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**MEDIEVAL RURAL
SETTLEMENTS IN THE
SYRIAN COASTAL REGION
(12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES)**

Balázs Major





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Preface

The publication of this monograph marks a significant advance in our understanding of the archaeology of the territories in the Near East occupied by the crusaders. It originated as a PhD thesis – now extensively revised – that was prepared under the supervision of Professor Denys Pringle of Cardiff University and was submitted and examined in 2008. The examiners were Professor Hugh Kennedy of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and myself.

As the title makes clear, the subject-matter is the archaeology of crusader settlements and settlement patterns in the areas of the present-day Republic of Syria that came under the rule of the crusaders at various points during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In political terms, that means that it is concerned with the northern portion of the crusader county of Tripoli and the southern parts of the principality of Antioch. Some areas were only under crusader rule for a few years, while others, for example Ṭartūs and its environs, were held for around 180 years. Neither Tripoli nor Antioch is situated within the region discussed, but on the other hand, the whole of the coastal area and various inland areas, notably the Gap of Homs, are. The crusaders never occupied the cities of the hinterland: Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Shaizar or Damascus, although at times during the twelfth century their rule did include parts of the Orontes valley.

The great strength of this study lies in the integration of archaeological and literary data. Evidence for settlement and society from the western-language sources produced by the crusaders themselves is limited and patchy. The Arabic materials, on the other hand, are extensive and, until now, they have been comparatively little used. Professor Major's careful reading of these sources in conjunction with the detailed maps produced during the twentieth century provides a huge array of topographical information. On its own, however, this data is of little value. It is his extensive archaeological field work that makes this study so important and so original. This was conducted over a number of years in association with the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM) founded by him. Previously most work on the medieval archaeology of the region had concentrated on the larger and more obvious localities, but, often with the help of local residents, he was able to investigate the remains of a large number of smaller settlement sites and structures, many of which he identified as dating to this period for the first time. Vital in this respect is the ceramic evidence gleaned from field walking, which often provides the essential clue to occupation during the crusader period.

Starting in 2007, Professor Major has been the Hungarian director of the SHAM project engaged in excavating the castle and suburbs of the Hospitaller fortress of al-Marqab (Margat). The results of this work are spectacular, but, although some of the findings are now in print, publication of the full report will inevitably take some time. This programme has allowed the opportunity for further reflection on the subject matter of the present study – not least thanks to the ceramic material excavated under scientifically controlled conditions – and the findings mean that our understandings have advanced significantly since the thesis was submitted.

Professor Major's field work was timely. Back in 2008 when the thesis was completed, no one would have predicted the tragic events that have engulfed Syria in the past few years. The sort of detailed field work he undertook then would not now be possible. Professor Major had considerable help from the staff of the various Syrian archaeological services and also from local people who drew his attention to sites of potential interest and were able to tell him about what had once been visible but was by then destroyed. Without their assistance, far less could have been achieved, and the study should be viewed as a tribute to these people who at very least have had to endure the fear and privations brought about by warfare and who in many instances may well have suffered far more grievously.

Peter Edbury
Cardiff University
December 2015

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Dr. Balázs Major
director of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission
Department of Archaeology of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University

Notes on Transcription

Medieval sites in the Levant usually have at least two names, an Arabic and a Latin one. However there are often many versions in both languages. In order to have a consistent and practical system, the present day Arabic name of every site was used. The standardised version was taken from the 1:50.000 scale maps made by the Cartographical Institute of the Syrian Army and whenever it was necessary the *Muʿjam al-Juġrāfiyy li'l-Quṭr al-ʿArabiyy al-Sūriyy* was also consulted. In the case of a few large towns their well known English names are used, like Antioch instead of Anṭākiya or Homs instead of Ḥimṣ. The list of concordances (ie. the most frequently used medieval Frankish equivalent of the name of each site) is given in:

Database II. Settlements in the Syrian Coastal Region Featuring in the Medieval Latin and Arabic Documents

Database III. Sites Visited between 2000 and 2015 in the Syrian Coastal Region

In the transcription of Arabic names to Latin letters the use of complex fonts was avoided and whenever it was possible, the equivalent of the different Arab letters was given with the simplest combination of Latin letters. The concordances are summarized in the tables below:

أ	a	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dz	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	ء	ʾ
ض	ḍ	ة	a

Long vowels are indicated with dash line

Summary

This book is the result of more than a dozen years of research in the field of the hitherto unstudied medieval settlement pattern of the Syrian coastal region in the 12th and 13th centuries. The conclusions presented in this work were reached with the combined use of several source types including medieval documents, travellers' accounts, former research, map evidence, toponymy, archive and satellite photographs, oral sources and extensive archaeological field surveys accompanied by documentation between the years 2000 and 2015. After enumerating the historical events that influenced the settlement pattern of the coast, its centres, including the towns and castles (with special regard to the smaller fortifications of the countryside that seem to have been a Frankish introduction to the area) are analysed. Following the detailed examination of the written sources and the architectural material preserved at these lesser sites, a closer look at the villages and their environment aims to draw a general picture on the density of settlements and their basic characteristics. The book also discusses communication lines and provides an assessment of the medieval population that inhabited the region in the 12th and 13th centuries. The text is accompanied by a collection of maps, plan drawings, tables and illustrations on a selected number of sites visited during the field surveys.

1. Introduction

The Syrian coastal region has been one of the great centres of human civilization and its rich history is faithfully reflected in its archaeological material. Being the most important 'sea gate' of the Fertile Crescent towards the Mediterranean, the Syrian coast has always stood at the crossroads of civilizations and served both as a meeting point and melting pot of cultures. One of the outstanding periods in the life of the region occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the Crusades and the settlement of the Europeans resulted in a period of historical changes at a level unprecedented in the previous centuries. Nearly two hundred years of a European presence left many marks visible in the archaeological evidence. A handful of large and spectacular sites, especially castles, were studied to a certain extent. But very little attention has been paid to lesser remains despite the fact that they are the sole indicators of the network of rural settlements that provided for the towns and large castles. Research on the pattern of rural settlements and their remains is essential to the understanding of medieval life and the history of the coastal region. This study is also of vital importance for more practical reasons. In recent decades the Syrian coastal region has been undergoing the largest transformation of its physical environment in history and as a result of this the infrastructural and agricultural developments now threaten a large part of the mostly undocumented archaeological heritage of the countryside. This process has only been accelerated by the tragic events that started in the spring of 2011.

Although the general outlook comprises the whole of the Levantine coast which showed more or less the same kind of development, this book of combined historical and archaeological study concentrates on the coastal territory between Antioch and Tripoli. These were the capitals of the two Crusader states that incorporated the Syrian coastlands in the 12th and 13th centuries. Apart from being a relatively compact geographical unit which included the coastal strip and was bordered by the coastal mountains, it was the hinterland of a single political authority for most of the two centuries. The area of research was also demarcated by present-day political boundaries and the availability of the necessary permissions for the archaeological fieldwork required.

The survey of the remains of the medieval rural settlements of the Syrian coastal region started in the framework of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM) in 2000 and was directed by the author of this book. With the exception of the second survey season in the Upper Orontes Valley from the end of October until the beginning of December 2004, all surveys took place in the summer months and usually lasted between one and a half to three months. Most of the work was conducted between 2000

and 2011 but on-site visits and documentation of formerly collected material still took place in 2012 and 2015.

The authorisation for fieldwork was issued by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of the Syrian Arab Republic (DGAM) for the governorates bordering the coast (Latakia, Tartūs, Homs, Hama, Idlib) with a special regard to its southern part, the Governorate of Tartūs. Besides the results of the surveys, observations made during numerous trips to other regions of the Levant have also been included. With regards to the surveys referenced in this text, the reader can assume they refer to one of those conducted by the SHAM between 2000 and 2011, unless otherwise stated.

The presentation of the results of the research undertaken in recent years has been constructed around the discussion of more generalised subjects, but important questions and archaeological categories have at times been elaborated upon and illustrated by case studies relating to the investigation of a micro-region or a certain site. Special attention is paid to the rural towers which served as the local centres of the rural settlement and also to the cave castles of the Upper Orontes Valley which are expected to have fulfilled a similar focal role. Although they constitute the most tangible and informative remains of the medieval rural settlement pattern in the Syrian coastal region, none has been the subject of thorough documentation and study formerly.

The conclusions presented in this work were reached by the combined use of several sources, including medieval documents, travellers' accounts, map evidence, toponymy, archive and satellite photographs, as well as oral sources, the usefulness and limits of which are explained in the chapter discussing the methodology employed during the research. As the dating of several sites depends on the ceramics collected during the surveys, observations on typology and distribution are dealt with in a separate chapter. The trends in the development of the network of settlements were to a large extent determined by historical events that have been outlined briefly in the next chapter.

The presentation of the individual elements of the settlement patterns start with a brief examination of the distribution and basic characteristics of their centres, the towns, and continues with the investigation of the role that the numerous fortified sites of the rural hinterland played in the life of the coastal region. Special attention is given to the information that the historical sources and field surveys have yielded, particularly with regards to the role of the rural towers and courtyard buildings. These were introduced as new elements into the landscape of the Syrian coastal region in the 12th century. Cave castles

in the northern region seemingly fulfil a similar role and are also dealt with in detail. Villages, the basic units of the medieval settlement pattern, tend to leave few traces and the chapter on them therefore deals to a large extent with data that derives from the written sources. In turn this data is then combined with the archaeological material collected from certain sample regions that provide information on the density and basic characteristics of the medieval villages. An understanding of the medieval life of the rural areas in question can be considerably refined by examining the elements of infrastructure that provide a correlation between the various settlements, or indeed form the basis upon which economic production was built. The final chapter examines the scanty sources on the identity of the medieval inhabitants of the coastal region, with special regard to an intriguing question, to what extent is there evidence for the physical presence of a European population in the rural areas in this period?

The text is supplemented by four basic categories of illustrations. Besides trying to find new material both in the written sources and out in the field, former scholarly research on the identification of rural sites was re-examined and the results indicated on a general map, containing medieval and present-day place names and the basic archaeological features of the sites. This '*Carte Generale*' is supplemented by regional and thematic maps. Information on the individual sites, ranging from elements of infrastructure preserved in the sources, to types of pottery found during the SHAM surveys are also summarized in the form of databases. Images illustrating the landscape of the coastal regions, representing both individual sites and ceramic types that are characteristic of the medieval settlements have been shown on figures and plates. Selected results of the documentation done on individual sites are presented in the form of a series of plan, section and elevation drawings. These provide further illustration for the discussions and conclusions of the book built on architectural evidence. A detailed gazetteer of the archaeological topography of the region is planned to be published in a separate volume that will hopefully follow soon.

Given the extent of the areas to be surveyed and the complex nature of the research required, work in the Syrian coastlands is far from complete. This book is a primary synthesis of the material collected during one and a half decades of fieldwork. Needless to say future research, including our ongoing fieldwork, is expected to bring further results that will enhance our knowledge and could change the perceptions we have of the countryside of the medieval Syrian coastal region considerably.

2. The Geographical Setting

The geographical characteristics¹ of the Syrian coastal region, stretching 160 km along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, are incredibly diverse. (*pict. 1-15*) The coast is dominated by a series of mountains, which form the western edge of the rift valley stretching parallel to the shoreline from Southern Turkey to the Gulf of 'Aqaba and beyond. This natural wall, which separates the Levantine coast from the interior, comprises on its Syrian side the Jabal Anṣāriyya (*pict. 10*) and on its northern continuation, the Jabal al-Aqra' (*pict. 15*).² These mountains are subdivided into lesser units. The northern part of the Jabal Anṣāriyya was known in the Middle Ages as the Jabal al-Rawādifī, its southern half as the Jabal Bahrā and the southeastern extension of this mountain range was called the Jabal Ḥaluw. The northern and southern parts of the Jabal al-Aqra' also had their own names, the former being called Jabal Quṣayr and the latter Jabal Bā'ir. The mountains are poor in minerals but had considerable forests and whilst their lower ranges were more suitable for olive production and viticulture, the upper ranges could also be used for herding livestock. The coastal mountains collect a considerable amount of humidity coming from the sea and are thus the source of numerous rivers, which subsequently discharge their waters back into the Mediterranean. The most important perennial rivers of the Syrian coast are the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī (*pict. 5*) and the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Shimālī (*pict. 4*). The rivers not only water the coastal plains supporting agricultural activity, but their deeply cut valleys facilitated communication through the mountains.

Between the mountains and the coast are a number of low-lying fertile regions, which were subject to intensive agricultural exploitation throughout the Middle Ages (*pict. 1*). Crops grown here included cereals, a variety of fruits and sugar cane. The most important of these regions is the area of the Gap of Homs, which divides the Jabal Anṣāriyya from the Mountains of Lebanon and thus forms a wide natural highway between the coast and the interior of Syria (*pict. 7*). This natural passage of varying widths has in its eastern part the fertile pocket of the Buqay'a plain, while in the west it opens into the wide plain of 'Akkār which stretches until the town of Tripoli on both sides of the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī. The westernmost part of this plain close to the sea was often called by the separate name of Jūn (*pict. 6*). The Plain of 'Akkār is bordered in the south by the Jabal 'Akkār, itself a part of Mount Lebanon and on the north it transforms into the hill country of Ṣāfitā. (*pict. 8*) There are a number of other plains to the north including the ones around Ṭarṭūs, Jabala and Latakia. These fertile alluvial plains form the agricultural hinterland of those

coastal towns which grew around the natural bays of the rocky northern coastline.

The Syrian coastal region is bordered to the east by the course of the River Orontes,³ which meanders through the rift-valley. The Orontes originates from the northern mouth of the Biqā' valley that separates Mount Lebanon from its eastern pair, the Anti-Lebanon. After flowing out of the Biqā' its water enter a depression north of Homs, forming the Lake of Homs also called Lake of Qaṭṭīna or Qadash. Leaving the lake, the Orontes flows past Homs and Hama and enters the region of the Ghāb, which is flanked by the Jabal Anṣāriyya on the west and the Jabal Zāwiya in the east (*pict. 11*). In this middle section the river widens into the Lake of Afāmiya, which is surrounded by an extensive marshland. The Ghāb has its continuation in the depression of the Rūj towards the northeast (*pict. 13*), but the river follows a more northwesterly course entering a deep rocky gorge called the Upper Orontes Valley (*pict. 14*). This is the valley that separates the Jabal al-Aqra' from the long stretch of mountains, the Jabal Waṣṭāni, the Jabal Duwaylī and the Jabal Bārīshā, from south to north respectively. Leaving this defile, the Orontes enters a widening plain that terminates in the 'Amq depression, the agricultural hinterland of Antioch. Before reaching the now drained lake in the centre of the 'Amq (known variably as the Lake of Antioch, Lake of Yaghrā or Sallūr)⁴ the river makes a westerly turn and flows through a rocky defile that isolates the Jabal al-Aqra' from the Amanus ranges until it eventually enters the sea.

The geographical makeup of the Syrian coast had a deep impact on its history and greatly determined the pattern of the medieval settlement. Possessing a number of natural harbours on its rocky coastline and having a natural wall of mountains isolating it from the interior of Syria, the coastal region was always more exposed to the sea than to the inland. While the coast served as a commercial gate, the mountains served more and more as a refuge for religious minorities, who lived a secluded life centred around a large number of fortresses, from the Middle Ages onwards. The mountain barrier contributed to the isolation of the coast from the rest of Syria in both a physical and cultural sense and thereby helped facilitate the settlement of the Europeans during the 12th and 13th centuries.

¹ For a general description see: Syria 1943: 11-22.

² For a detailed description see: Weulersse 1940a: 291-316.

³ For a detailed description see: Weulersse 1940b: 11-50.

⁴ Sachau 1892: 330-331.

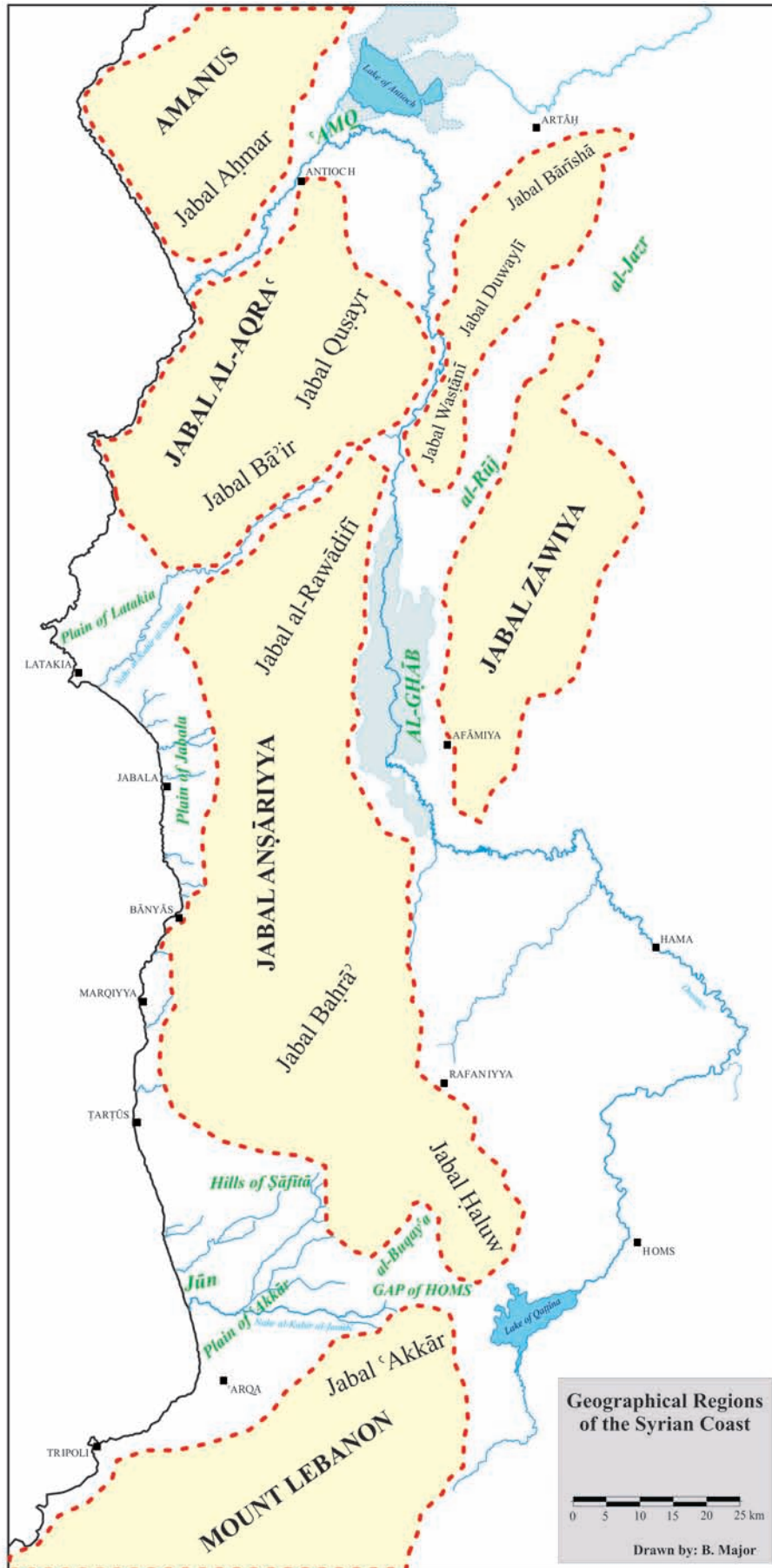


Fig. 1. Map of the main geographical units of the Syrian coastal region and its vicinity.

3. Methodology

3.1. Previous Research

The physical remains of the Crusader presence on the Syrian coast, in particular the castles, were noticed a long time ago by European travellers and scholars. Even though they were mainly interested in religious sites or in the remains of antiquity, early visitors of the 16th to 18th century: d'Aramon,⁵ Henry Maundrell,⁶ Thomas Shaw⁷ and Richard Pococke⁸ all gave reports of varying lengths on the magnificent medieval ruins of Ṭartūs, which were the easiest to reach. Notes on lesser monuments are very rare and short in these early reports. The 19th century saw an increase in the number of visitors to the coastlands of Syria and their descriptions became more detailed. The keen observer Louis Burckhardt⁹ visited only a small section of the Syrian coastal region, but Frederick Walpole spent months in the countryside and made many useful remarks on medieval sites.¹⁰ Although a vast amount of the literary activity of the American missionaries focused on religious matters, the works and letters of some, like Josias Leslie Porter¹¹ and Edward Robinson¹² preserved wealth of useful information on many of the sites and their then still unspoilt environment.

It was during the second half of the 19th century that, parallel to the growth of European (foremostly French) political interest in the Syrian coast, a considerable surge of scholarly interest in the sites of Crusader origin of the Levant took place.¹³ As many of the best preserved architectural achievements were found along the Syrian coastal region, this area received a marked attention in the pioneering work of Guillaume Rey, published in 1871 under the title *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*. Besides the discussion of the main castles, he was the first to refer in detail to the rural towers of the Syrian coast¹⁴ and to publish drawings on lesser sites, like the now almost completely destroyed Frankish tower in the village of Tukhla. Rey was also the first to show an interest in the medieval topography of the region and the identification of medieval sites referred to in medieval documents.¹⁵ In this field he was soon followed by Reinhold Röhricht.¹⁶

Research into historical topography gained additional impetus with the publication of important collections of documents including the 14 volumes of the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades between 1841 and 1906* and the *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* by Delaville le Roulx between 1894 and 1906. The turn of the century saw an increasing number of scholars visiting the Syrian countryside, including Henry Lammens,¹⁷ Thomas Edward Lawrence,¹⁸ Max van Berchem and Edmond Fatio.¹⁹ This influx increased the number of detailed accounts concerning the less spectacular remains of medieval origin in outlying areas.

Research of the medieval period in Syria then gained a new impetus with the French Mandate period starting in 1921. Besides the more favourable political and financial environment for research, scholars could depend on new methods such as aerial photography or the precise 1:50.000 scale maps made by the French Government. These maps contained not only the topographical features of the area but an enormous number of place names complete with transcriptions. These developments provided helpful background to the seminal work of René Dussaud, entitled *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* and the birth of the first thematic elaborations of the Crusader states of Antioch and Tripoli, who shared the Syrian coast during the 12th and 13th centuries. Even though the work of Dussaud was a historical topography, it incorporated precious information on lesser monuments such as the only description of a Frankish church in the village of 'Uṣayba.²⁰ While the work of Jean Richard on the County of Tripoli until 1187²¹ relied primarily on Latin sources, the monumental book of Claude Cahen on the Principality of Antioch²² made a thorough use of Arabic sources and discussed questions of the medieval topography in detail. Parallel to the enthusiastic historical work, research activity also commenced on the medieval architectural remains of the Syrian coast. This research took place under the leadership of Paul Deschamps with special regard to the main fortifications of the region, foremostly Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn (the Crac des Chevaliers).²³ This ambiguity in architectural and archaeological research and documentation was clearly reflected in the published material. Large castles were analysed elaborately, while lesser sites in their vicinity were granted only a few lines and a handful of photographs, if they received mention at all. The summary of the results of former scholarship

⁵ Chesneau 1549: 141.

⁶ Maundrell 1697: 398-399.

⁷ Shaw 1738: 324-326.

⁸ Pococke 1745: 201.

⁹ Burckhardt 1822.

¹⁰ Walpole 1851.

¹¹ Porter 1854: 649-693.

¹² Robinson 1856.

¹³ Kennedy 1994: 1-2.

¹⁴ Rey 1871: 101-104.

¹⁵ Rey 1883: 297-300, 323-375.

¹⁶ Röhricht 1887.

¹⁷ Lammens 1900.

¹⁸ Lawrence 1988.

¹⁹ Van Berchem & Fatio 1913-15.

²⁰ Dussaud 1927: 131, n. 8.

²¹ Richard 1945.

²² Cahen 1940.

²³ Deschamps 1934.

combined with the research work done in the Mandate Period on the fortifications of the Syrian coastal region was published in the fundamental work, *La Défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* of Deschamps.²⁴ The primary importance of this work lies not only in its discussion of individual monuments, but also in the author's careful synthesis of the former and present results in the field of Crusader era topography of the Syrian coastlands. His "*Carte Generale*" was the first map where the names of Crusader period villages preserved in the medieval documents were positioned on a map with such care. These achievements made Deschamps' book a basic reference work on which all subsequent studies, including this present one, have to rely on heavily.

The changes brought with the collapse of the Mandate Period in 1946 resulted in a nearly complete halt of the fieldwork on the Syrian coast for decades. Parallel to this a great drop in the volume of the historical research concerning the area can also be observed. Most archaeological work that yielded some data on the Middle Ages was motivated originally by interest in the sites of antiquity. Such was the case of the Danish Archaeological Mission's work in Tall Sūkās and its vicinity,²⁵ the surveys of Jean-Paul Thalmann,²⁶ excavations of the American University in Beirut on Tall Kazal,²⁷ the Japanese-Syrian underwater excavation of a sunken ship at Marqiyya,²⁸ the researches of the Franciscan Fathers around the Upper Orontes Valley²⁹ and the outstanding work of Ḥusayn Ḥijāzī on the ports and harbours of the Syrian coast.³⁰ More recently published information on the architectural remains of the 12th and 13th century rural settlement of the Syrian coast only started to re-emerge in the works of Denys Pringle³¹ and Hugh Kennedy.³² Historical works from the second half of the 20th century, containing a great deal of precious data on the rural sites of the Syrian coastal region include *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus* and *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* of Jonathan Riley-Smith and studies of Hans Eberhard Mayer.³³ Besides the works of Gabriel Sa'āda³⁴ fulfilling scholarly requirements, a number of Syrian publications appeared from local amateur historians, amongst whom the work of Ibrāhīm 'Umayrī³⁵ is by far the most informative on medieval rural sites in the Syrian coastal mountains and their immediate vicinity.

While the middle of the 20th century saw a sharp drop in interest on the Syrian coast, research activity intensified

in the former territories of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, producing very useful results that could be used as analogies for Syria. One of the distinctive characteristics of this scholarly activity was its growing interest in settlements, including lesser ones.³⁶ The path for research combining the results of archaeological excavations with data from field surveys and the historical sources was marked by the complex study of Pringle on the medieval settlements of the Sharon plain.³⁷ Besides the numerous excavations conducted on rural sites in Palestine,³⁸ general assessment of the settlement pattern in the time of the Crusades was prepared recently by Ronnie Ellenblum.³⁹ In present day Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey the amount of surveying or historical work done in the field of medieval rural landscapes and settlements is far less than in the area of medieval Palestine.⁴⁰ But even these results are useful as parallels for the far more neglected Syrian coastlands.

Although the Syrian coastal region saw very few extensive field surveys with a primary interest in the medieval rural settlements until the start of the SHAM survey program in 2000, fieldwork with more general interest also produced precious data on medieval sites in the region and its immediate vicinity. The surveys on the Plain of 'Akkār both on its northern⁴¹ and on its southern⁴² side, the intensive surveys in the Gap of Homs⁴³ and its foreground⁴⁴ and the surveys in the region of the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Shimālī⁴⁵ are all enhancing our knowledge of the Syrian coastal countryside in the medieval period.

3.2. Sources

3.2.1. Historical Sources

Sources concerning the Syrian coastal region before the appearance of scholarly works in the 19th century can be divided into two main categories combining chronological and thematic criteria. The first group are medieval sources, the majority of which are historical works written in Arabic, Latin, Old French and occasionally in Byzantine Greek, Syriac or Armenian. The second group which came into being after the turn of the 16th century are fewer in quantity and primarily concern travellers' accounts. In both categories the number of works is far less than in the much more well documented area of Palestine.

