

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CARLSBERG EXPEDITION TO PHOENICIA 13

TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDIES
IN THE ĞABLA PLAIN

by P.J. Riis, Ingolf Thuesen,
John Lund and Thomas Riis



Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter **28**

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
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Synopsis

When the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia in 1958 began its excavations at Tall Sūkās, the identification of this and other sites in the surrounding Ġabla Plain was not without problems. The Expedition accordingly made a preliminary topographical study of the plain by means of a number of excursions from its headquarters in Ġabla. In the course of time these investigations were occasionally continued, not only in 1958, but also during the later campaigns 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1963. The present volume is a publication of the Expedition's observations and notes, worked by the Director of the Expedition and three of his later collaborators, Mr. Ingolf Thuesen, Ph. D., lecturer in the University of Copenhagen, Mr. John Lund, senior research fellow in the National Museum in Copenhagen, and Dr. Thomas Riis, professor in the University of Kiel.

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To the memory of Gabriel Saadé

Contents

Abbreviations	7
I. The Identification of Ancient Sites, by P. J. Riis	11
A. Introduction	11
B. Ušnatu-Usnu	12
C. Paltos-*Palītu	14
D. Harbours and Landing-Places	15
E. Mounds and Ruins	18
II. The Stone and Bronze Ages, by Ingolf Thuesen	22
A. Introduction	22
B. The Natural Setting	23
C. Stone Age Sites	24
D. Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Sites	25
E. Pre-Iron Age Settlement Pattern	26
F. List of Sites	27
G. Catalogue	30
III. The Iron Age and the Graeco-Roman Period, by John Lund	38
A. Introduction	38
B. 'Arab al-Milk	38
C. Sites along the Sinn River	49
D. Topographical features and sites in the coastal zone between 'Arab al-Milk and Ğabla	50
E. Ğabla and its surroundings	61
F. Sites in the coastal zone north of Ğabla	68
G. Sites in the interior of the Ğabla Plain and the foothills of the Ğabal al-'Alawiyīn	72
H. Summary and conclusions	75
IV. The Medieval Period, by Thomas Riis	85
A. An Outline of the Plain's Medieval History	85
B. 'Arab al-Milk and Balda al-Milk	90
C. Ğabla	96
D. Minor Sites	105
E. Conclusions	113

Abbreviations

In addition to those indicated in the preceding volumes of this series and in the *Archäologische Bibliographie*, *Beilage zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, the following abbreviations are used:

- AASyr 8/9 1958/59-
AASyr 13 1963** P.J. Riis, *L'activité de la Mission archéologique danoise sur la côte phénicienne en 1958-1961.*
- AASyr 15.2 1965** P.J. Riis, *L'activité de la Mission archéologique danoise sur la côte phénicienne en 1963.*
- Ugaritische
Forschungen 11 1979** M. C. Astour *The Kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnatu*, *Ugaritische Forschungen* 11 1979
- BAH** *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* 1 ff, Paris 1921 ff.
- Bounni and
Al-Maqdissi** A. Bounni and M. Al-Maqdissi, *Tell Sianu, un nouveau chantier syrien*, in: G.L. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, Nicosia 1992, 129-140.
- Cahen** C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à la époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, *Institut français de Damas: Bibliothèque orientale I^{er}*, Paris 1940.
- Cartulaire** J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* 1 ff, Paris 1894 ff.
- Courbin,
Bassit-Posidaion** P. Courbin, *Bassit-Posidaion in the Early Iron Age*, in: Descœudres, J.P. (ed.), *Greek colonists and native populations: proceedings of the first Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall*, Sydney 9-14 July 1985, Oxford 1990, 503-509.
- Devreesse** R. Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d' Antioche depuis la paix de l' Eglise jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945.
- Docter, Amphoren** R.F. Docter, *Archaische Amphoren aus Karthago und Toscanos. Fundspektrum und Formentwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur phönizischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Amsterdam 1997.
- Dussaud** R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, BAH 4, Paris 1927.
- Ehrich** A.M.H. Erich, *Early Pottery of the Jebel Region*. *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 13, Philadelphia 1939.
- EI²** *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden 1960 ff.

- Elayi, Studies** J. Elayi, Studies in Phoenician Geography during the Persian period, JNES 41 1982, 83-110.
- Ḥamā II 2** P.J. Riis & M-L. Buhl, Ḥamā. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 II 2: Les Objets de la Période dite Syro-Hittite (Âge du Fer), Copenhagen 1990.
- Ḥamā III 1** G. Ploug, Ḥamā. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 III 1: The Graeco-Roman Town. Copenhagen 1985.
- Ḥamā III 2** A.P. Christensen and Ch. F. Johansen, Ḥamā. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 III 2: Les poteries hellénistiques et les terres sigillées orientales, Copenhagen 1971.
- Ḥamā III 3** A. Papanicolaou Christensen, R. Thomsen & G. Ploug, Ḥamā. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 III 3, The Graeco-Roman Objects of Clay, the Coins and the Necropolis, Copenhagen 1986.
- Ḥamā IV 2** P. J. Riis & V. Poulsen, Ḥamā. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 IV 2, Les Verreries et Poteries Médiévales, Copenhagen 1957.
- Harald Hansen** H. Harald Hansen, An Ethnographical Collection from the Region of the Alawites, Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 4, Copenhagen 1976.
- Krings 1995** V. Krings (éd), HdO 1 XX, La civilisation phénicienne et punique, Manuel de recherche. Leiden, New York and Köln 1995.
- Lund, Coastline** J. Lund, The northern coastline of Syria in the Persian Period – a survey of the archaeological evidence, Transeuphratène 2 1990, 13-36.
- Lund, Evidence** J. Lund, The archaeological evidence for the transition from the Persian period to the Hellenistic age in northwestern Syria, Transeuphratène 6 1993, 27-45.
- Mayer** H. E. Mayer, Varia Antiochena. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Studien und Texte 6, Hannover 1993.
- Oldenburg & Rohweder** E. Oldenburg & J. Rohweder, The Excavations at Tall Daruk (Usnu?) and ‘Arab al-Mulk (Paltos), Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 8, Copenhagen 1981.
- Perreault, Céramique** J. Perreault, Céramique et échanges: Les importations attiques au Proche-Orient du VI^e au milieu du V^e siècle avant J.-C. Les données archéologiques, BCH 110 1986, 145-175.
- Rey-Coquais** J. -P. Rey-Coquais, Arados et sa pérée, BAH 97, Paris 1974.
- RHC** Recueil des Historiens des Croisades 1 ff, Paris 1841 ff.

- RRH** R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymatani*, Innsbruck 1899-1904.
- Runciman I-III** S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Pelican ed.) I-III, Harmondsworth 1971.
- Saadé, Decouverte** G. Saadé, *Découverte de caveaux funéraires à Jablé*, Syria 62 1985, 346-348.
- Saadé, Lattaquié** G. Saadé, *Histoire de Lattaquié*, Tome I, Ramitha, problème des origines, Damascus 1964.
- Saadé, Note** G. Saadé, *Note sur les tells archéologiques du royaume ougaritien*, Syria 67 1990, 195-199.
- Saadé, Ougarit** G. Saadé, *Ougarit, Métropole Cananéenne*. Beyrouth 1979.
- Salles 1991** Du blé, de l'huile et de vin ... Notes sur les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale vers le milieu du Ier millénaire av. J.-C., (1ère partie), in: Sancisi-Weerdenburgh, H. and Kuhrt, A (éds), *Achaemenid History VI, Old Cultures in a new Empire*. Leyden 1991, 207-236.
- Seyrig, Gabala** H. Seyrig, *Monnaies Hélienistiques*, XII. Questions aradiennes, 1. Gabala, RN 6 Ser 6, 1964, 7-67.
- Schaeffer, Stratigraphie** *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale* (IIIe. et IIe. millénaires). London 1948.
- Stucky, Ras Shamra** R. A. Stucky, *Ras Shamra-Leukos Limen. Die nach-ugaritische Besiedlung von Ras Shamra*. Institut Français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient. BAH 110, Paris 1983.
- Sūkās I** P. J. Riis, *Sūkās I, The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, Copenhagen 1970.
- Sūkās II** G. Ploug, *Sūkās II, The Aegean, Corinthian and Eastern Greek Pottery and Terracottas*, Copenhagen 1973.
- Sūkās III** P. J. Riis & H. Thrane, *Sūkās III, The Neolithic Period*, Copenhagen 1974.
- Sūkās VI** P. J. Riis, *Sūkās VI, The Graeco-Phoenician Cemetery and Sanctuary at the Southern Harbour*, Copenhagen 1979.
- Sūkās VII** M-L. Buhl, *Sūkās VII, The Near Eastern Pottery and Objects of other Materials from the Upper Strata*, Copenhagen 1983.
- Sūkās VIII** J. Lund, *Sūkās VIII, The Habitation Quarters*, Copenhagen 1986.

- Sūkās IX** E. Oldenburg, Sūkās IX, The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods, Copenhagen 1991.
- Sūkās X** P. J. Riis, J. Jensen, M-L. Buhl & B. Otzen, Sūkās X, The Bronze and Early Iron Age Remains at the Southern Harbour, Copenhagen 1996.
- Weulersse** J. Weulersse, Le pays des Alawites, Tours 1940.

Besides the above, use is made of easily understood abbreviations only.

Chapter I

The Identification of Ancient Sites

by
P.J.Riis

A. Introduction*

When the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia on the 6th of September 1958 began its work at Tall Sūkās, the identification of this and other sites in the Ğabla Plain was not without problems. It is true that the region had been dealt with in detail by René Dussaud, the great topographer of Syria¹; but Emil Forrer had proposed other identifications, and some enigmas still waited for their solutions².

Already before the start of our excavations at Tall Sūkās, the epigraphist of the Expedition Professor E. Hammershaimb, the representative of the Director General of Antiquities with the Expedition Mr. Hišām B. Safadī, and the present writer as director of the Expedition made a preliminary topographical study of the Ğabla Plain by means of a series of excursions from the Expedition's headquarters in Ğabla. In the course of time, these investigations were occasionally continued, not only in 1958, but also during the later campaigns³ (fig.1). Such work was highly stimulated by the keen historian of the region, Mr. Gabriel Saadé, Consul of Greece at Laḏqīya, to the memory of whom

this volume is dedicated as a token of gratitude⁴, and our studies would certainly not have been carried into effect without the ready and always excellent cooperation of our chauffeur Mr. Salīm Darwīš 'Alma, who had a profound knowledge of the entire region (fig.2). In the investigations we were also greatly aided by Mr. Safadī's successor Mr. Sulaimān Muqdād and by several other members of the Expedition staff, first and foremost the architect Mr. J.Rohweder, the technician Mr. F.Visti, and the archaeologists Messrs. H.Thrane and J.Jensen and the arabist Mr S.M. Søndergård. My sincere thanks go to all of the persons mentioned.

In order to clarify the problems about the towns of Paltos and Usnu or Ušnatu, both connected with the river Sinn, two small excavations were undertaken at 'Arab al-Milk at the river mouth, and at Tall Darūk a few kilometres upstream⁵ (fig. 1 nos. 21 and 32). Other investigations of a topographical character were caused by accidental discoveries and offers of antiquities found by private persons, or they were, on a few occasions, even suggested by the local author-

* Parts of this chapter were read at the Valbonne Symposium on the historical geography of the Near East 1985, see *Geographie historique au Proche-Orient*, CNRS Centre de Recherches Archéologiques, Notes et Monographies Techniques 23, Paris 1988, 315-324.

1. Dussaud, 132-138.

2. E.O.Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, 58; *Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie*, Berlin 1939, 363; Ehrich, 57, 113.

3. AASyr 8/9 1958/59 111-115, 117, 119; AASyr 10 1960, 112, 130-132; AASyr 11/12 1961/62, 134; AASyr 13 1963, 224; AASyr 15.2 1965, 75-77.

4. Cf. Saadé, Lattaquié, 95-102, Saadé, Ougarit, 56-61, and G. Saade, *A la recherche des villes et des villages du Royaume ougaritique*, AASyr 29/30 1979/80, 215-230.

5. Oldenburg & Rohweder.

ities. However, but for the two soundings at the Sinn river just mentioned, the Expedition did not aim at a systematic topographical survey to be compared with the modern ones in the Peloponnese, in Cyprus, or in Northern Africa; our excavations at Sūkās did neither

leave us time nor personnel for such a task. Nevertheless, we have felt it appropriate to publish our casual observations and notes in this volume, hoping that they may be useful in spite of their fortuitous nature.

B. Ušnatu-Usnu

As is well-known, the northernmost part of the Phoenician coast in the 13th century B.C. formed a kingdom with the city of Ugarit as its centre. According to documents in the Ugaritic archives, the realm southwards bordered upon the kingdoms of Siyannu and Ušnatu. Among scholars there is general agreement that Siyannu is identical with the present Tall Sīānū, 6 kilometres east of Ġabla (fig. 1 no. 7, fig. 3 and 4), connected with the sea by means of the wādī of Nahr Zurūd, “the river of the rings (or windings)”, Nahr al-Ḥaddād, “the river of the blacksmith”, and Nahr Umm Burġul, “the river of Mother Wheat”. A similar consensus of opinion does not exist about Ušnatu. About the middle of the 14th century B.C., both Siyannu and Ušnatu were dependent upon Ugarit and had to pay tribute to its king; but it is seen from the correspondence between the king of Ugarit and the Hittite Great King Mursilis II, reigning about 1330 B.C., that Ušnatu then was regarded as a town belonging to the king of Siyannu. At other moments in the same centuries the situation was the inverse and Siyannu dependent upon Ušnatu. Roughly half a millennium later, about 850 B.C., the Assyrians enumerating their western enemies mention both a king of Sianu or Siana and a king of Usanat or Usnu, and in 742 Usnu and Sianu figure among the nineteen

provinces on the sea coast which revolted against the king of Ḥamat in Central Syria⁶.

Apparently Ušnatu, Usanat, Usana or Usnu was a town in the coastal region, neither far from Siyannu, Sianu or Siana nor from Ḥamat. If it is permitted to judge from its contribution to the coalition against the Assyrians in 854, the military capacity of Ušnatu was rather modest, for it did only send 200 men, the same number as the island city of Arwad, whereas Siyannu gave 10000 men and 30 chariots, ‘Arqa in the plain north of modern Tripolis also 10000 men, but only 10 chariots. It is quite possible that Ušnatu like Arwad primarily was a maritime power.

In their efforts to identify Ušnatu-Usnu scholars have tried to find modern place names of the same root. In 1920 and again in 1939 Emil Forrer⁷ localized Usnu at Tall as-Snūn in the hills south-east of Arwad, i.e. in the territory belonging to the king of Šimirra, a town which now, probably rightly, is taken to be Tall Kazil near the coast 11 kilometres west of Tall as-Snūn⁸ (fig. 5). An independent royal capital can hardly have existed inside the territory of Šimirra, and, most likely, the place is too far from the coast and too far to the south to fit into what we know about Usnu. After all we must reject Forrer’s proposition.

René Dussaud, on the other hand⁹, in 1927 sup-

6. J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d’Ugarit IV*, Paris 1956, 16, 290; D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I*, Chicago 1926, 233, 274, 276, 292, 294; H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, Berlin & Leipzig 1926, 341, 345, 347; *Die Welt des Orients* 8, Göttingen 1975, 80.

7. See note 5 above.

8. M. Dunand & N. Saliby, *A la recherche de Simyra*, AASyr 7

1957, 3-16; M. Dunand, A. Bounni, N. Saliby, *Fouilles de Tell Kazel*, AASyr 14 1964, 3-14; *AUBBulletin* 28.1 1985, 1-2.

