

A NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT DESCRIBING A ROYAL FUNERAL

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K.7856 has never been published in cuneiform, though Meissner¹ quoted from it, and Ebeling, working from Meissner's notes, included an edition of it in his *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*². While collating this tablet in the British Museum I found that it was not a single columned tablet written on both sides as his edition would suggest, but a corner of a tablet which probably had at least four columns on each side. Remains of a second column are preserved on both sides of the tablet: these constitute lists of garments, and it was this that led to my being able to join K.7856 with K.6323, a tablet published by Johns as *ADD* 941. All of Meissner's minor restorations have been verified. A new copy and edition of K.7856 + K.6323 appear below. I would like to thank Mr. J.N.Postgate and Mr. J.V.Kinnier Wilson for the bountiful assistance which they have given to me.

K.7856 + K.6323

Transliteration

Obverse, col. I

- 1' [x x x x]-šú-nu
- 2' [x x ú-š]e-pi-šú
- 3' [AD] ba-nu-u-a
- 4' [qé]-reb KI.MAH šú-a-tú
- 5' a-šar ni-šir-ti
- 6' ina Ì.GIŠ LUGAL-ti
- 7' ta-biš uš-ni-il-šú
- 8' ^{NA}a-ra-nu

¹⁾ 1898 p60-62.

²⁾ Ebeling 1931 p56-58; Frankfort (1978 p244) and Labat (1939 p119) translated the part of the tablet edited by Ebeling.

- 9' *a-šar ta-aš-lil-t[i]-šú*
 10' *ina URUDU dan-ni*
 11' *KÁ-šá ak-nu-uk-ma*
 12' *ú-dan-ni-na ši-pat-^{sa}*
 13' *ú-nu-ut KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR*
 14' *mim-ma tar-si-it KI.MAH*
 15' *si-mat be-lu-ti-šú*
 16' *ša i-ram-mu*
 17' *ma-har ^dUTU*
 18' *ú-kal-lim-ma*
 19' *^{ti}-ti AD ba-ni-ia*
 20' *a-na KI.MAH GAR-un*
 21' *[q]i-šá-a-ti a-na mal-ki*
 22' *^da-nun-na-ki*
 23' *ù DINGIR^{MES} a-ši-bu-ut K^I-tim^{ti}*
 24' *[ú-q]a-a-a-iš*

col. II

- 1' 1 [x x (x)]
 2' 1 [x x x (x)]
 3' 2 " [x x (x)]
 4' 16 SAGŠ[U x (x)]
 5' 5 *šik-na-a¹-n[i]*
 6' 15-šú *šá-har-rat "*
 7' 8-šú *É.Á^{MES} "*
 8' 6 *šip-rat*
 9' 4-šú *KUŠ^{ti} DA.E. ^{ti}SÍR*
 10' 5 GÚ.LÁ []
 11' 5 *muk-lal []*
 12' 5 KI.TA *hal []*
 13' 3 *ga-mi-di x [(x)]*
 14' 3 KI.TA *hal [x]*
 15' 4 SAGŠU.BABBAR^{M[ES]}
 16' 4-šú *šá-har-rat [(x)]*
 17' 4-šú *É.Á^{MES} [(x)]*
 18' 4 *šik-na-n[i] (?) (x)]*

Reverse, col. I'

- 1' 2 [x x x (x)]
 2' 1 [x x x (x)]

Col. II'

- 1' [x x] qa [x (x)]
 2' [x a]n-ni šá [x (x)]
 3' [(x)] É.GAL [(x)]
 4' [ī]-rab-bi-[šu]
 5' [a]-na 9 a-[x,(x)]
 6' a-na ^dGIŠ ANŠE (?) [x]
 7' [ANŠE]-KUR^{MEŠ} la¹ rak-b[utu]
 8' a-du-uk-m[a]
 9' a-na qí-bi-ri
 10' ad-din-šú-nu-ti
-

- 11' 1 *ša-lam man-za-si*
 12' 1 SAGŠU.NIM KÙ.GI
 13' 4 BAR.DIB SU₄
 14' 4 šal-tu¹ [hal]
 15' 4 KI.TA ^M[EŠ (?) (x)]
 16' 4 na-ša-[bat (x)]
 17' 1 BAR [x x (x)]
 18' 1 [x x x (x)]

