⁹ *ZA* 78, p. 103: 'CTH 341 Gilgamesh. I. Fragments akkadiens. 1. A. KBo XXXII 128(+)131(+)130 [here acd]; B. KBo XXXII 132 [here b] (même tablette que A?); C. KBo XXXII 129 [here f] (même tablette que A?); D. KBo XXXII 133 [here e] (probablement même tablette que A ou B)?'

⁴⁰ Wilhelm thought that the restored text of the extant column would have filled the width of the tablet and ruled out a division into columns (*ZA* 78, p. 101). Otten's notation, 'einkolumnig(?)', shows that the copyist was not so sure.

good Babylonian poetry, as far as one can tell from the larger pieces, Fragments (a) and (d). The text is often very close to the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III) and may derive directly from late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian originals that belonged to the same tradition. However, MB Boğ₁ can deviate significantly from the older version, and

MB Boğ₁

Bo 83/614, 615, 625, 627 + 641 + 658, 633 and 634		Copies
		Pl.
a	Bo 83/625	24
b	Bo 83/633	24
c	Bo 83/614	24
d	Bo 83/615	25
e	Bo 83/634	25
f	Bo 83/627 + 641 + 658	25

Previous publication

1988	G. Wilhelm, 'Neue akkadische Gilgameš-Fragmente aus Hattusa', <i>ZA</i> 78, pp. 99–121	PTTr
1990	H. Otten, <i>KBo XXXII</i> 128 (a), 129 (f), 130 (d), 131 (c), 132 (b), 133 (e)	C
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 134 (Fragment (a) obv. only)	C

Texts

Fragment (a), obv.

[¹ ḫarimtu piša ipušamma]	// OB II 51
[izzakkara ana] ^d en-ki-du	// OB II 52
dam-qá-ta-ma [^{d1}]en-ki-du ² kīma ili tabašši?	// SB I 207
[ammūni i] t-ti nam-ma-aš- ^{me} ša ša- ^r [i ³ tatanallak]	cf. OB II 54–5, SB I 208 // II 29
[. . .] x ib [¹ ša/ta?] ki-ma ilim(dingir) ^{lim} ta-bá- ¹ áš-šī	
[⁴ mannumma kīma kāti šaruḥ? i-n] a zi-ik-ká-ri	

[⁵ ḫarimtu piša ipušamma]	
[izzakkara] [¹ a] ^d en-ki-du	
al-kam ^d en-ki-du [⁶ lurdēka]	// OB II 56–7
[ana gupri ša rē?] [¹ a] ¹ šar tarbāši(tūr)	
1-šu iš-ḫu-ut-ma šu-ú it-tal-bá-aš	cf. OB II 69–70, SB II 34
[⁷ libša šanā ramānša labšat?]	cf. OB II 71–2, SB II 35
[qāssu ša-ab- ¹ i] a-at-ma ki-ma ilim(dingir) ^{lim} pa-ni-šu [⁸ illak?]	cf. OB II 73–4, SB II 36
[ana gupri ša rē? i a-ša] r? tarbāši(tūr)	// OB II 75–6 // SB II 37

[⁹ ina šērīšu ipḫurū rē? ū]	// OB II 77
[ūtammu? um-m] a-num a-na ra-ma-an-nu!(DU)-uš	cf. OB II [79]?, SB II 39
[¹⁰ anāmi Gilgameš ma-šil pa-da- ¹ i]	// OB II [80]

when it does it sometimes exhibits phrasing found in the later, Standard Babylonian text. In this way these fragments provide valuable evidence for the state of the epic after the end of the Old Babylonian period and before its reworking into the canonical text of the first millennium.

Other translations

1992	J. Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 275–6 (Fragment (a) only)
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Versione accadica di epoca medio-ittita', <i>La saga di Gilgameš</i> , pp. 295–7
1997	U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 160–1 (Fragment (a) only)
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgameš</i> (Penguin), pp. 132–4 (Fragments (a) and (d) only)

Translations

Fragment (a), obv.

[¹ The harlot opened her mouth,]
[saying to] Enkidu:
'You are handsome, [Enkidu, <i>you are just like a god,</i>]
[why do you range] with the beasts of the wild?
[³ . . .] . . . you are like a god,
[⁴ who] among men [<i>is as splendid as you?</i>]
[⁵ The harlot opened her mouth,]
[saying] to Enkidu:
'Come, Enkidu, [⁶ let me lead you]
[to the shepherds' camp,] the site of the sheep-pen.'
One (garment) she stripped and he dressed himself,
[⁷ the other garment she put on herself.]
[Taking him by the hand, she was <i>walking</i>] before him like a god,
[to the shepherds' camp, the site] of the sheep-pen.
[⁹ The shepherds gathered about him,]
[the] crowd [<i>talked</i>] among themselves:
'[¹⁰ In build he is the equal of Gilgameš,]

<i>la-a-na ša-pi-il-ma i-še-em-ta</i> [¹¹ <i>pukku</i>]	// OB II [81-2]
[<i>mīnde ša iwwaldu i-n</i>] <i>a ša-dī-i</i>	// OB II [83-4]
<i>šizba</i> (ga) ¹¹ - <i>iz-ba</i> <i>ša nam-ma-aš-te</i> ^{me} [¹² <i>ūenni</i>]	// OB II 85-6
[<i>akla iškunū maḥaršū</i>]	// OB II 87 // SB II 44
[<i>ī</i>] <i>p-pal-lī-is aklam</i> (ninda) ^{lum} <i>ū-tā-ad-dī-ir</i>	cf. OB II 88-9
[¹³ <i>kurunna iškunū maḥaršū</i>]	// SB II 45
[<i>ippallīs kurunna</i>] [¹ <i>ū-tā-ad-dir</i>] _(TAR)	
[¹⁴ <i>ḥarimtu pīša tpušamma izzakkara ana Enkidu</i>]	// OB II 94-5
[¹ <i>a-ku-ul aklam</i> (ninda) ^{lum} <i>en-ki-dū</i>] [¹⁵ <i>simat ilūti</i>]	cf. OB II 96-7
[<i>kurunna šiti si-m</i>] <i>a-at šār-ru-ut-tim</i>	cf. OB II 98
[¹⁶ <i>īkul akla Enkidu adi šebēšū</i>]	// OB II 99-100
[<i>ku</i>] ¹ <i>ru-l-n</i> [<i>a iš-ī</i>] <i>i-ma</i> [⁷] [<i>assammī</i> . . .	// OB II 101-2

Fragment (b)

1' [x x x] x [. . .	
2' <i>is-ša-ab-tū</i> ^d [. . .	cf. OB II 222-4?
3' <i>i-na ma-le-e</i> ¹ <i>šū</i> ¹ [. . .	
4' [¹ <i>a-na arki</i> (egir)- <i>šū</i> ^d [. . .	
5' [^d <i>GIŠ-gim-maš umm</i> [<i>a</i> (ama)- <i>ka?</i> <i>ūlidka?</i> . . .	// OB II 234-5?
6' [<i>ū</i>] <i>i-na</i> x [. . .	
7' [x x] x x [. . .	

Fragment (c)

1' . . . [¹ <i>ū</i>] x [. . .	
2' . . . x- <i>mī</i> <i>ša t</i> [<i>a?</i> . . .	
3' . . . [¹ <i>a?</i>]- <i>tī a-ia i-x</i> [. . .	
4' . . .]- <i>šī i-na līb-bi</i> x [. . .	
5' . . . x- <i>ia patrū</i> (gir) ^{ba} <i>lī-ih</i> -[. . .	
6' . . .] <i>a-na</i> ^d <i>GIŠ-gim-maš a-n</i> [<i>a-ku?</i> . . .	
7'] <i>ma-na i-na šī-ib-bi</i> -[<i>ka?</i> . . .	
8'] <i>aš-ku-un KI-im-mi</i> -x [. . .	

Fragment (d)

1' . . .] x [. . .	
[² <i>ila ša iqabbū lūmur</i>]	// OB III 182
[<i>ša šumšu it-ta-na-a</i>] <i>m-bā-lu qaqqā</i> [<i>ru</i> (ki)]	cf. OB III 183
[<i>luksussūma</i> ³ <i>ina qišti erēni</i>]	// OB III 184
[<i>kīma dannu per'u ša Uruk l</i>] <i>u-še-eš-mi m</i> [<i>āta</i> (kur)]	// OB III 185-6

(but) shorter in stature and [¹¹ sturdier] of bone.
 [For sure it is he who was born] in the upland,
 the milk of the beasts [¹² he used to suck.]
 [They put bread before him,
 peering at the bread, he was perturbed.
 [¹³ They put beer before him,
 [peering at the beer,] he was perturbed.

[¹⁴ The harlot opened her mouth,]
 [saying to Enkidu:]
 'Eat the bread, Enkidu, [¹⁵ fit for a god,]
 [drink the beer,] fit for a king!
 [¹⁶ Enkidu ate the bread until he was sated,]
 [he] drank [the] beer, seven [jugs (full)] . . .

Fragment (b)

1' [. . .] . . . [.]	
2' They took each other (by the hand) [.] ³ in his matted hair [.] ⁴ to his rear [. . . Enkidu opened his mouth, saying to Gilgameš: 'As one unique,] ⁵ Gilgameš, [your] mother [bore you . . .] ⁶ and] in [. . . ?	

Fragment (c)

1' [. . .] and [. . .]	
2' '[. . .] . . . which you [. . .] ³ . . .] . . . may he not . . . [. . .] ⁴ . . .] . . . in the middle of . . . [. . .] ⁵ . . .] my [. . .] may the dirks . . . [. . .] ⁶	

6' [Enkidu opened his mouth, saying] to Gilgameš: 'I [. . .]⁷ . . . x] minas in [your] belt
 [. . .]⁸ . . .] I set . . . [. . .]⁹

Fragment (d)

'[² I will see the god, of whom they speak,
 [whose name] the earth [does constantly] repeat.⁴¹
 [I will conquer him³ in the Forest of Cedar,
 [that Uruk's offshoot is mighty I] will have the [land] learn.

⁴¹ Lit. 'the earth keeps carrying'.

9' . . .] *ù di-in*^d *en-ki-du i-p[á-ar-ra-su?* . . .
 10' . . .]^d *Giš-gim-maš a-ši-ib i-na bití(é)-š[u* . . .
 11' . . .]^d *ša¹ lu-la-a-šu^d en-ki-du x[* . . .
 12' . . .]^d *mu¹-ra ša ki-ma¹ i-* . . .
 13' . . .] *x na-ki-im-me-e a-ia¹* [. . .
 14' . . . -r] *a-a-tù¹ li¹-ib-kà-a x[* . . .
 15' . . . ^d *en-ki]-dù a-na šu-wa-a-tù iz-[za-kà-ra ana Gilgāmeš* . . . cf. SB VII 28–9
 16' . . .] *-te¹ li-a¹ la x[* . . .
 17' . . .] *x x[* . . .

Notes

a obv. 1–3. The text combines material found in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 51–5) with material that survives in the late version (SB I 206–8). Wilhelm thought the repetition of the phrase *kīma ilī tabāšši* unlikely, given the text's terse style, but the repetition in obv. 5 of the formula introducing direct speech is another example of an elaboration present neither in the Pennsylvania tablet nor in the late text.

a obv. 4. As suggested by Wilhelm, the line is restored after SB VI 173: *mannumma šaruḫ ina zikkari*.

a obv. 6. Where the Pennsylvania tablet has Uruk and E-anna, MB Boğ₁ has the shepherds' camp, which is the more immediate, if less inspiring, destination. The two lines that describe the clothing of Enkidu again have elements in common with both the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 69–72: *išḫu libšam ištīnam ulabbissu / libšam šanī'am š italbas*) and the late text (SB II 34–5: *ištēn lubūšu r[amānša labšat?] / u šanā lubūšu šā[šu ulabbis?]*).

a obv. 7–8. Given the certain restoration of [*qāssu šab*] *tat* at the beginning of the line, one should probably resist the idiom *pānī šabūtu* and take *pā-ni-šu* as *pāniššu*, locative-terminative with *alāku*. This phrase replaces OB *ireddešu*.

a obv. 9. The emendation follows SB II 39: *ina ramānišūma*; one might alternatively read the plural *ra-ma-an-(na)-tū-uš*.

a obv. 11. Tautological spellings like *ga^{si-iz-ba}*, which combine a logogram with a full phonetic rendition, are found occasionally in Old Assyrian and the cuneiform of Nuzi and the West (Boğazköy, Ugarit, Mittanni): see the references collected by Wilhelm, *ZA* 78, p. 102.

a obv. 14–15. The closest parallel to this couplet is not OB II or SB II but SB VII 136–7: *ša ušākilūka akla simat ilūti / kurunna išqūka simat šarrūti* (cf. also SB VI 27–8).

d 2'. Though the Yale tablet has *itanambalā māātum*, this version certainly had something different, of masculine gender, and *ki = qaqqaru* seems the obvious candidate.

a rev. 1'. Ḫuwawa is speaking to Enkidu: cf. SB V 91: [*ammēni lemni*]š *Gilgāmeš tušakšidu adi maḫṛṛya*.

a rev. 2'. As Wilhelm notes, *et-lu-lu-ti*, if it is for *etellūti*, is an Assyrian form. On the unexpected gemination of consonants in Boğazköy Akkadian see Wilhelm's discussion of this phenomenon in the Šunaššura treaty, *ZA* 78, p. 103, fn. 20.

a rev. 3'. Ḫuwawa curses Enkidu; cf. the fragmentary SB V 253–7, especially *lal[ē* in l. 254.

a rev. 5'. Wilhelm supposed that the subject of [*irt*] *appudā* is the winds that Šamaš sent to blind Ḫuwawa. It might instead be Ḫuwawa's auras, whose frantic efforts to escape are described with this verb in OB Ishchali 17': *kīma watmū irtanappudū iq-qšim*.

11' [. . .] . . . Enkidu [. . . ^{12'} . . .] he saw, one (who) like [. . . ^{13'} . . .] may he not [*acquire*] *descendants* [. . . ^{14'} . . .] let the [. . .] mourn . . . [. . .]

15' [. . .] Enkidu said to him, [to Gilgameš: ' . . . ^{16'} . . .] . . . not [. . .]

a rev. 7'. Restored after OB Ishchali 18': *šānu tūr nērma*.

f 10' f. The double ruling which Wilhelm took as marking a division between tablets is probably only a poorly executed ruling repeated more effectively.

f 13'. I follow Wilhelm's suggestion that *na-ki-im-me-e* is a by-form of *ligimū* comparable with *nigimmū*, *nagimū* (*ZA* 78, p. 115).

MB Boğ₂

No details are known of the exact provenance within Boğazköy of this large fragment, now in Berlin under the number VAT 12890. The date of first publication indicates that it derives from the first series of excavations, conducted before the First World War. Accordingly, all that can be said for certain is that the piece was most probably one of the large number of tablets and fragments recovered by Hugo Winckler and Theodore Makridi Beğ in 1906 and 1907. These came mainly from the royal palace on Büyükkale and from Temple I in the lower town.⁴² According to Wilhelm the fragment dates probably to the thirteenth century BC.⁴³

To judge from the curvature of the inscribed surfaces, the fragment comes from near the bottom left-hand corner of a big, multi-column tablet. At least forty lines are missing from the top edge, one or two only from the bottom. The extent of the missing portion of tablet on the other axis is uncertain. At least two whole columns are lost to the right, perhaps more. The text of the obverse (col. i) relates dreams from the journey to the Cedar Forest and is therefore to be compared with OB Schøyen₂, which it partly duplicates, OB Nippur, OB Harmal₁ and SB Tablet IV.⁴⁴ The fragment's reverse (col. vi?) is

⁴² See H. Winckler, 'Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghaz-köi im Sommer 1907. I. Die Tontafelfunde', *MDOG* 35 (1907), pp. 12–15; Laroche, *ArOr* 17/II (1949), p. 7.

⁴³ Wilhelm, *ZA* 78 (1988), p. 101.

⁴⁴ A preliminary comparative treatment of MB Boğ₂ obv., OB Harmal₁ and SB IV was made by B. Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1969), pp. 115–16. For a new comparison in the light also of OB Schøyen₂ see above, Ch. 1, the section on Case studies in the evolution of the epic.

given over to the story of Gilgameš, Ištār and the Bull of Heaven and thus presents a parallel with MB Emar₂ and SB Tablet VI. It is probable that the original tablet began with the heroes' journey to the Cedar Forest and ended with their triumph over the Bull of Heaven. The missing columns would have dealt with the encounter with Humbaba in the Cedar Forest and the felling of cedar. Such a reconstruction would make this tablet the second in a series.

The text is much condensed in comparison with the later version. It is also afflicted by

VAT 12890

MB Boğ₂

Copy: Pls. 26, 27

Previous publication

1922	E. Weidner, <i>KUB IV</i> no. 12	C
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 43–4	T

Text

obv. col. i

At least 40 lines missing from top of column

1'	[i]P-la ib-[ri? . . .]	
2'	[i ¹ -pi-iš qé- ¹ ru-ub ²] x x[. . . damqat?]	
3'	šu-ut-ta-ka iḫ-du e-li-i[š li-ib-ba-šu-ma]	cf. OB Schøyen ₂ , 23–4
4'	[p]a-na-šu it-t[ám-ra]	
5'	[i]š-ša-ab-tù-ni il-la-ku-ni nu-bá-at-[ta is-ki-pu i-ni-lu]	// OB Schøyen ₂ , 82
6'	ši-it-tù ra-ḫi-it mu-ši ik-tal-dá-aš-[šu ^d GIŠ-gim-maš]	// OB Schøyen ₂ , 30
7'	i-na mišil(maš) mu-ši-ti id-di-šu ši-it-ta-[šu it-bé-e-ma?]	cf. OB Schøyen ₂ , 2 // 31
8'	šu-ut-ta iz-za-qar a-na ^d en-ki-du ₄ [b-ri a-tám-mar šu-ut-ta]	cf. OB Schøyen ₂ , 3 // 32 // OB Schøyen ₂ , 4a
9'	ki-i la-a ta-ad-kà-an-ni mi-na-a-a[m e-re-ku]	cf. OB Schøyen ₂ , 4b
10'	^d en-ki-du ₄ ib-ri a-tám-mar šu-ut-t[a ki-i la-a] ¹¹ ta-ad-kà-an-ni mi-na-a-am [e-re-ku]	
12'	e-lí 1-en šu-ut-ti-ia ša-ni-tù [et-qé-et?]	
13'	i-na šu-ut-ti-ia ib-ri ša-du-ú [. . .]	

errors of transmission, particularly on the reverse, where there are several clear cases of textual corruption. Sometimes the tablet is well enough preserved to show that the text is poetry, though in western style the beginnings and ends of lines of verse do not necessarily coincide with the beginnings and ends of lines of tablet. Where a sequence of poetic lines can be detected an attempt has been made to divide the lines of the translation according to the poetry, not the tablet.

Translations

1950	E. A. Speiser in Pritchard, <i>ANET</i> , p. 82 (obv. 5'–20' only)
1958	A. Schott and W. von Soden, <i>Reclam</i> ² , pp. 47–8 (obv. 5'–19' only)
1970	R. Labat, <i>Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique</i> , pp. 175–6, fn. 2 (obv. only)
1992	J. Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 277–80
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Versione accadica di epoca tardo-ittita', <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 298–9
1994	K. Hecker, <i>TUAT III/4</i> , pp. 668–70
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 114–16, 157–9
1997	U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 161–2 (obv. 3'–26')
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 135 (obv. 5'–25')

Translation

obv. col. i

1'	'[. . .] . . . [my] friend [.]
2'	is done, near is the . . . [. . . , favourable is]
3'	your dream.' He became glad, [his heart became] merry [and]
4'	his face shone [bright.]
5'	They took each other (by the hand) to go forward. [They pitched] camp for the night, [they lay down.]
6'	Sleep, which is spilled out by night, overcame [him, Gilgameš.]
7'	In the middle of the night [his] sleep abandoned him. [He arose and] ⁸ related the dream to Enkidu: [My] friend, [I have seen a dream;]
9'	if you did not rouse me why [am I awake?]
10'	Enkidu, my friend, I have seen a dream; [if] you did [not] ¹¹ rouse me why [am I awake?]
12'	My second dream sur[passes] the first.
13'	In my dream, my friend, a mountain [. . .]

- 14' *it-ta-dá-an-ni šēpī(gir)^{ms}-ia iṣ-ša-bat na-[. . .*
a-ḫi-ia]^{15'} *ša-lu-ma-tù ud-da-an-ni-in* // OB Schøyen₂ 8
 1-en¹⁶ *et[lu(guruš) la-bi-iš pa-la-a?]* // OB Schøyen₂ 9
- 16' *i-na māti(kur) dá-mi-iq-ma du-mu-uq-šu [. . .]* // OB Schøyen₂ 10
 17' *šap-la-an ḫursāni(hur.sag) iš-tal-pa-an-ni-m[a . . .]* // OB Schøyen₂ 12
 18' *me-e iṣ-qá-an-ni-ma lib-bi ip-š[a-ah (. . .) i-na]*
 19' *qá-qá-ri ú-ša-aš-ki-in šēpī(gir)?^{ms}-ia]*
-
- 20' ^d*en-ki-du₄ a-na {AN} šu-a-ti iz-^fza^l-[qar*
i-qab-bi]^{21'} *a-na^d GIŠ-gim-maš* cf. OB Schøyen₂ 13
ib-ri ni-i[l-la-ka-šum ú-ul ḫursān]^{22'} *mi-im-ma nu-uk-ku-ur* // OB Schøyen₂ 14-15
^d*ḫ[u-wa-wa (ša) ni-il-la-ka-šum]* // OB Schøyen₂ 16a
- 23' *ú-ul ḫursān(hur.sag) mim-ma nu-uk-[ku-ur* // OB Schøyen₂ 16b
 . . .]^{24'} *al-kà mu-uh-ḫi pu-luh-ta-[ka . . .]*
- 25' *in-na-am-ma-ar [.]*
-
- 26' *ú¹⁶ et[lu(guruš) ša [ta-mu-ru . . .]* // OB Schøyen₂ 21
 27' *ša e-ni-ka [.]*
 28' *ša pa-ag-ri-k[a]*
 29' *it-ti-ka [.]*
 30' *ar-ḫi-i[š . . . šu-ut-ta-ka?]*
 31' ^l*ih-du^l [e-li-iṣ-li-ib-ba-šu-ma pa-na-šu it-tám-ra?]*

Perhaps 1 line missing to edge, then break of several columns

rev. col. vi(?)

Probably only 1 or 2 lines missing from edge

- 1' [x x] x^f šī^l x x x^f il-lī^l-. . .]
 2' ^f*i-na bī(é) ili(dingir)^l-šú ú-na-si-is [qimmassu (. . .)]* cf. SB VI 2
 3' *il-la-ki at-ta-di ar-š[u-ti-šu . . .]*
 4' *ir-ta-kà-às a-na^d en-ki-du₄ ^d[. . .]*
 5' *lu-ú ka a-na-ku lum ta-ḫa-za-a-n[i . . .]*
 6' *dī-iš-ša^{na} bára.babbar.dil umbin? [. . .]*
 7' *amātu?^{(sag.géme)^{ms} ša ḫa-aš-ma-ni zi-x[. . .]}*
 8' *a-ga-lu {IU} ra-bu-ti ú-ša-ak-l[a-al . . .]*
 9' ^{na}*dušā(du₈.šú.a) i-na še-pi-ka^f ú^l [. . .]*
 10' *li-na-ša-ma [. . .]*
-
- 11' *iš-me-ma^d iṣ₈-tár ša^d GIŠ-gim-maš q[a-ba-a-šu . . .]* cf. SB VI 80
 12' *ši-ṭa-at ši-ig-ga-ta ek-ke-tá [. . .]*
 13' *is-ḫur a-na^{du₈} pur-si-ti sa-ḫi-x[. . .]*
 14' *e-lí a-na šamē(an)^c iz-za-qar a-bi [. . .]*

- 14' it threw me down, it held (me by) my feet . . . [. . .]
 15' A radiant brightness gave strength to my arms.
 There was a man [clad in a *royal mantle*,]
 16' he was the most handsome in the land and his beauty [. . .]
 17' From beneath the mountain he pulled me out and [. . .]
 18' He gave me water to drink and my heart grew [calm (. . .).]
 [On]^{19'} the ground he set [my] feet.'
-
- 20' Enkidu [spoke] to him,
 [saying]^{21'} to Gilgameš:
 'My friend, we are [going to him,
 is he not the mountain?]^{22'} He is something very strange!
 Ḫuwawa, [we are going to him,]
 23' is he not the mountain? He is something very strange!
 [. . .]^{24'} Come, *cast aside* [your] fear [. . .]
 25' will be seen [.]
-
- 26' Also, the man whom [you saw . . .]
 27' of your eyes [.]
 28' of your body [.]
 29' with you [.]
 30' soon [. . . Favourable is your dream.]
 31' He became glad, [his heart became merry and his face shone bright . . .

Long lacuna

rev. col. vi(?)

- 2' . . . in the temple of his god. He shook out [his locks . . .]
 3' . . . he(!) cast aside [his] dirty [things . . .]
 4' he tied on. To Enkidu [. . . ' . . .]
 5' Let me be your <wife and you> be my <husband. If> you will marry me [. . .]
 6' . . . precious stones . . . [. . .]
 7' slave-girls that blue-green . . . [. . .]
 8' great donkeys I will make perfect [. . .]
 9' rock-crystal at your feet and [. . .]
 10' let it be brought [. . .]'
-
- 11' Ištar heard what Gilgameš [had said . . .]
 12' she was scorned, *pox, scabies* [. . .]
 13' she turned, to the offering cup [. . .]
 14' She went up to the heavens and said:

15' *i-tám-ra-an-ni būru*(amar) ša iti.6^{kam} [. . .]
 16' *iš-la-an-ni i-na-an-na id-na-[am-ma . . .]*
 17' *še-re-et a-le-e*^dGIŠ-gim-maš [lunār ina šubtišū?]

18' *šum-ma-am lu*-. . .

19' *ù šu-ù*^d*a-nu di-re-ta ša* [. . .]
 20' ^diš_g-tār mi-in-kei^{lu}et^{lu}(guruš) i-pu-šu [. . .]
 21' *a-na mi-ni te-la-qe*^{lu}et^{lu}(guruš) a- . . .
 22' [š]e-re-et a-le-e a-lu-ú i-n[a . . .]
 23' [i]-na ša^l-me-e ma-aḥ-ra-tù-š[u . . .]
 24' [x x x]x-ti-šu ig-mu-ur x[. . .]
 25' [x x x x] ša ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥa [. . .]

cf. SBVI 114

26' [x x x x a]^llu^l-u šap-ti-šū . . .
 27' [x x x x x x]^llu^l? x [. . .]

Remainder lost

Notes

i 1'. Bottéro understood the first word as a 3rd fem. sg. stative, evidently *damqat* ('[Ton rêve est de]n augure, [Mon am]!'; cf. Tournay and Shaffer), but a close comparison between the signs LA and AD in this tablet shows that the first complete sign is the former, not the latter (the difference lies in the bottom wedge of the second row of horizontals, which in LA falls further forward than the wedges immediately above it; see typically i 5', 9, iv 3').

i 2'. Pettinato translates the first word 'si allontanò' (i.e. *ibīš*), but his solution is rejected here on the grounds that this passage should be Enkidu's explanation of Gilgames's first dream, and thus direct speech. In the light of *qerub* I assume *i-pi-iš* is the stative *epiš*; compare Enkidu's chiasmic warning, after the third dream, in OB Nippur obv. 2: *šunūtum qitrubā aruḥ tāḥāzum*.

i 3'-4'. These lines are a counterpart of OB Schøyen₂ 23-4: *damqat Gilgāmeš šutašu iḥdu / iḥšib-bašūma pānūšu ittamarū*. Here *pa-na-šu*, normally a spelling of the accusative singular, is evidently nominative dual (*pānāšu*), analogous with *rēšān*, 'head'.

i 5'. With *išsabtūni illakūni* compare SBVI 168: *išsabtūnimma illakūni* and, less nearly, SB III 19-20: *išsabtūma . . . illakū*. This line would seem to cover the whole interval between the first dream episode and the second, omitting the elaborate details of march and preparation for sleep that occupy the late text (SB IV 34-47). Such brevity recalls the Old Babylonian tablet that covers this episode, from which the end of the line is accordingly restored (see OB Schøyen, 82).

i 6'. Cf. OB Schøyen₂ 30: *šūtum raḥi'at niš imqussu* and SB IV [15] and parallels: *šūtum rēḥāt niš elišu imqu*. At the end one might instead restore *šu-a-ti*, but there is a need for Gilgames's name somewhere in this passage.

i 7'. The expression is curious; perhaps *id-di-šu* is a corruption of *iddeki*, 'he was roused (from sleep)'.
 i 9' // 11'. Restored from SB IV [18] and parallels: *ibrī ul talsānmi ammīni erēku*.

'Father [. . .] 15' came across me,
 a bull-calf of six months [. . .] 16' reviled me.
 Now give [me . . .] 17' the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven,
 [let me slay] Gilgames [in his dwelling.]

18' If (you do not give the Bull of Heaven) to me,
 I will [. . .]

19' And he, Anu, [. . .] *the halter* of [*the Bull of Heaven*:]

20' 'Ištar, whatever the young man did to you,
 [*the Bull of Heaven*] 21' why would you take?
 The young man . . . [. . .]

He gave her 22' the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven.

The Bull of Heaven in [. . .] 23' from heaven.

His forelegs [. . .] 24' his [. . .] he used up.

[. . . 25' . . .] . . . famine [. . .]

26' [. . . the] Bull of Heaven, [his] lips [. . .]

i 12'. The verb is restored after OB Nippur 9-10: *ibrī ātamar rebūtam / etqet eli šalašim šunāriya*. One may also restore *pa-al-ḥa-at*, after OB Schøyen₂ 33b: *eli šuttim ša āmurū pānūm palḥat*.

i 20'. Most read *ana ili šu'āti* but Hecker's position is more sensible: 'Daß Enkidu zu einem Gott gesprochen hätte, wäre im Kontext zumindest problematisch' (p. 669, fn. 20).

i 22'-3'. The phrase *mimma nukkur* occurs with words transposed in OB Harmal₁ 11 and OB Schøyen₂ 15-16.

i 24'. The only point of contact between this line and the older text is the word *puluḥtu*: OB Schøyen₂ 20 has *ulawwa puluḥtašu birkika*. What MB Boğ₂ offers here is not obviously a corruption of that line and may report a different tradition. I follow von Soden's parsing of *muhḥi* (ZA 53, p. 221; *AHw* s.v. *ma'ū*, now *mu'ū* B in *CAD*); cf. Labat, 'fustige la peur [que tu en as eue]'; Bottéro, 'rejettes tes craintes'; Tournay and Shaffer, 'écarter la peur (que tu en as)'. Von Soden himself restored *pu-luḥ-ta-[šu]*, 'seine (des Berges?) Furchtbarkeit' (cf. now OB Schøyen₂). *CAD* tries *mu'ū* A: 'praise(?) his fearfulness' (M/2, p. 321, so also Hecker). Pettinato suggests *muhḥi* for *ina muḥḥi*, 'per ciò la paura'. More evidence is needed to secure a decipherment.

i 25'. The word *innammar* is perhaps related to SB IV 33 and parallels: *ina šēri amāt Šamaš damiqti nimmar*.

i 30'-1'. Cf. i 3'-4'; probably Enkidu's explanation of each dream ended with the same words of reassurance.

vi 2'. Cf. SBVI 1-2: *imsi malēšu ubbib tillēšu / unassis qimmassu elu šērišu*. The 'temple of his god', *ina* (or *ib-*) *bū iḥšu*, is probably not to be taken seriously. It looks like a corruption under dictation (Hörfehler) of the words *ubbib tillēšu*, which, as the later text shows, belong to the previous line.

vi 3'. Comparison with SBVI 2-3 suggests that these three words are a corruption of *elu šērišu / iddi (m)aršūtūšu*.

vi 4'. The word *irtakas* plausibly ends the narrative of Gilgameš's toilet. As Bottéro rightly saw, Enkidu is not wanted here and his name is presumably an error. Bottéro exchanged it for Gilgameš, restoring the second divine determinative as ^d[i₃-tar]. Alternatively, one could assume that the text is much nearer to SB VI, which begins the narrative of Istar's advances with the line *ana dumqī ša Gilgāmeš inī u^ašā rubūtu Istar*. In that case MB Boğ₃'s *a-na*^d*en-ki-dum* would be another corruption under dictation, for *a-na dum-qi*, and the second divine determinative would introduce the name of Gilgameš.

vi 5'. As it stands the extant text does not appear to have a counterpart in the later text. Thompson's reading *ka-e-na ba-lum* made poor sense, even with the first word emended to *ka-ia-na* by von Soden (ZA 53, p. 221: 'es sei(en) ständig'). I assume instead that what we have is corrupt: *lū (aššat)ka anāku lū m(u^ti) atta šumma) taḥḥazanni*. Cf. Istar's proposal in SB VI 9: *atta lū mutīma anāku lū aššatka*.

vi 6'. The first word is perhaps a simple error for *qi-iš-ša*, for the late text's *qīšamma* (SB VI 8). Von Soden takes the stone name as *nirpappardillū* (AHw, p. 793) but the sign after NA₄ is hardly *nir*(ZA.GIN) or any homophone of it.

vi 6'-10'. This is all very different from the later text (SB VI 9-21) but *agalī(!) rabūti* compares with *kūdanī rabūti* (SBVI 16).

vi 9'. The orthography *du₈.šū.a* for *du₈.ši.a* = *dušū* is a western spelling, already standard at Mari (see C. Michel, *Florilegium marianum* 1, pp. 130 and 134-6).

vi 11'. This line is the equivalent of SB VI 80: *Istar annā ina [šemēša]*. The entire reply of Gilgameš, which in the later text occupies 58 lines but would presumably have been considerably shorter at Boğazköy, has been inadvertently omitted, perhaps by skipping from one ruling to the next.

vi 12'-14'. If *šētat* takes the place of the late text's *uggugat* (SB VI 81) and *ēli ana šamē* the place of *ana šamāmī [lū]* (end of the same line), the diseases and the cup must represent a detail which did not survive the transmission. The diseases also appear together in an OB incantation (Böhl, *Leiden Coll.* II, p. 3, 13: *ek-[ke]-tam si-ik-ka-tam*, as read by CAD S, p. 251) but it is difficult to see them as appropriate in the present context. Perhaps one should consider the extra words a corrupt tradition (*šiggata* < **šēgugat*, 'furious', *ek-ke-ta* < *eqqet*, 'tongue-tied?'). On the other hand, given the presence of *pursūtu* in the next line, perhaps *ši-ig-ga-ta* represents *šikkatu*, 'flask'. In l. 13' the traces do not support Tournay and Shaffer's *sa-ḥi-i[r-ti* (*L'épopée*, p. 158, fn. 68).

vi 15'. The young bull-calf rampaging through Uruk is a metaphor for Gilgameš that also occurs in SB I 64: *ugdaššar rīmāniš*, and in the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven (VAS X 196 ii 10'-11', coll.): *gu₄.gal šu.bar.re unu[g^{ki}] tī.la¹ / gu₄.gal^dbil₄.ga.mes šu.bar.re unu^{ki} tī.la*, 'a great bull on the loose, dwelling in Uruk, a great bull, Bilgames, on the loose, dwelling in Uruk' (an unpublished duplicate, SC 2652/2, 22-3, reads in both lines *šu.bar.ra unu^{ki}.ga tī.la*).

vi 17'. The end of this line is restored from SB VI 95: *Gilgāmeš lunerru ina šubtūšu*.

vi 18'. *šum-ma-am* is perhaps corrupt for *šumma (alā lā tanaddīn)am* (cf. SB VI 96).

vi 19'. Thompson misread *DI-ri-ta* as *qirūtu*, 'banquet', and others have followed. Pettinato reads *terūtu*, 'mire'. Neither word is compelling in the context. Tournay and Shaffer translate 'appel' (*tērtu?*). I assume the word is *dirratu*.

vi 21'. I take *te-la-qē* as defective for *teleqqē*, with Bottéro ('pourquoi veux-tu prendre?'); Hecker takes it as *tallakī* ('warum kommst du?').

vi 23'. *māhrātūšu* is perhaps elliptical for *šēpāšu māhrātu*, as in the Vision of Kummā (Livingstone, SAA III 32 rev. 8: 2 *māḥ-ra-a-ti iššūru*, 'the two front (legs): (those of) a bird'). The bull is pawing the ground, no doubt with disastrous consequences.

vi 25'. The famine is caused by the Bull of Heaven drying up the vegetation and water supplies (cf. SBVI 117-18).

MB Boğ₃

Bo 284/d is a tiny fragment from the middle of a big tablet, 2.4 cm in thickness, inscribed with an Akkadian text of literary character. It was excavated in the royal palace at Boğazköy in 1934, during the second series of excavations conducted by Kurt Bittel, and is now in Ankara. The findspot was Büyükkale s/16, where the fragment was evidently a stray in secondary context.⁴⁵ The surface of the fragment is very flat and somewhat eroded all over. From the previously published copy, which was made from a photograph, it could already be seen that the text contained the key word *ibrī*, 'my friend', a fact which encouraged Gurney to suggest that the fragment might be Gilgameš.⁴⁶ A new study of the tablet at first hand confirms his suspicions, for it reveals that the text also contains the word *šunatu*, 'dream'. This variant of *šuttu* is common in Gilgameš.⁴⁷ The combination of these two words means that the text is almost certainly to be identified as Gilgameš. Most probably the fragment is from the dream episodes on the way to the Cedar Forest, and should be compared with OB Schøyen₂, OB Nippur, OB Harmal₁ and SB Tablet IV, but beyond that nothing can be said.

⁴⁵ KUB XXXVII, p. vii. This square occupies a position between the late empire-period buildings B, C and H (see the plan in P. Neve, *Büyükkale. Die Bauwerke* (Berlin, 1982), Beilage 36). The chief discovery of the square s/16 in 1934 was 14 large clay vessels, 11 of them in a row, standing on a thirteenth-century floor: for these and other small-finds from this location see K. Bittel, *MDOG 73* (1935), p. 22. For the tablets found in the 1934 season see in general H. G. Güterbock, 'Die Texte aus der Grabung 1934 in Boğazköy', *MDOG 73* (1935), pp. 29-39. The square s/16 is not associated with any of the great collections of tablets found on Büyükkale and, as far as one can judge from the location lists in the relevant volumes of *KUB* and *KBo*, Bo 284/d is one of only very few fragments of clay tablets found there.

⁴⁶ See O. R. Gurney, *JSS* 2 (1957), p. 202.

⁴⁷ See OB II 1 and the commentary on SB I 245.

Bo 284/d

MB Boğ₃

Copy: Pl. 25

*Previous publication*1953 F. Köcher, *KUB XXXVII 128*

C

Text

1' ...]-šū il-t[a?-...
 2' ...]-kit il-ta-x[...
 3' ...]-x-ra šu-na-ta [...
 4' ...]ma¹-a'-da šu-na-ta ...
 5' ... lu-u]l-lik ib-ri x[...
 6' ...] lu-us-hu-ur [...
 7' ... q]á-qar-ka lu-[...
 8' ...]x x[...

Translation of ll. 3'-7'

3' ...] dream [... 4' ...] are many, the dream [... 5' ... let me] go, my friend, [... 6' ...] I
 will seek [... 7' ...] your ground let me [...

THE FRAGMENTS FROM EMAR (MB EMAR)

Four fragments of Gilgameš were found in 1974 at Tell Meskene on the middle Euphrates in Syria, the ancient city of Emar. They were part of a very large quantity of clay tablets and fragments that were excavated in the location M III in Building M₁, the so-called 'Pantheon', and published by D. Arnaud.⁴⁸ On the building's destruction the tablets had fallen from an upper storey into the chamber below, where after many centuries they were again disturbed, this time by Islamic burials.⁴⁹ The tablets retrieved from this location are the remains of the

⁴⁸ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI/1-4* (Paris, 1985-7). For the excavations see J.-Cl. Margueron, 'Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Emar (1972-1974). Un bilan provisoire', *Syria* 52 (1975), pp. 53-85; id., 'Emar: un exemple d'implantation hittite en terre syrienne', in Margueron (ed.), *Le moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 mars 1977* (Leiden, [1980]), pp. 285-312; id., 'Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, 5e et 6e campagnes de fouilles à Meskéné-Emar', *AAS 32* (1982), pp. 233-46; further items cited by id., 'Meskene. B. Archäologisch', *RLA VIII*, pp. 84-93; and W. T. Pitard, 'The archaeology of Emar', in M. W. Chavalas (ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (Bethesda, Md., 1996), pp. 13-23.

⁴⁹ See D. Arnaud, 'La bibliothèque d'un devin à Meskéné-Emar (Syrie)', *CRAI* 1980, pp. 375-88, esp. p. 377.

collections of a Late Bronze Age scriporium that can be dated to the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries. Among these collections is a considerable number of texts belonging to the scribal tradition of lower Mesopotamia, particularly lexical and omen texts (*bārātu*), but also a few incantations and associated rituals (*āšipūtu*) and other, more literary works with a 'wisdom' flavour, some of them in versions already known from Ugarit.⁵⁰ The literary texts include the fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm,⁵¹ the Poem of Early Rulers, a traditional Sumero-Akkadian bilingual composition that reflects on the futility of life,⁵² a collection of wise sayings (*šimāma milka*)⁵³ and Gilgameš.

Four fragments of Gilgameš were identified by Arnaud, who saw at once that they fell into two groups: one fragment was from a small tablet carrying material parallel to SB Tablets IV-V (here MB Emar₁), while the other three were from a tablet which relates the story of Gilgameš, Ištar and the Bull of Heaven and thus runs parallel to SB Tablet VI (here MB Emar₂). The three fragments of MB Emar₂ were rejoined by the present author in 1999. A further small fragment published by Arnaud was subsequently suggested as Gilgameš by Wilcke. Collation undermines that identification but the piece is included here as an appendix to the present section (Msk 74105m).

In these two pieces, as in other western manuscripts of Babylonian poetry, the correlation between lines of poetry and lines of tablet is not always maintained. However, the text of MB Emar₂, especially, is well enough preserved to be read as poetry, particularly when comparison is made with the text of the late version, SB Tablet VI. At least one poetic line can be identified in MB Emar₁. The language of both tablets is Middle Babylonian, with some intrusions of Assyrian and perhaps also provincial Akkadian dialect.⁵⁴ The name of Gilgameš is written in Old Babylonian style, but without abbreviation, ^d*bil*(GIŠ.BÍL)-*ga-mes*. Enkidu's name is perhaps spelled as ^m*en-ki-tu*.

⁵⁰ For more detailed surveys of the tablets found in Building M₁ see *ibid.*; Arnaud, 'Traditions urbaines et influences semi-nomades à Emar', pp. 245-64, and E. Laroche, 'Emar, étape entre Babylone et le Hatti', pp. 235-44 in Margueron (ed.), *Le moyen Euphrate*, M. Civil, 'The texts from Meskene-Emar', *Aula Or* 7 (1989), pp. 5-25; A. R. George, review of Arnaud, *Emar VI* in *BSOAS* 53 (1990), pp. 323-4; and G. Beckman, 'Emar and its archives', in Chavalas (ed.), *Emar*, pp. 1-12.

⁵¹ New edition by C. Wilcke, 'Die Emar-Version von "Dattelpalme und Tamariske"—ein Rekonstruktionsversuch', *ZA* 79 (1989), pp. 161-90.

⁵² See now C. Wilcke in J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau (eds.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung* (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 138 ff., and the further bibliography cited above in Ch. 3, fnn. 32-3.

⁵³ The text known in Old Babylonian as *šime milkam*; see Civil, *Aula Or* 7 (1989), p. 7 on no. 778.

⁵⁴ Examples of Assyrian dialect are MB Emar₁ iii 7': *ša'nāz*; MB Emar₂ i 2': *ellūmi[kku]* (if correctly understood), i 4': *lūlūdā*. The occasional Assyrianism is a feature of the Akkadian written at Emar in this period (J. Huehnergard, *RLA VIII*, p. 83). Note also the uncontracted *tar'amī* (MB Emar₂ i 24', 28', 32'), which is neither good Middle Babylonian (*tarāmī*) nor Assyrian (*tar'imī*) but may be peripheral (north-western): the verb is often *ra'amu* in the Akkadian of Mittanni (Amarna letters) and Boğazköy.

MB Emar₁

The tablet published under the excavation number Msk 74128d⁵⁵ is a corner fragment from the right-hand edge (findspot Building M₁ M III SE). The first person to copy and edit it maintained that the fragment derives from the tablet's bottom corner and that very little text is missing from the left edge to the preserved text.⁵⁶ Thus he was apparently of the view that the tablet held only one column of text on each side. Collation in 1999 led to the modification of these observations. The most notable physical feature of the fragment is the curved surface that the tablet's maker has given to the horizontal edge. The slope or bevel is much greater on one face than the other, so that the edge's profile is asymmetrical. The same feature is found on many Mesopotamian library tablets, which were made so that the crown of the edges, that is, the ridge where the two bevelled faces met, was nearer the obverse than the reverse. This observation suggests that the face identified by Arnaud as the obverse should be, in fact, the reverse and vice versa, for the profile of the piece is such that the crown is nearer the less well-preserved face. This is not conclusive, however, for the more complete of the Emar manuscripts of the Fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm is written on a tablet on which the crown of the bevelled edges is nearer the reverse face.

⁵⁵ Or Msk 74.128d, in which the prefix denotes the season of 1974. Most Emar tablets have since been allocated running numbers in the National Museum of Aleppo under the prefix M (=Main collection, i.e. objects from the post-prehistoric and pre-classical Near East).

⁵⁶ Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4, p. 384: 'il ne manque guère plus de deux signes sur le bord gauche.'

M 9238d (Msk 74128d)

MB Emar₁

Copy: Pl. 28

Previous publication

1985	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar</i> VI/1, p. 328	C
1987	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar</i> VI/4, pp. 383–4, no. 781, 'Épopée de Gilgameš, chant IV'	T Tr

Text

obv.

ii 1 [. . . ^{dim}en?]-k[iz?]-¹tu pâ(KAXU)¹-šú

ii 2 [i-pu-ša]x x

Long lacuna

Nevertheless, the text itself of MB Emar₁, as read here, makes it unlikely that its two scraps of text are contiguous, for then Enkidu would answer his own speech. Accordingly the fragment comes from the top right-hand corner, not the bottom. In addition, on the better-preserved face of the Emar fragment MB Emar₁, the bevel becomes increasingly deep to the left, away from the right-hand edge, as is also the case with the reverse faces of fine library tablets from Mesopotamia. On a regular tablet modelled in this style the angle at which the face and the bevelled edge meet forms a shallow arc extending from corner to corner, with the peak of the arc situated at a point midway between the two corners. If this symmetry holds true for MB Emar₁, then the preserved extent of the fragment's top edge is only about one third of the tablet's original width. This observation leads me to propose that the piece is from a tablet of two columns per side, not one. The fragments of text it yields therefore come from the top of column ii and the bottom of column iii.

The few signs preserved on the obverse are not enough to place them in context. The text of reverse comes from a passage in which Gilgameš and Enkidu strengthen their resolve for the confrontation with Humbaba in the Cedar Forest. This episode fell towards the end of SB Tablet IV in some editions of the late epic (as represented by MSS udd), but in SB Tablet V in the one adopted here (with MS H). The key word is *mušhalsitum* in l. 8', which occurs at SBV 74 in the present numeration. However, it is not possible at this stage to identify MB Emar₁ specifically as 'Tablet IV' or 'Tablet V' of whatever Middle Babylonian edition of the epic it represents. In addition, the text of the Emar fragment has little in common with the late edition. Though the latter is very fragmentary at this point, it is clear that the Emar version is both less expansive than SB Tablet V and, for the most part, differently worded.

Other translations

1992	J. Bottéro, 'Morceaux d'Emar', <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , p. 268
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Emar 1', <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i> , p. 277
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , p. 118, 13
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 136

Translation

obv.

ii 1 [. . .] *Enkidu* [opened] his mouth

ii 2 [to speak, saying to Gilgameš: . . .] . . .

Long lacuna

rev.

- iii 1' [x x x]x x[.]
 iii 2' [^dbil-g]a-mes iṣ-ša-bat q[a-as-su?]
 iii 3' [Enkidu p]ā(KAXU)-šu i-pu-ša i-[qáb-bi]
 iii 4' [ni-(ip)-pu-u]š? mi-na-a ib-ri
 iii 5' [x x ki-i] ni-ip-pa-la kam-ra-ti¹
 iii 6' [ni-ši^dšamaš(utu)?]-ma lu-ú bēl(en) ša-me-e
 iii 7' [x x x x] 2-ta ša-aḥ-na
 iii 8' [x x x]x lu-ú muš-ḥal-ši-tum-ma 2 x[. . .]

Notes

ii 1. The use of the sign KAXU for *pū* is a distinctive western phenomenon, occurring also at Boğazköy, Ugarit and Amarna. References have been collected by C. Wilcke, *ZA* 79 (1989), p. 186.

iii 3'. Now that the identification of obverse and reverse is secured and the fragment of text here identified as col. ii is no longer seen to be a continuation of the conversation introduced by this line, we are no longer obliged to understand Gilgameš as the subject. Reference to the late version indicates that there it is Enkidu who speaks of the *mušḥalšitu* (SB V 74) and this must also be the case here. Given the limited space available on the tablet it seems that after *iḡabbi* the scribe omitted the expected continuation, *issaqqara ana Gilgameš*.

iii 4'. The restoration is very provisional, suggested by SB X 86: *ana mē mūti kī taktaldu teppuš mīna*. The line of poetry continued on to the next line of tablet.

iii 5'-6'. The line of poetry restored over these two lines is used by Enkidu in a similar predicament in SB VI 131: *kī nippala kamrūti ni[š]*. On the reversal of nouns and adjectives see Ch. 10, the section on Some features of language and style.

iii 7'. Without good context the word *ša-aḥ-na* is open to several interpretations (for *aḥ* similarly written in a literary tablet from Emar see, e.g., Msk 74143m, obv. 4' = Tamarisk and Date Palm). I read *ša'nā*, a stative verbal form in Assyrian dialect. Arnaud and Bottéro took it from the noun *šēnu*, 'sandal'. It can be derived just as easily from *šahānu*, 'to be warm'.

iii 8'. The rare word *mušḥalšitu* is literally 'that which causes one to slip' (cf. its Sumerian counterpart *ki ba.an.zé.er*), prompting the translations 'slippery ground' (*CAD* M/2, s.v.) and 'ein schlüpfrige Stelle?' (*AHW*, p. 775). It occurs in a suggestive context in a section of a lexical list that treats the defences of a city:

ki ba.an.zé.er	=	<i>muš-ḥal-š[i-tum]</i>	
SIG ₄ ^{u-rum} BAD	=	<i>in-[du]</i>	'buttress, abutment'
nam.ús	=	<i>né-met-[tum]</i>	'rampart'

MSL XVII, p. 196, *Anagal* C 49-51

For this reason I assume that it is not just any slippery place but the technical term for a glacis, the smooth slope at the base of a defensive rampart which is designed at once to reinforce the wall and to hamper the approach of enemy forces, siege engines, towers and ladders. The point of the line would appear to be that while a man cannot expect to climb such a slope alone, two men helping each other have a good chance of success.

rev.

- iii 2' Gilgameš took [*his hand*,]
 iii 3' [Enkidu] opened his mouth to [speak:]
 iii 4' 'What [*shall we do*,] my friend,^s [. . . ?]
 iii 5' [how] shall we answer the dense-gathered^e [people?]
 iii 6' [*Šamaš*] indeed may be lord of the heavens,
 iii 7' [. . .] *shod twofold*,
 iii 8' [. . .] though it be a glacis-slope, two [. . .]'

MB Emar₂

The three fragments that Arnaud published as relating the story of Gilgameš, Ištar and the Bull of Heaven have been established as joining pieces and are here referred to as MB Emar₂ Fragment (a). Their findspots were Building M₁ M III NE (Msk 7498n and 74104z) and SE (Msk 74159d). This assemblage can now be supplemented with two further fragments that were identified and copied by I. L. Finkel in 1987. The new fragments carry text from the same episode as MB Emar₂ Fragment (a) and are here referred to as Fragments (b) and (c). They are written in the same script as the Meskene pieces and one of them, (b), appears to continue the text of the Meskene assemblage in such a way that there is little doubt that the two fragments are from the same tablet. There is every probability that the other piece seen by Finkel comes from the same find and accordingly it would seem that we now have three pieces of the tablet in question. The tablet represented by these fragments was inscribed with at least two columns on each side. So far we have a substantial portion of col. i and two sections of col. ii, but nothing of the reverse.

In contrast with the lack of match between MB Emar₁ and SB Tablet V, the text of MB Emar₂ is surprisingly close to SB Tablet VI, both in overall content and in textual detail. It seems likely that, like MB Emar₁, the tablet held four columns of text, and not six or more, for it reaches the halfway point of SB Tablet VI towards the bottom of col. ii. Very probably this is its own halfway point; if so it began and ended at the same places in the text of the epic as SB Tablet VI. Given the fact that the story of Gilgameš, Ištar and the Bull of Heaven is a self-contained episode it would not be surprising if MB Emar₂ and SB Tablet VI were coextensive in this way. On the same grounds this feature would have no bearing on whether the epic was already divided into the same number of tablets as it was in the first millennium. Where the text of MB Emar₂ can be compared at length with the later version, there is considerable agreement in the wording. For this reason the text is set out below according to the line-divisions and numbering of the SB text and the restorations are taken, as far as possible, from the same source.

The most notable point of difference between the two versions is the preservation in MB Emar₂ of a whole section that is absent from the SB text (i 28'-31'). The section records a

tradition that the nomadic Sutean was counted among the goddess Ištar's paramours. According to my understanding of what is a very fragmentary passage, he was for his pains condemned by her to live the rough life of the desert camp, defeated in battle and driven from place to place. If a myth is alluded to here, it comprises a variant of Ištar's affairs with the shepherd and with Dumuzi and makes for an appealing aetiology of the nomadism of these second-millennium pastoralists. According to the evidence from Mari and Alalakh, the centre of Sutean activity seems to have been Syria west of the great bend of the Euphrates, that is, the immediate hinterland of Emar, though Suteans were also familiar as foreigners to the Babylonians of the period.⁵⁷ The presence of the story in MB Emar₂ might be accounted a local interpolation pandering to western tastes. On the other hand, if it was part of the text imported to Emar from southern Mesopotamia—and we have no way of knowing what that source comprised—it is equally possible that it was retained there as

⁵⁷ On the Suteans in general see M. Heltzer, *The Suteans* (Naples, 1981).

M 9204n + 9211z + 9301d (+) two unnumbered fragments	MB Emar₂	Copies: Pl. 29
a M 9204n (Msk 7498n) + 9211z (74104z) + 9301d (74159d)		i 1'–35', ii 1'–12"
b unnumbered fragment		i 24'–32'
c unnumbered fragment		ii 1'–7'

Previous publication

1985	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar</i> VI/1, pp. 241 (7498n), 263 (74104z), 401 (74159d) (Fragment (a) only, unjoined)	C
1987	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar</i> VI/4, pp. 384–6, no. 782, 'Épopée de Gilgameš, chant VI' (Fragment (a) only, unjoined)	T Tr
1998	Thomas R. Kämmerer, <i>šimā milka</i> (AOAT 253), pp. 146–55 (Fragment (a) col. i only, unjoined)	T Tr

Text

col. i (Fragments (a) (+) (b))

Beginning missing

¹ [šippū arattū li-na-aš-ši-q]ú-ú ¹ ka[p-pi-ka]	// SBVI 15
² [lū kamsū ina šaplīka šarrū be]-lu-ú el-lu-ni-[ik-ku]	// SBVI 16
³ [. . . liqit šadi u māti li-š]š-š ¹ -ni-ik-ku bi-i[l-ta]	// SBVI 17
⁴ [enzātūka takšē laḫrātūka . . .]x lu-li-i-da	// SBVI 18
ala[p(gu ₄)-ka ⁵ ina nīri šānina ay] ir-ši	// SBVI 21
⁶ [d bil-ga-mes pā(KAXU)-šu i-p]u-ša i-qāb-b[ī]	// SBVI 22
⁷ [izzaqqara ana rubūti ^d išš]-iār	// SBVI 23
ul-tu-ma ⁸ a-na-ku ka-ti aḫ-ḫa-z]u-ki	// SBVI 24

material of local interest, while in Babylonia it fell by the wayside. However that may be, in the version of the poem represented by the fragments from Emar the story of Ištar and the Sutean effectively takes the place of her liaisons with the lion and the horse (SB VI 51–7), material that is not present in MB Emar₂.

Also present in MB Emar₂ but absent from the SB text is the line i 25', describing how the goddess soon tired of the *allallu*-bird. However, overall MB Emar₂ has the shorter text. As well as lacking SB VI 51–7, it does not have equivalents of SB VI 19–20, 35, and it has one-line versions of the couplets SB VI 39–40 and 90–1. Many differences occur in the wording of the two versions: significant differences in the counterparts of SB VI 16, 25, 27, 41, 58–60, 112 and 116–17, slight ones in the equivalents of SB VI 15, 17, 26, 38, 40, 42, 113 and 118. The fragments of MB Emar₂ thus stand in a similar relation to the Standard Babylonian text as the Ur tablet, and what was stated in the introduction to the latter about literary history can be taken as read here too.

Other translations

1992	J. Bottéro, 'Morceaux d'Emar', <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 269–71 (Fragment (a) only)
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Emar 2', <i>La saga di Gilgameš</i> , pp. 277–9 (Fragment (a) only)
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgameš</i> (Penguin), pp. 136–8

Translation

col. i (Fragments (a) (+) (b))

'[Doorway and throne shall] kiss [your] hands.
[Kings shall kneel beneath you,] *lords will come* [up to you,]
[. . . produce of mountain and land they shall] bring you as tribute.
[Your nanny-goats] shall bear [triplets and your ewes *twins*,]
[your] ox shall have [no equal under the yoke.]'

[Gilgameš] opened [his mouth] to speak,
[saying to the lady] Ištar:
'If indeed [I were to] take you [in marriage,]

lu-um-ši pa-[ag-ri ^{9'} u šubātī	// SBVI 25
. . . lu-u)m?-ši bu-bu-ti-ma ku-[ru-ma-ti?]	// SBVI 26
^{10'} [.]x si-in-di x [x (x)]	
^{11'} [.]x ¹ lu-ú? ¹ [. . .]	
^{12'} [. š]a x [. . .]	
^{13'} [. . . ha-al-pu?]-ú ¹ la-a ka-ši-ra ¹ at ¹ [šú-ri-pí]	// SBVI 33
^{14'} [dalat arkabinni š]a-a la-a i-ka ¹ lu-ú ¹ [š]a-[ra ^{15'} ū zīqa	// SBVI 34
pīru] ku-tu-um-mi-šu	// SBVI 36
x x x [^{16'} mu-ta-pi-la-a]t? na-ši-ša	// SBVI 37
^{kuš} nādu? (E.x.x) mu-na ¹ [ki-sat? ^{17'} nāšša	// SBVI 38
i]a ¹ šú ¹ -bu mu-ab-bi-tū ¹ dūr(bād) abni(na ₄) ¹	// SBVI 40
^{18'} [šēnu munaššikat šēp] mu ¹ -be- ² i su-ú-qi	// SBVI 41
^{19'} [ayyu hā ² irki il-b]e-er da-ri-iš	// SBVI 42
^{20'} [.]x-te-ed-di	
^{21'} [.] vacat	
^{22'} [ana Dumūzi hā ² ir šú-u]h ¹ re ¹ -t[i-k]a	// SBVI 46
^{23'} [šatta ana šatti bi-ta-a]k ¹ ka ¹ tal-ti-mēš ¹ šú ¹	// SBVI 47
^{24'} [a?]-al-la-al-la [bi-it-ru-ma ta]r-a-mi-ma	// SBVI 48
^{25'} [ha]-am-(ti)-iš har-piš[te-eš-bi?]a?-la-šu	
^{26'} [tam]-ha-ši-šu-ma [kap-pa-šu] ta-al-ta-ab-ri	// SBVI 49
^{27'} [iz]-za-az i-na [qi-ša-tim]-ma i-ša-as-si kap-pi	// SBVI 50
^{28'} [i ⁴ sū-ta-a [x x x i] ar-a-mi-ma	
bū(ē)-ki ^{29'} [x]-ti-ki ta-an-[x x x a-n]a? ku-ul-ta-ri	
^{30'} [kak-ki?-š]u ta-aš-bi-[ri? a-šar?] a ¹ -nu-un-ti	
^{31'} [tu-u]l-te-re-dī x[x x x]x	
^{32'} [tar]-a-mi ¹ -ma [ki? i-na su-p]u-ri aš-ba-ti-ma	// SBVI 58
^{33'} [rē ² ā (u) utulla ša k]a-ia-nu-um-ma 1 immera(udu) i-du-ku-ni-ik-ki	// SBVI 59
^{34'} [ūmišamma iš-pu-k]u-ni-ik-ki tu-um-ra	// SBVI 60
^{35'} [tam-ha-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma a-na ba]rbari([u]r[bar]) tu-ter-ri ¹	// SBVI 61

Lacuna

col. ii, from the middle (Fragment (c))

^{1'} [a-num pā(KA×U)-šu i-pu-š]a i-qā[b-bi	// SBVI 87
izzaqqara ^{2'} a-na ru]-bu-ti ⁴ iš ₈ -tār	// SBVI 88
a-bu [la-a at-ti ^{3'} te-eg-ri-i šarra] ⁴ bil-ga-mes	// SBVI 89
ū [⁴ bil-ga-mes ^{4'} er-re-t]i-ki pi-š[e]-ti-ki i-me-[en-nu/i]	// SBVI 90
^{5'} [⁴ iš ₈ -tār]r pā(KA×U)-ša [i-p]u-ša i-qāb-[bi	// SBVI 92
izzaqqara ^{6'} a-na ⁴]a ¹ -nim ¹ a ¹ -[b]i-ša	// SBVI 93

should I neglect myself [and my clothing,_s]
[. . . should I] neglect my sustenance and [my] food?
[.] a thing fitting for . . . ?'

2 badly damaged lines

'[(You), a frosi] that does not solidify [ice,]
[an arkabinmu-door] that does not keep out breeze [and draught,]
[an elephant that . . .] its covering,
. . . [that soils] him who carries it,
a waterskin [that] cuts [him who carries it,]
[a battering] ram that destroys a wall of stone,
[a shoe that bites the foot of] one going along the street!

[What bridegroom of yours grew] old for ever?'

Lacuna of 2 lines

'[To Dumuzi, the husband of] your youth,
to him you have allotted perpetual [wailing, year on year.]

[You] loved the [speckled] allallu-bird,
very soon [you had enough of] his charms!
[You] struck him and broke [his wing:]
(now) he stands in [the woods] crying "My wing!"

You loved the [. . .] Sutean,
your house . . . you [. . .] to a tent,
you broke his [weapons on the field of] battle,
[you] keep driving (him?) onward . . . [. . .]

You loved, [when] you dwelt [in the] fold,
[the shepherd (and) the herdsman who] regularly killed a sheep for you,
[who daily piled] high for you (bread baked in) embers,
[you struck them and] turned (them) [into] wolves.'

col. ii, from the middle (Fragment (c))

[Anu opened his mouth] to [speak,]
[saying to the] lady Ištar:
'Ah, [but did you not provoke King] Gilgameš,
so [Gilgameš] was [recounting things that revile] you (and) insult you?'

[Ištar] opened her mouth to speak,
[saying to] her father, Anu:

a-bi [alā binamma] // SBVI 94
⁷d *bil-ga-mes lu* [^fnir] [x x x] x x x [. . .] // SBVI 95

Lacuna

col. ii, towards the bottom (Fragment (a))

¹r [^d] [*iš₈-tār pā*(KAXU)]-ša *i-pu-ša i-qáb-bi* // SBVI 106
²r [*iš*]-[*za-qa-ra a-na* ^d*a-nim a-bi-ša*] // SBVI 107

2 or 3 lines lost

⁵r x[. *lu?*]-*ú-na-x*[. . .]

⁶r ^d*a-nu* [*iš-m*]*e qa-ba-ša* // SBVI 113

[*u šerret alē*] ⁷r *i-na qa*-[*tī-š*]*a iš-ku-un* // SBVI 114

[.]

⁸r *i-na* ^{ur}*uruk*^{ki} *la-a i*[š-. . .]

ūtābbil apa qišta? ⁹r *ú qa-na-a* // SBVI 117

ú-[*ra*]-[*ad ana nāri sebe ammat nāru*] ¹⁰r *im-ta-aṭ-ṭi* // SBVI 118

[.] ¹¹r x x x [. . .]

Remainder lost

Notes

i 1'. As restored this line differs only from SBVI 15 in the choice of part of the body, *kappīka* for *iḏka*.

i 2'. Though a precativē is expected and *lu-ú* suggests *lū*, I cannot find a precativē *lū el-lu-ni* [(. . .)] that gives satisfactory meaning. Accordingly I follow Arnaud in assuming that this line agrees closely with SBVI 16. The restoration of *be*]-*lu-ú* is suggested by the SB variant *šarrū bēlū u rubū* (MS Q). The verb *ellūni*[*kku*] stands in place of the SB noun *rubū*.

i 3'. For *liššūnikku* SBVI 17 has the precativē stative *lū našūnikka*.

i 4'. The word before *lūlidā* was restored by Arnaud as *tu-'a-m*]a, 'a twin', though he translated it as plural ('des jumeaux'). However, this reading is uncertain for two reasons: (a) the broken sign is not a convincing *ma*, and (b) *tu'āma* in the singular would yield very odd sense, for a dual is required. All three manuscripts of SBVI 18 do indeed have good dual forms (*tu'āmī* and *tu'āmē*). Perhaps read *maš.tab.b]a*? Otherwise I can offer no solution to this problem.

i 8'. Arnaud read the first-preserved sign differently (*su-ba-ti*]-*ki*), and restored accordingly. I have followed SB 24-5 more closely, though it would appear from the size of the lacuna in MS A that the late version had a fuller text.

i 9'. The order of the two nouns is transposed in SBVI 26: *kurummatī u bubūti*. The apparent use in the present line of enclitic *-ma* for the conjunction is poor Akkadian.

i 10'. The phrase preserved in this line was read *si-in-ti₄ qa-ti*] by Arnaud ('ornament de la ma[in?]; *sinti* or *sindi* is MB for *sinti*). Collation does not favour *qa* (compare the examples in ii 6'-7') but did not produce any clear alternative (the trace of the sign following it is now missing entirely). The counterpart of this line in the SB text is evidently the couplet VI 27-8: [*tušakkalinni?*] a] *kla simat*

'O father, [give me, please, the Bull of Heaven,]
 [that I] may slay [Gilgameš . . .] . . .'

col. ii, towards the bottom (Fragment (a))

Ištar [opened her mouth to speak,
 saying [to her father, Anu:]

2 or 3 lines destroyed

' . . . [. . . let] me . . . [. . .]'

Anu [heard] what she had to say,
 [and] he placed in her hands [the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven.]

[.]

in Uruk it did not [.]

[It dried up canebrake, woodland] and reed-(bed).

When it went [down to the river, the river] fell [by seven cubits . . .

Remainder lost

ilūti / [*kurunna tašaqq*] *ā simat šarrūti*. Just possibly one should emend MB Emar₂ to a 'Sandhi'-type writing, *si-in-di-lu₄!-t*][i].

i 13'. If the restoration is correct, *ḫalpū* is feminine. Winter frosts are less common in the Mesopotamian plain than in the surrounding uplands but the image of congealed ice on a frozen pond and other standing water would not be alien to a Babylonian poet.

i 14'. For the *dalat arkabinni* see Ch. 13, the commentary on SBVI 34.

i 15'. Comparison with SBVI 37 suggested *itiū* after *kutummišu* (Arnaud: [i]t-tū-[i]), but the new copy rules out this reading.

i 16'. If it were not for the determinative *kuš*, it would not be certain that this line is the counterpart of SBVI 38. The exact spelling of *nādu* here is not clear to me. The late text has a different participle, probably *murassāt*.

i 17'. On the relationship of this line to SBVI 39-40 see the commentary ad loc. As a construct state *mu'abbitu* exhibits the literary final *-u* seen more commonly in OB (but cf. MB Ur 55 *anšabtu*).

i 18'. SBVI 41 has simply *šēpī bēlišu*. For 'biting' shoes see the commentary thereon. The MB form *mube²i* attests to the very rare intensive II/1 stem of *bā'u*, ignored by the dictionaries. Another unambiguous II/1 form (with ventive *-u*) occurs in the Babylonian Theodicy 291: *ri-bit āli*(uru)-*ia ú-ba²-ú mi-ḫi-iš*, 'I would pass along the street of my city quietly' (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 88, var. I/1 *a-ba²*).

i 19'. In the late text the counterpart of the verb *ilber* is *ibūr*.

i 22'. The masculine suffix for the feminine is a gross solecism, even at Emar.

i 25'. This line, missing from SBVI 48-9, is restored freely after a common expression in love poetry (Biggs, *Šaziga*, p. 41, 30: *la i-šab-ba-a la-la-a-šá*; W. G. Lambert, *MIO* 12 (1966), pp. 50, 15:

la-la-a-ki lu-uš-bi; 53, 1, 3: la iš-bu-ú la-la-ša; 54, 6: iš-še-eb-bu-ú la-lu-ki), as well as narrative poetry (SB Gilgameš I 195: *ultu išbú laláša*; Nergal and Ereškigal = STT 28 iv 53'–6': *ul áš-ba-a la-la-šú* // Hunger, *Uruk I* 1 v 7b–9: *ul a-šá-ba-' la-la-a-šú*).

i 30'. The restoration is made in the light of the many passages in which Ištar, goddess of war, is said to break the weapons and bows of the defeated. Her enthusiasm for this task is manifested in curses in royal inscriptions (Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 51, 127–31: *inanna be-le-et ta-ħa-zi-im* ⁶⁵*kakka*(tukul)-šú ⁶⁵*ú* ⁶⁵*kakki*(tukul) *um-ma-na-ti-šu li-iš-bi-ir*, 'May Ištar, mistress of battle, break his weapon and the weapons of his army' (Šamsi-Adad I); CH xliii 92–xliv 4: *inanna be-le-et tāhāzim*(mè) *ú qablim*(šen.šen) . . . *a-šar tāhāzim*(mè) *ú qablim*(šen.šen) ⁶⁵*kakka*(tukul)-šú *li-iš-bi-ir*, 'May Ištar, mistress of battle and combat . . . break his weapon on the field of battle and combat!' (Ḫammurapi); Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 255, 77–9: *inanna bēlī*(nin) ⁶⁵*kakka*(tukul)-šú *liš-be-er*, 'May Ištar, my lady, break his weapon!' (Tukulti-Ninurta I); SAA II 6, 453: *is-tar be-let qabli*(murub_a) *u tāhāzi*(mè) *ina tāh[āzi*(mè)] *dan-ni* ⁶⁵*qašat*(pan)-*ku-nu liš-bir*, 'May Ištar, mistress of combat and battle, break your bow in a mighty battle!' (Esarhaddon, vassal treaty); Borger, *BIWA*, p. 103, K 2652, 53–4: *is-tar* . . . ⁶⁵*qašat*(pan)-*su liš-bir-ma*, 'May Ištar break his bow!' (Aššurbanipal), and in a boundary stone (W. Sommerfeld, *UF* 16 (1984), p. 303, iv 12–14: *za-ba_a-ba_a ú* ⁶⁵*inanna a-šar tam-ħa-ri-im liš-bi-ru* ⁶⁵*kakka*(tukul)-šú, 'May Zababa and Ištar break his weapon on the field of battle!'). Less often royal victories are put down to the same activity (e.g., Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 44, 74–5: *is-tar be-let qabli u tāhāzi* . . . ⁶⁵*qašat*(pan)-*su-nu taš-bir*, 'Ištar, mistress of combat and battle . . . broke their bow'). Other warrior deities take Ištar's place, if need be (Enlil, Nergal, Ninurta, Marduk, Zababa).

i 32'–4'. These three lines are somewhat different from the SB text, which reads (SB VI 58–60): *tarāmūma rē'á nāqida utulla* / [ša k] *ayyanamma tumrī išpukakki* / [ūm] *išamma utabbahakki uniḡēti*. First, both the 3rd person verbs are plural, which supposes a misunderstanding of the nouns in apposition as different individuals; second, Ištar's sojourn in the sheep-fold receives specific mention. Her visit there is also evoked in a MB ballad (J. A. Black, *JAS* 103 (1983), p. 31, 36): *ta-ku-uš is-tar a-na qe-reb su-pu-ri-šu-ma*, 'Ištar walked right into his sheepfold'.

ii 2'. MB Emar has *a-bu* with SB MS a₂ (Aššur) against the Kuyunjik sources' *a-ba*.

ii 3'–4'. The line is slightly reworked in SB VI 90, which exists in two versions: *u Gilgameš umannā pišātiki* / *pišātiki u errētiki* (MSS Oa) and *Gilgameš umannā pišātiki* [*u errētiki*] (MS Q).

ii 2". This spelling of *issaqqara* appears in the Emar manuscript of the fable of Tamarisk and Date Palm, which uses a variant narrative formula for introducing direct speech: *ut-te-er pā*(KAXU)-*ša i-ta-pa-al iz-za-qa-ra a-na etc.*: see C. Wilcke, *ZA* 79 (1989), p. 177, 60'.

ii 6". A fuller version of this short line appears in the SB text as *išmēma Anu annā qabā Ištar*.

c ii 7"–9". These broken lines must hide versions of SB VI 116–17 but they clearly do not match exactly.

c ii 9"–10". Restored after the late text, SB VI 118: *ūrid ana nārimma sebe ammat nāru umdaḡḡi*.

Msk 74105m

The small fragment Msk 74105m (now accessioned as Aleppo M 9212m), found at Building M₁ M III NE and identified by Arnaud as a ritual fragment, has been suggested by Wilcke as belonging to the epic. He sought to identify the few remaining signs with words from the episode of Enkidu's sojourn in the shepherds' camp, as known from the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II), a fragment from Boğazköy (MB Boğ₁) and the late text (SB II).

The results of a collation are shown in the new copy. Depending on whether it is from the obverse or reverse, the piece is from the bottom or top edge of a tablet that is remarkable for its many rulings. In this respect it is unlike MB Emar₁ and MB Emar₂. It transpires that almost all the readings of broken signs and the emendations that are needed to match this fragment to Gilgameš are refuted. There are also other reasons for arguing that, whatever it is, the piece is not Gilgameš.⁶⁸

M 9212m (Msk 74105m)

Copy: Pl. 28

Previous publication

1985	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar VI</i> /1, p. 267	C
1987	D. Arnaud, <i>Emar VI</i> /4, pp. 354–5, no. 760, 'Fragment de rituel mésopotamien'	T Tr
1989	C. Wilcke, 'Ein weiteres Gilgameš-Fragment aus Emar?', <i>NABU</i> 1989/5	T

1'–2' traces

3' . . .]x na [. . .

4' . . .]x ù ta x [. . .

5' . . .]x DIŠ {ras.} [. . .

6' . . .-š]u? ut-tap?-pī?-ša [. . .

7' . . .]x qa-ti ši-im-[. . .

8' . . .]x ul i-kal [. . .

9' . . .] i-ša-at-ti [. . .

edge

THE MEGIDDO FRAGMENT (MB MEGIDDO)

The piece of tablet now numbered Israel Museum 55-2 was found by a shepherd in 1954 near the dump of the Chicago expedition to Megiddo (Tell al-Mutasallim), which ran from

⁶⁸ Even if one accepts Wilcke's emendation of *qa-ti* to *šūl* in l. 7', there remain two substantive differences between the accounts of Enkidu's humanization and Wilcke's imaginative restoration of this fragment. First, in versions of the episode from all three periods the instruction to drink follows Enkidu's initial inability to do so. Here it would precede it. Second, nowhere else does one find the bald negative statements *ul ikkal* and *ul išati*. The other texts stress the crucial point that he had not been taught how to eat bread and drink beer, and so was afraid of it. More damaging to the identification of the fragment as Gilgameš would be the curious placing of *utuappiša* (l. 6'), since in both the OB and SB texts the context of this word, Enkidu's employment as watchman, comes after his introduction to bread and beer, not before it. His development from animal to human being progresses in careful stages, from sexual initiation, through clothing, introduction to beer, bread and washing, and finally to doing battle with wild animals. This last act is the conclusive proof of his new identity, and to place it any earlier in the sequence destroys the logic of that sequence. One may add that the reading *ut-tap-pi-ša* looks far from convincing. The collection of wedges between *ut* and *ša* seem to form one sign only, which is not unlike LB *tak*.

1925 to 1939.⁵⁹ The piece was first published in 1959 by A. Goetze and S. Levy. It preserves fragments of text similar to parts of SB Tablet VII. The appearance of the tablet is typical of Late Bronze Age library tablets from the West. Other cuneiform texts of this period originally from Megiddo (Magidda), an Egyptian possession, are the letters of the local ruler, Biridiya, to his overlord the Pharaoh.⁶⁰ Uninscribed clay liver models also attest to the exposure of the city's élite to Babylonian intellectual traditions.⁶¹ Petrographical analysis of the fabric of MB Megiddo shows the tablet to be made of a clay that cannot derive from a source closer to Megiddo than the coastal plain between Ashkelon and Sidon.⁶² This clay is distinct from the material used for Biridiya's tablets, which was potters' clay local to Megiddo. On these grounds MB Megiddo is unlikely to have been written in Megiddo itself. If written in Palestine it will derive originally from a site nearer the Mediterranean coast than Megiddo, but it may have come from further afield. In either case, it is hard to imagine that the fragment was not unwittingly excavated during the pre-war excavations near whose dump it was found, and we can assume that, whatever the tablet's ultimate place of origin, it was imported to Megiddo at some time in antiquity.

The text is set down on the clay without much regard for poetic lines, as was often the habit in the West (cf. MB Emar and MB Boğ). Only in those few places where the text agrees closely with MB Ur and SB Tablet VII can one determine where the lines of poetry begin and end. In a few places such boundaries can be ascertained as clearly falling in the middle of a line on the tablet. On the obverse, where the scribe used space freely, they sometimes coincide with a longer gap than that which usually separates successive words. Identifiable line boundaries are denoted in the transliteration by means of an oblique slash. Where there is verbatim concordance between the Megiddo tablet and the other recensions, as at obv. 13'–14', restoration of the lines provides a tool with which to judge the width of the tablet.

Goetze and Levy considered the piece to be from the bottom left-hand corner of a tablet of four columns, each of about sixty lines. They dated it to the fourteenth century BC on the grounds of a palaeographic comparison with Amarna-period letters from Byblos and other towns of the Phoenician coast. Their conclusion was that 'the sign forms . . . are slightly earlier than those of the Amarna texts quoted and that among the Amarna tablets themselves they resemble most closely those that have been written in the Phoenician cities'.

These comments are substantially at odds with the recent report of A. Westenholz, whose notes on the fragment read as follows:

Unlike the original editors I would date it to the fifteenth or even sixteenth century, on the same grounds of palaeography; but who really knows with such outlandish texts? I cannot agree with their statement that 'the clay of the tablet is of good quality'; it is full of sand, with a very thin surface slip or wash. It was, however, well baked in antiquity to an orange-reddish colour (the interior is brown).

⁵⁹ For the date of discovery I am indebted to Osnat Misch-Brandl, Curator of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages, Israel Museum, who reports further that the fragment was 'registered in the Department of Antiquity (R 1170) on the date 3.1.55'.

⁶⁰ EA 242–8 and 365. ⁶¹ G. Loud, *Megiddo II* (OIP 62; Chicago, 1948), pl. 255, 1–2.

⁶² The results of the analysis await publication by Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman. I am indebted to Goren for sharing them with me.

Nor can I agree that the fragment is from the corner of the tablet; there is no trace of the upper edge of the reverse. Judging from the curvature of the tablet, admittedly indistinct, it is rather from around the middle of the left-hand edge, and probably from a one-column tablet. The tablet may originally have had about thirty-five lines on the obverse and forty on the reverse.⁶³

Renewed collation in 1999 vindicated Westenholz's observations on the physical characteristics of the fragment. Unless the tablet was irregular in profile, the curvature of the extant piece's reverse indicates that it is from the left edge of a tablet of one column per side only, slightly nearer the bottom than the top. On the reverse there is absolutely no trace extant of the upper edge that Goetze and Levy considered 'clearly marked'. The size of the original tablet would have been very approximately 25 × 18 cm, in portrait format. The obverse may thus have contained as many as forty lines and the reverse, which is much more tightly written, rather more.

The obverse begins with a reminiscence of the heroes' epic exploits, apparently voiced by Enkidu (obv. 4'–8'). These lines have no counterpart in the late text at this point in the story, unless they are to be placed in the lacuna at the beginning of SB Tablet VII, between Enkidu's dream of doom and the cursing of the door he made for Enlil. What follows in MB Megiddo is not the cursing of the door, however, but an assertion that something, evidently the dream, was favourable but, at the same time, hard to interpret (obv. 10'–12'). The terminology recalls Enkidu's reaction to Gilgamesh's nightmares in OB Schøyen₂ and SB Tablet IV, where preserved,⁶⁴ but since we know from the late version that the present context is likely to be that of a conversation following Enkidu's dream of doom, it must instead be Gilgamesh who offers such reassurance. The late counterpart of this passage is thus the much longer speech at SB VII 69–89, where in comforting his friend Gilgamesh remarks, among other things, on the rarity of the vision he saw.⁶⁵ The text of the Megiddo tablet continues with Enkidu telling his second dream, in which he finds himself overpowered by a monstrous opponent and led captive to the Netherworld (obv. 12'–18'). This is a counterpart of MB Ur 59–69 // SB VII 162–221.

The reverse describes Enkidu's deathbed agony and the subsequent grief of Gilgamesh. The opening lines are very fragmentary. They seem to be the remains of a speech of Enkidu, perhaps the counterpart of that which in the late text ends at SB VII 252. Unfortunately most of the late speech is lost but it ends with Enkidu's plea that his friend remember him. A similar concern is found in the Megiddo tablet, when Enkidu asks that the customary libations of water be made for him to perpetuate his memory after death (rev. 5'–6'). He has no family to look after these matters, for Humbaba's curse has made sure of that,⁶⁶ so we can assume that Gilgamesh is to arrange for the appropriate people to conduct the necessary ritual.⁶⁷ By way of reply Gilgamesh simply exclaims that his friend has been his saviour, a

⁶³ See A. Westenholz, *Studies Lambert*, p. 445.

⁶⁴ OB Schøyen₂ 52: *dam[qā š]unāūka*; SB IV 28–9: *ibri damqat šuna[tkāma] / šutum šūqurat* [. . .]; IV 109: *[ibri damqat] šunaka bani . . .*; IV 155: *[ibri damqat šu]natk[a . . .]*.

⁶⁵ Esp. SB VII 72: *[šutum š]ūquratma pirittum ma'dat*, and 74: *[. . . m]a'dū šutum aqrat*.

⁶⁶ See SBV 257.

⁶⁷ Whether one reads in rev. 6' *liq[qi]* or *liq[qū]*, the subject is 3rd person, so evidently not Gilgamesh himself.

sentiment that harks back to his mother's prediction that this would be so (rev. 7').⁶⁸ In SB Tablet VII Gilgamesh's reply to his friend's appeal is also short but refers again to the extraordinariness of his dream.⁶⁹ The lack of formal narrative to mark the change of speaker, in both versions of Enkidu's death, brings a heightened drama to the episode.

The Megiddo tablet continues with the telling of the days of Enkidu's final decline (rev. 7'-12'), presenting a close parallel to SB VII 255-62. The last lines are very fragmentary. They include the report of somebody 'sobbing like a dove' (rev. 13'-14'), but it is unknown whether the subject of this standard image is Gilgamesh or Enkidu. As the text peters out it appears that Gilgamesh announces his intention to mourn or to make his people mourn. Probably such an intention was averred at the end of SB Tablet VII, still missing, though the great lament itself begins in SB Tablet VIII.

From this analysis of its contents it seems likely that the Megiddo tablet, when complete, covered events from Enkidu's dream of doom to his expiry, the episodes that mark respectively the beginning and the end of SB Tablet VII. Nevertheless, concordance between the text of the two versions is rare, a fact that serves to emphasize how much more remotely related MB Megiddo was to the SB text in comparison with the broadly contemporaneous fragments from Babylonia. Moreover, the Megiddo tablet finds no place for much material present in MB Ur and SB Tablet VII. It knows neither the cursing of the door (SB VII 37-64) nor the longer passage comprising the execration of the hunter and the prostitute, Šamaš's intervention and the blessing of the prostitute (MB Ur 1-58 // SB VII 90-161).

⁶⁸ These words must be spoken by Gilgamesh, for it is not his role to save his friend but Enkidu's; cf. SB I 268 // 291: *illakakkumma dannu tappū mušēzib ibri*.

⁶⁹ SB VII 253: *ibri imur šutta ša lā u[maššalu?]*.

Israel Museum 55-2

MB Megiddo

Copy: Pl. 30

Previous publication

1959	A. Goetze and S. Levy, 'Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo', <i>Atiqot</i> 2, pp. 121-8	CPT Tr
1968	B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 119 (obv. 8'-12'), 121 (obv. 2'-8'), 131 (obv. 12'-rev. 1'), 132 (rev. 2'-7'), 133 (rev. 7'-12'), 135 (rev. 13'-19')	ttr
1977	M. Magnusson, <i>BC: the Archaeology of the Bible Lands</i> (London: Bodley Head-BBC), p. 23 (obv. only)	P
2000	A. Westenholz, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , p. 451	C

Text

obv.

- 1' [x x] x [.]
 2' [x] x¹ [is/s/z²] r [i]
 3' [i²-q] a²-ab-bi x [.]

The question of the length of Enkidu's second dream also calls for comment. Contrary to the reconstruction of Landsberger,⁷⁰ there is a lacuna between the two fragments of text now extant. In the SB version there are about eighty lines between Enkidu's dream of his seizure by Death's gruesome envoy and his final demise. Most of these comprise a description of the Netherworld and, as the text becomes more fragmentary and finally runs out altogether, what happened to Enkidu when he arrived there. Some of this material must have been present in the recension represented by MB Megiddo, but nothing like as many as eighty lines of poetry are missing; probably only about twenty lines of tablet are lost.⁷¹ Though the lines of poetry do not exactly coincide with the lines of tablet, the continuation of the relation of Enkidu's dream can only have been about a quarter as long in MB Megiddo as in the SB version.

Whatever the exact date of its execution—and further insights in this regard must await a better understanding of western palaeography—MB Megiddo is likely to be the descendant of an Old Babylonian recension. If it is a full account of the old text, the implication arises that the episode of Enkidu's curses and blessings and much of the long description of the state of the Netherworld, if not all of it, as we know them from MB Ur and SB Tablet VII, are the result of post-Old Babylonian textual expansion. But it is also conceivable that the Megiddo tablet was only a selective paraphrase of the story. If such were the case, then we cannot use it to guess the contents of whatever Old Babylonian version it was that lay behind it.

⁷⁰ B. Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), p. 131.

⁷¹ So also Westenholz.

Other translations

1992	J. Bottéro, 'Fragment de Megiddo', <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 272-4
1992	G. Pettinato, 'Versione da Megiddo', <i>La saga di Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 280-1
1994	K. Hecker, 'Das Megiddo-Fragment', <i>TUAT</i> III/4, p. 670
1994	R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, 'Fragment de Megiddo', <i>L'épopée de Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 174-7
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), pp. 138-9

Translation

obv.

- 1'-2' traces only
 3' [was] speaking [.]

- 4' [ú?] -na-ak-ki-i[s?]
 5' [a]i? -ia i-nu-ma [.]
 6' [š]a-du-ša ù ni- ša ina?
 7' [š⁶⁵q] ištī(tir) ⁶⁵erēnū(eren) ⁶⁵as-bu [nišbatūma alā?]
 8' [ni]-ni-ir-ra i-na ri-
 9' [x]x-ši an-ni-tum x[.]
 10' [dam]-qa-at ù mi-
 11' [aq-ra]t dam-qa-at ù x[.]
 12' [x]x pa-aš-qāt / i-na šu-ut-[ti-ia . . . ištēn etlu?]
 13' [la]-nam ku-re-e ra-bi [x x x / ana anzī (nā'ir)]
 14' [pa-nu]-šu ša-ak-nu / ri-[i-ti nēši rittāšu]
 15' [š]ú-up-ru ša e-r[i-i šuprāšu /]
 16' [x]x-šu ka-la n[i? -]
 17' [ša e-r]i? -[i?] ri-ūt-t[a-šu]
 18' [. . .] x [.]

// SBVII 169-70

Lacuna

rev.

- 1' di-im-ma-[tu?]
 2' a-na ib-ri-^fia¹ [x x x x x] x[. . .]
 3' a-^hu-uz ^mPAN-maš [x (x) x] x zi x[.]
 4' ú-ul i-šu-ma šu-x[x ú]-ul i-z[i/ri-]
 5' tu-uš-te-er-pi-da-an-ni am ru n[a . . . ana zikir?]
 6' šu-mi-ia me-e^fel-lu¹-ti li-iq-[qu-ú?]
 7' ib-ri ša ú-še-^fzi¹-ba-an-ni i-n[a? . . . ištēn ūma u]
 8' ša-na-am u₄-ma i-na ma-ia-[i . . . šalša ūma]
 9' ù 4 u₄-ma i-na ma-ia-^fli¹ eli(ugu) x[. . .]
 10' mu-ur-^fšū¹ ik-ta-bi-^fit eli(ugu)!¹ -š[u . . .]
 11' ^men-ki-du i-na ma-[i]a-li na-[di . . .]
 12' il-si-^fma^m PAN-maš ú-še-[. . .]
 13' i-na ri-i[g-m]i-šu id-x[. . .]
 14' ki-ma summi(tu) ^fmušēn ú¹-dá-am-m[i-im? . . .]
 15' e-ša-IT i-na mu-š[i?]
 16' a-ša-re-ed x[. ibakk?]
 17' a-na ib-ri-šu [.]
 18' lu-ba-ak-ki [.]
 19' [a-na-ku] a-na i-[.]
 20' [x x] ^fbu² [.]

// SBVII 261

// SBVII 262

Remainder lost

- 4' '[I] cut down [.]
 5' you, when [.]
 6' its mountains, and we [*destroyed Humbaba, who in*
 7' the Cedar Forest dwelt, [*we seized the Bull of Heaven and*
 8' [we] slew (it). In . . . [.]
 9' [. . .] this [.]' *'Your dream*
 10' was favourable and . . . [.]
 11' it [was precious], it was favourable and it [was]
 12' [. . .] it was difficult.' *'In [my] dream [. . . there was a man,*
 13' he was short of stature, he was large [of . . . Like the (roaring) Anzū bird
 14' was the set of his [face. His hands were a lion's] paws,
 15' [his claws were] an eagle's talons. [.]
 16' his [. . .] all [.]
 17' [*of an] eagle, [his] hands [.]*'

Lacuna

rev.

- 1' 'Moaning [.]
 2' for my friend [.]
 3' Take hold, O Gilgameš, [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 4' he had no [. . .] . . . he did not [.]
 5' You enabled me to roam . . . [. . . *In commemoration of*
 6' my name may [*they pour*] pure water! [. . .]
 7' 'O my friend, who rescued me from [. . .]! *Enkidu lay sick for one day and*
 8' a second day. In the bed [.] a third
 9' and a fourth day. In the bed on [.]
 10' The sickness grew too much for him [.]⁷²
 11' Enkidu was cast [down] on the bed [.]
 12' He called for Gilgameš and he . . . [. . .]
 13' at his cry he . . . [. . .]
 14' He sobbed like a dove [. . .]
 15' was too little. In the *night* [.]
 16' the foremost of [.] *He was mourning*
 17' for his friend [.]
 18' 'I will (make?) mourn [.]
 19' I myself for . . . [.]'

Remainder lost

⁷² Or, reading *šī-ru-š[u]*, 'the sickness worsened, his flesh [.]'

Notes

obv. 3'. Careful inspection of the traces reveals that the broken sign after *bi* cannot be interpreted as [a¹-[na] (Goetze and Levy). The traces are of a sign that begins with two horizontal wedges, like *e* in obv. 13'.

4'. In neither Levy's copy nor Westenholz's is there room at the beginning of the line for the [*ú-ull*] restored by Landsberger, but on this tablet it is feasible that a negative particle could have ended the preceding line. Landsberger saw in these lines an assertion by Enkidu of his innocence in the matter of felling the cedar, given that in OB Ishchali, as also in the newly recovered conclusion of SB Tablet V, the emphasis is on Gilgameš as the lumberjack. However, it is clear from Enkidu's address to the door in SB VII that he, as well as Gilgameš, felled cedar. Elucidation of this passage in MB Megiddo will have to await the discovery of new text.

6'–7'. The restorations are made with reference to Gilgameš's résumé of his exploits with Enkidu, as given several times later on in the SB text (VIII 52–4, X 31–3 // 128–30 // 228–30): *ša nin-nemdūma nīlū šadū / nišbatūma alā nināru / nušalpitu Ĥumbaba ša ina qīšti erēni ašbu* (Tablet X adds *ina nērebēti(?) ša šadī nidūku nēši*). Note that the exploits are given here in the correct order, with the slaying of the Bull of Heaven coming after the killing of Ĥumbaba, not before. In comparison with the late text, Megiddo's [š]a-du-ša presents a problem, for it is not a regular accusative. It might be locative, prompting the restoration [nīlū] šaduša, but such forms are rare in Gilgameš and it is better to assume that in the reporting of the heroes' first exploit the text was different from the SB version.

7'. Landsberger considered the subject of *aš-bu* to be the gods, who elsewhere in Gilgameš are said to dwell on Lebanon (OB IM 17–18, OB Ishchali 38', SB V 6). Others read *aš-pu-[um]*, irregularly from *sapānu*. However, neither reading takes account of the similarity of this passage to SB VIII 52–4, etc.

8'. If the first word is restored correctly compare SB VI 95, where *nēru* also appears to take a venitive ending (*lu-nir-ri(u)*).

9'. Landsberger restored the beginning of the line [*a-na e*]t-lim.

10'. Contrary to Levy's copy collation found no traces after *mi*. Goetze and Levy tentatively restored *mitguru*, 'harmonious' (also favoured by Landsberger). However, neither of Enkidu's dreams can easily be described as promoting a feeling of harmony and some other adjective is to be sought.

11'. Landsberger's translation 'sch[wierig]' presumes a reading *pa-[aš-qāt . . .]*, following Levy's copy and the apparent parallel in the following line, but collation appears to rule this out.

12'. Westenholz saw the first preserved sign as *ir* or similar. However, collation favours the traces as copied by Levy.

13'–15'. The text *ana anzi . . . šuprāšu* is restored after MB Ur 66–8 and SB VII 169–70.

16'. A reading [*ukkulū / pān*]ūšu (after MB Ur 65 and SB VII 168) is not confirmed by collation; it would in any case presume that the recension represented by MB Megiddo placed the phrases that describe Enkidu's assailant in a different order.

17'. The reading of the beginning of the line is owed to Westenholz.

rev. 1'. Collation disposes of Landsberger's *qi-im-ma-[ti-ia]*, which he identified with MB Ur 69: *išbat qimmatī* // SB VII 171: *išbat qimmātiya*.

3'. Here and in rev. 12' the sign after DIŠ is clearly PAN not GIM. For this spelling of the hero's name see Chapter 2, where it is no. 12c.

10'. At the end a reading *ši-ru-šu* was advocated by von Soden, *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 82, fn. 1. It remains possible, though the complex of signs after *iktabit* resembles UGU in the line above much

more closely than Levy's copy suggests. The difficulty of determining here what is damaged clay and what a wedge means that collation could not decide the matter one way or the other.

13'. The cry is likely to be that of Gilgameš, uttered in anguish at the realization of Enkidu's approaching death. Collation rules out *id-ke[e]*.

14'. Or *summati*(tu)^{musen}. Two restorations have been put forward for the verb in this line. The suggestion of von Soden, *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 82, fn. 1, was *ú-ta-am-m[i-ū]* < *ummulu*, 'to make writhe'. A less improbable restoration is *ú-ta-am-m[i-im]*, as proposed by Landsberger. The suggestion was that **utammim* was corrupt for *idammum*, a view repeated by *CAD* S, p. 379, where the many attestations of the stock simile *kīma summati damāmu* are collected (p. 380 for *kīma summi damāmu*). I have adopted Landsberger's reading but reject his analysis. It is less mistrustful of the ancient scribe to assume that the verb in question is a correctly spelled intensive II/1 stem of *damāmu*.

15'. The interpretation of the first three signs as a spelling of *ēšat* follows Goetze and Levy. Landsberger emended to *e ša-(bi)-it*, 'möge er nicht halten', but emendation is unnecessary. Comparable writings of closed syllables C₁aC₂ with the sequence C₁a-iC₂ have been collected by B. Groneberg, *JCS* 32 (1980), p. 157, who notes the presence of 'broken orthographies' in texts of all periods. Another example in a western copy of a Babylonian literary text is *is-sā-ku-AT* for *issakut* in *VAS* XII 194, 56 (Adapa from Amarna).

16'–17'. To my eyes the broken sign after *ašarēd* is not I[ū] (Landsberger). The phrase *ana ibrišu* recalls the opening couplet of SB VIII: *mimmū šeri ina namāri / Gilgameš ibakki ana ibrišu*, and I have restored accordingly.

18'. Landsberger considered *lubakki* 'schlecht für *lušakki*', obviously mindful of SB VII 144 // VIII 88: *ušabkakka niši ša Uruk ušadmamakka*. If not the sole witness of an otherwise unattested intensive II/1 stem, the spelling might alternatively stand as a defective writing of I/1 *lubki*; either way the line anticipates Gilgameš's own mourning. Von Soden's emendation to *lu-da!-aq-qi-[iq?]*, 'ich will zerkleinern(?)' (*AfO* 20 (1963), p. 82, fn. 1), is not borne out by collation.

7

Assyrian Fragments of One or More Intermediate Versions

The many Gilgameš tablets deriving from the libraries of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh outnumber by a large margin the rest of the Assyrian manuscripts of Gilgameš. The former pieces, the Kuyunjik tablets, were the modern world's first sources for the epic and they form even now the basis of our understanding of its structure and content. The Kuyunjik tablets remain the largest group of Gilgameš tablets extant from first-millennium Mesopotamia. It is our good fortune that, with only two certain exceptions (MSS YY and ZZ), they bear witness to a version of the epic that seems to have been canonical not only in seventh-century Nineveh but also in the later libraries of Babylonia. This is the text known here as the Standard Babylonian version, edited in Chapter 11.

At intervals over the past century of archaeological exploration in the great cities and provincial towns of Assyria, however, fifteen other first-millennium fragments of Gilgameš have come to light. Some of them fit comfortably into the Standard Babylonian text as we know it from Kuyunjik and Babylonia. These are eight pieces from Aššur (the two parts of MS **a**, Tablet VI; MS **b**, Tablet XI; the three fragments of MS **c**, also Tablet XI; MS **d**, also Tablet VI; and a manuscript of Tablet I as yet unpublished); one from Sultantepe, ancient Huzirina (MS **f**, Tablet VII); and one from Nimrud, ancient Kalah (MS **g**, Tablet I). For reasons of format or content, or both, the remaining five Assyrian fragments do not sit so easily with the canonical text. Three, MS **x** and the two pieces of MS **y**, come from Aššur, a fourth, MS **z**, from Nimrud, and a fifth, MS **e**, from Sultantepe. In script MSS **x** and **y** are distinctly more old-fashioned than the other fragments from Aššur (MSS **a**, **b**, **c** and **d**). They are not Middle Assyrian but may be from the tenth or ninth centuries. The second Nimrud tablet (MS **z**) also looks older than the seventh-century manuscripts.

Assyrian MS **y** holds passages recounting the preparations for the expedition against Hūmbaba. The text of the obverse runs parallel with the end of Tablet II of the Standard Babylonian epic but is often much more like the Old Babylonian Yale tablet. It is a duplicate of neither, however, and clearly represents the epic at an intermediate stage of transmission. The reverse, very fragmentary, is unplaced. Assyrian MS **x** yields two fragments of text from the episode of Gilgameš's dreams on the journey to the Cedar Forest. This part of the epic, Tablet IV in the Standard Babylonian version, is now much better known than for-

merly and it seems more difficult than ever to find a place for MS **x** in that text, if not impossible. It must come from the version of the epic represented by MS **y** or from some other intermediate text. The format of Assyrian MS **z**, though very probably a tablet of three columns per side like the first-millennium Gilgameš tablets from Kuyunjik and Babylonia, is non-standard in that it combines two separate Tablets, X and XI. Parts of four columns survive, but only three of them can be fitted into the canonical version of the text. The penultimate column appears to contain a variant version of Ūta-napišti's story. This may be a legacy of an intermediate version that tackled his reminiscence of the Flood in a different manner. Assyrian MS **e**, a small, single-column tablet, is an important source for Gilgameš's lament for Enkidu. It is so close to the text of Tablet VIII as known from tablets from Kuyunjik and Babylon that it can be wholly integrated into the Standard Babylonian edition, and so in this respect it differs from MSS **x**, **y** and **z**. However, the non-standard format of the tablet, the very irregular spelling and other peculiarities mark it out as different from the regular manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian epic. Though probably *sui generis*, a 'one-off', it is included here to highlight this difference.

Assyrian MSS **x**, **y**, **z** and, especially, **e** also exhibit local, non-Babylonian features. These features are principally matters of spelling but Assyrian lexical variants and grammatical forms also occur. Assyrian spelling is found sporadically in the manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian version from Kuyunjik and other Assyrian centres, but intrusions of Assyrian dialect are extremely rare. In these four manuscripts both kinds of Assyrianism occur to a much greater degree. The evidence of Assyrian morphology and Assyrian and non-Standard Babylonian orthography can be set out as follows.

- (a) non-standard and old-fashioned spellings of proper nouns
^mGIŠ-TUK (**y**₂ obv. 16', rev. 7', 12', 18', **z** i 14', 30', ii 9', 12', 24', v 31'), ^men-ki-di (**y**₁ 7', **y**₂ obv. 17', rev. 3'), ^men-kid (**x** rev. 6'), ^mhu-ba-ba (**y**₂ obv. 19'), ^mhu-be-be (**y**₁ 5', **y**₂ obv. 11', 22'), ^mur-šu-na-be (**z** ii 37', vi 8'), ^m[u]-bar-t[u-tu] (**z** ii 13'), ^dad-du (**y**₂ obv. 14')
- (b) third person feminine singular, conjugation prefix in *t-*
e 20 *tap-pa-šiš* for *tupaššišu*
- (c) I-stem voluntative in *la-*
y₂ obv. 4' *la-ak!?-si-[ma]?*
- (d) II-stem precativ in *lu-*
e 8 *lu-u-nam-ba-a*
- (e) Verbs *primae aephe*, first and third person, conjugation prefixes in *ē-*¹
e 30 *e-kim-ma-ni*, **z** i 32' *e-du!?-ru*, ii 11' *e-la-[m]a?*, vi 3' *[e]-la-ma*, 8' *e-na-ḫa*
- (f) genitive and plural case vowels in *-e*
e 16 *ma-ḫar-e*, **x** obv. 5' *am-ma-te*, **y**₁ 1' *a-mi-lu-te*, **y**₂ obv. 15' *šul-lu-me*, *pu-ul-ḫe-te*, **z** i 32' *mu-te*, ii 14', 15' *a-bu-be*, 22', 29' *šar-be u še-te*, 23', 30' *la-be*
- (g) uncontracted forms
e 14 *nu-na-er*, 15, 16 *ú-še-la-(a)-mu-ka* if for *ušella'ūka*²

¹ For the few examples of this prefix in Kuyunjik manuscripts of the epic see Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style (sub ix).

² Uncertain, see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB VIII 23–6.

- (h) vowel harmony
 y₂ obv. 6' *iz-za-qu-ru*, 14' *ú-ru-du*, 13' *iz-zaq-qu-ru*, z v 18' *ta-lu-ku* if for *tallaku*. Note also in MS y the declension of the proper noun ^m*hu-ba-ba* (acc. y₂ obv. 19'), ^m*hu-be-be* (gen. y₁ 5', y₂ obv. 11', 22')
- (i) other Assyrian forms³
 e 8 and y₁ 7' *aki* for *kāma* or *kā*, e 12 *el-lat* for *elletu*, 35 *lā* for *ul*, 36 ditto, y₂ obv. 16' *ša-me-e-šu* for *šemēšu*, rev. 3' *šu-a-šu* for *šāšu*, z ii 21', 28' *ar-ḫi* for *urḫi*, iv 10 [as]-*sa-kan* for *aštakan*, vi 12' *is-si-a*
- (j) high proportion of defective spellings of double consonants
 e 2, 31 *a-ka-(a)-nu*, 12 *ni-tal-lak*, *pu-ra-ti*, 18 *iš-ta-kan* (I/3, cf. 19 *iš-tak-kan*), 25 *ši-ma-i-ni*, 30 *e-kim-ma-ni*, 35 *i-na-šá-a*, 36 *ik-tu-ma*, 38 *šu-ta-a-te*, 40 *i-na-da-a-da-qa-a-te*, x rev. 10' *šu-tu*, y₂ obv. 6' *iz-za-qu-ru*, 13' *la-ma-su*, 14' *ú-ru-du*, 16' *us-sà-ḫi-ir*, 17' *i-za-qa-ra*, 18' *a-pa-la-aḫ*, 21' *ú-sa-náq*(NAGA), 22' *a-na-ki-sa*, z i 20' *i-qa-tap*, ii 5' *a-na-ṭal-la*, 18' *qū-du-du*, 19' *lu-mu-un*, 20' *i-ba-ši*, 23', 30' *la-be*, 26' *lu-mun*, 34' *ni-nem!-du-ú*, vi 3' [e]-*la-ma*, 8' *e-na-ḫa*, 11' [i]-*na-šá-a*, 14' *ik-šu-du-ni-ma*
- (k) CV for VC and vice versa⁴
 e 6, 13 *dagal*⁵ for *rapše*, 9 *ni-ḫi-tal-pu* for *niḫtallupu*, 11 *bu-ul* for *būlu*, 27 *tu-ku-lat*, 33 *nu-šá-al-pi-te*, z v 24' *ú-šá-za-na-an*, 27' *qi-te-ru*-[ub?]
- (l) CVC for CV₁CV₂⁵
 e 9 *ni-ḫi-tal-pu* for *niḫtallupu*, x rev. 6' ^{md}*en-kid*
- (m) a subset of (l), where inflected final vowels are unmarked
 e 8 *qer-bet*, 10 *lu-lim*, 12 *el-lat*, 17 *ḫe-e-mat* for *ḫimētu*, 23 [uš-šu]r for *uššurā*, z vi 17' *su-pur*
- (n) a subset of (l), where subjunctive -u is unmarked
 e 12 *ni-tal-lak*, 18, 19 *iš-ta(k)-kan*, 20 *tap-pa-šiš*
- (o) CVC-CV or CV-VC-CV for CVCV⁶
 e 6 *šu-pur-ru* for *supūri*, y₁ 8' *ti-id*-[de] for *tīde*

³ Assyrian dialect forms in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš are collected in Ch. 9, the section on Some features of language and style (sub viii-ix).

⁴ For this as a feature of NA writing see the examples collected by K. Deller, 'Studien zur neuassyrischen Orthographie', *Or NS* 31 (1962), pp. 188-93. For instances in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš see Ch. 9, the section on Spelling conventions (sub a). The use of CV signs for VC is now known to be very old, since it was established practice in the third millennium, especially at Ebla. Though such writings sometimes occur in OB tablets (see OB Harnal and Nippur for examples), it would not be correct to view the sudden increase in them in the first millennium (in Babylonia as well as Assyria) as the resurrection of an old convention. The explanation favoured by I. J. Gelb and others (e.g. Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, pp. 151-2), that such spellings reflect the growing influence of Aramaic writing practice, still holds good.

⁵ On CVC for CV, CV₁, see K. Deller, 'Zweiselbige Lautwerte des Typs KVKV im Neuassyrischen', *Or NS* 31 (1962), pp. 7-26; evidence for bisyllabic values with contrasting vowels (CVC for CV, CV₂) needs collecting, but good examples, picked at random, are the spellings *muk-ri-be* in the DN *Tišamme-pē-mukarribe*, 'She-Hears-the-Words-of-Him-who-Pays-Homage' (Menzel, *Tempel II*, p. T 149, GAB 41); *ú-šar-ta* for *ušarriṭa* (*STT* 38, 100; Poor Man of Nippur), and *ik-kal* for *ikkalū* (*KAR* 1, 18; Ištar's Descent). For such writings in Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš see Ch. 9, the section on Spelling conventions (sub c).

⁶ For the same phenomenon in a Kuyunjik source see Ch. 9, the section on Spelling conventions (sub b).

- (p) CVC for CCV⁷
 e 16 *ma-ḫar-e* for *maḫrē*
- (q) a subset of (p), where inflected final vowels are unmarked
 e 31 *nam-mar* for *nimru*, 40 *ri-gim*
- (r) a subset of (p), where subjunctive -u is unmarked
 e 32 *ni-iš-ša-bat* for *niššabtu*
- (s) CVC-CV for CVC+V at the morpheme boundary⁸
 e 30 *e-kim-ma-ni* for *ēkim + anmi*, z ii 5' *a-na-ṭal-la* for *anaṭṭal + a* (ventive)
- (t) other typically northern spellings
 y₂ obv. 21' *ú-sa-náq*(NAGA), if correctly deciphered,⁹ z i 12', 21' *šim-ma*
- (u) Middle Babylonian forms and spellings
 e 40 *ul-te-ši*, y₁ 4' *am-da-qu-ut*, y₂ obv. 12' *si-gir-šu*, 16' *us-sà-ḫi-ir*, z i 17' *ia-am-da*, i 33' *ra-pal-ta*

Another local feature seems to be the presentation of verse. Assyrian MSS e, x and, in places, z, exhibit a disregard for the convention that the beginnings and ends of lines as written on the tablet fall at the boundary between two lines of poetry. This disregard is a conspicuous feature of some Late Bronze Age copies of Babylonian literary compositions made in the West, especially at Amarna but also at Boğazköy, Emar, Ugarit and Megiddo.¹⁰ In an earlier age Old Babylonian copies from Tell Harmal can exhibit the same haphazard arrangement, as already seen in Chapter 5 (sub OB Harmal₂). Scribes of Gilgameš tablets from Nineveh and the Babylonian heartland very occasionally break a line in the wrong place, but they do so with such rarity that we can be sure they do so by mistake.¹¹ A marked disregard for the southern convention of line division was a phenomenon of the periphery. It is not necessarily a symptom of indifference or ignorance, however. At least some scribes who produced tablets on which lines of verse and lines of tablet do not coincide nevertheless recognized the division between lines of poetry, for they marked it, if they had room, by leaving a blank space. This convention is found on Middle Babylonian Gilgameš tablets from the West (MB Megiddo, MB Emar) and on MS e.

From the content of Assyrian MSS x, y and z it is clear that in the first quarter of the first millennium BC there was current in Assyria and its provinces text of the epic that varied from the Standard Babylonian version known from seventh-century Kuyunjik and later Babylonia. The simplest explanation for this kind of duplication is that the lesser-known

⁷ See Deller, *Or NS* 31, p. 194. For comparable spellings in Kuyunjik tablets see Ch. 9, the section on Spelling conventions (sub f).

⁸ For the practice of doubling a consonant in this position in history see the commentary on SB Tablet V 1; examples in manuscripts of the SB epic are collected in Ch. 9, the section on Spelling conventions (sub d and e).

⁹ The sign NAGA was used syllabically at Boğazköy, appearing in a letter of Suppiluliuma to Niqmadu of Ugarit (*PRU* IV, p. 36, 26: *nák-ru*). C. Rüster and E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* no. 352, list for this sign the phonetic values *nág/ik*.

¹⁰ e.g. Amarna: Adapa (*EA* 356), Nergal and Ereškigal (*EA* 357), King of Battle (*EA* 359); Boğazköy: Gilg. MB Boğ₁₋₂; Ugarit: Flood story, opening lines at least (*Ugaritica* V 167, ed. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, pp. 131-3); Emar: Gilg. MB Emar₁₋₂; Megiddo: Gilg. MB Megiddo.

¹¹ Note the false break in the Aššur MS a, col. v, where SB VI 139-40 are divided in the wrong place. Other examples of false breaks are older, being established in all extant MSS, e.g. SB XI 132-3 and 317-18.

versions are older and the better-attested versions are more recent. Assyrian centres were, from the point of view of the dissemination of Babylonian culture, peripheral. It is clear that the 'canonical' editions of much of the traditional literature of scribal learning that we know from the tablets of first-millennium Nineveh, Babylon and Uruk are the result of a deliberate process of standardization. On the evidence, especially, of the activities of such men as Esagil-kīn-apli, a scholar of the mid-eleventh century who was held responsible for new editions of many important exorcistic and divinatory texts,¹² we assume that this standardization took place towards the end of the second millennium in Babylonia. We can suppose that new editions of traditional texts rapidly replaced the old in Babylonia but that they did not reach the peripheral centres so quickly. Provincial regions are well known for the retention of old traditions, so superseded editions can be expected to have survived in Assyria after they had disappeared in Babylonia. The preservation of Middle Assyrian copies of some Babylonian texts in seventh-century Assyrian libraries illustrates how much local scholars cherished old tablets. In this hypothesis, tablets of old editions of traditional Babylonian literary compositions were extant in Assyria in the early first millennium and continued to be copied out right down to the seventh century.

As has already been noted in the discussion of the Middle Babylonian Gilgameš in Chapter 1, Assyrian MS **y** holds text of an episode also available in an Old Babylonian version as well as the late epic, and is an unambiguous witness to a version of the epic at an intermediate stage of development between the two extant parallels. It affords a very clear example of the preservation into the seventh century of an old tablet and an even older version of the text. Assyrian MSS **x** and **z** are very probably fragments of another old edition (or editions) of the Gilgameš epic. The presence in them of proper nouns in non-Standard Babylonian spellings, as collected above under category (a), serves to bolster the argument, for the spelling of many of the proper nouns encountered in the epic was not standardized in the earlier second millennium.

When an edition of a Babylonian text has a long history of copying in a country where different rules of grammar and spelling exist, one can expect some intrusion of that country's grammar and spelling. As the evidence assembled above shows, this has happened in the case of Assyrian MSS **e**, **x**, **y** and **z**. Assyrian dialect has left a few traces (categories b–i) and Assyrian orthographic conventions are everywhere visible (categories j–t). But despite this, the survival of typically Middle Babylonian spellings in MSS **e**, **y** and **z** (category u) helps to remind us that these copies' antecedents were ultimately southern. The texts transmitted by Assyrian MSS **e**, **x**, **y** and **z** are in language overwhelmingly Babylonian. For this reason I am reluctant to characterize the tablets presented in this chapter as sources for an 'Assyrian recension' of the epic. More exactly, I see them as vestiges of one or more Babylonian editions that pre-dated the Standard Babylonian version and remained current in Assyria well into the first millennium BC.

The question arises as to the date of this putative old version (or versions). The tablets provide no explicit information on this topic, beyond the impression gained from the script

¹² See Ch. 1, the section on Sīn-lēqi-unninni and the SB epic.

that some of them, at least, date to the tenth or ninth centuries. The only other evidence they provide is the presence of the Assyrian features listed above. In commenting on the textual history of Atra-ḫašīs, the text's editors noted that similar mixtures of Assyrian and Babylonian forms and orthography are exhibited in Middle Assyrian copies of Babylonian literary texts.¹³ They suggested the Middle Assyrian period as the time of origin of their Assyrian recension, though no Middle Assyrian copy of Atra-ḫašīs is extant. No truly Middle Assyrian copy of Gilgameš has been recovered, either, but it is likewise hard to believe that tablets of Gilgameš were not included in the literary spoils sent home by Tukultī-Ninurta I when he sacked Babylon. This event is often considered seminal in the dissemination of Babylonian literature to Assyria but it remains possible that too much emphasis is placed on it, given how little we know of the cultural interaction of the Babylonian and Assyrian intelligentsia in most periods. Babylonian tablets no doubt travelled north in many periods. Perhaps the fragments presented in this chapter are descended from a version or versions of the epic imported to Assyria by Tukultī-Ninurta but, then again, perhaps not.

THE FRAGMENTS FROM AŠŠUR (ASSYRIAN MSS **x** AND **y**)

In the absence of excavation numbers, nothing can be said of the provenance of these pieces other than that they were excavated by Andrae at Aššur before the First World War. Judging by the script, the fragments are older than all other manuscripts of Gilgameš from the same city (MS **a**, **b**, **c** and **d**). The handwriting is of a kind familiar from the reign of Aššurnasirpal II (883–859 BC),¹⁴ so they may date from the early ninth century, but scripts change slowly and a tenth-century date is not ruled out.

*Assyrian MS **y***

Assyrian MS **y** comprises two fragments of similar clay and script, VAT 10585b and VAT 10916, that were identified by Stefan M. Maul only in 2000. They yield text of the episode in which the preparations for the journey to the Cedar Forest are described, and accordingly can be compared with the Old Babylonian Yale tablet (OB Tablet III) and the Standard Babylonian epic (SB Tablets II–III). The two fragments both show affinities with the older and younger texts, and for that reason too it is likely that they are parts of a single tablet. Their combined text can be viewed as witness to the epic at an intermediate stage in its development, post-Old Babylonian but pre-dating the standardizing of the text as the Standard Babylonian version. Though of comparatively early date, the fragments of

¹³ Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫašīs*, pp. 37–8.

¹⁴ This is the view of S. M. Maul, a leading expert in Assyrian handwriting from Aššur; see his edition of MS **y** in *MDOG* 133.

Assyrian MS y are far removed in time from the date of the standardized edition. Most probably they are descended from Middle Assyrian copies of Middle Babylonian originals. So far as it is possible to tell, the text is written in the conventional southern manner, the lines of poetry coinciding with lines of tablet. Some lines of poetry are doubled up on to a single line of tablet. As already reported, the spelling exhibits many Assyrian habits and the occasional Assyrianism. Unlike most seventh-century Assyrian copies, Assyrian MS y consistently renders the inflection of noun and verb in faithful accordance with the rules of late second-millennium grammar.

The first piece, MS y₁, is a small fragment that has only one face preserved. In it Gilgameš states his intention of doing battle with Humbaba in the Cedar Forest, even if it means a glorious death (1'–5'). He chides the cautious Enkidu for the feeble objections that are ill suited to his fearsome appearance and heroic past (6'–9'). The text is very like the Yale tablet (OB III 141–57). The lacuna that intervenes at this point between the two fragments of MS y can be filled with reference to the Yale tablet. There Gilgameš ends this speech to Enkidu by vowing to fell cedar and win renown (OB III 158–60). He then takes his friend to the copper-smiths, who cast great weapons for them, and closes the gates of Uruk to convene an assembly (OB III 161–77).

The second piece, MS y₂, comes from near the bottom of the right-hand column of a tablet that probably held two columns of text on each side. The text of the obverse holds the remains of three speeches delivered at the meeting of the assembly of Uruk. Gilgameš tells of his plan to go to the Cedar Forest to make a name for himself (1'–5'). This speech is very similar to the end of his first address to the assembly on the Yale tablet, where it is fully preserved (OB III 178–88). As in that tablet, Gilgameš's bravado is followed immediately by the elders' response; in the Standard Babylonian epic Enkidu intervenes between the two speeches (SB II 272–86). The counsellors advise that their king's youthful enthusiasm has got the better of his judgement (6'–10'). They go on to warn him that the forest and its precious timber are guarded by the ogre Humbaba, whom Enlil himself appointed (11'–15'). Their speech is again similar to the Yale tablet (OB III 191–6) but ends by reprising lines that occur only once in the Yale tablet, at a much earlier point in the episode (OB III 134–7). In this respect it anticipates the Standard Babylonian version.

In a speech that was hitherto all but lost in lacunae (OB III 201 ff., SB II 301 ff.) Gilgameš laughs off the elders' warnings and reaffirms his intention of subduing Humbaba (16'–19'). That done, he plans to make rafts of logs from the Cedar Forest and float the timber down river to Babylonia, with Humbaba's decapitated head as the trophy of his victory (20'–2'). His speech thus anticipates the narrative that relates how these things are done, which is only partly preserved in the Standard Babylonian epic (SB V 300–2). The counsellors respond in turn but here the text breaks off. This second speech must be their blessing for the journey, for that is what comes next in the older and younger versions of the epic (OB III 211–15, SB III 1–12).

To judge from the curvature of the surfaces of MS y₂, not very much text is missing between the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse. Unfortunately, very little of the reverse is legible. The content includes speeches of Gilgameš and Enkidu. Enough of

these are preserved to show that this part of MS y has no counterpart on the Yale tablet. There the elders' speech is followed by Gilgameš's prayers to Šamaš and Lugalbanda, the arming of the two heroes, the elders' second blessing and envoi, words of encouragement from Enkidu, a short response by Gilgameš, the young men's blessings and the heroes' departure. In the Standard Babylonian version the poem is much expanded at this point. After the elders' speech, which opens SB Tablet III, Gilgameš and Enkidu visit Ninsun, whereupon she delivers her long address to Šamaš and adopts Enkidu. Thereafter the text of SB Tablet III becomes fragmentary. Though it is not possible to identify in it any counterpart of the reverse of MS y₂, there is at least one lacuna large enough to accommodate it.¹⁵ The next verbal exchanges between the two heroes fall in the dream episodes on the journey itself, but even in the lost continuation of the Yale tablet these would be too far removed from the elders' blessing to find a place in the immediately following column of MS y.

In short, Assyrian MS y has speeches of Enkidu and Gilgameš not found in the Yale tablet and lacks the visit to Ninsun which occupies so much of SB Tablet III. Provisionally one can remark that the Assyrian tablet gives an account of what happened prior to the heroes' departure that is fuller than the extant Old Babylonian text but not as lengthy as the late epic. The tablet represents the poem at an intermediate stage of its development. It should be noted, however, that though the text of Assyrian MS y often reflects its intermediate position between the extant Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian texts, the version of the poem that it represents does not constitute a link in a direct lineal descent. In it are several examples of textual variation in language at places in the poem where the older and younger versions agree with each other. The following examples show how Assyrian MS y sometimes deviates radically from the Old Babylonian text where the late version remains more or less faithful:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) <i>awilūtumma manū ūmūša</i>
<i>mimma ša ūeneppušu šarumma</i> (or <i>šarūma</i>)
OB III 142–3 | <i>amēluti manū [ūmūša]</i>
<i>mimmū ēteppušu š[arū]ma</i>
SB II 234–5

<i>ša amilūte m[anū ūmūša]</i>
[. . .]šu? <i>šullulā ša[lmāi? qaqqadi?]</i>
Assyrian MS y, 1'–2' |
| (b) <i>šeḫrēta Gilgameš libbaka naška</i>
<i>mimma ša ūeneppušu lā ūde</i>
OB III 191–2 | <i>šeḫrēti Gilgameš libbaka naška</i>
<i>u mimma ša tātammu</i> (var. <i>taqabbū</i>) <i>ul ūde</i>
SB II 289–90

<i>[šeḫrēta] bēti libbaka [naška]</i>
[. . .] <i>ša taqabbū magir</i> [. . .]
<i>[šeḫrē]ta bēti libbaka [naška]</i>
[. . .] <i>ša taqabbū magir</i> [. . .]
Assyrian MS y ₂ obv. 7'–10' |

¹⁵ SB III 174 ff., possibly also 136–46 and 233 ff.

- 6' [itbûma ma-lî-k]u rabûtu(gal)^{mes}: // SB II 287
 iz-za-qu-ru [ana^{md}GIŠ-TUK] // SB II 287
- 7' [šeḫrēta] bēlī(en) lib-ba-ka [našīka] // OB III 191 // SB II 289
- 8' [. . .] ša ta-qab-bu-ú ma-gir [. . .] // OB III 192 // SB II 290
- 9' [še-eh-re-t]a bēlī(en) [lī]b^lba^l-ka [našīka]
- 10' [. . .] ša^lta-qab^l-bu-ú ma-gi[r. . .]
- 11' [x x x x] x x^mḫu?-be?^l-be da-pi-nu eli(ugu)-[ka? . . .]
- 12' [pi-i-š]u^dgirru(bil.gi) si-qir-š[^umūtu?] // OB III 198 // SB II 292
- 13' [ana šūšā(1.gi)š]^{ta.ām^l}be-ri la-ma-su [qīštu] // OB III 195 // SB II 293
- 14' [ma-an-n]u ša ú-ru-du ana lib-bi: // OB III 196 // SB II 295
^dad-du il-t[e-en šū šanū] // OB III 134-5 // SB II 297
- 15' [aššu š]ul-lu-me e-re-ni-šu: // OB III 136 // SB II 298
 pu-ul-ḫe-te ša nišī(ùg)^{mes} ištīmšu Ellil // OB III 137 // SB II 299
-
- 16' [^{md}GI]Š-TUK an-ni-ta ina ša-me-e-šu: cf. OB III 201 // SB II 300
 us-sà-ḫi-ir pānī(igi)-šu a-na i[b]-ri-šu
- 17' [^li-]š[i-ih]i-za-qa-ra a-na^men^lki^l-di: // OB III 202 // SB II 301
 ib-ri ka-ma e?-[. . .] // OB III 203
- 18' a-pa-la-aḫ-ma-a ul al-la-ka a-na mah^l-ri^l-šu: // OB III 204
 al-la-ak [urḫa rūqata ašar Ḫumbaba?]
- 19' ú ki-ma lab-be^mḫu-ba-ba ú-x [a]k? ma šu x[. . .]
- 20' ^{es}a-ma-a-te^{mes} ú-rak^lka-sa^l ša ^{es}erēni(eren) ^{es}šurmēni(šur.mìn) [u supāli?]
- 21' i+na lib-bi ú-sa-nāq(NAGA)? [. . .]
- 22' [q]aq-qa^lad^lmḫu-be-be a-na-ki-sa-ma aq-qa^lla^lpa^la^l[. . .]
-
- 23' [x] x^lma^l ma-lî-ku rabû[tu(gal)]^{mes}:
 iz-zaq-qu-ru [ana^{md}GIŠ-TUK]
- 24' [l]i?-[.]^lka^l: // OB III 212
^dsamaš(utu)?^l[. . .] // OB III 213

MS y₂ rev. (col. iii')

- 1' [x x x]x x[. . .]
- 2' [x x x]x ma ta/ru? x x[. . .]
-
- 3' [^men-ki]-di ana šu-a-šu izzaqqara(mu)^r[^a ana^{md}GIŠ-TUK]
 Enkidu said to him, [to Gilgameš]
- 4' [x x š]a/l]i du-un-x[. . .]
- 5' [x x i]m-ḫur giš [. . .]
- 6' [x x] im-mar x[. . .]
- 7' [x x] x [(x)]^{md}GIŠ-TUK x[. . .]
-
- 8' [x x] x x x x x[. . .]
- 9' [. . .]
- 10' [x] x[. . .]
- 11' [x]x x x[. . .]

- 6' The senior [advisers rose,]
 saying [to Gilgameš:]
- 7' '[You are young,] my lord, [carried away] by enthusiasm,
- 8' [. . .] what you speak of finds [no] favour [. . .]
- 9' You [are young,] my lord, [carried away] by enthusiasm,
- 10' [. . .] what you speak of finds [no] favour [. . .]
- 11' [. . .] . . . of Ḫumbaba will be too ferocious for [you . . .]
- 12' his [speech] is fire, his utterance [is death.]
- 13' [For] sixty leagues each way, [the forest] surrounds him,
- 14' [who] is there would venture within?
 Adad is the [first, (but) he is the second!]
- 15' [In order to] keep his cedars safe,
 [Enlil made it his destiny] (to be) the terror of the people.'
-
- 16' When Gilgameš heard this,
 he turned around to [his] friend.
- 17' He laughed, saying to Enkidu:
 'My friend, shall I be so [.],
- 18' so afraid that I cannot go into his presence?
 I shall travel [the distant path to where Ḫumbaba is,]
- 19' and Ḫumbaba, like a lion, I shall . . . [. . .]
- 20' I shall rope together rafts of cedar, cypress [and supālu-juniper(?).]
- 21' Thereon I shall collect together [.]
- 22' I shall cut off the head of Ḫumbaba and come downstream [. . .]'
-
- 23' The senior advisers . . . ,
 saying [to Gilgameš:]
- 24' 'Let [.] you,
 [may] the god Šamaš [. . . ?'

- 12' [x]x x^{md}GIŠ-TUK^l [. . .]
 13' [x (x)]x na iḥ x[. . .]
 14' [x x]x giš x ú x[. . .]
 15' [x x i]b? il-la-k[a?] . . .
 16' [x x x]x la? ú-la-x x[. . .]
 17' [x x x]x ig x x diš x[. . .]
 18' [^{md}GIŠ-TU]K pā(ka)-šū [īpuša(dù)]^{sa} i-qab^l-bi^l:
 [i-za-qa-ra a-na^m en-ki-di]
 Gilgames [opened] his mouth to speak, [saying to Enkidu]
 19' [x x x]x ša il-li-ka x a? x[. . .]
 20' [x x x x]-e šá im? x (x) ka x[. . .]
 21' traces

Remainder lost

Notes

y, 2'. Though incomplete, the line is clearly very different from its counterpart in the Yale tablet and the late text. The verb *šullulā*, lit. 'they are in shade', alludes to the shadow of death that looms over men.

3'. The ventive verb is an exception to the rule that *alāku* and ventive means 'come', demonstrated for Gilgames by H. Hirsch, 'Die Heimkehr des Gilgamesch', *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (Bilgiç Mem. Vol.; Ankara, 1997), pp. 173–90.

4'. The first word is corrupt; the Yale tablet reads *šumma amtaqut*.

5'. The verb of the Yale tablet is *ištu*. This version of the poem uses a more neutral word.

8'. As restored from its counterparts, this line of tablet is not filled and may have held two lines of poetry. The spelling *ti-ia-[de]* for *tide* exhibits the principle that long syllables can be written closed (see the introduction, spelling point o). Maul proposes a different solution, in which *tide* exhibits the influence of the MA and NA present *udda*.

y₂ obv. 1'. Maul reads the traces as *in?-na?-š[i?]-ir?*. Without good context it is better to reserve judgement.

3'. The traces exclude the Yale tablet's *perḥum ša Úruk*.

5'. Perhaps GIŠ^{mes} (Maul).

8' // 10'. A negative is required to save the sense of the line, for the elders are clearly opposed to Gilgames's wish.

9'. The traces of *libbaka* are collated.

13'. The signs *be-ri* replace the distributive *bērā* of the Old Babylonian text (note also *bē-ru* in MB Boğ, d 7). As the replacement of the older version's difficult *nu-ma-at*, the word *la-ma-su* is probably an intentional emendation by a baffled editor, with *nu* interpreted as *lā*.

15'. This line stands midway between the Yale tablet (OB III 136–7: *aššum šullum[u erēnim] / pulḥi'ātīm (pu-ul-ḥi-a-tim) sebe iš[imšum Ellil]*) and the late version (SB II 218–19a, etc.: *aššu šullumu erēni / ana pulḥāti ša niš išimšu Ellil*). Unless one emends the present text to (*ana*) *pulḥete* with SB II, the word spelled *pu-ul-ḥe-te* is accusative and consequently plural, as in the Yale tablet. Assyrian vowel harmony is then ruled out as an explanation for the vowel /e/ after the stem (<**pulḥate*). Instead the form represents an unusual contraction of the Yale tablet's broken plural, *pulḥi'ātīm* < *pulḥete* (for the contraction /i'a/ to /ê/ outside Mari see *GAG*³ §16k).

16'. For the expression *pānī suḥḥuru*, literally 'to turn back the face', see *CAD* S, s.v. *saḥāru* 11.a.2. At the break Maul reads *ta[p-pe-e-šu?]*.

17'. Maul considers *e-[du-ru pānūšumu]*, 'wie sehr ver[finsterte sich doch ihr Gesicht!]'.

19'. Maul reads *ú-p[a-a]q?*, commenting 'falls sich die Lesung als korrekt erweist, liegt eine D-Stamm-Form des Verbs *epēqu*, "umfassen", "bedecken" vor'. The meaning of *uppuqu* is by no means certain.

20'–2'. Compare SB V 200–2: *irtaksū amu ittadū* [. . .] / *Enkidu rakib* [. . .] (MS H differs) / *u Gilgameš qaqqad Humbaba* [. . .]. In l. 20' the third wood is restored after a line in which *Ḥuwawa* tells Gilgameš the types of timber he can supply (OB Harmal, 46–7: [l]urabbi'akkum erēnam šurmēnam supālam / šihūtīm iṣṣi simatu ekallim). In l. 21' Maul reads *ú-sa^lnap^l-sa-[ak]*, 'werde ich (es) darauf fortschaffen lassen', commenting that 'das nur (neu)assyrisch belegte Verb *passuku*, "entfernen", "wegräumen" ist hier erstmals im Š-Stamm (bzw. Štn-Stamm) belegt'. Fully Assyrian words are rare in the epic, even in the early NA sources, and while the decipherment is not secure it is wiser not to introduce into an essentially Babylonian text a very specialized Assyrian verb in a previously unattested stem.

23'. Maul reads the opening word *[ib]-ku-ma*, '[sie] weinten'.

Assyrian MS x

The fragment VAT 10217 comes from near the left edge, with text preserved on both sides. The identification of obverse and reverse is not completely secure, but on collating the fragment my impression was that Ebeling's instincts were probably right. If so, the curvature of the piece would indicate that it is from near the bottom left-hand corner. The tablet held more than one column of text on each face but I could not determine whether two or three.

Because of the damaged state of Assyrian MS x little of it can be translated. Nowhere is comparison with the Standard Babylonian version fruitful. The obverse holds the remains of Gilgameš's telling of one of his nightmares. He had seen a figure of exceptional height and woken frightened. The reverse yields slightly more text, but in terms of plot much of it is unintelligible. The only certainties are that there is a message to turn back home, presumably articulated in another of Gilgameš's dreams, and that Enkidu then explains the dream, no doubt revealing it as favourable. Considerable text must have occupied the gap between these two scraps of text. Clearly the version of the epic to which the fragment bears witness held the dream episode in a fully developed form.

Lines of poetry do not necessarily coincide with lines of tablet, as is revealed at rev. 6', where we find a standard line of poetry beginning some way into the written line.

VAT 10217

Assyrian MS x

Copy: Pl. 28

*Previous publication*1923 E. Ebeling, *KAR* no. 319

C

Text

obv. (col. i)

- 1' [...] šu ma [.....]
 2' [...]x bu me [.....]
 3' [...]x x x x x^l x [.....]
 4' [...]x-ki-ma qa-a-x it-ia-[.....]
 5' [...]x it-na am-ma-ie la-an-š[u.....]
 6' [...] -e-ia ša šik-ni-šu im-ta-[.....]
 7' [...] ^m[^dGİŠ-gim-maš i[g-d]a-ru-u[r.....]
 8' [...] ti-ik-x[(x)]x x[.....]

rev. (col. iv?)

- 1' [...] an [.....]
 2' [...] ip?]-hu-ru iṣ-ša-mi-[id?.....]
 3' [...]x-tuk šu-taḥ-du-[.....]
 4' [...] šu-me ul ta-aḥ-ta^l-n[a?-.....]
 5' [...] ana] āli(uru)-ka-ma tu-ur x[...]
 6' [...] ^{md}en-kid^l pā(ka)^l-šu iṣuša(dù)^{za}-[am-ma i-qab-bi]
 7' [i-zaq-q]a-ra a-na ^m[^dGİŠ-gim-maš]
 8' [...]x ib-ri ša ta-mu-ru[.....]
 9' [...] -k]a?-ma ú-ba-an-x[.....]
 10' [...] n]u? šu tu x[.....]
 11' [^{md}GİŠ-gim-maš] pā(ka)-šu^l [iṣuša(dù)^{za}-am-ma i-qab-bi]
 12' [i-zaq-qa-ra a-na ^{md}en-kid]

Translation

obv.

1'-3' too damaged for translation

- 4' ... and ... [...]
 5' ... x] cubits was his height [...]
 6' ... of his figure ... [...]
 7' ... Gilgameš became frightened [...]
 8' ... [...]

rev.

1'-3' too damaged for translation

- 4' ... you were not ... [...]
 5' ... 'Go back [to] your city! ... [...]'
 6' ... Enkidu opened his mouth [to speak,
 7' [saying] to [Gilgameš:]
 8' '[The ...], my friend, that you saw [...]
 9' ... [...]
 10' ... the dream [...]'
 11' [Gilgameš opened] his mouth [to speak,
 12' [saying to Enkidu: ' ...

A TABLET FROM NIMRUD (ASSYRIAN MS Z)

The tablet IM 67564 is one of two Gilgameš tablets from the library of E-zida, the seventh-century temple of Nabû at Kalaḥ (Nimrud), excavated in 1955. The findspot was 'NT H2 in pit through broken burnt brick pavement of period II'.¹⁶ It was published by J. A. Black in 1996 and identified by W. G. Lambert as a Gilgameš text shortly thereafter.¹⁷

Assyrian MS z is a big piece from the left lower part of a very large tablet that certainly held more than two columns of text on each side, probably three. The ductus looks older than the hands found on Kuyunjik tablets. It is certainly not Middle Assyrian but it may be classified as early Neo-Assyrian. The library where the tablet was kept seems to have been built in about 800 BC,¹⁸ but the tablet could already have been in existence at that time. Uniquely among the extant first-millennium copies of the epic, it holds the text of more than one tablet of the poem. The two columns surviving on the obverse yield text that matches parts of SB Tablet X. Judging by a comparison with the Standard Babylonian text, each column held about 120 lines of poetry. The text preserved on the two reverse columns, probably cols. v and vi, is partly a match for SB Tablet XI and partly not.

The text of the three columns that match parts of SB Tablets X and XI is here incorporated into the editions of the Standard Babylonian epic. The episodes concerned are those of Gilgameš's conversation with Šiduri (col. i), his arrival *chez* Ūta-napišti (col. ii) and his return home to Uruk at the end of the epic (col. vi). Translation and commentary can be found in Chapters 11 and 13. The match is not perfect, for there are several places where the text of Assyrian MS z appears to deviate from the Standard Babylonian version, and often space appears too restricted to allow restoration of the full text. In addition, decipherment is hampered by the tablet's badly damaged surface. Possibly MS z deviates more than the present transliteration suggests. In col. i 14'–16', for example, it is difficult to see how to match the extant traces with SB X 79–84 and to fit all six lines into the available space. In ll. 27'–30' of the same column the poor state of SB 97–101 hampers decipherment, but enough is preserved of both versions to show that the beginnings of SB X 101 and its counterpart on Assyrian MS z do not tally. In col. vi 7'–9' there hardly seems room for all of SB XI 309–13 and in the following lines two phrases appear to be inverted (vi 10': *aš]takan dumqa!*? // SB XI 314: *dumqa ētepuš*, vi 11': *ē]naššā edū* // SB XI 315: *edū inaššamma*). The counterparts of the last five lines of the epic are so badly damaged on MS z that it is impossible to suggest any readings at all, let alone how they were distributed.

The penultimate column, probably col. v, is the least well preserved, but in terms of significance for our knowledge of the epic's history it is the most important. We expect the text

of Tablet XI to end in the damaged part of col. vi, about two-thirds of the way down the extant portion, in the passage that follows the lines describing the return to Uruk. The remainder of the column could have been given over to an elaborate colophon but I could find no trace of a catch-line. The tablet is very damaged hereabouts. Possibly the text deviates from our expectations at this point also, by providing an ending of Tablet XI different from that attested in the Standard Babylonian text. In any event, with columns that contain about 120 lines of poetry we can expect the middle of col. v to fall at a line corresponding to about SB XI 200, at the end of the well-preserved account of Ūta-napišti's Flood. Such expectations are confounded. As preserved, the text of col. v is completely different from any part of SB Tablet XI. What we have instead is an account in the first person in which some words, but not all, may fit the end of the familiar story of the Flood, as told by its survivor, or are at least reminiscent of that narrative. The more striking points of similarity are these:

- (a) v 18' *sebet* 'seven'
The numeral calls to mind Ūta-napišti's ritual preparations for sacrifice (SB XI 159): *sebet u sebet adagurra ukīn*.
- (b) v 23' *uṣalli* 'I prayed'
Praying to the gods might accompany the sacrifice.
- (c) v 24' *uṣaznan* 'I shall send rain' or 'I shall send provisions'
The verb *uṣaznana*, *uṣaznanakkunūši* occurs ambiguously in Ea's cryptic warning to the people (SB XI 43, 47, 88, 91).
- (d) v 25' *dīmātū'a* 'my tears'
Tears were wept by Ūta-napišti as he gazed on the flood waters in the aftermath of the deluge (SB XI 139): *eli dūr appīya illakā dīmāya*.
- (e) v 30' *nesēku* 'I am remote'
Ūta-napišti tells Gilgameš how the gods removed him from the world of mortal men (SB XI 206): *ilqū'innīma ina rūqi ina pī nārāti ušēšībū'imī*.

If this is indeed a telling of Ūta-napišti's story, then quite clearly it is a very different one. The last line preserved on col. v relates Gilgameš's reaction to what he has heard. Again, the line does not tally with the text of SB Tablet XI, which at that point in the story has Gilgameš taking up Ūta-napišti's challenge to do without sleep.

The text of Assyrian MS z is of such importance as a whole for the epic's history that I present it here on its own as well as in the composite edition of SB Tablets X and XI. The following transliteration is set out as the signs are written on the tablet, showing clearly the many places where lines of poetry do not coincide with lines of tablet. Line numbers from the late text are interpolated as superior characters.

¹⁶ J. A. Black, *CTNIV*, p. 410. ¹⁷ See Lambert's review of *CTNIV* in *AfO* 46–7 (1999–2000), p. 152.

¹⁸ See Black's discussion of the history of the library and its tablets in *CTNIV*, pp. 3–7.

IM 67564 (ND 4381)

Assyrian MS z

Copy: Pls. 32, 33

Previous publication

1996 J. A. Black, CTNIV no. 153

C

Text

obv., col. i // SB X 63–112

- 1' [. ⁶³ amat ibrīya kab-t]a²?¹ at eli(ugu)-ia¹
 2' [⁶⁴ urḥa rūqata arappud šēra ⁶⁵ amat Enkīdu ibrīya kabtat? e]li(ugu)-ia
 3' [⁶⁶ ḥarrāna rūqata arappud š]e-e-ru
 4' [⁶⁷ kīkī luskut kīkī lu-qu-u]l a¹na-ku¹
 5' [⁶⁸ ibrī ša arammu itemi tī-(it)]-(it)?-iš
 6' [⁶⁹ Enkīdu ibrī ša arammu itemi tū]¹i¹-tī-iš
 7' [⁷⁰ anāku ul kī šāšūmā a-né-(el)]¹lam¹-ma
 8' [⁷¹ ul atebbā dūr] da-ri
 9' [⁷² Gilgāmeš ana] š[a]-šī-
 10' [-ma izakkara ana sābīti⁷³ eninnāma sābīt mi-nu]¹ú ḥarrānu(kaskal)¹
 šá^mUD¹napīšti(zi)^m
 11' [⁷⁴ minū ittaša yāšī idnī⁷⁵ idnimma ittaša ia]-a-šī
 12' [⁷⁶ šumma naṭū tāmta lu-bi]r⁷⁷ šum¹ma la¹na-tu-u
 13' [šēra lurpud⁷⁸ sa]-bi-tu a¹na¹ša-šū¹-ma
 14' [izakkara ana Gilgāmeš⁷⁹ . . .] x x^{md}GI[š-TU]K? x x [x] x x
 15' [⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ebīr tāmī Šamaš q]u²?-ra-[du-ma?] ⁸² x¹lu¹
 16' [Šamaš ebīr mannu? . . . ⁸⁴ u b]i-ra!-a [mē(a)^m]mu¹-ti šā pānat(igi)-
 17' [-sa parkū⁸⁵ aḥumma^{md}GIš]-TUK te-te-b[ir]¹ta-am¹-da
 18' [⁸⁶ ana mē mūtī] kī(gim)?¹tak²?¹t[a²?-a]P¹-du
 19' [teppuš mīna⁸⁷ Gilgāmeš ibašši Ur-šunābe] malāḥu(má.laḥ₅) [šá^mUD¹napīšti(zi)^m]
 20' [⁸⁸ u šūt abni itīšū]¹i-na¹qīšti(tīr) i-qa-tap¹[ur-na]
 21' [⁸⁹ alikma līmur pānū]-ka⁹⁰ šum-ma na-tu-u¹e-bir-ma²¹i[t-
 22' [-ti-šū⁹¹ šumma lā na-tu]¹ú i¹-[ḥi]-is ar¹kī¹-ka
 23' [⁹² Gilgāmeš an-ni]-tu ina ši-mi¹-šū
 24' [⁹³ išši ḥaššinna] ana idī(á)^{me}[š]-šū⁹⁴ i[š-l]u-up nam-ša-ru
 25' [(ina) šibbīšu⁹⁵ ih]¹lu-ul-ma it-tar-da¹-šū-n[u-t]i
 26' [⁹⁶ kīma šiltāhi a-n]a [b]i-ru¹šū-nu im¹-[qu]-ut
 27' [⁹⁷] x x x x x x-šū
 28' [⁹⁸]¹ru¹-ma
 29' [⁹⁹] x x x-šū
 30' [¹⁰⁰ u šū imḥaš qaqqassu (. . .)]x^{md}GIš-TUK¹⁰¹ x x [(x)] x
 31' [. ¹⁰² u šūt a]b-ni ip-te-ḥu-ú [Ø]
 32' [eleppa¹⁰³ ša l]a e¹du!¹-ru mē(a)^{mes}mu-te¹
 33' [¹⁰⁴ i]am-ta ra-pal-ta¹⁰⁵ ina mē(a)^{mes}i[d-x]

- 34' [. . . ikla¹⁰⁶ uḥ-ta(p)-pu]¹ú¹šū-ut ab-ni it-ta-bak a¹na¹
 35' [nāri¹⁰⁷ . . .] x x x x¹tu šū nu¹x x
 36' [¹⁰⁸ u . . . it-ta-š]ab?¹i-na¹kib-ri
 37' [¹⁰⁹ Gilgāmeš ana šāšūma izakkara]¹a-na¹ur-šū-na-be malāḥi(m[á].laḥ₅)
 38' [¹¹⁰]x-šā-a¹ta¹-šub-ba
 39' [¹¹¹]-ka ka¹a¹-ša
 40' [¹¹² Ur-šunābe ana šāšūma izakkara a]¹na^m[GIš-TUK]

col. ii // SB X 196–230¹⁹

- 1' ¹⁹⁶ ul a-ta¹ú¹[.]
 2' ¹⁹⁷ ú-šar?-pa?-du [.]
 3' ¹⁹⁸ [malāḥu(má.laḥ₅) [.]
 4' ¹⁹⁹ a-mi-lu¹ša¹a-na!¹-[tal-la ul . . . ²⁰⁰ amēlu?]
 5' ša a-na-tal-la ul x[.]
 6' ²⁰¹ pi-qa-ma-a šēru(edīn) x[.]
 7' ²⁰² x x x ma x na-a¹ú¹-[.]
 8' ²⁰³ u[r]-na [x x]-ma it-ta-x[.]
 9' ²⁰⁴ ^{md}GIš-TUK a-na¹ka¹-ri i[t-ḥe]
 10' ²⁰⁵ [ú¹še-riid-ma ú?-la-]]
 11' ²⁰⁶ [ú¹]š[u-ú e-la-[m]a? it-ta-[.]
 12' ²⁰⁷ ^{md}GIš-TUK a-na ša-š[ū-m]a izakkara(mu)^a[a-na^{md}UD¹napīšti(zi)^m]
 13' ²⁰⁸ [lib?]¹lu¹-ut^{md}UD¹napīšti(zi) mār(dumu) ^m[u]-bar-t[u-tu (. . .)]
 14' ²⁰⁹ [(x)] x lu arki(egir) a-bu¹-be šā ana¹da-[.]
 15' ²¹⁰ [a-bu¹-be mi-na-a ana da-[.]
 16' ²¹¹ [x x] x su me x ša x[.]
 17' ²¹² [^{md}UD¹napīšti(zi) a]-n[a š]a-šū-m[a izak]kara(mu)^ma-n[a^{md}GIš-TUK]
 18' ²¹³ [am-mi-ni ak-la]¹le¹-[ta]-ka qu-d[u-du pānūka]
 19' ²¹⁴ [l]u-[m]u-u[n libb]a(šā)-[ka q]a-tu-ú [zīmūka]
 20' ²¹⁵ [i¹-ba-[š]i ni-is-[sa]-tu ina k[ar-šī-ka]
 21' ²¹⁶ [a]-na a¹lik¹ ar-[ḥ]i ru-qa-[ti pānūka mašlū]
 22' ²¹⁷ [i¹-na A [šar-b]e u¹še¹-te [qummu pānūka]
 23' ²¹⁸ u pa-an la-be ša-ak-na-t[a-ma tarappud šēra]
 24' ²¹⁹ ^{md}GIš-TUK a-na ša-šū-m[a izakkara ana Ūta-napīšti]
 25' ²²⁰ am-mi-ni la ak-la lēiā(te)^{mes}-[a-a lā quddudū pānū'a]
 26' ²²¹ [la lu-mun lib-bi¹ la qa-t[u-ú zīmū'a]
 27' ²²² [la¹ ib¹-ba¹-šī ni-is-sa-t[u ina karšīya]

¹⁹ The line divisions in SB X 196–211 are provisional, for Assyrian MS z ii 1'–16' is the only extant witness to this passage and on this source the beginnings and ends of lines of tablet do not necessarily coincide with the divisions into lines of verse.

- 28' ²²³ a-na a-lik ar-ḫi ru-qa-t[i pānū'a lā mašlū]
 29' ²²⁴ [i]-na A {AŠ?} šar-be u še-te l[a qummū pāmū'a]
 30' ²²⁵ u [p]a-an la-be la šá-ak-na-[ku-ma lā arappud šēra]
-
- 31' ²²⁶ ib-ri¹ku¹-dā-ni ta-ri-[du akkanmu ša šadī]
 32' nim!¹-ri ša šēri(edin) [²²⁷ Enkīdu ibri]
 33' ¹ku¹-dā-ni ta-r[i-du akkanmu ša šadī]
 34' ²²⁸ [ša¹ ni-nem!(DU)-du-¹ú]-[ma nīlū šadā]
 35' ²²⁹ a-¹la¹-a ni-[iṣ-ba-tu-ma alā nināru]
 36' ²³⁰ [nu-š]al-p[i-tu Humbāba ša ina qīšti erēni ašbu]

rev., col. v

- 1'-5' traces
- 6' ir-ḫi-x[.]
 7' it-x x[.]
 8' [u₄?]-mu i-x[.] 'The weather . . . [. . .]
 9' šu-¹mu¹ i-x[.] they . . . [. . .]
 10' x x x AN x[.]
 11' [x (x) x] x š[á?]
 12' [x (x) x] x tu i-[.]
 13' x x ri a x [.]
 14' ša ina ri-gim x[.] which at the sound of [. . .
 15' ¹ina ni¹-ip-ḫi-šū-mu [.] at their rising [. . .
 16' x[(x)]x tab bu x[.]
 17' x[(x)]x a-na āl[i(u)ru] . . . to the city [. . .
 18' ta-lu-ku 7-e[t] course (or Ass., that you go), seven [. . .
 19' ka-ia-ma-a-nu-[(ú)] regular(ly) [. . .
 20' ālu(u)ru) šá nu-ša-a i-[.] the city whence we came forth [. . .
 21' x¹ i¹ šid/lak x [.]
 22' x x šá lum [.]
 23' ú-ša-lí GIŠ MA? [.] I prayed . . . [. . .
 24' ú-šá-za-na-an x[.] I shall send rain (or provisions) [. . .
 25' di-ma-tu-a ša-[ar-piš?] my tears bitterly [. . .
 26' a-¹di¹ si is ḫu x[.] until . . . [. . .
 27' a-di qi-ie-ru-[ub?] until the nearing [of . . .
 28' šá ma?-ḫe-e-ša¹ a¹-.] of her (its) . . . [. . .
 29' ib-ri-šú a-ma-[.] his friend . . . [. . .
 30' nē-se-ku ba-lu [.] I am remote, without [.]'
-
- 31' i-riš^{md}GIŠ-TUK] Gilgameš asked (or rejoiced) [. . .
 32' traces

col. vi // SB XI 304-28? and colophon

- 1' [³⁰⁴ ūrid ana libbimma mē i-ra-mu]k
 2' [³⁰⁵ šēru i-te-si-ī]n (nu?)-pi?
 3' [-iš šammi³⁰⁶ šaqummiš e]-la-ma
 4' [šamma išši³⁰⁷ ina ta-ri]-šu
 5' [ittadi qu-lip]-ta
 6' [³⁰⁸ ina ūmšūma Gilgāmeš it-ta-š]ab i-bak-ki
 7' [³⁰⁹ omitted? ³¹⁰ izakkar? ana Ur-šunābe] malāḫi(má.lah_s)
 8' [³¹¹ ana mannīya^mur-šu-na-b]e e-na-ḫa idā(á)-¹a¹
 9' [³¹² ana mannīya tbalū damū libbīya³¹³ ul aškun] du-un-qi i¹-na?¹
 10' [ramānīya³¹⁴ ana nēši ša qaqqari as]-¹sa-kan¹ du-x x
 11' [³¹⁵ eninna ana 20 bēr i]-na-šá-a e-du-ú
 12' [³¹⁶ omitted? ³¹⁷ . . .]x-du is-si-a ša[k-n]u
 13' [³¹⁸ omitted? ³¹⁹ ana 20 bēr iksupū] ka-a-sal(NI)-pa!
 14' [³²⁰ ana 30 bēr iškunū nu-ba(t)-t]a³²¹ ik-šu-¹du¹-ni¹-¹ma¹
 15' [ana libbi Uruk su-p]u-ri³²² mdGIŠ-TUK [a]-¹na¹
 16' [šāšūma izakkara ana] m^mur-šu-na-be
 17' [³²³ elīma Ur-šunābe ina muḫḫi dū]ri(bād) ša¹uruk^{ki} su-pur i¹-tal-lak
 18' [^{324?}] x x x
 19' [^{325?}] x x x ub
 20' [^{326?}] x [x] x x [x x] x
 21' [^{327?}] x x x
 22' [^{328?}] x x x x
 23' [colophon?] x x x x ia
 24' [.] A? [x] lu? [ʔ]šamaš(utu)-ú-dan-ni-ni
 25' [.] x rabī(gal)ⁱ šadī(kur)ⁱ
 26' [.] x x ú-šam-ḫar
 27' [.] -šú ša ni-x-šú-ni
 28' [.] x BAD
 29' [.] x ma^{lu}eḫlu(guruš)
 30' [.] x-te

Remainder lost

THE EXCERPT TABLET FROM SULTANTEPE
 (ASSYRIAN MS e)

The odd-looking excerpt tablet from Sultantepe, ancient Huzirina, was excavated in 1951 together with a manuscript of SB Tablet VII, MS f. Both formed part of the seventh-

century library of a certain Qurdī-Nergal.²⁰ The excerpt tablet S.U. 51/7 contains in its forty-three lines text that can be treated as a source for the first seventy-two lines of Tablet VIII of the late version of the epic. The matter at hand is Gilgamesh's great lament for his friend, Enkidu, and his summoning of the craftsmen of Uruk to make a magnificent funerary statue. The text is an extract, ending in the middle of Gilgamesh's declaration of how he wanted the statue to look.

