HARRAN

By SETON LLOYD and WILLIAM BRICE

with a note

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I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE GREAT INTEREST and importance attaching to the ruins of Harran, particularly in relation to the city's age-old association with the Mesopotamian moon-cult, has never been in doubt. The remarkable degree to which, during the past generation, they have escaped the attention of archaeologists has been due entirely to their geographical inaccessibility. So many references to Harran, either under its own name or in the classical guise of Carrhae, occur throughout the length of Mesopotamian, Roman and mediaeval Arab literature, that it has acquired a strong historical personality, almost without reference to its material remains.

In fact, the few and brief investigations of the site so far accomplished by archaeological explorers, have failed to throw any light whatsoever on the outstandingly important matter of local topography in relation to the several religious shrines for which the city was famous during nearly three millennia. In the middle of the last century, it was successively visited by members of Chesney's Euphrates Expedition[1] and the English missionary, G. P. Badger.[2] In the year 1879 Sachau had sketched the shape of the ruins and commented briefly on the architectural remains,[3] dating mostly from the Middle Ages. Preusser, shortly before the first World War, made a rapid but characteristically accurate survey of the enceinte,[4] and Creswell more recently surveyed the remains of the Great Mosque[5] and criticised the observations of Gertrude Bell[6] and Strzygowski[7] on its architectural details. The castle had meanwhile been noticed and photographed by T. E. Lawrence.[8] Yet not one of these scholars was encouraged to seek on the site for traces of those earlier buildings to whose location literary references are so frequent, and not always obscure. Meanwhile, with the recent improvement in communications and general freedom of movement in Turkey, the district in which Harran is situated has become

[1] R. C. Chesney, *An Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*, London 1850, Vol. I, p. 115.

[2] *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, London 1852.

[3] E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 220.

[4] Conrad Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, p. 59.

[5] K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 406.

[6] G. L. Bell, *The Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*, p. 152.

[7] J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 321.

[8] *Oriental Assembly*, pp. 12 ff.

more accessible ; and it was partly with the intention of repairing this very omission that a new survey of the site and neighbourhood was planned in the summer of 1950. At the same time, it was decided to make a new and more detailed plan of the site, to record architectural remains which have not yet received attention, and to copy inscriptions.

The survey was begun on 9th July and lasted rather more than three weeks. We were kindly accommodated in the school-building at the modern village of Harran, and for this courtesy and much other generous assistance we have to thank the local Turkish authorities, in particular Bay Avni Günyal, the Director of Public Instruction at Urfa.

II. Summary of Results.

The new site-plan (Fig. 3) was made to a large scale and with considerable attention to detail ; so that it may now safely be said that very little, if any, further archaeological evidence can be recorded without excavation.

The whole town area is enclosed by a stone *city-wall*, which survives in a ruinous state, with its principal gateways still recognisable. Beyond it, to the north, east and west, there are the remains of considerable suburbs. The earliest occupation of the site is clearly represented by the great mound which is located approximately in the centre of the city, and rises another twenty metres above it. It is on the flanks of this mound that the only traces are to be found of any pre-Christian occupation, in the form of a few Greek and Assyrian potsherds. For the rest, the prevailing character of the visible ruins is Islamic, though architectural fragments dating from earlier periods are everywhere to be found in secondary use.

Over the Aleppo Gate on the west side of the city, whose upper structure remains almost intact, there is an inscription giving the date H.588 (A.D. 1192)[1] which was the last year before the death of Salah-ad-Dîn al Ayubi. But the gate itself is a decorative affair, with no provision for defence, and indeed the whole of the walls as they survive today, with a thickness of hardly more than three metres, can have afforded little military protection.[2] Evidence obtained from our study of the castle, in fact, suggests that their defensive function was abandoned about the middle of the eleventh century.

The *Great Mosque*, or *Jami'-al-Firdaus*, as it is called locally, has been dealt with at length in the commentary which accompanies Creswell's recording of the ruins, and only isolated points remain to be covered. One of these was the inscription on the wall to the right of the east doorway, in which Sachau thought that he had detected the name of Salah-ad-Dîn. Creswell was unable to locate this inscription, and imagined it to have fallen ; but we now again found it exposed, and were able to take a squeeze. It proves that the Ayubid ruler was called by the fuller form of

[1] Creswell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 408.

[2] Compare Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

his name, *Salāḥ-ad-Dunya-wa-ad-Dîn*, of which the last three syllables are now obliterated. Another inscription in the relieving-arch of the east doorway was copied for the first time, and most of the architectural detail was photographed. A subsidence of the paving inside the *sahn* of the mosque had revealed stone vaulted chambers beneath, and these were fixed on Creswell's plan. A fragment of an important inscription, which we found in the ruins of a neighbouring building, partly defaced by the peasants, was said by them to have previously contained the name of the Caliph, Marwân II, who was already suspected of having contributed something to the building of the mosque.[1]

Among the public buildings which we were able to identify during the course of the survey, were the ruins of a large, three-aisled *basilican church*. The effects of earthquakes and stone-quarrying activities in the past, have left hardly more than a litter of fallen stones ; but, from the few isolated fragments of masonry which remained in place, we have been able tentatively to reconstruct the plan, while from a careful study of fallen architectural fragments, such as voussoirs and beam-lodgements, something has been learnt about the appearance of the building. Some interest is leant to the discovery of this building by a passage from an-Nadim, in which he mentions " The Church of the Greeks " as one of the institutions for whose destruction the Sabian priests were said to have prayed (p. 91).

The *castle*, which has till now never been recorded, must be regarded as one of the major fortifications of the Islamic period. Its ruins were completely planned and studied, four principal building-periods being clearly distinguished. A very early date was suggested for the original foundation, by the discovery of a primitive gateway on the south-east side, whose flanking towers had once been faced with basalt slabs. Between these towers was found a fragment of a basalt portal-lion, apparently of Hittite workmanship (Plate IX, 3). Three further building-periods appear to be datable to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. A relic of the Crusader occupation, during the Countship of Edessa, was a fine ornamental archway discovered in one of the inner chambers (Plate X, 2).

The *topography* of the site itself and of the surrounding district was investigated in detail and will be described at length, in relation to the references in literature of all periods.

Since, during the second half of the first millennium A.D., the traditional religious cult of Harran is recognisable in the moon-worship of the Sabians, it is perhaps not unreasonable to expect that the topographical references in Arabic literature to Sabian places of worship might throw some light on the famous Assyrian temple of Sin. Unfortunately, the evident multiplication of these shrines in Sabian times makes the allusions to them obscure, and sometimes even contradictory. References to a temple or prayer-house on a hill, in some way associated with the Patriarch

[1] The building of the mosque is generally attributed to the 'Umayyad period, and the city is known to have been a favourite residence of Marwân II.

Abraham, might point to a site on the central mound, where local tradition still locates the home of Ibrahim-al-Khalil. Yet one writer definitely identifies the moon-temple with the castle. Others refer to shrines clearly situated some distance from the city. One of these, known as "Deir Kadhi" is repeatedly described as a place of worship to which pilgrimages were made; and this place we were able to identify, by the survival of its traditional name as the site called 'Ain-al-'Arus, at the source of the Balikh river.

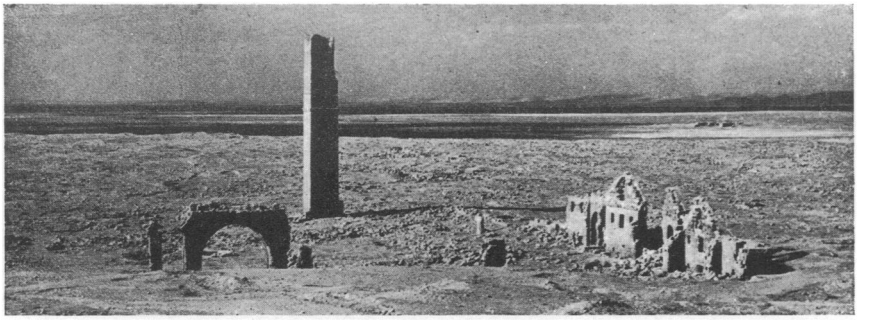
Another outlying village, having similar associations with the moon-cult, proved of even greater interest. This was *Aşağı Yarimca*, a modern village beside a high mound and an open pool of water, situated about four miles from Harran, on what may have been the old road to Edessa. It would thus correspond to the situation of the moon-temple visited by the Emperor Caracalla shortly before his assassination; and indeed it was here that in 1949, the discovery of a stele, bearing the emblem of the god Sin and a cuneiform inscription (Plate X, 3), led to the recognition of a very large stone building, apparently of the Assyrian period, just beneath the surface. A sounding was subsequently made at this site by Bay Nuri Gökçe, Director of the Hittite Museum in Ankara, and a plan for collaboration with this scholar in a further excavation of the site is contemplated. In the meantime we have to thank him for the photograph of the stele reproduced on Plate X, 3.

III. The Geographical Situation.

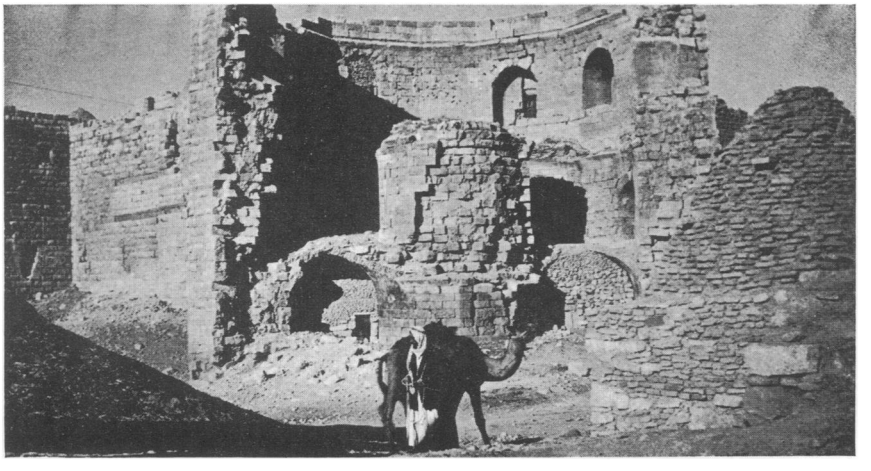
The ancient city of Harran was a stage on the trade route between the Mediterranean and the plains of the Middle Tigris. This road may be traced from Iskanderun or Souedia, by Antioch, and across the short desert crossing through Aleppo, to the elbow of the Euphrates about Birejik or Carchemish (Fig. 1). It is here that the river, having just left its mountain gorges, but not yet spread widely over the plains, is most easily bridged or forded. Eastwards from Birejik, the road kept close to the foot of the rather discontinuous escarpment, where the plateau of Kurdistan breaks down to the plains of North Syria. The line of the escarpment is traced by a series of fortresses or trading towns—Urfa, Viranşehir, Mardin, Dara, Cizre—but the main trade route, avoiding the broken country just under the scarp, ran some few miles to the south, through Seruj, Harran, Ra's-al-'Ain, Koh Hisar, and Nisibin. This is approximately the line of the railway.

This was the way to Nineveh, whence the Tigris could be followed downstream to the delta. Of course, a shorter way from Antioch to Babylon (or later to Seleucia and Baghdad) was that down the Euphrates through Carchemish, Anah and Hit—the well-known route of the *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax.

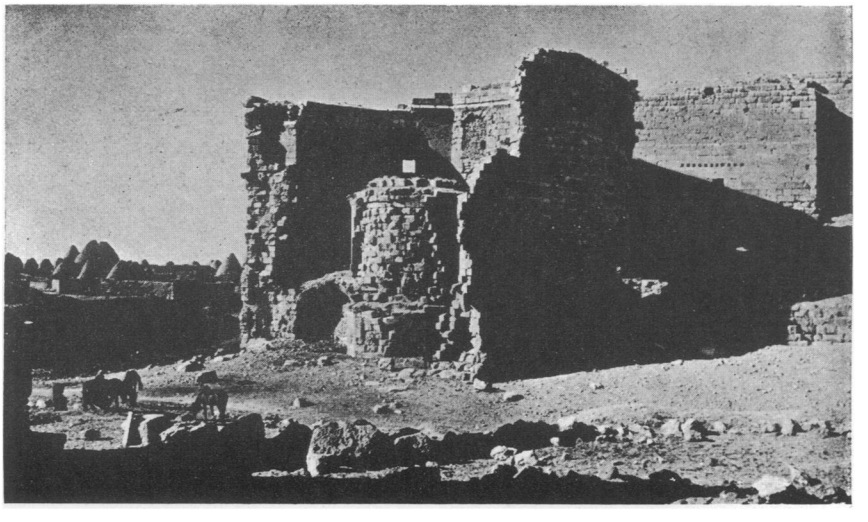
The importance of Harran with respect to these two great oasis routes over the deserts of North Syria was that, while it lay on the first, or Assyrian road, it had easy access to the second, or Babylonian route, by a



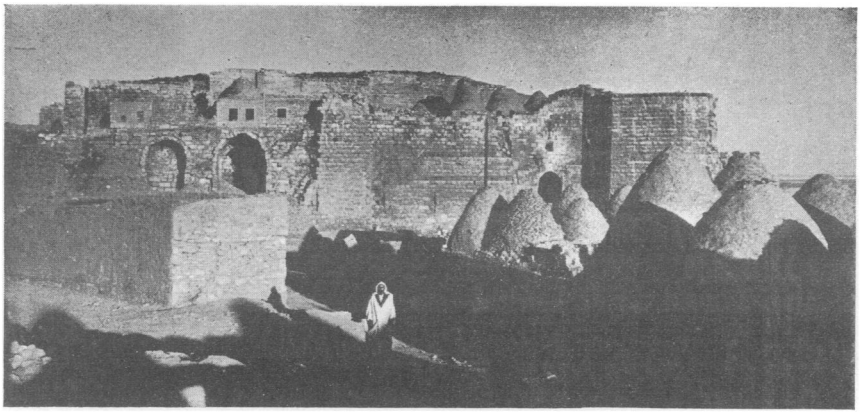
1. Ruins of Great Mosque.



