NINAZU, THE PERSONAL DEITY OF GUDEA

—The Continuity of Personal Deity of Rulers on
the Royal Inscriptions of Lagash—

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I. Introduction

1. Historical materials from later periods

For many years, I have examined the personal deities of rulers in Pre-Sargonic Lagash. There are not many historical materials about the personal deities from Pre-Sargonic times. In as much as the materials are limited chiefly to the personal deities recorded in the royal inscriptions, not all aspects of personal deities are clear. In my paper “On Ninazu, as Seen in the Economic Texts of the Early Dynastic Lagas (1)” in Orient XXVIII, I discussed Ninazu, who appears in the administrative-economic texts of Pre-Sargonic Lagash. Ninazu appears only in the offering-lists in the reign of Uruinimgina, the last ruler of Pre-Sargonic Lagash. Based only on an analysis of the offering-lists, I argued that Ninazu was the personal deity of a close relative of Uruinimgina. In my investigation thus far of the extant historical materials from Pre-Sargonic Lagash, I have not found any royal inscriptions and administrative-economic texts that refer to Ninazu as dingir-ra-ni (“his deity”), that is, as his personal deity. However, in later historical materials two texts refer to Ninazu as “his deity.”

One of the texts is FLP 2641, a royal inscription by Gudea, engraved on a clay cone. The text states, “For his deity Ninazu, Gudea, ensi of Lagash, built his temple in Girsu.” Gudea is one of the rulers belonging to prosperous Lagash in the Pre-Ur III period; that is, when the Akkad dynasty was in decline, after having been raided by Gutium.

2. The purpose of this article

This article forms part of an extended examination of personal deities. Using FLP 2641 as a clue, I will analyse the personal deities that appear in

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royal inscription in Pre-Ur III Lagash, to collect further evidence supporting my argument in Orient XXVIII that Ninazu may also have been a personal deity in the Pre-Sargonic period.

Even supposing that "for his deity Ninazu" is not an error in transcription, that the transliteration is correct, and that Ninazu was Gudea's personal deity, one cannot jump to the conclusion that Ninazu was qualified to be a personal deity retroactively in the Pre-Sargonic period solely on the basis of the fact that he was a personal deity in later times. Though both Uruinimgina and Gudea were rulers of Lagash, there was an interval of about two hundred years between them. During that interval, there were historical changes: the unification of Sumer and Akkad under the Semitic Akkad dynasty, the invasion of Gutium, and the decline of the Akkad dynasty. Therefore it is necessary to substantiate the continuity of personal deities, that is, to ascertain that personal deities during the Pre-Ur III period are not different from the ones during the Pre-Sargonic period.

At present, to my knowledge, no generally recognized royal inscriptions from Lagash between the Pre-Sargonic and the Pre-Ur III periods, i. e., at the height of the Akkad dynasty's prosperity are known to survive. Accordingly, personal deities of rulers in Lagash are unknown, whereas royal inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty survive. As the personal deities of the rulers are found in these inscriptions, I will discuss them. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to explain the personal deities of the Akkad dynasty, and so I will limit my discussion to a comparison of the personal deities in the Pre-Sargonic and the Pre-Ur III periods, to avoid taking up too many topics.

As far as I know, FLP 2641 is the only royal inscription that refers to Ninazu as "his deity."(4) As Gudea calls Ningishzida "his deity" in other inscriptions, he accordingly has two personal deities. As I state below, it is said that a man has generally just one personal deity. To narrow the focus, I will leave my discussion of the meaning of having two personal deities to my next essay.

