

out. A good quantity of the fine, painted, and burnished ware which has come to be known as typical of the Early Iron Age pottery of Edom and Moab, was recovered. A peculiar kind of pottery of excellent make was discovered, with bands of protruding dentilated ornamentation. In general, the impression obtained from the three seasons of excavations is that despite the long control exercised over Ezion-geber: Elath by the Judaeans, its population, pottery and general cultural patterns fit in more with the picture of Eastern Palestine, North Arabia and Sinai, than with Western Palestine. Edomites, Kenites, Kenizzites, and Arabs formed the bulk of the population, among which, however, were numbered Phoenicians, Egyptians, Judaeans, and in time, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. The changes of government were probably accepted with the same calm and even indifference that the present inhabitants of 'Aqabah would evince, if tomorrow 'Aqabah fell into the possession of Ibn Saud of Arabia, instead of remaining part of the Emirate of Transjordan under Abdullah and the English.

ISHTAR IN THE NETHER WORLD ACCORDING TO A NEW SUMERIAN TEXT *

SAMUEL N. KRAMER

The myth currently known as "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World" has come down to us in two versions, the Semitic and the Sumerian.^a The

* We are very grateful to Dr. S. N. Kramer of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for contributing this important article. The first third of the article was prefixed later at the editor's request. Note that in this, more general, part of the paper *sh* corresponds to *š* in Sumerian-Accadian names mentioned in the second, more technical, part.

^a The text and translation of the Semitic version have been available to scholars and laymen for over half a century. The Sumerian version, on the other hand, has only recently been deciphered, although the tablets and fragments on which the myth is inscribed had been excavated by the University of Pennsylvania in Nippur some fifty years ago. As early as 1914, Stephen Langdon published copies of two fragments located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient of Istanbul. One was a small piece, but the other consisted of the upper half of a large four-column tablet. In 1919 Arno Poebel published three new fragments of the myth which he had uncovered in the University Museum at Philadelphia. Because of the fragmentary nature of all this material, however, and its poor state of preservation, the meaning of the contents remained obscure. In the course of the next decade, Edward Chiera succeeded in locating three new duplicates in the University Museum. More important still, he was fortunate enough to discover there the lower half of the *very same four-column tablet* whose upper half had been found and copied by Langdon in Istanbul. With the help of this new material uncovered by Chiera (his untimely death in 1933 prevented him from doing more than making copies of part of this material) I succeeded in reconstructing the text of the myth; the study consisting of the reconstructed text together with a translation and detailed commentary was published in 1937. Needless to say, there were numerous gaps and breaks in the text which made the translation and interpretation no easy matter, and the meaning of several of the more significant passages remained obscure. The following year I discovered two additional fragments in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient while engaged in copying part of its Sumerian "literary" collection from Nippur,

former is inscribed in the Accadian language on tablets dating from the first millennium B. C. Briefly sketched, the story runs as follows: Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, has set her heart to descend to the Nether World, the house of darkness whence there is no returning. There she would weep for "the young men who have left their wives," "the young women who have been torn from their husbands," "the young child who has been snatched away before his time." Upon her arrival at the gate "of the Land of No Return" she orders its keeper to open the doors under threat of breaking them down and bringing up the dead. After consulting his mistress Ereshkigal, the queen of the Nether World, he admits Ishtar, but as she passes each of the seven gates of the Nether World he removes a bit of her apparel. When the last gate had closed upon Ishtar, Ereshkigal ordered her messenger Namtar to bring forth against the naked goddess sixty diseases: diseases of the eyes, of the hands and feet, of the heart and head. It was then that Papsukkal, the messenger of the gods, fearing the extinction of all living things on the earth, since all sexual intercourse had ceased with Ishtar's entrance into the Nether World, hastened to Ea for succor. The latter fashioned the eunuch Aşnamir who descended to the Nether World and by his actions induced Ereshkigal to decide to send Ishtar back to the earth. She ordered "the water of life" to be sprinkled upon her, and Ishtar, thus revived, reascended to the earth via the seven gates of the Nether World. As she passed each of the gates, the apparel which had been removed in the course of her descent was returned to her.