2. West Tower of Qal'at.

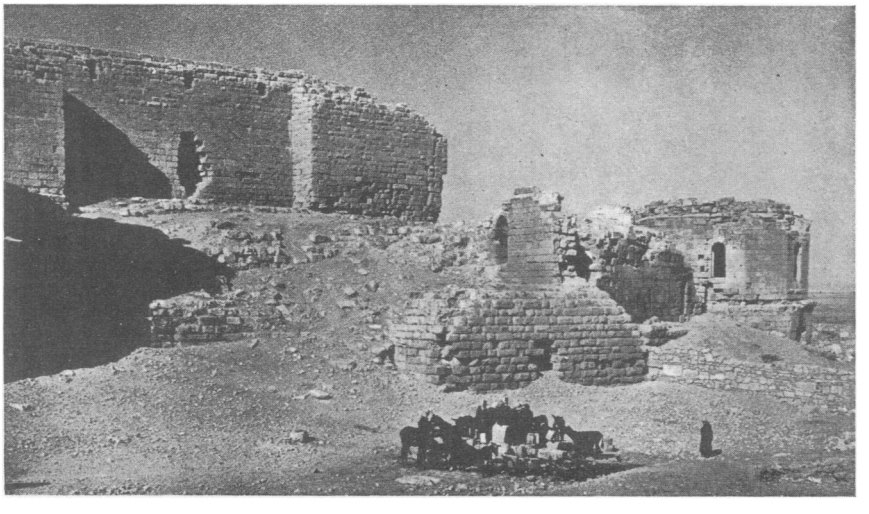


3. West Tower of Qal'at.



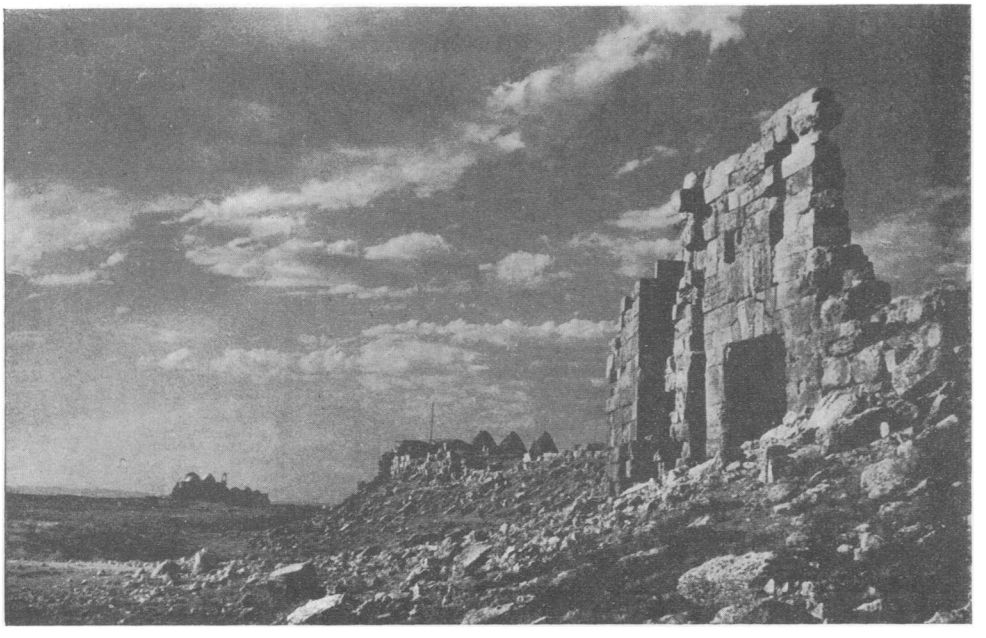
1. North-west façade of Qal'at.

2. Well beneath south-west gallery of castle.

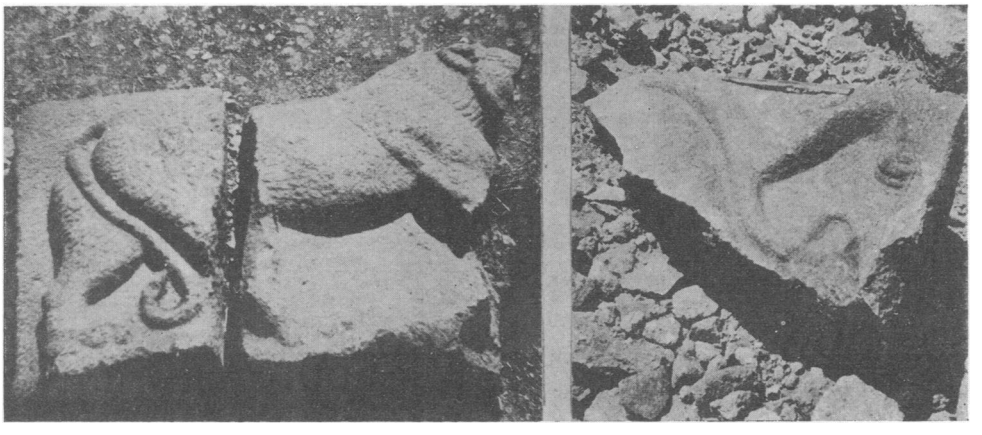


3. South-west front of castle and remains of south tower, with animals watering at well.

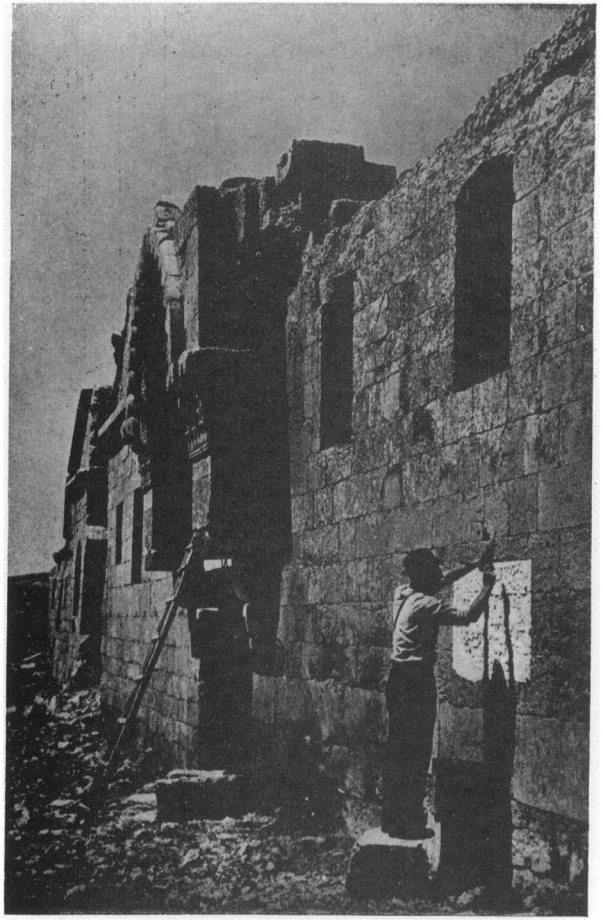
1. Castle and modern village, looking south-eastwards from the slope of the hill, near the Great Mosque.



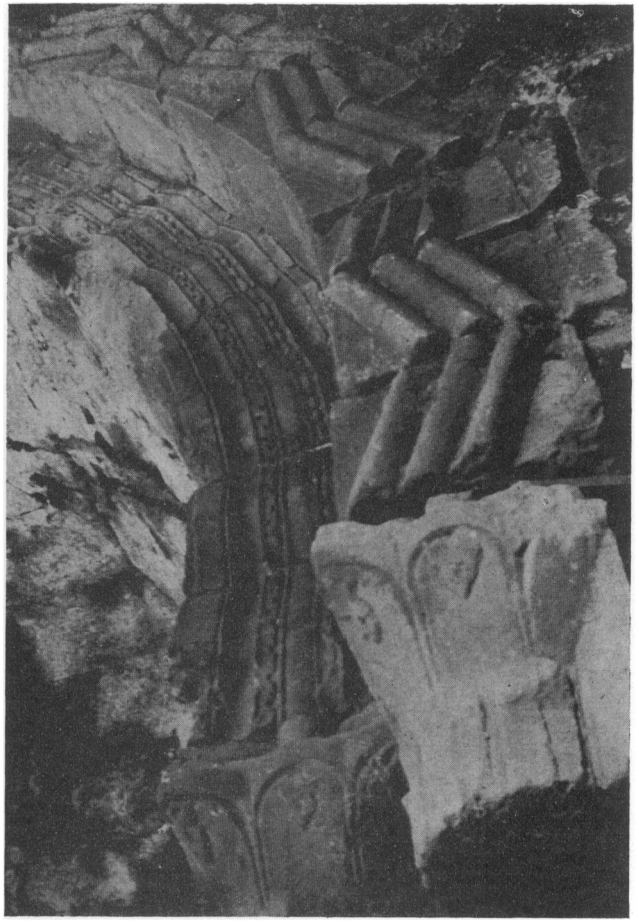
2. Aleppo Gate, with modern houses and shrine of Sheikh Hayat-al-Harrani in background.



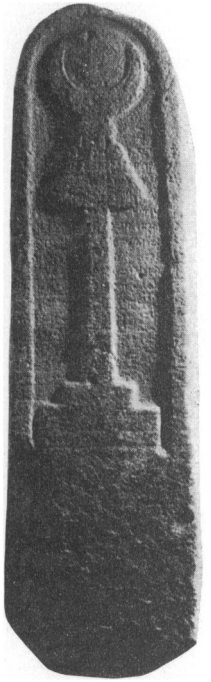
3. The old lion-relief of Harran (*left*) and the newly-found fragment (*right*), showing how they make an opposed pair.



1. East entrance to Great Mosque, and Salah-ad-Dîn inscription.



2. Archway of Crusader church inside Qal'at.



3. Stele of Yarimca.

PLATE X

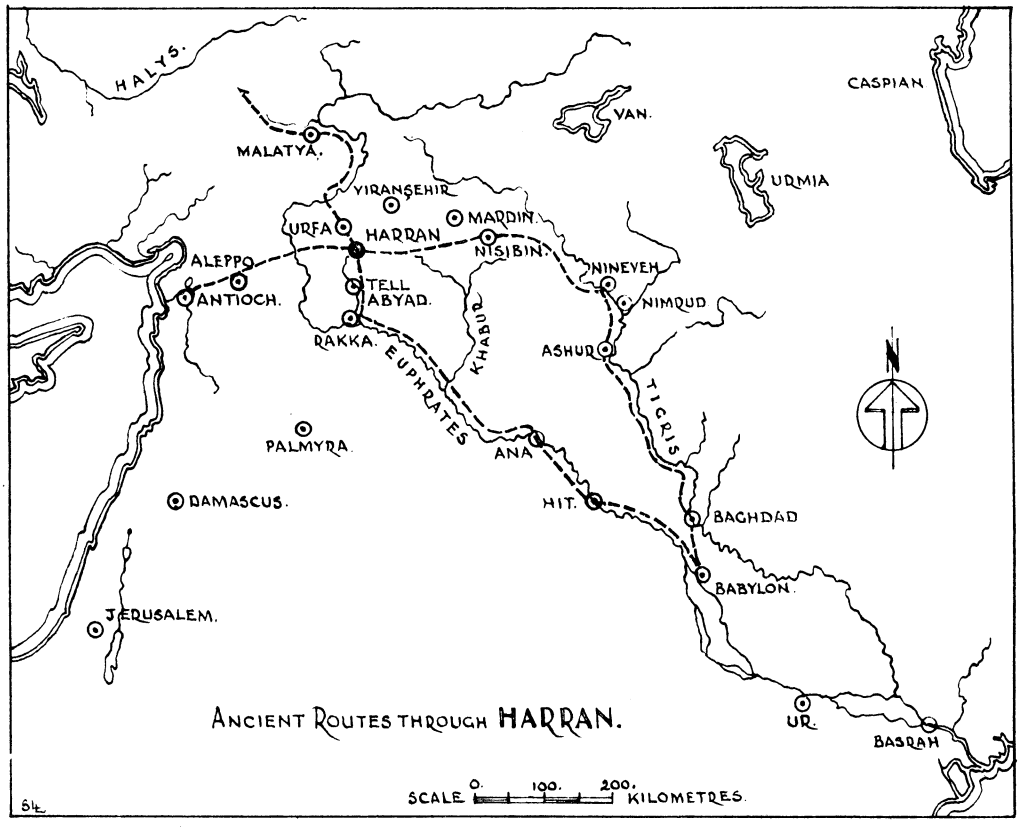


Fig. 1. The position of Harran in the Near East.

road following the Balikh to Rakkah. It was, for example, at Harran that Julian's force divided in the campaign of A.D. 363, taking the two separate routes. At the same time, the easy and well-watered way northwards from Harran through Urfa to the Euphrates crossing at Samsat, was a far easier approach to Malatiyah and Asia Minor than the constricted passage of the gorges of Rum Qal'at above Birejik.

The Balikh River rises in the copious springs of 'Ain-al-'Arus, but its valley is continued northwards by that of the Jullab, which is about fifteen miles wide, between the low limestone plateaux of Top Dagh to the west and Tektek Dagh to the east. Urfa lies under the hills at the head of the Jullab Valley, while Harran is situated about twenty miles downstream, in the centre of the valley (Fig. 2). The Jullab plain is a bleak, open expanse, broken every three or four miles by conspicuous *tells*, representing the accumulated ruins of ancient villages. Frequently there is still a village on or near these mounds, using the same small stream, well, or seasonal

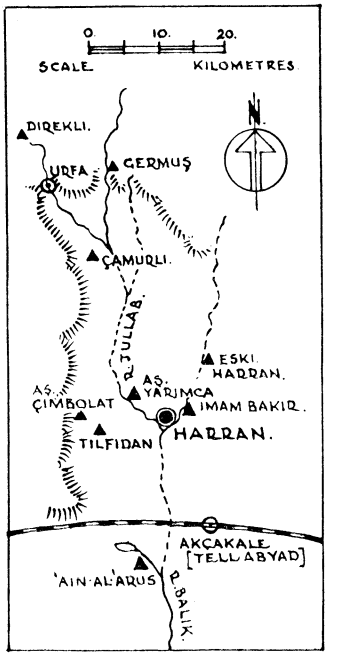


Fig. 2. Environs of Harran.

water-hole which doubtless attracted the earliest settlers. The modern villages are spread almost regularly over the plain, at intervals of one or two miles. Each is a tightly-packed, haphazard group of a score or so of houses, built of mud-brick walls roofed with crude domes, and clustered near the well or rain-pool. The Jullab River is an insignificant, winding trench, about five paces across, completely dry below Harran in the summer season. It can only be used to water a few fields by its side, and elsewhere, except for a little well-irrigation, the crops have to rely on direct rainfall. This is sufficient everywhere for thin crops of barley, wheat, and pulse, while millet is also grown widely in favourable years.