In shape, script and orthographic style the tablet is quite unlike MS f, and the two pieces most certainly do not form a pair. Assyrian MS e is a single-column tablet of landscape format, complete except for slight damage to its corners and the loss of its right-hand edge. The ductus is a large and somewhat squat Neo-Assyrian hand, with few archaic characteristics (note the form of *li* in l. 28). The tablet also sets itself apart from MS f, and indeed other literary tablets from Sultantepe, by an abundance of badly formed signs and erasures. The many strange orthographies led its first editor to suggest that 'the scribe was working from dictation, without understanding what he was writing'.²¹ His indifference to vowels, their value and presence or absence, can probably be put down to the influence of Aramaic writing practices. The peculiar spellings of MS e can be assembled, together with its many clear errors, under the following headings:

- (a) preference for the vowel *a*, typical of Sultantepe tablets²²
 6 *lib-ku-na-ka* for *libkūnikku*, 7 *egir-na* for *arkīni*, 10 *min-dan-nu* for *mindīnu*, 12 *ina a-ḫa-šū*, 20 *tap-pa-šiš* for *tupaššišu?*, 27 *a-nam-ba-a* for *unamba*, 31 *nam-mar* for *nimru*, 35 *a-la-pa-te* for *ilput*, 38 *a-ba-qa-am a-ta-ba-ka* for *ibaaqam u itabbak*
- (b) *-aya* for *īya*, a subset of (a)?
 27 *a-ḫa-a-a*, 29 *lal-la-a-a*, cf. 25 *ši-ma-na-a-a-ši* for *šimā'inni yāši*, 29 *lu-ba-ri-ši-na-ta-a* for *lubār isinnāīya*
- (c) *-i* for *-iya*²³
 26 *ib-ri-i* for *ibrīya*, 28 *ši-bi-i* for *šibbīya*
- (d) other irregular or curious spellings
 1 *nā-ma-ri*, 3 *še-zib-bi-šin* for *šizbīšina*, 11 *nam-maš-e*, 14 *mē^{mes}-na-tu-lu* for *tāḫāzni iṭṭulū*, 17 *ú-gi.na* for *ukinnū*
- (e) lack of grammatical agreement
 11 *libkīka* [. . . *elūti* (cf. SB VIII 14)?], 13 *libkīka eḫtū āli rapšī*
- (f) lack of subjunctive *-u*²⁴
 4 [*ú-še*]-*e-di*-(*ka?*) for *ušēdū-(ka)*

²⁰ For details see the notes on MS f in Ch. 8, the introduction to the manuscripts of SB Tablet VII.

²¹ O. R. Gurney, 'Two fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe', *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 90.

²² This phenomenon was first observed by W. G. Lambert, 'The Sultantepe tablets, a review article', *RA* 53 (1959), pp. 125-6.

²³ This orthographic feature also occurs in LB copies: see, in this book, SB VII 95: *ib-ri-i* (MS g) and the further examples cited by W. G. Lambert, 'Critical notes on recent publications', *OrNS* 40 (1971), p. 95.

²⁴ See also the introduction to this chapter, where examples of loss of subjunctive *-u* and other final vowels are treated as an orthographic phenomenon rather than a phonemic one.

(g) other serious errors

3 *i-ra-bu-u-ka* for *urabbūka*, 4 *me-re-e* for *mer'ēti*, 5 *i-TUR-la* for *iqullā?*, 7 *um-BA-nu-um*, 14, 32 *a-la-URU* for *alā*, 24 *ina na-me-šu-ma* for *ina ūmēšūma*, 32 *i-ni-nu-ma* for *nin-nemdūma*, 34 *at-ta tur-ra-ma* for *ta'adramma*, 39 *i-na-as-ḪAR* for *inassah*, 40 ^{li}MURUB, for ^{li}simug, 41 ^{li}UD.BAN for ^{li}kū.dīm

In the absence of a colophon we cannot even be sure whether the tablet was inscribed at Ḫuzirina. It may have been imported from another Assyrian centre.

The exact place of this piece in the history of the epic is uncertain. The text it bears is a good match for SB Tablet VIII, as it is known to us from Kuyunjik and Babylon, and I have incorporated it into my edition of that text in Chapter 11 as a legitimate source. It is not a perfect fit, however. Apart from the many minor variants, some of which are clearly to be ignored as corruptions, there are places where Assyrian MS e disagrees more radically with SB Tablet VIII. The clearest case in point is the extra material inserted between SB VIII 47 and 48 (= SB VIII '47a'). Elsewhere, at least one whole phrase is missing, namely *ina uzzīni* in l. 9.²⁵ Similar deviations occasionally occur between different manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian version, it is true, but it remains possible that this tablet is a late copy of a leftover from an older edition once current in Assyria and its provinces, an edition that contained Gilgamesh's lament in nearly identical wording to SB Tablet VIII. Perhaps the most eloquent evidence for supposing Assyrian MS e to be a witness to a version other than the Standard Babylonian edition is the way the poetic lines are written, for they do not always coincide with lines of tablet. In addition, the scribe sometimes leaves a blank space to mark the division between lines, especially near the beginning of the tablet. As observed above, the arrangement of poetry in this manner was not a custom of the first millennium.

To show the arrangement of the text most clearly, the transliteration given here is set out as the signs are written on the tablet, with line numbers of SB Tablet VIII interpolated in the text in superior style. For translation and commentary see the edition of SB Tablet VIII in Chapters 11 and 13.

S.U. 51/7

Assyrian MS e

Copy: Pl. 34

Previous publication

1953	N. Gökçe and O. R. Gurney, <i>Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi</i> 11/I, p. 112 ff., pl. 7	P
1954	O. R. Gurney, 'Two fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe', <i>JCS</i> 8, pp. 90-5	CTTr
1957	O. R. Gurney, <i>STTI</i> no. 15	C
1999	A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 64 (obv. only)	C

²⁵ Comparison with SB VIII leads one to suspect that ll. 22 and 24 are also defective in this respect.

Text

obv.

- 1 [mim-mu] u¹ še-e-ri a-na ná-ma-ri² d^dGIŠ-gi[m-maš ibakki ana ibrišu]
 2 [³ Enkīdu ša u]mma(ama)-ka šabītu(maš.dà)⁴ a-ka-a-nu a-bu-ka i[b-nu-ka? kâšū?]
 3 [⁵ ša sirrimū i-n]a še-zib-bi-šin i-ra-bu-u-ka ka-a-š[u⁶ u bül šēri]
 4 [ú-še] e¹ di-(ka?) kâl me-re-e-(ti?)⁷ harrânātu(kaskal)^{mes d} en-ki-dù [ša qišti erēni]
 5 [⁸ lib-ka?] ka¹ a-a i-TUR-la mūša(gi₆) ur-ra [Ø?]
 6 [⁹ lib¹-ku¹-na¹-ka¹⁰ šībūt(ab)^{mes} āli(uru) rapši(dagal)^{es} uruk^{ki} šu-pur-r[u¹⁰ libkīka]
 7 [u]m-BA-nu-um i-kar-rab arki(egir)-na¹¹ lib-ki-ka [. . . elūti ša šadi hursāni]
 8 [¹³ lu¹-u¹ nam¹-ba-a qer-bet a-ki-i ummi(ama)-ka¹⁴ lib-ki-ka^{es} (taškarinnu) šurmēnu erēnu]
 9 [¹⁵ ša¹ ina bi-ri-su-nu ni-ḫi-tal-pu (ina uszīni?)¹⁶ lib-ki-ka a-su b[u-šu nimru]
 10 min-dan-nu lu-lim {du ras.} du-ma-mu¹⁷ nēšu(ur.mah) rīmū(am)^{mes} a-a-lim [turāhu]
 11 bu-ul nam-maš-e šēri(edin)¹⁸ lib-ki-ka^{id} ú-la-a qa[d-diš-tu ša šamḫiš]
 12 ni-tal-lak ina a-ḫa-šū¹⁹ lib-ki-ka el-lat pu-ra-ti²⁰ š[á nittaqqū]
 13 mē(a)^{mes} na-a-di²¹ lib-ki-ka^{lu} eplūtu(guruš)^{mes} āli(uru) rapši(dagal)^{es} uruk^{ki} supūri]
 14 [²² š]á tāḫāzī(mē)^{mes} na-pu-lu a-la-URU nu-na-er²³ lib-ki-ka^{lu} [ikkaru ina muḫḫi . . .]
 15 [²⁴ š]a a-la-āla(uru) tābi(dùg.ga) ú-še-la šum?(MU)-ka²⁵ KIMIN ab t[ī . . . ša ina?]
 16 [²⁶ x]-um-me-e ma-ḫar-e ú-še-la-a šum?(MU)-ka²⁷ KIMIN [^u nāqīdu]
 17 [²⁸ ša še-z]ib-bi ḫe-e-mat ú-kinnu(gi.na) ina pi-i-ka²⁹ KIMIN r[e²-ú]
 18 [³⁰ ša i]š-ta-kan ina šapli(ki.ta)-ka ḫimēta(i.nun.na)³¹ KIMIN šībūtu(ab)^{m[es}]
 19 [³² ša k]u-ru-u-nu iš-tak-kan (ina) pi-i-ka³³ KIMIN [^h a-rim-tú . . .]
 20 [³⁴ ša x]x šamma(i) tap-pa-šiš muḫḫa(ugu)-ka tāba(dùg.ga)³⁵ lib-k[u-ú elīka . . .]
 21 [bit(é)] e¹ mu-tú³⁶ šá aššata(dam) un-qu iš ki ka x[. . . 37 . . . libkīka elīka? . . .]
 22 [³⁸ kīma(gim)? aḫ]ḫē(šeš)^{mes}-e lib-ku-ú elī(ugu)-ka (. . . ?)³⁹ kīma(gim) aḫḫāti(nin)^{mes}-k[u lu-ú]

rev.

- 23 [uš-šū] r pe-ra-tú-šun e[li(ugu) še-ri-šun?]
 24 [⁴⁰ KIMI]N? ana^d en-ki-dù umma(ama)-ka abu(ad)-ka (. . . ?)⁴¹ ina na-me-šu-ma a-ba-[kak-ka anāku]
 25 [⁴² š]i-ma-i-ni eplūtu(guruš)^{mes} šī-ma-na-a-a-ši⁴³ šī-ma-i-ni šībūt(ab)^{mes} āli(uru) rapši Uruk šimā inni yāšī]
 26 [⁴⁴ ana-ku ana ib-ri-i^d en-ki-dù a-bak-ki⁴⁵ ki-ma^m lal-la-r[i-ti (. . .)]
 27 a-nam-ba-a šar-piš⁴⁶ ḫa-ši-nu a-ḫa-a-a tu-ku-lat [idāya]
 28 [⁴⁷ nam-šar šī-bi-i a-ri-te ša pa-ni-ia^{47a} mu-kil li-du!?-x[.]
 29 [⁴⁸ lu-ba-ri-ši-na-ta-a ni-bi-iḫ lal-la-a-a⁴⁹ [šāru lemnu tibamma]
 30 e-ḫim-ma-ni a-ia-ši⁵⁰ ib-ri ku-dan-nu ṭar-du a-[ka-nu ša šadi]
 31 nam-mar ša šēri(edin)⁵¹ en-ki-dù ku-dan-nu ṭar-du a-ka-nu ša [šadi nimru ša šēri]
 32 [⁵² ša i-ni-nu-ma ni-lu-ú šadū(kur)^u 53 ni-iš-ša-bat a-la-URU [nināru]
 33 [⁵⁴ nu-šā-al-pi-te^d ḫum-ba-ba šar,^{es} qišti(tūr)^{es} ere-ni dan-nu⁵⁵ [eninna]

- 34 mi-na-a šit-tú iš-bat-ka-ma ka-a-ši⁵⁶ at-ta tur-ra-ma l[a tašemmanni yāšī]
 35 [⁵⁷ u šu-ú la i-na-šá-a rēšī(sag)^{mes}-šū⁵⁸ a-la-pa-te lib-ba-šu-m[a ul inakkud]
 36 mim-ma-ma⁵⁹ ik-tu-ma ib-ri kīma(gim) kallati(é.gi₄.a) pa-nu-uš⁶⁰ ana-ku [kīma arē]
 37 a-su-ra elī(ugu)-šū⁶¹ kīma(gim) nēši(ur.mah) šá ina šu-ta-a-te mu-ra-[nu-šū⁶² itanashur]
 38 ina pa-ni-šū u arki(egir)-šū⁶³ a-ba-qa-am a-ta-ba-ka qu-un-[nun-tum]
 39 [p]e¹ er¹-tum⁶⁴ i-na-as-ḫAR i-na-da-a da-qa-a-te a-ša[k-kiš . . .]
 40 [⁶⁵ KIMIN?]⁶⁶ d^dGIŠ-gim-maš a-na māti(kur) ri-gim ul-te-ši⁶⁷ nappāhu(MURUB₄ = simug!)^{lu} [sadimmu?]
 41 [⁶⁸ qu]r-qur^{lu} kuitimmu(UD.BAN = kù.dim!)^{lu} kabšarru(gáb.sar)⁶⁸ e-pu-uš ib-r[i]
 42 [⁶⁹ . . .] ib-na-a ša-lam ib-ri-šū⁷⁰ šá ib-ri-ia!(GAR) mi-n[a-tu-ka ša . . .]
 43 [x x]⁷¹ x x¹ i-ni-(ka)¹ šá^{ma} aqni(za.gin) irat(gaba)-ka šá ḫurāši(kù.sig₁₇!)⁷² zumur(su)-k[a šá . . .]

A VARIANT VERSION AT NINEVEH? (KUYUNJIK MSS YY AND ZZ)

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that the tablets from Kuyunjik bear witness to the Standard Babylonian version of the epic 'with only two certain exceptions'. This figure arises partly by default, for where no Late Babylonian sources supplement the Kuyunjik tablets there can be no proof that the Neo-Assyrian manuscripts represent the Standard Babylonian version of the epic as opposed to a closely related older version of the kind represented by the tablet from Nimrud (Assyrian MS Z). This matter will be raised again in Chapter 9, where recensional differences within the Standard Babylonian text are considered. Here I present the two Kuyunjik fragments that seem at present to have no place in the Standard Babylonian epic.

Kuyunjik MS ZZ

The first is the fragment K 19276, previously unpublished. It comes from towards the bottom right-hand corner of a tablet of uncertain format. In the published catalogue its contents are described as 'uncertain'.²⁶ The presence in the text of Gilgameš (obv. 2', 6') and the Cedar Forest (rev. 2') are clues that call to mind two possible identifications: (a) the epic itself and (b) omen apodoses of the kind collected in Chapter 3, the sub-section on Omens mentioning Gilgameš. A fragment of a narrative formula for introducing direct speech

²⁶ W. G. Lambert, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection: Third Supplement* (London, 1992), p. 33.

(obv. 6': '[PN opened his mouth to speak,] saying to Gilgameš' or '[PN] said [to him,] to Gilgameš') discounts the latter identification. Probably this piece is a source for the epic.

Nevertheless, it has not been possible to integrate the text of Kuyunjik MS ZZ into the editions given in Chapter 11. It may be significant that physically this fragment is quite unlike any other Gilgameš tablet from Nineveh. The clay is bright red-brown and the script minute. Provisionally I suggest that this is another remnant of an older version of the epic that survived in Assyria alongside the Standard Babylonian text. Consequently it takes its place in this chapter.

K 19276

Kuyunjik MS ZZ

Copy: Pl. 35

Text

obv.

1' . . .] x x [x x]
 2' . . . ^dGIŠ-gi] m-maš x [x x]
 3' . . .] TUR šá? [x x]
 4' . . .] ^rMAŠ? Ú¹ AŠ? [x x]

5' . . .] x x ka-a-ar ina ^rBÁRA¹ ri-[x x]
 6' [PN . . . izakka] r(mu) ^rana ^dGIŠ¹-gim-[maš]
 7' . . .] ^rmi-na-a¹ x x x a x [x x]
 8' . . .] x [x x]
 9' . . .] x [x x]

rev.

1' . . .] x x [(x)] ^rki-i¹ [. . .]
 2' . . . ^šqišti(tir)? ^šerēni(eren) ga mu [. . .]
 3' . . .] x ina? [. . .]
 4' . . .] x x [. . .]

Kuyunjik MS YY

The second Kuyunjik fragment edited here is K 16024, which has long been known as not quite a true source for the first-millennium epic. It is a piece from the left edge of a tablet of unknown format. The text can easily be restored by reference to Tablets I and XI.

K 16024

Kuyunjik MS YY

Copy: Pl. 35

*Previous publication*1930 R. C. Thompson, *Gilgamish*, pl. 54, p. 67

CT

Text

1' ^re¹-li-[ma] cf. SB I 18?
 2' a-mur [dūršu ša kīma qē nīpšu?] // SB I 13
 3' ša šarru(lugal) á[r-ku-ú lā umaššahu (amēlu) mamma] // SB I 17
 4' e-li-ma [ina muḫḫi dūri ša Uruk iallak] // SB I 18 // XI 323
 5' te-me-na [ḫīma libitta šubbi] // SB I 19 // XI 324
 6' šum-ma [libītašu lā agurrat] // SB I 20 // XI 325

Translation

1' Go up [.]
 2' See [its wall which is like a *strand of wool*,]
 3' that [no] later king [can replicate, (nor any man).]
 4' Go up [on to the wall of Uruk and walk around,]
 5' [survey] the foundation platform, [inspect the brickwork!]
 6' (See) if [its brickwork is not kiln-fired brick . . .]

If this small fragment is Gilgameš and not some other text that emulates the epic, it yields a text similar to the prologue and the conclusion of the eleven-tablet epic. By comparison with the prologue three lines are omitted (SB I 14–16). The line that precedes *amur* (// SB I 13) is different from the expected line (SB I 12: *ša Eanna qudduši šutummi ellī*) and does not match the conclusion either (SB XI 322: *Gilgameš ana šāšūma izakkara ana Ur-šanābi malāḫi*). It could be the same line as l. 4'. These differences are too great for Kuyunjik MS YY to be included in the edition of the Standard Babylonian poem given below. It may be that it represents some variant, older edition.

Part Three

THE STANDARD
BABYLONIAN EPIC

The Manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Epic

The extant fragments of the Standard Babylonian epic are, almost without exception, broken remnants. The first task of sorting these fragments is their allocation to different manuscripts and then to a given tablet. Henceforth in this chapter ‘manuscript’ means an individual clay tablet that is a source for the epic; the term ‘tablet’ is usually reserved for the twelve sections into which the poem was traditionally divided. In the task of sorting we rely on physical evidence, such as clay, script and shape, as well as textual evidence. The work of sorting was begun by George Smith in the 1860s and continues to this day. At present the identified fragments are 184 in number, where ‘fragment’ is defined as an object bearing its own individual museum number or other inventory mark.¹ Many such fragments join to form larger assemblages or pieces of manuscripts, so that the total is reduced to 116. These 116 pieces have been sorted according to the criteria cited above and bear witness to seventy-three different manuscripts, excluding items that are uncertain or not placed.² Many of these seventy-three manuscripts are known from two or more separate pieces and some from as many as four.

Only 108 of the 184 fragments of the epic currently available were known to Campbell Thompson when he prepared the previous edition of the epic.³ The addition of seventy-six fragments in almost as many years represents a slow but considerable increase in our knowledge of the epic that can be put down to discoveries made in museums and in the field.

¹ This total does not of course count the many fragments that were joined before being numbered, for example in the 1860s and 1870s, nor those that were accessioned under a single number.

² For the purposes of this discussion I have left out of the statistics the two cases where fragments bear separate sigla because it is uncertain or unproven that they are parts of the same manuscript (MSS Y and DD, AA and CC). Thus the total might be as low as 71. Two fragments that find no place in the edition below are K 13880 and BM 34313. They are probably not sources of the epic and have been discussed above, Ch. 3, the section on Other attestations of Gilgameš. Other fragments previously proposed as sources for the epic but without place in this edition (or in Ch. 7) are cited below, in the footnotes to this chapter: Ash. 1924.1795 (*OECT* XI 48), see fn. 46; Rm 907 (Haupt, *Nimrodepes* no. 49), see fn. 52; K 6497 (MacMillan, *BA V/5* no. 44), see fn. 68; S.U. 51/187 (*STT* 112) and S.U. 51/216, see fn. 81; 79-7-8, 194 (*CT* 46 26), see fn. 83; 79-7-8, 137 (*JCS* 42 (1990), p. 90), see fn. 85.

³ The 107 fragments of the epic listed among the British Museum pieces in Thompson, *Gilg.*, p. 93, and the solitary piece in a foreign collection, *KAR* 115.

Details of the discoveries of text that have been made since Thompson's edition are given below, in the description of each tablet's manuscripts, but a brief report of the overall progress in recovering the first-millennium text is in order at this point. In London thirteen previously unknown fragments have been identified in the Kuyunjik collection, seven of which join pieces that were already known. A further five joins have been made where both pieces were already known. More spectacularly, the Babylonian collections acquired by the British Museum in the late nineteenth century now provide twenty manuscripts, of which Thompson knew only five, and those only in part. In Berlin, three more manuscripts from Andrae's excavations at Aššur have been added to the single one that was known to Thompson, and the latter has been supplemented by the discovery of joining fragments in Istanbul. In addition, two pieces deriving from Koldewey's seasons at Babylon have been identified and published. The long-running German excavations at Warka have so far yielded six new manuscripts, the British campaigns at Sultantepe and Nimrud two each. Three purchased manuscripts have been identified, one in the collections of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and two in private collections.

In terms of numbered fragments (not joined pieces or manuscripts), the progress since Thompson's edition can be summarized as seventy-six more fragments. Of these, seventy-four are currently identifiable as true witnesses to the Standard Babylonian version of the epic. Two Assyrian pieces, already treated in Chapter 7, are in places so close to the Standard Babylonian text that they can be used to reconstruct it. Twenty-two fragments—almost one third of the total number of fragments of the Standard Babylonian epic identified since Thompson's edition—are published here for the first time. All but one of these new pieces are in the British Museum. Eight (mostly tiny scraps) come from Kuyunjik, thirteen (including some large pieces) from the Babylonian collections acquired between 1879 and 1883.⁴ The remaining piece is a small fragment of a Late Babylonian manuscript of Tablet IV now owned privately.

The identification and excavation of the many Babylonian manuscripts means that the libraries of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh (Kuyunjik) lose the overwhelming numerical superiority that was theirs in Thompson's day: there are now thirty-four or thirty-five Kuyunjik manuscripts (depending on the provenance of MS KK) and thirty Late Babylonian ones. Nevertheless, the Kuyunjik manuscripts remain the best-preserved witnesses to the text of the epic. There is no tablet of the epic that is not represented by at least one Kuyunjik manuscript, and most tablets were present in multiple copies.⁵ The provenances of the thirty-eight or thirty-nine manuscripts that do not come from Nineveh are given in detail below, tablet by tablet. Overall there are eight or nine manuscripts from Assyrian cities other than Nineveh: four from Aššur (Tablets VI and XI), two from Kalah (Nimrud; Tablets I and

⁴ Kuyunjik: K 8569, 17343, 18183, 19325, 19549, 20013, 20778 and 22153; Babylonia: BM 34449, 35419, 35079, 35103, 35567, 36909, 37023, 38833, 41835, 72719, K 15145, F 234 and 235. Another three pieces from the Babylonian collection have hitherto been published only as illustrations in my non-academic translation of the epic (George, Penguin): BM 34357, 34853 and 93052.

⁵ One exemplar: Tablets II, V and X; 2 exemplars: Tablets III and VIII; 3 exemplars: Tablets I, VI and IX; 3 or 4 exemplars: Tablet IV; 4 exemplars: Tablets VII and XI; 4 or 5 exemplars: Tablet XII.

X–XI), two from Huzirina (Tablets VII and VIII) and the purchased fragment MS KK (if not from Nineveh). Among the Babylonian manuscripts there are probably seven from Uruk, the six excavated there (Tablets I, II, III, IV and V) and one of the purchased fragments (Tablet II). The lack at Uruk of pieces from the latter part of the epic is remarkable; presumably this peculiarity is an accident of discovery that will be rectified by further excavations. Koldewey's two finds have a secure provenance at Babylon (Tablets I and III). The Late Babylonian fragments in the British Museum derive from the operations of the local inhabitants and the excavations of Hormuzd Rassam in the 1870s and 1880s. It is clear that the most productive site of the time was Babylon, though some of Rassam's pieces might instead come from Borsippa. There are so few pieces of Gilgameš in the collections accessioned after 1881, when the principal source of Rassam's finds became Sippar, that one suspects even these are from Babylon or Borsippa, and not from Sippar.⁶ Only Tablets V, VI and IX are not yet represented among the British Museum's Late Babylonian manuscripts.

The dates of the seventy-three currently known manuscripts of the epic vary from the middle of the first millennium to the end. Those written for Aššurbanipal date to his reign (668–627 BC) but, as will be discussed below, many of the Gilgameš manuscripts in the royal collections of Nineveh may be older. How much older is difficult to judge. None is Middle Assyrian but there are certainly eighth-century tablets among their number. The other Assyrian fragments mostly come from the same period, that of the Late Empire, which was brought to a close by the Medes and Babylonians in 612 BC.⁷ The manuscripts from Babylonia are probably all from post-Assyrian periods, that is, from any time between the sixth century and the first. The latest dated colophon is on MS b, which was written in about 130 BC, at a time when Greeks and Parthians battled for control of Babylonia.

ON THE KUYUNJIK MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts are described below, tablet by tablet. However, by way of an introduction some general observations can be made concerning those from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh. More is known about the assembling, copying and composition of these great royal collections than formerly, and it is now necessary to bear this knowledge in mind when studying any Kuyunjik manuscript. The most important question that must be posed regarding such a manuscript concerns its origin: whether it was one of those manuscripts written at Aššurbanipal's command, either in Assyria or Babylonia, or one of those many

⁶ The apparent absence of Gilgameš in those parts of first-millennium Sippar excavated by Rassam (and also Scheil) also extends on current evidence to the library found in the temple of Šamaš in 1986. G. Pettinato's report of the discovery there of a cuneiform tablet giving extraordinary new text from the episode with Humbaba remains to be confirmed (cf. P. Mander, 'Gilgamesh e Dante. Due itinerari alla ricerca dell'immortalità', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Raffaele Sirri* (Naples), p. 282, fn. 7).

⁷ The two Assyrian manuscripts that have the appearance of being older than the others, MS x from Aššur and MS z from Nimrud, are fragments of one or more older recensions of the poem, as already discussed in Ch. 7.

older pieces that entered his collections by inheritance, donation or confiscation. These are of course issues that need to be considered by examining the libraries' contents *en masse*, a huge task beyond the scope of this book but, as whenever the edition of a long text brings together a good group of Kuyunjik manuscripts, it would be remiss not to offer some initial observations.

First, none of the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš employs Babylonian script. Therefore it is probably safe to assume that they were all written in Assyria. Whether any of them were copied directly from Babylonian imports cannot be determined at present. Two fragmentary Assyrian inventories, one of them dated to early 647 BC, do record the accessioning of clay tablets of Gilgameš into the royal libraries.⁸ Most of the accessions reported in these and other lists are clay tablets and writing-boards requisitioned by Aššurbanipal from Babylonian scholars, very probably as war reparations after quelling Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's revolt.⁹ Unfortunately, neither the name of the object's previous owner nor his place of residence is preserved in this particular case, so though it is probable that the item in question came from Babylonia, we cannot be absolutely certain.

Second, some observations can be made on the surviving colophons, which are edited below at the end of Chapter 11. Colophons survive, if not always intact, on sixteen Kuyunjik manuscripts: MSS A (Tablet VI), B (I), C (XI), D (IX), F (I), G (XII), H (V), K (X), N (XII), O (VI), Q (VI), R (VIII), V (VIII), W (XI), FF (Tablet unknown) and JJ (IX). These fall into five groups or types: (i) short colophons that report simply the number of the tablet in the series and usually also its faithful adherence to an existing master-copy or 'original' (MSS F, G, H, Q, W and probably FF), (ii) short colophons like Type (i) but with the subsequent addition of a label denoting Aššurbanipal's ownership that was incised in lapidary script—not stamped—on the clay after it had dried hard (MSS A, C, D, K and R; the label is always Aššurbanipal colophon a),¹⁰ (iii) short colophons which label the manuscript as Aššurbanipal's property (MS B: abbreviated form of Aššurbanipal colophon e), (iv) long colophons that claim Aššurbanipal himself as scribe (MSS O, V and JJ: all Aššurbanipal colophon d),¹¹ and (v) colophons which name an owner other than Aššurbanipal (MS N). Note that among the Gilgameš manuscripts from Kuyunjik there are no colophons that record the manuscript's deposition in the temple of Nabû (Aššurbanipal colophons n and o).

Manuscripts with colophons of types (iii) and (iv) were presumably written in Aššurbanipal's scriptorium. The single Gilgameš manuscript with a colophon of type (v)

⁸ The entries are quoted in Ch. 1, the section on *Sin-lēqi-unninni* and the Standard Babylonian epic.

⁹ See further S. Parpola, 'Assyrian library records', *JNES* 42 (1983), pp. 10–12.

¹⁰ Clay tablets bearing such labels were evidently not baked at the time of incision. It is uncertain what proportion of the Kuyunjik copies of literary texts were baked intentionally and what proportion were not. The current, kiln-fired appearance of many tablets can be put down to the events of 612 BC, when the libraries were buried by the collapse of the burning buildings of Nineveh's citadel (see J. Reade, 'Archaeology and the Kuyunjik archives', in K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries* (CRR 30; Istanbul, 1986), pp. 218–19). It is possible that many of Aššurbanipal's tablets were left unbaked, as were literary tablets written in Babylonia.

¹¹ The claim may mean no more than that the manuscript was written at his command for his personal use.

was obviously acquired by the royal libraries from an already existing collection, in this case the library of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, a famous scholar of Kalah who flourished in the late eighth century. Manuscripts with colophons of type (i), which make no reference to royal ownership, may have been taken over from other collections, but one cannot be sure that this is what their silence implies. Colophons of type (ii), where an ownership label has been added at some later date, seem at first stronger evidence that the clay tablet so endorsed was not originally in Aššurbanipal's possession but was acquired secondhand from some older collection.¹² However, two cautionary points should be borne in mind. First, the older collection may simply have been the library of Aššurbanipal's predecessors and become his property on his accession. Second, on MS R note that not just the ownership label was incised later but also the preceding line of the colophon, which records the fidelity of the copy. The later addition of colophon as well as label could imply that some clay tablets produced by Aššurbanipal's scriptorium were allowed to dry before being labelled. We cannot know the reason for this, but perhaps it was necessary for certain manuscripts to undergo some kind of quality-control procedure before receiving the official label. Therefore one cannot be sure that the later addition of a label indicates a manuscript which came into the library secondhand.

It is worth noting that in no tablet of the series for which several Kuyunjik manuscripts are extant does the same type of colophon appear twice. Thus the three exemplars of Tablet VI, MSS A, O and Q, all exhibit different colophons, as do the two manuscripts of Tablet VIII, MSS R and V.

Further, there is the question of the physical properties of the clay tablets. More than half the Kuyunjik manuscripts are distinctive enough to be allocated tablet types. Those that are here designated type A exhibit a highly regular square script of great sharpness, on a smooth fine clay that retains a high polish. Type A copies are MSS BB (Tablet III), O (VI), L (VII), V (VIII), J (XI), U (XII) and probably JJ (IX). The margins between columns are very narrow and defined by two lines ruled with a straight edge (not a cord). Colophons, where preserved (MSS O, V and JJ), are long (type iv), and indicate that these manuscripts were copied expressly for Aššurbanipal's collection. Probably all the type A manuscripts were written in the Nineveh scriptorium as part of Aššurbanipal's programme for enlarging the royal collections.

Type B uses an angular script in which some signs are particularly distinctive, especially ŠE, BU, TE etc. (the lowest oblique wedge falls in a very forward position, so that what is normally the first oblique is usually tucked in behind it), NA (the wedges of the second rank tend to lie almost flat) and RU (the horizontal falls very high, sometimes midway between the two obliques). Type B copies are MSS F (Tablet I), Q (VI), Z (VII), EE (IX) and W (XI). The clay is rather dull and tends to fracture into small crumbly pieces. The tablets all exhibit the same slim profile but different widths of margin are employed: two rulings in MSS F and Q,

¹² On such additions see already L. W. King, *Cat. Suppl.*, pp. xi–xii; Reade, *CRR 30*, p. 220. Some such labels were added in ink.

three in W and EE. MSS F and Q both use wedges in the margin to mark every tenth line. The three type B manuscripts that are preserved in column vi have the same simple colophon, type (i) above. Despite the slight differences of format, it is possible that this type represents a set of manuscripts prepared from the same batch of clay and inscribed by the same man. Whether he was a scribe of Aššurbanipal or some earlier scholar cannot yet be determined for certain, but one might suppose that were he writing a tablet for Aššurbanipal's library he would have said so.

Five or six manuscripts exhibit a smallish script that employs four wedges in many places where conventional Neo-Assyrian orthography uses only three, for example the uprights in the signs RU, Ū and ŠID, the first rank of obliques in HI, AM, QAR etc. On these manuscripts the sign RA is also distinctive: the second rank of wedges is not horizontal but oblique. Whether these features of calligraphy are signs of a date earlier than the seventh century is yet to be determined. If they were this would be an indication that these manuscripts were not written in Aššurbanipal's scriptorium but brought to the royal libraries secondhand. The Gilgameš manuscripts that exhibit this ductus are MSS Y and DD (both Tablet IV and possibly parts of the same manuscript), A (VI), C (XI), G (XII) and perhaps FF (colophon, tablet number unknown). They share two other physical characteristics: narrow, three-line margins and a slim profile. Colophons are types (i) and (ii). Though they are perhaps not so firmly established a set as types A and B, they may reasonably be designated type C.

MSS X (Tablet II), S (provisionally IV),¹³ AA and CC (both IV, probably parts of the same manuscript) and H (V) look very alike in script and clay, and exhibit the same narrow margins comprising three lines made with a fine cord. In the slightly elongated form of some signs the script is reminiscent of Middle Assyrian, and though it is clearly younger than that, it is probably older than the seventh century. Two of these manuscripts are preserved at the bottom of the last column: one has a colophon, MS H (type i), the other only a catch-line (MS AA). This group, also less distinctive a set than types A and B, is type D. In the next chapter it will be noted that some or all the type D manuscripts may eventually turn out to be witnesses of an older, intermediate recension of the text that was very similar to the Standard Babylonian version but not identical to it.

It may be observed that in these four sets a given tablet type is usually represented only once among the different manuscripts of a given tablet. The exception is Tablet IV, for which two type C manuscripts are available, MSS Y and DD, and perhaps three type D, MSS S, AA and CC. However, in both these cases the reservation of separate sigla does not exclude absolutely the possibility that MSS Y and DD and at least two of MSS S, AA and CC belong together as parts of the same manuscript.¹⁴

¹³ Physically the small fragment MS S looks most similar to MS X (Tablet II), especially its top edge (X₁), but place for its text can no longer easily be found in Tablet II, and for the moment it is ascribed instead to Tablet IV.

¹⁴ If MS S is really Tablet IV it ought, as a Type D manuscript, to be part of MS AA, but if it is, CC probably cannot also be part of AA, for the profiles of the two fragments S and CC are very different. Thus on physical evidence S and AA can go together and also AA and CC, but not all three. Since the ascription of MS CC to Tablet IV is absolutely certain, unlike MS S, and only one type D manuscript is expected for any given tablet, there are grounds for preferring the combination of AA and CC and for doubting whether S is rightly placed in Tablet IV.

There are other cases where Kuyunjik manuscripts exhibit physical similarities and thus may belong together. MSS B (Tablet I) and T (XI) are very similar in clay and script. The ductus is very similar to that found on type A manuscripts. These two exemplars also share the same style of margin, wide and comprising three lines ruled with a straight edge (not a cord), and the same flatish bevel on the edge. MSS E (VII), R (VIII) and K (X) also look similar to each other. The margins between columns are wide, but made of two rulings only. In addition, MSS R and K are among the very few manuscripts of the epic on which there is light vertical ruling dividing each column into two, in an attempt to mark a caesura in each verse (the others are MSS N and aa). They also have in common a type (ii) colophon.

Some account must also be taken of what is now known of the archaeological provenance of the Kuyunjik tablets. As is well known, the literary tablets found at Nineveh come chiefly from two buildings, the South-West Palace built by Sennacherib as his 'Palace without Rival' and the North Palace rebuilt as a royal residence in the latter part of the reign of Aššurbanipal. Both buildings were looted and burned by the Medes and Babylonians in 612 BC. The majority of tablets were excavated in the South-West Palace by Austen Henry Layard and Hormuzd Rassam in 1849–51, the most significant discovery, in May 1850, being the great mass of fragments found lying deep on the floor in and around what Layard called the Chamber of Records (mainly Rooms XL and XLI). They appeared to have fallen from an upper storey as the palace burned.¹⁵ More clay tablets were found in the North Palace by Rassam in 1853–4, including the archive found in December 1853 on the floor of the Lion Hunt Saloon (Room C), probably also a secondary context,¹⁶ and no doubt also by William Kelly Loftus in 1854, who extended Rassam's workings in the North Palace. Other excavators, from George Smith in 1873 to L. W. King and R. Campbell Thompson in 1902–5, mostly reworked the old diggings and found more fragments from the royal libraries, but in increasingly smaller numbers, so that it appears Layard and Rassam had retrieved much the largest part of what had survived the destruction of the buildings.

Study of the archaeology of clay tablets in the Kuyunjik (K) and associated collections (DT, Sm, Rm, 79-7-8 etc.) is hampered on several counts. First, very few pieces are known for certain to come from one palace or another. Indeed, we have such information about only three of many dozens of Gilgameš fragments (parts of MSS O, Y and BB). While some general information on the probable provenance of the various collections is available as a result of Julian Reade's research in the unpublished reports of the excavations,¹⁷ more often it is possible only to determine roughly the year of discovery. Second, the situation is complicated by the inability of the British Museum—inundated with cuneiform tablets well beyond the capacity of its staff—to number at an early date all the pieces found by Layard,

¹⁵ As first argued by G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* (London, 1875), p. 144. See more recently Reade, *CRR* 30, p. 220; L. Battini, 'La localisation des archives du palais sud-ouest de Ninive', *RA* 90 (1996), pp. 33–40.

¹⁶ C. B. F. Walker, 'The Kouyunjik collection of cuneiform texts: formation, problems, and prospects', in F. M. Fales and B. J. Hickey (eds.), *Austen Henry Layard tra l'oriente e Venezia* (Rome, 1987), p. 184.

¹⁷ See J. E. Reade, 'Ninive', *RLA* IX, pp. 421–7.

Rassam and Loftus, and the failure to keep apart fragments from the various different seasons. An instructive illustration of this problem is Rm 289 (MS X₂, Tablet II). The left-hand part of the fragment now registered under this number was translated by Smith in 1876,¹⁸ but was still unnumbered when Haupt first copied it in the early 1880s. After the publication of his copy in 1884 the fragment in question was joined to Rm 289, a piece from a collection still in the ground in Smith's lifetime. The assemblage was republished under the number Rm 289 by Haupt in 1891. Before the join was made the fragment known to Smith was kept in the same box as Sm 2097 (part of MS M), but since he considered both pieces to be witnesses to column ii of Tablet IV, their storage together has no implications for identifying the unnumbered piece as part of the Sm collection. It could equally well derive from any of the older excavations.

In spite of these difficulties—and leaving aside the small number of intrusions from elsewhere in Nineveh and from other sites entirely—it is safe in general terms to say something of the place and date of excavation of the different collections. Tablets with K numbers, or at least with lower K numbers, were found either by Layard and Rassam in 1849–51, or by Rassam in 1853–4, or (maybe only a small number of pieces) by Loftus in 1854. To this generality can be added Reade's report that the very lowest numbers mostly derive from Layard's finds in the South-West Palace.¹⁹ The only Gilgameš manuscript among these very low numbers is K 231 (MS A₁, Tablet VI).

The DT collection comes from George Smith's first expedition, in 1873, the Sm pieces from his second, in 1874. According to Reade the Kuyunjik tablets among the former batch come mostly from the North Palace, the Sm collection mostly from the South-West Palace.²⁰ In the latter building Smith cleared a large area around Rooms XL, XLI and XLIX, and himself estimated the haul of clay tablets at nearly three thousand.²¹ Manuscripts of Gilgameš comprising or including fragments from the DT collection are MSS N (Tablet XII, which also shares in the K and 81-2-4 collections) and O (Tablet VI, also K, Sm, Rm and Rm II). The fact that MS O also utilizes a piece from the Sm collection warns us of the danger of attributing too dogmatically any given manuscript to one or other of the two palaces. In this particular case we can resolve the perceived conflict in our expectations, for George Smith himself reported that the parts of MS O recovered in his first

¹⁸ G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1876), pp. 211–13.

¹⁹ Reade, *CRR* 30, p. 213: 'Only the numbers K 1–278 (with a few exceptions caused by subsequent renumbering) were allocated in the 1850s; we can be sure that the great majority of tablets bearing these low numbers were found during Layard's 1851 [*sic*] excavations in the South-West Palace at Kuyunjik, notably in the area of Rooms XL and XLI'; for details see further Reade, *RLA* IX, p. 422.

²⁰ Reade, *CRR* 30, p. 214; also *id.*, *RLA* IX, p. 422.

²¹ Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 144. The 1874 collection contains about 2200 numbered clay tablets and fragments (Sm 1–2196 and the four higher numbers listed in Bezold, *Cat.* IV; the remaining higher numbers denote unscripted objects), and thus a significant part of it appears to have disappeared from sight, as it were, either through misnumbering or through joins. Many may have been small pieces that were not numbered until long after Smith (this work was completed only in the 1980s) and would then have been accessioned into the K collection. Others may have lost their separate identities when joined to pieces from other collections.

expedition came from the North Palace.²² Nine other manuscripts share in the Sm collection: MSS C (Tablet XI, also K collection), K (Tablet X, also K and Rm), M (Tablet III, also K and Rm), P (Tablet I, also K), Q (Tablet VI, also K and Rm), T (Tablet XI, also K, Rm II, 81-2-4 and 82-5-22), Y (Tablet IV, also K and 79-7-8), FF (unplaced) and GG (Tablet VII). For one of these we also have a specific provenance. The fragment of Gilgameš's dreams translated by George Smith in *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 176–7, as part of the eighth tablet of the series, is MSY₂ (Tablet IV). Smith records that it was found in Sennacherib's palace.²³

The label Rm refers to the first consignment of antiquities despatched by Rassam after his return to Kuyunjik in January–May 1878, and Rm II (or 2) to the second, sent following his resumption of excavations later in the same year. Both collections contain pieces from the South-West Palace and pieces from the North Palace. The first Rm collection provides pieces of seven manuscripts, MSS J (Tablet XI, also K collection), K (Tablet X, also K and Sm), M (Tablet III, also K and Sm), O (Tablet VI, also K, DT, Sm and Rm II), Q (Tablet VI, also K and Sm), U (Tablet XII, also K), X (Tablet II, also K) and HH (Tablet XII). The second contains parts of four manuscripts, MSS O (Tablet VI, also K, DT, Sm and Rm), R (Tablet VIII, also K), T (Tablet XI, also K, Sm, 81-2-4 and 82-5-22) and Z (Tablet VII, also K).

The collections that are numbered by date of accession are self-evident. The 79-7-8, 80-7-19, 81-2-4, 81-7-27, 82-3-23, 82-5-22 and 83-1-18 collections comprise or contain further batches of Kuyunjik fragments despatched by Rassam during the remainder of his sojourns in Mesopotamia, which lasted until October 1882. According to Reade the first two of these collections contain pieces from both palaces, but we should expect 81-7-27, 82-3-23 and 82-5-22 to come from the South-West Palace, where Rassam was concentrating the efforts of his workforce more and more as time passed, and 83-1-18 specifically from Room LIV and vicinity.²⁴ Gilgameš manuscripts are found in 79-7-8: MSS L (Tablet VII) and Y (Tablet IV), in 80-7-19: MSS BB (Tablet III, also K and Ki 1904-10-19) and JJ (Tablet IX), in 81-2-4: MSS N (Tablet XII, also K and DT) and T (Tablet XI, also K, Sm, Rm II and 82-5-22), in 81-7-27: MS B (Tablet I, also K), and in 82-5-22: MST (Tablet XI, also K, Sm, Rm II and 81-2-4).

Further Kuyunjik fragments were retrieved by E. A. Wallis Budge during his third and fourth missions to the Near East (Bu 89-4-26, 91-5-9). Reade reports that these mostly derive from the South-West Palace, especially the area around Room LIV. Still more fragments were gleaned from the old diggings by L. W. King and R. Campbell Thompson when the British Museum reopened excavations between 1902 and 1905 (Ki 1902-5-10, Ki

²² DT 2 and DT unnumbered, which must be the two 'portions of the sixth tablet of the deluge series' found in 1873 in the North Palace, one, at least, in the same trench as the famous deluge fragment DT 42 (now CT 46 15): see Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 102; *id.*, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 7.

²³ Sm 1040, excavated in 1874, most probably during the clearing of the area around Rooms XL and XLI, Layard's Chambers of Records (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 144–5).

²⁴ Reade, *CRR* 30, p. 214: 'an unpublished report from H. Rassam suggests that most of the 83-1-18 Nineveh tablets were found in the area of Room LIV in the South-West Palace.'

1904-10-9, Th 1905-4-9). Among these collections only the 1904 batch contains a fragment of a Gilgameš manuscript, MS BB (Tablet III, also K and 80-7-19). In an unpublished report written on his return in September 1904 King noted that this piece was among clay tablets collected from scattered locations of the South-West Palace (Room LIV area and Rooms I, XXVII and XXX).²⁵ During Thompson's later seasons in 1927-32 a careful record of findspots was kept, so that for the first time we have Kuyunjik tablets with reliable provenances (among the 1929-10-12, 1930-5-8, 1932-12-10 and 1932-12-12 collections).²⁶ However, no fragments of Gilgameš have been identified among the pieces from these seasons.

A different approach to the provenance of the Kuyunjik documents has been made by S. Parpola.²⁷ His analysis of the individual collections by content admitted that little could be learned by this means about the provenance of most pieces, but showed that it was possible to determine from the nature of the archival documents mixed in with the 83-1-18 collection that this batch of clay tablets comes mostly from the South-West Palace. This finding certainly confirms the truth of Rassam's own recollection of the origin of the 83-1-18 batch in and around Room LIV of Sennacherib's palace. The same procedure purported to show that about 90 per cent of the Rm II collection came from the North Palace, with the balance from places away from Kuyunjik, such as Nebi Yunus and Sherif Khan. In this case there is no independent confirmation, and indeed, some evidence to the contrary. Reade's research leads him to state that Rm II tablets were found in both the North Palace and the South-West Palace, though he does not say in what proportion. There are no items from the 83-1-18 batch among the manuscripts of Gilgameš, but there are five Rm II pieces, as already listed. If Parpola is right, most of these five should come from the North Palace, if not all of them. Two of the four Gilgameš manuscripts that share in the Rm II collection also utilize pieces from the Sm collection, which is considered mostly to come from the South-West Palace (MSS O and T). As already noted above in the discussion of the DT collection, MS O is known to have come from the North Palace, in agreement with Parpola's thesis. With MST, on the other hand, the presence in the assemblage of fragments from the Sm and the 82-5-22 collections makes a provenance in Sennacherib's palace more probable. Though MS R likewise utilizes a Rm II fragment, its similarity to MS K suggests the same provenance. Indeed, since there are many more cases of joins between literary Rm II fragments and pieces thought by Reade to come from the South-West Palace,²⁸ it is probable that the

²⁵ Information courtesy Reade; see also id., *RLA IX*, p. 422. This provenance is at odds with our expectations, since the 80-7-19 fragment of MS BB is among that part of the collection reported as found in the North Palace (nos. 261-311). King's search for cuneiform tablets in the South-West Palace in 1903-4 is described by John Malcolm Russell, *The Final Sack of Nineveh* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), pp. 23-6.

²⁶ For the findspots see W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Catalogue, 2nd Suppl.*, pp. 89-93.

²⁷ S. Parpola, 'The royal archives of Nineveh', in Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries* (CRAA 30), pp. 223-36.

²⁸ Using the information available up to 1983 (latest additions by R. Borger, 'Die Kuyunjik-Sammlung 1982-1983', *AfO 31* (1984), pp. 331-6), at least 19 Rm II pieces form joins with Sm fragments, two with low K, one with low 80-7-19, one with 82-3-23, two with 82-5-22, one with Bu 89-4-26. Joins to fragments from collections suspected of a North Palace provenance are fewer: five with DT, four with high 80-7-19. All are library tablets or historical records.

conclusion Parpola reached from his analysis of the archival Rm II tablets has no validity among the literary tablets, which form the majority of this collection. Further study may show that many of the literary pieces in this batch come from the South-West Palace not the North.

The evidence thus presented can be conveniently tabulated (see table below). The table provokes a few further comments. First, the preponderance of provenances in the South-West Palace agrees with the fact that the sheer volume of clay tablets found by Layard in the Chamber of Records is a strong indication that the majority of the Kuyunjik tablets stem from that discovery.²⁹ Turning to matters of detail, it is significant that three of the five certain type C manuscripts exhibit a certain or probable provenance in the South-West Palace. This leads me to suppose that the others came from there too. Assuming that type C script is older than Aššurbanipal, as I suspect, then we might suppose that the presence of these manuscripts in the building erected by Sennacherib is a vestige of the old collection of cuneiform tablets inherited by Aššurbanipal on his accession. This assumption would agree with our expectation that the older tablets were stored in Sennacherib's South-West Palace while those written for Aššurbanipal were kept in the North Palace.³⁰ If type B and type D manuscripts also belonged to the existing, pre-Aššurbanipal collection, as may well be the case, one might expect to find them stored alongside type C. One type B manuscript utilizes a Sm fragment and is likely to come from Sennacherib's palace for that reason (MS Q). Since the presence of a Rm II fragment is no argument for placing another type B manuscript in the North Palace rather than the South-West Palace (MS Z), I have provisionally assumed that all of type B should follow MS Q's lead into the latter, and also all of type D. But this may be too simplistic an arrangement, for there are reasons to doubt that the older and younger library tablets were kept strictly apart. First, by virtue of a DT fragment Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's copy of Tablet XII (MS N), written nearly forty years before Aššurbanipal's accession, falls among the North Palace tablets. Second, not all the type A manuscripts, typically with long Aššurbanipal colophons, fall as expected into the North Palace. Though three of the manuscripts with such colophons do seem to come from there, unless King was mistaken in his report one good example of this type is firmly provenanced in the South-West Palace (MS BB). Nevertheless, given the nature of the evidence one can do no more than look for overall trends and the table therefore assumes as a working hypothesis that type A manuscripts, apart from the one exception, come from the North Palace.

²⁹ Layard reported that the two chambers were 'entirely filled' to the height of 'a foot or more' (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345). According to Reade this would mean that he had found '28 cubic metres [of clay tablets]', clearly too high a figure since it is more than double the space now allocated to storing the K tablets individually in boxes on museum shelves, but it confirms that the bulk of the collection came from there' (Reade, *RLA IX*, p. 421).

³⁰ Cf. Parpola, *CRAA 30*, p. 232, fn. 42.

Kuyunjik manuscripts: tablet types, colophons and provenances

MS	Collections represented	Tablet number	Manuscript type	Colophon type	Justification for provenance
<i>Provenance recorded as South-West Palace</i>					
Y	K, Sm, 79-7-8	IV	C	[?]	Smith, AD
BB	K, 80-7-19, Ki 1904-10-9	III	A	[?]	King, unpub.
<i>Provenance recorded as North Palace</i>					
O	K, DT, Sm, Rm, Rm II	VI	A	iv	Smith, AD
<i>Provenance probably South-West Palace</i>					
A	K	VI	C	ii	low number
B	K, 81-7-27	I	(like MS T)	iii	81-7-27 coll'n
C	K, Sm	XI	C	ii	Sm coll'n
D	K	IX	—	ii	colophon
E	K	VII	(like MSS R K)	[?]	cf. MS K
F	K	I	B	i	Type B
G	K	XII	C	i	Type C
H	K	V	D	i	Type D
K	K, Sm, Rm	X	(like MSS E R)	ii	Sm coll'n
M	K, Sm, Rm	III	—	[?]	Sm coll'n
P	K, Sm	I	—	[?]	Sm coll'n
Q	K, Sm, Rm	VI	B	i	Sm coll'n
R	K, Rm II	VIII	(like MSS E K)	ii	cf. MS K
S	K	IV?	D	[?]	Type D
T	K, Sm, Rm II, 81-2-4, 82-5-22	XI	(like MS B)	[?]	Sm, 82-5-22
W	K	XI	B	i	Type B
X	K, Rm	II	D	[?]	Type D
Z	K, Rm II	VII	B	[?]	Type B
AA	K	IV	D	none	Type D
CC	K	IV	D	[?]	Type D
DD	K	IV	C	[?]	Type C
EE	K	IX	B	[?]	Type B
FF	Sm	?	C?	i?	Sm coll'n
GG	Sm	VII	—	[?]	Sm coll'n
<i>Provenance probably North Palace</i>					
J	K, Rm	XI	A	[?]	Type A
L	K, 79-7-8	VII	A	[?]	Type A
N	K, DT, 81-2-4	XII	—	Nabû-zuqub-kēnu	DT coll'n
U	K, Rm	XII	A	[?]	Type A
V	K	VIII	A	iv	colophon
JJ	80-7-19	IX	A?	iv	high 80-7-19
<i>Provenance beyond conjecture</i>					
HH	Rm	XII	—	[?]	—

Of course, the numbers here are too small to allow certainty, and a much wider enquiry involving much more of the Kuyunjik collection is needed to seek clarification of the situation. For the moment it should be no surprise, given the upheavals of reconstruction, restoration and refurbishment that both buildings went through in the period between Aššurbanipal's accession in 668 and the sack of Nineveh in 612, if manuscripts that to us seem to belong together (such as O and BB) were found in separate locations. It has long been known that in the South-West Palace archival and literary tablets were thoroughly mixed in a way that would not have made for easy use. During the decades the various different archives and collections may have been moved around many times, so that here they became mixed and there separated.

However that may be, the clues that we have corroborate what we can already infer from the documentation of Aššurbanipal's time: that the royal palaces already housed some literary tablets on Aššurbanipal's accession and that he enlarged those collections by taking over existing tablets and by an intensive programme of copying. It is disappointing that we appear to possess no complete sets of the epic from Nineveh, that is, copies of Tablets I–XII all from the same hand. However, it is not surprising when one considers that the private libraries that were incorporated into Aššurbanipal's collections would not necessarily have had complete sets, and that in his own scriptorium the work of copying the tablets of a given literary series may have been allocated to a team of scribes rather than to one individual.

No sets can be observed among the Babylonian manuscripts. Those few pieces with preserved colophons were the property of private individuals, but at least some of the others may have belonged to temple libraries such as the library of E-zida at Borsippa. Perhaps we should not expect to find complete sets among them, for the libraries of the first-millennium scholars and temples that we know, such as they have come down to us, do not appear to have contained all the tablets of any given series. It seems that in this period only Aššurbanipal achieved comprehensive holdings of literary texts.

TABLET I

Three manuscripts of Tablet I survive from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Kuyunjik, MSS B, F and P. The great majority of the twenty numbered fragments that make up these four manuscripts derive from the great finds of 1849–54, and many were utilized by George Smith in his pioneering translation.³¹ Only two fragments certainly derive from later excavations, a piece of MS P found by Smith in 1874 and a piece of MS B sent back by Rassam in 1881. A further Assyrian source is MS g from Nimrud, ancient Kalaḥ. To complement these, no fewer than six Babylonian manuscripts are now also available (MSS d, h, n, o, x and cc). On

³¹ Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 198–205. Smith did not then recognize this tablet as Tablet I. For him it was Tablet III.

the last occasion that the cuneiform sources for the epic of Gilgameš were united in one volume, in Campbell Thompson's edition of 1930, the same three Kuyunjik manuscripts were well represented but only two small fragments from Babylonia were known (parts of MSS d₁ and h).³² Since then some progress has been made with the Kuyunjik manuscripts. Two separate parts of MS B were joined back to back by C. B. F. Walker in 1974 (B₁). Two small fragments identified by W. G. Lambert in the course of preparing the most recent volume of the catalogue of the British Museum's K collection,³³ were joined to MSS F₁ and P in 1990 and 1991 respectively. These new fragments appear for the first time in the present volume. MS g was discovered in 1955 among the shattered remains of the library of E-zida, the seventh-century temple of Nabû at Nimrud.³⁴ The excavation records report that the clay tablet was 'partly baked',³⁵ which implies that it was an unbaked tablet exposed to heat during the great conflagration that ended the building's history when the citadel of Kalaḥ was sacked in 612 BC. It was announced by D. J. Wiseman in 1968³⁶ and published in 1975.³⁷

In the meantime, in 1960, Wiseman had published the Babylonian fragments MSS o and part of n. BM 34248, all that was known of MS d₁ in 1930, was republished in 1965 with two added fragments joined by W. G. Lambert two years earlier, along with his new copies of Wiseman's fragments and an old copy of MS h by Pinches.³⁸ In the 1980s I. L. Finkel discovered a large and handsome Late Babylonian fragment that joined MS h, and Lambert found a further fragment of MS d marooned in the K collection, though it originally belonged with Rassam's first batch of tablets (d₂). Two further fragments of MS d₁ came to light more recently: one was found by Lambert and joined by me in 1990 (BM 34357), the other identified and joined by T. Kwasman in 1998 (Rm 956). In 2002 Finkel found a new fragment of MS n (F 234). These five fragments appear in cuneiform for the first time here. One of the new fragments of MS d greatly improves our understanding of the first few lines of the epic, while the other adds significantly to the description of Gilgameš's heroic physique. The new fragment of MS h restores the beginnings of the lines eulogizing the hero.

As with most Late Babylonian manuscripts in the collections of the British Museum, it is impossible to be absolutely certain of the provenance of MSS d, h, n and o. The collections to which their nine constituent parts belong were acquired by the British Museum in the space of a few years, 1877–80 (Rm, Sp, Sp II, 80-6-17 and 80-11-12).³⁹ Some were bought

³² Thompson also considered K 16024 (*Gilg.*, pl. 54) a possible source for Tablet I (or XI). It is closer to SB I 13–20 than the parallel lines of SB Tablet XI, but it is not an exact fit. Consequently it finds a place in Ch. 7 above, as Kuyunjik MS YY in the section on A variant version at Nineveh?

³³ W. G. Lambert, *Catalogue, 3rd Suppl.*, pp. 53, K 20778; 71, K 22153.

³⁴ For the excavation of the cuneiform tablets and their context see now J. A. Black's introduction to *CTN IV*. The findspot of the Gilgameš tablet was H2 pit (*ibid.*, p. 42, no. 199).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁶ D. J. Wiseman, 'The Nabu temple texts from Nimrud', *JNES* 27 (1968), p. 248.

³⁷ For full details of publication of this and all other manuscripts see below, the individual tables of manuscripts in Ch. 11.

³⁸ This was no doubt the 'duplicate of the first tablet of the Gilgameš series' that Pinches was forbidden to publish 60 years previously: see his note in *PSBA* 25 (1903), p. 201.

³⁹ See J. E. Reade, 'Rassam's Babylonian collection: the excavations and the archives', in E. Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, pp. xxix–xxx.

from the dealers Marini and Spartali, by the Museum directly or by Hormuzd Rassam on its behalf, and others were excavated by Rassam. At this time Rassam's workmen were working at Babylon and Borsippa, and joins of fragments from these batches of tablets indicate that much of their contents derive from the same spots at these two sites. With a thorough-going study of first-millennium palaeography yet to be made, such manuscripts are difficult to date in the absence of colophons. They are not likely to be older than the sixth century and could be much later. MS d is written in a large hand that is probably a sign of very late date, Seleucid or Parthian.

For the two other Babylonian manuscripts, MSS x and cc, more specific information is available. The former was excavated at Babylon during the campaigns led by Robert Koldewey (1899–1917). The excavation number is not preserved, so that one cannot be sure of its exact findspot. It was published by J. van Dijk in 1987, who noted that where findspots were known for the batch of clay tablets to which it belonged, they were mostly in the mounds Merkes and Ishan Aswad.⁴⁰ The script is small and the text tightly written. MS cc was found at Uruk in the 29th season (1970–1). As such it is part of a substantial mass of Late Babylonian literary and scholarly fragments excavated in the 27th, 29th and 30th seasons that belonged originally to the private libraries of Anu-ikšur, Iqīšā and probably other scholars of the Persian and Hellenistic periods.⁴¹ This find also produced exemplars of Tablets II (MSS bb and ee), III (MS aa) and V (MS dd). The findspots of these tablets were disturbed contexts in and about a Parthian-period dwelling-house some 500 metres south-east of the temple E-anna.⁴² The reverse of MS cc was published by E. von Weiher in 1993. The obverse is published here for the first time.

The Kuyunjik manuscripts are all six-column tablets, which is the standard format for manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic. Colophons survive on MS B, which has an abbreviated version of Aššurbanipal colophon e, and MS F, which simply identifies it as a copy of Tablet I. MSS B and P are quite well preserved. MS B, made up of at least thirteen individual fragments divided between three separate pieces, retains parts of all six columns, though the obverse is very badly damaged. MS P is less damaged in the middle and right-hand columns (ii–v), but the left-hand columns are entirely missing. The column-lengths of MSS B and P, counted or estimated, provide the line numeration in the present reconstruction of the text. Tablet I is one of the longer tablets of the epic, at 300 lines or slightly less.⁴³ According to this numeration MS B has columns of between forty-seven and

⁴⁰ *IAS* XXIV, p. 5.

⁴¹ On the owners of the tablets see H. Hunger, *Uruk I*, pp. 11–13; *id.*, 'Die Tafeln des Iqīšā', *WO* 6 (1971), pp. 163–5; also W. Farber, 'Neues aus Uruk: zur "Bibliothek des Iqīšā"', *WO* 18 (1987), pp. 26–42; J. Oelsner, 'Aus dem Leben babylonischer "Priester" in der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (am Beispiel der Funde aus Uruk)', in J. Zabolocka and S. Zawadzki, *Šulnu IV: Everyday Life in Ancient Near East* (Poznań, 1993), pp. 235–42.

⁴² Exact findspot of MS cc: Square Ue XVIII 1, Level III 'neben Wasseranlage, R.A.' (E. von Weiher, 'Die Tontafelfunde der XXIX. und XXX. Kampagne', *UVB* 29–30, p. 103, no. 213); for a plan of the context see *UVB* 29–30, pl. 69. Cf. J. Schmidt, 'Uruk-Warka. Zusammenfassender Bericht über die 27. Kampagne 1969', *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970), pp. 88–9.

⁴³ The only problem remaining in the numeration of Tablet I is the uncertainty at the end of col. i. As explained in the edition at l. 54, it is not impossible that there is an overlap between the text provided by MSS gh and the text of MSS Pd₁, and that the overall numeration may one day have to be reduced by up to 2 lines.

fifty-six lines of poetry. It rarely doubles up lines of poetry on to a single line of clay tablet. MS P has columns of between forty-eight and sixty-eight lines of poetry, with many lines of poetry doubled up, especially in column ii. MS F comprises four small fragments which share the crumbly brown-red clay and distinctive angular script that were identified earlier in this chapter as characteristic of Kuyunjik tablet type B. The scribe marked every ten lines with an oblique wedge, the standard marginal mark. F₃ is from columns i–ii, near the top edge, F₂ from the lower right-hand corner, F₁ from the middle of columns iv–v, and F₄, which is mostly colophon, from the lower part of column vi. The turn from obverse to reverse falls after l. 167, which indicates columns of about fifty-six lines of poetry. Several verses are doubled up on to a single line of clay tablet.

The Nimrud fragment (MS g) is a large obverse flake from the middle of column i, with the very beginning of some lines of column ii also preserved. A column's length, measured from the middle of column i to the corresponding point on column ii, was just under eighty lines of poetry, according to the reconstruction of Tablet I offered below. This figure suggests that the original manuscript held the text in four columns, not six, if the text inscribed on it was only Tablet I. However, the other Nimrud piece (Assyrian MS z) contains Tablets X and XI, so it is conceivable that MS g likewise once held more than one tablet of the series. Tablets I and II comprise about 625 lines between them, which with a colophon would fit neatly into eight columns of MS g.

The Babylonian manuscripts are mostly small fragments. MS d is a piece from the top edge of columns i and ii, providing also a few traces at the bottom of the reverse. The transition from column i to column ii was made at l. 56, which indicates that MS d was a conventional six-column clay tablet. Enough remains of MS h to judge from the curvature of the reverse that it too was a manuscript of six columns. It is currently preserved for almost the entire length of its left-hand columns, obverse and reverse, with the beginnings of some lines of the middle columns also extant. Though the text itself does not quite reach it, the bottom of the tablet is preserved at columns i and ii, and allows one to judge that the text moved from one to the other at about ll. 54–6, depending on whether at this point the poet doubled lines up or not. The turn from column ii to column iii was made at l. 113, while column vi begins at l. 259. MS n is a small fragment from the top edge, towards the right-hand corner, on which is preserved text from the right-hand columns. The obverse column begins at l. 97 and the reverse column ends at l. 200, which in a six-column format implies an average column-length of fifty lines of poetry and signifies that the text was more tightly written on the reverse than on the obverse. MS o is a larger fragment from the top edge at the left-hand corner, with text of the left-hand columns preserved. The end of the text on the reverse is followed by a widely spaced colophon. Assuming that this fragment, too, is from a six-column tablet, one would say that each column was about fifty-three lines long. However, the colophon contains a line-count which gives the length of Tablet I as [2]48 (hardly [3]48) lines, a figure very much at odds with our reconstruction. Even with repetitious passages pared down to the minimum, it is difficult to see how fifty-two lines could have been cut from the text. The solution to this conundrum must await the discovery of further manuscripts.

The question arises at this point as to whether any of the four Late Babylonian manuscripts just described, all housed in the British Museum's collections, are parts of the same clay tablet.⁴⁴ The answer appears to be no. MS d is distinct from MSS h, n and o on grounds of size of script. Thanks to Finkel's joins, MSS h and o now overlap considerably and are very clearly parts of different manuscripts. MS n overlaps with neither but cannot be part of MS h, because it begins column iii much earlier and comes from a thicker tablet; the thickness of its top edge marks it out as distinct from MS o also.

The Late Babylonian fragment now in Berlin, MS x, is a very poorly preserved fragment from the middle of a six-column tablet, with part of the right edge preserved.⁴⁵ In contrast with the normal shape of a literary tablet, the surface here identified as the obverse is convex while the reverse is flat. Either the piece has been badly distorted in the ground or the two sides of the tablet were inscribed in the wrong order. Text is preserved in two columns on both sides. A column's length on the reverse, measured from the middle of column iv to the corresponding point on column v, was forty-nine lines long. Probably the obverse was more tightly written, as it would have to have been if the whole text of 300 lines was reproduced. The same may be said for the Uruk manuscript, MS cc, a fragment from near the bottom edge that holds parts of one column on the obverse and two columns on the reverse. A column's length, calculated in the same way as for MS x, was also about forty-nine lines long. The hand is very small and fine.

TABLET II

Tablet II is now known from one Kuyunjik manuscript (MS X) and seven Late Babylonian (MSS e, k, p, s, z, bb and ee). The absence of other copies in Aššurbanipal's libraries is remarkable, as too is the large number of Babylonian pieces, but both peculiarities are probably accidental. Of all the tablets of the epic this one has benefited most from the discoveries of the past two generations, but it is still far from complete. Thompson utilized only MS X in his reconstruction, though he was able to supply much of the storyline from the Old Babylonian Pennsylvania tablet (OB II). For him MS X comprised three separate fragments, Rm 289 and K 8574, whose place in Tablet II is secured by the Pennsylvania tablet, and K 7224, which resembles Rm 289 in script and clay. However, the new manuscripts make it wellnigh impossible for K 7224 to remain in Tablet II. An alternative place for it would appear to be Tablet IV, where it is now MS S.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Parpola, *SAA Gilg.*, p. xiii, assumes exactly that, considering all 4 pieces to be parts of a single exemplar, his MS b. His error has already been pointed out by T. Kwasman, 'A new join to the Epic of Gilgamesh Tablet I', *NABU* 1998/99.

⁴⁵ The poor condition of the piece made conservation very difficult. As a comparison between van Dijk's copy and mine will show, the reverse flake on which the edge is preserved was originally glued 5 mm too far to the left. Thanks to the skill of the VAM's conservators it has now been moved to its true position.

⁴⁶ See above, fnn. 13–14. The exercise tablet Ash. 1924.1795, published by W. G. Lambert in 1989 as holding on its obverse a passage similar to MS S and identified as 'Epic of Gilgamesh II(?)' (*OECT* XI, p. 8, no. 48), does not seem to fit either Tablet II or Tablet IV, and finds no place in the present edition.

The first of the Babylonian manuscripts to be made available was the Chicago fragment, MS z, published by A. Heidel in 1952. As Heidel reports, the piece was purchased unbaked in Baghdad by Breasted in 1919–20. It was subsequently baked. The batch of clay tablets that it came with, supplied by the dealer G. Khayat, includes much material from Warka, so that it is probable that Uruk is the provenance of MS z.⁴⁷ Such an origin is supported by an idiosyncrasy of script, for Heidel's fragment shares with many Late Babylonian documents certainly excavated at Warka a cursive form of the sign TI, with only one horizontal wedge.

The two other Babylonian manuscripts published to date are certainly from Uruk (MSS bb and ee), and come from the great find of Persian and Hellenistic-period literary texts that also yielded copies of Tablets I (MS cc), III (MS aa) and V (MS dd).⁴⁸ Both were edited by E. von Weiher, MS bb in 1972 and MS ee in 1993. The two fragments were excavated in different seasons and in slightly different locations, though the contexts were thoroughly disturbed. It has been suggested that these two pieces join.⁴⁹ Although it has not been possible to put this to the test by bringing the fragments together, other evidence can be adduced. Careful analysis of the handwriting as legible on the available photographs (Figs. 10, 11) reveals that the two fragments exhibit different forms of common signs such as TAR, BA, KU, LU, ŠUL and the ligature 1+en. In addition lines of MS ee are more tightly packed than on MS bb (10 ll. occupy respectively 2.8 and 3.4 cm). The explanation for both facts is that the two pieces were written by different scribes.

The four Babylonian manuscripts now in the British Museum, MSS e, k, p and s, are published here for the first time and add slightly to the known text. MSS e, k and p were identified by I. L. Finkel, MS s by W. G. Lambert. MSS e, k and p are from collections that are presumed to come from Babylon and Borsippa.⁵⁰ MS s is part of the collection 82-9-18. Most of this consignment was excavated by Rassam at Sippar (Abu Habba), but part of it came from Babylon, with a few pieces from Dilbat. Given the noticeable lack of copies of the epic in first-millennium Sippar, it is very probable that MS s was not found at Abu Habba. None of these four fragments appears to belong to the same manuscript as any of the others, though MSS e and s are quite similar. MS p is remarkable for its script, a tiny but very fine, sharp hand.

MS X is a six-column tablet surviving in two disconnected fragments, a large piece from the middle of the bottom edge (X₂) and a smaller piece from the middle of the top edge. Both fragments hold text from the obverse and the reverse, so that parts of columns i, ii, iii, iv and v are preserved. All the fragments of text adjoin the top or bottom edge, so that a

⁴⁷ See already George, 'Babylonian texts from the folios of Sidney Smith', *RA* 85 (1991), p. 138, fn. 9; id., review of von Weiher, *Uruk IV* in *BiOr* 52 (1995), 730–1.

⁴⁸ Findspot of MS aa: Square Ue XVIII 1, Level II, R.B. (von Weiher, *UVB* 29–30, p. 102, no. 190; 1970–1 season; baked). Findspot of MS dd: Square Ue XVIII 1, fill above Level IV (ibid., p. 106, no. 61; 1971–2 season). For plans of these contexts see *UVB* 29–30, pls. 68 (Level II) and 70 (Level IV).

⁴⁹ A possibility raised in my review of von Weiher, *Uruk IV* (*BiOr* 52, 730); see also the detailed exposition of C. Velde, 'Enkidu's Rede vor den Weisen von Uruk: SpTU II 30 + (?) IV 123', *NABU* 1995/78.

⁵⁰ Sp and Sp III, both purchased from Spartali, and 80-11-12, excavated by Rassam: see Reade in Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, pp. xv, xxx.

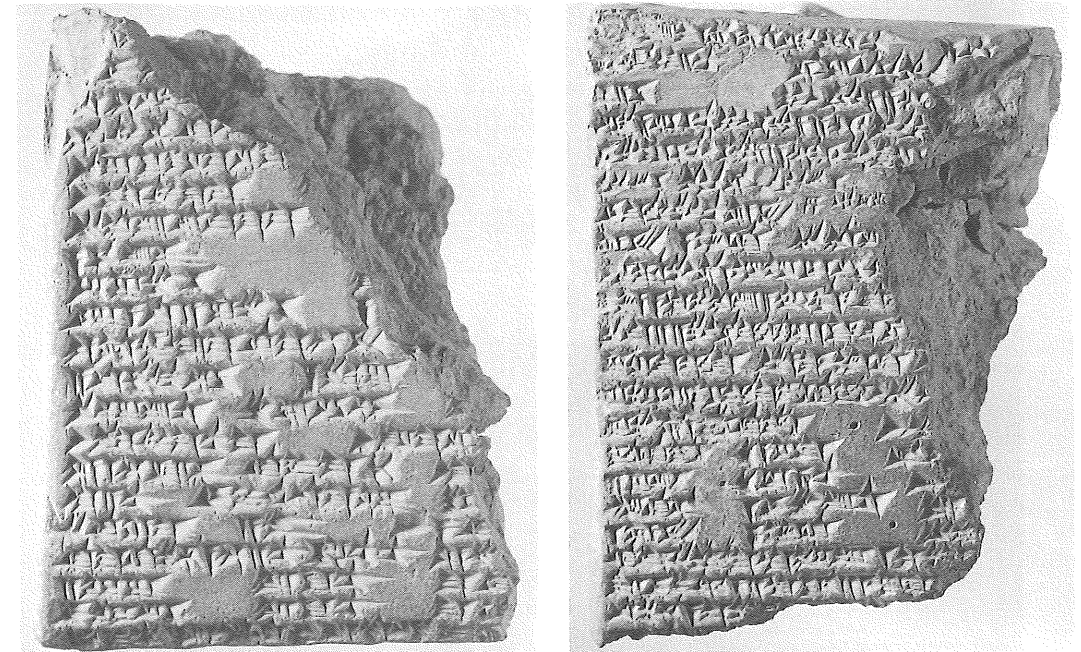


FIG. 10. The tablet SB MS bb, obverse (left) and reverse (right). Scale 5 : 4.

provisional line numeration for Tablet II can easily be proposed based on this manuscript's standard column length and on the presence of marginal markers at every tenth line. The present edition assumes a column length of fifty-eight lines for MS X, which results in a reconstructed text of just over 300 lines.

MS bb is a fragment from the bottom left-hand corner of an elegantly written clay tablet, with some twenty lines of text extant on both sides. The annotations of the scribe indicate that it was copied from a broken original. The overlap between MSS X and bb in column i reveals that the Babylonian manuscript had a shorter column of about forty-six lines, at least to begin with. The reverse is slightly more tightly written on the reverse than the obverse, with some doubling up and the omission of a broken passage of five lines' length, so that one can assume this manuscript would have caught up with MS X by the end of column vi.⁵¹ Therefore the top of column vi on MS bb becomes the key point for the numeration of the last fifty lines or so of Tablet II, where MS X fails us. MS ee is a large fragment from near the left-hand edge of the reverse, with parts of two columns preserved as copied by von Weiher. It has not been possible to collate this piece, but its two columns are almost certainly columns v and vi of a six-column tablet. MS z is a small fragment from the middle of the left edge. The morsels of text preserved on the obverse and reverse are duplicates of MS bb

⁵¹ Babylonian manuscripts usually leave less space for their colophons than Aššurbanipal's copies do, so that for any given tablet of the series the lengths of their columns i–v are often shorter than the respective columns of the Kuyunjik exemplars.

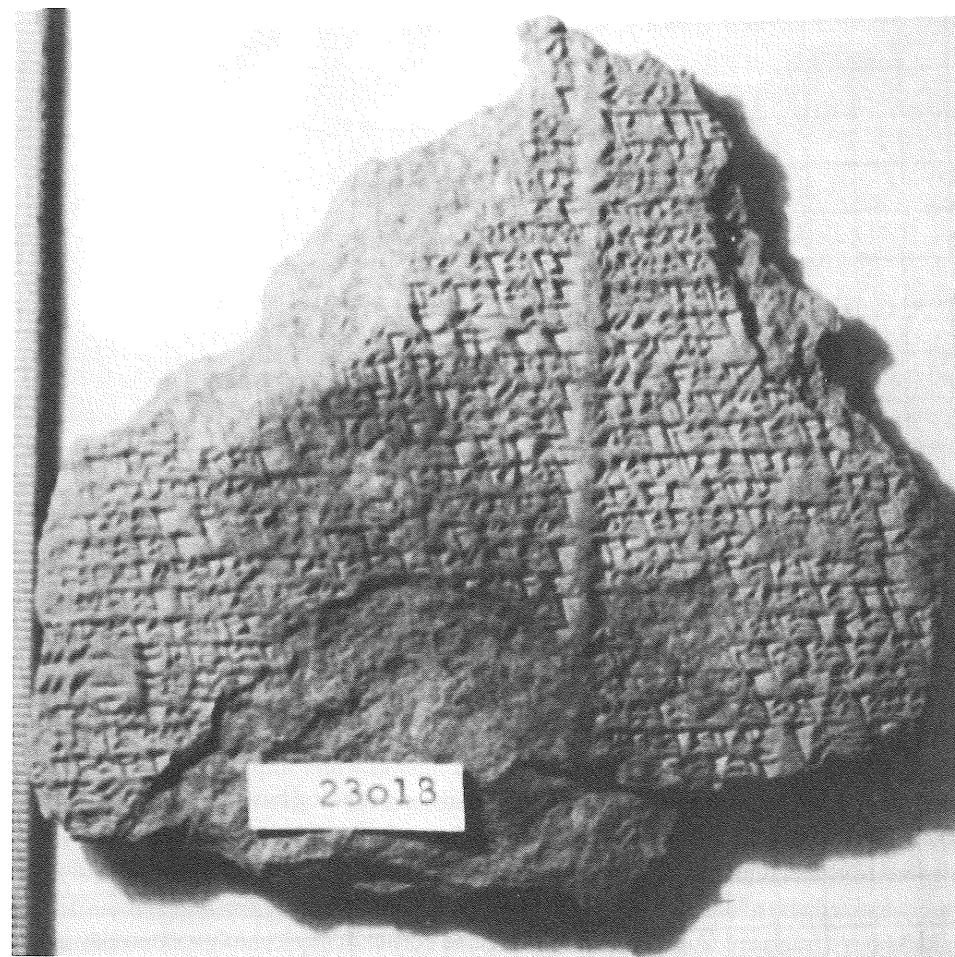


FIG. 11. The tablet SB MS ee. Scale 5:4. The original number 23013 has been altered by hand to 23018.

column i and MS ee column vi respectively. Comparison shows that MS z had columns appreciably longer than MS bb. This is also true of MS k, a fragment from the bottom edge that provides parts of four columns. Column i of this manuscript ends at a point even later than the Kuyunjik manuscript, l. 62 in the present reconstruction. Several lines of poetry may have been doubled up, however, for column ii was considerably shorter, at about forty-nine lines, which shows that MS k must have been a regular six-column tablet. Columns iii and iv, now missing, gave the text of about 109 lines between them. MS e is a very damaged flake from the middle. In the present reconstruction its two columns are identified as the lower parts of columns v and vi of a six-column tablet. MS p, another fragment from the middle, holds text from what must have been column iv of another six-column tablet. MS s is a tiny flake that is provisionally placed in column vi.

TABLET III

This tablet of the series is also much better known than previously.⁵² No further fragments from the Kuyunjik collection have been identified beyond the nine known to Thompson, which belong to two different copies (MSS M and BB); the only progress here has been the joining of Sm 2097 and K 3423 + Rm 579 back to back in 1986 (M₁). From Babylonia, however, we now have four exemplars (MSS c, i, y and aa). Only a tiny fragment of one of these was known to Thompson, namely BM 34191 (part of MS c), which was republished in 1965 by W. G. Lambert alongside its duplicate, the already known fragment MS M₄. In 1987 J. van Dijk published the first, and so far only, Late Babylonian school tablet to hold an excerpt of the Gilgameš epic (MS y).⁵³ At first this excerpt appeared to duplicate MS dd and thus to belong to Tablet V, but von Weiher's publication in 1993 of the obverse of a large fragment from Uruk (MS aa) enabled it to take its true place in Tablet III. In the meantime in the British Museum I. L. Finkel had much enlarged MS c by joining BM 41835 to BM 34191 in 1982, and Lambert had also discovered a completely new exemplar, MS i. These two fragments are published here for the first time, as also is the reverse of MS aa. MS c now bridges the gap between the Kuyunjik manuscripts in column i and adds considerably to our knowledge of the heroes' send-off towards the end of Tablet III. MS i offers text duplicating the obverse of MS aa. The reverse of MS aa allows a better understanding of the episode in which Ninsun adopts Enkidu as her son.

MSS c and i are again from British Museum collections that largely derive from Babylon.⁵⁴ They exhibit slightly different scripts but are otherwise very similar. Like MS x (Tablet I), the school tablet MS y was excavated at Babylon by Robert Koldewey's expedition. Its excavation number is preserved, so that its findspot is known: Kasr Südburg Ost W 23,⁵⁵ a square on the processional way just north-east of the main entrance to the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II—clearly a secondary context for a Late Babylonian exercise tablet. MS aa is from the same find at Warka as MSS cc (Tablet I), bb and ee (Tablet II) and dd (Tablet V): see above.⁵⁶

The four fragments that make up MS M provide parts of every column of a regular six-column tablet, though very little of columns iii, v and vi is useful. Thanks to the new fragment of MS c, which fills the gap in column i between the fragments M₃ and M₂, one may now see that column i of MS M was thirty-six lines long. The reverse of this exemplar appears to have been even less compactly written, with at least four lines of poetry in column iv (M₁ rev.) spread over two lines of clay tablet. If the scribe continued this lavish use of space the manuscript cannot have contained more than about 200 lines and a colophon.

⁵² The fragment Rm 907 was considered part of Tablet III by Haupt, *Nimrodepes* no. 49, and Jensen, *KBVI/1*, pp. 150–3, but copied as an unplaced fragment by Thompson, *Gilgameš*, pl. 8. It is now excluded from the epic, for it collects omens of Gilgameš. It is edited with duplicates in Ch. 3 above, the section on Gilgameš the king.

⁵³ For the literary excerpt on the obverse of the exercise tablet *OECT* XI 48 see above, fn. 46.

⁵⁴ Sp, Sp II and 81–6–25, all purchased through Spartali (Reade in Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, p. xv).

⁵⁵ Van Dijk, *VAS* XXIV, p. 18, sub BE 27125.

⁵⁶ Findspot: Square Ue XVIII 1, fill above Level IV (von Weiher, *UVB* 29–30, p. 107, no. 75; 1971–2 season).

This is at odds with other manuscripts and cannot be explained while the text of the latter part of Tablet III is so poorly preserved. MS BB comprises two separate pieces from the top edge of a six-column tablet, BB₂ from the left-hand corner, BB₁ from the middle and right-hand corner. Parts of all six columns are preserved, but only column i offers a good chunk of text. Column i was forty-four lines long, exactly the same as MS c. MS c comes from the lower left-hand corner of a six-column tablet of which parts of columns i, v and vi are extant. MS aa is the right-hand half of a six-column tablet, with most of column iii and parts of columns ii and iv preserved. The three columns of the obverse dwindled in length from forty-two to thirty-eight to thirty-six lines, longer than MS M but shorter than MSS BB and c. According to the scribe's occasional notations, MS aa was copied from a lightly damaged original. MS i comprises two joining fragments from the middle of the obverse, with parts of two columns preserved, presumably columns ii and iii. At this point on the tablet a column's length of MS i was about thirty-six lines of poetry.

The line numeration of the present edition of Tablet III is very provisional, a working compromise based in different places upon the differing column lengths of MSS M, aa, BB and c. As reconstructed here column vi of MS c begins at about l. 207, so that the last preserved line of Tablet III is 233. This may be too high, but even so it is clear that not all the text of long exemplars such as MSS BB and c would have fitted on to a manuscript like MS M, and one must therefore bear in mind the possibility that different manuscripts may have set the division between Tablets III and IV at different places.

TABLET IV

Parts of five Kuyunjik manuscripts survive, MSS S, Y, AA, CC and DD, though this might be reduced to four or three, if MSS Y and DD or AA and CC belong together, and further still if MS S turns out to belong elsewhere.⁵⁷ Of the seven extant pieces Thompson knew all but one, MS CC. However, while he recognized MSS AA and DD as belonging to Tablet IV, MS S he edited as part of Tablet II and MS Y as part of Tablet V. The fragment from Aššur, MS x, had been published by E. Ebeling in 1923, but Thompson found no place for it. Since it cannot be integrated into the text of the epic even now, it is increasingly probable that it represents an edition slightly different from that copied out in the seventh century. Consequently I have dealt with it in Chapter 7 as a fragment of a deviant recension. Of the five Babylonian manuscripts currently extant none was available at the time of Thompson's edition (MSS r, t, u, v and w). The two fragments of MS w, from Jordan's excavations at Uruk, were the first to appear, one in 1929 in a preliminary copy from the hand of A. Schott, both in 1931 in A. Falkenstein's definitive publication of the literary texts from the 1928–9 season. They were found unbaked in Square Qc XIV 5, along with many thousands of other

⁵⁷ See above, fnn. 13–14.

fragments, amid fill in a post-Assyrian-period building abutting the outside of the precinct wall of the temple E-anna.⁵⁸ The date of these tablets, to judge from archival documents in the same fill, is the sixth century.⁵⁹

MS r was made available by D. J. Wiseman in 1960 and again, along with MS u, by W. G. Lambert in 1965. These new pieces helped B. Landsberger in 1968 to eradicate much of the confusion that had hitherto attended the correct placement of sources of Tablets IV, V and VII.⁶⁰ The existence of MS t was advertised in 1988, in the third volume of E. Leichty's Sippar catalogue.⁶¹ Published here for the first time, it adds a scrap of new text from the telling of Gilgameš's second dream. The British Museum fragments, MSS r, t and u, come from the purchased collections 81-7-6, 83-1-21 and Rm respectively. The first and last of these are mostly from Babylon, while 83-1-21 comprises material that used to be known as 'AH unnumbered', i.e. fragments excavated by Rassam at Sippar (Abu Habba).⁶² Joins have been made between pieces in this collection and fragments from other Sippar collections but also pieces from the Sp III collection, so one cannot rule out Babylon as the provenance of MS t. According to I. L. Finkel the Late Babylonian MS v, also published for the first time, is certainly the piece identified by T. G. Pinches among the cuneiform collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney on 28 August 1903. Pinches wrote, 'found fragment of 5th tablet of Gilgameš-Series'.⁶³ Nothing is known of its provenance, and it adds but a little to our knowledge of Gilgameš's dreams.

MS S is a fragment from the middle of the left edge. The bevel of the edge suggests that it is from the reverse, i.e. column vi of a six-column tablet. It is very similar in clay and script to MS X (Tablet II), and may be from the same scribe. MS Y is written in a small square script of type C, with four wedges often used where conventional Kuyunjik hands use three. The angle of the bevel of the bottom edge of MS Y₁ indicates that this fragment is from a left-hand column of a six-column tablet,⁶⁴ near to the bottom corner, and curvature, content and lack of colophon suggest column i rather than column vi. MS Y₂ is from a right-hand corner, and is more probably from the top of column iii than the top of column iv. The third fragment of this manuscript, MS Y₃, does not run to an edge and is too small to place on grounds of curvature. Column i of MS Y appears to be forty-three lines long, if the restoration is predictable, which suggests an overall line count, allowing for a colophon, of about 250 lines. MS DD is a fragment from the middle which duplicates column v of MS AA, and

⁵⁸ Findspot of MS w₂ (excavation no. 3936s): Room 11b, near the corner of the courtyard, on the latest level of plaster (A. Schott, 'Die inschriftliche Quellen zur Geschichte Eannas', *UVB* 1, p. 63, no. 32). A LB Uruk manuscript of *Enūma eliš* VII was found in the same context (*UVB* 1, pp. 64–6, no. 33 = *LKU* 38). For plans see *UVB* 1, pls. 9–10.

⁵⁹ A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', *RA* 62 (1968), pp. 97–135.

⁶¹ E. Leichty, *Catalogue* VIII, p. 370, 93052.

⁶² On this collection see Reade in Leichty, *Catalogue* VI, p. xxxiv; C. B. F. Walker, 'Introduction', in Leichty, *Catalogue* VIII, p. xiii.

⁶³ On this piece see I. L. Finkel, 'Tablets for Lord Amherst', *Iraq* 58 (1996), p. 199, fn. 23. Until Landsberger the dream episodes had long been considered to belong in Tablet V.

⁶⁴ With Landsberger, *RA* 62, p. 98 (on textual grounds), contra Thompson, *Gilg.*, pl. 18, and, ultimately, Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 244.

s therefore assumed to be from the reverse. MSS Y and DD have been given separate sigla because the script of the latter is rather larger than that of the former; but since MS DD is from the reverse and scribes sometimes write larger as they near the end of a clay tablet, a case could be made for proposing MS DD as part of MS Y. MS AA, the lower left-hand corner of a six-column tablet with parts of the left-hand and middle columns preserved, is very probably from the same hand as MS H (Tablet V). The bottom of the left-hand column has, after a ruling, the first line of Tablet V in the recension of Nineveh (// MS H i 1). Assuming this is a catch-line, the column is the sixth and the piece is from the reverse, despite the flatness of its surface.⁶⁵ The profile of what remains of the bevelled edge corroborates this view, for its crown is nearer the destroyed side than the preserved surface, making it likely that the former is the tablet's obverse and latter its reverse. Column vi is written rather tightly, with several doubled-up lines, and there is no space for a colophon, a fact which suggests that this manuscript was not copied in Aššurbanipal's scriptorium. Indeed, the ductus looks older than the regular Kuyunjik scripts, and this copy of Tablet IV may originally have belonged to an older Assyrian library. MS CC, from a top right-hand corner, is very different in appearance from MS Y. Its discoverer thought it looked like part of MS AA,⁶⁶ but the script (note šú) and spacing are not a perfect match and, though I do not reject the possibility that it belongs with MS AA, I have reserved a separate siglum for it.

The Babylonian manuscripts are all extant only as small fragments. One part of MS w is from the top edge of a six-column tablet, towards the left-hand corner (w_1), the other from the middle of the reverse at column iv (w_2). The former has text preserved on obverse and reverse, with the first few lines of columns i and ii and a few traces of the ends of columns v and vi extant. Column i ends at l. 33, which suggests an overall line count, allowing for a short colophon, of about 195 lines, substantially less than MS Y. Despite this, column iv on the Kuyunjik MS CC ends well in advance of the end of column iv on MS w. The easiest way of explaining this problem is to assume that Babylonian scribes reduced the number of lines of Tablet IV considerably by omitting some of the repetitious passages that introduce the dreams of Gilgameš. Only further discoveries of text will help resolve this problem.

An added difficulty here is that we might expect an Uruk manuscript of Tablet IV to be longer than a Kuyunjik manuscript, since the Uruk manuscript of Tablet V (dd) places the division between Tablets IV and V at a point at least eighty lines later than the Assyrian man-

⁶⁵ The fragment's physical appearance led Haupt to classify it as from the obverse, with parts of cols. i and ii preserved (also P. Jensen, *KB VI/1*, p. 160, and others). Haupt's arrangement, rejected by Thompson, found a more recent exponent in J. V. Kinnier Wilson, 'On the fourth and fifth Tablets of the Epic of Gilgameš', in Garelli, *Gilg.*, pp. 103–11. His motive was to resolve a perceived illogicality in the development of the plot. However, with Landsberger's subsequent study of Tablet IV and, in particular, the repositioning there of all Gilgameš's dreams, this difficulty has dissolved and no longer forms a base for argument (cf. further Landsberger, *RA 62*, pp. 104–5, fn. 27). Further doubts about the place of MS AA in Tablet IV have been expressed by J. Renger, 'Zur fünften Tafel des Gilgameschepos', *Studios Reiner*, p. 321. The newly discovered OB tablet now in Norway (OB Schøyen₂) provides more evidence here, for it corroborates a sequence of passages wherein the heroes hear Humbaba's terrifying roars long before they arrive at the forest. Provisionally, then, MS AA remains in Tablet IV but more text is needed to clarify the succession of episodes.

⁶⁶ R. Borger, 'Einige Texte religiösen Inhalts, IV. Ein neues Gilgameš-Fragment', *Or ns 54* (1985), p. 25.

uscripts (AA and H). This seems indeed to have been the case with the Babylonian MS v, a piece from the bottom left-hand corner which has parts of columns i and vi preserved. Column i ends at IV 37, which on a six-column tablet suggests an overall line count, allowing for a short colophon, of about 215–20 lines. However, the top of column vi has text which duplicates the middle of column ii of Tablet V on the Kuyunjik manuscript (MS H).⁶⁷ All this points to a situation whereby Assyrian scribes divided Tablets IV and V at one point, Babylonian scribes at another. For this reason I assume that the traces at the bottom of column v of MS w would have fallen in an Assyrian copy not in Tablet IV but in Tablet V. MSS r, t and v are fragments from the middle of three different manuscripts that shed no further light on this question, and further discoveries of text are needed to see just how Babylonian scribes squeezed what at Kuyunjik amounts to perhaps 330 lines into copies of Tablet IV that are smaller than their Assyrian counterparts. In these circumstances the line numbering of the present edition is necessarily highly provisional.

TABLET V

This tablet of the series is known from just two manuscripts, MS H from Kuyunjik (two joining fragments) and MS dd from Uruk. As noted immediately above, they start at different places, and it seems that Assyrian and Babylonian scribes differed as to the point of division between Tablets IV and V. In the present edition I have adopted the Assyrian practice. Accordingly, the reverse sides of two Babylonian copies of Tablet IV, MSS v and w, also provide text for Tablet V. Of these four sources Thompson knew only MS H, but he considered MS Y (Tablet IV) to belong here.⁶⁸ MS dd was found in the twenty-ninth season of the excavations at Warka (1970–1) and comes from the same general find as MSS bb and ee (Tablet II), cc (Tablet I) and ee (Tablet III).⁶⁹ It was published by E. von Weiher in 1980. The clay tablet is now in a more complete state than von Weiher's photographs indicate, for in the course of studying the piece in 1989 I came across some tiny detached fragments which it was possible to re-attach. The most important of these is a small flake that allows the restoration of the passage in which Gilgameš and Enkidu despatch Humbaba.

MS H is a large fragment from the top edge at the left-hand corner, with parts of columns i, ii, v and vi extant. It has a catch-line and rubric stating its place in the series, but no colophon of the kind customary in Aššurbanipal's libraries. Like MS AA, which it resembles closely in clay and script, MS H was probably inherited or acquired from an older

⁶⁷ Now that MS bb has demonstrated that different traditions existed regarding the division between Tablets IV and V, it is no longer necessary to attribute, as Landsberger did (*RA 62*, p. 108), the duplication of MSS H//u to a repetition in Tablet V (MS H) of a speech already given in Tablet IV (MS u).

⁶⁸ The fragment K 6497 (MacMillan, *BA V/5* no. 44) was suggested as Gilgameš V in *CAD S*, p. 43, but it is quite unlike other pieces of the epic from Kuyunjik and finds no place in the current edition.

⁶⁹ Findspot: Square Ue XVIII 1, Level II, dwelling-house, upper floor (von Weiher, *UVB 29–30*, p. 96, no. 9). Baked since excavation.

collection. MS dd is the upper half of a six-column tablet of which the obverse is rounded and the reverse flat.⁷⁰ Parts of all columns are preserved. Unfortunately not enough of the colophon has survived to yield the name of the tablet's owner. The line numeration of Tablet V is based upon the estimated column lengths of both sources. On the obverse of MS dd a column length was about forty-five lines, but significantly less on the reverse, for there the scribe makes lavish use of space. Where MS H duplicates MS dd, in columns v and vi, one may estimate a column length on the Assyrian manuscript of about fifty-two lines.⁷¹

TABLET VI

Tablet VI is reconstructed from three manuscripts from Aššurbanipal's libraries (MSS A, O and Q) and two from Aššur (MSS **a** and **d**). No Babylonian copies have yet been recovered. Many of the fourteen numbered fragments that make up the Kuyunjik manuscripts were known to George Smith, who first reconstructed the text of Tablet VI in 1875.⁷² By the time of Thompson's edition all three manuscripts were as they are now, and the left-hand fragment of MS **a** was also available (**a**₁). The other Berlin manuscript, MS **d**, had been published shortly after MS **a**₁, by E. Ebeling in 1923, but it found no place in Thompson's edition. Many of the fragments which made up the right-hand part of MS **a**, in Istanbul, were made available in transliteration by R. Frankena in 1960, and W. G. Lambert later made copies of most of them (**a**₂). In 1991 I was able to make further progress in reconstructing the Istanbul fragments.⁷³ As can be seen from my copy, the Berlin and Istanbul pieces would certainly join if brought together.

MSS A, O, Q and **a** are all regular six-column tablets and there is no reason to suppose that MS **d** was not. The text they provide is complete enough for a definitive numeration to be established without difficulty. At 180 lines this is somewhat lower than Thompson's, largely because Thompson counted as two verses several single lines of poetry that overrun on to two lines of clay tablet. MS A comprises two fragments, a large piece from the left with

⁷⁰ So already E. von Weiher, *Bagh. Mitt.* 11 (1980), p. 92.

⁷¹ Col. vi of MS H holds 42 lines of text, 2 of catch-line and rubric, and space for 8 more lines.

⁷² Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 171–5, and again in *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 217–25.

⁷³ In 1991 there were 23 separate fragments under the museum numbers A 122, 123, 124, 135 and 137. A 122 comprised 4 fragments; these were joined together and 2 fragments of A 124, one not transliterated by Frankena, were also attached (all now A 122 = MS **a**₂ obv.). A 123 consisted of one large piece, to which was joined one fragment of A 135 and 7 of A 124 (five of the latter were not included by Frankena; all now A 123 = MS **a**₂ rev.). A 124 comprised 14 small fragments: the 2 that joined A 122, the 7 that joined A 123 and 5 others. Of these 5, 3 remain as A 124, of which the tiny pieces A 124B and 124C might conceivably be unplaced fragments of MS **a**₂ (the third is different). The other 2 pieces of A 124 joined one of the 3 small pieces that made up A 135 and now go under that number (unidentified literary), as does a second piece of A 135 that comes from another clay tablet (also unidentified literary). The third piece of A 135 was joined to A 123 and now goes under that number. A 137 is another small fragment, but apparently not Gilgameš; Frankena seems to have used this number erroneously for A 135. The various fragments of MS **a**₂ were glued and are now A 122 (obv.) and A 123 (obv. ii top and rev.). These two pieces join back to back but, for administrative reasons, they have not been glued and are kept in separate boxes.

three edges preserved (A₁) and a small piece from the middle of the right edge (A₂). Columns i, ii, v and vi are preserved down their entire length but columns iii and iv are in poor condition. The scribe wrote with increasing use of space, on the reverse often running one line of poetry over on to a second line of clay tablet. Columns i, ii and v offer forty-four, forty and twenty-six lines of poetry respectively. The catch-line and colophon are followed by Aššurbanipal's property label (Asb colophon a), which was incised on the clay tablet after the clay had dried hard. The script of MS A is small and upright. It employs script type C (cf. RU, Ú, HJ, AM, QAR, RA etc.).

MS O comprises two big pieces which overlap but do not quite join. Together these pieces represent much of the original clay tablet, with only the lower right-hand corner missing. However, the surface of columns i–iv has sustained heavy damage and retains only scraps of text. Half of column v is extant and the whole of column vi. Like MS A, MS O is written with progressively more use of space. Column i held forty-three lines, column ii thirty-eight, columns iii and iv sixty-three between them and column v only twenty-five, with several lines of poetry running over on to a second line of clay tablet. Half of column vi is given over to an elaborate colophon (Asb colophon d). The script is the regular, square ductus on smooth clay designated above as type A.

MS Q is in still less good shape. Three fragments are extant: one from the top edge near the left-hand corner, with parts of columns i, ii, v and vi preserved (Q₁), another, much smaller, from the top edge near the right-hand corner, but with text extant on the reverse only, at the bottom of column iv (Q₂), and the third from the middle, with scraps of columns ii, iii, iv and v preserved. MS Q is more evenly inscribed, so that column i held thirty-three lines, columns ii, iii and iv 102 between them, and column v twenty-nine lines. In column vi the text finishes early enough to leave space for an expansive colophon, but the catch-line is followed by the rubric and simplest form of colophon only. Clay and ductus mark this manuscript as a type B tablet.

MS **a** is now the best-preserved of the sources for Tablet VI, lacking only a large piece from the bottom left-hand corner and smaller pieces from the right-hand corners. Columns i and ii hold seventy-three lines between them, column iii holds thirty-one lines, columns iv and v only fifty-eight together. The colophon marks it as the work of a certain Aššur-rā'im-napišti, a junior apprentice scribe. The exact provenance of MS **a** is known: it was retrieved from a disturbed context in a private house at Aššur, where it was part of a collection of texts described by O. Pedersén as the 'library and archive of chief singers'.⁷⁴ In the same context were found two tablets of *Enūma eliš* (KAR 117 and 164), the Aššur manuscript of the syncretistic hymn to Ištar (KAR 109 + 343), a copy of the Divine Love Lyrics (LKA 92), other hymns and prayers (KAR 98, 105, 361), a ritual (KAR 141), an incantation (KAR 76), a hemerology (KAR 177) and some pieces still unpublished. From elsewhere in the same house comes a similar mixture of religious literature as well as copies of scholarly texts and well-known literary compositions such as Etana (LKA 14), Anzū (LKA 1) and Ištar's

⁷⁴ Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur 2* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 34–41, N 3 no. 45. Findspot: Square iC6III, entrance shaft to grave chamber, in fill with 28 other unbaked tablets.

Descent (*LKA* 62).⁷⁵ This is a set of texts with an emphasis very different from the larger collection found in the House of the Incantation Priests,⁷⁶ and perhaps gives us some idea of what compositions might be sung.⁷⁷ The interest in the love-life of Ištar, witnessed not only by SB Gilgameš VI, Ištar's Descent and the Love Lyrics but also by a myth of Ištar and Dumuzi (*LKA* 15), may not be accidental, for the Dumuzi-Ištar cult is known for its use of song. Archival documents in the same house date mostly to the eighth century, with a single example from the post-canonical period immediately before the city fell to the Medes and Babylonians. Aššur-rā'im-napišti, the writer of MS a, is the only certain individual described in the colophons of these tablets as a junior apprentice (*šamallū šēḫru*).⁷⁸ Perhaps he was a student of the best-attested figure of this library, Aššur-šumu-iškun the chief singer (*nargallu*), who flourished in the middle decades of the eighth century.

The other Aššur fragment, MS d, is a small flake from the middle, presumably to be located in column ii. In the absence of an excavation number its exact provenance is unknown.

TABLET VII

The manuscripts of Tablet VII comprise four from Kuyunjik (MSS E, L, Z and GG), one from Sultantepe (MS f) and one from Babylonia (MS g). The four Kuyunjik manuscripts were all known to Thompson, though he placed parts of them in Tablet IV (MSS L₂// GG). Two of these four have benefited from the discovery of new pieces: MS E₂ was made available in transliteration by B. Landsberger when he published his study of Tablets IV and VII in 1968, and MSS E₄ and Z₂ were identified more recently by W. G. Lambert in the course of preparing his recent catalogue.⁷⁹ MS f was excavated at Sultantepe, ancient Ḫuzirina, in 1951 and published by O. R. Gurney in 1954. It is part of the library of the seventh-century scholar Qurdī-Nergal, found dumped against the outside wall of a private dwelling-house.⁸⁰ Further cleaning in Ankara has revealed more of the surface of this badly mutilated source.⁸¹ The three fragments that are denoted by the siglum MS g were

⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 36–7, for details.

⁷⁶ Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries* 2, pp. 41–76, N 4.

⁷⁷ See J. Goodnick Westenholz, 'Oral traditions and written texts in the cycle of Akkade', in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*, pp. 152–3; M. L. West, 'Akkadian poetry: metre and performance', *Iraq* 59 (1997), p. 181.

⁷⁸ The writer of Anzū II (*LKA* 1) may also have been one (cf. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries* 2, p. 36, fn. 9).

⁷⁹ Lambert, *Catalogue*, 3rd Suppl., pp. 34, K 19325; 43, K 20013.

⁸⁰ The context was F1 in the sounding Area E, for which see S. Lloyd and Nuri Göktepe, 'Sultantepe. Anglo-Turkish joint excavations, 1952', *AnSt* 3 (1953), pp. 36–7 with plans on pp. 30 and 35. See further O. R. Gurney, 'The Sultantepe tablets: a preliminary note', *AnSt* 2 (1952), pp. 25–35, and *id.*, *STT* I, p. iv.

⁸¹ Gurney considered that two other fragments from Sultantepe might be parts of MS f. The first was S.U. 51/187 (*STT* 112), for the most part illegible but identified as perhaps the 'upward continuation' of *STT* 14. While I agree that 'the script and form of the break' are very suggestive of this, my own examination in 1992 convinced me that the two pieces could not be parts of the same clay tablet. Though the shape of MS f is somewhat distorted by the pressures it was subjected to while interred, it is still possible to see that it exhibits a slightly convex obverse and a flat reverse, i.e. the scribe placed the first line of the text at the top of what in usual practice was the back of the tablet. This reversal of the

published in 1965 by W. G. Lambert. There is no proof that these pieces must be from a single manuscript, but they are very similar in script and general appearance (except for the obverse of g₁, where the script is somewhat cramped) and they belong to collections which are suspected mostly to have come from the same source.⁸²

None of the manuscripts is well preserved for more than half a column. The several lacunae that intervene in the extant text mean that the line numeration given in the present edition is only a rough guide. The three six-column tablets from Kuyunjik, MSS E, L and Z, all have columns of similar length, of between forty-seven and fifty-two lines. The whole text of Tablet VII would have occupied about 300 lines.

MS E is represented by four fragments. The biggest of these is from the bottom right-hand corner of a six-column tablet, with parts of columns iii and iv preserved (E₁). From a nearby part of column iv is the tiny flake MS E₄. Less obviously parts of E are a bigger flake (E₃) and a more meaty fragment (E₂), but close comparison suggests that they belong together, and, since they are more like MS E than any other Kuyunjik manuscript of Tablet VII, it seems safer to include them under that siglum than to suppose that there were five exemplars, or six, of Tablet VII in Aššurbanipal's libraries. MS E₃ comes from the lower part of column iii; MS E₂ bridges the column margin in the upper to middle part of columns iv and v. The two fragments thus ought to back on to each other, but not enough clay remains to allow a back-to-back join. The last few lines of MS E₂, from the left side of column iv, possibly overlap with the tail-ends of lines on E₁, but there is again no chance of a join.

MS L also comprises four fragments, including two fairly large corner pieces, one from the bottom left-hand corner, with parts of columns i and vi extant (L₂), the other from the bottom right (L₁, columns iii and iv). Two small fragments preserve parts of the margin between columns iv and v (L₃ and L₄), but do not quite join L₁. The script and clay are type A. MS Z comprises three fragments. The largest is from the top right-hand corner, yielding parts of columns iii and iv (Z₁). The small flake Z₂ would join the obverse of this piece if enough of the body of the clay tablet was preserved. A larger flake survives from the middle of column ii (Z₃). The script and clay are type B.

The fourth Kuyunjik exemplar, MS GG, comes from very near the bottom left-hand corner, and thus preserves the end of column i and part of column vi. The end of column i on this manuscript must have fallen at the earliest at l. 69. The end of Tablet VII is not preserved, but on the basis of MS L, the text must have held between about 270 and 290 lines, depending on the type of colophon. It therefore seems quite possible that, quite exceptionally for a Kuyunjik Gilgameš manuscript, MS GG utilized a format of only four columns. Another Kuyunjik piece, ascribed to columns ii and iii of Tablet VII by its copyist, W. G. Lambert, now seems not to be part of the epic.⁸³

normal scribal convention is clearly not also the case with *STT* 112, in which there is marked curvature of the side bearing the colophon, which is of course the reverse. The unpromising fragment S.U. 51/216, reported in *STT* II, p. 21, as also 'possibly part of *STT* 14', was unavailable for study and remains unpublished.

⁸² BM collections Sp II and 81-7-6, which were excavated by local people, most probably at Babylon, reached the British Museum through the dealers Marini, Spartali and Shemtob (see Reade in Leitchy, *Catalogue* VI, p. xv).

⁸³ BM tablet 79-7-8, 194 = *CT* 46 26, ed. B. Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), pp. 122–3.

The Sultantepe manuscript (f) also departs from the conventional six-column format. It is a piece from the lower part of a single-column tablet in portrait format, with the turn from obverse to reverse placed at l. 78. The hand is small and well practised. Many lines of poetry are doubled up on to one line of clay tablet by this manuscript, but quite clearly the complete tablet could not have held the entire text of Tablet VII. If it broke off at the end of a section, then the likely point of conclusion would be the end of Šamaš's speech (l. 147), which would leave enough space for a typical Sultantepe colophon. This would also be about the halfway point in the text, leaving a similar number of lines to fill a second tablet. However, no such document was found, and the latter part of Tablet VII may not have been present in the collection.

Of the three smallish fragments that make up the Babylonian exemplar MS g, two have been baked by the British Museum conservators and one remains in the tablet's original unbaked condition (g₃). MS g₃ is from columns ii and (just) iii, and by its physical appearance cannot have been far from the bottom edge of the tablet. MS g₁, which resumes the text only four lines after MS g₃ breaks off, is thus from almost the top of column iii. MS g₂ follows on from MS g₃, bottom of column iii, after a break of only four lines. It must therefore be from very nearly the top of column iv. Not enough of the body of the tablet is preserved to permit a secure back-to-back join between MSS g₂ and g₃, though they may touch. According to the line numeration provided by the Kuyunjik manuscripts, the columns of text on MS g were about fifty-three lines long. The script of MS g is medium-sized, and often the top horizontal wedge of signs such as LU and KU is omitted; these factors mark MS g as late, certainly post-empire.

TABLET VIII

The two Kuyunjik manuscripts extant for this tablet (MSS R and V) are complemented by an excerpt tablet from Sultantepe (MS e) and a manuscript from Babylonia (MS m). Thompson knew only the Kuyunjik manuscripts, but not in their present state, for both have benefited from the discovery of new pieces. The first new source to come to light, however, was the Sultantepe manuscript, discovered in 1951 and published by O. R. Gurney in 1954. It came from the same pile of tablets as MS f (see above, on Tablet VII). In 1960 W. G. Lambert published two more pieces: a big flake that he had joined to MS V₂ in 1958, and another fragment that was confirmed as Tablet VIII in 1982 when S. Parpola joined it to MS R. Also in 1960 D. J. Wiseman made available a small Late Babylonian fragment; the piece was republished by Lambert in 1965 (m₂). Lambert later identified a further fragment of MS V in the course of cataloguing Kuyunjik fragments (V₄),⁸⁴ and in 1985 I. L. Finkel found and joined the three pieces of a big Late Babylonian fragment that is part of the same manuscript as Wiseman's (m₁). Both are published here for the first time. With its long list of

⁸⁴ Lambert, *Catalogue, 3rd Suppl.*, p. 37, K 19549.

grave goods, Finkel's piece improves enormously our knowledge of the preparations for Enkidu's funeral.

The Kuyunjik manuscripts are both in standard six-column format. MS R, consisting of four joined fragments, is from the middle of the top edge, with text preserved on obverse and reverse. Columns ii and v hold some complete lines, columns i, iii and iv only scraps. Column vi has only the ends of three lines of catch-line, colophon and Aššurbanipal's label (Asb colophon a). Both colophon and label were incised into the hardened clay after drying. MS V is even more poorly preserved. The largest piece comprises two joining flakes from the obverse, with parts of columns i and ii extant (V₂). The top right-hand corner survives, and provides text from the top of column iii and the bottom of column iv (V₁).⁸⁵ Both left-hand corners also survive, but only as tiny fragments (V₃ and V₄). Traces on the reverse of MS V₃ can be identified as one of Aššurbanipal's longer colophons (probably colophon d). MS V has the script and clay characteristic of Kuyunjik tablet type A. Thanks to MS e, which provides a long sequence of lines at the beginning of Tablet VIII, it is possible to calculate the lengths of column i in MSS R and V as forty-two and forty-nine lines respectively. The discrepancy can be explained by difference in the length of the two manuscripts' colophons. MS V needed to leave at least half of column vi free for its long Aššurbanipal colophon, while MS R required only the space of ten lines. The length of Tablet VIII was about 250 lines.

The Sultantepe manuscript, MS e, has already been described in Chapter 7. Three of the four fragments of MS m come from a collection considered to derive mainly from Babylon, with a smattering of pieces from Borsippa.⁸⁶ MS m₂ is a small obverse fragment that must belong to column i. The newly joined fragments of MS m₁ form a large piece from the bottom right-hand corner, with a run of nearly seventy lines of text preserved on columns iii and iv, along with scraps of columns ii and v. The turn from obverse to reverse cannot have taken place much sooner than l. 147 (I place it at ll. 149–50), so that one may assume columns of nearly fifty lines on the obverse. In some lines of column iv the scribe leaves blank spaces, apparently to indicate that he copied from a broken original. Where he thought he could restore, e.g. from parallel lines, he put the text in very faintly, perhaps after the clay had dried a little, and the signs are often poorly formed in these places.

TABLET IX

Three manuscripts from Aššurbanipal's libraries constitute our only sources for Tablet IX. MSS D and its duplicate MS JJ were known to Thompson. The new piece is MS EE,

⁸⁵ The obverse fragment 79-7-8, 137 was suggested as part of K 8281 (MS V₁) by J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, 'Texts and fragments. Miscellaneous literary Kuyunjik texts', *JCS* 42 (1990), pp. 88, 90. The presence of part of the right edge would place the fragment in col. iii, but such a placing is now precluded by the discovery of MS m₁, and the piece finds no place in the present reconstruction.

⁸⁶ 80-6-17: see Reade in Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, p. xxx.

identified by W. G. Lambert among the high-numbered Kuyunjik fragments.⁸⁷ It adds lines that were already predictable, from the episode of Gilgameš's race with the sun.

MS D is a large piece from the top edge made by George Smith from two joining fragments. The obverse preserves the top halves of columns i and ii and part of column iii. On the reverse a scrap remains of column iv, and larger portions of columns v and vi, though much damaged. The length of the columns can be judged roughly from the curvature of the reverse to be about thirty-six lines on the obverse, thirty-four on the reverse. The latter figure is confirmed by MS EE, which supplies text that bridges the lacuna between the end of col. iv and the beginning of column v. The overall line count for the whole text of Tablet IX is 196. Column vi of MS D closes with catch-line and rubric and a two-line label (Asb colophon a). The label was incised on the tablet after the clay had hardened. MS JJ is a fragment from the top left-hand corner, yielding the first lines of Tablet IX on column i and the remains of a long colophon of Aššurbanipal on column vi (Asb colophon d). MS EE is a small flake from the middle of the reverse, which is crossed by the margin between what, on a six-column tablet, must be columns iv and v. It belongs to neither of the previously known manuscripts. Its clay and script show that it is the sole remnant of a type B copy of Tablet IX.

TABLET X

The single Kuyunjik manuscript used by Thompson remains the only copy of Tablet X extant from Aššurbanipal's libraries (MS K). The intervening years have seen a single addition to it, a join to K₃ made by W. G. Lambert in 1963. At about the same time Lambert made joins to two important Babylonian manuscripts of Tablet X, parts of which had already been published by Thompson (MS b) and by D. J. Wiseman in 1960 (MSS b and f). The results of these joins were published in 1965. In 1967 Lambert joined a further fragment to MS f, some of which he made available in a composite transliteration in 1980.⁸⁸ A copy of the whole is given here for the first time. The six fragments that make up MS b and the three that make up MS f derive once again from purchased collections that are assumed to have originated in Babylon.⁸⁹ On this occasion their provenance in that city is confirmed by their colophons. The most recent addition to our knowledge of Tablet X is Assyrian MS z, which contains Tablets X and XI in an edition that matches the Standard Babylonian text in three of the four columns that survive. Details of this piece have been given in Chapter 7.

The three pieces of MS K consist of five numbered fragments and make up a six-column tablet with parts of all columns extant. The top left-hand corner is represented by K₃, but the bottom left-hand corner is missing. Most of columns ii and v are extant on K₁, which also

⁸⁷ Lambert, *Catalogue, 3rd Suppl.*, p. 19, K 18183.

⁸⁸ Lambert, *CRR* 26, pp. 54–6, MS c.

⁸⁹ Sp, Sp II, Sp III and Rm.

reaches nearly to the bottom right-hand corner and thus yields text from the end of column iii and the beginning of column iv. The right-hand part of the tablet is otherwise represented by K₂, a small fragment from the top edge with text preserved on the obverse only, at the top of column iii. Columns of MS K are about fifty-one or fifty-two lines long on the obverse, about forty-seven on the reverse. Many lines of poetry are doubled up, however, particularly in the earlier columns, so that the overall line count of Tablet X reaches 322 as currently reconstructed. If the first lacuna on MS K held any doubled-up lines, the line count would be correspondingly higher. The colophon comprises catch-line, rubric and Aššurbanipal's label (Asb colophon a). The last was incised on the tablet after the clay had dried hard.

The Babylonian manuscripts do much to fill the gaps in MS K. MS b is from the left edge of a six-column tablet. Much of columns i, ii, v and vi is extant. A typical column length, calculated from the mid-point of column i to the mid-point of column ii, was sixty-two lines of poetry. Few lines are doubled up on this manuscript, so this figure is not far off a column's actual length in lines of clay tablet. About half of column vi is given over to an elaborate colophon. According to this the manuscript was written by Bēl-aḥḥē-ušur for his father, Itti-Marduk-balātu, who was presumably his teacher also. We know that in year 185 of the Seleucid era (127 BC), some time after he completed his scribal training, Bēl-aḥḥē-ušur became an astrologer of E-sagil, the temple of Marduk at Babylon.⁹⁰ As a product of his apprenticeship, MS b was thus probably written at Babylon in about 130 BC. This is a date well into the Parthian period, and makes MS b the latest dated manuscript of the Gilgameš epic so far known. MS a (Tablet XII) may derive from the same source.

MS f is from the top edge, with parts of columns i, v and vi preserved, and a tiny scrap of column ii. The reverse is much more tightly written than the obverse, with the number of doubled-up lines increasing as the scribe realized he was running out of space on the tablet. This is one of the very few Gilgameš manuscripts that has been punched with holes to aid drying. The short colophon reports that MS f was written at Babylon during the co-regency of Seleucus and Antiochus, i.e. at the beginning of the third century BC. The name of the scribe is lost; he was of the family of Adad-aḥḥē-ušur.

TABLET XI

There are four manuscripts of Tablet XI extant in Aššurbanipal's libraries (MSS C, J, T and W), another two from Aššur (MSS b and c) and one from Babylonia (MS j). The last column of the deviant Assyrian MS z, from Nimrud, can also be used as a source of Tablet XI. Thompson utilized all four Kuyunjik manuscripts and the Babylonian fragment, but here again there have been a few improvements in our knowledge.⁹¹ A new copy of MS j was

⁹⁰ For details see the footnote to this colophon, at the end of Ch. 11.

⁹¹ Thompson also considered K 16024 (Kuyunjik MS YY) to belong here, if not in Tablet I.

published by W. G. Lambert in 1965. The reverse fragment K 8569 was identified and joined to K 8517+ (MS W₁) by C. B. F. Walker in 1974. More recently the fragments K 8593 and 8595, already known but previously detached, were joined to the same assemblage, the former by Walker in 1981, the latter by me in 1988. One of the two unnumbered fragments published by Haupt from Delitzsch's rough copies as nos. 65 and 66,⁹² was rediscovered by W. G. Lambert among the high-numbered K fragments,⁹³ and joined in 1990 to K 8594, another piece of MS W (W₂). The other one remains to be found but is presumed to belong to the same, comprehensively shattered part of MS W; it therefore takes the siglum W₄. Finally, a corner fragment belonging to the same manuscript has also lately come to light (W₃).⁹⁴ The two new fragments of MS W appear here for the first time. Assyrian MS z was published in 1996. The fragment of MS c identified in Berlin by W. G. Lambert and reported in 1969⁹⁵ was published by S. M. Maul in 1999 alongside a second piece of the same manuscript that he had newly discovered. In 2001 Maul found a third piece of MS c and the fragment denoted by the siglum MS b and published them immediately.

The text of Tablet XI, by virtue of the Deluge story the most famous of all the tablets of Gilgameš, is very nearly completely recovered. The overall line count is now 328. This figure is greater than Thompson's mainly because he did not count as two verses the many doubled-up lines that are so written on all manuscripts. MS C, painstakingly rebuilt by George Smith and now comprising some seventeen joined fragments, is essentially a complete six-column tablet, though the bottom right-hand corner and parts of the top edge and middle are missing, along with much of the surface of the obverse. Columns contain forty-seven or forty-eight lines of tablet, rather more lines of poetry. The colophon is short. Aššurbanipal's label (Asb colophon a) was incised on the tablet after it had dried hard. The script is type C (e.g. ū, šā, ru, ḫi, im, am, ra).

MS J, a fine example of tablet type A, comprises two fragments, a large and a small. The large piece is the much-photographed right half of a beautiful six-column tablet, with most of columns iii and iv extant and the right-hand parts of columns ii and v (J₁). The top edge was vitrified in the burning of the citadel at Nineveh. Parts of column iii visible on photographs of the Flood tablets taken when George Smith was rebuilding MS C, in about 1873 (Figs. 12, 13), are no longer extant and have been restored in my copy under hatching. A badly vitrified fragment from the top left-hand corner, with text extant on the obverse only (J₂), very probably comes from the same manuscript. The manuscript began in very cramped style, with small script and several verses doubled up on to a single line of clay tablet. Columns of MS J were a little over fifty lines long.

None of MST was known to George Smith and in his day much of it was not yet out of the ground. Most of it was probably identified by T. G. Pinches. Joins among its nine constituent fragments make up two extant pieces: a large fragment from the bottom edge,

⁹² P. Haupt, *Nimrodepes*, p. 125.

⁹³ Lambert, *Catalogue*, 3rd Suppl., p. 63, K 21502.

⁹⁴ This piece was kindly brought to my attention by J. N. Postgate. It has since been catalogued by Lambert, *Catalogue*, 3rd Suppl., p. 8, K 17343.

⁹⁵ Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 164 on vi 9.

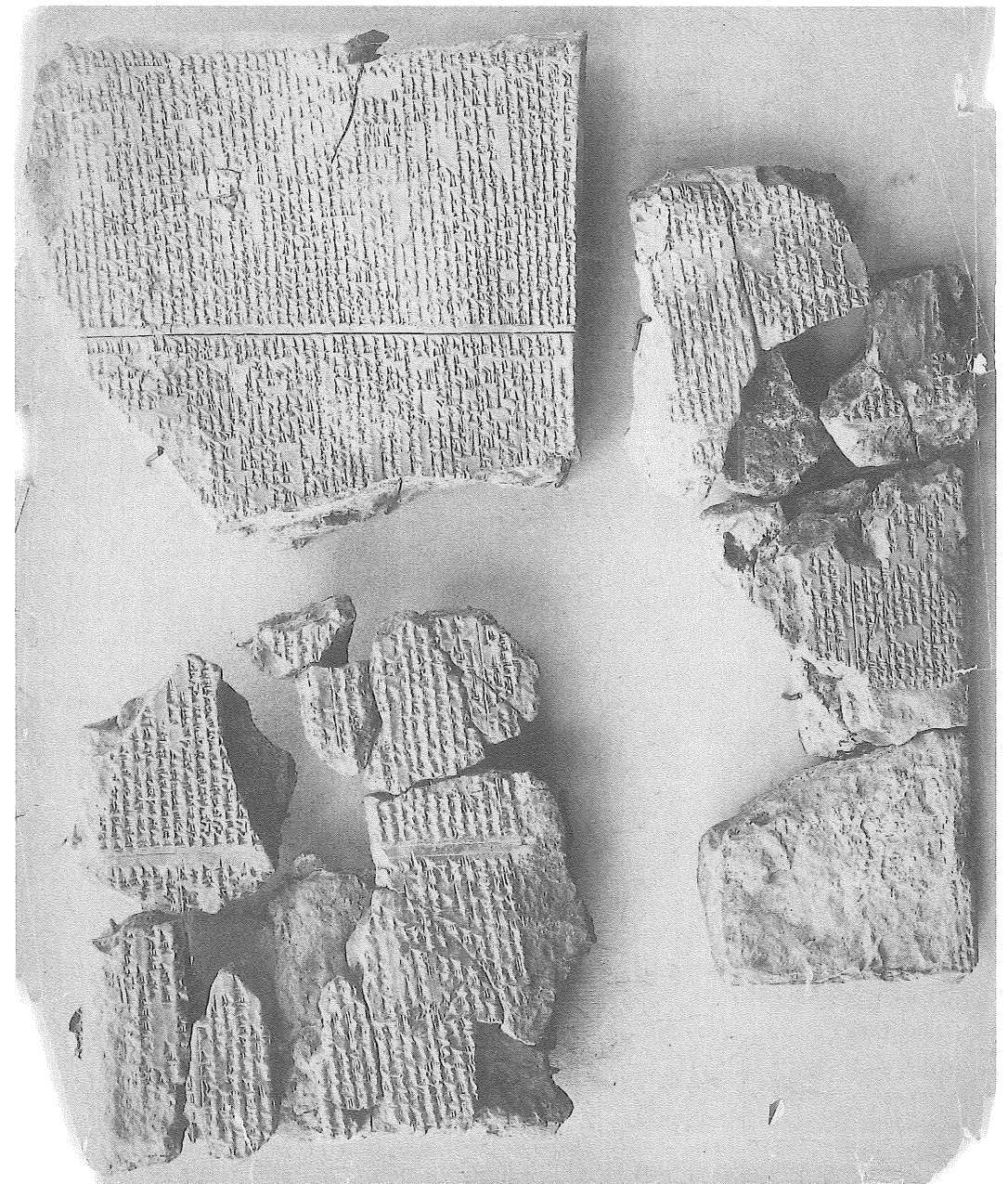


FIG. 12. George Smith's Flood tablets, SB MSS J₁ (top right) and parts of W₁ (top left) and C (bottom), obverse. Photographed c.1873 when Smith was still rebuilding MS C.

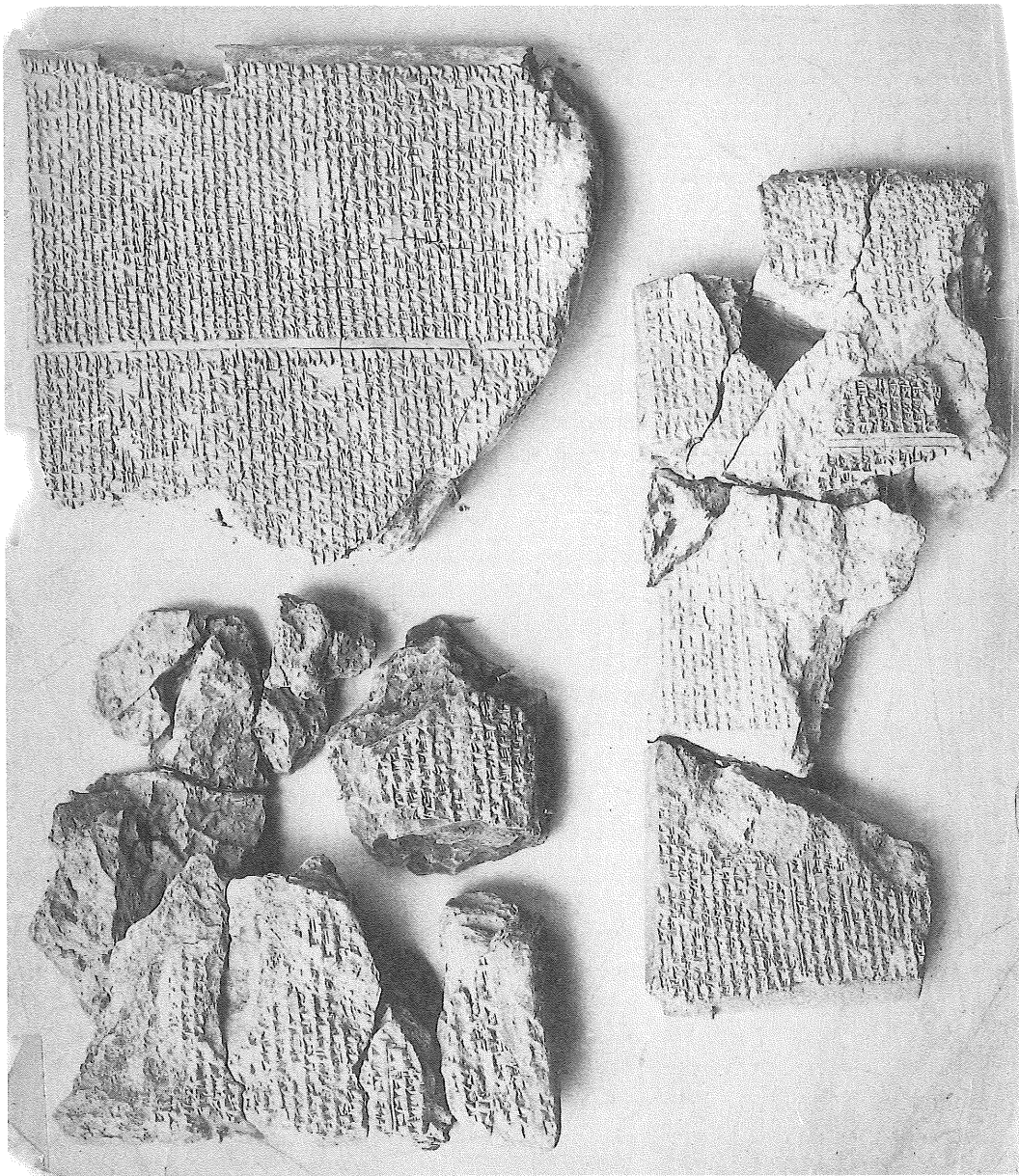


FIG. 13. George Smith's Flood tablets, SB MSS J₁ (top right) and parts of W₁ (top left) and C (bottom), reverse. Photographed c.1873 when Smith was still rebuilding MS C.

yielding the bottom two-thirds of column i and smaller portions of columns ii, v and vi (T₂), and a big piece from the top right-hand corner with large parts of columns ii, iii and iv preserved (T₁). Columns of T are appreciably longer than those of other manuscripts of Tablet XI. The first column held sixty-four lines of poetry, the second fifty-nine on fifty-two lines of clay tablet. Consequently column vi, which begins at l. 298, would only have been half filled with text, and presumably held in the remaining space one of Aššurbanipal's longer colophons.

The shattered MSW, largely rebuilt by George Smith, now comprises three separate fragments and a presumed fourth, the missing MSW₄. MSW₁ is the left half of the clay tablet, with text preserved on columns i, ii, v and vi. The top edge is extant, only a little is missing from the left edge, but the bottom part is lost. Slight damage has affected column i since Haupt copied it; the signs now missing are restored in my copy under hatching. MSW₂ is a small piece from the middle of column iii. MSW₃ is the bottom right-hand corner. MSW₄ fits somewhere between them, near the right edge. Depending on how much more clay there is than just the surface sketched by Delitzsch, MSW₄ might join either of its neighbours, or both. None of column iv survives. Columns of MSW are about the same length as MSJ. The colophon is simple. The manuscript exhibits the clay and script of type B.

MS **b** is a fragment with text on both sides, exhibiting many lines doubled up. It comes from a clay tablet that turned from obverse to reverse somewhere between ll. 214 and 239. This feature marks its format apart from the regular six-column tablets. The piece may represent a manuscript of one or two columns per side, inscribed with Tablet XI and a well-spaced colophon. Alternatively, it could be from a six-column tablet inscribed with Tablets XI and XII, a total of 481 lines in the present reconstruction. MS **c** is a six-column tablet represented by its bottom left-hand corner, a fragment from further along the bottom edge and another from the middle of column iii. It turns from columns i to ii at l. 55 and from columns iii to iv at l. 172, roughly the same points as MS W. In the absence of excavation numbers no details are known of the exact provenance at Aššur of any of these fragments. Details of Assyrian MS **z** have been given in Chapter 7.

MS **j** is from the left edge, near the top, of a Late Babylonian tablet with columns of about fifty lines on the obverse and rather more on the reverse. The script is smaller, particularly on the reverse, than that found on other Late Babylonian Gilgameš manuscripts, with the exception of MS p (Tablet II). As part of the second Spartali collection it may be assumed to come from Babylon.

TABLET XII

Seven manuscripts of Tablet XII are currently extant, comprising nine separate pieces. Five manuscripts are Neo-Assyrian (MSS G, N, U, HH and KK) and two Late Babylonian (MSS a and q). All the Assyrian manuscripts except MS KK certainly come from

Aššurbanipal's library; MS KK might do too, but it could equally well come from another site such as Aššur. MS N originally belonged to the library of the famous scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, whose cuneiform tablets were later incorporated into the royal collections at Nineveh.⁹⁶ According to its colophon it was written in Kalah in 705 BC. The Babylonian manuscripts almost certainly come from Babylon and are likely to have been written in the Persian period or, more probably, even later.⁹⁷

Only four of the Assyrian manuscripts were known to Thompson (MSS G, U, HH and the lower half of N), and neither of the Babylonian ones. MS KK was made available by E. Weidner in 1936, when it was still in a private collection. The obverse of the upper half of MS N was joined and published by W. G. Lambert in 1960. The reverse, which is mostly colophon, is copied for the first time in the present volume. The Babylonian manuscripts appeared in copies by D. J. Wiseman (1960, MS a), W. G. Lambert (1965, MS a) and I. L. Finkel (1984, MS q).

The Assyrian sources MSS G, N, U and KK are all tablets of six columns. One cannot be sure with the fragment MS HH. The disposition of lines on the Babylonian source MS q indicates that it was certainly a clay tablet of four columns (two per side), and MS a may have shared this format.⁹⁸

MS G comprises two separate pieces: G₁ is the lower part of the tablet across its full width, with text surviving on all six columns; G₂ is an obverse flake from the top edge, with parts of columns ii and iii extant. The first five columns of MS G held 29, 29, 31, 28 and 29 lines respectively, with column vi occupied by seven lines of poetry, generously disposed over twelve lines of clay tablet, and a double-spaced colophon. The script is type C (e.g. RU, Ū, 𒍪).

MS N is the left part of a tablet, with about one quarter of the width remaining. It holds thirty lines in column i, but slightly fewer in each of columns ii–v, for column v ended at l. 143. Column vi holds ten lines of text and a double-spaced colophon. The script is slightly smaller than that of the other Kuyunjik pieces, with the peculiarity, first noted by Haupt,⁹⁹ that the sign TI has an extra horizontal wedge, as in most Neo-Babylonian scripts.

MS U survives as two small fragments, one from column ii (U₁), the other from column iv at the right edge (U₂). It exhibits the sharp script of a type A tablet. MS HH, a third small fragment from Kuyunjik, from column i at the left edge, has a different script and is not part of the same manuscript as MS U. MS KK, a larger piece from the top right-hand corner of a fifth exemplar, has text from the top of column iii and the bottom of column iv. The first two columns held fifty-nine lines between them, the next two only fifty-four.

⁹⁶ For the activities of this man see S. J. Lieberman, 'A Mesopotamian background for the so-called *Aggadīc* "measures" of biblical hermeneutics', *HUCA* 58 (1987), pp. 204–17; E. Frahm, 'Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgames-Epos und der Tod Sargons II', *JCS* 51 (1999), pp. 73–90.

⁹⁷ MS a was purchased by George Smith from Marini in Baghdad. The S¹ 76-11-17 collection to which it belongs is overwhelmingly Babylon material. MS q is part of the S1-6-25 collection, bought from the dealer Spartali and also mostly Babylon material.

⁹⁸ See I. L. Finkel, *AfO* 29–30 (1983–4), p. 17.

⁹⁹ P. Haupt, *BAI*, p. 68.

MS a is a fragment from near the top of the left edge, with text preserved on column i and a colophon on the reverse. Its owner belonged to the same family as the owner of MS b (Tablet X) and might even have been the same person. The fragment may thus be of the same very late date. MS q, a fragment from the lower middle, disposed of the text in columns of about forty-five lines. The margin between the columns is punched with drying holes. Though they do not overlap, the two Babylonian pieces do not appear to be from the same clay tablet.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ So already Finkel, *AfO* 29–30, p. 17.

Introduction to the Text of the Standard Babylonian Epic

Despite the considerable progress made since Thompson's edition, the text edited here as the Standard Babylonian epic is still far from complete. The current state of the poem's preservation is easily seen from a survey of the line counts of the individual tablets of the series set against the numbers of lines extant for each. At 300 lines, Tablet I is almost completely reconstructed, with no serious lacunae and comparatively few damaged lines. Tablet II is far from complete. The end is missing but the text once contained at least 300 lines, maybe as many as 320, of which about 185 are preserved, though many of these are damaged to some degree. The end of Tablet III is also missing but it clearly contained far fewer lines than Tablets I and II, about 245; roughly 190 lines are extant in some form but several passages are very badly damaged. As reconstructed here Tablet IV holds 250 lines. The recovery of the text is aided by several passages of repetition but, even allowing for that, many lines are still fragmentary and about sixty-five lines are missing entirely. Tablet V adds another 302 lines but only about 170 survive in any form, many with much damage.

Tablet VI is nearly complete, with something recovered of all 183 lines and comparatively few fragmentary sections. The end of Tablet VII is missing; it once contained 275–90 lines. Roughly 210 lines are extant but the text is punctuated by some very damaged sections. Tablet VIII is estimated as 250–5 lines long, with the end again missing. Only about twenty-five of the first 220 lines are missing entirely, but many lines are represented by their tail-ends only and several other passages are still fragmentary. Tablet IX works out at 196 lines, of which about sixty-five are still missing. The line count of Tablet X is 322. The text is almost uninterrupted, taking account of passages which are restored from parallels, but many lines are still fragmentary. Tablet XI holds 328 lines, with only one line missing entirely and very little damage to others. Tablet XII is estimated at 153 lines, with about fifteen completely missing either side of a passage of nine vestigial lines that are at present almost completely unrestorable.

The grand total for the eleven-tablet epic, leaving aside the appended Tablet XII, yields a survival rate of almost 2,400 lines out of an original line-count that fell just short of 3,000. On these figures, 20 per cent of the poem is still completely missing; taking into account the fact that many lines counted as present are damaged to some degree, it is probably fair to

write that so far we have about two-thirds of the poem at our disposal. As new manuscripts are found this fraction will steadily grow. Several centuries hence there will surely come a day when the text is once again complete.

The reason for the progress that has been made since 1930 is the steady accumulation of new sources, particularly Late Babylonian tablets, documented in the preceding chapter. The existence of multiple witnesses for many lines of the epic enables an enquiry to be made into the textual variants that can be observed between them, and at the same time allows some preliminary remarks on the existence of distinct recensions within the Standard Babylonian text. This introduction will also call attention to noteworthy features of language and style in the Standard Babylonian poem. Finally, it will examine the spelling conventions observed in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš.

TEXTUAL VARIANTS AND RECENSIONAL DIFFERENCES

In a text passed down through many generations as part of a scribal tradition, there is a factor that must always be borne in mind: the part played in the transmission of the text by scribal intervention. When a text is copied out by scribes who are less than conscientious in reproducing the copy in front of them or who consider it their privilege to change what they do not like or understand, there arise changes in wording and phrasing, variation in order of lines in repetitious passages, and expansion and compression of predictable couplets and quatrains. Experience shows that exactly the same kinds of change also occur when memorized text is recited, written out or otherwise handed down. As we know well from many late colophons, oral transmission played some part in the process of passing on texts of the scribal corpus. Not all first-millennium tablets were the end result of an unbroken tradition of copying from old master copies. The part played in textual transmission by the human memory is inherently unquantifiable. Consequently, we cannot expect to place every written source of the Standard Babylonian epic in a neat genealogy of manuscripts in lineal descent from an ancestral master copy attributable to Šin-lēqi-unninni. But we might nevertheless look to see if some manuscripts fall together in groups, as determined by the sharing of textual variants that arose for one reason or another in the course of the poem's long history of transmission. Some crude perceptions already exist in this regard. The Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian tablets that are our sources for the Standard Babylonian poem have often been thought to bear witness to two different editions of the epic, a Ninevite version and a Late Babylonian version. Now that we have many more pieces from Babylonia, this notion can be put to the test.

Places where, in terms of extent of text held on a given tablet of the series, Ninevite and Late Babylonian manuscripts are (or seem to be) incompatible have been noted in the preceding chapter. To recapitulate briefly, one Late Babylonian copy of Tablet I gives in its

colophon a line count that is considerably short of the reconstructed text, which relies heavily on Neo-Assyrian manuscripts. There are also difficulties in resolving the estimated lengths of manuscripts of Tablet III, though there the problem lies in reconciling two Kuyunjik manuscripts. The switch from Tablet IV to Tablet V takes place earlier in the older (Assyrian) manuscripts than in the later (Babylonian) manuscripts. Tablet IV nevertheless appears to be shorter in the Babylonian manuscripts (such as they are) than in the copies from Kuyunjik.

As more manuscripts come to light these problems will be clarified. For the moment the most prominent large-scale difference between the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian copying traditions is the point of division between Tablets IV and V. This looks like a difference of recension. By 'recension' is meant a copying tradition that adopts or generates minor changes in an established text without making major changes of the kind that distinguish different editions of the text. If there are such recensions in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, they should also be visible in the textual variants that exist between the various manuscripts, and it is to these that I now turn.

One indication of the existence of variant recensions might be the different ordering of lines that can be seen between different witnesses to the same passages and in passages of repetition. In Tablet II 218–29 a divided transcription reveals two different line orders, as well as other variants, and suggests the difference might be determined by the date or place of origin of the manuscripts. MS X is Neo-Assyrian, MSS k, z and ee are Late Babylonian:

218	X	<i>aššu šullumu erēni</i>	≠ ee	<i>harrānu šī [ul ša alāki]</i>
219	X	<i>ana pulhāti ša nišī išīmšu Ellil</i>	≠ [ee]	<i>[amēlu šū ul ša amāri]</i>
220	X	omits	≠ ee	<i>nāšir q[išti erēni . . .]</i>
221	X	<i>Ḥumbāba rigmašu abūbu</i>	= kee	<i>Ḥumbāba rig[imšu a]būb[u]</i>
222	X	<i>pīšu Girrumma napīssu mītu</i>	= k[ee]	<i>pīšu Girrumma n[apīssu] u mī[tu]</i>
223	X	<i>išemēmā ana šūšī bēr rimmat qīšti</i>	= kee	<i>išemēmā ana šūšī bēr rimmat qīšti</i>
224	X	<i>mannu ša urradu ana qīštīšu</i>	= kee	<i>mannumma ša urrad ana qīštīš[u]</i>
225	X	omits	≠ kee	<i>Adad ištēn u šū šanū</i>
226	X	omits	≠ kee	<i>mannu ša igerrāšu ina Iḡ[ḡ]</i>
227	X	<i>aššu šullumu erēni</i>	= kzee	<i>aššu šullumu erēn[ī]</i>
228	X	<i>ana pulhāti ša nišī išīmšu Ellil</i>	= k[zee]	<i>ana pulhā[ti ša nišī išīmšu Ellil]</i>
229	X	<i>u ārid qīštīšu išabbassu lu'tu</i>	= zee	<i>u ārid qīštīšu [išabbassu lu'tu]</i>

SB II 218–29, translated on p. 567

On this evidence one might well propose the existence of two different recensions of the text according to period and place, one current in seventh-century Assyria (represented by MS X) and the other circulating a few centuries later in Babylonia (witnessed by MSS k, z and ee). When the passage is repeated later in Tablet II more than one recension can again be seen:

289	X	<i>[sehrēti Gilgā]meš [libbaka našīka]</i>	= zee	<i>sehrēti Gilgāmeš libbaka našīka</i>
				z adds <i>[ummaka] ulīdka</i>
	X	<i>[aššu šullumu erē]ni</i>	→ 298	
	X	<i>ana pulhāti ša nišī [išīmš]u Ellil</i>	→ 299	

290	X	omits	≠ eszee	<i>u mīmma ša tātammi¹ ul tīde</i>
291	X	<i>[Ḥumbāb]a rigmašu [ab]ūbu</i>	= eszee	<i>Ḥumbāba rigmašu abūbu</i>
292	X	<i>pīšu G[irrumma napīssu mītu]</i>	= eszee	<i>pīšu Girrumma napīssu mītu</i>
293	[X]		eszee	<i>išemēmā ana šūšū bēr rimmat qīštīšu</i>
294	[X]	omits?	= sz	omit
			≠ ee	<i>āridu qīštīšu i[šabbassu lu't]u</i>
295	[X]		szee	<i>mannumma ša urradu ana qīštīšu</i>
296	[X]		szee	<i>mannu ša igerrāšu ina Iḡḡ</i>
297	[X]		[s]zee	<i>Adad ištēn u šū šanū²</i>
298	→ after 289		s[z]ee	<i>aššu šullumu erēni</i>
299	→ after 289		sz[ee]	<i>ana pulhā ti ša nišī išīmšu Ellil</i>

SB II 289–99, translated on p. 571

Here again the Neo-Assyrian MS X, from Kuyunjik, disagrees with the Late Babylonian sources in its ordering of the lines. However, the Late Babylonian manuscripts are far from unanimous. MS e, from Babylon, is too damaged to be useful. MS s, of unknown provenance, and MS z, from Uruk, agree with each other and so may witness a distinct recension. MS ee, also from Uruk, adds a line (repeated from SB II 229), differs from MSS s and z in the order of two others, and thus attests perhaps to another recension. The lack of unanimity among the Late Babylonian manuscripts suggests that the notion of a division of the text into two recensions (Neo-Assyrian v. Late Babylonian) is too simplistic. This will become clearer in the discussion of textual variants that follows.

Here I must interpolate a note of warning. Some of the early Neo-Assyrian sources edited in Chapter 7 and identified as remnants of intermediate editions of the epic nevertheless hold text that in places is very close to the Standard Babylonian version. We have also seen that there may have been a variant edition of the Gilgameš epic at Nineveh, as there was of other Babylonian poetic narratives. For this reason it must be asked whether any of the Kuyunjik manuscripts incorporated into the editions of the Standard Babylonian epic given in Chapter 11 might, in fact, be identified instead as witnesses to one or other of the intermediate editions. The age of the various Kuyunjik tablets has been discussed in the introduction to the manuscripts in Chapter 8. Some of them, notably the type D manuscripts (MSS H, S, X, AA and CC), are certainly older than the mid-seventh century, when Aššurbanipal was most active in accumulating tablets for the royal libraries. It is among these that one should look first for signs of a variant version.

Unfortunately, the type D manuscripts happen to be sources for parts of the epic that, for want of many duplicates, are still fragmentary: MS X is the only Assyrian witness to Tablet II, MSS AA and CC (which may be parts of the same tablet) are the principal sources for the latter part of Tablet IV, MS S is unplaced but provisionally part of Tablet IV, and MS H is the sole Assyrian exemplar of Tablet V. Where they can be tested against other Kuyunjik manuscripts of Tablet IV (MSS Y and DD), MSS AA and CC exhibit only minor variant

¹ MS s has *[taq]abbū* where MSS z and ee read *tātammi*.

² Lines 296–7 transposed in MSS s and z.

spellings, but the overlaps are very small in extent, and accordingly it is unsafe to assume there were no substantive differences between them.

Where type D manuscripts can be compared with Late Babylonian manuscripts, a mixed picture emerges. There are places where the sources agree but others where larger differences can be observed. The divided transcriptions of SB II 218–29 and 287–99 given above demonstrate that the differences between the available manuscripts sometimes oppose the Kuyunjik source, type D MS X, to the Late Babylonian tablets, but not always. Another case is Tablet V, where the type D MS H and MS dd (Uruk) agree in column v but then exhibit considerable lack of agreement at the close:

298 H	[<i>Nippur?</i>] <i>atman</i> [<i>Ellil</i>]	≠ dd	<i>ana Nippur libilu</i> <i>Puratt[umma?] / Nippur l[i- . . .]</i>
299 H	[. . .]x <i>aš šaniš adi</i> [.]	≠ dd	<i>ḥar-mu am-mu la r[u . . .]</i>
300 H	[<i>irtaksū a</i>] <i>mu itadū</i> [.]	= dd	<i>irtaksū am[u]</i>
301 H	[. . . -] <i>i?</i> MIN <i>uš-kèn/mat Enkīd</i> [u . . .]	≠ dd	<i>Enkīdu rakib</i> [.]
302 H	[<i>u Gilgāmeš</i>] <i>qaqqad Humbāba</i> [. . .]	= dd	<i>u Gilgāmeš qaqqad Humbāb[a</i> . . .]

SBV 298–302, translated on p. 615

For the moment the samples of text where type D Kuyunjik manuscripts run parallel with Late Babylonian sources are too small to determine with confidence whether we are dealing with variant recensions that arose over time within the Standard Babylonian version or, more interestingly, with variants between the Standard Babylonian version and the older, intermediate versions of the epic known to have been current in Assyria. The recovery of further Late Babylonian witnesses to Tablets II, IV and V will clarify this problem. In the mean time we should remain aware that eventually some or all of the type D Kuyunjik manuscripts (and maybe even other sources from Nineveh) might turn out properly to belong with the material edited in Chapter 7.

Moving on from line-ordering to other kinds of textual variation, it is possible to assemble a fair sample of variants (leaving aside the very many minor variations in spelling) from the texts of Tablets I, VI and XI. These, the three best-known tablets of the Standard Babylonian epic, are all reconstructed from several witnesses and are consequently the most likely parts of the poem to produce evidence for grouping manuscripts according to shared variants. The following substantive differences occur between the various manuscripts of Tablets I, VI and XI (for translations see the editions in Chapter 11). Neo-Assyrian sources are denoted by sigla in capital letters if from Kuyunjik (A, B, C, F etc.), and by bold face if from elsewhere (**a**, **b**, **c** etc.). Late Babylonian manuscripts are signified by plain lower-case letters (h, k, l, n etc.).