II. The personal deities of the rulers in Pre-Sargonic Lagash

I have already analysed the personal deities of the rulers in Pre-Sargonic Lagash: namely, Shulutul, the personal deity of the rulers belonging to
the Urnanshe dynasty; Ninshubur, the personal deity of Uruinimgina; Mesandu, whom I assumed to be the personal deity of Enentarzi and his son Lugalanda, and Ninazu, whom I also discuss in this paper. To date, Mesandu and Ninazu have not been found in royal inscriptions from Pre-Sargonic Lagash. Therefore my discussion of personal deities below is based on my analysis of Shulutul and Ninshubur. Although Ninshubur is both a male and a female deity, the deity in the texts belonging to Pre-Sargonic Lagash seems to be a female.(5)

1. A father and son have the same personal deity. The rulers of the Urnanshe dynasty, who were mainly hereditary monarchs, took Shulutul as their personal deity.(6)

2. Although the ruler has the one specified personal deity, there remains one inscription,(7) belonging to Uruinimgina who took Ninshubur as his personal deity, which mentions Shulutul as a personal deity.

3. The ruler's personal deity was the guardian deity of neither the city of Lagash nor of the person ruling Lagash. The personal deity is represented as praying for or mediating(8) on behalf of a ruler before Ningirsu and other supreme deities,(9) and is represented as being passive in character, sympathizing(10) with a ruler and assuming responsibility for the action of the ruler.

4. Thus far my investigation has uncovered no records of building a temple or presenting votive goods on behalf of the personal deity in surviving royal inscriptions.

The image of personal deities that can be discerned from royal inscriptions concerns their relationship to the rulers.

Below, I will use these as tentative standards as a basis for discussing the continuity of personal deities.

The extant royal inscriptions hardly mention the personal deities of rulers of cities other than Lagash in the Pre-Sargonic period. Lagash is the only city that used the formula, “His deity (is) the deity x” at the end of an inscription; the inscriptions belonging to the other cities do not adopt that style. An exception is the inscription by Lugalzagesi, ruler of Umma, who defeated Lagash in the reign of Uruinimgina and was a forerunner of Sargon. Although the inscription by Uruinimgina states that “his deity” of Lugalzagesi is Nisaba, the inscriptions belonging to Lugalzagesi(11) do not mention “his deity Nisaba.” When Nisaba is included in the epithet in the
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royal inscription of Lugalzagesi, he is called the “lumaḫ-priest of Nisaba”\(^{(12)}\) and “child born by Nisaba.”\(^{(13)}\) The expression “child born by the deity x”\(^{(14)}\) is found in the royal inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagash; however, the deity x is not recognized as a personal deity.

III. The personal deities of the rulers belonging to the Akkad dynasty

1. Personal deities in the surviving royal inscriptions

There are not many original royal inscriptions belonging to the Akkad dynasty. Most of the surviving inscriptions consist of copies\(^{(15)}\) from the Old Babylonian period of royal inscriptions presented to the Enlil temple in Nippur that had been recorded with the aim of boasting of military exploits in the present and future. Therefore, like most of the surviving royal inscriptions belonging to Pre-Sargonic Lagash, which are written in foundaton deposits, door sockets and other places, they boast of the exploits of the ruler. However, the main contents of the exploits concerning Lagash involve building activities, whereas those of the Akkad dynasty deal with military activities.

My research has uncovered two references to Aba\(^{(16)}\) accompanied by the Akkadian term il-su,\(^{(17)}\) which corresponds to the Sumerian expression dingir-ra-ni ("his deity"): “Aba, (is) his deity”\(^{(18)}\) occurs in a royal inscription of Sargon; “Aba, his deity,”\(^{(19)}\) in the one pertaining to Naramsin. Neither example occurs at the end of the inscription. The historical materials concerning Aba focus on the royal inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty. However, not many exist, so Aba is an unclear deity.\(^{(20)}\) Naramsin had two personal deities, for “Ishtar, his deity”\(^{(21)}\) is mentioned in one of his surviving royal inscriptions.

2. A comparison with the personal deities of the rulers of Pre-Sargonic Lagash

(1) Sargon, the first ruler of the Akkad dynasty, and his grandson Naramsin, the fourth ruler, take Aba as a personal deity. Aba appears in the royal inscriptions of Sargon’s sons Rimush, the second ruler, and Manishutushu, the third ruler, in which, to my knowledge, Aba is not described as “his deity.” It however is logical to suppose that the second and the third rulers take Aba as their personal deity, since the first and the fourth rulers have the same personal deity, and since a term which can be taken to mean “family
deity" can be found in the fourth ruler's inscription.

