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Two Cities of Sippar: Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der

A Thesis Presented

by

Lina Mahmood

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Abstract of the Thesis

Two Cities of Sippar: Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der

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in

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The aim of this thesis is to determine whether a pair of sites located in southern Mesopotamia, Tell Abu-Habbah (ancient Sippar-Jahrurum) and Tell ed-Der (ancient Sippar-Amnânun) represented two different cities or one larger complex. The spirit of this paper is to produce a comprehensive and comparative study of both sites to understand the connection between them and to find out whether or not they were one or two cities. This research used written documentation, archaeological data and the results of geomorphological analyses, all mediated by a GIS of the area, to investigate this problem. The thesis concludes that both cities were part of one center called Sippar, as reflected in their names. Even though the two cities were separated by some six kilometers, they were dependent on each other. Tell ed-Der seems to have been a complementary part of Abu-Habbah, serving primarily as its suburb and manufacturing area.

This thesis is dedicated to
my parents,
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Chapter 1

Thesis Questions and Methods

The land of Mesopotamia is associated with some of the world's major ancient civilizations, including the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. South of modern Baghdad, the alluvial plains of the rivers were called the lands of Sumer and Akkad in the third millennium BC. Sumer was the most southern part, while the land of Akkad was in the area around modern Baghdad, where the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers are close to each other. In the second millennium, both regions together were called Babylonia, which was mostly a flat country. The territory in the north was called Assyria, which was bordered by mountains, with the city of Assur as its center (Figure 1).

Mesopotamia is still acknowledged as the world's first complex society. Some of the features first found in the area were writing, cylinder seals, bureaucracy, extensive irrigation systems, wheel-made pottery, and professional sculpture. These achievements were all brought together by one of Mesopotamia's most important innovations, the development of the city. Some of the more important cities that we can study are the early examples of Uruk and Kish, both of which were focused around pairs of temples. Cities that reached their apogee in somewhat later times, like Ur, have yielded both archaeological and textual data which has allowed a more detailed understanding of their organization. Unfortunately, though, some of the cities that were of greatest importance to the political development of Mesopotamia, like Agade, the capital of the Akkadian empire and Hammurabi's Babylon, remain largely or completely uninvestigated, Agade

because it has yet to be identified and Babylon because these earlier deposits are buried by later levels.

The focus of this thesis on two major cities of Mesopotamia: Tell Abu-Habbah (Sippar-Jahrurum) and Tell ed-Der (Sippar-Amnânum), which were also situated in the southern part of Mesopotamia, close to modern Baghdad. These two sites, located only 6 kilometers apart, reached their apogee in the mid-second millennium, under Hammurabi and his successors. The key question to be addressed is whether these two settlements, given the similarity of their names and their close proximity, were conceptualized as a single, multipart city dedicated to more than one god (like Kish and Uruk) or if they were really two quite distinct, urban centers.

In this paper, I address some specific problems that arise when considering these two sites. The first concerns the names of the two sites, Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnânum. The similarity of their names indicates that there must have been a linkage between them. Indeed, the short distance between these tells again suggests that there existed connections between them. These two issues led me to ask my major questions: whether or not these sites were one or two cities and why.

In order to get a clearer picture of both sites, I will begin by reviewing the key characteristics of Mesopotamian cities in general. I will use the data from other cities that flourished in southern Mesopotamia to develop an understanding of the Mesopotamian concept of the city. This will allow me to investigate my two sites of interest, Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der, to elucidate their major common features, and investigate their social, political, and economic organization.

In my analysis, I will use two methods: written documents and a GIS system. Mesopotamian culture is generally thought to be the first culture to produce written texts, which were developed as a form of recording and communicating a broad range of information. Both sites included numerous written documents in the form of clay tablets, seals, and dockets among the materials recovered from both clandestine and formal excavations. These records shed light on the history of Abu Habbah and Tell ed-Der, and can provide evidence for features for which archaeological evidence is lacking, for example, about the harbor and manufacturing districts in both sites, and the temple area at Tell ed-Der. In addition, written documents provide information on the names of the kings who ruled in both sites and the personal names of their citizens. The names of merchants and traders can enlighten us about trade activities that might have taken place within the two areas. Finally, the inscribed texts provide us with information about the names of divinities of both sites.

I will also use remote sensing and GIS to understand the physical manifestations of these two sites. GIS is fundamental to the investigation of some aspects of urban organization of the two sites, providing a view of the locations of temples, ziggurats, and houses. Satellite images are valuable as they provide a better understanding of associated landscape features such as watercourses. These images help me to determine the changing course of ancient canals between the two sites. In addition, they are used to determine whether there were any settlements in the area between the sites by searching for ancient settlement mounds or tells.¹

Unfortunately, the current political situation of Iraq has prevented me from visiting these sites as part of my thesis research. As a result, all of my conclusions are based on

¹ For more information about my thesis methods, see pages 10-13.

published soundings, surveys, and excavations of the Iraqi, Belgian, and German expeditions, some of which were conducted long before modern methods of investigation were practiced.

1.1 The Meaning of Mesopotamian Cities

1.1.1 The Mesopotamia City

Mesopotamian cities housed a number of different types of buildings, including, palaces, temples, houses, walls, gates, workshops, and harbors. These were the major institutional features of the Mesopotamian city.

In southern Mesopotamia, around 3500 B.C., the earliest civilization developed into small city-states, which were later unified by Sargon of Akkad, the king of Sumer and Akkad (van de Mieroop 2004:85). This formed the culture known as Sumer. Mesopotamian cities shared certain features. These included one (sometimes two) main temples dedicated to the city god. Mesopotamian ideology held that this god (or gods) was the real rulers and owner of the city (Lampl 1968:8). The earliest temple was at Eridu, which established a tradition of buttressed and recessed outer walls (Lampl 1968: Plan 43 and 44; Pollock 1999:50) which continued through the centuries at temples such as the Oval Temple at Khafajah, the Eanna complex at Uruk and the temple at Abu-Habbah. Mesopotamian temples included huge warehouses where grain and other valuable substances were stored. Associated with many of these temples was the ziggurat, or temple tower. It was part of the temple structure and was of impressive size. It was built in multiple stages, usually of mud brick.

In addition to the temples for the gods, the other major institution was the palace, where the local king had his seat (Kostof 1991:34; Pollock 1999:51). The palace was an economic and political center; it had huge storehouses where foodstuffs (as taxes) were stored and where artisans worked to produce things for the king. Examples of excavated palaces include the Sin-kašid building at Uruk, and the palaces at Kish and Mari (Postgate 1992:138-142; Stone 2005:149). The Mari Palace is the best preserved, and included residential areas, storage areas, workshops, and kitchens as well as rooms designed for administrative functions and others purposes (Gates 1984:72-80).

Another institutional aspect of the city was the residential area, which consisted of buildings for residents of the city; the elite and the commoners (Stone 1995:240-1). Basically, the housing areas were designed for different groups of families; there were houses with rooms on three or four sides of courtyards that were built for extended families, whereas houses with rooms and courts strung out in a linear pattern were built for nuclear families (Stone 1996:232-3). These houses had rooms that were used for cooking, storage, and sleeping. Some houses had a second story, especially those at Sippar (Stone 1996:231).

Workshop districts were found within the residential zones. It was here that various materials used by the population as a whole were made. For instance, at Uruk, huge numbers of vitrified clinkers were found covering the site's surface, indicating that this spot was an area for pottery production (Postgate 1992:78). Another example of industrial areas was found at Mashkan-shapir. There, ceramic production and lapidary work were concentrated in the southeastern part of the city, and copper production in the

central area (Stone 1995:241-2). Evidence of other manufacturing areas can also be found at Ur and Abu Salabikh.

Another element of the most cities was the harbor area. It was not a common monumental feature of all Mesopotamian cities, but it played an important role in a city's trade. Good examples of these are seen at Ur and Mashkan-shapir. Mashkan-shapir provides evidence for western and eastern harbors, which were located near the northeastern canal, one of the two major canals of the site (Stone and Zimansky 2004:327).

One other feature typifies ancient Mesopotamian cities: the heavy, strong walls for protection which the kings built around them. These were the physical symbol that separated the urban areas from non-urbanized areas (Kostof 1991:38). Kings made walls to protect their herds against invaders and to maintain order (van de Mieroop 2005:83). Southern Mesopotamian cities all had defensive walls, such as those in the cities of Uruk, Nippur, Mashkan-shapir, Tell Abu-Habbah, and Tell ed-Der. The plan of the city of Nippur shows a perfect example of a city wall with many gates located within the wall as entrances to the city (van de Mieroop 1999:63-4). The discovery of an inscribed barrel cylinder at the site of Mashkan-shapir, dated to the time of Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa, described the building of its city wall as the act that would create the new city (Steinkeller 2004:135 and 141).

In sum, the cities of Mesopotamia quickly developed many of the features that were to characterize cities throughout the ancient world. Monumental organization and planning was carried out only in the religious and palatial centers of Mesopotamian cities. These huge centers contrast strikingly with the private areas of the cities.

Thus, we can summarize some characteristics of southern Mesopotamian cities. They generally consisted of walls, palace, temple, ziggurat, harbor, residential and workshop areas, as seen in cities such as Uruk, Babylon, Ur, and Mashkan-shapir.

1.1.2 What Did Two Sippars Mean for Mesopotamia?

Abu-Habbah was one of the most important centers in Mesopotamia. According to the king lists (Lampl 1968:16; Leick 2001:172), it was considered as one of the oldest cities of Mesopotamia, and was an important religious center, revering the god Shamash, the lord of justice and wisdom. In addition, Abu-Habbah retained its significance for a long time, especially during the Old Babylonian period. It housed a royal palace where Hammurabi regularly stayed and his stela with its famous law code was originally erected there (van de Mierop 2005:99). Tell ed-Der was also an important center within Babylonia, especially from the Akkadian period onwards and it was known to worship the goddess Annunitum.

There is no doubt that, like many other Mesopotamian cities, Sippar contained several mounds (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:1). These different mounds were identified as being part of Sippar by the first part of the name, including the two large mounds of Tell ed-Der and Abu Habbah, which were Sippar-Amnânium and Sippar-Jahrurum respectively (de Graef 2002:142). This pattern of naming suggests the existence of a relationship between these two sites, located only 6 kilometers apart. It is the purpose of this thesis to determine what that relationship was.

There is no question but that Abu Habbah was one of the major Mesopotamian cities. This is seen especially in the large inner wall that surrounded the temple of Shamash and

the ziggurat (Figure 2). But some cities also had suburbs, and we can ask whether this was the role played by Tell ed-Der. The suburb was a subdivision of the denser urban area of a city. The suburbs and more distant settlements around a city looked towards the urban area for services and employment opportunities. It was a community in an outlying section of a city. Some studies suggest that suburbs were built when the urban population became too large to be encompassed within the city walls (Postgate 1992:76; van de Mierop 1999:68).

Unfortunately, we know very little about these suburbs. Those examples that have been explored by archaeologists are in northern Mesopotamia: Tell Taya, in northwestern Iraq, and the suburb of Nuzi in northeastern Iraq. Tell Taya was a specialized area for various production purposes, and included workshops for making pottery and other craft activities, but in the case of Nuzi, the area contained some large houses belonging to prominent families (van de Mierop 1999:69-71).

The only suburb investigated in Babylonia is Diqdiqqah, a suburb of Ur. It was uncovered by Leonard Woolley and Max Mallowan. Their results showed this site to have been a manufacturing area for pottery, cylinder seals, and terracottas, which were found in larger numbers there than at Ur itself. This suburb was dated to Third Dynasty of Ur (Woolley and Mallowan 1976:86).

The three examples above suggest that suburban districts served either as manufacturing areas or as a residential district for families. The key institutions, such as the palace and the main temple, were not thought to exist within such suburbs (van de Mierop 1999:68). It is therefore possible that Tell ed-Der was a suburban area of Abu-Habbah. In the following pages I will investigate this possibility.

1.2 How Do We Decide If We Have One or Two Cities?

In this section, I will highlight some approaches which will help us to decide if the two sites, Tell ed-Der and Tell Abu-Habbah, represent one or two cities.

1- If the sites are to be designated as two cities, then each should have its own temple, residential area, and harbor.

2- If they are to be interpreted as a single city, then they should share one wall, main temple, residential area, and harbor.

The key to our interpretation of the two sites is Tell ed-Der, and much of our work will focus there. The questions that need to be posed include whether the temple at Tell ed-Der is to be considered a major shrine, or just a secondary temple as is well documented for other cities. We know that a ziggurat was part of the temple that was found at Abu-Habbah; was there also a ziggurat at Tell ed-Der? For a better understanding of the administrative and political facets of these two sites, we can examine the written records of temple employees such as the priestesses to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between the temple at Abu-Habbah and the population at Tell ed-Der. In terms of fortification walls, was there was a city wall at Tell ed-Der like that surrounding Tell Abu-Habbah? Did you have duplication of other aspects of the cities, like residential quarters, industrial areas, craftsmen, and the nucleus of trade?

Also important is the location of Abu-Habbah near the Euphrates River (Leick 2001:167), and how the river course connected it to other cities to the east, north, and west, placing in a key position on the trade network. Evaluating, this will require an investigation into the trade relationships of the two cities. To do so, I need to focus on another feature of the city: the harbor area for both sites.

1.3 The Methodology: Methods That We Use to Approach the Questions

Two methods have been used in this work. Written records (tablets and seals) and GIS are employed as a means of analyzing the results from the sites themselves.

1.3.1 Written Records

Written records are a key source of information about any historical site. Ancient Mesopotamia used writing extensively. Cuneiform writing developed at the end of the fourth millennium at Uruk, modern Warka (Roux 1992:73). The cuneiform script is a logosyllabic system, which originally had been pictographic, and contains different symbols for words and syllables. A single symbol could be used to represent a concept, an object, a simple sound, or a syllable, or it might indicate the category of words requiring additional definition.²

The prime motivation for the written document was of an economic nature: the desire to administer economic and trade transactions, which were signs of growing trade activities. Almost all of the early cuneiform texts and a very large fraction of the second millennium texts concern the economy and administration.

To trade goods and services, the Mesopotamians used the barter system. They developed a writing system to keep track of buying and selling. Scribes kept accurate records of business transactions by writing on clay tablets. The people used the clay tablets to record and document everything; their crops, the workers, and their daily transactions. They even had a system of seals for authenticating the tablets. Eventually they also used the cuneiform writing to record their history and stories, as well as in the

² Cuneiform is derived from two Latin words: *cuneus*, which means "wedge" and *forma*, which means "shape". It is composed of a series of short, straight, wedge-shaped strokes, made with a stylus into a tablet of soft clay (Figure 3).

great monuments they erected to their gods and kings, for example, the Hammurabi Code. The clay tablets include royal correspondences between kings or between minor officials, as well as tribute lists, dispatches, and an immense mass of letters from officials to the court.

Thus, in both Tell ed-Der and Tell Abu-Habbah thousands of these valuable documents were found, including clay tablets, cylinder and seal impressions, and docketts, or as Budge called them, three-sided pyramidal objects (Budge 1920: 268; Weitemeyer 1962:137-8). These documents play a key role in my research. For instance, I use the date formula in the end of most tablets for information about the historical context of the tablets. Second, inscribed texts also provide the names of gods and goddesses who were worshipped in the area. These provide me both with the names of the main god or goddess at each site, and also the names of the secondary gods who appear together with the main deity. Third, they include many personal names of the people who played an important role in each site. Fourth, they provide evidence of the names of the two sites: Sippar-Amnânium and Sippar-Jahrurum. Fortunately, despite being scattered between the Iraq Museum, British Museum, Berlin Museum, Louvre Museum, Copenhagen Museum, Istanbul Museum, Philadelphia University Museum and the collection of Yale University, the relevant texts can be brought back together via publications. These include:

1- Hormuzd Rassam (1878-1880): He has done work in both sites, chiefly at Tell Abu Habbah.

2- Vincent Scheil (1880-1882): He collected his tablets from Tell Abu-Habbah

3- Sir Wallis Budge (1891): He gathered numerous tablets from both sites.

4- Taha Baqir and Mohammed Ali Mustafa (1940-1941): Many tablets were found during their work at Tell ed-Der.

5- Leon de Meyer and his assistant Hermann Gasche (1974-1978): They found thousands of written documents at Tell-ed Der.

6- The excavations by Baghdad University (1979-2003): The excavation was mainly conducted by Walid al-Jadir and Zuhair Rajib Abdullah; they found huge quantities of clay tablets discovered at Abu-Habbah.

