

Peace for the Dead, or *kispu(m)* Again

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New references to *ki.sì.ga-kispu(m)* “care of the dead” are increasing constantly. Examining them respectively, we come to know some aspects of the Mesopotamian practice of caring of the dead including *isin abim* “an ancestral festival.”

Keywords: *kispu*, *isin abim*, family spirit, *kispu ginû*, *bit kimti*

I. *kispu(m)* as “Care of the Dead”

Since my dissertation “Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (*kispu(m)*) im alten Mesopotamien” was submitted in 1980 (published in the series of AOAT in 1985),¹ a good number of new textual materials for *kispu(m)* (*ki.sì.ga* in Sumerogram) have appeared. In this short paper I would like to review them.

The Akkadian term *kispu(m)* was and still is widely translated to “funerary offerings” in English, “offrandes funéraires” in French, and “Totenopfer” in German. I used “Totenpflege” for *kispu(m)* in my above-mentioned study, for *kispu(m)* has a connotation of care (Pflege) of the dead in most cases. The meaning of “funerary offerings / offrandes funéraires” may also be too restricted, because the dead person was served with *kispu(m)*-offerings not only on the occasion of his funeral ceremony, but also regularly thereafter, at least once a month. Here, I use “care of the dead” for *kispu(m)* in principle.

II. *ki.sì.ga* and *ki.a.nag*

It goes without saying that the tradition of “care of the dead” goes back to the third millennium BCE. The Sumerian term *ki.sì.ga*, however, is so far not attested in Sumerian texts of the third millennium. The Sumerians used instead *ki.a.nag*, a term that indicates a place for pouring water and giving offerings to the deceased.² It is not easy, however, to comprehend the cult of the dead in the third millennium, not because the textual evidences are scanty, but, on the contrary, because they show rather diversity with respect to the occasion as well as the date of the cult. Ur-Namma, the founder of the Ur III dynasty, for example, was given daily offerings at *ki.a.nag*, whereas *ki.a.nag* was not referred

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to in the case of daily offerings for other dead kings of the same dynasty. According to W. Sallaberger, offerings to the dead kings at ki.a.nag were given in the course of the Ninazu festival in the 6th month and also at the *abum*-festival in Ur, whereas in Nippur the cult for the dead kings was connected with ab.è-festival in the 10th month.³ Sallaberger also points out that níg.dab₅ ki.a.nag “the delivery of offerings at/for the water drinking place” was succeeded to the Larsa dynasty of the Old Babylonian period and the term ki.a.nag was replaced by ki.sì.ga in one of the offering lists.⁴ In any case, the dead kings of the Ur III dynasty received additional offerings on the full and new moon day,⁵ which corresponds to the ancestral worship in Old Babylonian Mari.⁶

III. ki.sì.ga in the Sumerian Literature

Regarding ki.sì.ga in the Sumerian literary tradition, we now have two texts of great importance. One is an incantation to Utu edited anew by B. Alster in *ASJ* 13.⁷ The oldest tablet (source A) of the text belongs to the Old Babylonian period. The main purpose of the incantation is to soothe the angry spirits of the dead which cause the living trouble, with help of Utu, the judge of the netherworld.⁸ In ll. 117-169 the text indicates how to treat the spirit in individual cases. In this context ki.sì.ga is mentioned

The first passage concerns the spirit of a dead family member: “¹³⁴If it is a family spirit (gidim im.ri.a)....., ¹³⁵on the day of the lot of mankind, the death of his personal god, ¹³⁶the ritual ceremony (garza/gárza) is carried out for him at his grave, ¹³⁷on the day of the new moon, the evil day,⁹ ¹³⁸bread for care of the dead is laid for him (ninda ki.sì.ga mu.na.ni.gar).” The family spirit in a collective sense, as far as it is respectfully kept in the regular care after burial, was believed to have power to control evil demons in the netherworld and protect its descendents from them. This is the reason why bread of ki.sì.ga is laid for the family spirit in the text. The text also suggests that the ritual ceremony for the family spirit is carried out at the grave on the new moon day. In the Old Babylonian period people usually practiced care of the dead on the new moon day, once a month, in Babylonia and on the day of the new moon and the full moon, twice in a month, in Mari.¹⁰ Although Old Babylonian text materials, as far as I know, do not mention a grave definitely as place for food offerings for the deceased, we can assume that care of the dead was also practiced at the grave in the Old Babylonian time, as is the case in the first millennium.¹¹

