WAS MESANDU THE PERSONAL DEITY OF ENENTARZI?

Toshiko Kobayashi*

Introduction

Sumerians held the supreme deities in the pantheon of ancient Mesopotamia in great awe, and felt that a man should have a personal deity to serve as an intermediator on his behalf when the deities assembled to judge all men decide their fates.\(^{(1)}\) Personal deities were low in rank; they protected not only the individual but his family, and aided human activities. They bore moral responsibility and punished unjust conduct.\(^{(2)}\)

The royal inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic Lagash contain the oldest extant information records regarding personal deities. In the inscriptions written by six rulers of the Urnanshe dynasty, Shulutul\(^{(3)}\) is generally referred to as dingir-ra-ni, “his deity.”\(^{(4)}\) After that dynasty, Enentarzi, who had been sanga, “the highest administrator” of the temple of Ningirsu, became ensi, “ruler.” His son Lugalanda succeeded him, but was soon deprived of his political power by Uruinimgina. Altogether, Enentarzi and Lugalanda ruled for about ten years. The personal deity of Uruinimgina was Ninshubur;\(^{(5)}\) a name found in his royal inscriptions;\(^{(6)}\) however, the few inscriptions of Enentarzi and Lugalanda thus remain, do not mention to their personal deity. The personal deity of Enentarzi, however, can be found in BM 23103,\(^{(7)}\) which dated from the Old Babylonian period. The schema of the text to the present paper is quoted below, according to E. Sollberger’s transliteration and translation.

BM23103
153) sur₄₂-nanse du[mu] x-x-ma-gé 154) é-sirara₄₂ é ša-húl | -la-ni 155) sirara₃₁ uru ki-ág-gá-ni mu-du₃₁-a 156) [m]u 1080 i-nà 157) an-né-túmu dumu sur₄₃-nanse-gé 158) ki alim-m[a]-na dičir-re-e-ne 159) mu-un-gub-

* Lecturer, Rishō University.
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“153–156) Sur-Nansē, son of ...m(a), who built the E-Sirara, his house of happiness, (and) Siraran, his beloved city: he acted for 1,080 years. 157–161) Ane-tumu, son of Sur-Nansē, in whose ...-place the gods stood, the ...of Enlil...: his god was ū-sul-ūtula; he acted for 690 years. 162–163) ...-gibil, son of Ane-tumu: he acted for n+360 years. 164–166) En-ēn-tar-zi: his god was Mes-an-du, the seed of days of yore, grown with the city: he acted for 990 years. 167–172) ...-enda-insi, son of En-ēn-tar-zi: he dug the canal ‘fierce lion’ (and) the canal ‘... is irrigation-inspector;’ his god was Mes-an-du; his master, Nin-Ĝirsu, commanded him to build his temple; he acted for 960 years.”

Sollberger adopts reading UR₄-nansē as sur₄-nansē, a term which indicates ur₄-nansē, the first ruler of the Urnanshe dynasty. He also assumes that a-nē-tūmu in 1.157 was Eannatum, Enannatum I, or mixture of both rulers’ names,⁸ and that [xe]-n-da-in-si in 1.167 was identical with Lugalanda.⁹

BM 23103 must be treated carefully, for its contents cannot be regarded as complete fiction despite some problems. According to the royal inscriptions of this dynasty, it is clear that Shulutul was the personal deity of rulers of the Urnanshe dynasty.

Thus the above-mentioned text in which Shulutul is described as the personal deity of Urnanshe seems to reflect a historical fact. Although there are many royal inscriptions for other cities, except Lagash, they do not frequently refer to “his deity” i. e. the personal deity. This form seems to be a distinctive Lagash type.¹⁰ Accordingly, it may reinforce the validity of Sollberger’s identification of BM 23103 with “the King List” of Lagash, which is not contained in “the Sumerian King List.”

BM 23103 indicates that Mesandu is the personal deity of Enentarzi; how-

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ever, not many inscriptions of Enentarzi and of Lugalanda survive, and Mesandu is not mentioned in them. The name is found in the economic-administrative archives of the Pre-Sargonic Lagash, discussed in more detail below. These archives were mainly written during the period from Enentarzi to Uruinimgina, and the majority belong to an organization called é-mi, “the house of the wife (of the ruler).” Mesandu is found in contemporary records. In my research thus far, I have found his name only in BM 23103 and the economic-administrative archives. Why did a scribe of the Old Babylonia period identify Mesandu as the personal deity of Enentarzi? Was it made up by the scribe, or historical fact?

Below, I will analyze contemporary materials, namely, royal inscriptions and economic-administrative archives to try to determine whether Mesandu was the personal deity of Enentarzi and his son Lugalanda.

I. Personal Deities Found in Royal Inscriptions

Before analyzing the economic-administrative archives, I would like to touch upon the personal deities found in the royal inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic Lagash. I will only summarize the main points here, as I have already treated the subject, “A Study of the Peg Figurine with the Inscription of Enannatum I,” Orient XXIV, 1988, pp. 1-17.

First, Shulutul was the personal deity of Urnanshe, ruler of Lagash, and his successive rulers, and was not the guardian deity of a ruler or rule. Secondly, although Gudea, later ruler of Lagash, built the temple for his personal deity Ningishzida, presented votive goods to this deity, and included this deity's name in his epithet. In other words, Gudea thought that a personal deity gave a person power. Temples were not built for Shulutul and Ninshubur by a ruler; nor were votive goods presented on them, nor their names included in the epithet of a ruler. Thirdly, Th. Jacobsen considers a personal deity originally to have been a personification of a man's “luck,” and Shulutul and Ninshubur seem to be close to the original form of personal deities. Personal deities, found in royal inscriptions, are represented as being passive in character, sympathizing with a ruler; they are neither autonomous nor dynamic deities. This type of deity is represented as praying for or mediating on behalf of the long life of a ruler before a supreme deity in the royal inscriptions.
II. Records of Festivals

The economic-administrative archives include lists of sacrifices a ruler or his wife offered to deities. These lists are classified according to whether sacrifices were offered regularly or irregularly. In the former, sacrifices are classified by date of festival and month. Lists concerning festivals will be discussed first below.