The inhabitants of the villages of the Jullab plain are semi-settled Arabs, who look down on the occasional homeless families of tribes like the Beni Nimr, who pitch their tents parasite-fashion on the outskirts of each village in turn. Doubtless, they too will soon settle, and despise in their turn the next wave of wanderers who straggle in from the desert. This area is, in fact, part of a whole belt of country on the fringe of the desert round the " Fertile Crescent ", where the conversion of the nomads to a settled life is continually going on. It was at Harran that Nahor stayed with his family, while Abraham moved on to find his home in Canaan where, although he had " no inheritance," he was promised by his Lord " Unto thy seed will I give this land ".[1]

The present village of Harran comprises some hundred houses in the south-east corner of the old city, near the castle (Plate IX, 1). There is also a smaller village about a half mile away near the west wall, not far from the mosque and shrine of Sheikh Hayat-al-Harrani. The houses are built largely of baked bricks salvaged from the ruins, and each is roofed by a number of " beehive " domes.[2] The inhabitants are Arabs who lead a semi-settled existence. After the autumn sowing, about half the village moves off with their tents and the flocks of sheep, goats, camels and donkeys to the *qishlaq* or winter pastures of the Tektek Dagh, about ten miles to the east. They leave in December (or November, if the rains start early) and move about from waterhole to waterhole with their flocks and herds, shifting camp about once a fortnight. They stay there until March or April, and during this time the animals eat the dried shrubs or grass, standing from the previous spring. This natural hay is quite plentiful, and there is no restriction of grazing rights among the various village parties. Meanwhile, the rest of the inhabitants stay in the village, keep up the ploughing and sowing, and pasture a few animals among the ruins. In spring, the shepherds return from the hills, to help to sow the beans, sesame, pulses and millets, and soon after to take part in the grain harvest. Autumn-sown barley and wheat are the chief crops, and these are ready for cutting from early June, the harvest lasting until at least the end of July. Cucumbers are ripe in July, and soon after the millet can be cut, although this last

[1] Genesis 12, 7 ; cf. Acts 7, 5.

[2] The construction of one of these houses is described by Dönmez and Brice in *Man*, 48, 155.

crop is not much favoured except in wet years. There is nowhere sufficient water for rice, but a little cotton can be raised by the banks of the Jullab.

The sole source of drinking water, not only for Harran, but for villages as far as five miles distant, is Jacob's Well (Bi'r Ya'qub[1]), about a mile west of the city walls. Within the walls of Harran about six wells are still working, but these produce brackish water, fit only for animals. Probably seepage of saltpetre from the ruins is at least partly responsible for the contamination of these wells.

Clearly, the ancient city of Harran, which in its prosperity probably housed between 10,000 and 20,000 people, must have been much better supplied with drinking water than its modern counterpart. Water pipes under the Great Mosque are evidence of some hydraulic system, but there are no traces in the ruins of large cisterns or reservoirs. However, numerous wells, now choked with rubbish, are to be seen in the courts of the larger buildings, and sometimes, with a trough, at street corners, and it seems that these formed the main source of water for the city. A study of the drainage of the Jullab-Balikh valley may help to explain how Harran was deprived of its water, and how this copious domestic supply has given way to the little present-day saline well-water (Fig. 2).

The upper valley between Urfa and Akçakale is drained by the Jullab and its tributaries, which only in winter carry water as far as the Balikh. It seems, however, that this higher valley must also drain off quantities of water by underground seepage ; for below the slight slope of the ground just north of Akçakale village, springs break out to feed the two pools by the railway, and (just south of the frontier) the important lake near Tel Abyad, known as Ra's-al-'Ain-al-'Arus, the source of the Balikh River. The main source of the Jullab is at the temperamental spring of Direkli, some five miles above Urfa, whence it flows past a series of orchards and gardens in the direction of this city. Its usual flow is through a culvert beneath the city walls, into the two pools of sacred fish, and thence through the city to the gardens beyond it to the south. The seasonal excess, however, is diverted by Justinian's dam, and led off by the rock-cut canal round the east side of the ancient city walls, as the Kara Koyun. Except in winter, the gardens within and just to the south of the city (especially at the village of Camurli) take almost all the water of these two branches of the Jullab. Some of its tributaries rise in the hills to the east of Urfa, but they again are much tapped for irrigation water, especially at Germuş. When all these irrigated gardens were laid out, they must not only have diminished the surface flow of the Jullab, but, more important, have lowered the water table in the valley, and slowed the rate of underground seepage. The result at Harran would be to dry out the shallower wells,

[1] Not to be confused with Jacob's Well at his burial place at Sychem in Samaria (John 4, 5–6). The water of the well near Harran is still approached by the inclined shaft which Rebekah went down to draw water for Abraham's servant (Gen. 24, 45), and from which Jacob rolled the stone for Rachel (Gen. 29, 10). It was photographed by Lawrence (*Oriental Assembly*, plate XI to the diary ; see also p. 17) in its old condition ; the entrance has now been protected by a concrete platform.

and to make stagnant and brackish the water of most of those which remained in use. There are no records or remains of a city at Urfa before the Seleucid foundation of Edessa in 304 B.C., and it is safe to conjecture that even after that, Harran did not suffer from piracy of its water on the present scale before the Mongol raids of the thirteenth century. After this, Urfa usurped the prosperity of Harran, and expanded beyond its old limits, to the east. Urfa would take advantage of the sack of Harran in A.D. 1259 to tap its water, and thereby seal for ever the fate of its rival downstream.

IV. The Survey, and the Topography of the Ancient City in the Light of the Literary Evidence.

The survey was made by graphic triangulation on plane-table (Fig. 3). A taped base of 186.83 metres was laid out on level ground in squares F 3 and F 4, and from there, points were fixed on the top of the hill and on the roof of the castle. From these stations in turn, prominent parts of the city perimeter were intersected, after which the survey proceeded by the usual methods of resection and intersection. Details of the walls and roads were plotted by pace-and-compass traverse. The contouring is based on two lines of levels, taken across the city over the hill from north to south and from east to west. In addition, a line of levels was run to the top of the castle. The datum was the flagstone on the northern brink of the well below the castle, which was accepted as 2 metres, its approximate height above the general level of the surrounding plain. The grid, of 200-metre squares, is oriented to the true compass points, from an origin (1000–1000) at the south-west corner of the Great Minaret.

From a distance, the ancient city appears as a long, low platform on the plain, revetted by the city walls, and rising gently to the hill in its southern quarter. The accumulation of debris within the walls has everywhere raised the level of the old city. In the north and north-west it has reached their summit, and is about thirty feet above the general level of the plain. Defence works outside the perimeter consist of a shallow trench and low earth rampart, each about thirty paces wide. They are most continuous and best preserved in the south-west section, but disappear by the north-east corner of the city. The walls are of weak limestone ashlar, rubble-filled, and strengthened at fairly regular intervals by square-fronted solid bastions. They were interrupted, at the cardinal points, by four gates. Of these, only that to the west, the Aleppo Gate (Plate IX, 2), still carries its arch, a structure which is late (dated by inscription to A.D. 1192) and obviously more ornamental than strategic. In addition, two further breaches in the city wall are certainly of some antiquity, as old roads through the ruins can be traced to them; the "Lion Gate" in the north-east (so-called because the Harran lion-relief for long lay near it), and the gap in the west, through which Jacob's Well is now reached.

The most conspicuous ruins are those of the castle and the lofty minaret. The castle, which has its own ditch, breaks the line of the walls in the south-east, and is clearly later than they; for there is no trace of

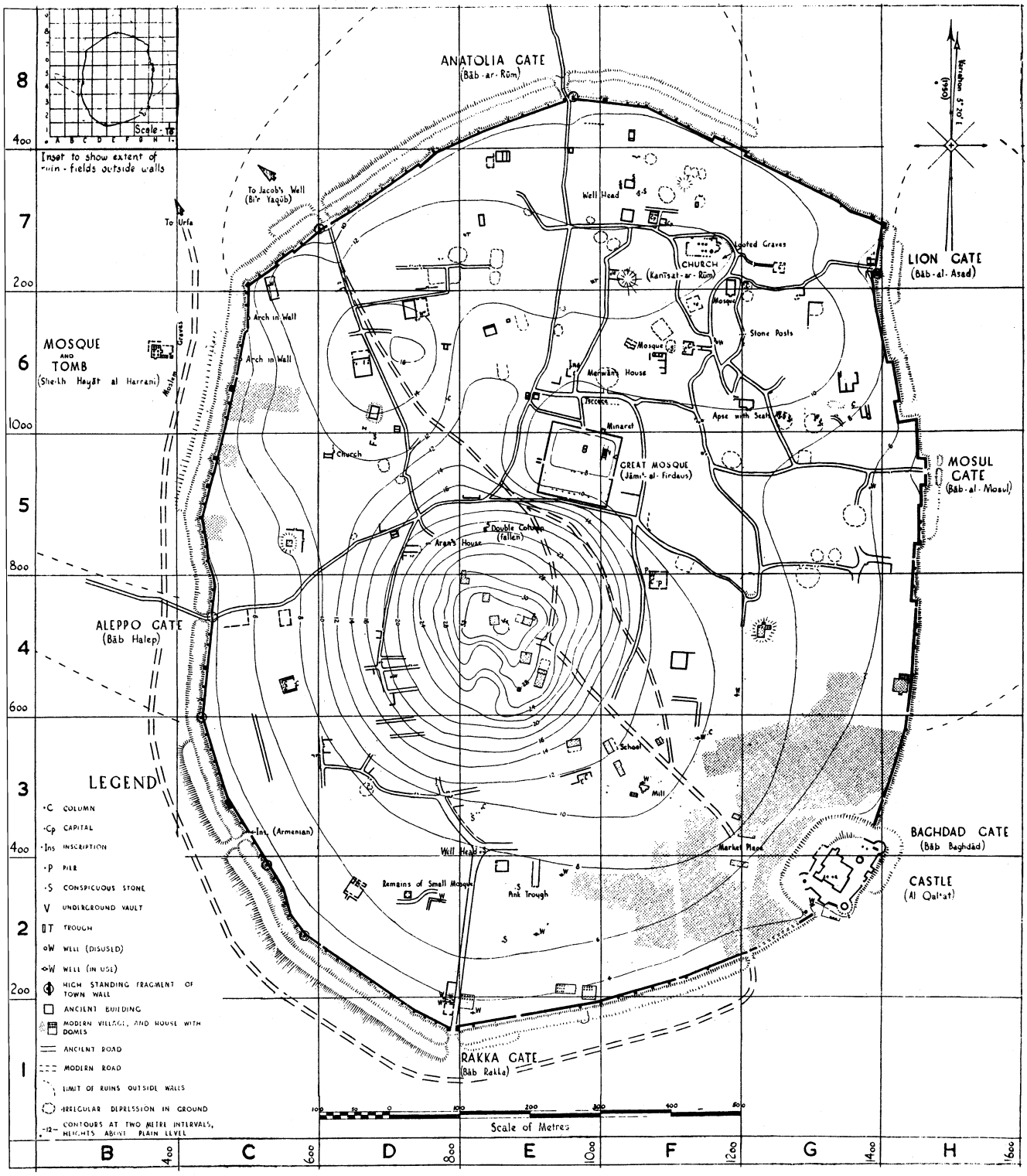


Fig. 3. General Plan of Harran.

the bonding of the town ramparts into the castle wall, while on the contrary the southern perimeter of the castle embraces a detached fragment of the city wall.

The minaret belongs to the Great Mosque or Paradise Mosque (*Jami'-al-Firdaus*), at the northern foot of the hill, beneath which it lies in a shallow basin, as in an amphitheatre. This situation is proof of the great antiquity of the site, around which the ruins of later buildings have accumulated (Plate VII, 1)[1].

Other important buildings are the basilica in F 7, the mosque in F 6-7, and the apsed building in G 6. The building to the south of the hill (D 2), which was so well preserved at the time of Preusser's visit (1907), and which was planned and pictured by him (the "small mosque"), and described earlier by Sachau (the "small basilica") has been quarried away, and only four small columns remain. The isolated hillock in G 4, which carries a modern house, and that in C 5, which is crowned by a broken house and surrounded by an ancient wall, may hide quite large structures.

The devotions of the present population are paid in the shrine of Sheikh Hayat-al-Harrani in the graveyard west of the city. This *ziarat* is overlooked by two ruined bastions of the city wall, which carry arched upper storeys. The southern aisle of the building has recently fallen and the end wall roughly rebuilt. The other walls are of fine ashlar, and the roof a sequence of domes. Massive orthostats, still standing north and west of the building, may be traces of an older and larger edifice once occupying the low platform on which the present structure rests. The tomb inside the building is variously said to be that of Sheikh Hayat-al-Harrani, and of Aran, the eponymous founder of the city.

The streets of the old city can be traced either as a slight depression below the general level of the ruins, or by their paving of baked bricks, and by these two indications the eye, which is at first confused by the general jumble of ruins, can after a few days' practice gradually discern some of the thoroughfares. The streets as planned are by no means complete, but perhaps sufficient to give a general idea of the town's lay-out. The city-plan, so far as it can be surveyed, follows an irregular pattern. Of the four main entrance roads, only that from the south continues straight for any distance, the others soon being lost in the general maze of alley-ways. So far as there is a general plan, it is concentric about the central hill rather than quadrangular on the axis of the main gates. One road in particular can be traced almost all the way round the lower slopes of the hill.

The usual house consisted of a series of rooms grouped round a court or courts, themselves entered directly from the street, or through a vestibule. The courts now appear as depressions among the ruins, and frequently

[1] The ruins of the Great Mosque of Harran, first visited by Badger (*The Nestorians, etc.*, I, 341 f) have been thoroughly charted and described by K. A. C. Creswell (*Early Muslim Architecture*, I, 406).

contain the remains of a well and trough. The heavy stone threshold and door-posts, together with traces of stone foundations, and occasional lintels (as at 108108) are all that remain of most of the houses, the walls of which were probably of brick. One conspicuous pair of door-posts, on the west slope of the hill, at 7585, is known as Aran's house, from which they say Abraham took his wife Sarah.

The most common building stone at Harran was a hard grey limestone, but some of the columns, notably that in the north-east corner of the Great Mosque, are of a fine-textured pink marble, which can apparently be obtained in the Tektek Dagh. Occasional stones, especially capitals, are fashioned from black basalt, which is common north of Urfa.

There are wide areas of ruins outside the walls to the west, north and east of the city, of much the same character as those of the city proper. In view of the irregular city plan, the uniform style of domestic architecture, and of our finding among the ruins few potsherds earlier than Islamic, it is clear that the ruined city, as it now stands, dates entirely from mediaeval times. It must have reached the peak of its prosperity, and burst the bounds of its walls, only a short while before the final catastrophe of 1259.