(2) Whereas Sargon had Aba as his only personal deity, Naramsin records having two personal deities, Aba and Ishtar, in his royal inscriptions.

(3) Aba and Ishtar appear in curse formulas in inscriptions and are ranked as "great deities," whereas the personal deities of the rulers in Pre-Sargonic Lagash are not great deities, but rather deities that mediate on behalf of the rulers before the great deities. Moreover, the expression "the mighty one is his bel (lord), Aba," represents the idea that the personal deity is the ruler's lord.

Naramsin possesses the epithet, "the leader of the troops of the city of Aba." Aba was the guardian deity of the city of Akkad. He is referred to as "Aba, the god of Akkad" in The collection of the Sumerian temple hymns, which was said to have been collected by Enheduanna, Sargon's daughter. As J. J. M. Roberts points out, Aba was originally the city guardian deity of the imperial capital and later became the patron deity of the rulers of the dynasty. Royal inscriptions state: "Aba, the mighty of deities: Enlil gave the weapon to him," "Sargon, lugal of Akkad, mashkimgi-officer of Ishtar, lugal of Kish, pashish-priest of An, lugal of the land and ensi of Enlil, he overthrew Uruk in battle and 50 ensi's with Aba's stick [...] and conquered the city," and "Naramsin, the mighty, lugal of Akkad, the general of Aba." Aba fought on behalf of Akkad, while the deity who fought on behalf of Lagash was neither Shulutul nor Ninshubur, but rather Ningirsu, who is described as "the warrior of Enlil," Aba is a city guardian deity equivalent to Ningirsu. Because of limited space, I cannot discuss Ishtar in detail, but her connection with a political rule is indicated by the expression "the lugal-ship for Ishtar," while the expressions "the warrior of Ishtar-Annunitum" and "Ishtar permitted him no rivals" reveal that she was a war goddess.

My research has uncovered no instances in which the personal deities represented on the royal inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty are praying for or mediating on behalf of a ruler before a supreme deity. "The introduction scene," however, in which a deity mediates for a human being before a supreme deity appears on a cylinder seal from the Akkad dynasty period. Accordingly, it seems that personal deities in that period are generally considered mediating deities.

I would guess that the mediating personal deity is not found in surviv-
ing inscriptions because it was considered unnecessary to include the deity. For one thing, the royal inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty are not usually building inscriptions, unlike the ones from Pre-Sargonic Lagash, which aim at mediating on behalf of the long life of a ruler before a supreme deity, in return for building activities. Secondly, Aba and Ishtar are supreme deities. If a ruler has a personal deity who is a supreme deity, the ruler does not need another mediating deity. Thirdly, the distance between the deified ruler and a supreme deity becomes so small that the ruler does not need to indicate the mediating deity in the royal inscription. Naramsin wrote his own name with the determinative representing a deity in his royal inscription, while “the divine Naramsin, the deity of Akkad” is inscribed on the cylinder seals. The rulers of the Akkad dynasty fundamentally wrote the royal inscriptions to boast of military achievements. As far as I know, there are no records in surviving inscriptions stating that a ruler built temples on behalf of Aba and Ishtar. However, the following example of a year name exists: “the year when Sharkalisharri placed the foundations of the temples of Annunitum and of Aba in Babylon and (he) took Sarlag(ab), lugal of Gutium, prisoner.” The rulers of the Akkad dynasty did not disregard building temples either. If they succeeded in a military expedition, they would build a temple. In addition, a royal inscription in which Sharkalisharri presented votive goods to Aba survives. Furthermore, as far as I know, no evidence that a ruler and his personal deity are regarded as having a father-son relationship can be found in surviving royal inscriptions.