(a) Expansion or contraction of text

SB I 69–72

Fx	[<i>urr</i>] <i>a u</i> [<i>mūša ikaddir šerīš</i>] [<i>Gligā</i>] <i>meš</i> [<i>arru?</i> . . . <i>niš?</i> <i>rapšāti?</i>] <i>šū rē'ū</i> [<i>mma ša Uruk supūri</i>] <i>ul uma</i> [<i>ššar Gilgāmeš mārta ana</i>] <i>ummīša</i>	d	[<i>urra u mūs</i>] <i>i ikaddir šer</i> [<i>iš</i>] [<i>šū rē'ūmm</i>] <i>a! ša Uruk sup</i> [<i>ūri</i>]
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SB I 83–90

P	<i>ina pukki šutbū</i> [<i>ru'ūšū</i>] <i>ul umaššar Gilgāmeš mārta ana abīšu</i> <i>urra u mūs</i> [<i>a ikaddir šerīš</i>] <i>šū rē'ūmma ša Uruk s</i> [<i>upūri</i>] <i>šū rē'ūšināma u x</i> [.]	hx	<i>ina puk</i> [<i>ki šutb</i>] <i>ū?</i> <i>ru'ūšu</i> <i>uštād</i> [<i>ir eḷūti ša Uruk in</i>] <i>a kukiiti</i> <i>ul um</i> [<i>aššar mārta</i>] <i>ana abīšu</i> <i>urru u m</i> [<i>ūšu ikaddir</i>] <i>šerīš</i> <i>šū rē'</i> [<i>ūmma ša Uruk s</i>] <i>upūri</i> <i>Gilgāmeš</i> [<i>šarru?</i> . . . <i>niš?</i> <i>rapš</i>] <i>āti</i> <i>šū rē'</i> [<i>ūšināma u . . . -šin</i>] <i>a?</i>
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SB I 209–10

BP	<i>alka luttarrūka ana libbi Uruk supūri</i> <i>ana bīti elli mūšab Anu u Ištar</i>	cc	[<i>alka luttarr</i>] <i>ika ana libbi Uruk supūri</i> [<i>ana bīti elli m</i>] <i>ūšabu ša Anu</i> [. . .] <i>ma ana libbi Uruk supūri</i> [<i>ana Eann</i>] <i>a qudduši mūšabu ša Ištar</i>
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SB I 259–60

Ph	[<i>ummi Gilgāme</i>] <i>š enqet mūdāt kalāma ide izakkar ana mārša</i> [<i>Rīmat-N</i>] <i>insun enqet mūdāt kalāma ide izakkar ana Gilgāmeš</i>
F ₁	[. . . <i>enqet mūdāt kalā</i>] <i>ma ide</i> [<i>izakkar ana</i>] <i>Gilgāmeš</i>

SB I 273–4

B	[<i>damqat?</i> <i>šūqur</i>] <i>at?</i> <i>šunatka</i>	h	<i>šanūtu ūamar šunatu</i> <i>itbēma ūerub ana maḥar ištari ummīšu</i>
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SB I 281–2

h	[<i>eḷūtu u</i>] <i>ktammariū eḷīšu</i>	B	omits
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SB VI 90–1

Q	<i>Gilgāmeš umannā pīšātiki</i> [<i>u errētiki</i>]	Oa	<i>u Gilgāmeš umannā pīšātiki</i> <i>pīšātiki u errētiki</i>
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SB VI 119–24

Oa	<i>ina nipšīšu ša alē šuttatu ippetēma</i> 100 <i>eḷūtu ša Uruk imtaqqutū ina libbi</i> <i>ina šani nipšīšu šuttatu ippetēma</i> 200 <i>eḷūtu ša Uruk imtaqqutū ina libbi</i> <i>ina šalši nipšīšu šuttatu ippetēma</i> <i>Enkīdu imtaqut adi qabi</i> [<i>īšu</i>]
A	[<i>ina nipšīšu ša alē šuttatu ippetēma</i> 100 <i>eḷūtu ša Uruk imtaqqutū ana libbi</i>] [<i>ina šani nipšīšu ša alē šuttatu ippetēma</i> 20] 0 <i>eḷūtu</i> [<i>imtaqqutū</i>] <i>ana libbi</i> [<i>ina šalši nipšīšu ša alē šuttatu ippetēma</i>] 300 <i>eḷūtu</i> [<i>imtaqqutū</i>] <i>ana libbi</i> [<i>ina rebi nipšīšu ša al</i>] <i>ē šuttatu ippetēma Enkīdu</i> [<i>imtaqut a</i>] <i>di qabi</i> <i>īšu</i>

SB VI 150

A	<i>ittašbū aḥāmeš kilallān</i>	a	omits
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SBVI 154				
AOQ	<i>išnēma Enkēdu amā qabē Istar</i>	a	omits	
SBVI 182-3				
AQ	<i>ūbēma Enkēdu šunatu ipaššar</i>	Oa	<i>ūbēma Enkēdu šunatu ipaššar izakkara ana ibrīšu</i>	
SB XI 268-70				
CTWb	<i>adi illaku [ana ālīšu] adi ikaššadu ana urhīšu iē[dīqu šīpa ay idd]īma edēšu hīdiš</i>	J	omits	
(b) Lines transposed				
SB I 186-7				
BFP	<i>inakkiršu būlu ša irbū ina šērīšu dādūšu ihabbubū eli šērīki</i>	x	<i>dādūka lih̄bubū eli šērīšu inakkiršu būlu ša irbū ina šērīšu</i>	
SB XI 53-4				
CT	<i>eḫūtu i[.] [šbūtu izabb]ilū pitilta</i>	c	<i>šbūti i[šabbilū pitilta] eḫūtu i[.]</i>	
(c) Variant lines				
SB I 186				
BFP	<i>dādūšu ihabbubū eli šērīki</i>	x	<i>dādūka lih̄bubū eli šērīšu</i>	
SB I 273				
B	<i>[damqat? šūqur]at? šunatika</i>	h	<i>šanītu ūtamar šunatu (273a)</i>	
SBVI 125				
A	<i>i[šhīamma Enkēdu]u alā iṣṣabat ina qarnīšu</i>	Oa	<i>išhīamma Enkēdu el[ī? x (x) x]</i>	
SBVI 153				
AO	<i>allū Gilgāmeš ša utappilanni alā iddūk</i>	Q?a	<i>Gilgām[eš alā i]ddūk ša utappilanni</i>	
SBVI 156				
A	<i>u akkāši lū akšudki kī šāsūma lū ušēmiki</i>			
Oa	<i>u kāši lū akšudkīma kī [šās]ūma lū epūški</i>			
SBVI 160				
AQ	<i>isšīma Gilgāmeš ummāni kiškattē kalāma</i>			
Oa	<i>paḥrūnimma ummānū kiškattē kalīšun</i>			
SB XI 70				
JTW	<i>šina šār šamni [ša] upazziru malāhu</i>	j	<i>šina šār u[pazzir malāhu?]</i>	
SB XI 126				
T	<i>ina nurub nissati bak[ū itūša?]</i>	J	<i>ilū ašrū ašbū ina bikīti (corrupt?)</i>	
SB XI 131				
CT	<i>ūtarak meḫū [.]</i>	J	<i>terik(?) šū abūbu qabla</i>	
(d) Words or phrases transposed				
SB I 239	BP	<i>urra u mūša</i>	x	<i>[mūša u u]rra</i>
SB I 277	B	<i>eḫū taḫbub</i>	h	<i>taḫabbub eḫū</i>

SBVI 52	A	<i>tuḫtarrīššu sebe u sebe</i>	Qa	<i>sebe u sebe tu[ḫtarrīšu] (a taḫtarrīššu)</i>
SBVI 89	OQ	<i>lā atti tegrī</i>	a	<i>atti lā taggerī</i>
SBVI 165	A	<i>ilūšu Lugalbanda</i>	O	<i>Lugalbanda ilūšu</i>
SB XI 129	T	<i>meḫū ab[ūbu]</i>	J	<i>abūbu meḫū</i>

(e) Words or phrases substituted with others

SB I 43	g	<i>uḫallīqu</i>	h	<i>ušalpiu</i>
SB I 92	P	<i>mārat qurādi</i>	h	<i>aššat [qurādi]</i>
SB I 100	P	<i>Anu</i>	n	<i>Ellil</i>
SB I 104	P	<i>ilīti qūlti</i>	h	<i>ilīti mūt[ī?]</i>
SB I 106	P	<i>uppuš</i>	h	<i>nuppus?</i>
SB I 108	BP	<i>nišī</i>	h	<i>ilī</i>
SB I 176	Fx	<i>iteppir</i>	P	<i>išatti</i>
SB I 199	Fn	<i>ultahḫi</i>	B	<i>ultahḫit[ī] (corrupt)</i>
SB I 213	BPcc	<i>ūtamāššumma</i>	h	<i>taqqa[. . .]?</i>
SB I 288	B	<i>amēlu</i>	ho	<i>ibru</i>
SBVI 7	AOQ	<i>ḫā'ir</i>	a	<i>ḫatānī</i>
SBVI 16	Aa	<i>kabtūtu</i>	Q	<i>bēlū</i>
SBVI 17	A	[. . .] liqit	a	<i>NAR.NAR-di (corrupt)</i>
SBVI 18	Aa	<i>laḫrātūka</i>	Q	<i>šēmūka</i>
SBVI 21	AQ	<i>irši</i>	a	<i>īšu</i>
SBVI 44	A	<i>ḫarmīki</i>	O	<i>[ḫā]ir[ki]</i>
SBVI 50	A	<i>izzaz</i>	Qa	<i>ašib</i>
SBVI 51	A	<i>gamir</i>	a	<i>mīgir (corrupt)</i>
SBVI 60	A	<i>unīqēti</i>	a	<i>niqēti</i>
SBVI 82	AQ	<i>illikma</i>	a	<i>īlma</i>
SBVI 126	O	<i>ana pānīšu</i>	a	<i>ina še . . . ? (but not šērīšu)</i>
SBVI 141	O	<i>išūdamma</i>	a	<i>[ī]iqamma</i>
SBVI 155	A	<i>ana pānīša iddi</i>	O [ana . . .] išli	a <i>ana muḫḫīša issuk</i>
SBVI 163	OQ	<i>šina manā</i>	A	<i>šimnu ubānē (corrupt?)</i>
SBVI 171	A	<i>muttabbilāti</i>	O	<i>muṭappila</i>
SBVI 180	O	<i>šallū</i>	Qa	<i>utūlūma</i>
SBVI 181	O	<i>šalil</i>	Qa	<i>utūlma</i>
SB XI 89	JT	<i>bābka</i>	W	<i>eleppa</i>
SB XI 95	C	<i>pēḫī</i>	W	<i>peḫē</i>
SB XI 99	W	<i>[irtag]gum</i>	J	<i>irtammamma</i>
SB XI 113	C	<i>kar[āši]</i>	J	<i>šam[ē]/šam[ūti]</i>
SB XI 117	C	<i>kīma ālitti</i>	J	<i>malīti</i>
SB XI 120	T	<i>aššu</i>	J	<i>ša</i>
SB XI 120	T	<i>puḫur</i>	J	<i>maḫar</i>
SB XI 121	T	<i>puḫur</i>	J	<i>maḫar</i>
SB XI 127	T	<i>šabbā</i>	J	<i>katmā</i>
SB XI 134	CT	<i>ūma</i>	J	<i>tāmata</i>
SB XI 140	CJc	<i>pātu? tāmti</i>	T	<i>an[a pāt? tāmti?]</i>
SB XI 141	T	<i>14^{mām}</i>	J	<i>12^{mām}</i>

SB XI 149 // 152	CW	<i>i-pi-ra-am-ma</i>	Jc	<i>iūramma</i>
SB XI 175	CJ	<i>ayyumma</i>	c	[<i>ayyār</i>]umma
SB XI 185	Cc	<i>arni</i>	J	<i>hūpi</i>
SB XI 195	C	<i>māta</i>	J	<i>nīši</i>
SB XI 199	J	<i>Ellīl</i> (⁴ idim)	b	<i>Ea šarru</i> (corrupt)
SB XI 241	CTW	<i>tetegelātatta</i>	J	<i>alputka anāku</i>
SB XI 259	CW	<i>ālišu</i>	J	<i>mālišu</i>
SB XI 298	T	[... -d]i?	j	<i>šibamma</i>

(f) Words or phrases added or omitted

SB I 295	B	<i>māliki rabi</i>	ho	<i>māliki</i>
SB VI 5	OQ add	<i>rakis aguhūhu</i>	Aa	omit
SB VI 58	A	TA BU LA for <i>utulla</i>	a	<i>nāqida utullum</i>
SB VI 158	A	<i>kezrēti šamhāti u harimāti</i>	Oa	<i>kezrēti u harimāti</i>
SB XI 94	C	<i>ana libbi eleppimma</i>	W	<i>ana eleppimma</i>
SB XI 129	J	<i>šāru abūbu mehū</i>	T	<i>šāru rādu mehū ab[ūbu]</i>
SB XI 146	JT	<i>hamša šešša</i>	c	<i>hamša ūma šešša ūma</i>
SB XI 166	J	adds <i>ay amši</i>	W	omits
SB XI 269	C	<i>ikaššadu</i>	W	<i>adi ikaššadu</i>

(g) Difference of tense, stem or mood

SB I 9	B	<i>illikamma</i>	h	<i>illakamma</i>
SB I 101	P	<i>imtasī</i>	n	[<i>im</i>]assi
SB I 194	B	<i>irhī</i>	Pn	<i>irehhi</i>
SB I 200	B	<i>illika/ā</i>	Pn	<i>illaka/ā</i>
SB I 248	B	<i>imtaqquta</i>	P	<i>imtaqquta?</i>
SB I 266	B	[<i>ultima</i>]hharšu	P	<i>ultamhiraššu</i>
SB I 271	B	<i>elišu tahbub</i>	h	<i>tahbub elišu</i>
SB I 272	B	[<i>ušten</i>]ezzebka	h	<i>užezzeb</i>
SB I 285	B	<i>tultamahharīšu</i>	h	<i>tultamhirišu</i>
SB I 289	Bo	<i>tahbub</i>	h	<i>tahbub</i>
SB I 290	Bo	<i>ultamahharīšu</i>	h	<i>ultamhiraššu</i>
SB VI 5	AOa	<i>ūepamma</i>	Q	[<i>ū</i>]epamma?
SB VI 52	AQ	<i>tahtarrīšu</i>	a	<i>tahtarrīšu</i>
SB VI 59	A	<i>išpukakki</i>	a	<i>šuppukakki</i>
SB VI 67	A	<i>tattaššumma</i>	a	<i>taššišumma</i>
SB VI 69	A	<i>lišēšamma</i>	a	<i>šūšamma</i>
SB VI 84	Aa	<i>ūtanzaranni</i>	O	<i>ūtanzaranni</i>
SB VI 85	OQ	<i>undenā</i>	a	<i>indemā</i>
SB VI 158	AQ	<i>uptahhir</i>	a	<i>upahhir</i>
SB VI 161	A	<i>una</i> "adū	OQ	<i>inaddū</i>
SB VI 168	A	<i>išabtūnimma</i>	O	<i>šabtūnimma</i>
SB XI 29	W	<i>mindudā</i>	j	<i>mundudā</i>
SB XI 91	W	<i>isannamu</i>	J	<i>ušaznana</i>
SB XI 102	C	<i>um[assaḥ]</i>	J	<i>inassaḥ</i>
SB XI 114	T	<i>iplahū</i>	J	<i>iptalhū</i>

SB XI 118	T	<i>unamba</i>	J	<i>unambi</i>
SB XI 167	C	<i>luhsusa[mma]</i>	Jc	<i>aḥsusamma</i>
SB XI 170	CJ	<i>imtalkūma</i>	c	<i>imtalkū[ma]</i>
SB XI 184	CJ	<i>tamtalikma</i>	c	[<i>tam</i>]tallikma
SB XI 230	C	<i>ittegeltā</i>	J	<i>iggeltā</i>
SB XI 256	CW	<i>šupu</i>	J	<i>lū šapu</i>

(h) Difference in number or gender

SB VI 6	A	<i>īna</i>	OQa	<i>īnī</i>
SB VI 49	Aa	<i>kappašu</i>	Q	<i>kapp[īšu]</i>
SB VI 54	A	<i>ziqī</i>	a	<i>ziqta</i>
SB VI 59	A	<i>tumrī</i>	a	<i>tumra</i>
SB VI 63	A	<i>šaprišu</i>	ad	<i>šapar[šu]</i>
SB VI 80	A	<i>annā</i>	a	<i>annītu</i>
SB VI 152	A	<i>huppa</i>	a	[<i>hupp</i>]ī
SB XI 103	C	<i>mihra</i>	J	[<i>mī</i>]hri
SB XI 150 // 153	C	[<i>īpāš</i>]šimma	JWc	<i>īpāššumma</i>
SB XI 257	CJTb	<i>udduš parsīgu</i>	W	<i>uddušu parsīgi</i>
SB XI 258	CT	<i>tēdiqī</i>	W	<i>tēdiqa</i>

(i) Presence or absence of ventive suffix, pronominal suffix or enclitic particle

SB I 66	F	<i>ina pukku</i>	d	<i>ina pukkišu</i>
SB I 162	B	[<i>šayyā</i>]du	P	<i>šayyādī</i>
SB I 165	P	<i>īehhā</i>	F	[<i>īehh</i>]e
SB I 171	P	<i>itašbū</i>	F	<i>itašbūni</i>
SB I 187	BFP	<i>būlu</i>	x	<i>būlu</i>
SB I 208	B	<i>tarappuda</i>	Pcc	<i>tarappud</i>
SB I 214	BP	<i>libbašu</i>	cc	<i>libbašūma</i>
SB I 215	BP	<i>izakkara</i>	cc	<i>izakkar</i>
SB I 245	B	<i>izakkara</i>	P	<i>izakkar</i>
SB I 272	B	[<i>ušten</i>]ezzebka	h	<i>užezzeb</i>
SB I 286	B	<i>izakkara</i>	h	<i>izakkar</i>
SB I 298	h	[<i>ī</i>]amar	o	[<i>īamr</i>]a
SB VI 1	HO	<i>ubbiba</i>	Qa	<i>ubbib</i>
SB VI 3	AOa	<i>italbiša</i>	Q	<i>italbiš</i>
SB VI 3	AOQ	<i>zakūtišu</i>	a	<i>zakūti</i>
SB VI 4	AOQ	<i>itahlipamma</i>	a	<i>itahlipma</i>
SB VI 7	A	<i>alkamma</i>	Oa	<i>alka</i>
SB VI 17	AQ	<i>našūnikka</i>	a	<i>našūka</i>
SB VI 48	AQ	<i>allalla</i>	a	<i>allallaki</i>
SB VI 50	A	<i>qišātim</i>	a	<i>qišātimma</i>
SB VI 68	A	<i>Išullānīya</i>	a	[<i>Iš</i>]ullāna
SB VI 114	Q	<i>alimma</i>	a	<i>alē</i>
SB XI 8	W	<i>šāšūma</i>	J	<i>šāšu</i>
SB XI 41	T	<i>ašakkana</i> [<i>šēp</i>]īyāma	W	<i>ašakkan šēpiya</i>
SB XI 64	T	<i>amḥassi</i>	J	<i>amḥaš</i>

SB XI 133	CT	<i>uṣḥarrir</i>	J	<i>uṣḥarrirma</i>
SB XI 134	CT	<i>appalsamma</i>	J	<i>appalsa</i>
SB XI 182	Cc	<i>izakkara</i>	J	<i>izakkar</i>
SB XI 231	C	<i>izakkara</i>	J	<i>izakkar</i>
SB XI 242	T	<i>izakkara</i>	J	<i>izakkar</i>
SB XI 261	Cb	<i>iddīma</i>	J	<i>iddi</i>
SB XI 273	b	<i>izakkara</i>	J	<i>izakkar</i>

(j) Variant possessive constructions

SBI 36	g	<i>ēniq arḥi ṣirti Rīmat-Ninsun</i>	h	<i>ēniq arḥi ṣirti ša Rīmat-Ninsunanna</i>
SBI 210	BP	<i>mūšab Anu</i>	cc	[m]ūšabu ša Anu
SBVI 159	A	<i>imitti alē</i>	Oa	<i>imitti ša alē</i>

(k) Variation in dialect or other ostensible difference in pronunciation³

SB I 276		[ummī]	h	<i>ummā</i>
SB I 286–7	B:	<i>emqet</i>	ho	<i>enqet</i>
SB I 295		[ummī]	o	<i>ummā</i>
SB I 295	ho	<i>linqutamma</i>	B	<i>linqutamma</i>
SBVI 6	Oa	<i>dunqi</i>	A	<i>dunqi</i>
SBVI 7	AO	<i>ḥā'ir</i>	Q	<i>ḥāmer</i>
SBVI 10	Aa	<i>lušašmidka</i>	O	<i>lušešmidka</i>
SBVI 12	A	<i>šamdāta</i>	Oa	<i>šandāta</i>
SBVI 18	AQ	<i>lilidā</i>	a	<i>lilidā</i>
SBVI 68	A	<i>nākul</i>	a	<i>nākul</i>
SBVI 69	A	<i>ḥurdadni</i>	a	<i>ḥurdatna</i>
SBVI 104	A	<i>lipaḥḥir</i>	a	<i>lupa[ḥḥir]</i>
SBVI 124	O	<i>imta[qu]</i>	a	<i>itauqu</i>
SBVI 148	AQ	<i>ištaknū</i>	a	[i]ta[knū]
SBVI 158	O	<i>ḥarimāti</i>	a	<i>ḥarimēti</i>
SBVI 166	A	<i>uṣērīmma</i>	O	<i>uṣēribma</i>
SB XI 115	T	<i>ittahsū</i>	J	<i>iteḥsū</i>
SB XI 196	C	<i>e[piā]</i>	Jb	<i>apiā</i>
SB XI 200	b	<i>uštēlā[nni]</i>	J	<i>ultēlānni</i>
SB XI 235	T	[kuru]mmātika	J	<i>kurummētika</i>
SB XI 314	Cj	<i>dumqaḥ</i>	W	<i>dum[qV]</i>

(l) Other minor differences in words and expressions

SBI 82	P	<i>īsu</i>	h	<i>īsi</i>
SB I 109	B	<i>lubūšī</i>	P	<i>lubušti</i>
SB I 213	P	<i>qabāša</i>	B	<i>qabāya</i> (corrupt?)
SB I 240	Px	<i>šēretka</i>	B	<i>šēressu</i> (corrupt)
SB I 269 // 292	B	<i>emūqī īsu</i>	h	<i>emūqīsu</i>

³ Some examples of variation collected here may more properly reveal a fluctuation between truly phonetic spellings (e.g. *linqutamma*, *šamdāta*, *uṣērīmma*, *dunqu*) and morpho-graphemic renderings that combine etymological and phonological data (e.g. *linqutamma*, *šamdāta*, *uṣēribma*, *dumqu*).

SBVI 2	AOa	<i>elu</i>	Q	<i>eli</i>
SBVI 154	O	<i>qabē</i>	A	<i>qabī</i>
SBVI 164	A	<i>šibit kilallē</i>	O	<i>ana šibit kilallān</i>
SB XI 6	W	<i>nadāta</i>	J	<i>nadāt</i>
SB XI 6	Cj	<i>elu</i>	W	<i>eli</i>
SB XI 13	CW	<i>qerbuššu</i>	j	<i>qerbuš</i>
SB XI 69	W	<i>ezub</i>	j	<i>ezib</i>
SB XI 75	TW	<i>kī</i>	J	<i>kīma</i>
SB XI 93	T	<i>īsu</i>	J	<i>īsi</i>
SB XI 98	C	<i>ištu</i>	W	<i>ultu</i>
SB XI 163	C	<i>kī</i>	Jc	<i>kīma</i>
SB XI 243	T	<i>ayyikā</i>	J	<i>ayyikāni</i>

Collected thus, the variants of Tablets I, VI and XI make for a long list but, spread over more than 800 lines of text, they are relatively few. They are also comparatively minor. What we learn is that words and phrases can be modified grammatically or completely replaced, words added or omitted, and phrases and lines reworked. Whole lines are very occasionally inserted or omitted. Groups of two or more lines can be transposed or reordered, but rarely. The textual variation that can be seen within the first-millennium manuscripts of the epic is similar in type to differences in wording exhibited between the older versions of the poem and the Standard Babylonian epic (see the section of Chapter 1 on the evolution of the text). But there are proportionately fewer of them, and large-scale alterations—addition and removal of whole passages and episodes—are entirely absent. Variation of the kind seen here is no more than can be expected in a history of transmission covering half a millennium and at all times subject to the whim of scribes' memory, eyesight and wilful tampering.

The question is then how far the variants observed in Tablets I, VI and XI can be seen as generally indicative of recensional differences, and in particular whether they clarify the supposed existence of separate Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian versions of the epic. A glance at the variants of Tablet I, which is well provided with Late Babylonian manuscripts, shows that not all the minor differences in its text occur as distinct to Assyrian tablets on the one hand or Babylonian on the other. For example, in SB I 199 two manuscripts have *ultahḥi* and one what is very probably a later corruption; in SB I 289–90 two sources have verbs in the present tense and one source has them in the preterite. These might well be recensional differences but neither is a clear-cut case of Assyrian manuscripts *v.* Babylonian. On the one occasion one Neo-Assyrian manuscript and one Late Babylonian agree while another Neo-Assyrian tablet disagrees; on the other one Neo-Assyrian manuscript and one Late Babylonian agree while the other Late Babylonian source disagrees. These variants may be cases of old *v.* late recensions but this is impossible to confirm while we know nothing of the relative ages of MSS x, o and h.

In Tablet VI there are as yet no Babylonian manuscripts, but instead three from Nineveh and two from Aššur. These present a snapshot of the Bull of Heaven episode as it was handed down in at least two different Assyrian scribal centres in the mid-seventh century BC; however, one cannot be sure that MSS O and Q were actually written at Nineveh. It can be

seen that where there are variant readings in the text, MS A, which as an Aššurbanipal tablet was almost certainly written at Nineveh, and MS a, which was written at Aššur, usually disagree—but not always. The other sources found at Nineveh, MSS O and Q, both waver in their allegiance. MS Q shares readings with MS A more often than it does with MS a, but sometimes ploughs a completely different furrow.⁴ MS O, on the other hand, is more prone to disagree with MS A and agree with MS a. Aššur MS d, in so far as it is preserved, offers no certain case of disagreement with MS a, but it is too small a fragment for this fact to hold any statistical value. The conclusion one takes from the variants present for Tablet VI is that if they signify different recensions, at the time of writing these recensions were not divided strictly along discernible geographical lines or by date.

The most striking feature of the variants observed in Tablet XI is the independence of MS J. This source, chiefly represented by what as an object is the most famous of all tablets of Gilgameš, is characterized by several inferior variants and occasional textual corruption. It usually stands alone in opposition to the other Kuyunjik sources of Tablet XI, and clearly represents a divergent tradition of copying that could be defined as a distinct recension. The two tablets from Aššur (MSS bc) and the single Late Babylonian source (MS j) do not, as preserved, reveal any significant deviation from the other Kuyunjik tablets (MSS CTW), but again they are too small for this to mean much.

An important point to be made in passing is that, though they are later than the Kuyunjik manuscripts, the Late Babylonian manuscripts sometimes preserve a text that reads better. The version of SB I 186–7 given in MS x is obviously superior to that offered by the three Kuyunjik tablets, which transpose the lines into an illogical sequence. Another prominent instance of Late Babylonian superiority, but one not encountered in the variants listed above, occurs in my view near the end of SB Tablet X, where it seems the Kuyunjik manuscripts are corrupt:⁵

bf	<i>lullâ mîtu ul ikruba karâbi ina mâti</i>	K	<i>lullû amêlu edil</i>
	SB X 318		<i>ultu ikrubu-[x x]</i>

Leaving aside the complication introduced by the uncertain place of the type D manuscripts in the poem's history, the conclusion is that variant vocabulary, variations in tense, the addition of single lines, the transposition of lines and, rarely, more radical reordering are established features of the sources for the Standard Babylonian epic. Some of these features might be assumed to denote recensional differences, but if so there is conflicting evidence as to when and where different recensions might have arisen. For the moment it is certainly unsafe to speak of distinct Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian versions of the Standard Babylonian epic. The question of recensions is dogged by another unknown: how far textual variants are as truly indicative of different recensions as some textual critics have supposed them to be. Work on variant readings in much better-attested texts of the Sumerian

⁴ Instances where MS Q stands alone in the lists gathered above are supplemented by places where it offers undeciphered or unrestored traces that are incompatible with the reconstructed text—e.g. in SB VI 97, 98, 121 and 156.

⁵ The arguments are given in Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc.

literary corpus has not been very successful in isolating clearly distinct and consistent groups of manuscripts.⁶ Remembering also the potential of different scribes to make the same mistakes independently, one must conclude that a methodology seeking to view variant readings as necessarily indicative of recensional differences is exposed as naïve.⁷

Given the relative paucity of manuscripts so far available—relative in comparison with many Sumerian texts, not to mention Greek and Latin compositions—these remarks on recensions are necessarily provisional. More evidence will surely come to light, but even then it may remain impossible to disentangle the very complex history of the transmission of the Standard Babylonian epic in the first millennium. The recensional history of compositions of the cuneiform scribal traditions tends to become more confusing as more manuscripts appear. As always when facts are few in history, one should be suspicious of neat and tidy schemes.

SOME FEATURES OF LANGUAGE AND STYLE

The Standard Babylonian epic is, like the older versions of the poem edited in the preceding chapters, characterized by a lack of ornate style and very sparing use of elevated language of the kind called 'hymno-epic'. It is not the purpose of this introduction to write comprehensively on the literary style of the poem. Such a study would involve the examination of the many other Standard Babylonian literary texts written in the same idiom.⁸ One of the objects of the present text edition is to provide others with the wherewithal to make such a study. However, it is my purpose in this section to draw attention to some features of elevated language that occur in the late version of the epic, to other prominent literary devices that catch the eye and to the intrusion of dialect forms.⁹

First is the occasional use of words exhibiting, in the addition of genitive pronominal suffixes and in the formation of feminine nouns and adjectives, anaptyctic vowels ('Hilfs-vokale') that by the standards of common grammar are unwarranted or irregularly placed.

⁶ See the discussion of variants in J. S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore, 1983), pp. 46–8, and the summary of findings by J. A. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (London, 1998), pp. 30–2.

⁷ For more on this point see the succinct overview of the methodologies of textual criticism and their use in Assyriology by P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1989), pp. 21–5.

⁸ Many aspects of poetic style in Gilgameš and other SB poetic narratives have already been noted by Hecker, *Untersuchungen*; see briefly J. Renger, 'Mesopotamian epic literature', in F. J. Oinas (ed.), *Heroic Epic and Saga* (Bloomington, Ind., 1978), pp. 38–44. A volume analysing the style of the late 'hymnic' texts is already available: Brigitte R. M. Groneberg, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil der jungbabylonischen 'hymnischen' Literatur* (FAOS 14/I–II; Stuttgart, 1987). A study of Old Babylonian literary style is expected from N. Wasserman, *Style and Form in Old Babylonian Literary Texts* (Leiden, in press 2002).

⁹ Other features of language and style are discussed in the various sections of commentary, as they arise: sequence of tenses preterite-present before direct speech, at OB II 1; the 'gnomic preterite', at OB III 255–6; non-coordinative *-ma* on verbs, at SB I 117–18; coordinative *-ma* on nouns, at SB I 143; the 'performative' preterite, at SB III 11; concessive *ša*, at SB I 145.

The practice is highly developed in some Old Babylonian poetry and survives in Standard Babylonian texts as a literary affectation.¹⁰ Examples in Standard Babylonian Gilgameš are as follows:

(i) literary interpolation of anaptyctic vowels

samūtašu for *samīssu* (I 14), *tāmatu* instead of *tāmtu* (I 40, XI 134 MS J), *pēretu* instead of *pērtu* (I 106, II 176), *šimatu* instead of *šimtu* (VII 102 and probably I 222, X 320), *šunatu* instead of *šuttu* (I 245 etc., see further the commentary ad loc.), *rigmašu* instead of *rigimšu* (II 221 // [278] // 291, X 306), *rūqatu* instead of *rūqtu* (III 25 etc., see the commentary), *hāmeraki* instead of *hāmerki* (VI 42), *kiššūtaki* instead of *kiššūki* (VI 68), *aqratu* instead of *aqartu* (VII 93),¹¹ *bēlaša* for *bēša* (X 188)

Such forms have already been encountered in Old Babylonian sources of the epic: *šunatum* in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 1) and one of the tablets now in Norway (OB Schøyen₂ 1), *mušīyatum* for *mušūtum* in the latter (OB Schøyen₂ 1), and *rigmašu* in the Yale tablet (OB III 110 // 197). One of the Middle Babylonian tablets has other examples (MB Ur 11 *šimata* for *šimta*, 24 *māyyālaki* for *māyyālki*). The spelling *še-mu-šu* instead of *šumšu* (SB IX 37) can also be mentioned here as an example of a noun taking an exceptional extra vowel, though in this instance it is a case vowel.

A usage related to that documented above at (i) is the formation of a construct state **parsi* instead of **paras*. This is an occasional feature of Old Babylonian texts in the high literary style, where it is a survival of the Old Akkadian genitive construct state in *-i*.¹² Such formations are rare in older Gilgameš, with one example in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 165 *ana siqri eḫlim*, if not crasis). In the late version one encounters the following:

(ii) 'segolate' nouns with *Auslaut -i* in the construct state

SB III 16 *ana maḫri Ninsun* (MS BB) instead of *ana maḫar N.*, VII 139 *ibri* (MS L) for *ibir* (nominative), VII 147 *maški* (also MS L) for *mašak* (accusative, hardly plural), VIII 175 *patri* (MS R) for *patar* (certainly singular)

Of these only the first cited is genitive and thus a form exhibiting genuinely archaic morphology. Genitive construct *maḫri* appears in other Standard Babylonian texts, too.¹³ If they

¹⁰ For this feature as a hallmark of 'hymno-epic' style see W. von Soden, 'Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen', *ZA* 40 (1931), pp. 214–15, 225–6; also D. O. Edzard, 'Zu den akkadischen Nominalformen *parsat-*, *pirsat-* und *pursat-*', *ZA* 72 (1982), pp. 87–8, who postulates that the use of these and other variant forms of the noun may have been motivated by questions of rhythm.

¹¹ Cf. *ga-aš-ra-tū* instead of *gašeru* in a Standard Babylonian text that delights in ornate style (W. G. Lambert, 'The hymn to the Queen of Nippur', *Kraus AV*, p. 202, 26).

¹² e.g. *CT* 15 3, 7, ed. W. H. Ph. Römer, 'Studien zu den altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten', *HSAO* 1, p. 186: *i-pu-uh-ri ka-la i-li*; see further von Soden, *ZA* 40, p. 211.

¹³ For examples of genitive construct *maḫri* outside the epic see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB III 16. Note that the two words cited by Groneberg, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil* 2, p. 24, §3.3.1, as exhibiting irregular accusative construct states in *-CCi* both have other explanations: *iš-di* in *išdi kussēšu* (now Livingstone, *SAA* III 4 rev. ii 21) is dual and so regular, and the first half of *ep-ši piki* (*KAR* 122, 12) is not a noun in construct state but fem. sg. imperative *epši* (as interpreted in the new edn by Livingstone, *SAA* III 6, 12). The common Assyrian expression *ina bur-ki* DN (e.g. *SAA* III 3 obv. 13 and NA legal documents, *passim*) is again a regular dual genitive construct, *burki*.

are not mirages produced by late spelling practice,¹⁴ the others developed by analogy either with the archaic genitive construct or with nouns that regularly add *-i* after a consonant cluster in the construct state, like *šarri* and *tuppi*, *qīšti* and *tērti*.

The examples of words displaying extra vowels given in (i) and (ii) above can be set against the vast numbers of words where such vowels do not appear. Their use in the Standard Babylonian epic is only a very sporadic feature of the poem's language. Individual words can bear the imprint of literary style in other ways, too. Here again the study of the vocabulary employed in the epic is not separable from the study of Babylonian narrative poetry as a whole. Alongside the rare cases of interpolation and addition of anaptyctic vowels, Old and Middle Babylonian tablets of Gilgameš employ other features of 'hymno-epic' style to a varying degree. Instances of locative and terminative endings,¹⁵ construct state in *-u*,¹⁶ attached prepositions,¹⁷ apocopated pronominal suffixes¹⁸ and other archaic devices have already been noted as they occur, in the editions presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The late version of the text eschews most of these. Rare examples of high style are the few occurrences of apocopated suffixes, if not vernacular: SB I 283 [*attad*]*īš* (MS h) // *attadīšu* (MS B), VI 160 *kalīsun* (MS O), VI 167 *qāiṣun* (MSS AO), VIII 59 *pānuš* (MS e), X 250 *idabbubūš* (MS K), XI 13 *qerbuš* (MS j) // *qerbuššu* (MSS CW). The locative and terminative endings are entirely restricted to words functioning as adverbs and prepositions.¹⁹ Construct states in *-u* are occasional (e.g. SB II 227 (MSS Xkee) // 298 (MS ee) *šullumu erēni*) but may be orthographic rather than phonemic.²⁰ Instances when the prepositions *ina* and *ana* are written without *na* (i.e. *i-* and *a-*) are extremely infrequent in the late text and may be spelling errors.²¹

Literary style is often revealed in word order that deviates from basic prose.²² A prominent example of this is the removal of the verb from final position in its clause. Such a style

¹⁴ i.e. (C)VC-CV for (C)VCVC, *ib-ri* for *ibir*; for examples of such spellings in early NB see J. P. Hyatt, *The Treatment of Final Vowels in Early Neo-Babylonian* (YOR 23; New Haven, Conn., 1941), pp. 28–9, whose view was that in such circumstances a final CV-sign stood for C only.

¹⁵ OB II 109 *awliš*, II 149 *biriš*, III 239 *qāiṣunu*, OB Schøyen₂ 41 *la'miš*, OB Nippur obv. 1 *qīriš*, MB Boğ₁ a 7 *pāniššu*?

¹⁶ OB II 146 *alāhu mānaḫūka*, II 214 *rebūtu māni*, III 136 *šullumu [erēnim]*, III 140 *ēlū šam[ā]r*, III 145 *danānu qarrādūka*, OB Ishchali 7' [. . .]x-mu *ūka*, 30' *mašaru qīšim*, 34' *mašaru erēnim*, OB VA + BM i 1' *tīšānu* (unless for *tīšānu*) [. . .], i 11' *libbu eršetim*, i 12' *kalu šanāim*, i 15' *šarīru šamši*, ii 1', 3' *kalu maršāim*, ii 4' *šimatu awlūnim*, ii 11' *qabal-tu šēri*, iii 12 *šābitu qāitka*, iv 11 *wasā'u šamši*, MB Ur 55 *aṣabtu tur-tu-ri*, MB Emar₂ i 17' *mu'abbitu dūr abni*.

¹⁷ OB III 119 perhaps *aš-šādīša*, OB Harmal₁ 5 *iš-šasēšu*, OB Ishchali 17' *iq-qīšim* or *id-dīšim*.

¹⁸ In the Old Babylonian sources I note only OB Harmal₂ 37 *ikrubūš*.

¹⁹ SB I 117 *bīuššu*; SB III 19 *qāiṣun* (var. *qāiṣu*); SB IX 14 *muttiš* (if correctly restored); SB XI 13 *qerbuššu* (var. *qerbuš*). Note also Assyrian MS z i 26' *ana bīruššunu* // SB X 96 *ana bīrušunu*.

²⁰ On unambiguously redundant final vowels in the Kuyunjik manuscripts see the next section, sub (w).

²¹ SB I 83 *i-pu-uk-[ka]* (MS h), VII 103 *a-du-ru da-a-ri* (MS g). In first-millennium writing we are led always to expect *i-na* // *ina* and *a-na* // *ana*. This is not to say that the prepositions so written were not regularly attached to following nouns in recitation. The morpho-graphemic tendencies of Standard Babylonian orthography obscure our view of the true phonology, but exceptional spellings exhibiting assimilation, like SB X 78 *aš-ša-šu-ma* (LB MS b) for *aš-šāšūma* < *ana šāšūma*, suggest that the pronunciation of prepositions in Standard Babylonian texts of the first millennium did not match the old-fashioned way in which they were normally spelled. This was no doubt true of the pronunciation of Akkadian generally.

²² On word order in the poetic line of epic texts see Hecker, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 120–38; in the 'hymnic' literature see Groneberg, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil* 1, pp. 175–9.

is found outside poetry as well as inside, especially in the elevated prose favoured by the composers of many inscriptions of first-millennium kings, where the verb is regularly placed in penultimate position. Two less well-known features of literary word order are highly visible in Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh and its antecedents and deserve highlighting here. The first of these is the reversal of noun and adjective. Often this happens at the end of the poetic line. Consequently it can sometimes be argued that the order was changed to achieve the desired stress on the penultimate syllable. This is so in the following examples:

(iii) transposition of noun and adjective resulting in penultimate stress

OB II 107 *šū^uuram pagāršu*, SB I 199 *úllula pagāršu*, I 234 *hádidi'a amēla*, VI 75 *anná qabášu*, VII 93 *áqrati napīšūya*, VII 207 *anná amēla*, VIII 19 *életu Puráttu*, IX 54 *rūqata úrha*, probably also VIII 176 *életu Puráttu*; note also SB I 217 *qudduši mišab Anim Íštar* and VI 113 // 154 *anná qabā // qabē* (var. *qabī*) *Íštar*, where, however, reversal may be a device to avoid the adjective becoming separated from the noun it modifies. Another case may be SB I 29 *šanu'udu bēl gátū*, depending on which syllable of the adjective takes stress

However, there are also cases in Gilgamesh where there is no apparent metrical reason for such reversal:

(iv) transposition of noun and adjective resulting in no change in stress pattern

OB Schøyen₂ 40 *šuppūtum ibteli išātu*, MB Emar₁ iii 5'–6' *kamrāti [nišī]*, SB IV 105 *nebūtu ibteli išātu*, VI 131 *kamrāti nišī*, VII 197 *kašūti* (var. *kašāti*) *ittaqqū mē nādāti*, X 300 *ruqūti tuqarrab ūmīka*, XI 256 *ṭābu šupu* (var. *lū šapu*) *zumúršu // 265 ṭābu iššapi zumúršu*

More commonly one finds adjectives preceding nouns away from the ends of lines:

(v) transposition of nouns and adjectives away from the ends of poetic lines:

OB III 270 *kašūtīm mē*, OB Harmal₂ 18 *šihūim iššī*, SB I 30 *qardu lillid Uruk*, I 37 *šihū Gilgāmeš*, I 214 etc. *mūdū libbašu*, I 268 // 291 *dannu tappū*, II 176 *uššurtu pēretu*, V 8 *ṭābu šillašu*,²³ VII 138 *damqu Gilgāmeš*, VII 149 *agga libbašu*, VII 150 *ezza [libbašu]*, VIII 89 *šamhāti nišī*, X 307 *aggu mūtum*

In these cases (iv–v), where—in our present knowledge of Babylonian metrics—metrical justification for the reversal of the normal order is lacking, the transposition of noun and adjective can be presumed to have a semantic function, namely to place emphasis on the adjective. Such a nuance may also be present in some or all of the examples collected under (iii).

A further example of literary style visible in unusual word order is the separation of a noun and its attribute by the predicate or, when the noun is the object, by the governing verb. Often this feature is combined with a reversal of noun and adjective, especially in later texts (see iv). A well-known example is *šulušūta išām enza*, 'he bought a three-year-old goat',

²³ Alternatively this is a stative, *ta-a-bu* for *ṭāb*, and irrelevant here; see below, the section on Spelling conventions, sub (g).

in the tale of the Poor Man of Nippur,²⁴ where the order is adjective-verb-object. Another good instance is a line that occurs in a Standard Babylonian poem relating the creation of the king: *ṭābi ubbiḥi gimir lānišu*,²⁵ 'gird the whole of his figure fair', where an imperative verb and a regens (underlined) intrude between the adjective *ṭābu* and *lānu*, the noun it modifies. Gilgamesh is quite rich in examples, particularly the Standard Babylonian version. Intruding words are underlined:

(vi) intrusion of verb between noun and modifying adjective

OB III 165 *pāsi išpukū rabūtīm*, III 167 *patri išpukū rabūtīm*, OB Schøyen₂ 40 *šuppūtum ibteli išātu*, MB Nippur₁ 1 [Aruru I] *issū rabī [tam]*, 5 [Aruru *iss*] *ū aḥatam*, SB I 94 *Aruru issū rabūtu*, I 273 *šanūtu ūamar šunatu* (MS h), IV 105 *nebūtu ibteli išātu*, VII 197 *kašūti ittaqqū mē nādāti*, var. *kašāti ittaqqū mē nādāti*, VIII 34 *šamma tap-pa-šiš muḥḥaka ṭāba*, X 300 *ruqūti tuqarrab ūmīka*, XI 225 // 237 *ištāt šābulat kurummassu // kurummaika*, XI 227 // 239 *rebūtu ipṭesi kamānšu // kamānka*, XI 256 *ṭābu šupu* (var. *lū šapu*) *zumúršu // 265 ṭābu iššapi zumúršu*

Elsewhere we find instances of the intrusion of a word or words between a noun and a noun or phrase that qualifies it in apposition:

(vii) separation of noun from noun or phrase in apposition, from adjectival clause or from complement

OB II 96–8 *akul aklam Enkīdu simat balātim, šikaram šiti šimti māti*, II 234–7 *ummaka ūlīdka rīmtum ša supūri Ninsunna*, OB III 169 *šiprū šalāšā manā ša aḥšina*, OB III 271 *ilka taḥassas Lugalbanda*, OB Harmal₁ 10 *ilum ibri ša nellakūsum*, OB VA + BM i 3' *būrātīm Gilgāmeš ša lā ibšī'ā matīma*, iv 22 *šū abnīmma Gilgāmeš mušēbirūya*, SB I 1 *ša naqba* (var. *naqbī*) *imuru išdī māti*, I 103 *Enkīdu ibtani qurādu*, II 114 *ina sūqi ittegrū ribū māti*, VI 52 *sebe u sebe taḥarrīšu* (var. *tu[ḥarrīšu]*) *šuttāti* (MSS Qa), VI 153 *Gilgām[eš alā i] ddūk ša utappilanni* (MSS Q^a), VII 136 *ša . . . kurunna išqūka simat šarrūti*, IX 56 *[nārāti tētebbir]a ša ebēšina pašqu*, X 102–3 *šū abni ipṭehū eleppa / ša lā ēdurū mē mūte*, XI 299 *šibu iššahir amēlu*, XI 303 *būra Gilgāmeš ša kašū mūša*

As the epic passed through its various versions the text was susceptible to the influence of the prevalent vernacular dialects. In this way, an early Middle Babylonian fragment from Boğazköy may include an Assyrianism, the tablet from Ur exhibits several Middle Babylonian features, the tablets from Emar include some linguistic features typical of texts in western copies, and the early Neo-Assyrian tablets show the marked influence of Assyrian dialect. These instances of dialect have been noted in the respective introductions and notes. The Standard Babylonian epic is not free from similar intrusion but non-Standard Babylonian words are comparatively rare, nevertheless. Few Middle Babylonian forms are visible, among them *lušešmidka* in SB VI 10 (MS O only), *undennā* < *umtannā* in SB VI 85

²⁴ STT 38 i 15, ed. O. R. Gurney, 'The Sultantepe tablets V: the tale of the Poor Man of Nippur', *AnSt* 6 (1956), p. 150.

²⁵ VAS XXIV 92, 34', ed. Werner R. Mayer, 'Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs', *OrNS* 56 (1987), p. 56.

and *tattannaššu* < *tattadnaššu* in SB XI 273. Middle Babylonian and Assyrian dialect forms have been noted for the early Neo-Assyrian manuscripts edited in Chapter 7. In the Kuyunjik tablets the number of truly Assyrian dialect forms is very small. Examples are:

(viii) Assyrian dialect forms

SB II 62 *nāqissanu* (MS X) for Standard Babylonian *nāqissunu*, II 111 *ipterik* (MS X) for *iptarik*, II 180 *ēnāšu* (also MS X) for *īnāšu*, VI 155 *išli* (MS O) for *iddi*, VII 160 *lušēribki* (MS L) for *lišēribki*. Note also the mixed form VII 153 *lir'amūki* (MS L) for SB *lirāmūki*, NA *lir'umūki*

MS X is a type D manuscript, which one must bear in mind as perhaps holding an older recension of the text more prone to Assyrian influence, but MSS L and O are type A manuscripts and the latter was certainly written for Aššurbanipal. In MS a, from Aššur, intrusions of Assyrian are more frequent: SB VI 18 *lūlidā* for Standard Babylonian *lūlidā*, VI 96 *taddana* for *tanaddina*, VI 113 *qabā* for *qabē*, perhaps also VI 155 *išlu'* for *išluḥ*. Mixed forms also occur in MS a: VI 104 *lupahḥir* is Assyrian for *lipahḥir*, but should be feminine, *lū tupahḥir*; VI 124 *ittaquṭ* is neither Standard Babylonian *imtaquṭ* nor Assyrian *ituquṭ*. The prevalence of Assyrianisms in MS a is no surprise, for a greater intrusion of Assyrian dialect is expected in Babylonian literary tablets copied in Aššur. The same tablet includes two non-Standard Babylonian forms which are not obviously Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian: SB VI 68 *nākul* for *nīkul*, VI 69 *ḥurdātna* for *ḥurdatni*.²⁶

Assyrianized spelling is commoner at Kuyunjik than fully Assyrian dialect forms. The commonest manifestation of it is in the use of the prefix *z-* with verbs *primae* aleph:

(ix) I' third/first person singular conjugation prefix in *z-*²⁷

SB IV 98 *e-ti-iq* (MS Y) for Standard Babylonian *ītiq*, IV 213 *e-tal-du* (MS S) for *ittaldū*, V 6 *e-ma-ru* (MS H) for *immarrū* (true Assyrian *emmurū*), X 15–16 *e-mur-šu-ma . . . e-te-dil . . . e-te-dil-ma e-te-la-a* (MS K) for *ūmuršūma . . . ūedil . . . ūedilma ūelā* (all fem.), X 145 *e-te-[mi]* (MS K) for *īemi*, XI 223 *e-pi* (MS J) for *īpi*, XI 314 *e-te-[pu-uš]* (MSW) for *ītepuš*, XII 37a *e-tar-ru* (MS G) for *ūarrū*, XII 63 *e-pu-ul* (MS G) for *īpul*, XII 97 *e-kal* (MS G) for *ikkal*

MSS S and H are type D manuscripts. Note also, in Neo-Assyrian tablets from other centres, SB VI 5 *e-te-pir-am-ma* (MS a, Aššur) for Standard Babylonian *ūtepramma*, VII 61 *e-la-a* (MS f, Sultantepe) for *illā*. However, the prefix *z-* also occurs in Late Babylonian manuscripts, e.g. SB XI 314 *e-te-pu-uš* (MS j), and consequently is not always diagnostic of Assyrian influence. In so far as they can be identified, cases of nominal declension in *-e* rather than *-i* are infrequent in the Kuyunjik manuscripts.²⁸ In Tablet I, a fair representative of the poem, I note only SB I 163 *maš-qé-e* (MS F) instead of *maš-qi-i* (MS P), 169 *u₄-me* (MS P, a common spelling in Babylonia and hardly diagnostic of Assyrian morphology),

²⁶ This may be country dialect; see Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc.

²⁷ For examples of this prefix in early NA manuscripts of the epic see the introduction to Ch. 7, sub (e).

²⁸ For these in the older Assyrian manuscripts see the introduction to Ch. 7, sub (f).

192 *sin-miš-te* (MS B) instead of *sin-miš-ti* (MS P), 244 *šu-na-te-ka* (MS B; MS P: *šu-na-tu-ka*), 256 *āš-šā-te* (MS P), 284 and 289 *āš-šā-te* (MS B).

A certain case of Neo-Babylonian dialect intruding into a Kuyunjik manuscript is SB XI 115 *itteḥsū* (MS J) instead of *ittaḥsū* (MS T); SB III 15 *nillik* (MS BB) for cohortative *i millik* is also Neo-Babylonian, unless the result of a spelling error. Turning to the Late Babylonian manuscripts, one finds scant evidence of contemporaneous dialect. An unambiguous example of Late Babylonian morphology is SB I 276 *ummā* (Ms h) for Standard Babylonian *ummī*, I 295 the same (MS o). Spellings sometimes reflect well-known changes in phonology, for example SB II 271 *liš-taš-ša-nu* (MS bb) instead of earlier *lirtaššanū*, in SB III 34 MS c retains the old form, *li-ir-ta-aš-ši-nu*.

Though dialect forms are relatively few in number, the fact that they are present at all suggests that individual editors and copyists brought to the text of the epic local pronunciations. Because the conventional spelling of Standard Babylonian is more exactly morphographic than truly phonetic, the written poem prevents us from knowing exactly how geography affected the pronunciation of the text. The same is true of time. We can be sure that the way the ancients spoke the text changed over the centuries. Some indication of the pronunciation of literary Babylonian at the end of the cuneiform tradition can be had from the Greek transcriptions of the Parthian period.²⁹ Occasional deviant spellings in Late Babylonian manuscripts that reflect the phonology of Akkadian observed in the corpus of Graeco-Babyloniaca—for example, *tu-ú-ru* for *tumru* in SBV 104 (MS dd) and *ka-la-a* for *kalāma* in SB I 286–7 (MS h)—remind us that the conventional orthography of Standard Babylonian texts reports an antiquated form of the language that by the late first millennium BC was no longer current.

SPELLING CONVENTIONS IN THE KUYUNJIK MANUSCRIPTS

Tablets from the seventh-century libraries of Aššurbanipal uncovered in the buildings of Kuyunjik, the citadel mound of Nineveh, are generally considered to be the most reliable witnesses to texts of the Babylonian scribal tradition as it stood in the first millennium BC. Accordingly, the reader of a text like the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic will place more weight on the evidence provided by Kuyunjik manuscripts than by those from other Assyrian cities of the same period and those from Babylonia of the later first millennium. That being so, it is necessary to understand the orthography of these tablets.

Scribes of the Kuyunjik tablets adhere by and large to common practice in using cuneiform. There are, however, places where words are spelled unconventionally or without apparent regard for traditional morphology. Since it is important for the reader of these

²⁹ See most recently M. J. Geller, 'The last wedge', *ZA* 87 (1997), pp. 64–85.

tablets to be aware of the possibilities of interpretation inherent in a given sequence of signs, especially where the text is damaged, I have assembled evidence for spellings on Kuyunjik manuscripts of the epic that seem to me express words and syllables in ways that deviate from the predictable orthography of Standard Babylonian literary texts at this period. Many of these practices were a feature of Neo-Assyrian orthography generally, and consequently have already been noted in the introduction to Chapter 7.

- (a) CV for VC³⁰
SB I 121 *ru-qu-ti* (MS P) for *rūqti*, VI 163 *ta-ḥa-ba-tu-ši-na* (MS A) for *taḥbātūšina*, VI 158 *ke-ze-re-e-ti* (MS O) for *kezrēti*; for such signs in final position see below, under (w)
- (b) CVC-CV or CV-VC-CV for CVCV³¹
SB I 220 *lu-ug-ri-šum-ma* (MSS BP) for *lugrīšū-ma*,³² III 11 [*pu-uh-r*] *i-in-ni-ma* (MS BB) for *pulprīnīma*, VII 1 *mi-in-na-ma* (MS Q) for *mīnāma* (or *mīnamma*), XI 6 *na-da-at-ta* (MSW) for *naḏāta*, XI 69 *nī-iq-qu* for *nīqu*, XI 123 *a-na-ku-um-ma* (MSS JT) for *anākū-ma*, XI 197 *ú-šab-ri-šum-ma* (MSS CJ) for *ušabrīšū-ma*, XI 202 *bi-ri-in-ni* (MSS CJ) for *bīrīni*,³² XI 220 *a-me-lut-tu* (MS J), if not phonemic. Note also VII 87 *ul-ši-ed-du-u* (MS f, Sultantepe) probably for *ulīēdū*
- (c) CVC for CV₁CV₂, where V₂ = case vowel or other suffixed final vowel³³
SB II 185 *a-mat* (MS X) for *amāta*, III 16, 21 *šar-rat* (MS BB) for *šarrati*, III 54 *ú-ḥal-laq* (MS BB) subjunctive, III 46 *ša-lil* (MS BB) for *šāhila*, III 56 *kal-lat* (MS BB) for *kallatu*, XI 107 *da-²-um-mat* (restored) for genitive
- (d) VC-CV for VC+V at the morpheme boundary³⁴
SB V 1 *i-na-pa-at-tu* (MS H) for *inappat+ū*, XI 88 *ú-šá-az-na-an-nu* (MS J) for *ušaznan+u*
- (e) CVC-CV for CVC+V at the morpheme boundary³⁵
SB I 160 [*i-na*] *m-din-na-an-[ni]* (MS P) for *inamdīn+anni*, I 194, 216 *šam-ḥat-ta* (MS P), III 12 *ta-pa-qid-da-na-ši* (MS M). Note also VI 58 *na-qid-da* (MS a, Aššur)
- (f) CVC for CCV³⁶ or CC
SB II 163 [*ki*] *šir* (MS X) for *kišri*, VI 5 *i-te-pir-am-ma* (MS O) for *ūtepramma*, VI 46 *tal-te-bir* (MS Q, also MS a from Aššur) for *taltebrī*, VII 170 *šu-pur-a-šú* (MS L) for *šuprāšū*, VIII 50 *ta-rid* (MS R) for *ṭardu*; note also VI 5 *e-te-pir-am-ma* (MS a, Aššur) for *ūtepramma*

The following practices not already observed in Chapter 7 occur in the Kuyunjik Gilgameš tablets:

³⁰ Cf. the introduction to Ch. 7, sub (k).

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, sub (o).

³² For an alternative, morphological explanation see Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc.

³³ Cf. the introduction to Ch. 7, sub (m) and (n).

³⁴ On consonants spelled double at the morpheme boundary see further Ch. 13, the commentary on SBV 1.

³⁵ Cf. the introduction to Ch. 7, sub (s).

³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, sub (p); the opposite usage, C-CV for CVC, could be seen in spellings like *maḥ-ri* for *maḥar*, but a morphological explanation is thought more probable: see above, the preceding section, sub (ii).

- (g) CV-CV or CV-V-CV for CVC or CVC in *Auslaut*
SB I 160 [*e-pe-š*] *i* (MS F) for *epēš*, I 173 *i-DI-BU* (MS F) for *i-DIB* (MS P) = *iḫb* or *iḫb!*?³⁷ II 164 *ši-i-ḫu* (MS X) for *ših*, III 17 *mu-da-ti* (MS BB) for *mūdāt*, V 8 *ta-a-bu* (MS H) for *tāb*,³⁸ VI 44 *mi-na-i]a* (MS A) for *mināt* (or CV for VC), VII 163 *it-ta-lu* (MS L) for *itāt*, VII 254 *u₄-mu* (MS L) for *ūm*, XI 217 *ḥar-ra-ni* (MS J) for *ḥarrān*, XI 324 *ḫi-i-ti-ma* (MS C) for *ḫī + ma*, XII 21 *ta-še-ni* (MS G) for *tašēn*, XII 30 *pu-ri* (MS N) for *pūr* (cf. XII 50 *pu-ur*), XII 146 *mu-ti* (MS N) for *mūt*; note also XII 102 *ta-mu-ru* (MS U) // 108 // 110 // 113 (MS KK), where the spelling probably signifies a stressed final syllable CVC in an interrogative clause, *tāmūr*
- (h) V-CV for VC
SB II 180 *i-mi-la-a* (MS X) for *imlā*

These types of spelling can be illustrated to a greater or lesser extent by reference to spelling practice in the first millennium and appear to be conventional, even if comparatively uncommon in copies of texts from the scribal tradition. Alongside them are the anarchic spellings of final vowels that are wrong by the standards of earlier grammar. Such spellings are found in almost all late tablets. They arose against a background of (a) consonantal writing in Aramaic script, where vowel quality was not usually noted, and (b) the shedding of inflected endings in spoken language. Both developments meant that final vowels in Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform came to be more and more erratically written. This process was already well entrenched in the seventh century.

For the most part the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš employ inflected endings that are correct by the standards of second-millennium or early first-millennium grammar. The noun declines triptotically or diptotically in the singular (Middle Babylonian *-u*, *-a*, *-i* or Neo-Babylonian *-u*, *-u*, *-i*) and diptotically or not at all in the plural (MB *-u*, *-i*, *-i* or NB *-i*, *-i*, *-i*). The verbal endings and other vowels in *Auslaut* usually appear as expected. However, there are more than a few exceptions. The following examples warn us not to place too much faith in the writing of case endings and other final vowels even in the best first-millennium manuscripts.

- (i) *-i* or *-e* for nominative or accusative singular
SB I 7 *ka-ti-im-t[i]* (MS B, also LB MS d), I 109 *lu-bu-uš-ti* (MS P), I 115 *u₄-me* (MS P), I 167 *ša-a-di* (MS P), I 167 *ḥa-rim-ti* (MS P), I 173 *nam-maš-š(e)-e* (MS P), I 205 *ḥa-rim-ti* (MS P, if correctly restored), III 9, 224 *ib-ri* (MS BB), III 46 *lib-bi* (MSS MBB), VII 101 *ḥa-rim-ti* (MS E), VII 134 *ḥa-rim-i]* (MS L), VII 137 *lu-ub-ši* (MS L), VII 188 *ti-iḫ-ti* (MS Z), VIII 3 *ša-bi-ti* (MSS RV), VIII 50–1 *ku-da-ni* (MS R), VIII 59 *ib-ri* (MS R), IX 45 *utu-ši-ma* (MS D), X 259 *nim-ri* (MS K), X 313 *ku-lī-li* (MS K), XI 10 *pi-riš-ti* (MSW), XI 154 *a-ri-bi* (MS J), XI 155 *a-ri-bi-ma* (MS J), XI 175 *na-piš-ti* (MS J), XI 307 *qu-lip-ti* (MS T), XII 8 *mi-ik-ke-e* (MS N), XII 52–4 etc. *ki-tim* (MS G). Note also VI 11 *el-me-še* (MS a, Aššur)

³⁷ But cf. 177 *i-De-pi* (LB MS x) for *i-DIB*, and further, Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 112 // 177.

³⁸ If not for the adjective *tābu*; see Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc.

- (j) *-a* for nominative or genitive singular
 SB I 163 *bu-lam* (MS B), II 115 *i-ga-ra* (MS X), III 34 [*ni-gu*]-*ta* (MS BB), IV 22, 100 *šu-ut-ta* (MSY), VI 38 ^{kuš}*na-a-da* (MS Q), VI 47 *šat-ta* (MS Q), VI 78 *mi-iḫ-ḫa* (MS A), VI 171 *mu-tāp-pi-la* (MS O), VII 149–50 *ag-ga* and *ez-za* (MS L) probably nominative (lines incomplete), IX 159 // 162 // 166 *pa-la-sa* (MS D), IX 174 *da-ga-la* (MS D), X 97 [*rig*]-*ma* (MS K), X 117 *šar-ba* (MS K), XI 147 7-*a* *u₄-ma* (MSS CJ), XI 207 *man-na* (MS C), XII 18 *til-pa-na* (MS G)
- (k) *-u* for genitive singular
 SB I 66 *pu-uk-ku* (MS F), I 134 *ša-a-a-du* (MS P), I 248 *ki-iš-ru* (MS B), II 114 *ma-a-tu* (MS X), III 21 [*šar-r*]-*a-tum* (MS M), IV 201 *ri-i-mu* (MS AA), IV 240 *li-li-su* (MS AA), VI 17 *ma-a-tu* (MS Q), VI 23 *ru-bu-tú* (MS Q), VI 33 *šu-ri-pu* (MS A) probably, VI 116 [*ma-tu*]*m?*, VI 161 *um-ma-nu* (MS A), VII 168 [*eḫ*]-*lu* (MS L), VII 173 *a-mu* (MS L), VII 203 *ki^{um}* (MS Z), VIII 215 ^{ēis}*e-lam-ma-kum* (MS R), X 255 *da-la-pu* (MS K), XI 5 *tu-qu-un-tú* (MS W), XI 14 *a-bu-bu* (MS W), XI 86 *um-ma-nu* (MS W), XI 130 *ka-šá-a-du* (MS C), XI 182 *qu-ra-du* (MS J), XI 294 *ma-la-ḫu* (MS C), XI 305 *šam-mu* (MST), XII 18 *til-pa-nu* (MS N), XII 144 *tár-kul-lu* (MS N); note also VI 140 *nap-la-ku* (MS a, Aššur)
- (l) *-a* in plural
 SB III 10 [*hi-r*]-*a-a-ta* (MS BB), V 75 *taš-ka-a-ta* (MS H), VI 160 *um-ma-na* (MS A) for *ummânî*, VII 143 [*ma-al-k*]-*a* (MS L), XI 289, 292 *kab-tu-ta* (MS C)
- (m) *-u* for accusative or genitive plural
 SB I 222 *ši-ma-tú* (MS B, if correctly read and not for *šimatu*), I 231 *ri-šá-tum* (MS B), III 51 *u₄-mu* (MSS MBB), III 225 *ḫi-ra-a-tum* (MS BB), V 54 *ta-ka-la-a-tu* (MS H), VI 12 *ku-da-nu* (MSS AQ), X 253 *ta-ma-a-tum* (MS K), X 300 *ru-qu-tu* (MS K), XI 35 *ši-bu-tum* (MS W), XI 86 *um-ma-nu* (MS W), XI 167 *an-nu-tum* (MS C, also MS c, Aššur), XI 179 *a-ma-tu* (MS J), XII 51 *e-[la-t]ú?* (MS G)
- (n) wrong vowel on construct state
 SB II 165 (MS X), XII 28 (MS N), XII 48 (MS G) *um-mu* for *ummi*
- (o) wrong case vowels before pronominal suffixes
 SB I 244 *šu-na-tu-ka* (MS P), I 181 *di-da-šá* (MSS BF), VII 78 *i-lu-ka* (MS Z, also MS f, Sultantepe) for *ilka* or *ilka*, IX 46 *pa-ni-šu* (MS D) for *pānīšu* or *pānīšu* (analysis disputable)
- (p) confusion of masculine and feminine pronominal suffixes
 SB I 181 *ur-ka* (MS F) for *urki*, I 191 *eli-šú* (MS P) for *eliša*, III 45 *i-di-šú* (MSS MBB) for *idīša*, VI 11 *ma-gar-ru-šú* (MS O) for *magarrūša*, VII 101 *lib-b*-*a-šá* (MS Z) for *lib-bašu*, XI 62 *aptaras-su* (MS J) for *aptarassu*, XI 63 *qer-bi-is-sú* (MSS CW) for *qerbīssa*, XI 80 *ši-ni-pat-su* (MSS CJT) probably for *šinpāssa*, XI 164 *ka-šá-di-šú* (MS J) for *kašādīša*
- (q) confusion of nominal and verbal series of pronouns
 SB XI 60 *la-an-ši* (MS W) for *lānša*; note also VI 11 *qar-na-ši* (MS a, Aššur) for *qarnāša*
- (r) other wrong final vowel on pronominal suffix
 XI 38 *a-qab-ba-āš-šu-nu-tu* (MS W) for *-šunūti*

- (s) wrong vowel in inflected verbal ending
 SB VI 170 *paḫ-ru, i-dag-ga-lu* (MS O) for 3.f.pl. *-ā*, VI 180 *šal-li* (MS O) for *šallū*, XI 126 *āš-bi* (MS J) for *ašbū*
- (t) wrong stem vowel in finally weak verbs, etc.
 SB I 201 *um-ta-aṭ-ṭu* (MS F) for *umtaṭṭi*, VII 97 *muṭ-ṭu* (MS Z) for *muṭṭi*, XI 133 *ik-lu* (MS C) for *ikla*, XI 174 *im-ta-li* (MS J) for *imtalā*; note also I 47 *na-bu* (MS g, Aššur) for *nabi*, XI 175 *ú-su* (MS c, Aššur) for *ūši*

Some Kuyunjik scribes did not balk at mixing old and late accusative endings, even in adjacent words:

- (u) mixed case endings
 SB III 24 *ur-ḫu ru-qa-ta* (MS BB) for *urḫa rūqata* or *urḫu rūqatu*, V 77 [*lab-b*]-*a dan-nu* (MS H), VIII 8 *mu-šú ur-ra* (MS V), X 241 *ur-ḫa ru-qa-tu* (MS K), X 302 *ardata^{ta} da-me-eq-tum* (MS K), XI 144–6 2-*a u₄-mu* . . . *šal-šá u₄-mu re-ba-a u₄-mu* . . . 5-šú 6-šá (MS J).

The shift from *-a* to *-u* in the accusative of the singular noun had ramifications for other final vowels of the same quality, which could shift to *-u* by analogy. The clearest examples of this shift are the use of the pronominal suffixes *-šu* for feminine *-ša* (see above, under (p)) and *-ku* for *-ka*,³⁹ the spelling *-mu* for the enclitic *-ma*,⁴⁰ and the appearance of ventives in *-u*. This last development is not rare in Late Babylonian copies but it is uncommon at Kuyunjik:

- (v) ventives in *-u*
 SB I 244 *i-na-ta-lu* (MS P), VI 133 [*a*]-*lamma^{du}* (MS Q), perhaps X 89 *lūmuru* (MS K), XI 79 *nittabbalu* (MSS JTW), XI 88 *ú-šá-az-na-an-nu* (MS J) // XI 91 *ušaznana* (MS J) // *izannanu* (MS W), XI 106 *ibā'u* (MSS CJ), XI 107 *utterru* (MSS CJ), XI 111 *ú-ba-'ú* (MS J, for *ibā'u*), XI 244 *uṣ-šab-bi-tu₄* (MS C; MS J: *-i*)-*a*; note also VI 95 *lunirru* (MS a, Aššur), perhaps VI 100 *ušam'adu* (also MS a)

Redundant final vowels are rare in the Assyrian copies of Gilgameš. I have assumed that the several examples of final *-u* on nouns in the construct state that would normally end in a consonant are a legacy of Old Babylonian literary style (among the Gilgameš tablets see above, fn. 16). Though some of them may owe their presence to less ancient habits, nevertheless they all go uncollected. In the first millennium final syllables that in traditional grammar are long and closed are often written with a redundant final vowel, CV-CV, as in *i-ma-ti* for *imāt*, *ṭa-a-bi* for *ṭāb*,⁴¹ examples in Kuyunjik Gilgameš tablets have already been collected above under (g). Other instances where a final sign may stand for a consonant alone are:

³⁹ An example in this book is SB XI 5 [*gám-m*]-*u[r]*-*ku* (MS W) for *gu-um-mur-ka* (MSS CJ).

⁴⁰ For examples in this book see SB I 203 *itāram-mu* (MS F), SB X 81 *qurādum-mu* (MS K) and further *AHw*, p. 664.

⁴¹ This is particularly true of middle weak verbs in the present; see N. Woodington, 'A Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian Letters of the Kuyunjik Collection', PhD dissertation, Yale, 1982 (xerox Ann Arbor, Mich., 1983), pp. 132–3.

(w) CV for C

SB VI 46 *ḫa-mi-ri* (MS A), VI 133 [*a*]-*lam-ma-du* (MS Q), VII 162 *mar-ša-tu* (MS L), VII 165 *šu-na-ta* (MS L), VII 167 *az-za-zi* (MS L), X 89 *li-mu-ru* (MS K), XI 223 *iš-tak-ka-ni* (MS C); note also VI 46 *ḫa-me-ri*, VI 100 *ú-šam-[a-d]u*, VI 159 *iš-ku-nu* (all MS a, Aššur)

There are other explanations possible for some of these extra vowels, morphological and orthographic: archaic genitive construct in *-i*, ventive *-u* (see above, under v), use of CV signs to express VC (see above, under (a)), etc. The opposite spelling feature is the omission of final vowels where such are expected. Outside words that terminate in a CVC-sign (see above, under (c)), this is very rare in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš:

(x) loss of final vowel

SB X 73 *ḫar-ra-an* (MS K) for nominative, XI 68 *su-us-su-ul* (MS W) for genitive

Other odd Kuyunjik orthographies can be mentioned here: SB I 259 *EN-ša* (MS P) for *mārīša* not *bēlīša* (confusion with Aramaic: see Chapter 13 ad loc.), SB VII 158 *nid-din-ki* (MS L) for *nidin-ki* (CVC-C for CV-C but not at the morpheme boundary), VIII 212 *zik-ru* (MS R) perhaps for *sekēru* (CVC for CVCV?), IX 37 *še-mu-šu* (MS D) for *šumšu* (CV₁ for CV₂), XI 167 *am-si* (MS W) for *amši*, XI 89 *iš-ta-an-na-lu* (MS G) for *ištanallū*.

The preceding paragraphs demonstrate that manuscripts of Standard Babylonian literature from Aššurbanipal's libraries are not always the paragons of spelling practice they are held to be. At the same time it should be noted that the number of what may be called non-traditional spellings is proportionately small. The Kuyunjik tablets are overwhelmingly written in conventional Standard Babylonian orthography. Predictably, all the non-traditional spelling practices observed as noteworthy at Nineveh are much more widespread in the Late Babylonian manuscripts, where old-fashioned spelling is less dominant; consequently I have not thought it instructive to document them in the same way.

Further work needs to be done on the different spelling practices (not to mention scripts) employed by the same scribes when tackling different tasks. In the first millennium, texts like Gilgameš were normally written in preponderantly Middle Babylonian spelling. The same is true for formal inscriptions of the Sargonid period, for they emulated the old literature in style. By contrast, many Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions harked back to remote antiquity and coined an extraordinary pseudo-archaic spelling and script. More ephemeral and practical documents of the period, such as letters, legal documents and administrative memoranda, were written in modern language and the spelling they displayed was likewise modern. Some late spelling practices reflected more faithfully the phonology of Late Babylonian, others developed by analogy with the alphabetic spelling of contemporaneous Aramaic. What is seen here, in this section on spelling at Nineveh, is the intrusion of first-millennium spelling practice into an old and conventionally written text of the scribal tradition.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The composite text given in Chapter 11 is a *variorum* edition in the traditional Assyriological style. Since the plates contain the cuneiform text in all its witnesses, the full contribution and extent of each different manuscript is readily at hand.⁴² The distribution of textual variants by manuscript is noted in translation, as well as in transliteration, so that those who do not read cuneiform script can nevertheless control the different traditions. The transliteration is necessarily eclectic, bringing together in a single reconstruction the readings of very different manuscripts. In much of the Standard Babylonian epic the choice of extant manuscripts for any given line of text is very limited. By consequence poor or atypical spellings often find their way into the eclectic transliteration in the absence of better readings, as do some corruptions. In fragmentary passages some words are necessarily hybrid, combining the evidence of different manuscripts. Where multiple manuscripts offer the editor a choice of spellings, those that are more complete or more familiar have been selected. Where variants occur, I have favoured one over the other for reasons that are mostly subjective. As is normally the case in Assyriology, the result is an idealized, hybrid text. The epic presented in Chapter 11 is essentially a modern construct built from ancient evidence, not the authentic text of the Standard Babylonian epic at one single moment in its transmission.⁴³ Given the fragmentary nature of the sources, their paucity, and their different provenances and dates, it would be unrealistic to make any claim of true authenticity, and until the unlikely day when a complete set of twelve undamaged tablets becomes available, it always will be.

⁴² It is planned to place a synoptic ('score') transliteration of the SB manuscripts on an internet site in the near future.

⁴³ For the 'constructed' nature of ancient literary texts in modern editions see Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry*, pp. 33–8.

10

Synopsis and Exegesis of the Standard Babylonian Epic

TABLET I

The epic opens with a prologue that introduces the hero, sums up his achievements and invites the audience to picture themselves on the ancient walls of Uruk, where they will discover a stone tablet and read for themselves the trials of Gilgameš (ll. 1–30). The discovery of new text (MS d₁) reveals that the prologue begins with a repeated couplet invoking the hero as a man of extraordinary wisdom (1–4). This theme is implicit in the famous incipit itself, *ša naqbaḫi imuru*. The word *naqbu* has two meanings, (a) ‘totality’ and (b) the deep body of underground water believed to supply springs and wells, that is, the cosmic realm of Ea better known as the Apsû. The root is seen in the rare verb *naqābu*, an equivalence of Sumerian *būru*, ‘to be deep’.¹ On this evidence meaning (b) of *naqbu* is primary; meaning (a) arose through idiomatic expression in which the ‘depth’ of something meant the totality of it.

The translator is left in a quandary as to which meaning of *naqbu* to choose, for while Gilgameš certainly saw more than any other human being and thus saw ‘all’, he also had a brief experience of Ea’s domain in retrieving the magic plant of rejuvenation (SB XI 290). The independent usage and the ostensibly plural variant sit more easily with (b) than (a), as does the spelling with Sumerian *idim* in one colophon.² While no single consideration tips the balance decisively, the accumulated weight of evidence leans in favour of (b). It remains possible that we are expected to understand *naqbu* in both its literal meanings, ‘all’ and the ‘Deep’ (or ‘Deeps’), but the line becomes more pregnant with meaning if the word is under-

¹ MSL XIV, p. 282, Aa II/4 101: bu^ubūru = na-qa-bu.

² For a philological argument that the word must refer to the subterranean water only, since it is not found with the meaning ‘all’ in independent use, see J. Silva Castillo, ‘Nagbu: totality or abyss in the first verse of Gilgameš’, *Iraq* 60 (1998), pp. 219–21. However, in this case usage may be misleading, for *naqbu* is a comparatively rare word. More common synonyms such as *gabbu*, *kullatu* and *napharu* are mainly used to qualify nouns but can also appear independently. A coinage such as the personal name *Gabbu-āmur*, ‘I saw all’, is rare, but might afford a nice parallel with the epic’s incipit. The plural *naq-bi* occurs in the colophons of MSS A, O and a (all Tablet VI), C (Tablet XI) and G (Tablet XII). The Sumerian *idim* is used by MS o (Tablet I, LB).

stood as symbolizing profound wisdom. In acquiring from Ea’s protégé, Ūta-napišti, the knowledge for which he was celebrated, Gilgameš was initiated into Ea’s realm, the source of all wisdom. The connection between the acquisition of wisdom and Ea’s cosmic domain is found elsewhere in the epic, when, in her address to Šamaš, Ninsun asks rhetorically, ‘will Gilgameš not become wise with Ea of the Apsû?’ (SB III 104).

The phrase that concludes the incipit, *išdī māti*, ‘the foundation, basis of the country’, also seems to be metaphorical. As noted in the commentary (Chapter 13, ad loc.), it more easily qualifies *naqbu* than Gilgameš. As such it might be understood to have a literal, cosmological reference, for the realm of men was believed to stand on top of the cosmic abode of Ea. However, there is an objection, for *mātu* is not in cosmology a synonym of *eršetu*, ‘earth’. The word usually signifies the land as a collection of people (‘nation’) and nowhere clearly means ‘earth’ as a concrete object. The implication of the phrase *išdī māti* in relation to *naqbu* would thus seem to be that the knowledge the hero famously acquired on his visit to Ūta-napišti—his ‘seeing the Deep’—was the foundation stone on which Babylonian civilization was built, i.e. the whole basis of its existence. This inference is supported by ll. 42–3, where Gilgameš is credited with the re-establishment of antediluvian cultic life as a consequence of his journey to the Flood hero. The Sumerian poem we call Death of Bilgames is informed by the same tradition and gives more details.³ Thus the epic’s opening line celebrates Gilgameš as one who learned from Ea, through an intermediary, the profound wisdom that underpins the proper, divinely ordained basis of human government and society.

The second quatrain of the prologue develops the essential theme of wisdom, relating that Gilgameš knew everything there was to know, even secret knowledge of the antediluvian age (5–8). The allusion is undoubtedly to his unique experiences in the realm of Ūta-napišti, for *ṭēmu ša lām abūbi*, ‘ṭ. of the antediluvian age’, can only be the knowledge imparted by the survivor of the Flood in Tablets X–XI. This is a crucial phrase. The actual narrative of the Deluge is usually identified as the reference, no doubt because it is so famous and so well preserved (SB XI 8–206). However, only a part of it describes events that took place *before* the Deluge. In my view the fragmentary discourse that precedes the Flood story is equally well described as ‘ṭ. of the antediluvian age’, in that it appears to set out the duties of ideal, antediluvian kingship and the proper expectations of man in the state that the gods assigned him (SB X 266–322). In particular, Ūta-napišti’s disquisition on the cultic duties of kings, the provisioning of temples, ties in with the tradition discussed in the preceding paragraph, that Gilgameš was responsible for restoring temple cults interrupted by the Deluge. The word *ṭēmu* is appropriate here, for when it means ‘report, message, news’ it refers to useful knowledge.⁴ Gilgameš did not just bring back a fascinating narrative, he recovered instructive information of a lost time. Since the emphasis of the opening lines is on the profound wisdom that the hero’s experiences brought him, it may be that Ūta-napišti’s homily was as

³ The passage is quoted in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Crossing the ocean.

⁴ In military terms, ‘intelligence’. The word *ṭēmu* also means ‘intelligence’ in the sense of conscious reasoning power, and thus provides an interesting example of how two very different languages can develop comparable usage independently.

much in the poet's mind as the Flood narrative when he coined the phrase *tēmu ša lām abūbi*, if not more.

The following couplet implies that, utterly exhausted by his adventures, Gilgameš was, at the last, allowed to rest and take stock of his life, so that he left for posterity an account of himself written on a stone monument (9–10). So it was, for by the end of the epic he was reconciled to his mortal destiny, no longer driven by his futile quest. The next couplet introduces Gilgameš's one great concrete achievement, the wall of Uruk, which the epic thus holds up as an enduring monument to his fame (11–12).

The mention of the wall is a skilful device that allows the poet to move on towards the narrative and to provide a frame for the composition. The conceit is that, rapt in admiration for the wall, one will climb on to it (13–21), there to gaze out over Uruk, a great city of houses, date-groves, open spaces and, of course, the sanctuary of Ištar (22–3). These lines, the poet's invitation to his audience, are repeated at the very end of the epic as Gilgameš's invitation to his companion, Ur-šanabi, to do the same (SB XI 323–8). But, more than this, there on the wall one will actually chance upon a box that holds a stone tablet telling Gilgameš's story (24–8). The mention of such a box and tablet recalls the ancient custom of depositing royal inscriptions in the foundations of monumental structures.⁵ Very probably the poet is evoking a fictional scene in which an inscription left by Gilgameš himself, when he built the wall of Uruk, is discovered. The tablet of lapis lazuli (l. 27) which the audience is invited to read is evidently to be identified with the stone monument on which he set in writing his adventures (l. 10), so that 'the impression is deliberately created that the whole epic was written down in antiquity by Gilgameš himself, just as the Naram-Sin Legend purports to have been written down by Naram-Sin'.⁶ There is an anachronism here, perhaps, for if a tablet inscribed with his story was deposited in the foundations of the walls of Uruk at the time of their building, it could not relate the whole story of Gilgameš: according to Tablet XI, the walls were already standing when he returned from his last adventure. However, it would be foolish to insist on chronological consistency in a poetic narrative of this kind, and equally unwise to be troubled by the question of whether the whole epic could actually be written on a lapis tablet.⁷ The prologue ends as it began, with the name of the epic's protagonist (28).

After the prologue comes the hymn of praise that is known to have begun the Old Babylonian epic, at least in the version represented by the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets. The mood of the hymn is very different from the prologue: no mention is made of exhaustion and struggle, only of strength and glory (29–46).⁸ Suitably framed by the word *šarru*, 'king', it divides into three parts. First come three couplets glorifying Gilgameš's unparalleled

⁵ As noted by C. B. F. Walker, 'The second tablet of *tušēnna piema*, an Old Babylonian Naram-Sin legend', *JCS* 33 (1981), pp. 192–3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁷ Cf. already the comment of A. L. Oppenheim: 'the suggested derivation of the epic from the text of the stela is a literary *topos*, and its use presupposes a reader who is sophisticated enough to accept it as a literary fiction and not as proof of the authenticity of the text or, worse, an imposition on his critical sense' (*Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 258).

⁸ On the change of mood see W. L. Moran, 'The Epic of Gilgameš: a document of ancient humanism', *Bulletin CSMS* 22 (1991), pp. 16–17.

status and ability (29–34): Next is a couplet recording his parentage, his father being Lugalbanda, his mother the goddess Ninsun (35–6).⁹

The third section of the hymn functions as a précis of Gilgameš's epic career (37–44), but one in a very different mood from the summary already given in ll. 5–10. Here he is celebrated as a kingly adventurer and pioneer explorer whose journey to Ūta-napištu, achieved 'through sheer force', brings not personal discovery but public improvement. His encounter with the Flood hero enabled him to reintroduce the arts of civilization after the destruction of mankind by the Flood (42–4). As already noted, the tradition according to which it was Gilgameš who did this informs the epic's incipit and a passage of the Sumerian poem on the Death of Bilgames.

The poet now begins the description of his hero (47–62). First he stresses Gilgameš's semi-divine origins, already reported in the preceding hymn, then the part played in his making by deities other than his mother, namely the mother goddess and Ea as Nudimmud, the 'Man-Fashioner' (47–50). These two customarily work in tandem to produce human life: in other sources it is Ea's role to invent the concept of man and the technique of his creation and the mother goddess's task to convert Ea's ingenuity into reality (as in Enki and Ninmah), but in some cases Ea must also work his magic on the base material before it can be given life.¹⁰ Here the goddess roughs out the human shape in clay (*ešēru*) and the god of skill turns the crude model into the finished article (*šutešbū*).

The joining of the fragment BM 34357 to MS d₁ reveals for the first time that the passage recounting the birth of Gilgameš leads in turn to the measurements of his physique, which are naturally exceptional (51–8).¹¹ Unfortunately the beginning of this section is still badly preserved, so that it is not even certain exactly how long it was; my reconstruction allows for the loss of the maximum number of lines. Such material was certainly included in an earlier version of the epic, since it is already present in the Hittite paraphrase.¹² As Otten notes, the passage recalls the heroic stature of five and a half cubits ascribed to Eannatum in the Stele of the Vultures,¹³ and finds parallels further afield in Goliath and a Kumarbi myth.¹⁴ According to the Hittite, Gilgameš was eleven cubits tall, his chest nine spans(?) wide,¹⁵ and another part of his anatomy three(?) unknown units long.¹⁶

The poet follows the measurements with a description of Gilgameš's hair, with which he is lavishly furnished, and his beauty, which is surpassing (59–62). Great beauty is a

⁹ For this and other traditions relating to the parentage of Gilgameš see Ch. 3, the sub-section on Family connections.

¹⁰ Cf. OB Atram-ḥašīs I 249–52.

¹¹ There may be a reference to the tallness of Gilgameš as proverbial in Gudea Cyl. B xxiii 16, ed. Edzard, *RIME* 3/l, p. 100: [ʽgi]š.bīl.ga.[me]sʽ. da mū.a, 'grown tall as Bilgameš(?)'.

¹² H. Otten, 'Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgameš-Epos', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), p. 98, 7–9; also E. Laroche, 'Mythologie d'origine étrangère, XII. Gilgameš', *RHA* 26 (1968), p. 122 (82, p. 8).

¹³ Now H. Steible, *FAOS* 5/l, p. 123, v 6–12; cf. M. A. Powell, 'Maße und Gewichte', *RLA* VII, p. 462.

¹⁴ *KUB XXXIII* 94 + 109 i 8, ed. H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* E, p. 65.

¹⁶ The unidentified feature is read [ʽʽ]ʽHARʽ-ni-uš-ma-aš-šī by Otten but emended to ʽʽmil-ni-uš-ma-aš-šī by Laroche. Presumably he is thinking of *meni-*, 'cheek, face'; however, the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* does not cite the passage *sub voce* and the enigma remains.

traditional attribute of kings, and one that is enshrined in mythology. The most explicit source is a late account of creation in which the mother goddess works again at Ea's behest:

^a*é-a pā(ka)-šú ṭpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug_a.ga)*
ana ^a*bēlet(gašan)-ilī(dingir) amātu(inim) izakkar(mu)^{dr}*
^a*be-let-ilī(dingir)^{mes} aḥat(nin) ilī(dingir)^{mes} rabūti(gal)^{mes} at-ti-ma*
at-ti-ma tab-ni-ma lullā(lú.u₁₈.lu)^a a-me-lu
pi-it-qi-ma šarru(lugal) ma-li-^lku¹ a-me-lu
ta-a-bi ub-bi-ḥi gi-[m]r la-a-ni-šú
šu-ub-bi-i zi-i-mi-šú bu-un-ni-i zu-mur-šú
^a*be-let-ilī(dingir)^{mes} ip-ta-ti-iq šarru(lugal) ma-li-ku amēlu(lú)*

VAS XXIV 92, 30'–6', ed. W. R. Mayer, *Or NS* 56 (1987), p. 56

Ea opened his mouth to speak,
 saying a word to Bēlet-ilī:

'You are Bēlet-ilī, the sister of the great gods,
 it was you that created man the human.

Fashion now the king, man the prince (*or* man of counsel)!

Gird the whole of his figure so pleasing,

make perfect his countenance and well formed his body!

Bēlet-ilī fashioned the king, man the prince (*or* man of counsel).

Having introduced the protagonist the poem now moves on to narrative, with a description of Gilgameš's tyranny in Uruk (63–72). The hero dominates the city like a wild bull. He exhibits the prowess with weapons that is the proper attribute of Mesopotamian kings. The ideal king was assumed to be a warrior without equal in strength and unmatched in skill. Though Gilgameš is most famous for wrestling,¹⁷ the present passage refers explicitly to armed contests (65). The personal involvement of early Mesopotamian kings in such activities is attested in Šulgi C 131, where the great king of Ur boasts of his skill on, as it were, the Campus Martius: *kisal.maḥ.a.ki.mè.gim¹a*. [ba b]a.ni.gi,¹⁸ 'In the great courtyard, as on the battlefield, who could withstand me?'

The poet makes it clear that the hero's behaviour is an abuse of power. His terrorizing of the city's youth is qualified as *ina kukitti*, a phrase which denotes some kind of arrogation and implies his behaviour is beyond what is proper. This is the antisocial conduct of an immature young man unbridled by the wisdom and self-control that age and experience will bring. The narrative is punctuated by intermittent reminders that Gilgameš is the king, the shepherd of his people, a device that evokes a contrast with the unkingly deeds described. The nature of this tyranny is not explicitly described, except that it has to do with the hero's weapons, which are kept ready for action, and the *pukku*, which keeps his companions on their feet. The important thing is the result: the young men and women of Uruk are not, as they should be, at the disposal of those members of their families that have a rightful claim

¹⁷ See OB II 218–30 and Ch. 3, the sub-section on Sanctuaries and cult.

¹⁸ Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns*, p. 258, revised after J. Klein, 'A self-laudatory Šulgi hymn fragment from Nippur', *Studies Halle*, p. 128.

on their time. The womenfolk keep complaining to the goddesses (73–8), with the result that the gods of heaven take the matter up with the supreme authority in heaven, the god Anu (79–93).

There has been much discussion of Gilgameš's abuse of power.¹⁹ Some have recalled his fame as builder of Uruk's wall and suppose that his tyranny constitutes the imposition of forced labour to build it. Others have referred to the rite of *ius primae noctis* described in the Pennsylvania-tablet (OB II) and have understood Gilgameš's offence to be sexual violation.²⁰ A third suggestion is that Gilgameš wore his people out with athletic contests.²¹ This last idea agrees with the Hittite tradition that Gilgameš triumphed over the young men of Uruk every day,²² and with the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld. In the latter text it seems that Gilgameš continually engages the young men of Uruk in some kind of time-consuming game or sport involving the *pukku* and *mekku*, a heavy wooden ball and mallet.²³ The women of Uruk are obliged to spend their days ministering to the needs of their exhausted menfolk until their outcry results in the disappearance of the two objects into the Netherworld. The presence in our episode of the *pukku* ball and the women's outcry reveals that the epic preserves at least echoes of this theme, so indicating that the nature of the oppression remained in the literary memory, if only dimly recollected. But in this text the *pukku* activity is not the only vehicle of oppression. The phrase 'his weapons are ready' indicates that Gilgameš exhausted his companions with weapon practice or other martial pursuits as well as athletic sports. Šulgi's boast of dominance in martial contests has already been noted. The episode of the Pennsylvania tablet in which the narrator reports that 'a rival was appointed' to challenge the king also reflects some kind of formal contest between king and subject, evidently a young men's champion.²⁴

In characterizing Gilgameš as a tyrant the poet recognizes a truth recurrent in Mesopotamian history. Whether through waging successive wars, erecting monumental buildings or digging new waterways—sometimes all three—the mighty kings that dominated the Babylonian stage, from Šulgi to Hammurapi to Nebuchadnezzar II, all made copious demands of their subjects' blood, sweat and tears. The ambitions of a powerful ruler often bring down much suffering on the people of this land, even in the present day.

The importance of Gilgameš's oppression to the poem's narrative is that it acts as a mechanism for the creation of Enkidu. Anu's response to the persistent outcry that reaches his ears at third hand is to have the mother goddess summoned and to charge her with the creation of a counterpart to engage the energies of Gilgameš (94–8). The publication of the fragment MB Nippur₁ shows that the Standard Babylonian text is telescoped: there, and no

¹⁹ A brief survey of the discussion is given by Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 181–91. See also J. Klein, 'A new look at the "oppression of Uruk" episode in the Gilgameš epic', *Jacobsen Mem. Vol.*, pp. 188–91.

²⁰ See esp. T. Jacobsen, 'How did Gilgameš oppress Uruk?', *Acta Or* 8 (1930), pp. 62–74; Jacobsen later abandoned this position.

²¹ Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 184–91; Klein, *Jacobsen Mem. Vol.*, p. 190.

²² Tablet I i 11b–13a, ed. Otten, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), pp. 98–9.

²³ See further Ch. 13, the commentary on SB XII 1.

²⁴ OB II 190–5, on which see the introduction to the Pennsylvania tablet in Ch. 5.

doubt in other versions of the epic, before instructions were put directly to Aruru, some figure—unidentified as the text now stands but presumably Ea—made the suggestion to the gods that she be given the task of creating a match for Gilgameš. The sometime mention of these gods leaves its trace in the plural *issû* (l. 94).

Enkidu is created from clay as the first men were: fully grown and without a mother's cries, in silence (99–104). He lives in an animal state: hairy and unclothed, ungoverned by thoughts of family (or, an important variant, gods) and wider social identity, feeding with the gazelles on grass and water (105–12). In these particulars, too, he is a replica of the first men, dwelling far removed from civilization, both in space and in behaviour. This point has been much discussed;²⁵ here I limit myself to citing the literary tradition reporting the Babylonians' conception of how the first men lived. This is most clearly expressed in the literary dispute between Ewe and Grain:

nam.lú.ùlu u ₄ .ri.a.ke ₄ .ne	The humans of those far-off days
ninda gu ₇ .ù.bi nu.mu.un.zu.uš.àm	did not know the eating of bread,
tùg nig.mu ₄ .mu ₄ .bi nu.mu.un.zu.uš.àm	did not know the wearing of clothes.
ùg giš.gi.na su.bi mu.un.gen	The people went naked-limbed,
udu.gim ka.ba ú mu.ni.ib.gu ₇	eating grass with their mouths like sheep,
a.sùr.sùr.ra.ka ²⁶ i.im.na ₈ .na ₈ .ne	drinking water from ditches.

Lašar and Ašnan 20–5, ed. B. Alster
and H. Vanstiphout, *Acta Sum* 9 (1987), p. 14

Note also the incipit of the text that tells of the mythical introduction of grain to Sumer, setting the scene in remote antiquity when ùg.e udu.gim ú ka.ba mu.ni.ib.ur₄!(NI).[ur₄?], 'the people *cropped* grass with their mouths like sheep';²⁷ and Berossus's report that the first men 'lived without laws just as wild animals'.²⁸

The brief narrative of Enkidu's early life is supplemented by later references in the episode of his first encounter with Šamḫat and in Gilgameš's lament. These make it clear that Enkidu did not just grow up like a wild animal, he grew up *with* wild animals. The herd was his family for, in the absence of a mother and father, he was reared by gazelles and wild asses (see especially SB VIII 3–6). In this respect the story of Enkidu's early life is the earliest of the well-known corpus of folk tales of human babies raised by wild animals.

The poem now moves on to Enkidu's discovery by a hunter, whose reaction to the extraordinary sight that daily confronts him at the water-hole is one of fear, astonishment

²⁵ At least since the time of M. Jastrow's article on 'Adam and Eve in Babylonian literature', *AJSL* 15 (1899), pp. 193–214. More recently see G. Komoróczy, 'Berossos and the Mesopotamian literature', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaria* 21 (1973), pp. 140–2; Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 202–9.

²⁶ Reading from *PSD A*/1, p. 20.

²⁷ Cuneiform republished by C. Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 15, l. 1. An alternative emendation of mu.ni.ib.ni.[x], to mu.ni.ib.kin!. [kin], might be prompted by a line of the *balag* of Inanna for Ur-Ninurta that describes the king's duties to his people in terms of a shepherd's responsibilities to his flock: udu.gim ka.ú.gu.ḫa.ba.kin.kin.gú.a.nag.ḫa.ba.gá.gá, 'as with sheep may he keep seeking out grass to eat (for their) mouths, may he find water to drink (for their) throats' (Ur-Ninurta A 26, ed. Å. W. Sjöberg, 'A blessing of King Urnirurta', *Finkelstein Mem. Völ.*, p. 190).

²⁸ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* III C 1 (Leiden, 1958), p. 369 (3), quoted from the translation of S. M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (SANE 1/V; Malibu, 1978), p. 13.

and dismay (113–21).²⁹ The hunter reports what he has seen to his father, adding that he now realizes who has been dismantling his snares and filling his traps so that he cannot earn his living properly (122–33). The next section remains poorly preserved but its import is clear. The old man tells the hunter to go to King Gilgameš in Uruk and to bring back with him a prostitute, whose charms will lure Enkidu away from his habitat (134–45). It seems he comments that feminine wiles are more than a match for even the strongest of men. The lines that express this sentiment are still incomplete (139, 141), but the idea is a universal motif and its truth in Enkidu's case is vindicated by what happens next. The hunter does as he was told. He apprises Gilgameš of what has happened and Gilgameš duly tells him to take with him the prostitute Šamḫat (146–66).

The hunter and Šamḫat leave Uruk and after a journey of three days arrive at the water-hole (167–70). Two days later the animals come to quench their thirst, Enkidu among them, and Šamḫat catches her first glimpse of his savage appearance (171–9). The hunter encourages her to use the tricks of her trade to entice Enkidu and seduce him (180–7). This she does (188–93). There is perhaps a certain comedy in the situation. The trapper, cowering in his hide, is too terrified to tackle Enkidu himself but does not demur to send a woman to do the job. The hunter's words and their realization as narrative describe one by one the steps by which a prostitute attracts and excites her client. Enkidu and Šamḫat come together in an epic week of love-making and then, his passion satisfied, Enkidu turns to rejoin the animals (194–6). But the ruse has worked. The animals take him for a human and shy away. The encounter with Šamḫat has brought 'defilement' and loss of strength, so that Enkidu repels his former playmates and cannot keep up with them (197–200). At the same time he has gained in intelligence and is able now to understand what Šamḫat tells him (201–6). The concept of defilement through sexual experience is one that tallies with a widespread human belief that sexual knowledge brings the end of innocence. The idea that ejaculation engenders weakness is also common. On his deathbed Enkidu uses telling language in lamenting this first step in his transformation from animal to human state. He was 'pure and undefiled' (*ellu*) but Šamḫat made him feel 'diminished and degraded' (*šumtū*).³⁰

Šamḫat, the voice of civilization, is astonished that such a god-like figure should roam the wilderness in the company of gazelles and other creatures. She proposes to take him back to the holy city of Uruk, where the mighty Gilgameš holds sway like a wild bull (207–12). The imagery here echoes the poem's earlier description of the tyrant. Enkidu's emergent humanity prompts in him the desire for a friend (213–14). His response, however, is not fully consistent with this yearning. He asks that Šamḫat lead him to Uruk but, once there, he intends single-handedly to overthrow the rule of Gilgameš (215–23). Šamḫat's reply falls into two parts.³¹ She extols the city for its festivities and the attractiveness of its prostitutes

²⁹ D. O. Edzard, 'Komik und Parodie durch übermäßigen Wortaufwand', *Or NS* 54 (1985), pp. 48–50, considers this passage intentionally comic on the grounds of excessive verbiage. This is hard to prove or refute, for the identification of Babylonian humour remains a highly subjective pursuit.

³⁰ See MB Ur 39–40, SB VII 130–1.

³¹ Šamḫat's speech is discussed by B. Foster, 'Gilgameš: sex, love and the ascent of knowledge', *Essays Pope*, pp. 28–9.

and praises the beauty of Gilgameš. Then she warns Enkidu that Gilgameš is stronger than he is and that to challenge him, the sun god's favourite, is an act of blasphemy (224–41). Not only so, but the gods have arranged for Gilgameš to have a premonition of Enkidu's coming, in the form of two symbolic dreams (242–4). Thus Gilgameš's dreams, which in the Old Babylonian epic he relates to his mother, the goddess Ninsun, at first hand, are here reported at second hand, by Šamḫat, as too are Ninsun's interpretations of them.³²

In the first dream (245–58) a meteorite had fallen to earth near Gilgameš. He tried to pick it up but at first he could not budge it. A crowd gathered around and made a fuss of it. Embracing it like a wife, Gilgameš managed to carry it to his mother, who made it his equal. Šamḫat goes on to report Ninsun's response (259–73). Ninsun had repeated her son's dream to him and predicted the coming of a friend whom he would love like a wife and who would save him. Gilgameš had then had a second dream (274–85). In it he saw a strange axe lying in the street, again the centre of the crowd's attention. He picked it up and took it to Ninsun. He loved it like a wife and Ninsun made it his equal. Ninsun's response had been much the same as with the first dream (286–93). Again she had predicted the coming of a friend whom he would love like a wife and who would be his saviour.

According to A. D. Kilmer, the symbols by which Enkidu is represented in the dream episodes make allusion to the Istar cult: the meteorite, *kišru*, evokes *kezru*, who would be a male counterpart of a *kezertu* woman (a kind of cultic prostitute), and the axe, *ḥaššinnu*, evokes *assinnu*, a cultic performer who, typically as a eunuch, took the female role in the sexual act.³³ By this analysis what Gilgameš sees in his dreams is a twofold prediction of the arrival of a close male friend who will also be his lover. As Kilmer puts it, 'the implication of the double pun is, of course, that the often suspected, much discussed but of late rejected, sexual relationship between Gilgameš and Enkidu is, after all, the correct interpretation'.

Without corroborative evidence it is always difficult to vindicate a suspected play on words, as also to refute one. There is no doubt that Babylonian scribes enjoyed playing with words, whether out of piety in serious exegesis or out of fun in lighter contexts. The usual medium of such games was Sumerian, whose monosyllabic lexemes made it a versatile instrument for speculative etymology. But Akkadian could also serve, as in the ingenious interpretation of *ḥurdatu*, a rare word for 'vulva', which a medical commentator glosses *ḥur-ri da-du da-du ma-ra*, 'cave of the darling, darling = child'.³⁴ The association of like-sounding words that is the essence of punning is a device most famously seen in the poem

³² The comparison between the relation and explication of Gilgameš's two dreams as related here and in the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 1–43) is the subject of the study of J. S. Cooper, 'Gilgameš dreams of Enkidu', *Finkelstein Men. Völ.*, pp. 39–44; see also Tigay, *Evolution*, pp. 82–90, 270–6.

³³ A. D. Kilmer, 'A note on an overlooked word-play in the Akkadian Gilgameš', *Kraus AV*, pp. 128–9 (see also S. Parpola, *SAA IX*, p. xciii).

³⁴ M. Civil, 'Medical commentaries from Nippur', *JNES* 33 (1974), p. 332, 42–3; A. Cavigneaux, 'Au sources du Midrash: l'herméneutique babylonienne', *Aula Or* 5 (1987), p. 255. This etymology suits the context, an incantation for easy childbirth, but probably rests on a more sexual image, *dādu* being a term for love-making (see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 186).

of Atram-ḥašis, where ^dwe-e-i-la (// Alla) and his *tēmu* are sacrificed and reinvented as *awīlu* and his *etemmu*.³⁵ As a ritual commentary tells us explicitly, folk etymologies can be based on phonetic similarity: *tam-ri-qa-tu ša ina pi(ka) nišī(ūg)^{ms} : e-tam-ma[r] qa-[ti-ia]*,³⁶ "crushing by the teeth", which people understand as "he kept looking at [my] hands".³⁷ The association of like-sounding words is also one of the tools used by diviners to establish links between cause and effect.³⁷ Phonetic similarity between sign values and Akkadian words is also open to exploitation, as in the omen text which explains the apodosis *amūt(bà)st šarru(MAN)-kīn(gi)*, 'omen of Sargon', as *man-gu* (var. *man-gi*) *ummānī(érin)^{mi} iṣabbat(dab)^{bat}*, 'paralysis will seize my army'.³⁸ Against this background it should be expected that an interpreter of dreams would give some thought to phonetic similarity in identifying the symbolism of what was seen.

It remains to enquire whether the words *kišru* and *ḥaššinnu* would bear to those who registered puns with *kezru* and *assinnu* an intimation of homosexuality. The word *assinnu* is common. Such persons were a conspicuous element in Babylonian society; their outrageous behaviour and homosexual proclivities were well known.³⁹ The word *kezru* is a much rarer beast. In Babylonia it is known only from Old Babylonian lexical texts, where the context is men with distinctive hairstyles,⁴⁰ and from the Kassite-period personal name *Kezru*, 'Curly'.⁴¹ The significance of this hairstyle as a mark of a particular role is only apparent from the better-known female counterpart, *kezertu*.⁴² In the Old Babylonian period the word *kezertum* could refer to a woman under an obligation to perform for a goddess cultic duties (*paršu*) that may or may not have included some kind of *ḥarīmūtum*, 'prostitution'.⁴³

³⁵ OB Atram-ḥašis I 223–30 // SB II 103–12.

³⁶ *LKA* 73 obv. 15, ed. Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, p. 126.

³⁷ The most famous example is the historical omen recording Narām-Sin's capture of Apišal (*a-pi-šal-a-li-im*) by breaching its wall (*i-na pi-il-šī-im*), a success which was foretold by two perforations (*pi-il-šu 2 pa-al-šu*) in the gall bladder of a sacrificed lamb (*YOS X 24, 9*). The symbolic identity of the perforations and the breach would be evident even were they not both rendered with the same word, but the toponym is suggested by the phonetics alone. Less obvious examples, involving more ingenuity, are to be found in the diagnostic omens of *Sakikkū I* (A. R. George, *RA* 85 (1981), pp. 137–67), where e.g. the sighting of an ox leads to a fatal prognosis, according to the commentary because ox and ghost are both Sumerian *gu*, (l. 18), the stubbing of a thumb likewise, because finger and grave are both Sumerian *u* (l. 42).

³⁸ *MB Šumma martu*, edited with late duplicates by U. Jeynes, 'A compendium of gall-bladder omens', *Studies Lambert*, p. 358, obv. 10; 375.

³⁹ On *assinnu* see W. G. Lambert, 'Prostitution', in V. Haas (ed.), *Aufseher und Randgruppen* (Xenia 32; Konstanz, 1992), pp. 137–53.

⁴⁰ *MSL XII*, p. 195, OB *Lu C*₅ 20–1: *lú.suḥur.lá, lú.ke.zé.er.ak = ke-er-rum*, 'curly-haired one'; cf. p. 169, OB *Lu A* 389–90.

⁴¹ *PBS II/2* 136, 7; *BE XIV* 56a, 29.

⁴² *Sum. munus.suḥur.lá, munus.ke.zé.er.ak, MSL XII*, p. 58, Proto-*Lu* 708 d–e; on *Sum. ke.zé.er.ak*, 'to wear hair in curls = behave like a woman of easy virtue(?)', see l. 24 of the tale edited by M. T. Roth, 'The Slave and the Scoundrel', *JAO* 103 (1983), pp. 276 and 278; cf. B. Alster, 'Two Sumerian short tales reconsidered', *ZA* 82 (1992), p. 199.

⁴³ See M. L. Gallery, 'Service obligations of the *kezertu*-women', *Or* NS 49 (1980), pp. 333–8; K. van Lerberghe, *CRR* 28, pp. 281–2; J. Spaey, 'Some notes on *kù.babbar/nēbīḥ kezēr(t)im*', *Akkadica* 67 (Mar.–Apr. 1990), pp. 1–9. The debt was discharged in silver to the *wakīl kezērtim*, 'overseer of the *kezertum*-women'. This payment has been identified as a 'fee for practising their trade' (so Lambert, *Xenia* 32, p. 137), but the fact that it is characterized as a *nēbīḫum*, 'compensatory(?) sum', suggests rather that the fee was paid in lieu of service, either to release the individual from future obligations or to excuse her the duty of serving at all.

For present purposes it is interesting that there is a single example of a man, one Tarību, owing such an obligation,⁴⁴ but we do not know whether he was acting for a woman or was himself the debtor and thus, possibly, a *kezrum*. Other women styled *kezertum* are found in the lists of palace women ('harem lists') from eighteenth-century Mari, where they cannot be common prostitutes.⁴⁵ Their association with musical performance at Mari—as probably also in the Sumerian tale of the Slave and the Scoundrel⁴⁶—suggests that these palace *kezertum* women entertained the king with singing and dancing. They may have been refined ladies, like the elaborately coiffed and ornately attired Japanese geisha, but courtesans nevertheless and presumably available to the king.

After the Old Babylonian period the function of the *kezertu* becomes clearer. In literary sources, as is well known, she is one of several classes of women in the service of Ištar whose duties appear to have included prostitution (see SB VI 158, Erra IV 52). In first-millennium Assyria, moreover, there is clear evidence for the place in the cult of this goddess of the male *kezru* alongside the female *kezertu*, to wit, a penalty clause in a land deed.⁴⁷

Though Babylonian evidence for the association of *kezru* men with temples is lacking, the facts that (a) a class of such persons was typical of the cult of Ištar in Assyria and (b) male cultic prostitution was a feature of Babylonian Ištar cults, suggest to me that the ancient audience would have appreciated the implication of a pun *kišru* : *kezru*, and that Kilmer was right. The meteorite of the first dream represents a catamite and so, in the second, does the axe. The debate over the nature of Gilgameš and Enkidu's friendship—homosexual or platonic—still leaves commentators divided. In my view the language of the dreams is clear. Gilgameš will love Enkidu as a wife.⁴⁸ However, as regards the mechanics of the plot, the nature of the pair's friendship is not important, only the fact of it.

To return to the story: Šamḫat relates that Gilgameš had reacted to his mother's interpretations of his dreams with pleasure, for his kingly instinct told him he needed a friend to counsel him. He looked forward to his coming (294–7). Having told Gilgameš's dreams to Enkidu, Šamḫat and Enkidu make love (298–300).

⁴⁴ YOS XIII 314, 2: *paraš?* (mc) *ke-ze-ri*; Aš 9.

⁴⁵ See N. Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimri-Līm* (Florilegium marianum 4; Paris, 1999), pp. 87–8.

⁴⁶ Where a girl acting like a *hezertum* plays the *ššā*.tar, sings and dances: cf. *ibid.*, p. 87, fn. 552.

⁴⁷ Postgate, *Palace Archive* 17, 31–2: 7 *kašrē*(lú.suḫur.lá)^{mes} 7 *kašrāte*(munus.suḫur.lá)^{mes} a-na ⁴š-tar a-šī-bat ^{um}arba-il i-da-an, '(a bogus claimant) shall donate seven *kezru* men and seven *kezertu* women to Ištar who resides in Arbīl'. Note also in a list of households at Šibanibe (J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 141, no. 85, 22): 3 *bēūte*(é)^{mes} *mārē*(dumu)^{mes} *kašrūte*(lú.suḫur.lá)^{mes}, 'three houses, members of the *kezru* class'. It is not clear whether the writing *mārē*(dumu)^{mes} *munus.suḫur.lá*^{mes} in Neo-Assyrian temple endowments signifies 'male members of the *kezru* class' or 'sons of *kezertu* women' (*SAA* XII 68 and 76; cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Ašur*, pp. 181–2); all we know is that they were dedicated to the service of the temple.

⁴⁸ OB II 33, SB I 256 // 284, 267 // 289; the repeated use of the verb *habābu* in this connection implies a sexual relationship. If there is any doubt about the significance of this imagery, note also SB VIII 59, where, in death, Gilgameš veils Enkidu 'like a bride'. Graphic evidence for a sexual relationship now comes from SB XII 96–9, as understood in the light of a new manuscript of the text's Sumerian forerunner, BN 250–3.

TABLET II

Apart from the incipit, almost the first thirty lines of Tablet II are missing. When the text resumes it seems that Šamḫat has been talking to Enkidu in much the same vein as she did after their first encounter. Šamḫat asks Enkidu again why he lives with the gazelles (29). Two damaged couplets follow, which seem again to describe how her words make an impression on the newly intelligent Enkidu (30–3). Šamḫat then clothes Enkidu in part of her garments and leads him to a shepherds' camp (34–7). The shepherds gather around Enkidu and compare him with the mighty Gilgameš (38–43). To Enkidu's puzzlement they offer him bread and beer (44–6). The text now becomes very badly damaged, but enough remains to indicate that, as in the Pennsylvania tablet, Enkidu is reported never to have encountered human food and drink before, and that Šamḫat duly encourages him to eat and drink (47–51). Seven more lines are either missing entirely or destroyed beyond recovery (52–9). The episode is well known from the Pennsylvania tablet, however, where it is told in nine lines of poetry (OB II 99–114). Enkidu eats and drinks as he is bidden, becomes drunk and starts to sing. After a barber shaves off his coat of animal hair, he uses scented oil to perfume his body in the Babylonian fashion. Now truly a man, he gets dressed and takes up a club. The late text resumes at this point. Enkidu defends the camp against wild animals and while he stays up on watch the shepherds sleep undisturbed (60–2).

Under the guidance of a woman the brute Enkidu has been transformed from animal to man, but his job as the shepherds' nightwatchman means that he is temporarily stranded between the wild and the city, a kind of halfway house. It is time to move him to the city, to the confrontation with Gilgameš that is his destiny. The catalyst that sets this change in motion is, as in the Pennsylvania tablet, the arrival on the scene of a stranger (63–4). More than thirty lines are missing at this point, a passage that corresponds to a slightly longer section of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 123–78). Enkidu is dallying with Šamḫat when he sees the stranger and hails him. The stranger explains his business. He is going to a wedding in Uruk where, with divine assent, Gilgameš habitually enjoys the seemingly unique privilege of *ius primae noctis*. It is his right to deflower a bride in her nuptial bed before the bridegroom can consummate the marriage. Enkidu is enraged. Remembering his pledge to confront Gilgameš and challenge his supremacy, he goes directly to Uruk. At this point the text of Tablet II resumes. Enkidu stands in the street and blocks Gilgameš's path (100–2). In lines that echo Gilgameš's dreams, an admiring crowd gathers around Enkidu, fascinated by his strange appearance (103–8).

The following couplet seems to be a poor précis of material that occupies a longer section of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II 190–9). There the poet describes how, at times of festival, the young men of Uruk chose a champion to challenge Gilgameš, and how, on the particular occasion when Enkidu arrived to confront Gilgameš, the wedding bed was ready and Gilgameš had already joined the bridal procession. As I read it, the late text has lost the reference to festivals and has inverted the two key events: the wedding bed being ready, a substitute (*pūhu*) is appointed for Gilgameš (109–110).

The business of Gilgameš's 'substitute' is one that needs comment. In the equivalent line the Pennsylvania tablet uses the word *meḫrum*, 'rival' (OB II 194–5). The replacement of this word with *pūḫu* (if correctly read) evokes the well-known concept of the substitute king, *šar pūḫi*. This was an expendable person of low rank appointed to absorb in the king's stead the ill portended by certain eclipses of the sun and moon, of Jupiter and other planets. The ritual involved is best known from the Neo-Assyrian period, but its existence already in the nineteenth century BC is suggested by the chance succession of Enlil-bāni while temporarily installed on the throne of the ill-fated Erra-imitū of Isin, as famously recorded in a chronicle.⁴⁹ However, I cannot see that the narrative of Enkidu's challenge is well served by reference to this royal substitute. The plot requires a rival, not a replacement. Perhaps a Middle Babylonian editor, failing to understand the long-obsolete custom which was, it seems, the context of the older version of the line, sought instead to connect it with something he knew, the ritual of the substitute king. In doing so he destroyed the line's original reference and failed to replace it with anything meaningful.

Enkidu bars Gilgameš from entering the house where the wedding ceremony is to take place and the two heroes wrestle (111–15). Here a long lacuna intervenes, extending over nearly a whole column. Part of the missing text must have been the counterpart of the concluding lines of the Pennsylvania tablet, where we learn that Enkidu submits to Gilgameš's authority (OB II 227–40). We remain largely ignorant as regards the following episode, for the continuation of the Old Babylonian edition on the Yale tablet is badly damaged; all that can be said is that Gilgameš and Enkidu make friends as Ninsun had predicted. When the text of Tablet II resumes it appears that Gilgameš is introducing Enkidu to his mother, using standard lines that express admiration for his new friend's strength and physique (162–4). The beginning of Ninsun's reply is poorly preserved (165–74); it seems to conclude with an acknowledgement of Enkidu's strange birth and lack of family (175–7).

Enkidu has been listening and is reduced to tears, whereupon Gilgameš comforts him (178–87). The discovery of MS p provides us with the beginnings of some fifteen more lines at this point, enough to yield a taste of a conversation between Enkidu and Gilgameš that ends with the mention of Ḫumbaba (188–202). Perhaps to distract Enkidu from his misery, Gilgameš proposes that the pair make a glorious expedition to the Cedar Forest. The middle of his speech to this effect is still missing but the end became available recently, with the publication of MS ee (212–15). In the Babylonian epic the Cedar Forest is a faraway place, visited only at the greatest peril, but not a mythical location, for the various versions fix it firmly in the 'land of Ebla', i.e. Amanus, and in Lebanon. The first Mesopotamian rulers known to have mounted cedar-felling expeditions to Amanus and Lebanon are Sargon and Narām-Sîn of Akkade, and very probably Gilgameš's journey with Enkidu in the Babylonian epic is a literary reflection of their campaigns or others like

⁴⁹ Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 155, 31–6. For the ritual in the Neo-Assyrian period see W. G. Lambert, 'A part of the ritual for the substitute king', *AJO* 18 (1957–8), pp. 109–12. On the substitute king see in general J. Bottéro, 'Le substitut royal et son sort en Mésopotamie ancienne', *Akkadica* 9 (1978), pp. 2–24, republished in an English translation as Ch. 9 in Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 138–55.

them.⁵⁰ Certainly cedar-felling is at the heart of the story, as it was in the Sumerian poems of Bilgames and Ḫuwawa.

Enkidu answers that Ḫumbaba is guardian of the Cedar Forest by Enlil's appointment, a truly lethal enemy, in fact, second in power only to the storm god; also the forest is protected by the debilitating effect it has on those who intrude (216–29). Gilgameš scorns Enkidu for a weakling (230–3). Life is short and given over to mundane activities (234–6). And Enkidu's experience in the wild will stand him in good stead, so let the pair of them be off to have their weapons made (237–42). A short lacuna holds the end of Gilgameš's speech and the line or lines narrating the heroes' journey to the smithy. The smiths cast weapons of extraordinary size and weight (247–54). The only witness to this episode was copied from a broken master and is defective. The damage was so bad that five lines had to be omitted entirely from the new copy (255–9). This lacuna corresponds to the slightly longer passage of the Yale tablet that describes the bolting of the city gates of Uruk and the public convening of the assembly of elders (OB III 172–9). In the late text Gilgameš first addresses not the elders but the men of fighting age (*eḫlūtu*), and tells them of his intention to undertake an expedition such as nobody has ever undertaken before, a journey that will end in battle with Ḫumbaba (260–4). He asks for their blessing for a safe passage there and back and promises to celebrate the *akītu* festival twice when he returns (265–71).

The business of the twofold celebration of the *akītu* needs explanation. The *akītu* festival was the culmination of a time of great celebration that followed hard on the New Year. The audience is given to understand that formerly there had been one *akītu* festival but that Gilgameš's long absence on his expedition to the Cedar Forest resulted in the festival taking place twice in the year. It is often overlooked that in the historical period at Uruk (and elsewhere) there were indeed two such festivals annually. Although this state of affairs was first noted by F. Thureau-Dangin in 1921,⁵¹ it is worth restating the evidence, for there is now much more.

At Uruk itself the Late Babylonian ritual for the seventh month, Tašrītu, states that the procession to the *akītu* house of Anu at Uruk was carried out then exactly as in the first month, Nisannu.⁵² A Neo-Assyrian letter reports similarly, that the New Year's procession of Marduk at Babylon took place in Tašrītu just as it did more famously in Nisannu, and that a similar situation obtained at Dēr.⁵³ According to recently published texts of first-millennium date, the Nippur Compendium §13 and the Nippur cultic calendar,⁵⁴ at Nippur the *akītu* in Nisannu celebrated Marduk (presumably originally Enlil), while another in Ayyaru (the second month) was for Ninurta as the champion of the gods, but also for Ištar as queen of Nippur and for Sîn. The same text glosses another festival of Enlil and

⁵⁰ See in more detail above, Ch. 3, the sub-section on Climbing mountains.

⁵¹ *RAcc.*, p. 87.

⁵² *RAcc.*, p. 89, 15; on the late *akītu*-processions at Uruk see M. E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Md., 1993), pp. 427–37; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* (BaF 16; Mainz, 1994), pp. 42–7.

⁵³ S. Parpola, *SAAT* X 253.

⁵⁴ For the Nippur Compendium see George, *Topog. Texts*, pp. 154–5; calendar: *OECT* XI 69 + 70, on which see George, review of *OECT* XI, *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 157–8.

Ninurta as *ud-du-ši*, 'renewal'; this is probably a New Year's festival in the seventh month, for the following entry seems to represent the eighth month.⁵⁵ The autumnal New Year is enshrined in the very name of the seventh month (*tašrītu*, 'beginning') and also in the calendar of Old Babylonian Sippar, where the first month of the regular year is Sebūtum, 'the seventh', implying the existence of another New Year at six months' remove.⁵⁶ Thus the situation in second- and first-millennium Babylonia appears to be consistent: there were two New Year's festivals, one in spring (Nisannu), the other in autumn (Tašrītu).⁵⁷ These cultic events roughly coincided with the equinoxes. A similar polarity also informed the late third-millennium calendars.⁵⁸ By the first millennium each of the two New Years had become associated with an *akītu* celebration. The *akītu* had itself been a biannual festival at the end of the third millennium, at least at Ur.⁵⁹ There it was apparently an agricultural festival celebrated at or near the equinoxes in months I (harvest) and VII (sowing). Against this background Gilgameš's promise to perform the *akītu* festival twice on his return from the Cedar Forest appears to be a cultic aetiology, explaining why it was that the Babylonians celebrated two different *akītu* festivals at two different New Years.

Enkidu advises the elders to dissuade Gilgameš from going against Hūmbaba, repeating the words he earlier spoke to the king (272–86). The elders, in turn, speak to Gilgameš. They tell him he is not old enough to understand the implications of his proposed adventure, and they repeat Enkidu's warning (287–99). Gilgameš listens but laughs off their advice (300–1). The remainder of the tablet, perhaps twenty lines, is missing. The Yale tablet is also damaged at this point in the story, but enough survives to show that Gilgameš turns to Enkidu and scoffs at the idea of fearing Hūmbaba (OB III 203 ff., also Assyrian MS y₂ obv. 16' ff.).

TABLET III

Tablet III begins with a speech of advice for the journey to the Cedar Forest, addressed at first to Gilgameš (1–10) and then to Enkidu (11–12). The speaker's identity is uncertain, for

⁵⁵ See George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 449.

⁵⁶ See W. G. Lambert, 'The month names of Old Babylonian Sippar', *NABU* 1989/90.

⁵⁷ In seventh-century Assyria the *akītu* festival of Aššur was held in Nisannu and Tašrītu, after the Babylonian model, while that of Ištar of Arbil also occurred biannually, but in the immediately preceding months of Ulūlu (VI, traditionally the month of Ištar) and Addaru (XII). On the dates of the Assyrian festivals see most recently E. Weissert, 'Royal hunt and royal triumph in a prism fragment of Ashurbanipal', in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995* (Helsinki, 1997), p. 347.

⁵⁸ See Sallaberger, *Kalender I*, p. 175: 'anstatt von einem einzigen "Jahresanfang" zu sprechen müssen wir eher von zwei Polen, die jeweils für sich einen "Jahresanfang" bilden, ausgehen'.

⁵⁹ See in general A. Falkenstein, 'akīti-Fest und akīti-Haus', in R. von Kienle et al. (eds.), *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 147–82; Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, pp. 401–3; for the Ur III period in particular see Sallaberger, *Kalender I*, pp. 123–4, 179–90; II, pp. 182–3; table 108.

the lines introducing him are missing at the end of Tablet II, but we can be sure that he is a spokesman for the city elders, who advise Gilgameš very similarly in the Yale tablet (OB III 247–71). The lines spoken to Enkidu perhaps reflect an early protocol: the assembly formally entrusts the king into the care of his bodyguard, who is charged to bring his lord safely home and restore him to the assembly's responsibility. This does not imply that the assembly exercised control over the king. It was the elders' duty to provide counsel that would guide his policy and government. In their absence Enkidu must fill this function, as indeed he does.

Before they set out on their journey Gilgameš and Enkidu must seek the approval of Šamaš, protector of travellers. In the Yale tablet Gilgameš addresses the sun god directly (OB III 216–21). In the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and Hūwawa he does this at Enkidu's bidding.⁶⁰ In the late epic the request for divine guidance and protection has developed into a much longer episode, which begins with the heroes' visit to Gilgameš's mother, Ninsun, in her temple at Uruk (13–22). There Gilgameš announces his intentions to her in the same words that in Tablet II he has used to the young men of Uruk (24–34). Gilgameš's bravado elicits sorrow in Ninsun, a devoted mother (35–6). Her response is to seek the help of Šamaš, who among the gods is Gilgameš's especial protector. To that end she conducts an elaborate ritual that begins with sevenfold ablutions in her bath-chamber; she then adorns herself in finery and gems (37–42). Having suitably prepared herself, Ninsun goes up on to the roof of her temple, where she strews incense before the sun god to attract his attention (43–5).

Ninsun's preparations recall cultic practice, for one is reminded that the ritual series *Bīt rimki*, 'House of Ablution', which prescribes the correct protocol for the king's ritual washing, divides the rites into seven 'houses'.⁶¹ Such bathing customarily took place in the early hours, often before sunrise.⁶² In the series *Bīt rimki* itself the king was expected to begin the ablutions in the wash-house at the very moment the sun rose,⁶³ and much of the litany of the ritual was addressed to Šamaš. Presumably these two facts are not coincidental. It is evident that in our passage Ninsun goes up on to the roof in order more effectively to speak to Šamaš. If the rituals she conducts reflect actual practice, what she is doing on the roof, having come straight from her seven baths, is making an offering to the rising sun. As a time when Šamaš was freshly up and least burdened by the day's business, the period immediately after dawn was no doubt the most effective moment for winning his attention.

Ninsun begins her long monologue by blaming on Šamaš her sons's desire for reckless adventure and by hoping that his wife, Aya the dawn, will intercede with him on Gilgameš's behalf, so that when the sun is no longer in the sky the hero is protected nonetheless, by the

⁶⁰ Bilgames and Hūwawa A 8–12.

⁶¹ J. Laessøe proposed 'that these seven "houses" were separate chambers, rather than individual huts, in the main structure' of the wash-house (*Bit Rimki*, p. 85); it seems equally possible that the ritual simply means that king was required to enter the bath-chamber seven times, as Ninsun does in the present passage.

⁶² Laessøe, *Bit Rimki*, p. 11.

⁶³ *BBR* no. 26 iv 34–5; cf. Laessøe, *Bit Rimki*, p. 84.

'watches of the night' (46–57).⁶⁴ The continuation of Ninsun's address to the sun is still fragmentary, but the publication of MS i and collation of MS aa have improved enormously our knowledge of what she says. After a short passage which is greatly damaged (58–62), Ninsun's monologue develops into a lyrical description of the dawn. As Šamaš rises each day, men and animals stir in his warming light and even the gods wait expectantly (63–73). A similar address to the sun god is found in the incantation *Šamaš muttal Anunnakkī etel Igīgī*, used in cases of a man's possession by a ghost:

^dšamaš(utu) muš-te-šir ek-le-ti šá-kin nu-ri a-na ni-ši
^dšamaš(utu) ina e-re-bi-ka nūr(zálag) ni-ši ú-ta-at-ṭi
^dšamaš(utu) ina a-še-ka i-nam-mi-ra kib-ra-a-ti
 e-ku-tum al-mat-tum ku(var. ki)-gul-la-tum {x} ru-ut-tum
 še-^rtuk¹(var. et)-ka uš(var. iš)-taḥ-ḥa-na ka-la ab-ra-a-tum
 bu-lum šik-na-at napīšti(zi)^{am} a-šu-ú(var. (a)-šu-ú) še-e-ri
 ú-ta-nab-ba-la-ka nap-šat-si-na meš-ri-ta (i.e., merīta?)

BAM 323, 21–6 // K 2132, 6'–8' (Gray, *Šamaš*, pl. 12 = *AJSL* 17, p. 235)

O Šamaš, who clears away the darkness and brings light to the people,
 O Šamaš, when you set, the people's light was turned to dark,
 O Šamaš, as you rise the world brightens!
 The homeless, the widow, the waif, the orphan girl,
 in your sunshine all mankind warms itself.
 The herds, the livestock, going out to the plain (var. the beasts of the plain),
 ever present themselves to you (in?) the pasture(?).

As the text of Tablet III again becomes fragmentary Ninsun repeats her plea that Aya remind Šamaš to commend her son to the care of the night (74–9). Next she asks for Šamaš to see to it that the days of Gilgameš's journey be long and the nights short, adding further requests concerning details of the march and seeking Aya's wifely intercession a third time (80–6). In the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and Hūwawa the sun god provides the hero with celestial guidance in the form of seven constellations that will show him the way to the Cedar Forest. In the Babylonian epic he gives help of a different kind, namely thirteen winds. This gift is made at Ninsun's prompting, for she continues her appeal by suggesting that Šamaš mobilize the storms against Hūmbaba at the moment of Gilgameš's need (87–93). The next section begins fragmentarily but the matter at hand is clear: Ninsun asks Šamaš to direct his attention to those who pray to him at morningtide and as his steeds pound across the sky; then at the day's end he will make his homecoming to the food and rest that await him (94–9).

The homecoming of the sun god is described more fully in a bilingual prayer to Šamaš for use at sundown.⁶⁵ It may be useful to quote the first eight lines in full:

⁶⁴ This passage has recently been expounded by Foster, *Essays Pope*, p. 33.

⁶⁵ Rubric: ka.inim.ma ki.utu.kam šá utu.šú.a, 'Incantation formula: ritual prayer to Utu at sunset'; on the homecoming of the sun see further W. Heimpel, 'The sun at night and the doors of heaven in Babylonian texts', *JCS* 38 (1986), pp. 127–51.

^dutu an.šà.šè ku₄.ku₄.da.zu.dè
 ana qé-reb šá-me-e ina e-re-bi-ka
^šsi.gar.kù an.na.ke₄ silim.ma ḥu.mu.ra.ab.bé
 šī-gār ša-me-e el-lu-tum šul-ma liq-bu-kum
^šig an.na.ke₄ šud ḥu.mu.ra.ab.bé
 da-la-at ša-me-e lik-ru-ba-a-kum
^dnig.si.sá sukkał ki.ág.gá.zu si ḥu.mu.ra.ab.sá.sá.e
 mi-ša-rum su-uk-kal-lum na-ra-am-ka liš-te-šir-kum
 é.babbar.ra ki.tuš nam.lugal.la.zu.šè nam.maḥ.zu pa é.i.ib
 ana é.babbar.ra šu-bat be-lu-ti-ka ši-ru-ut-ka šu-ú-pi
^dše₁₀.ri₅.da MUNUS.NITA.DAM ki.ág.gá.zu ḥul.la.bi hé.mu.un.da.gi₄.gi₄
^da-a ḥi-ir-tum na-ra-am-ta-ka ḥa-di-iš li-maḥ-ḥi-ir-ka
 ša.zu a.šed; ḥa.ba.an.ḥun.gá
 lib-ba-ka ne-eḥ-tum li-ni-ṭḥ
 kin.sig nam.dingir.ra.zu ḥu.mu.ra.an.gá.gá
 nap-ta-an i-lu-ti-ka liš-šá-kin-ku

Abel-Winckler, *KGV*, pp. 59–60, 1–16

O Šamaš, when you enter the interior of heaven,
 may the pure bolts of heaven (Akk. bolts of pure heaven) say to you 'Greetings!',
 may the doors of heaven hail you with blessings,
 may Divine Justice, your beloved minister, make (things) easy for you!
 Make your glory manifest to E-babbarra, the seat of your royal power!
 May Šerda (Akk. Aya), your beloved wife, meet you with joy,
 may she soothe your heart with cool water (Akk. may comfort soothe your heart),
 may she place the evening meal (before) your godhead (Akk. may a meal (fitting) your
 godhead be set before you)!

It is then, as she tends to her husband's needs after sunset, that Aya will have her best opportunity to remind Šamaš of Gilgameš. After a pause for breath, as it were (100), Ninsun comes to the last part of her monologue. She reminds Šamaš of Gilgameš's eventual destiny, of which she evidently has foreknowledge (101–6). The implication of these lines seems to be that he will number among the gods, having as such a celestial role with the sun and moon and travelling through the Apsū, there gaining wisdom. Less controversially, the passage reveals that the well-known fate of Gilgameš, to be a ruler and judge of the shades of the dead, was pre-ordained. There is something of a parallel here with the Sumerian Death of Bilgames, though there the revelation of the hero's chthonic role *post mortem* is made to him in a dream on his deathbed.⁶⁶ The very end of Ninsun's appeal to Šamaš in Tablet III is still badly damaged (107–15); it is clear, at least, that she holds the sun god responsible for Gilgameš's perilous journey and thus by implication she expects him to guard her son.

Coming down from the roof, Ninsun calls for Enkidu and speaks to him, telling him that she numbers him among the temple personnel, marking him with some formal indication of

⁶⁶ The passage is quoted in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Gilgameš as Judge and ruler of the shades.

his new status and confirming aloud his new relationship with her and with Gilgameš (116–28).⁶⁷ The new text recovered on MS aa corroborates the conventional view that this passage describes Ninsun's adoption of Enkidu into her family.⁶⁸ Here, then, is the realization of the prediction Ninsun made on hearing Gilgameš's dreams: that she would make Enkidu the equal of her son (OB II 43, SB I 290).

The manner of Enkidu's adoption needs comment. It seems that Ninsun is setting a precedent with Enkidu. Henceforth persons like him, orphans, foundlings abandoned by their families and children given up in time of famine, will belong to the temple of Uruk.⁶⁹ They will be taken in, marked with a special sign and raised under the nominal guardianship of the Divine Daughters, the junior goddesses of E-anna.⁷⁰ Evidently this means they will be brought up by the temple women (l. 123). The passage probably preserves old protocol that attended such institutional adoption.⁷¹ It can thus be understood as aetiology, explaining how the custom arose that temples took in waifs and strays and looked after them in return for their labour when older.

Finally, Ninsun repeats what she had earlier said to Šamaš regarding long days and short nights, and other details of the journey (129–35). Probably she still addresses Enkidu, and thus charges him to guard Gilgameš on the journey. After a lacuna we find Gilgameš and Enkidu taking part in some cultic ceremony but the text is very fragmentary and it is difficult to say more (146–55). A further lacuna interrupts the text and what follows is more damaged still: someone is wishing Gilgameš and Enkidu well for the journey and giving instructions about how best to divide each leg of the journey (166–73). A third lacuna intervenes at this point. When the text resumes Gilgameš is leaving instructions for the conduct of his city in his absence (202–11). The discovery of more of MS c provides a fuller knowledge of this speech and of what follows. The officers and young men mob Gilgameš as he and Enkidu depart, and repeat to him the blessing that the elders spoke at the beginning of the tablet (215–27). As the text breaks away near the end of the tablet, Enkidu begins speaking (228–33). Probably he tells Gilgameš to send the following crowd home, as he seems also to have done in the Yale tablet (OB III 277–80). The missing end of Tablet III no doubt told of the heroes' final departure.

⁶⁷ This episode has been discussed by A. L. Oppenheim, 'Mesopotamian mythology II', *Or NS* 17 (1948), pp. 33–4, by Foster, *Essays Pope*, p. 33, and again by Lambert in *Xenia* 32, pp. 139–40.

⁶⁸ So already A. Schott, 'Zu meiner Übersetzung des Gilgameš-Epos', *ZA* 42 (1934), p. 112.

⁶⁹ The function of temples as institutions that took in orphans and children whose parents could not or would not support them is seen at Uruk in many NB and LB documents from the archives of the temple of Ištar. Such children became *širku* oblates of Bēlet-Uruk (see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 484–6).

⁷⁰ Cf. *mārūt-ilti*^{ms} ē.an.na in *RAcc.*, p. 114, 10; note also Divine Daughters of Anu and Divine Daughters of Uruk, *RAcc.*, p. 68, 5'–8'; for other sets of Divine Daughters see A. R. George, 'Four temple rituals from Babylon', *Studies Lambert*, p. 295.

⁷¹ It is possible that the alliterative words here spoken by Ninsun as she adopts Enkidu were actually used in practice to induct an oblate formally into the temple 'family'. This and other details of Enkidu's adoption cannot be corroborated by other sources, however (see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB III 124).

TABLET IV

The text of the first three-quarters of Tablet IV comprises a set pattern of three episodes in sequence.⁷² As the text is reconstructed here, the sequence is repeated five times. The three episodes are (a) lines of narrative describing Gilgameš and Enkidu's progress on their journey, their camp for the night, their dream-ritual preparations and Gilgameš's sudden wakening in panic after a nightmare, (b) his relation of the dream to Enkidu and (c) Enkidu's explanation of it as favourable. The text of episode (a) appears always to be the same, disregarding a few very minor differences; episodes (b) and (c) contain very many fewer lines in common, for they are adapted each time to the different dreams and their various explanations.

The narrative episode (a) begins with lines that record Gilgameš and Enkidu's heroic speed of travel: running non-stop they make in three days the equivalent of forty-five days' march (1–4 // 34–7 // [79–82] // 120–4 // 163–5). Up to the night of the fifth dream the journey occupies five of these epic three-day marches. If one takes the text literally, they cover in these fifteen days a distance that would normally occupy seven and a half months. The three-day marches are already present in the Old Babylonian epic (OB Schøyen₂, 25–6). Every third evening the heroes rest. They pitch camp and conduct rituals to incubate a favourable dream (5–[15] // 38–[48] // [83]–93 // 125–[35] // 166–76). Though some text is still missing, the new fragment MS CC adds details to our knowledge of the ritual procedures that prepare for the dream incubations, as discussed by previous commentators.⁷³ Facing the setting sun, Gilgameš and Enkidu dig a well and, probably, make libations of its water to the sun god and Lugalbanda, just as the elders had instructed them to in the Old Babylonian Yale tablet. Then Gilgameš goes up to the top of the hill, makes offerings of flour to it and asks in return for a favourable dream. Meanwhile Enkidu has been hard at work building and making weatherproof what is, as I understand it, a special structure, the *bīt(?) Zaqīqi* (or *zaqīqi*),⁷⁴ 'house of the dream spirit (or spirits)'. *Zaqīqu* or *Ziqīqu* is well known as a spirit who brings dreams, and was given a place in the pantheon as a child of Šamaš, as too were his colleagues in this task, Mamu(d) and ^dAN.za.qar.⁷⁵ The *bīt zaqīqi* is a known expression, though elsewhere the reference is to abandoned dwelling-places swept by winds or haunted by phantoms (Sum. *gá.lil.lá*).⁷⁶ Enkidu then makes Gilgameš bed down in what

⁷² These were studied by B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', *RA* 62 (1968), pp. 97–120.

⁷³ Landsberger, *RA* 62, pp. 99–102 (ll. e–o); see further Oppenheim, *Dreams*, pp. 215–17; Renger in Oinas (ed.), *Heroic Epic and Saga*, p. 42; S. A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals* (AOAT 258; Münster, 1998), pp. 223–7. Two very different literary dream incubations, both unavailable to Oppenheim, occur in SB Atra-ḥašis V 60–71 (see A. R. George and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, 'Tablets from the Sippar library VI. Atra-ḥašis', *Iraq* 58 (1996), pp. 172–5, 182), and in a text published by I. L. Finkel, 'The dream of Kurigalzu and the tablet of sins', *AnSt* 33 (1983), pp. 75–80. On dream incubation in the ancient Near East see now Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, pp. 217–39.

⁷⁴ If correctly read; otherwise Bottéro: 'le rituel-mantique'.

⁷⁵ See Oppenheim, *Dreams*, pp. 232–6; Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, pp. 73–88.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 225–6.

appears to be a magic circle inside the structure and himself retires to lie down at its entrance. Finally, Gilgameš falls asleep. The episodes end with him waking up suddenly at dead of night, rousing Enkidu and telling him of his shock and dismay: he has had a dream that leaves him bewildered and apprehensive ([16]–22 // [49–55] // 94–100 // [136–42] // [177–83]).

Of the five passages in which Gilgameš relates his nightmares to Enkidu and Enkidu reassures him by explaining how they bode well (b–c), none is perfectly preserved. The first dream involves a mountain and falling (23–5). It is perhaps a version of the first dream in the edition of the Old Babylonian text represented by OB Schøyen₂, in which Gilgameš fails to prevent a mountain collapsing on him, is buried under an avalanche and rescued by Šamaš. There, the mountain stood for Ḫumbaba. In the present text Enkidu interprets the dream very briefly as symbolizing the giant Ḫumbaba's downfall at their hands (26–33). The second dream is missing entirely ([56 ff.]). The identification of MS t means, however, that a fragment of Enkidu's explanation is now extant; it mentions Ḫumbaba in circumstances that probably envisage him subdued (69–[78]). The third nightmare is the best preserved: Gilgameš dreams of a violent thunderstorm that sets the ground ablaze (101–7).⁷⁷ Enkidu's interpretation is almost entirely missing (108 ff.). The fourth dream is entirely lost ([143 ff.]). The fragmentary remains of Enkidu's explanation again describe a victory over Ḫumbaba (155–62). An unplaced fragment of one of Enkidu's interpretations is probably all that remains of the fifth dream episode; it describes Šamaš as saving the day by binding something's wings (1'–7'). The preceding dream was very probably the counterpart of the nightmare about the *Anzû*-bird preserved on OB Nippur as the fourth dream.

Enough survives of the dreams and their explanations in the late text to show that the sequence agrees with neither of those found in the older versions. The present state of knowledge of the dream sequences in the various versions can be tabulated as below. Too little survives of the dreams recounted in the fragmentary Assyrian MS x, and for that reason the version it represents is omitted from the table.

No.	OB text	MB text	SB text
1	avalanche (OB Schøyen ₂) wild bull (OB Harmal ₁)	trace only (MB Boğ ₂)	avalanche?
2	thunderstorm (OB Schøyen ₂)	avalanche (MB Boğ ₂)	trace only (MS t ii)
3	bull (OB Nippur)	[not extant]	thunderstorm.
4	<i>Anzû</i> -bird (OB Nippur)	[not extant]	trace (MSS CCw ₂ v)
5			<i>Anzû</i> -bird? (MSY ₃)

⁷⁷ This dream has been interpreted as describing a volcanic eruption, e.g. by E. von Weiher, 'Gilgameš und Enkidu. Die Idee einer Freundschaft', *Bagh. Mitt.* 11 (1980), p. 114. From the account given in OB Schøyen₂ 34–42 it is clear, however, that a storm is at issue; the fiery rain is lightning.

Evidently two different sequences of dreams were possible in the Old Babylonian period. The only extant Middle Babylonian tablet tallies with neither of them. An expansion of the older versions by the insertion or addition of one or more extra dreams cannot yet be proved but is to be expected. Comparison with the earlier material also clarifies the symbolism and pattern of the dream episodes. In each nightmare the ogre Ḫumbaba is represented by some violent and inhuman force that threatens to crush the hero. It is stated in the second-millennium texts that each apparition is worse than the previous one, a crescendo of terror that is not explicitly reported in the late version.⁷⁸ With Gilgameš pinned underneath his adversary there appears from nowhere a man, sometimes two men, to extricate and succour him. Enkidu explains that this knight in shining armour, as it were, is Šamaš, sometimes accompanied by Lugalbanda. With their help Gilgameš will surely emerge victorious from the coming battle with Ḫumbaba.

When the text of Tablet IV resumes the story has moved on. Someone is addressing Gilgameš in heroic terms (190–3), reminiscent in tone, if not in vocabulary, of a recurrent paean in the Sumerian poems:

i.a.lu ₄ .lu ₄ ù.luḫ.ḫa.sù.sù	Ho, hurrah! ⁷⁹ Tall-grown sapling,
dumu.gi ₇ gir ₁₇ .zal dingir.re.e.ne	noble one in whom the gods delight,
gu ₄ lipiš.tuku.mè.a.gub.ba	angry ox standing ready for combat,
en.tur ⁴ bil.ga.mes.unuḡ ^{ki} .ta.mi.du ₁₁ .ga	young lord Bilgames, honoured in Uruk!

Bilgames and Ḫuwawa A 130–4 // 164–9 // B 1–4, Bilgames and
the Bull of Heaven 120–2+

Versions of the Sumerian lines are expressed by the poet at the beginning of Bilgames and Ḫuwawa B, by Ḫuwawa or Enkidu when Bilgames comes face to face with the ogre, by Enkidu when he cautions his lord against setting Ḫuwawa free, and again by Enkidu when he encourages Bilgames to despatch the Bull of Heaven. The last occasion is a functional parallel to the Akkadian lines of the present passage, for on this occasion it is likely that Enkidu speaks, giving his lord heart once more. Šamaš overhears and shouts from the sky for Gilgameš to attack Ḫumbaba before the ogre has an opportunity to put on his protective cloaks (194–8). The narrative then turns to the figure of Ḫumbaba, who is heard bellowing in the depths of the forest (199–205).

A short lacuna intervenes. A fragment of text that seems to belong here contains text from the middle of a conversation between Gilgameš and Enkidu (210–19). The end of this conversation survives on another manuscript (226–48). Enkidu complains of stiff limbs. It is usually assumed he has been overtaken by the physical debility that the Cedar Forest is rumoured to inflict on those who venture into it (cf. SB II 229). Against this view, it must be cautioned that at this point the two heroes have not actually entered the forest proper, though they are already in earshot of Ḫumbaba. A presumption commonly made

⁷⁸ The phrases that express this are OB Schøyen₂ 33: *eli šuttim ša amuru pānūtīm palḫat*; OB Nippur 10: *etqet eli šalaštin šunāūya*; MB Boğ₂ i 12': *eli išēn šutūya šanūtu [etqet?]*. As reconstructed here the late text replaces this variety with a standardized line, *u šuttu ša amuru kallīš šāšāt* (SB IV 22 // [55] // 100 // [142] // [183]).

⁷⁹ For this interpretation of i.a.lu₄.lu₄ see the section on Bilgames and Ḫuwawa B in Ch. 1.

about Enkidu's speech is that he mentions the gate of the forest (231), but this involves a restoration where many others are possible and is not adopted here. Similarly in Gilgameš's reply (232–48) some have understood the text to report rubbing the body with a magic plant to banish fear of death (239).⁸⁰ This idea relies on a restoration that is even less compelling and should be abandoned. What is certain is that Gilgameš reminds Enkidu of their achievement in getting thus far, having crossed so many mountain ranges. The immediate allusion of this remark is to the mountain-tops on which Gilgameš conducted his rituals on the eve of each nightmare. The theme of a journey punctuated by mountain climbing also informs the Sumerian Bilgames and Ħuwawa, which tells how Bilgames's expedition, with the constellations to guide it, crossed seven mountain ranges before he found a suitable cedar.⁸¹ In the continuation of his speech Gilgameš urges Enkidu on to battle and glory. Occupied in such talk they arrive at the forest's edge, and Tablet IV concludes (249–50).

TABLET V

Gilgameš and Enkidu stand gazing at the forested slopes of the Cedar Mountain: the tracks made by Ħumbaba are clearly visible and they perceive that the mountain is the residence of gods and goddesses (1–6). The tradition in which the pantheon resides together on an imposing mountain has a long history in the east Mediterranean world but is not indigenous to southern Mesopotamia, where there are no mountains and where gods reside each in his own city. Nevertheless, it already informs two Old Babylonian Gilgameš texts that describe the Cedar Forest as the 'abode of the Anunnaki'.⁸² According to Lambert the notion of the 'pantheon residing on a mountain top' was introduced to southern Mesopotamia by the Amorites.⁸³

The poem goes on to describe the wondrous sight of the dense-growing trees, but the text quickly gives out (7–18). After a long lacuna a fragmentary passage relates how Gilgameš

⁸⁰ See esp. Landsberger, *RA* 62, p. 110.

⁸¹ Bilgames and Ħuwawa A 61–2 (ed. D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 81, pp. 187–8), B 60–1 (ed. Edzard, *BAW Sitzungsberichte* 1993, 4, pp. 22–3). The passage is quoted in Ch. 3, the sub-section on Climbing mountains.

⁸² OB Ishchali 38': *mūšab Enunnakkī* // OB IM 17–18: *mūšab itē Enunnakkī*.

⁸³ W. G. Lambert, 'Interchange of ideas between southern Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine as seen in literature', in H. J. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (CRRA 25), p. 314. There are indications in other literature that a mountain-top or other high place was a suitable home for the gods. Taken literally, a passage of Inanna and Ebilḫ suggests that one tradition identifies Mt Ebilḫ as the home of the Anunna gods (see A. Zgoll, *Der Rechtsfall der En-Ħedu-Ana im Lied nin-me-šara*, p. 91), but it may be a question of comparative juxtaposition rather than equation (so P. Attinger, 'Inana et Ebilḫ', *ZA* 88 (1998), p. 175, fn. 41). Another Sumerian tradition about the gods dwelling on a mountain is attested by the opening of the dispute between Ewe and Grain, according to which An sires the Anunna gods at Ħur.sag an.ki.bi.da.ke, 'the mountain of both heaven and earth' (B. Alster and H. Vansiphout, 'Lahar and Ashnan', *Acta Sum* 9 (1987), p. 14, 1). This is a cosmic location, not a terrestrial one, associated in that text with the primeval 'pure mound' (du₆.ku) on which the gods dwelt together (for this see George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 290; *House Most High*, p. 77). The 'pure mound' is not itself a natural hill, however, but a habitation mound or tell (du₆; I owe this insight to J. A. Black). The many ceremonial temple-names incorporating words for 'mountain' (kur, Ħur.sag) demonstrate nevertheless that the concept of the natural mountain as a suitable place for a god to dwell was common in lower Mesopotamia from at least the late third millennium, even if originally alien.

and Enkidu ready their weapons and enter the forest (53–8). Attention turns to Ħumbaba, but the text is so damaged at this point that we cannot determine what is happening (59–64). Then Gilgameš and Enkidu converse. What Gilgameš says is almost entirely lost (65–9) but he must be voicing his fears for the battle ahead, because Enkidu's reply is one of encouragement (70–80). The gist of his words is that in situations where one might fail a combined effort will surely succeed.⁸⁴ As the text is reconstructed here, there follows a short lacuna in which Ħumbaba learns of the intruders' presence. In the Sumerian poems and the Hittite paraphrase the guardian of the cedar is roused to action by the noise of Gilgameš and Enkidu felling his precious trees.

The text resumes at a point that in the Babylonian manuscripts marked the transition from Tablet IV to Tablet V. Ħumbaba has confronted Gilgameš and Enkidu. Perhaps knowing him for a king, Ħumbaba scorns Gilgameš as a fool for taking counsel with an ignorant bumpkin such as Enkidu and asks why he has come to the Cedar Forest (85–6). Then he turns to Enkidu, whom he knows of old, accuses him of betrayal and announces his intention of casting Gilgameš's dead body out as carrion (87–94). Again Gilgameš expresses his fear to Enkidu (95–8) and again Enkidu seeks to embolden him with proverbial wisdom, telling him the time for swift action has arrived (99–108). The intervention of a lacuna robs us of the next twenty lines. The first line of the resumption is evidently direct speech but it is not possible to be sure who has been speaking (130). The parleying is finished, however, and battle commences (131–2). Such is the force of the struggle that the Cedar Mountain is riven in two, so that from this moment it becomes the twin ranges of Lebanon and Sirara, the latter being Anti-Lebanon (133–4). This passage probably adapts an aetiological myth of Levantine origin.⁸⁵ A different tradition appears in the Old Babylonian tablet from Nērebtum, according to which the mountain appears to have been split asunder by Ħuwawa's yell (OB Ishchali 31'). A new piece of evidence can be adduced here. The military raid conducted against northern Syria, the Cedar Forest and beyond by Sargon of Akkade is well known from Old Babylonian copies of his inscriptions.⁸⁶ A recently published Old Assyrian pseudo-autobiography from a merchant's archive at Kültepe embellishes the historical evidence with a literary touch:

ša-du-a-am Ħu-ma-nam a-ši-ni-šu am-Ħa-sú-ma ki-ma si-ki-tim i-ba-ri-šu-nu ša-al-mi
ú-ša-zi-iz

Kt. j/k 97, 47–50⁸⁷

⁸⁴ This passage seems to collect proverbial wisdom and offers a well-known parallel to Ecclesiastes 4: 9–12. It has been studied by Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), p. 108, and, in part, by A. Shaffer, *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969), pp. 159–60 (in Hebrew). See further K. van der Toorn, *Veenhof AV*, p. 504.

⁸⁵ See further A. R. George, 'The Day the Earth Divided: a geological aetiology in the Babylonian Gilgameš Epic', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 214–19 (also in H. Erkanal et al. (eds.), *XXXIV Uluslararası Assirioloji Kongresi* (CRRA 34; Ankara, 1998), pp. 179–83), where I proposed that SBV 133–4 offers a mythological account of the creation of the Levantine rift valley.

⁸⁶ *PBSV* 34+vi and dupl., ed. Frayne, *RIME* 2, pp. 30–1, 13'–21'.

⁸⁷ Ed. Cahit Günbatı, 'Kültepe'den Akadlı Sargon'a âit bir tablet', *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (Bilgiç Mem. Vol., 1997), p. 135, copy on p. 153.

I smote Mount Amanus in two and set up a representation of myself between them as a peg of ownership.

In this passage the sundering of the mountain is a metaphor for Sargon's conquest. The text reveals that the myth of the violent sundering of the mountains of cedar was already a literary topos in Akkadian in the very early second millennium.

Under a sky darkened by a storm of death the combat between Gilgameš and Ĥumbaba continues until Šamaš comes to Gilgameš's aid, as Ninsun had asked him to do. The thirteen winds he sends against Ĥumbaba duly blind the ogre with dust and immobilize him, thereby giving Gilgameš the chance of striking at last the telling blow (135–43).

Then begins the long episode in which Ĥumbaba pleads for his life. He starts by acknowledging his captor's divine descent and royal rank (144–8), and goes on to point out that a servant is more use to his master alive than dead, with the implication that he is prepared to become Gilgameš's slave (149–50). The same argument is put forward in Marduk Hymn No. 1 by a sufferer seeking the god's mercy:

šá ti-[ti-iš] i-mu-ú me-nu-ú né-me-él-šú One become like clay, what use is he?
bal-[tūm-m]a ar-du be-la-šú i-pal-làḥ Only a living slave can revere his master!

W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 19 (1959–60), p. 57, 67–8

Ĥumbaba offers to remain on his mountain to look after the timber, placing it all at Gilgameš's disposal (151–5). The offer of timber is also known from OB Harmal₂ and the end of Tablet I of the Hittite paraphrase.⁸⁸ Enkidu chips in to warn Gilgameš not to listen to Ĥumbaba's entreaties (156–61). A lacuna intervenes to deny us knowledge of more than his opening words, but some idea of what he says can perhaps be had from the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and Ĥuwawa, in which Bilgames is disposed to spare his captive as a demonstration, so it seems, of kingly mercy and Enkidu points out the dangers inherent in such a course.⁸⁹ In Tablet V Ĥumbaba is infuriated by Enkidu's treachery and wishes he had killed him, presumably when they first met in Enkidu's childhood days (175–8). Nevertheless, he asks Enkidu to intercede for him with Gilgameš (179–80). Enkidu does no such thing but, instead, advises Gilgameš to kill Ĥumbaba at once (181–9). His crucial point seems to be the importance of destroying Ĥumbaba before Enlil learns what is going on (185). As we know from the several warnings in Tablets II and III, it was Enlil who gave Ĥumbaba the job of guarding the forest. He will not be pleased that his servant has been slaughtered; in fact Enkidu anticipates that all the gods will be angry, including the beneficent Šamaš, hitherto the heroes' protector (186–7). In the moment of triumph Enkidu appears to have thrown off the respect for the gods that marked his counsel in Tablet II. His advice now displays the same utter indifference to the great powers of the universe that informs the heroes' scorn of the goddess Ištar in Tablet VI. Hubris on this scale is, it seems, justified by the end. The lines are damaged but Enkidu's closing point seems to be one made earlier in the narrative, that

⁸⁸ Ed. Otten, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 8 (1958), pp. 116–17, 49–52.