1.3.2 GIS and Remote Sensing Programs

A Geographic Information System (GIS) is a system for creating and managing spatial data and associated attributes. In the strictest sense, it is a computer system capable of integrating, storing, editing, analyzing, and displaying geographically referenced information. In a more generic sense, GIS is a "smart map" tool that allows me to create interactive queries (user created searches), analyze the spatial information, and edit data.

For making the GIS maps, I used two different PC software systems; these were ERDAS Imagine 8.7 and ArcGIS 9.0, in conjunction with another spatial tool, satellite images, for example, CORONA. The use of remote sensing data is a distinct advantage in exploring sites. These methods together are fundamental for exploring any archaeological sites.

Thus, I will use these techniques as part of my studies. These studies will be based on:

- Making new maps for both sites: topography maps of Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der.
- Analyzing the spatial distribution of the key features of the sites, such as the temples and houses on the basis of the surveys and excavations carried out at the two sites.

- Analyzing satellite images of the area to provide a more thorough understanding of landscape features, such as the natural mounds of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der, and the changing of the local watercourses.

- Using Corona imagery to recognize traces of an ancient canal that linked the two sites and other settlements, and to view the similar features between the two. These images are necessary to substantiate data about the sites and the area between them.

Therefore, by using these maps, I hope to get a clearer picture of both Sippars. Mapping this information in GIS will allow me to better define my answer.

1.3.3 Other Various Methods

In addition to my two main methods, I will also use other methods as secondary tools, in consideration of the amount of artifacts that were found in both sites. They are not utilized intensively in this thesis, but they are still very useful for my study. Those methods include:

1- Pottery. This will be assessed to see if there are any workshops in both sites and how that affected the economics of the city.

2- Textiles: e.g., wool.

The two examples above were taken into account to consider the economic influence on both sites, and their relations with local and foreign trade activities.

Chapter 2

An Overview of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell Ed-Der

In this chapter, I will focus on some historical and archaeological aspects of the Mesopotamian sites of Tell ed-Der and Tell Abu-Habbah in order to achieve a better understanding of both areas. Also, by examining existing archaeological remains such as the temples, ziggurats, and walls, we can gain insight as to whether or not Tell ed-Der was a suburban area of Abu-Habbah.

Following a description of the archaeological remains found over the years at the two sites, I will present a discussion of the geomorphological research that has taken place in the area. I will then turn my attention to the textual data from the two sites, beginning with a discussion of the naming of the two cities, both of which are called Sippar. This will be followed by a presentation of the historical information available for the two sites.

2.1 History of Exploration

2.1.1 The History of Excavations at Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell Ed-Der

The archaeological sites of Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der have been repeatedly explored by archaeologists over the years. The earliest work at Abu Habbah was between the years 1878 and 1882, when Hormuzd Rassam turned his attention to the site. He was a native of Mosul, and focused his work in the temple area, especially around the ziggurat since it was the highest part of the site. He recovered a large number of written documents from the sacred area, some 50,000-60,000 clay tablets (Figure 4), as well as some other objects from the surrounding area (Salih 1987:153). During his work at Abu-

Habbah, Rassam made several visits to Tell ed-Der, but he found it to be a less interesting site than Abu Habbah.

Between 1880 and 1891, Sir Wallis Budge excavated at both sites and found many clay tablets, including more than 9500 tablets and other artifacts belonging to the Old Babylonian Period from Tell ed-Der (Salih 1987:159) and approximately 100,000 tablets from Tell Abu-Habbah (Mackay 1926:16). Both Rassam's and Budge's excavations were funded by the British Museum. During the years 1893-1894, Vincent Scheil, a French excavator who worked at Abu-Habbah for a few months also recovered many artifacts, mainly clay tablets. Most of his collections of the written documents are now in the Istanbul Museum. Then, in the 1930s, German archaeologists visited the two sites and did some "quick triangulations" (Andrae and Jordan 1934:51-9) (Figures 5 and 6).

Iraqi archaeologists other than Rassam turned their attention to Sippar in 1941, when Professor Taha Baqir and Mohammed Ali Mustafa conducted several soundings at Tell ed-Der under the auspices of the Director-General of Antiquities (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:37-54). These soundings were distributed around the site, with Areas 1, 3, and 5 located in the western tell, and Areas 2 and 4 in the eastern tell (Figure 7).

Both Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der became the focus of archaeological projects in the 1970s. Tell ed-Der was excavated by the Belgians under the direction of de Meyer and Gasche, whereas Abu-Habbah was excavated by an Iraqi team from Baghdad University. Much of the Belgian team's efforts were focused on geo-archaeological surveys of the area, producing a detailed geological cartography of the region around Tell ed-Der, especially the region between the two Sippars. This work has been crucial to our understanding of the relationship between the two sites. At Tell ed-Der in 1970 and 1971,

their excavations were based on an examination of an area between the mound and the fortification wall on the western side of the site. They examined the western side, because it is the side closest to Abu-Habbah (Figure 8). For the following seasons, they continued their work in the same areas when they excavated Sounding E (Figure 7).

At Abu-Habbah, the Iraqi team started working in this site in 1978 and continued until 1986; their excavation continued for nine seasons (Salih 1987:153-4). Subsequently, they made several discontinuous excavations until 2003, as the result of various wars against Iraq. These later excavations were conducted by Baghdad University, and mainly excavated by Walid al-Jadir and Zuhair Rajib Abdullah. They investigated various areas, including the residential district, the city wall, and the area around the temple. But the most interesting work was at the sanctuary district itself, where they obtained a better understanding about this important area, the dwelling of the god Shamash.

2.2 Archaeological Data

2.2.1 A Description of Both Sites

The ruins at Abu-Habbah (Sippar-Jahrurum), are situated north of Babylon about 60 kilometers (van de Mieroop 1999:166), and southwest of modern Baghdad about 32 kilometers, (Figure 9). The shape of the city is almost rectangular (Figure 10). Today it lies between the Sheshbar River on its west, and on the east by al-Goam River, which has now been abandoned. There are also two canals from the Euphrates that pass by Abu-Habbah. One lies to the north of the city, called the Yusufiyah, and the second one, called Mahmudiyah, lies to the south of Abu-Habbah (Figure 11). Within the city, part of the

eastern area is used for fruit trees and there is a swampy area in the northeast corner (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:102; Figure 12).

The total area of the city is about 96 hectares. It is oriented southwest-northeast and has a walled area around 1200 meters long and 800 meters wide (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:102-3; Salih 1987:153). The walls are preserved some 7 meters above the plain level, which is about 43 meters high above sea level (al-Jadir 1988:48). These walls seem to have been built in the reign of Hammurabi during the Old Babylonian Period³ (al-Jadir 1988:71). The southeast and southwest walls are not well preserved because of erosion⁴ from the Sheshbar River (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:103).

There are a number of gaps in these walls which must represent the ancient gateways. City gates were not only designed to allow ingress and egress from the city, but were also built to display the wealth of the city, to impress the visitor and terrify the adversary, and for defensive purposes (Oppenheim 1964:128). In Abu-Habbah, we have textual evidence for the role of the gatekeeper. His office was located in one of the city's gates which was a center of commerce and administration (Harris 1974:85).

Another key aspect of this city was the sanctuary area, dedicated to the city god of Sippar-Jahrurum, Shamash, and comparable with the temenos at Ur (Woolley and Mallowan 1976: Plate 116-7). This sacred area is easily identified both at the site and from aerial and satellite imagery. It was situated in the southwest part of the city (Figure 10), and covers around 8.3 hectares, or nearly 10% of the area of the city. It is

³ A tablet found in the temple area described how Hammurabi commanded that this monumental wall to be built (al-A'dami 4:1999).

⁴ It is difficult to maintain control over irrigation systems on the river plain because of some canal systems were located adjoining the walled city. Thus, for that reason, huge mud brick walls were erected around Abu Habbah (Butzer 1995:144). Thus, the continued flowing of the canal's water was the reason for some archaeological features' damage.

approximately 320 meters long and 240 meters wide (Andrae and Jordan 1934:51), and its walls are preserved up to 4 meters in height. (al-Jadir 1988:109; Figure 2). This sanctuary area was probably the most important part of the city (Figure 4) and focused on the temple dedicated to Shamash, the Sun God. This É-Babbar temple was the most important and the largest temple in the area and was located to the northeast of the ziggurat. This temple had two cellas, a larger one housing the statue of Shamash, and to its northeast, a smaller, lower room for his wife Aja / Aya (Andrae and Jordan 1934:53). The largest room of the temple lay to the east of the Shamash chapel, (al-Jadir 1988:26 and 30) and there were other temples located around the ziggurat, which must have been dedicated to more minor deities (Figure 5).

Abu-Habbah had a single ziggurat,⁵ which can be identified from the topography of the site (Figure 4).⁶ The entrance to the ziggurat was by a stair located on its northeast. The shape of the ziggurat is square and it had a number of rooms surrounding it on the southwest and northeast sides (al-Jadir 1988:29; Andrae and Jordan 1934:53). Other features associated with the religious center can be seen in Figure 6. In Square V 108 (Figure 12), an area located to the northwest of the temple, was what might have been a dwelling for servants of the temple, and a temple storage area (al-Jadir 1988:139).

Excavations in area U 106 (Figure 12), to the northeast of the religious district have uncovered private houses and some public shops. We also know, based on archaeological evidence, that at least some of the rest of the city, especially the area to the east of U 109,

⁵ The ziggurat was known as É-Kun₄-an-kù-ga, which means the great temple of the sky (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:1).

⁶ By looking at the contour lines of the ziggurat area, referring to the high mound, which was located in this spot.

were agricultural areas (Figure 12). These were fields and orchards, located outside the temple walls (al-Jadir 1988:49).

In summary, the archaeological evidence from Tell Abu-Habbah shows it to have had all of the hallmarks of a major city. Its walls, gates, temple, and ziggurat are comparable with the remains from the other key cities of the time, like Ur, Nippur, Uruk and Kish. When we turn to Tell ed-Der, however, we will have a different picture.

Tell ed-Der (Sippar-Amnânum) is located about 26 kilometers southwest of Baghdad (Figure 9), on the north bank of the modern Yusufiyah Canal (Figure 11), and about 6 kilometers northeast of Abu Habbah. The shape of the site is approximately triangular and it was enclosed by three walls (Figure 7). Two heavy walls on its southeast and southwest sides are still in good condition, and they are 680 and 1050 meters in length (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:38), while the ruins of the north side have been washed away by the river and are now bounded by an area of modern cultivation. In places this defensive wall was preserved up to 20 meters high and had a base some 50-60 meters in width (Andrae and Jordan 1934:56). Archaeological evidence dates its walls, like those of Abu-Habbah, to the Old Babylonian Period, although we do not know whether they were exactly contemporary with those at Abu-Habbah.⁷

Tell ed-Der is about one half the size of Abu-Habbah, at around 51 hectares, with a perimeter of approximately three kilometers. Unlike Abu-Habbah, but similar to other Mesopotamian cities, it was divided into two main parts by an ancient canal, with the western part larger than the eastern (Figure 7). This north-south canal was responsible for

⁷ Sounding B was one of the areas excavated by the Belgian expedition. They chose this area near the fortification wall in order to understand what was going on in the area outside the wall. One of the results of this work was to show that the site's walls dated back to the Old Babylonian Period.

the gaps in the southern and northern portions of the fortifications (Paepe and Baeteman 1978:48).

As a result of their surveys at Tell ed-Der (Figure 6), Andrae and Jordan suggested that there was only one gate in the entire wall of the site (Andrae and Jordan 1934:58). Excavations have been concentrated in the western part of the site, and have uncovered a number of private houses (Figure 13), some quite wealthy apparently, based on objects of costly materials, like ornamental agate and lapis lazuli (de Meyer 1977:133), that were found there. Other types of buildings, such as workshops and buildings for administrative purposes, have also been found in the area. We have much less evidence for the organization of the eastern tell.

So far, our evidence suggests Tell ed-Der to have been residential and commercial in nature, but we do know from the written sources that this site was related to the É-ulmash temple, which was the dwelling of the goddess Annunitum. This temple, however, clearly had neither the sanctuary wall nor the ziggurat that we have seen at Abu-Habbah, and therefore cannot be understood to have been a major temple.

2.2.2 The Influence of the Watercourses on Both Sites

As the study of the archaeological aspects of any site is crucial to detecting how people lived in this ancient time, the study of the associated watercourses is also important since they provided both the water for irrigating the crops and established the major routes of communication between cities.

The watercourses of Mesopotamia were always unstable, resulting in both the movement of settlements over time, and efforts made to stabilize the irrigation system

around major sites (Pollock 1999:36). For example, a written document dated to the time of Hammurabi describes how this king dug a new “Sippar Canal” to bring water from the Euphrates to the city, after the river changed its course (al-Jadir 1988:71).

Much of our information on the area around Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der comes from the geomorphological studies carried out by the Belgian team (de Meyer 1977:133) (Figure 14). This team was able to identify a number of fossil watercourses located in the area between the two sites (Paepe et al. 1978:10). They found that Tell ed-Der had three canals in its vicinity. One flowed near its eastern side, its traces visible as ruins of fossil meander (Figure 15). Another canal flowed through the middle of Tell ed-Der, while the last branch was located along the southwestern wall. It was this canal (Paepe and Baeteman 1978:40) that linked Tell ed-Der with Abu-Habbah. Yet another fossil meander was identified to the northeast of Tell Abu-Habbah (Figure 16), perhaps this can be associated with another ancient canal called Tapishtum recorded on a fragmentary tablet from Abu-Habbah (al-Jadir 1988:23; Figure 17).

The Belgian research also showed that Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der were not the only archaeological sites in the area. They identified a number of other mounds, Tulûl Gâwan (Paepe and Baeteman 1978:48) and Tell Hammam (Figure 18). Tell Hammam was located close to Abu-Habbah, separated from it only by the al-Goam River (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:102).

Indeed, these visible tells do not represent the only evidence for ancient settlement between Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der. The Belgian expedition excavated a trench of around 81 meters in length (de Meyer 1977:132) in the depression between the two main sites. Their objectives were primarily to examine this area to identify structures and

fluvial deposits that were situated within the depression, as well as to gather preliminary information any archeological deposits. What they found was that this depression was an Old Babylonian occupation area (de Meyer 1976:164).

In summary, the geomorphological data show that the two sites were connected by a series of watercourses, all to be dated to the Old Babylonian period (Baeteman 1980:15-21), which would have provided both water for irrigation and routes of communication (Figures 19).

The geomorphological data indicate that Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der were tied together by a web of shared irrigation canals and watercourses. Since it is not possible to identify separate irrigation systems for each site, it is highly likely that the management of the irrigation system in the area was controlled by a single entity. Moreover, rather than seeing Abu-Habbah and Tell-ed-Der as isolated settlements, separated one from the other by unoccupied space, we now understand the intervening space to have been filled, at least partially, with ancient settlements. Indeed, if the depression was found not to have ancient canals but ancient settlement, it is possible that the entire area between the two main tells might have been occupied during Sippar's Old Babylonian floruit.

2.2.3 Archaeological and Historical Evidence from Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell Ed-Der

In its heyday, Sippar (Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnânum), along with the other two privileged cities of Nippur and Babylon, was one of the most important cities in Babylonia (Leick 2001:172). This significance is reflected in the wide variety of

architectural remains, tablets and objects recovered by the many archaeological expeditions that working in this area.

In Sumerian mythology, Sippar was one of the oldest cities in Mesopotamia indeed it was said to have existed before the flood. There is, in fact, some archaeological evidence for flood deposits dating back to the Ubaid (al-Jadir 1988:5-6) (Table 1). The Sumerian King list says that Sippar was ruled at the time by a king called Enmenduranna (Table 2) who is said to have reigned for 21,000 years (Leick 2001:172). Also, at Abu-Habbah there was part of a stone vase from the Jemdet Nasr period was recovered, besides other objects from the Early Dynasty period (Leick 2001:169). Thus, even though we do not completely believe the record of the Sumerian king list; there is clear archaeological evidence for a very early origin for Abu-Habbah (Table 1).

Both Tell ed-Der and Abu-Habbah have evidence for occupation during the Akkadian period. Maceheads and other inscribed stone objects dedicated to the Akkadian kings Manishtusu, Rimush and Shar-kali-sharri have been found, and Naram-Sin claimed to have restored the Shamash Temple at Abu-Habbah (Hammo and al-In 1982:108; Mackay 1926:15). Moreover, during the sixth season of Iraqi excavations in Abu Habbah in 1984, they found a housing area belonging to the Akkadian Period (al-Jadir 1987:187-9). We have similar evidence from Tell ed-Der, where the Iraqi team excavated several buildings dating to this period in of area No. 2 Levels V (Figure 20), VI, VII, and VIII, which yielded Akkadian cylinder seals, pottery, and figurines (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:47-8). Indeed, the extensive Akkadian remains from Tell ed-Der have led some to suggest that this site is to be identified with Sargon's capital at Agade, the location of which remains

unknown (Mackay 1926:13). It is generally thought that Agade should have been located in general area around Babylon, Kish, and Sippar (Roaf 1990:97).