The Sumerian version of the myth is inscribed in the Sumerian language on tablets dated approximately 2000 B. C.; they precede by more than a millennium the tablets containing the Semitic version. The contents of the story, briefly outlined, are as follows: Inanna (the Sumerian goddess identified with the Semitic Ishtar) has forsaken heaven and earth and her seven most cherished temples in Sumer in order to descend to the Nether World. Having sought and obtained the appropriate divine decrees and instructions and having adorned herself with her queenly robes and jewels, she is ready to enter "the Land of No Return." Before doing so, however, she instructs her messenger Ninshubur to go to the temple Ekur in Nippur and plead with Enlil to see that no harm befalls his daughter. If Enlil refuses Ninshubur is to go to Ur and present the same plea before Nanna (the moon-god). If Nanna refuses he is to go to Eridu and repeat her plea before Enki (the Sumerian god identified with the Semitic Ea), and the latter, who "knows" "the food of life" and "the water of life," will surely save her from death. Inanna then descends to the Nether World and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the keeper who demands to know the reason for her intrusion. Inanna replies that Ereshkigal, her sister, had ordered her presence at the funeral rites of Gugalanna, the great bull of heaven, who had just been killed. On instructions from his mistress, the gatekeeper admits Inanna, but as she enters each of the seven gates of the Nether World, he has part of her apparel removed. After passing through the last gate, Inanna is seized and brought before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven judges of the

with the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship. Their publication in 1939 helped to restore one of the major lacunae in the text. And the new duplicate which furnishes the basis of the present study helps to fill another of the more serious gaps in the story.

Nether World. By their decree she is turned into a corpse and the dead body is hung from a stake. After three days and three nights had passed, Ninshubur, in accordance with his instructions, sets out to make the rounds of the gods. Enlil and Nanna deny his plea for saving Inanna from the Nether World, but Enki, grieved by what had happened, fashions two sexless creatures, the *kurgarrû* and the *galaturru*, and entrusts to them "the food of life" and "the water of life." They descend to the Nether World and revive Inanna by sprinkling upon her this life-giving food and water. She reascends to the earth accompanied by the dead and other ghastly creatures of the Nether World.

As a comparison of the two versions clearly shows, the Sumerian account differs radically from that developed by the Semites. Only in the most general outlines of the story do the two agree: The goddess descends to the Nether World, passes the seven gates at each of which one of her garments or ornaments is removed, is put to death at the command of Ereshkigal, is saved through the efforts of the wise Enki (the Semitic Ea) and reascends to the earth. But few of the details that go to fill in these skeleton lines of the myth are alike in the two versions. What is even more interesting is the palpable difference in style and tone. For the temper of the Sumerian version, like that of Sumerian literature as a whole, is calm, subdued, passive and unemotional; the incidents are recited impassively and repeated to the point of monotony. The Semitic version, on the other hand, glosses over many of the particulars, but expands with language that is characteristically passionate and intense those details which are rich in emotional possibilities. There is little doubt that the Sumerian version is the more original; the Semitic account developed from it in the course of the centuries as a result of modifications made by the Babylonians in accordance with their own temper and genius.

CBS 15212, a Nippur tablet located in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, contains sixty-two lines of text and corresponds to ll. 144-203 of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."¹ As the following detailed analysis shows, it enables us to make quite a number of restorations and corrections in the text of the myth. Its primary importance, however, lies in the fact that it helps to restore the badly mutilated ll. 161-68, lines which from the point of view of comparative mythology and the study of comparative religion contain one of the more significant passages of the myth. As the reader will recollect, the passage ending