Medieval sources

Most documents concerning settlements and their history in the Syrian coastal region were written in either Arabic

²⁴ Deschamps 1973.

²⁵ Riis 1958; 1959; 1965.

²⁶ Summary tables on medieval occupation data drawn from the unpublished survey reports of Thalmann are found in Ḥaykal (nd.)

²⁷ Badre et al. 1990, 1994.

²⁸ Amphorae (nd.)

²⁹ Peña 1997; Peña, Castellana & Fernández 1987; 1999; 2003; Castellana & Hybsch 1990.

³⁰ Ḥijāzī 1992.

³¹ Pringle 1986a: 16-18.

³² Kennedy 1994: 72-78.

³³ Mayer 1993.

³⁴ Saade 1964; 1968.

³⁵ 'Umayrī 1995.

³⁶ eg. Prawer 1972; 1980.

³⁷ Pringle 1986a.

³⁸ See the chapter on pottery.

³⁹ Ellenblum 1998.

⁴⁰ See the chapter on pottery.

⁴¹ Maqdissi & Thalmann 1989: 98-101.

⁴² Bartl 1999: 29-33.

⁴³ Ḥaidar-Boustani et al. 2005-2006: 9-38; Ḥaidar-Boustani et al. 2007-2009: 7-49.

⁴⁴ Philip et al. 2005: 21-42; Philip & Newson 2014: 33-39.

⁴⁵ Michaudel & Haydar 2008: 303-317; Michaudel & Haydar 2010: 337-338; Michaudel & Haydar 2012: 315-317.

or Latin language. Both have distinctive categories and characteristics and in both groups of sources chronicles form the backbone of the written material. The most useful Arabic chronicles, which not only give the necessary data for a general historical framework but also contain valuable details on elements of the rural settlements, were composed by Ibn al-Qalānisi,⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr,⁴⁷ Ibn al-ʿAdīm,⁴⁸ Abu'l-Fiḍā,⁴⁹ Ibn al-Furāt⁵⁰ and al-Maqrīzī.⁵¹ They are supplemented to a considerable extent by a number of dynastic chronicles, amongst which the ones written by Ibn al-Athīr,⁵² Abū Shāma⁵³ and Ibn Wāṣil⁵⁴ are the most informative. More elaborate data is found in the royal biographies of Saladin by Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād⁵⁵ and those of the Mamluk sultans which were written by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād⁵⁶ and Ibn ʿAbdazzāhir.⁵⁷ Many useful details are also found in the ‘memoirs’ of Usāma ibn Munqidz.⁵⁸

Latin historical writings of the period are much inferior to their Arabic counterparts, both in their accuracy of dating and with regards to detail. The first group of Latin sources usually contain accounts of the first Crusade and in many cases also deal with the formative years of the Latin states too. Amongst these early works is the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen⁵⁹ and the *Gesta* of Fulcher of Chartres⁶⁰ which has proved to be the most useful for shedding light on the conditions of the coastal settlements and their environs at the beginning of the 12th century. A similar tradition is followed by the account of Walter the Chancellor on the events leading to the battle of Sarmāda in 1119 and its aftermath.⁶¹ The *Annals* written by the Genoese Caffaro also contain a number of detailed descriptions on early 12th century events on the Syrian coast, some of which are not mentioned elsewhere.⁶² Far the best and most comprehensive chronicle of the 12th century is the work of William of Tyre,⁶³ which not only rivals but also supersedes the Arabic chronicles in some respects. Although it is mainly concerned with events in the Kingdom of

Jerusalem, it is an important source of information for the Syrian coastal region as well. Regrettably, the same cannot be said about its continuations and the Latin chronicles that summarize events after 1184. The lack of information on the Latin side compared to the Arabic sources in the post-Ḥaṭṭīn period is clearly apparent. Nevertheless such works as the Rothelin Continuations of the work of William of Tyre⁶⁴ or the chronicle of the Templar of Tyre⁶⁵ are useful to an extent as they supply not only historical data but in some cases details concerning settlements in the north.

Frankish landlords seem to have tended to take more interest in the countryside than their Muslim counterparts and marked attention to the rural areas was not only reflected in the infrastructure erected in the countryside, but also in the large number of documents dealing with landed property in the region. Despite the fact that a large amount of these documents concerning land are now lost and even the surviving ones show considerable discrepancies in time and space, they are the most important sources for rural settlements in this period. The two most precious collections of such documents are the *Cartulaire* edited by Delaville le Roulx⁶⁶ and the *Regesta* of Reinhold Röhrich.⁶⁷

Registers of landed property certainly existed in the territories under Muslim control in the same period, but have not survived. A clearly documented example for the existence of ‘cadastral’ registers in close proximity to the coastal region comes from 1137. In this year, after retaking Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the Muslim leader ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī found considerable difficulties in restoring the properties to their original owners as the Franks had taken their documents (*kutub*). The problem was finally solved by resorting to the tax registers kept in Aleppo.⁶⁸ Muslim attentiveness to detail is very well reflected in the texts of the treaties concluded between the Muslims and the Franks in the Mamluk period. The most abundant collection of treaties was preserved in the chancery guide of al-Qalqashandī.⁶⁹ When supplemented by the texts surviving in the biography of sultan Qalāwūn written by Ibn ʿAbdazzāhir, this guide gives an extremely detailed picture, particularly in relation to infrastructure, on several rural regions of the Syrian coast. The lack of equivalent Latin charter evidence is compensated by the rich geographical literature in the body of Arabic sources. Amongst the Arabic works compiled during the 12th and 13th centuries the geographical dictionary of Yāqūt is by far the most informative on settlements of all kinds.⁷⁰ Close to this monumental work in importance

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl = Dzayl taʾriḫ Dimashq*.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil = al-Kāmil fiʾl-taʾriḫ*.

⁴⁸ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda = Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾriḫ Ḥalab*.

⁴⁹ Abuʾl-Fiḍā, *al-Mukhtaṣar = al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-baḥar*.

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾriḫ = Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Taʾriḫ al-Diwal waʾl-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt; Ibn al-Furāt, Taʾriḫ = Taʾriḫ ibn al-Furāt*. Vol. 7.; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾriḫ = Taʾriḫ ibn al-Furāt*. Vol. 8.

⁵¹ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk = al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat diwal al-mulūk*.

⁵² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Taʾriḫ al-bāhir = al-Taʾriḫ al-bāhir fī al-dawla al-atābakiyya*.

⁵³ Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn = Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*. Abū Shāma, *Dzayl = Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn as-sādis waʾl-sābiʿ al-maʿrūf biʾl-dzayl ʿalā al-rawḍatayn*.

⁵⁴ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij = Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*.

⁵⁵ Bahā al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir = al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya waʾl-mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*.

⁵⁶ Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾriḫ = Taʾriḫ al-Malik al-Zāhir*.

⁵⁷ Ibn ʿAbdazzāhir, *Tashrif = Tashrif al-ayyām waʾl-uṣūr fī sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*.

⁵⁸ Usāma ibn Munqidz, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*.

⁵⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*.

⁶⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta = Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum cum Armis Hierusalem Pergentium*.

⁶¹ Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*.

⁶² Caffaro, *De liberatione = De liberatione civitatum orientis liber*.

⁶³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*.

⁶⁴ *The Rothelin Continuation = Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century. The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*.

⁶⁵ *The Templar of Tyre, Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*.

⁶⁶ *Cartulaire = Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*.

⁶⁷ *RRH = Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MCXVII-MCCXCI). + Additamentum*.

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/86-87.

⁶⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ = Ṣubḥ al-aʾshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*.

⁷⁰ Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*.

are the volumes written by Ibn Shaddād on the ‘historical topography’ of the former military provinces of Aleppo, Homs and the Lebanon in the immediate vicinity of the Syrian coastal regions.⁷¹ Much useful information concerning the Syrian coast is contained in the general geographies of al-Idrīsī,⁷² al-Dimashqī⁷³ and Abu’l-Fiḍā’.⁷⁴ The travelogue of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa⁷⁵ contains data on the coastal lands after the expulsion of the Crusaders. Amongst the post-Crusader period Christian chronicles the history of the Maronite patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī contains very useful supplements to the history of the Syrian coast in the 12th and 13th centuries.⁷⁶ This is a late work built on medieval traditions of historical writing and is novel in that it incorporates a large quantity of medieval documents produced by the Maronite church.

The Crusader period saw a great migration of pilgrims, many of whom described their travels, but as the overwhelming majority of holy sites were in Palestine, only a few ‘authors’ visited the Syrian coast and henceforth it profited little from the upsurge of pilgrimage literature. Amongst those handful of travellers the most prominent observers were Wilbrand von Oldenburg⁷⁷ and Burchard of Mount Sion,⁷⁸ both left a detailed account of the coastal region they passed through.

Travellers’ accounts

After the expulsion of the Franks at the end of the 13th century, interest in the Syrian coastal region and consequently the quantity of sources decreased drastically. However, pilgrimages did continue and in spite of the fact that Palestine attracted far more travellers than any other part of the Levant, there were a number of visitors to the Syrian coastal region as well. With the increase of scholarly interest in monuments and antique history, descriptions became more and more detailed. After the brief early accounts of the 15th and 16th century by Suriano,⁷⁹ Rauwolff,⁸⁰ and d’Aramon,⁸¹ the relatively abundant and very detailed descriptions of the historically well informed Henry Maundrell⁸² set new standards which would be followed throughout the 18th century by Thomas Shaw⁸³ and Richard Pococke.⁸⁴ These descriptions contain invaluable data on the medieval monuments of the coastal region, many of which have disappeared or have been seriously altered. With the development of transport and

the rising interest from Europe in the Near East, the first half of the 19th century saw an increase in the number of travellers to the Syrian coast. Amongst these travellers the most useful accounts were produced by Otto von Richter,⁸⁵ Charles Irby,⁸⁶ Louis Damoiseau⁸⁷ and Louis Burckhardt.⁸⁸ Prior to the middle of the 19th century, the unstable political situation in the Jabal Anṣāriyya deterred European travellers from entering the mountains.⁸⁹ After the pioneering and very informative travelogue of Frederick Walpole,⁹⁰ foreigners (mostly missionaries) started to explore this remote region as well.⁹¹ However, as their main interest was the conversion of the local population, their writings bear little reference to medieval monuments.⁹² Most data collected on the Syrian coastal region by travellers up to 1855 was summarised in a typical work of positivist scholarship: the *Erdkunde* of Karl Ritter.⁹³

The writing of travel accounts did not end with the appearance of the scholarly works. However, the discovery and documentation of ‘new material’ passed into the realm of scholarly academia. Following in the tracks of Constantin-François Volney,⁹⁴ an increasing number of French accounts were written about Syria. Their main interests were centred largely on the economic conditions and political situation in Syria and they were largely dependant on the results of recent scholarship in their discussions of history and archaeology.⁹⁵ Their influence is clearly seen on arguably the best source of the Late Ottoman Syrian coast written in Arabic; the work of Bahjat and Rafīq begs.⁹⁶ The Mandate Period brought about the appearance of the early ‘tourist guides’ the most informative of which concerning the Syrian coast was written by Paul Jacquot.⁹⁷

3.2.2. Other Sources and Field Survey Methods

Given the relative scarcity of the written sources, the study of medieval rural settlements on the Syrian coast has to rely heavily on data derived from the physical remains. Tracing and evaluating this material requires the combined use of various sources and tools in addition to the historical sources. Archaeological work is of the utmost importance as most rural sites in Coastal Syria have never been subject to fieldwork before. Former research on the identification of medieval sites and their localisation on

⁷¹ Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-khaṭīra = al-A'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dzikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra; Tārīkh Lubnān = al-A'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dzikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra. Tārīkh Lubnān wa'l-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn.*

⁷² al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq = Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq.*

⁷³ al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb nukhbat al-dahr = Kitāb nukhbat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa'l-baḥr.*

⁷⁴ Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Taqwīm al-buldān = Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān.*

⁷⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla.*

⁷⁶ al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh = Tārīkh al-azmina.*

⁷⁷ Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae.*

⁷⁸ Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae.*

⁷⁹ Suriano 1485.

⁸⁰ Rauwolff 1583.

⁸¹ Chesneau 1549.

⁸² Maundrell 1697.

⁸³ Shaw 1738.

⁸⁴ Pococke 1745.

⁸⁵ Von Richter 1822.

⁸⁶ Irby & Mangles 1818.

⁸⁷ Damoiseau 1818.

⁸⁸ Burckhardt 1822.

⁸⁹ The instability of the region was responsible in a large part for the lack of information on the monuments of the mountains. As late as 1865 Petermann was forced to continue his trip by sea towards the north from Latakia because of the violence that spread from the mountains. Petermann 1865: II/1-3.

⁹⁰ Walpole 1851.

⁹¹ Porter 1854: 649-693; Robinson 1856; also see Salibi & Khoury: 1995.

⁹² Eg. Lyde 1853; Salibi & Khoury 1995.

⁹³ Ritter 1854.

⁹⁴ Volney 1784.

⁹⁵ eg. Cuinet 1896.

⁹⁶ Bahjat & Rafik Bak 1917.

⁹⁷ Jacquot 1929.

maps was essentially done at the desk. Though previous studies have undoubtedly produced many successful and convincing results, control on the field is indispensable, especially in cases where scholarly efforts found several candidates for identification with a single medieval site. Archaeological research can also produce important supplementary information missing from the written sources. The actual surveying of sites tentatively identified but not visited hitherto and the search for new ones are seemingly two different points of venture. But in fact they are closely interconnected and were pursued in parallel during the research of medieval rural settlements on the Syrian coast. Preparation for field survey sparked a careful combing through of the medieval sources, the collecting of place-names and the re-evaluation of former identification attempts. This was done from the very beginning with a heavy reliance on maps.

Maps

The study of historical settlement patterns is hard to imagine without an attempt to locate the historical data in space. In the case of 12th and 13th century settlements on the Syrian coast we possess an essential and indispensable tool, the *Carte Generale* of Paul Deschamps, the source that provided the foundation upon which most achievements of former scholarship in the field of site identification were mapped. As with every work on a monumental scale, this map does however contain a number of mistakes. These can essentially be divided into two groups. There are sites with a minimal (usually not exceeding 5 km) dislocation, like the castellum Felicium (Qal'at Falīz), which appears on the map as being on the Syrian side of the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī although it is in fact on the southern, Lebanese banks. There are also examples of linking wrong data to some of the sites mapped, like using a castle sign for Livonia in the north and Villa Sicca in the south, neither of which is mentioned in the medieval sources as having had a fortification of any kind.

Most identification attempts were and are still based on a similarity between the medieval and present day place-names. However, no effort was made to use a standardized transcription either on the maps or in the scholarly works processing them, even in the few cases when the authors mastered Arabic. For this reason the retracing of all their original sources, be it a map or written document is an essential requirement of all re-evaluation.

A thorough examination of maps of the Syrian coastal region also forms the base for the search for new and hitherto undiscovered sites. Arabic place-names tend to contain a high ratio of words that point to archaeological features or have historical importance. Collecting and evaluating these elements provides considerable help in the planning of field survey routes. Amongst the most useful of such words is the *qabu*, meaning vault. As expensive structures like vaults were rarely constructed in the Levantine countryside during most of its history, but were very widespread in the Crusader period, there is the possibility of finding medieval structures in places that

have the word *qabu* in their name. This is how the remains of the medieval tower were detected in the village of Qabu al-ʿUwwāmiyya during the SHAM survey of 2002. Towers erected in the countryside were another novelty the Crusader period introduced to the coastal region and the word *burj* (tower) does feature in the name of most sites possessing towers of Crusader origin. However, it is not only ancient structures, but also geodesic triangulation points, usually indicated by an iron structure called *burj*, which are responsible for the high number of place-names with the word *burj* in it. Place-names with the word *qal'a* (castle) are to be approached with even more caution. Their surprisingly high number is mostly due to the fact that many natural rock formations are also given the name *qal'a* and several places are denoted with the very similar word of *qal'* (without the *tā marbūṭa* at the end of the word castle) which means an even place or level land.⁹⁸ Given the slight difference, a frequent mistake in the maps was that the more widespread *qal'a* was recorded for places which originally featured the word *qal'* in their names. The most uncertain word connected to possible archaeological sites is the *khirba* or *kharāb*, meaning deserted or ruined settlement. Their high number makes checking every one of them impossible and as the genesis of deserted settlements only stopped around the middle of the 20th century, in many cases it is not worth it anyway. Narrowing down the number deserving to be inspected was done with the help of other sources. The examination of place-names and their combination with other sources was essential in planning the survey routes.

As Arabic place-names are very conservative and they tend to preserve ancient names for a long time, the study of toponyms can also help in discovering areas of potential importance. One method employed was to narrow down the survey areas by giving priority to regions where the place-names of Aramaic origin were found in the largest numbers. They could have been taken as indicators for a possibly stronger continuity in the settlement pattern since pre-Islamic times.

Another option in theory would be the collection of site names that might have originated in the Crusader period, but these are extremely scarce and this approach is very dubious. The non-Semitic name of Qal'at Falīz in the valley of the Nahr al-Kabīr al-Janūbī could have had its name originating from the Franks when they constructed "*castellum Felicium*"⁹⁹ on this lonely rocky outcrop, but is hard to verify. Frankish origin of the name of Sanjawān, a little village on the outskirts of Latakia would be even harder to prove. Being only about 4 km to the northeast of the medieval town, the site could have been an ideal candidate for identification with the Frankish name of 'Saint Jean'. Even though there is a good chance that the account of Pococke related to this village in the region of Latakia, when writing about a "*village in the Aleppo road, called Johan from the ruins of a lofty church there*

⁹⁸ Groom 1983: 225.

⁹⁹ *Cartulaire* I, no. 144.



Fig. 2. Sample from the French Mandate Map: region of 'Annāza. (Qadmous Sheet – 1945)

dedicated to St. John”,¹⁰⁰ the lack of medieval documents makes such theories impossible to ascertain.

The surveys basically depended on two series of maps. The first is the French Mandate Map (FMM), which was produced prior to 1946. This provided the base for most of the previous toponymic research. The 1:50.000 scale map sheets of the FMM are very precise both in the geographical and topographical sense and have the advantage of having preserved old name variants which have since disappeared. In the post-independence period many place-names have been changed in Syria and while the historical names of such famous sites as Qal'at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ṣahyūn / Saone) and Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād / Crac) are relatively easy to retrace, the change is less apparent in remote villages like al-Ḥamāma (medieval Kafār Dubbīn) or al-Ẓahrā (medieval Azarghān). Besides being a register for the historical names, the FMM also marks archaeological sites and ruins which have since disappeared. Regretfully, not every sheet was completed and it is unfortunately precisely those sheets of the most strategic Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn and Ṣāfiṭā region which remained in their skeletal form. A further problem arises from the inconsistent transcription of place-names, which is further hindered by the fact that on most sheets the Arabic script is omitted altogether.

This latter problem is nonexistent in the other series of maps of 1:50.000 scale prepared by the Cartographical Institute of the Syrian Army (SAM). The SAM sheets written in Arabic are the most reliable source for the official version of the present day names. They are also highly detailed, not only concerning the names of settlements, but also recording the names of geographical features right down to the level of hillsides and even temporary water sources. Besides, they indicate a large number of archaeological sites with a special mark, which is all the more important, as these maps were drawn based on aerial photographs taken between the 1960s and 1990s. However, as it turned out on several occasions when checking the actual sites, ruin signs of the SAM were sometimes applied in areas where there has never been any trace of human activity. There are other occasional faults as well, such as the case of the adjacent villages of Nīna and Nīnantī, which were identified as the medieval villages of “Neni” and “Nenenta” mentioned in Latin charters.¹⁰¹ On the SAM the name Nīnantī has been doubled¹⁰² and Nīna left out. In problematic cases the modern geographical dictionary of Syria, the *Mu'jam al-Jugrāfiyy li'l-Qutr al-'Arabiyy al-Sūriyy*¹⁰³ was resorted to for clarification.

¹⁰¹ Cahen 1940: 172 n. 27; Deschamps 1973: 55 n. 3; Mayer 1993: 116-117.

¹⁰² The same could be observed on the FMM with connection to the village of Balfūnis, which could be identical with the medieval Bolferis donated to the Templars in 1160. *RRH*, no. 347.

¹⁰³ *Mu'jam*, 1990-93.

¹⁰⁰ Pococke 1745: 198.

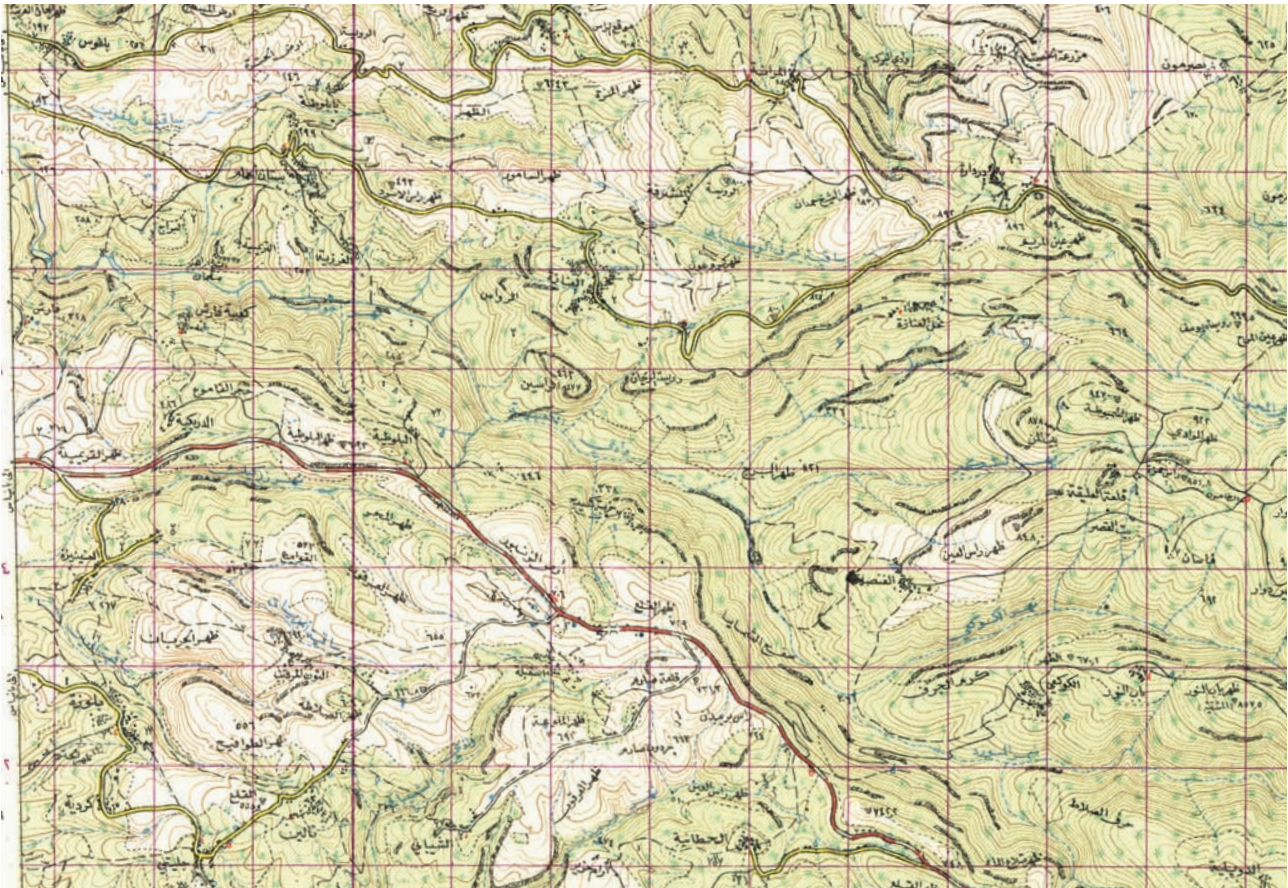


Fig. 3. Sample from the map of the Cartographical Institute of the Syrian Army: region of 'Annāza. (Qadmūs Sheet – 1976)

Pictorial Evidence

Pictures of the Syrian coastal region (usually in the forms of engravings) from before the Mandate Period are very scarce. Those few authors who produced anything on this region, for example the steel engravings of Bartlett, were mainly interested in spectacular monuments, especially antique ones, mostly inside or close to towns. A very useful set of early pictorial documents are the depictions and early photographs of the harbour of Latakia with the remains of the Crusader installations before its complete redevelopment in the 1920s.

The situation changed considerably with the establishment of the French Mandate in Syria and the arrival of the French Army and French scholars. The aeroplanes of the former took thousands of pictures serving the latter, not only in the vicinity of urban centres but throughout the countryside. Many of these pictures were taken of monuments on the Syrian coast, which have been destroyed or seriously damaged since. One such example, the Crusader tower of Tuhla, can be seen still half standing on the Mandate photographs.¹⁰⁴ The greatest French scholar of Crusader castles in the field, Paul Deschamps, died before being he was able to complete all of his works. It was therefore worth searching through his archives which are kept in

the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA) in Paris. Many of his hundreds of photographs kept there contain valuable information on long vanished monuments and details.

The usefulness of satellite imaging has recently been demonstrated by the research conducted in the Homs area,¹⁰⁵ adjacent to the Syrian coast. Incidentally, it was not only expensive satellite imagery like Corona or Ikonos but also easily accessible images available through media such as Google Earth that proved useful for surveyance. This was the case especially regarding high resolution panels along the coast. The use of satellite images for site detection is seriously limited along the coastal strip by the numerous fruit plantations and olive groves and likewise in the mountains by the thick scrublands. However, they were successfully employed to help on-site documentation and in many places they could be used to detect recent soil change, which accompanies the intensive agricultural activity on the coast and often 'pollutes' the survey area.

Oral Sources

Historical and other sources alone enable us to detect only a small proportion of the actual remains and a large number of sites or monuments would have been impossible or

¹⁰⁴ IFPO Mandate Photograph Archive no. 23364, 23367, 23384, 23385.

¹⁰⁵ Philip *et al.* 2005: 27-30.

harder to find without the help of the locals. Elderly people have a very good knowledge of both the archaeological sites and how individual monuments in their village or its vicinity would have looked decades ago, before their complete or partial destruction. Youngsters spending most of their time outdoors also have an intimate knowledge of archaeological features of the countryside surrounding their living places. Their help was also indispensable during the numerous surveys made alone, when somebody had to hold the other end of the measuring tape.

Documentation

The planning of survey routes was achieved with the combined use of various sources and the gaps among the vaguely localised sites mentioned in the medieval documents were filled in with possible sites derived from other sources. Given the scarcity of historical sources and the need for precise targeting in this vast area, information from locals greatly determined the survey routes and often resulted in re-writing the original itinerary and route plans. As the case of ʿĀṣūr illustrates, even seemingly unpromising sites were worth checking. While conducting a survey in the region south of Ṣāfītā we were told more than once about the former existence of a ruined church somewhere in the deserted valley of ʿĀṣūr. On visiting the site, we discovered that the supposed church only had some scanty remains completely buried and overgrown, but close to it stood the relatively well preserved remains of a medieval tower of Crusader origin, the existence of which was not thought to be worth mentioning by the locals.