The evidence suggests that both sites continued to have a long history. While little has been found dating to the Ur III period, and most of that from Tell ed-Der, both sites have extensive excavated remains from the Old Babylonian period. Excavations at Tell ed-Der have uncovered several occupation areas belonging to the Old Babylonian period (Figures 21 and 22). It is to this time period that we must ascribe the placing of important sculptures, including the Hammurabi stele, in the courtyard of the Shamash temple at Abu-Habbah, from which they were taken by the Elamites some 600 years later (van de Meiroop 2005:129). The role of private houses, especially those in which tablets were found, was another discovery related to the Old Babylonian period. The excavations of the Iraqi team yielded a number of archives distributed in various parts of Abu Habbah, e.g., at the cloister, the temple, and other places at the site. Also, at Tell ed-Der, the Iraqi expedition found the archives of Anum-pisha and Iku-pisha, and the Belgian team recovered the archive of Ur-Utu, all dating to the Old Babylonian period and from private houses (Table 3). Abu-Habbah, but not Tell ed-Der, recovered from this attack, as attested by evidence of occupation in Neo-Babylonian times. This is seen not just in the written record, but through the important discovery of a temple library dating to this period (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1988:23).

2.3 Historical Data

2.3.1 The Names of the two Sites

We know that Sippar is a very ancient date according to the Sumerian King's list. Various written documents have referred to Sippar in a variety of ways. It was called UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} (al-A'dami 2001:9; van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:56), which refers to the city of Sippar (al-A'dami 1999:1). Also, the Euphrates River was referred to as ^{id}UD.KIB.NUN,⁸ (al-Jadir 1988:5). Also, Sippar is written or spelled as a syllabic term, such as, si-pa-ar, or si-ip-pa-ar, or si-par (al-A'dami 1999:3; O'Conner 1885:203). The two sites were also called Sippar-Shamash (Abu-Habbah) and the other as Sippar-Anunit (Tell ed-Der) after their respective sanctuaries.

Another pair of names given to these two sites was Sippar-Jahrurum for Abu Habbah and Sippar-Amnânum for Tell ed-Der. These names are derived from two nomadic tribes who once camped outside the walls of Sippar, the Jahruru and Amnânu (Harris 1975:10). Overland trade normally depended on arrangements made with the tribes and nomads controlling the passage of the caravans or boats (Lapidus 1969:11-12), and it was these two groups who controlled the area around Sippar. These tribes have been attested in the area since the time of Sin-muballit, a king who ruled early in the Babylonian dynasty.

In several written documents, especially from the Ur-Utu house at Tell ed-Der, there were references to both Sippars. The name of Sippar-Jahrurum was mentioned in one clay tablet dealing with a property issue (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:134). Others mentioned Sippar-Amnânum, (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:35), and some referred to both Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnanum (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:101 and 103). Even in the Neo-Babylonian period, an inscribed clay cylinder of Nabunaidus found by Rassam in the temple area of Abu Habbah discussed both Sippar-Amnânum and

⁸ The syllabic (id) at the beginning of the Sumerian sentence UD.KIB.NUN refers to the river, along with the syllabic (ki) at the end of the word, indicating the city (Figure 17).

Sippar-Jahrurum (Langdon 1916:110-4), in spite of the absence of clear archaeological evidence for the occupation of Tell ed-Der from that time period.

2.3.2 The Local and the Babylonian Rulers at Both Sites

There were various leaders who ruled in Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der, but here we will focus on rulers whose activities really influenced those cities. Moreover, by determining whether the same king ruled over both sites, we will be able to determine the degree to which the two sites shared a single political structure (Table 2).

A number of local rulers, Ilummaila, Immerum, and Buntah-tunila, are attested from the Akkadian period. The earliest, Ilummaila, is recorded in together with the god Shamash in oath formulae on several written contracts. No exact date is mentioned for the reign of this king. These contracts contained some personal names, which were mostly Akkadian, and might suggest that he was a local ruler during the Akkadian period (Harris 1975:2). Another local king is Immerum. The wall of the cloister, the *naditu* residency, was related to his reign, as attested to by a clay tablet showing the name of a cloister doorkeeper (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:126). He is also recorded as having dug a canal in the area. He was a contemporary of the second king of the Babylonian Dynasty, Sumulael (al-Jadir 1988:60). The last of the local kings attested, Buntah-tunila, is mentioned in one tablet concerning a lawsuit over an orchard between a buyer and the seller (Harris 1975:4), in an oath formula (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:126), and his seal was impressed on some texts. The texts referring to all of these local rulers were found at Abu-Habbah. This does not allow us to determine whether or not the two sites were under

the same local political order, but does suggest that kingship, such as it was, was located at the larger site.

The evidence for royal concern with Sippar increased dramatically with the beginning of the Babylonian dynasty. Although the first king of the First dynasty of Babylon, Sumuabum, is seen only in a date formula, indicating that Sippar was ruled by Babylon from the very beginning of the dynasty (Harris1975:5), later kings played a more active role there. King Sumulael's role in the rebuilding of the wall of Abu-Habbah is commemorated in the twenty-ninth year of his reign (Harris 1975:5), and he is also recorded giving away property in a text where his daughter, Ayyalatum, occurs as a witness along with several other priestesses (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:85). Sumulael's influence extended to Tell ed-Der, where he is mentioned in two letters from Area No.2, in one of which he is the author (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:45).

His successor, King Sabium or Zabum, built a canal to supply the city with water, naming it after himself (al-Jadir 1988:60), and was involved in the renovations to the temple walls of Abu-Habbah (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:120), in addition to having his name on legal documents (Harris 1975:118).

Hammurabi's direct predecessors, Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit are only known from a few year dates or oath formulae, Apil-Sin only from Tell ed-Der (de Meyer 1978:148, Salih1987:160) and Sin-muballit, from both sites (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:54; de Meyer 1978:135; Harris 1975:214 and 216).

Hammurabi was the sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon, the author of the famous law codes which were inscribed on a stone stele that was still standing at Sippar 600 years after his death when it was taken to Susa by the Elamites (van de Mieroop

2005:142). The prologue of this stele lists Sippar as the one of major ancient cities, along with Kish, Babylon, Nippur, Ur, Uruk, etc. In addition, it refers to building activities at the main temple, that dedicated to Shamash, the god of justice. Indeed, Sippar was a very important city during his rule. Hammurabi is credited with building the walls around Abu-Habbah (al-Jadir 1988:71) and improving the local irrigation system (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:135).

King Samsuiluna, the son and first successor of Hammurabi, also invested heavily in the city, building new canals, and reconstructing the outer walls of Abu-Habbah (al-Jadir 1988:73). He changed the administration of the city, however, placing it under the merchant community, located in the harbor area (Leick 2001:176). Both Hammurabi and Samsuiluna's names also occur on dated tablets from Tell ed-Der (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:146-7).

In addition to the continued references to the names of Hammurabi's successor in oath formulae and date formulae from both Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:54; Weitemyer 1962:11), we can use the written evidence to understand better the activities associated with these two sites during their reigns. From the time of Abu-ešuh, we have reference to the yield of a royal field associated with Abu-Habbah (Harris 1975:50) an indication of the direct influence of the crown at that time. We also find repeated references to the harbor and its importance to the city, especially during the reigns of Abu-ešuh and Samsuiluna (Harris 1975:71). Sippar was long famed for the quality of its cylinder seals, but it was during the reign of Ammisaduqa, and his father Ammiditana that we have clear evidence for the development of seal-cutting workshops at both Abu-Habba and Tell-ed-Der (al-Gailani 1988:35).

These data show how the coming of the First Babylonian Dynasty played a significant role in the development of both sites. A continuous pattern of construction activities, enhancement of trade and commerce, together with political domination gave the Sippar area, and especially Abu-Habbah, its heyday in the mid-second millennium BC.

In summary, there are many facts to support the importance of the area known as Sippar in Mesopotamian history. The archaeological and geomorphological evidence from the area testifies both to a very long period of occupation, but also to the presence of a major branch of the Euphrates in the area, together with more minor settlements between the two main tells. The city of Abu-Habbah was a religious center for the worship of the god, Shamash, one of the most important gods in the Mesopotamian pantheon. But Abu-Habbah was not alone, and we have evidence for the importance of both Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der, especially during the Old Babylonian period, and of significant linkages between them. In the following pages, I will present other patterns that are related to the institutions of the temple, residential zone, harbor, and workshop areas, to gain a wider view of both sites.

Chapter 3

The Main Institutions of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell Ed-Der and their Relation to Economic, Political, and Social Organization

We have seen in the prior chapters the importance of the city, meaning any urban center. The role of the most important institutions at both sites has been emphasized, and these institutions have provided some grounds for considering Tell ed-Der a suburban area of Abu-Habbah, since there are similar characteristics that linked both Sippars during the Old Babylonian Period. This chapter delves further into the internal composition of these institutions and their impact on the political, economic, and social systems. The data discussed in this chapter illustrate some of activities are related to the temple, harbor, private houses, and workshop quarters. I will divide this chapter into three parts: The first deals with institutions: the temple and the cloister. The second concerns other organizations: the harbor; the third is devoted to workshops.

3.1 The Temple and the Cloister Quarters

The temple and cloister were central agencies of the city. These buildings were responsible for religion, and for some economic and political strategies. I will explore the two major roles of these organizations, looking at these institutions from the religious perspective and from an economic and political angle, since both cloister and the temple were involved in both.

3.1.1 Religious Issues

In this section, I will illustrate some facts about the two main deities of Tell ed-Der and Abu-Habbah in order to show the religious influence and at what time periods these were involved at both sites, as well as some details about the origin of the two deities. In addition I will present secondary divinities for both sites, to identify any connections among these gods. Also, I will cite some examples of other deities from Mesopotamian cities, especially cities from its southern part to better enhance my view about the influence of religion in Mesopotamia.

Abu Habbah's patron deity was the Sumerian Sun god, Shamash, the sun god of Semitic origin worshiped in Babylonia and Assyria. He was one of the great deities of ancient Middle Eastern religion. He was a god of law, order, justice, and compassion. The chief center of his cult was Abu-Habbah. In Sumerian civilization, he was called Utu. In addition, he was also worshipped in Larsa in the Sumerian Period (Leick 2001: 189; Oppenheim 1964:195).

A cuneiform Neo-Babylonian cylinder belonging to Nebuchadnezzar's reign gives the exact location of the Sun God's temple in Sippar. At the very end of the first column of this cylinder (line 25) it says:

Transcription

Translation

ni-nu-mi-šu É-Babbara bit il Šamaš	= We (proclaim) this: The temple of Babbara, the
	temple of the Sun
ša qi-ri-ib Sippar	= Which is in Sippar (O'Connor 1885:206)

The first evidence of the temple at Abu Habbah was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam, who chose the temple area to start his excavations. In one chamber near the temple's

walls, there were large collections of tablets, which made up an archive that existed in the temple area. In addition, he found other antiquities, such as a boundary stone of the Sun God (Budge 1920:124). The inscription on this stone provided both the identification of the city and the name of the temple É-Babbar; it says “Image of Šamaš the great lord, dwelling in É-Babbar in the city of Sippar” (Lloyd 1949:175). This stone records repairs to the temple by King Nabu-apal-idinna. Extra evidence of the restoration of the temple was found in the memorial inscriptions of Nabu-na’id (555-539 B.C.), a king of Babylon. These discoveries refer to the main deity of Shamash at Abu Habbah.

The temple area and the deity are essential institutions of both sites. All of my information about the Tell ed-Der temple comes from documentary evidence, unlike Abu-Habbah temple, which was discovered archaeologically (Harris 1975:179).

In the case of Tell ed-Der, Annunitum / Ishtar was the main god. She was called Inanna in Sumerian which is interpreted as “the lady of the heaven” (Gelb 1960:72). Her name was also written as GIŠ.DAR (Harper 1904:6), AŠ.DAR in Akkadian = Eshtar in the Isin- Larsa era, and developed into Ishtar in the Old Babylonian Period. During the Old Babylonian period, she was called Annunitum as well.⁹ These variations of spelling the goddess’ name during different periods, mostly took place in the Old Akkadian time, but she still held her lofty position during other later periods.

She was the most popular and revered goddess of Ancient Mesopotamia (Westenholz 1998:72). She was a sister of Shamash; they were children of Nannar the first born on

⁹ Besides Ishtar’s name, there was another name sometimes used instead of her usual name. This name was Anunit or Annunitum. An example of Annunitum name was in a translation of Hammurabi’s prologue that alluded to Anunit instead of Ishtar (Harper 1904:7). Annunit or Anunit was the version of Ishtar’s name used at Sippar-Amnânum (Tell ed-Der).

Earth of Enlil (Leick 2003:65 and 69). Ishtar was famous for her sacred symbolization of holding a date cluster (Collins 1994:114) or weapon (Westenholz 1998:78), which reflect her roles as a fertility and a war goddess. There were numerous texts during the rule of the Akkadian Empire which refer to Ishtar as INANNA-Annunitum, meaning skirmisher (Collins 1994: 111; Westenholz 1998:75). This was one of Ishtar's epithets, as she was predominantly a goddess of war and victory. It has been suggested that the war character of Ishtar was specifically an Akkadian trait.

Annunitum / Ishtar was one of the Tell ed-Der deities throughout various time periods. She was one of the great goddesses who was popular in the third millennium, and continued to be worshipped in the second millennium (Westenholz 1998:77). She was also one of the most important deities until the end of Mesopotamian civilization.

Much of our knowledge of the site is in relation to the Akkadian occupation when the structures discovered at the site were a mixture of residences and administrative buildings. This was obvious from the first result of the Iraqi surveys by Taha Baqir's teams in 1941, when the Iraqi team uncovered occupation areas that belonged to the Akkadian period; these were located in levels V, VI, VII, and VIII of area No. 2. Also, they found other artifacts, such as pottery, jars, and seals, from the same period (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:39 and 47). Perhaps, most parts of the site were occupied in the Akkadian period.

Another example of this Annunit / Ishtar Goddess was visible in later periods. During the Old Babylonian Period, evidence of the relationship between the goddess and the É-ulmash Temple is found in one of Tell ed-Der's archives (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:68 line 2).

From the Neo Babylonian Period, the inscription of Nabu-na'id gives an excellent indication of the temple's location. A passage recorded that while this king rebuilt the É-ulmash Temple of Sippar-Anunit, which had been destroyed by Sennacherib, the Assyrian King, he noticed a statue with an inscription of the name of the king Shagarakti-Shuriash on it, who was the 27th king of the Kassite dynasty (Oppenheim 1964: 338). The inscription of Shagarakti-Shuriash cited how the É-ulmash of Sippar-Anunit was built or made by him (Langdon 1916:115). This provides evidence that this goddess still existed until the Kassite period in Tell ed-Der.

Some city gods were only important locally, e.g., the god Zababa in Kish and his temple called É-mete-ursag, as known from several bricks from Kish (Langdon 1924:226-7). Also, the god Sud of Shuruppak, and the gods Girsu, Bau and her husband Ningirsu, all were examples of city gods (Roaf 1990:83). On the other hand, there were some gods who dominated the pantheon and expanded their positions to other cities, either as chief gods or as secondary gods. For instance, the city of Larsa was also known as a major center dedicated to the god Shamash, and his temple É-Babbar,¹⁰ was located there. This is supported by a written document found at Larsa showing the names of the main god and his temple (Hallo 1967:97). Shamash was also the chief god at Sippar, as mentioned above. Another example of a god's influence on a city is the god Nergal. This god was both a main and a minor god. At Cutha (modern Tell Ibrahim), Nergal was at the center of religion, also he was the main god at Mashkan-shapir (Stone 1993:87); however, he was worshipped as a secondary god in some cities for example at Tell ed-Der. Furthermore, the city of Babylon housed a sanctuary to the god of the moon,

¹⁰ By looking to the name of Larsa temple, É-Babbar, this indicates that all Shamash temples called É-Babbar.

Marduk, but because of Babylon's position as the capital of the Old Babylonian kingdom, he was also worshipped elsewhere, including at Abu-Habbah and ed-Der. This indicates that some gods extended their domination to other cities as secondary gods along their position as main god.

