The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḫaši and Related Men in the Ur III Dynasty

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§1. Introduction

§1.1. This article will investigate, on the basis of the administrative tablets from Puzriš-Dagan, the leaders of Marḫaši, a country near Elam in modern Iran that enjoyed good relations with the Ur III Dynasty. We will investigate the leaders of Marḫaši and their diplomats or ambassadors (lu₂ ki₃₄-a) in Sumer, as well as their contacts in the Ur Empire. We suppose that if a leader or king of Marḫaši was called “man of Marḫaši” by the Ur court, this might indicate that there was no formal relationship between Ur and Marḫaši. However, if they bore the title “governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši,” this might indicate the opposite, that Marḫaši, technically at least in the eyes of Ur, had established a formal relationship with Ur, and may have been considered (in name only) vassals of the Ur dynasty. Since some names in published transliterations have multiple readings, our collations of those names and related words are part of our main work as well.

§1.2. In surviving records, the first Sumerian king to conquer Marḫaši was Lugal-an-ne₂(or na)-mu-un-du₃ (or du), king of the Adab dynasty, but this text is known only from two copies dated to the Old Babylonian period (one each from the reigns of Abi-É₂uÌ and Ammisaduqa).

§1.2.1. RIME 1.1.8.1

This same king is noted in the Sumerian King List as conqueror of the Ur II dynasty, who in turn lost the kingship to Mari (see the Sumerian King List). In this inscription, Lugal-anne-mundu defeats 13 rebel kings under the leadership of Migir-Enlil of Marḫaši, and subjugates the “Four Quarters” of the world, i.e., from the Mediterranean to the Zagros Mountains, to his rule. His empire is said to have included the provinces of Elam, Marḫaši, Gutium, Subartu, the “Cedar Mountain” (Lebanon), Amurru (Amorites) or Martu, “Sutium” and “the Eanna Mountain.” The portion of his inscription about Marḫaši is as follows:

ll. 11-26): At that time, Migir-Enlil, the governor of Marḫaši, Enlil-èzzu, the governor of Ub, Šeš-Ke'el, the governor of “the Great Gate,” ...-lama, the governor of Amdama, Ibbi-Mama, the governor of Ardana, Nur-su-èli, the governor of A..., Badganum, the governor of Zu..., Adda-larrum, the governor of ..., Zunut-tunu, [the governor of ...], Rim-šunu, [the governor of ...], Abi-ha[niš, the governor of ..., ...-bi-Maradda, the governor of ..., 13 "governors," who did ..., ... raised up ...

ll. 51'-67'): [I, Lugal*-an-na-mu-un-du₃], strong man ... Marḫaši, the beloved city ..., the city that Nim-nim ("the Queen of the High Land") with bronze šem-drums, ... [I came] into Marḫaši, into the outskirts of the city. ... In the middle of Marḫaši ... the beautiful city of Enlil ... [I restored it] to its (former) state. ... the E₂-gan₂-kalama, the temple of Enlil, ... according to the mouth of my nation, ... for the life of my people, ... the white ... the people of Sumer ... from the middle of Marḫaši...

ll. 117'-155'): The chief ministers of the Cedar Mountain, Elam, Marḫaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amurru, Sutium and ["the Mountain of Eanna "came]. It was 60 men ... [I sent] 60 fattened bulls, 420 [rams* to them]. ... [They* "came] into the middle of the temple of E₂-nam-zu ... with divine encouragement ... for four days...

I am [Lugal*-an-na]-mu-[un]-du₃, ... the king of Adab ..., ... who exercises the kingship. ... It was 360 bur₃ of field that I seized there ..., and I have put there a residence. I set straight the ... there and was spending much time in it. I did not let the ... stay in the taverns. ... an area of 3 bur₃ of field ... with
the luxuriant grasses ... For the [*governors] of the Cedar Mountain, Elam, Marhaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amuru, Sutium and the Mountain of Eanna, in their [*"arrivals, I' made] them* sit on golden thrones, I placed the golden [*gifts*] in their hands, and I placed golden [*"objects*] in their laps. Their [*"messengers* came*] in Adab into my [palace*], I have made them come, and ... I have made them come before me, ... much shade I indeed ... there. When ... have passed, the ... *go for all future days. The many [*"statues*] of Enlil I have raised up, their,... how is it that I am a just king? ... I returned them to everywhere and their countries. ... of Adab and its land to his city, ... I had carried in. May... be not reduce them there! May... be not destroy them! [After] wards, may Dingir-mah, the mistress of the E₂-nam-zu temple, grant life to all the ruler of the Cedar Mountains, Elam, Marhaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amuru, Sutium, and the Eanna Mountain who does not cut off the established cattle and sheep offerings, and who does not cut off those regular provisions from her mouth!

§1.2.2. RIME 2.1.1.8 ll. 37-109

In the Old Akkadian period, Sargon, Rimuš and Naram-Sin, too, launched campaigns to conquer again the lands of Elam and Marhaši which was called Parāḫšum in the Old Akkadian language. Sargon bore the title "the king of Kish (or the world) and the conqueror of Elam and Parāḫšum" and claims that he captured SaNAM-šimut, a governor of Elam, Luḫiš-šan, son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam, Ulul, a general of Parāḫšum, Dagu, brother of the king of Parāḫšum, Sidgau, a general of Parāḫšum, Kundupum, a judge of Parāḫšum and the Booty of Susa. Hisibrasini, king of Elam and the governor of Širiḫum, a neighboring state, were captured, too. His inscriptions are as follows:

Sargon is king of the world and conqueror of Elam and Parāḫšum (pa₂/ra-ah-šumᵇ). For the one who shall remove this inscription, may the gods Enlil, Šamaš and Įtār tear out his foundations and pluck up his seed!

(Colophon 1) Inscription on a socle.
(Caption 1) [...] (On the) left arm,..., (ki ...), Elam ...
(Caption 2) Sargon, king of the world, the conqueror of Elam and Parāḫšum.
(Colophon 2) (Writing) Standing at his (Right) Side.
(Caption 3) Booty of Arava.
(Caption 4) SaNAM-šimut, governor (viz, the general in RIME 2.1.1.9) of Elam.
(Caption 5) Luḫiš-šan, the son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam.
(Caption 6) Booty of SaNAM-šimut.
(Caption 7) Booty of Kerešu.
(Caption 8) Ulul, general of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 9) Dagu, brother of the king of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 10) Booty of HEni.
(Caption 11) Booty of Bunban.
(Caption 12) Zina, governor of Huṣe-

§1.2.3. RIME 2.1.1.9

(Surface a 1-47) For Enlil, Sargon, king of the world, conqueror of Elam and Parāḫšum, dedicated it to Enlil. For the one who shall remove this inscription, may Enlil and Šamaš both tear out his foundation, and pluck up his seed.

(Colophon 1) The inscription on its socle.
(Caption 1) x-subru, governor of Širiḫum.
(Caption 2) Sidgau, general of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 3) SaNAM-šimut, general of Elam.
(Caption 4) Luḫiš-šan, son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam.
(Caption 5) Kundupum, judge of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 6) [...] ..., the eight ... men *of the two *rebel [*"lands*], (and) eleven (?) cedar-wood weapons.
(Caption 7) Hisibrasini, king of Elam.
(Caption 8) Their ... are seized. They are (shown) oppressed in their handcuffs.

§1.2.4. RIME 2.1.2.6=7 (on a statue of Rimuš)

The main strategic direction of the second king Rimuš was Elam and Parāḫšum, and his famous title was the king of the world and conqueror of Elam and Parāḫšum, the same as one of Sargon’s, his father. He defeated Abalgamaš, king of Parāḫšum, and captured Hisibrasini, his ally, king of Elam, who was captured by Sargon before and possibly submitted to him so was released. He again captured Sidgau, the general of Parāḫšum who was also captured by Sargon before, and the general of Zaḥara, his ally. Rimuš occupied Elam again and made Elam off the alliance of Parāḫšum. When he conquered Elam and Parāḫšum, he brought out 30 minas of gold, 3,600 minas of copper, 300 male and female slaves, and dedicated them to Enlil. Much booty from Elam and Parāḫšum was dedicated to Enlil by Rimuš, described as follows.

1-92) Rimuš, king of the world, was victorious in battle with Abalgamaš, king of Parāḫšum (pa₂/ra-ah-šumᵇ). Further, Zaḥara and Elam had assembled in the center of Parāḫšum for battle, but he was (again) victorious. Then, he struck down 12,221* men, and he took 4,216 captives. Further, he captured *His(UD)-*ib-*ra-sini, king of Elam, and all the [...] of Elam. Further, he captured Sidgau, the general of Parāḫšum and then he captured Sargapi, general of Zaḥara, in between (the cities) Awan and Susa by the Middle River. Then, he heaped up a burial mound at the site of a town over them. Furthermore, he conquered the cities of Elam, and destroyed their city walls, and he tore out the

(Caption 13) Hidarida-x, governor of Gunilaḫa.
(Caption 14) Booty of Šaḫum.
(Caption 15) Booty of Awan.
(Caption 16) Sidgau, general of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 17) Kundupum, judge of Parāḫšum.
(Caption 18) Booty of Susa.
(Colophon 3) (Above are) on this socle. The ones who are with bound hands.
foundations of Parahšüm from the country of Elam, and so Rimuš, king of the world, rules Elam (as) the god Enlil had disclosed (in an omen).