Initially, it seemed wise to concentrate on the sites already known but never documented, like many of the medieval towers and their vicinity. However, from the third season on, the surveys extended into regions far from the known medieval monuments and often resulted in unexpectedly rich archaeological material. One of the basic elements of the site documentation was thorough photography of not only the architectural remains and their details, but their environs and the wider landscape as well. At extensive sites with many scattered archaeological features, sketch maps were made and GPS points were taken at every built vestige, the most frequent being wall fragments, *hypogea*, cisterns and olive-presses. When necessary, supplementary data like the position of water sources, caves...etc. was also recorded with GPS. Effort was made to collect representative pottery samples from all rural sites and whenever it was possible the extent of the pottery scatter was documented by taking GPS readings at the edges of the sites. GPS data was downloaded onto the SAM sheets which have been previously geo-corrected. The necessary level of accuracy of the SAMs was reached by decoding the projection with the appropriate geo-correction algorithms. Following that additional rectification of the individual sheets was done by taking dozens of correction points in each region and recording tracks along highways which were also indicated on the maps. Sherds collected at the sites were washed, photographed and labelled

at the base before subsequently being deposited in the Museum of Ṭarṭūs or the new depots of the Directorate of Antiquities of Ṭarṭūs Governorate in ʿAmrīt. After the starting of war they were transported into safe storerooms at the SHAM excavation base in al-Marqab Citadel. Given their importance in dating the sites and due to their special nature, the preliminary observations on pottery samples collected are presented in a separate chapter.

Architectural documentation including photogrammetry of the built remains was usually done with the help of measuring tapes, Leica Disto4, laser range finders and compasses. For the measurement of complex buildings or sites of outstanding importance, Total Stations were also used. Plan drawings and at least one cross-section were always prepared at the measured sites, but in the case of most towers, more than one section drawing was taken from different directions to give a more detailed picture on the layout. In a few cases, like at Qalʿat al-Qulayʿa, where the understanding of the scanty walls scattered on a conical mountain top on several different levels would have been too complicated using a simple plan drawing, a 3D terrain model was also made with Total Station and the appropriate softwares. At many sites, mostly caves and cisterns, measurements could only be taken with the use of specialist industrial alpinist equipment. Data of the measurements made on the field was eventually prepared with the use of Cad software.

Toponymy

The identification of place-names preserved from medieval documents in comparison to present-day names and the search for the medieval identity of sites detected by the SHAM field surveys are based on a thorough examination of the toponymy. One of the difficulties encountered when dealing with place-names was described with a degree of exaggeration as early as 1850 by Walpole: „*The valley was called the valley of the village of Macklayer; such a name would only extend, of course, to the next village, when it would receive another name. This is an immense difficulty in the East – nobody knows the name of anything out of his own village. Each race, again, has different names.*”¹⁰⁶ Dealing with medieval names and present day ones at the same time is even more difficult than recording what Walpole encountered. The situation is not eased by the fact that with the exception of Claude Cahen, most former scholars who undertook the tremendous work of identifications including Rey, Röhricht, Dussaud and Deschamps were not very well versed in the Arabic language or did not read it at all. Thus they were left to rely heavily on maps with various transcriptions.

Most medieval sites along the Syrian coastal region have besides their Arabic name a Medieval Latin one that was given during the Crusader period as is evident in the case of Qalʿat Banī Qaḥṭān. It is not only the case that the Arabic name can differ considerably from the Medieval Latin one,

¹⁰⁶ Walpole 1851: III/323.

but a site can also have several variants in Arabic alone. Known to the Franks by the name “*castellum Vetulae*”, Qal‘at Banī Qaḥṭān usually features in the medieval Arabic sources by the names of Ḥiṣn Banī Isrā‘īl or Bikisrā‘īl. An example that illustrates how even the indigenous Arabic sources can be confusing is found in the case of the castle of ‘Īdū. This lesser fortification in the northern part of the Jabal Anṣāriyya rarely features in sources of the Middle Ages and yet these few occasions were enough to create considerable confusion regarding its true spelling. Recorded by Bahā al-Dīn¹⁰⁷ and Yāqūt as ‘Īdzū,¹⁰⁸ it appears in the Mamluk treaty of 1271 as ‘Aydūb¹⁰⁹ corrected to Īdhūn by Holt.¹¹⁰ The various manuscripts of the *Kāmil* of ibn al-Athīr refer to the castle with or without the long “ī” and they use the letter “d” without the diacritical point¹¹¹ that features in the oldest versions of the name, transforming the “d” into “dz”.

Assessing the Latin documents shows that the Franks of the Syrian coastal region generally refrained from renaming settlements, which might be taken as a hint of the absence or insignificance of European settlers in the countryside. Even the translation of indigenous names to more understandable forms was rare, as was the case of Ṣāfītā, which became Castellum Album/Chastel Blanc. However, when new names were given by the Franks, they could be completely different from the original ones. Without the clue in a charter dating from 1254 that casual Robert is the same site as Cafrequenne,¹¹² and the vulgar name of Caphar Mamel was la Vacherie in 1205,¹¹³ it would be nearly impossible to guess that these pairs bear any relation. As no such decoding is provided by the documents for the “*casale alias vocatur Turrem Bertranii Milonis*” mentioned in a charter of 1177,¹¹⁴ it is only the context in the charter and the result of the SHAM surveys that provide some bases for a possible identification of the “*turris Bertrani Milonis*” with the tower of Mī‘ār.

There are also examples when a place-name in a Latin charter resembles the medieval Arabic equivalent more than the present day site’s name identified with it. Such is the case at the site of Tolée mentioned in a charter issued in 1241.¹¹⁵ Given the context of the charter, it had to be looked for in the region of Ṣāfītā and based on phonetic similarity. Deschamps identified it with the village of al-Tala’ 1.5 km southwest of Ṣāfītā. Re-examining the case and also using the method of phonetic comparison, it seemed very likely that Tolée can be identified as the site of Aṭlī‘ā mentioned in a list of fortifications that was preserved in the treaty of 1281 between the Mamluks and Bohemond VII the count

of Tripoli.¹¹⁶ It is also clear that Aṭlī‘ā has to be looked for in the region of Ṣāfītā and that it is actually one of the largest villages south of the town under the name al-Ṭlī‘ī. This village is 9 km south of Ṣāfītā and the memories of local elders who told of destroyed stone vaults which once stood in the village hint at the possibility of the existence of a former fortified site at this spot.

Consistent transcription of local names into Latin was naturally not a task to be expected from the chancellery clerks who worked in the urban centres far from the actual villages, the names of which were possibly transmitted through several persons who didn’t necessarily know Arabic. For this reason, the preciseness and consistency of the transcription of the local name Baqfalā in two charters separated by 10 years is remarkable. The first mention of the village comes from the year 1167 in the form of Bachfela,¹¹⁷ which only underwent a slight change when it appeared as Baqfala in the charter of 1178.¹¹⁸ The spelling variants of the still unidentified castle of Camel are more varied, including Locamel in 1125,¹¹⁹ Kamel in 1127,¹²⁰ Camel in 1180¹²¹ and 1199¹²² as well as le Chamel in 1241.¹²³ Even slight differences in names could have caused scholars to suggest different candidates for apparently the same site, as was the case of Anodesim, mentioned in a charter of 1151¹²⁴ and identified by Deschamps with “*Ennazé*”¹²⁵ (‘Annāza). Its possible variant, appearing in the form of Andesin in 1186,¹²⁶ was matched by Dussaud with “*Androussé*”¹²⁷ (Andrūsa, present day al-Shaykh Badr). However, even close similarities should be handled with great caution as regardless of the similarity between Gorrosia¹²⁸ and Corrosie,¹²⁹ mentioned around the same time, the context seems to indicate two different sites, perhaps both deriving their name from the relatively widespread local place-name of Qurshiyya. The words Sindiyāna and ‘Ūbīn are also very popular coastal place-names and this complicates the identification of the numerous sites named in the Latin charters as Cendina and Ubin. Similarly, the two water-connected sites mentioned in the same charter of 1243¹³⁰ as Reusemeie (possibly *Ra’s al-Mā’* = head of the spring) and the “*chasel de Fontaines*” are nearly impossible to find in a region abundant with sources of water. The latter site is another good example of how simple mistakes can find their way into scholarly works. Although this charter, written in old French, used the word *chasel* instead of *casal* in connection with other villages, for some unknown reason it was Fontaines that appeared as “*le château de*

¹⁰⁷ Bahā al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir*, 91; transl. 85. In the translation transcribed as al-‘Īdhū.

¹⁰⁸ Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, IV/193.

¹⁰⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV/49.

¹¹⁰ Holt 1995: 55.

¹¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/52.

¹¹² *Cartulaire* II, no. 2688.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* no. 1215.

¹¹⁴ *RRH*, no. 549.

¹¹⁵ *Cartulaire* II, no. 2280.

¹¹⁶ Ibn ‘Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 83.

¹¹⁷ *RRH*, no. 428.

¹¹⁸ *RRH*, no. 555.

¹¹⁹ *RRH*, no. 108.

¹²⁰ *RRH*, no. 118.

¹²¹ *RRH*, no. 595.

¹²² *RRH*, no. 759.

¹²³ *RRH*, no. 1102.

¹²⁴ *Cartulaire* I, no. 201.

¹²⁵ Deschamps 1973: 193.

¹²⁶ *Cartulaire* I, no. 783.

¹²⁷ Dussaud 1927: 129.

¹²⁸ *RRH*, no. 649.

¹²⁹ Deschamps 1973: 199.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* no. 2296.

Fontaines” in the Topography of Dussaud.¹³¹ In other cases there are other obstacles prohibiting verifications on the field. The castle of Exerc¹³² or Eixserc¹³³ which is in all probability identical to Sarc,¹³⁴ was thought to correspond with either the Ḥiṣn al-Khirba or the Ḥiṣn al-Sharqī of the medieval Arabic sources¹³⁵ or perhaps even both. It was tentatively related to Ḥuṣn Sulaymān northeast of Ṣāfītā,¹³⁶ to “*Kefroun i Zérik*”¹³⁷ (Kafrūn) 10 km northwest of Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn and also identified with “*Qal‘at el Qser*” (Qal‘at Zahr al-Quṣayr) 10 km northeast of al-Ḥuṣn, where “*quelques ruines*” were also reported.¹³⁸ The ruins of a castle at this spot were mentioned in the travel account of Burckhardt as well,¹³⁹ but a visit to the site in 2002 ended in failure as it had been taken over by the Syrian Army. As a kind of oral reference he recalled having seen large limestone ashlar with bossages inside the area before it was later considerably reshaped.

There are many medieval place-names with more than one present-day candidate. One such site is the “*gastine de Asor*” featured in the charter issued in 1243, that settled the boundaries of certain Hospitaller and Templar properties.¹⁴⁰ The settlements mentioned in the charter were localized by Paul Deschamps in the region north of Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn, „*Asor*” being matched with „*Kheurbet Hazzour*” the present day village of Ḥazzūr 4 km north, north-east of the certainly identifiable village of Ṭarīz.¹⁴¹ Disregarding the fact that there is another village called Ḥāṣūr, the name of which resembles more closely the *Asor* of the source only 6.5 km south of Ṭarīz, from the context given by the charter it seems more likely that the site would be found to the north of Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn. To complicate matters further, within the same region lies the valley of ‘Āṣūr where the survey of 2002 found a Crusader tower and the name of the nearby village of Mashtā ‘Āzār also shows remarkable similarity to *Asor*. During the same survey, at both latter sites, medieval pottery was also found in abundance. The case of *Asor* also illustrates the limits of the field surveys which in this case could prove medieval habitation at either of the two candidates. We have every reason to believe that the first two sites were also inhabited when the charter was issued.

Sometimes the complex web created by the various attempts at identification can only be solved by a radical departure from previous ideas. A successful breakthrough was achieved by Deschamps when he separated the question of *Russa* from the search for *Rugia* with which it was traditionally connected. While the medieval site of

Russa is still unidentified, or more precisely there are still several different candidates for it in the region east of the Anṣāriyya,¹⁴² Deschamps proved convincingly that *Russa* must be looked for in the region of Jabala, somewhere in the valley of the Nahr al-Rūs.¹⁴³ His clear arguments were built on the convincing localisation of a number of rural sites featured in the same charter. A similar reidentification of a group of sites, all featured in the same charter, was made possible by the field surveys in 2005 in the region of Ṣāfītā.

An Example for the Re-identification of Sites: the Charter of Armensendis

In the year 1151 a certain “*Armensendis de Castro Novo*” issued a charter listing her donations to the Hospitallers in the region of Castellum Album (Ṣāfītā).¹⁴⁴ (pict. 163) Besides the houses in the castle and the *burgus* of Ṣāfītā, the document refers to three other villages, namely: Kafarriq, Fellara and Cendina. The charter gave only one additional clue that might help in localising the villages, namely that the *casale* of Cendina is situated over a source or river: “*est supra flumen.*” Building on map evidence, Deschamps identified Cendina with “*Sindiané à 5 km au Nord de Safitha*”, Fellara was supposed by him to equal “*el Hara à 10 km au Sud de Safitha*” and Kafarriq was chosen to be the medieval predecessor of “*Kfar Rich à 9 km au Sud-Ouest du Crat et à 13 km au Sud-Est de Safitha*”.¹⁴⁵

As the possible presence of a characteristic water source could have added extra support to any supposition, the first site to be visited in 2002 was the village of Sindiyāna northwest of Ṣāfītā which was identified by Deschamps as Cendina. The traditionally ‘*Alawī*’ population of the region named several of its settlements after their much revered tree, the *sindiyān*. But the one that corresponded to the coordinates given by Deschamps was the most probable candidate as all locals confirmed that it possessed the most famous spring of the region. Arriving in the village of Sindiyānat ‘Ayn Ḥuffād, in addition to the discovery of the source covered by an apparently medieval protective vault (pict. 193-195; pl. 24), quantities of 12th and 13th century pottery were also found. The largest quantities were found on top of the rocky hill above the source known today by the name of Bayt ‘Adrā. Although seemingly never having visited it (or at least not having made any mention of the site or the medieval remains in his works) Deschamps seemingly succeeded in finding the best candidate hitherto for Cendina.

Less than 1.5 km southeast of Sindiyānat ‘Ayn Ḥuffād lies the village of Kafar Rikha, where both antique and medieval pottery was reportedly found in large quantities.¹⁴⁶ Deschamps already suggested as a second

¹³¹ Dussaud 1927: 96. Interestingly he also makes a reference to the identification of Rey, who correctly used the word *casal* for the site. Rey 1883: 366.

¹³² Listed by this name in a charter issued in 1157. Riley-Smith 1969: 285.

¹³³ In a charter issued in 1163. *RRH*, no. 378.

¹³⁴ In charter of 1243. *Cartulaire II*, no. 2296.

¹³⁵ Dussaud 1927: 146-147.

¹³⁶ Richard 1948: 54.

¹³⁷ Deschamps 1973: 19. n. 9.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 19.

¹³⁹ Burckhardt 1822: I/157.

¹⁴⁰ *Cartulaire II*, no. 2296.

¹⁴¹ Deschamps 1973: 20.

¹⁴² Castellana & Hybsch 1990: 311-323.

¹⁴³ Deschamps 1973: 196-198.

¹⁴⁴ *Cartulaire I*, no. 199.

¹⁴⁵ Deschamps 1973: 186.

¹⁴⁶ Personal communication with Rashīd ‘Īsā, former director of the Directorate of Antiquities of Ṭarṭūs Governorate and a native of the same village.

option that Kafarriq might be Kafar Rīkha, he finally rejected it in support of his identification of Fellara as al-Ĥāra. However, this latter identification is rather dubious. The “*el-Hara*” of Deschamps is a tiny spot with perhaps a few habitations under the name “*Hara*” on the FMM Ḥalbā sheet prepared in 1933. It did not seem to have changed size by the time the renewed map was prepared for the same region in 1942 and showed the place under the name of “*El Ĥāra*”. The SAM shows the same spot under the name Ḥārat al-Bayt Rab’ with no trace of any settlement. *Ĥāra* is a word in Arabic that is used in a rural context to denote a district and is usually linked to the mobile nomad population. The use of this meaning for the word is made all the more probable by the fact that there are several *ḥāras* on the more detailed SAM Ḥalbā sheet in the hill regions south of Ṣāfītā, Dakārat al-Ĥāra being 3.5 km to the north and Ḥārat al-İṣlāḥ situated 4.5 km to the west of Ḥārat al-Bayt Rab’. All this is in a region which was reported to have had a significant population of nomads in the 13th century and still does; a fact that therefore results in the rapid genesis and vanishing of numerous *ḥārāt*.

The identification of Kafarriq as Kafar Rīkha was further strengthened by the discovery of the Crusader tower on top of the Ruwaysat Bjam’āsh between it and Sindiyānat ‘Ayn Ḥuffāḍ during the SHAM survey of 2002. (*pict.* 54-55; *pl.* 5) This adds considerably to the evidence for the existence of a very densely populated medieval settlement in the fertile valleys north of Ṣāfītā. Having located two out of the three medieval village sites of the charter of Armensendis north of Ṣāfītā, it seemed wise to continue the quest for Fellara in the same region. Looking through the Ṣāfītā sheet of the SAM series, a village with the name Fallāra was found 11 km northeast of the village of Sindiyānat ‘Ayn Ḥuffāḍ. The field survey conducted on the southern end of a ridge upon which the present day village is located resulted in the discovery of a fragment of an architrave with a cross in bas-relief and large quantities of pottery ranging from the Roman period to the 13th century. After consulting the Mandate period maps, it became clear that it would have been impossible for Deschamps to find the village of Fallāra sitting at his desk because it fell on the unfinished Ṣāfītā sheet of the FMM series. While the site of the neighbouring village of Khirbat al-Shātī’ was clearly indicated on the map together with its name, in the case of Fallāra only the site was drawn without ‘labelling’. The results of the survey and the re-identification seem to indicate that all three sites donated by Armensendis were in the same region, north of Ṣāfītā.

Having a rather precisely transcribed form of the local name was a great aid in producing the names of potential present-day sites that might lead to the discovery of the medieval ones. However finding a probable site for Castrum Novum, where Armensendis could have belonged to is much harder. That this Castrum Novum might have been a real site and not just a simple surname of Armensendis, is indicated by a charter issued sometime

in 1152¹⁴⁷ which lists a site called Castrum Novum amongst the places which were still under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Tortosa (Ṭartūs). One of the witnesses of the charter is a certain „*Petrus de castro novo*”, who might be identical with „*P. de Castronovo*,” a witness to a charter of Raymond II in 1145.¹⁴⁸ As all considerable castle remains in the region can be convincingly matched with names preserved in charters, one has to start looking for still unidentified lesser sites, which, in spite of their reduced size, could have been considered to be castles in some respects. Looking at the small number of tower sites, the most probable choice for such a building in the wider region of Ṣāfītā is Umm Ḥūsh, (*pict.* 224-230; *pl.* 31-32). This is largely due to the fact that the rest have either already been identified or as indeed they are single towers, with no certain traces of a defensive line around them, there is less justification to suggest that they might have been called a *castrum* in the medieval documents. The name Castrum Novum (New Castle) itself of course does not provide us with any further clues, except that in all probability we have to deal with a site that was essentially a new, Crusader construction, which seems to be the case in Umm Ḥūsh. From a geographical point of view, the tower of Bjam’āsh found during the survey between the two possible village sites donated by Armensendis, could also be a very likely candidate. Yet in its present state it is unclear whether the tower had outer buildings that would portray the appearance of a castle, or whether the relatively large size of the tower was considerable enough to be referred to as *castrum* in 1151.

Organising the Data

The results of the research conducted in recent years on the medieval settlements of the Syrian coastal region have been organised into databases and drawn on maps based on the 1:100.000 scale series of the SAM. The two main databases (Database II and III) on medieval and present day site names are both listing the sites in alphabetical order. In arranging the sites in alphabetical order such place name elements as the place names of Qal’a, Burj ...etc. have not been taken into consideration, but these words follow the core of the place name after a comma.

Database II has been built upon the list of names as preserved in the medieval documents. Given the absolute majority of Latin references to medieval sites in the coastal region, all sites are mentioned by their most popular Medieval Latin names written in bold letters. (eg. Ṭartūs > **Tortosa**). Sites mentioned in the Arabic sources only or with medieval Arabic names, the Latin equivalent of which is not certain, appear with their Arabic names, written in Times Beirut Roman letters. If there exists a possible match between Latin or Arabic site names, they are indicated with an equal sign at each name variant. Beside each medieval site, the most likely present-day Arabic equivalent is indicated. The table of medieval sites

¹⁴⁷ Riley-Smith 1969: 285.

¹⁴⁸ *Cartulaire* I, no. 160.

contains data derived from written sources concerning the type of settlement and individual characteristic elements found there such as towers, ports...etc.

Database III contains the list of sites visited by the SHAM surveys between 2000 and 2011 and also includes a number of sites in the Syrian coastal region researched by others. These latter sites are clearly marked. This database also contains the possible medieval names of the archaeological sites if there are any and a concise list of archaeological features detected at each site by the surveys and visits between 2000 and 2015.

Other supplementary databases organise data on the pottery and the medieval towers of the Syrian coastal region.

The maps display the geographical units of the region, the sites and the reconstructed lines of the medieval roads. It is not merely the archaeological sites but in fact all sites that were at least tentatively identified that are indicated on the maps with both present day names and the most frequent medieval name variant. Different signs indicate the most important data derived either from the historical or archaeological sources.

3.2.3. The Pottery – Some Preliminary Observations

Previous Work on the Syrian Coast

The majority of medieval rural sites feature only in the Latin charters and even the most devoted identification efforts face serious difficulties and produce ambiguous results if built solely on the written sources and cartographical data. As physical remains of the buildings of medieval villages are extremely scarce, the only direct evidence for the existence of a rural settlement is usually the ceramic material collected on the site. This can add serious weight to identification attempts for possible sites chosen during the evaluation of the written documents and other textual sources. Due to the large-scale and rapid agricultural and infrastructural development of the Syrian coast the chances of finding standing medieval structures at rural sites is decreasing fast. The most widespread indicator of medieval occupation remains the presence of pottery and therefore it was given special attention during the SHAM surveys.

Because most sherds were collected on the surface of the sites and thus can not be connected to any archaeological layer, categorising and dating can only proceed by comparison with dated pieces from other sites and parallels. Drawing any conclusions from the field pottery by comparison is not an easy task. This is primarily due to the state of research in this field, or rather the almost complete lack of it concerning the Syrian coast. Even though the region has seen several, sometimes large-scale projects at medieval archaeological sites in the first half of the 20th century, they were almost exclusively clearance operations and were not governed by any stratigraphical

control.¹⁴⁹ As most of this research activity targeted the ‘Biblical period’ remains, little consideration was given to medieval pottery found during the work. Starting at the end of the 1990s a considerable amount of clearance work commenced in castles of the Syrian coastal mountains and these were also often accompanied by reconstruction activities. However, lamentably, few were concerned with documenting the layers removed.¹⁵⁰ Amongst those few instances on the Syrian coast where appropriate attention to the documentation of medieval pottery was paid, were the excavations conducted by the Danish Mission at Tall Sūkās,¹⁵¹ soundings in Tall Darūk¹⁵² and ‘Arab al-Mulk,¹⁵³ and the archaeological mission of the American University of Beirut in Tall Kazal.¹⁵⁴ In all of these excavations and soundings the main aim was to reach the layers below the Iron Age strata, hence the observation and analysis of medieval sherds was not a primary focus. The only underwater excavation project along the Syrian coast also had its priorities in pre-medieval periods when Japanese archaeologists decided to start work on a shipwreck near the coast of Kharāb Marqiyya. However, the ship turned out to be a simple cargo ship from the 13th century, its load consisting of only two amphora types, besides which only two sherds of *sgraffiato* ware were found.¹⁵⁵

The new millennium did bring some important changes in this field with the launch of new archaeological projects in some of the important medieval centres of the Syrian coastal region. The research project of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission in al-Marqab,¹⁵⁶ one of the largest medieval fortifications of the period, which began in 2007, resulted in the collection of a huge amount of new data. This data was relevant to a number of fields including pottery and every day life and was collected not only from the castle itself, but also its suburbs. Between 2003 and 2007 several soundings resulting in a collection of new finds were undertaken in Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn¹⁵⁷ and excavations and field surveys were also conducted in Qal‘at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by a Franco-Syrian Archaeological Mission between 2007 and 2010.¹⁵⁸ The results of this Archaeological Mission are expected to enhance our knowledge considerably on the ceramic repertoire of the rural areas of the northern part of the Syrian littoral. Documented rescue excavations and soundings like the one in Ṭarṭūs in 2003 and the ongoing works on the Roman theatre turned medieval fortification in Jabala are also providing control and comparative material

¹⁴⁹ Best example is the otherwise outstanding work in the Crac des Chevaliers (Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn). Deschamps 1934; 1973

¹⁵⁰ Still unpublished works in: Qal‘at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Qal‘at al-Mahāliba, Qal‘at al-Maynaqa, Qal‘at Abū Qubays, Qal‘at al-Kahf.

¹⁵¹ Few lines on medieval pottery: Riis 1958: 123.

¹⁵² Brief description of medieval pottery: Oldenburg & Rohweder 1981: 58-59.

¹⁵³ Scattered notes on medieval pottery: Oldenburg & Rohweder 1981: 73, 76, 78.

¹⁵⁴ Short notice on medieval pottery: Badre *et al.* 1994: 271. See also report on first campaigns: Badre *et al.* 1990: 9-124.

¹⁵⁵ Amphorae: 38-39.

¹⁵⁶ The joint Syrian-Hungarian project is directed by Balázs Major, Marwān Ḥasan and Edmond al-‘Ajji.

¹⁵⁷ Zimmer, Meyer & Boscardin 2011: 47-172.

¹⁵⁸ The project is directed by Benjamin Michaudel and Jamāl Ḥaydar.

for the better understanding of the pottery retrieved from surveys of the countryside, far from these centres.

The field sherding activity of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission conducted between 2000 and 2012 concentrated mainly on the rural sites of the southern part of the Syrian coast. It took samples from large areas representing different geographical units of the coast; the coastal plain, the northern Plain of 'Akkār, the hill country in the region of Qal'at 'Urayma and Šāfītā and the deepest recesses of the mountainous hinterland to the north-east of al-Qadmūs. A large amount of sample material was collected in the north during the Upper Orontes Valley surveys in 2003 and 2004 which provided a useful base to compare possible differences between the northern and southern zones of the coastal region, a region that was also divided by political boundaries in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Comparative Material in the Wider Region

There is a far greater quantity of publications on medieval pottery from the areas neighbouring the Syrian coastal region. However, these come almost exclusively from the main political, economic and military centres of the period and less frequently from rural sites. East of the coast, there are some publications that include sites which were in Frankish hands for at least a short period of time such as Afāmiya¹⁵⁹ or Ḥārim.¹⁶⁰ But more material is published on sites that remained Muslim centres at all times such as Hama citadel¹⁶¹, Homs¹⁶² or Aleppo.¹⁶³ Reports on the medieval material of the thoroughly excavated citadel of Mašyāf¹⁶⁴ are also expected to be useful for comparison. In the past few years several new projects resulting in new data on medieval ceramics were launched in the Orontes region, including the field surveys of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut,¹⁶⁵ the excavations and surveys of the University of British Columbia and Laval University in Tall al-'Ashārna¹⁶⁶ and the Homs region surveys of Durham University.

The parallels closest to the region where most of the SHAM sherdings took place lie behind the modern political boundaries of Lebanon. Basic reference works in this respect are connected to the excavations in Tripoli¹⁶⁷ and Tall 'Arqa.¹⁶⁸ Other published material from Lebanese territories further south include articles presenting finds in caves used in the Middle Ages,¹⁶⁹ preliminary reports on

the results of the rescue excavations in downtown Beirut¹⁷⁰ and such ceramic studies as the ones on Ba'lbak.¹⁷¹ The final publication of the results of the survey that targeted sites in the southern part of the Plain of 'Akkār¹⁷² will definitely be of considerable importance for comparison with the ones the SHAM conducted in the northern parts of the same region.