Analysing deities appearing in the royal inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty, Roberts points that one characteristic of the deities is that they would be expected to play a part in the political life of the empire; in other words, the monarch would need their support to assure the stability of the empire. If such a principle holds true of the pantheon of the Akkad dynasty, a personal deity who is a member of the pantheon is not the same as the personal deities of the rulers of Pre-Sargonic Lagash. Pre-Sargonic Lagash is a city-state aiming at becoming a regional state, while the Akkad dynasty is growing from a regional state into an empire. The former is a local power, while the latter is a central one. The royal inscriptions differ in the priority given to the descriptions: building activities in Lagash and military ones in the Akkad dynasty. Though the personal deities of the

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Sumerians and the Akkadians cannot be compared from the same perspective, the rulers of the Akkad dynasty seem to chose "the great deity" as their personal deity, as is appropriate for a ruler aiming at the formation of an empire.

IV. The personal deities of the rulers in Pre-Ur III Lagash

1. The personal deities

A study by Prof. T. Maeda(41) has demonstrated that the royal lines in Pre-Ur III Lagash are composed of plural lines, not just a single lineal relation (see Table 1).(42) The surviving royal inscriptions which serve a historical source consist of building inscriptions, votive inscriptions and so forth. Owing to a lack of historical materials, not all the personal deities of the rulers are known. However, four personal deities of six rulers, adumbrated below, can be ascertained. The writing style, including the personal deity at the end of inscriptions such as the ones in Pre-Sargonic Lagash, cannot be found in this period.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Personal Deity</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Urningirsu I</td>
<td>Ninsun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pirigme</td>
<td>Ninsun</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>Lubaba, Lugula, Kaku*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Urbada (Ninagal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>Kaku*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gudea</td>
<td>Ninalla (Ningishzida)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ninalla (Ninazu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Urningirsu II</td>
<td>Ninhedu (Ningishzida)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ninkagina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Urgar</td>
<td>Ninshubur (Ninshubur)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Urabba</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Urmama</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( ) : personal deity
*  : the same Person

(1). Ninsun Urningirsu I, the first ruler, and his son Pirigme, the se-
cond ruler, took Ninsun as their personal deity. Ninsun is not found in the surviving historical materials belonging to Pre-Sargonic Lagash, as far as I know. The royal inscription of Urningirsu I states that “For Ninsun, his deity, he built the house of Uruku.”(43) As far as I know at present, “Ninsun, his deity”(44) is not found in the inscriptions of Pirigme; however “the child born by Ninsun” is mentioned in his inscriptions. As shown in (2) below, the deity x in “the child born by x” is a personal deity in Pre-Ur III Lagash, so it is believed that Pirigme, like his father Urningirsu I, takes Ninsun as his personal deity. Further, Ninsun is described as “Ninsun, your deified mother”(45) in one of Gudea’s inscriptions.

(2). Ninagal Urbaba, the sixth ruler, takes Ninagal as a personal deity. Ninagal is not found in the surviving historical materials belonging to Pre-Sargonic Lagash. An inscription by Urbaba says “For Ninagal, his deity, he built his house,”(46) and includes “the child born by Ninagal”(47) in his epithet.

(3). Ningishzida Gudea, the seventh ruler, and his son Urningirsu II, the eighth ruler, took Ningishzida as a personal deity. Ningishzida does not appear in the surviving historical materials in Pre-Sargonic Lagash either. Ningishzida first appears in the inscriptions of Gudea,(48) in which he is referred to as “Gudea, the child of Ningishzida,”(49) while Ningishzida is called “the child of Ninazu.”(50) Urningirsu II also inscribed “Ningishzida, his deity”(51) and presented his own statue to the temple of Ningishzida seeking longevity.(52)

(4). Ninshubur Nammahni, the twelfth ruler, took Ninshubur as “his deity.”(53) Uruinimgina, the last ruler of Pre-Sargonic Lagash, also has the same personal deity as Nammahni, while “Ninshubur, sukkal-officer of An, his lady”(54) is mentioned in Gudea’s inscription.