¹ Cf. *RA*, XXXIV, 93-134, and *RA*, XXXVI, 68-80. CBS 15212 will hereafter be referred to as Ga; cf. the list of duplicates in *RA*, XXXVI, 98. The tablet is one of a group of fifty copied by me during a recent six-months' sojourn in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, in the course of which, with the generous co-operation of Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, the director, and Professor Leon Legrain, the curator of its Babylonian Section, I made a careful study of the Sumerian "literary" material in its Nippur tablet collection. The investigation revealed that the latter contained approximately six hundred Sumerian literary pieces still uncopied and unpublished. Many are fragmentary but not a few are in excellent condition. Their contents run the entire gamut of Sumerian literature, and their value for the restoration of the Sumerian compositions is inestimable. It is therefore a source of grateful satisfaction to be in a position to state that a grant by the American Philosophical Society will enable me to continue, and, it is hoped, to complete, the copying of the entire group in the course of the coming two years.

with l. 160 describes Inanna's entrance into the Nether World through its seven gates. The passage beginning with l. 169 is concerned with the efforts of Ninšubur, her messenger, to save Inanna by arousing the gods in her behalf in accordance with directions given him² by his mistress before her departure to the Nether World. The eight lines between these two passages therefore contain the text describing Inanna's fate in the Nether World after the last of the seven gates had closed upon her. It is this passage, so badly mutilated in A that no intelligible reconstruction was possible at the time when my preceding studies of the myth were prepared, that our new duplicate restores in large part.

After Inanna had entered the seventh gate and her last garment had been removed, Ereškigal seated herself upon her throne and the seven Anunnaki, the judges of the Nether World, whose very look spelled death, sat before her in judgment. Thereupon Inanna was turned into a *corpse* and the body was hung from a *stake*. And it was not until three days and three nights had passed³ that Ninšubur, her messenger, began making the rounds of the gods. Enlil and Nanna refused all help; it was Enki who finally contrived to bring about Inanna's resurrection.

The following is a detailed analysis of the restorations to the text of the myth made possible by our new duplicate:

Lines 144-60 (= *Ga*, ll. 1-17).—*Ga*, l. 4, reads [^{túg}palà⁴-a-]^{túg}palà-a-bar-ra-[*na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir*];⁵ it therefore corresponds to l. 157 of the myth.⁶ L. 148, to judge from the spacing in *Ga*, l. 5, which corresponds to it, reads *ta-ám-me-a*; there is nothing missing between *-me-* and *-a*.⁷ The exact meaning of the line remains uncertain, however, since the analysis of *-me-a*

² The conclusion that Ninšubur is a male deity is based on the fact that in the Rim-Sin Clay Cone A and Stone Tablet A, Ninšubur is described as *en* and *lugal*; that in the Cassite and later periods the Semitic adjectives, participles, etc. alongside of this deity's name are regularly masculine; that, according to *CT*, XXIV, Pl. 2, l. 52, Ninšubur is conceived as having a wife. Strangely enough, however, in the Rim-Sin clay cone from Ur (Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, I, No. 138) Ninšubur is described as *nin*, and in a hymnal text dating probably from the Hammurabi period, cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 125, ll. 1 and 2) *nin* and *ama* are used as descriptive terms for the deity. Moreover, Ninšubur is treated as a female deity in the extant texts from the Sumerian periods; cf. the proper name *ninšubur-ama-mu* in the "economic" texts of the Urukagina and Ur III periods and the use of the epithet *nin* in the Gudea votive tablet, *BIN* (*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*), II, No. 12.

³ Comparison with the Resurrection of Christ seems unavoidable. [The great importance of the three-day period in the religion of the pagan Near East was already well known, but this is the first absolutely certain text in which it occurs (for previous data cf. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1924, pp. 96 ff., and Albright, *JAOS*, 39, 88 ff.). It is essential to remember that the three-day period is a *theologoumenon* and that the best historical tradition makes the period one day and two nights.—W. F. A.]

⁴ In ll. 24, 111, and 157 *palà-* is to be substituted for *nam-nin-*.

⁵ The translation "was removed" for *lú ba-da-an-ši-ir* (ll. 127, 132, 137, 142, 147, 152, 157, and 160a) is preferable to "someone removed"; similarly, *lú ba-da-an-lá* (l. 167) is best translated as "was hung" rather than as "someone hung." In other words, Sumerian may express our passive by means of *lú*, "man," and the active form of the verb.

