(43) IBBINGU, who carried off Kingu in the thick of the battle,
Who conveys guidance for all, establishes rulership.

(44) KINMA, who directs all the gods, the giver of counsel,
At whose name the gods quake in fear, as at the storm.

(45) ESZKUR shall sit aloft in the house of prayer;
May the gods bring their presents before him. (110)
That (from him) they may receive their assignments;
None can without him create artful works.
Four black-headed ones are among his creatures; (140)
Aside from him no god knows the answer as to their days.

(46) GIRIL, who maintains the sharp point of the weapon,
Who creates artful works in the battle with Tiamat;
Who has broad wisdom, is accomplished in insight,
Whose mind is so vast that the gods, all of them, cannot fathom (it).

(47) ANDU be his name, the whole sky may he cover.
May his beneficent roar ever hover over the earth; (120)
May he, as Mummu, diminish the clouds;
Below, the people may he furnish sustenance.

(48) ASHARU, who, as is his name, guided the gods of destiny;
All of the people are verily in his charge.

(49) NEBIRU shall hold the crossings of heaven and earth,
So that they (the gods) cannot cross above and below,
They must wait upon him.

Nebiru is the star which in the skies is brilliant.
Verily he holds the central position, they shall bow down to him,
Saying: "He who the midst of the Sea restlessly crosses,
Let 'Crossing' be his name, who controls its midst.
May they uphold the course of the stars of heaven;
May he shepherd all the gods like sheep.
May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short! (130)
Into the future of mankind, when days have grown old,
May she recede without cease and stay away forever. (140)

Because he created the spaces and fashioned the firm ground,
Father Enlil called his name (50) 'LORD OF THE LANDS.' (150)

When all the names which the Igigi proclaimed,
Ea had heard, his spirit rejoiced,
Thus: "He whose names his fathers have glorified,
He is indeed even as I; his name shall be Ea.
All my combined rites he shall administer;
All my instructions he shall carry out!"
With the title "Fifty" the great gods
Proclaimed him whose names are fifty and made his way supreme.

Epilogue
Let them be kept (in mind) and let the leader explain them. (156)
Let the wise and the knowing discuss (them) together.
Let the father recite (them) and impart to his son.
Let the ears of shepherd and herdsman be opened.
Let him rejoice in Marduk, the Enlil of the gods,
That his land may be fertile and that he may prosper.
Firm in his order, his command unalterable,
The utterance of his mouth no god shall change.
When he looks he does not turn away his neck;
When he is angry, no god can withstand his wrath.
Vast is his mind, broad his sympathy,
Sinner and transgressor may come before him.

(See the Supplement for the remainder of the Epilogue.)

The Epic of Gilgamesh

The theme of this epic is essentially a secular one. The poem
deals with such earthy things as man and nature, love and adventure,
friendship and combat—all masterfully blended into a background for the stark
reality of death. The climactic struggle of the protagonist to change his eventual fate,
by learning the secret of immortality from the hero of the Great Flood of long age,
ends in failure; but with the failure comes a sense of quiet resignation. For the first time in the history of the world a profound
experience on such a heroic scale has found expression in a noble style. The scope and sweep of the epic, and its sheer
poetic power, give it a timeless appeal. In antiquity, the influence
of the poem spread to various tongues and cultures. Today it
captivates student and poet alike.

The Akkadian title of the poem, which was taken as usual
from the opening words, is Sa nagba imuru, "He who saw everything." The prevailing meter has the normal four beats to a line.
The work is divided into twelve tablets. The longest of these contains
over three hundred lines. It happens to be the so-called Flood Tablet (XI), virtually in a perfect state of preservation.
The rest has survived in portions, some of considerable size and others in relatively small fragments. All but a few of the Akkadian
version are destroyed.
An Epic of Gilgamesh

Table 1

(i)
He who saw everything [to the end] of the land,
[Who all things experienced, [consider] red all!\)
[... ] together [... ],
[... ] of wisdom, who all things [ ... ].
The [hi]dden he saw, [laid bare] the undisclosed.
He brought report of before the Flood,
Achieved a long journey, tasting and resting.
All his toil he engraved on a stone stela.
Of ramparted\* Uruk the wall he built,
Of hallowed Eanna,\* the pure sanctuary.
Behold its outer wall, whose cornice\* is like copper,
Peer at the inner wall, which none can equal.
Go up and walk\* on the walls of Uruk,
Inspect the base terrace, examine the brickwork:
Is not its brickwork of burnt brick?
Did not the Seven \* [Sages] lay its foundations?

(remainder of the column broken away. A Hittite fragment [cf. J. Friedrich, ZA, xxxix (1929), 2-5] corresponds in part with the damaged initial portion of our column ii, and hence appears to contain some of the material from the end of the first column. We gather from this fragment that several gods had a hand in fashioning Gilgamesh, whom they endowed with superhuman size. At length, Gilgamesh arrives in Uruk.)

(ii)
Two-thirds of him is god, [one-third of him is human].
The form of his body [ ... ]

(mutilated or missing—see the Supplement) (37)
He is made fearful like a wild ox, lofty [ ... ];
The onslaught of his weapons verily has no equal.
By the drum\* are aroused [his] companions.

The nobles of Uruk are worried in [their chambers]:
"Gilgamesh" leaves not the son to [his] father;
[Day] and [night] is unbridled his arrogance.

Is this Gilgamesh, [the shepherd of ramparted]

Uruk?

Is this [our] shepherd, [bold, stately, wise]?

[ Gilgamesh ] leaves not [the maid to her mother],

1 For the restoration of the first two lines cf. GET, 111, and Böhl, HEG, 111.
2 For this translation of Uruk-supiri cf. Leonard, Gilgamesh, 3.
3 The temple of Anu and Ishtar in Uruk.
4 Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvii (1948), 79, n.2.
5 Text: im-ta-Ial\* “take counsel,” but the parallel passage, XI, 303, reads i-šal-Ial\* “walk about.”
6 For the seven sages, who brought civilization to seven of the oldest cities in the land, see H. Zimmer, ZA, xlv (1921), 151 ff.
7 For the various writings of the name cf. GET, 8 ff; Th. Jacobson, The Sumerian King Lists (1939), 89 ff, n.128; and S. N. Kramer, J.AOS, lxxv (1948), 11, n.15, and A. Goetze, JCS, 1 (1937), 254.

1 cf. S. N. Kramer, loc. cit., 23, n.116. To the material listed in that article add now id., JCS, 1 (1947), 3-6.
The warrior's daughter, [the noble's spouse]!
The gods hearkened to their plaint, Is this their shepherd, or [ramparted] Uruk?

Gilgamesh leaves not the maid to [her mother], Bold, stately, (and) wise? . . .

When Anu had heard out their plaint, The great Aruru they called:

"Thou, Aruru, didst create [the man];
Create now his double;"

His stormy heart let him match. Let them contend, that Uruk may have peace!"

When Aruru heard this, A double of Anu she conceived within her. Aruru washed her hands, Pinched off clay and cast it on the steppe. [On the steppe] she created valiant Enkidu.

Offspring of . . . , essence of Ninurta. [Sha]ggyl with hair is his whole body, He is endowed with head hair like a woman. The locks of his hair sprout like Nisaba. He knows neither people nor land; Garbed is he like Sumuqan. With the gazelles he feeds on grass, With the wild beasts he jostles at the watering-place,

With the teeming creatures his heart delights in water. (Now) a hunter, a trapping-man: faced him at the watering-place.

[One] day, a second, and a third He faced him at the watering-place. When the hunter saw him, his face became motionless. He took the road, in Uruk he set [his foot]:

He and his beasts went into his house, [Sore a fraid, still, without a sound, (While) his heart was disturbed], overclouded his face. For woe had [entered] his belly; His face was like that of a wayfarer from afar.

The hunter opened [his mouth] to speak, Saying to [his father]: "My father, there is [a] fellow who [has come from the hills], He is the mightiest in the land; strength he has. [Like the essence] of Anu, so mighty [his strength]! Ever] he ranges over the hills, Ever] with the beasts [he feeds on grass]. Ever sets he [his feet at the watering-place]. I am so frightened that I dare not approach him! He filled in] the pits that I had dug, [He tore up] my traps which I had [set], The beasts and creatures of the steppe [He has made slip through my hands].

[He does not allow] me to engage in fieldcraft!!

[His father opened his mouth to speak], Saying to the hunter: "[My son], in Uruk [there lives] Gilgamesh. [No one is there more mighty] than he. [Like the essence of Anu, so mighty is his strength!] [Go, then, toward Uruk set thy face, [Speak to him of] the power of the man. [Let him give thee a harlot-lass]. Take (her) [with thee]; [Let her prevail against him] by dint of [greater] might.

When he waters the beasts at the watering-place, [She shall pull off] her cloth[ing, laying bare] her ripeness. [As soon as he sees] her, he will draw near to her. Reject him will his beasts [that grew up on] his steppe!"

[Giving heed to] the advice of his father, The hunter went forth [to Gilgamesh]. He took the road, in Uruk he set [his foot]: ["[. . . ] Gilgamesh . . . ".] There is a fellow [who has come from the hills], He is the mightiest [in the land; strength he has].

Like the essence of Anu, so mighty [his strength]!

The epic employs a number of compound phrases, particularly with amētu "man" as the second element.
The creeping creatures came, their heart delighting in water.

But as for him, Enkidu, born in the hills—
With the gazelles he feeds on grass,
With the wild beasts he drinks at the watering-place,
With the creeping creatures his heart delights in water—
The lass beheld him, the savage-man,
The barbarous fellow from the depths of the steppe:
"There he is, O lass! Free thy bosom,
Bare thy bosom that he may possess thy ripeness!
Be not bashful! Welcome his ardor!"
(10)
As soon as he sees thee, he will draw near to thee.
Reject him will his beasts that grew up on his steppe!"
Forth went the hunter, taking with him a harlot-lass.
They took the road, going straight on the(ir) way.
On the third day at the appointed spot they arrived.
The hunter and the harlot sat down in their places.
One day, a second day, they sat by the watering-place.
The wild beasts came to the watering-place to drink.

(iv)

The wild beasts drew away from his body.
Started was Enkidu, as his body became taut,
His knees were motionless—for his wild beasts had gone.
Enkidu had to slacken his pace—it was not as before;
But he now had wisdom, broader understanding.
Returning, he sits at the feet of the harlot.
He looks up at the face of the harlot,
His ears attentive, as the harlot speaks;
[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"Thou art wise, Enkidu, art become like a god!"

Why with the wild creatures dost thou roam over the steppe?
Come, let me lead thee [to] ramparted Uruk,
To the holy temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk."
As she speaks to him, her words find favor,
His heart enlightened, he yearns for a friend.
Enkidu says to her, to the harlot:
"Up, lass, escort thou me,"
To the pure sacred temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
I will challenge him [and will boldly address him,

(v)

[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"There he is, O lass! Free thy breasts,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
"Thou art wise, Enkidu, art become like a god!"

The wild beasts drew away from his body.
Started was Enkidu, as his body became taut,
His knees were motionless—for his wild beasts had gone.
Enkidu had to slacken his pace—it was not as before;
But he now had wisdom, broader understanding.
Returning, he sits at the feet of the harlot.
He looks up at the face of the harlot,
His ears attentive, as the harlot speaks;
[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"Thou art wise, Enkidu, art become like a god!"

Why with the wild creatures dost thou roam over the steppe?
Come, let me lead thee [to] ramparted Uruk,
To the holy temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk."
As she speaks to him, her words find favor,
His heart enlightened, he yearns for a friend.
Enkidu says to her, to the harlot:
"Up, lass, escort thou me,"
To the pure sacred temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
I will challenge him [and will boldly address him,

(v)

[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"There he is, O lass! Free thy breasts,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
"Thou art wise, Enkidu, art become like a god!"

The wild beasts drew away from his body.
Started was Enkidu, as his body became taut,
His knees were motionless—for his wild beasts had gone.
Enkidu had to slacken his pace—it was not as before;
But he now had wisdom, broader understanding.
Returning, he sits at the feet of the harlot.
He looks up at the face of the harlot,
His ears attentive, as the harlot speaks;
[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"Thou art wise, Enkidu, art become like a god!"

Why with the wild creatures dost thou roam over the steppe?
Come, let me lead thee [to] ramparted Uruk,
'My mother, I saw a dream last night:
There appeared the stars in the heavens.
Like the essence of Anu, it descends upon me.
I sought to lift it; it was too stout for me.
I sought to drive it off, but I could not remove it.

Urük-land was standing about it,
The land was gathered round it,
The populace jostled towards it,
The nobles thronged about it.
[...] my companions were kissing its feet.
[I loved it] and was drawn to it as though to a woman.
And I placed it at [thy] feet,
Thou didst make it vie with me.'

[The wise mother of Gilgamesh, who] is versed in all knowledge,
Says to her lord;
[Beloved and wise Ninsun, who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to Gilgamesh:
'Thy [rius],—the star of heaven,
Which descended upon thee like [the essence of Anu];
[Thou didst seek to lift it], it was too stout for thee;
[Thou wouldst drive it off], but couldst not remove it;
[Thou didst place it] at thy feet,
It was I who made it vie with thee;
[Thou didst love it and] went [drawn] to it [as though to a woman—
[As though to a woman],
[Means that he will never] forsake [thee].
This is the meaning of thy dream.’

[Again Gilgamesh says] to his mother:
[My mother, I saw another dream:
In ramparted Urük] lay an axe;
There was a gathering round it.

[Urük-land] was standing about it,
The land was gathered [round it],
The populace jostled towards it.
I placed it at thy feet.
I loved it] and was drawn to it as though to a woman,
[Thou didst make it vie with me].

The wise mother of Gilgamesh, who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to her son:
Beloved and wise Ninsun, who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to Gilgamesh: 'The axe which thou sawest is a man. Thou didst make it vie with thee—
[As though to a woman].
Thou didst love it and went drawn to it as thou to a woman,
And I shall make it vie with thee—
A stout comrade who rescues a friend is come to thee.
He is the mightiest in the land; strength he has.
Like the essence of Anu, so mighty his strength.'