Regretfully, the medieval period of the northern metropolis of the Syrian coast, Antioch and its region has not been given the amount of attention it deserves and the best processed site is still Port St. Symeon.¹⁷³ Recent excavations of less important sites in the wider region raised important questions about the conventional opinion on the provenance and categorising of the typical 'Port St. Symeon' ware. The one closest to the Syrian coast is conducted by Bilkent University in Kinet Höyük (ancient Issos) on the Cilician side of the Amanus mountains, which has also yielded well documented material providing useful parallels to the ceramics from the Syrian coast.¹⁷⁴

Further north-east, publications on the pottery from the excavations in Tille Höyük¹⁷⁵ and Gritille¹⁷⁶ also shed light on medieval sites in the countryside of the former County of Edessa. The fact that conventional dating is not always precise has been proven by the study of the material found in the shipwreck of Serçe Limani on the Turkish coast.¹⁷⁷

Due to its central role in the Holy Land and the much more advanced studies on medieval pottery, one must look closely at the results of the analysis from the central territories of the former Kingdom of Jerusalem. Sites like Jerusalem,¹⁷⁸ 'Atlīt,¹⁷⁹ Carmel,¹⁸⁰ Caesarea,¹⁸¹ Acre,¹⁸² Belmont castle,¹⁸³ Tel Yoqneam,¹⁸⁴ Apollonia-Arsuf,¹⁸⁵ Acre¹⁸⁶ are being referred to in the general survey of Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk period pottery from Palestinian sites.¹⁸⁷ The results of surveys and excavations at the Red Tower¹⁸⁸ in Palestine can be considered the most closely excavated and precisely published parallel to the rural centres examined by the SHAM surveys on the Syrian coast. Meanwhile the number of excavated and published material on rural sites in medieval Palestine is

¹⁷⁰ el-Masri 1997-98: 103-119; el-Masri & Seeden 1999: 396-402; van der Steen 1997-98: 121-127.

¹⁷¹ Daiber 2006: 111-166; Fischer-Genz, Lehmann & Vezzoli 2010: 289-305.

¹⁷² The part dealing with medieval ceramics: Bartl 1999: 30-32.

¹⁷³ Lane 1937: 19-78; Vorderstrasse 2005: 102-157.

¹⁷⁴ Blackmann & Redford 2005: 83-186; Eger 2010: 65-71; Gates *et al.* 2014: 167-170. Also see material displayed in the Museum of Antioch.

¹⁷⁵ Moore 1993: 71-117.

¹⁷⁶ Redford 1998: 77-155.

¹⁷⁷ Jenkins 1992: 56-71.

¹⁷⁸ Tushingham 1985: 108-153 + Figures.

¹⁷⁹ Riavez 2001: 505-532.

¹⁸⁰ Pringle 1984: 91-111.

¹⁸¹ Pringle 1985a: 171-202; Arnon 2008.

¹⁸² Pringle 1997c: 137-156; Stern & Waksman 2003: 167-180.

¹⁸³ Grey 2000: 87-100; Knowles 2000: 101-116.

¹⁸⁴ Ben-Tor *et al.* 1996: 75-172, 173-187, 188-197; Avissar 2005: 25-82.

¹⁸⁵ Tal & Ziffer 2011.

¹⁸⁶ Stern 2012.

¹⁸⁷ Avissar & Stern 2005.

¹⁸⁸ Pringle 1986a: 135-159.

¹⁵⁹ Rogers 1972: 253-270; Rogers 1984: 261-285.

¹⁶⁰ Gelichi 2006: 196-199.

¹⁶¹ Poulsen 1957: 117-283.

¹⁶² King 2002: 55-56.

¹⁶³ Gonnella 2006: 174-175.

¹⁶⁴ Hasan 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Bartl & al-Maqdissi 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Mason & Sunahara 2006; Mason & Desjardine 2006.

¹⁶⁷ Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 155-237. Including analysis of pottery from St. Elias of Bqūfa.

¹⁶⁸ Thalmann 1978: 23-27; Hakimian & Salamé-Sarkis 1983: 1-62.

¹⁶⁹ Momies 1994: 202-204, 239-265; Abdul-Nour & Salamé-Sarkis 1991: 180-187; Baroudi *et al.* 2011.

growing rapidly. Material resulting from the increasing number of excavations and surveys of medieval sites in Jordan can also be useful for comparison.¹⁸⁹

Material Limitations and the Evaluation Process

There are several factors that necessitate extreme caution in the evaluation of the pottery collected. Stratigraphically controlled excavations on the medieval sites of the Syrian coast are still very scarce and are concentrated in large centres like al-Marqab and Qal'at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Thus whilst providing very useful controlpoints, the evaluation of the ceramic material of the surveys in rural sites still has to depend largely on internal comparison. Sherds collected from the field are usually more fragmentary, so they provide less information on the form of the vessels, which can hinder dating seriously. Although written sources give a general impression of low intensity in the settlement pattern between the 14th century and the turn of the 20th century, one has to count with the serious 'pollution' of the surface-sherds. A basic cause could be later habitation. We do not have much information on post-Mamluk pottery in the region, but it seems to have been poorer in decoration in rural areas and although there is proof for the survival of some medieval pottery types¹⁹⁰ many characteristic wares either disappeared¹⁹¹ or went through considerable metamorphosis¹⁹². Another source of pollution can be the transfer of soil for agricultural purposes that is almost the rule in the case of 'greenhouse-zones' and is very frequently encountered in citrus tree plantations. During the SHAM survey around Tall Laḥḥa, satellite images had to be employed to be able to exclude the areas of former greenhouses from the field sherding. At Tall 'Aqdū, where no high resolution satellite image was available at the time of the survey and would have been useless given the strong vegetation cover, help came from the local farmers. Some sites show that the presence of sherds can not always be expected. As a result of the accumulation of debris from the literally 'broken tower' of Burj al-Maksūr, only a few pieces of evidently medieval pottery was found, although the tower clearly dates from that period. In this case only clearing works and excavations can produce archaeological material. However, practically nothing can be done in cases where the expansion of settlements erased all traces of archaeological material above the ground. Regretfully this is the situation at many sites.

The number of rural sites with medieval pottery chosen to form the base of the ceramic assessment for the rural sites of this study is 100. All included on this list were visited and field sherded by the SHAM surveys between 2000 and 2011. Only sites in the rural areas are included amongst the 100 forming the core of the study of the *casalia*. Such centres in the countryside as the mighty al-Marqab

and castles which according to the sources had their own suburbs like al-Qulay'a or al-Kahf are not counted amongst the village sites. The number of sites surveyed by the SHAM was of course far larger but in many cases vegetation made sherding impossible, or the site had no medieval pottery remains even though it had obvious Crusader period buildings.

Given the lack of scholarly literature on the medieval rural pottery found along the coastal regions of Syria, field sherding concentrated on those rural sites where architectural remains of Crusader period buildings still exist. Their number was 17 out of the 100. Amongst these sites, the immediate vicinity of the 10 rural towers (Tall 'Aqdū, Burj 'Arab, Burj 'Āṣūr, Bjam'āsh, Burj al-Maksūr, Burj Mī'ār Shākir, Burj Tukhla, Qal'at Umm Ḥūsh, Yaḥmūr and Burj Zārā) were especially promising. The towers of Tall 'Aqdū, 'Āṣūr, Bjam'āsh and Zārā had no modern settlements nearby and according to the testimony of other sources, they never seem to have had any in the post-medieval period. As a result of this they became the primary targets of the SHAM field sherding activity. Sites with extensive antique remains proved worth visiting, as many of them showed traces of medieval habitation. A large sample of pottery not only from the Middle Ages but also from the preceding periods was also collected, in order to provide data on the antecedents of the settlement pattern and also on settlement continuity.

Sites with Frankish architectural remains were the primary targets of field sherding, especially if the vicinity was inhabited in the medieval period and a lack of settlement could be suspected for several centuries afterwards. The sherding at these sites, especially around the rural towers fulfilled expectations as it produced roughly similar ceramic sequences that served as a point of departure. This data was supplemented with pottery fragments collected from larger castles in different regions, especially those ones which seemed to be more or less out of use after the Middle Ages, like Qal'at al-Qulay'a or Qal'at 'Urayma. The most important control material was provided by the SHAM archaeological research project in al-Marqab, where the two huge civilian settlements belonging to the castle were also subject to the excavations. Frankish rural buildings with settlements around them produced roughly the same types of glazed pottery and later habitation did not seem to have resulted in much pollution in glazed ware for reasons that will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

As proven by the surveys, it was worth sherding at sites that had clear antique and late antique architectural remains as many of them yielded very rich medieval pottery affirming the presence of settlements in the period of our study. In the sample region to the northeast of al-Qadmūs, the presence of medieval pottery was surprisingly strong at sites with much later antique building remains. In this region only three out of the 16 late antique sites surveyed was devoid of medieval pottery. At the same time, with the exception of a handful of castle sites, almost every medieval

¹⁸⁹ Miller 1991: 224-279; Tonghini & Vannini 1997: 371-387; Walker 1999: 209; Kareem 2000; Sinibaldi 2009: 449-464.

¹⁹⁰ Gelichi 2000: 197.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*; a typical example is the Port St. Symeon ware with a clear terminus *ante-quem* in 1268.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

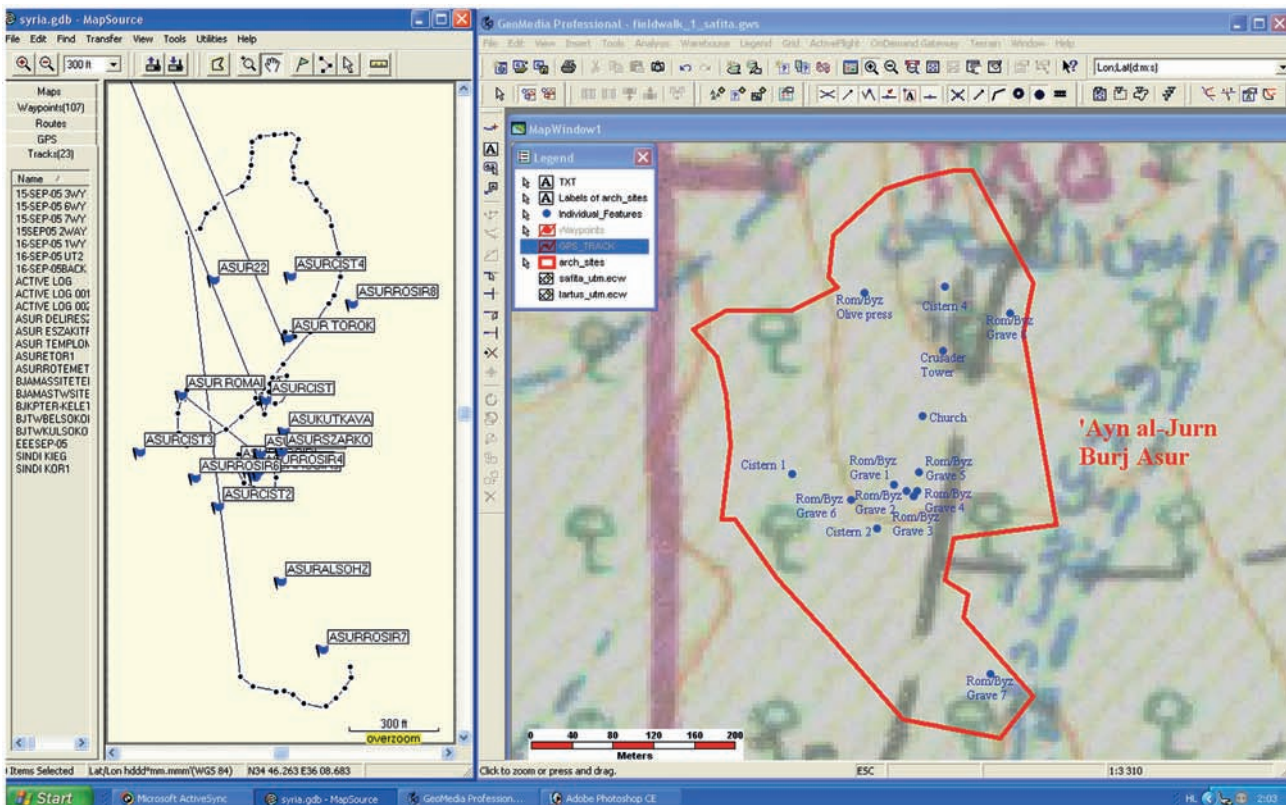


Fig. 4. GIS database sample from around the region of 'Āṣūr. (G. Bertók)

settlement had antique antecedents, a fact which suggests a certain continuity in the settlement pattern. While pre-medieval architectural remains were almost omnipresent at the surveyed sites, one of the most famous pottery types typical of the Roman period, the *terra sigillata* ware was also found at more than 50% of the sites out of the 100 featured on the list.

Having collected an abundant sample of pottery at archaeological sites with datable architectural remains, the surveys could identify plenty of sites without built remains based solely on the pottery samples collected. These ceramic assemblages were mostly collected in gardens and plantations and in many cases the sherds concentrated on fields with more than the usual amount of rubble stone, as was the case of 'Ayn Ḥarbātī. Here we can suspect these stones to be the remnants of village houses built of dry masonry (*pict.* 27).

In many cases, favourable conditions permitted observations on the geographical distribution of the pottery scatter in relation to the landscape and the architectural remains. The demarcation of the pottery scatter around the towers of 'Āṣūr, Bjam'āsh and Umm Ḥūsh with GPS and their analysis in a GIS system gave valuable information not only on the existence but also on the approximate extent of the medieval site and its relation to the Antique antecedents. Besides these, dozens of other sites gave the opportunity to make observations on part of their areas yielding useful supplementary data on the former settlements.

There are a number of problems, however, in evaluating the pottery of the field surveys. One of the most relevant problems is the above mentioned lack of comparative material from securely dated stratified contexts. Developments in this respect can be expected from the stratigraphically controlled excavations of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission that started in 2007 in Qal'at al-Marqab and especially from the pottery retrieved from the outer suburb of the castle. This latter assemblage seems to span a relatively short period from the end of the 12th century to 1285. Detailed reports on the excavations of the Franco-Syrian Archaeological Mission in Qal'at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn are also expected to be useful for comparison in the future. Another major problem is the fragmentary nature of the collected material that not only hinders the precise categorisation of a portion of the material (eg. distinguishing *sgraffiato* ware from simple glazed slipware is nearly impossible if incised parts are missing from the retrieved fragment), but also makes a quantitative analysis nearly impossible. With due caution, however, pottery collected during field surveys can provide a secure base for some preliminary observations that enhance our knowledge on the rural settlements of the studied period.

Pottery Types from Rural Areas on the Syrian Coastlands

Unglazed Wares (pl. 36-37)

Storage Vessels (pl. 36.1)

One of the most basic and easily identifiable groups of unglazed wares is made up of fragments of large storage jars and amphorae. As they had been used throughout the

millennia, they are naturally hard to date when collected on the surface of a multi-period site. Some examples with typical decoration were classified by Salamé-Sarkis as B.III,¹⁹³ but most of the fragments found by the SHAM were pieces without decoration. Of the decorative types, Salamé-Sarkis established almost only the wavy comb decoration and even this was present in only 10% of the sites. It is worth mentioning that this decoration did exist in other periods too and so one may only be more certain of its medieval origin if it can be found in clear context. The sherds collected in the countryside were usually very fragmentary. Henceforth it proved almost impossible to make a detailed categorisation of storage vessels or recognise changes in their forms with the passing of time as had been done with the highly abundant material from medieval Palestine.¹⁹⁴ The two markedly different amphorae types found by the Japanese Underwater Expedition in a 13th century wreck close to Kharāb Marqiyā¹⁹⁵ are not particularly useful either. The amphorae fragments found in the coastal lands are too fragmentary for comparison and do not necessarily have to be identical to those ones used for sea transportation.

The lids that covered the pots and jars belonging to the domestic ware of storage and cooking are unglazed. Identifiable lid fragments from the 12th and 13th century material are almost entirely absent in the southern part of the littoral with only three fragments being found during the surveys in the Upper Orontes Valley. Two of them show close resemblance to lids from excavation sites in present day Turkey. The two lid fragments (one from Shaqīf Darkūsh, (pl. 46.10) the other from Mughur al-Ḥumr) are very similar in their decoration to the ones in Tille Höyük¹⁹⁶ and Kinet Höyük.¹⁹⁷ The general shape of the Darkūsh one differs in respect to the fact that it had no handle attached to its side but instead seemed to have had a hollow central knob on its top resembling some lid sherds in Gritille.¹⁹⁸

Slip or Self-Slip Covered Wares (pl. 36.4-5)

A relatively frequently occurring unglazed pottery type throughout the field surveys was the sherd with orange- or pinkish-brown body covered with a whitish or less frequently pale-green slip that in certain cases could have been the result of the firing process. The identifiable fragments usually belong to pitchers or jugs very often with a narrow neck. They were detected in almost half of the sites where medieval pottery was present. At some sites like Qal'at Ṭarbalīs they made up the most numerous group besides the glazed slip-painted wares and the *sgraffiato* fragments. Their best parallels were found in large quantities by the excavations of the SHAM in the outer suburb of al-Marqab in a 13th century cistern and in

a house - none of which seem to have survived the siege of 1285.¹⁹⁹

Hand-Made Painted Wares (HMPW) (pl. 36.6-7)

Building on the numerous excavations and surveys in the southern Levant and in the interior of Syria, scholarly literature has tended to produce such statements with regard to the HMPW that it has „...*been recorded on nearly every medieval site in Syria and Mesopotamia.*”²⁰⁰ But also the more cautious Jeremy Johns supposed its existence from the Mediterranean coast to the Euphrates assuming that the wide gaps in its distribution correspond to gaps in archaeological research and publication.²⁰¹ The SHAM surveys intending to fill in these gaps came to the conclusion that the HMPW was practically nonexistent in the rural areas of the Syrian coast under Frankish domination. There was not a single sherd found in the rural hinterland of the coastal region and the only pieces of HMPW (a single sherd at each site) were found in a few lesser fortified sites deeper east in the mountains (Jabal al-Sayyida, Qal'at Burzāy, Kafart 'Iqāb and Shaqīf Darkūsh) and were thus closer to the interior of Syria where HMPW are more widespread.

That the absence of the HMPW might be a general rule in the coastlands is indicated by the fact that more than a dozen excavation seasons of the SHAM in al-Marqab between 2007 and 2012 resulted in the unearthing of only a few fragments. While HMPW was most widespread in rural Transjordan,²⁰² it was also frequent in the Palestinian countryside²⁰³ and penetrated the interior of Syria as well,²⁰⁴ yet it seems that the Syrian coast was left largely untouched by it. HMPW does not feature in the ceramic repertoire of the Tripoli region, it is absent from the Beirut excavations and is not reported in any of the Lebanese coastal cities or Ba'lbak.²⁰⁵ Its absence on the Syrian coast thus strengthens the general impression that in terms of the ceramic segment of the material culture, the Syrian coast was much closer to the Lebanese, than to the neighbouring settlements of the Syrian interior. It seems that the closest the HMPW could get to the coastlands in considerable quantities were those few large castles bordering the coastal mountains, like Ḥārim. Here the Ayyubid levels contained HMPW, but it only became very frequent in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.²⁰⁶ This seems to be a parallel process also observed in the excavation layers of the Red Tower in Palestine.²⁰⁷

'Tall Sūkās Ware'

The excavations of the Danish Mission on Tall Sūkās found in a Crusader layer dated by a coin „...*fragments ressemblant à la céramique dite arabe-géométrique mais*

¹⁹³ Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 235.

¹⁹⁴ Avissar & Stern 2005: 100-107.

¹⁹⁵ Amphorae: 38-39.

¹⁹⁶ Moore 1993: 108, fig. 44; 109, fig. 45.

¹⁹⁷ Antioch exhibition, piece no. KNH-182.

¹⁹⁸ Redford 1998: 141, fig 3:13 - E.

¹⁹⁹ Major 2015.

²⁰⁰ Grabar 1978: p. 201. n 20.

²⁰¹ Johns 1998: 69.

²⁰² Johns 1998: 69-70; Walker 1999: 220.

²⁰³ Pringle 1986a: 76; Avissar & Stern 2005: 113.

²⁰⁴ eg. Poulsen 1957: 274, fig. 1027-1029.

²⁰⁵ Van der Steen 1997-98: 125.

²⁰⁶ Gelichi 2000: 197.

²⁰⁷ Pringle 1986a: 135.

d'une matière noire ou gris noirâtre avec décor plastique ou incisé" that resembled contemporary European black wares.²⁰⁸ Disregarding the fact that the „*amphora médiévale*” on fig. 6. intended to illustrate the fragments, has nothing in common with the cited examples of the „*arabe-géométrique*” pieces from Hama,²⁰⁹ save the shape of the handles, the SHAM surveys did not find sherds belonging to this group of medieval wares in the coastlands.

Ṭarṭūs Excavation Assemblage (pl. 37)

Unglazed wares are extremely difficult to date with any degree of accuracy, especially when they come from simple field sherding. A large collection of medieval unglazed pottery was retrieved and documented by the SHAM during a rescue excavation in the Templar citadel of Ṭarṭūs in the summer of 2003. Here the overwhelming majority of the sherds were found in what seemed to have been garbage pits dug under the original floor level of the 13th century hall. The assemblage was dominated by a group of wheel-thrown pots and vessels, thinly potted with hard metallic sounding fabrics. In many cases grey slip paint covered most of their outer surface. (pl. 37.3) A set of vessels were made of the same material without the slip paint but with flattened ribs on their surfaces. Another group of pottery fragments preserved the clear traces of white decorative painting on the dark orange or greyish-brown surfaces of the sherds. (pl. 37.1-2) Several pieces of thicker walled storage vessels were also found made of pale-pink material covered with white slip and decorated with deeply penetrating combed lines. Some pots of the assemblage had basket handles as another characteristic feature. The only site where a single example of a thinly potted vessel made of hard fabric covered by dark-grey slip was found was Jabal al-Sayyida.

Glazed Wares

Lead-Glazed Common Wares (pl. 38)

Lead-glazed wares were the normal kitchen ware of Crusader Syria²¹⁰ and fragments of them were collected at no less than 66% of the rural sites containing medieval pottery. As their fabric was usually of low quality and thus rather fragile, the samples collected are mostly very fragmentary. (pict. 45.1) The identifiable fragments indicate that the flat-bottomed frying-pans (pl. 38.6) and globular cooking pots (pl. 38.3) with horizontal loop-handles observed at Palestinian sites²¹¹ were a normal form here as well. Horizontal loop-handles were often employed on vessels with other shapes too. (pl. 38.2) The circumstances of the provenance of our material and its fragmented nature does not permit us to connect it to the 'kitchen-ware evolution' theories of el-Masri.²¹² But it does seem that a large amount of the material collected - especially the ones with a lighter brown glaze - have

thicker walls and might be later pieces. In contrast to the presence of the lead-glazed kitchen ware in Palestine from the 8th century onwards,²¹³ the Ḥārīm excavations in the northern part of the Syrian coast show that the lead-glazed cooking wares were introduced to the site around the Crusader era only.²¹⁴ If the observations of the excavations at the Red Tower can be applied to the Syrian coast as well, they can be a kind of terminus *ante quem* as they seem to have virtually disappeared from this Palestinian site after the end of the 14th century.²¹⁵

The lamps of Crusader period Palestine were all wheelmade with the most common variety being saucer lamps potted from the same clay as the kitchen-ware material and often covered with the same glaze.²¹⁶ There were only three pottery lamps found by the SHAM surveys amongst the 100 rural sites included on the list. They all seem to have been wheelmade from rather poor quality clay, the one found close to the tower of 'Āṣūr being devoid of glaze, the one collected in Jilīti is covered with a yellow glaze and that from 'Ayn Qaḍīb with brown glaze. (pl. 38.1)

Glazed Slip-Wares (pl. 39-43)

Monochrome Glazed Slip-Wares (pl. 39)

Monochrome glazed slip-wares are very characteristic of medieval sites along the Syrian coastal region. However, as field surveys can only produce sherds, they are often indistinguishable from coarse *sgraffiato* ware or from glazed reserved slip-ware. The two typical colours are the green and the yellow and also their respective variations.

Sherds that seem to have belonged to monochrome green glazed slip-wares were detected at 26% of the sites in the list and were sometimes found in large quantities. In a further 14% of the sites, fragments that might have belonged to monochrome glazed pottery of green colour were also found. So taking into account the fact that some might have belonged to *sgraffiato* wares, around a third of the sites were characterised by the presence of this type of pottery. The ratio and frequency of green glazed pottery (with several variants both in colour and quality) were especially strong in the Upper Orontes Valley survey region (pl. 46.2-3,5) and they seem to be more frequent in the northern areas of the Syrian littoral in general. The monochrome green tin glazed sherds in the neighbouring Ḥārīm castle were discovered in levels of the late 11th and 12th century and their clay analysis indicated local origin.²¹⁷ The continued popularity of the green glazed earthenware was also noted in Antioch²¹⁸ and green glazed ware constituted most of the monochrome examples in Gritille further north-east.²¹⁹ Green glazed sherds likewise dominated the monochrome repertoire in Phase 3 in the Beirut excavations and were dated to the late 13th to early

²¹³ Knowles 2000: 101.

²¹⁴ Gelichi 2000: 197.

²¹⁵ Pringle 1986a: 136, but see Avissar & Stern 2005: 91-94.

²¹⁶ Avissar & Stern 2005: 124.

²¹⁷ Gelichi 2000: 196-197.

²¹⁸ Waagé 1948: 103.

²¹⁹ Redford 1998: 146.

²⁰⁸ Riis 1958: 123.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* n. 4. „Cf. Hama IV 2 p. 274 fig. 1027-1029.”

²¹⁰ Pringle 1985a: 176.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*; Knowles 2000: 101.

²¹² el-Masri 1997-98: 106-109; el-Masri and Seeden 1999: 396.

14th centuries.²²⁰ In contrast to the green glazed ones, yellow glazed slip-ware, identifiable with more certainty, was present at 13 sites in our survey zones. The number of sites where further possible fragments were found was 27, which altogether is exactly the same number as the sites with possible occurrence of monochrome glazed pottery of green colour. The ratio of the monochrome glazed slip-painted pottery was in all probability much higher as the rounded and often slightly carinated rim fragments that are very frequent (more than 50%) at the rural sites are likely to have belonged to this group. But because most of their body is missing it is unclear whether they were really monochrome or rather they had some kind of decoration on the parts that are missing.

Monochrome glazed pottery seems to have been very typical of the south of the Syrian coast. It was found in large quantities by the 'Akkār survey²²¹ and their examples were also documented at more inland sites like Bqūfā,²²² though here their dating is probably 13th rather than the 13th and 14th centuries.²²³ Further examples were found in the medieval refuge cave of 'Āṣī al-Ḥadath on Mount Lebanon.²²⁴ In Palestine the trend of producing mainly monochrome glazed bowls started during the second half of the 12th century and increased during the 13th and 14th centuries, with the more preferred glaze colour being the green.²²⁵

Glazed Reserved Slip-Wares (pl. 40)

Glazed reserved slip-ware fragments seem to be relatively frequent in the medieval ceramic repertoire of the Syrian littoral. Certainly identifiable fragments were found at 21% of the rural sites surveyed, with the overwhelming majority (19 sites) having produced yellow glazed versions. Only at seven sites were fragments with green glaze found. Although they are more frequently featuring in the vicinity of Frankish rural centres (eight such sites), they were also found in no less than 12 rural sites without Frankish infrastructure detected. Amongst the nine tower sites sherded, six possessed glazed reserved slip-ware of the yellow type and two of them had green fragments as well.