9. Dussaud, 133. Dussaud did not put the name of Siyannu into connection with the river, as held in P. Bordreuil, *A propos de la topographie économique de l’Ougarit: Jardins du midi et pâturages du Nord, Syria* 66 1989, 265 note 11.

posed that the names Nahr as-Sinn and Sinn ad-Darb, indicating respectively the river and the mountain at the southern edge of the Ġabla Plain, contained a reminder of the ancient Usnu, and he thought that the small double village 'Arab al-Milk-Balda al-Milk at the river mouth (fig. 1 nos. 21 and 20) rested upon the ruins of that town.

Recently, in 1979, Michael Astour suggested a third solution of the problem¹⁰, namely that Usnu is Tall Ḥussain near the coast north of Arwad. However, as this mound lies only 4 kilometres from Arwad's most important harbour in its mainland territory, ancient Karne, now Tall Qarnain¹¹, his suggestion is not particularly convincing, not to speak of the difficulty in explaining the initial emphatic ḥ in Ḥussain.

We must therefore revert to Dussaud's starting-point, the likeness between the names Usnu and Sinn. By means of the above-mentioned excavation at 'Arab al-Milk our Expedition was able to establish that the deepest, only about 0.5 m thick cultural deposits in the small old town mound north of the river mouth (fig. 6) contained both pottery fragments of the 15th-13th centuries B.C. and of the 9th-6th centuries B.C.¹²; but the mound, whose highest point was at 11.23 m above sea level, and where the virgin soil was reached at 2.65-2.95 m already, was of too modest dimensions to be the remains of a royal capital, neither in the palmy days of Ugarit nor in the period of Assyrian expansion. The Expedition accordingly sought Usnu upstream.

The river Sinn, although very short, is a stream abounding in water, to-day crossed by means of an old bridge at 'Arab al-Milk. The situation was the same in

the Middle Ages, for the written sources state that the river was large, deep and having one bridge only; but it is also said that it had no fords¹³. In more remote times, however, before the construction of the Roman coastal road with its bridges, there must have been other ways of crossing the stream. No doubt, some sort of overland transport took place between the Phoenician towns, even before Alexander's conquest¹⁴. Presumably, the bridge was preceded by a ford, and it is a question whether there was only one ford. I may quote a geologist, who has dealt with fords from the point of view of a natural scientist: „Where rivers have to be crossed, the course of a road may depend on the existence of a ford. A stream, which winds through a landscape, however, offers many possibilities for crossing. Hydraulics and fluvial morphology are important for the understanding of fluvial topography including the possible positions of fords. Put briefly, the greatest water velocities and depths are to be found in the concave part of river bends. A more uniform distribution of velocities across a stream, and more shallow water, can be found in stretches between river bends. Because of the calmer water and coarser sediments these parts of a stream obviously provide the best sites for fords“¹⁵.

Now, if we look at the French Levant map on the scale of 1:50000¹⁶ (cf. fig. 1), we shall find that the north-south going stretch of the Sinn river immediately east of the present village 'Arab al-Milk (fig.6) and the east-west going one about 2 kilometres from the sea, immediately north of Tall Darūk seem to offer the best possibilities for fording the stream (fig. 1 nos. 21-

10. Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 13-28.

11. Dussaud, 125; J. Elayi, *Les cités phéniciennes et l'empire assyrien à l'époque d'Assurbanipal*, RA 77 1983, 51 note 47. A small collection of potsherds picked up on the surface of this mound is kept in the Danish National Museum, inv.nos. 11000/1-22=QRN 1-22, the earliest one dating from the Late Bronze Age, cf. *Sūkās VII*, 7-8 no.6 fig.1 pl.1.

12. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 74 no. 381, 76-77 nos. 431-432 and 434, 124 fig. 61, 129 fig.66. It is by error and probably due to temporary inaccessibility that "no bone is reported for 'Arab al-Mulk"; but it is not correct that "it was likely not saved during excavation" (Review by J. A. Greene in *JNES* 43 1984, 81-82).

The bone fragments and shells in question have the inv.nos. 237, 240, 242, 244, 246, 249-251, 255, 256, 260 and 262; together with other finds they are kept in the deposit of the Directorate General of Antiquities at Buṣra.

13. Dussaud, 132, 134-135.

14. R. G. Goodchild, *The Coast Road of Phoenicia and its Roman Milestones*, Berytus 9 1949, 112; Rey-Coquais, 109-110.

15. J.T.Møller in *Festskrift til Olaf Olsen*, Copenhagen 1988, 44; the same author mentions, 42, that where a ford offered the best possibility of crossing, there dams and bridges were placed later on.

16. Feuille N 1-36-xxiv-2d, measured in 1929.

22). At 'Arab al-Milk it is where the bridge was built; but in the Bronze Age the other stretch may have been the preferred place of crossing.

Tall Darūk is in fact one of the oldest and most conspicuous artificial mounds of the Ġabla Plain¹⁷ (fig.7). Our excavation there showed that the site had been occupied since the Chalkolithic period. In this mound the cultural deposits were much thicker than at 'Arab al-Milk, in total c. 11m, those of the 2nd millenium B.C. and those of the 1st millenium before Alexander the Great respectively c. 3.7 and 4.7 m. From the finds we are able to deduce that the primitive settlement developed into a town in the early centuries of the 2nd millenium, and that the place must have been of a certain importance, not least in the Assyrian epoch. So, it was not an insignificant hamlet that existed there at the time of the ancient records telling of Usnu, a toponym of the same root as that of the river, and therefore it seems to me justified to assume that Tall Darūk is identical with Usnu. Astour has refused this idea, because the mound in his opinion is too small and too near to Tall Sīānū. It must be pointed out, however,

that the town plateau has been diminished and the contours of the mound blurred on account of the ploughing-down in modern times; at the foot the length of the tall is more than 250 m, and the total height nearly 20 m, which means that the dimensions were more or less the same as those of Tall Kazil, ancient Şimirra. Nor does the distance from Tall Sīānū, 12 km, differ much from that between several famous royal cities in the Mediterranean countries, e.g. 8 km between Tirynth and Argos, 9 km between Argos and Mycenae, 17 km between Sikyon and Korinth, and 18 km between Rome and Veii. The arguments put forward by Astour cannot be taken for cogent. Moreover, Tall Darūk, which in its top layer has some remains of a medieval building, is probably identical with the Casale Assene of the Crusaders, again a reminder of the ancient place name. In 1186 Bohemond III of Antioch ceded it to the Hospitallers of Castle Margat c. 12 km south of the Sinn river. The Principality of Antioch's southern border was just north of Margat, and for this reason Casale Assene should not be sought farther south.

C. Paltos- *Palītu

On approaching the Mediterranean the Sinn river takes the form of an angular S (fig.8). It is near its right bank, on the peninsula between it and the sea that the ancient tall is situated, now covered by the village of 'Arab al-Milk (fig. 6), and northwest of it there is a small creek or lagoon, c. 110 m long and c. 60 m broad, which probably in earlier days served as a harbour¹⁸. Another lagoon, measuring c. 80 x 50 m, exists

more towards the north, and besides, also the very river mouth could be used as a harbour¹⁹.

The southern part of the double village is the later settlement on the left bank called Balda al-Milk. The first element of this name, by the Crusaders written Belda or Beaudé, no doubt derives from Paltos, a town several times mentioned by Greek and Roman authors²⁰. Upon this most scholars agree; but as far as the

17. AASyr 10 1960, 114, 116; Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6-71. According to Professor F. Løkkegaard the modern name Daruk may be understood as derived from the root DRK meaning "tread". This may refer either to pressing of wine, or to threshing of corn, or to fording the river, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 7. The river may originally have been crossed just at Tall Darūk and so the place name should be translated as: "the mound of the ford".

18. Weulersse, 158 fig. 49; Rey-Coquais, 81.

19. M. Dunand, A. Bounni, N. Saliby, Fouilles de Tell Kazel, AASyr 14 1964, 71 fig. 4 and pl. 3.

20. C. Ritter, Die Erdkunde² XVII 3, v 2.2, Berlin 1854, 889-890; E. Renan, Mission de Phénicie, Paris 1964, 111; Dussaud, 132-135; Rey-Coquais, 5, 9-10, 15, 17, 29-30, 33, 38, 41-43.

original Semitic name of the town at the river mouth is concerned, the opinions differ considerably. Above, I referred to that of Dussaud, who thought that Usnu was the predecessor of Paltos. In 1958 Professor Hammershaimb advanced the opinion that the very name of Paltos must have been a Hellenized Semitic one with the root PLT, which also is a constituent part of verbs meaning "to fly, escape, or the like". In Pre-Hellenistic times the settlement may have been called *Palat(u) or rather *Palit(u), a name to be compared with the Hebrew Beth Pelet and signifying a "town or village of refugees", a "new settlement", or even a "colony"²¹.

Today it would be the most reasonable to regard the original township north of the river mouth as founded by settlers from Tall Darūk – Usnu, for which it must have been the seaport and maritime trading centre.

Astour holds also on this point another view, connecting the name of the northern village 'Arab al-Milk with the Ar, Ari or Arru of the Ugaritic texts²², which had a merchants' guild of 55 members; but the small settlement at the river mouth founded in the 15th century B.C. at the earliest, can hardly have reached such

a stage of development already before the end of the 13th century B.C. Moreover, the first part of the modern place name is not at all old. As pointed out a long time ago, it reflects a settling of Arab beduins²³.

A different explication is due to Gabriel Saadé, who in 1979, with reference to the second half of the place name, suggested that the original settlement should be identified with the Ugaritic Mulukku²⁴. Professor Hammershaimb nevertheless maintains that the word, which locally is pronounced "malk", easily and a fortiori can be explained as "milk", i.e. royal (crown) land, derived from "malik", king. As late as in the last century large parts of this coast still belonged to the ruler, the Ottoman Sultan. The double village owes its two names to an administrative division of demographic character, the northern part of the crown land being peopled by Sunnite muslims of Arab beduin origin under their own muḥtār, the southern part by officially Shiite Alawites having another muḥtār²⁵. As to Mulukku, it should be noticed that Astour probably rightly localized this town at Tall Mulūk 7 km east of Sūkās and 6.5 km south of Tall Sīānū (fig. 1 no. 56)²⁶.

D. Harbours and Landing-Places

The mouth of the Sinn river and the two small creeks or lagoons just north of it were not the only harbours or landing-places of the region. True, the coast has been

characterized as inhospitable, and Strabo simply called it ἀλίμενος "lacking ports"²⁷. Nevertheless, it is not completely deprived of qualities favouring navigation.

21. AASyr 8/9 1958/59, 149 cf. Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, 363.

22. Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 16. According to Pierre Bordreuil Arru and Ari are not identical. P. Bordreuil, Arrou Gourou et Sapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d'Ougarit, Syria 61 1984, 4-5.

23. C. Ritter, Die Erdkunde² XVII 3, v 2.2, Berlin 1854, 889: "von einem Lager der el-Melek Araber oder el-Milk abgeleitet ..., die hier eine dauernde Niederlassung haben"; Dussaud, 132 note 3: "tiré du nom de la tribu arabe ... qui, de nos jours, a pris possession des terres".

24. G. Saadé, A la recherche des villes et des villages du Royaume

ougaritien, AASyr 29/30 1979/80, 221, 227 note 48. This opinion is shared by Pierre Bordreuil, Arrou Gourou et Sapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d'Ougarit, Syria 61 1984, 5 note 24 and with some modifications, P. Bordreuil, A propos de la topographie économique de l'Ougarit: Jardins du midi et pâturages du Nord, Syria 66 1989, 265-266, 270 fig. 4.

25. Harald Hansen, 90, cf. 73: "muḥtār 'Arab al-Mulk al-Badū or simply muḥtār al-'Arab, and muḥtār al-'Alawiyīn".

26. Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 6 and 13 1981, 22.

27. Rey-Coquais, 64-66.

Firstly, it should not be forgotten that most ancient and medieval ships were able to land nearly everywhere. Ships like the Phoenician *gōlah*, the γαῦλος or στρόγγυλος of the Greeks, e.g. the 7th century Cypriote freighter (fig.9)²⁸, needed only a safe shelter in the bad season, i.e. a protected small bay or lagoon behind some rocks and with a sandy beach where the vessel could be drawn ashore (cf. fig. 16)²⁹.

Secondly, it seems that scholars usually overlook several small creeks like the two ones at Paltos, of course too small to harbour large modern ships, but well able to shelter ancient vessels³⁰.

Thirdly, along the coast there are many reefs, and any rock or reef with a sufficient depth of water at its eastern side will provide a good anchorage. Under the lee of the reefs the ships could discharge their cargoes on to minor vessels which took the goods on shore, and the loading took place in a similar way³¹.

Fourthly, there are not a few sandy beaches on this coast, which under the said circumstances were practically ideal places of disembarking, like those of Homeric and Archaic Greece³².

Fifthly, just at the beginning of the bad season there was sufficient water in the small streams of the coastland to make a disembarking in the river mouths possible with the south-west wind from astern.

So, if we follow the coast northwards from Paltos, we shall certainly discover a number of fitting landing-places. Already at a distance of 3 km from Paltos we find a shelter formed by a small creek at the mouth of Nahr al-Muwillih, “the saliferous river”, the upper reaches of which are called Nahr al-Hāḏḏ or Haḏḏīya, “the fast river” (fig. 10). The existence of bridge ruins at the river (fig. 1 no. 17) prove that this stream could be much more abounding in water than may be suspected from the photograph here reproduced. The next

fine possibilities are offered 1,5 km to the north, at Sūkās with its two creeks (fig.11, cf. fig. 1 no. 13), and again 2 km north of Sūkās by the bay at the mouth of Nahr Umm Burḡul, “the river of Mother Wheat” (fig. 12; the bridge on this river: fig. 1 no. 10). From there the distance is 2 km to the creek at Nahr al-Faiḏ, “the river of the flood (or inundation)” (fig. 13, cf. fig. 1 no. 22), which lies only 750 m south of the mouth of Nahr al-Āzza, “the roaring (or murmuring) river” (fig.14), and the same distance separates the latter from the excellent natural harbour of Ġabla (fig.15 and16). Similarly, 2 km north of Ġabla we have the mouth of Nahr ar-Rumaila, “the sandy river” (fig.17, cf. fig. 1 no. 35), 800 m farther to the north the Wādī Miskīna, “the poor valley (or stream)” 1 km thereafter the mouth of a stream springing from ‘Ain al-Asalīya (or ‘Asalīya, “the rushy (or honey-coloured) spring”, then after a stretch of 800 m another small wādī mouth, and finally, at a distance of about 1,5 km the Nahr ar-Rūs, “the river of the Varangians” (see below p. 18 with note 46), to the south flanked by the cape plateau called Qal‘at Mu‘awiya (cf. note 44), and with the large town mound Qal‘at ar-Rūs on its northern bank (fig.1 no. 1)³³.

Our coast was summarily described in the late antique treatise called Σταδιασμός τῆς Μεγάλης Θαλάσσης, a fragmentary Byzantine version of a text of the 3rd century A.D. compiled with the use of earlier information³⁴. Unfortunately, the description is blurred by the triple use of an enigmatic word Πελληταν. It is stated that there are 30 stadia, i.e. c. 6 km, from Paltos to Χωρίον Πελληταν. Chōrion may be interpreted differently, meaning both a place, possibly a fortified one, a region, a field, an estate, and a village. From this locality to “a harbour at a sandy beach and a ravine” the distance was 20 stadia or c. 4 km, and to

28. Antiquity 32 1958, 227 pl.33, K. Westerberg, Cypriote Ships from the Bronze Age to o. 500 B.C., Gothenburg 1983, 43-44 no.53, 66, 116 fig. 53, depicted on a Cypro-Achaic I vase.