⁶ I. e., the order of the objects of apparel removed from Inanna varies in the duplicates.

⁷ So also, therefore, ll. 128, 133, 138, 143, 148, 153, and 158.

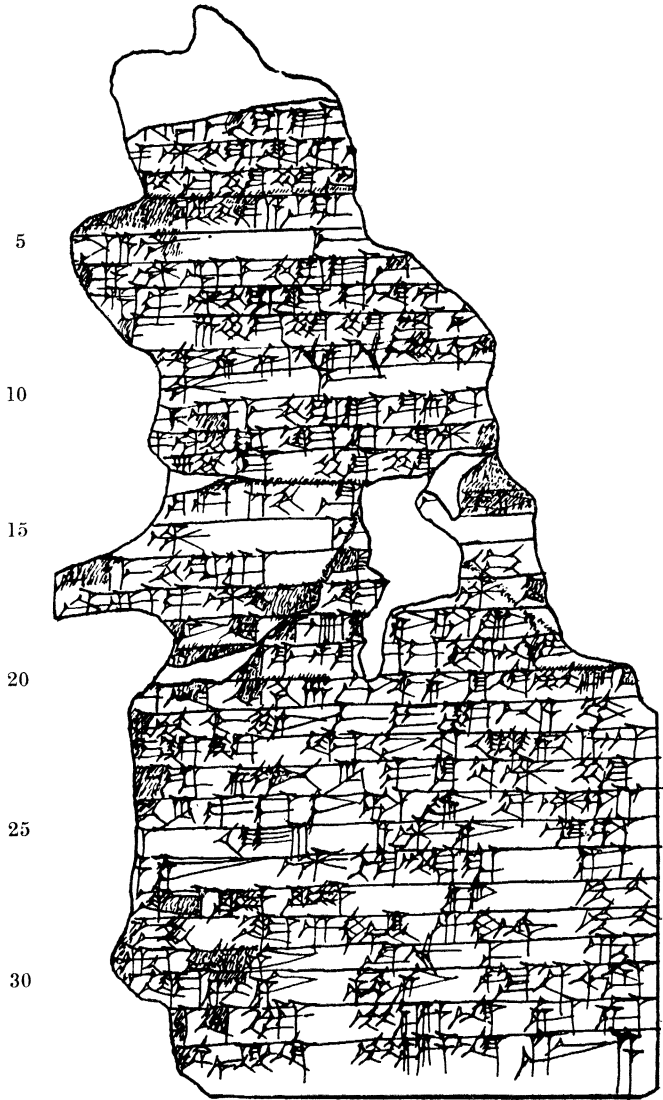


Fig. 1. CBS 15212, obverse.