The second passage is dealing with the dead person who, because of his anger (šà zú.kéš.da.nì), causes curses to his heir (ìbila.ni.ra níg.gig in.ak.e) and

whose anger must be released by means of food offerings (a text variant in parentheses): “¹⁵¹Let the dead man eat food in his house, let him drink water of his house. ¹⁵²Let him sleep in the shade of his house (/May you sleep in your house). ¹⁵³Let his heir live. Let him pour(/Your son has weighed silver. Let him pour water for him). ¹⁵⁴Let him place food for care of the dead for himself (ú ki.sì.ga [h]é.en.na.gá.gá). ¹⁵⁵Let him pour water for care of the dead for himself (a ki.sì.ga hé.en.na.dé.e).”¹² It is “in his house” that the heir is directed to give food offerings for his deceased father, so that the latter may “sleep in the shade of his house.” The “house” here seems to refer to the grave at which food offerings were put for him (see above).

The other text to be referred to is a new version of the Sumerian poem “The Death of Gilgamesh” published and studied by A. Cavigneaux and F. Al-Rawi.¹³ The poem begins with introducing Gilgamesh who is lying on his death bed (*ll.* 1-19). After a lacuna, Gilgamesh saw a vision, in which the gods, after reviewing his heroic career, suggest that despite his divine birth he must die and descend to the netherworld (*ll.* 49-79 // 140-169). However, he shall exercise governorship of the netherworld (*šagina kur.ra hé.ak.e*) in that there “he will pass judgment and render verdicts” (*ll.* 81f. // 171f.).¹⁴ So, Gilgamesh does not have to descend to the netherworld in anger (*šà zú/zu.kéš.da*) (*l.* [100]//190). The text then refers to *ki.sì.ga*:

igi.du ki.sì.ga a.n[un.na] (*l.* 103 in tablet M¹)
 igi.du ki.sì.ga ^da.nun.na ^rdingir¹ g[al.gal] (*l.* 193 in tablet M¹)
 [igi.d]u.un ki.sig ^da.nun.ke₄.ne dingir gal.gal.ne KU.ru.na.b[a²] (*l.* 193 in tablet M²)

Although the last phrase *KU.ru.na.b[a²]* remains inexplicable,¹⁵ Gilgamesh is expected here to bring *ki.sì.ga* for Anunna, “great gods” of the netherworld. As Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi point out,¹⁶ *ki.sì.ga* means nothing here but “objets nécessaires pour *kispu ša šēri*” that were buried together with a dead body (*ša šēri* must be emended to *ina šēri*). It includes not only commodities that the dead person is supposed to need on the way to the netherworld, but also articles that he should give as his presents to the netherworld deities. The poem indeed later depicts in *ll.* 268-287 the scene in which Gilgamesh brings his presents (*igi.du₈.bi/kadra.bi*) to the deities of the netherworld including different kinds of dead priests,¹⁷ as Ur-Namma does in another Sumerian poem “The Death of Ur-Namma.”¹⁸

IV. *kispum*(m) in the Old Babylonian Period

Regarding *kispum* in Mari texts, I just mention three relevant articles in the note, because this is a topic that has been discussed by other scholars.¹⁹ Two Old Babylonian letters in which *kispum* appears are touched upon instead. According to the first one,²⁰ a certain Marduk-nāšir sent two young persons to a manager of his field so that the manager quickly may send to Babylon some amount of barley yielded from the field together with barley of Huzālu. The barley should be needed for “care of the dead” as the last line of the letter shows: *ki-ma ti-du-ú ki.sí¹².ga ú-ta-ak-ki-ba-am* “As you know, (the day for) care of the dead has drawn near” (l. 24). F. R. Kraus put *ki.sí.ga* instead of *ki.sí.ga* in the transliteration. Based on his translation “Totenopfer,” *ki.sí.ga* is assumed to be a mistaken for *ki.sí.ga* (= *kispum*). Because barley is harvested in early summer, *kispum* “care for the dead” with barley offerings in the letter should have been carried out in the month of Abu. It is well known that *kispum* in the month of Abu was practiced in the Old Babylonian period,²¹ which tradition might date back to the Ur III period.²²