In the third year from the year when Enlil gave him the kingship, there were a total of 9,624 men (defeated), including the fallen dead, (and) including the captives. By the gods of Samu and Iša (Iš-a-ba₂), I swear that these are not falsehoods but are indeed true! At the time of this battle, he created this statue of himself, and dedicated it to Enlil (for) his well-being.

(132-145) When he conquered Elam and Parahšüm, he brought out 30 minas of gold, 3,600 minas of copper, 300 male and female slaves, and dedicated them to Enlil. (Colophon 2) It was written ... at it’s ... .

§1.2.5. RIME 2.1.4.25 ll. 1-16 Naram-Sin, the fourth and greatest king of Akkad, also notes that he conquered Elam up to Parahšüm:

Naram-Sin, king of Agade, commander of the world (Kiš) people, and of the land of Elam, all of it, up to Parahšüm, and of the land of Subartum: up to the Forest of Cedar.

After the Ur III dynasty was overthrown by the army of Elam, the succeeding Old Babylonian dynasty defeated Elam up to the border of Marhašši, and so the 30th year name of Hammurapi came to be:

Hammurapi, king, the mighty one, the beloved of Marduk, smashed, with the supreme power of the great gods, smashed the armed hordes of Elam from the border of Marhašši, of Subartum, Gutium, Ešnunna and Malgias, who had come up in multitudes, and secured the foundations of Sumer and Akkad (RLA 2, 180, 1327).

Here note that the first four states are the same as those in the inscription of Lugal-anne-mundu, king of Adab.

§1.3. After the Old Akkadian dynasty, in order to secure Susa against Anšan, the Ur III dynasty needed to maintain a good relationship with Marhašši. According to the year names of Šulgi 18, Šulgi gave his daughter to a king of Marhašši as wife: Year: “Liwi-mi-tašu, the daughter of the king, was elevated to the queenship of Marhašši” (mul li₂-wir-mi-ta₂-šu dumu-munus lugal nam-nin mar-ša₂-ši₂₆ ba-il₂; RlA 2, 137 35). After having made a political marriage with Marhašši, from his 23rd year to 48th year, Šulgi conducted his eastern campaigns against the barbarian states behind Susa and Marhašši in Iran. In the 23rd year, he conquered the land of Karaḫar, recorded in his 24th year name. In his 24th year, he conquered the land of Simurum for the first time, and in his 25th year, the troops of Ur destroyed Simurum for the second time. In his 26th year, he launched the first Harši campaign and conquered this land in Iran. In his 29th year, a princess of Šulgi, was married to the son of “the governor of Anšan.” The fact that this lesser title is given to the king of Anšan, shows that Anšan, the land behind Karaḫar, Simurum and Harši, had come to terms with the might of the Ur army and pursued to an alliance with Ur by means of a political marriage. In his 30th and 31st year, Šulgi struck Karaḫar for the second and third times, and in the 32nd year, he conquered Simurum for the third time. In his 34th year, his vassal Anšan revolted against Ur, and was defeated by the Ur army, at which point all the enemy states in the northeast were subject to the Sumerian Empire. In his 36th year, Šulgi build a long wall against the enemy states, and all foreign states began to submit to the Ur Empire and continued to send diplomats with gifts of pilgrimage to the deified King Šulgi. Thus, Šulgi, in his 38th year, found it necessary to establish a royal stockyard in Puzriš-Dagan to manage all the livestock tribute from Sumer, Akkad, and foreign vassals as far as the frontiers of his kingdom. In his 41st year, he conquered the land of Šašrum for the first time.

§1.4. From Ș 43 iii, Marhašši, the land between Susa and Anšan, began to make alliance with Ur, and its kings bore the title first as “the man,” and later as “the governor” of Marhašši. In Šulgi 43rd year, he conquered Simurum for the 9th time, in his 44th year, he struck Urbilum and Lulubu for the first time, and in his 45th-46th years, he conquered Kimaš and Ḥurti for the first time. In his 47th, the penultimate year, he destroyed Harši for the second time.

§1.5. In Amar-Sin’s first year, the new king conquered Urbilum for the second time, and in AS Ș-6, the king destroyed Šašrum for the second time and Huhnuri for the first time. During those northeastern campaign years, the “man” and “governor” of Marhašši maintained a good relationship with Ur. Our investigation of these officials and their Ur counterparts are as follows.

§2. Hašip-atal, the man of Marhašši (Ș 43/iii – AS 1) with Lugalkagina, envoy of Sumer
§2.1. Ḥaṣip-atal, the general in Š 43 iii–46 iv
This name is mostly written as ḥa-ši-pa₂-tal² and once ḥa-ši-ip-a-tal (TCL 2, 5488), a Hurrian name, who first sent 14 oxen to the Ur dynasty during Š 43 iii 22 after Šulgi conquered Šārum on the upper Diyala in his 41ˢᵗ year (year name 42 describing the most important event that occurred in the previous year).

§2.2. Šu-salla, Tišandaḫi, Kimani, En-il, Šulgi-il, Šuruš-kin and other generals, captain and messengers with the ambassadors (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a) of the rulers (“man”) of Marḫaṣi

§2.2.1. Three years later, on Š 46 viii 6, after Šulgi conquered Urbilum (modern Erbil) in his 45ʰ year (45 of the new Akkiti calendar which began from the Akkiti month, vi), Šu-sal-la, who appears later with the epithet “the east one” (ša₁₂-ti-um)³ and a Šuruš-kin, two Akkadian generals as envoys of Ur, accompanied an unnamed ambassador (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a) of the ruler (“man”) of Marḫaṣi to Sumer (Ḥaṣip-atal³). With him is also the ambassador of the ruler of Sīšil. These two same foreigners, with many soldiers escorting them, ate meat at the kitchen of the palace. A Šu-salla delivered a lamb/kid tribute on Š 43 vii 7 (OIP 115, 159). On Š 47 x 9 (=48ʰ iii; RA 74, 3 b), Šu-salla, the easterner, was given with 2 fattened bulls and 20 fattened ram/goats on behalf of (mu—še³) the ambassadors of the rulers of Mardaman(ium), Ḥabura (near Ninua), Giggini(um) and duḫ-duḫ-li(um). On Š 48 viii 2ʰ in Tummal, 5 fattened rams were issued to the kitchen in his name (mu—še³), as well as 5 fattened ram/goats to the court of Sīšil, man of Šazibi, and 10 to the house of Tur-am-Šulgi, daughter of Šulgi, and wife of Šu-Dabani, man of ba-šim-e (ZA 72, 237-265). On Š 48 viii 12 in Nippur, via Lugal-ka-gina, the envoy, 4 fattened rams/goats were issued to the kitchen, for (mu—theša₂-ti-um), the easterner (ša₁₂-ti-um), the man of ta₂-da₂-u₂,³ and the ambassador of Ḥaṣip-atal (man of Marḫaṣi), and on the next day, 2 fattened rams for the first time and 1 fattened bull with 10 fattened rams/goat for the second time were issued to the kitchen for the “easterner” and also for the man of šu-um, the new comer.

On Š 46 ix 4 (JCS 31, 35 BMC 2), the 6 Akkadian generals of the Sumerian dynasty, EN(Bel)-il, Šu-salla, Šuruš-kin, ti-ša-an₁-d₂-da₂-ši₄ and Šulg-il, without Kimani, but with Nur-il, who once guided the man of Sīšil, met with some foreign ambassadors: the man of Ḥašr, man of Sīšil, (5 rams) the man of Marḫaṣi (Ḥaṣip-atal?), the man of Gumarasi, man of Yabr, the man of Barbanazu, the man of ur₂-ša-an₁₂, the man of ḡa-uru₂-ra₂, the man of a₂-tr₂-b₁₂-u₂-umki (Urbilum⁴) and man of Ki-zi₂,... Each man was presented 1 fattened bull and 5 fattened rams, but Napalnam, the Amorite who was apparently in the service of the Sumerian dynasty, was presented 1 fattened bull and 400 ram/goats (for his Amorite army?). Nur-il appeared as the lu₂ ka₃₄ messenger on AS 1 viii 3 (AUCT 2, 179), and En-il and Nur-il, two of those six Akkadians, were once listed as captains (AS 4 xii 7, Princeton 1, 45). En-il and Šuruš-kin once together sent 5 ram/goats to Enlil and Ninlil each on AS 2 ix 21 (SAT 2, 724). His inheritance (e₂-du₂-qa) and the property of his son, numerous livestock, were taken over by Abba-saga, the chief of royal finance (AS 7 iii; BOPO 6, 143). In ŠS 9 viii and IS 3, En-il’s son Nabi-Enlil was a general of the fortress of Anu/Uruk (seal in MVN 3, 294 and NATN 612 in Nippur). On Š 48 ix 6 (Nik 2, 474), nearly the same day two years...