Various written documents present evidence of divinities' names, either alone, or as part of a personal name, as there were many people and kings named in honor of a god or goddess. From Uruk, where Anu was a major god, tablets provide several common names including his name as an element, for instance, Anu-bêlsunu, Anu-ab-usur, and Anu-ah-usabsi (Doty 1978:65-6). Also, the god Zababa's name was part of the name of the king of Kish, Ur-Zababa. The city of Ur, provides many examples of kings' names related to the city god, Sin / Suen, the moon god, e.g., kings Shu-Sin (Owen and Young 1971:96 and 99), Amar-Sin, and Ibbi-Sin. The goddess Ningal also played a religious role at Ur. She was the wife of the god Sin, and her temple called, É-nun-mah, was erected in the city (Roaf 1990:101). There were written documents found at Ur which cited her name (Loding 1976:234). At Nippur, clay tablets were uncovered that provide more evidence of people's names related to the names of gods. For instance, there are names associated with two city gods, Enlil and his son Ninurta. Silli-Ninurta, Migir-Ninurta, and Aba-Enlil-gim were all names written on clay tablets found at Nippur (O'Callaghan 1954:138).

These are some examples of the great influence of gods and goddesses of cities located in southern Mesopotamia. Thus, by looking back at the divinities of both Sippars, we can consider relationships between them. Numerous tablets have cited about names of the god Shamash at Abu-Habbah and at Tell ed-Der. Even though there was no evidence

of Shamash's temple at Tell ed-Der, the repeated mention of this god on many tablets alludes to Shamash's role at Tell ed-Der. It is the same issue with the Annunitum Temple. We know that the goddess Annunitum was very important in Tell ed-Der; she was also significant in Abu-Habbah.

Figure 23,¹¹ shows that both divinities, Shamash and Annunitum, were incorporated into personal names at both sites. In the case of Abu Habbah, the god Shamash is more important, an average of about 42 percent of the total 279 personal names of all divinities are to Shamash, proving that Abu Habbah is a dwelling of this god more than of the goddess Annunitum / Ishtar. Annunitum / Ishtar appears in about 19 percent of the references at Abu-Habbah, and more often at Tell ed-Der, where about 22 percent of 226 references to the divinities are to Annunitum / Ishtar. Thus, Ishtar was really a main deity alongside Shamash. Also, Shamash is still important at Tell ed-Der; his average reaches to 28 percent of the 226 personal names, which is higher than the deity Annunitum. This suggests that both sites are complementary cities, since there was some equality in worshipping both deities, but that the sanctuary to Shamash at Abu-Habbah was the most important. Another relation between the two gods can be seen in engraved cylinder seals, which point out more about their names than about other deity's names, particularly in the time of Hammurabi, Sin-mublilit, Ammiditana, and Ammisaduqa. Thus, these seals show depictions of Shamash and Ishtar as the major deities. It has also been noted that

¹¹ My percentage results in Figure 23 are based on four books:

1- al-Gailani Werr, 1988

2- al-Rawi & Dalley, 2000

3- van Lerberghe, K. V. and G. Voet, 1991

4- Weitemeyer, M., 1962

These books were used to collect my data: names of gods that were incorporated into personal names that were originally written on the clay texts. This helped me to a clear conclusion about the linkage between the two sites.

both deities are more important in the Old Babylonian period than they are in other period (al-Gailani 1988:38).

As a result of the spread of the Mesopotamian civilization, other lesser gods were seated together with the main deity of the city (Wiggermann 1995:1861). Both sites include numerous divinities together with the main deity. In Shamash's city the chapel of his wife, Aja was erected near Shamash's shrine in the temple area. It was located in the northeast part of the temple (Andrae and Jordan 1934:53).

From various written documents that were found at both Sippars, along with my other analyses (Figure 23), one can recognize other deities, which are here presented beginning with the most important and moving to the lesser positions. These positions are established by the gods' / goddess' names mentioned as part of personal names on the tablets, cylinder seals, and docketts.¹² These gods are:

- 1- Adad (Iškur), the storm god
- 2- Marduk
- 3- Sin (EN-ZU), the moon god
- 4- Nun-Šubur
- 5- Nergal, the god of the underworld.
- 6- Mar-tu
- 7- Bunene

Adad, the storm god, was on an equal level with Shamash in the pantheon, and was linked to Shamash as an oracle giver (Oppenheim 1964:196). He occurs quite frequently in personal names at both sites (Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnânium), though not as often as either Shamash or Annunitum. The Sumerian name of this god was Iškur

¹² See note No. 11.

(Wiggermann 1995:1860), which was used as a part of some personal names from the Ur-Utu Archive during the Old Babylonian Period (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:92; line 13). He occurs about 14 percent of the total 279 personal names with theocratic elements at Abu-Habbah compared to about 11 percent of the 226 personal names at Tell ed-Der, shows that his position was stronger at Abu Habbah than at Tell ed-Der.

Marduk was the tutelary deity of Babylon. He was part of the Babylonian official pantheon, and became popular in Mesopotamia. In the second dynasty of Isin, he was called, “the lord of the gods” (Leick 2003:240). His sanctuary lies probably at Borisppa (Leick 2003:138). At Tell ed-Der, (Figure 23) this god was more popular than at Abu-Habbah. His name was in about 16 percent of the references at Tell ed-Der. He also occurs on tablets from Tell ed-Der outside of personal names, especially in oath formulae, including a clay tablet found at the Ur-Utu Archive, which specifically links him to Sippar-Amnânum (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:88, line 50). His name often appeared with two most important gods of Sippar, Shamash and his wife Aja / Aya (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:11; line 17). Sometimes his name appeared alone with Shamash’s name (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:115 line 4), and this pairing of names was related to very important tablets dealing with the purchase of royal estates and other formal letters. Thus, the authority of this god ranks with that of the other important gods of Tell de-Der, but not at Abu-Habbah where only around 1 percent include this element.

En-Zu is the Sumerian name of Sin, the moon god. The attribute of En-Zu, “lord of wisdom”, clung to him during all periods. In the Neo-Babylonian period, during the reign of King Nabu-na’id, there is an example of a cylinder seal that cited the name of the god, Sin, along with Shamash; this inscription gave an account of the rebuilding of the two

temples of Sippar, that of Shamash and Annunitum (Langdon 1916:110 and 115). The name Sin was found on 9 percent of the 279 personal names at Abu-Habbah and 8 percent of 226 personal names at Tell ed-Der. His name was also used for oaths (Harris 1975:145; van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:148).

Nergal was one of Tell ed-Der's deities (Stone 1993:93). Originally, he was worshiped at Cutha in central Babylon (Oppenheim 1964:196). The Nergal temple was established at Sippar-Amnânum by the time of Samsu-iluna (Harris 1975:148). The 9 percent for this god seen in Figure 23, shows that he was quite important, although ranking behind the main deities. An example of the role of Nergal can be seen when King Abi-ešuh, asked him and the Shamash temple to help investigate about a dispute over fields (Harris 1975:180). This indicates the importance of Nergal's role as a god upon whom kings depended to fix complicated issues. Those examples show the worship of this god occurred in the Old Babylonian Period. On the other hand, he neither is mentioned in personal names nor in oaths at Abu-Habbah, and this indicates that this god was more important at Tell ed-Der than at Abu-Habbah.

The name of the god, Mar-tu, also occurred at both sites. According to Figure 23, his name was mentioned at Abu-Habbah more than at Tell ed-Der, occurring in about 5 percent of the personal names at Abu-Habbah and about 2 percent of the names at Tell ed-Der.

Bunene, was worshiped more at Sippar-Jahrurum, with scant reference at Tell ed-Der; his percentage at Abu-Habbah was 3 percent of the total 279 personal names and only about 1 percent at Tell ed-Der. He was the Sun God's chariot driver (Harris 1975:148-9). In Abu-Habbah, Bunene's name was found beside that of another god, Nun-Shubur, in

clay lists of assorted private names. Many tablets about various subjects referred to Bunene and Nun-Shubur together (Weitemeyer 1962:24-5). In addition, Nun-Shubur was shown on other tablet lists and docket lists during the 42nd year of Hammurabi's reign (Weitemeyer 1962:35). This shows that Nun-Shubur's role at Abu-Habbah was more important than at Tell ed-Der and he was included in 7 percent of the personal names from there and only about 3 percent from Tell ed-Der.

There were other divinities less worshipped at Abu-Habbah than the gods mentioned above. Those gods are: Gula, the healing goddess; Enlil, the weather god; Ea, the god of the water; the goddesses Lama, Tishpak, Ishara, Nabitum, and Sigar, etc.

Despite the significant role of other secondary gods at both sites, the two main gods, Shamash (Utu) and Annunitum (Ishtar) are the most prominent, from the earliest until the latest times, from the Old Akkadian to the Neo Babylonian Periods. It was obvious that Shamash played a strong role at Abu-Habbah as the main city god, and played the same role at Tell ed-Der as its complementary part.

The question which we must address is whether the two Sippars together, like Uruk and Kish, that had two more or less equal deities, or if they shared a single main god, Shamash. The Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi helps here. Although he claims to have improved the temples of both Zababa and Ishtar at Kish and both Anu and Inanna at Uruk, his mention of Sippar does not distinguish between the two sites, and only mentions his work at the temple of Shamash (Pritchard 1969:164). This strongly suggests that Shamash was considered, at least by Hammurabi, as the only god of real importance at Sippar, a view that is supported by the dominance of personal names which include him as a theocratic element from both Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der.

3.1.2 Economic Issues

There were thousands of tablets uncovered in the temple area, and also in the cloister building (Leick 2001:175). These tablets have enriched our knowledge about the *naditus* of Shamash and what kinds of activities they performed.

The cloister building, which was built for the *naditu*, is known in Akkadian as the *gagum*. In addition, the É gá-gi₄.a, was found in Sippar-Jahrurum as a term for their administration building (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:63). This building was attached to the main temple of the city, the Sun God's temple, located to the northwest of the temple area (al-Jadir 1988:68).

It may be useful to look at some evidence for the *naditu*'s position. At Abu-Habbah, the cloister of the celibate *naditu* women had fourteen female scribes; their functions were to record the transactions of the cloister's members (Harris 1963). Thousands of these transactions were found in the cloister's ruins and are the most important discovery in that region. These cuneiform tablets indicate that this group was involved in trade activities. For instance, there is a reference to exporting and importing articles with the north and east of Mesopotamia along the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers, and selling juniper oil and myrtle oil for silver. This reflects how the *naditu*'s transactions went out far from their territory. Also, a clay tablet of the time of the Immerum and Sumulael deals with trade within the site: the purchase of a garden by a *naditu* of Shamash (Goetze 1957:27). This shows that the *naditus* played an important role under the reign of some local rulers (Table 2). It is also clear that *naditus* were active in the real estate trade.

Another issue about the *naditus* of Shamash is related to law. Hammurabi's Stela proves that the *naditu*'s position was one of concern to this king (van de Mieroop

2005:107-8), and we know that Abu-Habbah was one of the important possessions among his cities.

For a better look at the role of the *naditus* and their families see Table 3. It provides some examples of this group, and how they are related to the palace authorities as princesses (daughters of the kings) or daughters of important families. These include:

1- Iltani, a daughter of Šuba-ilan (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:82), a *naditu* of the temple of Shamash. In addition, Iltani is also the name of other women; one was a princess of King Samsu-iluna or Abi-ešuh- (Harris 1975:56) and the other a princess Iltani was a sister of Hammurabi. The latter was the richest of the *naditus*, since she owned many arable fields (Harris 1975:51; Leick 2001:181).

2- Aja-tallik and Aja-rešat: were also servants of Shamash, sisters of the Utu-šu-mu-un-dib, the judge of Abu-Habbah. He was an important overseer of merchants, son of Iluš-ibni (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:66; Harris 1975:117). Iluš-ibni was a Chairman, an important person who held a high administrative position in the assembly (Harris 1975:97).

3- Lamassi, a *naditu* of Shamash, was a daughter of Puzur-Akshak (Harris 1975:247). She was known during Apil-Sin's, Sin-muballit's, and Hammurabi's reigns. This *naditu* made a transaction to buy tin from Ibni-Tishpak, a merchant of Eshnunna (now called Tell Asmar), when he was in Sippar-Jahrurum (Leemans 1960:88). This gives a reference to the trade to the northwest of the Tigris by this group.

4- Lamassani, the *naditu* of Shamash, was mentioned in a different group of tablets recovered from Tell ed-Der (Harris 1975:97). Lamassani, was a daughter of Ibni Amurru, and she held real estate in an extensive area around the site of Tell ed-Der.

This example shows the direct relations of the *naditus* with the temple estate (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:88-9). An instance of Lamassani as a buyer of a field was found in Ur-Utu Archive in Tell ed-Der (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:145).

5- An additional example of this class is Šuka-tum, a priestess of Shamash and Aja, who was a daughter of Iku-pisha. This woman's name appeared on a seal impression, found in the third level of building No. 2 (Figure 22). This seal also establishes her kinship with Iku-pisha (Baqir and Mustafa 1945:51), who held a high position at Tell ed-Der as a scribe of the area (Table 3).

From all the examples above, we can conclude that the *naditus* belonged to the most important families of Sippar and that this institution served the families living at both sites. These *naditus* and their families were rich enough to purchase big fields, and they supported trading ventures in the area. Since the *naditus* themselves lived at Abu-Habbah, there is much more evidence for this institution from that sites. Nerveless, even though we only have occasional references to the actions of the *naditus* from Tell ed-Der, their presence in the textual record from there shows that they were derived from both sites.

3.2 The Harbor

A city's trade was another issue that is related to economy. City-dwellers developed trade and commerce systems on account of their need to get materials that were unavailable in their area, and trade depended upon their surplus of local materials to trade for goods and services. For example, the city of Ur was a major center for commerce and trade, and the temple was a chief location for commercial activity. The trade system was an issue for both Sippars as well. To get a wider picture of that, I will discuss other

characteristics of the city, such as the harbor and workshop areas and whether or not they were parts of Tell ed-Der. Moreover, activities of these areas and their economic importance give us a perspective on the linkage between both Sippars.

The harbor area had access to road transportation by donkeys, which were available in ancient times, particularly in the southwest of Mesopotamia (Leemans 1960:4), together with water transport on rivers that were, and are still, more efficient for long distance business. A city harbor, which was situated near a river or a place within the city walls (Oppenheim 1964:112), was obviously a favored location for trading activities. Foreign trade with other lands via the watercourses was very important in Mesopotamia, and was one reason for the emergence of this civilization. For example, silver was one of the most essential objects for exchanging. It was mainly imported from Anatolia. It also served as money in southern Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian Period. It was obtained as payment for exports and was used to pay for imports. Other merchandise, such as cedar and other kinds of timber, was imported from Lebanon and other eastern cities (Leemans 1960:96). It is clear that all these trade activities were done via the harbor area, as water transport was the easiest mode of transportation within and beyond Mesopotamia. All these activities contributed to the city's economy.

Tell ed-Der and Abu-Habbah were linked to communities in other cities around them via the harbor area. Although the harbor area has not been discovered yet in either site, we have valuable relevant data from written documents. For example, at Abu-Habbah, two clay documents were found dating to the Old Babylonian period. These tablets record that Hammurabi built a new *kâru*¹³ at the Euphrates River (al-Jadir 1988:71-2).

¹³ An Akkadian name of the harbor district.

The favorable location of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der on the Euphrates River with some connections to the Tigris River provided good conditions for trade in different directions (Figure 19). A clay tablet mentions a harbor area called *kar-dutu^{ki}*, which means “the quay of Shamash.” This *kâru* was located on the Sippirîtu canal in the Sippar-Jahrurum area (Harris 1975:266; van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:9). Along this canal there were many businesses that traded with foreign countries, since transportation to and from Eshnunna and other cities in the north, was apparently done via this canal (Harris 1975:257-8).

Another link between both Sippars is related to merchants. One, a merchant called Ipiq-Annunitum, who was a helper of Idin-Sin (Leemans 1960:91), may originally have been a helper at Tell ed-Der, since his chief works were associated with the É-ulmash temple (van Lerberghe and Voet 1991:68). But his name also appears on another clay tablet found at Abu-Habbah (al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:93). The appearance of Ipiq-Annunitum at both sites as a name related to trade may suggest that long distance trade was shared between the two settlements.

It is clear that Abu-Habbah was important commercially. Its location on the Euphrates River and its control of ancient canals linked it with many cities in the south, and this was the reason why much trade was centered there. Although Tell ed-Der certainly was engaged in trade, it is not clear whether or not this was via the harbor, cited above, located at Abu-Habbah, or if it had its own harbor. Certainly, no harbor was identified through the geo-archaeological work that was conducted at Tell ed-Der.