In view of the large number of historical references to Harran, and of Chwolsohn's hitherto unreviewed deductions from them,[1] it has seemed worth while to look over all the literary topographical evidence, and to attempt to assess it with the help of this survey. Of the identity of the main ruins there can be little doubt. The Paradise Mosque and basilica will correspond with the Great Mosque of Ibn Jubeyr[2] and the Kanisat-ar-Rum of an-Nadim, while Dimashqi's *qal'at* must be the present castle.[3] Most of the topographical doubt concerns the whereabouts of the famous moon-temple (or temples), which singularly enough, appears in the earliest textual reference to Harran.

This is on a tablet from Mari, of about 2000 B.C., which records a treaty sealed in the temple of Sin of Harran, one signatory being the elders of the Benê-iamina, an invading Amorite tribe.[4] There is later evidence also that Sin, the moon-god, of Harran, was considered a suitable guarantor for political treaties. In a compact between Shubbiluliuma, king of Hatti (*c.* 1385-1345) and Mattiuaza of Mitanni, Sin and Shamash of

[1] Dr. D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1856.

[2] *The Travels of Ibn Jubeir*, by Will. Wright, Leyden 1852, p. 247 f.

[3] It is, however, just possible that Dimashqi's *qal'at* is the high hill of Harran, and that the temple of the moon he refers to must be looked for on it, possibly near the so-called Aran's or Abraham's House. Dimashqi, *Nochbah-ed-Dahr-fi-'Agaib-el-Barr-w-el-B'ahr*, VII, 8 (Chwolsohn, II, 412).

[4] Georges Dossin, *Benjamites dans les Textes de Mari*, in *Mélanges Syriens présentés à M. Dussaud*, text (10) on page 986. Dossin compares the incursion of the Benê-iamina with the appearance of other invading Amorite tribes about the same time and links it with the Biblical story of Abraham's migration to Harran (Gen. 11, 31 ; 12, 1).

Harran are invoked,[1] and about the middle of the eighth century, Sin, " the great god who dwells in Harran ", is called upon to ratify the treaty of Ashur-nirari VI with Mati-el of Arpad.[2]

Of the great temple of the moon-god at Harran (É.ḪÚL.ḪÚL.), we learn that it was three times restored ; by Shalmaneser III (859-824), by Ashurbanipal, who installed his younger brother as high priest,[3] and finally by Nabonidus in his third year (553-2), following on his famous dream. As both Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd understand the Nabonidus chronicle,[4] the temple was destroyed by the Umman-Manda in 610 B.C., the year of the collapse of the garrison which fled there after the sack of Nineveh two years previously. This information unfortunately leaves open the question of whether the city or the temple fell first, a point of some interest, since if it could be shown that the temple was destroyed independently of the city, then it would be right to look for it outside the walls.

That Harran, as early as the second millennium, was a fortified provincial capital, in importance second only to Assur itself, is clear from various inscriptions. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (*c.* 1310-1280) conquered the " fortress of Kharani ", and annexed it as a province, ruled by the *turtan*.[5] About 1100 B.C. Harran is mentioned for its strategic value in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I, who hunted bull-elephants in the district and had a fortress there. In the tenth century, Harran was held in high regard, and shared with Assur the privilege of being exempt from the payment of tribute. Later, in the eighth century, Sargon II restored the privileges of the " free " city of Harran, which had been lost at the rebellion which led to the reconquest referred to in 2 Kings XIX. 12 (= Isa. XXXVII. 12).[6]

In 675 B.C. Esarhaddon visited the site on his way to the conquest of Egypt. " He saw in the outskirts (?) of Harran a temple of cedar-wood,

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[1] Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 39 ; E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, I.

[2] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, p. 267 ; Weidner, *A.f.O.*, VIII, pp. 17 f.

[3] Sidney Smith, op. cit., p. 40.

[4] Sidney Smith, op. cit., p. 41 ; C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, p. 22.

Other points of interest to the excavator which Sidney Smith deduces from the Nabonidus chronicle are that Nabonidus' reconstructed statue of Sin had the head-dress proper to a god, and a beard of lapis lazuli, while before him were representations of the flood and the wild bull ; that the gods reinstated at Harran were Sin, Ningal his consort, Nusku (the fire god) and Sadarnunna his consort, and also probably the following gods (known from unpublished texts), Ashur, Shamash, Ea and Marduk ; that the temple τέμενος probably included a sacred grove and a house for the priestesses ; that Ashurbanipal and Nabonidus both placed in É. ḪÚL. ḪÚL. figures representing all kinds of monstrous reptiles and beasts, typifying the spawn of Tiamat and the other primeval gods; that the god was probably represented by a baetyl, possibly carrying a ladder device; and that there was probably also at Harran a *bit akiti* or New Year's festival house (possibly the *Kadha* mentioned by Abu Sa'id Wahb).

[5] Sidney Smith, op. cit., p. 39.

[6] Art. *Harran* in *Encyc. Brit.* (XIth ed.).

(in it) the god Sin was leaning upon a staff, with two crowns upon his head—the god Nusku was standing before him." Esarhaddon went in to the god and received a favourable oracle assuring him of victory over foreign lands, and he proceeded direct to the conquest of Egypt. This is recorded in a letter from Marduk-shum-usur to Esarhaddon's successor.[1]

The early city of Harran was not only a religious sanctuary and a provincial fortress, but also a trading city. Ezekiel XXVII. 23 indicates that it was the centre of a considerable commerce, and according to Pliny (*H.N.* XII. 40) one of its specialities was the odoriferous gum from the *strobus*.

In classical times, Harran saw two important catastrophes, the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians in 55 B.C., and the assassination of the Emperor Caracalla by Mocrinus in A.D. 217. Unfortunately, the accounts of Crassus' calamity give little useful topographical information. We learn that Harran (Carrhae) was a fortified garrison town, in which Crassus was able to take refuge after his first reverse, that his lieutenant Octavius escaped to a mountainous region called Sinnaca, in an unstated direction from Harran, and that Crassus made his last stand on a hill under the mountains of Sinnaca, and connected with them by a long ridge, which ran through the plain.[2] Chwolsohn's deductions from this information will be considered later (p. 93).

From Herodian's account of the murder of Caracalla, we learn that the event occurred during the emperor's return to the palace from the temple, which was a little distance away, and that the deity he had been adoring was a moon goddess (Σελήνη).[3] Spartian, on the other hand, tells us that the deity was masculine (Lunus), that the assassination took place on the road between Edessa and Harran, and that the festival at which Caracalla had been assisting was that of the Megalenses on 6th April, which happened to coincide with his birthday.[4]

It was a *female* moon deity (Luna) to whom Julian paid his respects at Harran during a halt on his expedition of A.D. 363.[5] Similarly the *Doctrine of Addai*[6] refers to the shrine of a female deity, the Beth Nical (i.e. the House of Nin-gal, the spouse of Sin), and Clemens Romanus mentions Σελήνη at Harran.[7] Eutychius, on the other hand, speaks of the male deity, Sin, at the city, whose gold image was set up by his wife Chabib.[8]

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[1] L. W. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, No. 923 ; R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, No. 248 ; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 380.

[2] Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*.

[3] Herodian, IV, 13.

[4] Spartian, *Caracalla*, c. 6 ; Dio Cassius, however, states (LXXVIII, 5) the date of his death as 8th April. See Chwolsohn, I, pp. 396–399.

[5] Amm. Marc., XXIII, 3. The goddess was " highly reverenced in those parts " (*religiose per eos colitur tractus*).

[6] Quoted by Duval in his *Mémoire sur l'Histoire d'Édesse*, Journ. Asiatique, Vol. 18 (1891), p. 29.

[7] Hom. V, § 23 (Chwolsohn, I, 400).

[8] Vol. I, p. 72 (Chwolsohn, II, 508).

The temple of the Sun which Theodosius destroyed in A.D. 382 may or may not have been at Harran. Libanius[1] mentions it as being " situated by the Persian frontiers ".

Ammianus Marcellinus refers[2] to the poor condition of the walls of Harran at the time of Sapor II (A.D. 359), and the fortifications were repaired by Justinian in the sixth century.[3]

It appears that in the early centuries of our era both Christians and Sabians lived in Harran, but occupying different quarters of the city, for when Yâdh approached the place at the time of the Arab conquest in A.D. 639, he found it necessary to treat with each community separately.[4]

For the next four centuries at least, the Sabians continued to practise in Harran their strange, eclectic, pagan religion, a blend of Neoplatonism with the old Babylonian astrology, the moon-god continuing to hold a high place in the pantheon. The attitude of their Arab overlords varied between a half-hearted persecution and a superior but interested toleration. The strangeness of the community attracted the attention of many Arab writers, whose accounts of the city and its customs have been collected and reviewed at length by Chwolsohn.[5] Here only the purely topographical material from these mediaeval Arab writings will be described.

In the first place, a number of authors from the tenth to the seventeenth century mention that the Sabians have at Harran a prayer-house or place of worship, set on a hill, and the foundation of which is associated with Abraham. These authors are al-Istakhri[6] (A.D. 912), Ibn Haukal[7] (A.D. 978), Idrisi[8] (*c.* A.D. 1050), Abulfeda[9] (*c.* A.D. 1300), quoting al-'Azizi and Ibn Haukal, and Hajji Khalfa[10] (seventeenth century). A certain similarity of phrase in all these contexts, particularly in the associated remark that the surrounding country has few trees and little water, points to plagiarism. Hajji Khalfa says the hill was two parasangs distant from the city, and Al-'Azizi (quoted by Abulfeda) says more specifically that it was two parasangs to the south-east, and made of red earth. We might compare Ibn Jubeyr's statement[11] (in the twelfth century) that three parasangs from

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[1] Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ed. Reiske, p. 192 (Chwolsohn, I, 431).

[2] XVIII, 7, 3.

[3] Procopius, *De aedif.*

[4] Beladhori, *Livre des conquêtes des pays* (quoted by Duval, *J. Asiat.*, 19, 1892, 56.

[5] See also Margoliouth's article *Harranians* in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, especially for the origin of the word " Sabian ".

[6] *Kitab-el-Iqalim*, p. 47, Mordmanns Uebersetzung (Chwolsohn, II, 546–7).

[7] Ouseley, *The Oriental Geography of Ebn-Haukal*, p. 57 (Chwolsohn, II, 547).

[8] *Geography*, Jaubert's edition, II, 153 (Chwolsohn, II, 548).

[9] *Geography*, ed. Reinaud & Slane, under Mesopotamia–Harran, p. 277 (Chwolsohn, II, 552–3).

[10] *Gihan-Numah*, p. 444 of Constantinople edition of 1145 (1732) (Chwolsohn, II, 554).

[11] *Travels of Ibn Jubeir*, by Will. Wright, Leyden 1852, p. 246 (Chwolsohn, I, 407). G. le Strange (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 103) places this *mashhad* three leagues to the *south* of Harran.

Harran was to be seen a shrine (*mashhad*) associated with Abraham and Sarah.

Ibn Jubeyr, writing in A.D. 1184, is the only Arab author (except for casual remarks by Muqaddasi and an-Nadim) to mention the Great Mosque, which he describes in some detail.[1] He speaks elsewhere[2] of Burg Hawa, a high castle to the east of the town and near it, and of a hill, Tel Abdah,[3] on the Batnae-Seruj road.

Mas'udi says,[4] that at the time of his writing (A.D. 943) there was in Harran a building of the Sabians called the Megalethea (a corrupted form of Μεγαλοθεῖον[5]), which was the temple of Azar, the father of Abraham. According to the Qadhi Ibn Aischun of Harran, whom Mas'udi quotes, this temple had four cellars, in which complicated initiation ceremonies were held. One of the temples had an inscribed knocker (" Who knows himself is a religious man "). Mas'udi also lists the temples by their shapes, and mentions the moon temple as being eight-sided.

An-Nadim in Chapter V of his *Fihrist* or calendar of the Harranians, gives the following relevant information.[6] On April 3rd they offer a sacrifice to Venus (Balthi) ; on April 6th they offer a bullock to their goddess the Moon ; on April 20th they go out to Deir Kadhi at one of the gates of Harran, called the Gate of the Inn of Olives, and sacrifice three calves, one to Saturn, one to Mars (the blind god), and one to Sin ; on April 28th they go to Sebti village at the Mirage Gate, and slaughter a bullock to Hermes ; on December 30th the priest prays for the destruction of the Great Mosque, the Church of the Greeks (*Kanisat-ar-Rum*), and the Women's Market, where they formerly had their images, and which were taken over by the Roman emperors when they turned Christian ;[7] on each 27th they go to Deir Kadhi, where they make burnt offerings to their god Sin, the Moon ; on each 28th they go to a chapel of burnt tiles, with a domed roof, and sacrifice to their god Hermes, or Ares (Mars).[8] In view of this testimony to moon festivals near the beginning of April, it seems relevant to cite an apparent parallel from ancient Assyria. According to an Assyrian letter,[9] on the 17th of an unspecified month the god Sin went out to the " house of the New Year Festival ". This would have been outside the city, as at Assur. Yarimca itself naturally

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[1] *Travels of Ibn Jubeir*, by Will. Wright, Leyden 1852, p. 247 (quoted by Creswell, op. cit.).

[2] *Travels of Ibn Jubeir*, by Will. Wright, Leyden 1852, p. 246

[3] *Travels of Ibn Jubeir*, by Will. Wright, Leyden 1852, p. 249.

[4] Morug-el-Dseheb, Chap. 64 (Chwolsohn, II, 368–371).

[5] So Chwolsohn, but Margoliouth (Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *Harranians*) construes Mas'udi's word as a reminiscence of Μεγάλη Θεά, the " Great Goddess."

[6] Mohammed ben Ish'aq an-Nadim, *Fihrist-el-U'lum*, Chap. V (Chwolsohn, II, 23–25).

[7] Chwolsohn, II, 34.

[8] Chwolsohn, II, 37.

[9] Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, part I, letter 134.

occurs to one, but it appears to be farther away than would be expected, though the possibility is worth keeping in mind. The month (of the New Year Festival) must have been Nisan, and if the god went out on the 17th day that would correspond to one of the early days in April.

An-Nadim also quotes the authority of Abu Sa'id Wahb[1] for including in the Harranian pantheon the Goddess Balthi with her attendant ath-Thal (to whom they sacrificed a woman with child), and the Idol of the Water, who returned after an exile to a place called *Kadha*, near Harran. His return was celebrated on April 20th.

The building, Deir Kadhi, twice mentioned by an-Nadim, is also spoken of by Yaqut (1179-1229), who says it is a Sabian temple, and the only one left in Harran.[2] Yaqut also gives the following three place-names: Tar-Uz[3] (the Venus Gate), a suburb with a Venus temple; Salamsin[3] ("the Moon Idol"),[4] a village one parasang removed from Harran, and dedicated to the moon-god; and adh-Dhahbaniyah,[5] at the source of the Balikh, where was a much frequented monument, and where the Sabians had a temple, in which was held a famous festival.