Col. III'

- 1 1 tap-pa-a[l-tú (x)]
 2 ZAG MI DA (?) [x (x)]
 3 10 (?) x x [x x]

(about 15 lines missing)

- 19' [x x x G]Ú¹.ZI^{MEŠ}¹
 20' 1 [ka]p-pi KÙ.GI
 21' 2 zer-re-tú "
 22' 2 qa-butu KÙ.BABBAR
 23' 10 ANŠE.KUR^{MEŠ}
 24' 30 GU₄^{MEŠ}
 25' 300 UDU^{MEŠ}
 26' [PAP] an-ni-u LUGAL^{KUR}URI
 27' [GI]^ŠNÁ URUDU ša GÌR^{II}.MEŠ
 28' [x x] KU PA [x]
 29' [x x] hi x [x]

Col. IV'

- 1' *ú-nam-ba-a hi-ra-a-te*
 2' *i-ta-nap-pa-la a-tap-pe*
 3' *ša GIS^{MEŠ} u GURUN DÙ-šú-nu*
 4' *ud-du-ru pa-nu-šú-un*
 5' *ib-ka-a ši-ip[?]-[pa-ti]*
 6' *šá ina di-ši DA [x]*
 7' *ú-šar-bi-[bu x (x)]*
 8' *NA⁴KUN₄[^{MEŠ}]*
 9' *ut-ta-[az-za-ma]*
 10' *ut-ta-[ah-ha-su]*
 11' *BÀ[D^{MEŠ} x x (x)]*

(about 8 lines missing)

20' [x x x x (x)] x

-
- 21' [x x x (x)] ^dPA¹-u-a
 22' [x x (x)] ig¹-ni
 23' [x x (x)] x -a

Translation

Obv. col. I

[...] The father my begetter in kingly oil I gently laid [in] that secret tomb. I sealed the entrance to the sarcophagus, his resting-place with tough bronze and cast for it a potent spell. Objects of gold and silver, everything worthy of a tomb, the *regalia* that he used to love, I showed to Shamash and placed with my father in the tomb. I offered gifts to the princely Anunnaki and the spirits who dwell in the underworld.

Col. II

[...] 1 [...] 1 [...] 2 " [...] 16 headdresses [...] 5 *šiknu*-garments, 15 lots of *šaharratu*-garments", 8 lots of *bit-ahi* garments", 6 *šipirtu*-garments, 4 pairs of sandals, 5 wrap[s], 5 shaw[ls], 5 lower garment[s], 3 *gamidu*-garments, 4 white headdresses, 4 lots of *šaharratu*-garments, 4 lots of *bit-ahi*-garments, 4 *šiknu*-garments.

Rev. col. I'

[...] 2 ... 1 [...]

Col. II'

[...] 9 times (?) [...] to Gilgamesh unriden horses I slaughtered and put them in the tomb.

1 statue on a base, 1 gold Elamite headdress, 4 red *kusitu*-garments, 4 [...], 4 lower garments, 4 coats, 1 [...], 1 [...].

Col. III'

1 rug with a black border (?) [... di]shes, 1 gold *kappu*-dish, 2 gold chains, 2 silver cups, 10 horses, 30 oxen, 300 sheep, [all] this (of) the king of Urartu, [1] bronze [be]d with feet, [...]

Col. IV'

The ditches cried out and the channels replied; the surface of all the trees and fruit turned dark. The orchards wept, which in the grass [...] grew weak [...], the thresholds howled, the walls[s] wailed.

NOTES

Obv. col.I.3' For a similar use of *bīt niširti* cf Nabonidus describing the tomb of his mother (Gadd 1958 p52 III.16).

I.5' Ì.GIŠ was "corrected" by von Soden (1936 p255 n1) to KISAL, and this gave rise to Frankfort's (1978 p244) "royal esplanade", but examination of the tablet confirms that the former reading of Meissner and Ebeling was correct.