29. Weulersse, 148.

30. Weulersse, 148.

31. M. Dunand, A. Bounni, N. Saliby, Fouilles de Tell Kazel, AASyr 14 1964, 70, cf. Weulersse, 139 fig. 40.

32. Cf. Homer, Odyssey 2, 389, Hesiod, Erga 623, 670, and D. Harden, The Phoenicians³, Harmondsworth 1980, 32.

33. Ehrlich, 3-56, 113-125; Schaeffer, Stratigraphie, 40-43. See also below note 46.

34. C.Müller, Geographi graeci minores I, Paris 1855, 472-473

Gabala, i.e. Ġabla, 30 stadia or c. 6 km. Several suggestions have been advanced to explain this apparently corrupt passage. The emendations undertaken about the middle of the 19th century by Müller in his edition of the text were no doubt too audacious³⁵. Forrer took the word Πελληταν to be the name of a village Pelleta, interpreting it as a diminutive or pejorative of Paltos: "das kleine, schlechte, alte Paltos, also Alt-Paltos"³⁶, i.e. Palaio-Paltos. J.-P. Rey-Coquais has accepted the idea that Πελληταν is a place name Pellētân³⁷, whereas both Müller and Dussaud suggested an ethnicon, the latter scholar translating it as "des gens de Paltos"³⁸. I myself have discussed the matter with the late Professor Hammershaimb, and we agreed that this possibility should certainly not be excluded. Πελληταν would then be a copyist's error for Πελλητων, which is actually the rendering in the other two cases of the word's occurring. A cursive omega may well have been read as an alpha. The text is in fact full of errors, e.g. Τάλβας for Γάβαλα, and Ταλβων for Γαβάλων. If the word really is an ethnicon it cannot, however, as suggested by Müller, be the genitive plural of Πατηνός, but rather that of *Πελλήτης, formed like Γαβαλίτης, an inhabitant of Gabala, and thus nearer to the presumed earlier, Semitic name of Paltos: *Paliit(u) or *Palaṭ(u). Just as well as Gabala Paltos may have had two ethnika, corresponding to Γαβαλίτης and Γαβαλεύς.

Then the passage would read as follows: 'Από Πάλ-

του ἐπὶ χωρίον Πελλητων σταδίοι τριάκοντα. 'Απὸ Πελλητων (scil. χωρίου) ἐπὶ λιμένα κείμενον ἐπ' αἰγιαλῷ, ἔχοντα καθ' αὐτὸν φάραγγα σταδίοι εἴκοσι. 'Απὸ Πελλητων (scil. χωρίου) εἰς Γάβαλα σταδίοι τριάκοντα.

In this case the "village" remains anonymous, but is indicated as belonging to Paltos or the jurisdiction of the Paltenes. Rey-Coquais has, in my opinion rightly, localized it at Sūkās, the Ugaritic Šuksu (fig.11), and moreover identified the anonymous harbour with the sandy beach and the ravine at the mouth of Nahr al-Faiḍ (fig.13)³⁹. But why did the Stadiasmos not give the name of the "village", under one form or other, e.g. Συκάς⁴⁰ and why is the double harbour of Sūkās not at all mentioned? Presumably because the ancient town no longer existed, and because the two harbour creeks had been silted up. The surface of the water was at least considerably diminished by lime concretions containing Roman potsherds and earlier things⁴¹, and our Expedition found but few objects dating from Imperial Roman times on Tall Sūkās and no remains of Roman walls; but on the north slope of the old town mound, and north of the northern harbour there were Roman graves, in the latter area also remains of mosaic pavements and oil presses, most likely the ruins of a Roman villa⁴². Not on the abandoned town site, but north of it, there was apparently a rural complex which the Stadiasmos could describe as a χωρίον in the territory of the Paltenes.

35. C.Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* I, Paris 1855, 473, paragraphs 133-135.

36. Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, 363-364.

37. Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, 82 note 3.

38. Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, 135 notes 4-5.

39. Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, 82-83.

40. Cf. Sūkās I, 128.

41. E.g. inv.nos. 282 = TS 298, and 4555.

42. Sūkās I, 124, 127; Sūkās VIII, 184; AASyr 8/9 1958/9, 124 fig. 5 and inv.nos. 12, 6120 = TS 4049, 7221 = NH 1, AASyr 15.2. 1965, 76 fig. 17, 8435, 8743/1-8 = NH 2-9; some of the objects found are Early Byzantine. For the name of the brook flowing into the northern harbour, Sāqī Qantarāt al-Maḥfiya, see Sūkās III, 8 note 9.

E. Mounds and Ruins

At least ten ancient town mounds or tall (tilāl, atlāl or tulūl) can be seen in the Ġabla Plain⁴³, the biggest of them being Tall Sīānū (fig. 1 no.7, fig. 3-4) and Tall Mulūk (fig. 1 no. 56) at the mountain range, and Qal ‘at ar-Rūs on the sea-shore (fig. 1 no. 1, fig. 18). Both at Tall Sīānū and at Qal ‘at ar-Rūs the finds go back to the Chalcolithic period, at least⁴⁴. The two mounds in the foot hills have been identified with Siyannu and Mulukku of the Ugaritic texts; but Pierre Bordreuil objects to this as far as the latter tall is concerned, holding that Mulukku should not be sought so far from the sea, as it figures in a list of towns in the coastland⁴⁵. However, the territory of Mulukku might well have reached to the sea, only 7 km away; actually a wādī, that of Nahr al-Muwilliḥ, leads down from it to a

usable anchorage, and moreover, this wādī is not far from the Nahr Sūkās, which flows into the southern and principal harbour of Sūkās.

Dussaud connected Qal ‘at ar-Rūs with ancient Ul-laza⁴⁶; but Astour rather convincingly, and followed by Bordreuil, proposed the name of Atalligu, whose port was visited by ships from Alašiya, and whose territory comprised part of a salt-marsh, the other part belonging to Siyannu⁴⁷. In fact, the landing facilities are excellent at Qal ‘at ar-Rūs, and salt-marshes do exist on the coast north of Ġabla, especially at the mouths of Wādī Miskīna and Nahr ar-Rumaila (cf. fig. 17) about 7,5 km from Tall Sīānū.

The tall of medium size are Tall at-Tuwainī, “the mound of the small fig tree” (fig. 1 no. 3), Tall Īrīz,

43. A plateau north of Ġabla, Tall Kurūm, between Nahr ar-Rumaila and Wādī Miskīna, is no tall in the archaeological sense of the word, but as the name indicates, a plateau on which there formerly existed vineyards, “the hill of the vineyards”.

44. Ehrich, 53; Saadé, Lattaquié, 95-97; Sūkās IX, 53-55, 62-63. The earliest objects picked up by our Expedition at Tall Sīānū, were two flint knives of Chalkolithic or Early Bronze Age date, inv. nos. 1274/4-5 = TSA 5-6, a late Helladic III sherd 1765/1 = TSA 50, and a fragment of a tripod bowl of basalt from the late Bronze or Early Iron Age, 1274/1 = TSA 4. In 1990 the Directorate General of Antiquities began regular excavations at Tall Sīānū directed by Dr. Adnan Bounni; see Bounni & Al-Maqdassi, 129-140 and M. Al-Maqdassi, *Chronique des activités archéologiques en Syrie*, Syria 70 1993, 444-447, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 25, Berlin 1998, 257-264. From the rock plateau called Dair Mā‘ma (originally Mā‘ma?) immediately north of Tall Sīānū (fig. 1 no.6. fig. 3a) come an Upper Palaeolithic flint burin and an indefinite Palaeolithic flint tool, inv.nos 6509/1=DM 1 and 6509/2; on this plateau there seems to have been, in Roman times, some kinds of buildings as well as graves. The place name may mean “the inaccessible convent”. On the surface of Qal ‘at ar-Rūs our Expedition found at least one, perhaps more Neolithic flints, inv.nos. 8423/1-3 = QR 4-6, and the majority of those collected on the headland or cape called Qal ‘at Mu‘āwiya, “the castle of (the Ḥalīf) Mu‘āwiya”, are probably also Neolithic, inv.nos. 8426/4-9 = QR 2, 8426/10-36 = QR 3; but some may be earlier, 8426/1-3 = QR 1, and on the beach a small biface, perhaps Acheulian was found, 8424 = QR 7.

45. E.O.Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, 58; Ehrich, 113; *Ugaritische Forschungen* 11 1979, 5-6, and 13 1981, 22; P. Bordreuil, *Arrou Gourou et Sapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d’Ougarit, Syria* 61 1984, 5 note 24 Syria 66 1989, 265. The Arabic toponym “the mound of kings” may be a reminiscence of an important ancient town. It is recorded as Tell Melouk on the map mentioned above in note 16, and was still in use in the 1970’ies when Astour visited the site, which the local people – according to Mr. Saadé (letter of Oct. 20th 1989) – now call Rās al Milūḥ. Mr. Søndergård is inclined to put the latter name into connection with the Syriac (Aramaic) word for the plant “orache” (*Atriplex* L.), mallūḥā (cf. Rās Šamra, “the fennel headland”). The site was not examined by the Expedition; but Stone Age objects have been collected in the neighbourhood, see fig. 1 no. 55, and objects of gold are said to have been found at the foot of the mound.

46. R. Dussaud, *Nouveaux textes égyptiens d’exécration contre les peuples Syriens*, Syria 21 1940, 178-179. Dussaud held the Arabic syllable Rus to be a deformation of the ancient name; but it is more reasonable to explain the toponym as “castle of the Rūs = Ῥῶσσος, the Varangian body guard of the Byzantine emperor, see below Chapter IV.

47. M. C. Astour, *Mahadu, the harbour of Ugarit*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 1970, 115 no.6; *Ugaritische Forschungen* 11 1979, 6 notes 33-34, and 13 1981, 16; P. Bordreuil, *Arrou Gourou et Sapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d’Ougarit, Syria* 61 1984, 5 note 25.

“the mound of the cedars (?)” (fig. 1 no. 9, fig. 19), – Tall Sūkās (fig. 1 no. 12, fig. 11) and Tall Darūk, “the mound of the ford (?)” (fig. 1 no. 32, fig. 7). Somewhat smaller are Tall Siḥḥāba, “the mound of the necklace of root beads” (fig. 1 no. 11) and Tall Ğalāl, “the mound of Ğalāl (a personal name)” (fig. 1 no. 18). The smallest of the so-called tall mounds are those of Duwair Ḥatīb, “the small monastery of the preacher” (fig. 1 no. 8) and ‘Arab al-Milk (fig. 1 no. 21, fig. 6).

At Tall Īrīz no object picked up on the surface was earlier than the Early Iron Age⁴⁸; but Neolithic and later objects were found in the neighbourhood, at Ḥirba Biḡāḡa (fig. 1 no. 54)⁴⁹, where there may have been an ancient village (see also p. 20 with note 63). An inspection of Tall at-Tuwainī gave items from the Bronze Age and later times⁵⁰, and it is well-known from our publications that the earliest cultural deposits at Tall Sūkās are Neolithic, those of Tall Darūk Chalcolithic, whereas those of ‘Arab al-Milk date from the Late Bronze Age⁵¹. Tall Siḥḥāba presented nothing earlier than the Bronze Age⁵² and Tall Ğalāl things from the Roman and Islamic periods⁵³; but Duwair Ḥatīb is no real tall, only a low stone mound with remains of Roman buildings, and accordingly it is dealt with below, in connection with the ruins and modern villages.

It is beyond doubt that Tall Sūkās was the Ugaritic Šuksu, Tall Darūk we have attempted to identify with Ušnatu-Ušnu, and for the tall of ‘Arab al-Milk we

have proposed the name of *Paliṭu⁵⁴. Some more problematic cases remain: Tall at-Tuwainī, Tall Īrīz, Tall Siḥḥāba and Tall Ğalāl; of them Tall Īrīz and Tall Ğalāl have no direct connection with the sea. Astour hesitatingly took Tall Īrīz to be Galba, Tall Siḥḥāba to be Gubeli, and Tall Ğalāl first Ma‘raba and later Galili⁵⁵. The resemblance between Ğalāl and Galili makes it tempting to accept the latter suggestion; but Tall Īrīz may rather reflect Ari or Urā than Galba⁵⁶.

Forrer thought that Tall at-Tuwainī was the Pre-Roman Gabala, the predecessor of Ğabla⁵⁷. In spite of the existence of its natural harbour creek Ğabla has apparently no ancient town mound, and we know of no object found in the town area which with certainty can be dated to the Late Bronze Age⁵⁸. Nevertheless it seems that a settlement there was mentioned in Ugaritic documents under the name of Giba‘la⁵⁹. Tall at-Tuwainī stands only 2 km northeast of Ğabla’s port, and as the fragments picked up on its surface show that it existed in the Bronze Age, if not earlier⁶⁰, the identification proposed by Forrer is an obvious possibility. On the other hand, we still have to localize the Ugaritic Arru and Ari, the former a district capital at Ugarit’s southern frontier not far from Siyannu, evidently a place of some importance, and the latter a town in the coastal region between Atalligu and Mulukku, not far from Šuksu⁶¹. If it would be proved that the actual town of Ğabla is covering a late Bronze Age settlement, this must of course be the

48. Inv.nos. 4/1-9.

49. The stamp seal inv.no.7003 = HBG 1.

50. Inv.nos. 16/1-2 = TT 1-2, 16/3-11, 1773/1 = TT 6, 1773/2-8, 1773/9-11 = TT 3-5, 8512/1, 8512/2 = TT 7.

51. Sūkās III, 5-28, 83-88; Oldenburg & Rohweder, 8, 20-26, 66-67, 72, 74, 76-77, 80-81.

52. Inv.nos. 15/1 = TSB 1, and 15/2-25.

53. The Expedition noticed a column drum, ashlar blocks and an oil press as well as later walls.

54. See above note 17.

55. Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 6, 12, and 13 1981, 20; the full name Galili-tukiya, “the inner Galili”, indicates that this township was not situated near the sea-shore.

56. Urā, belonging to Ušnatu, was ceded to Siyannu, Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 11, and 13 1981, 20 notes 59-60.

57. Ehrlich, 113; Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 6 note 29.

58. Possibly a lamp fragment inv.no. 319/2 = GA 2, a fragment of a tripod bowl with spout 5152/1 = GA 21, and a “duck weight” 6405 = GA 25. A cylinder seal of the late 9th century B.C. and belonging to a priest of the goddess ‘Ataršamīn is said to have come from Ğabla, H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, Syria 32 1955, 42-43 pl. 3.5, *Au Pays de Baal et d’Astarté*, Paris 1983, 219 no. 250. On the goddesses worshipped in ancient Gabala, see H. Seyrig, *Questions aradiennes*, *Revue Numismatique* 6 1964, 22 pls. 2.5-8, 4.1, 4-6, 8, 11 and 13.

59. Ugaritische Forschungen 11 1979, 6 notes 28-29, and 13 1981, 15-16 notes 25-27.

60. In addition to the objects enumerated in note 50 above, we may mention that the Expedition noticed remains of a so-called Cyclopean wall.

61. Y. Avishur, *The Ghost-expelling incantation from Ugarit*, Ugaritische Forschungen 13 1981, 16; Syria 61 1984, 4-5.

Ugaritic Giba‘la, and then Tall at-Tuwainī could well be Arru. By means of the wādī of Nahr ar-Rumaila it has its own access to the sea; at the mouth of the stream there are ancient quarries and some ruins, as well as an anchorage (fig. 17). It should also be noted that there are two fine sources in its neighbourhood, ‘Ain Nāwūs, “the spring of the sarcophagus”, and ‘Ain al-Fawwār, “the foaming (or turbulent) spring”. The name of the former seems to indicate the existence of a Roman cemetery, whereas the latter has the importance of feeding the Roman aquaduct to Ğabla and still providing this town with excellent water.

Thus revised, the material seems to lead to the following hypothetic list of late Bronze Age towns in the Ğabla Plain (fig.20):

ATALLIGU	Qal ‘at ar-Rūs
ARRU	Tall at-Tuwainī
GIBA ‘LA	Ğabla
SIYANNU	Tall Sīānū
URA OR ARI ?	Tall Īrīz ?
ĞUBELI	Tall Siḥḥāba ?
ŠUKSU	Tall Sūkās
MULUKKU	Tall Mulūk
GALILI	Tall Ğālāl
PALIṬU ?	‘Arab al-Milk
UŠNATU	Tall Darūk ?