Glazed reserved slip-ware is relatively well attested in the Tripoli region, where they constitute category A.II.1. set by Salamé-Sarkis.²²⁶ The fragment of the same pottery is shown on fig. 4 in the report of the 'Akkār survey²²⁷ and glazed reserved slip-ware was found by the Nahr Ibrāhīm surveys too - near Yānūḥ deep in Mount Lebanon.²²⁸ There seem to have been two types categorised in medieval Palestine, the first connected to the Crusader era and the second datable instead to the first half of the Mamluk

rule.²²⁹ The Syrian finds are too fragmentary to make a precise comparison at the moment.

A finer version of the glazed reserved slip-ware with a glittering coating (*pl. 40.4-7*) categorised by Salamé-Sarkis in the Tripoli region as A.II.3.²³⁰ was found at eight Syrian coastal sites, six of them ('Āṣūr, Bjam'āsh, Mī'ār, Sumaryān, Umm Ḥūsh and Zārā) being former rural centres of the Frankish period and only two (Jlītī and Tarkab) were places where reserved slip-ware was found but Crusader period building was not. This hints at the possibility that at least this latter category of the glazed reserved slip-wares might be considered to be a more prestigious one.

Bowls with Gritty Glaze (pl. 42.1-3)

Fragments of this ceramic category were found at 37 sites which constitutes more than a third of the rural sites on the list. A further five sites potentially had it but the sherds were too fragmentary to decide with any degree of certainty. The ratio of the certainly identifiable green and yellow glazed versions was quite similar, with the green found at 31 sites and the yellow at 27. According to studies in the material of medieval Palestine, this type of pottery made its first appearance in the second half of the 12th century and was in use until the first half of the 13th century. Thus the basis for relatively accurate dating has been established.²³¹ The examples of the Syrian coastal area are similar in look to the scantily applied slip layer resulting in a dirty appearance under the improperly fired glaze that has a gritty surface as a consequence. Most of the fragments identified during the SHAM survey preserved a thinly incised *sgraffiato* design of simple lines. A fragment in the roughly datable context of a green glazed version in the Syrian coastland was found by the SHAM in the mortar of the vault of the dormitory in al-Marqab, which can be dated between 1187 and 1202.

Glazed Slip-Wares with Green Splashed Decoration

The only fragment of this type of pottery was collected by the SHAM survey in Rām 'Āra in the Upper Orontes Valley.

Glazed Slip-Painted Wares (pl. 41)

The most frequently found type of glazed pottery in the rural sites of the southern half of the Syrian coast is the glazed slip-painted ware. It was retrieved from 78 rural sites out of the 100 with medieval sherds. The two basic sub-types of this category are the ones with yellow coloured decoration and those with green ones. Yellow was present at 76 sites, but the green version only at 14. The decorative lines painted by slip and covered with a colourless glaze were employed mainly on plates, the material of which is also not uniform. It ranges from a very hard, metallic sounding material thrown on a fast wheel, to very porous ones yet most of the samples belong to the hard or medium-hard category. The colour of the glaze

²²⁰ el-Masri 1997-98: 109.

²²¹ Bartl 1999: 30.

²²² Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 191.

²²³ Pringle 1985a: 177.

²²⁴ Abi-'Aoun 1994: 204, fig. 3.

²²⁵ Avissar & Stern 2005: 10.

²²⁶ Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 176.

²²⁷ Bartl 1999: 32.

²²⁸ Gatier 2001: 124, Pl. 6. no. 11.

²²⁹ Avissar & Stern 2005: 22-23.

²³⁰ Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 176.

²³¹ Avissar & Stern 2005: 8-9.

on the slipless surfaces also differs considerably, with the majority being of an orangish brown. However, many examples have a marked dark brown colour and in these cases the decorative bands are broader and rougher and their margins seem to dissolve in the surfaces with brown colour. Darker glazes seem to have come into existence on softer plates. In some cases, especially in the mountainous region, we find sherds with a black glaze effect. In 'Ayn Qaḏīb for example they make up the majority of the glazed slip-painted wares. Slip-painted wares with green decorative bands in some cases have an extremely strong black glaze covering on their slipless parts. A few examples of the glazed slip-painted wares have very vivid colours. In this respect some samples collected at Bayt 'Adrā (pl. 41.9) can be compared to the 'Warrior Vessel' excavated from the Crusader period layers of Issos.²³²

The basic shapes of the vessels decorated with the slip-painted technique are very hard to reconstruct as most sherds are only small fragments of the original plates. The best preserved samples of this pottery were found in the area of the former medieval *rabaḏ* of Qal'at al-Qulay'a, where most fragments were bottom sherds with a high foot base and a conical bottom which became thinner closer to its tip. Another characteristic fragment was the rim sherd with a leaning out flat rim. (pl. 41.2)

Though the material is very fragmented, it seems that most of the vessels were decorated with linear motifs and only among a few fragments do we find intricate spiral patterns on a large surface. Bottom sherds were usually painted with slip bands diagonally cutting each other (pl. 41.4) resulting in brown rhomboid forms once the slip-painted covering on the vessel has dissolved. On the rim sherds the so-called 'running dog motif'²³³ (pl. 41.2) is very characteristic either in negative or positive slip-paint. It is interesting to note that the decorative motifs of the glazed slip-painted wares of the Syrian coast do not resemble the well documented examples of the neighbouring Hama²³⁴ in the interior of Syria.

Another preliminary observation is that while the countryside in the southern part of the Syrian coast abounds in the glazed slip-painted ware, its presence in the rural regions of the north is minimal and mainly restricted to castle sites. Although slip-painted ware was found during the Ḥārim excavations,²³⁵ it is not mentioned in the Gritille material. However, if we head towards the south from the Syrian coast, slip-painted wares become typical again. They are reported in the Tripoli region,²³⁶ in the southern Plain of 'Akkār,²³⁷ from the valley of the Nahr Ibrāhīm²³⁸ and they were found even in caves inhabited

during the Middle Ages on Mount Lebanon.²³⁹ Slip-painted pottery was a typical piece of the ceramic repertoire of Crusader Palestine²⁴⁰ and was found both in urban and rural context in large quantities, reported for example from Belmont castle.²⁴¹ The eventuality of distribution and the very fragmented nature of the sherds collected during the SHAM surveys do not permit the detailed tracing of the typological development suggested by Pringle in connection with the glazed slip-painted wares,²⁴² but in general, our results seem to support his observations.

Sgraffiato Wares (pl. 42.4-7; 43)

Port St. Symeon Wares (pl. 42.4-7)

One of the most typical Crusader period pottery types of the Levant was named after St. Symeon (or al-Mīnā), the port of Antioch which was the first site where it was found in considerable numbers. Though in the past decades many other production centres of this type of pottery were detected in the northern Levant, recent petrographic analyses demonstrated that the ones excavated and studied in the former territory of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem originated in the region of Antioch.²⁴³ It is very possible that the Port St. Symeon polychrome *sgraffiato* ware fragments found at nine of the rural sites on the list were also imported from there and as such can be dated to the 13th century.²⁴⁴ These fragments all belonged to plates covered with very bright, transparent lead glaze with a pale yellow effect and green and brown splashes of glaze confined to the interior area of the neatly executed geometric *sgraffiato* designs.²⁴⁵

As these were imported wares it is not surprising that they were almost exclusively found in rural contexts at sites that served as rural centres in the Crusader era. Even here (Tall 'Aqdū, Ḥurayṣūn, Marqīyya, Sumaryān, Ṭarbalīs, Zārā with further possible examples at Yaḥmūr, Bajm'āsh and Tall Laḥḥa) the category is only represented with one or two fragments. From amongst the rural sites of seemingly secondary importance only Bāballūṭa and Kafart 'Iqāb can boast a single fragment each. Only a few inland sites with some degree of Frankish presence like Burj Zārā possessed fragments of the Port St. Symeon polychrome *sgraffiato* ware. The sherd found in Zārā (pl. 42.6) was completely identical to the piece found in 'Āṣī al-Ḥadath²⁴⁶ and much resembled Cypriote Lapithos ware.²⁴⁷ The sherds retrieved from a construction pit in Sumaryān near a Crusader vault were especially fine. (pl. 42.5) Port St. Symeon wares were also reported from a further three sites (Tall Sūkās,²⁴⁸ Tall Darūk²⁴⁹ and 'Arab al-Mulk²⁵⁰), but as formerly most *sgraffiato* types

²³² Antioch exhibition, piece no. KNH-146/Et. 391.

²³³ Oldenburg & Rohweder 1981: 111, no. 305.

²³⁴ Poulsen 1957: 238-239.

²³⁵ Gelichi 2000: 197.

²³⁶ Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 176-177. Group A.II.4.

²³⁷ Bartl 1999: 30.

²³⁸ Gatier 2001: 124, Pl. 6. no. 7-8, 10.

²³⁹ Abdul-Nour & Salamé-Sarkis 1991: 186, fig. 10-12.

²⁴⁰ Pringle 1986a: 76; Avissar & Stern 2005: 19-21.

²⁴¹ Knowles 2000: 105.

²⁴² Pringle 1985a: 179-183.

²⁴³ Avissar & Stern 2005: 52-56.

²⁴⁴ Kubiak 1998: 336.

²⁴⁵ In the Tripoli region they were categorized by Salamé-Sarkis as A.I.3. Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 166-169.

²⁴⁶ Momies 1994: 204, fig. 4.

²⁴⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004: 55.

²⁴⁸ Riis 1958: 122. (Compared to Poulsen 1957: 233-235 catégorie C XV b.)

²⁴⁹ Oldenburg & Rohweder 1981: 58.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 78.

were labelled with this name it is hard to verify whether the finds really belong to this category of very fine wares.

Coarse Sgraffiato Wares (pl. 42.8-10; 43)

Sherds decorated with sgraffiato technique of inferior quality than that of the Port St. Symeon wares are more abundant and turned up at about a third of the rural sites. They were also occasionally found further inland and most of them if not all could have been produced locally.²⁵¹ The fragmentary nature of the sherds does not permit deep analyses of form and decoration, but most pieces were ornamented with geographic and floral *sgraffiato* lines of varying widths and their transparent glaze covered surface with yellow colour was often decorated with green and brown splashes of glaze. (pl. 42.8-10; 46.6-8) A preliminary observation of more than a decade of surveying in the Syrian littoral was that the nearer one approaches the northern areas of the Syrian coast the greater the number of coarse *sgraffiato* sherds found in a rural context. It is also worth noting that the southern Plain of 'Akkār surveys in Lebanon have found the same types of *sgraffiato* wares on the other side of the border.²⁵² Coarse *sgraffiato* wares have many clear parallels in neighbouring regions, like al-Mīnā,²⁵³ Hama,²⁵⁴ Tall 'Arqa²⁵⁵ or even in the cave of 'Āṣī al-Ḥawqā.²⁵⁶

Gouged Sgraffiato Wares (pl. 43.8)

Monochrome yellow glazed sherds with touches and splashes of green and decorated with gouged *sgraffiato* design most often with wavy lines were found at seven rural sites, none of which displayed any remains indicating a former Frankish centre of importance. As in Palestinian territories, bowls with gouged *sgraffiato* are dated to the 14th and 15th centuries, the sites of al-'Anaynīza, 'Annāza - Kfar Fīr, al-Kayma near Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn, Qarqaftī, Khirbat al-Shātī, the Mazār al-Shaykh Yūsif in Tarkab and the Jāmi' area in 'Uṣayba are all expected to have had some kind of continuity in the Mamluk period too.

Import Wares from the Muslim-Held Interior (pl. 44)

Ceramics from the interior of Syria are extremely rare in the repertoire. Fragments that could be attributed to such origin were found at 11 rural sites and most of them with a single sherd.

Wares with Molded Decoration (pl. 44.1)

The only sherd with molded decoration in a rural context was found close to the ruins of the Frankish tower in Ruwaysat Bjam'āsh. As the excavations in al-Marqab also show, some such items had reached the coastlands during the Frankish occupation. Yet these finds were extremely scarce and their numbers do not seem to have grown considerably even during the Mamluk period.

Monochrome Glazed Incised Wares (pl. 44.2)

The single sherd of a vessel with incised decoration under a cobalt-blue glaze was found in the village of Qarqaftī and at the tower of Zārā.

Monochrome Glazed Wares of the Tell Minis Type (pl. 44.3-7)

White glazed Chinese stoneware imitations that were so frequent in Palestinian and Syrian urban sites²⁵⁷ were only found at three rural sites on the Syrian coast subject to the SHAM field surveys. The single sherd found in Shaqīf Darkūsh was without traces of decoration, the one from Tall Laḥḥa had fragments of brownish paint under the porcelain-like glaze and the piece from Sumaryān had opaque white glaze with a fine tinge of turquoise blue in the base.²⁵⁸ The SHAM survey had found in the suburb of Qal'at al-Qulay'a both the porcelain-like white glazed and the turquoise green type sherd example in each. (pl. 44.3-5) It is clear from the Arabic sources that porcelain, celadon and to a lesser extent Persian ceramics were very highly valued²⁵⁹ so their imitations must have also been more expensive. This could be one reason why they did not penetrate into the naturally poorer rural areas.

The most numerous imported ware found thus far in the rural hinterland of the Syrian coast was the monochrome glazed Tell Minis type ware of a soft, sandy fabric covered with a turquoise blue (in a few instances green) glaze. It was found at seven rural sites scattered along the length of the Syrian coast. The Tell Minis wares can be dated to the second half of the 12th century²⁶⁰ and as such this would mean some minimal import activity in pottery from the Syrian interior to sites still under Frankish control. Close parallels to the ones retrieved from the Syrian coastal surveys are found in Ba'lbak.²⁶¹

General Remarks

The rural hinterland of the Syrian coast seems to have had its own ceramic repertoire that differed in several respects from the interior of Syria, but showed close resemblance to the sites in present day Lebanon and in some ways to those of rural Palestine. Most of the pottery retrieved seems to have been locally produced and only a few types of imported wares from the Syrian interior found their way into the rural areas of the coastland. Such important wares as the soft-paste wares and lustre wares are entirely missing and there were no imported sherds of western origin found in the rural areas of the coast. This observation is further strengthened by the strange experience of the SHAM in al-Marqab, where with the exception of a few sherds of Zeuxippus ware, Cypriot Lapitos ware and Proto-Maiolica, no remains of western imports were found yet.

²⁵¹ See observations of Redford 1998: 109.

²⁵² Bartl 1999: 30.

²⁵³ Lane 1937: 48, fig. 8 A.

²⁵⁴ Poulsen 1957: 232, XV b.

²⁵⁵ Hakimian & Salamé-Sarkis: 1983: 6, Pl. I. no. 3.

²⁵⁶ Abdul-Nour & Salamé-Sarkis: 1991: 186, fig. 10.

²⁵⁷ Pringle 1985a: 193.

²⁵⁸ Similar to category V.1. – „céramique à glaçure opaque turquoise.” Hakimian & Salamé-Sarkis 1981: 15.

²⁵⁹ Milwright 1999: 517.

²⁶⁰ Porter & Watson 1987: 189-191.

²⁶¹ Daiber 2006: 116-119 and Plates 3-7.

The material collected during the surveys has also shown preliminary indications that the ceramic repertoire of the rural hinterland of the Syrian coast might not have been entirely homogenous. The material collected during the Upper Orontes Valley surveys in 2003 and 2004 and the experience of more than a decade of surveying in the Syrian coastlands show a deficit in the presence of the glazed slip-painted wares and a more marked presence of the *sgraffiato* wares, especially the Port St. Symeon family, compared to the southern territories. Whether this preliminary observation is true and can be somehow connected to the political or cultural boundaries of Antioch and Tripoli might only be revealed through further surveys and excavations.

The material collected between 2000 and 2012 reflects the same picture of general decline following the Mamluk destruction of the coastal area as was the case in Palestine.²⁶² Though basic pottery types did not change much in later times in the large castle site of Ḥārim,²⁶³ glazed pottery seems to have almost completely disappeared from the countryside, where the majority of the diminished population living in extreme poverty could rarely afford such luxury items even in the 19th century.²⁶⁴ Recent *kharāb* settlements sherded during the SHAM surveys produced minimal quantities of sherds and were almost always unglazed.

This trend of course helps both field sherding and the evaluation of the material collected, most of which can be roughly dated. The Port St. Symeon wares for example give a very precise terminus *ante quem*. The study of the material collected during the surveys also induces us to join the group of scholars who raised the need for the re-evaluation of long established views about certain ceramic types and a general review of the chronology attached to them.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Pringle 1981: 46.

²⁶³ Gelichi 2000: 197.

²⁶⁴ The observations of the SHAM surveys and the ethnographical enquiries in this respect are further supported by the early modern travellers' accounts. For the same trends in the Biqā' see Ali 1997-98: 301.

²⁶⁵ Pringle 1985a: 177; Redford 1998: 109; el-Masri 1997-98: 110.

DATABASE I.

MEDIEVAL CERAMIC TYPES in the RURAL AREAS of the SYRIAN COASTAL REGION

compiled by B. Major

Ceramic categories	Unglazed			Lead-Glazed	Glazed Slip-Wares						Slip-Painted		Sgraffiato				
	I.1.	I.2.	I.3.	II.1.	II.2.1.		II.2.2.			II.2.3.		II.3.		II.4.1.	II.4.2.	II.4.3.	III.
					yellow	green	yellow	green	"A.II.3."	yellow	green	yellow	green				
ʿAdrā (Bayt)	○	●		●	○	○	●				●	●	●			●	
Altūn al-Marqab - Maghārat al-Sindiyyān				●									●			●	
al-ʿAnaynīza	○	●		●	○		●						●				●
ʿAnnāza - al-Maysūniyya				●								●	●				
ʿAnnāza - K fār Fir		●		●							●	●	●			●	●
ʿAnnāza - Mazār al-Shaykh Khalīl				●									●				
ʿAnnāza - al-Ḥaydariyya		●		●							●	●	●			●	
ʿAqdū (Tall)	●	●		●	●	○	●				●	●	●	●	●	●	●
ʿArab (Burj)				●									●			●	
ʿĀṣūr	○			●	●	●	●		●				●			●	
al-ʿĀzāriyya (Dayr)												●					
Baʿashtār				●									●			●	
Bāballūṭa		●		●	○										●		
Baḥzīnā											●						
Balmīs	○				○	●							●			●	
Bdūqa - western ridge													●				
Bdūqa - al-Mahstāya													●				
Bjamʿāsh (Ruwaysat)	○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●		●
Blūsīn	○	●											●				
Blūza - al-ʿAtshāniyya	●	●		●	●			●				●	●			●	
Blūza - Duwwārat al-Ḥamrā		●		●							●	●	●			●	
Blūza - al-Sitt (Qalʿat)		●		●									●				
Brayʿīn				●									●				
Bustān al-Ḥammām		●		●							●		●				
Darkūsh	●	●	●	●		●									●		●
Fallāra		●											●	●			
Farrāshat al-Ṭāḥūna	○	●															
Frāsh (Tall)	○			○	○								●				●
al-Fuwwāra													●				
al-Ḥaddāda (Khīrbat)						●							●				
al-Ḥamrā (Arḍ)	●	●				●							●				
Ḥarbātī (ʿAyn)	●	●		●	○						●	●	●			●	
al-Ḥazna	○												●				
Ḥiffa wa-ʿAshīqa	○			●	○	○	●	○				●	●	●		●	
Mughr al-Ḥumr		●		●		●											
Ḥurayṣūn				●	○	○					●	●			●	●	
Jāmūs (Tall)											●						
Jarwiyya		●															
Jāsh (Bayt)					○	●							●				
Jāsh (Bayt) - al-Qaṣr	○				●								●				
Jlītī				●		●	●		●		●	●					
al-Jurd (Dayr) - village					○						○		●				
al-Jurd (Dayr) - al-Mashtāya		●		●	○						●	●	●	●		●	●
Kāf al-Ḥammām													●				

Ceramic categories	Unglazed			Lead-Glazed	Glazed Slip-Wares						Slip-Painted		Sgraffiato				
	I.1.	I.2.	I.3.	II.1.	II.2.1.		II.2.2.			II.2.3.		II.3.		II.4.1.	II.4.2.	II.4.3.	III.
					yellow	green	yellow	green	"A.II.3."	yellow	green	yellow	green				
Kafart 'Iqāb			●			●								●			
al-Ka'k (Maghārat)		●				●											
Kalakh (Tall)	○			●							○						
al-Kanā'is		●			○							●			●		
al-Kardiyya		●		●		●	●				●		●				
al-Kayma (near Şāfiṭā)												●					
al-Kayma (near Q. al-Ḥuṣn)							●	●							●	●	
Kisrā (Qal'at)	○			●		○	●				●	●	●				●
Lahḥa (Tall)	○	●		●	●	○						○		●	○		●
Majdalūn al-Bustān						●						○					
al-Maksūr (Burj)					○												
Marqiyya (Kharāb)	○	●		●	○						●		●		●	●	
Mashtā 'Āzār	○			●	●	●					●	●	●				
al-Mashtāyā (Khirbat)	●	●		●	○	○	○					●	●				●
M'ār Shākir (Burj)	○	●		●	○	○	●	○	●			●			●		
al-Mushayrifa		●		●							●	●	●			●	
al-Qabu (Khirbat)				○								●			●		
Qaḍīb ('Ayn)	○			●		●					●	●	●		●		
Qandīl	○	●		●		●						●					
Qarqaftī		●		●							●	●	●			●	●
al-Qassīs	○			●								●					
al-Qaṭbūn												●					
al-Qubayy				●								●					
al-Qurshiyya (Khirbat)		●		●		●					●	●	●	●		●	
al-Qūz (Qal'at)		●		●	●							●					
Rām 'Āra					●	●						●					
Rām Tarzī	○			●								●			●		
al-Ruwaysa (Kanīsat)	●			●	●		●				●	●	●		●		
Şaddīn				●		●						●	●				
Samka	○			●	○	○					●	●	●		●		
al-Sanāsīl (Khirbat)		●		●													
Sarkīs ('Ayn)				●													
al-Sawdā'				●													
al-Sayyida (Jabal)	○	●	●	●							●	●		●			●
Shāfi al-Rūḥ				●		●					●		●		●		
al-Shahhāra (Kanīsat)				●													
al-Shāti' (Khirbat)	○	●		●	○	○	●				○	●	●	●		●	
al-Shāti' (Khirbat) - cave											●						
Sindiyanāt 'Ayn Ḥuffāḍ	○							●									
al-Sitt (Qal'at)		●		●								●					
Sulaymān (Ḥuṣn)												●					
Sumaryān	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●	●	●	●
Ṭarbalīs (Qal'at)	○	●		●	○	○					○	●		●	●		
Tarkab - village	○	●		●	○	○	●					●					
Tarkab - Mazār al-Shaykh Yūsif	○	●		●	○	●	●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
Tukhla				●	○							●	●				
Ṭūrīn												●					

Ceramic categories	Unglazed			Lead-Glazed	Glazed Slip-Wares						Slip-Painted		Sgraffiato				
	I.1.	I.2.	I.3.	II.1.	II.2.1.		II.2.2.			II.2.3.		II.3.		II.4.1.	II.4.2.	II.4.3.	III.
					yellow	green	yellow	green	"A.II.3."	yellow	green	yellow	green				
Umm Hūsh (Qal'at)	●	●		●	○	○	●	●	●			●			●		
al-'Uṣayba - al-Jāmi'	○	●			○	●						●				●	
al-'Uṣayba - Mazār al-Ta'dūriyya	○	●			●							●					
Wādī al-Ḥammām	○			●		●						●					
Yaḥmūr	○	●		●	○						●	●	●	●	○	●	
Zahr al-Jubaybāt (Maghārat)	●					●											
Zahr Maṭar	○			●								●					
Zārā (Burj)	○	●		●	○	●	●	●	●			●		●			●
al-Zrayriyya		●		●	●						●	●	●				
Larger Centres as Control Points for Ceramics																	
al-Marqab (Qal'at)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
al-Qulay'a (Qal'at)	●	●		●	○	○	●				●	●	●	●		●	●
Ceramic categories	1.4.	1.3.	2	3		4.1.	5					6					

- I.1.** Storage Wessel
I.2. Slip or Self-Slip Covered Ware
I.3. HMPW
II.1. Lead-Glazed Common Wares
II.2.1. Monochrome Glazed Slip-Wares
II.2.2. Glazed Reserved Slip-Wares
II.2.3. Bowls with Gritty Glaze
II.3. Glazed Slip-Painted Wares
II.4.1. Port St. Symeon Wares
II.4.2. Coarse *Sgraffiato* Wares
II.4.3. Gouged *Sgraffiato* Wares
III. Import Wares from the Muslim-Held Interior

- certain example found by the SHAM surveys
○ possible fragment found by the SHAM surveys

4. Historical Frame

4.1. Pre-Crusader Period

*„The ash trees from the Lebanon are excellent,
the sinews from wild oxen are excellent,
the horns from mountain-goats are excellent,
the tendons from the hocks of a bull,
the canes from the divine marshes are excellent. ”*

(An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit,
Aqhat I.v: 237)

Antique Antecedents

Since at least the Middle (~1900-1600 BC)²⁶⁶ and Late Bronze Age (~1600-1250 BC)²⁶⁷ the Syrian Coast served as a gateway to the Mediterranean for the rest of Syria and Mesopotamia. This period also saw an explosion in urbanisation, which left dozens of tells on the coastal plain especially in the region of the Gap of Homs, many later proving a popular choice for medieval people trying to find secure bases for new settlements.²⁶⁸ Another long-lasting element of the settlement pattern of the coastlands, the formation of the dense network of small anchorages,²⁶⁹ also started in this period and continued well into the Iron Age (1200-539 BC). Around 700 BC the ancestor of medieval Tripoli was founded.²⁷⁰ Before the Roman period the settlement pattern of the Syrian coast lands saw several ebbs and flows yet a general pattern of continuous expansion seems apparent. It seems that by the Persian period (539-333 BC) even the deeper parts of the southern Anṣāriyya began to be colonized with the spread of the newly introduced method of terraced cultivation.²⁷¹ The Hellenistic (333-64 BC) period that followed then saw a new wave of urbanisation with the establishment of the new centres of Antioch (Anṭākiya), Seleucia (Samandağ), Laodicea (al-Lādzaqiyya) and Apamea (Afāmiya).²⁷²

The Roman suzerainty (64 BC-636 AD) provided a stable background to an unprecedented economic boom throughout Syria from the 2nd century onwards²⁷³ and the Syrian coastal region with its rapidly growing port Antarados (Ṭartūs) certainly shared in this boom also. The catalyzer of development was agriculture, heavily dependent on olive cultivation and although the history (not to mention archaeology) of the hinterland is wholly obscure,²⁷⁴ we have good reason to assume the existence

of a dense network of rural settlements. During the surveys of recent years the SHAM detected the remains of dozens of seemingly rich late antique settlements even in the deepest recesses of the mountainous hinterland, the majority of which seems to have been equipped with considerable olive-processing capacities. The conquest of formerly uncultivated regions coincided with the spread of Christianity, one of the earliest propagators of which was St. Peter who, according to tradition, consecrated the first altar of Antarados.²⁷⁵ The last century of Roman rule in Syria was characterised by the devastation of earthquakes, epidemics of bubonic plague and the Persian invasions, which must have effected the coastal regions too.

„In this year Constantinos Dalassenos the katapan of Antioch marched to the coastal town of Maraḳiyya which was amongst the castles given to the Greeks by Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥāmid together with Ḥiṣn al-Khawābī. He had it rebuilt and garrisoned in Muḥarram of the same year, so the Muslims constructed on their part neighbouring the Greeks the castle of al-ʿUllayqa. ”

(Yaḥyā ibn Ṣaʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Taʾriḫh*, 244.)

