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EPIC OF GILGAMESH, TABLET XII
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EPIC OF GILGAMESH, TABLET XII

By C. J. GADD

A note in the *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. VII, 79, has given a short general description of the contents of a tablet inscribed in Sumerian with a portion of the Gilgamesh poems almost unknown hitherto. In view of the peculiar interest of this text it has seemed proper that it should be published separately from the general body of religious and literary texts from Ur, the appearance of which must of necessity be delayed by the extent and difficulty of the study required in their production. The privilege of making this tablet available to scholars having been granted to me, I here present it to readers of the *Revue d'Assyriologie* as the most suitable means to that end.

The tablet measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm.) × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (7 cm.), and is well preserved in general; the extent of the damage, which sometimes occurs in unfortunate places, can be seen from the copies. The obverse bears 36 lines, the reverse 37, written in the usual style of its period and class. It was among those found in the excavation of private houses at Ur in the season 1926-1927, as described by Father Burrows in the *Antiquaries Journal*, VII, 404, and belongs to the end of the Larsa dynasty. It bears the excavation number U. 9364.

Having regard to the difficulty of Sumerian literary texts as a whole, and particularly of the fragments of the Gilgamesh story that have already appeared, it is hardly necessary to say that this tablet presents many obscurities, and that therefore the following transliteration and attempted translation do not pretend to be more than the first student's contribution to the eventual understanding of the episode. This observation will enable me to spare the use of question-marks in many places where they must be assumed to stand.

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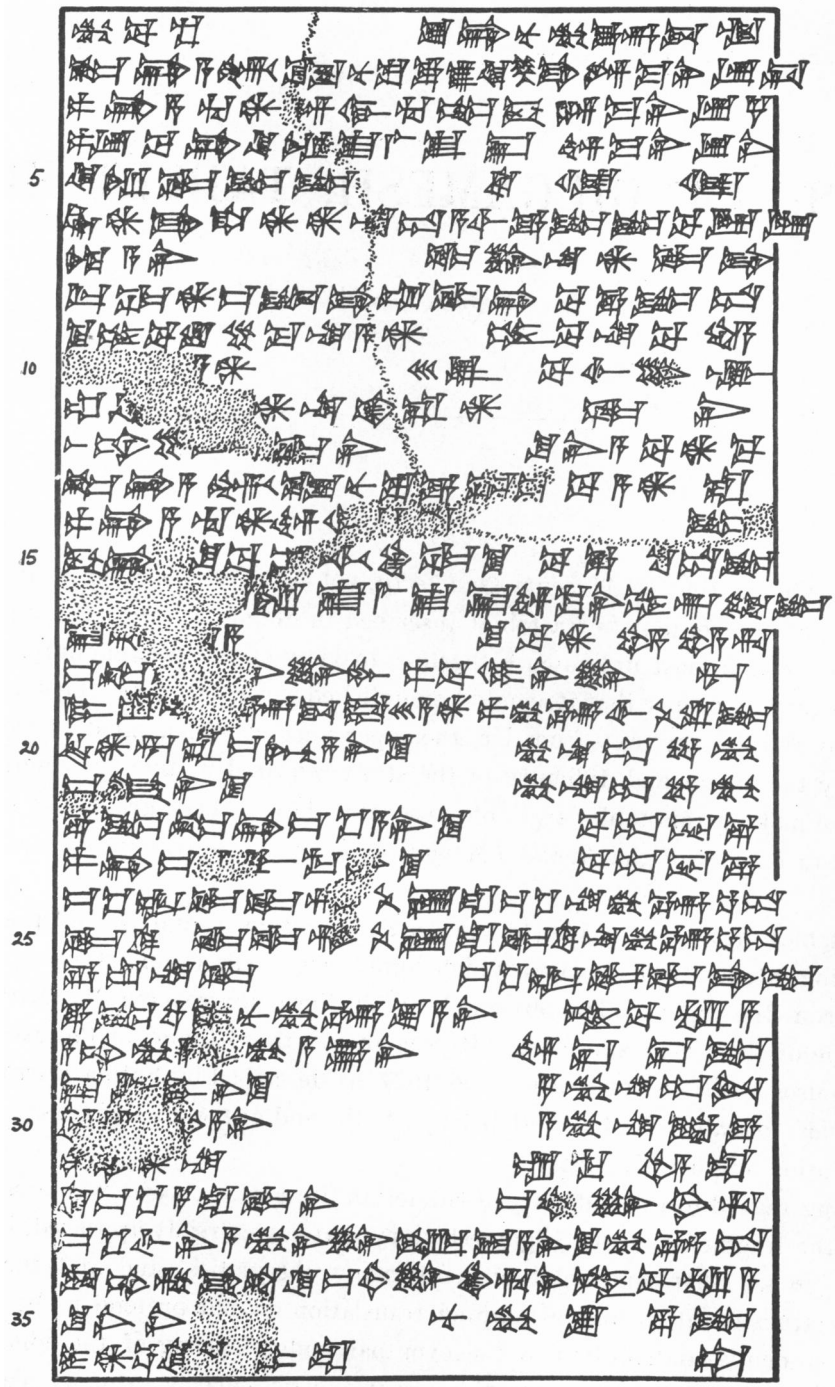
U. 9364. (OBV.)



