

REMEMBRANCE AND THE DEAD  
IN SECOND MILLENNIUM BC MESOPOTAMIA

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Renata MacDougal BA, MA

School of Archaeology and Ancient History

University of Leicester

2014

# Remembrance and the Dead in Second Millennium BC Mesopotamia

Renata MacDougal

## ABSTRACT

This thesis uses Continuing Bonds Theory to reinterpret *kispum*, an ancient Mesopotamian family funerary practice, in a new way. Traditional scholarship has portrayed the purpose of the ritual as apotropaic, and that the family dead are feared as hostile ghosts. This study suggests that profound beliefs about life and death in Mesopotamia, and interactions between the family and deceased loved ones can be found in the material and textual evidence. A new perspective focusing on evidence from the second millennium BC in ancient Mesopotamia is used to investigate the *kispum* ritual using ideas from the archaeology of emotion and Death and Dying studies. Current understandings based on textual based studies and the varied traditions of archaeological investigation are introduced in Chapter 2. Then, using notions of continued bonds, new insights are explored to better understand the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. In Chapters 3 through 6 textual sources and archaeological evidence are assessed against this background, and against each other, with attempts to correlate textual with archaeological details. In the context of ancient Mesopotamia, this thesis employs new approaches to mortuary archaeology to provide new insights suggesting ways that conventional methods may be enhanced. Finally, this study also brings us back to an archaeology of death which is interested in attitudes toward the dead.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While analyzing what has gone into this project, I realized that it came to fruition through the influences of several key mentors. For teaching me how to ask insightful questions and think more critically about theory and evidence, I am overwhelmingly grateful to my supervisor, Dr. David Edwards. Without his guidance and urging to look again at ideas and how they are expressed, I would have been unable complete this project. Special thanks go to him for his kindness, vast patience and many hours of mentoring across the miles. I have learned a lot from him. The original idea for this thesis came from my colleague Dr. Dennis Klass, who with his unbounded enthusiasm and confidence, encouraged me to take a deeper look at the evidence for Continued Bonds in ancient Mesopotamian families. I would like to thank Giorgio Buccellati for many years of Akkadian, and he and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati for seasons of fieldwork at Terqa, and many fond memories.

I am greatly indebted to the staff of Webster University's Emerson Library who have so kindly and personally reached to the ends of the nation to procure obscure publications for me for years. Thanks especially go to Christine Dugan, Sara Fitzpatrick, Rebecca Klemme-Elicieri, and Matthew Wier.

Dr. David Carl Wilson, Dean of Arts and Sciences at Webster University encouraged this study and often kindly provided funding for travel to Leicester.

The staff of the School of Archaeology and Ancient History at The University of Leicester have been most helpful and made the process go smoothly, in particular, Rachel Godfrey.

My examiners, Dr. Terry Hopkinson, Professor Sarah Tarlow and Professor Nicholas Postgate made invaluable suggestions. Professor Postgate contributed an indispensable critique of the Akkadian and Sumerian entries. I would also like to thank Professor Tarlow for her influential publications and discussions.

Jan MacDougal's confidence in my ability to succeed has been invaluable; thanks as well to Polly Liggett for continual support. I thank John M. MacDougal for his editing and formatting help. Finally, I must extend my thanks to Hamish, Ivey, Olivia and Moira MacDougal, each for their own special ways of helping.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b><i>List of Tables</i></b> .....	x
<b><i>List of Figures</i></b> .....	xii
<b><i>List of Abbreviations</i></b> .....	xix
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b> .....	1
1.1 Mortuary Ritual in Second Millennium Mesopotamia .....	3
1.1.1 Overview of the <i>Kispum</i> Ritual .....	5
1.1.2 The Notion of Malevolent or Benign Dead .....	6
1.2 Sources Used for This Study .....	8
1.2.1 Evidence From Cuneiform Documents .....	8
1.2.2 Evidence From Excavations .....	11
1.3 Summary of Research Objectives .....	14
1.4 Geographic Parameters .....	15
1.5 Chronology .....	18
<b>Chapter 2. The Archaeology of Burial Practices: Theory and Development</b> .....	21
2.1 Mortuary Archaeology: Origins and Influences .....	21
2.1.1 Ideas of Primitive Religion and Magic in the Development of Mortuary Archaeology .....	23
2.1.2 Influences From 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> Century Classics and Archaeology.. .....	26
2.1.3 Theory in 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Archaeology .....	30
2.1.4 Twentieth Century Theories of Burial Archaeology .....	35
2.1.5 Old/New Theories: The Archaeology of Emotion .....	37
2.1.6 The Meaning of Mortuary Rituals .....	39

2.1.7 Methods and Theories of New Archaeology .....	43
2.1.8 Twenty-first Century Mortuary Archaeology .....	47
2.1.9 Summary of Mortuary Archaeology: Origins and Influences .....	49
2.2 Mortuary Archaeology in Mesopotamia – Introduction .....	51
2.2.1 Mesopotamian Archaeology and Textual Influences .....	51
2.2.2 Processualism and Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology .....	54
2.2.3 Postprocessualist Methods in Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology .....	57
2.2.4 Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology and Ancestors.....	60
2.3 Continuing Bonds Theory and Mesopotamian Mortuary Practices.....	63
2.3.1 Continued Bonds and Ancestors.....	66
<b>Chapter 3. The Concept of the World of the Dead in Ancient Mesopotamia</b> .....	68
3.1 Reconstructing Mesopotamian Afterlife Beliefs.....	68
3.2 Cosmology, Myth and Ritual Power .....	70
3.2.1 The Nature and Limitations of the Texts.....	78
3.2.2 How the Texts Were Used .....	80
3.3 The Cosmos and The Netherworld In The Cuneiform Sources.....	81
3.3.1 KALAM, <i>Apsû</i> and KIGALLU and the Ritual Landscape .....	83
3.3.2 KUR .....	89
3.3.3 AN, KI, ERŞETU, ARALI, KI-ÛR and Other Netherworld Concepts .....	90
3.3.4 The Levels of the Cosmos.....	93
3.3.5 KUR NU GI <sub>4</sub> , <i>Kurnugû</i> , <i>Erşet La Târi</i> , <i>Qaqqaru</i> , <i>Urugal/Erigal/</i> <i>Irigal</i> , <i>Irkalla</i> , <i>Qabru</i> and <i>Qubûru</i> : More Netherworld Names.....	95
3.4 The Passage to the Netherworld .....	97

3.4.1 The Grave, the Road, the Gates, and the River .....	97
3.5 Conclusions and Summary .....	103
<b>Chapter 4. The Family and the Dead in Mesopotamia .....</b>	<b>106</b>
4.1 Concepts and Terms for Body and Spirit.....	106
4.1.1 The Body, Life and Spirit.....	107
4.1.2 Elements of the Human Being.....	107
4.1.3 The Nature of the <i>Eṭemmu</i> .....	110
4.2 The Family .....	112
4.2.1 Terms for Family and Clan .....	112
4.2.2 Family, Society and Identity .....	114
4.3 Ancestors in Mesopotamia .....	117
4.3.1 Family Religion and Memory .....	117
4.3.2 The Family and the Dead.....	118
4.3.3 Family, Inheritance and the Dead .....	119
4.3.4 Tracing <i>Kispum</i> Traditions in Genealogy .....	121
4.3.5 Generations of the Family.....	128
4.3.6 Households, Heirs and Inheritance .....	134
4.3.7 Other Lineage Groups (Occupational and Clergy) .....	135
4.4 Conclusions and Summary .....	146
<b>Chapter 5. The Archaeological Evidence for <i>Kispum</i> —</b>	
<b>Material Remains from Texts .....</b>	<b>149</b>
5.1 Material Remains: <i>Kispum</i> in Cuneiform Tablets.....	149
5.2 <i>Kispum</i> For a Son.....	152
5.3 The <i>Pāqidu</i> and the Monthly <i>Kispum</i> .....	154
5.4 The <i>Kispum</i> Meal .....	161

5.5 Dating The <i>Kispum</i> : The Month of Apum and the Festival of the Dead...	162
5.6 Apum and The Diviner's Archive .....	168
5.7 Funerary Inscriptions .....	171
5.8 The Funerary Rites.....	174
5.9 Mortuary Ceremonies for Ištar-lamassi.....	177
5.10 Wailing and Funerary Rites .....	180
5.11 The Chair and the <i>Eṭemmu</i> .....	181
5.12 Chair Models.....	186
5.13 Summary .....	190
<b>Chapter 6. Material Remains: <i>Kispum</i> in Excavations.....</b>	<b>191</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	191
6.2 Second Millennium Grave and Coffin Types .....	197
6.3 Libation Pipes.....	203
6.4 House Altars and Domestic Ritual Space.....	205
6.5 The Ur Graves in Context.....	211
6.6 AH Site .....	212
6.6.1 LG/1, House No. 3 Paternoster Row .....	215
6.6.2 LG/2 Houses Nos. 4 - 4a Paternoster Row .....	216
6.6.3 LG/3 – 15, House No. 11 Paternoster Row.....	219
6.6.4 LG/ 16 – 20, House south of No. 11 Paternoster Row.....	224
6.6.5 LG/21 – 22, No. 3 Straight Street.....	225
6.6.6 LG/23 – 32, No. 4 Straight Street.....	227
6.6.7 LG/33 – 35, No. 6 Straight Street.....	231
6.6.8 LG/36, No. 7 Straight Street.....	232
6.6.9 LG/37 – 39, No. 12 Straight Street .....	232

6.6.10 LG/40 – 42, No. 1 Baker’s Square .....	234
6.6.11 LG/43 – 46, No. 1B Baker’s Square .....	235
6.6.12 LG/47, No. 2 Niche Lane .....	237
6.6.13 LG/48 – 51, No. 3 Niche Lane .....	238
6.6.14 LG/52, No. 4 Niche Lane .....	239
6.6.15 LG/53 – 57, No. 5 Niche Lane .....	239
6.6.16 LG/58 – 62, No. 9 Church Lane .....	241
6.6.17 LG/63 – 75, No. 15 Church Lane .....	242
6.6.18 LG/76 – 81, No. 1 Broad Street.....	244
6.6.19 LG/82 – 83, No. 1 Store Street.....	246
6.6.20 LG/84 – 85, No. 4 Store Street.....	247
6.6.21 LG/86 – 94, AH house area.....	248
6.7 EM Site .....	248
6.7.1 LG/ 95 – 96 and L/G 134, No. 1 Quiet Street.....	250
6.7.2 LG/97 – 98, No. 3 Quiet Street.....	251
6.7.3 LG/99 – 100, No. 5 Quiet Street .....	253
6.7.4 LG/101, No. 7 Quiet Street .....	254
6.7.5 LG/102 – 105, No. 4 Gay Street.....	255
6.7.6 LG/106 – 110, Closed Lane .....	256
6.7.7 LG/111 – 115, No. 5 Gay Street.....	257
6.7.8 LG/116 – 131, and LG/133, Quality Lane.....	258
6.7.9 LG/125 and LG/132, No. 1 Gay Street.....	259
6.8 EH Site .....	260
6.8.1 LG/135 – 153, EH Site, undefined houses .....	260
6.9 Mausoleum Site .....	264

6.9.1 LG/154 – LG/163, Houses 30/A – 30/D.....	264
6.10 City Wall Site .....	268
6.10.1 LG/164 – 176, City Wall Site.....	268
6.11 Royal Cemetery Site .....	268
6.11.1 LG/177 – 198, Larsa Tombs Above Royal Cemetery.....	269
6.12 Funerary Rites at Baghouz.....	270
6.13 Bed Models.....	286
6.14 Summary.....	288
<b>Chapter 7. Summary and Conclusions.....</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>Literature Cited .....</b>	<b>297</b>

## LIST of TABLES

Table 1.	Mesopotamia Middle Chronology.
Table 2.	Mesopotamia. Overview of Regional Month Names.
Table 3.	Ur. Grave at No. 3 Paternoster Row. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 4.	Ur. Grave at No. 4 Paternoster Row. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 5.	Ur. Graves at No. 11 Paternoster Row. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 6.	Ur. Graves in a partially excavated, unnumbered house south of No. 11 Paternoster Row. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 7.	Ur. Graves at No. 3 Straight Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 8.	Ur. Graves at No. 4 Straight Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 9.	Ur. Graves at No. 6 Straight Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 10.	Ur. Graves at No. 7 Straight Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 11.	Ur. Graves at No. 12 Straight Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 12.	Ur. Graves at No. 1 Baker's Square. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 13.	Ur. Graves at No. 1B Baker's Square. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 14.	Ur. Grave at No. 2 Niche Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 15.	Ur. Graves at No. 3 Niche Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 16.	Ur. Grave at No. 4 Niche Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 17.	Ur. Graves at No. 5 Niche Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 18.	Ur. Graves at No. 9 Church Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 19.	Ur. Graves at No. 15 Church Lane. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 20.	Ur. Graves at No. 1 Broad Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 21.	Ur. Graves at No. 1 Store Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).
Table 22.	Ur. Graves at No. 4 Store Street. ( <i>After Woolley and Mallowan 1976</i> ).



- Table 23. Ur. Graves from unspecified “AH house area”. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 24. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 25. Ur. Graves at No. 3 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 26. Ur. Graves at No. 5 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 27. Ur. Grave at No. 7 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 28. Ur. Graves at No. 4 Gay Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 29. Ur. Graves at Closed Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 30. Ur. Graves at No. 5 Gay Street and undefined EM house. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 31. Ur. Graves at Quality Lane in unnumbered rooms of undefined houses. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 32. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Gay Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 33. Ur. Graves at EH Site undefined houses. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 34. Ur. Graves in Houses 30/A – 30/D. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 35. Ur. Graves associated with City Wall. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).
- Table 36. Ur. Graves in Royal Cemetery Area. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. Ur. Vaulted tomb with jars outside. Above: Closed. Below: Unblocked. (*After UE VII, PL 48a, 48b*). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 2. General map of Mesopotamia and adjacent area. (*Adapted from Bottéro 1992: xii*).
- Figure 3. Map of Mesopotamia, sites and areas discussed in text. (*After Van de Mieroop 2007: 103*)
- Figure 4. Map of northern Mesopotamia with sites and dams (dams in capital letters). (*After Jason Ur, 2010: fig. 1*).
- Figure 5. Sippar. Neo-Babylonian Map of the World (BM92687). Ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 6. Plan of the concept of the Mesopotamian cosmos with mountains at the eastern and western edges of the Earth's surface. (*After Bottéro 2001: 77*).
- Figure 7. Ur. Enki in his palace in the *Apsû*. Akkadian period. (Baghdad Museum. *After Kramer 1961, Pl 10*).
- Figure 8. Nineveh. Tablet with text (K48+) of ritual procedures for temple building with foundations in the underworld from Ashurbanipal's Library at Nineveh. Ca. 800-700 BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 9. Nuzi. Cylinder seal rolling (BM 123279). Dumuzi shackled between snakes at the entrance to the underworld. 2600-2300 BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 10. Ischali. Cylinder sealing (A17004). Dumuzi attacked by the *GALLA* demons at an entrance to the underworld, the Arali. Ca. 2000-1600 BC. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

- Figure 11. Nineveh. Jewellery mold of a Lamashtu demon riding boat on an underworld river, 800-612 BC). BM91904/N.1670. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 12. Conception of the cosmic river surrounding Earth's surface. (Illustration by T. Rickards in Black and Green 1992: 53). (Used with the permission of The University of Texas Press).
- Figure 13. The Genealogy Of the Samas-našir Family. (*After* Wilcke 1983: 50)
- Figure 14. The Genealogy of the Ur-Utu family. (*After* Tanret 2008: 139).
- Figure 15. The Genealogy of the Ninlil-zimu Family. (*After* Stone 1987: 44).
- Figure 16. Ur. General Plan of Ur in the Larsa Period. 1) Nanna Temple; 2) Giparu; 3) EM Site; 4) EH Site; 5) AH Site; 6) Mausoleum Site; 7) Royal Cemetery Area; 8) City Wall Houses Site. (*After* *UE VII*, PL 116). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 17. Ur. Plan of the Giparu. (*After* *UE VII*, PL 117). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 18. Ur. Plan of Section B cemetery rooms for *entu* priestess in the Giparu, view to the Northeast. (*After* *UE VII*, PL 118). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 19. Clay cone with funerary inscription (ANE.39.1907). (Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).
- Figure 20. Indentation in funerary cone inscription. (ANE.39.1907). (Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).
- Figure 21. Ur, Diqdiqqah. Above: (*UE VII*, PL 88, 210). Chair back with geese above goats; decorated background. Below: (*UE VII*, PL 89, 223). Chair with crescents on poles. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 22. Above: Ur, Diqdiqqah. Chair models (*UE VII*, PL 88, 215, 212). Left: 215, woven reed seat, back with figures on pedestal altars. Right: 212, seat with impressions and name. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum). Below: Mashkan-Shapir. Model chair back with decoration. (Stone and Zimansky 2004, Fig. 54, p. 93).

- Figure 23. Map of grave types from the third and second millennium in Euphrates River Valley in Northern Syria and Southern Turkey. (*After* Cooper, 2007: 64, fig. 4.3).
- Figure 24. Ur. No. 1 Boundary Street. House chapel with two pedestal table altars, a low altar between them, with clay vessels placed for *kispum* offerings. Graves (not visible) were under the floor. (*UE VII*, PL 43). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 25. Ur. No. 1 Boundary Street. Detail of pedestal altar in the southwest corner of the chapel. (*UE VII*, PL 45). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 26. Ur. No address. Latest body deposition intact; older burials have been swept aside. (*UE VII*, PL 48). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 27. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa corbel-vaulted tomb. EH site. (*UE VII*, 35, Fig. 2a). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 28. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa brick-vaulted tomb. EM site. (*UE VII*, 36, Fig. 2b). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 29. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa barrel-vaulted tomb. EH site. (*UE VII*, 37, Fig. 2c). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 30. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa barrel-vaulted tomb. EM site. (*UE VII*, 38, Fig. 2d). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 31. Ur. Larnax (A – F) and burial urn types (G – K), clay. (*UE VII*, PL 114). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 32. Ur. Clay coffins, Larsa period. (*After UE VII*, PL 48c). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 33. Second Millennium burials. Left: Double-jar burial, cut away. Right: Urn with bowl cover. (*After* 1957-1971: 160, Abb. 2.4, 2.5)
- Figure 34. Nimrud. Neo-Assyrian period royal tomb from palace. Libation pipe above Tomb II. (*After* Hussein 2002: 150).
- Figure 35. Nimrud. Neo-Assyrian period royal tomb from palace. Detail of libation pipe above Tomb II. (*After* Hussein 2002: 150).

- Figure 36. Isin. Grave with adult male and offering vessels placed near head. (*After Hrouda 1987: Pl 45*).
- Figure 37. Tell Asmar. House altar and niche. (*OIP 88, PL 72, C*). (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
- Figure 38. Tell Asmar. House altar with woven temple/shrine door modeled on the facade. (*OIP 88, PL 72, B*). (Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
- Figure 39. Tell Asmar. House altar in corner. (*OIP 88, PL 72, A*). (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
- Figure 40. Ur. Drawing of pedestal decorated altars. No. 4 Paternoster Row (A, B); No. 1 Boundary St. (C, E); No. 2 Niche Lane (D); and No. 5 Niche Lane (F). (*UE VII, Fig. 40, p. 146*). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 41. Ur. Plan of AH Site and houses. (*UE VII, PL 124*). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 42. Ur. Plan of AH Site with house walls darkened. Numbers are street addresses from *UE VII*. A = Boundary Street; B = Niche Lane; C = Old Street; D = Church Lane; E = Carfax; F = Broad Street; G = Straight Street; H = Paternoster Row; I = Store Street; J = Baker's Square. (*After Van De Mierop 1992: 127, fig. 2*)
- Figure 43. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Paternoster Row. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 44. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Paternoster Row. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 45. Ur. No. 4 Paternoster Row. Chapel in Room 5 with pedestal altar. (*UE VII, PL 44*). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 46. Ur. Plan, No. 11 Paternoster Row. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 47. Ur. Reconstruction of house at 11 Paternoster Row. (*UE VII, PL 126*). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 48. Ur. No. 11 Paternoster Row. Infant burials in Room 12. (*UE VII, PL 39b*). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 49. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 50. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

- Figure 51. Ur. No. 4 Straight Street. Burials under courtyard. Isin-Larsa period coffin on right (*UE VII*, PL 46). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 52. Ur. Plan, No. 6 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 53. Ur. Plan, No. 7 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 54. Ur. Plan, No. 12 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 55. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Baker's Square. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 56. Ur. Plan, No. 1B Baker's Square. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 57. Ur. Plan, No. 2 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 58. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 59. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 60. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 61. Ur. Plan, No. 9 Church Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 62. Ur. Plan, No. 15 Church Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 63. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Broad Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 64. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Store Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 65. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Store Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 66. Ur. Plan, EM Site. (*UE VII*, PL 122). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 67. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 68. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 69. Ur. No. 3 Quiet Street. One burial of an adult and six of children under the floor of Room 4. (*UE VII*, PL 28b). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 70. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 71. Ur. Plan, No. 7 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 72. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Gay Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 73. Ur. Plan, Closed Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 74. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Gay Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

- Figure 75. Ur. Plan, Quality Lane. (*After UE VII*, PL 122, detail). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 76. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Gay Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 77. Ur. Plan, EH Site, north half. (*After UE VII*, PL 127). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 78. Ur. Plan, EH Site, south half. (*After UE VII*, PL 127). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 79. Ur. Plan, House 30/A. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 80. Ur. Plan, House 30/B. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 81. Ur. Plan, House 30/C. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 82. Ur. Plan, House 30/D. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).
- Figure 83. Ur. Plan, Graves in Mausoleum Site. (*After UE VII*, PL 128). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- Figure 84. Baghouz. Plan of rise with tombs Z 201 – Z 206, with Parthian tombs cut into Z 203 and Z 202. (*After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 40*).
- Figure 85. Baghouz. Comparison of seven burial plans at Baghouz with axes. Top: Z 125, Z 122, Z 123. Bottom: Z 95, Z 121, Z 141 and Z 143. (*After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948 in Garfinkel 2001: 151.*)
- Figure 86. Baghouz. Plan of cemeteries Mamelons I, II and II bis. (*After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 39*).
- Figure 87. Placement of burial goods in seven axe burials. (*After Garfinkel 2001: 156*).
- Figure 88. Baghouz, Tomb Z 145. Above: offering jar near head and bed. Below: plan of Z 145. (*After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 59*).
- Figure 89. Baghouz. Reconstruction of tomb Z 144, showing bed construction and body position. Axe is placed near the head. (*After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 56*).
- Figure 90. Baghouz, Tomb Z 122 Plan. A) bed; B) table; C) ring for table legs; D) table legs; E) axe; F) spearhead; G) knife; H) large bowl; I) small bowl;

J) jar; K) sheep bone (funerary meal). (*After* Du Mesnil Du Buisson 1948: Pl 51).

Figure 91. Baghouz. Plan of Tomb Z 95 with detail on right of the placement of (P) table with ring; pieces of the table (A, B, C, E, F, H). (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 45).

Figure 92. Baghouz. Plan of Z 123, with detail of the collapsed table at right. A) bed; B) piece of the table; C) ring for table legs; D) table legs; E) axe; F) spearhead; H-I) bowls; J) jar; K) sheep bone. (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 52).

Figure 93. Baghouz. Left: plan of stool and detail of stool leg. Right: tomb Z 121 with axe and part of the skeleton. (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 54, Pl 47).

Figure 94. Baghouz, tomb Z 67. Table with bowls, bone from meat portions on table top (from funerary meal). (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 44).

Figure 95. Baghouz. Strainers for drinking straws from tomb numbers listed. Cylinder seal from Tomb Z 286 with person drinking from jar while seated on stool (lower row, right). Silver ring from Z 168. (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 57).

Figure 96. Ur. Drinking scene. U10871. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Figure 97. Ur. Detail of panel on bull's head lyre. (Courtesy The Oriental Insitute of Chicago).

Figure 98. Ur. Miniature bed models. (*UE VII*, PL 88). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BM	British Museum
<i>CAD</i>	The Assyrian Dictionary of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CBS	Catalog of the Babylonian Collection, University Museum, Philadelphia
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature
<i>GEN</i>	Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld
KAR	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts
<i>KAV</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts
Kt	Kültepetexten
LKA	Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur
MSL	Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
PBS	University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section
TCL	Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre
TuL	Tod und Leben, E. Ebeling
<i>UE</i>	Ur Excavations
UM	University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Tablets
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VS	Vorderasiatische der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection, Tablets
YOS	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts

# **Remembrance and the Dead in Second Millennium BC Mesopotamia**

Renata MacDougal

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

Spirits of the dead are commonly portrayed in Mesopotamian scholarship as malicious entities who turn hostile to the living, even their own families, if not kept well-watered, fed or otherwise managed. In the context of ancient Mesopotamia, the *kispum* ritual, attested in Akkadian and Sumerian literature from the second through first millennia, has been understood by scholars to be an annual and monthly rite performed by descendants to propitiate the hostile spirits of the deceased.

An extensive body of omen texts and incantations do exist which attribute some causes of disease to meddling, unhappy spirits. Certain literary texts, as well, indicate a universal Mesopotamian concept of the afterlife in a chthonic netherworld dwelling of parched spirits, who are allowed periodic contact with the living to acquire libations and food offerings. While these written attestations do occur, some possibilities for other roles for the dead have been overlooked and are the subject of this thesis. Excavated remains and the cuneiform record need to be merged for insight into the socio-economic, religious, and personal meaning of the *kispum* ritual for family members, descendants, the community and the deceased. Whether or not the dead were regarded as ancestors, in only a sociological sense, or in an actual cult of the dead as well, needs to be examined. Deceased family members continued to play a prominent role in family life, and the cult of the dead established continuing bonds between living family members and their dead.

The prevailing concepts of the spirit and the afterlife were formulated with early translations of cuneiform literature in the late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly with the texts *The Epic of Gilgamesh* and *The Descent of Inanna/Ishtar*. Scholars were further influenced by ideas in anthropology, folklore and religion, which became prevalent through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Contemporary ideas about primitive religion, ancestors, cults of the dead, funerary

rites, magic and spiritualism also affected the perceptions of Assyriologists (Lubbock 1865; Tylor 1871; Spencer 1875; Fustel de Coulanges 1882; Durkheim 1912; Goody 1962; Graf 1997). This notion of 'ghosts with a vengeance' found its way early into Mesopotamian scholarship more generally via preconceived ideas about the fear of the dead, taboo, bodily pollution and hostile ghosts.

Ethnographies of traditional peoples, which began to be available in the West about the time archaeologists began serious excavations in the Near East, were also influential in the context of explorer-archaeologists' accounts of Babylonian and Assyrian life (Rogers 1900; Heidel 1946). Classically trained scholars working in Mesopotamia early in the history of the discipline also extrapolated from ancient Greek and Roman magical beliefs about ghosts and the spirits of the dead, and attributed cross-cultural homogeneity to concepts of the Mesopotamian dead. Thus, the notion of the dead as hostile spirit beings interfering with daily lives of surviving family members found its way universally into Mesopotamian scholarship, and for the most part, persists today. This is also reflected in broad generalizations in the literature, which normalize mortuary behaviors and view cross-cultural similarities in practices or material remains as representative of instances of the same ideological phenomena.

While certain texts have formed the prevailing view in the scholarship, others suggest new ways of looking at mortuary beliefs; therefore the textual sources need to be reevaluated. The material evidence, as well, lends support for a different view of Mesopotamian funerary practices (Barrett 2007). The purpose of this study is to address the notion of the family dead in light of more recent scholarship, which finds the bereaved involved in active remembrance rituals with their deceased. While in Mesopotamian belief the world was certainly imagined as part of a multilayered cosmos, inhabited by all manner of beings, seen and unseen, it does not necessarily follow that the spirits of dead kin were evil or hostile, particularly those of beloved family members. In a worldview where religion, magic, medicine, and many other aspects of society are integrated, the ritual component of life is a major factor. Death, as one of the most powerful events in human experience, was ritualized by performance of a family ceremony called *kispum*.

### 1.1 Mortuary Ritual in Second Millennium Mesopotamia

*Kispum* has been widely translated in the scholarly literature as “funerary offering(s)” (Tsukimoto 2010: 101). Other names for *kispum* used interchangeably throughout past and current scholarly literature, are ‘the cult of the dead’, ‘burial rites’, ‘rites of the ancestor cult’, ‘the cult of dead kin’, ‘cult of the ancestors’ and ‘Mesopotamian ancestor worship’ (e.g. Bayliss 1973; Birot 1980; Skaist 1980; Van der Toorn 1996b). Early on in Assyriology, Langdon designated *kispum* as ‘mortuary sacrifice’, but *kispum* served to provide provisions for the dead, rather than ritual blood sacrifices (1912; Lambert 1993). Since his definitive work on *kispum* researches, published in 1985, Tsukimoto has carefully defined the term “Totenpflege” or “care of the dead” as a more specific and accurate translation. Grave goods or some food provision for the dead (“Totenbeigabe”) were usually given at the time of burial. *Kispum* provisions were regularly offered in ritual on a monthly or semi-monthly schedule after the burial (Tsukimoto 2010). For this study the concept or definition of *kispum* as ongoing care of the dead is an important distinction, as it supports the thesis of continued bonds and interactions with the family.

It is useful to discuss different terms for mortuary behavior. In an ancient Near Eastern context, Schmidt represents a variety of *mortuary rites*, some related to and sometimes confused with the ancestor cult or with necromancy. He defines four ritual complexes: *funerary rites*, *the mortuary cult*, *the death cult*, and *magical mortuary rites*. Rituals that involve manipulation of the dead through necromancy, exorcism or ghost expulsion rites or incantations, are termed magical mortuary rites (Schmidt 1996: 4-13). Funerary rites encompass both the burial and the mourning rites. Mortuary cult concerns the care of the dead, including regular feeding, and serves both those designated as ancestors and the common dead in customary commemoration (Schmidt 1996: 4-5). The death cult venerates and/or worships dead ancestors. Bayliss identified this cult in Mesopotamia as the cult of dead kin, acknowledging the importance of lineages (1973). McAnany distinguishes cults of the dead from their actual meaning, which she aptly terms ‘living with the ancestors’ (1995: 1). Ancestors, or deceased kin, in Mesopotamia might be venerated with rituals or sacralized places and activities, but the rites

were more akin to commemoration or honoring, than worship in the Anglo-American sense of the term.

Funerary rites, classified as rites of passage by Van Gennep (1960), typically concern a change in a person's life course from life to death. This process is discerned as tripartite: separation, transition (liminality) and then incorporation. Different cultures have different beliefs about survival or separation of a soul (Annus 2007). In Mesopotamia the soul may have been literally loosened from the body with the funerary rite (Scurlock 2002: 1).

Mourning rites are performed as life leaves the body (separation from a former status), transitions through death, and into the next status (or the afterlife). Mourning rites may mark the transitional or liminal stage of death with varying length and duration. These rites may fall under the classification of funerary rites, which also include the preparation of the body, the disposal of the corpse with or without objects, and may include a funeral, procession and mourning. The rites may include feasting, a communal meal, which the deceased partakes in, the placement of a meal in the grave, and graveside rituals nearly invisible in the archaeological record. In some cultures (e.g. China), the graveside activities are distinguished from the funeral if they take place outside of town, as the purpose of the funerary rites can be considered there to expel the corpse from the living community (Watson, J.L. 1988).

Durkheim's terms of death cult or cult of the dead remain in use, particularly with historians of religion. His cult of the dead indicated repetition of standardized practices in ritual places associated with the dead, serving to strengthen bonds between believers and the preternatural beings they are dependent on (Schmidt 1996: 6; Durkheim 1915). A cult of the dead functions as a system of ritual practices performed periodically (Durkheim 1915). They begin when the deceased has entered into afterworld and continue. Funerary rites, on the other hand, occur between death and arrival in the underworld.

In the ancestor cult, the main features of the cult of the dead also occur, but beliefs and practices concern dead predecessors, bound by real or perceived kinship ties. The dead in general partake in the cult of the dead, while an ancestor cult is directed at lineage-based connections (Schmidt 1996: 6-7). Royal ancestor cults are known from cuneiform sources.

Mortuary practice is often a more neutral term where more specific cultic practices are not intended, and the designation more general, connoting that the activities have to do with the dead and practices that surrounding death, including disposal of the body (Brown 1971; Porter 2002b: 5). The term ancestor veneration is also useful for this study, as the notion of ancestors is very complex in each culture, and may or may not involve worship as defined with interaction with deities. In Mesopotamia, ancestral dead or deceased kin are differentiated from gods and goddesses and other beings, such as demons (Van der Toorn 1994). The terminology is broad, and all of the terms are found in Mesopotamian research, and it should be noted, are often used interchangeably.

### 1.1.1 Overview of the *Kispum* Ritual

I argue that the *kispum* ritual was a means of keeping the deceased family member close, rather than at bay, and that the dead were an active part of the living's memory and continued familial bond. The details of the performance of the *kispum* ritual (Sum. KI-SI-GA) are not thoroughly known. We do know that family members who survived the deceased person were obliged to carry out the *kispum* as a ritual for the ghost (Sum. GIDIM, Akk. *eṭemmu*) of the dead (CAD K: 425-427). The heir (Sum. IBILA, Akk. *aplu*), usually the eldest son, led the ritual, although at least a few references to a female as the heir responsible for the ritual do exist in some locations, as we will see later (Huehnergard 1983; Durand 1989; Van der Toorn 1996b: 48-49). The designated elder or heir entrusted with the ritual obligations was called the *pāqīdu* (LÚ-SAG-ÈN-TAR) "the one who takes care of" the dead. The entire family, however, was to participate in the rituals and in caring for the dead. The Akkadian word *kispum* comes from *kasāpu*, a verb meaning "to break apart", probably referring to the provision of bread in a communal meal, similar to our saying, "break bread" together (CAD K, 425-427; 241-242). Care for the dead included periodic libations for drink, pouring water (*mê naqū*) and food for sustenance. With some variance, *kispum* is thought to have occurred at the end of the month on the 29<sup>th</sup> or 30<sup>th</sup> day. While initially performed at the grave, it is likely that the family remembrance rituals could also take place elsewhere, perhaps at home in domestic shrines or family tomb chapels.

The continued care of the deceased and the grave connoted a belief in a continued existence of some essential part of being, albeit in a different form, and without flesh (*šīru*). The involvement of the family in ritual for the dead was crucial both to the well being of the deceased and the living family members as well. In funerary ritual, the dead were called by name (*zikir šumim*), or invoked/called (*nabû*). These terms carry the sense of making something come into being by the act of naming, a common ancient Near Eastern magico-religious belief. The spoken words were part of ritual, known as performative utterances, and thought to enact a type of force, well known in studies of magic (Davies 2002: 8-9; Frankfurter 2001: 466-469). The Akkadian terms also carry the sense of pronouncing something into existence, a magical fiat by the power of the word, or as an appointment to a position of honor (e.g. royal inscriptions which claim a king is called by the gods to his office). In *kispum* rituals, the dead were invoked by name and ritually called into the presence of the family to be given food and drink.

### **1.1.2 The Notion of Malevolent or Benign Dead**

The purpose of the performance of *kispum* in a scheduled ritual context has been traditionally portrayed as apotropaic, to keep the dead from re-entering the boundaries of the social world above and interacting in the realm of the living, particularly in hostile acts (e.g., Heidel 1946:158-159). In most Mesopotamian scholarship, as in biblical scholarship, spirits of the dead, called “ghosts” in the research, are characterized as weak and helpless (Scurlock 1997). Yet the *eṭemmu* could act and exhibit a type of power, in that their actions affected lives on Earth. Whether the actions were beneficial (interventions) or somewhat malign (groaning, screams, illness), the ghost nevertheless is able to employ certain forces that enable results. The behavior of the *eṭemmu*, then, was believed to be controllable by human intervention in the form of post-funerary *kispum* rites. Much of the existing academic literature concentrates on adverse effects, citing particularly incantations to deal with ghost-induced illnesses (Scurlock 2006). In cases of malign activities, the *kispum* is represented as the preventive cure. However, the question of the identity of hostile spirits needs to be addressed (Skaist 1980). Mesopotamian family ghosts have been reputed to have the same tendency towards mischief as unattached, un-familied *eṭemmū* (ghosts). It is

important, however, to distinguish the family deceased from a roving or unattached spirit. These mistreated and neglected ghosts were vagrants, wanderers (*muttaggišu*, *murtappidu*) and likely to interfere with or exact revenge on humans (Bottéro 1992: 284).

Texts imply that the living could pacify wandering ghosts who are not relatives, but who were inflicting harm upon the family members, by performance of certain magico-religious rituals (Castellino 1955; Bayliss 1973). Particularly, the genre of incantation texts associated with cures of ghost-driven ailments, added to literary passages describing a bleak afterlife, produced the predominant theme of the hostile spirits of the dead (Scurlock 2006). However, these texts are only part of the corpus of cuneiform literature mentioning deceased spirits and there were many different kinds of entities, including demons and evil spirits, believed to inhabit the underworld.

The ritual performance of *kispum* was in fact something quite separate from prior interpretations of the myths and disease incantations. As a family ritual, and as a recurrent magico-religious activity, *kispum* was the mechanism for continued emotional bonds with the dead. Therefore, the premise of this thesis is that the performance of *kispum* rites was different from the traditional view in the scholarship; the deceased were incorporated, commemorated and included in the ongoing existence of the family in a vibrant way. The *kispum* provided food and drink for the dead in repeated ritual and according to ritual calendars. In effect the living fêted their beloved dead. The ritual was believed to sustain the deceased in the afterlife, however, we know from recent studies on death and remembrance that the effects on the living, which have been somewhat ignored in Mesopotamian research until now, were also productive and beneficial.

Therefore, the notion of the unhappy, hostile dead, imprisoned in a bleak netherworld existence, has been over-emphasized in Mesopotamian scholarship filtering down into many general overviews and textbooks of religious studies and histories of the ancient Near East still currently in use (e.g. Cooper in Obayashi 1992; Nemet-Nejat 1998; Black and Green 1992; Segal 2004: 97-103; Walton 2006). While the primary texts sometimes present a grim afterlife vision, this view is codependent with the role of the characters in the literary dramas, such as Gilgamesh or Inanna. We must be cautious when using literary analyses to



reconstruct mortuary practices. In this thesis, the literary texts, particularly myths, are taken into account for the Mesopotamian worldview, but I consider the purpose, authoring group, genre of literature and audience when correlating references to Mesopotamian attitudes towards death and the afterlife.

Current work in Death and Dying Studies questions the traditional attitude towards hostile deceased family members in a composite of the whole picture, finding more productive purposes in family funerary rituals (Goss and Klass 2005). Newer scholarship of the archaeology of emotion also supports the possibility of revisiting traditional approaches to the dead in Mesopotamian contexts (e.g. Tarlow 2000, 2011; Harris and Sørensen 2010). Reevaluating the *kispum* ritual with these methods from a new approach is the purpose of this study.

## **1.2 Sources Used for This Study**

### **1.2.1 Evidence From Cuneiform Documents**

Cuneiform documents reveal further insights into Mesopotamian funerary practices and exist in a variety of types (Alster 1980; Tsukimoto 1985; Katz 2003). Since such primary texts exist, we are potentially able to access at least some of the meaning of mortuary ritual in the broader human sense, as well as part of the specific nature of a particular funerary rite in the ancient Near East. Unlike applications of recent mortuary approaches to material evidence from prehistoric Western European sites, here we can correlate burial practice to funerary ideology, at least as far as we can grasp Mesopotamian attitudes from the texts.

Textual sources for *kispum* include a mix of mythological and religious literary works, magic and divination texts, legal and everyday practical documents. The texts do not provide us with a how-to manual for family *kispum*. Rather, we will also need to “excavate the texts”. While some excerpts from myths are of a philosophical bent, bewailing the desperation of the Netherworld and the nature of the human condition of mortality, some lend different insights. Texts such as laments or prayers may mention the *eṭemmu* in a non-hostile way; a cultic calendar might hint to us of the date of the ritual; a personal letter may remind a brother to send money for *kispum* observances. Some of the cuneiform texts that discuss goods for the *kispum* ritual occur in list form or in letters, in both royal and non-

royal contexts (Tsukimoto 1985). These do not lend an aura of despair to the picture of the netherworld that scholars have traditionally deduced from the *Gilgamesh* and other ‘descent’ texts (Barrett 2007). In fact, goods for burials in the texts, while admittedly biased towards the elite, include provisions of food and clothing, belying the stark emptiness emphasized in a few pieces of influential literature. We will look at various textual examples of *kispum* further on in this study.

*Kispum* becomes apparent in the cuneiform texts of the second millennium, particularly in the large archive found at Mari (modern Tel Hariri, Syria) (Sürenhagen 1986; Foxvog 1980). While the second millennium date has much to do with the availability of excavated tablets, it also has to do with progress in the development of cuneiform script and writing, particularly in the last half of the third millennium. It is, however, generally agreed that the text references to *kispum* do not preclude the actuality of the ritual occurring earlier in the third millennium (Tsukimoto 2010: 101; Scurlock 1997: 90, n. 79). Texts exist from a variety of dates and locations; often certain types of cuneiform tablets were recopied for practice and for other libraries, over hundreds of years (Civil 2000). A reference, then, to funerary matters, particularly in a literary text, such as *The Descent of Inanna*, may date to the first millennium, but may actually be a copy of an early second millennium Sumerian original (Lambert 1990). For this study, some examples from primary texts of different dates will be cited, but is primarily focused on the corpus of second millennium documents.

Texts exist in both Sumerian and Akkadian languages, written in cuneiform on clay tablets. Sumerian was the earlier language, traditionally associated with both the first cuneiform writing and the earliest urbanization in the south (e.g. Uruk, Ur). Sumerian has unknown roots; it was an agglutinative language, not from the Indo-European, Semitic or Afro-Asiatic language families. Akkadian was a Semitic language, an ancestor to modern Hebrew and Arabic. It was well established in written form by the mid-second millennium with the reign of Sargon of Akkad and the Akkadian empire. Later, Akkadian became the lingua franca of the entire ancient Near East; diplomatic correspondence, religious and literary texts are well known from cuneiform archives as far afield as New Kingdom Amarna (Egypt) and Hittite Boghazkoy (Anatolia). Chronologically, Sumerian and

Akkadian language texts do not follow a neat divide along ethnic or chronological lines. In the third millennium, South Mesopotamia was already ethnically and linguistically mixed, using Sumerian for the written language (Katz 2003: xv). An overlap of Akkadian and Sumerian texts, in fact, existed through the first millennium in Mesopotamia; increasingly, Sumerian was used as an academic, sacred or school language, much like Latin in the early modern West. For the most part, we can assume that, by the Old Babylonian period, in the first half of the second millennium, Akkadian was the spoken language, although texts of various genres were still composed in Sumerian. Additionally, most Akkadian texts include some content in Sumerian in the form of words or terms as logograms; the languages were mixed in the written form.

For the purposes of this study, the languages of the documents referencing information for the *kispum* ceremony is essential mainly for terminology and are noted as necessary. Text selections adopt the form of the publication cited, which mostly affects Sumerian transliterations and transcription of signs. For some examples, texts are given in the original languages with translations where the terminology affects the topic discussed. Cuneiform translations for the most part are based on the publication and author(s) cited, although I have checked each, and sometimes amended translations slightly, or noted more literal readings where I felt it offered a better explanation for this study.

Sumerian language is transcribed and transliterated in different formats according to publication (e.g. ECTSL 2004). In order to differentiate between languages, except in direct quotations, I have used small uppercase letters and hyphens (URU-UL-LA) for Sumerian, and italics for Akkadian (*kimtiya u salātia*) terms and phrases. The term *kispum* is written in this thesis with the Old Babylonian mimation, a final (m), a convention not maintained for the other terms. For the general reader, other endings added to the Akkadian word base (e.g. *kispam*, *kispim*, *kispū*) are grammatical, such as case or number, markers.

### 1.2.2 Evidence From Excavations

Profound beliefs about life and death in Mesopotamia, and interactions between the family and deceased loved ones can be recognized in both the material and the textual evidence. Burial depositions provide a large portion of what archaeologists have to reconstruct ancient social context, and have to be looked at as intentionally placed phenomena. Because we have written documents mentioning the *kispum* ritual, real meaning about Mesopotamian individuals, family groups or broader society can be derived on many levels in new ways, from associated burial contexts.

Textual information correlated with material remains, including various aspects of burial architecture (e.g. water pipes), grave furnishings (e.g. beds, tables, vessels), skeletal data and contexts (e.g. sub-floor domestic tombs), can contribute towards a more complete picture of the intent and practice of funerary rites. We can look for stratigraphic evidence for *kispum* ritual activity in association with burials in excavation reports.

Of such material remains, the presence of certain types of food and drinking vessels, and their placement may indicate their use at the time of burial (e.g. Baker 2012). It is important to note, as well, any evidence for where the *kispum* rituals took place subsequent to burial (Fig. 1).

Excavation reports demonstrate that mortuary practices in Mesopotamia varied widely, particularly in tomb style and location (Delougaz et al. 1967; Strommenger 1957-1971). Tomb types included chamber tombs, larnax burials, jar burials, bowl burials, and simple inhumations (see Chapter 6). The variability of burial styles within the same site could indicate that the type of burial was not the deciding factor for successful afterlife outcomes. Varied graves or funerary customs across a broad range of locales could point to a common underlying belief system, or the creation of social ideology, about deceased family members and ancestors (Smith 2007: 165-166; Whitley 2002). I argue that the act of the *kispum* ritual itself was the important generating factor in the family; a good burial in the grave was desired as well, but might have been secondary in actual social and ritual importance (Bloch and Parry 1982; Cherstich 2005; Richardson 2007).

The underground interment of the body offered the deceased the appropriate entrance into the afterlife world “below” and the transfer from corpse

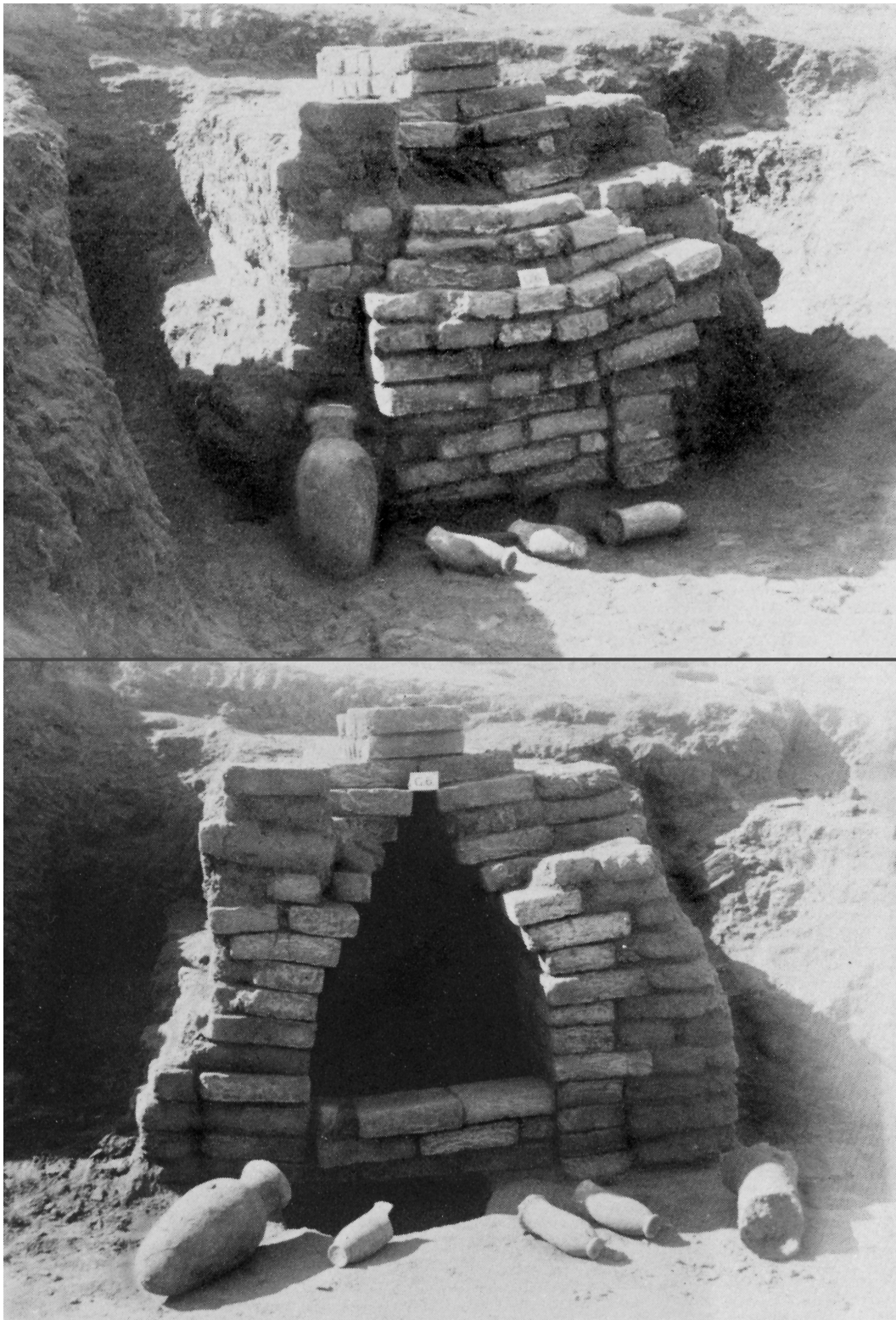


Figure 1. Ur. Vaulted tomb with jars outside. Above: Closed. Below: Unblocked.  
(After *UE VII*, PL 48a, 48b). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British  
Museum).

to shade, from body to *eṭemmu* (Katz 2005). The optimal burial was placement of the corpse, shrouded and interred with proper ritual in the earth in a grave, tomb or perhaps even a cave. Burials or bodies left above ground, cremation, burning or exposure to the elements were either accidental, or could have been deliberately done in vengeance or to deny the dead what comforts an ordered afterlife provided (Bottéro 1992: 273). Proper treatment of the corpse at burial will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Whether the poorest individuals had the means for or access to inhumation places or cemetery burial is unknown. Known cemeteries and house burials clearly do not account for more than a fraction of the total population estimated for ancient sites, therefore the remains of a large percentage of the population which is not present in the archaeological record must have been disposed of by other means, or simply remain undiscovered (Laneri 2011b). There is a possibility that some corpses were disposed of in rivers, or the marshes (the “reeds of Enki”) and, although considered adverse according to the texts, this may have been the only option for some (Richardson 2007). Perhaps cemeteries for the majority of non-elite, non-property owners were located at a much farther distance from urban areas and of course, far beyond land used for cultivation. Perhaps surveys to date have missed them, or they are simply no longer evident and little of permanence marking their location was deposited. Changing river courses may have destroyed other burial grounds, for example, fully half of the ancient Babylonian city Terqa at Ashara, Syria has been washed away by the Euphrates (Buccellati 1979).

Of course, more evidence exists from the upper levels of society, both written and material; the lowest stratum of society may leave little or nothing that could permanently survive in the archaeological remains (e.g. tomb architecture, coffins or objects made of metal or stone). As the ritual contained spoken elements and part of the *kispum* involved the pouring of water, I conclude that a lack of means would not necessarily preclude some form of *kispum* ritual, even if not performed at a grave with proper accoutrements. Ongoing *kispum* could also take place with simple offerings of bread and water and the invocation of the name of the dead.

A few examples of royal funerals and *kispum* however, are useful for examining characteristics of *kispum*, because *kispum* for kings and royal burial are mentioned in the texts (e.g., McGinnis 1987; Postgate 2002; Katz 2003; Jacquet 2002; Biga 2012). According to a recent study by Cohen, this cult of dead rulers actually had to do with ensuring agricultural abundance in seasonal cycles (2005: 106-112). Elite tombs reveal information about what *kispum* entailed, particularly what grave furnishings and offerings were involved (Sang 2010). We can cautiously make some interpretation of non-royal, ordinary burials in light of royal tombs replete with material evidence for a *kispum* ceremony (Scurlock 1997: 90, n. 79). Some examples include the wealth of pottery and the wall benches at Qatna, Syria, and the two ancestor statues at the entrance to the funerary chamber, which may direct us to correlate other anthropoid images with mortuary aspects (Al-Maqdissi et al. 2005). Offerings to votive statues of kings or ENSIS, at the KI A-NAG ('water pouring, or drinking, place'), for example, with King Gudea at Lagash, helped establish and perpetuate the royal line through dead predecessors (Cohen 2005: 106-108). Some artifacts, such as figurines, may serve as representations of the deceased, possible receptacles for the soul, or even grave markers, in non-royal funerary contexts (Scurlock 1980; Potts 1997: 228; Bonatz 2001; Biga 2012: 8-9).

### 1.3 Summary of Research Objectives

The family funerary ritual can be seen as transformative and liminal for both the dead and the living; the living entered into a changed relationship with a family member who was now an *eṭemmu*, and the deceased safely transitioned to an alternate existence in a world imagined according to cultural beliefs about the structure of the cosmos. The role of ritual and transformative power in the *kispum* ritual involves ideas of magic, religion and ritual, which would not necessarily have been separate phenomena in Mesopotamia. However, the family *kispum* ritual must be seen as distinct from magic rituals that set other types of spirits to rest, particularly incantations against demons and evil spirits, which have been traditionally emphasized in the literature (Thompson 1903, 1904; Geller 1985; Cunningham 1997; Scurlock 2006). Mesopotamian funerary ritual has been mainly characterized by an apotropaic nature, while in this study I examine evidence that the *kispum* was the opposite of appeasing the family dead.

The social and emotional impact of a death on the family cannot be denied; mortuary ritual helped (re)construct social boundaries, as well as transform death in the community into a positive phenomenon (Richardson 2007: 191). Preparation of the body, interment in a grave, appropriate funerary rites and placement of gifts or provisions was part of the ideal mortuary process in Mesopotamia. But the ongoing nature of the *kispum* ritual and offerings was the really powerful factor in the family dynamic (Richardson 2007: 191). More than commemoration, by means of continued remembrance rituals, the dead were kept present, able to be engaged, able to exert influence on, and interact with, the family.

Coupled with evidence from material remains and primary textual evidence from documents in both transcription and translation, I argue in this study that, rather than viewing death as a rite of passage, forever avenged upon the survivors, the Mesopotamian family instead performed habitual rites that kept the memory of the dead quite active as part of the family identity, with close emotional bonds. Grief studies show that the intensity of emotion(s) concurrent with the death of a loved one was no different than today (Klass, Silverman and Nickman 1996). *Kispum*, rather than a mere rite of prophylactic magic or burial ritual, was a means for expression of grief, for commemoration of the dead through ongoing ritual, and continuing family interaction between the living and the dead. Whether the dead were regarded as ancestors, in only a socio-cultural sense, or in an actual cult of the dead as well, is also an important question. Which dead became ancestors and how many generations remained in direct named remembrance in the *kispum* also needs clarification. The goal of this study is to reevaluate the evidence for family funerary beliefs, the nature of the *kispum* ritual and continued bonds with the dead using new methods from death and grief studies and the archaeology of emotion.

#### **1.4 Geographic Parameters**

Geographic parameters of the ancient Near East (itself a term surviving from the scholarship of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) differ by author and study (Van De Mieroop 2007) (Fig. 2, Map). The limits of the region of Mesopotamia also varied depending on time period and political boundaries. Mesopotamia, as defined by the Greek name, technically refers to the geographical areas between the Tigris and Euphrates



Rivers, from the alluvial plains of the south to the dry-farming river valleys of the north. However, the cultural boundaries of data for this study are far broader and there is some overlap between neighboring regions (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 3). Regional borders were somewhat vague over the millennia and certainly do not adhere to modern political borders, nor does the geographic region represented by Greek Mesopotamia serve for this study. Designating the immediate confines of sites within the political boundaries of present day Iraq would especially hinder examination of textual sources available from a much broader scope. In this study, evidence from excavations therefore will include sites from Southwest Asia, inclusive of the traditional alluvial heartland of Mesopotamia as well as eastern and northern Syro-Mesopotamia, the regions of present-day Iraq, Syria and its border region with southeast Turkey, eastern and southeastern

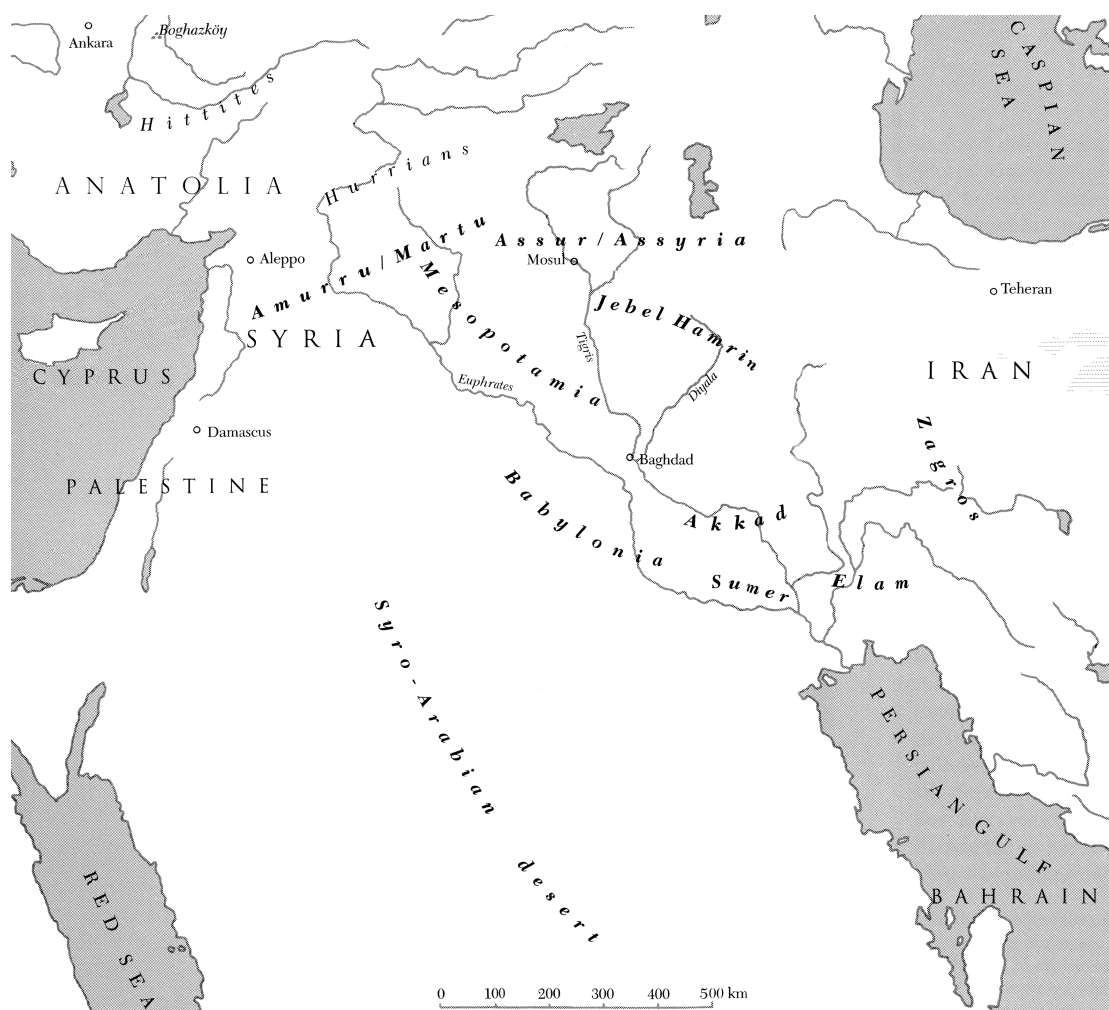


Figure 2. General map of Mesopotamia and adjacent area. (*Adapted from Bottéro 1992: xii*).

Iran (Elam) (Schwartz 2007: 39). The actual political and cultural boundaries within Mesopotamia as a whole were quite complex and varied from century to century. In general, before the Akkadian Empire, which dominated in the mid-third millennium BC, southern Mesopotamia was called Sumer and its people, the Sumerians. Traditionally, many maps also indicate the South as Babylonia, based on the great Old and Neo-Babylonian Empires, which prevailed during parts of the second and first millennia. Similarly, maps indicate Assyria in the North. It is often unclear whether Old Assyrian (second millennium) or Neo-Assyrian (first millennium) historical periods are shown. Often these regional designations are included together on maps, but in reality, they may have important cultural, historical and chronological differences. The sites and regional features mentioned in this study are shown in more detail in Fig. 3 (below) and Fig. 4 (Section 2.2.4).

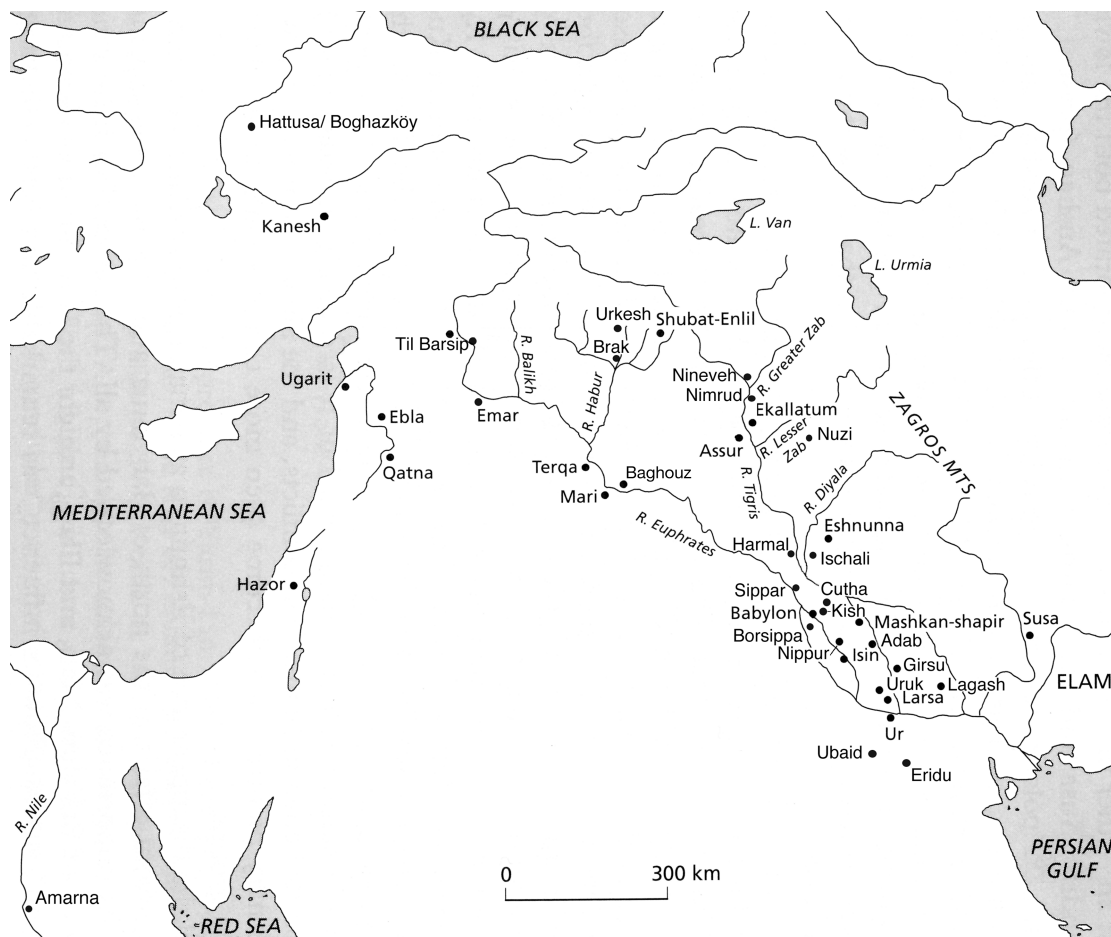


Figure 3. Map of Mesopotamia, sites and areas discussed in text. (After Van de Mieroop 2007: 103).

## 1.5 Chronology

This study adopts the dates of the Middle Chronology for Mesopotamia, which is most frequently used, dating Hammurabi of Babylon's reign to 1792-1750 BC and the fall of the Old Babylonian dynasty to 1595 BC (Table 1). Chronologies in Mesopotamia can be relative or absolute (based on calibrated radiocarbon dating); relative dating methods rely on a range of historical documents, including eponym and king lists, which can vary and overlap regionally. Written documents can be dated, for example, from sources demonstrating international diplomatic relations among neighboring rulers. Absolute dates are still discussed for Mesopotamia, with scholars arguing for various resolutions of different chronological schemes (Hasel 2004; Cole 2014).

Other interesting methods for chronological reconstruction include astronomical observations, recorded in cuneiform texts. The standard terminology of high, middle and low nomenclature for dating schemes resulted from studies of tablets which recorded observations of sixty-four year solar cycles of the planet Venus dating to King Ammi-Šaduqa (1646 – 1626 BC) of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Reiner and Pingree 1975, 1981). More recently, advocates for an “ultra-low chronology” have rejected the prior schemes, based on considerations of pottery, stratigraphy, more astronomical data and cuneiform texts. This new proposal eliminates the so-called Dark Age (no written sources) of the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC, based on changes in material culture, particularly pottery styles, thus altering the date for the fall of Babylon to 1490 BC (Gasche, Armstrong, Cole and Gurnadjan 1998; Cole 2014). Additionally, radiocarbon dates and dendrochronological calibrations continue to give results for absolute dating.

Recent focus on northern and western Mesopotamia since the start of the Iraq War in 2003 has yielded new epigraphic and archaeological data which are still being interpreted and may affect our understanding of chronology (Ristvet 2008). However, a precise chronology for Mesopotamia and indeed, much of the ancient Near East remains problematic (Hasel 2004). For now, this study will employ the mid-range chronology in common use. Dates will be individually noted where available or classified according to site and period. All dates are BC (Before Christ) or BCE (Before the Common Era), unless otherwise noted. Textual sources often exist in multiple editions or copies from various sites; time periods and

provenience for primary source documents will be noted where known. Often texts are from unknown provenience as part of museum collections, rather than recorded stratigraphic context. As previously noted, this study concentrates on the second millennium *kispum* ritual, however some examples from the late third millennium and the first millennium will be examined and noted for comparative purposes.

The following is a general outline of historical periods or dynasties in Mesopotamia in dates BC/BCE (Table 1) and does not detail the regional variances or overlaps in ruling dynasties (Van De Mierop 2007). For example, Woolley calls the early second millennium city at Ur The Isin-Larsa Period, or Larsa Period. The two names do not connote a cultural change, but instead two rival cities (Isin and Larsa) who took over leadership in Ur. Following that, the Old Babylonian regime was in charge at Ur.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Approximate Dates</u>
Late Uruk	3500 – 3250
Jemdat Nasr	3150 – 2900
Early Dynastic I-II	2900 – 2600
Early Dynastic III	2600 – 2340
Akkadian	2340 – 2200
Gutian	2200 – 2112
Ur III	2112 – 2004
Old Babylonian/Mari	2004 – 1595
Isin – Larsa	1974 – 1763
‘Dark Age’	1595 – 1475
Kassite	1475 – 1155
Middle Assyrian	1350 – 1000
Second Isin Dynasty	1157 – 1026
Neo-Assyrian	900 – 612
Neo-Babylonian	625 – 539
Persian/Achaemenid	538 – 331

Table 1. Mesopotamia Middle Chronology.

In general, in this study, the term 'Old Babylonian' period is used a blanket term which refers to the first half of the second millennium BC, and may not strictly refer to the exact territorial dimensions of the political empire at a given date or in a given city. In general, an emphasis on the first half of the second millennium is intended with northern and southern Mesopotamian sites, however occasionally evidence from a broader range of correlative artifacts, texts, and sites (usually from the end of the third millennium) are included as noted for clarification, and may include sites beyond the traditional boundaries of central Mesopotamia.

## **Chapter 2. The Archaeology of Burial Practices: Theory and Development**

This chapter provides an interdisciplinary overview of the broad scope of the historical development of research relating to death and burial and mortuary archaeology, referencing anthropology, archaeology, socio-history, behavioral science, religion and sociology. While meant neither to be a comprehensive review of the history of archaeology nor the sociology of death, mention is made of early contributions in these fields that impacted thought, methodology or theory related to mortuary archaeology as a whole, including Mesopotamian practice.

### **2.1 Mortuary Archaeology: Origins and Influences**

Scholars from many academic disciplines contributed to, influenced, and continue to form and affect archaeological thought in the field of mortuary studies (Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 2005; Bloch and Parry 1982; Parker Pearson 2000). In the past, archaeology (particularly Mesopotamian archaeology) sometimes has been reluctant to adopt a new methodology or philosophy, or to modify or relinquish old ones. It is increasingly understood that the discipline cannot really stand untaught or unaffected by preceding debates or the contributions of new methods (cf. Leone 1972; Gumerman and Phillips 1978; Morris 1987; Redman 1991; Dyson 1993; Campbell and Green 1995: ii; Cooper and Schwartz 1996).

The study of how humans perceive the end of life, enact death rituals and perform burials has produced a daunting amount of literature, beginning most notably with 19<sup>th</sup> century sociologists working in religion and anthropology. This section surveys major contributions in the social sciences, relating to the development of ideas that progressed (usually through anthropology) to theory in the field of the archaeology of death and burial. This review will focus on two main areas which contributed significantly to understandings of Mesopotamian mortuary practices: first, the more general development of ideas in the early social sciences and anthropology of what was once called 'primitive religion' and magic and how these may relate to or be reflected in mortuary and related ritual practices; and second, a review of some of the main themes in the development of theory in mortuary archaeology.

We need to look to the development of Western anthropological thought to understand the development of mortuary archaeology. In mortuary archaeology, material remains are the means of access to perhaps the deepest reckonings of the human condition: emotions and beliefs surrounding death. The behaviors associated with the deaths of its members are arguably the most complex and variable phenomena that occur among cultures. Therefore making sense of material and symbolic representations of death and death practices, coupled with the nuances of perception and interpretation is difficult.

When dealing with the performance of family or folk ritual, such as the *kispum* ritual, we are investigating realms which are traditionally associated with combinations of religious belief (the afterlife), magical beings (ghosts), religious practice (prayer, offerings for the dead), magic spells or rituals (propitiation of the dead), magical actions (utterance and gesture) and possibly the manipulation of magical objects. Therefore, we must situate the place of religion and magic, in the traditional sense, in this study. Death and burial, burial as religious ritual, burial as magic ritual, and belief and the nature of belief about the dead, are interrelated in funerary behavior and have traditionally been the study of anthropology. As background to the nature of this study of a funerary ritual in the distant past, these features are also inseparable from ideas of mortuary archaeology. Therefore it is appropriate to include a history of religion and magic in anthropological thought in a survey of the history of the development of mortuary archaeology. Investigating this specific performance of an ancient mortuary rite in through the textual evidence, the material remains, ritual and archaeological theory, will occur later in this thesis.

Interests in the early history of religions and magico-religious practices have a long history, forming an important strand of research into mortuary studies, beginning with mortuary anthropology in 19<sup>th</sup> century interests relating to the universality of religious beliefs, including a belief in the afterlife (Bastian 1895). Bastian attributed certain basic human traits as being permanent elements of the psyche, common to all humans (*Elementargedanken*), which however, may be modified by social and environmental factors (*Volkergedanken*). This recollects cognitive theory of religions to some extent, as Bastian was basing his ideas on evolutionary ideas of the central nervous system to account for the universal

existence of the most basic ideas of human life and death. His ideas did not reconcile with ethnographic studies though, which showed varied causes for like behaviors in different cultures (see also Bendann 1930: 4-6).

One of the first applications of sociological theory to archaeology was in attributions of the origins of religion in early humans to their perceptions of death. Understood as seminal to the condition of being human, awareness of and attitudes toward death are based in a wide range of beliefs, cultural precepts, practices and symbols (Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Byrd and Monahan 1995). Objects or constructions associated with burials are subject to frameworks relative to specific cultural constructs, relative to both the indigenous culture and its perceptions (Hodder 1986: 181; Hodder 1987; Byrd and Monahan 1995: 253). Studies about religions and associated beliefs about death have sometimes been affected by the influences of contemporary society as well (Palgi and Abramovich 1984). Various scholars have scoffed at the idea that ideas about belief and death are even recoverable through archaeology (Leach 1973, 1977; Lucas 2001: 43-44). Nevertheless, archaeologists continue to pursue the presence of ancient ties between belief, archaeology and death.

### **2.1.1 Ideas of Primitive Religion and Magic in the Development of Mortuary Archaeology**

The bonds of archaeology and death and the influence of religion on mortuary archaeology must also take into account ideas about belief and magic. The relation between magic and religion has been sometimes seen as an artificial construct, created when the dominant society or observer bases paradigms of understanding upon their own officially sanctioned beliefs. Any time beliefs or ritual performances did not coincide with that of the mainstream ideal or norm, these (religious) practices have often been seen to be and designated as magical. The connotation, of course, was also that these ceremonies and beliefs were of less value than those comprising “real” religious actions (Petersson 1957: 119). Historically the beliefs (religions) of “others” are often, if not always, “magic”, “superstition” and just plain wrong. Ancient people often thought no differently on this matter.



It is helpful for my study to consider briefly the terminology of *magic*, *religion* and *magico-religious* as an element of the nature of the relationship between humans and supernatural beings, especially the spirits of the family dead in ancient Mesopotamia. These terms are useful for getting at the real meaning of indigenous concepts of magic and religious belief, inherent in ritual practice (Gager 1992: 24-25; Betz 1991: 248-249). Discussion of magico-religious aspects of the *kispum* ritual will occur later in this thesis.

There are many interesting discussions about the nature of magic and religion, anthropologists disagreeing on which behaviors are religious, and what religion or magic might do or mean in culture (Styers 2004: 5-21). Asad finds that definitions of religion can get in the way of investigations. He argues that a universal definition of religion cannot exist because it is the product of historical discourse (1993: 29, 53-54). Donovan points out that not everyone looks at the same phenomenon and calls it religious. In the fine ancient Near Eastern tradition of the naming of things, he notes that definitions also *create* (2003: 62-63). Lévi-Strauss (1962) critiqued theorists who tried to define magic, science and religion within particular boundaries. He criticizes anthropologists as creating artificial concepts, which do not exist in the reality of the culture to which they are ascribed (Lévi-Strauss 1962: 10). Similarly Gager considers that magic, “as a definable and consistent category of human experience, simply does not exist” (Gager 1992: 24).

As early as 1900, R. R. Marett opposed the reification of magic by British intellectualists Tylor and Frazer. Distinctions between religious actions and beliefs, as independent of or concurrent with magical acts, are vague in many cultures. The ideas of ritual and ritual performance are equally complex and have engendered a huge body of literature (e.g. Sanderson 2008: 141-156; Grimes 2004: 109-138; McCauley and Lawson, 2002; Segal 1998; Grimes 1996; Bloch 1989; Pader 1982: 36-44; La Fontaine 1972; Shaughnessy 1973; Gluckman 1962). For now, we use the term very generally, and treat *kispum* as a funerary ritual, in the sense of a prescribed set of actions performed toward an end. As helpful for *kispum*, Andrea Vianello defines rituals as tools for handling collective memory (2004: 2). Aspects of *kispum* are known from ancient texts; it is up to archaeology to fill in more evidence from the concrete remains of its performance. In any discussion of an ancient ritual we have a view back through time, where we may

also be looking at the evolution of the ritual. It is also important to note that it is very difficult to get beyond a Western frame of thought when dealing with magic and ancient religious practices (e.g. Asad 1993: 1-23, 27-30; Tarlow 2013).

Discussions of various concepts of magic, religion and ritual must be kept in mind when trying to get at the ancient significance of any ritual practice. Ritual actions of the participants and beliefs about what they were doing, may only be clear to 21<sup>st</sup> century Westerners when based on a good understanding of questions of magic and religion as they developed in anthropology, if at all. Now scholars apply theoretical approaches from many fields to these aspects of human culture, not least, a cognitive approach (Whitehouse 2004; Martin 2004: 7-14). Darnton, similarly to Levy-Bruhl's (1923) earlier notion of *representations collectives*, approaches history ethnographically, to show how people constructed their worldview with emotion and how they mentally organized reality and expressed it behaviorally (Darnton 1984: 3-6 in Martin 2004: 8). My interest in using these new approaches in archaeology is to understand the purpose and meaning of the funerary ritual to its performers and the underlying significance of attitudes toward the deceased.

Ancient Mesopotamians performing funeral rites did not classify religious and magic mortuary practices as separate phenomena nor distinguish between magic, not-magic, or religion. Meyer and Mirecki distinguish the magic in antiquity from the modern "re-visioning" of ritual magic by using the term "ritual power" and discussing "empowerment" through ritual (1995: 3-5). Renewed interest in the study of "ancient magic" as a serious discipline has occurred especially in the last three decades (Meyer and Mirecki 1995: 1-9). New texts from archaeological excavations (e.g. Oxyrhynchus) and attention or reinterpretation of artifacts from burials as probable use as ritual implements add consistently to our understanding of ancient ritual power. For the purposes of this study, I will consider magico-religious as an adequate descriptive term for meaning behind ritual action and behaviors, while recognizing the problematic and subjective nature of discerning and defining ritual acts in any culture.

Necromancy is one example of a magico-religious phenomenon that defies such boundaries. Known from many cultures, including Greek and Roman literature, the Hebrew Bible, and cuneiform texts, necromancy plays an especially

significant part in dealings with the dead in Mesopotamia and must be considered in a study of ancestors, ghosts and death ritual. Just what part of the *kispum* ritual, if any, involved actual “calling up” or direct communication with the dead (and who did this), needs to be examined. Exorcistic properties of ghost-related rituals also require an understanding of magic in ritual and as part of religious practice. For the purposes of this study, magic as a characteristic of ritual is understood as a transformative mechanism of power.

### **2.1.2 Influences From 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Classics and Archaeology**

If we consider the prominent place of magic in 19<sup>th</sup> century discussions of the theory of “primitive” cultures, acceptance of the idea of “magic” with the discovery of new Greco-Roman texts from Egypt during the early 1900s became a major contribution to the study of religion and magic in archaeology. The work of the German philologists in translating these works were directly influential in the use of ancient texts as means of recovering information about ancient magico-religious belief in ancient Near Eastern archaeology as well. At the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the German Classicists, steeped in traditional philology-as-archaeology, initially intended to analyse newly discovered Greek magical texts for the reconstruction of ancient language. However, the contents of these texts offered new material for those interested in studies of early religion and indeed, the origins of religion. W. Robertson Smith’s innovative lectures on “The primitive religions of the Semitic peoples, viewed in the relation to other ancient religions, and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity”, delivered in 1888-1891, were motivated, like much of ancient Near Eastern studies, on researches into biblical origins. Robertson Smith began with interests in biblical exegesis. His book on “Semitic heathenism” (1972 [1889]: ix) is really an anthropological synthesis from many fields including ethnography, comparative religions and Classicism (see also Wellhausen 1897, *Reste arabischen Heidenthumes*). While Robertson Smith’s ambitious work exhibits its own sort of “primitivism”, already he examines ritual as a community affair (p. 263) and identifies the notion of thirsty dead ghosts in Arab culture and ancient Greek literature (p. 235).

The discovery of new Greco-Roman texts was a catalyst for the acceptance and understanding of magic as part of mainstream cultures in antiquity. While Robertson Smith still carried out Mesopotamian studies in a framework of biblical religions (e.g. sacrifice, prayer, offerings, gods, worship), the archaeological discovery and translation of this corpus of Greek magical texts moved Classicists to begin to explore what ancient people believed, apart from the evidence from literature, and to approach issues from different contexts relating to religious practice and rituals, as opposed to, for example, only from myths.

Greek magical texts also held dramatic new concepts for archaeology, as Herrman Usener and his students Robert Wunsch, Karl Preisendanz and Albert Dieterich saw archaeological sources for ancient belief in the corpus of tablets, papyri and amulets (Ogden 1999: 86-90; Betz 1991: 249-250). One student, Ulrich Wilamowitz, declared the recent translation of the Greek magical texts as “savage and phantasmagorical superstition...that has nothing to do with religion”. He saw in these texts new opportunities to “judge...fairly” *all* aspects of the lives of the ancient Greeks. His view demonstrated a new outlook for the study of antiquity among Classicists who were traditionally reluctant to diminish, as Wilamowitz put it, “the distinguished luster” of their beloved Hellenes in order to interpret the culture more objectively (Wilamowitz in Ogden 1999). Their approach added to the development of new anthropological insights derived from ancient texts, not without controversy, however. Heinrichs insightfully drew attention to the extent to which Christian Protestant biases may have influenced the study of ancient ‘pagan’ religious concepts among scholars. Uncovering the ‘less noble’ traits of Greek culture was considered non-academic as well. Dieterich, for example, had to disguise his 1905 summer seminar on the new magical texts as a “Selection of Greek Papyri” (Graf 1999: 5-14; Betz 1991: 244-247; Faraone and Obbink 1991; Ankarloo and Clark 1999: xi-xvi; Luck 1999: 162-170, 266-69; Ogden 1999: 97-98).

The contributions of Robertson Smith and the Greek school of philology, through studies of religion and magic, and explorations beyond the myths and texts already known, presaged 21<sup>st</sup> century thought in some ways, with multiple approaches to archaeology.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the field of Western archaeology was in its infancy. Earlier, 18<sup>th</sup> century excavations of spectacular Greek and Roman antiquities had created a push for the acquisition of more spectacular material artifacts and art objects. For the most part, mortuary archaeology was primarily a function of the recovery of artifacts for wealthy private collectors and museums, more akin to treasure hunting, with little analysis of the intricacies we now associate with cultures and the disposal of their dead.

This era also produced one of the first archaeological theorists, antiquarian Johannes Winckelmann, who published *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* in 1764. Winckelmann established the first systematic analyses and descriptions of Classical art and archaeology. This book, translated into English as early as 1769, was based on classifications and social theorizing about objects and their relation to daily life in antiquity. Although Winckelmann never excavated, his work was significant for his attempts to garner social information from artifacts. Two chapter titles in *Geschichte*, “Origins of art and reasons for its diversity among peoples” and “History of the art of antiquity with regard to the external circumstances of the time among the Greeks” demonstrate the foundational and innovative nature of his work (Winckelmann 2006). To put his work into archaeological perspective, this was not long after Herculaneum had been ‘excavated’ by miners with gunpowder (by Alcubierre in 1738), and well before King Victor Emanuele II decided to enhance Italy’s image by promoting scientific excavations at Pompeii (Dyson 1993: 195; Fagan 2003: 25). Winckelmann’s model exemplified the natural progression from philology to archaeology.

Systematic approaches to the study of material culture were furthered in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of German academe, emphasizing scientific rational thought, and insisting on the collection of facts and organized bodies of data, forming conclusions based on empirical evidence. As Classicists sought the great antique cities and cultures mentioned in ancient literature, Classical archaeology became strongly identified with philology, producing an elitist discipline, which subordinated ideas associated with material culture to the ancient text. Dyson notes that the emphasis on text as process separated Classical archaeologists from those in other disciplines, because they were burdened with

mastering philological skills that he thought were marginal to their main role as archaeologists (1993: 195).

This model of archaeological research, including the retrieval of material culture mainly from tombs and graves, carried over from classical studies into Egyptology and Assyriology (Trigger 1989: 39). In the Western tradition, ancient Near Eastern archaeology developed amidst the 19<sup>th</sup> century fervor for archaeological excavation, in quest of monumental architecture, sculpture, tablets and evidence of biblical religions (i.e. religions mentioned in the Bible) (Foster 2006). Orientalists contributed to the growth of archaeology in this region, with the discovery of several large deposits of cuneiform texts, not least, the Royal Library of Ashurbanipal from Nineveh (Iraq). This discovery included the first tablet of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, one of the first known literary pieces, which contemplated the idea of death as inevitable. As large amounts of cuneiform texts became available in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ancient Near Eastern philologists were able to focus not only on decipherment, but also on interpretation of the cultural data they found within them. The civilizations of the ancient Near East thus came under systematic study following the suit of the Classicist schools, and were also strongly based on philology-archaeology. The tradition of Mesopotamian archaeological research as based upon texts and upon the retrieval of material culture from mortuary contexts, came about, then, as distinct from European prehistoric archaeology, where to a great extent, theoretical discussions of burial archaeology developed. The effects of these factors have influenced the development of theory and approaches in ancient Near Eastern archaeology.

As part of the growing body of research derived from expanding colonial and imperial explorations outside of Europe, 19<sup>th</sup> century ethnographers, as well, compiled their accounts of death ceremonies, beliefs in odd supernatural beings, ancestors, and magico-religious practices; recounting these 'wild' stories of 'savage' human behavior to audiences back in 'civilization'. Their observations provided a broad range of new empirical material for the ongoing, contemporary dialogues and debates concerning origins and explanations of human behavior, including religion.

Key figures who became the founders of anthropological research and drew increasingly on systematically collected ethnographic data for discussions of religion, magic and funerary practices included Tylor, Spencer, Lubbock, Frazer, Durkheim and Mauss. Like many early sociologists who were interested in the origins of religion, Tylor and Hubert Spencer focused the center of their studies on funeral ceremonies, afterlife beliefs and the cult of the dead (Spencer 1875; Tylor 1866, 1871). Lubbock (1865) and Tylor (1866, 1871, 1878) provided definitive works on death and religion, the family cult and ancestors, including concepts of the hostile dead (Goody 1962: 13-15). Tylor argued that animism, the belief in spiritual beings, was derived from the death experience as well as from the experience of dreaming (1871). He thought that the origin of the idea of a separation of body and soul arose from dream experience transferred by the living as the concept of survival of the ghost-soul after death. Adhering to the theme of religion as an explanation for many prescribed behaviors, especially death rituals, Tylor sought the origins of belief in collective responses to death. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, speculative approaches such as Tylor used attempted to relate observed data from ethnographies to general statements about common experiences and from those, discern the origins of funerary practices. Reflecting the influence of Edward Tylor and the English school of social anthropology, the rationalist-idealist model of anthropology applied empirical, realistic function to laws of magic as well, akin to laws of science (Binford 1971: 6; Graf 1999: 2, 14-15).

### **2.1.3 Theory in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Archaeology**

Nineteenth century accumulation of ethnographic records culminated in widely read works such as Frazer's massive synthesis of death-specific studies practices, the three-volume, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (1913). Frazer's well-known study of magic and religion, *The Golden Bough*, followed *Belief in Immortality* in 1922. These were to be very influential in the development of mortuary archaeology as providing empirical data for the development of related theories. Frazer saw his compendia of mortuary practices, myth and religion as historical study. His work helped bring the study of death and burial as part of religious beliefs, and hence as a part of culture, into the valid mainstream of archaeology as historiography. He linked archaeology and the great

ancient civilizations as revealing a theory of the universe, which deserved more attention from philosophers and enquiries into the history of religious origin (Frazer 1913: 3). Frazer also provided Robertson Smith with unlimited access to his unpublished collections on the superstitions and religious practices of “primitive nations” (Robertson Smith 1972: ix). Frazer’s exploration of afterlife beliefs and the worship of the dead involved what he termed a “natural theology” that all humans possess (1913: 1), demonstrating again the early anthropologist’s tendency to universalize.

Frazer’s study drew upon Australian, New Guinean, and Melanesian groups and investigated variously manifested concepts of ghosts, spirits, and the living and their relationships with the deceased. Like Tylor, he was also interested in the origins of the concept of ancestors. He attributed the origin of ancestors in human thought as beginning with the appearance of images of the dead in dreams, a theme which retains a significant place in many later studies (Frazer 1913: 27). A recent article on ancient Near Eastern dream interpretation, in fact, cites a renewed interest in studies of dreaming as part of the modern trend of interdisciplinary inquiry (Noegel 2001: 45). The history of the idea of experiencing and communicating with the dead in dreams, will be explored later in this thesis, in relation to ancient Near Eastern references to ghosts in dreams, and oneiromancy in the texts.

Frazer’s interpretative anthologies of cross-cultural rituals, clearly drew on and shared the influences of Usener and the German scholarly school in his own theories about magic and religion. Rather than primarily viewing magic as the non-urban, primitive behavioral system which had so dismayed German philologists bent on the higher nature of ancient Greek culture, Frazer created a model that separated magic, religion and science according to the intention, rationality and autonomy of the agent. One interesting feature of his work was the extent to which he recast views concerning magic as relating only to primitive people, which had posed problems for some in relation to studies of ancient civilizations with organized religions. His work rather shifted focus away to explorations of religion and magic in terms of intentionality and rationality. Tylor and Frazer combined a variety of approaches to studies of religion and magic, a method similar to modern post-processual approaches to archaeology.



Frazer also contributed to the development of mortuary archaeology with his studies of death and burial. He documented rites that he believed demonstrated a universal fear of the corpse, as well as a range of beliefs in the soul and the afterlife (Tylor 1871; Frazer 1933). Frazer's development of Tylor's work was also in turn to influence the development of functionalist anthropology, which occupied a dominant role in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was, in turn, highly influential on archaeological thinking.

Within a functionalist context, anthropologists such as Evans-Pritchard could expressly address issues of magic, religion, witchcraft, ritual and belief. Evans-Pritchard approached his famous 1929 study of Trobriand and Zande witchcraft and magic in the functionalist manner. Primitive religion was deemed an appropriate field of study. Evans-Pritchard later published *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965), proving that sophisticated anthropologists still thought they could wrestle with such issues. Many archaeologists were increasingly hostile to the idea that science could or should deal with intangibles like religion and belief. They agreed with Hawkes (1954) that we could not really aspire to study things like religion in archaeology or prehistory. These attitudes helped to create the processual school of thought, which increasingly relied on specific studies from empirical data sets.

Emile Durkheim, a social anthropologist and founder of the functional school of anthropology, located the origin of religion in social structure rather than belief. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915), he also took more complex views of burial practices and differentiated between funeral rites, rites of mourning, cults of the dead and ancestor cults. He was building on early work by Fustel de Coulanges, who had already discussed notions of the wandering soul and death, the body and burial, and religious rites, as well as ancestor worship and the family tomb, in *The Ancient City* (1882: 9-27). Durkheim lent less importance to ancestor rites than Fustel de Coulanges, who had associated the significance of funeral rites to specific kinship structure (Bartel 1982: 33). Durkheim (1915) regarded death as social loss (cf. also Goody 1962: 19; Palgi and Abramovich 1984: 389-390). However, he also identified that emotion was a key component of a religious ceremony, and that the emotional intensity of funeral rituals was widely acknowledged (Metcalf and Huntington 1991: 43-61; Kroeber 1927). Evans-

Pritchard suggested that this side of religion was not to be taken seriously, associating religion with emotional excitement in groups and crowd hysteria (1965: 68).

Marcel Mauss (Durkheim's nephew) was a social evolutionist who furthered exploration of the concepts of magic in ancient thought. He formulated his model of understanding belief by contrasting what people did in practice or ritual, with what they *thought* they did, an *etic* and *emic* approach (Mauss 1972; Graf 1997: 15; Melas 1989: 137).

Functionalist approaches also shaped the direction in which research developed in other ways. Radcliffe-Brown, for example, viewed death as a loss of social unity, loss of constituent parts of the group and something to require reconstitution. Although he acknowledged sentiment as part of the death experience, he found the true function of ritual and ceremony in society to be the transmission of appropriate emotion in the context of societal customs, not individuals' emotions (Radcliffe-Brown 1922 [1948]; Bartel 1982; Palgi and Abramovich 1984: 390). He also rejected the idea of fear of the corpse.