I.8' For *šalālu* used of the dead cf *ina kimahhi ... ušašlilu-šu* of YOS I no.43 l.3. Frankfort translated this as the "groove for its cover" (1978 p244 and n.49), basing this on von Soden's translation "Sargdeckel" (1936 p255 n.2), and justifying it with the incomprehensible logic "the place can only have an opening if it is a groove"!

I.9' The "entrance" may well refer to one of the doors leading into an individual chamber as in the royal crypt at Assur. See Haller 1954 p170-181.

I.16' Shamash was evidently in some aspect the god of the dead: cf his epithets *šar eṭimmē* ("Ruler of Ghosts" — K. Tallqvist *Akkadische Götterepitheta* [1938] p456) and *bēl mīti* ("Master of the Dead" — *ibid.* p459). Thus too Shamash is the god invoked by vagrant souls (*BWL* p134 l.145).

I.22' That *ilu* could mean "departed spirit" was suggested to me by J.V.Kinnier Wilson. The nearest that the dictionaries offer are the shades of the dead kings and heroes (*AHW ilu* B.3 and B.2 respectively) and babies (*CAD ilu* 6). As the first category falls in the area of the present text, I would go further and suggest that what is meant is that the new king made offerings to his own ancestors. That such a cult existed among the Neo-Assyrian kings at least until Ashurnasirpal has already been suggested as an explanation of the "Stelenreihen" at Assur: see J.V.Canby, *Iraq* 38 (1976), "The Stelenreihen at Assur, Tell Halaf and Massebot".

col.II: The translations of textiles follow Postgate 1973 and 1979.

II.5' and 18' This may be the *šiknu*-garment (*AHw šiknu* A.5, but only Old Assyrian), otherwise unattested in Neo-Assyrian.

II.6' For *šaharratu* see Postgate 1979 p6. The occurrences in *ADD* are listed on vol. 4 p349.

II.7' For É.Á^{MEŠ} see *CAD ahu* B.4d, *AHw ahu(m)* II 5(d) and Postgate 1979 p5. The logogram also occurs in *ADD* 941.vii.6. The plural reading *bīt ahi* is suggested by the entry in the Practical vocabulary of Assur É.Á^{MEŠ}-**hi* (Landsberger-Gurney 1957-8 p331 l.282 and the note on l.282 on p335). Cf the garment *hullān ahi*, translated by *CAD hullānu* (a) and *AHw hullānu* (2) as "with armholes".

II.10' For GÚ.LÁ = *hullānu* see Postgate 1973 note on no. 152 l.1 and Landsberger-Gurney 1957-58 p330 l.236.

II.11' This must be the garment *mak/qlālu*, and though this writing is not given in the dictionaries, it also occurs in *ADD* 680 r.4, 957.7 and 977.iii.6. Even so it is not without difficulty. A value of *mak* for the MUG sign is not one hitherto recognised (cf W. von Soden-W. Röellig *Das akkadische Syllabar* [1976] no. 3) though we might propose to read it *mak_x* here. There are a few parallels for a sign with a principal reading of *CuC* having a secondary value *CaC* in Neo-Assyrian, though not many. Thus BÚL = *bál* (*op. cit.* no.10), DUH = *táh* (*ibid.* no.117) and SUN = *sán* ? (*ibid.* no.7). We might then read the group either phonetically *mak_x-lal(a)*, or as a pseudo-logogram MAK_x. LAL. Note that the *maklālu* was also part of the Hittite royal wardrobe (*KBo* 9 43.27, quoted by *CAD maklālu*).

II.12' For KI.TA *hal* as an abbreviation for ^(TÚG)KI.TA^{MEŠ} *hallupāte* see Postgate 1973 note on no.153 l.7, and occurrences cited on *ADD* vol.4 p367.

II.15' For the lexical entry SAGŠU.BABBAR see *MSL* X p148.105; p151.130 and p154 C.13. The item was a standard part of the royal apparel: see Kinnier Wilson 1985 p30 l.10 and p.82 l.14, and *CAD kubšu* 1.B.

Rev. col. II'.6' Alternatively, the last signs might be read *a-na* ^dGIŠ.BAR [x (x)] giving "[I cast(?)] into the fire".

II'.12' Cf TÚG SAGŠU.NIM.MA^{KI}, Landsberger-Gurney 1957-58 p331 l.272.