⁸⁹ Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A 159–74, ed. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991), p. 222–6.

killing Ĥumbaba will bring eternal fame, a theme that emerges most clearly in the Yale tablet.⁹⁰

Ĥumbaba's reaction to Enkidu's demand for his death (190–1) is largely missing in a lacuna that intervenes here. When the text resumes it seems that Enkidu is making some retort, the import of which is lost (229). Ĥumbaba's reply makes the point that Enkidu is Gilgameš's servant (230–9). The implication is to ask what business is it of Enkidu's to give his master advice when he is only a hireling. The same motif occurs in the Sumerian poem:

ḥu.wa.wa en.ki.du₁₀.ra gù mu.na.dé.e
gá.ra en.ki.du₁₀ inim mu.na.ab.ḥul.ḥul
lú.ḥun.gá šà.gal im.ma.ḥun egir gaba.ri ús.sa a.na.aš.ám inim mu.na.ḥul.ḥul

Bilgames and Ĥuwawa A 175–7, ed. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 226–7

Ĥuwawa spoke to Enkidu:

'O Enkidu, you use wicked words to him about me,
a hired man is hired for rations, behind another such man he follows. Why use wicked words to him?'

In that text Enkidu is so infuriated that he kills Ĥuwawa without more ado. Here he turns to Gilgameš and repeats his exhortation to kill the ogre at once (240–5). Ĥumbaba then curses both his captors (246–57). All that remains of what was no doubt a very portentous speech is the last two lines. Neither hero shall grow old (256). This curse comes true for Enkidu literally, in that he will soon die in his prime, but also in a sense for Gilgameš, in that he is fated to fail in his quest for immortality and to squander his chance of periodic rejuvenation. Ĥumbaba's final curse is a standard one. He warns that Enkidu will have no one except his friend to look after his funeral and rites *post mortem* (257). The implication is that he will remain without family.

Enkidu's response is not completely preserved, but it is clear that the curses worry him and he urges immediate action (258–61). At last Gilgameš listens (262). Drawing his great dagger, he stabs Ĥumbaba in the neck, while Enkidu opens him up, eviscerates him and then extracts his 'teeth' (263–7). By 'teeth' is meant tusks, for this line surely alludes to the plunder of Syrian elephants' tusks for ivory.⁹¹ Tusks add to the elephantine imagery that the poet uses of Ĥumbaba, whose mighty bellowing can be heard far off in the forest (SB IV 202–5) and who leaves such well-trodden tracks in the undergrowth (SBV 4–5). We gather from the Old Babylonian account of the killing of Ĥuwawa that the ogre's death was accompanied by a terrifying portent, an earthquake that shook the hills (OB Ishchali 32'–3'). In the late version another lacuna intervenes but two lines are partly preserved that suggest the portent here is some kind of meteorological phenomenon (SB V 268–9). The lacuna ends in a

⁹⁰ OB III 160 // 188: šuma ša dārū anāku lušaknam.

⁹¹ See already A. R. George, review of von Weiber, *Uruk III*, *JNES* 52 (1993), p. 302. The hunting of elephants for ivory in Syrian Mesopotamia and Syria proper is well attested from the mid-second millennium to the ninth century, in inscriptions of Tuthmosis I and III of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty and of Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I to Shalmaneser III. On the Syrian elephant and the ivory trade in Mesopotamia see further P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 117–18.

narrative section telling how Gilgameš and Enkidu fell the cedar (289–91). From the tallest tree of all Enkidu then makes (or proposes to make) a great wooden door for the temple of Enlil in Nippur (292–8). The implication is that he hopes the gift will help to appease Enlil for the killing of the forest's guardian and the desecration of its sacred groves. The penultimate couplet of Tablet V describes the lashing together of the logs for floating downstream (299–300). The last tells of the heroes' tasks on their raft of cedar: Enkidu is crewman, while Gilgameš does something with his new trophy, the severed head of his victim (301–2). Humbaba's head plays no further role in the epic but in the Sumerian tale the heroic duo empty it out of their pack before Enlil in Nippur, who rebukes them for their sacrilege.⁹²

TABLET VI

The reaction of Enlil is not yet of interest to the poet of the Babylonian epic, who has another triumph in store for Gilgameš and Enkidu before nemesis catches up with them. Instead it is Ištar, the goddess of Uruk, who comes on the scene. As Gilgameš washes himself and his equipment, Ištar spies him and is seized with desire (1–6).⁹³ She wishes to know the sweet pleasure of making love to Gilgameš, figuratively expressed as 'tasting his fruits',⁹⁴ and proposes marriage to him (7–9). Her words are an inversion of the conventional *verba solemnia* of a marriage proposal.⁹⁵ Similarly, as if she were a young man courting his intended, she tries to win his heart with the promise of gifts. She offers to send to fetch him her personal war chariot, pulled by a fantastic 'mule team' of lion monsters (10–12). She invites him to enter their house amid the fragrance of cedar (13), a detail that recalls passages in which brides-to-be sprinkle the floor of their parents' houses with resinous perfume in preparation for the bridegrooms' visit.⁹⁶ The very structure and furniture of Ištar's palace will welcome Gilgameš as he enters (14–15). This idea is also found in the Dumuzi corpus.

⁹² Bilgames and Ħuwawa A 181–91, ed. Edzard, *ZA* 81, pp. 228–30.

⁹³ A perceptive commentary on much of Tablet VI, from l. 6 on, has been provided by Foster, *Essays Pope*, pp. 34–7.

⁹⁴ On this passage, and fruity language in other love poetry, see also W. G. Lambert, 'Devotion: the languages of religion and love' in M. Mindlin et al. (eds.), *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1987), pp. 28–31.

⁹⁵ As recognized by S. Greenus, 'The Old Babylonian marriage contract', *JAOs* 89 (1969), p. 516. Such sexual role reversal is permitted of goddesses addressing those subordinate to them (i.e. Ištar to Gilgameš, Ereškigal to Nergal in *EA* 357, 82), because the male superiority conventional in a patriarchy is reversed at the same time. As a literary device such 'symbolic inversion' is discussed and elaborated by Rivkah Harris, 'Images of women in the Gilgamesh epic', *Studies Moran*, pp. 219–30.

⁹⁶ In the composition known as Inanna and Iddin-Dagān the goddess herself prepares the welcome for her royal bridegroom to the sacred marriage ceremony: i.šim⁹⁷aren.na ki ām.sud.e, 'she sprinkles the ground with perfume of cedar' (l. 184). Further references to the sprinkling of such substances are collected by W. H. Ph. Römer in his edition of that text, *SKZ*, pp. 191–2. Note that, in a text from the courtship of Inanna and Dumuzi, the line u₃.šu.úr.me a ki dē.sud.e : ū-sā⁹⁸al⁹⁹li-ih¹⁰⁰ (*TuM NF* III 25 rev. 9 // 11, gloss according to C. Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 27), interpreted by Jacobsen, *Harps*, p. 11, as referring to the scattering of cedar perfume, is understood by others to mean 'may our neighbour sprinkle water on the ground' (C. Wilcke, *Afo* 23 (1970), pp. 86–7; B. Alster, *Studies Hallo*, p. 22; Sefati, *Love Songs*, p. 193).

An Akkadian text known from a Middle Babylonian copy relates Ištar's excited encouragement of the shepherd to visit her parents' house:⁹⁷

e-re-bu-uk-ka sik-ku-ru li-ri-šu-kum
dal-tum ra-ma-ni-ši-ma li-ip-pe-ta-[kum]-ma

J. A. Black, *JAOs* 103 (1983), p. 30, 6–7

May the bolts rejoice over you as you come in!
May the door even open itself [for you] of its own accord!

Once ensconced as husband of the Queen of Heaven, Gilgameš will have dominion over the entire earth. All secular authority will pay homage to him (16–17) and his livestock will flourish extraordinarily (18–21).⁹⁸

The opening passages of the Sumerian poem about Gilgameš, Inanna and the Bull of Heaven is, on the whole, very different but some points of similarity can be adduced. Inanna certainly wishes to seduce Gilgameš, for she refuses to let him go about his daily business, wanting to keep him for herself. That, at least, seems to be the import of the couplet that survives in the following versions:

Nippur A [am.mu] mu.lu.me.en.dē.en šu nu.[ri.bar.re.en]
[en⁹⁹bil.ga.mes am.mu mu.lu.me.[en.dē.en šu nu.ri.bar.re.en]
MSS Nd // Ng

Nippur B am.mu lú.me.en.dē.en [šu nu.ri.b]ar.re.en
[e]n⁹⁹bil.ga.mes.[c?] [am.mu lú.me.en.d]ē.en šu nu.ri.bar.re.en
MSS Ne // Nh

VAS X 196 [am.mu] lú.mu.un.dē.en šu nu.ri.bar.re
en⁹⁹bil.ga.mes am.mu lú.mu.dē šu nu.ri.bar.re
MS A i 3–4; all ed. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *RA* 87 (1993),
p. 112

Mê-Turan am.mu lu.mu im.ma.ni.[ta? . . .] šu nu.mu.ni.bar.re
[bil.ga.mes im.ma.ni.[ta? . . .] šu nu.mu.ni.bar.re
MS Ma i 22–3 // 34–5, ed. *ibid.*, p. 105

⁹⁷ These and other parallel passages are discussed by Lambert in Mindlin, *Figurative Language*, pp. 34–5. The wish that the architectural features of a building should welcome and bless their visitors also occurs in religious ritual. In a prayer to Nabû on behalf of a king the supplicant asks that [. . . para]kku(bāra) ki-sal pa-pa-ḥi li-n[a-š]i-qa šēp[ī] (gir)^{min.mei-ka} [. . .]x⁹⁹dalānu ḥi-ib-šū man-za-zu [. . .]x ba-la-ka liq-b[ī]-u ana [š]a-at u₃-me (V. Scheil, *RA* 18 (1921), p. 31 = Durand, *Catalogue EPHE* 341 rev. 8'–10'; NA copy), 'may the throne-dais, the courtyard of the cella kiss your feet, [and . . .] the doors, wall recesses, statue emplacements, [. . .] command your good health for all eternity'. A similar personification, if not even deification, of such features occurs in the *lākulū* texts, where are invoked the attention and blessings of šē-lu-ru libitū(sig.) ē.gal (= dub.lā!?) u ḥi-ib-šū, 'plaster, brickwork, pilaster(?) and wall recess' (III R 66 = Menzel, *Tempel* II 54 iv 1–2 // *STT* 88 iv 9'–10'; viii 4'–5').

⁹⁸ In a highly speculative and individual reading of the first part of Tablet VI, Abusch has likened this passage to Gilgameš's promise that 'the princes of the earth' will kiss Enkidu's feet at his funeral (SB VII 143 // VIII 87), a comparison which he adduces as evidence that, in the present passage, what Ištar is offering Gilgameš is his own removal to the realm of the dead (T. Abusch, 'Ištar's proposal and Gilgameš's refusal: an interpretation of the Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet 6, lines 1–79', *History of Religions* 26 (1986), pp. 143–87). The parallel is not compelling and the argument that 'Ištar is a death goddess' is a proposition with which few would agree, if any.

Schøyen [am.mu lú.me.en.dè.en šu nu.r]i.bar.re bi.in.dug₄
e[n^dbil.ga.me]s am.mu lú.me.en.dè.en šu nu.ri.bar.re
SC 2652/2 obv. 1–2⁹⁹

O my wild bull, *may you be* our man,¹⁰⁰ I shall not let you go!
O lord Bilgames, my wild bull, *may you be* our man, I shall not let you go!

The crucial line in Inanna's proposal comes at the end of the speech that includes these lines. It occurs twice, first uttered by Inanna and then reported by Gilgameš to his mother, Ninsun, and is structured exactly as in SB VI 9: *atta lū mutūma anāku lū aššatka*. The corruptions that hampered understanding of the principal sources previously known to us no longer hide the meaning of the line, thanks to the tablet in the Schøyen Collection, and it can now be fully read. The various manuscripts record the text as follows:

Nippur [d^bil.ga.mes . . . u]n.bi dè.mèn / [. .]x x[. .] dè.mèn
VAS X 196 d^bil.ga.mes za.e ù.NE hē.me.en za.e ga hē.e
MSS Ne // Nf // A i 8, coll.; cf. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87, p. 113

Mê-Turan d^bil.ga.mes za.[e . .] / gá.^re¹ [. .]
d^bil.ga.mes za.e mē? [x] im.ma.ni.ta / gá.e KA [g]a? im.ma.ni.^rta¹
MSS Ma i 27 and 39, ed. *ibid.*, p. 105

Schøyen d^bil.ga.mes [za].^re¹ [ù.m]u.un.bi dè.mèn / [gá.e] ga.ša.an.bi dè.mèn
SC 2652/2 obv. 6

O Bilgames, may you be its lord, let me be its lady!

The pronoun 'its' stands for E-anna, Inanna's temple, and her explicit wish is thus to share her cult centre with Gilgameš. The implication is very clear: she wants a husband to look after her earthly property and estate.

Returning to the Babylonian epic, Gilgameš's reaction to Ištar's proposal is to reject it, replying at length (22–79). The first part of his response remains fragmentary but some progress has been made with the recovery of a parallel passage in a Middle Babylonian edition (MB Emar, i 6'–12'). It seems that Gilgameš is very aware that marriage to Ištar would be no normal marriage, for as I understand it, he envisages that it would lack many comforts a wife conventionally provides, in particular care of the person, provision of decent clothing, food and drink (24–8). In fact, the goddess of sex and war would make so unsuitable a wife, nobody would dream of marrying her (32). The following lines present a long series of images that illustrate the less attractive characteristics of the goddess: her unreliability, her

⁹⁹ Courtesy Martin Schøyen and M. Civil; these lines repeat Inanna's words at second hand, when Gilgameš reports (bi.in.dug₄) Inanna's advances to his mother.

¹⁰⁰ The phrase mu.lu.me.en.dè.en means literally 'we are a man'. Such a statement may sometimes have been appropriate to Inanna but not on this occasion, when she is touting her sexual allure. My translation assumes that the phrase is corrupt for mu.lu.me.dè.me.en. This correction is supported by the equation of Mê-Turan's im.ma.ni.ta and Nippur's dè.mèn in the line cited next. 'Our man' refers to Ištar's alone; for similar self-references in the plural in Sumerian love poetry see Sefati, *Love Songs*, pp. 83–4.

treachery and her destructiveness (33–41). The last of these metaphors, the 'biting shoe', is also a phrase full of ominous threat, because in divination abrasion from an ill-fitting sandal is seen as an event with potentially fatal consequences. The most famous victim of a lethal 'shoe-bite' was Amar-Suen of Ur.¹⁰¹ Gilgameš then reflects that none of her lovers had lasted long and narrates the unfortunate histories of those whom she had already cast aside (42–4).¹⁰² Her first love was Dumuzi, his reward perpetual grief (45–7). Then came various bestial dalliances in which there is an element of aetiology: the *allallu*-bird, probably a hoopoe, whose wing Ištar broke, resulting in its characteristic call (48–50), the lion, whose fate is to be hunted with traps (51–2), and the horse, which, to its mother's grief, is broken in for the service of men and must muddy water before drinking it (53–7). Next is the shepherd, whose reward for faithful devotion was to be turned into a wolf and chased by his own dogs (58–63). Last, there is the longer account of Ištar's failed seduction of a date cultivator called Išullānu (64–78).

There is much mythology here, some of it known to us from other sources, some not. Ištar's courtship with Dumuzi, their wedding and his death are well-known topics. The reference to wailing is to an annual religious rite, the women's lamentation for the dead Tammuz that spread from Sumer all over the ancient Near East.¹⁰³ The myths of Ištar and the bird and Ištar and the lion are not extant, but there are references in Sumerian literature to the goddess's liaison with the horse, namely in Ewe and Grain 144–5: za.e [kù].^dinanna.gin₇ [anše].kur.ra ki im.a.ág, 'you, like [holy] Inanna, loved the horse', and l. 61 of the hymn to Ninegal: anše.kur.da ki.ná ak.a.zu.dè, 'when you share a bed with the horse'.¹⁰⁴ The reason for Ištar's traditional love of the horse may be ribald. Of all animals an erect stallion looks best equipped to service the goddess of sexual love. Ištar's affair with the shepherd is unknown except as an echo of the tradition that Dumuzi was a shepherd. The shepherd's fate, however, is a common motif, which several commentators have compared with the myth of the huntsman Actaeon in Pausanias and Ovid. Actaeon, turned into a stag by Artemis as a punishment for seeing her bathing naked, was chased and torn to pieces by his own hounds.

The longer passage reporting Ištar's attempted seduction of the gardener Išullānu, his spurning of her and what she does in revenge, acts as a doublet of Gilgameš's encounter with the goddess.¹⁰⁵ Ištar's penchant for gardeners also finds expression in the Akkadian Sargon

¹⁰¹ See the references to *nīšik šēni* collected by A. Goetze, 'Historical allusions in the Old Babylonian omen texts', *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 261, nos. 29–31; further *CAD* N/2, p. 282.

¹⁰² Ištar's capricious treatment of her favourites is also reflected in a Hittite hymn (E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* no. 717); the relevant passage is edited by Ilse Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Sawuška in Kleinasien* (AOAT 36; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), p. 49. I owe these references to the kindness of V. Haas.

¹⁰³ For the women's mourning see T. Jacobsen, 'Religious drama in ancient Mesopotamia', in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 71–2; R. Kutscher, 'The cult of Dumuzi/Tammuz', in J. Klein and A. Skaist (eds.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology* (Ramat Gan, 1990), pp. 41–3; and, in what appears to be a MB dialogue between the dead Dumuzi and Ištar, the commentary on SB VI 47 in Ch. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Ed. B. Alster and H. Vanstiphout, 'Lahar and Ashnan', *Acta Sum* 9 (1987), pp. 24 and 38; Behrens, *Ninegalla*, pp. 30 and 99–100; see already M. Civil, 'Notes on Sumerian lexicography, I', *JCS* 20 (1966), p. 122. There is also an Ugaritic fragment that associates Ištar's Syrian counterpart, Athtart (Aštarte), with the horse: Virolleaud, *PRUV* 158, 6.

¹⁰⁵ See already the full discussion by Abusch, *History of Religions* 26 (1986), pp. 167–71.

Legend, when Ištar falls in love with Sargon as he works in the date grove of his adoptive father,¹⁰⁶ and in the Sumerian tale of Inanna and Šukalletuda. The relationship of this episode of the Babylonian epic to the Sumerian myth has been treated by Volk in his recent edition of the latter.¹⁰⁷ Išullānu's career differs from Šukalletuda's in that in the Sumerian text Inanna had another reason for her vendetta against the gardener. Taking advantage of her extreme exhaustion, he had made love to her while she slept. Here Išullānu is guilty of refusing the goddess's advances and insulting her. The myth of Ištar and Išullānu provides a precedent for Gilgameš's response to Ištar's overtures but it had an independent function, too, as an aetiology of the enigmatic *dallahu* (various interpretations of this word are considered in the commentary on VI 76).

Having subjected Ištar to this long barrage of abuse, Gilgameš asks her rhetorically whether he can expect to receive any different treatment at her hands (79). Her reaction is that of an angry child. She runs off to complain to her parents of the rough treatment she has had to endure (80–6). Her father, Anu, knows his daughter well, for he suspects at once she was at fault (87–91). Ištar then demands the Bull of Heaven, the constellation Taurus, with which to kill Gilgameš in revenge (92–5). In order to get her way she threatens to release the dead from the Netherworld so that they overwhelm the living and eat them (96–100). In modern times the stuff of low-grade motion pictures, the threat of the risen dead plays on a universal human fear. It is a well-known topic in Babylonian literature and the threat is traditionally Ištar's to make. The two couplets ll. 97–100 are very similar to lines of Ištar's Descent and Nergal and Ereškigal. The wording of the threat varies slightly from text to text and manuscript to manuscript, particularly as regards the first couplet:

a-mah-ḥa-aš dal-tum sik-ku-ru a-šab-bir
a-mah-ḥa-aš si-ip-pu-ma ú-ša-bal-kai ^{vis}*dalāti*(ig)^{mes}
ú-še-el-la-a mi-tu-ti ikkalū(gu₇)^{mes} *bal-tu-ti*
eli bal-tu-ti i-ma-'i-du mi-tu-ti

CT 15 45, 17–20: Ištar's Descent, Kuyunjik MS

I shall strike the door, I shall break the bolt,
 I shall strike the door-jamb and throw down the door-leaves!
 I shall bring up the dead to consume the living,
 the dead will outnumber the living!

a-ma-ḥaš si-ip-pa uš-ba-lak-ka-ia ^[vis]*dalāti*^{mes}
 [a]šab-bir giš-ri-na-am-ma a-ša-[ḥaš? k]a?-ár-ra
 [e]l-lu-ú-ni mītiū^{mes}-ma ik-kal [ba]l-tu-[t]i
 el me-tu-te i-ma-'i-du [bal-t]u-t[e]

KAR 1 obv. 15'–18': Ištar's Descent, Aššur MS

I shall strike the door-jamb, I shall throw down the door-leaves,
 I shall break the door-beam and pull [off the] knob!

¹⁰⁶ CT 13 42, 11 // 43, 12, ed. Westenholz, *Legends*, p. 40: [i-naⁿⁱ nukaribbu(nu.^{su}kiri)-ti-ia⁴ š-tar lu-u-i-ra-man-ni-ma, 'while I was a date cultivator Ištar did feel love for me']

¹⁰⁷ K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukalletuda* (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 53–64.

The dead will come up to consume the living,
 the living (*sic*) will outnumber the dead (*sic*)!

ú-še-l-(lam)-ma mītiū^{mes} ikkalū^{mes} bal-tu-ti
el bal-tu-ti u-šam-ad mītiū^{mes}

STT 28 v 11'–12' // 26'–7': Nergal and Ereškigal

I shall bring up the dead to consume the living,
 I shall make the dead outnumber the living!

Anu counters with a ploy he hopes will give Ištar time to relent. Knowing the havoc the fiery bull will wreak on the city's harvest and water supply, he insists that Uruk first be allowed seven years of plenty as a buffer against famine (101–5). Ištar has already seen to this condition and reiterates her intention of avenging her humiliation (106–12). Anu has no choice but to give in; the bull is hers (113–14).

In the Sumerian poem it appears that Inanna's father, An, comes across his daughter weeping and asks the reason for her tears. She tells how Gilgameš is behaving like an ox on the rampage in Uruk, an image that occurs at this same point in a version of the Babylonian epic from Boğazköy.¹⁰⁸ Then she asks her father for the Bull of Heaven with which to kill Gilgameš. This interpretation, very different from that of the text's most recent editors, is justified elsewhere.¹⁰⁹ Clearly she intends this as his punishment for scorning her advances. An's reluctance to let her have the bull is articulated in his objection that the celestial bull would find no sustenance on earth, for it grazes where the sun rises. Inanna's riposte is a threat to scream until heaven and earth collide. In the face of such a disaster An has no choice but to give his daughter the bull.¹¹⁰

In the Babylonian epic Ištar leads the bull down to Uruk, where its fiery presence withers the vegetation and evaporates the waterways (115–18). Each great snort of its breath makes a huge pit in the earth like a vast hunter's trap, into which the city's men fall in numbers, first one hundred, then two hundred, then (in one textual tradition) three hundred, and finally Enkidu himself (119–24). Being heroically large, Enkidu is easily able to climb back out of the pit, whereupon he wrestles the bull by its horns (125–7). While in this precarious position he calls out to Gilgameš, invoking the heroes' need to live up to the people's expectations (128–31). Then he reveals his plan: he will move to the bull's back end and immobilize it by holding its tail and stepping on its hind leg, thus giving Gilgameš the opportunity to skewer its neck with his dagger (132–40). In iconography it is conventional for heroes to pin an enemy down by stepping on the back of the hock, calf or ankle. The exact technique in the case of bull-wrestling is illustrated by a Babylonian clay plaque from the early second millennium and later cylinder seals: the one who holds the bull's tail pushes his foot down on the back of the bull's hock (one example of the scene is given in Fig. 1, on p. 101).

¹⁰⁸ MB Boğ₂ rev. vi 15'–16': *bīru ša iti.6^{am} [. . .] iṣlāni*.

¹⁰⁹ A. R. George, 'How women weep? Reflections on a passage of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven', in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (CRR 47/1; Helsinki, forthcoming).

¹¹⁰ VAS X 196 ii 6–iii 1 and duplicates, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, RA 87, pp. 115–17.

As it was said, so it was done (141–6). A similar tactic is employed in the Sumerian poem: Enkidu holds the bull's tail and shouts encouragement to Gilgameš, who despatches the animal by striking the crown of its head with his battle-axe.¹¹¹ In the Babylonian account the heroes next remove the bull's heart, present it to Šamaš and, after the proper ritual of prostration, retire to rest (147–50). The dedication of a slaughtered bull's heart to the sun god is also found in one of the Sumerian narrative poems about Lugalbanda:

am.si₄ am.kur.ra.ke₄ lú.gěšbu.gin₇ im.ma.ab.DU (var. im.ma.DU.DU) lú.lirum.ma.gin₇
 im.ma.šī.gurum
 lipiš.bi im.ta.an.zi⁴utu.è.a.ra mu.na.an.gar
 Lugalbanda Epic I 360–1¹¹²

Like an athlete he chased after the red bull, the bull of the mountains, like a wrestler he subdued it,
 he tore out its heart, he set it before the rising sun.

The context there is the aftermath of the hero's wrestling a wild bull to the ground. It seems that the two passages report a customary practice in the ancient Mesopotamian art of bull-slaying. At least two Old Babylonian clay plaques survive that depict a man thrusting his hand into the thorax of a supine bull, presumably to pull out its heart. One is illustrated here (Fig. 14).¹¹³

Enraged by the heroes' victory, Ištar goes up on to the city wall¹¹⁴ and calls down what is probably a curse on Gilgameš (151–3). Enkidu defends his friend by tearing a leg off the carcass and throwing it at her, accompanied by furious vituperation (154–7).¹¹⁵ Ištar establishes rites of mourning for the bull among the temple women of Uruk (158–9). This inconsequential detail is perhaps an aetiology.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, Gilgameš calls his craftsmen together to admire the dead bull's huge horns, and has them made into a pair of rhyta in

¹¹¹ *VAS* X 196 iv 16 ff. and duplicates (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87, pp. 120–1) // *MS* Ma 119–27 (ibid., p. 107).

¹¹² Text after H. L. J. Vanstiphout, 'Reflections on the dream of Lugalbanda', in J. Prosecký (ed.), *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East* (CRR 43; Prague, 1998), p. 411. A slightly different rendering is given by J. A. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (London, 1998), p. 183: 'its strength left it', for lipiš.bi im.ta.an.zi. Vanstiphout, *CRR* 43, p. 407, translates the same phrase 'its innards he took out'.

¹¹³ The plaque was first published in an exhibition catalogue of the Paul Klapper Library Art Collection, *Man in the Ancient World* (Flushing, NY, 1958), p. 14, no. 28. I thank Tallay Ornan of the Israel Museum for supplying me with this photograph and also with a reference to a similar plaque now in the Iraq Museum, IM 21305, published in *A Guide to the Collections in the Iraq Museum* (Baghdad, 1937), p. 65, fig. 52.

¹¹⁴ In the Sumerian poem Inanna watches the bull-fight from the wall: ⁴inanna.ke₄ bād.da igi im.ma.ni.in.du₈ (*MSS* Nn // Nq, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87, p. 120).

¹¹⁵ In the Sumerian poem it is Gilgameš who cuts off the bull's leg (*zag.dib.ba*) to throw at Inanna (*MSS* Ma // Mb 131, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87, p. 108). The words he shouts at her are not identical to SB VI 156–7 but may have a similarly blunt message (*MSS* Ma // Mb 133).

¹¹⁶ Bottéro describes the passage as 'étologie possible d'un rite connu à Uruk' (*L'épopée*, p. 132, fn. 1). Perhaps he is thinking of the nocturnal ritual during which a bull is slaughtered at the Dais of Destinies and its haunch removed before the carcass is flayed (*RAcc*, p. 69, rev. 7): ^uimūti(*zag.dib*) *alpi*(*gu₄*) *a-di maški*(*kuš*)-šú *ū-ti-ir*, 'he takes away the haunch together with its skin'. This ritual belongs not to the cult of Ištar, however, but to the cult of Anu in the *bū rēš*, and is very late. No doubt similar rites happened in many cults, nevertheless, and Bottéro's insight may be correct.



FIG. 14. Terracotta plaque apparently depicting a man tearing out the heart of a slaughtered bull. Israel Museum 70.71.571; Old Babylonian; height 7.5 cm, width 13.5 cm.

which to keep unguent for Lugalbanda (160–6). The allusion is evidently to the ritual anointment of a statue kept by Gilgameš in his private chamber for the purpose of honouring his deceased father.¹¹⁷ Rather surprisingly, given the recent hostilities, the Sumerian poem ends with the hero presenting the bull's horns instead to Inanna.¹¹⁸

Gilgameš and Enkidu wash in the river and drive triumphantly into Uruk, to the great acclaim of the townsfolk and palace staff (167–78). The last three lines are fragmentary and open to interpretation. At least the first is direct speech, for it contains the phrase *ina uzzūni*, 'in our fury', which is suitable only for Gilgameš and Enkidu and not for the crowd. The line thus gives the reply of the all-conquering heroes to the adulation that greets them. The next line describes someone in the third person singular, someone about whom, as I read it, no one speaks ill. In the context of the paean that has gone before, it seems reasonable to suggest that the line resumes the serving girls' chorus and further describes the object of their adulation, the triumphant Gilgameš. Their statement *mutappila ul īšu*, 'he has none that defames him', is a curious one. It seems to me that this observation must recall the situation described in SB I 73–93, when the bullying of Gilgameš brought loud complaints from the

¹¹⁷ Dalley, p. 129, n. 68. For such ancestor cults see further K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Ugarit and Israel* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 58–9.

¹¹⁸ *MS* Ma // Mb 139, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *RA* 87, p. 108.

womenfolk of Uruk. At that point in the story Gilgameš did not enjoy the favourable opinion of his people; now, however, he does. So the reference emphasizes the contrast between then and now, between the hero as the oppressor of Uruk and the hero as its saviour.

We are back on firm ground with the last five lines. Gilgameš holds a celebratory banquet and those that are not on watch fall asleep, Enkidu among them (179–81). Then Enkidu awakes, having had a dream (182–3).

TABLET VII

Since the beginning of Tablet VII remains to be recovered, the reader must refer for the missing episode to Fragment f of MB Boğ, and, more profitably, to the Hittite paraphrase.¹¹⁹ Enkidu tells his dream to Gilgameš. In it he observed Šamaš and the great gods, Anu, Enlil and Ea, arguing over the heroes' punishment for killing Ĥumbaba and despatching the Bull of Heaven. One of the pair must die. Despite Šamaš's protestations, Enlil decrees that it will be Enkidu. Enkidu laments his fate to Gilgameš. At the resumption of the Babylonian epic we do indeed find Enkidu talking to Gilgameš (28–36), but his thoughts appear to have moved on from sad contemplation to angry retribution, for already he mentions the door (32). This is the great door of Lebanese cedar he had made for Enlil's temple in Nippur after Ĥumbaba's demise. Now he speaks to it directly, describing how he had fashioned it and dedicated it (28–46). The question arises as to where this scene takes place. The conventional view is that the judgement of Enlil has had immediate effect and that Enkidu, already in a delirious decline, never rises from the bed in Uruk in which his doom was communicated to him.¹²⁰ Enkidu wishes that instead of giving the door to Enlil, his executioner, he had bestowed it on Šamaš to adorn his temple in Sippar, for Šamaš had been a true ally (47–58). Apparently unable to undo his handiwork himself, he curses the door in terms that exactly reverse the prayers of blessing conventional in building and votive inscriptions (59–64).

Gilgameš weeps (65–7). The beginning of his reply to his friend is not well preserved. It seems to contrast Enkidu's former, rational state of mind with the delirium that has made him speak as he has (68–71). In his view the dream of doom is to be cherished as remarkable (72–4). Gilgameš fully understands that it signifies death, for he cites as a truism the received opinion that the true pain of death is the sorrow it brings to those whom the deceased leaves behind (75–6). He will pray for his friend's wellbeing to Šamaš and the great gods (77–81). Evidently he hopes by this means to reverse their decree. Gilgameš finishes by promising to make a statue of Enkidu using lavish quantities of gold (82–3). Later he will

¹¹⁹ See R. Stefanini, 'Enkidu's dream in the Hittite "Gilgamesh"', *JNES* 28 (1969), pp. 40–7.

¹²⁰ For Foster, Enkidu's address to a door, and one he cannot even see, is symptomatic of his loss of reason (for Foster's commentary, often very instructive, on episodes in Tablet VII see *Essays Pope*, pp. 37–40). A dissenting view is that of Bottéro, who restores ll. 28–32 to contain Enkidu's proposal to go with Gilgameš to Nippur, and their arrival at the entrance to the temple of Enlil (l. 31 = Bottéro, *L'épopée*, p. 136, 30': à l'entrée [du temple d'Enlil(?)]', i.e. *i-na-ne-[reb būr Enlil . . .]*). This remains highly uncertain. More text is needed.

make the customary funerary statue of the costliest materials available but such an object is not the issue here, it seems. The purpose of a statue at this juncture would presumably be as a votive figure, set up before the gods to remind them of Enkidu's plight and Gilgameš's petition. Enkidu tells him not to waste his time, for Enlil has spoken and, as everybody knows, he is one god who never alters his judgement: Enkidu will surely die before his time (84–9).

The subject matter of the next ninety-two lines is essentially that of MB Ur (90–133 // MB Ur 1–42, 151–71 // MB Ur 48–69). As dawn breaks Enkidu turns to the rising sun and curses the hunter (90–5). Evidently he saw this person, who first spied him in the wilderness, as an indirect instrument of his misfortune, for their initial encounter was the first link in the chain of events that led inexorably to his doom. The curses require that, like Enkidu, the hunter shall never emerge from the shadow of his friend's success (96). Earning a pittance, he shall be dogged by bad luck (97–9). Next Enkidu curses the prostitute, Šamḫat (100–5). The text uses standard language. The sentiments expressed are articulated in similar fashion in Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld, on the occasion of the cursing of Ašūšu-namer by Ereškigal:

al-ka^m ašū-šu-na-mir lu-zir-ka iz-ra rabâ(gal)^a

CT 15 47, 2: Nineveh MS

Come, Ašūšu-namer, I will curse you with a great curse!

al-kâ[m-ma] aš-na-me-er šim-ti la ma-še-e lu-šim-ka
[lu]-šim-ka-ma šim-ti la ma-še-e ana ša-a-ti

KAR 1 rev. 18'–19': Aššur MS

Come, Aš-namer, I will determine you a destiny never to be forgotten!

I will determine you a destiny never to be forgotten for all time!

Several of the curses that Enkidu lays on Šamḫat are also found in the same text:

šilli(gissu) dūri(bād) lu-ú man-za-zu-ka
as-ku-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-ú-ka
šak-ru ú ša-mu-ú lim-ḫa-šu le-et-ka

CT 15 47, 5–7

šilli(gissu) dūri(bād) lu-ú ma-za-zu-ka
ak-su-pa-tu lu-ú mu-ša-ba-ka

KAR 1 rev. 22'–3'

May the lee of the city wall be where you stand!

May the thresholds be where you stand!

May drunk and sober strike your cheek!

A similar couplet appears in an Old Babylonian incantation, with reference to a dog:

[š]-il-li du-ri-im mu-uz-za-zu-ú-šu
as-ku-pa-tum na-ar-ba-šu-šu

VAS XVII 8, 3–4, ed. M. Sigrist, 'On the bite of a dog', *Essays Pope*, p. 86

The lee of the city wall is where he waits,
the thresholds are where he lies.

Such curses were thus traditionally associated with human beings that were kept on the margins of society, outside the bounds of respectability,¹²¹ and animals that were shunned as potentially dangerous. As an individual, Šamḥat is the target of Enkidu's anger most obviously because she was directly instrumental in bringing Enkidu to civilized society and eventually to his present predicament. His curses demand that she and her kind be denied all the usual pleasures of women in a traditional society—a comfortable home, children and the company of other respectable ladies—and that the finery the prostitute displays to signal her profession shall be dirtied in pleasing her clients (106–14). She shall be an outcast, forced to live and work in uncomfortable circumstances,¹²² reviled by human society and persecuted by the law (115–20). The leaking rafters over her head shall attract the owl (121–2). The association of this bird and the prostitute is well known and replete with significance, for both were active by night, and the owl is traditionally viewed as a sad and solitary creature, as well as one of bad omen.¹²³ A short gap in the text deprives us of the last curses. When it resumes, Enkidu gives the reason for his vitriol: by seducing him in the wilderness, Šamḥat deprived him of strength and purity (127–31). Enkidu's anger with the prostitute thus originates from more than the part she played in the mechanics of the plot. It is also an expression of a common human emotion, regret for the loss of innocence.

Šamaš hears Enkidu's curse and rebukes him for using such harsh words against the woman who civilized him and gave him the opportunity to befriend the magnificent Gilgameš (132–8). He predicts that Gilgameš will arrange a splendid funeral for him, laying him out in state on a funerary bed, placing a seat for him on his left at the funerary banquet and summoning the gods of the Netherworld to participate in the feast (139–43).¹²⁴

¹²¹ The implicit equation in these passages of Gilgameš and Ištar's Descent of Aššūš-namer, the prototype *assinnu* (Nineveh MS) or *kulu'u* (Aššur MS), with the prostitute is strong evidence, often cited, that the *assinnu* and his like were, among other things, male prostitutes. See most recently W. G. Lambert, 'Prostitution', in V. Haas (ed.), *Aufbenseiter und Randgruppen* (Xenia 32; Konstanz, 1992), pp. 148–53; and S. M. Maul, 'Kurgarrū und *assinnu* und ihr Stand in der babylonischen Gesellschaft', *ibid.*, pp. 159–71.

¹²² In Babylonia the city wall traditionally afforded shelter to prostitution, as is confirmed by an OB cult song in which Ištar invites the city's young men to an orgy there (W. von Soden, 'Ein spät-altbabylonisches *pārum*-Preislied für Ištar', *Or NS* 60 (1991), p. 340, 14): *a-na šī-il-li du-ri-im i ni-liḫ*, 'let us go to the lee of the city wall'. See also the discussion of this text by V. A. Hurowitz, 'An Old Babylonian bawdy ballad', *Studies Greenfield*, p. 552.

¹²³ On owls and prostitutes see further T. Jacobsen, 'Pictures and pictorial language (the Burney relief)', in M. Mindlin et al. (eds.), *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1987), pp. 4–5.

¹²⁴ The ritual of laying out the deceased on a funerary bed is described in a late text that records or mimics the funeral arrangements for a royal personage, edited by W. von Soden, 'Aus einen Ersatzopferferritual für den assyrischen Hof', *ZA* 45 (1939), pp. 42–61 (see further E. Dhorme, 'Rituel funéraire assyrien', *RA* 38 (1941), pp. 57–66; Parpola, *LAS* II, pp. 190–1; J. A. Scurlock, 'K 164 (BA 2, p. 635): new light on the mourning rites for Dumuzi?', *RA* 86 (1992), pp. 53–67; ed., 'Magical uses of ancient Mesopotamian festivals of the dead', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 100–3; Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, pp. 36–8). The first day of the two at issue is named as *u-mu ša erša(ná)-šú i-ka-ra-ru-u-ni*, 'the day they set up his bed' (l. 15).

Two Sumerian laments allude to funerary rituals in which a bed and chair are provided for the deceased, who is represented by an anthropomorphic figurine or statue: see D. Katz, 'The messenger, Lulil and the cult of the dead', *RA* 93 (1999), pp. 107–18. The related custom of reserving a chair for the ghost of the departed is described by J. A. Scurlock, 'Soul emplacements in ancient Mesopotamian funerary rites', in L. Ciriaola and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magical and Divination in*

Distraught at his loss, Gilgameš will even abandon his city and wander the earth in mourning (144–7)—all this, implicitly, because Šamḥat brought Enkidu to Uruk. Chastened, Enkidu relents and blesses her (148–52). She shall be desired by all men, the powerful shall shower her with gifts and Ištar, the patron deity of prostitution, shall arrange for her to supplant some rich man's wife (153–61). The long passages of cursing and blessing function as a commentary on the ambivalent position of the prostitute in society. They can also be viewed as an aetiology for the treatment that such women attract in human communities. Some are scorned, others rise to elevated positions.

From the presence of both curses and blessings one may also infer a wider symbolism, in which the twofold destiny of the prostitute is an example of the vicissitudes in fortune experienced by different individuals for no obvious reason. The destiny of every mortal—not only prostitutes—is an arbitrary matter. Life is unfair: some people have luck, others suffer misfortune.

As Enkidu lies on his deathbed he tells Gilgameš of another dream he had the previous night (162–4). Standing alone in the midst of a cosmic thunderstorm, he had encountered a monstrous being (165–70). The description implies that this is the angel of death. The monster overpowered Enkidu, whose cries for help went unheeded by a terrified Gilgameš (171–8). A short lacuna interrupts at that point. The dream continued with Enkidu bound and dragged off to the Netherworld (182–4). Enkidu's captor turns him into a bird in order to take him there, a detail that offers an additional insight into the Babylonian belief that the dead were clothed in feathers.¹²⁵ The famous beginning of Enkidu's description of the Netherworld describes the dismal conditions in which the shades of the dead eke out their pitiful existence (185–92). Slightly different versions of these lines are found in Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld and Nergal and Ereškigal, showing them to be standard material in the Babylonian poetic repertoire:

<i>a-na bīti(é) e-ṭe-e</i>	<i>šu-bat 4ir-[kal-la]</i>	// SB VII 184
<i>a-na bīti(é) ša e-ri-bu-šu</i>	<i>la a-šu-[ú]</i>	// SB VII 185
<i>a-na ḥar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša</i>	<i>la ta-a-a-[raṭ]</i>	// SB VII 186
<i>a-na bīti(é) ša e-ri-bu-šu</i>	<i>zu-um-mu-ú nu-[ú-ru]</i>	// SB VII 187
<i>a-šar epru(saḥar) bu-bu-us-su-nu</i>	<i>a-kal-šu-nu ṭi-i-[ṭi]</i>	// SB VII 188
<i>nu-ú-ru ul im-ma-ru</i>	<i>ina e-ṭu-ti aš-[bu]</i>	// SB VII 190
<i>lab-šu-ma kīma(gim) iṣ-ṣu-ri</i>	<i>šu-bat gaṭ-[pī]</i>	// SB VII 189
<i>eli(ugu) 65dalti(ig) u 65sikkūri(sag.kul)</i>	<i>ša-bu-uh ep-ru</i>	// SB VII 191

CT 15 45, 4–11: Ištar's Descent, Nineveh MS

the Ancient World (Groningen, forthcoming). See also the grave inscription of Queen Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua, which curses *nám-ma ar-ku-ú [šā] 65kussi(gu.za)-ia [iš]su(ta) pa-an eṭemmē(gidim) 65[] ú-na-kar-ú-ni*, 'any future person [who] removes my chair from the (congregation of) ghosts', i.e. from occasions when the shades gather for their offerings (Abdulilāh Fadhil, 'Die Grabinschrift der Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua aus Nimrud/Kalḫu', *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 (1990), p. 473, 5–7; cf. p. 478). In funerary offerings to the shades of the dead such chairs were placed to the left of the ritual apparatus (*riksu*). Left is not normally a favourable direction, in Mesopotamia as elsewhere. Presumably the notion was that what boded ill for the living brought luck to the dead.

¹²⁵ Cf. SB VII 189 and parallels.

[a-na bīti e-ṭe-e šu-bat ^d ir]-kal-[la]	// SBVII 184
[a-na bīti ša e]-ri-bu-šú la-a a-šú-ú	// SBVII 185
[a-na ḥarrāni šá a]-l[ak-ta-šá] la-a ti-ia-a-[ra]	// SBVII 186
[a-šar] a-kal-[š]i-i-na ti-iṭ-[tu]	// SBVII 188
[lab-šá-ma] ki-ma iṣṣūrī (mušen) ^{mes} šu-ba-at a-gap-pi	// SBVII 190
[nu-ra ul im]-ma-ra i-na e-ṭu-ti áš-b[a]	// SBVII 189
[elī] ^{sis} dalti(jg) ú sik-ku-ri i-ša-bu-uh epru (saḥar) ^{mes}	// SBVII 191
[elī] x x šu-ḥar-ra-a-tu tab-ka-at	// SBVII 192

KAR 1 obv. 1'-8': Ištar's Descent, Aššur MS

[a-na ḥar-ra-ni šá a-lak-ta]-šá la ta-a-a-rat	// SBVII 186
[a-na bīti šá a-ši-bu-šú z]u-mu-u nu-ra	// SBVII 187
[a-šar ep-ru bu-bu-us-s]i-na akal(ninda) ^{his} -ši-na ṭi ¹ -iṭ-ṭi	// SBVII 188
[lab-šá-ma ki-ma iṣ-š]u- ¹ ru šu-bat ¹ a-ka-pu	// SBVII 189
[nu-ra ul im-ma-ra ina] ¹ e-ṭu-ti ¹ áš-ba ¹	// SBVII 190

STT 28 iii 1-5: Nergal and Ereškigal

As Enkidu looked around him in the gloom, the first things that caught his eye were the crowns of dead kings lying stacked in a great pile and then the shades of those who had worn them (193-5). From the well-known Babylonian poem of Ištar's Descent we know that all apparel was taken from the dead as they entered the infernal gates. The shades were naked. Stripped of insignia and clothing, kings and commoners looked all alike. Though kings when alive moved in the company of the great gods (196-7), their ghosts shared the pitiful existence of their former subjects. One can detect here the view that earthly power counted for nothing in the afterlife: the dominion of kings ended with death. Their crowns, no longer of use, lie discarded as vivid symbols of the impermanence of human authority.¹²⁶

Enkidu could also see the shades of others who enjoyed privilege and power on earth, epitomized by various types of priests and temple personnel (198-201). This passage is reminiscent of several other texts, leaving no doubt that dead priests were a traditional feature of the chthonic realm. See especially the Sumerian Death of Gilgameš, where there are now two relevant passages. In the first Enlil grants Gilgameš a vision of his final journey:

ki en nú.a.šè lagar nú.a.šè	To where the <i>en</i> lies, where the <i>lagar</i> lies,
lú.maḥ nin.dingir nú.a.šè	where the <i>lumaḥḥu</i> and the <i>entu</i> lie,
gú.da mu.un.nú.a.gada mu.un.na.šè	where the <i>guda</i> lies, where the linen-clad priest lies,
nin _o .dingir nú.aš gi.na mu.un.na.a.šè	where the <i>entu</i> lies, where the 'faithful one' lies.

Death of Bilgames M 104-7 // 194-7,
ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 29, 32

In the second passage the following appear, listed after the gods of the Netherworld, as the recipients of funerary gifts:

¹²⁶ I owe this insight to Stefan M. Maul.

[en] ug ₅ .ga.ra lagar u[₅ .ga.ra]	To the dead [<i>en</i> , to the] dead <i>lagar</i> ,
[l]ú.maḥ nin.dingir [ug ₅ .ga.ra]	[to the dead] <i>lumaḥḥu</i> and <i>entu</i> ,
gudu ₄ šá.gada.lá x[. . . ¹²⁷ ug ₅ .ga.ra]	[to the dead] <i>guda</i> , linen-clad priest (and) [. . .]
Death of Bilgames N ₃ 23-5, ed. Cavigneaux, <i>Gilgameš et la Mort</i> , p. 23	

Similar groups of dead priests occur in other Sumerian literature, where for example they share in welcoming the shade of the dead king in the Death of Ur-Nammu, and receive funerary offerings at the New Year in the Sumerian hymn to Ninegal.¹²⁸

Aside from the great congress of dead priests, Enkidu also noticed the shades of legendary kings like Etana and gods like Šakkan (202). His particular report of Etana may be a subtle allusion to the theme of the epic: here was a man who ascended to heaven but nevertheless remained mortal. So even before Gilgameš sets out on his quest for the secret of Ūta-napišti, Enkidu's dream holds a cryptic signal that human beings can never attain the eternal life of the gods. The mention of Šakkan may also bear a hidden message, for this god is the 'lord of wild herds' (*bēl būli*). Enkidu grew up among this deity's animals and as one of their kind. Šakkan's appearance in the Netherworld, singled out from all the other deities who might have been mentioned at this point, perhaps anticipates and symbolizes Enkidu's own imminent demise.

Finally Enkidu came before Queen Ereškigal herself and saw, sitting beside her, her scribe keeping tally of the shades (203-5). In a queen's household the scribe is naturally female, a goddess called Bēlet-šēri.¹²⁹ Ereškigal saw Enkidu and demanded to know who had sent him (206-8), but the continuation of Enkidu's account of his dream and the text that followed is almost entirely lost in a lengthy damaged passage and lacuna. An isolated phrase, [*ā*] *tamar zumuršu*, '[I] saw his person' (221), clearly suggests that the missing passage included a report by Enkidu of individuals that he saw in the Netherworld, perhaps people known to him such as famous figures of legend (as in the Odyssey XI and the Aeneid VI). Given the presence in it of so many of the themes and episodes of the Sumerian poems, it does not seem likely that the eleven-tablet epic could have failed to have included a scene in which Enkidu reports to Gilgameš the fate of the dead. As a necromancy, the famous dialogue that terminates the Sumerian tale of Bilgames and the Netherworld and the prose Tablet XII, in which Gilgameš asks Enkidu about the conditions encountered in the Netherworld by the

¹²⁷ Collation rules out the reading s[ū.ús.bu suggested by C. Wilcke, *CRR* 17, pp. 82-3, fn. 5.

¹²⁸ Ur-Nammu A 77-8, ed. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma*, p. 115; Hymn to Ninegal 70-5, ed. Behrens, *Ninegalla*, pp. 51-2. Note also, in a hymn to Utu as judge of the dead, the difficult passage edited by M. E. Cohen, 'Another Utu hymn', *ZA* 67 (1977), p. 8, 58-60; see further Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 72; Behrens, *Ninegalla*, p. 108.

¹²⁹ Households headed by women typically employed women as clerks. Note the *naditu* women's use of female scribes in the OB cloister at Sippar and the several such scribes in the employ of queens' households at Mari and in Assyria. See in general S. A. Meier, 'Women and communication in the ancient Near East', *JAO* 111 (1991), pp. 540-7; for Mari in particular see N. Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimri-Lim* (Florilegium marianum 4; Paris, 1999), pp. 91-2; at Nineveh note the six female scribes ('A.BA^{mes}) in *SA* VII 24 rev. 2, recorded among other women of a large household or other institution, presumably a royal harem; at Kalhu a woman Attār-palṭi appears as a 'scribe of the queen's household' in two late seventh-century documents from the Governor's Palace archive (see now K. Radner (ed.), *Prosopography NA Empire* I/1 (Helsinki, 1998), pp. 235-6).

shades of various classes of person, takes the form of question and answer. Whether or not the dream report suspected in the present context shared that format, the Sumerian passage would nevertheless have been its ultimate inspiration.

The text resumes as Enkidu commends his memory to his friend (251–2). Gilgameš can only reply with a comment on the dream, perhaps that it was unique (253). With that, Enkidu's strength gives out and he lingers for twelve days on his deathbed (254–61), an episode that is known in slightly different form from MB Megiddo.¹³⁰ Then he summons Gilgameš one last time to lament his misfortune (262–3). As the text tails off into a lacuna it appears that Enkidu compares his lot, no doubt unfavourably, with the death of those who fall in battle (264–7). This is a reappearance of the theme that a heroic death brings fame and glory. Dying in one's bed brings no such compensation. Similar thoughts occur to Gilgameš in the same context in the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, when he laments that Enkidu did not die in a conventional manner, of disease or old age or in battle, but was seized by the Netherworld:

ki nam.nita.a.ke, mē.a nu.un.šub kur.re im.ma.an.dab;
(cf. XII 62 *ašar tāhāz zikarī ul imqut eršetu išbassu*)
Bilgames and the Netherworld 229 // 237

He did not fall in battle, the place of manly endeavour—the Netherworld seized him.

The missing end of the tablet presumably dealt with Enkidu's final moments. Ḫumbaba's curses surely come true. Enkidu dies with none beside him but Gilgameš.

TABLET VIII

At dawn on the following day Gilgameš initiates the rites of mourning with a great lament, apostrophizing his friend in words that recall Enkidu's early life among the herds of gazelles and wild donkeys (1–6) and calling on those who knew him and witnessed his life to grieve for him.¹³¹ The literary structure of the lamentation is deliberately conceived to present a crescendo of grief, progressing from the widest sphere of Enkidu's acquaintance to the anguished figure of his closest friend, Gilgameš himself. The mourners are to include inanimate parts of the natural world, the 'paths of the Cedar Forest', by which is meant the tracks trodden by the untamed hero when still in the wild and retraced on the journey with Gilgameš (7–8),¹³² and the mountains, meadows and rivers that also figured in his heroic

¹³⁰ The two versions were analysed together by Landsberger, *RA* 62 (1968), pp. 132–5.

¹³¹ The lament has been studied from the formal literary point of view by H.-P. Müller, 'Gilgameschs Trauergesang um Enkidu und die Gattung der Totenklage', *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 233–50.

¹³² Enkidu's erstwhile familiarity with the Cedar Forest is mentioned in the Yale tablet (OB III 106–16), and is also implicit in Ḫumbaba's reminiscence of their previous encounter (SBV 89).

career (11–13, 18–20).¹³³ The appeal to parts of the natural world finds an echo, perhaps deliberate, in a Neo-Assyrian text that gives a son's account in the first person of the burial rites of his father, who is very probably to be identified as King Esarhaddon. The text opens with the description of a landscape in mourning, lines that can be arranged as poetry:

ú-nam-ba-a ḫi-ra-a-te ² *i-ta-nap-pa-la a-tap-pe*
ša išši (gīš) ^{mes} *u inbi* (gurun) *kali* (dù) *-šú-nu* ⁴ *ud-du-ru pa-nu-šú-un*
ib-ka-a ši- ¹ *pá-a* ¹ *[te]* ⁶ *ša i-na di-ši ta-[aḫ-da?]*
ú-šar-bi-x [x (x) x] ⁸ ^{na} *askuppāi* (kuna) [^{mes} . . .]
ut-ta-[az-zi-mu? . . .] ¹⁰ *ut-ta* [ḫ-]
dūr [ḫ(bād) ^{mes}]

K 6323+ i 1–11 (coll.), ed. *TuL*, p. 58¹³⁴

The canals wailed, the ditches giving echo,
all trees and fruit, their visages were darkened (with sorrow).
The orchards wept, which in spring were so [*fruitful*]
[The . . .] made . . . , the thresholds [. . .]
[. . .] kept *howling*, [. . .] kept . . . [. . .]
the walls [. . .]

Gilgameš also appeals to more animate beings, from the trees of the Cedar Forest and all the animals of the far country that Enkidu knew in his youth (14–17) to the people of Uruk that he knew in his maturity (9–10, 21–2), those who provided his food and comfort: the ploughman, herdsmen, brewer, prostitute and others that attended to his needs (23–34). The lament then focuses, it seems, on Enkidu's intimate relatives, beginning with a broken couplet mentioning a wedding and a wife, continuing with people who are to mourn as if they were his own brothers and sisters and concluding with his 'mother and father' (35–40).

The fact that Gilgameš's lament mentions a wedding and a wife (whose if not Enkidu's?) and assumes that Enkidu had parents needs some explanation, because he was famously an orphan and, for Ḫumbaba's curses to come true, remained without family. The solution is to suppose that a lament for a dead hero is a standard literary form and, accordingly, that

¹³³ In *OrNS* 54 (1985), p. 54, D. O. Edzard wonders if the mention here of the River Ulāy alludes to the journey to the Cedar Forest. I think it does. One ancient tradition, preserved especially in Sumerian literature, sites the Cedar Forest not in Lebanon but in the east, where the sun rises (for the literature see now J. Klein and K. Abraham, 'Problems of geography in the Gilgameš epics: the journey to the "Cedar Forest"', in L. Milano et al. (eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East 3* (CRRA 44/III; Padua, 2000), pp. 63–73). Since one of the main roads from Sumer to the east must have passed into the southern Zagros mountains beside the Ulāy river, the modern Kārūn, it seems very possible that the association of Gilgameš and Enkidu with the Elamite river refers to a journey to the east, a vestige of an older tradition at odds with the Babylonian epic's explicit location of the Cedar Forest in the west.

¹³⁴ The subsequent treatments of J. MacGinnis, 'A Neo-Assyrian text describing a royal funeral' (*SAAB* 1/I (1987), p. 4) and Nasrabadi (*Bestattungssitten*, p. 25) produce ostensibly acceptable text but in this passage restore too little in the breaks and misread traces of broken signs. Regarding the text's date Nasrabadi points out (loc. cit., fn. 120) that the delivery of grave-goods and animals from the 'king of Akkad' (if one reads so and not, with MacGinnis, 'king of Urartu') fits the succession of Esarhaddon, when his sons Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ruled in Nineveh and Babylon respectively. In this analysis Aššurbanipal was responsible for organizing their father's funeral and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn made a handsome contribution to the grave-goods. Given Aššurbanipal's literary inclinations and the poetic language of the opening lament, one wonders whether the scholar-king himself had a hand in the text's composition.

certain motifs will occur whether or not they are appropriate to the subject.¹³⁵ In this view, it would be a matter of literary convention that the lament provides Enkidu with the human kith and kin that in the Babylonian epic his extraordinary origins denied him.

Finally the lament comes to the most important mourner, Gilgameš himself. The hero speaks of his own grief, invoking an image of Enkidu as his most treasured possession, a trusty weapon, a choice garment that has been snatched from him by an invisible thief (41–9). Then Gilgameš recalls the victories they won together and asks what kind of sleep has seized his friend now, that he no longer responds (50–6). The contrast between the dying man's moribund state and his recent vigour is poignant. Though the relationship between the two passages is emotional rather than formal, a similar contrast informs the opening lines of the Sumerian poem we call the Death of Bilgames. As he ends his great lament, Gilgameš feels his friend's heart and, finding no pulse, covers the body and, walking around it, tears his hair and rends his clothes (57–64).¹³⁶

The next section begins again with the formula *mimmū šēri ina namāri*. The repetition, here and at ll. 92 and 213, of this phrase from l. 1 probably marks the passage of the days established for Enkidu's mourning and burial. As the text stands, the tablet can be interpreted as describing activities on four days: day one, the lament at the deathbed, already discussed (1–64); day two, the fashioning of the funerary statue and other preparations for the funeral (65–91); day three, the public display of the grave-goods, the prayers to the gods of the Netherworld and further ritual (92–212); day four, more rites (213–end). The text does not yet report when the body was interred, but burial could not have taken place before the display of grave-goods on the third day.¹³⁷ Gilgameš later recalls that he wept for Enkidu for seven days and nights before allowing burial.¹³⁸ Though there the circumstances of Enkidu's death are very different, the seven days of grieving for Enkidu can now be seen to go back to the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, where they occur in a passage that is not present in the Nippur sources.¹³⁹ A mourning period of seven days and nights also occurs on the death of Nabonidus's mother, Adad-guppi.¹⁴⁰ However, it does not seem possible to impose on Tablet VIII, damaged though it is, as many as seven occurrences of *mimmū šēri ina namāri* to mark the lapse of such a period. There is no need for the story to be absolutely consistent in such details. The expression 'seven days and nights' is formulaic.

¹³⁵ Cf. Müller, *ZA* 68, p. 237.

¹³⁶ The customary reaction to the death of a near one is reflected in many other Sumerian and Akkadian literary texts; see B. Alster, 'The mythology of mourning', *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), pp. 1–16.

¹³⁷ The sequence of preparations and rituals that accompanied the burial of a notable, at least in seventh-century Assyria, is preserved in the well-known NA letter to Esarhaddon from his agent, Mār-lštar, on the subject of the substitute king and queen (*SA* X 352 obv. 13–16): *kimālu*(é.ki.maḥ) *nē-ta-pa-āš dam-mu-qu kan-nu-u tak-lī-ta-šī-nu kal-lu-mat qa-ab-ru ba-ki-i-u šu-ru-up-nū šar-pa*, 'we prepared the tomb; they were made to look good, treated with respect, their "display" was made, they were interred, mourned, the rite of burning (cedar-incense) was performed.'

¹³⁸ OB VA + BM ii 8', but 6 days and 7 nights in SB X [58] // 135 // 235.

¹³⁹ Bilgames and the Netherworld MS Mt, obv. 10–13, quoted in Ch. 4, the section on Enkidu.

¹⁴⁰ C. J. Gadd, 'The Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus', *AnSt* 8 (1958), p. 52, 26–7: 7 *u[r-ri] ú 7 mu-šá-a-ii*. The period of mourning for someone newly deceased seems not to have been fixed absolutely, for according to another source Belshazzar and his army wept only three days for Adad-guppi (Chronicle 7 ii 14).

Early on the second morning, Gilgameš summons his craftsmen to make a funerary statue (or figurine) of Enkidu (65–72). A break in the text denies us complete knowledge of how this statue was to look, but all manner of very costly materials were involved. The purpose of the statue was apparently to represent the deceased at the funerary banquet and, after the interment of the body, either to act as the focus for the regular *post mortem* rites through which the Babylonians paid their respects to the dead or, as part of the interment, to provide a home for the deceased's ghost.¹⁴¹ The magnificence of this statue is also reported in the bogus Letter of Gilgameš, in which Gilgameš threatens a foreign ruler with military action unless he provides a sumptuous tribute, including materials for Enkidu's chest and necklaces.¹⁴² When the text resumes Gilgameš repeats Šamaš's earlier prediction (SB VII 140–7) that Enkidu will lie in state amid full honours and national mourning and that afterwards Gilgameš will take to the wilderness (84–91).

At dawn on the third morning Gilgameš chooses the gold treasure that will be interred with Enkidu. The first part of this section has long been known (92–115), but the damaged state of the text meant that it yielded little beyond the knowledge that the grave-goods must have been described here. The end of this section has now been recovered on MS m₁, which, though itself also damaged, goes a long way towards filling the extensive lacuna that existed between columns iii and iv on MSV, providing a sequence of 53 lines not witnessed by any other source and a further eleven lines overlapping with MSS RV. The new text reveals more clearly the extraordinary opulence of the items selected for the grave (117–30).

The choosing of the grave-goods ends with the slaughter of animals to provide meat for a funerary banquet offered to the gods of the Netherworld (131–3). In other literature this aspect of funerals is known from the Sumerian poems of the Death of Bilgames, where a feast is provided for the chthonic deities,¹⁴³ and the Death of Ur-Nammu, in which Ur-Nammu sacrifices oxen and sheep in large numbers on his arrival in the Netherworld.¹⁴⁴ Accounts of first-millennium royal funerals agree with the literary texts. The Assyrian text that describes the funeral of (probably) Esarhaddon reports the delivery of large numbers of animals, horses, oxen and especially sheep.¹⁴⁵ No doubt the oxen and sheep were destined for slaughter and consumption. The slaughter of sheep was part of the rites that attended the burial of Adad-guppi.¹⁴⁶ The notion of the dead king serving a banquet in the Netherworld

¹⁴¹ On this see Scurlock, 'Soul emplacements' (fn. 124), who favours the latter explanation.

¹⁴² On the Letter of Gilgameš see the eponymous sub-section of Ch. 3, where the relevant passage is quoted.

¹⁴³ Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 29 and 32: M 103 // 193 (// N₁ v 28): *ki.si.ga 4a.nun.(na).ke₂.ne dingir gal.gal.ne dūr.ru.na.ba[?]*, 'when the great Anunna gods sit down to the funerary banquet'. The context of the meal is the moment when Bilgames descends to the Netherworld, so *ki.si.ga* (= *kispu*) here refers to a ritual offering made at the time of interment.

¹⁴⁴ Ur-Nammu A 81–2 (ed. Flücker-Hawker, *Urnammu*, p. 116): *lugal.e gu, im.ma.ab.gaz.e udu im.ma.ab.šār.rc / ur.4nammu gišbun gal.gal.la ba.šī.in.dūr.ru.ne.eš*, 'the king was slaughtering oxen, providing abundant sheep, they (sc. the shades) were sitting (with) Ur-Nammu at great feasts.'

¹⁴⁵ K 6323+ ii 25'–8': 10 *anše.kur*^{ms} 30 *gu*^{ms} 3 *me udu*^{ms} [PAP] [*am*¹-*ni-u šār uri* (*or tilla*)]², '(numerous items as grave-goods, then) ten horses, thirty oxen, three hundred sheep, [all] this (from) the king of Babylonia' (less probably Urartu; copy: Johns, *ADD* 941 ii 6–9, ed. MacGinnis, *SAAB* 1/I (1987), p. 3, iii 23'–6', Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, pp. 24–5 with photograph).

¹⁴⁶ Gadd, *AnSt* 8 (1958), p. 52, 17: *immeri(udu.nita)*^{ms} *ma-ru-tu ú-[tab-bi-ih]*, 'he [slaughtered] fattened sheep'.

is, of course, a literary conceit. In practical terms the funerary banquet of the Netherworld gods, dead royal predecessors, priests and other notables took the form of offerings of food and libations of drink.¹⁴⁷ The offering of meat to the chthonic deities is implied in a ritual from *Bīt rimki*, in which the exorcist brings forward sacrificial lambs and various joints of meat, makes libations to Ea, Šamaš and Marduk and presents *kispu* offerings to the Anunnaki.¹⁴⁸ In the present passage, the carrying of the meat to the Netherworld deities evidently implies that joints of meat were placed in the tomb for Enkidu to take with him and present on his arrival.¹⁴⁹

The next section describes the ritual display of those items among the grave-goods that are dedicated to the gods, in turn to Ištar, the moon god, Ereškigal and the deities of the chthonic court (134–203). The passage exhibits a fixed pattern: first the funerary gift is described (often it is an object appropriate to the character or function of its recipient), then comes the deity to whom the gift is dedicated, along with the statement that the object was displayed to Šamaš, and finally a stereotyped prayer expressing the wish that in turn the deity welcome Enkidu and help his shade on its way. The display of the grave-goods before the sun god (i.e. in the open air) was a customary ritual at funerals, as we know from the Neo-Assyrian account of a royal burial quoted above. After the funerary goods are listed and the body is laid to rest the text closes with the following passage:

*ú-nu-ut hurāši(kù.sig₁₇) kaspi(kù.babbar) mim-ma tar-si-it kimāhi(ki.maḥ) si-mat
be-lu-ti-šú ša i-ram-mu ma-ḥar^d šamaš(utu) ú-kal-lim-ma it-ti abi(ad) ba-ni-ia a-na
kimāhi aškun(gar)^{am} [g]i-šá-a-ti a-na mal-ki^d a-nun-na-ki ú ilāni(dingir)^{mes} a-ši-bu-
ut eršeti(ki)^{im} [ú-q]a-a-a-iš*

K 6323+ rev. ii' 13'–24'¹⁵⁰

Items of gold and silver, every requisite for the tomb, the trappings of his lordly estate that the father who sired me loves, I displayed before Šamaš and placed in the tomb with him. I bestowed gifts on the Princes, the Anunnaki and the gods that reside in the Netherworld.

There the Princes are the rulers of the realm of the dead, if not simply a title of the Anunnaki.¹⁵¹ The technical term for the display of the grave-goods to the sun god was *tak-limtu*, 'display',¹⁵² cognate with *kullumu*, the verb used in Tablet VIII and the Assyrian text to

¹⁴⁷ On such offerings, made to the Anunnaki at intervals during the year as well as at the funeral itself, see A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispu) im alten Mesopotamien* (AOAT 216; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), pp. 184–200; also the passage of the Sumerian hymn to Nergal cited above in fn. 128.

¹⁴⁸ *BBR* 26 iv 32–52, ed. Tsukimoto, op. cit., p. 195. Such meat was doubtless provided by the udu ki.si.ga = *immer ki-sik-ke-e*, MIN *ki-is-pi*, 'sheep of the funerary offerings', listed in *Hh* XIII 153–4 (*MSL* VIII/1, p. 20).

¹⁴⁹ The recovery of animal bones from human burials in archaeological excavation at Tepe Gawra, the Royal Cemetery of Ur (pig, sheep and goats) and other early Mesopotamian sites corroborates this conclusion.

¹⁵⁰ MacGinnis, *SAAB* 1/I (1987), p. 12; cf. K. Deller, *SAAB* 1/II (1987), pp. 69–71; Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, p. 29.

¹⁵¹ See Ch. 13, the commentary on SBVII 143.

¹⁵² See J. A. Scurlock, 'Taklimtu: a display of grave goods?', *NABU* 1991/3; Nasrabadi, *Bestattungssitten*, pp. 62–4. SB VIII shows that this was not only an Assyrian custom. The need for public display is encapsulated in a bilingual hymn extolling Šamaš best known from a LB copy from Uruk. There it is written (Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 (1959), p. 36 and pl. 32, 13): e.ne.da.nu.m[e].a.lú.urugal.è.dè.nig.gu.n[u.um].pà.da.e.ne : šá ina ba-li-šú a-na a-ri-du qab-ri la uk-tal-[a-mu]

describe the process.¹⁵³ The ritual took place on the same day that the body was laid out on its bed of honour. The evidence of both texts demonstrates that some, if not all, the goods interred with a body were considered gifts for the immortal denizens of Hades.¹⁵⁴

The pattern of ll. 135–203 is in other respects very reminiscent of the Sumerian Death of Ur-Nammu, where first the object to be deposited in the grave is described, then the relevant deity is named and finally a stereotyped prayer of dedication is offered.¹⁵⁵ However, this elaborate structure is not shared by the much more concisely worded list of funeral offerings in the Death of Bilgames.¹⁵⁶ A listing of the deities cited in these three texts (see table below) shows a lack of complete agreement in the identity of the chthonic deities and the order in which they appear, but there is accord between the two later texts in the sequence immediately following Ereškigal.¹⁵⁷

Death of Bilgames	Death of Ur-Nammu	SB Gilgameš VIII
Ereškigal	Nergal	Ištar
Namtar	Bilgames (Gilgameš)	Namra-šīt
^d dim.pi.kùg	Ereškigal	Ereškigal
Bitti	Dumuzi	Dumuzi
Ningišzida	Namtar	Namtar
Dumuzi	Ḥušbišag	[Ḥušbišag]
ancestors of Enlil	Ningišzida	Qāssa-ṭābat
Šulpae	^d dim.pi.me.kù.ge	Ninšuluḥḥatumma
Šakkan (^d su.mu.gán)	Ninazimua	Bibbu
Ninhursag		[Dumuzi?]-abzu
Anunna		[several more deities]
Igigi (^d nun.gal.e.ne)		
dead priests and priestesses		

The list in Tablet VIII opens with two decidedly celestial deities, Ištar and Šin as Namra-šīt.¹⁵⁸ As Venus and the moon, these two have no permanent place in the Netherworld. One can only speculate that, as they sank below the horizon in the west, Ištar and her father were

tak-li-mu, 'without him (sc. the sun god) being present a display cannot be made for one descending to the grave' (so Akk.; Sum.: 'the ones coming forth (from) the Netherworld cannot find food').

¹⁵³ So also the text that describes the funerary rituals of a Neo-Assyrian royal personage (see above, fn. 124), which begins (l. 1): ⁹⁸eršū(ná) i-kar-ru-ru tak-lim-tú ú-kal-lu-mu, 'they set up the bed, they make the display'.

¹⁵⁴ So already J. S. Cooper, 'The fate of mankind: death and afterlife in ancient Mesopotamia', in H. Oyabashi (ed.), *Death and the Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religion* (Westport, Conn., 1991), p. 24: 'Grave goods . . . were intended both for the deceased's personal use and for sacrifice to the deities that control the world he is about to enter.'

¹⁵⁵ Ur-Nammu A 88–128, ed. Flücker-Hawker, *Urnamma*, pp. 117–23.

¹⁵⁶ Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 23, 9–22.

¹⁵⁷ For lists of gods of the Netherworld in other literary texts see W. G. Lambert, 'A rare exorcistic fragment', in T. Abusch (ed.), *Jacobsen Mem.Vol.* (Groningen, 2002), pp. 206–8.

¹⁵⁸ For this as the Akkadian equivalence of Sumerian Ašimabbar see the incantation *CT* 16 15 = *Udugḥul* IV v 19–20: ⁹⁸suen.na.en ⁹⁸aš.im.babbar.ra.ke₂ // ⁹⁸šin(30) bāl(en // be-el) nam-ra-ši-it; also *BA* X/1, p. 103, no. 23, 5–6.

perceived to accompany the shades of the dead to the Netherworld. The deity that follows would be expected to be the senior deity of the Netherworld. This is Ereškigal, as in the Death of Bilgames but in contrast with the Death of Ur-Nammu, where Nergal takes precedence. Nergal's ascendancy over Ereškigal became the norm from the Old Babylonian period on, but Ereškigal's former paramountcy is also preserved in other Babylonian literature, for example in Ištar's Descent.¹⁵⁹ The presence of Ereškigal there and in Tablet VIII suggests, not surprisingly, that both texts rely on Old Babylonian traditions. The most significant omissions in Tablet VIII are of Ningišzida, the 'chamberlain' (*guzalū*) of the Netherworld, and his family.¹⁶⁰ Also missing is the gatekeeper, Biti (or Bidu). Perhaps they appeared in the broken section, ll. 184ff., although this would place them after Ereškigal's more menial servants.

The end of the section describing the gifts to the gods is poorly preserved, with two short lacunae interrupting the sequence of lines. As the second lacuna begins, or shortly afterwards, the subject changes. A few broken lines of direct speech are preserved, which mention the phrase 'judge of the Anunnaki' (207–10). The significance of these lines is still unclear. Tablet VIII is, to some extent, modelled on the pattern of the Sumerian Death of Bilgames, in which the hero is told in a dream of his *post mortem* role as judge of the Netherworld.¹⁶¹ In the Babylonian epic, however, it seems to me unlikely that this knowledge would have been revealed to Gilgameš (though Ninsun reveals it to the audience in Tablet III), least of all at this point in the story. The focus of ll. 207–10 must be on the treatment of Enkidu's shade—or the shades of men generally—in the Netherworld. The section ends with a narrative couplet (211–12) that perhaps can be elucidated from the Death of Bilgames. There, the people of Uruk dam the River Euphrates and build Bilgames's tomb in its bed; here it may be that Gilgameš plans the same security for Enkidu's tomb.¹⁶² However that may be, the text continues on the fourth dawn with Gilgameš setting out dishes of syrup and ghee before the rising sun (213–19). Presumably this display is some further funeral rite, perhaps a preliminary to the excavation of a tomb and Enkidu's burial. The final interment is expected at the end of Tablet VIII, but at present all we have of the last thirty or so lines are a bare two words (229–30).

TABLET IX

Of all the tablets of Standard Babylonian Gilgameš, this one has benefited least from new discoveries of text. Column i of MSS D // JJ still presents considerable problems of inter-

¹⁵⁹ On Nergal's ascendancy over Ereškigal from the Old Babylonian period see W. G. Lambert, 'The theology of death', in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRR 26; Copenhagen, 1980), p. 62.

¹⁶⁰ Including his wife, Ereškigal's scribe, Ninazimua or Bēlet-šēri: cf. SBVII 204.

¹⁶¹ Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 27–33, 56–8.

¹⁶² On this see further Ch. 13, the commentary ad loc. The motif of the tomb in the river-bed had a wide currency in antiquity: see the evidence adduced by Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 5–6.

pretation. When the text begins, Gilgameš is wandering in the wilderness mourning his friend, just as Šamaš had predicted and as he himself had vowed to do (ll. 1–2). Suddenly the narrative turns into a report in the first person singular, articulating first the hero's horror that, like Enkidu, he too must die and then the purpose of his wandering, to find the legendary Ūta-napišti (3–7). The monologue then turns to a new topic, telling how the speaker has encountered some lions in a remote place, far from help. He was afraid of them and prayed for his safety to the moon god and some other nocturnal deity or deities (8–12). The prayer closes the monologue and the narrative resumes in the third person. Gilgameš awakes suddenly, startled by a dream (13). Opinions are divided as to the function of this line: for some it merely reports Gilgameš's waking from the dream, for others it serves to introduce an account of the dream. If the former it would seem that the hero himself must be the subject of the following line, despite the fact that the phrase *iḫedu balātu*, 'he grew happy to be alive',¹⁶³ does not match his anguished mood; if the latter, some other being can be its subject.

An insight into this question may be gained by comparing l. 13 with a standard line of Sumerian poetry that, though perhaps not exactly equivalent, is very closely related:

PN i.im.zi má.mú.da i.im.bu.lu.uḫ ù.sá.ga.àm

Bilgames and Ḫuwawa A 71 // B 78–9 // Dumuzi's Dream 17 //
Lugalbanda I 356 // Death of Bilgames M 126–7¹⁶⁴

PN arose—it had been a dream; he shuddered—it had been a deep sleep.

An older version of the line appears in Gudea's hymn on cylinders:

gù.dé.a i.zi ù.sa.ga.àm / i.ḫa.luḫ ma.mu.dam

Gudea Cyl. A xii 12–13, ed. Edzard, *RIME* 3/I, p. 76

Gudea arose—it had been a deep sleep; he shivered—it had been a dream.

The comparison suggests, first, that our line begins with the name of the hero and, second, that to match the Sumerian the first verb should be read *itbe*, 'he arose', rather than the conventional *itūl*.¹⁶⁵ Second, it gives us a clue as to whether and where we should expect an account of Gilgameš's dream. When a dream account appears in the Sumerian passages, it immediately precedes the standard line of waking quoted above (as in Lugalbanda) or

¹⁶³ Without emendation certainly not plural, 'they grew happy to be alive', as some translators have supposed.

¹⁶⁴ The first four are quoted individually in PSD B, p. 168; cf. further B. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream*, pp. 88–9. For the Death of Bilgames see Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁵ The agreement *zi* = *tebū* would raise the question of whether the Sumerian and Akkadian lines correspond in the matter of the second verb, *iggeltu*. Akkadian *negeltū* does not feature in the extant bilingual lexical and literary texts and so one cannot confirm its equivalence to either *bu.luḫ* or *ḫa.luḫ* (= *ḫu.luḫ*). Both Sumerian verbs can be translated by *galātu*, 'to twitch, be restless', which in some contexts can mean 'toss and turn' while asleep and is then not so far from *negeltū*, 'to wake suddenly, wake with a start'; cf. an OB apodosis (Nougayrol, *RA* 44 (1950), p. 43, 15) *šar-ru-um i-na bi-it ma-a-a-li-šu i-ga-lu-ut*, 'the king will toss and turn in his bed-chamber', and a line of an *eršahunga*-type text (Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, p. 332, 6'–7') *ù ma.mú.da.ta bu.bu.luḫ.e in.na.mar // ù ina šu-ut-ti gi-tál-lu-tum ša-kin-šu*, 'and when dreaming tossing and turning are his habit'. The phonetic similarity between parts of *galātu* and *negeltū* might have

follows it at some remove, after further narrative describing the dreamer's recourse to a second party in search of advice (as in Dumuzi's Dream and the Death of Bilgames). The implications for our passage are that Gilgameš has woken startled in the middle of the night and that *ihtedu balātu* (l. 14) should relate a narrative development—Gilgameš's immediate reaction—rather than a dream interlude.

The dream itself might be sought in the lines of monologue preceding our line—perhaps the encounter with the lions was a nightmare—or following it after the dreamer's reaction. However, the subsequent lines describe how Gilgameš drew his weapons, fell on an enemy and scattered them (15–18). It is hard to suppose that his opponents are not the lions. The Hittite version of this episode reinforces this view. There the moon god Sin speaks to Gilgameš before daybreak and instructs him to bring into his temple two lions he has killed.¹⁶⁶ It seems most likely that the two passages of Tablet IX that enclose the lines of waking and reaction (13–14) represent the start and finish of a single encounter and, accordingly, relate to waking moments and not a dream. Let us assume that Gilgameš, rising from sleep in joyful mood, drew his weapons, fell on the lions that he had feared the previous evening and killed them. The continuation is very poorly preserved (19–29), but the two names mentioned in ll. 22–3 would logically be those of the two lions or, more likely, of the images of them made in l. 21 (for Sin's temple?). The prayers that follow are presumably directed to Sin again, as a thanksgiving (24–6). After that the text is hopeless.

In this analysis one ends up with no dream but instead with the impression that there is something missing between Gilgameš's prayer in l. 12 and his waking in l. 13. Whatever Gilgameš saw in the dream that woke him, it dispelled his fear and made him feel happy and ready for the fray. Perhaps an older version of the text had Sin appearing in a nocturnal vision to answer Gilgameš's prayer and give him courage to tackle the lions. This would not be the only place where lines appear to be missing from the Standard Babylonian text.¹⁶⁷

When the text of Tablet IX resumes Gilgameš has come to the mountain of the sunrise, obviously a mountain in the far east (37–9). Its name, Māšu, 'Mount Twin', can be taken to imply either that it had two peaks or that it was one of a pair of mountains. For reasons that will become clear, I opt for the latter. The text tells us that these twin mountains are the home of monstrous beings, half human, half scorpion, and informs us in due course that they guard the sun god at the place of his setting as well as at the place of his rising (40–5).¹⁶⁸ The rising and setting of the sun is commonly conceptualized in ancient Mesopotamia as Šamaš passing in and out of cosmic gates situated at the horizon. In the present passage the mountain that guards the rising sun is logically the location of the sun's eastern gate. The existence of twin mountains with cosmic functions at opposite extremes of the earth is attested in

suggested to Babylonian scholars a semantic relationship, whether or not there is any real etymological connection between the roots \sqrt{glz} and \sqrt{glr} .

¹⁶⁶ *KUB XVII 3* iii 2–6, ed. J. Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1930), p. 20. R. Stefanini wonders whether two eagles are involved as well, *JNES* 28 (1969), p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ See *SB I* 93 f., where the text of *MB Nippur*, should be interpolated.

¹⁶⁸ This passage has been discussed by A. L. Oppenheim, who thought (unnecessarily) that the sense would be better served if l. 45 was placed between ll. 42 and 43 ('Mesopotamian mythology II', *Or NS* 17 (1948), p. 46). See also W. Heimpel, 'The sun at night and the doors of heaven in Babylonian texts', *JCS* 38 (1986), pp. 140–3; Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 97–8.

Babylonian thought, for mountains of sunset and sunrise occur as a pair in several texts.¹⁶⁹ Since the scorpion-men are envisaged as sentries and, as we discover later, as male and female pairs, we can assume that one couple is stationed at each of the two mountains to guard the doorways through which the sun enters and leaves the visible sky.¹⁷⁰

The moment of Gilgameš's arrival at the mountain of the sunrise is marked by a pause in the narrative, for a succession of qualifying clauses suspends the progress of the story between the line in question (38) and the verbs that report Gilgameš's terror at the sight of the mountain's eerie inhabitants (46). This suspension is perhaps a literary device, marking the hero's delay as he reaches, in utter exhaustion, the end of the first stage in his quest and sees before him, impeding his onward passage, the vast mountain and its deadly sentinels. When finally he summons up the courage to approach the scorpion-men, they converse in words that show they immediately know him for a king, made of more godly stuff than ordinary humans, and for a being that is part divine and part mortal (47–51). The male of the pair inquires of Gilgameš how he came to reach the mountain and also asks the purpose of his journey (52–9). With that, the text again fails us. At its resumption Gilgameš is in mid-reply, telling how he seeks Ūta-napišti in order to learn the secret of immortality (75–7). To find him he must evidently take the path guarded by the scorpion-men, for although the text is damaged, enough remains to be sure that the male's response is to warn Gilgameš that nobody has ever been this way before (78–81). These lines are closely related to Šiduri's warnings about the passage over the sea in *SB X* 79–82. She acknowledges Šamaš as the single exception to the ban on its crossing; in the present episode the text is too broken to know whether the scorpion-man mentions the sun god at this point, but Šamaš's use of the path is explicit from what follows. At this point begins the scorpion-man's description of the journey into darkness that Gilgameš must make (82–90). This route, with its cosmic functions

¹⁶⁹ See already the surveys of Heimpel, *JCS* 38, p. 145, and especially Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 331–2. In Sumerian literature note Inanna and Šukalletuda 101–2 // 149–50 // [271–2], where Šukalletuda looks downstream and upstream and perceives the sky at the mountains of sunrise and sunset respectively (kur utu.ē, kur utu.šū: see Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, p. 249); and the OB litany *CT* 42 26 (pl. 39) obv. 26 (ed. Cohen, *Lamentations*, p. 339): kur 'utu.ē.a.ta kur 'utu.šū.a.šē, 'from the mountain of sunrise to the mountain of sunset', expressing the totality of Enlil's dominion over the earth. In bilingual *Udugḫul XV* the two mountains are the birthplace and playground of demons (*CT* 16 44, 84–7, 98–101 // von Weiher, *Uruk II* i ii 2–5, 16–19; note also the similar passage *KAR* 24, 5–7 = *MA Udugḫul XIII–XV*, same tablet as *BM* 130660, ed. M. J. Geller, *Iraq* 42 (1980), pp. 23–51). The bilingual incantation equates the Dark and Light Mountains (Sum. ḫur.sag(//kur) gi₆.ga, ḫur.sag(//kur) babbar.ra) with the mountains of sunset and sunrise (Akk. šad ereb Šamši, šad šit Šamši). Other names for the mountains of sunrise and sunset are discussed in Ch. 13, the commentary on *SB IX* 38–9.

¹⁷⁰ On the scorpion-men and other mythical beings as guardians of the sun god see M. Huxley 'The gates and guardians in Sennacherib's addition to the temple of Assur', *Iraq* 62 (2000), pp. 120–8. Huxley's interpretation of the cosmic geography implied by our passage is that there was only one gate, which revolved with the sky and so served Šamaš for both his rising and his setting (*Iraq* 62, pp. 124–5; earlier ead., 'The shape of the cosmos according to cuneiform sources', *JRAS* NS 7 (1997), p. 193). This is ingenious but unnecessary, arising from (a) unawareness of the implication of the mountain's name, that there was actually a pair of mountains, and (b) a failure to note the clear distinction between l. 39, in which Gilgameš arrives at the mountain of the sunrise, and l. 45, in which the narrator reports the function of the scorpion-men at both mountains. It is also contradicted by *Enūma eliš* V 9–10, which reports how Marduk placed cosmic gates on opposite sides of the newly formed sky: *ip-te-ma abullāti(ki.gal)*^{ms} *ina še-li ki-lal-la-an / ši-ga-ru ū-dan-ni-na šu-me-la u im-na*, 'He opened gates in both directions, he made the bolt strong on the left and the right.'

(84–6), is evidently what is later called the ‘path of the sun’. The scorpion-man’s speech is poorly preserved and the text peters out (91–3) into the long lacuna that intervenes at the turn of MS D (94–124).

When the text resumes Gilgameš is telling the scorpion-man of the difficulties he has overcome in pursuing his goal, no doubt restating his demand to be let through (125–8). The scorpion-man relents, just as Šiduri and Ur-šanabi will do in turn, for he allows the hero through, sending him on his way with blessings for his safety (129–35). Gilgameš then takes the ‘path of the sun’ (136–9). There follows a passage of repetitious lines reporting Gilgameš’s progress on the way forward (140–70). The discovery of MS EE means that the gap that once intervened in this passage, between columns iv and v of MS D, has now been plugged. It does not add to our understanding of the description, except to rule out any pause in the journey.¹⁷¹

The Path of the Sun, pitch-dark and seemingly interminable, calls for explanation. Most commentators understand it to be a long underground tunnel (82–90).¹⁷² The extant text does not refer to a tunnel explicitly but the mention of a gateway in the mountain (ll. 42, 135) is suggestive and the Babylonian notion that Šamaš regularly visited the Netherworld witnesses a belief that the sun entered the earth at night. One should note, however, that there is nothing about Gilgameš’s journey along the Path of the Sun to suggest a traverse of the Netherworld. Another opinion is that the Path of the Sun took Gilgameš through the regions of perpetual darkness in the far north, a view that is seen as corroborated by the mention of the north wind when the journey was three-quarters over.¹⁷³ Yet a third view accepts the traverse of the earth from end to end but rebuts the notion of a tunnel, without proposing where the path could have lain in relation to terrestrial geography.¹⁷⁴ A detailed exegesis is called for.

The division of the journey into *bēru* is ambiguous, for the unit can be taken as a measure of distance (‘league’) and of time (‘double-hour’). Gilgameš issues into sunlight after at

¹⁷¹ A break in the journey was previously considered likely by those who followed Campbell Thompson’s line numbering, which arbitrarily imposed a column length of 50 lines on MS D (and on many other Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgameš).

¹⁷² e.g. D. O. Edzard, ‘Kleine Beiträge zum Gilgameš-Epos 4. Der Gang durch den Tunnel’, *Or NS* 54 (1985), pp. 52–3; J. Bottéro, ‘La mythologie de la mort en Mésopotamie ancienne’, in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRR 26; Copenhagen, 1980), p. 31: ‘le chemin souterrain de Šamaš, sorte d’interminable tunnel’ (p. 31). T. Jacobsen summarizes the present episode as follows: ‘he sets out, comes to the gate of the sun in the west, passes through the tunnel to sunrise in the east’ (*Studies Moran*, p. 240; cf. the longer exposition in *Treasures of Darkness*, p. 204); Kovacs offers a refinement of this view: ‘the Road of the Sun refers to the course of the sun through the Netherworld at night’ (*Epic*, p. 77, fn. 2).

¹⁷³ See Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 98–100, citing the Mappa Mundi as the evidence for the Babylonian belief that the sun did not shine in the extreme north. The lines of Tablet IX referring to the north wind (163–6) are too broken to tell us what the significance this wind held for Gilgameš’s progress and direction. To state that ‘in the ninth double-hour Gilgameš felt the north wind blowing on his face’ (Huxley, *Iraq* 62, p. 125) couples words surviving in two different lines with Heidel’s guess at restoration and is not secure.

¹⁷⁴ Heimpel, *ĜCS* 38, p. 142: ‘we have to assume that the “road of Šamaš” was open, imagined perhaps as a corridor from sunset to sunrise that was traversed by an earthbound creature such as Gilgameš on the ground and by a heaven-bound creature such as Šamaš above ground, in the sky of heaven’s interior.’ A fourth opinion, that Gilgameš travelled north through the Tigris tunnel (see E. Lipinski, *OLP* 2 (1970), pp. 49–53), is discounted for raising too many difficulties, not least the question how this subterranean passage could be described as the Path of the Sun.

least ten leagues or double-hours, probably twelve.¹⁷⁵ Twelve double-hours is very suggestive, being of course a whole Babylonian day; this is a period determined then, as now, by the perceived motion of the sun: Šamaš travels his path in exactly twenty-four hours. If we are dealing in double-hours the most attractive interpretation, were it not for one particular that I shall come to later, would be that Gilgameš must complete the Path of the Sun within one full day. What we would have in this episode would then be an epic race with the sun. Sunrise and sunset take place at the opposite ends of the earth and, if the Path of the Sun means the route between the two extremes, this race must have been equal in length at least to the full diameter of the world-disc, an astonishing feat of endurance even for the greatest of heroes.

In some particulars the text confirms that, however long it was, Gilgameš’s journey was indeed imagined as a race against time. How do we explain the lines that repeatedly record his inability to discern what was behind him except as the hero checking that the sun was not catching up with him?¹⁷⁶ And when at long last Gilgameš issues forth from the darkness, the text states explicitly that he does so *before the sun does* (170).¹⁷⁷ Gilgameš has beaten Šamaš to the far end of the Path of the Sun, and all is well.

Whether the race is measured in distance or time, this interpretation comes up against a problem, however, in that it conflicts with a detail noted earlier in the story. When Gilgameš sets out on the Path of the Sun he is at the mountain of the sunrise, not at the mountain of the sunset. Since the journey starts in utter darkness it follows that it took him in the opposite direction from the sun, backwards along the hidden path the sun takes before dawn. Over a course extending from sunrise to sunset he will meet the sun long before the tenth double-hour arrives, let alone the twelfth. Even if the race is over the shorter distance measured in leagues, the temporal phrase ‘before the sun’ still sits awkwardly with a notion that the sun was travelling in the opposite direction. An apparent solution to this problem is to reverse the direction of Gilgameš’s travel by assuming an error in the text at l. 39 and exchanging his starting point, the mountain of the sunrise, for its westerly counterpart, the mountain of the sunset.¹⁷⁸ But this solution falls foul of a further difficulty.

Other evidence held by the poem regarding Gilgameš’s journey to Ūta-napišti should be considered here. According to the résumé of the journey given in Tablet I Gilgameš crossed the ‘wide sea to the sunrise’ before reaching his goal.¹⁷⁹ In an Old Babylonian fragment of the epic the hero describes the route that brought him through the mountains to the ocean as the ‘hidden road where the sun rises’.¹⁸⁰ Both statements agree with the old tradition that

¹⁷⁵ However one restores ll. 169–70, 12 is the figure given already in l. 82.

¹⁷⁶ The phrase *palāsa arkassu* (ll. 141 and parallels) replaces the previously received reading *pānassa arkassu*. Note that back in the 1870s George Smith already read the signs correctly, for he translated ‘he was not able to look behind him’ (*Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 251).

¹⁷⁷ A key point here is that the word *lām* is a preposition of time, not of place.

¹⁷⁸ Note that this is where many commentators understood the journey to begin: Jacobsen, *Studies Moran*, p. 240 (quoted above, fn. 172), Heimpel, *ĜCS* 38, p. 142, and B. Alster, ‘Dilmun, Bahrain, and the alleged paradise in Sumerian myth and literature’, in D. Potts (ed.), *Dilmun* (BBVO 2; Berlin, 1983), p. 54.

¹⁷⁹ SB I 38: *ēbir ayaḅba tāmati rapašti adi šū Šamši*.

¹⁸⁰ OBVA + BM iv 11: *urḫam reḡātam wašā’u Šamši*.

the Flood hero was settled by the gods in the 'land of Dilmun, towards the sunrise'.¹⁸¹ An easterly direction for the final stage of the quest is therefore unquestionable, but this has no bearing on the direction taken at the start. If we admit the emendation we can suppose that Gilgameš came to the mountain of the sunset in the far west and, racing to complete the Path of the Sun just in time, emerged a few moments before dawn at the mountain of sunrise in the far east. If we do not allow it, then we must assume that the first part of Gilgameš's wandering also took him east and that the Path of the Sun brought him from the hither side of the mountain of sunrise to the far side.

As we know from Tablet X the hero then journeys through a jewelled landscape to the seashore and thence across the ocean, previously crossed only by the sun, to Ūta-napišti's realm. The impression given is that his journey is taking him ever further from Uruk. An interesting question arises, whether or not the emendation of l. 39 is allowed: how could it be that the mountain of sunrise (or, emended, the mountain of sunset) was not at the end of the world? How could it be sited on the hither side of an ocean explicitly described as passable only by Šamaš and itself fringed by further regions?

There was an old tradition in which the sun rose in the Cedar Mountains to the east.¹⁸² Because the eastern Cedar Mountains seem to have been located somewhere in southern Iran, this tradition of the sunrise reflected a very limited view of the earth's extent, one that was probably prehistoric. The later people of Mesopotamia obviously knew full well that the world extended way beyond the mountains of Iran, across far oceans and the distant lands beyond them, but in the early second millennium they probably had little accurate information about the most remote regions. The famous Mappa Mundi, though extant as a copy made in the late first millennium BC, a time when the Babylonians knew very well that the world comprised much more than their immediate surroundings, reflects just such a situation. On it Babylon and its immediate neighbours are encircled by an ocean, beyond which lie various remote and mythical regions. Where would the sun rise and set on such a map? At the edge of the central landmass, or beyond the surrounding ocean, or even further off, beyond the furthest regions?

In my view the geography envisaged by the poet of the Gilgameš epic draws on the old tradition of the place of the sunrise, while acknowledging that the world was much vaster than that tradition allowed. Such a view would assume that the sun actually rose far, far in the east, in some uncharted location, passed over the unvisited territory where lived Ūta-napišti and his wife, continued across the Waters of Death and the hither ocean, and, coming to a mountain so vast that it reached to the height of heaven (so SB IX 40), passed through it by means of a tunnel to emerge above the wild uplands that stretched east from Babylonia. Not only would this course tally with the old idea that the sun rose from the Iranian highlands, and with the traditional location of Ūta-napišti in some remote location in the east beyond the reach of men, but it presents a geography consistent with the epic's time and place. The people of second-millennium Babylonia knew that there were high mountains to the east, in

¹⁸¹ Sumerian flood story, *PBS V* 1, 260 (quoted below, in the introduction to Tablet XI).

¹⁸² See above, fn. 133.

southern Iran, but also that in roughly the same direction lay the familiar waters of the Gulf and, beside them, various trading posts reported by intrepid sailors, such as Dilmun and Makkan. Across the more hostile waters of the Indian Ocean were unvisited places still remoter and less known, the shores of Baluchistan and India.

This response to the siting of the mountain entered by Gilgameš works if it was the mountain of sunrise but not if l. 39 is emended to read 'mountain of sunset'. It is frustrating not to be able to resolve the problems relating to the places of sunrise and sunset, the Path of the Sun and Gilgameš's race against time. Though the geography of the hero's wanderings is imaginary, one might expect it to show a consistency of detail that was susceptible to logical exegesis. However, it may be that the inconsistencies observed were not present at the beginning of the epic's life but accumulated over time, as the text was transmitted down the generations. For the moment I think it is clear that in the geography of Tablets IX and X there are two different motifs present: (a) a journey to the most remote east, across the world ocean to the uncharted lands beyond, (b) a race against time along the hidden path of the sun. The inconsistencies observed in Tablet IX seem to have arisen when the two motifs were incorporated in a single episode.

The scene that greets Gilgameš as he emerges from the mountain fills the remainder of the tablet almost completely, though the text remains damaged and split by a lacuna into two disconnected parts. Gilgameš finds himself in a magic landscape, perhaps a 'garden of the gods', where the trees are made of precious stone and their fruits are jewels (171–94).¹⁸³ As has been observed before, this wondrous orchard, set between a vast mountain reaching to the sky and the great encircling ocean, is in its fruit and its location reminiscent of Greek mythology's garden of the Hesperides, the daughters of Atlas, whence Hercules took the golden apples as his eleventh labour.¹⁸⁴ Though that garden was most certainly in a mythical land of the sunset to the far west, and though it and other details of Hercules' experiences in the west may echo the story of Gilgameš, the garden's western location may be a Greek invention with no bearing on the siting of the jewelled trees Gilgameš found.¹⁸⁵ The motif of the jewelled garden at the foot of a cosmic mountain also occurs in the Arabian Nights, where it may be an echo of the stories of Hercules as well as of Gilgameš.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ On this passage see also Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 100–2.

¹⁸⁴ For a discussion see M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 463–4.

¹⁸⁵ However, it would be foolish categorically to rule out a Mesopotamian derivation for the garden of the Hesperides. Since the Babylonians saw the opposite ends of the earth as symmetrical, at least in the matter of the gates of the sun in the mountains of sunrise and sunset, and held also that the ocean encircled the world, it may yet turn out that another jewelled garden, the twin of the one admired by Gilgameš, lay, like the garden of Greek mythology, between the mountain of the sunset and the encircling ocean.

¹⁸⁶ See S. Dalley, 'Gilgamesh in the Arabian Nights', *JRASNS* 1 (1991), p. 10, where she wisely observes that 'these themes could perhaps be regarded as part of the Arab story-teller's repertory rather than indicating direct connections'. E. C. L. During Caspers views the jewelled garden in Gilgameš as a reminiscence of the trade in precious stones at Dilmun (*Persica* 12 (1987), p. 63). Though travellers' stories of the fabulous mineral wealth of distant lands may well be the origin of the motif, Dilmun was, in the tradition of the Sumerian Flood Story, the place where Ziusudra was settled in his immortality and so separated by a full ocean from the jewelled garden. If, in telling of a fantastic landscape situated between a mountain and a sea, this episode reflects a memory or report of any actual geographical location, perhaps it is instead the luxuriant semi-tropical jungle of the narrow coastal plain that lies between the Caspian Sea and Mt Demavend in the Elburz. This is not a proposal that Gilgameš went to this part of Iran, for it would be unwise to specify

As Gilgameš walks about the fantastic garden someone is watching (195–6). The subject of the line, at least as it is restored here, is not likely to be Gilgameš, who is engrossed in marvelling at the bejewelled landscape. More probably it is Šiduri, who, as restated in SB X 10, has been watching him from a distance. Her identity is held back until the next line, i.e., the beginning of Tablet X, perhaps as a literary device to promote suspense.

TABLET X

The first two couplets introduce Šiduri: she kept a tavern by the edge of the ocean but hid her face, apparently, behind a veil (1–4). This detail is a little incongruous, for normal Babylonian ale-wives were probably not respectable enough to go veiled. Women who frequented taverns were typically prostitutes and such women, along with slaves, were forbidden the veil, at least in Assyria, where the veil was clearly a mark of respectability. The veiling of married women in Babylonia is less unambiguously attested but seems very probable.¹⁸⁷ The veiling of Šiduri, if that is what the text reports, is probably related instead to her function as a mysterious goddess of wisdom. She observes in the distance the sorry figure of Gilgameš and, taking him for a big-game hunter—evidently the kind of rough customer she has no desire to entertain—she bars her door and, as we now learn from the new fragment of MS f, takes refuge on the roof (5–16). Having heard Šiduri's noisy preparations for a siege, as it were, Gilgameš approaches and, looking up at her, asks why she defends herself in this way (17–21). He threatens to force the entrance to her inn (21–4). Šiduri's reply is fragmentary but it is clear that she concludes by asking him what business has brought him to her gate (25–8). Much of what follows is intelligible because the fragments of text on MS b can confidently be restored from the parallel lines later in Tablet X. Gilgameš introduces himself by relating a synopsis of his and Enkidu's exploits (29–34). Šiduri counters, asking how it is that such a great hero could look so wasted and desolate, wandering the wilderness in all extremes of weather clad only in a lion's skin (35–45).

A lacuna intervenes as Gilgameš replies (46), for on MS K the bottom of the column and the beginning of the next are lost, leaving a gap of about fourteen lines of tablet that can again be easily reconstructed from later in the tablet (47–60). Gilgameš responds that there is every reason for his dreadful appearance and desolate despair: his stalwart friend Enkidu is no more (47–57). He had delayed the burial until the corpse's putrefaction drove home the bitter truth and now, overcome with grief at his friend's fate, he is wandering the wild country (58–62). The realization that he, too, must die has filled him with such terror that

a real location for what is an imaginary place, but simply a suggestion as to what true fact might lie behind the poem's geographical fantasy. A similar train of thought no doubt provoked the Arab geographer Yakut to identify Mt Qaf, the cosmic mountain of the Arabian Nights, with the Elburz range (iv 18; I owe this reference to Douglas R. Frayne).

¹⁸⁷ See Ch. 5, the notes on the Pennsylvania tablet, OB II 155.

he cannot stay quietly at home (63–71). Instead he is driven forward on a relentless quest, for, after the narrator intervenes to restate a standard line reporting Gilgameš as the speaker (72),¹⁸⁸ the hero demands to be told how to continue his search for Ūta-napišti, whom he must reach if he can (73–7).

Šiduri's reply outlines the obstacles that lie in Gilgameš's way: first the ocean itself, uncrossed by any being except the sun, and then, at some point on the passage across, the lethal Waters of Death (78–87). But it seems she suddenly thinks of a possible solution, for she tells the hero to seek out Ur-šanabi, who happens to be in a forest nearby, cutting timber with the Stone Ones (88–91). Ur-šanabi is Ūta-napišti's 'boatman' and skips a vessel, powered by the Stone Ones, that is capable of crossing the ocean and the Waters of Death. Probably he makes the journey regularly, ferrying supplies to his master. Gilgameš wastes no time on thought but immediately rushes into the forest with weapons drawn, ready to do battle with Ur-šanabi and his company (92–7). Ur-šanabi grabs an axe with which to defend himself but is quickly overpowered (98–101). Meanwhile the Stone Ones are no longer in the forest, for the text, newly supplemented by Assyrian MS z, reports them back at the ferry landing, recaulking the boat—evidently a job that needed doing before each ocean crossing (102–3). The following lines are still very damaged but it is now clear that, arriving at the water's edge, Gilgameš subdues any resistance, smashes the Stone Ones and throws the broken pieces into the river (104–6).¹⁸⁹ That done, he does something to the boat, sits down on the bank and addresses Ur-šanabi; damage prevents us knowing fully what he does and says in these lines (107–11).

The next passage can be restored after the parallel speeches earlier and later in the same tablet: Ur-šanabi asks Gilgameš why he looks so wretched (112–18) and Gilgameš explains how Enkidu's death awoke in him a dreadful realization of his own mortality (119–148). After a pause (149) he demands that Ur-šanabi help him continue his quest for Ūta-napišti (150–4). In a passage that parallels the Old Babylonian tablet reportedly from Sippar (OB VA + BM col. iv), Ur-šanabi responds by informing Gilgameš that his own rash action in smashing the Stone Ones has made his journey all the harder (155–8). To make amends he must go back to the forest with an axe and cut 300 enormous poles, each thirty metres long, and fit them with rounded end-caps for punting the boat across the ocean, a task that he duly does (159–68). Some points of interpretation concerning this episode arise here, relating to the Waters of Death, Ur-šanabi's job and the Stone Ones and their functions. These will be considered before returning to the narrative.

In the geography of the epic, the Waters of Death form the most hazardous part of the great ocean that lies between the edge of the known world and the uncharted region in the far east where the gods settled Ūta-napišti. By virtue of their name, it is difficult to disassociate these lethal waters from the body of water that the dead traditionally crossed on their way to the Netherworld. The chthonic water is often identified as a river, called the

¹⁸⁸ This interruption divides the lines in which Gilgameš reports how he came to meet Šiduri from those that express what he requires of her. It perhaps functions as a kind of pause; so likewise SB III 100, X 149 and X 249.

¹⁸⁹ Evidently the ferry landing did not occupy an exposed position on the sea shore but lay in the shelter of an estuary. The situation reflects the ancient reality, in which ocean-going ships came upstream to moor.

Ḫubur.¹⁹⁰ The location of this river is nowhere given precisely, other than that it lay at the gates of the Netherworld. The entrances to the Netherworld are several in Babylonian sources, for different and conflicting traditions were extant.¹⁹¹ One entrance was in the far west, where the sun (and other celestial deities) left the world by the gate of sunset.¹⁹² For this reason one might look for the Ḫubur in the same location. In Babylonian geography, journeys to the extremes of the earth came eventually to the great encircling ocean, and anyone seeking to go further, for example to the place of the sunset, had to cross that ocean. It seems reasonable to suggest accordingly that the lethal river and the encircling ocean, both of which stood in the way of a passage to the far west, could be identified with one another. The Waters of Death that Gilgameš must cross are then easily seen as another name for the Babylonian Styx. The fact that the Ḫubur is usually encountered in the far west, while Gilgameš encounters the Waters of Death on his journey to the opposite end of the earth, does not constitute a problem if the Waters of Death encircled the earth as part of the great ocean.

According to an Assyrian text that relates a dream of the Netherworld, often known as the Underworld Vision of Kummâ, the land of the dead had its own boatman, a grotesque monster called Ḫumuṭ-tabal, 'Carry Off Quickly!'.¹⁹³ It is a logical deduction that this, in one tradition, was the Babylonian Charon, whose job was to ferry across the lethal waters the shades of the dead descending to the Netherworld. Since Ur-šanabi's job is to cross the Waters of Death, Ūta-napišti's boatman might be considered another such figure. Although his name, which was traditionally interpreted as 'Man of the god Ea',¹⁹⁴ suggests that, strictly, he was a creature of Ea not of Ereškigal, the distinction between the cosmic domains of these two deities was often blurred.¹⁹⁵ At least some Babylonian geographers considered earth, Apsû and the Netherworld to stand in vertical relation, being the three superimposed levels comprising the lower part of the cosmos.¹⁹⁶ In such a cosmos the dead necessarily had to pass through the watery Apsû to reach the Netherworld, a situation which would easily

¹⁹⁰ The sources that document this Babylonian version of the River Styx are collected by Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 355–7.

¹⁹¹ For an overview see Bottéro, *CRR* 26, p. 32.

¹⁹² The gate itself is mentioned in *Udugḫul* IV (CT 16 9 i 11–12): ká.gal 'utu.šù.a.t[a?] : ina a-bu-ul [e-reb 'šamšī]. Incantations that adjure ghosts to return to the Netherworld direct them to the place of the sunset, e.g. *KAR* 267 rev. 12–13 // *BMS* 53 19–20 (ed. J. A. Scurlock, *KAR* 267 // *BMS* 53: A ghostly light on *bī rimki?*, *JAS* 108 (1988), p. 206): a-na ra-bē-e (var. e-reb) 'šamšī(utu) bī līl-līk / [a-na 'bi-du₆].du₆.gal šá eršetī(ki) lū-u pa-qīd, 'let it go to the sunset, let it be placed in the charge [of Bidu, the] chief-gatekeeper of the Netherworld'. On the westerly direction of the journey to the Netherworld see further J. Bottéro, *ZA* 73 (1983), p. 191; *CRR* 26, pp. 32, 41. In mythology, when Inanna arrives at the gates of the Netherworld she explains her presence there by stating that she is on her way to the place of the sunrise (Inanna's Descent 81). This does not mean that she has travelled east to reach the Netherworld, but relates to her celestial journey. As Venus, she has set in the west on her last appearance as an evening star and needs to make her way on this occasion, if not on all others, through the Netherworld to the east in time for her first appearance as a morning star. The period in the cycle of Venus between the planet's last observed setting and its first observed rising was the time of the goddess's captivity in the land of the dead.

¹⁹³ Livingstone, *SAA* III 32 rev. 5; cf. Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, p. 356.

¹⁹⁴ See Ch. 4, the section on Ur-šanabi.

¹⁹⁵ On this topic see Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 342–4, 'The Apsu and the Underworld'.

¹⁹⁶ *KAR* 307, 34–7, ed. Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, p. 82–3; see further Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 3–4, 16, 334.

permit an equation of Ea's domain with the chthonic river. While it lay in the far east of the world, Ūta-napišti's final resting place can be considered at the same time part of Ea's cosmic domain, the Apsû,¹⁹⁷ so it seems that a ferry across the Waters of Death could link the world of men with two other cosmic domains, the Apsû and the Netherworld.

Later in the story Ur-šanabi is dismissed from his position as Ūta-napišti's boatman because he allowed Gilgameš to cross with him, so the absence of his name from texts that report the various denizens of the Netherworld need not surprise us. The newly discovered tradition that Gilgameš also ferried the shades of the dead over the Ḫubur plainly derives from the episode under discussion. As a hero who, when alive, had made the traverse of the Waters of Death, so after death one of his roles in the Netherworld was regularly to repeat that feat.¹⁹⁸

This brings us to the Stone Ones (*šū abni*) and the questions of what they were doing in the forest and how they propelled Ur-šanabi's boat. As is clear from ll. 156–8 and, particularly, the extant Old Babylonian version of this episode (OB VA + BM iv 21–4), the Stone Ones were necessary for safe passage across the ocean and the Waters of Death. The Hittite Gilgameš preserves a tradition according to which they were Ur-šanabi's crew, comprising a pair of stone statues.¹⁹⁹ Though the Stone Ones have been interpreted as amulets, whose function was apotropaic or magical,²⁰⁰ it is nevertheless possible that these were anthropomorphic.²⁰¹ Other opinions are that they were items of nautical tackle but made of stone, either rudder-oars,²⁰² sails,²⁰³ gunwales,²⁰⁴ punting poles,²⁰⁵ or, more cogently, anchor stones or 'kedges'.²⁰⁶

The question of whether the Stone Ones were sailors or items of equipment is settled, in my opinion, by consideration of the activity described in l. 88, *urna qatūpu*. This phrase is unlikely to be inconsequential: it should denote something essential to the proper function of the ferryman, Ur-šanabi, and his boat, which is to cross the Waters of Death. There are

¹⁹⁷ On this see below, the introduction to Tablet XI.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. W. G. Lambert, 'A rare exorcistic fragment', in T. Abusch (ed.), *Jacobsen Mem. Vol.*, p. 204: 'There is a general tradition that Gilgameš at death became a netherworld god, so perhaps in this tradition he replaced Ur-Šanabi as boatman of the netherworld river, ferrying people (mostly dead) across the waters of death. This idea can be supported from Tablet XI of the late version, since Ur-Šanabi was ordered off from his work with the boat and accompanied Gilgameš back to Uruk. Clearly another boatman was needed at that moment, and the position could have been kept ready for Gilgameš.' For texts in which Gilgameš acts as ferryman of the dead see Ch. 3 above, the sub-section on Ferryman of the dead.

¹⁹⁹ *KUB* XXXIII 124, 3, ed. Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1930), p. 27: 2 ALAM.NA.

²⁰⁰ Cf. C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 28 (1966), p. 120; A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 103; Labat, *Religions*, p. 205, fn. 2.

²⁰¹ Cf. also Bottéro, *Lépopée*, p. 170, fn. 3: 'qu'il s'agisse d'êtres humains, ou humanoïdes, la chose ne fait guère de doute, puisqu'ils accompagnent UrŠanabi en forêt.'

²⁰² B. Landsberger in F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 4 (1950), p. 151, fn. 23; see also von Soden, *Reclam**, p. 83, fn. 3; also Labat, *Religions*, pp. 205–6, fn. 2.

²⁰³ Thompson, *Gilgameš*, p. 85.

²⁰⁴ Millard, *Iraq* 26, p. 104, with earlier literature.

²⁰⁵ T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, p. 205.

²⁰⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, 'Shut-abni, "Those of Stone"', *AJSL* 38 (1922), pp. 97–102; more recently H. Frost, 'Gilgameš and the "Things of Stone"', *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* 1984, pp. 96–100; A. D. Kilmer, 'Crossing the Waters of Death: the "Stone Things" in the Gilgameš Epic', *WZKM* 86 (1986), pp. 213–17.

two words *urnu*: (a) some sort of snake,²⁰⁷ which is not a convincing object of *qatāpu*, ‘to pick, trim’, and (b) a timber-bearing tree, probably a kind of Syrian cedar, that could reach a considerable height.²⁰⁸ We know from later in Tablet X that the boat is propelled across the Waters of Death by the use of very long punting poles (ll. 174–80). The point must be that Ur-šanabi is here engaged in cutting timber—and, indeed, we learn from l. 99 that he has an axe to hand, which he uses to defend himself against Gilgameš’s attack. More particularly, it seems that he is dressing the boughs of an *urnu*-tree for use as oars or punting-poles.²⁰⁹ That a new set is being prepared implies that, so dangerous are the Waters of Death, each oar or pole can only be used once, even by the Stone Ones. Later, after Gilgameš has smashed the Stone Ones, Ur-šanabi points out to him that ‘the *urnu* is not [stripped (or some other verb implying a state of readiness)]’ (l. 158) and, in order to make the passage over the ocean, sends him to make the punting poles himself. Thus it is the *urnu* tree that provided the instruments of propulsion and the Stone Ones are identified, by default, as the crew who wielded them. The new detail, that the Stone Ones maintained Ur-šanabi’s boat in seaworthy condition (l. 102), confirms their function as sailors.

Having made the 300 poles and being himself the substitute crew, Gilgameš boards the boat with Ur-šanabi and they somehow traverse the ocean with epic speed, arriving on the third day at the Waters of Death (169–72). It is here that the special poles are needed, for Ur-šanabi now instructs Gilgameš to begin punting, taking care not to splash himself with the lethal water (173–5). Once used, each pole must be discarded, for the ferryman goes on to tell Gilgameš to take up the first twelve poles one after another (176–9). In this way they travel forward a good distance, but evidently not far enough to reach safety, for at this point Gilgameš improvises a sailcloth from the ferryman’s garment and holds it aloft to catch the wind (180–3).²¹⁰ The evidence currently available suggests that in antiquity boats which relied on sail plied the sea routes of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. On the rivers of ancient Mesopotamia punting poles and paddles were the characteristic instruments of propulsion; sail might be used in addition, but its lack of flexibility on the narrow confines of a meandering river made it an unsuitable source of power.²¹¹ The implication of the narrative, that

²⁰⁷ Von Soden’s ‘Waran’, *AHw*, p. 1431; Reclam*: ‘sammelt er *Waran*’.

²⁰⁸ According to *ARM* XIV 31, 15, the *urnu*-tree can reach a height of at least 5 reeds, about 15 metres.

²⁰⁹ So already *CAD* Q, p. 164; cf. Dalley, Bottéro.

²¹⁰ A similar interpretation was made by Alster, writing that Gilgameš ‘uses his own body and clothes for mast and sails’ (in Potts, *Dilmun*, p. 49). I propose two modifications to this idea: (a) that it is Ur-šanabi’s garment which forms the sailcloth, not Gilgameš’s (for the argument see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB X 181), and (b) that *karū* is not ‘mast’ but ‘yardarm’. Von Soden’s earlier interpretation of *karē eleppi* as ‘[ein] Ladebunker an den Seiten des Schiffes’ (*AHw*, p. 452, following A. Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge*, p. 82) indeed disappeared in favour of ‘Mast’ after considering this passage (Reclam*, X iv 11: ‘Mit den Händen befestigt’ er sie am Mast’; cf. *CAD* K, p. 187: ‘he lifted the mast in his hands’). In Nebuchadnezzar II’s Wadi Brisa inscription, where the twin *karīs* fitted to the processional barge of Nabū are made of ‘tall cedars’ (*Wadi Brisa* A vii 26: 2 ⁶⁸*qa-re-e erēmi*(eren) *ši-ḥu-ti*), the word in question could mean ‘yardarm’ equally well as ‘mast’. A close reading of the present passage suggests that what Gilgameš does with his arms is less obviously to make a mast than to form a yardarm, the spar from which the sail hangs: he holds a corner of Ur-šanabi’s garment in each outstretched hand, the other corners (one assumes) being anchored to the boat, perhaps by his feet, to make the sail effective.

²¹¹ See M.-C. De Graeve, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East* (Leuven, 1981), pp. 151–86; the limited use of sail in riverine navigation accounts for the rarity in the documentary sources of the terms for sailing-boat, ⁶⁴*má.ša.ḥa = eleppu*

Ur-šanabi’s ferry was not equipped with mast and sail, suggests that the epic here preserves a story of the first use of sail. In this analysis the episode recounted here is a mythical account of the invention of the sailing-boat, as it were an aetiology of sail and the consequent expansion of the nautical capabilities of ancient sailors. Gilgameš is trying to cross a vast expanse of ocean which no mortal man has navigated before. His improvisation of a sail, in order to complete the journey when punting becomes impracticable, is an accurate reflection of what must have been an historical truth: that sail had to be invented before true ocean voyages could be made. Since Gilgameš was a legendary traveller on the eastern ocean, who would be better than him, in Mesopotamian eyes, as the inventor of sail?²¹²

Watching his ferry approaching his shore, Ūta-napišti ponders the strange sight, for instead of the customary crew a man unknown to him is aboard (184–9). The text becomes fragmentary as col. iv of MS K tails off, but it is clear from the newly discovered Assyrian MS z that the incredulous Ūta-napišti repeats to himself several more times the observation that the boat is crewed by a stranger (190–200). The lines that hold the conclusion of his ruminations are very fragmentary (201–3). Narrative resumes with a brief description of Gilgameš’s landfall, also badly damaged (204–6). Gilgameš’s words of greeting to the ancient sage are also poorly preserved (207–11). They contain more than one reference to the great Flood he survived. If there was some kind of self-introduction, it is now missing entirely. By way of response Ūta-napišti asks why his visitor presents such a wretched appearance, using the words already spoken by Šiduri and Ur-šanabi (212–18). He receives the same reply as they did (219–48).

After a pause (249) Gilgameš goes on to tell how he wandered the world looking for Ūta-napišti (250–3). These and other lines of Gilgameš’s wandering find an echo in a Neo-Assyrian prophecy that describes the devotion of the goddess Ištar to King Aššurbanipal:

[*ba-la-ta-ka er-ša-ku-ma a-rap-pu-da šēru*(edin) [*e-ta-nab-bir nārāi*(id)^{mes} u
tam-tim^{mes} [*e-ta-na-at-ti-iq šadē*(kur)^{mes-e} *ḥur-sa-a-ni e-ta-nab-bir nārāi*(id)^{mes} ka-
*li-ši-na e-ta-nak-kal-a-ni ia-a-ši se-[i]a-a-te sa-rab-a-te il-ta-ḥa-pa-ta ba-nu-ú la-
 a-ni an-ḥa-[k]u!-ma ša-ad-da-lu-pu-ka la-a-ni-ia*

SA IX 9 obv. 8–15

Out of desire for your [well]-being I shall roam the wild, I shall keep crossing rivers and oceans, I shall keep traversing mountains (and) highlands, I shall keep crossing all rivers! Sunshine and frosts will keep consuming me, attacking my beautiful form (until) I am weary and my body is exhausted on your behalf.

šahḫūtu. From a Mesopotamian point of view sailing was a technique specifically associated with the Gulf traders, who, at least in this part of the world, pioneered this method of propulsion. According to Alster, representations on seals of ‘Dilmun boats [rigged with a single squaresail] represent the earliest beginning of the history of sailing technique’ (in Potts, *Dilmun*, p. 71).

²¹² The purported discovery of sailpower by Gilgameš thus fits the conventional pattern in which important advances in technology and other areas are attributed to legendary figures from remote antiquity (see further Ch. 3, the subsection on Crossing the ocean).

This passage has been identified as a 'clear allusion' to the text of the epic²¹³ but a direct link between the two texts is uncertain. The topos of non-stop toil undiminished in the face of all obstacles is symbolized by climbing mountains and fording rivers in other literature, and these figures may have been well-worn clichés.

Gilgameš continues in similar vein, recalling how he deprived himself of sleep in relentless pursuit of his goal and killed every kind of wild animal for food and clothing (254–61). The two couplets that conclude his speech are still damaged but are clearly concerned with a contrast between sorrow and fun (262–5). Even without restoration it is evident that Gilgameš yearns for an end to grief, wishing for the doors to be closed on that episode in his life, and looks forward to a future of pleasure. Read so, the passage confirms what is everywhere implied: Gilgameš expects his misery to end when he finds Ūta-napišti, for then, endowed with everlasting life, he will be able permanently to resume the good life in Uruk.

Ūta-napišti's reply fills the rest of the tablet (266–322). It is the first part of a long monologue that continues almost uninterrupted until SB XI 209. Here, surely, lies the essence of the poet's message. The climax of the old man's speech is the famous story of the great Flood and how he became immortal as a result (SB XI 11–206). The lines that precede that story, those that conclude Tablet X, have not enjoyed the same attention, partly because the important Late Babylonian manuscripts that complement the Kuyunjik tablet are relatively recent discoveries. Now that the text is more fully known, the beginning of Ūta-napišti's homily can be treated to a more detailed exegesis.

The first thirty lines remain badly damaged. Ūta-napišti begins by contrasting Gilgameš's present appearance with his unique birth: son of a goddess and a king, a mixture of god and mortal, nevertheless he squanders his life in misery (266–9). Then Ūta-napišti directs Gilgameš's attention to a different contrast, that between king and 'fool' (270–5). Gilgameš is blessed with high birth and physical perfection and enjoys the trappings of royalty, but the 'fool', evidently a kind of village idiot, is not so fortunate, making do with inferior food²¹⁴ and rough clothing.²¹⁵ The contrast is germane, for Gilgameš, in his pitiful condition and ragged attire, looks more like fool than king and, at the same time, is behaving like a fool in pursuing his unattainable goal. Ūta-napišti continues, it seems, by observing that because the fool lacks guidance in his affairs, he is not to blame for his predicament; the responsibility for his care lies with the king—who, by contrast, is proverbially well counselled (276–9?). This duty of kings, to care for those in the kingdom who cannot provide for themselves, is fundamental to the ideology and practice of Mesopotamian kingship.

²¹³ S. Parpola, *SAA IX*, pp. xiv, 41.

²¹⁴ The opposition of 'yeast sludge' and 'ghee' in l. 272 makes the point clearly that this and the parallel lines (ll. 273–5) contrast the food and clothing available to the lowest class of humanity with that customary in higher society. The use of yeast sludge as a poor substitute for buttery ghee is a reminder of the more modern practice of using the thick sediment left by fermenting beer as animal feed (and as the base of the popular concoction sold in Britain for human consumption under the trade name of 'Marmite').

²¹⁵ The couplet 270–1 might make better sense in the wider context of the passage if the lines were inverted: 'You are of royal birth and they made you a king, but did you ever consider the fool?' However, it is best not to tamper with a text that is still incomplete.

Another duty of kings appears to be the subject of the following lines, preserved only on the Late Babylonian source, MS b. Though the passage is very broken, a provisional exegesis is possible. The mention of the moon and stars ('gods of the night') and, if I interpret the fragmentary lines correctly, the fact that they shine through the night according to the functions established for them in the remote past—all this suggests a reference to the celestial cycles, lunar and solar, that mark the passage of the Babylonian year (280?–5). Ūta-napišti urges Gilgameš to think on these things (286) as an example, perhaps, of the regular patterns of a universe in which the king plays the pivotal role between gods and men.²¹⁶ As part of the essential contract of mortal kingship, the gods come to the aid of the king in his enterprises (287) and in return expect their sanctuaries to be properly provisioned (288–9). The maintenance of the cult centres is ordained to follow a pattern of regular offerings and festivals established by the cycles of the moon and the constellations, so Ūta-napišti's earlier reference to these is an apt preface to his exposition of a king's duties to the gods.

Ūta-napišti's long monologue thus begins with a homily on the twin duties of kingship. It is clear to him and to his interlocutor that, by wandering the world on his futile quest, Gilgameš is fulfilling neither. The old man's reproachful words underline the plot of the whole latter half of the epic, in which Gilgameš strenuously tries to escape his destiny but finally must learn to accept it. What comes next is for the moment extant only in isolated words (290–4'), but the topic may still be that of temple maintenance (*zānina* in l. 294'). With col. vi of MS K a new topic is at issue, the nature of the human condition. This subject, which fills the rest of the tablet, very probably begins with the mention of 'mankind' in l. 295.²¹⁷

Having mentioned mankind in general, Ūta-napišti apparently then tells of a specific instance when 'they' (the gods of the Netherworld?) took to his doom a specific individual (295–6).²¹⁸ Next he tells Gilgameš again that his relentless quest in search of immortality has achieved precisely the opposite, sapping his energy and shortening his life (297–300). He then turns to ruminate on the fragility of mortal men, who die with no forewarning, often in their prime, snapped like reeds harvested in a thicket (301–3). Death, the reaper of mankind, comes silently and invisibly (304–7). And yet human life goes on through the

²¹⁶ An alternative understanding of this passage would be that Ūta-napišti is contrasting Gilgameš's sleepless wandering with the celestial journeys of the gods of the night. Staying awake all night, as the hero has done (cf. ll. 254–5), is all very well for the moon god and the stars. For them it is ordained (l. 285: *šakin*), the implication being that for a man it is not. Cf. the slightly different exegesis of this passage by von Soden, *Reclam* 1982, p. 91: 'Er verweist Gilgamesch auf die ihm verliehenen großen Gaben und stellt seinem Schicksal das des "Tölpels", des vom Leben Benachteiligten, gegenüber. Gilgamesch soll sich seiner annehmen, wie es die Könige nach ihren Inschriften immer wieder als ihre Verpflichtung ansahen, für die "Witwen und Waisen" zu sorgen. Die "ruhelos bemühten" Götter sollen für den König von Uruk ein Vorbild sein. Nur weil Gilgamesch sich dieser Fürsorgepflicht bisher entzogen hat, kommt er über das schwere Schicksal, das ihm durch den Tod Enkidu auferlegt wurde, nicht hinweg.'

²¹⁷ This passage of wisdom, better understood since the recovery of the two LB sources, has been treated twice in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRR 26; Copenhagen, 1980), by W. G. Lambert (pp. 54–7) and by T. Jacobsen (p. 20), and again by Jacobsen in *Studies Moran*, p. 241. See also the review of *CRR 26* by B. R. Foster, *BIOr* 38 (1981), 625.

²¹⁸ The obvious candidate for restoration, but by no means the only one, is Enkidu (so Jacobsen, *CRR 26*, p. 20; *Studies Moran*, p. 241). There is, however, barely space for *en-ki-dū* at the beginning of the line. Possibly Ūta-napišti used some epithet instead, e.g. *i-bir-ka*, 'your friend'.

generations, with new households establishing themselves, flourishing and dividing in a never-ending cycle (308–11). In these lines Ūta-napišti offers Gilgameš an illustration of everyday experience that is itself a metaphor for the impermanence of the human condition. People are always building families, but in due course every family splits up as the sons go their own way. A change in tense introduces a new perspective, which is bound to the previous lines by the common use of *immatīma* as opening word. Ūta-napišti's sermon on mortality now presents the metaphor of the mayfly, a life-form carefully chosen for its particularly transient existence.²¹⁹ These familiar insects have been borne along on the river's flood since time immemorial and, like men, individuals among them disappear after their short time in the sun suddenly, without warning and in large numbers (312–15). The message is that just as the mayfly species survives each decimation and always will, so it is with men: mankind's immortality does not rest in the individual's existence. The imagery of this beautiful passage is thus bound together by a common allusion to the transience of a man's life in the eternal existence of the human race.²²⁰

The last part of Ūta-napišti's homily presents considerable problems of interpretation. My view is that the poet emphasizes the finality of death with observations on the gulf that divides the worlds of the living and the dead. The first line compares the dead man with one who has been abducted, that is, taken prisoner of war and enslaved in a foreign land (316). Like such a one, the shades of the dead are locked away in a place remote and inaccessible, beyond any communication.²²¹ The word 'abductee' (*šallu*) also evokes the vivid metaphor used in l. 303: there death takes men and women off in the prime of life, like an enemy raiding party seizing people from their homes; here *šallu* is a reminder of the potential suddenness and finality of death. The line that follows also refers back to an earlier part of Ūta-napišti's lesson: one cannot draw the likeness of death (317), because being not of this world it goes unseen and unheard (cf. ll. 304–6). It is not clear whether the subject of the line is the 'abducted and the dead' or impersonal. The line that follows is bedevilled by textual variants (318). The Late Babylonian manuscripts seem to me to make better sense than the Kuyunjik source, which splits the line into two halves and may be corrupt. The line as it was preserved in Babylonia elaborates a contrast between the abducted and the dead: the abductee may one day come back from the dead, as it were, by escaping his foreign servitude and making his way home, but a dead man will never again walk with the living. There can be no intercourse between the two worlds. The first part of the line as given on the Kuyunjik tablet is easily understood: mortal man is 'locked up', as it were, a prisoner in life with no power over his entrance and his exit. The second part, which is suspiciously short,

²¹⁹ On mayflies (not dragonflies) in Mesopotamia see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB X 313.

²²⁰ The passage is well paraphrased by A. Westenholz (private communication): 'The individual reed is cut, but the marsh remains, and other reeds will sprout forth. People will set up homes, they will die, their sons will inherit. The individual is like the dragonfly on the surface of the endless stream of life, it enjoys the sun until some fish snatches it down into the dark below; but the river is forever and will always carry dragonflies.'

²²¹ This point was well made in a recent discussion of ll. 316–18 by S. M. Chiodi, 'Il prigioniero e il morto. Epopea di Gilgameš Tav. X r. 318–320', *Oriens antiqui miscellanea* 2 (Rome, 1995), pp. 159–71. Her discussion of l. 318 [320], however, is handicapped by lack of reference to the LB manuscripts.

is usually understood as referring to the circumstances that preceded the matter reported in ll. 319–22, but there are good grounds for rejecting this view.²²²

The last two couplets of Tablet X bring the first part of Ūta-napišti's monologue to its climax. Having talked of the suddenness of death for individual men and women, of the immortality of the human race and of the unbridgeable gulf that separates the living and the dead, he gives the reason why men die: the great gods and the mother goddess once held an assembly at which they distinguished, evidently for the first time, between mortal and immortal. They decided that only gods would live forever; men were to die and the time of their death would be unpredictable (319–22). A very similar message was imparted to Gilgameš in the Old Babylonian epic by the wise ale-wife:

<i>balāṭam ša tasahḫuru lā tutta</i>	You cannot find the life that you seek:
<i>inīma ilū ibnū awilūtam</i>	when the gods created mankind,
<i>mūtam iškunū ana awilūtīm</i>	for mankind they established death,
<i>balāṭam ina qātīšunu iṣṣabū</i>	life they kept for themselves.

OB VA + BM iii 2–5

The point is that man must die, because such is the fate determined for his kind by the gods. According to the passage just quoted, death was the doom of mankind from its first creation, but there is another tradition in which death was imposed on the human race later. The matter was decided in an assembly convened at the end of Tablet III of the poem of Atra-ḫašīs, after the gods decide the fate of the survivor of the Flood. Enki speaks to Nintu:

<i>[at-ti sa-a]s-sū-ru ba-ni-a-at ši-ma-ti</i>	[You, O mother]-goddess, who creates destinies,
<i>[mu-ta šu-uk-ni] a-na ni-ši</i>	[assign death] to the people!

OB Atram-ḫašīs III vi 47–8, as restored
by W. G. Lambert, *CRR* 26, p. 58

The accuracy of this restoration now seems confirmed by the Sumerian Gilgameš. In the Death of Bilgames Enki speaks to An and Enlil:

pu.uḫ.rum a.ma.ru ba.nir(*var.* bur₁₄).ra.ta
numun nam.lú.ùlu ḫa.la.me.dè.ed?.nam
murub₄.me.a zi sag.dili.me.en nam.ti.àm
zi.u₄.(sud).rá(*var.* zi.ús.rù) mu nam.lú.ùlu nam.ti.àm
u₄.bi.ta zi an.na zi ki.a mu.un.pà.da.nam
u₄.bi.ta nam.lú.ùlu.úr mu.mu.un.ti.àm mu.ni.pà.(da.nam)

Death of Bilgames M 72–7 // 162–7, ed. Cavigneaux, *Gilgameš et la Mort*, pp. 28, 31

After the Deluge swept over everything,
so we could destroy the seed of mankind,
in our midst a single life still was alive,
Ziusudra, offspring of mankind, still was alive!
Then, swearing by the life of heaven and the life of earth,
we swore to mankind that from that day it would not have (eternal) life.

²²² See, in detail, Ch. 13, the commentary on SB X 318.

The Standard Babylonian epic, it seems, holds to the other view: that the doom of man was imposed on him at his creation, as the ale-wife remarks in the older text. This is clear from the end of Ūta-napišti's monologue in Tablet XI, when he describes how, after he has survived the great Flood, Enlil blesses him:

*ina pāna Ūta-napišti amēlūtumma
enināma Ūta-napišti u sinništašu lū emū kīma itī nāšīma*

SB XI 202–3

In the past Ūta-napišti was one of mankind,
but now Ūta-napišti and his woman shall become like us gods!

The plain implication of these words is that Ūta-napišti was formerly mortal but, as of the moment Enlil spoke, became immortal. The Flood hero's transformation does not fit the situation described in Atra-ḫasīs and the Sumerian Gilgameš, in which the antediluvian race, Ūta-napišti included, was not subject to the doom of postdiluvian man.

Gilgameš's heroic adventures culminate in his visit to Ūta-napišti. The Flood hero, the creature of Ēa, god of wisdom, has the role of a venerable sage, imparting profound and ancient truths to the only man who ever dared to find him and was capable of doing so. The old man's teaching is the wisdom for which Gilgameš is celebrated in the epic's opening lines. Embedded in the climax of the story, his words convey the poem's central message. Even the greatest of men and the mightiest of kings must accept that their lives are subject to the whims of still mightier forces, for it is not within the power of any human being to escape man's place in the divinely ordained scheme of things. All who live must also die.

TABLET XI

It is not this, however, that Gilgameš has come to hear. He is amazed to find that the immortal survivor of the Flood is no different in bodily shape and size from any other man (ll. 1–4). He had expected, perhaps, some mighty giant, whose secret could only be wrested from him by the sword. Hitherto, Gilgameš's reaction to any hindrance has been to draw his weapons. Such was his response when Šiduri barred the door of her tavern and again, in the episode of the Stone Ones, when he sought to gain passage across the ocean. Thus too he expects to use violence in forcing Ūta-napišti to surrender the secret of eternal life. In the first part of the epic, feats of arms win Gilgameš glory but in the second half they are no longer effective. In the old man's presence, however, Gilgameš feels no longer impelled to violence (5–6), either because Ūta-napišti is not the enemy he thought he would be or because he is already mending his ways. Still, he wants to learn how Ūta-napišti joined the ranks of the immortals (7). This is a tale that Ūta-napišti gladly tells his visitor, though it is a 'secret matter', a 'mystery of the gods' (8–10). These phrases mean that by divulging his story he makes Gilgameš

privity to knowledge outside a man's normal attainment. This is logical, for the full history of Ūta-napišti had vanished from the earth after his translation and removal to the end of the world. Those who repopulated the earth remembered only his extraordinary destiny.²²³

The tale that Ūta-napišti tells is the famous myth of the great Flood that, early in human history, had almost wiped out mankind. This myth is the subject of a very considerable literature that this introduction will not greatly enlarge. The Flood was a popular metaphor of human destruction in Sumer and Babylonia. Many generations of men experienced the terrible consequences of widespread flooding in an alluvial plain like southern Mesopotamia. Such a background was fertile ground for the development of the myth of a universal flood. A tradition of such a flood was certainly current in the late third millennium but it finds its fullest expression in Sumerian and Babylonian literature in the Old Babylonian period. This was a time when changing riverbeds in Babylonia meant that catastrophic flooding was commonplace, and the myth accordingly held a special relevance to human experience.²²⁴ From the point of view of the plot, the incorporation *in extenso* of the myth in the epic of Gilgameš is unnecessary, for its purpose in the development of the story is to show that Ūta-napišti gained immortality in circumstances that would never be repeated, either for Gilgameš or for anyone else. That much could have been stated in a few lines. But the tale of the Flood has another function, for it serves to expand the climax of the poem—the end of hero's quest—into a more complex episode. The poet's audience is kept in the magical presence of the legendary Ūta-napišti far longer than it was in the presence of lesser figures, Ĥumbaba, Šiduri and Ur-šanabi. The technique of telling a tale within a tale is a common literary device. Here in a tale of long ago is a story of even longer ago, told in a place beyond the bounds of mundane experience. The audience is transported to another place and another time.

Briefly, the myth of the Flood, as retold by Ūta-napišti, is this. A long time ago in the city of Šuruppak, when the gods dwelt among men, they decided to bring about a great Flood (11–14). No justification is given in the epic for this drastic course of action, for the reason is not relevant to Ūta-napišti's discourse. In the older version of the myth, as told in the poem of Atra-ḫasīs, the Flood is Enlil's solution of last resort to the problem of human noise. The gods swore not to tell anybody of their plan, but while taking the oath the cunning Ea, who cared for man and his ways, contrived to divulge the gods' decision to the walls of the house

²²³ Berossus tells of the Flood hero's disappearance from the point of view of those left behind: 'When Xisuthros and his party did not come back, those who had stayed in the boat disembarked and looked for him, calling him by name. Xisuthros himself did not appear to them any more, but there was a voice out of the air instructing them on the need to worship the gods, seeing that he was going to dwell with the gods because of his piety, and that his wife, daughter and pilot shared in the same honour' (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* III C 1 (Leiden, 1958), transl. in Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 136).

²²⁴ On flooding in Lower Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period see S. W. Cole and H. Gasche, 'Levees, floods, and the river network of northern Babylonia', in J. Renger (ed.), *Babylon. Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früherer Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne* (CDOG 2; Saarbrücken, 1999), pp. 87–110.

of his favourite, Ūta-napišti, a man also known by the epithet Atra(m)-ḥasīs, ‘Surpassing Wise’ (15–20).²²⁵ Ūta-napišti was well known to educated Babylonians as the last of the antediluvian kings. He had reigned in Šuruppak. The walls communicated Ea’s instructions to their owner: he was to tear down the palace and build an ark, leaving all material goods behind and caring only to preserve life in all its variety (21–7). The boat should be a cube, and roofed over, like the sweet-water Apsû (28–31), to keep out the Deluge. In Babylonian cosmology the subterranean Apsû is roofed over by the earth but the use of this particular imagery may have a secondary function, for it provides the hearer with a clue to the origin of the message. Ūta-napišti is not slow to recognize the words of Ea.²²⁶

Though Ūta-napišti understood what had to be done, he was uncertain how best to explain the strange boat to his counsellors and townsfolk (32–5). Ea replied that he was to answer that he had fallen out with Enlil, the lord of the earth, and must flee to the Apsû to live with Ea (36–42). All would accept that a unique kind of boat was needed to make such a journey—indeed, a sort of submarine. Ea’s words not only provide Ūta-napišti with an excuse but also act as a prophecy: after the Deluge Ūta-napišti did indeed go to live in the Apsû with Ea, for Dilmun, where he was settled in the Sumerian tradition, is a land much associated with Enki in Sumerian mythology. There is evidence also for a local syncretism of Ea and Enzak in Dilmun.²²⁷ And, as Ea’s realm, Dilmun is famous for its fresh water, which came from the Apsû, like all sweet water. This is the background of SB XI 289, where Gilgameš dives down to the Apsû in order to gain the magic plant of rejuvenation.

Ūta-napišti was to add that, in return for their king’s abdication and flight, someone would reward the people with a ‘rain of plenty’ (43–7). The subject of the verbs of this famous passage is usually understood as Ea, following the older version of the story, which is unambiguous on this point.²²⁸ Since the lines in question serve as a cryptic warning of the coming deluge it is possible that in Gilgameš the third person refers instead to Enlil, the author of the catastrophe. The description of the fateful rain has attracted much comment on the ambiguity of its words and imagery. It is most recently discussed by Millard, who gives a history of the attempts of older commentators to read word-plays into the language.²²⁹ He maintains that, as understood by earlier scholars, ‘the word-play has lost its basis. Ea is simply promising apparently favourable, but really misleading signs: a shower of birds and fishes, a morning rain of loaves, and an evening rain of wheat.’ He goes on to stress the long-observed

²²⁵ M. Weinfeld, “‘Partition, partition; wall, wall, listen’: “leaking” the divine secret to someone behind the curtain’, *AJO* 44–5 (1997–8), pp. 222–5, compares the role of the walls of reed and brick in this episode to that of a curtain or screen in passages of rabbinic literature and the biblical book of Job. However, the parallel is not compelling. Weinfeld’s passages are cases of learning God’s business surreptitiously by eavesdropping from a hiding place; the present instance is of a god’s intentional divulgence of secret knowledge.

²²⁶ This is a subtlety lacking in the older version of the Babylonian myth, where the identity of the divine informant is no secret to Atra-ḥasīs.

²²⁷ See K. Nashel, ‘The deities of Dilmun’, *Akkadica* 38 (1984), pp. 6–10.

²²⁸ OB Atram-ḥasīs III i 34: *a-na-ku ul-li-šš ú-ša-az-na-na-ak-ku*, ‘I shall rain down on you there’.

²²⁹ A. R. Millard, ‘The sign of the Flood’, *Iraq* 49 (1987), pp. 63–9.

parallels in meteorological omens, in which ominous rains of such things as wheat, lentils, chaff and cardamom seeds (*Enūma Anu Enlil*), and potsherds, *naglabu*’s²³⁰ and frogs (*Šumma ālu* II) are observed, and concludes: ‘whoever was responsible for the [Gilgameš] passage in its present form would seem to have known about the sorts of omens listed above, or, which is less convincing, the compilers of the omen texts drew upon the Epic for some of their entries. It is also possible that both arose from some common ground.’ Finally, he documents actual occasions on which fish and birds have been dropped by storm-winds, and suggests that the present passage, as a famous occasion on which extraordinary precipitation heralded the onslaught of catastrophe, is the ‘aetiology’ of the association in Babylonian omen literature of such portents with disaster.

I have cited Millard’s article at length because it presents an important new insight into the passage under comment. Several incidents in the epic, at least in its late version, can be seen to serve an aetiological purpose. But I am not convinced that the language is altogether without ambiguity. Tornadoes may well suck up wheat and lentils from the threshing floor or silo, birds from roofs and trees, fish from the sea, frogs from ponds, and potsherds from ruin-mounds—these are things naturally exposed in large quantities. But where will a tornado obtain *kukku* loaves (l. 46)? Or, if this particular rain is simply seen as a supernatural miracle, with no connection to ordinary experience, are *kukku* loaves the kind of object one would expect to be singled out for mention? Why not simply bread? In my view this particular word is chosen for its similarity to *kakku*, ‘weapon; warfare’, which represents the coming ‘battle’²³¹ and also means ‘ominous sign’, as in extispicy. Possibly there is also an allusion to the imminent demise of mankind, for, as Millard noted without further comment, *kukkū*, ‘the Dark’, is a name of the Netherworld, the realm of the dead.

The ‘rain of wheat’, *šamūti kibāti* (l. 47), is open to two approaches, phonetic and lexical. On the one hand the phrase conjures up the sound of ‘heavy rain’, *šamūtu kabītu*.²³² On the other it offers, in the kind of academic etymological speculation practised by Babylonian scholars, the possibility of reinterpretation as ‘rain of misfortune’ through a Sumerian equivalence held in common (*kibtu* = *gig* = *maršu*, ‘ill’, whence *maruštu*, ‘misfortune’). I suspect there is wordplay in the earlier lines also. The sound of *nuḥša*, ‘plenty’, is not far removed from *nuḥḥusa*, ‘sobbing’. The word *ḥiṣbu* (l. 44) means not simply ‘abundance’ but also ‘yield’, in the sense of what is produced by something. The ‘yield’ of birds is eggs, of course, and this is visual imagery which suggests that the phrase may be a veiled warning of an immense hailstorm. The ambiguity of *šuznunu*, ‘to send rain’ and ‘to provide with food’, has already been noted by Lambert in his comments on the Old Babylonian version of the story.²³³ Thus entire phrases are loaded with double meaning, not just the objects of the verbs, and can be understood to contain favourable and unfavourable predictions (see below).

²³⁰ Though written *gir.šu.i*, this must be ‘shoulderblades’, figurative for large potsherds, rather than Millard’s ‘razors’.

²³¹ Note *qablu* as a metaphor of the Deluge, SB XI 110, 130 in MS J.

²³² Compare an OB letter, *ARM* X 25, 7–8: *ša-mu-um ki-bi-it-tum*; cf. Dalley, *Myths*, p. 133, fn. 123.

²³³ Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasīs*, p. 159.

	Favourable analysis	Unfavourable analysis
l. 43	provision with plenty	rain in (overwhelming) abundance, rain of grief
l. 46	provision with <i>kukku</i> -loaves and	rain of 'battle', rain of the Netherworld
l. 47	a 'torrent' of wheat ²³⁴	heavy rain, rain of misfortune

It was enough for the poet to report Ea's counsel; the course of action he advised is taken as read.

Work on the king's curious vessel started at dawn on the following day (48). A passage that has benefited considerably from the recent recovery of a small fragment from Aššur (MS c₁) describes how, in the customary manner, the people of Šuruppak gathered in the morning at their lord's gate, the workmen carrying their tools and the others, young and old, rich and poor, bringing raw materials (49–56). On the fifth day the structure began to take shape—hull and roof were fixed together, forming a perfect cube (57–9). Then the interior space was divided by decks and partitions: six decks divided the space between the floor and the roof, making for seven stories (60–2).²³⁵ The interior space was further partitioned into nine and then the belly of the hull made watertight with plugs, if that is the right understanding (63–4). This secondary division means that each deck area was divided by three walls along each axis, producing in all sixty-three chambers.²³⁶

The configuration of this strange boat was obviously not drawn from practical experience. Instead it is probably symbolic, for its interior reproduces in miniature the cosmos in its most elaborate structure: six decks stacked vertically, as in the compendium *KAR* 307 and other texts.²³⁷ Since Ūta-napišti's ark must contain all that will be needed to repopulate the world, it would be appropriate symbolism if the boat's nine subdivisions on the horizontal plane matched a cosmic pattern in the way that its decks did. Glassner thought they did,²³⁸ citing the nine regions of the world that occur in the myth Enki and Ninḫursag.²³⁹ However, that list is far from a comprehensive compilation of the main regions of the world known to Sumer in the late third millennium. As the context makes clear, it is an enumeration of Dilmun's trading partners. The canonical lists of the divisions of the earth in the Babylonian geographical compendium, *Hh* XXI, differ in length according to recension, from nine to considerably more.²⁴⁰ The shortest, which begins with the equation *ma. da*^{ki} = *ma-a-tum* (*Hh* XXI/9 25'), sets out nine lands as follows: Sumer, Sumer and Akkad,

²³⁴ For Bottéro the bringing together of 'bread loaves' and 'wheat' is itself a wordplay, one that presupposes for the passage a Sumerian linguistic background (*L'épopée*, p. 186, fn. 3: *gūg* = *kukku*, *gig* = *kibnu*).

²³⁵ As already observed by Schott and von Soden, *Reclam*², p. 88, fn. 8.

²³⁶ Cf. also D. O. Edzard, 'Zahlen, Zählen und Messen im Gilgameš-Epos', in W. Gross et al. (eds.), *Texte, Methode und Grammatik* (Fs W. Richter; St Otilien, 1991), pp. 63–4.

²³⁷ See now Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 8–19.

²³⁸ J.-J. Glassner, 'La division quinaire de la terre', *Akkadica* 40 (1984), p. 19.

²³⁹ *UET* VI 1 ii 1–21, ed. Alster in Potts, *Dilmun*, pp. 64–5, 1–17: Tukriš, Meluḫḫa, Magan, Marḫaši, Sealand, 'Tent-land' (kur za.lam.gar^{ki}), Elam, Ur and the Ocean (a.ab.ba dagal.la); cf. also P. Attinger, 'Enki et Ninḫursaġa', *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 12.

²⁴⁰ See Horowitz, *Cosmic Geographies*, pp. 322–4.

Emutbal, Subartu, Elam, Gutium, Border of Gutium, Upper Land and Lower Land. Even so, it is again not certain that this list of nine regions represents the entire earth. Where, for example, is Amurru?

A more successful line of enquiry is Glassner's comparison of Ūta-napišti's boat with the ziqqurrat of Babylon, E-temen-anki. As described in the E-sagil Tablet Marduk's ziqqurrat is a structure with the same overall dimensions (area of base, length, breadth and height) as the ark, and the same sevenfold division in the vertical plane; a ninefold division in the horizontal plane is also implicit in the notation of the dimensions of the ziqqurrat's first stage as 3 × 3 *suppān*, and explicit in the nine chambers listed for its seventh stage.²⁴¹ The fact that both ziqqurrat (where the king of the gods resided between heaven and earth) and ark (which held representatives of all creation) have in common a dimensional scheme is very likely to be explained in terms of cosmic symbolism, even though the exact significance of number nine in the cosmic pattern cannot yet be determined.

Next the boat was provided with equipment and caulked with bitumen; finally large quantities of oil were supplied for various purposes (65–70).²⁴² While the ark was built Ūta-napišti kept his work force well supplied with meat and drink (71–5). His description of the carnival atmosphere that attended the boat's construction recalls a passage of Nabonidus, in which similar festivities were enjoyed by the workman rebuilding the temple of Šamaš at Sippar:

aš-šum ug-ga-tú ar-ra-tim ú ħi-ti-tim qe-er-ba-šu la šu-ub-ši-i i-na pi-i um-ma-na-a-ti e-pi-eš ši-ip-ri-šú la ša-ka-nim-ma ik-ri-ib da-mi-iq-tim i-na pi-i-ši-na ša-ka-na-am akli(ninda)^{ba} šikaru(kaš.sag) širī(uzu)^{ba} ú karānu(geštin) tu-uh-ḫu-du ú!(copy G1)-da-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti piš-ša-tú šamnu(i.giš) el-lu zu-mur-šú-un ú-tah-ḫi-id nar-qi-ti šamni(i.giš) tābi(dùg.ga) mu-uh-ḫa-šu-nu ú-šá-áš-qi [el-š]i-iš lib-ba-šú-nu uš-par-di

OECTI 27 iii 21–31, ed. H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 442

So as not to give rise to anger, curses and bad behaviour nor to give occasion (for these things) to be uttered by the workmen responsible for its (*sc.* the temple's) construction, but to encourage them to express blessings of good fortune, I lavished on them bread, ale, meat and wine in abundance. I provided plentiful quantities of unguent and clean oil for the anointing of their bodies. I soaked the crowns of their heads in perfume made from sweet-scented oil. I made their mood cheerful and joyous.

The idea that bad behaviour and foul speech had to be outlawed while a sacred building project was completed can be traced back to Gudea.²⁴³ The implication of this comparison is that Ūta-napišti, like any king committed to a pious deed, wanted his new construction to be free from taint that would compromise its proper function.

²⁴¹ See J.-J. Glassner, 'L'Etemenanki, armature du cosmos', *NABU* 2002/32. The prominence of the number three and its multiples in the description of the ark's building had been noted by E. Cassin, 'Cycles du temps et cadres de l'espace en Mésopotamie ancienne', *Revue de synthèse* 90 (1969), p. 249.

²⁴² On this passage see already D. O. Edzard, 'Gilgameš XI 65–69', in A. S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau* (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 392–6; cf. Edzard, *Fs Richter* (fn. 236), p. 62.

²⁴³ See *Cyl. A* xii 21–xiii 15, ed. Edzard, *RIME* 3/I, pp. 76–7.