However, other approaches to death and burial coexisted with dominant themes in academic anthropology. In 1930, another study of burial practices, Effie Bendann's *Death Customs: An Analytical Study of Burial Rites*, produced a critique of the theories of social evolutionists and functionalist anthropologists, including Spencer, Tylor, Frazer, Bastian, and Durkheim. Bendann's work compiled observation of behaviors associated with death, but she also correlated her interpretation of social funerary patterns with psychological influences, due to the publication of Freud's work on dreams (1913) and fear of the dead. Common features relating to death and mortuary practices were found in Indian, Siberian, Melanesian and Australian societies, which Bendann attributed either to psychological uniformity, or, as being conceived independently. No clear conclusions were established, nor were any reached about age, sex, status or kinship in relation to burials, although these were all found to be important in each society (p. 268-283). Bendann did find that similarity within groups is not genetic, but due to psychological and sociological influences. Her work is also interesting for the variety of elements of funerary practices she investigates, including

women's roles, funerary feasts, ideas of life after death, rank, disposal of the dead and fear of spirits.

Bendann's is an impressive early compendium of cross-cultural burial practices, ancestor spirits and ghosts. Her work, like Frazer's, can be considered a forerunner of the cross-cultural method, with ethnographical accounts forming data sets for further theory in archaeology. Bendann chose her ethnographies for quality. Ethnographic analogy in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century became widespread. For the most part, the ethnographies were untestable, although some scholars were able to revisit the work of early anthropologists, making new observations in the field.

Frazer's theories did not survive the influence of his student, Bronislaw Malinowski, whose work on the Trobriand Islanders approached not only origins, but was also concerned with the function of magic and religion in society (Malinowski 1992 [1948]). In addition, Malinowski's work attributed pragmatic and empirical objectives and functions to magic and science or technology. This approach made a very significant contribution to mortuary archaeology in the Trobriand Islanders study, where Malinowski examined mortuary practices, Trobriander concepts of ghost, spirit and malign haunting of the corpse, journey to the netherworld, communion between the living and the dead, as well as ancestor belief and ritual (1992: 149-211; for overviews of similar studies, see also Child and Child 1993: 165-186, and Barley 1995).

Both historians and archaeologists interpret the human past. Yet, while anthropology and history may share discourse, and archaeology has been said to be forever bound to anthropology, archaeologists and historians have tended to operate in discrete arenas (Morris 2000: 18). Perhaps, however, it is more precise to locate the divide as lying between prehistoric archaeologists and others.

In 1912, Gustav Kossina (*Die deutsche Vorgeschichte*), independently of (or actually, rejected by) the German academy, suggested that archaeologists could recover cultural origins (*Kultur*) better than philologists, by interpreting similar groups of material remains as evidence of ethnicities in German folk culture. By the 1920's, the British were also viewing typologies of groups exhibiting recurring traits as material expressions of a cultural group. The causes of these similarities were still attributed mainly to migration and the diffusion of groups (Morris 2000: 9-24).

Childe articulated the association of a complex of shared (material) traits with a shared ethnic group (culture), in *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929), combining methods of empiricism, a diffuse knowledge of cultural groups, and Marxist ideology. But in spite of Childe's theories using methods from archaeology and history, the two fields remained separate as far as archaeologists were concerned. American archaeologists, using seriation, developed chronologies for North American indigenous cultures in the fashion of Childe (1945), while culture historians classified burials to define cultural affiliations, rather than investigate what the burials actually meant. The school of culture-historical archaeology dealt predominately with prehistoric archaeology. Culture history sought to define shared cultures by shared cultural traits and mortuary practices were a key element in this interpretation. But while recurring traits may seem to result from the same thing, it was not considered if that was, in fact, how mortuary practices 'worked'. Aspects of belief and meaning were not germane to culture-historical views.

Twentieth century archaeology at this point was still 'stuck in the mud' of 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas of culture history. Mesopotamian archaeology, like classical archaeology, clung to the methods of culture history that had developed from antiquarianism. At present there are two main theoretical approaches to Mesopotamian archaeology: culture-historical (predominately European) and anthropological archaeology (mainly a North American view) (Matthews 2003: 19). However, Mesopotamian archaeologists have not tended in the past to engage in explicit theoretical debates about the meaning of their work, nor do they often define the theoretical position behind their work. Susan Pollock amusingly called the majority of the work of Mesopotamian archaeologists 'starkly atheoretical' (1992: 301). We will see, however, a few signs of change since her remark later on in this thesis.

#### **2.1.4 Twentieth Century Theories of Burial Archaeology**

Understanding the meaning of death and burial was not a major concern of culture-historical archaeologists. But in 1927 Kroeber's article *Disposal of the Dead* made some major statements about emotion and mortuary archaeology. He questioned whether burial practices were good indicators of cultural groupings. In

his studies of aboriginal Californian groups, Kroeber explored diversity and change in corpse disposal, particularly differentiation between inhumation and cremation, and considered if it was due to contact with other societies. Kroeber found that the distribution of burial and cremation customs failed to conform to the distribution of other culture traits in the area and, additionally, was oddly irregular (1927: 308). He viewed the mortuary practices of these native societies as having occurred in isolation, which he called “detachment”, from social, biological, emotional and psychological factors, and indeed as uncorrelated to the other customs and practices of their own cultures (Kroeber 1927: 314; Bartel 1982: 49; Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 2). Kroeber noted variable burial modes could occur within a stable cultural group, something we see in Mesopotamia (1927: 309-313).

Intending to emphasize that burial customs were variable within cultures, and not rooted in longstanding deep tradition, Kroeber’s analogy of mortuary variability as a product of “fashions of dress, luxury and etiquette” perhaps unintentionally drew focus away from the main thrust of his views on mortuary customs (1927: 314). He attributed this variability to isolation from the remainder of the culture, to a high degree of entry into consciousness and to strong emotional toning. He particularly noted that mortuary practices were disassociated from cultural and economic cultural factors, another dramatic claim. This seems the opposite of what would be expected.

Kroeber also felt that disposal of the dead was unconnected to activities that were constant parts of life and tended to become interrelated. He did not find connections with codified, formal behaviors, like religion, social organization or law. Therefore he found the means of disposing of the corpse and associated features of activities, customs or rites, were something quite apart from life, isolated from those areas that require systemized and interconnected social relationships. Rather than burial rites as a highly social, meaningful (demarcated by stable patterning), and perhaps socially regenerative activity, Kroeber found instead changeable burial styles, seemingly uncalibrated to powerful mourning emotions.

Correspondingly, he questioned whether “affect-laden” mortuary practices were variable or unstable and if so, did less emotion reflect more stability. Were less emotionally intense and more stable burial practices indicative of more

cohesive societies? Believing that concomitant with death came a powerful release of emotions, Kroeber asserted that mortuary customs ought to be stabilizers (1927: 313-314). Newer work has questioned the idea that all individuals and all cultures experience the same emotional impact from a death (Tarlow 2000; Walker and Thompson 2009: 129-146).

Kroeber's views had very little impact at the time, however some scholars have re-adopted Kroeber's views in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. His work was influential in cautioning against the social interpretation approach to funerary behaviors, however. Aubrey Cannon later used Kroeber's views about mortuary 'fashions' as a basis for his comparative based study of *The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment*. He found cyclical display change meaningful and noted that status differentiation could result in social competition and ostentation in mortuary display (1989: 437). At this juncture, we will examine the renewal of some of these ideas from earlier explorations of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in a 21<sup>st</sup> century context.

#### **2.1.5 Old/New Theories: The Archaeology of Emotion**

It will be interesting for this study to further discuss emotion and burial ritual in light of new work in the archaeology of emotion (see especially Tarlow 1999, 2000, 2011, 2012). Cultural meaning and social emotional values associated with funerary deposition may be more readily apparent to the archaeologist than are individual expressions of emotion surrounding death (Tarlow 2000: 728). Developing a language of emotion, perhaps from the language of the ritual context, may apply in funerary contexts. In any case, this field of archaeological thought is promising, not least because a variety of sociological, historical and anthropological viewpoints can be added to the debate. Since the move away from Frazerian ideas, many traditions of archaeological research were not interested in the area of the emotion involved in funerary ritual. It will be exciting to see how some early sociological theories and the very earliest anthropological researches may be found to again be part of the discourse on death, burial and emotion in archaeology. Researchers have renewed interest in emotion, expanding the work of anthropologists outlined earlier in this chapter, with new interdisciplinary studies. In the ancient Near Eastern context, Mithen (early prehistory in Western

Asia, and Johnson (Choga Mish and Susa, Iran) look at these same ideas in the context of cognitive science and religion (Johnson 2004; Mithen 2004).

Today, too, an important avenue for understanding an archaeology of emotion is the work of cognitive psychologists of religion, such as Boyer (2001), Whitehouse and Martin (2004) Sanderson (2008), Culley (2008), Whitley (1998), and Whitley and Hays-Gilpin (2008). Whitley, for example, draws correlations between emotion and ritual in prehistoric archaeology. Noting the hypothetical, early-days nature of the field, he found connections between group rituals and the generation of measurable emotion. Whitley finds that human beings are hard-wired to seek and, indeed, desire, the emotional states engendered by such rituals. Seeking the origins of religious experience, like emotion, in the neurosciences, will not concern us in detail, but it is interesting to consider ritual from a cognitive approach to the origins of religion (Boyer 2001; Renfrew 1994; Renfrew 2008). Whitley associates ritual as generative of emotion and believes that empirical evidence supports emotion as actually produced and intensified by ritual, rather than rituals as generated from emotion. While much of this research originated and is used in studies of shamanic religions and altered states of consciousness-type ritual (e.g. Mithen, 1996; Lewis-Williams 2002; Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2005), Whitley posits similar emotional reactions, although at a lesser strength, with non-shamanistic religions as well.

Newer quantitative studies of emotion from a variety of disciplines have burgeoned, linking psychology, neuroscience and social psychology (for overviews see Adolphs 2010 and Parkinson 2011). Ekman's classic work on facial imagery and emotion in the 1980's influenced new biological approaches (Ekman 1980; 1984; Tarlow 2000: 715-719). Quantitative studies on emotions research include physiological changes, behavior-genetic analyses, and reflex-cortex analysis of pleasant-unpleasant experience and arousal (Zajonc and McIntosh 1992; Gabbay 1992; Rochman 2013; Lang, Bradley, and Cuthbert 1992).

Kroeber, as we have seen above, explored the idea of the affects of high-intensity emotion with burial ritual (1927). To take this idea a bit further, a new approach could apply to this study as well. Where ritual is seen as a productive factor in mortuary behavior, evidence of the pragmatic elements for performance of ritual could be indicated by, for example, in ritual furnishings. In other words, in

seeking the interaction of family members with their dead in ancient Mesopotamia, we may view grave goods (e.g. foods, cups and bowls) as part of the actual family ritual, rather than only as implements for the use of the deceased. This question is often discussed in relation to grave goods, but the cognitive approach may indicate for more manipulation of high affect emotion, rather than as the result of temporary feelings. We may consider such theory with the performance of family ritual for the dead as a much deeper cognitive experience than mere sentiment. In other words, ask if the ritual may drive the emotion, rather than emotion necessitating the ceremonial aspect – or, more likely, is it a combination of both? This would bring a more definite clarity to the purpose of the Mesopotamian ritual as being for the living, not only for the dead, and therefore impact the supposition that the ghost is malevolent and in need of appeasement. This idea may also have implications for the type of study Kroeber initiated, and could be explored as a methodology for other evaluations of interment features.

Kroeber's observation that the intensity of feeling associated with death in a stable culture would not be manifest in a durable tradition of similar burial customs, is interesting in regard to the well attested, wide variability of Mesopotamian grave types (Strommenger 1964 and 1957-1971; Potts 1997). Another newer methodology, called Continuing Bonds Theory, will be discussed at the end of this chapter. The possibility of its use for evaluation of emotion in funeral ritual, and its possible presence in the *kispum* ritual, will be discussed with several examples later in the thesis.

#### **2.1.6 The Meaning of Mortuary Rituals**

Two other very influential anthropologists who had great impact on the study of the meaning of mortuary rituals in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were Robert Hertz and Arnold Van Gennep. Although the greatest growth of influence on the English-speaking world did not come until the translation of their works in 1960, Hertz's 1907 *Contribution a Une Étude sur la Representation Collective de la Mort* (1960) and Van Gennep's 1908 *Les Rites de Passage* (1960) stimulated anthropological thought concerning the significance of ritual and mortuary practices in traditional societies.



Hertz examined extended mortuary rituals, secondary burial and their meanings in cross-cultural contexts, examining issues such as the concept of the fear of death in relation to mortuary practices, double burial, and transitions of the corpse, the soul and the mourners (Hertz 1960 [1907]: 27-28; Parker Pearson 2000: 22; Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 2). More than compiling facts about parts of mortuary ritual, Hertz acknowledged, like Kroeber, its intense emotion and examined the interrelations of the “complex mass of beliefs, emotions and activities” surrounding death. He emphasized that death has specific meaning in social consciousness as a complex part of the collective.

Hertz incorporated the ideas about burial practices into a tripartite classification of the body, the soul and the survivors (1960 [1907]: 29). He notes a transitory, marginal period as the soul departs to the afterlife, in which the mourning and activities of the relatives are crucial to the state of the spirit of the deceased. He noted that the living, during this intermediary period, may be the target of attacks from the “tormented soul” (1960 [1907]: 36-37). Hertz concludes that actions of the living in society are essential to belief, represent collective emotions and are requisite to reuniting the corpse (the object of the rites) with the ancestors (1960 [1907]: 83). The availability of Hertz’s study may also have impacted scholars who developed views of malevolent Mesopotamian ghosts and applied these ideas to the meaning of the *kispum* ritual. It may be useful as well to consider his ideas to investigate if any material evidence could be conclusive of belief in an intermediary period for the soul perhaps by objects placed to prevent hostile ghost activity or, as we will see, transition of the soul.

Van Gennep used comparative ethnographic accounts to develop his theory of separation, liminality and incorporation in ritual, and of course, ethnographers found his theory of rites of passage vital for understanding rituals of death. He credited earlier work by Hertz, Frazer, Diels, Dieterich and Crawley for observing similarities between funerals and other ceremonies as well, and acknowledged that Hertz approached his idea of stages in ritual with his allusion to a “transitory stage” in funerary rituals from Borneo (Van Gennep 1960 [1908]).

Van Gennep emphasized his interest in the essential significance and relative positions within the overall ceremonial rite, not only ethnographic detail. While maintaining that not all rituals are only rites of passage, he stated that

funeral ceremonies might be defensive against a hostile soul of the deceased and prophylactic against contagion from death. He also emphasized the role of the living in developing a connection with the dead by the construction of religious beliefs, including a netherworld. Van Gennep concluded that passing from one social condition to another is identified as a “territorial passage”, both in symbol and in actual physical expression in the ritual. This idea has relevance in this study for interpreting and locating the offering rites for deceased family members who pass between two realms. Van Gennep also found the liminal or postliminal phases of funerary rites more elaborate than the simpler separation stage; he believed, that with enough ethnographic detail, these patterns of the rites of passage were universal, although this has since been criticized (Laneri 2007b: 4).

Since the publication of Van Gennep’s theory of separation, liminality and incorporation, ethnographers built upon his work extensively, for example noting that, in given populations, certain stages were emphasized. Victor Turner developed Van Gennep’s theory into other areas of social organization, for example by coining the term *communitas* to describe the participants in a liminal stage of a ritual. Turner suggested a probability of innovation in ritual or belief during these stages, when participants are not bound by normal societal restrictions. He noted that intense bonds grow, that rank and status may be homogenized, and rich symbolism may create a liminality that is both the grave and the womb (Turner 1969: 95-96). He also distinguished, in the transformative liminal process, a political anthropological view of the “politico-legal-economic”, based on status or rank hierarchies in “stateless societies”, as a means of forming the generic human ties upon which society is dependent. (Turner 1969: 97).

For the purposes of this examination of burial and post-mortuary ritual, Turner’s expansion of Van Gennep’s seminal idea lends significance to the dynamic process of the ritual itself, both creating and continuing social and familial bonds, whether or not the process includes the formation of ancestral spirits. Mortuary rituals are a fundamental moment for reinforcing cohesive social bonds (Laneri 2007a: 4; Gramsch 2013). Recalling Van Gennep’s idea of the role of the communal group in connection with the deceased, Turner has also defined the activity of what he calls “liminal entities” in many cultures. He notes that this involves beliefs in the “protective and punitive powers of divine or preterhuman beings or powers” that

are close at hand during ritual transition stages (1969: 105). Strongly influential in Western anthropology, these works helped renew interest in the 1960's and 1970's in the exploration and the study of death rituals in new ethnographic studies which have in turn been quite influential (Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 3; Parker Pearson 2000: 23-24).

Hertz's concept of the human body as a microcosm of society remained influential as well (1960: 77). His view of the body as reflecting and symbolizing social values, permanence, and the challenge that death of the body brings to the social whole, were discussed further, for instance, by Douglas (1966) and Bloch (1989). Davies suggests, in light of this corporal microcosm of the social group, that the death of an individual affects the biological and social nature of human beings deeply (2002: 13). Pascal Boyer, similarly, found biological importance of death to the social group. He identifies emotion as part of the biological heritage of humans and as an aspect of our evolutionary heritage, which, in turn, affects religious belief, as discussed above (2001: 22).

Developing from prior debates and ideological separations between anthropologists, archaeologists and historians, another mid-century work, Walter Taylor's *A Study of Archaeology* (1948) provided some light in an old tunnel. He criticized the stagnation of American archaeology, delineated contradictions between anthropology and archaeology, and chastised archaeologists for creating systematic catalogues of sequences and chronologies with little insight into context. He equated ethnography with historiography, not anthropology, and stated that doing archaeology resulted in history (Taylor 1948: 43). Taylor admonished archaeologists to go beyond abstract classification of artifacts into cultural groups and think of material remains as the product of real people living in real societies. His views on historiography among archaeologists were pretty much ignored until nearly twenty years later, when his ideas influenced Lewis Binford, amongst others, to produce new approaches and ideas about archaeology, framed around critiques of the old culture history and lack of methodological rigor. Such new approaches became popularly known as the 'New Archaeology'.

### 2.1.7 Methods and Theories of New Archaeology

Arguably the most influential writing on archaeological approaches to mortuary studies of the last forty years was Arthur Saxe's 1970 unpublished dissertation, *The Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Cited ubiquitously in analyses of mortuary studies, this work provided the *dynamos* for a new school of archaeological thought. Saxe placed the study of mortuary practices, their material correlates and their social significance firmly in a functionalist setting, claiming that archaeology must be done as social anthropology or "suffer the worst of all possible fates, to be irrelevant to the development of anthropology as a sociocultural science" (1970: 2). He posited examining, through cross-cultural comparisons, how burials are related to other parts of their sociocultural systems.

Saxe proposed monitoring social complexity and types of social organization through models of sociocultural evolution. His goal was to use role theory and formal analysis to devise, construct and test models for how the treatment of the dead is related to other elements of socio-cultural systems (1970: 12). Simply put, Saxe found that social roles of the living were reflections of societal structure, and that burial remains (mortuary patterns) reflected those societies as well. Using Goodenough's terminology from role theory (1965), Saxe explored the relationship between social identity, social persona and identity relationship in a holistic study.

Saxe noted that at death, many social identities of a single individual will be apparent. At the occasion of death as well, certain social identities within identity relationships are chosen and become fixed. Those involving relationships with the greatest degree of influence, authority or power are those chosen. Saxe said that rights, duties and counterparts define the boundaries of the identity relationships. Treatment of the dead reflects the rights of the deceased and the duties of the others in various identity relationships (Saxe 1970: 5-6).

The social persona is the composite of the social identities chosen for representation at death. Saxe proposed that the type of organization and the complexity of the organization affect decisions made by the living for disposal of the dead. Saxe based some of the foundations of his study on the works of Sahlins (*Social Stratification in Polynesia*, 1958), Service (*Primitive Social Organization*,

1962), Wallace ("Culture and Cognition", 1962) and Fried (*The Evolution of Political Society*, 1967).

The societies Saxe chose to base his work upon, based on data collected by others, were the LoDagaa Ashanti, Kapauku Papuans and the Bontoc Igorot. Goody's book, *Death, Property and the Ancestors* (1962), is a seminal study of many aspects of death and death rituals among the LoDagaa and LoWiili. He examined the process of dying as well as all phases of the grieving period, mortuary rites and burial. Goody also investigated ancestor belief and the impact of the death on inheritance of property, descent group organization and kinship (1962). Saxe applied what processual anthropologists determined as experimental science to observations from existing ethnographic data, such as Goody's work. Now however, as Parker Pearson has cautioned, some of the data could not be checked for inaccuracies and hence were not experimental (2000: 30).

Basically Saxe presented his conclusions in eight statements now known as the Eight Hypotheses (Saxe 1970: 119). In sum, they said:

1. Funerary remains form a data set which may represent different social personae.
2. Social personae reveal social structure of that society and more complex societies have more dimensions (rank, social position), which cut across egalitarian principles (age, achievement, sex).
3. Less items in the grave indicate lower status. Saxe concluded that this was true in egalitarian societies and true within a social stratum for ranked societies.
4. More status probably indicates that the most prestigious (or important) social identities are represented at death. Saxe found this evidence weak.
5. The higher the degree of correlation of burial attributes, the more complex and hierarchical the society and the converse. (Saxe: Untested.)
6. The simpler the society, the more symbol components and social significance of the symbol sets. (Saxe: Needs refining.)
7. The less complex the sociocultural system, the less variation in the treatment of different types of deviant social personae and the converse. (Untested.)

8. To the degree that corporate group rights to use and/or control crucial but restricted resources are attained and/or legitimized by means of lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to the ancestors), such groups will maintain formal disposal areas for the exclusive disposal of their dead, and conversely.

Saxe's Hypothesis Eight became the theory that has drawn the most attention from other scholars and produced the most use and discussion since. Hypothesis Eight was retested by Goldstein in a dissertation studying Mississippi cemeteries in the Illinois River Valley (1980). Her new data correlated thirty ethnographic examples with Saxe's theory, but with more nuanced results. She confirmed that a permanent, bounded cemetery was one way a group could ritualize their relationship over (most probably restricted) resources. She found that the absence of the formal disposal area may not reflect social structure, but it implied corporate group burial and ancestor veneration (Goldstein 1980: 8; Goldstein 1981; Parker Pearson 2000: 30). This hypothesis, however, does not delineate when and why formal disposal areas are used to restrict resources.

In 1971, Brown published SAA 25, *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, a seminal work for processual archaeology, preceded on Saxe 1970. It approached mortuary analysis with new analytical techniques and theoretical frameworks (mostly based on anthropological theory). In this volume, an article by Binford used the concept of social persona and the relation to the deceased to state his theory of ranked societies, social complexity and status relationships (1971a). He stated that the number of distinctions manifested in the funeral practices correlated with social complexity and related this to subsistence strategy. He found that status was most commonly symbolized by symbols of office which reflected status, and by the quantities of goods contributed to the grave furnishings (1971: 23). Binford also included a critique of Kroeber's work, which Rakita and Buikstra have since pointed out as flawed (2005: 4).

Binford correlated funeral practices with subsistence practices and therefore with levels of sociopolitical complexity. The Saxe-Binford Approach became the accepted perspective: the more high status goods, the more complex the society, the more complex burial remains, the higher rank or status of the deceased. This approach is still the dominant framework for interpreting mortuary

remains in much of American archaeology, and in many quantitatively complex and theoretical publications of prehistoric burial practices in North America and the Southwest (Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 5). It is still influential in Mesopotamian archaeology as well, as we shall explore later in this chapter.

Brown's work on the mortuary practices of the Spiro Mississippian site in the same volume drew heavily from Saxe using formal analysis and paradigmatic diagrams (1971b). He also found correlations which supported ranked status with the distribution of grave goods. He concluded that "rare" (a relative term) items in burial corresponded to or indicated high status and social ranking (cf. also Peebles and Kus 1977 and Tainter 1978).

In 1981, Chapman, Kinnes and Randsborg published *The Archaeology of Death*, a collection of critiques and evolutions of processual ideas, including new perspectives on formal disposal areas in prehistory (Chapman) and spatial organization (Goldstein). Brown's article separating the burial as only one portion of the whole spectrum of ritual process is cautionary to Saxe and Binford's work on the complexity of social structure and rank as reflected in burial.

In his 1969 article, "Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains", Ucko had already observed that not all burial rites were likely to show up in the archaeological record all the time or in equal measure (1969: 268). Importantly, Ucko also noted that poor grave goods did not necessarily mean a lack of family wealth (1969: 265-267). The systematic, structural approach using quantitative methods characterizing the processual archaeologists' work, was criticized as well.

Critiques of the methods of the processual researchers included Braun (1981) who found that Tainter's quantitative analysis (1978) was subjective, with poor explanation for why one burial treatment was ranked higher than another (1981: 407). Similar to the arbitrary labeling of rare or precious items by the archaeologist, classes of objects were ranked by energy expenditure in attainment or production, relative to other classes of objects (Braun 1981: 402-403). The question remains as to how archaeologists working in the present quantify energy expenditure and define rare goods. Other criticisms of the quantitative method included aspects of mortuary behavior which could not be quantified, or variations such as spatial location of burials (McHugh 1999: 11). Further work based on Saxe

and Binford, and Goldstein and Saxe, included Charles and Buikstra on bounded cemeteries and hunter-gatherer societies (1983).

More studies which used the Saxe-Binford methodology include Beck (1995), *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis*, a collection of studies which looked beyond intrasite mortuary variability, and Carr (1995). The latter study uses new cross-cultural data, which to some extent supports certain nomothetic conclusions of Binford. Carr's quantification of less tangible aspects of mortuary practice, recovered from ethnographic data, is particularly interesting in its focus on burial ritual and establishing patterns from known, living accounts of funerals. An interesting study by Morris (1991) reaffirmed Goldstein's work, using African ethnographies. He focused on the distinction between funerary rites and ancestor cults or rituals which related to interactions between the living and dead.

#### **2.1.8 Twenty-first Century Mortuary Archaeology**

Given the attempts of the processualists to normalize the study of human behavior in its infinite variations by formal structure analysis and quantified methodologies, it seems inevitable that an opposing school of theorists would form in reaction to their research (although see Redman 1991). Vicente Lull called for a revival of a Marxist approach to burial, which includes a calculation of energy-expenditure in evaluation of the relative social value of burial labor and grave goods (Lull 2000: 579-581). Lull sees burial as a manifestation of the state of society (cf. also Hayden 2003: Ch. 1). The main influence that has become prevalent for postmodern archaeological theory, however, is postprocessual, or interpretive or contextual, archaeology.

Multiple approaches in many nuances characterize the varied theoretical interpretations of the postprocessualist era of archaeology. Such an approach incorporates all aspects, or at least uses a variety of approaches to a varied set of questions about a site, coming at an understanding from many avenues of inquiry (Charles 2008). This type of approach has opened up many new ways to explore, including revisiting ideas which were popular in the 19th century.

Postprocessualism in archaeology, then, selects from a wide variety of theoretical approaches, the unifying factor among them being mainly, their dislike of processual methods. In terms of mortuary archaeology, they saw the



processualist focus on status identification, vertical ranking and hierarchical structuring as limiting interpretations of many other factors which could have come into play in the mortuary arena. Cross-cultural generalizations in archaeology, especially, were found to be misleading. Specific context and specific cultural and historical traditions in context are necessary for proper interpretation. Multi-theoretical approaches, then reveal a much more profound knowledge about social groups (Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 7; Robb 2013).

One of the most influential archaeologists working in this century in contextual archaeology (postprocessual approach) is Ian Hodder. Contextual archaeology involves the reconstruction of people's ideas, intentions and the meaning of the past from the archaeological record. Hodder claims that some of the methods processualists employ from the natural sciences are inappropriate for studies of human culture because they make cross-cultural generalizations. Contextual archaeology recognizes that material culture is modified by the ideas and beliefs of its users or makers. The material record is hardly a static cultural text; multiple readings are possible, translation of the tangible is a process (Tilley 1991; Hodder 1986). All objects and artifacts reflect, even if unconsciously, the attitudes and norms of people in the past. Hodder sees everything in the material record, even the profoundly practical, as symbolic, or perhaps, better, a carrier of symbol (1986). Ideology is seen as reflected in everything the archaeologist examines.

Kosso summarizes contextual archaeology as the investigation of material things, the way they are organized and manifest societal structure, including nonphysical ideas and intentions of individuals. (1991: 624). In order to understand the structure, the system has to be understood. Objects are signifiers of ideas, but the underlying ideological context must be understood. Material culture must be approached with a variety of new theories to gain understanding about deeper and more profound meaning about mortuary practices and beliefs (e.g. Knappett 2005; Jones 2002). The body is also seen as a repository and representation of cultural information (e.g. Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008; Tarlow 2011: 6-7, 130-132; Gramsch 2013; Robb 2013). This type of approach seeks to find much deeper meaning about individuals and social groups, including

beliefs and intangible ideas, such as death, from material remains (Harris and Sørensen 2010; Rowan 2012; Tarlow 2013).

As opposed to the processual emphasis on systems models, quantification, empirical data and defining the past in terms of behaviors derived from data systems, the post-processual school has argued for reconstituting cultural meaning in human terms, exclusive of evolutionary theories and generalist explanations, and inclusive of all members of groups as interactive contributors to social meaning and formation of the societal whole.

### **2.1.9 Summary of Mortuary Archaeology: Origins and Influences**

In this section we have looked at an overview of the development of mortuary archaeology in terms of several influences. Mesopotamian archaeology and classical archaeology shared many traits in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not least of which was an interest in the origins of religions. This included particularly the nature of religious practices in the ancient Mediterranean and cultures known from the Bible. Anthropological theories on the origins of religions and ethnographic research of many traditional cultures led to theories of “primitive” religions and magic. As the fields of anthropology and archaeology developed during the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the study of death practices and recovery of artifacts from burials led to an interest in social theory reflective of information gained from mortuary contexts. Classical archaeology, with the discovery of Greco-Roman magic texts, led scholars to reevaluate ancient Greek culture with more anthropological views and openness to actual cultural traits, rather than prior histories based on literary texts. Mesopotamian archaeology, too, was affected by excavations and translations of cuneiform tablets which revealed different information than was available from myth and literary texts. The influence of magico-religious researches, then, in anthropology, archaeology, classical philology and Mesopotamian studies, was a factor in developing mortuary archaeology. This was partly due as well, because much of the information coming to light was from the mortuary context of ethnographies and in the context of burials.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many ethnographic researches into burial customs and mortuary practices contributed mountains of evidence to Western knowledge about death. These studies provided data for archaeological research and the

development of theories about death, funerary rites, burial practices, ancestors, social structure, social ranking, hierarchies, political and economic theories, and the like. So-called “processual” archaeologists quantified and interpreted the data to develop cross-cultural generalizations, including for theories of mortuary archaeology. Key theories were developed directly from data collected from prior, and mostly, unrepeatable ethnographic studies.

The last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century produced a large body of works from a variety of theoretical viewpoints that are prominent today in many areas of mortuary archaeology. This type of approach, called postprocessualism, is really the use of many approaches and methods to try to gain knowledge about how societies really functioned, what was the meaning behind their ritual practices, funerary behaviors and burials, and other reconstructions about context from material remains.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century archaeologists are applying many avenues of research to mortuary archaeology from a wide range of fields of anthropological, sociological, physical and forensic sciences, paleobiology, paleobotany, gender studies, the archaeology of emotion, socio-psychological studies of death and dying, remembrance and social memory, to name a few. For a variety of reasons, some feel the study of religion and archaeology in postprocessualism has been neglected (Insoll 2001; Insoll 2004a: 3-5). However, the 21<sup>st</sup> century has only entered its second decade.

Using comparative ancient material remains including examples from texts, houses, and graves, this thesis will examine the mortuary context of a particular death ritual in its context within the family in Mesopotamian society by employing a multilayered approach from the fields of archaeology, the archaeology of emotion, commemoration and memory studies, the anthropology of religion and ritual studies, contemporary death, dying and grief studies. It signals, in so doing, a return in modern mortuary archaeology to some of its 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropological roots in studies of magic and religion.

In the next part of this chapter I will discuss mortuary archaeology specifically in a Mesopotamian context, referring especially to more recent studies which utilize methods and theories from a variety of approaches. The second main section in this chapter will include an overview of the development of archaeology

in Mesopotamia, in particular mortuary archaeology, and treatments of Near Eastern mortuary practices in the literature.

## **2.2 Mortuary Archaeology in Mesopotamia – Introduction**

Mortuary archaeology in the ancient Near East, as noted above, was slower to begin to demonstrate the impact of the general debates on mortuary archaeology summarized above. Also the development of Mesopotamian archaeology took a different trajectory than in other areas of the globe due to strong influences from a focus on biblical correlates, as well as a strong dependence on cuneiform literature. It is useful, therefore, to consider a brief summary of archaeological beginnings in the Middle East because these influences have also impacted interpretation of funerary archaeology and texts. In this section, mortuary archaeology in Mesopotamia is approached with a selection of examples pertaining more specifically to the discussions in this thesis.

### **2.2.1 Mesopotamian Archaeology and Textual Influences**

Archaeology in Mesopotamia had been, as a result of the early travelers in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> and dramatic discoveries of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, mainly driven by the goal of excavating biblical origins. For many, Old Testament accounts of the patriarchs, the punitive collapse of Babylon and Nineveh due to Assyrian and Babylonian forays into the Levant, and the diaspora of the Jewish people into Babylonian exile, formed the whole of known Mesopotamian history. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, the first recorded European traveler to Mesopotamia was a Jewish rabbi from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela, who was motivated by his heritage and a desire to see where the Jews of the diaspora lived across Europe and Asia. He visited sacred spots in Palestine, went to Nineveh and visited the ruins of Babylon, where he claimed he had seen Nebuchadnezzar's palace, located the Tower of Babel, and wrote that the local synagogue had been built by the prophet Daniel (Rogers 1900; Croucher 2012). Records of medieval Islamic historians and geographers about the actual locations of these ancient cities were largely ignored (Bernhardsson 2005: 29-38). With the translation of cuneiform in the mid-1800s, especially, early archaeological accounts often couched interpretation and evidence in terms of biblical parallels (Sayce 1903; Jeremias 1902; Hilprecht

1910). The large-scale excavations at Ur (1934) and Tell 'Ubaid (1927) by Woolley, earlier work at Babylon by Rich (1815), from 1842-1854, Botta, Fresnel and Oppert, at Nimrud, at Nineveh by Layard (1850), and at Nippur by Peters (1897) and Hilprecht (1904), were also to some extent fueled and funded by their relation to biblical studies and the search for antiquities to fill museums. In the imagination of the earliest Western excavators, the biblical landscape became annexed to their privileged (non-Islamic) roots (Holloway 2006). Artifacts from the Royal Cemetery at Ur and the Assyrian sculptural reliefs from Nineveh brought awareness of Mesopotamia to Europe and America. The history of Mesopotamia, in particular its religious legacy, became somehow appropriated by the West (Bohrer 2006; Frahm 2006).

German excavations at Babylon and Assur by Koldewey and Andrae in the early 1900s standardized techniques for excavating mudbrick and developing and applying archaeological stratigraphy. Along with Petrie's methods of ceramic typology, these methodologies revolutionized Mesopotamian archaeology. Increased excavation in the Middle East after World War I helped continue to focus the study of the past on people and their shared culture, rather than on the art and artifacts, which had been shipped out of the Middle East to museums and collectors. A growing awareness of cultural heritage and nationalism in the Middle East, particularly in Iraq, eventually curtailed the outflow of cultural property in the 1930s. Woolley's researches continued to be situated within the cultural historical framework of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially with his emphasis on connections to the Bible at Ur (Matthews 2003: 12-15).

Another factor, which developed early with the early translations of cuneiform tablets found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was the intellectual split between Assyriologists and archaeologists working in the historical periods. Until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, written documentation from exploration, scriptural sources and texts or inscriptions (including classical ones) had predominately informed the early study of the ancient Near Eastern past (Masry 1981: 222-225; Michalowski 1986; Foster 2006; Younger 2006). Some historians and Assyriologists claimed the authority of the text as predominant over the archaeology, although often the context or provenience of the tablet remained

unknown (Bottéro 1992; Snell 2005). Now, the limitations of the text and the value of archaeology are generally acknowledged (Halla 1990).

A dependence and over-reliance on textual material also further discourages application of newer theories and methods to excavations of time periods which are well provisioned with tablets. By the late 1990s Van De Mieroop (1997) and Zettler (1996), among others, decried these attitudes, and some major reevaluations of excavations and conclusions from purely text-based studies have since appeared. The early translations of cuneiform texts, however, which provided netherworld descriptions and funerary material, especially in literature related to deities and dead kings, remained a dominant force in influencing the interpretation of burial practices and the more general development of mortuary archaeology (e.g. Jeremias 1902). These attitudes, seen for example in early studies of origins of resurrection, heaven or hell, continue to figure prominently in ancient Near Eastern scholarship (Tromp 1969; Bernstein 1993; Wright 2000; Hallote 2001; Johnston 2002; Sanders 2009; Studevent-Hickman 2009).

This brief introduction does not attempt to take into more recent, wider accounts of social, economic, diplomatic, military and political history, nor renewed periods of nationalism in the region, which have been well reported by others (e.g. Pollock 1999: 10-27; Matthews 2003; Gates 2005; Holloway 2006; Stone and Bajjaly 2008; Croucher 2012). However, its purpose is to emphasize the great impact that biblical studies, usually based on methods shared with classical studies, interlinked with a reliance on cuneiform textual studies, have had both on general attitudes to archaeological data as well as interpretations of evidence. Archaeology in Mesopotamia was uniquely affected by these special circumstances.

Keeping this in mind, the interpretation of materials, architecture, and cuneiform tablets from the great Assyrian, Babylonian and Sumerian cities were founded in archaeological theories of social evolutionary theory and culture-group history. By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century it was commonly much influenced by Childe's research [1929, 1945, 1953 [1969]]. Through the mid-century, influential Mesopotamianists, such as Thorkild Jacobsen and Henri Frankfort approached archaeological thought backed by textual knowledge in a way more akin to today's methods with the publication of *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of*

*Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* in 1946 (Wengrow 1999). Works such as this, *Towards the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture* (Jacobsen 1970), and *Treasures of Darkness* (Jacobsen 1976) now seem well ahead of their time in their ability to integrate archaeology with textual studies of history and religion.

The excavations in Mesopotamia through the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century however, produced a categorization of sites and chronological and classification systems for the Near East based on the material culture of type sites (e.g. Halaf, Hassuna, Ubaid, Uruk), still found in use today, although widely augmented and adapted on the basis of more recent discoveries. Other early discoveries have also remained very influential in more recent perceptions. As such, discussions of funerary archaeology in Mesopotamia became perhaps stereotyped and subsequently measured by the many spectacular finds at The Royal Cemetery of Ur made in the 1920s. The results of Woolley's work are still inspiring many interesting, timely reinterpretations and active debates with newer methods (Barrelet 1980; Winter 1999; Cohen 2005; Pollock 2007; Miller 2013).

For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, wider debates concerning 'archaeological theory' made limited impact on the study of Mesopotamia; instead the focus maintained a more empirical interest in the development of more accurate and careful excavation techniques, especially the application of stratigraphic and eventually, microstratigraphic analyses (Buccellati 1979: 19-23; Masry 1981: 231-233; Postgate 1992; Trigger 1999). Still, on a broader base, interpretive theory has remained quite Eurocentric and with a broadly culture-historical framework (Liverani 1999: 3-4). However, Mesopotamian archaeology has also benefited from some influences drawing on North American theories of anthropological archaeology and combined these views with culture history in working practice (Matthews 2003: 19-23).

### **2.2.2 Processualism and Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology**

With consistently increasing sophistication of data collection and interpretative approaches, Mesopotamian scholarship began to develop in new directions. New theories of archaeology, then termed the 'New Archaeology' and later called processualist approaches, developed in other geographical areas

(Redman 1991). Cultural behavior and change was now seen to be a product of many interlinking social, economic, political and religious subsystems which interacted with broader systems, such as climate, environment, or demographics (e.g. Binford 1962; Saxe 1970; Brown 1971a-b; Tainter 1978; see review in Trigger 1999).

The study of mortuary practices in the Near East was also strongly influenced by such new approaches with a growing interest in the study of social (particularly hierarchical) organization and status, with unequal access to resources. Burials and grave goods were again seen primarily as markers of wealth and rank, sometimes maintained even in death. One of the earliest of such studies to appear was Forest's *Les pratiques funéraires en Mésopotamie du 5<sup>e</sup> millénaire au début du 3<sup>e</sup>, étude de cas* in 1983, which examined sites such as Ur and Tepe Gawra in the early periods. While this volume included a section on theory, it was mainly a compilation of mortuary data for those sites. Employing the newer theoretical methods in the archaeology of the Near East more directly, *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East* was published in 1995, with chapters on mortuary archaeology from the Paleolithic to Islamic eras in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey and the Levant (Campbell and Green 1995). This volume emphasized the potential for the study of social variability from mortuary analyses. The chapter by Carter and Parker on varied grave types is very useful and some of its data is reflected in Fig. 23 (1995: 96-115). This volume reflects attitudes and practices that are still influential today in Near Eastern mortuary archaeology.

Two influential volumes of text-based studies relating to a range of mortuary issues in Mesopotamia appeared earlier than the archaeological volumes cited above. In 1980, an edited volume was produced as the outcome of the 1979 *XXVI<sup>e</sup> Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, called *Death in Mesopotamia* (Alster 1980). This conference dealt with a broad range of topics across the geographical and chronological spectrum of the ancient Near East. In particular, several authors address the *kispum* ritual (e.g. Birot, Skaist, Foxvog, Tsukimoto). This volume remains valuable for conceptual notions of death and the afterlife in Mesopotamia.

The second volume is a book on *kispum* ritual, still definitive to this date, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (Tsukimoto 1985). The book covers a broad range of textual evidence for *kispum* in various



contexts and gathers available texts from different periods of Mesopotamian history. Tsukimoto emphasizes the repetitive nature of the ritual as “care for the dead”, rather than “grave gifts”, which imply deposition at interment. He only briefly mentions the feelings of the living for the dead, and does not explore further the theoretical basis for the idea of bonds between the living and dead. In some ways these two Assyriological and Sumerological studies came closer to current scholarship on death in a more multidimensional view than was found in the work of most Mesopotamian archaeologists during that time.

In the context of processualist methodologies, issues relating to sedentarism, agriculture, urbanism and states, were seen in the context of social evolution and its interrelation with increased social stratification. But most Mesopotamian mortuary archaeology was still focused primarily on social hierarchy as demonstrated by material wealth, and accepted evolutionary classifications of egalitarian (bands, tribes) and ranked (chiefdoms, states) societies (Service 1962; Fried 1967). In many respects, it still is, however in the last decade more discussions are contextually based, taking into consideration newer theories, multidisciplinary postprocessual methods and interpretations.

The scientific approaches that attempted to understand social change in developing complex societies have proven especially relevant to mortuary studies of early transitional Neolithic sites in the Near East. This can especially be seen in excavations exhibiting selective treatment of skulls, reburial or secondary burial (Mithen 2004; Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007). While such practices have traditionally been associated with ‘ancestor veneration’, they have also been tied to elite social hierarchies, albeit with an often uncertain conceptualization of what ‘ancestors’ might be (e.g. Boyd 1995; Guerrero et al. 2009). The detail and extensive data available for this period and region are outside the scope of this study, but some excellent overviews have recently appeared, for example in *Death and Dying in the Neolithic Near East* (Croucher 2012: 17-62).

Many ancient Near Eastern archaeologists still remain primarily concerned with the ways in which focused mortuary practices may reflect social hierarchies, or more universal theories of ritual and mortuary behaviors. Some may also seem skeptical of theories that seek to investigate other social issues, such as ideas of the role of the living, families, social memory, gender roles or emotional archaeology.

Mesopotamian burial practices were, and are, often seen to reflect the social complexity of developing societies and states, weighing heavily the evidence for status differences on size of grave type, architecture, wealthy grave goods, or exotic traded materials (Schwartz 1986: 45-60).

The bases for such analyses have also often remained poorly theorized. Importantly, interpretations of wealth and resource control often seem grounded in 'common sense' understandings based on Western parallels, rather than a consideration of different social values or factors, sensitive to their ancient Near Eastern context. Such factors, for example, include forms of status based on ritual or religious power, group interactions, networks of exchange, types of subsistence, kinship or special knowledge or skills. Such issues are explored in a number of more recent studies (e.g. Yoffee 2005: 196-227; Porter 2009; Baker 2012: 25-27; Croucher 2012: 71-74).

### **2.2.3 Postprocessualist Methods in Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology**

Postprocessualist approaches have also had a significant impact on Near Eastern mortuary archaeology. Initially catalyzed by Hodder's *Reading the Past* (1986), theories of contextual and postprocessual archaeology are now actively accepted in Near Eastern mortuary archaeology. The role of the interpreter, assumptions made about artifacts, gender, family, meaning and the role of the living and the dead, have become a part of archaeological interpretation in Mesopotamian studies. Many archaeological approaches are employed to revisit, reconstruct and build newer, broader interpretations of the past (Preucel and Hodder 1996; Preucel and Mrozowski 2010). One of the ways postprocessualist methodology has affected the understanding and interpretation of excavated artifacts, is through the analysis of material culture.

The material remains of culture are now understood as polysemous, active, reflective of agency, able to be manipulated, controlled and carry meaning well beyond their immediate and apparent function (as qualified by the modern observer) (Climo and Cattell 2000; Matney 2010; Porter 2010a; Rowan 2012). In relation to mortuary archaeology, for example, grave goods, which previously may have been regarded as a vague set of offerings or gifts, provided for the afterlife journey, can now also be a focus for study in relation to their material roles and the

roles of the living in the funerary process. There is also a more widespread recognition that funerary treatments were done by the survivors, and that funerary ritual can be multi-faceted, not least in terms of the possible renegotiation of identities in death (Parker Pearson 2000; Arnold and Wicker; Brown 2007).

Material culture, in its many forms, carries symbolic messages, communicates identities, conveys and transmits meaning, and influences groups and their behaviors (Hodder 1987; Rowan 2012). DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle have articulated how ideology is an important source of social power, particularly in complex societies, and that material culture provided a tangible way to create and express meaning (1996). Their work is significant for how we may interpret ideological statements and their material manifestations in ancient Mesopotamia. They argue that ideologies assume concrete, physical form through the materialization of ideology, and the active use of material culture. Materialized ideology influences or molds individual beliefs, which can be extrapolated to collective action. Materialized ideologies can take the form of symbolism in objects, monuments, writing systems and ceremonial or ritual events (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 16-19). Such public expressions of ideology may also be recognized on the state level, for example, in the construction of a ziggurat, or the stela of Naram-Sin, which shows the king with the headdress of a god (Pollock 1999: 173-195).

In a similar fashion, Gerdien Jonker has successfully explored the production and imagery of cultural memory in *The Topography of Remembrance: The dead, tradition and collective memory in Mesopotamia* (1995). Jonker defines a 'Mesopotamian' concept of the world as independent of time period or locale. The topography of their culture was perceived through the lens of the past, both materially visible and mentally imagined, and passed down through the generations (Jonker 1995: 37). The dead had their place in this. The place of the dead in the memory structure of the family, although in a different dimension, was secured through the *kispum* ritual (Jonker 1995: 187-192). As part of this mental geography, conceptions of the nature of the cosmos factored prominently in the Mesopotamian worldview. They are thus explored here in more detail in Chapter 3. If we view the *kispum* ritual as part of the materialized ideology of the self-conception of the family within their broader view of the cosmos, we can postulate

that the bond between the living and the dead was maintained, at least in the perceived ideology of the family.

Funerary ideology could also contribute to collective public meaning and be manipulated, for example as seen by *kispum* rituals performed for the ancestors of kings at cities such as Mari and Ebla (Biro 1980; Archi 1988; Porter 2009). These rituals (even if not directly visible to the general population) usually served as a means to ground the ruling dynasty in ancestral ties to the kingship, but could also legitimate usurpers or connect the king religiously to the office. Other elite public and temple *kispum* rituals that were part of a repeated annual celebration of the dead, were probably similarly perceived, or at least, functioned in the context of corporate group identity.

On a private, family level, however, funerary practices may manifest themselves differently in the material culture as well as in the written record. In many graves in Mesopotamia, there may be few or no grave goods, varied burial methods, little or no evidence of ritual at the gravesite, or perhaps no visible evidence recorded at the time of excavation (Schwartz 1986). There is also variation in the location of burials. Material manifestations of religious belief and ritual are perhaps the most elusive archaeologically, a subject that has been addressed in many treatments and from many viewpoints, most recently the perspective of cognitive theory (e.g. Renfrew 1994; Parker Pearson 2000; McCauley and Lawson 2002; Insoll 2004b, 2008; Johnson 2004; Mithen 2004; Whitehouse 2004).

Laneri, according to methods of cognitive studies, suggests that the relationships between the context of elements in funerary ritual, the creation and use of symbolic objects, the food, the landscape, buildings and the agents are part of systems which provide frameworks of meaning for the participants (2011b: 77-79). In an example of postprocessual methodology, Laneri reconstructs a network of meanings for sensorial materialization of religious beliefs for an upper Tigris Middle Bronze Age (2<sup>nd</sup> millennium) site at Hirbemerdon Tepe (2011b: 88-90). In examination of clay votive plaques, he clarifies how material culture can be investigated to provide a three-dimensional perspective of social, ritual, economic and cultural context.

The materialization of religious beliefs and the archaeological remains of ritual have also been explored in terms of their cognitive and physical dimensions, through objects and symbolic mnemonic meaning (Connerton 1989; Kansteiner 2002; Kyriakidis 2007; Smith 2007; Laneri 2011b; Peterson 2013). Sometimes artifacts have specific ideological meanings or significance only within the context of the performance of the ritual itself. Their active role is also important. Rather than simply reflecting aspects of the life of the mind, archaeologists are increasingly aware how material objects and architecture can create ideology (Parker Pearson 2000; Smith 2007: 165).

Another influential volume on mortuary studies is *Performing Death: Social analyses of funerary traditions in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean* (Laneri 2007b). The chapters in this book uniquely examine Near Eastern mortuary archaeology from an essentially postprocessual view, incorporating new theoretical perspectives, interdisciplinary archaeological and textual material with sound scientific processual data. Viewpoints include evaluation of archaeological material including theories of materiality, agency, embodiment and lived experience, landscape and place making, intentionality and gender. Questions of social representation in burial, representations of status and social stratification, elite and political authority, and their relation to death practices are also addressed (Smith 2007: 163-165).

Even with new views from postprocessual methodologies, discussions in Mesopotamian mortuary archaeology often return to questions of ritual and mnemonics as primarily reflective of status and rank, of hierarchy, and poorly defined 'ancestors', as we shall see below.

#### **2.2.4 Mesopotamian Mortuary Archaeology and Ancestors**

Current views regarding ancestors in Mesopotamia are shown in interpretations of the results of relatively recent fieldwork in northeastern Syria in the Euphrates River valley, Southeastern Turkey in the upper Euphrates and Tigris River valleys (see Fig. 4, Map). Many of these excavations were salvage projects undertaken with large dam construction projects, at sites such as Tabqa, Tishrin, Ilisu, Carchemish, Ataturk, and Karakaya. Because the wars of the last two decades restricted work in Iraq, many northern Mesopotamian sites were excavated. As a

result, there is new evidence pertaining to political centralization and urbanism during the mid- to late third millennium in upper Mesopotamia, processes previously thought to originate in the south, with some exceptions (e.g. Tell Brak) (Wattenmaker 1998; Peltenberg 1999, 2007).

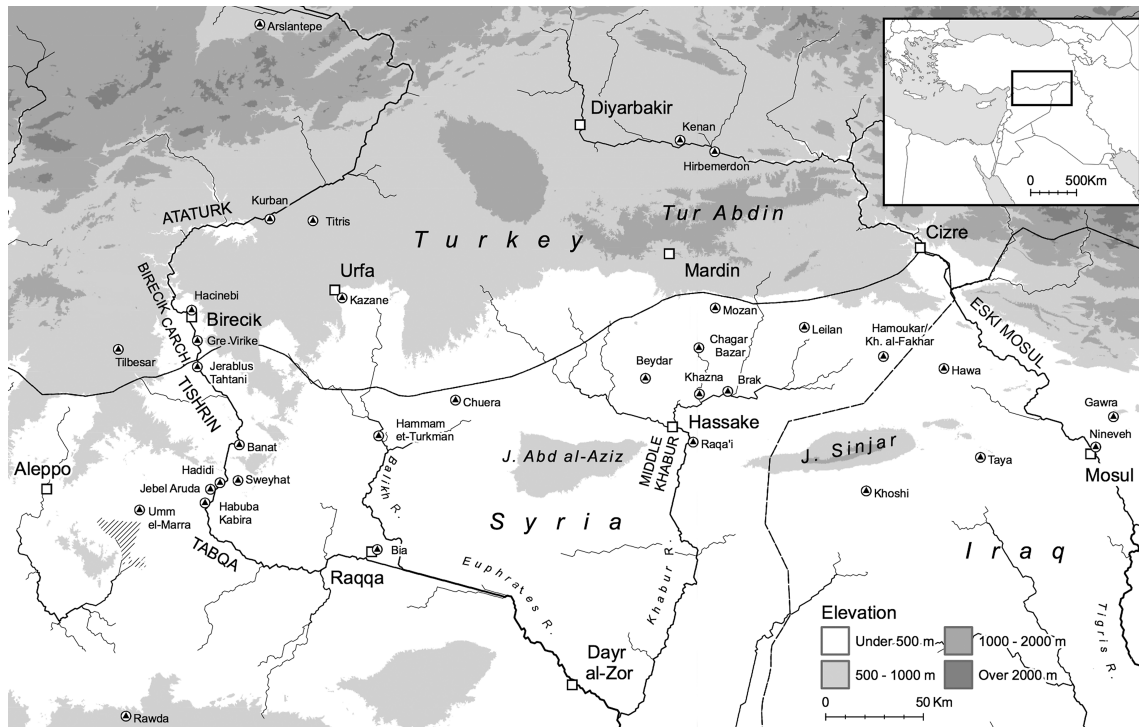


Figure 4. Map of northern Mesopotamia with sites and dams (dams in capital letters). (After Jason Ur, 2010: fig. 1).

Sites such as Jerablus Tahtani, Tell Banat, Tell Bashrat, Titriş Höyük and Umm El-Marra, show a pattern of collective burials in large tombs, sometimes in mortuary complexes in central and visible parts of the ancient cities (Curvers and Schwartz 1996; McClellan and Porter 1999; Peltenberg 1999; Porter 2002a, 2002b; Laneri 2007a, 2007b; Schwartz et al. 2006). These tombs are generally interpreted as relating to elite burials and representative of elite funerary practices. Most of the interest in them has been in terms of their significance in relation to larger scale processes of socio-political or economic change in the region. Further interpretations of their significance have linked the appearance of

the elite mortuary monuments in this region to the development of tribal lineage and clan power relationships (Stein 2002; Schwartz et al. 2003; Porter 2010b).

Current thinking about ancestors in Mesopotamian mortuary archaeology is still mainly focused on status and on elite context (Schwartz et al. 2003; Schwartz et al. 2012). A synthetic study of data from third millennium sites of the Middle Euphrates shows some evidence for post-interment ritual at collective tombs and attributes this as *kispum* activity for ancestor veneration (Sang 2010). Physical manifestation of ancestors in such burials is seen as a means to assert claims to prestige, social status and control by maintaining social memory via elite ideologies imposed upon a sacred landscape (Porter 2012). Schwartz for example, has applied newer theory using social memory and mortuary ritual to excavations at Umm El-Marra, interpreting the mortuary complex as a materialization of elite ideology (Schwartz 2007: 39-40).

This is not to say that the conclusions such as those discussed above are necessarily incorrect in those contexts. My argument is simply that the aspirations and interests of mortuary archaeology in Mesopotamia still remain limited, while other possibilities exist for more wide-ranging studies, not least with older material. New work on mortuary practices from the much earlier third millennium Early Dynastic cemeteries at Ur and Kish reflect ideas of changing power relationships or instability (Cohen 2005; Torres-Rouff, Pestle and Daverman 2012). The great potential for more ambitious and theoretically adventurous work is displayed in some of the more recent studies (Porter 2002a, 2010b; Croucher 2012; Steadman and Ross 2010; Torres-Rouff et al. 2012).

While socio-political factors may certainly be a part of what we see in the archaeological record, it is not enough to interpret mortuary evidence solely in the processualist manner. New methods should take into account a variety of avenues for meaning. These may include issues surrounding the construction of social memory, gender, family and other forms of identity, the creation, maintenance and renegotiation of social bonds, and the emotional engagements of people involved (Arnold and Wicker 2001; Tarlow 2012; Robb 2013). The 'cult of the ancestors' in Mesopotamian archaeology may in fact be seen to be a multi-layered concept with much wider scope than is commonly allowed.

This thesis explores a new approach and provides some fresh and original insight into Mesopotamian mortuary archaeology by drawing upon a body of research originating from the field of Death and Dying Studies. In the next section I will introduce this theory and explain further how it may contribute to the study of family mortuary practices and rituals in second millennium BC Mesopotamia

### **2.3 Continuing Bonds Theory and Mesopotamian Mortuary Practices**

As we have seen, the intent of this thesis is to investigate, add to, and challenge the traditional view of a Mesopotamian funerary rite, called *kispum*. In further chapters we will explore the nature of what is known about the ritual in detail. In this section I would like to briefly give some background on a newer theoretical method of studying bereavement. This theory is called Continuing Bonds Theory, coined by a seminal work, *Continuing Bonds: Another View of Grief*, published in 1996 by Klass, Silverman and Nickman. Klass et al. challenged the prevailing popular model of grief resolution known especially from Kübler-Ross' five-stage theory (Kübler-Ross 1969; Klass et al. 1996). My intent is to integrate the tenets of this newer methodology with traditional views of Mesopotamian mortuary practices, particularly as related to the family.

Rather than a grief model focused on the 'work' of grieving, Continuing Bonds Theory builds on the maintenance of relationships with the deceased. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Western society moved increasingly toward detachment from the deceased as well as distance from mortuary practices, including preparation and burial of the corpse at home (cf. the classic studies by Ariès 1974, 1981). By the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the dead and dying were dealt with by clinical and mortuary technicians, well away from the living. Continuing a relationship with the deceased, grieving that was not resolved in a relatively short period, or being unable to cut the attachment to loved ones, was viewed until recently as pathological, as an illness, partly because many previous studies of bereavement were done in clinical settings (Rosenblatt 1996). Based initially on influences from Freud's *Mourning and Melancholia*, 1917, psychological theories that involve stage theory still are practiced today in some clinical settings (Small 2001: 29; Stroebe and Schut 2005).



Klass et al. and many subsequent studies have revisited bereavement notions that were prevalent throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the viewpoint of Death and Dying Studies (Klass et al. 1996; Walter 1999; Hockey, Katz and Small 2001; Klass and Walter 2001; Valentine 2008). Many of these studies involve how grieving occurs and functions within family relationships, which make this research applicable to this study (Conant 1996; Normand, Silverman and Nickman 1996; Silverman and Nickman 1996; Tyson-Rawson 1996; Klass 2013). Interdisciplinary research has shown that, contrary to stage theory, people often report that what they actually *do* is continue their relationship with dead loved ones in various ways, despite a belief that previous scientific theory says they must cut the attachment. My proposal is that Continuing Bonds Theory supports a reinterpretation of the ancient Mesopotamian *kispum* ritual.

Continuing Bonds Theory is also the current focus of many empirical studies on Death and Dying (Stroebe and Schut 2005; Carr and Sharp 2013). Psychological testing of various groups assessed, for example, the relationship between coping using continuing bonds following the death of a loved one, and complicated grief symptoms (Neimeyer, Baldwin and Gillies 2006). Studies are showing that data vary, that continuing bonds are not necessarily always a faster, or sometimes less distressing way to grieve (Schut, Stroebe, Boelen and Zijerveld 2006; Klass 2006). The formulation of meaning, however, is a major factor where continued interaction with the deceased occurs (Neimeyer, Klass and Dennis 2014). Meaning making can be achieved through personal, existential, practical, social or spiritual means (Jacobsen 2011). Where survivors were able to make sense of the loss, less emotional trauma occurred (Carr and Sharp 2013; Neimeyer, Klass and Dennis 2014). For Mesopotamians, their understanding of the construction of the cosmos was integral to their belief system, meaning making, and particularly evident in mortuary practices (Ragavan 2013). In Chapter 3, I will discuss the conception of the Mesopotamian cosmological worldview, particularly as it pertains to the afterlife.

Other recent studies have investigated an interesting aspect for this study: harming or benefiting the dead. Where a continuing interaction with the deceased is maintained, the possibility exists of violating the interests or rights of the dead, harming their reputations, and even thwarting their desires (Fisher 2001). Fisher

demonstrates that the dead continue to exert claims upon the living. We will see that this is a part of the continued and ongoing performance of the *kispum* ritual. Another way the dead in the Mesopotamian context are affected by continued bonds with family, is in the belief that their grave will be protected and their name remembered throughout eternity. The descendants were believed to secure sustenance for the dead in the afterlife. The reputation of the dead, as well, is important for the reputation of the family (Scarre 2012). For the living, maintaining rituals that benefit the dead can be seen to create social memory based on family identities, perhaps through real or constructed lineages.

Recent psychological studies of communication experiences with ghosts apply directly to this study of continued bonds in Mesopotamian funerary contexts as well. Studies show that interaction with dead loved ones manifests in a variety of experiences, such as dreaming about the deceased, visiting their final resting place, keeping mementoes of the deceased, telling stories about the deceased, and, significantly, seeing, hearing, and feeling the actual presence of the deceased (Sanger 2009: 73; Kwilecki 2011). Another study has shown a complex imagined presence of a deceased twin sister with whom the living sister has ongoing encounters (Becker and Knudson 2003). Similar experiences, such as dreaming and ghost encounters, are present in Mesopotamian texts (Noegel 2001). Ghosts, which sometimes have been interpreted as ancestors, were considered very much a part of life. In many cultures, ancestors are not considered immaterial, and can be seen to have agency and activity; they are named, addressed, heeded and a part of the ongoing evolution of community and family life (Harvey 2006: 127).

The way many cultures make sense of the death of loved ones is through ritual, memorializing, remembrance acts, funerary rites and spiritual terms. This thesis will explore evidence that supports the notion that what Mesopotamians did in practice was to maintain interactions with the deceased. When they performed the *kispum* ritual, they and the participants, or witnesses, created collective family identity and memory. Remembrance acts, such as *kispum*, or festivals of the dead also affect or help engender family well being (Gee 2008: 67).

As mentioned above, studies have shown that a belief in the afterlife is one of the prevalent factors that affect bereavement outcomes (Walsh et al. 2002). While exploration of individual emotion in archaeology is difficult, family social

emotional values could be derived from the material record, especially if we look at the evidence of mortuary practices from a new point of view (Tarlow 2012: 174-176). Continuing Bonds Theory acknowledges that an emotionally charged event, such as a death in a family, can be viewed in a new way.

Beyond views that have been explored before, such as power transition, status and social change within the family, this study will look at expressions of interaction and continued relationships with the family dead. While there are many varying factors and layers of meaning associated with the dead, and certainly power, status and social factors are also real, Continuing Bonds Theory suggests that another layer, that of an emotional bond, is ongoing after death. We will explore what this might entail for Mesopotamian family contexts, including performance of funerary rites and post-interment rituals at varying loci, such as house altars, graves or tombs.

### **2.3.1 Continued Bonds and Ancestors**

Ongoing relationships with the dead are not a new phenomenon. Cross-cultural examination of death and dying, meanings of mortuary practices, grief and mourning certainly have long shown that most cultures do indeed maintain links with the dead, especially through ancestor beliefs (Rosenblatt et al. 1976; Newell 1976; Bloch and Parry 1982; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Bowker 1993; Parry and Ryan 1995; Davies 2002). Studies such as these also show that beliefs in ghosts are found globally in most cultures and throughout history (Poo 2009).

Mortuary practices vary and retain differences in meaning across cultures. Some of the dead can be ancestors; and ancestors can be instrumental in many social issues within groups or families. Ancestor worship may be different than a cult of the dead, which has to do with mortuary ritual rather than specialized groups (Fortes 1987: 67). Ancestors can also be manipulated to do many things in society and take on many different roles (Porter 2010b). Anthropological studies of ancestors, show that ancestors can mean different things in different cultures, or be created in different ways (Goody 1962; Kopytoff 1971; Brain 1973; Fortes 1987; Steadman, Palmer and Tilley 1996; Norget 2006). Recent studies show that ancestors can be investigated anthropologically and archaeologically with

productive results (Morris 1991; Parker Pearson 1993; Kus and Raharijaona 2001; Rasmussen 2000; Insoll 2008; McAnany 1995, 2011).

Continuing Bonds Theory in cross-cultural context, was first done by Klass, using Japanese ancestor rituals (1996A and 1996B). Subsequently, Goss and Klass collaborated on a volume which explored cross-cultural expressions of grief through the lens of continued bonds (Goss and Klass 2005). This volume, called *Dead but Not Lost: Grief Narratives in Religious Traditions*, included some studies on memory, remembrance, identity and ancestor bonds and is an influential model for this study. An interesting result of their study is that they found that ancestor continued bonds were mutual, with give and take between the living and the dead (Goss and Klass 2005: 193).

Skaist has found that Mesopotamian approaches to ancestor worship were premised upon Fortes' and Goody's studies of African ancestors, but that they demonstrate significant differences (1980: 126-127). Chinese and Japanese death rituals were found to be particularly pertinent for my study, with many parallels between them and ancient Mesopotamian practices, from feasting, drink libations, belief in ghosts, invocation of the dead, annual festivals of the dead, and post-interment commemorations (Watson, R. S. 1988; Watson and Rawski 1988; Nelson 2003; Nakamatsu 2009). I have found that in second millennium BC Mesopotamia, family (non-royal) ancestors were not worshipped in the sense of deities, nor were they regarded as hostile, evil spirits.

Mesopotamian families thought of their deceased as cohabiting the cosmos with them, albeit on another plane. They invoked the names of their dead to join with them in a ritual meal, the *kispum*. During the *kispum*, the link between the worlds of the living and the dead was accessible, ritually and magically opened. An important component of religious belief, *kispum* functioned as a means to continue bonds with and interact with the dead. In the next chapter, the underlying belief system of the Mesopotamian cosmos will be explored.

### **3. The Concept of the World of the Dead in Ancient Mesopotamia**

As we have seen in the discussions of Continuing Bonds Theory in Chapter 2, the way the cosmos is conceived affects perception of the afterlife, which has a strong effect on survivors and their grief, especially through meaning making. Therefore, in this chapter, we will begin to understand Mesopotamian belief about the fate of the dead, in order to examine the emotional construct of the interactions with the family deceased further on in this thesis.

#### **3.1 Reconstructing Mesopotamian Afterlife Beliefs**

Absolutely essential to a discussion of the nature and meaning of the family and funerary ritual in Mesopotamia, is an understanding of their conceptions of death and the afterlife. Underlying their beliefs about the origins of life and death was a rich mythology based in concepts of the Sumerian and Semitic cosmos (Bottéro 1992: 207-231; Lambert 1998; Rochberg 2005). Acts of creation and the origination of life (cosmogony) pertain to an understanding of death and the possibility of renewal of life after death. Studies of continuing bonds have shown that the construction of an afterlife scenario for the deceased loved one leads to increased interaction between the living and the dead (Chapter 2). Belief constructs, such as those about the cosmos and its structural components are, in effect, a generator of all that is life, and therefore a part of the cycle where death leads to rebirth, or at least, a new existence in an afterworld (Tarlow 2013).

Components of the concept of the structure of the cosmos often had a physical representation on earth, whether built (the temple, the grave) or natural features of the landscape (mountains, seas) (Jacobsen 1976: 6-17; Rochberg 2005: 340; Ragavan 2013). Physical manifestations of the power of creation, regeneration, birth and rebirth, was an intricate and essential element to the ritual cycle. The theme of cyclical fertility is well-known in agricultural societies and essential to the Mesopotamian cognitive environment, appearing extensively in descent myths, the dying and rising god, and *hieros gamos* literatures (Jacobsen 1987; Johnston 2004: 252; Eliade 1978: 56-84). Evidence for afterlife belief and the practice of the *kispum* ritual is tied to concrete, symbolic and literary

representations of the cosmic scheme, as they illuminate the *Weltanschauung* of a people.

Abstract and mythological constructions of the cosmos in Mesopotamia sometimes differed as geo-political conditions changed (Wyatt 2001: 52ff.; Bottéro 2001: 71; Rochberg 2005). However, some basic symbolic repertoire or grammar can be recognized over extended periods. It is necessary to explore the terms for this symbolic topography of the cosmic constituents: the earth (of the living), the afterlife world (of the dead), and the heavens, as they exist in cuneiform sources, to reconstruct the nature of afterlife belief. Because the terms for the world of the dead also vary with text and date, the term “netherworld” is used here, both for its implications in the English language of “the beyond” both in time and distance, and “after death”; it does not always refer to a world “below” in the earliest periods, as we shall see. “Underworld” is used where source texts use that term or for a literal meaning of a world under the surface of the Earth.

Netherworld and underworld, although widely and commonly used as generic names and concepts in Mesopotamian scholarship, do not always refer to the same Sumerian or Akkadian term for afterlife existence or location. Moreover, names such as “netherworld” and “underworld” in English often connote a subterranean place. This was not always the case in ancient Sumer, especially in the early period, when it was conceived of as a mountain in the east (Katz 2003: 61). There is no ancient text that describes and defines the structure of the Mesopotamian cosmos; instead, inferences about its geographical and topographical characteristics are taken from a variety of cuneiform texts known from copies spanning many centuries (Horowitz 1998: xiii; Walton 2011: 8-13). The earliest literary texts occur in the third millennium but they are commonly thought to reflect an earlier oral tradition preserved by ancient scholars (*ša pî ummâni*) (Lambert 1962; Rochberg-Halton 1987: 328; Thomsen 2001: 15-18). For example, while we have Old Babylonian period (early second millennium BC) copies of *Inanna's Descent*, they are written in Sumerian and are generally accepted to reflect the conceptual life of third millennium Sumer. Based on the Sumerian plot, *The Descent of Ishtar* exists in Akkadian copies from the second millennium and emphasizes the features of the netherworld as a primary concern (Katz 2003: xvi). It is generally accepted that the entire Sumerian literary corpus, which we

know from Old Babylonian period copies, clearly “rests on a very old tradition”, meaning well before the onset of written texts in the third millennium (Alster 1976: 13).

Socio-political or religious changes over a long literary transmission affected the texts variously, however, we can draw information about the characteristics of the world of the dead from the use and meanings of the both the Sumerian and Akkadian terms in context. In this chapter, excerpts from primary texts in the original languages will be quoted where applicable to the discussion of the terms, and in English where the interpretation of the text suffices.

### **3.2 Cosmology, Myth and Ritual Power**

Perceptions of the shape of the cosmos form the basis of a culture’s worldview (Pongratz-Leisten 2001: 201; Woods 2009). References to the most basic cosmological beliefs run as undercurrents in any culture’s stories, literature, rituals and mythologies (Batto 1992: 11). Ritual depends upon a culture’s concept of the configuration of the cosmos, based upon actuality or fantastic and mythical imagery. Many theories and models of myth and interpretations of performance and meaning of ritual have been widely discussed (Eliade 1963; Batto 1992: 4-14; Bell 1992, 1997; Detienne 1992: 5-14; Turner 1969; Segal 1998; McCauley and Lawson 2002; Rowan 2012).

Myth has been described as sacred history, as a meta-language for expressing the numinous and as a means of participating in and experiencing ritual (Eliade 1963: 5-6; Jacobsen 1970: 1-15; Detienne 1992: 9). The action of the ritual itself can be viewed as a creative or regenerative catalyst, particularly in regard to death. Within the space and time of the ritual performance, connections are made to the power of the original inception of life in the cosmic realm. Primordial time, where the event took place for the first time (*in illo tempore*), is embodied and revived in living myth (Eliade 1963; Batto 1992: 10). In enactments of funerary ritual, cosmic forces or creative agents set into motion procedures for the rebirth of the dead, or to enable the passage to a world for the next life (Bloch and Parry 1982: 1-44). The ritual reading or performance is an attempt to order and control the cosmos, to affect the outcome of the consequence of the cessation of life and to further life beyond (Smith 1996: 480).

Usually found in creation mythologies, Mesopotamian cosmic geography can also be deduced from inferences in a variety of textual sources. Some incantations recite cosmogonic material as part of the *historiola*, the part of the text that magically connects to the original mythic act. For example, the *historiola* in *The Worm and the Toothache*, reengages the forces of the creative act at the separation of Heaven and Earth to perform magical healing (Eliade 1963: 28-30; Clifford 1994: 54-56; Frankfurter 2001). The reference in such texts to initial creative acts provides access to the forces of the universe by mere mention in the *historiola* of part of the cosmogonic scheme (Frankfurter 1994, 2001). Magic harnesses supernatural forces and employs them to produce various results.

Incantation texts (ÉN; *šiptu*) often begin with rubrics, such as ÉN-É-NU-RU, which indicate a ritual act, place or author. These texts also end with a rubric “the formula of the ÉN-É-NU-RU” (Van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 4-8). Various other rubrics (INIM-INIM, literally “word-word”) clearly indicate that both the spoken word and the ritual actions were essential to the power of the incantation. Ritual texts contain performative speech that accompanies the ritual procedures and gestures (Tambiah 1996). We will see some examples of these relating to *kispum*.

The idea of the shape of the cosmos was commonly conveyed by word pairs, such as “heaven and earth”: *šamû u eršetum* (Akk.), or AN KI (Sum.). The idea of the entire universe was sometimes written in Akkadian as *kiššatu*, “totality”, “entire inhabited world”, or *kiššat kal gimrati*, “the totality of all of everything” (Horowitz 1998: xiv; CAD K, 457-60). ŠÁR, Sumerian for “totality”, modifies AN and KI in the following excerpts:

an-šár ki-šár dím-me-en (Sum.)  
 ina kiš-šat šamé u eršeti ibbani (Akk.)  
 created by the entire heaven and the netherworld,

<sup>d</sup>Nun-gal-e-ne an-ki-šár-ra a-na gál-la-ba

<sup>d</sup>Igigi ša kiš-šat AN-e u KI-tim mala baša

All the Igigi (gods) of heaven and earth, as many as there are (CAD K, 457).

In Mesopotamian cosmography, a mixture of observed reality (sky, sun, moon, stars, planets, earth and seas) and imagined features (the netherworld and



lower regions of the earth) are combined in references in many texts (Pongratz-Leisten 2001: 201-202). One late Babylonian (first millennium BCE) tablet, BM 92687, *The Babylonian Map of the World* (Horowitz 1998: 20-42; CAD M1: 285) contains a physical depiction of the Earth's surface as a continent, surrounded by a cosmic salt sea, called the *marratu* (Fig. 5). This map differs from other Babylonian maps, however, in that its features are exaggerated, and not drawn in a scale typical to Mesopotamian cartography, stressing the 'imagined' or conceptual nature of the cosmos. We can further try to deduce the concept of the universe in the ancient mind from various references in the cuneiform texts.

The Mesopotamian worldview, and how it was perceived symbolically, was couched in images of the rivers and the alluvium, the mountains to the east and north, the western deserts and the steppe (Bottéro 2001: 77-83; Livingstone 2007a: 71-91). Their belief system encompassed not only the physical nature of the world and sky, but also the supernatural realms of the dead and the gods. The basic plan of the cosmos featured the level surface of the earth bordered by mountains at the eastern and western edges (Bottéro 2001: 77) (Fig. 6).



Figure 5. Sippar. Neo-Babylonian Map of the World (BM92687). Ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).

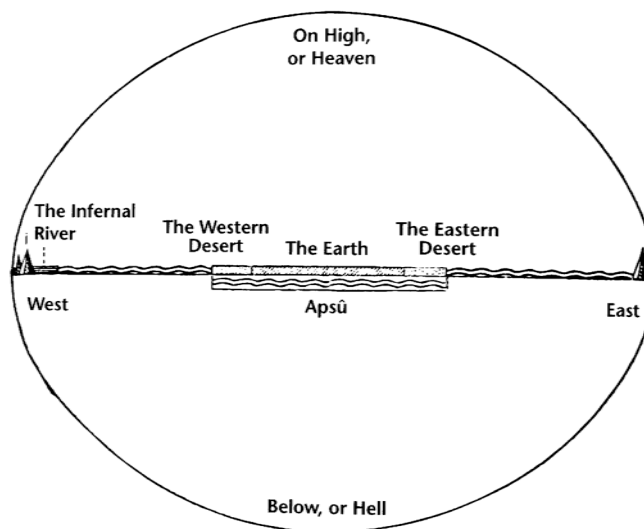


Figure 6. Plan of the concept of the Mesopotamian cosmos with mountains at the eastern and western edges of the Earth's surface. (*After* Bottéro 2001: 77).

Mental maps and worldviews were mediated through architecture, image, texts, and ritual. In addition, they would involve the participant or the viewer in their construction. The cosmos was a created image, a shared belief system, not text-derived in its earliest origins. Both archaeological and written sources demonstrate dualities, such as urban center and periphery, cultivated land as civilization and nature, steppe or wilderness as order and anti-order, as natural and artificial boundaries. The spatial concept of an inner and outer world was continuously recreated, re-actualized and placed into social memory by means of language, actions, myth and ritual ideology (Johnston 2004: 253; Peterson 2013).

From the geographical contrasts of the Mesopotamian landscape, one would expect, as well, conceptual polarities: fertile, watered land versus the barren desert, the distant mountain peaks versus the steppe. Myth reflects the landscape and gives meaning to the words, symbolically and concretely, in the mind of the believers. Belief in an underworld reflected real topographical features and is crucial to understanding metaphors in the ancient literature (Black 2002: 60-61). These polarities could also express Mesopotamian morality, beliefs about good and evil, the dead and the living, as well as the ordered versus the disordered cosmos.

Priestly maintenance of the divine order of the ritual cosmos included daily and cyclical ritual actions in temples, festival observances and intricate magico-

religious rites (Assmann 2002: 187-193, 204-207; Derchain 1992: 215-217; Baines 1991: 123-130). Cosmic order, affecting all life on earth, could be set awry by the decisions of the gods, or the failure of humans, especially the king, to perform rituals or honor the deities in other ways. The neglect of temples and lack of temple restoration was reputed to cause the downfall of the Akkadian empire when Narâm-Sîn destroyed the Ekur at Nippur in *The Curse of Agade* (Kuhrt 1995: 56-58). Conceptions of the world of the dead might also embody certain features of the disordered world, antithetical to created order. In the first millennium text *Erra and Ishum*, Marduk, head of the Babylonian pantheon, is angered and causes mayhem from the highest heavens to the underworld (*Erkalla/Irkalla*).

“...A long time ago, when I was angry and rose up from my dwelling and arranged for the Flood,

I rose up from my dwelling, and the control of heaven and earth was undone.

The very heavens I made to tremble, the positions of the stars of heaven changed, and I did not return them to their places.

Even Erkalla quaked; the furrow’s yield diminished and forever after it was hard to extract (a yield).

Even the control of heaven and earth was undone, the springs diminished, the flood-water receded. I went back, and looked and looked; it was very grievous.

The (remaining) offspring of living things was tiny, and I did not return them to their (former) state, ...” (Dalley 2000: 290)

The Babylonian myth vividly describes the destruction of cosmic order and its effects on all parts of the universe. Comprehending the principle of mythopoeic thought and use of religious metaphor is crucial to gaining an understanding of the nature of afterlife beliefs (Batto 1992: 12). Metaphor in the myths of a culture or cultural period reveals what it considers essential. (Jacobsen 1976: 3-4). On this basis, the realm of the dead was conceived of as part of the entire cosmos, an essential part of divine order, which, like the world of the living, could be disrupted on an apocalyptic scale.

In mythological “descent” texts, the divine journey and entrance to the netherworld challenged the laws of the universe, risked disruption of order throughout the cosmos and interrupted or destroyed the powers of the deity (Zerneck 2011: 169-70). In this genre of literature, the image of the netherworld conveyed and emphasized a picture of the effects of the loss of the created order of fertile life. The goddess Inanna/Ishtar, in her aspect as the embodiment of the powers of fecundity, life, and the sexuality of all creatures, rendered a universal and catastrophic desolation at the loss of all her powers in the underworld (Bruschweiler 1987: 13). In an oft-quoted passage from *The Descent of Ishtar*, lines 4-11, the goddess approached a netherworld region, which was depicted in stark contrast to the abundant landscapes of agricultural Mesopotamia:

CT 15 45

“To the House of Darkness, the abode of Irkal[la],  
To the house which no one who enters can leave,  
To the road whose journey has no return,  
To the house where one who enters is deprived of li[ght],  
Where dust is their sustenance, their food, is clay.  
They see no light, in darkness they dwell,  
clothed like birds, with a garb of feathers (some sources read “wings”).  
Over the door and bolt dust lies.” (Horowitz 1998: 349)

Similarly other Akkadian mytho-literary texts, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (VII: 176-82) and *Nergal and Ereshkigal* (120-129) echo nearly word-for-word this passage’s grim description of the netherworld and its inhabitants (Horowitz 1998: 346; Barrett 2007: 8). Consider in context the netherworld description in *The Epic of Gilgamesh* from Enkidu’s dream:

Gilgamesh Tablet VII

He seized me, drove me down to the dark house, dwelling of Erkalla’s god,  
To the house which those who enter cannot leave,  
On the road where travelling is one way only,  
To the house where those who stay are deprived of light,  
Where dust is their food, and clay their bread.  
They are clothed, like birds, with feathers,

And they see no light, and they dwell in darkness.  
Over the door [and the bolt, dust has settled.]  
...  
In the house of dust that I had entered  
Dwelt the *enu* and *lagaru*-priests,  
Dwelt the *isippu* and *lumahhu* priests,  
Dwelt the *gudapsu*-priests of the great gods,  
Dwelt Etana, dwelt Shakkan  
Dwelt Ereshkigal, the Queen of Earth (sic).  
Belet-šeri, the scribe of Earth (sic), was kneeling before her.  
She was holding [a tablet] and kept reading aloud to her.  
She raised her head and looked at me:  
"[Who (?) ] brought this man?" (Dalley 2000: 89-90)

This translation is from the Standard Babylonian version of the seventh century BCE found in the royal library at Nineveh. However, parts of the epic exist from the early second millennium, and it is known from copies spread widely throughout the ancient Near East by the mid- to late second millennium. The Kassite kings collected numerous cuneiform texts in the middle of the second millennium, copying from originals preserved in temple libraries from Uruk to Babylon and Nippur (Lambert 1957; Dalley 2000: 45-47). The first millennium copy is attributed to Sin-leqe-unnini, a Kassite incantation priest and elite scribe, and was probably copied from his original.

In *Nergal and Ereshkigal*, which we know existed as a myth at least in the second millennium (from a partial copy found at El-Amarna in Egypt), the underworld god sets out for the realm of the dead in "the land of no return":

[Nergal set his face towards Kurnugi,  
To the dark house, dwelling of Erkalla's god,  
To the house which those who enter cannot leave,]  
On the road where travelling is one way only,  
To the house where those who enter are deprived of light,  
Where dust is their food, clay their bread.  
They are clothed, like birds, with feathers.

They see no light, they dwell in darkness.

[                    ]

[            they moan] (?) like doves. (Dalley 2000: 163-164, 168)

These three passages demonstrate the literary continuity of afterlife and netherworld beliefs over at least two millennia. These depictions also provide the basis of our understandings of the fate of the dead in Mesopotamia.

Some elements of these texts may have further significance. The literal similarity of these passages may suggest that the afterlife and netherworld descriptions were all based on an early text or myth which contained this key passage. We might consider that the origin of the description was part of a commonly known Sumerian oral tradition, such as a narrative poem, song, funerary ritual, or even an incantation. It may have become the popular tropes for depictions of the netherworld, and transferred into the written literature.

Found among earliest tablets excavated in the 19th century, these texts were part of the earliest corpus of translated cuneiform tablets, from Aššurbanipal's library at Nineveh. This particular passage found its way very early into Mesopotamian scholarship as the canonical characterization of the afterlife (Wilson 1901: 91; Bezold 1903: 111-113). It became widespread and remains influential in forming our ideas about death beliefs in Mesopotamia. Indeed, the characterization in these texts is that of a dark, foreboding land. However, we do not have any other descriptive passages of the world of the dead in the literature of a similar nature or length.

Allusions and glimpses of the features of the netherworld do occur in other types of texts. Some depict it in rather different ways, for example, with solar and stellar circuits passing through and periodically lending it light. And, as will be discussed, the ritual practices associated with the dead, apparent in the archaeological data, do not fit well with the picture painted in *The Descent of Ishtar*. What will be suggested is that that we may well be limited in our vision of the Mesopotamian afterlife by the reliance on this small body of textual references.

By the early twentieth century, this bleak picture of the fate of the dead in the relatively newly translated myths had become established as the dominant understanding of the theology of Mesopotamian afterlife beliefs (Jeremias 1902;

Sayce 1903: 276ff; Weber 1907; Hilprecht 1910; Langdon 1914: 12). By this time, a large volume of cuneiform had been deciphered with considerable success (Rogers 1900: 175ff; Weidner 1922). George Smith had published the Gilgamesh tablets and histories based on cuneiform documents for public access by 1875 (Smith 1875, 1876, 1877). Reports of the “pessimism” and dark future that was fated for Mesopotamians, especially juxtaposed with the discoveries of the vibrant artwork from Egyptian tombs, very quickly permeated general histories, philological studies and even student handbooks (Norton 1908: 13, 59; Breasted 1926: 130). This notion, for the most part, remains, and continues to be cited as fact in many current textbooks and overviews of Mesopotamian culture (Cooper 1992: 24-30; Nemet-Nejat 1998; Davies, J. 1999; Ascalone 2007: 267-271).

### **3.2.1 The Nature and Limitations of the Texts**

We must, however, consider the context of the few, long netherworld descriptions. In any approach to the myths and epics that include or feature a journey to the realm of the dead, we must employ basic literary interpretive analysis, determining audience, author, voice, purpose, metaphor and genre. As in most ancient literature, the creators of the mythological texts served society’s elite and the literature reflects the attitudes of specific priestly or ruling classes.

Cuneiform literary texts were written and rewritten over the centuries for various political or religious reasons by elite scribes, often to promote a tutelary deity, or a city’s political status (Lambert 1962: 59-60; Lucas 1979; Dalley 2000: 282-84). *Enuma Elish*, The Babylonian creation epic, while primarily known as a cosmogony, also served as a late charter myth for the succession of the god Marduk as the new head of the pantheon (Clifford 1994: 73-98; Michalowski 1999). Another example is the *Erra and Ishum* composition (8<sup>th</sup> century BCE), which we know was written by the scribe Kabti-ilani-Marduk who was a member of an elite Babylonian clan known from high temple office in Babylon and Uruk (Damrosch 1987: 76-78). Scribal families passed down the literature with their profession (Lambert 1957). The written stories evolved from ancient oral traditions that combined sacred and secular purposes, in societies where the religious and the actual were not separate in worldview or belief (Jacobsen 1982; Detienne 1992: 11).

Rather than “myth” in the modern Western sense of untrue stories or folktales, these literary texts functioned like theologies, formulating parameters of belief systems and expressing cultural truths in symbols in sacred stories (Pongratz-Leisten 2011: 200-204)). Myth is a dynamic process in which symbol and belief are embedded into cultural narratives that everyone understands.

Again, no factual treatises exist that spell out for us the properties of Mesopotamian beliefs about life after death or the characteristics of the netherworld. Instead, complex literary pieces remain that can be explored for meaning (Jacobsen 1976: 4-5; Bottéro 1992: 77, 100-101). Each piece is a sophisticated, polysemous, artistic work touching on a multitude of topics relevant to ancient Mesopotamian shared culture. *The Dialogue of Pessimism*, for example, plays with the idea of suicide, yet the writing and the thought conveyed is rich with philosophy, irony and satire, as well as snapshots of Babylonian culture (Jacobsen 1946: 231-234; Bottéro 1992: 257-267). On this basis we afford the Mesopotamians short shrift in persisting in the formulation of an entire afterlife belief system based on the dreary netherworld descriptions in a few literary texts. Taking these genres of literature at mere face value is akin to a literal interpretation of Swift’s “modest proposal” (1729).

The paucity and specificity of the few cuneiform underworld descriptions in literary texts may indicate cultural knowledge that was a “given” (e.g. beliefs about life after death), and so widely accepted, it did not need to be stated in most contexts (Barber and Barber 2004: 17-25). It might also be suggested that naming, speaking or writing such descriptions could perhaps also fall under the category of dangerous magic. For the most part, however, it is well to remember that scribes and authors of cultic literature were part of a most elite group. The behaviors and beliefs of the more general population when faced with death almost certainly differed from the divine and semi-divine, larger-than-life heroic experiences reflected in myths and epics. The journeys of the gods to the Land of No Return contradict even the experience of King Urnamma (Bottéro 1992: 285). His netherworld is dull and drab, but hardly the wild action thriller of *Ishtar’s Descent*, rife with the flesh-eating dead and terrifying demons. It remains to examine further textual and archaeological evidence for the nature of beliefs about the dead and the relationship of the living to the deceased.



### 3.2.2 How the Texts Were Used

The genres of Mesopotamian texts that include netherworld descriptions must be approached with an understanding of the motivation, purpose depth and symbolism beyond the surface story. These texts were ritually or cyclically performed, some in specific agricultural festivals (Johnston 2004: 252). In such contexts, the descent of a deity, in myth, and death, or loss of divine powers, is usually juxtaposed with the renewal of all life, with rebirth of vegetation, as well as human and faunal fertility (Eliade 1963: 47-53; Jacobsen 1976: 47-73). The human role in the cosmic arena was definitely subordinate to the gods, although interactions with the other world could occur. Humans, created to work for the gods, were also made mortal, a consistent theme in myth and also wisdom literature, such as *The Righteous Sufferer* (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqī*) and *The Babylonian Theodicy* (Lambert 1960: 21-91).

The question of human life, death and immortality, in the *Adapa*, *Atra-Ḫasis* and *Gilgamesh* myths, is approached with an almost philosophical bent (Jacobsen 1976; Muffs 1978; Batto 1992: 40). The epic and mythic literature that discusses death does so in what we would consider a roundabout fashion, by confronting deities and heroic situations, with trickery and episodic dilemmas (Alster 1990). Complex and often puzzling at a distance of thousands of years, myths and epics may have taken the ancient audience on the netherworld journey, the ascent to heaven, or through the disaster of the flood in narratives that conveyed the important questions about life and death (Dalley 2000: 283). The language and the structure of the literature is sophisticated narrative poetry. The listener in the ritual audience interacted with the text (Gaster 1961). Many of the pieces were performed in ritual or sacred festivals (Alster 1976: 14; Limet 1976: 333-334).