The archives mention several festivals. Mesandu appears in lists of “the festival of eating the barley of Ningirsu,” “the festival of eating the malt of Ningirsu,” “the festival of eating the barley of Nanshe,” and “the festival of eating the malt of Nanshe.” On the occasion of these festivals, the wife of the ruler went around the districts in Lagash, offering sacrifices to deities, temples and so on. It seems that Shulutul, Ninshubur and Mesandu, the deities mentioned in the lists of sacrifices for the festivals of Ningirsu, were enshrined in or near Uruku district and that the three deities who appear in the records of the festivals of Nanshe were enshrined in Nina district. Festivals were celebrated over several days, and many deities along with some temples received offerings on a specified day, when the central ritual must have been held. The quantity of offerings to each deity was basically fixed. The quantity increased in proportion to the rank of the deity. Accordingly, it seems that the order of receiving offerings represents the order of the deities in the official pantheon of Lagash.

Table I compares the order of Mesandu, Shulutul (the personal deity of the rulers of the Urnanshe dynasty), and Ninshubur (the personal deity of Uruinimgina).

The three deities were not of high rank. Although the orders in which Mesandu and Ninshubur received offerings varies the following points in the table should be noted: Mesandu received offerings ahead of Ninshubur during the reign of Lugalanda, whereas the latter comes before him after the second year of the reign of Uruinimgina, lugal. As the lists belonging to the years of Ue I and Ul I do not survive, the order of the two deities in these periods is unknown. Therefore, the reversal probably occurred before the year Ul II. The order of the deities, Mesandu and Ninshubur is known to have changed early in the reign of Uruinimgina. The lists of offerings I have investigated thus far do not indicate that the order of deities changed when the ruler changed, except in the above-mentioned example. The change in the order which
deities received offerings indicates a change in the deities' position in the official pantheon of Lagash. In other words, Uruinimgina, the ruler, seems to have intended placing Ninshubur ahead of Mesandu. As mentioned above, Ninshubur was the personal deity of Uruinimgina; therefore it is likely that Mesandu was the personal deity of both Lugalanda, who was deprived of his political power by Uruinimgina, and his wife Barnamtarra, and accordingly, that Mesandu was replaced along with Ninshubur by Uruinimgina during his reign.

Uruinimgina's seizure of political power does not seem to be a dismal change, for there are records(20) that Shagshag, Uruinimgina's wife, distributed bread and beer to persons taking part in the mourning rites for Barnamtarra, the wife of Lugalanda. Therefore it is presumed that Uruinimgina did not replace Mesandu with Ninshubur as soon as he deprived Lugalanda of political power.

Moreover, some festivals in Lagash were connected with ancestors and the deities related to them.(21) There are several lists of offerings for these festivals, in which the personal deities Shulutul and Ninshubur, and Mesandu, are not found. M. A. Powell(22) posits that: Mes-an-DU and Ninšubur were probably also regarded as chthonic deities. One sheep was sacrificed to each at the end of the month of the festival of Lugal-uruganatenû, which coincided with the new moon. The deity Lugal-uruganatenû was closely associated with the cult of the dead. The record of this sacrifice, DP 200, will be discussed in section IV below. It is true that Mesandu and Ninshubur were offered sacrifices when the month of the festival of Lugalurub ended, but they were not among the deities receiving sacrifices on the occasion of the festival itself.(23) Accordingly Powell's supposition that the two deities were chthonic deities, that is, deities connected with the dead, does not seem to be justified just on the basis of DP 200 only.

III. Monthly Supplies of Cereals

A summary of the cereals used for different purposes, supplied by the organizations of a ruler and his wife, are recorded by organization, per month. The records mention the distribution of cereals to about twenty places, such as for feeding donkeys and brewing beer, and Mesandu is mentioned among the recipients. He is the only deity included in the lists regarding the distribution of cereals. As seen in Table II, the distribution of cereals, specifically
barley and emmer, to Mesandu is concentrated almost entirely during the reign of Lugalanda. The only record dating from the reign of Enentarzi is Nik. 67; although Mesandu is not mentioned in it, Deimel restored this deity to the damaged line in Or 32, S. 3. Supplying cereals to Mesandu stopped in the middle of the reign of Uruinimgina. DP 156, the fifth time in the reign of Uruinimgina, ensi, is the final record in which Mesandu is mentioned. The text from the sixth time does not remain, and DP 155, the seventh time, does not include Mesandu. His name never appears on the seventh or later records regarding the provision of cereals during the reign of Uruinimgina.

The supply of cereals to Dudu and ki-a-nag disappeared almost the same times. Dudu was given cereals for the third, and final, time in the first year of Uruinimgina, lugal and ki-a-nag for the second, and final, time in the year of Uruinimgina, ensi. They never appeared in the lists thereafter. As I have already discussed this problem in “The ki-a-nag of Enentarzi,” Orient XXI, 1985, pp. 20–21, I will only offer a summary here: As Dudu, sanga of Ningirsu, was the father of Enentarzi, that is, the grandfather of Lugalanda and seems to have been dead in the reign of Enentarzi, the act of supplying cereals to Dudu means supplying offerings to him. The kianag was the place where a dead ruler and his wife were enshrined and Enentarzi, father of Lugalanda, was enshrined in this place during the reign of Lugalanda. Namely supplying cereals to the kianag also means to supply offerings. Uruinimgina, who wrested political power from Lugalanda, and Shagshag, wife of Uruinimgina, did not need to offer sacrifices to the ancestors of the former ruler, or their relatives; therefore they stopped supplying cereals. The reason that Uruinimgina did not stop supplying cereals to Dudu and the kianag, which were closely related to the former ruler, as soon as Uruinimgina deprived Lugalanda of political power, that is, from the first year of Uruinimgina, ensi, results from the power change mentioned in the above section.