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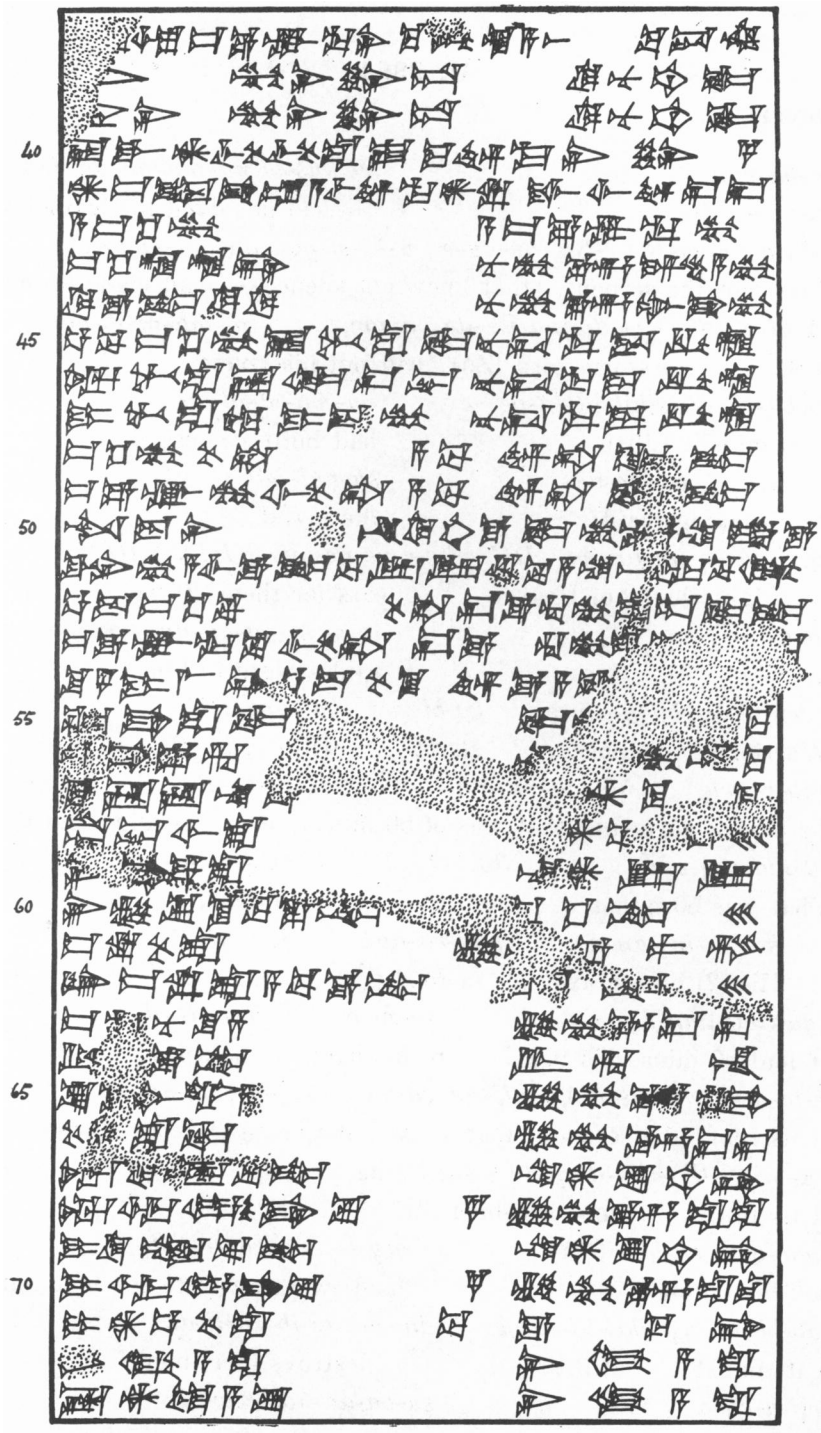

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U. 9364

OBVERSE.

1. *mu-ba-rim* *kuš-bi nu-mu-un-da-DAR*
   The dyer (?) had not dyed his leather with it (?)
2. *úr-bi-a muš-KA+ŠE-nu-zu-e u-ki-si-ga im-ma-ni-ib-uš*
   At its root the serpent, 'that knew not silence (?)' had made its nest
3. *PA-bi-a* $^{HU.d.}$*im-dugud* ^{HU}*-de amar im-ma-ni-ib-gar*
   At its top the storm-bird (Zû) had put his young
4. *šab-ba-bi ki-sikil-lil-lá-ge é im-ma-ni-ib-dù*
   In its midst Lilith had built a house
5. *ki-sikil gú-de-de šà-húl-húl*
   The shrieking maid the joyful
6. *kug* $^{d.}$*ga-ša-an-an-na DU er-e-ne-ne ba-ERIN.ERIN*
   The bright Queen of Heaven ..... tears for them (?) wept
7. *nin-a-ni* *inim in-na-an-dug$_4$-ga*
   His lady said a word to him
8. *ur-sag* $^{d.}$*giš-bil-ga-mes ka-bi ba-e-ne-DU*
   'Warrior Gilgamesh, its .... will ..... thee'
9. ^{tug}*ib-ba-ru 50-ma-na-àm ib-ba-na ba-kar*
   The *ibbaru* garment that was of 50 minas from his loins he removed
10. [*50 ma-na*]*-àm 30* (?) *ba-ši-in-AG*
    What was 50 minas 30 .... he made
11. ^{urudu}*ha-*[*zi-in*]*-an-na har-ra-an KA-ni*
    His (?) brazen axe a road (?) his ....
12. *1 gun 50* [*ma-n*]*a KA-ni šu-ni-a ba-an-dib*
    1 talent 50 minas his ..... in his hand he seized
13. *úr-bi-a muš-KA+ŠE-nu-zu-e sag-giš-ba-àm-ra*
    At its root the serpent 'that knew not silence (?)' he slew
14. *PA-bi-a* $^{HU.d.}$*im-dugud* ^{HU}*-da* (?)*-de*
    At its top the storm-bird (Zû)
15. *amar-bi šu-ba-ab*(?)*-ti hur-sag-šè ba-e-è-de*
    took his young (and) went away to the mountain
16. [*šab-bi-a ki*]*-sikil-lil-lá-ge é im-ma-ni-ib-zil-li-de*
    In its midst Lilith destroys (her) house
17. *é-r*[*i-a-r*]*i-a šu-ba-an-kar-kar-ri*
    The house ruined he despoils