Mythological literature, such as these epics that seem so fantastical to us today, progress on different levels of understanding, often in different cosmic planes and outside linear time (Katz 2013). The descriptions of the netherworld, then, must be considered in light of the purpose, meaning and genre of their sources, as well as how they were performed in the ritual setting. The images of the world of the dead were portrayed in the cultic and mythic literature, as the opposite of abundant fertility and sacred agricultural life. The physical world of men and the realms where deities dwell, may interact, or affect each other; often

the events and actions are not sequential nor meant to be understood in a logical (or modern Western) manner (Horowitz 1998: 106). It is important to understand, as well, that whether performed as classic entertainment or as a mandated tradition of the ritual cycle, these myths and epics inherently invoked magical or religious ritual power.

Myth was a living, active phenomenon, a form of rational thought different from our Western point of view (Detienne 1992: 7; Frankfurter 2001: 473-474; Pongratz-Leisten 2001). There were many levels of activity going on simultaneously in the writing, speaking and performance of the ancient texts, even when the audience was engaged on an entertainment level (Jacobsen 1976: 5-11). The creative force of naming and speaking words is well known in the scholarship, particularly in the ancient Near East (Kramer 1972: 115). The craft of writing, the manipulation of words, the scribal arts and literacy carried potent inherent societal status and often, ritual magic power in the creation of language (Frankfurter 1994). Wordplay, idiom, literary devices, symbol, structure and meaning in the original languages do not always translate, and particularly, magico-religious meaning sometimes evades the modern reader (Wilcke 1987; Smith 1995). What seems like a reference to a concrete thing could really refer to something completely different or symbolic, which is not apparent in the text. The reading or performance of a literary text as cult drama in a ritual setting could set in motion the creative forces of the cosmos, repel chaos, restore order, defeat death – at least agricultural death - and ensure the continued power of the gods and cosmic order (Gaster 1961; Eliade 1963: 88-91; Jacobsen 1976: 14). Performing a ritual incantation could heal. Words had the power to transform.

### **3.3 The Cosmos and The Netherworld In The Cuneiform Sources**

As mentioned above, several types of texts, such as incantations, myths, epics, prayers and cult rituals refer to beliefs about Mesopotamian cosmic geography, but the information is often obscure and often subject to interpretation (Alster 1990; Thomsen 2001: 15; Walton 2006). We need to explore the conception of the configuration of the netherworld to understand the place of the living and the dead in the Mesopotamian view. To comprehend how the family

interacted with their dead in the *kispum* ceremony, we must understand, as far as possible, how they envisioned the afterlife.

The basic structure of the Sumerian cosmos is clearly similar to that of others of the ancient Near East, with the sky/heavens (AN) suspended above the terrestrial disk (KI “earth”) and a world below the plane of the earth (Frankfort et al. 1946; Bottéro 1992: 218-224). In some accounts, the disk is supported by pillars. Mountains lay to the east, beyond the steppe (EDIN). This tiered cosmos was surrounded by water in some portrayals (Walton 2006: 166; Horowitz 1998: 29-30). Models vary, but three different levels of heaven (AN, Akk. *šamê*) and three of Earth (KI, *eršetu*) existed. The Sun (UTU), Moon (NANNA) and stars, as visible phenomena, are part of a lower heaven, with the gods of heaven inhabiting an upper region (Horowitz 2010: addenda, p. 415). Constellations were “inscribed” on the surface of the lower level of heaven. The stars and stone floors of the levels of the heavens were made of beautiful colored or translucent stones (Horowitz 1998: 8-15). Solar and stellar circuits continued from the sky above to below the surface of the Earth (Clifford 1994: 16; Horowitz 1998: 185-192).

The sun, moon and stars were thought to be visible in the netherworld at times. The judgment of the dead by the sun god is mentioned in some texts (Cohen 1977; Heimpel 1986; Steinkeller 2005). In *The Lugalbanda Epic*, the three great cosmic lights, the Sun, the Moon, and Venus (INANNA) have the power to give life and light the darkness as they disappear into the netherworld in a constant cycle of cosmic battles (Alster 1976: 16-17; Hallo 1983).

The portrayals of the shape of the Mesopotamian cosmos differed somewhat according to date, place and theology (Bottéro 2001: 77-90). The divine agents and methods of creation in the mythologies fluctuated somewhat over time and place (Michalowski 1998: 244). The origin of the names and earliest images of the Mesopotamian netherworld occurs in Sumerian language texts, which refer to the ancient concept of a world of the dead as a mountain. Tallqvist (1934) published a broad compendium of Sumerian and Akkadian terms for the cosmos and world of the dead in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; the analysis below is based on more recent publications of cuneiform texts.

### 3.3.1 KALAM, *Apsû* and KIGALLU and the Ritual Landscape

The mountain netherworld existed first on the terrestrial plane, KALAM (*mâtum*, “land”). In the theology of Eridu, the Apsû, a primordial sweet, or fresh, water sea, flowed below the level of the earth (Sum. ABZU). In the texts that reflect the ancient Eridu cosmogonic tradition of Sumer, creation is chthonic and comes forth from the Apsû (Van Dijk 1964b: 6; Clifford 1994: 32ff.). Apsû is the name of a cosmic region and is the source or embodiment of wisdom as a creative agent beneath the entire surface of the earth (Horowitz 1998: 336-337; Izre’el 1998; Lambert 1998: 193). The Apsû is the home of the god Enki. In the complex narrative poem *Enki and the World Order* (1953-1730 BCE), Enki enables creation in stages; the life force is immanent in the subterranean fresh water sea (Van Dijk 1964b: 11). Enki inseminates the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and all forms of divine, human, vegetable and animal life are eventually products of this act (Clifford 1994: 33-35). In line 69 of the poem, Enki praises himself:

69. ud gal ki gal-la è-a-me-en en gal kalam-me-en (ECTSL: c.1.1.3)

69. I am the ‘great storm’ who goes forth out of the ‘great below,’ I am the lord of the Land (Kramer 1972:175).

Here the term KALAM refers to the concrete geographical reality of the terrestrial plane, in reality the heartland of Sumer (Steiner 1982; Katz 2003: 105). Although referring to Enki proceeding out from the subterranean waters of the Apsû, the term KI-GAL also has netherworld connotations. KI-GAL occurs, as well, in the name of the netherworld queen Ereškigal (“Lady of the Kigal”). *Kigallu* can also be a statue base or a type of cultic raised platform (CAD K 348). In late Babylonian royal inscriptions, the term *irat kigalli* refers to the surface of the underworld (CAD K, 349). The Apsû, where Enki resides, however, may float as a separate entity above a lower world and is distinct from the world of the dead (Horowitz 1998). Enki resides in his underwater palace, the E-Apsû, and is shown in cylinder seal iconography seated within it in his watery realm (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Ur. Enki in his palace in the Apsû. Akkadian period. (Baghdad Museum. After Kramer 1961 [1972], Pl 10).

Another underworld reference to physical phenomena could be reflected in the association of Inanna in the descent myths. In the introduction (line 3) to *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld*, KI GAL appears in opposition to heaven (AN) (Katz 2003: 12, 251; Horowitz 1998: 275).

3. <sup>d</sup>inanna an-gal-[ta ki-gal-sè] gestú-ga-ni na-an-[gub]

3. Inanna, from the great heaven to the great earth she set her mind

Inanna's netherworld destination, KI-GAL, is translated as "great earth" and sometimes as "great below" (Kramer 1961 [1972]: 175). In this text, KI-GAL contrasts with AN (heaven) in the "vertical bipolarity" of the netherworld with the realm of the gods (Katz 2003: 13-14). The expected term is AN KI, a contrast of heaven and earth. Katz finds that the representation AN KI in cosmic geography, then, does not include the netherworld. She notes that whereas AN (as sky), and KI (the earth) are visible components of the universe, the netherworld is invisible (2003: 13-14, n. 36). KI-GAL as a netherworld name occurs also in lines 191 – 192 (Katz 2003: 13).

191. [dumu-mu] an-gal al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>

192. [<sup>d</sup>inanna] an-gal al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>

191. My daughter coveted the great heaven, coveted the great "earth".

192. Inanna coveted the great heaven, coveted the great "earth"

In lines 191-192, *KI GAL*, “great earth” is the netherworld, elsewhere in this text, however, the term *KUR* is used (Katz 2003: 251-252).

4. *nin-mu an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>*

4. My lady relinquished (lit. “left”) heaven, relinquished earth, she descended in the *kur*

The phrase *KUR-RA BA-E-A-E<sub>11</sub>* (descended in the *KUR*) is repeated through line 13 in the Sumerian myth, with a list of Sumerian cities and their temples, which Inanna relinquishes (*šUB*), as she must also shed her powers (Katz 1995; Bruschweiler: 2007). Here *KUR* refers to her dramatic decision to enter the netherworld (cf. grammatical discussions in Katz 2003: 253-254).

The Sumerian Inanna is also known as the morning and evening star. In her aspect as Venus, the morning and evening star, she descended behind the mountain in the east into the netherworld at its foot (Caplice 1973; Jacobsen 1987: 1, 206; Rochberg 1996, 2005: 349-350). Extensive observations of Venus rising and setting as well as her *harrānu* (“path”) are well documented in association with celestial omens (Reiner and Pingree 1975, 1981; Rochberg 1996; Horowitz 1998: 256-261). Astral bodies in the sky were thought to carry the crowns of the deities on their heads. These gods were also tied to the creative capacity of light, rendering them visible (Alster 1976: 17). Stellar and planetary invisibility suggested that part of their astronomical course included a stay in the *Kur*; similarly, Inanna, as Venus, descended into the netherworld (Alster 1976; Bruschweiler 1987: 14, 67).

These references to the netherworld were well known in the myths, songs and poems of the ancient Mesopotamians. The general population was familiar with the netherworld tropes and to some extent, envisioned the configuration of a world beyond as below, for themselves and their deceased. Therefore a body buried in the ground was perceived metaphorically as dwelling in the underworld below. Cosmology in myths such as these may also have been represented in offering rituals at netherworld shrines or portals, built into the architecture of the temples.

It is possible that one of the original conceptions of the netherworld associated it, at least ritually, with an actual geographic locale. Built ritual locations associated with the netherworld include the temples of E-Nun (at Eridu), Eanna (at

Uruk), E-Engurra (Eridu) and the Ekur (Nippur). The Ekur temple at Nippur has been partially associated with judgment, a prison for the wicked, and the netherworld (Kramer 1988: 7-11; Abusch 2002: 17). The E-Nun was probably also the name of an underworld chamber in the Apsû (Caplice 1973). In some texts, lists of cities and temples were probably the itinerary of actual ritual journeys to the netherworld (Halla 1964: 57-88; Bahrani 1998: 159-174). The *Descent of Ishtar* may contain an actual ritual route to the city of Kutha, northwest of Kish, home to the underworld god Erra (Buccellati 1982; Black 2002: 47, 60). In the text of *Inanna's Descent* the goddess leaves the Eanna (Uruk) and heads northwest along the Iturungal canal through Badtibira, Adab, Nippur, Kish and Akkad (Horowitz 1998: 353; Katz 2003: 254-255). In a sacred marriage text, Inanna visits the Apsû, the E-Nun and the E-Engurra at Eridu (Caplice 1973: 303-304). The literature incorporated the cities and ritual sites of Sumer in the actual landscape and memorialized the events of those sites in rituals with journeys of the statues of the gods. Rituals performed at the entrance to the underworld were associated with annual *kispum* festivals in some cities, as we will see in Chapter 5.

Some archaeological locations suggest architecture associated with *kispum* rites. A feature at northern Mesopotamian Urkesh (Tell Mozan, Syria) has been interpreted as an *âbi* (Hurrian-Hittite, compare Hebrew *ʾob*, Akkadian *api*), a gate to the underworld (Kelly-Buccellati 2002; Collins 2004). The city may have functioned as an early religious center, with Kumarbi, the chthonic chief deity, as its tutelary deity. The *âb/pi* structure certainly supports this interpretation. It existed before the third millennium temple structure and continued in use (associated with a ritual terrace) into the second millennium (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1999; 2005). Hurrian texts suggest the ritual digging of such pits summoned netherworld deities, and/or could expel unwanted spirits (Kelly-Buccellati 2002). Finds found in the structure, such as butchered sheep and goat, provide evidence of ritual meals, while bones of piglets, donkeys and puppies were also found. A silver model ladder in one of the pits probably had to do with summoning the ascent of powers from the lower world (Kelly-Buccellati 2005; Collins 2004: 55).

It is likely that many such ritual centers throughout Mesopotamia contained features associated with underworld rites, including summoning spirits and the

deposition of funerary offerings. The E-Ninnu temple at Girsu included a chamber for the funerary ritual: “Its chapel for funerary offerings is as pure as the clean ABZU.” (*ECTSL*: t.2.1.7, line 782). The E-Ninnu was dedicated to Ningirsu, who fought underworld monsters (Kramer 1988: 2). The E-Sagil at Babylon housed an Apsû-shrine, and its decorations alluded to mythical figures placed at a cosmic “Gate of the Apsû” (Horowitz 1998: 347). A *bit kispim*, was part of the temple of Dagan at Terqa (Finkelstein 1966: 116).

In Mesopotamian thought and religious practice, the Ekur at Nippur, the “House of the KUR”, may have served as one of the portals to the cosmic realm, a place where a great deal of supernatural activity was ongoing, where dead spirits of both the good and the wicked as well as deities and demons journeyed. In *Nungal in the Ekur*, an Old Babylonian composition restored from 43 fragments found at Nippur, the temple’s interior is described as “...in evening light, dusk, spreading widely, fear of it touches the flesh” and a “...trap which lies in wait for the evil, which makes the body of the wicked tremble” (Sjöberg 1973: 29). The Ekur’s tremendous power is praised and the temple is called “House, furious storm of heaven and earth, raging against the enemies, Ekur, house of the gods...”. The goddess Nungal judges the wicked and the just in the Ekur while holding “the tablet of life in (her) hand”; she “written the name of the just man upon it” (Sjöberg 1973: 33). Such sites and associated texts thus support the idea of physical locations where ritualized netherworld journeys, *kispum* and other formal religious activities were played out (George 2000; Katz 2003: 254-256; Pezzoli-Olgiaiti 2005).

Temples and the sacred landscapes and ritual complexes wherein they were set, were places of access to supernatural forces and powerful divine energies (Jacobsen 1976: 13-17; Knipe 1988; Kramer 1988; Johnston 2004: 253; Ragavan 2013). In the realm of myth and ritual, sacred time and sacred space was not always conceived as distinct from physical reality (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1999; Katz 2013; Ragavan 2013). Architectural features could exist on the surface of the earth, but be part of a cosmic plane as well, as we see in a tablet (K48+) from Ashurbanipal’s Library. The text, pieced together from six fragments, describes the ritual involved in temple restoration or building (Fig. 8). Permission from the gods, offerings, sacrifices and a foundation deposit are part of the



complex preparations. This text states that the king must recite an incantation to the lord of the underworld, Enmesharra, three times. Invocation of the deity is essential in this ritual because the foundation pillars of the temple are said to reach down into the domain of the underworld (Borger 1971: 72-80). This text explains the concept of the here and now (the living) as linked to the underworld (the dead) in a concrete way as a built construct in the temple, representing a mythological belief system. Similarly, in the construct of the grave in the house or in the earth, the family was linked to the dead by pouring water into the 'below'. The relationship with the dead was ongoing, as was the relationship on the divine or temple level, represented by the foundation pillars.

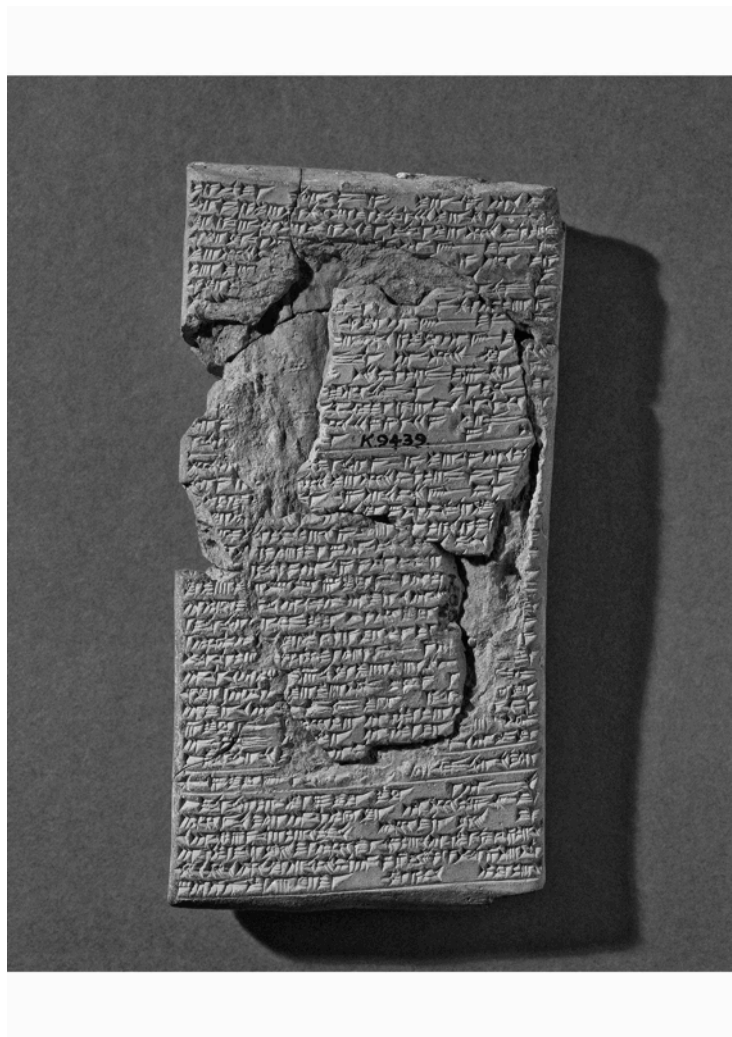


Figure 8. Nineveh. Tablet with text (K48+) of ritual procedures for temple building with foundations in the underworld from Ashurbanipal's Library at Nineveh. Ca. 800-700 BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).

### 3.3.2 KUR

KUR is translated “mountain” in Sumerian and written with a cuneiform sign that is clearly a pictograph for a mountain in its paleographic form (Labat 1976, sign 366; Horowitz 1998: 272). Kur as a netherworld name probably originated very early as a location in or beyond the mountains. The netherworld was not known as a subterranean place until the second millennium (Katz 2003: 105-112). In fourth and early third millennium Sumer, the land of the dead was topographically associated with the eastern mountains. Katz argues effectively that in early Sumerian cosmogony, the underworld was in or behind an actual mountain, while Horowitz notes it may also indicate a cosmic mountain supporting the surface of the earth. There were three common Sumerian meanings for “KUR”: 1) geo-physical “mountain” or “mountain region”, 2) geo-political “foreign (hostile) country” and 3) “the netherworld” (Poo 2005: 29-42). In opposition to KUR is KALAM, as the land of Sumer. Katz suggests a horizontal bipolarity in the early image of the Kur, rather than a vertical axis, with a mountainous world of the dead. Another term for mountain, HUR SAG, does not carry a dual definition, meaning merely a feature of geography (Horowitz 1998: 361; Black 2002: 46).

Concrete geographical terms in many Sumerian myths reflected the actual landscape and clearly helped form the cognitive environment from which deities and humans interact within the cosmos. The experience and imagination of this landscape was of course necessary to understand the literary texts (Black 2002: 60). Early Sumerian texts commonly depict characteristics of the netherworld in terms of a mountain: KUR-ÚR-RA “foot of the mountain”, KUR-BÀD-DA “top of the mountain”, GABA-KUR-RA “breast/edge of the mountain”, and KUR-ÙN-NA “high mountain” (Katz 2003: 103). Kur as an underworld name may have originated with an ancient association of a specific place of burial in or behind the eastern mountains (Katz 2003: 18-23). Use of concrete geographic terms to describe the netherworld in the early Sumerian texts supports the image of an actual mountain on the eastern frontier (Alster 1976: 17-20).

The cultic lament *In the Desert by the Early Grass (Edina-Usagake)* depicts a mother seeking her son, Damu, a young, dead god, as she walks to the netherworld:

Line 3. i-in-di i-in-di gaba-kur-ra-šè

4. u<sub>4</sub>-zal u<sub>4</sub>-zal kur-mud<sup>!</sup>-š[è]

Line 3. She goes, she goes toward the edge of the mountain (KUR).

4. The day is ebbing (waning), the day is ebbing, toward the high mountain (Katz 2003: 317; Jacobsen 1987: 57, 71).

In a similar lament text (*Eršemma of Ninhursaga*, BM98396), the goddess is searching the marshes in the south of Sumer for her drowned son:

Line 5. ama-gan-ra aš-tar-tar ki-kin-kin kur-úr-ra ba-te

The birth-giving mother, inquiring and searching, the foot of the mountain (KUR) gets closer.

Line 9. kur-úr-ra ba-te kur-bàd-da ba-te

The foot of the mountain gets closer; the peak of the mountain gets closer. (Kramer 1982, Katz 2003: 19).

Here, Ninhursaga's trek through the reeds in the alluvial plain toward the distant mountains in the east reflects the early third millennium tradition.

Later, in the second millennium, the image of Kur shifted to the a subterranean realm with its gate in the west, toward the setting sun, where Utu (*Šamaš*) judged the dead in the world below.

These second millennium changes in the Akkadian texts reflect an evolution to a more abstract, mythologized setting, rather than a concrete geographical location. Kur also carried the meaning of the netherworld in the foreign and unknown eastern mountains, outside the Sumerian frontier (Woods 2009). The change from a distant, terrestrial netherworld location may have been due to the broad expansion of political borders in the Akkadian empire. As troops and traders expanded the new empire to include the east and northeastern regions, the foreign mountain Kur now became part of known territory (Katz 2003: 61; Poo 2005: 24-25). The eastern Kur gave way to an abstract underworld in the earth below. After the Old Akkadian period, in the late third millennium, the construct of KUR-KALAM changed as well with the expansion of Sumero-Akkadian boundaries, as we will see in the next section.

### 3.3.3 AN, KI, ERŠETU, ARALI, KI-ÙR and Other Netherworld Concepts

Due partly to political changes with Akkadian expansion and the consolidation of an empire, the merging of Sumerian and Semitic ideologies occurred over time (Katz 2005: 69). As we have seen, the concept of the

netherworld location as a place on terra firma gave way to a construct under or within the earth. Ki became a common netherworld metaphor in the second millennium and onward (Horowitz 1998: 273). The name Ki has no specific geographical boundary. It refers to “place” or “earth” and is translated by the Akkadian *eršetu* in bilingual texts. In cosmogonies and myths of the Nippur tradition, An and Ki are the divine agents of creation in a cosmic marriage (Clifford 1994: 52; Van Dijk 1964b: 12, 20, 37).

As we have seen, temples incorporated cosmogonic places into their architecture, most likely to actualize the power of creation or access the worlds of the gods or the dead. A feature called the Ki-ùr in the Ekur at Nippur was another physical location which had cosmic symbolism. An epithet of this Ki-ùr was “KI-GAL” indicating that Ki-ùr carried netherworld connotation. By the Ur III period, KUR lost its specific geographical characteristics and became a mythological place (Katz 2003: 60-1). By the first millennium, Akkadian bilingual texts translate KUR with KI (*eršetu*). Ki-ùr became *nêreb eršeti*, “entrance to the netherworld” (Clifford 1994: 45-49). The Ki-ùr, then, may have been a location where the spirits of the dead were contacted in ritual contexts.

The name Ki denotes a broader image of the netherworld than any type of concrete or mythological construction. In *The Death of Urnamma*, another netherworld name used is Arali (Akk. *arallû*). This term is used comparably to Ki and may originate with the Sumerian term URU-UL-LA. In the introduction to an Old Babylonian god list (TCL XV 10), an ancient primordial city, URU-UL-LA is named. URU-UL-LA embodies the conception of an embryonic universe, meaning something like ‘city from once upon a time’ or ‘primeval city’. Deities and parts of the cosmos emanated from the URU-UL-LA at the creation (Van Dijk 1964b: 12-13; Clifford 1994: 19-21).

In *The Death of Urnamma*, the king is identified in the funeral lament with the god Dumuzi, Inanna's consort, who was brought to Arali, the place of the land (KI KALAM-MA) of Sumer (Katz 2003: 330-331). (The netherworld is called Kur in the text for several lines thereafter). In Sumer, Arali was the steppe land, a real feature of the topography, between the Sumerian cities of Badtibira (Medina) and Uruk (Warka). There the god-shepherd Dumuzi pastured his flocks in his sheepfold, and there he was attacked by GALLA deputies, or demons, who dragged

him off to the underworld, where he replaces Inanna for half of the year (Kramer 1960a: 68; Jacobsen 1987: 71; Katz 2003: 135-140). Two of the very few visual representations of the dying and rising god Dumuzi come from cylinder seals which depict his capture at the entrance to the underworld (Figs. 9, 10). These glyptic depictions may be modeled on ritual entrances to the netherworld at temple locations as well.

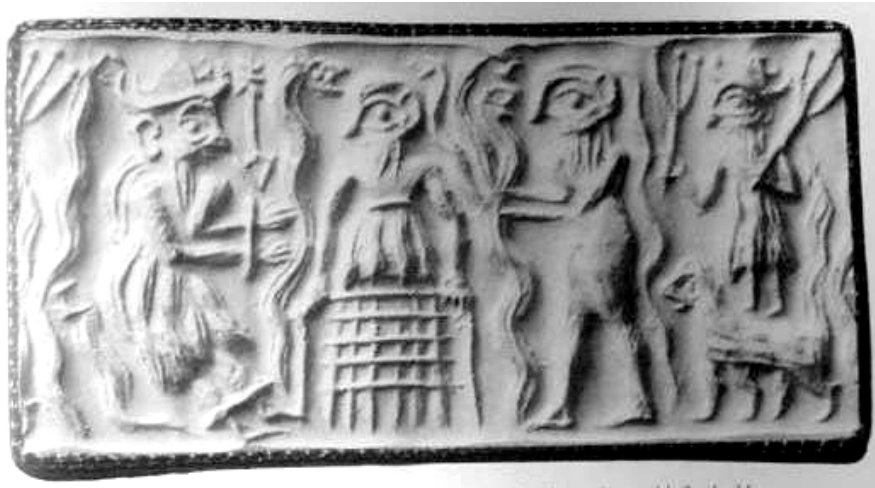


Figure 9. Nuzi. Cylinder seal rolling (BM 123279). Dumuzi shackled between snakes at the entrance to the underworld. 2600-2300 BC. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 10. Ischali. Cylinder sealing (A17004). Dumuzi attacked by the GALLA demons at an entrance to the underworld, the Arali. Ca. 2000-1600 BC. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

In a number of Akkadian texts from the third and second millennia, *Arallû* is used as a term for a “mountain of gold” from *ḥarallû* (Harali), a land of gold. An entrance to the netherworld in the mountains lay in Harali, and there the sun god illuminated the realm of the dead each night (Heimpel 1986: 127, n. 2). The netherworld image as a foreign golden mountain is intriguing, but Horowitz disclaims this correlation with Kur (1998: 284, 19). In later generations, according to Jacobsen, familiarity with Uruk topography faded, and the desert steppe land, Arali, became an abstract, a name of the netherworld (1983: 194-195). KI, however, was used more frequently in the second millennium and further.

The different names for the underworld that we have seen so far used in literature can be quite confusing, however, they may help us to understand the origins and changes in the names, images and abstract conceptions of the afterlife over time, and thus, the dwelling place of the dead.

### 3.3.4 The Levels of the Cosmos

As we have seen, the Mesopotamian cosmos was conceived as three dimensional, expressed horizontally by the plane of the earth’s surface in its extent from the west to the mountains of the east, and vertically from the highest level of heaven and earth to the very depths of the foundations of the underworld. We will see that the lower realm may have been further divided to house different types of spirits, separating the human ghost from evil demons.

Analysis of the texts show a cosmology of three levels of heaven and three earths: Upper (*elîtu*), Middle (*qablîtu*) and Lower (*šaplîtu*) Earth (*eršetu*) (Horowitz 1998: 3-5). Each level of Earth has a surface, called *dannatu*, which parallel the stone floors of the levels of heaven (*šamû*). Another term indicating the surface of the earth *eršetu rapaštu* (Sum. KI-DAGAL, KUR-DAGAL, “wide earth”) is also a common Akkadian epithet of the underworld (Horowitz: 1998: 278-280). This may be descriptive of the size and broad expanse of the underworld as a parallel subterranean plane of existence.

KAR 307, a first millennium mystical text, *pirišti ilâni rabûti*, (“secret of the Great Gods”), contains a description of the levels of the universe. Horowitz dates the lists of cosmic regions in the text to the Kassite period (Horowitz 1998: 4-9). Ea (the Akkadian name of Enki), dwells in *eršetu qablîtu*, the Apsû. The 600 Anunnaki

gods, who are known from several texts as underworld gods from the Kassite period on, are shut inside *eršetu šaplîtu*. The Igigi gods are assigned to the level of the upper *šamû*. A reference in KAR 307 to *zīqīqu amêlûti* “spirits of mankind” on the *dannat eršeti* is interesting to note, as *zīqīqi* are normally ghosts of the dead. However, Horowitz finds a parallel in the *Bit Rimki* incantation texts for the spirits of all mankind (meaning the living) on the Earth’s surface (Horowitz 1998: 16-17). The foundations of the E-Ninnu temple at Girsu were founded with great posts deep within the Apsû, suggesting the *dannatum* of the Upper Earth was moored securely in the middle level of the *eršetu* (Edzard 1987: 16).

*Gudea Cylinder A-B*: Lines 602 ff.

The ruler built the house, he made it high, high as a great mountain. Its ABZU foundation pegs, big mooring stakes, he drove into the ground so deep they could take counsel with Enki in the *E-Engurra* (ECTSL: t.2.1.7).

The underworld level, *eršetu šaplîtu*, had more than one layer. Evil spirits inhabited the bottom of the world of the dead. This has import for the family deceased. A multi-level netherworld differentiates the family dead from malign spirits. An incantation from the series *Udugḥul* mentions the names of several types of demon spirits and consigns them all to the very depths of the Kur (Katz 2003: 15, 343-345).

Line 843. *Gidim-ḥul edin-zu-še<sub>3</sub>*

Evil spirit, to your steppe!

Line 854. *Ki-ùr kur-ra-ka-ke<sub>4</sub> kúkku-zu-šè gen-ba*

Go to your darkness at the base (ki-ùr) of the Kur.

In another source, the *Erra Epic*, the depth of the netherworld is expressed by the growth of the *mêšu* tree, a cosmic tree of life (Parpola 1998).

Where is the *mêsu*-tree, the flesh of the gods, the emblem of the King of the Universe,

The pure tree, august hero, which is becoming to lordship,

Whose roots reach 100 leagues through the vast sea to the depth (*šupul*) of the underworld (*Arallû*),

Whose crown, in the heavens (*elâti*), leans on the Heaven of [Anu]?  
(Horowitz 1998: 245, 362)

Here the sacred tree conveys the vast distance from the lower depths of *Arallû*, to the highest level of heaven. The “wide sea” (*tamtum rapaštum*) probably refers to the Apsû. The Apsû is sometimes described as roofed by the surface of the earth (*ašrat apsi*) and seems to have sides. There is a spring, the *nagab apsi*, an eternal source of water. Seven demons inhabit the spring. The overall size of the Apsû is vast (*rapaštu, rabûtu*), extending under the whole surface of the Earth; its upper surface was identified with ground water (Horowitz 1998: 346-347). The *šupul arallî* also refers to the *šaplati*, the lower regions of the underworld, as mentioned in funerary blessings:

VAS 1 54: 15-19.

i-na e-la-ti šum-šu li-id-mi-iq

i-na ša-ap-la-ti e-ṭe-em-mu-šu me-e za-ku-ti li-il-tu-ú

In the upper regions let his name be praised.

In the lower regions let his ghost drink pure water (Horowitz 1998: 292).

The conception of the Mesopotamian cosmos in a three dimensional topography reflected the boundaries between the divine, human and spiritual world. It also delimited the worlds of the living and the worlds of the dead into the realms above and below. The family dead were understood to occupy a different level of the underworld than evil spirits which were something quite different. Understanding how the afterlife was conceptually drawn out helps us reconstruct funerary beliefs. The placement of the body in the earth properly assisted the soul's transition to the netherworld. Pouring of water in *kispum* signifies and maintains the link of the living to the deceased, and an interaction between realms.

### 3.3.5 KUR NU GI<sub>4</sub>, *Kurnugû, Eršet La Tāri, Qaqqaru, Urugal/Erigal/Irigal, Irkalla, Qabru and Qubûru: More Netherworld Names*

More descriptions of activities between worlds, names associated with the netherworld and the grave add further to the discussion. One of the more ominous



netherworld names, well attested in Akkadian, but less so in Sumerian is *kurnugû* or *eršet la târi* (Sum. KUR-NU-GI<sub>4</sub>/GI), “Earth of No Return”.

LKA rev. 12 – 13.

a-na kur.nu.gi<sub>4</sub>.a li-še-re-es-šu-nu-ti a-na gidim (eṭemmi)

a-ra-le-e i-ru-šú-nu-ti

Let it (fire) take them down to the “Earth of No Return”, let it direct them to the ghost of the underworld (Horowitz 1998: 284).

In the Akkadian *Descent of Ishtar* we also find *qaqqaru la târi* (“Earth of No Return”) and *qaqqiru rabîtu* (“Great Earth”) (Horowitz 1998: 292). *Qaqqaru* is similar to the Sumerian KI and occurs as both a name of the surface of the Earth and as a netherworld name (Horowitz 1998: 291). I suggest that this term for the netherworld carries as well a connotation of soil, or ground, in the name, and enhances the implication of an entry to the subterranean realm through the earth of the grave (CAD Q, 114).

Another term that carries dual meaning is URUGAL (lit. “big city”). Written as ÚRU-GAL, IRI<sub>10-11</sub>-GAL (*Irigal*), E-RI-GAL (*Erigal*), or read ÈŠ-GAL, this word can refer to a name of the netherworld or to the grave, and was also the name of a temple in Uruk (Van Dijk 1964a: 162-163). The differentiation depends upon context; in ancient lexical lists, Sumerian URUGAL is translated as *eršetu* (earth or underworld), or as *qabru* (grave); it may also have been a euphemism for the grave (Katz 2003: 338-339). Katz prefers a more common reading of “grave” in the Udugḥul incantations against evil underworld spirits, which date to Old Babylonian sources, but here are cited in Neo-Assyrian bilingual versions:

Udugḥul 250 – 252 (CT 16, 9i 1-10).

Line 250. A-ra-li-a gîri [mu]-un-ne-gar

251. urugal-la ká mu-un-ne-e-gál

253. abul <sup>d</sup>utu-šú-a-šè è-meš

Line 250. In Arali the path (lit. “foot”) is laid out for them,

251. In the grave (URUGAL) the gate is open for them,

253. They leave toward the gate of sunset. (2003: 338).

There is an Akkadian parallel that supports that URUGAL is the grave, and that in the grave, a gate to the netherworld is located:

LKA 82

Line 11. ina a-ra-al-le-e še-pa i-šak-<ka>-nu ma-a šá da-a-ki šú-nu!

12. ina qab-ri ba-a-bi ip-tu-u ma-a ina KI-tì ba-a-bi ip-te-tu-u

Line 11. In the arali they set foot: for murder are they!

12. In the grave they opened a gate:

in the netherworld they opened a gate (340).

In this text, the *arali* parallels grave (*qabri*) and the netherworld is called here KI (*eršeti*) (Katz 2003: 340-341). URUGAL and ERIGAL also occur as epithets for underworld gods, particularly with Nergal (a later version of the god Erra), the Underworld King. Nergal's name is written most commonly in cuneiform signs as <sup>D</sup>NE-ERI<sub>11</sub>-GAL (= <sup>D</sup>NERIGAL) and therefore contains or personifies the name of the netherworld. URUGAL is also sometimes equated with *arallû*; the Akkadian name *Irkalla* may be derived from it as a loanword (Horowitz 1998: 293). However, Horowitz is in agreement with Katz, that URUGAL is more commonly a term for grave (*qabru*) (1998: 293-294).

### 3.4 The Passage to the Netherworld

While certain deities, such as Utu or Inanna, could enter and leave the Kur, humans were literally destined to go to their fate (*ana šimāti*) by the gods, a euphemism for death (*mūtu*). Burial began the process of a journey to the realm of the dead. The grave gave way to a one-way street to the Kur. Different scenarios of entering gates and crossing rivers appear in the texts, but the outcome remained the same—whatever existed beyond death, now occurred in the netherworld.

#### 3.4.1 The Grave, the Road, the Gates, and the River

After death, humans journeyed along a road from the earth's surface to the underworld gates or to the banks of a river that either flowed by the entrance, or encircled the entire underworld. This road was called "The Road of No Return",  $\square$ *arrān la tārat*; humans could never go back along it, nor return to life on the surface of the earth. The end of the road varied, sometimes it stopped at the

underworld gates, while other texts leave the road at the banks of the Ҳubur River, which must then be crossed. In the itinerary from Uruk to Akkad in *Inanna's Descent*, Inanna is able to proceed directly up to the Gate of the Netherworld without crossing the River Ҳubur. Upon arrival, she is confronted with the gatekeeper, Bidu or Pidu (some sources use Nedu), and she states:

me-e ᵀga-ša-an-na ki-ᵀutu-è-a-aš

I am the Lady of Heaven (going) toward the 'Place of Sunrise'.

Bidu, whose name comes from the Semitic *petû*, "to open", questions her:

tukum-bi za-e ᵀinanna ki-ᵀutu-è-a-aš

a-na-àm ba-du-un kur-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-šè

ḥa-ra-an lú-du-bé nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-dè šà-zu a-gim túm-mu-um

If you are Inanna (going) to the 'Place of Sunrise',

Why have you come to the 'Kur of No Return' (KUR-NU-GI<sub>4</sub>)?

What made you decide to take the path whose traveler never returns?

(Horowitz 1998: 354)

Also known as the chief gatekeeper (*idugallu*) of the *eršetu*, Bidu bolts the gate behind newcomers to prevent them from turning back to the world of the living (Lenzi 2011: 139).

According to *The Babylonian Theodicy*, all humankind was apparently destined to go down the road to the River Ҳubur (Lambert 1960: 70, 16-17).

Our fathers gave in, traveled the road of death (*uruḥ mūtu*).

"They crossed the river Ҳubur," it has been said since the days of yore (*ultu ulla*).

This road is also called *uruḥ la tāri*, "Road of No Return" (Horowitz 1998: 354-55). Non-human entities, such as gods, ghosts and demons, could choose other routes to the Kur. A 'Stairway of Heaven' (Akk. *simmilat šamâmî*), reached from the heavens to the gates of the underworld (*Nergal and Ereškigal*). Spirits could penetrate the earth's crust or ascend to the surface through cracks. At death, humans entered the grave and set out upon the road from there to a subterranean

world. Therefore the grave was not the netherworld, but it was the source of access to the path there, where the journey began.

To pass along the road meant death. In *Edina-usagake*, the mourning mother seeks her son; in her grief, she is willing to die to be with him.

Line 1. [al-di ga-da-an-gen guruš-me-en/ha-ra-n]a nu g[i<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>]  
(Katz 2003: 316)

“If it be required, you lad, let me walk with you the road of no return. Alas, the lad! The lad, my Damu! (Jacobsen 1987: 71)

We have seen that this Sumerian text reflects the earlier vision of the mountain netherworld, but the one-way access road (HA-RA-NA NU-GI<sub>4</sub>-GI<sub>4</sub>) was already the highway to the afterlife (Horowitz 1998: 353-355; Katz 2003: 316). The way to the road was through the grave. In this lament, the mother does not want to separate from her dead son. But in Mesopotamian thought, if she walked the road of no return with him, she would accompany him into death. Humans had to pass along the *ḥarrān la tārāt* in spirit. While she lived she must instead continue the relationship with her son via the *kispum* ritual.

The ritual journey may have taken place as well as part of public ceremonies, and included offerings to the netherworld gods at the end of the road (KASKAL) (CAD H, 106-108). The offering ritual may have taken place in a building called <sup>d</sup>Kaskal Kur, which literally means a (supernatural) road to the Kur (Gordon 1967; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2005: 37). Some historical texts recall this term in association with underground springs and watercourses. Stone drains found under a platform at Hattusa associated with a <sup>d</sup>Kaskal Kur chamber might indicate that the ritual room, like the *âbi* at Urkesh, was an entrance to the netherworld. Underground waterways may have served as roads to the Kur or functioned as the rivers that had to be crossed (Gordon 1967: 74-76). The source of The Balikh River in northeastern Syria, Rās al-‘Ain-al-‘Arus, may have been considered a geographical underworld access point. Balikh was the son of divine Etana, who may have visited the Kur to retrieve the “plant of birth”, known from the Etana myth. The name of the river was written both phonetically in Akkadian and also as <sup>d</sup>KASKAL KUR in Sumerian, “road to the underworld”, early in the Old Babylonian period. (Gordon 1967: 78-80).

At the end of the infernal road, many texts do feature a river that a spirit or demon must cross to enter the realm of the dead (Jacobsen and Alster 2000). Texts vary on particulars, but in one, (*Underworld Vision* 45), a Mesopotamian Charon ferries some new arrivals across the Ḫubur River (Horowitz 1998: 356).

SAA 3 71 no. 32 rev. 5

ḫu-muṭ-ta-bal lúmalāḫ eršetim qaqqadu an-zu mušen 4 qātā šē[pā<sup>11</sup>...

Humuṭtabal, the boatman of the Eršetim (KI) (with) an Anzu-head (lion-headed eagle), 4 hands and feet...

The boatman, or a cult singer or *gala* priest who represented him at the burial, could have received some sort of payment, called *addir*, intended to ease the deceased's crossing of the underworld river (Selz 1995). The river does not have a specific name, but in the myth *Enlil and Ninlil*, it consumes people, an apt metaphor for death (Katz 2003: 91). A sandstone jewelry mold from Nineveh shows the Lamashtu, a type of female demon with a lion's head, standing in a boat on an underworld river (Fig. 11).

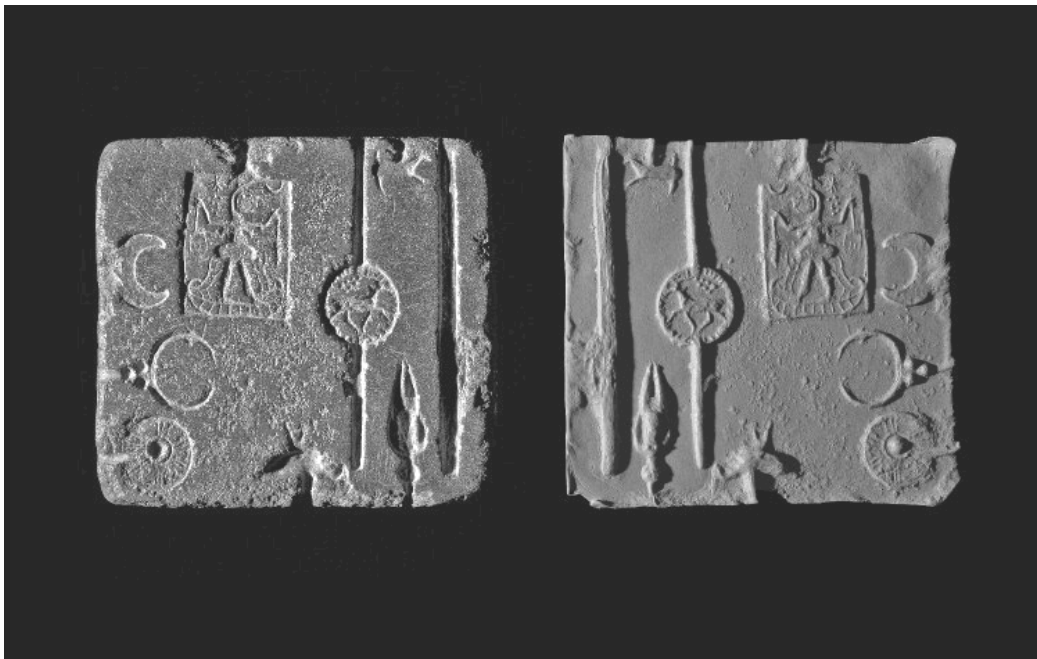


Figure 11. Nineveh. Jewelry mold of a Lamashtu demon riding boat on an underworld river, 800-612 BC). BM91904/N.1670. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).

In some references, the river flowed within several gates, probably imagined as the double or triple city gates of the great walled cities of Mesopotamia. A sketch drawing of the Babylonian Map of the World from Sippar (Abu Habba, Iraq) (BM 92687) shows the *marratu* (“salt” or “bitter”) watercourse, which is a cosmic, imagined sea or river that encircles the known world (Fig. 12). The eight triangular-shaped *nagû*, “regions”, may actually depict the outer regions of the Earth as cosmic mountains. As mentioned above, the text and the map combine cosmic and mythological elements with real geographical names (Horowitz 1998: 30-33; Wyatt 2001: 80-82).

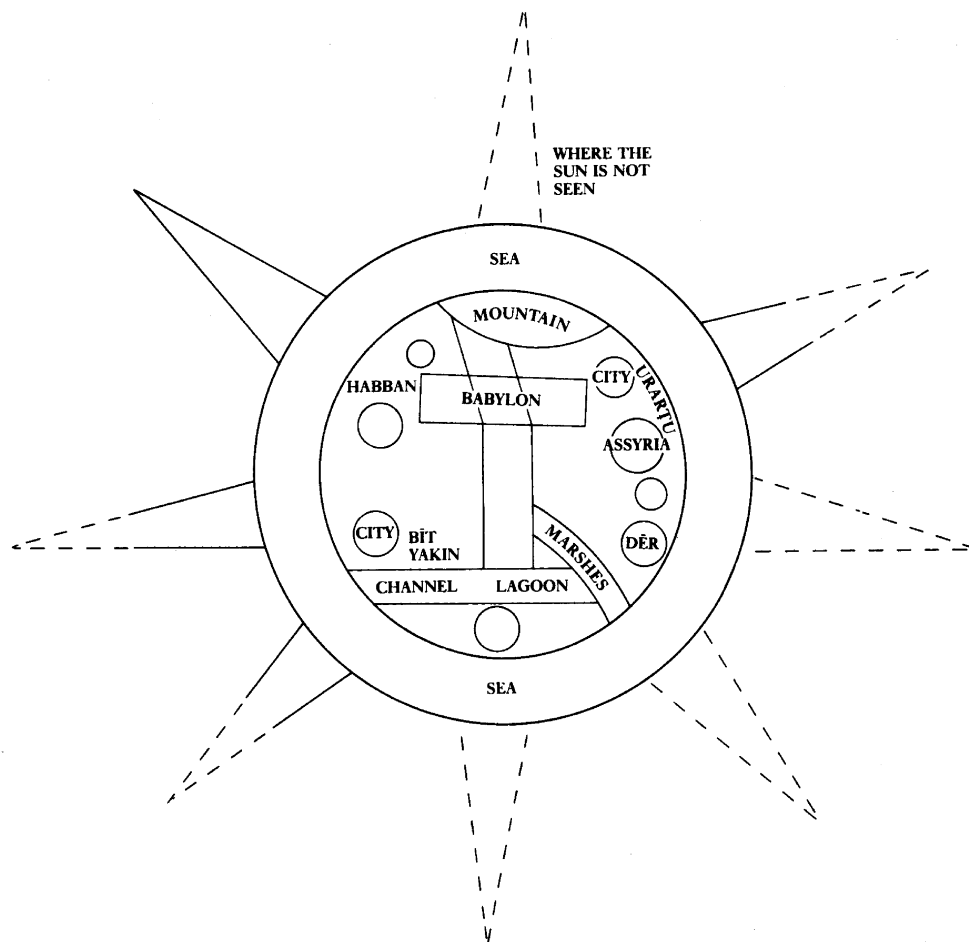


Figure 12. Conception of the cosmic river surrounding Earth’s surface. (Illustration by T. Rickards in Black and Green 1992: 53). (Used with the permission of The University of Texas Press.)

Texts that mention gates to the netherworld naturally reflect the image of a Mesopotamian fortified city with massive city gates. Because Ishtar passes through

several gates and is stripped of all her powers in the metaphor of garments, the notion of the Seven Gates of the City of the Dead arose early in the literature (Katz 1995; Bottéro 2001: 108). However, like the rivers, gates as part of the Kur are not mentioned consistently in the texts. GANZIR is sometimes interpreted as the name of the gate at the front of the Kur, as a palace in the netherworld, or as the netherworld itself, but the term remains unclear (Katz 2003: 85-91). The cuneiform sign for GANZIR is written <sup>DI</sup>GI KUR, and the word itself may reflect an ancient, proto-Euphratic ideology (Katz 2003: 91). The Sumerian texts involve punning and wordplay as well, an important feature of one level of the sub-text in the literary genres. IGI KUR literally means “in front of the Kur” in Sumerian. In *Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld (GEN)*, GANZIR can be read either as a gate or as the name of the netherworld itself (Katz 2003: 88).

#### GEN

167. abul-ganzir-igi-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> dúr im-ma-in-gar

167. At the gate of Ganzir, the front of the netherworld, he sat down

In *Inanna's Descent*, GANZIR appears as well (Katz 2003: 87-89).

73. <sup>DI</sup>inanna é-gal-ganzir- šè

74. <sup>GIŠ</sup>ig-kur-ur-ra-ka šu-ḥul ban-an-ús

75. abul-kur-ra-ka gù-ḥul ba-an-dé

73. After Inanna approached the palace ganzir

74. She thumped maliciously on the door of the netherworld,

75. She shouted maliciously at the gate of the netherworld

Later in the text, Ereškigal speaks to the gatekeeper, telling him that Inanna shall enter the Kur through the GANZIR, a multiple-gated entrance structure.

119. abul-kur-ra imin-bi <sup>GIŠ</sup>si-gar-bi ḥé-éb-ús

120. é-gal-ganzir dili-bi <sup>GIŠ</sup>ig-bi- šu ḥa-ba-an-ús

119. The bolt shall be placed on the seven gates of the netherworld.

120. Each door of the palace ganzir separately he shall push open.

Whether passage through a gate or across a river was part of the journey, each began with the grave, *qabru* (URUGAL) or *qubûru* (KI MAḤ or KI ŠÚR) An omen text mentions both the gate and the grave (CAD Q, 293).

#### KAR 143

11. [bāb...] ša tallakuni bāb qa-bu-re

### 11. [The ... gate] she passes is the opening of the grave.

As we have seen, the grave itself functioned as the place to access to the world of the dead, a metaphorical gate to the netherworld regions. It was also a place of family memory, where the bones rested and the spirit could come when called in the *kispum* ritual (Groneberg 1990: 254; Novak 2000). The grave functioned as a locus for both the spirit of the dead and the family to interact. This interpretation draws attention to the importance of the physical burial as a locale associated with the bodily remains. Funerary ritual at death activated the passage of the spirit of the dead. Grave provisions of water and food clearly facilitated some portion of this process, whether provisions for the journey or gifts at the other end. It is important to understand that the grave and the body existed in sacred, ritual time and space, as well as within the temporal, physical earth. What occurred at the grave in the present was linked to the eternal in the afterlife (Katz 2013).

While certain literary genres, such as the descent myths, offer a bleak picture of life after death, grave goods and other types of cuneiform documents, such as administrative texts that order provisions for *kispum*, as we will see in Chapter 5, hint at a better fate. The archaeological evidence and funerary iconography point to a different conception of the afterlife where people wore their clothes and ornaments, ate, drank and lived with some sort of resemblance to daily life (Barrett 2007: 12). This interpretation fits much more closely with the actual practice of *kispum*. The family not only provided goods in the grave; they ensured provision of food and water for the deceased in the afterlife. If the dismal fate of the family dead was hopeless, a foregone and inevitable conclusion, there would have been no point in the monthly *kispum* offerings. The archaeological basis and implications of this interpretation will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

## 3.5 Conclusions and Summary

In Mesopotamian religious practice of the second millennium BC, rituals, magic incantations and religious performances of mythic literature all referenced and drew power for the participants from the deepest and most ancient imaginings of a complex, created universe, inhabited by deities, demons and humans, living and dead. In this chapter we examined the concept of the cosmos in



ancient Mesopotamian thought in order to establish what we know about their beliefs about life, death, the afterlife and the spiritual realm, drawing on textual sources. In the broader context of the structure of the universe we located a place for the world of the dead deep under the terrestrial plane and well below the Apsû, a mystical place of sweet waters, inhabited by the god Enki/*Ea*, the god of wisdom, water and magic. The underworld, like the heavens above, consisted of several layers, and demons seemed to occupy the lowest level. The grave itself was conceived as a portal to these underworld regions and the place where the deceased began its transition to another existence. Later, in Chapter 5, we will see how textual references related to burial ritual, graves and grave furnishings give us further understanding about material remains.

For Mesopotamians, the appropriate burial of the body commenced the journey of the dead and was essential to the transformation of an individual from life to death. The grave, then, served a liminal function; it helped to accomplish the successful transition of the spirit of the deceased from the land of the living to that of the dead. Burial was most likely accompanied by a formal funeral ritual with offerings, then followed by regular *kispum* rites performed throughout the year.

Stories of the mythic ordering of the cosmos, human interaction with divine beings, and the placement of group and self within the world were important parts of social and cultural memory (Wyatt 2001; Assmann 2006). Memory could be transmitted within family groups by recounting these myths aloud (Jonker 1995; Jacobsen 1982). Mythic narratives carried important and powerful cultural symbols and memes, explaining what was in the past and will be in the future (Eliade 1963; Wyatt 2001: 210; Katz 2013). Written mythic memory was a vehicle that provided a cultural and religious context beyond the immediate familial or clan sphere, and translated cultural norms into the official state or national identity. An elite hierarchy sometimes manipulated official belief through myths composed by temple priests to advance the state religious agenda. Textual narratives of social identities, political or religious, work at a much larger scale across time and space boundaries. As we have seen in Chapter 3, mythologized cultural beliefs were codified in symbolic narratives and ritual poems, myths or dramas.

For individuals and family groups, tangible acts involving repetition and practice were the fundamental form of transmission of memory. Ritual actions, such as funerary rites, gained power (often understood as magico-religious results) from their grounding in a common belief system, derived from underlying mythic scenarios, particularly those that delineated the shape of the cosmos. The conception of terrestrial, celestial and subterranean planes, inhabited by human, as well as supernatural, beings is essential to our understanding of the fate and destination of humans after death (Fortes 1987: 295). Mesopotamian belief in a complex mythological cosmos within an ordered, structured universe affected the relationship of the family with the spirits of the dead, as well as treatment of the body at burial. Archaeologically, the care taken to bury the dead, preserve and protect the tomb or the grave signifies a notion of some type of continued existence in this cosmic setting, and, within the family, a relationship with their dead. The “Land of No Return”, the lower world, existed in family memory as a place “below”, where the deceased spirits were located. In some cases, as we will further discuss in Chapter 6 this belief was actualized by graves literally placed beneath the family house. *Kispum* allowed for memory of the family deceased by real-world participation with them in ritual.

## Chapter 4. The Family and the Dead in Mesopotamia

Having identified that burial and *kispum* practices were constructed within familial contexts, we need to further explore textual information relating to conceptions of the family and the self. In this chapter, we will decipher how the Mesopotamian conceived of self, as body, mind, and spirit, part of which was thought to survive after physical death. These components were thought to originate at the creation of humans. Terms for the family and words that tell us more thoroughly how the human self was construed in Mesopotamian thought are key to defining how Mesopotamians understood relations between the living and dead. They are necessary to understand the role of remembrance for the living.

These terms in context also elucidate personal and corporate identity in Mesopotamian society. Kinship ties were important for the family identity, as we will see in the texts, and established the foundation for relationships with deceased family members. The grave and care for the dead in cyclical *kispum* rituals were a manifestation of family unity, and the family was the basis of meaning for the individual. Dead kin lived on in a different form, but and participated in an ongoing ritual relationship of remembrance with the family, which sustained them in the afterlife.

First we will examine examples from several types of documents which clarify the concept of the human individual, its spiritual and corporeal elements. The texts also elucidate notions of family or clan identity, and ritual motivation for caring for the dead. Then this chapter will look at some examples of genealogies and households to help investigate the idea of ancestors, family identity and remembrance in Mesopotamia.

### 4.1 Concepts and Terms for Body and Spirit

Mesopotamians believed that the goal of living a good and healthy life, *bulṭu* (from *balāṭu* —“to be healthy”), was to attain health, many children and a long life. The preservation of the grave was of great concern to the Mesopotamians. Anyone who failed to honor and maintain graves could be afflicted with a short life, marked by sickness, poverty and destruction of the family line. If there were no

descendants, then graves would not be tended and the spirit of the deceased would be abandoned.

#### 4.1.1 The Body, Life and Spirit

The form in which the deceased entered the world beyond was called the *eṭemmu* (ghost) the essential spirit of a human, which the family believed would live on after death (Bayliss 1973; Jonker 1995: 190; Abusch 1998). Pronouncing the name of the dead in the *kispum* ritual was essentially a creative, life-giving act. The dead were kept alive in memory, in effect by invoking their name and reanimating the soul. To be forgotten in the present meant eternal oblivion.

The destruction of the family seed (*zēru*) is often the object of curse inscriptions. The image of the roots of a tree as the ancestors and the fruit as their progeny above, unites the inhabitants of both the upper and lower worlds.

Whoever erases this inscription,  
may Šamaš and Enlil tear out his roots and eat his seed.

They may not give him a son and heir (Jonker 1995: 196, 23)

Progeny were the mechanism through which family identity was continued. A successful life and afterlife was measured by having children (Cooper 2009: 31). This was partly expressed through the belief that the family deceased would be cared for in the afterlife by their descendants. The idea of the preservation of the grave and maintenance of the spirit of the dead is integral to an understanding of why Mesopotamians continued to perform the *kispum* ritual.

#### 4.1.2 Elements of the Human Being

Various Akkadian words refer to the components of the human body, the corpse, the living, and what form the spirit of a living person takes after bodily death. A dead person, *mītu*, had no breath in the nostrils, no life force, was unable to have children and was thought to be asleep in the grave. Life, *napištu*, consisted of vitality, health, breath and strength in the body (Jonker 1995: 191; CAD P, 42). The idea of life as breath breathed into the nostrils and as soul (compare Hb. *nepeš*, Gk. *psyche*) is a well known trope in ancient Near Eastern thought (Barré 1990). A living person had flesh (*šīru*), blood (*damu*), a heart (*libbu*), a body (*zumru*, *pagru*), a skeleton (*eṣemtu*) and intelligence (*tēmu*). The physical and spiritual components

of humans came into being at their creation. The myth *Atrahasis*, which also contains a Babylonian flood story, deals with the creation of humans to serve the gods as a work force. This myth explains the nature of humans as mortal beings but with an eternal spiritual component, the ghost or *eṭemmu*.

The Mesopotamian conception of human creation, just like the structure of the cosmos, translates explicitly into what appear to be central ideas of the death and afterlife experience, and figure into funerary ritual as well. From a depiction of humans as being composed of both spirit and flesh at creation, we can understand that part of the living survived as a ghost after death. Humans were created with the mind (*ṭēmu*) and blood (*damu*) of a minor god. Before the creation of mankind, the *Igigi*, a group of minor gods, dug the canals and massive irrigation works. These gods rebelled against the hard manual labor and a god, named We-ila, led a strike against the command of the chief gods. The violent death of We-ila eventually enabled mankind to be created from his body (Dalley 1989; Abusch 1998: 364-365). Mankind, therefore, is made from divine flesh and blood; this is the part of the human believed to survive after death.

*Ṭēmu* was carried in the divine blood and inherited by mankind. To have *ṭēmu* is to have consciousness. The word *ṭēmu* is also related to “plan”, in the sense of an idea conceptualized in the mind and then brought into being upon naming or command. *Ṭēmu* is also used for “decision”, “intention”, “sense” and “reason” (CAD T, 94-96). Drunkenness, confusion, or insanity was attributed to a lack of *ṭēmu*. That mankind was partly made up of this divine force of intelligence, creative, and rational thought, helps us to understand the nature of the *eṭemmu*.

It is also interesting to note that the word for man, *awīlu*, clearly plays on the sound of the slain god’s name, We-ila. Other sound- and wordplays exist between *ṭēmu/eṭemmu* (*we + ṭēmu*), and *damu/ṭēmu/eṭemmu* (Bottéro 1982; Abusch 1998; Alster 2002). To the Mesopotamians, the punning and linguistic play was full of nuance and indeed, here, served to express truths about the nature of the human spirit. The terms and the way they are used express the duality of life and death (Liverani 2004: 7011). The layering of meaning in the terms would have been obvious to a Mesopotamian audience.

While the nature of myth is very different from a modern understanding of ontology, philosophy or theology, in Mesopotamia, as we have seen, it functioned

as a literary form of pondering the ineffable (Bottéro 1982: 28-29; Liverani 2004: 3-17). This homophonic literary device therefore served to intertwine meanings and emphasize the interrelated components that make up human beings, both physically and spiritually. For us, understanding these devices leads to a better view of the Mesopotamian idea of the spirit that remained after death.

To create humans, divine elements were mixed with a physical, earthly element, clay. This was done by a birth goddess named Nintu, a name which describes her role.

“With his flesh and his blood  
let Nintu mix clay  
that both the god himself and man  
may be mixed together in the clay.”

(Abusch 1998: 365, lines 210-213)

At the command of the god Enki, the human heart (*libbu*) was assigned a heartbeat likened to a drum (*uppu*). It is at this point that the *eṭemmu* came into being.

“From the god’s flesh let there be a ghost,  
To the living creature, let it make known its sign,  
That there be no forgetting let there be a ghost.”

(Abusch 1998: 365, lines 215-216)

Therefore, we see that the god’s flesh and blood imparted a measure of divinity to mankind, but was also the source of the human ghost, which continued on after mortal death.

Another piece of literature, *Enūma Elish*, also attributes the creation of mankind to the blood of a murdered god (Abusch 1998: 370, 383; Bottéro 2001: 241-243). Divine blood is likened to the life force of man, from which comes the self. The flesh of the god, however, is the source of the *eṭemmu*, and the form of the body. The clay (*ṭiddu*) provides the bodily form, the physical basis of humanity, while the blood of the god provides life and intelligence (*ṭēmu*). Flesh invokes both the mortal human and immortal ghost, a duality imposed by the nature of the divinity of the god, who became mortal when violently killed (Abusch 1998: 370-

371). Somehow a part of man was believed to be immortal as a result of the divine element, and existed after death as the *eṭemmu*.

In the myth *Adapa*, mortality, not originally included as a prerequisite for human life, came about by the actions of Adapa himself in an appearance before the gods. He refused the garments and food of eternal life offered him by the chief god of the pantheon, Anu. Thus, human population increased to excess - depicted as 'noise' - and a flood was sent to deal with overpopulation (Liverani 2004: 3-23). These garments and the food could represent mortuary provisions for the dead. Since these items were depicted as the means for achieving immortality, the myth may reflect the belief that clothing the body and offering food and water enabled the ongoing existence of the human spirit in the *eṭemmu*. Another way to view this episode, is that the offer of food and clothing were a trick, as they would signify the preparation of the corpse for burial. In Chapter 5 we will see texts that mention funerary use of clothes and food offerings.

#### 4.1.3 The Nature of the *Eṭemmu*

As we have seen, man (*awīlu*) has in him an element of the divine (*īlu*), the *ṭēmu*, which became a part of man via the *damu* (blood) of the god at creation. The *eṭemmu* is a complex notion of mind, spirit, and life force combined, which survives in an insubstantial state after the physical body dies (Bottéro 1992: 271-273; Jonker 1995: 191; Abusch 1998: 366-372). Man, made of clay and the blood of a god, has a component that we might know as 'mind', 'soul' or 'life force'; it continues on in an altered existence after death. According to the traditional view of a bleak post-mortem existence, this spirit was doomed to survive in a simple subsistence state in much-reduced circumstances (Scurlock 1997).

However, we can see that various attitudes to the physical remains of the dead might suggest something different. Although non-corporeal, the *eṭemmu* is closely linked with the physical presence of the bones (*eṣemtu*). Not only was the presence of the bones important, but the corpse, *šalamtu*, must be properly cared for at burial. Its continued care is also clearly important, and lies at the heart of what we know of *kispum* rituals of libations and food offerings. It may be that the location of the grave had to be known to family members for continuing care through *kispum* offerings.

The family's vigilant care of the dead may have been thought to impart a sort of energy, in some way, to the *eṭemmu*, which might be seen as a shadow (*šillu*) or the image of a person (Jonker 1995: 192; Scurlock 1997: 96; Bottéro 2001: 107). This concept is also known from current Death and Dying Studies. As we have seen (Section 2.3), Continuing Bonds Theory finds that people continue to interact with their loved ones in various ways after death, including dreaming about them, having conversations with them or perceiving their presence (Sanger 2009; Kwilecki 2011).

Some interpretations suggest that the presence of the *eṭemmu* might also occur as a wafting breeze (*zaqīqu*) or a wind gust (*šāru*), which could rise from the underworld from a crack in the earth (Jonker 1995: 192). Another interpretation of the *zaqīqu* is “dream soul”. Scurlock attributes this wind or shadowlike spirit as the part of the living being which survives after death, and the *eṭemmu* as a second, body-related spirit (2002: 1; 2010). In her view, both entities depart the body with the funerary rites, which separated these souls from the corpse. This ritual separation was said to “blow away the wind” and set the soul loose to embark upon its journey to the world below. I think it is more likely that there was one soul or spirit, the *eṭemmu*, the essence of the human that survived death. The spirits that could sneak through cracks in the earth were probably demons and malevolent spirits who were different than family *eṭemmī*. They were the *šaggāšu*, “murderer” demon from the steppe, evil *utukku* (UDUG-ĤUL) demons, baby-snatching demons and others (Castellino 1955; Scurlock 1991, 2005, 2006; Geller 2008; Finke 2013). These hostile spirits are distinguished from human spirits.

I interpret the unsettled *eṭemmu* of the exorcistic incantations, as the portrayal of the spirit of a person with no family identity. An unsettled ghost could result from lack of proper burial and is characterized as having no *pāqīdu* (family heir or caretaker) to provide them with water, food or a grave (CAD P: 115-138). Having a *pāqīdu* meant belonging to a social group, a family. Such metaphors embodied (even if as a ghost) a deep truth in Mesopotamian thought, that meaning was constructed communally through family identity. Individuals were known or ‘named’ in the Near Eastern understanding of ‘to come into being’ only through association with a group identity.



The idea of no family attachments, of no lineage that connected to the past and was continuing into the future, might have been much more of a fear to the Mesopotamians than the ghosts of the family deceased.

## 4.2 The Family

To better understand the importance of the ritual in establishing identity within the family, we must examine some of the kinship terminology. As funeral and post-funeral practices are assumed to take place within familial groups, it is important to clarify our understandings of the nature of these groups. Terms for the family in the Old Babylonian period, which we focus on here, are well attested in private documents from the first half of the second millennium. These include accounting texts, legal documents, wills and inheritance deeds, contracts, family and official letters, personal inscriptions and seals, and economic records. Some of these sources come from family archives, as we will discuss further below. Much of the written record derives from upper class property owners and urban families, due to the nature of literacy and scribal resources associated with affluence. As it is essential to avoid essentialist interpretations of religious behaviors, I do not believe the *kispum* was strictly an upper class religious practice (Edwards 2005). The *kispum* ritual could be practiced by anyone and was something different than burial or grave furnishing

### 4.2.1 Terms for Family and Clan

The basic name for the family was *bît abim* (lit. 'house of the father') in Akkadian and IM-RU-A/IM-RI-A in Sumerian. *Bît abim* could refer to the name of a nuclear family, as well as an extended family.

*Kimtum* and *kimtia* are also translated as 'family' and 'my family' respectively, as well as used in a more general sense for 'clan'. Kinship was expressed in terms of brother (*aḥum*) and family or clan ties. Some examples elucidate the importance of the family relationship (Van der Toorn 1996b: 22-23).

TCL 17, 21

Kima aḥam u qerbam (l)a išû epšēku

I have been treated like someone who has neither brother nor relative.

The clan, *kimtum*, consisted of flesh and blood relations and could include families more widely distributed, living in many different cities.

TCL 18, 85

Ina ālim šāti kimtī u aḥī attāma

In that city, you are my family and brother.

A letter of introduction for one Sîn-abušū to relations in the city of Sippar asks for good treatment and accommodations for a man who is not a stranger, but rather a fellow clan member:

AbB 12, 144

Awīlum šū ul nakaranniāšim, aḥuni libbu kimt[ini].

That man is no stranger to us, he is our brother, from among our own clan.

The Akkadian word for stranger, *nakrum*, in the text above, is the same term used for a foreigner or enemy, and carries a hostile connotation (*CAD* N/1, 189-191). Used in parallel to and opposite *aḥu* and *kimtum*, the significance of the clan relationship is highlighted. Clan or lineage members literally share flesh and blood, which unites them against outsiders, and indeed against evil. We can use the following examples of *nakrum* to clarify the idea of brotherhood (family), the household, and the strength of kinship ties (*CAD* N/1: 190-191).

Or. NS 36 410

la na-ak-ra-ku la aḥiāku šīrka u damaka anāku

I am not a stranger, not an alien, I am your flesh and blood.

Tell Asmar 1931, 299:6

anāku aḥuka šīrka u damaka anāku

na-ak-ru-um na-kà-ar-ma anāku ana awâtika azzaz

I am your brother, I am your flesh and blood,

only an outsider is hostile, but I obey you.

Fish Letters 1:22

awīlum awīl bītija ul na-ka-ar

The man is a man of my household, not a stranger.

To be part of a family, which in turn was related via blood ties, however distant, to a larger clan, was essential in Mesopotamia. To family members, kinship identity reflected the balance and order of a structured universe. While other identities might exist in relation to the city or larger religious, political or occupational units as well, this familial or kin grouping is clearly the arena within which such mortuary practices were played out. It was possible to be associated with more than one grouping, such as family groupings and clerical or crafts-based ties (see 4.3.7 below).

#### **4.2.2 Family, Society and Identity**

Preservation of family and clan identity was paramount. To be an outsider was to be other, foreign, *nakrum*, and a threat to group survival (Poo 2005: 80-81). Within this worldview we may see how preservation of family and clan identity was paramount. The organization of a patriarchal family provided the basic structure of society. Family harmony represented order, the opposite of enemy rule, destruction, foreign invasion. Any disruption of family unity or removal from the clan (*kimtum*) earned the curse of the gods.

As we have seen the onset of an imbalance of social order disrupted the Mesopotamian ideal of the good and healthy life. Conflict, famine, distress, poor conduct, neglect and lack of family brotherhood (*ahhūtum*) were considered inimical, dangerous and completely harmful to the family. At times, such divisive forces were blamed on demons or witchcraft, just as foreign forces were demonized on a national scale (Van der Toorn 1996b: 23; Poo 2005: 81). These notions were carried out symbolically on the cosmic scale. Familial and clan unity represented the ordered universe, the good life, as opposed to the disorder of chaos, likened to death. Kinship ties, even if distant, established a group self-identity, of which nuclear and immediate extended family was the core of society.

As we have seen, the idioms of kinship and familial life pervaded the lived world, but what I will argue as a central part of this research is that this identity extended beyond the grave, incorporating the spirits of deceased kin in ongoing family remembrance, and reaching back through generations to maintain and

curate ancestral bonds. In just this way therefore, ritual care of the dead served an essential societal function for the living in the Mesopotamian family, quite contrary to perceptions of the dead as mere shades or hostile spirits.

I would like to develop further the idea that dead kin also occupied a key place in this worldview. In the “steadfast house of the family”, the *bīt kimti šuršudu*, the dead lived in an accepted relationship: the dead “below”, the living “above”. As we have seen above, the product of this family maintenance of order was a good name and esteem for “those who live under the sun” (Jonker 1995: 196, 210). Rather than a mere nod to pacifying malevolent ghosts, incorporation of dead family members was an active factor in the family dynamic, beneficial to the family self-perception, reputation, social identity and continuance of the family line.

There are two further terms that designate broad kinship groups: *nîšûtu*, (‘relatives’, from *nîšû*, ‘people’), and *salātu* (‘family’ or ‘clan’). Both refer to family kin related by marriage or consanguinity. *Nîšûtu* can be translated as “in-laws” (CAD N, 297-98). *Salātu* often occurs alongside *kimtu* and *nîšûtu* in collective kinship terms, in many contexts. In a legal context, for example, the juxtaposition of terms defines the scope of family relations, or even the size of kinship groups in gradual order (CAD S, 93-94; K, 375-76):

matima ina aḥḥē mārē  
kim-tum ni-su-tum u sa-la-tum  
ša bīt PN ša iraggumu

if ever anyone raises a claim  
among the brothers, sons,  
family, relations or kin  
of the household of So-and-So...

It is important to confirm the extent to which kinship extends to the dead. In a literary example, Ut-Napishtim, the Noah character in the Flood story in The Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet XI line 84, loads “all of my family (*kimtija*) and my kin (*salātija*)” into the boat (CAD K, 376). Not simply terminology for kinship, these words and phrases also demonstrate that terms for living relations extend into the

afterlife. A prayer for family ghosts includes the extended relatives among the group (Lenzi 2011: 136, 143, lines 1-3).

at-tu-nu GIDIM kim-ti-ia ba-nu-ú qab-[ra]

AD.MU AD AD.MU AMA.MU AMA AMA.MU ŠEŠ.MU NIN.MU

kim-ti-ia ni-šu-ti-ia u sa-la-ti-ia

You, the ghosts of my family, progenitors in the grave,  
(The ghosts of) my father, my grandfather, my mother, my grandmother,  
my brother, my sister, (The ghosts of) my family, my kin and my clan...

GIDIM *kim-ti-ya* here can be read grammatically as *eṭem kimtiya* and translated as “my ancestral family”, as GIDIM/*eṭemmu* are interchangeable (Lenzi 2011: 136). Here we may note that the family deceased in this example encompass three generations, which has been discussed as the generational limit in Mesopotamia for individual mention of the deceased in texts (Bayliss 1973: 199, 121). We will discuss this further below in this chapter.

The ghosts are *bānû* (line 1), ‘progenitors’, from a word that means to build or create, and aptly connotes the origins of the seed of the family line. This word is also used of gods in the act of creation. Here, *kimtum* seems to connote the nuclear family up to perhaps grandparents, while the terms *nîšûtu* and *salatu* (line 3) refer to the extended, broader relatives in the bloodline or clan, and may indicate ancestors. Other interpretations have suggested that *kimtum* is the clan, of which the nuclear family is part (Van der Toorn 1996b: 22).

These terms at least give us some notion of what the Mesopotamian view of family kinship relations entailed, and speak for the existence of dead kin, all of whom could interact with living family members and with whom family clearly engaged in various ways. It seems that *kispum*, then, may have helped establish the extension of the clan, its ongoing existence, into the afterlife. This would provide a sense of security for family members, in the notion of ongoing relational bonds that existed both before and after life.

### **4.3 Ancestors in Mesopotamia**

In these Mesopotamian societies where family and kin remained so central to the structuring of social life, we have also seen that rather than regarding the dead as being discarded shades, the dead might equally be seen as core components of these families. As such they display many of the key attributes of meaningful and valued ancestors.

#### **4.3.1 Family Religion and Memory**

Predecessors, the living and family remembrance rituals provided the basic social construct of Old Babylonian society. Family, clan and kin allegiance, loyalty and honor (adherence to values) amounted to the same thing as family religion, worship or devotion (Van der Toorn 1996b: 42). As seen above, the ancestors anchored the family identity in their lineage in a real sense, both in the immediate past (remembered relatives) and distant generations. Halbwachs saw individual memory as part of collective memory, which is a reality and a dynamic part of the social construct (Halbwachs 1992; Jonker 1995; Kansteiner 2002). In this view, remembering was an act which required renewal. As we will see in later discussion, the repetition of *kispum* rituals might be seen to act in just such a manner.

As remembered history, remembrance of the dead is a type of cultural memory, which can be understood to create social memory (Kansteiner 2002; Assmann 2006). This includes the more distant ancestral past of cultural memory as well as remembered memory, which applies to the living who bear the actual remembrances of interactions and events with the more recently deceased. Official Old Babylonian cultural memory is that preserved in the written word, carried out institutionally by centralized scribal schools. The vehicle for the preservation of family memory was ritual commemoration acts carried out at home.

Private family ritual, particularly among non-privileged classes, constituted the religious acts of the populace in actual practice and was very different from the official state religion and its mandated rituals (Berlinerblau 1996: 17-29). Practiced religion might include a broad range of individual and group events, including festivals, family rituals, magic, prayer, song and celebrations for many parts of private daily life. What the family did in the event of the death of one its

members, not only accomplished the immediate mourning ritual and the rite of passage for the dead, but the actions and rituals performed were, for the common family, the praxis of Religion.

Thus funerary rites functioned as part of personal or family religion, while corporately linking social and spiritual interaction with the immediate clan and the long-term ancestral lineage of deceased family. Memory could act as part of an organic societal process, with different groups contributing to the overall structure of and collective memory of the culture as a whole (Jonker 1995: 18; Kansteiner 2002). So family remembrance ritual was cohesive for both the clan and larger social groups. Continued care for the dead, while known from official, royal *kispum* rites, was also an important part of the private domestic cult. While rituals involving the invocation of intangible beings can be seen as magical or religious in nature, involving the dead in *kispum* as honored ancestors, also contributed to the social, and even economic, good health of the family.

Meijer suggests a view of family lineages extending into a distant, even mystical, or mythical, past, further displaying a type of social power as an established and venerated family group (2003: 56). This again may suggest that making 'grave offerings' served as physical remembrance of treasured ancestors who were never to be forgotten, even if your family lineage was not elite. The care of the ancestors was the setting for family history in genealogical style; genealogies functioned, originated and survived through the family cult.

#### **4.3.2 The Family and the Dead**

As we have seen, family solidarity was expressed as values, termed *aḥḥūtum*, (literally 'brotherhood') which constituted a strict code of propriety and acceptable behavior. *Aḥḥūtum* was the moral and social code that functioned to bind and preserve family. Family structures served as the foundation or building blocks of broader society as a whole.

Part of *aḥḥūtum* values included expected social behavior towards the dead. *Kubbutum*, honor, was enacted, and paid to ancestors through remembrance rituals (Bottéro 1992: 281). Literally, *kubbutum* comes from the root "to be heavy" (*kabātu*) and in this factitive (D) form, connotes a gravitas, the weight of dignity imposed upon those who had lived before (CAD K, 16-18). Respect, honor and

paying tribute to the dead were their expected due. The importance placed on such behavior further demonstrates how shared memory of family forebearers continued to both exert the influence of the propriety of lineage and legitimize the family name as a social construct on a philosophical level. Here again it is very difficult to adhere to the view of the family deceased as mere troublemaking spirits. Instead, they are the source of family and clan identity, to be remembered and treated after death with honor (Abusch 1998: 380-381).

#### 4.3.3 Family, Inheritance and the Dead

On a practical level, ancestral remembrance included certain duties and inheritance responsibilities, particularly for the main heir (IBILA). At the death of the father, the son took up the family seal as *paterfamilias*, which continued to honor and respect (*palāhu*) the remembrance of the dead

Legal documents, particularly wills, from Emar, require that the main heir must take care of the family's dead (*mētu*) and the family gods (*ilāni*). The proximity (hendiadys) of the terms has been used to support the collective deification of the dead in the afterlife (Schmidt 1996: 144-163). Although the *ilāni* remain under debate, the texts concerning *kispum* rituals seem to deal with offerings to gods (where present) separately from the ancestral dead. While *ilāni* can be figures of the family gods used in worship and ritual, it is more likely that, in this context, the terms are a legal clause having to do with unusual inheritance conditions, for example, in placing a daughter as principal heir (Draffkorn 1957; Pitard 1996: 125-128).

Huehnergard, Text 1, lines 6-8

l<sup>f</sup>ú-na-ra DUMU.MUNUS-ia

a-na MUNUS ú NITAḪ aš-[ku]-un-ši

DINGIR.<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia ù me-te-ia [lu]-ú tù-na-bi

Unara, my daughter,

I have established as female and male.

May she call upon (invoke) my gods and my dead (1983: 13-15).



Huehnergard, Text 2, lines 9-12

<sup>l</sup>al-ḥa-ti DUMU.MUNUS-ia

a-na MUNUS ú NITAḤ aš-ku-un-ši

DINGIR.<sup>MEŠ</sup> –ia ù me-te-ia

lu-ú tù-na-bi

Al-ḥati, my daughter

I have established as female and male.

May she call upon (invoke) my gods and my dead (1983: 17-19).

In these documents we see that females could be legally made principal heirs, of which a primary responsibility is to invoke (*nabû*) “my gods and my dead”. It should be noted that the Emar and Nuzi texts exhibit some idiomatic or regional variations in Akkadian terms (Huehnergard 1983: 28). Another will from Emar stipulates that two sons who divide their father’s estate must share responsibility to attend to (*ukannû*) “the gods and the dead (DINGIR.<sup>MEŠ</sup> ù *mi-ti*) of Abika their father”. In a fourth text the son-in-law of the testator is obliged to remain with the house and to honor or care for “my gods and my dead” (Pitard 1996: 125). The family gods were inherited, probably represented as figurines located in the ritual room of the house; possession of them signified authority (Greenberg 1962; Rouillard and Tropper 1987; Spanier 1992; Van der Toorn 1994: 44-45, 57-58; 1996: 71-76).

A few other examples indicate that the family gods (*ilāni*) and the *eṭemmi* were essential to family identity as well as social and economic prosperity. From the Nuzi will of Pui-tae, three daughters are legally adopted as sons to establish them as principal co-heirs (Grosz 1987). Pui-tae, who apparently had no sons, leaves his daughters and his wife, Ašte, his estate, which includes land given to him from the palace. Ašte, as principal heir, retains control of the entire estate while she remains living in his house, until her death. At that point, “whoever among my daughters holds my fields and houses will revere” my *ilāni* and my *eṭemmi* (Lacheman and Owen 1981: 386-387).

Two other Nuzi texts are significant examples because they are disinheritance texts. In one document from a family archive, a man disinherits his

son, stating that he “shall not come to the gods or the ghosts (Pl. *ilāni* and *eṭemmī*), to the fields or the houses” (Deller 1981: 62-3). Additionally, the father “breaks his clod”, swearing before Shamash (the sun god and god of justice) an oath that denies the rights of the gods and ancestral spirits to the son. In the second, a grandfather denies his grandson access to his fields, houses, herds, equipment and everything he owns, including the rights to his gods and his ghosts (Pitard 1996: 126).

In summary, the examples from the Nuzi and Emar family archives, rights and access to the ancestral dead and the family gods were given legal priority. Not only part of legal property of the family, access to the *ilāni* and *eṭemmī* were regarded as a privilege, a high honor. Bequeathed to the principal heir along with these rights, was the responsibility of caring for, attending to, honoring and respecting the gods and the ghosts. The care of the *ilāni* and *eṭemmī* seemed to be a serious undertaking, valued for the continuance of the basic social structure in Mesopotamia.

In this regard we see that the practice of commemorative ancestral rites served not only as religion, but was legally binding, socially cohesive and economically beneficial. Therefore, the family dead were integrally maintained in a close relationship with the living. Lineages depended on the remembrance of the dead (Grosz 1987). In fact, deceased family members were integral for the concept of family identity.

#### **4.3.4 Tracing *Kispum* Traditions in Genealogy**

Performing *kispum* for the ancestors and family of the king is attested from texts in the Old Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian periods. For our purposes, some familiarity with the royal genealogical tradition is helpful for an understanding of how family *kispum* might have remembered the names of dead ancestors. Genealogies are usually found in king lists, as early as *The Sumerian King List* (Wilcke 1989). These texts are constructs which served different purposes. While not historical in the modern sense, royal genealogies and king lists memorialized the accepted, imagined or constructed ancestral list of royal predecessors. A royal funeral or ancestor remembrance ceremony could have

many different purposes, including legitimization of a dynasty, power manipulation and display, or the succession of a new king.

We have already noted the written appearance of *kispum* as beginning in texts of the second millennium. The Amorite presence at this time across Mesopotamia is well known and continues in ongoing discussions of second millennium territories (Kamp and Yoffee 1980; Heimpel 2003; Yoffee 2005; Porter 2007, 2009, 2012; Ristvet 2008). It has been postulated in some sources that *kispum* was of tribal Amorite origins, partly because of the date of the Amorite dynasties and perhaps partly because their tribal rulers were referred to as *abu*, ‘father’ and remembered as tribal ancestors (Jonker 1995: 149-151; Whiting 2000; Jacquet 2002: 55-64; Durand 2012). Hammurapi’s Amorite origins are well known and may also account for this idea. However, *kispum* has a much broader Mesopotamian context. Two genealogies feature Amorite royal ancestry: *The Assyrian Kinglist* and *The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty*.

The second millennium Babylonian text, *The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty*, states that the tablet (BM 80328) was specifically made for performing the *kispum* (Finkelstein 1966). Commissioned at the end of the dynasty, probably in Sippar, it clearly has several other underlying purposes, including legitimization of the foundation of the dynasty and systematizing knowledge of the past through genealogies, a well-known form of ancient Near Eastern ‘historiography’ (Malamat 1968; Finkelstein 1966: 97-98, 116-117; Whiting 2000: 1239; Durand 2012).

Another second millennium example of this use of dead predecessors is seen in the royal Mari *kispum*, which invoked the ancient, non-Amorite, Akkadian kings Sargon and Narām-Sin (ca. 2350 BC) as ancestors of the Amorite Mari kings hundreds of years after they ruled (Biro 1980; Jonker 1995: 220-226; Jacquet 2002: 56-61). Royal *kispum* is well established at Mari with extensively detailed studies of food records (Sasson 1982; Durand and Guichard 1997: 41-44, 63-70; Jacquet 2002). The Mari administrative texts mention provisions *ana kispim ša šarrāni*, “for (all) the kings”, referring to the long line of predecessors.

*The Assyrian Kinglist* traces ruling ancestors to seventeen kings who famously “lived in tents” as desert tribal sheikhs (Richardson 1999-2000: 185-190; Chavalas 2006: 368; Melville et al. 2006: 368-372). One of these Assyrian ancestors was the well known Šamši-Adad (1808-1776 BC), an Amorite king from

Ekallatum who ruled from Šubat-Enlil (modern Tell Leilan) and had conquered Aššur over one thousand years earlier (Van de Mieroop 2007: 106-111).

*The Hammurapi Genealogy*, published by Finkelstein in 1966, is a list of 27 names, with a clause at the end for dead soldiers lost on the battlefields, princes and daughters of the king. Lastly the list adds in ‘people’ (*awīlūtum*) across the land, not ‘ghosts’, who have no one to tend them, inviting them to join with the king in the *kispum*. This text differs from the purely historiographical genre we find in the king lists. It is clearly a *kispum* composition meant to be recited for the remembrance of the dead perhaps at one of the monthly or annual *kispum* celebrations, or as part of a coronation (Finkelstein 1966: 117). More than merely legitimizing the ruling dynasty, recitation of the composition *The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty*, connected a long-reaching ancestral legacy far beyond familial relatives, with bonds into many generations of rulers past. This effectively joined the king to an exclusive ruling ancestral group hundreds of years before his actual bloodline took power. In this regard, the *kispum* was a powerful socio-political ritual act.

BM 80328

- 1     <sup>1</sup>*A-ra-am-ma-dam-ra*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Tu-ub-ti-ya-mu-ta*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Ya-am-qú-uz-zu-ḥa-lam-ma*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Ḫe-a-na*
- 5     <sup>1</sup>*Nam-zu-ú*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Di-ta-nu*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Zu-um-ma-bu*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Nam-ḥu-ú*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Am-na-nu*
- 10    <sup>1</sup>*Ya-aḥ-ru-rum*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Ip-ti-ya-mu-ta*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Bu-ḥa-zu-um*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Su-ma-li-ka*  
       <sup>1</sup>*Aš-ma-du*
- 15    <sup>1</sup>*A-bi-ya-mu-ta*

- <sup>1</sup>*A-bi-di-ta-an*  
<sup>1</sup>*Ma-am(?)*-x[-x-x(?)]  
<sup>1</sup>*Šu-x-ni(?)*-x[-x(?)]  
<sup>1</sup>*Da-ad(?)*-x[-x-x(?)]  
20 <sup>1</sup>*Su-m[u-a-bu-um]*  
<sup>1</sup>*Su-mu-la-[il]*  
<sup>1</sup>*Za-bi-um*  
<sup>1</sup>*A-píl-<sup>d</sup>Sīn*  
<sup>1d</sup>*Sīn-mu-ba-lí-[i!]*  
25 <sup>1</sup>*Ha-am-mu-ra-p[i]*  
<sup>1</sup>*Sa-am-su-i-lu-n[a]*  
<sup>1</sup>*A-bi-e-šu-[uḫ]*  
<sup>1</sup>*Am-mi-di-ta-[na]*  
BAL ERÍN MAR-[TU]  
30 BAL ERÍN *He-a-na*  
BAL *Gu-ti-um*  
BAL *ša i-na tup-pí an-ni-i la ša-aṭ-ru*  
ù AGA-UŠ *ša i-na da-an-na-at be-li-šu im-qú-tu*  
DUMU-MEŠ LUGAL  
35 DUMU-MÍ-MEŠ LUGAL  
*a-wi-lu-tum ka-li-ši-in*  
*iš-tu <sup>d</sup>UTU-É-A a-du(!) <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠU-A*  
*ša pa-qí-dam ù sa-ḫi-ra-am la i-šu-ù*  
*al-ka-nim-ma an-ni-a-am a-ak-la*  
40 *an-ni-a-am ši-ti-a*  
*a-na Am-mi-ša-du-qá DUMU Am-mi-di-ta-na*  
LUGAL KÁ-DINGIR-RA<sup>KI</sup>  
*ku-ur-ba*

Lines 1-28 are a list of the names in the genealogy of the First Dynasty of Babylon and therefore translated as such (note line 25, which names King Ḫammurapi of Babylon, 1792-1750 BC). Line 20 begins the known series of kings from Sumu (1894-1881 BC) through Ammiditana (1683-1647 BC), the father and predecessor of Ammišaduqa (1646-1626 BC), for whom this text was composed.

The first nineteen names are written as individual names, but may represent tribes, territorial rulers, kings or tribal patriarchs. However, at the time of the composition of the text, all the names were believed to be ancestral generations or actual ancestors (Finkelstein 1966: 97). These names of ancestral leaders most likely spanned centuries. Some of the names in the first part of the list (lines 4-10) are known West Semitic or Amorite tribes, and some correspond to the names of the “kings who dwelt in tents” listed in the *Assyrian King List* as well (Finkelstein 1966: 98, 114). Amnānu and Yaḥrurum, for example, are the well-known tribes of the Sippar region to which the Ḫammurapi dynasty belonged (Finkelstein 1966:101). The names in lines 11-19 are not known as tribal or geographic names from other sources, but like the other names, were most likely regarded as true ancestors in the tradition of Mesopotamian historiography. Finkelstein suggests that Iptiyamūta (line 11) was the name of a tribal sheikh and signified a change in political autonomy for these tribes at about 2029 BC (Finkelstein 1966: 112).

The translation of lines 29-43 includes the purpose of the composition as regards the *kispum* tradition.