II'.13' BAR.DIB = *kusītu*.

II'.17' This may be restored either as BAR.[DIB] (= *kusītu*) or as BAR.[SI(G)] (= *paršīgu*).

III'.1 *CAD dapastu*, *AHw tappaštu*. A restoration *tap-pa-a[s-tu]* is also possible.

III'.2 "With a black border" is doubtless a possible translation, though not certain; compare [...]BI ZAG MI of *ADD* 682 which Johns, in the index (vol.4 p365), lists as a word ZAG.MI (without translating). Note that if this column is also a list of textiles, as seems likely from the first line, then this second line cannot be a new item as it does not commence with a numeral. This supports the suggestion that line 2 is a description continuing the entry of line 1.

III'.19' The restoration [pu]*r-si-te* was suggested by Geers in a pencil note in the British Museum copy of *ADD*.

III'.21' See *AHw kappu* II (5).

III'.27' Geers (*loc. cit.*) suggested a restoration of *al[am]*, but there is not enough space for this at the beginning of the line.

col.IV' That this passage should be considered poetry is evident from its content, rhythm and use of the apocopated suffix *-šun* of the "hymnal-epic dialect".

IV'.6 Frankfort's rendering "what was green", though conforming to his theory of the regeneration of nature, is not supported by the text (particularly as he translates the verbs in the sentence in the present tense).

Commentary

What first strikes one about this text is the interchange of literary passages with bureaucratic lists, and that the former are written in Babylonian — note for instance the suffix *-šunūti* (rev.II'.11') and the lexicon *tābiš* (obv.I.6') — but the latter emphatically in Assyrian as the spellings of *man-za-si* (rev.II'.11'), *qa-butu* (rev.III'.22') and many of the garments show. The text is therefore in some sense composite. The very specific detailing of the lists must mean that they record the actual grave-goods from a particular (royal) burial — and the way they are written leaves no doubt that this was in Assyria — but the question remains as to whether the literary passages were composed for the occasion (in which case it would be expected that the scribe used Babylonian) or whether they were older works, perhaps chanted at the grave-side, incorporated in this description of a specific funeral. There are in fact three literary sections, each of a different character. The first (obv. col.I) is a statement of a king (?) telling how he placed "my father" in the tomb, and here it seems that the living successor is speaking. The "Lament of Nature" (rev.col.IV') could be a poem commissioned for the occasion or, alternatively, an older work here recorded because it was recited in the course of the mourning. If this were the case, perhaps it was traditionally so. But the most interesting piece is that of rev.col.II'. If the living king is speaking and the reading *a-na* ^dGIŠ (l.6') "to Gilgamesh" is correct, it would be first-hand evidence of the Neo-Assyrian kings sacrificing to the demi-god. Ur-Nammu, too, made offerings to Gilgamesh (amongst others) at his arrival in the underworld³, and the co-incident of this, along with the fact that vessels, animals and textiles are also mentioned in the Ur-Nammu text⁴ strongly suggests a continuity of tradition, either in actual practice or in the literary transmission.

This discussion of the nature of the text naturally raises the question of its date. Even if some of the literary material is older, the lists of garments firmly date the text to the Neo-Assyrian period (*hallupu* [obv.II.12' and 14', rev.II'.15'] and *gammidu* [ob-

³) Kramer 1967 p114 l.91-95.

⁴) See below.

v.II.13'] for instance are attested only for that period) and the conclusion of von Soden⁵ that it was written in the reign of either Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal is still most likely.

As has often been pointed out⁶, there are few cuneiform inscriptions dealing with the burial of kings⁷ though with the help of archaeology a fair picture can be given. From the "Dynastic Chronicle" we know that the kings of Babylon (at any rate of the Second Sealand Dynasty) were buried within palaces⁸ and perhaps these are the same as the É.NAM.ÚŠ of later texts⁹. With the Assyrians we may be more certain: at Assur Andrae found under the Old Palace the vaulted tombs of six Assyrian kings¹⁰, and these must very likely be the *būt kimahhi* ("Tomb Chamber") referred to for Sennacherib¹¹, a wife of Esarhaddon called Ešar-harmat¹², Ashurbanipal¹³ and in the present text. At Nimrud too a rich grave of NA date was found under the North-West Palace¹⁴.