On the next morning the finishing touches were completed, so that the vessel was ready before sundown on the sixth day (76–7). This left time for manoeuvring the boat down the river bank on rollers (78–80) and for loading the cargo: all Ūta-napišti's riches were put aboard, despite the earlier instruction to abandon them, all his family, and, in order to preserve antediluvian life and society, the various species of animal and people skilled in different crafts (81–6). This was all done by a deadline set by the sun god, which duly expired (87–90). At first sight the mention here of Šamaš looks like an intrusion. It was Ea who gave Ūta-napišti the instructions to build the boat, so Ea would have appointed the time when it should be ready. The Gilgameš epic is silent about the background of these lines. The older version of the story, however, explicitly describes how Ea (Enki) set the time of the Deluge's onset 'for the seventh night' (OB Atram-ḥašis III i 37). Thus it was sunset at the end of the sixth day that was the deadline for the ark's completion. Šamaš's place in this was to signal the expiration of Ea's deadline by his disappearance from the sky. As the sun went down Ūta-napišti, remembering the ambiguous words of Ea's warning, observed the evening sky for signs of the coming storm; what he saw terrified him (91–3). He disappeared into his ark, leaving his remaining possessions to the shipwright who closed the hatch from the outside (94–6). This man's name is conventionally read as Puzur-Amurru, a name that identifies the bearer as enjoying the 'Protection of the god Amurru'. As such the name is a detail without consequence in the story. It takes on a different character, however, if one reads Puzur-Enlil, for in Ūta-napišti's story Enlil is the Flood hero's purported enemy and the author of mankind's imminent destruction. The name Puzur-Enlil is thus one full of ill portent.²⁴⁴

In the Flood story as told in Atra-ḥašis the downpour apparently started in the evening, as Ea (Enki) had warned, for in that account there is no talk of more time elapsing before the onset of the storm.²⁴⁵ In Ūta-napišti's account, there is a delay: dawn broke on the seventh day before threat of a storm turned into reality (97). The description of the storm's approach and arrival overhead is well drawn and is certainly the finest metaphorical description of a meteorological event anywhere in Babylonian literature. The storm god, rumbling on the horizon, was preceded by a convoy of violent gods, each contributing to the mayhem. The murderous duo Šullat and Ḥaniš arrived first as Adad's vanguard, probably as personifications of the gale (98–101). They were swiftly followed by Errakal and Ninurta, who tore boats from their moorings and drove waterways to burst their banks (102–3). Then came those unspecified members of the pantheon termed collectively the Anunnaki, brandishing flashes of lightning to herald the storm (104–5). The scene evoked must have been seen often on the great waterways of lower Mesopotamia, when a sudden gale forced a surging flood of water downstream until the cresting waves found weak spots in the banks that constrained them, and the strengthening winds, tugging loose the mooring poles, set fishing boats and ferries adrift on the racing current.

²⁴⁴ See already the remarks of P. Michalowski, 'Sailing to Babylon, reading the dark side of the moon', in J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz, *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1996), p. 189.

²⁴⁵ The key word here is *ar-ḥu* in OB Atram-ḥašis III ii 39; however one restores the preceding word, it is hard to avoid translating *ar-ḥu* as 'the new moon'. A new moon is visible just after sunset. The storm begins 9 lines later, at III ii 48, as Atra-ḥašis's family enjoy their first supper on the new vessel.

As the storm gathered its strength an oppressive stillness reigned for a moment and then, when the dark clouds had extinguished the last daylight, the weather broke with terrible ferocity, like a rogue ox running loose and out of control (106–9). The key word, on which the storm finally arrived, is notable for the abrupt violence of its sound (*irḥiṣ* in l. 108). As the gale swept the deluge across the land the rain fell so hard that people found it difficult to make out even the familiar faces of friends (110–13). The motif of people fumbling blindly under a darkened sky recurs in a fragmentary historical epic about Kassite times, where the context is not a rainstorm but a battle with Elam in which arrows filled the sky like a swarm of locusts. The relevant couplet runs as follows:

[. . .]x *it-tu-ru aḥu*(šeš) *aḥa*(šeš)-šú *ul i-dag-gal*

[. . .]x-šú *ul i-dag-gal ib-ri tap-pu-šú ul ú-mas-si*

Grayson, *BHLT*, p. 50, 14–15

[*Everything bright*] turned [*dark*], so one person could not see another,
[as *one man*] could not see his [*fellow*], no friend made out his companion.

The violence of the storm frightened even the gods, and they left their homes on earth to take refuge in the highest part of heaven;²⁴⁶ a memorable image likens them to dogs lying curled up outside the city walls (114–16). The simile presents a provocative juxtaposition between two extremes of revered and reviled, namely the cherished number of the gods and a dog-pack scavenging on a rubbish tip. Gods, of course, were lofty beings on whom all human endeavour focused. Dogs were commonly viewed as dangerous parasites and largely debarred from domestic environments.

The mother goddess was first to realize the catastrophic effects of the Flood, and her reaction was that of a mother bereft of her children. She saw that the old order had been swept away, and wondered how she could have consented to a disaster that had destroyed the human race, her own creation, now drifting lifeless on the flood (117–24). The gods who were with her had more selfish concerns, for, with their cults interrupted, they soon grew sick from thirst and hunger (125–7). The rainstorm continued for a week before the gale finally blew itself out and all became still (128–33).

There are different traditions as to the length of the Deluge in Mesopotamian mythology. The older Atra-ḥašis offers 'seven days and seven nights',²⁴⁷ in agreement with the Sumerian fragment of similar date.²⁴⁸ The manuscripts of Gilgameš preserve two further traditions (XI 128): 'six days and nights' (represented by MS J) and 'six days and seven nights' (represented by MST). Although it is possible to read 'seven days' in MST, on which only the top of the sign is preserved,²⁴⁹ MS J has a clear 'six' and it is wiser not to introduce an unnecessary variant. Six days will do. Though 'seven nights' is presented in some translations as fact, without square brackets to indicate restoration, the number of nights on MS

²⁴⁶ On the 'heaven of Anu' in texts which comment on the various levels of the cosmos see Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 244–6.

²⁴⁷ OB Atram-ḥašis III iv 24: *sebet u₄-mi sebe mu-š[i-a-tim]*.

²⁴⁸ *PBSV* 1 v 3, ed. Civil in Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥašis*, p. 142, 203: u₄ 7.ám gi, 7.ám.

²⁴⁹ Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥašis*, p. 163, where 'K 2252+' is a typographical error for K 7752+.

T could in theory be almost anything. However, it can be restored as seven in the light of (a) the well-known literary sequence $n, n + 1$ and (b) the two certain occasions where the late version's 'six days and seven nights' correspond to an Old Babylonian text's 'seven days and seven nights'.²⁵⁰ On the other hand MS J's 'six days and nights' fits the convention, also found in Ugaritic and biblical poetry and in Homeric epic, that 'something goes on for six days and on the seventh there is a new development'.²⁵¹ A lapse of six days and nights makes for a more consistent account, for it fits the text's report that the Deluge began on one morning (XI 97) and ended on the seventh (XI 130).

Feeling the calming of the waters, Ūta-napišti dared at last to open a hatch in his ark and look out. As the sun's rays pierced the departing clouds he saw the water extending across the entire plain and no trace of other survivors (134–7). He broke down and wept (138–9). In the far distance he could see mountain peaks rising out of the water like islands and in due course the ark ran aground on one, Mt Nimuš (140–2). This mountain, formerly read Nišir,²⁵² also appears in inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II,²⁵³ and topographical information given there makes the most obvious identification of the peak as that now known as Pir Omar Gudrun, near Suleimaniyah in Iraqī Kurdistan.²⁵⁴ In scribal tradition Mt Nimuš was 'the mountain of Gutium'.²⁵⁵ This confirms its location in the Zagros range. It is worth repeating in this connection that, in the biblical account of the Deluge, the Hebrew phrase 'al hārē²⁶ rārāt' (Gen. 8: 4) means 'on the mountains of Urartu' (i.e. northern Kurdistan), not, anachronistically, 'on Mt Ararat'.

Another seven days passed before Ūta-napišti felt sure his ark was securely beached (143–7). Then begins the famous episode of the birds, famous because it is one of those details held in common that proved the shared origin of the tales of Ūta-napišti and Noah. Ūta-napišti released in turn three birds, a dove (or pigeon), a swallow and a raven (or other member of the crow family; 148–56). The dove and swallow returned to the ark, having found no place to land; the raven, however, saw the waters receding, found food and did not return. The episode has been much discussed. Here, comment will be confined to the order of the birds in the respective accounts. Heidel compared the Babylonian version unfavourably with the account in Genesis, supposing that 'by releasing the raven first, Noah

²⁵⁰ On both points see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB I 194, and note X 58 // 135 // 235 and XI 208.

²⁵¹ West, *East Face of Helicon*, p. 175, where this motif is documented and discussed.

²⁵² The reading *ni-muš* instead of *ni-šir* was proposed as more probable by Lambert, who found the deified mountain in an OB personal name, *I-din-Ni-mu-uš*. W. G. Lambert, 'Nišir or Nimuš?', *RA* 80 (1986), pp. 185–6. A. Annus, *NABU* 2000/68, has drawn attention to a passage of the *Hypostasis of the Archons* from Nag Hammadi that has Noah instructed to build his ark 'upon Mount Sir', commenting that 'it is a strong argument for reading the mountain's name in the Babylonian Flood Story as Nišir, and not Nimuš'. I do not agree. The mountain of the ark crops up differently named in different traditions. Further examples are the mountains of the 'Kordyaiaans of Armenia' (Berossus), i.e. classical Gordyene, and Judī Dağ (Jebel Al-Jūdī) in the Koran and elsewhere, both of which may be the same peak. There is accordingly no necessity to explain 'Mount Sir' as a variant of the name of the mountain in Gilgameš. More likely it is a form of Mt Siryon, the Anti-Lebanon range.

²⁵³ Now Grayson, *RIMA* 2, pp. 204, 34–9; 245, 3.

²⁵⁴ See E. A. Speiser, 'Southern Kurdistan in the annals of Ashurnasirpal and today', *AASOR* 8 (1926–7), pp. 17–18, and more recently M. Liverani, *Studies in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II*, 2. *Topographical Analysis* (Rome, 1992), p. 48.

²⁵⁵ E. Reiner, 'Lipšur litanies', *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 134, 41: ^{kur}ni-muš MIN šad gu-ti-i.

... displayed greater wisdom than Utnapišti, who ... sent the raven out last'.²⁵⁶ This statement, based as it was on a theory of bird behaviour extrapolated from the biblical account and thence applied unaltered to the cuneiform tradition, is methodologically suspect. The Babylonian order of birds may have had a different rationale from that which informed the Hebrew story. It became more likely that this was in fact the case when a connection was proposed with the use of birds in traditional maritime navigation, though the detail was not pursued at the time.²⁵⁷ When it was, the conclusion emerged that the order dove-swallow-raven in Gilgameš was still false, being a confusion resulting from an ignorance of maritime practice.²⁵⁸ The proponent of this theory, David Freedman, believes that correct practice is reflected in the biblical narrative, in which Noah releases only two birds, first a raven and then, on several occasions, a dove.²⁵⁹ His consequent inference that 'poet [of Gilgameš] borrowed a Hebrew *topos*' is sufficiently provocative to need reply. Freedman supposes that (a) ravens were used to scout for landfall and (b) doves were employed to find out 'if land is habitable'. As presented in his discussion, the evidence for (a) is plentiful, but there is none whatsoever for (b), despite the dove's 'famed domesticity'. Of this bird Freedman writes further, 'when mariners use doves, it is to guide them through straits, or to gauge the weather, not to scout for land'. However, he overlooks evidence for sailors in different parts of the world releasing doves with exactly the last aim.²⁶⁰ On both counts his hypothesis of the different employment of doves and ravens in maritime navigation falls, and with it the assumed priority of the 'Hebrew *topos*'.

I find it more to the point that it is in the nature of doves to return but of ravens to fly away. Like doves and pigeons, swallows and martins are also happy to nest in an urban environment and can thus be seen as birds which cleave to man. Though the primary function of the episode of the release of the three birds is to mark the gradual ebbing of the waters, the passage also serves as an aetiology of the different habitats of these birds, the dove and swallow on the one hand, the raven (or crow) on the other. It is very plausible that these birds were considered to behave as they do because their habits were conditioned by the varying fortunes their remote ancestors experienced as the floodwaters of the Deluge receded. The order of the birds in Genesis obscures such an explanation. On these grounds—quite apart from the wider problem Freedman's inference raises for the history of literary transmission—I reject his argument that the Babylonian account is derivative of the Hebrew. Rather, those in the West who inherited the story of the birds gave it a different rationale. In doing so they altered some details—as well as confusing the birds' order, they left out the swallow—and, missing the aetiology entirely, failed to appreciate the motif to the full.

²⁵⁶ A. Heidel, 'The bird scene', in *The Gilgameš Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (2nd edn.; Chicago, 1949), pp. 251–3.

²⁵⁷ M. V. David, 'L'épisode des oiseaux dans les récits du déluge', *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957), pp. 189–90.

²⁵⁸ R. D. Freedman, 'The dispatch of the reconnaissance birds in Gilgameš XI', *ANES* 5 (1973), pp. 123–9; for other bibliography relating to this episode see his fn. 2.

²⁵⁹ As with Akkadian *ārību* (or *arību*) and *summatu*, the Hebrew words *ōrēb* and *yōnāh* can be rendered more prosaically as 'crow' and 'pigeon'.

²⁶⁰ In Ceylon and Iceland; see West, *East Face of Helicon*, p. 492, fn. 162.

Once the raven's independent survival had assured Ūta-napišti that it was safe to unload his ark, he ventured forth to make a sacrifice to the gods (157–60). The ritual was a conventional one: Ūta-napišti deposited aromatic substances around the bases of libation jars and the sweet smell wafted up to heaven. The effect was immediate: the gods caught scent of their food and quickly crowded around it (161–3). These three lines grow steadily longer in length and complexity, a literary device that neatly captures the intensifying accumulation of gods at the gathering. The simile used to describe the gods' arrival is famously the image of hungry flies buzzing around a piece of food. This imagery implies a somewhat cynical view of gods, even more disrespectful than the earlier simile likening them to cowering dogs (SB XI 116). The same figure is found in the poetic narrative K 3200:

*ilū(dingir)^{mes} šū uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri
it-tu-ru a-na zu-um-bé-e i-ḥab-bu-bu ina ri-ba-a-ti*

Thompson, *Gilg.*, pl. 59, 11–12

The gods of Uruk-the-Sheepfold
turned into flies buzzing about in the streets.

Though the situation described, a siege of Uruk, is very different from the present one, this couplet perhaps alludes to the Flood story as told in the epic; the phrase 'Uruk-the-Sheepfold' suggests familiarity with *Gilgameš*.

With the mother goddess's arrival at the incense (164) the motif of the flies is extended. Lifting up the fly-shaped beads that Anu had given her when courting, she promised to wear them thenceforth in a necklace so as never to forget the catastrophe the gods had caused (165–7). Fly-shaped beads strung on necklaces as amulets are common in the ancient Near East.²⁶¹ The mythological allusion is to a time when the mother goddess and Anu were new lovers. These deities are earth and heaven respectively, whose sexual congress was observed when rain fell from the sky and impregnated the fertile earth, causing her to bring forth vegetation. Anu's old gift of flies was henceforth to take on a new symbolism: as beads strung around the mother goddess's neck they would remind her of the hungry gods buzzing around Ūta-napišti's sacrifice, and ultimately of her special responsibility to her human children. The mention here of her necklace of flies may have dual significance. As Lambert suggests, it may be a detail recorded to explain why statues of the goddess wore a necklace of fly-shaped beads, i.e. an aetiology of cultic jewellery. A study of this passage in the light of parallel imagery makes an additional point, drawing attention to the fly as a symbol of war and, more appropriately for the present context, death; it further proposes that, through the fact that a fly's wings throw light into the colours of the spectrum, the necklace of flies may also stand for a rainbow, the very phenomenon that marks the end of the Flood in the biblical narrative.²⁶²

²⁶¹ For fly-shaped beads as jewellery see Lambert's note on the parallel passage in OB Atram-ḥasīs III v 46–vi 4 (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasīs*, pp. 163–4); further K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery* (London, 1971), pp. 12 and 127; and, in the temple of Ištar at Mari, B. Lion and C. Michel, 'Criquets et autres insectes à Mari', *MARI* 8 (1997), p. 723.

²⁶² Gen. 9: 13–16. See A. Draffkorn Kilmer, 'The symbolism of the flies in the Mesopotamian flood myth and some further implications', *Studies Reiner*, pp. 175–80.

Blaming Enlil's rashness for the destruction that had wiped out her children, the mother goddess forbade him to participate in the feast Ūta-napišti had provided (168–71). Nevertheless, Enlil duly arrived (172). Finding the ark and realizing that his plan for the complete extinction of mankind had been thwarted, he fell into a towering rage, demanding to know how any man could have escaped with his life (173–6). His son, Ninurta, answered that only the cunning Ea was clever enough to have engineered such an outcome (177–80). Ea defended himself, accusing Enlil of imprudence in sending the Deluge, inflicting thereby punishment indiscriminately without regard for guilt (181–6). One should respond to a difficulty in proper proportion, he continued (187). It would be better not to have sent a Deluge but instead to send a lion or a wolf to reduce the population, a famine or a plague to decimate the people (188–95). Ea's words allude to the poem of Atra-ḥasīs, where famine and plague are two of the instruments of annihilation that Enlil employed to diminish the numbers of mankind before resorting to the Deluge. In their concern, stated fourfold, for the reduction of the human population these lines retain the motif that so informs the older poem. Ea concluded by denying first-hand responsibility for the Flood hero's survival: he merely allowed Atra-ḥasīs to hear the gods' plans in a dream, and now Enlil must decide what do with him (196–8).

The belated identification of the medium of Ea's warning as a dream agrees with the poem of Atra-ḥasīs and the account of Berossus.²⁶³ Though Ūta-napišti's epithet Atra-ḥasīs, 'Exceeding-Wise', has appeared once previously in the story without apparent significance (at SB XI 49), its use at this point is probably no accident. It recalls the occasion on which Ūta-napišti had to be at his most intuitively wise, when he listened to the walls of his house and heard them repeat the words of his divine master. At the same time, Ea's use of it informs Enlil that this is no ordinary, foolish mortal, but someone of special intelligence, worthy of saving.

Enlil went on board the boat and fetched out Ūta-napišti and his wife, conferring immortality on them in the presence of the gods whose ranks they thus joined and resettling them at *pi nārāti*, 'the mouth of the rivers' (199–206). This was a place far removed from the world of mortal men. It needs some discussion. A settlement called *Pi-nārātum* is known from Ur III and Old Babylonian texts,²⁶⁴ but being within the local geography of Sumer it is unlikely to have anything to do with Ūta-napišti's place of residence. According to the Sumerian Flood story, the survivor of the deluge was removed to Dilmun: *kur.bal kur dilmun.na ki* 'utu.è.šè mu.un.til.eš',²⁶⁵ 'they settled him in a foreign country, the land of Dilmun, towards the sunrise'. The text of the Mappa Mundi implies that he lived in a distant land but is too fragmentary to yield more explicit information.²⁶⁶ If the phrase 'at the mouth of the rivers' is taken literally, the most obvious location for Ūta-napišti's home would be the head of the Gulf, where the Tigris, Euphrates, Karun and other rivers of Elam debouch into the sea. Whether it is Bahrain or even Failaka, Dilmun is in this same general direction but lies much too far from Babylonia to be accurately described with this phrase. Accordingly, in striving

²⁶³ See W. G. Lambert, 'New light on the Babylonian flood', *JSS* 5 (1960), p. 119, and OB Atram-ḥasīs III 13.

²⁶⁴ D. O. Edzard and G. Farber, *Rép. géogr.* II, p. 153; B. Groneberg, *Rép. géogr.*, III, p. 185.

²⁶⁵ *PBSV* 1, 260, ed. M. Civil in Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasīs*, p. 144.

²⁶⁶ *CT* 22 48 obv. 10', ed. Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, p. 36.

to discount the present passage as evidence in the discussion of the location of Dilmun, Alster has written that 'the setting [of the Flood story in Standard Babylonian Gilgameš] is a mixture of geography and cosmology alien to the Sumerian forerunner, and the two stories should be kept strictly apart'.²⁶⁷ It is of course unnecessary to reconcile exactly the old and the late traditions, especially since the latter has entered the realms of fantasy. However, it would be surprising if the tradition of the later text brought the Flood hero nearer to Babylonia: the general expectation would be that, the more recent the story's telling, the further away he ought to be.

In fact, it would seem that there is a way of reconciling what appear to be the conflicting traditions of the Sumerian and Babylonian tales. In discussing the concept of the 'mouth of the rivers', Albright long ago drew attention to incantations in which this phrase is almost a by-name for Ea's cosmic domain, the Apsû.²⁶⁸ This could mean that anywhere especially associated with Ea and the Apsû might be considered, as his domain, to be the 'mouth of the rivers'. The phrase also suggests a belief that all rivers, having once risen from the Apsû, eventually returned there. Albright also noted the received wisdom, attested in Arabic and classical sources, that the waters of the Euphrates, having largely disappeared into the marshes of what is now lower Iraq, flowed beneath the sea to reappear in southern Arabia (so Pliny) or Bahrain, where they supplied the famous freshwater springs that bubble up offshore and onshore.²⁶⁹ What no one at that time was in a position to add is that Sumerian mythology may well confirm this belief as very ancient. In the myth known as Enki and Ninhursag Enki solves the problem of lack of water in Dilmun by supplying it from the waters flowing underground: *ka a ki.a DU.DU.ta a.dùg ki.ta mu.na.ra.gin*, 'from the mouth of the water flowing in the Netherworld he made the fresh water flow out from the ground for her'.²⁷⁰ The passage undoubtedly supposes a belief that, through Enki's intervention, water flowing underground came to the surface in Dilmun. Since the Euphrates, in particular, loses most of its water in the marshes rather than to the sea, it would seem logical to imagine that the fresh water of the subterranean Apsû was replenished in exactly this way, from the rivers that flowed into the marshes. The Apsû and the rivers are one and the same body of water, constantly recycled.

In discussing Ea's advice to Ūta-napišti earlier in Tablet XI, namely to explain his building of the boat by saying that he was going to live with Ea, it has already been observed that Dilmun is a land much associated with Enki in Sumerian mythology. The belief that his domain was accessible from Ūta-napišti's home is attested not only in that passage but also

²⁶⁷ Alster, in Potts, *Dilmun*, p. 54.

²⁶⁸ W. F. Albright, 'The mouth of the rivers', *AJSL* 35 (1919), pp. 161–95; see esp. *CT* 16 47, 197–8: *dal.ba.an.na id ka.min.a.ta = ina bi-ri pi-i na-ra a-[ti] ki-lal-la-an*, 'between the twin mouths of the rivers'; cf. *CT* 17 26, 65–6; M. J. Geller, *Iraq* 42 (1980), p. 28, 16–18'.

²⁶⁹ Albright, *AJSL* 35, p. 185.

²⁷⁰ Cf. P. Attinger, 'Enki et Ninhursaga', *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 10, 56. No doubt aware of the later sources to which Albright drew attention, Jacobsen interprets the difficult and fragmentary lines that precede this statement to mean that the underground water came from 'the Euphrates at the Sumerian port of Izin' (Jacobsen, *Harps*, p. 182). This interpretation is highly contentious, however, for the Euphrates is not mentioned in the text and the identity and location of EZEN^{ki} is as yet unknown (hardly Isin in this context).

later in Tablet XI, when Gilgameš dives in search of the plant of rejuvenation and reaches the Apsû (l. 290). The siting in Dilmun of the 'mouth' of the subterranean waters in the myth of Enki and Ninhursag very much suggests that what is meant by *ina pi nārāti* is the place where river water rose again from the Apsû. Therefore I see the use of this phrase in the passage under comment as a reference to the cosmic domain of Ea.

Other details reported about Ūta-napišti's home, especially in the diving episode, seem indeed to derive from the area of the Gulf around Bahrain. Given the tradition that Ziusudra lived in Dilmun and the later view that the springs of Bahrain were the mouths of Mesopotamian rivers, it may be that the ancients would have made the connection also in this text. But even if they understood the 'mouth of the rivers' implicitly to refer to this extraordinary foreign island, the use of the cosmological phrase rather than the geographical name places this land at the same time firmly beyond the explored world, in the realm of fantasy.

Ūta-napišti concludes his story by asking a rhetorical question: who will convene a divine assembly to immortalize Gilgameš (207–8)? The answer, of course, is nobody. Ūta-napišti possesses no secret of everlasting life. He had immortality thrust on him in unique circumstances, never to be repeated. The assembly that granted Ūta-napišti eternal life also determined that no other man should become immortal and that the proper destiny of men was death.²⁷¹ It must also have accepted Ea's advice never again to send such a flood.²⁷² So Gilgameš's doom is already fixed and no opportunity will arise for him to escape it.

Finally Ūta-napišti suggests that Gilgameš try to stay awake for a week (209). This ordeal is, perhaps, a rite of passage that the old man surely knows his visitor cannot complete. The hero did without sleep in quest of his goal but now, at last, he cannot keep his eyes open a moment longer and falls immediately into a deep slumber that lasts the whole week of the test (210–11). Unlike previous episodes of sleep, this one is undisturbed by dreams, for now that the end of Gilgameš's adventures is near at hand, premonition has no role to play. Ūta-napišti calls his wife to observe the man who so aspired to immortality and she is inclined to wake him and send him home (212–18). But there is another lesson to be learned. Not only is man at the mercy of sleep—he is also a born liar (219–20). Mankind's natural propensity for untruth is also acknowledged in the Theodicy:

*šar-ku ana a-me-lut-tú it-gu-ru da-ba-ba
sar-ra-a-tú u la ki-na-tu iš-ru-ku-šú sa-an-tak-ku*

Lambert, *BWL*, p. 88, 279–80

Having given to mankind crooked speech,
(the gods) bestowed on them constant lying and dishonesty.

So Ūta-napišti's wife bakes bread daily and Gilgameš's portion is left lying beside his recumbent body, while she makes a mark on the wall for each day he sleeps (221–9).²⁷³ On

²⁷¹ According to one of the two differing traditions cited in the introduction to Tablet X.

²⁷² This advice is given in the LB fragment of Atra-ḫasis to be published by W. G. Lambert in *CTMMA*. The passage is quoted below (rev. v 13–14).

²⁷³ This passage was studied in detail by A. L. Oppenheim, 'Mesopotamian mythology II', *Orns* 17 (1948), pp. 55–8.

the seventh morning, as she bakes the last bread of the week, Ūta-napišti wakes Gilgameš (230). His reaction is immediately to deny having slept for more than a moment (231–3). But Ūta-napišti steers his gaze to the row of bread that lies nearby, each portion displaying a different degree of staleness, and to the tally of days his wife has marked on the wall (234–41). Gilgameš is exposed to his face as a slave of sleep but not of truth. Thus confronted with his human limitations, he realizes that if he cannot withstand sleep, he has no hope of conquering death. He knows at last that he cannot escape the doom of men; already the angel of death has hold of him and wherever he goes death will be lurking in the shadows (242–6).

After this instructive experience the plot moves quickly on. Ūta-napišti curses Ur-šanabi, banishing him from his shore and relieving him of his duties as ferryman (247–9). His crime was certainly to bring Gilgameš across the Waters of Death, a barrier that was plainly meant to be impassable by mortal men. The possibility is thereby excluded of any future wanderer repeating Gilgameš's feat and visiting Ūta-napišti's unworldly realm. The old man's reaction recalls Humbaba's anger at, and eventual cursing of, Enkidu for leading Gilgameš to the Cedar Forest (Tablet V). But before he departs for the last time from Ūta-napišti's presence, Ur-šanabi is instructed to take Gilgameš to the washing-place so the hero can soak the dirt from his hair and the grime from his skin, thence to emerge with body beautiful and new attire for head and body, apparently having cast his old lion's skin into the sea (250–8). There is nothing in the text that indicates the washing-place is a fountain of youth—the adjective 'sweet, fair' applied to Gilgameš's body cannot be pressed into such service—though some have supposed that it was.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, in a land closely associated with the Apsû of Ea the washing-place may have had special properties of purification. Certainly, it dissolved all trace of the marks left on the hero by his long and arduous quest. However that may be, the new garment that Gilgameš is given will stay magically clean for the entire duration of his journey home to Uruk (259–61). Ūta-napišti's realm is clearly pervaded by at least some of the supernatural powers that might be expected in a place fit for an immortal. His knowledge of the whereabouts of the magic plant of rejuvenation demonstrates that he is himself privy to mysteries unglimped by mortal men. As an exile residing in a place of enchantment, the Flood hero is a kind of ancient Mesopotamian Prospero.

In the famous passage of the ale-wife's advice in the Old Babylonian epic, Gilgameš is advised to abandon his quest and enjoined, as one of the simple joys of domestic life, to wear fresh clothing and keep his body clean.²⁷⁵ In washing his guest and giving him new attire Ūta-napišti is preparing Gilgameš for the life that he must lead now that his adventures are

²⁷⁴ Note especially the exegesis of this passage by F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, 'Die Fahrt nach dem Lebenskraut', *ArOr* 18/1 (1950), pp. 117–22. According to Böhl, Gilgameš wakes from sleep an old man on the brink of death, to see before him 7 bread rations representing the 7 ages of man that have passed as he slumbered his life away. By immersion in Ūta-napišti's fountain of youth he becomes young and strong again. This seems to me an over-interpretation of what the text actually says. Furthermore, the poem makes it clear that Ūta-napišti is immortal not because he has unlimited access to a fountain of youth but because the gods made him so after the Flood. For these reasons I take the text of these two episodes at face value.

²⁷⁵ OB VA+BM iii 10–11. The same advice is given in Ecclesiastes: see Ch. 5 above, the introduction to OB VA+BM.

over. The clean body and spotless garment are symbolic of Gilgameš's new state of mind and of the fresh start he must make in life.

Ūta-napišti's instructions are repeated as narrative and Ur-šanabi duly performs his master's bidding for the last time (262–70). He and Gilgameš then board his ferry to begin the journey home (271–2). Ūta-napišti's wife intervenes, asking her husband whether he has remembered to give their departing guest the farewell gift evidently required of good hospitality (273–5). Gilgameš overhears her question and, having come away with nothing, punts the boat back to the shore in eager expectation (276–7). Acknowledging Gilgameš's heroic endurance of hardship, Ūta-napišti makes good this oversight. He has one last mystery to reveal. If Gilgameš can find a certain thorny plant that resembles the *amurdinnu* plant (probably a dog-rose), then . . . (278–86). The crucial last line of his speech is still missing but, given what comes next, it is certain that the old man tells Gilgameš that the plant has the property of rejuvenation.²⁷⁶ There are two ways of understanding why Ūta-napišti shares this secret with Gilgameš. Either he genuinely wishes to compensate Gilgameš with the prospect of a return to youth, no substitute for true immortality but a fine gift, nevertheless; or he knows what will happen and wants Gilgameš to experience final proof of his human weakness.

Ūta-napišti gives no explicit instructions as to how to find the magic plant but Gilgameš somehow knows what to do. He 'opens' a 'channel' and, weighting his legs with stones, jumps in and is dragged down to the Apsû (287–90). There he wrenches the plant from its roots and, discarding the weights, finds himself cast up on the seashore, where Ur-šanabi awaits him (291–3). The text remains damaged in these lines so important details may be missing in regard to exactly how Gilgameš achieved this feat. The word 'channel' is typically a depression or trough hollowed out of the ground to contain liquid, for example to form a rough ingot mould or to serve as an irrigation channel.²⁷⁷ In this passage it has caused translators considerable difficulty, often because they have taken the 'channel' to be some kind of structure, a 'pipe' leading underground or beneath the sea.²⁷⁸ My understanding of the passage is that Gilgameš has disembarked to hear what Ūta-napišti has to tell him. He digs a shallow pit in the beach and soon reaches the water table. The fact that he makes the hole on land, not at sea, becomes clearer later, when he complains that he cannot rediscover it because the tide will have washed away any trace. The water table is the uppermost level of the cosmic domain of Ea, which in Ūta-napišti's realm is particularly accessible. Consequently the pit gives him immediate access to the subterranean Apsû. He dives down into

²⁷⁶ On this passage in the context of other mythical media of rejuvenation see recently K. Watanabe, 'Lebenspendende und tobringende Substanzen in Altmesopotamien', *Bagh. Mitt.* 25 (1994), pp. 581–3.

²⁷⁷ For *rānu* in bronze smelting, see SB V 103 and commentary. Another usage of *rānu* is for the runnels that carried libations in temples, probably channels let into the floor (see *CAD R*, p. 220).

²⁷⁸ So most recently W. G. Lambert, 'The Apsû', in L. Milano et al. (eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East 3* (CRR A 44/III; Padua, 2000), p. 77. Speiser speculates that this *rānu* was 'a pipe connecting with a source of sweet waters which would nourish the miraculous plant' (*ANET*³, pp. 96–7, fn. 232), comparing a line in the bilingual account of creation (*CT* 13 35, 11): [igi] a.ab.ba.ke₄ šita na.nam = i-nu ša qe-reb tam-tim ra-tu-um-ma, 'the spring in the midst of the ocean was a channel'. This line has no bearing on the present issue, however, for it signifies only that, once upon a time, the great well-spring of the oceans was just a little trough in the ground.

the water, finds the plant but does not return the way he came. Instead he rises from the Apsû by way of the sea and, emerging just offshore from Ur-šanabi, is carried back to land by the surf.²⁷⁹

In a series of articles During Caspers has sought to illuminate details of this episode by reference to what is known of ancient Bahrain.²⁸⁰ She refers to the famous submarine wells situated off the coast of Bahrain, which were the island's principal supply of fresh water until modern times and account for the old tradition, mentioned above, that the Euphrates rose again off Bahrain. These wells were known in antiquity.²⁸¹ Dilmun, the home of the Flood hero in Sumerian tradition, was accordingly a place with a special relationship to the Apsû and for this reason a playground of Enki in mythology. The connection between Dilmun and fresh water explains how Gilgameš was able so easily to reach the Apsû from Ūtanapišti's realm.²⁸² It has long been known that Gilgameš, in tying weights to his feet to reach deep water, employs the customary practice of divers in search of pearls, sponges and coral.²⁸³ One could read the passage as actually giving to Gilgameš the credit for the discovery of this technique, as it were an aetiology of seabed diving, much like the sailing episode in SB X 181–3.

With regard to the nature of the magic submarine plant, During Caspers compares it with tree-shaped forms of marine life and brings attention to an idea first proposed by Burrows,²⁸⁴ that it was a kind of sharp coral. She develops this idea by surveying the various kinds of coral and suggests that specifically 'Antipatharia or black coral ("Thorny coral") or Gorgonacea' fit best what is known of the magic plant.²⁸⁵ She notes that such corals are traditionally known for healing properties, at least in the East Indies. What is not yet known is whether these corals and their medicinal use were known in the Gulf in antiquity, for the very words for coral in Akkadian are not securely identified.²⁸⁶ Though this particular identification cannot for this reason be upheld, the existence of spiny corals of therapeutic value that in shape resemble plants is certainly very suggestive and one is inclined to accept as correct the general interpretation of Burrows and During Caspers, that the poet had in mind a type of coral when he wrote of the prickly plant retrieved by Gilgameš from the watery Apsû.

²⁷⁹ On the connections between the Apsû and the sea see Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, pp. 340–1, where this passage is one of several adduced as evidence; also Lambert, *CRR* 44/III, p. 77.

²⁸⁰ E. C. L. During Caspers, 'Pearl fishery in the Arabian Gulf and the "prickly rose" of Gilgameš', *BiOr* 40 (1983), 31–49; 'Of corals and ailments in the ancient Near East', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 16 (1986), pp. 25–31; 'In the footsteps of Gilgameš: in search of the "prickly rose"', *Persica* 12 (1987), pp. 57–95.

²⁸¹ e.g. Enki and Ninḫursag 45–63, ed. Alster in Potts, *Dilmun*, pp. 62–4; P. Attinger, *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 10.

²⁸² During Caspers proposes that Gilgameš 'was pulled down via the pipe or shaft, which could well be a column of fresh water, [that] he had made into the water mass, to the bottom of the sea, which was the entry to Enki's Apsû' (*Persica* 12, p. 66). This seems too elaborate an explanation, however.

²⁸³ See During Caspers, *BiOr* 40, 36; *Proc. Sem. Arab. St.* 16, pp. 28–9; *Persica* 12, pp. 66–7.

²⁸⁴ E. Burrows, 'Dilmun, Bahrain, Paradise', *Or* 30 (1928), pp. 11–12.

²⁸⁵ During Caspers, *Persica* 12, p. 85. Her concluding proposal, that *amurđinnu* is itself such a coral, rests on a misunderstanding of the imagery of this passage, for nowhere is an actual equation of *amurđinnu* and the magic plant the issue.

²⁸⁶ According to R. C. Thompson's outdated work, *DACG*, pp. 165–6 and 172–3, coral is known in red and white varieties, respectively *aban baḫrē* and *ayyartu*. *AHW* repeats these identifications but *CAD* is more sceptical: there the former is left untranslated and the latter is understood as some kind of shell.

Gilgameš shows the plant to Ur-šanabi and tells him of its magic ability to rejuvenate (294–6). He does not entirely believe his own words, however, for he announces his intention first of taking the plant back to Uruk, where he will test it on an old man; only then will he try it himself (297–300).²⁸⁷ This seems straightforward enough, but a close reading reveals a problem. As usually understood, the passage has Gilgameš giving the plant not one but two names, 'Plant of Heartbeat' and 'The Old Man Has Grown Young'.²⁸⁸ Does the plant really receive one name when first recovered and another when proved effective? In the light of the uncertainty that attends the reading of the vital first word of l. 299, other interpretations are possible. First, reading *šumšu*, 'its (or his) name', the possessive pronoun does not necessarily refer to the plant. Instead it can stand in for the old man, who then acquires the name 'The Old Man Has Grown Young' as the guinea pig in Gilgameš's successful experiment.²⁸⁹ An alternative solution is more radical, in that it rejects *šumšu* in favour of *šumma*, 'if'.²⁹⁰ The result is no name at all, but a conditional clause in the future perfect, 'if the old man grows young (again), I will eat some myself . . .' It is to be hoped that future discoveries of text will bring an end to the uncertainty that dogs the interpretation of this line.

Armed with the future prospect of repeated rejuvenation, Gilgameš sets out with Ur-šanabi on the journey home to Uruk (301–2). On the way he sees a pool of cool water and refreshes himself with a bathe (303–4). While he is engaged in the pleasure of the moment, a cunning snake emerges from its hole, gets wind of the magic plant and carries it off in its mouth (305–6). As it slithers away it discards its old skin and becomes young again (307). This is one of the most obvious and best-known aetiologies in the epic and a myth that had a wide currency in antiquity.²⁹¹ It appears for the first time in Gilgameš but was not necessarily a Babylonian story by origin. Seeing at one and the same time the effectiveness of the plant confirmed and its possession irretrievably denied him, Gilgameš is utterly distraught

²⁸⁷ A recent discussion of the epic makes much of this passage as revealing a newly developed altruism in Gilgameš, but the exegesis is based on an old error of decipherment (*lub-tuq* for *lul-tuk*) and a consequent mistranslation of XI 298 *lušākil šibamma šamma lultuk* as 'I will give it to them to eat, divide it amongst them' (N. Vulpe, 'Irony and the unity of the Gilgameš epic', *JNES* 53 (1994), p. 281). The verb *batāqu* means 'divide in pieces' only in Neo-Assyrian. Far from being born of a desire to share the magic plant with his people out of a 'sense of common humanity'—and the plant is not the secret of 'eternal life' (ibid.) but a finite resource for rejuvenation—Gilgameš proposes to take it back to Uruk because he cannot trust it until he has proved its efficacy on a human guinea-pig. Testing medical prescriptions on inferiors was an accepted practice at the Assyrian royal court in the seventh century, according to a letter of Adad-šuma-ušur, Esarhaddon's exorcist. He recommends that a potion intended for the crown prince should first be tested on slaves (*ŠAA* X 191 obv. 11–rev. 1): ¹⁰*qallē(gál)meš am-mu-te ni-ḫar-ru-up ni-ša-aq-qi ḫa-ra-me-ma mār(dumu) šarre(lugal) li-is-si*, 'we shall give (the medicine) to those slaves first and then later let the crown prince drink (it).'

²⁸⁸ For a justification of my understanding of the first name, *šammi nikitti*, see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB XI 295. The latter phrase, *šbu išsaḫir amēlu*, has sometimes been held to allude to the hero's Sumerian name, 'bil.ga.mes. It should be pointed out that the ancient lexical lists do not explicitly equate bil.ga and *šbu* nor mes and *šeḫēru*. The supposed connection may only be obvious to modern commentators.

²⁸⁹ This idea stems from Benjamin R. Foster's new translation, which he very generously permitted me to see before publication: *The Epic of Gilgameš* (New York, 2001), p. 94.

²⁹⁰ I owe this observation to J. N. Postgate in a private communication.

²⁹¹ A Greek version is told by Nicander and Aelian (see West, *East Face of Helicon*, p. 118), whence it found its way into the writings of Voltaire (C. Virolleaud, 'De quelques survivances de la légende babylonienne concernant la plante de vie', *Journal asiatique* 239 (1951), pp. 127–32).

(308–9). Turning to Ur-šanabi he sobs bitterly that all his labours have come to naught, the only benefit of his toil and pain accruing to a lowly reptile (310–14). What is more, there is no chance of repeating his dive to the Apsû in search of another plant. The tide has risen far and wide and, careless as always, in triumph he threw away the tools he used, leaving no prospect of finding again the place where he dug or the means of digging (315–17). He wishes he had never crossed the ocean, for all it has brought him is threefold disappointment (318). Ūta-napišti had no secret of immortality for him to learn. He could not conquer sleep. He failed to keep secure the precious plant of rejuvenation. The limitations of his own mortal condition are thus cruelly and incontrovertibly revealed to him.

Gilgameš and Ur-šanabi continue their journey and arrive at last in Uruk (319–21). There the hero points out to his companion the great wall and urges him to climb on to it, there to gaze out over Uruk, a great city of houses, date-groves, open spaces and, of course, the sanctuary of Ištar (322–8). In this way Gilgameš's story is rounded off by the very words that introduced it (SB I 18–23). These closing lines function as an epilogue. It is often supposed that they reveal in Gilgameš an acceptance that he will make do with the immortal renown brought him by building the city's wall. That is too specific a view. For while the epilogue begins by taking the audience in their imagination up on to the wall once more, the last two lines make it clear that the poet fixes our gaze firmly on what the wall encloses. The wall is thus a vantage point from which one may observe the comings and goings of men in the city below. The line in question (323) is adapted with similar purpose in a famous satirical composition of the late second or early first millennium:

*e-li-ma ina muḫḫi(ugu) tillāmi(du₆)^{mes-mi} labirūti(libir.ra)^{mes} i-tal-lak
a-mur gul-gul-le-e ša arkūti(egir)^{mes} u pa-nu-u-ti
a-a-u be-el-le-mut-tim-ma a-a-u be-el-ū-sa-a-ti*

Dialogue of Pessimism 76–8, ed. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 148

Go up on to the old ruin-mounds and walk around,
see the skulls of the lowly and the great:
which did ill and which did good?

There the poet uses the line to invite reflection on the dead. In Gilgameš the interest is on the living. Before our eyes stretches the great expanse of the city of Uruk, the seat of ancient civilization, the place where, according to an old tradition, the arts of urban life first flourished in Sumer after Enki inadvertently gave them away to Inanna.²⁹²

As noted in Chapter 3, Gilgameš was held responsible for the revival of civilization after the Deluge. In that respect the last two lines of the epilogue relate to him in person, for the cultural supremacy of Uruk could be viewed as a personal achievement that matched the building of the wall. But in a poem with such a profound interest in the nature of man, the

²⁹² The Sumerian mythological text that tells this story, now known as Enki and Inanna, effectively functions as a charter for Uruk. Thanks to Enki's gift of the *mes* to Inanna, Uruk became heir to the traditions of Eridu, and thus the centre of the civilization held to emanate ultimately from Enki's venerable sanctuary at Eridu. The myth shows that the ancients correctly understood their history: Uruk was the greatest city of prehistoric Babylonia but not the oldest cult centre.

individual figure of Gilgameš has often been a vehicle for reflection on the human condition. Here, at the close, the same is true. For the Babylonians the city was the one institution without which civilization was impossible. It was also eternal, built by the gods and inhabited by men, more ancient than memory and enduring into an unknown future. Uruk, vast in expanse and manifestly ancient, is a symbol of the archetypal Babylonian city. The fourfold division of Uruk set out in the lines that frame the eleven-tablet epic is pregnant with meaning. By this means the poet symbolizes with sublime skill the four areas of activity that most preoccupy human life on earth. The city proper (*ālu*) denotes the built-up areas, the domestic dwellings where men establish their households and raise their families; the date-groves (*kirū*) represent with their archetypal crop the agricultural activity and produce that nourish the human race; the clay-pits (*essū*), whence came the clay for making mud bricks and modelling rough terracotta figurines and plaques,²⁹³ symbolize man's creativity as builder and craftsman; and the great temple precinct of Ištar stands for man's spiritual and intellectual endeavours. These four activities express the whole of human life: procreation, food production, manufacturing and mental activity. All are enclosed within the great city's walls.

In my view the epilogue of the epic tells its audience a self-evident truth: gaze on the city, consider the generations that surround you and learn that human life, in all its activities, is collective and not individual. The symbol of that life is the great city that we contemplate from the wall. Individual cities, of course, could rise and fall but their human populations lived on. The gods had promised that there would be no more Deluges, no more threat of wholesale extinction of the human race. This belief, famously articulated in the Hebrew bible as God's covenant with Noah in Gen. 9: 8–17, can now be seen to stem from Babylonia, like the Flood myth that provides its context. It informs Ea's counsel at the end of the poem of Atra-ḫasis, as revealed in a Late Babylonian fragment now in New York. There, having advised Enlil that the Deluge was too blunt an instrument for the purpose to which he put it, Ea concludes with a plea for a more secure future (courtesy W. G. Lambert):

*iš-tu^u u₄-[mi an-ni]-i²⁹⁴ a-a^u iš^u-šā-kun a-bu-b[u]
ū nišū(ūg)^m [es lu-ū] [da^u-ra-a a-na da-ri[s]*

MMA 86.11.378A rev. v 13'–14', ed. Lambert, *CTMMA* 2 forthcoming

From this day no Deluge shall take place,
and the human race [shall] endure for ever!

The plain implication is that though men are mortal, mankind is immortal. Against this background the epilogue can be understood to reiterate in briefer and more allusive terms the message conveyed by the elaborate imagery that closed the first part of Ūta-napišti's homily at the end of Tablet X. Indeed, from this final vantage point the whole of the latter part of the poem can be seen to convey the same truth. A man makes a long journey. Pur-

²⁹³ Good-quality potter's clay (*kullatu*) for fine ceramics and tablets was, by contrast, excavated from river banks, as we know from the explanation in *Hg A II* 135 (ed. *MSL* VII, p. 113): im.dū.a = *kul-la-tum* = *ūd(im) palgi(pa₅)*, 'canal clay'.

²⁹⁴ Reading with the copy. Lambert reads *u₄-[mi-im-m]a*, with the same meaning.

sued by death he is able, uniquely for a mortal, to bypass its watery gateway. Beyond the world he comes face to face with an immortal ancestor. Then he must go home. The mortal Gilgameš represents the individual Everyman, though one who has been singled out for an extraordinary experience. The immortal Ūta-napišti—already ancient at the time of the Deluge and blessed with a future of infinite years—symbolizes the human race. By his quest's end what Gilgameš has learnt at first hand, alone among mortals, is this: at the end of life the individual perishes in the passage to death's realm, but beyond that point in his existence, and necessarily outside his personal experience, stretches the eternal past and future of mankind.

The climax, epilogue and plot combine to provide a simple conclusion to the poem's grandest theme. No man can live for ever, not even the greatest of heroes and mightiest of kings, but there will always be men on this earth, for life itself is eternal.

TABLET XII

As a piece of literature Tablet XII is not part of the epic proper. The questions of when and why the extra material was added to the eleven-tablet epic have been discussed above, in Chapter 1.

Told briefly, the story related in Tablet XII is this. Gilgameš has cut down a haunted tree and turned it into furniture for the goddess Inanna. As payment for his services he has received some left-over wood, which he has made into playthings, a stick and ball.²⁹⁵ With these he has exhausted the young men of Uruk, so that their womenfolk have complained to the gods. The gods have opened a hole in the ground and the playthings have fallen through into the Netherworld. At this point the Akkadian translation begins. Gilgameš laments the loss of his playthings (1–5). Enkidu volunteers to retrieve them (6–9). Gilgameš counsels him regarding proper behaviour in the presence of the shades of the dead (10–12). He must not present a clean, well-groomed appearance, he must not exhibit violent and threatening behaviour, he must not make a noise, he must not acknowledge the ghosts of dead kith and kin (13–27). It has been suggested that these are taboos born partly of the need for a proper show of mourning and partly of a 'negation of normal life'.²⁹⁶ In the presence of the dead a lack of display and the maintenance of silence are, indeed, desiderata, in Babylonia as elsewhere, but the larger point is that if Enkidu hopes to come back from the Land of No Return he must steal into it unobserved and not draw attention to himself while he is there. This means avoiding all behaviour that would alert the ghostly residents—and their guardians—to his presence. If noticed he will be taken captive and brought before the

²⁹⁵ For the *pukku* as ball see Ch. 13, the commentary on SB XII 1.

²⁹⁶ The word 'taboo' was first used in this connection by S. N. Kramer, 'The Epic of Gilgameš and its Sumerian sources', *JAS* 64 (1944), pp. 21, 23. The idea has been developed by A. Koefed, 'Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Nether World', *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), p. 20.

'mother of Ninazu', who lies deathly pale and bare-breasted in perpetual mourning (28–30).²⁹⁷ This is the queen of the dead, the great goddess Ereškigal, and the implication is that in her presence his name will be entered in the tally of the dead, an act which will detain him permanently and irrevocably.²⁹⁸

Enkidu ignores Gilgameš's warning, does all he was warned not to, and in due course is taken before the goddess (31–50). When he fails to come back it is clear that, though he has not perished in any normal way—of disease, of old age or in battle—nevertheless the Netherworld holds him captive (51–4). Gilgameš, waiting in vain for his favourite's return, bewails him (55). He seeks help from Enlil and Sin in turn but neither will aid him and he goes finally to Ea (56–72).²⁹⁹ Ea is more sympathetic and instructs Šamaš, the sun god (not Nergal, as previously supposed), to bring Enkidu's ghost out of the Netherworld through a crevice, which Šamaš duly does (73–87). As one who daily makes the journey from the Netherworld to the land of the living, the sun god is uniquely able to open such a hole.³⁰⁰ Enkidu's shade duly escapes through a chink in the wall like a pigeon flying from its nook.³⁰¹ Gilgameš embraces the shade of his friend and is eager to learn of the existence men lead after death (88–91). Enkidu knows that the knowledge will pain his friend but, being pressed, tells how worms consume someone's mortal remains as they turn slowly into dust (92–9). These lines are still damaged in Tablet XII but the discovery of MS rr, a new source for BN 250–3, allows a better understanding of this passage, which differs in its Sumerian and Akkadian versions. The Akkadian translation of Enkidu's speech probably reports the corruption of his own body, using language that alludes in the most graphic terms to sexual intimacy with his friend. This explicit language is restored from the Sumerian, where, by contrast, it is the fate of the body of a female lover that is described.³⁰² Thus informed of the physical reality of death by the decay of those nearest him, Gilgameš throws himself to the ground, prostrate with grief and horror (100–1).

²⁹⁷ On these lines and their several parallels as descriptive of Ereškigal in mourning see B. Alster, 'The mythology of mourning', *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), pp. 1–16. Here the epithet 'mother of Ninazu' perhaps signals for whom she weeps; in Inanna's Descent, however, it is her husband, Gugalanna, who has died (ll. 86–8). In another passage of that poem Ereškigal mourns *nam.dumu.ne.ne.šè* (l. 230), 'on account of her children' (see Alster, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8, 10–11). These are the dead of all humanity, the countless shades that populate her great subterranean city. Mourning, it seems, is the inescapable fate of the queen of the Netherworld.

²⁹⁸ The reception of the dead before Ereškigal and her secretary is described in Enkidu's dream of the Netherworld, SB VII 203 ff.

²⁹⁹ The audience with Sin is absent from the Sumerian poem, as we have it, but is no doubt a relic of a fuller text. This assumption is supported by comparison with the similar episode in the Descent of Inanna. There, when Inanna fails to come back from the Netherworld, her minister, the goddess Nišubur, visits Enlil, Nanna and Enki in turn. As here, the first two decline to help but Enki responds.

³⁰⁰ For documentation of the sun's role in bringing up ghosts see I. L. Finkel, 'Necromancy in ancient Mesopotamia', *AJO* 29–30 (1983–4), p. 5.

³⁰¹ J. Tropper has cogently argued that the word in question, *Sum. ab.lál // Akk. takkapu*, signifies a small opening in the city wall of the Netherworld: see his article '“Beschwörung” des Enkidu? Anmerkungen zur Interpretation von GEN 240–243 // Gilg. XII, 79–84', *WO* 17 (1986), pp. 19–24. One may add that the imagery is still more allusive. The dead shades were often perceived as bird-like in form (cf. SB VII 189 and parallels); the word *ab.lál* is most commonly encountered in Sumerian literature as a roosting place of pigeons (see *PSD A/2*, p. 146).

³⁰² See further Ch. 13, the commentary on SB XII 96–9.

Then begins the long session of question and answer that fills the remainder of the tablet in an unvarying pattern.³⁰³ Gilgameš asks whether Enkidu has seen a certain individual; Enkidu replies in the affirmative and describes how that individual fares. These are not named individuals but anonymous representatives of different categories. The section begins with men with progressively more sons, from one to seven (102–16). The lesson is clear: the more sons a man leaves behind, the more comfortable his shade will be in the afterlife. Attention is then turned to eunuchs and others who cannot leave sons, but only the beginning of this section is recovered in the Akkadian version (117–19).³⁰⁴ The logic that underlies this passage is well known. The greater the number of a man's descendants, the more likely it is that someone will honour his memory with the libations of water for which the captive shade thirsts and with other commemorative rites. People who have no offspring can have no expectation of comfort in the afterlife.

After a long gap the text continues with those who have died violent or sudden deaths and those who die naturally of old age (144–9). Only the last enjoys any comfort. The text terminates with two specific cases in which no funerary and memorial rituals are possible, either because the body has not been recovered or because there is no descendant to carry out the necessary rituals (150–3). The text ends abruptly there, much as do copies of the Sumerian text from Nippur and Mē-Turan, though they end on a slightly different note, with those who have been burned to death. A tablet from Ur, however, is witness to a recension of the Sumerian poem in which the conclusion draws a moral from the preceding story. Shocked by what Enkidu's ghost has imparted, Gilgameš institutes proper memorial rites for his parents, rites which involve the funerary statues and libations of water that we know were necessary for correct commemoration.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ See the exegesis of the Sumerian poem by J. Bauer, 'Der "schlimme Tod" in Mesopotamien', *Studies Sjöberg*, pp. 21–7. On the parallels between this exchange and the Odyssey XI, see West, *East Face of Helicon*, pp. 415–16.

³⁰⁴ On the eunuch see George, 'Sumerian tiru = "eunuch"', *NABU* 1997/97; note earlier Bauer, *Studies Sjöberg*, p. 23: 'der Zusammenhang könnte auf einen Eunuchen weisen'.

³⁰⁵ The Ur tablets are edited by A. Cavigneaux and F. Al-Rawi, 'La fin de Gilgameš, Enkidu et les enfers d'après les manuscrits d'Ur et de Meturan', *Iraq* 62 (2000), pp. 6–9. See further Ch. 1 above, pp. 52–3.

Edition of the Standard Babylonian Epic

SUMMARY LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript	Museum number	Tablet
<i>Nineveh</i>		
A ₁	K 231	VI
A ₂	K 5335	
B ₁	K 913+2756+2756E+2756F+6541+81-7-27, 93	I
B ₂	K 2756A+2756B+13874	
B ₃	K 2756C	
C	K 2252+2602+3321+4486+Sm 1881	XI
D	K 2360+3060	IX
E ₁	K 2589	VII
E ₂	K 9196	
E ₃	K 11659	
E ₄	K 20013	
F ₁	K 2756D+20778	I
F ₂	K 7017	
F ₃	K 8584	
F ₄	K 12000Q	
G ₁	K 2774	XII
G ₂	K 8225	
H	K 3252+8561	V
J ₁	K 3375	XI
J ₂	Rm 616	
K ₁	K 3382+Rm 621	X
K ₂	K 8579	
K ₃	K 8589+Sm 1681	
L ₁	K 3389	VII
L ₂	K 3588	

Manuscript	Museum number	Tablet
L ₃	79-7-8, 320	
L ₄	79-7-8, 335	
M ₁	K 3423+Sm 2097+Rm 579	III
M ₂	K 4474	
M ₃	K 8558	
M ₄	K 8573	
N	K 3475+DT 13+81-2-4, 327	XII
O ₁	K 3990+4579+DT 2+Rm 578+Rm II 197	VI
O ₂	Sm 2112+DT unnumbered	
P	K 4465+9245+22153+Sm 2133	I
Q ₁	K 4579A+8018	VI
Q ₂	K 14945 (Rm)	
Q ₃	K 15193 (Rm)+Sm 401+Sm 2194	
R	K 6899+8564+9716+Rm II 262	VIII
S	K 7224	IV
T ₁	K 7752+81-2-4, 245+296+460	XI
T ₂	Sm 2131+2196+Rm II 383+390+82-5-22, 316	
U ₁	K 8226	XII
U ₂	Rm 933	
V ₁	K 8281	VIII
V ₂	K 8565+9997	
V ₃	K 8587	
V ₄	K 19549	
W ₁	K 8517+8518+8569+8593+8595	XI
W ₂	K 8594+21502	
W ₃	K 17343	
W ₄	K ?	
X ₁	K 8574	II
X ₂	Rm 289+unnumbered	
Y ₁	K 8586	IV
Y ₂	Sm 1040	
Y ₃	79-7-8, 342	
Z ₁	K 8590	VII
Z ₂	K 19325	
Z ₃	Rm II 399	
AA	K 8591	IV
BB ₁	K 9885+80-7-19, 306	III
BB ₂	BM 98990 (Ki 1904-10-9, 19)	
CC	K 10777	IV
DD	K 13525	IV

Manuscript	Museum number	Tablet
EE	K 18183	IX
FF	Sm 1754	colophon only
GG	Sm 2132	VII
HH	Rm 964	XII
JJ	80-7-19, 305	IX
KK	BM 135909 (1973-6-18, 1)	XII
<i>Aššur</i>		
a	VAT 9667+A 122+123	VI
b	VAT 10586	XI
c ₁	VAT 11000	XI
c ₂	VAT 11087	
c ₃	VAT 11294	
d	VAT 11576	VI
<i>Sultantepe</i>		
e	S.U. 51/7	VIII
f	S.U. 51/129A	VII
<i>Nimrud</i>		
z	IM 67564 (ND 4381)	X-XI
g	IM 67577 (ND 4405/4)	I
<i>Babylonia</i>		
a	BM 30559+32418 (S† 76-11-17, 286+2152)	XII
b	BM 34160+34193+35174+35348+35413+35628 (Sp 265+299+Sp II 726+922+998+Sp III 140)	X
c	BM 34191+41835 (Sp 297+81-6-25, 454)	III
d ₁	Rm 785+956+1017+BM 34248 (Sp 355)+34357 (Sp 472)	I
d ₂	K 15145 (Rm)	
e	BM 34449 (Sp 573)	II
f	Rm 751+BM 34853 (Sp II 357)+35546 (Sp III 52)	X
g ₁	BM 34873 (Sp II 380)	VII
g ₂	BM 35245 (Sp II 812)	
g ₃	BM 46002 (81-7-6, 446)	
h	BM 34916+35419 (Sp II 431+1006)	I
i	BM 35079+35103 (Sp II 614+645)	III
j	BM 35380 (Sp II 960)	XI
k	BM 35567 (Sp III 74)	II
m ₁	BM 36909+37023 (80-6-17, 660+767)+F 235	VIII
m ₂	BM 37189 (80-6-17, 942)	

Manuscript	Museum number	Tablet
n	BM 37163 (80-6-17, 913)+F 234	I
o	BM 38538 (80-11-12, 422)	I
p	BM 38833 (80-11-12, 718)	II
q	BM 41862 (81-6-25, 482)	XII
r	BM 45883 (81-7-6, 314)	IV
s	BM 72719 (82-9-18, 12726)	II
t	BM 93052 (83-1-21, 1788)	IV
u	Rm 853	IV
v	private collection	IV
w ₁	VAT 14512	IV
w ₂	VAT 14513	
x	VAT 17234	I
y	VAT 19286 (BE 27125)	III
z	A 3444	II
aa	IM 76873 (W 23130)	III
bb	IM 76941 (W 22729/9)	II
cc	IM 76973 (W 22744/1 b)	I
dd	IM 76985 (W 22554/7)	V
ee	W '23018' (23013?)	II

TABLET I

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions*		
Lines preserved on obverse [†]		Lines preserved on reverse [†]
<i>Nineveh</i>		
B ₁	K 913+2756+2756E+2756F+6541+81-7-27, 93 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 1 e (K 2756), 1 c (K 2756E (+) 2756F): C 1891 P. Haupt in A. Jeremias, <i>Isdubar-Nimrod</i> , pls. 2-4: C (81-7-27, 93, showing join to K 2756)	36-40
B ₂	K 2756A+2756B+13874 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 1 d (K 2756A), 1 b (K 2756B): C	37-9
B ₃	K 2756C 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 1 a: C i 1-2 (B ₁), 3-18 (B ₃) ii 48-51 (B ₁), 100-101 (B ₂) iii 107-20 (B ₁), 142-148 (B ₂)	37 iv 149-63 (B ₂), 179-200 (B ₁) v 202-251 (B ₁ (+)B ₂) vi 260-300, colophon (B ₁)
F ₁	K 2756D+20778 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 2: C (K 2756D only)	41
F ₂	K 7017	41
F ₃	K 8584 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 1 f: C 1891 <i>Ibid.</i> no. 43: C	41
F ₄	K 12000Q 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pl. 8: C i 3-14 (F ₃) ii 63-74 (F ₃) iii 160-167 (F ₂)	41 iv 168-76 (F ₂), 180-205 (F ₁) v 242-5, 252-66 (F ₁) vi 299-300, colophon (F ₄)

* In this table and all those that follow, the style of previous publication is indicated by the following abbreviations: C = copy, P = photograph, T = transliteration, Tr = translation. Lower-case abbreviations (c, p, t, tr) signify partial treatments.

† Bold figures in the line extents denote lines that fall at the beginning and end of columns on the tablet in question.

MS	Museum number Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions* Lines preserved on obverse [†]	Plate Lines preserved on reverse [†]
P	K 4465+9245+22153+Sm 2133 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 3: C (K 4465+Sm 2133 only) 1997 U. and A. Westenholz, <i>Gilgamesh, Enuma elish: Guder og mennesker i oldtidens Babylon</i> , p. 8, fig. 1: P (obv. only)	42-5 iv 173-220 v 221-48, 251-65
<i>Nimrud</i>		
g	IM 67577 (ND 4405/4) 1975 D. J. Wiseman, 'A Gilgamesh epic fragment from Nimrud', <i>Iraq</i> 37, pp. 157-63, pls. 37-8: CPT Tr 1996 D. J. Wiseman, <i>CTNIV</i> no. 199 and pl. 152: CP	46 [rev. not extant]
<i>Babylon</i>		
d ₁	Rm 785+956+1017+BM 34248+34357 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 19: C (lacking BM 34357 and Rm 956) 1998 T. Kwasman, <i>NABU</i> 1998/99: T (Rm 956 only) 1998 <i>The Independent</i> (London), 16 Nov.: P (obv. only) 1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 3: C (obv. only, lacking Rm 956)	47
d ₂	K 15145 (Rm) i 1-17 (d ₁ (+), d ₂) ii 56-73 (d ₁)	47 v unplaced traces (d ₁)
h	BM 34916+35419 1965 T. G. Pinches, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 17: C (BM 34916 only) i 7-53 ii 80-111	48, 49 v 211-17, 228-9, 235-43 vi 259-300
n	BM 37163+F 234 1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 124-5: C T (BM 37163 only) 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 20: C (BM 37163 only) iii 97-101	50 iv 194-200

MS	Museum number Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions* Lines preserved on obverse [†]	Plate Lines preserved on reverse [†]
o	BM 38538 1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 125-6: C T 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 18: C i 1-2	50 vi 286-300, colophon
x	VAT 17234 1987 J. van Dijk, <i>VAS</i> XXIV no. 95: C ii 72-89 iii unplaced	51 iv 172-96 v 229-42
<i>Uruk</i>		
cc	IM 76973 (W 22744/1 b) 1993 E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> IV no. 122: C T (rev. only) ii 99-103 -	52 iv 158-63 v 208-17
Composite cuneiform texts and editions		
1876	G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 198-205: B ₃ , parts of B ₁ and B ₂ (at least K 2756, 2756A, 2756B and 13874), parts of F (K 2756D and 7017), and part of P (K 4465)	Tr
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 116-35: B ₃ , F ₃ and parts of B ₁ , B ₂ and F ₁ (all as copied by Haupt in Haupt 1884 and 1891, Jeremias 1891), and P (lacking K 22153 but including 9245 from unpublished copies of C. Bezold and C. H. W. Johns)	T Tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 11-18, pls. 1-8: B ₁ (K 913+2756+81-7-27, 93 and K 2756E+2756F+6541, unjoined), B ₂ , B ₃ , F ₁ (K 2756D only), F ₂ , F ₃ , P (lacking K 22153), d ₁ (BM 34248 only), h (BM 34916 only)	CT
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 3-8, 71-4: all MSS represented except d ₂ ; partially present: F ₁ (K 2756D only), P (lacking K 22153), d ₁ (lacking BM 34357 and Rm 956), h (BM 34916 only), n (BM 37163 only) and cc (rev. only)	CT

Text

B ₁ d ₁ o	1	[šá naq-ba i-mu-ru i]š-di ma-a-ti
B ₁ d ₁ o	2	[x x x-ti i-du] ¹ ú ka ¹ -la-mu ha-as-s[u]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁	3	[^d GIŠ-gim-maš šá n]aq ¹ ba ¹ i-mu-ru iš-di ma ¹ a ¹ -[ti]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁	4	[x x x-t]i i-du-ú ka-la-mu ha-a[s-su]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁	5	[x x]x-ma mit-ha-riš pa-x[x]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁	6	[nap-h]ar né-me-qi ša ka-la-a-mi ¹ i ¹ -[hu-uz?]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ h	7	[ni]-šir-ta i-mur-ma ka-tim-ti ip ¹ tu ¹
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ h	8	[u]b-la tē-e-ma ša la-am a-bu-b[i]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ h	9	[u]r-ha ru-uq-ta il-li-kam-ma a-ni-i ¹ u šup-šu-uh
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ h	10	[šá-k]in i-na ^{na} naré(na.rú.a) ka-lu ma-na-aḫ-ti
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ h	11	[ú]pi-šú dūra(bād) ša uruk(unug) ^{ki} su-pú ¹ ri ¹
B ₃ F ₃ d ₁ d ₂ h	12	šá é.an.na qud-du-ši šu-tum ₄ -mi el ¹ lim ¹
B ₃ F ₃ d ₂ h	13	a-mur du-ur-šú ša ki-ma qé-e ni-ip-s[u?]
B ₃ F ₃ d ₂ h	14	i-tap-la-as sa-me-ta-šu ša la ú-maš-šá-lu mam-ma
B ₃ d ₂ h	15	ša-bat-ma ^{es} simmil _{ta} (kun ₄) ša ul-tu ul-la-nu
B ₃ d ₂ h	16	qit-ru-ub ana é.an.na šu-bat ⁴ ištar(15)
B ₃ d ₂ h	17	šá šarru(lugal) ár-ku-ú la ú-maš-šá-lu amēlu(lú) mam-ma
B ₃ h	18	e-li-ma ina! muḫḫi(ugu) dūri(bād) ša uruk ^{ki} il(IM)-tal-lak
gh	19	te-me-en-nu hi-i ¹ ma libitta(sig ₄) šu-ub-bu
gh	20	šum-ma libitta(sig ₄)-šú la a-gur ¹ rat ¹
gh	21	u uš-šú-šú la id-du-ú ⁷ mun ¹ -tal-ku
gh	22	[šár] ¹ alu(uru) ¹ [šár ^{es}] ¹ kirātu(kiri ₆) ^{mes} šár es-su-ú pi-t[ir] bīt(é) ⁴ ištar(15)
gh	23	[3 šár] ú pi-ti-ir ur[u] ^{ki} tam-ši-ḫu
gh	24	[a-mur?] ^{es} šup-šen-na ša ^{es} erēni(erin)
gh	25	[pu-ut- ¹ ē]r? ḫar-gal-li-šu ša siparri(zabar)
gh	26	[pi-te-m]a? bāba(ká) ša ni-šir-ti-šú
gh	27	[i-š]i? ma tu ¹ p-pi ^{na} uqni(za.gin) ši-tas-si
gh	28	[mim-m]u-ú ⁴ GIŠ-gim-maš itallaku(DU.DU) ^{ku} ka-lu mar-ša-a-ti
gh	29	[šu-t]u-ur eli(ugu) šarrī(lugal) ^{mes} šá-nu- ² ú-du bēl(en) gat-ti
gh	30	[qa]r-du lil-lid uruk ^{ki} ri-i-mu mut-tak-pu
gh	31	[i]l-lak ina pa-ni a-šá-red
gh	32	[a]r-ka il-lak-ma tukul-ti aḫḫē(šeš) ^{mes} -šú

2 o:]¹ka-la-a?-mu? ḫas¹-[su] F₃: ḫ[as?]-s[u] 4 F₃:] i-du¹ú¹ [MIN MIN?] 6 F₃: šá ka-la-ma
d₁: šá ka-la-mu 7 B₃: ka-ti-im-t[i] F₃: ka-tim-tú 8 h: tē-e-m]u d₁: a-bu-bu 9 h: r]u-uq-
tum il-la-kam-ma F₃: -kām-ma, ú 10 F₃h: na-re-e 11 B₃: [up-p]š, su-p[u-r]i h: s]u-pu-ru
12 h: qud-du-šu šu-tum-mu 13 B₃: b]ād-šu 14 d₂h: sa-me-ta-šá 15 B₃: ul-tu u[l?]-
22 h: 1800(géš.u.géš.u.géš.u) é^d15 25 h: -š]ú 27 h: si-taš-ši 28 h: -ka]m ka-la-mar-ša-
a-tum 29 h: [šu-t]ur 30 h: lil-li-du, am 31 h: ina igi 31-2 h in one line 32 h:
ár-ku il¹lak¹

Translation

1	[He who saw the Deep, the] foundation of the country,
2	[who knew . . .] was wise in everything!
3	[Gilgameš, who] saw the Deep, the foundation of the country,
4	[who] knew [. . .] was wise in everything!
5	[. . .] . . . equally [. . .]
6	he [learn ^t] the totality of wisdom about everything.
7	He saw the secret and uncovered the hidden,
8	he brought back a message from the antediluvian age.
9	He came ¹ a distant road and was weary but granted rest,
10	[he] set down on a stele all (his) labours.
11	He built the wall of Uruk-the-Sheepfold,
12	of holy Eanna, the pure storehouse.
13	See its wall which is like a <i>strand of wool</i> ,
14	view its parapet which nobody can replicate!
15	Take the stairway ² that has been there since ancient times,
16	and draw near to Eanna, the seat of Ištar,
17	that no later king can replicate, nor any man.
18	Go up on to the wall of Uruk and walk around,
19	survey the foundation platform, inspect the brickwork!
20	(See) if its brickwork is not kiln-fired brick,
21	and if the Seven Sages did not lay its foundations!
22	[One šār ³ is] city, [one šār] date-grove, one šār is clay-pit, half a šār the temple of Ištar:
23	[three šār] and a half (is) Uruk, (its) measurement.
24	[Find] the tablet-box of cedar,
25	[release] its clasps of bronze!
26	[Open] the lid of its secret,
27	[lift] up the tablet of lapis lazuli and read out
28	all the misfortunes, all that Gilgameš went through!
29	Surpassing all (other) kings, hero endowed with a superb physique,
30	brave native of Uruk, butting wild bull!
31	Going at the fore he was the leader,
32	going also at the rear, the trust of his brothers!

¹ So MS B; MS h: 'comes'.

² Or, 'grasp the slab'.

³ As a unit of surface measure the Neo-Babylonian šār is 108 ikū, equivalent to a little over 1.5 square miles.

gh	33	<i>kib-ru dan-nu šu-lul um-ma-ni-šú</i>
gh	34	<i>a-gu-ú ez-zu mu-ab-bit dūr(bād) abni(na₄)</i>
gh	35	<i>rīmu(am) šá^d lugal-bàn-da^d GĪŠ-gim-maš git-ma-lu e-mu-qi</i>
gh	36	<i>e-niq ar-ḫi šir-ti^f ri-mat^d nin-sún</i>
gh	37	<i>ši-i-ḫu^d GĪŠ-gim-maš git-ma-lu ra-šub-bu</i>
gh	38	<i>pe-tu-ú nē-re-bé-e-ti šá ḫur-sa-a-ni</i>
gh	39	<i>ḫe-ru-ú bu-ú-ri šá kišād(ḡú) šadī(kur)ⁱ</i>
gh	40	<i>[e^l-bīr a-ab-ba ta-ma-ti rapašti(dagal)ⁱⁱ adi(en) šīt šamši(^dutu.è)</i>
gh	41	<i>ḫa-a-a-iṭ kib-ra-a-ti muš-te-²ú ba-lá-ṭi</i>
gh	42	<i>ka-šid dan-nu-us-su a-na^m UD-napišti(zi) ru-ú-qi</i>
gh	43	<i>mu-ter ma-ḫa-zi ana aš-ri-šú-nu šá ú-ḫal-li-qu a-bu-bu</i>
gh	44	<i>[mu-kin^l par-ši ana nišī(ùg)^{mss} a-pa-a-ti</i>
gh	45	<i>man-nu (šá) iṭ-ti-šu iš-šá-an-na-nu a-na šarru(lugal)-ti</i>
gh	46	<i>ú ki-i^[d] GĪŠ-gim-maš i-qab-bu-ú a-na-ku-ma šarru(lugal)</i>
gh	47	<i>^dGĪŠ-gim-maš ul-tu u₄-um i²-al-du na-bu šum-šú</i>
B ₁ gh	48	<i>šit-tin-šú ilum(dingir)-ma šul-lul-ta-šú a-me-lu-tu</i>
B ₁ gh	49	<i>ša-lam pag-ri-šú bēlet-ilī(dingir.maḫ) [u₅^l-šī[r]</i>
B ₁ gh	50	<i>[ul-te^l-eš-bi gat-ta-šú^[d] nu^l-dīm-[mud]</i>
B ₁ gh	51	<i>[x x x] x-na šá-ru-uh [x x x x]</i>
gh	52	<i>[x x x x] a-na x x-ú [x x x x]</i>
gh	53	<i>[x x] bi-rii [. . .-šú]</i>
g	54	<i>[. . .]x x[. . . .]</i>

Probably nothing is missing between the end of MS **g** and the resumption of MSS **P** // **d**₁ at the top of col. ii, for the line numbering of what follows is computed back through the consecutive text from the decimal marker in MS **F**₁ at l. 190. This means that another such marker should have appeared at MS **F**₃ ii 15 (for l. 70), and this is admissible, since the surface of the margin between cols. i and ii is abraded at this line and the preceding three. However, this proposal assumes a standard line count in all exemplars, which may not have been the case, since several MSS omit repeated lines from time

P	55	<i>[.]x[.]</i>
Pd ₁	56	<i>nikkas(níg.ka₉) šēp(ḡir)-šú mišil(maš) nindan pu-ri-su</i>
Pd ₁	57	<i>[6^l ammat(kùš) bi-rit {ras.} p[u-ri-dī-šú]</i>
Pd ₁	58	<i>[x am] mat(kùš) a-šá-rit-ti š[á . . .]-te-šú</i>
Pd ₁	59	<i>ṭār-ra le-ta-šú kīma(gim) šá [. . .]</i>

33 h: *kib-ri, um^l-ma-ni-šú* 35 g: *[ri-m]u* 36 h: *áb šir^ltum^l šá^f ri-mat^d nin-sún-an-na*
 37 g: *[ši-ḫ]u* h: *^d(GĪŠ)-gim-maš* 38 h: *nē-re-bé-e-tum, ḫur-sa-an-nu* 39 h: *bu-ú-ru*
 40 h: *ta-ma-tim dagal^{am},^dutu.è.a* 41 h: *kib-ra-a-tum, ba-lá^ltu^l* 42 g: *[ka]-šī-id dan-nu-*
[us^l-su^l h: ana UD-zī^{um} ru^l-ú^l-qa 43 h: *ma-ḫa^lzu^l, aš-ri^lšú^l-nu, ú-šal^lpil^l-tu^l* 45 h: *-šú^l iš^l-*
tan-na-an 47 h: *u₄-mu al-du* 48 h: *[šī]t^lta^l-šú dingir-um-ma* 49 g: *pag-ri-šú*
 51 B₁: *[x x] [da^l?-x- [h: [x x x]^le^l?-ni šá-ru-ú/uh^l [52 h: [x x x] x la-a-nu [53 h: bi-ri]t?*
 x x x x [56 d₁: *p[u-ri-is-su]* 56-7 P in one line

33	A mighty bank, the protection of his troops,
34	a violent flood-wave that smashes a stone wall!
35	Wild bull of Lugalbanda, Gilgames, perfect of strength,
36	suckling of the exalted cow, Wild-Cow Ninsun! ⁴
37	Gilgames so tall, perfect and terrible,
38	who opened passes in the mountains;
39	who dug wells on the hill-flanks,
40	and crossed the ocean, the wide sea, as far as the sunrise;
41	who scoured the world-regions ever searching for life,
42	and reached by his strength ⁵ Ūta-napišti the Far-Away;
43	who restored the cult-centres that the Deluge destroyed, ⁶
44	and established the proper rites for the human race!
45	Who is there that can be compared with him in kingly status,
46	and can say like Gilgames, 'It is I am the king'?
47	Gilgames was his name from the day he was born,
48	two-thirds of him god but a third of him human.
49	Bēlet-ilī drew the shape of his body,
50	Nudimmud brought his form to perfection.
51	[. . .] . . . was majestic [.]
52	[. . .] stature . . . [. . .]
53	[. . .] the distance between [. . . ,]

A short lacuna may occur at this point.

to time. It also demands a gap of 28 lines of poetry between ll. 53 and 81 on MS **h**, where it is apparent that there were only 22 or 23 lines of tablet. The 5 or 6 missing lines of poetry are unlikely all to be explained away on this manuscript in terms of omission or doubling up. Accordingly we might expect future discoveries to demonstrate a slight overlap between MSS **g** and **P**. It cannot be discounted that our l. 56 might be renumbered as low as 54, and follow directly on 53.

56	A triple cubit was his foot, half a rod his leg.
57	Six cubits was [his] stride,
58	[x] cubits the . . . of his [. . .]
59	His cheeks were bearded like those of [. . .]

⁴ So MS **g**; MS **h** (inferior): 'cow of Wild-Cow Ninsunanna'.

⁵ Or, 'through great danger'.

⁶ So MS **g**; MS **h**: 'overthrew'.

Pd ₁	60	[it-q]i per-ti-šú u ^h -tan-n[a-ba kīma ^d nissaba]
Pd ₁	61	[ina] ^r šī-a ^l - ^h ī-šú git-ma ^l hu la ^l -l[e-e-šú]
Pd ₁	62	i-na si-mat erše ^t i(ki) ^m du[m] ^r muq [?] ¹
F ₃ d ₁	63	i-na su-pu-r[u] šá uruk ^{ki} šu-ú it-t[a-na-lak [?]]
F ₃ d ₁	64	ug-da-áš-šá-ár ri-ma-niš šá-qu-ú re ^l e ^l -[šú]
F ₃ d ₁	65	ul i-šī šá-ni-nam-ma te-bu-ú ^g šakakkū(tukul) [^m es-šú]
F ₃ d ₁	66	ina pu-uk-ku te-bu-ú ru-ú ² ^r ú ^l -[šú]
F ₃ d ₁	67	[ú-ta ^l -ad ^l da ^l -ri e ^l lūtu(guruš) ^m es šá uruk ^{ki} ina ku-k[īt-ti]
F ₃ d ₁	68	ul ú-maš- ^r šar [^d Giš-gim-maš māra(dumu) ana ab[i(ad)-šú]
F ₃ d ₁	69	[ur-r]a ú [mu-š]i i-kád-dír še-r[iš]
F ₃	70	[^d Giš-gš]m-maš š[arru(lugal)? (. . .) niš [?] rapšāt [?]]
F ₃ d ₁	71	[šū-ú] rē [?] [ūm(sipa)-m]a! šá uruk ^{ki} su-p[u-r]u ^r
F ₃ x	72	[ul ú ^l -ma[š-šar ^d Giš-gim-maš māra ana] ^r ummi(ama) ^l -[šá]
d ₁ x	73	[x x x x] x x ^l tu ^l -šī-na ár-[^h ūš [?]]
F ₃ x	74	[ta ^l -z[i-im-ta-šī-na? . . .] x x ina pa-n[i-šin [?]]
Px	75	[gaš-r]u [šū-pu-ú mu-d]u-ú x [x]
Px	76	[ul] ú-maš ^l šar [^d Giš-gim-maš ^r batūlia(guruš.tur) a ^l -n[a mu-ti-šá [?]]
Px	77	[ma ^l -rat qu-r[a-di ^h ī-ra]t [^r e ^l lū(guruš)]
Px	78	[t]a-zi-im-ta-šī-na i[š-te-nem]-ma-a ^d išta[r(āt)u(15)]
Px	79	[i]hū(dingir) ^m es šá-ma-mi bēl(en) zik-r[t]
hx	80	[x (x)]x x[.]x šēš x x
Phx	81	[t]ul ₃ -tab-šī-ma-a ri-ma kád-ra [i-n]a uruk ^[ki] su-pú-rū
Phx	82	ul i-šū šá-ni-nam-ma t[e-b]u-ú ^g šakakkū(tukul) ^m es-šú ¹
Phx	83	[i]na pu-uk-ki šu-ut-bu-ú ru-ú ² -ú-šū
hx	84	uš-ta-d[ir e ^l lūti šá uruk ^{ki} in]a ku-kūt-ti
Phx	85	ul ú-maš-šar ^d Giš-gim-maš māra(dumu) ana abi(ad)-šú
Phx	86	ur-ra u m[ūša(g ₆) i-kád-dír] še-riš
Phx	87	šū-ú rē [?] ūm(sipa)-ma šá uruk ^{ki} su-pú-ru
hx	88	^d Giš-gim-[maš šarru? (. . .) niš [?] rap-š]á ^l a ^l -ti
Phx	89	šū-ú re ² -ú-šī-na-ma u x[. . .-šī]-na?
Ph	90	[g]aš-ru šū-pu-ú mu-du-ú [x x]
Ph	91	ul ú-maš-šar ^d Giš-gim-maš ^r batūlia(guruš.tur) a-na m[u [?] -ti-šá [?]]
Ph	92	[m]a-rat qu-ra-di ^h ī-rat e[t-lī]
Ph	93	ta-zi-im-ta-šī-na iš-te-nem-me ^d [a-num]
Ph	94	^d a-ru-ru is-su-ú rabūtu(gal) ^m
Ph	95	at-ti ^d a-ru-ru tab-ni-[i amēla(lú)]
Ph	96	[e ^l -nīn-na bi-ni-i zi-kir-šú

60 P: per-ti-šú 65 F₃: [i^l-šū 66 d₁: i-na pu-uk-ki-šū 72-3 F₃ in one line 73 d₁:
[ar^l-[^hī-iš[?] 79 x: en^m ^mes 79-80 P in one line 81 h: [tu^l-tab-šī-ma 82 h: i-šī
83 h: i-(na) pu-uk- 85-6 P in one line 86 h: ur-ru u m[u-šū 89 h: si[pa 90 h:
[g]a-áš-r[u 92 h: aššat(dam) [qurād[?] 94-5, 96-7 P in one line

60	the locks of his hair growing [thickly as Nissaba's.]
61	[As] he grew up he was perfect in [his] beauty,
62	by human standards ⁷ [he was] very handsome.
63	He goes [about] in the sheepfold of Uruk,
64	lording it like a wild bull, [head] held high.
65	He has not any equal, [his] weapons being ready,
66	[his] companions are kept on their feet by the ⁸ ball.
67	The young men of Uruk are <i>wrongfully</i> vexed,
68	Gilgameš lets no son go free to [his] father.
69	Day and night he behaves with fierce arrogance,
70	[King] Gilgameš, [who guides the numerous people,] ⁹
71	he who is shepherd of Uruk-the-Sheepfold!
72	[Gilgameš] lets no [daughter go free to her] mother, ⁹
73	[the women . . .] their [. . .] soon,
74	[their] complaint [. . .] . . . before [them:].
75	‘[Powerful, pre-eminent,] expert, [. . .]
76	[Gilgameš] lets [no] girl go free to [her bride-groom.]’
77	The warrior’s daughter, the [young man’s bride,]
78	the goddesses were listening to their complaint.
79	The gods of heaven, lords of <i>initiative</i> ,
80	[to Anu]:
81	‘Have you bred, indeed, a savage wild bull in Uruk-the-Sheepfold?’
82	He has not any equal, his weapons being ready,
83	his companions are kept on their feet by the ball.
84	He has wrongfully vexed [the young men of Uruk,] ¹⁰
85	Gilgameš lets no son go free to his father.
86	Day and [night he behaves] with fierce [arrogance,]
87	he who is shepherd of Uruk-the-Sheepfold!
88	[King] Gilgameš, [who guides the] numerous [people,] ¹⁰
89	he is their shepherd and <i>their</i> [. . .] . . . !
90	Powerful, pre-eminent, expert, [. . .]
91	Gilgameš lets no girl go free to [her] <i>bride</i> -[groom.]’
92	The warrior’s daughter, ¹¹ the young [man’s] bride,
93	[Anu] was listening to their complaint.
94	They summoned Aruru, the great one:
95	‘You, O Aruru, created [man:]
96	now create what he suggests! ¹²

⁷ Lit. ‘by the standard of the earth’.

⁸ So MS F; MS d: ‘his’.

⁹ So MS F; MS d omits the entire line.

¹⁰ So MSS hx; MS P omits the entire line.

¹¹ So MS P; MS h: ‘wife’.

¹² Lit. ‘his idea’. Alternatively, ‘now create one like him (i.e. Gilgameš)!’

Phn	97	<i>ana u₄-um lib-bi-šú lu-u ma-ḥ[ir?]</i>
Phn	98	<i>liš-ta-an-na-nu-ma uruk^{ki} liš-tap-š[ih]</i>
Phncc	99	^d <i>a-ru-ru an-ni-ta ina še-me-šá</i>
B ₂ Phncc	100	<i>zik-ru šá^d a-nim ib-ta-ni ina^l lib-bi-šá^l</i>
B ₂ Phncc	101	^l <i>a-ru^l-ru im-ta-si qāt[š(u)]^{min}-šá</i>
Phcc	102	<i>ti-ta ik-ta-ri-iš it-ta-di ina šēr[i(edin)]</i>
Phcc	103	<i>ina šēri(edin) ^den-ki-dù ib-ta-ni qu-ra-du</i>
Ph	104	<i>i-lit-ti qul-ti ki-šir ^dnin-urta</i>
Ph	105	<i>[š]u⁻²-ur šar-ta ka-lu zu-um-ri-šú</i>
Ph	106	<i>up-pu-uš pe-re-tu kīma(gim) sin-niš-ti</i>
B ₁ Ph	107	^l <i>i-ti-iq pe-er-ti-šu uḥ-tan-na-ba ki-ma ^dnissaba</i>
B ₁ Ph	108	<i>la i-de niš[ūg]^{mes} u ma-tam-ma</i>
B ₁ Ph	109	<i>lu-bu-uš-ti la-biš kīma(gim) ^dšakkan</i>
B ₁ Ph	110	<i>it-ti šabāim(maš.dā)^{mes} ma ik-ka-la šam-mi</i>
B ₁ Pgh	111	<i>it-ti bu-lim maš-qa-a i-tep-pir</i>
B ₁ Pg	112	<i>it-ti nam-maš-še-e mē(a)^{mes} i-tib lib-ba-šú</i>
B ₁ Pg	113	<i>ša-a-a-du ḥa-bi-lu-amēlu(lú)</i>
B ₁ Pg	114	<i>i-na pu-ut maš-qí-i šá-a-šú uš-tam-ḥi-ir-šú</i>
B ₁ Pg	115	<i>ištēn(1)^{en} u₄-ma šanā(2)^d ù šal-šá ina pu-ut maš-qí-i KIMIN</i>
B ₁ P	116	<i>[i-m]ur-šu-ma ša-a-a-du uš-ta-aḥ-ri-ru pa-nu-šú</i>
B ₁ P	117	<i>[šú]^l u bu-li-šú bi-tuš-šú i-ru-um-ma</i>
B ₁ P	118	<i>[in-na-d]ir uš-ḥa-ri-ir i-qu-ul-ma</i>
B ₁ P	119	<i>[x x x] lib-ba-šú pa-nu-šú ar-pu</i>
B ₁ Pg	120	^l <i>i^l-[ba-āš-ši n]issatu(SAG.PA.LAGAB) ina kar-ši-šu</i>
Pg	121	<i>a-na [a-lik ur-ḥi r]u-qu-ti pa-nu-šú maš-lu</i>
Pg	122	<i>ša-a-a-d[u pa-a-šú] i-pu-uš-ma i-qab-bi izakkara(mu)^l[^a a-na a-bi-šú]</i>
Pg	123	<i>a-bi [iš-tē]n et-lu šá il-l[i-ka ana pūt mašqí?]</i>
Pg	124	<i>ina m[a-ti d]a-an e-mu-q[i i-šú]</i>
P	125	<i>[ki-ma ki-iš-ri] šá^d a-nim dum-nu-n[a e-mu-qa-šú]</i>
P	126	<i>[it-ta-na-al-la]k ina muḥḥi(ugu) šadī(kur)ⁱ k[a-la u₄-mi?]</i>
P	127	<i>[ka-a-a-nam-m]a it-ti bu-lim [ik-ka-la šammū(ú)?]</i>

97 h: a-na x[n: li]b?-ba-šú 98 h: liš-tan-n[a- n: -i]an-na-nu-ma 99 n: an-ni-t[ir? cc: še-me]^le^l-[99-100 P in one line 100 h: zi-ki-ri n: zi-ri šá^d50 cc: ana 101 n: [im-tas-si]^l cc: šu^{min,mes}-[B₂: šu^(min)]^{mes}-šá 101-2 P in one line 102 h: [it]^l-[it]-ti cc: it-ta-du ina še-[103-4 P in one line 104 h: i-lit-tu₄ mu-t[um? 105 h: [š]u⁻²-ru 105-6 P in one line 106 h: [n]u-up-[pu]-us p[e?- 107 h: it-ti[q] per-t[i- B₁: [pér-ti]^l-[108 h: la^l 'i-de^l dingir^{mes} 108-9 P in one line 109 B₁: lu-bu-šī h: ù lu-b[u- 110 h: it-ti x[112 P: nam-maš-ši-e 114 [P]g: ina B₁: [šá]^l a^l-šú 115 P: u₄-me B₁: [i-na 117 B₁: bu-li-šú [bī]-tuš-šú 118 B₁: i-qul-ma 119 B₁: pa-n]u^l šú^l 123 g: 1^{en} 124 P: [i^l-[na

97	Let him be <i>equal to the storm</i> ¹³ of his heart,
98	let them rival each other and so let Uruk be rested. ¹⁴
99	When Aruru heard this,
100	she fashioned Anu's ¹⁴ idea in her heart.
101	Aruru washed her hands,
102	she took a pinch of clay, she threw it down in the wild.
103	In the wild she created Enkidu, the hero,
104	an offspring of silence, ¹⁵ knit strong by Ninurta.
105	All his body is matted with hair,
106	he is adorned with tresses like a woman:
107	the locks of his hair grow as thickly as Nissaba's,
108	he knows not at all a people ¹⁶ nor even a country.
109	He was clad in a garment like Šakkan's,
110	feeding on grass with the very gazelles.
111	<i>Fostling</i> at the water-hole with the herd,
112	he enjoyed ¹⁷ the water with the animals.
113	A hunter, a trapper-man,
114	came face to face with him by the water-hole.
115	One day, a second and a third, he came face to face with him by the water-hole.
116	The hunter saw him and his expression froze,
117	[he ¹⁸] and his herds—he went back to his lair. ¹⁹
118	[He ²⁰ was] troubled, he grew still, he grew silent,
119	his mood [<i>was unhappy</i>], his face clouded over.
120	There [was] sorrow in his heart,
121	his face was like [one who has travelled] distant [roads.] ²¹
122	The hunter opened [his mouth] to speak, saying [to his father:]
123	'My father, [there was a] certain fellow who came [<i>by the water-hole</i>].
124	Mightiest in the [land, he possesses] strength,
125	[his strength] is as mighty [as a lump of rock] from the sky. ²²
126	[He wanders] over the hills [<i>all day</i>],
127	[constantly] with the herd [<i>he feeds on grass</i>].

¹³ So MS P; MS h differently. In MS n the whole line perhaps reads 'let his heart be a [match for the storm.]'

¹⁴ So MS P; MS n: 'Enlil's'.

¹⁵ So MS P; MS h (inferior): 'death'.

¹⁶ Or, 'family'. So MSS BP; MS h: 'god' or 'gods'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'his heart grew pleased'.

¹⁸ i.e. Enkidu.

¹⁹ Lit. 'he went into his house'.

²⁰ i.e. the hunter.

²¹ Or, 'a distant [road.]'

²² Lit. 'lump of Anu', i.e. meteoric iron.

P	128	[ka-a-a-nam-ma šē]pā(gir) ^{ms} -šú ina pu-ut maš-qí- ¹ [šak-na?]	
P	129	[pal-ḫa-ku-ma u]l a-ṭe-eḫ-ḫa-a a-na š[á-a-šú]	
P	130	[um-tal-li bu] ¹ ú-ri šá ú-ḫar-ru-ú [ana-ku]	
P	131	[ut-ta-as-si-iḫ n]u-bal-li-ia šá uš-n[i-lu]	
P	132	[uš-te-li ina qātī-ia] bu-lam nam-maš-šá-a šá šē[ri(edin)]	
P	133	[ul i-nam-din-a]n-ni a-na e-peš šē[ri(edin)]	P
P	134	[a-bu-šú pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma i-qab-b]i i-zak-ka-ra a-na ša-a-a- ¹ du ¹	
P	135	[ma-ri]x uruk ^{ki} dGĪŠ-gim-maš	
P	136	[.]x e-lu šēri(edin)-šú	
P	137	[ki-ma ki-iš-ri šá ^d a-nim dun-n]u-na e-mu-qa-a-šú	
P	138	[ša-bat ur-ḫa ina libbi uruk ^{ki} šu-ku]n pa-ni-ka	
P	139	[.]x e-muq amēli(lú)	
P	140	[a-lík ma-ri it-ti-ka ḫa-rim-tú ^f šam-ḫat] ú-ru-ma	
P	141	[.] kīma(gim) dan-nu	
B ₂ P	142	[e-nu-ma bu-lu i-sa-a]n-n[i-qu a-na] maš-qí-i	
B ₂ P	143	[šī-i liš-ḫu-uṭ lu-bu-š]i-ša-ma [líp-ta-a ku-z]u-ub-šá	
B ₂ P	144	[im-ma]r ¹ šī-ma ¹ i-ṭe-eḫ-ḫ[a-a a-na]š[á-a-šī]	
B ₂ P	145	i-nak-kir-šú bu-ul-šú [šá ir-bu-ú eli š]ēri(edin)-šú	
B ₂ P	146	a-na mil-ki ša a-bi-šú [. . .]x x[(x)]	
B ₂	147	ša-a-a-du i-tal-lak [.]	
B ₂	148	iš-bat ur-ḫa ina libbi(šá) uruk ^{ki} iš-ta-[kan pa-ni-šú]	
B ₂	149	[a] ¹ na ¹ šar[ri(lugal)] ^d dGĪŠ-gim-[maš . . .]	
B ₂	150	iš-tén e[ṭ-ṭ]u šá [il-li-ka ana pūt mašqī?]	
B ₂	151	i-na māti(kur) da-an ^f e ¹ [mu-qi i-šú]	
B ₂	152	ki-ma ki-iš-ri šá ^d a-nim ^f dun-nu ¹ n[a e-mu-qa-šú]	
B ₂	153	it-ta ¹ na ¹ -al-lak ina muḫḫi(ugu) šadī(kur) k[la-la u ₄ -mi?]	
B ₂	154	ka-a ¹ a ¹ -nam-ma it-ti bu-lim [ik-ka-la šammī(ú)?]	
B ₂	155	ka-a ¹ a ¹ -nam-ma šēpā(gir) ^{min} -šú ina pu-ut maš-q[í-i šak-na?]	
B ₂	156	pal-ḫa-ku-ma ul a-ṭe-eḫ-ḫa-a [a-na šá-a-šú]	
B ₂ P	157	um-tal-li bu-ú-ri šá ú-ḫar-[ru-ú ana-ku]	
B ₂ Pcc	158	ut-[ṭ]a-as-si-iḫ nu-bal-li-ia [šá uš-ni-lu]	
B ₂ Pcc	159	^f uš ¹ -te-li ina qātī(šú) ^{min} -ia bu-li nam-maš-š[á-a šá šēri(edin)]	
B ₂ F ₂ Pcc	160	ul i-nam-din-an-ni a-na e-pe-[eš] šēri(edin)	
B ₂ F ₂ Pcc	161	^d GĪŠ-gim-maš a-na šá-šú-ma i-zak-ka-ra [a-na] ša-a-a-dī	
B ₂ F ₂ Pcc	162	a-lík ša-a-a-dī it-ti-ka ḫa-rim-tú ^f [š]am-ḫat ú-ru-ma	
B ₂ F ₂ Pcc	163	e-nu-ma bu-lam i ¹ sa ¹ -[an] ¹ ni ¹ -qu ana maš-qí-i	
F ₂ P	164	šī-i liš-ḫu-uṭ lu-bu-šī-š[á-ma líp] ¹ ta ¹ -a ku-zu-ub-šá	

160 P: i-na]m^fdin-na-an¹[ni F₂: e-pe-š]i [edin] 161 P: šá-šú-ma m[u^m 162 B₂: ša-a-a]-
^fdu¹ P: ḫ[a- 163 B₂: i-s]a^fni¹-q[u F₂: a-na maš-qé-e

128	[Constantly] his feet [are found] by the water-hole,
129	[I am afraid and so] I do not go up to him.
130	[He has filled in the] pits that I dug,
131	[he has uprooted] my snares that I laid.
132	[He has set free from my grasp] the herd, the animals of the wild,
133	[he will not let] me do the work of the wild. ²³
134	[His father opened his mouth to speak,] saying to the hunter:
135	‘[My son,] Uruk, Gilgameš.
136	[.] into his presence,
137	his strength is as mighty [as a lump of rock from the sky. ²³]
138	[Take the road, set] your face [toward Uruk,]
139	[.] the strength of a man!
140	[Go, my son,] bring [with you Šamḫat the harlot,]
141	[.] like a mighty man!
142	[When the herd comes] down [to] the water-hole,
143	[she should strip off] her [clothing to reveal] her charms.
144	[He will see] her and will go up [to] her,
145	his herd will be estranged from him, [though he grew up] in its presence. ²⁴
146	To the advice of his father [. . .] . . .
147	the hunter went off [.]
148	He took the road, he [set his face] toward Uruk,
149	[to] the king, Gilgameš, [.]
150	‘There was a certain fellow who [came by the water-hole,]
151	mightiest in the land, [he possesses strength,]
152	[his strength is] as mighty as a lump of rock from the sky. ²³
153	He wanders over the hills [all day,]
154	constantly with the herd [he feeds on grass.]
155	Constantly his feet [are found] by the water-[hole,]
156	I am afraid and so I do not go up to [him.]
157	He has filled in the pits that I dug,
158	he has uprooted my snares [that I laid.]
159	He has released from my grasp the herds, the animals [of the] wild,
160	he will not let me do the work [of the] wild. ²⁵
161	Gilgameš said to him, to the hunter:
162	‘Go, O hunter, ²⁵ take with you Šamḫat the harlot.
163	When the herd comes down to the water-hole,
164	she should strip off her clothing to reveal her charms.

²³ Lit. ‘lump of Anu’, i.e. meteoric iron.

²⁴ Or, less probably, ‘though it grew up in his presence’.

²⁵ So MS B; MS P: ‘my hunter’.

F ₂ P	165	<i>im-mar-ši-ma i-t[e-e]h-ha-a a-na šá-a-ši</i>
F ₂ P	166	<i>i-nak-kir-šú bu-ul-šú š[á i]r-bu-ú eli(ugu)šēri(edin)-šú</i>
F ₂ P	167	<i>il-lik ša-a-(a)-di it-ti-šú^fha^l-rim-ti^fšam-ḥat ú-ru-ma</i>
F ₂ P	168	<i>iš-šab^l-tu ur-ḥa uš-te-še-ru ḥarrāna(kaskal)</i>
F ₂ P	169	<i>ina šal-ši u₄-me ina egel(a.šà) a-dan-ni ik-tal-du-ni</i>
F ₂ P	170	<i>ša-a-a-du u^fha-rim-tu ana uš-bi-šú-nu it-taš-bu-ni</i>
F ₂ P	171	<i>ištēn(1)^m u₄-ma šanā(2)^a u₄-ma ina pu-ut maš-qi-i it-taš-bu</i>
Px	172	<i>ikšuda(kur)^{da} bu-lu maš-qa-a i-šat-ti</i>
F ₂ Px	173	<i>ikšuda(kur)^{da} nam-maš-(še)-e mē(a)^{mss} i-tib lib-ba-šú</i>
F ₂ Px	174	<i>ú šu-ú^[d]en-ki-dù i-lit-ta-šú šá-du-um-ma</i>
Px	175	<i>it-ti šabātim(ma[š.d]à)^{mss} ma ik-ka-la šammī(ú)</i>
F ₂ Px	176	<i>it-ti bu-lim maš-qa-a i-[te]p-pir</i>
Px	177	<i>it-ti nam-maš-šē^l-e mē(a)^{mss} i-tib lib-ba-šú</i>
Px	178	<i>i-mur-šum[a]^fšam-ḥat lul-la-a amēla(lú)</i>
B ₁ Px	179	<i>eḫ(guruš) šag-ga-šá^l-a šá qá-bal-ti šēri(edin)</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	180	<i>an-nu-ú šu-ú^fšam-ḥat ru-um-mi-i ki-rim-mi-ki</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	181	<i>ur-ki pi-te-ma ku-zu-ub-ki lil-qé</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	182	<i>e taš-ḥu-ti li-qé-e na-pis-su</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	183	<i>im-mar-ki-ma i-te-eh-ḥa-a ana ka-a-ši</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	184	<i>lu-bu-ši-ki mu-uš-ši-ma eli(ugu)-ki li-iš-lal</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	185	<i>ep-ši-šum ma lul-la-a ši-pir sin-niš-ti</i>
B ₁ F ₁ P	186	<i>da-du-šú i-ḥab-bu-bu eli(ugu) šēri(edin)-ki</i> <i>da-du-ka^lliḫ^l-bu-bu^l[i]i šēri(edin)-šú</i>
x		
B ₁ F ₁ Px	187	<i>i-nak-kir-šú bul-šú šá ir-bu-ú ina šēri(edin)-šú</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	188	<i>ur-tam-mi^fšam-ḥat di-da-šá</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	189	<i>úr-šá ip-te-e-ma ku-zu-ub-šá il-qé</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	190	<i>ul iš-ḥu-ut il-te-qé na-pis-su</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	191	<i>lu-bu-ši-šá ú-ma-ši-ma eli(ugu)-šá iš-lal</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	192	<i>i-pu-us-su-ma lul-la-a ši-pir sin-niš-te</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Px	193	<i>da-du-šú iḫ-bu-bu eli(ugu) šēri(edin)-šá</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Pnx	194	<i>6 ur-ri ú 7 mušāti(gi₆)^{mss d}en-ki-dù te-bi-ma^fšam-ḥat ir-ḫi</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Pnx	195	<i>ul-tu iš-bu-ú la-la-šá</i>

165 F₂: -[h]e, šá-a-šá 167 F₂:]-tum šam-ḥat 168 F₂: ḥar-ra-nu 171 F₂: it-taš-bu-ni
 172 x: bu^llum^l 172-3 F₂ in one line 173 F₂: [i^l-ti-bu lib-ba-šú x: i-ti[i-pi?] 175 x: ik-
 ka-lu 175-6 F₂ in one line 176 x: i-te-e[p-pir] P: i-šat-ti 177 x: i-ti-pi 178 x: [a^l-
 [me-lu] 179 x:]-a-šú šá qa-bal-ti 181 F₁: u[r-k]a 182 x: na-p[i-is-su] 183 B₁x:
 a-na 184 x: e-[i- 185 Px: ep-ši-šum-ma 186-7 B₁F₁P in reverse order 186, 188 B₁
 in one line 187 F₁: i-nak-kir-šú P: bu-ul-šú x: bu-[ú-l]u 188-9 F₁P in one line
 188 F₁: [ur]tam²-mi¹ [x: ur-tam^lmu^l, [d]i-da-a-šú^l P om. ^f 189 x: ur-šú, ku-zu-ub-šú
 190 B₁: il-ti-qé x: na-pi-is-su 191 F₁: [lu-bu-š]i x[x: [ú^l-ma-aš-ši-ma Px: ugu-šú 192 Px:
 sin-niš^lti^l 193 F₁: [da-du-šú 194 B₁ om. ú x: u 7 mu-šá-[a-ti], te-bé-e-ma P: šam-ḥat-ta i-
 re-[ḫi] n: [šam-ḥat i^l-[re]-ḥi]-[ḫi] 195 B₁: iš-bu-u n: la-la-a-[šá] 195-6 B₁ in one line

165	He will see her and will go up to her,
166	his herd will be estranged from him, though he grew up in its presence. ²⁶
167	Off went the hunter, he took with him Šamḥat the harlot,
168	they set out on the road, they started the journey.
169	On the third day they arrived at the destination; ²⁷
170	the hunter and the harlot sat down <i>to wait</i> .
171	One day, a second day, they sat by the water-hole,
172	(then) the herd arrived to drink at the water-hole.
173	The animals arrived, they enjoyed ²⁸ the water,
174	and also Enkidu himself, whose birthplace was the hills.
175	Feeding on grass with the very gazelles,
176	<i>jostling at</i> ²⁹ the water-hole with the herd,
177	he enjoyed ³⁰ the water with the animals.
178	(Then) Šamḥat saw him, the man-savage,
179	a murderous fellow from the midst of the wild.
180	'This is he, Šamḥat! Uncradle your bosom;
181	bare your sex so he may take in your charms!
182	Do not show fear, take in his scent!
183	He will see you and he will come up to you.
184	Spread your clothing so he may lie on you,
185	treat the man to the work of a woman! ³¹
186	His 'love' will caress and embrace you, ³²
187	his herd ³³ will be estranged from him, though he grew up in its presence. ²⁶
188	Šamḥat let loose her skirts,
189	she bared her sex and he took in her charms.
190	She showed no fear, she took in his scent:
191	she spread her clothing and he lay upon her.
192	She treated the man to the work of a woman, ³⁴
193	his 'love' caressed and embraced her. ³⁵
194	For six days and seven nights Enkidu, erect, did couple ³⁶ with Šamḥat.
195	After he was sated with her delights,

²⁶ Or, less probably, 'though it grew up in his presence'.

²⁷ Lit. 'the territory of the appointed place'.

²⁸ Lit. 'their heart grew pleased'.

²⁹ So MSS Fx; MS P: 'drinking at'.

³⁰ Lit. 'his heart grew pleased'.

³¹ Possibly also, 'treat him to the sensuous work of a woman!'

³² So MSS BFP, where this line is exchanged with 187; MS x: 'let your "love" caress and embrace him!'

³³ So MSS BP; MS x: 'the herd'.

³⁴ Possibly also, 'she treated him to the sensuous work of a woman'.

³⁵ MS x possibly: '[her] "love" caressed and embraced [him.]'

³⁶ So MS B; MSS Pn: 'was coupling'.

B ₁ F ₁ Pnx	196	<i>pa-ni-šu iš-ta-kan a-na šēr(edin) bu-li-šu</i>	
B ₁ F ₁ Pn	197	<i>i-mu-ra-šu-ma^d en-ki-dù i-rap-pu-da šabātu(maš.dà)^{mes}</i>	
B ₁ F ₁ Pn	198	<i>bu-ul šēri(edin) it-te-si ina zumri(su)-šu</i>	
B ₁ F ₁ Pn	199	<i>ul-taḥ-ḥi^d en-ki-dù ul-lu-la pa-gar-šu</i>	
B ₁ F ₁ Pn	200	<i>it-ta-ziz-za bir-ka-a-šu šá il-la-ka bu-ul-šu</i>	B
F ₁ P	201	<i>um-ta-aṭ-ṭu^d en-k[i-dù u]l ki-i šá pa-ni la-sa-an-šu</i>	
B ₂ F ₁ P	202	<i>ù šu-ú i-ši [é-ma? r]a-pa-áš ḥa-si-sa</i>	
B ₂ F ₁ P	203	<i>i-tu^m ram-mu [t]a^l ta^l šab ina šá-pal^f ḥa-rim-ti</i>	
B ₂ F ₁ P	204	<i>^fḥa-rim-tum i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la pa-ni-ša</i>	
B ₂ F ₁ P	205	<i>ù^f šá^f ḥ[a-rim]-ti i-qab-bu-ú i-šem-ma-a uznā(geštu)^{min}-šu</i>	
B ₂ P	206	<i>[^fḥa-rim-tu a-n]a šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu)^m a-na^d en-ki-dù</i>	
B ₂ P	207	<i>[dam]-^fqa-ta^d en^l-ki-dù ki-i ili(dingir) ta-ba-áš-ši</i>	
B ₂ Pcc	208	<i>[a]m-me-ni it-ti nam-maš-še-e ta-rap-pu-ud šēra(edin)</i>	
B ₂ Pcc	209	<i>al-ka lu-[t]ar-ru-ka ana lib-bi uruk^{ki} su-pū-ri</i>	
B ₂ Pcc	210	<i>a-na bīti(é) [el^l-lim mu^f šab^d a-nim u^d iš-tar</i>	
cc	210a	<i>[. . .]-ma ana libbi(šá) uruk^{ki} su-pur</i>	
cc	210b	<i>[ana é.an.n]a qud-du-šu mu-ša-bu šá^d ištar(15)</i>	
B ₁ B ₂ Phcc	211	<i>a-šar^f[GI]š-gim-maš git-ma-lu e-mu-qi</i>	
B ₁ B ₂ Phcc	212	<i>ù ki-i^f rīmi(am) ug-da-áš-šá-ru eli(ugu) eplūti(guruš)^{mes}</i>	
B ₁ B ₂ Phcc	213	<i>i-ta-m[a]-áš-šum-ma ma-gir qa-ba-šá</i>	
B ₁ B ₂ Phcc	214	<i>mu-đu^f ú^l lib-ba-šu i-še²-a ib-ra</i>	
B ₁ Phcc	215	<i>^den-ki-dù a-na šá-ši-ma izakkara(mu)^m ana^f ḥa-rim-[t]i</i>	
B ₁ Phcc	216	<i>al-ki^f šam-ḥat qí-ri-i[n-n]i ia-a-ši</i>	
B ₁ Phcc	217	<i>a-na bīti(é) el-lim qud-du-ši mu-šab^d a-nim^d iš-tar^l</i>	
B ₁ P	218	<i>a-šar^d GIš-gim-maš git-ma-lu e-mu-qi</i>	
B ₁ P	219	<i>ù ki-i rīmi(am) ug-da-áš-šá-ru eli(ugu) eplūti(guruš)^m [š]</i>	
B ₁ P	220	<i>a-na-ku lu-ug-ri-šum-ma da-an x x x</i>	
B ₁ P	221	<i>[lul-tar?]-ri-iḥ ina libbi(šá) uruk^{ki} a-na-ku-mi dan-mu</i>	
B ₁ P	222	<i>[x x]-um-ma ši-ma!?-tú ú-nak-ka</i>	
B ₁ P	223	<i>[šá i-n]a [šēri(edin)]^l i²-al-đu [da-a]n i-mu-qi i-šu</i>	
B ₁ P	224	<i>[nišū(ùg)^{mes}] [li-mu^l-ra pa-ni-ka</i>	
B ₁ P	225	<i>x[x] x[. . .] i-ba-áš-šu-ú ana-ku lu i-de</i>	

196 F₁: *pa-ni-šu* B₁: *ina edin* P: *bu-li-š[u] n: bu-li-š[ú]* 197 n: *i-rap-pu-du* 198 F₁: *it-ti-si*
 B: *zu-šu n: zu-mur-i-š[ú]* 199 B₁: *[ul-taḥ-ḥi^l-id n: -ḥ]a, ul-lu-lu P: pa-gar-šu* 200 F₁: *bir-*
[ka-a]-š[u] n: bir-ki-a-šú, il-l[ak?]- B₁: il-li-ka bu-(ul)-[šú] 203 B₂ om. ^f 204 B₂: *pa-ni-šu*
 205 B₂: *i-qa]b-bu-u* 207 P: *k[i-m]a dingir x x^f ba^l-š[í]* 208 B₂: *ta-rap-pu-da* 209 cc:
-r]i-ka ana šá, su-pur 210 cc: *m]u-ša-bu šá^d a-nu-um* only 211 cc: *e-mu-qam*
 212 h: *gim [cc: ug]da-áš-šá-ri* 213 h: *taq?-q[a?]- B₂: qa]ba^l-a-a cc: qa-ba-a-[* 214 cc:
lib-ba-šu-ma 215 cc: *mu^l[ar]* P om. second *ana* 216 P: *š[a]m-ḥat-ta [qí^l-re-en-[n]i*
 225 B₁: *lu]-u*

196	he turned his face toward his herd.
197	The gazelles saw Enkidu and they started running,
198	the animals of the wild moved away from his person.
199	Enkidu had defiled ³⁷ his body so pure,
200	his legs stood still, though his herd was on the move. ³⁸
201	Enkidu was diminished, his running was not as before,
202	but he had <i>reason</i> , he [was] wide of understanding.
203	He came back and sat down at the feet of the harlot,
204	watching the harlot, (observing) her features. ³⁹
205	Then his ears heard what the [harlot] was speaking,
206	[as the harlot] said to him, to Enkidu:
207	'You are handsome, Enkidu, you are just like a god,
208	why do you roam the wild with the animals?
209	Come, I will lead you to Uruk-the-Sheepfold,
210	to the sacred temple, the dwelling of Anu and Ištar! ⁴⁰
211	where Gilgameš is perfect in strength,
212	and lords it over the menfolk like a wild bull.'
213	She talked to him and what she said found favour,
214	his heart (now) wise was seeking a friend.
215	Enkidu said to her, to the harlot:
216	'Come, Šamḥat, take me along ⁴¹
217	to the sacred temple, the holy dwelling of Anu and Ištar,
218	where Gilgameš is perfect in strength,
219	and lords it over the menfolk like a wild bull!
220	I, myself, will challenge him, mighty . . . ,
221	[<i>I will vaunt myself</i> in Uruk, (saying) "I am the mightiest!"
222	[. . .] . . . I shall change the order of things, ⁴²
223	[the one] born in the wild is mighty, he has strength.'
224	'Let [<i>the people</i>] see your face,
225	[. that] exists I know indeed. ⁴³

³⁷ So MSS F_n; MS B (inferior): 'was seized with fear' or 'made himself jump'.

³⁸ So MSS P_n; MS B: 'had gone'.

³⁹ So MS P; MS B, possibly: 'the harlot observing his features'.

⁴⁰ So MSS BP; MS cc omits 'and Ištar' and has instead an extra couplet (ll. 210a-b):

[. . .] into Uruk the sheepfold,
[to] holy [E-anna,] the dwelling of Ištar.

⁴¹ Lit. 'invite me'.

⁴² Lit. 'destiny'.

⁴³ Or, 'I wish I knew'.

B ₁ P	226	<i>a-[lik]^[d]en-^lki-dù a^l-[na uru]k^{ki} su-pù-ri</i>
B ₁ P	227	<i>a-š[ar eš]lūtu(guruš)^{mes} uz-[z]u-^{lu}nebehī? (ib.lá)^{mes}</i>
B ₁ Ph	228	<i>u₄-m[i-šam-m]a UD x[(x) x š]á-kin i-sin-nu</i>
B ₁ Phx	229	<i>a-ša[r ur-t]a-aš-š[a-n]u a-lu-ú</i>
B ₁ Px	230	<i>ù^[d][har-ma]-a-ti [š]u-su-ma bi-nu-tú</i>
B ₁ Px	231	<i>kuszba(hi.li) [zu]-^un[a ma-l]a-a ri-šá-tu[m]</i>
B ₁ Px	232	<i>i-na ma-^la^l-[a-a]l m[u-šì ú-š]e-šu-ú ra-bu-tum</i>
B ₁ Px	233	<i>^den-ki-d[ù šá la]^[i]ú-ú ba-la-ta</i>
B ₁ Px	234	<i>lu-kal-lim-k[a^d]GIŠ-gim-maš ha-di-²-a amēla(lú)</i>
B ₁ Phx	235	<i>a-mur šá-a-šú^[i]ú^l-tul pa-ni-šú</i>
B ₁ Phx	236	<i>eš-lu-ta ba-ni bal-ta i-šì</i>
B ₁ Phx	237	<i>zu-²u-na k[u-u]z-ba ka-lu zu-um-ri-šú</i>
B ₁ Phx	238	<i>dan-na e-mu-qa e-li-ka i-šì</i>
B ₁ Phx	239	<i>la ša-li-lu šá ur-ra ù mūšì(gi₆)</i>
B ₁ Phx	240	<i>^den-ki-dù nu-uk-ki-ra še-ret-ka</i>
B ₁ Phx	241	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš^dšamaš(utu) i-ram-šu-ma</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Phx	242	<i>^da-nu-um^den-lil u^dé-a ú-rap-pi-šu ú-zu-un-šú</i>
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	243	<i>la-am tal-li-ka ul-tu šá-di-im-ma</i>
B ₁ F ₁ P	244	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš ina libbi(šà) uruk^{ki} i-na-aš-ša-lu šu-na-te-ka</i>
B ₁ F ₁ P	245	<i>it-bé-ma^dGIŠ-gim-maš šu-na-ta ipaššar(búr)^{ar} izakkara(mu)^{ra} a-na ummi(ama)-šú</i>
B ₁ P	246	<i>um-mi šumat(máš.gi₆) aš-tu-la mu-šì-ti-ia</i>
B ₁ P	247	<i>ib-šu-nim-ma kakkabū(mul)^{mes} šamē(an)^e</i>
B ₁ P	248	<i>kīma(gim) ki-iš-ru ša^da^lnim^l im-ta-naq-qu-tú e-lu šēri(edin)-ia</i>
B ₁	249	<i>áš-šì-šu-ma^[d]al-an e-li-ia</i>
B ₁	250	<i>ul-tab-lak-ki-is-su^lma^l ul e-le-²-i-a nu-us^lsu^l</i>
B ₁ P	251	<i>uruk^{ki} ma-a-tum iz-za-az eli(ugu)-[šu]</i>
F ₁ P	252	<i>[ma-a-tu pu-uh-^{lu}raš] in[a muh]^lhī^l-šu</i>
P	253	<i>[i-tep-pi-ir um-m]a-nu e[li(ugu) š]ēri(edin)-[šú]</i>
F ₁ P	254	<i>[ešlūtu(guruš)^{mes} uk]-tam-ma-ru eli(ugu)-šú</i>
F ₁ P	255	<i>[ki-i šēr-ri la]^lú-ú-na-šá-qu šēpī(gir)^{mes}-šú</i>
F ₁ P	256	<i>[a-ram-šú-ma kīm]a(gim) áš-šá-te eli(ugu)-šú aš-bu-ub</i>
P	257	<i>[áš-šá-áš-šu-ma a]t-ta-di-šú ina šap-li-[ki]</i>
F ₁ P	258	<i>[u at-ti tul₅-i]a-mah-ri-šu it-ti-ia</i>
Ph	259	<i>[um-mi^dGIŠ-gim-ma]š en^l-geš mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-de izakkar(mu)^{ar} ana [mār]i(dumu)-šú</i>

231 P: ri-š[á-a-i]i x: ri-š-a-ti 232 x: na]-bu-ú 233 P: ba-l[á-ti]a x: ba]-lá-ti 234 P: ha-d[i-²ú-a x: a-me-lu 235-6 B₁ in one line 236 h: guru[š 237 h: su-^lu-na P: su-šú 238 P: u]gu-ka B₁: i-[š]u 239 P: u x: mūša u u]r-ra 240 B₁: še-ret-su 241 Px: i-ram-šú-ma 242 P: -p]i-šú 243 P: šá-di-ma 244 P: i-na-^lta^l-lu šu-na-tu-ka 245 P: šu-na-tú, mu^{ar} 246 P: aš-tu-lu^l 247 P om. ^{mes} 248 P:]^lma? im?-taq?-qu^l-t[a ug]u 253-4, 257-8 F₁ in one line 259 h: mu-da-a-tú P: en-[š]á

226	Go, Enkidu, to Uruk-the-Sheepfold,
227	where the young men are girt with waistbands.
228	Every day [. . .] a festival is held,
229	where the drums are repeatedly beaten,
230	and the harlots are comely of figure,
231	graced with charm, full of joy.
232	The nobles are driven from their beds at night!
233	O Enkidu, [who do not (yet)] know life—
234	I will show you Gilgameš, the man so merry,
235	look at him, regard his face!
236	He is fair in manhood, he has dignified bearing,
237	his whole person is graced with charm.
238	He has a strength more mighty than you,
239	he is unsleeping by day and by night. ⁴⁴
240	O Enkidu, get rid of your ⁴⁵ sinful intention,
241	as for Gilgameš Šamaš loves him.
242	Anu, Enlil and Ea broadened his wisdom:
243	even before you came from the uplands,
244	Gilgameš in Uruk was having dreams about you:—
245	Gilgameš arose to reveal a dream, saying to his mother:
246	“O mother, the dream that I saw ⁴⁶ in the course of this night—
247	the stars of the heavens appeared before me,
248	like lumps of rock from the sky ⁴⁷ they kept falling ⁴⁸ towards me.
249	I picked one up but it was too much for me,
250	I kept trying to roll it but I could not dislodge it.
251	The land of Uruk was standing around [it,]
252	[the land was gathered] about it.
253	A crowd [was jostling] before [it,]
254	[the menfolk were] thronging around it.
255	They were kissing its feet [like a little] baby’s;
256	[I loved it] like a wife and I caressed and embraced it.
257	[I picked it up and] set it down at [your] feet,
258	[and you, you] made it my equal.”
259	[The mother of Gilgameš] was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son;

⁴⁴ So MSS BP; MS x: '[by night and by] day'.

⁴⁵ So MSS Px; MS B (inferior): 'his'.

⁴⁶ Or, reading *šumata aššula*, 'I saw a dream'.

⁴⁷ Lit. 'a lump of Anu', i.e. a meteorite.

⁴⁸ So MS B; MS P, probably: 'one fell'.

B ₁ F ₁ Ph	260	[^r ri-mat- ^d n]in-sún en- <i>qet mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-de izakkar(mu)</i> ^{dr} ana ^d GIŠ-gim-maš
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	261	[ib-š]u-nik-ka kakkabū(mul) ^{mes} šamē(an) ^e
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	262	[kīma ki]-šir šá ^d a-nim im-ta-qu-ut eli(ugu) šēri(edin)-ka
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	263	taš-ši-šu-ma ^r da ^l -an eli(ugu)-ka
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	264	tul-tab-lak-ki-tu-su-ma ul te-le ² -i-a nu-us-su
B ₁ F ₁ Ph	265	taš-šá-áš-šum-ma ^r ta ^l -ad-di-šú ina šap-li-ia
B ₁ F ₁ h	266	u a-na-ku ul-[ta]m- ^h i-raš-šú it-ti ^l ka ^l
B ₁ h	267	ta-ram-šu-ma ^r kīma(gim) ^l aššati(dam) ^r ta ^l - ^h ab-bu-bu eli(ugu)-šú
B ₁ h	268	il-la ^l ka ^l -kūm ^l ma dan ^l -nu tap-pu-ú mu-še-zib ib-ri
B ₁ h	269	ina māti(kur) da-an e-mu-qi i-[šú]
B ₁ h	270	^r ki-ma ki ^l -šir šá ^d a-nim du-un-nu-nu e-mu-qa-a-šú
B ₁ h	271	^r ta-ram-šu ^l -ma kīma(gim) aššati(dam) ta- ^h ab-bu-bu eli(ugu)-šú
B ₁ h	272	^r šú?-ú? dan ^l -nu [uš-te-n]é-zeb-ka ka-[a] ^l šá ^l
B ₁	273	[dam-qat? šu-qu-r]at? šu-na-at-ka
h	273a	šá-ni-tum i-ta-mar šu-na-at-tú
h	274	[i]t-bé-e-ma i-te-ru-ub ana ma ^h ar(igi) ^d ištari(15) ummi(ama)-šú
B ₁ h	275	^d GIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-ši-ma izakkar(mu) ^{dri} ana ummi(ama)-šú
B ₁ h	276	[i]p-pu-un-na-a ummā(ama) ^a ^r a ^l -ta-mar šá-ni-ta šu-ut-ta
B ₁ h	277	[ina sūqi(sila)] šá uruk ^{ki} ri-bi-tum :
B ₁ h	278	^h a-ši-in-nu na-di-ma eli(ugu)-šú pa ^h -ru
B ₁ h	279	[uruk ^{ki}] ma-a-tú izzaz(gub) ^{az} eli(ugu)-šú
B ₁ h	280	[ma-a-tú pu ^h] ^h u-rat ina mu ^h - ^h i-šú
B ₁ h	281	i-te-ep ^l pir ^l [um-ma]-nu eli(ugu) šēri(edin)-šú
h	282	[e ^l lūtū ^{mes} u]k ^l ^r ta ^l -mar eli(ugu)-šú :
B ₁ h	283	áš-šá-áš-šum ^l -ma at-ta-di-šú ina šap-li-ki
B ₁ h	284	[a-ram-š]u-ma ki-i áš-šá-te eli(ugu)-šú a ^h -bu-ub
B ₁ h	285	[u at-ti i]ul ^l -ta-ma ^h - ^h a-ri-šú it-ti-ia
B ₁ ho	286	^r ummi(ama) ^d GIŠ-gim-maš ^l en- <i>qet mu-da-at ka-lá-ma i-de izakkara(mu)</i> ^{ra} ana māri(dumu)-šá
B ₁ ho	287	^r [ri-mat- ^d nin-sún en- <i>qet mu-da-at ka-lá-ma i-de izakkara(mu)</i> ^{ra} ana ^d GIŠ-gim-maš

260 h: mu-da-a-[tú B₁; k]a-la 261 Ph om.^{mes} 262 h: [ki]-[ma ki]-šir, im-ta^lqu^l-t[ú, P: ^da-nim {šá} šub^{mes} B₁; e-hu 263 h: ^rda^l-nu ^re^l-[B₁; e-l[i-ka] 264 F₁: te-le²-i-a h: ta-le-e-AN-[265 B₁: ta-ad-d]i-šú P: šap-li-ri]a? 266 B₁: ul-ta-ma^hh-^har-šú h: ki!(DI)-[ka] 267 B₁: ^re^l-li-šú ta^h-[bu-ub] 268 B₁: tap-pu-u 269 h: e-mu-qi-šú 270 B₁: d]un-nu-na e-mu-q[a-šú] 271 B₁: e-li-šú ta^h-b[hu-ub] 272 h: ú-še-zeb ka-a-šú 272-3 h in one line 275 B₁: a-na 276 h: šá^lni-tum^l máš.g[i_a] 277 B₁: ri-bi-ti]i 277-8 B₁h in one line 278 B₁: ^rha^l-ši-nu h: pa^h-ri 279 B₁: ma-t]um h: iz-za-zu 280 h: ina^rug^l-šú 280-1 h in one line 281 h: ^rpir^l [(ummanu) ug]u 282-3 h in one line 283 h: at-ta-d]i-iš / [ina šap-l]i-ku 284 h: ki dam 285 h:]x tul-tam-^hi-ri-šú [it-ti]-iá 286 B₁: em-*qet* h: ^rka-la-a^l, mu^{dr}, dumu-šú 287 h: mu-da-a-tú ka-la-a, mu^{dr} o: k]a^lla-ma^l

260	[Wild-Cow] Ninsun was clever, she was wise, ⁴⁹ she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš:
261	“The stars of heaven [appeared] before you,
262	[like a] lump of rock from the sky ⁵⁰ one fell toward you.
263	You picked it up but it was too much for you,
264	you kept trying to roll it but you could not dislodge it.
265	You picked it up and set it down at my feet,
266	and I, I made ⁵¹ it your equal,
267	you loved it like a wife, caressing and embracing it. ⁵²
268	A mighty companion will come to you, the saviour of (his) friend:
269	he is the mightiest in the land, he has strength, ⁵³
270	his strength is as mighty as a lump of rock from the sky. ⁵⁰
271	You will love him like a wife, caressing and embracing him, ⁵⁴
272	he, being mighty, [will] often save ⁵⁵ you.
273	[Favourable and precious] was your dream!”
273a	He saw a second dream, ⁵⁶
274	he arose and entered before the goddess, his mother. ⁵⁷
275	Gilgameš said to her, to his mother,
276	“And again, O mother, I have seen a second dream.
277	[In a street] of Uruk-Main-Street,
278	an axe was lying and people were gathered around it.
279	The land [of Uruk] was standing around it,
280	[the land was] gathered about it.
281	[A crowd] was jostling before it,
282	[the menfolk were] thronging around it. ⁵⁷
283	I picked it up and set it down at your feet,
284	[I loved] it like a wife and I caressed and embraced it,
285	[and you,] you made ⁵⁸ it my equal.”
286	The mother of Gilgameš was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son;
287	Wild-Cow Ninsun was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš:

⁴⁹ So MSS Ph; MS F renders ll. 259–60 in one line.

⁵⁰ Lit. ‘lump of Anu’, i.e. a meteorite.

⁵¹ So MS h; MS B: ‘[I shall] make’.

⁵² Or: ‘You will love it like a wife, caressing and embracing it’.

⁵³ So MS B; MS h (inferior): ‘He is the mightiest in the land in strength’.

⁵⁴ So MS h; MS B: ‘[You loved him like a wife and] caressed and embraced him’.

⁵⁵ So MS B; MS h: ‘will save’.

⁵⁶ The two lines given as ll. 273–3a are variants, from MS B and MS h respectively.

⁵⁷ So MS h; MS B omits the entire line.

⁵⁸ So MS h; the composite text opposite follows MS B: ‘you will make’.

B ₁ ho	288	[mār]ī(dumu)! ḥa-ṣi-in-nu šá ta-mu-ru amēlu(lú)	
B ₁ ho	289	ta-ram-šu-ma kīma(gīm) aššati(dam) ta-ḥab-bu-ub eli(ugu)-šu	
B ₁ ho	290	u a-na-ku ul-ta-maḥ-ḥar-šu ūti(ki)-ka	
B ₁ ho	291	il-la-ka-ak-kūm-ma dan-nu tap-pu-u mu-še-zib ib-ri	
B ₁ ho	292	ina māti(kur) da-an e-mu-qi i-šu	
B ₁ ho	293	ki-ma ki-ṣir šá a-nīm dun-nu-na e-mu-qa-šu	
B ₁ ho	294	[^d GIŠ-gīm-maš ana šá-ši-ma izakkar(mu) ^{ár} a-na ummi(ama)-šu	
B ₁ ho	295	[u]m-ma ina pí(ka) ^d en-lil ma-lik lim-qut-am-ma	
B ₁ ho	296	[ib ^l -ri ma-li-ku a-na-ku lu-ur-ši	
B ₁ ho	297	[lu-u]r-ši-ma ib-ri ma-li-ku a-na-ku	
B ₁ ho	298	[i-i]a-mar šunāti([m]áš.gi ₆) ^{mcs} -šu	
B ₁ F ₄ ho	299	[ul-tu? ^š]am-ḥat šu-na-ti ^d GIŠ-gīm-maš i-ta-ma-a ana ^d en-ki-dū	
B ₁ F ₄ ho	300	[ur-ta-]a-mu ki-lal-la-an	BF ₄ o
B ₁ F ₄	II 1	[^d en-ki-dū] a-š[ib] ma-ḥar-šá	

288 ho: -ru ib-ri 289 B₁: k|i-i áš-šá-te h: taḥ-bu-bu ugu-šu o: ta-ḥab-bu-bu 290 h: ul-tam-
 ḥi-ra-šu ū-ti-ka 291 h:]-kak-kūm-ma ho: tap-pu-ú 292 o: e-mu-qa h: e-mu-qi-šú!¹
 292-3 h in one line 293 h: dun-nu-nu / e-mu-qa-a-šu 294 o: -maš (ana) šá- h: šá-šú^l-ma,
 ana ama-šu 295 h: p|i-i B₁: ma-]i-ki rabi(gal)ⁱ li-in-qu-tam-ma 295-6 h in one line
 296 h: ma-lik / ana^l-[ku 297 h: [lu-ur]-ši, ma-lik^l ana-ku.^l B₁: ma-]i-ka 298 o: [i-tam-r]a
 šu-na-a-ti-[h: šu-na-t[i- 298-9 h in one line 299 F₄:] x [h: [šú^l-na-at 300 h: [ur-ta-
]-a-a[m

288	“My son, the axe you saw is a man, ⁵⁹
289	you will love him like a wife, and will caress and embrace him,
290	and I, I shall make him your equal. ⁶⁰
291	A mighty companion will come to you, the saviour of (his) friend:
292	he is the mightiest in the land, he has strength, ⁶¹
293	his strength is as mighty as a lump of rock from the sky.” ⁶²
294	Gilgameš said to her, to his mother,
295	“O mother, by Counsellor ⁶³ Enlil’s command may it befall me!
296	I will acquire a friend, a counsellor,
297	a friend, a counsellor, I will acquire!”
298	[(Thus) he has] seen his dreams.’
299	[After] Šamḥat told Enkidu the dreams of Gilgameš,
300	the two of [them were making] love together.
II 1	[Enkidu] was sitting before her.

⁵⁹ So MS B; MSS ho: ‘friend’.

⁶⁰ So MSS Bo; MS h has ll. 289–90 differently:

[You] loved him like a wife and caressed and embraced him,
 [and I,] I made him your equal.

⁶¹ So MSS Bo; MS h (inferior): ‘He is the mightiest in the land in strength’.

⁶² Lit. ‘lump of Anu’, i.e. meteoric iron.

⁶³ So MSS ho; MS B: ‘great counsellor’.

TABLET II

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
X ₁	K 8574 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 25: C (obv. only) 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 136–7: T Tr (obv. only) 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 17, pls. 9–10: C (obv. and rev.) T (obv. only)	55
X ₂	Rm 289+unnumbered 1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 211 (col. ii) and 213 (col. v): Tr (unnumbered fragment only) 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 9: C (unnumbered fragment only) 1891 <i>Ibid.</i> no. 45: C 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 152–7: T Tr 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 17–18, pls. 9–10: C T i 42–53 (X ₂) ii 59–66 (X ₁), 99–115 (X ₂) iii 162–169 (X ₂)	54, 55
	iv 170–88 (X ₂) v 218–37 (X ₂), 288–291 (X ₁) margin 292 (X ₂) vi not extant	
<i>Babylon</i>		
e	BM 34449 [obv. not extant]	53
	v 233–42 vi 290–5?	
k	BM 35567 i 56–62 ii 102–111	53
	v 221–8 vi (unplaced)	
p	BM 38833 [obv. not extant]	53
	iv 182–201	
<i>Babylonia</i>		
s	BM 72719 [obv. not extant]	55
	vi 289–300	

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Uruk</i>		
z	A 3444 1952 A. Heidel, 'A Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh fragment', <i>JNES</i> 11, pp. 140–3: P T Tr 1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 13: C (obv. only) i 37–46 ii ii 1'–4'	56
	v 227–33 vi 286–302	
bb	IM 76941 1972 E. von Weiher, 'Ein Fragment des Gilgamesh-Epos aus Uruk', <i>ZA</i> 62, pp. 222–9: T Tr 1983 E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk II</i> no. 30: C i 26–46	Copy: Pl. 57; photograph Fig. 10
	vi 247–78	
ee	W '23018' (28013?) ¹ 1993 E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk IV</i> no. 123: C T [obv. not extant?]	Copy: Pl. 58; photograph: Fig. 11
	v 212–43 vi 269–302	

Composite cuneiform text and edition

1997 S. Parpola, *SAA Gilg.*, pp. 9–14, 75–8: X₁, X₂, z, bb and ee CT

¹ In the Iraq Museum the number W 23018 identifies a fragment of birth omens that bears 9 lines of text and 1 line of colophon (l. 8: DiŠ qaqar(ki) ^{me} _{el-ru} alid(ù.tu) māri(dumu) ^{me} irāšīi(tuk) ¹[?]). The true number of the Gilgamesh tablet catalogued and published as W 23018 is very probably W 23013, as originally given on the label in the photograph (private communication, E. von Weiher). However, the tablet bearing the number W 23013 was unavailable for study when requested in 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2001, and consequently it has not yet been possible to verify its identity at first hand. Accordingly, MS ee has not been collated and some readings taken from it are provisional.

k	56	[.]-ni
k	57	[.]-tú?
k	58	[.]-tu
X ₁ k	59	[mu-du-ú?] ¹ lib ¹ -ba-šú-ma x[.]-tu
X ₁ k	60	[ut-tap-p]i-iš bar-ba-ri-ma l[ab?-bi? uk-taš-ši]-du
X ₁ k	61	[ni-l]u-nim-ma ¹⁴ nāqidū(na.gada) ^{mes} [rabú]tu(gal)? ^{mes}
X ₁ k	62	[^d en]-ki-dù nāqid(na.gada)-sa-nu-ma ¹ e ² 1-[ru? a-me-l]um?
X ₁	63	[1 ^m e ¹]lu(guruš) a-na bīt(é) e! ² (TA)-me x[. . .]
X ₁	64	[ina lib-b]i uruk ^{ki} su-pu-ri a-na x x[. . .]
X ₁	65	[x x-b]u [.]
X ₁	66	[. . .] traces [.]

There follows a gap of perhaps 30 lines or more, into which must be placed MS z col. ii:

z	ii 1'	šarru(lugal) ¹ [.]
z	ii 2'	mutu?(dam) [.]
z	ii 3'	ú ¹ [.]
z	ii 4'	x[.]

Henceforward the line numbering relies on an estimate of 58 lines for col. i of MS X (although the figure is likely to be lower in later columns), and the presence of decimal markers in the margins of the same source.

X ₂	99	[.]x x[.]
X ₂	100	[it-ta-ziz-m]a ina sūqi(sila) ¹ ša ¹ uruk ^{ki} [i su-pu-ri]
X ₂	101	[x]x ¹ a ² 1 i-bé-eš dan-nu-ti-ma [. . .]
X ₂ k	102	ip-ta-ra-as a-lak-ta [ša ^a GİŠ-gim-maš]
X ₂ k	103	uruk ^{ki} ma-a-tu iz-za-az [eli-šú]
X ₂ k	104	ma-a-tu pu-uh-ḫu-rat [ina muḫ-ḫi-šú]
X ₂ k	105	i-tep-pi-ir um-man-ni eli(ugu) [šeri(edin)-šú]
X ₂ k	106	eḫlūtu(guruš) ^{mes} uk-tam-ma-ru [eli-šú]
X ₂ k	107	ki-i šer-ri la- ² i ú-n[a-áš-šá-qu šēpī(gir) ^{min} -šú]
X ₂ k	108	ul-la-nu-um-ma eḫ-lu ba-ni(-)[. . .]x [(x)]
X ₂ k	109	a-na ^a iš-ḫa-ra ma-a-a-al [x x] ti [x]
X ₂ k	110	a-na ^a GİŠ-gim-maš ki-ma ili(dingir) šá-ki-i[š-š]ú pu-ḫ[u?]
X ₂ k	111	^a en-ki-dù ina bāb(ká) bīt(é) e-mu-ti ip ¹ te ¹ -rik šēpī(gir) ^m [in-šú]
X ₂	112	^a GİŠ-gim-maš a-na šu-ru-bi ¹ ul ¹ i-nam-di[n]
X ₂	113	iš-šab-tu-ma ina bāb(ká) bīt(é) ¹ e ¹ -mu-ti
X ₂	114	ina sūqi(sila) ú-te-eg-ru ¹ ú ¹ ri-bit ma-a ¹ tu ¹
X ₂	115	[si]p ¹ pu ir?-ú? ¹ -bū i-ga ¹ ra i ¹ -nu!(UD)-uš

There follows a gap of a little less than one column.

104 k:	ma-a-tú	105 k:	i-tep-pir um-ma-(nu)	106 k:	uk-tam-ma-ri	107 k:	ki-ma
108 k:	-ma {IB?} eḫ-	109 k:	ana, ma-a-a-l[i?]	110 k:	ana, dingir ^{mes} šá-k[in-	111 k:	e-
	mu-tu ip?-[

59	His heart [now wise]
60	[he would] massacre wolves and [chase] away [lions.]
61	[As] the senior herdsman lay sleeping,
62	Enkidu was their herdsman, a [wakeful man.]
63	[A certain] fellow [was invited] to a wedding, ⁵
64	[into] Uruk the sheepfold for . . . [. . .]

Lacuna

ii 1'	King [.]
ii 2'	husband [.]
ii 3'	And [.]

Lacuna

100	[He stood] in the street of Uruk [the sheepfold.]
101	[. . .] parted, strength [. . .]
102	he blocked the path [of Gilgameš.]
103	The land of Uruk was standing [around him,]
104	the land was gathered [about him.]
105	A crowd was jostling before [him,]
106	the menfolk were thronging [around him.]
107	They were [kissing his feet] like a little baby's;
108	already the man . . . [. . .] . . .
109	For Išhara a bed of [. . .] . . .
110	for Gilgameš, like a god, a substitute was in place.
111	Enkidu with [his] feet blocked the doorway of the wedding house,
112	not allowing Gilgameš to enter.
113	They took hold of each other in the doorway of the wedding house,
114	they joined combat in the street, the Main-Street-of-the-Land.
115	The door jambs quaked, the wall shook.

Lacuna, then Gilgameš introduces Enkidu to his mother:

⁵ Lit. 'to the house of the father-in-law'.

- X₂ 162 [ina māti(kur) d]a-an^re^l-[mu-qi i-šu]
 X₂ 163 [ki-ma ki]-šir šá^da^l-[nim dun-nu-na e-mu-qa-šú]
 X₂ 164 [la-a-n]a[?] ši-i-ḫu n[a[?]-bur-riš šar-ḫu[?]]
 X₂ 165 ^rum^l-mu^dGIŠ-gim-maš p[á(ka)-šá ṭpuš-ma iqabbi]
 X₂ 166 izakkarra(mu)^ma^r-[na māri-šá]
 X₂ 167 ^ri-mat-^dnin-[sún pā-šá ṭpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana^dGIŠ-gim-maš]

 X₂ 168 ma-^rri^l [x]x x[.]
 X₂ 169 ^ršar-piš^l tu-x[.]
 X₂ 170-1 x[. :]

 X₂ 172 ^ršab-ta-ta^l x[.]
 X₂ 173 ^rx^l-te-lal?(AD/sup. ras.) ina bābi(ká)-^ršu[?]^l [.]
 X₂ 174 šar-piš ú-nam!(ZI)-ba x[.]
 X₂ 175 ul i-ši^den-ki-dù [.]
 X₂ 176 uš-šur-tum pe-re-tu ša-[.]
 X₂ 177 ina šēri(edin) a-lid-ma mam-ma [ul . . .]
 X₂ 178 iz-za-az^den-ki-dù iš-m[e qa-ba-šá]
 X₂ 179 uš-ta-dan-ma it-ta-[šab i-bak-ki[?]]
 X₂ 180 e-na-šu i-mi-la-a [di-ma-a-ti]
 X₂ 181 a-ḫa-šu ir-ma-a e-mu-qi [. . .]
 X₂P 182 ^riš-šab^l tu-ma mit-ḫa-riš [.]
 X₂P 183 [x x-r]u-ma qātāti(šu)^{mēš}-šú-nu kīma(gim) [.]
 X₂P 184 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ú-ṭu-rum la [.]
 X₂P 185 [a-n]a[?] ^den-k[i-d]ù a-mat i-zak-ka[r]
 p 186 [am-m]e-ni ib-ri im-l[a-a i-na-ka di-ma-a-ti]
 X₂P 187 [a-ḫ]a-a-ka ir-ma-a [e-mu-qi . . .]
 X₂P 188 ^de[n-ki-dù ana šá-šu-ma i-zak-k[a-ra ana^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 p 189 [i]b-ri lib-bi uš-šar-ri-pu m[u[?]-]
 p 190 [i]-na di-^rim[?]-ma[?]^l-tim-ma i-ru-[ub-bu[?] . . .]
 p 191 [(i)-r]u-ub a-di-ru a-na lib-bi-ia :
 p 192 a-[.]
 p 193 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš pa-a-šá ṭpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄, ga) i[zakkara(mu)^m ana^den-ki-dù]
 p 194 [i]u-šá-ma-a ib-ri a-na da[?]-x[.]
 p 195 x-šú-ú it-ku-pu [.]
 p 196 ú na-ši-ma ú-ma-ši x[.]
 p 197 ^ri[?]-ta[?]^l-al-šu u₄-mi x[.]
 p 198 x du i-du-uk^rku[?]^l áš-šá-x[.]
 p 199 ^ri[?]-na-an-na-ma ib-ri a-[.]

183 p:] -ma[?] qa-ti-šú-nu [185-6 X₂ in one line 191-2 p in one line

- 162 'He is the mightiest [in the land, strength he possesses,]
 163 [his strength is as mighty as a] lump of rock from the sky,
 164 tall in [stature, majestic as a battlement.]'
 165 The mother of Gilgameš [opened her] mouth [to speak,]
 166 saying to [her son,]
 167 Wild-Cow Ninsun [opened her mouth to speak,]
 [saying to Gilgameš:]
 168 'My son, . . . [.]
 169 bitterly you [.]
 Two lines lost
 172 You hold [.]
 173 . . . in his gate [.]
 174 Bitterly *he wails* [.]
 175 Enkidu does not have [.]
 176 Loose-hanging hair . . . [. . .]
 177 he was born in the wild and nobody [. . .]'
 178 Enkidu being present, he heard [what she said,]
 179 thinking it over, he sat [down *weeping*.]
 180 His eyes filled with [tears,]
 181 his arms fell limp, strength [. . .]
 182 They took hold of each other and together [.]
 183 they [. . .] their hands and like [.]
 184 Gilgameš . . . [.]
 185 [to] Enkidu he said a word, [saying:]
 186 'Why, my friend, [did your eyes] fill [with tears,]
 187 your arms fall limp, [strength . . . ?]'
 188 Enkidu said to him, [to Gilgameš:]
 189 'My friend, my heart was made to ache . . . [. . .]
 190 Through sobbing *do quake* [my . . .]
 191 terror has entered my heart.
 192 . . . [.]'
 193 Gilgameš opened his⁶ mouth to speak, saying [to Enkidu:]

 194 'As if, my friend, to . . . [. . .]
 195 . . . is imminent [.]
 196 *But as for us*, wrestling [.]
 197 . . . him, the days [.]
 198 . . . beside you . . . [.]
 199 So now, my friend, [.]

⁶ Tablet: 'her'!

- p 200 [x]x-ni ina māti(kur) ni-x[.]
 p 201 [x x]x^dḥum-ba-b[a]
 p 202 [. . .]x x[.]

The remainder of col. iv is missing.

When the text resumes in col. v Gilgameš is still speaking:

- ee 212 x[.]
 ee 213 lu-x[.]
 ee 214 liš-bi-ra? [.]
 ee 215 a-šam-ša-a-t[u]
 ee 216 ^den-ki-dù pa^f-a^l-[šú i puš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana ^dGiš-gim-maš]
 ee 217 ki-i ni-i[l-lak ib-ri a-na ^{erēni}qišti ^{erēni}]
 X₂ 218a āš-šu šul-lu-mu ^{erēni}(eren)
 X₂ 219a ana pul-ḥa-a-ū ša nišī(ùg) ^{mes}[i^l-šim-šu ^den-lil
 ee 218b ḥarrānu(kaskal)^{min} ši-i [ul ša a-la-ki :]
 [ee] 219b [a-me-lu šu-ū ul ša a-ma-ri]
 ee 220 na-šir ^{erēni}[qišti(tir) ^{erēni}(eren) . . .-šu rit-pa-šá]
 X₂kee 221 ^dḥum-ba-ba riḡ-ma-šu a-bu-bu
 X₂k 222 pi-i-šú ^dgirru(gira)^l-um-ma na-pis-su mu-tū
 X₂kee 223 i-šem-me-e-ma a-na 60+šu bēr(danna) rim-mat ^{erēni}qišti(tir)
 X₂kee 224 man-nu ša ur-ra-du ana ^{erēni}qišti(tir)-šú
 kee 225 ^dadad(iškur) ištēn(1)^{em} u šu-ū ša-nu-ú
 kee 226 man-nu ša i-ger-ru-šú ina ^di-gi-[gī]
 X₂kzee 227 āš-šu šul-lu-mu erēni(eren)
 X₂k 228 ana pul-ḥa-a-ti ša nišī(ùg) ^{mes}i-šim-šú ^den-lil
 X₂zee 229 u a-ri^d ^{erēni}qišti(tir)-šú i-šab-bat-su^l lu^l-u²-tu X₂
- zee 230a ^dGiš-gim-maš pa-a-šú i puš(dù)-ma i-qab-bi izakkar(mu)^d[^r ana ^den-ki-dù]
 X₂ 230b ^dGiš-gim-maš a-na ša^f šu-ma^l [izakkar ana ^de]n-ki-dù
 z 231 al-[ka]
 X₂zee 232 am-me-ni ib-ri pi-is-nu-[qiš ta]-qab-bi
 X₂zee 233 ù pi-i-ka ir-ma-am-ma [u-lam-man l]ib-bi
 eee 234 a-me-lu-ti ma-nu^f u^l [u₄-mu-šá]
 X₂eee 235 mim-mu-ú e-te-ep-pu-šú š[ārū(im) ^{mes}?]-ma
 X₂eee 236 x^f-a-tū^l ul i-ba-āš-šá-a x[. . .]x
 X₂eee 237 [ta-²-al^l-dam-ma tar-ba-a^f i^l]-[na šēr]i(edin)

218–19 ee in one line 221 k: ri-g[im?]-šú 221–2 X₂ in one line 222 k: ka-šú ^dgira-um-
 ma, mu-ú-[tū] 223 X₂: i-šem-mi^l ma? ana? 1? šú?-šú?^l 223–4 X₂ in one line 224 kee:
 man-nu-um-ma k: ša ur-rad 226 ee: i-ge-e[r- 227 kee: ^{erēni}eren 227–8 X₂zee in one line
 229 zee: ù 230 z in two lines 232 X₂: a-na^f mi-i-ni^l i[b- z: a-na [234–5 X₂ in one line
 237 end X₂:]x

- 200 [. . .] in the land we [.]
 201 [. . .] Ḥumbaba [.]

Lacuna

- 213 ‘Let [.]
 214 May they smash [.]
 215 the whirlwinds [.]’
 216 Enkidu [opened his] mouth [to speak, saying to Gilgameš:]
 217 ‘How can we [go, my friend, to the Forest of Cedar?]
 218a In order to keep the cedars safe,
 219a Enlil made it his destiny to be the terror of the people:⁷
 218b That journey [is not one for the making,]
 219b [that man is not one for the seeing.]
 220 He who guards [the Forest of Cedar, his . . . are wide,]
 221 Ḥumbaba, his voice is the Deluge,
 222 his speech is fire, his breath is death.
 223 He hears the forest’s murmur for sixty leagues;
 224 who is there that would venture into his forest?
 225 Adad is the first, but he is the second!
 226 Who is there among the Igigi that would oppose him?
 227 In order to keep the cedars safe,
 228 Enlil made it his destiny to be the terror of the people.
 229 And he who ventures into his forest, feebleness will seize him!⁸
-
- 230a Gilgameš opened his mouth to speak,
 saying [to Enkidu:]
 231 ‘Come, [.]’⁸
 232 Why, my friend, [do you] speak like a weakling?
 233 With your feeble talk⁹ you [vex] my heart!
 234 As for man, [his days] are numbered,
 235 all that ever he did is but [wind.]
 236 . . . do not exist [.]
 237 You were born and grew up in the [wild.]

⁷ No single manuscript has every line of the passage ll. 218–234, though MSS k (ll. 221–8) and e (ll. 233 ff.) could have done when more complete. The couplet ll. 218–19 and the line introducing Gilgameš’s speech (l. 230) exist in two alternative versions (a and b); otherwise MS X omits 220, 225–6, 231 and 234; MS z omits l. 234; and MS ee omits 231.

⁸ Instead of this couplet MS X has simply (230b): ‘Gilgameš [said] to him, [to] Enkidu.’

⁹ Lit. ‘And your mouth went limp’.