- The *pālu* (dynasty/rule) of the MAR.TU (Amorites)
- 30 The *pālu* of the Ḫaneans  
The *pālu* of Gutium  
The *pālu* not recorded on this tablet  
And the soldiers who fell on perilous campaigns for their lord  
Sons of the king
- 35 Daughters of the king  
All persons  
from the rising of the sun to the setting sun (East to West)  
Who have neither *pāqidum* nor *saḫirum*  
Come and eat this!
- 40 Drink this!  
Bless Ammiṣaduqa son of Ammiditana  
King of Babylon

The text seems to overlap the first section by grouping the individual tribal names as three *pālu* (BALA), or separate periods of ruling dynasties, in lines 29-31. The Ḫaneans occupied the area near Terqa and the Gutians were from the Zagros

mountains to the east who had increasingly settled in the south in the late third millennium and set themselves up as heirs to the Akkadian dynasty (Van De Mieroop 2007: 71, 110, 115; Durand 2012). These *pālu* also correlate with a genealogical tablet of King Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1808-1776 BC) of Assur in northern Mesopotamia (Finkelstein 1966:107-109). The fourth *pālu* in line 32 seems to be a catch all for any and all ruling ancestor groups inclusively.

The last lines help substantiate the text as a true *kispum* document. With line 33 the text broadens the scope of this memorial to include all soldiers lost in *dannat* (forceful, difficult battle) while serving their king and country. The text goes further again in lines 34-38 to include as well any royal children who may have been forgotten by their individual names, thereby encompassing the whole ruling dynasty (except for queens). The king then includes in a broad sweep any dead persons on Earth who have no caretaker (*pāqidum*), or anyone else to concern themselves with their needs (*saḫirum* seems to be a synonym of *pāqidum*). It is significant that the range of all the dead are not called *eṭemmu*, although they are clearly invoked and invited to eat at the *kispum* meal. Another thing to note is that this *kispum* cannot have been performed at each grave and therefore was effective just by means of performance. By including the unknown dead as *awīlūtum* in need of remembrance, the king's *kispum* prayer embraced the expanse of the whole land and reinforced his royal position as the caretaker of all people, perhaps symbolically uniting all as one national family.

Since the royal ritual in the *Genealogy* encompasses all the ghosts in the land who have no family to perform *kispum* for them, including soldiers who fell in battle and may remain improperly buried, calling them to join in the meal with the king may provide benefices for the king (Bayliss 1973: 122). It may also demonstrate duty, or it may ensure the king of like care when he dies as part of the blessings. In calling the dead to bless him, Ammišaduqa also reinforces that the bonds of this broad national group invoked support him as living ruler. The inclusiveness of commoners and soldiers in unknown graves in a royal remembrance ritual could offer a different perspective on *kispum*. The text does not seem to convey the fear of ghosts, instead it invites all the spirits of the dead to join in a royal funerary remembrance meal. Its inclusive invitation is a unifying one with the king leading the *kispum*, and the country of Babylon in the role of family.

The *Genealogy* may be regarded as a general model of how a family *kispum* might have been performed as well.

Another famous royal *kispum* example is that of King Šamši-Adad's arrival in Terqa (Ashara, Syria) on the day of the *kispum* there, and his dedication of a *bīt kispim* (É KI-SÌ-GA) to the god Dagan, known from a letter (*ARM* I 65) and an inscription found at Ashara. Terqa was the capital of a province of Mari, nearby to the north. The Terqa *bīt kispim* is also described as É *ku-ul-ti-šu*, which Finkelstein proposed to be read as *bīt qūltišu*, "the house of his intonation", referencing intoning of the names of the ancestors to conjure them up (Finkelstein 1966: 116). Others have modified the reading to "house of silence" (George 1993: 110). In any case it was a built ritual space, although undiscovered at Terqa, probably washed away in the river. We may consider that the *bīt kispim* could have had a similar ritual function to netherworld entrances or shrines as discussed in Chapters 3 and 5. The *bīt kispim* may serve a similar function to places translated 'funerary chapel' in some sources, for example in Gudea's temple of Ningirsu (Jacobsen 1987: 424). Any place designed to offer *kispum* must have had at least a locus to where offerings were directed, and ghosts could symbolically cross boundaries. A *bīt kispim* would not necessarily require something as large as an *apī*, conceivably, a netherworld portal could be a symbol on an altar, a pot on the floor or a hole. The Mari kings may have made *kispum* at Terqa because it was an ancestral Amorite seat, or because of its association with Dagan, and hence the *bīt kispim*, with the underworld.

In summary, *The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty* is an unusual royal genealogy containing an invocation text for *kispum*. It includes lines after the predecessor list, which seem to be a recitation or prayer formula for the *kispum*. The text's purpose may well have been as it states, for reading the predecessors' names at the *kispum*. The inclusion of the lines at the end of the list lead us to believe that this is true, that first the royal ancestors' names were called and then an invitation to other widespread ghosts was extended. It also is important because the dead are clearly called to a join in a meal with the living.



#### 4.3.5 Generations of the Family

There is some indication, from elite families, that names of forebearers could be recorded. An important advance has been in studies of extended family relationships in various Mesopotamia cities of different eras (Harris 1975; Prang 1976, 1977; Dosch and Deller 1981; Stone 1987, 1996; Postgate 1988; Stone and Owen 1991; Diakonoff 1996; Van Koppen 2002; Baker 2005; Wunsch 2005; Nielsen 2011; Tanret 2008, 2011; Charpin 2012). These are usually based mainly on contracts, receipts or account texts. A few studies of Mesopotamian households have meticulously collated finds and architecture from older excavation reports with the textual data to produce compelling evidence for several generations of families at Nippur and Ur (Stone 1996; Brusasco 1999-2000, 2007). I will use some of the genealogies from these studies to support evidence for *kispum* names going back more than three generations. The names written in these texts may also reflect those who were specifically remembered by name in long genealogies, perhaps the main heirs, including female priestesses (Jonker 1995: 229-230). It is not inconceivable that much longer lists of family names could be memorialized orally and remembered and recited through song or chant. Oral presentation of family ancestral history would be likely in the context of *kispum*, as names are called to join the meal.

We do not have a general *kispum* formula text that tells us how many generations back the names of family deceased were remembered, which is an important point for the discussion of family *kispum*. However, we do have one generational list which is clearly a *kispum* text. The text (CBS 473) has some similarities to the Hammurapi genealogy, in that it includes a prayer and invocation of ancestor names, but it is a prayer to the moon god. Published in detail by Wilcke with commentary in German, it is worthwhile to include the full text here from a recent English translation by Van der Toorn (Wilcke 1983: 48-66; Kraus 1987; Van der Toorn 2008: 28).

A Prayer to the Moon God (Sīn) Dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month of  
Ammiditana Year 33 (from Nippur)

CBS 473 (BE 6/2, 111)

Sîn, you are the god of heaven and earth.  
 [In the mo]rning, I am pouring water for you  
 [for the f]amily (*kintum*) of Sîn-našir, son of Ipqu-Annunitum.  
 Release the family of Sîn-našir, son of Ipqu-Annunitum,  
 That they may eat his bread and drink his water –  
     Ishme-Ea son of Shamash-našir, his wife and his family;  
         [Il]tani, naditum of Shamash, his daughter;  
         [Sîn]-našir son of Ishme-Ea;  
             Kasap-Aya, naditum of Shamash, his daughter;  
             Sin-iddinam son of Sîn-našir;  
     Iddin-Ea, son of Ishme-Ea;  
         Amat-Aya, naditum of Shamash, his daughter;  
         Diutubinduga, his son;  
         Ebabbar-nu-u'ulshe-hegal, his son  
         Ehursag-mushallim, his son;  
     Ipqu-Ea, son of Ishme-Ea;  
         Amat-Mamu, naditum of Shamash, his daughter;  
         Nidnusha, his son;  
         Ibni-Ea, his son;  
     Iqish-Ea, son of Ishme-[Ea], his wife and [his] family;  
     Ipqu-Aya, son of Ishme-Ea, Abi-mattum his wife [and family?]  
         Lamassani, naditum of Shamash, his daughter;  
         Ishu-ibnishu, his son,  
         Sin-nadin-shumi, his son;  
     Sin-kabit-biltum, son of Sin-nadin-shumi;  
     Ikun-pi-Sin son of Ipqu-Aya, whom ... have struck to death;  
     Sin-eribam, son of Ipqu-Aya, asleep in Mashkan-Adad;  
     Ipqu-Annunitum, son of Ipqu-Aya, Belessunu, his wife.  
 Release the family of Sîn-našir, son of Ipqu-Annunitum,  
 That they may eat his [br]ead and drink his water. (trans. Van der Toorn 2008)

Followed by year date (in Sumerian):

Iti šu-numun-a u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam

Mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e  
 Eger bād-Iš-ku-un-<sup>d</sup>Marduk-ke<sub>4</sub>

The month of Šu-numun, the 3<sup>rd</sup> day,  
 The year Ammiditana the king  
 Restored the wall of Iškun-<sup>d</sup>Marduk.

Wilcke has reconstructed the family tree of Sîn-našir as extending five generations back (Fig. 13). There are two Sîn-našir's, the current one living who calls the names and one who was a brother of his grandfather, which can be confusing. The females in the line, except for his grandmother and mother, were priestesses (see Chapter 5) and listed probably because they had not married and moved into their husband's paternal family line. This is an elite family, and privileged to be able to afford a scribe, a tablet and probably a priest to read the tablet if Sîn-našir could not read it himself. It is an excellent source for what happened at the *kispum*.

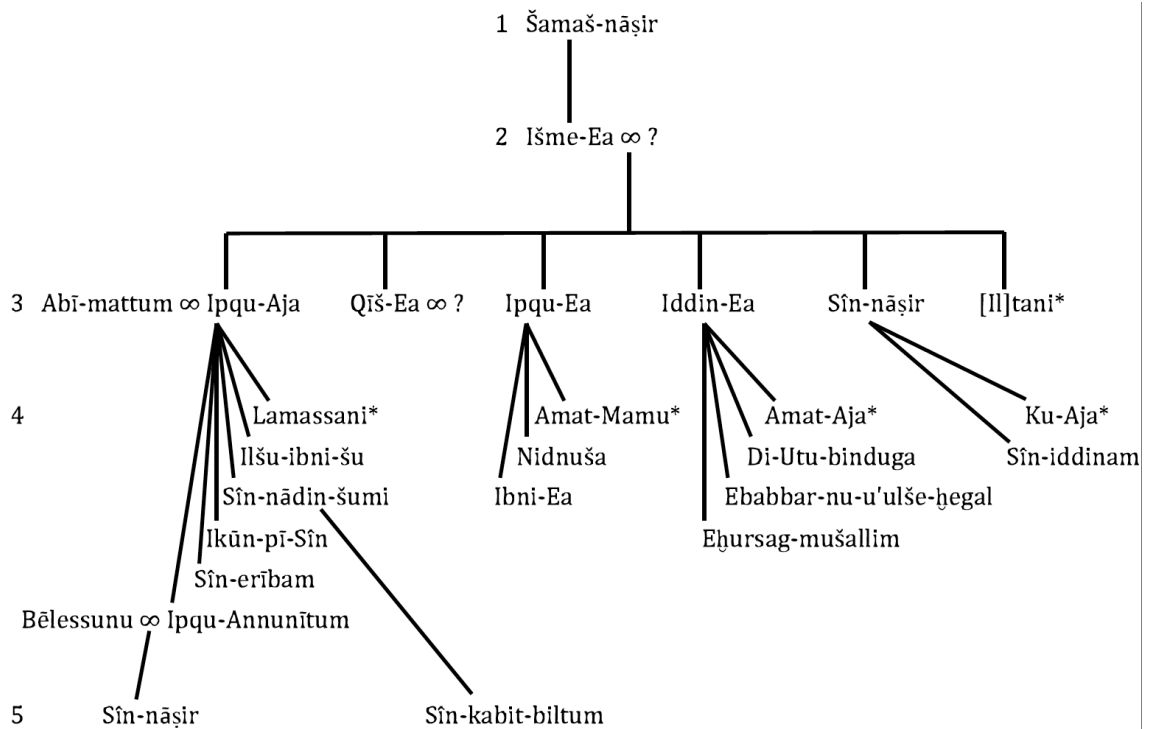


Figure 13. The Genealogy of the Samas-našir Family. (After Wilcke 1983: 50)

In the early hours of the day of the new moon, in the dark, Sîn-našir, as the family *pāqidu*, makes a libation of water to the moon god. He asks Sîn to release his family from the netherworld to break bread and drink water with him. This text is a very simple portrayal of care for the dead through the *kispum* ritual. The ritual meal is not lavish. The moon god is invoked, rather than the netherworld judge Šamaš, and it is very interesting that Sîn must allow the *eṭemmi* of all the ancestors to come answer the call for food and water. Perhaps the family gathered at a house altar in a special chapel room (the *aširtum*) to pronounce the names of the dead (CAD A/II: 436-437). The poor could also pour water in their house, even if there was no built altar. Or this ceremony could easily be done at an extramural grave in a cemetery. I think it is quite possible that a long list of names could be memorized, especially in chant or sung format, for families with no tradition of writing.

A second family archive of over 2500 texts and fragments is the Ur-Utu family's texts from Sippar-Amnānum dated to about 1640 BC (Janssen 1996; Van Lerberghe 2003; Tanret 2008, 2011). Ur-Utu, chief of the dirge singers (GALA-MAḪ), and his family before him, kept boxes of tablets that were completely unnecessary and normally discarded. They were not all current real estate records. Perhaps forced to leave in a hurry due to a major fire, boxes of tablets were dropped in the house and never retrieved (contra Van Lerberghe 2003). Fire fortunately preserves tablets, but the box around them, probably a reed box, was destroyed. The 207 tablets in one box survived stacked in a cube, as though the box had been peeled away from them (Tanret 2008: 134-135). Tanret calls it a box of special significance as family mementoes.

A detailed study of the order of stacking and the dates of the tablets show that the archive had been compiled kept by the family for over a century. Tanret sees only one conclusion from his analysis, which is that the 'useless' tablets had been kept to document the names and family kin relations of the entire family line going back generations. A reconstructed family tree shows six generations back to a family ancestor, Ur-Inanna (Fig. 14) (Tanret 2008: 139). If one counts back from Ur-Utu's father, Inanna-mansum, who saved the family archives, purposely moving the tablets to a new town and new house, five generations preceded him.

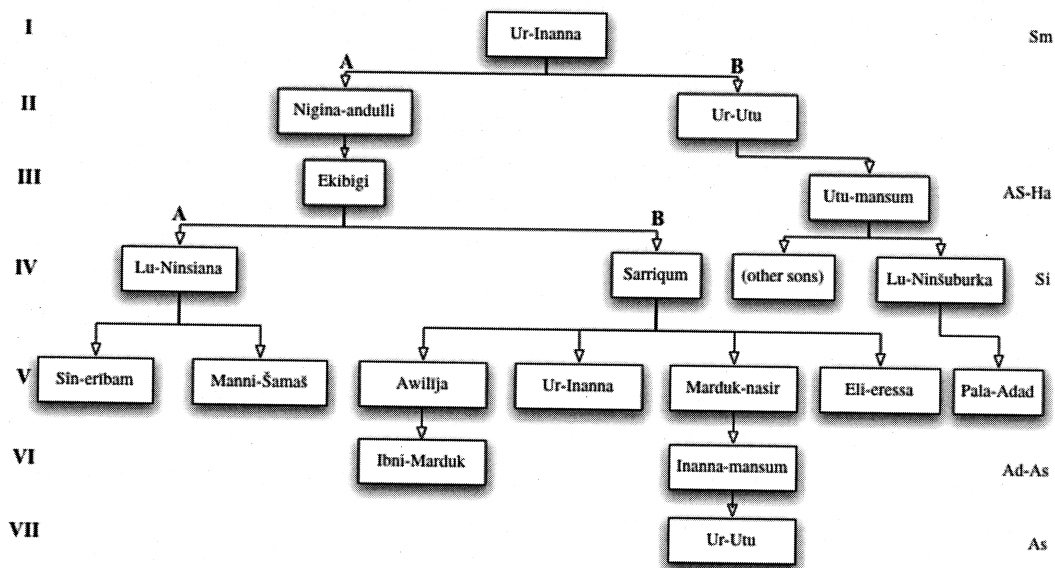


Figure 14. Genealogy of the Ur-Utu family. (After Tanret 2008: 139)

With the Ur-Utu archive, we again see records of many names of ancestors. Tanret concludes that many of the tablets were in a valued family archive and kept as precious memories of people and their lives long ago. He believes the archive had risen above its original utilitarian level to a new, emotional level (2008: 146).

Another archive, dated later (1600-1400 BC), is worth noting because it describes seven generations of a Kassite family (Dosch and Deller 1981). The point is that second millennium families could have means of knowing who their family predecessors were, and those who could afford it or were literate, had access to lists they could use for the *kispum* rituals.

This last genealogical example to highlight has been reconstructed by Stone for the Ninlil-zimu family of Nippur (Fig. 15) (1987: 44). Her meticulous collation of texts, architecture and finds from previously published early excavations records resulted in reevaluations of area TA and TB (Stone 1987; 1996). It is not clear whether these areas of the excavations reflected complete residential or civil quarters (Postgate 1990; Potts 1997). The Ninlil-zimu records describe a very wealthy family with huge landholdings. The family also held many temple prebends. A tablet shows that much of the same amount of land is still in their holdings three generations later in Ninlil-zimu's great-great-grandson's time (Stone 1987: 42).

While life span expectancies probably made it unlikely that four generations were alive at the same time, reconstructed genealogies show us that families had access to names of predecessors (Tenney 2011). Much of the population probably relied on an oral tradition, however, some evidence exists of written access to past family generations. The *kispum* text of Sîn-naṣir demonstrates that ancestor lists to be used for the invocation of dead family members could exist outside of royal context, although probably only in elite families.

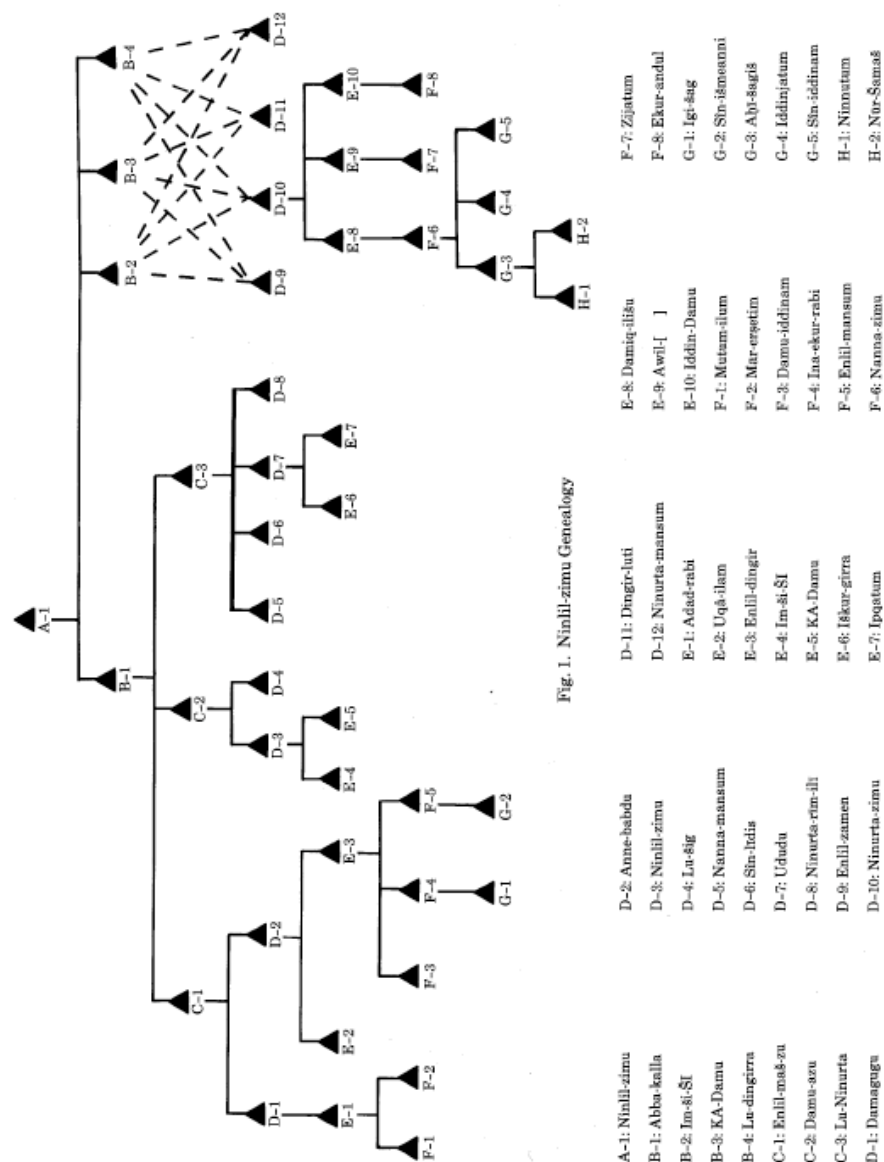


Fig. 1. Ninil-zimu Genealogy

Figure 15. The Genealogy of the Ninlil-zimu Family. (After Stone 1987:44).

#### 4.3.6 Households, Heirs and Inheritance

The principal heir inherited more than property in Mesopotamia. *Kispum* duties were part of the inheritance. The heir was responsible for the important duty of caring for the family ancestors and the continuity of the family line. Burial rites and post-interment rituals served to strengthen the family line, maintaining family bonds over generations, as we have seen. The duty of inheritor may have symbolically meant much more than property accumulation. This person symbolically represented the family's identity while alive. I believe that the concept of 'family' in ancient Mesopotamia superseded individual identity—in other words, the meaning of the individual was tied to family identity as a conceptual unit, formed of relationships.

Of course, family identity functioned on many levels, including social status. But the primary focus on inheritance has been on property rights and on keeping land and wealth in the family (Klima 1940; Koschaker 1925; Kraus 1981: a-b). Usually, as we have seen in some inheritance texts, the heir is the eldest son. Daughters usually received portions of inheritances through dowries, but could inherit in some circumstances.

From the evidence of the family genealogies that we have seen, it is evident that inheritance must figure into the overall conception of houses, land, property, families and *kispum*. Some texts indicate that heirs actually divided houses up and cohabited different sections of the larger homes or lived near other family members (Yoffee 1988; Hallo 2002: 141-154; Brusasco 1999-2000: 134-135). Some texts show an additional ten percent payment (*ku-bu-ru*) for the eldest when inheritances are divided (Durand 1989; Scurlock 1993; Van de Mieroop 1992: 218). Remodeling and changes to house structures have been interpreted as inheritance division at Larsa and Nippur (Stone 1981; Charpin 1996; Calvet 1996; Feuerherm 2007). In Chapter 6 we will see bodies in some sub-floor tombs at Ur that may indicate many generations of use. What happened when a house was sold is still unknown (Durand 1989). We know tombs were planned in construction and also added later (Guinan 1996; Freedman 1998).

Second millennium houses were of varying plan in different cities and in different areas of cities. In houses with courtyards, it was possible to house extended families, or mixed groups; many houses were divided up and portions or

floors were rented out (Józef 2009). Houses in some quarters of cities were grouped by craft or occupation affiliations. Typical house plans usually included a central courtyard, a main living room, sleeping rooms and kitchens. Larger homes also had auxiliary rooms, kitchens, lavatory rooms, chapels, storage and sometimes a second floor (Postgate 1992: 88-108; Battini-Villard 1999; Brusasco 2007: 25). Inheritance would include the house shrine and intramural burial vaults (Postgate 1992: 99). Whether cemetery plots were inherited or purchased is not known.

Primary heirs in vertical inheritance patterns do not just inherit property, their main function is to ensure the continuity of the family line (Brusasco 1999-2000: 134-136). In Mesopotamia the main heir received a ceremonial table as an important part of his succession to the role of caretaker of the dead (Scurlock 1993). The table (BANŠUR) was probably used for *kispum* ceremonies. As a designated object that passed to the heir, it held symbolic significance. It may have held figures that represented family dead or been used for the meal shared between the family living and the dead. Therefore, it would be a great signifier of family identity and a tool for family memory. A BANŠUR is mentioned in the archives of Imgua and Bitua of Nippur as part of their inheritance (Prang 1976, 1977).

#### **4.3.7 Other Lineage Groups (Occupational and Clergy)**

*Kispum* was also a remembrance ritual in other societal, non-family groups, who celebrated it for dead predecessors as ancestors. Membership in craft-based occupations functioned much like guilds, invoking names of forerunners in ritual. Religious clergy, such as *entu* priestesses (below) and *nadītu* women (Section 5.3) also performed *kispum* for deceased members.

One record from a professional group comes from a series of prescriptions for the procedure of glassmaking. The tablets are comprised of joined fragments from the Library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh and originate from the second millennium. Similar in genre to medical and ritual instructions, the glass texts could be grouped into a category of chemical texts (Oppenheim et al. 1970: 5-7, 23, 27-31). The texts sometimes give a personal name as an authority for the invention of certain glass types (Oppenheim et al. 1970: 49-54). Personal names and mention in Tablet D of the *ummânû*, (master or scholar) tell us firstly that past experts in the glassmaking tradition were remembered and sometimes recorded. Secondly



the ritual instructions in the text stipulate *ana ummâni kispâ takassip*, “you make *kispum* offerings for the (dead) masters” (Oppenheim et al. 1970: 52-53). The second part of the text gives procedures for ritual before the glassmaking begins. Performing *kispum* linked the present to the past through memory of the deceased glassmakers and also gained their protection for the procedures to follow.

#### Tablet D, §L

For one mina and three shekels of *zuku*-glass which has the look of gold, you grind three shekels of [male or female] *anzaḥḥu*-glass, three shekels of *kalgūgu*-earth [...], finely (?), you sift (?) (the powder) three times. When you have sifted (it) you stir (it) into water and mix it. You place it in a ...container in the open; you let it dry. You expose (furthermore) two *amirtu*-measures of *amnakku*-mineral carefully (?) (*tešši*) to the open air.

Whenever they inform you (that the time is right), you set up the *Kūbu*-images within two double hours. You sacrifice a sheep. You make offerings to the dead masters. You collect the sifted materials into a mold, you put it into the *atūnu*-kiln [...].

It is interesting to note the ritual aspect of a practical chemical procedure. The knowledge of a specialist, like that of an omen priest, scribe or doctor, were preserved through the experts and passed down through generations of apprenticeships. The recipes were specialized information; the profession owed its expertise to transmission of its methods through past masters. The glass texts also share an affinity to magical texts, in the transformation of substances by ritual procedures. In this regard, the performance of *kispum* illustrates the magico-religious nature of belief associated with invoking the dead. The living ‘descendants’ sought benefices from the spirits of their dead predecessors for success in glassmaking. *Kispum* bound the present glassmakers with the legacy and expertise of those who had gone before. In venerating the glassmaking ancestors of the ‘guild’, the living remembered, cared for, respected, and interacted with them.

Members of an elite clerical group, the *entu* priestesses, were also known to have performed *kispum* rituals for dead predecessors. The office of *entu* was a powerful religious, economic and often political one, usually held by the daughter

of the king. We know the names of women appointed to this position over approximately 500 years, from the third millennium into the second. The well-known Akkadian *entu* priestess, Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279 BC) held the office at Ur through her father's reign and into his successor's reigns (Westenholz 1989). Her literary compositions are thought to have contributed to the success of the Akkadian Empire by their unifying religious content (Hallo and Van Dijk 1969: 1-11). Referring to her ritual duties as high priestess, she wrote about cessation of her office due to war. I suggest the Sumerian (DÈ) in line 69 be read in context with the *kispum* ritual (contra Hallo and Van Dijk 1968, lines 66-69). I think the whole passage refers to this ritual as a key part of *entu*-ship.

NIN-ME-ŠÁR-RA

Lines 66-69

<sup>66-67</sup>I entered into my holy Giparu. The high priestess am I, Enheduanna am I. <sup>68</sup>I lifted up the ritual basket. I intoned the paeon. <sup>69</sup>I performed *kispum* (KI-SI-GA); however, now I no longer pour them out.

The bonds with the ancestral priestesses were paramount and maintained by performing the *kispum* for them. The ritual also lent ritual power to the current *entu* as the descendant of a long line of sacred women.

In first millennium Babylon, Ennigaldinanna, daughter of King Nabonidus (559-539 BC) was appointed to the post. This restoration of the *entu* office and Nabonidus' rebuilding of the Giparu at Ur may have signified the king's piety, but also could easily have helped establish the power of his rule in the ancient Sumerian context as well.

Enanedu, daughter of Kudur-Mabuk of Larsa and the sister of the first two kings of that dynasty (1834-1763 BC), repaired and restored the residence of the *entu* priestesses at Ur, recording her accomplishment on a clay foundation cone (BM 130729, 13.4 cm diameter). Kudur-Mabuk took over control of Ur from Isin rule and again, we might see in the appointment of Enanedu, a political cum religious method of establishing and supporting the right to power. However, the text also reveals a reverence for the ancestral line of priestesses at Ur. Enanadu's

actions were those of the heir to the position and thus the one charged with ensuring the care of deceased *entus*. Selections (lines 1-15 and 26-48) from the text of Enanedu's inscription are significant for our understanding of the veneration of the ancestral *entu* priestesses (after Gadd 1951; Charpin 1986: 192-227; Frayne 1990: 239-240).

BM 130729

Lines 1-15

<sup>1-4</sup> Enanedu, priestess of Nanna, (predestined) from the holy womb (for) the great fate of the office of an *en* (priestess and) the nobility of heaven, beloved of the heart, upon whom Ningal has placed the radiance of the priesthood. <sup>5-8</sup>Ornament of [the] Ekishnugal (Temple of Nanna), who rivals high heaven, ornament of E-Nun, dazzling brightness rising upon the land, suitable for the tiara of the priesthood, called to the just title for the accomplishment of the rites and lustration ceremonies of divinity.

<sup>9-10</sup>Princess full of reverence, who stands for the lustration ceremonies at the lustration basin of the palace. I, Enanedu, <sup>11-15</sup> priestess, who beholds Nanna and Ningal, at Ur, preeminent city of Sumer, place where the *zannaru* instrument (lyre) plays for the lord Ashimbabbar, the one who built the Gipar for the office of *entu* priestess in a pure place.

-----

Lines 26-48

<sup>26-33</sup> At that time the shining Giparu, residence of my office of *entu*, its bricks did not fit their foundation. I, Enanedu, priestess truly called by an exalted name, daughter of Kudur-Mabuk, I laid the bricks tightly and firmly on the ancient foundation of the shining Giparu. I made its wall exact to a finger. I formed that house anew.

<sup>34-43</sup> At that time, the place of the 'Hall That Brings Bitterness', the place of those who had gone to their fate (i.e. died), the ancient *entus*, the wall did not reach around its site. The breach in it was left pierced, as a wilderness; no watch was set; its site was not clean (any more). I, in my great wisdom, sought room for the future, (for those who would go to their) fates (die). I established a broad sacred area surpassing the cemetery of the old *entus*; its ruined site I surrounded with a great wall, a strong watch I set

there, and its site I purified. <sup>44-48</sup>In this place where it was fallen in ruins, I rebuilt a great wall, a strong watch I set up there, I purified its site. To proclaim my name chosen for the priesthood I restored this work. I inscribed a foundation document in order to sing the praises of my priesthood. I called this wall, its name, "Whoever Reveres Me Shall Be Praised".

Enanedu's inscription records her restoration of the wall and the cemetery area of the Giparu (Figs. 16, 17, 18), of which part had been destroyed or neglected. The Giparu was a building complex within the sacred quarter near the ziggurat temple (Ekishnugal) of Ur's tutelary deity, Nanna (the Moon). The text explains that the ancient priestesses and their sacred graves were to be remembered and honored. This was where the *entu* priestess resided, oversaw the many duties of her office, managed goods, estates, staff, and temple rituals (Weadock 1975: 103).

At Ur, the *entu* was considered to be the earthly manifestation of the wife of Nanna, named Ningal, whose chapel and auxiliary rooms occupied one half of the Giparu (Section C). The structure also included domestic and residential areas in the other half of the building (Section A) and a section of rooms (Section B) where the graves of deceased *entu* priestesses were located (Fig. 17).

Enanedu was known long before the original was discovered. The sixth century BC Babylonian king, Nabonidus, had discovered her clay cone when he restored the Giparu (E-Gipar) for the dedication of his own daughter (Ennigaldi-Nanna) as *entu* of Nanna. Nabonidus wrote a rendition of Enanedu's inscription, adding some information about the location of the cemetery rooms.

"The ancient inscription of Enanedu, *entu* priestess of Ur, daughter of Kudur-Mabuk, (and) sister of Rim-Sin, King of Ur, who had renovated Egipar and restored it, (and who) along the side of Egipar had enclosed with a wall the resting place of the ancient *entu* priestesses I enclosed newly, as of old." (Weadock 1975:109).

This description fits the location of the rooms (Section B) along the northeastern outer wall between the large northwestern residential section (A) and the Ningal temple complex in Section C (Figs. 17, 18) (Woolley and Mallowan 1976). Some

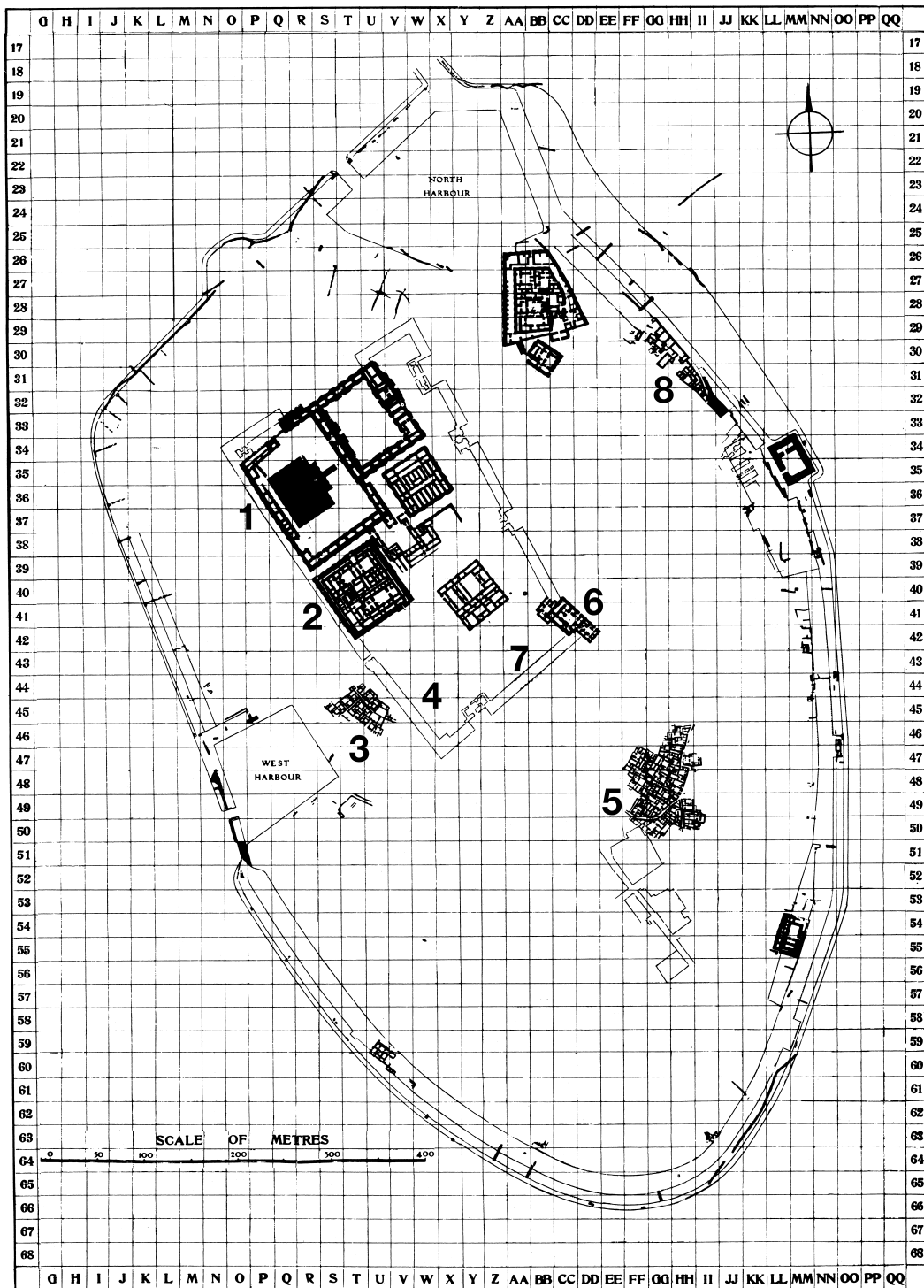


Figure 16. Ur. General Plan of Ur in the Larsa Period. 1) Nanna Temple; 2) Giparu; 3) EM Site; 4) EH Site; 5) AH Site; 6) Mausoleum Site; 7) Royal Cemetery Area; 8) City Wall Houses Site. (After *UE VII*, PL 116). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

rooms were probably rooms for funerary meals, (Al-Khalesi 1977: 63-66). Weadock reads UNUG<sub>2</sub> ŠEŠ-BA-AN-DU in as “the dining room in which the *urinnu* symbols are set up” (1975: 109). The meaning of these symbols is unclear but suggests a cultic significance to the room, rather than a room for daily practical use (Al-Khalesi 1977: 65, n. 62; Frayne 2000: 239).

Enanedu had repaired the walls with heavy plaster layering, added baked brick casing and extended the rooms above the tombs (Woolley and Mallowan

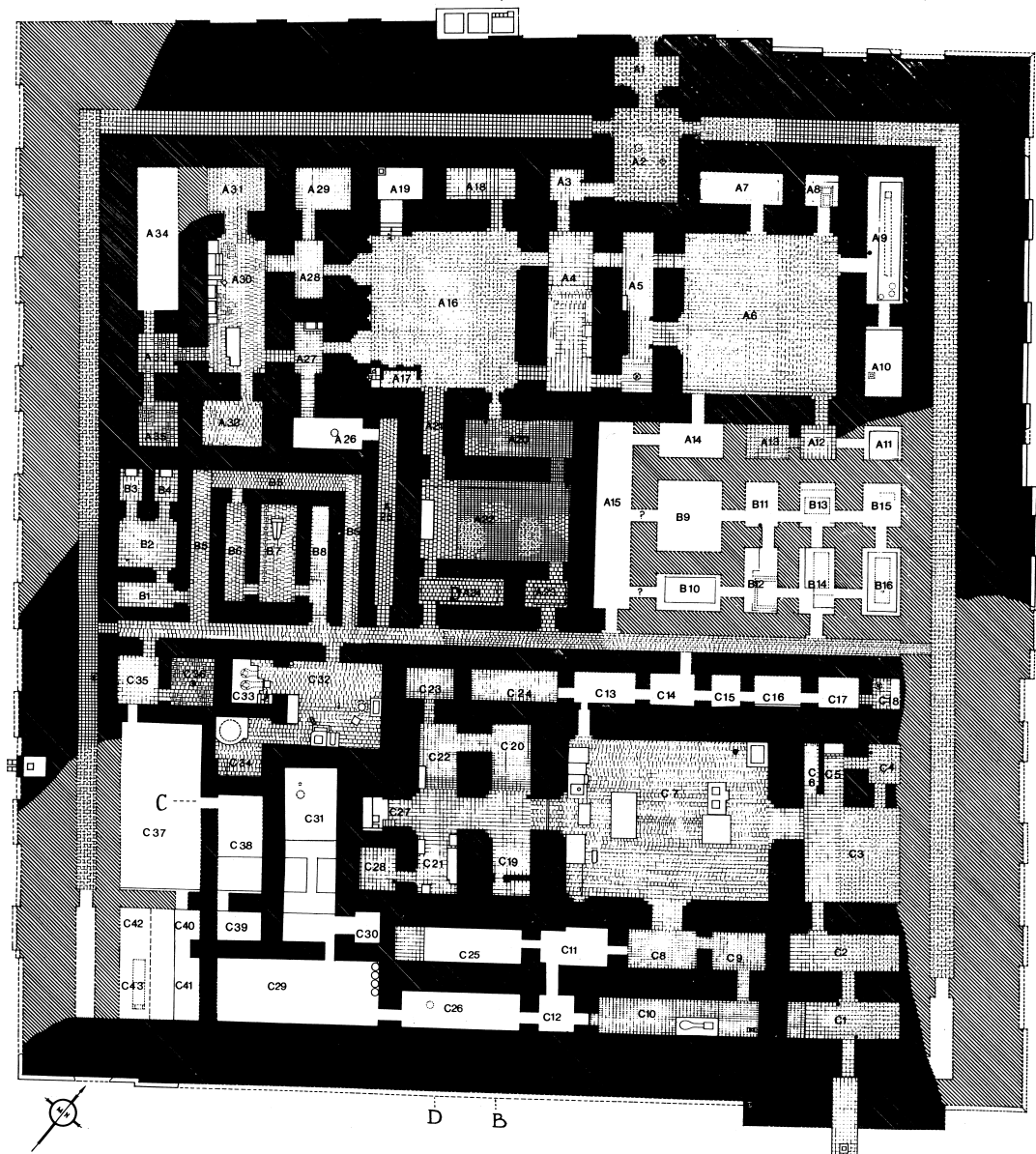


Figure 17. Ur. Plan of the Giparu. (After UE VII, PL 118). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

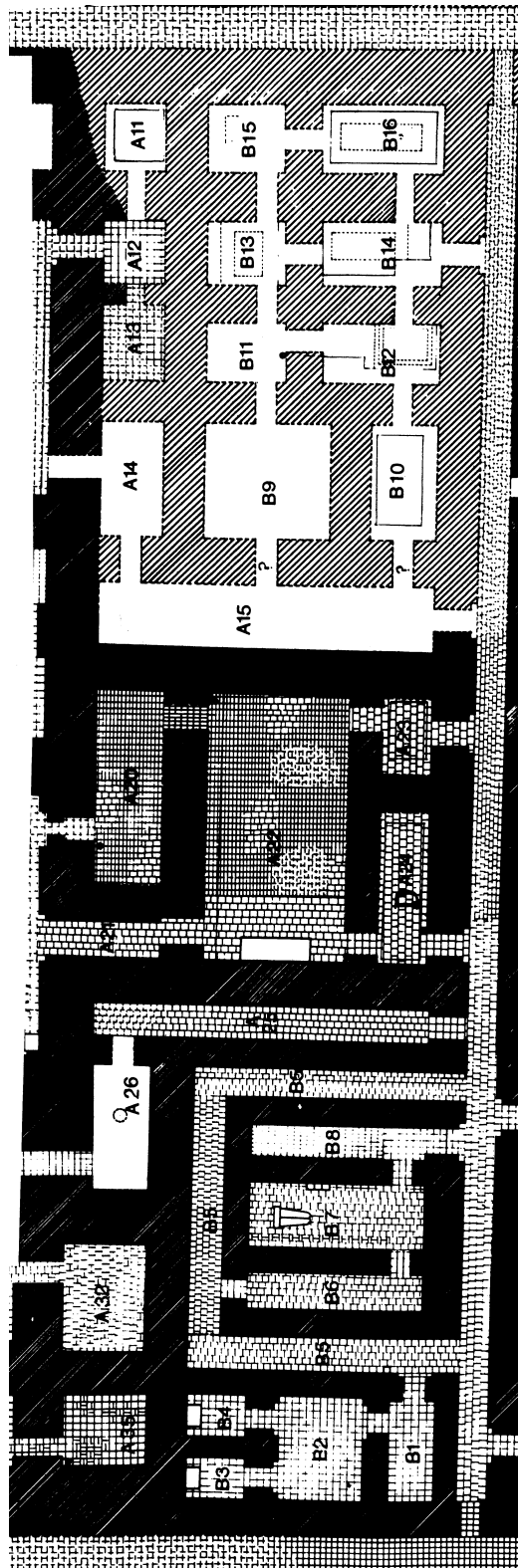


Figure 18. Ur. Plan of Section B cemetery rooms for *entu* priestess in the Giparu, view to Northeast. (After UE VII, PL 118). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

1976: 42-43). The room numbers of Section B changed between the publication of Weadock 1975 and Woolley's 1976 plan, and were clarified by Charpin (1986: 216-217). Figure 18 shows Section B according to Woolley with his numbering scheme (*UE VII*). Nevertheless, the integrity of that section of the building as the area for the tombs of deceased priestesses seems convincing (Weadock: 1976).

Unfortunately, no graves of the priestesses were preserved from the Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian levels at Ur, which had been destroyed by fire, perhaps during a revolt known from year eleven of King Samsuiluna of Babylon (1739 BC). However, associated with the Ur III foundations under the rooms in Section B were the remains of large corbel-vaulted brick tombs all of which were plundered (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 51). Although the Giparu was rebuilt on the earlier foundations, the Larsa period building had disappeared. Woolley notes that the tombs had clearly been intentionally planned as part of the building block. Therefore that area of the building had been the funerary rooms, as Enanedu notes. Plundered, the only objects were a frit image or mask of a stylized human face with remnants of white, yellow and red glaze and holes for earrings (U.6820, Rm. B12/A22) and a small frit bowl (U.6829, Rm. B12/A22) (Weadock 1975: 110; Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 51-52, 225, PL 60, PL 96).

One corbel-vaulted brick tomb was found under Room C43 in the Giparu, but does not have an LG grave number. The tomb takes up nearly the whole room with an elaborate structure (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 62-63). The tomb was empty with only a few fragments of bone. A brick-lined shaft was at the NW end that had beam-holes in the walls. The floor was bitumen-lined, slightly sloped with a drain. The end of the tomb was open to the shaft. At the back of the chamber was a pillar of solid bricks that reached the roof, with vent-hole on each side of it running through the roof. It is impossible to speculate whom this tomb was built for, but Woolley assigns it to the Larsa period (1976: 62).

By the second millennium, we have texts that mention regular offerings offered to dead *entus* from provisions texts from the E-Nunmah, the storehouse of the Ningal temple at Ur (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 58). Enannatumma, daughter of Ishme-Dagan of Isin (1953-1935 BC), and Enmegallanna, daughter of Gungunum of Larsa (ca. 1932-1906 BC) were recipients of these offerings over a period of thirty-six years, long (thirty to fifty years) after their deaths (Figulla



1953a-b; Weadock 1975: 104; Charpin 1986). The accounts include various types of regular, special and festival offerings to a group of minor deities as well as the *entus*. The *entus* names are not marked with the divine determinative, as those of the minor deities are. The former priestesses received offerings for honor and remembrance of their eminent positions from the descendants who occupied the position later. Of interest to this thesis are the mention of KI-A-NAG (“place of libation”) offerings for the two *entus*, which were most likely made at or above the grave in the cult rooms, and understood to be *kispum* offerings (Weadock 1975: 104). An example of the E-Nunmah (Figulla 1953a-b reads this as GÁ-NUN-MAḪ) accounts follow:

U V 759: 9-16 and 20-26

5 qa ni-nun

5 qa ga-ḫar

2 sūtu zú-lum

ki-a-nag En-me-gal-an-na

5 qa ni-nun

5 qa ga-ḫar

2 sūtu zú-lum

ki-a-nag En-an-na-du (TÚM)-ma

-----

Gá-nun-maḫ (d)Ni[n]-ga[l-ta]

gud ú-e-ne

šu-ba-an-ti

itu ne-ne-gar

mu-uš-sa-a-bi

uru (KI) Ka-íd-da ba-ḫul

5 qa butter

5 qa cheese

2 *sutu* dates

for the KI-A-NAG of Enmegalanna.

5 qa butter

5 qa cheese

2 *sutu* dates

for the KI-A-NAG of Enannatumma

-----

From the E-Nunmah of (d)Ningal

the *gudu* priests

received.

Month of Abu

Year: Sumu-ilum, 10 (Figulla 1953a: 111-112).

Performing *kispum* for *entus* emphasized the ancestral legacy of the position and linked the current incumbent in a long and exalted lineage of royal women who were also divine consorts of the god. The fact that the high priestess was chosen by divine revelation through omens also emphasizes the importance of the position. After the death of the incumbent high priestess, the designated successor went through a series of rituals of ordination over a period of days. From records from the city of Emar, for example, these rites took place over nine days (Fleming 1992: 63). The installation of a new *entu* priestess required purification rituals, food offerings, special clothing, symbols and substances. Processions, performing rituals, making offerings to deities, presenting gifts and feasting were also part of the installation of the new *entu* priestess (Fleming 1992: 169). Other cities also had *entu* priestess such as Ur, Uruk, Sippar, Babylon and perhaps Nippur (Weadock 1975: 125-26). It is the site of Ur, however, that lends us the best evidence for the lives and deaths of the *entu* priestess.

Enanedu's inscription informs us that the cemetery area in the Giparu had existed for a few hundred years, was rebuilt, restored and expanded in keeping with the practice of honoring dead predecessors and preserving the graves of the dead. The offering lists from the Ningal temple storehouse record regularized KI-A-NAG offerings for dead *entu* priestesses. The mention of the Hall That Brings Bitterness (UNUG<sub>2</sub> ŠEŠ-BA-AN-DU) as the *entu* cemetery in cultic rooms of Section B was a likely place for a *kispum* meal, above the tombs of the ancient priestesses. Finally, in another rebuilding by Nabonidus, the position of the cultic rooms for the veneration of the dead *entus* was recorded, verifying a very long tradition of remembrance of predecessors in the office of the *entu*.

#### 4.4 Conclusions and Summary

I have suggested that family identity was carried out, created and maintained through repetition of *kispum* rituals closely tied to households and families. By remembering names of family heirs, or those that represented the family identity during their lives, and cementing the past in the present through ritual, all family individuals past, present and future are bound (Sayer 2010; Katz 2013). When this ritual is also identified with the house, as in the case of the intramural tombs at Ur, for example, the family is further bound. The symbolic placement of the dead in below-floor vaults or graves delineates the dead from the outside world. In fact, intramural burials, for which there is ample widespread evidence in second millennium Mesopotamia, keep the dead present in living family memory (see Section 6.4 below). Burials in houses are distinguished from the outside world by occupying 'live' space. Performing the *kispum* within the house, at an altar or in a house chapel or before the tombs, actualizes the living memory of the dead.

How, then, does family memory exist when the dead are placed in cemeteries or extramural burials? I think we must look at the symbolic angle of *kispum* for (re)producing family identity for this. Identity is solidified and created through ritual, particularly repetitive ritual. The body and bones (*eṣemtu*) were tied to the grave and must remain undisturbed. I think *kispum*, however, was not specifically tied to a locus and could be performed at the grave, a 'shrine', altar, or in the case of the very poor, could just take the form of water poured out on the ground (see also Richardson 1999-2000: 172-173; Brown 2010: 21-22). So the exact locus of the pouring of water or symbolic meal of bread was less important than the actual act. This is how ritual 'works', in the *doing* of it.

What I am trying to investigate is an emotion-laden mortuary rite that, in its repetition, was valuable on many levels for family identity, grief, providing solace in bereavement, social mourning, and memory (Marwit and Klass 1996; Klass 2013). While this is very different from concrete archaeological proof in the material remains, we ought to consider the newer evidence for what people really do when it comes to the dead, as we have seen in Chapter 2. Continued Bonds Theory can shed light through another window onto Mesopotamian family life and

social identity, by looking at the *kispum* in the context of social and emotional relationships played out on many levels (Neimeyer, Klass and Dennis 2014).

I think we must be reminded of the theoretical spiritual element of a religious ritual, especially one that maintains contact with dead family spirits. We have already examined the extensive configuration of the Mesopotamian cosmos in Chapter 3. *Kispum* must be considered in light of the unseen as well as the physical. The invocation of the dead and the meal were done as a symbol-rich activity that accomplished the sustenance and maintenance of spiritual beings in an invisible netherworld. In other words, the dead benefited from the ritual. The living could be assured that they, too, would be cared for in the afterlife. While archaeological evidence for the ritual can be explored in material remains, the real motivation for the survival of *kispum* for centuries has to be associated with its productive personal and social value. I believe that performance of the ritual was what families actually *did*. They performed this ritual repetitively, and in so doing maintained an ongoing family identity through remembrance (Connerton 1989; Sayer 2010). Additionally, *kispum* functioned as a multilevel phenomenon affecting individuals, family and the broader community. As we have seen, ancient religion is really what people did, not necessarily the official state and public religion (Berlinerblau 1996). In second millennium Mesopotamia, *kispum* should be considered as a major component of religious life. As such, it was a focus of family life and played a big role in maintaining family bonds among the living, as it served to continue relationships with dead family.

In this chapter, terms for the physical and spiritual or intangible elements of a human elucidate the nature of the *eṭemmu*, the ghost of the family dead. Locating the origins of mankind in the divine world set the stage for understanding the conceptual composition of human beings. Textual evidence also provided terminology for kin groups, including the nuclear family, clan and matrilineal-based kinship relationships. The nature of kin identity as the basis for Mesopotamian society was examined as a social and religious construct. The nature of remembrance of the dead was discussed in terms of some theories of memory, in a basic overview of ancestors, and cohesion of social groups by shared values and ritual action.

Evidence for inheritance of household and family gods in legal texts and references to clay images may indicate the presence of ancestral spirits that serve actively in legal rights and the protection of the family. The family dead, or *eṭemmu*, was called upon to bring blessings, protection and authority to the family line. Paying respect, honor and reverence to these entities was not only a religious responsibility, but could indeed be a legal duty for the principal heir of family estates.

In these ways, practices we may term as religious activities were cemented within family lineages. The emphasis placed upon them within texts suggested that they might be considered essential for survival of the family line and may well have played significant roles in how property and inheritance were validated. From such a perspective the dead were therefore embraced as beneficial and positive aspects of family life. Family memory practiced through remembrance rituals was also a dynamic part of many aspects of Mesopotamian life, with social, religious and economic significance. Lineages depended on the remembrance of the dead for generations. Written genealogies record the possibility of memory aids for invocation of ancestral names, although for most, memorized or formulaic spoken or sung lists may have sufficed. Therefore, it is quite possible that the family dead were integrally maintained in a close relationship with the living. Through the *kispum* ritual deceased family members were kept as an essential part of the family identity. Continued Bonds Theory shows us that this type of memory ritual, conducted within the framework of a belief system, produces positive effects on the living and perhaps, even on the dead.

In Chapter 5, we will begin to explore textual material remains for the nature and practice of the *kispum* ritual as represented in cuneiform materials.

## Chapter 5. The Archaeological Evidence for *Kispum* — Material Remains from Texts

In the next two chapters, examples of evidence for what we know about second millennium *kispum* from material remains are examined, including cuneiform tablets and excavations. In this chapter, we look at pragmatic evidence for activities associated with Mesopotamian *kispum* rites in ancient texts. Material for reconstructing the nature of the *kispum* rites can be inferred from different genres of documents. *Kispum* first appears in texts of the second millennium, hence the focus of this study on the family ritual in this period. While we know of some royal funerals and royal *kispum* from texts, and I have included some mention of them, my study emphasizes non-royal family *kispum* and some mention of the funeral rites.

First, it is useful to summarize (5.1) what we know about the *kispum* in general, namely, who performed *kispum*, when the *kispum* took place in the calendar, where it took place, and what happened during the ritual. The motivation for, or why the ritual occurred, is explored throughout this thesis with new insights supporting the assertion that emotional bonds play a major role between the living and the family dead.

### 5.1 Material Remains: *Kispum* in Cuneiform Tablets

We have seen that *kispum* was a post-funerary ritual meal that called forth the deceased from the netherworld to eat and drink with the living. *Kispum* was usually offered monthly in the family context, and celebrated annually in a public, communal festival of the ancestors. The funeral and the post-funerary, ongoing *kispum* were two different rituals. While we know from texts that *kispum* involved offerings, less visible features, such as spoken or sung formulae, gesture or actions, important parts of ritual, remain obscure. We do know from texts that *kispum* entailed three actions: performing the care of the dead ritual (*kispa kasāpu*), pouring water (*mē naqū*), and invoking the name (*šūma zakāru*) of the dead.

One incantation text is an excellent resource for confirming basic *kispum* content (Tsukimoto 1985:173-176). Although it is later than the Old Babylonian period, from, it incorporates background information, which surely must reflect longstanding standard *kispum* steps.

“[Name], who died a natural death in his bed, the son of [Name], who laid him in the grave (*ina qabri*). You are Man (*amelūta*)! I called your name. I called your name among the ghosts of the dead (*eṭemṁē*). I called your name for *kispum*. I sat you before Šamaš. I called your name as a ghost before Šamaš. I placed you in your grave (“house”). I placed food for you in the entrance to your grave. For the ghosts of your family I performed *kispum* (*kispa aksip*). ...”

The text also tells us at the end (line 22) that it belonged to Kišir-Aššur, an exorcist priest (MAŠ-MAŠ) from Aššur, likely from his ritual toolbox. While we know it was recited as a formula in a magical text, it also shows us that the name of the deceased (filled in) was called, thereby beckoning him forth from the underworld, and that the ghost was seated (before Šamaš), and fed the *kispum* meal.

Many inferences have already been made about belief in the nature of the dead and the afterlife, in Chapter 3 in this study, from literary, religious and mythological texts. Cuneiform tablets should be considered as material remains, artifacts which can be studied for evidence of what, when, where and for whom the *kispum* rituals took place. Various non-religious documents, such as lists, letters, lexical texts and accounting records, also reference *kispum*.

As mentioned before, the person who performed the ritual was responsible for the care of forebearers and called the *pāqidu* (LÚ-SAG-ÈN-TAR). We have seen from legal texts in Chapter 4 that the primary heir was responsible as the main overseer of these ritual obligations. Texts primarily name males as the heir, although examples of females have also been noted, sometimes legally adopted as males to fulfill the role. Bearing or adopting children to care for one's *eṭemmu* was considered a necessity. A woman, Akatija, expressed this need in a letter to her brother Sinnī: "Now I raised one boy, thinking, 'Let him be grown up at the time of my burial' "(AbB 9, 228, Stol 1981: 143; Charpin 2012: 30). The etymology of *pāqidu* connotes putting someone in charge, in the context of entrusting them with something, or handing over to them goods, land, persons or animals for care or safekeeping (*CAD* P: 115-121). In the context of the family, the *pāqidu* would bear ritual and symbolic responsibility for the care and well being of both the living and the dead.

The ritual role of the chief heir would also have been symbolically profound for its cosmological effect in the religious sphere, as well as family leadership. In a society in which magic was intertwined with religion and an active part of daily life, the *pāqidu* was more than the “water pourer” (*nāq mē*). The heir assigned this role held great ritual power to intermediate between the upper and lower worlds, which translated to social power in the family structure and so, the broader community. In this regard, the leadership of the *kispum* ritual was a role which offered stability and meaning to the family as whole. Through the living, who participated in the *kispum*, the dead continued as family members, thus reinforcing the deeper meaning and identity of the family itself.

It is uncertain if private *kispum* was performed for all ages, naming the individuals or only heirs or adults (but see 5.2 below). It is likely, as we have seen in the *Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty*, that an inclusive mention of the family deceased as a group might have been included in the calling of the names. The genealogy lists we have seen in Chapter 4 list males, patrilineal mothers, grandmothers, and unmarried daughters (probably priestesses).

When the ghosts had been invoked, the basic essential substance needed for the *kispum* was water: “Above (*ina elātī*), may his name be good. Below (*ina šaplātī*), may his *eṭemmu* drink pure water” (5.7 below). Water would have been available to all at any level of society. During the ritual, the liquid was either poured directly into the soil, at the gravesite, or perhaps poured down a water conduit into the graves. We shall examine evidence for water pipes in Chapter 6. If the ongoing *kispum* was performed in the house, the liquids may also have been dispensed into vessels or the flooring. Other basics are sometimes offered, such as oil, beer or grain, flour or bread. The more elaborate royal or temple texts indicate a broad selection of foods, according to affluence and perhaps the more public setting, such as roast meats, vegetables, fragrant oils, fruits (dates, apples), fine butter and dairy products.

Some offering lists with many foods were confused as grave goods for inhumation with *kispum* offerings (Tsukimoto 1980). For example, an Old Babylonian text (*CT* 45) lists goods and foods for the KI-SÌ-GA EDIN-NA (*kispum ina šērim*). This text was understood to be a list for *kispum* offerings. However, the text is a magical incantation used to dispel an unwanted demon or ghost, by



means of a substitute burial. The term *kispum ina šērim* is not fully known, but here probably indicates a burial in the steppe (EDIN-NA, *šērim*), away from habitation. Tsukimoto has correctly identified the goods in the list as equipment for the errant spirit to send him on his way back to the netherworld where he belongs (1980: 129-135). The list may also be representative of goods for a very well provisioned grave, and even refer to images of goods represented, but the purpose of the text was a substitute magic burial, perhaps using a figurine. A burial and a *kispum* for the wayward, foreign, or unburied spirit, provided the rites which incorporated it with proper respect into membership in a family group. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi have identified another text for *kispum ina šērim* that may also demonstrate proper funeral rites (2000: 32-35).

Evidence for second millennium cemeteries is scant and not available; they may well have existed, but are undiscovered, unexcavated, or destroyed. Burials under house floors predominated, according to what evidence we have. A good body of graves exists from residential areas at Ur, which will be examined in Chapter 6. Family ritual for the dead and the symbolic significance of actually living with deceased family members is my focus and this evidence will also be explored further in Chapter 6. Further examination of textual evidence continues below.

## 5.2 *Kispum* For a Son

In a very important example for our understanding of family *kispum*, an Old Babylonian letter, Hammurabi wrote to one Sin-Iddinam that a man named Sin-uselli has reported the following incident to him:

BM 93766

“...My son Sukkukum disappeared from me eight years ago and I did not know whether he was still alive and I kept making funerary offerings for him as if he were dead (*ki-ma mi-tim ki-is-pa-am ak-ta-as-si-ip-šum*). Now, they have told me that he is staying (dwelling) in Ik-Bari in the House of Ibni-Ea, the ‘rider’ and goldsmith, the son of Šilli-Šamaš. I went To Ik-Bari, but they hid him from me and denied his presence to me....”

The remainder of the letter tells us that Hammurapi then ordered a soldier and a trustworthy man to accompany Sin-uselli to retrieve his lost (enslaved or kidnapped) son, as well as Ibni-Ea who had kept the boy for eight years, and to bring them both to Babylon (Van Soldt 1994: 23). Hopefully, Hammurapi resolved the matter.

This letter seems to turn any idea of *kispum* as a ritual only for deceased parents, elders, or ancestors on its head. Here we have clear evidence that other (here a child) family members received the care for the dead ritual, in this case performed even without a body or burial. This father performed *kispum*, for his son for eight years, which supports well the claim that the family dead were all provisioned continuously. It also proves that, while desirable, a skeleton in a grave was not necessary to perform spiritual care for the dead. The grammatical form of the verb used (*aktassip*) indicates that the ritual occurred more than once over the past years. The father's words indicate his ongoing performance of the ritual. By means of repeating the *kispum* performance, this father, who had acknowledged his son's death, was still interacting with and maintaining a relationship with his child. His emotion, grief for a lost son, and his shock at hearing the boy was alive comes through in this letter, despite its formal plea. This is not a case concerned with inheritance benefits, and so supports the notion of continued bonds with deceased family members.

We are not told Sukkukum's age, but he was declared 'dead' as a child and mourned for eight years. Whether very young children or infants were included in memorial rites by name or collectively with the dead, or at what age children were considered a family member and included in *kispum* invocations is not known. Some records for deaths of children or infants occur, for example, at Mari (Charpin 2012: 21-24). Many words existed for children in various stages from neonates until adulthood, and numerous infant graves exist, particularly under house floors, as we will see in Chapter 6. That children were mourned is evident from a passage from *The Epic of Gilgamesh* where Gilgamesh asks if his little stillborn children, who never came to consciousness (TUR.TUR) were in the world below (Harris 2000: 7-16). Enkidu reports that he saw them playing in the netherworld at a gold and silver table covered with honey and ghee. This could indicate that small children received *kispum* offerings and the opportunity for a pleasant afterlife.

Sukkukum's father is evidence of grief and a relationship with a deceased family member, represented by eight years of *kispum*.

### 5.3 The *Pāqidu* and the Monthly *Kispum*

Six more texts offer further types of information that we can retrieve from cuneiform tablets. These selections inform us further about the monthly performance of the ritual throughout the year, including provisions, the leadership of the ritual, and the association of the waning moon with the monthly rites. The evidence for ongoing rituals scheduled at the end of the month also supports the thesis of continued bonds between the dead and living.

The first selection is from a letter from the Old Babylonian city of Sippar, in which a *nadītum* priestess admonishes her brother for not providing her with foodstuffs to make the monthly offering (here KI-SÈ-GA) for the É *a-bi-ka*, “your family” (Kraus 1964: 78; Tsukimoto 1985: 47; Van der Toorn 1996a: 50). In this letter, it is interesting that, while the brother is responsible to provide his share of the offering, it seems that the woman is the person who performs the ritual. While we cannot be certain for the reason for this, it may be that the family grave is in her city. It could also be interesting if she was designated as the *pāqidu* since she clearly has a living male sibling. In any case, it is important to note that a female is in charge of the *kispum* in this example. *Nadītu* women are an especially important and well-known class of people from Old Babylonian archives, particularly from Sippar and Nippur (Stone 1982; Harris 1975: 302-350; 1989). These women experienced a degree of economic independence as high status clerics and were able, although cloistered in Sippar in a *gagum* community, to operate outside the bounds of conventional patriarchal authority (Diakonoff 1986). Although most were celibate, unmarried and dedicated to the temple by their fathers at a young age, they received their dowry and the use and usufruct of their portion of the family inheritance while they lived. Many were wealthy, often invested in real property and the texts attest many business transactions (Harris 1975: 22-37, 310-312; 1989: 150-156; Jozsef 2009). *Nadītu* participated in a *kispum* honoring their dead priestesses. They also sometimes adopted young women to care for them in their old age, which would likely include performing *kispum* for them after death.

In a part of the letter below not quoted here, the priestess mentions as well that she has paid certain land leases, house rents, and given money as temple offerings. It is not stated in this letter if the woman is managing *kispum* resources because of her independent status, because she is administrating family matters in general, or perhaps that her status as the elder sibling or heir designee entitles her to do so. Stone posits these women played key roles in the maintenance of property and power in their lineages (1982). It is, however, evident in this letter that the sister is responsible for ongoing, monthly ritual remembrances in the service of her natal family.

AbB I, (Kraus 1964: 106: 4-19), CT 43, 106, BM 17495

...As you, my brother, know, this year you have sent me neither garlic, nor onions, nor *sirbittum* fish. If I do not write you, you do not call my name (i.e. remember me). I am now sending Muballit-Marduk (a messenger) before you (with this). Assemble together and send me one shekel silver worth of garlic, one shekel silver worth of onion, and one shekel silver worth of *sirbittum* fish. (Or else) what shall I give (during) the whole year for the *kispum* offering for the day of the new moon for the house of your family?

Apparently, the quantity and perhaps the type of provisions were agreed upon and expected from family members – here, from a brother – promptly on a monthly basis. It is also important that in this letter provisions for a whole year of regular rituals were expected - *kala šatti* - “all of the year” (the whole year long).

This text also offers proof of the time of the month that *kispum* is performed. The *ūm bibbulim*, “day of darkness” or “day of the disappearance”, appears in cuneiform texts from the middle of the third millennium to the first millennium (Cohen 1993; Livingstone 2007a: 43). The term “new moon” here can be somewhat misleading in English. Here the meaning is “no moon”. The period of the disappearance of the moon accords with the Babylonian calendar to the 29<sup>th</sup> or 30<sup>th</sup> day of the lunar month. Another Akkadian term is used for this time is *rēš warhim*, the beginning of the month (Whiting 1987: 62-63). Ritually and symbolically, the cusp of no moon/visible moon is significant as a liminal time when the boundaries of the upper and lower worlds are the same.

The second text, an Old Babylonian bilingual (Sumerian/*Akkadian*) lexical list, tells us that the darkness at the end of the month could also be associated with threat (Tsukimoto 1985: 47-48).

MSL V 23, 192-198

u <sub>4</sub> 30-kám	<i>še-la- šá-a</i>	the 30 <sup>th</sup> day
u <sub>4</sub> ná.àm	<i>bu-ub-bu-lu</i>	the day of the new moon
hul.gál	<i>šu-lu<sub>4</sub>/u<sub>4</sub>hulgallu</i>	dangerous day
hul.gál	<i>u<sub>4</sub>-mu lem-nu</i>	the evil day
u <sub>4</sub> ki.sì.ga	<i>u<sub>4</sub>-mu ki-is-pi</i>	the day of the <i>kispum</i>
u <sub>4</sub> su.nag <sub>5</sub>	<i>u<sub>4</sub>-mu ri-im-ki</i>	the day of the “bath”
u <sub>4</sub> sikil.e.dé	<i>u<sub>4</sub>-mu te-lil-tum</i>	the day of “purification”

In this text the *kispum* is designated to occur at the time of the darkest night of the month, and clearly the idea of darkness corresponds to the liminal and threatening nature of those days (Langdon 1935: 144-148). In Mesopotamian tradition, the 25<sup>th</sup> through 27<sup>th</sup> days of the month involve the last stages of the light from the waning moon and symbolize the encroachment of death into the land of the living (Fleming 2000: 186). These days, up to the reappearance of the moon, are associated with the netherworld, with mourning, and with the family *kispum*. Langdon suggests that the 29<sup>th</sup> is the day of pouring out water for the souls of the dead (1935: 148). The text above shows us that the final part of the ritual period was the ritual cleansing. The annual devotion to the dead in the month of Apum was observed publicly and on a more widespread basis as a religious holiday, whereas the monthly *kispum* would have been observed within each family or clan separately throughout the year.

The third text is from an Old Babylonian letter from one Šamaš-ḥāzir, known as an administrator of Hammurabi in the South, to one Belšunu, an overseer who works for him in the date groves (Leemans 1982: 247). In this message a regular provision of firewood for *kispum* is mentioned (Stol 1981: 14-16, 67; Tsukimoto 1985: 40).

YBC 7062, AbB IX, 20

...I write to you again and again and you do not pay attention to my words. They are wasting (lit. scattering) wood and dung and you must be

alert.... You do not give even one single piece of wood except for the one stick (or reed cf. *CAD* K: 426) that you give each time for the *kispum* (KI-SÌ-GA). Decide about the matter of the wine and if the gardener has barley, receive it from him. If not, have him brought in and confined to the house.

The barley and wine may have been needed for the *kispum* as well, although this is not exactly stated in this case. This letter is significant because it indicates that fire is part of the ritual event, performed in the dark of the night. The request for firewood could support the idea that a fire was lit as part of a torchlight procession, certainly known from Greek funerals in antiquity (Scurlock 2002; Corley 2010: 27). The light provided a passageway for the spirits of the dead to return briefly to the land of the living. Torches and fires set by each household would guide the spirits back to what Cohen refers to as the ancestral home, to enjoy a ceremonial meal (*ezem* or *ezen*) (1993: 456-459). In the letter above, torches are not exactly specified, but perhaps a fire to light them is understood to the recipient of the letter. Torches are known from other ritual contexts as well, for example, in a ritual for curing a sick man (BM 34035), an incense censer and torch are placed in the house of the man as part of the ritual action. The fires lit in these objects have symbolic religious connotations. The text explains that the deity Nusku, a fire god, is immanent in the torch as it stands in the house, and another god in the censer (Livingstone 2007a: 173). The fires could also have been for cooking foods meant to attract the dead family members to join in a communal meal. In most of the scholarship, a meal is considered to be an important part of the funerary proceedings, whether at graveside or elsewhere. Another possibility is lighting a household fireplace hearth for the *kispum*, which we will see in the chapel rooms at Ur in Chapter 6.

The fourth text is a distribution text from Old Babylonian Nippur which mentions a *kispum* (KI-SÌ-GA) scheduled for a deceased GU'ENNA (Akk. *guennakku*), a person in a position of central political authority (Peterson 2009: 239-246). The *guennakku* was the title of the governor at Nippur from the Old Babylonian period through the first millennium (*CAD* G: 134). Many records exist concerning matters such as the building of his house, wages for his labourers, his business and trade

dealings, allotments of grain and ghee for cultic offerings, and for members of his household (Robertson 1984).

UM 29-16-95, 1-2

10 gín <sup>dug</sup>utul <sup>d</sup> Šeš.Ki

10 gín ki.sì.ga gu<sub>2</sub>-en-na

10 shekels (of ghee) for the *utul* vessel of Nanna

10 shekels (of ghee) for the *kispum* of the *guenna* official

There are additional entries for several other SIZKUR (offering) rites in fields and a special type of offering, a NÌNDA-I-DÉ-A, a cake made up of several ingredients, including ghee, grain and dates. The last amount listed is 12 shekels of ghee in an *utul* vessel for the “banquet”. These may be for the *kispum* meal, although that is not stated. Then the last entry totals the amount of ghee (Ì-NUN/*himētum*) distribution as 2 liters (SILA<sub>3</sub>), 12 shekels of ghee.

The <sup>DUG</sup>UTUL<sub>2</sub> is another interesting feature of this text. The sign DUG is a determinative sign for a pot or bowl, and the cuneiform signs together (here in Sumerian) are to be read *diqāru* in Akkadian. There were many different uses and materials attested for this type of bowl, kettle or cauldron found everywhere. It was usually a deep vessel with a round bottom for food, soups, for cooking (Salonen 1966: 70-79; Bottéro 1995: 198-99). It is attested as an UTUL-Ì when it is used for ghee. Whether the ghee was poured, used in the meal or rubbed on something, is not known. The pot was apparently of some value, because Battum, the mother in law of Bilalama, a ruler of Nippur, wrote demanding that her son-in-law return her *diqāru* to her after the ruler Abda-El’s death (correspondence concerns his funeral). Whether she had used it to give a measure of ghee for Abda-El’s funeral is not stated, but possible in the context (Whiting 1987: 51-56). There do not appear to be terms in the texts for vessels specific for the *kispum*, that is, for that funerary ritual purpose alone, although luxury versions of these of course exist. In the texts the foodstuffs seem to be provided in normal measures and containers.

Two other texts from the *guennakku*’s archives at Nippur concern *kispum* provisions to be allotted to a woman named Damiqtum, who is mentioned in many of the texts, who seems to function as an administrator of some status associated

with his family or household, perhaps a sister and probably a *nadītum*. One text concerns the purchase of fish to be sent to her for the *kispum*. Another includes a measure of grain (probably barley) for the netherworld libation in a grain accounting that she was responsible for performing (Robertson 1984: 159, 170-171).

UM 29-15-885

1 nigida še-bi da-mi-iq-tum

1 nigida še-bi ama<sub>5</sub>-ni- še<sub>3</sub>

kaš-de<sub>2</sub>-a er-še<sub>2</sub>-tum

1 NIGIDA of grain for Damiqtum

1 NIGIDA of grain for her living quarters

for the KAŠ-DÉ-A of the netherworld

The *eršetum* (earth, netherworld) libation may be for her family *kispum* to be performed in the home; another possibility is that Damiqtum was responsible for the ritual for dead *nadītum* women. The KAŠ-DÉ-A, “the pouring of beer” may be a beer libation, or may refer to an entire ceremony which includes a banquet (Michalowski 1994: 29-31). The context here also implies a libation of beer for the dead. There were many types of beer with specific names and processing recipes, so the generic KAŠ in KAŠ-DÉ-A may imply the libation portion of the *kispum*, or as Michalowski concludes from economic texts, it was term for a type of meal with an alcoholic grain beverage (Powell 1994; Michalowski 1994: 30).

These delivery texts also tell us that certain foods were regularly ordered for scheduled rites as a matter of course and as a part of everyday life. Therefore the dead were consistently provided for as a matter of course; having the proper ingredients at hand in time for the ritual was a matter of some importance.

One more pertinent text, an Old Babylonian letter, refers to a son acting as *pāqidu*, while his father is still alive.

VS 16, 5, AbB 6, 5, lines 1-6

A-na I-lí-[im-gur-ra-an-ni]

a-bi-ia

<sup>dug</sup>bu-še-em-tam



a-na ki-is-pí  
ša a-bi-ka  
šu-bi-lam

To Ili-imgurranni,  
My father,  
A *buṣimtum*  
For the *kispum*,  
For your father,  
Send to me.

The son of Ili-imgurranni is responsible for the performance of the family *kispum*, as he says it is for his grandfather (his father's father). *Buṣimtum* has previously been translated as '(at least a) bone', but now is read as a type of container (*CAD* K: 426) or a box (Tsukimoto 1985: 51-52; Veenhof 2008: 98). It is worth mentioning that *abika* in line 5 could be read as a plural and refer to collective fathers as the ancestors of the family (although one might expect another *-i-* in the cuneiform). The text does not give us further information about the father; to assume that he was unable or uninterested in performing the *kispum*, does not seem to be implied. Instead, the request for a *buṣimtum* seems to convey the sense that a regular provision was expected from the father. What is important to note is that a son leads the offering while his father still lives. The son is acknowledging the family ancestors.

We can summarize some interesting conclusions about the role of the *pāqīdu* from these texts. In two of the examples above where *nadītu* women are responsible for the family *kispum*, we see that women could act in the ritual role even though males were still living in their families whom we might normally expect to lead the *kispum*. The examples do involve women of status who still claim the patrilineal lineage of their family, as presumably they are unmarried. In another example with living relatives, Ili-imgurranni's son is in charge of the care of the family's dead, while his father still lives. These three examples, as well the letter of Sin-uselli (5.2 above), allow us to view the traditional representations of the role of the family in *kispum* in the scholarly literature differently. In these texts

we find evidence for the involvement of more family members. Instead of restriction of the role to a male, main heir, we see evidence in these texts for females with living brothers in a leadership role for ongoing *kispum* rites. We also see two males outside the normal line of succession performing *kispum*. One (Ili-*imgurrani*) has a living father and performs the ritual either for his paternal grandfather or the collective ancestors of his father's family. The other, Sin-uselli, performs *kispum* for a dead son, who cannot be an ancestor, which supports the use of the ritual as part of grieving, and an ongoing relationship with the dead.

Three conclusions can be drawn from this evidence which support the hypothesis of a continuing bonds function for the *kispum* rites: 1) *Kispum* was not solely an economically motivated ritual in the context of the family, because main inheritors, particularly males, were not in the role of *pāqīdu* in three of these text examples. 2) *Kispum* was an expected, scheduled, ongoing part of family life performed at the end of the month coinciding with the disappearance of the moon. 3) Emotional concern is demonstrated, particularly in Sin-uselli's letter, which points to the function of *kispum* as a means of engaging in continuing bonds with the family dead.

#### **5.4 The *Kispum* Meal**

The act of a communal meal or ritual feasting in the funerary context is generally accepted as part of the *kispum* as well (Langdon 1912: 203; Forest 1987; Bray 2003; Pollock 2003; Cohen 2005). Feasting or eating a meal as part of an important event in the cycles of life has been widely discussed over many disciplines and cultures (Rappaport 1968; Nebelsick 2000; Dietler and Hayden 2001, Bray 2003; Aranda Jiménez et al. 2011). The communal meal is variable, socially productive, organic, personal, serves many functions and can promote many types of ties, whether group, political, ideological, economic or religious. At the minimum, feasting is the conveyance for many developments in human relationships (Hayden 2001). In sacred or religious contexts, the communal meal can be ritually transformative (Wright 2004: 52-53). In Mesopotamia banquets occurred as part of many rituals for the gods during the normal calendar. In myths, the gods banqueted and drank, with varying results (Michalowski 1994). The community of the gods feasted together as a divine family (Bottéro 1994). In public

rituals, of the temple or palace, the gods were invited to join the feast. The public royal or religious feast was also a complex sociopolitical event involving practical benefits such as power over resources, or labor, surplus control and creation of alliances within the city (Schmandt-Besserat 2001: 399-201; Hayden 2001: 29-30).

Commensality in the mortuary context is an important means for transmitting collective memory (Aranda Jiménez et al. 2011: 1-3). On a family level particularly in a funerary meal within the social unit (family, lineage, clan), cohesive social bonds are fostered, in turn strengthening community bonds (Hayden 2001: 37-40). I argue that in the *kispum* meal these bonds were continually recreated between both the living and the dead. For Mesopotamians, the existence of supernatural entities was accepted as a matter of course. In the same way that a deity could be invited to a ritual meal, it may be suggested that deceased family spirits could attend the family *kispum* during the special periods when the netherworld was ritually opened to release (*wuššuru*) the family ghosts.

The underpinnings of religious belief expressed in Mesopotamian myth, include the afterlife and so are embedded in the *kispum*. In ritual time (during the performance of the ritual), which is different from calendrical time, past generations of a family existed, in essence, simultaneously, and the living could ritually participate in a communal meal with their dead (Assmann 2006: 37-40; Katz 2013: 117-125).

### **5.5 Dating The *Kispum*: The Month of Apum and the Festival of the Dead**

As noted earlier, the *kispum* occurred regularly, monthly, at the end of the month or perhaps twice per month (at Mari). In this section we examine evidence from texts which give us more information about both the regular *kispum*, performed every month, and an annual, bigger ritual which was generally associated with the month of Apum. The festival or sacred days for the annual commemoration of the dead are associated in most of the scholarship with citywide *kispum* rites. In much of the current literature, this month is written “Abum”, but the derivation is from the Sumerian A.PA<sub>4</sub>, the word for libation pipe and so should be read as Apum (Postgate, pers. comm.). The month name references the offerings on the ground (or at the grave).

In the Old Babylonian period the month of Apum was either the fourth or fifth month of the year, depending on the regional calendar of each city. The Old Babylonian calendar began in the spring; Apum normally corresponded to July-August in our calendar. An important aspect of funerary offerings and remembrance ritual is the evidence from calendrical data. It is known that the preceding month of *Dumuzi (Tammuz)*, usually the fourth month where it occurred, was associated with mourning the dying and rising Sumerian god in an agricultural festival when the fields are harvested and laid bare until spring. Apum, which follows it, was particularly associated with the remembrance of human dead. In this month, *kispum* for dead kings was also widely performed as early as the third millennium. Apum became the annual festival for all of the family dead, as well, and lasted during the final days of the month until the new moon appeared.

We occasionally catch glimpses of the practical requirements and preparations for these public rituals. For example, an Old Babylonian era administrative text, probably for the palace, calls for cows to be sent to Babylon so that there will be plenty of milk during the official annual *kispum*. As it would probably take place over two to three days, larger quantities were needed (*CAD K*: 425-26).

TCL I, 7:6

Šizbum u ḥimētum ana ki.sì.ga

Ša<sup>itu</sup>ne.ne.gar

iḥḥaššeḥ

Milk and ghee for the *kispum*

of the month of Apum

will be needed.

TCL I, 7:16

Adi ki.sì.ga ušallimu

Šizbam likil

Until the *kispum* is finished

Let milk be available.

The milk and ghee are for libation offerings. Other Old Babylonian period texts call for a yearling calf for the *kispum* and a female sheep. A text from Sippar calls for the beef cattle to be well fed from mid-month to prepare for the ritual at the end of the month. These references are food provisions for the annual citywide *kispum* rites, rather than the monthly private family ritual.

The Sumerian name of the month of Apum, written here NE-NE-GAR, is also interesting. Some interpretations of this name suggest that it can be read NE-IZI-GAR. In Sumerian IZI-GAR means torch, so it something to consider (Langdon 1935: 123-25; CAD Z 1961: 133-34). A mid-third millennium text refers to Apum as the EZEN <sup>ITI</sup> NE-NE-GAR, the month of the feast of the torches (Langdon 1935: 13; Van der Toorn 1996a a: 51). Langdon understands this month to include what he terms a *parentalia* after the Roman ancestor festival, with families hosting the ghosts of the family dead at a feast. A later text (*KAV* 218, Astrolabe B) suggests that this month is when lamps or braziers are lit to guide the dead back from the underworld (Weidner 1915: 85-101; Schroeder 1920; Cohen 1993: 100-104; 319-320).

#### *KAV* 218

“The month Abu, ... (sic) of Ninurta, braziers are kindled, a torch is raised to the Anunna-gods, Girra comes down from the sky and rivals the sun, the month of Gilgamesh, for nine days men contest in wrestling and athletics in their city quarters.”

Girra was the Fire god, the Sun god judged the netherworld, and Gilgamesh also became its overlord at some point in time in the literature. The Anunna-gods were also relegated to the netherworld. Apparently in Apum they were given offerings and their way was lit to share the land of the living for the festival. That other types of demons and malevolent beings might escape when the portal between worlds is opened was a likely risk. In later periods, magical *Maqlû* texts confirm that this time was associated with expelling demons and witches through magic incantations (Abusch 1990; 2002).

Calendar studies are quite intricate; we provide a general overview here to support textual evidence for understanding *kispum* rituals. Extensive and ongoing work on hemerological and menological researches of the ancient Near East have yielded a wide body of results on the nature of the calendar over time, its cultural

and regional associations, and its lunar and cultic significance (Langdon 1935; Landsberger 1949; Greengus 1987, 2001; Cohen 1993; Fleming 2000; Livingstone 2012). The hemerologies, which deal with each day of the month, also concern propitious and unpropitious days, sometimes dealing with magical content. Both the hemerologies and the menologies provide a plethora of cultural information about a broad range of activities in Mesopotamia over hundreds of years and a wide geographical breadth (Livingstone 2007b, 2012). It is important to note that religious festivals in fixed calendars connote, as a matter of course, city- or statewide control and sanction of related ritual performances as part of official belief systems. The official annual *kispum* of the palace was performed for dead kings and their ancestors, usually in Apum. Private family commemorative celebrations were probably simpler.

The early hemerologies and menologies that developed in Babylonia continued in use into the seventh century BC. After the Judean exile in Babylon, the Judeans and other Aramaic-speaking peoples (Nabateans, Palmyrans) adopted the Standard Mesopotamian month names (in Akkadian), some of which survive in the Jewish calendar (Cohen 1993: 297-300).

<u>Standard Mesopotamian</u>	<u>Judean</u>
<i>Nisannu</i>	<i>nysn</i>
<i>Ayaru</i>	<i>ʾyr</i>
<i>Simanu</i>	<i>syvn</i>
<i>Dumʾuzu/Tammuzu</i>	<i>tmuz</i>
<b><i>Apu</i></b>	<i>ʾb</i>
<i>Ululu/Elulu</i>	<i>ʾlul</i>
<i>Tašritu</i>	<i>tšry</i>
<i>Arahsamna/Markašan</i>	<i>mrhšn</i>
<i>Kis(si)limu</i>	<i>kslu</i>
<i>Ṭebetu</i>	<i>ṭbt</i>
<i>Šabaṭu</i>	<i>šbṭ</i>
<i>Addaru</i>	<i>ʾdr</i>

The early calendar, dated to the mid-third millennium BC from the sacred religious city of Nippur, was most likely adopted by the Semites near the end of the

third and beginning of the second millennium. This Sumerian calendar was imposed throughout southern Mesopotamia at this time, probably by King Ishbi-Erra of Isin (2017-1985 BC), as a unifying device for political, symbolic, economic and religious reasons (Cohen 1993: 225, 297 ff.). Many city calendars continued to be based upon it. Calendars were regionally variable and in some cities, particularly on trade routes or bordering cultural areas, two calendars were used (e.g. Sippar). These texts make use of both Sumerian (logographic) and Akkadian (syllabic) month names, but their origins are most likely based in the third-millennium mythological associations of the Sumerians (Livingstone 2012). By the time the First Dynasty of Babylon came into power, the southern Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar was already in use, and seems to have been used concurrently with the Amorite (Semitic) calendar through at least the eighteenth century in the north and south. However, the Old Babylonian month names also reflect early Sumerian religious or mythological origins. This might indicate that *kispum* rites in the month of Apum existed as early as the third millennium (Langdon 1935: 47-48; Van der Toorn 1996b: 49-51).

The month of Apum/NE-NE-GAR appears in many of the calendars, probably more consistently than any other month. This supports the case for a widespread and enduring practice of *kispum* as an annual festival for the dead in Apum that involved families and an annual Apum festival for the dead that was celebrated citywide.

The Mesopotamian year was based on the lunar cycle. However, seasonal cycles, such as flooding, seeding, harvest and barren fields, also affected the agricultural and ritual year. Adhering to a strictly lunar calendar would involve 'floating' months, which did not align with the agricultural festivals of the solar year. Therefore, the lunar year (354 days) necessitated some oscillation or variation of month names due to correlation with the solar, agricultural or seasonal, year. This also required the addition of intercalary month names, which was accomplished in various ways at different times and cities (Fleming 2000: 211-218). The ritual, administrative and seasonal calendars were linked. In addition, some month names occur in certain regions (Greengus 1987).

The month names in various calendar lists reflect a broad range of linked regional calendars that stretch from Mari and Terqa in southeast Syria to Elam in

southeast Iran through the Khabur region of northern Syria and into the Diyala River area in Iraq. Greengus has compiled data for the Old Babylonian month names from the Diyala region (Tell Asmar, Ishchali, Tell Harmal, the Hamrin Basin), the Sippar (Iraq) archives (particularly real estate one-year leases), and northern Mesopotamia (mostly derived from Mari letters between King Šamši-Adad and his sons) (1987, 2001). A general overview of the month names in these regions is provided here (Table 2) derived from Greengus' interpretations (1987: 212; 2001: 267).

Month	Sumerian	Sippar	Diyala	No. Mesopot./Mari
I	Barag.zag.gar	<i>Sibutum</i>	Še.gur <sub>10</sub> .ku <sub>5</sub>	Še.gur <sub>10</sub> .ku <sub>5</sub>
II	Gu <sub>4</sub> .si.sa <sub>2</sub>	<i>Gusisi</i>	<i>Elunum</i>	<i>Magranum</i>
III	Sig <sub>4</sub> .ga	<i>Qati-irsitim</i>	<i>Magrattum</i>	<sup>d</sup> Dumu.zi
IV	Šu.numun.na	<i>Elunum</i>	<b>Apum</b>	<b>Apum</b>
V	<b>Ne.ne.gar</b>	<b>Apum</b>	<i>Zibnum</i>	<i>Tirum</i>
VI	Kin. <sup>d</sup> Inanna	<i>Tirum</i>	<i>Niqmum</i>	<i>Niqmum</i>
VII	Du <sub>6</sub> .ku <sub>3</sub>	<i>Eluli</i>	<i>Kinunun</i>	<i>Kinunun</i>
VIII	Apin.du <sub>8</sub> .a	<i>Kinuni</i>	<i>Tamḫirum</i>	<i>Tamḫirum</i>
IX	Gan.gan.na	<i>Tamḫirum</i>	<i>Nabrium</i>	<i>Nabru</i>
X	Ab.ba.e <sub>3</sub>	<i>Nabru</i>	<i>Mammitum</i>	<i>Mammitum</i>
XI	Ziz <sub>2</sub> .am <sub>3</sub>	<i>Isin-Adad</i>	<i>Kiskissum</i>	<i>Mana</i>
XII	Še.gur <sub>10</sub> .ku <sub>5</sub>	<i>Ayarum</i>	<i>Kinkum</i>	<i>Ayarum</i>

Table 2. Mesopotamia. Overview of Regional Month Names

Apum has been well established as the month for an annual celebration of the ritual for the dead and appears in most of the calendars, although some instances of variation occur. The earliest references occur in royal third millennium Sumerian texts from Ur. These describe provisions for the funerary offerings for the deceased king, Ur-Nammu, during the Apum festival. The texts include offerings of oxen, beer, grains, fragrances and sheep (Cohen 1993: 259-260). Fleming notes that Apum appeared in the regional Semitic calendars, noted in the chart above, early in the second millennium as standard Mesopotamian practice (2000: 187). For example, in a letter from a king of the First Dynasty of



Babylon, an unusual offering of two types of turtles (*raqqu, šeleppu*) is requested for the *kispum* (KI-SÌ-GA) in the month (*itu*) of Apum (NE-NE-GAR). This demonstrates that early in the Hammurabi dynasty, this ritual month was already well established (Tsukimoto 1985: 42). Part of an Old Babylonian omen text attests that the *isin abīm*, the feast of the ancestors, was when the *abūm ilūni*, rose (from the netherworld to receive *kispum* offerings) (Tsukimoto 2010: 105-106).

