# Gilgames's Journey to the Cedar Forest 

This tablet was first published in my critical edition of the Babylonian Gilgameš as OB Schøyen $_{2}$ (George 2003: 224-40 and pls. 8-9). It contains 84 lines from an Old Babylonian version of the epic, describing the approach of Gilgameš and Enkidu to the Cedar Forest, and relating two of the ominous dreams that Gilgameš saw en route. Studying the tablet in the company of the Schøyen Collection's other Old Babylonian literary texts reveals that it is similar enough, physically and in its untidy, angular style of ductus, to MS 3285 (Text No. Io), to raise a suspicion that the two pieces stem from the same source.

Since MS 3025 was first copied it has been baked and cleaned, with the result that more text can be read. Minor improvements have been made to the copy of the obverse in ll. I8, 24, 26-30, 33-38, 40, 42. The tablet's bottom edge is now easier to read, but ll. $46-48$ still present some unsolved problems. On the reverse, where damage is more extensive, greater gains have been made. Lines 61-62 and 69-70 have been revealed as parallel couplets, and ll. 5I, 55, 56, 78-8I and 83 have also been fully conquered. In addition, collation has yielded small but important results in 11. 58, 60, 63, 72 and 74. At the same time, the reaction of other scholars and my own second thoughts have led me to return to some readings, and to revise the edition further in ll. $\mathrm{Ib}, 6,7,9,18$ and 38 . The new readings are annotated in the notes below, which also incorporate addenda already published (George 2004).

One important new reading affects our understanding of the location of Huwawa's cedar mountain in this version of the poem of Gilgameš. Other versions of the epic, Old and Standard Babylonian, place Huwawa-Humbaba in Lebanon. As noted in the introduction to
the first edition of the text, the present version mentions the "land of Ebla" in the narrative of Gilgameš and Enkidu's journey to the Cedar Forest: šunu itĥu ana māt-Ibla (26). Formerly I thought this was the goal of their journey and noted that the "location of Ebla's forest was more likely to have been on nearby Mount Amanus than in the Lebanon ranges" (George 2003: 226). ${ }^{1}$ However, later in the narrative it is now possible to read what seems to be another place name, Hamran, written ha-am-ra-an (55), where the heroes rest after running all day and all night. The next couplet describes Hamran as a mountain or land inhabited by Amorites, i.e. in Syria (56), where Huwawa's roar can be heard in the distance (57). This place would thus appear to be nearer the ultimate goal of the heroes' journey, and clearly far from Babylonia, in or beyond the "land of Ebla." But, while Hamran is an attested toponym elsewhere, no mountain or land of this name is known in Old Babylonian Syria, and for the moment it remains an enigma.

In the light of the significant additions to knowledge arising during the past few years, it has been thought desirable to give the text here in its entirety, complete with a revised translation. For an introduction to the text and further philological notes see still the first edition.

To the discussion of Ebla as a source of cedar in Sumerian literature (George 2003: 225-26), add Gudea Statue B v 54, which tells of various woods hur.sag ib.la.ta "from the mountain range of Ebla" (ed. Edzard 1997: 33).