- eee 238 *iš-ḥu-tu?-ka¹-a-ma la-ab-bi k[a-la-ma ti-i-de?]*
 eee 239 *ù eṭ-lu-tu ḫ₄-bu-tu₄ [ma-ḫar-ka]*
 eee 240 *mu-du-ú lib-ba-ka tu-qu-u[n-tú a-mir?]*
 eee 241 *[al¹-ka ib-ri ana kiš¹-kát¹-[te-e . . .]*
 eee 242 *[ana kiš¹-kát-te-e [.]*
 ee 243 *[. . .] x[.]*

The rest of col. v of MS ee is missing. The text resumes at the top of col. vi of MS bb:

- bb 247 *[áš-bu]-ú-ma uš-ta-nam-da-nu a-na [.]*
 bb 248 *ḫa-aš-ši-nu ni-ip-ti-qu [.]*
 bb 249 *pa-a-šú 7 bilā(gun.àm) x[.]*
 bb 250 *nam-ša-ri-šú-nu 7 bilā(gun.àm):*
 bb 251 *i^{be-p}[i^{es-sú}]*
 bb 252 *me-sir-ra-šú-nu 1 bilā(gun.àm):*
 bb 253 *me-sir-ra šá [.]*
 bb 254 *ḫe-pi^{es-sú} qu ni^{be-pi^{es-sú}} [.]*

- bb 260 *ši-ma-²-in-nu eḫlūtu(guruš)^{mes} 5 mu^{mes} gu₄.[ud^{mes}]*
 bb 261 *eḫlūtu(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} mu-du-ú¹[. . .-tum]*
 bb 262 *ag-da-pu-uš al-lak ur-ḫu r[u-qa-tú a-šar^dḫum-ba-ba]*
- bb 263 *qabla(murub₄) šá la i-du-ú a-maḫ-ḫar :*
 bb 264 *ḫar-r[a-na šá la i-du-ú a-rak-kab]*
 bb 265 *kur-ba-a-a-in-ni-ma lul-lik ana-ku :*
 bb 266 *pa-ni-k[u-nu lu-mur ina šul-mi]*
 bb 267 *lu-ru-ba-am-ma abul(ká.gal) uruk^{ki} i[na ḫu-ud lib-bi]*
 bb 268 *lu-us-saḫ-ra-am-ma á-ki-it ina šat[ti(mu.an.na) 2]-šú¹ lu-pu-uš]*
 bbee 269 *á-ki-it liš-šá-kin-ma ni-g[u-tu li-i] b-ši*
 bbee 270 *a-lu-ú liš-taš-ša-nu ina [ma-ḫar^rri-mat^dnin-s]ún*
 bbee 271 *a-lu-ú liš-taš-ša-nu ina [ma-ḫar^rri-mat^dnin-s]ún*
 bbee 272 *^den-ki-dù ana ši-bu-ú-tú mil-[ka i-mal-l]ik?*
 bbee 273 *ana eḫlūti(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} mu-du-[. . .]-tum*
 bbee 274 *qí-ba-niš-šim-ma la il-lak ana^{es} qišti¹(tir)^{erēni}(eren)*
 bb 275 *ḫarrānu(kaskal)^{min} ši-i ul šá a-la-ku :*
 bbee 276 *a-me-lu šu-[ú ul šá] a-ma-ri*
 bbee 277 *na-šir šá^{es} qišti¹(tir)^{erēni}(eren)¹ x x[(x x)]-šú¹ rít¹-pa-šá*

238 ee: *iš-ḥu-tu?-ka-ma¹* 239 e: *guruš^{mes} ḫ₄-mu-ut-[tu?* 250–1, 252–3, 263–4, 265–6 bb
 in one line 275–6 bbee in one line

- 238 Lion took fright of you, [*you experienced all*,]
 239 grown men, too, fled¹⁰ [from your presence.]
 240 Your heart, well tried, [*is tested in*] combat;
 241 come, my friend, [*I will go*] to the forge!¹
 242 [To the] forge [*they went*,]

Lacuna of several lines

The text resumes with a description of the smiths:

- 247 They [were sitting] down exchanging views, to [.]
 248 'Let us cast axes [.]
 249 hatchets of seven talents each, [.]
 250 Their swords of seven talents each,
 251 . . . [.] *Scribal annotation*: [new] break
 252 Their belts of one talent apiece,
 253 the belt of [.]'
 254 [. . .] . . . [.] *Scribal annotation*: new break, new break
Scribal annotation: five lines skipped

The lacuna ends as Gilgameš begins speaking:

- 260 'Listen to me, O young men (of Uruk the sheepfold!)
 261 O young men of Uruk, expert [at . . . :]
 262 I have grown so bold as to travel
 the [distant] path [to where Humbaba is.]
 263 I shall face a battle that I do not know,
 264 [I shall ride] a road [that I do not know.]
 265 Give me your blessing, so that I may go,
 266 [so that I may see your] faces [(again) in safety,]
 267 and come in through Uruk's gate [glad at heart!]
 268 I will return and [perform] the *akītu* festival [twice] in the year,
 269 the *akītu* I will perform [twice] in the year.
 270 Let the *akītu* take place and the merriment begin,
 271 let the drums be beaten in [the presence of Wild-Cow] Ninsun!¹¹
 272 Enkidu [gave] advice to the elders,
 273 to the young men of Uruk, expert [at . . . :]
 274 'Tell him¹¹ that he must not go to the Forest of Cedar,
 275 that journey is not one for making.
 276 That man [is not one for] the seeing,
 277 he who guards the Forest of Cedar, his [. . .] are wide.

¹⁰ So MS ee; MS e: 'hastened'.

¹¹ Tablet: 'her'!

bb	278	x x x x [. :]
ee	279	[<i>pi-i-šu</i> ^d <i>girru-um-ma</i>] <i>na-pi-is-su mu-ú-tu</i>
ee	280	[<i>i-šem-me-e-ma a-na</i> 60+ <i>šu bē</i> r] [<i>rim</i> ^l - <i>mat</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)- <i>šu</i>]
ee	281	[<i>man-nu šá ur-ra-du</i>] <i>a-na</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)- <i>šu</i>
ee	282	[^d <i>adad ištēn</i> ^{en} <i>ú šu-ú</i>] <i>šá-nu-ú</i>
ee	283	[<i>man-nu šá i-ge-er-ru-šu</i>] <i>i-na</i> ^d <i>i-gi-gi</i>
[ee]	284	[<i>áš-šu šul-lu-mu</i> ^{vis} <i>erēni</i> :]
ee	285	[<i>a-na pul-ḥa</i>]- <i>a-ta šá niš</i> t(ùg) ^{mes} <i>i-šim-šu</i> ^d <i>en-lil</i>
zee	286	[<i>ú</i>] ^a [<i>rid</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)- <i>šu</i> <i>i-šab-bat-su lu-u</i> ² - <i>tu</i>]
zee	287	[<i>i</i>] <i>t-bu-ú-ma ma</i> ^l [<i>i</i>]- <i>ke-e rab-bu-tu</i>
X ₁ zee	288	[<i>i</i>] <i>è-e-mu ú-tar-ri a-na</i> ^d <i>GIŠ-gim-maš</i>
X ₁ sze	289	[<i>š</i>] <i>e-eh-re-e-ti</i> ^d <i>GIŠ-gim-maš libba</i> (<i>šà</i>)- <i>ka na-ši-ka</i>
eszee	290	[<i>ú</i>] ^l <i>mim-ma šá ta-ta-mu-ú ul ti-i-de</i>
X ₁ eszee	291	^d <i>ḥum-ba-ba rig-ma-šu a-bu-bu</i>
X ₂ eszee	292	<i>pi-i-šu</i> ^d <i>girru</i> (<i>gira</i>)- <i>um-ma na-pi-is-su mu-ú-tu</i>
eszee	293	<i>i-šem-me-e-ma a-na</i> 60+ <i>šu bē</i> r(<i>danna</i>) <i>ri-ma-at</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)
e ee	294	<i>a-ri-du</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)- <i>šu</i> ^l [<i>šab-bat-su lu-u</i> ² - <i>i</i>] <i>u</i>
eszee	295	<i>man-nu šá ur-ra-du a-na</i> ^{vis} <i>qišti</i> (<i>tir</i>)- <i>šu</i>
sze	296	<i>man-nu šá i-ge</i> -[<i>er</i>]- <i>ru-šu ina</i> ^d <i>i-gi-gi</i>
sze	297	^d <i>adad</i> (<i>iškur</i>) [<i>ištēn</i> (1) ^{en}] <i>ú šu-ú šanú</i> (<i>min</i>) ^d
X ₁ sze	298	<i>áš-šu šul-lu-mu</i> ^{vis} <i>erēni</i> (<i>eren</i>) :
X ₁ sz	299	[<i>ana pul-ḥa-a</i>]- <i>ti šá niš</i> t(ùg) ^{mes} <i>i-šim-šu</i> ^d <i>en-lil</i>
sze	300	<i>iš-me-e-ma</i> [^d <i>GIŠ-gi</i>] <i>m</i> ^l [<i>maš</i> ^l]- <i>a-mat ma-lik</i> ^{mes} <i>rabūti</i> (<i>gal</i>) ^{mes}
zee	301	[<i>i</i>] <i>p-pa-lis-m</i> [<i>a x x</i>] x x x ^m [^d <i>e</i>] <i>n-ki-d</i> [<i>ú</i>]
zee	302	x x x [.] x [(x)]

287 z: *ma-lik*^m[^{es} 287-8 X₁ in one line? 288 X₁: [*te*]-^d*ma*?] ee: [*te*]-^d*e-me ú-tar-ru*^l
 289 z: [*še*]-*eh-re-ta*^m *GIŠ-gim-maš lib-ba-ka na-š[i-ka: ama-ka] / ú-lid-ka* X₁: [*ib-ba-ka s: lib*?-*ba*?]-
 290 z: *u, ta-ta-ú* ee: {x} *ul s: ta-q*] *ab-bu-ú* 291 z: ^m*ḥum-ba*-*ba ri-gi-ma-šu* X₂: *rig-ma-šu*
 292 z: *pi-i-šu* sz: *na-pis-su z: mu-ú-tú e: mu*] *ti* 293 ee: *i-šem*-(*me*)-*ma* zee: ^{vis}*tir-šu*
 294 e:]x x x 295 z: [*man-nu*]-*um-ma e:]x x x* 296 z: *i-ge*] *r-ru-šu* 296-7 sz transpose
 297 ee: AN-*en* 298-9 zee in one line, X₂ places after 289 299 z: [^a]-*na pul-ḥat* 300 s:
ma-l] *i-ku*

278	<i>Ḥumbaba</i> , [his voice is the Deluge,]
279	[his speech is fire,] his breath is death.
280	[He hears] the forest's murmur [for sixty leagues;]
281	[who is there that would venture] into his forest?
282	[Adad is the first, but he is] the second!
283	[Who is there] among the Igigi [that would oppose him?]
284	[In order to keep the cedars safe,]
285	Enlil made it his destiny [to be the] terror of the people.
286	[And] he who ventures into his forest, feebleness will seize him! ¹²
287	The senior advisers arose,
288	(one) expressed in return (their) opinion to Gilgamesh:
289	'You are young, Gilgamesh, carried away by enthusiasm, ¹²
290	and the thing that you talk of ¹³ you do not understand. ¹⁴
291	Ḥumbaba, his voice is the Deluge,
292	his speech is fire, his breath is death.
293	He hears the ¹⁵ forest's murmur for sixty leagues;
294	he who ventures into his forest, [feebleness will seize him!]
295	Who is there that would venture into his forest?
296	Who is there among the Igigi that would oppose him?
297	Adad is the first, but he is the second! ¹⁶
298	In order to keep the cedars safe,
299	Enlil made it his destiny to be the terror of the people. ¹⁷
300	Gilgamesh heard the words of the senior advisers,
301	he looked and Enkidu.

Remainder lost (cf. Assyrian MS y₂ obv. 18'-24')

¹² Lit. 'your heart is carrying you'. MS z adds the variant phrase: '[(as if) your mother just] bore you'.

¹³ So MSS zee; MS s: 'speak of'.

¹⁴ MS X omits the entire line.

¹⁵ So MS e; MS zee: 'his'

¹⁶ MSS sz transpose ll. 296-7.

¹⁷ In MS X ll. 298-9 occur earlier, after l. 289.

TABLET III

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Nineveh</i>			
M ₁	K 3423+Sm 2097+Rm 579		61, 62
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 210, 211–12: Tr (Sm 2097, col. ii with M ₃ ; K 3423)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 8 (Sm 2097), 10 (K 3423): C		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 31–2, pl. 13: C T (Sm 2097 col. iii, K 3423+Rm 579 cols. iii–iv)		
	1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 212: P (rev. only)		
M ₂	K 4474		61
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 24: C		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 30–1, pls. 11–12: C T		
M ₃	K 8558		61
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 209–10: Tr (col. ii with Sm 2097 of M ₁)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 7: C		
M ₄	K 8573		62
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , p. 213 (summary)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 29: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 190–1: T Tr (with c)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 31, pl. 12: c (variants only)		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 29: C		
	i 2–22 (M ₃), 31–36 (M ₂)	iv 117–132 (M ₁)	
	ii 37–54 (M ₁), 42–58 (M ₃), 62–69 (M ₂)	v 149'–164' (M ₁)	
	iii 70–87, unplaced traces (M ₁)	vi 166–73 (M ₄)	
BB ₁	K 9885+80-7-19, 306		63–5
	1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 44: C (80–7-19, 306 only)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 32, pls. 12–13: C (cols. iii–v) T (cols. iv–v)		
BB ₂	BM 98990 (Ki 1904-10-9, 19)		63–5
	1914 L. W. King, <i>Cat. Suppl.</i> , pp. 11–12 and pl. 3, top left: C P		
	1914 L. W. King, 'A new fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic', <i>PSBA</i> 36, pp. 64–8: T Tr		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 32, pl. 13: C T (col. vi)		
	i 1–28 (BB ₂)	iv 146–58 (BB ₁)	
	ii 45–58 (BB ₁)	v 202–205 (BB ₁)	
	iii 87–93 (BB ₁)	vi 223–33 (BB ₂)	

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Babylon</i>			
c	BM 34191+41835		59
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 36: C (BM 34191 only)		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 190–1: T Tr (BM 34191 only, with M ₄)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 31, pl. 12: C T (BM 34191 only)		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 28: C (BM 34191 only)		
	1968 B. Landsberger, <i>RA</i> 62, p. 103, fn. 24: T (BM 34191 only, with M ₄)		
	i 16–44	v 166–73	
	–	vi 207–24	
i	BM 35079+35103		68
	ii 60–74	[rev. not extant]	
	iii 96–108		
y	VAT 19286 (BE 27125)		68
	1987 J. van Dijk, <i>VAS</i> XXIV no. 96: C		
	84–93 (excerpt on reverse of multi-column exercise tablet)		
<i>Uruk</i>			
aa	IM 76873 (W 23130)		66, 67
	1993 E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> IV no. 124: C (obv. only)		
	1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 213: C (rev. only)		
	ii 43–69, 79–80	iv 120–44	
	iii 81–116	–	
Composite cuneiform texts and editions			
1891	P. Haupt in A. Jeremias, <i>Izdubar-Nimrod</i> , pl. 1: col. ii using the known parts of M ₁ , M ₃ and BB ₁		C
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 144–53: text as known to Haupt 1884 and 1891, Jeremias 1891		T Tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 30–1, pls. 11–12: cols. i (M ₃ // BB ₂) and ii (M ₃ // BB ₁ // Sm 2097 of M ₁)		C T
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 15–18, 79–81: all MSS represented except i. Partially present: c (BM 34191 only) and aa (obv. only)		C T

Text

BB ₂	1	[a]-[na] [ka-a-ri šá] [uruk ^{ki}] [ti-ħa-a ina šul-mi]	
M ₃ BB ₂	2	[l]a ta-tak-ki ^l [GİŠ ^l gim-maš a-na] [gi-mir ^l e-] mu-qi-ka ^l	
M ₃ BB ₂	3	[i]-na-ka liš-ba-a mi-ħi-iš-ka tuk-k[il]	
M ₃ BB ₂	4	[a ^l lik mah-ri tappâ (tab.ba) ^a ú-še-ez-z[eb]	
M ₃ BB ₂	5	šá tū-du i-du-ú i-bir-šú iš-š[u]r	
M ₃ BB ₂	6	[l]il-lik ^a en-ki-dù i-na pa-ni-ka	
M ₃ BB ₂	7	[i ^l]-de ħarrāna (kaskal) ^{min} šá st qišti (tir) st erēni (eren)	
M ₃ BB ₂	8	[t]a-ħa-zi a-mir-ma qab-lu kul-lu[m]	
M ₃ BB ₂	9	^a en-ki-dù ib-ri li-iš-šur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim	
M ₃ BB ₂	10	a-na šēr (edin) ħi-ra-a-ti pa-gar-šú lib-la	
M ₃ BB ₂	11	i-na pu-uh-ri-ni-ma ni-ip-qi-dak-ka šarra (lugal)	
M ₃ BB ₂	12	tu-tar-ram-ma ta-paq-qi-dan-na-ši šarra (lugal)	M ₃
M ₃ BB ₂	13	^a GİŠ-gim-maš pa-a-šú ipuš (dù) st ma iqabbi (dug ₄ .ga)	
M ₃ BB ₂	14	izakkara (mu) ^m a-na ^a en-ki-dù	
M ₃ BB ₂	15	al-ka ib-ri ni-il-lik a-na é.gal.mah	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	16	a-na mah-ri ^a nin-sún šar-ra-ti rabīti (gal) ⁿⁱ	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	17	^a nin-sún en-ge ^t mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-de	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	18	kib-si mil-ki i-šak-kan a-na šēpi (gir) ^{min} -ni	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	19	iš-šab-tu-ma qa-tu qa-tu-us-su	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	20	^a GİŠ-gim-maš u ^a en-ki-dù il-la-ku ana é.gal.mah	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	21	ana ma-ħar ^a nin-sún šar-ra-tum rabīti (gal) ⁿⁱ	
M ₃ BB ₂ c	22	^a GİŠ-gim-maš it-bé-e-ma iterub (ku ₄) ^{ub} a-na mah[ar (igi) ^a ištari (15) ummi (ama)-šú]	
c	23	[^a Gİ]š-gim-maš ana šá-ši-ma izakkara (mu) ^m a-na ^[a] [nin-sún]	
BB ₂ c	24	^a nin-sún ag-da-pu-uš [al-lak]	
BB ₂ c	25	ur-ħu ru-qa-ta a-šar ^a ħ[um-ba-ba]	
BB ₂ c	26	[qab ^l]-la šá la i-du-ú a-m[ah-ħar]	
BB ₂ c	27	[ħarrāna (kaskal) ^{min}] ⁿⁱ šá la i-du-ú a-rak-[kab]	
BB ₂ c	28	[ú] [sap ^l]-pi-ki kur-bi-in-ni-ma lul-li-ki a-n[a-ku]	
c	29	pa-ni-ki lu-mur i-na šul-m[i]	
c	30	lu-ru-ba-am abul (ká.gal) uruk ^{ki} ina ħu-ud lib-b[i]	
M ₂ c	31	lu-us-sah-ra-am-ma a-ki-tum ina šatti (mu.an.na) 2-šú lu-p[u-u]š	
M ₂ c	32	lu-pu-uš-ma a-ki-tum ina šat-ti 2-šú	

4 M₃: tap-p]a-a 5 M₃: [i^l-bir-šú 7 M₃: ħar-ra-na]m? 8 M₃: q]ab-lum 10 M₃: ħi-r]a-a-ta pa-gar-šú 11 M₃: pu-uh-ri]i-in-ni-ma 12 M₃: ta-pa-qi-d-dan-na-ši 13 M₃: k]a-šú dù-ma 15 M₃: ni-]l-li-ka 16 BB₂: šar-rat 17 c: em-ge^t BB₂: mu-da-ti 18 c: [kib-sa] [i^l-šá-ra M₃: i-]ak-ka-na, gir^{min}-ni 19 M₃: qa-t]um qa-tu-us-su 21 BB₂: šar-rat 22 c: i-te-ru-ub M₃: mu]ħħi(ugu) [a] [15 ama-šú] 25 c: ru-qa-ti 32 M₂: mu.a]n.na

Translation

1	'[Come back in safety] to [the quay of] Uruk!
2	Do not trust, O Gilgameš, in the fullness of your strength,
3	let your eyes be satisfied, strike a blow to rely on!
4	"He who goes in front saves (his) comrade,
5	he who knew the road protected his friend."
6	Let Enkidu go in front of you,
7	he knows the way to the Forest of Cedar!
8	He is tried in battles and experienced in combat,
9	let Enkidu protect (his) friend and keep safe (his) comrade!
10	let him bring his person back to his wives!
11	In this our assembly we hereby give the king into your care:
12	you will ensure (his) return and give the king into our care. ¹
13	Gilgameš opened his mouth to speak,
14	saying to Enkidu:
15	'Come, my friend, let us go ¹ to Egal-mah,
16	into the presence of the great Queen Ninsun!
17	Ninsun is clever, she is wise, she knows everything,
18	she will set in place for our feet tracks of (good) counsel. ²
19	They took each other hand in hand,
20	Gilgameš and Enkidu, as they went to Egal-mah.
21	Into the presence of the great Queen Ninsun,
22	Gilgameš arose and entered before ³ the [goddess, his mother.]
23	Gilgameš said to her, to [Ninsun:] ⁴
24	'O Ninsun, I have grown so bold [as to travel]
25	the distant path to where Ĥumbaba is.
26	I shall face a battle that I do not know,
27	I shall ride a road that I do not know.
28	I hereby beseech you, give me your blessing, so that I may go,
29	so that I may see your face (again) in safety,
30	(and) come in through Uruk's gate glad at heart!
31	I will return and perform the <i>akītu</i> festival twice in the year,
32	the <i>akītu</i> I will perform twice in the year.

¹ So MS BB; MS M: 'come'.

² So MS BB; MS c: 'a straight [track]'.

³ So MS BB; MS M: 'to'.

⁴ So MS c; MS BB omits the entire line.

M ₂ c	33	<i>a-ki-tum liš-šá-kin-ma ni-gu-tum lib-ši</i>
M ₂ c	34	<i>a-lu-ú li-ir-ta-aš-ši-nu i-na maḥ-ri-ki</i>
M ₂ c	35	[^r ri-mat- ^d n]in-sún a-ma-tum šá ^d GÍŠ-gím-maš māri(dumu)-šá
M ₂ c	36	<i>u^den-ki-dù mar-ši-iš iš-te-nem-me</i>
M ₁ c	37	[<i>a-na bi</i>]t(é) nar-ma-ku 7-šú ^r i-te ^r -ru-ub
M ₁ c	38	[<i>ú-tal-l</i>]l ra-man-šú ina mē(a) ^{mes} gíš ^r bīni(šinig) ^l u ^ú tu-lal
M ₁ c	39	[x x x]x raq-qa-ta si-mat pag-ri-šá
M ₁ c	40	[x x x- <i>l</i>]i-mu si-mat ir-te-šá
M ₁ c	41	[x x x x]iš-šak-nam-ma a-ga-šá ap-rat
M ₁ M ₃ c	42	x[x x x]-rak-ki ^r šam-ḥa-a-t[um] qa-q-a-ra i-pi-ra-ni
M ₁ M ₃ caa	43	<i>iš-[hi-ī]ana^{es}š</i> simmil ^r ti(kun ₄) i-te-li a-na ú-ri
M ₁ M ₃ caa	44	<i>i-li^ra^r-na ú-ri a-na [ma-ḥ]ar^dšamaš(utu) qut-rin-na iš-kun</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	45	<i>iš-kun^rsur^r-q[en-na a-na m]a-ḥar^dšamaš(utu) i-dī-šú iš-ši</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	46	<i>am-me-ni taš-kun^rana ma^r-[ri-ia^dGÍ]š-gim-maš lib-bi la ša-li-la te-mid-su</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	47	^r e ^r -nīn-na-ma tal-pu-us-su-ma il-lak
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	48	^r ur ^r -ḥa ru-qa-ta a-šar ^d ḥum-ba-ba
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁	49	<i>qab-la šá la i-du-ú i-maḥ-ḥar</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	50	<i>gi-ir-ru šá la i-du-ú i-rak-kab</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	51	<i>a-dī u₄-mu il-la-ku ú i-tur-ra</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁ aa	52	<i>a-dī i-kaš-šá-du a-na^{es}qišti(tir)^{es}erēni(eren)</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁	53	<i>a-dī^dḥum-ba-ba da-pi-nu i-nar-ru</i>
M ₁ M ₃ BB ₁	54	<i>u mim-ma lem-nu šá ta-zer-ru ú-ḥal-la-q ina māti(kur)</i>
M ₃	55	[i]na u ₄ -mi šá at-ta i-tu-ú x[.]
M ₃ BB ₁ aa	56	[š]i-i a-a i-dur-ka ^d a-a kal-lat li-ḥa- ^r sis ^r -ka
M ₃ BB ₁ aa	57	[š]á-a-šú a-na maššarāti(en.nun) ^{mes} šá mūši(gi ₆) ^r pi ^r -q[id-s]u
M ₃ BB ₁ aa	58	[ina barā]rīti(en.nun.an.úsan) [.]x-ma
aa	59	[.]x- ^r ni ^r
iaa	60	[.]x-si ana x
iaa	61	[.]x-ir
M ₂ iaa	62	[x]x dī [. n]a-ma-ri
M ₂ iaa	63	[i]ap-te-ma ^d [šamaš . . . ana a-š]e-e šá bu-lim
M ₂ iaa	64	<i>a-na ni-[.]x tu-ša-a ana māti(kur)</i>
M ₂ iaa	65	<i>ḥur-sa-a-ni x[. . . i-nam-mi]-ru šamū(an)^d</i>
M ₂ iaa	66	<i>bu-li šēri(edin) x[. r]u-uš-šá-a-ka</i>

33 M₂: ni-gu]-ta 34 M₂: li-ir-ta-aš-š]-na ina 35 c: dumu-šú 35-6 c in one line
 37 M₁: ^ri^r-ru-ub 40 M₁: -li-m]e 41 M₁: -ki]n-ma 42 M₁: kar.ki]d^{mes} 46 BB₁:
 ša-l[il] aa: ša-l]i-lu BB₁aa om. te-mid-su 48 BB₁: ru]-qa-tum 49-50 aa in one line
 51 BB₁ om. ú M₁: i]-tu-ra aa:]-ru 53 M₁: i]-na-ru 54 M₃: ta-ze-ru 56 BB₁: a-a {šr}
 i-dur-ka 57 BB₁: a]na 61 i:]x-ir-ri 62 i: na-ma]d^ra^r-ri

33	Let the <i>akītu</i> take place and the merriment begin,
34	let the drums be beaten in your presence! ⁵
35	[Wild-Cow] Ninsun was listening in sorrow
36	to the words of Gilgameš, her son, and Enkidu.
37	She went seven times into the bath-house,
38	[she cleansed] herself in water (perfumed with) tamarisk and soapwort.
39	[<i>She dressed in</i>] a fine garment, the adornment of her body,
40	[. . .] . . . the adornment of her breast.
41	[. . .] was put in place and she was wearing her crown,
42	[. . .] . . . the harlots . . . the ground.
43	She leapt [up] the staircase, she climbed on to the roof,
44	she climbed on to the roof, she set up a censer before Šamaš,
45	she scattered incense before Šamaš, she lifted her arms:
46	“Why did you assign (and) inflict ⁶ a restless spirit on [my] son Gilgameš?
47	For now you have touched him and he will travel
48	the distant path to where Ḥumbaba is.
49	He will face a battle that he does not know,
50	he will ride a route that he does not know.
51	During the days that he travels there and back,
52	until he reaches the Forest of Cedar,
53	until he slays ferocious Ḥumbaba,
54	and annihilates from the land the Evil Thing that you hate,
55	by day when [<i>you</i> . . .] the boundary [<i>of</i>] ⁶
56	may she not fear you, may Aya the Bride remind you:
57	“As for him, place him in the care of the watches of the night!
58	At eventide [.] . . .”
59	[.] . . . ,
60	[.] to . . .
61	[.] . . . ,
62	. . . [.] to shine.
63	You have opened, O [Šamaš, . . . for the going] out of the livestock,
64	for . . . [. . .] you came forth on the land.
65	The uplands [. . .], the heavens growing [bright,]
66	the herds of the wild [. . .] your <i>ruddy light</i> .

⁵ So MS M; MSS BBaa omit ‘inflict’.

⁶ So MS M; MS BB omits the entire line.

M ₂ iaa	67	ú-qa-a a-[na]x šá-šú-nu-ma
M ₂ iaa	68	nam ^l maš-šú-ú ^l [. k]a-a-šú
M ₂ iaa	69	x[.]-[za?] ^l na-šak-ku
M ₁ i	70	mītu(a)da [. n]a-piš-tú
M ₁ i	71	ana da-a-x[.] re-eš-ka
M ₁ i	72	ana ši-i[t . . . -ka um-m]a-nu paḥ-ru
M ₁ i	73	^d a-nun-n[a-ki a-na nu-ri?-ka] ú-paq ^l qu ^l
M ₁ i	74	ši-i a-a i-d[ur-ka ^d a-a kal-lat li-ḥa-sis-ka]
M ₁	75	šá-a-šú ^l a ^l -[na maššarāti ša mūši piqissu]
M ₁	76	gi-ir-ru š[á]
M ₁	77	lu-pu-ut-m[a]
M ₁	78	áš-šú i-x[.]
M ₁ aa	79	ḥar-ra-ṛ[a]x
M ₁ aa	80	ù di-x[.]x
M ₁ aa	81	a-di ^d G[I]š ^l gim ^l -maš ^l il-la ^l -[ku] ana ^l [^{erš} qišti(tir)] ^l [^{erš} erēni(eren)] ^l
M ₁ aa	82	lu-ú ar-ra-ka ūmū(u ₄) ^{mes} lu-ú ^l ku-ra- ^l mušātu(gi ₆) ^{lmes}
M ₁ aa	83	lu-ú ^l rak ^l -sa qab-la-a-šú ^l [u-ú pe-ta-a pu-ṛ ^l]da ^l -a-šú
M ₁ yaa	84	ina mu-ši liš ^l kun ^l ka-ra- ^l ši nu ^l -bat-ti
yaa	85	nu-bat-ti x x x ^l i-ni-il-lu ^l
M ₁ yaa	86	ši-i a-a (i)-dur-ka ^d a-a kal-la-tum li-ḥas-sis-ka
M ₁ BB ₁ yaa	87	ana u ₄ -me šá ^d GIS-gim-maš ^d en-ki-dù u ^d ḥum-ba-ba it-ti a-ḥa-meš in-nen-mi-du
BB ₁ yaa	88	di-ka-áš-šum-ma ^d šamaš(utu) ana ^d ḥum-ba ^l ba ^l me-ḥe-e rabūti(gal) ^{mes}
BB ₁ yaa	89	im ^š šūtu(1) im ^{il} iltānu(2) im ^š šadú(3) im ^{am} urru(4) im ^{zi} q-qu im ^{zi} q ^l -ziq-qu ^l
BB ₁ yaa	90	im ^š šá-par ^l (MAR)-ziq ^l qa im ^ḥ ullu(im.ḥul) im ^{si} mur-ra im ^{as} akku(á.sàg) ^l
BB ₁ yaa	91	im ^š šū ^l -ru-[u]p-pu ^l ú ^l im ^{me} ḥu-u ^l im ^a šam ^l šū-tum
BB ₁ yaa	92	13 šārū(im) ^{mes} lit-bu-nim-ma šá ^d ḥum-ba-ba li-tu-u pa-nu-šú
BB ₁ yaa	93	ú ^{erš} kakku(tukul) šá ^d GIS-gim-maš ^l lik-šū-du ^d ḥum ^l -ba-ba
aa	94	iš-tu at-tu-ú-ka x x ^l ka it-tap-pa ^l ḥu
aa	95	ina u ₄ -mi-šū-ma ^d šamaš(utu) a-na ^l šah-ṭa? šu-kun? ^l pa-ni ^l ka ^l
iaa	96	pa-ru-ú-ka ḥa-an-tu-ú ^l tu li ^l -[x] x (x) x ^l ka ^l
iaa	97	šub-tu ₄ ne-eh-tu ₄ ma-a-a-lu ^{be} pi ^l lu-ú na-di ^l -ka
i	97a	šū-bat[.]
iaa	98	ilū(dingir) ^{mes} aḥḥū(šeš) ^{mes} -ka nin-da-bé-e šá ta-x x lid-di-nu-ka
iaa	99	^d a-a kal-lat ina sissikūi(túg.sig)-šú eb ^l -bé-ti ^l pāni(igi)-ka lik ^l -pur ^l

67 end of line on aa:] x x x x x 82 M₁ in two lines 84 end y: i-ni?^lil-lu^l 85 y:]^de^l
l[i-iš]^lta^l-kan n[u-b]at-ti 86 aa: kal-lat gal^{me} 87 M₁: in[a aa:]ki a-ḥa-meš (in)-nen^l-mid
88 y: a-na, gal^{le} 89 y:]^{im}u₁₈.lu im^s]i.sá im^k]ur.ra im^lmar^l.dú aa:]^{im}ziq-qa im^z]iq-ziq^l-qa BB₁:
s]q^l-si^l-q[u]? 90 y: im^{si}]Gin^l-ra im^a-sak-ku 91 y:]^{im}me-ḥu-ú]^{im}a-šam-šū-ti 92 y: TU-
tu-ú pa-ni-šú 97 i:]šub^l-tú ne-eh-tú 98 i: ninda-b[é-e? 99 aa: kal-lat gal^{me}

67	[. . .] waited for [. . .] them,
68	the animals [.] you.
69	[.] I am offering you,
70	the dead man [.] life.
71	To the . . . [.] your head,
72	at the coming forth [of your rays the] crowds are gathered.
73	The Anunnaki wait intent [on your light.]
74	May she not fear [you, may Aya the Bride remind you:]
75	“As for him, [place him] in [the care of the watches of the night!]”
76	The road which [.]
77	touch and [.]
78	Because . . . [.]
79	the journey [.] . . .
80	And . . . [.] . . .
81	while Gilgameš travels to the [Forest] of Cedar,
82	let the days be long, let the nights be short,
83	let his loins be girt, let him [stride along!] ⁷
84	At dusk let him pitch camp for the night,
85	a stay overnight . . . they will lie down.” ⁸
86	May she not fear you, may Aya the Bride ⁹ remind you!
87	On the day that Gilgameš, Enkidu and Ḥumbaba come face to face,
88	send against Ḥumbaba, O Šamaš, the great stormwinds: ¹⁰
89	South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind, Blast, Counterblast,
90	Gale, Tempest, Typhoon, Hell-Wind,
91	Icy Blast, Hurricane, Tornado:
92	Let (these) thirteen winds arise so the face of Ḥumbaba darkens,
93	and the weapon of Gilgameš catches Ḥumbaba!
94	After your very own . . . are kindled,
95	at that time, O Šamaš, turn your face to the reverent one!
96	Let your swift mules you,
97	let a restful seat, a bed . . . (scribal annotation: broken) be laid out for you
97a	a seat of [.] ¹¹
98	May the gods, your brothers, give you food that you . . .
99	may Aya the Bride ¹² wipe your face with her clean garment-fringe!

⁷ Lit. ‘let his stride [be open]’.

⁸ So MS aa; MS y transposes ll. 84–5: ‘[they will] lie down, / [.] let him keep pitching camp’. MS M omits l. 85.

⁹ So MS y; MS aa: ‘the Great Bride’.

¹⁰ So MSS BBaa; MS y: ‘the great stormwind’.

¹¹ So MS i; MS aa omits the entire line.

¹² So MS i; MS aa: ‘the Great Bride’.

iaa	100	^f ri-mat- ^d nin-sún ^f i-tur-ma ana ^f pān(igi) ^d šamaš(utu) ^f ú-šá-an-na-a- ^f ur-tum
iaa	101	^d šamaš(utu) ^d GIŠ-gim- ^f maš ^f ul ilū(dingir) ^{mes} x x-ka
iaa	102	ul itti(ki)-ka šamē(an) ^e i-za- ^f az ^f -za
iaa	103	ul itti(ki) ^d šin(30) ^f iz-za-zu ^f ha ^f ta? (nig.gidru)
iaa	104	ul itti(ki) ^d ea(idim) apsi(abzu) ^f i ^f -me-eg
iaa	105	ul itti(ki) ^d ir-ni-ni nišī(ùg) ^{mes} šal-mat ^f qaqqadi(sag.du) i ^f -b[e-e]l
iaa	106	ul itti(ki) ^d nin-giš-zi-da ina māt-lā-tāri(kur.nu. ^f gi.a) [uš-š] ab
iaa	107	lu- ^f ub? ^f ni-šu- ^f ma ^f ^d šamaš(utu) x[(x)] x-a-ti [x x]
iaa	108	a-a ^f in ^f -x x x a-a x[x x] ^g iš ^f qišū(tir) ^g is[erēni(eren)]
aa	109	[. . .] x x [x] a-a ik-šu-[ud x x]
aa	110	[.] x ^f ilu ^f -ti- ^f ka ^f r[abū(gal)-ti?]
aa	111	[.] x AN x[(x) x] x[x x x]
aa	112	[.] x x [x]
aa	113	[.] x x x x ki-ma nišī(ùg) ^{mes} -ma
aa	114	[. . .] -a-k[a] x ki-ma ^{be-pi} -bu-ú
aa	115	ana x x x-ra ^d hūm-ba-ba tu-še-reb-šū
aa	116	ul-tu ^f ri-mat ^f nin-sún ana ^d šamaš(utu) id-dī-nu ur-ti
M ₁	117	[^f ri-mat- ^d ni]n-sún em-[qet mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-de]
M ₁	118	[. . .] ^d GIŠ-gim-maš qaqq- ^f [.]
M ₁	119	^f ú-kab-bit qut-rin ^f nam-ma it-ta-x[. . .]
M ₁ aa	120	^d en-ki-dū is-sa-am-ma i-šak-ka-na ^f i-è-e!-mu ^f
M ₁ aa	121	^d en-ki-dū dan-nu ul ši-it-ú-ri-ia at-ta
M ₁ aa	122	e-nin-na at-mu-ka it-ti ši-ir-ki šá ^d GIŠ-gim-maš
aa	122a	[.] x-niš-š[u?]
M ₁ aa	123	ugbakkāti(nin.dingir.ra) ^{mes} qa-āš-da-a-ti ^f u kul ^f -ma-šá-a-ti
M ₁ aa	124	in-dī it-ta-dī a-na ti-ik-ki ^d en-ki-dū
M ₁ aa	125	ugbakkātu(nin.dingir.ra) ^{mes} il-qa-a ^f i ^f -qu- ^f tu ^f
M ₁ aa	126	ù mārāt-ili(dumu.munus.dingir) ^{mes} ú-rab-ba-a tar-bu-ta
M ₁ aa	127	a-na-ku ^d en-ki-dū š[a a-ram-mu? e]l-[q]a-a ana māru(dumu)-ú-ti
M ₁ aa	128	^d en-ki-dū ^f a-na ^f [ah- ^f hu-ti?] ^d [GIŠ-g]im-maš [i-da]m-me-eg-šū ^f
M ₁ aa	129	e-[x] x šu x[.] x
M ₁ aa	130	^f ú ^f [dī-(x)] x la a-n[a?] x x
M ₁ aa	131	a-d[i tal-l]a-ku i[t-ti ^d GIŠ-gim-maš?] ^f a-na ^g iš ^f qišū(tir) ^g is[erēni(eren)]
M ₁ aa	132	lu-ú ar-r[ak ūmū(u ₁) ^{mes}] lu-ú kur-ra-a mušātu(g ₁) ^{mes}
aa	133	[lu-ú rak-sa qab-la-a-ka lu-ú pe-ta-a pu]- ^f ri ^f -da-a-ka

102 i: i[za-az-za?] 102-6 aa: [it-ti] 103 i: i-za-zu pa-l[a-a?] (. . .) 117-19 [aa]
in two lines 120 aa: [e-e-me] 122 M₁ runs on to two lines 123 aa: -d]a-a-ta kul-
124 aa: ana 125 M₁: li-qu-^fa 127 M₁ runs on to two lines, il-te-qé a-na 128 M₁ runs
on to two lines 131 M₁ runs on to two lines 132 M₁ in two lines

100	Again Wild-Cow Ninsun repeated (her) behest before Šamaš:
101	‘O Šamaš, will Gilgameš not . . . the gods?
102	Will he not share the heavens with you?
103	Will he not <i>share</i> a sceptre ¹³ with the moon?
104	Will he not become wise with Ea of the Apsū?
105	Will he not rule the black-headed race with Irnina?
106	[Will he] not dwell in the Land-of-No-Return with Ningišzida?
107	Let me <i>make</i> him, O Šamaš, [. . .] . . .
108	may he not . . . may he not [. . .] the [Forest] of [Cedar.]
109	[. . .] . . . may he not reach [. . .]
110	[.] your [great] divinity.’
Lacuna	
113	‘[.] . . . like the people themselves,
114	[.] . . . you as [you] <i>commanded</i> , ¹⁴
115	to the . . . of Hūmbaba you are making him enter.’
116	After Wild-Cow Ninsun had delivered (her) behest to Šamaš,
117	[Wild-Cow] Ninsun was clever, [she was wise, she knew everything,]
118	[. . .] Gilgameš . . . [.]
119	she smothered the censer and she . . . [. . .]
120	She summoned Enkidu to declare (her) intention:
121	‘O mighty Enkidu, you are not the offspring of my womb,
122	but now your brood (will be) with the oblates of Gilgameš, ¹⁵
123	the priestesses, hierodules and temple girls.’
124	She placed the <i>symbols</i> on Enkidu’s neck:
125	‘The priestesses hereby take in the foundling,
126	and the Divine Daughters will bring up the foster-child.
127	I myself hereby adopt Enkidu, whom [<i>I love</i>], as a son,
128	let Gilgameš <i>in</i> [brotherhood] treat Enkidu with favour!
129	. . . [.] . . .
130	And [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . .
131	while [you] travel [<i>with Gilgameš</i>] to the Forest of Cedar,
132	let [the days be] long, let the nights be short!
133	[Let your loins be girt, may] you stride [along!] ¹⁶

¹³ So MS aa; MS i: ‘royal [symbol (or mantle) . . .].’

¹⁴ Supposing *taqbū*.

¹⁵ MS aa adds another line, but for the moment it is too poorly preserved to translate.

¹⁶ Lit. ‘[may] your stride [be open!].’

aa	134	[<i>ina mu-ši šu-kun ka-ra-ši nu-bat</i>]- <i>ti</i>
aa	135	[. (<i>li</i>)- <i>ri</i>]- <i>š-šu-ur</i> ¹
aa	136	[.]x
	137-8	lost
aa	139-44	traces of last signs only

The next fragment of text is from col. iv of MS BB, which probably ended at about l. 165:

BB ₁	146	[x]x x[.]
BB ₁	147	[^d GI]š- <i>gim-maš</i> ¹ <i>ana</i> ? ¹ [.]
BB ₁	148	[x]- <i>bat-tuš-šú</i> ¹ <i>ir-ta</i> ¹ -x x[.]
BB ₁	149	[<i>a-n</i>]a <i>abul</i> (ká.gal) ^{erēn} <i>i</i> (eren)
BB ₁	150	[^d e] <i>n-ki-dù ina bīt</i> (é) ^d x[.]
BB ₁	151	[^u] ^d GIš- <i>gim-maš ina bīt</i> (é) x[.]
BB ₁	152	[^{erēn} ?] <i>burāšu</i> (šim) <i>sur-qin-n</i> [<i>i</i>]
BB ₁	153	[<i>áš</i> ?]- <i>bu mārū</i> (dumu) ^{mes lu} x[.]
BB ₁	154	[<i>a</i> ?]- <i>šar</i> ¹ <i>ma qu šu</i> ¹ [.]
BB ₁	155	[x] x x x x x[.]
BB ₁	156	[<i>uš</i> ¹ -x x x x x[.]
BB ₁	157	x x[.]
BB ₁	158	[x] x x[.]

Overlapping with col. iv of MS BB must be the very ends of the last 16 lines preserved on col. v of MS M:

M ₁	149'	. . . . .-<i>h</i>]ar	M ₁	157'	. . . . .-<i>i</i>]e
M ₁	150'	. . . . .-<i>i</i>]a/ere)n?	M ₁	158'	. . . . .-<i>i</i>]um
M ₁	151'	. . . . .-<i>š</i>]ú	M ₁	159'	. . . . .] kur
M ₁	152'	. . . . .-<i>š</i>]ú	M ₁	160'	. . . . .<i>harr</i>]ānu(kaskal)
M ₁	153'	. . . . .-<i>š</i>]ú	M ₁	161'	. . . . .^d GIš- <i>gim-m</i>]aš
M ₁	154'	. . . . .-<i>r</i>]i	M ₁	162'	. . . . .-<i>m</i>]i?
M ₁	155'	. . . . .]x- <i>ab</i>	M ₁	163'	. . . . .]x- <i>du</i>
M ₁	156'	. . . . .-<i>l</i>]i?	M ₁	164'	. . . . .]^d GIš- <i>gim-maš</i>

From l. 158 seven lines are lost to the end of col. iv of MS BB. At approximately the same point will begin col. v of MS c, with its apparent duplicate, M₄:

M ₄ c	166	<i>i-na a-mat</i> ^d <i>šamas</i> (utu) <i>ta-kaš</i> -[<i>šad ni-iz-mat-ka</i> ?]
M ₄ c	167	<i>i-na abul</i> (ká.gal) ^d <i>marduk</i> (amar.utu) [.]
M ₄ c	168	<i>i-na ir-ti ša mē</i> (a) ^{mes} [.]
M ₄ c	169	<i>ku-tal-li um-tah-ḥi</i> -[.]
M ₄ c	170	<i>i-na abul</i> (ká.gal) ^{erēni} (eren) u[l]
M ₄ c	171	^d GIš- <i>gim-maš i</i> [t-]
M ₄ c	172	^u <i>en-ki-dù</i> [.]

166 M₄: [*ina*] [*a*?]-[167-8 M₄: [*ina*] 169 M₄: u[n-*dah*- 170 M₄: *ina* 172 M₄ om. *u*

134	[At dusk pitch camp for the] night!
135	[. <i>let him</i>] protect! ¹

Lacuna

The text resumes with narrative:

147	Gilgameš to [.]
148	His . . . [.]
149	[To] the Gate of Cedar [.]
150	Enkidu in the chapel of [.]
151	and Gilgameš in the chapel of [.]
152	<i>juniper</i> , incense [.]
153	members of the [. . . <i>were</i>] <i>present</i> [. . .]
154	<i>where</i> . . . [.]

Lacuna

The text resumes with a passage of instructions:

166	'By the command of Šamaš you will attain [<i>your desire</i>],
167	in the Gate of Marduk [.]
168	on the surface ¹⁷ of the water [.]
169	<i>back</i> . . . [.]
170	in the Gate of Cedar . . . [.]
171	Gilgameš . . . [.]
172	and ¹⁸ Enkidu [.]'

¹⁷ Lit. 'breast'.

¹⁸ So MS c; MS M omits.

M₄cM₄c 173 [a-n]a¹20 b̄er(danna)¹ [ku-su-up? ku-sa-pa]

The lacuna that follows is partly to be filled with the last few lines of MS BB col. v, which can probably be restored by comparison with ll. 51-4:

BB₁ 202 [a-di u₄-mi ni-il-la-ku ù ni-tur]¹ra?¹
 BB₁ 203 [a-di ni-kaš-šá-du a-na⁶⁵qišti(tir)⁶⁵erēni(ere[n])
 BB₁ 204 [a-di^dhum-ba-ba da-pi-nu ni¹-nar-r[u]
 BB₁ 205 [u mim-ma lem-nu šá^dšamaš i-zer-ru nu-ḫal-la-qu i-n]a [māti(kur)]

Following a lacuna of 1 or 2 lines, if any, the text resumes with col. vi of MS c and its duplicate MS BB₂:

c 207 e tar-šá-a [.]
 c 208 eṭlūti(guruš)^{mes} ina sūqi(sila) la ú-paḫ-ḫa-r[u . . .]
 c 209 di-in en-ši di-i-ni bu-²i da-x x x x
 c 210 a-di ki-i šer-ri la-¹i ni-kaš-šá-du ni-iz-[mat]-ni
 c 211 a-di ina abulli(ká.gal) šá^dhum-ba-ba ni-zaq-qa¹pu¹ [kakkī?-n]i
 c 212 iz-zi-zu-ma šakkanakkū(šagana)^{mes}-šú [i]-kar-ra-b[u]¹šú¹
 c 213 paḫ-ru eṭlūtu(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} il-ta-na-su-mu arki(egir)-šú
 c 214 ú šakkanakkū(GIR.NÍTA)^{mes}-šú ú-na-áš-šá-qu šēpi(gir)^{min}-šú
 c 215 a-na ka-a-ri šá uruk^{ki} ti-ḫa-a ina šul-mi
 c 216 la ta-at-tak-kal^dGIŠ-gim-maš ana gi-mir e-mu-qi-k[a]
 c 217 i-na-a-ka liš-ba-a mi-ḫi-iš-ka tuk-ki[?]
 c 218 [a¹-lik maḫ-ri tap-pa-a ú-še-z[eb]
 c 219 šá tu-ú-du i¹du¹-ú i-bir-šú li-[iṣ-ṣur]
 c 220 lil-lik^den-ki-dù ina pa-ni-k[a]
 c 221 i-de ḫarrāna(kaskal)^{min} šá⁶⁵qišti(tir)⁶⁵er[ēni(eren)]
 c 222 [t]a-ḫa-zu a-mir-ma qab-lum [kul-lum]
 BB₂c 223 [a-n]a né-re-bé-e-ti šá šadi(kur)^{mes} [.]
 BB₂c 224 [^den-k]i-dù ib¹ri¹ li-i[ṣ-ṣur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim]
 BB₂ 225 [a¹-na šer(edin) ḫi-ra-a-tu[m pa-gar-šú lib-la]
 BB₂ 226 i-na pu-uḫ-ri-ni-ma [ni-ip-qi-dak-ka šarra]
 BB₂ 227 tu-tar-ram-ma ta-pa[q-qi-dan-na-ši šarra]
 BB₂ 228 ^den-ki-dù pa-a-š[ú ipuš-ma iqabbi]
 BB₂ 229 izakkara(rmu)^m [a-na^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 BB₂ 230 ib-ri su¹uḫ¹-ḫ[ir?]
 BB₂ 231 ḫarrān(kaskal) la x[.]
 BB₂ 232 [in¹-n[a-]
 BB₂ 233 x[.]

Perhaps 10 lines are missing to the end of Tablet III.

173 'At twenty leagues [you should break bread!]

Lacuna. When the text resumes, Gilgameš is speaking to high officials of Uruk:

202 '[During the days that we travel there and] back,
 203 [until we reach the Forest of] Cedar,
 204 [until we] slay [ferocious Humbaba,]
 205 [and annihilate] from [the land the Evil Thing that Šamaš hates,]
 206 [.]
 207 May you not acquire [.]
 208 [. . .] must not assemble the young men in the street.
 209 Judge the lawsuit of the weak, seek out . . . ,
 210 until, like little babies, we attain our desire,
 211 until we plant our [weapons] at Humbaba's gate!
 212 The officers stood there paying him homage,
 213 in a crowd the young men of Uruk were running behind him,
 214 and the officers were kissing his feet:
 215 'Come back in safety to the quay of Uruk!
 216 Do not trust, O Gilgameš, in the fullness of your strength,
 217 let your eyes be satisfied, strike a blow to rely on!
 218 "He who goes in front saves (his) comrade,
 219 he who knows the road should [protect] his friend."
 220 Let Enkidu go in front of you,
 221 he knows the way to the Forest of Cedar!
 222 He is tried in battle and [experienced] in combat,
 223 to the mountain passes [.]
 224 Let Enkidu [protect] (his) friend [and keep safe (his) comrade!]
 225 [let him bring his person] back to his wives!
 226 In this our assembly [we hereby give the king into your care:]
 227 you will ensure (his) return and give [the king into our care.]'
 228 Enkidu [opened] his mouth [to speak,]
 229 saying [to Gilgameš:]
 230 'My friend, turn [them back]
 231 a journey not for [.]'

Remainder lost

TABLET IV

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
S	K 7224 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 54: C 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 142–3: T Tr 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 18, pl. 10: CT [obv. not extant] vi 210–19 The placing of MS S in Tablet IV is provisional	65
Y ₁	K 8586 1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , p. 244: Tr 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 30: C 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 162–5: T Tr 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 36–7, pl. 18: CT	69
Y ₂	Sm 1040 1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 244–5: Tr 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 31: C 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 164–5: T Tr 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 37, pl. 19: CT	69
Y ₃	79–7–8, 342 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 37, 46, fn. 1, pl. 17: CT i 22–43 (Y ₁) iv – iii 87–109 (Y ₂) v 1'–7' (Y ₃) and see DD	69
AA	K 8591 1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 214–15: Tr (left fragment only) 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 12: C 1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 156–9, 160–3: T Tr 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 34–5, pls. 15–16: CT (col. v with DD) 1968 B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 105–6, 110–12: ttr (col. v with DD, col. vi only partially treated) [obv. not extant] v 192–205 vi 226–250, catch-line	70
CC	K 10777 1985 R. Borger, 'Ein neues Gilgamesch-Fragment', <i>Or NS</i> 54, pp. 25–6: T iii 84–96 iv 159–164 MSS AA and CC may belong together	69, 70

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
DD	K 13525 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 34, pl. 15: CT (with col. v of AA) 1968 B. Landsberger, <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 105–6: T Tr (with col. v of AA) [obv. not extant] v 190–98 Possibly part of MS Y	69
<i>Babylon</i>		
r	BM 45883 1960 D. J. Wiseman, 'Additional Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh fragments', in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 124, 127–8: CT 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 22: C iii 120–9 iv 161–4	71
t	BM 93052 1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 31: C ii 69–75 [rev. not extant] iii 1'–9'	52
u	Rm 853, obv. 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 21: C i 33–37 vi see Tablet V*	71
<i>Uruk</i>		
w ₁	VAT 14512 1931 A. Falkenstein, <i>LKU</i> no. 39: C	71
w ₂	VAT 14513 1929 A. Schott, 'Die inschriftliche Quellen zur Geschichte Eannas', <i>UVB</i> 1, p. 63, no. 32: C 1931 A. Falkenstein, <i>LKU</i> no. 40: C i 1–5 (w ₁) iv 155–76 (w ₂) ii 34–37 (w ₁) v see Tablet V* iii [not extant] vi colophon? (w ₁)	71
<i>Babylonia</i>		
v	private collection, ex Amherst [obv. not extant] iv 158–65	52

* MSS u and w (almost certainly), and probably also the other Babylonian MSS, belong to a recension of the text in which the division between Tablets IV and V falls much later than in the Ninevite tablets. The Assyrian division is adopted here, so that the fragments of text preserved in cols. v and vi of MSS u and w are edited as parts of Tablet V.

Composite cuneiform text and editions

1968	B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 99-101, 116: ll. 1-21 and parallels (parts of w ₁ , w ₂ , Y ₁ , r and u), etc.	ttr
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 19-23, 83-5: all MSS except Y ₃ , CC, t and v	CT

Text

w ₁	1	[a-na 20] b̄er(danna) ik-su-pu ku-sa-a-pu
w ₁	2	[a-na 3]0 b̄er(danna) iš-ku-nu nu-bat-um
w ₁	3	[50 b]ēr(dan(na)) il-li-ku kal u ₄ -mu
w ₁	4	[ma-lak ar]hi(itī) u šapatti(ud.15.kam) ina šal-šū u ₄ - ^f mu it-ḫu-ú ana šadī(kur) lab-na-nu ¹
w ₁	5	[a-na pān(igi) ^d šamaš(utu) ú-ḫa]r-ru-ú [bu-ú-ru]

The middle of the column is restored from the parallel passages in cols. ii and iii:

	6	[mē(a) ^{mes?} . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . . -pa]
	7	[i-li-ma ^d GĪŠ-gim-maš ina muḫ-ḫi šá-dī-t]
	8	[mašḫat(zī.mad.gá)-su ut-te-qa-a ana ḫur-sa-a-ni]
	9	[šadū(kur) ^u bi-i-la šu-ut-ta a-mat damiqtī? lu-mur]
	10	[i-pu-šá-ás-šum-ma ^d en-ki-dū a-na ša-a-šū? b̄it(ē)? za-qī-qī]
	11	[^{mes} dalat(ig) šar-bi-il-la ir-te-ti ina bābi(ká)-šū]
	12	[uš-ni-il-šu-ma ina kip-pa-ti . . . ú-šur-ti]
	13	[u? šu?-ú kīma(gim) še-še-e . . . -dam-ma it-ta-til ina bābi(ká)-šū]
	14	[^d GĪŠ-gim-maš ina kin-ši-šu ú-tam-me-da zu-qat-su]
	15	[šit-tum re-ḫat nišī(ùg) ^{mes} eli(ugu)-šu im-qut]
	16	[ina qab-li-ti šit-ta-šu ú-qat-ti]
	17	[it-bé-e-ma i-ta-ma-a a-na ib-ri-šū]
	18	[ib-ri ul tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-re-ku]
	19	[ul tal-pu-tan ^m -ni am-mi-ni šá-šá-ku]
	20	[ul ilu(dingir) e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ḫa-mu-ú šru(uzu)-ú-a]
	21	[ib-ri a-ta-mar šu-ut-ta]
Y ₁	22	[ú šu]-ut ^f ta šá a ^f -m[u-ru ka-liš šá-šá-at]
Y ₁	23	[ina sa]-pan-ni šadī(kur) ^f [.]
Y ₁	24	[šadū(kur)] ^u im-qut in[a?]
Y ₁	25	[u ni]-nu ki-i nīm gi du ki [.]
Y ₁	26	[š]á i ² -al-dam-ma ina š[ēri(edin) mit-lu-ka i-le ² ']
Y ₁	27	[iza]kkara(mu) ^m ana ib-ri-šu ^d en-ki-dū š[u-ut-ta-šū ú-šam-ḫar-šū]
Y ₁	28	[i]b-ri dam-qa-at šu-na-a[t-ka ba?-ni x x x x]

Translation

1	[At twenty] leagues they broke bread,
2	[at] thirty leagues they pitched camp.
3	[Fifty] leagues they travelled in the course of a day,
4	a month and a half's [march] by the third day,
5	they drew near to Mount Lebanon.
5	[Facing the sun they] dug [a well,]
6	[they put <i>fresh water</i> in . . .]
7	[Gilgamesh went up on to the top of the mountain,]
8	[he made his offerings of <i>mašḫatu</i> flour to the hill.]
9	'[O mountain, bring me a dream, let me see a message of <i>good fortune!</i> ']
10	[Enkidu made for him a 'house of Zaqīqu',]
11	[he fixed a storm-door in its doorway.]
12	[He made him lie down in a circle . . . design,]
13	[and himself, like a net he . . . and lay in its doorway.]
14	[Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees,]
15	[the sleep that spills over people fell upon him.]
16	[In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end,]
17	[he arose to talk to his friend:]
18	'[My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?]
19	[Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?]
20	[Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?]
21	[My friend, I have seen a dream,]
22	[and the] dream that I saw [was completely confused.]
23	[In] a mountain valley [.]
24	[the mountain] fell down . . . [.]
25	[and] we, like . . . [.]
26	[The one who] was born in the [wild was able to give counsel,]
27	Enkidu spoke to his friend, [making his dream meaningful to him:]
28	'My friend, [your] dream is favourable, [. . . <i>is fine</i> ,]

Y ₁	29	[š]u-ut-tum šu-qu-rat [.]	
Y ₁	30	[i]b-ri šadû(kur) ⁴ šá ta-mu-r[u . . .]	
Y ₁	31	[n]i-šab-bat ⁴ ħum-ba-ba ni-[nar-raš-šu?]	
Y ₁	32	[u] ¹ šá-lam-ta-šú ana tu-šá-ri n[i-nad-di?]	
Y ₁ u	33	ù ina še-e-ri a-m[at ⁴ šamaš damiqta nim-mar]	Y ₁ u
Y ₁ uw ₁	34	a-na 20 bēr(danna) ik-s[u-pu ku-sa-a-pu]	
Y ₁ uw ₁	35	a-na 30 bēr(danna) iš-ku-nu [nu-bat-tum]	
uw ₁	36	50 bēr(danna) il-li-ku ka-la ¹ [u ₄ -mu]	
uw ₁	37	[ma-lak ¹ a[r]ĥi(iti) u] [šapatti(ud.15.kam) ¹ ina šal-šú u ₄ -mu it-ĥu-ú ana šadû(kur) [lab-na-nu]	
Y ₁	38	[a-n]a pān(igi) ⁴ šamaš(utu) ú-ĥar-ru-ú bu-ú-ru :	
Y ₁	39	m[ē(a) ^{mes?} . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . . -pa]	
Y ₁	40	[i] ¹ -li-ma ⁴ GIŠ-gim-maš ina muĥ-[ĥi šá-di-i]	
Y ₁	41	[m]ašĥat(zi.mad.gá)-su ut-te-qa-a [ana ĥur-sa-a-ni]	
Y ₁	42	[š]adû(kur) ⁴ bi-i-la šu-ut-t[a a-mat damiqti? lu-mur]	
Y ₁	43	[i] ¹ -pu-šá-áš-šum-ma ⁴ e[n-ki-dù a-na ša-a-šú? bīt? za-qí-qí]	

Here ends col. i of MS Y, which resumes at the beginning of col. iii, by dead reckoning l. 87; MS Y col. ii can be partly restored according to the parallel passages:

44	[^{mes} dalat šar-bi-il-la ir-te-ti ina bābi-šú]
45	[uš-ni-il-šu-ma ina kip-pa-ti . . . ú-šur-ti]
46	[u? šu?-ú kīma še-še-e . . . -dam-ma it-ta-ti ina bābi-šú]
47	[⁴ GIŠ-gim-maš ina kin-ši-šu ú-tam-me-da zu-qat-su]
48	[šit-tum re-ĥat niš ^{mes} eli-šu im-quit]
49	[ina qab-li-ti šit-ta-šu ú-qat-ti]
50	[it-bé-e-ma i-ta-ma-a a-na ib-ri-šú]
51	[ib-ri ul tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-re-ku]
52	[ul tal-pu-tan ^{an} -ni am-mi-ni šá-šá-ku]
53	[ul ilu e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ĥa-mu-ú šīru-ú-a]
54	[ib-ri a-ta-mar šanīta ^{ta} šu-ut-ta]
55	[ù šu-ut-tu šá a-mu-ru ka-liš šá-šá-at]

Gilgamesh's second dream and Enkidu's explanation would have been related in ll. 56–78. Probably to be placed somewhere hereabouts is the first extant column of MS t:

t	69	[.]-a
t	70	[. ⁴ ĥ]um-ba-ba
t	71	[.]x ^f tum? ¹ ma šá ku-ri-i a-rak-šú
t	72	[.]-ti ra-pa-áš qa-at-nu

33 Y₁: [u]¹i-na šá še-e-ri 37 u: [(ma-lak)iti u] 38–9 Y₁ in one line

29	the dream is precious [.]
30	My friend, the mountain that you saw [was]
31	[we] shall capture Ĥumbaba, we [shall <i>slay</i> him,]
32	and we shall [cast down] his corpse on the field of battle.
33	And in the morning ¹ [we shall see a favourable] message [from Šamaš.] ²
34	At twenty leagues they broke [bread,]
35	at thirty leagues they pitched [camp.]
36	Fifty leagues they travelled in the course of [a day,]
37	a [month and] a half's march by the third day, they drew near to Mount [Lebanon.] ²
38	Facing the sun they dug a well,
39	[they put <i>fresh</i>] water [in . . .]
40	Gilgamesh went up on to the top [of the mountain,]
41	he made his offerings of <i>mašĥatu</i> flour [to the hill.]
42	'O mountain, bring me a dream, [let me see a message of <i>good fortune</i> !]
43	Enkidu made for him [a ' <i>house of Zaĥīqu</i> ']
44	[he fixed a storm-door in its doorway.]
45	[He made him lie down in a circle . . . design,]
46	[and himself, like a net he . . . and lay in its doorway.]
47	[Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees,]
48	[the sleep that spills over people fell upon him.]
49	[In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end,]
50	[he arose to talk to his friend:]
51	'[My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?]
52	[Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?]
53	[Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?]
54	[My friend, I have seen a second dream,]
55	[and the dream that I saw was completely confused.]

Only a small fragment of the second dream has survived, which appears to be from Enkidu's explanation:

70	'[.] was] Ĥumbaba.
71	[.] . . . whose length was short,
72	[.] . . . wide and narrow.

¹ So MS u; MSY: 'at morningtide'.

² MSY omits ll. 36–7.

- t 73 [.] ^[d]hum-ba-ba ki-ma ^{lu}šehri(tur)? e-mi?
 t 74 [.] i-x x el?-šú-u
 t 75 [.]x-an

The text continues with the narrative of the third stage of the journey. The first few lines are restored after the parallel passages:

- 78 [u i-na šá še-e-ri a-mat ^dšamaš damiqta nim-mar]
 79 [a-na 20 bēr ik-su-pu ku-sa-a-pu]
 80 [a-na 30 bēr iš-ku-nu nu-bat-tum]
 81 [50 bēr il-li-ku ka-la u₄-mu]
 82 [ma-lak arhi u šapatti ina šal-šú u₄-mu it-ḫu-ú ana šadi lab-na-nu]
- 83 [a-na pān ^dšamaš ú-ḫar-ru-ú bu-ú-ru]
 CC 84 [m^{mes?} . . . iš-ku-nu i-na . . .]x x x pa
 CC 85 [i-li-ma ^dGiš-gim-maš ina muḫ-ḫu] ^[šá-di-i¹]
 CC 86 [mašḫat-su ut-te-qa-a ana ḫur-s] a-a-ni
 Y₂CC 87 [šadū(kur)] ^[ú] bi-la šu-u[t-ta a-mat damiqti?] lu-mur
 Y₂CC 88 [i-p]u-šá-áš-šum-ma ^d[en-ki-dū a-na ša-a-šú? b]īt(é)? za-gí-qí
 Y₂CC 89 [^{mes}d]alat(ig) šar-bi-il-l[?] ir-te-ti ina bābi(ká)-šú
 Y₂CC 90 [ú]š-ni-il-šú-ma [ina kip-pa-ti . . .] ^[ú]šur-ti
 Y₂CC 91 [ú? š]u?-ú kīma(gim) še-šē? ¹e [x (x) x-dam-ma it-?] a-til ina bābi(ká)-šú
 Y₂CC 92 [^dG]iš-gim-maš ina kin-ši-š[u] ^[ú-tam¹me-da zu-qat-su]
 Y₂CC 93 [šit]-tum re-ḫat niš(ùg)^{mes} eli(ugu)-šú im-qut
 Y₂CC 94 [ina q]ab-li-ti šit-ta-šú ú-qat-ti
 Y₂CC 95 [i]t-bé-e-ma i-ta-ma-a a-na ib-ri-šú
 Y₂CC 96 [i]b-ri ul tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-re-ku
 Y₂ 97 [u]l tal-pu-tam^{an}-ni am-mi-ni šá-šá-ku
 Y₂ 98 [u]l ilu(dingir) e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ḫa-mu-ú širu(uzu)-ú-a
 Y₂ 99 [i]b-ri a-ta-mar šalušta(3)^{ia} šu-ut-ta
 Y₂ 100 [ú] šu-ut-ta šá a-mu-ru ka-liš šá-šá-át
 Y₂ 101 [i]l-su-ú šamū(an)^ú qa-q-a-ru i-ram-mu-um
 Y₂ 102 [u]₄-mu uš-ḫa-ri-ir ú-ša-a ek-le-tum
 Y₂ 103 [ib-r]i q bir-qu in-na-pi-iḫ i-šá-a-tum
 Y₂ 104 [nab-l]u iš-tap-pu-ú iz-za-nun mu-ú-tu
 Y₂ 105 [id-?] i-im-ma nē-bu-tú ib-te-lí i-šá-tu
 Y₂ 106 [iš-tu?] im-taq-qu-tu i-tu-ur ana tu-um-ri
 Y₂ 107 [ta-²-al-d]am-ma ina šēri(edin) mit-lu-ka ni-le-^[š] ^[i]
 Y₂ 108 [iš-me zi-kir ib-ri-š]ú? ^den-ki-dū šu-ut-ta-šú ú-šam-ḫar-šú izakkara(mu)^{na}
 ana ^dGiš-[gim-maš]

93 CC: ugu]-šú 95 CC: ib]-ri-šú

- 73 [.] Hhumbaba will become like a child,
 74 [.] . . . over him.²

Lacuna

- 78 ‘[And at morningtide we will see a favourable message from Šamaš.]’
 79 [At twenty leagues they broke bread,]
 80 [at thirty leagues they pitched camp.]
 81 [Fifty leagues they travelled in the course of a day,]
 82 [a month and a half’s march by the third day,]
 [they drew near to Mount Lebanon.]
 83 [Facing the sun they dug a well,]
 84 [they put fresh water in . . .] . . .
 85 [Gilgamesh went up on to the top of] the mountain,
 86 [he made his offerings of mašḫatu flour to the] hill.
 87 ‘[O mountain], bring me a dream, so I may see [a message of good fortune!]’
 88 [Enkidu] made for him [a] ‘house of Zaqīqu’,
 89 [he fixed] a storm-door in its doorway.
 90 He made him lie down [in a circle . . .] design,
 91 [and] himself, like a net [he . . . and] lay in its doorway.
 92 Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees,
 93 the sleep that spills over people fell upon him.
 94 [In the] middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep’s end,
 95 he arose to talk to his friend:
 96 ‘My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?
 97 Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?
 98 Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?
 99 My friend, I have seen a third dream,
 100 and the dream that I saw was completely confused.
 101 The heavens cried aloud, while the earth was rumbling,
 102 the day grew still, darkness went forth.
 103 Lightning flashed down, fire broke out,
 104 [flames] kept flaring up, death kept raining down.
 105 The fire so bright dimmed and went out,
 106 [after] it had diminished little by little, it turned into embers.
 107 [You were] born in the wild, can we take counsel?’
 108 Enkidu [heard the words of his friend,]
 making his dream meaningful to him, he said to Gilgameš:

Y₂ 109 [ib-ri dam-qa-at] [šū-na-at-ka ba?-ni] x x [x x]

The bulk of Enkidu's explanation of the third dream is lost; the text is probably to be resumed by MS t col. iii, which will then begin the account of the fourth march:

t iii 1' [x x x] x [. . .]
 t iii 2' x x x ta-na [k-]
 t iii 3' a-na 20 bēr(danna) i[k-su-pu ku-sa-a-pu]
 t iii 4' a-na 30 bēr(danna) iš-[ku-nu nu-bat-tum]
 t iii 5' 50 bēr(danna) [il¹-[li-ku kal u₄-mu]
 t iii 6' a-šar[ú¹]-[.]
 t iii 7' i-mu-[.]
 t iii 8' ú-x[.]
 t iii 9' x[.]

But about here one also expects MS r col. iii:

r 120 [a-na 20 bē]r(danna) i[k-su-pu ku-sa-a-pu]
 r 121 [ana 3]0 bēr(danna) iš¹[ku¹]-[nu nu-bat-tum]
 r 122 [5]0 bēr(danna) il-l[i-ku kal u₄-mī]
 r 123 [ma-la]k ar[hi(iti) u šapatti(ud.15.kam) ina šal-š[ú u₄-mu]
 r 124 [it-]h[ú-u] a-na šad[ī(kur) lib-[na-nu]
 r 125 [a-na pā]n(igi) ^dšamaš(utu) ú-har-r[u-ú bu-ú-ru]
 r 126 [mē(a)^{mēš?} . . . i]š-ku-nu i-[na . . . -pā]
 r 127 [i-li-ma ^dG]iš-gim-maš ana mu[h-]h[ī šā-dī-i]
 r 128 [mašhat-su ut-te]-eq-qa-a ana h[ur-sa-a-ni]
 r 129 [šadú^u bi-la š]u-u[t-ta a-mat damiqtu? lu-mur]
 130 [i-pu-šá-áš-šum-ma ^den-ki-dū a-na ša-a-šú? bti? za-qi-qi]
 131 [^gis]dalat šar-bi-il-la ir-te-ti ina bābi-šú]
 132 [uš-ni-il-šu-ma ina kip-pa-ti . . . ú-šur-ti]
 133 [u? šu?-ú kīma še-še-e . . . -dam-ma it-ta-til ina bābi-šú]
 134 [^dG]iš-gim-maš ina kin-ši-šu ú-tam-me-da zu-qat-su]
 135 [šit-tum re-hat niš^{mēš} eli-šu im-quit]
 136 [ina qab-li-ti šit-ta-šu ú-qat-ti]
 137 [it-bé-e-ma i-ta-ma-a a-na ib-ri-šú]
 138 [ib-ri ul tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-re-ku]
 139 [ul tal-pu-tan^m-ni am-mi-ni šá-šá-ku]
 140 [ul ilu e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ha-mu-ú šru-ú-a]
 141 [ib-ri a-ta-mar rebūta^m šu-ut-ta]
 142 [ú šu-ut-tu šá a-mu-ru ka-liš šá-šá-at]

The details of Gilgamesh's fourth dream are lost in the SB epic. The text resumes with MSS rw₂v, which are probably to be conflated with MS CC reverse. This fragment preserves lines from the very end of col. iv, by dead reckoning about ll. 159–64. The result reads as follows:

109 '[My friend], your dream [is favourable, . . .] is fine.'

Lacuna

The explanation of the dream is lost. After the break the fourth march begins:

120 At twenty leagues they [broke bread,]
 121 at thirty leagues they pitched [camp.]
 122 Fifty leagues they travelled [in the course of a day,]
 123 a month and a half's [march] by the third [day,]³
 124 they drew near to Mount Lebanon.
 125 [Facing] the sun they dug [a well,]
 126 they put [fresh water in]
 127 Gilgamesh [went up] on to the top [of the mountain,]
 128 [he made his] offerings of [mašhatu flour] to [the hill.]
 129 '[O mountain, bring me a] dream, [let me see a message of good fortune!]
 130 [Enkidu made for him a 'house of Zaqīqu',]
 131 [he fixed a storm-door in its doorway.]
 132 [He made him lie down in a circle . . . design,]
 133 [and himself, like a net he . . . and lay in its doorway.]
 134 [Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees,]
 135 [the sleep that spills over people fell upon him.]
 136 [In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end,]
 137 [he arose to talk to his friend:]
 138 '[My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?]
 139 [Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?]
 140 [Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?]
 141 [My friend, I have seen a fourth dream,]
 142 [and the dream that I saw was completely confused.]'

Short lacuna, followed by:

³ Instead of this line MS t reads 'where . . . [. . .]'. (iii 6'). The remains of MS t iii 7'–9' are similarly incompatible with ll. 124–6 on MS r.

w ₂	155	[<i>ib-ri dam-gat šu</i>] ¹ na ¹ -at-k[<i>a ba²-ni . . .</i>]	
w ₂	156	[.]ri an-n[<i>i-tum?</i> . . .]	
w ₂	157	[. . . ^d h]um-ba-ba kīma(gim) ^d x[. . .]	
w ₂ v	158	[. . . in-n]ap-pa-hu nu-[. . .] e-li-š[<i>ú</i>]	
CCw ₂ v	159	[. . . -b]i [?] -šú ni-šak-ka[n nu-kā]s-sa-a i-di-šú	
CCw ₂ v	160	[.]x ba še ba a nu x[. . .]-ni	
CCrw ₂ v	161	[.]-a-šú ni-iz-za-za eli(ugu) [še-r]i-šú	
CCrw ₂ v	162	[<i>ú ina</i>] še-e-ri a-mat ^d šamaš(utu) damiqtu(sig ₅) ^{6a} m[<i>m</i>]-mar	CCw ₂ v
CCrw ₂ v	163	[<i>a-na 20 bē</i> r] ik-su-pu ku-sa-pa	
CCrw ₂ v	164	[<i>a-na 30 bē</i> r] iš-ku-nu nu-bat-ta	
w ₂ v	165	[50 bē r i]l-li-ka ka[l u ₄ -mu]	
w ₂	166	[<i>a-na pān</i> ^d sama]š(utu) ú-har-ru-ú b[u-ú-ru]	
w ₂	167	[<i>mē</i> ^{mes?} . . . i]š-ku-nu i-[<i>na . . . -pa</i>]	
w ₂	168	[<i>i-li-ma</i>] ^{1a} GIš-gim-maš a-na mu[h-hi šá-di-i]	
w ₂	169	[<i>mašhat-su u</i>]t-taq-qa-a a-na [hur-sa-a-ni]	
w ₂	170	[šadú ⁴ bi-i-la] šu-ut-ti a-mat [damiqtu? lu-mur]	
w ₂	171	[<i>i-pu-šá-áš-šum-m</i>]a ^d en-ki-dù a-na [ša-a-šú? bīi? za-qī-qī]	
w ₂	172	[^{ss} dalat šar-bi-il]-la ir-te-ti [ina bābi-šú]	
w ₂	173	[<i>uš-ni-il-šum-m</i>]a ina kip-pat-ti x[(. . .) ú-sur-ti]	
w ₂	174	[<i>u?</i> šu?-ú kīma še-še-e x (x)]x ¹ dam ¹ -ma it-t[<i>a-til ina bābi-šú</i>]	
w ₂	175	[^d GIš-gim-maš ina kin-š]i-šú ú-t[<i>am-me-da zu-qat-su</i>]	
w ₂	176	[šit-tum re-ḥat niš ^{me}] ^s e[li(ugu)-šú im-qut]	

Lines 177–83 can be restored after the pattern of previous episodes.

A fragment of MSY contains part of one of Enkidu's explanations and probably falls soon afterwards:

Y ₃	v 1'	x[.]
Y ₃	v 2'	šá pi ¹ -i-šú ¹ x[.]
Y ₃	v 3'	eṭlu(guruš) šá ta-mu-ru [.]
Y ₃	v 4'	ina u ₄ -me-šum-ma [.]
Y ₃	v 5'	i-šab-bat kap-p[<i>i-šú</i>]
Y ₃	v 6'	i-na-áš-šá-q[<i>u</i>]
Y ₃	v 7'	a-na-ku x[.]

160 v:] x x x x x [161 r:] x x x [v: ni-iz-za-aš¹ zu e¹-li- 162 w₂: sig₅^{6a} CC: n]i-mar
164 w₂: M]N? iš-ku-nu

155	'[My friend,] your dream [is favourable, . . . is fine,]
156	[.] this [.]
157	[. . .] Humbaba like . . . [. . .]
158	[. . . will] be kindled [. . .] upon [him.]
159	We shall bring about his [defeat, we shall] bind his arms,
160	[.] [. . .]
161	His [.], we shall stand there upon [him.]
162	[And in the] morning we shall [see] a favourable message from Šamaš.'
163	[At twenty leagues] they broke bread,
164	[at thirty leagues] they pitched camp:
165	[fifty leagues they] travelled in the course [of a day.]
166	[Facing the sun] they dug a [well,]
167	they put [<i>fresh water</i> in.]
168	Gilgamesh [went up] on to the top [of the mountain,]
169	[he made his] offerings of [<i>mašhatu</i> flour] to [the hill.]
170	'[O mountain, bring me] a dream, [let me see] a message of [<i>good fortune!</i> ']
171	Enkidu [made] for [him a 'house of Zaqīqu',]
172	he fixed [a storm-door in its doorway.]
173	[He made him lie down] in a circle [. . . design,]
174	[and himself, like a net he] . . . and lay [in its doorway.]
175	[Gilgamesh] rested his [chin on his knees,]
176	[the sleep that spills over people fell] upon [him.]
177	[In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end,]
178	[he arose to talk to his friend:]
179	'[My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?]
180	[Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?]
181	[Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?]
182	[My friend, I have seen a fifth dream,]
183	[and the dream that I saw was completely confused.]'

Lacuna. A fragment of dream-explanation probably fits here:

2'	'The one whose mouth [.]
3'	The man you saw [was],
4'	at that time [.]
5'	He will take hold of [its] wings [.],
6'	they will kiss [.]
7'	I [.]'

After a short gap the text resumes with MS AA col. v and its duplicate, DD. By dead reckoning MS AA col. v will end at about l. 205:

DD	190	[x x x x x i]l ¹ la ¹ k[a . . .]	
DD	191	[per ^u (nunuz) šá lib-b]i uruk ^{ki} TAK BU [. . .]	
AADD	192	[x (x) x]x-ma i-ziz-za-am-ma š[i?-. . .]	
AADD	193	[šarru(lugal) ^d GİŠ-g]ím-maš per ^u (nunuz) šá lib-bi uru ^{ki} TAK BU . . .]	
AADD	194	[^d šamaš(utu)] iš-me-ma zi-kir pi- ¹ i ¹ [šú]	
DD	195	[ul-tu ul-l]a-nu-um-ma tuk-ku u[l-tu šamê(an) ^c il-ta-na-sa-áš-šú]	
AADD	196	[ur-r]i-i ¹ i ¹ -ziz-za-áš-šú la ir-r[u-ub ana ^{ms} qišti(ír)-šú]	
AADD	197	[la ur]-rad a-na ḫal-bi-ím-ma la [. . .]	
AADD	198	[la i]ḫ-ḫal-líp 7 ^{isg} naḫlapāti(gú.è) ^{ms} -š[u . . .]	DD

AA	199	[1-e]t? ḫa-líp-ma 6 šá-ḫi-ī :
AA	200	šu-nu [.]
AA	201	[¹ kīma(gim)] ¹ ri-i-mu kàd-ri it-ku-p[u . . .]
AA	202	[i]t-til-ta is-si-ma ma-lí pi-[rit-ta]
AA	203	[m]a-aš-šar qí-šá-ti i-šas-si :
AA	204	x[.]
AA	205	[^d ḫum-ba-ba kīma(gim)] ^d adad(iškur) i ¹ -[rag-gu-um?]

After a gap we should probably expect MS S col. vi:

S	210	[e-i]al-du [.]
S	211	^d GİŠ-gim-maš pā(ka)-[šú ṭpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ^m ana ^d en-ki-dù]
S	212	ib-ri ul [.]
S	213	ul māri(dumu) ^{ms} e-tal-d[u]
S	214	^d en-ki-dù pa-a-šú ṭpuš(dù)-m[a iqabbi izakkara ^m ana ^d GİŠ-gim-maš]
S	215	ib-ri šá ni-il-la-kaš-š[u nukkur mimma]
S	216	^d ḫum-ba-ba šá n[i-il-la-kaš-šú nukkur mimma]
S	217	^d GİŠ-gim-maš pā(ka)-šú ṭpu[š(dù)-ma iqabbi izakkara ^m ana ^d en-ki-dù]
S	218	[i]b-ri lu-n[i-ir?]
S	219	[x x] ¹ a ¹ -n[a]

After a further gap the end of Tablet IV is preserved on MS AA col. vi, which should terminate at about l. 250:

AA	226	[. . .]x x[.]
AA	227	[.]x-šú :

194 AA: iš-ma]¹a¹ 194-5, 199-200, 203-4, 227-8 AA in one line

When the text resumes it appears that Enkidu is still speaking to Gilgameš:

190	‘[.] going [.]
191	[O offshoot sprung from] Uruk’s midst, . . . [. . .]
192	[. . .] . . . stand there and [.]
193	O Gilgameš [the king], offshoot sprung from Uruk’s midst, [.]
194	[Šamaš] heard what [he] had spoken,
195	[straight] away a voice [cried to him from the heavens:]
196	‘Hurry, stand against him! He must not [enter his forest,]
197	[he must not] go down into the grove, he must not [.]
198	he [must not] wrap himself in his seven cloaks! [.]

199	[One] he was wrapped in, six he had divested,
200	they [.]
201	Like a fierce wild bull, horns locked [.]
202	he bellowed once, and it was (a bellow) full of terror.
203	The guardian of the forests was bellowing,
204	. . . [.]
205	Ḫumbaba was [thundering] like the Storm God.

After a lacuna Gilgameš and Enkidu are again in conversation:

210	‘[.] have been born [.]’
211	Gilgameš [opened his] mouth [to speak, saying to Enkidu:]
212	‘My friend, [have they] not [. ?]
213	Have they not sired sons [. ?]’
214	Enkidu opened his mouth [to speak, saying to Gilgameš:]
215	‘My friend, the one to whom we are going, [he is something very strange!]
216	Ḫumbaba, to whom we [are going, he is something very strange!]’
217	Gilgameš opened his mouth [to speak, saying to Enkidu:]
218	‘My friend, I would [slay]
219	[. . .] to [.]’

After a short lacuna the conversation continues:

- AA 228 *lu-x*[.]
- AA 229 [^d*en-ki-dù pa-a*]-šú *īpuš*(dù)^{wi}-*ma i-q*[*ab-bi izakkara^{ra} ana^dGIŠ-gim-maš*]
- AA 230 [. . .]-*tar-da x*[.]
- AA 231 [. . .]-*te-e-ma i-man-g*[*i-ga i-da-a-a?*] AA
- AA 232 [^d*GIŠ-gim-ma*]^s *pa-a-šú īpuš*(dù)-*ma iqabbi*(*du₄, ga*) *izakkara*(*mu*)^[ra] [*ana^den-ki-dù*]
- AA 233 [*am-me-ni i*]^b-*ri pi-is-nu-qiš n*[*i-qab-bi*]
- AA 234 [*ni-nu?* šá? *n*]-*te-et-ti-qa*^r [*ka-l^l-šū-nu^r hur^l-[sa-a-ni]*]
- AA 235 [. . .]x x x x x *ina pa-ni-ni* :
- AA 236 [^r*la^l-ma ni^r-ū-ta^h^l-su* [.]
- AA 237 [*ib-r*]ⁱ *mu-du-u tu-qu-un-tu* :
- AA 238 šá *tāhāza*(*mè*) *it-x*[.]
- AA 239 [x]x *tal-tap-pit-ma ul ta-ad-da*[*r* . . .]
- AA 240 [x]x-*ma ki-i a-pil-lim-ma šu-un-n*[*i?* . . .]
- AA 241 [*ki-m*]^a *li-li-su lu-ú šá-pu r*[*i-gim-ka*]
- AA 242 [*i-ši man-gu šá i-di-ka u lu-²-tú lit-ba-a* [*ina bir-ki-ka?*]
- AA 243 [*i*]^{i-š}-*bat ib-ri iš-te-niš nit-*[*tal-lak?*]
- AA 244 [*hid-b*]^{u-ub} *lib-bal-ka?* *tu-qu^r-un^r-tu* :
- AA 245 *mu-u-tú mi-ši-ma^r ba-la-tu^r* [*še-²-i?*]
- AA 246 [x-n]^u *it-pal-lu pit-qu-du a^rme-lu^l*
- AA 247 [*šá ina*]^r [*pāni*(*igi*)^l *illiku*(*du*)^{ku} *pa-gar-šú iš-šur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim*]
- AA 248 [*ana u₄-me r*]^{u-qu-ti} *šū-nu šu-ma iš-tak-nu*
- AA 249 [x (x) x] *re-qi ik-šū-du ki-lal-la-an*
- AA 250 [*ú-gam-me-r*]^u *a-ma-ti^l-šū-nu šū-nu iz-ziz-zu* AA
- AA V 1 [*iz-zi-zu*]^r [*ma i-na-pa^l-at^r tu^l qišta*(*ti*[*r*])

A trace, possibly of colophon, is also preserved at the end of col. vi of MS w₁:

w₁ vi 1' [.]x^r[*zu*] [(x x x)]

The point at which Tablet IV ended and Tablet V began was apparently not settled, and at least two different traditions in this matter are extant. For the purposes of this edition Tablet V will begin at the earlier of these points, col. i of MS H.

- 229 [Enkidu] opened his [mouth] to speak,
[saying to Gilgameš:]
- 230 '[. . .] have come down [.]
- 231 [. . .] . . . and [*my arms*] grow stiff!'
-
- 232 [Gilgameš] opened his mouth to speak,
saying [to Enkidu:]
- 233 '[Why,] my friend, are we [speaking] like weaklings?
- 234 [*We, who*] came across all (those) mountains,
235 [did not . . .] before us?
- 236 Before we have withdrawn [.]
- 237 My [friend,] experienced in combat,
238 who . . . battle [.]
- 239 [. . .] you kept touching and (so) you do not fear [. . . ,]
- 240 [. . .] like a very *dervish*, change [. . .]
- 241 Let [your shout] boom loud [like] a kettledrum,
242 let the stiffness of your arms depart and feebleness go forth [*from your knees!*]
- 243 Take hold of me, my friend, we shall [*go on*] as one,
244 [let] your mind dwell on combat!
- 245 Forget death and [*seek*] life!
246 [. . .] . . . the careful man.
- 247 "[He who] went first protected his person, let him bring the companion to safety!"
- 248 It is they who have established a name [for] future [*time!*]"
- 249 [At the] *distant* [. . .] they both arrived,
250 [they stopped] their conversation, they came to a halt.
-
- V 1 [They stood] *marvelling* at the forest.

TABLET V

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
H	K 3252 + 8561	72, 73
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 214, 215–16: Tr (K 3252 only)	
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 11: C (K 3252 only)	
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 158–61, 164–7: TTr (K 3252 only)	
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 36–7, pls. 17–19: C T	
	1968 B. Landsberger, <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 108–9: ttr (ll. 72–7 only)	
	i 1–18	v 253–260
	ii 53–80	vi 297–302, colophon
<i>Babylon</i>		
u	Rm 853, rev.	71
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 21: C	
	1968 B. Landsberger, <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 108–9: TTr	
	obv. see Tablet IV	vi 74–7

Text

HAA	1	<i>iz</i> ¹ <i>-zi</i> ¹ <i>-zu-ma i</i> ¹ <i>-nap</i> ¹ <i>-pa</i> ¹ <i>-at</i> ¹ <i>tu</i> ¹ ^{eris} <i>qi</i> ¹ <i>šta</i> ¹ (tir) ¹
H	2	<i>ša</i> ^{eris} <i>erēni</i> (eren) <i>it-ta-nap-la-su mi-la-šú</i>
H	3	<i>ša</i> ^{eris} <i>qi</i> ^{šta} (tir) <i>it-ta-nap-la-sú né-reb-šú</i>
H	4	<i>a-šar</i> ^h <i>um-ba-ba it-tal-la-ku ša-kin kib-su</i>
H	5	<i>ḥar-ra-na-a-tu šu-te-šu-ra-ma tu-ub-bat gir-ru</i>
H	6	<i>e</i> ¹ <i>-ma-ru šadū</i> (kur) ^u ^{eris} <i>erēni</i> (eren) <i>mu-šab ilī</i> (dingir) ^{mas} <i>pa-rak</i> ^d <i>ir-ni-ni</i>
H	7	<i>[ina p]a-an šadī</i> (kur) <i>-im-ma</i> ^{eris} <i>erēnu</i> (eren) <i>na-ši ḥi-šib-šú</i>
H	8	<i>[l]a-a-bu šil-la-šú ma-lī ri-ša-a-ti</i>
H	9	<i>[šu-te-l]u-up gi-iš-šu ḥi-ū-lu-pat</i> ^{eris} <i>qi</i> ^{šta} (tir)
H	10	<i>[x x-p]u</i> ^{eris} <i>erēnu</i> (eren) sm <i>ballukkum</i> (MUG) <i>-ma</i> ¹ <i>ni</i> ¹ <i>-x</i> ¹ <i>[x x (x) x]</i>
H	11	<i>[x (x) x]x-bal-la 1 bēra</i> (danna) ^{am} <i>[x x x x]</i>

1 AA:¹*i-na-pa*¹*-at-tu*

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Uruk</i>		
w ₁	VAT 14512, rev.	71
	1931 A. Falkenstein, <i>LKU</i> no. 39: C	
	obv. see Tablet IV	v 1'–2' vi colophon?
dd	IM 76985 (W 22554/7)	74–6
	1980 E. von Weiher, 'Ein Fragment der 5. Tafel des Gilgamesh-Epos aus Uruk', <i>Bagh. Mitt.</i> 11, pp. 90–105, pls. 15–16: P T Tr	
	1988 E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> III no. 59: C T Tr	
	i 85–108	iv 228–247
	ii 130–61	v 255–277
	iii 175–91	vi 289–302, colophon
MSS dd and (almost certainly) u and w belong to a recension of the text current in Babylonia in which the division between Tablets IV and V falls much later than in the Assyrian manuscripts. The latter's division is adopted here, so that cols. v and vi of the Babylonian MSS of Tablet IV are edited as parts of Tablet V.		
Composite cuneiform text		
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 25–8, 87–9: MSS H and dd	CT

Translation

1	They stood <i>marvelling</i> at the forest,
2	observing the height of the cedars,
3	observing the way into the forest.
4	Where Ḥumbaba came and went there was a track,
5	the paths were in good order and the way was well trodden.
6	They were gazing at the Cedar Mountain, the dwelling of the gods, the throne-dais of the goddesses,
7	[on the] very face of the mountain the cedar was proffering its abundance,
8	sweet was its shade, full of delight.
9	[All] tangled was the thorny undergrowth, the forest was a thick canopy,
10	[. . .] cedar, <i>ballukku</i> -tree . . . [. . .]
11	[. . .] . . . one league each [. . .]

H	12	[x x x x ⁸⁵⁵]urmēnu(šur.min) ana šī-ni-pat [x x (x) x x]
H	13	[x x (x) x x-l]e-e ki-iš-ru l[a x x (x) x x]
H	14	[x x x x x]x-lu ki-ma zu-x[x x x x x]
H	15	[x x x x x k]a?-lu [.]
H	16	[.]x ^r ru ¹ [.]
H	17	[.]x[.]
H	18	[.]x[.]

Late in the long gap between cols. i and ii of MS H we expect the traces of MS w₁ col. v (Tablet IV in the Babylonian MSS):

w ₁	1'	x[.]
w ₁	2'	i ni-x[.]

MS H resumes with its duplicate, MS u rev. (in which we are also still in Tablet IV):

H	53	u[l]-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma nam-ša-ri x[.]
H	54	^r ū ¹ ul-tu ia ^r ka ¹ la-a-tu [.]
H	55	ḥa-[šī-i]n-nu lit-pu-tu [.]
H	56	pa ^r a ¹ [šū ū] nam-ša-ru ^r ina ^r 1 x[.]
H	57	iš-tē[n (x)] x [.]
H	58	iḥ ^r lu ¹ [pu]
H		
H	59	^d ḥum-ba-[ba]
H	60	ul il-x[.]
H	61	ul i[l-]
H	62	[x] ^r um ¹ [.]
H	63	[n]a-a[n-]
H	64	[i]r?-du-[.]
H	65	^d Gīš-[gim-maš pāšū ṛpušma iqabbi izakkara ana ^d en-ki-dū]
H	66	[mi-n]a?-a ^r 1 [ib-ri]
H	67	[x] x x[.]
H	68	[x (x) x-k]ar ^r ra ¹ [.]
H	69	[ana ^d en-lil li-[.]
H	70	[^d e]n-ki-dū pa ^r a ¹ -šū [ṛpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ^d Gīš-gim-maš]
H	71	[š]a ^d ḥum-ba-ba x[.]
H	72	[ana?] iš-tén iš-tén-ma x[.]
H	73	[2] ^r lu ¹ -ba-ra-tu-ma [.]
Hu	74	[lu m]uš-ḥal-ši-tūm-ma x[. . .] / 2 m[u- . . .]
Hu	75	2-ta taš-ka-a-ti x[.]

75 H: [x] 2^ria¹ taš-ka-a-ta

12	[. . .] cypress for two-thirds [. . .]
13	[. . .] . . . lump . . . [. . .]
14	[. . .] . . . like . . . [. . .]
15	[.] all [.]

Lacuna

53	Straight away the dirks [.]
54	and from the scabbards [.]
55	The axes were smeared [.]
56	hatchets [and] dirks in [.]
57	One [.]
58	they crept [into]

59	Humbaba [.]
60	he did not . . . [.]
61	he did not [.]

Lacuna

65	Gilgameš [opened his mouth to speak, [saying to Enkidu:]
66	'Why, [my friend, ?]
67	[. . .] . . . [.]
68	[. . .] . . . [.]
69	[to] Enlil let [.]'
70	Enkidu [opened] his mouth [to speak, [saying to Gilgameš:]
71	'Of Humbaba [.]
72	[or] one, one alone [.]
73	[Two] garments, however, [.]
74	[though] it is a glacis slope [. . .] two [. . .]
75	Two triplets [.]

Hu	76	<i>ás-lu šu-uš-lu-š[e]</i>
Hu	77	<i>[la-bi] dan-nu 2 mi-ra-[nu-šú]</i>
H	78	<i>[x x]-a?-ka ki-i[n-]</i>
H	79	<i>[x x]a?-hu-u[š]</i>
H	80	<i>[x x][ut?-tah³]-[.]</i>

Probably soon after this point MS dd begins Tablet V:

dd	85	<i>^dhum-ba-^fba¹pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga) izakkara(mu)^ma-na ^dGIŠ-gim-m[as]</i>
dd	86	<i>lim-tal-ku lil-lu ^dGIŠ-gim-maš nu-²-ú a-me-lu mi-na-a tal-[i-ka] / a-di [maḥri(iḡi)-ia¹]</i>
dd	87	<i>al-ka ^den-ki-dù mār(dumu) nūni(ku₆) šá la i-du-ú aba(ad)-šú</i>
dd	88	<i>[a¹-tam raq-qu ú šeleppe(nig.bún.na)^{ku₆} šá la i-ni-qu ši-zib ummi(ama)-šú</i>
dd	89	<i>[i¹-na še-ḥe-ri-ka a-dag-gal-ka-ma ul a-qer-ru-bu-ka</i>
dd	90	<i>[x x]x da-ku-ka-a ul-tab-ba-a ina kar-ši-ia</i>
dd	91	<i>[am-me-ni lem-n]iš ^dGIŠ-gim-maš tu-šak-ši-du a-di maḥ-ri-ia</i>
dd	92	<i>u^fat¹-[ta ki]^fi¹⁴nakri(kúr) a-ḥi-i t(a)(GA)-az-zi-zu</i>
dd	93	<i>lu-u[k-kis šá] ^dGIŠ¹-gim-maš nap-šá-ri u ki-šá-du</i>
dd	94	<i>lu-šá-k[il š]iri(uzu)^{me}-šú i[š-s]ur šar-ša-ri na-²i-ri a-re-e u zi-i-bi</i> dd
dd	95	<i>^dGIŠ-gi[m-ma]š pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-m[a] iqabbi(dug₄.ga) izakkara(mu)^mana ^den-ki-dù</i>
dd	96	<i>ib-ri [šá^d]hum-ba-ba i[š-i]a-nu-ú pa-ni-šú</i>
dd	97	<i>{u} gaš^fri¹-i[š n]i-te-la-a ana^fašri(ki)?-šú¹ni-kaš-šad-[s]ul? šá-a-šú</i>
dd	98	<i>ú lib-bi [i]p^fla¹-hu ul i^fpa-šá¹-[h]u^fa¹-[di] sur-riš</i> dd
dd	99	<i>^den-ki-dù pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(du[g₄.g]a) izakkara(mu)^m[ana ^dGIŠ-gim-maš</i>
dd	100	<i>am-mi-ni ib-ri pi-is-nu-qiš!(UQ) [ta-qa]b-bi</i>
dd	101	<i>ú pi-i-ka ir-ma-am-ma tu^flam¹-[man l]ib-bi</i>
dd	102	<i>e-nin-na-ma ib-ri iš-ta-at [(x)]^fpi?¹-[x]</i>
dd	103	<i>ina ra-a-tu¹⁴nappāḥi(simug) e-ra-(a) šá-ba-šá^fa¹</i>
dd	104	<i>tu-ú-ru ana 1 bēr(danna)^{am} na-pa-hu na-pi-iḥ-tu ana 1 bēr(danna)^{am} x^flu-ú¹</i>
dd	105	<i>šá-par a-bu-bu iš-tuḥ-hu la-pa-tu</i>
dd	106	<i>[e]^fta¹-as-suh šēpī(gir)^{min}-ka e ta-tu-ur ana ár-ki-ka</i>
dd	107	<i>[.]x x x mi-ḥi-iš-ka du-un-nin</i>
dd	108	<i>[.]x x x [x x] x x x</i>

76 H: x^fás¹-lu šu-uš-lu-šú 77 H: [lab-b]a

76	a three-ply rope [<i>is not easily broken.</i>]
77	As for the mighty lion, [his] two cubs [<i>.</i>]

Lacuna

The encounter with Humbaba has already begun when MS dd sets in:

85	Humbaba opened his mouth to speak, saying to Gilgameš:
86	‘Let fools, Gilgameš, take the advice of an idiot fellow! Why have you come [here] into my presence?’
87	Come, Enkidu, (you) spawn of a fish, who knew not his father,
88	hatchling of terrapin and turtle, who sucked not the milk of his mother!
89	When you were young I would watch you but I would not go near you,
90	[. . .]you, . . . in my belly. ¹
91	[Why] did you bring Gilgameš before me in [treachery],
92	and you take your stand here like a hostile enemy?
93	I will [slit] the gullet and throat of Gilgameš,
94	I will feed his flesh to the “locust” birds, the ravening eagles and vultures! ²
95	Gilgameš opened his mouth to speak, saying to Enkidu:
96	‘My friend, Humbaba’s features have changed!
97	Boldly we came up here to his <i>lair</i> to defeat him,
98	but the heart that took fright does not grow calm in a moment.’
99	Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying [to] Gilgameš:
100	‘Why, my friend, [do you] speak like a weakling?’
101	With your feeble talk ² you vex my heart!
102	Now, my friend, there is a single . . .
103	To gather up the copper (ingots) from the channel-moulds of the copper-founder?
104	To blow on the coals for a double hour, to . . . what is alight for a double hour?
105	To send the Deluge is to crack the whip!
106	[Do not] pull back your foot, do not make a retreat!
107	[. . .] . . . make your blow good and strong!

¹ Or, ‘in my mind’.

² Lit. ‘And your mouth went limp’.

Lacuna of about half a column

- dd 130 [.] x lu tar-du
 dd 131 ¹iš-mi?-šú-nu¹-ti-ma [i-ná?] ru-ú-qu
 dd 132 im-^haš qaq-qa-ram-ma pi-x x uš-tam-^hir-šú
 dd 133 ina a-si-du še-pi-šú-nu qaq-qa-ri i-bi-iš-šú
 dd 134 ina sa-a-ri-šú-nu u^h-tap⁶-pu-ú si-ra-ra u la-ba-na-nu
 dd 135 i^š-ša-lim ur-pa-tum pe-ši-tum
 dd 136 mu-tum ki-ma im-ba-ri i-za-an-nun eli(ugu)-šú-un
 dd 137 ^dšamaš(utu) a-na ^dḫum-ba-ba id-kaš-šum-ma me-^he-ra-bu-tu
 dd 138 ^{im}šūtu(u₁₈.lu) ^{im}ilīānu(si.sá) ^{im}šadū(kur.ra) ^{im}amurru(mar.dú) ^{im}ziq-qa
 dd 139 ^{im}ziq-qa-ziq-qa ^{im}šá-par-ziq-qa im-^hul-lu ^{im}si-mur-ra
 dd 140 a-sak-ku šu-ru-up-pu-ú me-^hu-ú a-šam-šú-tu
 dd 141 13 šārū(im)^{mes} it-bu-nim-ma šá ^dḫum-ba-ba i-tu-ú pa-ni-šú
 dd 142 ul i-nak-^hip a-na pa-ni-šú ul i-ra-ah-^hi-iš ana arki(egir)-šú
 dd 143 ú ^{es}kakkū(tukul)^{mes} šá ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ik-šú-du ^dḫum-ba-ba
 dd 144 ^dḫum-ba-ba nap!(AB)-šá-tuš i-še-²e izakkara(mu)^{ra} ana ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 dd 145 še-eh-re¹e¹-ti¹ ^dGIŠ-gim-maš¹ umma(ama)-ka ú-lid-ka
 dd 146 u i-lit-ti šá¹ ¹[ri-mat-^dnin-sún] at-ta
 dd 147 ina pi-i ^dšamaš(utu) u šadī(kur)ⁱ x x¹e (or un)¹-ma
 dd 148 ¹pe¹-er-²um-ma šá libbi(šà) uruk^{ki} šarru(lugal) ^dGIŠ-gi[m-m]aš
 dd 149 [x] x x ^dGIŠ-gim-maš mi-i-ti¹ ¹ul¹ x-tar-ri [(x)]x-lu
 dd 150 [ár-du bal-ī]u ana be¹li-šú¹ [.]
 dd 151 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš¹ e-¹tir napīšū¹(zi)¹ [.]
 dd 152 lu-ši-ba-ak-kūm-ma ina [.]
 dd 153 i^š-ši ma-la taq-qa-ba¹ [.]
 dd 154 lu-uš-šur-ka ^{es}asa(gir) ^{es}[.]
 dd 155 i^š-ši bal-ti eka[¹li(é.gal) . . .] dd
- dd 156 [^de]n-ki-dū pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga) i[¹zakkara(mu)^{ra} ana
^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 dd 157 [ib-r]i e taš-me šá ^dḫum-ba-ba qabâ(d[ug₄.ga]-[šú]
 dd 158 [x x x] ¹un¹-nin-ni-šú x [x] x x [x x x]
 dd 159 [. . .]um-ma x[.]
 dd 160 [.] a [.]
 dd 161 [.]x [.]

Lacuna of between one-third and half a column

- dd 175 am-ra-ta-ma tē-e-me ^{es}qīšti(tir)-ia tē-e¹ me ku¹-x[(. . .)]
 dd 176 ú ti-de-e ka-li-šú-nu šá qa-bē-e

When the text resumes after a long lacuna, battle is about to commence:

- 130 ‘[.] may they be banished!’
 131 He *heard* them [(. .) *from*] a distance,
 132 he smote the very ground, . . . he squared up to him.
 133 At the heels of their feet the earth was splitting apart,
 134 as they whirled around Sirara and Lebanon were sundered.³
 135 White cloud was turned to black,
 136 death raining down upon them like a mist.
 137 Šamaš roused against Ḫumbaba the mighty stormwinds:
 138 South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind, Blast,
 139 Counterblast, Gale, Tempest, Typhoon,
 140 Hell-Wind, Icy Blast, Hurricane, Tornado.
 141 Thirteen winds rose up and the face of Ḫumbaba darkened—
 142 he cannot charge forwards, he cannot kick backwards—
 143 and then the weapons of Gilgameš did catch Ḫumbaba.
 144 Pleading for his life, Ḫumbaba said to Gilgameš:
 145 ‘You are young, Gilgameš, (as when) your mother bore you,
 146 but you are the offspring of [Wild-Cow Ninsun!]
 147 By command of Šamaš also the mountains⁴ . . . ,
 148 An offshoot sprung from Uruk’s midst is King Gilgameš!
 149 [. . .], Gilgameš, a dead man cannot. . . ,
 150 [a slave] alive [can] for his lord.
 151 O Gilgameš, spare my life [.]
 152 let me dwell here for you in [. !]
 153 Trees as many as you command from me [.]
 154 I will guard for you the myrtle, the [.]
 155 timber that is the pride of a palace [. . .]’
-
- 156 Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
 [saying to Gilgameš:]
 157 ‘My [friend], do not listen to what Ḫumbaba says,
 158 [. . .] his supplications. . . [. . .]’

Lacuna. When the text resumes, Ḫumbaba is speaking:

- 175 ‘You are experienced in the ways of my forest, the ways [. . .]
 176 also you know all the (best) things to say.

³ Or, ‘they sundered Sirara and Lebanon’.⁴ Or, reading *bāl*(umun) *šadi*, ‘Šamaš, lord of the mountains’?

- dd 177 *lu-ú áš-ši-ka lu-ú a-lul-ka ina né-reb pa-pal-la*⁶⁵ *qīšti(tir)-iá*
 dd 178 *lu-ú ú-šá-kil šīr(uzu)-ka iš-šur šar-ša-ri na-²-i-ri a-re-e u zi-i-b[ī]*
 dd 179 *e-nin-na-a-ma*^d *en-ki-dù itti(ki)-ka šá-¹ki¹-in ru-um-m[u-²-a]*
 dd 180 *qī-bi-ma a-na*^d *GĪŠ-gim-maš napīšī(zi) li-ī-ir* dd
 dd 181 *en-ki-dù pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄, ga) izakkara(mu)^m ana*^d *GĪŠ-gi[m-maš]*
 dd 182 *ib-ri*^d *ḫum-ba-ba ma-aš-šar*⁶⁵ *qīšti(tir)*⁶⁵ *[erēni(eren)]*
 dd 183 *gum-mir-šú né-er-šu tē-en-šú ḫul-li[q]*
 dd 184 *ḫum-ba-ba ma-aš-šar*⁶⁵ *qīšti(tir) gum-m[ir-šú] né-er-šu tē-en-šú ḫul-[liq]*
 dd 185 *la-am iš-mu-ú a-šá-re-du*^d *[n-lil]*
 dd 186 *lib-ba-ti-ni i-mál-lu-ú ilū(dingir)^m [rabātu(gal)^m]*
 dd 187 *en-lil ina nippuri(nibru)^{ki} šamaš ina [larsa^{ki}. . .]*
 dd 188 *šu-uz-ziz-ma da-ra-a* [a-x x x]
 dd 189 *ki-i*^d *GĪŠ-gim-maš*^d *ḫum-b[a-ba ināru? . . .]*
 dd 190 *[ī]š-me-e-ma*^d *ḫum-ba-ba [šá en-ki-dù qa-ba-a-šú?]*
 dd 191 *[iš-šī] ma re-ši-šú*^d *ḫum¹-b[a-ba]*

Lucana of the best part of a whole column

- dd 228 *[e¹-x[.]]*
 dd 229 *e-ka-a-m[a]*
 dd 230 *iš-me-[e-ma]*^d *ḫum-ba-ba*
 dd 231 *[iš¹-š[i-ma re-ši-šú*^d *ḫum-ba-ba]*
 dd 232 *[.]*
 dd 233 *x[.]x x[.]*
 dd 234 *x[. . .]x-ma ma-lī-k[u. . .]*
 dd 235 *ù áš-bu šá bīti(é)-šú gi-ra-a-tum* [x (x) x]
 dd 236 *áš-ba-ta ki-ma re²i(sipa) ma-[ḫar-šú]*
 dd 237 *ù ki-i a-gi-ir pi-i-šú t[a-x x x]*
 dd 238 *e-nin-na-a-ma*^d *en-ki-dù itti(ki)-ka šá-kin [ru-um-mu-²-a] / u* [x x x]
 dd 239 *qī-bi-ma ana*^d *GĪŠ-gim-maš napīšī(zi)^d [i-ī-ir]* dd
 dd 240 *en-ki-dù pa-a-šú tpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄, ga) izakkara(mu)^m [ana*^d *GĪŠ-gim-maš]*
 dd 241 *[i]b-ri*^d *ḫum-ba-[ba] ma-aš-šar*⁶⁵ *qī[šti(tir) gum-mir-šú] / né-er-šu-ma [ē-en-šú ḫul-liq]*
 dd 242 *[la-am] iš-mu-ú a-šá-re-du*^d *[en-lil]*
 dd 243 *[lib¹-ba-ti-ni i-mál-lu-ú ilū^m [rabātu(gal)^m]*
 dd 244 *[e^dn-lil ina nippuri(nibru)^{ki} šamaš(utu) ina [ars]a^{ki} [. . .] / [šu-uz-ziz]*^d *ma da-ra-a¹ a-[x x x]*

- 177 Had I only picked you up and hanged you from a sapling at my forest's entrance,⁵
 178 had I only fed your flesh to the "locust" birds, the ravening eagles and vultures.
 179 Now, Enkidu, [my] release rests with you:
 180 speak to Gilgameš so he spares my life.⁷
 181 Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
 saying to Gilgameš:
 182 'My friend, Ḫumbaba, guardian of the Forest of [Cedar,]
 183 finish him, slay him, do away with his power!
 184 Ḫumbaba, guardian of the Forest (of Cedar),
 finish him, slay him, do away with his power,
 185 before Enlil the foremost has learned (about it)!
 186 The [great] gods could be angry with us,
 187 Enlil in Nippur, Šamaš in [Larsa. . .]
 188 Establish an eternal [. . .]
 189 how Gilgameš [*slew*] Ḫumbaba [. . .]'
 190 Ḫumbaba heard [*what Enkidu said*,]
 191 Ḫumbaba [lifted up] his head and [. . .]

After a long break, the text resumes with the end of a speech, probably by Enkidu:

- 229 'Whither [.]?'
 230 [Ḫumbaba] heard [*what Enkidu said*,]
 231 [Ḫumbaba] lifted [up his head and]

The end of Ḫumbaba's reply:

- 234 '[. . .] . . . counsellor [. . .]
 235 and the one who dwells in his house [. . .] hostilities.
 236 You sit before [him] like a shepherd,
 237 and like one at his beck and call⁶ you [. . .]
 238 Now, Enkidu, [my release] rests with you, and [. . .]
 239 speak to Gilgameš so he [spares] my life!⁷
 240 Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
 saying [to Gilgameš]:
 241 'My friend, Ḫumbaba, guardian of the Forest [of Cedar,]
 [finish him,] slay him, do [away with his power,]
 242 before [Enlil] the foremost has learned (about it)!
 243 The [great] gods could be angry with us,
 244 Enlil in Nippur, Šamaš in [Larsa. . .]
 Establish an eternal [. . .]

⁵ The text reads: 'at the entrance to a sapling of my forest', and is no doubt corrupt.

⁶ Lit. 'the hireling of his mouth'.

- dd 245 [ki]¹-[i]¹ dGIŠ-gim-maš {DIŠ} ^dh[um-b]a-[ba]¹ i-nar¹-r[u? . . .]
 dd 246 iš-me-e-ma ^dhum-b[a-ba] x x x[. . .] / u i-x[. . .]
- Lacuna
- H 253 [.]x hu [.]
 H 254 x[.]x la la l[i]
 dd 255 a-a¹ú¹-[.] / [. . .]
 Hdd 256 a-a ú-lab-bi-ra ki-lal-la¹an¹
 Hdd 257 elú(ugu) ib-ri-šú ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ^den-ki-dù qé-bil¹(IB)-ri a-a ir-šú dd
-
- Hdd 258 ^den-ki-dù pa-a-šú ipuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄ga) izakkara(mu)^{ra} ana ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 Hdd 259 ib-ri a-qab-bi-kúm-ma ul ta-šem-ma-an-ni
 Hdd 260 a¹di ar¹-rat x[x x]x [(x)] x [x (x)]
 dd 261 x[.]¹ a-na pi-i¹-šú
 dd 262 [iš-me ^dGIŠ-gim-maš zi-ki] r ib-ri-šú
 dd 263 [iš-lu-up¹ [nam-ša-ra i-na] i-di-šú
 dd 264 ^dGIŠ-gim-ma[š i-nar] k[i-š]á-dam-ma
 dd 265 {x} ^den-[ki-dù x x x]-pu-tu a-di ha-še-e iš-tal-pu
 dd 266 [. . .]¹la¹-nu i-šah-hi-iš
 dd 267 [ul-i]u qaqqadi(sag.du) i-ša¹l(ŠUL)-lal šin-nu
 dd 268 [. . .] tuh-du ana šadî(kur)ⁱ im-qut
 dd 269 [. . .] tuh-du ana šadî(kur)ⁱ im-qut
 dd 270 [. . .]x x la x x x x x
 dd 271 [.]x¹us¹ x x x x
- 272-6 lost
- dd 277 [.] uš-ša-x (x) x-¹a¹-ti

Lacuna

- dd 289 [.-d]u-¹ú ib-ta-at¹-qu-ni
 dd 290 [x x]x¹6¹ ubān(šu.si) ti-rik sun-gin-mi-šu-nu
 dd 291 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš iš-ši i-nak-ki-is / ^den-ki-dù iš-te-né²-a hur-ba-zal-lu dd
-
- dd 292 ^den-ki-dù pa-a-šú ipuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄ga) izakkara(mu)^{ra} ana ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 dd 293 ib-ri ni-ta-ki-is ^{bis}erēna(eren) ší-i-hu
 dd 294 šá muh-ša-šu šamē(an)^c nak-pi
 dd 295 e-pu-uš-ma ^{bis}dalta(ig) šá 6 nindan me-lu-šá 2 nindan ru-pu-us-su
 dd 296 1 ammat(kuš) ú-pu-šú šu!-ku-šá sa-hir-šá u šá-gam-ma-šá šá iš-te-en-¹ma¹
 H 297 [a-na bīt(é)? nippu]ri(nibru)¹ li-bi[l^{id}purattu]

256 H:]¹bi¹-ru ki-l[a- 258 H: i¹qab¹-[bi 259 H: a-qab-bak-kam-ma

- 245 how Gilgameš *slew* Humbaba [. . .]'
 246 Humbaba heard. . . [. . .] and. . . [. . .]

After a short gap the text resumes with Humbaba's cursing of his captors:

- 255 'May they not [.]
 256 May the pair of them not grow old,
 257 apart from his friend Gilgameš, may Enkidu have nobody to bury him!'
-
- 258 Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
 saying to Gilgameš:
 259 'My friend, I speak to you but you do not listen to me!
 260 Until the curses [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 261 [.] to his mouth.'
 262 [Gilgameš heard the words] of his friend,
 263 he drew forth [the dirk at] his side.
 264 Gilgameš [smote him] in the neck,
 265 Enkidu [. . .] . . . until he pulled out the lungs.
 266 [. . .] . . . jumping up,
 267 [from] the head he takes the tusks as booty.
 268 [. . . of] plenty fell on the mountain,
 269 [. . . of] plenty fell on the mountain.

Lacuna. When the text resumes Gilgameš and Enkidu are felling lumber:

- 289 [.] . . . they cut off,
 290 [. . .] *one-fifth* of a cubit was the. . . of their (cedar) shavings.
 291 As Gilgameš cut down the trees, Enkidu was seeking out the *best timber*.
-
- 292 Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
 saying to Gilgameš:
 293 'My friend, we have cut down a lofty cedar,
 294 whose top abutted the heavens.
 295 I made⁷ a door—six rods is its height, two rods its breadth, one cubit its thickness,
 296 its pole, its top pivot and its bottom pivot are all of a piece.
 297 Let the river Euphrates carry (it) to Nippur,⁸

⁷ Or corrupt for *lūpuš*, 'I will make'.

⁸ So MS dd; MS H: 'Let [the Euphrates] carry (it) [to the house of] Nippur.'

- H 298 [*liḫ-du-ú-m*] *a át-man* [*nippuri*(nibru)^{ki}]
 dd 297-8 *ana nippuri*(nibru)^[ki] *li-bil-lu*^{id} *pu-rat-t[um um-man?]* / *nippuri*^[ki] [*i-iḫ-du?*]
 H 299 [...]x *šur-min a-di* [...]
 dd *ḫar-mu am-mu la-r[u-ú. . .]* / [...]
 Hdd 300 *ir-tak-su a-mu it-ta-du*^[ú] [...]
 H 301 [...-]i? MIN *uš-kèn/mat*^d *en-ki-d[ú. . .]*
 dd ^d*en-ki-dù*^[ra]-*kib* [... . . .]
 Hdd 302 *u*^d *Giš-gim*¹-*maš qaqqad*(sag.du)^d *ḫum-ba*^[ba] x[...] Hdd
 Hdd VI 1 *im-su ma-le*^[e]-*šú ú-bi-ba* [*ti-l-le-šú*]

- 298 let Nippur's [people rejoice!]⁹
 299 branches [. . .] cypress [. . .]
 300 they bound together a raft, they laid [. . .]
 301 Enkidu was steering [.],¹⁰
 302 and Gilgameš [. . .] the head of Ḫumbaba.
 VI 1 He washed his matted hair, he cleaned [his equipment.]

⁹ So MS dd; MS H probably corrupt: '[let rejoice] the sanctuary [of Nippur]'.
¹⁰ So MS dd; MS H differently: '[. . .] . . . Enkidu [. . .]'

TABLET VI

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions Lines preserved on obverse	Plate Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
A ₁	K 231 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 21: C 1995 J. E. Curtis and J. E. Reade (eds.), <i>Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum</i> , p. 200: P (rev.)	78–81
A ₂	K 5335 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 17: C 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pl. 23: C (obv.) i 1–44 (A ₁) ii 45–84 (A ₁) iii 92–104 (A ₁), 102–12 (A ₂)	79, 81 iv 122–28 (A ₂), 125–32 (A ₁) v 145–71 (A ₁) vi 172–82, colophon (A ₁)
O ₁	K 3990 + 4579 + DT 2 + Rm 578 + Rm II 197 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 13 (Rm 578), 19 (K 4579 + DT 2), 20 (K 3990): C 1891 <i>Ibid.</i> , no. 71 (Rm II 197): C	82–5
O ₂	Sm 2112 + DT unnumbered 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 15: C i 1–12 (O ₁) ii 44–58 (O ₂) iii 83–94 (O ₂)	82–4 iv 121–39 (O ₁), 139–43 (O ₂) v 152–169 (O ₁) vi 170–83, colophon (O ₁)
Q ₁	K 4579A + 8018 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 14: C (K 8018 only)	86–8
Q ₂	K 14945 (Rm unnumbered) 1914 L. W. King, <i>CT</i> 34, pl. 17: C 1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 42, pl. 24: CT	86, 88
Q ₃	K 15193 + Sm 401 + Sm 2194 1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 16 (Sm 401), 18 (Sm 2194): C i 1–23 (Q ₁) ii 34–53 (Q ₁), 52–4, 58 (Q ₃) iii 80–98 (Q ₃)	86–8 iv 112–21 (Q ₃), 127–135 (Q ₂) v 146–51 (Q ₃), 153–164 (Q ₁) vi 176–182, colophon (Q ₁)

This MS exhibits a slightly different line numeration, with a decimal marker placed at l. 159 instead of 160.

MS	Museum number Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions Lines preserved on obverse	Plate Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Aššur</i>		
a ₁	VAT 9667 (Ass 21600r) 1919 E. Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> no. 115: C	89–91
a ₂	A 122 + 123 1960 R. Frankena, 'Nouveaux fragments de la sixième tablette de l'Épopée de Gilgameš', in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 113–22: t 1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. xxix: C (a ₁₊₂ obv. only) i 1–21 (a ₁) ii 37–73 (a ₁₊₂) iii 79–104 (a ₂) Possible unplaced fragments of a are A 124B and A 124C	90, 91 iv 110–27 (a ₂) v 139–162 (a ₁₊₂) vi 180–183, colophon (a ₁) 91
d	VAT 11576 1923 E. Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> no. 320: C ii 61–65 [rev. not extant]	87
Composite cuneiform texts and editions		
1875	G. Smith, <i>IV R¹</i> , pls. 48–9: A ₁ , O ₁ (K 3990, K 4579 + DT 2 only), Q ₁ (K 8018 only)	C
1876	G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 217–25: A ₁ , A ₂ , O ₁ (K 3990, K 4579 + DT 2 only), O ₂ , Q ₁ (K 8018 only), Q ₃ (Sm 401 only)	Tr
1877	H. F. Talbot, 'Ishtar and Izdubar, being the sixth tablet of the Izdubar series', <i>TSBA</i> 5, pp. 97–121: text as Smith 1875 (cols. i and ii only)	CTTr
1884	P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 22: A ₁ , A ₂ , O ₁ (K 3990, K 4579 + DT 2, Rm 578: unjoined), O ₂ , Q ₁ (K 8018 only), Q ₃ (Sm 401 only)	C
1891	T. G. Pinches, <i>IV R²</i> 41–2 no. 1: text as Haupt 1884 with the addition of K 4579A (part of Q ₁) and Rm II 197 (part of O ₁)	C
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 166–79: text as Pinches 1891	TTr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 38–42, pls. 20–6: A ₁ , A ₂ rev., O ₁ , O ₂ , Q ₁ , Q ₃ , a ₁	CT
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 29–33, 91–3: A ₁ , A ₂ , O ₁ , O ₂ , Q ₁ , Q ₃ , a ₁ , a ₂ (as published by Frankena), d	CT

Text

A ₁ HO ₁ Q ₁ a ₁ dd	1	<i>im-si ma-le-šu ub-bi-ib til-le-šu</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	2	<i>ú-na-si-is qim-mat-su e-lu še-ri-šu</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	3	<i>id-di mar-šu-ti-šu ú-tal-bi-ša za-ku-ti-šu</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	4	<i>a-ša-a-ti it-tah-li-pa-am-ma ra-kis a-gu-uh-ḫu</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	5	^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-ga-šu i-te-ep-ra-am-ma	a
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	6	<i>a-na dum-qi ša^dGIŠ-gim-maš i-ni it-ta-ši ru-bu-tú^dištar(15)</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	7	<i>[a]l-kám-ma^dGIŠ-gim-maš lu-ú ḫa-²ir at-ta</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	8	<i>in-bi-ka ia-a-ši qa-a-šu qi-šam-ma</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	9	<i>at-ta lu-ú mu-ti-ma ana-ku lu-ú áš-šat-ka</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	10	<i>lu-ša-aš-mid-ka^{es}narkabti(gigir)^{na}uqni(za.gin) ú hurāšī(kù.sig₁₇)</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	11	<i>ša ma-gar-ru-ša hurāšum(kù.sig₁₇)-ma el-mi-šu qar-na-a-ša</i>	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	12	<i>lu-ú ša-am-da-ta ūmī(ud)^{mes} ku-da-nu rabūti(gal)^{mes}</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	13	<i>a-na bīti(é)-ni i-na sa-am-ma-ti^{es}erēni(eren) er-ba</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	14	<i>a-na bīti(é)-ni i-na e-re-bi-ka</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	15	<i>sip-pu a-rat-tu-ú li-na-áš-ši-qu šēpī(gir)^{min}-ka</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	16	<i>lu kám-^fsu¹ ina šap-li-ka šarrū(lugal)^{mes} kabtūtu(idim)^{mes} u rubū(nun)^{mes}</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	17	<i>[ka-la? l]i-qiṭ šadi(kur)ⁱ u māti(kur) lu-u na-šu-nik-ka bil-tu</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	18	<i>enzātu(ùz)^{mes}-ka tak-ši-i laḫrātu(u_s)^{mes}-ka tu-²a-mi li-li-da</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	19	<i>mūr(dūr)-ka ina [b]il-ti^{ansē} parā(kunga) li-ba-²a</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	20	<i>sīsū(anše.kur.ra)^{mes}-ka ina^{es}narkabti(gigir) lu-ú ša-ru-uh¹ la-sa-mu</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	21	<i>[a]lap(gud)^fka i-na¹ ni-i-ri šá-ni-na a-a ir-ši</i>	AQ
A ₁ Q ₁	22	<i>[^dGIŠ-gim-maš] pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi(dug.^fga¹)</i>	
A ₁ Q ₁	23	<i>[i-zak-ka-r]a a-na ru-bu-ti^diš¹-tar</i>	
A ₁	24	<i>[ul-tu-ma ana-k]u? a-na ka-a-ši aḫ-ḫ[a-z]u-ki</i>	

1 dd: im-su Q₁: ma]le-e-šu, til-le-e-šu O₁: -š]ú ub-bi-ba H:]^fe¹-šu ú-bi-ba 2 O₁: ú-na-s[il-ē]s Q₁: -si]s, e-li 3 O₁a₁: mar-šu-ti-šu Q₁: ú-tal-bi-iš O₁: za-ku^fti-šu¹ a₁: za-ku-ti 4 A₁: it-tah-li-ba-am-ma a₁: it-tah-[i-i]p-ma O₁: ra-ki-is A₁: a-gu-u[ḫ-h]a O₁a₁: a-gu-ḫa 5 a₁: a-ga-šu e-te-pir-am-ma O₁: i-te-pir-am-ma KIMIN Q₁: -i]e-ep-pir-am-ma ra-kis a-gu-uh-ḫu 6 a₁ in two lines A₁: du-un-qi a₁: ša A₁: i-na Q₁: igi^{mes} O₁: ru-bu-tum a₁: ^diš-tar 7 O₁a₁: al-ka a₁: lu¹ ḫa-[i]a-ni Q₁: ḫa-me-er 8 O₁a₁: qa-a-šu a₁: qi-ša-am^fma¹ 9 a₁: lu A₁: mu-te-ma Q₁a₁: a-na-ku a₁: l]u A₁: áš-šat-ka 10 O₁: lu-še-eš-mid-ka a₁: u 11 O₁: ma-gar-ru-šu Q₁: kù. s]ig₁₇-am-ma el-me-šu qar-na-a-ša a₁: ^fe¹me-še qar-na-ši 12 a₁: lu O₁a₁: ša-an-da-ta a₁: u-¹me ku-da-ni 13 Q₁a₁: sa-am-mat 14 Q₁: ina 15 a₁: a-rat-tu-u Q₁a₁: gir^{min,mes}-ka 16 Q₁: bēlū(en)^{mes} u nun^{mes} A₁ om. u 17 a₁: NAR.NAR-di Q₁: liq-i]u?, ma-a-tu lu-ú na-šu-nik-ka a₁: lu^fna¹-šu-ka gū.un 18 a₁ in two lines, tak-še-e Q₁: i]ák-ši-i us₂.udu.ḫá^{mes}-ka tu-a-me a₁: tu-²a-me lu-li-da 19 a₁: gū.un 20 a₁: l]u s]á-ru-uh¹ la-sa-ma 21 A₁: i]na Q₁: -r]u šá-ni-ni a₁: ^fni-rī], a-a i-šū¹ 22 Q₁: d]ù-ma i-qab-bi 23 Q₁: r]u-bu-tú^d1[5]

Translation

1	He washed his matted hair, he cleaned his equipment,
2	he shook his locks down over his back.
3	He cast aside his dirty things, he clothed himself with his ¹ clean things,
4	he wrapped himself in cloaks, tied with a sash.
5	Gilgameš put on his crown. ²
6	The lady Ištar looked covetously ³ on the beauty of Gilgameš:
7	'Come, Gilgameš, you be the bridegroom! ⁴
8	Grant me your fruits, I insist!
9	You shall be my husband and I will be your wife!
10	Let me harness for you a chariot of lapis lazuli and gold,
11	whose wheels are gold and whose horns are amber.
12	You shall have in harness "storm-lions", huge mules.
13	Come into our house with scents of cedar!
14	When you come into our house,
15	doorway and throne shall kiss your feet.
16	Kings, courtiers ⁵ and nobles shall be bowed down beneath you,
17	they shall bring you tribute, [all the] produce of mountain and land.
18	Your nanny-goats shall bear triplets and your ewes ⁶ twins,
19	your donkey foal under load shall outpace a mule.
20	At the chariot your horse shall gallop majestically,
21	at the yoke your ox shall acquire ⁷ no rival. ⁸
22	[Gilgameš] opened his mouth to speak,
23	[saying] to the lady Ištar:
24	'[If indeed I were] to take you in marriage,

¹ So MSS AOQ; MS a omits.

² MSS OQ add again 'tied with a sash'.

³ Lit. 'raised the eyes' (so MSS OQa; MS A: 'an eye').

⁴ So MSS AOQ; MS a: 'my groom'.

⁵ So MSS Aa; MS Q: 'lords'.

⁶ So MSS Aa; MS Q: 'sheep'.

⁷ So MSS AQ; MS a: 'have'.

⁸ So MSS Aa; MS Q: 'rivals'.

A ₁	25	[. -š]i? pag-ri ù [su]-ba-a-ti			
A ₁	26	[.] ku-ru-um-ma-ti ù [b]u-bu-ti			
A ₁	27	[tu-šak-kal-in-ni? a]k-la si-ma[t i]lu(dingir)-ú-ti			
A ₁	28	[ku-ru-un-na ta-šaq-q]a-a si-m[at š]arru(lugal)-ú-ti			
A ₁	29	[.]u?-u?-il			
A ₁	30	[.] [lu-u]-uš-pu-uk			
A ₁	31	[. -hal?-l]i-pa na-aḥ-lap-tu			
A ₁	32	[man-nu? . . . a-na ka-a-š]i iḥ-ḥa-az-ki			
A ₁	33	[. . . la ka-ši-ra]t šu-ri-pu			
A ₁ Q ₁	34	⁶⁸ dalat(iḡ) ár-ka-bi-[in-ni šá la i]-kal-lu-ú šāra(im) u zi-i-qa			
A ₁ Q ₁	35	ēkallu(ē.gal) mu-ṣap-p[i-ša-at (. . .)] qar-ra-ḏi			
A ₁ Q ₁	36	pi-i-ru [.] ku-tūm-mi-šá			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₂	37	it-tu-ú mu-t[ap-pi-lat?] na-ši-šá			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₂	38	⁶⁹ na-a-da m[u-r]a?-sa-a[l] na-ši-šá			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₂	39	pi-i-lu m[u-x (x)]x-at dūr(bād) abni(na ₄)			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁ a ₂	40	ia-šū-bu-ú mu-ab-bi-t[a-at] d[ūr(bād)?] māṭ(kur) nu-kūr-ti			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁ a ₂	41	⁷⁰ šēnu(e.sir) mu-na-ši-kāt šēpī(g[ī]r) ^{min} bēlī(ēn)-šá			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁ a ₂	42	a-a-ú ḥa-me-ra ^l ki i ^l b[u]r ana da-riš			
A ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	43	a-a-ú al-lal-ki [šá ana šamē?] i-lu-ú			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁	44	al-kim-ma lu-up-pi-[iš mi-na-i]a ḥa-ar-mi-ki	Q[a]		
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁	45	šá bu-ḏi-im-ma x ta x[(. . .)] i-ḏi-šú			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	46	a-na ^d dumu-zi ḥa-mi-ri š[u]-u[ḥ-r]e-ti-ki			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	47	šat-ta a-na šat-ti bi-tak-ka-a tal-ti-meš-šú			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	48	al-la-lá bit-ru-ma ta-ra-me-ma			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	49	tam-ḥa-ši-šū-ma kap-pa-šū tal-te-eb-[ri]			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	50	iz-za-az ina qi-šá-tim i-šas-si kap-pi	a		
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ a ₁ +2	51	ta-ra-mi-ma nēša(ur.maḥ) ga-mi-ir e-mu-qi			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ Q ₃ a ₁ +2	52	tu-uḥ-tar-ri-iš-šú 7 u 7 šu-ut-ta-a-ti			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₁ Q ₃ a ₁ +2	53	ta-ra-mi-ma šīsā(anše.kur.ra) na- ² -id qab-li			
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₁ +2	54	iš-tuḥ-ḥa ziq-ti u dir-ra-ta tal-ti-meš-šū			
A ₁ O ₂ a ₂	55	7 bēr(danna) la-sa-ma tal-ti-meš-šū			
A ₁ O ₂ a ₂	56	da-la-ḥu ù šá-ta-a tal-ti-meš-šū			
37 a ₂ :	mu-t[ā]p-pi-l[at?	41 a ₁ :	[še-e-nu] A ₁ : ḡr ^{min,me} š be-li-šá	44 O ₂ :	ḥa]-mi-ri ^l -[ki]
46 a ₁ :	[ana] a ₃ :	ḥa-me-r[i]	47 a ₁ :	ana Q ₁ :	a-na šat-t[a a ₂ :
a ₁ +2:	al-lal-la-ki	A ₁ :	ta-ra-m[i-ma]	49 Q ₁ :	kap-p[i-
				O ₂ a ₂ :	tal-te-bir
				50 Q ₁ a ₁ :	a-šib Q ₁ :
				⁶⁸ tir-	
				i[m-ma a ₁ +2:	q[i]-šá-tim-ma
				51 Q ₁ a ₁ +2:	ta-ra-me-ma a ₂ :
				mi-gir e-mu-qi	52 Q ₁ :
				7 u 7 tu-	
				[ḥarrišu a ₁ +2:	7 u 7 taḥ-tar-ri-šū
				Q ₃ :	šu-ut-ta-a-ti]e
				53 a ₁ +2:	ta]-ra-me ^l -ma
				Q ₃ :	qab-]a a ₂ :
				qab-lum	54 a ₂ :
				ziq-ta dir-ra-ta tal-te-meš-šū	O ₂ Q ₃ :
				tal-ti-meš-šū	55-6 O ₂ :
				tal-ti-meš-šū a ₂ :	
				tal-te-meš-šū	56 a ₂ :
				[da-l]a-ḥa	

25	[.] myself and my clothing,
26	[.] my food and my sustenance?
27	[Will you feed me] bread fit for a god?
28	[Will you pour me ale] fit for a king?
29	[.] should I bind,
30	[.] should I pile high?
31	[Would . . .] wrap [. . .] in a cloak?
32	[Who . . .] would take you in marriage?
33	[(You), . . . that does not solidify] ice,
34	an arkabinnu-door [that does not] block breeze and draught,
35	a palace that massacres [(. . .)] warriors,
36	an elephant [that . . .] its coverings,
37	bitumen that [soils] him who carries it,
38	a waterskin that [wets] him who carries it,
39	a block of limestone that [. . .] a wall of stone,
40	a battering ram that destroys the [walls of] the enemy land,
41	a shoe that bites the foot ⁹ of its owner!
42	What bridegroom of yours endured for ever?
43	What brave warrior of yours is there [who] went up [to heaven?]
44	Come, let me count [the numbers] of your lovers. ¹⁰
45	As for him of [. . .] his arm. ¹¹
46	To Dumuzi, the husband of your youth,
47	to him you have allotted perpetual weeping, year on year.
48	You loved the speckled allallu-bird,
49	you struck him and broke his wing, ¹²
50	(now) he stands ¹³ in the woods crying, "My wing!"
51	You loved the lion, perfect in strength,
52	seven and seven pits you have dug for him. ¹⁴
53	You loved the horse, famed ¹⁵ in battle,
54	to him you have allotted whip, spurs ¹⁶ and lash.
55	To him you have allotted a seven-league gallop,
56	to him you have allotted muddy water to drink. ¹⁷

⁹ Lit. 'feet'.¹⁰ So MS A; MS O: 'bridegrooms'.¹¹ Or, 'his wages'.¹² So MSS Aa; MS Q: 'wings'.¹³ So MS A; MSS Qa: 'sits'.¹⁴ So MS A; MSS Qa: 'pits you have dug for him, seven and seven'.¹⁵ Or, 'steady'.¹⁶ So MS A; MS a: 'spur'.¹⁷ Lit. 'muddying and drinking'.

A ₁ O ₂ a ₂	57	<i>a-na ummi(ama)-šú^d si-li-li bi-tak-ka-a tal-ti-me</i>	Qa
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	58	<i>[i]a-ra-mi-ma re-²a na-qid-da ú-tul₅-lum</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	59	<i>[šá k]a-a-a-nam-ma tu-um-ri iš-pu-kak-ki</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	60	<i>[u₄-m]i-šam-ma ú-^lta^l-ba-ḥa-ak-ki ú-ni-qé-ti</i>	
A ₁ a ₂ d	61	<i>[tam-ḥ]a-ši-šu-ma a-na barbari(ur.bar.ra) tu-ut-ter-ri-šu</i>	
A ₁ a ₂ d	62	<i>[ú^l]-ta-ar-ra-du-šu ka-par-ru šá ram-ni-šu</i>	
A ₁ a ₂ d	63	<i>u kalbū(ur.gi₇)^{mss}-šu ú-na-áš-šá-ku šap-ri-šu</i>	ad
A ₁ a ₂ d	64	<i>ta-ra-mi-ma i-šu-ul-la-nu^{lu} nukaribbi(nu.^{gib}kiri₆) abi(ad)-ki</i>	
A ₁ a ₂ d	65	<i>ša ka-a-a-nam-ma šu-gu-ra-a na-šak-ki</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	66	<i>u₄-mi-šam-ma ú-nam-ma-ru pa-áš-šur-ki</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	67	<i>i-na ta-at-ta-ši-šum-ma ta-tal-kiš-šu</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	68	<i>i-šu-ul-la-ni-ia kiš-šu-ta-ki i ni-kul</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	69	<i>[ú^l] qa-at-ka [šu-ša^l]-am-ma lu-pu-ut ḥur-da-at-ni</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	70	<i>i-šu-ul-la-nu i-qab-bi-ki</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	71	<i>ia-a-ši mi^lna^l-a ter-re-ši-in-n[i]</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	72	<i>um-mi la te-pa-a a-na-ku la a-kul</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	73	<i>šá ak-ka-lu akal(ninda)^{lu} pi-šá-a-ti u er-re-e-ti</i>	
A ₁	74	<i>šá ku-uš-ši el-pe-tu ku-tim-mu-ú^la^l</i>	
A ₁	75	<i>at-ti taš-mi-ma an-na-a^lqa^l-[ba-a-šu]</i>	
A ₁	76	<i>tam-ḥa-ši-šu a-na dal-la-li tu-ut-[ter-ri-šu]</i>	
A ₁	77	<i>tu-še-ši-bi-šu-ma ina qa-bal ma-na-[ḥa-(a)-ti-šu]</i>	
A ₁	78	<i>ul e-lu-ú mi-iḥ-ḥa ul a-riid da-l[u x x x]</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	79	<i>u ia-a-ši ta-ram-min-ni-ma ki-i šá-šu-nu t[u-tar-rin-ni?]</i>	Aa
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	80	<i>^diš-tar an-na-a ina [še-me-e-šá]</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	81	<i>^diš-tar ug-gu-gat-ma a-na šá-ma-mi [i-li]</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	82	<i>il-lik-ma ^diš-tar ana pān(igi) ^da-ni[m] abi(ad)-šá i-[bak-ki]</i>	
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	83	<i>ana pān(igi) an-tum ummi(ama)-šá il-la-ka di-m[a-a-š]á</i>	
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	84	<i>a-bi ^dGIŠ-gim-maš it-ta-a[z-za-r]a-an-ni</i>	
O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	85	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš un-de-en-na-a pi-šá-ti-ia</i>	

57 a₂: [ana am]a-šú si-li-li O₂: tal-ti-mi a₂: tal-te-me 58 a₂: [ta-ra-m]e^lma^l A₁: ^{lu}sipa TA BU LA O₂Q₃: [ú-tul₅-la^l] 59 a₂:] [tu^l-[u]m-ra šup-pu-kak-ki 60 a₂: ú-t[a-b]a-ḥa-ki ni-qé-e-ti 61 a₂: tu-ut-ter^lri-šú^l 62 a₂: [ú-ta]r-ra-du-šu 63 a₂: [ú u]r.gi₇^{mss} a₂d: šá-par-[šú] 64 a₂: [ta-r]a-me-ma d: a-bi-[ki] 65 a₂: tu-g[a]l?-r]a?-[x x x] d: [na^l-š]á-ki 67 a₂: taš-ši-šu-ma t[a]-tal^lki-iš-šú^l 68 a₂: [i-š]u-ul-la-na, na-kul 69 A₁: u qat-ka liš-te-ša-am-ma a₂: [ḥur^l-d[a-a]t-na 71 a₂: te-re-š[i-in-ni] 73 a₂: ak-k]a-lu₄ ak-[l]a, er-[re]-ti 79 a₂ in two lines, [ú^l] 80 a₂: an-ni-t[ú] 81 a₂: ug-UGU^lma^l 82 a₂: i-li-ma Q₃: ^d15^l a₂: ina ig[i] 83 Q₃: [a-na pa]-an a₂: ina igi, um-[mi-š]á O₂: di^lma^l-[šá] 84 O₂: [ú-ta^l]-[na-a]z-za-ra-an-n[i] 85 Q₃: un-den-na-a a₂: in-di-in-n[a-a

57	To his mother Silili you have allotted perpetual weeping.
58	You loved the shepherd, the grazier, the herdsman,
59	who regularly piled up for you (bread baked in) embers,
60	slaughtering kids ¹⁸ for you every day.
61	You struck him and turned him into a wolf,
62	so his own shepherd boys drive him away,
63	and his dogs take bites at his thighs. ¹⁹
64	You loved Išullānu, your father's gardener,
65	who regularly brought you a basket of dates, ²⁰
66	daily making your table gleam.
67	You looked at him covetously ²¹ and went up to him:
68	"O my Išullānu, let us taste your power!
69	Put out your hand ²² and stroke our vulva!"
70	Išullānu spoke to you:
71	"Me! What do you want of me? ²³
72	Did my mother not bake? Did I not eat?
73	Am I one that eats bread of insults and curses? ²⁴
74	Shall I let rushes be my covering against the cold?"
75	You heard what [he had to] say,
76	you struck him, you turned [him] into a dwarf.
77	You sat him in the midst of his labours, ²⁵
78	he cannot go up to the . . . , he cannot go down to the . . . [. . .]
79	And you would love me and [<i>change</i> me] as (you did) them?"
80	When Istar [heard] this,
81	Istar was furious and [went up] to heaven.
82	Istar went ²⁶ [weeping] before her father, Anu,
83	her tears flowing before Antu, her mother.
84	'O father, Gilgameš has been heaping abuse on me, ²⁷
85	Gilgameš kept recounting things that insult me,

¹⁸ So MSA; MS a: 'sacrificial animals'.

¹⁹ So MSA; MSS ad: 'thigh'.

²⁰ So MSS Ad; MS a perhaps different.

²¹ Lit. 'raised an eye at him'.

²² So MS a; MSA: 'let your hand be put out'.

²³ Or, 'Me! Why do you want me?'

²⁴ Or perhaps, 'bread of putridity and mouldiness'.

²⁵ Or, 'garden'.

²⁶ So MSS AQ; MS a: 'went up'.

²⁷ So MSS Aa; MS O: 'keeps on heaping abuse on me'.

O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	86	<i>pi-ša-ti-ia u er-ṛ[e]-ṛ^lti^l-ia</i>	OQa
O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	87	^d <i>a-num pa-a-šú ṛpuš(dù)^{us}-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga)</i>	
O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	88	<i>i-zak-ka-ra a-na ru-bu-ti^diš₈-tár</i>	
O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	89	<i>a-ba la at-ti te-eg-ri-i šarra(lugal) ^dGIŠ-[g]im-maš</i>	
O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	90	<i>u ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ú-man-na-a pi-ša-ti-ki</i>	
O ₂ a ₂	91	<i>pi-ša-ti-ki ù er-ṛ^lre^l-ti-ki</i>	OQa
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	92	^d <i>iš-tar pā(ka)-šú ṛpuš(dù)-ma i-qab-bi</i>	
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	93	<i>izakkara(mu)^m a-na ^da-[n]m abi(ad)-ša</i>	
A ₁ O ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	94	<i>a-bi a-la-a bi-nam-ma</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	95	^d <i>GIŠ-ṛgim-maš^l lu-nir-ṛ[u i]na šub-ti-šú</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	96	<i>šum-m[a] a-la-a [a i]a-da-n[a]</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	97	<i>a-maḥ-[ḥaš da]n-ni-(na)? a-ṛ^ldi^l šubti(ki.tuš)-šú</i>	
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	98	<i>a-šak-[ka]n^lsa^l?^lp[a?-nam?]^l a^l-na šap-la-t[i]</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	99	<i>ú-šel-lam-ma [mītū]ti(úš)^{ms} ik-ka-lu ba[l-ṛ]u-ú-ti</i>	
A ₁ a ₂	100	<i>eli(ugu) bal-tu-ti ú-šam-[a-d]u mītūti(úš)^{ms}</i>	Aa
A ₁ a ₂	101	^d <i>a-num pa-a-šú ṛpuš(dù)^{us}-m[a i-q]a[b-bi]</i>	
A ₁ A ₂ a ₂	102	<i>izakkara(mu)^m a-na ru-bu-ti^diš^l-[tar]</i>	
A ₁ A ₂ a ₂	103	<i>š[u]m-ma a-la-a ter-ri-ši-i[n-ni]</i>	
A ₁ A ₂ a ₂	104	<i>al-mat-ti uruk^{ki} 7 šanāti(mu)^{ms} pi-i [l]i-pa-ḥi-i[r]</i>	
A ₂	105	<i>[^likkar(engar) uruk^{ki}? l]i-rab-bi šammī(ú)^h[^l]</i>	A
A ₂	106	<i>[^diš-tar pāša ṛpuš^l]ⁱ-ma i-qab-b[ṛ]</i>	
A ₂	107	<i>[izakkara ana ^da-n]im abi(ad)-š[á]</i>	
A ₂	108	<i>[.] ak-ku-um</i>	
A ₂	109	<i>[.^{me}] ^u-šab-ši</i>	
A ₂ a ₂	110	<i>al-m[at-ti uruk^{ki} 7 šan]āti(mu)^{ms} pe-e [up-ta]ḥ^l-ḥi-ir</i>	
A ₂ a ₂	111	<i>^likk[ar(engar) uruk^{ki}? ur-tab-b]i šammī(ú)^h</i>	
A ₂ Q ₃ a ₂	112	<i>a-[n]a uz-ṛ^lzu^l?^l šá a-le-e^l ú-na^l?^l[x (x)]</i>	Aa
Q ₃ a ₂	113	<i>[i]š-ṛ^lme^l-ma ^da-nu an-[na]-ṛ^la^l qa-ba-a ^diš-[tar]</i>	
Q ₃ a ₂	114	<i>[ú ṣ]er-ret a-le-ṛ^le^l a-na q[āti(šú)^{min}-š]á iš-ku[n]</i>	
Q ₃ a ₂	115	<i>[x (x) x]-ma i-red-da-šú ^diš-[tar]</i>	
Q ₃ a ₂	116	<i>a-n[a? ma-tu]m šá uruk^{ki} ina ka-ša-di-[šú]</i>	
Q ₃	117	<i>ú-ṛ^ltab-bi^l [ḥi]ṣi^lšta(tir) ap-[pa-ra? u qanē?]</i>	
a ₂		<i>[ú-tab-bi^l] a-pa q[iš-ṛ]ú u qanē(ḡi)^{me}[^l]</i>	

86 Q₃: ù 87 Q₃: ^da-nu ka-šú dù-ma i-qab-bi a₂: pa-a-šú, [i-q]ab-bi 88 Q₃a₂: mu^m a₂: [^d]š-tar
 89 a₂: a-ṛ^lbu^l at-ti la tag-[g]e-ri-i Q₃: tag-re-e 90 Q₃ om. u a₂: ù 90-1 Q₃ in one line, om. 2nd pīšānki 92 O₂a₂: pa-a-šú a₂: dù^{us} 94 Q₃: ḡ]u₄.an.na 94-5 O₂Q₃ in one line
 97 Q₃: a-ṛ^ldi^l x[x x x x x] 98 Q₃: [x x x]x x[104 a₂: lu-pa[ḥ-ḥi-ir] 112 A₂ adds at end:]^lšá^l-a-šú 113 Q₃: [iš-me]-ṛ^le^l-ma 114 Q₃: a-lim-ma

86	things that insult and revile me.'
87	Anu opened his mouth to speak,
88	saying to the lady Ištar:
89	'Ah, but did you not provoke ²⁸ King Gilgameš,
90	so then Gilgameš recounted things that insult you,
91	things that insult and revile you?' ²⁹
92	Ištar opened her mouth to speak,
93	saying to her father, Anu:
94	'O father, give me, please, the Bull of Heaven,
95	that I may slay Gilgameš in his dwelling.
96	If you will not give me the Bull of Heaven,
97	I shall smash the <i>underworld</i> together with its dwelling-place,
98	I shall <i>raze</i> the nether regions <i>to the ground</i> .
99	I shall bring up the dead to consume the living,
100	I shall make the dead outnumber the living.'
101	Anu opened his mouth to speak,
102	saying to the lady Ištar:
103	'If you will ask of [me] the Bull of Heaven,
104	for seven years let the widow of Uruk gather chaff,
105	[and the farmer <i>of Uruk</i>] grow hay.'
106	[Ištar opened her mouth] to speak,
107	[saying to] her father, Anu:
108	'[.] I stored up,
109	[.] I made grow.
110	[For seven] years the widow [of Uruk has] gathered chaff,
111	the farmer [of Uruk has grown] hay.
112	At the wrath of the Bull of Heaven I shall (make) him [. . .]'
113	Anu heard this speech of Ištar,
114	[and] he placed in her hands the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven.
115	Ištar [. . .] and was leading it on:
116	when [it] reached the [land] of Uruk,
117	it dried up the woodland, <i>the marshland</i> and the reeds, ³⁰

²⁸ So MSS OQ; MS a: 'quarrel with' (*gerū* IV/1).

²⁹ So MSS Oa; MS Q for 90 and 91: 'so Gilgameš recounted things that insult [and revile] you'.

³⁰ So MS Q; MS a: 'the canebrake, the woodland and the reeds'.