The Early Muslim Period

The armies of the newborn religion of Islam overcame the Syrian coast by 638, before meeting difficulties previously unknown to them in the interior. Some places put up stubborn resistance, the extreme example being the island of Arwād, which held out until 650. Even after the completion of the conquest, the historic sources tell of uprisings²⁷⁶ and the constant threat posed by the Byzantine fleet.²⁷⁷ Another source of danger was the regular invasions of the Mardaites,²⁷⁸ inhabitants of the coastal mountains, whose pacification was achieved only in 686.²⁷⁹ Given these dangers, the Muslims destroyed almost all of the significant coastal towns: Antarados (Ṭartūs), Maraclea (Marḳiyya), Paltos, Jabala and finally Arwād after the conquest. Later, under the reign of Caliph Muʿāwiya (661-680),²⁸⁰ Anṭarṭūs (Ṭartūs), Marḳiyya, Bulunyās (modern Bānyās) and Jabala were resettled and refortified.²⁸¹ In spite of rebuilding activity, the coast was unable to regain its former vigour. The Syrian littoral was still exposed to attack from the Byzantine fleet which also cut it off from the main sea-lanes and this, coupled with the downfall of formerly prosperous markets, suggests that the economy

²⁶⁶ Yon 1997: 26-31.

²⁶⁷ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 335-341.

²⁶⁸ Maqdissi & Thalmann 1989: 100-101; Sapin 1989: 110; Haykal nd.: 107-134.

²⁶⁹ Hijāzī 1992: 370.

²⁷⁰ Ritter 1854: 598.

²⁷¹ Sapin 1989: 108-109.

²⁷² Grainger 1990: 48.

²⁷³ Tchalenko 1953-58: I, 337-403; Tate 1992a: 273-350.

²⁷⁴ Millar 1993: 273.

²⁷⁵ Ball 2001: 172.

²⁷⁶ The one in Tripoli in 653/54 being especially destructive. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, 482.

²⁷⁷ Conrad 1992: 337-340.

²⁷⁸ Chalhoub 1999: 9-29.

²⁷⁹ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, 496.

²⁸⁰ Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I/320; Dimasqī dates it to the reign of Caliph ʿUthmān (644-656). Al-Dimasqī, *Kitāb nukhbat al-dahr*, 208.

²⁸¹ al-Balādzurī, *Futūḥ*, 180-182; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I/320; I/572; II/122; V/128.

of the settlements in the rural hinterland must also have undergone a depression. The refortification programme was accompanied by the settling of Muslims into the region, many of them coming from Persian background.²⁸² This established a fertile ground for the encroachment of *Shi'i* ideologies over the next few centuries. With the proliferation of different Muslim sects, the hardly accessible mountainous hinterland became a promising refuge for many who were persecuted by the mainstream religion.

With the disintegration of the caliphal authority and the resurgence of Byzantine military power under the Macedonian dynasty, new processes that would have long lasting effects on the region's history and settlement pattern began. The Byzantine reconquest that took Antioch in 969 and pushed the Christian borders to the south of Ṭarṭūs brought the Syrian Coast once more into the spotlight of history.²⁸³ The intensive military activity that characterised the turn of the 10th-11th century somewhat diminished with the decline of Byzantine power and the Saljuq takeover of the second half of the 11th century. We might also suspect that the coastal lands profited from the 'urban renaissance'²⁸⁴ that followed the establishment of Saljuq rule from the middle of the 1080s onwards.

Parallel to the eclipse of the central Muslim power and the manifestation of the Byzantine threat as evidenced by the construction and reconstruction of castles,²⁸⁵ the local tribes of the Anṣāriyya started to look to their own defences.²⁸⁶ They also erected a series of castles within a short timespan, mostly in the first half of the 11th century, in a region formerly bereft of fortifications. Ḥiṣn al-ʿUllayqa, Ḥiṣn al-Maynaqa, Ḥiṣn al-Balāṭunus (Qalʿat al-Mahāliba), Ḥiṣn Banī Ghannāj and Ḥiṣn ibn al-Kāshih are said to have been constructed by locals in less than ten years.²⁸⁷ Based on their fortifications, new minor political entities led by individuals whose power depended on tribal or family background came into being. Such were the Tanūkhids of the region of Latakia, the Tripoli based Banū ʿAmmār, that also ruled over the southern part of the Syrian coast, clans like the Banū Ghannāj, the Banū al-Aḥmar, the Banū Ṣulayʿa or Banū Munqidz who possessed and occasionally constructed castles in the Anṣāriyya. There were also certain individuals, like Naṣr ibn Musharraf al-Rawāfidī, Ibn al-Kāshih, Muhriz ibn ʿAkkār, whose names have been recorded as founders of fortifications.²⁸⁸ The Byzantine reconquest also resulted in the settling of a new ethnic group, the Christian Armenians, into northern parts of Syria.²⁸⁹

The process of *incastellamento* and the rise of local rulers might have contributed to the general security of the region. In spite of the frequent military activity that characterised the 10th and 11th centuries, the chronicles of the First Crusade paint the picture of a fairly prosperous region at the turn of the 12th century.²⁹⁰ Recent palynological analysis of the coastal-alluvial deposits from samples collected in the plains of Jabala seem to support a kind of agricultural surge from the middle of the 11th century as evidenced by the strong increase in the levels of pollen from cultivated species.²⁹¹

4.2. The Crusader Period

„And the fear (of the Franks) grew strong in the Muslims, the hearts were in the throats, and they were sure that the Franks will take into their possession the rest of Syria as it had no defender or protector. The rulers of the Muslim lands in Syria initiated treaties with them, to which they agreed only in case of revenues they take and even this for only a short period.”

(Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VIII/584.)

The Dynamics of the Conquest

The will of at least some Crusader leaders to establish permanent bases in the newly conquered territories was quite clear from the moment they crossed the boundaries of Syria. By the time they had conquered Antioch, the northern capital of Syria on the 3rd of June 1098, its hinterland had already been captured and distributed amongst the leaders of the army.²⁹² Although both the armies advancing through the Gap of Homs led by Raymond of Toulouse and also those descending along the coastline, besieged and occupied a number of sites, they only seem to have garrisoned Ṭarṭūs, before continuing their journey to Jerusalem.²⁹³

The conquest of the Syrian coastal regions was a relatively long process undertaken from two directions. In the north, the Norman princes of Antioch tried to extend their influence towards the south from the moment they gained power. Norman progress was always determined by the political situation on other fronts. It was dependant on the condition of the Muslims of the Syrian interior, the Byzantines and the Armenians and also on relations with other Crusader states. By 1101 the Franks of Antioch firmly established themselves in the surrounding regions and extended their power to such territories of the Syrian interior as the Rūj, the Jazr and the Jabal Summāq, all of which served as buffer-zones against the main enemies: Aleppo and Shayzar.²⁹⁴ Although the military situation on the most endangered eastern frontier zone fluctuated with

²⁸² According to Yaʿqūbī (874) the inhabitants of ʿArqa were brought from Persia. Le Strange 1890: 397-398.

²⁸³ Yaḥyā ibn Ṣaʿīd al-Antākī, *Taʾriḫh*, 131, 134, 145. Todt 2004: 175.

²⁸⁴ Hirschler 2008: 96-97.

²⁸⁵ Aliquot & Aleksidzé 2012: 186-189.

²⁸⁶ Bianquis 1992: 142-143.

²⁸⁷ Yaḥyā ibn Ṣaʿīd al-Antākī, *Taʾriḫh*, 244, 257-259.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dzayl*, 113; Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾriḫh Lubnān*, 113; ʿUthmān 1994: 35-71.

²⁸⁹ Dédéyan 1999: 249-284.

²⁹⁰ E.g. Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, XIV, 273-275; XVI, 277-278; *Gesta Francorum*, X, xxxiv, 182, 184; X, xxxv, 186.

²⁹¹ Kaniewski *et al.* 2010: 256.

²⁹² Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, LIX, 650.

²⁹³ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, V, 31, 376-377.

²⁹⁴ Asbridge 2000: 45-46. The purchase of Ḥiṣn al-Khirba on the eastern flanks of the Anṣāriyya by Tancred in 1105 was a move against Shayzar. Dussaud 1927:146.

several serious setbacks,²⁹⁵ the Antiochene bases to the east of the Anṣāriyya would fulfil the role of an advanced line of defence for more than three decades, especially following the capture of Afāmiya in 1106²⁹⁶. The prime target of the principality was the acquisition of Latakia, the most important town of the Syrian coast, for which there was almost constant military engagement with the Byzantines until the port was firmly secured by the Latins in the year 1108.²⁹⁷ Using Latakia as the bridgehead, the Antiochenes were able to launch a programme of conquest targeting the Syrian coastal region.

Starting in 1102 from their newly conquered base in Ṭarṭūs,²⁹⁸ Provençals, under the leadership of Raymond of Toulouse, started to carve out their own territory from the Muslim-held lands that still separated the Principality of Antioch from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Due to a lack of sufficient forces, one of the main objectives, the capture of Homs, remained beyond reach; and even the siege of Tripoli, the centre of the southern coastlands, lasted until the 12th of July 1109.²⁹⁹ As the limited resources of Bertrand, the new count, were absorbed by the organisation of the new state, his rival Tancred, the regent of Antioch, could take the lead in the conquest of the Syrian coast between Frankish held Latakia and Ṭarṭūs. Returning from the siege of Tripoli, Tancred completed the first phase of the Crusader conquest by taking the port towns of Bānyās and Jabala³⁰⁰ and thus brought the whole coastal strip between Antioch and Tripoli under Latin control.³⁰¹

Tancred's next target was not the immediate hinterland of the northern coastline, but the region of the Gap of Homs. In this decision he was motivated by his will to expand his authority as close to his rival Tripoli as possible and the fertility of the region. The process began with destructive raids that weakened the economic and therefore the defensive potential of the area. It also provided an effective tool to extract concessions and revenue from the Muslim rulers of the targeted zone. To stop their menacing raids towards Rafaniyya and Hama, a treaty was drawn up in H. 503. (1109/10). In this treaty the Muslims handed over the mountain fortresses of al-Munayṭira and 'Akkār³⁰² and agreed to the payment of an annual tribute by Maṣyāf, Ḥiṣn Ṭūbān and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād as well as a division of the crop yield from the fertile plain of the Buqay'a.³⁰³ The sources and events prove that these treaties were regarded

by the Franks merely as temporary halts, because Tancred occupied Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn), the key fortress in the Gap of Homs in the same year, after renewing his raids into Muslim territories.³⁰⁴ Thus having strengthened his power in the Gap of Homs, he occupied the castle of Bikisrā'īl (Qal'at Banī Qaḥṭān) in the mountains of Latakia in 1111.³⁰⁵

The death of Bertrand in 1112 put an end to the conflict between Antioch and Tripoli which provided the opportunity to demarcate the final border between the two states. Tancred gave the whole southern region, including Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn, Ṣāfiṭā, Ṭarṭūs and Marqīyya to the young count Pons as a fief. This meant that the border between the County of Tripoli and Antioch now fell between Marqīyya and the Antiochene town of Bānyās.³⁰⁶ This administrative boundary remained unchanged until the expulsion of the Crusaders.

From 1117, the rulers of Antioch concentrated their efforts on securing the mountainous region that overlooked the coastline. Qal'at al-Mahāliba in the hinterland of Jabala was taken on the 5th of May³⁰⁷ and by 1118 Ḥiṣn Ṣaḥyūn (Qal'at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn),³⁰⁸ one of the key fortresses of the Anṣāriyya ranges behind Latakia, was also in Antiochene hands. In the year H. 511 (1117/18) Prince Roger forced the surrender of the tribal leader Ibn Muhriz and Ḥiṣn al-Marqab (Qal'at al-Marqab) in the hinterland of Bānyās before proceeding to take Ḥiṣn al-Qulay'a and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd from the mountaineers.³⁰⁹ These territorial conquests marked a new stage in the Frankish expansion. By capturing some of the most important fortifications of the Anṣāriyya, a considerable depth of defence was provided to the towns of the coastal strip which served as a vital land link between Antioch and the southern Crusader states.

The lords of Tripoli did not spend much time attempting to extend their control into the mountains behind their coastline, but rather concentrated their efforts on gaining a permanent foothold in the rich region of Rafaniyya which bordered the Anṣāriyya ranges to the east. As it lay near to the Muslim cities of Hama and Homs and since Damascus was also greatly interested in the region, the final taking of the town in 1126³¹⁰ was anticipated by a long struggle during which Rafaniyya changed hands several times. With the seizure of Rafaniyya the extent of the areas under Frankish control in the Syrian coastal regions reached its zenith. The whole coastal strip and almost the entire Anṣāriyya ranges bordering it fell under Latin domination.

²⁹⁵ The ones having the strongest influence in the early period: the defeat at Ḥarrān 1104 July the 4th (Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, CXLVIII, 650); the dangerous invasion of Bursuq in the summer of 1115 (Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, I, iii, 1–5); and the defeat at Sarmādā in 1119 June 28th. (Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, II, v.)

²⁹⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, X, 24, 740-741.

²⁹⁷ For summary of the complex events see: Asbridge 2000: 31-34, 52-53.

²⁹⁸ Caffaro, *De liberatione*, V, 69; transl. 121. Hagenmeyer puts the capture of Ṭarṭūs on 18 February 1102. Hagenmeyer 1903-4: 400-405.

²⁹⁹ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 163; transl. 89.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 163-164; transl. 90.

³⁰¹ His achievement is clearly reflected in the words of Ibn al-Athīr, who while entitling Bohemond the lord of Antioch, calls Tancred the lord of the coast. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VIII/497.

³⁰² Both fortresses are in the Mount Lebanon, 'Akkār being the more important as it overlooks the Gap of Homs from the south.

³⁰³ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 165; transl. 93.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 167; transl. 99.

³⁰⁵ Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, II/158; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, XI, 46, 822-825.

³⁰⁶ Probably in the valley of the Nahr al-Bāṣ. Deschamps 1973: 7.

³⁰⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, *Tarīkh*, 170; transl. 134. The chronicle of al-'Azīmī puts the date of the taking of the castle to 1108/1109 by Tancred, which is either a mistake or the castle had reverted to Muslim hands for a while and had to be retaken. al-'Azīmī, *Tarīkh*, 364.

³⁰⁸ Cahen 1940: 280, n. 13.

³⁰⁹ Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 85-86.

³¹⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIII, xix, 610-611; transl. II, 30.

There seems to have been only one area guarded by a handful of castles which stayed under the control of the locals. It was in the southern inner recesses of the mountain ranges which belonged to Tripolitanian sphere of interest. We do not hear about the castle of al-Khawābī, or al-Kahf, amongst the Crusader possessions. Although al-Qadmūs seems to have been taken by Bohemond II in 1129,³¹¹ in H. 527 (1132/33) it was reported to be in the possession of a certain Ibn ‘Amrūn,³¹² who earlier featured as the owner of al-Kahf.³¹³ To the east of these, the castles of Abū Qubays and Maşyāf do not appear in the sources as ever having been Frankish possessions at all. Whilst Ḥiṣn al-Maynaqa might have been in Latin hands in 1151,³¹⁴ one sole reference is hardly supportive in the case of the castle of ‘Ullayqa³¹⁵ which neighbours al-Qadmūs to the north. The lack of sources concerning Frankish authority over this group of neighbouring castles might mean that this compact area preserved its former autonomy in the early decades of the 12th century. Perhaps it was not accidental that the sect of the *Nizārī Ismā‘ilīs* established their state in this region, posing one of the earliest constant threats to Frankish rule.

The wars during the first two decades of the conquest certainly affected the majority of settlements in the region, especially around urban centres, many of which held out resistance for a considerable amount of time. Compared to Tripoli, Latakia and to some extent Rafaniyya, the coastal area around Ṭartūs, Marqīyya and Jabala probably fared better during this period of heavy military activity. In the northern regions of the plain of ‘Akkār and the interior of the Anşāriyya, especially in its southern zone, we do not hear of any significant military movements. Although lack of food is occasionally reported (almost always connected with sieges),³¹⁶ only one considerable earthquake is reported, in 1114.³¹⁷ Consequently the peaceful decade of the 1120s might have provided a chance for regeneration after conquest.

„From this time, the condition of the Latins in the East became visibly worse. Our enemies saw that the labors of our most powerful kings and leaders had been fruitless and all their efforts vain; they mocked at the shattered strength and broken glory of those who represented the substantial foundations of Christianity. ... Hence their presumption and boldness rose to such heights that they no longer feared the Christian forces and did not hesitate to attack them with unwonted vigor.”

(William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, XVII, ix, 196-197.)

Crisis and Response (1130-1188)

The decade of the 1130s was characterised by a steady growth of the Muslim threat. This manifested itself both in military action and political development, which soon directly affected the fortunes of most of Syria’s coastal region settlements. Coinciding with the ascending career of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zankī, atabeg of Mosul,³¹⁸ the first truly successful leader of the Muslim reconquest, the Principality of Antioch - and to some extent Tripoli - was submerged in a crisis of succession which lasted from 1130 to 1136.³¹⁹ This conflict, accompanied by serious internal fighting in some instances, contributed to the loss of territory in the eastern buffer zones of Antioch and it seems that the Frankish grip on the mountain hinterland of the Syrian coast was also loosened.³²⁰ In 1136 the natives around Qal‘at al-Mahāliba tried to reoccupy the castle, during the course of which we hear of neighbouring Qal‘at Banī Qaḥṭān also being held by a Turcoman called Manqujuk.³²¹ According to the chronicle of Caffaro, the castle of al-Marqab, guarding the coastal route above Bānyās, had to be taken by the Mazoir family in 1140.³²² This indicates a serious loss of Frankish control over the strategic area of the coast itself.

This was also the time, when following their failure in the cities of the Syrian interior, members of the radical *Shī‘ī* sect of the *Nizārī Ismā‘ilīs* started to gain a foothold in the fastness of the Anşāriyya ranges. The sect’s earliest acquisitions for the new state, dependant on a series of castles, seem to have been in the region of al-Qadmūs which they bought from a local Muslim lord in H. 526. (1132/33).³²³ They obtained a series of castles either through purchase or by force of arms.³²⁴ From these strongholds they intimidated their neighbours with bold political assassinations to secure their mini-state. The rapid success of the *Ismā‘ilīs* is reflected in the fact that sometime after their acquisition of Maşyāf in 1140/41,³²⁵ they made this rather vulnerable site in the low hills between the Anşāriyya and the Ghāb, their first capital. Their establishment became a source of unrest in the region and at least in the first decades of this formative period they are reported to have been in constant warfare with both Christians and Muslims³²⁶ and thus “*everybody hated their neighbourhood*”.³²⁷

³¹⁸ Stevenson 1907: 122-152.

³¹⁹ Asbridge 2003: 29-47.

³²⁰ Deschamps 1973: 260-261.

³²¹ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 170; transl. 134.

³²² Caffaro, *De liberatione*, V, 66-67; transl. 119.

³²³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/47.

³²⁴ William of Tyre puts the number of their castles to 10. (William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XX, xxix, 953-954; transl. II/390-392.) These must have included: Maşyāf, al-Ruṣāfa, Abū Qubays, al-Kharība, al-Qadmūs, al-Khawābī, al-Ḥadīd, al-Kahf, al-‘Ullayqa, al-Maynaqa and probably a certain al-Qulay‘a.

³²⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dzayl*, 273-274; transl. 263.

³²⁶ *Ibid.* IX/47. Shortly before 1170 they are described to have been in permanent warfare with the Franks of Tripoli. Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, 17.

³²⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/48.

³¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/29.

³¹² *Ibid.* 47.

³¹³ Ibn ‘Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 86.

³¹⁴ *Cartulaire I*, no. 201.

³¹⁵ *RRH*, no. 347.

³¹⁶ Eg. Afāmiyya (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VIII/523-526); Jabala (Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dzayl*, 163-164; transl. 90.); Qal‘at al-Ḥuṣn (Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dzayl*, 167; transl. 99); Qal‘at al-Marqab (Ibn ‘Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 86); Rafaniyya (William of Tyre, *Chronicon* XIII, xix, 610-611; transl. II, 30).

³¹⁷ Amongst the series of earthquakes the one on the 29th of November, 1114 was the most devastating. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, II, 1-5, 578-580; transl. 214; Ambraseys 2009: 283-291.

From the middle of the 1130s, Muslim raids started to strike at the Syrian coastal strip itself which had hitherto been spared from such events. In the spring of 1136, the armies of Aleppo suddenly fell upon the region of Latakia, devastating the town itself and taking 7.000 captives along with the hardly credible figure of 100.000 livestock and the "...area which they covered and devastated exceeded a hundred villages large and small."³²⁸ In March-April 1137, the *amīr* Bazwāj led a similarly destructive raid against Tripoli, during which he destroyed its army, killed the count (near Tripoli), took a tower and the fortress called Ḥiṣn Wādī ibn al-Aḥmar and possibly others as well.³²⁹ In July, Zankī besieged Baʿrīn and after defeating the Frankish relief forces, tricked the fortress into surrender and also took neighbouring Rafaniyya.³³⁰ This marked the end of Tripolitanian authority to the east of the Anṣāriyya. The Muslim strength was further emphasised a year later when Zankī took and destroyed the important fortress of ʿArqa which was in the close vicinity of Tripoli.³³¹

As a result of the Muslim threat, the count of Tripoli, realising the limit of his resources, decided to block any advance of the enemy by entrusting the defence of the most vulnerable entrance zone, the Gap of Homs to the Order of St John in 1142.³³² The donation included castles on both sides of the plain of ʿAkkār and the Gap, amongst them the famous Crac (Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn), the fertile Buqayʿa plain and the Jabal Ḥaluw behind it. The generous endowment also included Muslim-held territory, namely the town of Rafaniyya and lands of Homs, which were to boost the enthusiasm of the Order in their conquest. In return for the protection of the most vulnerable part of the County of Tripoli, the Hospitallers received all the rights to build a quasi-independent mini-state. They received full jurisdiction in both secular and ecclesiastical matters.³³³ Their complete authority in this region is also reflected in the promise that the count would not make peace treaties with the Muslims without the consent of the Order.

The Muslim advance under Nūr al-Dīn, the energetic son of Zankī, gained new impetus. Edessa fell at the end of 1144 and within a few years every fortification in the former county that served as the northern flank of Latin Syria, reverted to Muslim hands. Following the failure of the second Crusade and by making use of the internal feud in Tripoli, Nūr al-Dīn captured and plundered the castle of ʿUrayma near the coast in September 1148.³³⁴ On the 30th of June, 1149 he defeated the Antiochene army at ʿInab in the Jabal Summāq, killing the prince. After the battle his armies raided up to the gates of Antioch and conquered

several castles including the citadel of Afāmiyya.³³⁵ Having lost the forward positions to the east of the Anṣāriyya, the Frankish territories of the coast were exposed to more frequent Muslim attacks. In the spring of 1152 the armies of Nūr al-Dīn reached and took Ṭarṭūs, where they are said to have left a garrison.³³⁶ During this campaign, the Muslims allegedly took several other castles unnamed in the sources, which rang the alarm bells throughout the region. At the instigation of the bishop, the defence of the whole town was given to the Order of the Temple, which seems already to have been established around Chastel Blanc (Ṣāfītā) and by this time had large territories in the diocese of Tortosa (Ṭarṭūs).³³⁷

Because of the permanent Muslim danger, the Hospitallers centred on Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn and the Templars of Ṭarṭūs expanded their territories in the Syrian coastal region with lightning speed. The Hospitallers took prominence on the coast around al-Marqab and Bānyās, receiving several donations in the north-eastern part of the Anṣāriyya and in the region of the Upper Orontes Valley. Bohemond III seems to have planned for this latter area to be developed into a Hospitaller line of defence for Antioch at least from 1164, the year its key castle Ḥārim fell to Nūr al-Dīn.³³⁸ The Templars, while possessing the environs of Ṭarṭūs, Ṣāfītā and ʿUrayma, gained a foothold in the region of Bānyās and built a secure base in the area of the Amanus Passes to the north of Antioch. Although in 1163 the Crusaders, under the leadership of the Templar commander of the region, inflicted a serious defeat on Nūr al-Dīn,³³⁹ his troops invaded Antiochene territory. In August 1164 they occupied the castle of Ḥārim, the eastern defence of Antioch and ravaged the region around the capital.³⁴⁰ In H. 562 (1167) the raids headed in the direction of Tripoli, with the siege of Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn and ʿArqa and the capturing of the castles of Ḥalbā, ʿUrayma, Ṣāfītā and the utter destruction of their environs.³⁴¹ The next invasion struck the same region in the autumn of 1171, capturing ʿUrayma and Ṣāfītā and destroying the *rabaḍ* of ʿArqa together with the environs of Tripoli. At the very same time another army of Nūr al-Dīn inflicted similar destruction in the region around Antioch.³⁴² The next raiding expedition was conducted in the summer of 1180 by the new sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), who raided the southern coast while the count, the Hospitallers and the Templars remained locked in their strongholds. At the same time, the fleet of Saladin landed on the island of

³²⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 255; transl. 238-240.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* 258, 262; transl. 244 being the two descriptions of the same raid. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIV, xxiii, 661-662; transl. II/82.

³³⁰ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 259; transl. 242-243. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIV, xxv-xxix, 663-670; transl. II/85-92.

³³¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir*, 57.

³³² *Cartulaire I*, no. 144.

³³³ Riley-Smith 1967: 452-461; Riley-Smith 2012: 172-173; Hamilton 1980: 106-107, 148.

³³⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/160-161; Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 300-301; transl. 287-288.

³³⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dzayl*, 305-306; transl. 291-294.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* 318; transl. 312.

³³⁷ Riley-Smith 1969: 278-287.

³³⁸ Mayer 1993: 139.

³³⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/301; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIX, viii, 873-874; transl. II/306. For problems of precise dating see Stevenson 1907:188.

³⁴⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX/308-310.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.* IX/330. Abū Shāma referring to ibn al-Athīr also enlists Jabala among those sites occupied and pillaged by Nūr al-Dīn (Abū Shāma, *Rawdatayn*, II/24.), however it is not mentioned in any of the works of ibn al-Athīr and is very unlikely to have been true. For problems in dating see Stevenson 1907: 192 n. 1-2.

³⁴² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir*, 154.

Arwād and also caused some minor damage to the suburb of ʿAṣṣāṣ opposite it.³⁴³

The destruction caused by the eight documented Muslim offensives was exacerbated by the Byzantine siege of Antioch in 1137³⁴⁴ and the ruin caused by a number of earthquakes, the most devastating of which occurred on the 12th of August 1157³⁴⁵ and on the 29th of June 1170.³⁴⁶ Although most of the raids targeted settlements along the southern part of the Syrian coastal region (with the exception of the raid of 1135 we have no documents on military activity to the north of ʿAṣṣāṣ or to the south of Latakia), the effect of the devastation must have been felt across a wider area as can be traced in the documentary sources. Bankrupted by the natural disasters and fearing Muslim assaults, the Latin nobility resorted to the selling, or indeed donation, of their outlying estates to the Military Orders, a pattern that affected even the highest ranking individuals.³⁴⁷ Only a few months before the disaster of Ḥaṭṭīn, in February 1187, Bertrand of Mazoir, the most influential baron in Antioch and the Syrian coast transferred the family seat at al-Marqab and all its dependencies to the Hospitallers.³⁴⁸

„A series of reports came in of the weakness of the God-forsaken enemy and of the incidence of shortages in their territory and army. A ghirāra of wheat in Antioch reached ninety-six Tyrian dinars, but that only added to their endurance, doggedness and stubbornness.”

(Bahā al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *The History of Saladin*, 133.)