## TRANSLITERATION

obv．

I

8 a－hुi－ia ša－lum－ma－「 ${ }^{\text {tum }}{ }^{1}$ ud－da－an－ni－in
9 iš－te－en et－lum la－bi－「is ${ }^{\text {¹ }}$［it－h］$] e-a-a m$
Io i－na ma－tim na－wi－ir－ma d［u－u］m－qá－am－ma d［a－mi－iq？］
I I iṣ－ba－at－ma ku－bu－ur e－m［u－q］í－ia
I2 ša－ap－la－nu ša－di－im－ma iš－「ta－al－pa－an¹－ni
I3 ${ }^{\mathrm{d}}$ en šu－ut－tam i－pa－aš－ša－ar
$i z-z a-{ }^{「} a q-q a{ }^{1}-r a-a m-{ }^{「} m a^{1} a-{ }^{「} n a{ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{GIS}$
I4 i－na－an－na ib－ri ša ni－il－la－ku－「̌̌sum
I5 ú－ul ša－du－um－ma－a nu－uk－ku－ur mi－「 ${ }^{\text {im－ma }}$
I6 i－na－an－na dhu－wa ša ni－「il＇－la－ku－šu［m ú－u］l šadûm（kur）－［m］a nu－「 $u k-k u ¹-u r m[i-i m]-{ }^{\text {r }} m a^{\top}$
te－en－né－em－mi－da－ma iš－ti－a－at te－「ep’－pu－uš
pár－ṣa－am ša mu－tim ši－「 ${ }^{\text {T}}$ i－ir－ti $z i-k a^{1}-r i$
ur－ta－a＇－a－ab uz－za－「šu e－li－ka
u－la－wa pu－lu－「 $u h^{\top}-t a-{ }^{「} s u^{\top} b i-i r-k i-{ }^{\top} k a{ }^{\top}$
ù ša ta－mu－ru－šu ${ }^{\text {d}}{ }^{\text {šamaš（utu）－「 ma šar－ru}}$
i－na $u_{4}$－mi ša da－an－na－tim i－ṣa－ab－r $b a^{1}$－at qá－at－ka
dam－qá－at ${ }^{\mathrm{d}} \mathrm{GIŠ}$ šu－ut－ta－šu ${ }^{\top} i h h^{\prime}-d u^{\top}$


šu－nu it－hu－＜ú＞a－na ma－ti－ib－「 $1 a^{\top}$
i－li－ma ${ }^{\mathrm{d}}$ GIŠ a－na ṣe－er šadîm（kur）
it－ta－na－ap－la－ás ka－li－šu－nu＇hुur＇－sa－MI
i－na ki－im－ṣi－šu ú－um－mi－dam zu－qá－［a］s－sú
ši－it－tum ra－hi－a－at ni－ši im－qù－${ }^{\text {r }} u s^{\top}-$ sú
i－na qá－ab－li－tim ši－it－ta－šu ú－ga－「 all－li－is－sú
it－bé i－ta－wa－am a－na ib－ri－［s］u
ib－ri a－ta－mar ša－ni－tam
e－li šu－ut－tim＇ša’ a－mu－「ru’ pa－ni－tim pa－al－「ha－at’
is－si ${ }^{\text {d }}$ adad（iškur）er－ṣe－tum i－ra－am－mu－um
$u_{4}$－mu $i$＇－a－pi－ir ú－ṣi ek－le－t $[u] m$
［i］b－ri－「 ${ }^{`} q q^{1}$ bi－${ }^{`} i r^{\top}$－qum in－na－pí－ih $i$－ša－tum


## TransLation

Gilgameš was lying down at rest;
"O night, bring me a dream!"
In the middle watch of the night he awoke with a start, ${ }^{\text {, }}$ he arose to talk to his friend:
"My friend, I have had a dream!
Why did you not rouse me? It was very frightening!
With my shoulder I propped up a mountain;
the mountain collapsed on me, pressing me down.
Feebleness enclosed my legs, a radiant brightness overpowered my arms.
There was a man, like a lion [he drew] near me, shining brightest in the land and most [comely] in beauty.
He took hold of my upper arm,
from under the mountain itself he pulled me forth."
Enkidu explained the dream,
saying to Gilgameš:
"Now, my friend, the one to whom we go,
is he not the mountain? He is something strange!
Now, Huwawa to whom we go, is he not the mountain? He is something strange!
You and he will come face to face and you will do something unique, the rite of a warrior, the task of a man.
He will make his fury rage against you, terror of him will encircle your legs.
But the one you saw was King Šamaš,
in times of peril he will take your hand."
It being favorable, Gilgameš was happy with his dream,
his heart became merry and his face shone bright.
A journey of one whole day, two and three,
they drew near to the land of Ebla.
Gilgameš climbed up to the top of a hill,
he looked around at all the mountains.
He rested his chin on his knees, the sleep that spills over people fell on him.
In the middle watch of the night he awoke with a start, ${ }^{1}$
he arose to talk to his friend:
"My friend, I have seen another!
It was more frightening than the previous dream I had.
Adad cried aloud, while the land was rumbling, the day became shrouded, darkness went forth.
Lightning flashed down, fire broke out,
flames flared up, while death was raining down.