Q ₃ a ₂	118	<i>ú-riḍ a-na nā[ri(id)]¹amma[¹(1.kùš)] nāru(id) u[m-d]a-ti</i>
Q ₃ a ₂	119	<i>i-na¹ni¹-ip-še-šu šá a-le¹e¹ šu-[u]t-ta-tu ip-pe-te-m[a]</i>
Q ₃ a ₂	120	<i>1 me¹elūtu(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^k[¹] im-ta-qu-tu₄ ina lib-bi</i>
O ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	121	<i>¹ina¹šanī(min)ⁱ ni-ip-še-šu šu-ut-ta-tu ip-pe-te-m[a]</i>
O ₁ a ₂	122	<i>2 me¹elūtu(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^k KIMIN</i>
A ₂		<i>[ina šanī nīpšīšu ša alē KIMIN 2 m] e elūtu^{mes} [im-taq-qu-tu] a-na lib-bi</i>
O ₁ a ₂	123	<i>i-na šal-ši ni-ip-ši-šu šu-ut-ta¹tu¹ ip-pe¹te¹m[a]</i>
A ₂		<i>[ina šalši nīpšīšu ša alē KIMI]N 3 me elūtu^{mes} [im-taq-qu-tu] a-na lib-bi</i>
O ₁ a ₂	124	<i>^den-ki-dū im-ta-qut a-di qablⁱ(murub₄)-šú</i>
A ₂		<i>[ina rebī nīpšīšu ša a-le¹e¹] KIMIN! ^den-ki-dū [im-ta-qut a]-di qab-li-šu</i>
O ₁ a ₂	125	<i>iš-ḫi-ṭam-ma ^den-ki-dū e-l[[?]] x (x) x</i>
A ₁ A ₂		<i>i[š-ḫi-ṭam-ma ^den-ki-d]ú alā(gu₄.an.na) iš-š[a-bat in]a qar-ni-[šú]</i>
A ₁ A ₂ O ₁ a ₂	126	<i>alū(gu₄.an.na) ana pa-ni-šú iš¹su¹-ka ru-pu-u[š-ta]</i>
A ₁ A ₂ O ₁ Q ₂ a ₂	127	<i>ina ku-bur zib-ba-ti-šú [x (x)]-bu-us-su x x</i>
		OO
A ₁ A ₂ O ₁	128	<i>^den-ki-dū pa-a-šú ṭpuš(dù)^{mes} ma¹ [i-qab-bi]</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₂	129	<i>izakkara(mu)^m ana ^dGiš-gi[m-maš]</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₂	130	<i>ib-ri nu-uš-tar-ri-ī[ḫ] (. . .) ina[?] āl[i(uru)-ni[?]]</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₂	131	<i>ki-i ni-ip-pa¹ la kam-ra¹ ti ni-[šī]</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₂	132	<i>ib-ri a-ta-mar [du-u]n¹na¹-šu šá alē(gu₄.an.na)^[e²]</i>
O ₁ Q ₂	133	<i>ù e-mu-qi-[šú a]-lam-ma¹ du¹ te-re-ti-[šú x x]</i>
O ₁ Q ₂	134	<i>lu-us-sah-r[a lu-mu]r[?] du-un-na-šú šá a[lē(gu₄.an.na)^{e²}]</i>
O ₁ Q ₂	135	<i>a-na ku-[tal al]ē(gu₄.an.na) e-x[x x x]</i>
O ₁	136	<i>lu-uš-bat-[su-ma ina ku-bur zib-ba-ti-šú]</i>
O ₁	137	<i>lu-uš-k[un šēpī ina arkat[?] siq-qi-šú]</i>
O ₁	138	<i>¹i¹-na x[. -ḫi-is-su]</i>
O ₁ O ₂ a ₂	139	<i>¹u¹ [at-t]a ki¹-i¹ [ṭābīḫi(gír.lā) (x x) qar-di ù l]e⁻²-i</i>
O ₂ a ₂	140	<i>ina bi-riṭ ti-i[k-ki qa]r-ni u nap-la-ku pa-tar-ka um-[mī]d</i>
O ₂ a ₂	141	<i>¹i¹-šu-dam-ma ^den-ki-dū ana ku-tal alē(gu₄.an.na)</i>
O ₂ a ₂	142	<i>[i]š-bat-su-ma ina [ku-bu]r¹ zib¹-ba-ti-šú</i>
O ₂ a ₂	143	<i>[iš-ku]n¹ šēp(gír)^{min}-šú¹ i[na ar-kā]t[?] siq-qi-šú</i>
a ₂	144	<i>[ina]x-ḫi-is-su</i>
A ₁ a ₂	145	<i>ù ^dGiš-gim-maš ki-i¹ [ṭā]bīḫi(gír.lā) [(x x) qar-di¹ú] [le]¹-i</i>
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	146	<i>ina bi-riṭ ti-ik-ki qar-ni ù n[a]p¹ la¹-ki patar(gír)-šú [um-mūd]</i>
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	147	<i>iš-tu a-la-a i-na-ru</i>

119 Q₃: *ina ni-ip-ši-š[u]* 120 Q₃: *guruš^{mes}* 121 a₂: *ana* O₁: *¹ni-ip¹-š[i-* Q₃: [x] x x [. . .
 122 O₁: *guruš^{mes}* 123 a₂: *[ina]* O₁: *ni-ip-ši-š[u]* 124 a₂: *it-ta-qut* 126 a₂: *gu₄.an.na ina*
¹ge²-l-x x [x x x x] 128–9 Q₂ in one line 129 O₁: *i-[z]ak-ka-ra* 135 O₁ indents
 139–40 a₂ in three lines 140 O₂: *[i-na]* a₂: *¹ú¹* 141 a₂: *[i-t]i-qam-ma, a-l[e-e]* 143 O₂:
 š[e-e]p-šú 147–8 A₁ as one line

118	it went down to the river, (the level of) the river was reduced by seven cubits.
119	At the snort of the Bull of Heaven a pit opened up,
120	a hundred men of Uruk all fell into it.
121	At its second snort a pit opened up,
122	two hundred men of Uruk all fell into it.
123	At its third snort a pit opened up,
124	Enkidu fell in up to [his] waist. ³¹
125	Enkidu sprang out and seized the Bull of Heaven by [its] horns; ³²
126	the Bull of Heaven spat slaver at his face, ³³
127	with the tuft of its tail [. . .] . . . [. . .]
128	Enkidu opened his mouth [to speak,]
129	saying to Gilgameš:
130	‘My friend, we vaunted ourselves [(. . .) <i>in our</i>] city,
131	how shall we answer the dense-gathered people?
132	My friend, I have experienced the might of the Bull of Heaven,
133	[. . . its] strength [and] learning [<i>its</i>] <i>mission</i> .
134	I will once again [<i>experience</i>] the might of the Bull of [Heaven,]
135	behind [the Bull] of Heaven I shall [. . .]
136	I will seize [it by the tuft of its tail.]
137	I will set [my foot <i>on the back of</i> its hock,]
138	in . . . [. . . I <i>will</i> . . . it.]
139	Then [you] like a [butcher (. . .), brave and] skilful,
140	press home your knife between the yoke of the horns and the slaughter-spot.’
141	Enkidu circled round ³⁴ behind the Bull of Heaven,
142	he seized it by the [tuft] of its tail.
143	[He set] his foot <i>on [the back of]</i> its hock,
144	[in <i>he</i>] . . . it.
145	Then Gilgameš like a butcher [(. . .), brave and] skilful,
146	[pressed home] his knife between the yoke of the horns and the slaughter-spot.
147	After they had slain the Bull of Heaven,

³¹ So MSS Oa; MS A offers an expansion of this couplet (123–4):

[At the third snort of the Bull of Heaven a pit opened] up, three hundred men [all fell] into it.
 [At the fourth snort of the Bull of] Heaven a pit opened up, Enkidu [fell in up] to his waist.

³² So MS A; MSS Oa apparently read ‘Enkidu jumped up, and *over* [.]’

³³ Or, ‘before it’. MS a differs but is too broken to decipher with certainty.

³⁴ So MS O; MS a: ‘passed’.

A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	148	<i>lib-b[a-š]u iš-šu-n[im-ma] a-na pān(igi) ^dšamaš iš-tak-nu</i>
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	149	<i>i-re-qu-nim-ma ana pa-an ^dšamaš [u]š-kin-nu</i>
A ₁ Q ₃	150	<i>ū-taš-bu áḫa-meš ki^llal^l-la-an</i>
A ₁ Q ₃ a ₂	151	<i>i-li-ma ^diš-tar ina muḫḫi(ugu) dūri(bād) šá uruk^{ki}su^l-pu-ri</i>
A ₁ O ₁ a ₁₊₂	152	<i>iš-ḫi-ū ḫup-pa it-ta-di a-ru-ru-ta</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	153	<i>al-lu-ū ^dGIŠ-gim-maš šá ú-tap-pil-an-ni alā(gu₄.an.na) id-duk</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	154	<i>iš-me-ma ^den-ki-dū an-na-a qa-bé-e ^diš-tar</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	155	<i>iš-lu-uh^l i-mit-ti alēm(gu₄.an.na)-ma ana pāni(igi)-šá id-di</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	156	<i>ú ka-a-[š]i lu-ú ak-šu-ud-ki-ma ki-i šá-šu-ma lu-ú e-pu-uš-ki</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	157	<i>er-ri-šu lu a-tu-la ina a-ḫi-ki</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	158	<i>up-taḫ-ḫi-ir ^diš-tar ke-ez-re-e-ti ^fšam-ḫa-a-ti u ^fḫarimāti(kar.kid)^{mes}</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁₊₂	159	<i>ina muḫḫi(ugu) i-mit-ti alē(gu₄.an.na) bi-ki-ta iš-kun</i>
A ₁ Q ₁	160	<i>is-si-ma ^dGIŠ-gim-maš um-ma-na kiš-kāt-te-e ka-la-ma</i>
O ₁ a ₁₊₂		<i>paḫ-r[u-nū]m-ma um-ma-nu kiš-kāt-te-e ka-li-šu-un</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	161	<i>ku-bur qar-ni-šu ú-na-'a-du mārū(dumu)^{mes} um-ma-nu</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	162	<i>30 ma-na^{am} ^{aa}uqnū(za.gin) šī-pi-ik-ši-na</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	163	<i>2 ma-na^{am} ta-aḫ-ba-tu-ši-na</i>
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	164	<i>6 kūr šamnu(i.giš) ḡi-bit ki-lal-le-e</i>
A ₁ O ₁	165	<i>ana piš-šat ili(dingir)-šú ^dlugal-bàn-da i-qiš</i>
A ₁ O ₁	166	<i>ú-še-ri-im-ma i-ta-lal ina ur-ši ḫa-am-mu-ti-šu</i>
A ₁ O ₁	167	<i>ina^{id} pu-rat-ti im-su-ú qa-ti-šú-un</i>
A ₁ O ₁	168	<i>iš-šab-tu-nim-ma il-la-ku-ni</i>
A ₁ O ₁	169	<i>su-qa šá uruk^{ki} rak-bu-ú-n[ī]</i>
A ₁ O ₁	170	<i>paḫ-ra nišū(ùg)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} i-dag-g[a-l]a-[šu-nu-ti]</i>
A ₁ O ₁	171	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš a-na mut-tab-bi-la-ti šá b[īti(é)-šú?] a-ma-ta i-zak-[kar]</i>
A ₁ O ₁	172	<i>man-nu-um-ma ba-ni i-na etlūti(guruš)^{mes}</i>
A ₁ O ₁	173	<i>man-nu-um-ma šá-ru-uh^l i-na zik-ka-ri</i>
A ₁ O ₁	174	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš ba^l-ni i-na etlūti(guruš)^{mes}</i>
A ₁ O ₁	175	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš šá-ru]-uh^l i-na zik-ka-ri</i>

148 a₂: [ī]l-ta-[ak-nu] 149 a₂: i[na, [u]š-ki-[in-n]u 152 a₂: ḫup-p]i, a-r]u-ra-ta 153 Q₁a₁₊₂: ^dGIŠ-gim-[maš (alā)] i]d-duk šá ú-tap(LU)-pi^l-la-an-ni 154 A₁: qa-bi 155 a₁₊₂: iš-lu-^l? e^l-mit-ti a-le-e a-na muḫḫi(ugu)-šá is-suk O₁: gu₄.an.na, iš-^lli^l 156 Q₁: i]š- A₁: u ak-ka-ši, ak-šu-ud-ki, ú-še-mi-ki 157 O₁: lu^l-^lū^l 158 a₁₊₂ in two lines, ú-paḫ-[ḫ]ir O₁: ke-ze-re-e-ti ú ḫa-ri-ma-a-ti a₂: ke-ez-re^le^l-ti u ḫa-ri-me-ti 159 a₁: i-na Q₁: ^fe^l-m[īt-ti O₁a₂: šá a-le-e a₁₊₂: bi-[ki-t]u iš-ku-nu 160 a in two lines a₂: um-ma-a-ni 161 O₁: qar-ni-šu i-na-ad-du Q₁: ^fī^l-[naddū O₁: um-ma-ni 162 O₁a₁: ma-na^{am} O₁: šī-pik-ši-na 163 A₁: [š]in-nu ú-ba-né-e ta-ḫa-ba-tu-ši-na 164 O₁: i+giš ana šī-bit ki-lal-la-an 165 O₁: [a-na] piš-šat-ti ^dlugal-bàn-da ili(dingir)-šú i-qiš 166 O₁: [ú-š]e-rib-ma i^lta-lál^l, ḫa-am-mu-ti-šú 167 O₁: ^fī^l-na pu-rat-ti, qa-ti-šú-un 168 O₁: šab-tu-nim-ma 170 O₁: paḫ-ru, ^fi-dag-ga^l-[l]u- 171 O₁: mu-tap-pi-la A₁: inim m[u^m] 173 O₁: nit[a^{mes}] 174 A₁: ina 175 O₁: n[ita^{mes}]

148	they took up its heart and set it before Šamaš.
149	They stepped back and prostrated themselves before Šamaš,
150	both of them (then) sat down together. ³⁵
151	Ištar went up on to the wall of Uruk-the-Sheepfold,
152	she hopped and stamped, she uttered a woeful wail:
153	‘Woe to Gilgameš, who vilified me, (who) killed the Bull of Heaven!’ ³⁶
154	Enkidu heard this speech of Ištar, ³⁷
155	he tore a haunch off the Bull of Heaven and threw it down before her. ³⁸
156	‘You too, had I caught you, I would have treated ³⁹ you like it!
157	I would have draped its guts on your arms!’
158	Ištar assembled the courtesans, prostitutes ⁴⁰ and harlots,
159	she instituted mourning over the Bull of Heaven’s haunch.
160	Gilgameš summoned the craftsmen, all the smiths, ⁴¹
161	for the craftsmen to praise the thickness of its horns.
162	Thirty minas of lapis lazuli each was their mass,
163	two minas ⁴² each their rims,
164	six kor of oil was the capacity of both.
165	He dedicated (them) for the anointing of his god, Lugalbanda, ⁴³
166	he took (them) in and hung (them) in his bed-chamber.
167	They washed their hands in the River Euphrates,
168	they took each other (by the hand) ⁴⁴ to go forward.
169	As they drove along the street of Uruk,
170	the people of Uruk were gathered to look [at them.]
171	Gilgameš spoke a word to the serving girls ⁴⁵ of [his house:]
172	‘Who is the finest among men?’
173	‘Who is the most glorious of fellows?’
174	‘Gilgameš is the finest among men!’
175	[Gilgameš is the most] glorious of fellows!’

³⁵ A reading *ahḫū*(šeš)^{mes}, ‘both the brothers sat down’, is also possible. MS a omits this line.

³⁶ So MSS AO; MSS Qa: ‘Gilgameš has killed [the Bull of Heaven], he that vilified me!’

³⁷ MS a omits the entire line.

³⁸ So MS A; MS a: ‘hurled it at her’, MS O: ‘cast it down [before her]’.

³⁹ So MSS Oa; MS A: ‘made’.

⁴⁰ So MS A; MSS Oa omit this word.

⁴¹ So MSS AQ; MSS Oa: ‘The craftsmen were gathered, the smiths, all of them’.

⁴² So MSS OQ; MS A, perhaps corrupt: ‘two finger-widths’.

⁴³ So MS A; MS Q: ‘for Lugalbanda, his god’.

⁴⁴ So MS A; MS O: ‘holding (each other)’.

⁴⁵ So MS A; MS O, corruptly: ‘detractor’.

A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	176	[x] x [x x šá? n]i-du-ú i-[na] uz-zi-ni	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	177	[x]-ma-x[(x) i-n]a su-qi mu-tàp-p[i-l]a ul i-šu	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	178	[(x)]x a ^[i] [(x) a]-lak-ti šá x[(x)]x-ti-šu	AO
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁	179	^[d] GIš-gim-maš ^[ina] ekalli(é.gal)-šú iš-t[a]-kan hi-du-tu	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	180	ú-tu-lu-ma eḫlūtu(guruš) ^{mes} šá i ^l -[na ma]-a-a-al mu-ši šal-lu	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	181	^[u] tu-ul-ma ^d en-ki-dù šu-na-ta i-na-át-tal	
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	182	it-bé-e-ma ^d en-ki-dù šu-na-ta i-pa-šar	
O ₁ a ₁	183	iz-zak-ka-ra a-na ib-ri-šú	AOQa
A ₁ O ₁ Q ₁ a ₁	VII 1	ib-ri áš-šú me-na-ma-a im-tal-li-ku ilū(dingir) ^{mes} rabūtu(gal) ^{mes}	

176 A₁:in]a 179 Q₁:^[i]-[na 180 O₁:šal-li guruš^{mes} ina ma-a-a-l[u? a₁:ina 181 O₁:ša-
lil a₁:ú-tul₅-ma Q₁:^[u]šu-na-tu i-na^d-at-t[al] 182 Q₁a₁:it-bé-ma a₁:šu-na-tú Q₁:šu-na-tu i-pa-
áš-šar 183 O₁:i-zak-ka-ra catch-line Q₁:áš-š]u^[mi-in]-na-ma

176	‘[. . . whom] we knew in our fury!’
177	‘[. . . in] the street he has none that defames him,
178	[. . .] . . . [. . .] way of his [. . . !]’
179	Gilgamesh made merry in his palace.
180	The men were lying down, that were asleep on beds for the night, ⁴⁶
181	Enkidu was lying down, ⁴⁷ seeing a dream.
182	Enkidu arose to reveal the dream,
183	saying to his friend: ⁴⁸
VII 1	‘My friend, for what reason were the great gods taking counsel?’

⁴⁶ So MSS AQa; MS O: ‘The men were asleep on beds [for the night.]’

⁴⁷ So MSS Qa; MS O: ‘sleeping’.

⁴⁸ So MSS Oa; MSS AQ omit the entire line.

TABLET VII

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Nineveh</i>			
E ₁	K 2589		92, 93
	1875 G. Smith, <i>IV R</i> ¹ , pl. 49, no. 2: C		
	1876 W. St Chad Boscawen, 'Notes on the religion and mythology of the Assyrians', <i>TSBA</i> 4, pp. 293-6: CT Tr (rev. only)		
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 226-8: Tr (with Z ₁)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 5: C		
	1891 T. G. Pinches, <i>IV R</i> ² , pl. 42, no. 2: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 186-9: TTr (with Z ₁)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 45, 46-7, pls. 27, 30: CT (obv. composite with Z ₁ , rev. composite with Z ₁ and L ₄)		
E ₂	K 9196		93
	- F.W. Geers, Folio N 76: C (unpublished)		
	1968 B. Landsberger, 'Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 129-30, MS O: TTr		
E ₃	K 11659		92
	1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 55: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 138-9: TTr (with L ₁)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 45, pl. 28: CT (with L ₁)		
	1984 J. Gardner and J. Maier, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 276-7: P		
E ₄	K 20013		93
	iii 100-16 (E ₁), 126-40 (E ₃)	iv 169-78 (E ₂), 180-202 (E ₁ (+) ₄) v 220-6 (E ₂)	
L ₁	K 3389		94, 95
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 195-6, 197: Tr		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 4: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 138-41: TTr (obv. with E ₃ and R)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 45-6, pls. 28-9: CT (obv. with E ₃)		
	1984 J. Gardner and J. Maier, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 276-7: P		
L ₂	K 3588		94, 95
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 242-3, ll. 10-33,* pp. 245-6: Tr (rev. with GG)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 26: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 184-7, 190-3: TTr (rev. with GG)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 33, 34, pls. 14-15, 15-16: CT (rev. with GG)		

* Smith's ll. 35-49 are the Fable of the Willow, K 8566 = Lambert, *BWL*, pl. 44.

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
L ₃	79-7-8, 320		95
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 47, pl. 27: CT		
L ₄	79-7-8, 335		95
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 46, pl. 30: CT (with E ₁ and Z ₁)		
	i 27-50 (L ₂)	iv 152-176 (L ₁ (+) ₃), 182-95 (L ₄)	
	ii -	v 205-17 (L ₃)	
	iii 129-50 (L ₁)	vi 252-67 (L ₂)	
Z ₁	K 8590		97
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 226-8: Tr (with E ₁)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 6: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 186-91: TTr (with E ₁)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 45, 46, pls. 27, 30: CT (obv. with E ₁ , rev. with E ₁ and L ₄)		
Z ₂	K 19325		97
Z ₃	Rm II 399		96
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 41: C		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 33, pl. 14: CT		
	ii 69-81 (Z ₃)	iv 182-207 (Z ₁)	
	iii 96-123 (Z ₁ (+) ₂)		
GG	Sm 2132		96
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , p. 242, ll. 1-8, pp. 245-6: Tr (rev. with L ₂)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 27: C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KB VI/1</i> , pp. 182-5, 190-3: TTr (rev. with L ₂)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 32, 34, pls. 14, 15: CT (rev. with L ₂)		
	i 56-68	iv? 249-61	
<i>Sultantepe</i>			
f	S.U. 51/129A		98, 99
	1954 O. R. Gurney, 'Two fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe', <i>JCS</i> 8, pp. 87-90: CT Tr		
	1957 O. R. Gurney, <i>STTI</i> no. 14: C (collations in <i>STTII</i> , p. 23)		
	obv. 43-77	rev. 78-99, 103-18	

MS	Museum number	Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions	
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Babylon</i>		
g ₁	BM 34873 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 25: C	77
g ₂	BM 35245 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 24: C	77
g ₃	BM 46002 1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 23: C	77
	ii 91–105 (g ₃)	iv 165–73 (g ₂), 196–206 (g ₁)
	iii 109–23 (g ₁), 151–60 (g ₃)	

Text

A₁O₁Q₁a₁ 1 *ib-ri áš-šú me-na-ma-a im-tal-lí-ku ilū*(dingir)^{mes} *rabūtu*(gal)^{mes}

On present evidence a sequence of 101 lines is obtained between the end of col. i and the start of col. iv on MS L. We can therefore assume that columns of L were each about 50 lines long. Thus, at the bottom of col. i, L₂ i 1'–24' will be ll. 27–50, and accordingly the text resumes after a gap of 25 lines:

L ₂	27	traces	L ₂
L ₂	28	^d <i>en-ki-dū p[a-a-šú t̄puš-ma iqabbi]</i>	
L ₂	29	<i>izakkara</i> (mu) ^{ra} [<i>a-na</i> ^d G ₁ Š-gim-maš]	
L ₂	30	<i>al-ka i[b-ri]</i>	
L ₂	31	<i>i-na</i> [.]	
L ₂	32	^{es} <i>dalu</i> (ig) [.]	
L ₂	33	<i>áš-šú x</i> [.]	
L ₂	34	[.]	
L ₂	35	<i>x</i> [.]	
L ₂	36	<i>ina x</i> [.] ^f <i>bu</i> ¹ [. . .]	
L ₂	37	^d <i>en-k</i> [<i>i-dū x x x</i>] ^f <i>it</i> ¹ - <i>ia-ši</i> [<i>m̄</i> (ig) ^{min} -šú]	
L ₂	38	<i>it-ū</i> ^{es} <i>dalt</i> [<i>i</i> (ig) <i>i</i>]- <i>ta</i> -[<i>m</i>]- <i>a-a ki</i> ^f <i>i</i> ¹ [<i>x</i> (<i>x</i>)]	
L ₂	39	^{es} <i>dalat</i> (ig) <i>hal</i> ^f <i>bi</i> ¹ [<i>m̄</i>]- <i>a la ha</i> -[<i>x x x</i>]	
L ₂	40	<i>ba-šat uz-mi šá la i-ba-áš-šú</i> -[<i>x x x</i>]	
L ₂	41	<i>a-na</i> 20 <i>bēr</i> (danna) <i>as-su-qa i-ša-k</i> [<i>i x x x</i>]	

1 Q₁: [*áš-šú*]^f*mi-in*¹-*na-ma*

Composite cuneiform texts and editions

1900	P. Jensen, <i>KB VI</i> /1, pp. 186–93: cols. iii (E ₁ // Z ₁), iv (E ₁ // Z ₁ // L ₄), and vi (L ₂ // GG)	T Tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 45–7, 34, pls. 27–8, 30, 15–16: cols. iii (E ₁ // Z ₁ , L ₁ // E ₃), iv (E ₁ // Z ₁ // L ₄), vi (L ₂ // GG)	CT
1968	B. Landsberger, <i>RA</i> 62, pp. 124–30, 132–4: parts of cols. iii–iv (especially E ₁ // Z ₁ // g ₁ // E ₃ // L ₁ = ll. 106–31; L ₁ // L ₃ // g ₂ // E ₂ = ll. 156–78), and vi (L ₂ // GG)	itr
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 35–9, 95–8: all MSS except E ₄ and Z ₂	CT

Translation

1 'My friend, for what reason were the great gods taking counsel?'

Lacuna of 26 lines

28	Enkidu [opened his mouth to speak,]
29	saying [to Gilgameš:]
30	'Come, [my] friend, [.]
31	in . . . [.]
32	The door [.]
33	because . . . [.]'

Lacuna of 2 lines

36	in . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .]
37	Enkidu [. . .] raised [his eyes,]
38	talking with the door like [. . . :]
39	'O door of the woodland, not being . . . [. . .]
40	I have understanding, which [you] have not.
41	For twenty leagues I sought out your timber [. . .]

- L₂ 42 a-di⁶¹⁵erēna(eren) ši-ḥa a-mu-r[u x x x]
 L₂f 43 ul i-šú a-ḥa-a iṣ-ṣu-ki [x x] x [x]
 L₂f 44 6 nindan(ninda) mi-lu-ki 2 nindan ru-pu-uš-ki 1 [ammat ú-b]u-[ki]
 L₂f 45 šu-ku-ki sa-ḥir-ki u šá-gam-ma-ki [š]á¹iš¹-tén-m[a]
 L₂f 46 ēpuš(dù)^u-ki áš-šá-ak-ki ina nippuri^{ki} e¹-la¹niš ar¹-ti¹te¹-{U}-k[a]
 L₂f 47 lu-u i-de⁶¹⁵dalat(ig) ki-i an-nu-ú¹ [gi-mil-k]i? ¹:
 L₂f 48 KIMIN (= lū īde dalat kī annū) du-muq-k[ī]
 L₂f 49 lu-ú áš-ši pa-a-šú lu-ú ak-ki!(KU)-sa k[a-a-ši]
 L₂f 50 a-ma lu-ú ú-šar-ki-ba [a-n]a é.babb[ar.ra]
 f 51 [ana]¹é.babbar.ra! bīū(é) ^dšá-maš lu ú-š[á-bi-lak-ki? :]
 f 52 [ina (x) x]¹é.babbar.ra ⁶¹⁵erēna(eren) [lu-ú aš¹-q[up]
 f 53 [ina] bābi(ká)-šú [lu-u uš¹-zi-za an¹-za¹-[a . . . :]
 f 54 [. . .]x x nē-re-bi-ki¹[lu]-[(u) x x]
 f 55 [l]u-u am-x[x (x)]x x[x] šá āli(uru) [. . .] ^dšá-[maš]
 GGf 56 ù ina¹uruk^{ki} x x i¹-ki x[. . .] x[(x)]
 GGf 57 áš-šú¹áš¹-maš iš-[m]u-u qa-ba-a¹a¹:
 f 58 ina pi-[. . .]x-ri⁶¹⁵ kakka(tukul)¹ it-[tan-n]a?
 GGf 59 e-nin-na ⁶¹⁵dalat(ig) ana-ku¹ e-pu-uš-ki ana-ku áš-šá[k-ki :]
 GGf 60 a-na-k[u . . . ana-k]u a-na-as-sah-ki
 GGf 61 lu-u šarru(lugal) šá e-la-a arki(egir)-iá li-(ze)-er-ki :
 GGf 62 lu-u ilu(dingir) x[. . .] x [(x)]-šá li-ir-te-ki-m[a]
 GGf 63 šu-mi li-na-ak-ki-ir-ma šum-šú liš-kun :
 GGf 64 it-ta-sah[.]x¹ma¹id-d[i]
 GGf 65 a-ma-ti-šú iš-te-nem-ma-a ḥa-an-tiš ḥar-piš i[l-la-ka di-ma-a]-šú
 GGf 66 ^dGiš-gim-maš a-ma-ti šá ^den-ki-dù ib-ri-šú iš-te-ne[m-ma-a :]
 f 67 [ḥa-an-tiš ḥar-piš il-la]-ka di-ma-a-[šú]
 GGf 68 ^dGiš-gim-maš pā(ka)-šú iṣpuš(dù)^u-ma iqabbi(dug₄ga) izakkara(mu)^u
 ana ^den-ki-d[ù :]
 Z₃f 69 [ib-ri . . .]x x x[. . .]x šu-pu-u
 Z₃f 70 [šá u]znī(geštu)^{min2} iḥ-mu ra-šú-ú šá-na-ti-ma [. . .]x x[x]
 Z₃f 71 [am-m]i-ni ib-ri id-bu-ub lib-ba-ka šá-na¹ti¹ [x (x) x]
 Z₃f 72 [šu-ut-tum š]u-qu-rat-ma pi-rit-tum ma²-da-at [:]
 Z₃f 73 [.]¹[ḥa]-ma-a ki-ma¹zu-um¹-[bi]
 Z₃f 74 [x x m]a²-du šu-ut-tum aq-rat :
 Z₃f 75 ana ba[l-i]i i-zi-bu na-sa-sa
 Z₃f 76 [mi-i?-i]um ana bal-ti ni-is-sa-ta¹i¹-ziḥ

46 L₂: i-[a-niš 47 f: an-nu-u 47-8 f in one line 48 L₂: ù an-nu-ú 49-50 f: lu
 49-50, 51-2, 53-4 f in one line 57-8 GGf in one line 59-60 f in one line 61-2, 63-4
 f in one line 66-7 GGf in one line 68-9 f in one line 72-3 f in one line 73 Z₃: zu-
 u[b-bi] 74 Z₃: šu-ut-tu 74-5 f in one line 76 Z₃: ni-is-sa-tum

- 42 until I saw a tall cedar [. . .]
 43 Your tree had no rival [. . . :]
 44 six rods is your height, two rods your breadth, one [cubit your] thickness,
 45 your pole, its top pivot and its bottom pivot are all of a piece;
 46 I made you, I raised you up, in Nippur I hung you upright.
 47 Had I but known, O door, that this would be your [reward,]
 48 had I but known, O door, that this would be your bounty,¹
 49 I would have picked up an axe, I would have cut you down,
 50 I would have shipped you by raft to E-babbarra.
 51 [To] E-babbarra, the temple of Šamaš, I would have brought [you,]
 52 I would have set [up] the cedar [in the . . .] of E-babbarra.
 53 [At] its gate I would have stationed Anzû [. . . :]
 54 [. . .] . . . your entrance I would have [. . .]
 55 I would have . . . [. . .] the city [. . .] Šamaš,
 56 and in Uruk . . . [.]
 57 because Šamaš heard what I said,
 58 in . . . ²[. . .] . . . he [gave] me a weapon.
 59 Now, O door, it was I who made you, I who raised [you] up!
 60 Can I [. . . you,] can I tear you out?
 61 May either a king who comes after me abhor you,
 62 or a god [.] . . . may he hang you up!³
 63 May he remove my name and set up his own!
 64 he tore out [.] . . . he threw down.
 65 As he was listening to his words,
 66 swiftly and soon his [tears were flowing.]
 67 As Gilgameš was listening to the words of Enkidu, his friend,
 [swiftly and soon his] tears were [flowing.]
 68 Gilgameš opened his mouth to speak,
 saying to Enkidu:
 69 ‘[My friend, . . .] . . . [. . .] manifest,
 70 [who] has understanding and sense, [. . .] profanities?
 71 Why, my friend, did your heart talk profanities [. . . ?]
 72 [the dream] was precious and the apprehension was much.
 73 [.] were buzzing like flies,
 74 [. . .] were many, the dream was rare.
 75 “To the one who survived grieving was left,
 76 the [deceased] left sorrow to the one who survived.”

¹ So MS f; MSL offers a shorter line: ‘and that this would be your bounty’.

² Perhaps read ina ūm(u) x[, ‘in time of’.

³ Or, reading li-ir-te-qi-m[a], ‘may he hide (you)!’

Z ₃ f	77	[<i>lu-šal-l</i>]a-ma lu-sap-pa-a ilī(dingir) ^{mes} rabūti(gal) ^{lmes}
Z ₃ f	78	[^d šamaš?]u-uš-te-'a ^r i-lu-ka ^l lu-us-ḫi[r:]
Z ₃ f	79	[l]u-uk ^l ? ^r l-r[u?]-ub ana ^d a-nu-u]m a-bi ilī(dingir) ^{mes} x[x x]
Z ₃ f	80	[šš-m]i ^d en-lil ma-li-ku rabū(gal)? ^l ina mahri(igi)-ka ^r ikribī(šùd)? ^l [iá:]
Z ₃ f	81	[l]u?-u ut-[nen-ni? . . .]x [. . .]
f	82	[ḫurā]ša(kù.sig ₁₇) la mi-na ša-lam-ka ^l lu-pu-uš:
f	83	[. . .] x x x [.]
f	84	[ib-ri kas]pa(kù.babbar) la ta-nam-din ḫurāša(kù.sig ₁₇) l[a t]a-x x x la [ta- . . .]
f	85	[šá ^d en-l]il? iq-bu-u ul ki-i šá ^r ilī(dingir) ^{lmes} šá x [. . .]
f	86	[šá i]q-bu-u ul i-tur ul i[p-šit]
f	87	[šá] ul-šI-ed-du-u ul i-tur ul ip-šit:
f	88	[ib-ri uš-su] ^l [ra . . .]
f	89	[i-]na l]a šimāti(nam) ^{mes} šī-na nišū(ùg) ^{mes} il ^l la ^l ka:
f	90	mim-mu ^l u ^l še ^l e-ri ^l ina n[a-m]a-[ri]
fg ₃	91	i[š-š]i re-šī-šū ^d en-ki-dū a-na pa-an ^d šamaš(utu) ^l i-na[m-bi]
fg ₃	92	a ^l [na p]a-an šá ^r ru-ri ^l šá ^d šamaš(utu) il-la ^l ka di-ma-a ^l [šū]
fg ₃	93	[am-ḫ]ur-ka ^d šamaš(utu) áš-šū aq-ra ^l ti ^l [na-p]iš-[i]i-[iá]
fg ₃	94	[šū-ú?] ša-a-a-du ḫab-bi-lu a-me-lu
fg ₃	95	[šá ^r] la ^l u ^l šam-ša-an-nu ma-la ib-ri-i
Z ₁ fg ₃	96	[ša-a]-a-du a-a im-ša-a ma-la ib-ri-šū
Z ₁ fg ₃	97	né-mel-šū ḫul-liq i-dī-šū muṭ-tu
Z ₁ fg ₃	98	[lu-ú ḫar-ša]-a[t z]itta(ḫa.la)-šū ina mah-ri-ka
Z ₁ fg ₃	99	[. . . a-š] ar ^l ir ^l ru-ub li-ši a-pa-ni-iš
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₃	100	[ul-tu š]a-a-a-du iz-zu-ru ma-la lib-bi-šū
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₃	101	[u ḫa-rim]-ti ^l šam-ḫat lib-ba-šū a-ra-ra ub-la
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₃	102	[al]-ki ^l šam-ḫat š[i-ma]-tu lu-šim-ki
E ₁ Z ₁ fg ₃	103	[šī]-mat la i-qat-tu-ú ana ^r du-ur ^l da-a-ár
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂ g ₃	104	[lu-u]z-zur-ki iz-ra rabā(gal) ^d
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂ fg ₃	105	[ù ḫa]t-tiš ḫar-piš iz-ru ^l u ^l a liṭ-ḫu-ki ka-a-šī
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂	106	[e i]e-pu-šī bīt(è) la-le-ki
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂ f	107	[la? t]a?-ram-mi-i x x x x šá ta-ḫu-ti-ki
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂	108	[e tu-u]š-bi i[na maštaki(ama)?] šá ardāti(ki.sikil) ^{mes}
E ₁ Z ₁ Z ₂ fg ₁	109	[šu-bat-k]i ^l dam ^l -q[u qaq] ^l qa? ^l [ru?] li-šah-ḫi

78 Z₃: lu-ú[s-ḫur?] 78-9, 80-1, 82-3, 87-8, 89-90 fin one line 91 g₃: [igi^l] 92 g₃: -r]u
šá^dutu-šī il-la-ku 93 g₃: áš-šū {UD} aq-ra-ú zi^ltim^l 94 f: ḫa(b)-bi-l]a^r lú :^l 94-5 f in
one line 96-7 Z₁f in one line 97 g₃: [lu-ú ḫa-liq-ma i-da-a-šū 98 Z₁: zi-i]i-ta-šū
99 g₃: šū-šī a-pa-niš 100 Z₁: lib-bi-šū g₃: šá-šū 101 Z₁: lib-b]a-šá g₃: a-ra-á[r u]b-lu
102 g₃: šī-ma-at lu-š[i]m-ka 102-3 fin one line 103 g₃: a-du-ru da-a-ri 104 g₃: i]z-ri
ra-ba-a 104-5 f in one line 105 g₃:]^lú?-a liṭ-ḫu-ka^l ka-/[a-š]i 106 Z₁: la]le-e-ki
106-7 fin one line 107 E₁: ta-r]am-mi-i f: x x [x i]i-[ki] 108-9 fin one line

77	[I will] beseech the great gods and entreat them,
78	I will seek out [Šamaš], I will appeal to your god. ⁴
79	I will pray [to Anu], the father of the gods [. . .]
80	[May] Enlil, the great counsellor, [hear my] prayers in your presence,
81	may [my entreaty to Ea.]
82	I will make a statue of you in gold without limit,
83	[. . .] . . . [.]'
84	'[My friend,] you must not give silver, you must not . . . gold, [you must] not [. . .]
85	[What Enlil] commanded is not like that of the gods of [. . .]
86	"[What he] commanded, he did not [erase] again,
87	[what] he proclaimed, he did not erase again."
88	My friend, [my destiny is] drawn,
89	people do go prematurely to their fate. ⁵
90	At the very first light of dawn,
91	Enkidu lifted up his head, lamenting before Šamaš,
92	his tears flowing before the rays of the sun:
93	'[I appeal] to you, O Šamaš, on account of my ⁶ life so precious!
94	[As for him, that] hunter, the trapper-man,
95	who did not let me be a match for my friend,
96	may the hunter not be a match for his friend!
97	Destroy his income, ⁶ diminish his earnings!
98	[May] his share of the profits be [cut] in your presence!
99	May [. . .] where he enters go out ⁷ by the window! ⁷
100	[After] he had cursed the hunter to his heart's content,
101	he decided to curse [the harlot] Šamḫat [also:]
102	'Come, Šamḫat, I will determine a destiny for you,
103	a destiny that will not end for all eternity:
104	[I will] curse you with a great curse,
105	[and] my curses shall afflict you swiftly and soon!
106	[May you not] found a household to delight in, ⁸
107	[you are not to] reside . . . of your young ones!
108	[May you not] sit in the young women's [chamber!]
109	May the ground defile your fine-looking [garment!]

⁴ Or perhaps 'gods'.

⁵ So MS f; MS g omits 'my'.

⁶ So MS Z; MS g: 'may his income be lost!'

⁷ So MS Z; MS g: 'make (him) go out'.

⁸ Lit. 'make the house of your delight'.

E ₁ Z ₁ f _{g₁}	110	[<i>lu-bar i-sin-na-ti-ki šak-ru ina tur-bu</i>]- ^f ú ¹ <i>li-bal-lil</i>
E ₁ g ₁	111	[<i>e tar-ši-i bīti?</i> . . .] <i>u ba-na-a-tú</i>
E ₁ Z ₁ f	112	[.] <i>x-nu ša pa-ḥa-ri</i>
E ₁ Z ₁ f _{g₁}	113	[. . .] <i>x ri bu ki? mim-ma e tar-ši-i</i>
E ₁ Z ₁ f _{g₁}	114	[. . . <i>ta-ra-a</i>] <i>š^{sis} paššūri (banšur)¹ šá-muḫ nišī (ùg)^{mes} a-a in-na-di ina bīti(é)-ki</i>
E ₁ g ₁	115	[<i>dī-in-nu-ut-ki ša</i>] <i>a-le-ma lu-ú dak-kan-nu</i>
E ₁ Z ₁ f _{g₁}	116	[<i>iš-pal-lu-ur-tu</i>] <i>šá harrāni (kaskal) lu-u mu-šá-bu-ki</i>
Z ₁ f _{g₁}	117	[<i>hur-ba-tum lu-u m</i>] <i>a-šal-lu-ka šilli (gissu) dūri (bād) lu-ú man-za-zu-ki</i>
Z ₁ f _{g₁}	118	[<i>šibaltu (dih) u</i> ^{sis} <i>a</i>] <i>šāgu (kiš₁₆) li-qal-li-pu šēpī (gir)^{min,mes}-ki</i>
Z ₁ g ₁	119	[<i>šak-ru ú</i> <i>š</i>] <i>a-mu-ú li-im-ḥaš let-ki</i>
Z ₁ g ₁	120	[. . . <i>lu</i>]- ^f ú ¹ <i>be-let di-ni-^fma¹ [e]i (ugu)-ki lil-si</i>
Z ₁ g ₁	121	[<i>ūr bīti-ki?</i>] <i>al-a i-se-er i-tin-nu</i>
Z ₁ g ₁	122	[.] <i>i-ir-bi-ši qa-du-ú</i>
Z ₁ g ₁	123	[. <i>a-a iš-š</i>] <i>á-kin qī^f re-e-tum¹</i>

A lacuna of 2 lines is expected here, equivalent to MB Ur 34–5

E ₃	126	[x x x] <i>e x</i> [.]
E ₃	127	[x <i>lu-b</i>] <i>ar ta-kil-ti</i> [.]
E ₃	128	x-KAL <i>su-ni šah</i> [-]
E ₃ L ₁	129	<i>šá su-un-šú šah-ḥ</i> [<i>u-ú</i>]x [x]
E ₃ L ₁	130	<i>áš-šú ia-a-ši</i> [ella(kù) <i>tu-šam-ti</i>]-in ^f <i>ni¹</i>
E ₃ L ₁	131	<i>u ia-a-a-ši ella(kù)</i> [tu-šam-tin]-ni ina <i>šēri (edin)-ia</i> L ₁
E ₃ L ₁	132	^d <i>šamaš(utu) iš-ma-a</i> [zi-ki] <i>r pi-i-šú</i>
E ₃ L ₁	133	<i>ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma</i> [uk-ku ul-t] <i>u šamē(an)^e il-ta-na-sa-áš-šú</i>
E ₃ L ₁	134	<i>am-me-ni^d en-ki-dù ḥa-rim</i> -[t] <i>i^f šam-ḥat ta-na-an-za-ár</i>
E ₃ L ₁	135	<i>šá ú-šá-ki-lu-ka</i> [ak] <i>la(ninda)^{ba} si-mat ihu (dingir)-ú-ti</i>
E ₃ L ₁	136	<i>ku-ru-un-na iš-qú-ka si-mat šarru (lugal)-ú-ti</i>
E ₃ L ₁	137	<i>ú-lab-bi-šu-ka lu-ub-šá ra-ba-a</i>
E ₃ L ₁	138	<i>u dam-qu^d GIš-gim-maš tap-pa-a ú-šar-šu-ka ka-a-šá</i>
E ₃ L ₁	139	[<i>e-n</i>] <i>in-na-a-ma^d GIš-gim-maš ib-ri ta-li-me-ka</i>
E ₃ L ₁	140	[<i>uš-n</i>] <i>a-al-ka-a-ma ina ma-a-a-li rabi(gal)ⁱ</i>
L ₁	141	[<i>i-n</i>] <i>a ma-a-a-al tak-ni-i uš-na-al-ka-ma</i>
L ₁	142	[<i>ú-še</i>] <i>š-šeb-ka šub-ta né-eh-ta šu-bat šu-me-li</i>
L ₁	143	[<i>ma-al-k</i>] <i>a šá qa-q-q-ri ú-na-áš-šá-qu šēpē (gir)^{min}-ka</i>
L ₁	144	[<i>ú-šab-k</i>] <i>ak-ka nišī (ùg)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} ú-šad-ma-ma-ak-ka</i>

110 f: *tur-bu*]-^fú¹ 111 E₁: *ba-n*] *a-te* 111–12 Z₁f in one line 112–13 g₁ in one line
 114 g₁: *é-ka* 115–16 Z₁f in one line 116 g₁: *lu-ú mu-šá-bu-ka* 117 g₁: *man-za-zu-ka*
 118 Z₁: *li-qal-li-ti*] p f: [gir]^{min}-ki] g₁: gir^{min}-ka 119 g₁: *te-ka* 120 g₁: *e-li-ka li-is-su*
 135 E₃: *a[k-la* 136 L₁: *iš-q]u-ka* 137 L₁: *lu-ub-ši*

110	May [the drunkard] smear [with dust your festive gown!]
111	[May you not acquire <i>a house with</i> . . .] and lovely things,
112	[.] of the potter!
113	May you not obtain any [. . .] . . . !
114	[May . . . setting] the table, the people's abundance, not occur in your house!
115	May [the bed you] delight in be a <i>bench</i> !
116	May [the junction] of the highway be where you sit!
117	[May the ruined houses be] where you sleep! May the lee of the city wall be where you stand!
118	May [thorn and] briar skin your feet!
119	May [drunk and] sober strike your cheek!
120	[May . . .] be plaintiff, may she claim against you!
121	May the builder not plaster [<i>the roof of your house</i>]!
122	[.] may an owl roost!
123	[. may no] banquet [take] place!

Lacuna of 3 lines

127	'[. . .] purple raiment [.]
128	. . . of the defiled lap [.]
129	whose lap is defiled [.]
130	Because [you made] me [weak], me [who was pure!]
131	And me who was pure, [you made] me [weak] when I was in the wild.'
132	Šamaš heard [what] he had spoken,
133	straight away a [voice] was crying to him [from] the heavens:
134	'Why, O Enkidu, do you keep cursing the harlot Šamḥat,
135	who gave you bread to eat, fit for a god,
136	gave you beer to drink, fit for a king,
137	clothed you in a great garment,
138	and let you have for a comrade the fine Gilgameš?
139	Now Gilgameš, your friend and brother,
140	[will] lay you out on a great bed.
141	[On] a bed of honour he will lay you out,
142	[he will] set you on a restful seat, the seat to (his) left,
143	[the princes] of the earth will kiss your feet.
144	[He will make] weep for you the people of Uruk, he will make them sob for you,

L ₁	145	[šam-ḥa-ti] nišī(ùg) ^{mes} ú-ma-al-lak-ka dul ₆ -la	
L ₁	146	[ù šu] -ú ¹ ar-ki-ka ú-šá-áš-šá-a ma-la-a pa-gar- ¹ šú ¹	
L ₁	147	[il-tab-bi-i]š maš-ki lab-bi-im-ma i-rap-pu-ud š[ēra(edin)]	L ₁
L ₁	148	[š-me-ma ^d e]n-ki-dù a-mat ^d šamaš(utu) qu-ra-[dì]	
L ₁	149	[. . . a]g-ga lib-ba-šú i-nu-uh-[ma]	
L ₁	150	[. . . e]z-za [lib-ba-šú] ¹ i-nu ¹ -[uh]	
G ₃	151	a[l-ki ¹ šam-ḥat šī-ma-ta lu-šim-ki]	
L ₁ G ₃	152	p[i-ia šá iz-zu]-ru-ki li ¹ tur lik ¹ r[u-ub-ki]	
L ₁ G ₃	153	[šak-ka-nak-k]i ù rubú(nun) ^{mes} li-ir ¹ a-mu ¹ -k[i]	
L ₁ G ₃	154	š[á 1 bēr(danna)]im-ḥaš šá-par-šú	
L ₁ G ₃	155	š[á 2 bēr(danna)]i-na-as-si-sa gim-mat-su	
L ₁ G ₃	156	¹ a ¹ [a ik-lak-k]i re-du-ú mi-sir-ra-šú lip-tur-ki	
L ₁ G ₃	157	li[d-din-ki ⁿ]a ⁴ šurra(zú) ⁿ a ⁴ uqnâ(za.gin) u ḥurāša(kù.sig ₁₇)	
L ₁ G ₃	158	in-ša-ab-t]u ¹ tu ¹ -tur-ru-ú lu-u nid-din-ki	
L ₁ G ₃	159	ana et[¹ i(guruš) šá kun-nu?] ¹ ku ¹ nu-nu-šú iš-pik-ki-šú šap-ku	
L ₁ G ₃	160	^d i[š-tar le-'a]t ili(dingir) ^{mes} lu-še-rib-ki ka-a-ši	
L ₁	161	[áš-šu-mi-ki li]-in-né-zib ummi(ama) 7 ḥi-ir-tum	
L ₁	162	[šá ^d en-ki-ā]ù mar-ša-tu ka-ras-su	
L ₁ L ₃	163	¹ uš ¹ -[ta-ab-ba-a]l it-ta-lu e-da-nu-uš-šú	
L ₁ L ₃	164	i-da[b-bu-ub-ma m]m-mu-ú kab-ta-ti-šú ana ib-ri-šú	
L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	165	mim-m[u] ¹ ib-ri [š]u-na-ta at-tul mu-šī-ti-ia	
L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	166	il ¹ su ¹ -ú šamē(an) ^c qaq-qa-ru i-pul	
L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	167	ina bi-ri-šu-nu az-za-zi a-na-ku	
L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	168	šá 1-en et-lu uk-ku-lu pa-nu-šú	
E ₂ L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	169	a-na šá an-ze-e pa-nu-šu maš-lu	
E ₂ L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	170	rit-ti nēšī(ur.mah) rit-[i]a-šú šu-pur a-re-e šu-pur-a-šú	
E ₂ L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	171	iš-bat qí-ma-ti-i[a] ú-dan-ni-na-an-ni ia-a-ši	
E ₂ L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	172	am-ḥas-su-ma kīma(gim) kep-pe-e i-šah-ḥi-ī	
E ₂ L ₁ L ₃ G ₂	173	im-ḥaš-an-ni-ma ki-ma ¹ mu ut-teb-ba-an-ni	
E ₂ L ₁	174	ki-ma ri-i-mi dan-[ni ir-ḥ]i-išeli(ugu)-i[a]	
E ₂ L ₁	175	im-tú il-ta-[. . .]x pag-ri-i[a]	
E ₂ L ₁	176	šu-zib-an-ni ib-r[i]x [x]	
E ₂	177	tap-lah-šu-m[a]	
E ₂	178	at-ta ta[l]	

A short lacuna is placed at this point, though a slight overlap between MSS E₁ and E₂ cannot be ruled out.

153 g₃: r[u-bu-ú u šakkanakkū? 165 g₂: [š]u-na-at 166 g₂: qaq-qa-ri 167 g₂: az-za-zu
168 g₂: uk-ku-ul pa-n[i- 169 g₂: [a]na L₁: an-zi]-i pa-nu-šú 170 g₂ in two lines g₂: rit-ta-
a-šú], šu-pur-ra-šú] 171 g₂: qí]m¹mat-tí-ia {D1š}

145	the people [so bonny] he will fill full of grief for you.
146	[And] he, after you are gone he will have himself bear the matted hair of mourning,
147	[he will don] the skin of a lion and go roaming the [wild.]'
148	Enkidu [heard] the words of Šamaš the hero,
149	[. . .] his angry heart grew calm,
150	[. . . his] furious [heart grew] calm.
151	'Come, [Šamḥat, I will determine a destiny for you,]
152	[my] mouth [that] cursed you shall return and bless [you:]
153	May [governors] and noblemen ^o love you,
154	may he [that is one league (distant)] slap his thigh!
155	May he [that is two leagues (distant)] shake out his hair,
156	may no soldier [be slow] to undo his belt for you!
157	May he [give you] obsidian, lapis lazuli and gold,
158	multiple ear-[rings] shall be your gift!
159	To a man whose household [<i>is well off</i>], whose storage bins are heaped high,
160	may Istar, [the most able] of the gods, send you in!
161	[On your account may] the first wife be deserted, the mother of seven!'
162	[As for Enkidu], his mind was deranged.
163	He was lying on his own [thinking,]
164	what was on his mind he told to his friend:
165	'Quite something, my friend, (was) the dream I saw during the course of this night!
166	the heavens thundered, the earth responded,
167	with me standing (there) between them.
168	There was a man, his expression was grim,
169	his face was like that of an <i>Anzū</i> -bird.
170	His hands were a lion's paws, his claws an eagle's talons,
171	he took hold of my hair, he was too strong for me.
172	I struck him so he sprang back like a skipping-rope,
173	he struck me and capsized me like a raft.
174	Like a mighty wild bull he trampled over me,
175	poison he . . . [. . .] my body.
176	"Rescue me, my friend! [. . .]"
177	But you were afraid of him and [.]
178	You . . . [.]'

Short lacuna

^o So MS L; MS g probably: 'noblemen [and governors]'.
 * So MS L; MS g probably: 'noblemen [and governors]'.

E ₁	180	[.]x [x x]
E ₁	181	[.]x i-[x x]
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	182	[im-ḥaṣ?-an] ¹ ni ¹ k[im]a(gim) [su-um] ¹ [me ia] ¹ [a] ¹ ši ut-ter-ra-an ¹ ni ¹
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	183	[ik-s]i-ma kīma(gim) iṣṣūri(mušen) i-dī-ia
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	184	[ša]b-tan-ni i-red-dan-ni a-na bīt(ē) ek-le-ti šu-bat ^a ir-kal-la
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	185	[a] ¹ -na bīt(ē) šá e-ri-bu-šu la a-šu-ú
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	186	[a] ¹ -na ḥarrāni(kaskal) šá a-lak-ta-šá la ta-a-a-rat
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	187	[a] ¹ -na bīt(ē) šá a-ši-bu-šu zu-um-mu-ú nu-ú-ra
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	188	[a] ¹ -šar ep-ru bu-bu-us-si-na-ma a-kal-ši-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭu
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	189	lab-šá-ma kīma(gim) iṣṣūri(mušen) šu-bat kap-pi
E ₁ E ₄ L ₄ Z ₁	190	ú nu-ú ¹ [r]a la im-ma-ra-ma ina e-ṭu-ti áš-ba
L ₄	191	elī(ugu) ^{es} dal[ti(ig) u ^{es} sikkūri(sag.kul) šá-bu-uh ep-ru]
L ₄	192	elī(ugu) bīt[i(ē) (ep-ri) šá-ḥur-ra-tu tab-ka-at]
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	193	a-na b[īt(ē) ep-r]i šá e-ru-bu a-na-ku
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	194	ap-pa[l-sa-am-m]a ku-um-mu-su a-gu-ú
E ₁ L ₄ Z ₁	195	áš-b[u šarrī ^{mes} šu-ut a-ge-e šá ul-tu u ₄ -me pa-na i-be-lu ma-a-tú
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	196	[ina ^{es} paššūr(banšur) ? ^{d1} a-nim u ^d en-líl iš-tak-ka-nu šu-mé-e ši-i-ri ¹
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	197	[e] ¹ -pa-a iš-tak-ka-nu ka-šu-ti i-taq-qu-u mē(a) ^{mes} na-da-a-ti
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	198	[a] ¹ -na [bīt(ē)] ep-ri šá e-ru-bu a-na-ku
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	199	[á]š-bu e-nu u la-ga-ru
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	200	[áš]-bu i-šip-pu u lú-maḥ-ḥu
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	201	[áš-b]u gudapsú(gudu ₄ .abzu) ^{mes} šá ilī(dingir) ^{mes} rabūti(gal) ^{mes}
E ₁ Z ₁ g ₁	202	[a]-šib e-ta-na a-šib ^d šakkan
Z ₁ g ₁	203	[áš-bat š]ar-rat eršet(iki) ^{sim d} ereš-ki-gal
Z ₁ g ₁	204	[^d be-let-š]ēri(edin) ṭup!(UM)-šar-ra-at eršet(iki) ^{sim} ma-ḥar-šá kām-sa-at
L ₃ Z ₁ g ₁	205	[ṭup-pa n]a-šat-ma il-ta-na-as-si ina maḥ-ri-šá
L ₃ Z ₁ g ₁	206	[iš-ši r]e-ši-šá {DIŠ} i-mu-ra-an-ni ia-a-ši
Z ₁	207	[man-num-m]a il-qa-a an-na-a [amēla(lú)] ¹
L ₃	208	[man-num-ma?] ub-la
L ₃	209	[.] uš-t]e-er-si
L ₃	210	[.] k]i.maḥ
L ₃	211	[.] .gub.ba
L ₃	212	[.] -a-tim
L ₃	213	[.] x-an-ni

183 E₁: iṣ-ṣu]-ri 184 E₁: mu-šab^dir-kal-la L₄ in two lines 185 E₁: e-ri-bu-š]ú 186 E₁: a-lak-t]a-šú 187 E₁: a-ši-bu-š]ú 188 L₄: ep-r]i Z₁: ṭi-iṭ-ṭi 190 E₄: [u] L₄: nu-r[a E₁: im-m]a-ra 195 Z₁: pa-ni, kur 196 g₁: [i]l-tak-ka-nu šu-mi^d]i Z₁: šu-me-e še-e-ri 197 Z₁: ka-ša-a-ti iš-taq-qu-u, na-da-a-te g₁: ka-ša-a-tú i-ta-na-qu-ú, na-da-a-tú 198 g₁: er-ru-bu ana-ku 199 g₁: la ma-ga-ri 200 Z₁: ú g₁: lu-maḥ-ḥu 201 g₁: gu]du₄.{U}.abzu^{mes} 202 Z₁: [^de-ta-na g₁: e?-]i]a-an-ni 203 Z₁: ki^{sim} 204 g₁: ṭup-š]ar-rat, ma-ḥar-šú kam-sa-at 205 g₁: i]l-ta-na-as-su L₃g₁: [igi-šá] 207-8 L₃ in one line

182	‘[He struck] me, he turned me into a dove.
183	[He bound] my arms like (the wings of) a bird,
184	to lead me captive to the house of darkness, the seat ¹⁰ of Irkalla:
185	to the house which those who enter cannot leave,
186	on the journey whose way cannot be retraced;
187	to the house whose residents are deprived of light,
188	where dust is their sustenance, their food clay.
189	They are clad like birds in coats of feathers,
190	and they cannot see light but ¹¹ dwell in darkness.
191	On the door [and bolt the dust lies thick,]
192	on the House [(of Dust) a deathly quiet is poured.] ¹²
193	On the House of Dust that I entered,
194	I looked and (saw) the crowns stowed away:
195	there sat [kings], the crowned heads who had ruled the land since days of old,
196	who used to serve roasted meat [at the] tables of Anu and Enlil,
197	who used to serve baked (bread), to pour chilled water from skins. ¹³
198	In the House of Dust that I entered, ¹⁴
199	there sat <i>en</i> priests and <i>lagar</i> priests; ¹⁵
200	there sat purification priests and <i>lumahḥu</i> priests,
201	there sat the <i>gudapsú</i> priests of the great gods;
202	there sat Etana, there sat Šakkan,
203	[there sat the] queen of the Netherworld, Ereškigal.
204	Before her was squatting [Bēlet]-šēri, the scribe of the Netherworld,
205	holding [a tablet] and reading aloud in her presence.
206	[She raised] her head, she saw me:
207	“[Who was] it fetched this man here?
208	[Who was it] brought [<i>this fellow</i>] here?
209	[.] made ready,
210	[.] tomb.””

Lacuna. Enkidu continues relating what befell him in the Netherworld:

213 “[.] me,

¹⁰ So MS Z; MS E: ‘abode’.

¹¹ So MS Z; MS E omits.

¹² LL. 191-2 occur in MS L only.

¹³ So MS E; MS Z: ‘give water to drink from cool skins’, MS g: ‘keep pouring water from cool skins’.

¹⁴ So MSS EZ; MS g (inferior): ‘enter’.

¹⁵ So MSS EZ; MS g, corruptly: *lā magāri*, ‘disobedience’.

L ₃	214	[. ^d ereš-k]i-gal
L ₃	215	[.] a-bu-bu
L ₃	216	[.]-at
L ₃	217	[.]x

Another short lacuna occurs between MSS L₃ and E₂

E ₂	220	[.] x x
E ₂	221	[. a-t]a-mar zumur(su)-šú
E ₂	222	[.]-a-ti
E ₂	223	[.]x-kit
E ₂	224	[.]x-ta
E ₂	225	[.]x-ta
E ₂	226	[.]-bi

The rest of col. v is lost, and, after a further gap, the text resumes with col. vi. It is assumed that MS L begins col. vi at l. 252. The line represented by the trace at MS GG vi 1' is at least the 9th line of the column.

GG	249	x[.]
GG	250	x[.] x[.]
GG	251	šá [it-ti-ka at-tal-l]a-ku ka-lu ^f mar-ša ^l [a-ti]
L ₂ GG	252	hu-us-[sa-an-ni ib-r]i mim-mu-u at-tal-la-ku e [tam-ši]
L ₂ GG	253	ib-ri ^f i ^l -m[ur] šu-ut-ta šá la x[x (x) x]
L ₂ GG	254	u ₄ -um šutta(máš.gi ₆) it-tu-lu ga-mir [emüq?-šú]
		L ₂
L ₂ GG	255	na-di-ma ^d en-ki-dù 1-en u ₄ -um ^f ma ^l -r[u-us 2 u ₄ -ma]
L ₂ GG	256	šá ^d en-ki-dù ina ma-a-a-li-šú [.]
L ₂ GG	257	šal-šá u ₄ -ma u re-ba-a u ₄ -ma š[á ^d en-ki-dù . . .]
L ₂ GG	258	ha-an-šá šeš-šá u se-ba-a sa-ma-na-a ti-š[á-a u eš-ra-a]
L ₂ GG	259	šá ^d en-ki-dù muršu(gig) x[.]
L ₂ GG	260	11 u 12 u ₄ -mu ^l [.]
L ₂ GG	261	^d en-ki-dù ina ma-a-a-l[i]
L ₂	262	il-si-ma ^d GIŠ-gim-maš x[.]
L ₂	263	iz-ze-ra-an-ni ib-r[i]
L ₂	264	ki-i šá ina qé-reb qa[blü(murub ₄) im-qu-tú? . . .]
L ₂	265	a-dur tāhāsam(mè)-ma [.]
L ₂	266	ib-ri šá ina tāh[āzi(mè) im-qu-tú . . .]
L ₂	267	[a ^l na-ku ina t[āhāzi(mè)?]

Approximately 31 or 32 lines are missing to the end of the tablet, including the catch-line and colophon.

253 GG: ṛ-ta-m]ar 254 L₂: u₄-mu 257 L₂: ù 258 L₂ in two lines, 6-šá^fù 259 L₂: mur-šu 260 L₂: 11-ù ù 12-ù

214	[.] Ereškigal.
215	[.] the deluge.'

Another short lacuna

221 '[. I] saw his person.'

A longer lacuna follows, of about 30 lines. When the text resumes Enkidu is speaking to Gilgameš:

251	'(Me) who [endured] all hardships [with you,]
252	remember [me,] my [friend,] lest [you forget] all I went through.'
253	'My friend saw ¹⁶ a dream which [will] not . . . [. . .]'
254	The day he saw the dream [his <i>strength</i>] was exhausted.
<hr/>	
255	Enkidu was cast down and (lay) sick for one day, [a second day.]
256	Of Enkidu, on his bed, [.]
257	A third day and a fourth day, of [Enkidu . . .]
258	a fifth, a sixth and a seventh, an eighth, a ninth [and a tenth (day).]
259	Enkidu's sickness [.]
260	an eleventh and a twelfth day, [.]
261	Enkidu on the bed [.]
262	he called to Gilgameš and [.:]
263	'[My god] has spurned me, my friend, [. . . ,]
264	like one who in the midst of battle [.]
265	I was afraid of combat [.,]
266	my friend, he who in combat [.]
267	I, in [combat,]'

The remainder of Enkidu's agony is lost.

¹⁶ So MS L; MS GG: '[has] seen'.

TABLET VIII

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Nineveh</i>			
R	K 6899 + 8564 + 9716 + Rm II 262		100, 101
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 257–8, 258–9: Tr (K 9716, cols. iv, iii, ii only; K 8564 with K 8565 col. ii of V ₂ and K 3382 col. v of K ₁)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 39 (Rm II 262): C		
	1891 Ibid. no. 47 (K 8564), 48 (K 9716): C		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 136–43, 196–9: T Tr (K 9716 + Rm II 262, col. iii with L ₁ ; K 8564, with V ₂)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 48–9, pls. 32–3: C T (lacking K 6899, col. i variant only, col. ii with V ₂)		
	1960 W. G. Lambert, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , p. 54: C (K 6899)		
	1997 S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , p. xxii: c (detail showing join of K 8564+ to K 6899)		
	i 2–6	iv 170–177	
	ii 43–67	v 207–219	
	iii 85–97	vi colophon	
V ₁	K 8281		103
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 49, pl. 33: C T		
V ₂	K 8565 + 9997		102
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 259, 260: Tr (K 8565 only; col. ii with K 8564 of R and K 3382 col. v of K ₁)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 38: C (K 8565 only)		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 196–9: T Tr (K 8565 only, col. ii with K 8564 of R)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 48, pls. 31–2: C T (K 8565 only, col. ii with R)		
	1960 W. G. Lambert, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , p. 53: C (K 9997, showing join)		

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
V ₃	K 8587		102, 103
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 35: C (obv. only)		
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 192–5: T Tr (obv. only)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 48, pl. 31: C T (obv. only)		
V ₄	K 19549		102, 103
	i 1–30 (V ₂₍₄₎₃), 44–49 (V ₄)	iv 170–185 (V ₁)	
	ii 51–66 (V ₂)	v not extant	
	iii 94–115 (V ₁)	vi 229–30 (V ₄), colophon (V ₃)	
<i>Sultantepe</i>			
e	S.U. 51/7		34
	1953 N. Gökçe and O. R. Gurney, <i>Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi</i> 11/I, p. 112 ff., pl. 7: P		
	1954 O. R. Gurney, 'Two fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe', <i>JCS</i> 8, pp. 90–5: C T Tr		
	1957 O. R. Gurney, <i>STT I</i> no. 15: C		
	1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 64: C (obv. only)		
	obv. 1–39	rev. 39–72	
<i>Babylon</i>			
m ₁	BM 36909 + 37023 + F 235		104, 105
m ₂	BM 37189		104
	1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 124, 135: C T		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 27: C		
	i 37–44 (m ₂)	iv 150–80 (m ₁)	
	ii 90–7 (m ₁)	v 199–206, 213*–15* (m ₁)	
	iii 117–149 (m ₁)	vi not extant	
Composite cuneiform text and edition			
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 41–3, 99–100: all MSS represented except V ₄ and m ₁		CT

		<i>Text</i>
V ₃	1	<i>mim-mu-^lú</i> [še-e-ri i-na na-ma-ri]
e		[<i>mim-mu-^lú</i>] še-e-ri a-na ná-ma-ri
RV ₂ V ₃	2	^d GĪŠ-gi[m-maš i-bak-ki a-n]a ^l ib-ri ^l -šú
e		^d GĪŠ-gi[m-maš]
RV ₂ V ₃	3	^d en-[ki-dù šá ummaka] ša-bi-ti
e		[. . . a]ma-ka maš.dà
RV ₂ V ₃	4	ù [akkanu abūka . . .]x-ka ka-a-šá
e		a-ka-a-nu a-bu-ka i[b-nu-ka? . . .]
RV ₂ V ₃	5	šá si[r-ri-mu ina šizbīšina ú]-rab-bu-ka ka-a-šá
e		[. . . i-n]a še-zib-bi-šin i-ra-bu-u-ka ka-a-š[ú]
RV ₂ V ₃	6	u bu-u[^l šēri . . . k]a-lu me-er-e-ti
e		[. . .] / [ú-še] ^l e ^l -di-(ka)? kàl me-re-e
V		
V ₂ V ₃	7	har-[ra-na-tú ^d en-ki-dù šá] ^{es} qišti(tir) ^{es} erēni(eren)
e		kaskal ^{mes} d en-ki-dù [.]
V ₂ V ₃	8	lib-[ka-nik-ku . . .]x mu-šú ur-ra
e		[x x] ^l ka ^l a-a i-tur la gi, ur-ra [Ø?]
V ₂ V ₃	9	lib-[ku-nik-ku ši-bu-ut āli] rap-ši šá uruk ^{ki} su-pu-ri
e		^l lib ^l -ku ^l -na ^l -ka ^l ^{lu} ab ^{mes} uru dagal ^{es} uruk ^{ki} šu-pur-r[ú]
V ₂ V ₃	10	l[ib-ki-ku ummānu š]a ^d i-ka-ra-bu arki(egir)-ni
e		[. . .] / [u]m-BA-nu-um i-ka-rab egir-na
V ₂	11	[lib-ku-nik-ku? . . . e] ^l lu ^l -ti šá šadi(kur) ⁱ hur-sa-a-ni
e		lib-ki-ka [.]
V ₂	12	[.]x-a-ni el-la
V ₂	13	[li-nam-ba-a q]er-bé-tu kīma(gim) ummi(ama)-ka
e		^l lu ^l -u ^l nam ^l -ba-a qer-bet a-ki-i ama-ka
V ₂	14	[lib-ki-ku (^{es} taškarinmu) ^{es} šurmēnu(šur.min) ^{es} erēnu(eren)
e		lib-ki-ka ^{es} [.]
V ₂	15	[ša ina bīrišunu ni- ^l]h-tal ^l lu ^l -pu ina uz-zi-ni
e		^l ša ^l ina bi-ri-su-nu ni- ^l h-tal-pu (. . .)
V ₂	16	[lib-ki-ku asu bu-š]u nim-ru min-di-n[lu lu- ^l]i-mu du-ma-mu
e		lib-ki-ka a-su b[^l u-š]u . . . / min-dan-nu lu-lim {ras.} du-ma-mu
V ₂	17	[nēšu r]i ^l mu a ^l -a-lu tu-ra- ^l hu bu-lum u [nam-ma]š-šú-ú šá šēri(edin)
e		ur.maḥ am ^{mes} a-a-lim [. . .] / bu-ul nam-maš-e edin
V ₂	18	[lib-ki-ku] ^{id} ú-la-a-a qa-diš-tu šá šam- ^l hi-iš n[^l it-tal- ^l]a-ku ina a- ^l hi-šá
e		lib-ki-ka ^{id} ú-la-a qa[d- . . .] / ni-tal-lak ina a- ^l ha-šú
V ₂	19	[lib-ki-k]u el-le-tu [pu]-rat-tum
e		lib-ki-ka el-lat pu-ra-ti

2 R: *ib-ri-š*u

		<i>Translation</i>
1	At the very first light of dawn,	
2	Gilgameš [was mourning] for his friend:	
3	‘O Enkidu, [whom] your mother, a gazelle,	
4	and your father, a wild donkey, [<i>created</i>],	
5	whom the wild [asses] reared with their milk,	
6	and the animals [of the wild <i>taught</i>] all the pastures!	
<hr/>		
7	May the paths, O Enkidu, [of] the Cedar Forest	
8	[mourn] you, and not . . . by day or night!	
9	May the elders of the populous city of Uruk-the-Sheepfold mourn you!	
10	May the crowd who would give blessings behind us [mourn you]!	
11	May the high [<i>peaks</i>] of hills and mountains mourn you,	
12	[.] . . . pure.	
13	May the pastures lament like your mother!	
14	May [<i>boxwood</i>], cypress and cedar mourn you,	
15	through whose midst we crept in our fury!	
16	May the bear mourn you, the hyena, panther, <i>cheetah</i> , stag and <i>jackal</i> ,	
17	the lion, wild bull, deer, ibex, the herds and animals of the wild!	
18	May the sacred River Ulāy mourn you, along whose banks we would walk so lustily!	
19	May the holy Euphrates mourn you,	

- V₂ 20 [šá nít]-taq-qu-ú mē(a)^{mes} [na-d]a-a-ti
e š[á . . .] / a^{mes} na-a-dí
- V₂ 21 [lib-k]u-nik-ku e^llūtu(guruš)^{mes} šá uruk^{ki} [s]u-pú-r[í]
e lib-ki-ka lú.guruš^{mes} uru daga^l uruk^{ki} . . .]
- V₂ 22 [šá tāh]āz(mē)-ni ù-tu-lu a-la^l a^l [nī-n]a^l a^l [ru]
e [š]á mē^{mes}-na-tu-lu a-la-URU nu-na-er
- V₂ 23 [lib-ki-k]u¹⁰ ikkaru(engar) ina mu[h-ḫi x (x) x]
e lib-ki-ka lú. [.]
- V₂ 24 [šá ina a-la]^l a^l la ṭa-a-bi ú-še-lu-[ú . . .]
e [š]a a-la^l-URU dūg.ga ú-še-la šim?(MU)-ka
- V₂ 25 [lib-ki-ku x-p]i[?]-ú ālī(uru) rap-ši šá u[ruk^{ki} su-pú-ri]
e KIMIN ab t[í]
- V₂ 26 [šá ina[?] x (x) x m]ah-ri-i ú-še-š[a-a . . .]
e [x]-um-me-e ma-ḫar-e ú-še-la-a šim?(MU)-ka
- V₂ 27 [lib-ki-ku¹⁰n]āqīdu(na.gada) x[.]
e KIMIN l[ú]
- V₂ 28 [ša šizba x (x)]x u ḫi-qa ú-KUR-[. . .]
e [ša še-z]ib-bi ḫe-e-mat ú-kinnu(gi.na) ina pi-i-ka
- V₂ 29 [lib-ki-ku¹⁰kapar]ru([ka.b]ar)? x[. . .]
e KIMIN r[e[?]-ú]
- V₂ 30 [. šap-i]i[?]-ka^l [. . .]
e [šá i]š-ta-kan ina šapli(ki.ta!)-ka ḫimēta(i.nun.na)
- e 31 KIMIN šībū(tu) (ab)^m[^{es}] / [. . .]
- e 32 [šá k]u-ru-u-nu iš-tak-kan (ina) pi-i-ka
- e 33 KIMIN ^fh[a-rim-tú]
- e 34 [šá x]x šamma(i) tap-pa-šiš muḫḫa(ugu)-ka ṭāba(dūg.ga)
- e 35 lib-k[u-ú eli(ugu)-ka . . .] / [. . . bīt] ^fe^l-mu-tú
- e 36 šá aššata(dam) un-qu iš ki ka x[. . .]
- m₂ 37 [x x x lib]-^fki^l e^f-^fli^l-[ka]
e [. . .] / [.]
- m₂ 38 [ki-ma aḫḫē[?]]^{me}-ka lib-k[ak-ka . . .]
e [gim[?] še]š^{mes}-e lib-ku-ú eli(ugu)-ka < . . . ? >
- m₂ 39 [ki-ma aḫḫāti]^{me}-ka lu-ú uš-š[u-ra pērātūšunu eli šērīšun?]
e gim nin^{mes}-k[u lu-ú] / [uš-šū]r pe-ra-tú-šun e[li(ugu) še-ri-šun?]
- m₂ 40 [lib-ku-ú ana]^d en-ki-dū um-ma-k[a abūka . . .]
e [KIMI]N? ana ^den-ki-dū ama-ka ad-ka < . . . >
- m₂ 41 [ina u₄-me-šu]-ma a-bak-kak-k[a a-na-ku?]
e ina na-me-šu-ma a-ba-[.]

- 20 which [we used] to pour in libation (as) water from skins!¹
- 21 May the young men of Uruk-the-Sheepfold² mourn you,
- 22 [who] watched our battle, as we slew the Bull of Heaven!
- 23 May the ploughman on [. . .] mourn you,
- 24 [who] will *extol your name* with his sweet work-song!
- 25 May the . . . of the spacious city of Uruk-the-Sheepfold mourn you,
- 26 [who] will *extol your name*³ [with] the first . . . !
- 27 May the shepherd mourn you [. . .],
- 28 [who] . . . [milk] and *junket* [in your mouth!]⁴
- 29 May [the shepherd boy] mourn you [. . .],
- 30 [who] used to place ghee on your *lips*!⁵
- 31 May the *brewer* [.] mourn you,
- 32 [who] used to place ale in your mouth!
- 33 May the [harlot] mourn you,
- 34 [who . . .] anointed the crown of your head with sweet-scented oil!
- 35 May [. the house] of the marriage ceremony mourn [over you,]
- 36 who . . . *you* a wife . . . [. . . !]
- 37 [May] mourn over you!
- 38 May [.] mourn you [as if they were] your brothers!
- 39 May their tresses be loosed [down their backs] as if they were your sisters!
- 40 [May they weep] for Enkidu, your mother and father, [as if . . .]
- 41 [On that] very [day]⁶ I [*myself*] shall mourn you!

¹ So MSV; MS e: 'a skin'.² So MSV; MS e: 'the young men of the populous city, Uruk-[the-Sheepfold]'.³ So MS e; MSV: 'send forth [. . .]'.⁴ So MSV; MS e: 'who placed milk and ghee in your mouth'.⁵ So MSV; MS e, corruptly: 'below you'.⁶ So MSV; MS e, corruptly: 'on his steppe'.

m ₂	42	[ši-ma-in-n]i eḫlūtu(guruš) ^{ms} ši-ma-[in-ni ia-a-ši]	
e		[š]i-ma-i-ni guruš ^{ms} ši-ma-na-a-a-ši	
Rm ₂	43	ši-ma-in-ni ši-bu-ut [āli rapši ur]uk ^{ki} š[i-ma-i]n ^f ni ia-a-ši ^f	
e		ši-ma-i-ni ab ^{ms} ur[u]	
RV ₄ m ₂	44	a-na-ku a-na ^d en ^f ki ^l -d[ū ib-ri]-ia a-bak-ki	
e		ana-ku ana ib-ri-i ^d en-ki-dū a-bak-ki	
RV ₄	45	kīma(gim) lal-la-ri-ti [ū-n]am-ba šar-piš	
e		ki-ma ^{la} lal-la-r[i-ti (. . .)] / a-nam-ba-a šar-piš	
RV ₄	46	ḥa-aš-ši-in a-ḥi-i[a tuk-l]a-tu i-di-ia	
e		ḥa-ši-nu a-ḥa-a-a tu-ku-lat [. .]	
R	47	nam-šar šip-pi-ia [a-ri-i]u šá pa-ni-ia	
e		nam-šar ši-bi-i a-ri-te šá pa-ni-ia	
e	47a	mu-kil li-du!?-x[.]	
RV ₄	48	lu-bar i-sin-na-ti-ia n[i-bi-iḫ] la-le-e-a	
e		lu-ba-ri-ši-na-ta-a ni-bi-iḫ lal-la-a-a	
RV ₄	49	[š]á-a-ru lem-nu it-ba-am-ma i-[te-ek-ma]n-ni ia-a-ši	
e		[.] / e-kim-ma-ni a-ia-ši	
R	50	[ibrī ku-d]a-ni ^f ṭa-rid ak-kan-nu šá šadī(kur) ^f nim-ru šá šēri(edin)	RV ₄
e		ib-ri ku-dan-nu ṭar-du a-[. .] / nam-mar šá edin	
RV ₂	51	^d e[n-ki-dū i]b-ri ku-da-ni [K]IMIN	
e		^d en-ki-dū ku-dan-nu ṭar-du a-ka-nu šá [.]	
RV ₂	52	šá nin-n[é-em]-du-ma ni-lu-ú [šadā]	
e		ša i-ni-nu-ma ni-lu-ú kur ^d	
RV ₂	53	ni-iš-b[a-t]u-ma a-la-a [ni-na-ru]	
e		ni-iš-ša-bat a-la-URU [. .]	
RV ₂	54	nu-šal-pi-tu ^d ḫum-ba-ba šá ina ^{eris} qišti(tir) [erēni ašbu]	
e		nu-šá-al-pi-te ^d ḫum-ba-ba šar ^a eris ^{tir} ere-ni dan-nu	
RV ₂	55	e-nin-na mi-nu-ú šit-tu šá iš-ba-tu-[ka ka-a-ši]	
e		[. .] / mi-na-a šit-tú iš-bat-ka-ma ka-a-ši	
RV ₂	56	ta-'ad-ram-ma ul ta-še[m-man-ni ia-a-ši]	
e		at-ta tur-ra-ma l[a]	
RV ₂	57	ú šu-ú ul i-na-áš-[šá-a rēššū]	
e		u šu-ú la i-na-šá-a sag ^{ms} -šū	
RV ₂	58	il-pu-ut lib-ba-šu-ma ul i-nak-ku-[ud mimma]	
e		a-la-pa-te lib-ba-šu-m[a . .] / mim-ma-ma	
RV ₂	59	ik-tum-ma ib-ri kīma(gim) kal-la-ti [pānīšu]	
e		ik-tu-ma ib-ri gim é.gi ₄ .a pa-nu-uš	

42	Hear me, O young men, hear [me!]
43	Hear me, O elders [of the populous city, Uruk,] hear me!
44	I shall mourn Enkidu, my friend,
45	like a professional mourning woman I shall lament bitterly.
46	The axe at my side, in which my arm trusted, ⁷
47	the sword of my belt, the shield in front of me; ⁸
48	my festive garment, the girdle of my delight:
49	a wicked wind has risen up against me and robbed me.
50	O my friend, a mule on the run, donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild,
51	my friend Enkidu, a mule on the run, donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild!
52	We (it was) who joined forces and climbed the [uplands,]
53	seized the Bull of Heaven and [killed it,]
54	destroyed Humbaba, who [dwelt in the Cedar] Forest. ⁹
55	Now what sleep is it that has seized [you?]
56	You have become unconscious ¹⁰ and cannot hear [me!] ⁷
57	But he, he would not lift [his head;]
58	he felt his heart, but it was not beating any more.
59	He covered (his) friend, (veiling) his face like a bride,

⁷ Lit., 'the trust of my arm'.⁸ MS e adds (l. 47a): 'who held . . . [.]'.⁹ So MS R; MS e: 'mighty king of the Cedar Forest'.¹⁰ So MSS RV; MS e, corruptly: 'You! Come back to me!'

RV ₁ m ₁	97	[x (x) x] x[. iš-t] a-kan ana ib-ri-šú
V ₁	98	[.] ^{mes} KIMIN
V ₁	99	[. šá x] + 10 ma-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) KIMIN
V ₁	100	[. šá x m] a-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) KIMIN
V ₁	101	[. šá x m] a-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) KIMIN
V ₁	102	[. šá x m] a-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) KIMIN
	103	[. :]
V ₁	104	[.] x x ¹ bi-ri ¹ -šú-nu 30 ma-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) šab-tu
V ₁	105	[. -šú]-nu KIMIN
V ₁	106	[.]-šú-nu KIMIN
V ₁	107	[. k] u-bur-šú-nu
V ₁	108	[. -šú-n] u KIMIN
V ₁	109	[.] rabītu(gal) ^{um}
V ₁	110	[.] x KIMIN
V ₁	111	[.] x šá qabli(murub ₄)-šú
V ₁	112	[.] KIMIN
V ₁	113	[.] KIMIN
V ₁	114	[.] KIMIN
V ₁	115	[.] KIMI]N

The text continues with col. iii of MS m, of which approximately the first third is lost. A short overlap with MSV₁ is conceivable, but the first extant line of MS m, col. iii cannot be lower than l. 114. If we presume a column of 50 lines in MS m, the first preserved line will be l. 117:

m ₁	117	[.] KI[MIN]
m ₁	118	[.] šá šēpī(gir) ^{min} -šú KI[MIN]
m ₁	119	[. x b] ilat(gú.un) šinni(zú) pīri(am.si) di-x x
m ₁	120	[. x ma-na] hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) na-aš-bat-su KIMIN
m ₁	121	[.]- ¹ mu?-ú ¹ dan-nu šá i-di-šú KIMIN
m ₁	122	[.] ¹ iš-pat ¹ -su 1 bilat(gú.un) hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) na-aš-bat-su KIMIN
m ₁	123	[.] ¹ hu ¹ -ut-pa-lu-ú šá i-di-šú šinni(zu) pīri(am.si)
m ₁	124	[. -s] u 40 ma-na hurāši(kù.sig ₁₇) na-aš-bat-su KIMIN
m ₁	125	[.] x x ¹ šú ¹ nik-kās mu-rak-ši
m ₁	126	[.] x x x ¹ i ¹ ku-bur-šú KIMIN
m ₁	127	[.] x x x x ša-ri-ru hurāšu(kù.sig ₁₇)
m ₁	128	[.] x-tu sa-an-di ? pa tum parzilli(an.bar)
m ₁	129	[. -l] u?-ú ši-bit-tum ri-mu
m ₁	130	[.] ik?-ta-lu a-na ib-ri-šú
m ₁	131	[alpī ^{me} kab-ru] ¹ tu ¹ immerī(udu) ^{me} marūti(niga) ^{me} uṭ-ṭab-bi-iḫ it-ta-bak ana ib-ri-šú
m ₁	132	[x x x] x ^d utu šá ib-ri-ia

97 m₁: i]b-ri-šú: 103-4 V in one line

	97	[.] he provided for his friend.
	98	[.] he provided for his friend,
	99	[. of x] + 10 minas of gold he provided for his friend.
	100	[. of x] minas of gold he provided for his friend.
	101	[. of x] minas of gold he provided for his friend.
	102	[. of x] minas of gold he provided for his friend.
	103	[.]
	104	[.] between them, mounted in thirty minas of gold,
	105	[. was] their [. . .] he provided for his friend.
	106	[. was] their [. . .] he provided for his friend.
	107	[. was] their thickness,
	108	[. was] their [. . .] he provided for his friend.
	109	[.] large
	110	[.] he provided for his friend.
	111	[.] of his waist
	112	[.] he provided for his friend.
	113	[.] he provided for his friend.
	114	[.] he provided for his friend.
	115	[. he provided for his] friend.

Short lacuna

	117	[.] he provided [for his friend.]
	118	[.] of his feet, he provided [for his friend.]
	119	[. of x] talents of ivory . . . ,
	120	[.] its handle [was x minas] of gold, he provided for his friend.
	121	[.] mighty . . . of his arm, he provided for his friend.
	122	[. . .] its quiver [was . . .], its <i>handle</i> a talent of gold, he provided for his friend.
	123	[.] the mace in his hand was ivory,
	124	[.] its <i>handle</i> was forty minas of gold, he provided for his friend.
	125	[.] its . . . , three cubits was its length,
	126	[.] . . . its thickness, he provided for his friend.
	127	[.] . . . of fine gold,
	128	[.] . . . of carnelian, <i>rod</i> of iron,
	129	[.] . . . <i>holder</i> was a wild bull,
	130	[.] . . . for his friend,
	131	[fat oxen] and fattened sheep he slaughtered, he piled them up for his friend.
	132	‘[.] . . . of my friend!’

m ₁	133	[x x] x-a-ti a-na ma-al-ku qa-q-a-ru ka-li ši-ri ub-lu	m ₁
m ₁	134	[x (x)] x ^d iš-tar šar-ra-tum rabītu(gal) ^{lum}	
m ₁	135	[ta-am?-h]i?-šu kal-lī-re-e iš-ši el-[li]	
m ₁	136	[a-n]a ^d iš-tar šar-ra-tum ^r rabītu(gal) ^{lum} [^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	137	[li]m- ^r hur ¹ ^d iš-tar ^r [a-tum rabītu . . .]	
m ₁	138	[^a 1-na ¹ pān(igi)] ¹ ib-ri-ia lu-[ú ha-da-at-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	139	[x (x) x] x-na-am [.]	
m ₁	140	[^a 1-na] [^a 1]aš.īm. [babbar . . . ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	141	[¹ lim]-[hur] ^a aš.īm. babbar]	
m ₁	142	a-na! pān(igi) [¹ ib-ri-ia lu-ú ha-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	143	šab-ba ^{na} za. [gin/GUL]	
m ₁	144	x x x x [.]	
m ₁	145	a-na ^d ereš ¹ -[k]i-g[al] šar-rat eršeti ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	146	lim ¹ -hur ^d ereš-k[i-gal] s[ar-rat eršeti rapašti]	
m ₁	147	a-na pān(igi) [¹ ib-ri-ia] lu-[ú ha-da-at-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	148	em-bu-bu šá [^{na} šāndi(gug)] x[.]	
m ₁	149	[^a 1-na ^d dumu-zi rē ² ū(sipa) na-ram [^d iš-tar ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	150	[¹ lim-hur ^d dumu-zi rē ² ū(sipa) na-ram] [^d iš-tar (. . .)]	
m ₁	151	[a-na pān(igi) ¹ ib-ri-ia lu ¹ -ú ha-di-ma [¹ i]-[da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	152	^{es} kussā(gu.za) šá [^r uqnī(za.gin) li-i] ig[i?]	
m ₁	153	haṭ-ṭi ^{na} uqnī(za.gin) x[.]	
m ₁	154	a-na ⁿ [am-tar sukkal eršeti ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	155	[¹ lim-hur] [^d nam-tar sukkal eršeti rapašti]	
	156	[a-na pān ¹ ib-ri-ia lu-ú ha-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lík]	
	157	[.]	
	158	[.]	
m ₁	159	[^a 1-n[^a ^d huš-bi-ša ₆ abarakkat eršeti ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	160	[¹ im-hur ^d huš-bi-ša ₆ abarakkat eršeti rapašti]	
	161	[a-na pān ¹ ib-ri-ia lu-ú ha-da-at-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	162	[ú-š]e ^r piš ¹ -ma [x x] x [.]	
m ₁	163	[m]u ² -kam-mat kaspi(kù.babbar) [^r šemerī(har) ^{mes} erī(urudu)] x [. .]	
m ₁	164	[a]-na ^d qāt(šu)-sa-ṭa-bat šá-biṭ ^d e[reš-ki-gal ^d šamaš uk-tal-lim]	
m ₁	165	[lim]-hur ^d qāt(šu)-sa-ṭa-bat šá-biṭ ^d e[reš-ki-gal (. .)]	
m ₁	166	a-na pān(igi) ¹ ib-ri-ia lu-ú ha-di-ma [¹ i]-[da-a-šú lil-lík]	
m ₁	167	¹ ib-ri-a-a iḫ!-NINDA- ^r ma ¹ lib-ba-šú a-a im-ma ^r ra-aṣ ¹	
m ₁	168	< . . . > pa-ru-tum šá liḫ-ba-šú ^{na} uqnā(za.gin) [^{na} šānda(gug) ra- ² i-zu	
m ₁	169	< > šá ^{es} qūšti(tir) ^{es} erēni(eren)	
RV ₁ m ₁	170	[. ^{na} šānda]a(gug) ra-[² i-z]u	

170 m₁: < . . . {erasures} ^{na}za.gin ra-²i-zu

133	[. . .] . . . they carried all the meat to the princes of the earth.
134	[. . .] Ištar, the great queen.
135	[A <i>throw</i>]stick of . . . , the pure wood,
136	[for] Ištar, the great queen, [he displayed to Šamaš:]
137	‘[May] Ištar, the great queen [. . .] receive this,
138	may [she] welcome my friend ¹³ [and so walk at his side!]
139	[. . .] . . . [.]
140	for Namra-[šit, . . . , he displayed to Šamaš:]
141	‘May [Namra-šit, . . . , receive this,]
142	[may he] welcome [my friend and so walk at his side!]
143	A flask of lapis [lazuli, ¹⁴]
144	. . . [.]
145	for Ereškigal, [the queen of the Netherworld, he displayed to Šamaš:]
146	‘May Ereškigal, the [queen of the populous Netherworld,] receive this,
147	may [she] welcome [my friend and so walk at his side!]
148	A flute of carnelian [.]
149	for Dumuzi, the shepherd beloved of [Ištar, he displayed to Šamaš:]
150	‘May Dumuzi, the shepherd beloved of [Ištar (. . .),] receive this,
151	may he welcome my friend and [so walk at his side!]
152	A throne of lapis lazuli, a steer . . . [. . .]
153	a staff of lapis lazuli [.]
154	for Namtar, [the vizier of the Netherworld, he displayed to Šamaš:]
155	‘May [Namtar, the vizier of the populous Netherworld,] receive this,
156	[may he welcome my friend and so walk at his side!]
157-8	[.]
159	for [Hušbišag, the stewardess of the Netherworld, he displayed to Šamaš:]
160	‘May [Hušbišag, the stewardess of the populous Netherworld, receive this,]
161	[may she welcome my friend and so walk at his side!]
162	He had (them) make [.]
163	a <i>clasp</i> of silver, bangles of copper [. . .]
164	for Qāssa-ṭābat, the sweeper of [Ereškigal, he displayed to Šamaš:]
165	‘[May] Qāssa-ṭābat, the sweeper [of Ereškigal (. . .),] receive this,
166	may he welcome my friend and [so walk at his side!]
167	May my friend not . . . , nor become sick at heart!’
168	[. . .] of alabaster, the inside of which was inlaid with lapis lazuli and carnelian,
169	[<i>depicting an image</i>] of the Cedar Forest,
170	[.] inlaid with carnelian ¹⁵

¹³ Lit., ‘be happy at the face of my friend’.

¹⁴ Or, ‘car[nelian]’.

¹⁵ So MS R; MS m: ‘lapis lazuli’.

- RV₁m₁ 171 *ana* (<^d>)*nin*?-¹*šu-luḥ*¹-¹*ḥa-tūm-ma*¹ *mu-še-ši-rat*¹ *bīti*(é)^d *šamaš uk-tal-lim*
 RV₁m₁ 172 [*im-ḥur*^d(*nin*)-¹*šu-luḥ-ḥa-tūm-ma*¹ *mu-še-ši-rat* *bīti*(é)]
 RV₁m₁ 173 *a-na pān*(igi) *ib-ri-ia lu-ú ḥa-da-a!*(AT-DA)-*ma i-da-a-šú lil-lik*
 m₁ 173a [(. . .) . . .] *ra-k/di*¹-*ma a-na pa-an ib-ri-ia*
 RV₁ 174 *ana ib-ri-ia* x a x x *iq*¹-*bi-ma lib-ba-šú a-a im-ra-aš*
 m₁ [*ib-r*] *i a-a [iḥ-NÍNDA-ma] lib-ba-šú a-a im-ma-ra-aš*
 RV₁m₁ 175 *pat-ri ka-tap-pe-e*^{na4uqnú}(za.gin) *ši-kir-šu*
 RV₁m₁ 176 *mi-šil-ti*¹ *el-le*¹-*ti pu-rat-ti*
 RV₁m₁ 177 *ana*^d *bi-ib-bi ṭābīḥ*(gir.lá) *eršet*(ki)^{sim} *dšamaš uk-tal-lim*
 V₁m₁ 178 [*lim-ḥur*^d *bi-ib-bu ṭābīḥ*] *eršet*(ki)^{sim} *rapašti*(dagal)^{sim}
 V₁m₁ 179 [*a-na pān ib-ri-ia lu-ú ḥa-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lik*
 V₁m₁ 180 [.] *šik?*-*ka-tum pa-ru-tum*
 V₁ 181 [*a-na*^d *dumu-zi?*-*abzu m*] *aš-ḥal-tap-pe-e eršet*(ki)^{sim} *dšamaš uk-tal-lim*
 V₁ 182 [*lim-ḥur*^d *dumu-zi?*-*a*] *bzu maš-ḥal-tap-pe-e eršet*(ki)^{sim} *rapašti*(dagal)^{sim}
 V₁ 183 [*a-na pān ib-ri-ia lu-ú ḥa-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lik*
 V₁ 184 [.] *ḥi ša muḥ-ḥa-šú*^{na4uqnú}(za.gin)
 V₁ 185 [.] ^{na4}*sānda*(gug) *ra-i-zu*

This is the end of col. iv of MS V. The text resumes with col. v of MS m, which will begin at about l. 199:

- m₁ 199 [*ana pān ib-ri-ia lu-ú ḥa-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lik*¹
 m₁ 200 [.] ^{erēni}(eren)
 m₁ 201 [*a-na*^d] *rabi*^d *dšamaš uk*-*tal-lim*
 m₁ 202 [*lim-ḥur*^d] ^{gal}(gal)^{li}
 m₁ 203 [*a-na pān ib-ri-ia ḥa-di-ma i-da-a-šú lil-lik*
 m₁ 204 [.] x
 m₁ 205 [.]
 m₁ 206 [.] ^{erēni}(eren)¹

There are unidentified traces at the end of MS m₁ v 15–17 (which can be numbered ll. 213*–15*), but they cannot be fitted securely into the larger fragment of text provided by MS R, which resumes towards the bottom of col. v, about 20–25 lines after the end of col. iv in MSV:

- R 207 [.] x x [. . .]
 R 208 [.] ^{du}*tu ša ni-id*-[. . .]
 R 209 [. . . -r] *a-šu-nu-ma šum-šú-nu* [. . .]
 R 210 [. . . d] *a-a-an*^d *a-nun-na*-[ki . . .]
 R 211 ^d[*GIŠ-gim-m*] *aš an-ni-tú ina še*-[*me-e-šú*]

173 RV₁: . . .] ¹*z*¹-*na-aq-gi-šu* 175 m₁:] x *tap-pe-e*^{na4} *za.gin muḥ-ḥa-šú* 176 m₁: -] *um kú*^{sim}
*pu-rat-tum*¹ 177 m₁: ki^{sim} *dagal*^{sim}

- 171 for Ninšuluḥḥatumma, the cleaner of the house, he displayed to Šamaš:
 172 ‘May Ninšuluḥḥatumma, the cleaner of the house, receive this,
 173 may she welcome my friend and so walk at his side!’¹⁶
 173a [May she . . .] . . . before my friend,¹⁷
 174 may my [friend] not [. . .] nor become sick at heart!’¹⁸
 175 A double-edged dagger with a haft¹⁹ of lapis lazuli,
 176 . . . of the holy Euphrates,
 177 for Bibbu, the butcher of the Netherworld,²⁰ he displayed to Šamaš:
 178 ‘[May Bibbu, the butcher] of the populous Netherworld, [receive this,]
 179 [may he] welcome [my friend] and so walk at his side!’
 180 [. a] *flask* of alabaster
 181 [for *Dumuzi*-abzu, the] *scapegoat* of the Netherworld, he displayed to Šamaš:
 182 ‘[May *Dumuzi*]-abzu, the *scapegoat* of the populous Netherworld, [receive this,]
 183 may he welcome my [friend] and so walk at his side!’
 184 [.] the top of which was lapis lazuli,
 185 [.] inlaid with carnelian,
 186 [for he displayed to Šamaš:]
 187 ‘[May receive this,]
 188 [may he (or she) welcome my friend and so walk at his side!]’

Lacuna

- 199 ‘[May he (or she) welcome my friend and so] walk at his [side!]’
 200 [. of] cedar
 201 [for . . . , the great . . .] he displayed [to Šamaš:]
 202 ‘[May . . .] the great [. . . , receive this,]
 203 [may he welcome my friend and] so walk [at his side!]’

Lacuna of two lines

- 206 [. of] cedar

Lacuna. When the text resumes it appears that someone is speaking to Gilgameš:

- 208 ‘[. . .] . . . which we . . . [. . .]
 209 [. . .] their [. . .], their names [. . .]
 210 [. . .] judge of the Anunnaki [. . .]’
 211 When Gilgameš heard this,

¹⁶ So MS m; MSS RV: ‘to [.] he will pour a libation to him’.

¹⁷ This line occurs in MS m only.

¹⁸ So MS m; MS R: ‘to my friend may he . . . , may he not become sick at heart’.

¹⁹ So MSS RV; MS m: ‘top’.

²⁰ So MS R; MS m: ‘populous Netherworld’.

- R 212 *ZIK-ru šá na-a-ri ib-ta-^lni^l [ina libbi-šú]* R
- R 213 *mim-mu-ú še-ri ina na-ma-ri*
- R 214 *^dGIŠ-gim-maš ip-te-ti b[a-ab-šú?]*
- R 215 *ú-še-ša-am-ma ^{gš}paššūr(banšur) ^{gš}e-lam-ma-kum ra-b[a-a]*
- R 216 *ma-al-lat ^{na}sāndi(gug) ú-ma-al-li dišpa(lál)*
- R 217 *^lma-al-lat ^{na}uqnî(za.gin) himēta(i.nun.na) um-tal-li*
- R 218 *[. . .]x^lú-za-²i-nam-ma ^dšamaš uk-tal^l-lim*
- R 219 *[. uk-tal-li]m?*

Here ends col. v of MS R. In col. vi of the same tablet only the colophon is preserved, but it can be estimated that no more than 32 lines were available on this tablet for the remaining text of Tablet VIII and the catch-line of Tablet IX. Parts of two of these lines are preserved at the beginning of col. vi of MSV:

- V₄ 229 *ni-ip-^lhi [.]*
- V₄ 230 *šu-^lú?^l [.]*

The end of the text is lost on this MS also, but since the fragment V₃ preserves the end of a long Aššurbanipal colophon, it is possible to estimate the number of lines missing from this point to the end of Tablet VIII at around 20–5.

- 212 he conceived [in his heart] the damming of the river.
- 213 At the very first light of dawn,
- 214 Gilgameš opened [his gate.]
- 215 He brought out a great table of *elammaku*-wood,
- 216 he filled with syrup a dish of carnelian.
- 217 He filled with ghee a dish of lapis lazuli,
- 218 he decorated [. . .] and displayed it to Šamaš.
- 219 [.] he [displayed to the sun.]

Lacuna

- 229 a gold disk [.]
- 230 He himself [.]

Remainder lost

TABLET IX

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
D	K 2360 + 3060	106, 107
	1876 W. St Chad Boscawen, 'Notes on the religion and mythology of the Assyrians', <i>TSBA</i> 4, pp. 269-70: ctt (ll. 1-7 only)	
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 247-52: Tr	
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 32: C	
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 202-11: T Tr (col. i with JJ)	
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 50-2, pls. 34-7: CT (col. i with MS JJ)	
	i 1-29	iv 125-142
	ii 37-59	v 148-176
	iii 74-93	vi 184-196, colophon

Text

DJJ	1	^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-na ^d en-ki-dù ib-ri-šu
DJJ	2	šar-piš i-bak-ki-ma i-rap-pu-ud šēra(edin)
DJJ	3	a-na-ku a-mat-ma ul ki-i ^d en-ki-dù-ma-a
DJJ	4	ni-is-sa-a-tum i-te-ru-ub ina kar-ši-ia
DJJ	5	mu-ta ap-làḫ-ma a-rap-pu-ud šēra(edin)
DJJ	6	a-na le-et ^m UD-napišti(zi) mār(dumu) ^m ubara- ^d tu-tu
DJJ	7	ur-ḫa šab-ta-ku-ma ḫa-an-tiš al-lak
DJJ	8	a-na né-re-bé-e-ti šá šadi(kur) ⁱ ak ¹ -ta-šad mu-ši-tam
DJJ	9	nēšī(ur.mah) ^{mcs} a-mur-ma ap-ta-làḫ a-na-ku
DJJ	10	ás-ši re-ši- ^f ia ¹ a-na ^d šin(30) a-kar-rab
DJJ	11	a-na ^[d²] [x(x) na?] ^f mir? ^l ti ili(dingir) ^{mcs} illikū(du) ^{ku} su-pu-u-a
DJJ	12	^[d] [šin u ^d (x)]x šul-li-ma-in-ni ia-a-ti
D	13	^{[d} GIŠ-gim-maš i] t-be ^f ig ¹ -gél-tu-ma šu-ut-tum
D	14	[x x x x] ^f mut ¹ -[tiš] ^[d] šin(30) ih-te-du ba-la-tu
D	15	^f iš-ši ¹ ḫa-a[š-yi-na] a-na i-di-šu
D	16	iš-lu-up [nam-šar] šib-bi-šu

6 JJ. ^{a-na}ana

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
EE	K 18183	102
	[obv. not extant]	iv 142-8 v ends of 3 unplaced lines
JJ	80-7-19, 305	108
	1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 46: C	
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 202-3: T Tr (with D)	
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , p. 50, pl. 34: CT (obv. only, with MS D)	
	i 1-12	rev. colophon
Composite cuneiform text and edition		
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 45-7, 101-2: MSS D and JJ only	CT

Translation

1	For his friend Enkidu Gilgameš
2	was weeping bitterly as he roamed the wild:
3	'I shall die, and shall I not then be like Enkidu?
4	Sorrow has entered my heart.
5	I became afraid of death, so go roaming the wild,
6	to Ūta-napišti, son of Ubār-Tutu,
7	I am on the road and travelling swiftly.
8	I arrived one night at the mountain passes,
9	I saw some lions and grew afraid.
10	I lifted my head, praying to Šin,
11	to [. . . , the] light of the gods, my supplications went:
12	"O [Šin and . . . ,] keep me safe!"
13	[Gilgameš] arose, ¹ he awoke with a start: it was a dream!
14	[. . . in the] presence of the moon he grew happy to be alive.
15	He took up his axe in his hand,
16	he drew forth [the dirk from] his belt.

¹ Or, reading *it-ti*, 'he lay down to sleep'.

- D 17 *ki-ma šil-t[a-ḫi a-na b]i-ri-šú-nu im-qut*
 D 18 *im-ḫa-aš la-[ab-bi i]-duk ú-par-ri-ir*
 D 19 *ú bi-[.]x al-lal-lim-ma*
 D 20 *id-di [.]*
 D 21 *uš-šir x[.]*
 D 22 *šu-um maḫ-r[i-i]*
 D 23 *šu-um šá-n[i-i]*
 D 24 *iš-ši r[e-ši-šu a-na ^dsîn i-ka-r-rab]*
 D 25 *a-na ^[a][x (x) namirtu? itî illikū supûšu]*
 D 26 *^d[sîn?]*
 D 27 *lu-[.]*
 D 28 *k[i-ki-i?]*
 D 29 *^[a][sîn?]*

The end of col. i is lost, leaving a gap in the text of 7 lines at the most.

- D 37 *šá ša-dî-i še-mu-šú ma-š[u-(um)-mā]*
 D 38 *ana ša-ad ma-a-ši i-na ka-š[á-dî-šú]*
 D 39 *šá u₄-mi-šam-ma i-na-aš-ša-ru a-š[e-e ^dšamšî(utu)^š]*
 D 40 *e-lu-šú-nu šu-pu-uk šamê(an)^e i[n-du?]*
 D 41 *šap-liš a-ra-le-e i-rat-su-nu¹ kaš-da-át¹*
 D 42 *gir-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu i-na-aš-ša-ru bāb(ká)-šú*
 D 43 *ša ra-áš-bat pu-ul-ḫat-su-nu-ma im-rat-su-nu mu-tú*
 D 44 *gal-tu mi-lam-mu-šú-nu sa-ḫi-ip ḫur-sa-a-ni*
 D 45 *ana a-še-(e) ^dšamšî(utu)^š u e-reb ^dšamšî^š i-na-aš-ša-ru ^dšamšî^š-ma*
 D 46 *i-mur-šú-nu-ti-ma ^dGIŠ-gim-maš pu-luḫ-ta u ra-šub-ba-ta i-te-rim pa-ni-šú*
 D 47 *iš-bat tē-en-šú-ma iq-ru-ub ma-ḫar-šú-un*
 D 48 *gir-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu a-na sinništa(munus)-šú i-šas-si*
 D 49 *šá il-li-kan-na-ši šir(uzu) ilī(dingir)^{mes} zu-mur-šú*
 D 50 *gir-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu sinništa(munus)-šú ip-pal-šú*
 D 51 *šit-ta-šú ilum(dingir)-ma šul-lul-ta-šú a-me-lu-tú*
 D 52 *gi[r-tab-lú]-¹u₁₈-lu¹ zi-ka-ru i-šas-si*
 D 53 *[ana ^dGIŠ-gim-maš šarri(lugal) š]ir(uzu) ilī(dingir)^{mes} a-ma-tú i-zak-kar*
 D 54 *[at-ta? ki-ki-i? tal-li-ka] ru-qa-ta ur-ḫa*
 D 55 *[. . . tas-ni-q] a a-di maḫ-ri-ia*
 D 56 *[ki-ki-i? nārāti te-teb-bi-r] a šá e-ber-ši-na pa-áš-qu*
 D 57 *[.]x-ta-ka lul-mad*
 D 58 *[. . . a-šar? pa-nu?-k] a šak-nu*
 D 59 *[. lu]l-mad*

- 17 Like an arrow he fell among them,
 18 he smote the [lions, he] killed (them), he scattered (them).
 19 Then . . . [.] . . . ,
 20 he cast off [.]
 21 He drew [two],
 22 the name of the first [was],
 23 the name of the second [was]
 24 He lifted [his head, praying to Sîn,
 25 to [. . . , the light of the gods, his supplications went:]
 26 ‘O [Sîn and],
 27 let [.]
 28 *How* [. ?]’
 29 [Sîn]

Lacuna

- 37 The name of the mountain was Māšu.²
 38 When [he] arrived at Mount Māšu,
 39 which daily guards the rising [of the sun,]—
 40 their tops³ [*abui*] the fabric of the heavens,
 41 their bases⁴ reach down to Hades—
 42 there were scorpion-men guarding its gate,
 43 whose terror was dread and glance was death,
 44 whose radiance was terrifying, enveloping the uplands—
 45 at both sunrise and sunset they guard the sun—
 46 Gilgameš saw them and covered his face⁵ with fear and dread;
 47 he collected his wits and drew near their presence.
 48 The scorpion-man called to his female:
 49 ‘He who has come to us, flesh of the gods is his body.’
 50 The scorpion-man’s female answered him:
 51 ‘Two-thirds of him are god but a third of him is human.’
 52 The male scorpion-man called out,
 53 saying a word [to King Gilgameš,] flesh of the gods:
 54 ‘[*How did you come here,*] a far road?
 55 [*how did you get*] here, into my presence?
 56 [*How did you ford the many rivers,*] whose crossing is perilous?
 57 [.] let me learn of your [. . .]
 58 [. where] your [*face*] is set,
 59 [. let me] learn [*of your journey.*]’

² The name means ‘Twin’.

³ i.e. the tops of both the twin mountains.

⁴ Lit. ‘their breast’.

⁵ Or, reading *i-te-kil*, ‘his face grew dark’.

The rest of col. ii and the first 2 lines of col. iii are lost, leaving a gap of 14 lines at most.

D	74	[. . .]x x[.]
D	75	ḫ[<i>arrān</i> (kaskal)? (šá)] ^m UD-napišti(zi) <i>abi</i> (ad)- <i>ia</i> x[.]
D	76	šá <i>iz-zi-zu-ma ina puḫur</i> (ukkin) <i>i[ḫ]</i> (dingir) ^{mes} <i>balāṭa iš'ú</i>
D	77	<i>mu-ta u balāṭa</i> (ti.la) [.]
D	78	<i>gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu pa-a-šú ṭpuš</i> (dù) ^u [^f - <i>ma i-qab-bi</i>]
D	79	<i>i-zak-ka-ru a-n</i> [^d GIŠ- <i>gim-maš</i>]
D	80	<i>ul ib-ši</i> ^d GIŠ- <i>gim-maš k[īma</i> (gim) <i>kāti</i> . . .]
D	81	ša <i>ša-dī-i ma-am-ma du-x</i> [.]
D	82	<i>a-na 12 bēr</i> (danna) <i>lib-ba-š[u</i>]
D	83	ša- <i>pat ek-le-tūm-ma ul i[b-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]</i>
D	84	<i>a-na a-še-e</i> ^d šamši(utu) ^š <i>i</i> ^l [.]
D	85	<i>a-na e-reb</i> ^d š[amši(utu) ^š]
D	86	<i>a-na e-reb</i> ^d [.]
D	87	<i>ú-še-šu</i> ^l ú ^l [.]
D	88	<i>ú-ḫer-ri</i> [.]
D	89	<i>at-ta k[i-ki-i?</i>]
D	90	<i>ter-r[u-ub</i>]
D	91	da[m]
D	92	šuk-[.]
D	93	x[.]

The lower part of col. iii and the upper part of col. iv are missing, leaving a gap of not more than 32 lines.

D	125	<i>ina ni-is-š[a-a-ti</i>]
D	126	<i>ina šar-bi u š[e-e-ti qu-um-mu-ú pa-nu-ú-a]</i>
D	127	<i>ina ta-ni-ḫi</i> [.]
D	128	<i>e-nin-na t[a-</i>]
D	129	<i>gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-l[u pa-a-šú ṭpuš</i> ^š - <i>ma i-qab-bi?</i>]
D	130	<i>ana</i> ^d GIŠ- <i>gim-maš ša[r-ri šir ili</i> ^{mes} <i>a-ma-tú i-zak-ka-r?</i>]
D	131	<i>a-lik</i> ^d GIŠ- <i>gi[m-maš</i>]
D	132	šadú(kur) ^{mes} <i>ma-a-šu l[ī?</i>]
D	133	šadú(kur) ^{mes} <i>ḫur-[sa-a-nu</i>]
D	134	šal-meš <i>l[i-</i>]
D	135	<i>abul</i> (ká.gal) šadú(kur) š[^E +(x)]
D	136	^d GIŠ- <i>g[im-maš annūta ina šemēšu?</i>]
D	137	<i>ana zik-ri š[á gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu</i>]
D	138	ḫarrān(kaskal) ^d šamaš(utu) <i>i[š-bat</i>]
D	139	1 <i>bēr</i> (danna) x[.]

Lacuna. When the text resumes Gilgameš is explaining his mission:

75	'[<i>I am seeking</i>] the [<i>road</i>] of my forefather, Ūta-napišti.
76	He who stood in the assembly of the gods, and [found life,]
77	of death and life [<i>he will tell me the secret.</i> ']
78	The scorpion-man opened his mouth [to speak,]
79	saying to [Gilgameš:]
80	'There was not [ever], O Gilgameš, [. . .] like [you,]
81	[no] one ever [. . .] . . . of the mountain.
82	For twelve double-hours its interior [.]
83	the darkness is dense and [light is] there none.
84	For the rising of the sun [.]
85	for the setting of the [sun]
86	For the setting of the [.]
87	they sent forth [.]
88	. . . [.]
89	and you, how [will you?]
90	Will you go [in?]

Long lacuna. The text resumes towards the end of Gilgameš's reply:

125	'Through sorrow [.]
126	by frost and sunshine [my face is burnt.]
127	Through exhaustion [.:]
128	now you [must:]'
129	The scorpion-man [opened his mouth to speak,]
130	[saying a word] to King Gilgameš, [flesh of the gods:]
131	'Go, Gilgameš! [.]
132	<i>Māš</i> the mountains of Māšu [.]
133	The mountains and hills [.]
134	in safety may [.]
135	The gate of the mountain [.]'
136	[<i>When</i>] Gilgameš [<i>heard this</i> ,]
137	to what [the scorpion-man] had told him [.]
138	he [took] the path of the sun [.]
139	One double-hour ⁶ . . . [.]

⁶ In this passage (ll. 139–69) 'double-hour' can also be translated 'league'.

- D 140 *šá-pat ek-le-t[ùm-ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 D 141 *ul i-^fnam^l-d[i-in-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat(egir)-su]*
 DEE 142 *2 bē[r(danna)]*
 EE 143 *šá-pat ek-l[e-tùm-ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 EE 144 *ul i-na-a[n-di-in-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat-su]*
 EE 145 *3 bēr(danna) [.]*
 146 *[šá-pat ek-le-tùm-ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 147 *[ul i-na-an-di-in-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat-su]*
 DEE 148 *4 bē[r(danna)]*
 D 149 *šá-^fpat^l [ek-le-tùm-ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 D 150 *ul i-^fnam^l-[di-in-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat-su]*
 D 151 *5 bēr(danna) [.]*
 D 152 *^fšá-pat^l ek-l[e-tùm-ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 D 153 *u[l]^f i-^fnam-di-[in-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat-su]*
 D 154 *^f6^l [bē[r(danna) i-[na ka-šá-di-šu?]*
 D 155 *^fšá-pat^l ek-le-tùm-[ma ul i-ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 D 156 *^ful i^l-nam-di-i[n-šú-ma a-na pa-la-sa arkat-su]*
 D 157 *^f7 bēr(danna) ina ka-š[á-d]i x[. . .]*
 D 158 *^fšá-pat ek-le^l-[tùm-m]a ul^f i^l-[ba-áš-ši nu-ru]*
 D 159 *ul i-nam-[d]i^f-in-šú-ma^l [a-n]a^f pa^l-la^f sa arkat(egir)^l-[su]*
 D 160 *8 bēr(danna) ^fkīma(gim)?^l [x x] i-šar-ra-a[h]*
 D 161 *šá-pat ek-l[e-tùm-ma ul i-b]a-áš-ši nu^f-ru^l*
 D 162 *ul i-na[m-di-in-šú-ma a-na p]a-la-sa arkat(egir)-su*
 D 163 *^f9^l b[ēr(danna)] ^{im}iltānu(si.sá)*
 D 164 *[.]-^{ha} pa-ni-šu*
 D 165 *[šá-pat ek-le-tùm-ma ul i-ba-á]š-ši nu-ru*
 D 166 *[ul i-nam-di-in-šú-ma a-na p]a-la-sa arkat(egir)-su*
 D 167 *[10 bēr(danna) i-na ka-šá]-di-šu*
 D 168 *[.] qit-ru-ub*
 D 169 *[11 bēr(danna) ḫarrān?] šá bēr(danna)*
 D 170 *[. it-^r]a-šⁱ la-am^a šamšⁱ(utu)^{šⁱ}*
 D 171 *x[. n]a-mir-tú šak-na-at*
 D 172 *a-x[x x] x x-ḫi i-š-š^f šá ilī(dingir)?^{hmš} ina a-ma-ri i-ši-ir*
 D 173 *^{na}4sāmtu(gug) na-šá-at i-ni-ib-šá*
 D 174 *is-ḫu-un-na-tum ul-lu-la-at a-na da-ga-la ḫi-pat*
 D 175 *^{na}4uqnū(za.gin) na-šⁱ ḫa-as-ḫal-ta*
 D 176 *in-ba na-šⁱ-ma a-na a-ma-ri ṣa-a-a-ah*

At the top of col. vi of MS D 7 lines are missing, at the most.

- D 184 *[x x]x šu[r-min?]*

145-7 EE: 3 danna [(. . .) KIMIN]

- 140 the darkness was dense, [and light was there none:]
 141 it did not [allow him to see what was behind him.]
 142 Two double-hours [. ,]
 143 the darkness was dense, [and light was there none:]
 144 it did not [allow him to see what was behind him.]
 145 Three double-hours [. ,]
 146 [the darkness was dense, and light was there none:]
 147 [it did not allow him to see what was behind him.]
 148 Four double-[hours ,]
 149 [the darkness] was dense, [and light was there none:]
 150 it did not [allow him to see what was behind him.]
 151 Five double-hours [. ,]
 152 the darkness was dense, [and light was there none:]
 153 it did not allow [him to see what was behind him.]
 154 *When [he reached] six double-hours,*
 155 the darkness was dense, [and light was there none:]
 156 it did not allow [him to see what was behind him.]
 157 On reaching seven double-hours [. ,]
 158 the darkness was dense, and [light was there] none:
 159 it did not allow him [to] see what was behind [him].
 160 At eight double-hours he was hurrying⁷ like [. . .]
 161 the darkness was dense, and light was [there none:]
 162 it did not [allow him to] see what was behind him.
 163 Nine double-[hours] the north wind,
 164 [.] . . . his face;⁸
 165 [the darkness was dense, and] light was [there none:]
 166 [it did not allow him to] see what was behind him.
 167 [When he] reached [ten double-hours,]
 168 [.] was very near.
 169 [At eleven double-hours a journey] of one double-hour,
 170 [. he] came out before the sun.
 171 [.] there was brilliance:
 172 upon seeing . . . , the trees of the gods, he went straight (up to them).
 173 A carnelian (tree) was in fruit,
 174 hung with bunches of grapes, lovely to behold.
 175 A lapis lazuli (tree) bore foliage,
 176 in full fruit and gorgeous to gaze on.

Short lacuna

- 184 *[. . .] cypress [.]*

⁷ Or, less likely, 'moaning'.

⁸ Or, 'in front of him'.

- D 185 [x (x)] ^{81b}erēnu(eren) [.]
- D 186 ¹zi¹-nu-šu ^{na4}babbar-[dīl . . .] x-ni
- D 187 la-ru-uš tāmī(a.ab.ba) [. . . ⁿ ^{na4}sāsu(nír.ziz)
- D 188 ^{81b}kīma ^{81b}baltī(dih) u ^{81b}aš[^{81b}āgi(kiši₁₆) ibšú? ^{na4}]an.za.gul.me
- D 189 ḥa-ru-bu ¹il¹-p[u-ut? ^{na4}a]ba(ad)-aš¹mu¹
- D 190 ^{na4}šubū(šuba) ^{na4}š[^{na4}adānu(ka.gi.na) x (x)]x-an¹rat¹
- D 191 kī[ma(gim) x-r]e-e u la-li-[x (x) x]x-ú¹šēra(edīn)?¹
- D 192 ^{81b}kīma x[. ^{na4}a]gusīgu(ugu.áš.gi₄.gi₄)
- D 193 šá gi-x[. ^{na4}išqī]llat(PEŠ₄) tāmī(a.ab.ba)
- D 194 i-šu me-[. . .]x [g]a? li lul lum
- D 195 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš x[. . .] x¹i¹-tal-lu-ki-šú
- D 196 iš-š[i] r[e-ši-šá i-n]a-ṭa[l-š]u šu-a-tum
-
- D X 1 ¹ši-d[u-ri sa-bi-ṭ]um šá ina¹sa¹-pan tam-ti áš-bat

- 185 [. . .] cedar [.]
- 186 its leaf-stems were of *pappardihū* [stone and . . .] . . .
- 187 Sea coral [.] *sāsu*-stone,
- 188 instead of thorn and briar [*there grew*] an.za.gul.me stone.
- 189 *He touched* a carob, [(*it was*)] *abašmu* stone,
- 190 *šubū* stone and haematite⁹ [. . .] . . .
- 191 *Like* [. . .] and . . . [. . .] . . . *the plain*,
- 192 like [.] turquoise.
- 193 Of [.] sea-shell,
- 194 it had [.] . . .
- 195 As Gilgameš . . . [. . .] walked about,
- 196 she lifted up [her head to] watch him.
-
- X 1 Šiduri [was an ale]-wife who lived by the sea-shore.

⁹ Or, reading ^{na4}šurru(zú), 'obsidian'.

TABLET X

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Nineveh</i>			
K ₁	K 3382 + Rm 621		108–13
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 254–6, 258–9: Tr (K 3382 only, col. v with K 8564 of R and K 8565 col. ii of V ₂)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 34: C		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pls. 38–43: C		
K ₂	K 8579		109, 111
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , p. 254: Tr		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 37: C		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pl. 40: C		
K ₃	K 8589 + Sm 1681		108, 109, 112, 113
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 253, 260–1: Tr (K 8589 only, without col. v)		
	1884 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 33: C (K 8589 only)		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pls. 38, 43: C (K 8589 only)		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 33: C (Sm 1681, showing join)		
	1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), p. 212: P (obv.)		
	i 1–30 (K ₃ , K ₁)	iv 173–95 (K ₁)	
	ii 61–111 (K ₁)	v 221–277 (K ₁ , K ₃)	
	iii 112–25 (K ₂), 131–172 (K ₁)	vi 296–322, colophon (K ₃)	
<i>Nimrud</i>			
z	IM 67564 (ND 4381)		32, 33
	1996 J. A. Black, <i>CTNIV</i> no. 153: C		
	i // 63–112	v variant text, see Chapter 7	
	ii // 196–230	vi // XI 304–28?	

MS	Museum number		Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse	
<i>Babylon</i>			
b	BM 34160 + 34193 + 35174 + 35348 + 35413 + 35628		114, 115
	1900 P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 198–201: T Tr (BM 34193 only, from unpublished copies of J. N. Straßmaier and F. Küchler). On p. 228 variants from Sp II 726 = BM 35174 are cited from an unpublished copy of Straßmaier.		
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , p. 56, pl. 42: C (BM 34193 only)		
	1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 128–35: C T Tr (BM 34193 + 35413 and BM 35174 + 35628 only)		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 30: C		
	i 19–46	v 260–94	
	ii 68–109	vi 311–322, colophon	
f	Rm 751 + BM 34853 + 35546		116, 117
	1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 124, 131: C T (BM 35546 only)		
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 32: C (rev. only, lacking BM 34853)		
	1999 A. George, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (Penguin), pp. 87: C (rev.), 212: P (obv.)		
	i 1–17	v 239–61	
	ii traces of 2 unidentified lines	vi 292'–322, colophon	
Composite cuneiform texts and editions			
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI/1</i> , pp. 212–29: K ₁ , K ₂ , K ₃ (K 8589 only), b (BM 35174, variants only)		T Tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 55–9: K ₁ , K ₂ , K ₃ (K 8589 only), b (BM 34193 col. i only)		T
1980	W. G. Lambert, in B. Alster, <i>Death in Mesopotamia</i> , pp. 54–6: col. vi (K ₃ // b // f)		T Tr
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 49–55, 103–7: all MSS represented except z; BM 34853 of f known only from variants cited by Lambert 1980		CT

Text

DK ₃ f	1	^d ši-du-ri sa-bi-tum šá ina sa-pan tam-ti áš-bat	
K ₃ f	2	áš-bat-ma [.]x [x]	
K ₃	3	ib-šu-ši kan-nu ib-šu-ši x[.]	
K ₃	4	ku-tu-um-mi kut-tu-mat-ma x[.]	
K ₃	5	^d GIŠ-gim-maš ut-tag-gi-ša[m]-ma x[.]	
K ₃ f	6	maš-ka la-biš pu-l[u]h?-tu[m x (x) x]	
K ₃ f	7	i-ši šir(uzu) ilī(dingir) ^m [^g] ina z[u-um-ri-šu?]	
K ₃ f	8	i-ba-áš-ši nišsatu(SAG.PA.LAGAB) ina [kar-š]i-[šú]	
K ₃ f	9	a-na a-lík ur-ḫi ru-qa-ti pa-nu-šú maš-lu ¹	
K ₃ f	10	sa-bi-tum ana ru-qi i-na ¹ aṭ-[a-al]-šum ¹ ma ¹	
K ₃ f	11	uš-tam-ma a-na lib-bi-šá a-ma-t[a] i-qab-b[<i>i</i>]	
K ₃ f	12	ú-ti ra-ma-ni-šá-ma ši-i im-tal-lí[k]	
K ₃ f	13	mi-in-de-e-ma an-nu-ú mu-na ¹ ir rīmī(am) ^m [^{es}]	
K ₃ f	14	a-a-nu-um-ma i-ši-ra ina bābi(ká)-ia	
K ₃ f	15	e-mur-šu-ma sa-bi-tum e-te-díl bāb(ká)-š[ú]	
K ₃ f	16	bāb(ká)-šá e-te-díl-ma e-te-l[a-a] a-na ú ¹ ru ¹	
K ₃ f	17	ú šu-ú i-ši uz-na ^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-na ¹ za-[x (x) x]	
K ₃	18	ú-šaq-qi zu-qat-su-ma iš ¹ ta ¹ -k[an-ši? pānīšu?]	K
K ₃ b	19	^d GIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-ši-ma [izakkarā ^m ana sa-b]i ¹ i ¹	
K ₃ b	20	sa-bi-tum mi-na-a ta-mu-ri-i[n-ni-ma te-di-lí bā]b(ká)-ka	
K ₁ K ₃ b	21	bāb(ká)-ki te-di-l[i-ma te-te-lí-i a-na ú]-ri	
K ₁ K ₃ b	22	a-maḫ-ḫaš da[l-ta sik-ku-ra a-šeb]-bir	
K ₁ K ₃ b	23	x x x [.]x-ia	
K ₁ b	24	[. in]a šēri(edin)	K
K ₁ K ₃ b	25	[sa-bi-tum ana šá]-šú ¹ -[ma izakkarā ^m ana ^d GIŠ-g]im-maš	
K ₁ K ₃ b	26	[. . .]x SAL x[. . . e-di-i]l bābī(ká)	
K ₁ K ₃ b	27	[. . .]x di x[. . . e-te-lí a-n]a ú-ru	
K ₁ K ₃ b	28	[. . .] la x[. . . -ta-ka] lul-mad	b
K ₁ K ₃ b	29	[^d GIŠ-gim-maš an]a ¹ šá-ši ¹ -[ma izakkarā ^m ana sa]-bi-tum	
K ₁ b	30	[. -š]ir-ru	
b	31	[šá nin-nem-du-ma ni-lu-ú šadū] ¹	
	32	[a-la-a ni-iš-ba-tu-ma a-la-a ni-na-ru]	
b	33	[nu-šal-pi-tu ^d ḫum-ba-ba šá ina ^{es} qis]ti(tir) ^{es} erē[ni(eren) áš-bu]	

1 D: ší-d[u-ri f: t]am-tim áš-b[a-tu₁] 9 f: ru-qa-ta 10 f: ru-q]u K₃: ina-aṭ-[a- 11 f:]-šú a-mat 12 f: -š]ú-ma 14 f: i-ši-i]r a-na 15 f: sa-b]i¹ i-te-díl 16 f: i-te-la-(a) 21 b: ú-r]u 23 b:]x-re-ba 27 K₁: ú-r]i 28 K₁: lul-ma-a]d 29 K₁: sa-bi]t

Translation

1	Šiduri was an ale-wife who lived by the sea-shore,
2	there she lived, and [.]
3	Potstands she had, [. . .] she had,
4	she was covered with a shawl, and [.]
5	Gilgameš came wandering, and [.]
6	he was clothed in a pelt, [he was imbued with] menace.
7	He had the flesh of the gods in [his body],
8	but there was sorrow in [his heart.]
9	His face was like one who had travelled a distant road;
10	the ale-wife was watching him in the distance.
11	Talking to herself she spoke a word,
12	taking counsel in her own mind:
13	'For sure this man is a slayer of wild bulls;
14	whence did he make straight for my gate?'
15	The ale-wife saw him and barred her gate,
16	barred her gate and went up on the roof.
17	But he, Gilgameš, had (good) hearing . . . [. . .]
18	he lifted his chin and turned [towards her.]
19	Gilgameš [spoke] to her, [to the ale]-wife:
20	'Ale-wife, why when you saw [me did you bar] your [gate?]
21	You barred your gate [and went up on the] roof.
22	I shall strike the door, I shall [break the bolt.]
23	[.] my [. . .]
24	[.] in the wild.'
25	[The ale-wife spoke to] him, [to] Gilgameš:
26	'[. . .] . . . [. . . I barred] my gate,
27	[. . .] . . . [. . . I went up on] the roof.
28	[. . .] . . . [. . .] let me learn of [your . . .]'
29	[Gilgameš spoke to] her, [to the ale]-wife:
30	'[My friend Enkidu and I,] . . .
31	[We it was who joined forces and climbed the mountain] country,
32	[seized the Bull of Heaven and killed the Bull of Heaven,]
33	[destroyed Ḫumbaba, who lived in the] Cedar [Forest,]

- b 34 [ina né-re-bé-e-ti? šá šadīⁱ ni-du]k nēšī(ur.mah)^{mes}
 b 35 [sa-bi-tum a-na šá-šū izakk]ar(mu)^{ar} a-na ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 b 36 [šum-ma? at-ta? u? ^den-ki-d]ú šá ma-aš-ša-ru ta-na-ra
 b 37 [tu-šal-pi-ta ^dhum-b]a-ba šá ina ^{es}qišī(tir) ^{es}erēni(eren) áš-ba
 b 38 [ina né-re-bé-e-ti? š]á šadī(kur)ⁱ ta-duk nēšī(ur.mah)^{mes}
 b 39 [a-la-a taš-ba-ta-ma a-l]a-a ta-na-ra šá ultu(ta) šamē(an)^e ur-du
- b 40 [am-me-ni ak-la le-t]a-a-ti qud-du-du pa-nu-ka
 b 41 [lum-mun lib-ba-ka qa-t]u-ú zi-mu-ka
 b 42 [i-ba-áš-ši nissatu] ina kar-ši-ka! (šú)
 b 43 [ana a-lik ur-^{hi} ru-qa-ti] pa-nu-ka maš-lu
 b 44 [ina (A) šar-bi u šēti q]u-um-mu-ú pa-nu-ka
 b 45 [u pa-an lab-bi šak-na-ta-m]a ta-rap-pu-ud šēr[a(edin)]
-
- b 46 [^dGIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-ši-ma izakkar^{ar}] [a-na ^fsa]-[bi-tum]
 47 [am-mi-ni la ak-la le-ta-a-a la qud-du-du pa-nu-ú-a]
 48 [la lum-mun lib-bi la qa-tu-ú zi-mu-ú-a]
 49 [la i-ba-áš-ši nissatu ina kar-ši-ia]
 50 [ana a-lik ur-^{hi} ru-qa-ti pa-nu-ú-a la maš-lu]
 51 [ina (A) šar-bi u šēti la qu-um-mu-ú pa-nu-ú-a]
 52 [u pa-an lab-bi la šak-na-ku-ma la a-rap-pu-ud šēra]

The bottom of the column and the beginning of the next are lost, leaving a gap of about 14 lines of tablet before MS K resumes in col. ii. The missing text is easily reconstructed from the parallel passages in ll. 120–37 and 220–37. Four of these 18 lines have already been used at ll. 31–4 and can be omitted on the grounds that they are unlikely to have been repeated in the same episode. This leaves

- 53 [ib-ri ku-da-nu tar-du ak-kan-nu šá šadīⁱ nim-ru šá šēri]
 54 [^den-ki-dū (ib-ri . . .) KIMIN]
 55 [ib-ri šá a-ram-mu-šū dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku^{ku} ka-lu mar-ša-a-ti]
 56 [^den-ki-dū ib-ri šá a-ram-mu-šū dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku^{ku} KIMIN]
 57 [ik-šu-da-áš-šu šimat amēlūti?]
 58 [6 ur-ri u 7 mu-šá-a-ti eli-šū ab-ki]
 59 [ul ad-din-šu a-na qé-bé-ri]
 60 [a-di tul-tu im-qu-tū ina ap-pi-šu]
 K₁ 61 [a-dur . . .]x-lu? [.]
 K₁ 62 [mu-ta ap-lah-ma a-rap-pu-ud šēra] :
 K₁z 63 a-mat ib-ri-ī[a kab?-ī]a?-ī at eli(ugu)-ia¹

62–3 Kz in one line

- 34 [killed] lions [in the mountain *passes*.]
 35 [The ale-wife] spoke [to him,] to Gilgameš:
 36 ‘[If *you and Enkidu were*] the ones who killed the Guardian,
 37 [who destroyed] Humbaba, who lived in the Cedar Forest,
 38 [who] killed lions [in the] mountain [*passes*,]
 39 [who seized the Bull of Heaven and] killed [the Bull] of Heaven, that came down
 from the heavens—
 40 [why are your] cheeks [hollow,] your face sunken,
 41 [your mood wretched,] your features wasted?
 42 [(Why) is there sorrow] in your¹ heart,
 43 your face like one [who has travelled a distant road?]
 44 [(Why is it)] your face is burnt [by frost and sunshine,]
 45 [and] you roam the wild [got up like a lion?]¹
-
- 46 [Gilgameš spoke to her,] to the ale-wife:
 47 ‘[Why should my cheeks not be hollow, my face not sunken,]
 48 [my mood not wretched, my features not wasted?]
 49 [Should there not be sorrow in my heart,]
 50 [and my face not be like one who has travelled a distant road?]
 51 [Should not my face be burnt by frost and sunshine,]
 52 [and should I not roam the wild got up like a lion?]

exactly the 14 lines required to fill the gap but, since MS K is prone to double lines up, the number of missing lines of text could well more than the 14 missing lines of tablet, and the line numbering from this gap on is therefore provisional.

- 53 [My friend, a mule^e on the run,]
 [donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild,]
 54 [My friend Enkidu, a mule on the run,]
 [donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild,]
 55 [my friend, whom I love so deeply,]
 [who with me went through every danger,]
 56 [my friend Enkidu, whom I love so deeply,]
 [who with me went through every danger:]
 57 [the doom of mankind overtook him,]
 58 [for six days and seven nights I wept over him.]
 59 [I did not give him up for burial,]
 60 [until a maggot fell from his nostril.]
 61 [Then I was afraid . . .] . . . [. . . .]
 62 [I grew fearful of death and so roam the wild.]
 63 The case of my friend was *too* [*much*] for me to bear,

¹ Text, in error: ‘his’.

K ₁	64	[ur-ḥa ru-qa-ta a-rap-pu-ud šēr]a(edin) :	
K _{1,z}	65	a-mat ^d en-ki-d[ù ib-ri-ia KIMIN]	
K _{1,z}	66	[ḥar-ra-na ru-qa-ta] a-rap-pu-ud [š]e-e-ru	
K _{1,z}	67	[ki-ki-i lu-us-ku]t ki-ki-i lu-qu-ul a-na-ku ¹	
K _{1,zb}	68	[ib-ri ša a-ram-m]u ^r i ¹ -[te-m]i i-ṭi-ṭi-š :	
K _{1,zb}	69	^d en-ki-dù ib-ri ša a-ram-mu i-t[e-mi ṭi]- ^r i ¹ -ṭi-š	
K _{1,zb}	70	[ana-ku ul ki-i š]á-šu-ma-a a-né-el-lam-ma	
K _{1,zb}	71	[ul a-te-e]b-ba-a du-ur da-a[r]	Kb
K _{1,zb}	72	[^d GIŠ-gim]-maš a-na šá-ši-ma izakkara(mu) ^m ana sa-b[iti]	
K _{1,zb}	73	[e-nin-n]a-ma sa-bit mi-nu-ú ḥar-ra-an šá UD-napi[šiti(zi)]	
K _{1,zb}	74	[mi-nu]- ^r i ¹ it-ta-šá ia-a-ši id-ni	
K _{1,zb}	75	id-nim-ma it-ta-šá ia-a-ši	
K _{1,zb}	76	šum-ma na-ṭu-ma tâmta(a.ab.ba) lu-bir	
K _{1,zb}	77	šum-ma la na-ṭu-ma šera(edin) lu-ur-pu-ud	K
K _{1,zb}	78	sa-bit a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^m a-na ^d GIŠ-gim-maš	
K _{1,zb}	79	ul ib-ši ^d GIŠ-gim-maš né-bé-ru ma-ti-ma	
K _{1,zb}	80	u ma-am-ma šá ul-tu u ₄ -um ša-at {KUR} la ib-bi-ru tam-ta	
K _{1,zb}	81	e-bir tam-ti ^d šamaš(utu) qu-ra-du-um-mu	
K _{1,zb}	82	ba-lu ^d šamaš(utu) e-bir tam-tim man-nu	
K _{1,zb}	83	pa-áš-qat né-ber-tum šup-šu-qat ú-ru-uh-šá	
K _{1,zb}	84	ú bi-ra-a mē(a) ^{ms} mu-ti šá pa-na-as-sa par-ku	
K _{1,zb}	85	a-ḥum-ma ^d GIŠ-gim-maš te-te-bir tam-ta	
K _{1,zb}	86	a-na mē(a) ^{ms} mu-ú-ti ki-i tak-tal-du te-ep-pu-uš mi-na	
K _{1,zb}	87	^d GIŠ-gim-maš i-ba-áš-ši ^m ur-šanabi!(50) ^{1a} malāḥu(má.laḥ ₄) šá ^m UD-napišti	
K _{1,zb}	88	[u ^r šu-ut abnū(na ₄) ^{ms} it-ti-šú ina libbi(šá) ^{ms} qišti(tir) i-qa-tap ur-na	
K _{1,zb}	89	a-lik-ma li-mu-ru pa-ni-ka	
K _{1,zb}	90	šum-ma na-ṭu-ma e-bir it-ti-šú	

64-5 Kz in one line 65 z: kab-ta-at? u]gu-ia 68 z:]-(i)?-iš 68-9 K₁ in one line
 69 b: a-r]am-mu-šú 70 b: š]á-šú¹-ma 71 b: a-na du-u[r z: da-ri 72 z: š[a]-š¹ b: mu^{dr}
 a-na¹s[a-bi-tum] 73 b: [sa-bit mi-na-a, ^mUD-z[i] z: kaskal, ^mUD-zi^{um} 74 b: it-ta-ši 74-5
 K_{1,z} in one line 75 b: it-ta-ši 76 b: n]a-ṭú-ú tam-tim 76-9 z in three lines 77 z:
 šum-ma, na-ṭu-u b: na-ṭú-ú 78 z: [sa]-bi-tu, ša¹šú¹-ma b: [sa-bi-t]um áš-šá-šu-ma mu^{dr} a-na^m[
 79 b: ib-š[ú] ^dGIŠ-gim-PA né-bé¹ri¹ z: [. . .] x x ^mdGI[š-TU]K x x [x] x x 80 b: ul mam-ma šá ul-tu
 ša-a-tú la ib-bi-ru tam-tim 80-5 z.in three lines 81 b: tam-tim, qu-ra-du z: q]u?-ra-[x x]
 81-2 K₁b in one line 82 K₁: AK-la^dutu ib-bir man-nu z: x¹lu¹ 83 b: pa-áš-qat₆, šup-šu-qat
 ú-ru-uh-š[u] 84 b: u, [pa]-[na]-as-su¹ z: b]i-ral-a, šá igi-/[85 z: ^mdGIŠ]-TUK, [ta-am]-da b:
 ta]m-t[im] 86 b: ana, mu-ti z: gim? [tak?]-t[a?-a]ṭ-^rdu 87 b: i-ba-áš-(š¹) z: má.laḥ₃, ^mUD-
 zi^m 87-8 z separates with a false ruling 88 b: ú šu-ut z: [i-na]^{ms}tir 89 b: li-mur igi-ka
 89-90 b in one line 89-91 z in two lines 90 b: š[um-ma z: na-ṭu-u^r e-bir-ma?] 90-1
 K₁ in one line

64	[so on a distant road I roam the] wild.
65	The case of [my friend] Enkidu [was <i>too much</i> for] me to bear,
66	[so on a distant path] I roam the wild.
67	(For) I, [how could I stay silent?] How could I stay quiet?
68	[My friend, whom I love, has turned] to clay,
69	my friend Enkidu, whom I love, has [turned to] clay.
70	[Shall not I be like] him and also lie down,
71	[never to rise] again, through all eternity?
72	Gilgameš spoke to her, to the ale-wife:
73	'Now, ale-wife, what is the road to Ūta-napišti?
74	What is its landmark? Give it to me!
75	Do give me its landmark!
76	If it may be done, I will cross the ocean!
77	if it may not be done, I will roam the wild!
78	The ale-wife spoke to him, to Gilgameš:
79	'There never was, O Gilgameš, a way across,
80	and ² since the days of old ³ none who can cross the ocean.
81	The one who crosses the ocean is the hero Šamaš:
82	apart from Šamaš, who is there can cross the ocean? ⁴
83	The crossing is perilous, its way full of hazard,
84	and in between are the Waters of Death, that lie across the passage forward. ⁵
85	So <i>besides</i> , Gilgameš, (once) you have crossed the ocean,
86	when you reach the Waters of Death, what will you do?
87	O Gilgameš, there is Ur-šanabi, the boatman of Ūta-napišti,
88	and the Stone Ones are with him as he <i>strips</i> a cedar in the midst of the forest. ⁶
89	Go then, and let him see your face!
90	if [it may be] done, cross with him,

² So MS K; MS b, corruptly: 'not'.

³ So MS K; MS b: 'olden times'.

⁴ So MS b; MS K: 'apart(!) from Šamaš, who can cross?'

⁵ Lit. 'its (the crossing's) forward side'.

⁶ So MS K; Assyrian MS z: 'in the forest'.

K ₁ zb	91	šum-ma la na-tu-ma i-ḫi-is arki(egir)-k[a]
K ₁ zb	92	^d GIŠ-gim-maš an-ni-ta i-na še-me ^f e ^l -[šú]
K ₁ zb	93	iš-šú ḫa-ši-in-na a-na i[di(á)-š]u
K ₁ zb	94	iš-lu-up nam-ša-ru [(ina) šib-bi-š]ú
K ₁ zb	95	iḫ-lu-ul-ma ú-tar-da-á[š-šú-nu]-ti
K ₁ zb	96	kīma(gim) šil-taḫ ana bi-ri-šú-nu [im]-qut
K ₁ zb	97	i-na lib-bi ^{es} qišti(tir) i-šep-pu [rig]-ma
K ₁ zb	98	i-mur-ma ^m ur-šanabi(40) nam-ri x x [x] KAL
K ₁ zb	99	iš-šú!(MAŠ) ḫa-ši-in-nam-ma ir-t[ua?]-ša?-á[š-šú
K ₁ zb	100	[u] šu-ú im-ḫaš qaqqad(sag.du)-sul(ŠU) x[x x x ^d]GIŠ ^l -gim-maš
K ₁ zb	101	i[s]-bat kap-pa-šu-ma x[x x-t]i ir-te-šu
K ₁ zb	102	u š[ut a]b-ni ip-te-ḫu-ú ^{es} eleppa(má)
K ₁ zb	103	šá la e ^f du ^l ?-ru mē(a) ^{fmes} mu-te ^l
K ₁ zb	104	iḫ-x[. t]am-ta rapašta(dagal) ^{ia}
K ₁ zb	105	ina mē(a) ^{mes} i[d-] ik-la
K ₁ zb	106	uḫ-tap-p[u] ^f ú ^l šu-ut ab-ni ú-ta-bak ana nāri(id)
K ₁ zb	107	UD-x[.]x ^{es} eleppu(má)
K ₁ zb	108	ú x[. it-ta-š]ab? ^f i-na ^l kib-ri
z		
K ₁ zb	109	^f d[GIŠ-gim-maš ana šāšūma izakkara] ^f a-na ^l m ^{ur} -šu-na-be malāḫi(m[á].lah ₅)
K ₁ z	110	[.]x-šá-a ^f ta ^l -šub-ba
K ₁ z	111	[.]-ka ka-a-šá
z		
K ₂ z	112	[^m u]r-šanabi ana šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^m ana ^d [GIŠ-gim-maš]
K ₂	113	[a]m-me-ni ak-la le-ta-ka qud-d[u-du pa-nu-ka]
K ₂	114	[lu]m-mun lib-ba-ka q[a-tu-ú zi-mu-ú-ka]
K ₂	115	[i] ^l -ba-áš-ši nissatu(SAG.PA.LAGAB) [i]n[a kar-ši-ka]
K ₂	116	[ana] ^f a ^l -lik ur-ḫi ru-qa-ti pa-[ru-ka maš-lu]
K ₂	117	[in]a A šar-ba u šēti(ud.da) qu-u[m-mu-ú pa-nu-ka]
K ₂	118	[u pa-a]n ^f lab-bi šak-na-ta ^l -ma ta-[raḫ-pu-ud šēra]
K ₂	119	[^d GIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-šu-ma] izakkara(mu) ^m a-n[^m ur-šanabi ^{ia} malāḫi]
K ₂	120	[am-mi-ni la ak-la le]-ta-a-a la [qud-du-du pa-nu-ú-a]
K ₂	121	[la lum-mun lib]-bi la qa-tu-[ú zi-mu-ú-a]
K ₂	122	[la i-ba-áš-ši n]issatu(SAG.PA.LAGAB) ina [kar-ši-ia]
K ₂	123	[ana a-lik ur-ḫi ru-qa-ti] i pa-n[u-ú-a la maš-lu]

91 b: na-tu-ú e-ḫi-[is z:]^fú^l i^l-[ḫi]-is ar-ki-ka 92 b: an-ni-ti z:]-tu^f ina šī-mi^l-šú 93 b: ḫa-ši-in-nu z: ana á^{mes}[š]-šú 93-5 z in two lines 94 b: nam-šar-ri 94-5 K₁ in one line 95 z: ú-tar-da^l-šú-n[ú-ti]i 96 z: a-n[]a [b]i-ru^l-šú-nu im^l-[qu]-ut 97 b: i-šeb-b[i z:] x x x x x x-šú 98 K₁: na[m-ra z:]^fru^l-ma 99 z:]x x x-šú 100 z:]x^{md}GIŠ-TUK 100-3 z in three lines 101 z: x x [(x)] x/[102 b: ^fna^{mes} ip-te!^feh^l-[103 K₁: mu-ú-ti 104 z: ra-pa^l-ta 104-7 z in three lines 106 z: a^fna^l 107 z: x x x x^fú šú nu^l x x 108 K₁: i]na 109 K₁:]^hmá.lah₅ 111 z: ka^fa^l-šá 112 z: a]^fna^m]^fdGIŠ-TUK

91	if it may not be done, turn around (and go) back!
92	When Gilgameš heard this,
93	he took up (his) axe in his hand,
94	he drew forth the dirk [from] his [belt],
95	he crept up and rushed down on [them.]
96	Like an arrow he fell among them,
97	(his) shout booming through the midst of the forest.
98	Ur-šanabi saw the <i>bright</i> ,
99	he took up an axe and <i>rushed</i> [towards] him.
100	But he, Gilgameš, struck his head [. . .]
101	he seized his arm and [. . .] <i>pinned him down</i> .
102	And the Stone Ones would seal the boat,
103	who did not <i>fear</i> the Waters of Death.
104	. . . [.] the wide ocean,
105	at the water he [.] he held back.
106	He smashed the Stone Ones, he dropped them into the river,
107	. . . [.] the boat,
108	and then [. <i>he sat</i>] down on the bank.
<hr/>	
109	[Gilgameš spoke to him,] to the boatman Ur-šanabi:
110	‘[.] . . . you are trembling,
111	[.] you.’
<hr/>	
112	[Ur]-šanabi spoke to him, to Gilgameš:
113	‘Why are your cheeks hollow, [your face] sunken,
114	your mood wretched, [your features wasted?]
115	(Why) is there sorrow [in your heart,]
116	and [your face like one] who has travelled a distant road?
117	[(Why is it) your face is] burnt [by] frost and sunshine,
118	[and] you [roam the wild got up like a lion?]
119	[Gilgameš] spoke [to him,] to [the boatman Ur-šanabi:]
120	‘[Why should] my cheeks [not be hollow, my face] not [sunken,]
121	my [mood not wretched, my features] not wasted?
122	[Should there not be] sorrow in [my heart,]
123	[and my] face [not be like one who has travelled a distant road?]

- K₂ 124 [ina A šar-bi u šēt]i(ud.da) la qu-u[m-mu-ú pa-nu-ú-a]
 K₂ 125 [u pa-an lab-bi la šak-na-k]u¹ma la¹ [a-*rap-pu-ud šēra*]
 126 [ib-ri ku-da-nu tar-du ak-kan-nu šá šadiⁱ nim-ru šá šēri]
 127 [^den-ki-dù (ib-ri . . .) KIMIN]
 128 [šá nin-nem-du-ma ni-lu-ú šá-da-a]
 129 [a-la-a ni-iš-ba-tu-ma a-la-a ni-na-ru]
 130 [nu-šal-pi-tu ^dhum-ba-ba šá ina ^{ms}qišti ^{ms}erēni áš-bu]
 K₁ 131 in[a né-re-bé-e-ti? šá šadiⁱ ni-du-ku nēšim^{ms}]
 K₁ 132 ib-r[ⁱ šá a-ram-mu-šú dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku^{ku} ka-lu mar-ša-a-ti]
 K₁ 133 ^den-k[ⁱ-dù ib-ri šá a-ram-mu-šú dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku^{ku} KIMIN]
 K₁ 134 ik-šu-d[a-áš-šú? šimat amēlūti?]
 K₁ 135 6 ur-r[i u 7 mu-šá-a-ti eli-šú ab-ki :]
 136 [ul ad-din-šu ana qé-bé-ri]
 K₁ 137 a-di [tul-tu im-qu-tú ina ap-pi-šu]
 K₁ 138 a-du[r :]
 139 [mu-ta ap-laḥ-ma a-*rap-pu-ud šēra*]
 K₁ 140 a-m[at ib-ri-i]a [kab-ta-at? eli-ia]
 K₁ 141 u[r-ḥu ru]-qa-tu a-[*rap-pu-ud šēra* :]
 142 [a-mat ^den-ki-dù ib-ri-ia KIMIN]
 K₁ 143 [ḥar-r]a-nu ru-q[a-tu a-*rap-pu-ud šēra*]
 K₁ 144 [k]i-ki-i lu-u[s-kut ki-ki-i lu-qu-ul ana-ku]
 K₁ 145 [i]b-ri šá a-ram-mu¹e-te¹-[mi ti-it-tiš :]
 146 [^den-ki-dù ib-ri šá a-ram-mu KIMIN]
 K₁ 147 ana-ku ul ki-i šá-šu-ma-a a-né-el-l[am-ma :]
 148 [ul a-te-eb-ba-a du-ur da-ar] K
 K₁ 149 ^dGĪŠ-gim-maš a-na šá-šu-ma izakkar(mu)^{dr} a¹na^mu[r-šánabi^{lu} malāḥi]
 K₁ 150 e-nin-na^mur-šánabi mi-nu¹ú¹ [ḥar-ra-nu šá^mUD-napišti]
 K₁ 151 mi-nu-ú it-ta-šá ia-a-ši id-ni :
 K₁ 152 id-nam-m[a it-ta-šá ia-a-ši]
 K₁ 153 šum-ma na-tú-ma tam-ta lu-bir :
 K₁ 154 šum-ma la na¹tu¹-m[a šēra lu-ur-pu-ud] K

135-6, 138-9, 141-2, 145-6, 147-8, 151-2, 153-4 K₁ in one line

- 124 [Should] not [my face be] burnt [by frost and sunshine,]
 125 [and] should I not [roam the wild got up like a lion?]
 126 [My friend, a mule on the run,]
 [donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild,]
 127 [my friend Enkidu, a mule on the run,]
 [donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild:]
 128 [we it was who joined forces and climbed the mountain country,]
 129 [seized the Bull of Heaven and killed the Bull of Heaven,]
 130 [destroyed Humbaba, who lived in the Cedar Forest,]
 131 [killed lions] in [the mountain passes.]
 132 My friend [whom I love so deeply,]
 [who with me went through every danger,]
 133 [my friend] Enkidu, [whom I love so deeply,]
 [who with me went through every danger:]
 134 [the doom of mankind] overtook [him,]
 135 for six days [and seven nights I wept over him.]
 136 [I did not give him up for burial,]
 137 until [a maggot fell from his nostril.]
 138 Then I was afraid [. ,]
 139 [I grew fearful of death and so roam the wild.]
 140 The case of my [friend was too much for me to bear,]
 141 so on a distant road I [roam the wild.]
 142 [The case of my friend Enkidu was too much for me to bear,]
 143 so on a distant path [I roam the wild.]
 144 [(For) I,] how could I stay [silent? How could I stay quiet?]
 145 My friend, whom I love, has [turned to clay,]
 146 [my friend Enkidu, whom I love, has turned to clay.]
 147 Shall not I be like him and also lie [down,]
 148 [never to rise again, through all eternity?]
 149 Gilgameš said to him, to Ur-[šanabi, the boatman:]
 150 'Now, Ur-šanabi, what [is the road to Ūta-napišti?]
 151 What is its landmark? Give it to me!
 152 Do give me [its landmark!]
 153 If it may be done, I will cross the ocean!
 154 if it may not be done, [I will roam the wild!]'

- K₁ 155 ^mur-šanabi ana šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu)^{ra} ana^[d][GIŠ-gim-maš]
 K₁ 156 qa-ta-a-ka^dGIŠ-gim-maš ik-la-a [e-ber-ka?]
 K₁ 157 tuḥ-tap-pi šu-ut abnī(na₄)^{mes} ta¹at¹-ta-ba[k ana nāri(id)]
 K₁ 158 šu-ut abnī(na₄)^{mes} ḥu-up-pu-ma^[ur?]nu ul [qa-tip?]
 K₁ 159 i-ši^dGIŠ-gim-maš ḥa-ši-in-na ana i-[di-ka]
 K₁ 160 e-rid ana^{ḡis}qištim(tir)-ma pa-ri-si šá 5 nindanā(nindan)^{am.ām} [5.giš ik-sa]
 K₁ 161 ku-pur-ma šu-kun tu-la-a :
 K₁ 162 bi-il^[la]-[áš-šu-nu-ti]
 K₁ 163 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš an-ni-ta i[na še-me-e-šú]
 K₁ 164 iš-ši ḥa-ši-in-na ana idi(á)-šú :
 K₁ 165 iš-l[u-up nam-šar (ina) šib-bi-šú]
 K₁ 166 ú-rid ana^{ḡis}qištim(tir)-ma pa-ri-si šá 5 nindanā(nindan)^{am} [5.giš ik-kis-su]
 K₁ 167 ik-pur-ma iš-ta-kan tu-la-a :
 K₁ 168 ú-bil-ma [.]
 K₁ 169 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš u^mur-šanabi ir-ka-bu [^{ḡis}eleppa]
 K₁ 170 ^{ḡis}má-gi-il-la id-du-ma šu-nu [ir-tak-bu]
 K₁ 171 ma-lak arḥi(itū) u šapatti(ud.15.kam) ina šal-ši u₄-me it-ta-al-[ku x x]
 K₁ 172 ik-šu-dam-ma^mur-šanabi¹mē(a)^{mes} m[u-ú-ti]
 K₁ 173 ^mur-šanabi ana šá-šu-ma¹i[sakkara(mu)^{ra} ana^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 K₁ 174 um-MEŠ TE ^dGIŠ-gim-maš [I]i¹qé¹ [1-en pa-ri-su]
 K₁ 175 mē(a)^{mes} mu-ti qat-ka a-a il-ta-pit tu¹šam?¹[ma-am-šit?]
 K₁ 176 2-a šal-šá u re-ba-a ^dGIŠ-gim-maš li-qé pa-r[i-su]
 K₁ 177 ḥa-an-šá 6-šá u 7-a ^dGIŠ-gim-maš li-qé pa-ri-[su]
 K₁ 178 8-a 9-a u 10-a ^dGIŠ-gim-maš li-qé pa-ri-s[u]
 K₁ 179 11-a 12-a ^dGIŠ-gim-maš li-qé pa-ri-s[u]
 K₁ 180 ina 2.giš ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ug-dam-me-ra pa-r[i-si]
 K₁ 181 u šu-ú ip-tur qabal(murub₄)-šú^m[ur-šanabi]
 K₁ 182 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš iḥ-ta-ma-aš^{ḡis}subā[t(túg)-su]
 K₁ 183 ina kap-pi-šú ka-ra-a ú-šaq-[qí]
 K₁ 184 ^mUD-napišti(zi)^{am} ana ru-qi i-na-aṭ-ṭa-l[a-áš-šu(m)-ma]
 K₁ 185 uš-tam-ma-a ana lib-bi-šú a-ma-ta¹i¹[qab-bí]
 K₁ 186 it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-ma šu-ú i[m-tal-lík]
 K₁ 187 mi-na-a ḥu-up-pu-u šá^{ḡis}eleppi(má) [šu-ut abnī^{mes}-šá?]
 K₁ 188 u la be-la-šá ra-kib [eli-šá]
 K₁ 189 šá il-la-kám-ma ul ia-ú amēlu(lú) :
 K₁ 190 ú im-na¹nam/zit¹-[.]
 K₁ 191 a-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma ul ia-[ú amēlu]
 K₁ 192 a-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma ul [.]
 K₁ 193 a¹na-aṭ¹-ṭa-lam-ma [.]

