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Relating to the Old Testament

EDITED BY
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Since the days of yore there has been no permanence; The resting and the dead, how alike they are! Do they not compose¹⁸¹ 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 resolved182 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. 183 Ninigiku-Ea was also present with them; Their words he repeats to the reed-hut:184 (20)'Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall, wall! Reed-hut, hearken! Wall, reflect! Man of Shuruppak,185 son of Ubar-Tutu, Tear down (this) house, build a ship! Give up possessions, seek thou life. Forswear (worldly) goods and keep the soul alive! Aboard the ship take thou the seed of all living things. The ship that thou shalt build, Her¹⁸⁶ dimensions shall be to measure. Equal shall be her width and her length. (30) Like the Apsu thou shalt ceil her."87 I understood, and I said to Ea, my lord: '[Behold], my lord, what thou hast thus ordered, I will be honored to carry out. [But what] shall I answer the city, the people and elders?"188

181 Lit. "draw, design."

182 For the sense of tagmir libbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Huitième campagne de Sargon (1912), line 52, and p. 11, n.7. And for the factitive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n.164.

188 More specifically, "inspector of canals," cf. Creation Epic, VII, 62.

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.

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

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

188 cf. my remarks in Studies in the History of Culture (1942), 60.

Ea opened his mouth to speak, Saving 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, (40)Nor set my f[oo]t 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 189 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." "100

With the first glow of dawn, The land was gathered [about me]. (too fragmentary for translation) (50-53)

The little ones [carr lied bitumen,

While the grown ones brought [all else] that was need-

On the fifth day I laid her framework. One (whole) acre¹⁹¹ was her floor space, ¹⁹²

Ten dozen cubits the height of each of her walls, Ten dozen cubits each edge of the square deck.193 I laid out the contours (and) joined her together. 194 I provided her with six decks, (60)Dividing her (thus) into seven parts. Her floor plan I divided into nine parts. I hammered water-plugs into her. 195 I saw to the punting-poles and laid in supplies. 196 Six 'sar' (measures) 197 of bitumen I poured into the

furnace, Three sar of asphalt [I also] poured inside. Three sar of oil the basket-bearers carried,

Aside from the one sar of oil which the calking 198 consumed.

And the two sar of oil [which] the boatman stowed

Bullocks I slaughtered for the [people], (70)And I killed sheep every day.

Must, red wine, oil, and white wine 100

[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.

189 I take these genitive forms to denote the superlative, in accordance with Semitic usage. The literal sense would be "[A choice of] birds, a

190 Restored from lines 87, 90. As has long been recognized, these lines feature word plays in that both kukku and kibāti may designate either food or misfortune; cf. C. Frank, ZA, xxxv1 (1935), 218. Wily Ea plays on this ambiguity: To the populace, the statement would be a promise of prosperity; to Utnapishtim it would signalize the impending deluge.

191 cf. Heidel, EG, 82, n.170. 192 Schott and Landsberger, ZA, XLII (1934), 137

198 The ship was thus an exact cube, cf. Heidel, EG, 82, n.173.

194 Or "fashioned." "Contours," lit. "outside shape

198 For O. Neugebauer's explanation of the plugs cf. ZA, XLII, 138. 198 Lit. "the needful."

197 Var. "three Sar." The Sar was the number 3,600. If the measure understood with it was the sūtu (seah), each sar designated about 8,000 gallons; cf. Heidel, EG, 83, n.178.

198 For niqqu cf. A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien (1939),

149, n.2. 190 See A. Poebel, ZA, xxxix (1929), 149.

(80)

(90)

[On the sev]enth [day] the ship was completed.

[The launching] was very difficult,

So that they had to shift the floor planks200 above and

[Until] two-thirds of [the structure]²⁰¹ [had g]one [into the water].

[Whatever I had] I laded upon her:

Whatever I had of silver I laded upon her;

Whatever I [had] of gold I laded upon her;

Whatever I had of all the living beings I [laded] upon

All my family and kin I made go aboard the ship.

The beasts of the field, the wild creatures of the field, All the craftsmen I made go aboard.

Shamash had set for me a stated time:

'When he who orders unease at night,202

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 battened up the entrance.

To batten down²⁰³ 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 Hanish²⁰⁴ go in front,

Moving as heralds over hill and plain.

(100)

Erragal²⁰⁵ tears out the posts;²⁰⁶

Forth comes Ninurta and causes the dikes to follow.

The Anunnaki lift up the torches,

Setting the land ablaze with their glare.

Consternation²⁰⁷ over Adad reaches to the heavens,

Who turned to blackness all that had been light.

[The wide] land was shattered like [a pot]!

For one day the south-storm [blew],

Gathering speed as it blew, [submerging the mountains],

Overtaking the [people] like a battle.