Architectural remains of a modest size, only slightly elevated above the surrounding terrain, are usually called a ruin, ḥirba (plur. ḥirāb). The Ğabla Plain has at least about thirty of them, on the French Levant Map indicated by the sign of three points. Several of them are nameless. We have noted the following names (see fig. 21):

Ḥirba ad-Dilba	“the ruin of the plane tree”
Ḥirba Murḡān	“the ruin of the small (carnelian?) beads”

Ḥirba Šaiḥ Yūnis	“the ruin of (the shrine of) Old Jonah” ⁶²
Ḥirbat al-‘Aṣṣāra	“the ruin of the wine (or oil) press”
Ḥirbat al-‘Adas	“the ruin of the lentils”
Ḥirbat ad-Dāniya	“the low ruin”
Ḥirbat al-‘Alīya	“the high ruin”
Ḥirbat al-Ġurn	“the ruin of the mortar”
Ḥirba Ḥaḡrat at-Turš	“the ruin of the stone of the deaf”
Ḥirbat al-Batūz	? (originally a Phoenician name?)
Ḥirba Biḡāḡa	? (originally a Phoenician name beginning with Bit?)
Ḥirbat al-Qarmu‘a	“the dwarf ruin”
Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya	“the ruin of the gun”
Ḥirba Ġibb Qabū	“the ruin of the vaulted cistern”
Ḥirba Ġisr Sūkās	“the ruin of Sūkās bridge”
Ḥirbat al-Malkunīya	“the ruin of the kinglet”

Very few of these places betrayed an earlier occupation than in the Roman period, viz. Ḥirba Biḡāḡa and Ḥirbat al-Malkunīya. At Ḥirba Biḡāḡa, which in fact is a very low tall in the archaeological sense of the word, the earliest find was neolithic or chalkolithic besides there were sherds spanning from the Early Bronze Age to Late Roman times⁶³. At Ḥirbat al-Malkunīya the Expedition noticed both ashlar blocks, a basalt quern, Roman sherds and many flints, of which some seem to reach back to Palaeolithic times⁶⁴. Oil presses, Roman architectural members including parts of columns and roof tiles, Roman and early Byzantine sherds were noticed at Ḥirbat al-Qarmu‘a, Roman ashlar blocks, a column drum, a voussoir, a threshold stone, a pivot stone, basalt mills, oil presses, roof tiles, mosaic fragments and many Roman and early Byzantine potsherds, partly of storage jars, glass fragments, and iron

62. Apparently the ruin is that of a shrine, ziyāra, indicated by Weulersse, 257 fig. 94.

63. Inv.nos. 7003= HBG 1, and 7024/1-20.

64. The latter items: inv.nos. 6505/1-27, 6507/1 = HML 4, 6507/2 = HML 7, 6507/3 = HML 12, 6507/4-5 = HML 14-15, 6508/1 =

HML 9, 6508/2-4, 6508/5 = HML 2, 6508/6, 6508/7 = HML 13, 6508/8 = HML 5, 6508/9-14, 6508/15 = HML 16, 6508/16 = HML 6, 6508/17-19, 6508/20 = HML 1, 6508/21 = HML 8, 6508/22 = HML 3, 6508/23, 6508/24-25 = HML 10-11.

as well as a Byzantine coin at Ĥirbat al-Bunduqīya⁶⁵. The Ĥirba Ġibb Qabū was a quite low mound displaying column shafts, ashlar blocks, roof tiles, Roman and Medieval sherds, and 200 m farther south there was part of a Roman wall, fragments of storage jars and tiles⁶⁶. A similar character had the Ĥirba Ġisr Sūkās, where there were fragments of querns, mosaics, tiles, Roman and Byzantine sherds, more towards the west a well shaft, a quarry, remains of Roman graves; from the latter locality came four coins, Hellenistic and later⁶⁷.

A small number of modern villages was also visited by the Expedition, but yielded little of interest. Their names are:

Ĥmaimīn	“the baths”
Bisīsīn	? (originally a Phoenician name beginning with Bit?)
Sūkās	(name transferred from the tall)
Duwair Ĥatīb	“the small monastery of the preacher”
‘Īdīya	“the festival gift”
Āširfīya	“the height (or elevation)”
Burġān	“the two towers”

At Ĥmaimīn we collected some potsherds from Hellenistic to Medieval times as well as a Phoenician coin of the 2nd century B.C.⁶⁸ In the southern part of the village there were many re-employed ashlar blocks and a few parts of columns, apparently the remainders of a Roman temple or bath. Bisīsīn had also Roman ashlar blocks, and in addition the lower part of a basalt mill. At the modern village of Sūkās, about 0,5 km east of the tall, not much was to be seen. The village consists in reality only of one large farm and a couple of smaller houses at the outspring of Nahr Sūkās, a semicircular hollow called ‘Ain Sūkās or rather Qabū

Sūkās “the Sūkās vault or grotto”; the other source feeding Nahr Sūkās is ‘Ain ad-Dilba, “the spring of the plane tree”. Nothing in the village seemed to be ancient, except possibly the rock cuttings shown in our fig. 22, which may have been part of a fountain building. Duwair Ĥatīb had its modern buildings standing directly upon the rocky ground, and we saw no ancient walls, but Roman and early Byzantine sherds, roof tiles, mosaic cubes, a Tuscan column capital, and a cornice block betrayed the former existence of some structure, nothing before the Imperial period. There was also a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus with garlands in relief. This small stone mound roughly 4 km. from Ġabla must be identical with the λóφος...ἀπὸ σταδίων...εἴκοσι Γαβάλων ...ἐν ᾧ τέμενος ἦν δαίμοσιν ἀνακείμενον, which in the 4th century A.D. the Holy Thalilaios made his hermitage⁶⁹. No ancient remains were found at ‘Īdīya except a coin from the reign of Theodosius the Great, 379-395 A.D.⁷⁰ Visits to Āširfīya and Burġān, however, had completely negative results. Finally, it must be added that a natural sand bank called Tall aš-Slaib, “the mound of the small cross” (fig. 1 no. 19), has a few graves dating from the Late Antiquity and Muslim times⁷¹.

As will be seen from the above, the names of ruins and villages mostly indicate the situation or the character, by referring to the neighbouring vegetation or localities, to some visible part of a building, or to an oral tradition attached to the remains. Only very rarely the name seems to preserve or contain an ancient toponym, thus beyond doubt in the case of Ĥirba Ġisr Sūkās and Sūkās village, owing to the vicinity of the old town mound. Generally speaking, the ruins and the modern villages with ancient remains may be of interest to those who study the topography of the Hellenistic, Roman and later periods; but apparently they cannot help us to localize Pre-Hellenistic and particularly Ugaritic settlements. The only obvious exception is Ĥirba Biġāġa.

65. Some were inventorised by the Expedition: 1764/1-23, 8744 = HB 1.

66. Some Medieval sherds were inventorised: 5153/1-4.

67. Inv.nos. 6029/1-3 = SH 16-19.

68. Inv. nos. 223 = HM 1, 1774/1-41, 1775/1-20.

69. Rey-Coquais, 33 no. 64, 257.

70. Inv. no. 5154 = AID 1.

71. For the possibility of Tall as-Slaib having been connected with the Memnon myth, see Sūkās I, 141.

Chapter II

The Stone and Bronze Ages

by

Ingolf Thuesen

A. Introduction

During the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia archaeological surveys of the Ğabla plain carried out by the members of the expedition revealed remains after a long period of human activities in the region, beginning in the Palaeolithic Period. Along with the exposure of sequences of habitation at Tall Sūkās, 'Arab al-Milk and Tall Darūk the expedition succeeded in locating 55 sites by extensive survey activities. In the surveys artifacts of chronological significance were collected and, when possible, the identity of the site established⁷². The result has been presented as an archaeological map of the Ğabla plain showing the location of all recognized sites (fig. 1)⁷³. The following report presents all pre-Iron Age finds collected from the surface of non-excavated sites. Based on this information, the contours of the ancient settlement pattern in the Stone and Bronze Ages are suggested. The raw data comprises the records of the expedition, object descriptions of finds which today are stored in museums in Syria, and in a few cases renewed studies of objects stored in the National Museum at Copenhagen. A comprehensive catalogue of the identified sites of Stone and Bronze Age date, and a description of the recorded finds complete the report.

A narrow dating has often been impossible as the surface of the sites only yielded a handful of artifacts. Accordingly, the periodization is gross, with wide

ranging units such as Middle Palaeolithic, Upper Palaeolithic, Neolithic, etc. The limitation of interpretations due to these circumstances is obvious, but not considered critical for the suggested general reconstruction of an ancient settlement pattern in the Ğabla plain. The basic purpose is to present the observed site distribution, and as far as possible, discriminate any diachronic and/or synchronic inter-site variations within the artifact assemblages, which may reflect fundamental changes in the human settlement strategies and adaptation to the environment. The sedentarisation of mobile hunter and gather societies, the development of early farming village life, and, following several thousand years later, the evolution of complex urban societies are all major cultural transitions, which occurred within the time span that the artifacts from the sites reported below delineate.

The material used in the study were collected during the campaigns from 1958 to 1963. The members of the expedition used also part of their spare time (mostly Fridays and Holidays) for touring the Ğabla plain. In that connection the observed archaeological sites were described and surface finds collected. Most excursions from Ğabla, where the expedition had its house, were made by car. But trips were also done by boat along the coast and by horse riding. The material collected primarily consists of chipped flint and

72. See Chapter I.

73. The map and survey was first published in Sūkās I, fig. 2, see above fig. 1.

potsherds, picked up at sites from Qal'at ar-Rūs in the north to Banyās in the south. There are a few ground stone tools, a seal, and a bronze arrow. Also a small

comparative collection of flint artifacts found at 'Amrīt 76 km. south of Ġabla is included in the report.

B. The Natural Setting

The Ġabla plain, which covers an area of more than 400 km², is geomorphologically very complex. In many areas the plain is fertile consisting of a quarternary sedimentary topsoil of black or reddish clay and humus (*terra rossa*) resting on a limestone bed. Particularly, this is found north of Tall Sūkās (fig. 23). South of Tall Sūkās the soil consists of a more light coloured clay on top of pebbles. Some erosion apparently occurred as a consequence of deforestation in the region during Holocene Period. Deforestation was catalyzed by increasing agricultural exploitation of the environment beginning 10,000 years ago with Neolithic subsistence strategies, and with cutting down timber for various building activities and export during the Bronze Age. A number of streams, some of them seasonal, transect the plain normally with an east-west course reaching the Mediterranean at a right angle to the coast. They divide the plain into several smaller natural enclaves. Otherwise the landscape shows a gradual and steady rise in level above the sea, moving from the coast towards the mountains (fig. 24). To the east, to the north at Laḡqīya, and to the south at Banyās, the plain is bordered by the limestone massifs of Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn and its promontories. The peaks of Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn reach a maximum altitude of 1562 meters above sea level. Along the foot of the mountains remains of ancient uplifted coastlines may be observed at several places. This marine sediment occurs as pebble beds or sandstone outcrops. In the area just north of Banyās, depressions today contain swamps. A detailed geomorphological survey has

been carried out in the Nahr al-Kabīr area, south of Laḡqīya, which borders the plain to the north⁷⁴.

Recent climate is typical Mediterranean. Summers are stable, hot, and dry, the average temperatures in July-August around 25° C. The winter months are unstable with rain and winds coming in from the Mediterranean, the mean temperatures in January and February 12° C. The annual precipitation in both dry and wet years ranges from 600-1000 mm allowing for dry farming⁷⁵.

The combination of adequate climatic and geomorphological conditions in the Ġabla plain during Holocene should have made the region an attractive environment for human exploitation. Today, the plain is one of the most fertile regions of Syria, well suited for horti- and agriculture without irrigation⁷⁶. Another attractive natural feature is the coast line, which at more locations has natural rock formations ideal for harbours, e.g. at Tall Sūkās, see Chapter I. This gives the inhabitants easy access to the vast food resources of the sea, and trading by ship.

In recent times the population on the plain is settled in one major coastal town, Ġabla, and in several smaller villages distributed evenly across the plain. Larger cities are located just outside the plain; Laḡqīya to the north, and Ṭarṭūs to the south. The main route runs north-south, but has moved inland from the traditional ancient Roman road, which followed the coast, see Chapter III. There are a few secondary roads crossing the Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn in direction towards the east and Hamā⁷⁷.

74. P. Sanlaville (ed.), *Quaternaire et préhistoire du Nahr el Kébir septentrional*. Collection de la maison de l'orient méditerranéen No. 9. Série géographique No. 1. Édition du CNRS. 1979.

75. E. Wirth, *Syrien*. Karte 3. Darmstadt. 1971.

76. E. Wirth, *Syrien*. Karte 3. Darmstadt. 1971, 19 Karte 5.

77. See Sūkās I, 161 fig. 56.

C. Stone Age Sites

The Lower Palaeolithic Period is represented on the Ġabla plain at least from the Late Acheulian complex as shown in 1926 by Passemard⁷⁸. The earliest remains found by the Phoenician Expedition came from a site located c. 1 km south of Tall Mulūk at the main road east of Burġān (site No. 55 fig. 1). Situated at an altitude of c. 75 meters above sea level, the deposit may be associated with an ancient marine coastline located to the north and south at a similar altitude (fig. 23). Compared to the geomorphological sequence in the Nahr al-Kabīr south of Laḍqīya (ca. 30 km farther north as the crow flies) this location may belong to a deposit dating from the Mindel-Riss Interglacial or the Riss Glacial⁷⁹. If this assumed geological position is correct, it would place the finds in a Middle or Late Acheulian context. The find consists of three pieces of chipped stone, one biface and two flakes. The biface, which appears to be typologically most useful, is a medium sized oval tool, measuring 103 by 79 by 29 mm (fig. 25). According to Copeland and Hours such sized bifaces had a long tradition through the Middle and Late Acheulian with a tendency to diminish in size by time. That should date the find to the Middle or Late Acheulian Period, in agreement with the geological dating. The two flakes are not particular characteristic. However one is a rather heavy flake with faceted striking platform perhaps of Levallois tradition (fig. 26). That supports a relative late position within the Middle-Late Acheulian complex. All pieces are patinated and rolled. The surface shows a yellowish brown colour.

A tool of a similar or perhaps earlier date was found at the beach near Qal‘at ar-Rūs near the Nahr al-Kabīr on the 26th of August 1961, when an excursion was made by boat to the site. The piece mostly reminds of

a chopping tool of a triangular shape having cortex on the broad end (fig. 27). The stone is rolled and has a light brown patina. A geological dating of this specimen cannot be suggested, as the beach at the mouth of Nahr ar-Rūs may consist of secondary deposits brought down from the inland by the river.

Also at ‘Amrīt in the fields between the road and Al-Maġazīl many Palaeolithic flint tools and debitage were collected. Three core tools (handaxes?) are reported among the finds (fig. 28), which otherwise is dominated by Middle or Upper Palaeolithic flint debitage. All three core tools are of rather small dimensions, 7-8 cm long and 5-7 cm wide, which would place them in the later part of the Acheulian tradition according to typological criteria, the so-called Final Acheulian⁸⁰.

Levallois debitage is observed in Middle and late Acheulian inventories in the Nahr al-Kabīr⁸¹, and continues through the Middle Palaeolithic in the Levallois-Mousterian tradition. Without geomorphological information it becomes infeasible to attempt a more precise date of the respective surface collections of flint debitage from the Ġabla plain with a Levallois component.

Chipped flint of Levallois tradition was found at ‘Amrīt in the same area as the small core tools (handaxes) mentioned above (fig. 29). In addition there occur several blades, burins and scrapers of Late Palaeolithic tradition, which indicates a mixed assemblage of flint debitage representing several periods, perhaps beginning in the Final Acheulian and terminating with the Upper Palaeolithic blade industries.