2. A comparison with the personal deities of the rulers in Pre-Sargonic Lagash

As many of Gudea’s inscriptions survive, many accounts concerning Ningishzida also survive. At present, however, accounts of other personal deities are obscure except for the above mentioned ones. Accordingly, my analysis below is mainly limited to the accounts concerning Ningishzida.

(1). The fathers and sons who ruled Pre-Ur III Lagash as well as the rulers of Pre-Sargonic Lagash have the same personal deity. As an inscription by Gudea describes Ningishzida as “the deity of many fine progeny,”(55) a
personal deity is recognized as being handed down from a father to a son.

②. Except for Gudea, rulers have one personal deity.

③. The personal deities of the rulers are not great deities. Nor are the guardian deity of the city of Lagash or of government rule. The inscriptions of Gudea indicate that he built a temple for Ningishzida after building temples for Ningirsu, Nanshe and "the great deities of Lagash." Accordingly, Ningishzida is not a great deity of the city of Lagash.

According to The collection of Sumerian temple hymns, Ningishzida had his temple in Gishbanda city so he was not originally a native deity of Lagash city. Ningishzida is Gudea's en ("lord"), not his lugal ("king") as is the case with Ningirsu and other deities. Transferring the relationship between the ruler and his personal deity to the human realm, it is equivalent to the relationship between man and en, which is recognized as not being as distant as the relationship between man and lugal. As en is equivalent to bel in Akkadian, the sense of distance between the ruler and his personal deity in Pre-Ur III Lagash is said to be the same as that in the Akkad dynasty. However, owing to the lack of historical materials concerning Lagash during the prosperous Akkad dynasty, it is impossible to determine whether the concept identifying a personal deity as en came from the Akkad dynasty period.

Regarding the other personal deities besides Ningishzida, only Ninagal’s name appears in royal inscriptions; otherwise, he is an obscure deity. Ninsun is related neither to government rule nor to the guardian deity of Lagash city. According to The collection of the Sumerian temple hymns, Ninshubur has her temple in Akkil city and was not originally a native deity of Lagash city.

Whereas a personal deity in the royal inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagash is one who is represented as praying for or mediating on behalf of a ruler before a supreme deity, Ningishzida, along with the great deities, was directly prayed to in Pre-Ur III period, for there is the example "For Ningishzida, his deity, Gudea, ensi of Lagash, presented votive goods on behalf of his life." When Gudea built the temple, long sentences in his cylinder inscriptions A and B state for example: a) "Ningishzida, his deity, prayed on behalf of him (Gudea);" b) "Ningishzida has built it on the platform;" c) "the one whom Ningishzida, his deity, held head high in the assembly." The above three examples are actions of personal deities
found in Pre-Sargonic Lagash: a) is Ningishzida, the personal deity, who prayed on behalf of Gudea. b) is Ningishzida, who, like Shulutul, the personal deity of the Pre-Sargonic period, erected buildings on behalf of Gudea. c) is interpreted as a personal deity who bestowed achievements and confidence on Gudea. Personal deities in the Pre-Ur III period are expressed as being more active on behalf of the ruler than the more passive deities in the Pre-Sargonic period.

Personal deities mediating on behalf of a ruler before a supreme deity, like the one in the final of the royal inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagash are not found in those of the Pre-Ur III period, whereas, on cylinder seals and elsewhere during this period, an “introduction scene” survives in which a deity mediates on behalf of a man before a supreme deity.

Figure 1 reproduces the impression on a cylinder seal bearing the inscription “Gudea, ensi of Lagash.” It depicts Gudea being led before the great deity Enki by Ningishzida, who is mediating on his behalf. Two snakes with horns project from Ningishzida’s shoulders. Ningishzida was recognized as a deity mediating on behalf of Gudea to the great deities. However, it is thought not to have been necessary to write that in the royal inscriptions, unlike in the Pre-Sargonic period. As personal deities in Pre-Sargonic Lagash are of low rank, his name was repeated because it was necessary to introduce him to the great deities, —the readers of the in-
scription. However, it is assumed not to have been necessary to write his name in the Pre-Ur III period, because his rank had risen.