(110)

No one can see his fellow,

Nor can the people be recognized from heaven.

200 Read ge-er-má-dù, with Salonen, op. cit., 93. I take the sense to be, however, that the weight had to be shifted around (ustabbalu) on the upper and lower decks (eliš u šapliš) to make the launching possible.

201 Because of the masculine suffix (finipat-su), the antecedent cannot be

the feminine eleppu "ship." Perhaps ekallu, as in line 95.

202 The true bearing of the word plays mentioned in lines 46-47. In order to reflect the rhyme of the Akkadian, which the two halves of this line contain-perhaps to bring out the proverbial content-I have translated here

tilâti as "night," instead of "evening, dusk."

208 Lit. "to calk," cf. Salonen, op. cit., 152. This expression seems to mean here "to put the finishing touches to."

204 For this reading of the names of the two heralds cf. CT, xxxv, 7, lines

19-20.
205 i.e. Nergal, god of the nether world.

200 Of the world dam.
207 The term *Iuharratu*, with the elative element *I*-, does not mean "rage," but "stark stillness, bewilderment, consternation." cf. line 131, below.

The gods were frightened by the deluge,

And, shrinking back, they ascended to the heaven of Anu.208

The gods cowered like dogs

Crouched against the outer wall.

Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail,

The sweet-voiced mistress of the [gods] moans aloud:

'The olden days are alas turned to clay,

Because I bespoke evil in the Assembly of the gods.

How could I bespeak evil in the Assembly

of the gods, (120)

Ordering battle for the destruction of my people,

When it is I myself who give birth to my people! Like the spawn of the fishes they fill the sea!'

The Anunnaki gods weep with her,

The gods, all humbled, sit and weep,

Their lips drawn tight, 200 [...] one and all.

Six days and [six] nights

Blows the flood wind, as the south-storm sweeps the land.

When the seventh day arrived,

The flood(-carrying) south-storm subsided in the

Which it had fought like an army.

(130)

The sea grew quiet, the tempest was still, the flood ceased.

I looked at the weather: stillness had set in,

And all of mankind had returned to clay.

The landscape was as level as a flat roof.

I opened a hatch, and light fell upon my face.

Bowing low, I sat and wept,

Tears running down on my face.

I looked about for coast lines in the expanse of the sea: In each of fourteen²¹⁰ (regions)

There emerged a region(-mountain).211

On Mount Nisir²¹² the ship came to a halt. (140)

Mount Nisir held the ship fast,

Allowing no motion.

One day, a second day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast, Allowing no motion.

A third day, a fourth day, Mount Nisir held the ship

Allowing no motion.

A fifth, and a sixth (day), Mount Nisir held the ship

Allowing no motion.

When the seventh day arrived,

I sent forth and set free a dove.

The dove went forth, but came back;

Since no resting-place for it was visible, she turned round.

Then I sent forth and set free a swallow.

²⁰⁸ The highest of several heavens in the Mesopotamian conception of the

cosmos.
209 Var. "covered."

²¹⁰ Var. "twelve."

²¹¹ cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvII (1948), 54; for nagū see H. and J. Lewy, HUCA, xvII (1943), 11-15.

212 For the identification of Mount Nişir with modern Pir Omar Gudrun,

cf. my report in AASOR, viii (1926/27), 17-18.

The swallow went forth, but came back; (150) Since no resting-place for it was visible,212a she turned

Then I sent forth and set free a raven.

The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished,

He eats, circles, caws, and turns not round.

Then I let out (all) to the four winds

And offered a sacrifice.

I poured out a libation on the top of the mountain.

Seven and seven cult-vessels I set up,

Upon their pot-stands I heaped cane, cedarwood, and myrtle.

The gods smelled the savor,

The gods smelled the sweet savor,

(160)

The gods crowded like flies about the sacrificer.

When at length as the great goddess²¹⁸ arrived,

She lifted up the great jewels which Anu had fashioned to her liking:

'Ye gods here, as surely as this lapis

Upon my neck I shall not forget,

I shall be mindful of these days, forgetting (them) never.

Let the gods come to the offering;

(But) let not Enlil come to the offering,

For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge

And my people consigned to destruction.

When at length as Enlil arrived, (170)

And saw the ship, Enlil was wroth,

He was filled with wrath over the Igigi gods:214

'Has some living soul escaped?

No man was to survive the destruction!'

Ninurta opened his mouth to speak,

Saying to valiant Enlil:

'Who, other than Ea, can devise plans?215

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 sinner impose his sin,

On the transgressor impose his transgression!

(Yet) be lenient, lest he be cut off,

Be patient,²¹⁶ lest he be dis[lodged]!