Gilgamesh speaks to his mother: ‘[To me], by Enlil’s command, is a counsellor descended,
I have a [friend] and counsellor,
[And to him] shall I be a friend and counsellor.’
[Thus did Gilgamesh reveal his dreams,
[And thus] did the last narrate the dreams of Gilgamesh to Enkidu,
[As they] sat, the two (of them).

Tablet II
OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION
In the Assyrian Version, Tablet II has come down in only a few disjointed and mutilated fragments. The text here followed (in agreement with Böhl and Heidel) is that of the Old Babylonian Version as found on the “Pennsylvania Tablet.” It was published by S. Langdon in UM, x, 3 (1917), and was revised in transliteration by M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay; cf. their An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic (1920; abbr. YOS, iv, 3), 62-68. The beginning of this tablet goes back to Tablet I, v, 25 of the Assyrian Version. The resulting repetition of some of the incidents should not prove to be unduly disturbing in an epic, particularly since the two accounts are by no means identical. It will be noted that many of the lines on the present tablet contain only two beats, an arrangement which affects the line count but does not alter the meter.

(i)

Gilgamesh arose to reveal the dream, Saying to his mother;
“My mother, in the time of night
I felt joyful and I walked about
In the midst of the nobles.

The stars assembled in the heavens.
The handiwork of Anu descended towards me.
I sought to lift it; it was too heavy for me!
I sought to move it; move it I could not!

Urük-land was gathered about it,
While the nobles kissed its feet.
As I set my forehead over a woman,

They gave me support.
I raised it and brought it to thee.”
The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all,
Says to Gilgamesh:
“Thou wilt rejoice.
The nobles will kiss his feet;
Thou wilt embrace him and [ ... ] him;
Thou wilt lead him to me.”

He lay down and saw another:
[He] arose and said to his mother:
[My mother], I saw another
[ ... ] in the confusion.

In the street
[Of] broad-marted Urük

34 cf. above, n.14. 35 One of the stars? 36 Reading al-tub-ak-hi-ir-m (from bitir), with Unger and Landberger, cf. ZA, viii (1921), 102 and n.3. 37 cf. above, n.27. 38 cf. Heidel, EG, 24.

39 See von Soden, ZA, xxxi (1929), 256.
40 To press the carrying strap against it; for this method, which is witnessed on the Ur Standard and is still practiced in modern Iraq. cf. Th. Jacobsen, Acta Orientalia, viii (1930), 67, n.3.
41 For m-in-dī cf. JCS, i (1947), 322, n.6; Orientalia, xviii, 387.
42 If ima e-li-e may be read and so interpreted.
There lay an axe, and
They were gathered round it.
That axe, strange was its shape.
As soon as I saw it, I rejoiced.
I loved it, and as though to a woman,
I was drawn to it.
I took it and placed it
At my side."
The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all,
[Says to Gilgamesh]:

(small break)

(ii)
"Because I made it vie with thee."
While Gilgamesh reveals his dream,
Enkidu sits before the harlot.
The two of them make love together.
He forgot the steppe where he was born.
For six days and seven nights Enkidu came forth
Mating with the ass.
Then the harlot opened her mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:
"As I look at thee, Enkidu, thou art become like a god;
Wherefore with the wild creatures
Dost thou range over the steppe?
Up, I will lead thee
To broad-marted Uruk, To the holy temple, the abode of Anu,
To Eanna, the abode of Anu,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in deeds,
And thou, like . . . ,
Wilt love him like thyself.
Up, arise from the ground,
The shepherd's bed!"
He hearkened to her words, approved her speech;
The woman's counsel fell upon his heart.
She pulled off (her) clothing;
With one (piece) she clothed him,
With the other garment she clothed herself.
Holding on to his hand,
She leads him like a child;
The place of the sheepfold.
Round him the shepherds gathered.

(small break)

(iii)
The milk of wild creatures
He was wont to suck.

Food they placed before him;
He gagged, he gaped
And he stared.
Nothing does Enkidu know
Of eating food;
To drink strong drink
He has not been taught.
The harlot opened her mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:
"Eat the food, Enkidu,
As is life's due;
Drink the strong drink, as is the custom of the land."
Enkidu ate the food,
Until he was sated;
Of strong drink he drank
Seven goblets.
Carefree became his mood and cheerful,
His heart exulted
And his face glowed.
He rubbed the shaggy growth, The hair of his body,
Anointed himself with oil,
Became human.
He put on clothing,
He is like a groom!
He took his weapon
To chase the lions,
That shepherds might rest at night.
He caught wolves,
He captured lions,
The chief cattlemen could lie down;
Enkidu is their watchman,
The bold man,
The unique hero!
To . . . he said:

(several lines missing)

(iv)

(some eight lines missing)

He made merry.
When he lifted his eyes,
He beheld a man.
He says to the harlot:
"Lass, fetch the man!
Why has he come hither?
His name let me hear."
The harlot called the man,
Going up to him and saying to him:
"Sir, whither hastenest thou?
What is this thy toilsome course?"
The man opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:
"Into the meeting-house he has intruded, Which is set aside for the people,

Reading ma-li, with Schott, ZA, XLII, 105.
Reading la-ul me! with Böhl, HGE, 123.
Reading with Schott, OLZ, 1933, 520: i-ku!-ul-lu-ki-ja u-ta-um-us.
Lit. "for the nature of the offense see Th. Jacobsen, Asia Orientalia, VIII (1929), 70 ff."
... for wedlock. On the city he has heaped defilement, imposing strange things on the hapless city. For the king of broad-marted Uruk the drum of the people is free for nuptial choice. For Gilgamesh, king of broad-marted Uruk, the drum of the people is free for nuptial choice. That with lawful wives he might mate! He is the first, the husband comes after. By the counsel of the gods it has (so) been ordained. With the cutting of his umbilical cord it was decreed for him! At the words of the man his face grew pale.†

(some three lines missing)

(some six lines missing)

[Enkidu] walks [in front] and the lass behind him. When he entered broad-marted Uruk, the populace gathered about him. As he stopped in the street of broad-marted Uruk, the people were gathered, saying about him: "He is like Gilgamesh in build!" Though shorter in stature, he is stronger of bone. [ . . . ] . . . [He is the strongest in the land]; strength he has. The milk of wild creatures he was wont to suck. In Uruk (there will be) a constant (clatter of) arms." The nobles rejoiced: "A hero has appeared for the man of proper mien! For Gilgamesh, the godlike, his equal has come forth." For Ishhara the bed is laid out. Gilgamesh. . . . At night . . . . As he approaches, [Enkidu] stands in the street to bar the way.

53 If the sign before -lu-Ilim is to be read kal-. The literal meaning would be "brideship." 54 Very obscure. But if pukku is to be given here the same meaning as in I, ii, and XIII, if, then one must seek here a reference to some such instrument whose sound could summon the listeners to a given task or occasion.
55 Lit. "decreed," i.e. to their husbands.
56 Reading ma-ram with Schott, OLZ, 1933, 531.
57 Reading -er-er-un. For the end of column iii and the whole of column iv cf. G. Dossin, La pilier d'Enkidu (1931).
58 Read: pa-di-tam. See von Soden, loc. cit.
59 A form of Ishtar, as goddess of love.

To Gilgamesh [ . . . ] in his might. (some three lines missing)

(vi) (some five lines missing)

Gilgamesh [ . . . ]
On the steppe [ . . . ]
Sprouts [ . . . ].
He rose up and [ . . . ]
Before him.

They met in the Market-of-the-Land. Enkidu barred the gate with his foot, not allowing Gilgamesh to enter. They grappled each other, holding fast like bulls. They shattered the doorpost, As the wall shook. Gilgamesh and Enkidu grappled each other, holding fast like bulls; they shattered the doorpost, as the wall shook. As Gilgamesh bent the knee—his foot on the ground—his fury abated. And he turned away. When he had turned away, Enkidu to him speaks up, to Gilgamesh: "As one alone thy mother bore thee, the wild cow of the steer-folds, Ninsunna! Raised up above men is thy head, kingship over the people Enlil has granted thee!"

Tablet III
Old Babylonian Version

In the Assyrian Version, this tablet is extant only in fragments, which will be translated below, under B. The older text is that of the "Yale Tablet" (YOS, iv, 3, Pls. 1-7), which continues the account of the "Pennsylvania Tablet."

(i) (Mutilated or missing. Gilgamesh has decided on an expedition against monstrous Huwawa [Assyrian Humbaba], who resides in the Cedar Forest. Enkidu tries to dissuade him, but is unsuccessful, as may be gathered from the following verses.)
"[Why] dost thou desire To do [this thing]?"

. . .

60 For the form of wrestling to which this episode refers cf. C. H. Gordon, ILES, vii (1948), 264, and Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvii (1948), 30.
They kissed each other" (remainder missing or mutilated)

(some twenty-five lines missing or mutilated)

The eyes [of Enkidu filled with tears].

[ill was] his heart,
[As bitterly he sighed.

Yea, Enkidu's eyes filled with tears.

[ill was] his heart,
[As bitterly he sighed.

Says to Gilgamesh:

"My friend, why do thine eyes fill with tears?

Is ill thy heart,
As bitterly thou sighest?"

Enkidu opened his mouth,
Saying to Gilgamesh:

"A cry: my friend, chokes my throat;
My arms are limp,
And my strength has turned to weakness."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

"In the forest resides fierce Huwawa.
Let us, me and thee, slay him,
That all evil from the land we may banish!"

Enkidu opened his mouth,
Saying to Gilgamesh:

"I found it out, my friend, in the hills,
As I was roaming with the wild beasts.
For ten thousand leagues extends the forest.
Who is there that would go down into it?
Huwawa—his roaring is the storm-flood,
His mouth is fire, his breath is death!
Why dost thou desire to do this thing?
An unequal struggle is (tangling with) the siege engine, Huwawa."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

"The cedar—its mountain I would scale!"

Enkidu opened his mouth,

Reading it-ta-ak-kul-ama.

For this idiom cf. Schott, ZA, xliii (1914), 107.

The noun ta-ab-ha-a-tum is generally derived from sappu and taken to refer, in the sense of "female companions," to "Enkidu's sorrow at the loss of his Love"; cf. Thompson, EG, 20. The context, however, would seem to favor Schott's derivation as based on nukbu "to wall," loc. cit., 107.

Lit. "has bound my neck veins."


Lit. "double-hours," a measure of distance as well as of time.

61 Readings il-li-ili-ma.

62 For this idiom d. Schott, ZA, XLII (1934), 107.

63 The noun ta-ab-bi-attum is generally derived from tappu and taken to refer, in the sense of "female companions," to "Enkidu's sorrow at the loss of his Love"; d. Thompson.

64 Lit. "has bound my neck veins."

65 Lit. "men."

66 Lit. "cimeter."
[...] of the swords, thirty minas gold each.
Gilgamesh and Enkidu were each laden with ten talents.
[In the] gate of Uruk, whose bolts are seven,
[... in the street of broad-marted Uruk.
 [... ] Gilgamesh
 [... ] of broad-marted [Uruk].
 [... ] sat down before him,
[Speaking [...] :
"[... ] of broad-marted [Uruk]."

(one line missing)

(v)
"Him of whom they speak, I, Gilgamesh, would see,
At whose name the lands are ever in terror.
I will conquer him in the Cedar Forest!
How strong is the offspring of Uruk
I will cause the lands to hear!
My hand I will pose and will fell the cedars,
A name that endures I will make for me!"
The elders of broad-marted Uruk
Said to Gilgamesh in reply:
"Thou art yet young, Gilgamesh, thy heart
has carried thee away. (10)
That which thou wouldst achieve thou knowest not.
We hear that Huwawa is wondrous in appearance;
Who is there to face his weapons?
For ten thousand leagues extends the forest;
Who is there that would go down into it?
Huwawa—his roaring is the storm-flood,
His mouth is fire, his breath is death!
Why dost thou wish to do this thing?
An unequal struggle is (tangling with) the siege engine,
When Gilgamesh heard this speech Huwawa.
Of his counsellors,
He looked round, smiling, towards [his] friend:
"Now, my friend, thus [...]."
(Rest of the speech destroyed. When the text again be-
comes intelligible, the elders are addressing
Gilgamesh:)
"May thy god [protect] thee.
[May he lead thee] on the road back in safety.
To the landing-place at Uruk [may he bring thee
back]]"
Gilgamesh kneels down [before Shamash],
The words which he speaks [...] :
"I go, O Shamash, my hands [raised up in prayer].
May it henceforth be well with my soul,
Bring me back to the landing-place at [Uruk];
Establish [over me] (thy) protection!"
Gilgamesh called [his] friend
[And inspected] his omen.
(This appears to have been unfavorable, for the text
continues after a small break:)

(vi)
Tears run down [the face] of Gilgamesh:
"[... ] a road I have never traveled,
[... ] I know not.
[... ] I should fare well.
[... ] with joyful heart.
[... ] thrones."
[They brought him] his gear,
[... ] mighty [sword],
[Bow] and quiver
They placed [in] his hands.
[He] took the adzes,
[... ] his quiver,
The bow] of Anshan.9
His sword he placed in his girdle.
[... ] they could start on their journey,
[The populace] presses [to Gilgamesh]:
[... ] mayest thou return to the city!"
[The elders] pay him homage,
As they counsel Gilgamesh [about]
the journey:
"Trust [not], Gilgamesh, in thine own strength!
Let thine [eyes] be clear; guard thyself!
Let Enkidu go before thee;
He knows the [way], has traveled the road.
[Within the forest, all the passes
Of Huwawa let him penetrate!]9
[He who goes] in front protects the companion;
Let his [eyes be clear; let him guard himself].
May Shamash [grant] thee thy desire;
What thy mouth has spoken may he show
thine eyes!
May he open for thee the barred path,
The road unclose for thy treading,
The mountain unclose for thy foot!
May the night bring thee things of thy delight,
And may Lugalbanda stand by thee
[In regard to thy wish.
Childlike, mayest thou attain thy wish!
After the slaying of Huwawa, for which thou strivest,
Wash thou thy feet!
At rest time at night dig thou a well;
Ever pure shall be the water in thy waterskin!
Cool water offer thou to Shamash.
And be thou ever mindful of Lugalbanda!"
[Enkidu] opened his mouth, saying to Gilgamesh:
"[Since] contend thou wilt, be on (thy) way.
Let thy heart be [un] afraid. Follow me!
[... ] I know his dwelling place,
[And also the road] which Huwawa travels."
(Mutilated or missing. Gilgamesh had
bid adieu.)