## 5.6 Apum and The Diviner's Archive

Further information on the date of the festival is provided by material from a diviner's archive from Emar. Its tablets clearly associate the 25<sup>th</sup> through the 29<sup>th</sup> of Apum with special rituals linking the receding light of the moon, the underworld, the dead, and food offerings (Fleming 2000: 186). Although the texts also reflect local Syrian and Hurrian influences, the last days of the month of Apum seem based firmly on general Mesopotamian tradition. The Emar archives provide us with a further body of documents from which to extrapolate cultural commonalities across quite large areas of the Near East for family structure, kinship ties, the widely performed *kispum* and offerings associated with the underworld (Fleming 2000: 224-31).

The rituals in the Emar diviner's archive required many offerings for the netherworld at an *apū* shrine, of which several are listed for different buildings. Abundant offerings mentioned in the diviner's archive were directed to gods (Fleming 2000: 280-293). That similar venues for offerings at the gate of the netherworld were known by other names at other Mesopotamian cities has been introduced above in Chapter 3. In other sources, Assyrian ritual texts describe the *apū* as a hole where honey, oil, beer and wine were poured as a conduit to the dead. In an Old Babylonian text from the city of Sippar, three litres of porridge are placed at the entrance to the *apū* (Cohen 1993: 259-261).

The archive texts concern the barring of the doors at the gate of the grave on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of the month and reopening them after the interval of the waning moon, with the new moon (*hidašu*) rites, in time for the *kispum* (Fleming 2000: 173-189). The unbarring of the gates occurred in the darkness when the moon was invisible, the day of *kispum*.

The ritual closing and opening of the gates occurred with the last light of the moon in Apum, perhaps signifying ritual renewal of the boundary of the netherworld and/or purification of the city. The texts below tell us that many offerings were given during this interval. After the reopening of the gates, the family dead could again be invoked to interact in the *kispum*.

EMAR 452, 1 – 5

1. During the month of Apum on the day of declaration; two gallons and 2 quarts of second-quality flour, 1 storage jug (*pihu*), 10 doves.
2. One juglet of oil, and one quart of raisins – they distribute among the gods.
3. On the third day: one quart of second-quality flour, barley, [.....] one flagon, and one jar provided by the Temple of the Gods (*É i-li*);
4. One female kid provided by the *nuppuhannu* men; (cult officials?)...[ ] cedar oil, barley, ghee
5. One hundred (shekels) of aromatics, one standard vessel, one brick of figs, ten pomegranates, [...] raisins provided by the palace – they offer to Aštar of the *apū*.

Emar 452 gives us an idea of the abundant offerings provided for the annual public festival. On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month, two more *apū* receive various offerings and a ritual with birds at the cemetery gate is performed:

EMAR 452, 31 – 35

31. On the 25<sup>th</sup> day: one-half gallon of (barley) mash, one quart of second-quality flour, one storage jug provided by the Temple of the Gods; one standard vessel, one brick of figs, ten pomegranates,
32. one sheep provided by the *nuppuhannu* men, and one dove – they offer to the *apū* of the *É-TUKLI* (The Temple of Assistance). On the very same day:
33. two *šabbuttu* loaves, second-quality flour, one dove, and fruit – they give to the *abu* of Ninkur's Temple.
34. On the very same day: (with) one gallon of barley flour, two quarts of second-quality flour, one flagon, two sheep

35. provided by the king, one standard vessel, and twenty-five *hurri* (water?) birds – they perform the greater sacrificial homage at the cemetery gate.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Apum, 17 sheep, oil and barley flour are offered to all the gods until the time for barring the gate doors (lines 36-42). Then the doors are barred and many more offerings are given to the *apū* of the palace, including flours, wine, an ox, sheep, gazelle, bird, honey, ghee, oil and fruit. Other loaves and fruit are offered for the *apū* of Dagan's temple. The Temples of Ishara and Alal receive a smaller amount of offerings.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> day, the text lists ten more lines (43-52) of lavish meats, fruits, birds, fish, flours, wine, beers, honey and ghee. These are provided by the É *i-li* (Temple of the Gods) for the "lesser sacrificial homage " before the *apū* of Dagan's temple. Three other temple *apū* are well provisioned on this day.

The last three lines in this text seem to indicate the days of the moon's darkness, followed by the opening lines of Emar 463, which begin with the reappearance of the moon's light and more offerings.

#### EMAR 452

53. At the head of the month, on the day of (the moon's) disappearance (until) [...] it shines (again): they purify the city.
54. They offer to the Lord of Akka: one-half quart of barley flour, one jar provided by the Temple of the Gods, and [...sheep] provided by the *nuppuhannu* men.
55. They bring out Latarak for three days (the statue of a god).

#### EMAR 463

1. On the day of opening the doors, they distribute among the gods one sheep, one gallon of [...].
2. One quart of barley flour, one standard vessel of wine, one [...] -vessel,
3. Provided by the king are provided by Dagan. One dove [...]

The 25<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> days of Apum comprise a unit in the text linked by repeated cult offerings at the *api*. The offerings were presented to the divine realm,

not humans, and they were placed at ritual portals to the netherworld. The *kispum* offering for the day of the new moon is then offered.

### 5.7 Funerary Inscriptions

We have some evidence from funerary inscriptions relating to ritual care of the dead by the living. At least eight examples of an Old Babylonian funerary inscription have been found and published from clay cone inscriptions (Stephens 1937: 83; Szlechter 1965; Bottéro 1982: 387-389; Hecker 1988: 479; Foster 2003: 79-87; Markina 2006; Foster 2007; Khait 2009). They are commonly designated standard Old Babylonian grave inscriptions, although their provenience is unknown and none can be associated with particular graves (Hecker 1988: 279). Moreover, at least two may be late Babylonian school copies in an archaic script (Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts) (Markina 2006; Foster 2007). Dated according to the conventions of script style and philology, the objects are inscribed clay cones/tapered cylinders, from approximately 9-12 cm long, and from 2.5 - 6 cm in diameter. An interesting feature is a hole of about 2.2 cm diameter by 6 cm deep in the broad end, with a hole in the broadest part, as seen in the example (Figs. 19, 20) from the Fitzwilliam Museum (Szlechter 1965). As cones do exist without this perforation, it does not seem to be needed for the manufacture or firing of the clay.



Figure 19. Clay cone with funerary inscription (ANE.39.1907). (Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).



Figure 20. Indentation in funerary cone inscription. (ANE.39.1907). (Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).

The purpose of the indent is puzzling, although it has been suggested that the hole is a place for pouring an oil offering (Szlechter 1965: 440). Other uses are possible; it might have been used to place the cone on a stick, which could serve as a grave marker, or may have been used to support the clay when it was being inscribed, although other solid inscribed cones do not have this feature. How widely used such inscriptions were remains unclear, and it seems likely that such an inscription was probably affordable only by some, those who had access to the services of a scribe. It was not necessary to be able to read the inscription. Because they were not found in situ, their use is also uncertain, possibly being produced to be used as grave markers or perhaps to be deposited with the body.

The inscription or presence of the cone itself, if visible, is intended to encourage the safeguarding of the tomb as well as to remind the viewer that they are obligated to care for the dead within the grave. This funerary inscription is not a curse, but a plea to care for the dead in the tomb by respecting the grave.

FM 39-1907, YOS 9, 83 15-19

Forever, until the end of days, until eternity,  
 For the days which remain,  
 Whoever sees this grave  
 And does not destroy it, but leaves it in place,  
 That person who, after seeing this inscription  
 And does not neglect it,

Saying, "This tomb, I will leave in its place"  
For the good deed which he has done, may he be recompensed.  
Above (*ina elâti*), may his name be good.  
Below (*ina šaplâti*), may his *eṭemmu*  
drink pure water.

As an added incentive, the reader of the inscription is promised like treatment for his own *eṭemmu*. If deposited within the grave, the function of such an inscription could be apotropaic. As such it might be compared to the type of curse in the Assyrian Queen Yaba's tomb at Nimrud which threatens a thirsty wandering existence for the *eṭemmu* of one who disturbed her grave (Oates and Oates 2001: 82). In the same vein, another Old or Middle Babylonian inscription from Kish (no provenience) warns that anyone who opens "this grave" (*kimaḥḥa annia*) without repairing it will have their seed cut off and the Annunaki "below" (*ina šaplâti*) will destroy their progeny (Bottéro 1982: 386-387).

We should also consider that written words could convey ritual and magic power, as discussed above in Chapter 3. A written inscription, spell, prayer or ritual fragment, even if one could not read it, was considered magical in many cultures, and can remain so today (Merrifield 1987; Graf 1991; Frankfurter 1994). In Late Antiquity words or spells buried in graves were to be carried to the underworld by the spirit of the dead (Gager 1992: 18-19, 214-215). Some Mesopotamian graves have been found with odd sorts of tablets (e.g. receipts, accounts) inside the grave near or on the body, which seem to have no relation to the deceased. A few examples are a clay vase with fifteen administrative tablets found with the Old Babylonian grave of an infant, and two Neo-Babylonian graves, one with a lexical tablet on the chest of an adult male which was a list of names of birds, and another grave with a list of remedies for skin maladies (Bottéro 1982: 390-393). Inscribed material or cylinder seals within a grave were perhaps seen as objects with magical power to assist the transition to the afterlife.

What such funerary inscriptions also emphasized is that an undisturbed grave was essential to the *eṭemmu*, and provided a location for the ghost to be tended by the family. The inscription was another method of keeping the deceased

safe. Without the *kispum* libations, and food offerings, the ghost was destined to wander aimlessly, poorly fed and thirsty. Whether the *kispum* had to be poured and offered at the actual grave during Apum is not specified, but the emphasis on protecting the tomb suggests that it was desirable. As we have seen the spirit who had no one to speak its name in remembrance or to bury it properly was without family, was truly a 'nobody', non-existent. These restless spirits were the ones that caused trouble, that were blamed for disease or made noises and disruptions in people's houses. People hoped for an inviolate grave, where they 'slept' forever. The family and descendants were responsible to see that their deceased were remembered and tended forever via the continuing ritual.

We have seen from various texts in this section that scheduled *kispum* feast days in the monthly and yearly calendar indicate a long and established tradition of ritual remembrance of the dead in Mesopotamia. During the prescribed days just before the new moon, the *abūm*, family ancestors, were thought to ascend to the world above to take part in a family feast. The *kispum* provided sustenance to the dead and benefited the living with the security that they too would be cared for in death in the same manner. The *abūm* were remembered and tended, by family descendants. Participation in the ritual also cemented family bonds in a continuing family lineage. Participation in visible ritual has been proven to demonstrate and strengthen group membership, cooperation and wider societal inclusion (Sosis 2004; Liénard and Boyer 2006).

We have also seen that family obligations to carry out the *kispum* were taken seriously and were an accepted part of cultural norms. In this way, family ties were continued in relationships with deceased family members. Disturbed burials could result in dire consequences, particularly a discontinuance of progeny. The untended dead were thought to be something 'other'; unless offered *kispum* to be incorporated into some family, they were not associated with any sort of kinship structure or lineage.

## **5.8 The Funerary Rites**

There is little material evidence for the funeral itself, but we do know from texts that a *taklimtu*, a funerary 'display', probably occurred after a death, at least in elite and merchant contexts. Opinions vary on whether the corpse was on view,

similar to a wake, or whether only the grave goods were displayed (Dhorme 1941; Potts 1997: 221-222; McGinnis 1987; Scurlock 1991: 3). In an Assyrian royal funeral text from the first millennium, *taklimtu* involves displaying quantities of grave goods to Šamaš (probably as master of the underworld) and then placing them in the tomb (Ebeling 1931: 56-58; McGinnis 1987). The goods are lavish, and include sacrificial equids as well as offerings for the Annunaki and ‘gods’, probably royal ancestors, which dwell in the *eršetim* (*KI-tim*). Grave goods had several purposes, including personal symbolic or ornamental items, provisions for the journey to the underworld, magical protective objects and gifts for the gods (Tsukimoto 1985; Sørensen 2002). For most of the poorer population it may be that little or nothing was placed in a grave. Graves at Ur from second millennium houses demonstrate that the majority of the time, at least one clay vessel was included in the grave (Chapter 6).

The preparation of the body probably included washing, anointing the body with oil and scent, if it could be afforded, dressing in garments, and perhaps wrapping in matting or a special shroud (*CAD Q*: 203). Blankets were listed in one Old Babylonian dowry as goods for the future grave (Potts 1997: 221). A lengthy Pre-Sargonic Sumerian list of funerary furnishings from Adab includes many textiles for the grave (Foxvog 1980). Oils for rituals were known as a part of magico-medical treatments; apotropaic treatment of the oil with incantations was part of the medicine. The oil was massaged on the patient so that the evil afflicting the patient would be dispersed from the body from the head downward through the toes (Böck 2003). The application of oil to the corpse probably had similar apotropaic qualities. In myth, a human man meets with the gods, who ostensibly offer him immortality, via eating bread, drinking water, donning a garment and anointing himself with oil (Walls 2001: 138-141). Man is then warned not to do these things by Ea/Enki. One myth adds a warning against sitting in the ‘chair’, which, as we will see below (5.11 – 5.12), is also a funerary article (Walls 2001: 140).

Because this sequence of actions is repeated in myths, and administrative texts and letters refer also to provisions and garments for the grave, I suggest the bread, the water, the garment and oil, are allusions to the funerary rites, apparent to the Mesopotamian audience. Additionally, they allude to travellers, as food,



clothing, oil and water would be commonly offered to the living (Postgate, pers. comm.). Grave goods provisioned the traveller's journey to the netherworld.

We can also infer something about the funeral from imitative magic in incantations to heal the sick and anti-witchcraft magic (LKA 79, LKA 80) (Tsukimoto 1985: 125-135; Scurlock 2001). A human figurine or poppet was made from clay, as in many magical rites, and used to transfer the spirit causing the illness from the person into the figure. One of the things used to entice the spirit is the promise of a *taklimtu*. The substitute figure is also to be anointed with good oil, dressed, offered *kispum* by the family, then buried, bewailed and mourned. This substitution ritual gives a good idea of what was involved with a death and what served as a funeral. It is also interesting that performing the *taklimtu* is differentiated from the *kispum*. The evil spirit is offered the treatment of a proper burial and then promised *kispum* from the family.

The following example is from an anti-witchcraft healing ritual in which clay figurines of male and female sorcerers are made and then treated with the respect due to the family dead. In the text we see glimpses of *kispum* activities, and perhaps some aspects of the normal preparations for burial as well.

“.... You dress them in makeshift garments. You anoint them with fine oil. Before Šamaš you sweep the ground. You sprinkle pure water. You put down a pure chair for Šamaš. You stretch out a *mišhu*-cloth on it. You set up a reed altar before Šamaš. In three groups you put out food portions before Šamaš, Ea and Asalluḫi. You scatter dates and *sasqū*-flour. You set up three *adagurru* vessels. You set up three censers (burning) aromatics. You scatter all manner of grain. You put down a chair to the left of the offering arrangement for his family ghosts (GIDIM-MEŠ). You put down a chair for his family ghosts to the left of the other ghosts to the left. You make *kispum* offerings (*kispa takassip*) to his family ghosts. You give them gifts. You honor (*tukabbassunuti*) them. You show them respect. Secondly, you lay out hot broth for his family ghosts.... You pour out water for them. You make a pure sacrifice before Šamaš. You bring the shoulder, caul fat and roasted meat near to the offering table. You pour out a libation of first quality beer,... for his family ghosts. .... You recite the incantation “Anything

Evil” three times...” (Text BBR 52 in Tsukimoto 1985:167-170; Scurlock 2001: 195-196).

While this text is not a *kispum* text per se, it does give the procedure for a magic ritual to send the spirit on its way to the netherworld. We can infer that at least some of the steps are similar to family funeral and post-funerary activities. Especially important for our discussion is the placement of chairs as a seat for the ghost. This is the same chair (GIŠ-GU-ZA) provided for the *kispum* for dead kings at Mari. Chairs in family ritual will be discussed further in Sections 5.9, 5.11 and 5.12 below.

Archaeological remains of the funeral ritual itself or of *kispum*, would be difficult or impossible to discern (Berggren and Stutz 2010: 183-186). Of course, ritual actions themselves and water, oil, and many of the foods mentioned in the text above would have perished (although see 6.12 below). Any feasting or funeral meal or offerings graveside would probably be limited, in the common population, at best to remains of animal bone or a bowl or cup. For better provided tombs, archaeological signatures of drinking sets, refuse pits, hearths or refuse fires may be present. Some small, narrow necked juglets or vessels may have held small quantities of oils or perfumes (Mazzoni 1994; Salje 1996; Baker 2012). For most burials, unless a large collective tomb, a one-time event would leave little trace. At tombs where repeated offerings or large communal meals had taken place, evidence of post-funerary activity may remain (Hayden 2001:40-42). Otherwise the completed burial is the only trace. In the next section of this chapter, further textual evidence provides more insights into the family activities surrounding the transition of the corpse to *eṭemmu*.

## **5.9 Mortuary Ceremonies for Ištar-lamassi**

Ten recently published Old Assyrian letters from the trading colony (*kārum*) Kanesh were excavated in the private house of Elamma, son of one Iddin-Suen, in 1991 (Özgüç 2003; Veenhof 2003; 2008). A large amount of tablets from merchant households at this site reflect business and family matters, including correspondence between Kanesh (modern Kültepe, Turkey) and other cities in Mesopotamia. Although living and working far to the northwest of Aššur, the

population of traders retained their Mesopotamian values and culture (Postgate 1992: 211-215; Van De Mieroop 2004; 2007: 94-99).

These ten letters give extraordinary insight into funerary events before the burial, for which we otherwise have little evidence outside of literary sources depicting lavish royal burials (Katz 2003). The story they tell is also important for understanding new evidence for way the family dead are honored and how the grief of the family is displayed. They deal with circumstances surrounding the death and the will and testament of a woman named Ištar-lamassi, who had given the tablets for safekeeping to her friend or relative, Lamassatum, wife of Elamma. When Ištar-lamassi died, her second husband, Lulu, paid her funeral expenses and accordingly deducted them from her son's inheritance (which had originated with the first husband's estate). The sons died soon after their mother, and their burials also had to be paid for out of that inheritance money. These texts, published by Veenhof in *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society*, are full of family history and the complications surrounding the division of the inheritance (2008: 97-113). Pertinent to our discussion is the accounting of the cost and content of mortuary ceremonies at the time of death, because it reveals specifics and practicalities of the funerary rites that we have not otherwise discovered in private contexts.

Before Ištar-lamassi died, Lamassatum (Letter B, Kt 91/k423) went to her house with three independent traders, who witnessed the division of all of her available cash assets among her (adult) children from her first marriage (Veenhof 2008: 107-109). Before the mother died, one of the sons, Ilia, was thrown in jail and Ištar-lamassi's second husband, Lulu, paid the bail. Later, Lulu received reimbursement of 27 shekels of silver (Ilia's total inheritance totaled 57 shekels) for the bail and for the "bewailing" (*bikītum*) of Ištar-lamassi and her sons, who died soon after she did. Creditors received payments from the overall inheritance for 15 5/12 shekels worth of goods for the mortuary ceremonies, listed below (Veenhof 2008: 112, Letter J, Kt 91/k 369).

2 shekels (silver) for bewailing (on the first day)

2 2/3 shekels for wheat

2 jars of beer for the day of bewailing.

On the second day:

3 ¼ shekels for 2 sheep  
 3/8 shekel for firewood  
 ¼ shekel for *subarum* (a food)  
 ¼ shekel for reed  
 1/12 shekel for onions  
 1/12 shekel for reed for the jars (straws?)  
 2 1/6 shekel for an *erim* (pregnant?) sheep.  
 7 jars of beer  
 2 shekels wheat  
 2 jars beer  
 1 shekel silver for a sheep

This account of the expenditures suggests two days for the ceremonies, with funeral meals, lots of beer and four sheep consumed. Another letter (G, K 91/k 446) lists eight participants who collectively represented (*ipuhrišunu*) the sons of Kunilum, Ištar-lamassi's first husband, at the event. Some of these people were those who witnessed the testament of Ištar-lamassi at Elamma's house; the others could be relatives, friends and business associates (Veenhof 2008: 115). Other Kanesh texts document food, burial and tomb expenses of 34 shekels of silver and another for 7 talents of copper (4-5 minas of silver) (Hecker 2004 in Veenhof 2008: 114). While we do not know what was in many tombs, as most of these graves were looted, the texts demonstrate that the expenses of the accompanying rites were clearly considerable.

There is much we do not know about the actual construction or digging of graves or the preparation of the tomb. That there existed professional mortuary workers seems clear. In the law code *The Reform Edict of Urukagina* (ca. 2350 BC) different jobs for mortuary workers are listed with their fees (Lambert 1956). The text lists reforms for extortion among public officials, including exaggerated burial fees. Priests in Lagash who officiated at the placement of the body in the grave received seven urns of wine or beer, 420 loaves of bread, a large quantity (2 GUR) of grain, a woolen garment, a goat, a bed and a chair. When a body was brought to the 'reeds of Enki' for burial, another type of mortuary priest (𒀭𒍪-𒀭𒍪𒀭𒍪-𒀭𒍪𒀭𒍪-𒀭𒍪𒀭𒍪) (Potts 1997: 221; CAD U: 270) was paid similarly. It is not clear

what the 'reeds' location was, perhaps the marshes or a symbolic reference to the Apsu (Chapter 3). Reductions were made in the reforms to three urns of drink, 80 loaves of bread, a bed and a goat. A toll was lifted which previously had been paid to ensure safe passage of the ghost through the 'great gate' to the world beyond. Mortuary revisions in the *Edict* included increased payments of bread and beer to wailing women and lamentation singers (Lambert 1956).

### **5.10 Wailing and Funerary Rites**

Part of the funerary fees for Ištar-lamassi and her sons included *bikītum*. *Bikītum*, 'mourning/weeping', is normally known from literary texts and public ceremonial context, similar to a wake or sitting shiva. The references in these letters are very important and worth looking at further. Because the term is used in an accounting of costs, private wailing might have been part of the funeral.

Whether performed by professional wailers or wailing women, or how many, is not stated; however, they were paid (Veenhof 2008: 107-115). Wailing (distinct from lamentation as a literary genre) as a means of mourning is well attested in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean (Pham 1999; Olyan 2004; Suter 2008; Corley 2010).

Rites of weeping recently have been shown to embody several socially significant effects, not least for transitional stages in rites of passage, both for mourners and deceased (Johnson 1988; Ebersole 2000; Olyan 2004: 8-12; Amelang 2005). The emotional responses to death and the wailing rites are of course culturally variable, often still performed today; comparative studies raise some interesting issues concerning the significance of such practices. The cited studies show that as part of the display of emotion in the funerary rites, wailers also serve to elicit, or even allow, emotion from participants. The role of women in funerary rites is a particular interest of postmodern interpretations, such as creating and dissolving identities, social hierarchy, and female contribution to the stability of community (Olyan 2004; Corley 2010; Gamliel 2007). Participants in modern wailing communities, such as Yemeni Jews or Bedouin Muslims, construct what appears to be an unstructured, extemporaneous dirge, but which can include a pattern of parts (Abu-Lughod 1993: 191-93; Gamliel 2007: 33-39). These can include discourses with both the deceased and the mourners, presentations of the

life of the deceased and express the extreme pain of the mourners. The mental image of, or remembrance of, the dead is brought back with extreme longing and melancholy, as the wailer takes on the role of the dead, then the mourners, then the consolers. The family can join in, take parts or weep and the wailing can vary in intensity from screaming to high-pitched moaning. Participants express that the severe emotionality of the wailing ritual honors the dead (Gamliel 2007).

These studies relate significantly to our exploration of continuing bonds with the dead in Mesopotamia. The family dead is treated with the dignity (*kubbutu*) stipulated by moral custom and family honor (*abbūtu*) (Chapter 4) through the funerary rites. Middle Eastern ethnographic parallels show that funeral attendees consider wailing a sign of respect for the dead.

While we have letters accounting only for the cost of Ištar-lamassi's *bikītum*, we can understand from other studies that the wailing was a socially complex part of the mortuary ceremonies. Grief is expressed in ancient Near Eastern literature, in poetic and anguished wordings, for example in the Pushkin Elegies or Gilgamesh, but otherwise is nearly invisible in the archaeological record (Kramer 1960b; Lambert 1980: 54-57). This mention in a private text may be evidence of a way in which grief could be expressed in the family. I agree with Veenhof that it could also refer to an overall name for the main funerary rite (Veenhof 2008).

Upon Ištar-lamassi's death, at least one day of "bemoaning" was noted, along with plenty of feasting over two days. From evidence in incantations of 'reverse' funerals, the *taklimtu* was provided for the dead as the main part of the mortuary ceremony, and indicated care from the family and honor for the deceased. From the Kanesh letters we conclude that ritual weeping was another important part of funerals and contributed to the interactions of the family with the dead. One more important feature of the funeral proceedings can be discerned from Ištar-lamassi's funeral, regarding a chair and the transition of the deceased to the afterlife.

### **5.11 The Chair and the *Eṭemmu***

In two of the letters (F and G) a chair for Ištar-lamassi is mentioned juxtaposed with the bemoaning. The chair might have been commissioned for the event, and paid for from the sons' inheritance shares, along with payment for the wailers. Letter F includes the cost of the chair (Veenhof 2008: 113).

F = Kt 91/k 441, 8-16

After the sons of Kunilum had died,  
One arrived for bewailing them  
And for removing the chair  
Of their mother and of my brothers,  
And 19 ½ shekels of silver  
Were paid both for bewailing them  
And for the chair of their mother.

Veenhof points out that the people mentioned in Letter G above (5.9) were probably among those attending the ‘removal of the chair’ and that the chairs were taken out of the house (2008: 115-116). This may have signaled the end of the funeral and time for the burial. This letter is also evidence for the chair for the ghosts that will be called to take part in future *kispum* rituals. By contrast, in the UDUG-ĦUL incantations, demons and the unsettled (evil) dead may not sit in the chair or lie in the bed of a sick person (Geller 1985: 49-53). As we have seen, family *eṭemmī* were differentiated from strange or foreign ghosts.

In the ritual of the ‘soul emplacement’ the chairs are set up to the left of an arrangement of offerings (Scurlock 2006: 141):

“For his family *eṭemmī*, you put down a seat to the left of the offering arrangement. For his family *eṭemmī* you put down a seat to the left of the (strange) *eṭemmī* to the left (of the offering arrangement). You make funerary offerings to the family *eṭemmī*.”

As Enkidu lay dying in the Gilgamesh Epic, Šamaš, the netherworld judge, encouraged him that Gilgamesh would care for him, put him on a funeral bed and seat him “on a peaceful seat, a seat to the left” (Tablet VII 130-132; Scurlock 2002: 2-3). The chair is integral to the funerary rites and later, part of the *kispum*, as a concrete form for souls to inhabit. The chair, as we have seen in Ištar-lamassi’s funerary rites, was a locus for the soul, and a vehicle for its appropriate transition to the netherworld. The soul may have been released from the body in the grave, with the appropriate ritual that turned the grave into a gate to the underworld

(Katz 2010, Winter 1999). The funerary ritual (wailing, foods placed in the grave) accomplished the liberation of the *eṭemmu* from the corpse. The chair may have also been used to symbolically remove the body from the house or into the tomb below the floor, perhaps with a spoken formulaic incantation (Davies 1999: 55-56; Katz 2007: 167, 173). In an Isin-Larsa period cultic lament, a young male god begs his sister to release his spirit and tells her how to perform the funerary ritual (composite translation from Katz 2003: 203-204 and Thureau-Dangin 1922 in Scurlock 2002):

“Bring me the bed (where) they recite the formula: ‘its wind/spirit has been released.’ Set up a seat and seat the statue on it. Put a cloth on the seat and cover the statue. Place the bread offering (NINDA KI-SÌ-GA) and wipe it. Pour out water into the libation pipe (A-PA<sub>4</sub>) and pour it into the dust of the Kur. Pour out the hot broth (ÚTUL-KÚM) (which) gives it its healthy glow (ME-LÁM) to pour out for it.”

Another Old Babylonian period cult text, ‘The Messenger and the Maiden’, also describes funeral rites. The ‘messenger’ is likely an image of a dead youth, as it is described as being unable to see or speak. Bread is wiped on the figure and water is poured onto the ground, saying “he drank it”. The maiden speaks words that we should regard as those of a generic funeral ritual:

“With my new garment I dressed the chair. The wind/spirit (IM) has entered, the wind has departed. My messenger in the Kur; in the midst of the Kur he was whirling, he is lying (now in rest)”. (Translation from Katz 2003: 202-204; see also Kramer and Alster in Scurlock 2002: 3, n. 13).

These two texts support the idea that a figurine or statue, possibly linked to the chair, could also be a locus for the soul during the rituals. It is possible that images were employed to house the transitory spirit of the family deceased, just as a magic figurine for an unsettled *eṭemmu* was made to receive *kispum*. It is not known if a full-size chair that belonged to the dead in life was used in the ritual (texts show people owned a bed and chair), or if it could have been a model (see Section 5.12 below).



Chairs and statues are mentioned in another *kispum* context as well. We have already mentioned *kispum* for kings (*ana šarrāni*) performed at Mari in Section 4.3.4 (Biro 1980). In that text, which will be quoted below, sacrifices are made in the É GIŠ-GU-ZA, literally “house of chairs”. The term is generally translated in the academic literature as “Hall of Thrones”, or in the sense of “throne room” (e.g. Al-Khalesi 1977; Biro 1980; Tsukimoto 1985: 73-78). The word for chair and for throne is the same. These chairs are the same seats that are described in texts for the spirit of the family ghost, and emphasize the focus on the ancestral group of kings (Postgate, pers. comm.). So this room where the *kispum* was offered to kings at Mari was separate from the main throne room.

Rather than legitimizing the Amorite royal dynasty (contra Tsukimoto), the royal ritual, then, identified Mari kings as the “family” of the famous ancient empire of the Akkadian kings. The kingly family group was not always a bloodline; it was an identity as a special ancestral group for eternity. Presumably, the spirits of these deceased kings would be called forth to share *kispum*.

Mari 12803

Col. 1 Lines 1-30

On the first day of Addaru, the *kispum* shall be performed in the middle of the city and its environs. The meal shall go out from the palace. A sheep will be sacrificed for the *lamassu*-statues of (Kings) Sargon and Narām-Sīn in the É GIŠ-GU-ZA. A sheep shall be offered as *kispum*. Before the King comes, an offering will be offered in the house of chairs (*bīt kussī*). Meat shall be cooked and the best meat will be presented before Šamaš. The *kispum* shall not be performed before the offerings are presented to Šamaš. After *kispum* is offered to Šamaš, *kispum* will be presented to Sargon and Narām-Sīn. For the *yaradu* Hanaens and Numhaens it will be presented. The sacrifice of the King and the *muškenum* will be offered in the houses of the gods (temples). The next morning, the king will perform *kispum* in the morning.

Column II is broken at the top, but line 13 begins, “*ūm biblum*”, the day of the disappearance of the moon, and continues with additional offerings to gods and the activities of the royal festival of *kispum*.

In an interesting analogy from West Africa, ancestor spirits of the Ewe of Ghana return to inhabit chairs, called ancestor stools. Lineages are able to communicate with the spirit through the stools. Ancestor stools are patriarchal, associated with the chief, the ancestral home, valor or wealth. Ewe ancestors are present in everyday life and the stool is a material symbol of their presence among the living. The stools are treated like the corpse; they are decorated with expensive cloth, placed upon a funeral bed and fanned under a canopy by the women. Wailing occurs and the stools are bound up in cloth bundles. The stools are the focus of the ancestor rituals and are cleansed, fed and libated (Fiawoo 1976: 264-281).

Personal objects, such as the chair, can be powerful symbols. They can also magically carry the spirit or substance of a spirit, which could also be dangerous. Mesopotamians believed that evil or disease could be spread by contact magic with a person's cup, chair, bed or garments (Farber 2004: 124; Geller 2007: 389-399). Similarly an evil spirit which caused disease could be removed by marrying a small figurine to the ghost and then expelling it with incantations from the house (Farber 2004: 128-129). The concept of contagion was not merely magical in Old Babylonian thought; King Zimri-Lim of Mari wrote to his wife (ARM 10, 130) to keep a sick woman away from others so they did not fall ill (Farber 2004: 124). So could the unburied and uncared-for deceased afflict the living.

The corpse was probably also considered unsettled until the funerary rites were completed and the *eṭemmu* provisioned and safely set off on its underworld journey. The rites that transferred the spirit of the dead into the chair or image, allowed the *eṭemmu* to move on through the liminal stage between life and death. The 'real-life' accounting texts for the Kanesh family's funerary furnishings demonstrated the importance of the performance of the rites, including the food provisions, the wailing and the transferral of the soul of the deceased to the chair. The food offerings for the grave were probably dedicated and offered during these initial rites. The *eṭemmu* was immediately provided for. This may have been done at the grave or the intramural tomb at the conclusion of the rites when the body was interred.

### 5.12 Chair Models

I would like to suggest that terracotta models of chairs found at Old Babylonian period sites might be related to ritual use involving the souls of the dead. When the soul is released from the body during the funerary rite, it may have been transferred to a chair. It is unknown if the chair was taken away to the burial site, or even, as Veenhof suggested, that the body might be carried out of the house on it. An unsettled, non-family ghost could be magically transferred into a clay figure for burial. This type of magic is very well known with figures of spirits and witches in later Babylonian magic. Any representation or symbol could function magically as a full-sized object. The miniature figure of a chair might have been used as the seat that the *eṭemmu* occupied during the *kispum* or as the chair in a *taklimtu* display. As we have seen, the soul is called back when the name is pronounced and the spirit of the deceased occupies or becomes immanent in the figure of a chair. It makes sense from magic tradition and the *kispum* texts that we have studied in this chapter, that the deceased's spirit needs a physical object to occupy in ritual symbolism, as there is no longer a body (Scurlock 2002).

A miniature clay chair model would be more available to the less wealthy as well. Wood was scarce in Mesopotamia, and clay plentiful. Woolley verified that miniature clay furniture models could be considered votives and verified their cult usage by the presence of one (U. 16345, no. 220) in a street temple at Ur (UE VII: 172). The chair models are finely made and very well decorated, as seen from a few examples from Ur and Mashkan-Shapir (find spots are unfortunately unclear) (Figs. 21, 22). Some have textile or reed decoration, are between about 8 and 10 cm in height, and would stand taller if complete with legs. The seats are usually decorated with matting or woven straw motifs. The decoration on the chair backs is probably symbolic. Some have representations of geese, ducks, goats, vegetation, birds, boats or crescent moons on them (e.g. U1247, no. 210, Ht. 0.10 m).

The Ur chair models were found in the Diqdiqqah suburb of Ur, which may have been a manufacturing area for terracottas, many of which are cultic objects (UE VII: 171-172, 181). Mass produced models as cult objects would support the idea that these were needed in large number to supply the population, and Diqdiqqah could have produced the models for trade.



210



223

Figure 21. Ur, Diquqqah. Above: (*UE VII*, PL 88, 210). Chair back with geese above goats; decorated background. Below: (*UE VII*, PL 89, 223). Chair with crescents on poles. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).



215



212



AbD 87-216

Figure 22. Above: Ur, Diqdiqqah. Chair models (*UE VII*, PL 88, 215, 212). Left: 215, woven reed seat, back with figures on pedestal altars. Right: 212, seat with impressions and name. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).  
Below: Mashkan-Shapir. Model chair back with decoration. (AbD 87-216). (Stone and Zimansky 2004, Fig. 54, p. 93).

One model (U.13500, Ht. 0.068 m) is a seat with a partial back showing the feet and lower dresses of two human figures, apparently standing on the type of tall altars we find in houses in Mesopotamia (Fig. 22, 215, above left). Some of the chair legs or feet remain. The seat shows a woven design, maybe of reeds or textiles. This example might indicate that the chair model was used on the house altar, a case of the ritual object depicting the actual ritual. We will briefly discuss the phenomenon of depicting the use of an object on itself further in Chapter 6. One chair model from Mashkan-Shapir (AbD 87-216), H = 0.044 m, W = 0.046 m, D = 0.01 m) was found in survey (Stone and Zimansky 2004, Fig. 54, p. 93). It seems to have temple façade motifs on it, also represented on some pedestal house altars (Fig. 22, lower). This motif represented spiritual or sacred connotations, as we will explore further in Chapter 6.

Many chair, and also chariot models, have crescent moon motifs on them (UE VII: 181, no. 211-224). Moons are shown with the arc of the crescent at the base and the ends pointing up. While this is normally a standard symbol of Nanna, if the chair models were used in *kispum*, the crescent might be also considered in the context of the disappearing/reappearing moon. The chariot models with crescents show a bull-man on them also, symbolic of Nergal, who was the mate of Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld. Chariots are also symbols of Nergal and are also known from other funerary contexts (Biga 2012: 5). Another model chair back shows two crescents on pole standards which stand before a palm tree (Fig. 21, U. 14340; Ht. 0.09 m).

One model is a chair seat with impressions probably made by rolling a cylinder seal on it (Fig. 22, U.1524, no. 212, Ht. 0.06 m.). The upper broken edge is the remaining part of the chair back. The seat design includes an inscription, *Ama-AN DUB-SAR*: “Ama-ilu, scribe.” Was this model the property of Ama-ilu, or made to represent his *eṭemmu*?

It is possible that these models were used to represent the deceased, as the actual “seat of the soul”, and perhaps kept for use on or near the house altar in niches (see Section 6.4). In that case, the symbolism on them could refer to a personal family god or a way the family remembered the deceased. Used in this way, the chairs are similar to ancestor rituals known from China and Japan (Scurlock 2002). The question remains, then, of why were they not found in every

house or every grave? Perhaps people who could not afford an expensive molded model could make them of unbaked clay or reeds, or call the dead spirit to drink water and eat bread simply with the spoken word.

### 5.13 Summary

In Chapter 5, we have looked with more depth into *kispum* details. We have examined textual material remains in the form of cuneiform tablets for a new interpretation of *kispum* in second millennium Mesopotamia. We have seen letters that revealed family grief and a father's continued remembrance of his son. The responsibility of regular and ongoing *kispum* for the family dead was shown in letters asking for provisions for the monthly and annual rites. The scheduled calendar tradition of an annual public feast for the dead supported the corporate societal practice of post-funerary ritual, as shown in calendrical texts and the diviner's archive. Funerary inscriptions helped offer protection for the dead. We have discussed aspects of belief, collective memory, and identity in relation to ritual. And finally I have shown that the components of the mortuary ceremony included preparation of the body, feasting, offerings, wailing, mourners, and burial. *Kispum* for the dead was a post-funerary ritual and included summoning the *eṭemmu* from the netherworld to a chair or image of a chair. In the next Chapter, we will look at more material remains pertaining to *kispum*.

## Chapter 6. Material Remains: *Kispum* in Excavations

### 6.1 Introduction

Burial types were not uniform in Mesopotamia. Great variability in graves, containers for the body and locations occurred in both third and second millennium sites throughout Mesopotamia (Fig. 23). For the most part, from a broad geographical and chronological perspective, the only pattern evident is that there is no clear, discernible pattern for graves, burial, and body position, but a mix of types at any one time. There is very little definite recording of clear post-interment ritual remains. We have discussed above the difficulties inherent in recovery of possible *kispum* remains.

For that reason, I have chosen to concentrate on a few examples below that may illustrate some aspects of *kispum*. The ideal situation would be many excavation reports of cemeteries and graves with remains of repeated fires, bones and vessels for meals clearly placed before or on top of the grave. Haller notes two graves at Ashur had some burnt clay evidence of burning on top of them, but their date is inexact and they may also be third millennium examples (Haller 1954: 6-11). The houses at Ur are one example that do demonstrate ample evidence for ritual practices associated with the graves of the dead. In Section 6.12, examples from the cemetery site at Baghouz demonstrate considerable ritual furnishings.

The Ur excavations demonstrate very compelling evidence for *kispum* offerings in domestic context. For example, the house at No. 1 Boundary Street (Fig. 24) has a large ritual space with a paved brick floor, and two corner pedestal altar “tables” across from each other (Fig. 25).

The table altars stand on baked brick pedestal bases and are likely offering tables (see Section 6.4 below). Between them is a broad raised platform dais or altar, with the remains of several bowls sitting on it. This room is above the house tombs of No. 1 Boundary Street, and this room has been considered to show evidence of the performance of *kispum* rites in the house (Woolley and Mallowan 1976; Postgate 1992: 100-101). Offerings left outside the coffins seem to be deposited at burial. Offering vessels have been found outside of tombs as well as we saw in Fig. 1. In Fig. 24 and 25, we see offering vessels laid on the altar and in front of the offering table (pedestal altar).



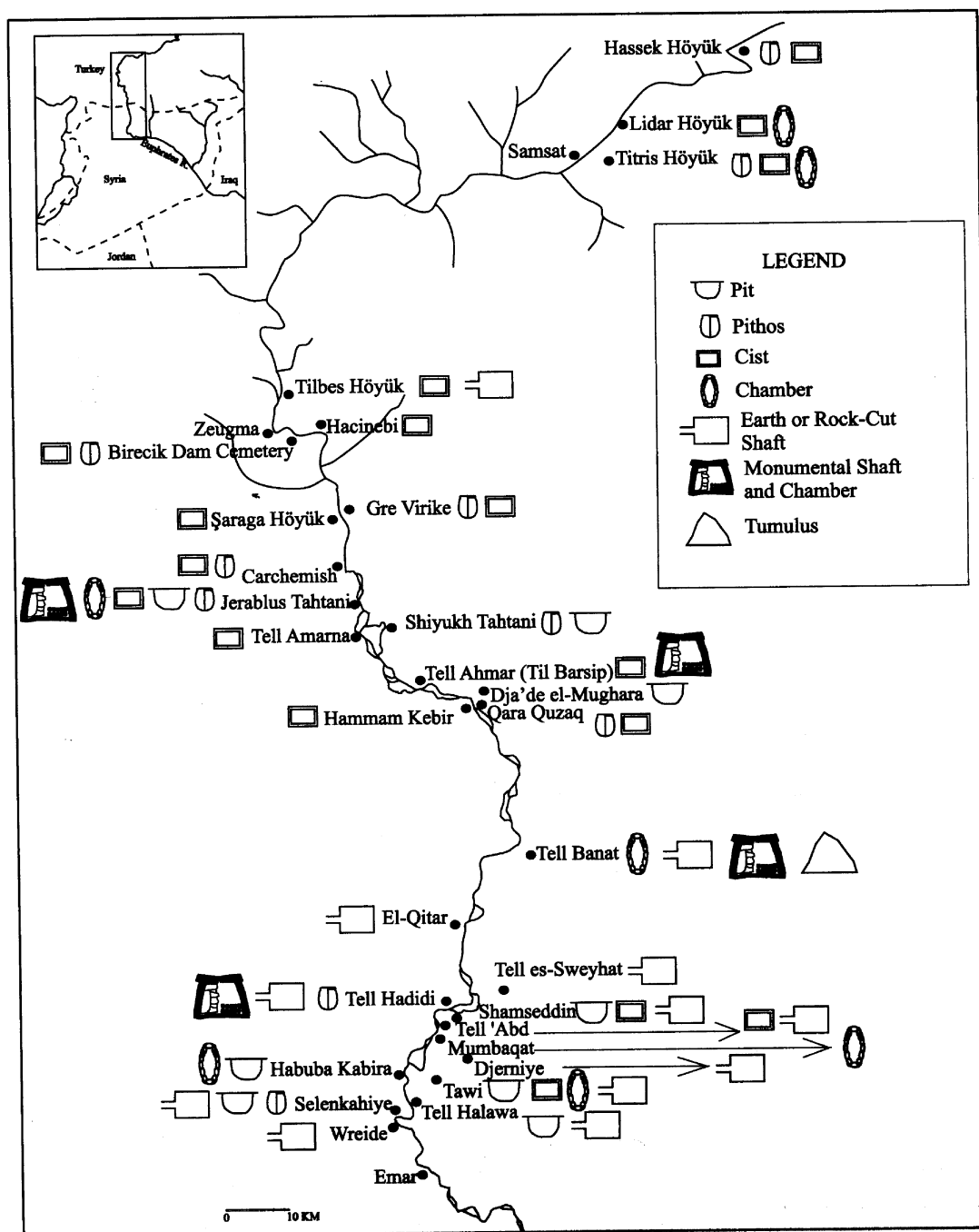


Figure 23. Map of grave types from third and second millennia in Euphrates River Valley in Northern Syria and Southern Turkey. (After Cooper, 2007: 64 fig. 4.3).



Figure 24. Ur. No. 1 Boundary Street. House chapel with two pedestal table altars, a low altar between them, with clay vessels placed for *kispum* offerings. Graves (not visible) were under the floor. (*UE VII*, PL 43). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 25. Ur. No. 1 Boundary Street. Detail of pedestal table altar in the southwest corner of the chapel. (*UE VII*, PL 45). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Another example of family funeral ritual involves the placement of the body in the chamber of the tomb, as is shown in Fig. 26. There, the most recent burial, an articulated skeleton, is shown intact, while the skeletons of previous burials have been shoved aside (*UE VII*, PL 48). The brick may have been originally placed under the head of one of the bodies.

This photo is very compelling as it demonstrates the use of the family vault. One question it brings up regards the treatment of the *ešemtu*, disturbing the bones of the dead. Apparently, as we will see below where bones are recorded “in confusion”, the remains of former deceased were moved aside to place the newly

dead in chamber tombs. This practice demonstrates that the previous burial was decayed, therefore some standard for elapsed time before reopening vaults must have been in place.



Figure 26. Ur. No address. Latest body deposition intact; older burials have been swept aside. (*UE VII*, PL 48). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

This practice also seems to verify that the actual bones (*eṣemtu*) were less important than the ghost (*eṭemmu*), as we have discussed before, as long as they remained buried. One question that seems to arise is if the household knew whose skeleton they were pushing aside to make way for new burials? It seems likely that it was hard to tell the bones apart. Perhaps that knowledge was remembered, known to the household, within living memory, or perhaps it didn't matter as long as the name was remembered. We have seen in Chapter 5 how the name of the deceased could be remembered in other ways.

It may be that the performance of the *kispum* and the calling of the name of the ghost was what mattered. I believe this might indicate that indeed, as the texts describe, the *eṭemmu* continued on in the afterlife, after it had been released from the body, while the *eṣemtu*, the bones, were not significant for life beyond.

In *UE VII* are tabular analyses of 198 graves of the Isin-Larsa levels, sorted according to burial type, location (usually under house floors), position and artifacts (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 194-213). Features that inform us of post-funerary ritual, for example, include one vaulted second millennium grave at Ur (LG 133) which had a hole outside of the door with some bone (unspecified), two cylinder seals and beads placed in it (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 206). Another vaulted tomb (LG/141) had some clay pots in an “offering pit” against the brickwork (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 207). Such features from Ur offer very strong support for remembrance rituals for the family dead within the domestic heart of the household.

Although hundreds of graves were excavated, many graves went unrecorded at Ur. Some of the few human remains that were collected were examined recently (Molleson and Hodgson 2003: 91-129). Fragmented remains of seven Larsa period individuals remained. These second millennium skeletons were notably less robust than the Early Dynastic remains from the elite of the Royal Cemetery (Molleson and Hodgson 2003: 118). They were found under house floors in the well-to-do AH residential section, and so one would not expect them to display signs of hard labor. These graves also included some of the better artifacts as grave goods, including copper tools and bowls. Yet most of the skeletons show evidence of heavy load bearing work without headband support. Teeth are generally badly worn; some dental abscesses occur.

Some helpful results about surviving remains of food provisions from Woolley’s excavations have been analyzed as well (Ellison, Renfrew, Brothwell and Seeley 1978: 167-177). Well preserved organic remains from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, called “food offerings” have been analyzed. They include an interesting array of dates, bread, (crab)apple slices threaded on string (see also Gelb 1982), wheat varieties, chickpea, animal and fish bones (Miller 2013). These are third millennium remains, but date fruits have also been recovered from some Old Babylonian (Larsa) graves as noted below. However, we can get the idea that foods were provided in the grave as well as some of the types of foods.

## 6.2 Second Millennium Grave and Coffin Types

Second millennium graves include inhumation burials, vaulted tombs, coffin burials, covered jar, double-jar, and infant bowl burials. Excavated burials are mainly known from under house floors. Woolley also notes an oval infant burial jar (called “hutch”) at Ur, with an opening to the side.

Figures 27-30 show plans and sections of corbel-vaulted, brick-vaulted, and barrel-vaulted tombs from Ur, usually constructed from baked brick (*UE VII*: 35-38). Corbel-vaulted tombs were known from the third millennium Royal Cemetery Site. In Section 4.3.7, we documented corbelled tombs under the floors of the residence of the *entu* priestess in section B of the Giparu and Room C43. Barrel-vaulted tombs under the house floors show advances in architecture from corbelling; some vaults include an arched doorway to the vault.

While Woolley notes no preference for one type of vault at Ur, he does mention that many of these tombs had jars or pots placed at the door (*UE VII*: 38). These may have been placed at burial, but we should also consider that the vault room under the floor could have been opened for *kispum* and food and drink placed by the family tomb. Not all vaults were placed under the room with the altars. Woolley’s overall report, is that for the most part, the majority of goods placed in the tomb or grave were not lavish or very valuable. Most of the vessels associated with burials were not closely associated with the body, except for drinking bowls. He speculated that the vessels were evidence that the living placed them where the dead who left the grave could find sustenance and so, not haunt the living. He concluded that these features and the burials under floors, rather than cemeteries, signified a major change in belief from the earlier millennium. It is interesting as well, that he discussed the idea of ancestor worship and continuance of the family line, but indeed associated family dead with evil (*UE VII*: 37-39).

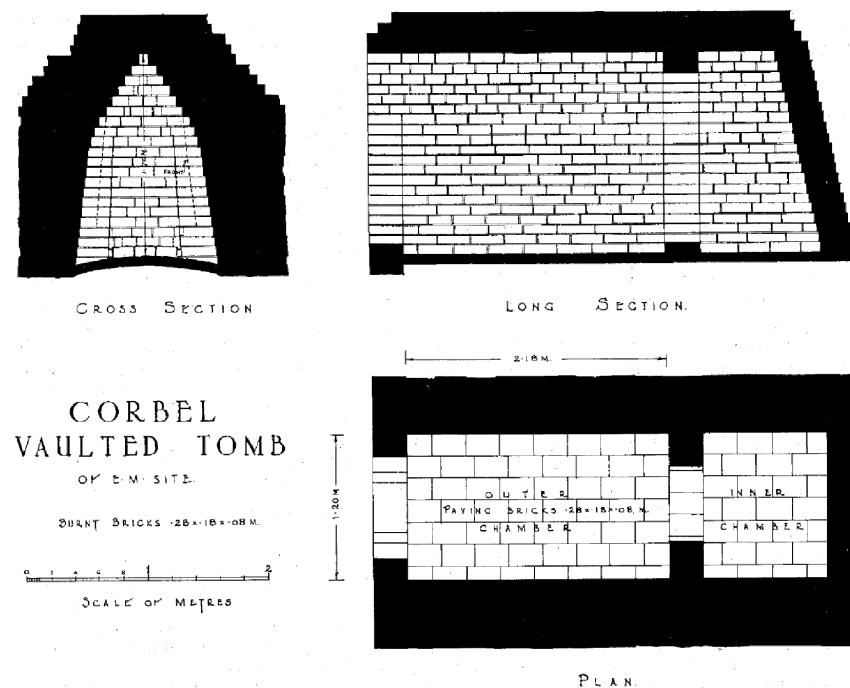


Figure 27. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa corbel-vaulted tomb. EH site. (*UE VII*, 35, Fig. 2a). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

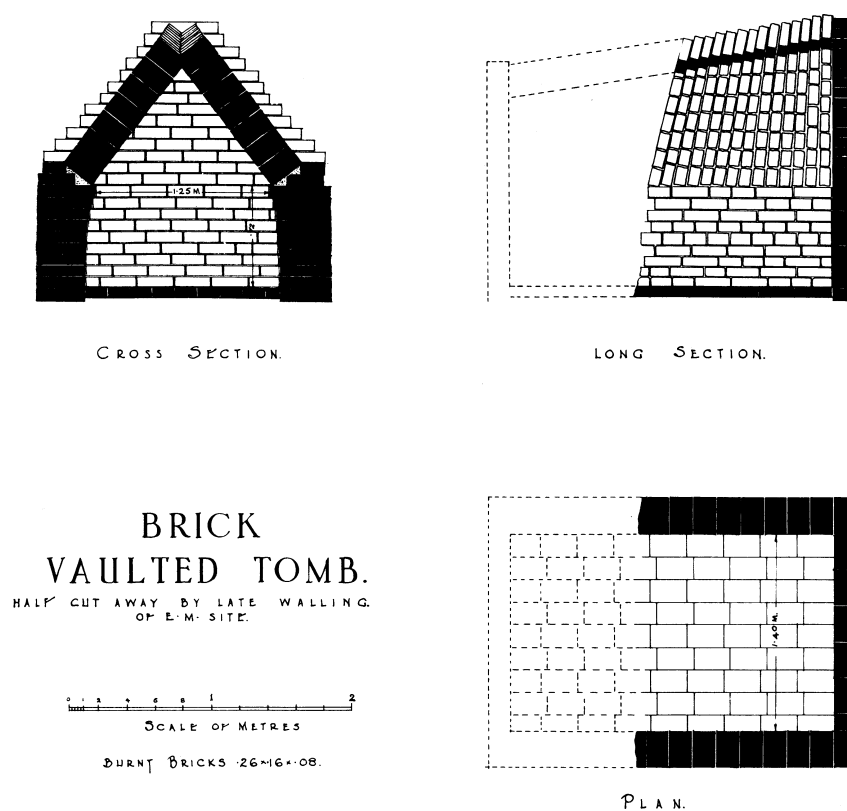


Figure 28. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa brick-vaulted tomb. EM site. (*UE VII*, 36, Fig. 2b). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

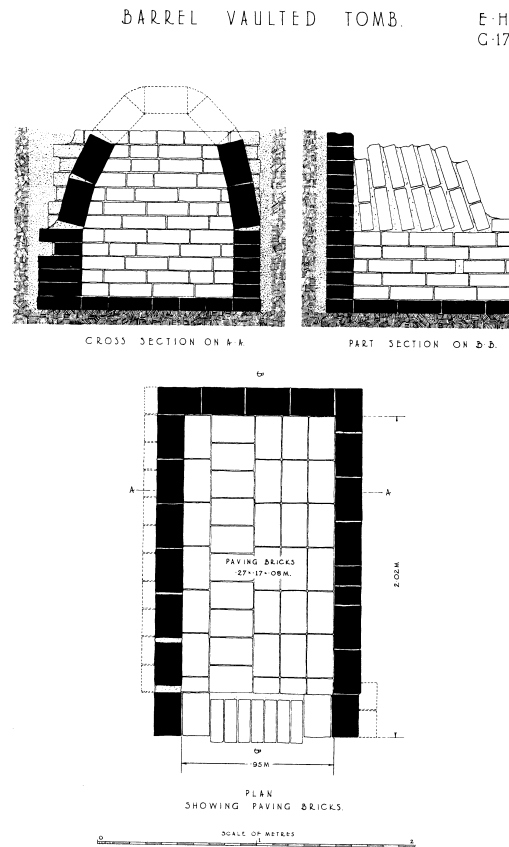


Figure 29. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa barrel-vaulted tomb. EH site. (*UE VII*, 37, Fig. 2c). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

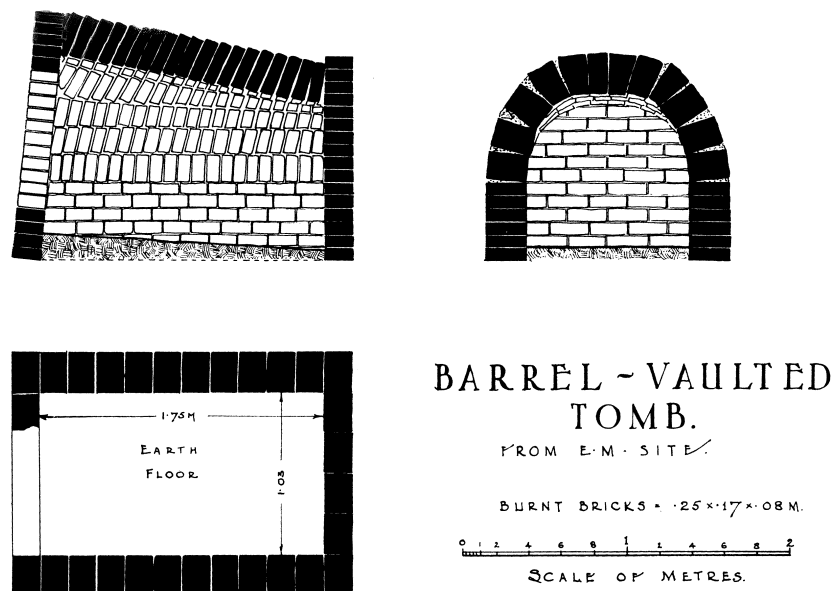


Figure 30. Ur. Plan and sections of Larsa barrel-vaulted tomb. EM site. (*UE VII*, 38, Fig. 2d). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Figures 31-33 demonstrate types of clay coffins used. Figures 31 and 32 are from graves at Ur. The double-jar burial example (Fig. 33, left), formed by two large urns or storage jars, placed mouth-to-mouth, is a widespread second millennium practice. A flexed adult body fit inside easily. Some large urn burials (Fig. 31, G-K) were capped by a large bowl (Fig. 33, right). The ribbing may be aided lowering of the coffin with ropes.

Large clay coffins, called at Ur “larnax” burials (Fig. 31, A-F and Fig. 32) were placed down over a body. Sometimes they were upright with a lid and the body inside. These are plentiful in the Ur graves. The decoration on them may mimic reed baskets.

The position of the body varied at Ur and is noted where given. Evidence of textiles on or under the body, such as linen or wool coverings, garments or reed matting were also recorded.

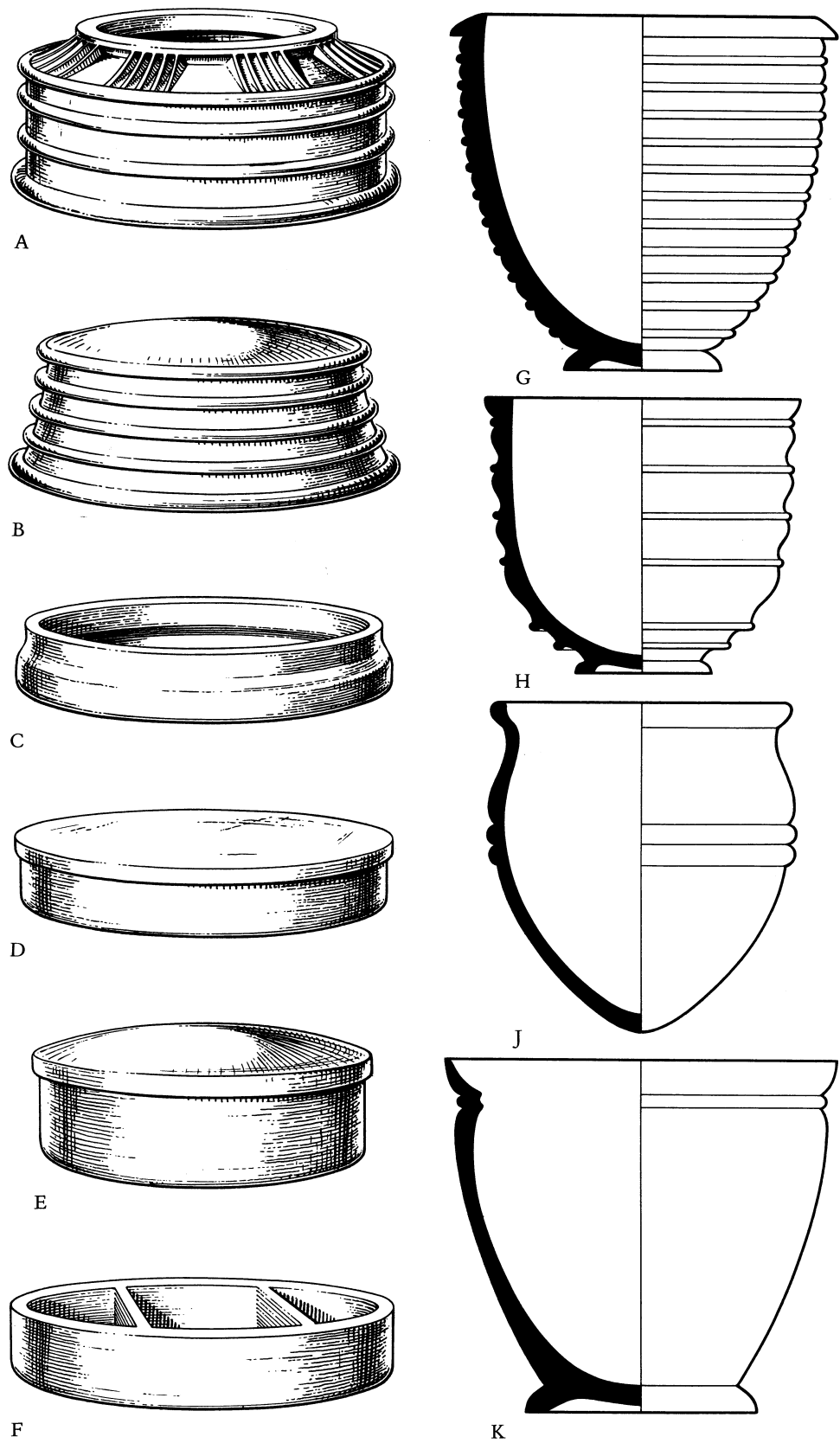


Figure 31. Ur. Larnax (A – F) and burial urn types (G – K), clay. (*UE VII*, PL 114).  
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 32. Ur. Clay coffins, Larsa period. (*After UE VII*, PL 48c). (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).

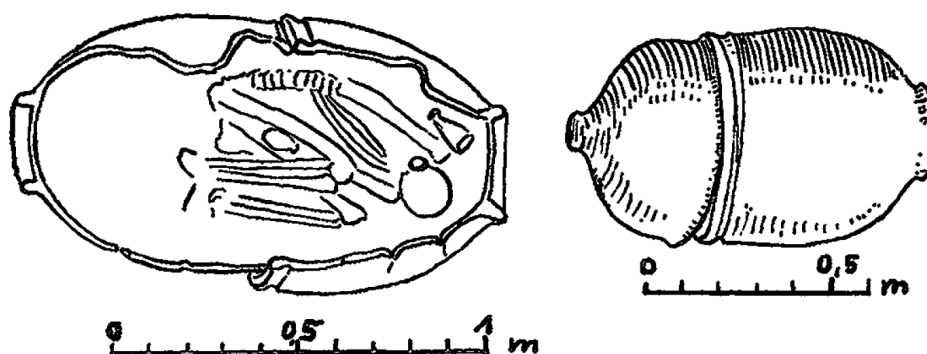


Figure 33. Second millennium burials. Left: Double-jar burial, cut away. Right: Urn with bowl cover. (*After Strommenger 1957-1971: 160, Abb. 2.4, 2.5*)

### 6.3 Libation Pipes

An example of a grave features related to *kispum* is the pipe through which the deceased could be offered “pure water”. The pipes, A-PA<sub>4</sub>/*arūtu*, are mentioned in literary texts, incantations and *kispum* texts (Sjöberg 1965: 63-70; 1983: 315-320; Veldhuis 2003; Lenzi 2011; Cohen 2005). The word *apū* (discussed earlier in Chapters 3 and 5) is derived from this Sumerian word, A-PA<sub>4</sub>. These were clay pipes placed above graves for the family to pour in water for the sustenance of the deceased during the *kispum*.

There may have been some cosmological symbolism relating the water pipes to creation mythology. In *The Bilingual Creation of the World by Marduk* (CT 13, 35: 10-11), “all lands were sea, the spring in the sea was a water pipe (*raṭu*)” (Horowitz 1998: 130-132; *CAD* R: 219-220). The pipe or channel might have been considered to be a conduit between the salt water of the sea and the fresh water of the Apsû. Libation pipes, then, could metaphorically and physically provide a channel for fresh water to reach the dead in the netherworld.

Libation pipes were reported as occurring in graves in Ugarit, however Salles has refuted this, concluding that they are drains unassociated with the graves (1995: 171-184). The pipes have also been widely reported in almost every discussion of *kispum* or house chapels as present in graves at Ur. This is possible, but I can find no published evidence of them (see also Richardson 1999-2000: 180; Biga 2012: 3). Mesopotamian evidence for a libation pipe from above a royal grave at Nimrud exists, for which I provide pictures below (Figs. 34-35) (Hussein 2002: 150). (Some water pipes in Roman period graves are known and used for underworld access. See Gager 1992: 214-215).

It is possible to imagine that a cup, bowl or jar, placed in many graves near the head of the body, was placed so that the deceased could receive water to drink, as demonstrated by an Isin grave shown below in Fig. 36 (Hrouda 1987: Pl 45). If the pipe was situated above the head, as it is in the Nimrud example, it might have been imagined that the cup could catch the water. For many people, pouring the liquid into the ground, as we have discussed earlier, could be part of the *kispum* provisions. In any case, the action was a ritual action, metaphysically or magically able to quench the thirst of the dead.



Figure 34. Nimrud. Neo-Assyrian period royal tomb from palace. Libation pipe above Tomb II. (*After* Hussein 2002: 150).



Figure 35. Nimrud. Neo-Assyrian period royal tomb from palace. Detail of libation pipe above Tomb II. (*After* Hussein 2002: 150).



Figure 36. Isin. Grave with adult male and offering vessels placed near head. (After Hrouda 1987: Pl 45).

#### 6.4 House Altars and Domestic Ritual Space

We have discussed the possibility of performing the *kispum* in the house. The *kispum* could be performed either in the house, on an altar, before family intramural tombs, or at the gravesite. The ritual space, the *aširtu*, in Ur houses, as we will examine further below, usually had built-in ritual furnishings, including altars and a small fireplace with a chimney built into the wall above them, called “incense hearths” by Woolley. These ritual spaces were termed “chapels” by Woolley, and in most publications discussing the Ur material, a designation retained here for consistency. The *aširtu* was usually placed deep in the house (Tricoli, in press). This placement is symbolically significant for our theory of continuing bonds with the family dead. Ritual was performed in this room, and often, the primary family tomb was located under its floor. Archives were also sometimes kept here. Ritual furnishings evidence the special nature of these rooms. I believe that locating the dead within the house – the realm of the living

family – but under the floors, represented both that the dead were kept present, but also that they resided below the terrestrial plane.

House altars were used for offerings and the worship of the family gods as well (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: 29-30). Two types of altars are discussed in the houses in this chapter: 1) a low, broad dais set into a wall and 2) an offering “table” that is a tall rectangular altar often built upon a brick pedestal.



Figure 37. Tell Asmar. House altar and niche. (*OIP 88*, PL 72, C). (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

Figures 37–39 show the placement of altars in Old Babylonian period houses at Tell Asmar. Figures 38 and 39 clearly show decoration. Figure 38 has a representation of a woven reed temple or shrine door made of clay. This type of door was probably actually used. These also recall representations of *mudhifs*, the ancient form of reed architecture associated with marshy areas near the rivers. In

sacred or ritual context, these buildings were associated with sacred fertility rituals, as storehouses of abundance. In practice they are also the traditional form of architecture of southern marshes in Iraq and can still be seen today (especially thanks to restoration of some of the marshes).



Figure 38. Tell Asmar. House altar with woven temple/shrine door modeled on the facade. (*OIP 88*, PL 72 B). (Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).



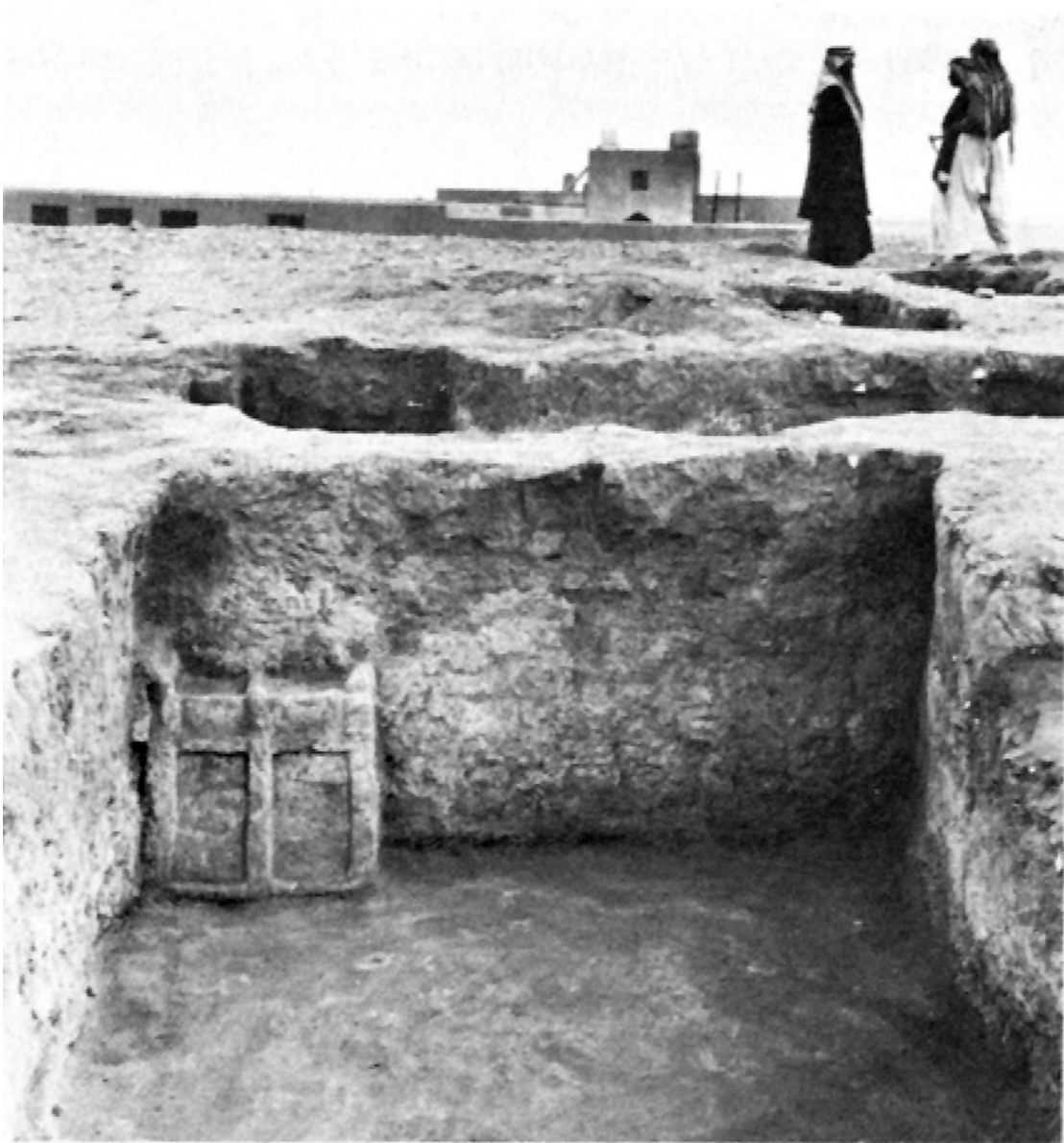


Figure 39. Tell Asmar. House altar in corner. (*OIP 88*, PL 72 A). (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

The altars were often decorated (Fig. 40). Depicting features associated with sacred architecture, such as the door, on the altars define them as sacred, set apart from other furnishings. To represent the reed door or a brick temple façade on a household altar served to demarcate it as a cultic furnishing, connoting a sacred area in the room or house chapel.

It is also interesting to note that the tall table altars are tucked into the corners of the room. It would be interesting for a future study to tally all known examples of house altars at all known sites to see if they usually occupied a certain corner, with a preferred directional orientation.

The ritual room was a place where the boundaries of the supernatural world could be bridged; a place for the performance of ritual, worship, prayer and interacting with dead family.

Finally, we should discuss second millennium intramural burials in the ritual symbolism of the *domus*. The House functioned in effect as a symbol of the family itself. Construction of tombs was ritually prescribed in the *Šumma Alu* omina (Guinan 1996; Freedman 1998: 239-251). Tombs built beneath house floors can be interpreted as founding the identity of the family upon the family dead, the ancestors. While the socio-economic value of intramural burial associated with merchant lineages, as well as increased private trading activities in this period, has been widely noted, I think the enclosure of the family graves within the house extends beyond this explanation (Laneri 2011a; McAnany 2011). The living and the dead co-occupied the same residential space. The dead, although understood to dwell as ghosts in the underworld, were kept present as a part of active family life and memory, not kept away by apotropaic ritual. The identity of individuals and families were literally seated upon their forebearers. Ancestors were incorporated into the structure of the house and into family collective memory. The living engaged them and memorialized them in the *kispum* ritual, which was enacted in the rooms above the dead. In this view, the built environment of the house and its tombs below function as a symbolic sphere containing the essence of the family, its placement in memory, history, and the cosmos.

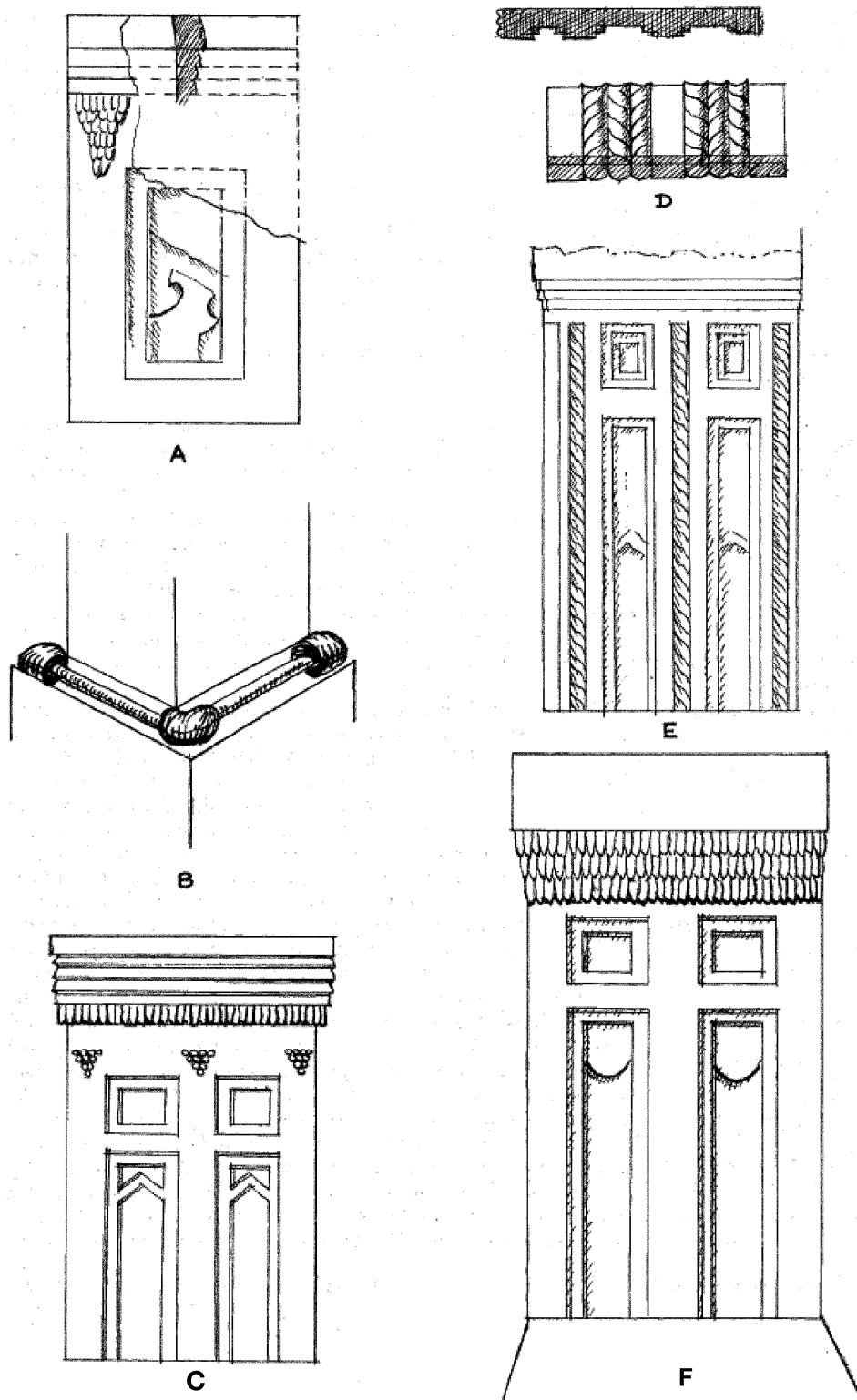


Figure 40. Ur. Drawing of pedestal decorated altars. No. 4 Paternoster Row (A, B); No. 1 Boundary St. (C, E); No. 2 Niche Lane (D); and No. 5 Niche Lane (F). (*UE VII*, Fig. 40, p. 146.). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

## 6.5 The Ur Graves in Context

The purpose of Sections 6.5-6.11 is to provide an overview of the second millennium graves at Ur in the context of the houses and apply this to an understanding of family *kispum*. Where the information is recorded, I have merged the location of the burial and room numbers with information about room characteristics, especially noting features indicating evidence of post-funerary ritual practice and continuing bonds within families.

I have also consulted other interesting analyses of the Ur households, such as Brusasco (1999-2000; 2007) and Battini-Villard (1999), which include further data such as occupations of inhabitants, circulation within the rooms, and patterns of social equality or inequality, to contribute more information to my discussion of the Ur graves, houses and families who buried their deceased under their floors.

Discussion of the numbered graves that follows is organized by 1) excavation area (e.g. the AH Site), and 2) the grave number in sequence, organized by house address. Where a grave number is placed out of sequential order, but belongs with a house group, I have marked it with an asterisk.

LG is Woolley's notation for Larsa Grave, however he makes clear that it was not possible to distinguish between Isin and Larsa period rule in the Ur households, this being really a political distinction. In some sources this Ur material is also referred to as Old Babylonian period, because the rulership of southern Mesopotamia overlapped and varied according to year and city. I will continue to use his terminology to avoid confusion. Woolley was confident that the 198 graves described are of the first half of the second millennium, and not Third Dynasty of Ur, or later Kassite burials (1976: 194). Woolley also explains that he recorded only graves where the contents were of interest, as many had been completely plundered in antiquity. It is unfortunate that numbers were not assigned and data published about each grave encountered. Very recently, The Ur Digitization Project (University of Pennsylvania and The British Museum) published an online map which showed unpublished Larsa graves that did not receive an LG number (Hafford 2014). The Project is a multiphase long-term work that aims to collate Woolley's field notes and maps with *UE VII*, using modern technology (e.g. GIS).

Additional facts or graves are mentioned in *UE VII* in various places that are not always cross-referenced, or they refer to field notes or earlier numbering systems. I have collated some of these and analyses from other sources into the overview below. Some houses are treated in more detailed depth either because there is much more information available, or it adds to the discussion of the *kispum* evidence in the house. Some of the Ur residential areas excavated had little or no remains of the house walls and this will be noted accordingly below. The architecture, building and room data in the first addresses below is given in more detail, as the features are fairly uniform throughout all the house types and site areas excavated.

## 6.6 AH Site

The AH Site, an area of about 8000 square feet, was situated in the lower southeastern quadrant of the city within the city walls (see Fig.16 above). Ur was a densely inhabited city, with houses packed tightly in the residential areas. The mud- and baked-brick walls of the houses were remodeled, renovated and reused. The residential areas were excavated above the third millennium foundations, determined by a *terminus ante quem* of dated tablets. Woolley wanted to expose a swathe of houses from one period of occupation, and the Larsa period house walls were well-preserved in the AH and EM Sites (*UE VII*: 12-15).

In the discussion of the Ur graves, I emphasize and present the AH houses with more detail than the other areas, as it shows a larger representative portion of houses, and is not located directly on or next to the city wall or temenos wall, nor near or in the sacred quarter. AH, as evidence shows from the documents and artifacts in the houses, was probably an area of merchant's families. The houses and residents of AH often shared business, temple and kinship ties, as the cuneiform documents demonstrate (Van De Mierop 1992b; Brusasco 2007: 95). The features of the AH and EM Site houses were very alike.

Limits of each house are defined by Woolley's publication and system of house numbers in *UE VII*, but may incorporate various occupation levels and renovations (Figure 41). Further definition and analysis of the AH houses is ongoing by The Ur Digitization Project. Streets were assigned English names by

Woolley, and odd and even house numbers assigned on opposing sides of the street (Fig. 42). His house and room numbering systems are retained here.



Figure 41. Ur. Plan of AH Site and houses. (*UE VII*, PL 124). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

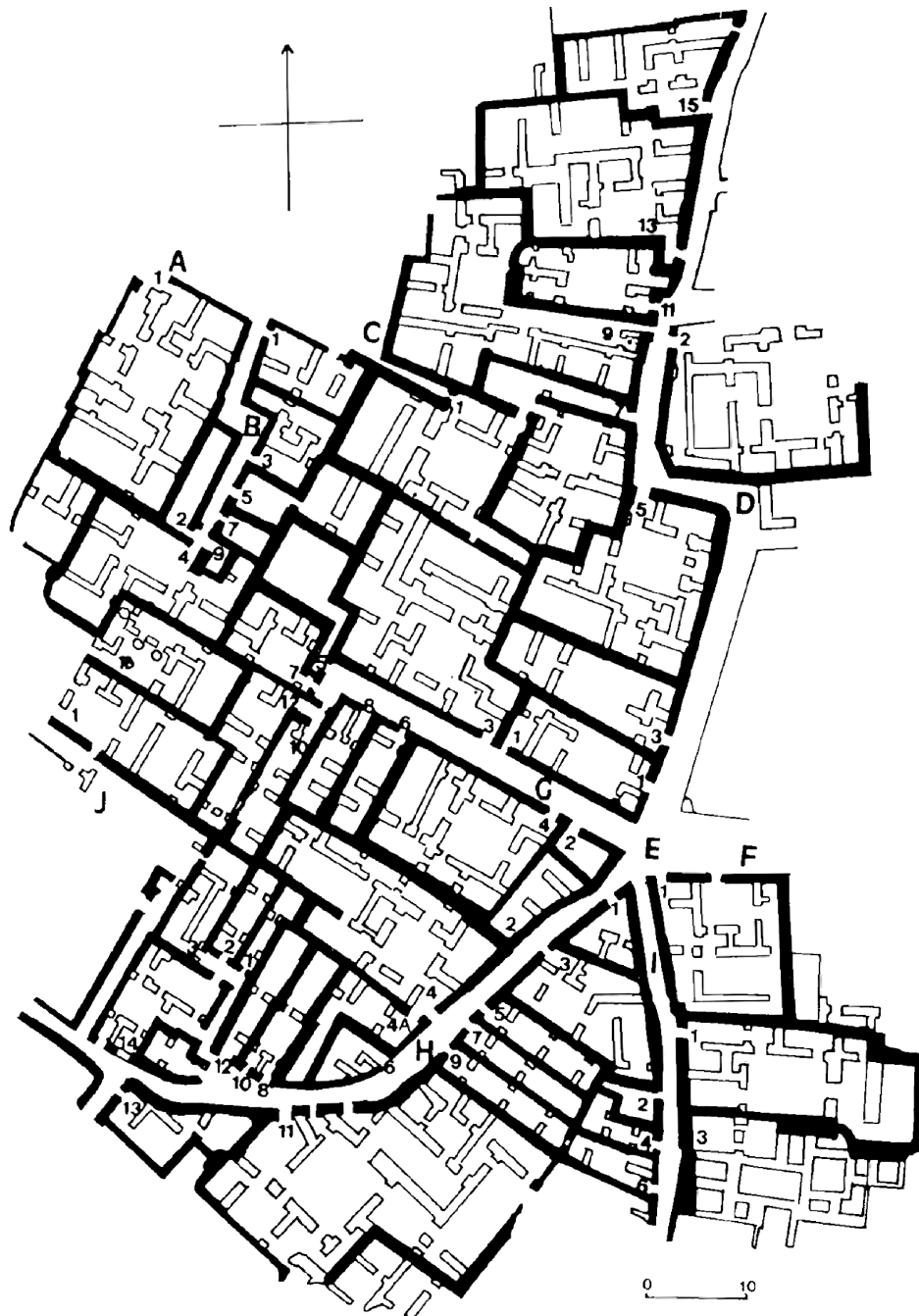


Figure 42. Ur. Plan of AH Site with house walls darkened. Numbers are street addresses from *UE VII*. A = Boundary Street; B = Niche Lane; C = Old Street; D = Church Lane; E = Carfax; F = Broad Street; G = Straight Street; H = Paternoster Row; I = Store Street; J = Baker's Square. (After Van De Mierop 1992a: 127, fig. 2)

### 6.6.1 LG/1, House No. 3 Paternoster Row

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/1	Room 2	Inhumation	1 body with head NW.

Table 3. Ur. Grave at No. 3 Paternoster Row. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

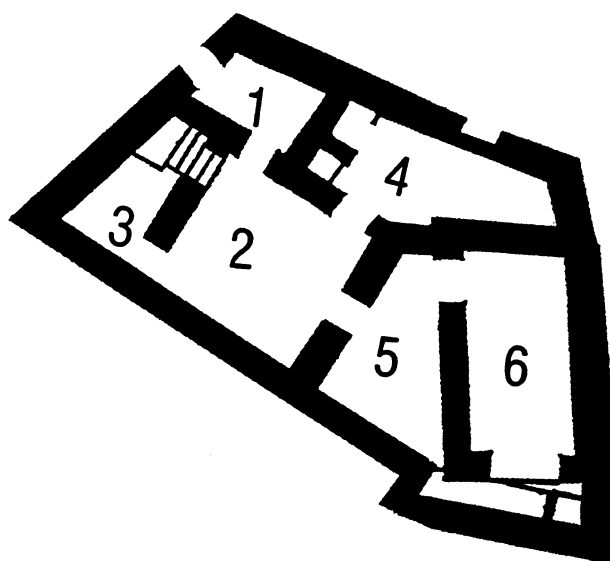


Figure 43. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Paternoster Row. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Grave LG/1 was located under the floor of Room 2, the central courtyard of House No. 3 (Table 3). The lobby entrance room (Room 1) was 0.50 m below the threshold of the main entrance door, perhaps raised as the street levels built up over many years. The home had some rooms with built-in furniture features, a characteristic that can limit the use of a room. Ritual spaces in the Ur houses, for example, were sometimes defined by benches or pedestal altars. Rooms without immovable furnishings could serve many activities, such as main family living areas or sleeping areas.

Room 1 had a paved floor and walls of seventeen baked brick courses with mud brick atop for a combined height of 3.00 m. The courtyard paving of Room 2 sloped to a drain in the middle, an earth-filled brick bench (1.00 m x 0.60 m x 0.30 m) stood in the south corner, and a circular clay oven stood against the NW wall. It seems to have been a multi-use area. Room 3 was a lavatory; a stairway rose above



it to the second floor. Woolley assigns the domestic ritual space or chapel to Room 6 (1976: 144). No graves are mentioned under Room 6. This room had smoothly plastered walls of 3.30 m, a clay floor, an alcove with a baked brick altar (0.50 m high), and to the east, remains of a mud brick “table”, a large clay pot (0.55 m).

#### 6.6.2 LG/2 Houses Nos. 4 - 4a Paternoster Row

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/2	No. 4 Room n/a	Larnax B	(2) - 1 body disturbed and 1 body flexed on left side; head NW.

Table 4. Ur. Grave at No. 4 Paternoster Row. (*After* Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

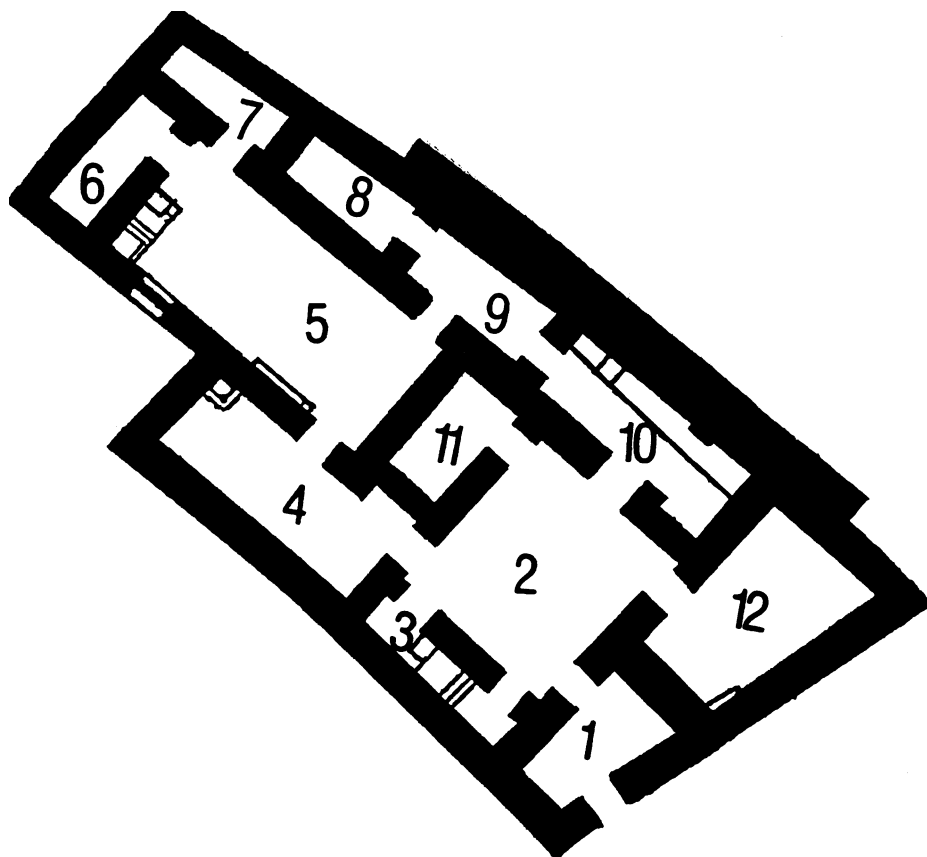


Figure 44. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Paternoster Row. (*After* Battini-Villard 1999).