Mesandu, as well as Dudu and the kianag, who was given cereals during the reign of Lugalanda stopped receiving offerings in the reign of Uruinimgina, who seems to have been the deity closest to Lugalanda. As mentioned in the above section, Mesandu was not high in rank in the official pantheon of Lagash and was not connected to ancestor worship; however, he was the only deity who received a offering monthly. Mesandu, of low rank but important, seems to have been the personal deity of Lugalanda and his wife Barnamtarra.
IV. Irregular Sacrifices

In the economic-administrative archives, there are many records about managing livestock, of which several concern consuming livestock as an irregular sacrifice. The summarization at the end of the records, that is, "(She / He) offered a sacrifice," makes it obvious that sacrifices were offered. However, the intention of the sacrifices is obscure because hardly any written records remain. Mesandu is seen in such records of sacrifices, which concentrate in the reign of Lugalanda. The records will be introduced chronologically as follows:

DP 200, I, 1) udu 2) dmes-an-du 3) 1 udu d nin-šubur 4) bár-nam-tar-ra II, 1) itu-ezem-lugal-urubxki-ka-ti-la-ba 2) é-u₄-sakar-uru-kù-ga-šè III, 1) e-gen-na-a 2) giš bé-tag 3) udu-kù-a 4) en-kù kurušda-kam IV

"Barnamtarra sacrificed one sheep to Mesandu (and) one sheep to Ninshubur when she went to the New Moon temple in Uruku (district) on the occasion of finishing the month of the festival of Lugalurub. (These are) sheep consumed by Enku, the butcher. The fourth (year)."

DP 201, I, 1) udu 2) dmes-an-du-šè 3) bár-nam-tar-ra II, 1) egir-ezem-še-kù- II, 1) dnanše-ka-ta 3) giš bé-tag III, 1) kù-a 2) en-kù 3) kurušda-kam V

"Barnamtarra sacrificed one sheep for Mesandu after the festival of eating the barley of Nanshe. (This is) consumed by Enku, the butcher. The fifth (year)."

These texts do not tell why sacrifices were offered. As mentioned above, Barnamtarra offered sacrifices to Mesandu with the other deities on the occasion of the festivals and monthly supplied cereals to Mesandu. Besides these regular sacrifices, Mesandu received irregular sacrifices. No other deities received offerings except Mesandu. Accordingly, it is obvious that Lugalanda and his wife Barnamtarra attached importance to Mesandu.

As mentioned above, the reason for a sacrifice is hardly ever explained. The two texts cited below, however, suggest why sacrifices were made:
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Nik. 148(24)
I, 1) 2 udu 1 sila₄ 2) d'en-ki-daⁿ-nigin(25) 3) 1 maš-lúgud-da an-ta-surr-ra(26) 4) u₄-l-kam
5) 2 udu 4en-ki-da-nigin II, 1) u₄-2-kam
2) I udu 4en-ki-da-nigin 3) 1 maš 8-balag 4) u₄-3-kam
5) 1 udu 4mes-an-du 6) u₄-4-kam

VI, 1) šu-nigin 6 udu-nita 2) 1 sila₄ 3) 2 maš
4) itu-udu-shē-še-aⁿ-nanne-ka 5) bár-nam-tar-ra V, 1) dam-lugal-an-da
2) ensi- 3) lagašši-ka 4) abzu-gú-id-ka-ka 5) mu-ti-la-a IV, 1) giš bé-tag
2) udu-kú-faⁿ-š(28) 3) en-kù 4) kurušda-kam V

"Two sheep, one lamb to 'Enkida'ñigin, one lugud-goat to the Antasurra,
on the first day,
Two sheep to Enkidanigin, on the second day,
One sheep to Enkidanigin, one goat to Balag-instrument, on the third
day,
One sheep to Mesandu, on the fourth day,

Total, six ram, one lamb, two goats, in the month (carrying) barley and
water for the sheep of Nanshe, Barnamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, ensi of
Lagash, sacrificed when she stayed in the Abzuguídka. (These are)
sheep consumed by Enku, the bucher. The fifth (year)."

Nik. 153
I, 1) 1 mašⁿ-lúgud-da 2) en-èn-tar-zi) 3) 1 maš-lúgud-da 4) du-du 5) sangā
6) 1 maš-lúgud-da 7) mī-šagal-ga
5) 1 maš nigin(29)
6) 1 udu abzu-gú-id-ka
III, 1) 1 sila₄ 2) an-ta-surr-ra
3) 1 maš-kin-gi₄-a(30) 4) 4mes-an-du-ka 5) kin-gi₄-a ba-gi₄(31)

VI, 1) šu-nigin 1 udu 1 sila₄ 5 maš
2) itu-udu-shē-še-aⁿ-nanne-ka 3) bár-nam-tar-ra 4) giš drei bé-tag
V, 1) udu-kú-₄ a 2) en-kù 3) kurušda-kam V
"One lugud-goat to Enentarzi, (Barnamtarra or her representative(?))
One lugud-goat to Dudu, sanga,
One lugud-goat to Mishagga,
brought to them when Addashusikil,
the sukkal-officer, slept.
One goat to the cella,
One sheep to the Abzuguidka,
One lamb to the Antasurra,
One divination goat of Mesandu: — divination was communicated.

Total, one sheep, one lamb, five goats, in the month (carrying) barley
and water for the sheep of Nanshe, Barnamtarra sacrificed.
(These are) sheep consumed by Enku, the butcher. The fifth (year)."

Both Nik. 148 and 153 record that Enku, the butcher, consumed sheep
and goats in the same month of the same year and the use of livestock is also
the same; that is, they are sacrifices by Barnamtarra. The objects of the
sacrifices partly overlap; and the sacrifices were offered in the same month
of the same year. Therefore, the intention of both sacrifices seems to be the
same. As found in Nik. 148, Barnamtarra offered to Enki chiefly during
four days. The Abzuguidka was the temple in which Enki was enshrined. The
intention of the sacrifices by her is obscure, but it seems that her prayer was
not fulfilled, so a second sacrifice was offered. In other words, Nik. 153 seems
to be a record of a second sacrifice. The first half of this text is a record of
sacrifices to three dead,(32) that is, Enentarzi (father of Lugalanda), Dudu
(his grandfather) and Mishagga (his aunt), and the intention of the sacrifices
to them is explained in "(Barnamtarra or her representative(?)) brought (the
offerings) to them when Addashusikil, the sukkal-officer, slept," it is unclear what
circumstances are meant by "slept."(33)

The Abzuguidka, that is, "the Abzu (temple) by the canal," received
offerings on the occasion of the above-mentioned festivals of Ningirsu,(34) and
also received sacrifices(35) on an occasional basis. These records of offerings
to the Abzuguidka occur chiefly in the reign of Lugalanda; therefore this temple
must have been the center of Enki worship during his reign. Enki was the
deity in charge of Abzu (an abyss) and his worship originally centered around
Eridu; however, he seems to have been widely worshipped in Lagash too
because some sanctuaries(36) including Abzu's name in the economic-admini-
strative archives in addition to the Abzuguidka. The reason why Enki was worshipped can be surmised from following inscription:

Corpus, Urn. 49, III, 1) 6 en-ki 2) čē-bar-kin 3) ḫē-e

"May Enki pronounce a (favorable) oracle!"