2 The reading of A-ši-ba-tal in Nisaba 8, 382, is incorrect; it should be read er₂*-su₂*-a*, “the deep weeping ritual.”

3 A ša₁₂-ti-um in Girsu, with his seal: ša₁₂-ti-um, dub-sar, dumu da-[da₁], dealt with barley delivery to Nippur in Šulgi 46 viii (MVN 12, 40; HLC 3, 367 no month) and ix (MVN 12, 68), (bēres 24), and Š 48 (barley, MVN 8, 179). Note Šu-Salla in Puzriš-Dagan was named as “easterner” only during Š 47 iii, viii and 48 viii. Apart from Šu-sul-la, only Riz-il was once called “the easterner” on Š 47 vii/22 (RA 74, 2 a); 1 gu₂, 6 udu 4 ma₂ši₂, nig₂-mus₂su₂三分₂-sëdingir ša₁₂-ti-um [e₂] da₂-a₂-ni₂ mu₂haldim₂-še₂ (1 bull, 10 rams/goats for the bridal gift of Riz-il, the easterner, to the [office] of Dayani, cook). The word is not mentioned in other years. In Š 48, Riz-il became a rå-gaba knight working for Abi-simti, the new dowager name of Šulgi-simti, queen of the late Šulgi, and also for Ur-Suen, the crown prince name of Amir-Sin, for which see Wu, Yuhong in JAC 27, 2012, but where, however, I missed the translation of Schell to the private tablet RA 13, 20 7 (see BDTNS; Š 48 no month), which may indicate that in the last months of the last year of Šulgi, the new name Abi-simti appeared firstly, which may prove that after her royal husband died in 48 x, Šulgi-simti immediately changed her name to Abi-simti. Although the “ki a-na₂” of Šulgi-simti was mentioned in AS 1 iii 28 (ZV 20 25, 134 2), she did not die soon after the death of Šulgi. The famous Arad-Nanna, sukkal-mah (secretary of state), once also appeared in the ki a-na₂ in Šu-Sin 7 vii (CUS,AS 3, 971), but is still active until IS 3 (Girsu TCII 1, 897). Abi-simti was active from Amir-Sin 1 x to Šu-Sin 9 xii. Riz(il)-il as knight continues to appear in documents from Š 4 ³ii 24 to AS 9 xii 16 (B.AOM 6, 138 297), and in ŠS 2 ii 20, he was already promoted by the new king Šu-Sin to the rank of the šar₂-ra-ab-du scribe official. He retires one or two years later. After Šulgi, 48, Šu-salla was less active. On AS 5 vii 22 (OIP 121, 96), he delivered a lamb/kid tribute to the Ur court, together with those of Beli-arki, governor of Susa (41 ibexes), Hun-Šulgi, general of Umma, Su-Istar, Arad-ḫulla, generals, and Su-Sin, the crown prince.

4 This is possibly a Hurrian name, since Tiš-atal is a Hurrian ruler who was ensi of Ninua/Ninvehn on SS 3 ix 28 (Studies Leichty 504) and x (JCS 28, 179)
later, Lu-Nanna, Šu-salla, EN(Bel)-ili, Tišandašt, Šulgi-ili and Nur-ili, as well as ki-ma-<ni*> (see §1.2.2) and AN-gu-la, were given one fattened bull each. On Š 46 i 24 (AFO 24, pl. 15 S 213), Tišandašt sent a lamb to the king, together with Apišaš, the powerful general of Šulgi in the literature letters,§ who sent 31 oxen as tribute, and with Ilsu-rabi, Hûn-êba-ûr and Lu-Nanna. In MVN 15, 142: 15’-45’ ([Š 44-48]), 10 goats are issued by ARAD-ilili and Nur-ilili, as well as ki-ma-<ni*> (see §1.2.2) and with Ilsu-rabi, Vest (iti še-sag11-ku5) began in Ur, is called “New Year of the first at the beginning of the year when the Month of Harvest (iti še-sag11-ku5) began in Ur, is called “New Year of Sowing” (a₂-kì-ti-šu-numum) or Middle Year. In the text of the Akkadian-šu-numum on AS 4 i 6, Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, the governor of Marhaši, received one bull and five rams as the New Year’s gift, and after him, Kumani took only one goat. This Kumani also occurred in the New Year of Sowing or the Middle Year of AS 4 vii 1 in a parallel text, where he takes one goat after the Amorites. In the parallel text, we find Amur-Šulgi, Šul-gi-pal and Aqbandi who became the gala eunuch singer (AS 2 vii 6; BCT 1, 77), three immigrants from Mari, two of whom named after Šulgi, their lord. Some new allied foreign ambassadors, and Naplanum, the powerful Amorite leader, were also honored guests at both festivals. In the group of Amorite, there were Yanbuli and Dannum, his brother, and his son Abiš-kin, as well as the two Amorite generals whose names were after the king: Šulgi-abi and Hûn-Šulgi. Many Amorite officers were named after Šulgi, or later after Amar-Suen or Šu-Suen. The throne of the dead Šulgi was at the center of the both New Year festivals (in the first or last position in the lists). Naplanum was the most important ally of the Ur dynasty from § 43 ii 3 (Nik 2, 487), when he was appointed as captain (na-ap-la-num,1 nu-bandā.). In the gift list for the second (Sowing) New Year, we also have twelve princesses of Ur with two wet-nurses. Naplanum, who is listed after the princesses in the text, was the leading guest in the both texts, and received the most livestock gifts, two fattened bulls, seven fattened and five ram/goats, with Abiškin, his son, and Dannum and Yanbuli, his brothers, and Šulgi-abi and Hûn-Šulgi, the Amorites fellows, receiving two rams each. The twelve princesses of Ur and the ambassadors each took one fattened bull and five rams.

A Synopsis of the Amorite Group, the Marhaši Man and other Foreign Diplomats in the Festivals of New Year (a₂-kì-ti) and of Middle Year of AS 4 (i and vii)

§2.2.2. At the two New Year’s Festivals of AS 4 i and vii, Kimani and the ambassador of Marhaši, Naplanum and Amorites, three men of Mari and other foreigners came before the throne of Šulgi.

In Ur, there were two Akkīti festivals of New Years: the first at the beginning of the year when the Month of Harvest (iti še-sag11-ku₅) began in Ur, is called “New Year of Harvest,” and the second on the first day of the seventh month, the Akiti Month in Ur. This is “the New Year of Sowing” (a₂-kì-ti-šu-numum) or Middle Year. In the text of the Akkīti-šu-numum on AS 4 i 6, Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, the governor of Marhaši, received one bull and five rams as the New Year’s gift, and after him, Kumani took only one goat. This Kumani also occurred in the New Year of Sowing or the Middle Year of AS 4 vii 1 in a parallel text, where he takes one goat after the Amorites. In the parallel text, we find Amur-Šulgi, Šul-gi-pal and Aqbandi who became the gala eunuch singer (AS 2 vii 6; BCT 1, 77), three immigrants from Mari, two of whom named after Šulgi, their lord. Some new allied foreign ambassadors, and Naplanum, the powerful Amorite leader, were also honored guests at both festivals. In the group of Amorite, there were Yanbuli and Dannum, his brother, and his son Abiš-kin, as well as the two Amorite generals whose names were after the king: Šulgi-abi and Hûn-Šulgi. Many Amorite officers were named after Šulgi, or later after Amar-Suen or Šu-Suen. The throne of the dead Šulgi was at the center of the both New Year festivals (in the first or last position in the lists). Naplanum was the most important ally of the Ur dynasty from § 43 ii 3 (Nik 2, 487), when he was appointed as captain (na-ap-la-num,1 nu-bandā.). In the gift list for the second (Sowing) New Year, we also have twelve princesses of Ur with two wet-nurses. Naplanum, who is listed after the princesses in the text, was the leading guest in the both texts, and received the most livestock gifts, two fattened bulls, seven fattened and five ram/goats, with Abiškin, his son, and Dannum and Yanbuli, his brothers, and Šulgi-abi and Hûn-Šulgi, the Amorites fellows, receiving two rams each. The twelve princesses of Ur and the ambassadors each took one fattened bull and five rams.