4. As far as I know at present, royal inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic period, which record the building of a temple or the presentation of votive goods on behalf of personal deities do not survive. However, it is known from the administrative-economic archives that offerings were made to the personal deities who were enshrined in the temples. In other words, the ruler could not boast that building the temple on behalf of a personal deity was an achievement of the ruler. Gudea made an inscription about building the temple of Ningishzida, and his epithets especially included the expression, “the man who built the house of Ningishzida.” Thus, building a temple on behalf of a personal deity turned into something to be proud of in the Pre-Ur III period.

The royal inscriptions in the Pre-Ur III period reveal that the Lagash pantheon had become fixed, compared to the Pre-Sargonic one. The family of deities also became clear; as mentioned above, the family of Ningishzida was as “the child of Ninazu,” and “the scion of An;” and his wife was called Geshtinanna. The ruler Gudea was considered the child of Ningishzida, his personal deity, and was equivalent to the grandson of Ninazu, his personal deity. Further, he was also descended from the great deity An. As the rule expanded, the rank of the ruler’s personal deity is thought to have risen. That is surmised to be the reason why building temples and presenting votive goods on behalf of the personal deity are recorded in the royal inscriptions.

As mentioned above, the idea that the ruler is the child of his personal deity cannot be found in the royal inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagash, while it was introduced in them during the Pre-Ur III period. However, the idea can be found in the inscription of Lugalzagesi mentioned above; moreover, literature in later times indicates that a man is the child of his personal deity. I will discuss in another article the reasons why royal inscriptions from Pre-Sargonic Lagash do not contain the statement that the ruler is the child of his personal deity.

V. Conclusions

1. It seems that rulers belonging to the same lineal relation in Pre-Sargonic
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Lagash and Pre-Ur III Lagash, and may be the Akkad dynasty as well, have the same personal deity.

2. Though rulers generally have one specific deity as their personal deity, Uruinimgina, one of the rulers before Gudea, gives Shulutul as a personal deity, in addition to Ninshubur, in his inscriptions, while Naramsin gives Aba and Ishtar as his personal deities. Given the existence of precedents for two personal deities, the inscription indicating that Gudea took Ninazu as a personal deity along with Ningishzida is not a mistake. The personal deity of the ruler cannot simply be a private object of faith, like a personal deity of the populace, but is included in official festivals. The description of the personal deity in royal inscriptions, the official record of the ruler, seems to reflect political considerations.(76)

3. The rulers of the Akkad dynasty were military men making efforts to develop the territorial state into a unified state, so they chose "the great deity" as their personal deity, whereas deities praying for or mediating on behalf of a ruler, rather than a supreme deity, were chosen as personal deities of the rulers of Lagash, a local political power, during the Pre-Sargonic and the Pre-Ur III periods.

4. Though building the temple of a personal deity could not be boasted about during the Pre-Sargonic period, it could during the Pre-Ur III period, probably because the rank of the personal deity rose and the political power of the ruler grew.

This paper forms part of a quest, for evidence showing that Ninazu was a personal deity in Pre-Sargonic Lagash, beginning with the fact that he is described as Gudea's personal deity in Gudea's royal inscriptions. As the result of my analysis, it can be ascertained that personal deities during the Pre-Ur III period are not different from the ones during the Pre-Sargonic period. As I have already established in my preceding paper in Orient XXVIII, Ninazu was presumed to be introduced into the official pantheon of Lagash during the reign of Uruinimgina. In one of Gudea's inscriptions, Ninazu is recognized as being the father of Ningishzida, Gudea's personal deity, and as being "the personal deity of Gudea." Ningishzida's name first appears in royal inscriptions belonging to the reign of Gudea, and Ningishzida is explained as being "the child of Ninazu." This tells us that the father deity, Ninazu, was said to be already known in the pantheon of Lagash. If Ninazu was worshipped as a personal deity in the Pre-Sargonic period, it
would not be surprising if Ningishzida, his son, appeared in the pantheon of Lagash, since it is presumed that the father deity was introduced first into the pantheon and that his son deity later followed. As Nammahni, a ruler during the Pre-Ur III period, also took Ninshubur, the personal deity of Uruinimgina, as his personal deity, it may safely be said that Ninazu, Gudea's personal deity, was the personal deity of a close relative of Uruinimgina, back in the Pre-Sargonic period.