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18. *giš úr-[ba mi]-ni-in-gid PA-ba mi-ni-in-MUŠ*
The tree at its root he plucked up at its top he [cut off]
19. *dumu-uru-na [mu]-un-da-súg-eš-àm PA mu-un-ši-tar-ru-ne*
The sons of his city, who had come up to him, cut up the top
20. *kug-^{d}inanna-ra ^{giš}gu-za-ni-šè mu-na-ab-sum-mu*
To the bright Inanna for her chair he gave it
21. *^{giš}ná-ni-šè mu-na-ab-sum-mu*
For her couch he gave it
22. *e-ne úr-bi ^{giš}ellag-a-ni-šè ba-ab-dim-e*
He makes its root into his *pukku*
23. *PA-bi ^{giš}E.AG-ma-ni-šè ba-ab-dim-e*
Its top he makes into his *mikku*
24. *^{giš}ellag al-dug$_4$-dug$_4$-gi TAR-ùr-ra ^{giš}ellag na-mu-un-è*
He says *'ellag'*, except (?) *'ellag'* let him not speak
25. *KA-DI dug$_4$-dug$_4$-gi TAR-ùr-ra KA.DI na-mu-un-è*
Saying ....., except (?) ..... let him not speak
26. *guruš-uru-na-ka ^{giš}ellag al-dug$_4$-dug$_4$-ga-ne*
The men of his city say 'ellag'
27. *e-ne erín-tur nu-mu-un-SU-a-ni íb-ba-pàd-a*
He viewed his little company which did not .....
28. *a-geštin-mu a-geštin-mu a-nir-ni im-gá-gá-ne*
(?) (?) his lament they make
29. *ama-tuk dumu-ni-šè ninda mu-na-ab-tùm*
He that had a mother, (she) brought bread for her son
30. *dam-[tuk] šeš(?)-a-ni a mu-na-dé-e*
He that had a wife, (she) poured out water for her 'brother'
31. *^{d}geštin-an-na um-ma-kar-ra*
The wine (?) was taken away
32. *ki-^{giš}ellag-gar-ra-ka-ni ^{giš}har (?) in-har(?)-ri*
(In) his place where the *pukku* was set he draws a circle
33. *^{giš}ellag igi-ni-a mu-ni-in-íl é-a-ni-šè mu-un-gin*
The *pukku* he raised before him and went into his house
34. *á-gú-zi-ga-ta ki-^{giš}har-in-har-ri-ni íb-ba-pàd-a*
In the morning his place where the circle was drawn he viewed
35. *šu-dù-dù nu-mu-SU-e-ne*
The adults (?) do not .....

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36. *I.AN.UD-ki-sikil-tur-ra-ta*
(But) at the crying of a little girl

REVERSE.

37. [^{giš}*ellag*] *u* ^{giš}*E.AG-ma-ni* *tuš-gu-la-a-aš* *ba-da-an-šub*
His *pukku* and *mikku* fell down into the 'Great Dwelling'
38. [*šu*]-*ni* *mu-ni-in-gub* *sá-nu-ub-dug*$_4$
He put forth his hand (but) could not reach them
39. [*gi*]*r-ni* *mu-ni-in-gub* *sá-nu-ub-dug*$_4$
He put forth his foot (but) could not reach them
40. *é-gal-*$^{d.}$*hinar-hinar-ra-ge* *tuš-im-ma-ni-in-gar*
(In) the palace of the underworld-gods he sat down
41. $^{d.}$*giš-bil-ga-mes* *er* *im-ma-an-šub* *SIG*$_4$*.IGI* *im-gá-gá*
Gilgamesh shed tears, made a 'yellow face'
42. *a* ^{giš}*ellag-mu* *a* ^{giš}*E.AG-ma-mu*
O my *pukku* o my *mikku*
43. ^{giš}*ellag* *la-la-bi* *nu-mu-un-ge*$_4$*-a-mu*
My *pukku* whose strength was not resisted
44. *DI e-ne* *DI.DI* *nu-mu-un-sù-ga-mu*
My ..... whose ..... was not .....
45. *u*(*d*)*-ba* ^{giš}*ellag-mu* *é-nagar-ra-ka* *nu-UŠ-ma-da-gál-la*
Then my *pukku* in the carpenter's house I .....
46. *dam-nagar-ra* *ama-ugu-ma-gim* *nu-UŠ-ma-da-gál-la*
The carpenter's wife like the mother who bore me I .....
47. *dumu-nagar-ra* *SAL+KU-ban-da-mu* *nu-UŠ-ma-da-gál-la*
The carpenter's child my little sister I .....
48. ^{giš}*ellag-mu* *kur-ta* *a-ba* *im-ta-gù-de*
My *pukku* from the 'earth' who will call (?)
49. ^{giš}*E.AG.mu* *hinar-ta* *a-ba* *im-ta-gù-de*
My *mikku* from the underworld who will call (?)
50. *eri-da-ni* *en-ki-du*$_{10}$*-e* *gù-mu-un-na-dé-e*
His servant Enkidu says to him
51. *lugal-mu* *er e-ne* *ba-ERIN-ERIN* *šà-zu a-na-aš* *hul-ba-gig*
My master, why (?) are tears wept, why is thy heart sore (?)
52. *ud-da* ^{giš}*ellag-zu* *kur-ta* *mà-e* *hu-mu-ra-ab-gù-de*
To-day thy *pukku* from the 'earth' I will call