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a－n［a］ri－gi－im \({ }^{\mathrm{d}}\) adad（（š̌kur）＇en’－né－šu a－na－ku
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a－di－ma ki－a－am－ma šu－up－pu－tum ib－te－li i－ša－tum
［n］a－ab－lu im－ta－aq－qù－tu i－「 \({ }^{\top} t u^{\top}-r u\) la－a＇－mi－iš
［e］k－le－tum it－ta－wi－ir ilum（dingir）\({ }^{l u}\left[{ }^{m}{ }^{m} i\right] t t^{-} t a^{\top}-[s] i^{\prime}\)
\(\mathrm{x} \times \mathrm{x} \times\) ir－di－a－am－「ma ú－x x［（x）］x
［den šu－ut－ta］m i－pa－aš－sa－［a］r
「iz－za’－a［q－qá－ra－a］m－ma a－na \({ }^{\text {d }}\) GIŠ
［x x x x ］x－ma dadad（iškur）\(i\)－「＇sa！！\({ }^{1}\)－ás－［si］
［ \(\mathrm{x} \times \times \times \times x]-m a i-r a-a h-h ̧ u-b a-n i-\{a\}-k a\)
［ \(\mathrm{x} \times \mathrm{xxx}\) ］x x x－ka e－li－s \([u]\)
［ x\(] \mathrm{x} \times[\mathrm{x} \times \mathrm{x}] \mathrm{x}-\) ma \(i-n a-w i-r a i-n a-k a\)
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\([t] a-{ }^{-} \check{s} a^{\top}-a[k-k] a-n a m\) a－na di－da－「al－li＇
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a－n［a h］a－am－ra－an ite－「hu＇－ú e－re－ši－im［us？］－「bu？＇
\([s a-a] d a-[m u]-u r-{ }^{\ulcorner } r u^{\top}-u m^{\top}\) 「 \(w a-a s^{\text {n }}-b u\)
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［‘hu－wa m］a－a［s］－「ssa－ru＇e－re－nim
＇ša ú’－［t］âr－ru ka－li－ši－na i－ra－tim
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\(i-r[u-u b a-d] i-i r-t u m\) a－na \([l] i-i b-[b] i-s[u]\)
\({ }^{\text {rad }}\) GIŠ \(i[t-b] a-{ }^{-} l a-a m^{1} p a-n i-s ̌ u\)
\(i z-z a-{ }^{\top} a q-q a^{\top}-r[a-a] m-m a \quad a-n a^{d} e n\)
＇am－mi－ni ib－ri i－ri＇－qù pa－nu－k［a］
\({ }^{「}{ }^{1}{ }^{1}-r[u-u] b\) a－di－ir－tum \(a-n[a l] i-i b-b i-{ }^{「} k a{ }^{\prime}\)
\({ }^{\text {rd }}\) en \(p a-\) šu＇\(i-p u-\)－sa－am－m［a
i］z－「za－aq－qá－ra－am－ma a－na d \({ }^{\text {d }}\) GIS
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``` me－lem－ma－「su ka＇－ti－「im hur－［s］a－ni
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「＇sa da＇－an－nu＇ka＇－ak－ka－šu i－「na i－gi－gi＇
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「ša da－nu＇－\｛um\} ka-ak-ka-šu i-na k[i-ib-r]a-「 \({ }^{\text {tim }}{ }^{\text {² }}\)
「ѝ \(k i^{\top}-[a-a] m-{ }^{\top} m a ~ i b-r i ~ i-r[i]-「 q u ̀ ~ p a-n u-[a] ~\)
i－ru－［ub］＇a－di＇－ir－tum a－na 「li－ib－bi－ia＇
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At the sound of Adad I grew bewildered, the day went dark, I knew not where I was going.
At long last(?) the fire that flared so high died down, one by one the flames diminished, they turned to embers.
The gloom brightened, the god shone forth, . . . he led here and . . ."
[Enkidu] explained the [dream,] saying to Gilgameš:
"[ . . . ] . . . Adad was calling,
[...] and will rage against you.
[ . . . ] your . . . against him, [...] and your eyes will grow bright.
[Like(?)] the bright [fire that was] kindled for you, . . . flames and his weapons, ${ }^{51}$ you will render into ashes.
Your dreams are favorable, a god is with(!) you, you will quickly achieve your plans(?)."
On they sped that day and night, to Hamran they drew near, on the summit sat down(?),
the [mountain] where the Amorite dwells, daily hearing the voice of Huwawa.
He watched them, the guardian of the cedar, he that repels every advance, ${ }^{\text {r }}$
[Huwawa, the] guardian of the cedar, he that repels every advance. ${ }^{\text {I }}$
[Enkidu raised] his eyes and saw the cedar, its [splendor] covering the uplands.
His face turned pale, like a severed (head), terror entered his heart.
Gilgameš took pity on him, saying to Enkidu:
"Why, my friend, did your face turn pale, and terror enter your heart?"
Enkidu opened his mouth, saying to Gilgameš:
"I raised my eyes, my friend, and saw the cedar, its splendor covering the uplands.
Who can withstand that god, whose weapon is mightiest among the Igigi?
Shall we withstand that Huwawa, whose weapon is mightiest in the world?
And so, my friend, my face turned pale, terror entered my heart."