A Synopsis of the Amorite Group, the Marhaši Man and other Foreign Diplomats in the Festivals of New Year (a₂-kì-ti) and of Middle Year of AS 4 (i and vii)

AS 4 i 6 (TCL 2, 5508; Akiti-še-sag₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁�

AS 4 vii 1* (CTMMMA 1, 17; Akiti-šu-numum) two rams/goats for the throne of Šulgi: Watarum as royal deputy, from the tributes for the Akkīti of Harvest (the New Year in iti še-sag₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁�

Naplanum: two fattened bulls, seven fattened rams and five rams/goats, 

i₃-an-bu-li, his brother: two rams/goats,
Abiš-ki-in, his son: two rams/goats,
the wife of ia₃-an-bi₂-i₃-lum: two rams/goats,
Napšanum, the ambassador of ia₃-a-mu-tum: one ram,
Šulgi-abi: two rams/goats,
and Hun-Šulgi: one ram;
above are Amorites
above are Amorites;
Amur-ili, ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, the governor of Maršaš: one fattened bull and five fattened rams,
Kimani: one goat,
si₁-li₂ (=EN-li?): one goat
ku-zu-zu, ambassador of Barbarage: two rams/goats,
Adda-buni, ambassador of še-eb-ba: one goat,
še-bi, ambassador of Raši: one goat (Raši, man of zii-danum, with Puzur-Mama of Mari, on AS 2 v 16, LAOS 1, 28),
Šimaškeans: three rams/goats,
dan-ha-la-at: one goat,
Hu-un-ki-ib-ri: one goat, Hu-un-ze₂-ri: one goat
bi₂-it-tu: one goat,
bi₂-it-tu: one goat,
Abiš-ki-in*(iš, his son): two rams/goats,
no
no
no
Šulgi-abu: two rams/goats,
Aqbani, Šulgi-abi and Šulgi-ili, four men of Mari, are listed, via Naram-Adad)
Šulgi-palil, two rams (on S 47 viii 28, he and Amir*[=Amur]-Šulgi, two men of Mari, went to Aḫuti to take field [MVN 15, 189] and also on AS 7 x 15 [PDT 2, 959]; on S 47 viii 21 [CT 32, pl. 23], the two and aq*-ba-ni, the three Marians, are with Tadin-Ištar, their mistress.)
(after Aqbani) Bašan-tibat: one ram,
Muluš: one ram (the Akkad-dian generals),
(after Šulgi-palil) aq-ba-ni*: two rams/goats (on Š 48 ix 9 [OrSP 18, pl. 17:22-32], Amir-Šulgi, dšul-[gi*-pa*-li2*-il*], Aqbani and Ili-šišqišal, four Marians, in Sumer.)
Ur-Baba, cook*(line 97: muḥaldim*, not maskim): one fattened bull, ten rams
d-aša-da-ta*: one goat,
bu-ul-ba-at*: one goat,
Zinugi, man of Hilbili, via bi₂-li₂-la, envoy,
(after Si ili) bu-ul-ba-at: one goat,
(after Ši ili) dan-ha-la-at*: (not SAR₂ₓ₃₀): one goat,
(after Si ili) dan-ha-la-at*: (not SAR₂ₓ₃₀): one goat,
(after Si ili) dan-ha-la-at*: (not SAR₂ₓ₃₀): one goat,
Zinugi, man of Hilbili, via bi₂-li₂-la, envoy,
d-aša-da-ta*: one goat,
(after Si ili) ba-da-ti-na: one goat,
(after Si ili) ba-da-ti-na: one goat,


§2.2.3. On AS 6 x 10 (SET 63), the five men of the first rank, issued with one fattened bull and ten rams, were Lu-Nanna, the u₃-kul, Ur-Eanna, arad₃-kal-la, ri-im-ga-ga and mu-ur₃-tin-gaba, who was an Elamite on Š 45 iii 4 (TRU 256) and raised to nu-banda₃, captain from AS 5 ix 29 (Nīk 2, 476), once under Dukra on [AS 5'] v 27, in the festival of the men of Marḫaši (MVN 13, 695), and then under Šarrum-bani from AS 9 iii 15 (Nisaba 8, 52) to SS 3 (CT 32, 36). Murtingaba (one lamb) was also together with Ur-Eanna (five gazelles) on AS 5 i 23 (JCS 23, 113 23). After Murtingaba, Naplanum was issued, by ARAD-mu, with one fattened bull and three fattened rams and one ram, and Yabrat with one bull and five rams. After the higher rank men, na-na-dug-še and še-da-ga-gi each took one ram, and for the three Amorites from Mari, Amur-Šulgi took two rams, Šulgi-palil and was presented with two fattened rams. For the three men the higher rank men, na-na-dug-še and še-da-ga-gi each took one ram, and for the three Amorites all whose names include the name of the divine Šulgi, Šulgi-abi took two, Šulgi-ili and aq*-ba-ni each took one ram, and for the three Amorites all whose names include the name of the divine Šulgi, Šulgi-ili and Ḫun-Šulgi each took one.

§2.3. ama-ĝiri₃-is-er and Hašip-atal, man of Marḫaši (Š 46 ix–48)
On Š 46 ix 18 (BIN 3, 12), ama-ĝiri₃(or anše)is-er (ama-ĝiri₃-is-er in MVN 13, 529), but mostly written as ama-ĝiri₃-ct, “Mother of Pride,” a Sumerian noble lady, who might be the wife of Hašip-atal, was issued with two fattened rams, and then five fattened rams were sent to the kitchen for Hašip-atal, titled as “the man of Marḫaši,” and for ama-ĝiri₃-ct. On Šulgi 48 xii 12 (UDT 116), four fattened rams was presented to the ki-a-naĝ libation place of the dead Šulgi, one fattened ram was issued to the e₂-uṣ-ga dining hall for the living queen (nin), who was either Gme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti, and one goat was given to ama-ĝiri₃-ct*, who came with the messengers and was possibly a princess married to the ruler of Marḫaši. On Š 48 x 18, from ba-ba-tal, (under?) ama-ĝiri₃-is, Nasa took two norms (one norm = one bull with 10 sheep/goats) of tribute, i.e., two fattened bulls, eleven fattened rams with nine rams (twelve sheep) and one fattened goat (Hermitage 3, 190, P212067).

On the AS 1 v 29 (MVN 15, 194), ama-ĝiri₃ came back to Sumer, with the ambassadors of both ar-wi*-lu*-ug-bi, ruler of Marḫaši, and his son, who might be the son born by her, or her grandson.
On AS 1 ix 21 (MVN 13, 529), a gift of one bull and five rams/goats were granted to each dwelling of EN-ili, šu*-sal-“la*, Šuruš-kin, ǳul-“ɡi∗>i₂-ili₂, Nur-ili, …, the man of ši-ig-ša-bi₂, and gun₂-na and u₂*-du₃-du: the men of šu-da-êk₂, du-ug-ra, man of Kakmi, as well as five fattened rams to Bibra, the Šimaškean, and one fattened goat for ama-ĝiri₃-is-ir. Meanwhile, twelve fattened rams/goats were sent three times to the kitchen for the messengers with them.

§2.4. Hašip-atal, general, and his daughter-in-law Nin-bedu in Š 47
On Š 47 iv (Š46’ xii; TCL 2, 5488, a text of the weapon keeper), one bronze musical instrument was handed in by Hašip-atal general, via Šu-Enlil, guard of Ea-ili (general of Umma), while one Elamite bow was delivered from Lu-Nanna, general of Nagsu, to Puzrish-Dagan. This means that Hašip-atal, a chieftain with a Hurrian name, now became a general of the Ur Dynasty. On Š 47 xii 4 (TRU 110) Nasa took five fattened oxen, 28 fattened rams, two goats, one kid, three norms (one norm = one bull with ten of flock) of tribute, from ha-ši-pa₂-tal and three fattened bulls, thirty rams (three norms) from nin-Še₂-du₃, daughter-in-law of Hašip-atal. nin-Še₂-du₃ was the sixth of the twelve princesses on AS 4 vii 1* (CTMMA 1, 17), on the Akiti days when the royal gifts were given to the dead Šulgi and to Naplanum, his son and brother, as well as to the Amorites, the Marians, and others.
The irrigation of the field of nin-Še₂-du₃ in Umma was mentioned on AS 3, with a royal envoy (BPOA 1, 852). However, another princess with the same name is called the wife of a sukkal-maḥ (“chief minister,” ASJ 9, 126 57, date damaged), who was possibly the wife of the father of Arad-mu, during Ṣ 35 xii and 36 i in the archive of queen Šulgi-simti (CST 43; Hirose 13). This possibility is based on the fact that the wife of the sukkal-maḥ ARADmu was a šuba₃-du₃-a in AS 9 x (ITT 5, 6997), and a Baba-uc'a in SS 3 <no month> 3, 9, 10-11, 13, 20, 23, 25 (TCTI 1, 1028, 1027; ITT 2 4006, 3178, 3168, 3181, 4000; MVN 2, 133) and in IS 1 (TCTI 2, 2700).