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53. *giš E.AG.ma-zu hinar-ta mà-e hu-mu-ra-ab-gù-de*
Thy *mikku* from the underworld I will call
54. *tukumbi ud-da kur-šè im-e-a-KA* (?) .....
If to-day to the 'earth' thou (goest?) .....
55. *sag-ga-ra-ka KA-na* (?) .....*KU*
Of the shrine do not .....
56. ..... *ga-e*(?)*-ri na* (?) ..... *ma-he* (??)*-KU*
....
57. *tug-ten-ten-na-zu* [*na*]*-an-tug-tug*
Thy clean garment put not on
58. *GIR*$_5$*-gim igi-ra* [*I* (?)]*-AN-UD-*[*ne*]*-eš*
(Or) like a stranger before thee they will cry
59. *NI.ga-bur-ra na-an-ERIN.ERIN.*
With oil of the pot anoint not thyself
60. *ir-nam-zu-šè ba-e-ne-nigin-nigin-ne-eš*
(Or) at thy smell they will surround thee
61. *giš gešpu kur-ra nam*[*-ba* ?]*-e*(?)*-sig-gi*
With a missile upon the earth smite not
62. *lú-giš gešpu-ra-a ba-e-ne-nigin-nigin-ne-eš*
(Or) the men slain with the missile they will surround thee
63. *giš* [*ma*]*-nu-šu-za nam-mu-un-gá-gá*
A staff in thy hand set not
64. *gidim* [*ba* ?]*-e-ne-ur*$_4$*-ri-en*
(Or) the ghosts they will affright thee
65. *kuš-e-sir gir-za* (?) *nam-mu-un-si*(?)*-ga* (?)
A sandal on thy foot bind not
66. *kur-*[*kur*]*-ra gù nam-mu-un-gá-gá*
In the 'earth' make no noise
67. *dam-ki-ág-zu-ne na-an-su-ub-bi*
The wives whom thou lovest kiss not
68. *dam-hul-gig-ga-zu ni*(*g*)*-nam-mu-un-ra-ra*
The wife whom thou hatest beat not at all
69. *dumu-ki-ág-zu-ne na-an-su-ub-bi*
The children whom thou lovest kiss not
70. *dumu-hul-gig-ga-zu ni*(*g*)*-nam-mu-un-ra-ra*
The child whom thou hatest beat not at all

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71.	*I.AN.UD-kur-ra*	*ba-e-dib-bi*
	(Or) the 'crying of the earth'	will seize thee
72.	*i-ná-a-ra*	*i-ná-a-ra*
	To her that lies	to her that lies
73.	*ama* $^{d.}$*nin-a-zu*	*i-ná-a-ra.*
	'Mother' Ninazu	to her that lies.

Two preliminary remarks are necessary before proceeding to a closer examination of the text.

First, the distinctive feature of this tablet is that its end, from l. 52 onwards, corresponds, save for one or two small divergences, with the Assyrian version of Tablet XII of the Gilgamesh Epic, ll. 1-29 in the recent edition of Dr. R. C. Thompson.

Second, there is (it would appear) only one actual duplicate of this text hitherto published, namely Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts* (BE., XXXI), no. 55; this embraces obverse 8-32 of the Ur tablet. But there is an initial coincidence with Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, no. 39; this extends only to the first six lines. These texts have recently been studied by Professor Langdon in JRAS; 1932, 938 f., 942 f.

Line 1. In view of the obscurity of this a translation had perhaps better not have been attempted. Two possibilities may be considered :—

A word *mubarim* would suggest association with the commonest Akkadian equivalent of the root *dar* = *baramu*, *burrumu* : thus the first word would be a Semitic loan-word (to be compared with *hassinna*, *harran*, in l. 11). The assumption is made more difficult by the extreme rarity of the word in Akkadian texts. *amelu mubarrimu* is quoted by Strassmaier, *Alphab. Verz.*, 5412; this reading, against that of II R., 3, no. 5, seems justified by collation of the original, K. 4395. The word does not occur in Rm. 338, as once supposed (see now Meissner, *Beitr. z. assyr. Wörterb.*, I, 86, n. 94). In the tablet published *Carchemish*, II, 136, rev. 36, it is possible that *amelu mu*[*-ba-rim*] should be restored. The verb *baramu* is equally rare; of the instances commonly quoted only Surpu V/VI, 115, is significant, and that depends upon a restoration. What is, however, of constant occurrence is *DAR* (*burrumu*) in the regular series of colours, *pisu*, *salmu*, *samu*, *arku*, *burrumu*, where it is generally held to mean 'variegated'. The *mubarrimu* is perhaps a dyer, in the present case a dyer of leather (the ordinary verb for dyeing is *sipu*, according to RA., XVII, p. 27). If this meaning may be accepted the line will be translated 'the dyer had not dyed his leather with it', the final words being represented by the infixed *-da-* of the verbal form. A minor difficulty is that *kuš-a-ni* would be expected.

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Alternatively the line might be taken as *mu-ba RIM kuš-bi nu-mu-un-da-dar* " in that year an enemy (?) had not cut off its bark"; this sense was suggested by Mr. S. Smith. The difficulties here are, that *mu-ba-rim* seems to belong together, that *RIM* without *lú* or suffix is unusual, and that not *kuš* but *bar* appears to be the ordinary word for the bark of a tree.

The parallel text, Chiera, *Sum. Rel. Texts*, no. 39, seems to read *šu*(?)-*ba-rim* (or *giš*?) but is evidently not well preserved.

In any case there is no doubt that the object of this and the following description is a tree; the whole passage down to l. 23 can refer to nothing else — the top, middle, and root of it, the young birds nesting in the top, the serpent at its roots, the use of its wood to make a chair and couch for the goddess. It is hardly worth while to attempt to identify this tree, but three observations may not be out of place.

(a) The description does not well suit the palm-tree.

(b) In ll. 4, 5, 16, there are references to something which was to be seen " in the middle", i. e. in the trunk of the tree, where the demoness *ardat lili* had ' built a house '. It will later be suggested (note on l. 4) that *ardat lili* is here the owl, in which case the tree must be one which could have in its trunk a cavity for the nest of an owl.

(c) In l. 22 it is said that Gilgamesh made his out of the root of this tree. It remains to be considered whether this can be the same as, or connected with, (= *HUratum*) a substance used in the process of tanning or dyeing. This subject may be postponed for discussion on l. 22.

2. The serpent ' that knew not silence (?) ' is obviously a particularizing phrase deserving of a more exact translation. No doubt the explanation lies in the sign *KA*+*ŠE*, about which little is known : the present rendering is based on CT., XII, 41, col. II, 7, ... *KA*+*ŠE* = *šaḳummatum*.

It is of interest to compare the situation here, the ' storm-bird ' at the top of the tree, and the serpent in its roots, with that in the Etana myth, especially the lines RA., XXIV, 104, 6 and 7. *ina ṣilli zirbitim ulid ṣiru, eru ittalad ina ṣirišu*, and the later line where the eagle says, ' I will descend upon the top of a tree and eat fruit '.