Notes


(2) For, the other text, BM 23103, see Orient XXV, 22-24. Ninazu appears in E. Sollberger, "The Rulers of Lagas," JCS 21, 1967, 286, (174) En...; son of En-Enlileisu: 175) his god was Nin-asu; he acted for 660 years.


(5) In my paper in Orient XXVIII, 80-81, I stated that Ninshubur was both a male and a female deity. I also argued that Ninshubur, the personal deity of Uruinimgina, was a female. Ninshubur in Pre-Ur III Lagash was thought to be a female, too, for Ninshubur was described as nin-a-ni, “his mistress” (Steible, op. cit., 337, Gudea 73, Vs 3; 74, 2) and the goddesses Baba and Nanshe were described as nin-a-ni, too. See, for instance, ibid., 256, Gudea 1,2; 280, Gudea 29, 1, 4.

(6) See Orient XXVIII, 80.


(8) See Orient XXIV, 5.

(9) Although dingir-gal (“great deity”) appears in one of Gudea's inscriptions (see note (56)), this word, to my knowledge, cannot be found in the royal inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagash.

(10) See Orient XXIV, 4.

(11) Steible, op. cit., 337, Uru'inimgina 16, 8, 14-9, 1.

lumah as “prophète.” CAD I, 244b, *lumahu* A takes it to mean “a priest of high rank” or “a purification priest.” As Bubu, ensi of Umma, father of Lugalzagesi, was also characterized as “lumah of Nisaba” (Steible, op. cit., 316, 1, 12), I conjecture that the father and son had the same personal deity. Lugalzagesi was described not only as the priest of the personal deity but also as the “ishib-priest of An” (ibid., 315, 1, 6).

(13) Steible, ibid., 316, Lugalzagesi 1, 1, 26-27.


(17) See CAD I/J, 99ff., _ilu_ 3, protective deity (*daimon*).


(19) Ibid., 256, Naramsin C 5, 53-54.


(21) Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 234, Naramsin C 1, 360-361. Roberts, op. cit., 160, 50 says that she was the personal goddess of the Akkad dynasty, or at least of Naram-Sin. Regarding personal goddesses, see A. L. Oppenheim, *Anc. Mes.*, 201, _ištaru_*.

(22) Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 226, Naramsin C 1, 1-5, “Enlil (ist) sein Gott; Aba, der ‚Junge Mann‘ der Götter (ist) sein Familien(gott) (_illatsu_)* almost completely agrees with “Abâ, der ‚Junge Mann‘ der Götter, (ist) sein Familien (gott)” in the inscription of Erridupizir, the lugal of Gutium, ibid., 303, Gutium C 1, 9-10. P. Michalowski, “New Sources concerning the Reign of Naram-Sin,” *JCS* 32, 1980, 235 gives the following interpretation: “Enlin—his god, Ilaba, the young man of the gods—his support.” _illatu_ has the meaning “kinship group, clan” according to CAD I/J, 82, _illatu_ A, 1.


(24) Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 234, Naramsin C 1, 350-351.

(25) I follow the translation in ibid., 251, Naramsin C 4, 10-12. Roberts, op. cit., 157, 11 translates this passage “the leader of the troops(?) of Il-aba”, without translating URU “city.”

(26) Sjöberg & Bergmann, op. cit., 48, TH No.41, 526. Roberts, op. cit., 145 says that *The collection of the Sumerian temple hymns* reflects the situation after Sargon’s conquests and provides the most comprehensive picture of the deities worshipped in the empire. Attention, however, should be given to interpolations after the Akkad dynasty.

(27) Roberts, ibid., 148f.

(28) Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 169, Sargon C 3, Beischrift (a).


(30) Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 237, Naramsin C 1, 475-480.