3.3 Workshops

1- Pottery:

Large amounts of pottery were found at both sites, particularly at Abu-Habbah. According to the Iraqi excavations in area U-106 (Figure 12), they found a number of kilns and large quantities of different styles of pottery in one area, which were used for daily living (al-Jadir 1988:126). In addition, at (Sounding A) in Tell ed-Der, in one room, there was a big kiln about 100 cm in diameter, used for making pottery (de Meyer and Gasche 1970:107). Thus, not surprisingly, there is evidence for pottery workshops at both sites.

2- Wool and other textile products:

An important part of the Mesopotamian economy was the keeping of sheep for wool. This was a primary part of the ancient Mesopotamian economy. Thus, income sources were derived from the wool trade by weaving activities. These activities were more organized in the private households of the great societies (Oppenheim 1964:84). Abu Habbah was known as a center of the weaving industry in Babylonia in ancient times (Peek 1889:102). Written documentation presents evidence of wool transactions within the site, proving that these activities were common during the Old Babylonian Period. These records date to Ammi-ditana's reign (Harris 1975:49).

Although the remains of linen and other textiles were recovered from Tell ed-Der, dating to the Old Babylonian Period (Hundt 1984:١٣٥), it is not possible to be certain that they were made there. However, we would expect the weaving of cloth, like the manufacture of pottery, to have taken place throughout Sippar.

3- Cylinder Seals:

Cylinder seals were found at both sites, although more have been found at Abu-Habbah. The Old Babylonian cylinder seals can be divided into two groups of engraving styles. One group belonged to the pre-Hammurabi period, and the others were associated with the time after Hammurabi's rule (al-Gailani 1988:36-7). A similar style of engraving seals was also found on many tablets at Tell ed-Der, such as those related to the reign of Ammisaduqa (al-Gailani 1988:87-8). Also, at the Ur-Utu house there were a number of tablets bearing impressions of seal inscriptions. These data indicate that during the Old Babylonian period, cylinder seals from both Sippar sites share close stylistic qualities, suggesting that they came from the same workshops, although no evidence of the workshops themselves have been discovered at either Abu-Habbah or Tell ed-Der.

Thus, although everyday items seem to have been manufactured in all parts of the site, the stylistic data on the cylinder seals suggest that both sites shared the products of a single workshop.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to understand the relationship that existed between the settlements represented by Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der, and to investigate whether they represented one city or two cities. If they were conceived of as only one city, should we understand Tell ed-Der as a suburban area of Abu-Habbah?

On the basis of both archaeological and textual data, I conclude that both sites were part of a single city called Sippar, as is reflected in their names: Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnânum. However, the two parts were not equal. Nor can the difference between the two sites be ascribed to differences in chronology. Although Abu-Habbah had a longer history, both sites were important during the Old Babylonian Period, and it is to this period that their fortification walls are to be dated.

All of the evidence indicates that Abu Habbah served as the center of this urban complex. It was at Abu Habbah that the dwelling of the Sun God, one of the main deities in the Mesopotamian pantheon, was located. Even today, its large sanctuary and ziggurat are major features within the landscape. The significance of this temple is made clear by the important monuments kept for centuries in its temple courtyard, including the Hammurabi stele with his law code. No comparable religious area has been found at Tell ed-Der, and its temple is not included in the extensive list of temples included in the Code of Hammurabi.

It was also at Abu-Habbah that the *gagum* was located, the place occupied by the *naditus*, high class women, dedicated to the god Shamash, and free to engage in

commercial relations. Occupants of the *gagum* were drawn from both Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der.

Tell ed-Der also had a main deity, the goddess Annunitum, and both sites had more minor temples dedicated to other gods. However, a comparison of naming practices between Tell ed-Der and Abu-Habbah demonstrate that Shamash, was the most important deity at both sites, and was not eclipsed by Annunitum at Tell ed-Der.

Although our data shows that the major important institutions like the temple and the cloister (*gagum*) were located at Abu-Habbah, evidence for workshop areas have been found at both sites. These include workshops for pottery, cylinder seals and wool. Other suburban areas, like Diqqiqah outside Ur, were specialized areas.

Although the two sites were physically separate, they are closer together than any other two Mesopotamian cities and shared a single irrigation system. Archaeological and geomorphological investigations have showed that at least part of the area between the two tells was occupied, at least in the Old Babylonian period.

The large scale occupation during the Old Akkadian Period was another connection between them. According to other historical information, the goddess Ishtar, the main deity of Akkad, was known as the goddess Annunitum in Tell ed-Der; therefore, Tell ed-Der was an important site during that time, and during later periods.

To sum up, a preponderance of the evidence suggests that the two archaeological sites of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der were conceived of as part of a single city of Sippar, at least in the Old Babylonian period. This does not mean, however, that they did not play different roles, with Abu-Habbah being more important in religion, and Tell ed-Der focusing on manufacture.

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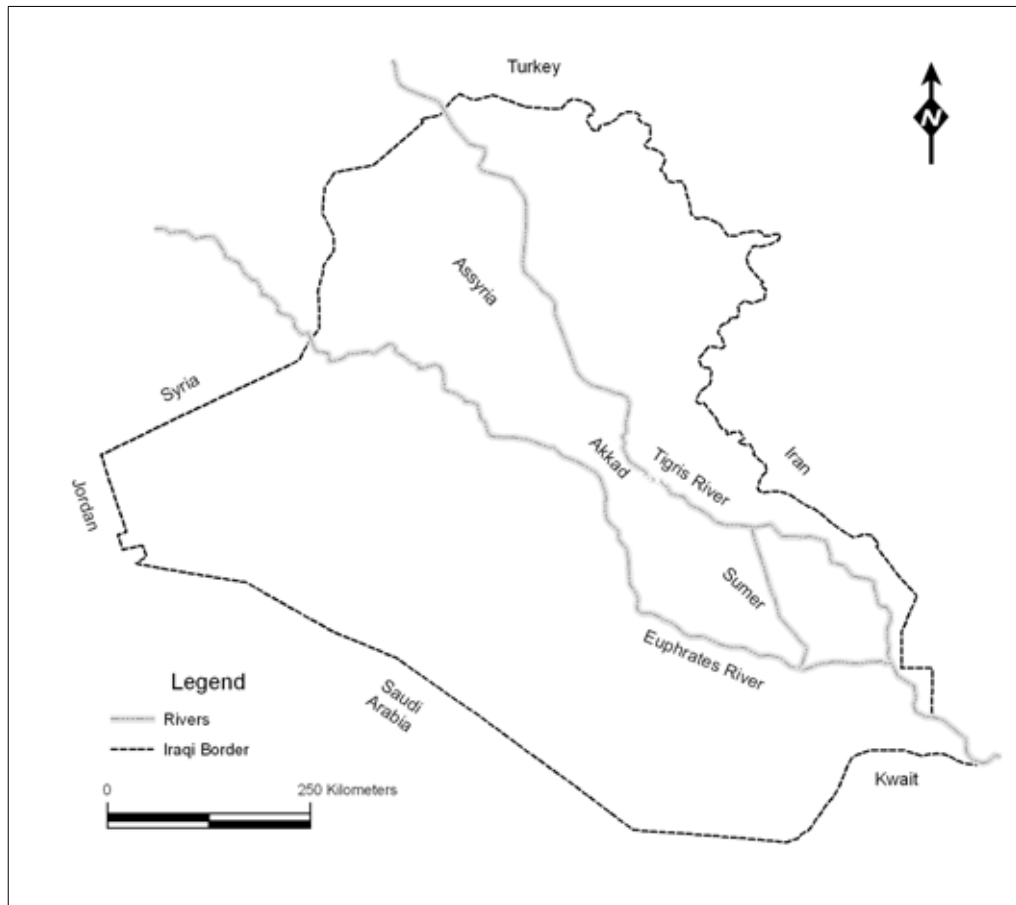


Figure 1. Map showing the ancient states of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Akkad, and Sumer. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

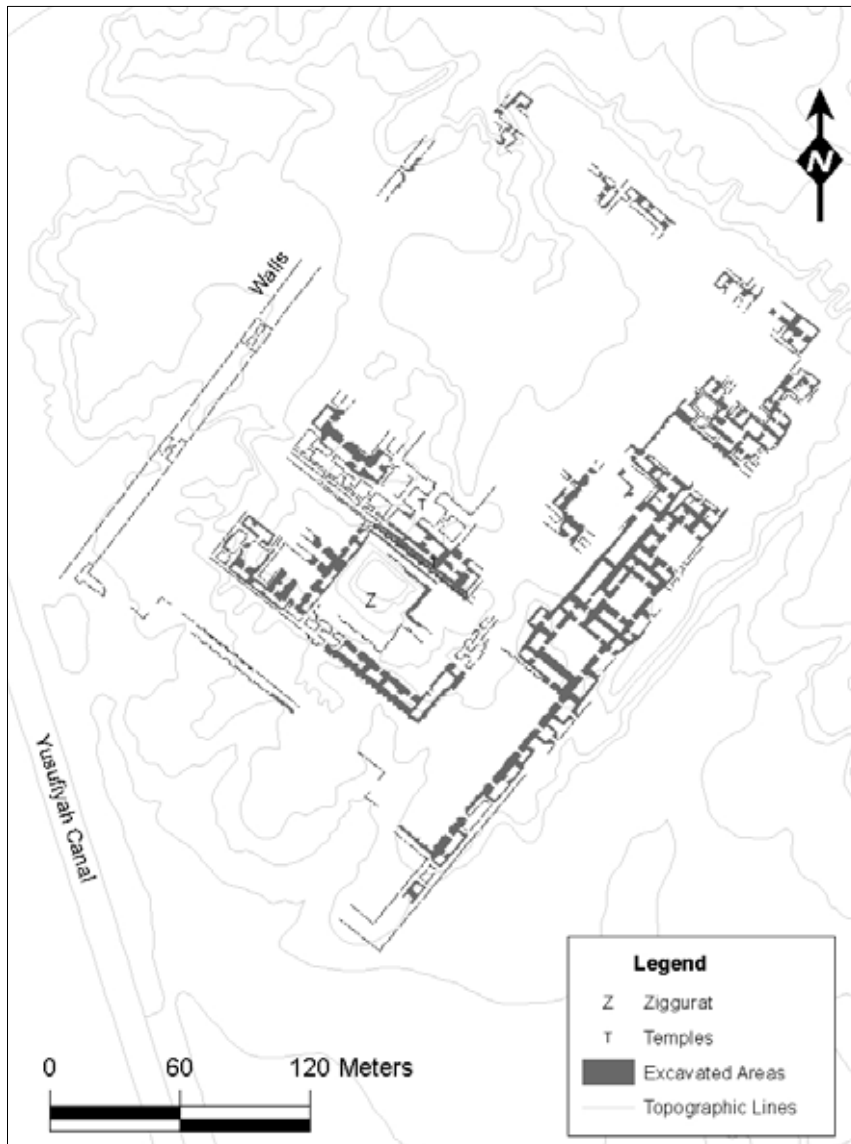


Figure 2. A map depicting the sanctuary area of Tell Abu-Habbah, which covered the biggest spot of the Tell, about 8.3 hectares. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

	Head	Hand	Foot	Fish	Bird	Reed
Archaic c. 3500						
UR II, c. 2500						
Old Babylonian c. 1800						
Middle Assyrian c. 1100						
Neo- Assyrian c. 750						
Neo- Babylonian c. 600						
Sumerian	SAG	SHU	DU, GIN GUB, TUM	HA	NAM	GI
Akkadian	sak, sag shak, rish, ris	shu qad, qat	du, tu kub, gub qub	ha	nam sim	gi, ge ki, ke qi, qe

Figure 3. An example of different types of Cuneiform writings (Roux 1992:74).

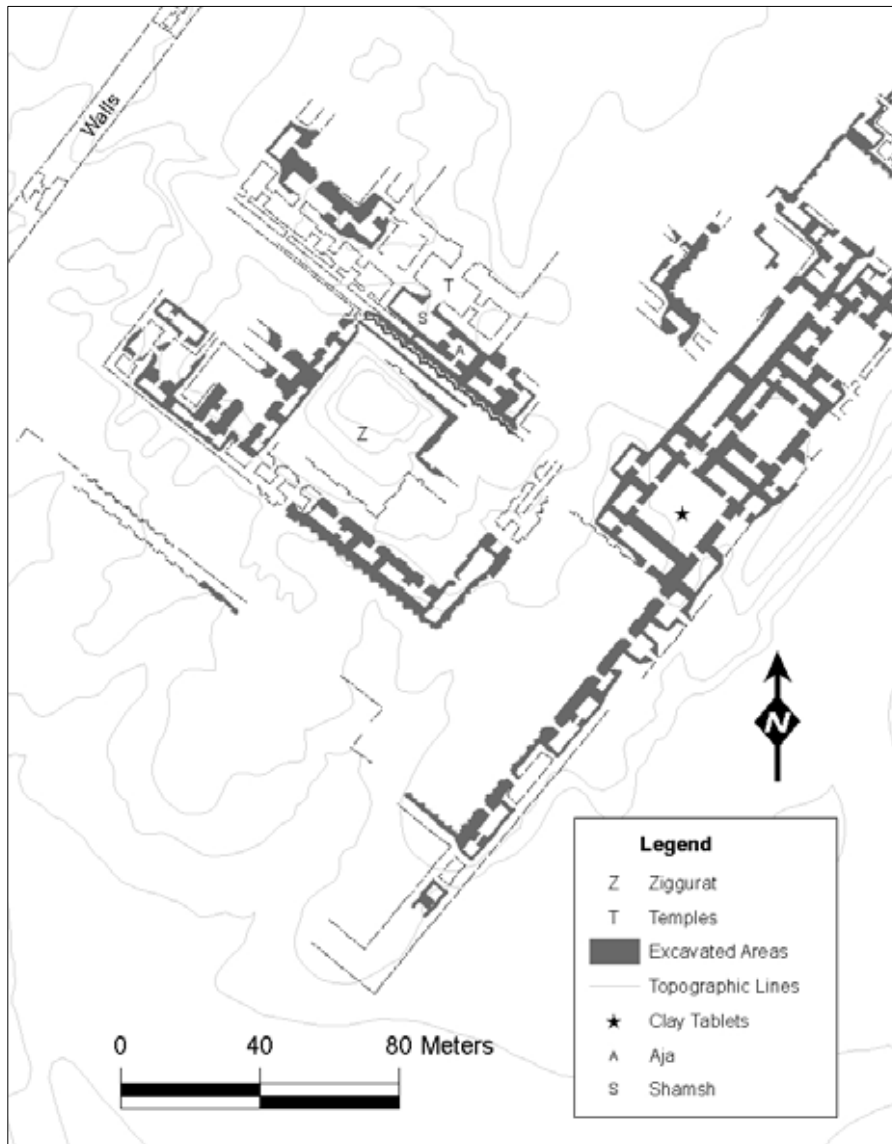


Figure 4. A map showing the temple area (Shamash and Aja/Aya), the ziggurat, and a room of many clay tablets.
Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

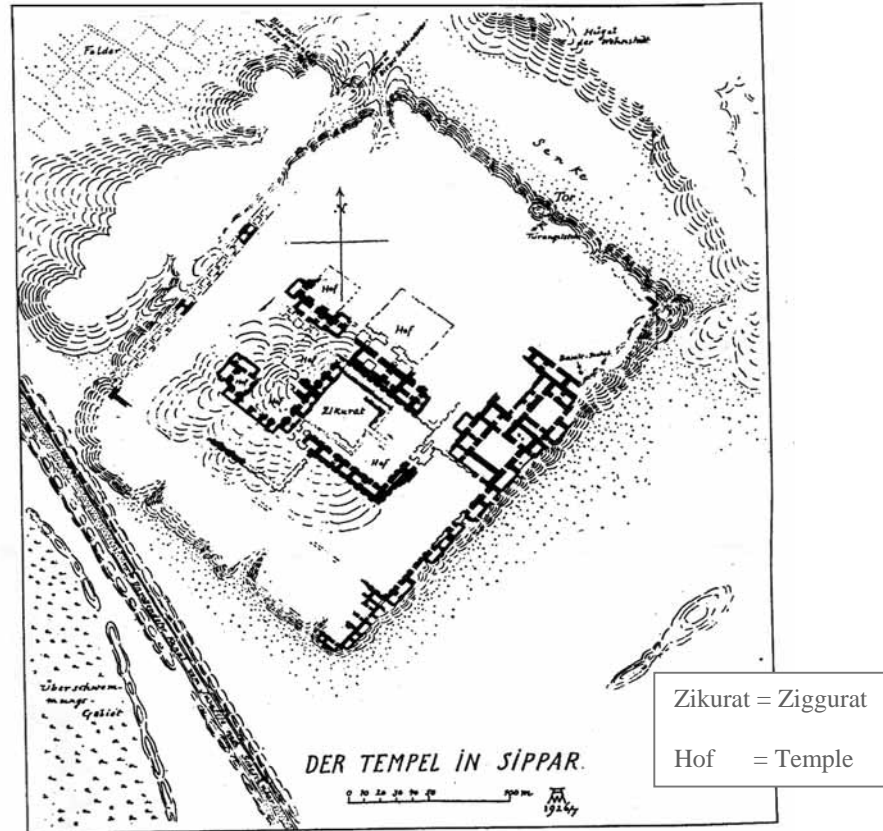


Figure 5. The sanctuary of Abu Habbah (Andrae and Jordan 1934:52). This illustrates three temples. One adjacent to the ziggurat, the other two lay to the northeast side of the ziggurat.