4. Here, and in ll. 5, 16, 17, there is a particular description of the ' middle ' of the tree — Lilith had ' built a house ' there, she is described as ' shrieking ' and ' joyful ', the ' house ' was despoiled after Gilgamesh's attack and various things were made out of the wood. It can hardly be questioned that this is a description of the trunk of the tree, as opposed to its root and its branches. If, then, the words about Lilith refer to some formation or appearance of the trunk which suggested to the writer that a demoness inhabited it, we can say nothing as to what is meant.

Dr. R. C. Thompson allows me to mention his suggestion that Lilith here is a name for the owl; he refers to his *Semitic Magic*, pp. 20f. It is in favour of this

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supposition that the owl makes its nest not in the branches (where Zû was) but in cavities of the trunk, and also that Lilith is called in l. 5, 'shrieking'. The other epithet 'joyful' is, however, less suitable, and the main objection is that *ardat lili* in Babylonian is never described as an owl, and that the Jewish traditions concerning Lilith in this form seem to be late and of no great authority.

6. *DU* in this context is commonly *gin* = *anaku*, which is hardly understandable here. With the rest of the line cf. the first half of l. 51. The last two signs, *ERIN*, i. e. *SÍG* + *NUN* are written for *šéš*, i. e. *SÍG* + *LAM*, (as also in the parallel text Chiera, *Sum. Rel. Texts*, no. 39, l. 6). As to the meaning, the translation given seems required, but in l. 51 an almost identical phrase must apparently be rendered 'why are tears wept?' : see note there.

7. At this point begins *Babyl. Exped.*, XXXI, no. 55 (henceforth called BE. while U. will stand for the present text). Its first line seems to be a conflation of ll. 7 and 8, with *šeš* for *nin*.

The latter part of l. 8, is obscure : grammatically, *KA-bi* is subject, and *-e-ne-* a pronominal infix expressing the 2nd sing. accusative. There are three perfect examples of this in ll. 60, 62 and 64, for which the Assyrian translations (Gilg. Epic, XII, 17, 19, 21) are *ipahhuruka*, *ilammuka*, *iarruruka*, and a similar infix *-e-* in l. 71, *ba-e-dib-bi* = *iṣabbatka*. There has been a considerable difficulty about the expression of an infixed direct object of 1st and 2nd pers. in Sumerian, and these examples are therefore of special value.

9. *tug ib-ba-ru* is evidently the same as *tug ib-bal* = *nahtum*, *nibittum* (V R., 14, e, f, 52, 53); the exact meaning of this is uncertain. According to the ideogram it should be the garment 'that goes across (*bal*) the loins (*ib*)', a waistcloth.

BE. has some interesting variants which, in conjunction with U, make clear the sense. It inserts *ša-ba* after *ib-ba-ru*, but omits *ma-na* after the 50 : this, fortunately, is supplied by U. Accordingly, the full translation of the whole line, combined from the two texts, would be 'the *ibbaru*-garment of his middle, that was of 50 minas (or, that had in it 50 minas weight) from his loins he removed'.

10. The sign after '30' I do not identify ; it is perhaps most like *sig*. BE. reads *ib*, which is certainly not the sign in U. (see copy), and does not, in itself, suggest a meaning. It is, however, possibly meant for *gin* (shekels), and it is not wholly inconceivable that the sign in U. represents the same.

11. BE. *urudu ha-zi-in-na-ni*, from which U. may be restored : the termination *-an-na* in the latter is probably no more than a bad writing of the possessive suffix. The occurrence of two Semitisms (if such they be) together here is very notable.

The rest of the line is a puzzle. *harran* can hardly be anything but the word for 'road', which is used elsewhere as Sumerian (see, e. g. Delitzsch, *Sumer. Gloss.*, 210). BE. reads *har-ra-an-na* whereas U. has *-an-na* after *ha*[*-zi-in*], in view of which it

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seems unlikely that *an-na* here has anything to do with the metal *an-na*. Standing before *KA-ni* it is parallel to the weight mentioned in the next line, but what is *KA-ni*? It should be observed that the sign is not *SAG*, which might seem to give an easier sense — the head of the axe. BE. makes the axe weigh 7 talents 7 minas. Those made for Gilgamesh and Enkidu before their expedition against Huwawa weighed 3 talents (*Yale Or. Stud.*, IV, 3, col. iv, l. 31).

15. U. *šu-ba-ab-ti* (or *šu-ba-e-ti*), BE. *šu-ba-an-ti*, and, at end of line, *ba-an-tu*.

16. Beginning of line restored from BE., which reads *im-ma-ni-in-zal* at the end, thus shewing that the verb is the equivalent of *harmaṭu*. In U., *-zil-li-de* is presumably a phonetic variant, the only real difference being the use of the present for the preterite. This use of the historic present is common in the succeeding lines, and is indicated in the translation.

17. BE. (from which U. can be restored) reads *a-ri-a-ri-eš* and strangely adds *e*, which is presumably a mistake for *é* (as U.), unless it be a misreading for *šu-* in the verbal form, in which case *a* has been substituted for *é* at the beginning of the line. Here again BE. prefers the preterite (plural) to the hist. pres. (singular) of U.

18. In the second half of the line *ši-* in BE. is doubtless a mistake for *mi-*. In the first verb *BU* is best taken as *nasahu* which gives a good sense. As regards the last sign in the line U. reads clearly *mùš*, BE. apparently *dar*. The former can only be a variant for *mùš* with the reading *suh*, again = *nasahu*, and this is possible, but the latter reading *dar* with its equivalents *šalaṭu šalaḳu*, *šataḳu* gives a rather easier alternative, here adopted.