9 A district in Elam.
70 cf. Landsberger, ZA, xxx (1934), 210, n.2. The sense of [i-na j-ka
in in-nu-ra-ma] would be close to our "look sharp!" cf. Assyrian Version,
III, 1.
71 Lit. "has seen."
72 Lit. "make him slip through," Akk. išša-ipu-a. cf. Schott, ZA, xxx
(1934). 151
73 Reading ına-qa-qi.
When the elders heard this speech of his, They sent off the hero upon his way:
"Go, Gilgamesh, may . . .
May thy god be at thy side."

(four lines mutilated)

ASSYRIAN VERSION: Tablet III

The beginning of this section links up with column vi 19 of the preceding so that there is only a slight overlap.

(i)
[The elders opened their mouths, saying to Gilgamesh]:
"Trust not, Gilgamesh, in all thine own strength. Let thine eyes be sated; make trust worth thy stroke.
He who goes in front saves the companion;
He who knows the path protects his friend.
Let Enkidu go in front of thee.
He knows the way to the Cedar Forest,
He has seen battle, is versed in combat.
Enkidu shall protect the friend, safeguard the companion.
Over the pitfalls he shall carry his body!
We, the Assembly, entrust the King to thee.
Deliver thou back the King unto us!"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to Enkidu:
"Up, my friend, let us go to Egalmah,
To the presence of Ninsun, the great Queen.
Ninsun, the wise, who is versed in all knowledge,
Will lend reasoned steps to our feet."
Grasping each other, hand in hand,
Gilgamesh and Enkidu go to Egalmah,
To the presence of Ninsun, the great Queen.
Gilgamesh came forward as he entered the palace:
"O Ninsun, I make bold."
A far journey, to the place of Humbaba.
An uncertain battle I am about to face,
An uncertain road I am about to travel.
[Until the day that I go and return],
[Until I reach the Cedar Forest],
[And banish from the land all evil, hateful to Shamash],
[Pray thou to Shamash on my behalf]!"

The above restorations are based on column ii 12 ff. The remainder of the break cannot be restored.)

(ii)
[Ninsun] entered [her chamber],
[ . . . ]
[She put on a garment as becometh her body],
[She put on an ornament as becometh her breast],
[ . . . ] and donned her tiara.
[ . . . ] the ground . . .

She climbed the stairs, mounted to the parapet,
Ascended the [roof], to Shamash offered incense.
The smoke-offering set up, to Shamash she raised her hands:
"Why, having given me Gilgamesh for a son,
With a restless heart didst thou endow him?
And now thou didst affect him to go
On a far journey, to the place of Humbaba,
To face an uncertain battle,
To travel an uncertain road!
Until the day that he goes and returns,
Until he reaches the Cedar Forest,
Until he has slain the fierce Humbaba,
And has banished from the land all evil thou dost hate—
In day time, when thou . . .
May Aya, thy bride, fearlessly remind thee,
And may she commend him to the watchmen of the night!"

(long break)

(iv)
She put out the incense, pronouncing the spell. She then called Enkidu to impart (this) message:
"Mighty Enkidu, thou not my womb's issue, I herewith have adopted thee
With the devotees of Gilgamesh,
The priestesses, the votaries, and the cult women!
... she placed round the neck of Enkidu. (The remainder of this column, the whole of column v, and the first seven lines of column vi are missing or too mutilated for translation.)

(vi)
"Let Enkidu protect the friend, safeguard the companion.
Over the pitfalls let him carry his body!
We, the Assembly, entrust the King to thee.;
Deliver thou back the King unto us."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to Gilgamesh: "My friend turn . . .",
A way not . . .

(remainder of the tablet destroyed)

Tablet IV

For this tablet, and for several of the following, the sequence of the extant texts is at times uncertain since the context must be pieced together from scattered Assyrian fragments and from such additions as have come to light elsewhere, particularly at Bogazköy (in Hittite as well as in Akkadian). The arrangement here followed has been adopted from A. Schott, cf. ZA, XLII (1934), 113 ff. No existing fragments can be assigned with certainty to any of the first columns of the Assyrian Version. A small portion of the missing record of the journey to the Cedar Forest is preserved on a fragment from Uruk, published by A. Schott, cf. ZA, XLII (1934), 113 ff. The Great Palace..."
At twenty leagues they broke off a morsel;  
At thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.  
Fifty leagues they walked all day.  
[The distance of a month and fifteen days they traversed in three days.  
[Before Shamash] they dug [a well].

(49)

(The beginning is missing. The two friends have arrived at the gate of the forest, which is guarded by Humbaba's watchman. Gilgamesh appears to need encouragement from Enkidu.)

"[Bethink thee of what] thou didst say in Uruk!  
[Arise] and stand up [that thou mayest slay him].

[... Gilgamesh, the offshoot of Uruk."

When Gilgamesh heard the words of [his] mouth,  
He was inspired with confidence:  
"[Hurry, step up to him, that he may not depart],"  
[Go] down to the woods and [disappear]!

He is wont to cloak himself with seven cloaks;  
[One] he has donned; six are still off [ ... ]."

Like a raging wild ox he [ ... ],  
... he departed [ ... ].

The watchman of the forest calls out [ ... ].

Humbaba, like [ ... ].

(50)

(begiining missing)

[Enkidu] opened his [mouth] to speak,  
[Saying to Gilgamesh]:

"[Let us not go] down [into the heart of the forest]!  
[In open]ing [the gate my hand] became limp."

[ Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak,  
Saying [to Enkidu]:

"[ ... ], my friend, like weaklings [ ... ].
[ ... we] have traveled, all of them [ ... ].
[ ... ] before us [ ... ].

My [friend], who art versed in combat,  
ac[complished] in battle,

Touch but my [garment], and thou wilt not fear [death].

(unintelligible)

That the limpness may depart from thy arm,  
And the weakness pass [from thy hand].

[Do but] stand by, my friend, that we may go down together [ ... ].

Let thy heart [lux] uriate in combat;  
Forget death and do not [ ... ].

A man, resolute (yet) discreet, [ ... ],

When he goes [in front], he guards himself  
And safeguards the companion.

[Even though] they fa[ll]," they have made a name.”

[At the] green [mountain] the two arrived.  
[Their words were [silen]ced;" they themselves stood still.

Tablet V

(i)

They stood still and gazed at the forest,

They looked at the height of the cedars,

They looked at the entrance to the forest.

Where Humbaba was wont to walk was a path;

Straight were the tracks and good was the going.

They beheld the cedar mountain, abode of the gods,

Throne-seat of Irnini."

From the face of the mountain  
The cedars" raise aloft their luxuriance.

Good is their shade, full of delight.

There is cover in their brushwood, cover in their [ ... ].

(The remainder of the column is missing or mutilated, and the same applies to column ii and most of column iii. An Akkadian fragment from Boğazköy—published by E. F. Weidner, KUB, iv [1922], 12, and Pl. 48—helps to fill in some of the gaps while duplicating other parts.)

They grasped each other to go for their nightly rest.

Sleep overcame [them]—the surge of the night.  
At midnight, sleep [departed] from him."

A dream he tells to Enkidu, [his] friend:

"If thou didst not arouse me, why [am I awake]?

Enkidu, my friend, I must have seen a dream!

Didst thou arouse me? Why [ ... ]?

Aside from my first dream, a second [dream] I saw:

In my dream, my friend, a mountain [toppled].

It laid me low, taking hold of my feet [ ... ].

The glare was overpowering! A man [appeared].

The fairest in the land was he; his grace [ ... ].

From under the mountain he pulled me out,

Gave me water to drink; my heart qui[eted].

On the ground he set [my] feet.

Enkidu said to this god [ ... ],

To Gilgamesh: "My friend, let us go [ ... ]."

(remainder fragmentary)

(iii)

"[The other] dream which I saw:

[In] mountain gorges"  
[A mountain] toppled [ ... ]

Like small reed flies we [ ... ]."
[He] who was born on the steppe,
Enkidu, said to his friend, explaining the dream:
"My friend, favorable is thy dream,
The dream is most precious . . . ."

The mountain, my friend, which thou sawest,
[is Humbaba].

We shall seize Humbaba, shall kill him,
And shall cast his corpse on the plain.

At twenty leagues they broke off a morsel;
At thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.

Before Shamash they dug a well . . . .
Gilgamesh went up to the mountain,
His fine-meal he offered up . . . .
"Mountain, bring me a dream . . . .
Furnish for him . . . .!"

(iv)

The mountain brought a dream for Enkidu,
It furnished for him . . . .
A cold shower passed over . . . .

Gilgamesh plants his chin on his knees.
Sleep, which is shed on mankind, fell on him.
In the middle watch he ended his sleep.
He started up, saying to his friend:
"My friend, didst thou not call me? Why am I awake?
Didst thou not touch me? Why am I startled?
Did not some god go by? Why is my flesh numb?
My friend, I saw a third dream,
And the dream that I saw was wholly awesome!
The heavens shrieked, the earth boomed,
[Day]light failed, darkness came.
Lightning flashed, a flame shot up,
[The clouds] swelled, it rained death!
Then the glow [vanished], the fire went out,
[And all that] had fallen was turned to ashes.
Let us go down! Outside we can take counsel."

[When] Enkidu [heard] he dreamed the dream he had brought him.
He said to Gilgamesh.
(Enkidu's reply is lost. The subsequent break in the Assyrian version is made up in part by the Hittite recension; cf. J. Friedrich, ZA, xxxix [1929], 8 ff.)

[Bar] Gilgamesh seized [the axe in (his) hand]
[. . . and] felled [the cedar].
[But when Huwawa] heard the noise,
[He] became angry: "Who has [come],
[Has slighted the trees, which] had been grown in my mountains,
And has felled the cedar?"

Then down from heaven spoke to them
Heavenly Shamash: "Draw near,
Fear you not, and . . . ."

And Gilgamesh [said] to heavenly Shamash:
(two lines fragmentary and obscure)
"But I have [come] to heavenly Shamash
And have taken the road assigned . . . ."

And against Huwawa mighty winds
Rise up: the great wind, the north wind, . . . .
The storm wind, the chill wind, the tempestuous wind,
The hot wind; eight winds rose up against him and Beat against the eyes of Huwawa.
And he is unable to move forward,
Nor he able to move back.
Then Huwawa let up.

Thereupon Huwawa replied to Gilgamesh:
"Let me go, Gilgamesh: thou [wilt be] my [master],
And I shall be thy servant. And of [the trees]
Which I have grown, I shall . . . .
Strong . . . ."

Cut down and houses . . . ."

But Enkidu [said] to [Gilgamesh]:
"To the word which Huwawa [has spoken]
H[ark] not . . . ."

Let not Huwawa . . . ."

(The sequel seems to be found in the mutilated Assyrian fragment, GETb, Pl. 19, which ends [line 47] with these words:)
. . . . the head of Humb[ba they] cut down . . . .]

Tablet VI

He washed his grimy hair, polished his weapons, The braid of his hair he shook out against his back. He cast off his soiled (things), put on his clean ones, Wrapped a fringed cloak about and fastened a sash. When Gilgamesh had put on his tiara, Glorious Ishtar raised an eye at the beauty of Gilgamesh: "Come, Gilgamesh, be thou (my) lover!
Do but grant me of thy fruit.
Thou shalt be my husband and I will be thy wife.
I will harness for thee a chariot of lapis and gold, Whose wheels are gold and whose horns are brass."

90 For ni-bu-tu, cf. ibid., 120.
91 This idiomatic sense appears to be more suitable here than "steppe."
92 Supplying [il-me-m]a, with Schott, loc. cit., 120.
93 Gilgamesh.
94 The reasons for thus rendering elm e lu are listed in C. Thompson, An Assyrian Dictionary of Chemistry and Geology (1936), 76 f.
Thou shalt have storm-demons to hitch on for mighty mules.
In the fragrance of cedars thou shalt enter our house.
When our house thou enterest,
Threshold (and) door shall kiss thy feet!
Humbled before thee shall be kings, lords, and princes!
The yield of hills and plain they shall bring thee as tribute.
Thy goats shall cast triplets, thy sheep twins,
Thy he-ass in lading shall surpass thy mule.
Thy chariot horses shall be famed for racing,
[Thine ox] under yoke shall not have a rival!

[Gilgamesh] opened his mouth to speak,
[Saying] to glorious Ishtar:
["What am I to give thee, that I may take thee in marriage?
Should I give oil] for the body, and clothing?
[Should I give] bread and victuals?
[ ... ] food fit for divinity,
[ ... ] drink fit for royalty.

(29-31)

[ ... if I] take thee in marriage?
Thou art but a brazier which goes [out] in the cold;
A back door [which does not] keep out blast and wind-storm;
A palace which crushes the valiant [ ... ];
A turban whose cover [ ... ];
Pitch which [soils] its bearers;
A waterskin which cuts its bearer;
Limestone which [springs] the stone rampart;
A siege engine which des[tros] the enemy land; (40)
A shoe which pinches [the foot] of its owner!
Which lover didst thou love forever?
Which of thy shepherds pleased [thee for all time]?
Which lover didst thou love forever?