While only one grave is listed for House No. 4 (LG/2, Table 4), this building is very important for the analysis of domestic ritual activities. Brusasco suggests that the two ritual spaces, Rooms 4 and 5, may have been the loci for all of the

*kispum* activities of an extended family linked with the inhabitants of Houses No. 8-10 (a single house) and No. 12 Paternoster Row and Nos. 1 and 2 Bazaar Alley (1999-2000: 154-156). These dwellings abutted each other; house No. 4 was the largest. However, House No. 8-10 did have a chapel space (Room 3) with an altar and incense hearth in the NE wall, and a pedestal altar table (0.75 m) in the north corner near the altar. Two larnax graves lay below this floor, however these are not included in the grave numbering sequence and no further information is given (*UE VII*: 149).

The complex of houses exhibits three phases of occupation from about 1890 BC through 1789 BC. Documents from the houses give names showing patrilineal succession, business interactions and relationships. In the last occupation phase the estimated number of persons in the extended families of this house complex was perhaps 24 plus at least two slaves (Brusasco 2007: 74). In House No. 4 documents reveal that one Dadā was the dominant actor, a man who had economic and official ties with the palace and temple. He also was a moneylender to those in House No. 8-10. House No. 4a was occupied by the family of Šat-Ea, who was probably a brother or the son of Dadā. The rest of the building complex was occupied by an extended family of brothers or cousins. The archives show these families had broad business interests in bread production, real estate, field rentals, wool purchase, silver lending, and temple positions (Brusasco 2007: 70-76).

House 4a seemed to be older, annexed to No. 4, and subject to frequent alterations. House 4a originally was entered through the lobby of House 4, and had a door which connected through Room 2. Later these were walled up and House 4a had its own entrance onto Paternoster Row (*UE VII*: 148).

The lobby of House No. 4 (Room 1) had a threshold at about street level with mixed baked and mud brick walls to a maximum height of 2.50 m. Room 2 was the brick-paved central court with a drain. Seven doors opened onto this courtyard. Room 3 was a lavatory with stairs running above it. Room 4, a large chapel room, opened out NW of the courtyard (Room 2). In the north corner was a 0.40 brick base with a 0.55 m<sup>2</sup> x 0.85 m high “table” altar, which was decorated with a panel design (Fig. 40).

Room 5 was probably the main and original chapel for the house (Figs. 44, 45). Several built-in features include a bench with a baked brick top and edge, and a 1.05 m x 0.55 m brick box between the SE doors for an unknown purpose.



Figure 45. Ur, No. 4 Paternoster Row. Chapel in Room 5 with pedestal altar. (*UE VII*, PL 44). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

The NE wall probably supported a partial roof from the upper story that sheltered the NW end of the room. At this end was a brick altar, plastered with bitumen on the front and an “incense hearth”, set 0.26 m deep into the wall behind the altar at 0.45 m above the floor (*UE VII*: 145). Next to this was a mud brick plastered pedestal altar (0.62 m<sup>2</sup> x 1.05 m), featuring a panel design and unusual bitumen lumps in the lower corners (Fig. 45, Fig. 40 A, B).

Woolley speculates that these may have held a wooden rod for type of cloth curtain to conceal the cult feature (*UE VII*: 145-146). Unfortunately no graves are listed under these chapel rooms, although it is not clear if they were not there or simply unexcavated. One would expect vaulted family tombs under the chapel floors.

A secondary, late bowl burial with bones and no objects in it, is noted for Room 7 (storeroom and archives), but not numbered in Woolley’s graves

sequence. Rooms 10 and 12 seem to be living areas; Room 12 has a bench or a bedstead (1.75 m x 0.65 m x 0.70 m high). Room 11 may have been the kitchen. Grave LG/2 was found below the footings of the house walls but no other information is given for this burial of two persons. It is not clear if this burial was under the wall footing of Room 12 (*UE VII*: 147).

The ritual furnishings of Rooms 4 and 5 of House No. 4 show that domestic cult was permanent fixture of the lives of the inhabitants. The idea that *kispum* for an extended family lineage was situated in the house of a main actor which held the predominant ritual spaces of the building complex is very interesting. The notion of two domestic chapels serving two houses belonging to inter-related families strengthen the concept of private remembrance facilitated by regular *kispum* celebrations. Burials located within the home under the floors indicated that the family dead were kept close.

### 6.6.3 LG/3 – 15, House No. 11 Paternoster Row

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/3	11	Urn Burial G. Placed against NW wall.	NE x SW. 1 body disturbed. Urn broken and incomplete. 0.70 m below pavement.
LG/4	11	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb, arched door; 2.4 m x 1.05 m.	NE x SW. At least 4 burials. Contents disturbed; 4 skulls and mixed bones. 0.45 m below pavement.
LG/5	11	Larnax A. Placed against SE wall.	NE x SW; 1 flexed body on right side; head NW. Layer of bricks below coffin. 0.60 m below pavement.
LG/6	11	Double Pot Burial.	1 body. 0.60 m below pavement. About 0.60 m below pavement level.
LG/7	11	Urn Burial H.	3 skulls; some bones and matting. 0.55 m below pavement.
LG/8	11	Urn Burial H. Against SE wall.	Infant's bones, disturbed. 0.45 m below pavement.
LG/9	11	Pot Burial. Against SE wall.	Head SW, resting on brick. Disturbed. 0.60 below pavement.
LG/10	11	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered.
LG/11	11	Larnax B.	1 body, flexed on left side, head SE.
LG/12	11	Larnax B. 0.62 m x 0.40 m.	Body of child with head SE.

LG/13	11	Larnax B. 0.62 m x 0.40 m.	Body of a child.
LG/14	12	Hutch Burial.	4 infant's bodies. 5 infants buried in bowls adjoining this burial.
LG/15	13	Urn Burial H.	Cloth on bone (traces).

Table 5. Ur. Graves at No. 11 Paternoster Row. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

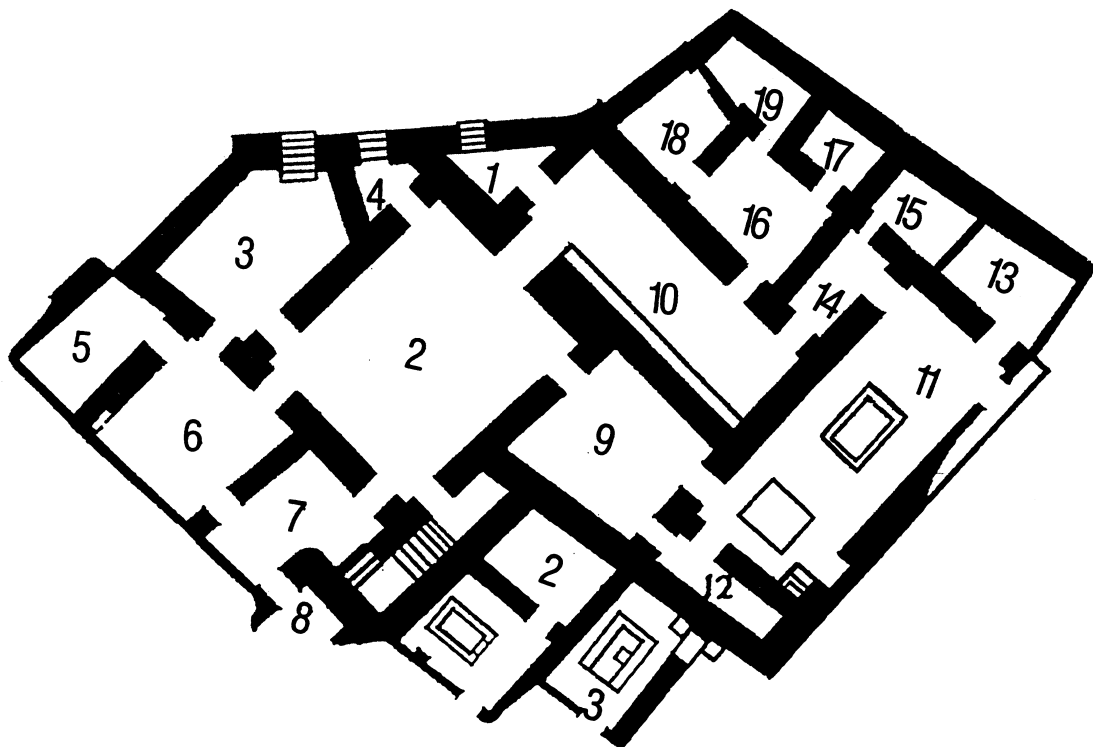


Figure 46. Ur. Plan, No. 11 Paternoster Row. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

No. 11 Paternoster Row was a three-story building with at least nineteen ground floor rooms, and the largest house found at Ur. The house may have resulted from the joining of several smaller houses in different phases (Battini-Villard 1999: 83-86). The fact that it had a large domestic chapel in the back (Room 11) with many burials supports the identification of the structure in the Larsa

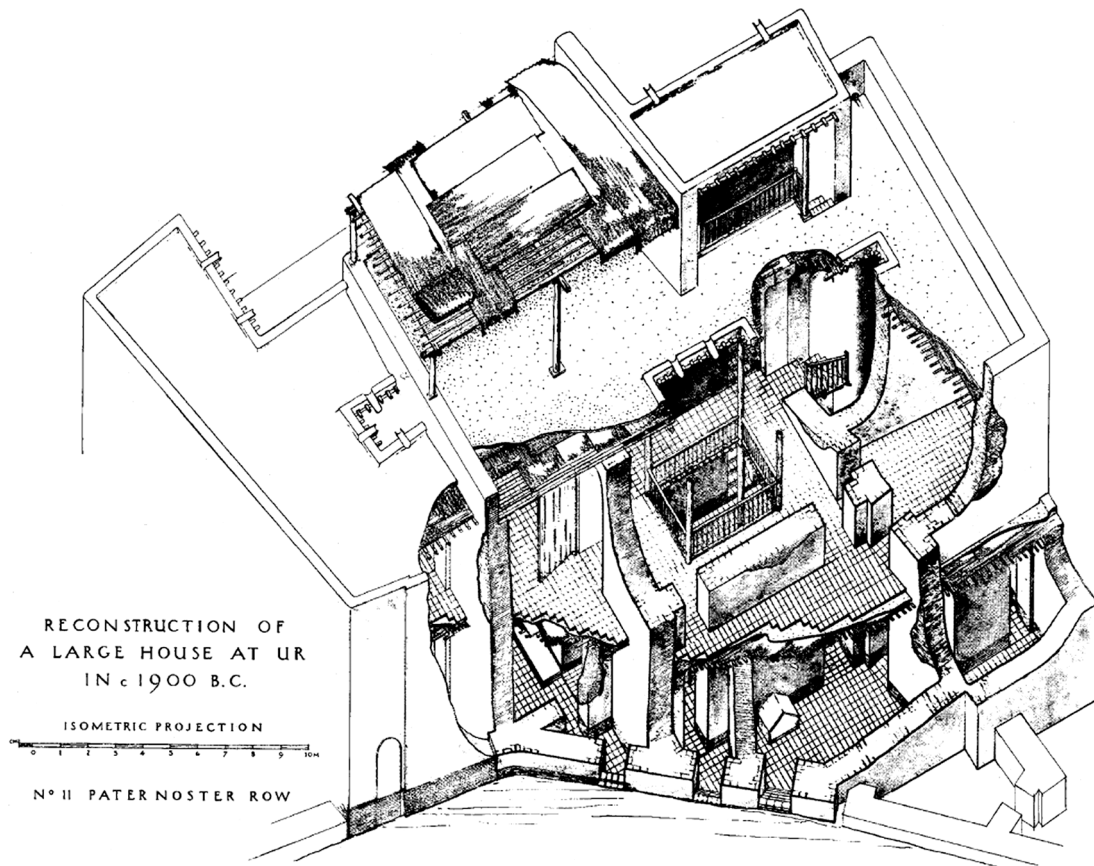


Figure 47. Ur. Reconstruction of house at 11 Paternoster Row. (*UE VII*, PL 126). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

period as a wealthy, extended family home, perhaps home to two or more related families (Fig. 47).

The chapel and associated small Rooms 12 and 13 are reached by passing through main living areas, the central courtyard (Room 2), and another large room (Room 9), which gave access to the chapel, and a small auxiliary room (Room 12).

The house had three entrances off Paternoster Row, and one off a back alley. Different doorways accommodated both the family and entrances for business and trade activities. Many houses had a room at the entrance where business was conducted. Progressing further into the house, rooms served for the private use of the family, with main living areas and ritual use rooms progressively nearer the back. Depending on the size of the house, food preparation and storage activities were in courtyards and adjacent rooms; at No. 11, Room 7 and 8 evidence built-in clay jars, ovens, compartment vessels and a trough.

Chapel Room 11 opened from Room 14. A large 2.4 m x 1.05 m corbel-vaulted brick tomb (LG/4) was situated under a partial brick paving in the center of the room. Another vaulted tomb, LG/10, was under the paving but no information is given for this plundered tomb. Around the sides of the walls were burials LG/3 and LG/5 – 12. It is interesting that an ash layer in the NE end of the chapel may indicate that the paving bricks had not been completely replaced after the last interment. Remains of a 2.00 m long x 1.50 m wide altar was 1.15 m away from the back wall; a brick “screen” separated the altar from the tomb. In the south corner the remains of a baked brick pedestal table on a stepped base was situated. Next to it a blocked doorway in the SE wall served as a niche. Behind the chapel was a tiny room (12) with many infant burials in a clay floor, buried almost flush with the surface, in other words, barely concealed (see Fig. 48, below). Where infant bowl burials were so near to the surface or partially exposed, one must consider the effect during family ritual. If buried in these small side rooms or, indeed, as some are, in front of the altar, deceased infants were quite visibly present. It is common that infants were buried under house floors in the Old Babylon period across Mesopotamia. Whether this practice was one of convenience because of necessity, frequency, size or practicality, and/or perhaps a clearly emotional and symbolic action, the image of keeping the child within the family’s care, must be kept in mind.

In the *kispum* literature, infants are not mentioned, and children rarely (e.g. Enkidu’s vision of the children in the netherworld (Section 5.2)). At Ur we do note this interesting practice of the side room off of some main chapel rooms, and many infant bowl burials just under, or at, the surface of floors (e.g. Fig. 48). In terms of continuing bonds and remembrance, the proximity of deceased infants cannot be insignificant. One possibility is that they were subsumed under the broader category of the family ancestors; another is that they were not named in the *kispum* invocation. The presence of multiple infant burials in houses does, however, imply a strong emotional connection and the presence of grief and remembrance.



Figure 48. No. 11 Paternoster Row. Infant burials in Room 12. (*UE VII*, PL 39b). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

In a later (unspecified) phase the threshold into Room 12 from Room 11 was raised another 0.45 m and a higher, clay floor held a paved rectangular trough edged with bricks set on end. Several grindstones and a pot were set into the clay floor. Woolley suggested the possibility of ritual meal preparations with these, and noted other chapels had an adjoining small room as well. (*UE VII*: 152). I suggest



the raised floor in Room 12 might be a result of a clay fill for or around the infant burial bowls, as Room 11 was still in use. Room 12 yielded the only tablets in the house: a list of names and a silver loan to one Appā, dated 1820 BC.

Grave LG/14 (four infants) was on the threshold of the door leading into Room 13. Five bowls with infants' bodies were adjacent to LG/14. Inside Room 13 was urn burial LG/15 which held traces of cloth on bone. It may be that room was needed for these graves and the family burial area was expanding out from Room 11. Graves LG/14, LG/15 and the infant bowl burials in Room 12 were still placed in proximity to the ancestral vaulted tombs of Room 11.

Little detail is recorded about the burials beyond the notes in the table above. Few objects were found in the graves. The mixed bones of 4 individuals in LG/4 most likely shows the results of moving aside the decayed bones of the dead when preparing to bury the next body. As noted before, when the large family vaults had been used too recently for the body to have completely decayed, the premise is that coffin, jar or urn burials were dug under the floor. Grave LG/7 may be an example of secondary burial, with the remains of the bones of three individuals wrapped in matting and placed in an urn.

#### 6.6.4 LG/ 16 – 20, House south of No. 11 Paternoster Row

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/16	1/2/3	Larnax.	Body, head SW.
LG/17	1/2/3	Corbel-vaulted tomb. 2.00 m x 1.30 m.	3 bodies, bones in "confusion" (mixed).
LG/18	1/2/3	Pot Burial.	Bones "in confusion".
LG/19	1/2/3	Larnax.	Plundered.
LG/20	1/2/3	Larnax	None given.

Table 6. Ur. Graves in a partially excavated, unnumbered house south of No. 11 Paternoster Row. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

There is no information offered for this partially excavated floor or the exact rooms in which graves were located. The plan of the rooms can be seen in Fig. 46 above south of Rooms 12 and 9 of No. 11 Paternoster Row. Because of the

remains of four graves and three bodies in the vaulted tomb, at least one of the three rooms was probably associated with a chapel located at the rear of a house facing away from No. 11 Paternoster Row, with the entrance off of another street. Inside the graves the goods recorded were LG/16 (3 pots), LG/17 (8 pots), LG/18 (2 pots) and a cylinder seal and two pots in LG/20. No goods were noted outside the graves.

#### 6.6.5 LG/21 – 22, No. 3 Straight Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/21	8	Larnax A.	Placed NW x SE, head NW.
LG/22	8	Larnax A	Body flexed, on left side. (Late Larsa.)

Table 7. Ur. Graves at No. 3 Straight Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

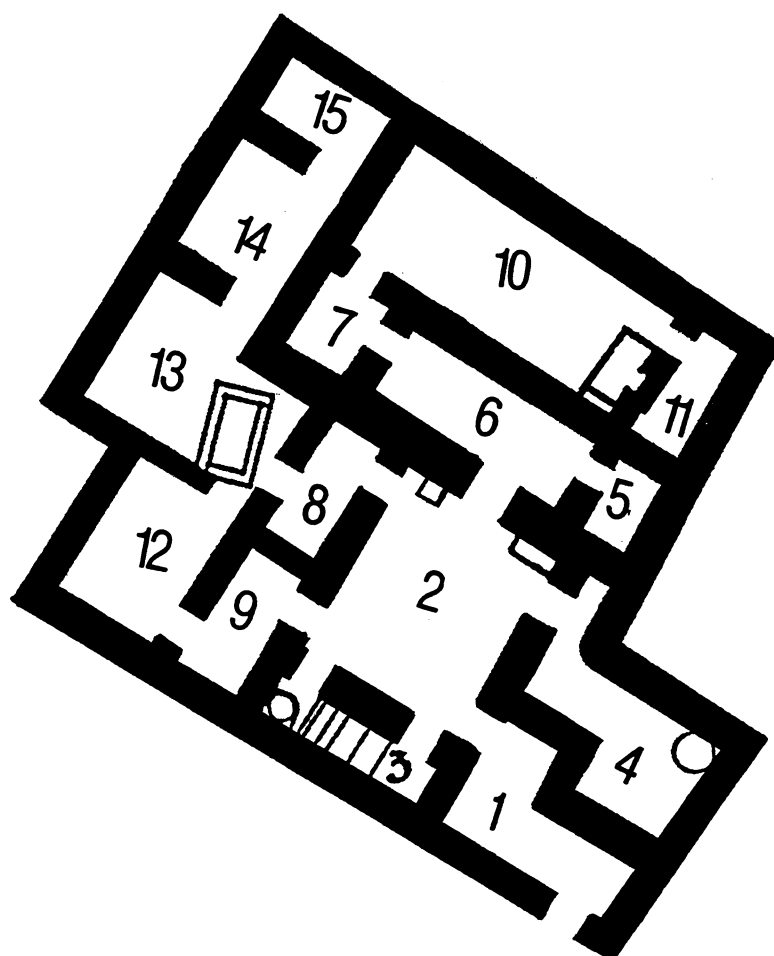


Figure 49. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Only two graves were recorded (LG/21 and LG/22) for No. 3 Straight Street, late Larsa period, and found under Room 8, a storage or service room. Each had a few clay jars and cups placed inside the larnax; no goods outside. Room 8 was earth-floored and led off the main courtyard, Room 2. It was next to the kitchen in Room 9, but not connecting. Probably an open yard leading out of Room 8, Room 13 had an intrusive later corbel-vaulted tomb. Hence it is possible that these two graves are not placed intimately within the family ritual space, suggesting they may not be primary family members or perhaps, were slaves, although this can't be proven. In any case, they were provided with clay vessels inside their graves.

The chapel in Room 10 was well appointed and had an altar and pedestal altar table at the SE end. The plaster on the pedestal altar was modeled to resemble carved wood, and would have had a baked brick top, standing 1.25 m high (*UE VII*: 160-161, PL 43a). Underneath the NW end of the room were an empty brick-vaulted tomb with a larnax burial next to it. An infant burial sat before the pedestal altar flush with the brick pavement. Behind the ritual features a door opened into Room 11, a small room which was a feature of many houses and perhaps used for ritual food preparation, storage of archives, ritual equipment, and, as we have seen, some infant burials. Clearly the main burial room for the family of No. 3 was Room 10. The possibility exists that no adult family deaths occurred over the thirty-year period of their residence. However, it is odd that no burials after this period were evident, up to the general destruction of Ur (*UE VII*: 159).

No. 3 Straight Street is interesting for this study because it was originally connected in the first occupation phase to House No. 1 Old Street to its north through a door in Room 10 (chapel). This door linked the two houses, producing a double court, double chapel residence. We also know the names of some of the extended family members. Later the door between the two residences was closed, perhaps when the son had his own family.

Forty-six cuneiform tablets from the first phase link the two houses with perhaps three resident families, probably two brothers, a father and son, and then later the son's family. The texts date from 1834 BC to 1804 BC. Both houses have chapels, but the original linking door could have facilitated *kispum* celebrations for

the whole family in Room 10 of No. 3. The inhabitants of No. 3 were Sîn-Magir and Ur-Ningal (probably a brother), sesame oil traders, some silver lenders, grain, wool and basket merchants. Ea-nāsir, the son, primarily occupied No. 1 Old Street and was an international copper trader with ancient Dilmun (Bahrein), as well as exporting some items that his relatives procured. He was prosperous, a seafaring merchant trading on a large as well as local scale and dealt with middlemen and investors. He had a daughter Geme-Ishtar, who is also involved in local business for wool and textiles, including payments to employees. As Ea-nāsir's family grew, it probably took over No. 1 Old Street, although links between both families, particularly with business documents persisted. These families were prosperous enough to need more space for storage of locally traded items as well.

The deep entrances and entry rooms of both houses provided a secure place for business activities, while the chapels were deep inside the home at the back. Rooms 13-15 of House No. 3 were added later around 1804. Room 6 of No. 3 was the main family living room. A passage, Room 7, through a door from Room 6 was the entrance into the family chapel room (Brusasco 1999-2000: 131-134; Brusasco 2007: 97-101).

No.1 Old Street had an original chapel in Room 6. An unexcavated corbel-vaulted tomb lay under the floor and an infant jar ("hutch") burial (*UE VII*: PL 97a-b) was flush with the floor before a pedestal table altar (*UE VII*: 123-124). Another chamber was converted into a ritual space later. Another infant bowl burial lay before an altar in Room 5, its upper bowl exposed above the flooring. Both rooms had altars and pedestal altars. Room 6 also had an incense hearth.

Although specific grave data is not available, the presence of archives which elucidate the dealings of the extended family that lived in these two linked houses.

#### 6.6.6 LG/23 – 32, No. 4 Straight Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/23	5	Larnax A. Outside SE wall of Room 5.	NW x SE, head NE. Body flexed, on right side. 0.80 m below wall foundations. Goods outside.
LG/24	5	Larnax A. Against LG/23.	NW x SE.

LG/25	2	Larnax A.	NW x SE, head NW.
LG/26	2	Larnax A.	1.60 m below pavement.
LG/27	2	Larnax.	NW x SE, head NW. Body right side. Larnax placed on baked bricks.
LG/28	4	Larnax A.	Body flexed, on right side.
LG/29	4	Inhumation.	NE x SE, head NE. Body right side. Under pavement.
LG/30	9	Larnax A.	Body flexed on left side, head SW. Coffin placed on layer of clay and bitumen.
LG/31	9	Larnax A.	E x W. Body flexed on right side, head E x S. Legs and skull protruded.
LG/32	6	Corbelled brick tomb.	4 skulls, mixed bones. Disturbed. Pottery noted outside tomb.

Table 8. Ur. Graves at No. 4 Straight Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

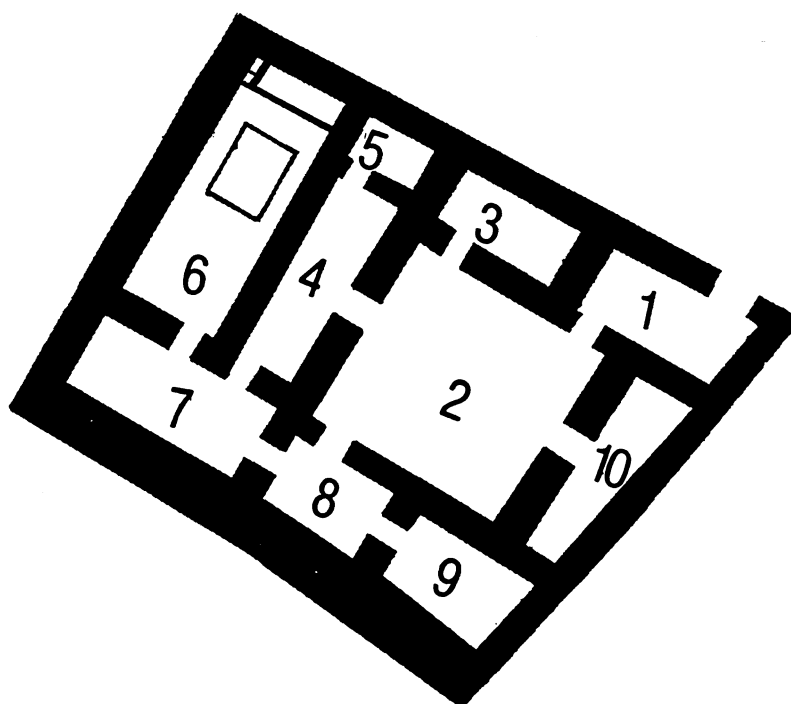


Figure 50. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Under the family chapel, Room 6, was a corbelled brick tomb, LG/32, which contained four skulls and the mixed bones of several bodies. This was most likely the main family vault and the mixed bones are those of the dead which were moved aside to make room for the most recent burial. No plan of this vault is given.

Woolley notes that there were several larnax graves as well, but these do not appear with grave numbers, nor are they described (1976: 162). Baked brick table altar and “pillar” constructions stood against the NE wall and north corner, but no dimensions are given.

LG/25 was under the foundations of the NE wall of Room 2. No goods are listed. Two larnax burials LG/26 and LG/27 were 1.60 m under a Larsa pavement of the courtyard, Room 2 (Fig. 51). The photo in Fig. 51 does not show the LG numbers on the graves.

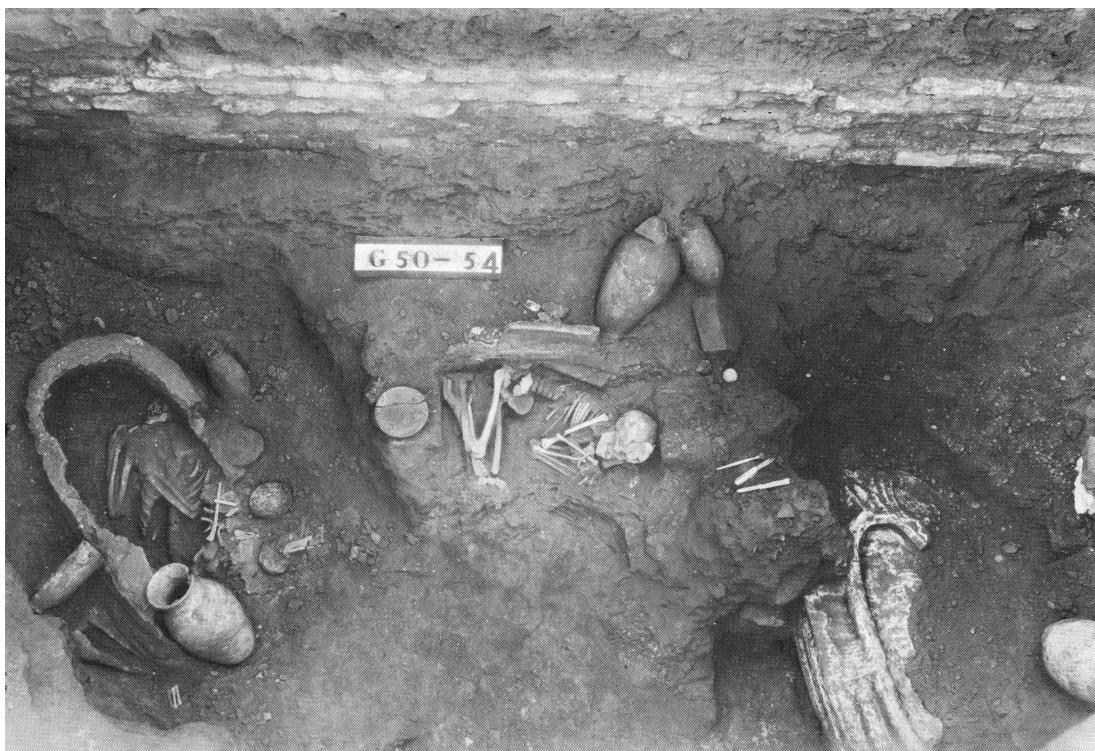


Figure 51. No. 4 Straight Street. Burials under courtyard. Isin-Larsa period coffin on right (*UE VII*, PL 46). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Six pots are listed outside of LG/27. These vessels were placed with the deceased at the time of burial. Jewelry in this grave included one silver ring, two copper rings, a copper bangle bracelet, razor and bowl, lapis, agate and carnelian and frit beads at the neck. Other goods included four miniature copper adzes (0.026 m), a bone comb and a shell. One shell cylinder seal (U. 17329, *UE VII*, PL

62) showing a worshipper being presented to a god (the most common scene at Ur) and a decayed clay tablet were also in the grave. No goods are listed for LG/26.

LG/28 and LG/29 were inside Room 4, a living area. LG/28 was an inhumation under the pavement and had a copper finger ring and bracelet, a cowrie shell and some lapis and carnelian beads at the neck. LG/29 was a larnax burial with only one jar with it. Outside the SE wall of adjoining Room 5, a lavatory, were two larnax burials, LG/23 and LG/25. These were buried under the wall foundations. LG/23 had a jar outside of the larnax but placed at the time of burial (*UE VII*: PL 111, No. 114).

LG/30 and LG/31 were in Room 9. Woolley's notes on the stratigraphy of this room are confusing and the graves unmentioned (1976:162-163). The remains of a vaulted tomb are noted, but it is unclear at what point this feature was dug into the pavement and no details are given. LG/30 contained parts of two vases, a saucer and a copper bracelet. LG/31 was placed with six clay vessels outside of the coffin and the body protruded out from under it.

No. 4 Straight Street had Third Dynasty of Ur foundations, with rebuilding at the end of the Larsa period. Baked brick walls were preserved to twenty-two courses and were very thick, implying multiple stories. A few documents found in this house date bear dates from 2032 BC to 1809 BC.

### 6.6.7 LG/33 – 35, No. 6 Straight Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/33	4	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	None given.
LG/34	4	Pot Burial.	Skull only. Disturbed. Inside a low mud brick structure with LG/35.
LG/35	4	Pot. Burial.	Disturbed. With LG/34.

Table 9. Ur. Graves at No. 6 Straight Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

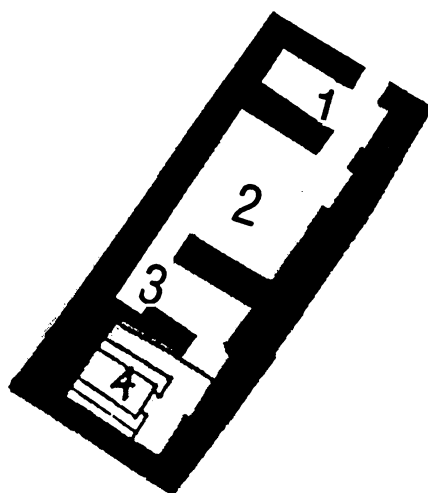


Figure 52. Ur. Plan, No. 6 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

The graves found in No. 6 Straight Street were associated with Room 4, vaulted tomb LG/33, and two pot burials LG/34 and LG/35. No pavement was evident and LG/33 took up most of the area of the room, which is located at the very back, and most private area of the house. Eight vessels, some jewelry, a hematite cylinder (U. 16709), a copper bowl and bone pin remained in LG/33. No bodies are noted. LG/35 had a few carnelian beads, a copper ring and bracelet remaining.



### 6.6.8 LG/36, No. 7 Straight Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/36	Room 2	Urn Burial G.	Urn in E corner of room; 0.70 m below pavement. No body listed.

Table 10. Ur. Graves at No. 7 Straight Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

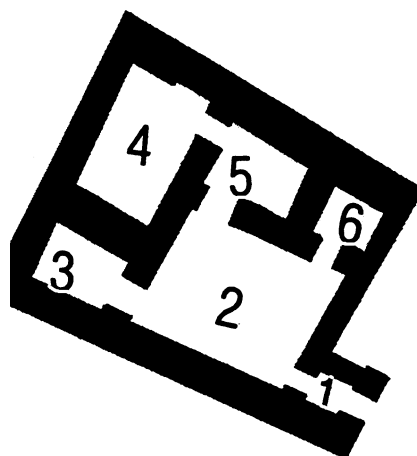


Figure 53. Ur. Plan, No. 7 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

LG/36 was found at 0.70 m below a pavement. It was situated between a block of baked brick (0.45 m high) and the threshold of Room 3 in the east corner, with four pots.

### 6.6.9 LG/37 – 39, No. 12 Straight Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/37	No. 12 Room 2	Larnax A.	Body with head NW.
LG/38	No. 12 Room 2	Larnax D.	Body with head SW.
LG/39	No. 12 Room 5	Larnax B.	Child's body, flexed on right side, head SW. Note cloth preserved. Silver. 10 sheep knucklebones.

Table 11. Ur. Graves at No. 12 Straight Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

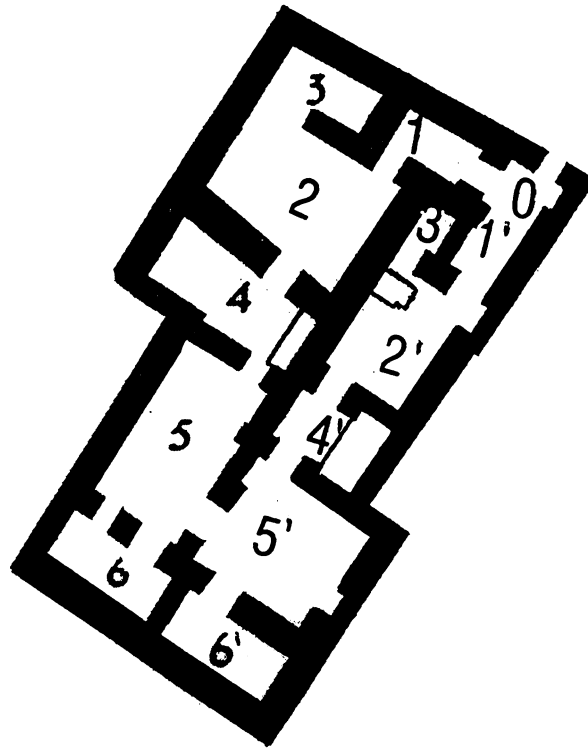


Figure 54. Ur. Plan, No. 12 Straight Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Room 2, a courtyard, had some preserved pavement under which were the graves (south corner) and a ruined brick vaulted tomb. Graves AHG/155 and 160 are mentioned in the notes, but not listed. LG/38 had an unfinished cylinder seal, a set of miniature copper tools and a conch shell in it. LG/39 was buried under the earth floor of Room 5. It contained a child's body covered with a garment made of fine linen with a woolen cloth over it. A thin strip of silver was on the cloth and ten sheep knucklebones were in the larnax. Room 4 had a brick bench in it and a wall niche. The description of this building and its stratigraphy is confusing, due perhaps to rebuildings, age, and poor construction. One would expect Room 6 to coincide with a chapel, but only one child's "hutch" jar burial under a floor was noted.

#### 6.6.10 LG/40 – 42, No. 1 Baker's Square

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/40	2	Pot Burial in Bowl Type 32.	Skull only. Bitumen decoration on pot.
LG/41	1	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Note goods in door filling; cylinder seal of owner, copper cup.
LG/42	None	Pot Burial in Pot Type 79.	Infant burial.

Table 12. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Baker's Square. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

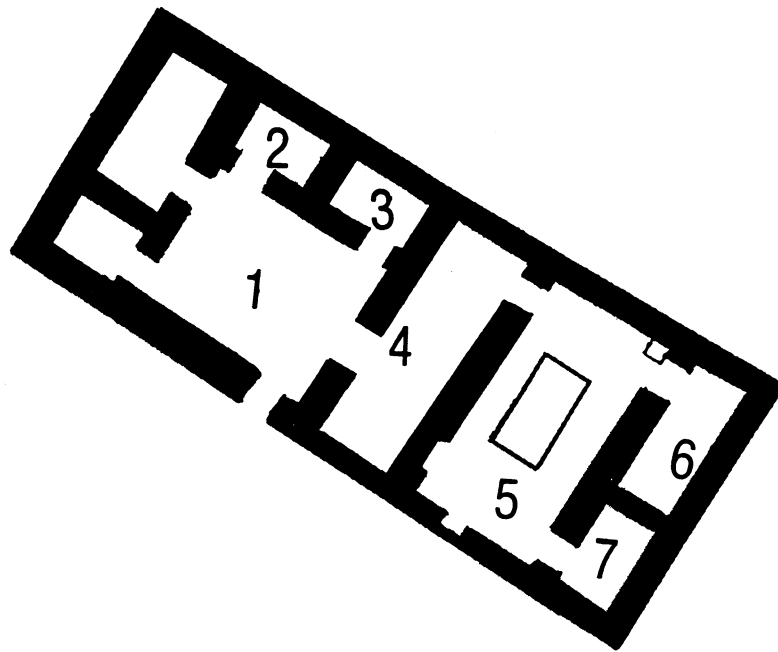


Figure 55. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Baker's Square. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

A corbel-vaulted tomb (LG/41) of No. 1 Baker's Square was located under the courtyard, Room 1. The main living room was Room 4. The ritual domestic space was the chapel Room 5. Two phases in the building are recognized with one extended family of two nuclear families (Brusasco 2007: 95-97). The family of Ningalnamninhedu, owner of a cylinder seal (U. 16801) from the door filling of LG/41, and the head of household, occupied Room 4. The seal was probably displaced from the grave when the tomb was reopened and closed. Relatives Šamaš-ilum and Ħumba lived upstairs, as was common for the less powerful

relations, or non-primary heirs. Another man, Lugalgunida, probably a cousin or brother of Ningalnamninhedu, and his son Gimil-Ningizzida, resided in living Room 9. Ningal-lamazi seems to be the head of household in the second phase of the building and another seal bears her name. Texts show her strongly involved in business affairs. Gimil-Ningizzida may be a cousin of her husband. The families were involved in silver trade and local commodity circulation.

The house did have a domestic chapel, although not above the vaulted tomb. Room 5 showed the remnants of a pavement, a pedestal altar, a 2.20 m wall niche, and a hearth with a chimney. A large brick tomb with an arched doorway, and urn burial are mentioned below the floor, but with no other details or assigned LG numbers (*UE VII*: 157).

#### 6.6.11 LG/43 – 46, No. 1B Baker’s Square

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/43	None	Pot Burial.	Disturbed.
LG/44	Chapel	Larnax B.	Body with head SW, resting on baked brick.
LG/45	Chapel	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side, head NE. Head was resting on a round brick.
LG/46	Chapel	Larnax A.	Body with head NE, resting on baked brick. Perforated whetstone.

Table 13. Ur. Graves at No. 1B Baker’s Square. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

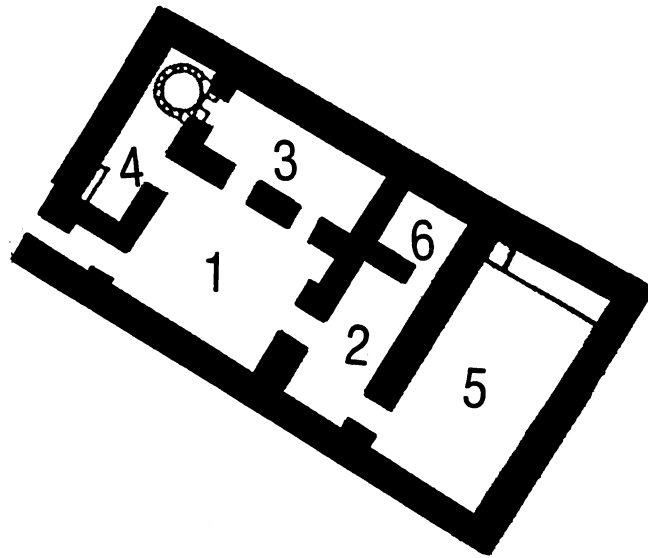


Figure 56. Ur. Plan, No. 1B Baker's Square. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

This house designated No. 1B Baker's Square was built early in the Larsa period, and had been converted into a shop. The walls were razed at the rebuilding. The original house did have a chapel (Room 5) at the SE end. Some evidence remained of the long brick altar, a pedestal table altar and a paving. On the pavement were found a clay cup and a vase or drinking goblet. In the pavement and in front of the altar lay an infant pot burial. Under the pavement lay three ruined larnax burials, LG/44, LG/45 and LG/46. Three infant burials (AHG/171-3) were found below the floor of Room 6, which was a small auxiliary room. LG/45 contained the cranium and mandible of a young adult male, resting on a brick. Goods included a shallow copper dish, placed near the hands, seventeen hematite weights and a round copper scale (Molleson and Hodgson 2003: 199).

When the house was converted, a large open courtyard space was created from the chapel and Rooms 3 and 4. A new clay floor covered the original house's chapel. The open court featured two large beehive furnaces with stoke holes, which were arched with mudbrick roofing, in an adjacent room, and a large 1 m square basin of paved bricks. One of the furnaces still stood to 0.50 m and was covered with fine white ash (*UE VIII*: 158-159, PL 50.)

### 6.6.12 LG/47, No. 2 Niche Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/47	2	Larnax B.	Secondary Burial. Body wrapped in matting.

Table 14. Ur. Grave at No. 2 Niche Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

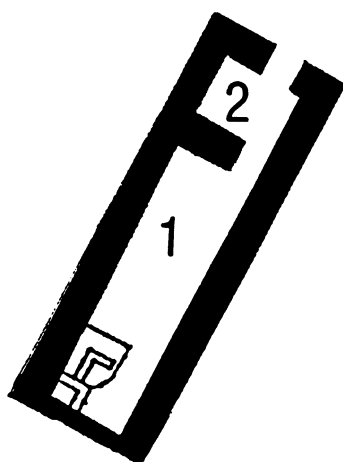


Figure 57. Ur. Plan, No. 2 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

LG/47, under a baked brick pavement was a secondary burial with a bead bracelet and three pots inside of it. The bones had been wrapped in matting. Room 1 had been a chapel with a 1.10 x 1.50 m altar remaining in it, which had probably extended across the end of the room. A plastered, burnt brick table altar stood in the west corner (0.50 x 1.20 m high). It was decorated with a panel design and a rope pattern and stood on a 0.50 m base set atop the altar dais (Fig. 40 D). Woolley notes the probable presence of an unexcavated tomb under the uneven pavement of this room. He also suggests the chapel originally belonged to No. 4 Niche Lane (*UE VII: 121*).

### 6.6.13 LG/48 – 51, No. 3 Niche Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/48	None	Larnax A.	Body NW x SE, head SE.
LG/49	None	Larnax A.	None given.
LG/50	None	Larnax B.	Child's grave. Late Larsa period.
LG/51	None	Inhumation.	Body with head NW.

Table 15. Ur. Graves at No. 3 Niche Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

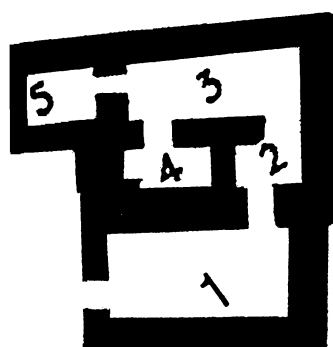


Figure 58. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

A group of forty-three business documents found in No. 3 Niche Lane show that the inhabitants of this house dealt in commodities such as barley, silver, wool, statues and oil. The first owner was probably the “son of Lamassatum”, whose inscribed cylinder seal (U. 16600) was found in the courtyard Room 3. A later phase of the house texts reference Dumuzi-gamil and wife (1796-1787 BC), who engaged in much broader business activities. Dumuzi-gamil dealt with loans for long distance sea trade, as well as local merchants. He also was an official temple or palace agent for bread production and delivery. He may have been the son of the original owner. The house stratigraphy was confusing as a result of many alterations, including door blocking. Room 1, a large entrance courtyard, was probably added to accommodate Dumuzi-gamil’s business dealings (Brusasco 2007:67-70). The locations of graves LG/48-51 were given only as being under the floors of the rooms. There was no evidence remaining of furnishings for a chapel room.

#### 6.6.14 LG/52, No. 4 Niche Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/52	Room 7	3 Pot Burials.	Infants. Pots placed in a group. One was LG/52.

Table 16. Ur. Grave at No. 4 Niche Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

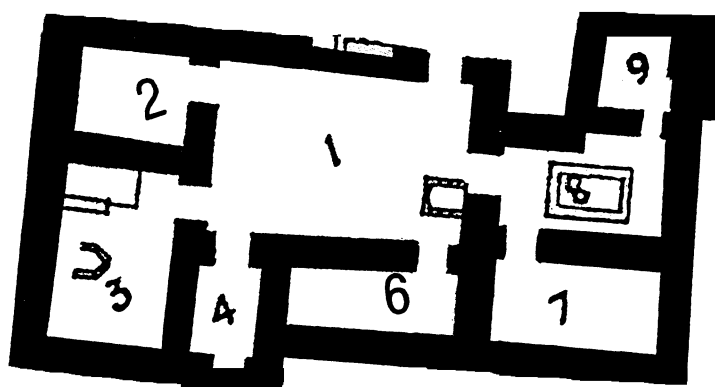


Figure 59. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

The courtyard, Room 1, was unpaved. A large corbel-vaulted tomb remained under a floor with no paving in Room 8. Under the paved floor in Room 7, were three infant pot burials placed in a group, of which Woolley notes one was LG/52, however they are undifferentiated with little detail (*UE VII*: 122-123). Room 3 is identified as a kitchen. There is no more information about the vaulted tomb.

#### 6.6.15 LG/53 – 57, No. 5 Niche Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/53	None	Inhumation.	Body N x S, head N. Bowl with date stones.
LG/54	None	Inhumation.	N x S, head N. At the side of LG/53.
LG/55	None	Inhumations	N x S, head N. At the side of LG/54.



LG/56	None	Urn Burial G.	At the side of LG/53. Date stones in pot. Tablet under grave.
LG/57	?	Larnax?	No details given.

Table 17. Ur. Graves at No. 5 Niche Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

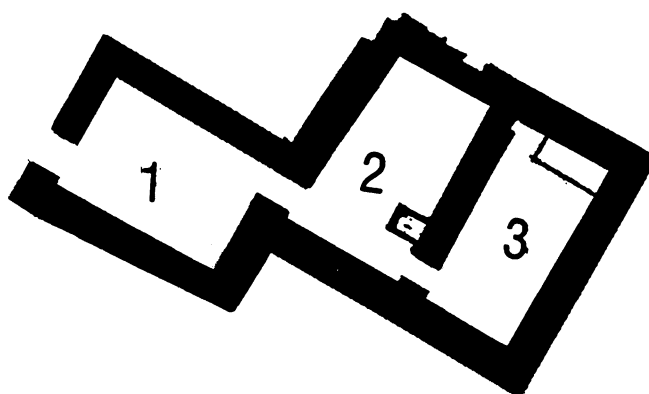


Figure 60. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Niche Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Room 3 was a chapel, roughly paved, in the back of the house. No tomb was found beneath the floor of this room. A very well preserved pedestal altar (0.62 m x 0.56 m x 1.40 m) stood on a base in the north corner (Fig. 40 F). Its plaster was modeled in a panel design, with three rows of dentiled coping (*UE VII*, PL 45a). Paint remained on the plaster; the upper panels red, lower white. The remains of an altar against the NE wall were also found. The walls were well preserved; to twenty-four courses of bricks in the NE wall of the chapel, but without traces of roofing. Burials LG/53-55 were inhumations; LG/56 an urn burial. Except for LG/54, each grave had two-three pots placed with them; date stones were found in pottery with LG/53 and LG/56. A tablet was underneath LG/56. The graves were next to each other but no exact room location is given. Rooms 1 and 2 may have been unroofed; Room 1 is an entrance courtyard. Room 2 was also a large court with a rectangular fireplace.

### 6.6.16 LG/58 – 62, No. 9 Church Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/58	7	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb. 2.10 m x 0.90 m.	Remains of 3 bodies. Pottery outside the tomb.
LG/59	3	Brick Barrel-vaulted tomb.	Arched entrance. Older house.
LG/60	None	Brick Vaulted tomb.	Remains of 3 bodies. Disturbed. Stilted arch.
LG/61	None	Barrel-vaulted	5 bodies. One body flexed on right side, head NE. Tomb opened and reclosed from back.
LG/62	None	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	One skull. Plundered.

Table 18. Ur. Graves at No. 9 Church Lane. (After Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

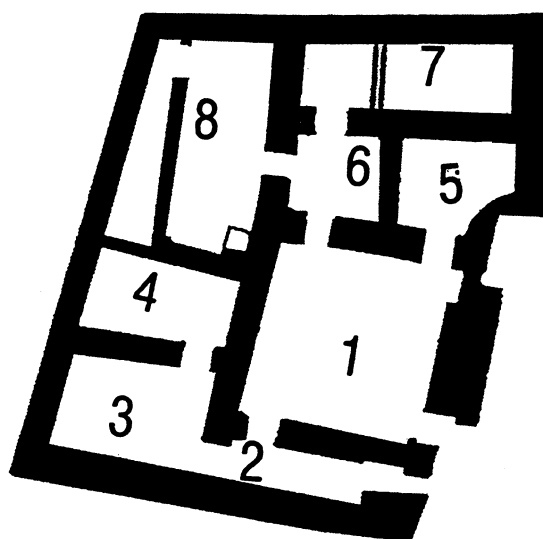


Figure 61. Ur. Plan, No. 9 Church Lane. (After Battini-Villard 1999).

The chapel room (8) is important for this study as it had vessels on the floor situated in front of a tall table altar and may remain from a *kispum* ceremony. Room 8 was determined to be the chapel of the latest phase of the house occupation. Room 8 was paved with a low altar at the south end. In the SE corner a pedestal altar had clay pots on the floor in front of it (unspecified number): one jar, and two drinking vessels (*UE VII*, 152). LG/58, a large corbelled tomb was below

the pavement. LG/60, LG/61 and LG/62 lay below the walls of the building and so were much earlier. It is not clear if they lay within the area of Room 8.

No. 9 Church Lane is unusual in that it had two entrances at the deep end of a long passageway. Room 1 was probably a large courtyard, perhaps used for business dealings apart from the private rooms. Storerooms along the passage seem to belong to the house. The house displayed many changes in doorways and walls over time. Beneath the pavement of Room 3 was a vaulted brick tomb with an arched entrance (LG/59). It was much older than the existing house.

#### 6.6.17 LG/63 – 75, No. 15 Church Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/63	6	Inhumation.	Body flexed on left side. Matting. Lime spread below the body. (Early date?)
LG/64	6	Inhumation.	Body flexed on right side, head NE. Below pavement; cut wall footings.
LG/65	6	Urn Burial G.	Body on left side, tightly flexed.
LG/66	6	Corbel-vaulted tomb. 1.15 m x 0.70 m	3 bodies.
LG/67	6	Larnax B	Body, head NW. (Early?)
LG/68	6	Larnax A.	No details. Earliest occupation.
LG/69	6	Larnax A	Body of child on right side, head SE. Earliest occupation. Trace of silver.
LG/70	4	Not given.	Body on left side, flexed.
LG/71	9	Larnax B.	Child's body, flexed on right side, head NW. Brick on coffin. Date stones.
LG/72	9	Double-Pot Burial.	Body on right side, flexed, head NW. Date uncertain.
LG/73	5	Larnax A.	Grave of child. Coffin (0.65 m x 0.40 m) resting on bricks.
LG/74	5	Pot Burial.	Infant. Date after LG/73. (AHG/142b?).
LG/75	5	Larnax A.	Body flexed, on left side, head NW.

Table 19. Ur. Graves at No. 15 Church Lane. (*After* Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

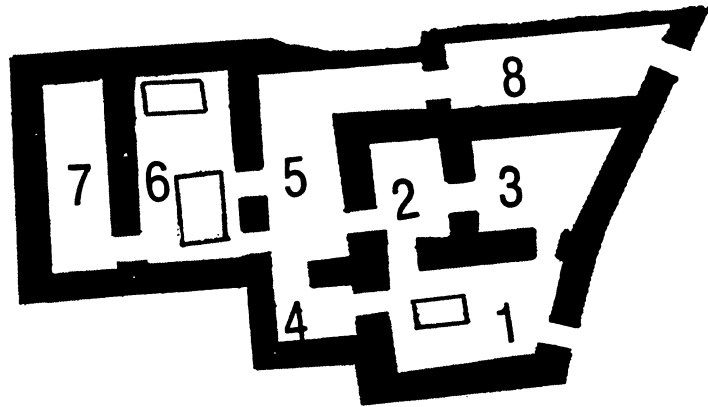


Figure 62. Ur. Plan, No. 15 Church Lane. (After Battini-Villard 1999).

No. 15 Church Lane housed an extended family over four generations. The chapel in this house, Room 6, contained two corbel-vaulted brick tombs. The first, at the south end, LG/66, contained three bodies. No detail is given about the bodies. The second tomb is from a later phase of the house. It is difficult to ascertain from Woolley's description the exact position of LG/67, but it is from the early phase of the house. LG/69 lay under the house foundations with a child's body in it. Traces of hair and a silver "diadem" on the head were found on the child (*UE VII*: 135). One pot lay against the coffin. Two other larnax graves below the floor of Room 6 (AHG/145-146) were empty and did not receive LG numbers. It is likely that the many graves represent several house occupation phases over a long period of time.

The chapel did not have the remains of the altars and the pavement had been removed. Against the south wall was a bitumen-plastered pit (2.25 m x 0.95 m x 1.00 m deep). Three pots were found in it, several tablets and some clay labels. Room 9 (=7 in plan) had two burials under the floor, LG/71-72, and a brick pillar base in the SW corner. This room seemed to be related to the chapel.

The texts named one Atta, in a harvest distribution, assigned to the earliest house phase (undated). The tablets from the pit in Chapel 6 date from 1827 – 1802 BC. They concern silver loan (20% interest) contracts of Sīn-naši, from the second phase of the house, and fifteen years later, field rentals of Annu, son of Sīn-iddinam. Thirty-seven sealings from sacks or jars probably were records of delivery of goods. These suggest vertical father-son inheritance and perhaps

kinship ties with rural extended family members (from field rental names). We do not have cylinder seals naming any of these main actors in the graves. The later phase of the house seems to indicate more intensive business dealings (Brusasco 2007: 80-82). Tablets in the chapel area accord with other examples we have seen of archival storage in the most private areas of the house.

#### 6.6.18 LG/76 – 81, No. 1 Broad Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/76	8	Inhumation.	Body with head SE. Grave placed south of vaulted tomb LG/80.
LG/77	8	Larnax B	Body NE x SW.
LG/78	8	Inhumation.	Body, head E.
LG/79	8	Larnax.	Body, head SE.
LG/80	8	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered. Brick compartment for offerings.
LG/81	8	Larnax.	Plundered.
None	8	Inhumation – Pot Burial.	Infant. Pot and remains of Larnax B burial.

Table 20. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Broad Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

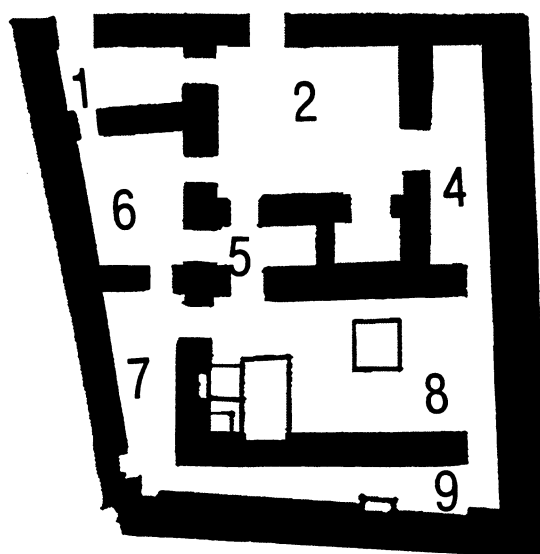


Figure 63. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Broad Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

A typical chapel with a raised broad altar on the west wall and the remains of a decorated pedestal table altar stood in the SW corner. Behind the altar was a hearth with chimney (*UE VII*, PL 41b). Below the pavement was large corbel-vaulted brick tomb (LG/80), which was unfortunately plundered. An offering compartment was noted for this tomb, perhaps evidence for *kispum*, but no details are given (*UE VII*: 202). Against the side of the vault was a larnax burial (LG/79). Under the paving were several graves (LG/76-78, LG/81).

In No. 1 Broad Street, records span occupation from 2029 – 2006 BC (Ur-Guedina), and 1835 – 1787 BC (Agūa, Igmil-Sīn, Sīn-šadī). The documents were kept in an archive through the latest phase of the house and probably represent the family records. Ur-Guedina managed silver deliveries for the temple. Agūa was a temple administrator managing herds of sheep and cattle, dairy products, oil rations and temple fields. Igmil-Sīn's business documents are varied, including transport of goods by boat, accounts of barley, investments, and sale of a slave. Sīn-šadī's records mention exchange of goods (weapons, tools, furniture, a boat and ownership of a slave girl. Igmil-Sīn and Sīn-šadī were also temple administrators (the Nanna and Ningal temples) of oil-seed distribution, account balances, fodder allocation and payment of silver to workers. They also may have been priests who ran a school for scribes, as school practice and literary tablets found in Room 4 reveal (*UE VII*: 137; Brusasco 2007: 82-84).

The interior walls were all original to the house. Two entrances in the second phase of the house reflect the private quarters and the more public business dealings of the later inhabitants. A courtyard (Room 2) leads into what may have been the scribal school (Room 4).

This house has several features of interest to this study, including archives, an offering compartment on a vaulted tomb, and a patrilineal line of inheritance through an eldest son.

### 6.6.19 LG/82 – 83, No. 1 Store Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/82	9	Corbel-vaulted two-chambered tomb. Entrance pit.	2 bodies outer chamber. Disturbed. 5 bodies inner chamber. Disturbed.
LG/83	8	Brick tomb, no roof. 0.127 m x 0.56 m.	Body flexed on right side, head N. 20 tablets placed on skull.

Table 21. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Store Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

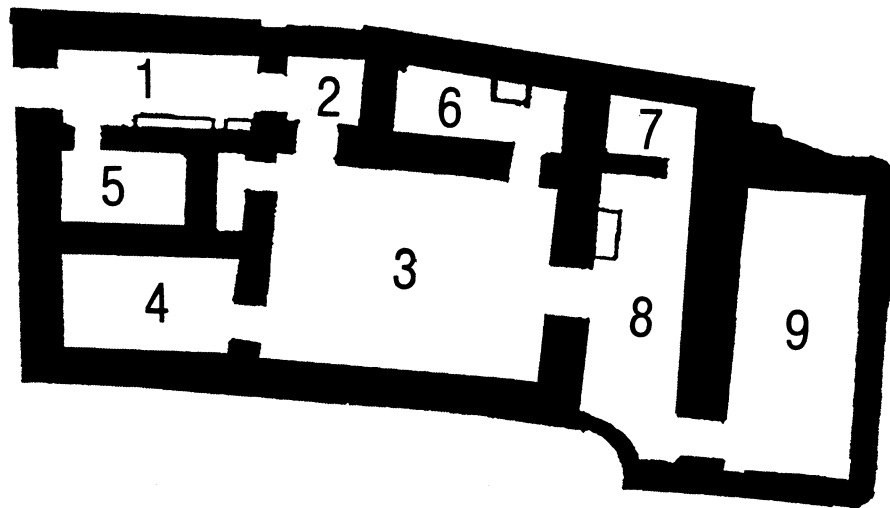


Figure 64. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Store Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

This house was next door to No. 1 Broad Street and may have been a reconstruction of an earlier Third Dynasty house (*UE VII*: 138). Room 9 was the chapel room and with no remaining ritual furniture, but with a large corbelled brick tomb, LG/82, beneath the pavement. A brick tomb, LG/83, under Room 8 had tablets placed on the skull of the body.

The twenty Old Babylonian dated (1819-1739 BC) texts identify an extended family with vertical inheritance rights. The tablets were kept in the family tomb. Enlil-issu was the head of household, controlling business and ceremonial activities. He resided in the main living room 8, while his younger brother Enlil-iqišam inhabits living room 4. An inheritance document records Enlil-issu's extra 10% share of the inheritance and identifies it with 44 sq. m of

Room 9, the chapel. These brothers were involved in business on a local scale that included real estate acquisitions, loans for grain purchase in trading expeditions and house rentals. Enlil-issu's son, Ili-ippalsam and his family, occupied one of the other living rooms (6) (Brusasco 1999-2000: 127-128; 2007: 90-91). It is interesting to note the name of a son of Atta (No. 15 Church Lane) and Gimil-Ningizzida (No. 1 Baker's Square) on some of the seal impressions, indicating again close ties among AH residents.

#### 6.6.20 LG/84 – 85, No. 4 Store Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/84	3	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	3 bodies, mixed up.
LG/85	3	Pot Burial.	1 incomplete body, in matting. In front of door of LG/84 doorway.

Table 22. Ur. Graves at No. 4 Store Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

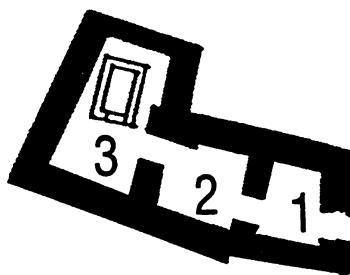


Figure 65. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Store Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

In its later phase this small house was converted to a shop. Room 3 had a brick tomb (LG/84) under a clay floor with the LG/85 placed in front of its door. There are no chapel furniture features noted. If this building was converted to a store, it is interesting to note that the burials under the floors were respected and not removed.



### 6.6.21 LG/86 – 94, AH house area

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/86	None	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb.	Not given.
LG/87	None	Larnax D.	2 partial skeletons; secondary burial. Remains of matting. Collected bones. Pottery outside coffin.
LG/88	None	Pot Burial.	Small child.
LG/89	None	Pot Burial.	2 bodies. Disturbed. One pot outside.
LG/90	None	Brick Barrel-vaulted tomb. 1.35 m.	NE x SW. Body flexed on right side, head NE. Head resting on brick.
LG/91	None	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb.	Plundered.
LG/92	None	Brick vaulted tomb.	Disturbed.
LG/93	None	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb. Side entrance. 1.50 m x 0.87 m.	Remains of 3 bodies. Disturbed.
LG/94	None	Corbel-vaulted baked brick tomb.	None. Pottery.

Table 23. Ur. Graves from unspecified “AH house area”. (*After* Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

These graves were not described beyond the listing above, as the context of the house walls were destroyed and most were disturbed.

## 6.7 EM Site

As noted above, the EM Site was the other large residential area that had well-preserved house walls (Fig. 66). EM was located midway on the north-south city axis in the northwestern quadrant between the “West Harbour” and the western temenos wall. The houses were in juxtaposition with the temenos wall (see Ur city plan above in Fig. 16).

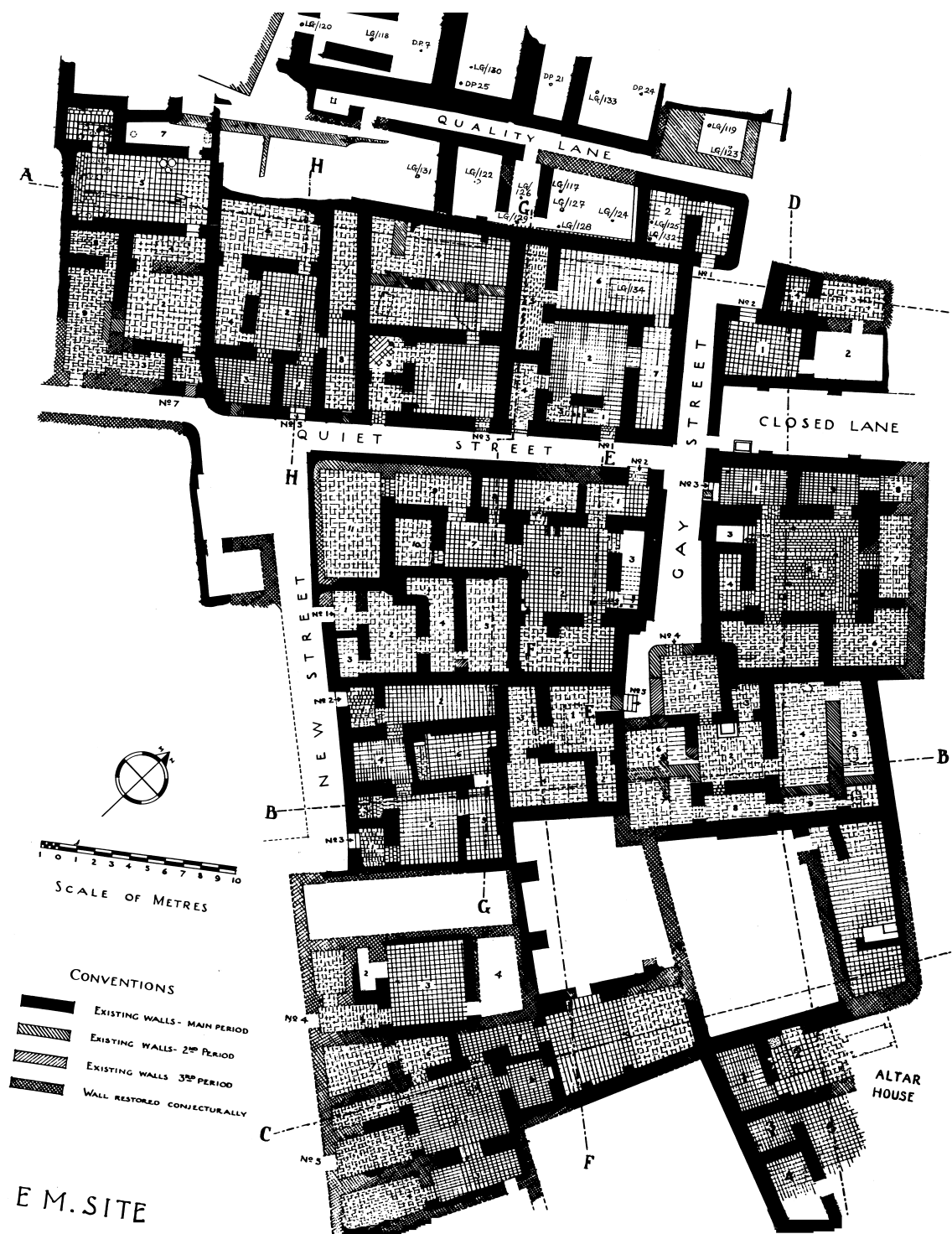


Figure 66. Ur. Plan, EM Site. (*UE VII*, PL 122). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

### 6.7.1 LG/ 95 – 96 and L/G 134, No. 1 Quiet Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/95	6	Barrel-vaulted tomb.	4 bodies, all flexed. 2 on right side, 2 on left side, in facing pairs. Cloth traces.
LG/96	6	Urn Burial G.	Disturbed.
*L/G 134	6	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered.

Table 24. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

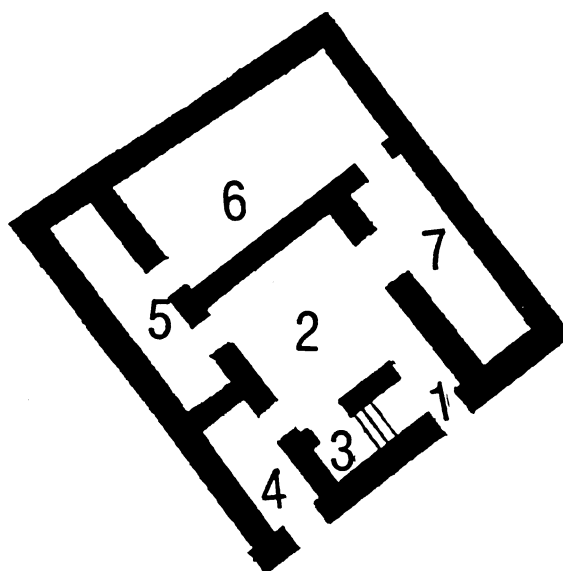


Figure 67. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Body placement in grave LG/95 of this house was noteworthy. The flexed bodies in this grave were placed in two pairs on each side, each pair facing. Only four clay vessels and traces of cloth survived. The skeletons had not been pushed aside to make room for the others, or else they had been buried at the same time. No photo or plan is published showing the body placement, however. Graves were located under Room 6 in two vaulted tombs. A corbel-vaulted tomb lay beneath Room 6, but was plundered. Grave LG/95 was a barrel-vaulted tomb. One nuclear family probably inhabited No. 1 Quiet Street.

There is not much information on this house. The two entrances might have separated private and business dealings. Entrance one gave access to the courtyard. Room 6 is protected from the more public spaces by a substantial wall, as well as entrances from only the living spaces along the sides of the house (in Rooms 5 and 7).

### 6.7.2 LG/97 – 98, No. 3 Quiet Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/97	4	Larnax.	Disturbed. Objects outside grave (3 pots, cylinder seal). Adult bones in one pot.
LG/98	4	Corbelled brick tomb (?).	Roof destroyed. Plundered.

Table 25. Ur. Graves at No. 3 Quiet Street. (*After* Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

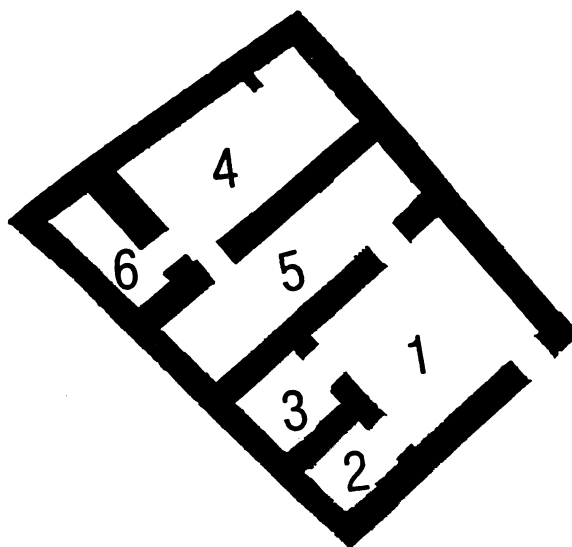


Figure 68. Ur. Plan, No. 3 Quiet Street. (*After* Battini-Villard 1999).

House No. 3 Quiet Street was reconstructed and altered and is thus very complex (*UE VII*: 106-108). Little detail about the graves under the chapel (Room 4) is available. A grave is noted, but not numbered, in the east corner of Room 3. Unfortunately, the photo in Figure 69, below, is not described in *UE VII*. It shows three small bowls placed on a floor outside of the burial jars.



Figure 69. No. 3 Quiet Street. One burial of an adult and six of children under the floor of Room 4. (*UE VII*, PL 28b). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

### 6.7.3 LG/99 – 100, No. 5 Quiet Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/99	No. 5 6	Brick tomb.	Roof destroyed. Plundered.
LG/100	No. 5 4	Larnax B.	Infant body wrapped in matting.

Table 26. Ur. Graves at No. 5 Quiet Street. (After Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

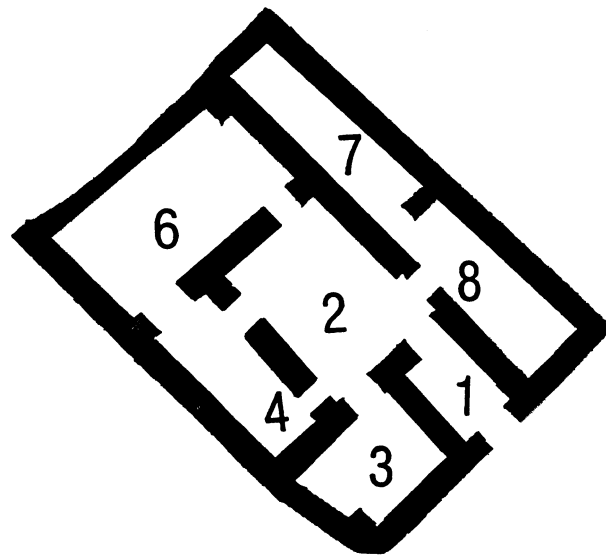


Figure 70. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Quiet Street. (After Battini-Villard 1999).

No. 5 Quiet Street was the home of a nuclear family of temple agents and administrators. Here we have good evidence for family inheritance, four generations and *kispum* offerings. An archive of twenty-one business documents cover the period from 1895-1740 BC (Brusasco 2007: 76). The first owner of the house appears to be Ekigalla, a temple agent, who organizes workers for canal digging, hires boats and captains, and receives fish, bread and beer deliveries. He is also a scribe. His father, Ur-Ninazu is mentioned in one receipt from 1895 BC. His sons inherit real estate and do deep-sea fishing. His grandson, Bulalum owns an offering bowl dedicated to his father, Ur-ešbanda, likely used in *kispum*. Bulalum and his two brothers own property in Ur and other cities.

The last owner of the house is Bulalum's son Šamaš-nasir. He is a temple administrator, a *kišibgallum*, (keeper of the seal), who appears in 1768 BC. He is

also a prebendary, a *pašišum*, (anointed one). The house and archives were burnt in a fire around 1740 BC (Brusasco 1999-2000: 113-114; 2007: 76-78).

The main living room is Room 4. The chapel and archives were in Room 6. One infant burial in a larnax was buried under Room 4 (*UE VII*: 108-110).

#### 6.7.4 LG/101, No. 7 Quiet Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/101	No. 7 None	Pot Burial.	Traces of pavement above grave. 2 pots outside.

Table 27. Ur. Grave at No. 7 Quiet Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

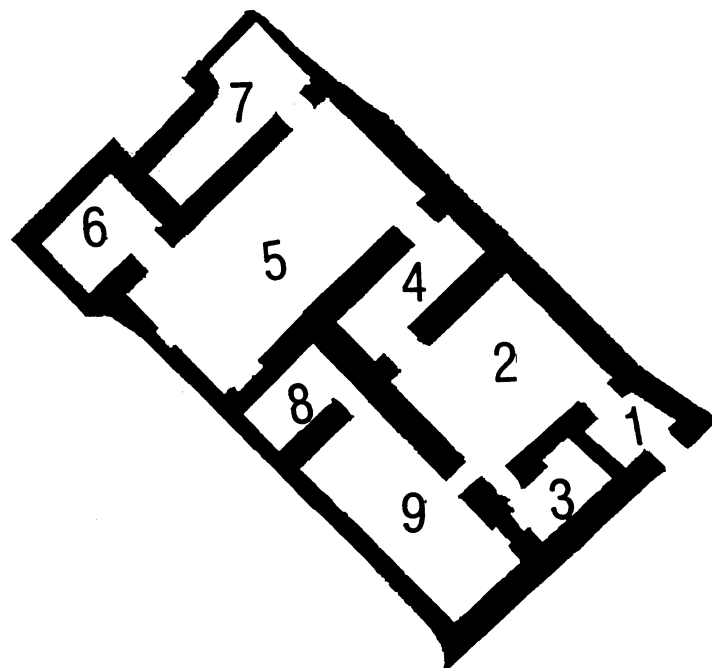


Figure 71. Ur. Plan, No. 7 Quiet Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

This house has little burial information, but exhibits evidence of successive generations in residence, archives, and use of ancestral names. No. 7 Quiet Street was the house of the Ur-Nanna family. Extensive tablets found in this house, which burned down, give us extraordinary detail about the inhabitants. From his father, Ku-Ningal, the names of descendants from five generations are known (*UE VII*: 110-113; Brusasco 1999-2000: 116-118). Ur-Nanna was a temple administrator.

His son was also named Ku-Ningal, showing use of ancestral names. A third Ku-Ningal was an *abriqqum* (cleanser) priest in the Nanna temple. His activities can be traced from 1821 BC until his death in 1788 BC. His daughter married a man from Larsa; the groom's family traveled for the wedding to Ur, but the couple later resided in the patrilocal residence.

#### 6.7.5 LG/102 – 105, No. 4 Gay Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/102	4	Larnax D.	Body flexed on left side, head SE. Under upper mud floor.
LG/103	4	Larnax B.	Body lying, placed SW x NE. Under upper mud floor.
LG/104	5	Double Urn Burial G.	Body flexed on right side, head NW.
LG/105	5	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side, head NW. Below main floor, resting on baked bricks

Table 28. Ur. Graves at No. 4 Gay Street. (After Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

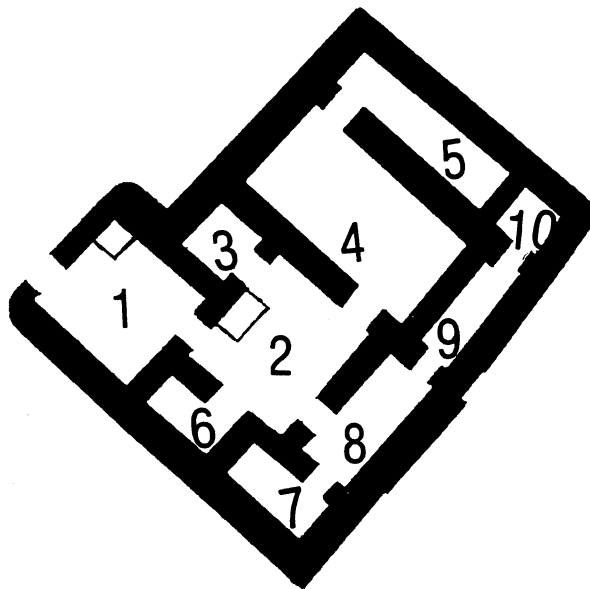


Figure 72. Ur. Plan, No. 4 Gay Street. (After Battini-Villard 1999).

The house at No. 4 Gay Street had a very confused stratigraphy with many rebuildings and reconstructions. Rooms 4 and 5 contained burials LG/102-105



under the floors. Room 5 was the chapel, with many bodies under the floor. However, except for those in LG104 and LG/105, they are not given LG numbers. It is unclear from the description why the other burials, which are noted as larnax burials of three types (A, B and H), are not numbered. Few details about these rooms or the graves are given (*UE VII*: 98-99).

#### 6.7.6 LG/106 – 110, Closed Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/106	None	Inhumation.	Body flexed on right side NE.
LG/107	None	Larnax A.	Body on left side, slightly flexed. Saucer with date stones.
LG/108	None	Larnax A.	2 bodies on right sides. Cloth traces below bodies.
LG/109	None	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered.
LG/110	None	Double Pot Burial.	Plundered.

Table 29. Ur. Graves at Closed Lane. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

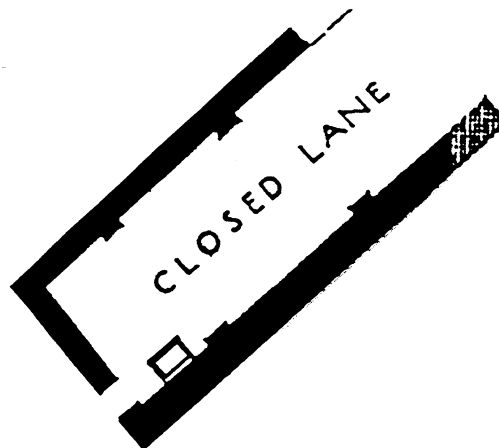


Figure 73. Ur. Plan, Closed Lane. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Many burials were found under this area to the Northwest of No. 3 Gay Street. Woolley notes that it was originally enclosed. At some point a new

southwestern wall was built and a door was cut from No. 3 Gay Street to give access to it as a burial place. A child's burial was placed under a large potsherd; this grave is not listed in the LG list. One grave had a saucer of date stones in it and a cylinder seal. No plan is given of the grave locations. There is no altar; chapel space may have been used in the adjoining house (*UE VII: 97*).

#### 6.7.7 LG/111 – 115, No. 5 Gay Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/111	2	Double Pot Burial.	Body with head NW. Disturbed. 3 pots broken; sherds over body.
LG/112	2	Larnax D.	Body lying NE x SW.
LG/113	1	Barrel-vaulted tomb.	Limestone bottle, pottery.
LG/114	None	Larnax.	Under floor of partially excavated house.
LG/115	None	Larnax.	Under floor of partially excavated house.

Table 30. Ur. Graves at No. 5 Gay Street and undefined EM house. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

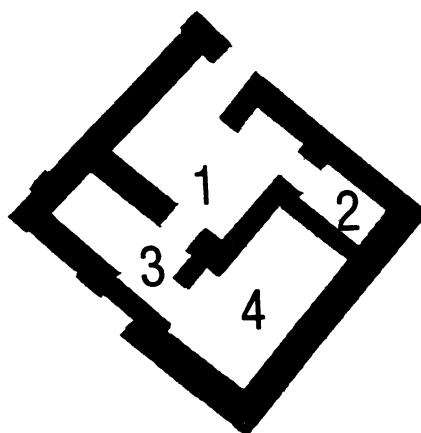


Figure 74. Ur. Plan, No. 5 Gay Street. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Room 1 of No. 5 Gay Street was an unpaved courtyard. LG/113 was under this floor. Graves LG/111 and LG/112 were under Room 2 under a clay floor. No objects were found in the house.

### 6.7.8 LG/116 – 131, and LG/133, Quality Lane

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/116	None assigned.	Ring-vaulted brick tomb with entrance pit.	Shallow hole for offerings at entrance. 3 bodies. One flexed on right side, head NE. 2 bodies mixed.
LG/117	None	Inhumation.	None.
LG/118	None	Double Pot Burial K.	Body tightly flexed on left side, head ENE. Traces of a fine linen cloth and heavy cloth.
LG/119	None	Larnax B.	2 bodies on left side, heads NE.
LG/120	None	Double Pot Burial.	Body flexed, on right side, head NE. Cloths preserved placed over body.
LG/121	None	Double Pot Burial	Body flexed on right side, head NE.
LG/122	None	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Body with head NW.
LG/123	None	Larnax B.	Body flexed on left side, head SW. Second body disturbed.
LG/124	None	Larnax D.	Body of child flexed on right side, head SW.
*LG/126	(G)	Larnax B.	Body of female with infant
LG/127	None	Not given.	2 bodies, flexed, heads NE. Male on right side, female on left side, facing.
LG/128	None	Larnax A.	Body flexed on left side, head SW. Body on a mat with cloth placed above.
LG/129	(H)	Larnax D.	Body flexed on left side, head SW. Pile of dates next to the body.
LG/130	None	Larnax D. Cf. <i>UE VII</i> , p. 73, n. 1.	Body almost touching roof of Larnax; silt filled coffin below. Head almost destroyed. Some large bones and one skull fragment in mud below. Ring drain 0.30 m from Larnax flooded.
LG/131	(H)	Barrel-vaulted tomb.	Body flexed, head SE. 3 more bodies mixed up.
*LG/133	None	Corbel-vaulted tomb. Door SE end of tomb. 2.35 m x 0.90 m.	Body flexed on left side, head NW. In corner, bones of 2 or 3 more bodies.

Table 31. Graves at Quality Lane in unnumbered rooms of undefined houses.  
(After Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

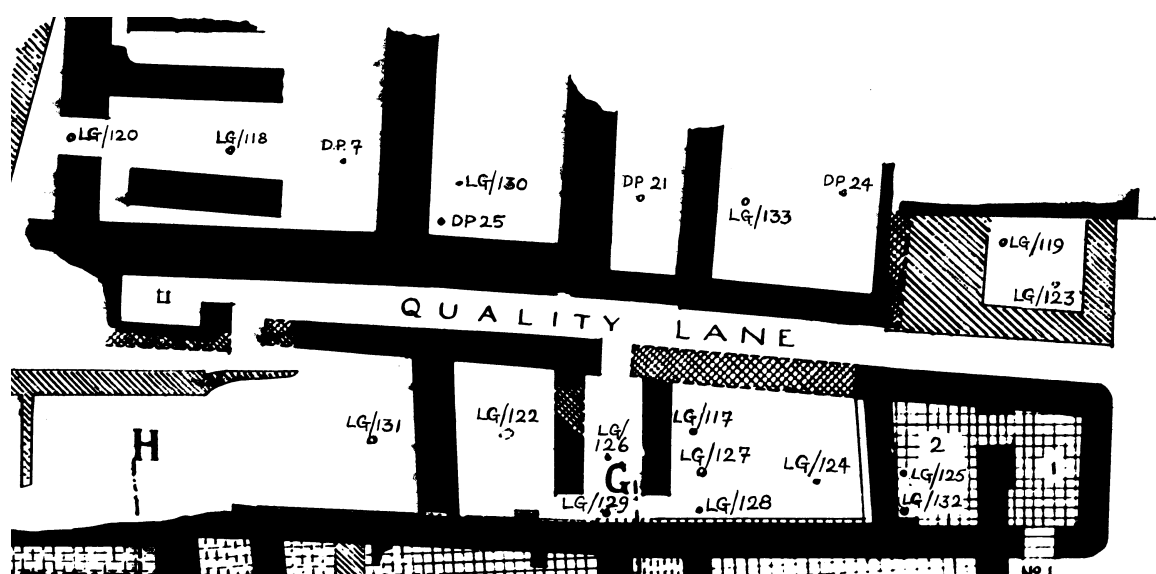


Figure 75. Ur. Plan, Quality Lane. (*UE VII*, PL 122, detail). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

The Quality Lane graves are shown above (Fig. 75) in plan. The individual houses are not numbered with house addresses, as the area had been denuded. Other graves were found in this area, but not recorded (*UE VII*: 102-103). There was an offering pit outside grave LG/116.

#### 6.7.9 LG/125 and LG/132, No. 1 Gay Street

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
*LG/125	None	Corbel-vaulted tomb with entrance pit.	Body flexed on left side, head SE. At back of tomb remains of 9 bodies piled under mat. Arched recess for offerings in side of entrance pit.
*LG/132	None	Inhumation.	Child's body, crushed. Behind entrance pit of LG/125 in a pot.

Table 32. Ur. Graves at No. 1 Gay Street. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

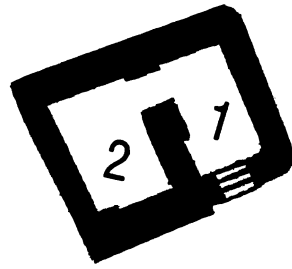


Figure 76. Ur. Plan, No. 1 Gay Street. (After Battini-Villard 1999).

No. 1 Gay Street consisted of an entry room directly facing the street with a door in its west corner accessing the inner room. Floors were paved with brick. Under the larger, inner room was a corbelled brick tomb, LG/125. The floor was higher than the entry room, perhaps to accommodate the tomb and the result of repeated interments and reflooring. There is no plan of the ten bodies or layout of the tomb, however this grave is distinguished by matting placed over the nine bodies that had been moved and piled to make room for the tenth.

## 6.8 EH Site

The EH Site was weathered, denuded and in very poor condition. The original excavations in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century had damaged the site, which gave rise to further wind erosion. The nature of the area is obscure; Woolley considered that the building was of a religious nature, perhaps quarters for priests (Fig. 77, Fig. 78). The area was full of drains so it may be that the real use of the area is yet undefined (*UE VII*: 72-79). The information on the graves is listed below, but the burials are not in context of houses or a temple area.

### 6.8.1 LG/135 – 153, EH Site, undefined houses

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
*LG/135	None	Not given.	Remains of brickwork. Plundered.
LG/136	Not on plan	Larnax B.	Body NE x SW. Grave in small back room of EH Block A.
LG/137	North Half	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered.
LG/138	“	Urn Burial G.	Body of small child, crouched. Sunk into pavement of LG/137.

LG/139	North Half	Corbel-vaulted tmb.	Plundered.
LG/140	"	Larnax A.	Coffin resting on brick platform. Outside, beads and cylinder seals.
LG/141	"	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Body flexed on right side, head N. Remains of 2 other bodies placed at back of the chamber. Pots in offering pit against brickwork. Below ruined house.
LG/142	North Half but also shown in South Half (D)	Larnax A.	2 bodies flexed on right side, heads N. Placed on reed mat, edged with cloth binding. One body had a knot-woven mat placed around the head.
LG/143	South Half outside (C)	Larnax A.	Plundered.
LG/144	North Half	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered. Clay vessel against outside wall.
LG/145	"	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	6 bodies. One disturbed.
LG/146	Not on plan	Double-Pot Burial.	Body of infant. Remains of dates.
LG/147	"	Larnax A.	Body lying NW x SE. plundered. Coffin was placed 0.80 m below brick wall.
LG/148	"	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side, head NW. Contemporary with LG/147.
LG/149	"	Larnax A.	Plundered. Head NE. In ruined possible shrine room under brick floor.
LG/150	South Half south of (G)	Larnax C.	2 children. Coffin 0.70 m x 0.30 m; covered by flat lid with concentric ribs. Remains of dates.
LG/151	North Half	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Plundered. Tomb ruined.
LG/152	North Half north of (D)	Larnax.	No details. 2 pots, one copper bowl.
LG/153	"	Brick tomb.	Tomb ruined, 3 skulls remained, "in confusion". 6 tablets (dating to Samsu-iluna) in tomb fill.
*LG/176	So.Temenos Wall	Urn Burial G.	Body contracted, on left side, facing S. Head on a brick. Against south wall of temenos. Not on plan.