19. Note subordinate clause and infixed *-da-*, 'who had come up beside him'. Hist. pres. again in principal verb.

22. Gilgamesh makes two things out of the tree, *giš RIM* (*ellag*) out of the root and *giš E.AG.* (with a reading ending in *-m*, since it is always followed by *-ma*, except l. 49 *-mu*) out of the top. To explain what these were would be the most important step towards the full understanding of the text. They are respectively the *pukku* and *mikku* of the Assyrian version. That this is so may be seen at once by comparing l. 45 with the catch-line of Assyr. Tabl. XI, and l. 52 f., with Assyr. Tabl. XII, ll. 4, 5 (ed. R. C. Thompson). The equivalence is also attested independently in the syllabaries; see S.A.I., 7649, CT., XXXV, l. 16, M.A.G., IV, 256, 43 ff., Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, 32. Since in these *giš ellag* is explained by both *pukku* and *mikku* there is evidently no essential difference between them. Other Akkadian words given as equivalents are *ḳubbutum*, *a-TAR-tum*.

giš E.AG. for *mikku* seems to be new : another ideogram for it is *giš KAK.A* in RA., XII, 74, ll. 5, 6. II R., 22 b, 10, in its turn gives for *mikku* another ideogram *GI.MA.AN.SUM.ŠU.GÁL* (var. RA., XIV, 79, col. I, 30, *GI.MA.AN.SIM.ŠU. GÁL*). Another passage to be noticed is Gilg. Assyr., I, col. 2, 10.

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The only additions (so far as I know) to the evidence since Jensen's discussion in KB., VI, l. 521, are the Ishtar-hymn in RA., XII, 74, ll. 5, 6, already referred to, and the present text. In the former, *mikku* has the same ideogram *GIŠ.KAK* as *uṣu* in the first line; the whole line seems to mean (in the Sumerian) 'give as it were a *pukku* and *mikku* to the lady who rules the battle'. From the present text we learn that these two things were made out of the root and top of a tree, and that they were obviously (as the sequel shews) of some magic efficacy. The only other point to observe is that the place of *mikku* in l. 25 is taken by *KA.DI* and in l. 44 by *DI e-ne DI.DI*, which expressions I do not at present undertake to explain.

[*puḳḳu* (*GIŠ.NI*) is now found in Meissner, *Beitr. z. assyr. Wörterb.*, II, p. 89, l. 70, associated with words which refer to sound or hearing; if *pukku* has anything to do with this, it might suggest a musical instrument. Deimel, *Šumer. Lex.*, p. 510, no. 75 d., is apparently incorrect; the true reading is on p. 468, no. 85 f.]

It remains only to mention the possibility already noticed that *giš RIM* (*ellag*) = *pukku* might be connected with *giš RIM* = *HU-ra-tum*, which, according to Thureau-Dangin (RA., XVII, 28 f.) is the gall-nut, or, in any case, a substance used in tanning and dyeing. A connexion is suggested by the interpretation given to line I above, and that a dyeing substance should be made from the root of a tree (as *giš RIM* is made by Gilgamesh here) is a natural and ancient process (e. g. Pliny, *N.H.*, XVI, 124); that the *giš RIM* used in tanning was an arboreal product is proved by the texts in the article cited above. On the other hand it must be confessed that the interpretation suggested of line 1 is extremely doubtful, that there is only a putative connexion between it and this line, and that what else the text relates about the *pukku* and *mikku* certainly does nothing to corroborate this notion.

24, 25. To obtain a clue to the meaning of these difficult lines it is necessary to refer to ll. 36, 37, which clearly relate that it was the 'crying of a little girl' which caused a disaster to the *pukku* and *mikku*. BE. ends ll. 24, 25, with *e* instead of *è*, and this indicates the equivalent *ḳabû*; hence these lines convey an injunction of silence, which, of course, gives significance to ll. 36, 37. The sense given to the first part of the lines is shewn by the translation : cf. l. 26 in parallelism with l. 24. Why a different form (*dug$_4$-dug$_4$-gi* instead of *al-dug$_4$-dug$_4$-gi*) is used in 25 is by no means clear. The bystanders were forbidden to utter any sound but the word *ellag*, or *KA.DI*, whatever this may signify. In l. 26 'the men of his city' accordingly say '*ellag*', and thereafter was silence (?) until it was broken by the 'little girl'. Evidently these and the following lines are a description of a magical ceremony.

TAR.ÙR.RA. 'except' is a mere conjecture, supported only by the general sense of 'cut off' conveyed by *TAR* and *ÙR* (*mašaru*), and by the apparent sense of the passage. In l. 25 BE. reads *KAK* for *TAR* but this is doubtless a mistake. It also reads *IM.DI* for *KA.DI*.

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27. The last sign but one is most likely *pàd*, but is oddly written and might be u_5 (*HU*+*SI*); cf. l. 34 below. The grammatical form of the line is clear, with subordinate clause in the middle, but the difficulty is in *SU* which is read clearly by U. ; in BE. the sign is broken but might well be the same. This must be taken as parallel with l. 35 below *nu-mu-SU-e-ne*, which, by contrast with the next line, and in conformity with the sense of the passage should mean '(they) make no sound'. If so, the same is appropriate here.

28. *a geštin* : is this to be taken together (= *ṭabatu*), or an interjection and vocative, like *a ^{giš}ellag-mu* in l. 42 ? The second is preferable, for it would be too odd to translate 'my vinegar (?)' as a lament.

29, 30. BE. more correctly uses the suffix *-r* after *dumu* and *šeš* (U. omits any suffix in 30). It seems impossible to understand these lines with *ama-tuk* and *dam-tuk* as subjects for there is no sense here in saying 'he that had a mother brought bread to his son'. *ama-*(or *dam-*)*tuk* must rather be an emphatic prolepsis, here of the indirect object, — 'he that had a mother, (she) brought bread to her son'. 'Brother' is, of course, a common expression for 'husband'.

31. For the form with *umma-* (for *imma-*) see Poebel. GSG., § 622. ^{d}*geštin-an-na* is, it is suggested, used like Bacchus, Lyaeus, by Latin poets.

32. The sign *HAR* is curiously written, but that no other sign is intended seems clear from BE. and from the second occurrence in l. 34, where the usual form appears. Gilgamesh draws a magic circle (?) round the place where his *pukku* rested. At this line BE. ends abruptly, without even reaching the end of the tablet.