Dimashqi, writing in the early fourteenth century, gives some pointed information about a moon-temple. "And there is" he says[6] "in Harran, a building of the moon and it is said that it was its castle, and it is called *al-Modarreq*, and it continued to flourish until the Tatars destroyed it". This remark is all the more noteworthy since it appears to be deliberately interpolated in a systematic list of the temples with their shapes, colours, metals, and steps. Again,[7] Dimashqi repeats that Harran was a city of the Sabians, "and of their ruins there remains the round building and this is the castle; and it was a temple[8] of the moon, and the Sabians continued in it until the year 424 (A.D. 1032) when the Egyptians captured this temple. And there has not remained to the Sabians a temple apart from it".

Two authors besides Dimashqi make mention of the castle of Harran. Muqaddasi (A.D. 985) says that Harran is a pleasant town, protected by a fortress of stones so finely set as to recall the masonry of the walls of Jerusalem. Mustawfi, writing in the fourteenth century, says that the circuit of the castle wall was 1,350 paces.[8]

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[1] *Fihrist*, Chap. VI (Chwolsohn, II, 39–41).

[2] Yaqut, *Marassid el-Itthila'*, ed. Juynboll, Lug. Bat., 1852, Vol. I, p. 438 (Chwolsohn, II, 630). The published texts of an-Nadim use the form Kadi, but there is no doubt that he and Yaqut are referring to the same building.

[3] Yaqut, *Moa'ggem-el-Boldan* (Chwolsohn, II, 551).

[4] Yaqut's etymology is here very dubious. The name more probably means "Full Moon". cf. Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 79, for some pertinent comparisons with the stele of Taima and its divine names.

[5] Yaqut, *Marassid el-Itthila'*, op. cit., p. 450 (Chwolsohn, II, 630).

[6] Dimashqi, *Nochbah-ad-Dahr*, Bk. I, Chap. 10 (Chwolsohn, II, 397).

[7] Dimashqi, op. cit., Bk. VII, Chap. 8 (Chwolsohn, II, 412–413).

[8] Haikal, which in its Assyrian form means "palace" rather than "temple.

[9] Guy le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 103.

After considering all this evidence, Chwolsohn came to the conclusion[1] that there were at Harran two moon temples, one to the west, and the other to the east of the city. The temple to the west of Harran was that visited by Caracalla, according to Herodian and Spartian. It is taken as being west of the city since, according to Spartian, Caracalla was assassinated on the Edessa road, which must have led westward from the city. In this temple Chwolsohn would recognize the " Megalethea " of Mas'udi, because Mas'udi says this was by the Rakkah Gate, and the Rakkah road must (argues Chwolsohn) have led westward from Harran. Chwolsohn in one passage (I. 408) places Dimashqi's citadel temple (*al-Modarreq*) there, but in another (I. 406) puts it probably to the east of the town. Chwolsohn would find this (the larger) moon temple at the half-moon hill with ruins, charted as " Sumbolat " by Chesney's assistant, Lt. Lynch, in 1836. This, he also thinks, is the hill Sinnaca[2] whence Octavius returned to aid Crassus (isolated to the east on Lt. Lynch's circular hillock, Tilfidan), and the Tel Abdah, a hill with ruins, mentioned by Ibn Jubeyr on the Batnae-Seruj road. The hill with a prayer-house mentioned by Hajji Khalfa as two parasangs distant from the town is taken to be this, as also is the hill mentioned in similar terms by al-Istakhri, Ibn Haukal and others. Chwolsohn also places here Yaqut's suburb, one parasang outside Harran, of Salamsin. Chwolsohn (I. 412) makes the very pertinent observation that the great festival of this temple was that of April 8th, the date of Caracalla's assassination, according to Dio Cassius[3] (p. 89). Perhaps more significant still, in view of Spartian's date (6th April) for Caracalla's death, and Herodian's mention of the Emperor's devotions to Σελήνη, is an-Nadim's statement (see p. 91) that on 6th April the Sabians sacrifice a bullock to their *goddess* the Moon.[4]

The moon temple to the east of Harran is presumably so placed by Chwolsohn after Abu Sa'id Wahb's mention of Kadha in that direction. This is the Deir Kadhi of an-Nadim and Yaqut, a cloister (*deir*) rather than a temple (*haikal*) like the building to the west. It is, as an-Nadim says, an abode of Sin, but also (as we see from Abu Sa'id Wahb) a sanctuary of Kadha, the Idol of the Water, who was likewise celebrated on April 20th. This was the sanctuary of the *old* city, and its great festivals were on the 27th of each month, and on April 20th.

Chwolsohn also recognizes the temple of Hermes in the village Sebti by the Mirage Gate (which must, he says, be the south gate), with a festival on April 28th ; the Venus temple, with a festival on April 3rd (the New Year), placed by Yaqut in the suburb Tar-Uz ; the

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[1] Chwolsohn, I, pp. 403 ff.

[2] Chwolsohn reads significance into the syllable *Sin* of Sinnaca. It may be noted that Ainsworth recognizes Crassus' Sinnaca at the ruined site of Koh Hisar, East of Harran. This is Sinna, or Syna Judaeorum (*Travels in Asia Minor, II*, p. 112, and *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition, I*, p. 209).

[3] The general festival mentioned by Abu Sa'id Wahb.

[4] For this observation we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. John Gray, of Manchester University.

Mars temple of burnt tiles, where an-Nadim records a celebration on each 28th ; Yaqut's adh-Dhahbaniyah, which Chwolsohn sees as the abode of the God of the Water (impressed on coins of Caracalla and Alexander Severus) ; a temple of general worship, the *majma'* of Abu Sa'id Wahb (with a feast on September 3rd) ; and the temple of Mas'udi with an inscription of one of Plato's aphorisms on the knocker.

Unfortunately, Chwolsohn's own statements are sometimes contradictory. For instance, in I. 496 he equates the temple mentioned by Herodian with that west of the town, while in II. 302 he identifies it with the *Kadhi* cloister east of the city. Again, in the middle of page I. 406, he supposes it probable that Dimashqi's temple lay east of the city, while in I. 408 and 410 he takes it to be identical with that to the west.

In addition, the following criticisms may be levelled at Chwolsohn's identification of the temple to the west of Harran. While the sex of Megale Thea would hint at the connection of Mas'udi's temple with that visited by Caracalla, the Rakkah Gate leads south not west from Harran. Mas'udi also does not state that this was a moon temple (although we infer this from linking Megale Thea with *Nikal*). Again, Dimashqi is quite clear that his moon-temple is the castle of Harran, of the identity of which there can hardly be any question[1]. Thirdly, there is a concurrence of opinion that the hill with the prayer-house is south or south-east, not west of Harran. Fourthly, Octavius retired not to a hill but to a " hilly region " (*χωρία ὀρεινά*). Indeed, his whole tactics were to get to broken ground and avoid being isolated (as Crassus was) on a hill in the plain ; it is therefore unrealistic to recognize Sinnaca at Sumbolat. Finally, Ibn Jubeyr's Tel Abdah is merely a hill with ruins, and there is no mention of its association with a temple. There must be many such on the Batnae road.

In the light of the present survey, the following interpretation of the topographical evidence is suggested. In the first place, the site of Deir Kadhi fortunately still retains its name, and can be consequently identified on a hill close to Ra's-al-'Ain-al-'Arus, about two kilometres west of Tel Abyad.[2] 'Ain-al-'Arus, is a copious spring, which forms the traditional source of the Balikh River. An-Nadim tells us of Deir Kadhi that it is at (*sic*) one of the Gates of Harran called the Gate of the Inn of Olives, that on April 20th the Sabians go out (*sic*) to it and sacrifice three calves, to Saturn, Mars and Sin ; and that on each 27th they also make burnt offerings there to Sin. Yaqut writing about A.D. 1200, mentions Deir Kadhi as the only remaining temple.

Abu Sa'id Wahb, quoted by an-Nadim,[3] gives a lengthy story of the " Idol of the Water ", who after an exile in India, returned to Harran at

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[1] Though see footnote [3] p. 87.

[2] See Prof. Mallowan's description of 'Ain-el-'Arus in *Iraq*, VIII, 12. The name means " The Spring of the Betrothed ", and is connected with the stories of the betrothal of Rebekah and Rachel.

[3] An-Nadim, op. cit., Chap. VI (Chwolsohn, II, 40).

the prayer of his old devotees. He refused to enter the city, however, but set himself up, as he said, " here ", which is in Syrian *kadha*, and *Kadha* is the name of a district east of Harran, whither the Harranians still go on April 20th, to celebrate the return of the Idol of the Water. We may follow Chwolsohn in identifying Kadha with Kadhi on the evidence first of the resemblance of names, then of the correspondence of the date of the festivals (April 20th), and lastly, of the appropriateness of having an " Idol of the Water " at the springs of 'Ain-al-'Arus. (Chwolsohn did not, of course, put forward this last argument.) The only difficulty is Abu Sa'id's placing of Kadha east of the town, while 'Ain-al-'Arus lies to the south.

Further, Abulfeda places the source of the Balikh at a spring called Dhahabiyah, or Dabeuca;[1] and Yaqut mentions a place near Rakkah called adh-Dhahbaniyah, where is the source of the Balikh, and which has a frequented monument, while " in it the Sabians had a temple in which was held a famous festival ". We may conjecture that the adh-Dhahbaniyah temple also was near 'Ain-al-'Arus, therefore, and may even be identical with Deir Kadhi (although Yaqut lists them separately).[2]

It may also be assumed that the prayer-house (*musalla*) of the Sabians, which was situated on a hill, was highly reverenced and associated with Abraham, and which is mentioned by a series of writers from al-Istakhri (A.D. 912) to Hajji Khalfa (seventeenth century), was near here, for two reasons. First, there is a general consensus of opinion, as we have seen (p. 90), that it was some distance removed from the city, in a direction south or south-east. Second, Ra's-al-'Ain-al-'Arus still has legendary associations with Abraham, and there are stories[3] of its underground connection with the Birket Ibrahim at Urfa. It appears that its alternative name is Ra's-al-'Ain-al-Khalil.[4]

That there was at Harran a temple to a female moon deity (Luna or Σελήνη, probably to be identified with Nikal, the spouse of Sin[5]) is attested by the remarkable correspondence between the date of the great festival

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[1] F. R. Chesney, *An Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, Vol. I, p. 48.

[2] Although Chwolsohn refers to Abu Sa'id Wahb's story of the Idol of the Water both in his account of Deir Kadhi (I, 498) and in that of adh Dhahbaniyah (I, 500), the idea of identifying the two places as one does not seem to have occurred to him.

For further references to 'Ain-adh-Dhahbaniyah see Chwolsohn, I, 481 ; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 103 ; and Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, p. 481. Dussaud links the name with the village Dabana of *Not. Dign.*, XXXV, 17. Procopius (*De aedif*, II, 18) also uses the name, and the *castra praesidiaria* of Davana, at the source of the Balikh, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 3, 7) may correspond with the present fort of Tel Abyad.

[3] Which may be given geological backing (p. 83).

[4] Regling, *Klio*, I, p. 443, quoted by Dussaud, op. cit., p. 481 (footnote). Dussaud's reference here to von Oppenheim is erroneous, as the latter refers to the other and more famous Ra's-al-'Ain, at the source of the Khabur.

[5] cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, text 77, which deals with the marriage of y r h and n k l.

(to Σελήνη, according to Herodian) at which Caracalla assisted on his birthday, shortly before his assassination (6-8th April) ([4] p. 89), and that of the annual offering, mentioned by an-Nadim in A.D. 987, by the Sabians of a bullock to their goddess the Moon (April 6th). Other sources mentioning a moon *goddess* at Harran are Ammianus Marcellinus, Clemens Romanus, and the *Doctrine of Addai*.

Now it is clear from the accounts of Caracalla's death that the temple of the moon goddess was some little way outside the city, and, moreover, if we accept Spartian's statement, in the direction of Edessa. It seems, therefore, impossible to identify this temple with that mentioned by Dimashqi (shortly to be discussed), but the site at Aşağı Yarimca fits the case well by being not only a little way (about four miles) outside the town, but also in the general direction of Edessa.

This account, then, agrees with Chwolsohn's in recognizing a moon temple outside the city to the west, but differs from his, first in not identifying it with Dimashqi's citadel temple nor with the prayer-house on a hill of al-Istakhri and others; second, in making it the shrine of a specifically female moon deity;[1] third, in placing it at Aşağı Yarimca rather than at Çimbolat (Fig. 2).

While we may recognize at 'Ain-al-'Arus (Deir Kadhi) a shrine of Sin, the moon god, and at Aşağı Yarimca a temple of Σελήνη, the moon goddess, there remains one reference to a "temple of the moon" which must be placed elsewhere. Dimashqi (writing about A.D. 1300) refers to a building of the moon (*haikal* or *bait lil-qamar*) which was the citadel of Harran, and was destroyed by the Fatimids in A.D. 1032, up to which time the Sabians continued to occupy it. If one may here recognise the citadel (*qal'at*) of Harran,[2] this temple of Dimashqi must be represented by one of the earlier structures about which the present castle has grown (p. 104).

In summary,[3] three moon temples are identified: one at 'Ain-al-'Arus, to Sin; a second at Aşağı Yarimca, to Selene; and a third in the core of the castle.

There were in addition, the following sacred buildings in or near Harran, mentioned by various authorities, but for which it is impossible

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[1] The mention of Sin on the stele from Aşağı Yarimca, while not corroborating this conclusion, does not render it invalid.

[2] But cf. Note 3, p. 87.