This inscription is part of a prayer by Urnanshe to Enki, lord of Abzu, and the reed of Abzu when he built the Eshgirsu. In later ages Enki is known to have taken charge of divination and this inscription is the oldest example indicating this attribute of Enki. Judging from this attribute, Enki was probably worshipped. The Antasurra is the temple of Ningirsu, lord of Lagash, and Nik. 148 and 153 both record that Ningirsu was given sacrifices in this temple; however, it seems to be mainly Enki, not Ningirsu, to whom sacrifices were offered.

What was the meaning of the sacrifices to Mesandu? This problem is related to Nik. 174, cited below.

Nik. 174
I, 1) 12 [udu]-nita 2) 6 maš 3) 1 zeḥ 4) ur-du₆ 5) sipa-dē 6) ba-ra
7) 5 udu-nig-kū-a II, 1) 1 nita-anše-bar-an 2) 1 MĪ-sāḫ-qi 3) 1 NITA-
šāḫ-gi
4) 2 MĪ- ā-gir-tu-[2(37)] 5) 3 1/4 š[e] III, 1) 5 zīz 2) bará-gur₅-a-
kam(38)
3) 8 sag-nita 4) 2(39) sag-mí 5) ti-ū₇-su-[šē(49)] IV, 1) [...]-sila-[šîr]-sîr-ra
2) 6mes-an-du-ka 3) maš-e pâ-da-a 4) maš-šê mu-na-ri-a III

"Twelve rams, six goats, one she-kid; the shepherd Urdu carried (them). Five sheep to eat, one he-onager horse, one sow of reed, one boar of reed,
two two-year-old she asses, 3 (gur) 1/4 (gur-sag-gál) barley, 5 (gur) emmer, (these are) barley and emmer of Baragura.
Eight male slaves, two female slaves, as Ti’usushe, [...]-sila-[šîr]-sîr-ra of Mesandu; (these are) the ones who were chosen through divination and presented as a gift. The third (year)."

Deimel classified Nik. 174 as a maš-da-ri-a text in Or 26, S. 9. Mashdaria is the gift which influential people brought to a ruler, his wife and children on
the occasion of a festival and so forth. Discussions about the meaning of this
text have been carried out by various scholars. The section from col. III,
1.3 onward is especially difficult to interpret. The main question is why slaves
were presented. The damaged personal name in col. IV, 1.1 is regarded as
Gemesilasirsirra, daughter of Uruinimgina, by a few scholars. However,
Ursilasirsirra, son of Enentarzi, could be reconstructed, for the shepherd
Urdu in col. I, 11.4–5 is found in texts dating to the reign of Enentarzi, and
Nik. 174 is assumed to date from the third year of Enentarzi. It is more rea-
sonable to consider Ursilasirsirra, son of Enentarzi, than Gemesilasirsirra,
daughter of Uruinimgina. The interpretation of this text is impossible to
determine, because of its pertly damaged state. Nik. 174, however, definitely
seems to have been the record of a gift when Ursilasirsirra inquired about
something through divination. What part did Mesandu perform on the occasion
of the divination?

As mentioned above, the personal deity represented in the royal inscriptions
is a passive character, not active. Further more, many of the extant inscriptions
were recorded when a ruler built a temple, and so forth. Therefore, the
character of the personal deity recorded in such inscriptions, is limited; in
short, the personal deity was the one who prayed or intermediated on behalf
of the long life of a ruler to a supreme deity in return for a building activity
by the ruler. Accordingly, it is not directly known from the extant royal
inscriptions known so far whether a personal deity is connected with divination.
Judging about his role from the character of personal deities seen in the royal
inscriptions, regarding, Mesandu may have prayed for, or intermediated a
favorite oracle on behalf of a person to a supreme deity.

V. Names of Storehouses in Which Mesandu Is Included

The economic-administrative archives are records about receiving and
disbursing goods, which were brought into or were carried from many store-
houses, of which contain Mesandu in their names. Modern storehouses are
buildings where goods are stored; however, in ancient times they served as
sacred places as well as for storage. Storehouses receiving sacrifices are
mentioned in the offerings listed at the above-mentioned festivals; however,
storehouses including Mesandu in their names, tabulated in Table III, have
only one function; “to store goods.”
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1. 𒆜-𒀀-𒊓-𒈗-𒄺-𒈾-𒊓-addAllu, “the house which is joined to the house of Mesandu.”(45) There are four texts in which this storehouse is mentioned. Three examples, DP 173, 176 and Fö. 86, are dated to the reign of Enentarzi. DP 173 and 176 are records about distributing wool among people owned by Ursilasirsirra, son of Enentarzi; Fö. 86, is one about distributing it among servants owned by Dimtur, wife of Enentarzi. “The house which is joined to the house of Mesandu” can be found in these three texts and DP 195. This text also seems to date from the reign of Enentarzi although the line on which the name of a ruler or his wife should be written is damaged. The reason is that the distribution place differs according to the reign: é-mí-ta, “from the house of the wife” in the reign of Lugalanda and uru-kù-ta, “from Uruku (district)” in the reign of Uruinimgina. It is not known why the distribution place changed to “the house of the wife” though it seems unlikely that Mesandu was not worshipped during the reign of Lugalanda. The offering lists discussed in sections two to four of this paper confirm the fact that the mention of Mesandu is concentrated in the records of the reign of Lugalanda; Mesandu, however, clearly is not often seen in the small number of records from the reign of Enentarzi which remain. As “the house which is joined to the house of Mesandu” was found in the economic-administrative archives in the reign of Enentarzi, Mesandu can clearly be confirmed in his reign, too. Accordingly, Enentarzi and Lugalanda seem to have considered Mesandu important.