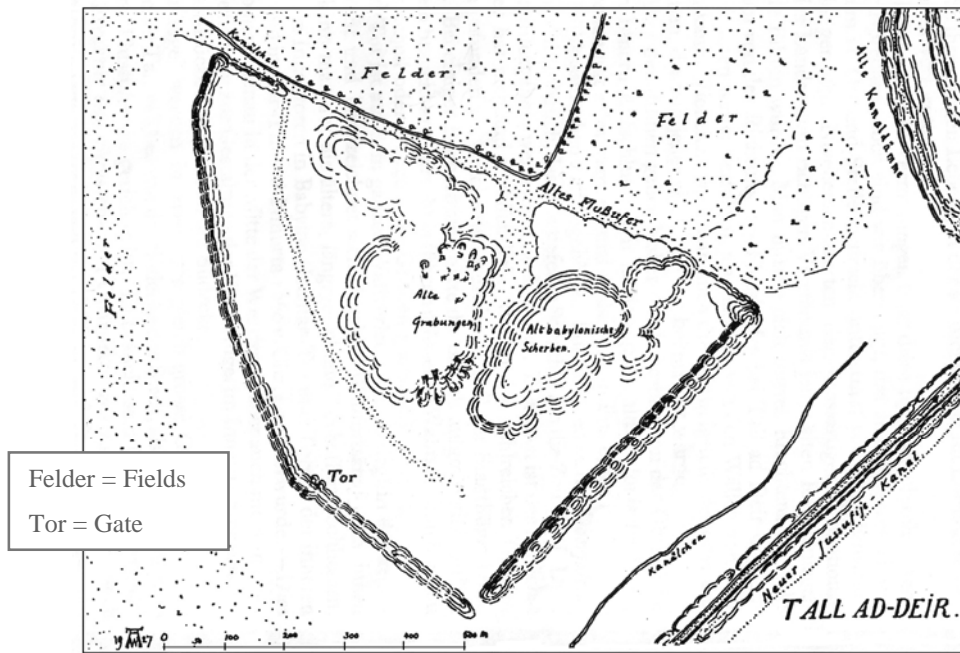


Figure 6. Tell ed-Der site. A map presenting the gate of the city according to Andrae's hypothesis (Andrae and Jordan 1934:57).



Figure 7. A topographic map of Tell ed-Der, a suburb area of Tell Abu-Habbah. It shows the excavated works of both the Iraqi and Belgian teams. The total size of the site is about 51 hectares.
Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

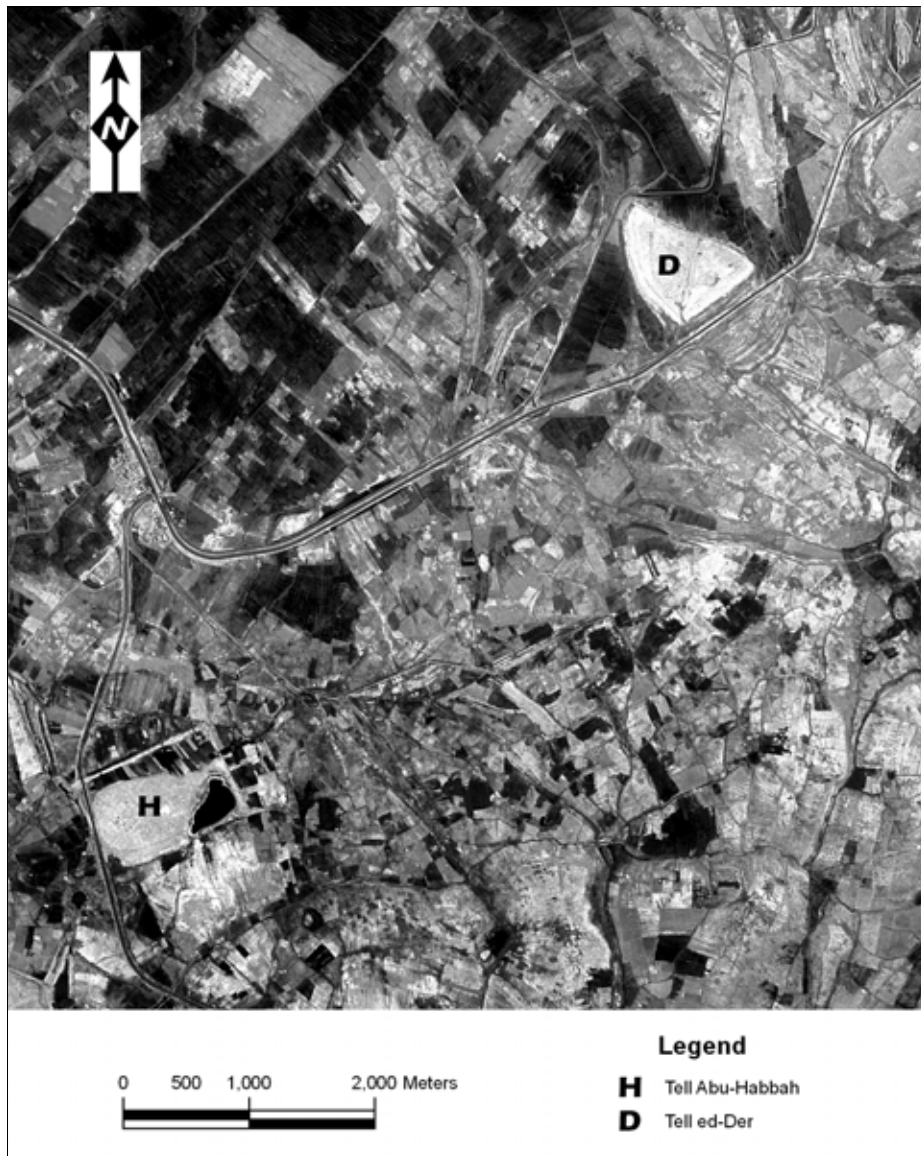


Figure 8. CORONA 1968 satellite image of the study site. This image shows both Sippars Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

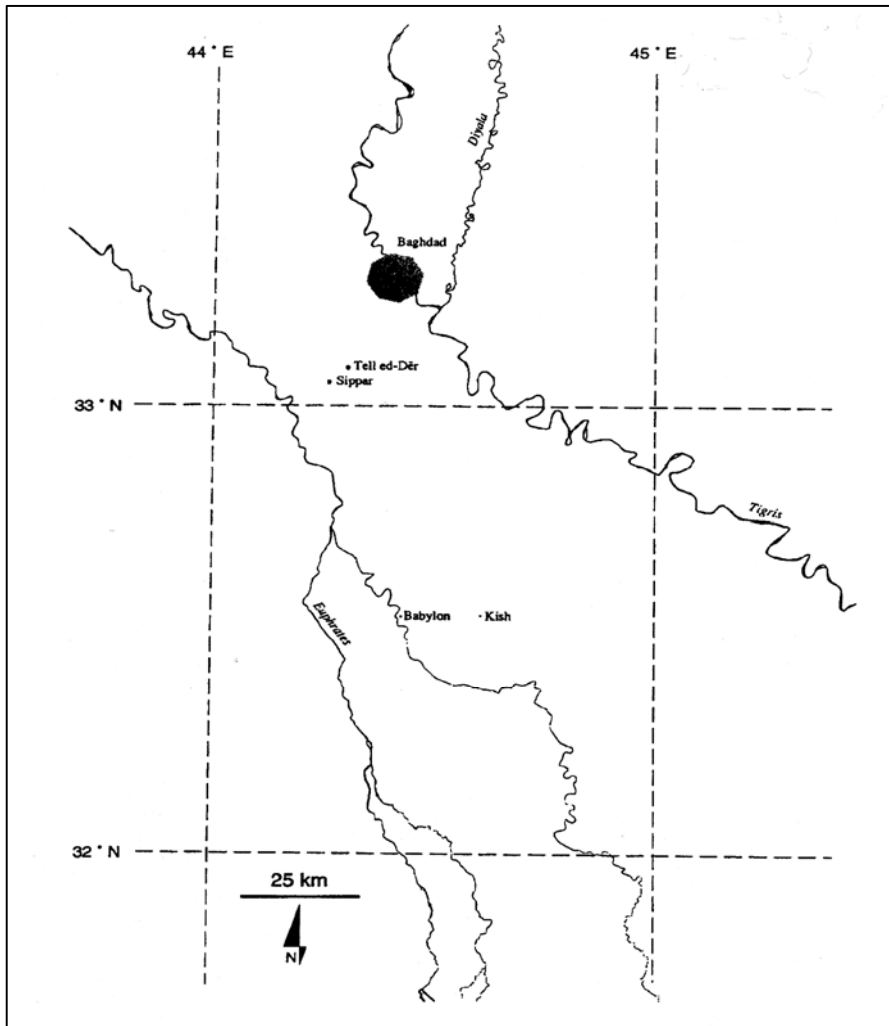


Figure 9. Map of Mesopotamia showing the location of both Sippars (de Graef 2002:145).

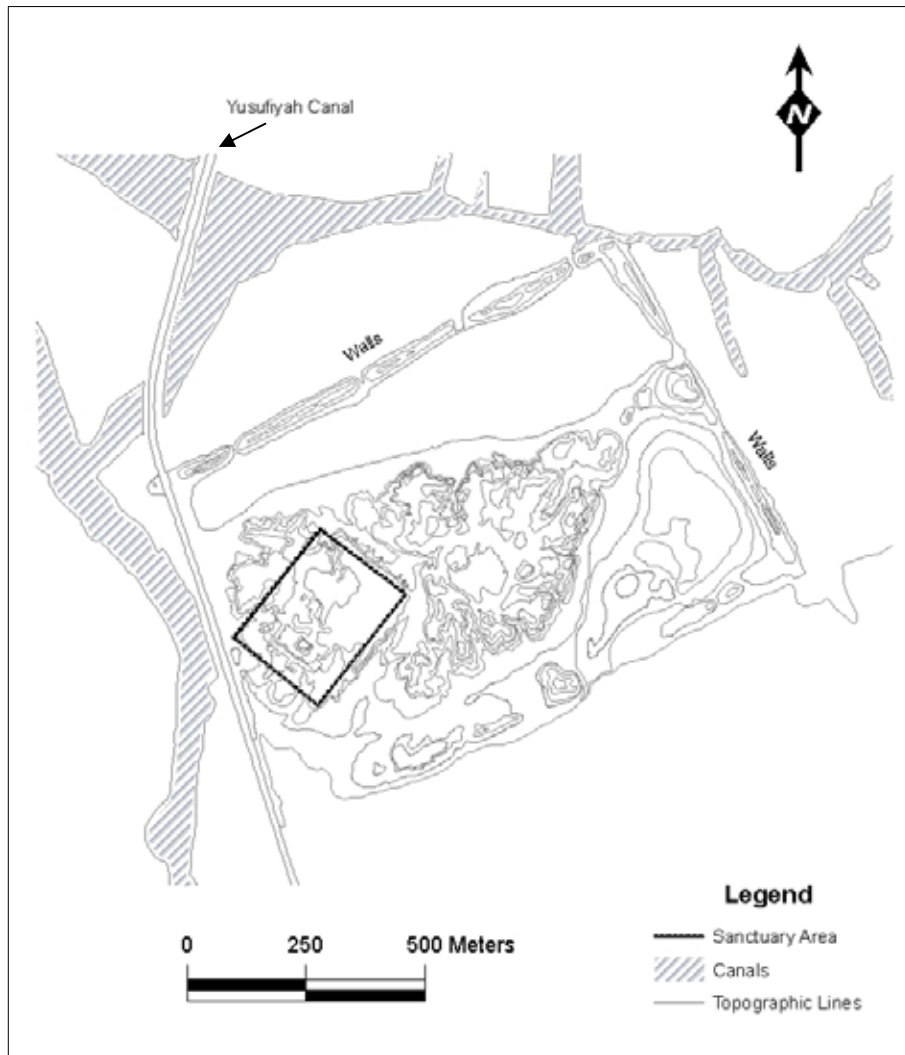


Figure 10. A topographic map of Tell Abu-Habbah, with an indication of the temple area, walled city, and canals. The total size of the site is about 96 hectares. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

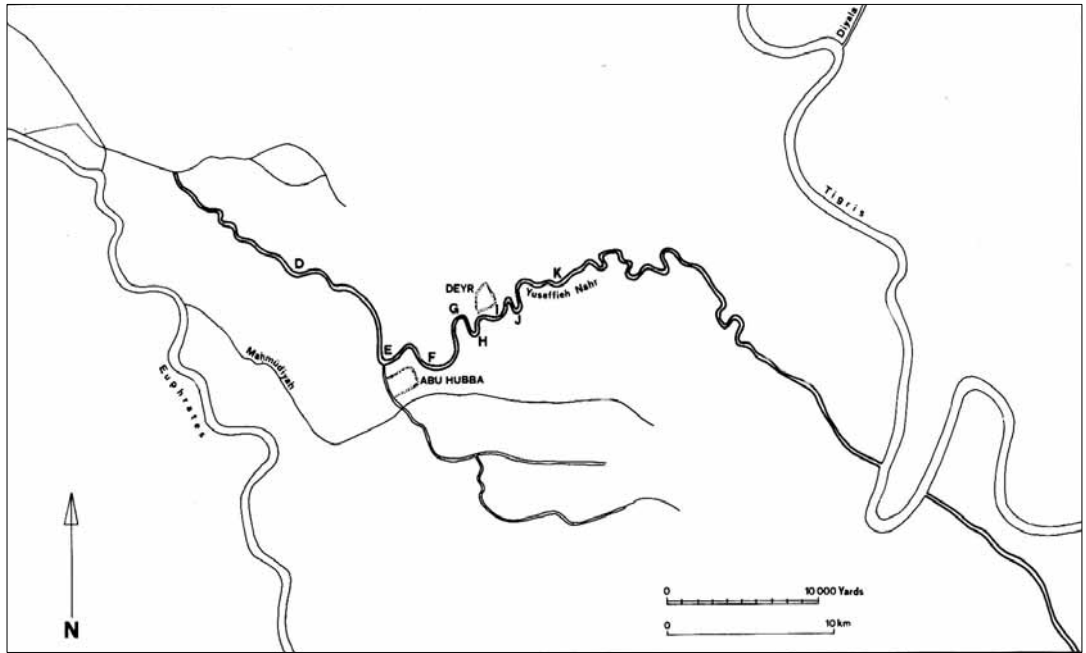


Figure 11. A map showing the location of Tell de-Der and Abu Habbah on the Yusufiyah and Mahmudiyah canals. They are branches of the Euphrates River (modified from Gasche and Meyer 1980:9).