[3] No mention has been made of the site of Eski Harran to the north-east of Harran, where Pognon found the memorial inscription to a parent of Nabonidus (S. Smith, op. cit., pp. 36–38), and which Sidney Smith suggests (op. cit., p. 38) may have been the site of the Assyrian city of Harran. Chwolsohn also (see above, p. 93) places Deir Kadhi in the *old* city, to the east. Against this it may be said first that Deir Kadhi is identified elsewhere; second, that (although we did not visit the place) the mound of Eski Harran seems to be too small to represent the important fortress that Harran obviously was in Assyrian times; third, that Pognon's inscription, even if found *in situ*, is funerary and does not necessarily belong to a temple; and fourth, that the high mound, the lion reliefs, and the architecture of the castle south-east gate are all signs of pre-classical occupation at Harran. The whole question of the connexion of Nabonidus and his parent with Harran has been recently discussed at length by Dhorme, *Rev. Ass.*, XLI, 1947, 1–21.

to conjecture any situation ; the Megalethea of Mas'udi,[1] dedicated to Azar the father of Abraham, at the Rakkah Gate ; the temple of Hermes in the village Sebti, by the Mirage Gate, with a festival on April 28th (an-Nadim) ; the Mars temple of burnt tiles, with a festival on each 28th (an-Nadim) ; the Venus (Balthi) temple with a festival on April 3rd (an-Nadim, Abu Sa'id Wahb), in the suburb of Tar-Uz, the " Venus Gate " (Yaqut) ; the suburb of Salmsin (= " the Idol of the Moon " ?), one parasang from Harran (Yaqut) ; a Manichean temple, 1,000 paces east of Harran,[2] where occurred the grotesque custom of divination by the unsocketed head (Dionysus of Tel Mahre, quoted by Chwolsohn, II, 131), the *majma'* with a feast on September 3rd (Abu Sa'id Wahb, quoted by an-Nadim) ; the temple with the inscribed knocker (Mas'udi) ; and the temples mentioned by various writers, without any topographical clues, of the First Cause, Reason, World Economy, Fate, Soul, Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, and Mercury (Mas'udi, Maqrizi, Dimashqi).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Authors' thanks are due to the Professors and Staff of the Department of Semitic Studies, Manchester University, and particularly to Dr. J. Gray, for much help and encouragement in the complicated task of reviewing literary references from so many sources. Mr. Gadd, F.B.A., has also made useful suggestions.

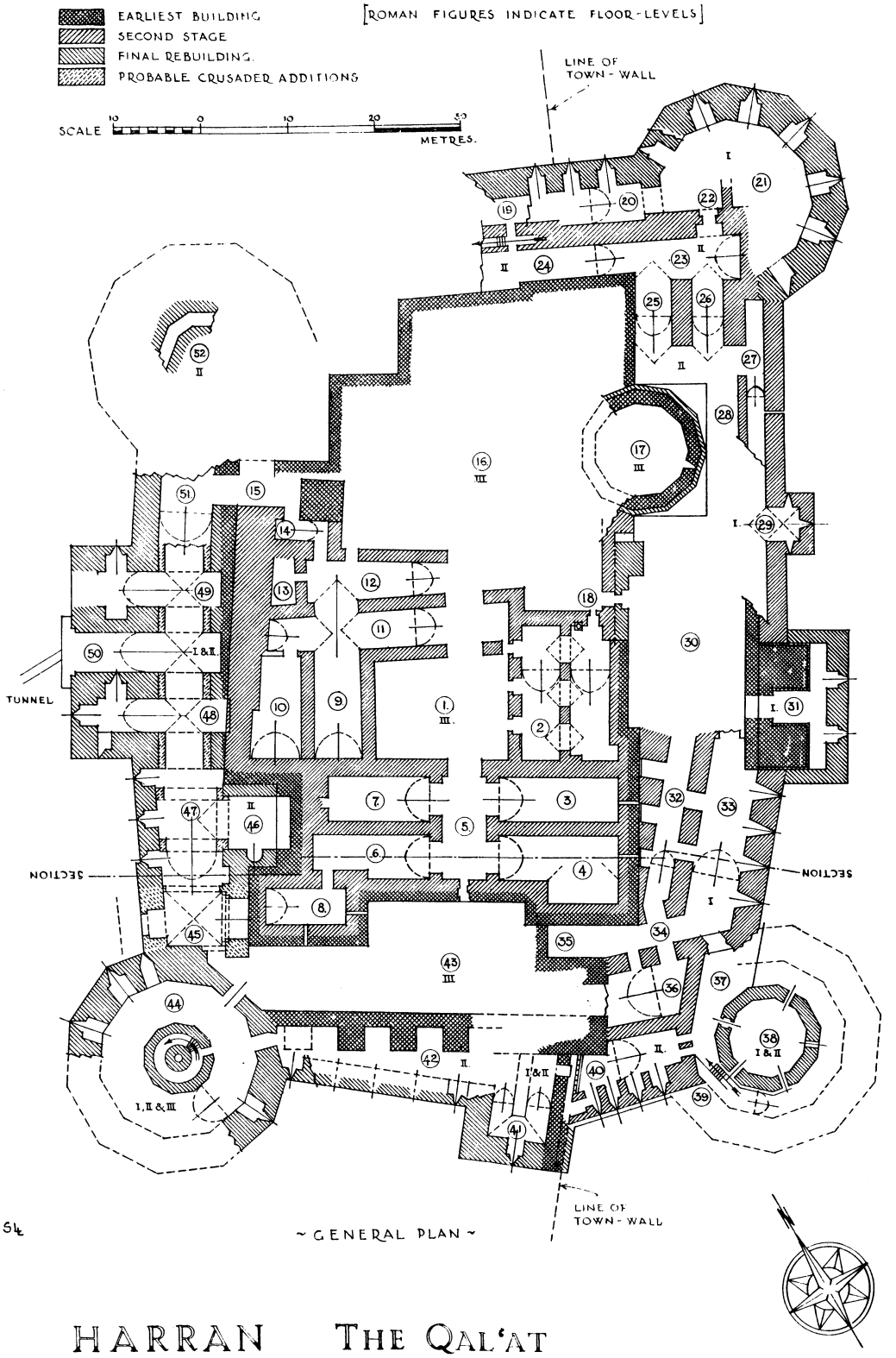
V. THE QAL'AT.

This is a very large building indeed, having overall dimensions of 130 × 90 metres (Plate IX, 1). It takes the form of an irregular rectangle, with polygonal towers at three of its four corners, a probable fourth tower, now almost completely destroyed, near the remaining corner, and a small watch-tower on the south-east side. Its long axis is oriented approximately north-east and south-west, and it stands astride the line of the city-wall, which has at some time abutted against it at either end. At another, probably later period, it has been isolated by a moat on all four sides, as Lawrence remarks, " perhaps a wet one ". (*Oriental Assembly*, p. 15) The building has three storeys, and must have stood to a height of about 30 metres from the bottom of the moat to the highest battlements. The numbering on the plan (Fig. 4) shows that over fifty separate halls and galleries can be counted in a single storey, which, allowing for the part which is now completely ruined, suggests that the building contained a total of more than 150 chambers.

The castle is built almost entirely of stone, with defensive walls often

[1] Possibly another Σελήνη temple. It may perhaps be identified with the second or third moon temples described above, though the mention of the Rakkah Gate is a difficulty with the second.

[2] There are ruins near Imam Bakir, about two miles east of Harran.



HARRAN THE QAL'AT

Fig. 4.

as much as 3 metres thick. Only a proportion of the chambers have brick vaulting, springing from a stone *tas-de-charge*.

Structural History.

At least four different building-periods can easily be detected in the structure, which consists of mediaeval extensions around a central nucleus, probably of a considerably greater age. It is this keep-like central portion of the building which, together with the corner towers, stands three storeys high, the remaining galleries terminating at second-floor level in an open terrace and *chemin-des-rondes*. Except at second-floor level, where a kind of *piano nobile* has been built over it in the Middle Ages, the nuclear structure is, in the present state of the building, nowhere accessible. (Only in one chamber (No. 4) does a hole in the floor enable one to see that the plan is repeated beneath.) But, clearly associated with it are, first, the small watch-tower (No. 17), secondly, the old south-east gateway (No. 31), flanked by square towers, and thirdly, the fortress-wall with heavy buttresses on the south-west side of the building (behind gallery No. 42). This last wall, at an early stage in its history, evidently represented the limit of the building on this side, for the city-wall, of which a portion is preserved at the west end of gallery No. 40, abutted against it. A straight joint between the two, however, makes them unlikely to be contemporary.

The second stage of building is represented by the third-storey chambers over the nuclear structure and a double row of galleries along the whole south-east front, which faced outwards towards the desert. There is reason to think that these galleries terminated, at the east and south corners, in towers which have since been replaced. The defensive gallery (No. 40) already mentioned, with its four arrow-slits in deep embrasures, would then have connected the south tower to the city-wall (Plate VIII, 3). Its outer wall, which is not bonded with the latter, continues eastwards well beyond the line of the stage-three tower, suggesting that the contemporary one was smaller.

The third stage represents by far the most ambitious rebuilding in the history of the castle. It was now that the great portal-tower and gallery were added on the north-west side of the building, and a defensive wall built out in front of the old south-east gateway. The three surviving corner-towers date from this period, as do the extended galleries adjoining them at the north-east and south-west ends. These latter are partially explained by the fact that the castle was now a detached defensive unit. It will be seen that, in the centre of the south-west façade, a new square tower had been built (No. 41), incorporating in its structure the broken end of the city-wall, whose protective function had now apparently been abandoned (Plate VIII, 2, 3).

There is only one substantial piece of building connected with the fourth and final stage. This was the fine ornamental archway, facing a newly-opened doorway in Chamber No. 45, beside the west tower. For the rest, there are some late repairs and additions to the central chambers

HARRAN THE QAL'AT.

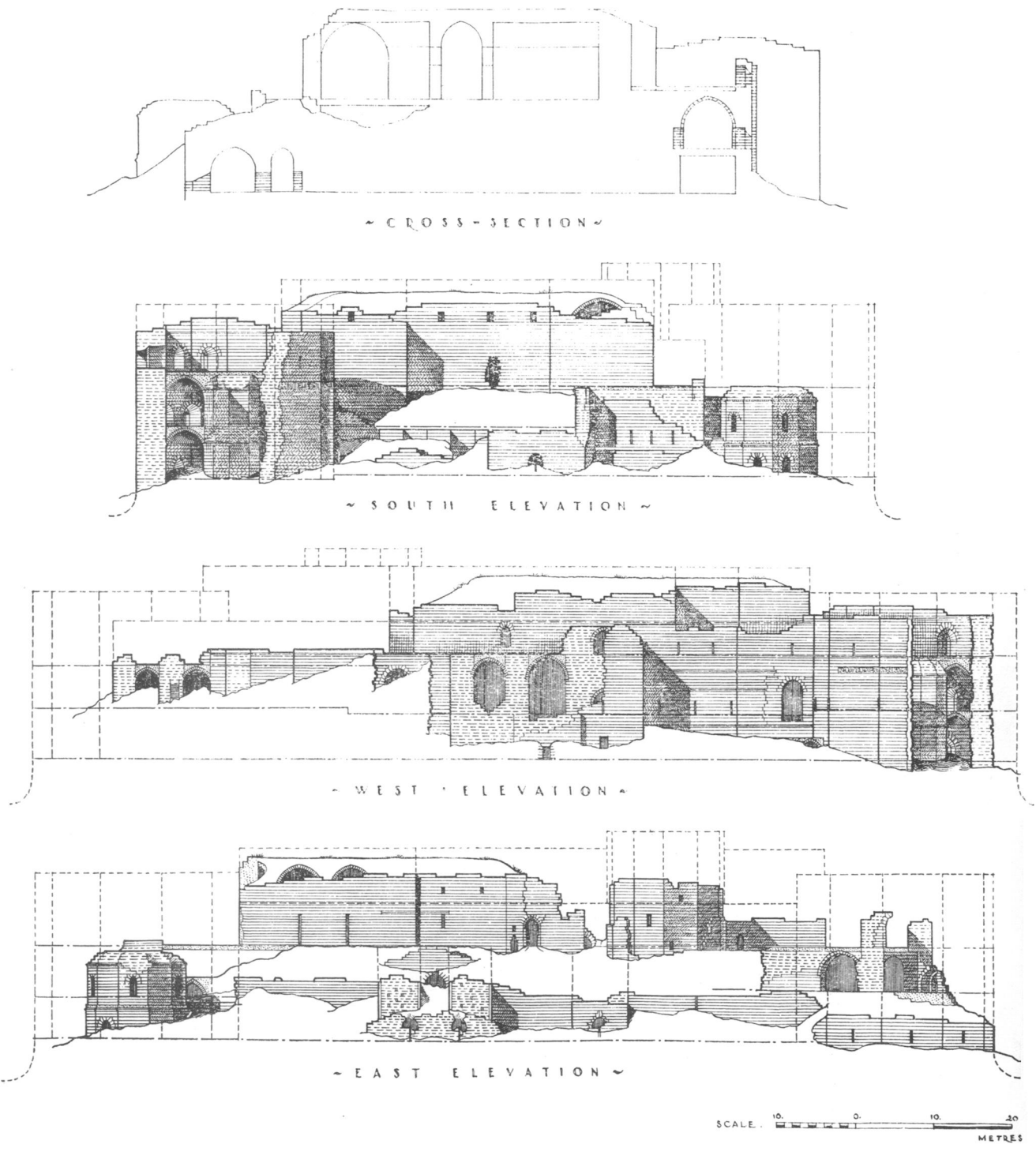


Fig. 5.

of the third storey and a lining and re-strengthening of the vaults with brickwork, in the whole of the north-west gallery (Nos. 47, 48 & 49).

Walls dating from stage 3 are usually distinguished by the use of rusticated masonry with drafted margins. The remainder is, without exception, plain ashlar.

The Plan.

It should be explained that the plan (Fig. 4) is a composite affair, recording three different floor-levels simultaneously. The central group, of course, represents the *piano nobile*, since the building beneath is inaccessible. Elsewhere, the first storey has been recorded only when the second storey no longer survives. The floor levels are distinguished by small Roman figures beneath those in circles.

It is hard to think of the main gateway on the north-west side as a defended entrance (Plate VIII, 1). It is true that, from its southern guard-room, an arrow-slit covers the entrance itself; but there is no visible provision for a solid gate, nor for a draw-bridge across the moat. The masonry around it, however, is much damaged, and some such structure must be presumed to have existed. Emerging from the basement chambers beneath the entrance is a stone-built tunnel, which is locally supposed to lead to the Great Mosque on the north side of the town.

The second entrance on the north-west side, which was perhaps cut at a late period when defence was not a primary consideration, appears to have more the function of a window. Again there is no visible approach, but broken arches in the debris beneath, suggest that it may have opened on to some sort of terrace (Fig. 5, west elevation).

A stairway, leading from the main north-west gallery to the upper part of the building, must have been located at its north-eastern end, which is now completely demolished. It is also unfortunate that the chambers adjoining the old south-eastern gateway (No. 30) are rendered inaccessible by fallen rubble, since from here another stairway must have approached the main gate (No. 18) leading to the *piano nobile*. Here are clearly the main residential or reception-rooms of the castle. From beside the gate, a small door leads into the principal living-room, and beside it a stone piscina is built into the wall. The chamber itself has stone intersecting vaults, supported on two central piers, and on the north-west side, three rebated doorways giving on to a central courtyard (No. 1). A later re-building of this part has left a stone pier obstructing one of the doors. The remaining chambers have no distinctive features, and the north-eastern group, adjoining the watch-tower, has been demolished. A large square pier of very old masonry, standing curiously isolated on the north-west side of this denuded area (No. 16) seems to have been associated with a stairway leading to the flat roof. The irregular limits of the nuclear structure on the north side do not explain themselves.