More interesting is the second letter, which was sent by Hammurabi, king of Babylon, to Sîn-iddinam, one of the governors under Hammurabi.²³ Hammurabi quotes a petition of the man called Sîn-uselli that his son who disappeared eight years ago is forced to stay in Ik-bārī in a hidden way. The man says in the first half of the petition: ¹*gēštu.lal* (=Sukkukum) *ma-ri iš-tu mu.8.kam ih-li-qà-an-ni-ma ba-al-tú-us-sú ú-ul i-de-e-ma ki-ma mi-tim ki-is-pa-am ak-ta-as-sí-ip-šum* “My son Sukkukum disappeared from me eight years ago and I did not know whether he was still alive and I kept performing care of the dead as if he were dead.” Although it is not clarified in the petition where and how often the petitioner performed *kispum* for his supposedly dead son, we can imagine that the name of his son was invoked together with other deceased family members on the monthly occasion of the ancestral cult. This is the first evidence that a father took care of his dead, in this case supposedly dead, son.

A prayer text (CBS 473) published by C. Wilcke²⁴ should be taken into account in this respect, even though the term *kispum* is not used in the text. The part in question reads (ll. 1-5):

[^den].zu (/ [^dnin.a].zu) dingir *ša-me-e ù er-še-tim at-ta*
[a-na k]i-im-ti ^den.zu-na-ši-ir dumu sig-An-nu-ni-tum
[i-na še⁷]-ri-im me-e a-na-aq-qí-kum
ki-im-ti ^den.zu-na-ši-ir dumu sig-An-nu-ni-tum
uš-še-ra-am-ma ʾninda⁷-šu li-ku-lu ù me-e-šu li-iš-tu-ú

“[Sî]n (/[Nina]zu) , you, god of the heavens and the earth,
[for] the family of Sîn-nāšir, son of Ipqi-Annunitum,
I pour water for you [in the mor]ning.
Release the family of Sîn-nāšir, son of Ipqi-Annunitum,
so that they may eat his bread and drink his water.”

This is a prayer to god Sîn (or Ninazu) for releasing *kimtu(m)* “the family” of Sîn-nāšir so that “his family” may eat bread and drink water.” As Wilcke correctly comments on this text, *kimtu(m)* “the family” means here the ancestors of Sîn-nāšir (*eṭemmē kimtim*). We will find the same usage of “the family” (im.ri.a=*kimtu*) further in a Kassite material (see below). What is remarkable in this text is “release” of the ancestors: *kimti Sîn-nāšir mār Ipqi-Annunitum uššeram* “release the ‘family’ of Sîn-nāšir, son of Ipqi-Annunitum.” F. R. Kraus notes: “Entsprechend der bekannten Einstellung der Babylonier zu Toten kann mit der erbetenen ‘Freilassung’ der Toten hier nur eine befristete, eben ein (spezieller) Urlaub, gemeint sein.”²⁵ I understand “Urlaub” here as an occasion in which the family spirit(s) is (are) released for a while in order to ascend from the netherworld and enjoy “the ancestral festival” (see below).