Meissner¹⁵ took lines 4-5 of the first column "in kingly oil I gently laid" to mean that corpses were preserved by immersion in oil, and whilst one's initial feeling would be that it means rather that the body was only anointed in oil¹⁶, there are several references in

⁵) 1936 p254.

⁶) Labat 1939 p118; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964) p234; Michalowski Or 46 (1977) p220; Moorey 1984 p14.

⁷) See Labat 1939 p118-28 and Wiseman 1985 p112-115 for royal burials, Heidel 1949 p150-65 and *RIA* "Grab" for Mesopotamian burial practices in general. The few funerary texts that we have are listed in *HKL* III §22.

⁸) The "Palace of Sargon" and the "Palace of Kar-Marduk" — see Moorey 1984 p14-18 and Grayson *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975) p40-41 & 139-44 (Chr. 18). Note also the omen quoted by Labat 1939 p124 & n.28. Moorey suggests that usurpers were as a rule buried in a swamp, but it may simply be that the swamp of Bit-Hašmar was the homeland of the usurper Ea-Mukin-Zeri. Note that burial in the swamps is recorded both by Strabo XVI.xi.2 in the case of the Babylonian kings and by Urukiniḡina "in the reeds of Enki" (gi-^den-ki-ka-ka) in his reforms: cf. M. Lambert RA 50 (1956) p172, section 7.

⁹) Unger 1931 p161, 230 & 237.

¹⁰) Haller 1954 p170-81. The three of these that could be identified proved to belong to Aššur-bel-kala, Aššurnaširpal and Šamši-Adad V. There is nothing to support Haller's suggestion (p181) that two of the others might have belonged to Sennacherib and Ešar-harmat. The complex of vaults might be the *būt šarrāni ma'dūti* (House of Many Kings) of Ebeling *SVAT* p19 obv.1.7.

¹¹) *OIP* 2 p151 nos. XIII & XIV.

¹²) Borger *Die Inschriften des Esarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (1956) p10 no.10.

¹³) Weidner AfO 13(1939-41) p213f; Ebeling *SVAT* p18-19.

¹⁴) Mallowan *Nimrud and its Remains* (1965) p114-116.

¹⁵) *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1920) vol.I p425.

¹⁶) And in this context it is particularly irritating that in both places where Nabonidus describes the burial of his mother and father, with the words "... his corpse in sweet oil", the verb is broken off: Ì.GIŠ DÙG AD₆-su [...] (Gadd 1958 p52 H 1 B 1.15); Ì.GIŠ DÙG šal-mat-su ú- [...] (*VAB* IV p294 iii.28). *Šamma ṭāba limme* in a funerary text published by Scheil (RA 13 [1916] p171 no.41.5) cannot be taken as dependable as that part of the text is damaged. Note however the letter from Mari *ARM* VII.58 in which two sorts of oil — *šaman erinnim* and *šaman diqarātim* — are sent to a grave, and in sufficiently small quantities (1 *qa* of each) that they must have been intended either for anointing or for incense.

Classical writers referring to this as a custom of the Babylonians. Thus, Ctesias tells how Alexander inspected a tomb in Babylon in which the body could be seen floating in oil¹⁷, and the Armenian version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes' Life of Alexander records that the body of Alexander himself was preserved for taking for burial in Alexandria in a mixture of oil, honey, incense and aloes¹⁸. The custom reported by Herodotus¹⁹ of how the Babylonians buried their dead in honey may also refer to such a practice.

Let us now turn to the lists of objects. It seems most likely that these were the goods put in the grave for use in the next world, and whilst, since the vaults at Assur have been robbed²⁰, we have no actual specimens of Assyrian royal grave goods, there are parallels for each class among them — bed²¹, vessels²², animals²³ and garments. The presence of garments amongst grave goods is not well documented by archaeology because the fabric has mostly perished²⁴, but testimony to this comes from texts listing grave-goods from the Pre-Sargonic²⁵, Old Babylonian²⁶ and Neo-Babylonian periods²⁷.