Of ... [ ... ] ... [Gilgamesh]
For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.
Having loved the dappled shepherd-bird,
Thou smotest him, breaking his wing.
In the grooves he sits, crying ‘My wing!’
Then thou lovedst a lion, perfect in strength;
Thou decreedst for him to gallop seven leagues,
Thou decreedst for him the muddied to-drink;
Then thou lovedst Ishullanu, thy father’s gardener,
Thou placedst him in the midst of ... ;

When Ishtar heard this,
Ishtar was enraged and [mounted] to heaven. (80)
Forth went Ishtar to [w]ep before Anu, her father,
Her tears flow in the presence of Antum, her mother:
“My father, Gilgamesh has heaped insults upon me!
Gilgamesh has recounted my stinking deeds,
My stench and my foulness.”
Anu opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to glorious Ishtar:
“Art thou the father? Didst thou not quarrel with king Gilgamesh?
And so Gilgamesh has recounted thy stinking deeds,
Thy stench and [thy] foulness.”
Thou art but a brazier which goes out in the cold;
A back door which does not keep out blast and wind-storm;
A palace which crushes the valiant ...
A turban whose cover ...
Pitch which soils its bearers;
A waterskin which cuts its bearer;
Limestone which springs the stone rampart;
A siege engine which destroys the enemy land;
A shoe which pinches the foot of its owner!
Which lover didst thou love forever?
Which of thy shepherds pleased thee for all time?
Come, and I will na[me] for thee thy lovers:
Of ... [ ... ] ... [Gilgamesh]
For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.
Having loved the dappled shepherd-bird,
Thou smotest him, breaking his wing.
In the grooves he sits, crying ‘My wing!’
Then thou lovedst a lion, perfect in strength;
Thou decreedst for him to gallop seven leagues,
Thou decreedst for him the muddied to-drink.
For his mother, Silili, thou ordainedst wailing!
Then thou lovedst the keeper of the herd,
Who ash-cakes ever did heap up for thee,
Daily slaughtered kids for thee;
Yet thou smotest him, turning him into a wolf.
And his dogs bite his thighs.

[If thou] dost not give me [the Bull of Heaven],
I will raise up the dead eating (and) alive,
So that the dead shall outnumber the living!” (100)
Anu opened his mouth [to speak],
I will raise up the dead eating (and) alive,
So that the dead shall outnumber the living!” (100)
Anu opened his mouth [to speak],
...
Saying to glorious Ish[ar]:

"If thou dost desire of me the Bull of Heaven,
There will be] in the land of Uruk seven years of (barren) husks.
Hast thou gathered [grain against the (years of barren) husks?"

[Hast thou grown grass [for the beasts]?"]

[Ishtar opened her mouth] to speak,
Saying to A[nu, her father:
"[Grain for the people I have stored,
Grass for the beasts I have provided.
If there should be seven years of husks,
I have gathered [grain for the people],
I have grown [grass for the beasts]."

( Lines II4-II6, which contained the rest of Ishtar’s speech, are missing. For lines II7-I31 see p. 505.)

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
Saying [to Gilgamesh]:
"My friend, we have gloried [. . . ]."

(Lines 135-49 mutilated, but the course of the battle is made plain by the following:)

Between neck and horns [he thrust] his sword.
When they had slain the Bull, they tore out his heart,
Placing it before Shamash.
They drew back and did homage before Shamash.
The two brothers sat down.

Then Ishtar mounted the wall of ramparted Uruk,
Sprang on the battlements, uttering a curse:
"Woe unto Gilgamesh because he insulted me’ by slaying the Bull of Heaven!"

When Enkidu heard this speech of Ishtar,
He threw the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven,
Tossing it in her face:
"Could I but get thee, like unto him.
I would do unto thee.
His entrails I would hang at thy side!"
(Thereupon) Ishtar assembled the votaries,
The (pleasure-)lasses and the (temple-)harlots.
Over the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven she set up a wail.
But Gilgamesh called the craftsmen, the armorers,
All (of them).

The artisans admire the thickness of his112 horns:
Each is cast from thirty minas of lapis;
The coating113 on each is two fingers (thick); (170)
Six measures114 of oil, the capacity of the two,
He offered as ointment to his god, Lugalbanda.
He brought (them) and hung them in his princely bed-chamber.115

In the Euphrates they washed their hands,
They embraced each other as they went on,
Riding through the market-street of Uruk.
The people of Uruk are gathered to gaze [upon them].
Gilgamesh to the lyre maids116 of Uruk
Says (these) words:
"Who is most splendid among the heroes? (180)
Who is most glorious among men?"
"Gilgamesh is most splendid among the heroes,
[ Gilgamesh is most glor[ious] among men."

(mutilated) (184-186)

Gilgamesh in his palace holds a celebration.
Down lie the heroes on their beds of night.
Also Enkidu lies down, a dream beholding.
Up rose Enkidu to relate his dream,
Saying to his friend:
"My friend, why are the great gods in council?"117

Tablet VII

The first two columns of this tablet are missing in the Assyrian Version. Enkidu’s dream, however, is the subject of KUB, viii, 48, and this Hittite text has been dealt with by J. Friedrich in ZA, xxxix (1929), 16-19. See p. 505.

[. . .] . . . Then daylight came.”
[And] Enkidu answered Gilgamesh:
"[He jar the dream which I had last night:
Anu, Enlil, Ea, and heavenly Shamash
[ Were in council].
And Anu said to Enlil:
‘Because the Bull of Heaven they have slain, and Huwawa
They have slain, therefore’—said Anu—‘the one of them
Who stripped the mountains of the cedar
[Must die!]
But Enlil said: ‘Enkidu must die;
Gilgamesh, however, shall not die!’ (10)

Then heavenly Shamash answered valiant Enlil:
‘Was it not at my118 command

---

112 The Bull’s.
113 For this meaning of nippu (a lb.u) cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit., 40 n. 2. The singular is common in the Nu2 texts.
114 The gur-measure was the equivalent of about 250 quarts.
115 For this meaning of âa nubu ūmmudtu cf. Landsberger, MAOG, iv (1928/29), 299, n. 2.
116 The context calls clearly for musicians or singers, not servant girls; hence neither nippu (cf. n. 11) nor labu can underlie the present term. However, Heb. noun “psaltery” suggests an excellent semantic and morphological background.
117 Catch-line of the following tablet.
118 Text “thy,” See, however, Schott, GE, 45, n. 1.
I will curse thee with a great curse,  
With great speed let my curses attack thee.  
Thou shalt not build a house for thy charms.  \(10\)  
\((\text{See p. 505.})\)  \(11-18a\)  

\ldots which is over people shall not be \ldots in thy house.  
\([\ldots]\) the road shall be thy dwelling place,  
\([\text{The shadow of the wall}]\) shall be thy station,  
\([\ldots]\) thy feet,  
\([\text{The besotted and the thirsty shall smite}]\) thy cheek!\(^{125}\)  
\((\text{mutilated})\)  \(23-30\)  

Because me \(\text{[thou hast\ldots]}\)  
And because \([\ldots]\) upon me,’’  
When Shamash heard [these words] of his mouth,  
Forthwith he called down to him \([\text{from}]\) heaven:  
“Why, O Enkidu, cursest thou the harlot-lass,  
Who made thee eat food fit for divinity,  
And gave thee to drink wine fit for royalty,  
Who clothed thee with noble garments,  
And made thee have fair Gilgamesh for a comrade?  
And has (not) now Gilgamesh, thy bosom friend,\(^{124}\)  
Made thee lie on a noble couch?  
He has made thee lie on a couch of honor,  
Has placed thee on the seat of ease, the seat at the left,  
That \([\text{the princes of the earth may kiss thy feet!}]\)  
He will make Uruk’s people weep over thee \(\text{(and)}\) lament,  
Will fill [joyful] people with woe over thee.  
And, when thou art gone,\(^{127}\)  
\(\text{He will his body with uncut hair invest,}\)  
\(\text{Will don a lion skin and roam over the steppe.”}\)  
\((\text{See the Supplement.})\)  

\([\text{When}]\) Enkidu \([\text{heard}]\) the words of valiant Shamash,  
\([\ldots]\) his vexed heart grew quiet.  
\((\text{Short break. Relenting, Enkidu changes his curse in-})\)  
\((\text{to a blessing. He addresses himself once again to the})\)  
\((\text{girl:})\) “Come, lass, I will decree thy fate,\(^{128}\)  
\((\text{iv})\)  

My mouth which cursed thee shall turn and bless thee.  
Governors and nobles shall love thee.  
He who is one league away shall smite his thigh.\(^{125}\)  
He who is two leagues away shall shake his hair.  
\([\ldots] \text{the young}]\) shall unloose his girdle.  
\([\ldots] \text{carnelian, lapis, and gold.}\)  
\([\text{May he be paid}]\) back who defiled thee,  
\([\text{May his home be emptied}\)\] his heaped-up storehouse.\(^{129}\)  
\([\text{To the presence of}]\) the gods \([\text{[the priest]}\) shall let thee enter,\(^{123}\)  

\(^{125}\) With the last three lines cf. Descent of Ishtar, rev. 24-28.  
\(^{126}\) Taking \(\text{ib-ni ta-li-me-ka}\) as the type of compound that is not uncommon in this epic; see above, notes 19, 23. For \(\text{talimu} \text{’intimate, germane’}\) see P. Koschaker, \(ZA, x l l (1933), 64 f f.\) Lines 40-41 have been interpreted in an interrogative sense, in view of the lengthened penult vowels at the beginning of the clauses. “Has now . . . ?” would seem to have the force of our “Has not now . . . ?”  
\(^{127}\) Lit. “after him,” an idiomatic use of \(\text{arki} \text{’mad, rid. upon.’}\)  
\(^{128}\) In admiration, cf. J. C. Gadd, \(Iraq, x x v i i (1966), 115.\)  
\(^{129}\) Oppenheim, \(ibid.\) The missing verb might be a form of \(\text{gallubu}.\)
"The day on which he saw the dream was ended. Stricken is Enkidu, one day, [a second day]. Enkidu’s suffering, [on his bed, [increases]. A third day, a fourth day [. . .]. A fifth day, a sixth, and a seventh; An eighth, ninth, [and a tenth day]. Enkidu’s suffering, on his bed, [increases]. An eleventh and a twelfth day [. . .]. [Stricken] is Enkidu on his bed [of pain]! At length he called Gilgamesh [and said to him]: ‘My friend, [. . .] has cursed me! [Not] like one [fallen] in battle [shall I die], For I feared the battle [. . .]. My friend, he who [is slain] in battle [is blessed]. But as for me, [. . .].""

Tablet VIII

(The extant texts of the Nineveh version contain only a few fragmentary lines of the first column of this Tablet. The gap has recently been filled in part by the Sultantepe text S.U. 51, 7, published by O. R. Gurney, with transliteration, translation and textual notes, in JCS, viii (1954), 90-95. The reverse duplicates for the most part the Nineveh material for column ii and has therefore been incorporated in the lines which follow. They contain the lament of Gilgamesh uttered before the elders of Uruk at the deathbed of Enkidu.)

(ii)

"Hear me, O elders [and give ear] unto me! It is for Enkidu, my friend, that I weep, Moaning bitterly like a wailing woman.
The axe at my side, my hand’s trust.138
The dirk in my belt, the shield in front of me,
My festal robe, my richest trimming—
An evil demon rose up and robbed me!
O my younger31 friend, thou chasedst
The wild ass138 of the hills, the panther of the steppe!
Enkidu, my younger friend, thou who chasedst
The wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe!
We who [have conquered] all things, scaled
the mountains,
Who seized the Bull [and slew him],
Brought affliction139 on Hubaba,140 who [dwelled] in
the Cedar Forest!
What, now, is this sleep that has laid hold on thee?
Thou art benighted and canst not hear [me]!"

But he lifts not up his head;
He touched his heart, but it does not beat.
Then he veiled (his) friend like a bride [. . .],
Storming over him like a lion,
Like a lioness deprived of [her] whelps.
He paces back and forth before [the couch],
Pulling out (his hair) and strewing [it . . . ],
Tearing off and flinging down (his) finery,
[As though] unc[lean]!'U
With the first glow [of dawn], Gil[gamesh . . .].

(long break)

(ii)

"On a couch [of honor I made thee lie],";
I placed thee [on the seat of ease, the seat at the left],
That the princes of the earth [might kiss thy feet]!
Over thee I will make [Uruk's] people weep (and)
[lament],
Joyful people [I will fill with woe over thee].
And, when thou art gone,
[I shall invest my body with uncut hair],
And, clad in a [lion] skin, [I shall roam over the steppe]!"

With the first glow of dawn, [Gilgamesh]
Loosened his band [. . . ].

(The remainder of the tablet is missing or too fragmentary for translation, with the exception of the following lines:)

(v)

With the first glow of dawn, Gilgamesh fashioned [. . . ],
Brought out a large table of elamaggum wood,
Filled with honey a bowl of carnelian,
Filled with curds a bowl of lapis,
[. . .] he decorated and exposed to the sun.