Texts on Hašip-atal, his ambassadors, Šu-salla and others, ama-ĝiri₃-is-er and nin-Še₂-du₃, with Lugul-kagina, envoy (Šulgi 43 iii – 48 xii)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Distributing</th>
<th>Marḫaši Receivers</th>
<th>Other Receivers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š43 iii 22</td>
<td>seven bulls and seven cows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(OIP 115, 149)
two fattened bulls, nineteen fattened ram/goats to the kitchen, Śulgi-kalama-metebi as royal deputy (maškim) for (mu) <šu*>-sal-la (ša₂₂-tium), and šu-ru-uš-ki-in, (and) the ambas- sadors of man of mar-ša-ši₂ and of man of ši-ši-ilki soldiers: sixty-six sheep/goats for first time, 1 ox and 11 sheep/goats for second; withdrawn from lu₂-dingir-ra II

five fattened rams, each: ... ARADmu as royal deputy, are withdrawn from the anonymous (Nasa) for the man of Harši, man of Šitiš, (only five rams) for the man of Marḫaši (Hašip-atal?), the man of Guma-raši, man of Yabr, the man of Barbanazu, man of ur₂-sa₂-an₂₁, man of ha₂-bu-ra₁⁵, man of a₂-ri₂-bi₁-um₂₁ ... man of ki-zî²{[...]}, one bull, 400 rams/goats, for Naplanum, Amorite (marᵗu)

five fattened rams to the kitchen for Îa₂-atal, šakkana general, via Šu-Enlil, guard of Ea-ili (general of Umma) one Elam bow from Lu-Nanna, general of nag-su, in Puzrish-Dagan

forty-two asses, the booty against the land of Amorites from Hašip-atal, via Uššabras, lu₂-x, the tributes are taken. three fattened bulls, thirty rams (from) nin-Ìe₂-du⁷, the daughter-in-law of Îa₂-atal.

via Lugal-kagina, envoy, withdrawn from lu₂-dingir-ra in Nippur one udu for <e₂-uz-ga>, the tribute of Hašip-atal, Ayakalla (cook) as royal deputy one bull, ten rams/goats, to kitchen, for Nur-ili, man of ši-ši-il-la² and the messengers of Šumium, the ruler of Šulgi-simti.

via Lugal-kagina, envoy, Arad-mu as royal deputy, in Nippur, withdrawn from lu₂-dingir-ra II, two fattened rams for the first time, one fattened bull, four fattened rams, six fattened goat for the second time, to kitchen for Šu-salla, "easterner"

three fattened rams, tribute of Hašip-atal and one ewe, tribute of Amar-Damu to the e₂-uz-ga dining hall, Ur-Baba (cook) as deputy, withdrawn from Nasa AS 1 iii (AnOr 1, 10) five bulls, the bulls delivered from Hašip-atal via Lugal-kagina, from Nasa, Enlila took

four fattened ewes were presented to the ki–a-naĝ libation place of the dead Šulgi, Arad-mu as deputy, withdrawn from Ahuni. I fattened ram was issued to the e₂-uz-ga dining hall for the living nin (queen, who was either Geme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti). 10 fattened rams/goat to the kitchen for the messengers in Nippur, and one goat was given to ama-ġiri₃₁{er}.

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6 Lu-dingira I is assigned by us to the same named official who was the keeper of wild animals, and Lu-dingira II here was the livestock keeper of the Animal Center.
§2.5. Hašip-atal, General of Arraphum from AS 5 v 25 and his Son Puzur-Šulgi, from 8/v (in ŠS 3)

From AS 5 v 25 on, Hašip-atal worked as the general

Hašip-atal, general of Arraphum (AS 5 v – [IS 1 xi]), and his successor Puzur-Šulgi (AS 8 v – ŠS 3)

AS 5 v 25 (PDT 1, 166): twenty oxen, 300 rams/goats, from the troops of ar-ra-ap-hu-um[š], one bull, ten rams, from Zuzu, captain; and from mu6-ha-a, captain: the uгуula general is ba-ši'(ar?)-pa2-tal, Abba-saga took them

AS 8 v 8 (AUCT 3, 484): twenty bulls from the troops of Arraphum, its uгуula general is Puzur-Šulgi, son of Hašip-atal in the receipt of Puzur-Šulgi, son of Hašip-atal, withdrawn from Urmes. IS 1 xi 21 (JCS 52, 102 52) one gazelle kid, the tribute to the king, from Hašip-atal, in-ta-e3-a took

§3. Arwilugbi, governor of Marḫaši, and ambassadors of him and his son in Amar-Suen 1 v, vi, viii

On AS 1 v 28-29, vi 8, AS 1 vi 21 and AS 1 viii 17, the unnamed ambassador of Arwilugbi, a new ruler (man) of Marḫaši, and that of the son of Arwilugbi stayed in Sum-er, accompanied by Lugal-kagina, the Ur sukkal envoy. This son might be his successor named Libašašu, who appears as the prince or governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši later. On AS 1 vi 21, ama-ĝiri₃er appears together with the two ambassadors, and on AS 1 xii² 12*, she was issued one fattened ram alone and the two ambassadors possibly went back to Marḫaši. On AS 1 xii² 12*, a ba-ri-a-šum was titled as the man of marar-Ìa-šiki when he came from Marḫaši.

Note that in the two texts of En-dingir-mu in Tummal (ZA 80, 28 [AS 5 viii 3]; MVN 15, 199 [5 viii 12]) and one text of Enlila (OrSP 47-49, 24 = TRU 318 [AS 3 vi 3]), Marḫaši was written as mar₇-ḫa-šišt. The latter one records a Bariašum as the man came back from Marḫaši.

The unnamed ambassadors of Arwilugbi, man of Marḫaši, and of his unnamed son in AS 1 v-vi, vii and ama-ĝiri₃er

AS 1 v 28 (JCS 57, 28 7) via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re envoy as deputy, withdrawn from Lu-dingira II (in charge of the wild animals)

AS 1 v 29 (MVN 15, 194) lugal-ma₂-gur envoy as royal deputy, withdrawn from Lu-dingira II

AS 1 vi 8 (2-3, 7-11, ... 27-[*28/9]*) (RSO 83, 344 9) via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

AS 1 vi 8 (PDT 1, 401) withdrawn from Enlila in Ur

AS 1 vi 13 (MVN 18, 19) from Aḫuni and Lu-dingira, both from Abba-saga, Enlila took

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re envoy as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re envoy as deputy, withdrawn from Lu-dingira II

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, man of Marḫaši,

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še)$₃$

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še)$₃$

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še)$₃$

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one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še)$₃$

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še)$₃$
AS 1 vi 21  
\((ASJ 19, 204 13)\)  
in Uruk, via Lugal-kagina, messenger, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aluuni  
one fattened ram each for the ambassador of Arwilugbi, the ambassador of the son of Arwilugbi, and the ambassador of Hubilbar, ruler of Duhdulallu  
one fattened he-goat for ama-"gi"ri** (not ug) to their farm \((\text{e}_2-\text{duru}_5-\text{ne}-\text{ne}-\text{še}_3)\)

AS 1 vi 26  
\((SAT 2, 683)\)  
withdrawn from Aluuni, ARADmu as royal deputy  
one fattened ram for ama-"gi"ri** (for ne\(_2\))  
two knights of Ur, each six liters of beer, six of bread

AS 1 vii 17  
\((BPOA 1, 309)\)  
two liters of beer and two of bread, via ARAD związku, general in Girsu  
forty-four Elamites, each, received, when the Elamites went from Ur to Marhaši  
Aradmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from En-dingirmu in Tummal  
one fattened ram each for the ambassador of ar-bi*(for wi)*-"lu-*ug-bi and the ambassador of the son of ar-bi-*lu-*ug-bi

AS 1 viii 17  
\((MFN 1, 124)\)  
ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aluuni  
two calves crossbred with bison, to the place (ki!) of the son of ar-*wi-*lu-*<ug-bi>, man of Marhaši

AS 1 xii * 12*  
\((Ontario 2, 205)\)  
ARADmu as deputy, withdrawn from Aluuni  
two fattened bulls, five fattened rams for engar-du\(_{10}\) when he presents the bridal price to the house of his father-in-law  
one fattened ram for ki-wi, the man of Duhdulali, one fattened ram/goat for Raši, the man of Zidanum, one fattened ram for ama-"gi"ri*(KIŠ)*, sent to their village via pu-\(_2\)

AS 3 vi 3*  
\((OrSP 47-49 024 = TRU 318)\)  
withdrawn from Enlila  
two bulls for ba-ri-a-šum the man who came back from Marhaši (\(\text{lu}_2\) ma*-ha-* ši*-\(\text{i}_3\)-im-gen-na-a)  
Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marhaši: AS 3 xii – 4 v 15 for a half year

Klein 1990 presented seven texts about Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, in Sumer. In addition, we now have 12 texts about the visit of Amur-ili on AS 3 xii 28, AS 4 i 6 (Klein mistook this for i/3), 14, 23, 27, ii 25, [iii] 7, iii 22, v 6, 9, 15. This Libanu-ugšabaš, ruler of Marhaši, might be the unnamed son of Arwilugbi who apparently had a close relationship with the Ur court since he was titled with the governor (ensi\(_2\)) of Marhaši.