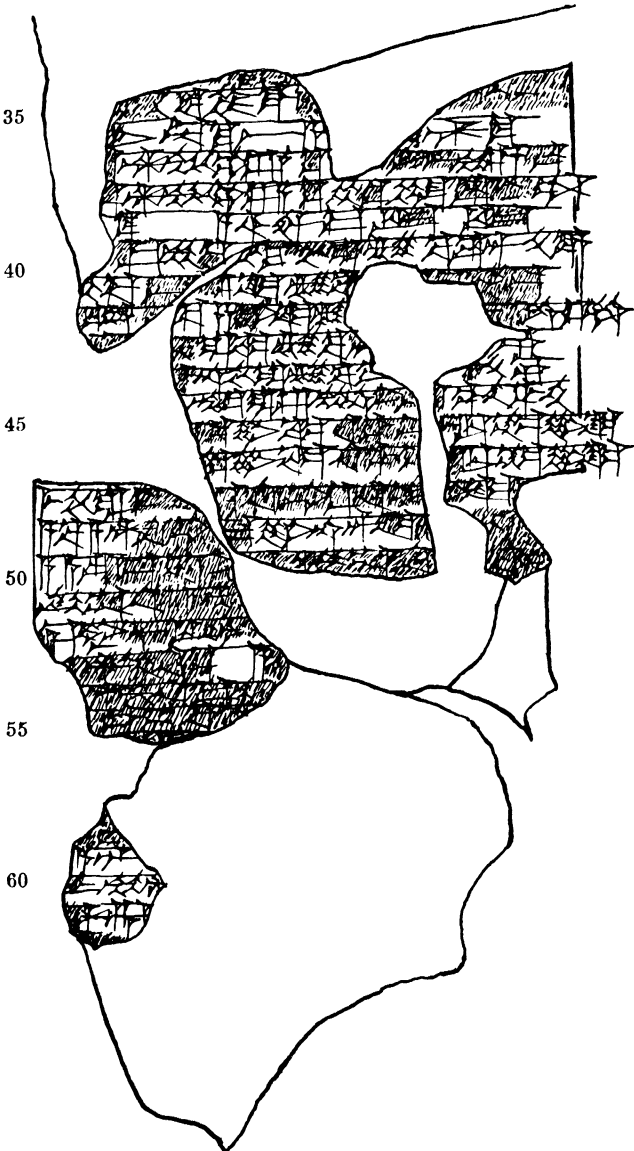


Fig. 2. CBS 15212, reverse.

is difficult. In l. 152, as Ga, l. 9, shows, the complex *-gaba-na* is to be inserted after *lú-gá-nu-gá-nu*.⁸ Ga, l. 14, it is to be noted, corresponds to l. 132⁹ of the myth.⁶

*Lines 160a*¹⁰⁻⁷⁴ (= Ga, ll. 18-33).—This significant passage may now be restored as follows:

- 160a. . . . -NI-?-? *nun-?-ni-ta lú* [*ba-da-an-ši-ir*]¹¹
 from her . . . [*was removed*].
161. [*kug-^dereš-k*]*i-gal-la-[k]*_{e⁴}¹² *o^{is}gu-za-na i-ni-in-[tuš]*
 The holy Ereškigal seated herself upon her throne,
162. *^da-nun-na-di-kud-imin-bi*¹³ *igi-ni-šè di mu-un-[šⁱ-in-kud]*¹⁴
 The Anunnaki, the seven judge[s, pronounced] judgment before
 her.
163. *i-bi*¹⁵ *mu-ši-in-bar i-bi*¹⁵ *-uš-a-kam*
 They fastened (their) eyes upon her, the eyes of death,
164. -ne-ne KA-LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm
 Their is the word which tortures the spirit,
165. KA -tag-ga-àm¹⁶

166. [*munus*]-*tu-ra uzu-nig-sig-šè ba-an-tu*
 The sick ["lady"] was turned into a corpse,¹⁷
167. *uzu-nig-sig-ga*¹⁸ *o^{is}kak-ta lú ba-da-an*¹⁹ *-lá*
 The corpse was hung from a stake.²⁰
168. *u₄-eš-gi₆-eš-um-ta*²¹ *-zal-la-ta*
 After three days and three nights had passed,
169. *sukkal-a-ni-^dnin-šubur-ra-ke₄*
 Her messenger, Ninšubur,
170. *sukkal-e-ne-èm*²² *šag₅-šag₅-ga-ni*²³
 Her messenger of favorable words,

⁸ Cf. RA, XXXVI, 77, comment to l. 22 and n. 6, and p. 79, n. 5; A seems to insert a sign between GABA and NA. In B, obv., l. 21, the last two extant signs can now be restored as GABA and NA.

⁹ In this line as well as in ll. 19 and 105 and in the note to l. 125, the sign *niš* (between *gi* and *ninda*) was erroneously omitted in the transliteration.

¹⁰ For this numeration of the line cf. RA XXXVI, 79, comment to col. iii, l. 19, and n. 6.

¹¹ This line may describe the execution of the command given by Ereškigal to the gatekeeper in l. 119.

¹² The restoration of this complex is reasonably certain; the final *-ke₄* is grammatically unjustified, however, since the verb is intransitive.

¹³ Cf. the comment to *me-imin-bi* in RA, XXXIV, 118.