Tablet IX

(i)

For Enkidu, his friend, Gilgamesh
Weeps bitterly, as he roams over the steppe:
"When I die, shall I not be like Enkidu?
Woe has entered my belly.
Fearing death, I roam over the steppe.
To Utanapishtim, Ubar-Tutu's son,
I have taken the road to proceed in all haste.
When arriving by night at mountain passes,
I saw lions and grew afraid,
I lifted my head to Sin to pray.
Regaining his composure, he approached them.
A scorpion-man calls to his wife:
"He who has come to us—his body is the flesh of the gods!"
His wife answers the scorpion-man:
"Two-thirds of him is god, one-third of him is human."
[The scorpion-man calls to the fellow,
Addressing these words to the offspring of the gods:
"Why hast thou come on this far journey?
Traversing seas whose crossings are difficult?
The purpose of thy com ing I would learn.
(remainder of the column broken away)

(ii)

The name of the mountain is Mashu.
When [he arrived] at the mountain range of Mashu,
Which daily keeps watch over sun[rise and sunset]
Whose peaks reach to the vault of heaven
(And) whose breasts reach to the nether world below—
Scorpion-men guard its gate,
Whose terror is awesome and whose glance was death.
Their shimmering halo sweeps the mountains
That at sunrise and sunset keep watch over the sun.
When Gilgamesh beheld them, with fear
And terror was darkened his face.
Regaining his composure, he approached them.
A scorpion-man calls to his wife:
"He who has come to us—his body is the flesh of the gods!"
His wife answers the scorpion-man:
"Two-thirds of him is god, one-third of him is human."
[The scorpion-man calls to the fellow,
Addressing these words to the offspring of the gods:
"[Why hast thou come on this far journey?"
[Why hast thou arrived] before me,
[Traversing seas] whose crossings are difficult?
[The purpose of thy com ing I would learn.
(remainder of the column broken away)

(iii)

(Lines 1-2 destroyed. Gilgamesh replies:)"On account of Utanapishtim, my father, [have I come],
Who joined the Assembly [of the gods, in search of life].
About death and life [I wish to ask him]."
The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to [Gilgamesh]:
"Never was there, Gilgamesh, [a mortal who could achieve that]."
The mountain's trail no one [has traveled].
For twelve leagues [extends its] interior.
Dense is the darkness and [light there is] none.
To the rising of the sun [. . . ];
To the rising of the sun [. . . ];
(remainder mutilated or broken)
"Whether in sorrow [or pain],
In cold or [heat],
Sighing [or weeping—I will go].
Now [open the gate of the mountain]!"
The scorpion-man [opened his mouth to speak];
To Gilgamesh he [says]:
"Go, Gilga[mesh... 
The mountains of Mashu [ . . . 
The mountains (and) ranges [ . .. 
In safety may [ . . . 
The gate of the mountain [is open to thee]!
When Gilga[mesh heard this],
To the word [of the scorpion-man he gave—heed].
Along the road of the sun [he went].

When one league [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
When two leagues [he had attained] (50)

When four leagues [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
When five leagues [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
[When six league[s he [had attained],
Dense is the darkness and [light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
Nine leagues [he has traveled and he feels]
the north wind
[ . . fan]ning his face.154
[Dense is the darkness and] light there is [none];
[He can see nothing a]head or behind.
[When ten leagues] he [had attained],
[. . .] is near;
[ . . ] of the league.

[When eleven leagues he had attained], the dawn
breaks.156
[And when he attained twelve leagues], it had grown
bright.
On seeing the grove of stoner, he heads for [...].156
The carnelian bears its fruit;
It is hung with vines good to look at.
The lapis bears foliage;
It, too, bears fruit lush to behold.

(This entire column is mutilated or lost. What little
remains suggests a further account of the marvels to
be seen in this garden of jewels.)

Tablet X
This tablet, which traces further the successive stages in Gilga-
mesh's quest of immortality, happens to be represented by as
many as four separate versions. Two of these, however, the
Hittite (cf. ZA, xxxix [1929], 20 ff.) and the Hurrian (cf. ZA,
xxv [1924], 133 ff.), are extant only in fragments that are too
slight for connected translation. Substantial portions are avail-
able, on the other hand, in the Old Babylonian and Assyrian
recensions. The Old Babylonian material was published by B.
Meissner, MV AG, vii (1962).

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

With their skins [he clothes himself],159 as he eats flesh.
[ . . . , O Gilgamesh, which has not happened
As long as my wind drives the waters."
Shamash was distraught, as he betook himself to him;
He says to Gilgamesh:
"Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
The life thou pursuest thou shalt not find."
Gilgamesh says to him, to valiant Shamash:
"After marching (and) roving over the steppe,160
Must I lay my head in the heart of the earth
That I may sleep through all the years?
Let mine eyes behold the sun
That I may have my fill of the light!
Darkness withdraws when there is enough light.
May one who indeed is dead behold yet the radiance of
the sun!"

(Beginning lost. Gilgamesh is addressing Siduri, the
ale-wife:)
"He who with me underwent all hard[ships]—
Enkidu, whom I loved dearly,
Who with me underwent all hardships—
Has now gone to the fate of mankind!
Day and night I have wept over him.
I would not give him up for burial—"
In case my friend should rise at my plaint—
Seven days and seven nights,
Until a worm fell out of his nose.
Since his passing I have not found life,
I have roamed like a hunter in the midst of the steppe.
O ale-wife, now that I have seen thy face,
Let me not see the death which I ever dread."
The ale-wife said to him, to Gilgamesh:

"Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
The life thou pursuest thou shalt not find.
When the gods created mankind,
From whose belly they set aside death.
Thou, Gilgamesh, let full be thy belly,
Of each day make thou a feast of rejoicing,
Let thy garments be sparkling fresh,
Day and night dance thou and play!
Pay heed to the little one that holds on to thy hand,
For this is the task of mankind!"

(See the Supplement.)

(iv)

In his wrath he shatters them. In his wrath he shatters them.
When he returned, he goes up to him. Sursunabu his eyes behold.
Sursunabu says to him, to Gilgamesh:
"Tell me, thou, what is thy name?
I am Sursunabu, (he) of Utanapishtim the Faraway."
Gilgamesh said to him, to Sursunabu:
"As for me, Gilgamesh is my name, Who have come from Uruk-Eanna, Who have traversed the mountains,
A distant journey, as the sun rises.
O Sursunabu, now that I have seen thy face, Show me Utanapishtim the Faraway.
Sursunabu [says] to him, to Gilgamesh.

(See the Supplement.)

158 For this approximate meaning of the particle -man, cf. Z.A., xl (1931).
159 Reading ad-bi.
162 To the boatman.
163 The Ushanabi of the Assyrian Version. For a suggested value man as a reading of the first syllable in the Assyrian form of the name cf. A. Poebel, JOS, lxxvii (1937). 54, n.22.
164 Assyrian Utanapishtim. Perhaps "I have found life," (in a somewhat anomalous grammatical construction), in contrast to the warning fallātim lā mutā (i, 8; iii, 2) "life thou shalt not find," with which Gilgamesh is confronted.
165 This time the entire phrase seems to be treated as a grammatical compound, which would explain the Akkadian genitive as referring to the whole; unless, of course, an error is to be assumed.
167 See above, n.152.

THE ASSYRIAN VERSION

Although the two versions overlap in several instances, it has seemed best to present each separately. For the beginning of this account cf. the Hittite fragments, Z.A., xxxix (1929) 22, lines 9 ff. See the Addenda.

(i)

The ale-wife Siduri, [who dwells by the deep sea]
And sits [. . .].
For her they made a jug,
They made for her a mashing bowl of gold. With a veil she is covered and [. . .].
Gilgamesh comes up to her and [. . .].
He is clad in skins [. . .],
The flesh of the gods is in [his body].
There is woe in [his belly],
His face is [like] that of a wayfarer from afar.
The ale-wife gazes afar off;
Speaking in her own heart [she says] (these) words,
As she [takes counsel] with herself:
"Surely, this one is a killer!"
Whither is he [heading] [. . .] ?"
As the ale-wife saw him, she locked [the door], She barred her gate, securing [the bolt].
But he, Gilgamesh, on hearing [the sounds], Held up his point (ed staff) and placed . . . .

Gilgamesh [says] to her, to the ale-wife:
"Ale-wife, what sawest thou [that thou hast locked thy door], Hast barred thy gate, [hast secured the bolt]?
I will smash [thy] door, shut[ter thy gate]!"

(The remainder of the column is badly mutilated.

Much can be restored, however, from the repetitive sections of the succeeding columns and from a fragment [Sp. 299], published in GETh, II, 42. cf. also A. Schott, Z.A., xlii (1934), 134 f., whose restorations and numbering of the lines have here been adopted; cf. also Heidel, GE, 72-3.)

[ Gilgamesh says to her, to the ale-wife ]:
"[If thou art Gilgamesh], who didst slay the watchman, Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest, [Slew the lions in the mountain passes]."
[Bring affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest, Slay the lions in the mountain [passes], [Seize and] slay the Bull that came down from heaven, [Why then are] thy cheeks [wasted], is sunken thy face, [40] Is so sad thy heart, are worn thy features? [(Why) should there be woe] in thy belly, Thy face be like [that of a wayfarer from afar], [With] cold and heat be seared thy countenance,"

169 Reading nu-na-"[i-ri]."
And in between are the Waters of Death that bar its approaches.

Where then, O Gilgamesh, wouldst thou cross the sea?

On reaching the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do?

Gilgamesh, there is Urshanabi, a boatman to Utnapishtim.

With him are the Stone Things. In the woods he picks turni snakes.

Go! Let thy face behold.

If it be suitable, cross thou with him;

If it be not suitable, draw thou back."

When Gilgamesh heard this,

He raised the axe in his hand,

Drew the dirk from his belt, slipped into (the forest),

And went down to them.

Like a spear he descended among them,

(See the Supplement.)

Urshanabi said to him, to Gilgamesh:

"Why are thy cheeks wasted, is sunken thy face,

Is so sad thy heart, are worn thy features?"

(Why) should there be woe in thy belly,

[Thy face be like that] of a wayfarer from afar,

With cold and heat be seared [thy countenance],

[As in quest of a wind-puff] thou roamest over the steppe."

Gilgamesh] said [to him], to Urshanabi:

"[Urshanabi, why should my cheeks not be so wasted],

[So sunken my face],

[So sad] my [heart], so worn my features?"

(Why) should there be woe in [my belly],

[My face not be like that of a wayfarer from afar],

Not be so seared [my countenance with cold and heat],

[And in quest of a wind-puff should I not roam over the steppe]? [27]

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

(ii)

[Who seized the Bull of Heaven and slew him],

[Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest]—

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Urshanabi said to him, to Gilgamesh]:

"Why are thy cheeks wasted, is sunken [thy face],

Is so sad thy heart, [are worn thy features]?"

(Why) should there be woe in [thy belly],

[Thy face be like that] of a wayfarer from afar,

With cold and heat be seared [thy countenance],

[As in quest of a wind-puff] thou roamest over the steppe;

The matter of my friend [rests (heavy) upon me].

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

(10) The matter of Enkidu, [my friend, rests (heavy) upon me].

[How can I be silent? How can I be still?]

[My friend, whom I loved, has turned to clay!]

[Must I, too, like] him, lay me down,

[Not to rise] again for ever and ever?"

Gilgamesh] also says to her, to the ale-wife:

"[Now], ale-wife, which is the way to Utnapishtim?

[What are] its markers? Give me, O give me, its markers!

If it be seemly, the sea I will cross;

If it be not seemly, over the steppe I will range!"

The ale-wife said to him, to Gilgamesh: (20)

"Never, O Gilgamesh, has there been a crossing,

And none who came since the beginning of days could cross the sea.

Only valiant Shamash crosses the sea;

Other than Shamash, who can cross (it)?

Toilsome is the place of crossing,

Very toilsome the way thereto,

[As in quest of a wind-puff] thou roamest over the steppe?

[Gilgamesh says to her, to the ale-wife]:

"[O ale-wife, why should my cheeks not be so wasted],

[So sunken my face],

[So sad my heart, so worn my features]?"

(Why) should there not be woe in my belly?,

[My face not be like that of a wayfarer from afar], (50)

[Not be so seared my countenance with cold and heat],

[And in quest of a wind-puff should I not roam over the steppe]? [27]

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

(iii)

[Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest]—

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Urshanabi said to him, to Gilgamesh]:

"Why are thy cheeks wasted, is sunken [thy face],

Is so sad thy heart, [are worn thy features]?"

(Why) should there be woe in [thy belly],

[Thy face be like that] of a wayfarer from afar,

With cold and heat be seared [thy countenance],

[As in quest of a wind-puff] thou roamest over the steppe;

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

[Who seized the Bull of Heaven and slew him],

[Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest]—

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[127] Sarrumabu in Old Babylonian.

[128] The lāhā abēlā "those of stone" are apparently stone figures of unusual properties, to judge from the relevant Hittite fragment, ZA, XXXXIX (1929), 26, line 1, and pp. 59-60. cf. now J. Friedrich, AJO, XV (1945-51), 105 and KUR, XXXVII, 125. Further see A. Millard, Iraq, XXVI (1964), 103-05 and C. J. Gadd, Iraq, XXXVIII (1966), 118-21.

[129] In referring to this passage, Landsberger, Fauna (1934), 63, points out that the ūrum-naší-šaḥka has long been supposed to be a favorite with sailors. At all events, whatever the meaning of the term may be in the present connection, its properties seem to be on a par with those of the Stone Things.

[130] The stone images.
Enkidu, my friend, whom I loved so dearly,
Who underwent with me all hardships!

Him has overtaken the fate of mankind!
An eleventh, a twelfth pole take thou, Gilgamesh!

Six days and seven nights I wept over him,
At twice-sixty Gilgamesh had used up the poles.

Then he ungirded his loins.

With his hand he holds it aloft as a sail.
Utnapishtim peers into the distance.

Speaking to his heart, [he says] these words,
"Why have [the Stone Things] of the boat been broken,
And rides [in her] one who is not her master?
He who has come hither is not of my men;

And [...]."

I peer, but I [cannot ...],
I peer, but [I cannot ...],
I peer, but [...]."

Gilgamesh also said to him, to Utnapishtim:
"That now I might come and behold Utnapishtim,
Whom they call the Faraway,
I ranged and wandered over all the lands,
I traversed difficult mountains,
And I crossed all the seas!
My face was not sated with sweet sleep,
I fretted myself with wakefulness;
I filled my joints with misery.
I had not reached the ale-wife's house,
When my clothing was used up.

I [sl]ew bear, hyena, lion, panther,
Tiger, stag, (and) ibex—
The wild beasts and creeping things of the steppe.
Their flesh I ate and their skins I wr[apped about me]."