In all these cases it is not clear whether the items were for the occupant of the grave to wear in the afterlife or for use as gifts to the gods of the netherworld. The former is not of itself unlikely — we know that the Neo-Assyrian court employed a battery of textile workers²⁸ and as the Neo-Assyrian kings do not appear to have taken their retainers to the grave, they may have needed a supply of linen to be provided²⁹. On the other hand, the lines obv. I.19-22 of our text “I had gifts made to the princely Anunnaki and the gods who dwell in the underworld” imply that at least some of the goods were destined for the

¹⁷ F.W. König *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos* (AfO Beiheft 18, 1972) p10 no.21.

¹⁸ E.A.W. Budge *The History of Alexander the Great* (1889, repr. 1976) p141 III.xxii.

¹⁹ Book I.198, followed by Strabo XIV.i.20.

²⁰ Haller 1954 p171.

²¹ Cf Foxvog 1980 p70 lines 15 & 30.

²² Tsukimoto 1980 p129-30, 1.5 & 20-25; Kramer 1967 p114 1.96-100; Gilgamesh VIII.v.47-48.

²³ See below.

²⁴ Though traces of the coarse cloth in which bodies were commonly wrapped do sometimes survive (Postgate 1980 p71; *RIA* “Grab” I.I.I.b, (“Mattengrab”). Nevertheless, we know that in the first millennium in Ur, for instance, some people were buried in their clothes, as the presence of the metal fibulae indicates (*UE IX* p56). Exceptions to this are the remains of linen garments found in the NA bronze coffins from Ur (Curtis 1983 p89 & 94-5 appendix by H. Granger-Taylor) and the linen and wool garments of a grave of NA date, also from Ur (*UE VIII* p89 Grave No.47).

²⁵ Foxvog 1980 p67-70, 1.9-14 & 26-29; Bauer 1969 p108 & n.2; Kramer 1967 p118, 1.97.

²⁶ Tsukimoto 1980 p129 1.12-15.

²⁷ *VAB IV* p294 1.24-5.

²⁸ Kinnier Wilson 1972 p67-70.

²⁹ We must not overlook the line *labšā-ma kīma iššūri šubāt kappi* (“they were clothed like birds with wings as garments”) of Gilgamesh VII.iv.38, the Descent of Ishtar and the epic of Nergal and Eriškigal (see *CAD kappu* A 1.c), but on its own this is insufficient evidence to conclude that the Babylonians believed that normal clothes were no longer worn in the underworld. Fish’s “garment for the dead” (túg ba-an-úš; Iraq 5 [1938] p166) does not settle this either way.

netherly deities, and this practice is in fact attested elsewhere³⁰. A third possibility might be that the garments were meant for clothing an image of a god or the deceased. This was argued by Bauer for his Pre-Sargonic texts³¹, and though one may note in this context that at least the *hullānu* garment of obv.II.5' is one known to have been used for the dressing of divine statues³², and that a statue is listed in our present text (rev.III'.11'), there is really no evidence to support this idea.

With the sandals, however, we may be on firmer ground. Actual sandals made of silver have been excavated from a grave at Abu Salabikh³³, and they are listed in the Old-Babylonian funerary text already mentioned³⁴. Perhaps these were intended for the dead to wear on his journey to the underworld. In function this would be no different from the issuing of sandals to messengers as known to us from Ur III³⁵ and OB³⁶ texts, but more specifically this exact purpose — to journey to the underworld — is attested in the Lamaštu rites. Here, Thureau-Dangin has demonstrated³⁷ how references in the Lamaštu texts match up with objects depicted on the plaques to show how oil, clothing, sandals, bread and water were all provided the demon to induce her to travel back below.

Lastly we come to the animals listed in our texts. These are the 10 horses, 30 oxen and 300 sheep of rev.II'.23'-25' and the horses of rev.II'.7'. Animals are included among grave-goods for one of three purposes — for food, for offerings or for draught — and all of three may be represented here. This is suggested by a comparison with the Ur-Nammu text, where that king slaughters oxen and sheep for a banquet³⁸ as well as making offerings of oxen, sheep, kids and asses to various deities³⁹. Furthermore, it seems that Ur-Nammu arrived in the underworld by means of a chariot⁴⁰ and this cannot but remind us of the ED burials from Ur⁴¹, Kish⁴², Abu Salabikh⁴³ and elsewhere⁴⁴ where skeletons of equids/bovids and/or the remains of chariots have been excavated.