¹⁴ In A, col. iii, l. 22, the signs *ix* and *ne* may be due to a misreading.

¹⁵ So instead of the expected *eme-KU igi*.

¹⁶ Line omitted in Ga.

¹⁷ More literally perhaps: "into flesh that has been smitten."

¹⁸ Ga omits *-ga*.

¹⁹ Ga: *-an-da-* for *-da-an-*.

²⁰ The first part of l. 242 (cf. RA, XXXVI, 71) and l. x5 can therefore now be restored to *uzu-nig-sig-o^{is} kak-ta-lá-a*, "Upon the corpse hung from a stake."

²¹ Ga: *àm-* for *um-ta-*.

²² Ga: *-inim-*.

²³ Ga: *-mu* for *-ni*; scribal error.

171. *ra-gaba-e-ne-èm*²²-*gi-en-gi-en*²⁴-*na-ni*²⁵
Her carrier of true words,

²⁴ So; the *-en-* was erroneously omitted in the transliteration. Ga omits *-en-*.

²⁵ Ga: *-mu* for *-ni*; scribal error. Between ll. 171 and 172 Ga inserts the following two lines:

[*na*]-*ri-ga-ni šu-nu-bar-ri*
Fails not her directions,
[*inim*]-*dug-ga-ni gú-zal la-ba-pàd*
Delays not her uttered [word]

Ll. x35 and x36 of the myth can therefore now be restored as follows:

na-ri-ga-mu šu [*nu-mu*]-*un-bar-ri*
[*e-ne*]-*èm*-[*dug*]-[*ga*]-[*mu*] *gú-zal* [*la-ba-pàd*]

The translation of *gú-zal*—*pàd* as “to delay” is a guess based on the context; *gú-zal* is probably the direct object of *pàd*, while *inim-dug-ga-ni* is related dimensionally to the latter, just as in the preceding line *šu* is the direct object of *bar*, to which *na-ri-ga-ni* is related dimensionally. If *gú-zal* is here to be equated with the Akkadian *guzallu*, *išhappu* (so, not *gišhappu*; cf. the Sumerian *lúuš-hāb*), etc., a more literal translation of the line may perhaps read: “found no hinderer of her uttered word.”

With the aid of these lines, moreover, we have the clue to the restoration and translation of several Sumerian passages which have hitherto remained unintelligible, thus:

1. Chiera, *SEM*, No. 49 (= Text B of our myth), rev., ll. 2 ff. (cf. *RA*, XXXIV, 100, n. 18), may now be restored to read:

[*gá-n*] *u sukkał-zi-é-an-na-mu*
[Com]e, my faithful messenger of Eanna,
[*na*] *ga-e-ri na-ri-mu ĥ[é-dīb]*
I will [di]rect thee, [take] my directions,
inim ga-ra-ab-dug, geštug. . . ĥ[é]. . .
I will utter a word to thee . . . the ear.

2. Ll. 54-56 of U. 9364 (= *RA*, XXX, 127 ff.) introduce an address of Gilgamesh to Enkidu, in which the latter is warned of the dangers involved in his contemplated descent to the nether world and of the appropriate precautions to be taken for avoiding them. These lines can now be restored to read:

tukum-bi u-da kur-šè im-e-a-e₁₁-[dè]
If now you will descend to the nether world,
inim ga-ra-dug, inim-mu ĥé-dīb
I will utter a word to thee, take my word,
[*n*] *a ga-e-ri na-[ri]-mu ĥé-dīb*
I will direct thee, take my directions.