Gilgamesh also said to him, to Utnapishtim:
"Do we build a house for ever?
Do we seal (contracts) for ever?
Do brothers divide shares for ever?
Does hatred persist for ever in [the land]?
Does the river for ever raise up (and) bring on floods?
The dragon-fly [leaves] (its) shell

That its face might (but) glance at the face of the sun.

An eighth, a ninth, and a tenth pole take thou, Gilgamesh,
An eleventh, a twelfth pole take thou, Gilgamesh!

At twice-sixty Gilgamesh had used up the poles.
Then he ungirded his loins.

With his hand he holds it aloft as a sail.
Utnapishtim peers into the distance.

Speaking to his heart, [he says] these words,
"Why have [the Stone Things] of the boat been broken,
And rides [in her] one who is not her master?
He who has come hither is not of my men;

And [...]."

I peer, but I [cannot ...],
I peer, but [I cannot ...],
I peer, but [...]."

(After the conclusion of the sage observations of Utnapishtim:

"Do we build a house for ever?
Do we seal (contracts) for ever?
Do brothers divide shares for ever?
Does hatred persist for ever in [the land]?
Does the river for ever raise up (and) bring on floods?
The dragon-fly [leaves] (its) shell

That its face might (but) glance at the face of the sun.

An eighth, a ninth, and a tenth pole take thou, Gilgamesh,
An eleventh, a twelfth pole take thou, Gilgamesh!

At twice-sixty Gilgamesh had used up the poles.
Then he ungirded his loins...."

178 Each pole was good only for a single thrust, since not a drop of the water must touch the hand; cf. GETB, 85.
179 Reading a-[du]-ka a-sa.
180 For qi/ippu cf. Oppenheim, Ori/entalia, xvii (1948), 50, n.3, although his precise interpretation has not been followed here.
Since the days of yore there has been no permanence; The resting and the dead, how alike they are!
Do they not compose a picture of death, The commoner and the noble,
Once they are near to their fate?
The Anunnaki, the great gods, foregather;
Mammetum, maker of fate, with them the fate decrees:
Death and life they determine.
(But) of death, its days are not revealed."

Tablet XI

Gilgamesh said to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
"As I look upon thee, Utnapishtim, Thy features are not strange; even as I art thou. Thou art not strange at all; even as I art thou. My heart had regarded thee as resolved to do battle, [Yet] thou liest indolent upon thy back! [Tell me,] how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods, In thy quest of life?"

Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh: "I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, a hidden matter And a secret of the gods will I tell thee: (10) Shurippak—a city which thou knowest, [And] which on Euphrates' banks is situate—That city was ancient, (as were) the gods within it, When their heart led the great gods to produce the flood. [There were] Anu, their father, Valiant Enlil, their counselor, Ninurta, their assistant, Ennuge, their irrigator. (15) Ninigiku-Ea was also present with them; Forswear (worldly) goods and keep the soul alive! Ninurta-Ea was also present with them; (20) Their words he repeats to the reed-hut: Valiant Enlil, their counselor, Anu, their father, "Tell me, how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods, In thy quest of life?"

Creation, of the intensive conjugation d. Heidel, pagne de Sargon

[Behold], my lord, what thou hast thus ordered, I will be honored to carry out.
I understood, ::md I said to Ea, my lord:
The ship that thou shalt build, Equal shall be her width and her length.
Reed-hut, hearken! Wall, reflect! 'Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall, wall! Aboard the ship take thou the seed of all living things. Give up possessions. seek thou life. Ninigiku-Ea was also present with them; Forswear (worldly) goods and keep the soul alive! Ninurta, their assistant, Ennuge, their irrigator. "Tell me, how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods, In thy quest of life?"

When their heart led the great gods to produce the flood. "I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, a hidden matter Shurippak—a city which thou knowest, Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh: Thy features are not strange; even as I art thou. Even as I am thou. Thy features are not strange; even as I art thou. Even as I am thou. Thy features are not strange; even as I art thou. "Tell me, how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods, In thy quest of life?"

On the fifth day I laid her framework. One (whole) acre was her floor space.
Ten dozen cubits the height of each of her walls, Ten dozen cubits each edge of the square deck. I laid out the contours (and) joined her together. I provided her with six decks, Dividing her (thus) into seven parts. Her floor plan I divided into nine parts. I hammered water-plugs into her. I saw to the punting-poles and laid in supplies. Six 'sar' (measures) of bitumen I poured into the furnace, Three sar of asphalt [I also] poured inside. Three sar of oil the basket-bearers carried, And the two sar of oil [which] the boatman stowed away.

Bullocks I slaughtered for the [people], And I killed sheep every day. Must, red wine, oil, and white wine [I gave the] workmen [to drink], as though river water, That they might feast as on New Year's Day. I op[ened . . . ] ointment, applying (it) to my hand.

Ea opened his mouth to speak, Saying to me, his servant: 'Thou shalt then thus speak unto them: "I have learned that Enlil is hostile to me, So that I cannot reside in your city, Nor set my foot in Enlil's territory. To the Deep I will therefore go down,
To dwell with my lord Ea. [But upon] you he will shower down abundance, [The choicest] birds, the rarest fishes. [The land shall have its fill] of harvest riches. [He who at dusk orders] the husk-greens, Will shower down upon you a rain of wheat."

With the first glow of dawn, The land was gathered [about me].
The little ones [carried] bitumen, While the grown ones brought [all else] that was needful.

I took the vast ships [with me].
I fished the men with my harp and gained the word: [To the populace, the statement would be a promise of prosperity; to Utnapishtim it would signalize, the impending deluge."

The meaning of the word pilulu was uncertain. The Akkadian for "ship" is feminine, although without the grammatical feminine ending. The Akkadian for "ship" is feminine, although without the grammatical feminine ending. For the description of the subterranean waters of the Apád cf. Creation Epic. IV, 62.

Lit. "draw, design." 182 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.


184 Presumably, the dwelling place of Utnapishtim. Ea addresses him through the barrier of the wall.

185 Line 11 has the uncommon form Shurippak instead.

186 The Akkadian for "ship" is feminine, although without the grammatical feminine ending.

187 For the description of the subterranean waters of the Apád cf. Creation Epic. IV, 62.

188 Lit. "drew, design." 189 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.

189 Var. "three liters." The lar was the number 3,600. If the measure understood with it was the nína (náš), each lar designated about 8,900 gallons; cf. Heidel, EG, 81, n. 178.

190 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.

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192 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.

193 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.

194 For the sense of augur bibbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagne de Sargon (1912), lines 52 and p. 11, n. 7. And for the fictive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n. 164.
Who turned to blackness all that had been light.

Shamash had set for me a stated time:

‘When he who orders unease at night, will shower down a rain of blight,

Board thou the ship and batten up the entrance!’

That stated time had arrived:

‘He who orders unease at night, showers down a rain of blight.’

I watched the appearance of the weather.

The weather was awesome to behold.

I boarded the ship and batten up the entrance.

To batten down the (whole) ship, to Puzur-Amurri, the boatman,

I handed over the structure together with its contents.

With the first glow of dawn,

A black cloud rose up from the horizon.

Inside it Adad thunders,

While Shullat and Hanish go in front,

Moving as heralds over hill and plain.

Erragal tears out the posts;

Forth comes Ninurta and causes the dikes to follow.

The Anunnaki lift up the torches,

Setting the land ablaze with their glare.

Consternation over Adad reaches to the heavens,

While Shullat and Hanish, go in front.

Moving as heralds over hill and plain.

Erragal tears out the posts;

Forth comes Ninurta and causes the dikes to follow.

The Anunnaki lift up the torches,

Setting the land ablaze with their glare.

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While Shullat and Hanish, go in front.

Moving as heralds over hill and plain.

Erragal tears out the posts;

Forth comes Ninurta and causes the dikes to follow.

The Anunnaki lift up the torches,

Setting the land ablaze with their glare.
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
writing with
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Be patient, lest he be dislodged!

On the sinner impose his sin, (180)
'Thou wisest of gods, thou hero,
How couldst thou, unreasoning, bring on the deluge?
And my people consigned to destruction.'

When at length as Ea arrived, (160)
And saw the ship, Enlil was wroth,
He was filled with wrath over the Igigi gods:

'Ea opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to valiant Enlil:
'Who, other than Ea, can devise plans?
It is Ea alone who knows every matter.'
Ea opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to valiant Enlil:
'Thou wisest of gods, thou hero,
How couldst thou, unreasoning, bring on the deluge?'
On the sinners impose his sin, (180)
On the transgressor impose his transgression!
(Yet) be lenient, lest he be cut off,
Be patient, lest he be dislodged!
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Would that a lion had risen up to diminish mankind!
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Would that a wolf had risen up to diminish mankind!
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,
Would that a famine had risen up to slay low mankind!

Would that pestilence had risen up to smite down mankind!
It was not I who disclosed the secret of the great gods.
I let Atrahasis see a dream,
And he perceived the secret of the gods.
Now then take counsel in regard to him!
Thereupon Enlil went aboard the ship.
Holding me by the hand, he took me aboard. (190)
He took my wife aboard and made (her) kneel by my side.
Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:
'Hitherto Utanapishtim has been but human.
Henceforth Utanapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us gods.
Utanapishtim shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers!
Thus they took me and made me reside far away,
At the mouth of the rivers.
But now, who will for thy sake call the gods to Assembly
That the life which thou seest thou mayest find?
Up, lie not down to sleep
For six days and seven nights."
As he sits there on his haunches,
Sleep fans him like the whirlwind.
Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Behold this hero who seeks life!
Sleep fans him like a mist."
His spouse says to him, to Utanapishtim the Faraway:
"Touch him that the man may awake,
That he may return safe on the way whence he came,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Since to deceive is human, he will seek to deceive thee."
Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
And mark on the wall the days he slept.

"Behold this hero who seeks life!
Sleep fans him like a mist."
His spouse says to him, to Utanapishtim the Faraway:
"Touch him that the man may awake,
That he may return safe on the way whence he came,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Since to deceive is human, he will seek to deceive thee."
Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
And mark on the wall the days he slept.

As he sits there on his haunches,
Sleep fans him like the whirlwind.
Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Behold this hero who seeks life!
Sleep fans him like a mist."
His spouse says to him, to Utanapishtim the Faraway:
"Touch him that the man may awake,
That he may return safe on the way whence he came,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Since to deceive is human, he will seek to deceive thee."
Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
And mark on the wall the days he slept.

As he sits there on his haunches,
Sleep fans him like the whirlwind.
Utanapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Behold this hero who seeks life!
Sleep fans him like a mist."
His spouse says to him, to Utanapishtim the Faraway:
"Touch him that the man may awake,
That he may return safe on the way whence he came,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

The seventh—just as he touched him the man awoke.

Gilgamesh says to him, to Utanapishtim the Faraway:

218 "Exceeding Wise," an epithet of Utanapishtim.
219 By asserting that he had not slept at all. Lit. "Mankind being wicked, he will seek to deceive thee." For nuggu: naggā cf. R. Landsberger, ana italu (1937), 333.
220 cf., e.g., Lidudu, Babylonica, vii (1923), 169, 35.
221 For the Heb. cognate ha-wadu, cf. Jer. 7:18.
222 For baln in reference to color cf. my remarks in JASOS, lxviii (1938), 14. The entire episode, as has long been recognized (cf. especially, Landsberger, ZA, xlvii, 141, n.1), depicts the progressive deterioration of the bread wafers (not loaves) day by day. The technical problem is how this was indicated. To add to the difficulty, the term for the sixth stage—baln—is ambiguous in that it may mean either "cooked, ripe" or "light, fresh-colored." In the latter instance, stages 4-6 would be judged by the color.
"Scarcely" had sleep surged over me, (220)
When straightway thou dost touch and rouse me!"
Utnapishtim [says to him], to Gilgamesh:
"[Go]. Gilgamesh, count thy wafers,
[That the days thou hast slept] may become known to thee:
Thy first wafer is dried out,
The second is gone] bad, the third is soggy;
The crust of the fourth has turned white;
The fifth has a moldy cast,
The sixth (still) is fresh-colored.
The seventh—at this instant thou hast awakened."
Gilgamesh says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
"[What then] shall I do, Utnapishtim, (230)
Whither shall I go,
[Now] that the Bereaver has laid hold on my [members]?
In my bedchamber lurks death,
And wherever I set my foot, there is death!"
Utnapishtim [says to him], to Urshanabi, the boatman:
"Urshanabi, may the landing-place not rejoice in thee,
Let not (his) cloak have a moldy cast,
Let it be wholly new."
Utnapishtim [says to him], to Urshanabi, the boatman:
"Urshanabi, this plant is a plant apart,
Will cause [. . .] to eat the plant. . . !
Its name shall be 'Man Becomes Young in Old Age.'
I myself shall eat (it)
And thus return to the state of my youth."
I found that which has been placed as a sign for me:
I shall withdraw,
And leave the boat on the shore!”

(300)

After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel,
After thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.

When they arrived in ramparted Uruk,
Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
“Go up, Urshanabi, walk on the ramparts of Uruk.
Inspect the base terrace, examine its brickwork,
If its brickwork is not of burnt brick,
And if the Seven Wise Ones laid not its foundation!
One ‘sar’ is city, one sar orchards,
One sar margin land; (further) the precint of the Temple of Ishtar.
Three sar and the precinct comprise Uruk.”