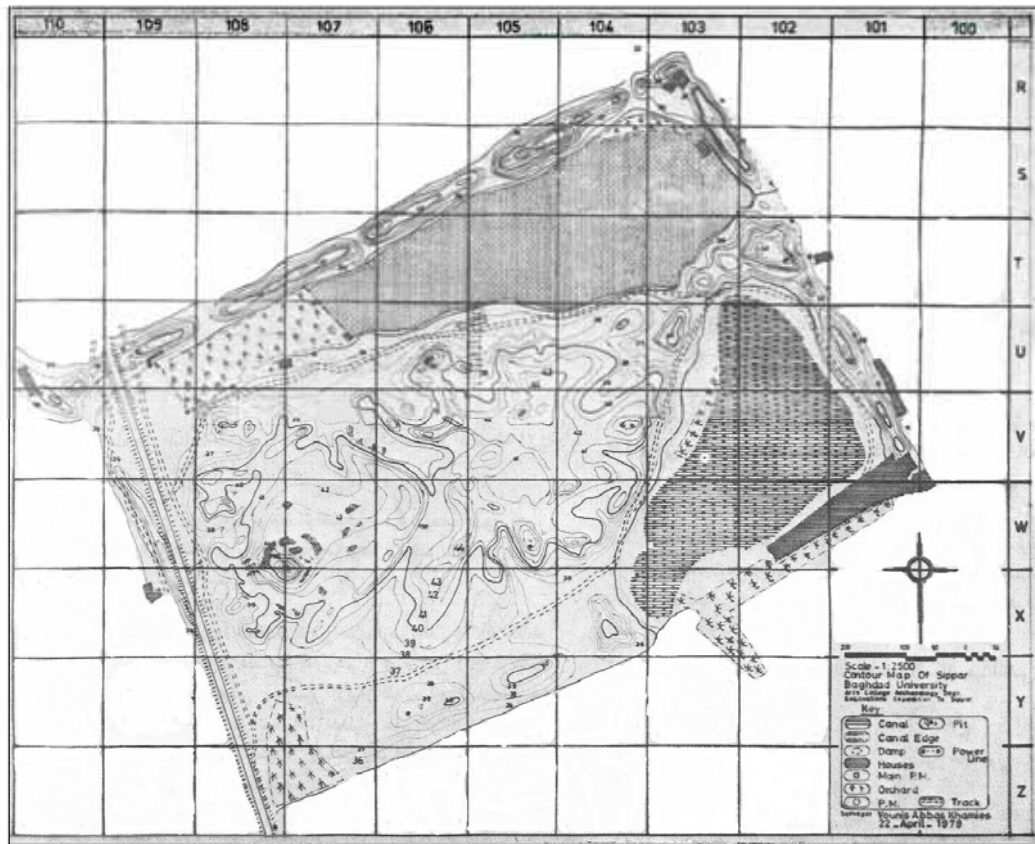


Figure 12. Baghdad University's Excavations at Abu Habbah in 1979, drawn by Younis Abbas Khamiss (al-Jadir and Abdullah 1983:102).



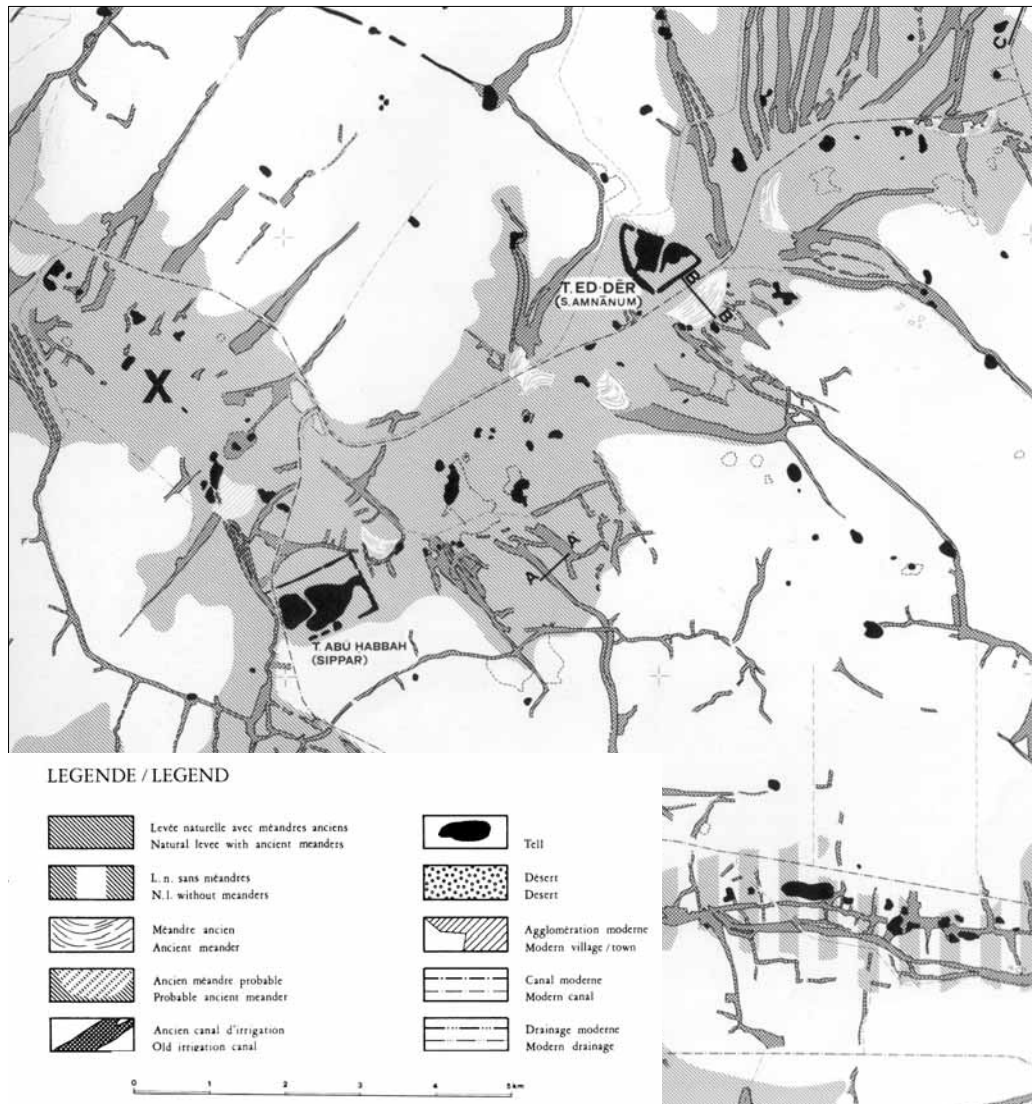


Figure 14. A map shows the sediment of an ancient drainage, on the area between two sites, Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der (modified from Gasche 1989: Plan 7).



Figure 15. CORONA 1968 satellite image of the study site. It shows the fossil meander of an ancient canal, located on the eastern side of Tell ed-Der. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

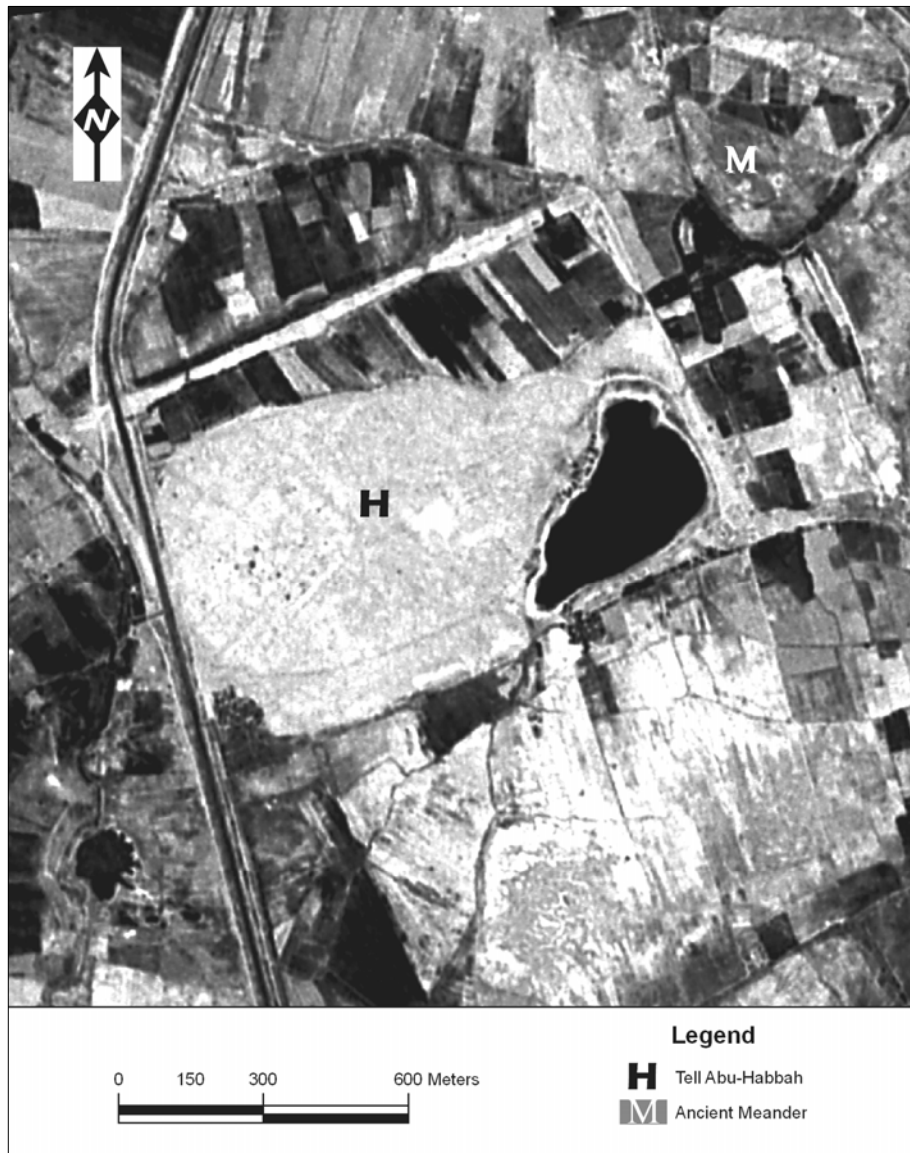


Figure 16. CORONA 1968 satellite image of the study site. It shows the fossil meander of an ancient canal, located northeast of Tell Abu-Habbah. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

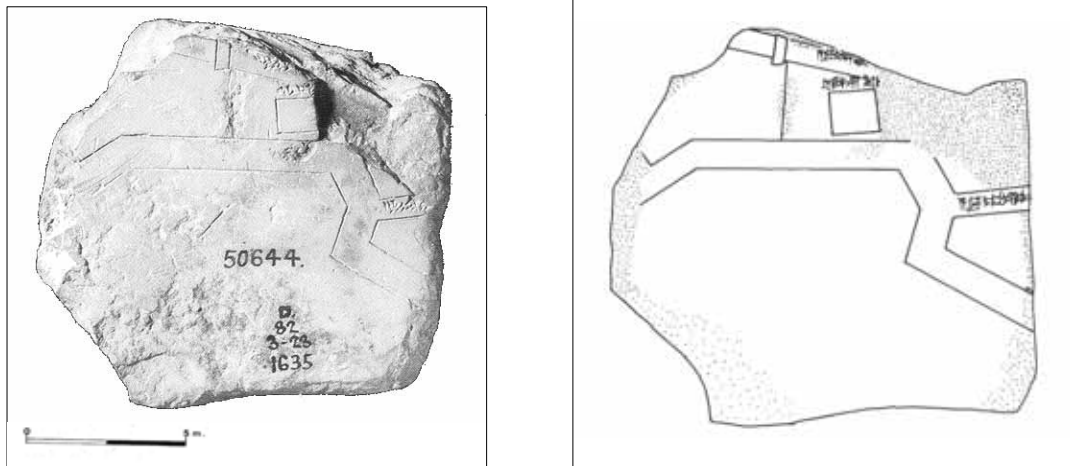


Figure 17. A piece of clay tablet (the original and drawing) indicates the position of Sippar adjacent to the Euphrates River, and mentions the Sippar-Jahrurum city. The second picture is based on (Gasche and Meyer 1980:6).

The inscription which was shown on the piece above says:

^{id}UD.KIB.NUN. = The Euphrates River

UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} = Sippar

^{id}Tap-pi-iš-tum = Tapishtum canal (al-Jadir 1988:23)

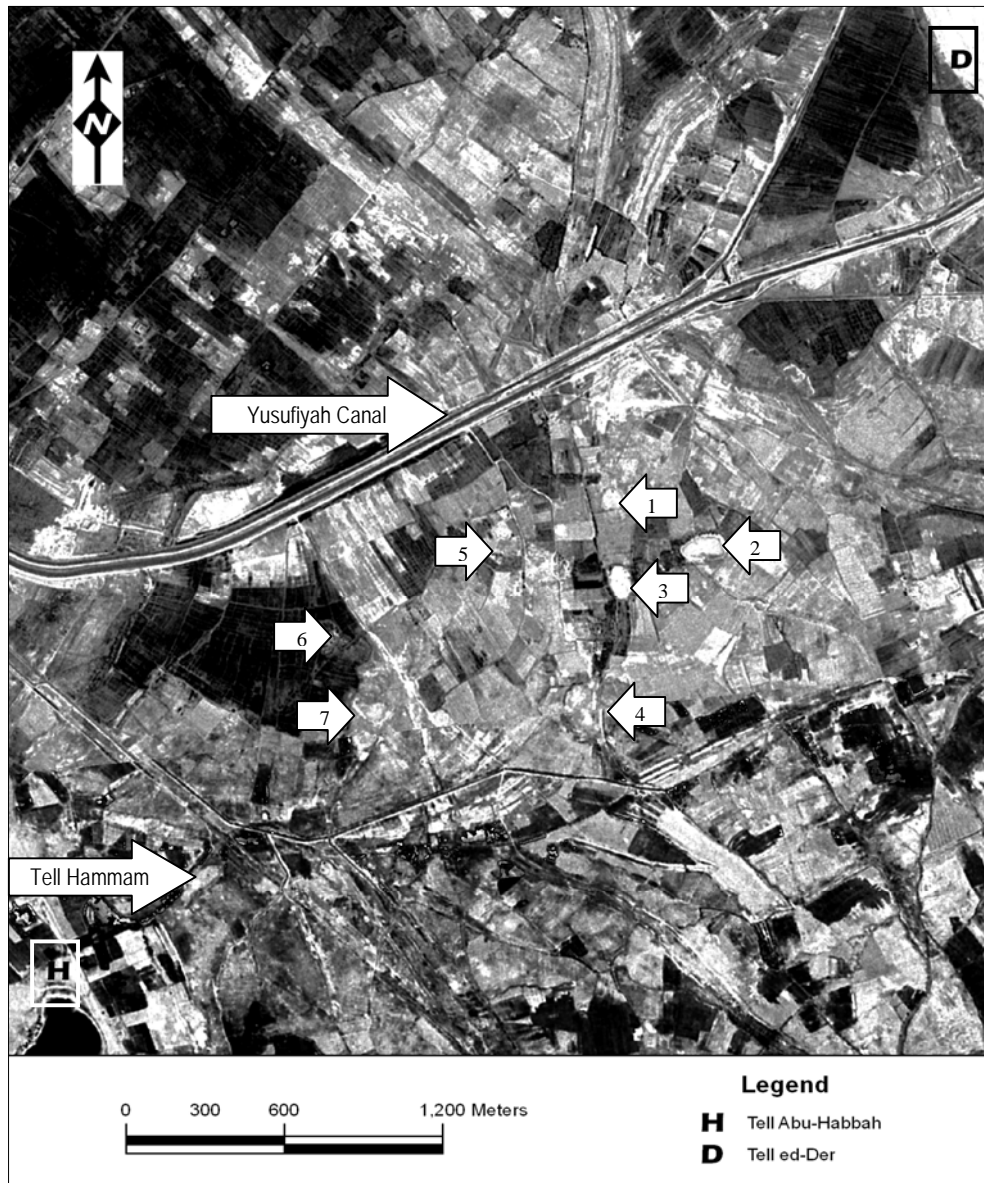


Figure 18. CORONA 1968 satellite image of the study site. It pictures some ancient settlements between the two Sippars, Tulul Gawan (which is divided into seven tells), and Tell Hammam lies nearby the Tell Abu-Habbah site. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

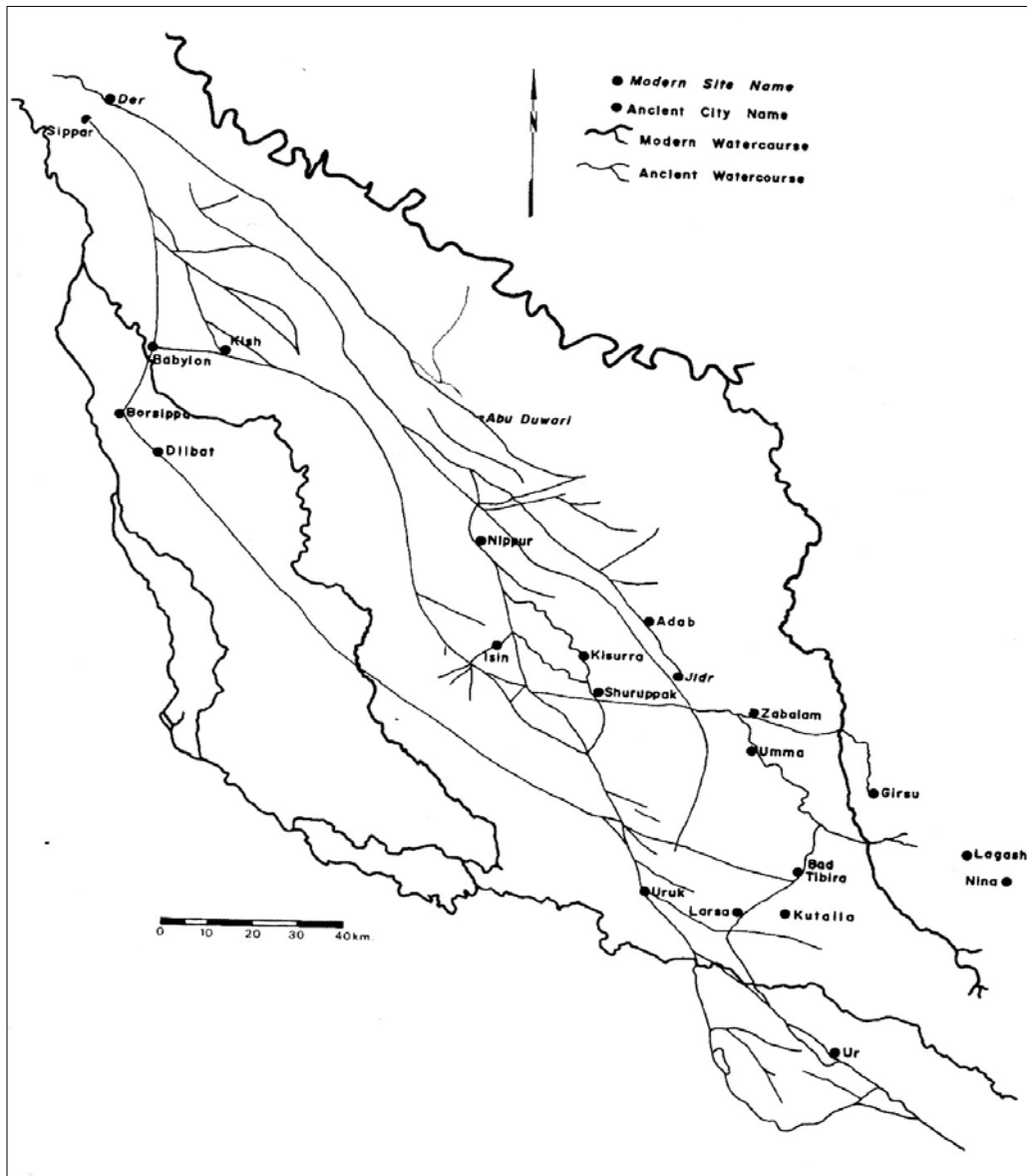


Figure 19. A map showing how both Sipparas controlled the water courses in ancient times. Their locations are affected by the emergence of the trade business (Stone 1990:145).