A similar situation was encountered at Ĥirbat al-Malkunīya. The find spot is located at an elevation of c. 43 meter above sea level about 6 kilometers due east

78. E. Passemard, La station chelléenne de Khillalé, près Latakiah. Syria 8 1927, 169-173.

79. L. Copeland and F. Hours, La séquence Acheuléenne du Nahr el Kebir Région septentrionale du littoral Syrien. Paléorient 4 1978, 5-31.

80. F. Hours, La fin de l'acheuléen en Syrie du nord, note préliminaire. Paléorient 5 1979, 9-16.

81. P. Sanlaville (ed.), Quarternaire et préhistoire du Nahr el Kébir septentrional. Collection de la maison de l'orient méditerranéen No. 9. Série géographique No. 1. Édition du CNRS. 1979.

of Tall Sūkās at the Roman ruin south of Nahr al-Muwilliḥ. Also in this group of flint tools and débitage is found a core tool (biface) of larger dimensions than the others found on the plain (fig. 30). It has a thick patination, and may be of Lower paleolithic origin. The other débitage is of Levallois type (fig. 31) with scrapers and borers made from small flakes.

On a limestone plateau and in the adjacent fields south of Nahr as-Sinn about 2 kilometers due east of Tall Darūk some flint débitage of various age was collected. Ores of natural flint in the limestone rock has apparently attracted flint knappers for several thousands of years. Recently, also the manufacturing of flint pieces for threshing sledges has taken place at the site. Today the plateau is called Sğurt al-Faṭriya. The collected tools were patinated and made on medium to large flakes (fig. 32-33). The débitage of Levalloisian technique and the absence of blades may place this inventory in a Late Acheulian or Levallois-Mousterian tradition, that is the Late Lower Palaeolithic or Middle Palaeolithic Period.

The blade industries of the Upper Palaeolithic have been encountered at least at four localities. Three of them, 'Amrīt (fig. 34-37), Ḥirbat al-Malkuniya (fig. 38), and Qal'at ar-Rūs (fig. 39-40) were already mentioned in connection with the Lower and Middle

Palaeolithic remains. At Qal'at ar-Rūs the débitage with the blade component was found on the rock cape southwest of the tall, and south of the mouth of Nahr ar-Rūs. The collection consists of 36 pieces, of which only a few shows a retouched edge. They include scrapers on heavy flakes and retouched blades.

A burin, bec-de-flute (?) (fig. 41), was collected at the site of Dair Mā'ma, which is located at the foot of the Ğabal al-'Alawiyīn due west of Ğabla (fig. 1 No. 6). The site contains remains of buildings and burials of Roman age. On a plateau to the east of the Roman site flint débitage was observed, probably the remains from threshing activities. Some of the pieces used for threshing appears to have been tools of an earlier date in secondary use⁸².

The Neolithic Period is first of all known from the soundings in tall. Best known is the sequence at Tall Sūkās⁸³. But there is at least one surface collection from a site located one kilometer south of Ğabla at the coast (fig. 1 No. 39), where a large number of blades and debitage was observed and collected. Among those were typical fragments of tanged arrowheads of the 'Amq/Byblos Neolithic tradition (fig. 42-43)⁸⁴, together with backed blades and sickles segments. A fragment of a large scale-retouched blade may belong to a spearhead or dagger (fig. 44).

D. Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Sites

The Chalcolithic Period is first of all represented by the sequence exposed in the soundings in Tall Sūkās and Tall Darūk⁸⁵. During the work on Tall Sūkās in 1963 one of the workers brought in a stamp seal, which he claimed was found at Ḥirba Biğāḡa located

at the foot of the Ğabal al-'Alawiyīn (fig. 1 No. 54). The stamp seal is made of clay, and rectangular in shape with a small pierced knob at the back. The motif consists of a cross hatched pattern with the incised lines crossing in right angles (fig. 45). There are good

82. See, e.g. A. Steensberg, A Bronze Age Ard Type from Hama in Syria intended for Rope Traction. *Berytus* 15 1964, 111-39.

83. Sūkās III.

84. Compare with, e.g. R.J. Braidwood and L.S. Braidwood, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I. The Earlier Assemblages Phases

A-J. Oriental Institute Publications 61 1960, Figs. 30 and 60. See also H. de Contenson: Early Agriculture in Western Asia. In *The Hilly Flanks*. Young, Smith and Mortensen (eds.). SAOC 36. 1983, 57-74 and Fig. 18.

85. Oldenburg & Rohweder Sūkās VIII, Sūkās IX.

parallels to the stamp seal from the 'Amq, phases A through E⁸⁶. However the seal from Ĥirba Biġġaġa seems to be larger than the 'Amq seals. The relative simple pattern may place the seal in an Early Chalcolithic or Neolithic context⁸⁷.

The major Bronze Age sites on the plain are tells, of which several already have been investigated by excavations. All sites recorded by the expedition are shown on the maps (fig. 49 a-c) including Tall Sūkās and Tall Darūk. A few stray finds collected from the surface of sites comprise blades of the Cana'anean tradition, e.g. found at Tall Sīānū (fig. 46), and at Qal 'at ar-Rūs (fig.

46). Recent excavations at Tall Sīānū have confirmed the existence of an Early Bronze Age stratum at the site⁸⁸. Otherwise a fragment of a carved basalt vessel with an oblong foot is recorded as found at Tall Sīānū, and perhaps also from the Bronze Age a zoomorphic weight (fig. 47). The figure which is 19.0 cm long and 11.3 cm wide came from the area north of Ġabla. In Ġabla a well preserved bronze arrow was found in connection with foundation digging (fig. 48). The arrow is 10.8 cm long and has a socket with a square cross section.

E. The Pre-Iron Age Settlement Pattern (fig. 49)

Except for the finds of Palaeolithic date from the rock cape at Qal'at ar-Rūs all Paleolithic sites seem to be located inland, which is in agreement with the observations made by Copeland et.al in the Nahr al-Kabīr region just north of the plain⁸⁹. The distribution of the finds therefore can be understood as a result of Pleistocene geological events in the region, the regression and transgression of the sea-level, and the terrace formation along rivers. A cultural interpretation of the Palaeolithic finds would therefore require further geomorphological examination of the environment. However, it is remarkable how well represented some of the Palaeolithic industries are, e.g. the complex with small handaxes, belonging to the Final Acheulian tradition. Remarkable is also the absence of an Epi-Palaeolithic find complex with a clear microlithic component.

Reaching the Neolithic period, we meet climatic and environmental circumstances, which approaches

recent conditions. No drastic changes in the coastline during Holocene can be observed. The Neolithic sites are located along the coast, as sedentary settlements leading to tall formation. From Tall Sūkās we know that houses were constructed of clay resting on stone foundations and had plastered floors⁹⁰. Despite the absence of fish bones in the Tall Sūkās Neolithic debris the location of the site and contemporary neolithic sites indicates an attraction to the sea. This circumstance may of course have other explanation than a nutritional, for instance in connection with transportation. As suggested by Riis and Thrane⁹¹, transportation inland may have been problematic during the neolithic due to a dense forest vegetation in the region.

During the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age the settlements appear to have spread from the coast to the inland. Some of the most prominent towns were founded in this period along the foot of Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn. Riis has suggested that the town of Tall Sīānū controlled the

86. R.J.Braidwood and L.S.Braidwood, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I. The Earlier Assemblages, Phases A-J. Oriental Institute Publications 61 1960, Figs. 37, 68, and 101.

87. E.g. H. Keel-Leu, Die Frühesten Stempelsiegel Palästinas. In Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel. Band II. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 88. Göttingen 1989.

88. Bounni personal communication.

89. L.Copeland and F.Hours, La séquence Acheuléenne du Nahr el Kebir Région septentrionale du littoral Syrien. *Paléorient* 4 1978, 5-31.

90. Sūkās III.

91. Op. cit. 1974, 87-88.

entire northern part of the plain in later periods⁹². This development may have been a result of the deforestation which originated in the Neolithic, when wood for timber and fuel (e.g. for pottery kilns) was increasingly used, a development, which probably continued through the Chalcolithic period. An interaction between deforestation and annexation of new land for agriculture would stimulate the transition to a new ecological situation, perhaps as an irreversible process. Therefore, the settlement pattern through the Holocene seems dominated by the growth of a sedentary population in villages and towns and more intensive exploitation of the habitat for agricultural production.

With the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, urban centres at the Syro-Lebanese coast, e.g. Byblos and Rās Šamra, were already very active components of the large-scale East Mediterranean trading system connecting the Egyptian, Aegean and Anatolian cities and kingdoms with the Assyrian and Lower Mesopotamian civilizations. The foundation of larger urban settlements, towns, and subsequently the tall formation, at the foot of Ġabal 'Alawiyīn at the Bronze Age may also reflect a developing inland trade system, for instance the east – west routes across the mountains connecting Ġabla plain with the Orontes valley and Ḥamā (one of the routes runs just south of Tall Sīānū).

F. List of sites

The following list of sites, where pre-Iron Age material was found by the expedition, presents the sites according to the numbers allocated by P. J. Riis⁹³. If available, information on size and finds are given. The presentation of periods on the various sites are summarized in Table 1.

No. 1, Qal 'at ar-Rūs

Location: at coast near Nahr ar-Rūs, c. 30 m above sea level.

Size: 10 meters tall, 35 meters long

Investigation: soundings by Forrer in 1934 (Ehrich 1939). Visit to site 26.8.60 with surface collections on tall, on the rock cape south of Nahr ar-Rūs, and at the beach. Finds: flint débitage and tools.

Dating: Palaeolithic and Early Bronze Age.

Illustration: Figs. 27, 39-40, 46.

No. 3, Tall al-Tuwainī

Location: inland, c. 1 kilometer NE of Ġabla at Wādī Šaiḥ Ḥassan al-Bahrī. 29 meters above sea level. Size: 10 meter tall, at top 35 meters long.

Investigation: visits 1.9.1958, 9.10.1959, and 11.11.1960.

Finds: on east side of tall a cyclopien wall of large limestone blocks in horizontal courses was observed. Fragments of basalt grinders and vessels. Pottery (Late Mycenaean Crater) from Late Bronze Age.

Dating: Late Bronze Age.

No. 5, Ġabla

Location: coastal town

Size: ?

Investigation: the expedition had their house in the town of Ġabla. During their stay detailed studies of the architecture and town was made, and all finds done during recent construction activities were recorded.⁹⁴ A bronze arrowhead was found in connection with foundation digging in 1958, and a zoomorphic weight was found north of the town in 1960.

Finds: Bronze arrow and basalt figure.

Dating: Bronze Age and later.

Illustration: Figs. 47-48.

92. See P.J. Riis this volume, Chapter I.

93. Sūkās I.

94. Details on the townplan and architecture of Ġabla are presented in Chapter IV.

No. 6, Dair Mā'ma

Location: highland, east of Ğabla. C. 140 meters above sea level.

Size: 35 meters long

Investigation: 2.9.1958, 4.9.1958 and 21.11.1960

Finds: Flint débitage, also from threshing on the eastern plateau.

Dating: Upper Palaeolithic.

Illustration: Fig. 41.

No. 7, Tall Sīānū

Location: highland, east of Ğabla. C. 147 meters above sea level.

Size: 27 meters tall, 20 meters long.

Investigation: Several visits, 25.8.1958, 21.11.1958, 25.11.1958. Turkish burials observed on top of tall.

Recent excavation by a Syrian expedition (Bounni personal communication).

Finds: Pottery, fragments of basalt vessels, flint.

Dating: Early Bronze Age and later.

Illustration: Fig. 46.

No. 11, Tall Siḥḥūba

Location: inland, east of Tall Sūkās, c. 36 meters above sea level.

Size: 5 meter tall, 5 meter long at top.

Investigation: 1.9.1958

Finds: sherds

Dating: Bronze Age and later.

No. 12, Tall Sūkās

Location: coastal, on promontory between two natural harbours. Top of tall c. 24 meters above sea level. Surface area of tall, 8425 m².

Investigation: 1958-1963

Dating: Neolithic (Period N); Chalcolithic (Period M); Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age (Periods L, K and J); Early Iron Age (Period H); Greek Domination (Period G); Neo-Phoenician (Period F); Hellenistic (Period E); Roman (Period D); Byzantine (Period C); Crusader's (Period B); Late Middle Ages and Modern Times (Period A).

Finds and Illustrations: for Prehistoric and Bronze

Age see Sukas III (Neolithic), Sūkās IX (Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age), Sūkās IV (Middle Bronze Age), Sukas X (Bronze and Early Iron Age).

No. 22, Tall Darūk

Location: 2 kilometers inland at the southern bank of the Sinn river. Top of tall c. 17 meters above sea level.

Investigation: 1.9.-20.10.1959

Dating: Chalcolithic (layers 36-(35)); Bronze Age (layers (35)-24); Iron Age (layers 23-10); Hellenistic-Roman (layer 9); Medieval (layers 8-1).

Finds and Illustrations: Oldenburg & Rohweder.

No. 32, Sġurt al-Faṭriya

Location: inland, east of Tall Darūk, south of Nahr as-Sinn. C. 5 meters above sea level.

Size: ?

Investigation: 22.-23.11.1960

Finds: flint found in fields along the river and on limestone plateau with natural flint

Dating: Lower and Middle Palaeolithic

Illustration: Figs. 32-33.

No. 34, Hirbat al-Malkuniya

Location: inland, east of Tall Sūkās, south of Nahr al-Muwilliḥ. C. 43 meters above sea level.

Size: ?

Investigation: 21.11.1960

Finds: fragment of basalt grinder, and flint.

Dating: Palaeolithic.

Illustration: Figs. 30-31, 38.

No. 39, anonymous

Location: coastal, 1 kilometer south of Ğabla, and south of Nahr al-Faiḍ.

Size: ?

Investigation: 6.10.1963

Finds: flints.

Dating: Neolithic

Illustration: Figs. 42-44.

No. 41, anonymous

Location: coastal, c. 2 kilometers north of Tall Sūkās.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 1961
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 44, anonymous

Location: coastal, 500 meters south of Tall Sūkās.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 1961.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 46, anonymous

Location: coastal, c. 2 kilometers south of Tall Sūkās.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 18.11.1963.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 47, anonymous

Location: coastal, ca. 2 kilometers south of Tall Sūkās.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 1961.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 49, anonymous

Location: coastal, c. 2.5 kilometers south of Tall Sūkās.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 1961.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 51, anonymous

Location: coastal, 1.5 kilometers north of 'Arab al-Milk.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 1961.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 53, anonymous

Location: coastal, c. one kilometer south of 'Arab al-Milk.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 18.11.1963.
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Neolithic.

No. 54, Ĥirba Biġġa

Location: inland, c. 6 kilometers E-SE of Ġabla. 50 meters above sea level.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 20.9.1963
 Finds: stamp seal, pottery.
 Dating: Neolithic, Bronze Age.
 Illustration: Fig. 24.

No. 55, anonymous

Location: Inland, 7 kilometers E-SE of Tall Sūkās and c. 1 kilometer south of Tall Mulūk at the main road east of Burġūn. C. 74 meters above sea level.
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 27.9.1963
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Lower/Middle Palaeolithic.
 Illustration: Fig. 25-26.

'Amrīt

Location: coastal
 Size: ?
 Investigation: 26.9.1958
 Finds: flint.
 Dating: Palaeolithic (Lower, Middle, and Upper).
 Illustration: Figs. 28-29, 34-36.

G. Catalogue

Most of the finds are stored in Syria. The few items stored at the National Museum in Copenhagen has a * following the object number. Field numbers, often written on the object, are given in brackets following the object number.

No. 1, Qal 'at ar-Rūs

QR 1* (8426/1)(fig. 39b): Very coarse end scraper on flake. Remains of cortex on dorsal face. Brown flint with whitish patination. 70 x 45 x 20 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

QR 1* (8426/2)(fig. 39c): Very coarse scraper on flake. Remains of cortex on dorsal face. Light brownish grey flint with yellow brown patination. 100 x 40 x 19 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

QR 1* (8426/3)(fig. 39a): Heavy flake (scraper?) of yellowish brown flint with whitish patina and remains of cortex. Coarse retouch along edge. 99 x 45 x 17 mm. Palaeolithic.