The restoration of this passage, moreover, gives us the key to the basic meaning of the Akkadian *aširtu*, usually translated as “shrine.” For the line *na ga-e-ri na-ri-mu ĥé-dīb* in the Sumerian version corresponds to the line in Tablet XII of the Gilgamesh Epic which is numbered 13 in the Thompson edition and which reads: *a-na a-ši-ir-ti at-[ta]. . .* There is little doubt, then, that the Akkadian *aširti* corresponds to the Sumerian *na-ri-mu* and that its meaning therefore is “my direction,” “my guidance,” etc. Cf. too the frequently used *ašrāti še’ú*, which is best translated “to seek out the directions (of a deity)” rather than “the shrines.” [This important discovery of Kramer is of considerable linguistic interest. The original form of the word was *waširtu* (*m*), and the initial *w* still appears in archaizing Neo-Babylonian spelling. The stem *wšr* (parallel to the more common *yšr*) also appears in the archaizing Old-Babylonian causative *ušúšer*. Outside of Accadian we find the stem *wšr*, “to guide, direct,” also in Egyptian *wšr*, “oar, rudder.”—W. F. A.]

3. Gudea Cyl. A, col. vi, l. 14, the line which introduces Nanše’s interpretation of Gudea’s dream, can now be seen to read as follows:

na ga-ri na-ri-mu ĥé(!)-dīb(!)
I will direct thee, take my directions.

Similarly, the compound *na-ri-gar* (Gudea Cyl. A, col. xii l. 2, and Cyl. B, col.

172. *an du₆-du₆-dam*²⁶ *mu-un-nu-gá-gá*
*Fills the heaven with complaints for her,*²⁷
173. *èš-gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a*²⁸
Cried out for her in the assembly shrine,
174. *é-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke₄ mu-un-na-nigin*²⁹
Rushed about for her at the house of the gods,

Lines 175-86 (= Ga, ll. 34-45).—In l. 175 the first sign is probably I and the first word is therefore I-BÍ, the *eme-SAL* form of *igi*.³⁰ A re-examination of the original of A, whose surface is badly damaged at this point, reveals that the first complex in ll. 178 and 179 is *é-kur*, not *é-kur-ri*. In ll. 178, 179, and probably 180 Ga has the unjustified *eme-SAL* *amullil* for *denlil*. In l. 178 it should have been noted that A has a sign (an erasure?) between LÁ and SÈ. The reading *tu-tu-da-ni-ta* (last part of l.

iv, l. 2) has the meaning "to issue directions," not "to purify." The writings *ga-ri* and *ga-e-ri* both represent the grammatical *ga-(e-e-)ri*, where *e-e-* is the second person singular locative infix, the literal meaning of *na—ri* being "to . . . the . . . (upon someone)."

4. *PBS*, V, No. 1 (the "deluge" tablet), col. iv, ll. 4 and 5, are part of a speech addressed (by Enki?) to Ziusuddu, in which the latter is warned of the coming flood and is directed to build the ark. These two lines can now be restored thus:

iz-zi-da inim ga-ra-ab-dug₄ inim-[mu hé-dib]
At the wall I will utter a word to thee, [take my] word,
na-ri-ga-mu geštug-[zu ig hé-kid]
To my directions [open thy] ear.

The translation "to my directions" assumes that the postposition *-šè* has been omitted. The writing *na-ri-ga-mu* for the more correct *na-ri-mu* (cf. also the restoration of ll. x35 and x36 above) probably developed by analogy with *na-ri-ga-ni*, where the *-ga-* represents the combination of the final *g* of the root with the *a* of *-ni*.

²⁶ So also A; the *-da* in *RA*, Vol. XXXVI, is a misreading.

²⁷ Cf. ll. 34 and x37, where the reading and translation are to be modified accordingly. This new translation seems to suit the context; it is reasonable to expect that Inanna's first instruction to Ninšubur was to set up a hue and cry in heaven because of the attack upon her in the nether world. That the compound *du₆-du₆-gar* is a synonym of *gù-gar* follows from the fact that for the line *kur-ra gù nam-mu-un-gá-gá*, "In the nether world do not make a sound" (U. 9364, l. 66). CBS 29. 16. 58, an unpublished Nippur tablet in the University Museum, has the variant *kur-ra du₆-du₆ nam-mu-un-gá-gá*. We now have the clue to the translation of the hitherto misunderstood line (Gudea, Cyl. A, col. VIII, l. 4 and Cyl. IV, l. 14) *du₆-du₆ mu-si-ig gù-gar mu-gi₄*, "He silenced the complaints, he turned back the complainers." The writing *du₆-du₆* seems to be simply a variant for the more usual *du₄₁-du₄₁*, and is another of the numerous instances of phonetic rather than historical writing in the Gudea cylinders.