Judging by No. 44, the corner towers must have had their own independent staircases. There is also a small stairway in the thickness of the wall between the two north-eastern galleries (Nos. 19 & 24).

The Towers.

The corner towers are all eleven-sided, and since this also applies to the much older watch tower, one may imagine that this formula had some traditional significance.

By far the best preserved tower is that at the west corner (No. 44) (Plate VII, 2, 3). The vaulting of the lowest storey is for the most part still intact, and the gallery

beneath is still in use as a stable. Two courses of *tas-de-charge* stonework, above the springing, provide a seating for the vertical rings of narrow baked bricks. This system is used in all the vaulted chambers corresponding to the third re-building. There are arrow-slits between double splays in deep embrasures, centred on the angles or faces of the polygon on alternate floors. Just beneath the uppermost floor level, there is a fine, bold inscription, two stone-courses deep, slightly recessed in the outer face of the tower. The beginnings of the second and third storeys are still visible, and the roof was reached by a flight of stone steps leading up from the *chemin-des-rondes* to the north-east.

The south tower (Plate VIII, 2, 3), though apparently corresponding in general shape and dimensions, shows a different internal arrangement. The outer shell has completely disappeared, but the inner structure is preserved, with its polygonal chambers intact both in the first and second storeys (No. 38). Both are covered by shallow domes, while the surrounding gallery, containing the staircase, shows traces of the usual part-brick vault (Fig. 5, south elevation).

Of the east tower only the lowest storey survives, but this is sufficient to show that it again corresponds in shape and size to its western counterpart. Its internal arrangement is confused by the survival from an earlier building-period of a large doorway (No. 22), which was evidently of some importance, since it is ornamented, below the relieving arch, with an old classical lintel, supported on small " honey-comb " imposts.

The speculative assumption of a fourth tower, assymetrically placed near the north corner of the building (No. 52), is supported by the alignment of the only surviving fragments of masonry in this area, which could belong to another eleven-sided structure.

The small watch-tower (No. 17) remains standing almost to the height of the uppermost storey, but has no indication of vaulting. It has at some time been strengthened with an outer shell of ashlar, about sixty centimetres thick. It is this tower with the outer shell still intact which appears in Lawrence's picture (*Oriental Assembly*, Plate VIII). But the negative has been reversed and it is wrongly described as the " south side ".

Chambers Nos. 45 and 46.

Chamber No. 46, a vaulted annexe to the north-west gallery, has on the south-west side a deep semi-circular recess, covered by a semi-dome. The orientation of this feature suggests that it was perhaps a *mihrab*, and that the chamber might well have been used as a mosque. If this were so, it would add something of interest to the neighbouring compartment (No. 45), which has been most carefully re-shaped and transformed to some special purpose, at a very late date in the history of the building. The compartment itself has been segregated on the north-east side by a stone rib, applied to the old vault and has itself been reconstructed with a quadrupartite vault, carefully built in stone. On the south-east side, a deep recess is framed in a decorative archway (Fig. 6 and Plate X, 2) the elaborate ornament of which can immediately be dated to the Crusader period (compare, for instance, the arch-ornament in the Baptistry at Byblos ; Enlart, *Monuments des Croisés*, Plate 89). The arch, it should be noticed, is slightly pointed, and the back face of the recess curves inwards from the springing, to form a mitred vault. The arched opening in the outer wall of the building, directly opposite the recess, also dates from this period (Plate VIII, 1).

It is suggested that this chamber, with its peculiar appointments, might well represent a chapel, designed during a Crusader occupation to replace the mosque.

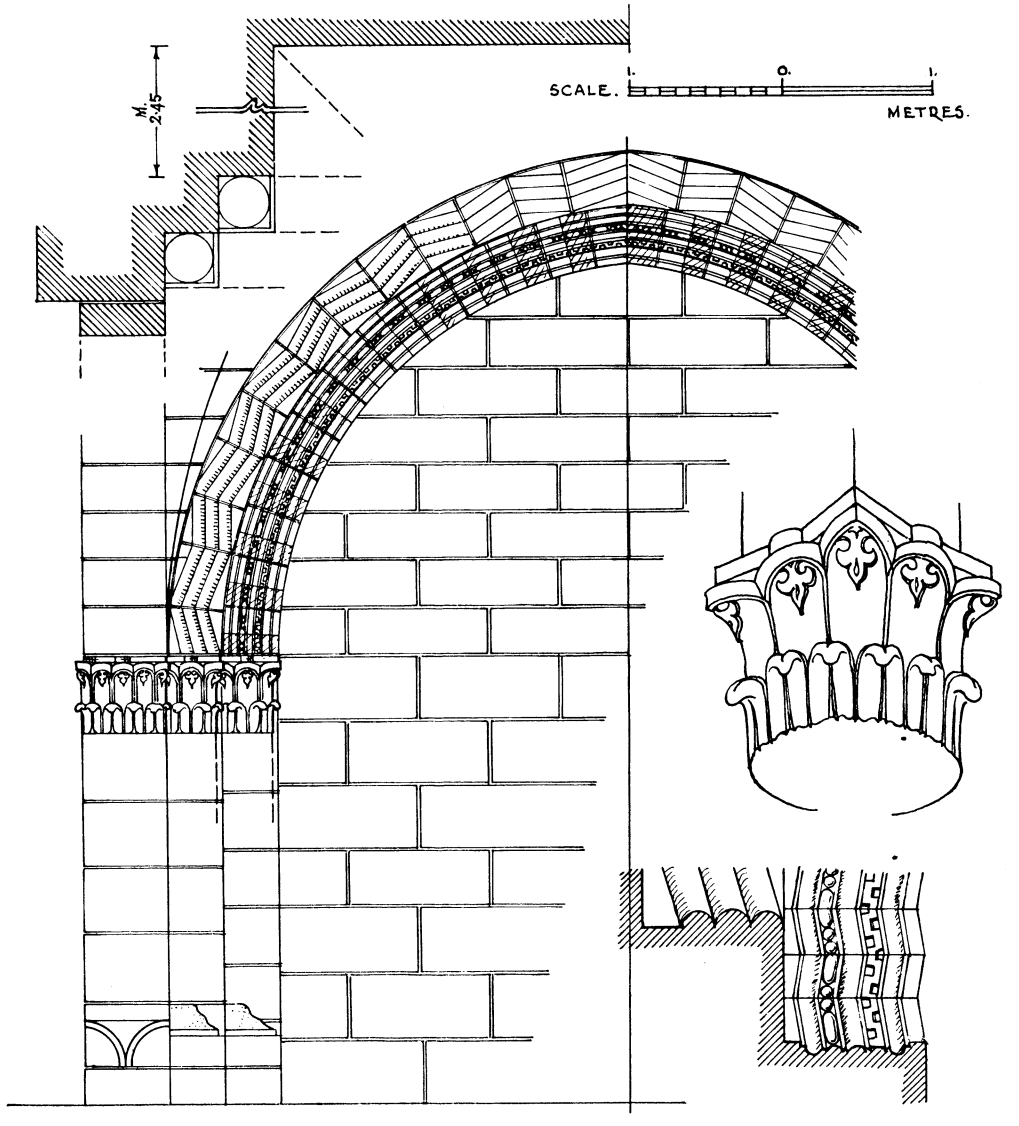


Fig. 6.

The Old South-Eastern Gateway. (No. 31.) (Fig. 5, east elevation.)

This gateway (whose existence has not, we think, been noticed by previous visitors), has a particular interest, in that the towers, flanking it on either side, were faced with black basalt. In all the exposed parts, the actual facing slabs have been removed, but the long tie-stones which at regular intervals were built deep into the wall, have remained in place, their dressed ends giving the alignment of the original face. On closer observation, it can also be seen that the facing-slabs themselves are preserved intact, where the later walls of the adjoining galleries are built up against the sides of the towers. Unfortunately, the whole gateway is buried deep in debris, and only a few stones of the archway remain in place. But, half-buried in the space

between the two towers, we discovered a substantial fragment of a sculptured lion, also in basalt (Plate IX, 3). This figure makes a pair with that found and photographed by Lawrence, at a point outside the walls, some distance further north, and now in the Ankara Museum (*Oriental Assembly*, Plate VII[1]). It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the original position of the two animals, on either side of the south-east gateway, is thus established.

Detail of the city-wall. (Fig. 7.)

As has already been mentioned, on the south-west side of the building where it is protected by the later construction of a defensive gallery, (No. 40), a portion of the old city-wall has survived undamaged. It is in fact preserved to such a height that, inside the gallery, a range of the original machicolations may be seen, with the narrow passage above them, to which access was apparently obtained through an arched opening (Plate VIII, 2, 3). It also appears that this defensive system was still in use after the building of the new gallery (No. 40) since the passage could be reached from it, through a narrow opening constructed for the purpose.

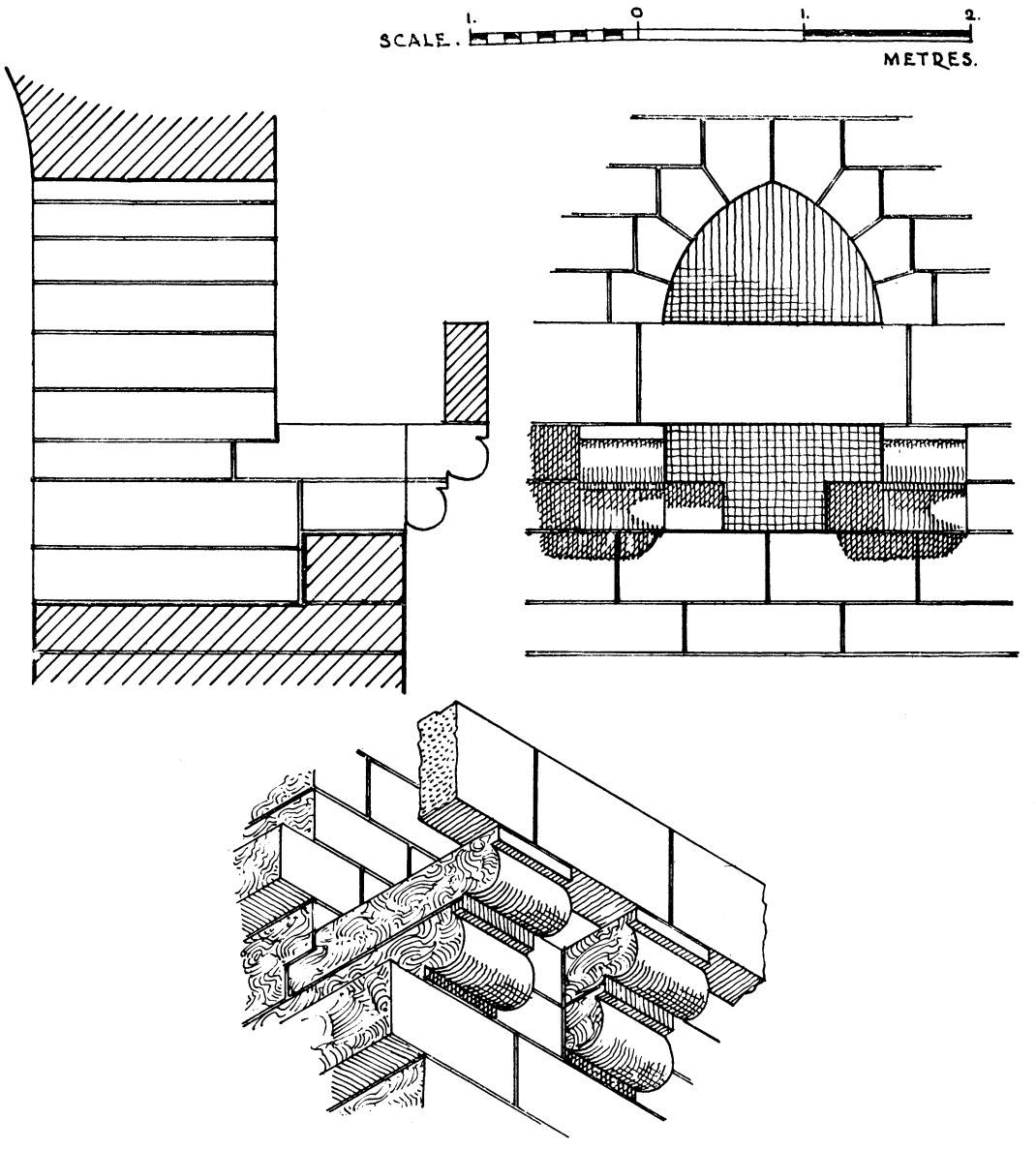
Dating.

Concerning the date of the earliest, "nuclear" structure, it is unfortunately only possible to speculate. Reference is made elsewhere (p. 92) to Dimashqi's identification of the *qal'at* with a Sabian Moon Temple, and, if we may accept this as the building to which he is referring, we may also imagine that, soon after its capture by the Fatimids, which he attributes to the year 1032, it was adapted to secular purposes and re-fortified. If a date is to be suggested for its earliest foundation, it is perhaps indicated by the primitive south-eastern gate, with its protecting lions, whose style is undoubtedly Hittite.

The second and third stages in the history of the building both fall within the Islamic occupation, but are separated by an important event; namely, the abandonment of the city-walls as a means of defence. At the time of the second re-building, which we have dated soon after 1032 A.D., they abutted against either end of the castle, and only that part which projected beyond them required defensive galleries (one of them, No. 40, had access to the wall-top). But at the third re-building the castle itself was considered as a defensive unit and new galleries built all round. (The broken end of the old city-wall was incorporated in a new tower, No. 41, on the south-west side.) A latest possible date for this third and most magnificent re-building would be the year A.D. 1098 (in which the building must certainly have fallen into the hands of the Crusaders), for the mosque-chamber (No. 46) is part of it.

As for the repairs and additions, which we have associated with a fourth building period, they should be dated, by the style of the ornamental archway in chamber No. 45, to the later rather than the earlier part of the Crusader Countship of Edessa, which lasted from A.D. 1098 to 1146.

[1] In this photograph, also, the negative is reversed, as shown by the sculpture itself.



MACHICOLATIONS PRESERVED IN ROOM NO. 40.

Fig. 7.