Tablet XII

Contents and circumstantial evidence mark this tablet as an inorganic appendage to the epic proper. The basic theme is concluded with the hero’s failure to attain his quest. Moreover, the last lines of Tablet XI are the same as the final lines of the introduction to the entire work (I, i, 16-19). Lastly, Gadd (RA, xxxix [1933], 126 ff.) and Kramer I, 42, lxiv (1944), 7 ff. have demonstrated that Tablet XII is a direct translation from the Sumerian; the remaining tablets—as pointed out by Kramer—give every indication of creative borrowing and independent formulation. The Akkadian version of the present tablet is a translation of the second part of a Sumerian legend. The first part—disregarded by the Akkadian translator—is fortunately extant and has been published by Kramer in his monograph Gilgamesh and the Hulunna-Tree (1938). Since the beginning is essential as an introduction to Tablet XII, it may be summarized briefly, as follows:

Shortly after the creation of the universe, a tree growing on the bank of the Euphrates was uprooted by the south wind. Inanna (Ishtar) took the floating trunk and planted it in her garden in Uruk. She intended to use it, in due time, as timber for her bed and chair. When several hostile beings interfered with Inanna’s plan, Gilgamesh came to her rescue. In gratitude, Inanna made from the base of the tree a pukku, probably a magic Drum, and from the crown a mikku, apparently a Drumstick of similar magic potency, and gave them both to Gilgamesh. One day both these precious objects fell into the nether world. Gilgamesh sought to retrieve them but could not. Lamenting his loss, he cried “O my pukku, O my mikku.” It is at this point that the Akkadian translation, known to us as Tablet XII, sets in, a fact witnessed by the catch-line at the end of Tablet XI.

To Kramer (loc. cit., 22-23 and n.113) and to Gadd we owe the further recognition that the small fragment containing the beginning of the first eight lines in Thompson’s edition (GETh, Pl. 55) is not part of the main portion of the tablet, but a duplicate (as shown, among other things, by the fact that no proper join has been made). What Thompson mistook for the beginning of the tablet is in reality line 4, corresponding to line 48 in Gadd’s Sumerian text. Line 1 is, of course, given by the catch-line. In the translation given below, restorations based on the Sumerian text will be indicated by square brackets. I had the opportunity to talk over the whole problem with Dr. Kramer and I have adopted from him several new observations which will be pointed out in the footnotes.
With [sweet] oil from the cruse [he anointed] himself. 

She who rests, she who rests,
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth.

Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,
At the fragrance of it they gathered about him.

A sound against the nether world he made,
He put on clean raiment:
Those struck with the throw stick surrounded him.

The wailing of the nether world seized him.
He struck his hated son:
He kissed his beloved wife,
The spirits trembled [on his account].

The mother of Ninazu, she who rests;
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with raiment,
Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth.

She allowed not Enkidu to ascend from the nether world.
Namtar did not seize him:
Father Enlil did not intercede for him in the matter;
Father Ea did intercede for him in the matter.

Fever did not seize him;
Nergal’s unsparing deputy did not seize him;
Nergal’s unsparing deputy did not seize him;

On the battlefield of men he did not fall;
The nether world seized him.

Nergal’s unsparing deputy did not seize him;

To Ur he went:
“[My body ... ], which thou didst touch as thy heart rejoiced,
Vermin devour [as though] an old garment.
[My body ... ], which thou didst touch as thy heart rejoiced,
[... is filled with dust.]”
He cried “[Woe!]” and threw himself [in the dust].
Gilgamesh cried “[Woe!]” and threw himself [in the dust].
“[... hast thou seen?]” “I have seen.”

(Lines 100-101 mutilated. 102-117, and 119-144 in Thompson’s edition lost except for two signs. Probably before line 118 belongs the reverse of the Weidner fragment, 4f/O, x, 363, which supplies the concluding parts of twelve lines [numbered 2'-13' in the following translation]. Although Heidel’s restorations from the Sumerian [Heidel, GE, 100-01] are probable, it seemed advisable at this time to render only what is available in Akkadian.)

“[... ]?” “I have seen:
[...] weeps over (it).”
“[... ]?” “I have seen:
[...] eats bread.”
“[... ]?” “I have seen:
[...] drinks water.”
“[... hast thou seen ?] “I have seen:
[...] his heart rejoices.”
“[... ] hast thou seen?” “I have seen:
[Like that of a] good [scribe] is his arm bared.”
“[... ] hast thou seen?” “I have seen:
Like a beautiful standard [...].”

(twenty-six lines destroyed)

“Him who [fell down] from the mast hast thou seen?”
“I have seen:
Scarcely [...] the pegs are pulled out.”
“Him [who died] a sud[den] death hast thou seen?”
“[I have seen]:
He lies upon the night couch and drinks pure water.”
“Him who was killed in battle hast thou seen?”
“I have seen:
His father and his mother raise up his head,
And his wife [weeps] over him.”
“Him whose corpse was cast out upon the steppe hast thou seen?”
“I have seen:
His spirit finds no rest in the nether world.”
“Him whose spirit has no one to tend (it) hast thou seen?”
“I have seen:
Lees of the pot, crumbs of bread, offals of the street he eats.”

For this and the following line cf. Heidel, GE, 100.
258 Reading la-mu-śu nūr-[ri i-mu-tu], with Ebeling, loc. cit.
Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANSLATOR: A. K. GRAYSON

Since the second edition of this volume was published there has been considerable improvement in our knowledge of Akkadian myths and epics. This improvement is due in part to continuing study of the texts already known and in part to new texts which have come to light. It is unfortunate that, due to his untimely death, Professor E. A. Speiser was unable to undertake the revision of his translations. The present writer, in assuming this task, has tried to follow Speiser's style as much as possible. Thus no changes have been made in the previously published translations unless these were made necessary by recent research or newly discovered texts. The translations of passages which are still not clear have been left unaltered. All publications which have appeared in the intervening years have been taken into consideration with the exception of the abundant material now being made available for the Atrahasis Epic, an omission which will be explained in the section on that composition. One completely new text, A Babylonian Theogony, has been included.

The Creation Epic

ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VII

Research and new discoveries have filled some gaps in this composition and corrected some erroneous ideas. It is now widely held that the date of composition of the Creation Epic is later than the Old Babylonian period. Beyond this there is little agreement for while some would place its origin in the Kassite period, others would date it even later.

Among recent publications of overall significance must be included the composite cuneiform text of the epic edited by W. G. Lambert and Simon B. Parker, Enuma Elish (Oxford, 1966). Also worthy of note is an article by W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis" in The Journal of Theological Studies, xvi (1965), 297-300. New texts that have appeared come mainly from Ashur and Sultantepe. Since Tablets I-IV were previously well preserved only small changes were necessary. All of these changes have been incorporated in the body of the text. The new sources are:

Tablet I: E. Ebeling, LKA, No. 3. O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, STT, I, No. 1. For the Sultantepe text also see O. R. Gurney, AnSt, n (1952), 271.

A few changes have been made in the translation of Tablet IV which require comment. In line 19 the correct translation is "Images," Akkadian lu-ma-la as shown by STT, I, No. 3 and see R. Borger, AJO, xix (1959-60), 113. This constellation, which is also mentioned in IV, 23-26 and in Table V, has been discussed by B. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, JNES, xx (1961), 179-77. At the beginning of IV, 53 read with STT, I, No. 3: pa-su-an Im-ma-a. At the beginning of IV, 54 read with STT, I, No. 3: a-ni-zi1a la i-d7ú.

Table V

The major addition to our knowledge of the epic is in Table V. A large portion of the text was published many years ago by L. W. King, CT, xiii, 22-25, but its identity as part of Table V was disputed. The recent discovery at Sultantepe of a duplicate, STT, I, No. 12, has virtually settled the argument. The sources for Table V were recently compiled, edited, and commented upon by B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, JNES, xx (1961), 154-79. Some changes have been made in the first twenty-two lines of this tablet translated by Speiser. There follows what can be translated of the remainder of the tablet using the line numbering of the Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson Edition.

"I [have appointed] a sign, follow its path, ... [approach] and give judgement." (23)

(Lines 25-44 are too broken for translation. It is clear from the traces, however, that after completing a creation of the moon Marduk turned his attention to establishing the sun.)

After he [had appointed] the days [to Shamash], (45) [And had established] the precincts of night and day,

[Taking] the spittle of Tiamat

Marduk created [ ... ]

He formed the clouds and filled (them) with [water].

The raising of winds, the bringing of rain (and) cold,

Making the mist smoke, piling up her poison:
(These) he appointed to himself, took into his own charge.

Putting her head into position he formed the [re]on the mountains,

Opening the deep [which] was in flood,

He caused to flow from her eyes the Euphrates (and) Tigiris,

Stopping her nostrils he left ... .

1 For a summary of the Sultantepe sources for the Creation Epic see O. R. Gurney, AJO, xvi (1956), 353-56.

2 Tiamat's head.

3 Tiamat's Text: "his."
He opened [his mouth], his [speech] was noble:
“...[ . . .] them [ . . .],
[. . .] will be entrusted to thee.”
The gods bowed down before him, they spoke [to him],
They said to Lugaldimmeran[ki]:
“Formerly the lord [was (merely) our beloved] son,
Now he is our king, [proclaim his title]! He whose pure incantation gave us life,
He fixed its' position with the gods its brothers. (91)
After Anu had decreed the fate of the bow,
(And) had placed the lOyft royal throne before the gods,
Anu placed it* in the Assembly of the gods.
When the great gods had assembled,
They exorted the destiny of Marduk, they bowed down,
They pronounced among themselves a curse,
Swearing by water and oil to place life in jeopardy.9
When they had granted him the exercise of kingship
They had given him dominion over the gods (100)
of heaven and underworld,
Anshar pronounced supreme his name, Asarluhi
(saying):
“Let us do obeisance at the mention of his name,
To his utterance let the gods give heed,
Let his command be supreme above and below!”

Tablet VI
The new texts are: LKA, No. 7. STT, I, No. 9 (cf. O. R. Gurney, AnSt, II (1952), 33 L).
All of the new material has been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of lines 91-104 which are translated below.

He wrote down and (thereby) preserved (it) for the future.

The dwell[ing] of Marduk which the gods, the Igigi,

[Who] vanquished Ti[amat] and achieved the kingship.

Tablet VII
Our knowledge of this tablet has considerably improved thanks to the new texts: LKA, No. 8. STT, I, Nos. 10 and 11. All of the additions and changes have been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of the last few lines (158-62) of the epilogue which are now adequately preserved to deserve translation here.

He wrote down and (thereby) preserved (it) for the future.

The [dwell]ing of Marduk which the gods, the Igigi,

[Who] vanquished Ti[amat] and achieved the kingship.

The Epic of Gilgamesh
ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VIII AND X
Research and new finds have continued to increase our knowledge of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The recent discovery of a fragment of this epic at Megiddo in Palestine16 provides yet another indication of the diffusion of this popular composition and the appearance at Boğazköy of further pieces of the Hurrian and Hittite versions17 is also of interest in this respect. In recent years there have been significant additions to the Old Babylonian version as well as to the late recension of the epic. Bibliographical details of the new material will be given at the appropriate place.

Here only new and significant studies of the work as a whole will be noted. Of particular importance is a revision of Schott's translation of the epic into German published by W. von Soden, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (1958) as well as von Soden's notes to this new edition in ZA, XXXI (1959), 209-35. Also noteworthy is the revised edition of A. Heidel's, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (1949). An indication that interest in this literary composition is far from waning is the fact that the VII Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale held in 1958 was devoted to a discussion of the Gilgamesh Epic and the numerous and varied papers presented at that time were subsequently edited and published by P. Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende (1960). In particular note the detailed bibliography compiled by L. de Meyer on pp. 1-30.

Tablet I
Sources for Tablet I have been slightly increased by the recent publication of four Neo-Babylonian fragments by W. G. Lambert, CT, XLVI, 17-20. CT, XLVI, 17 and part of CT, XLVI, 19 were utilized by Thompson in GETH but were not previously published in full. CT, XLVI, 18 and 20 were first published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende, 126 and 124 respectively. Most changes and additions necessitated by the new pieces have been incorporated in the revised pages of the translation. In ili 7 one may now read:

Tablet II
OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION
Some changes in the translation have been made in accordance with the suggestions of W. von Soden, ZA, XXXI (1959), 210-12.

Tablet III
OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION
A few changes have been made in the translation and these have been justified in the footnotes. On iii 24 and 19 see E. A. Speiser, JCS, X XI (1958), 41 ff.

11 See H. Otten in Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende, 139-143, and cf. J. Friedrich Orientalia NS, XXX (1961), 90 f. (503)
Tablet IV

The obverse of two Neo-Babylonian fragments published by W. G. Lambert, CT, xlvii, 21 and 22, has added slightly to our knowledge of this tablet. CT, xlvii, 22 was previously published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, Gilgamesh et sa Légende, 124. The few minor changes have been incorporated in the body of the translation.

Tablet V

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Our knowledge of Tablet V has been increased by the discovery of three Old Babylonian fragments which will be called A, B, and C. One of these (A), which was unearthed at Tell Harmal, is in such a terrible state of preservation that there would be no point in reproducing here the disconnected words and phrases that can be deciphered. It appears, however, that it describes the arrival of Gilgamesh and Enkidu at the cedar forest which is dealt with at the beginning of Tablet V in the late version. The text was published by J. J. A. van Dijk, Sumur, xv (1959), 9-10 and Plates 3-4.

B

The second Old Babylonian fragment also comes from Tell Harmal and contains a fragmentary account of a dream which is similar in some respects to the dream described in Tablet VI since a fight with a wild bull is narrated in the account of the dream. When the text begins someone, apparently Gilgamesh, is describing a dream to his companion, presumably Enkidu. The tablet was published by J. J. A. van Dijk, Sumur, xii (1957), 66 and 67. Further see van Dijk, Sumur, xiv (1958), 114-21 and von Soden, Za, lxi (1959), 215-19.

"Arise and look toward! The mountain [...]
I am robbed of (my) divine sleep.
My friend, I saw a dream—Oh how unfavorable, how..., how disturbing!
I seized a wild bull of the steppe,
Bellowing he kicked up the earth, the dust darkened the sky.
I gave away before him.
He was seizing [... strength, my flank,
He tore out the [...]
He provided food [... he drank, [he] gave me [to drink] from his water-skin.
(10)

(The description of the dream ends and someone else, presumably Enkidu, now explains it.)