Table 33. Ur. Graves at EH Site undefined houses. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

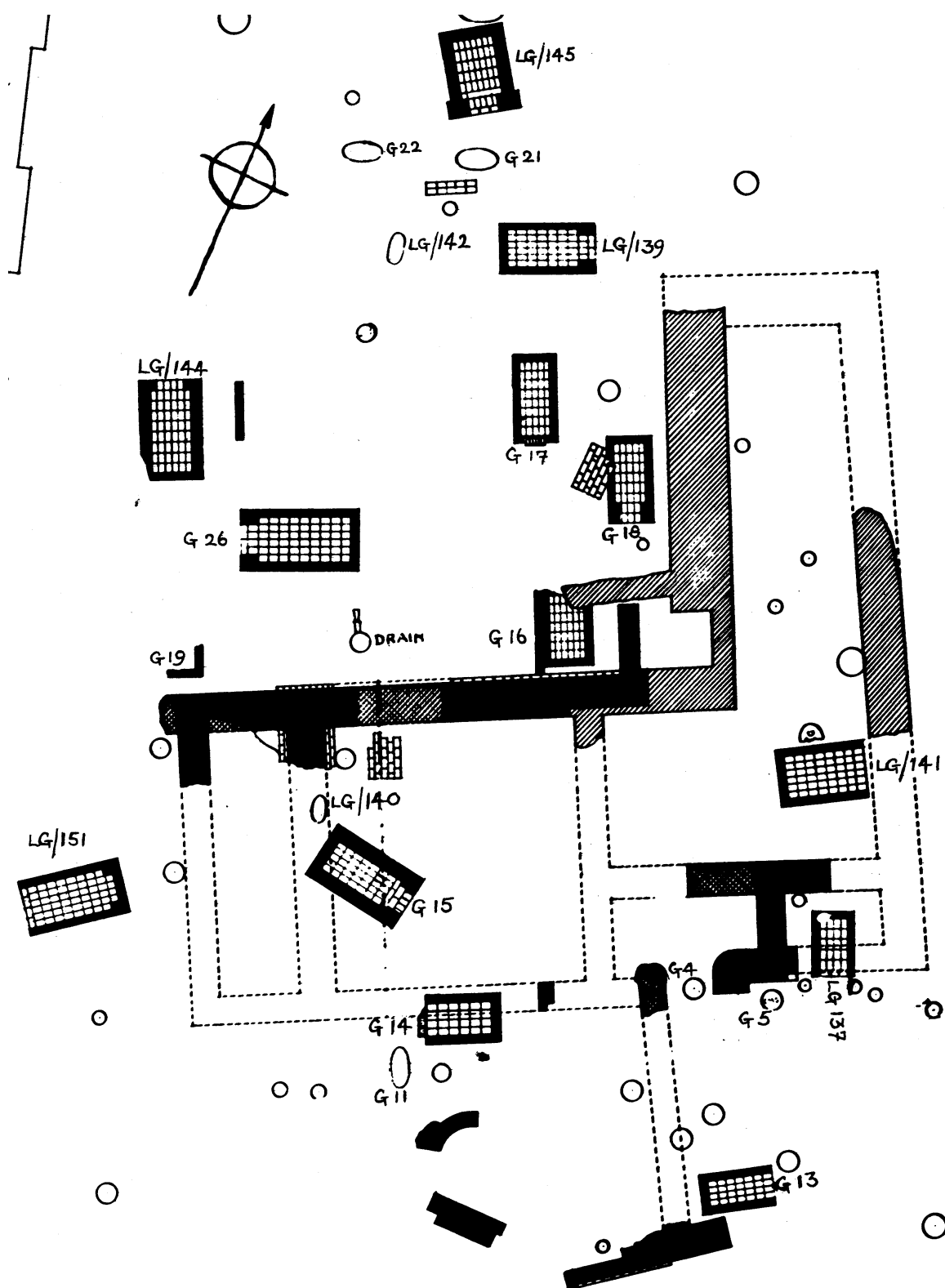


Figure 77. Ur. Plan, EH Site, north half. (from *UE VII*, PL 127). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

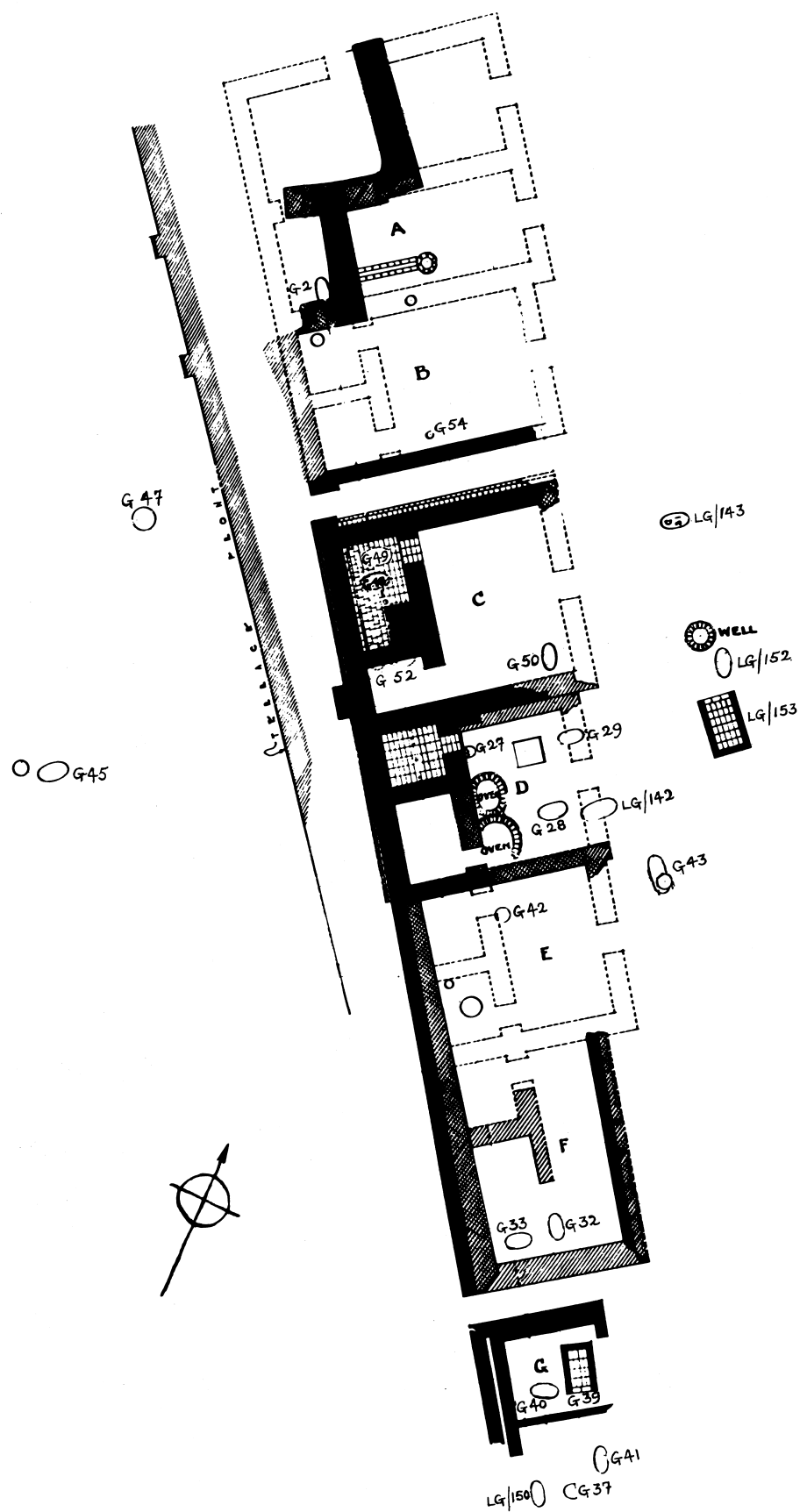


Figure 78. Ur. Plan, EH Site, south half. (from *UE VII*, PL 127). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



## 6.9 Mausoleum Site

The temenos wall was repaired in Larsa period. Outside of the temenos was the residential quarter (including temples). The residential quarter outgrew the temenos area in the Larsa period. Only the Giparu remained of public buildings. The area was denuded and destroyed.

The real significance of the rooms and burials overlying the mausolea of the Third Dynasty kings points to the value of land and a need for space. Perhaps even the late dynasty kings' graves were forgotten. These houses were badly ruined. What information we have about the graves is listed below in Table 34 and in the plans. An overview of the graves showing the wall construction is given in Fig. 83.

### 6.9.1 LG/154 - LG/163, Houses 30/A - 30/D

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/154	30/A Room 6	Larnax A.	Disturbed. Conch shell with cut trough; miniature tools.
LG/155	30/A Room 3	Larnax A.	Body with head NE.
LG/156	30/A Room 2	Larnax A.	Disturbed.
LG/157	30/B None	Larnax A.	Body of child.
LG/158	30/B None	Double Pot Burial.	None given.
LG/159	30/C None	Inhumation.	Body with head SW.
LG/160	30/C	Larnax B.	Body of child, NW x SE.
LG/161	30/C	Inhumation.	Bones disturbed.
LG/162	30/C	Larnax B.	Body of child NW x SW.
LG/163	30/D	Pot Burial.	Disturbed. Body covered with sherds.
LG/164	SW Wall Mausoleum	Larnax A.	NE x SW, head SW. Against outer face of SW wall.
LG/165	Šulgi Tomb In Wall	Vault reused.	2 bodies on right sides, heads NW. Built on foundation of earlier vault.

Table 34. Ur. Graves in Houses 30/A - 30/D. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

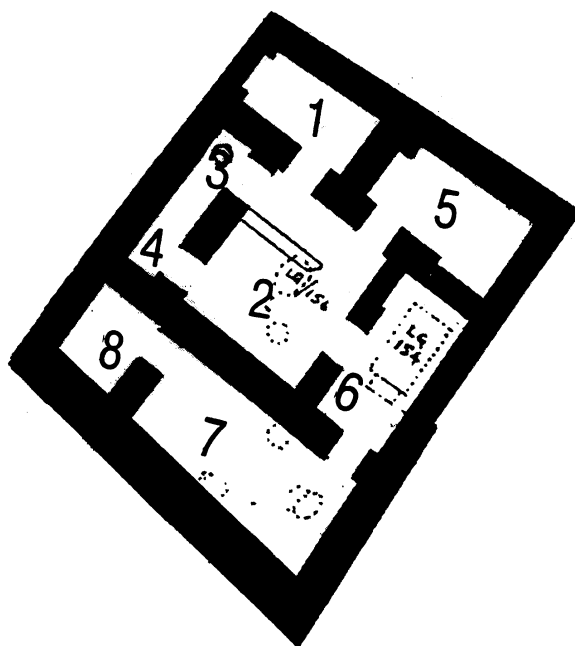


Figure 79. Ur. Plan, House 30/A. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Chapel Room 7 of 30/A contained several burials and a tomb with a ring arch vault that dated earlier than the building. In corbel-vaulted tomb LG/154, Room 6, an older female's bones showed a life of heavy work; a miniature spear and axe were placed near her hands. (Molleson and Hodgson 2003: 118).

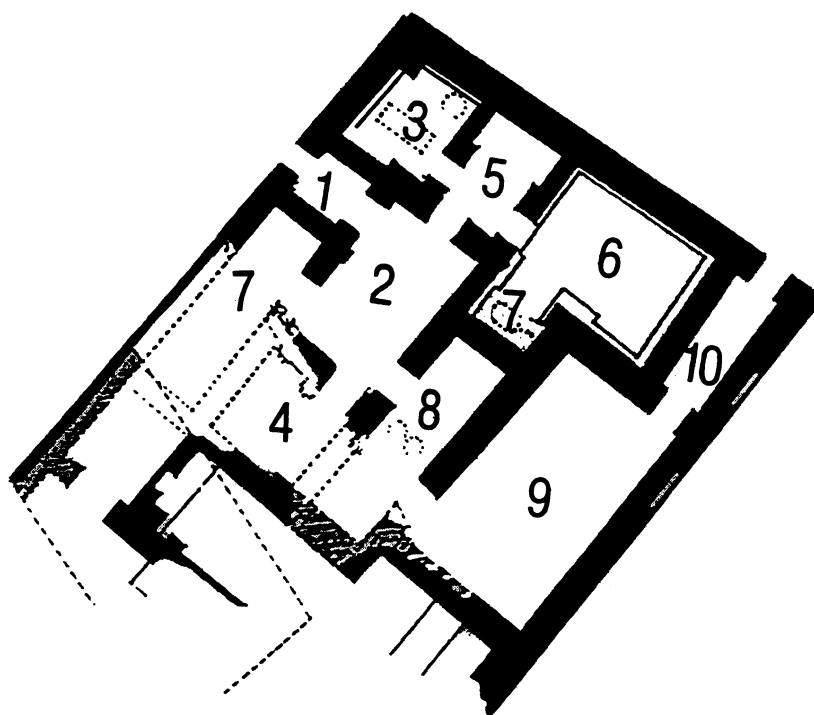


Figure 80. Ur. Plan, House 30/B. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

The chapel in Room 3 of House 30/B had an altar, niche, table and a brick-corbelled tomb under the pavement (see Fig. 77). A child burial in a pot lay in a corner. Parts of this house had been destroyed by later building projects.

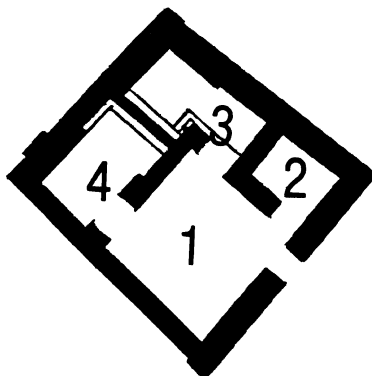


Figure 81. Ur. Plan, House 30/C. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

Very little remained of House 30/C. Two burials were under a floor, LG/160-161. Nearby was a child's larnax with clay pots inside (LG/162). LG/159 was an inhumation and found under the house ruins.

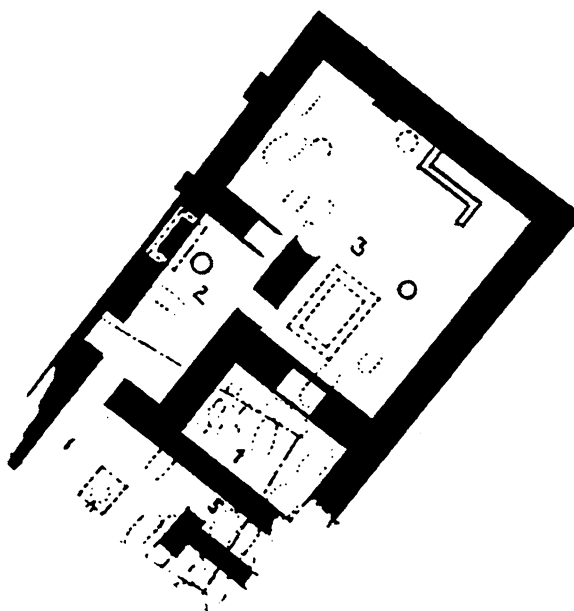


Figure 82. Ur. Plan, House 30/D. (*After Battini-Villard 1999*).

No information was given for House 30/D. LG/163 was interesting in that the body had been covered with a layer of sherds.

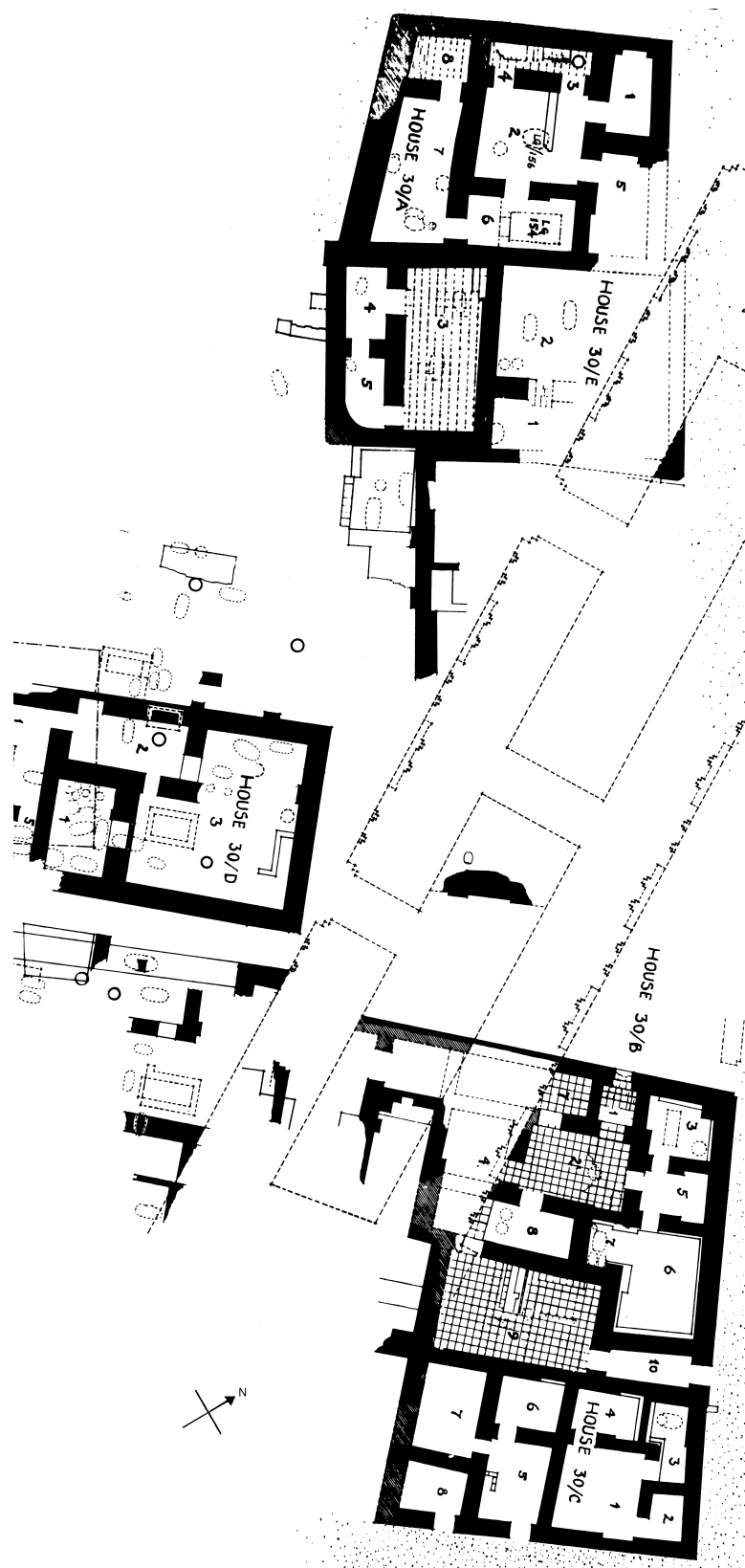


Figure 83. Ur. Plan, Graves in Mausoleum Site (After *UE VII*, PL 128). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

## 6.10 City Wall Site

The graves in this area are widely scattered and found in relation to remains of houses along the city wall. Of interest are the wooden coffin lids (LG/166, LG/173) and traces of a fringed garment (LG/173).

### 6.10.1 LG/164 – 176, City Wall Site

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
LG/166	Town Wall	Larnax F.	Bones of several small children. Coffin 0.70 x 0.22 m, wooden lid (?), coffin right side up. In remnants of Larsa room corner
LG/167	Town Wall	Inhumations.	NW x SE. Against Larsa wall foundation. Disturbed.
LG/168	Town Wall	Brick tomb.	Ruined tomb. 1.70 m below house wall, against face of town wall.
LG/169	Town Wall	Inhumation.	Body flexed on left side, head NW. 0.20 m below LG/168.
LG/170	Town Wall	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	4 bodies. One flexed, NE x SW. 3 “in confusion”. Tomb on wall built of mixed and reused brick.
LG/171	Town Wall	Larnax B.	On town wall.
LG/172	Town Wall	Larnax B.	1.40 m below Larsa pavement on wall.
LG/173	Town Wall	Larnax B.	Body flexed on right side, head SW. Larnax not inverted, wooden lid (?). Traces of fringed garment.
LG/174	Town Wall	Urn Burial	Skeleton of adolescent. 1.50 m below Larsa pavement on wall.
LG/175	Wall	Larnax B.	2 bodies. One contracted, head NE. The other placed in grave as loose bones bundled together.

Table 35. Ur. Graves associated with City Wall. (*After* Woolley and Mallowan 1976).

## 6.11 Royal Cemetery Site

The graves in this area were found in the upper strata of the Royal Cemetery site. The surface here was denuded and almost no house walls were found. These isolated graves could only be dated by their contents and level. See

the overall Ur Site Plan in Fig. 17. Their placement indicates that the third millennium cemetery location had been forgotten and houses built above it.

#### 6.11.1 LG/177 – 198, Larsa Tombs Above Royal Cemetery

Grave	Room	Type	Position/Notes
*LG/177	None	Larnax A.	Body N x S. Disturbed.
LG/178	“	Larnax A.	Body N x S.
LG/179	“	Corbelled brick tomb.	One body flexed on left side, head N. 11 more bodies “in confusion”.
LG/180	“	Larnax B.	Body lying E x W. Plundered.
LG/181	“	Larnax B.	Body lying N x S. Plundered.
LG/182	“	Larnax B.	Child’s body, E x W.
LG/183	“	Larnax.	Body flexed on right side, head SW. Head resting on a brick.
LG/184	“	Corbel-vaulted grave.	Plundered.
LG/185	“	Larnax.	Body flexed on left side, head SW.
LG/186	“	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side, head SW.
LG/187	“	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side. NE x SW.
LG/188	“	Larnax A.	Body with head NW.
LG/189	“	Larnax C.	Body flexed on right side, head NE. Date stones in copper bowl.
LG/190	“	Larnax C.	Body with head NE.
LG/191	“	Larnax A.	Body flexed on right side, NW x SE.
LG/192	“	Larnax B.	2 bodies flexed on right side. One head E, one head W.
LG/193	“	Brick-built tomb.	Body flexed on left side. Date stones in pot.
LG/194	“	Corbel-vaulted tomb.	Body flexed on left side. Bones of 8 more bodies.
LG/195	“	Larnax A.	Body lying NE x SW, head NE.

LG/196	“	Larnax B.	2 bodies flexed with heads NW.
LG/197	“	Larnax B.	Body lying NE x SW. Plundered.
LG/198	“	Larnax.	NW x SE with head NW. 11 pots outside of the coffin.

Table 36. Ur. Graves in Royal Cemetery Area. (*After Woolley and Mallowan 1976*).

## 6.12 Funerary Rites at Baghouz

The tombs at Baghouz (Iraq) are remarkable for the preservation of tomb furnishings. The tombs contained the remains of meals, stool-type chairs, tables and beds. The graves are unusual in Mesopotamia because of the preservation of wooden objects (Du Mesnil du Boisson 1948). The site of Baghouz yielded a variety of well-preserved 18<sup>th</sup> century BC grave furnishings, which may be similar to those required for the funerary rites. I think these tombs are also interesting because they recall the *kispum* meal. The furnishings may be placed so that the deceased can join in future ritual meals. The preservation of the wood objects in the tombs at Baghouz allows us a singular view of well-stocked graves, set up for a meal, with the body flexed and positioned as if sleeping on its side. The larger graves at Baghouz were furnished with the chairs, tables, and provisions mentioned as part of funerary rites in the texts. The excavator noticed a pattern of subsequent burials placed in proximity to certain older graves, which may indicate the placement of graves next to founding ancestor burials. The tombs described here are more lavishly appointed than the other graves surrounding or near them. No information about the stratigraphy of the other graves is given.

Baghouz is a Middle Euphrates site which was excavated by Count du Mesnil du Buisson from 1934-1936, with a Bronze Age necropolis. According to the excavator the cemetery was constructed and utilized from the 16<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The site has since been redated to be older, closer to the beginning of the second millennium, around the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC, based on ceramic analysis in comparison to Terqa Hana period burials (Parr in Herrmann 1993: 45; Akkerman and Schwartz 2003: 318). The site lies 10 km south of Mari, on the right bank of the Euphrates in Iraq, near the Syrian border. Du Mesnil du Buisson excavated 320 tombs. One part of the tombs was found intact and another reused in the Parthian

period, from about 139 BC to 164 AD (Fig. 84) (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: 30). Often, second millennium grave equipment survived the Parthian opening of the tomb, and was catalogued.

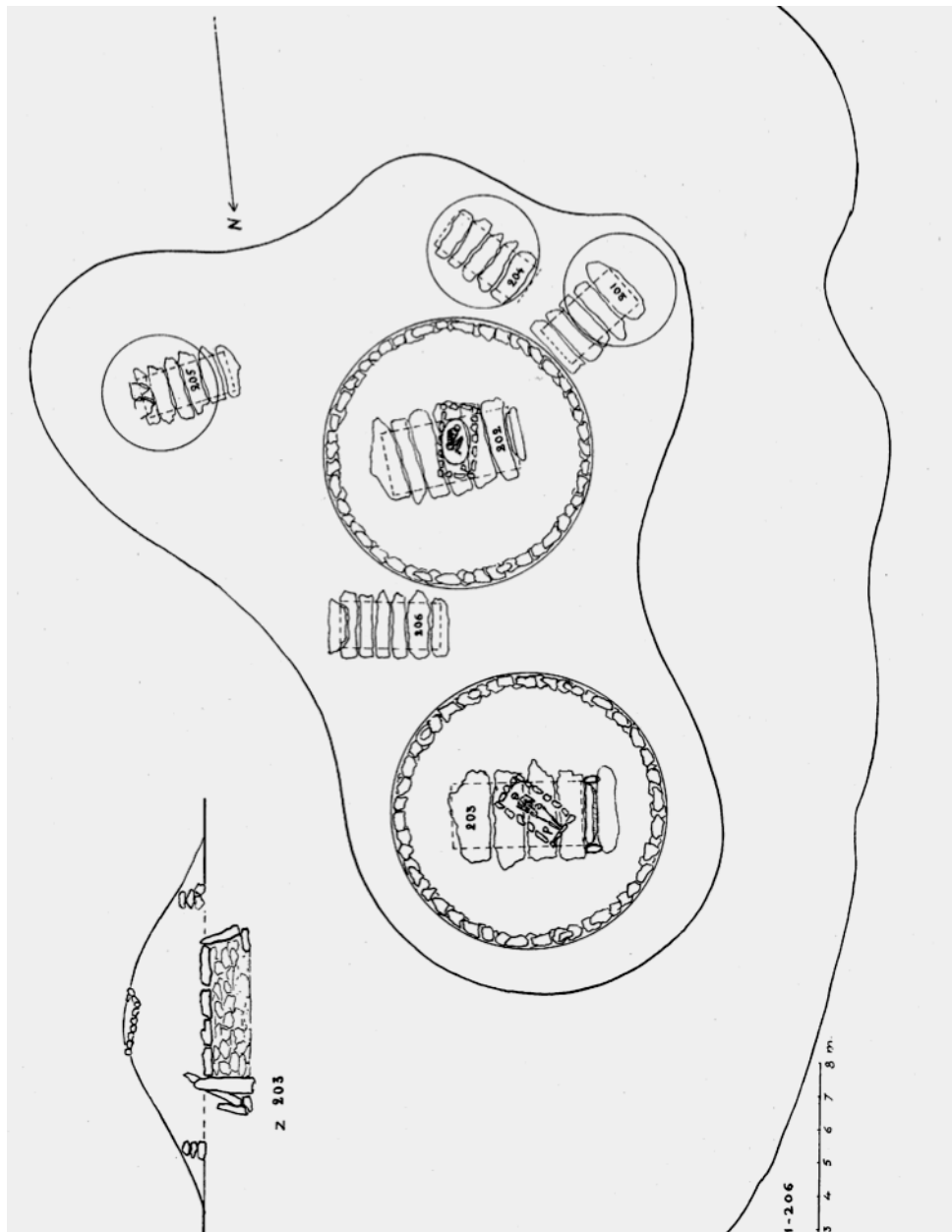


Figure 84. Baghouz. Plan of rise with tombs Z 201 – Z 206, with Parthian tombs cut into Z 203 and Z 202. (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 40).

There were many stone-lined dolmen tombs, and also chamber tombs with single burials. The dolmens were cut into the rock or supplemented with dry-stone walls and covered with large slabs of stone laid across the width of the chamber. Approximate dimensions vary from 2 m-3 m long, 0.75-1 m wide, and 0.7-1 m high. Large dressed stones covered the entrances. The tombs were photographed



immediately upon removing the stone slabs covering the tomb chamber, and the photographs record organic materials with very good preservation.

Eleven tombs contained skeletons with unusually well preserved grave furnishings, including fenestrated or 'duck-bill' axes, wooden beds, matting, tables and stools (Fig. 85). The eleven graves were part of a group of forty-eight sited on a

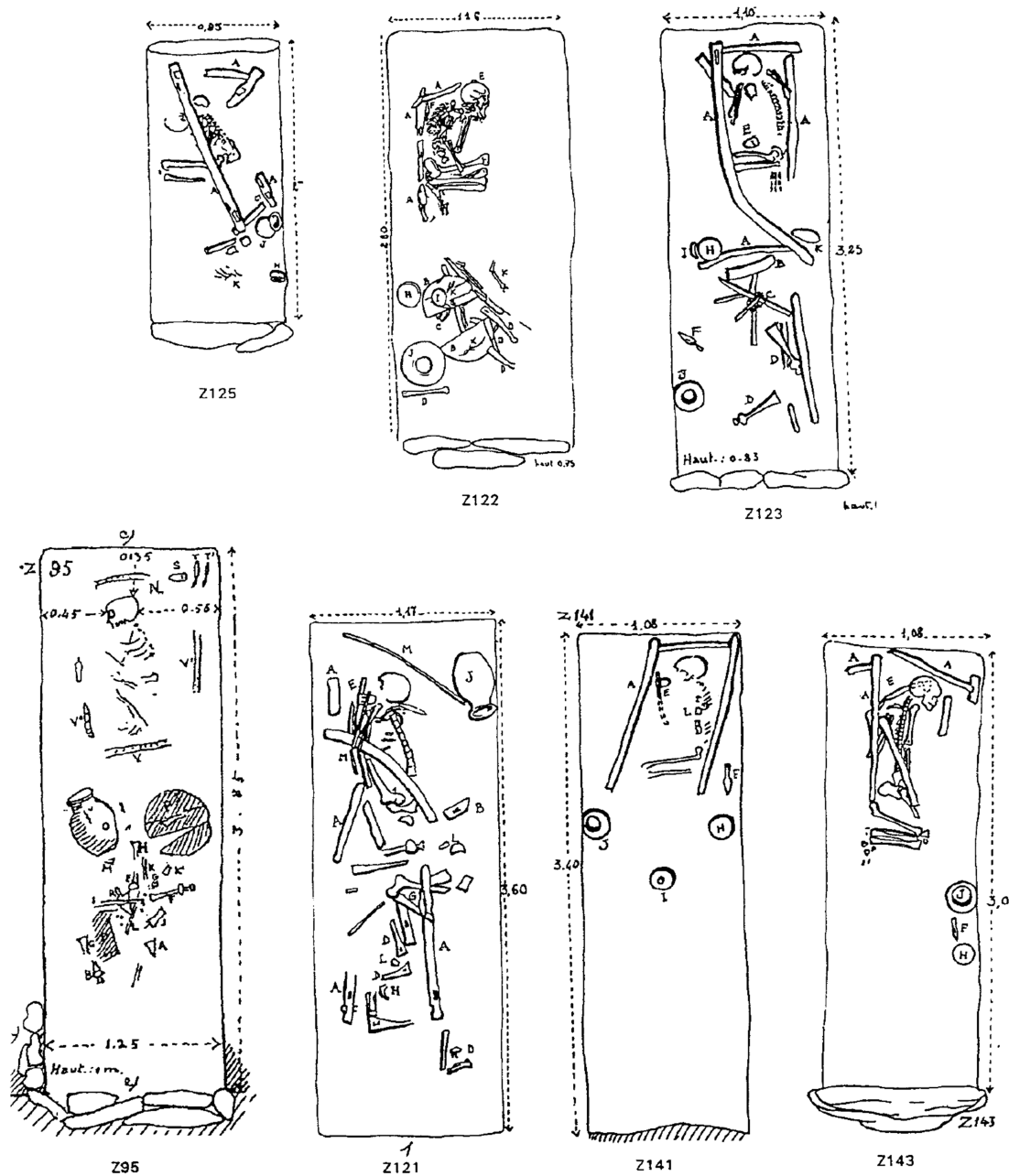


Figure 85. Baghouz. Comparison of seven burial plans at Baghouz with axes. Top: Z 125, Z 122, Z 123. Bottom: Z 95, Z 121, Z 141 and Z 143. (After du Mesnil du Buisson 1948 in Garfinkel 2001: 151.)

*Nécropole du Moyen Bronze . Plan des Mamelons I, II et II bis  
de la Section Z*

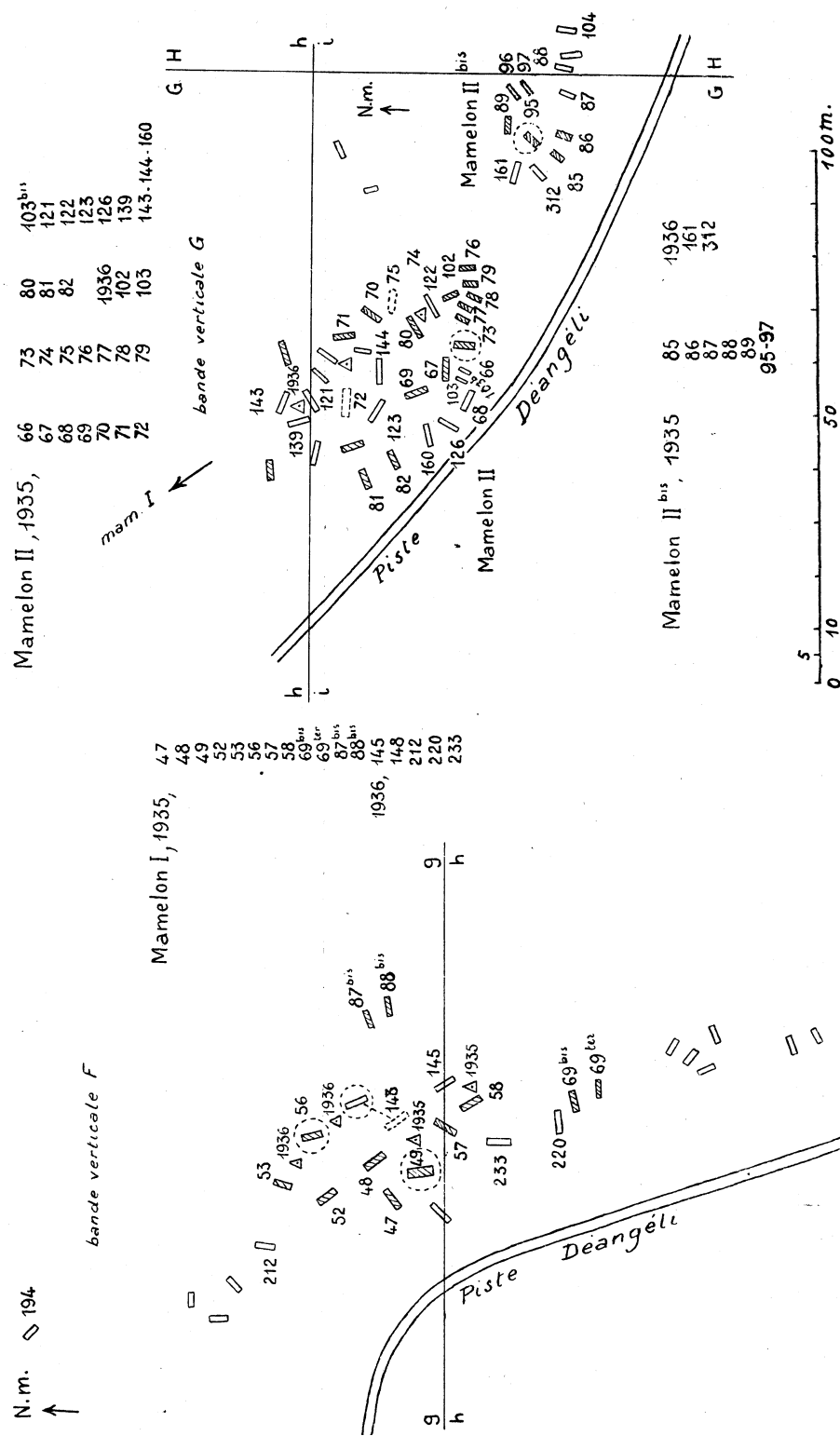


Figure 86. Baghouz. Plan of cemeteries Mamelons I, II and II bis. (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 39).

rise in the topography called 'Mamelon II' (Fig. 86). Du Mesnil du Buisson excavated two other cemeteries: Mamelon I, at the bottom of a small valley and Mamelon II bis, on another part of the rise. In his analysis, he generally grouped the tombs in the low area as modest and those on the high points as more richly appointed (Fig. 86) (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: 30-31). There is a discrepancy in the original report as to the location of two of the eleven burials in the original plans (Garfinkel 2001: 150). Of the eleven, all had an axe, at least one spearhead, one jar or jug, one or two bowls, and wooden furniture such as stools, beds or chairs. The axes were usually placed near the mouth, or behind and above the head area of the body (Figs. 87, 88). Some axe tombs also had the jars and bowls placed near the foot of the bed. The bodies with axes in this cemetery have been compared to others in the Diyala and Levant region in other publications (note, however, that the redating probably affects comparisons to later graves from the Levant) (Philip 1995; Garfinkel 2001).

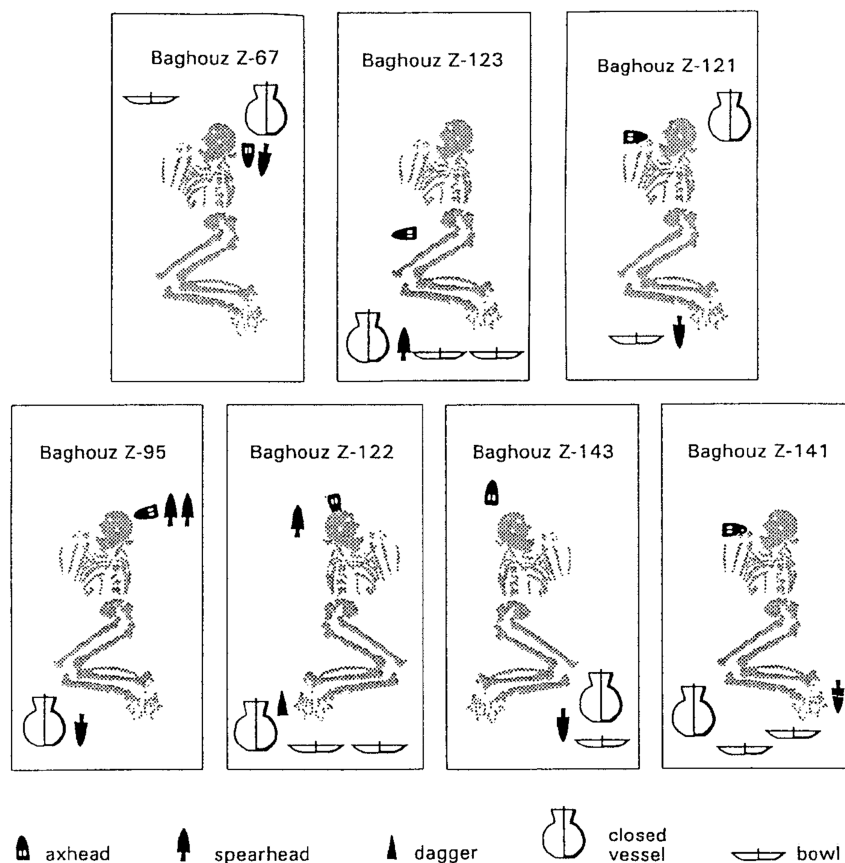


Figure 87. Placement of burial goods in seven axe burials (*After* Garfinkel 2001: 156).

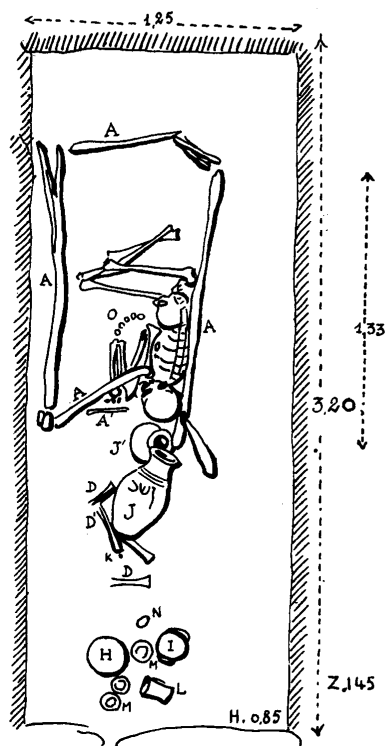
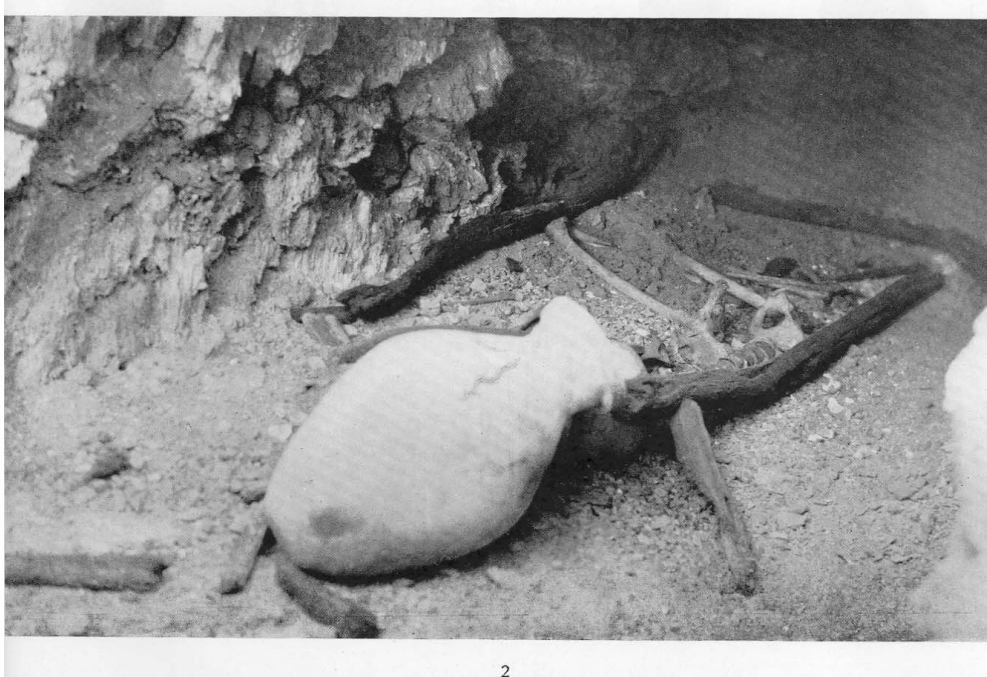


Figure 88. Baghouz, Tomb Z 145. Above: offering jar near head and bed. Below: plan of Z 145. (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 59).

Du Mesnil du Buisson believed that Graves Z 121, Z 134 (not on the plan) and Z 143 of Mamelon II, and graves Z 80, Z 66, Z 67, Z 122 and Z 102 at the other end of this group were the oldest, and that Z 123 and Z 144 were close to the same period. On Mamelon II bis, grave Z 95 was the first established there. He believed that the other graves were situated for proximity to the oldest, but admits it was not possible to date them within decades. If correct, these burials could indicate the heads of families with descendants buried around them.

Bodies were usually placed on their sides with varying orientations, and laid on wooden beds, with 0.28 – 0.35 m legs and woven straw-like matting (Fig. 89). The dimensions and craftsmanship of the beds are clearly evidenced by the

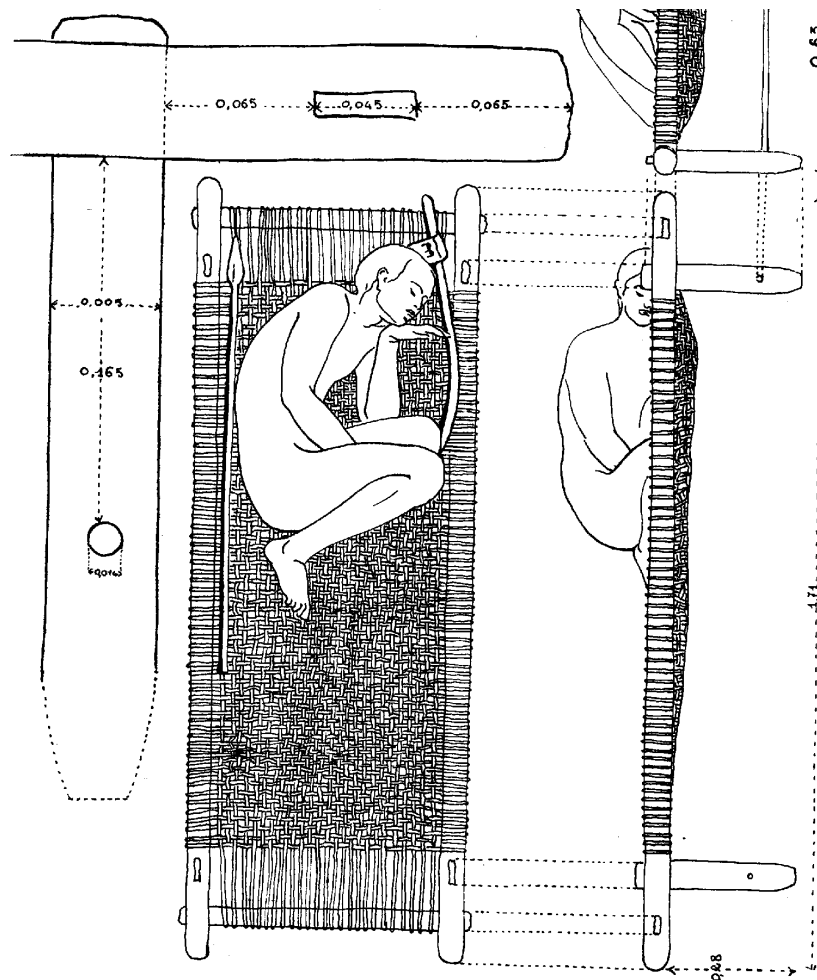


Figure 89. Baghouz. Reconstruction of tomb Z 144, showing bed construction and body position. Axe is placed near the head. (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 56).

preserved wooden sides in many instances. Many graves had small round tables placed between the bed and the door with food and vessels upon them (Figs. 90–92) (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: 36-39).

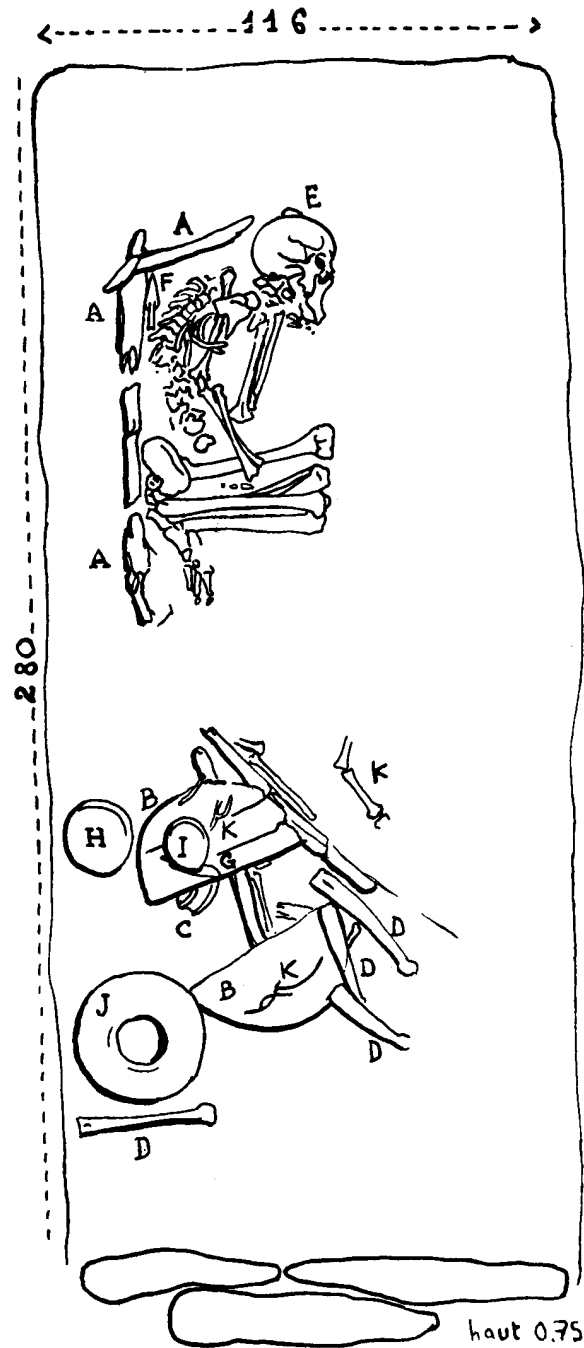


Figure 90. Baghouz, Tomb Z 122 Plan. A) bed; B) table; C) ring for table legs; D) table legs; E) axe; F) spearhead; G) knife; H) large bowl; I) small bowl; J) jar; K) sheep bone (funerary meal). (After Du Mesnil Du Buisson 1948: Pl 51).

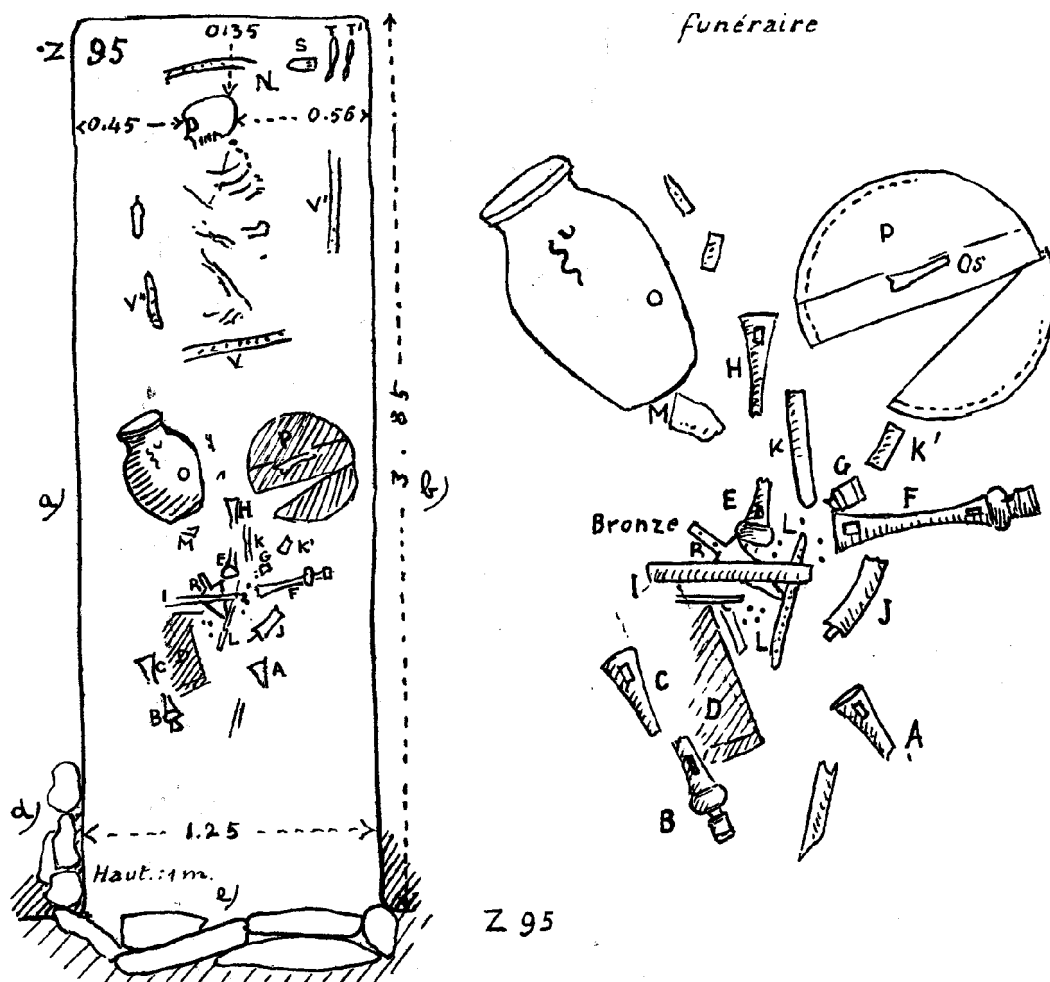


Figure 91. Baghouz. Plan of Tomb Z 95 with detail on right of the placement of (P) table with ring; pieces of the table (A, B, C, E, F, H). (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 45).

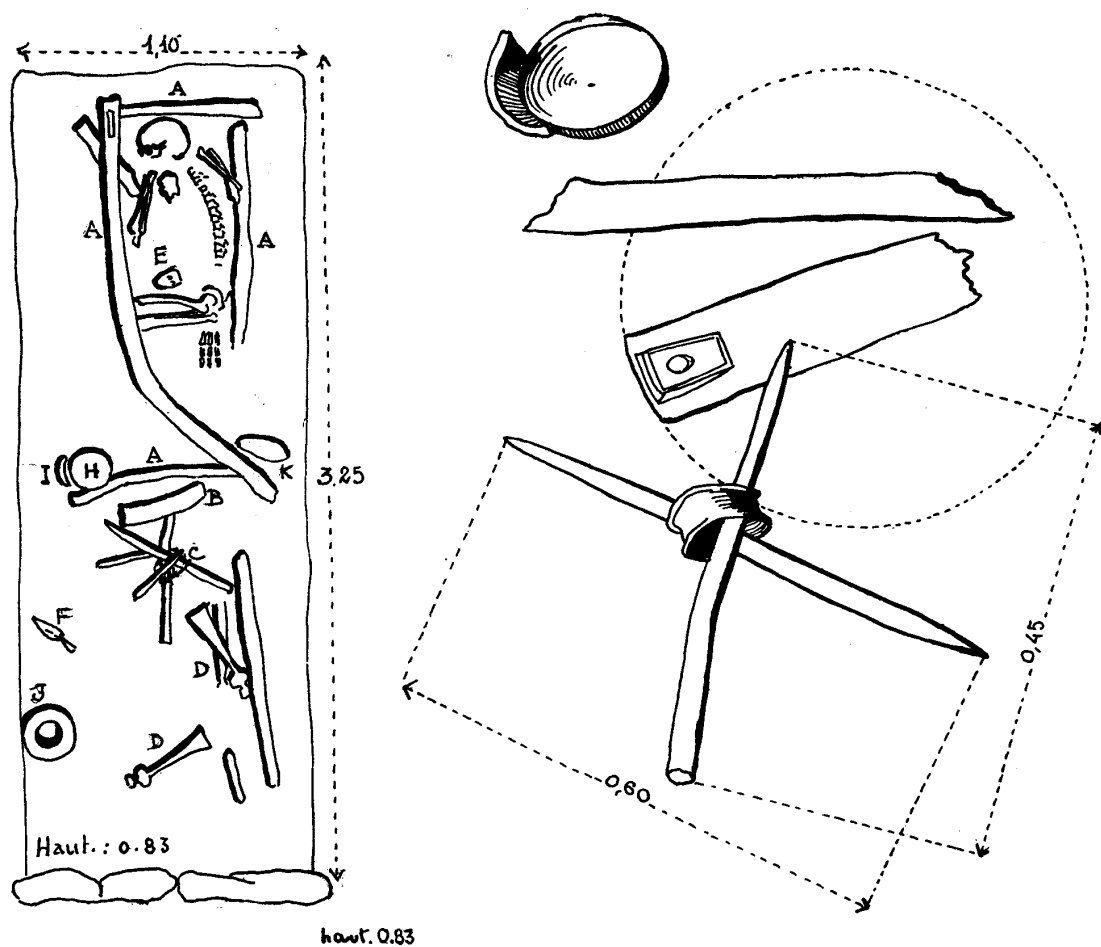


Figure 92. Baghouz. Plan of Z 123, with detail of the collapsed table at right. A) bed; B) piece of the table; C) ring for table legs; D) table legs; E) axe; F) spearhead; H-I) bowls; J) jar; K) sheep bone. (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 52).

Low four-legged stools in many of the tombs stood before the table, varying from 0.26 – 0.28 m in height (Fig. 93). The stools showed remains of seats of woven fibrous material, one was covered with some sort of pelt. Similarly, some of the beds exhibited remnants of leather or fur which had covered the deceased. We know from texts discussed in Chapter 5 that the seat or the chair was set up to the left of the *taklimtu* display, in some cases, and that it was covered with a cloth, garment or perhaps even matting material. Then the soul was possibly transferred to the chair from the body as part of the funerary ritual.



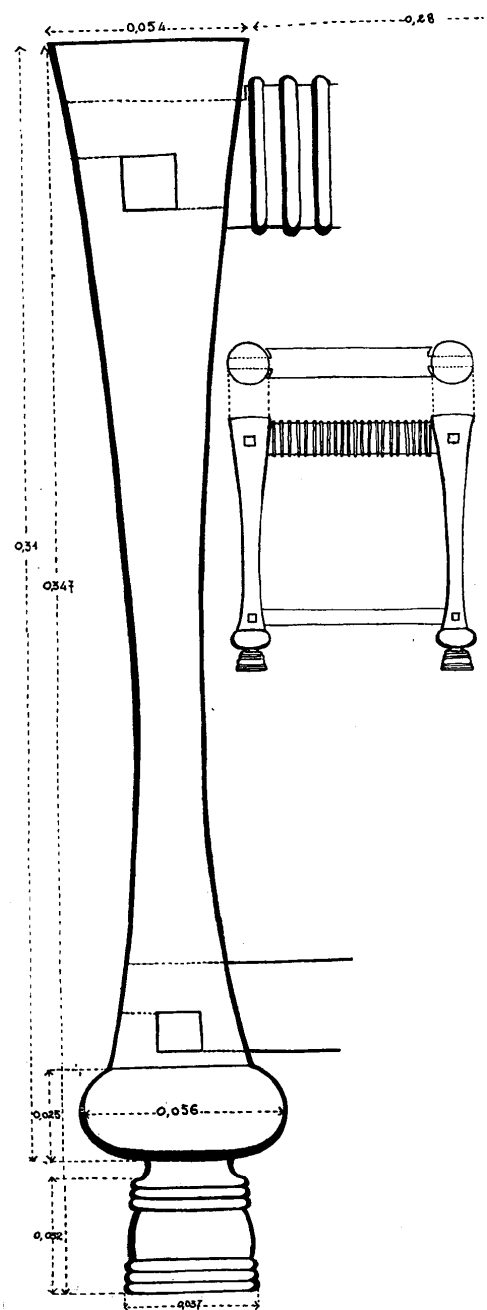


Figure 93. Baghouz. Left: plan of stool and detail of stool leg. Right: tomb Z 121 with axe and part of the skeleton. (*After* Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 54, Pl 47).

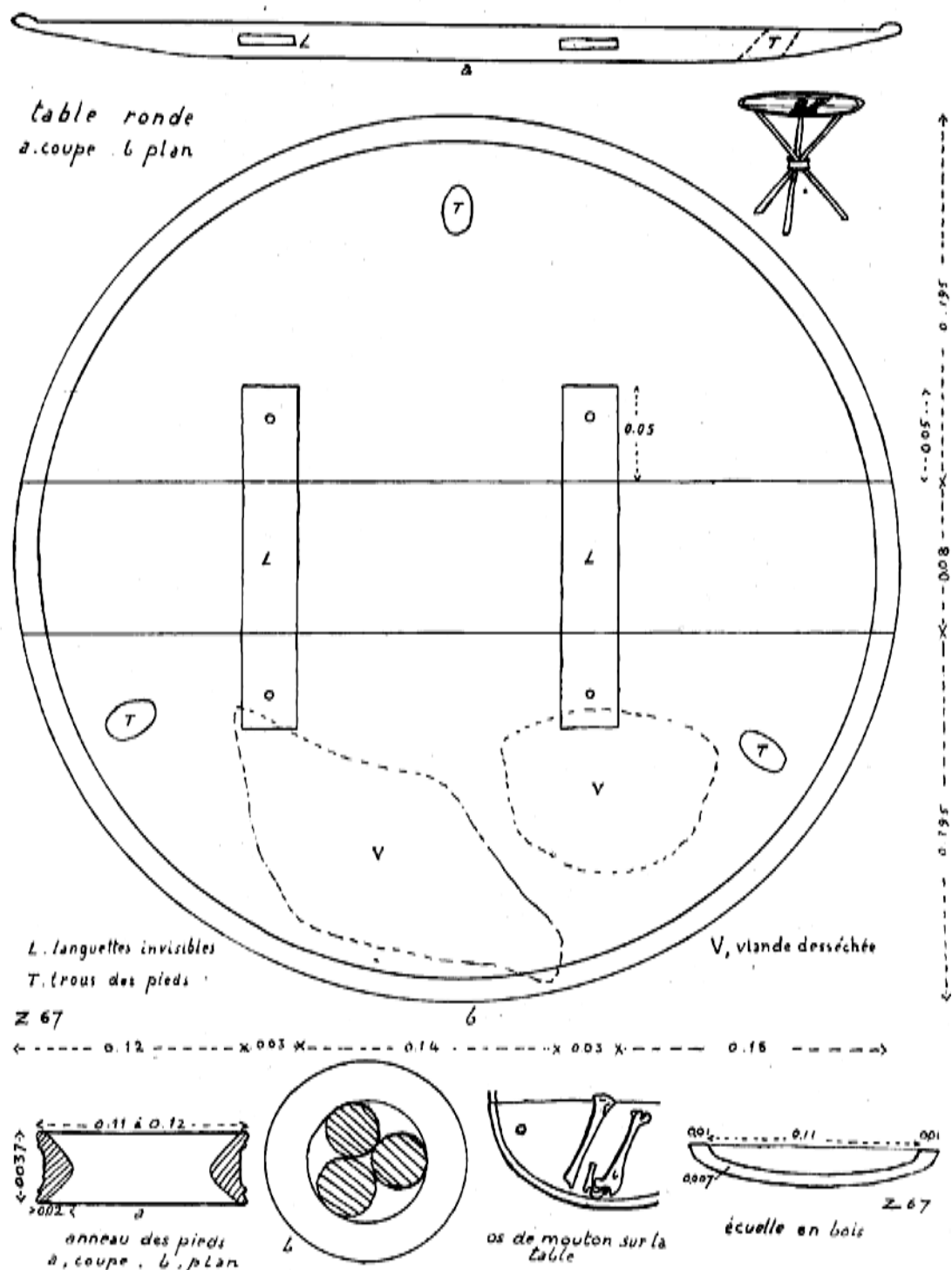


Figure 94. Baghouz, tomb Z 67. Table with bowls, bone from meat portions on table top (from funerary meal). (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 44).

Some of the pedestal tables had remains of a meal on them. Graves Z 95, Z 67, Z 19 had leg and shoulder bones of sheep on the tables (Fig. 94). Some graves had a wooden cup stabilized by or on a wooden ring, or a pottery plate on the table (also Fig. 94). Some tombs had incense burners, a large cup on a base with

remnants of carbonized plant material. Unfortunately, more exact information is not listed. The excavator mentions charring in the container and possibly traces of charring from perhaps offering fires on the exterior of the stone door, but again this is not made clear. If so, it would be indicative of post-interment ritual activity, possibly *kispum* activity.

The tables at Baghouz are for meals for the deceased, it could be posited that these tables are set up for future *kispum* meals, in effect “setting the table” ahead of the dinner. The tables could be pre-set for the deceased to share in the future family *kispum*. Granted, this is speculation, but the elaborate setup seems to go beyond provisions for the netherworld journey, which were contained in the vessels by the beds. At the least, it helps us picture an imagined scenario of the family’s belief in sharing ritual meals with, and embracing the memory of their dead. This is perhaps an area for further research.

Metal filters or strainers for drinking beer were found in the Baghouz graves which fit onto the ends of hollow reeds and used as the long straws seen in Mesopotamian cylinder seals (Du Mesnil du Boisson 1948: 51-52) (Fig. 95). These are bronze, 4–5 cm in length, 0.8–1.5 cm in diameter. They are somewhat cone-shaped, made of rolled metal and pierced with many perforations of about 1 mm before rolling. Fragments of reed or grass adhered to some of the interiors. Some were found in jars and others alone (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: 51). These were strainers attached to the bottoms of reed straws and immersed in beverages to filter the drink, an unfiltered, thick, grain beer. A long reed straw, covered with gold was found in the Ur Royal cemetery (Weber and Zettler 1998: 134).

A frit cylinder seal shows a drinking scene from Grave Z 286 (Fig. 95, lower right). No other details or dimensions are recorded for Z 286. I think it is possible that some of these drinking scenes from graves may represent the deceased eating and drinking in the afterlife. This type of scene was then sympathetic magic, making the sustenance continue into eternity. Cylinder seals found at Ur in the Royal Cemetery, depict many examples of people seated on stools and drinking through two long tubes from a jar placed on the floor (Fig. 96), a common theme in Mesopotamia. I suggest these could be investigated as funerary iconography, at least when found in burial context.

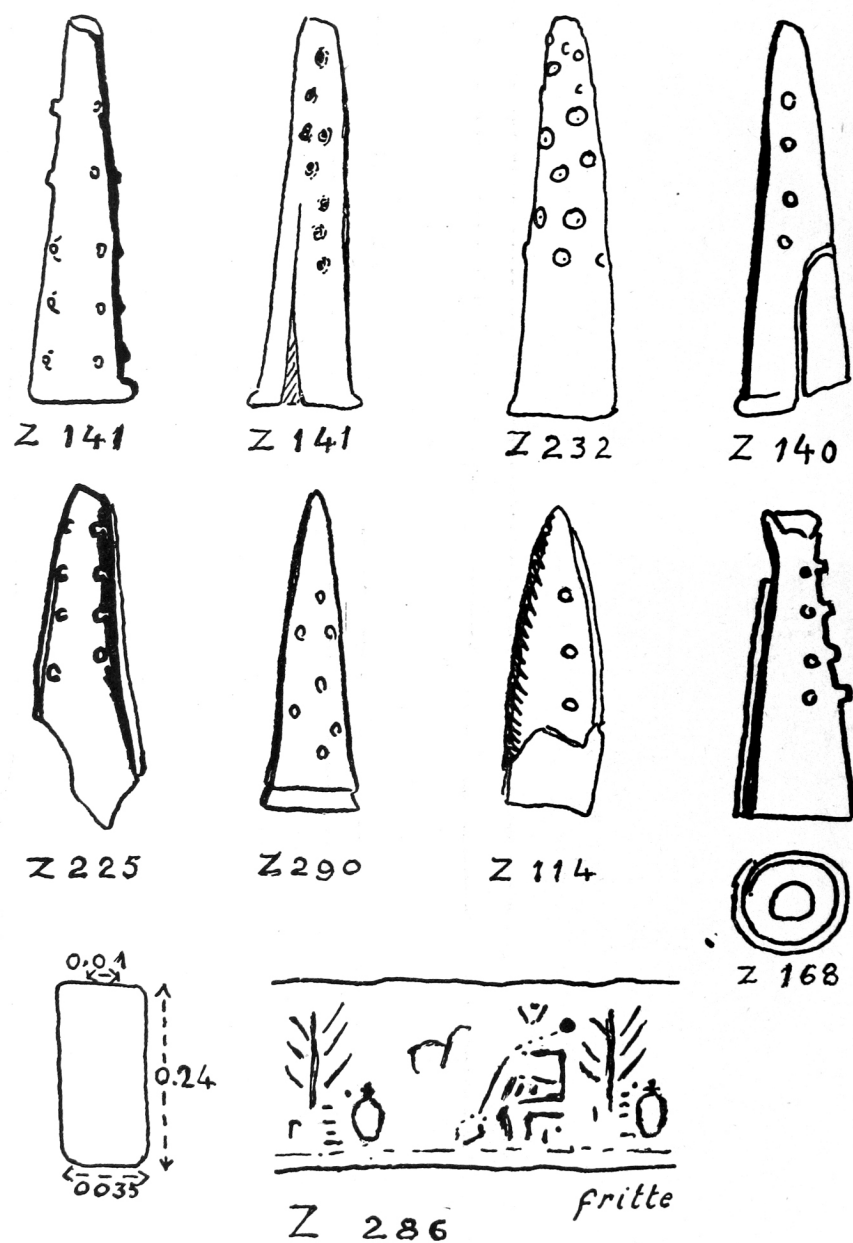


Figure 95. Baghouz. Strainers for drinking straws from tomb numbers listed. Cylinder seal from Tomb Z 286 (lower row, right) with person drinking from jar while seated on stool. Silver ring from Z 168. (After Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: Pl 57).



Figure 96. Ur. Drinking scene. U10871. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

I have already discussed the representations of pedestal altars or offering tables on the chair models above in section 5.12. I suggested that these features on the chairs could be representing the ritual activity on the cultic object. In this way, drinking scenes (traditionally called “banquet scenes”) on seals could reflect activity in the afterlife, perhaps the future *kispum* meal, just as the meal is set up and ready in the Baghouz graves.

A similar example of the representation of ritual on ritual objects is seen on the famous bull’s head lyre from the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Two scenes on the front panel show animals carrying an offering table (probably wooden), vessels and food, and even the lyre itself (Fig. 97). The offering table shown is similar to the clay representations we have seen on chair models, as well as the brick ritual furnishings already discussed in houses.

Winter has discussed the Ur representations and the actual ritual objects, including the Ur lyre panel, in the context of the deposition of grave goods. She has also identified the conch shell as a ritual vessel for pouring oil or water, contra Woolley’s view that they were lamps (1999: 230-241). Such shells were found in the Royal Cemetery graves (Danti and Zettler 1998: 137, 143-144). The altars shown on the chair models, could be the portrayal of something used in the actual ritual: the depiction of ritual within ritual. The conch shell is a ritual pouring object also found in second millennium graves LG/1, LG/38, and LG/154 at Ur.

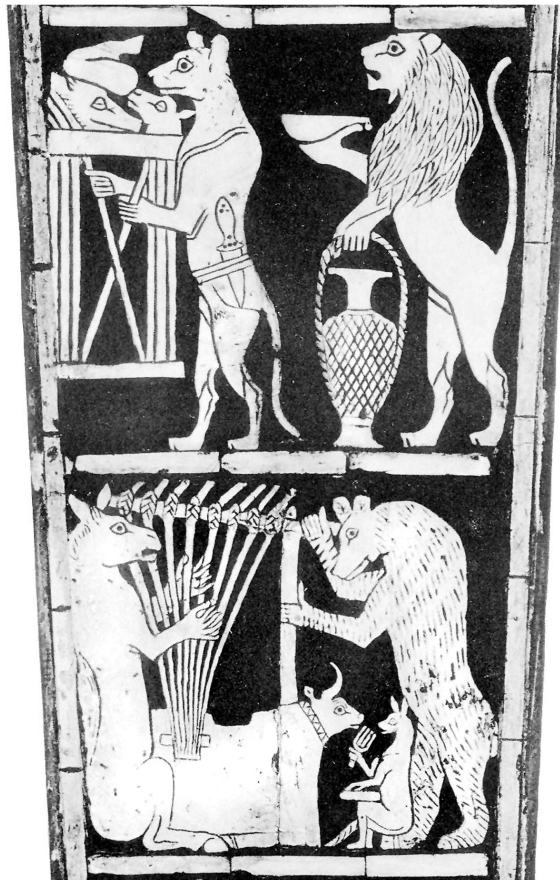


Figure 97. Ur. Detail of panel on bull's head lyre. (Courtesy The Oriental Institute of Chicago).

I have used the case study of the graves at Baghouz for evidence of some of the furnishings mentioned in cuneiform tablets referring to the funeral display or ritual, and perhaps the *kispum*. The deceased were placed on beds and a table for food and a stool set up between the tomb entrance and the bed. Plates, cups, jars, and bowls were placed in the tomb, some on the tables with remnants of food still on them. Strainers for reed straws probably indicate beer drinking, known from ceremonial or ritual feasting references in Mesopotamian texts and iconography. I have suggested that these burials might have been provisioned for future *kispum* meals with the family. The stools may be also be representative of the types of chairs that are mentioned in texts that refer to funerary rites or *kispum* meals where the dead joins the living for a meal.

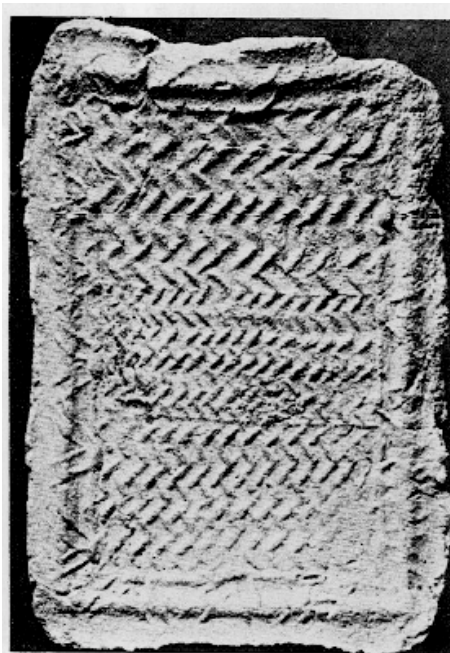
### 6.13 Bed Models

Finally, in light of the above discussions, I will describe briefly another type of terracotta model object. The bed models from Ur clearly show matting or perhaps woven fabrics with intricate designs on them (Fig. 98). The find spots were not given. These representations are common at other Old Babylonian sites (Stone and Zimansky 2004: 92). It should be noted that bed models with couples and nude females exist across Mesopotamia, but I think those are something different than the empty bed models.

Beds that are empty may perhaps have been used for magic or funerary ritual, serving to magically provision the dead or even help with the *kispum* for an unsettled ghost. Beds are usually referred to in the texts as personal possessions, therefore symbolizing the person. Incantations exhort the evil entities to stay away from the beds and chairs of the ill (Geller 1985). We have seen that a chair could be a powerful object to receive the soul of the dead and even used to ritually settle an unfamilied ghost. Bed models seem to be obviously associated with a place for the body to lie upon and perhaps a peaceful sleep in the afterlife. In Baghouz, the actual beds survived; perhaps in other graves, or funerary rites, a model could suffice. The use of a model bed could also be used for magical purposes, as mentioned for the chairs.



218



217



Figure 98. Ur. Miniature bed models. (*UE VII*, PL 88). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



## 6.14 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented evidence from mortuary and domestic contexts for ritual activity. The graves of family members under house floors and the care and provisioning in burials, provide very compelling evidence for the concept of continued bonds and remembrance of the dead. The evidence presented for treatment of the dead does not support a belief in the hostile nature of deceased family members. Instead, the dead are kept nearby, accessible and present. Some evidence for post-interment offerings is present. The more convincing evidence for *kispum* remains in the domestic ritual spaces, chapels or altar rooms. These rooms enabled places for *kispum* rituals, private worship of family gods, burial places for the dead, and continued access to deceased family members. Additional evidence exists in decorations on the pedestal altars and representations of the altars on chair models.

Lastly, the cosmological significance of burial under house floors is undeniable with the image of the dead below, desiring pure water in the grave and the remembrance of their name. In Mesopotamian belief the grave recalls the image of their family members and ancestors dwelling in the netherworld (“below”). In the Ur domestic chapels and graves under the floors, the dead dwelt, apart from the plane of the living (“above”), yet ready to be recalled at the *kispum*. The domestic ritual, or altar, room was the *aširtu*, a sanctuary deep in the heart of the house with protected access. Symbolically and physically, the family dead were kept deep within the heart of the family. These spaces were where the dead and living interacted in the *kispum* ritual.

## Chapter 7. Summary and Conclusions

Spirits of the dead in ancient Mesopotamian context have been portrayed as malicious ghosts throughout the anthropological and archaeological literature, hostile to the living, even to their own families, if not kept well watered and fed. Until now, the *kispum* ritual has been understood by scholars to be a rite performed by descendants to propitiate these hostile spirits of deceased family members. In this thesis I have reinterpreted an ancient Mesopotamian family mortuary practice in a new and different way. I have suggested that evidence of profound beliefs about life and death in Mesopotamia, and interactions between the family and deceased loved ones, can be found in the material and textual remains. In this thesis I have re-examined various types of evidence and made an important statement about the family and the dead in ancient Mesopotamia, which I hope will encourage further research.

I have shown how the attitude of the hostile family ghost in the scholarly literature came about. I have approached the textual and material evidence from an original perspective showing that dead kin were active and kept present in the family. From the point of view of Continuing Bonds Theory, I have shown that the *kispum* ritual functioned to keep the deceased family member close, as part of living memory and a continued familial bond.

In this study I have also demonstrated that the performance of the *kispum* on the cusp of the disappearance and reappearance of the moon each month was what was important for the dead – rather than the shape of the grave, the coffin, or the position of the body – just water or a simple meal taken with the family on those days when the land below was accessed by the world above. The ghost of the dead family member was called by name, invited to join with the living family members, and given pure, fresh water to drink. By partaking of food with his family the deceased symbolically lived on (albeit on another plane of existence). I have also shown (in Chapter 5) that, in Mesopotamian belief, the worlds of the living and the dead were mystically linked for the brief hours when the *kispum* was performed.

Commensality is often a ritualized mark of a family or of groups who indicate that they are linked in some way, such as in the monthly ritual for the care

of the dead. The *kispum* texts have shown us that the ancient Mesopotamian family performed this traditional ritual faithfully, as promised to their loved ones, and according to long tradition.

From the point of view of the archaeology of emotion, I have not found prophylactic amulets guarding the living from their own family members in the archaeological record, but instead have found evidence of care and providing food for the dead—fruit pits, animal bones, grains from bread and perhaps a cup or two for beer or water. If the meal was graveside, then small traces of these could be evident in pits, jars or evidence of burning outside the tomb. The body may have a cup near the mouth to drink from and a jar or pot within reach with beer, barley, bread or fruit. Some graves were found with some of these features. Others have few or no grave goods, or at least were buried with nothing that remains visible in the archaeological record. We have seen some evidence in the texts that some tombs may have been provided with a channel for water to the grave (and perhaps, at least symbolically, into the deceased's cup).

The point is that *kispum* was more than an annual, communal, festival celebration. It was repeated monthly in private family ritual. But, from the point of view of the living, the food and water were not to keep the deceased loved one away and passive. Performing the *kispum* instead allowed the living to continue interacting with their beloved son or father or grandmother. The ritual may have served more than one function, but the long lasting continuity of the tradition over at least two millennia tells us that it was not fear of ghosts that drove this religious rite—it was more productive and positive in that it was bound up with the identity of the family and beneficial results for the living.

For the average worker, or a citizen of Mesopotamia, pursuit of wealth and personal success as measured in material goods may have been unattainable, not the focal point or meaning of existence. Non-royal classes labored to produce daily necessities and purchase what they could not make or grow themselves. Many survived on beer and barley rations issued as pay for their work. Parents, children, relatives, the family gods, and dead kin, made up the elements of the family. Kinship, adopted kinship, and family lineages as far back as the composite group could remember: these were the bonds that mattered. *Kispum* was the mechanism by which the dead continued to live on permanently in collective memory.

The living were not abandoned by the long line of ascendants who had passed before. The interconnectedness of the family was renewed and supported with each *kispum*. The ancestral names were invoked, called, remembered, and the deceased asked to be present at the *kispum* meal. Genealogies or lists of names to pronounce at the *kispum* could go back for six or seven generations. This method of commemoration could also have been transmitted orally. *Kispum* was thus an effective means of reaffirming family bonds and a continued heritage of roots deep into distant memory. Written or oral histories in the form of genealogies may have represented family bonds. A name could represent a generation, or even other kinship affiliations. To some extent, this type of recording reflects ancient tribal kinship roots and was probably incorporated early into the belief system of ancient Mesopotamia. Genealogies can also represent fictive kin groups. People were identified with many different roles in ancient Mesopotamian societies. *Kispum* was performed for occupational or skill-based groups, as we have seen, such as glassmakers or religious clergy.

Within the memory of living family members, the recent dead could be remembered with their own personalities. The living family most likely felt some solace at the attempt to succor the dead with drink and food, felt success at being able to provide for them in accordance with the *kispum* that had been performed in the family for years and years. We have seen that this relationship fits with current theories of continued bonds (Klass 2013). Because of this, the living may have looked forward with the security that they would one day be cared for in this way as well. The heirs also knew that, if the family had property, that they were to divide it, and there were familial and probably personal consequences felt if they had not performed the promised *kispum*. On a societal level, a shared ritual tradition also contributed to a cohesive bond in shared religious beliefs. On the family level, providing for the dead was interacting with them, continuing a relationship. On a generational level, *kispum* incorporated the dead and the living into a shared past, present and future.

The *kispum* and its participants certainly invoked the dead by the power of the ritual in a religious and magical sense. The Mesopotamians certainly envisaged a well-developed cosmology, a complex and active world beyond the physical, as I have shown in detail in Chapter 3. The supernatural was filled with gods, spirits,

demons and ghosts. They had their place, but sometimes showed up among the living. Dealing with the deceased and other ineffable beings certainly required a bit of magical belief, and some texts elucidate procedures for magical control of these beings. Small evidences as well for some of these practices could be stones or pebbles, beads of certain colors or materials, clay figures, or other more nondescript artifacts, small things that often defy our explanation. Circles or heaps of flour, for instance, would not be evident in the material record in the ground, but texts explain that not only were they used, they were equated with various deities, thereby made present in the ritual. Each item, including stones, plants, meal, grains, foods, utensils, metals and wool, used in ritual often was correlated to a divine being, as explained in a Babylonian ritual compendium (Livingstone 2007a: 170-187). When visible in the archaeological record, objects such as these may be indicative of an apotropaic or magic ritual action. We have seen some artifacts, such as chair models, stools, and beds that may function similarly, to enable the symbolic transition of the soul to the afterlife, or to recall them into the family's presence.

Calling up dead spirits, (necromancy), usually reserved for certain magico-religious specialists, and sometimes prohibited by law, was associated with witchcraft and sorcery, especially in the later period texts. We have discussed some exorcistic incantations that used magic to transfer an untended ghost to a successful afterlife. The means to settle a strange ghost was to include it in a family *kispum* and provide it with a symbolic funeral and burial. From these types of incantations, translated early in the history of cuneiform decipherment, the notion developed that all human spirits were malevolent. This misunderstood description of the Mesopotamian point of view was a generalization and simplification of the belief system of a complex and sophisticated society. Instead, I have shown that the symbolism of laying to rest the unsettled, non-related ghost of a human who has not received proper burial and *kispum*, can be seen as a materialization of the importance of family identity and family memory.

I have shown that the family valued its dead. There is a differentiation in the ancient texts between demons, evil spirits and the family ghost. The incantation literature against ghost-induced disease is more plentiful in later, first millennium BC sources. In the second millennium BC I have not found much in the texts to

support the idea that the family was concerned in keeping the dead provisioned in order to prevent hostilities. We have seen that archaeological evidence in burials, such as provisions, and things to use in an afterlife, mirrored daily life to some extent. Therefore the dead were expected to make use of these goods in a future existence.

Indeed, invoking the dead in the context of the *kispum* seems to be represented quite differently in the textual material. In it, the deceased were called by name (*zikir šumim*) in a manner that honored them appropriately, brought their spirits into the presence of the family, and allowed the family to provide for them, make them comfortable and interact with them.

We have also seen in Chapter 5 from the menologies and ritual calendars, that *kispum* was a major annual religious festival, the festival of remembrance and provisioning of the dead. The relationship between the dead and the living was broadly and publicly acknowledged. Therefore, while other cultures have been shown to propitiate the dead so that they will not harm the living, I have argued that within the family, *kispum* was something else altogether.

It is clear that the monthly or annual *kispum* rites functioned for the benefit of the living community. When the deceased was also the head of the family, inheritances must be divided and new responsibilities taken on. Sometimes the results of death are tangible in the material remains or the texts. For example, some houses were expanded, altered or separated, as we have discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. Less tangible would be the impact of death from the point of view of human emotion. With Continuing Bonds Theory, I have shown that one purpose of the ritual for the care of the dead was as a beneficiary act for the emotional well being of the living. Very recent research has now shown that continuing relationships with dead family members also involve the belief that the relationship benefits the deceased (Klass, pers. comm.). Remaining family members grieved their lost loved one, experienced the transitional rites, and also benefited from helping the deceased achieve a successful rite of passage into whatever came next in the life cycle. Significantly, family members and perhaps the extended family as well, participated in this cohesive ritual at a time where powerful emotions were taking place. For anyone, the experience of a death is disruptive; it can be painful, unbearably sorrowful, usually evoking strong and long

lasting emotions. That the *kispum* occurred during established periods of mourning, likely engendering intense emotion, has to be considered. When archaeologists interpret a grave, a skeleton, a few pots or beads in an inhumation, the emotional burden of that death must be considered. And each death in the family was either a diminishing or a strengthening of the family, and in the wider sense of the relatives, for several generations.

I have posited that new theories of grief resolution in Death and Dying Studies show that many Mesopotamian families actually continued before-death relationships with the deceased. Various factors in these studies, such as religious belief in an afterlife, closeness of the bond, age of the deceased and survivor, have been shown to affect the quality, duration and intensity of the after-death relationship (Chapter 2). The *kispum*, then, served in the ancient context for dealing with the many human reactions to family death.

As we have seen in various forms of evidence, Mesopotamian identity had a strong communal family-based form. I have shown in this study how the Mesopotamian identity was bound, not individually, but communally within the reality of the family. Human life, in their worldview, was interwoven with the lives of spirits, beings and gods in a multi-tiered cosmos, as we have seen in Chapter 3. The Mesopotamian family understood its place in the universe by measure of their mooring post, the family lineage.

We have examined in Chapter 4 evidence that proves that some individuals and their children were remembered by name for several generations. Some of these lineages are from merchant and priestly families attested in documents found in their houses. Without documents, oral recitations at *kispum* ceremonies could easily preserve the names of long lines of forebearers. Some specific groups, such as clergy or craft groups, continued remembrance of their dead through *kispum* rites, which strengthened and bound group membership. We have seen a case study of an ancient merchant family (Chapter 5) whose accounting texts gave new information about ancient funerals and demonstrated the close bonds of the trading community in Kanish.

In cases of intramural burial, the living were also physically bound to their deceased who occupied a world below. Situating the dead beneath house floors and continuing to use the rooms above the graves does not seem to support the

idea of hostile and feared family ghosts Symbolically, the idea of the family can be represented as the House. The living and the dead were firmly situated in their places in the cosmos, but ritually could continue their relationship. Intramural graves and ritual spaces in the houses at Ur (Chapter 6) clearly demonstrate the symbolism of keeping the dead in close proximity to the family in domestic spaces.

With newer excavations in northern Mesopotamia over the last two decades, a renewed discussion of mobile and urban interactions of tribal groups has begun, including mortuary behavior. Mesopotamians may have begun their tradition of family mortuary rites in tribal, rural, or village groups, or as clans which revered their ancestral leaders and family ancestors, long before urbanization and the appearance of written *kispum* texts. Placement of the dead in the earth began the transition from the upper to the lower world and the afterlife. With mobile groups where the dead were placed in a fixed spot, the remembrance ritual itself could suffice to tend the spirit anywhere. Similarly, urban or extra-urban cemetery burial should not prohibit the effectiveness of a *kispum* performed by sedentary families. Hopefully, more second millennium cemetery burial evidence can be found to further this study of family *kispum*.

Further studies may continue to modify the view that ancestors in Mesopotamia were created solely for political and economic reasons. We cannot conclude that written genealogies or lists of forebearers indicate the only predecessors that were regarded as ancestors or remembered in *kispum*. However, I can propose that further investigations take another point of view. For much of the population, the idea of predecessors demonstrated a worldview that conceived of linkages ‘across the ages’, and served as the foundation of Mesopotamian identity. Lineage, bound up in cosmological imagery, could have rooted families to ongoing and ancient forebearers, either real, fictive or a combination of both. While this deeper meaning was embedded in religious belief, it played out in mortuary ritual. The practice of *kispum* was what mattered; the *doing* of it materialized family bonds and seated family identity deep into the past.

Approaching Mesopotamian archaeology with newer interdisciplinary theories shows that issues of emotion and belief can be incorporated into these analyses. I have shown in this study that emotional bonds and a continuity of family identity resided in the repetition of ritual actions, not the burial style or



grave goods. Thus, *kispum* formalized continued emotional interaction as an accepted practice. The bonds with the deceased that continued after life were not apotropaic, nor merely acts of honoring dead ancestors, but instead were cohesive and dynamic for group identity. I think the ritual consolidated self-perception, or who people thought they were, and how they made meaning for themselves in the world of gods, spirits and men. This view of *kispum* also takes into account human emotion. Mesopotamians remained closely intertwined with those who had come before.

Other avenues for further research using Continuing Bonds Theory could be pursued along several lines. More correlations in regional material, specific to the first half of the second millennium should be done to investigate the presence of post-interment rites, whether at intramural or cemetery gravesites. Ancient Near Eastern archaeology can continue to incorporate theory from anthropology and ritual studies to form conclusions about evidence from excavations. Archaeologists working in northern Mesopotamia have made great strides in approaching interpretations of their excavations with newer applications of such theories. Additional studies could correlate material from the older excavation data, such as Brusasco and Stone have demonstrated, to investigate new ideas of family relationships, and non-elite populations. And hopefully, excavations will once again produce new evidence from the conflict zones of the modern Middle East, and new archaeological methods will discern new evidence for *kispum* rituals.

## LITERATURE CITED

- ABU-LUGHOD, L., 1993. Islam and the gendered discourses of death. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, **25**(2), pp. 187-205.
- ABUSCH, T., 1974. Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft literature: texts and studies. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, **33**, pp. 251-262.
- ABUSCH, T., 1990. An early form of the witchcraft ritual *Maqlû* and the origin of a Babylonian magical ceremony. In: T. ABUSCH, J. HUEHNERGARD and P. STEINKELLER, eds, *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 1-57.
- ABUSCH, T., 1995. Etemmu. In: K. VAN DER TOORN, B. BECKING and P. VAN DER HORST, eds, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 588-594.
- ABUSCH, T., 1998. Ghost and god: Some observations on a Babylonian understanding of human nature. In: A.I. BAUMGARTEN, J. ASSMANN and G.G. STROUMSA, eds, *Self, Soul, and Body in Religious Experience*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 363-366+.
- ABUSCH, T., 2002. The socio-religious framework of the Babylonian witchcraft ceremony *Maqlû*: Some observations on the introductory section of the text, part I. In: T. ABUSCH, ed, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 1-34.
- ABUSCH, T., 2007. Witchcraft literature in Mesopotamia. In: G. LEICK, ed, *The Babylonian World*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 373-385.
- ABUSCH, T., HUEHNERGARD, J. and STEINKELLER, P., eds, 1990. *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- ADAMS, R.L. and KING, S.M., 2011. Residential burial in global perspective. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, **20**(1), pp. 1-16.

- ADAMS, R.M., 1982. Property rights and functional tenure in Mesopotamian rural communities. In: M.A. DANDENAYEV, J.N. POSTGATE, I. GERSHEVITCH, H. KLENGEL, G. KOMOROCZY and M.T. LARSEN, eds, *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, pp. 1-14.
- ADOLPHS, R., 2010. Emotion. *Current Biology*, **20**(13), pp. R549-R552.
- AKKERMANS, P.M.M.G. and SCHWARTZ, G.M., 2003. *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000-300 BC)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- AL-KHALESI, Y.M., 1977. The bīt kispim in Mesopotamian architecture: studies of form and function. *Mesopotamia*, **12**, pp. 53-81.
- AL-MAQDISSI et al. , 2005. Gli scavi a Qatna della missione archeologica italo-siriana, *Il Mondo della Bibbia* **78**, pp. 50-57.
- ALLEN, W.L. and RICHARDSON, J.B., III, 1971. The reconstruction of kinship from archaeological data: The concepts, the methods, and the feasibility. *American Antiquity*, **36**(1), pp. 41-53.
- ALSTER, B., 1976. On the earliest Sumerian literary tradition. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **28**, pp. 109-126.
- ALSTER, B., ed, 1980. *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- ALSTER, B., 1986. Edin-na ú-sag-gá: reconstruction, history and interpretation of a Sumerian cultic lament. In: K. HECKER and W. SOMMERFELD, eds, *Keilschriftliche Literaturen: Ausgewählte Vorträge XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Münster, 8-12.7.1985*. Berlin: pp. 19–eo.
- ALSTER, B., 1990. Lugalbanda and the early epic tradition in Mesopotamia. In: T. ABUSCH, J. HUEHNERGARD and P. STEINKELLER, eds, *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 59-72.
- ALSTER, B., 1991. Incantation to Utu. *Acta Sumerologica*, **13**, pp. 27-96.