³⁰) Kramer 1967 p118 l.54f; Tsukimoto 1980 p131; B. Kienast *AS* 16 p148.

³¹) 1969 p110: "obwohl das Wort *alam* [= statue] in den Totenopferlisten nicht vorkommt ... keiner der Texte benennt das Kultgebäude".

³²) See *CAD hullānu* (e).

³³) Postgate 1980 p73.

³⁴) Tsukimoto 1980 p129 l.14.

³⁵) See Salonen 1969 p23-5.

³⁶) E.g. *ARM* I.17.

³⁷) *RA* 18 (1921) p183-7.

³⁸) Kramer 1967 p114 l.80.

³⁹) *Ibid.* l.86-90, 101-104, 112-118.

⁴⁰) *Ibid.* l.74-75.

⁴¹) *UE* II p34, 109 & 409.

⁴²) Moorey 1978 p104-110.

⁴³) Postgate 1986.

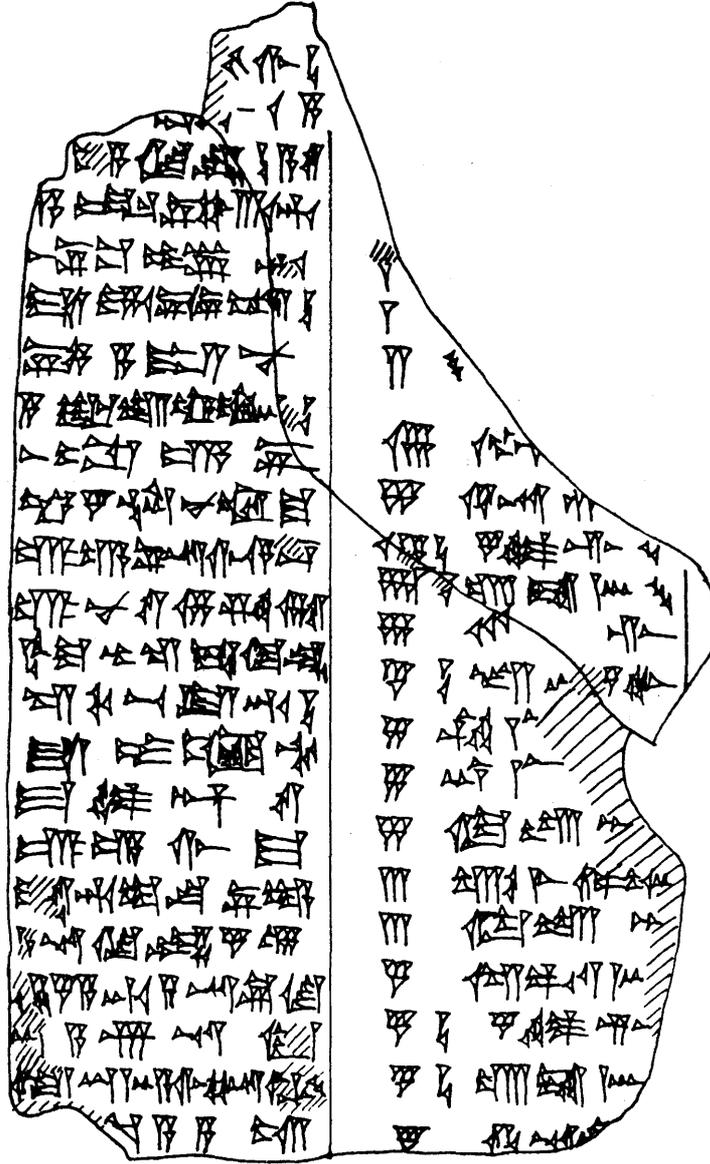
⁴⁴) Foxvog 1980 p67 l.8. For the latest examination of all the evidence, see J. Zarins in *Equids in the Ancient World* edited by R.H. Meadow and H.-P. Uerpmann (1986).

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OBVERSE

K.6323



K.7856

PLATE I



K. 6323 + K. 7856
Obverse



K. 6323 + K. 7856
Reverse