161–2, 164–5, 167–8, 189–90 K₁ in one line

- 155 Ur-šanabi spoke to him, to Gilgameš:
 156 ‘Your own hands, Gilgameš, have prevented [*your crossing*.]
 157 You have smashed the Stone Ones, you have dropped [them in the river,]
 158 the Stone Ones are smashed and the cedar is not [*stripped*.]
 159 Take up, Gilgameš, the axe in [your] hand,
 160 go down to the forest and [cut me three hundred] punting-poles, each five rods long.
 161 Trim and furnish (each) with a boss,
 162 bring [them to]
 163 When Gilgameš [heard] this,
 164 he took up the axe in his hand,
 165 he drew [forth the dirk from his belt,]
 166 he went down to the forest and [cut him three hundred] punting-poles, each five rods long.
 167 He trimmed and furnished (each) with a boss,
 168 he took [them to]
 169 Gilgameš and Ur-šanabi boarded [the boat,]
 170 they launched the craft and [crewed it] themselves.
 171 By the third day they *had travelled* a month and a half’s journey,
 172 then Ur-šanabi arrived at the Waters of [Death.]
 173 Ur-šanabi [spoke] to him, [to Gilgameš:]
 174 ‘. . . , Gilgameš, take [the first punting-pole!]
 175 do not let your hand be touched by the Waters of Death, (for) you will [*lame it!*]
 176 Take a second, a third and a fourth punting-pole, Gilgameš!
 177 take a fifth, a sixth and a seventh punting-pole, Gilgameš!
 178 Take an eighth, a ninth and a tenth punting-pole, Gilgameš!
 179 take an eleventh and a twelfth punting-pole, Gilgameš!
 180 At one hundred and twenty double-furlongs Gilgameš ran out of punting-poles,
 181 then he, [Ur-šanabi,] undid his clothing.
 182 Gilgameš stripped off [his] garment,
 183 out of his arms he made a high yard-arm.
 184 Ūta-napišti was watching [him] in the distance,
 185 talking to himself he [spoke] a word.
 186 He [was taking counsel] in his own mind:
 187 ‘Why are the boat’s [*Stone Ones*] smashed,
 188 and aboard [it] one who is not its master?
 189 He who comes is no man of mine,
 190 but on the right . . . [.]
 191 I am looking—he is no [man of] mine,
 192 I am looking—he is no [. . .]
 193 I am looking—[.]

K₁ 194 [x x x i]a-šī x[.]K₁ 195 [x x x x] x x[.]

The remainder of col. iv, about 25 lines of tablet, is missing, leaving a gap of at least that in the text. Much of it is filled by Assyrian MS z col. iii, perhaps with some overlap. Up to l. 211 the line divisions are provisional, for they do not necessarily coincide with the beginnings and ends of lines on MS z.

z 196 ul a-ia-ú¹ [amēlu]

z 197 ú-šar?-pa?-du [.]

z 198 ^[hā]malāhu (má¹.lah₅) [.]z 199 a-mi-lu¹ša¹ a-na!-[tal-la ul . . .]

z 200 ša a-na-tal-la ul x[.]

z 201 pi-qa-ma-a šēru(edin) [.]

z 202 x x x ma x na a¹ú¹-.]

z 203 u[r]-na [x x]-ma ú-ia-x[.]

z 204 ^{md}GIŠ-TUK a-na¹ka¹-ri i[t-^he . . .]z 205 ¹ú¹-še-ri-d-ma ú?-la-[.]z 206 ¹ú¹ [š]u-ú e-la-[m]a? ú-ia-[. . .]

z

z 207 ^{md}GIŠ-TUK a-na ša-s[u-m]a izakkar(mu)⁴[^r a-na ^mUD-napišti(zi)]z 208 [lib?]-¹lu¹-u¹ ^mUD-napišti(zi) mār(dumu) ^m[u]-bar-t[u-tu (. . .)]z 209 [(x)x lu arki(egir) a-bu¹be šā ana¹da-[. . .]z 210 ¹a-bu¹-be mi-na-a ana da-[. . .]

z 211 [x x] x su me x ša x[. . .]

z

z 212 [^mUD-napišti(zi) a]-n[a š]a-šū-m[a izakkara(mu)]^a a-n[^{md}GIŠ-TUK]z 213 [am-mi-ni ak-la]¹le¹-[ta]-ka qu-d[u-du pa-nu-ka]

z 214 [l]u-[m]u-u[n libb]a(šā)-[ka q]a-tu-ú [zi-mu-ú-ka]

z 215 ¹i¹-ba-[š]i ni-is-[sa]-tu ina k[ar-šī-ka]z 216 [a]-na a¹lik¹ ar-[h]i ru-qa-[ti pa-nu-ka maš-lu]z 217 ¹i¹-na A [šar-b]e u¹še¹-te [qu-(um)-mu-ú pa-nu-ka]z 218 u pa-an la-be ša-ak-na-t[a-ma ta-^rap-pu-ud šēra(edin)]

z

z 219 ^{md}GIŠ-TUK a-na ša-šū-m[a izakkara(mu)]^m a-na ^mUD-napišti(zi)]z 220 am-mi-ni la ak-la lēā(te)^{ms}-[a-a la qu-du-du pa-nu-ú-a]K₁z 221 ¹la lu-mun lib-bi¹ la qa-t[u-ú zi]-mu-ú-aK₁z 222 ¹la¹ ib-¹ba¹-šī ni-is-sa-t[u ina ka]r-šī-iaK₁z 223 ana a-lik ar-^hi ru-qa-[i pa-nu-ú]-a la maš-luK₁z 224 ¹i¹-na A {AŠ?} šar-^be u še-te l[a qu-um-mu]-¹ú¹ pa-nu-ú-aK₁z 225 u [p]a-an la-be la šā-ak-na-[ku-ma la a-r]ap-pu-ud šēra(edin)

z

K₁z 226 ib-ri¹ku¹-da-ni ta-ri-[du ak-kan-nu šā šad]î(kur) nim-ru šā šēri(edin)K₁z 227 [^den-ki-dū ib-ri]¹ku¹-da-ni ta-r[i-du (. . .)]

KIMIN

226 z: [ri]im-ri ša

194 [. . .] me [.]'

Short lacuna

196 'No [man] of mine [.]

197 caused to roam [.]

198 The boatman [.]

199 the man that I am [watching is not . . . *The man*]

200 that I am watching is not [.]

201 maybe the wilderness [.]

202 [. . .]

203 the pine [. . .]'

204 Gilgameš drew [near] to the quay [. . .]

205 he sent down . . . [. . .]

206 and he, *he came up and he* . . . [. . .]

207 Gilgameš said to him, [to Ūta-napišti:]

208 '[*Long live* Ūta-napišti, son of Ubar-[Tutu (. . .)]

209 . . . after the Deluge which for . . . [. . .]

210 the Deluge, what for . . . [. . .?]

211 [. . .] [. . .]'

212 [Ūta-napišti spoke] to him, to [Gilgameš:]

213 '[Why are] your cheeks [hollow, your face] sunken,

214 [your mood] wretched, [your features] wasted?

215 (Why) is there sorrow in [your heart],

216 [and your face like] one who has travelled a distant road?

217 [(Why is it) your face is burnt] by frost and sunshine,

218 and [you roam the wild] got up like a lion?'

219 Gilgameš [spoke] to him, [to Ūta-napišti:]

220 'Why should [my] cheeks not be hollow, [my face not sunken,]

221 my mood not wretched, my features not wasted?

222 Should there not be sorrow [in] my heart,

223 and my [face] not be like one who has travelled a distant road?

224 [Should not] my face be [burnt] by frost and sunshine,

225 and [should I not] roam the wild got up like a lion?

226 My friend, a mule on the run, [donkey of the uplands,] panther of the wild,

227 [my friend Enkidu,] a mule on the run, [donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild:]

- K₁z 228 [ša¹ ni-nem!(DU)-du-¹u¹]-[ma ni-l]u-ú šá-da-a
 K₁z 229 a¹la¹-a ni-[i³-ba-tu-ma a]-¹la¹-a ni-na-ru
 K₁z 230 [nu-š]al-p[i-tu^d ħum-ba-ba šá ina^{erib} qī]šti(tir) ^{erib}erēni(eren) áš-bu
 K₁ 231 [ina né-re-bé-e-ti? šá šadīⁱ ni-d]u-ku nēšī(ur.mah)^{mes}
 K₁ 232 [ib-ri šá a-ram-mu-šū dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku¹] ka-lu mar-ša-a-ti
 K₁ 233 [^den-ki-dū ib-ri šá a-ram-mu-šū dan-niš it-ti-ia i]tallaku(DU.DU)^{ku} KIMIN
 K₁ 234 [ik-šu-da-áš-šu šīmat amēlūti? :]
 K₁ 235 [6 ur-ri u 7 mu-šá-a-ti] eli(ugū)-šū ab-ki
 K₁ 236 [ul ad-din-šu a-n]a qé-bé-ri
 K₁ 237 [a-di tul-tu im-qu-tū ina ap-p]i-šū
 K₁ 238 [a-dur] ¹:
 K₁f 239 mu-ta ap-¹[ah-ma a-rap-pu-ud š]ēra(edin)
 K₁f 240 a-mat [ib-ri-ia kab?-t]a?-at eli(ugū)-ia :
 K₁f 241 ur-ħa ru-qa-t[u a-rap-pu-ud šēr]a(edin)
 K₁f 242 [a-mat ^den¹-[ki-dū] ib-ri-ia KIMIN :
 K₁f 243 ħar-ra-nu¹ ru-qa¹-t[u KIMIN]
 K₁f 244 [ki¹-ki-i [l]u-us-ku^t ki-ki-i lu-qul [ana-ku]
 K₁f 245 ib-ri [š]á a-ram-mu i-te-mi ti-it-tiš :
 K₁f 246 ^den-ki-dū ib-r[i KIMIN]
 K₁f 247 [ana-k]u ul ki-i šá-šu-ma-a a-né-el-lam-ma :
 K₁ 248 ul a-te-eb-ba-a du-ur d[a-ar] K
- K₁f 249 [^dGIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu)^m ana^m UD-napi[šti(zi)]
 K₁f 250 [ana]-ku um-ma lul-lik-ma^m UD-napišti ru-qa šá i-dab-bu-bu-uš lu-mu[r]
 K₁f 251 [a]s-ħur al-li-ka ka-li-ši-na mātāti(kur)^{mes}
 K₁f 252 [^ete-et-ti-qa šadī(kur)^{mes} mar-šū-ti
 K₁f 253 [^ute-te-bi-ra ka-li-ši-na ta-ma-a-tum
 K₁f 254 [š]it-ta ta-ab-ta ul iš-bu-u pa-nu-u-a
 K₁f 255 [u]š-te-ziq ra-ma-ni ina da-la-pu :
 K₁f 256 ši-ir-a-ni-ia nissatu(SAG.PA.LAGAB) um-tal-lī
 f 257 mi-na-a ak-te-šīr ina ma-na-a^h ¹-t[i-ia]
 K₁f 258 [an]a le-et sa-bit ul ak-šū-dam-ma lu-bu-uš-ti iq-ti
 K₁f 259 [a-du-k]a a-sa bu-ša né-šá nīm-ri mīn-dī-na

234-5, 238-9 K₁ in one line 239 f: [m]u-t[ú] 240-1 K₁ in one line 241 f: [ur-ħu]
 242-3, 245-6 K₁ in one line 247 f: šá-a-šu-ma 247-8 K₁f in one line 249 f: a-na šá-
 a-šu-ma 250 f: lul-lik, ru-qi 251 f: al-lak, kur.kur^{mes}: 251-2 f in one line 252 f: e-
 te-et-qa 253 K₁: [u] f: e-te-eb-bi-ru 254 f: x-ku? um-ma : šit-ti ta-ab-(tū) ul iš-bu-ú
 pa¹nu-ú¹-[a] 255 f: ul-te-ziq, da-la-pi: 255-6 K₁f in one line 258 f: sa-bit, lul-bu-uš-
 tū 259 f: [a-du]k, né-e-šū 259-60 K₁ in one line

- 228 [we it was] who joined forces [and] climbed the mountain country,
 229 [seized] the Bull of Heaven [and] killed the Bull of Heaven,
 230 destroyed [H]umbaba, who lived [in the] Cedar Forest,
 231 killed lions [in the mountain passes.]
 232 [My friend, whom I love so deeply,
 [who with me went through] every danger,
 233 [my friend Enkidu, whom I love so deeply,
 [who with me] went through every danger:
 234 [the doom of mankind overtook him,
 235 [for six days and seven nights] I wept over him.
 236 [I did not give him up for] burial,
 237 [until a maggot fell from] his [nostril.]
 238 [Then I was afraid]
 239 I grew [fearful] of death, [and so roam the] wild.
 240 The case of [my friend was too much] for me [to bear,
 241 so on a distant road [I roam the] wild.
 242 The case of my friend Enkidu [was too much for me to bear,
 243 so on a distant path [I roam the] wild.]
 244 [(For) I,] how could I stay silent? How could I stay quiet?
 245 My friend, whom I love, has turned to clay,
 246 my friend Enkidu, [whom I love, has turned to clay.]
 247 [Shall] not I be like him and also lie down,
 248 never to rise again, through all [eternity?]
 249 Gilgameš said to him, to Ūta-napišti:
 250 'I thought, "I will go and find Ūta-napišti the Far-Away, of whom people talk,"
 251 again I went journeying through all the lands.
 252 I passed time and again⁷ over arduous mountains,
 253 and I crossed time and again⁸ all the seas.
 254 My face did not have enough of sweet sleep,⁹
 255 I scourged myself by going sleepless.
 256 I kept filling my sinews with pain;
 257 what have I achieved by my toil?¹⁰
 258 I had not reached as far as the ale-wife and my clothing was worn out.
 259 [I killed] bear, hyena, lion, panther, cheetah,

⁷ So MS K; MS f: 'I have passed'.

⁸ So MS f; MS K: 'I have crossed time and again'.

⁹ So MS K; MS f prefixes the line with an undeciphered phrase or scribal notation.

¹⁰ So MS f; MS K omits the entire line.

K ₁ b	260	<i>a-a-la tu-ra-ḫa bu-la u nam-maš-šá-a šá šēri(edin)¹</i>	
K ₁ b	261	<i>šīrī(uzu)^{mc}š-šū-nu ak-kal maški(kuš)^{ms}šū-nu ú-ta-ab-ba¹[ah?]</i>	
K ₁ b	262	<i>šá nissati(SAG.PA.LAGAB) lí-dí-lu bāb(ká)-šá :</i>	
K ₁ b	263	<i>ina kupri(esir.ḫi.a) u ittē(esir) lip?¹[ḫu-ú? bāb-šá?]</i>	
K ₁ b	264	<i>áš-šú ia-a-ši mi-lu-la la¹ú¹-x[x(x)x]</i>	
K ₁ b	265	<i>[áš-šú] ia-a-ši ḫad^{ad}-di-¹i ú-ma-a[l-x x(x)x x]</i>	Kb
K ₁ b	266	^m UD-napišti(zi) ^{sim} a-[n]a šá-šū-ma izakkara(mu) ^m a-na [^d GIŠ-gim-maš]	
K ₁ b	267	<i>am-me-ni^dGIŠ-gim-maš ni-is-sa-ta tur-t[i-né-ed-de at-ta?]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	268	<i>šá ina šīr(uzu) ilī(dingir)^{ms} u a-me-lu-ti [ba-na-a-ta?]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	269	<i>šá kīma(gim) abi(ad)-ka u ummi(ama)-ka i-pu-[šū-nik-ka?]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	270	<i>ma-ti-ma-a^dGIŠ-gim-maš ana li[l-li . . .]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	271	^{ss} kussā(gu.za) ina puḫri(ukkin) id-du-ma ti-š[ab? iq-bu-ka?]	
K ₁ K ₃ b	272	<i>na-ad-na-áš-šú ana lí-li šur-šum-me [šikarī] kīma(gim) ḫimēti(i.nun) [. . .]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	273	<i>tuh-ḫi¹ú¹ ku-uk-ku-šá {šá} kīma(gim) [. . .]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	274	<i>la-biš [m]aš-ḫa-an-da kīma(gim) [. . .]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	275	<i>ki-i [né-b]é-ḫi e-b[e-eh . . .]</i>	
K ₁ K ₃ b	276	<i>áš-šú la i-šū-ú¹ ma¹[li-ki? . . .]</i>	
K ₃ b	277	<i>a-mat mil-ki la i-š[ú-ú]</i>	
b	278	<i>i-ši re-ši-šú^dGI[š-gim-maš]</i>	
b	279	<i>[x]-nu bēl(en)-šū-nu ma-la š[á?]</i>	
b	280	<i>[x x] x x x^{AN} x [.]</i>	
b	281	<i>[x x] ^dšín(30) u ilū(dingir)^{ms} [mušū? . . .]</i>	
b	282	<i>[ina] ¹mūši(gi₆)¹ ^dšín(30) il-lak [.]</i>	
b	283	<i>[da]l-pu-ma ilū(dingir)^{ms} [.]</i>	
b	284	<i>¹e¹-ra la sa-ki-pu x[.]</i>	
b	285	<i>ul-tu pa-an šá-kin x[.]</i>	
b	286	<i>at-ta¹ku¹-pu-ud-ma x[.]</i>	
b	287	<i>tap-pu-ut-ka a pi du? x[.]</i>	
b	288	<i>šum-ma^dGIŠ-gim-maš bīt(é) ilī(dingir)^{ms} za-n[in- . . .]</i>	
b	289	<i>bīt(é) ^dištarāti(15)^{ms} iḫ-x[. . .]</i>	
b	290	<i>ši-na a-x(x) x¹uš¹ ilū(dingir)^{ms} [. . .]</i>	
b	291	<i>¹a-na¹ x x [x x] x x i¹pu-uš¹ x[. . .]</i>	
b	292	<i>[.] ¹a-na¹ qī-š¹-tīm i-x[. . .]</i>	
b	293	<i>[.] ¹i¹-nam-du-¹ú¹ [. . .]</i>	
b	294	<i>[.] ¹AN¹ [. . .]</i>	

260 f: tu-ra-ḫi u bu-lum nam-maš-šá-e 262-3 K₁ in one line 265 b om. aššu b: ḫad-d[i-269 b: ki-ma 270 K₁: [ma-ti-m]a 273 b: tuh-ḫu 275 b: ú šá-a-šú gim né-bé-[ḫi

260	deer, ibex, the animals and game of the wild,
261	to eat their meat and flay their pelts.
262	May they bar the gate of sorrow,
263	may [they seal its doorway] with bitumen and asphalt!
264	Because of me [they] shall not [. . .] the dancing,
265	because of ¹¹ me, happy and carefree, they will . . . [. . .]'
266	Ūta-napišti spoke to him, to [Gilgameš:]
267	'Why, Gilgameš, do you constantly [chase] sorrow?
268	You, who are [built] from the flesh of gods and men,
269	whom they [made] like your father and your mother!
270	Did [you] ever, Gilgameš, [. . .] to the fool?
271	They placed a throne in the assembly and [told you,] "Sit!"
272	What is given to the fool is [beer] sludge instead of [. . .] ghee,
273	[he chews] bran and grist instead of [. . .]
274	He is clad in a mašḫandu-garment, instead of [. . .],
275	instead of a belt, ¹² a cord of [. . .]
276	Because he has no advisers [. . .],
277	(because) he has no words of counsel [.],
278	have thought for him, Gilgameš, [.],
279	[. . .] their master, as many as [.]
280	[.],
281	[. . .] the moon and the gods [of the night . . .]
282	[At] night the moon travels [.],
283	the gods stay awake and [.]
284	Wakeful, unsleeping, [.],
285	from olden times it is established [.]
286	Now consider [.]
287	your aid . . . [.]
288	If, Gilgameš, the temples of the gods [. . .] provisioner,
289	the temples of the goddesses . . . [. . .]
290	They [. . .] . . . , the gods [. . .]
291	for . . . [. . .] he made [. . .]
292	[.] for a gift he [. . .]
293	[.] they will throw down [. . .]'

Short lacuna?

¹¹ So MS K; MS b omits 'because of'.¹² So MS K; MS b: 'and him, instead of a belt, [. . .]'.

The text of MS b breaks off here. About 17 lines of tablet are missing between the end of MS K col. v at l. 277 and its resumption in col. vi, into which must be fitted MS b v 19'-35' and MS f vi 1'-4'. Since MS K is now less constrained for space it is unlikely to have doubled up many lines of poetry, and it is probable that we must assume there to be an overlap between the fragmentary end of MS b col. v and the equally poorly preserved first extant lines of MS f col. vi.

- f 292' [.] x x
 f 293' [.] k]ar-ši-šú¹
 f 294' [.]x za-¹ni-na?¹
 f 295 [.]x a-me-lu-¹ti¹
 K₃f 296 [x (x) x i]l-qu-¹ú a¹na ši-im-ti-šú
 K₃f 297 [at-ta? t]a-ad-da-li-ip mi-na-a ta-¹al-qu¹
 K₃f 298 [ina d]a-la-pi tu-un-na-¹h[a ra-man-ka?]
 K₃f 299 [šir'anī(sa)^{mes}-ka ni-is-sa-t[a] tu-mál-¹la¹
 K₃f 300 ru-qu-tu tu-qar-r[a-ab] ūmī(u₄)^{mes}-ka
 K₃f 301 a-me-lu-tum šá kīma(gim) qanē(gi) a-pi ha-ši-pi {x} šum-šú
 K₃f 302 e¹-la dam-qa ardata(ki.sikil)^a da-me-eq-tum :
 K₃f 303 ur-[ru-hiš? . . .]-šú-nu-ma i-šal-lal mu-ti
 K₃f 304 [ul ma¹-am-ma mu-ú-tu im-mar :
 K₃f 305 ul ma-am-m[a ša mu-ti i]m-¹mar¹ pa-ni-šú
 K₃f 306 [ul ma-am-ma¹ ša mu-ti ri¹g-¹ma-šú¹ [i-šem-me]
 K₃f 307 ag-gu¹ mu-tum¹ ha-ši-pi amēlu(lú)-ut-tim
 K₃f 308 [im-ma¹-ti-ma ni-ip-pu-šá bīta(é) :
 K₃f 309 im-ma-ti-ma ni-qan-¹na-nu¹ qin-nu
 K₃f 310 [im¹-ma-ti-ma a¹h¹hū(šeš)^{mes} i-zu-uz-[zu]
 K₃bf 311 [im¹-ma-ti-ma ze-ru-tum i-ba-āš-ši ina¹ māti(kur)?¹
 K₃bf 312 im-ma-ti-ma nāru(id) iš-šá-a mīla(illu) ub-lu
 K₃bf 313 ku-li-li(iq)-qé-lep-pa-a ina nāri(id)
 K₃bf 314 pa-nu-šá i-na-a¹-¹ta-lu pa-an^d šamši(utu)^š
 K₃bf 315 ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma ul i-ba-āš-ši mīm-ma
 K₃bf 316 šal-lu ú mi-tum ki-i pī(ka) a-ha-meš-ma
 K₃bf 317 šá mu-ti ul iš-ši-ru ša-lam-šú
 K₃ 318 lullū(lú.u₁₈.lu)^d amēlu(lú) e-dil : ul-tu ik-ru-bu-[x x]
 bf lullū(lú.u₁₈.lu)^a mītu(lú.ug₇) ul ik-ru-ba ka-ra-bi ina māti(kur)
 K₃bf 319 ^da-nun-na-ki ilū(dingir)^{mes} rabātu(gal)^{mes} pa¹h-ru

299 f: SAG.PA.LAGAB 301 f: k[i-ma gi 302 f: [ki¹.sikil da-m[i-iq-tum 302-3 K₃f in one line 304 f: mu-tum 304-5 K₃f in one line 306 f: šá mu-tum 306-7 f in one line 307 K₃: ha-[š-i-p] [a¹-m[e-lu-ti] 308 f: -m]a ip-p[u]-uš 308-9 K₃f in one line 310 f adds zitta(ha.la) 311 f: ze-ru-tu [i[b- b: ina] ma-r[u-ti?]/ma-t[i]m!?] 312 f: iš-šá-am-ma mi-¹la¹ ub-lu₄ b: mi-lu 312-13 f in one line 313 b: -q]é-lep-pe 314 f: -š]ú i-na-a¹-¹ta-la b: pa-ni 316 b: u mi-i-tum K₃ om. pī 317 b: mu-tu]m? 317-18 f in one line 318 f: ik-r[u-x x], no room for karābi 319-20 f in one line

When the text resumes Ūta-napišti is still speaking:

- 293' '[.] his heart,
 294' [.] provisioner,
 295 [.] mankind,
 296 [. . .] they took to his destiny.
 297 [You,] you kept toiling sleepless (and) what did you get?
 298 You are exhausting [yourself with] ceaseless toil,
 299 you are filling your sinews with pain,
 300 bringing nearer the end of your life.¹³
 301 Man is one whose progeny is snapped off like a reed in the canebrake:
 302 the comely young man, the pretty young woman,
 303 all [too soon in] their very [prime] death abducts (them).
 304 No one sees death,
 305 no one sees the face [of death,]
 306 no one [hears] the voice of death:
 307 (yet) savage death is the one who hacks man down.
 308 At some time we build¹⁴ a household,
 309 at some time we start a family,
 310 at some time the brothers divide,¹⁵
 311 at some time feuds arise in the land.¹⁶
 312 At some time the river rose (and) brought the flood,
 313 the mayfly floating on the river.
 314 Its countenance was gazing on the face of the sun,
 315 then all of a sudden nothing was there!
 316 The abducted and the dead, how alike they are!
 317 They cannot draw the picture of death.
 318 The dead do not greet man in the land.¹⁷
 319 The Anunnaki, the great gods, were in assembly,

¹³ Lit. 'your distant days'.

¹⁴ So MS K; MS f, in error: 'he builds'.

¹⁵ i.e. the paternal estate. So MS K; MS f is more explicit, reading: '[divide] shares'.

¹⁶ So MS f; MS b may read: 'in "sonship"', i.e., among the heirs.

¹⁷ So MSS bf; MS K, in two lines, reads: 'Mortal man is imprisoned. After they blessed [me].'

- K₃ 320 ^dma-am-me-tum ba-na-at šim-ti itti(ki)-šú-nu ši-ma-tú i-ši[m-ma]
 bf ^dma^l-mi ba-na-at šim-^lti^l-šú-nu^l i-šim^l-me
 K₃bf 321 iš-tak-nu mu-ta u ba-la-^la
 K₃bf 322 šá mu-ti ul ud-du-ú ūmī(u₄)^{mes}-šú K₃bf
 K₃bf XI 1 ^dGIŠ-gim-maš ana šá-šú-ma izakkara(mu)^m ana UD-napišti(zi) ru-qi

320 b: š]m^l-ti-šú^l 321 b: i]l-ta-kan mu-t[i bf: ba-]a-^ltu 321-2 f in one line 322 bf:
 mu-ú-tú bf add šá-niš ul-te-du-ú XI 1 b: ana, mu^{dr}, UD-zi^{am} f: mu^d]’, ^mUD-zi sud

- 320 Mammītum, who creates destiny, made a decree with them:¹⁸
 321 death and life they¹⁹ did establish,
 322 the day of death they did not reveal.²⁰
 XI 1 Gilgameš spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away.

¹⁸ So MS K; MSS bf read: ‘Mammītum, who creates their (MS b: his) destiny, made a decree.’

¹⁹ So MS K; MS b: ‘she’.

²⁰ So MS K; MSS bf append a scribal note: ‘alternatively “they did (not) make known”’.

TABLET XI

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
C	K 2252 + 2602 + 3321 + 4486 + Sm 1881 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 56 and p. 124, bottom (unnumbered joining fragment): C 1929 British Museum, <i>The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (ed. C. J. Gadd), p. 32: P (rev. only)	118–23
	i 1–19, 54–57 ii 58–63, 70–3, 80–5, 92–108 iii 113–27, 129–164	iv 165–219 v 221–35, 240–278 vi 279–328, colophon
J ₁	K 3375 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 57: C 1929 British Museum, <i>The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (ed. C. J. Gadd), p. 38: P (col. iv only) 1966 R. D. Barnett, <i>Illustrations of Old Testament History</i> , p. 10: P (rev. only) 1971 E. Sollberger, <i>The Babylonian Legend of the Flood</i> , pp. 34–5: P 1990 H. McCall, <i>Mesopotamian Myths</i> , p. 20: P (obv. only) 1995 D. Collon, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Art</i> , p. 30: P (rev. only)	124–7
J ₂	Rm 616 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 59: C	124
	i 1–23 (J ₂) ii 56–107 (J ₁) iii 110–166 (J ₁)	iv 167–229 (J ₁) v 230–84 (J ₁) vi not extant
T ₁	K 7752 + 81-2-4, 245 + 296 + 460 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 64 (81-2-4, 296), 67 (K 7752): C 1893 P. Haupt, 'On a modern reproduction of the eleventh tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic and a new fragment of the Chaldean account of the Deluge', <i>PAOS</i> April 1893, p. xi (81-2-4, 460): C	128–30
T ₂	Sm 2131 + 2196 + Rm II 383 + 390 + 82-5-22, 316 1883 P. Haupt, <i>Die akkadische Sprache</i> , p. xvi (Rm II 383 and 390 only): C 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> nos. 61 (Rm II 390), 62 (Rm II 383), 63 (82-5-22, 316), 68 (Sm 2196): C 1984 J. Gardner and J. Maier, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 276–7: P	128, 129, 131
	i 29–64 (T ₂) ii 65–105 (T ₁₋₂), 108–123 (T ₂) iii 124–50 (T ₁)	iv 224–245 (T ₁) v 246–70 (T ₂) vi 298–308, 315–19 (T ₂)

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
W ₁	K 8517 + 8518 + 8569 + 8593 + 8595 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 58 (lacking K 8569): C 1984 J. Gardner and J. Maier, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , p. 293: P (obv. only) 1989 M. Gallery Kovacs, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> , p. xviii: P (obv. only) 1992 J. Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i> , pp. 84 f., fig. 3: P (obv. only)	132–6
W ₂	K 8594 + 21502 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> , p. 117 unnumbered (now K 8594) and no. 65 (now K 21052), unjoined: C	136
W ₃	K 17343	136
W ₄	(Delitzsch B) 1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 66: C	136
	i 1–41 (W ₁) ii 57–101 (W ₁) iii 143–62 (W ₂ , W ₄), 165–171 (W ₃)	iv not extant v 236–48, 254–278 (W ₁) vi 299–328, colophon (W ₁)
<i>Aššur</i>		
b	VAT 10586 2001 S. M. Maul, 'Neue Textvertreter der elften Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>MDOG</i> 133, pp. 33–50: CPT Tr obv. 181–202 rev. 242–74	137
c ₁	VAT 11000 1999 S. M. Maul, 'Wer baute die babylonische Arche? – Ein neues Fragment der mesopotamischen Sintfluterzählung aus Assur', <i>MDOG</i> 131, pp. 155–62: CPT Tr	138, 139
c ₂	VAT 11087 1999 <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 157–8, Figs. 2–3: P	138, 139
c ₃	VAT 11294 2001 S. M. Maul, 'Neue Textvertreter der elften Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos', <i>MDOG</i> 133, pp. 33–50: CPT Tr	138, 139
	i 45–55 (c ₁) ii unplaced traces (c ₃) iii 133–53 (c ₃), 163–171 (c ₂)	iv 172–85 (c ₂) v not extant vi not extant
<i>Nimrud</i>		
z	IM 67564 (ND 4381) 1996 J. A. Black, <i>CTNIV</i> no. 153: C	33
	i // X 63–112 ii // X 196–230	v variant text, see Chapter 7 vi // 304–328?

MS	Museum number	Plate
	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions	
	Lines preserved on obverse	Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Babylon</i>		
j	BM 35380	140, 141
	1881 P. Haupt, <i>Die keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht</i> (Leipzig), frontispiece: C	
	1891 P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 60: C	
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 35: C	
	i 5–29	v 219–36
	ii 56–76 or 77	vi 289–319

Selected composite cuneiform texts and editions

1873	G. Smith, 'The Chaldean account of the Deluge', <i>TSBA</i> 2, pp. 213–34	tr
1874	G. Smith, 'The eleventh tablet of the Izdubar legends: the Chaldean account of the Deluge', <i>TSBA</i> 3, pp. 534–87: C (lacking the unnumbered fragment at the top of col. v), J ₁ , W ₁ (K 8517 + 8518 only), {DT 42 = Atra-ḥasīs MS W}	C T Tr

Text

CJ ₂ K ₃ W ₁ bf	1	^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^m a-na ^m UD-napišti(zi) ru-ú-qi
CJ ₂ W ₁	2	a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kúm-ma ^m UD-napišti(zi)
CJ ₂ W ₁	3	mí-na-tu-ka ul šá-na-a ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
CJ ₂ W ₁	4	ù at-ta ul šá-na-ta ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	5	[gu-um-mur-ka] lib-bi ana e-peš tu-qu-un-ti
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	6	[x]x a-ḫi ¹ na-da ¹ -at e-lu še-ri-ka
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	7	[at-t]a ¹ ki-ki-i ¹ ta-az-ziz-ma ina puḫur(ukkin) ilī(dingir) ^m ba-la-ṭa téš-ú
		CJWj
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	8	[^m U]D-napišti(zi) ^{nm} ana šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^m a-na ^d GIŠ-gim-maš
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	9	lu-up-te-ka ^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-mat ni-šir-ti
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	10	ù pi-riš-ti šá ilī(dingir) ^m ka-a-šá lu-uq-bi-ka
CJ ₂ W ₁ j	11	[^u]šú-ri-ṭp-pak ālu(uru) šá ti-du-šu at-ta

1 b: ana, mu^{dr} ana UD-zi^{nm} K₃: ana UD-zi ru-qi f: mu^q ana ^mUD-zi sud 2 W₁: ^mUD-zi^{im}
 3 W₁: ia-a-ti-m[a 4 W₁: ia-šī-ma 5 W₁: [gim-m]u[r]¹ku¹, a-na, t[u-q]u-un-tú 6 W₁:
 n]a¹da¹-at-ta e-li 7 W₁: tēš-ú¹-u¹, j: téš-ú: 8 J₂: a-n]a šá-šu [mu]¹ana 8–9 J₂ in one line
 10 J₂: pi-r]iš-ta C: a-n]a ka-a-šá 11 J₂: šu]¹ú¹-ri-pak j: -r]i-pak Cj: ti-du-šu 11–12 W₁
 in one line

1875	G. Smith, <i>IV R</i> ¹ , pls. 50–1: as Smith 1874, but with less of C (lacking K 2252, 4486, Sm 1881 and possibly some further unnumbered fragments)	C
1876	G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 263–78: revision of Smith 1874	Tr
1885	F. Delitzsch, <i>AL</i> ³ , pp. 101–9: C (as Smith 1874), J ₁ , J ₂ , T ₁ (K 7752 only), T ₂ (lacking Sm 2131), W ₁ (lacking K 8569), W ₂ , W ₄ , j	C
1891	P. Haupt, <i>Nimrodepos</i> no. 70: as Delitzsch 1885, with the addition of the unnumbered fragment of C col. v and 81–2–4, 296 (part of T ₁)	C
1891	T. G. Pinches, <i>IV R</i> ² , pls. 43–4: as Haupt 1891	C
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI</i> /1, pp. 228–55: as Haupt 1891	T Tr
1922	A. T. Clay, <i>YORV</i> /3, pp. 72–81: as Haupt 1891, ll. 1–205 only	tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamesh</i> , pp. 60–7, pls. 44–54: C, J ₁ , J ₂ , T ₁ , T ₂ , W ₁ (lacking K 8569), W ₂ , W ₄ , j, {K 16024}	CT
1953	T. Bauer, <i>Akkadische Lesestücke</i> I, pp. 38–45: Bauer's autograph version of Thompson's cuneiform text, ll. 1–47, 56–76, 80–296, 300–1 only	c
1963	R. Borger, <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke</i> II, pp. 94–100, III, pls. 60–6: reprint of Thompson's cuneiform text, ll. 1–196 only; 2nd edn (1994) I, pp. 105–11, II, pp. 344–50	ct
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 57–63, 109–13: C, J ₁ , J ₂ , T ₁ , T ₂ , W ₁ (lacking K 8569), W ₂ , j	CT

Translation

1	Gilgamesh spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away:
2	'As I look at you, Ūta-napišti,
3	your form is not different, you are just like me,
4	you are not different at all, you are just like me.
5	I was fully intent on doing battle with you,
6	[but] in your presence my hand is stayed. ¹
7	How was it you attended the gods' assembly, and found life?
8	Ūta-napišti spoke to him, to Gilgamesh:
9	'I will disclose to you, Gilgamesh, a secret matter,
10	and I will tell you a mystery of the gods.
11	The city of Šuruppak—a city you yourself know,

¹ Lit. 'my arm is cast down'.

CJ ₂ W _{1j}	12	<i>ā[lu(uru)? šā ina kišā]d(gú) id-pu-rat-ti šak-nu</i>
CW _{1j}	13	<i>[ā]u(uru) šu-ú la-bir-ma ilū(dingir)^{mes} qer-bu-¹šú¹</i>
CJ ₂ W _{1j}	14	<i>[a-n]a šā-kan a-bu-bi ub-la lib-ba-šú-nu ilū(dingir)^{mes} rabūti(gal)^{mes}</i>
CJ _{2j}	15	<i>[i]i-ma-ma abu(ad)-šú-nu^d a-num</i>
CW _{1j}	16	<i>ma-lik-šú-nu qu-ra-du^d en-lil</i>
Cj	17	<i>[g]u-za-lá-šú-nu^d nin-urta</i>
CW _{1j}	18	<i>gú-¹gal-la¹-šú-nu^d en-nu-gi</i>
CJ ₂ W _{1j}	19	<i>^dnin-ši-kū^d é-a i-ti-šú-nu ta-mi-ma</i>
J ₂ W _{1j}	20	<i>a-mat-su-nu ú-šā-an-na-a a-na ki-ik-ki-šú</i>
J _{2j}	21	<i>ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar</i>
W _{1j}	22	<i>ki-ik-ki-šú ši-me-ma i-ga-ru hi-is-sa-as</i>
J ₂ W _{1j}	23	<i>^{hi}šú-ru-up-pa-ku-ú mār(dumu) m^ubara-^dtu-tu</i>
W _{1j}	24	<i>ú-qur bīta(é) bi-ni^{gis} eleppa(má)</i>
W _{1j}	25	<i>muš-šir mešrām(níg.tuku)-ma še-²-i napšāti(zi)^{mes}</i>
W _{1j}	26	<i>[m]a-ak-ku-ru ze-er-ma na-piš-ti bul-lit</i>
W _{1j}	27	<i>[š]u-lí-ma zēr(numun) nap-šā-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na lib-bi^{gis} eleppi(má)</i>
W _{1j}	28	<i>[^{gis}]eleppu(má) šā ia-ban-nu-ši at-¹ta¹</i>
T ₂ W _{1j}	29	<i>lu-ú mīn-du-da mi-na-tu-¹šā¹</i>
T ₂ W ₁	30	<i>[l]u-ú mīn-^{hur} ru-pu-us-sa ú mu-rak-šā</i>
T ₂ W ₁	31	<i>[k]i-ma apsi(abzu) šā-a-ši šu-ul-lil-ši</i>
T ₂ W ₁	32	<i>[a]-na-ku i-de-ma azakkara(mu)^{ra} a-na^d é-a be-lí-ia</i>
T ₂ W ₁	33	<i>[am-g]ur be-lí šā taq-ba-a at-ta ki-a-am</i>
T ₂ W ₁	34	<i>[at]-ta-²-id a-na-ku ep-pu-uš</i>
T ₂ W ₁	35	<i>[ki-m]i lu-pu-ul āla(uru) um-ma-nu ú ši-bu-tum</i>
T ₂ W ₁	36	<i>[^d]é¹-a pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga)</i>
T ₂ W ₁	37	<i>i-zak-ka-ra ana ardi(ir)-šú ia-a-tú</i>
T ₂ W ₁	38	<i>¹ú¹ at-ta ki-a-am ta-qab-ba-áš-¹šú-nu-ti¹</i>
T ₂ W ₁	39	<i>[mī]n-de-ma ia-a-ši^d en-lil i-ze-er-an-ni-ma</i>
T ₂	40	<i>[u]l uš-šab ina¹ āli(uru)-[ku]-nu-ma</i>
T ₂ W ₁	41	<i>[ina] qaq-qar^d en-lil ul a-šak-ka-n[a še-p]i-ia-a-ma</i>
T ₂	42	<i>[ur-r]ad-ma ana apsi(abzu) it-ti^d é¹-a [b]e-lí-ia áš-ba-ku</i>
T ₂	43	<i>[ana k]a-a-šú-nu ú-šā-az-na-[n]ak-ku-nu-ši nu-uh-šam-ma</i>
T ₂	44	<i>[hi-šib] iššūrāti(mušen)^{mes} pu-zu-ur nūnī(ku₆)^{mes}-ma</i>
T ₂ C ₁	45	<i>i[l?-. . .] x x x x meš-ra-a e-bu-ra-am-ma</i>

12–13 J₂ in one line 13 W_{1j}: qer-bu-šú j: qer-bu-uš 14 W_{1j}: a-bu-bu 15 C: ^da-nu-um
 15–16, 17–18 J₂W_{1j} in one line 20 W_{1j}: ana 20–1 W_{1j} in one line 21 J₂: [k]i-ik-ki-š[u
 21–2 J₂ in one line 23 J₂: [š]u-ú¹-[ri- W_{1j}: [^{hi}šú-r]i-ip-pa-ku-ú 24 j: bi-nu 24–5 W_{1j}
 in one line 26 W_{1j}: [ma]-¹ak-ku¹-ra, na-¹piš¹-t[ú? 27 j: ana šā 28 j: ¹ta-ban¹-nu-šú
 28–9 T_{2j} in one line 29 j: ¹mun-du-da mi-na-tu¹-šú 31 T₂: a]p-si-i 32 T₂: a-zak-ka-
 r[a 36 W_{1j}: i]qab¹-bi 36–7 T₂W₁ in one line 37 T₂: mu[^{re} 38 W_{1j}: -šú-nu-tu
 40–1 W_{1j} in one line 41 W_{1j}: ¹a-šak-kan še-pi-i-a¹

12	<i>the [city that] is situated on the [banks] of the Euphrates—</i>
13	<i>that city was old and the gods were within it,</i>
14	<i>(when) the great gods decided to cause the Deluge.</i>
15	<i>Their father Anu took the oath,</i>
16	<i>their counsellor, the hero Enlil;</i>
17	<i>their chamberlain, Ninurta,</i>
18	<i>their inspector of waterways,² Ennugi.</i>
19	<i>With them the Prince Ea was under oath likewise,</i>
20	<i>(but) repeated their words to a reed fence:</i>
21	<i>“Reed fence, reed fence! Brick wall, brick wall!</i>
22	<i>Listen, O reed fence! Pay heed, O brick wall!</i>
23	<i>O man of Šuruppak, son of Ubār-Tutu,</i>
24	<i>demolish the house, build a boat!</i>
25	<i>Abandon riches and seek survival!</i>
26	<i>Spurn property and save life!</i>
27	<i>Put on board the boat the seed of all living creatures!</i>
28	<i>The boat that you are going to build,</i>
29	<i>her dimensions should all correspond:</i>
30	<i>her breadth and length should be the same,</i>
31	<i>cover her with a roof, like the Apsú.”</i>
32	<i>I understood and spoke to Ea, my master:</i>
33	<i>“I hereby concur, my master, with what you told me thus.</i>
34	<i>I have paid attention; I shall do it.</i>
35	<i>How should I answer the city, the crowd and elders?”</i>
36	<i>Ea opened his mouth to speak,</i>
37	<i>saying to me, his servant:</i>
38	<i>“Then also you will say to them as follows:</i>
39	<i>‘For sure Enlil has conceived a hatred of me!</i>
40	<i>I cannot dwell in your city!</i>
41	<i>I cannot tread [on] Enlil’s ground!</i>
42	<i>[I shall] go down to the Apsú, to live with Ea, my master;</i>
43	<i>he will rain down on you plenty!³</i>
44	<i>[An abundance] of birds, a riddle of fishes!</i>
45	<i>[. . .] . . . riches (at) harvest-time!</i>

² Corrupt, *gugallu* for *gallū*, ‘sheriff’.

³ Here and in ll. 46–7 the verb can also mean ‘he will see that you are provided with’.

T ₂ c ₁	46	<i>ina</i> ¹ <i>še</i> ¹ - <i>e</i> [<i>r</i>] <i>ku-uk-ki</i>	
T ₂ c ₁	47	<i>ina li-la</i> ¹ - <i>a-ti</i> <i>ú</i> ¹ - <i>ša-az-na-na-ku-nu-ši</i> <i>ša-mu-ut ki-ba-a-ti</i>	Tc ₁
T ₂ c ₁	48	<i>mim-mu-ú</i> ¹ <i>še</i> ¹ - <i>e</i> ¹ - <i>ri ina na-ma</i> ¹ - <i>a-ri</i> ¹	
T ₂ c ₁	49	<i>ana bāb</i> (ká) <i>a-tar-ḥa-s</i> [<i>iš</i>] <i>i-pa-aḥ-ḥur ma-a</i> -[<i>tum</i>]	
T ₂ c ₁	50	^{lu} <i>naggāru</i> (nagar) <i>na-ši pa-as</i> [<i>su</i>]	
T ₂ c ₁	51	^{lu} <i>atkuppu</i> (ad.KID) <i>na-ši a-b</i> [<i>a-an-šu</i>]	
c ₁	52	<i>a-ga-si-li-ga</i> -[<i>šu? na-ši? . . .</i>]	
T ₂ c ₁	53	^{lu} <i>eḫlūtu</i> (guruš) ^{mes} <i>i-x</i> [. . .]	
CT ₂ c ₁	54	<i>ši-bu-ti i</i> -[<i>zab-b</i>]i ¹ <i>lu</i> ¹ <i>pi</i> ¹ - <i>til!</i> ?- <i>ta</i> ¹	
CT ₂ c ₁	55	[<i>š</i>] <i>á-ru-u na-š</i> ¹ <i>ki</i> <i>kup-ra</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ j	56	<i>lap-nu x</i> [. . . <i>ḫi-š</i>] <i>ih-tu ub-la</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁	57	<i>ina ḥa-an-ši u₄-mi</i> [<i>a</i>]t- <i>ta-di bu-na-ša</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	58	<i>iki</i> (1.iku) <i>kippat</i> (gúr)- <i>sa</i> 10 <i>nindanā</i> (nindan) ^{ma.ám} <i>ša-q-qa-a igārātu</i> (é.gar _s) ^{mes} - <i>ša</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	59	10 <i>nindanā</i> (nindan) ^{ma.ám} <i>im-ta-ḫir ki-bir muḫ-ḫi-ša</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	60	<i>ad-di la-an</i> -[<i>ša</i>] <i>ša-a-ši e-šir-ši</i>	
CT ₂ W ₁ j	61	<i>ur-tag-gi-ib-ši a-na</i> 6- <i>šu</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	62	[<i>a</i>]p- <i>ta-ra-a</i> [<i>s-s</i>]u <i>a-na</i> 7- <i>šu</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	63	<i>qer-bi-is-sú ap-ta-ra-as a-na</i> 9- <i>šu</i>	
J ₁ T ₂ W ₁ j	64	^{es} <i>sikkāt</i> (gag) ^{mes} <i>mê</i> (a) ^{mes} <i>ina qabl</i> (murub ₄)- <i>ša lu-ú am</i> ¹ - <i>ḥas</i> ¹	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	65	<i>a-mur pa-ri-su</i> <i>ú ḫi-ših-tum ad</i> ¹ - <i>di</i> ¹	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	66	3 <i>šár ku-up-ri at-ta-bak ana ki-i-ri</i>	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	67	3 <i>šár esir</i> (.)x[.] <i>a-na lib-bi</i>	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	68	3 <i>šár šābū</i> (érin) ^{mes} <i>na-ás</i> ^{es} <i>su-us-su-ul ša i-zab-bi-lu šamnu</i> (i.giš)	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	69	<i>e-zu-ub šár šamni</i> (i.giš) ¹ <i>ša i</i> ¹ - <i>ku-lu ni-iq-qu</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	70	2 <i>šár šamni</i> (i.giš) [<i>ša</i>] <i>ú-pa-az-zi-ru</i> ^{lu} <i>malāḫu</i> (má.laḫ ₄)	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	71	<i>a-na</i> ¹ <i>um</i> ¹ - <i>m</i> [<i>an-na-ti</i>] <i>uṭ-tāb-bi-ih alpī</i> (gu ₄) ^{mes}	
CJ ₁ T ₁ j	72	<i>āš-gi-iš immerī</i> (udu.níta) ^{mes} <i>u₄-mi-šam-ma</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	73	<i>si-ri-š</i> [u <i>ku-ru</i>]- <i>un-nu šamna</i> (i.giš) <i>ú karāna</i> (geštin)	
J ₁ T ₁ j	74	<i>um-ma-ni</i> [<i>i āš-qī</i>] <i>ki-ma mē</i> (a) ^{mes} <i>nārim</i> (id)- <i>ma</i>	
T ₁	74a	[.]- <i>ri</i> :	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	75	<i>i-sin-na ip-pu-šu ki-i u₄-mi a-ki-tim-ma</i>	
J ₁ T ₁ j	76	^d <i>šam</i> [<i>šu</i> (utu) <i>ina a-še-e? ana?</i>] <i>piš-ša-ti qa-ti ad-di</i>	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	77	[<i>la-a</i>]m ^d <i>šamši</i> (utu) <i>ra-bé-e</i> ^{es} <i>eleppu</i> (má) <i>gam-rat</i>	

52-3 T₂ in one line 53 C om. ^{lu} 53-4 C in one line, c₁ in reverse order 55 C: *šar-ru-ú* 56 j: *lap-ni* 56-7 j in one line 57 W₁: [*u₄-mē*] 59 C: *nindan*^{ám} 60 W₁: *la-an-ši* 61 W₁: 6-*šu* 61-2 J₁W₁ in one line 64 J₁T₂: [*lu*] T₂: *am-ḥas-si* 65 J₁: *ḫi-ših-ti* 66 j: 6 *šár* J₁: *a-n*[*a*] gir₄ 66-7 W₁ in one line 68 T₁: *su-us-su-l*i, i+giš 69 j: *e-zi-i*[*b*] 70 j: 2 *šár*ú-[*pazzir*] 71 J₁: *érin*?^{me}?² 71-2 T₁ in one line 73 T₁: i+giš u 74-5 W₁ in one line 74a-5 T₁ in one line 75 W₁: *ip-pu-š*u? J₁: *ki-ma* 76-7, 78-9 W₁ in one line

46	In the morning he will rain down on you bread-cakes,
47	in the evening, a torrent of wheat.’”
48	At the very first light of dawn,
49	the population began assembling at Atra-ḥasīs’s gate.
50	The carpenter was carrying [his] axe,
51	the reed-worker was carrying [his] stone,
52	[. . . was carrying his] <i>agasilikku</i> axe.
53	The young men were . . . [. . .]
54	the old men were bearing rope of palm-fibre. ⁴
55	The rich man was carrying bitumen,
56	the pauper brought the [. . .] tackle.
57	On the fifth day I set in place her (outer) surface:
58	one “acre” was her area, ⁵ ten rods each her sides stood high,
59	ten rods each, the edges of her top were equal.
60	I set in place her body, I drew up her design:
61	I gave her six decks,
62	I divided her into seven parts.
63	I divided her interior into nine,
64	I struck ⁶ the water pegs into her belly.
65	I found a punting-pole and put the tackle in place.
66	Three ⁷ times a myriad ⁸ (buckets) of bitumen I poured into the furnace,
67	three times a myriad of asphalt [.] into (it),
68	three times a myriad was the oil that the workforce of porters was fetching:
69	apart from the myriad of oil that <i>libation</i> consumed,
70	there were two myriads of oil [that] the shipwright stowed away.
71	For the workmen I butchered oxen,
72	every day I slaughtered sheep.
73	Beer, ale, oil and wine
74	[I gave my] workforce [to drink], like the waters of a very river! ⁹
75	They were celebrating as on the feast-days of the New Year itself!
76	At sun-[rise to] the oiling I set my hand;
77	[before] sundown the boat was finished.

⁴ So MSS CT; MS c transposes ll. 53-4.

⁵ Lit. ‘circumference’. However, the word translated ‘acre’ (*ikū*) was a measure not of length but of surface area, a square with sides of ten ‘rods’. In modern terms this is approximately 0.36 or 0.81 hectare, depending on whether the larger or smaller cubit-standard was employed.

⁶ So MS J; MS T: ‘I struck for her’.

⁷ So MS W; MS j: ‘six’.

⁸ ‘Myriad’ in ll. 66-70 is literally ‘3600’, a round number not to be taken at face value.

⁹ A single manuscript (T) has an additional line here (74a), which is entirely lost except for the last sign.

J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	78	[.]x šup-šu-qu-ma	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	79	ḡi-ir ^l tarkullī(má.mug!) ^{mes} nit ^l -tab-ba-lu e-liš u šap-liš	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	80	[a-di? . . . il-]i-ku šī-ni-pat-su	CTW
CJ ₁ W ₁	81	[mim-ma i-šu-ú] ^l e-še ^l -en-ši	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	82	mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši kaspa(kù.babbar)	
CJ ₁ W ₁	83	ḡmim-ma i ^l -š[u-ú] ^l e-še-en-ši hurāša(kù.sig ₁₇)	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	84	mim-ma i-š[u-ú e-še-e]n-ši zēr(numun) napšāti(zi) ^{mes} ka-la-ma	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	85	uš-te-lī a-[na] libbi(šāl) ^{es} eleppi(má) ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ta	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	86	bu-ul šēr[i(edin)] ^l ú ^l -ma-am šēri(edin) ḡmārī(dumu) ^{mes} um-ma-a-ni ka-lī-šū-nu ú-še-lī	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	87	a-dan ^l na ^l d šamaš(utu) iš-ku-nam-ma	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	88	ina še-er ku-u[k-k]i ina li-la-a-ti ú-šā-az-na-an-nu šā-mu-ut ki-ba-a-ti	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	89	e-ru-ub ana [lī]b-bi ^{es} eleppim(má)-ma pi-ḡe bāb(ká)-ka	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	90	a-dan-nu šu-ú ik-tal-da	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	91	ina še-er ku-u[k-k]i ina li-la-a-ti ú-šā-az-na-na šā-mu-ut ki-bā-a-ti	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	92	šā u ₄ -mi at ^l ta ^l -tal bu-na-šu	
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	93	u ₄ -mu a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḡ-ta i-ši	
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	94	e-ru-ub ana lib-bi ^{es} eleppim(má)-ma ap-te-ḡe ba-a-bi	
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	95	a-na pe-ḡi-i šā ^{es} eleppi(má) ^m pu-zu-ur ^d entil(kur.gal) ^{lu} malāḡi(ma.laḡ ₄)	
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	96	ēkalla(ē.gal) at-ta-din a-di bu-še-e-šū	CTW
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	97	mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri	
CJ ₁ T ₁ T ₂ W ₁	98	i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šamē(an) ^e ur-pa-tum ša-lim-tum	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁	99	^d adad(iškur) ina lib-bi-šā ir-tam-ma-am-ma	
CJ ₁ W ₁	100	^d šullat u ^d ḡaniš il-la-ku ina maḡ-ri	
CJ ₁ T ₂ W ₁	101	il-la-ku guzalū(gu.za.lá) ^{mes} šadū(kur) ^d u ma-a-tum	
CJ ₁	102	^l tar ^l -kul-li ^d ēr-ra-kal i-na-as-saḡ	
CJ ₁ T ₂	103	il-lak ^d nin ^l -urta ^l mi-iḡ-ri ú-šar-di	
CJ ₁	104	^d a-nun-na-ki iš-šū-ú di-pa-ra-a-ti	
CJ ₁ T ₂	105	ina nam-ri-ir-ri-šū-nu ú-ḡa-am-ma-tu ma-a-tum	
CJ ₁	106	šā ^d adad(iškur) šu-ḡar-ra-as ^l su ^l i-ba- ² ú šamē(an) ^e	
CJ ₁	107	[mi]m-ma nam-ru ana ^l da ^l -[² ú]m-[mat] ut-ter-ru	
CT ₂	108	[ir-ḡ]i-iš māta(kur) kīma(gim) alp[i(gu ₄) . . .]x iḡ-p[i-šā]	

81-2 J₁T₁W₁ in one line 82 T₁: i-še-en-ši 83-4 T₁W₁ in one line 85 W₁:^lú^l T₁: sa-
la]-ti-ia 86 W₁: [um^l-ma-nu^l ka-lī-šū^l-n[u 88 W₁: ú^l-šā-az-na-nu šā-mu-t[u 89 W₁:
pi-ḡe^{es}má 89-90 W₁ in one line 91 W₁: i-za-an-na-nu šā-mu-tu 92-3 W₁ in one line
93 T₁: i-šū 94 W₁: [a^l-na^{es}má-ma ap^lti-ḡi^l 95 W₁: pe-ḡe^le^l, a-na pu-zu-(ur)^dkur^lgal
96 J₁: at-ta-di-i]n 98 W₁: u[l-tu i-šid 99 W₁: iš/ir-tag]^dgu-um^l 99-100 T₂W₁ in one
line 101 W₁: gu-za-lu]^dú^l 101-2 T₂ in one line 102 J₁: ^dēr-ra-g]al C: ú-n[^la-as-saḡ]
103 C: mi-iḡ-ra 103-4 T₂ in one line 106 C: i-ba-²ú^l 107 J₁: da-²um-ma-ē]i?
108 T₂: gim x[

78	[.] were very difficult.
79	Poles for the slipway we kept moving from back to front,
80	[untū] two-thirds of it went [. . .]
81	[Everything I had] I loaded aboard it,
82	I loaded aboard it whatever silver I had,
83	I loaded aboard it whatever gold I had,
84	I loaded aboard it whatever seed I had of living things, each and every one.
85	All my kith and kin I sent aboard the boat,
86	I sent aboard animals of the wild, creatures of the wild, persons of every skill and craft.
87	Šamaš had set me a deadline—
88	“In the morning he will rain down bread-cakes, in the evening, a torrent of wheat.
89	Go into the boat and seal your hatch!” ¹⁰ —
90	that time had arrived.
91	“In the morning he will rain down ¹¹ bread-cakes, in the evening, a torrent of wheat.”
92	I watched the look of the weather:
93	the weather was frightening to behold;
94	I went into the boat and sealed my hatch.
95	To the man who sealed the boat, the shipwright Puzur-Enlil, ¹²
96	I gave the palace with all its goods.
97	At the very first light of dawn—
98	there came up from the horizon a black cloud,
99	within it Adad did bellow continually. ¹³
100	Šullat and Ḥaniš were going at the fore,
101	“throne-bearers” travelling over mountain and land.
102	Errakal was ripping out the mooring-poles;
103	Ninurta, going (by), made the weirs ¹⁴ overflow.
104	The Anunnaki bore torches aloft,
105	setting the land aglow with their brilliance.
106	The still calm of the Storm God passed across the sky,
107	all that was bright was turned into gloom.
108	Like an ox [he] trampled the land, he smashed [it like a pot],

¹⁰ So MSS JT; MS W: ‘seal your boat!’

¹¹ So MS J; MS W: ‘it will rain’.

¹² So MS C; MS W: ‘to the shipwright Puzur-Enlil, in return for sealing the boat’.

¹³ So MS J; MS W: ‘kept thundering’.

¹⁴ So MS J; MS C: ‘weir’.

T ₂	109	1 ^l -en u ₄ -ma me-ḥ[u-ú]
J ₁ T ₂	110	ḥa-an-ṭiš i-zi-qam-ma x[. . .]-ši šadâ(kur) ^a 1 ^l -[bu-bu?]
J ₁ T ₂	111	ki-ma qab-li eli(ugu) nišī(ùg) ^{mes} ú-ba-'ú [ka-šú-šú]
J ₁ T ₂	112	ul im-mar a-ḥu a-ḥa-šú
CJ ₁ T ₂	113	ul ú-ta-ad-da-a nišū(ùg) ^{mes} ina ^r ka ^l -r[a-ši]
CJ ₁ T ₂	114	ilū(dingir) ^{mes} ip-tal-ḥu a-bu-ba-am-ma
CJ ₁ T ₂	115	it-te-eh-su i-te-lu-ú ana samē(an) ^e šá ^d a-nim
CJ ₁ T ₂	116	ilū(dingir) ^{mes} ki-ma kalbi(ur.gi-) kun-nu-nu ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-šu
CJ ₁ T ₂	117	i-šas-si ^d iš-tar [k]i-ma a-lit-ti
CJ ₁ T ₂	118	ú-nam-bi bēlet-ilī(dingir.mah) ṭa-bat rig-ma
CJ ₁ T ₂	119	u ₄ -mu ul-lu-ú a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi lu-ú i-tur-ma
CJ ₁ T ₂	120	áš-šú a-na-ku ina pu-ḥur ilī(dingir) ^{mes} aq-bu-ú ^f lemutta(ḥul)
CJ ₁ T ₂	121	ki-i aq-bi ina pu-ḥur ilī(dingir) ^{mes} flemutta(ḥul)
CJ ₁ T ₂	122	ana ḥul-lu-uq nišī(ùg) ^{mes} -ia qab-la aq-bi-ma
CJ ₁ T ₂	123	ana-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-ú-a-a-ma
CJ ₁ T ₁	124	ki-i māri(dumu) ^{mes} nūmī(ku ₆) ^{ba} ú-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma
CJ ₁ T ₁	125	ilū(dingir) ^{mes} šu-ut ^d a-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-šá
CJ ₁	126	ilū(dingir) ^{mes} aš-ru aš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti
T ₁		ina nu-ru-ub ni-is ^r sa-ti ba ^r k[u-ú it-ti-šá?]
CJ ₁ T ₁	127	šab-ba šap-ta-šú-nu ^r le-qa ^r -a bu-uh-re-e-ti
J ₁ T ₁	128	6 ur-ri ú ^r 7 ^r mu-šá-a-ti
CT ₁	129	1 ^r il-lak šá ^r a ^r -ru ra-a-du mi-ḥu-ú a-b[u-bu . . .]
J ₁		il-lak šá-a-ru a-bu ^r bu me ^r ḥu-ú i-sap-pan māta(kur)
CJ ₁ T ₁	130	7-ú u ₄ ^r mu ina ka ^r šá-dí:
CT ₁	131	it-ta-raq me-ḥu-ú [. . .]
J ₁		1 ^r te?-riq ^r šú-ú a-bu-bu qab-la
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	132	šá im-tah-šu ki-ma ḥa-a-a-al-ti ¹³³ i-nu-uh ^r tâmtu(a.ab.ba)
CJ ₁ T ₁	133	uš-ḥa-ri-ir im-ḥul-lu a-bu-bu tk-la
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	134	ap-pal-sa-am-ma u ₄ -ma šá-kin qu-lu
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	135	ú kul-lat te-né-še-e-ti i-tu-ra a-na ṭi-iṭ-ti

112 T₂: a-ḥa-šú 112-13 CJ₁T₂ in one line 113 J₁: ina a[n^r]/a[n-ti] 114 J₁: dingir.
dingir T₂: ip-la-ḥu 115 T₂: it-tah-su 116 T₂: gim 117 J₁: i^diš-tar ma-li-ti 118
T₂: ú-nam-ba^dbe-let-di[ngir^{mes} 120 J₁: šá a-na^r-ku ina ma-ḥar dingir.dingir 121 J₁: ma-ḥar
dingir.dingir 123 J₁: a-na-ku-[u]m-ma 125 J₁: dingir.dingir 127 J₁: kât-ma šap-ta-šú-
nu 128 J₁: ur-ra ú mu-šá-a-ti 130 J₁: se-bu-ú, ka-šá-a^rdí^r C: 1^rka-šá^r-[a]^rdu^r 130-1
CJ₁T₁ in one line 131 T₁: m[i-ḥu-ú 132 C: ša CT₁: gim 133 J₁: uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma im-ú-
lu C: 1^rik^r-lu 134 J₁: ap-pa-al-sa ta-ma-ta 135 CT₁c₃: u

109	for one day ¹⁵ the gale [.]
110	Quickly it blew and the [Deluge . . .] the east wind,
111	like a battle [the cataclysm] passed(!) over the people.
112	One person could not see another,
113	nor people recognize each other in the destruction. ¹⁶
114	Even the gods took fright at the Deluge!
115	They withdrew, they went up to the heaven of Anu.
116	The gods were curled up like dogs, lying out in the open.
117	The goddess, screaming like a woman in childbirth, ¹⁷
118	Bēlet-ilī, the sweet-voiced, wailed ¹⁸ aloud:
119	“Indeed the past ¹⁹ has truly turned to clay,
120	because ²⁰ I spoke evil in the assembly ²¹ of the gods.
121	How was it I spoke evil in the assembly ²¹ of the gods,
122	(and) declared a war to destroy my people?
123	It is I that give birth (to them)! They are my people!
124	(Now) like so many fish they fill the sea!”
125	The gods, the Anunnaki, were weeping with her,
126	wet-faced with sorrow, they were weeping [with her;] ²²
127	their lips were parched, ²³ being stricken with fever.
128	For six days and seven nights, ²⁴
129	was blowing the wind, the downpour, the gale, the Deluge [laying flat the land.] ²⁵
130	When the seventh day arrived,
131	the gale relented, [. . .] ²⁶
	¹³³ The sea grew calm, ¹³² that had fought like a woman in labour,
133	the tempest grew still, ²⁷ the Deluge ended.
134	I looked at the weather, and there was quiet, ²⁸
135	but all the people had turned to clay.

¹⁵ Or, ‘on the first day’.

¹⁶ So MS C; MSJ: ‘in the rain’, or alternatively, ‘the people could not be recognized from heaven’.

¹⁷ So MS C; MSJ: ‘screaming at the top of her voice’.

¹⁸ So MS J; MST: ‘was wailing’.

¹⁹ Lit. ‘that day’.

²⁰ So MS T; MS J: ‘regarding which’.

²¹ So MS T; MS J: ‘presence’.

²² So MS T; MS J: ‘the gods were humble, sitting in tears’.

²³ So MS T; MS J: ‘closed’.

²⁴ So MS T; MS J: ‘for six days and nights’.

²⁵ So MSS CT; MS J: ‘was blowing the wind, the Deluge, the gale laying flat the land’.

²⁶ So MSS CT; MS J: ‘it was relenting, the Deluge, in respect of battle’.

²⁷ So MSS CT; MS J: ‘grew still and’.

²⁸ So MSS CT; MS J: ‘I looked at the sea, there was quiet’.

CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	136	<i>ki-ma ú-ri mit-ḥu-rat ú-šal-lu</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	137	<i>ap-ti nap-pa-šá-am-ma šētu(ud.da) im-ta-qut eli(ugu) dūr(bād)</i> <i>ap-pi-ia</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	138	<i>uk-tam-mi-is-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	139	<i>eli(ugu) dūr(bād) ap-pi-ia il-la-ka di-ma-a-a</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	140	<i>ap-pa-li-is kib-ra-a-ti pa-tu tām̄ti(a.ab.ba)</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁	141	<i>a-na 14^{m.ām} i-te-la-a na-gu-ú</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ c ₃	142	<i>a-na šadī(kur) ni-muš i-te-mid^{ēš} eleppu(má)</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₂	143	<i>šadū(kur)^ú ni-muš^{ēš} eleppa(má) iṣ-bat-ma a-na na-a-ši ul id-din</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₂ c ₃	144	<i>1-en u₄-ma 2 u₄-ma šadū(kur)^ú ni-muš KIMIN</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	145	<i>šal-šá u₄-ma 4-a u₄-ma šadū(kur)^ú ni-muš KIMI[N]</i>	
J ₁ T ₁ W ₂ c ₃	146	<i>5-šá 6-šá šadū(kur)^ú ni-muš KIMIN</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	147	<i>7-ú u₄-mu ina ka-šá-a-dī</i>	CWc
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₂ c ₃	148	<i>ú-še-ši-ma summata(tu)^{mušen} ú-maš-šar</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	149	<i>il-lik summata(tu)^{mušen} i-pi-ra-am-m[a]</i>	
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₂ c ₃	150	<i>man-za-zu ul i-pa-áš-šim-ma iṣ-saḥ-r[a]</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	151	<i>ú-še-ši-ma sinūnta(sim)^{mušen} ú-maš-š[a]r</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	152	<i>il-lik sinūntu(sim)^{mušen} i-pi-ra-a[m-ma]</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂ c ₃	153	<i>man-za-zu ul i-pa-áš-[š]m-ma iṣ-saḥ-ra</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂	154	<i>ú-še-ši-ma a-ri-ba ú-maš-šir</i>	
CJ ₁	155	<i>il-lik a-ri-bi-ma qa-ru-ra šá mē(a)^{mes} i-mur-ma</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₂	156	<i>ik-kal i-šá-aḥ-ḥi i-tar-ri ul iṣ-saḥ-ra</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₄	157	<i>ú-še-ši-ma a-na 4 šārī(im)^{mes} at-ta-qí ni-qa-a</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₄	158	<i>áš-kun sur-qin-nu ina muḥḥi(ugu) ziq-qur-rat šadī(kur)ⁱ</i>	
CJ ₁	159	<i>7 u 7^{duš} adagurra(a.da.gur_s) uk-tin</i>	
CJ ₁ W ₄	160	<i>i-na šap-li-šú-nu at-ta-bak qanā(gi)^{ēš} erēna(eren) u^{šim} as[a(gir)]</i>	
CJ ₁	161	<i>ilū(dingir)^{mes} i-ši-nu i-ri-šá</i>	
J ₁ W ₄	162	<i>ilū(dingir)^{mes} i-ši-nu i-ri-šá tāb[a(dùg.ga)]</i>	
CJ ₁ c ₂	163	<i>ilū(dingir)^{mes} ki-ma zu-um-bé-e eli(ugu) bēl(en) niqī(siskur) ip-taḥ-ru</i>	
CJ ₁ c ₂	164	<i>ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma bēlet-ilī(dingir.maḥ) ina ka-šá-dī-šú</i>	

137 J₁: *ap-te* 138 Cc₃: *uk-tam-me-es-ma* 140 T₁c₃: *ap-pa-lis* c₃: *kib-ra-a-tu pa^la^l-l*
T₁: *a-nu[a pa-at?* 140-1 c₃ in one line 141 J₁: *a-na 12.ta.ām* 142 T₁: *ana* c₃ om. *šadī*
142-3 c₃ in one line 143 T₁ om. ^{kur} 144 J₁: *u₄-mu 2-a u₄-mu* c₃: *2-a* 144-5 CT₁W₂
in one line 145 W₂: *3-šá* J₁: *u₄-mu re-ba-a u₄-mu* C om. *ni-muš* 146 J₁: *5-šú* c₃: *5-šá u₄-*
ma 6-šá u₄-ma 146-7 CT₁W₂ in one line 147 CJ₁: *7-a u₄-ma* J₁: *i-na ka-šá-dī* 148
c₃: *[u-š]e-ši-ma* 148-9 CJ₁T₁W₂ in one line 149 J₁c₃: *i-tu-ram-m[a]* 150 J₁c₃: *i-pa-áš-*
šum-ma W₂: *i-pa-{DA}-áš-šum^l-ma* 151 c₃: *[u-š]e-ši-ma* J₁: *ú-maš-šir* 151-2 CJ₁W₂ in
one line 152 J₁: *i-tu-ram-m[a]* 153 W₂: *man-za*-SU J₁: *i-pa-áš-šum-ma* 154 J₁: *a-ri-bi*
154-5 W₂ in one line 156 W₂: *]^lx^lr^l u[l* 157 W₄: *n]i-g[u-ú]* 159-60 W₄ in one line
161 C: *i^lš^l-ni^l* 161-2 CJ₁W₄ in one line 162 W₄: *l^eri-šá ta-[a-ba]* 163 c₂: *[dingir]*
C: *[ki-i^l*

136	The flood plain was level like a roof.
137	I opened a vent and sunlight fell on the side of my face. ²⁹
138	I fell to my knees ³⁰ and sat there weeping,
139	the tears streaming down the side of my face. ²⁹
140	I scanned the shores, the edge of the sea, ³¹
141	in fourteen ³² places emerged a landmass.
142	On Mount Nimuš the boat ran aground,
143	Mount Nimuš held the boat fast and did not let it move.
144	One day, a second day, Mount Nimuš held the boat fast and did not let it move,
145	a third day, a fourth day, Mount Nimuš held the boat fast and did not let it move,
146	a fifth, a sixth, ³³ Mount Nimuš held the boat fast and did not let it move.
147	When the seventh day arrived —
148	I brought out a dove, setting it free:
149	off went the dove . . . ³⁴
150	No perch was available for it and it came back to [me.]
151	I brought out a swallow, setting it free:
152	off went the swallow . . . ³⁵
153	No perch was available for it and it came back to me.
154	I brought out a raven, setting it free:
155	off went the raven and it saw the waters receding.
156	It was eating, <i>bobbing up and down</i> , it did not come back to me.
157	I brought out an offering and sacrificed to the four corners of the earth, ³⁶
158	I strewed incense on the peak ³⁷ of the mountain.
159	Seven flasks and seven I set in position,
160	below them I heaped up (sweet) reed, cedar and myrtle.
161	The gods smelled the savour,
162	the gods smelled the sweet savour,
163	the gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer.
164	As soon as Bēlet-ilī arrived,

²⁹ Lit. 'wall of my nose'.

³⁰ Lit. 'squatting myself down'.

³¹ So MSS CJc; MS T: 'I scanned the shores for the [edge of the sea]'.

³² So MS T; MS J: 'twelve'.

³³ So MSS JT; MS c: 'a fifth day, a sixth day'.

³⁴ So MSS CW; MSS Jc: 'off went the dove but then it returned'.

³⁵ So MSS CW; MSS Jc: 'off went the swallow but then it returned'.

³⁶ Lit. 'four winds'.

³⁷ Lit. 'ziqqurrat'.

CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	165	<i>iš-ši zumbē(nim)^{ms} rabūti(gal)^{ms} šá^d a-nu-m i-pu-šú ki-i šu-ḫi-šú</i>
CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	166	<i>ilū(dingir)^{ms} an-nu-tum lu-ú^{ms} uqni(za.gin) kišādi(gú)-ia</i>
CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	167	<i>ūmī(u₄)^{ms} an-nu-ti lu-ú-uh-su-sa-am-ma ana da-riš a-a am-ši</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	168	<i>ilū(dingir)^{ms} līl-lī-ku-ni a-na sur-qin-ni</i>
CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	169	<i>^den-līl a-a il-lī-ka a-na sur-qin-ni</i>
CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	170	<i>āš-šú la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu</i>
CJ ₁ W ₃ c ₂	171	<i>ù nišī(ùg)^{ms}-ia im-nu-ú ana ka-ra-ši</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	172	<i>ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma^d en-līl ina ka-šá-di-šú</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	173	<i>i-mur^{ms} eleppam(má)-ma i-te-ziz^d en-līl</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	174	<i>lib-ba-ti im-ta-lī šá ilī(dingir.dingir)^d i-gi-gi</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	175	<i>[a-a-n]u-um-ma ú-ši na-pi-š-ti</i>
J ₁ c ₂	176	<i>a-a ib-luṭ amēlu(lú) ina ka-ra-š[ī]</i>
		c
CJ ₁ c ₂	177	<i>^dnin-urta pa-a-šú ṭpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga)</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	178	<i>izakkar(mu)^{ar} ana qu-ra-di^d en-[līl]</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	179	<i>man-nu-um-ma šá la^d é-a a-ma-tu i-ban-ni</i>
CJ ₁ c ₂	180	<i>ù^d é-a i-de-e-ma ka-la šip-r[ī]</i>
		c
CJ ₁ bc ₂	181	<i>^dé-a pa-a-šú ṭpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga)</i>
CJ ₁ bc ₂	182	<i>izakkar(mu)^{ar} ana qu-ra-di^d en-[līl]</i>
CJ ₁ bc ₂	183	<i>at-ta apkal(abgal) ilī(dingir)^{ms} qu-ra-du</i>
CJ ₁ bc ₂	184	<i>ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-bu taš-k[un]</i>
CJ ₁ bc ₂	185	<i>be-el ár-ni e-mid ḫi-ṭa-a-šú</i>
CJ ₁ b	186	<i>be-el gil-la-ti e-mid gil-lat-[su]</i>
CJ ₁ b	187	<i>ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iq šu-du-ud a-a i[r-mu]</i>
CJ ₁ b	188	<i>am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba</i>
CJ ₁ b	189	<i>nēšu(ur.mah) lit-ba-am-ma nišī(ùg)^{ms} lī-ša-aḫ-ḫi-ī[r]</i>
CJ ₁	190	<i>am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba</i>
CJ ₁ b	191	<i>barbaru(ur.bar.ra) lit-ba-am-ma nišī(ùg)^{ms} lī-ša-a-[ḫi-ir]</i>
CJ ₁	192	<i>am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba</i>
CJ ₁ b	193	<i>ḫu-šah-ḫu liš-šá-kin-ma māta(kur) liš-[giš]</i>
CJ ₁	194	<i>am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba</i>

165 C: ^da-nu-um W₃: šū-ḫi-šú 166 J₁: an-nu-ti J₁ adds a-a am-ši 167 c₂: [u₄-m]e Cc₂: an-nu-tum J₁c₂ om. lu-ú- W₃:] am-sī 168 c₂ om. ^{ms} 168-9 W₃ in one line 169 W₃: (ana) sur-qi-ni 170 c₂: im-tal-lī-ku-[ma 171 C: u W₃: [a^l-na 173-4 J₁ in one line 174 c₂: [lib-b]a-a-te im-ta-la šá [dingir]^{ms} 175 CJ₁: a-a-um-ma c₂: ú-šū 175-6 CJ₁ in one line 177-8 CJ₁c₂: in one line 178 c₂: mu^m 179 c₂: a-mat C: a-m]a-ti i^lba^l-a[n-ni] 179-80 c₂ in one line 180 c₂: u, k[al? C: ka-lu 181 b: pā-šū 181-2 CJ₁bc₂: in one line 182 Cc₂: mu^m J₁: qu-ra-du 183-4 b in one line 184 b: ki-ki-[i c₂: tam]^l tal-lik^l-ma C: a-b]u-ba 185 J₁: be-el ḫi-ṭi C: ḫi-ṭa-šú b: ḫi-ṭa-šú 185-6 CJ₁b in one line 187 b: i]b-ba-(ti)-iq 188 C: am-ma-ki b: taš-ku-n]a C: a-bu-b[u] 188-9 J₁b in one line 190, 192, 194 C: am-ma-ki taš-k[un b: [MIN MIN MIN?] 190-1, 192-3, 194-5 CJ₁b in one line

165	she lifted aloft the great flies that Anu had made when he wooed (her):
166	“O gods, let these be lapis lazuli (beads) around my neck,
167	so that I remember these days and never forget them!
168	Let the gods come to the incense,
169	(but) may Enlil not come to the incense,
170	because he lacked ³⁸ counsel and caused the Deluge,
171	and delivered my people into destruction.”
172	As soon as Enlil arrived,
173	Enlil saw the boat and grew angry.
174	He was filled with rage against the Igigi gods:
175	“[From] where escaped (this) living creature? ³⁹
176	No man should survive the destruction!”
	c
177	Ninurta opened his mouth to speak,
178	saying to the hero Enlil:
179	“Who, if not Ea, can accomplish (such) things?
180	For Ea alone knows (how to do) all tasks.”
	c
181	Ea opened his mouth to speak,
182	saying to the hero Enlil:
183	“You, the sage of the gods, the hero,
184	how could ⁴⁰ you lack counsel and cause the deluge?
185	On him who commits a sin, ⁴¹ inflict his crime!
186	on him who does wrong, inflict [his] wrong-doing!
187	Slack off, lest it be snapped! Pull taut, lest it become [slack!]
188	Instead of the Deluge you caused, ⁴²
189	a lion could arise to diminish the people!
190	Instead of the Deluge you caused,
191	a wolf could arise to diminish the people!
192	Instead of the Deluge you caused,
193	a famine could happen to slaughter the land!
194	Instead of the Deluge you caused,

³⁸ So MSS CJ; MS c: ‘lacks’.

³⁹ So MS c; MSS CJ, ungrammatically: ‘What (masc.) living thing (fem.) escaped?’

⁴⁰ So MSS CJ; MS c: ‘can’.

⁴¹ So MSS Cc; MS J: ‘a crime’.

⁴² Here and in the parallel lines (190 // 192 // 194), lit. ‘instead of your having caused the Deluge’.

CJ b	195	^d ēr-ra lit-ba-am-ma māta(kur) li[š]-[g]iš ¹
CJ b	196	a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ilī(dingir) ^{mes} rabūti(gal) ^{mes}
CJ b	197	at-ra-ḥa-sis šu-na-ta ú-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-ti ilī(dingir) ^{mes} iš-me
CJ b	198	e-nin-na-ma mi-lik-šú mil-ku
CJ b	199	i-lam-ma ^d enlil(idim) ana lib-bi ⁸ iš eleppi(má)
CJ b	200	iš-bat qa-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni ia-a-ši
CJ b	201	uš-te-li uš-tak-mi-is sin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia
CJ b	202	il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni-ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-kar-ra-ban-na-ši
CJ ₁	203	i-na pa-na ^m UD-napišti(zi) a-me-lu-tum-ma
CJ ₁	204	e-nin-na-ma ^m UD-napišti(zi) u simišta(munus)-šú lu-u e-mu-ú ki-ma ilī(dingir) ^{mes} na-ši-ma
CJ ₁	205	lu-ú a-šib-ma ^m UD-napišti(zi) ina ru-ú-qi ina pi-i nārāti(id) ^{mes}
CJ ₁	206	il-qu-in-ni-ma ina ru-qi ina pi(ka) nārāti(id) ^{mes} uš-te-ši-bu-in-ni
CJ ₁	207	e-nin-na-ma ana ka-a-šá man-nu ilī(dingir) ^{mes} ú-pah-ḥa-rak-kum-ma
CJ ₁	208	ba-la-ṭa šá tu-ba- ² ú tu-ut-ta-a at-ta
CJ ₁	209	ga-na e ta-at-til 6 ur-ri ú 7 mu-šá-a-ti
CJ ₁	210	ki-ma áš-bu-ma ina bi-ri-ti pu-ri-di-šú
CJ ₁	211	šit-tu ki-ma im-ba-ri i- ^m nap-pu-uš eli(ugu)-šú
CJ ₁	212	^m UD-napišti(zi) ana šá-ši-ma izakkar(mu) ^{dr} ana mar-ḥi-ti-šú
CJ ₁	213	am-ri ¹⁰ e[la(guruš) šá i-ri-šú ba-la-tu
CJ ₁	214	šit-tu ki-ma im-ba-ri i- ^m nap-pu-uš eli(ugu)-šú
CJ ₁	215	mar-ḥi-is-su ana šá-šu-ma izakkar(mu) ^{dr} a-na ^m UD-napišti(zi) ru-qi
CJ ₁	216	lu-pu-us-su-ma li-ig-gel-ta-a amēhu(lú)
CJ ₁	217	ḥar-ra-ni il-li-ka li-tur ina šul-me
CJ ₁	218	abul(ká.gal) ú-ša-a li-tur a-na ma-ti-šú
CJ _{1j}	219	^m UD-napišti(zi) ana šá-ši-ma izakkar(mu) ^{dr} ana mar-ḥi-ti-šú
J ₁	220	rag-ga-at a-me-lut-tu i- ^m rag-gi-ig-ki
CJ _{1j}	221	ga-na e-pi-i ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú šit-tak-ka-ni ina re-ši-šú
CJ ₁	222	ú u ₄ -mi šá it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri eš-ri
CJ _{1j}	223	šit-ti i-pi ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú iš-tak-ka-an ina re-ši-šú[<i>u</i>]
CJ _{1T_{1j}}	224	u u ₄ -mi šá it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri ud-da-áš-šú
CJ _{1T_{1j}}	225	iš-ta-at šá-bu-lat ku-ru-um-mat-su
CJ ₁	226	2-tum muš-šu-kāt 3-tum raṭ-bat
CT _{1j}	227	4-tum ip-te-ši ka-man-šú
CJ ₁	228	5-tum ši-ba it-ta-di
CT ₁	229	6-tum ba-aš-lat

195 J₁: nišī(ùg)^{mes} lišgiš 196 C: ana-ku ul e[p- 198 C: mi-lik-š]u 198–9 J₁ in one line
 199 b: ^dé-a-šarru(lugal) C: [a-na] 200 b: uš-te-la-a[n-ni 204 C: ki-i 206 C: pi-i
 207 C: man-n]a 208 C: tu-b]a-ú 209 C: u 213 C: ba-la-ṭ[a] 215 C: ru-ú-ṭ[qi]
 221 C: re-ši-šú[*u*] 223 J₁: e-pi C: iš-tak-ka-ni 224 J₁: [ú] 225 j: 1-[et 226–7,
 228–9 CJ_{1T_{1j}} in one line

195	Erra could arise to slaughter the land! ⁴³
196	I did not myself disclose the great gods' secret;
197	I let Atra-ḥasīs see a dream and so he heard the gods' secret.
198	And now, consider what is to be done with him.”
199	Enlil ⁴⁴ came up into the boat,
200	he took hold of my hands and brought me out.
201	He brought out my woman, he made her kneel at my side,
202	he touched our foreheads, standing between us to bless us:
203	“In the past Ūta-napišti was (one of) mankind,
204	but now Ūta-napišti and his woman shall be like us gods!
205	Ūta-napišti shall dwell far away, at the mouth of the rivers!”
206	They took me and settled me far away, at the mouth of the rivers.
207	But now, who will bring the gods to assembly for you,
208	so you can find the life you search for?
209	Come, for six days and seven nights do not sleep!
210	As soon as he sat down on his haunches,
211	sleep was wafting ⁴⁵ over him like a fog.
212	Ūta-napišti spoke to her, to his wife:
213	‘See the fellow who demanded life!
214	Sleep is wafting ⁴⁵ over him like a fog.’
215	His wife spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away:
216	‘Touch him, let the man awake!’
217	(By) the road he came let him go back in safety,
218	(by) the gate he came out let him return to his land!’
219	Ūta-napišti spoke to her, to his wife:
220	‘Being deceitful, mankind will deceive you.
221	Go, bake his daily rounds of bread, line them up by his head,
222	and mark on the wall the days that he slept.’
223	She baked his daily rounds of bread, she lined them up by his head,
224	and on the wall noted for him the days that he slept.
225	His first round of bread was dried up,
226	the second was leathery, the third was soggy;
227	his fourth flour-cake had turned white,
228	the fifth had produced a (mouldy) stain;
229	the sixth was fresh-baked,

⁴³ So MS C; MS J: ‘the people’.

⁴⁴ So MS J; MS b, corruptly: ‘King Ea’.

⁴⁵ Lit. ‘breathing’.

CJ ₁ T ₁ j	230	<i>se^f-bu^l-tum ina pe-et-tim-ma il-pu-us-su-ma ig-gél-ta-a amēlu(lú)</i> CT(j)
CJ ₁ T ₁ j	231	^d GIŠ-gim-maš a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^{ra} a-na ^m UD-napišti(zi) [r]u-ú-qi
CJ ₁ T ₁ j	232	<i>an-ni-miš šit-tum ir-ḥu-ú e-li-ia</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁	233	<i>ḥa-an-ṭiš tal-tap-tan-ni-ma ta-ad-de-kan-ni at-ta</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁	234	^m UD-napišti(zi) a ^l -[na šá-šu-m]a [izakkara ^f] a-na ^d GIŠ-gim-maš
CJ ₁ T ₁ j	235	<i>a[l?]-kam-ma? ^dGIŠ-gim-m]aš mu-na-a ku-ru-um-me-ti-ka</i>
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁ j	236	^f u ^l [u ₄ -mī? šá ta-at-ti-l]u lu-ú e-dak-ka ka-a-šá
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	237	<i>[iš-ta-at šá-bu-lat] ku-ru-um-mat-ka</i>
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	238	<i>2-tu[m muš-šu]^f kât 3-tum^l raṭ-bat</i>
J ₁ T ₁ W ₁	239	<i>4-tum ip-te-ši ka-man-ka</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁	240	<i>5^ftum^l šī-pa it-ta-di 6-tum ba-aš-lat</i>
CT ₁ W ₁	241	<i>[7-tum in]a^f pe^l-et-tim-ma te-et-te-gél-ta-a at-ta</i> <i>[7-tum ina pe-et-t]im-ma al-pu-ut-ka a-na-ku</i>
J ₁		
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	242	^d GIŠ-g]im-maš ana šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^{ra} a-na ^m UD-napišti(zi) ru-ú-qi
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	243	<i>[ki-k]i-i lu-pu-uš^mUD-napišti(zi) a-a-ka-ni lul-lik</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	244	<i>[x (x)]^mes-ia uš-šab-bi-tu₄ ek-ke-mu</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	245	<i>ina bīt(é) ma-a-a-li-ia a-šib mu-tum</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	246	<i>ú a-šar [pānīya?] lu-uš-kun šu-ú mu-tum-ma</i> CTWb
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	247	^m UD-napišti(zi) a-na [šá-šu]-ma i-zak-[k]a-ra a-na ^m ur-šanabi ma-la-ḥi
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	248	^m ur-šanabi ka ^f a ^l -[ru l]id-di-ka né-bé-ru li-zer-ka
CJ ₁ T ₁ b	249	<i>šá ina a-ḥi-šá tattallaku(DU.[D]U)^mes-ku aḥ-šá zu-um-me</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ b	250	<i>amēlu(lú) šá tal-li-ka pa-na-as-su</i>
CJ ₁ b	251	<i>ik-ta-su-ú ma-lu-ú pa-gar-šú</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ b	252	<i>maš-ku-ú uq-[t]a-at-tu-ú du-muq šir^r(uzu)^mes-šú</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ b	253	<i>li-qé-šu-ma [m^u]r-šanabi ana nam-se-e bil-šu-ma</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	254	<i>ma-le-šú ina me^fe^l kīma(gim) el-li lim-si</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	255	<i>lid-di maš-ki-šu-ma li-bil tam-tum</i>
CJ ₁ W ₁ b	256	<i>ta-a-bu lu ša-pu zu-mur-šú</i>
CJ ₁ T ₁ W ₁ b	257	<i>lu-ú ud-du-uš pâr-si-gu šá qaq-qa-di-šú</i>

230 j: ^f7[^m C: i^fte^l-gél-ta^fa^l-(ma) l]ú 231 J₁: mu^{ar}, ru-qi 234 J₁: ^mdGIŠ-gim-maš
235 T₁: [ku-ru-u]m-ma-ti-ka C: -[t]e^fka^l 237-8 W₁ in one line 238 J₁: šá-l]ul-tum
238-9 T₁ in one line 239-40 W₁ in one line 242 J₁: mu^{ar}, ru-qi 243 W₁: ^mU]D-zi^m
T₁: (a)]^fa^l-i-ka-a 244 J₁: uš-šab-bi-t]a 244-5 W₁b in one line 245 J₁: mu-ú-tum
247 W₁: ^mur^l-^dšanabi 249 b: aḥ-šá 250 b: [p]a-na-su 250-1 CJ₁T₁b in one line
254 J₁T₁: a^fmeš^l b: [ki-ma^l 255-6 CJ₁T₁W₁ in one line 256 C: [ta-a-bu šu-pu^l W₁: [t]a?-
[bu]-um? šú^l-p[u b: z]u-m[ur]-šu 256-7 b in one line 257 W₁: ud-du-šú par-si-gi CW₁:
s[ag.d]u-šú 257-8 W₁ in one line

230	the seventh was on the coals: he touched him and the man awoke.
231	Gilgamesh spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away:
232	‘No sooner than sleep spilled over me,
233	than forthwith you touched me and roused me!’
234	Ūta-napišti [spoke to him,] to Gilgamesh:
235	Come, Gilgamesh, count me your rounds of bread,
236	and may [<i>the time</i> that you slept] be made known to you.
237	Your [first] round of bread [was dried up,]
238	the second was leathery, the third was soggy;
239	your fourth flour-cake had turned white,
240	the fifth had produced a (mouldy) stain, the sixth was fresh-baked;
241	[the seventh was on] the coals, and then you awoke. ⁴⁶
242	Gilgamesh spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away:
243	‘How should I go on, Ūta-napišti? Where should I go?
244	The Thief has taken hold of my [<i>flesh</i> .]
245	In my bed-chamber Death abides,
246	and wherever I might turn [<i>my face</i>], there too will be Death.’
247	Ūta-napišti spoke to [him,] to the boatman Ur-šanabi:
248	‘Ur-šanabi, may the quay reject you, may the ferry scorn you!
249	You who used to walk on its shore, suffer absence from it!
250	The man that you led here, ⁴⁷
251	whose body is tousled with matted hair,
252	the beauty of whose flesh the hides have ruined,
253	take him, Ur-šanabi, get him to the washtub,
254	let him wash his matted hair as clean as <i>can be</i> !
255	Let him cast off his hides and the sea carry (them away)!
256	Soak his body so fair! ⁴⁸
257	Let the kerchief ⁴⁹ of his head be renewed!

⁴⁶ So MSS CTW; MS J: ‘and then I touched you’.

⁴⁷ Lit. ‘ahead of whom you came’.

⁴⁸ So MSS CW; MS J: ‘let his body so fair be soaked’.

⁴⁹ So MSS CJTb; MS W: ‘kerchiefs’. This is a cloth worn on the head, especially when travelling. Modern Iraqis call it a *chafiyah*.

CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	258	<i>te-di-qi lu-ú la-biš šu-bat bal-ti-šú</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁	259	<i>a-di il-la-ku ana āli(uru)-šú</i>
CJ, W ₁	260	<i>a-di i-kaš-šá-du ana ur-ḫi-šú</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	261	<i>te-di-qu ši-pa a-a id-di-ma e-de-šú li-diš</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	262	<i>il-qé-šu-ma [m]ur-šanabi ana nam-se-e ú-bil-šu-ma</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁	263	<i>ma-le-šú ina [mē(a)] [m]es kīma(gim) el-li im-si</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	264	<i>id-di maškī(kuš) [m]es-š[u-ma] [ú]l-bil tam-tum</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	265	<i>ṭa-a-bu iṣ-ša-pi zu-mur-šú</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁ b	266	<i>ú-te-ed-di[š] pár-si-gu šá q]aqqadi(sag.du)-šú</i>
CJ, T ₁ W ₁	267	<i>te-di-qa la-biš šu-bat bal-ti-šú</i>
CT ₁ b	268	<i>[a]l-di[il-la-ku] [ana āli-šú]</i>
CT ₁ W ₁	269	<i>[a]l-di i-kaš-šá[du] ana ur-ḫi-šú</i>
CT ₁ b	270	<i>[te]-[di-qu ši-pa a-a id-d]i-^lma e-de^l-šú li-diš</i>
CJ, W ₁	271	^d GIŠ-gim-maš u ^m ur-šanabi ir-ka-bu ^{es} eleppa(má)
CJ, b	272	^{es} m[á-gi-il-l]a id-du-ú šu-nu ir-tak-bu
		CWb
CJ, W ₁ b	273	<i>mar-ḫi-is-su ana šá-šú^l ma izakkar(mu)^{ar} a-na^mUD-napišti(zi) ru-qi</i>
CJ, W ₁ b	274	^d GIŠ-gim-maš illika(du) ^{ka} i-na-ḫa i-šú-ṭa
CJ, W ₁	275	<i>mi-na-a ta-at-tan-na-^lás^l-š[um-m]a i-ta-ár ana māti(kur)-šú</i>
CJ, W ₁	276	<i>u šu-ú iṣ-ši pa-ri-sa^dGIŠ-gim-maš</i>
CJ, W ₁	277	^{es} eleppa(má) ut-tè-eh-ḫa ^l a ^l -na kib-ri
CJ, W ₁	278	^m UD-napišti(zi) a-na šá-šú-ma [izakkar ^{ar} a-n]a ^d GIŠ-gim-maš
CJ, W ₁	279	^d GIŠ-gim-maš tal ^l -li ^l -ka ta-na-ḫa ta-šú ^l ṭa ^l
CJ, W ₁	280	<i>mi-na-a at-tan-nak-kúm-ma ta-ta-ár ana māti(kur)-ka</i>
CJ, W ₁	281	<i>lu-ú-up-te^dGIŠ-gim-maš a-mat ni-šir-ti</i>
CJ, W ₁	282	<i>u pirišta(ad.ḫal) š[á] il^mes ka-a-šá lu-u]q-bi^lka^l</i>
CJ, W ₁	283	<i>šam-mu šu-ú ki-ma ed-de-et-t[í] ši-kin-šú? š]á-k[í]n</i>
CJ, W ₁	284	<i>si-ḫi-il-šú kīma(gim) a-mur-din-nim-ma ú-sa[h-ḫal qāt^{min}-k]a</i>
C, W ₁	285	<i>šum-ma šam-ma šá-a-šú i-kaš-šá-da qa-ta-a-k[a:]</i>
C, W ₁	286	[.]
C, W ₁	287	^d GIŠ-gim-maš an-ni-tú ina še-me-šú :
C, W ₁	288	<i>ip-ti r[a-a-ṭa]</i>
C, W ₁	289	<i>ú-rak-ki-is abnī(na₄)^mes kab-tu-t[a] a[ina] šepī-šú]</i>

258 W₁: *te-di-qa* T₁: *lu* 258–9 C in one line 258–60 b in one line, om. either 259 or 260?
 259 J₁: *ar]*a^l māti(kur)^l-šú 259–60 J₁T₁W₁ in one line 260 W₁: *a-na* 260–1 C in one
 line 261 J₁: *id-di* W₁: *e-de-š]u* 262 W₁: *[a]-[na* 262–3 b in one line 263 T₁: *ma-*
le-šú C: *i]l-li* 264–5 CJ, b in one line 265 C: *ṭa-a-ba* W₁: *iṣ-ša-pu* C: *su-šú* 265–6
 W₁ in one line 266 (or 267?) b: *]-šú* 266–7 CJ₁ in one line 266–8 b in one line, prob-
 ably om. 267 267–8 W₁ in one line 268–9 CT₁ in one line 268–70 J₁ om. 269 C
 om. *a-di* 269–70 W₁ b in one line 271–2 W₁ b in one line 272 b: *id-du-[u]?* 273
 b: *i-za]k-ka-r[a* 275 W₁: *mi-na* 276 W₁: *[ú]* 276–7 W₁ in one line 278 W₁: *[m]UD-*
z]i^{im} ana^l 281–2 C in one line 285–6, 287–8 C in one line

258	Let him be clad in a royal robe, ⁵⁰ the attire befitting his dignity!
259	Until he goes (home) to his city, ⁵¹
260	until he arrives at (the end of) his road,
261	let the robe show no stain but stay brand new! ⁵²
262	Ur-šanabi took him and got him to the washtub.
263	He washed his matted hair as clean as <i>can be</i> ,
264	He cast off his hides [and] the sea carried (them away).
265	His body so fair was soaked,
266	the [kerchief of] his head was renewed,
267	he was clad in a royal robe, the attire befitting his dignity.
268	‘Until he goes (home) [to his city,]
269	until he arrives at (the end of) his road,
270	let [the robe show no stain] but stay brand new! ⁵³
271	Gilgameš and Ur-šanabi boarded the boat,
272	they launched the [craft,] they crewed it themselves.
273	His wife spoke to him, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away:
274	‘Gilgameš came here, toiled, exerted himself,
275	what have you given him as he goes back to his land?’
276	And he, Gilgameš, raised the punting-pole,
277	he brought the boat close to the shore.
278	Ūta-napišti [spoke] to him, to Gilgameš:
279	‘You came here, Gilgameš, toiled, exerted yourself,
280	what have I given you as you go back to your land?’
281	I will disclose, Gilgameš, a secret matter,
282	and [I will] tell you a mystery of [the gods.]
283	It is a plant, its [appearance] is like box-thorn,
284	its thorn is like the <i>dog-rose</i> ’s, it will [prick your hands.]
285	If you can gain possession of that plant,
286	[.]’
287	When Gilgameš heard this,
288	he opened a [channel]
289	Heavy stones he tied [on his feet,]

⁵⁰ So MSW; MSS CT: ‘robes’.

⁵¹ So MSS CW; MS J: ‘homeland’.

⁵² So MSS Cb; MS J: ‘let the robe show no stain, let it stay brand new!’

⁵³ MS J omits the three repeated lines, 268–70.

Cj	290	<i>il-du-du-šu-ma¹ ana aps[î(abzu) . . .]</i>
Cj	291	<i>šu-ú il-qé¹ šam-ma-ma is-s[u-ḥa . . .]</i>
Cj	292	<i>ú-bat-ti-iq abnī(na_s)^{mes} kab-tu-t[a ina šēpī-šū]</i>
Cj	293	<i>ṭam²-tum is-su-kaš-šū a-na kib-ri¹-šū</i> Cj
Cj	294	<i>^dGIŠ-gim-maš a-na šā-šu-ma izakkara(mu)^m a-na^m ur-šanabi ma¹-la-ḥu</i>
Cj	295	<i>^mur-šanabi šam-mu an-nu-ú šam-mu ni-kūt-ti</i>
Cj	296	<i>šā amēlu(lú) ina lib-bi-šū i-kaš-šā-du nap-šat!(BI)-su</i>
Cj	297	<i>ṭu-bil-šū¹ ana lib-bi uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri</i>
T _{1j}	298	<i>lu-šā-kil šī-ba-am-ma šam-ma lul-tuk</i>
CT ₁ W _{1j}	299	<i>ṭum-šū²? šī-i-bu iṣ-ša-ḥir amēlu(lú)</i>
CT ₁ W _{1j}	300	<i>a-na-ku lu-kul-ma lu-tur a-na šā šu-uh-ri-ia-a-ma</i>
CT ₁ W _{1j}	301	<i>a-na 20 bēr(danna) ik-su-pu ku-sa-pu</i>
T ₁ W _{1j}	302	<i>a-na 30 bēr(danna) iṣ-ku-nu nu-bat-ta</i>
CT ₁ W _{1j}	303	<i>i-mur-ma bu-ra^dGIŠ-gim-maš šā ka-šu-ú mú(a)^{mes}-šā</i>
CT ₁ W _{1zj}	304	<i>ú-rid a-na lib-bi-im-ma mē(a)^{mes} i-ra-muk</i>
CT ₁ W _{1zj}	305	<i>šēru(muš) i-te-ši-in ni-piš šam-mu</i>
T _{1zj}	306	<i>[šā-qum-m]eš i-lam-ma šam-mu iṣ-ši</i>
CT ₁ W _{1zj}	307	<i>ṭina ta¹-ri-šū it-ta-di qu-lip-tum</i>
T ₁ W _{1zj}	308	<i>[ina]ṭu⁴-me-šū¹-ma¹^dGIŠ-gim-maš it-ta-šab i-bak-[k]i</i>
CW _{1j}	309	<i>[el]i(ugu) dūr(bād) ap-pi-šū il-la-ka di-ma-a-šū</i>
CW _{1zj}	310	<i>x x[(x) izakkar²]ṭana¹ ur-šanabi ma-la-ḥu</i>
CW _{1zj}	311	<i>[a-na ma]n-ni-ia^m ur-šanabi i-na-ḥa i-da-a-a</i>
CW _{1j}	312	<i>a-na man-ni-ia i-ba-li da-mu lib-bi-ia</i>
CW _{1zj}	313	<i>ul āš-kun dum-qa ana ram-ni-i[a]</i>
CW _{1zj}	314	<i>[ana] nēši(ur.maḥ) šā qa-q-ri dum-qa e-te-pu-uš</i>
CT ₁ W _{1zj}	315	<i>e-nin-na a-na 20 bēr(danna) e-du-ú i-na-aš-šam-ma</i>
CT ₁ W _{1j}	316	<i>ra-a-ṭa ki-i ap-tu¹ú at¹-ta-bak ú-nu-tú</i>
CT ₁ W _{1zj}	317	<i>ut-ta a-a-i-ta šā ana itti(ki)-ia i[š-šā]k-nu</i>
CT ₁ W _{1z}		<i>ana-ku lu aḥ-ḥi-is³¹⁸ u^{es} eleppa(má) e-te-zib ina kib-ri</i>

290 j: ṭil-du-(du)-šū-ma¹ 297 j: ana šā 297-8 Cj in one line 298 T₁: -d]i? šam-ma
 298 or 299 W₁: [x] šā [299 j: šī-i-bi 300 W₁: ana¹ku¹ T₁: ana šā šu-uh-ri-ia-ma W₁:
 ana šē-eh-ri-i[a-a-ma] 301 W₁: [ana¹ T₁W₁: ku-sa-pa 301-2 CT₁W₁ in one line 302
 W₁: ana 303 W₁: bu-ú-ru j: a^{mes}šā¹ 304 W₁: ana 304-7 z divides lines irregularly
 305 W₁: i-te-se-en z: -i]n pi? [305-6 CW₁ in one line 306 z:]-la-ma T₁: šam-ma
 307 W₁: i]a-ri¹šū¹ T₁: [qu¹-lip-t]i z:]-šū, qu-lip]-ta 307-8 C in one line 309 z om?
 W₁: du^{ka} 309-10 CW₁ in one line 310 z: má.laḥ_s 311 W₁: ma]n-ni-ia^m ur-šānabi
 z: ^mur-šū-na-b]e e-na-ḥa šā²¹ j: i-na-ḥu 311-12 W₁ in one line 312 W₁: an[a 312-13 j
 in one line 312-14 z in two lines 313 j: āš-ku-un z: du-un-qi il-na²¹ W₁: a-[na j: a-na x
 x x 313-14 C in one line 314 j: qā]q-qa-ru W₁: du-un-[qV] C: dū]m-qi i-te-pu-uš z:
 as]-sa-kan¹ du-x x 315 W₁: ana z: i]-na-šā-a e-du-ú 316 z om. or in one line with 318?
 W₁: [r]a-a-ṭu 317 W₁: a-a¹ta¹ it-ti-i-ia z:]x-du is-si-a šā[k-n]u

290	they dragged him down to the <i>Apsū</i> [. . .]
291	He, he took the plant and pulled [it up . . .]
292	he cut loose the heavy stones [from his feet.]
293	The <i>sea</i> cast him up on its shore.
294	Gilgameš spoke to him, to Ur-šanabi the boatman:
295	'Ur-šanabi, this plant is the "plant of heartbeat",
296	by which means a man can recapture his vitality.
297	I will take it to Uruk the Sheepfold,
298	I will feed some to an old man and put the plant to the test. ⁵⁴
299	Its (or his) name will be "The Old Man Has Grown Young", ⁵⁵
300	I will eat some myself and go back to how I was in my youth! ⁵⁶
301	At twenty leagues they broke bread,
302	at thirty leagues they pitched camp.
303	Gilgameš found a pool whose water was cool,
304	he went down into it to bathe in the water.
305	A snake smelled the fragrance of the plant,
306	[silently] it came up and bore the plant off;
307	as it turned away it sloughed a skin.
308	Then Gilgameš sat down weeping,
309	the tears streaming down the side of his face. ⁵⁶
310	. . . [He spoke] to Ur-šanabi the boatman:
311	'[For whom] of my (kind), Ur-šanabi, did my arms grow exhausted,
312	for whom of my (kind) ran dry the blood of my heart?
313	Not for myself did I establish a bounty,
314	[for] the "Lion of the Earth" I have done a favour. ⁵⁷
315	Now for twenty leagues the tide has been rising! ⁵⁸
316	When I opened the channel I abandoned the tools:
317	what thing would I find that was placed (to serve) for my landmark? ⁵⁹ Had I only turned away, ³¹⁸ and left the boat on the shore! ⁶⁰

⁵⁴ The first half of this line, from MS j, may have read differently on MS T.

⁵⁵ Alternatively, reading *šum-ma*, 'If the old man grows young (again)'.

⁵⁶ Lit. 'wall of his nose'.

⁵⁷ So MSS CWj; Assyrian MS z: 'a favour I have established!'

⁵⁸ So MSS CTWj; Assyrian MS z: 'has been rising the tide'.

⁵⁹ Assyrian MS z apparently corrupt.

⁶⁰ Or, reading *lu-uh-ḥi-is*, 'I will now go home. And I even left the boat on the shore'.

CT ₁ W ₁ zj	319	<i>ana</i> 20 <i>b[ē]r(danna) ik-su-pu ku-sa-pa</i>	
CW ₁ z	320	<i>ana</i> 30 <i>bēr(danna) iš-ku-nu nu-bat-ta</i>	
Cz	321	<i>ik-šu-d[u-ni]m-ma ana lib-bi uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri</i>	CW
CW ₁ z	322	^d GIŠ-gim-māš a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(mu) ^m a-na ^{1m} ur-šanabi ma-la-ḫi	
CW ₁ z	323	<i>e-li-ma^mur-šanabi ina muḫḫi(ugu) dūri(bād) šá uruk^{ki} i-tal-lak</i>	
CW ₁ z	324	<i>te-me-en-na ḫi-i-ti-ma libitta(sig₄) šu-ub-bi</i>	
Cz	325	<i>šum-ma¹libitta(sig₄)¹šú la a-gur-rat</i>	
CW ₁ z	326	<i>u uš-ši-šú la id-du-ú 7¹mun¹-tal-ki</i>	
CW ₁ z	327	1 <i>šár ālu(uru)^{ki} 1 šár⁶³ kirātu(kiri₆)^{mēš} 1 šár es-su-¹ú¹ pi-t[i-i]r bīt(é)^diš-tar</i>	
CW ₁ z	328	3 <i>šár ú pi-tu uruk^{ki} tam-[ši]-¹ḫu¹</i>	CW
CW ₁	XII 1	<i>u₄-ma pu-uk-ku ina bīt(é)¹³ naggāri(nagar) lu e-z[ib]</i>	

318-19 CT₁W₁zj in one line 319 z:] *ka-a-ni-pa!* 319-20 z separates with false ruling
 320-1 CW₁ in one line 320-2 z in two lines 321 z: *ik-šu-du¹ni¹ma¹* 322 z: ^mdGIŠ-TUK
 W₁: *ana* z: ^mur-šu-na-be 323 W₁: ^mur-^dšanabi z: *ša¹unug^{ki} su-pur¹* 323-4 z separates with
 false ruling 324 W₁: ¹ḫi¹-[i]¹it¹-[ma 324-5 CW₁ in one line 324-8 z: illegible traces
 326 W₁: ¹uš-ši-šú¹ 327 W₁ om. 1 328 W₁: *u pi-t[i-i]r* XII 1 W₁: *lu-ú*

319	At twenty leagues they broke bread,
320	at thirty leagues they pitched camp.
321	They arrived in Uruk the Sheepfold.
322	Gilgameš spoke to him, to Ur-šanabi:
323	'Go up, Ur-šanabi, on to the wall of Uruk ⁶¹ and walk around,
324	survey the foundation platform, inspect the brickwork!
325	(See) if its brickwork is not kiln-fired brick,
326	and if the Seven Sages did not lay its foundations!
327	One <i>šār</i> is city, one <i>šār</i> date-grove, one <i>šār</i> is clay-pit, half a <i>šār</i> the temple of Ištar:
328	three <i>šār</i> and a half (is) Uruk, (its) measurement.'
XII 1	'Today, had I only left the ball in the carpenter's workshop!'

⁶¹ So MS C; Assyrian MS z: 'Uruk-the-Sheepfold'.

TABLET XII

Table of Manuscripts

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform copies and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
<i>Nineveh</i>		
G ₁	K 2774	142-5
	1876 W. St Chad Boscawen, 'Notes on the religion and mythology of the Assyrians', <i>TSBA</i> 4, pp. 272-86: C T Tr (with col. iii of G ₂)	
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 278-3: Tr (cols. i and vi with K 3475 of N)	
	1890 P. Haupt, 'Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos', <i>BAI</i> no. 54: C	
G ₂	K 8225	143, 144
	1876 W. St Chad Boscawen, 'Notes on the religion and mythology of the Assyrians', <i>TSBA</i> 4, pp. 272-86: C T Tr (col. iii only)	
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , p. 280: Tr (col. iii only)	
	1890 P. Haupt, 'Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos', <i>BAI</i> no. 53: C	
	i 9-29 (G ₁)	iv 90-103 (G ₁)
	ii 30-40 (G ₂), 44-58 (G ₁)	v 118-19, 129-37 (G ₁)
	iii 59-70 (G ₂), 76-89 (G ₁)	vi 147-153, colophon (G ₁)
N	K 3475 + DT 13 + 81-2-4, 327	146
	1876 G. Smith, <i>Chaldean Account of Genesis</i> , pp. 278-9: Tr (K 3475 only, with G ₁)	
	1890 P. Haupt, 'Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos', <i>BAI</i> no. 51: C (K 3475 only)	
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pl. 58: C (81-2-4, 327 colophon only)	
	1960 W. G. Lambert, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , p. 55: C (DT 13 obv. only, showing join)	
	i 1-30	vi 144-153, colophon

MS	Museum number	Plate
Bibliography of cuneiform copies and previous editions		
Lines preserved on obverse		Lines preserved on reverse
U ₁	K 8226	143
	1890 P. Haupt, 'Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos', <i>BAI</i> no. 52: C	
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pls. 55-6: C	
U ₂	Rm 933	145
	ii 33-44 (U ₁)	iv 97-103 (U ₂)
HH	Rm 964	142
	1930 R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pl. 55: C	
	i 3-11	[rev. not extant]
<i>Assyria</i>		
KK	BM 135909	144, 145
	1936 E. Weidner, 'Ein neues Bruchstück der XII. Tafel des Gilgameš-Epos', <i>Afo</i> 10, pp. 363-5: C T Tr	
	iii 60-70	iv 101-113
<i>Babylon</i>		
a	BM 30559 + 32418	147
	1960 D. J. Wiseman, in P. Garelli, <i>Gilgameš</i> , pp. 133, 135: C T	
	1965 W. G. Lambert, <i>CT</i> 46 no. 34: C	
	i 4-13	iv or vi colophon only
q	BM 41862	147
	1984 I. L. Finkel, 'Necromancy in ancient Mesopotamia', <i>Afo</i> 29-30, p. 16: C	
	i 24-40	iii unplaced trace
	ii 71-84	iv 144-51
Composite cuneiform texts and editions		
1900	P. Jensen, <i>KBVI</i> /1, pp. 256-65: G ₁ , G ₂ , N (K 3475 only), U ₁	T Tr
1930	R. C. Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> , pp. 68-70, pls. 55-8: G ₁ , G ₂ , N (lacking DT 13), U ₂	CT
1997	S. Parpola, <i>SAA Gilg.</i> , pp. 65-7, 115-16: all MSS except q	CT

		<i>Text</i>
CNW ₁	1	<i>u₄-ma pu-uk-ku ina bīt(ē) ¹⁰naggāri(nagar) lu-ú e-z[ib]</i>
N	2	<i>[aššat ¹⁰na-ga-ri šá ki-i um-m]i¹ a-lit¹-ti-ia lu-ú¹ [e-zib]</i>
NHH	3	<i>m[ārat(dumu.munus) ¹⁰na-ga-ri šá ki-i a]-¹ha-ti¹-[ia š]e-her-ti lu-ú e-zib]</i>
NHHa	4	<i>ūma(u₄) pu-u[k-ku] ¹a-na eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ q[u-tan-ni-(ma)]</i>
NHHa	5	<i>mi-ik-ke-e a-na eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ i[m-qu-tan-ni-(ma)]</i>
Na	6	<i>[^de]n-ki-dū ^dGiš-gim-maš i[p-pal-šu]</i>
NHHa	7	<i>be-lí mi-na-[a] tab-[k]i lib-ba-ka [le-mun]</i>
NHHa	8	<i>ūma(u₄) pu-uk-ku ul-tu eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ ana-ku ú-š[e-el-lak-ka]</i>
G ₁ NHHa	9	<i>mi-ik-ke-e ul-tu eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ ana-ku ú-še-[el-lak-ka]</i>
G ₁ NHHa	10	<i>^dGiš-gim-maš ^den-ki-dū [ip-pal-šu]</i>
G ₁ NHHa	11	<i>šum-ma a-na eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ [tur-rad]</i>
G ₁ NHHa	12	<i>a-na a-ši-ir-ti-ia¹ [lu-ú ta-šad-da-ad]</i>
G ₁ Na	13	<i>šu-ba-ta za-ka-a [la tal-tab-biš]</i>
G ₁ N	14	<i>ki-ma ú-ba-ra-ta-ma ú-a¹ ad¹-d[u-ka]</i>
G ₁ N	15	<i>ša-man pu-ú-ri ta-a-ba la tap-pa-ši-i[š]</i>
G ₁ N	16	<i>a-na i-ri-ši-šu¹ i¹-pah-ḥu-ru-ka</i>
G ₁ N	17	<i>til-pa-na a-na eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ la ta-na-suk</i>
G ₁ N	18	<i>ša i-na til-pa-na mah-šu i-lam-mu-ka</i>
G ₁ N	19	<i>šab-bi-tu a-na qātī(šu) ¹⁰im¹ ka la ta-na-áš-ši</i>
G ₁ N	20	<i>e-tem-mu i-ar-ru-ru-ka</i>
G ₁ N	21	<i>še-e-ni ina šēpī(gir) ¹⁰im¹ ka la ta-še-ni</i>
G ₁ N	22	<i>ri-ig-mu ina eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ la ta-šak-kan</i>
G ₁ N	23	<i>áš-šat-ka šá ta-ram-mu la ta-na-ši[q]</i>
G ₁ Nq	24	<i>áš-šat-ka šá ta-ze-ru la ta-mah-ḥaš</i>
G ₁ Nq	25	<i>ma-ra-ka šá ta-ram-mu la ta-na-šiq</i>
G ₁ Nq	26	<i>ma-ra-ka šá ta-ze-ru la ta-mah-ḥaš</i>
G ₁ Nq	27	<i>ta-az-zi-im-tu₄ eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹ i-[š]ab-bat-ka</i>
G ₁ Nq	28	<i>šá šal-lat šá šal-lat um-mu ^dnin-a-zu šá šal-lat</i>
G ₁ Nq	29	<i>bu-da-a-šá el-le-e-tum šu-ba-a-t[u] ul kut-tu-ma</i>
G ₂ Nq	30	<i>i-rat-sa ki-i pu-ri šap-pa-ti [l]a šad-da-at</i>
G ₂ q	31	<i>[^den-ki-dū a-na eršeti(ki) ¹⁰im¹] ur-rad</i>
G ₂ q	32	<i>[a-na a-ši-ir-ti ^dGiš-gim-ma]š ul iš-du-ud</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	33	<i>š[u-ba-ta za-ka-a] it-tal-biš</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	34	<i>ki-ma ú-b[a-ru-ma] ú-ad-du-šú</i>

G

1 N: na-g]a-ri C: lu 5 a: [mi-i]k¹ke-ia¹ 7 a: be-lum mi-LA-a tab¹ki¹-ma 8-9 N: a-na-ku 9 a: me-ek-ke-e 12 N: a-ši-ir-ti-ia¹ 13 N: [šu-b]a-a-ta a: [túg] ¹kú¹ 15 N: ta-a-bu 18 N: til-pa-nu 21 G₁: a-n[a 22 G₁: ri-ig-ma a-n[a 23-6 G₁: ša 25 q: ta-n]a-áš-ši-iq 27 G₁: ta-zi-im-ti 28 q: š]a 29 G₁: bu-da-šá, šu-ba-t]a q: kut-tu-mu 30 G₂: šad-da-ā]t 31-2 G₂ in one line

		<i>Translation</i>
1		‘Today, had I only left the ball in the carpenter’s workshop!
2		[O carpenter’s wife who is like the mother] who bore me! Had I only [left it]!
3		O [carpenter’s daughter who is like my] little sister! Had [I only left it]!
4		Today [the] ball fell down to the Netherworld,
5		my mallet fell [down] to the Netherworld!’
6		Enkidu [answered] Gilgameš: ¹
7		‘My lord, why did you weep, your heart being [vexed]?’
8		Today I myself shall [bring you] the ball up from the Netherworld,
9		I myself shall [bring you] your ² mallet up from the Netherworld!’
10		Gilgameš [answered] Enkidu:
11		‘If [you are going to descend] to the Netherworld,
12		[you should pay heed to] my instructions!
13		[You must not dress in] a clean garment,
14		they will identify you as a stranger!
15		You must not anoint yourself with sweet oil from the flask,
16		at the smell of it they will gather around you!
17		You must not hurl a throwstick at the Netherworld,
18		those struck by the throwstick will surround you!
19		You must not carry a staff in your hand,
20		the shades will tremble before you!
21		You must not wear sandals on your feet,
22		you must not make a noise in the Netherworld!
23		You must not kiss the wife you love,
24		you must not strike the wife you hate,
25		you must not kiss the son you love,
26		you must not strike the son you hate,
27		the outcry of the Netherworld will seize you!
28		The one who lies, the one who lies, the mother of Ninazu who lies,
29		her gleaming shoulders are not draped in a garment,
30		her breast, uncovered, (is) like a jar of stone.’
31		[Enkidu,] descending [to the Netherworld,]
32		paid no heed [to the instructions of Gilgameš:]
33		he dressed himself in [a clean garment,]
34		they identified him as a stranger.

¹ MS HH omits the entire line.² Tablets: ‘my’.

G ₂ U ₁ q	35	<i>ša-man pu-ri t[a-a-ba] it-tap-ši-iš</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	36	<i>a-na i-ri-š[i-šu] ip-taḫ-ru-šu</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	37	<i>til-pa-na a-[na erṣeti(ki)]^{im} is-suk-ma</i>
G ₂ U ₁	37a	<i>e-ṭem-mu e-tar-ru</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	38	<i>ša i-na til-pa-ni [maḫ-šu] il-ta-mu-šu</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	39	<i>šab-bi-ṭa ina qa-t[i-šu i]š-ši-ma</i>
G ₂ U ₁ q	40	<i>[e-ṭem-mu e]-tar-ru</i>
U ₁	41	<i>še-e-ni a-na [šēpī-šu i-še-en (or iš-te-en)]</i>
U ₁	42	<i>ri-ig-ma [ina erṣeti(ki)]^{im} iš-kun (or iš-ta-kan)]</i>
U ₁	43	<i>āš-šat-s[u ša i-ram-mu it-ta-šiq]</i>
G ₁ U ₁	44	<i>[ā]š-š[at-su ša] i-ze-r[u im-ta-ḫaš]</i>
G ₁	45	<i>m[a-ra-šu š]a i-ram-mu i[t-ta-šiq]</i>
G ₁	46	<i>ma-r[a-šu š]a i-ze-ru im-t[a-ḫaš]</i>
G ₁	47	<i>ta-z[i-im]-ti erṣeti(ki)]^{im} iš-ša-bat-s[u]</i>
G ₁	48	<i>ša šal-lat [šā ša]l-lat um-mu^d nin-a-zu šā šal-l[at]</i>
G ₁	49	<i>bu-da-[šā e]l-le-e-ti šu-ba-ta ul kut-tu-^fma¹</i>
G ₁	50	<i>i-rat-s[a k]i-ma pu-ur šik-ka-ti ul šad-d[a-ā]t</i>
G ₁	51	<i>i-nu-š[u-ma^e]n-ki-dū ul-tu erṣeti(ki)]^{im} a-na e-[la-t]ū? <ul i-la-a or u-ša-a?></i>
G ₁	52	<i>^dnam-t[ar ul iš-ba]t-tu a-sak-ku ul iš-bat-su erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-s[u]</i>
G ₁	53	<i>ra-b[i-iš^d nergal]a pa-du-ū ul iš-bat-su erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-s[u]</i>
G ₁	54	<i>a-šar [a-ḫa-az z]i-ka-ri ul im-qut erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-s[u]</i>
G ₁	55	<i>i-^fnu¹-š[u-ma šar]ru(lugal) mār(dumu) ^dnin-sūn ana ardi(ir)-šu^d en-ki-dū i-bak-ki</i>
G ₁	56	<i>a-na^fē¹ [kur b]ū(é) ^den-lil e-diš-ši-šu it-ta-lak</i>
G ₁	57	<i>a-bu [^den-lil]ūma(u₄) pu-uk-ku a-na erṣeti(ki)]^{im} im-qut-an-ni-^fma¹</i>
G ₁	58	<i>mi-^fik-ke^e a-na erṣeti(ki)]^{im} im-qut-an-ni-ma</i>
G ₂	59	<i>^den-ki-dū ša a-na šu-li-i-š[u-nu ur-du? erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	60	<i>^dnam-tar ul iš-bat-su asakku(azag) ul iš-bat-su erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	61	<i>ra-bi-iš^d nergal(U.GUR) la pa-du-u ul iš-bat-su erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	62	<i>a-šar ta-ḫa-az zi-ka-ri ul im-qut erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	63	<i>a-bu ^den-lil a-mat ul i-pu-ul-šu</i>
G ₂ KK	64	<i>[ana ūri^{ki} bīt ^dšin (e-diš-ši-šu)] it-tal-lak</i>
G ₂ KK	65	<i>a-bu ^dšin(30) ūma(u₄) pu-uk-ku^fa¹-na erṣeti(ki)]^{im} im-qut-an-ni</i>
G ₂ KK	66	<i>mi-ik-ke-e [a-na erṣeti(ki)]^{im} im-qut-an-ni</i>
G ₂ KK	67	<i>^den-ki-dū šā a-na šu-le-e-š[u?-nu ur-d]u? erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	68	<i>^dnam-tar ul iš-bat-su asak[ku(azag)]^ful iš¹-[bat]-^fsu erṣetu(ki)]^{im} išbat(dab)-su</i>
G ₂ KK	69	<i>ra-bi-iš^d nergal(U.GUR) la pa¹-d[u-u ul iš-bat-s]u KIMIN</i>

36 G₂: ip-ta]ḫ-ru-šu 39-40 G₂U₁ in one line 40 q: e^far-ru?-ru?¹(-šu)? 60 KK: a-sak-ku 63 G₂: e-pu-u[l-šu 63-4 G₂ in one line 68 KK: a]^fsak¹-ku

35	He anointed himself with sweet oil from the flask,
36	at the smell [of it] they gathered around him.
37	He hurled a throwstick at [the Netherworld] and
37a	the shades trembled, ³
38	those [struck] by the throwstick surrounded him.
39	He carried a staff in [his] hand and
40	[the shades] trembled. ⁴
41	[He wore] sandals on [his feet,]
42	[he made] a noise [in the Netherworld.]
43	[He kissed] the wife [he loved,]
44	[he struck the] wife he hated,
45	he [kissed the] son he loved,
46	he [struck the] son he hated,
47	the outcry of the Netherworld seized him!
48	The one who lies, the one who lies, the mother of Ninazu who lies,
49	her gleaming shoulders were not draped in a garment,
50	her breast, uncovered, (was) like a flask of stone.
51	Then Enkidu <did not come up> from the Netherworld to the (world) above.
52	Namtar [did not] seize him, Asakku did not seize him, the Netherworld [seized] him!
53	The pitiless sheriff [of Nergal] did not seize him, the Netherworld [seized] him!
54	He did not fall where men [do battle,] the Netherworld seized him!
55	Then [the] king, son of Ninsun, weeping for his servant, Enkidu,
56	went off alone to Ekur, the house of Enlil:
57	'O Father [Enlil], today the ball fell into the Netherworld,
58	my mallet fell into the Netherworld!
59	Enkidu, who [went down] to bring [them up, the Netherworld seized him!]
60	Namtar did not seize him, Asakku did not seize him, the Netherworld seized him!
61	The pitiless sheriff of Nergal did not seize him, the Netherworld seized him!
62	He did not fall where men do battle, the Netherworld seized him!
63	Father Enlil answered him not a word.
64	He went off [(alone) to Ur, the house of Šin:]
65	'O Father Šin, today the ball fell into the Netherworld,
66	my mallet fell [into the Netherworld]!
67	Enkidu, who [went down] to bring [them up], the Netherworld seized him!
68	Namtar did not seize him, Asakku did not seize him, the Netherworld seized him!
69	The pitiless sheriff of Nergal [did not seize] him, the Netherworld seized him!

³ MS q omits the entire line.

⁴ So MS G; MS q probably: 'were trembling'.

G ₂ KK	70	ṽa-šar ¹ [ta-ḥa-az zi-ka-ri u] l im-gut KIMIN
q	71	ṽa ¹ -[bu ṽsin a-mat ul i-pu-ul-šū]
q	72	a-[na eri-du ₁₀ ^{ki} bīt ṽé-a (e-diš-ši-šū) it-tal-lak]
q	73	a-[bu ṽé-a ūma(U ₄) pu-uk-ku a-na eršeti(ki) ^{šim} im-gut-an-ni-(ma)]
q	74	me-ek-[ke-e a-na eršeti(ki) ^{šim} im-gut-an-ni-(ma)]
q	75	ṽen-ki-d[ū šá a-na šu-li-i-šū-nu ur-du? eršetu(ki) ^{šim} išbat(dab)-su]
G ₁ q	76	ṽnam-tar u[l iš-bat-su a-sak-ku ul iš-bat-su eršetu(ki) ^{šim} išbat(dab)-su]
G ₁ q	77	ra-bi-iš ṽnergal(U.GUR) ṽla pa-du ¹ -[u ul iš-bat-su eršetu(ki) ^{šim} išbat(dab)-su]
G ₁ q	78	a-šar ta-ḥa-az zi-k[ar-i ul im-gut eršetu(ki) ^{šim} išbat(dab)-su]
G ₁ q	79	a-bu ṽé-a i[na?]
G ₁ q	80	a-na qar-ra-di e[t-li ṽšamaš(utu) i-qab-bi]
G ₁ q	81	qar-ra-du eṽt-lu ṽš[amaš(utu) mār(dumu) ṽnin-gal x x x]
G ₁ q	82	lu-man tak-ka-ap [eršeti(ki) ^{šim} te-pet-te]
G ₁ q	83	ú-tuk-ku šá ṽen-[ki-dū ki-i za-qi-qi ul-tu eršeti(ki) ^{šim} tu-še-el-la-a]
G ₁ q	84	a-na qi ¹ -bi ¹ [ṽé-a]
G ₁	85	qar-ra-du eṽt-lu ṽšamaš(utu) mār(dumu) ṽnin ¹ -[gal x x x]
G ₁	86	{lu-man} tak-ka-ap eršeti(ki) ^{šim} ip-te-e-ma
G ₁	87	ú-tuk-ku šá ṽen-ki-dū ki-i za-qi-qi ul ¹ tú eršeti(ki) ^{šim} uš-te-la ¹ -a
G ₁	88	in-né ¹ ed ¹ -ru ¹ -ma ut ¹ -taš-sá-qu
G ₁	89	im-tal ¹ li ¹ -ku iš-ta ¹ -an-na ¹ lu ¹
G ₁	90	qi-ba-a ib-ri qi-ba-a ib-ri
G ₁	91	ur-ti eršeti(ki) ^{šim} šá ta-mu-ru qi-ba-a
G ₁	92	ul a-qab-ba-ku ib-ri ul a-qab-ba-ku
G ₁	93	ṽšum ¹ -ma ur-ti eršeti(ki) ^{šim} šá a-mu-ru a-qab-bi-ka
G ₁	94	[at-i] a ti-šab bi-ki
G ₁	95	[a-na-k]u lu ¹ -ši-ib-ma lu-ub-ki
G ₁	96	[ib-ri? i/ú-š] á? ¹ ra ¹ šá tal-pu-tu-ma lib-ba-ka iḥ-du-u
G ₁ U ₂	97	[x x ki-i lu-b] a?-ri la-bi-ri kal-ma-tu e-kal
G ₁ U ₂	98	[ib-ri? ú-ru? šá ta] l-pu-tu-ma lib-ba-ka iḥ-du-u
G ₁ U ₂	99	[ki-i ni-gi-iš eršeti(ki)] ⁱ e-pe-ri ma-li
G ₁ U ₂	100	[be-lum ú-a] iq-bi-ma [i-na e] p-ri it-ta-pal-si-iḥ
G ₁ U ₂ KK	101	[ṽGIš-gim-maš ú-a] iq-bi-ma [i-na ep-r] i it-ta-pal-si-iḥ
G ₁ U ₂ KK	102	[ša mārūšu ištēnma ta-mu-r] u a-ta-mar
G ₁ U ₂ KK	103	[sikkatu ina igarīšu re-i] a-at-ma [mar-šiš i-na m] uḥ-ḥi i-bak-ki
KK	104	[ša mārūšu šināma ta-mu-ru a] -ta-mar
KK	105	[ina 2 libnāti ašibma] ṽa ¹ -ka-lu ik-kal
KK	106	[ša mārūšu 3-mā ta-mu-ru] a-ta-mar
KK	107	[ina nādi ša dakšī] mē(a) ^{mes} i-šat-ti

77 q: ra-bi-šu 79 q: a-bi 80 q: qar-ra-d[ū 83 q: šu-tuk-ku 84 G₁: a-m[at?
97 U₂: i]k-kal 98 U₂: iḥ-du-ú 99 U₂: e-p]e-ra 100-1 U₂ in four lines 103 U₂ in
two lines

70	He did not fall where men do battle, the Netherworld seized him!
71	Father [Sin answered him not a word.]
72	[He went off (alone)] to [Eridu, the house of Ea:]
73	‘O [Father Ea, today the ball fell into the Netherworld,]
74	my mallet [fell into the Netherworld,]
75	Enkidu, [who went <i>down</i> to bring them up, the Netherworld seized him!]
76	Namtar did not [seize him, Asakku did not seize him, the Netherworld seized him!]
77	The pitiless sheriff of Nergal [did not seize him, the Netherworld seized him!]
78	[He did not fall] where men do battle, [the Netherworld seized him!]
79	Father Ea [<i>helped him</i>] in [<i>this matter</i> ,]
80	[he spoke] to Young Hero [Šamaš:]
81	‘O Young Hero Šamaš, [. . . son of Ningal,]
82	<i>perhaps</i> [you can open] a chink [in the Netherworld,]
83	[you can bring] the shade of Enkidu [up from the Netherworld like a phantom!]
84	To the word [of Ea]
85	The Young Hero Šamaš, [. . .] son of Ningal,
86	opened a chink in the Netherworld,
87	he brought the shade of Enkidu up from the Netherworld like a phantom.
88	They hugged each other, kissing one another,
89	sharing thoughts and exchanging questions:
90	‘Tell me, my friend! Tell me, my friend!
91	Tell me the rules ⁵ of the Netherworld that you saw!
92	‘I cannot tell you, my friend, I cannot tell you!
93	If I am going to tell you the rules ⁵ of the Netherworld that I saw,
94	sit you down (and) weep!’
95	‘[(So)] let me sit down and weep!’
96	‘[My friend, <i>the penis</i> that you touched so your heart rejoiced,
97	grubs devour ⁶ [(it) . . . like an] old garment.
98	[My friend, <i>the crotch</i> that you] touched so your heart rejoiced,
99	it is filled with dust [like a crack in the ground.]’
100	‘[Woe!]’ said [the lord,] and threw himself prostrate [in the] dust.
101	‘[Woe!]’ said [Gilgameš,] and threw himself prostrate [in the dust.]
102	‘Did [you see the man with one son?]
103	‘I saw (him).
104	[A peg is] fixed [in his wall] and he weeps over [it bitterly.]’
105	‘[Did you see the man with two sons?]
106	‘I saw (him).
107	He drinks water [from a waterskin slung on the saddle.]’

⁵ Lit. ‘order, instruction’.

⁶ Lit. ‘a grub devours’.

KK	108	[ša mārūšu 4-ma ta-mu] ¹ ru ¹ a-ta-mar
KK	109	[kī šā imēr ši-in-d]a ¹ a ¹ -ū lib-ba-šū ḥa-di
KK	110	[ša mārūšu 5-ma t]a-mu-ru a-ta-mar
KK	111	[kī ṭupšarr]i(dub.sar) dam-qi id-su pe-ta-at
KK	112	[i-šā-riš] a-na ēkalli(ē.gal) irrub(ku ₂) ^{ub}
KK	113	[ša mārūšu 6-ma t]a-mu-ru a-ta-mar
	114	[kī errēši libbašu ḥadi]
	115	[ša mārūšu 7-ma tāmur ātamar]
	116	[kī duppussē ūi ina kussī ašibma . . . išemme]
	117	[. tāmur ātamar]
G ₁	118	ki-i šu-ri-in-ni dam-qi tūb-[qa] ¹ a ¹ -[ḫi?]-[iz?] ¹
G ₁	119	¹ ki-i ¹ x x x x x x x [x x x]x

There follows a gap of no more than 9 lines.

G ₁	129	x[.]
G ₁	130	x[.]
G ₁	131	x[.]
G ₁	132	š[á tāmur ātamar]
G ₁	133	¹ a ¹ -[.]
G ₁	134	š[á tāmur ātamar]
G ₁	135	¹ a ¹ -[.]
G ₁	136	x[.]
G ₁	137	x[.]

There follows a gap of perhaps 6 lines.

Nq	144	¹ šā ¹ ina tár-kul-lu ¹ maḥ-šū ¹ ta-mur ¹ a ¹ -t[a-mar]
Nq	145	lu-man a-na ¹ ummi(ama) ¹ -[šū u] a-b[i-š]u ina na-sih sik-ka-r[im it-r]a-na-al-la[k]
Nq	146	šā mu-ti ¹ ili(dingir)-šū ¹ [imūtu(ug ₇) t]a-mur ¹ a ¹ -ta-ma[r]
G ₁ Nq	147	ina ma-a-a-al [ilī(dingir) ^{me} š] a-lil-ma mē(a) ^{mes} za-ku-ti i-šat-ti
G ₁ Nq	148	ša ina ta-ḥa-zi ¹ de ¹ -e-ku ta-mur a ¹ ta ¹ -[mar]
G ₁ Nq	149	abu(ad)-šū u umma(ama)-šū rēš(sag)-su na-šū-ú u aššat(dam)-su ina muḥ-ḫi-š[ú i-bak-k]a-a-[šú]
G ₁ Nq	150	šā šā-lam-ta-šū ina šēri(edin) na-da-a[t] ta-mur a-ta-ma[r]
G ₁ Nq	151	e-ṭem-ma-šū ina eršetū(ki) ^{im} ul ša-lī[l]
G ₁ N	152	šā e-ṭem-ma-šū pa-qi-da la i-šū-ú ta-mur a-ta-mar
G ₁ N	153	šū-ku-la-at di-qa-ri ku-si-pat a-ka-li šā ina su-qi [n]a-da-a ik-kal

GN

145 q in two lines 147 G₁ in two lines N: ma-a-a-al [x (x)-m]a q: za]-ku-(ti) 148 N: šā, de¹-ku¹ 149 q in two lines G₁: i[š-šū-ú (u)] dam- 149-50 G₁ in four lines 151 G₁: i-¹na¹ q: ša]-lil-ma 152 N: pa-qi-di 152-3 G₁ in four lines

108	‘Did [you see the man with four sons?] ⁷ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
109	[Like the owner of a donkey]-team his heart rejoices. ⁸
110	‘Did you see [the man with five sons?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
111	[Like a] fine [scribe] his hand is deft, ⁷
112	he enters the palace [with ease.] ⁷
113	‘Did you see [the man with six sons?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
114	[Like a ploughman his heart rejoices.] ⁹
115	‘[Did you see the man with seven sons?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
116	[Among the junior deities he sits on a throne and listens to the proceedings.] ⁹
117	‘[Did you see the palace eunuch?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
118	Like a fine standard he is propped in the corner,
119	like’

Lacuna

132	‘[Did you see] the one [who . . . ?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
133	Tò [.]
134	‘[Did you see] the one [who . . . ?] ⁹ ’ ‘I saw (him).’
135	Tò [.]

Lacuna

144	‘Did you see the one who was struck by a mooring-pole?’ ‘I [saw (him).]’
145	Alas for his mother [and father!] When pegs are pulled out [he] wanders about. ⁹
146	‘Did you see the one who [died] a natural death?’ ⁸ ‘[I saw (him).]’
147	He lies drinking clear water on the bed of the [gods]. ⁹
148	‘Did you see the one who was killed in battle?’ ‘I [saw (him).]’
149	His father and mother honour his memory ¹⁰ and his wife [weeps] over [(him).]’
150	‘Did you see the one whose corpse was left lying in the open countryside?’ ‘I saw (him).’
151	His ghost does not lie at rest in the Netherworld. ⁹
152	‘Did you see the one whose ghost has no provider ¹¹ of funerary offerings?’ ‘I saw (him).’
153	He eats the scrapings from the pot (and) crusts of bread that are thrown away in the street. ⁹

⁷ Lit. ‘his arm is open’.

⁸ Lit. ‘the death of his god’.

⁹ So MS G; MS N: ‘the very [gods]’.

¹⁰ Lit. ‘hold up his head’.

¹¹ So MS G; MS N: ‘providers’.

COLOPHONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

MS A₁ Tablet VI Plate 80

tup-pi 6.kám šá naq-bi e-mu-ru [éš.gà^r ^dGIŠ-gim-m]aš
 libir.ra.bí.gim ab.sar-ma ba.an.¹e¹
 [KUR¹m.an.šár-dù-[a]
 [šar₄ š]ú šar₄ kur an.šár^{ki} 1

Tablet VI, 'He who saw the Deeps', [series of] Gilgameš. Written and checked according to its original.

Palace of Aššurbanipal, [king of the] world, king of Assyria.

MS B₁ Tablet I Plate 40

[dub 1.kam šá naq-ba i-mu-ru i]š-di ma-a-ti
 [KUR^man.šár-dù-a šar₄ šú šar₄ an.šár^{ki} šá ana an.šár u] ^[a]nin-líl tak-lu
 [nir.gál.zu nu téš šár dingir^m an.šár²

[Tablet I, 'He who saw the Deep, the] foundation of the country'. [Palace of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who] trusts [in Aššur and] Ninlil. [May he who trusts in you not come to shame], O Aššur, [king of the gods!]

MS C Tablet XI Plate 122

dub 11.kám šá naq-bi i-m[u-ru éš.gà]r ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 libir.ra.bí.gim [a]b.sar.àm ba.a.è
 KUR^man.šár-d[ù]¹a¹ šar₄ šú šar₄ kur an.šár^{ki} 3

Tablet XI, 'He who saw the Deeps', series of Gilgameš. Written and checked according to its original.

Palace of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

MS D Tablet IX Plate 107

d[ub 9.k]am šá naq-ba e-mu-ru éš.gà^r ^dG[ⁱŠ-gim-maš]
 KUR^man.šár-dù-a

¹ The property label, which is Aššurbanipal colophon a = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 317, was incised on the tablet after the clay had hardened.

² The last two lines of the colophon represent an abbreviated form of Asb colophon e (Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 319), parallel with colophons t-v (nos. 332-5).

³ The property label, which is Aššurbanipal colophon a = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 317 with minor orthographic variants, was incised on the tablet after the clay had hardened.

šar₄ šú šar₄ an.šár^{ki} 4

Tablet [IX], 'He who saw the Deep', series of Gilgameš.
 Palace of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

MS F₄ Tablet I Plate 41

[dub 1.kam šá naq-b]a i-mu-ra éš.g[à^r ^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 [kīma labirīšu šá]-tir-ma b[a-ri]

[Tablet I, 'He who] saw the [Deep], series [of Gilgameš.] Written and [checked according to its original.]

MS G₁ Tablet XII Plate 145

tup-pi 12.ká[m š]a naq-bi i-mu-ru
 [libir.ra.bí]g[im ab.sa]r.sar ba.a.è

Tablet XII, 'He who saw the Deeps'. Written and checked according to its original.

MS H Tablet V Plate 73

[dub 5.k]am.me éš.gà[r ^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 [Tablet V], series [of Gilgameš.]

MS K₃ Tablet X Plate 113

dub 10.kam.me šá naq-ba i-mu-ru éš.gà[r] ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 KUR^man.šár-dù-a šar₄ šú šar₄ kur an.šár^{ki} 4

Tablet X, 'He who saw the Deep', series of Gilgameš.
 Palace of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

MS N Tablet XII Plate 146
Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 294 (705 BC)

dub 12.kam éš.gà^r ^dGIŠ-gim-maš zag.til.la.b[i.šè al.til]
 libir.r[a.b]i.gim ab.sar.àm ba.[an.è]
 tup-p[i^m] ^dnà-zu-qu-up-gi.na dumu ^{md}amar.utu-mu-ba^{šá} ^{ru}[dub.sar]

⁴ The property label, which is Aššurbanipal colophon a = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 317, with minor orthographic variants, was incised on the tablet after the clay had hardened.

[š]à.bal.bal^mgab-bu-dingir^{mēni}-kam^{ef lú}gal d[ub.sar^{mēš}]
 [ʷ]^{ru}kal-*ha*^{iú}šu.numun.na ud 27.[kam]
 [li-mu^mnigin-^d]en^{iú}šá-kin^{ur}si-n[a-bu]
 [mu 17^m20-gin (egir^d)]šár kur an.[šár^{ki}]
 [ú mu 5]šár.ká.dingir.r[a^{ki}]

Tablet XII, series of Gilgameš, [completed to] its end. Written and [checked] according to its original. Tablet of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, son of Marduk-šumu-iqīša, the [scribe], descendant of Gabbi-ilāni-ēreš, the chief of the [scribes]. Kalah, 27th Du'ūzu, [eponymy of Našīr]-Bēl, the governor of Sinabu, [year 17, Sargon (II)], king of Assyria, [and year 5], king of Babylon.

MS O₁ Tablet VI Plate 85

dub 6.kam šá naq-bi i-mu-ru é[š.gār^dGIŠ-gim-maš]⁵

Tablet VI, 'He who saw the Deeps', series [of Gilgameš.]

MS Q₁ Tablet VI Plate 88

[dub] 6.kam éš.[gār] ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 [l]ibir.ra.bi ab.sar^lba.an^lè

[Tablet] VI, series of Gilgameš. Written and checked (according to) its original.

MS R Tablet VIII Plate 101

[dub 8.kam šá naq-ba i-mu]-ru
 [. b]à-ri⁶
 [KUR^man.šár-dù-a šar₄ šú šar₄ kur an].šár^{ki}

[Tablet VIII, 'He who] saw [the Deep].]

[Written and] checked [according to its original. Palace of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of] Assyria.

MSV₃ Tablet VIII Plate 103

i[na tuṣṣāni . . .
 a-na [ta-mar-ti-šú . . . ?

⁵ Then follows, in 9 lines, Aššurbanipal colophon d = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 319.

⁶ This and the following line were incised on the tablet after the clay had hardened. The property label is Aššurbanipal colophon a = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 317.

⁷ Probably Aššurbanipal colophon d = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 319, though other restorations are possible.

MSW₁ Tablet XI Plate 134

[du]b 11.kam éš.gār [^dGIŠ-gim-maš]
 [g]im sumun-šú sar-ma [bari]

Tablet XI, series of [Gilgameš]. Written and [checked] according to its original.

MS FF Unplaced Plate 35
 Thompson, *Gilgameš*, pl. 8

[. . . è]š.gār ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 [. . . ab.sa]r ba.a[n.è]
 [(. . .)]

[Tablet x₂] series of Gilgameš. [Written] and checked [according to its original. (. . .)]

MS JJ Tablet IX Plate 108

(Last five lines of Aššurbanipal colophon d = Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 319⁸)

MS a₁ Tablet VI Plate 89
 Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 255

dub 6.kam šá naq-bi e-mu-ru éš.gār ^dGIŠ-gim-maš
 gim libir.ra.bi šà-*ir*! bā-ri {x}⁹
 š[à]-*tar*^{md}aš-šur-ág-zi^{iú}šáman!(DUGUD).lá tu[r]
 šá a-na^dnā ú^l[p]anun gál^a geštu^{min.mēš}-šú

Tablet VI, 'He who saw the Deeps', series of Gilgameš. Written and checked according to its original. Document of Aššur-rā'im-napišti, junior apprentice, whose ears are attuned to Nabû and Tašmētu.

MS a Tablet XII Plate 147

[.^de]n^la^lm[u-š]e-zib šu^{min} m[.]
 [. še-eh]-ru^lpa^l-liḫ^den ina ša[r-qa? lā itabbal]

[. . . Tablet of . . . , son of . . .]-Bēl, descendant of Mušēzīb. Written by [. . . , his son,] the [junior . . .] He who fears Bēl [must not remove it] by theft.¹⁰

⁸ Note the minor variant *mám-ma* for *mam-ma*.

⁹ This sign appears to be a partly erased TUR, presumably an erroneous anticipation of the following line.

¹⁰ Assuming a variant *šarqu* for *šurqu*, by analogy with the adverb *šurqiš*: *šarqiš*.

MS b Tablet X Plate 115
Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 148¹¹

im.dub 10.kam.ma éš.gār^dGIŠ-gim-maš nu al.til
gim sumun-šú sar-ma igi.tab u igi.kár
im.dub^mki-šú-tin a šá^mmu-^den
a^mmu-še-zib GIŠ^{md}en-šeš^{mes}-ùru dumu-šú
pa-lil^den u^dgašan-ia gur [lâ tùm E^{ki}?]
ⁱⁱⁱgan.gan ud^r15.kam mu^l[x.kam]
šá šī-i mu 1 m[e + y.kam]
^má[r-šá-ka-a šâr (lugal^{mes})]
[. . . (remainder lost)]

Tablet X, series of Gilgameš, not finished.

Written, checked and collated according to its original. Tablet of Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Iddin-Bēl, descendant of Mušēzib. Written by Bēl-aḥḥē-ušur, his son. He who fears Bēl and Bēltiya must return it [and must not take it away. *Babylon*,] 15th Kislīmu, year [x], that is year [x + 64, Arsaces, king (of kings) . . .]

MS f Tablet X Plate 117

dub 10.kam.ma éš.gār^d[GIŠ-gim-maš]
[. . . .] x x x-šú a^m10-šeš^{mes}-ùru [x x x]
[. . . pa-lil^damar.ut]u ina šur-qa là GIŠ-šú E^{ki} iii x [ud.x.kam]
[mu.x.kam^mse-lu-ku u^man-ti]^ru^l-ku-su lugal^{mes}[š]

Tablet X, series of [Gilgameš. Tablet of PN, son of PN,] descendant of Adad-aḥḥē-ušur. [Written by PN, his son. He who fears Marduk] must not remove it by theft. Babylon, month [m, day n, year x,] Kings [Seleucus and] Antiochus.¹²

MS o Tablet I Plate 50
Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 183

[mu.šid.bi? 2?] me 48.ām (<^den-ki-dù a-šib) ma-ḥar-[šá]
[. . .]^rqu^lim.dub 1.kam šá idim igi éš.gār^dGIŠ-g[im-maš]

¹¹ See also J. Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (1964), pp. 262–4, who reconstructed the date as between SE 171 and 199, i.e. 141–113 BC. He suggested that the month may also be read ⁱⁱⁱgan^{km} (pp. 274 f.), and that the scribe of this tablet may be the Bēl-aḥḥē-ušur, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, known from an administrative document dated to SE 185 (T. G. Pinches, *BOR* 4 (1889–90), p. 132; E. Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 319–23, no. 57). The same man is now known from other tablets from Parthian Babylon: he was one of a group of astrologers in the pay of the temple E-sagil who were active in SE 185–209 (see further R. J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 42 (1985), 548–56; F. Rochberg, *Fs Oelsner*, p. 371). Since he wrote this tablet for his father, Itti-Marduk-balātu, it presumably dates to the time of his scribal apprenticeship. This would have been before he and his brother succeeded their father as astrologers of E-sagil, a promotion that happened in the year SE 185.

¹² According to R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75*, p. 21, the limits for the co-regency of Seleucus I and Antiochus I in the available dated documents are 292–281 BC.

[(*vacat?*)] gim sumun-šú ba-ri [(*vacat?*)]¹³

[Its line-count: 2]48(?). ‘(Enkidu was sitting) before [her, as they . . .] . . .’ Tablet I, ‘He who saw the Deep’, series of Gilgameš. [(. . .)] Checked according to its original. [(. . .)]

MS w Tablet IV Plate 71

A trace on col. vi may be of a colophon: see p. 600.

MS dḍ Tablet V Plate 76

im 5.kam.ma šá [naq-ba i-mu-ru éš.gār^dGIŠ-gim-maš]

Tablet V, ‘He who [saw the Deep], series of Gilgameš.]

¹³ The structure of this colophon is apparently confused: the numeral 48 in its first line represents an evident intrusion into the tablet’s catch-line. It must belong to a line count, though one plainly much at odds with that of the text reconstructed here. In the second line, the traces of the first extant sign are as copied and do not allow Hunger’s reading m]u?.bi.im. I assume that the sign before im.dub represents the end of a plural verb with which the catch-line ended.