The Campaign of Saladin in 1188 and its Effects

After his complete victory over the Crusader armies at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn on the 4th of July 1187 and the conquest of most of the Frankish fortresses and settlements in Palestine, Saladin launched a major military operation against the northern Crusader states of Tripoli and Antioch in July 1188.³⁴⁹ Partly utilising the experience he had gained from his earlier invasion, he seems not to have planned the systematic conquest of the county of Tripoli and his army therefore bypassed most of the fortifications of the Military Orders, except for the little Qalʿat Yaḥmūr and the weakly guarded ʿAṣṣāṣ. The town was burnt and destroyed, but although his soldiers managed to break into the inner fortress, they could not take the donjon from its defenders. To the north of ʿAṣṣāṣ Saladin found the small coastal settlements, Marqīyya, Bānyās and Balda deserted. Yet a Crusader fleet from Sicily still caused considerable difficulties for the Muslim army as it passed below al-Marqab on the coastal route. Saladin’s strategy had changed by the time he reached

Jabala. He began a systematic siege campaign in which, besides the towns of Jabala and Latakia, every Crusader fortification in the northern part of the Anṣāriyya and the southern Jabal al-Aqraʿ was taken.³⁵⁰ Further north he continued to blockade Antioch, seized strategic fortresses in the southern region of the Amanus passes and by the time of the first peace treaty at the end of September he became the effective ruler of the agricultural hinterland of Antioch.

The campaign of Saladin was the greatest shock the Franks in the Syrian coast had faced since the Crusade and one that had several consequences for life in the region. One of the direct outcomes was inevitably immediate destruction, especially in the region of ʿAṣṣāṣ and Antioch where the Muslim army had ample time to ravage the land. Bānyās was also burned and the army seems to have offered the same fate to those other coastal settlements that it passed until it reached Jabala. Partly as a result of this and partly due to the huge loss of territories, there was a severe food shortage. This was most dramatic in Antioch as it had lost not only the rich Syrian coastal zone and its hinterland, but also the immediate environs of the city. The burden was further increased by a huge influx of refugees whom Tripoli would not accept and had driven off³⁵¹ and the arrival of the tattered remnants of the German Crusade.³⁵² The situation was so critical³⁵³ that it forced Bohemond III to visit Saladin in person in October 1192 and beg for the return of the ʿAmq, the plain of Antioch, to which the sultan generously consented.³⁵⁴

A long-term consequence of the campaign of 1188 was the Frankish loss of the northern part of the Syrian coastal region and their complete ousting from the Anṣāriyya ranges. Whilst it seems that by the time Saladin arrived they had already been expelled from the southern parts of the mountain, the sultan’s army now also erased their firmly rooted presence from the northern regions. Losing the coastal towns of Latakia and Jabala was not only a grave economic loss, it also meant the isolation of Antioch from the rest of the Crusader states. The newly conquered territories were given to the Ayyubid state of Aleppo, which began a serious refortification programme³⁵⁵ thereby entrenching Muslim power on the coast. The new front lines ran along the plains of Jabala, one of the most fertile regions of the Syrian coast, which of course did not help the recovery of the war-torn region.

³⁴³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XXII, ii-iii, 1008-1009; transl. II/447-449.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* XIV, xxx, 670-671; transl. II/92-93.

³⁴⁵ Ambraseys 2009: 303-313.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 316-325.

³⁴⁷ Praver 1980: 142.

³⁴⁸ *Cartulaire* I, no. 809; Mayer 1993: 176. The conventional old dating placed the time of the donation a year before, eg. Deschamps 1973: 263.

³⁴⁹ Detailed accounts: Bahāʿ al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir*, 86-94; transl. 81-88; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/48-59; Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, II/126-134.

³⁵⁰ The castles mentioned by the different Muslim sources are Ṣayḥūn (Qalʿat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), Balāṭunus (Qalʿat al-Mahāliba), Fīḥā, al-Jamāhiriyya, ʿĪdzū, Burzāy, Sarmāniyya, al-Shughr wa-Bakās (Qalʿat Bakās Shughūr), Shaqīf Kafar Dubbīn and Shaqīf Darkūsh, but there were certainly more.

³⁵¹ *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, 65.

³⁵² *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 67; Bahāʿ al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir*, 139-140; transl. 135.

³⁵³ Bahāʿ al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir*, 146; transl. 135.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 31; transl. 35.

³⁵⁵ Michaudel 2006: 108.

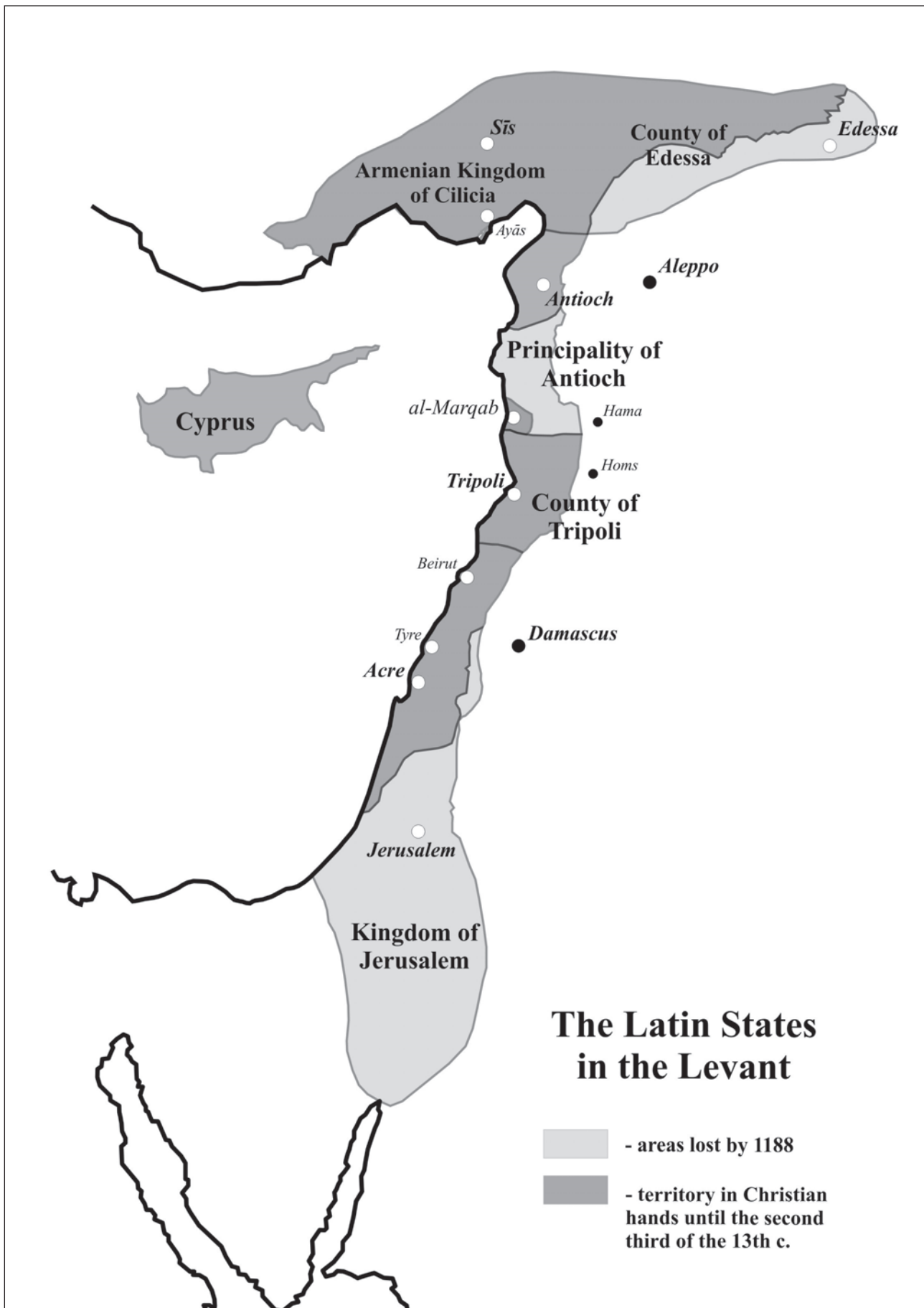


Fig. 5. Map of the Crusader states in the 12th and 13th century indicating the main territorial losses after 1188.

„...This castle belongs to the Hospital and it is the strongest in the whole of this country. It confronts the numerous castles of the Old Man of the Mountain and of the Sultan of Aleppo and has put such a check on their tyranny that it can collect an annual tribute of 2,000 marks from them. (...) Every year, the lands around the castle produce harvests of more than 500 carts. The provisions stored there are sufficient for five years.”

(Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Itinera*, 210.)³⁵⁶

The Age of the Military Orders (1188-1260)

The third Crusade stabilised the position of the Crusader states which had survived the previous catastrophe albeit with greatly reduced territories, almost solely confined to the coastal strip of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. In the Syrian coastal region, it was now only the area of the Gap of Homs from the former inner territories that remained under Frankish control. This might have been one of the reasons why the administrative centre of the northern Crusader states shifted from the now isolated Antioch to Tripoli³⁵⁷ after the unification of the ruling dynasties. The Gap region was in the hands of the Hospitallers and in the 13th century, with a few exceptions, most of the land that was left in Frankish possession on the Syrian coast belonged either to the Hospitallers, or to a lesser extent, the Templars. Outside of the capitals of Antioch and Tripoli, the Military Orders took over almost all defensive responsibility from the lay aristocracy and using the resources of their vast European possessions they launched a major refortification programme. Al-Marqab, Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn and Ṭartūs were transformed into the most sophisticated and monumental defensive systems of the period and traces of serious rebuilding can be seen in Ṣāfiṭā and 'Urayma.

The generally peaceful period that made the consolidation of Frankish rule and infrastructure possible, after the long years of war following the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, was partially due to the fear of a new attack of the magnitude of the third Crusade from Europe. The heirs of Saladin were careful not to provoke one.³⁵⁸ Another reason lay in the divisions within the Ayyubid family and the constant struggle for the domination of the confederation.³⁵⁹ The frequent redistribution of the Ayyubid territories did also affect the newly conquered Syrian coastal areas. The Muslim lordships centred around Latakia, Jabala and Qal'at al-Mahāliba became the property of the Damascene ruler al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Alī, while the ruler of Aleppo al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī received most of the formerly Frankish possessions in the eastern Anṣāriyya and Orontes Valley together with the recently conquered land in the vicinity of Antioch including the Upper Orontes region.³⁶⁰ As a result of the first clashes between the leading family members, al-Afḍal had to renounce his share of the Syrian coastal lands as early as 1194 to al-Zāhir of Aleppo, after

which it stayed under Aleppine domination for most of the 13th century.³⁶¹

By building upon their huge garrisons in the new fortresses and making use of the frequent struggles in the Ayyubid family who controlled the neighbouring Muslim territories, the Orders, especially the Hospitallers, pursued a very aggressive foreign policy.³⁶² With the exception of some manoeuvres aimed at the reconquest of Jabala in H. 628 (1230/31),³⁶³ the main objective of these military actions was to intimidate Muslim neighbours and extract tribute from them. Crusader raids, usually under Hospitaller leadership were reported in 1203,³⁶⁴ 1204/5,³⁶⁵ 1208,³⁶⁶ 1214,³⁶⁷ 1220,³⁶⁸ 1229,³⁶⁹ 1230,³⁷⁰ 1231,³⁷¹ 1233,³⁷² 1234³⁷³ and 1236.³⁷⁴ This policy succeeded in forcing several Muslim neighbours, including the *Ismā'īlis*, Hama, Homs and even Aleppo to become at least temporary tributaries of the Franks. However this policy did also sometimes result in serious reprisals.³⁷⁵ Al-Marqab was besieged by an army from Aleppo in 1204/5 and its territory ravaged.³⁷⁶ The area of the Gap of Homs was raided by an Ayyubid army in 1207 for 12 days during the course of which both Tripoli and Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn were besieged and the neighbouring tower of A'nāz demolished. The Muslim armies also took the Hospitaller castle of al-Qulay'āt and had it demolished.³⁷⁷ The Ayyubid invasion of 1218 was initiated partly as a diversion to ease the pressure of the 5th Crusade on Egypt. The Muslim army is said to have come close to taking Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn and destroyed its suburbs together with the *rabaḍ* of Ṣāfiṭā. It is also reported to have taken a number of smaller fortifications and devastated the region around it utterly.³⁷⁸ In 1231 Bānyās and the lands around the castle were laid waste to by the Aleppines.³⁷⁹ In 1242 a coalition of troops from Homs and Aleppo raided the coastal region under Frankish dominion.³⁸⁰

³⁶¹ Humphreys 1977: 99.

³⁶² Riley-Smith 2012: 91-92.

³⁶³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/452.

³⁶⁴ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/143, 148-150; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk I/273*. Two campaigns took place within three weeks.

³⁶⁵ The first campaign was directed against Hama (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/162-164.), while the second targeted Homs. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/164. Also in the summer of 1205 there was a combined Crusader attack on Jabala and Latakia. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/166-167.

³⁶⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/262-263.

³⁶⁷ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/223; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, III/166-167; *Cartulaire* II, no. 1432. The master of the Hospital took part in the siege of al-Khawābī castle of the *Ismā'īlis*.

³⁶⁸ Temporary retaking of Jabala. Riley-Smith 1967: 445.

³⁶⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/439; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, IV/279.

³⁷⁰ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, IV/303-305.

³⁷¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* X/452; *Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia*, 128; Riley-Smith 1967: 137-138; Riley-Smith 2012: 91.

³⁷² *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 439.

³⁷³ Listed by Cahen 1943: 650.

³⁷⁴ Philip of Novara, *Les gestes de chiprois*, 117; transl. 194.

³⁷⁵ Major 2001a: 63-67.

³⁷⁶ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/165.

³⁷⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* X/263; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/173.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* III/265; Deschamps 1973: 251.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* IV/311.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* V/311.

³⁵⁶ Transl. Kennedy 1994: 166.

³⁵⁷ Hamilton 1980: 286.

³⁵⁸ Humphreys 1998: 1-10; Hirschler 2014: 157.

³⁵⁹ Major 2001a: 61-75.

³⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X/120-121; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, III/3-5.

The end of this period was marked by the ravaging of the Khorazmian warbands, forerunners of the Mongol invasion, whose victory over the Crusader forces at Gaza in 1244 resulted in a loss among Latin ranks that was only surpassed by that suffered at Ḥaṭṭīn.³⁸¹ Although most of their devastation between 1240 and 1246 occurred in the central parts of Syria and in Palestine,³⁸² they were responsible for causing serious havoc in the Antiochene and Tripolitanian countryside and the Syrian coast must also have been affected by the famines and influx of refugees that followed.³⁸³

The scanty local resources were further burdened by serious earthquakes in 1196,³⁸⁴ 1202,³⁸⁵ and 1287,³⁸⁶ and by the long war of succession in Antioch (1198-1221) during which the lands around the city were raided several times.³⁸⁷ Though the depletion of resources is also clearly reflected in the sharpening land disputes between the Hospital and the Temple,³⁸⁸ the Frankish territories on the coast, especially in the Gap of Homs, seem to have enjoyed a relatively safe period behind the shield of the Military Orders in the first half of the 13th century. We have almost no information about the mountains, but the coast in Muslim hands, especially Jabala³⁸⁹ must have suffered heavily from the proximity of the aggressive Hospitaller palatinate in al-Marqab. The last peaceful period for the Crusader states was during the sojourn of Saint Louis in Palestine between 1250 and 1254, when large-scale fortification programmes were launched in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and there are some scanty hints that at least in the case of Ṣāfītā,³⁹⁰ a considerable fortification activity took place on the Syrian coast as well.

The general decline of the environment and consequently of the agricultural production is also reflected in the palynological data derived from the samples taken from the plains of Jabala. These samples show a marked decrease of the xerophytic shrub-steppe and give high values for the presence of the pollen of cultivated plant species until *circa* 1150 calibrated year, after which the pollen ratio of this latter decreases gradually until around 1250 calibrated year.³⁹¹ The data yielded by the research shows still thriving agricultural activity that was to continue for centuries afterwards.

³⁸¹ Riley-Smith 1967: 181.

³⁸² Humphreys 1977: 269-271.

³⁸³ *The Rothelin Continuation*, 132; Abū Shāma, *Dzayl 'alā al-rawḍatayn*, 178; Duwayhī, *Ta'riḫh*, 220, 223-225.

³⁸⁴ Letter of the grand master to the king of Navarre on the earthquake followed by pestilence destroying the crops. Riley-Smith 1967: 192, 439-440.

³⁸⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* X/181; Abū Shāma, *Dzayl 'alā al-rawḍatayn*, 20; Mayer 1972: 300-310; Ambraseys 2009: 327-337; Kázmér & Major 2015. (forthcoming)

³⁸⁶ Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 151; Ambraseys 2009: 351-352.

³⁸⁷ Devastations reported in 1202, 1203, 1207, 1208, 1209 and 1212. Riley-Smith 1967: 152-160.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 439, 444-447, 449.

³⁸⁹ Hamilton 1980: 287.

³⁹⁰ Much rebuilding is reported on its southern defenses by Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'riḫh Lubnān*, 119-120.

³⁹¹ Kaniewski *et al.* 2010: 256.

„...and under the regency of this sultan the lands of the coast that were in the hands of the Franks were emptied, and were destroyed to the last without fight or effort, although they were heavily fortified. The Franks retreated from them after seeing the king of Syria and Egypt.”

(Istīfān al-Duwayhī, *Ta'riḫh al-azmina*, 269.)

The Mamluk Reconquest (1260-1291)

The two main events that determined the fate of the Syrian coastal region in the second half of the 13th century were the Mongol invasions and the Mamluk reconquest. The two Mongol invasions of Syria in 1259-61 and 1280-81 affected the inhabitants of the coastal lands in several ways. The extreme destruction in the north of Syria that erased the metropolis and economic centre of Aleppo, plus the migration of an unprecedented number of refugees,³⁹² must have been hard to cope with, even though the main targets of the refugees were still Muslim-held territories.³⁹³ A longer term negative effect was caused by the opening of new Asian trade routes that had their western terminals further north from the troubled territories of Syria-Palestine. This was especially damaging to the Crusader states who were ever more reliant on income gained from the trade that passed through their ports to ease the burden of the added cost of confronting the Mamluk onslaught.³⁹⁴ Antioch-Tripoli was spared from the direct devastations of the Mongols, as its ruler Bohemond VI joined the Mongol camp at the instigation of his pro-Mongol father-in-law the king of Cilicia. It seems that the only Mongol presence on the Syrian coast appeared when the retreating Mongol garrison of Damascus fled towards the coast and was attacked by a Muslim army near Homs.³⁹⁵ In the short term, an alliance with this fearsome neighbour was profitable. It enabled the prince to recapture Latakia, Jabala and a number of lesser sites including the three cave castles in the Upper Orontes Valley following the Mongol destruction of Ayyubid Aleppo.³⁹⁶ This re-established the coastal connection returning the link to the northern Crusader territories and brought the rich coastal plains under the prince's dominion. Yet no substantial defensive measures were taken and their only fortification project seems to have been that of a huge tower defending the port in Latakia.³⁹⁷ At the same time, the Mongol alliance led to a diplomatic isolation from the neutral Kingdom of Jerusalem and also caused a papal excommunication.³⁹⁸ An even greater threat was the *casus belli* that the Mongol alliance of Antioch-Tripoli provided for the vengeful Muslims, led by the military dynasty of the Mamluks under sultan Baybars.³⁹⁹

The Mamluks who replaced the Ayyubids had a less compromising policy towards the Crusader states as a

³⁹² Ashtor 1976: 290.

³⁹³ Ashtor 1992: 254.

³⁹⁴ Riley-Smith 1973: 29.

³⁹⁵ Abū Shāma, *Dzayl 'alā al-rawḍatayn*, 209.

³⁹⁶ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫh*, 143; transl. 115.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ Runciman 1954: III/307.

³⁹⁹ Duwayhī, *Ta'riḫh*, 242.

result of a number of factors including the new strategic necessities caused by the Mongol invasions, the need to prove legitimacy and also economic considerations.⁴⁰⁰ Soon after repelling the first Mongol invasion of 1261, Baybars launched a programme of reconquest on the Levantine coast, which was mainly directed against the Crusader state of Antioch-Tripoli in the Syrian coastal lands. The gradual conquest employed the same methods the Franks used when they subjugated the area at the beginning of the 12th century. The devastating raids and military actions forced the Franks into treaties in which they would be required to renounce smaller bases and territories and split the revenues of the lands left in their hands. The defensive capacity of Latin coastal Syria was further reduced by internal conflicts, of which the war of St. Sabas (1256-1261)⁴⁰¹ and the intermittent civil wars in Tripoli (between 1277-1282)⁴⁰² were the gravest from the point of view of the Syrian regions. Food shortage caused by unfavourable weather or pestilence was also frequently reported in the second half of the 13th century⁴⁰³ and even such powerful organisations as the Hospitallers were in dire financial straits on several occasions.⁴⁰⁴

Baybars' first strike after the expulsion of the Mongols was naturally directed against the territories of Antioch and in the summer of 1262 he destroyed the port of the city.⁴⁰⁵ Avenging the unsuccessful Crusader raid against Homs in 1265,⁴⁰⁶ Baybars invaded Tripoli the next summer in 1266.⁴⁰⁷ After taking Ḥiṣn Ṭūbān, the advanced outpost of the Hospitallers in the Jabal Ḥaluw, the Mamluks pressed on to the plain of 'Arqa near Tripoli and captured and destroyed the castles of 'Arqa, Ḥalbā and al-Qulay'āt. They took more than 660 men and 1.000 women and children as prisoners and occupied 16 towers in the region.⁴⁰⁸ The agricultural hinterland of Tripoli was left desolated and defenceless and both Military Orders were forced to sue for peace. The Hospitallers had to relinquish income in the form of the tributes they collected from the *Ismā'īlis* and the Muslim bases of Hama, Shayzar, Afāmiya, Abū Qubays and 'Inab.⁴⁰⁹ In their treaty, the Templars handed over their half of Jabala to the Mamluks and in return they were able to keep Ṭartūs and Ṣāfītā.⁴¹⁰ The actual Muslim takeover was only diverted by a counter attack led by the prince and the Hospitallers, who controlled the other half of the town.

Baybars began a major invasion in the spring of 1268, ravaging the environs of Tripoli, destroying the aqueduct,

demolishing some lesser refuges and the Hospitaller castle of Tall Khalīfa.⁴¹¹ The army then moved on to Antioch, which was taken and destroyed.⁴¹² Furthermore, three cave fortresses in the Upper Orontes Valley came into Muslim possession.⁴¹³ Disregarding the isolated patriarchal castle of al-Quṣayr, all that was left of the former principality of Antioch was the coastal strip between Latakia and al-Marqab, the latter being attacked by Baybars in 1269 and 1270, without any success.⁴¹⁴

The Mamluk sultan then turned his attention to the remaining Frankish strongholds of the Gap of Homs and ravaged the crops in the environs of Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn at the beginning of 1270, which allegedly contributed to its fall a year later.⁴¹⁵ Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn, Ṣāfītā, 'Akkār and the rest of the small fortresses and towers around them including Tall Khalīfa fell in the spring of 1271.⁴¹⁶ This forced the Latin parties to sue for peace again. First, the Hospitallers had to return all they had acquired during the Mongol invasion. This included the coastal settlement of Balda and the tower of Qurfays, both in the vicinity of al-Marqab. Secondly, they had to renounce all revenues that they received from Muslim settlements. Thirdly, they had to share all income with the sultan and finally, they were to stop all construction work in al-Marqab.⁴¹⁷ The prince was also forced to share all revenues that he received and the Templars also renewed their treaties with Baybars.⁴¹⁸ The only sites that remained in Frankish hands on the Syrian coast were Ṭartūs, al-Marqab and Latakia.⁴¹⁹

Another important event of these years was the subjugation of the *Ismā'īlī* territories. In 1271, the castles of al-Qulay'a and al-Khawābī were handed over to the Mamluks by their commanders and in 1273 al-Qadmūs, al-Maynaqa and al-Kahf became Mamluk possessions, thus completing the unprecedented unification of the Anṣāriyya ranges under the central power of the Mamluk Sultanate.⁴²⁰

Military activity was renewed in the coast lands with the new Mongol invasion in 1280 which came during the reign of sultan Qalāwūn. The Hospitallers of al-Marqab, pressing the advantage and making full use of the Mongol threat conducted a devastating raid into the territories of Muslim Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn and Ṣāfītā and defeated a Turcoman army sent against them.⁴²¹ The Mamlūk retorsions against the

⁴⁰⁰ Humphreys 1998: 10-11.

⁴⁰¹ Riley-Smith 1969: 183.

⁴⁰² Runciman III, 388-389; *The Templar of Tyre*, 70-73, 75, 78-79.

⁴⁰³ Eg. 1196, 1201, 1202, 1268, 1279-80, 1282. Riley-Smith 1967: 439, 440, 442; Mayer 1972: 303-304.

⁴⁰⁴ Riley-Smith 1967: 443.

⁴⁰⁵ Amadi, *Chronique*, 206; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 60; transl. 50.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 107; transl. 83-84; Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥuṣn al-manāqib*, 104-105.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 109; transl. 85-86.

⁴⁰⁸ Abū Shāma, *Dzayl*, 239-240.

⁴⁰⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV/31-39; transl. Holt 1995: 32-41; Vermeulen 1988: 189-195.

⁴¹⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 163; transl. 128.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 143; transl. 116.

⁴¹² Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, XIII/266-267.

⁴¹³ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 153-160; transl. 121-126.

⁴¹⁴ Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 77.

⁴¹⁵ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 176; transl. 139.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* 180-182; transl. 143-144. al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II/69; al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, VIII/151.

⁴¹⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV/42-51; Vermeulen 1991: 185-193; transl. Holt 1995: 48-57.

⁴¹⁸ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 190; transl. 150; Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'rikh Lubnān*, 112.

⁴¹⁹ In 1275 Baybars exerted unsuccessful diplomatic pressure to enforce his claims in Latakia, but in the same year he managed to take al-Quṣayr in the Jabal al-Aqra'. Ibn al-Furāt *Ta'rikh*, 207, 210; transl. 163, 165.

⁴²⁰ Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'rikh*, 37, 60; Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir*, 411-412; 420; Thorau 1992: 201-203.

⁴²¹ *Annales de Terre Sainte* 457; *The Templar of Tyre* 75-76. Riley-Smith lists actions in 1278 and 1281 as well. Riley-Smith 1967: 137-138.

Hospitaller's stronghold in 1281⁴²² and 1282⁴²³ were at first unsuccessful until the sultan arrived in person with a larger force in the spring of 1285. Qal'at al-Marqab was taken after five weeks of siege⁴²⁴ and as an illustration of the dire situation of the prince, he had to assist in dismantling the sea tower in Marqiyya if he did not want to risk a raid against his vulnerable capital.⁴²⁵

The fall of the rest of the lonely Frankish outposts took place within a few years: the tower in Latakia surrendered and was demolished in 1287⁴²⁶ and Tripoli was taken and utterly destroyed in the spring of 1289.⁴²⁷ Țartūs, the first town to have been conquered by the Crusaders on the Syrian coast in 1102, was the last to fall, on the 3rd of August 1291.⁴²⁸ The island fortress of the Templars on Arwād, facing Țartūs, held out until 1302, when it was taken by siege.⁴²⁹

„...all along this day's journey, we observed many ruins of castles and houses, which testify that this country, however it be neglected at present, was once in the hands of a people that knew how to value it, and thought it worth defending.”

(Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter*, A.D. 1697, 397.)