2. 𒆜-𒀀-𒊓-𒈗-𒄺-𒈾-𒊓-𒌑--𒈵-𒊓-𒈗-𒊓-ša, “the house of Mesandu built in Nina (district).” This building name is seen in DP 466, a record of taking out square timbers. It is not seen except DP 466, as far as my investigation has revealed. Y. Rosengarten(46) thought it was the temple of Mesandu in Nina district; however, the details are unknown because few records about the building exist.

3. ganun-gi-𒆜-깆-𒊓-𒈗-𒊓-du, “the reed storehouse of Mesandu”(47) and ganun-ú-𒆜- AppComponent-ília, “the glass storehouse of Mesandu.”(48) The extant archives contain one example of the former and two of the latter. Goods stored in these storehouses include reeds, woods and wood products; however, information details about these storehouses are unknown because of a lack of information.

4. ganun-𒆜- AppComponent-ilia, “the storehouse of Mesandu.” This storehouse is mentioned in records regarding bringing into and taking out reeds, wood, wood products and so forth; however, most of the records lack the name of a ruler or his wife. DP 413 and 414 are the only records dating to the reign
of Uruinimgina, ensi. As seen in Table III, "the storehouse of Mesandu" is mostly concentrated in the reign of Lugalanda. The two above-mentioned records are the only ones that belong to the reign of Uruinimgina. It is assumed that "the storehouse of Mesandu" vanish from the archives at nearly the same time as Mesandu's rank fell at festivals and monthly supplying of cereals stopped.\(49\) The precise time, however, can not be determined because records do not survive for every year in the reign of Uruinimgina. The exact reason why a storehouse included a deity whom a ruler thought important was included in the name of storehouse. The reason is because ganun-\(\text{ba-ba}$\, \text{a}, "the storehouse of Baba" is frequently found in the records of the reign of Uruinimgina, and because Baba was the goddess to whom Uruinimgina attached the most importance. Storehouses including Shulutul (the personal deity of the Urmaneshe dynasty) and Ninshubur (the personal deity of Uruinimgina) in their names are not found in the extant records as far as I have investigated. Regarding the former, there are not many archives dating to that dynasty; therefore it is unknown whether a storehouse included the personal deity in its name. Regarding the latter, storehouses included Ninshubur in their name cannot be found, whereas ones including Baba can, as mentioned above. Under the reign of Uruinimgina, Baba was included in names of not only storehouses but also fields, orchards and so on. Since Baba was the most important deity, Ninshubur, the personal deity, was not included in the names of storehouses.

Results

The purpose of this paper was to determine whether Mesandu was the personal deity of Enentarzi and Lugalanda. Judging from contemporary materials, it seems reasonable to conclude that this deity was their personal deity. Mesandu frequently appears in the economic-administrative archives during the reign of Lugalanda and importance was clearly attached to him, yet his name disappeared from the archives under the reign of Uruinimgina. Enentarzi and Lugalanda, father and son, their consorts and children considered Mesandu their personal deity. It seems more reasonable to regard Mesandu as the personal deity rather than any of the other deities; moreover, there is no evidence regarding this supposition. As Mesandu was the personal (guardian) deity of Enentarzi and Lugalanda, neither the guardian deity of a ruler
WAS MESANDU THE PERSONAL DEITY OF ENENTARZI?

nor a rule, he held low rank in the official pantheon of Lagash. His innate
low rank as a deity is manifested in the fact that he was low in the order of
deities given offerings on the occasion of festivals and did not receive many
offerings. The rulers and their consorts did not neglect their personal deity,
for they supplied monthly cereals to their personal deity Mesandu only but
did not supply cereals to other deities.

Roughly ten years, covering the reigns of Enentarzi and of Lugalanda, is
too short a period for their personal deity to be remembered long afterwards
though he appears in contemporary records. Therefore, it is no wonder that
Mesandu is not found in later god lists and other records, and it is a valuable
exception that Mesandu is found in BM 23103, dating from the Old Babylonian
period. There are not many extant royal inscriptions of Enentarzi and of
Lugalanda respectively; nor, to date, has been their personal deity mentioned.
If new royal inscriptions pertaining to them are found in the future and their
personal deity is mentioned, it could be Mesandu. Although I have fulfilled
the purpose of this paper, identifying Mesandu with the personal deity of
Enentarzi and Lugalanda; a detailed look at character of personal deities is
task for later inquiry.

Notes

The abbreviations employed in this paper are those in R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliter-
atur II, Berlin, 1975. E, L, Ue and Ul stand for Enentarzi, Lugalanda, Uruinimgian, ensi and
Uruinimgina, lugal respectively.

(1) S. N. Kramer, "'Man and His God': A Sumerian Variation on the 'Job' Motif," VT Su-
ppl. 3, 1955, p. 171.
(2) Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness—A History of Mesopotamian Religion—, New Haven,
1976, pp. 159–164. H. Frankfort et al., Before Philosophy — The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient
(3) B. Landsberger, MSL 2, 1951, S. 106f. interprets Shulutul to be "Junker Hirte."
(4) dingir-lugal, "deity of the lugal" (Corpus, URN, 49, IV, 2) and dingir-en-me-[na-ka],
deity [of] Enteme[nal] (ibid., ENT, 32, II, 6’) can be found. However, he was generally called
dingir-ra-ni, or "his deity." This expression is classified and arranged in H. Behrens und H. Stei-
(6) Corpus, Uxa. 12 calls Shulutul "his deity," although ibid., Uxa. 7, II', 6–7; 10, IV, 10–V, 1
calls Ninshubur "his deity." J. S. Cooper, Presargonic Inscriptions: Sumerian and Akkadian Royal
Inscriptions I, 1986, New Haven, p. 81 notes that Sollberger in Finet, La voix de l’opposition 33 sees
this use of the personal god of the Urnanshe dynasty as reflecting the caution of the new usurper,
thus dating the inscription to the beginning of Uruinimgina’s reign.
(8) Ibid., p. 285, n. 61.
(9) Ibid., n. 68.
Expression denoting a personal deity, such as dingir-ra-ni, or “his deity” are not seen in the royal inscriptions of other cities except Lagash during the Pre-Sargonic period. Though Nisaba, the personal deity of Lugalzageshi who was the ruler of Umma, is called dingir-ra-ni in the inscription of Lagash, <i>Corpus</i>, U. 16, VIII, 14, it is not found in the inscriptions of Lugalzageshi himself, that is, the ones written in the style of Umma. This goddess appears in his epithets as follows: H. Steible, *Kommentar zu den Inschriften aus “Lagai”*, Inschriften außerhalb von “Lagai”: Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften I: FAOS 5/II, 1982, S. 316, 1, 26) dumu-tu-da-27)′nisaba, “(Lugalzageshi who) was born by Nisaba. Ibid., S. 315, 1, 7) lū-maḫ-8)′nisaba, “(Lugalzageshi who) was the lumah-priest of Nisaba.”