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 man-

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that a famine had risen up to l[ay low] mankind!

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

212a More exactly "appeared," from *(w)apū, in view of the repeated writing with p.

218 Ishtar.

214 The heavenly gods.

215 An allusion to one of the common epithets of Ea.

216 For sadadu in the sense of "heed," and the like, see XII, 32.

Would that pestilence217 had risen up to smiste down | mankind!

It was not I who disclosed the secret of the great gods.

I let Atrahasis218 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

Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless

'Hitherto Utnapishtim has been but human.

Henceforth Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us gods.

Utnapishtim 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 seekest thou mayest find?

Up, lie not down to sleep

For six days and seven nights."

As he sits there on his haunches, (200)

Sleep fans him like the whirlwind.

Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:

"Behold this hero who seeks life!

Sleep fans him like a mist."

His spouse says to him, to Utnapishtim 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."

Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:

"Since to deceive is human, he will seek

to deceive thee.218 (210)

Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,

And mark on the wall the days he sleeps."

She baked for him wafers, put (them) at his head,

And marked on the wall the days he slept.

His first wafer is dried out, The second is gone bad,²²⁰ the third is soggy;

The crust²²¹ of the fourth has turned white;

The fifth has a moldy cast,

The sixth (still) is fresh-colored;222

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

Gilgamesh says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:

217 Lit. "Erra," the god of pestilence.

218 "Exceeding Wise," an epithet of Utnapishtim.

210 By asserting that he had not slept at all. Lit. "Mankind being wicked, he will seek to deceive thee." For raggu: ruggū cf. B. Landsberger, ana itiisu (1937), 233.

220 cf., e.g., Ludlul, Babyloniaca, vii (1923), 169, 35.

221 For the Heb. cognate kawwān, cf. Jer. 7:18.

²²² For ballu in reference to color cf. my remarks in JAOS, LXVIII (1948), 13. The entire episode, as has long been recognized (cf. especially, Landsberger, ZA, XLII, 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—ballu—is ambiguous in that it may mean either "cooked, ripe" or "light, freshcolored." In the latter instance, stages 4-6 would be judged by the color.

"Scarcely²²³ 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 se[t my foot], there is death!" Utnapishtim [says to him], to Urshanabi, the boatman: "Urshanabi, may the landing-pl[ace not rejoice in thee], May the place of crossing renounce thee! To him who wanders on its shore, deny thou its shore! The man thou hast led (hither), whose body is covered with grime, The grace of whose members skins have distorted, Take him, Urshanabi, and bring him to the washing-Let him wash off his grime in water clean as snow, (240) Let him cast off his skins, let the sea carry (them) away, That the fairness of his body may be seen. Let him renew the band round his head, Let him put on a cloak to clothe his nakedness, That he may arrive in his city, That he may achieve his journey. Let not (his) cloak have a moldy cast, Let it be wholly new." Urshanabi took him and brought him to the washingplace. He washed off his grime in water clean as snow. He cast off his skins, the sea carried (them) away, That the fairness of his body might be seen. (250) He renewed [the band] round his head, He put on a cloak to clothe his nakedness, That he might ar[rive in his city], That he might achieve his journey. [The cloak had not a moldy cast, but] was [wholly] Gilgamesh and Urshanabi boarded the boat, [They launch]ed the boat on the waves (and) they sailed away.

His spouse says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:

223 Reading an-ni-mil, for which see W. von Soden, ZA, XLI (1933), 129,

n.3.

"Gilgamesh has come hither, toiling and straining. What wilt thou give (him) that he may return to his land? (260) At that he, Gilgamesh, raised up (his) pole, To bring the boat nigh to the shore. Utnapishtim [says] to him, [to] Gilgamesh: "Gilgamesh, thou hast come hither, toiling and straining. What shall I give thee that thou mayest return to thy land? I will disclose, O Gilgamesh, a hidden thing, And [a secret of the gods I will] tell thee: This plant, like the buckthorn is [its ...]. Its thorns will pr[ick thy hands] just as does the rose. If thy hands obtain the plant, [thou wilt find new life]." (270)No sooner had Gilgamesh heard this, Than he opened the wa[ter-pipe],224 He tied heavy stones [to his feet]. They pulled him down into the deep [and he saw the plant]. He took the plant, though it pr[icked his hands]. He cut the heavy stones [from his feet]. The [s]ea²²⁵ cast him up upon its shore. Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman: "Urshanabi, this plant is a plant apart, 226 Whereby a man may regain his life's breath. I will take it to ramparted Uruk, (280) 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." After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel, After thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night. Gilgamesh saw a well whose water was cool. He went down into it to bathe in the water. A serpent snuffed the fragrance of the plant; It came up [from the water] and carried off the plant. Going back it shed [its] slough.227 Thereupon Gilgamesh sits down and weeps, (290) His tears running down over his face. [He took the hand]²²⁸ of Urshanabi, the boatman: [For] whom,229 Urshanabi, have my hands toiled? For whom is being spent the blood of my heart? I have not obtained a boon for myself. For the earth-lion²⁸⁰ have I effected a boon! And now the tide281 will bear (it) twenty leagues away! When I opened the water-pipe²³² and [...] the gear, ²²⁴ See below, line 298.
²²⁵ Reading [t] am-tum, with W. F. Albright, RA, xv1 (1919), 176. 226 Reading ni-sih-ti. 227 Note that the process is one of rejuvenation, not immortality. ²²⁸ cf. Böhl, *HGE*, 161. ²²⁹ For man-ni-ya cf. v. Soden, ZA, xL (1932), 199. ²³⁰ An allusion to the serpent?