(31) See Behrens und Steible, op. cit., 356.

(32) See, for instance, Gelb & Kienast, op. cit., 238, Naramsin C 1, 514-516.

(33) Ibid., 251, Naramsin C 4, 8-9. Regarding Annunitum, see Roberts, op. cit.,
(34) See, for instance, *ibid.*, 250, Naramsin C 3, 30–32.
(36) See, for instance, Gelb & Kienast, *op. cit.*, 86ff., Naramsin 2.
(37) See, for instance, *ibid.*, 40ff., S-7; S-9; S-10; S-13; S-15; S-16; S-18; S-22.
(40) Robert, *op. cit.*, 152.
(41) T. Maeda, “Two Rulers by the Name Ur-Ningirsu in Pre-Ur III Lagash,” *ASJ* 10, 1988, 19ff.
(42) I added the personal deities to the table drawn by Prof. Maeda in *ibid.*, 22; 24.
(43) Steible, *FAOS* 9/1, 128, Urningirsu I.6, 1’, 3’–6’.
(49) Cyl. B, XXIV, 7.
(50) Steible, *op. cit.*, 218ff., Gudea Statue I, 1, 5.
(51) See, for instance, *ibid.*, 365ff., Urningirsu II. 6, 1, 1–2.
(53) *Ibid.*, 382, Nammaḫni 9, 1–2; 387, Nammaḫni 17, 1, 1–2, “Ninshur, his god, for the life of Nammaḫni, ensi of Lagash,” the remainder of inscriptions have been lost.
(56) Steible, *op. cit.*, 220, Gudea Statue I, 3, 4–6, “for the great gods of Lagash (динғир-гал-гал-лагас-ке-не) their temples (Gudea) built.”
(57) Sjöberg & Bergmann, *op. cit.*, 28ff., TH No. 15, 190; 195; 197.
(58) Cyl. B, XXIII, “your deity being en (the lord) Ningishzida, scion of An.”
(59) See, for instance, Steible, *op. cit.*, 299, Gudea 44, 1, 1–4, “Ningirsu, the warrior of Enlil, his lugal.” “His lugal” appears in the epithet of Enki (*ibid.*, 264, Gudea 11, 4) and other deities, as well as Ningirsu, while the goddesses are designated “his nin (lady).”
(61) Sjöberg & Bergmann, *op. cit.*, 30, TH No. 18, 228.
(64) Cyl. A, XXX, 2–3.
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(66) See Orient XXIV, 4.
(67) Jacobsen, op. cit., 156.
(68) H. Frankfort, CS, 143, Text-fig. 37.
(69) See Orient XXIV, 6.
(70) For instance, in Orient XXVIII, 80, I discussed the cultic places of Shulutul. The personal deities appear in ibid., 96f., Table 1; 101, Table 3; 102f., Table 4, which lists recipients presented in the official festivals and other matters.
(71) See, for instance, Steible, op. cit., 332f., Gudea 68, “For Ningishzida, his deity, Gudea, ensi of Lagash, built his temple in Girsu.” Also, for instance, ibid., 230, Gudea Statue M, Beischrift, 1–6 states “Gudea, ensi of Lagash, the man who built the temple of Ningishzida and the temple of Geshtinanna.” Geshtinanna was “the queen ‘a-izi-mu-a,’ the beloved wife of Ningishzida, his queen” (loc. cit., 1, 1–2, 1), Gudea also built a temple for his consort. Ibid., 232f., Gudea Statue N; 234f., Gudea Statue O records his services building the temple of Geshtinanna. Three statues of Gudea—Statue M, N and O—were presented to the temple of Geshtinanna.
(72) See note (71).
(73) See note (58).
(74) See note (71).
(75) S. N. Kramer VT Suppl. 3, 1955, 179 presents the recognition that “a man and his personal deity” is “a son and his father.”
(77) See note (48).

* This article was originally published in Japanese in Sekaisisetuen Dedicated to Dr. Ryohei Kizaki on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, Tokyo, 1994, 323–340.