35. Probably nothing missing after *šu-dù-dù*. For the conjectured meaning of the verb see note above on l. 27. The sense given to *šu-dù-dù* is suggested by the contrast with the following line, and assumes that *šu-dù-dù* stands for *šu-du$_7$-du$_7$* (plur.) = *šuklulutu*.

36. *I.AN.UD* = *taz(z)imtu*, see l. 71, below *I.AN.UD kur-ra* = Assyr. *tazimti irṣitim* (Gilg. Epic, XII, 28). This also appears in RA., XVII, 199, col. I, 22, 23, *I.AN.UD* = *habalu*, *tazimtum*, *ŠU* (= *i'utu* ?), see also Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, Sin XXXIII, 61, where *I.AN.UD* is parallel with *nukurtu*. For the meaning 'crying, complaint' see Landsberger in ZDMG., 69, 514, and compare now Meissner, *Beitr. z. assyr. Wörterb.*, II, p. 94, l. 153; in the present text it is used of a child. Two passages are worth noticing here : *Ur Royal Inscr.*, no. 111, col. II, 25, 26, *nig-erim I.AN.UD ib-ta-an-zi-ga*, 'he expelled (from the city) the evil thing, the crying', before building the temple : S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 84, 10, '*adi*.... *a-ga-ša-du ta-zi-im-tu* I shall omit the festival and cause the New Year feast to cease'. In view of the preceding passage the translation 'until... I finish the mourning' seems likely to be correct. Another explanation is given in ZA.NF., III, 90, n. 6.

37. The last sign is copied as exactly as possible : it seems to be a combination of *AN* and

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RU, the latter written over the former, so that one may read *ba-da-šub* or *ba-da-an-šub*. From this line we gather that the two objects in question 'fell into the great dwelling', and thus we read Gilg. Ep., XII, 56, 57 (and later), *im-ḳut-an-ni-ma*, with *-anni* not accusative, but dative *incommodi* appended to the form which has been called the 'ventive' (ZA.NF., I, 118 f.). The following line of the Assyr. version also gains a new sense (XII, 58) 'Enkidu, who (had gone) *ana šu-li-e*, to fetch them up' (i. e. the *pukku* and *mikku*).

38. Since *gìr* is almost certainly the first sign of l. 39, [*šu*] is an obvious restoration here.

40. *hinar* according to the compl. *-ra*, not *hilib* : cf. *MAG.*, III, Heft 3, 51, l. 136.

41. Dr. R. C. Thompson has suggested to me that the last part of the line refers, not to a disease (IGI.SIG$_7$-SIG$_7$ = *amurriḳanu*, jaundice?) but to 'yellowness' (or 'blueness') of face, i. e. to the hero's dejected expression from grief at his loss. Cf. the Pennsylvania tablet of the Epic, reverse, col. I, l. 31, *i-ri-ḳu pa-nu-šu*, upon which see Dossin, *La pâleur d'Enkidu*, p. 26.

44. Compare l. 25, *KA.DI* standing in the place where *mikku* is suggested by the parallelism ; similarly here *DI e-ne DI.DI*.

45 and foll. Presumably a Sumerian version of the catch-line to the Assyr. Gilg. Epic, tablet XI, *ùma pukku ina bit* ^{amel}*naggari lu-u-e*.... This text settles that the verb is in the 1st pers. Gilgamesh is speaking, and ^{giš}*ellag* cannot here be subject, since it is clearly not subject of the two following lines which are strictly parallel. If the verb *nu-UŠ-ma-da-gál-la* were clearer it would doubtless enable the missing sign in Assyr. to be restored. This has been doubtfully read *lu-u-e-(zib)*, which might possibly be supported by the Sumerian, literally 'I made not following' (*UŠ* = *redù*), but this is hardly an obvious explanation.

Apart from the verbal difficulty, the significance of these lines is most obscure, and would, no doubt, only be elucidated if the preceding parts of the story were recovered.

48. *Kur* here, and in ll. 52, 54, is translated 'earth' rather than 'mountain' in view of the Assyrian versions of ll. 61, 71, which have *irṣitim* in both cases.

50. Enkidu's presence here is very surprising ; he appears to speak as one still alive, and in the upper world.

51. Compare with this line Assyr. Gilg., XII, 3, *be-li mi-na*...., whence it would seem that *e-ne* must be taken as interrogative. With this is to be compared the formula *en-nam* of the mathematical texts : see Poebel, GSG., §§ 250, 251, used to explain this formula by Schott in *Quellen u. Studien zur Gesch. d. Math.*, II, 8. On the use of *ERIN* for *SÍG* + *LAM* see note on l. 6 above, where also the very close similarity of phrase is noticed.

52. Assyr. Gilg., XII, as extant, begins here. It is to be observed however :—

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(a) that Assyr. repeated the three lines corresponding with 51-53, and also inserted a line addressing Gilgamesh between 53 and 54.

(b) that Rm. 964 and K. 2774 really overlap, Rm. 964, 5 = K. 2774, 1, the numbering of the lines in Thompson, p. 68, is consequently to be rectified, and l. 1 is not to be restored from the catch-line of tablet XI ; it was the Assyrian version of l. 52 here.

55. *sag-ga-ra-ka* corresponds with Assyr. *ana aširti*, hence *sag-ga-ra* is phonetic writing for *zag-gar-ra*.

56. Another prohibition, but too fragmentary to be intelligible. It is omitted in Assyr., evidently by mistake, for thus the elaborate balance is spoiled. Between ll. 55 and 66 there are two kinds of clauses, prohibitions (*a*) without, and (*b*) with apodosis ; there are four of each, arranged in the order *a a b b b b a a*, followed by the two pairs concerning wives and children, and their apodosis in l. 71.

58. The verb is, very probably, [*I*]-*AN-UD-ne-eš* ; there seems to be no place for a prefix. If this is so, Assyr. should be restored *u-a-az*(!)-[*za-mu*] : *az* is quite possibly the actual reading of K. 2774.