Texts Recording Amur-ili in Sumer (AS 3 xii 28 – 4 v 15)

AS 3 xii 28  
\((CST 286)\)  
via Šu-Dada, envoy, nam-\(\text{ha}\)-ni, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu  
one fattened ram, for Amur-ili\((\text{dingir})\), ambassador who came from Marhaši

AS 4 i 6  
\((TCL 2, 5508)\)  
ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga  
1 fattened bull and five fattened rams for Amur-ili, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug-ša-ba-\(a\)-\(a\), ensi\(_2\) mar-\(\text{ha}-\text{si}^{\text{li}}\) for Kimani, Si-ili, Kuzuzu, ambassadors of Barbarage, Addabuni of Šebba, Šebi of Raši, Madtina, Bulbad and Šimaškeans; see §1.2

§4. Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marhaši: AS 3 xii – 4 v 15 for a half year

Amur-ili was a man with an Akkadian name who should have learned the language of Iran. In Sumer, Amur-ili was accompanied in turn by the three envoys of Ur: Šu-Dada in AS 3 xii 28, Lugal-kagina in four days of AS 4 i-ii, and Lu-Damu in six days of months iii and v. On AS 4 iii 7, 16, 22, he appears together with Guraya, man of Uršu, and 'a3-un man of Mari and on v 6 and 9, these three eastern diplomats were joined by two other men from Syria, Dagan-abu, ambassador of ia-ši-li-im, governor of Tutula, and Ibati, ambassador of Ibdati, man of gu5-ub-la (Byblos).
AS 4 i 14 (MVN 3, 228) Lugal-kagina, envoy, as royal
deputy, withdrawn from Nalu
(sheep fattener in Nippur) one fattened ram, for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši one fattened ram for the
foreign minister, one for
Ilallum, one for Bu’u’udu, one for
lugal-ku, zu when lugal-
ur, ra-ni went out, one for
Naplanum, Amorite

AS 4 i 23 (OIP 121, 20) via Lugal-ka-gina, envoy,
ARADmu as royal deputy
in Uruk, withdrawn from
Aḫu-Wer one fattened goat for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši one fattened rams goat for
the throne room of Inanna
of Uruk, via Ilum-bani, five
fattened goats for Babati,
(treasurer)

AS 4 i 27 (SAT 2, 806) via Lugal-kagina, envoy,
ARADmu as royal deputy
in Uruk, withdrawn from
Aḫu-Wer one fattened ram for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši

AS 4 ii 25 (AUCT 2, 278) via Lugal-kagina, envoy, as
royal deputy, withdrawn from
Abba-saga one bull, ten rams/goats
for Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši from the tribute of the army
of Tutub

[AS 4] iii 7 (MVN 3, 384) via Lu-Damu; ARADmu as
royal deputy; withdrawn from
Şulgi-ayamu one fattened ram, for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši one fattened ram for Guraya,
man of Ġuršu, one fattened
ram for ‘a, um, man of Mari,
via Huzirí, envoy

AS 4 iii 16 (CDLJ 2012:1 §4.35) ARADmu as royal deputy,
withdrawn from Şulgi-ayamu one fattened ram for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši, via Lu-Damu one fattened ram for Guraya,
man of Uršu, one for ‘a, um, man of Mari;
via Bišam, envoy

AS 4 iii 22 (TLB 3, 25) via Huzirí, envoy, ARADmu
as royal deputy, withdrawn from
Şulgi-ayamu one fattened ram for
Amur-ili, ambassador of
Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of
Marḫaši one fattened ram for Guraya,
man of Ur*[šu], one for ‘a,* um, man of Mari;
via Bišam, envoy

AS 4 v 6 (MVN 18, 99) ARADmu as royal deputy, are
withdrawn from Şulgi-ayamu one fattened goat for Amur-
ili, ambassador of li-ba-*an-
ug-ša*-ba*-aš, governor of
Marḫaši, one for Guraya, man
of Uršu, one for ‘a, um, man
of Mari; via Huzirí, envoy one Dagan-abu, ambassador
of Yaši-ilum, governor of Tutu-
la, I for Ibati, ambassador of
Ibdati, man of gu, ub-la
(Byblos), via Bušam envoy

AS 4 v 9 (MVN 5, 111) via Lu-Damu, envoy,
ARADmu as royal deputy,
withdrawn from Şulgi-ayamu one fattened ram, for Amur-
ili, ambassador of Libanu-
ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši,
one for Guraya, man of
ur*-šu*, one for ‘a, *um*, man
of Mari; via Huzirí, envoy one Dagan-abu, ambassador
of Yaši-ilum, governor of Tutula, I for Ibati, ambassador of
Ibdati, man of gu, ub-la
(Byblos), via Bušam, envoy

AS 4 v 15 (BCT 1, 90) via Lu-Damu, envoy,
ARADmu as royal deputy,
withdrawn from Şulgi-ayamu one fattened ram for Amur-
ili, ambassador of Libanu-
ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši

§5. Liban-ašgubi, the second ambassador of Libanu-
ugšabaš, in AS 5 i, v, vii-ix, xi, AS 6 ii, iv, vii-viii 5, for
two years

Klein 1990 presented 16 texts recording Liban-ašgu-
bí, the second ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, ruler of
Marḫaši. Today, the texts concerning li-ba-an-aš-gu-bi,
the second ambassador of Li-ba-nu-ug-ša-ba-aš in CDLI
and BDTNS now number 23. Liban-ašgubi can be iden-
tified as being from Marḫaši from his Iranian name; he
would have known the Sumerian and Akkadian languag-
es. He replaced Amur-ili, who bears an Akkadian name, as the ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš from AS 5 i. He appears in the court of Ur on AS 5 v 9, vii 5, viii 3, 11-12*, 24, ix 1, xi 13, AS 6 ii 16–17, 24, iv 1, 5-6, 9, 26, vii 1, vii 2-3, 5. During Amar-Suen 5, the Sumerian envoys who accompanied Liban-ašgubi were Ur-Sarru-gen, 4 times during AS 5, and ha-ni (=nam-ha-ni?), Lu-Damu, Lu-Enki and nam-ha-ni once. During Amar-Suen 6 ii 16 – iv 9, the accompanying envoy was Šu-Sulgi, and then from 6 iv 26 to viii 5, the accompanying envoy was Lu-Damu again, who had accompanied Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, in Amar-Suen 4 iii and v, and also Liban-ašgubi on AS 5 viii 3.

Liban-ašgubi appears together with Bušam, man of Šimaškean. On AS 6 i 9, viii 11, he is listed together with meša-nu-nu, the Šimaškean. On AS 6 ii 16, he is with dan-na-li, ambassador of Hulbar, ruler of duš-duš-<li>, via Lalamu, and zu-bu-uz, ambassador of iaš-ab-ra-at of Šimaški.

On 6 [i 17] and ii 24, the ambassador of Marḫaši was still together with Zubuš who was sent by Yabrat of Šimaški. On AS 6 iv 1, 5-6, 9, 23, 26, this ambassador met two diplomats of Syria: Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, and Šu-Išhara, man of Mari, and on the last day of his stay in Sumer (viii 5), Liban-ašgubi met Marunu, man of Ḥarši, and a-ḥa-ba/pa₂-tal, man of Ḥipilati, in Tummal.


Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši: AS 5 i – 6 viii 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 i [?]</td>
<td>ur-šar-ru-gen₇ as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Trouvaille 27)</td>
<td>one fattened bull, three fattened rams, seven rams, for li-ba-an⁽(not nu⁾)‐aš-gu-bi, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug⁽ša-ba-aš, governor of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two rams for Sulgi-abi, one ram for Ḥun-Sulgi (general of Umma), two fattened bulls, two fattened rams, ten lambs for Naplanum, Amorite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 v 9</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PDT 2, 1171)</td>
<td>one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two fattened rams/goats for Inanna to Uruk, via Nur-Sin, cupbearer, one fattened ram for Ḥubutiya (sukkal in PTD 2, 959) via Lalamu, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 vii 5</td>
<td>via ur-šar-ru-gen₇, envoy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MVN 5, 113)</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from [Šulgi-ayamu?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[one] fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug⁽ša-ba-aš, governor of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[one] fattened ram for Bušam, man of Ši-ša-num, [one+ fattened ram] for Naplanum, Amorite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 viii 3</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Tummal, from the place of En-dingirmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ZA 80, 28 Private Col.)</td>
<td>one goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, governor of mar⁽ša-si, via Lu-Damu, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 viii 11</td>
<td>ur-šar-ru-gen₇ &lt;envoy&gt; as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PDT 1, 126)</td>
<td>one bull, ten rams, for li-ba-ša-am, man of ši-ma-num², one for ad-da-gi-na, ensi₂ of ha-ša-ši³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 viii 12</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn in Tummal, from En-dingirmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MVN 15, 199)</td>
<td>one fattened goat for li-ba-aš-gu-bi, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug⁽ša-ba-aš, governor of mar⁽ša-si, one fattened ram for Buṣṣa-am, man of ši-ma-num², one for ad-da-gi-na, ensi₂ of ha-ša-ši³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7. AS 5 viii 7, 1 sila₄ ad-da-gi-na ensi, ha-ar-ši³ (<i>ToRino</i> 1 68); AS 8 i [18*]: ad-da-gi-na ensi, ha-ar-ši³ (<i>MVN</i> 13, 636); AS 8 vii 2: 1 udu₃ kin-gi₄-a ad-da-gi-na lu₁ ha-ar-ši³ (<i>PDT</i> 1, 548); AS 8 ix 13, 14, 16: iša-we-er dumu ad-da-gi-na, lu₁ ha-ar-ši³, giri₇ ri-ip-pu-ti sukkal (<i>OIP</i> 121, 555, <i>BCT</i> 1, 83); AS 9 ix 14: 1 maš₂-gal in-ši-we-er, dumu ad-da-gi-na ensi, ha-ar-ši³ (<i>OIP</i> 121, 572); AS 9: 1 sila₄ kin-gi₄-a ad-da-gi-na (<i>SET</i> 106) (<i>SŚ</i> 8 29: giri₇ ad-da-gi-na, lu₂ KA×LAGAB PTD 1, 617).

8. AS [2 vi] 23: <i>ZA</i> 97, 230; AS 3 i 11: 1 gu₃ niga [zu-bu]-uš lu₅ kin-gi₄-a ia₃-a-ab-ra-at šimašgi²⁽³⁾, giri₇ lugal-ka-giₓ-na (<i>TCL</i> 2, 5559); AS 5 xii 22: giri₇ ur-šar-ru-gen, sukkal (<i>AUCT</i> 2, 318); AS 7 v 21: 1 udu niga ga-ad-da-du, 1 maš₂-gal niga zu-bu-uš, lu₂ kin-gi₄-a ia₃-a-ab-ra-at šimašgi²⁽³⁾ me.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 viii 24</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, from the tribute of <em>ša</em> (not la₂-ta)-nu-nu, Šimaškēan (Mešinunu in <em>OIP</em> 121, 164: 8; Mešanunu in <em>MVN</em> 15, 216: 8), withdrawn from Abba-saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVN 1, 142</td>
<td>one bull, ten Šimaški rams/goats for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, man (lu₂) of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forty rams for Ilallum, two for Ur-Suen, bow maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 ix 1</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVN 11, 154</td>
<td>ten rams/goats for li-ba-an (na)-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, governor of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one bull, five rams/goats for Me-Ĭštar-an, &quot;ša3* (not ki) mu-er₁₀*-ra* (not udu)-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 ix 24</td>
<td>from the tribute of Išarra-maš, withdrawn from Abba-saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik 2, 484</td>
<td>thirty rams/goats for the soldiers of the man of Marḫaši, general: Abuni, Ili-dan as royal deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two sheep for Puzur-uša, the lukur concubine of king, &quot;Šu-Mama, envoy (sukkal) as deputy (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a lugal from AS 1 [<em>Nik</em> 2, 203] to AS 7 x [<em>AnOr</em> 1, 110]), and as kas₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 x</td>
<td>from Ur-Lisi, (governor of Umma), receipt of Lugalkagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPOA 1, 1036</td>
<td>twelve ban₂ of good beer, thirty-three ban₂ of common beer, fifteen ban₂ of gu-flour, thirty ban₂ of barley flour and two rams/goats, supplies for the men of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(one low rank travel man is issued 1/2 ban₂ of common beer, so that 33 ban₂ is to be issued for about 66 men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AS 5 ...]</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from [Šulgi-ayamu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA 95, 66</td>
<td>one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, governor of Marḫaši, via nam-ḥa-ni, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dukra and Ilallum, generals, each took one bull and ten sheep to feed dogs, via two dog keepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 5 xi 13</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermitage 3, 297</td>
<td>one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, the governor of Marḫaši, via Ur-Šarru-kin, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one fattened ram for Ḥubutiya (sukkal), via Lalamu, envoy (the two also on AS 5 i 19 [<em>HUCa</em> 29, 77 5] and on v 9 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 6 ii 16</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, in Nippur, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario 1, 48</td>
<td>one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one fattened ram for zu-bu-ū ambassador of ia₂-ab-ra-at of Šimaški, via Ur-Ḫaya, envoy; one for dan-na-li ambassador of Ḥulibar, ruler of duḫ-duḫ-&lt;li&gt; via Lalamu, envoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 6 ii 17</td>
<td>ARADmu as royal deputy, [withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVN 11, 144 in Nippur</td>
<td>one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšābaš, governor of Marḫaši; three fattened rams to the camp of Naplanum, Amorite, via Adda-saga, soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[one] fattened ram for zu-bu-ū, ambassador of Yabrāt of Šimaški, via Ur-Ḫaya, envoy, in Nippur; one bull, fifteen rams/goats, dragged to the kitchen for (meat of) the soldiers, via Šulgi-irimu; one fattened bull, two fattened rams for Me-Ĭštar-an, when she celebrated the elunum festival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Namḫani as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy,
one fattened ram for zu-bu-uš, ambassador of Šimaški, via Naram-Adad, envoy; one for Aḫantibu, spearman

ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy,
one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy; one for ..-gizi, ambassador of the governor of Abarium, via Namḫani,

ARADmu as royal deputy, are withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy
one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy; three for [...]Nanna(? or an-na), daughter-in-law of x-uš-x-tub-ni-[]a

ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened goat, Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy
one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy; one fattened ram for Gme-Nanna, the daughter-in-law of bu3-u2-du, via Ku-Nanna, envoy, to the kitchen

Ili-dan, envoy, as royal deputy, all withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy
one fattened ram for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy; two for i-din-ak, man of Mari, when he went to his city, via Lu-Damu, envoy

ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy,
one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy

ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫu-Wer
one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy,
one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Šīn, envoy; one for Šu-Šīhara, man of Mari, via Šigteli, envoy

Ili-dan, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Nalu
[one] fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši, via Ur-Šarrukin, envoy
one fattened ram and three rams for Ut-Baba, cook; one for Šulgi-abi, when Naplanum, his father, poured beer for him
Collation of *MVN* 13, 636: 4-8: Marḫuni of Ḥarši and Nia sukkal

*MVN* 13, 636: 4-8, AS 8 i \[18?\]

1 udu niga ad-da-ge-na, ensi₁ ha-ar-ši₂, 1 udu niga ma-ar-ḫu-ni, lu₂ ṣḫa₂ ṣa₂-ši₂, ni₃-a (not lu₂ (mar-) ṣa₂-ši₂), ĝiri₃ ni₄-a, sukkal, ... 12-4) 1 udu ga-da-bi, lu₂ ne-gi-ne-ḫu-um₄, ĝiri₃ ni₄-a (not du₅-a), sukkal, sa₁ nibru₅

*MVN* 20, 28: r. 3-4, AS 7 vii 5

1 udu niga ma-ar-ḫu-ni, lu₂ ṣḫa₂ ṣa₂-ši₂, ĝiri₃ ᵇa₃-ni (for nam-ḫa₅-ni?) sukkal, ARAD₂-mu maskim; (see further AS 1 vii 17 above and BIN 3, 402: rev. 2-4, AS 8 vi 10:) 1 udu niga, ma-ar-hu-ni, lu₂ ṣḫa₂ ṣa₂-ši₂, ĝiri₃ ni₄-a, sukkal, ARAD₂-mu maskim;

*HUCA* 29, 75 4: r. 8-10, AS 1 vi 25*-27

mu ma-ar-ḫu₃ ni₅ erin₂ mu-da-a-re-e sḫa₂-a-še₃, lu₂ ṣḫa₂ ṣa₂-ši₂-me, ĝiri₃ ni₄-a, sukkal, <ARAD₂*-mu>, maskim

(Syracuse 480: 3, ŠS 1 iii 9) 1 udu niga bil₂-li, lu₂ kin-gi₄-a su₂-su₂-wa-da-ar, lu₂ ia₃-a-ab-ru₅, ĝiri₃ ni₄-a, sukkal.