VI. Ruins of a Large Basilican Church. (Fig. 8.)

The site of this building has today the appearance of a deep hollow, piled high on the north and east sides with a profusion of fallen masonry. There has been much quarrying here in comparatively recent times, and the visible standing remains are unfortunately very scanty indeed. Only on the north side of the building, the later Islamic occupation seems to

have encroached on the original plan, and the northern aisle is packed with occupational debris to the full height of the piers, so that their enriched capitals remain, on that side, intact just beneath the modern surface (" F " in plan, Fig. 8). In the absence of any facilities for undertaking even the small amount of digging necessary to expose these capitals, one could only observe that in each case they were composed of four stones about a metre wide, a circumstance which would be compatible with the cruciform treatment of the piers, suggested in our reconstruction.

In addition to the piers of the northern arcade, some surviving fragments of the outer walls could be plotted ; one of the great octagonal piers, which had supported the main arch, framing the apse, remained standing ; and the line of the apse itself could be determined. Of the open colonnade on the south side of the building, two columns remained actually standing, while from those others which were fallen, but remained in place, the spacing could be estimated.

The final destruction of the upper part of the building appeared to have been the result of an earthquake, and, as is often found in such cases, much information could be obtained from the order and coherence of the fallen masonry. The first conclusion to which it led was that both nave and side-aisles were probably vaulted in stone. An undisturbed series of fallen voussoirs (" H " on plan) gives an extrados-diameter of 8·80 metres, which corresponds almost exactly to a transverse rib, rising from the projecting part of the pier. This interpretation is confirmed by the position in which they have fallen. At two points, near the surviving octagonal pier, and the end wall of the south aisle (" D " on plan) there were groups of rectangular stones with deep, curved chases cut across the dressed face, which, when superimposed in their original position, would indicate, on the wall from which they had fallen, a semi-circular channel 4·25 metres in diameter. One could only suppose that this channel had been cut to house the facing of a semi-circular vault, where it abutted against the end-wall, and the span thus indicated again corresponded to the breadth of the aisle.

The purpose of a heavy stone corbel lying in the south aisle (" C " on plan) was less easy to determine ; but two voussoirs fallen from the main arches of the nave (" B " on plan) appeared to be their keystones, and were furnished with moulded corbels. These could have supported the ridge-beams of a timber roof, if our assumption of vaulting proved incorrect.

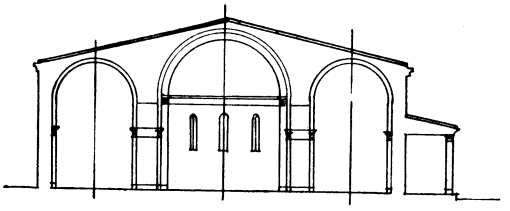
The rhythm of the piers in the nave-arcade is broken before the west end of the building is reached, in such a way as to suggest the existence of some sort of narthex. The fragment of enriched impost at " FF " on the plan, and the surviving fragment of wall to the west of it, have been taken as indicating some sort of partition at this point. The position of the stone well (" E " on plan) also suggests that the nave did not extend further westwards than this point.

The plan also shows what is perhaps a later extension of the apse, with a structure which might just possibly be a corner buttress.

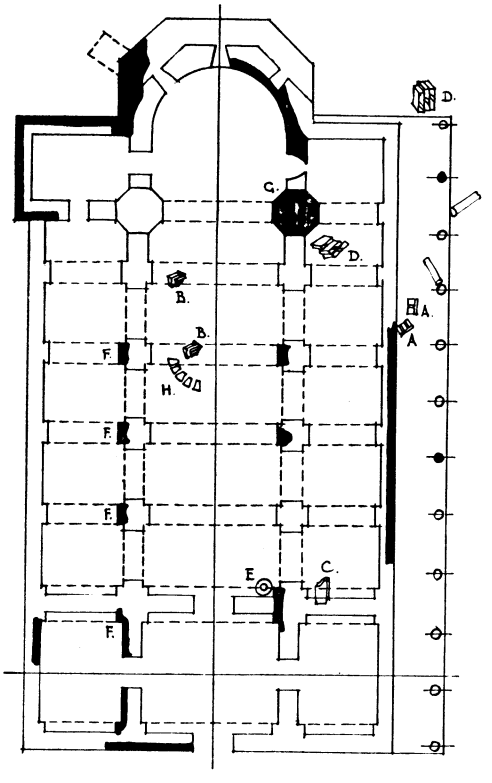
The pitch of the roof was exactly determined in the most interesting

HARRAN.

BASILICAN CHURCH.



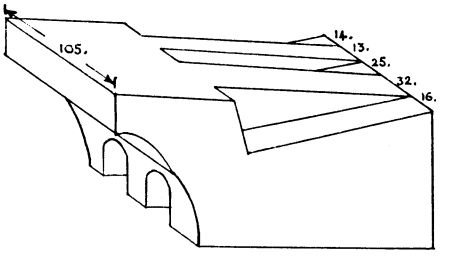
RESTORED SECTION.



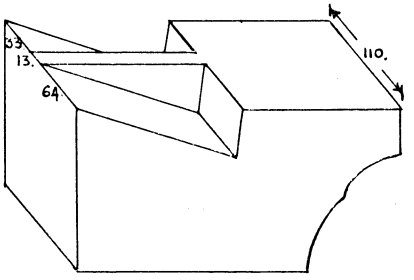
RESTORED PLAN.

SCALE: 0. 5. 10 METRES.

FALLEN FRAGMENTS.

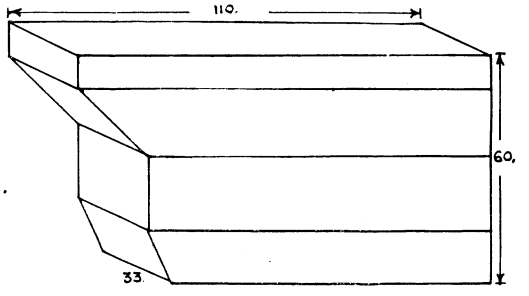


A.



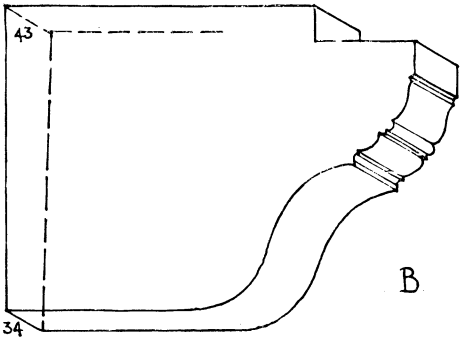
A.

CORNICE STONES WITH LODGEMENT FOR RAFTERS.



C.

STONE CORBEL. [UNPLACED]



B

KEYSTONES WITH MOLDED CORBELS.

Fig. 8.

way by the discovery of two stones, lying in the colonnade on the east side, having apparently fallen from the eaves of the main building. They show a kind of double-cavetto moulding for the upper element of the cornice and have chases cut in their upper faces, making a lodgement for the ends of the rafters. The average of the angles at which these lodgements are cut, gives a roof-pitch of 16 degrees.

The capitals of the nave arcade (F) bore a very stylized acanthus design while those of the octagonal chancel arch piers (G) had a more elaborate leaf pattern, similar to that on the east wall of the Great Mosque. The relative heights of the two could be measured, as the nave piers (F) are intact, and the stones of the remaining chancel arch pier lie juxtaposed as they fell.

It should be emphasised that the reconstruction of the building, attempted in Fig. 8, must be considered as extremely tentative, owing to the obscurity of many points which a minimum of excavating would at once clarify.

VII. Note on the Stele of Aşağı Yarimca. By C. J. Gadd, Esq., F.B.A.

This important monument is known to the writer only from a small photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Nuri Gökçe, and its inscription from paper squeezes carefully made by Messrs. Seton Lloyd and Brice, with the generous permission of Dr. Nuri Gökçe, who made a preliminary sounding at Aşağı Yarimca in which he discovered the stele. The present note may therefore confine itself to (1) the divine emblem sculptured on the face of the stone, and (2) the cuneiform inscription.

(1) The emblem is clear from Plate X, 3, and needs no verbal description. The disc-and-crescent is found in Babylonian art from the period of the First Dynasty onwards, and the crescent alone, mounted on a post, is an even more ancient symbol, dating from early prehistoric times, but there seem to be no examples of the disc or the disc-and-crescent mounted upon a post before the later Assyrian period.[1] With the addition of tassels, as on this stele, the emblem is known to be that of the Moon-God of Harran, as is proved by the explicit statement upon a relief of Bar-Rekub or Bar-Rakkab,[2] an Aramaean ruler of Sam'al (Zencirli), who was a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria, and flourished about 730 B.C. On the front of a stone block from his palace at Zencirli are sculptured figures of this ruler enthroned, with his secretary standing before him, and above, between the two, is this emblem of the disc-and-crescent upon a staff, with the two pendant tassels ; beside it is the Aramaic inscription " My lord,

[1] Mrs. E. D. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods* (Analecta Orientalia, 23), pp. 62, 64, 90 ff, gives many examples of discs and crescents, both alone and mounted upon poles.

[2] F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV, Tafel LX b. On Bar-Rakkab and his worship of the emblem of Harran as a supreme compliment to his Assyrian overlord, upon whom he bestows such obsequious flattery by word and imitation, see B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, pp. 46, 68 ff.

the ba'al of Harran". The main difference between this and the stele of Yarimca is that in the Bar-Rekub relief the emblem has no base, but appears rather as a comparatively small object which might be held in the hand.[1] The significance of cords and tassels upon these symbols is uncertain; they are found, from the Kassite period onwards, attached to a variety of cult-objects, especially the pointed implement called the *marru* of Marduk, but also below sun-discs and the lightning-symbol, and on standards carried by Assyrian chariots. Upon the Yarimca stele these tassels are of the thick massive kind common in the Assyrian sculptures of ninth–seventh centuries.

(2) The cuneiform inscription is of 16 lines crossing the whole front of the stele, beginning and ending on the raised border both left and right. The script, wherever the signs can be certainly recognised, is of the late Assyrian monumental type.

Inscriptions executed upon the rough dark-grey basalt of which this monument appears to be composed are never easy to read, and this would seem also to have been exposed to weathering or decaying influences. As the result of these two hindrances, despite the care with which the paper squeezes have been made, there is disappointingly little which can be made out, and hardly one place where more than two consecutive signs can be read with tolerable confidence. The purport of the text thus remains quite uncertain, and even the identity of its dedicator is doubtful.

1. At (or near) the beginning of the line is the name of the Moon-god, Sin (*AN. XXX*). *AN* begins on the raised edge, and there is no real trace of the vertical wedge (determinative of a personal name) before it. The following sign is illegible, but the next are *MEŠ* and possibly *SU*: hence perhaps the name of *Sennacherib*, but very uncertain, and the succeeding illegible signs do not look like any royal title. Towards the end of the line ——————*šá*——————
2. (Nothing clear.)
3. *šá ina AN*——————; at the end, quite clearly, (*alu*) *Ḫarranu*
4. ——————*šá bit(i)*——————
5. ——————*ú*——————*nu*
6. ——————*da*——————*MEŠ-šú*
7. (Nothing clear.)
8. ——————*alani(MEŠ)*——————*marê(MEŠ) ali-šú a*——————
9–13. Traces only, about six isolated signs visible, but in 10 again——————*MEŠ-šú*——————
14. ——————*(d)Sin (AN. XXX)*——————*šá*——————
15. ——————*ṣalmi(??) an*——————
16. ——————*AN*——————*ur-ti-šú*

[1] Miss A. Roes, in a recent paper contributed to the *Révue des Études Anciennes*, LII, 10, has noticed this appearance, but her suggestion that it is in the main a sun symbol cannot be reconciled with its known relation to the Moon-God of Harran.

What may be gathered from this is necessarily very little : the two certainties are that the Moon-god Sin is mentioned twice (1, 14) and the city of Harran once (3)—gratifying as this confirmation is, they are precisely the two facts which were known before. Among possibilities, the most interesting are : that Sennacherib is named in (1), and thus may have been the dedicator of this monument ; several phrases (6, 8, 10) which refer to " his " (i.e. the god's ?) possessions (in the plural), especially (8) " cities "————————" sons (i.e. inhabitants) of his city " ; a very dubious mention (15) of " this image " (??).

It is greatly to be hoped (though perhaps not overmuch to be expected) that direct study of the original stone would give a better result.

VIII. Surface-Finds Collected on the Mound at Aşağı Yarimca. *July*, 1950.

1. Characteristic Tell Halaf monochrome wares and shapes.
2. Characteristic Al 'Ubaid painted ware of the North Iraq variety.
3. Rim of a red-washed vessel of a Uruk or Jemdet Nasr shape.
4. A quantity of interesting " reserved-slip " ware of late J.N. type.
5. Some fragments of painted ware of the " Khabur " type.
6. Many characteristic early and late Assyrian rim-shapes.
7. Some unmistakably Hellenistic fragments.
8. A thin, very hard, black/red ware with slight corrugation. (Roman ?)
9. A little Islamic glaze.

IX. Coins Found at Harran During the Survey.

(Kindly examined by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.)

Serial No.	*Number*	*Material*	*Period*	*Mint*
1	1	Copper	'Abbasid Caliphate Yahya bin Mohammed, a Governor of Mosul	Mosul
2	1	do.	The Egyptian Ayyubid, Al Malik Nasir Salah-ad-Dîn Yusuf bin Eyyub	do.
3	1	do.	Ayyubid of Damascus and Egypt. Al-Adil Sayf-ad-Dîn Abu-Bakir (H. 569–589)	Rakka
4	4	do.	Ayyubid of Damascus and Egypt. Kamil Mohammed bin Abu-Bakir (H. 615–635)	Harran

Serial No.	*Number*	*Material*	*Period*	*Mint*
5	4	Copper	The Ayyubid of Aleppo, Al-Dahir Ghazi (H. 582–618)	Harran
6	3	do.	The Ayyubid of Alleppo, Mohammed Al-Aziz (613–634)	do.
7	4	do.	The Ayyubid of Aleppo, Al-Nasir Yusuf Salah-ad-Dîn II (H. 634–658)	do.
8	2	do.	The Mayfarkin Ayyubid, Al-Adil Sayf-ad-Dîn (H. 591–615)	do.
9	2	do.	The Mayfarkin Ayyubid, Al-Muzaffar Ghazi (H. 628–642)	do.
10	1	do.	The Seljuk, Kaikusrau II (H. 634–644)	do.
11	1	do.	The Artokid of Mardin, Nasir-ad-Din Artuk Arslan (H. 597–637)	do.
12	1	do.	The Artokid of Mardin, Nasir-ad-Dîn Artuk Arslan (H. 625)	do.
13	3	1–Silver	Roman. Imp. Severus Alexander (222–235)	—
		2–Copper	Roman. Constantius II (337–361)	—
		3–Copper	Byzantine. Imp. Justinus II Sophia (565–578)	Nicomedia