V. *isin abim*

A late Old Babylonian gallbladder omen text that I am preparing to publish together with other omen tablets should be mentioned here.²⁶ Although the term *kispum* is not be used in the text, the apodosis is very much suggestive with regards to the theme. I quote ll. 22-28 of the text:

22: *šum-ma re-ú-um pè-še-et-ma i-na qa-aq-qa-di-šu pu-šú*
23: *ù ši-lu na-di a-wi-lu i-nu-ma a-bu-um i-lu-ú-ni*
24: *i-na ú-um i-¹si¹-in a-bi-im it-ti a-wi-il-tim*
25: *i-na ma-har a-bi-im it-ti-il-ma qa-aq-as-su*
26: *i-na na-di-im ša ma-har a-bi-im iš-ku-un*
27: *ù a-bu-um i-na har-ra-ni-šu-nu i-le-eq¹-qú-ú-šu*
28: *a-wi-lu-um šu-ú i-ma-at*

If the “shepherd” (of the gallbladder) is white, and a white patch and a hole are laid on his head, then, in case that a man, when the ancestors come up (from the netherworld) on the day of the ancestor’s festival, lies down with a woman in the presence of the ancestors and places his “head” in the “water skin” in the presence of the ancestors, the

ancestors shall take him away on their way. The man will die.

The text suggests that “the ancestral festival” (*isin abim*) is the day on which the ancestors ascend (*a-bu-um i-lu-ú-ni*) from the netherworld obviously in order to receive *kispum*-offerings. On this day sexual intercourse should be avoided “in the presence of the ancestors.” “To place his head in the water skin” should not be understood literally, but as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. Despite the singular form *abum* “father” must be regarded in a collective sense as the ancestors, or spirits of the family, as the plural form of the verb shows (*ll. 23 and 27*). We have a more or less parallel expression in a Mari text: *a-na ki-is-pí-im [š]a ab-bé-e* “for *kispum* of the ancestors.”²⁷ In all events, we have here the first clear evidence that the ancestors come up on the earth at the ancestral festival (*isin abim*), which can be another expression of *kispum* and connected with “release of the family (spirits)” in the text mentioned above (CBS 473). The ancestral festival might have been held in the month of Abu.

VI. *kispu(m)* in the Kassite Period

From the Kassite period we have now five new references to *kispu* in the delivery lists published and studied by L. Sassmannshausen as text nos. 173 (UM 29-16-110, barley flour), 195 (UM 29-16-133, beer), 215 (CBS 8682, beer), 266 (UM 29-16-83, beer), and 284 (CBS 10791, oil).²⁸ Two things should be pointed out with regard to the *kispu* custom in the Kassite time. First, *kispu ginû* “regular offerings for the dead.” No. 173, *ll. 2f.* read:

2 PI *ki-is-pu gi-nu-ú*

1 bán 1 síla kimin ud.29.kam

“2 *pars/šiktu* (about 120 *l* of barley flour) for regular offerings for the dead,

1 *sūtu* and 1 *qû* (about 11 *l* of barley flour) for the same on the 29th day.”

The text is almost equivalent to another monthly delivery list of barley flour from the same year (the 2nd year of Kudur-Enlil), HS 126, 2f.:

2 PI *ki-is-pu gi-nu-ú*

1 (bán) 2 síla kimin ud.21.kam.²⁹

Based on the fact that the amount of flour for *kispu ginnû* is almost ten times as much as that for *kispu* on the 29th in the first and on the 21st in the second text, and in consideration of both days as special cases, *kispu ginû* might mean “the daily offerings for the dead.” We already know a Kassite delivery list which shows that an article, which is not identified because of damages of the text, was delivered for *kispu* from the 1st to 30th or 29th of the month.³⁰

Second, *é.im.ri.a* (= *bīt kintī* “the family house”) in no. 284, l. 21: 1 *bán i.ba é ù ki.sì.ga é.im.ri.a* “1 *sūtu* of oil delivery for the house and for *kispu* of the family house.” Sassmannshausen remarks on “the family house”: “Der Beleg wirft die Frage nach der Funktion des Familienhauses auf. Es kann sich hier kaum um das Wohnhaus einer Familie handeln.”³¹ I would like to make an addition to this remark, namely that “the family” here means “ancestors of the family” as in the Old Babylonian prayer cited above. If so, “the family house” (*é.im.ri.a*) should be taken for “the family grave.” It is not unusual that the word “house” (*é = bītu*) is used for the grave or mausoleum especially in the texts of the first millennium.³²

The related materials from the Middle Euphrate region of the second half of the Late Bronze age are left out here, because scholars like K. van der Toorn, W. T. Pitard and B. B. Schmidt have discussed them in detail.³³