H. Steible, *Inschriften aus “Lagai”*: Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften I: FAOS 5/I, 1982, SS. 275–277 collected and classified the royal inscriptions of Enentarzi and of Lugalanda respectively. In these inscriptions, Lugalanda 15 is of particular interest: 3′, 1′) ala[n]-ni 2′) mu-tu 3′) luagal-an-da(-)-nu-ḫuṇ-gā ṣī[r-ru]-n[e]-se nu-[kūš] 4′) mu m[u-na-sa,] “He (Lugalanda) fashioned his (own) statue (and) named ‘Lugalandanuhunga does not [trouble] Ningirsu concerning Girnun!’” Lugalanda seems to have fashioned his statue and to have offered it to the temple to pray for his long life. This is assumed from the examples of Entemena and others (see, T. Kobayashi, “On the Meaning of the Offerings for the Statue of Entemena,” Orient XX, 1984, p. 33). If the inscription written on the statue of Lugalanda had not been damaged, we might have found the name of the personal deity, prayed or mediated on behalf of Lugalanda’s long life to the supreme deity.


For instance, <i>ibid.,</i> S. 144, Vase A, 1) dingirnin-gis-zi(d)-da 2) dingir-ra-ni 3) gū-de-a 4) pa-te-i 5) ša[n]-bab-lu-[a]-ki-ge 6) nam-ti(l)-la-ni-šū 7) a-mu-na-ru, “To Ningishzida, his deity, Gudea, ensi of Lagash, presented (this vase) for his life.”

For instance, <i>ibid.,</i> S. 66 ff., Statue B, 3, 3) sag-[zi(g)] ukkin-na PA-č-a 4) dingirnin-gis-zi(d)-da 5) dingir-ra-ne-ge, “(Gudea) exalted as the leader of all men by Ningishzida, his deity.”


See, <i>ibid.</i> Orient XIX, loc. cit.; Orient XX, loc. cit. and Table II.

F.137, IV, 1) lū-ki-ḫul-bār-nam-tar-ra-ka 2) ér-sig-me 3) šag-[sag] 4) [dam-u]rū[nim-[g]-]ma 5) lu[g]-la[l]-a[k]-a-ke 7) e-n-e-ba 8) 2-kam-ka ku-a-am3 II “In mourning for Barnamtarra, Shaqshag, [wife of Uruinimgina, lu[g]-la] of Lagash, divided among the people who had raised an elegy. (These are) the second consumed. The second (year).”

As summarized above, bread and beer were divided among female slaves, gala-priests and so forth. This archive is the second record of a supply by Shaqshag. The first record of her supply, TSA 9 also remains; it has nearly the same division as F.137.


M. A. Powell, “mun-du as an Akkadian Plural Loan Word in Sumerian,” ZA 76, 1986, p. 14 said: Mes-an-du and Nin-subur were probably also regarded as chthonic deities: one sheep is sacrificed to each at the end of the month of the festival of Lugal-turuganatašu, a deity who is closely associated with the cult of the dead, which coincided with the New Moon. ē-u₄-sakar, “the New Moon temple” seems to have existed in two districts at least, that is, Nina district (see, DP 47, 261) and Uruku district (see, DP 44, 200; Nik. 29, 149), where offerings seem...
to have been brought monthly, for different month names are found in these texts. On the basis of these extant texts only, which do not describe the last day of a month as the festival day for dead, it cannot be insisted that offerings to “the New Moon temple” were a rite for the dead. DP 44 and Nik. 29 records that Barnamtarra went to offer to “the New Moon temple” in Uruku district in the third year of the reign of Lugalanda; however, the texts were written in different months. The deities found in these texts are the same ones included in the offering lists of the above-mentioned festivals of Ningirsu; however, Mesandu is not included in the texts. The reason why he was not included is unknown. DP 47, a list of offerings to “the New Moon temple” in Nina district, includes Mesandu. Also Ninshubur is found in DP 47 and Nik. 29.


(24) For the translation and transliteration of Nik., see G. J. Selz, Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagal 1: Die altsumerischen Wirtschaftsurkunden der Eremitage zu Leningrad: FAOS 15/1, 1989. The translation and transliteration of this text can be seen in Selz, ibid., S. 369. and Y. Rosengarten, CSC, p. 245 f.

(25) See Selz, loc. cit. E. Ebeling, RLA II, 1938, S. 381 reads 4-en-ki-da-NIGIN for 4-en-ki-
da-kilib. Rosengarten, loc. cit. reads it for 4-en-ki-DA.NIGIN. Bauer, op. cit., S. 424, VII, 10 reads it for 4-en-ki-da-NIGIN and thinks this deity to be enshrined in the Abzu-da-NIGIN, which seems to have been in Uruku district. The Abzu-da-NIGIN received offerings on the occasion of the above-mentioned festivals of Ningirsu; see Kobayashi, op. cit. Orient XIX, p. 47.