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77
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    iz-za-aq-qá-ra-am-「та a-na [ \(\left.{ }^{d}{ }^{\text {d }}\right] n\)
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‘ša?-am?-š̌um?' iq-bi-a-「 \(a m^{1}\) [al-II]a-ak-mi it-[ti]-'「ka?'
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qá-ab-[l]am ša la ti-du-úlu-še-pi-išl[i?-b]i?
nu-ba-at-tam is-ki-pu i-ni-lu!
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「ib-ri a’-ta-mar ša-lu-uš-tam
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## Notes

rb．The reading of the word in final position as imperative instead of active was suggested by Khait and Nurullin 2006：529－30．The last trace is not of－am or ni，however；it is a wedge leaning back from the vertical．

6．The second verb was formerly understood as isihanni from esēhum＂to gird．＂The pars－ ing from se＇u＂to push down，＂a verb not previously encountered in Old Babylo－ nian，is the suggestion of Khait and Nurul－ lin 2006：530，who understood it as perfect． I take it as present，ise＂ânni，describing the result of the mountain＇s collapse．
7．As pointed out by Khait and Nurullin 2006：530－3 I，my emendation of lu－tum to puluhtum in the light of 1.20 was ill－judged， especially since $l \bar{u} t u m$ and birku are found together in Ludlul II 78 and SB Gilgameš IV 242，as restored in George 2003： 600.
8．For dиппипит in the sense＂to overpower＂ rather than＂to strengthen，＂see another dream account，SB Gilgameš VII I7I：iṣbat qimmātīya udanninanni yāši＂he took hold of my hair，he was too strong for me＂（Khait and Nurullin，private communication）．
9．Previously I read labiš［pal］âm＂clad in a royal mantle．＂This can still be defended but there are other possibilities．Khait and Nurullin suggest la－bi－i［š it－b］é－a－am and translate＂arose（to me）like a lion＂（2006： 53 I ）．In the context of wild animals tebûm is a verb of aggression，meaning＂to rear up，attack．＂The figure in the dream comes to Gilgameš＇s aid，however，and lābiš tebûm
is not in keeping．Khait and Nurullin＇s parsing of lābis as a modal adverb is a good one，however，adding a further example of such a formation in Old Babylonian to those identified by W．G．Lambert and col－ lected by Mayer 1995：i7I n．28．If it is the correct parsing，the last word of the line is to be reconstructed as a verb，as they saw， but as $[i t-h] e-a-a m$ rather than $[i t-b] e ́-a-a m$ ． The broken sign is a better he than bé，and the verb techûm is less aggressive than tebûm．
18．My former decipherment of the first sign overlooked the fact that the sign BAR was already used with the value pár（if rarely）in the Old Babylonian period．The revised reading and the recovery of the whole line are owed to the brilliance of Khait and Nurullin，who caught the sense of the line and made me revisit it．They read the line as parṣam ša mutim pišivti ikkari and translat－ ed＂a ritual of a man，an exorcism of a plowman，＂noted a parallelism between parṣum and pišertum，mutum and ikkarum and commented that the line offered＂an explanation of istiāt＇something unique＇ that Gilgamesh was supposed to make when he would meet Huwawa，but we can say nothing about its exact meaning＂ （Khait and Nurullin 2006：532）．