QR 2* (8426/4): Blade of brown flint with whitish patina. 56 x 30 x 12 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

QR 2* (8426/5): Blade of grey flint with whitish patina. Remains of cortex on dorsal face. 42 x 24 x 6 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

QR 2* (8426/6): Blade of grey flint with whitish patina. 48 x 27 x 6 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

QR 2* (8426/7)(fig. 40c): Blade of light brownish grey flint. Retouch along edges. 49 x 22 x 7 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 2* (8426/8): Triangular flake of gray flint with whitish patina. 42 x 41 x 8 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 2* (8426/9)(fig. 40h): Blade of light grey flint with whitish patina. Retouch along edges, steep retouch at distal end. 53 x 28 x 9 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/10)(fig. 40a): Blade of light grey flint with yellowish patina and remains of cortex. Fine retouch along one edge. 41 x 18 x 7 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/11)(fig. 40b): Blade-core fragment of whitish brown flint. 63 x 18 x 9 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/12)(fig. 40d): Blade of white flint. Retouch along edges. 49 x 23 x 10 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/13)(fig. 40e): Blade fragment of whitish flint. Retouch along edges. 41 x 27 x 14 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/14)(fig. 40f): Flake of light brown flint with whitish patina. Retouch along edges, steep retouch at distal end. 47 x 29 x 11 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/15)(fig. 40g): Blade of light grey flint with whitish patina. Retouch along one edge. 49 x 24 x 14 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/16)(fig. 40i): Blade of whitish flint. Retouch along the edges. 52 x 26 x 10 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

QR 3* (8426/17-36): 19 flakes of flint. Debitage.

QR 4* (8423/1)(fig. 46b): Fragment of large blade of light brown flint. Fine retouch along edges. 56 x 30 x 6 mm. Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age.

QR 5* (8423/2)(fig. 46a): End segment of blade of light grey flint with white patina. Steep retouch along on edge. 40 x 30 x 9 mm. Neolithic (?)

QR 6* (8423/3): Triangular flake of light grey flint with yellowish brown patina. Rolled. Coarse retouch along edges. 51 x 31 x 11 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

QR 7* (8424)(fig. 27): Triangular pebble tool of light brown flint with remains of cortex. 78 x 75 x 35 mm. Lower Palaeolithic (?)

No. 5, Ğabla

GA 7 (872/1)(fig. 48): Bronze arrowhead with four flanged socket. 10.8 x 1.8 cm. Bronze age ?.

GA 25 (6405)(fig. 47): Zoomorphic weight of basalt. Very roughly carved. Only head and tail indicated. 19 x 11.3 x 7.5 cm. Bronze Age ?.

No. 6, Dair Mā' ma

DM 1 (6509/1)(fig. 41): Burin on flake of light brown flint with white patina. Burin made by two alternating strokes, bec-de-flûte? 57 x 23 x 5 mm.

No. 7, Tall Sīānū

TSA 4 (1274/1): Fragment of basalt bowl. Side and base of bowl with slight indication of an oblong foot. 17.4 x 12.4 x 8.3 cm. Bronze Age.

TSA 5 (1275/4)(fig. 46d): Blade of light brown flint. Thick with blunted convex back, distal end with steep retouch, gloss on retouched edge. Perhaps tip segment of a composite sickle. 79 x 28 x 10 mm. Early Bronze Age.

TSA 6 (1275/5)(fig. 46c): Blade of whitish grey flint. Retouch along both edges, ends snapped off. Knife or sickle segment. 75 x 24 x 8 mm. Early Bronze Age.

No. 32, Sġurt al Faṭriya

SAF 1 (6504/4)(fig. 33e): Core of brown yellowish flint with heavy light coloured patina. Several flakes struck. Prepared striking platform. Levalloisian technique. 70 x 52 x 42 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

SAF 2 (6503/3)(fig. 32c): Side scraper or knife on thick flake of light brown, patinated flint. Coarse retouch along right-angled cutting edges. 73 x 47 x 21 mm. Middle or Upper Palaeolithic.

SAF 3 (6503/7)(fig. 32b): Scraper on coarse flake of light brown, patinated flint. Some retouch along scraping edge. Bad quality flint. 85 x 78 x 30 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

SAF 4 (4143/3)(fig. 33f): Knife on thick flake of light brown, patinated flint. Coarse retouch along cutting edge. Only worked from one face. 94 x 53 x 21 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

SAF 5 (6503/4)(fig. 33d): Knife of light brown, patinated flint. Notched cutting edges in a right angle. 69 x 35 x 15 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

SAF 6 (4143/6)(fig. 32a): Knife of brown, patinated flint with remains of cortex. Some retouch along the cutting edge. Levallois(?) 75 x 51 x 21 mm. Middle palaeolithic (?)

SAF 7 (6503/1)(fig. 32d): Knife on thick flake of light brown, patinated flint. Retouch along curving cutting edge. Prepared striking platform. Levallois. 82 x 53 x 10 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

SAF 8 (6503/3)(fig. 33c): Knife on thick flake of light brown flint with white patina. Triangular with retouch along cutting edge. 80 x 47 x 22 mm. Palaeolithic.

SAF 9 (6503/5)(fig. 33a): Scraper on flake of brown, patinated flint. Fine retouch along scraping edge. 42 x 36 x 9 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

SAF 10 (6504/2)(fig. 33b): Retouched tool on flake of brown, patinated flint. Triangular with retouch along one edge and at the point. 55 x 27 x 12 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

No. 34, Ĥirbat al-Malkuniya

HML 1 (6505/20)(fig. 31a): Flake of dark yellowish brown patinated flint. Struck from tortois core, possibly with prepared striking platform. A little secondary retouching along the edges. 77 x 61 x 10 mm. Middle Palaeolithic, Levallois.

HML 2 (6505/5)(fig. 38a): Blade core of yellowish brown, patinated flint. Striking platform preserved and remains of cortex. 82 x 55 x 50 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?).

HML 3 (6505/23)(fig. 31b): Scraper (?) on flake of light yellowish brown patinated flint. Remains of cortex at the distal end. Retouch along the edge. 65 x 43 x 10 mm. Middle Palaeolithic (?)

HML 4 (6507/1): Thick flake, scraper of brown very patinated flint or Levallois core with prepared striking platform. Some very coarse retouch along the edge. 57 x 55 x 21 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

HML 5 (6507/9): Small flake, perhaps point or scraper of brown, very patinated flint. Some retouch along the edges on both dorsal and ventral face. Prepared striking platform. 65 x 37 x 9 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

HML 6 (6505/17)(fig. 31c): Scraper or borer on triangular thick flake of light brown patinated flint. Coarse retouch along edge. The point shows traces of use as a borer. 58 x 49 x 15 mm. Palaeolithic.

HML 7 (6507/2)(fig. 31d): Borer on thick triangular flake of brown, patinated flint. Remains of cortex on the dorsal face. Retouch at the point, which shows traces of use. 61 x 50 x 25 mm. Palaeolithic.

HML 8 (6505/21): Thick triangular flake or point of dark brown, very patinated flint. Coarse retouch along the edges, struck from the dorsal face. 63 x 48 x 8 mm. Middle Palaeolithic?

HML 9 (6505/1)(fig. 30): Biface (handaxe) of dark brown patinated flint with some remains of cortex. Flakes removed on both faces and edge bifacially trimmed. 102 x 70 x 43 mm. Lower to Middle Palaeolithic, Late Acheulian?

HML 10 (6505/24): Scraper made of small flake of brown, very patinated flint. Steep retouch along two scraping edges, which forms a right angle. 48 x 35 x 12 mm. Middle or Upper Palaeolithic.

HML 11 (6505/26)(fig. 38e): Burin on coarse flake of light brown flint with white patina. The burin is made with one stroke and retouch. 54 x 28 x 14 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

HML 12 (6507/4)(fig. 31f): Scraper on circular flake of light brown, patinated flint. Coarse retouch along the scraping edge. 37 x 46 x 8 mm. Palaeolithic.

HML 13 (6505/7)(fig. 38c): Nodule of brown, patinated flint, chipped into the shape of a rectangular core, perhaps in preparation for an axe. Worked all over. 89 x 40 x 32 mm. Neolithic (?)

HML 14 (6507/3)(fig. 38b): End scraper on flake of light brown, patinated flint. retouch along the distal end. 62 x 38 x 16 mm. Upper Palaeolithic (?)

HML 15 (6507/6)(fig. 31e): Scraper on flake of dark brown, patinated flint. Cortex preserved on dorsal face. Simple retouch along the edge. 60 x 34 x 10 mm. Palaeolithic.

HML 16 (6505/12)(fig. 38d): Borer of greyish brown, patinated flint. The borer point is made by removing flakes on both faces. Traces of wear at the point. 47 x 30 x 5 mm. Palaeolithic (?)

No. 39, Anonymous site

NF 1* (8428/1)(fig. 44): Fragment of dagger or spear head of grey flint. Point missing. Made from heavy blade with triangular cross section. Scale retouch on all faces. 60 x 28 x 16 mm. Neolithic.

NF 2* (8428/2)(fig. 42b): Fragment of tanged arrow head of grey flint. Point missing. Scale retouch at tang. 51 x 18 x 7 mm. Neolithic.

NF 2* (8428/3)(fig. 42d): Fragment of tanged arrow head of grey flint. Point missing. Retouched on the ventral face at tang. 40 x 18 x 8 mm. Neolithic.

NF 2* (8428/4)(fig. 42a): Fragment of tanged arrow head of brown flint. Point missing. Scale retouch at tang. 43 x 13 x 5 mm. Neolithic.

NF 2* (8428/5)(fig. 43f): Segment of blade of dark greyish brown flint. Retouch along edges. 31 x 10 x 4 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 3* (8428/6): Fragment of blade of dark grey flint. Retouch along edges. 25 x 20 x 3 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 3* (8428/7): Fragment of blade of grey flint. Notched. 24 x 16 x 3 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 3* (8428/8)(fig. 43b): Fragment of blade of reddish flint. Notched. 33 x 22 x 5 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 4* (8428/9)(fig. 42j): Rectangular sickle blade of grey flint. Steep retouch along ends and cutting edge. Gloss along cutting edge. 38 x 14 x 4 mm. Neolithic.

NF 4* (8428/10): Fragment of blade of light brown flint. Some retouch along edges. 38 x 16 x 4 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 4* (8428/11)(fig. 43k): Segment of blade, distal end, of grey flint. Retouch along edges. 50 x 19 x 6 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 5* (8428/12)(fig. 42g): Sickle blade of black and brownish flint. Fine retouch along edges and gloss along one edge. 53 x 20 x 5 mm. Neolithic.

NF 6* (8428/13)(fig. 42e): Blade of greyish brown flint. Retouch along edges. 48 x 17 x 5 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/15)(fig. 42h): Blade of grey flint. Fine retouch along edges. 42 x 19 x 6 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/16)(fig. 42k): Blade of light pinkish brown flint. Retouch along edges, steep retouch on both ends. Sickle segment? 44 x 16 x 5 mm. Neolithic.

NF 6* (8428/17): Blade segment of dark brownish grey flint. Regular retouch along one edge. 31 x 17 x 6 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/18)(fig. 42i): Blade segment, distal end, of greyish brown flint. retouched and notched along edges. 35 x 17 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/19)(fig. 43h): Blade segment, distal end, of dark grey flint. Retouch along edges. Hinge fracture. 48 x 22 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/20)(fig. 43l): Blade of reddish brown chert. Retouch along edges. 58 x 28 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/21): Segment of blade, distal end, of light greyish brown flint. Rolled. 38 x 21 x 10 mm.

NF 6* (8428/22)(fig. 43e): End scraper on blade of light brown flint. Steep concave retouch at distal end. 53 x 21 x 9 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/23): Blade segment, distal end, of yellowish brown flint. Fine retouch along edges. Hinge fracture. 40 x 19 x 9 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/24)(fig. 43j): End scraper on blade of reddish brown flint with remains of cortex. Retouch along edges and at distal end. 48 x 18 x 8 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/25): Blade segment, distal end, of light grey flint. Retouch along edges. Hinge fracture. 35 x 23 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/26): Fragment of blade, distal end, of black flint. Retouch along edges. 41 x 22 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/27): Blade of grayish brown flint. Retouch along edges. 57 x 21 x 8 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/28): Fragment of arrow point of brown flint. Point missing. Retouched at tang. 42 x 21 x 7 mm. Neolithic.

NF 6* (8428/29)(fig. 42f): Fragment of blade of dark grey flint. Retouch along edges. 43 x 24 x 8 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/30)(fig. 43a): Segment of blade of grey flint. Backed with a notched edge. 25 x 16 x 4 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/31)(fig. 43c): Blade of brownish grey flint. Steep retouch along one edge (scraper?). 53 x 17 x 8 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/32)(fig. 43d): Flake of dark grey flint with remains of cortex on dorsal face. Retouch along all edges. 56 x 31 x 6 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/33)(fig. 43g): Borer on blade of white flint. Oblique retouch at distal end. 39 x 18 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

NF 6* (8428/34)(fig. 43i): Blade of brown flint. Backed and with retouch along one edge. 49 x 19 x 7 mm. Neolithic (?)

No. 54, Ĥirbat Biḡāḡa

HBG 1 (7003)(fig. 45). Stamp seal with pierced knob of light brownish clay. The seal shows incised horizontal and vertical lines. 45 x 35 mm. Neolithic – Chalcolithic.

No. 55, Anonymous site

X 1* (7086/1)(fig. 25). Biface (handaxe). One side partly with cortex. Patinated brown flint. 88 x 118 x 30 mm. Lower-Middle Palaeolithic.

X 2* (7086/2)(fig. 26). Coarse flake with remains of cortex. Patinated brown flint. 61 x 38 x 24 mm. Lower-Middle Palaeolithic.

X 3* (7086/3). Coarse flake with remains of cortex. Patinated brown flint. 97 x 75 x 28 mm. Lower-Middle Palaeolithic.

‘Amrīt

AMR 4 (91/1)(fig. 34a): Core of grey flint with white patina and remains of cortex. Secondary flaking along side, perhaps for a scraper edge. 80 x 43 x 36 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 5: (91/2)(fig. 34b): Core of grey flint with light brown patina and remains of cortex. Flakes struck irregularly in two directions. 46 x 51 x 36 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 6 (91/3)(fig. 34c): Core of flint with whitish brown patina. Small flakes chipped from the side, perhaps in order to create a tool. 52 x 31 x 23 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 7 (91/4)(fig. 29a): Flake of grey whitish flint, brown patina on secondary flake scars. Slight trimming of edges. 40 x 43 x 19 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 8 (91/5)(fig. 29b): Broad flake of grey flint with whitish patina. Prepared striking platform without secondary trimming, Levallois (?). 47 x 58 x 25 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

AMR 9 (91/6)(fig. 29c): Flake of white flint with remains of cortex. Struck from tortois core with prepared striking platform. Slight secondary work on edges. Levallois. 67 x 69 x 24 mm. Middle Palaeolithic.

AMR 10 (91/8)(fig. 34d): Convex scraper on flake of grey flint with remains of cortex. Edge formed by regular flaking and a steep retouch. 36 x 44 x 18 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 11 (91/7)(Fig. 34e): Scraper on flake of brown flint. Steep retouch along the scraping edge. 48 x 48 x 17 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 12 (91/9): Scraper on flake of grey flint, fragmentary. Finely retouched scraper edge. 38 x 37 x 7 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 13 (91/10)(fig. 34f): Scraper or cutting tool on flake of grey flint with white patina and remains of cortex. Broad flake with retouch along one side. 39 x 48 x 11 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 14 (91/11)(fig. 29d): Scraper on coarse flake of grey flint with white patina and remains of cortex. Large flake with bulb removed by secondary flaking. Coarse retouch along edges. 56 x 52 x 23 mm. Middle Palaeolithic?