GIR$_5$ = *ubarru* is well attested. As to the meaning, see CT., XLI, pl. 31, 25, *u-ba-ri* = *nak-ri*, pl. 32, obv. 13, *u-bar-rum* = *nak-ri*, also BA., X, 22, ll. 9, 10, with duplicate Reisner, SBH., no. 25, ll. 32, 33, quoted by Meissner in MAG., III, 3, p. 45.

me-e ur-ri-men *me-e gir*$_5$*-men*
anaku nakraku *anaku ubaraku*

In the corresponding line Assyr. uses a like form, with emphatic ending, *kima ubaratama* ' as though thou wert a stranger '. Further examples have lately been collected by David in OLZ., 1933, 215.

60. On the grammatical form, infixed *-e-ne-* as pron. 2nd sing. accusat. see note on l. 8 above, and compare ll. 62, 64, below.

61, 62. *gešpu* has been translated ' missile ' in order to take account of the discussion of its senses by Thureau-Dangin in RA., XXI, 142 f.

64. Restoration of prefix *ba-* is probable. For the equivalence see SAI., 9146, 9150 ; in view of the latter (*araru ša palahi*) it seems more likely that *araru* here is rather the word for ' to (make to) tremble ' than that meaning ' to howl ', cf. Thureau-Dangin in RA., XVI, 170, and Thompson in RA., XXVI, 73, n. 5. Bauer has recently discussed *araru* in *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, II Teil, 78, n. 1. There seems no reason for the sudden change of ending from *-ne-eš* to *-en*, since both must be used here to express the present tense.

65. *-si-* is almost, but not quite, certain ; cf. SAI., 2170.

67, 68. In these, as in the two following lines, the prohibition is more emphatic in the second of the pair. Observe also the use of the plural in the first line in both pairs : the

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implied assumptions are doubtless of a moral order. Assyr. ignores these interesting distinctions.

72, 73. The Sumer. adds to the version already known the dative case, which there is nothing in Assyr. to indicate, but this does not help much towards the real understanding of this evidently magical formula. In 73 there is no warrant for regarding ^{d}*Nin-a-zu* as genitive, and it should be recalled that Assyr. has been translated 'mother of Ninazu' only because of the difficulty of gender.

It would hardly be in place here, with the first publication, to attempt a discussion at length of the literary, as distinct from the purely linguistic, aspects of this new addition to the Gilgamesh story, but one or two considerations ought to be mentioned. First, it is evident that the incidents related in the present text and the Assyrian continuation occur in the course of a longer episode. There is, indeed, extant evidence for this; the text represented by Chiera, *Sum. Relig. Texts*, no. 39, and Radau, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pl. 15, contains a few lines which are found at the beginning of U. 9364, but the remainder is different, and unfortunately not very intelligible. It is fairly safe to assume that it belonged to the same episode, and was perhaps an earlier passage of it.

This leads immediately to the question, where was this matter accomodated in the Assyrian version? The only possible answer is, between the 11th and 12th Tablets, as we now have them, for U. 9364 actually links up with the extant beginning of 12, and the catch-line of 11 alludes verbally to l. 45 of the Sumerian. This is not, of course, to say that the Assyrian 12th Tablet began at the point represented by l. 45, for the catch-line is not identical with 45, there is certainly more missing from the tablet K. 2774 than these few lines, and finally it would be too much to assume that the Assyrian version transferred itself *per saltum* into the middle of a speech quite unintelligible without its beginning, not to mention all the incidents that led up to it. Much more probably the catch-line of the 11th Tablet preserves an allusion to the 'house of the carpenter' at the point where this first came into the story, i. e., at a point considerably preceding the events which are related in U. 9364. Nevertheless, however much is missing from the beginning of the Assyrian 12th Tablet (and, since K. 2774 is hardly more than the lower edge of a tablet, this would be considerable) yet it is manifest that there must have been very great compression needed to bring into this beginning of the 12th Tablet not only the incidents in U. 9364, but also those passages which we are bound to assume as preceding it. This can only have been effected, indeed, by wholesale omission, which is probably the method of the Assyrian Epic throughout, as has been suggested to me by Mr. Sidney Smith, who has positive

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evidence of the same procedure in the case of another well-known myth existing partly in an Assyrian version. If this be so the Assyrian text would have to be regarded as a series of extracts, probably mnemonic, for use and expansion by rhapsodes, as convenient to the occasion. To apply this principle, and test its validity, in the Assyrian Gilgamesh would be matter for an independent study, which cannot be attempted here, but rigorous compression seems to be the only way in which a connexion at all intelligible could have been made between the 11th and 12th Tablets, now that we know more about the contents of the latter. Had the beginning of the Assyrian tablet been preserved it might have afforded, in comparison with the Sumerian, an instructive example of ancient editing.

One suggestion may perhaps be made as to the general significance of the actions in which Gilgamesh is engaged in this part of the poem. At the end of the 11th Tablet he has just returned to Erech in the company of Ur-Shanabi after a disaster which has meant the failure of his whole mission in search of immortality — having found the plant of life he lost it again almost at once, for it was stolen by a serpent while he bathed in the water-hole. The hero sat down and wept and lamented his hard fate to his companion, then the pair journeyed on and came to Erech where, in a final section that seems (doubtless owing to omissions) to have little connexion with what goes before, we find Gilgamesh shewing Ur-Shanabi the construction of the city-walls. It is, consequently, only natural to suppose that the new incidents now revealed may have some concern with a further effort to secure that immortal life with which he was still obsessed in spite of Siduri's warning about the jealousy of the gods, and this supposition is reinforced by the strong magical element found in the present text. Out of a certain tree with peculiar characteristics Gilgamesh makes two things, which, whatever their actual form, are certainly of magical efficacy, have to be surrounded with magical precautions, and are suddenly lost by the violation of a *tabu*. The grief of Gilgamesh at this calamity is similar to that which he expresses when the serpent robs him of the plant of life, and it is not improbable that these two products of the tree were talismans which, like the plant of life, would have secured the boon which he craved, if he could have kept them.

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