What happens when Gilgameš met Huwawa was a titanic struggle so violent that the very mountain split asunder，and the logical conclusion is that the enigmatic parṣam ša mutim and the phrase that follows it allude to this extraordinary act of single

Gilgameš opened his mouth, saying to Enkidu:
"Did not enthusiasm carry me away in the fullness [of my power(?)]? But the sun god(?) said to me, '[I shall] go with [you(?).]'
Do not fear, O Enkidu, keep watch on me! I will have myself a battle such as never you knew."
They pitched camp for the night, they lay down; his sleep roused him and he (G.) revealed (his dream) to him (E.):
"My friend, I have seen a third!"
combat. The former phrase is easier to explain. It evokes the noble sentiment that warfare is a socio-religious duty or rite (parşum) for able-bodied young men (mutum). This sentiment permeates ancient Mesopotamian literature: in an Old Babylonian poem about Sargon the prospect of battle is articulated by the line [i]-si-nu-um ša mu-ti in-né-pu-uš "the festival of warriors will take place" (ed. Westenholz 1997: 621. 19); in Lugale 136 battle is ezen nam. guruš.a // i-sin-ni et-lu-ti" "the festival of young men"; in Erra I 5 I it is said that a-lak ṣēri(edin) ša eṭ-lu-ti ki-i šá i-sin-nu-um-ma "the young men's departure for the battlefield is like a time of festival." Warfare is also described as isinnum "a festival" in the Agušaya poem (Groneberg 1997: 76 iii 7 // ir) and the Tukultī-Ninurta epic (Kuk Wong Chang 198r: 99 iiia 20, 106 v if).

While the second of the two phrases is so damaged that the reading pišerti ikkari cannot be excluded on orthographic grounds, it seemed to me on collation that a better semantic parallel with parṣam sa mutim can be obtained by reading instead sipirti zikari. In this phrase šipirtum is a synonym of siprum "task, duty," and thus restates parşum but in a more mundane and less idealized way; zikarum is likewise a synonym of mutum, but less literary. In this way the line juxtaposes two phrases that display Babylonian idealism and practice respectively.
38. The sign before anāku was revealed after cleaning to comprise only three wedges, discounting both my former decipherment $e n-n i-i s_{7}^{\prime}$ and Khait and Nurullin's en-né-ṭ̂̀ (2006: 532-33). I now parse the word in question from ešùm. This verb is conventionally booked as $\mathrm{i} / \mathrm{i}$ class, so that the IV/ I preterite I.sg. is expected to be ennesí, as indeed it is in the Old Babylonian NarāmSin legend iii 8: a-na-ku es-' ${ }^{\text {sen-hi' }}$ en-né-sti "I grew confused and bewildered" (ed. Westenholz 1997: 272). The late version of this text has instead forms with final $/ \mathrm{u} /:$ in 1 . 88 the indicative es-se-hुu en-néš̌ú and in 1. I 54 the negative imperative la te- $\left(e s_{5}\right)$-se-ehhu la te-en-neš-šú" "be not confused, be not bewildered" (ed. Gurney 1955, cf. Westenholz 1997: 318, 326 l. I 56). The sources of the late version are tablets from Sultantepe, where an unexpected quality of final vowel would usually be shrugged off, and from Nineveh, where wrong stem vowels in final position are rare but not unknown (e.g. George 2003: 44I sub t). However, the spelling te-es ${ }_{5}$-se-eh-hu in 1 . I54 (MS C, Nineveh) retains in IŠ $=e s_{5}$ a peculiarly Old Babylonian value, so that perhaps the spellings are there faithful to a second-millennium forerunner. Given the present attestation, on an Old Babylonian tablet, of ennešu instead of enneši, it looks as if there was indeed a time when ešûm was sometimes conjugated as a verb of the $u / u$ class. Another case of a verb exhibiting
both /u/ and /i/ in final position occurs in the next line.
39. The decipherment $i-{ }^{\ulcorner }$ṭi ${ }^{\top}-m a u_{4}-m u$ and its translation as "the day went dark" presume OB eṭ̂m exhibits a vowel class III- $u$; the phrase should be compared with $i$-DI $u_{4}-m u$ in three first-millennium copies of Ludlul II i I9, understood as $i t ̣ i \bar{u} m u$ by Landsberger and others (see especially Cooper 1975). Unless the phrase in the present line is plural, i.e. ițûma $\bar{u} m \bar{u}$ (which seems improbable), this rare verb evidently exhibits both $/ \mathrm{u} /$ and $/ \mathrm{i} /$ in final position. It might thus be added to those that switched vowel classes over time (cf. GAG §87bd), but this cannot be confirmed without further attestations.