(27) An instrument. See, M. E. Cohen, Balag-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B.C.: SANE 1/2, 1974, p. 1 ff; CAD B, p. 38 f. The balag-instrument in this paper is the sign with gis, the determinative denoting wood; however, balag without gis (see, Kobayashi, op. cit., Orient XX, p. 63, Table II) and gal-balag (“large balag-instrument,” see, ibid., p. 47) received offerings at the above-mentioned festivals of Nanshe. As these balag-instruments receive offerings after the kianag in Nina district in lists of offerings, it seems that these were enshrined in this district. Nik. 148, however, mentions temples and deities assumed to be enshrined near, or in, Uruku district. It does not seem that only the balag-instrument was enshrined in Nina district. Therefore this balag is thought to be different from balags found in offering lists of the festivals of Nanshe.


(32) Enentarzi was already dead during the reign of Lugalanda and seems to have been enshrined in the kianag. See Kobayashi, op. cit., Orient XXI, p. 10 ff. Dudu was the father of Enentarzi, that is, the grandfather of Lugalanda (see, ibid., p. 13) and Mishaggga was the daughter of Dudu, that is, the aunt of Lugalanda (see, ibid., p. 12).

(33) As Nik. 153 refers to viscera divination, the phrase, “when he slept,” seems to have been connected with dream divination. Frankfort et al., op. cit., p. 204 says: “To ascertain the will of his master, the ensi commanded several approaches. He might receive an answer through the occurrence of something unusual and portentous in nature, an omen whose significance the priests could interpret from long catalogues in which such omens and their meanings were listed. He might, however, also seek answer to a definite question by sacrificing an animal to the god and reading the god’s message in the shape of the liver of the sacrificial animals. If the answer was not clear at first, he could repeat the process. Still another way of communicating with the gods, the most direct one, was through dreams. The ensi would go to the temple at night, sacrifice,

(34) TSA 51 (E II), Fö. 119 (L I), DP 62 (L II).

(35) DP 61 (L II), DP 217 (L V). Besides, this temple is seen in DP 184 (L) and DP 214 (L I), which are not the offering lists (cf. n. (38)).

(36) abzu-bán-da (Fö. 119, TSA 51); abzu-da-NIGIN (DP 66, 198; Fö. 5, 91, 116; Nik. 24, 26); abzu-maḫ (DP 43, 47, 53; Fö. 93; Nik. 23); abzu-NIGIN-túm (DP 66, 198; Fö. 5, 83, 116, 119; Nik. 24, 26; TSA 51); abzu-paḫ-sirki (DP 206); abzu-túg (?) (DP 43); abzu-uru-sig-ga (DP 66).


(38) See Selz, loc. cit. bár-GUR₃ seems to be the estate belonging to children of a ruler, see, Bauer, op. cit., S. 155; Rosengarten, op. cit., p. 261 ff. In DP 184 and 214, it is written “when [Barnamtarra] lived in the Abzuguidka in bár-GUR₃.”

(39) I follow Powell, op. cit. ASJ 3, p. 139, which says that it is probably 3, not 2.


(42) See Deimel, Or. 26, S. 9; Rosengarten, op. cit. RO, p. 37; Scholtz, loc. cit. However de Genouillac, op. cit., S. 110ff. interprets this name to Amattasirisirra.

(43) Selz, op. cit., S. 399 said “Ursilasirisirra.” Prof. Shigeru Yamamoto suggested this to me during a meeting of the Sumer Kenkyukai (Japanese Sumerological Society) on 3rd April, 1988. “Urdu, the shepherd,” (ur-du, sipa) is found in DP 127, VII, 2–3 (L [I]); DP 134, VII, 8–9 (probably E I or L I, for Shubur was the nubanda); Nik. 170, III, 4–5 (E IV); Nik. 30, VII, 6–7 (the date is obscure).

(44) Though é-ki-tāl-la, “the house of the place along the Shała canal” is the storehouse where goods were brought in and taken out, and offerings to the ancestors brought into this building. See Kobayashi, op. cit. Orient XXI, p. 22 f.


(49) Loc. cit., Lambert states: „Es (ē-ēmes-an-gub-e-uš-sa) wechselte noch einmal unter Urukagina den Namen, als ganun-ēmes-an-gub findet es sich nur in den ersten Regierungsjahren dieses Fürsten (DP Nr. 414). Wahrscheinlich wurde die Bezeichnung im Laufe des 2. Jahres ersetzt durch ganun-giš-kin-ti, das dieselbe Rolle spielte: dort wurde Holz ein- und ausgeliefert (DP Nr. 440; VS XIV, Nr. 178).” His supposition needs to be carefully treated, for the item distributed by “the house which is joined to the house of Mesandu” was wool, while the ones brought into and taken out of “the storehouse of Mesandu” were reeds, wood, and so on. His inference that “the storehouse of Mesandu” was called “the storehouse of hancicraftsmen” during the reign of Uruinimgina, lugal, may be correct.
## Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>festival</th>
<th>text</th>
<th>date</th>
<th>(1) m: festival of eating the malt. (2): festival of eating the barley.</th>
<th>(4) total</th>
<th>Mesandu</th>
<th>Ninshubur</th>
<th>offering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSA 51</td>
<td>E II</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>food and drink livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 119</td>
<td>L I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik. 26</td>
<td>L II</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 62</td>
<td>L II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 116</td>
<td>L III</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>15 (6)</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>food and drink livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 198</td>
<td>L IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15 (6)</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik. 24</td>
<td>L V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15 (6)</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 5</td>
<td>U I II</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>17 (6)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 66</td>
<td>U I IV</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>16 (6)</td>
<td>4/8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik.163</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>5 (6)</td>
<td>3/8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSA 1</td>
<td>L II</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>26 (6)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>food and drink livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 53</td>
<td>L III</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>25 (6)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC47</td>
<td>L III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik. 23</td>
<td>L IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26 (6)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>food and drink livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 43</td>
<td>U I III</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>— (7)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STH 41</td>
<td>U I IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21 (6)</td>
<td>12 (7)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 45</td>
<td>U I IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12 (7)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 47</td>
<td>L IV</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>23 (6)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 93</td>
<td>U I II + X</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>24 (6)</td>
<td>(7) 9 (7)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** The term is not written.

(1) m: the festival of eating the malt. (2): the festival of eating the barley.