AMR 15 (92/1)(fig. 28): Core tool, hand axe?, of grey brownish flint. Edges worked from same face. Worked from all sides. The point shows traces from use as hammer or punch. 75 x 69 x 30 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 16 (92/2): Core tool of greyish flint. One face worked from the edges, other face worked from the ends. One end forms a point, but shows

no sign of secondary flaking. 75 x 54 x 31 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 17 (92/3): Core tool of light brown flint and remains of cortex. Flakes struck from all directions on both sides. Ovate handaxe (?). 78 x 70 x 30 mm. Final Acheulian?

AMR 18 (92/4)(fig. 29e): Flake of greyish flint. Prepared striking platform and occasional re-touch along edges. Levallois? 53 x 37 x 15 mm. Middle Palaeolithic?

AMR 19 (92/5)(fig. 35a): Scraper on flake of grey flint, cortex along one side. Struck from opposite end of previously detached flake. Concave retouched scraper edge along one side. 50 x 43 x 12 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 20 (92/6)(fig. 35b): End scraper of grey flint with cortex along one side. Retouched edge at distal end. 68 x 37 x 18 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 21 (92/7)(fig. 35d): Cutting tool on flake of grey flint with brownish patina. Coarsely blunted back, retouched on both dorsal and ventral surface. Edge slightly notched, perhaps from use. 60 x 27 x 14 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 22 (92/8)(fig. 29f): Flake of light brown flint. Prepared striking platform. Bluntly backed. Levallois? 68 x 32 x 11 mm. Middle Palaeolithic?

AMR 23 (92/9)(fig. 35c): Cutting tool on large flake of grey flint with cortex along one side. Along the other side unilateral flaking. 94 x 35 x 31 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 24 (92/10)(fig. 36a): Angle burin of brown flint. Flake or blade segment with partially retouched edges and retouched end with two burin strokes. 35 x 21 x 10 mm. Upper(?) Palaeolithic.

AMR 25 (92/11)(fig. 36b): Angle burin of grey flint with remains of cortex. Flake with retouched edges and burin edge produced by retouch. 42 x 21 x 12 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 26 (92/12)(fig. 36c): Burin of white flint. Flake with prepared striking platform and retouched edges. Burin produced by one stroke. 52 x 32 x 12 mm. Middle – Upper Palaeolithic.

AMR 27 (93/1)(fig. 37a): Awl on blade of brown flint. Retouched edges, tip broken off. Bulb removed. 54 x 15 x 8 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

AMR 28 (93/2)(fig. 37b): Awl on blade of brown flint. Retouch along edges and at tip, which is missing. 74 x 17 x 12 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

AMR 29 (93/3)(fig. 37c): End scraper on blade of flint with whitish patina. Fragmentary. Partly nibble retouch along edges after use. Distal end part-

ly retouched into a straight scraper edge. 29 x 12 x 10 mm. Upper (?) Palaeolithic.

AMR 30 (93/4): Flake of flint with grey patina. Thick flake with coarse retouch along the edges. 54 x 37 x 17 mm. Palaeolithic.

AMR 31 (93/5)(fig. 37d): Complete blade of flint with whitish patina. Finely serrated edge perhaps after use. 96 x 21 x 7 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

AMR 32 (93/6)(fig. 37e): Fragment of blade of brown flint with grey patina. Proximal end partly removed by secondary flaking on lower face. Serrated edges. 42 x 20 x 7 mm. Upper Palaeolithic.

AMR 33 (93/7)(fig. 37f): Fragment of blade of light brown flint with brown patina. Distal end broken off, proximal end snapped off and retouched. 24 x 14 x 3 mm. Upper or Epi-Palaeolithic.

Table 1: Pre-Iron Age sites and periods identified on the Ġabla Plain by the expedition. *Fig. 49a*: LP: Lower Palaeolithic; MP: Middle Palaeolithic; UP: Upper Palaeolithic. *Fig. 49b*: NL: Neolithic, CL: Chalcolithic. *Fig. 49 c*: EB: Early Bronze Age; MB: Middle Bronze Age; LB: Late Bronze Age.

Period Site	Stone Age			NL	CL	Bronze Age		
	LP	MP	UP			EB	MB	LB
Qal 'at ar-Rūs (1)	?	?	X			X		
Tall al-Tuwainī (3)								X
Ġabla (5)								X
Dair Mā' ma (6)			X					
Tall Sīānū (7)						X	X	X
Tall Siḥḥāba (11) (?)								
Tall Sūkās (12)				X	X	X	X	X
'Arab al-Milk (20)								X
Tall Darūk (22)			X	X	X	X	X	X
Sġurt al-FaTrīya (32)	?	X						
Ḥirbat al-Malkunīya (34)	?	X	X	?				
(39)				X				
(41)				X				
(44)				X				
(46)				X				
(47)				X				
(49)				X				
(51)				X				
(53)				X				
Ḥirbat Biġāġa (54)				X	X	X	X	X
(55)	X							
'Amrit	?	X	X					

Chapter III

The Iron Age and the Graeco-Roman Period

by

John Lund

A. Introduction

The ancient remains discovered by the Carlsberg Expedition in the Ġabla plain are presented below in a geographical sequence, proceeding from the south to the north, and from the coast to the interior. The evidence is summarized at the end in section H), which also contains a discussion of the changing settlement pattern, and of the the infrastructure and economy of the area from the late 2nd millenium B.C. to the 7th century A.D.

The present author did not participate in the field work in Syria, so the study is based on the journals and other records of the expedition kept in the Danish National Museum: the descriptions of finds are not based

on autopsy but on registrations made at the time of the campaigns.

I am grateful to P.J. Riis for entrusting me with the publication of the material and for his never-failing assistance and encouragement. I should also like to thank other members of the Carlsberg Expedition, especially Marie-Louise Buhl, Gunhild Ploug and Peter Pentz for enlightening me on their various fields of expertise. I am no less indebted to the Carlsberg Foundation for financing my work in 1985. The manuscript was concluded in 1986, and was brought up to date – as far as possible – in 1996; a few bibliographical references were added in 2002.

B. ‘Arāb al-Milk

The whole of the present-day village at the mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn is usually referred to as ‘Arāb al-Milk (fig. 8).⁹⁵ However, according to Muhammad Mar ‘Ī Sarūt, muḥtār of ‘Arāb al-Milk al-Badū, the lo-

cal inhabitants reserve the use of this name for the part of the town situated on the north bank of the river. The part on the south bank is called Balda al-Milk.

Members of the Danish Expedition visited and in-

95. E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*. Paris 1864, 20 and 111; M. van Berchem & E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie I, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Francais d’Archéologie orientale du Caire sous la direction de M. Pierre Lacau*. Cairo 1913-1914, 94 notes 4-5; Dussaud, 2 note 3, 101, 132-135, 422 note 1; Weultersee, 159, 220 figs. 26, 43, 49, 71, 77, 85, 154; J. Weultersee, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*. Paris 1946, 111 fig.

23; B. Spuler s.v. Paltos in: RE 18 3 1949, 280-281; Saadé, *Lattaquié*, 101-102; J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Notes de Géographie Syrienne Antique, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 41 1965, 221-225; Rey-Coquais *passim*; Elayi, *Studies*, 89 note 32; Oldenburg & Rohweder, *Saadé, Note*, 197 note 10; Lund, *Coastline* 16-17 notes 15-17; J.D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*, Oxford 1990, 16, 101, 117, 145; J.D. Grainger, *Hellenistic*

vestigated 'Arāb al-Milk on many occasions. They dug a small sounding here and recorded re-used ancient architectural members and other stone objects as well as minor finds picked up from the surface.

The sounding

A sounding was dug at the highest part of the village to the north of Nahr as-Sinn, on top of an ancient town mound or tall (5.30 m. above sea level), which was considerably lower than the mounds at Tall Sūkās and Tall Darūk, which reached level 24.00 and level 17.66 respectively.

The excavation was published by E. Oldenburg and J. Rohweder,⁹⁶ and it may be useful to summarize the results.

Bedrock was encountered at level 1.80. On this lay a deposit of undisturbed soil, followed by several cultural layers, which according to the publishers represented three separate periods, A to C. "The sherds and minor objects were recorded in groups according to depths. These groups corresponded roughly to the cultural layers ...".⁹⁷ Period C was made up of three find groups (nos. 10-8), comprising objects from the Late

Bronze Age and the Iron Age, which may be dated broadly from the 14th to the 6th centuries B.C. The find groups referred to period B (nos. 7-4 and parts of 3-2) contained displaced early material, of which the latest datable Iron Age find can be dated to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.⁹⁸ as well as objects from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods,⁹⁹ the Roman Imperial period,¹⁰⁰ the Late Antique period¹⁰¹ and the Islamic period¹⁰² (the latest datable sherd going back to the 9th or 10th century A.D.).¹⁰³ Find group 7 only comprised finds dated between the Late Hellenistic period and the 6th century A.D., and it may represent an undisturbed pre-Islamic horizon. Period A, on the other hand, was referred to the Medieval period.

A slope towards the sea to the north-west of the sounding

To the north-west of the sounding a slope leads towards the sea and a semicircular, sandy cove or lagoon. The earliest find from here was a rim sherd of an Attic Little Master cup,¹⁰⁴ followed by objects from the Hellenistic period. The earliest of these may be a

Phoenicia, Oxford 1991, 9, 131-132; Lund, Evidence, 30-31 notes 18-21; F. Bron and A. Lemaire, Pseudo-athéniennes avec légende araméenne LBLT et monnaie BLT en Arabie du sud, Transeuphratène 10 1995, 47 note 1. J. Elayi, Les sites phéniciens de Syrie en Fer III, 336, notes 38-39.

96. Oldenburg & Rohweder, reviewed by J.A. Greene in JNES 43, 81-82.

97. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 72.

98. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 435 fig. 66 was the latest find.

99. Two fragments of Eastern Sigillata A Ware were found in layer 4 belonging to period B, cf. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 452 fig. 66 and no. 453 fig. 66. For Eastern Sigillata A cf. J.W. Hayes, "Sigillata Orientale A (Eastern Sigillata A)," in EAA, Atlante delle forme ceramiche II, Roma 1985, 9-48; J. Lund, A Fresh Look at the Roman and Late Roman Fine Wares from the Danish Excavations at Hama, Syria, in: H. Meyza and J. Młynarczyk (eds.), "Hellenistic and Roman Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean - Advances in Scientific Studies" Acts of the II Niebórow Pottery Workshop. Warsaw 1995, 136-137, and K.W. Slane, The Fine Wares, in: S.C. Herbert (ed.), Tel Anafa II, i, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 10, Ann Arbor, MI 1997, 269-346.

100. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 75 no. 416 fig. 65; 75 no. 417 figs. 61 and 65; 75 no. 418 fig. 65 and AM 109. See also *ibid.*, 76 no. 424 figs. 61 and 65.

101. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 454, 81 figs. 61 and 66: Cypriot Red Slip Ware form 2 datable to the late 5th to early 6th centuries A.D., cf. J.W. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, London 1972, 373-376; J. Lund, Pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: L.W. Sørensen and D. Rupp (eds.), The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite 2: The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project. Artifact and Ecofactual Studies, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CIV:2, Göteborg 1993, 113-114.

102. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 456, 81 fig. 66. A tiny glass fragment thought to have come from a modern glass bulb was found in layer 4, AM 95, but it is presumably intrusive.

103. A potsherd referred to find group 6 and dated to the 9th-10th century A.D. was lodged inside a B-period wall, cf. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 456 fig. 66.

104. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 436 fig. 66. A number of finds come from the same location: *ibid.* nos. 430, 439-441, 443-447, 451, 462-464, 466, 470, 476, 479. A few finds were not mentioned by Oldenburg & Rohweder; inv. no. 267, which is mentioned *infra* note 110 and inv. no. 270/1 = AM 149, a "ver-

fragment of a black-glazed fish plate¹⁰⁵ and a bronze coin struck in Arados in 168-169 B.C.¹⁰⁶ A few sherds from red-glazed fish plates are probably to be dated to the second half of the 2nd century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century.¹⁰⁷ There were also fragments of Eastern Sigillata A Ware,¹⁰⁸ and three sherds of Late Hellenistic or Early Roman relief bowls;¹⁰⁹ hardly any finds can be referred to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.,¹¹⁰ but the Late Antique period was represented by two fragments from one (or two?) marble table(s) of a type, which is sometimes associated with a Christian milieu.¹¹¹ A few objects were of Medieval date.¹¹²

A rock towards Nahr as-Sinn

Four potsherds were picked up in an exposed "layer on the rock towards Nahr as-Sinn," presumably on the right bank of the river. One of these was classified as Attic/Hellenistic; the other three were loosely dated from the Roman to the Medieval period.¹¹³

tical handle, band-shaped, with part of neck and shoulder of wheel-made jug or amphora. Light yellow clay with some grits. Dull black glaze, in places with a violet tinge. Imported (?), Hellenistic (?)."

105. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 440. The development of the black-glazed fish plates, which were produced at many different centers in the Hellenistic world, was discussed by P. Hellström, *Labraunda. Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 4°, V, II:1. Reprinted with an addendum 1971, 11-12 and 14. See further Hama III 2, 1-7; J.-P. Morel, *Céramique campanienne. Les formes*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 244, Rome 1981, 82-86; L. Hannestad, *Ikaros, The Hellenistic Settlements 2:1. The Hellenistic Pottery from Failaka with a Survey of Hellenistic Pottery in the Near East*, Jutland, Archaeological Society Publications, XVI:2, Århus 1983, 28-32 and passim.
106. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79 no. 479 note 352.
107. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 439 fig. 62; 77 no. 441 figs. 62, 66 and perhaps 77 no. 442 figs. 62 and 66. The profile of no. 442 appears to be somewhat unusual.
108. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 447 figs. 62 and 67 and 77 no. 446 figs. 62, 67 and 78 no. 451 fig. 67.
109. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 443 fig. 67; 77 no. 445 fig. 67; 77 no. 444 fig. 67. – No. 443 can be compared with Hama III 2, 24-25 and 28 nos. 112-113, 31 fig. 14. The relief decoration on Oldenburg & Rohweder no. 444 is blurred. It seems to consist of a scroll ornament below or above a horizontal ridge and

Rock-cut "basins" at the mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn

Two rectangular "basins" have been cut in the rock on either side of the mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn. A sketch map published by H. Frost¹¹⁴ shows the irregular contours of the two basins and indicates that the southern one measures about 45 x 45 m. The function of the "basins" is uncertain. Riis formerly suggested that they might be ancient quarries in analogy with the quarries in the vicinity of Tall Sūkās and elsewhere on the coast-line,¹¹⁵ whereas Frost took them to be remains of ancient harbour works.¹¹⁶ She did not rule out the possibility that the present mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn is an artificially carved channel and that the original outlet was located to the east and south of the ruins of the fortification from the Crusaders' time at Balda al-Milk dealt with below. The geographical setting speaks in favour of this idea since Balda al-Milk is a southward continuation of the rocks north of the present-day river-mouth. The date at which the course of

the fragment may conceivably come from a bowl like Hama III 2, 137 fig. 52 no. 57.d or 138 nos. 57.a-e. The leaf decoration on Oldenburg & Rohweder no. 445 can be likened to Hama III 2, 125 "bols à calice végétal", cf. 132-133 nos. 38-39 fig. 50. The three 'Arāb al-Milk sherds therefore probably belong to the Syrian series of mould-made relief bowls.

