

is always human. Even purely mythological legends, like the legend of the creation, may have been patterned after human history. The victory of Hammurabi, who became the ruler over all the states of Babylonia, is echoed in the story of Marduk, who by virtue of his courage became the chief of the Babylonian pantheon. (1)

(2) The list of the kings of Šumer and Akkad mentions Gilgamesh as a king of Uruk. (2) As there is no reason to doubt the names of many of the other kings in that list, there is likewise no reason to doubt the historical existence of Gilgamesh. Moreover, since the name of Mes-anni-padda, the founder of the First Dynasty of Ur, is proved to be historical by his son's inscriptions, (3) it seems illogical to doubt the historicity of the First Dynasty of Uruk. Of course, the length of reign is legendary, but the names are not invented.

(3) There are omens connected with the name of Gilgamesh. *Amût Gilgameš*, "the omen of Gilgamesh," is the same as *amût Ku-a-Bau*, *amût Šarru-kên*, *amût Rimûs*, *amût Narâm-Sin*, *amût Šar-kalê-šarri*, *amût Utu-ḫegal*, *amût Ibi-Sin*, etc. (4)

These omens reveal that Gilgamesh became the ruler of all Babylonia and even the ruler over the whole world, namely, all the countries around Babylonia:

šumma(BE) sinništu(SAL) tûlid(Û . TU)-ma qaqqad(SAG . DU) šêri(MUŠ)
šakin(GAR):

amût(EŠ)^{ut} aNin-giš-zi-da ša mâta(KUR) ikkal(KU)

amût(EŠ)^{ut} aGilgameš(GIŠ . TU . BAR) ša mâta ibêl(EN) šar(LUGAL) kiššati-
(ŠU) ina mâti ibašši(TUG)^{si} (5)

"Supposed: a woman having given birth (to a child, and) it has the head of a serpent:

It is the omen of **Ningishzida**, who shall devour the country.

It is the omen of Gilgamesh, who became the ruler of the land.

A king of the world dominion will be in the land."

This omen resembles the omen concerning Humbaba:

amût šarri ḫammî ša mata kalaša i-be-el (6)

"The omen of the usurper who shall become the ruler of the whole land." Gilgamesh became the ruler over all Babylonia after he had freed the country from Humbaba's raids. After he had turned to the west and conquered it he was the ruler of the world. All the other omens of Gilgamesh refer to his undisputed rule:

(1) Cf. DEIMEL, *Orientalia* IV (1934) 44 f.

(2) POEBEL, *HGT*, No. 2, col. II, lines 26-28; LANGDON, *OECT* II, W-B 444, col. III, lines 17-20; cf. also Poebel, *HGT*, No. 6: 2-7.

(3) GADD, *Ur Excavations* I 126 = BARTON, *RISA* pp. 2 f; cf. also H. G. GÜTERBOCK in *ZA* XLII 8.

(4) See WEIDNER, *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 226-40.

(5) *CT* XXVII, Plate 1:8 f.

(6) *BRM* IV No. 13:65.

17²:

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