To return to l. 172, the difficulty in our case is that instead of the expected *an-na du₆-du₆ mu-un-na-gá-gá*, "lodges complaints in heaven for her," the text reads *an du₆-du₆-dam mu-un-na-gá-gá*. The translation assumes that *x-x-da-gar* is an idiomatic expression best rendered as "to fill with." It is to be noted that the same idiom seems to be represented in the expression *dul-dul-da-gar*. "to fill with the ruins," "to make into ruins," De Genouillac, TRS, No. 40, ll. 209, 246, 318, 339, and 345; in this case, however, *dul* represents the Akkadian *tillu*.

²⁸ Cf. ll. 35 and x38, which are to be modified accordingly.

²⁹ Cf. ll. 36 and x39, which are to be modified accordingly. *Nigin* (i. e., LAGAB. LAGAB) is very probably the correct reading for the signs transliterated as PA.GIŠ. Note, moreover, that l. 36 has *-na-* (erroneously omitted in the transliteration) between *nigin-* and *-ma-ni-ib*.

³⁰ Cf. n. 15.

179) was restored with the help of ll. 41 and 50, although the traces in A, the only text preserved at this point, did not seem to justify the restoration. That this reading is correct for at least one version of the text of the myth is now proved by our new duplicate, which reads clearly *tu-tu-da-ni-ta*. A reexamination of the original of A, however, confirms the conclusion that A had a variant reading for this complex; even *-šè*, the final syllable of the immediately preceding complex, is doubtful. In l. 183 Ga omits *-ma-* after *-zadim-*; the verbal form in A ends in *-si-il-si-il* instead of the more correct *-si-il-li*. In l. 184 Ga has the variant *-e* for *-ri* (last sign). In l. 186 Ga adds an unjustified *-ke₄* after *^anin-šubur-ra*.

Lines 187-90 ³¹ (= Ga, ll. 46-49).—Ga is of considerable help in the restoration of the text of this passage. The translation, however, still remains obscure and the exact reason for Enlil's (and Sin's) refusal to aid Inanna is still not clear.

187. *dumu-mu* ³² *an-[gal-la] al bi-in-dug₄ ki-gal-l[a] al bi-in-dug₄*
My daughter has been warned ³³ in [the great] heaven, has been warned in the *kigallu*,
188. *^ainanna an-[gal-la] al bi-in-dug₄ ki-gal-l[a] al bi-in-dug₄*
Inanna has been warned in the great heaven, has been warned in the *kigallu*.
189. *me-kur-ra me-al-me-al* ³⁴ *ki-bi-šè sa bi-in-dug₄*
The rites of the Nether World, the rites, she has arrived at their place
190. *a-ba-àm ki-bi- in-na-an-dug₄*
Who, pray, their place

A HEBREW SEAL FROM THE REIGN OF AHAZ

CHARLES C. TORREY

The seal (Fig. 1) here described is a carnelian scarab belonging to Edward T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society, who purchased it from a dealer. The accompanying facsimile (Fig. 2) is magnified two diameters.

The inscription reads: *אחז עבד אשנא*, “(Seal) of Asnā(?), Official of Ahaz.”

The ‘*ebed*’ seals seem to have been always the property of royal officials of high rank; see the *Annual of the Am. Schools*, II and III, p. 104; also the fuller discussion of the subject, with references to the literature, by W. F. Albright in the article “The Seal of Eliakim,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 51 (1932), pp. 79 ff.; and the article “Two Hebrew Seals of

³¹ Cf. also ll. 201-4, an exact repetition of this passage.

³² For restoration of *dumu-mu* cf. Ga, l. 60, which corresponds to l. 201 of the myth.

³³ The rendering “warned” is merely a guess based on the context.

³⁴ Cf. *RA*, XXXVI, 80, comment to l. 15 and n. 3.