VII. *kispu(m)* in a Curse Formula

From materials of the first millennium BCE, the Neo-Assyrian tomb inscriptions published by A. Fadhil in *BagM* 21 should be touched on lightly.³⁴ The term *kispu* appears in the cursing formula of two parallel texts (ll. 3-4 in A // ll. 8-11 in B): *ša^{na4} a-ra-nu šu-a-tú ta áš-ri-ša i-de-ku-ú gidim-šu it-ti gidim^{meš} ki-is-pa ul i-ma-har* “whoever removes this coffin from its site, his spirit shall not receive care of the dead together with the spirits.” This formula reminds me of a passage of Ashurbanipal’s inscription in which he says that he exposed the grave of the Elamite kings and deprived them of *kispu* and water pouring.³⁵ Fadhil published one more tomb inscription, IM 125000, which describes a similar curse without using the term *kispu* (ll. 11-17): *ša^{na4} kišib ša ki.mah šu-a-tú bad-ú e-le-nu ina šu-ru-ru^d šam-ši e-ťé-ma-šú ina šu-me-e ka-ma-te li-ir-pu-du šap-la-nu ina ki-ti na-qa me-e kaš.sag^{giš} geštin ú-pu-un-tu it-ti^d A-nun-na-ki ta-kal-li-mu la i-ma-har* “Whoever opens this seal of the grave, above in the sun light his spirit shall roam outside in thirst, beneath in the netherworld he shall not receive pouring water, excellent beer, wine, *upuntu*-flour, (and) the *takallimu*-offerings together with Anunnaku.”³⁶ It is remarkable that the text mentions *takallimu*, a varied form of *taklimu* (“Schauopfer” in *AHW* 1307b, “a food offering” in *CAD*

T 81b), because, as far as I know, *taklimu* is not used in such a context. But it should be noted that the term is derived from the same root as *taklimtu* (“Aufbahrung im Totenkult” in *AHw* 1307b, “display (of the body before burial)” in *CAD* T 80a-b). The latter was an essential part of the funerary ceremony as attested in some Neo-Assyrian as well as ritual texts.³⁷

The texts mentioned here with respect to the cult of the dead show how much people of Ancient Mesopotamia were concerned about peaceful afterlife and how horrible it was for them not to be buried or cared for after burial in an appropriate way. Peace for the dead was bound up with peace of the living.

Postscript:

During my proof-reading, Dr. D. Shibata has drawn my attention to new references of *kispu* in the texts of the First Sealand Dynasty, namely S. Dalley, *Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøn Collection*, CUSAS 9, Bethesda: CDL Press, 2009, nos. 100 (l. 10) and 417 (l. 4).

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this paper follow the system of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (http://cdli.ucla.edu/wiki/doku.php/abbreviations_for_assyriology).

Notes

¹ A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispu(m)) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT 216, Kevelaer: Butzon and Becker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: NeukirchenerVerlag, 1985.

² *ki.a.nag* goes back to the Pre-Sargonic time. See for example T. Kobayashi, “*Ki.a.nag* of Enentarzi,” *Orient* 21 (1985), 10-39.

³ W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Teil 1, Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1993, 63ff., 105, 146ff., 195ff., 205ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 196 with n. 934.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 64f.

⁶ Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁷ B. Alster, “Incantation to Utu,” *ASJ* 13 (1991), 27-96 (photos in *ASJ* 15, 265-285).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27. See further M. J. Geller, “Very Different Utu Incantations,” *ASJ* 17 (1995), 101-126.

⁹ According to MSL V 23, 194f., the evil day (*u₄.hul.gál*)” falls on the 30th day.

¹⁰ Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 47f., 57ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 107-115. Lexical texts also identify *é.ki.sì.ga* “a house for care of the dead” with “grave (*kimahhu*, *quburu* a. o.). See *Ibid.*, 31 n. 135.

¹² Alster, *op. cit.*, 60. See also A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et sa mort: Textes de Tell Haddad VI avec appendice sur les textes funéraires sumériens*, Groningen: Styx, 2000, 74f.