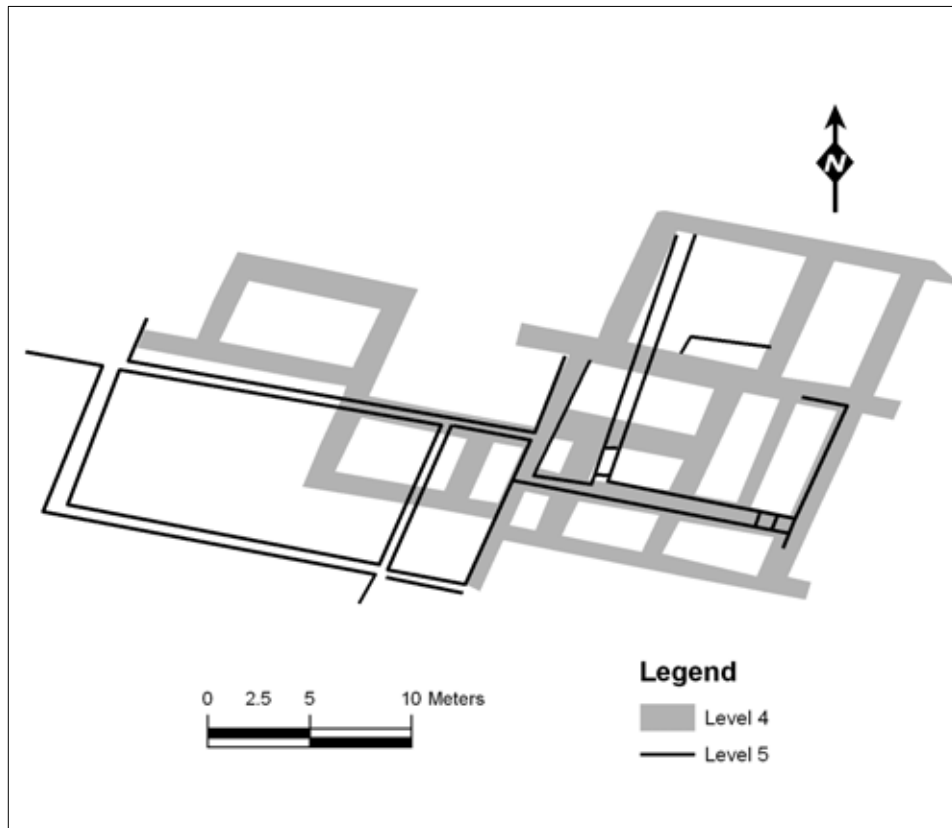


Figure 20. A plan of the area No.2 at Tell ed-Der. Level 4 represents the Gutian occupation. Level 5 belongs to the Akkadian Period. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

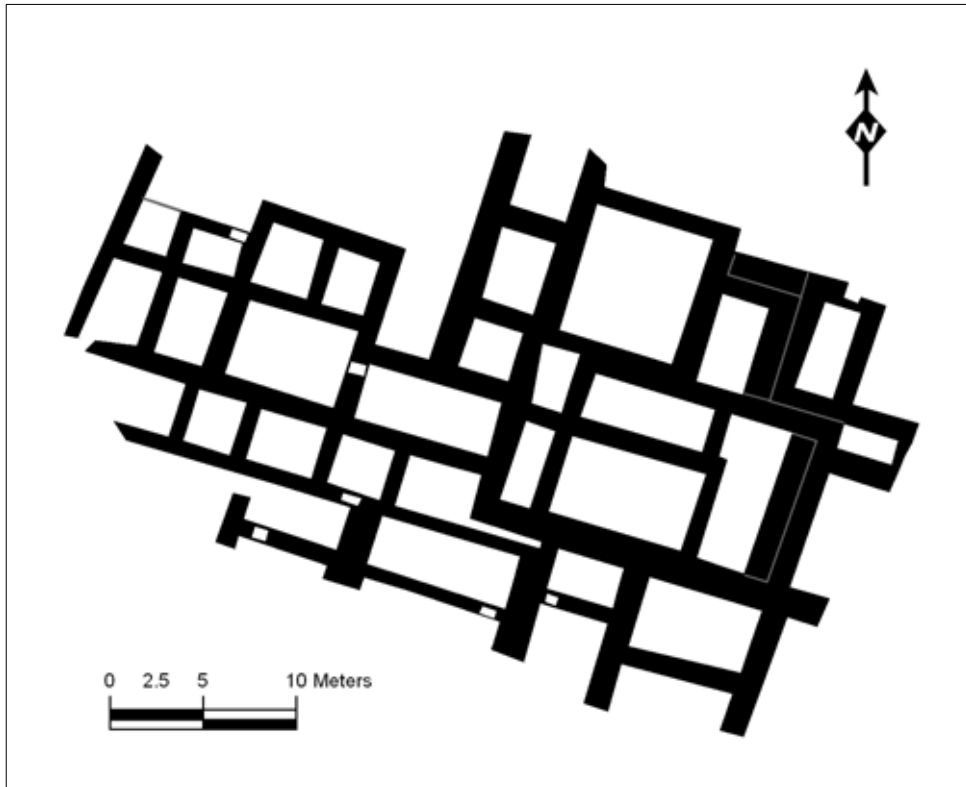


Figure 21. A plan for a house located in area No. 2 Level 2 at Tell ed-Der. In this structure, the Iraqi team found evidences belonging to the Old Babylonian Period. Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

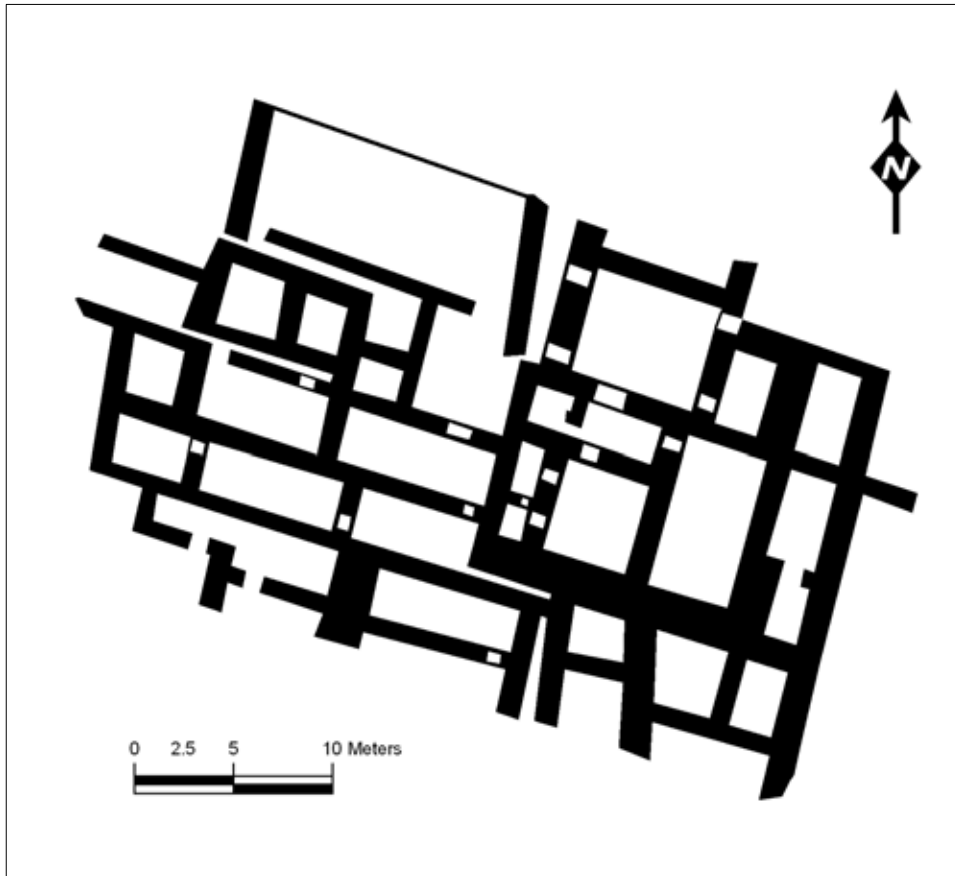


Figure 22. A plan for a house located in area No.2 Level 3. It dates to the Old Babylonian period In one of these rooms, there were many clay tablets of Iku-pisha, one of the important people at Tell ed-Der.
Grid Coordinates UTM 38N WGS 1984.

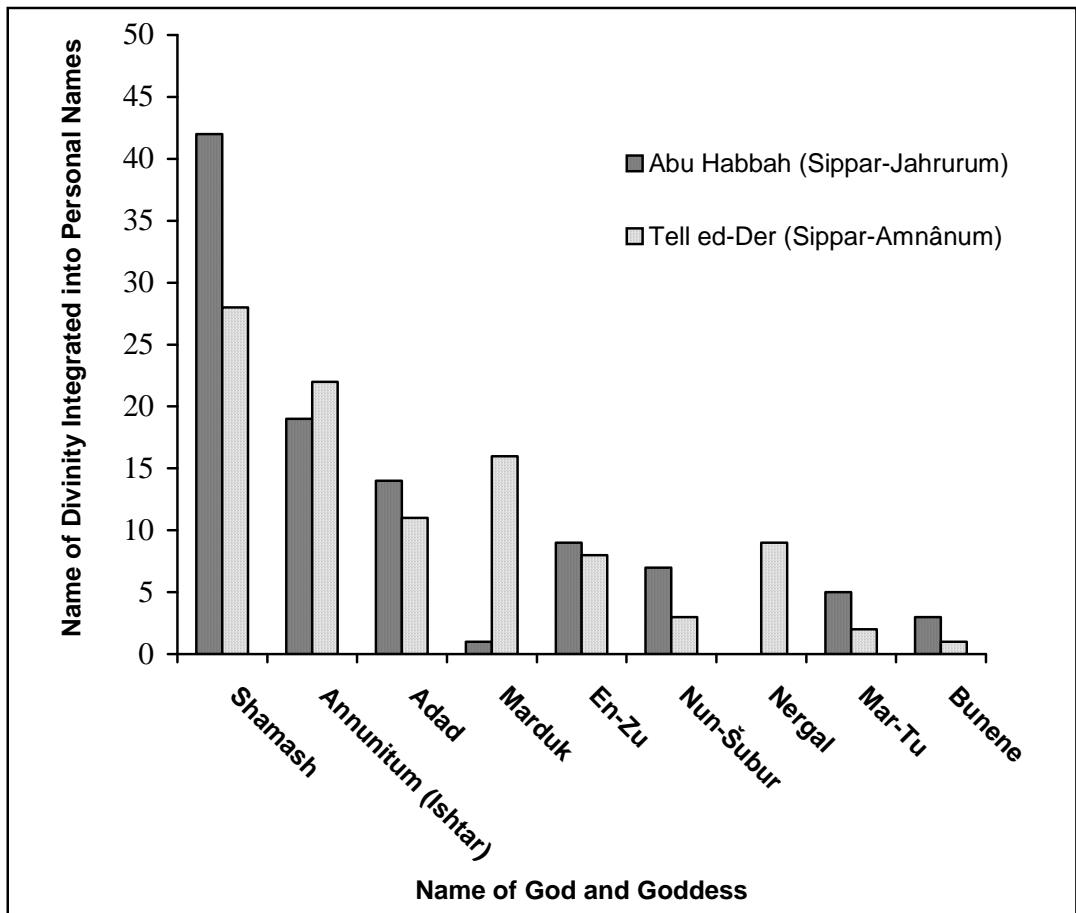


Figure 23. Percentages of the divinities at both Sippars (Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der).

Table 1. Time period classification for Southern Mesopotamia.

Period	Date
Halaf/Ubaid	5000-4000 BC
Early Uruk Late Uruk	4000-3400 BC 3400-3200 BC
Jemdet Nasr	3200-3000 BC
Early Dynastic I } Early Dynastic II } Early Dynastic III }	The Sumerian Empire 3000-2750 BC 2750-2600 BC 2600-2350 BC
The Akkadian Dynasty	2350-2150 BC
3 rd Dynasty of Ur	2150-2000 BC
Isin- Larsa Dynasties } 1 st Dynasty of Babylon }	The Old Babylonian 2000-1800 BC 1800-1600 BC
Middle Babylonian	1600-1000 BC
Late Babylonian	1000-750 BC
Assyrian Domination	750-600 BC
Neo Babylonian	600-300 BC

Table 2. Chronological list of the kings of Tell Abu-Habbah and Tell ed-Der. It shows the king's name related with the Old Babylonian Period. The period dates are based on (Oppenheim 1964:337).

Kings Names	Year BC	Tell Abu-Habbah	Tell ed-Der
Enmenduranna	?	Local Ruler	None Known
Illummaila	?	“	“
Immerum	?	“	“
Buntah-tunila	?	“	“
Sumuabum	1894-1881	Ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon at both sites	
Sumulael or Sumulailum	1880-1845	“	
Sabium or Zabum	1844-1831	“	
Apil-Sin	1830-1813	“	
Sin-muballit	1812-1793	“	
Hammurabi	1792-1750	“	
Samsuiluna	1749-1712	“	
Abi-ešuh	1711-1684	“	
Ammiditana	1683-1647	“	
Ammisaduqa	1646-1626	“	

Table 3. Some important names from Tell Abu Habbah and Tell ed-Der. Most were private names of merchants and rich people; others were related with professional women, the *naditu*. Again, this table is organized based on various clay tablets that were used in doing this study. It does not present all of the personal names for both sites, because there are other names referring to different activities which I did not use here. Therefore, this table lists some personal names according to my study data to show some kinds of relationships between the two sites.

Descriptions	Names	Tell Abu Habbah	Tell ed- Der
Some Personal Names	Anum-pisha	/	Archive
	Iku-pisha	/	Archive
	Iluš-ibni	Chairman	/
	Ur-Utu		Archive
Names Related With Trade	Ibni-Tishpak	A merchant of Eshnunna	/
	Ipiq-Annunitum	A helper for a merchant at both sites	
Servants Of Gods	Aja-tallik and Aja-rešat	<i>Naditu</i> Shamash	/
	Iltani	<i>Naditu</i> Shamash	/
	Lamassi	<i>Naditu</i> Shamash	/
	Lamassani	/	<i>Naditu</i> Shamash
	Šuka-tum	/	A Priestess