(2) Though this text is a record about Barnamtarra offering to the New Moon Temple when she went to Nina district, deities receiving sacrifices are identical with the ones of the festivals of Nanshe.

(3) Though this text is the record of offerings by Shagshag when she “kept balag-il away (went out of mourning)” from Nina district, deities receiving sacrifices are identical with the ones of the festivals of Nanshe.

(4) The number of deities and temples on the climax day of a festival. A festival extends over several days, in which the largest number of deities and temples were given offerings on the climax day.

(5) As Shulutul did not receive an offering on the climax day of the festival, the order in which he received offerings on the other days is shown as follows: the order of Shulutul / number of deities and so on.
(6) Shulutul enshrined in the Esh shrine.
(7) Shulutul enshrined in the Emah temple.
(8) The order of Ninshubur involved in “to nineteen places,” which is the twenty-fourth in the order of offerings. See Kobayashi, *op. cit. Orient XX*, pp. 46–47.
(9) The order of Ninshubur involved in “to nineteen places,” which is the twenty-second in the order of offerings. See *loc. cit.*
Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>date</th>
<th>time</th>
<th>barley and emmer(6)</th>
<th>supplier</th>
<th>person in charge of receiving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>še-bappe</td>
<td>še-</td>
<td>munus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-bál-bé</td>
<td>munus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik. 67(1)</td>
<td>E IV</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIN 8, 372</td>
<td>L I</td>
<td>6 [ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 77</td>
<td>L I</td>
<td>10 120 90 180 -- 180 60</td>
<td>Barnamtarra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 145(2)</td>
<td>L I</td>
<td>12 [ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik. 62</td>
<td>L I</td>
<td>12 120 90 180 -- 180</td>
<td>Lugalanda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 92</td>
<td>L III</td>
<td>1 120 90 180 -- 180</td>
<td>Barnamtarra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>L III</td>
<td>[ ] 120 90 180 -- 180</td>
<td>Barnamtarra</td>
<td>[Sagennesu]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC 51</td>
<td>L V</td>
<td>8 120 90 180 72 180</td>
<td>Barnamtarra</td>
<td>Sagenesu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STH 30</td>
<td>L VII</td>
<td>1 120 90 180 30 180</td>
<td>Lugalanda</td>
<td>Sagenesu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC 55</td>
<td>L VII</td>
<td>1 ziz-bábbbar 360 ziz-bal-bé 60</td>
<td>Lugalanda</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fö. 9</td>
<td>Ue I</td>
<td>2 120 90 180 30</td>
<td>Uruinimigina</td>
<td>Eurbedug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 152</td>
<td>Ue I</td>
<td>3 120 90 180 60 180</td>
<td>Uruinimigina</td>
<td>Eurbedug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 156</td>
<td>Ue I</td>
<td>5 120 90 180 60 180</td>
<td>Uruinimigina</td>
<td>Lugalıśaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP 340(4)</td>
<td>— III</td>
<td>— munus 48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 4465(5)</td>
<td>L VI</td>
<td>— ziz 360 ziz-bal-bé 60.</td>
<td>[Barnamtarra]</td>
<td>Sagenesu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: —: The term is not written. [ ]: The term is damaged. The unit is sila. 1 sila = 0.842 1.
(1) Deimel, Or 32, S3 restores sā-du(g)-dMes-an-du.
(2) Ibid., S. 4 f. does not restore sā-du(g)-dMes-an-du.
(4) The record about brewers consuming malt, see Deimel, op. cit., S. 53.
(5) Kleine Gar-Texte, see ibid., S. 76.
(6) Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of bal, for example Bauer, op. cit., S. 133 takes ziz-bal to mean "Verlust-Emmer," Deimel op. cit., S. 62 interprets ziz-bal as "Ist ziz-bal eine Kleie...?" Rosengarten, CSC, p. 44 interprets še-bal-bi as "orge de réserve." D. G. Snell, "The Ur III Tablets in the Emory University Museum," ASJ 9, 1987, p. 219 takes bala to mean "to winnow."
Table III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>storehouse</th>
<th>text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>é-d³mes-ša-du₆-₄es-sa</td>
<td>DP 176 (E III), 195 ([E]); Fö. 86 (E IV).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é-d³mes-ša-du₆-nil₆-na-d₄a</td>
<td>DP 466 (E/L IV).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganun-₆mes-₃an-du</td>
<td>DP 365 (II), VAT 4882 (IV).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganun-₆mes-₃an-du</td>
<td>VAT 4831 (VI).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganun-₆mes-₃an-du</td>
<td>DP 351 (III), 364 (L III), 366 (II), 368 (II), 369 (II), 411 (L VI), 413 (Uc I), 414 (Uc I), 429 (IV), 432 (L IV), 435 (L V), 442 (VI), 462 (L VI), 465 (L VI), 466 (E/L IV), 472 (III), 635 (I); Fö. 85 (VI); RTC 29 (—); VAT 4704 (LV), 4718 (L IV).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:—: The term is not written. The date shown by the gothic type is presumed.
(1) As the distribution under the reign of Lugalanda was supplied from the house of the wife, and the one under the reign of Uruinimgina was supplied from Uruku district, the distribution from é-d³mes-ša-du₆-₄es-sa applies to the reign of Enentarzi.
(2) In this text, amar-₆zem nu-b₆nda₆-nil₆-su₄-su-₄-ra is found in col. III, ll. 6–7. As Amarezem seems to be identical to the son-in-law of Enentarzi (see RTC 16), it is reasonable to assume the date of this text to be the reign of Enentarzi or Lugalanda, not Uruinimgina.
(3) In this text, en-zid gal-₄ku₆-nil-ne-ra occurs in col. II, ll. 5–6; he is also mentioned in Fö. 156, col. IV, ll. 2–3, dating to the reign of Lugalanda. Hence this text seems to belong to the reign of Lugalanda.
(4) In this text, še₆-kur-ra šu₆ is found in col. II, ll. 2–3 and he is mentioned in Fö. 72, col. VI, ll. 1–2, dating to the fourth year of Lugalanda. Hence this text seems to belong to the reign of Lugalanda.
(5) ganun-₆mes-sa-du-₄-ka.