¹³ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *op. cit.* 25ff.

¹⁴ For l. 82 // 172 see “The Death of Ur-Namma” l. 144: *e.ne di kur.ra i.ku₅.dè ka.aš kur.ra i.bar.re* “He (=Gilgamesh) passes judgment of the netherworld, he renders verdicts of the netherworld.” E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, OBO 166, Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press, 1999, 126. For the feature of Gilgamesh as a netherworld deity

- see A. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 127-132.
- ¹⁵ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi translate the line “(Va) en tête au *kispu*, (le repas funèbre) offert aux Anunna, en présence des grands dieux.” (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *op. cit.*, 57). It seems to me, however, that dingir gal.gal.ne is an apposition to Anunna, as in Akkadian incantations to Anunnaku the case is (^dAnunna dingir^{meš} gal^{meš}).
- ¹⁶ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *op. cit.*, 46.
- ¹⁷ The text is based on tablet N³, ll. 8-28. *Ibid.*, 22f.
- ¹⁸ Urnamma A = “The Death of Ur-Namma,” ll. 76-131. See Flückiger-Hawker, *op. cit.*, 115-124.
- ¹⁹ C. Wilcke, “Dagan-nahmis Traum,” *WO* XVII (1986), 11-16 with note 1 (materials to 1985 listed up); J.-M. Durand and M. Guichard, “Les rituels de Mari,” *Florilegium Marianum* III (1997), 17-78 (“Le rituel du KISPUM” in pp. 63-70); A. Jacquet, “LUGAL-MEŠ ET MALIKUM: Nouvel examen du KISPUM à Mari,” *Florilegium Marianum* VI (2002), 51-68.
- ²⁰ F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus kleineren westeuropäischen Sammlungen*, AbB X, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, no. 73.
- ²¹ Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 48-51.
- ²² Sallaberger, *op. cit.*, 205-207.
- ²³ W. H. van Soldt, *Letters in the British Museum*, AbB XIII, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, no. 21.
- ²⁴ C. Wilcke, “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,” *ZA* 73 (1983), 49-54.
- ²⁵ F. R. Kraus, “Ein altbabylonisches Totenopfer,” *ZA* 77 (1987), 96.
- ²⁶ The tablet is owned by the Hirayama Silk Road Museum, Japan. I am very grateful to the Museum for allowing me to use it here.
- ²⁷ The text is published by D. Charpin in *MARI* 3 (1984), 89, no. 36.
- ²⁸ L. Sassmannshausen, *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*, BagF 21, Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern GmbH, 2001, 322f., 332, 337, 351 and 361f.
- ²⁹ Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 80.
- ³⁰ PBS 2/2, 133, l. 2: [x bān] 14 sila *ki-is-pu* ta ud.1.kam en ud.30.kam *ša* ^{itu}ziz.a.an; l. 36: [x bān x] sila *ki-is-pu* ta ud.1.kam en ud.29.[kam *ša* ^{itu}še.kin tar]. See Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 81f.
- ³¹ Sassmannshausen, *op. cit.* 167.
- ³² Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 108.
- ³³ K. van der Toorn, “Gods and Ancestors in Emar and Nuzi,” *ZA* 84 (1994), 38-59; W. T. Pitard, “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: CDL Press, 1996, 123-140; B. B. Schmidt, “The Gods and the Dead of the Domestic Cult at Emar: a Reassessment,” in *Ibid.*, 141-163.
- ³⁴ A. Fadhil, “Tomb Inscriptions of Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua aus Nimrud/Kalhu und andere in ihrem Grab gefundene Schriftträger,” *BagM* 21 (1990), 471-482. For *kispu* attested in a Neo-Assyrian letter (SAA XVI, no. 52, r 3), see K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*, SAA Studies VI, Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997, 274.
- ³⁵ Ashurbanipal Prism A vi 70-76.
- ³⁶ A. Fadhil, “Die in Nimrud/Kalhu aufgefundene Grabinschrift der Jabâ,” *BagM* 21 (1990), 461.
- ³⁷ See *CAD* T 80a-b.