The Effects of the Expulsion of the Crusaders

The Mamluk reconquest of the Syrian coast lands resulted in large-scale destruction⁴³⁰ and a decline in the former settlement pattern of the region. Both the process and its results show striking similarities to the more closely studied territories of Palestine⁴³¹ and Lebanon.⁴³² The numerous destructive raids and protracted conquest process laid a very heavy burden on the countryside surrounding the main centres on the Syrian coast. Even though some strategic fortifications were taken over by the Mamluks, most of the centres met the same fate as the rural hinterland during the raids. The Mamluks kept the main inland castles of Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn, which for a time became the seat of the *nā'ib al-salṭana*,⁴³³ and al-Marqab, where capitulation was accepted in order to save the building and reduce the costs of the reconstruction which commenced immediately after the Muslims had conquered the site.⁴³⁴ Whilst the Crusaders were still considered a threat, it seems that several lesser castles including 'Urayma, Ṣāfītā and Mī'ār were garrisoned or were at least mentioned in

the peace treaties.⁴³⁵ At the same time, there were a number of urban centres (often those on the coast) that were utterly destroyed, including the cities of Antioch, Tripoli and the town of Țartūs and⁴³⁶ the towers of Marqiyya in the port of Latakia. Lesser desolated coastal sites like Balda or Qurfayṣ were never rebuilt.

Once the conquest was completed, the Mamluks finalised their organisation of the Syrian littoral and this resulted in a considerable reshaping of the settlement pattern. The Mamluks lacked the sufficient naval power to keep the still close by Crusaders of Cyprus away from the Syrian coast.⁴³⁷ Thus most of the former centres along the coast, as they could have been easily captured by the powerful Crusader fleets, were destroyed systematically and were not allowed to recover. The new Mamluk administrative centres of the region that had a governor were Tripoli, Latakia, Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn, Qal'at al-Marqab, Qal'at Ṣalāh al-Dīn, Qal'at al-Mahāliba and 'Akkār,⁴³⁸ attesting to the new trends of withdrawal from the proximity of the sea. As early Mamluk Tripoli was reestablished around the former residence of the counts of Tripoli,⁴³⁹ several kilometres inland from the destroyed ancient port town in al-Mīnā', only Latakia survived as a site of importance from amongst the many former seaside towns. The rather dilapidated and defenceless town's port served as the sole sea-gate of the region with a relatively well-kept harbour.⁴⁴⁰ It is not surprising that from 1326 onwards the Genovese were officially permitted to reestablish their colony⁴⁴¹ and the Venetians were also active in the region.⁴⁴² The rest of the coastal towns seem to have had different fates. Sitting on the most fertile plain of the region and being the only town with a considerable *Sunnī* population, Jabala revived to some extent in the 14th century partially due to the Mamluk patronage of the pilgrimage site of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Adham, a *jihād* warrior of the 10th century.⁴⁴³ Although its memory survived,⁴⁴⁴ Marqiyya was never mentioned again as a settlement.⁴⁴⁵ After being a station of the royal post and labelled as a village⁴⁴⁶, Bānyās featured as a ruin field in descriptions throughout the early modern age even through to the late 19th century descriptions.⁴⁴⁷ The two main castles of the region, Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn and al-Marqab, were still functioning as military bases on a greatly reduced

⁴²² Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, VII/195; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, 457. Another siege is listed for 1282. Riley-Smith 1967: 137, n. 2.

⁴²³ Riley-Smith 1967: 137, n. 2.

⁴²⁴ Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 77-81; al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, VIII/268-270.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.* 87-90.

⁴²⁶ Abu'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/357; transl. 13; 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 151-153; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jum'ān*, II/361.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.* 357-358; transl. 14-15; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, VIII/80.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.* 361.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* 387. al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II/348.

⁴³⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV/178.

⁴³¹ Pringle 1986a: 22-23.

⁴³² Fuess 1997-98: 85-101.

⁴³³ Abu'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān*, 350.

⁴³⁴ Ibn 'Abdazzāhir, *Tashrīf*, 80-81.

⁴³⁵ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV/31-39, 42-51.

⁴³⁶ Abu'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān*, 229.

⁴³⁷ Fuess 2001: 46.

⁴³⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV/144-145.

⁴³⁹ Piana 2010: 312-315.

⁴⁴⁰ Abu'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, 256-257; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat*, 82; Ibn Jī'ān, *al-Qawl al-mustazraf*, 16; transl. 10.

⁴⁴¹ Edbury 1991: 150.

⁴⁴² Ziadeh 1970: 139.

⁴⁴³ Abu'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, 254-255.

⁴⁴⁴ Called „*Maredea*” in the beginning of the 16th century. Suriano 1485: 180.

⁴⁴⁵ During the Crusader landing in 1300 it still seems to have had some buildings to be sacked by a small company. (*The Templar of Tyre*, 156-157); in the 15th century margin note of the Oxford manuscript of al-Idrīssī the depopulation of Marqiyya is attributed to the Frankish attacks. (Le Strange 1890: 400.)

⁴⁴⁶ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV/385.

⁴⁴⁷ Description of W.M. Thomson from 1841. Salibi: *The Missionary Herald* 3: 256.

scale and the settlements in their immediate vicinities were the most serious infrastructural developments the Mamluk period witnessed in the rural hinterland of the Syrian coast. Some of the more important castles in the rural hinterland, especially those constructed by the *Ismā'īlīs*, also remained in use for at least a century, but the sources are mostly silent about them after the second half of the 15th century.⁴⁴⁸ We can be almost certain that the rural towers and agricultural centres were not fulfilling their former roles. This is all the more probable as the rural hinterland of the Syrian coastline also declined greatly in comparison to its previous state. The waning of once important settlements in the Mamluk period is best illustrated by the case of Antioch. In 1433 it was described as a ruined site of no more than 300 houses,⁴⁴⁹ a situation which would not change for decades.⁴⁵⁰ The descent of the Mamluk Empire into a general state of decline from the end of the 14th century onwards⁴⁵¹ must have been felt even more strongly in the Syrian coastal region.

Military activity did not stop with the expulsion of the Crusaders, as the European fleets continued to haunt the Syrian coastline with recurring raids⁴⁵² even after their former naval base in Arwād had been conquered and destroyed in 1302.⁴⁵³ Although we do not have clear parallels for fighting in the rear, as was the case of the mountaineers in the Lebanon who caused destruction until at least 1306,⁴⁵⁴ the mainly Christian and *Shī'ī* population of the Syrian coast was often repressed by the harsh Mamluk rule. Decrees prescribing distinctive clothing for *dzimmīs*,⁴⁵⁵ enforcing *Sunnī* diet regulations such as the prohibition of wine⁴⁵⁶ in a region famous for its production and finally the enforcement of mosque building for non-*Sunnī* Muslims,⁴⁵⁷ were measures certainly not welcomed by locals.⁴⁵⁸ In 1318 we hear of a large-scale *Nuṣayrī* revolution which led to the attack and pillage of the town of Jabala.⁴⁵⁹ Although most of the punitive Mamluk expeditions against religious minorities that the sources tell of were aimed at the mountains of Kisrawān in the Lebanon,⁴⁶⁰ many survivors are said to have taken refuge

in the mountains of Latakia.⁴⁶¹ Regardless of their former failures, the Mongol armies invaded Syria in 1299, 1300, 1303 and 1312 and their victory over the Mamluks in the third battle of Homs in 1299 resulted in especially grave losses for both the Muslims and the the region itself.⁴⁶²

Recovery in the rural areas along the coast appears to have been intentionally hindered by the government. It is very probable that employing methods that have been better documented on other strategic regions,⁴⁶³ nomadic Turcomans were brought to the coastal region in considerable numbers as part of an effort to regulate the untrustworthy local populace. Besides policing the locals, one of the motives behind the settling of nomad Turcomans of *Sunnī* denomination in strategic areas was the discouragement of agricultural activity, which was of course the main source of sustenance for the local peasantry, mainly 'Alawīs. The end result was a most shabby region that was seemingly a very unpopular post for any governor and we hear more than once of newly appointed Mamluk *amīrs* rejecting or fleeing the job, particularly in the first decades after the expulsion of the Franks.⁴⁶⁴ A strong decrease of arbo-, horti- and agriculture and the disappearance of *Vitis vinifera* after the expulsion of the Crusaders is detectable from the pollen data taken from the Jabala plains, which show redevelopment of the xerophytic shrub-steppe and low values for the cultivated species certainly accompanied by more intense pastoral activities.⁴⁶⁵

The Syrian coastlands were also affected by a number of natural disasters in the Mamluk period including earthquakes, the most destructive one being in 1404,⁴⁶⁶ and a high number of heavy rains and floods followed by severe cold spells.⁴⁶⁷ Given the above mentioned facts it is no wonder that the Mamluk period was plagued with famine and in turn the severely weakened population were more susceptible and thus more frequently hit by epidemics,⁴⁶⁸ the most severe being the Black Death of 1347-48.⁴⁶⁹

The decline and destruction of the former metropolei and the closure of the Mediterranean gates did not allow the recovery of the intentionally destroyed countryside and numerous travellers' accounts give testament to the fact that the situation did not improve until many centuries

⁴⁴⁸ Eg. the Mamluk administrative centre of Qal'at al-Maḥāliba is last mentioned as such in connection with the earthquake of 1404 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, VI/104.) and the castle of al-Kahf and its suburb was destroyed in 1460. al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa'l-abdān*, IV/181.

⁴⁴⁹ de la Brocquiere 1432-33: 313.

⁴⁵⁰ Suriano 1485: 181.

⁴⁵¹ Walker 1999: 205.

⁴⁵² E.g. There were landings in the region of Ṭarṭūs in 1299 (Amadi, *Chronique*, 235-237); in 1300 in Ṭarṭūs and Marqīyya. (*The Templar of Tyre*, 156-157); in 1366 and 1367 in Tripoli but sacking Ṭarṭūs and Latakia as well (Amadi, *Chronique*, 410, 417-418); and 1413 on the Syrian coast again. Amadi, *Chronique*, 498.

⁴⁵³ Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/387; transl. p. 40; ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, XIV/18.

⁴⁵⁴ Duwayhī, *Ta'rikh*, 269-272, 283, 286-288.

⁴⁵⁵ Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/385; transl. p. 39.

⁴⁵⁶ Sourdel-Thomine 1952: 61-64.

⁴⁵⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *Subh*, XIII/35; Vermeulen 1970: 199.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Riḥla*, 79-80.

⁴⁵⁹ Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/428-429; transl. p. 74; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XXXII/256-257; 275-276; Sato 1997: 162-176.

⁴⁶⁰ The early ones being in 1292 (al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jum'ān*, III/128-129); 1300 (al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jum'ān*, IV/81-83.); then 1305. Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar* II/385; transl. p. 39; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jum'ān*, IV/384-385; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XXXII/97-98; Kattar 1997-98: 71.

⁴⁶¹ al-Sharīf 1960: 101-102.

⁴⁶² al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb zūdat*, 332; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II/319-321; Amitai-Preiss 1999: 134; Waterson 2007: 207-213.

⁴⁶³ Eg. The Sharon Plain: Pringle 1986a: 22-27; the Lebanese coast: Kattar 1997-98: 71.

⁴⁶⁴ Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/282, 385; transl. p. 35, 39. In H. 710 (1310) the newly appointed governor refused to take the post (Abu'l-Fiḍā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II/401-402; transl. p. 53-54) and in H. 712 (1312/13) there was an attempted revolt at the instigation of the dissatisfied governor. *Ibid.* II/408; transl. 59.

⁴⁶⁵ Kaniewski *et al.* 2010: 256-260.

⁴⁶⁶ al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, VI/104; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh*, I-2/687; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa'l-abdān*, II/186; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, IV/355-356; Ambraseys 2009: 382-383.

⁴⁶⁷ Tucker 1999: 114-117.

⁴⁶⁸ Dols 1977: 305-314; Tucker 1999: 119-123.

⁴⁶⁹ Dols 1977: 218-220.

later. This general desolation of the once thriving region is strikingly apparent in the aerial pictures of the French Mandate Period.⁴⁷⁰ The images portray a countryside that has only a handful of small villages and in the formal episcopal town of Ṭarṭūs, the plan drawing of Rey shows just a tiny village in the area of the former Templar citadel.⁴⁷¹ At Tall Sūkās,⁴⁷² ʿArab al-Mulk⁴⁷³ and Tall Darūk,⁴⁷⁴ sites very close to each other in the most fertile area of the rich plain of Jabala, excavations and soundings found the medieval layers immediately below the surface, indicating a lack of later habitation. The same was observed during the excavations of Tall Kazal⁴⁷⁵ and this pattern was apparent at many sites covered by the SHAM field surveys.

⁴⁷⁰ Eg. aerial pictures taken of the region of ʿUrayma and Ṣāfītā: IFPO Mandate Photograph Archive no. 23389, 23390, 23391, 23392.

⁴⁷¹ Rey 1871: Pl. XX.

⁴⁷² Riis 1958: 119.

⁴⁷³ Oldenburg & Rohweder 1981: 128.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 70, Pl. I.

⁴⁷⁵ Badre *et al.* 1994: 261.

Plates

Ceramics



Plate 36. Storage vessel: 36.1 Qal'at al-Qulay'a; slip covered wares: 36.2 'Ayn Ḥarbātī, 36.3 Qal'at Ṭarbalīs, 36.4 'Ayn Ḥarbātī, 36.5 Qarqaftī; hand-made painted wares (HMPW): 36.6 Jabal al-Sayyida, 36.7 Shaqīf Darkūsh.



Plate 37. Țarțuș excavation assemblage: 37.1-3 sherds from the excavation of a medieval vault in the citadel area.

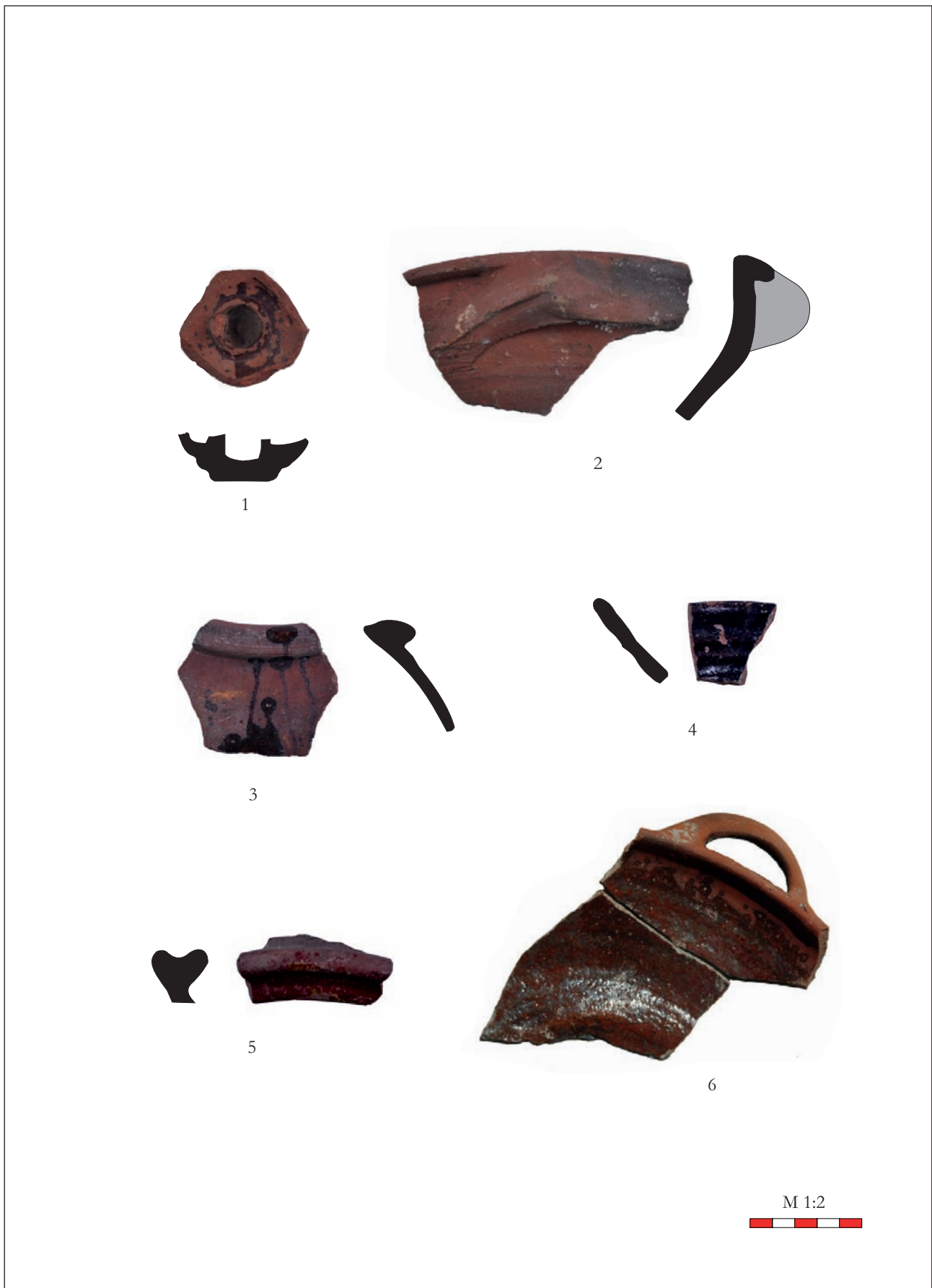


Plate 38. Lead-glazed common wares: 38.1 ‘Ayn Qaḏīb, 38.2 Qal‘at al-Qulay‘a, 38.3 Mī‘ār Shākir, 38.4-5 Yaḥmūr, 38.6 ‘Ayn Sarkīs.



Plate 39. Monochrome glazed slip-wares: 39.1-2 Sumaryān, 39.3 Mī'ār Shākir, 39.4 Bayt 'Adrā; 39.5 Qal'at al-Qūz; 39.6 Maghārat Ḥahr al-Jubaybāt, 39.7 Ṣāfitā – *rabaḍ*.



Plate 40. Glazed reserved slip-wares: 40.1-7 Sumaryān.



Plate 41. Glazed slip-painted wares: 41.1 Bayt ‘Adrā, 41.2-6 Qal‘at al-Qulay‘a, 41.7-8 Sumaryān, 41.9 Bayt ‘Adrā, 41.10 Tall ‘Aqdū.



Plate 42. Wares with gritty glaze: 42.1 Jabal al-Sayyida, 42.2 Tall Jāmūs, 42.3 ‘Annāza - Kfar Fīr; Port St. Symeon wares: 42.4 Qal’at Ṭarbalīs, 42.5 Sumaryān, 42.6 Zārā, 42.7 Tarkab; coarse *sgraffiato* wares: 42.8 ‘Annāza - Kfar Fīr, 42.9-10 Ḥurayṣūn.



Plate 43. Coarse *sgraffiato* wares: 43.1 Mī'ār Shākir, 43.2 Qal'at al-Qulay'a, 43.3-4 Khirbat al-Qurshiyya, 43.5 Tarkab, 43.6 Sumaryān, 43.7 Hiffa wa-ʿĀshiqā; gouged *sgraffiato* ware: 43.8 Khirbat al-Shātī.

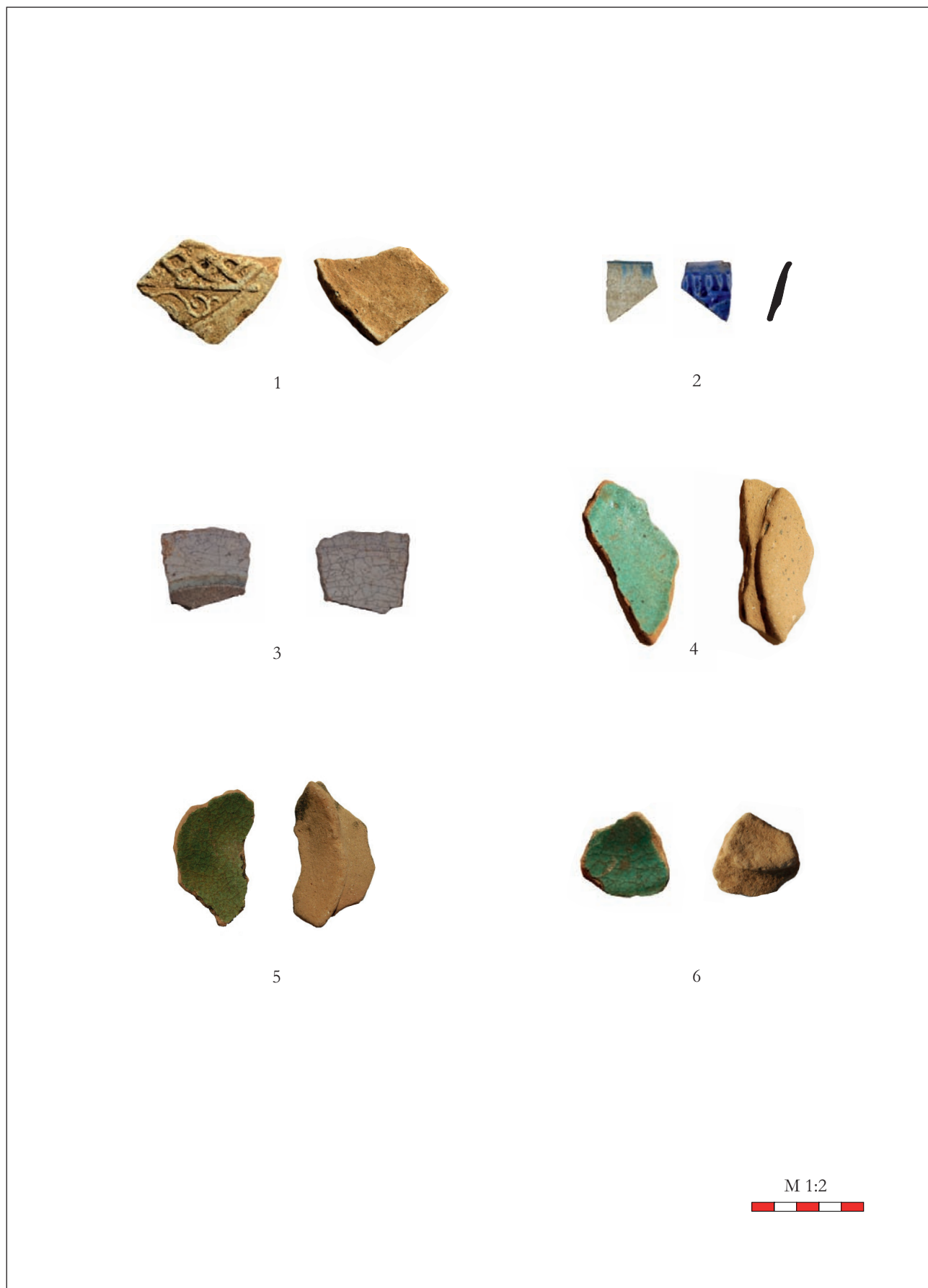


Plate 44. Import wares from the Muslim-held interior. Ware with molded decoration: 44.1 Bjam‘āsh; monochrome glazed incised ware: 44.2 Zārā; monochrome glazed wares of the ‘Tell Minis’ type: 44.3-4 Qal‘at al-Qulay‘a, 44.5 Khirbat al-Ḥaddāda, 44.6 Dayr al-Jurd – Khirbat al-Mashtāya.



Plate 45. Assemblage of medieval ceramics from Umm Hūsh: lead-glazed common wares (45.1); slip covered ware (45.14); monochrome glazed slip-ware (45.12); glazed reserved slip-ware (45.8); bowls with gritty glaze (45.2-4, 45.9-11, 45.13-14, 45.18); glazed slip-painted wares (45.15-17, 45.19, 45.21-24).

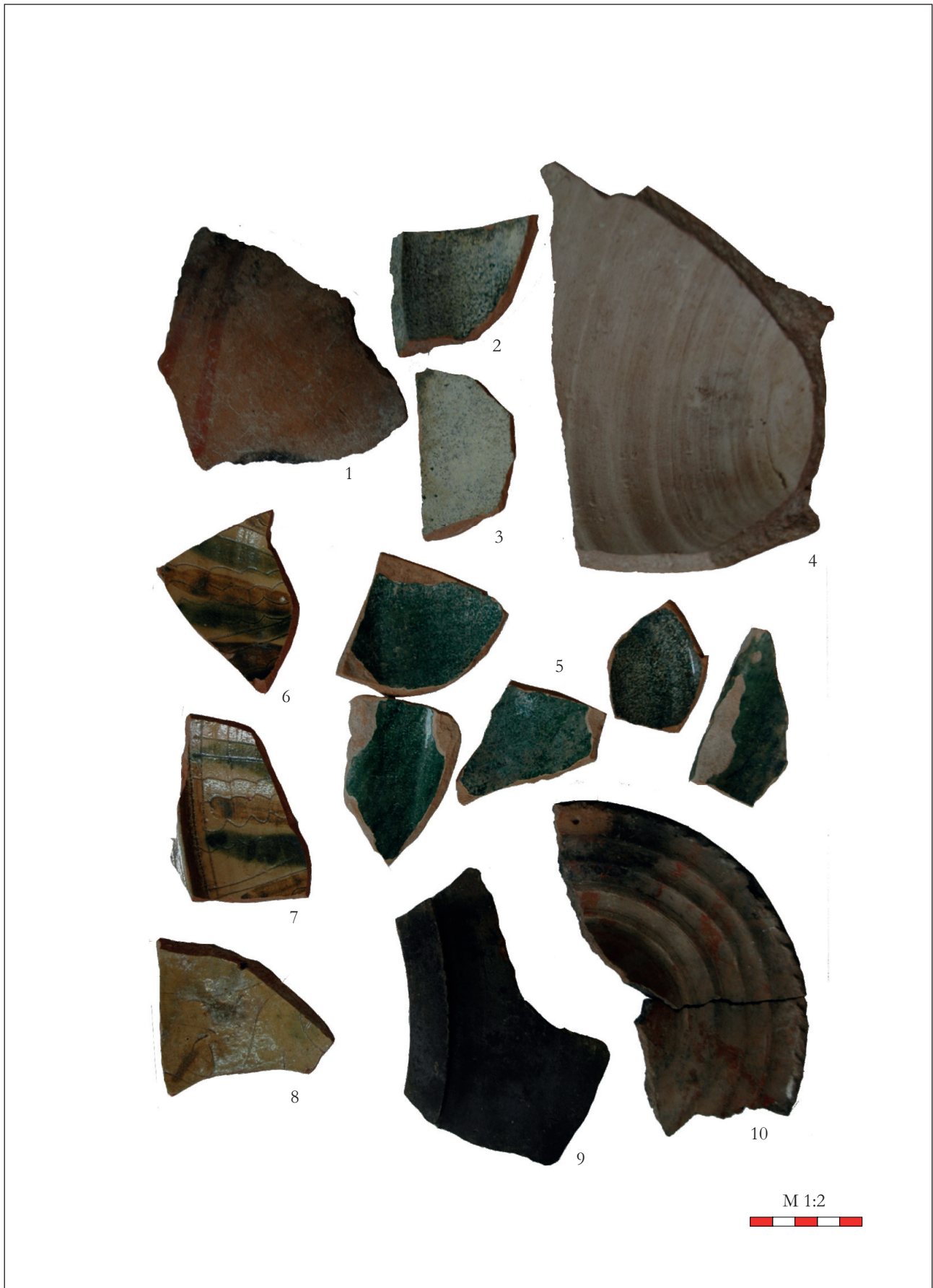


Plate 46. Medieval ceramics from Shaqīf Darkūsh: cooking pot (46.9); cooking pot lid (46.10); slip covered ware (46.4); hand-made painted ware (46.1); monochrome glazed slip-ware (46.2-3, 46.5); coarse *sgraffiato* wares (46.6-8).

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