²³¹ See Albright, *loc. cis.*, 175 f.

²³² The opening of the *rāṭu* (normally "pipe, tube," apparently took place in connection with Gilgamesh's dive (cf. also l. 271). But the de-

tails remain obscure. Note, however, the Eridu Creation Story, 11, where

I found that which has been placed as a sign for me: I shall withdraw,

And leave the boat on the shore!"

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 precinct 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, xxx1 [1933], 126 ff.) and Kramer JAOS, 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 Huluppu-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 $mikk\bar{u}$, 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 mikkū." 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 catchline. 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.

the same term is used, perhaps to a pipe connecting with a source of sweet waters which would nourish the miraculous plant.

"That time when I verily ha[d]288 the Drum in the carpenter's house,

[(When) the carpenter's wife was verily like my mother who bore me],

(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my younger sister]!

Lo, [who will bring up] the Dr[um from the nether world]?

[Who will bring up] the Drumstick [from the nether world]?"

Enkidu²²⁴ [says to him, to] Gilgamesh, [his lord]: "My lord, why criest thou (and) why [is so ill] thy heart?

Lo, I will bring [up] the *Drum* from the nether world, I will bring [up] the *Drumstick* from the nether

Gilgamesh [says to him, to] Enkidu, [his servant]: (10)

"If [thou wilt go down] to the nether world, [I will speak a word to thee, take my word];285 My admonition(s)²⁸⁶ [heed thou well]:

Clean raiment [thou shalt not put on]! As a sojourner²⁸⁷ they would ma[rk thee].²⁸⁸

With sweet oil from the cruse thou shalt not anoint thee! At its fragrance they would gather about thee.

A throw stick into the nether world thou shalt not hurl!

Those struck with the throw stick would surround thee. A staff into thy hands thou shalt not take! The spirits would tremble on thy account.

Sandals to thy feet thou shalt not fasten,

A sound against the nether world thou shalt not make. Thy wife whom thou lovest thou shalt not kiss, Thy wife whom thou hatest thou shalt not strike, Thy son whom thou lovest thou shalt not kiss, Thy son whom thou hatest thou shalt not strike!.

The wailing of the nether world would seize thee!"— "She who rests, she who rests,

The mother of Ninazu,240 she who rests; Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,

Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth." [To his lord's admonitions Enkidu gave no] heed.242

²⁸⁸ Kramer ([AOS, LXIV [1944], 22, n.113) restores the end of the catchline as e-I[u-u], on the basis of the Sumerian passage. The current restoration e-z[ib] makes excellent sense. If correct, it might represent a somewhat free rendering. For the translation of pukku and mi/ekkū cf. Landsberger, ZDMG, LXXXVIII (1934), 210 and S. Smith, RA, XXX (1933),

153 ff.
284 This line is found only in the corresponding Sumerian passage and

CT, XLVI, 34.

285 This line occurs only in the Sumerian text, Gadd, loc. cit., line 55, restored by Kramer, BASOR, 79 (1940), 25, n.25. By incorporating the verse, we obtain the same count as is given in GETh.

236 For alir(tu), Sum. na.ri, cf. Kramer, ibid., and Creation Epic,

VI, 144, note 120.

237 For ubāru cf. AASOR, xv1 (1935/36), 124, note, and J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung (1939), 264.

238 Reading ú-a-a[d-du-ka], with Kramer, loc. cit., 21, n.105.

239 For the verb cf. Creation Epic, VII, 45.

240 Husband of Ereshkigal, queen of the nether world.

241 These three lines are repeated in 47-49. They appear to constitute a refrain, but the precise import is now lost.

242 For *ladādu*, when corresponding to Sumerian bu.i, cf. the associated terms maḥāru, neķelmū, redū, which taken together point to the semantic range "observe, follow, give heed"; cf. Deimel, \$L, 371, 73.