- ALSTER, B., 2002. *ilū awīlum: we-e i-la*, "Gods : Men" versus "Man : God" punning and the reversal of patterns in the Atrahasis epic. In: T. ABUSCH, ed, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 35-40.
- AMELANG, J.S., 2005. Mourning becomes eclectic: ritual lament and the problem of continuity. *Past & Present*, **187**, pp. 3-31.
- ANKARLOO, B. and CLARK, S., 1999. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- ANNUS, A., 2007. The soul's ascent and tauroctony: on Babylonian sediment in the syncretic religious doctrine of Late Antiquity. In: T.R. KÄMMERER, ed, *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Altern Orient / Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East: Tartuer Symposien 1998-2004*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1-53.
- ARANDA JIMÉNEZ, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S. and SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M., 2011. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- ARBEITMAN, Y.L., ed, 1988. *FUCUS: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- ARCHI, A., 1988. Cult of the Ancestors and the Tutelary God at Ebla. In: Y.L. ARBEITMAN, ed, *FUCUS: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 103-112.
- ARIÈS, P., 1974. *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* [Essais sur l'Histoire de la Mort en Occident]. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- ARIÈS, P., 1981. *The Hour of Our Death* [Homme Devant la Mort], first American ed. New York: Knopf.
- ARNOLD, B., and WICKER, N.L., eds, 2001. *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- ASAD, T., 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- ASCALONE, E., 2007. *Mesopotamia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ASSMANN, J., 2002. *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Co.
- ASSMANN, J., 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- BAHRANI, Z., 1998. Conjuring Mesopotamia: imaginative geography and a world past. In: L. MESKELL, ed, *Archaeology Under Fire*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 159-174.
- BAINES, J., 1991. Society, morality and religious practice. In: B.E. SHAFER, ed, *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths and Personal Practice*. pp. 123.
- BAKER, H.D., 2005. The property portfolio of a family of builders from Hellenistic Uruk. In: H.D. BAKER and M. JURSA, eds, *Approaching the Babylonian Economy: Proceedings of the START Projecyt Symposium Held in Vienna, 1-3 July 2004*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 7-43.
- BAKER, H.D., ROBSON, E. and ZÓLYOMI, G., eds, 2010. *Your Praise is Sweet: A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq.
- BAKER, J.L., 2012. *The Funeral Kit: Mortuary Practices in the Archaeological Record*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- BARBER, E.W. and BARBER, P.T., 2004. *When They Severed Earth From Sky: How the Human Mind Shapes Myth*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- BARLEY, N., 1995. *Grave Matters: Encounters with Death Around the World*. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- BARRÉ, M., 1988. 'Rs (h)hyym — 'the land of the living'? *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, **42**, pp. 37-59.
- BARRELET, M., 1980. Les pratiques funéraires de l'Iraq ancien et l'archeologie: etat de la question et essai de prospective. *Akkadica*, **16**, pp. 1-27.

- BARRETT, C., 2007. Was dust their food and clay their bread? Grave goods, the mesopotamian afterlife, and the liminal role of Inana/Ishtar. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, **7**(1), pp. 7.
- BARTEL, B., 1982. A historical review of ethnological and archaeological analyses of mortuary practice. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, **1**, pp. 32-58.
- BASTIAN, A., 1895. *Ethnische Elementargedanken in der Lehre vom Menschen*. Abtheilung I edn. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- BATTINI-VILLARD, L., 1999. *L'Espace Domestique en Mésopotamie de la III<sup>e</sup> Dynastie d'Ur à l'Époque Paléo-Babylonienne, Vols. 1 & 2*. Oxford: BAR/Archeopress.
- BATTO, B.F., 1992. *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition*. 1 ed. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.
- BAYLISS, M., 1973. The cult of dead kin in Assyria and Babylonia. *Iraq*, **35**, pp. 115-125.
- BECK, L.A., ed, 1995. *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis*. New York: Plenum Press.
- BECKER, S.H. and KNUDSON, R.M., 2003. Visions of the dead: imagination and mourning. *Death Studies*, **27**(8), pp. 691-716.
- BELL, C.M., 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- BELL, C.M., 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BENDANN, E., 1930. *Death Customs: an Analytical Study of Burial Rites*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd.
- BERGGREN, Å. and STUTZ, L.N., 2010. From spectator to critic to participant: A new role for archaeology in ritual studies. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, **10**, pp. 171.
- BERLINERBRAU, J., 1996. *The Vow and the 'Popular Religious Groups' of Ancient Israel: A Philological and Sociological Inquiry*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament (Book 210) edn. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

- BERNHARDSSON, M.T., 2005. *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- BERNSTEIN, A.E., 1993. *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- BETZ, H.D., 1991. Magic and mystery in the Greek magical papyri. In: C.A. FARAONE and D. OBBINK, eds, *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 244-259.
- BEZOLD, C., 1903. *Ninive und Babylon*. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing.
- BIGA, M.G., 2012. Les vivants et leurs morts en Syrie du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire d'après les archives d'Ébla. In: J. DURAND, T. RÖMER and J. HUTZLI, eds, *Les Vivants et leurs Morts: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 14-15 avril 2010*, pp. 1-17.
- BINFORD, L.R., 1962. *American Antiquity*, **28**(2), pp. 217-225.
- BINFORD, L.R., 1971. Mortuary practices: their study and potential. In: J.A. BROWN, ed, *Society for American Archaeology*, pp. 6-29.
- BIROT, M., 1980. Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispum*. In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 139-150.
- BLACK, J., 2002. The Sumerians in their landscape. In: T. ABUSCH, ed, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in the Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 41-61.
- BLACK, J. and GREEN, A., 1992. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BLOCH, M., 1989. *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology*. London: Athelone Press.
- BLOCH, M. and PARRY, J., eds, 1982. *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BÖCK, B., 2003. When you perform the ritual of "rubbing": on medicine and magic in ancient Mesopotamia. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, **62**(1), pp. 1-16.

- BOHRER, F. N., 2006. Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and reception in Nineteenth-century England and France. In: S.W. HOLLOWAY, ed, *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 222-266.
- BONATZ, D., 2001. Il banchetto funerario. Tradizione e innovazione di un soggetto sociale nella Siria-Anatolia dal Bronzo Antico all'età del Ferro. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, **24**(1), pp. 159-174.
- BONATZ, D., NOVAK, M. and OETTEL, A., 2000. Totenritual und Jenseitskonzeptionen - Methodische Ansätze zur Analyse Grabbefunden. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **27**(1), pp. 3-5;88.
- BONNEFOY, Y., ed, 1992. *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BORGER, R., 1971. Das Tempelbau-Ritual K 48+. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **61**, pp. 72-80.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 1982. Les inscriptions cunéiformes funéraires. In: G. GNOLI and J.P. VERNANT, eds, *La Mort, les Morts dans les Sociétés Anciennes*. Cambridge ; New York; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Maison des sciences de l'homme, pp. 373-406.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 1983. Les mort et l'au-delà dans les triuels en accadien contre l'action des "revenants". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, **73**, pp. 153-203.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 1992. *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 1994. Boisson, banquet, et vie social en Mésopotamie. In: L. MILANO, ed, *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon, pp. 2-13.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 1995. *Textes Culinaire Mésopotamiens / Mesopotamian Culinary Texts*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- BOTTÉRO, J., 2001. *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BOURDIEU, P., 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- BOWKER, J., 1993. *The Meanings of Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOYD, B., 1995. Houses and hearths, pits and burials: Natufian mortuary practices at Mallaha (Eynan), Upper Jordan Valley. In: S. CAMPBELL and A. GREEN, eds, *The Archeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. pp. 17-28.
- BOYER, P., 2001. *Religion Explained: the Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- BRAIN, J., 1973. Ancestors and elders in Africa—further thoughts. *Africa*, **43**(2), pp. 122-133.
- BRAUN, D.P., 1981. A critique of some recent North American mortuary studies. *American Antiquity*, **46**(2), pp. 398-420.
- BRAY, T.L., ed, 2003. *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- BREASTED, J.H., 1926. *The Conquest of Civilization*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers.
- BROWN, B., 2010a. Kingship and ancestral cult in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud. *Journal of the Ancient Near East*, **10**(1), pp. 1-53.
- BROWN, D., 2010b. Disenchanted with the gods? The advent of accurate prediction and its influence on scholarly attitudes towards the supernatural in ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Greece. In: H.D. BAKER, E. ROBSON and G. ZÓLYOMI, eds, *Your Praise is Sweet: A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, pp. 11-27.
- BROWN, J.A., ed, 1971. *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology.
- BROWN, J.A., 1971. The dimensions of status in the burials at Spiro. In: J.A. BROWN, ed, *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Society for American Archaeology, pp. 92-112.
- BROWN, J.A., 2007. Mortuary practices for the third millennium: 1996–2006. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the*

- Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 299-308.
- BRUSASCO, P., 1999-2000. Family archives and the social use of space in Old Babylonian houses at Ur. *Mesopotamia*, **34-35**, pp. 3-173.
- BRUSASCO, P., 2007. *The Archaeology of Verbal and Nonverbal Meaning: Mesopotamian Domestic Architecture and its Textual Dimension*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- BRUSCHWEILER, F., 1987. *Inanna: La Déesse Triomphante et Vaincue dans la Cosmologie Sumérienne*. Leuven: Editions Peeters.
- BUCCELLATI, G., 1979. *Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 10. The Fourth Season: Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record*. Malibu: Undena Publications.
- BUCCELLATI, G., 1982. The Descent of Inanna as a ritual journey to Kutha? *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, **4**(3), pp. 51.
- BUCCELLATI, G. and KELLY-BUCCELLATI, M., 1999. Das archäologist Projekt Tall Mozan/Urkeš. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, **131**, pp. 7-16.
- BUCCELLATI, G. and KELLY-BUCCELLATI, M., 2005. Urkesh as a Hurrian religious center. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, **47**, pp. 27-59.
- BYRD, B.F. and MONAHAN, C.M., 1995. Death, mortuary ritual, and Natufian social structure. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, **14**, pp. 251--287.
- CALVET, Y., 1996. Maisons privées paléo-babyloniennes à Larsa. Remarques d'architecture. In: K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 197-210.
- CAMPBELL, S. and GREEN, A., eds, 1995. *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- CANNON, A., 1989. The historical dimension in mortuary expressions of status and sentiment. *Current Anthropology*, **30**(4), pp. 437--458.

- CAPLICE, R., 1973. Ē.Nun in Mesopotamian literature. *Orientalia*, **42**(1-2), pp. 299-305.
- CARR, C., 1995. Mortuary practices: their social, philosophical–religious, circumstantial, and physical determinants. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, **2**(2), pp. 105-199.
- CARR, D. and SHARP, S., 2013. Do afterlife beliefs affect psychological adjustment to late-life spousal loss? *Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological and Social Sciences*, , pp. 1-10.
- CARTER, E. and PARKER, A., 1995. Pots, people and the archaeology of death in Northern Syria in the latter half of the third millennium BC. In: S. CAMPBELL and A. GREEN, eds, *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 96-115.
- CASTELLINO, G., 1955. Rituals and prayers against appearing ghosts. *Orientalia*, **24**, pp. 240-274.
- CAVIGNEAUX, A. and AL-RAWI, F.N.H., 2000. *Gilgameš et la mort: texts de Tell Haddad VI, avec un Appendice sur les Textes Funéraires Sumériens*. Groningen: Styx.
- CHAPMAN, R., KINNES, I. and RANDSBORG, K., eds, 1981. *The Archaeology of Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHARLES, D.K. and BUIKSTRA, J.E., 1983. Archaic mortuary sites in the Central Mississippi drainage: distribution, structure, and behavioral implications. In: J.L. PHILLIPS and J.A. BROWN, eds, *Archaic Hunters and Gatherers in the American Midwest*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 117-145.
- CHARLES, D.K., 2008 (2005). The archaeology of death as anthropology. In: G.F.M. RAKITA, J.E. BUIKSTRA, L.A. BECK and S.R. WILLIAMS, eds, *Interacting With the Dead; Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*. pp. 15-24.
- CHARPIN, D., 1986. *Le Clergé d'Ur au Siècle d'Hammurabi: (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C.)*. Geneva / Paris: Librairie Droz.
- CHARPIN, D., 1996. Maisons et maisonés en Babylonie ancienne de Sippar à Ur. Remarques sur les grandes demeures des notables paléo-babyloniens. In:

- K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 221-228.
- CHARPIN, D., 2012. Les vivants et leurs morts dans la Mésopotamie paléobabylonienne: l'apport des textes d'archives. In: J. DURAND, T. RÖMER and J. HUTZLI, eds, *Les Vivants et leurs Morts: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 14-15 avril 2010*, pp. 19-32.
- CHAVALAS, M.W., ed, 2006. *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- CHERSTICH, I., 2008. "Invisible rituals" and cyclical trends in the tombs of *haleg stawat*. In: O. MENOZZI, M. L. DI MARZIO and D. FOSSATARO, eds, *SOMA 2005. Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24-26 February 2005*, pp. 121-128. BAR International Series 1739.
- CHILD, A.B. and CHILD, I.L., 1993. *Religion and Magic in the Life of Traditional Peoples*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- CHILDE, V.G., 1929. *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CHILDE, V.G., 1945. Directional changes in funerary practices during 50,000 Years. *Man*, Jan.-Feb., pp. 13.
- CHILDE, V.G., 1953 [1969]. *New Light on the Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European History*. 4th edn. New York: W. W. Norton.
- CIRAULO, L.J. and SEIDEL, J.L., eds, 2002. *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill.
- CIVIL, M., 2000. From the epistolary of Edubba. In: A.R. GEORGE and I.L. FINKEL, eds, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 105-118.
- CLIFFORD, R.J., 1994. *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*. Washington: Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 26.
- CLIMO, J.J. and CATTELL, M.G., eds, 2002. *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

- COHEN, A.C., 2005. *Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship: Toward a New Understanding of Iraq's Royal Cemetery of Ur*. Leiden and Boston: Brill / Styx.
- COHEN, M.E., 1977. Another Utu hymn. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **67**(1), pp. 1.
- COHEN, M.E., 1993. *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- COLE, S.W., 2014. In: J.A. ARMSTRONG and H. GASCHÉ, eds, *Mesopotamian Pottery: A Guide to the Babylonian Tradition in the Second Millennium B.C.: Mesopotamian History and Environment, Series II, Memoirs VI*. University of Ghent and the Oriental Institute, pp. 3-6.
- COLLINS, B.J., 2004. A channel to the underworld in Syria. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, **67**(1), pp. 54-56.
- CONANT, R.D., 1996. Memories of the death and life of a spouse: the role of images and *sense of presence* in grief. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 179-196.
- CONNERTON, P., 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COOPER, L., 2007. Early Bronze Age burial types and social-cultural identity within the northern Euphrates Valley. In: E. PELTENBURG, ed, *Euphrates River Valley Settlement*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 55-70.
- COOPER, J.S., 1992. The fate of mankind: The problem of death and afterlife in Ancient Mesopotamia. In: H. OBAYASHI, ed, *Death and the Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions*. New York: Praeger.
- COOPER, J.S., 2009. Wind and smoke: Giving up the ghost of Enkidu, comprehending Enkidu's ghosts. In: M. POO, ed, *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 23-32.
- COOPER, J.S. and SCHWARTZ, G.M., 1996. *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-first century: the William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

- CORLEY, K.E., 2010. *Marantha: Women's Funerary Rituals and Christian Origins*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- CROUCHER, K., 2012. *Death and Dying the Neolithic Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CULLEY, E.V., 2008. Supernatural metaphors and belief in the past: defining an archaeology of religion. In: K. HAYS-GILPIN and D.S. WHITLEY, eds, *Belief in the Past: Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Religion*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, pp. 67-83.
- CUNNINGHAM, G., 1997. *'Deliver Me From Evil': Mesopotamian Incantations 2500-1500 BC*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- CURVERS, H.H. and SCHWARTZ, G.M., 1997. Umm el-Marra, A Bronze Age urban center in the Jabbul Plain, Western Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **101**(2), pp. 201-239.
- DALLEY, S., 2000. *Myths From Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others*. Revised edn. Oxford University Press.
- DAMROSCH, D., 1987. *The Narrative Covenant: Transformations of Genre in the Growth of Biblical Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- DANTI, K. and ZETTLER, R.L., 1998. Shell vessels and containers. In: R.L. ZETTLER and L. HORNE, eds, *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, pp. 143-146.
- DARNTON, R., 1984. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Basic Books.
- DAVIES, J., 1999. *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- DAVIES, D.J., 2002. *Death, Ritual and Belief: the Rhetoric of Funerary rites*. 2nd edn. London: Continuum.
- DELLER, K., 1981. Evidence on the ethnic division of the Hurrians. In: M.A. MORRISON and D.I. OWEN, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of the Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 77-89.

- DELLER, K., 1987. The sealed burial chamber. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, **1**, pp. 69-70.
- DELOUGAZ, P., HILL, H.D. and LLOYD, S., 1967. *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- DEMARRAIS, E., CASTILLO, L.J. and EARLE, T., 1996. Ideology, materialization, and power strategies. *Current Anthropology*, **37**(1), pp. 15-31.
- DERCHAIN, P., 1992. Egyptian Cosmogony. In: Y. BONNEFOY, ed, *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 215-218.
- DETIENNE, M., 1992. The Interpretation of Myths. In: Y. BONNEFOY, ed, *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 5-10.
- DHORME, E., 1941. Rituel funéraire Assyrien. *Revue d' Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, **38**(2-4), pp. 57-66.
- DIAKONOFF, I.M., 1986. *Old Babylonian women not under patriarchal authority*. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, **29**(3), pp. 225-238.
- DIAKONOFF, I.M., 1996. Extended family households in Mesopotamia (III-II millennia B.C.). *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers read at 40e Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 55-60.
- DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B., eds, 2001. *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B., 2001. Digesting the feast—good to eat, good to drink, good to think: an introduction. In: M. DIETLER and B. HAYDEN, eds, *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 1-20.
- DONOVAN, J.M., 2003. Defining religion. In: S.D. GLAZIER and C. FLOWERDAY, eds, *Selected Readings in the Anthropology of Religion: Theoretical and Methodological Essays*. Westport, CN: Praeger, pp. 61-98.
- DOSCH, D. and DELLER, K., 1981. Seiben Kassitengeneration im Temtena und Šuriniwe. In: M.A. MORRISON and D.I. OWEN, eds, *Studies on the Civilization*

- and Culture of the Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 91-113.
- DOUGLAS, M., 1966. *Purity and Danger, an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- DRAFFKORN, A.E., 1957. ILĀNI/ELOHIM. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, **76**, pp. 216-224.
- DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, LA COMTE, 1948. *Baghouz: l'Ancienne Corsôtê. Le Tell Archaïque et la Nécropole de l'Âge du Bronze*. Leiden: Brill.
- DURAND, J., 1989. Tombes familiales et culte des ancêtres à Emâr. *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*, **1989**(4), pp. 85-88.
- DURAND, J., 2012. Le *kispum* dans les traditions amorrites. In: J. DURAND, T. RÖMER, and J. HUTZLI, eds, *Les vivants et leurs morts: actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 14-15 avril 2010*, pp. 33-51.
- DURAND, J. and GUICHARD, M., 1997. Les rituels de Mari. *Florilegium marianum III*, pp. 19-78.
- DURKHEIM, É., 1915. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* [*Les Formes Élémentaire de la Vie Religieuse, le Système Totémique en Australie*], transl. Swain. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- DYSON, S.L., 1993. From New to New Age Archaeology: archaeological theory and classical archaeology - A 1990s perspective. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **97**(2), pp. 195-206.
- EBELING, E., 1931. *Tod und Leben: Nach der Vorstellung der Babylonier. I. Teil: Texte*. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- EBERSOLE, G.L., 2000. The function of ritual weeping revisited: affective expression and moral discourse. *History of Religions*, **39**(3), pp. 211-246.
- ECTSL, *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. University of Oxford.  
<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>
- EDWARDS, D.N., 2005. The archaeology of religion. In: M. DIAZ-ANDREU, S. LUCY, S. BABIĆ and D.N. EDWARDS, eds, *Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. New York: Routledge, pp. 110-127.



- EDZARD, D.O., 1987. Deep-rooted skyscrapers and bricks: ancient Mesopotamian architecture and its imaging. In: M. MINDLIN, M.J. GELLER and J.E. WANSBROUGH, eds, *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, pp. 13.
- EKMAN, P., 1980. Biological and cultural contributions to body and facial movement in the expression of emotions. In: A. RORTY, ed, *Explaining Emotions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 73-110.
- EKMAN, P., 1984. Expression and nature of emotion. In: K.R. SCHERER and P. EKMAN, eds, *Approaches to Emotion*. NJ: Earlbaum, pp. 319-343.
- ELIADE, M., 1963. *Myth and Reality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- ELIADE, M., 1978. *A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ELLISON, R., RENFREW, J., BROTHWELL, D. and SEELEY, N., 1978. Some food offerings from Ur, excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley, and previously unpublished. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, **5**(2), pp. 167-177.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E., 1929. The morphology and function of magic: a comparative study of Trobriand and Zande ritual and spells. *American Anthropologist*, **31**(4), pp. 619-641.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E., 1965. *Theories of Primitive Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- FAGAN, B.M., 2003. *Archaeologists: Explorers of the Human Past*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FAHLANDER, F. and OESTIGAARD, T., 2008. *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs*. Oxford: Archaeopress/B.A.R.
- FARAONE, C.A. and OBBINK, D., eds, 1991. *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FARBER, W., 2004. How to marry a disease: epidemics, contagion, and a magic ritual against the 'Hand of the Ghost'. In: H.F.J. HORSTMANSHOFF and M. STOL, eds, *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 117-132.

- FEUERHERM, K.G., 2007. Architectural features of Larsa's urban dwelling B 27 and division of inheritance. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, **66**(3), pp. 193-204.
- FIAWOO, D.K. 1976. Characteristic features of Ewe ancestor worship. In: W.H. NEWELL, ed, *Ancestors*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 263-281.
- FIGULLA, H.H. 1953a. Accounts concerning allocation of provisions for offerings in the Ningal-Temple at Ur. *Iraq*, **15**(1), pp. 88-122.
- FIGULLA, H.H., 1953b. Accounts concerning allocation of provisions for offerings in the Ningal-Temple at Ur (continued). *Iraq*, **15**(2), pp. 171-192.
- FINCKE, J., 2013. ḏŠaggāšu ("Murderer"), the demon from the steppe. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, **70**(1-2), pp. 17-24.
- FINKELSTEIN, J.J., 1966. The genealogy of the Hammurapi dynasty. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **20**, pp. 95-118.
- FISHER, J., 2001. Harming and benefiting the dead. *Death Studies*, **25**(7), pp. 557-568.
- FLEMING, D.E., 2000. *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- FOREST, J., 1983. *Les Pratiques Funéraires en Mésopotamie du 5e Millénaire au Début du 3e, Étude de Cas*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- FORTES, M., 1987. *Religion, Morality, and the Person: Essays on the Tallensi Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FOSTER, B.R., 2003. Late Babylonian schooldays: an archaizing cylinder. *Festschrift Burkhardt Kienast. AOAT 274*. Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 79-87.
- FOSTER, B.R., 2006. The beginnings of Assyriology in the United States. In: S.W. HOLLOWAY, ed, *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 44-73.
- FOSTER, B.R., 2007. The Babylonian funerary inscription revisited. *Nouvelle assyriologiques breves et utilitaires*, **2007**(4, n.69), pp. 82-83.
- FOXVOG, D.A., 1980. Funerary furnishings in an early Sumerian text from Adab. In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 67-76.

- FRAHM, E. 2006. Images of Assyria in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century western scholarship. In: S.W. HOLLOWAY, ed, *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 74-94.
- FRANKFORT, H. and FRANKFORT, H.A., 1946. Myth and reality. In: H. FRANKFORT, H.A. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, J.A. WILSON and T. JACOBSEN, eds, *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. (reprinted 1973 by Penguin) edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 11-36.
- FRANKFORT, H., GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, H.A., WILSON, J.A. and JACOBSEN, T., eds, 1946. *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. (reprinted 1973 by Penguin) edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- FRANKFURTER, D., 1994. The magic of writing and the writing of magic. *Helios: Journal of the Classical Association of the Southwest*, **21**, pp. 189-221.
- FRANKFURTER, D., 2001. Narrating power: the theory and practice of the magical historiola in ritual spells. In: M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI, eds, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Boston, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc.
- FRAYNE, D.R., 1990. Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC), Series RIME 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- FRAZER, J.G., 1913. *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead. Vol. 1: The Belief Among the Aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia*. London: Macmillan.
- FRAZER, J.G., 1922. *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion*. I Volume, abridged edn. United States: MacMillan.
- FRAZER, J.G., 1933. *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion*. New York: Biblo and Tannen.
- FREEDMAN, S.M., 1998. If a city is set on a height: the Akkadian omen series *Šumma Alu ina Mēlē Šakin*. Vol. 1: Tablets 1-21. *Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund*, **1**. Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy.
- FREUD, S., 1913. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. London: George Allen & Co.
- FRIED, M.H., 1967. *The Evolution of Political Society*. New York: Random House.

- FUSTEL De COULANGES, N.M., 1882. *The Ancient City: A Study of the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome*. Boston: Lee and Shepard.
- GABBAY, F.H., 1992. Behavior-genetic strategies in the study of emotion. *Psychological Science*, **3**(1), pp. 50-55.
- GADD, E.J., 1951. En-an-e-du. *Iraq* **13**, pp. 27-39.
- GAGER, J.G., ed, 1992. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- GAMLIEL, T., 2007. Textual categories and gender images in a women's wailing performance. *Social Analysis*, **51**(3), pp. 37-41+.
- GARFINKEL, Y., 2001. Warrior burial customs in the Levant during the Early Second Millennium B.C. In: S.R. WOLFF, ed, *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 143-162.
- GASCHE, ARMSTONG, COLE and GURZADYAN, 1998. Dating the fall of Babylon: a reappraisal of Second-Millennium chronology (A Joint Ghent-Chicago-Harvard Project) (= MHEM 4), Ghent, Chicago.
- GAster, T.H., 1961. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*. 2nd edn. New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- GATES, M., 2005. Archaeology and the Ancient Near East: methods and limits. In: D.C. SNELL, ed, *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 65-78.
- GEE, R., 2008. From corpse to ancestor: the role of tomb-side dining in the transformation of the body in ancient Rome. In: F. FAHLANDER and T. OESTIGAARD, eds, *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs*. Oxford: Archeopress, pp. 59-68.
- GELB, I.J., 1982. Sumerian and Akkadian words for "string of fruit". In: G. VAN DRIEL, T.J.H. KRISPIJN, M. STOL and K.R. VEENHOF, eds, *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 67-84.
- GELLER, M.J., 1985. *Forerunners to Udug-hul: Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.

- GELLER, M.J., 2007. Incantations within Akkadian medical texts. In: G. LEICK, ed, *The Babylonian World*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 389-399.
- GELLER, M.J., 2009. Look to the Stars: Babylonian medicine, magic, astrology and *melothsia*. *Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Preprints*, **401**, pp. 3-90.
- GELLER, M.J. and WIGGERMAN, F.A.M., 2008. Duplicating Akkadian magic. In: VAN DER SPEK, R. J., ed, *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society — Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 149-160.
- GEORGE, A.R., 1993. *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- GEORGE, A.R., 2000. Four temple rituals from Babylon. In: A.R. GEORGE and I.L. FINKEL, eds, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 259-299.
- GLUCKMAN, M., 1962. Les rites de passage. In: M. GLUCKMAN, ed, *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1-52.
- GOLDSTEIN, L.G., 1980. *Mississippian Mortuary Practices: A Case Study of Two Cemeteries in the Lower Illinois Valley*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Archaeological Program.
- GOODENOUGH, W.H., 1965. Rethinking 'status' and 'role': Toward a general model of the cultural organization of social relationships. In: M. BANTON, ed, *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- GOODY, J., 1962. *Death, Property and the Ancestors: a Study of the Mortuary Customs of the LoDagaa of West Africa*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- GORDON, C.H., 1935. Nuzi tablets relating to women (XVI-XLIV). In: É. SUYS, ed, *La Sagesse d'Ani*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, pp. 161-184.
- GORDON, E.I., 1967. The meaning of the ideogram dKASKAL.KUR = "Underground Water-Course" and its significance for Bronze Age historical geography. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **21**(Special Volume Honoring Professor Albrecht Goetze), pp. 70-88.

- GORING-MORRIS, N. and HORWITZ, L.K., 2007. Funerals and feasts during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Near East. *Antiquity*, **81**, pp. 902-919.
- GOSS, R. and KLASS, D., 2005. *Dead But Not Lost: Grief Narratives in Religious Traditions*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- GRAF, F., 1991. Prayer in magical and religious ritual. In: C.A. FARAONE and D. OBBINK, eds, *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 188-213.
- GRAF, F., 1997. *Magic in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- GRAMSCH, A. 2013. Treating bodies: transformative and communicative practices. In: S. TARLOW and L. NILSON STUTZ, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 459-474.
- GREENBERG, M., 1962. Another look at Rachel's theft of the Teraphim. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, **81**(3), pp. 239-248.
- GREENGUS, S., 1987. The Akkadian calendar at Sippar. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **107**(2), pp. 209-229.
- GREENGUS, S., 2001. New evidence on the Old Babylonian calendar and real estate documents from Sippar. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **121**(2), pp. 257-267.
- GRIMES, R., 2004. Performance theory and the study of ritual. In: P. ANTES, A.W. GEERTZ and R.R. WARNE, eds, *New Approaches to the Study of Religion, Vol. 2*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 109-138.
- GRIMES, R.L., ed, 1996. *Readings in Ritual Studies*. Upper Saddle River, PA: Prentice Hall.
- GRONEBERG, B., 1990. Zu den mesopotamischen Unterweltsvorstellungen: Das Jenseits als Fortsetzung des Diesseits. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **17**(2), pp. 244-261.
- GROSZ, K., 1987. Daughters adopted as sons at Nuzi and Emar. *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, pp. 81-86.

- GUERRERO, E., MOLIST, M., KUIJT, I. and ANFRUNS, J., 2009. Seated Memory: New Insights into Near Eastern Neolithic Mortuary Variability from Tell Halula, Syria. *Current Anthropology*, **50**(3), pp. 379-391.
- GUINAN, A., 1996. Social constructions and private designs: The house omens of ŠUMMA ALU. In: K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 61-68.
- GUMERMAN, G.J. and PHILLIPS, D.A., Jr., 1978. Archaeology beyond anthropology. *American Antiquity*, **43**(2), pp. 184.
- HAFFORD, B. 2014. Combining maps and more at Ur: spotlight on *Domestic Burials in Area AH*: Observing patterns in spatial data at Ur with GIS. *Ur Digitization Project: June 2014*. Web blog: <[www.penn.museum/blog/museum/ur-digitization-project-june-2014](http://www.penn.museum/blog/museum/ur-digitization-project-june-2014)>. Accessed 15 August 2014.
- HALBWACHS, M., 1992. *On Collective Memory*, ed. and transl. by L.E. COSER. Transl. from *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* and from *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de Mémoire Collective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HALLER, A., 1954. *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur*. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.
- HALLO, W.W., 1964. The road to Emar. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **18**(3), pp. 57-88.
- HALLO, W.W., 1983. Lugalbanda excavated. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **103**(1), pp. 165-180.
- HALLO, W.W., 1990. The limits of skepticism. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **110**(2), pp. 187-199.
- HALLO, W.W., 2002. A model court case concerning inheritance. In: T. ABUSCH, ed, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 141-154.
- HALLO, W.W. and VAN DIJK, J.J.A., 1968. *Enheduanna. The Exaltation of Inanna*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- HALLOTE, R.S., 2001. *Death, Burial, and Afterlife in the Biblical World: How the Israelites and their Neighbors Treated the Dead*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- HARRIS, O.J.T. and SØRENSEN, T.F., 2010. Rethinking emotion and material culture. *Archaeological Dialogues*, **17**, pp 145-163.  
doi:10.1017/S1380203810000206.
- HARRIS, R., 1975. *Ancient Sippar: A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.)*. Belgium: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
- HARRIS, R., 1989. Independent women in Ancient Mesopotamia? In: B.S. LESKO, ed, *Women's Earliest Records: from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- HARRIS, R., 2000. *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: the Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- HARVEY, G., 2006. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- HASEL, M.G., 2004. Recent developments in Near Eastern chronology and radiocarbon dating. *Origins*, **2004**(56), pp. 6-31.
- HAWKES, C., 1954. Archaeological theory and method: some suggestions from the Old World. *American Anthropologist*, **56**, pp. 155-168.
- HAYDEN, B., 2001. Fabulous feasts: a prolegomenon to the importance of feasting. In: M. DIETLER and B. HAYDEN, eds, *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 23-64.
- HAYDEN, B., 2003. *Shamans, Sorcerers and Saints: a Prehistory of Religion*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books.
- HAYS-GILPIN, K. and WHITLEY, D.S., eds, 2008. *Belief in the Past: Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Religion*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- HECKER, K., 1988. Akkadischen Grad-, Bau, und Votivinschriften. *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, **2**(3), pp. 477-500.



- HEIDEL, A., 1946. *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HEIMPEL, W., 1986. The Sun at night and the doors of Heaven in Babylonian texts. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **38**, pp. 127-151.
- HEIMPEL, W., 2003. *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, with Historical Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- HERRMANN, G., ed, 1996. *The Furniture of Western Asia Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- HERTZ, R., 1960 [1907]. *Death and the Right Hand*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- HILPRECHT, H.V., 1904. *Die Ausgrabungen in Assyrien und Babylonien Geschilder*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- HILPRECHT, H.V., 1910. *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Series D: Researches and Treatises*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- HOCKEY, J.L., KATZ, J. and SMALL, N., 2001. *Grief, Mourning, and Death Ritual*. Buckingham England and Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- HODDER, I., 1986. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HODDER, I., 1987. *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HOLLOWAY, S.W., 2006. Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible. In: S.W. HOLLOWAY, ed, *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 1-41.
- HOROWITZ, W., 1998. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- HOROWITZ, W., 2010. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. 2nd edn. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

- HOWELL, T.L. and KINTIGH, K.W., 1996. Archaeological identification of kin groups using mortuary and biological data: An example from the American Southwest. *American Antiquity*, **61**(3), pp. 537-554.
- HROUDA, V.B., 1987. *Isin - Išān Baḥrīyāt III: Der Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-1984*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- HUEHNERGARD, J., 1983. Five tablets from the vicinity of Emar. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, **77**, pp. 11-43.
- HUSSEIN, M.M., 2002. Excavations of the Department of Antiquities and Heritage at Nimrud, 1988-1993. In: L. AL-GAILANI WERR, J. CURTIS, J. MARTIN, A. MCMAHOON, J. OATES and J. READE, eds, *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria presented to David Oates in Honor of his 75th Birthday*. London: Nabu Publications, pp. 143-157.
- INSOLL, T., 2001. *Archaeology and World Religion*. London and New York: Routledge.
- INSOLL, T., 2004a. *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*. London: Routledge.
- INSOLL, T., 2004b. *Belief in the Past: the Proceedings of the 2002 Manchester Conference on Archaeology and Religion*. Oxford England: Archaeopress.
- INSOLL, T., 2008. Negotiating the archaeology of destiny: An exploration of interpretive possibilities through Tallensi Shrines. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, **8**, pp. 380-403.
- IZRE'EL, S., 1998. The Initiation of Adapa in Heaven. In: J. PROSECKY, ed, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, pp. 183-188.
- JACOBSEN, M.H., 2011. Sociology, mortality and solidarity. An interview with Zygmunt Bauman on death, dying, and immortality. (with foreword by Douglas J. Davies). *Mortality*, **16**(4), pp. 380-393.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1946. Mesopotamia. In: H. FRANKFORT, H.A. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, J.A. WILSON and T. JACOBSEN, eds, *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. (reprinted 1973 by Penguin). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 137-234.

- JACOBSEN, T., 1970. *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1976. *The Treasures of Darkness: a History of Mesopotamian Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1980. Death in ancient Mesopotamia. In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 19-24.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1982. Oral to written. In: M.A. DANDENAYEV, J.N. POSTGATE, I. GERSHEVITCH, H. KLENGEL, G. KOMOROCZY and M.T. LARSEN, eds, *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, pp. 129-137.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1983. Lad in the desert. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **103**(1), pp. 193-200.
- JACOBSEN, T., 1987. *The Harps That Once...* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- JACOBSEN, T. and ALSTER, B., 2000. Ningišzida's boat-ride to Hades. In: A.R. GEORGE and I.L. FINKEL, eds, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 315-314.
- JACOBSEN, T. and MORAN, W.L., 1970. *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- JACQUET, A., 2002. LUGAL-MEŠ ET MALIKUM; novel examen du KISPUM a Mari. *Florilegium marianum VI ; recueil d'études a la mémoire d'André Parrot*, , pp. 51-68.
- JANNSEN, C., 1996. When the house is on fire and the children are gone. In: K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 237-253.
- JEREMIAS, A., 1902. *The Ancient East. No. IV. The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*. London: David Nutt.

- JOHNSON, E.L., 1988. Grieving for the dead, grieving for the living: funeral laments of Hakka women. In: J.L. WATSON and E.S. RAWSKI, eds, *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 135-163.
- JOHNSON, K., 2004. Primary emergence of the doctrinal mode of religiosity in prehistoric Southwestern Iran. In: H. WHITEHOUSE and L.H. MARTIN, eds, *Theorizing Religions Past*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, pp. 45-66.
- JOHNSTON, P., 2002. *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament*. Downers Grove, IL: Apollos: InterVarsity Press.
- JOHNSTON, S.I., ed, 2004. *Religions of the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- JONES, A., 2002. *Archaeological Theory and Scientific Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JONKER, G., 1995. *The Topography of Remembrance: the Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia*. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.
- JÓZSEF, F.Z., 2009. *The Archive of a Priestess from Old Babylonian Sippar*. Alapszakos Záródolgozat.
- KÄMMERER, T.R., ed, 2007. *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Altern Orient / Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East: Tartuer Symposien 1998-2004*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- KAMP, K. and YOFFEE, N., 1980. Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia during the Early Second Millennium B.C. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, **237**, pp. 85-104.
- KANSTEINER, W., 2002. Finding meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Theory*, **41**(2), pp. 179-197.
- KATZ, D., 1995. Inanna's descent and undressing the dead as a divine law. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **85**(1), pp. 221.
- KATZ, D., 2003. *The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.

- KATZ, D., 2005. Death they dispensed to mankind: The funerary world of Ancient Mesopotamia. *Historiae* 2, , pp. 55-90.
- KATZ, D., 2007. Sumerian funerary rituals in context. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 167-188.
- KATZ, D., 2010. The naked soul: deliberations on a popular theme. In: J. STACKERT, B.V., and D.P. WRIGHT, eds, *Gazing on the Deep: Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tzvi Abusch*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 107-120.
- KATZ, D., 2013. Time in death and afterlife: the concept of time and the belief in the afterlife. In: L. FELIU, J. LLOP, A. MILLET ALBA and J. SANMARTIN, eds, *Time and history in the ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona*. Eisenbrauns, pp. 117-125.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI, M., 2002. Ein hurritischer Untergang in die Unterwelt. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, **134**, pp. 131-148.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI, M., 2005. Introduction to the Archaeo-Zoology of the ABĪ. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, **47**, pp. 61-66.
- KHAIT, I., 2009. The funerary inscription at the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. *Nouvelle assyriologiques breves et utilitaires*, **2009**(5), pp. 6-7.
- KLASS, D., 1996a. Ancestor worship in Japan: dependence and the resolution of grief. *Omega: Journal of Death & Dying*, **33**(4), pp. 279-302.
- KLASS, D., 1996b. Grief in an Eastern culture: Japanese ancestor worship. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 59-70.
- KLASS, D., 2001. Continuing bonds in the resolution of grief in Japan and North America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, **44**(5), pp. 742-763.
- KLASS, D., 2006. Continuing conversation about continuing bonds. *Death Studies*, **30**(9), pp. 843-858.
- KLASS, D., 2013. Sorrow and solace: neglected areas in bereavement research. *Death Studies*, **37**, pp. 597-616.

- KLASS, D., SILVERMAN, P.R. and NICKMAN, S.L., eds, 1996. *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis.
- KLASS, D. and WALTER, T., 2001. Processes of grieving: how bonds are continued. In: M. STROEBE, R.O. HANNSON, W. STROEBE and H. SCHUT, eds, *Handbook of Bereavement Research: Consequence, Coping, and Care*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, .
- KLIMA, J., 1940. *Untersuchungen zum Altbabylonische Erbrecht*. Prag: Orientalisches Institut.
- KNAPP, A.B., 2010. Beyond agency: identity and individuals in archaeology. In: S.R. STEADMAN and J.C. ROSS, eds, *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. London: Equinox, pp. 193-200.
- KNAPPETT, C., 2005. *Thinking Through Material Culture: an Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- KNIFE, D.M., 1988. The temple in image and reality. In: M.V. FOX, ed, *Temple in Society*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 105.
- KOPYTOFF, I., 1971. Ancestors as elders in Africa. *Africa*, **41**(129), pp. 142.
- KOSCHAKER, P., 1925. Erbrecht. In: M. EBERT, ed, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Bd. 3. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 114-119.
- KOSSINA, G., 1912. *Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft*. Leipzig.
- KOSSO, P., 1991. Method in Archaeology: middle-range theory as hermeneutics. *American Antiquity*, **56**(4), pp. 621-627.
- KRAMER, S.N., 1960a. Death and the nether world according to the Sumerian literary texts. *Iraq*, **22**, pp. 59-68.
- KRAMER, S.N., 1960b. *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet: A New Sumerian Literary Genre*. Moscow: Oriental Literature Publishing House.
- KRAMER, S.N., 1961 [1972]. *Sumerian Mythology; a Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C.* Rev edn. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- KRAMER, S.N., 1982. Lisin, the weeping mother goddess: a new Sumerian lament. In: G. VAN DRIEL, T.J.H. KRISPIJN, M. STOL and K.R. VEENHOF, eds, *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 133-144.
- KRAMER, S.N., 1988. The temple in Sumerian literature. In: M.V. FOX, ed, *Temple in Society*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 1.
- KRAUS, F.R., 1964. *Briefe aus dem British Museum. By F. R. Kraus, AbB Heft 1, CT 43 und 44. Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*. Leiden: Brill.
- KRAUS, F.R., 1981a. Von altmesopotamischen Erbrecht, ein Vortrag. In: J. BRUGMAN, M. DAVID, F.R. KRAUS, P.W. PESTMAN and M.H. VAN DER VALK, eds, *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1-17.
- KRAUS, F.R., 1981b. Erbrechtliche Terminologie im alten Mesopotamien, mit einem kritischen von B. Lansberger. In: J. BRUGMAN, M. DAVID, F.R. KRAUS, P.W. PESTMAN and M.H. VAN DER VALK, eds, *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 18-57.
- KRAUS, F.R., 1987. Ein altbabylonisches Totenopfer. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **77**, pp. 96.
- KROEBER, A.L., 1927. Disposal of the dead. *American Anthropologist*, **29**, pp. 308-315.
- KÜBLER-ROSS, E., 1969. *On Death and Dying*. New York: MacMillan.
- KÜHNE, H., BERNBECK, R. and BARTL, K., eds, 1999. *Fluchtpunkt Uruk: Archäologische Einheit aus Methodischer Vielfalt, Schriften für Hans Jörg Nissen*. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.
- KUHRT, A., 1995. *The Ancient Near East: c. 3000-330 BC, vol. 1*. London: Routledge.
- KUS, S. and RAHARIJAONA, V., 2001. "To dare to wear the cloak of another before their very eyes": State co-optation and local re-appropriation in mortuary rituals of Central Madagascar. In: M.S. CHESSON, ed, *Social Memory, Identity, and Death: Anthropological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals*. Naperville, IL: American Anthropological Association, pp. 114-131.

- KWILECKI, S., 2011. Ghosts, meaning, and faith: after-death communications in bereavement narratives. *Death Studies*, **25**, pp. 219-243.
- KYRIAKIDIS, E., ed, 2007. *The Archaeology of Ritual*. Los Angeles, CA: Costen Institute of Archaeology, University of California.
- LA FONTAINE, J.S., ed, 1972. *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- LABAT, R., 1976. *Manuel d'Épigraphie Akkadienne: Signes, Syllabaire, Ideogrammes*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- LACHEMAN, E.R. and OWEN, D.I., 1981. Texts from Arrapha and from Nuzi in the Yale babylonian collection. In: M.A. MORRISON and D.I. OWEN, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of the Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 377-432.
- LAMBERT, M., 1956. Les "réformes" d'Urukagina. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, **50**(4), pp. 169-184.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1957. Ancestors, authors, and canonicity. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **11**(1), pp. 1-14, with additions and corrections p. 112.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1960. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. London: Oxford University Press.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1962. A catalogue of texts and authors. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **16**(3), pp. 59-77.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1980. The theology of death. In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 53-66.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1990. A new Babylonian descent to the netherworld. In: T. ABUSCH, J. HUEHNERGARD and P. STEINKELLER, eds, *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 289-300.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 1993. Donations of food and drink to the gods in ancient Mesopotamia. In: J. QUAEGBEUR, ed, *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, pp. 191-201.



- LAMBERT, W.G., 1998. Technical terminology for creation in the Ancient Near East. In: J. PROSEKY, ed, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, pp. 189.
- LANDSBERGER, B., 1949. Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, **8**(3), pp. 248-272.
- LANERI, N., 2007a. Burial practices at Titriş Höyük, Turkey: an interpretation. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, **66**(4), pp. 241-265.
- LANERI, N., ed, 2007b. *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- LANERI, N., 2007c. An archaeology of funeral rituals. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 1-13.
- LANERI, N., 2011a. A family affair: the use of intramural funerary chambers in Mesopotamia during the Late Third and Early Second Millenia B.C.E. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, **20**(1), pp. 121-135.
- LANERI, N., 2011b. Connecting fragments: a sensorial approach to the materialization of religious beliefs in rural Mesopotamia at the beginning of the Second Millennium BC. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, **21**(1), pp. 77-94.
- LANG, P.J., BRADLEY, M.M. and CUTHBERT, B.N., 1992. A motivational analysis of emotion: reflex-cortex connections. *Psychological Science*, **3**(1), pp. 44-49.
- LANGDON, S., 1912. Babylonian eschatology. *Babyloniaca*, **6**, pp. 193-215.
- LANGDON, S., 1914. *Tammuz and Ishtar: A Monograph upon Babylonian Religion and Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press at the Clarendon Press.
- LANGDON, S., 1935. *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendar*. London: The British Academy.
- LAYARD, A.H., 1850. *Nineveh and its Remains: with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldan Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an*

- Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians*. New York: G.P. Putnam.
- LEACH, E., 1973. Concluding Address. *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. London: Duckworth, pp. 761-771.
- LEACH, E., 1977. A view from the bridge. In: M. SPRIGGS, ed, *Archaeology and Anthropology: Areas of Mutual Interest*. Westport, CN: Praeger, pp. 611-61.
- LEEMANS, W.F., 1982. The pattern of settlement in the Babylonian countryside. In: M.A. DANDENAYEV, J.N. POSTGATE, I. GERSHEVITCH, H. KLENGEL, G. KOMOROCZY and M.T. LARSEN, eds, *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, pp. 246-249.
- LEICK, G., ed, 2007. *The Babylonian World*. New York and London: Routledge.
- LENZI, A., 2011. An incantation-prayer: ghosts of my family I. In: A. LENZI, ed, *Reading Akkadian Prayers and Hymns*. pp. 133-144.
- LEONE, M.P., ed, 1972. *Contemporary Archaeology; a Guide to Theory and Contributions*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- LESKO, B.S., ed, 1989. *Women's Earliest Records: from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- LÉVI-STRAUSS, C., 1962. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LÉVY-BRUHL, L., 1923. *Primitive Mentality*. New York: MacMillan.
- LEWIS-WILLIAMS, J.D., 2002. *A Cosmos in Stone*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- LEWIS-WILLIAMS, J.D. and PEARCE, D., 2005. *Inside the Neolithic Mind: Consciousness, Cosmos and the Realm of the Gods*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- LIÉNARD, P. and BOYER, P., 2006. Whence collective rituals? A cultural selection model of ritualized behavior. *American Anthropologist*, **10**(4), pp. 814-827.
- LIMET, H., 1976. Essai de poetique sumerienne. In: B.L. EICHLER, J.W. HEIMERDINGER and A.W. SJOBERG, eds, *Kramer Anniversary Volume, Cuneiform Studies in Honour of Samuel Noah Kramer*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, pp. 327.

- LIVERANI, M., 1999. History and archaeology in the Ancient Near East: 150 years of a difficult relationship. In: H. KÜHNE, R. BERNBECK and K. BARTL, eds, *Fluchtpunkt Uruk: Archäologische Einheit aus Methodischer Vielfalt, Schriften für Hans Jörg Nissen*. Rahden: Marie Leidorf, pp. 1-11.
- LIVERANI, M., 2004. *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- LIVINGSTONE, A., 2007a. *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- LIVINGSTONE, A., 2007b. The Babylonian almanac in the West. In: T.R. KÄMMERER, ed, *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Altern Orient / Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East: Tartuer Symposien 1998-2004*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 187-190.
- LIVINGSTONE, A., 2012. Hemerology and menology. *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. pp. 3130-3131.
- LUBBOCK, J., 1865 (1882). *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*. London: Longman, Green.
- LUCAS, G., 2001. *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork: Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- LUCK, G., 1999. Witches and sorcerers in classical literature. In: B. ANKARLOO and S. CLARK, eds, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 91.
- LULL, V., 2000. Death and society: a Marxist approach. *Antiquity*, **74**, pp. 576.
- MALAMAT, A., 1968. Kinglists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **88**(1), pp. 163-173.
- MALINOWSKI, B., 1992. *Magic, Science and Religion: and Other Essays*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- MARKINA, E., 2006. Another archaizing cylinder. *Nouvelle assyriologiques breves et utilitaires*, **2006**(3, n. 68).

- MARTIN, L.H., 2004. Toward a scientific history of religions. In: H. WHITEHOUSE and L.H. MARTIN, eds, *Theorizing Religions Past*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press , pp. 7-14.
- MARWIT, S.J. and KLASS, D., 1996. Grief and the role of inner representation of the deceased. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 297-309.
- MASRY, A.H., 1981. Traditions of archeological research in the Near East. *World Archaeology*, **13**(2, Regional Traditions of Archaeological Research I), pp. 222-239.
- MATNEY, T., 2010. Material culture and identity: Assyrians, Aramaeans, and the indigenous peoples of Iron Age southeastern Anatolia. In: S.R. STEADMAN and J.C. ROSS, eds, *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. London: Equinox, pp. 129-147.
- MATTHEWS, R., 2003. *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- MAUSS, M., 1972. *A General Theory of Magic*, transl. R. Brain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MAZZONI, S., 1994. Drinking vessels in Syria: Ebla and the Early Bronze Age. In: L. MILANO, ed, *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon, pp. 245-276.
- MCANANY, P.A., 1995. *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- MCANANY, P.A., 2011. Practices of place-making, ancestralizing, and re-animation within memory communities. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, **20**(1), pp. 136-142.
- MCCAULEY, R.N. and LAWSON, E.T., 2002. *Bringing Ritual to Mind: Psychological Foundations of Cultural Forms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MCCLELLAN, T. and PORTER, A., 1999. Survey of excavations at Tell Bashrat: funerary practices. In: G.D. OLMO LETE and J.-. MONTERO, eds, *Archaeology*

- of the Upper Syrian Euphrates, the Tishrin Dam Area*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, pp. 107-116.
- MCGINNIS, J., 1987. A Neo-Assyrian text describing a royal funeral. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, **1**, pp. 1-12, pl.1.
- MCHUGH, F., 1999. *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Mortuary Practice*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- MEIJER, D.J.W., 2003. Some thoughts on burial interpretation. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **30**(1), pp. 51-62.
- MELAS, E.M., 1989. Ethics, emics and empathy in archaeological theory. In: I. HODDER, ed, *The Meanings of Things*. Unwin Hyman, pp. 137-155.
- MELVILLE, S.C., STRAWN, B.A., SCHMIDT, B.B. and NOEGEL, S., 2006. Neo-Assyrian and Syro-Palestinian texts I. In: M.W. CHAVALAS, ed, *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 280-330.
- MERRIFIELD, R., 1987 [1988]. *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. New York: New Amsterdam.
- METCALF, P. and HUNTINGTON, R., 1991. *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MEYER, M.W. and MIRECKI, P.A., eds, 1995. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. New York: Brill.
- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1986. Mental maps and ideology: reflections on Subartu. In: H. WEISS, ed, *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C*. Guilford, CN: Four Quarters Publishing, pp. 129-156.
- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1990. Presence at the creation. In: T. ABUSCH, J. HUEHNERGARD and P. STEINKELLER, eds, *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 381-396.
- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1994. The drinking gods: alcohol in Mesopotamian ritual and mythology. In: L. MILANO, ed, *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon, pp. 27-44.

- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1998. The unbearable lightness of Enlil. In: J. PROSECKY, ed, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, pp. 237-248.
- MILANO, L., ed, 1994. *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon.
- MILLER, N.F., 2013. Symbols of fertility and abundance in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, Iraq. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **117**, pp. 127-133.
- MITHEN, S., 1996. *The Prehistory of Mind: the Cognitive Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- MITHEN, S., 2004. From Ohalo to Çatalhöyük: The development of religiosity during the early prehistory of Western Asia, 20,000-7000 BCE. In: H. WHITEHOUSE and L.H. MARTIN, eds, *Theorizing Religions Past*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, pp. 17-43.
- MOLLESON, T. and HODGSON, D., 2003. The human remains from Wooley's excavations at Ur. *Iraq*, **65**, pp. 91-129.
- MORRIS, I., 1987. *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MORRIS, I., 1991. The archaeology of ancestors: the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis revisited. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, **1**(2), pp. 147-169.
- MORRIS, I., 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*. Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell.
- MORRISON, M.A. and OWEN, D.I., eds, 1981. *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of the Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- MUFFS, Y., 1978. Mesopotamian Religion. *Numen*, **25**(1).
- NAKAMATSU, T., 2009. 'Conventional practice, courageous plan': Women and the gendered site of death rituals in Japan. *Journal of Gender Studies*, **18**(1), pp. 1-11.
- NEBELSICK, L., 2000. Drinking against death. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **27**, pp. 211-241.

- NEIMEYER, R.A., BALDWIN, S.A. and GILLIES, J., 2006. Continuing bonds and reconstructing meaning: Mitigating complications in bereavement. *Death Studies*, **30**(8), pp. 715-738.
- NEIMEYER, R.A., KLASS, D. and DENNIS, M.R., 2014. A social constructionist account of grief: loss and the narration of meaning. *Death Studies*, **38**, pp. 485-498.
- NELSON, S.M., 2003. Feasting the ancestors in early China. In: T.L. BRAY, ed, *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, pp. 65-89.
- NEMET-NEJAT, K.R., 1998. *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press.
- NEWELL, W.H., ed, 1976. *Ancestors*. The Hague: Mouton.
- NIELSEN, J.P., 2001. *Sons and Descendants: Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period, 747-626 BC*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- NOEGEL, S., 2011. Dreams and dream interpreters in Mesopotamia and in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). In: K. BULKELEY, ed, *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural, and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*. 1st edn. New York: Palgrave, pp. 45-72.
- NORGET, K., 2006. *Days of Death, Days of Life*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- NORMAND, C.L., SILVERMAN, P.R. and NICKMAN, S.L., 1996. Bereaved children's changing relationships with the deceased. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 87-111.
- NORTON, F.C., 1908. *Bible Student's Handbook of Assyriology: a Popular Manual of Useful Information for the Elementary Study of Oriental Archaeology, and a Help for Young Students and Teachers of the Old Testament*. 1913 edn. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- NOVAK, M., 2000. Das "Haus der Totenpflege": Zur Sepulkralsymbolik des Hauses im Alten Mesopotamien. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **27**, pp. 132-154.

- OATES, J. and OATES, D., 2001. *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*. London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- OBAYASHI, H., ed, 1992. *Death and the Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions*. New York: Praeger.
- OGDEN, D., 1999. Binding spells. In: B. ANKARLOO and S. CLARK, eds, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*. London: Athlone Press, pp. 1-90.
- OGDEN, D., 2002. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OLMO LETE, G.D. and MONTERO, J., eds, 1999. *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates, the Tishrin Dam Area*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- OLYAN, S.M., 2004. *Biblical Mourning: Ritual and Social Dimensions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OPPENHEIM, A.L., BRILL, R.H., BARAG, D. and SALDERN, A.V., 1970. *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Corning, NY: Corning Museum of Glass Press.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T., 2003. *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša. The Earliest International Trade Center and the Oldest Capital City of the Hittites*. Tokyo: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan.
- PADER, E., 1982. *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*. Oxford: B.A.R.
- PALGI, P. and ABRAMOVITCH, H., 1984. Death: a cross-cultural perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, **13**, pp. 385-417.
- PARKER PEARSON, M., 1993. The powerful dead: archaeological relationships between the living and the dead. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, **3**(2), pp. 203-229.
- PARKER PEARSON, M., 2000 [1999]. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- PARKINSON, B., 2011. How social is the social psychology of emotion? *British Journal of Social Psychology*, **50**, pp. 405-413.



- PARPOLA, S., 1998. The esoteric meaning of the name of Gilgamesh. In: J. PROSECKY, ed, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, pp. 315.
- PARRY, J.K. and RYAN, A.S., 1995. *A Cross-cultural Look at Death, Dying, and Religion*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- PEEBLES, C.S. and KUS, S.M., 1977. Some archaeological correlates of ranked societies. *American Antiquity*, **42**(3, Essays on Archaeological Problems), pp. 421-448.
- PELTENBURG, E., 1999. The living and the ancestors: early Bronze Age mortuary practices at Jerablus Tahtani. In: G.D. OLMO LETE and J. MONTERO, eds, *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates, the Tishrin Dam Area*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, pp. 427-442.
- PELTENBURG, E., ed, 2007. *Euphrates River Valley Settlement*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- PETERS, J.P. and UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION, 1897. *Nippur; or, Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates; the Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the Years 1888-1890*. New York, London: G. P. Putnam.
- PETERSON, J., 2009. Two new Sumerian texts involving the netherworld and funerary offerings. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **99**, pp. 233-246.
- PETERSON, R., 2013. Social memory and ritual performance. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, **13**(2), pp. 266-283.
- PETERSSON, O., 1957. Magic-religion: Some marginal notes to an old problem. *Ethnos*, **22**(3-4), pp. 109-119.
- PEZZOLI-OLGIATI, D., 2005. Erkundungen von Gegenwelten: Zur Orientierungsleistung "Mythischer" Reisen am Beispiel zweier mesopotamischer Texte. *Numen*, **52**(2), pp. 226-254.
- PHAM, X.H.T., 1999. *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

- PHILIP, G., 1995. Warrior burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: the evidence from mesopotamia, Western Iran, and Syria-Palestine. In: S. CAMPBELL and A. GREEN, eds, *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 140-154.
- PITARD, W.T., 1996. Care of the dead at Emar. In: M.W. CHAVALAS, ed, *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 123-140.
- POLLOCK, S., 1992. Bureaucrats and managers, peasants and pastoralists, imperialists and traders: Research on the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods in Mesopotamia. *Journal of World Prehistory*, **6**, pp. 297-336.
- POLLOCK, S., 1999. *Ancient Mesopotamia: the Eden that Never Was*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- POLLOCK, S., 2003. Feasts, funerals, and fast food in early Mesopotamian states. In: T.L. BRAY, ed, *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, pp. 17-38.
- POLLOCK, S., 2007. Death of a household. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 209-222.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B., 2001. The other and the enemy in the Mesopotamian conception of the world. *Melammu Symposia*, **2**, pp. 195-230.
- POO, M., 2005. *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes Toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- POO, M., ed, 2009. *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions (Numen book series; v. 123)*. Leiden: Brill.
- POO, M., 2009. Introduction. In: M. POO, ed, *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1-22.
- PORTER, A., 1998. The Third Millennium settlement complex at Tell Banat: results of the 1994 excavations. *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, **10**, pp. 11-63.

- PORTER, A., 2002a. Communities in conflict: death and the contest for social order in the Euphrates River valley. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, **65**(3), pp. 156-173.
- PORTER, A., 2002b. The dynamics of death: ancestors, pastoralism, and the origins of a third-millennium city in Syria. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, **325**, pp. 1-36.
- PORTER, A., 2007. You say potato, I say... typology, chronology and the origins of the Amorites. In: C. MARRO and C. KUZUCUOGLU, eds, *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin du Troisième Millénaire: Une cise a-t-elle eu lieu en Haute-Mésopotamie?* Paris: De Boccard, pp. 69-115.
- PORTER, A., 2009. Beyond dimorphism: ideologies and materialities of kinship as time-space distancing. In: J. SZUCHMAN, ed, *Nomads, Tribes and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 201-225.
- PORTER, A., 2010a. Akkad and agency, archaeology and annals: considering power and intent in Third-Millennium BCE Mesopotamia. In: S.R. STEADMAN and J.C. ROSS, eds, *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. London: Equinox, pp. 166-180.
- PORTER, A., 2010b. From kin to class—and back again! Changing paradigms of the early polity. In: L. MACGUIRE and D.L. BOLGER, eds, *The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Edgar Peltenberg*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 73-78.
- PORTER, A., 2012. *Mobile Pastoralism and the Formation of Near Eastern Civilizations: Weaving Together Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- POSTGATE, J.N., ed, 1988. *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa and his family: A Middle Assyrian Household in Government Service*. Rome: Roberto Denicola.
- POSTGATE, J.N., 1990. Archaeology and the texts—bridging the gap. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **80**, pp. 228-240.
- POSTGATE, J.N., 1992. *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History*. London and New York: Routledge.

- POSTGATE, J.N., 2002. The tombs in the light of Mesopotamian funerary traditions. In: S.E. CURTIS, H. MCCALL, D. COLLON and L. AL-GAILANI-WERR, eds, *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference 11th-13th March 2002*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, pp. 177-188.
- POTTS, D.T., 1997. *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- POWELL, M.A., 1994. Metron ariston: measure as a tool for studying beer in Ancient Mesopotamia. In: L. MILANO, ed, *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon, pp. 91-119.
- PRANG, E., 1976. Das Archiv des Imgua. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **66**(1), pp. 1-44.
- PRANG, E., 1977. Das Archiv des Bitua. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **67**(1), pp. 217.
- PREUCEL, R.W. and HODDER, I., 1996. *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: A Reader*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- PREUCEL, R.W. and MROZOWSKI, 2010. *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*. 2nd edn. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A.R., 1922 (1948). *The Andaman Islanders*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- RAGAVAN, D., 2013. Introduction. In: D. RAGAVAN, ed, *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 1-15.
- RAKITA, G.F.M. and BUIKSTRA, J.E., 2005. Introduction. In: G.F.M. RAKITA, J.E. BUIKSTRA, L.A. BECK and S.R. WILLIAMS, eds, *Interacting With the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 1-11.
- RAKITA, G.F.M., BUIKSTRA, J.E., BECK, L.A. and WILLIAMS, S.R., eds, 2005. *Interacting With the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

- RAPPAPORT, R.A., 1968. *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People*. New Haven: Yale University.
- RASMUSSEN, S.J., 2000. Alms, elders, and ancestors: the spirit of the gift among the Taureg. *Ethnology*, **39**(1), pp. 15-38.
- REDMAN, C.L., 1991. Distinguished lecture in Archaeology: in defense of the Seventies—the adolescence of New Archaeology. *American Anthropologist*, **93**(2), pp. 295-307.
- REINER, E. and PINGREE, D., 1975. *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part One, Enuma Anu Enlil Tablet 63: The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa*. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.
- REINER, E. and PINGREE, D., 1981. *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part Two; Enuma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50-51*. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.
- RENFREW, C., 1994. The archaeology of religion. In: *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 47-54.
- RENFREW, C. and ZUBROW, E.B.W., eds, 1994. *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RENFREW, C., 2008. Neuroscience, evolution and the sapient paradox: the factuality of value and of the sacred. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, **363**, pp. 2041-2047.
- RICHARDSON, S., 1999-2001. An Assyrian garden of ancestors: Room I, Northwest Palace, Kalḫu. In: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, pp. 145-216. Padova, Italy: SARGON.
- RICHARDSON, S., 2007. Death and dismemberment in Mesopotamia: Discorporation between the body and body politic. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 189-208.
- RISTVET, L., 2008. Legal and archaeological territories of the second millennium BC in northern Mesopotamia. *Antiquity*, **82**, pp. 585-599.
- ROBB, J., 2007. Burial treatment as transformations of bodily ideology. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the*

- Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 287-297.
- ROBB, J., 2013. Creating death: an archaeology of dying, In: S. TARLOW and L. NILSON STUTZ, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 441-457.
- ROBERTSON, J.F., 1984. The internal political and economic structure of Old Babylonian Nippur: the Guennakkum and his "house". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **36**(2), pp. 145-190.
- ROCHBERG, F., 1996. Personification and metaphors in the Babylonian celestial omnia. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, **116**(3), pp. 475-485.
- ROCHBERG, F., 2005. Mesopotamian cosmology. In: D.C. SNELL, ed, *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*. 2007 edn. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 339-352.
- ROCHBERG-HALTON, F., 1987. The assumed 29th Ahu tablet of Enuma Anu Enlil. In: F. ROCHBERG-HALTON, ed, *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, pp. 327-350.
- ROCHMAN, D., 2013. Death-related versus fond memories of a deceased attachment figure: Examining emotional arousal. *Death Studies*, **37**, pp. 704-724.
- ROGERS, R.W., 1900. *A History of Babylonia and Assyria, Vol. 1*. New York and Cincinnati: Eaton & Mains and Jennings & Pye.
- ROSENBLATT, P.C., 1996. Grief that does not end. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 45-58.
- ROSENBLATT, P.C., WALSH, R.P. and JACKSON, D.A., 1976. *Grief and Mourning in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. USA: HRAF Press.
- ROSS, J.C. and STEADMAN, S.R., 2010. Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward. In: S.R. STEADMAN and J.C. ROSS, eds, *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. London: Equinox, pp. 1-10.

- ROUILLARD, H. and TROPPER, J., 1987. *Trypm*, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d'après 1 Samuel XIX 11-17 et les textes parallèles d'Assur et de Nuzi. *Vetus Testamentum*, **37**(3), pp. 340-361.
- ROWAN, Y.M., 2012. Beyond belief: The archaeology of religion and ritual. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, **21**(1), pp. 1-10.
- SAHLINS, M.D., 1958. *Social Stratification in Polynesia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- SALJE, B., 1996. Becher für die Toten? Bronzene Trinksets und ihre Bedeutung im Grabkult. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, **27**, pp. 429-446, pl. 49-54.
- SALLES, J., 1995. Rituel mortuaire et rituel social à Ras Shamra/Ougarit. In: S. CAMPBELL and A. GREEN, eds, *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 171-184.
- SALONEN, A., 1966. *Die Hausgräber der Alten Mesopotamier. Teil II: Gefässe*. Helsinki: .
- SANDERS, S.L., 2009. The first tour of Hell: From Neo-Assyrian propaganda to early Jewish revelation. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, **9**(2), pp. 151-169.
- SANDERSON, S.K., 2008. Adaptation, evolution and religion. *Religion*, **38**, pp. 141-156.
- SANG, L., 2010. *Burial Practices of the Third Millennium BCE in the Middle Euphrates Region: An Interpretation of Funerary Rituals*. University of Tuebingen.
- SANGER, M., 2009. When clients sense the presence of loved ones who have died. *Omega*, **59**(1), pp. 69-89.
- SASSON, J.M., 1982. Accounting discrepancies in the Mari NÌ.GUB [NÌ.DU] texts. In: G. VAN DRIEL, T.J.H. KRISPIJN, M. STOL and K.R. VEENHOF, eds, *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 326-341.
- SASSON, J.[M.], ed, 1995. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Vol. 3*. New York: Macmillan.

- SAXE, A.A., 1970. *Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Ph.D. edn. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
- SAYCE, A.H., 1903. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia: The Gifford Lectures on the Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian Conception of the Divine*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- SAYER, D., 2010. Death and the family: developing generational chronologies. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, **10**(1), pp. 59-91.
- SCARRE, G., 2012. Speaking of the dead. *Mortality*, **17**(1), pp. 36-50.
- SCHMANDT-BESSERAT, D., 2001. Feasting in the Ancient Near East. In: M. DIETLER and B. HAYDEN, eds, *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 391-403.
- SCHMIDT, B.B., 1996. *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- SCHMIDT, B.B., 1997. The gods and the dead of the domestic cult at Emar: A reassessment. In: M.W. CHAVALAS, ed, *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 141-163.
- SCHROEDER, O., 1920. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- SCHUT, H.A.W., STROEBE, M.S., BOELEN, P.A. and ZIJERVELD, A.M., 2006. Continuing relationships with the deceased: Disentangling bonds and grief. *Death Studies*, **30**(8), pp. 757-766.
- SCHWARTZ, G.M., 1986. Mortuary evidence and social stratification in the Ninevite V period. In: H. WEISS, ed, *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.* Guilford, CN: Four Quarters Publishing, pp. 45-60.
- SCHWARTZ, G.M., 2007. Status, ideology, and memory in Third-Millennium Syria: "Royal" tombs at Umm el-Marra. In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 39-68.



- SCHWARTZ, G.M., CURVERS, H.H., DUNHAM, S. and STUART, B., 2003. A Third-Millennium B.C. elite tomb and other new evidence from Tell Umm el-Marra, Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **107**(3), pp. 325-361.
- SCHWARTZ, G.M., CURVERS, H.H., DUNHAM, S. and WEBER, 2012. From urban origins to imperial integration in Western Syria: Umm el-Marra 2006, 2008. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **116**(1), pp. 157-193.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 1991. Taklimtu: A display of grave goods? *Nouvelle assyriologiques breves et utilitaires*, **1991**(1, n. 3), pp. 3.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 1993. Once more ku-bu-ru. *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Breves et Utilitaires*, **21**, pp. 15-18.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 1997. Ghosts in the ancient Near East: Weak or powerful? *Hebrew Union College Annual*, **68**, pp. 77-96.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 2001 [1995]. Magical uses of ancient Mesopotamian festivals of the dead. In: M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI, eds, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 93-107.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 2002. Soul emplacements in ancient Mesopotamian funerary rituals. In: L.J. CIRAILO and J.L. SEIDEL, eds, *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill.
- SCURLOCK, J.A., 2006. *Magico-medical Means of Treating Ghost-induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Leiden and Boston: Brill / Styx.
- SEGAL, A., 2004. *Life After Death: A history of the afterlife in the western religion*. New York: Doubleday.
- SEGAL, R.A., 1998. *The Myth and Ritual Theory: An Anthology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- SELZ, G.J., 1995. Den Fährmann bezahlen! *Altorientalische Forschungen*, **22**(4), pp. 197-209.
- SERVICE, E.R., 1962. *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*. New York: Random House.
- SHAUGHNESSY, J.D., 1973. *The Roots of Ritual*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

- SILVERMAN, P.R. and NICKMAN, S.L., 1996. Children's construction of their dead parents. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 73-86.
- SJÖBERG, Å.W., 1965. Beiträge zum Sumerischen Wörterbuch. In: H.G. GÜTERBOCK and T. JACOBSEN, eds, *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 1965*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 63-70.
- SJÖBERG, Å.W., 1973. Nungal in the Ekur. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, **24**, pp. 19-50.
- SKAIST, A., 1980. The ancestor cult and succession in Mesopotamia. In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 123-128.
- SMALL, N., 2001. Theories of grief: A critical review. In: J.L. HOCKEY, J. KATZ and N. SMALL, eds, *Grief, Mourning, and Death Ritual*. Buckingham England and Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, pp. 19-48.
- SMITH, A. 2007. The politics of loss: Comments on a powerful death In: N. LANERI, ed, *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 163-165.
- SMITH, G., 1875. *Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, During 1873 and 1874*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.
- SMITH, G., 1876. *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.
- SMITH, G., 1877. *The History of Babylonia*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- SMITH, J.Z., 1987. *To Take Place*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- SMITH, J.Z., 1995. Trading places. In: M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI, eds, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 13-27.
- SMITH, J.Z., 1996. The bare facts of ritual. In: R.L. GRIMES, ed, *Readings in Ritual Studies*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 473-483.

- SMITH, W.R., 1972 (1889). *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: the Fundamental Institutions*. New York: Schocken Books.
- SNELL, D.C., ed, 2005. *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- SNELL, D.C., 2005. The invention of the individual. In: D.C. SNELL, ed, *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 379-391.
- SOSIS, R., 2004. The adaptive value of religious ritual. *American Scientist*, **92**, pp. 166-172.
- SPANIER, K., 1992. Rachel's theft of the Teraphim: her struggle for family primacy. *Vetus Testamentum*, **42**(3), pp. 404-412.
- SPENCER, H., 1875. *The First Principles of Sociology*. vol. 1 edn. New York: Appleton.
- STEADMAN, L.B., PALMER, C.T. and TILLEY, 1996. The universality of ancestor worship. *Ethnology*, **35**(1), pp. 63-76.
- STEADMAN, S.R. and ROSS, J.C., eds, 2010. *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. London: Equinox.
- STEIN, G.J., 2002. From passive periphery to active agents: Emerging perspectives in the archaeology of interregional interaction: Archaeology Division Distinguished Lecture AAA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, December 5, 1998. *American Anthropologist*, **104**(3), pp. 903-916.
- STEINER, G., 1982. Der Gegensatz "Eigenes Land": "Ausland, Fremdland, Feindland" in den Vorstellungen des Alten Orients. In: H. NISSEN and J. RENGGER, eds, *Mesopotamien und Seine Nachbarn: politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jartausend v. Chr.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 633.
- STEINKELLER, P., 2005. Of stars and men: the conceptual and mythological setup of Babylonian extispicy. In: A. GIANITO, ed, *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, pp. 11.
- STEPHENS, F.J., 1937. Votive and historical texts from Babylonia and Assyria. *Yale Oriental Series. Babylon Texts*, **9**, pp. 20.

- STOL, M., 1981. *Letters from Yale. Transliterated and Translated by M. Stol. AbB Heft* 9. Leiden: Brill.
- STONE, E.C., 1981. Texts, architecture and ethnographic analogy: patterns of residence in Old Babylonian Nippur. *Iraq*, **43**, pp. 19-33.
- STONE, E.C., 1982. The social role of the naditu women in Old Babylonian Nippur. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, **25**(1), pp. 50-70.
- STONE, E.C., 1987. *Nippur Neighborhoods*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- STONE, E.C., 1996. Houses, households and neighborhoods in the Old Babylonian period: the role of extended families. In: K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, pp. 229-236.
- STONE, P.G. and BAIJALY, J.F., eds, 2008. *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- STONE, P.G. and BAIJALY, J.F., 2008. Introduction. In: P.G. STONE and J.F. BAIJALY, eds, *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 1-18.
- STONE, E.C. and OWEN, D.I., 1991. *Adoption in Old Babylonian Nippur and the Archive of Mannum-mešu-liššur*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- STONE, E.C. and ZIMANSKY, P., 2004. *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City: Survey and Soundings at Mashkan-shapir*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- STOWERS, S.K., 2008. Theorizing the religion of ancient households and families. In: J.P. BODEL and S.M. OLYAN, eds, *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 5-19.
- STROEBE, M. and SCHUT, H., 2005. To continue or relinquish bonds: a review of consequences for the bereaved. *Death Studies*, **29**(6), pp. 477-494.
- STROMMENDER, E., 1957-1971. Grab. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (RLA)*, **3**, pp. 581-593; 605-608.
- STROMMENDER, E., 1964. Grabformen in Babylon. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, **3**(3), pp. 157-173. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

- STUDEVENT-HICKMAN, B., 2009. Mesopotamian roots for the belief in the resurrection of the dead. *Religion Compass*, **3/4**, pp. 524-536.
- STYERS, R., 2004. *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SÜRENHAGEN, D., 1986. The dry-farming belt: the Uruk Period and subsequent developments. In: H. WEISS, ed, *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.* Guilford, CN: Four Quarters Publishing.
- SÜRENHAGEN, D., 2002. Death in Mesopotamia: The 'Royal Tombs' of Ur revisited. In: L.A. WERR, J. CURTIS, J. MARTIN, A. MCMAHOON, J. OATES and J. READE, eds, *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of His 75th Birthday*. NABU Publications, pp. 324-338.
- SUTER, A., ed, 2008. *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SWIFT, J., 1729. *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country...* Dublin: S. Harding.
- SZLECHTER, É., 1965. Inscription funéraire babylonienne conservée au Musée Fitzwilliam à Cambridge. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, **109**(2), pp. 429-441.
- TAINTER, J.A., 1978. Mortuary practices and the study of prehistoric social systems. In: M.B. SCHIFFER, ed, *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 105-141.
- TALLQVIST, K., 1934. Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt. *Finska Orientsp.* **5**(4), pp. 1-46.
- TAMBIAH, S.J., 1996. A performative approach to ritual. In: R.L. GRIMES, ed, *Readings in Ritual Studies*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 495-511.
- TANRET, M., 2008. Find the tablet-box...new aspects of archive-keeping in Old Babylonian Sippar-Amnānum. In: VAN DER SPEK, R. J., ed, *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society — Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 131-147.

- TANRET, M., 2011. Learned, rich, famous, and unhappy: Ur-Utu of Sippar. *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture (Oxford Handbooks)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 270-287.
- TARLOW, S., 1999. *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- TARLOW, S., 2000. Emotion in archaeology. *Current Anthropology*, **41**, pp. 713-746.
- TARLOW, S., 2002. Bodies, selves and individuals. In: HAMILAKIS, et al., eds, *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, pp. 23-27.
- TARLOW, S., 2011. *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TARLOW, S., 2012. The archaeology of emotion and affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, **41**, pp. 169-185.
- TARLOW, S., 2013. Belief and the archaeology of death. In: S. TARLOW and L. NILSON STUTZ, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 617-630.
- TARLOW, S., and NILSON STUTZ, L., eds, 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TAYLOR, W., 1948. *A Study of Archaeology*. Menasha, WI: Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 69.
- TENNEY, J.S., 2011. Household structure and population dynamics in the Middle Babylonian provincial "slave" population. In: L. CULBERSON, ed, *Slaves and Households in the Near East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 135-146.
- THOMPSON, R.C., 1903. *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, Vol. 1*. London: Luzac and Co.
- THOMPSON, R.C., 1904. *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, Vol. 2*. London: Luzac and Co.

- THOMSEN, M., 2001. Witchcraft and magic in Ancient Mesopotamia. In: B. ANKARLOO and S. CLARK, eds, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Biblical and Pagan Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 1.
- TILLEY, C., 1991. *Material Culture and Text: The Art of Ambiguity*. London: Routledge.
- TORRES-ROUFF, C., PESTLE, W.J. and DAVERMAN, B.M., 2012. Commemorating bodies and lives at Kish's 'A Cemetery': (Re)presenting social memory. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, **12**(2), pp. 193-219.
- TRICOLI, S., in press. The ritual destruction of the palace of Mari by Hammurapi under the light of the cult of the ancestors' seat in Mesopotamian houses and palaces. *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien: Papers read at the 52<sup>nd</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.
- TRIGGER, B.G., 1999. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TROMP, N.J., 1969. *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- TSUKIMOTO, A., 1980. Aspekte von *kispu(m)* als "Totenbeigabe". In: B. ALSTER, ed, *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 129-138.
- TSUKIMOTO, A., 1985. *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im Alten Mesopotamien*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker.
- TSUKIMOTO, A., 2010. Peace for the dead, or *kispu(m)* again. *Orient: the Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan*, **45**, pp. 101-109.
- TURNER, V.W., 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine de Gruyter.
- TYLOR, E.B., 1866. The religion of savages. *Fortnightly Review*, **6**, pp. 71-86.
- TYLOR, E.B., 1871. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom*. Vol. 1-2.
- TYLOR, E.B., 1878. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*. 3d, rev edn. London: J. Murray.

- TYSON-RAWSON, K., 1996. Relationship and heritage: manifestations of ongoing attachment following father death. In: D. KLASS, P.R. SILVERMAN and S.L. NICKMAN, eds, *Continuing Bonds: New Understandings of Grief*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, pp. 125-148.
- UCKO, P.J., 1969. Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains. *World Archaeology*, **1**, pp. 262-280.
- UR, J., 2010. Cycles of civilization in Northern Mesopotamia 4400-2000 BC. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **18**, pp. 387-431.
- VALENTINE, C., 2008. *Bereavement Narratives: Continuing Bonds in the Twenty-First Century*. London and New York: Routledge.
- VAN DE MIEROOP, M., 1992a. Old Babylonian Ur: portrait of an Ancient Mesopotamian city. *JANES* **21**, pp. 119-130.
- VAN DE MIEROOP, M., 1992b. *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- VAN DE MIEROOP, M., 1997. *The Ancient Mesopotamian City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- VAN DE MIEROOP, M., 2007. *A History of the Ancient Near East: ca. 3000-323 BC*. 2nd edn. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- VAN DER SPEK, R.J., ed, 2008. *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society - Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., 1994. Gods and ancestors in Emar and Nuzi. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, **84**, pp. 38-59.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., 1995. The domestic cult at Emar. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, **47**, pp. 35-49.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., 1996a. Domestic religion in Ancient Mesopotamia. In: K.R. VEENHOF, ed, *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut de Istanbul, pp. 69-78.



- VAN DER TOORN, K., 1996b. *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in Forms of Religious Life*. Leiden: Brill.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., 2008. Family religion in second millennium West Asia. In: J.P. BODEL and S.M. OLYAN, eds, *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 20-36.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., BECKING, B. and VAN DER HORST, P., 1995. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., BECKING, B. and VAN DER HORST, P., 1999. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. 2nd edn. Leiden: Brill.
- VAN DIJK, J.J., 1964a. èš-gal oder iri<sub>10-11</sub>-gal? *Archiv für Orientforschung*, **20**, pp. 162-163.
- VAN DIJK, J.J., 1964b. Le motif cosmique dan le pensé Sumérienne. *Acta Orientalia*, **28**(8), pp. 1-59.
- VAN DIJK, J., GOETZE, A. and HUSSEY, M.I., 1985. *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- VAN GENNEP, A., 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- VAN KOPPEN, F., 2002. Seized by royal order: the households of Sammêtar and other magnates at Mari. *Florilegium Marianum VI ; Recueil d'Études a la Mémoire d'André Parrot*, , pp. 289-371.
- VAN LERBERGHE, K., 2003. Private and public: the Ur-Utu archive at Sippar-Amnānum (Tell ed-Dēr). In: M. BROSIUS, ed, *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-77.
- VAN SOLDT, W.H., 1994. *Letters in the British Museum. Transliterated and translated by W.H. Van Soldt, part 2. ABB Heft 13*. Leiden: Brill.
- VEENHOF, K.R., ed, 1996. *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5-8, 1993*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.

- VEENHOF, K.R., 2003. Archives of old Assyrian traders. In: M. BROSIUS, ed, *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 78-123.
- VEENHOF, K.R., 2008. The death and burial of Ishtar-lamassi in Karum Kanish. In: R.J. VAN DER SPEK, ed, *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society — Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, pp. 97-120.
- VELDHUIS, N., 2003. Entering the netherworld. *Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin*, **2003**(6), pp. 1-5.
- VIANELLO, A., 2004. Rituals as language: the archaeological evidence, *Virtual Symposium on Gestures, Rituals and Meaning*, May 6-8, 2004, pp. 1-23.
- WALKER, A.C. and THOMPSON, T., 2009. Muscogee Creek spirituality and meaning of death. *Omega: Journal of Death & Dying*, **59**(2), pp. 129-146.
- WALLACE, A.F.C., 1962. Culture and cognition. *Science*, **135**, pp. 351-357.
- WALLS, N., 2001. *Desire, Discord and Death*. Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- WALSH, K., KING, M., JONES, L., TOOKMAN, A. and BLIZARD, R., 2002. Spiritual beliefs may affect outcome of bereavement: prospective study. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, **324**(7353), pp. 1551.
- WALTER, T., 1999. *On Bereavement: The Culture of Grief*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- WALTON, J.H., 2006. *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- WALTON, J.H., 2011. *Genesis 1 as Ancient Cosmology*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- WATSON, J.L., 1988. The structure of Chinese funerary rites: elementary forms, ritual sequence, and the primacy of performance. In: J.L. WATSON and E.S. RAWSKI, eds, *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 3-19.

- WATSON, J.L. and RAWSKI, E.S., eds, 1988. *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- WATSON, R.S., 1988. Remembering the dead: graves and politics in southeastern China. In: J.L. WATSON and E.S. RAWSKI, eds, *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 203-227.
- WATTENMAKER, P., 1998. *Household and State in Upper Mesopotamia: Specialized Economy and the Social Uses of Goods in an Early Complex Society*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- WEADOCK, P.N., 1975. The Giparu at Ur. *Iraq*, **37**(2), pp. 101-128.
- WEBER, J.A., and ZETTLER, R.L., 1998. Metal vessels. In: R.L. ZETTLER and L. HORNE, eds, *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, pp. 125-140.
- WEBER, O., 1907. *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- WEIDNER, E.F., 1915. *Handbuch der Babylonischer astronomie. Bd.1. Der Babylonsiche Fixsternhimmel*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- WEIDNER, E.F., 1922. *Die Assyriologie 1914 - 1922: Wissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse in Bibliographischer Form*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- WEISS, H., ed, 1986. *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.* Guilford, CN: Four Quarters Publishing.
- WELLHAUSEN, J., 1897. *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*. 2. ausg edn. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- WENGROW, D., 1999. The intellectual adventure of Henri Frankfort: a missing chapter in the history of archaeological thought. *American Journal of Archaeology*, **103**(4), pp. 597-613.
- WESTENHOLZ, J.G., 1989. Enheduanna, En-Priestess, Hen of Nanna, spouse of Nanna. In: H. BEHRENS, D.T. LODING and M. ROTH, eds, *DUMU - E<sub>2</sub> - DUB - BA: Studies in Honor of Åke Sjöberg*. Philadelphia: University Museum, pp. 539-556.

- WESTERMANN, D., SMITH, E.W. and FORDE, C.D., 1971. Ancestors as elders in Africa. *Africa*, **41**, pp. 129-142.
- WHITEHOUSE, H., 2004. *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- WHITEHOUSE, H. and MARTIN, L.H., eds, 2004. *Theorizing Religions Past*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- WHITING, R.M., Jr., 1987. *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- WHITING, R.M., Jr., 2000 [1995]. Amorite tribes and nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia. In: J.M. SASSON, ed, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, pp. 1231-1241.
- WHITLEY, D.S., 1998. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-processual and Cognitive Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge.
- WHITLEY, D.S., 2002. Too many ancestors. *Antiquity*, **76**, pp. 119-126.
- WHITLEY, D.S., 2008. Cognition, emotion, and belief: First steps in an archaeology of religion. In: K. HAYS-GILPIN and D.S. WHITLEY, eds, *Belief in the Past: Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Religion*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, pp. 85-104.
- WHITLEY, D. S. and HAYS-GILPIN, K., 2008. Religion beyond icon, burial, and monument: An introduction. In: K. HAYS-GILPIN and D.S. WHITLEY, eds, *Belief in the Past: Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Religion*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, pp. 11-22.
- WILCKE, C., 1983. Nachlese zu A. Poebels Babylonian legal and business documents from the time of the first dynasty of Babylon chiefly from Nippur (BE 6/2) Teil 1. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, **73**, pp. 48-66.
- WILCKE, C., 1987. A riding tooth. Metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche, quick and frozen in everyday language. In: T. MINDLIN et al., eds, *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, pp. 77-102.

- WILCKE, C., 1989. Genealogical and geographical thought in the Sumerian king list. In: H. BEHRENS, D.T. LODING and M. ROTH, eds, *DUMU - E<sub>2</sub> - DUB - BA: Studies in Honor of Åke Sjöberg*. Philadelphia: University Museum, pp. 558-571.
- WILSON, E., 1901. *Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*. Rev'd edn. New York: P.F. Collier & Son.
- WILSON, J.V.K., 1965. An introduction to Babylonian psychiatry. In: H. GÜTERBOCK and T. JACOBSEN, eds, *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday April 21, 1965*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, pp. 289-298.
- WINCKELMANN, J. J., and POTTS, A., 2006. *History of the Art of Antiquity* [*Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*]. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute.
- WINTER, I., 1999. Reading ritual in the archaeological record: deposition pattern and function of two artifact types from the royal cemetery of Ur. In: H. KÜHNE, R. BERNBECK and K. BARTL, eds, *Fluchtpunkt Uruk: Archäologische Einheit aus Methodischer Vielfalt, Schriften für Hans Jörg Nissen*. Rahden: Marie Leidorf, pp. 229-257.
- WOODS, C., 2009. At the edge of the world: cosmological conceptions of the eastern horizon in Mesopotamia. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, **9**(2), pp. 183-239.
- WOOLLEY, L., MALLOWAN, M.E.L. and MITCHELL, T.C., 1976. *Ur Excavations. Volume VII. The Old Babylonian period*. London: published for the Trustees of the two museums by British Museum Publications.
- WRIGHT, J.C., ed, 2004. *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- WRIGHT, J.E., 2000. *The Early History of Heaven*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WUNSCH, C., 2005. The Šangû-Ninurta archive. In: H.D. BAKER and M. JURSA, eds, *Approaching the Babylonian Economy: Proceedings of the START Projecyt Symposium Held in Vienna, 1-3 July 2004*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 365-379.
- WYATT, N., 2001. *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

- YOFFEE, N., 1988. Aspects of Mesopotamian land sales. *American Anthropologist*, **90**(1), pp. 119-130.
- YOFFEE, N., 2005. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- YOUNGER, K.L., 2006. The production of Ancient Near Eastern text anthologies from the earliest to the latest. In: S.W. HOLLOWAY, ed, *Orientalism, Assyriology, and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- ZAJONC, R.B. and MCINTOSH, D.M., 1992. Some promising questions and some questionable promises. *Psychological Science*, **3**(1), pp. 70-74.
- ZERNECKE, A.E., 2011. An incantation-prayer: Ishtar 24. In: A.E. LENZI, ed, *Reading Akkadian Prayers and Hymns*. Atlanta, GA: Society for Biblical Literature, pp. 169-178.
- ZETTLER, R., 1996. Written documents as excavated artifacts and the holistic interpretation of the Mesopotamian archaeological record. In: J.S. COOPER and G.M. SCHWARTZ, eds, *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-first Century: the William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 81-102.