54-55. New readings reveal that this couplet as a whole is a functional counterpart of 11 . 25-26: mālak ūmakkal šina u šalāšim / šunu $i t ̣ h \hat{u}$ ana māt-Ibla. In the later texts the variation that this tablet shows to have informed the Old Babylonian account of the journey was suppressed in favor of a standardized passage of repetition in which each stage of the journey is introduced by the same couplet (SB IV 4 // 37 // [82] // 123-24): mālak arhi u šapatti ina šalši ūmī / iṭhû ana šad̂̀ Labnānu. On the textual "homogenization" of this part of the poem see further George 2003: 45-47. For Hamran see the introduction.
56. The first word can also be read [ma-a]t "land."
58. The complete decipherment of the context shows that Huwawa, not Enkidu, must be the subject of the double couplet set down in ll. 58-60, and the reading of the verb has been revised to suit this new understanding. The second sign, formerly read [d]e?, is now read DU $=$ t $u$ (cf. the
shape of DU in ll. 39 and 81). A spelling $i-$ ṭ̀̀-šu- for itṭulšu- does not presuppose an error, for /l/ can assimilate to a following /š/ already in Old Babylonian, as it can later: thus $a-k a-s ̌ u$ for akalšu "his bread" in a bilingual proverb from Nippur (Lambert 1960: 273 1. 2; GAG \$34c Ergänzungen); and na-aš-ši for nalšim "dew" in a love lyric from the reign of Abiešuh̆ (Lambert i966: sol. It).
78. Preposed $u l$ signifies a rhetorical question: see for comparison SB Gilgameš III 102-6 and IV 213 and add this instance to the discussion in George 2003: 814. For libbum našúm in Gilgameš see the elders' caution libbaka našika "your enthusiasm carries you away" in the Yale tablet and later versions of the same episode (OB III i9i // Ass MS $\mathbf{y}_{2}$ obv. 9' // SB II 289).
79. If šamšum is correctly restored as the damaged first word, this line is informed by the theme of Šamaš as Gilgameš's guide and guardian.
8o. The line contains an exception to the rule that Gilgameš and Enkidu address each other only as ibri.
82. The emendation to inīl $\bar{u}$ is demanded chiefly because iskip $\bar{u}$ inīl $\bar{u}$ is a narrative variant of the imperative phrase sakip nil (1. i).
83. This line would perhaps better read idkâ̌̌̌̌ūma šuttašu (acc.) ipaššaršum "he (G.) roused him (E.) in order to reveal his dream to him." As the text stands, šittašu seems best parsed as nominative, with sittum dekûm an idiom describing the interruption of sleep by the nightmare.
84. The discovery of a ruling before this line reveals it to be a genuine catch-line, as suspected on structural grounds in George 2003: 227.