"The god, my friend, to whom we go,
Is thy god who brings thee honor.
We should (therefore) join (with him), Lugalbanda, that we might do one thing, a deed which will not be made ignominious through death.

C

The third Old Babylonian fragment was discovered at Tell Harmal and published by T. Bauer, INES, xvi (1957), 254-262. It contains an account of the killing of Huwawa:

(oververse)

(10)

[Gi]lgamesh said to Enkidu:
"We will arrive in...
(10)

The radiant beams will vanish in the confusion,
The radiant beams will vanish and the brilliance become clouded."

Enkidu said to Gilgamesh:
"My friend, (first) catch the bird. Then where will the young birds go?
Let us, (therefore), seek the radiant beams later,
(For) like young birds they will run about in the grass.
Kill him (Huwawa), then kill his servants!"

(reverse)

Gilgamesh heeded what his friend said. He took the axe in his hand, He drew the sword from his belt.
Gilgamesh struck him (Huwawa) in the [nec]k, Enkidu, his friend, [...],
At the third (blow) [Huwawa] fell.
Confusion [... du]mbounded,
[He struck]k the watchman, Huwawa, to the ground.
For two leagues the cedars [resounded].
Enkidu killed with him [...]
Forest [... cedars.
Enkidu killed [the watchman, Huwawa, to the ground.
At whose word Saria and Lebanon [trembled].
[All] the mountains became [...],
All the hills became [...].
He slew the [... cedars,
Those destroyed [... ] after he slew the seven,
The net [... the sword (weighing) eight talents,
The [... of eight talents, bearing these [he pressed on into the forest.
He opened up the secret dwelling of the Anunnaki. (20)

12 a na šir-im has been taken as a synonym of ana šēlim although šēlim in this meaning is otherwise not attested in Old Babylonian. Cf. CAD, xvi (§), 359 f. Van Dijk: assirum (ana šēlim "enchantment") gives poor sense. Von Soden translated "Fels."
13 Read k[i] with von Soden, Za, liti (1959), 216.
14 Perhaps read: (a)tu-ud with von Soden, ibid.
15 Here the word is plural but otherwise in this text it is singular.
16 Perhaps read: (a)tu-ud with von Soden, ibid.
E[nkidu] said to Gilgamesh:

"[...] Gilgamesh, felled are the cedars."\(^26\)

(The remainder of the speech is too fragmentary for translation.)

**Tablet VI**

Several Neo-Assyrian fragments which belong to this tablet and which are in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul have recently come to light. These pieces were published and commented upon by R. Frankena in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 113-22. Most of the necessary changes and additions could be incorporated in the body of the translation. Note that in line 38 the translation "cuts" is based on the restoration *mu-[na-k]-sa-at. Cf. R. Frankena in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 120. When carried the water skin rubs and chafes the side. For line 40 see E. A. Speiser, *JCS*, xii (1958), 41 f. In line 85 instead of "Art thou the father?" one text has "Thou art not the father!" On *binam-ma "Please give" in line 94 cf. line 66 and W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, 324 and *CAD*, 11 (B), 216 f. There follows a translation of lines 117-131.

When Anu [heard] Ish[tar]'s speech, [He gave to] [her the tether\(^26\)] of the Bull of Heaven, That Ishtar might lead him [to Uruk].

When she reached the [gates] of Uruk,

...[120]...

He went down to the river [...] seven [...] the river [...]

With the snort of the Bull of Heaven pits were opened,

Into them fell Enkidu and his friends, [...].

The Bull of Heaven [withdrew] before him, [...].

**Tablet VII**

Our knowledge of this tablet has been increased by the discovery of Sultantepe of a fragment which contains, in a very mutilated state, the remainder of the speech of Enkidu to the door. It was published by O. R. Gurney, *JCS*, vii (1954), 87-90 and the copy was reproduced as *STT*, i, No. 14. Also see Gurney's corrections in *AnSt*, viii (1958), 245. The Sultantepe fragment fits into the gap just before the beginning of column iii (p. 86). The latter part of the Sultantepe text is duplicated by the reverse of a Neo-Babylonian fragment recently published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, xlii, 23. This piece also contains the beginning of column iii thus providing the one line missing between the end of the Sultantepe fragment and the beginning of column iii.

These pieces prove that K. 3588, Sm. 2132, and Rm. 2, 309 which were published in *GETh*, Plates 14-16 belong to Tablet VII. Further fragments of this tablet were published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, xlii, 24-26. *CT*, xlii, 24 shows that 79-7.8, 320 (published in *GETh*, Plate 27) contains part of column iv. See further Landsberger, *WZKM*, vii (1961), 8, n. 38. Yet another recent addition to the sources for Tablet VII was made by the publication of a tablet from Ur by C. J. Gadd, *UET*, vi, No. 394 and edited by Gadd, *Iraq*, xxviii (1966), 105-21. This tablet, which is probably from the Middle Babylonian period, is in a poor state of preservation. It varies somewhat in context from the late recension. It duplicates the end of column ii of the late recension, now known from the Sultantepe fragment, and column iii and the beginning of column iv. But due to its poor state of preservation and the fact that it is not an exact duplicate of the late recension, it can only be used in a few instances to improve our understanding of the text. Changes and additions necessitated by the new sources have been incorporated into the body of the translation with the exception of a few passages. The first, a translation of which follows, fits into the large gap just before the beginning of column iii (p. 86). The lines have been numbered according to the Sultantepe fragment.

(After several mutilated lines Enkidu's speech continues.)

"Now, O door, it is I who made thee, it is I who raised [thee],"\(^20\) [...].

May either a king who comes after me ... thee. Or may a god [...].

Let him destroy my name and place his own name (thereon)."\(^21\)

He ripped out [...] he tore down.

While he was listening to his speech, with great haste his [...].

While Gilgamesh was listening to his speech, his tears [were flowing].

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying to Enkidu: [...].

One who has wisdom [may say] strange things [...].

[Wh]y, my friend, did thy heart speak strange things? [The dream] was most precious, but great is the terror. (20a)

[...] are paralyzed like [...].

Yet though great are [the fears], the dream is precious: For the healthy they released misery; [The dre]am left the healthy with woe. [...] and I will pray to the [great] gods."

(There is a gap of approximately eleven lines before the duplicate *UET*, vi, No. 394 makes the text legible again.)

When daylight came

Enkidu lifted his head, weeping before Shamash, Before the radiance of Shamash his tears flow:

"I pray to thee, Shamash, regarding the hunter, the rogue,\(^20\)"


For another interpretation of these lines see I. M. Diakonoff, *BiOr.*, xviii (1961), 64.
To the non-hunter who did not allow me to find as much (game) as my friend, May he not find as much (game) as his friend, (Column iii 1-10 of the late recension follows immediately.)

Column iii 9-10 of the late recension is identical with UET, vi, No. 394: 13 f. and thus both lines are now fully preserved. After iii 16 of the late recension UET, vi, No. 394: 15-27 has a text similar to but not always identical with iii 11-22. The relevant portion of UET, vi, No. 394 is therefore translated separately here.

Thou shalt not enter into the tavern of young women, Thy lovely bosom...
The place of thy festivities may the drunkard defile with vomit, all the troops

(The next four lines are too fragmentary for translation.)
The dust of the potter’s crossroad shall be thy dwelling place, The desert shall be thy bed, The shadow of the wall shall be thy station, [Tho]rn and bramble shall skin thy feet,

[The bes]otted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!

The next several lines of UET, vi, No. 394 (28-39) are too mutilated for translation but are apparently similar to the broken lines of the late recension, iii 23-32. UET, vi, No. 394: 40-46 contains the speech of Shamash to Enkidu (cf. iii 33-48) and presumably the introduction of Enkidu’s speech to the harlot. UET, vi, No. 394:47-67 is parallel to (but not always identical with) the end of column iii and iv 1-20 of the late recension. Due to the mutilated state of preservation of this portion of UET, vi, No. 394 it has not been deemed worthwhile to list here the variants from the late recension. In the translation restorations have been made wherever possible from UET, vi, No. 394 and from CT, xlvi, 24.

Tablet VIII

The discovery of a fragment at Sultantepe has considerably increased our knowledge of the beginning of this tablet. Unfortunately it is a tablet inscribed by a pupil who was in the process of learning the scribal art and there are numerous errors. The text was published by O. R. Gurney, IG3, viii (1934), 90-95 and the copy was reproduced by Gurney as STT, i, No. 19. Concerning the errors in the text see also I. M. Diakonoff, BiO., xviii (1961), 64, n. 18. A tiny Neo-Babylonian fragment which duplicates a little of the Sultantepe text was recently published by W. G. Lambert as CT, xlvi, 27. The obverse of the Sultantepe fragment provides part of the missing first column of the Ninevite version and immediately precedes the beginning of the second column. The reverse of the Sultantepe text, allowing for numerous errors and discrepancies, duplicates the second column of the Ninevite version and adds a few more lines. The necessary changes have been made in the translation of column ii. In the translation of the obverse of the Sultantepe text given here, fragments of column i published in GETh have been incorporated. Also translated are the four new lines that the Sultantepe text provides for the end of column ii of the Ninevite recension.

When daylight came Gilgamesh said to his friend: “Enkidu, thy [moth]er a gazelle, a wild ass thy father, [produce]d thee. They whose mark is their tails reared thee, and the cattle of the steppe and of all the pastures.

May the tracks of Enkidu in the Cedar Forest Weep for thee, may they not hash night and day.

May the elders of wide, ramparted Uruk weep for thee. [May weep for thee]
The finger that is extended behind us in blessing.

May weep for thee
And echo the countryside as though it were thy mother.

May weep for thee [ . . . ]

In whose midst we . . . . May weep for thee bear, hyena, [panther],

Tiger, hart, leopard, lion; oxen, deer, [ibex], (10)

And the wild creatures of the steppe.

May weep for thee the river Ula [ . . . ]

By whose banks we used to walk.

May weep for thee the pure Euphrates, [where we drew]

Water for the skin. May weep for thee

The warriors of wide, [ramparted] Uruk [ . . . ] we slew the Bull . . . . May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] in Eridu extolled thy name. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who . . . ] extolled thy name. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who . . . ] provided . . . grain for thy mouth. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] put salve on thy back. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] put ale in thy mouth. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

By whose banks we used to walk. May we[ep for thee the pure Euphrates, [where we drew]

Water for the skin. May weep for thee

The warriors of wide, [ramparted] Uruk [ . . . ] we slew the Bull . . . . May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] in Eridu extolled thy name. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who . . . ] extolled thy name. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who . . . ] provided . . . grain for thy mouth. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] put salve on thy back. May weep for thee [ . . . ]

[Who] put ale in thy mouth. May weep for thee the [harlot]

[Who] anointed thee with fragrant oil.

May we[ep for thee . . . ]

Of the h[arlot who [brought to thee]

The wife and the ring of thy choice.82

May brothers weep for thee like sisters [ . . . and may they let grow long]

Their head-hair over thee [ . . . ]”

(The following four lines follow line 23 on p. 88)

Then Gilgamesh issued a call to the land: “O smith,

Coppersmith, goldsmith, engraver!83 Make my friend [ . . . ]”

[Then] he fashioned a statue for his friend,

The friend whose stature [ . . . ]:

“[ . . . ], of lapis is thy breast, of gold thy body, [ . . . ].”

Lit: “thy counsel.” Or perhaps “a wife, a ring, thy counsel.”

kabarru is one who inscribes metal. See W. von Soden, ZA, lxi (1959), 229.
Tablet X
OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Another fragment of an Old Babylonian version of Tablet X was recently published by A. R. Millard, Iraq, xxvi (1964), 99-105 and CT, xlvii, 16. This piece is probably part of the same tablet as the "Meissner Fragment." Only the reverse is preserved and, if it does belong to the other Old Babylonian tablet, the text provides several more lines of columns iii and iv with a lacuna of undetermined size in between the two pieces.

(iii)
(The first line preserved is illegible.)

Gilgamesh [said] to he[fr, to the ale-wife]:
"What didst thou say, ale-wife [. . .]? My heart [grieves] for my friend.
What didst thou say, ale-wife [. . .]?
My heart [grieves] for Enkidu.
Dwelling on the [sea-shore, O ale-wife, Thou dost see its depths, all [. . .]. Show (me) the way [. . .].
If it be seemly, the sea [II will cross]."
(The first three lines preserved are unintelligible.)

The two of them discussed [. . .]
[. . .] spoke a word to him,
Sursunabu says to him, to Gilgamesh:
"The Stone Things, O Gilgamesh, bear me along,
That I might not touch the waters of death.
In thy anger thou didst smash them,
The Stone Things (which) I kept to help (me)
across.
Gilgamesh, take the axe in thy hand,
Cut three hundred [punting-]poles which are smooth.
[. . .] . . . the lashes like a spear."
(There are traces of one more line before a complete break.)

(iv)
(The third lines preserved are unintelligible.)

The two of them discussed [. . .]
[. . .] spoke a word to him,
Sursunabu says to him, to Gilgamesh:
"The Stone Things, O Gilgamesh, bear me along,
That I might not touch the waters of death.
In thy anger thou didst smash them,
The Stone Things (which) I kept to help (me)
across.
Gilgamesh, [take] the axe in thy hand,
Cut three hundred [punting-po]les which are smooth.
[. . .] . . . the lashes like a spear.
(There are traces of one more line before a complete break.)

THE ASSYRIAN VERSION

The additions to the late sources for Tablet X have all been published by W. G. Lambert, CT, xlvii, 30, 32, 33. Some of these pieces were previously published in GETh and others by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, Gilgamesh et sa Légende, 128-35. Necessary changes have been made in the translation but there are some additions. A few more lines are preserved at the end of column ii (p. 91).

In the forest . . . [. . .]
When Urshanabi saw the flash [of the dirk],
And heard the axe . . . [. . .] . . .
He struck his head . . . [. . .] Gilgamesh,

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