§6. Banana, ambassador of a governor of Marḫaši, in Šu-Suen 3 x, 6 ii-iii, 9 ix and Ibbi-Sin 1 iii 25

After Amur-Suen 6 vii, Libanu-ugšaš may have died, and his ambassador Liban-ašgubi might never have came back to Sumer. As a result, the relationship between Ur and Marḫaši may have become colder for six years. Then, on Šu-Sin 3 x 1, we learn that the new unnamed ruler of Marḫaši sent Banana, his ambassador, to Sumer. Here, Banana received 29 or 30 fattened rams as his monthly allowance on ŠS 6 ii-iii while his lord was given the title “the governor of Marḫaši,” but he, too, later disappeared. On ŠS 7 v 26, two oxen were issued to the kitchen for the men of Marḫaši, and on ŠS 9 v 26, they received 114 rams. When the new king Ibbi-Sin came to the throne, Banana returned, possibly to congratulate the new king. On IS 1 iii 25, Banana traveled from Nippur to Uruk and five fattened rams were placed on his boat. A few months before, on ŠS 9 ix 3, Apilaša and Banana brought ten sheep to Tummal. Apilaša was a famous frontier general in the OB literature letters of the Ur III dynasty (Michalowski 2011: letters no. 1-3 and 11) and was the general of the troops of Bidadun (*BPOA* 7, 2350). Ibbi-Sin in his second year lost his campaign against Simurum and then no foreigner with tribute was recorded in the texts of Puzrish-Dagan which was closed at the end of this year.

Texts recording Banana, ambassador of the man of Marḫaši: ŠS 2 iv – IS 1 i iii 25

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŠS 2 iv</td>
<td>in Naqbatum farm via Aya-ili ninety-five rams to the kitchen for the men of Marḫaši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠS 3 x 1</td>
<td>via Kallamu, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Nalu in Ur one fattened ram for Banana, ambassador of the man of Marḫaši</td>
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§7. Conclusions

§7.1. Marhaši, the neighboring state of Elam, was said to submit to Sumer for the first time in the hegemony reign of Lugal-anne-mundu of Adab in the Early Dynastic Period. Later, Sargon and Rimuš of the Akkadian empire conquered Elam and Parāšum (= Marhaši) again. During the Ur III Empire, Šulgi ruled Elam, conquered foreign lands beyond Elam, and maintained a good relationship with Marhaši, marrying his daughter to a son of a king of Marhaši in his 17th ruling year.

§7.2. In the Ur III period, from Š 43 iii to AS 1, Ḥašip-atal, the man of Marhaši with Lugal-kagina, envoy of Sumer, appeared in Sumer. Šu-salla, Tišandaḫi, Kimani, EN(Bel)-ili, Šulgi-ili and Suruš-kin, the six generals with Akkadian names of the Ur dynasty, as well as other generals, captain and messengers came with the ambassadors (lu₂ kin-gi₂-a) of the rulers (“man”) of Marhaši. On Š 46 ix 18 (BIN 3, 12), ama-ĝiri₃ₑₑcr, mostly written as ama-ĝiri₃, a Sumerian noble lady who might be the wife of Ḥašip-atal and the princess of Ur who was married to the son of a king of Marhaši in Šulgi 17, when she was issued five fattened rams sent to the kitchen for herself and Ḥašip-atal. On Šulgi 48 xii 12 (UDT 116), 4 fattened rams ewes was presented to the libation place of the dead Šulgi and one fattened ram was issued to the e₂-uz-ga royal dining hall for the living queen (nin, either Geme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti). Likewise, ten fattened rams/goats for the kitchen were issued for the messengers in Nippur, and one goat was given to ama-ĝiri₃er, possibly a princess married to Marhaši, who came with the messengers from Marhaši to Sumer possibly to attend the funeral of her father, Šulgi, in Nippur. On AS 1 v 29, ama-ĝiri₃ₑₑcr came back to Sumer, with the ambassadors of both Arwilugbi, ruler (“man”) of Marhaši, and that of his son who might come back to Sumer, with the ambassadors of both Arwilugbi, ruler (“man”) of Marhaši, and that of his son who might...
be born by this Sumerian princess, or her grandson.

§7.3. On AS 1 ix 21 (MVN 13, 529), the favor of one bull and five ram/goats were granted each to EN-ilii, šu-sal-la, Šuruš-kin, ᵃšu₃-gi_i₂ši₂, Nur-ilii, ... and ap-na u₃₃ aš₂₃ du-ru, men of Šuda-e, Dukra, man of Kakmi, as well as five fattened rams to Bibra, Šimaškeans and one fattened goat for ama-ši₃ša₃ši₂.

§7.4. In Š 47 iv (=Š 46’ xii’), Ḥašip-atal bears the title “general” (šagina) which means that Ḥašip-atal became a general of the Ur Dynasty. On Š 47 xii 4, Ḥašip-atal and nin-he₂-du₃, a Sumerian princess and daughter-in-law of Ḥašip-atal, each sent three norms (one norm = one bull with ten sheep/goats) of tributes to the Ur dynasty. Ḥašip-atal became the general of Arraḫum from AS 5 v 25 or before, and his son Puzur-Šulgi, was general from AS 8 v. He also occurred in a text of ŠS 3.

§7.5. Before Amar-Suen 1 v, Arwiluḫgi became the “man” (ruler) of Marḫaši, and was called by the Ur court “the man of Marḫaši” which means not a vassal of Ur. He sent his unnamed ambassador and that of his son to Sumer. On AS 1 v 28-29, vi 8, 21 and AS 1 viii 17, the ambassador of Arwiluḫgi and that of his son stayed in Sumer, accompanied by Lugal-kagina, the sukkal envoy of Ur. This son might be his successor, named Liban-u-šašabaš, the governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši after him. On AS 1 v 29, ama-ši₃ša₃ši₂, possibly a Sumerian princess married to a king of Marḫaši (Ḥašip-atal?), came with the two ambassadors. On vi 21, ama-ši₃ša₃ši₂, appears together with the two ambassadors, but on AS 1 xii 12, she was issued one fattened ram alone.

§7.6. Before AS 3 xii, Liban-u-šašabaš replaced Arwiluḫgi as the king of Marḫaši. Amur-ilii, the first ambassador of Liban-u-šašabaš, was sent to Sumer and stayed in Sumer for six months, AS 3 xii – 4 v 15. The first ambassador of Liban-u-šašabaš was in Sumer on AS 3 xii 28, AS 4 i 6, 14, 23, 27, ii 25, [iii] 7, iii 22, v 6, 9 and 15 (12 texts). This Liban-u-šašabaš enjoyed a closer relationship with the Ur court than Arwiluḫgi, and bears title of governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši. Liban-ušašabi, ambassador of Liban-u-šašabaš, governor of Marḫaši (AS 5 i – 6 vii 5) replaces Amur-ilii, an Akkadian by name, as the ambassador of Liban-u-šašabaš from AS 5 i, and appeared in the court of Ur on AS 5 v 9, vii 5, viii 3, 11-12, 24, ix 1, xi 13, AS 6 ii 16-[17], 24, iv 1, 5-6, 9, 26, vii 1, viii 2-3, 5. During Amar-Suen 5, the Sumerian envoys who accompanied Liban-ušašabi were Ur-Šarru-gen, four times during AS 5, and Ḥani (=Namḫani?), Lu-Damu, Lu-Enki and Namḫani once each. During Amar-Suenn 5, the Sumerian envoys accompanied Liban-ušašabi in Sumer on AS 6 iv 26 to vii 5, the accompanying envoy was Şu-Šulgi, and then from AS 6 iv 26 to vii 5, the accompanying envoy was again Lu-Damu.

§7.7. After Amar-Suen 6 vii 5, Liban-u-šašabaš, governor of Marḫaši, may have died and his ambassador Liban-ušašabi apparently never comes back to Sumer. The relationship between Ur and Marḫaši may have become colder for six years (AS 6 ix-ŠS 3 ix). On Šu-Sin 3 x 1, the new unnamed ruler of Marḫaši sends Banana, his ambassador, to Sumer. Here, Banana received fattened rams as his monthly allowances on ŠS 6 ii-iii while his lord was given the title governor of Marḫaši. Later he too disappears from our records. On ŠS 7 v 26, two oxen were issued to the kitchen for the men of Marḫaši, and on ŠS 9 v 26, they received 114 rams as the king’s gifts. Banana worked in Sumer for seven years until Ibbi-Sin 1 iii 25 and from then on, no man of Marḫaši is recorded. At this time, the Ur dynasty becomes very weak and its animal center in Puzriš-Dagan was closed at the end of Ibbi-Sin’s second year.
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