110. Inv. no. 267, consisted of 98 potsherds dated broadly from the Hellenistic Age to the Medieval period, and ten glass fragments.
111. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 463 fig. 68 and no. 464 fig. 68. It seems likely that the two fragments originate from the same table. For the Late Antique marble tables see Hamā III 1, 199-202 and E. Chalkia, *Le mense paleocristiane. Tipologia e funzioni delle mense secondarie nel culto paleocristiano*, Città del Vaticano 1992. The two fragments from 'Arāb al-Milk do not belong to the two most common table types (the round – and the sigma-shaped table), however, cf. Lindos III 2, 521-522 note 26 pl. 14 B no. C. and J. du Plat Taylor & A.H.S. Megaw, *Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Carpasia II. The Early Christian Buildings*, RDAC 1981, 231 no. 25, 235 pl. 41.3a.
112. Oldenburg & Rohweder, *Excavations*, 76 no. 429 fig. 65, 76 no. 430 fig. 65 and 79 no. 476 fig. 68. A Medieval date for the latter is certain.
113. Inv. no. 265.
114. H. Frost, *Rouad, ses Récifs et mouillages. Prospection sous-marine*, AASyr 14 1964, 71 fig. 4 pl. 3.
115. P. J. Riis in a letter to H. Frost dated 14.8 1966.
116. Verbal communication at a visit to 'Arāb al-Milk 24.11 1963.

the river was changed is uncertain. Hardly a single find predating the 3rd century A.D. was encountered on the present south bank of the river, perhaps indicating that the artificial outlet was created in the Roman period. However, it is, perhaps, more probable that the outlet was cut by the Crusader's when they constructed the fortification at Balda al-Milk. It is possible that the two 'basins' originally served as quarries, which were later converted to harbour basins.

The north-east quarter

The north-east quarter of the town commands a special interest because of the presence of a number of ancient architectural members and ashlar, re-used as building material in many of the present-day houses of this part of the village. Also, "antique ashlar, door lintels and fragments of columns" were observed in the Islamic cemetery.

No. 1. Block of cornice (fig. 50.1)

Place of finding (fig. 8.G)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.35 m.; L.: ca. 1 m.; W.: ca. 0.95 m.

This block probably constituted the crowning part of an Ionic frieze or of a door lintel. The available parallels suggest a date in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

No. 2. Block of cornice (fig. 51, below)

Place of finding unknown

Limestone

No. 3. Fragment of a door lintel (fig. 51, above).

Found with No. 2

Limestone

Nos. 2 and 3 were found together, and they resem-

ble each other so much that it seems evident that they both come from the same ancient structure. No. 3 is probably to be identified as the right end of a door lintel. The use of dentils is paralleled by a lintel in a church at Qirqbīza, which according to Tchalenko belongs to the first building phase of the church in the 4th century A.D.¹¹⁷ Hence, it is likely that No. 3 and No. 2 may be of the same date.

No. 4. An "à la grecque frieze"

Place of finding unknown

Marble

H.: 0.228 m.; L.: 0.335 m.

The architect noted that this came from the top course but one (of a frieze?).

No. 5. Four monolithic columns (fig. 50.2)

Place of finding: three columns were found at (fig. 8.C), and a fourth "in the road to the north of the town" Black and white granite

H.: 4.72 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.60 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.71 m.

The four columns are of a type documented from the 2nd century A.D.¹¹⁸ to the Byzantine period.¹¹⁹ However, the fact that the columns are fashioned of granite may point towards a relatively late date.

No. 6. Doric capital (fig. 50.3)

Place of finding (fig. 8.P)

Limestone

H.: 0.35 m.; W. of abacus: 0.84 m.; L. of abacus: 0.84 m.; Diam. 0.61 m.

The column had 20 shallow flutes, and the capital had a quadratic dowel hole at the bottom. It belongs to a late stage in the development of the Doric order.

117. G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif de Bélus à l'époque romaine I.* Paris 1953, 325-339.

118. Cf. a column at Šeiḥ Barakāt, G. Tchalenko, *Travaux en cours dans la Syrie du Nord*, Syria 50, 124 fig. 7 – this column is, however, much smaller than the 'Arab al-Milk specimen and not exactly similar to it. Tchalenko dates it to around the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

119. There is a certain resemblance to columns from the basilica at Ayios Philon in Cyprus, cf. J. du Plat Taylor & A.H.S. Megaw, *Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Carpasia II. The Early Christian Buildings*, RDAC 1981, 230 fig. 50.A.a-b and 231 nos. 4-5.

There is a certain resemblance between No. 6 and Doric capitals from Samaria, Palmyra, Umm al-'Awamīd and Jerusalem,¹²⁰ but the characteristic protruding moulding of No. 6 is not exactly paralleled by these. No. 6 probably dates from the Late Hellenistic or the Early Roman period.¹²¹

No. 7. Corinthian capital (fig. 52)

Place of finding (fig. 8.D)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.55 m.; W. of abacus: 0.60 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.44 m.

No. 8. Corinthian capital (fig. 53)

Place of finding (fig. 8.D)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.58 m.; W. of abacus: 0.67 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.47 m.

No. 9. Corinthian capital (fig. 54)

Place of finding unknown

Presumably limestone

No. 10. Fragment of a Corinthian capital (fig. 55)

Place of finding unknown

Limestone

Nos. 7 and 9 are not exact replicas of one another

with regard to dimensions and stylistic details but it nevertheless seems likely that they come from the same building.¹²² The heavily damaged No. 10 may well belong to the same group. The capitals are of the type called "Normalkapitelle." They seem more stylized and schematic – hence presumably later – than the capitals from "The South Court" at Palmyra dating from 149 A.D.¹²³ The rendering of the acanthus leaves resembles two capitals from Ḥamā which have been dated to the last two thirds of the 3rd century A.D., but Nos. 7 to 10 may be slightly later than those, closer in date to the full-blown specimens of the 4th century A.D.¹²⁴ There seems to be a great resemblance between Nos. 7 to 10 and capitals from a Late Antique church at Beth-Shan, dated – on stylistic grounds – as late as the first quarter of the 5th century A.D.,¹²⁵ but the 'Arāb al-Milk specimens are almost certainly earlier than this.

No. 11. Capital (fig. 50.4)

Place of finding (fig. 8.U)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.27 m.; W. of abacus: 0.49 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.365 m.

No. 11 belongs to a type documented in the Late Antique architecture of Syria.¹²⁶

120. The general stylistic development of the Doric capital is sketched in A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Revised with additions by R.A. Thomlinson, *The Pelican History of Art*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1983, 126-129 and passim, and in J.J. Coulton, *Doric Capitals: A proportional Analysis*, BSA 74 1979, 81-153. For the use of Doric capitals in Palestine in the Hellenistic period see M. Fischer, *Some Remarks on Architectural Decoration in Palestine during the Hellenistic Period (3rd-1st Centuries B.C.E.)*, in: *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 435.

121. M. Dunand and R. Duru, *Oumm el-'Amed, une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr*, Paris 1962, 101 nos. M.1-5, 102 fig. 23, 104 fig. 26, 117 fig. 35 pl. 22.1; Seyrig 1940, 324 no. 48 fig. 32; J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon and E.L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria*, London 1942, 160-161 figs. 75-76; M. Fischer, *Some Remarks on Architectural Decoration in Palestine during the Hellenistic Period (3rd-1st*

Centuries B.C.E.), in: *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 435 figs. 1 and 3.

122. It is a well known phenomenon that capitals of slightly different types may coexist on the same building and be of the same date, cf. e.g. the capitals from "The south court" at Palmyra published by P. Collart and J. Vicari, *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre Vol. I. Topographie et Architecture*, *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana X 1*. Institut Suisse de Rome. Neuchatel 1969, 139-142.

123. P. Collart and J. Vicari, *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre Vol. I. Topographie et Architecture*, *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana X 1*. Institut Suisse de Rome. Neuchatel 1969, 139-142 pls. 83.1-6, 84.1-6, 85.1-2.

124. Cf. a capital from Ḥamā, Hama III 1, 131 fig. 19.a and pl. 6.g.

125. Cf. G.M. FitzGerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations, 1921-1923: the Arab and Byzantine Levels*. Philadelphia 1931.

126. H.C. Butler and E.B. Smith, *Early Churches in Syria*. Fourth to

No. 12. Capital (fig. 50.5)

Place of finding (fig. 8. O)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.27 m.; Diam. (lower): ca. 0.47 m.

A Byzantine (?) capital found at Salamis in Cyprus resembles No. 12.¹²⁷

No. 13. Capital (fig. 50.6)

Place of finding (fig. 8.S)

Limestone

H.: 0.34. m.; Diam. (upper): 0.525 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.395 m.

No. 14. Capital (fig. 50.7)

Place of finding (fig. 8.R)

Limestone

H.: 0.33 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.48 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.37 m.

No. 15. Capital (fig. 56)

Place of finding unknown; found with Nos. 16 and 17

Limestone

No. 16. Capital (fig. 56)

Place of finding unknown; found with Nos. 15 and 17

Limestone

No. 17. Capital (fig. 56)

Place of finding unknown; found with Nos. 15 and 16

Limestone

No 18. Fluted column shaft (fig. 57.1)

Place of finding (fig. 8.J)

Limestone

L.: 0.98 m.; Diam. (upper): ca. 0. 486 m.

No. 19. Shaft of spirally fluted column

Place of finding unknown

Limestone

L.: 1.015 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.18 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.22 m.

No. 20. Upper part of column shaft (fig. 53)

Place of finding unknown. Found with No. 8

Granite

No. 21. Column drum

Place of finding (fig. 8.T)

Limestone

L.: 1.31 m.; Diam.: 0.382 m.

No. 22. Column drum

Place of finding unknown

Red and black granite

L.: 0.62 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.275 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.285 m.

No. 23. Column base of the Attic-Ionic type (fig. 50.8)

Place of finding (fig. 8.H)

Limestone

Width of plinth: 0.62 m.

No. 24. Column base of the Attic-Ionic type (fig. 50.9)

Place of finding (fig. 8.M)

Limestone

Width of plinth: 0.66 m.

No. 25. Column base related to the Attic-Ionic type (fig. 50.10)

Place of finding (fig. 8.K)

Limestone

Diam. (lower): 0.92 m.

Seventh Centuries. Princeton 1929, 20-21 fig. 14 D, the church of Masechos at Umm al-Ġimāl dated to the 4th century A.D.; for the church of Klaudianos at Umm al-Ġimāl see 45-47 fig. 44; for the west church at Burġ Ħaidar see 30, 32 figs. 219-220, 236 and fig. 254.; for the church of Sergios and Bacchos at Umm as-Serab see 47 fig. 45, 240 fig. 271, 259..

127. G. Argoud, O. Callot and B. Helly, *Salamine de Chypre XI: Une résidence byzantine "l'huilerie"*, Paris 1980, 31 no. 2.72.226 pl. 3.

The two bases Nos. 23-24 belong to the Attic-Ionic type,¹²⁸ and it seems possible that they both come from the same ancient building despite the slight differences in their dimensions. The characteristic slanting moulding masking the transition from the plinth to the lower torus is paralleled at the temple of Aphrodite Aphakitis at 'Afka (Aphaka), a temple at Dair al-Ašair, which is dated by an inscription to about 179 A.D., and by a pilaster basis at Hibbarīya.¹²⁹ The third base, No. 25, is a rather unusual variant of the Attic-Ionic type, lacking, as it does, a lower torus below the concave moulding. No precise parallels have emerged to this, but there is a certain resemblance to a column base found at Ḥamā.¹³⁰

No. 26. Base (fig. 50.11)

Place of finding (fig. 8.N)

Limestone

H.: 0.39 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.435 m.

The series of mouldings on No. 26 is to some extent paralleled at a base from the so-called Jason's tomb in Jerusalem from the 1st century B.C., but bases of a related type are also found in Byzantine contexts.¹³¹

No. 27. Basis (fig. 57.2)

Place of finding (fig. 8.B)

Limestone

H.: 0.715 m.; W.: 0.38 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.39 m.

Probably the fragment of an ante basis.¹³²

No. 28. Square plinth (fig. 50.12)

Place of finding (fig. 8.F)

Limestone

H.: ca. 0.50 m.; W.: 0.79 m.

No. 28 has mouldings on three sides: a cyma recta moulding at the top and a cyma reversa at the bottom. There were two shallow, concentric depressions on the upper face, perhaps a bed for receiving a circular plinth or a column. A (secondarily ?) manufactured hole with a diameter of 17 cm. was located at the centre. Rohweder regarded No. 28 as an altar or a low plinth; the latter seems more probable in view of the circular cutting on the upper face of the plinth.¹³³ Moreover, the absence of mouldings on the fourth side makes it likely that the plinth was originally positioned in front of a wall.¹³⁴

The architectural members listed above were concentrated within a relatively small area, and it is likely that the ancient structures from which they originate must have been standing in the vicinity. However, hardly any traces of them could be detected, except, perhaps, for an approximately east-west orientated ashlar-built terrace wall located at the southern outskirts of the north-eastern quarter (fig. 58). The lowest course of the heavily damaged wall was partly preserved and could be followed for a length of nearly 33 m. The wall turned northwards at a right angle at its eastern end and seems to have proceeded in this direction for a length of about 12 m. In spite of its ruinous state, the structure continues to serve its purpose as a

128. Cf. L.S. Merritt, *The Geographical Distribution of Greek and Roman Column-bases*, *Hesperia* 38 1969, 186-204. *Hamā III* 1, 137-141 gives further examples of the widespread use of this type of column base in Syria.

129. D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*. Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, *Denkmäler Antiker Architektur* 5. Berlin 1938, 58 fig. 83, 214 fig. 321 and 262 fig. 403.

130. *Hamā G* 10 30/4-2/5 1931.

131. L.Y. Rahmani, *Jason's Tomb*, *IEJ* 17, 61-100, 62 fig. 1 pl. 13.

132. G. Argoud, O. Callot and B. Helly, *Salamine de Chypre XI: Une résidence byzantine "l'huilerie"*, Paris 1980, 29 no. 2.71.17 pl. 32.

133. Cf. for instance D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*. Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, *Denkmäler Antiker Architektur* 5. Berlin 1938, 176 fig. 264.

134. For plinths used as supports for columns see the examples cited by *Hamā III* 1, 141 note 790. Most of the plinths in question seem to be of a less elaborate type than No. 28, but see e.g. a plinth from the Nymphaeum at Bosra, Butler 1919, 252-253 fig. 226 and a plinth at the Tychaion at Ḥs-Sanamain (191 A.D.), *ibid.* 316-322 figs. 289 and 292 pl. 19 and plinths at Apamea, J.Ch. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*. Bruxelles 1981, 72-73 figs. 68-70.

terrace wall: the surface level on top of the terrace is still about one m. higher than the ground to the south of it, where a shallow channel runs parallel with the face of the wall. The channel was probably constructed for drainage or irrigation purposes. Regrettably no finds occurred which might have shed light on the dating of the terrace wall.

According to the 1932 edition of the *Guide Bleu*: “quelques antiquités provenant de fouilles faites à ‘Arab al-Milk ...’ are placed in front of the seraglio at Banyās.¹³⁵ It is not clear who was responsible for the said excavations, and it is equally uncertain if the finds exhibited in Banyās originate from the north-east quarter of ‘Arāb al-Milk or from another part of the site. Be that as it may, in 1958 members of the Danish Expedition saw a limestone column with a trochilus between two tori and a column of black granite at the place indicated in Banyās. On a visit in 1963 a further fragment – re-used as a door lintel – was observed in the street to the southwest of the seraglio: a fragment of a Doric frieze of limestone with two triglyphs and part of a third and two metopes and part of a third one. The metopes were adorned with a five-leaved rosette and a phiale. It is possible that the latter fragment also comes from ‘Arāb al-Milk.

A stele of coarse, porous local limestone (W.: 0.455 m.; H.: 0.73 m.; Th.: 0.225 m.) was discovered by the Danish Expedition in the north-east quarter of ‘Arāb al-

Milk (fig. 57.3 and 59). It had a broad, upwards tapering shaft, which rested upon a profiled base and was crowned by a pediment with remains of acroteria – the lateral ones distinctly tripartite. The pediment had an oblique cornice consisting of a vertical member above an ovolo moulding and a horizontal cornice consisting of a vertical member above a cavetto moulding. Below the pediment there was an ovolo moulding. The base consisted of a cyma reversa moulding above a vertical member. A rectangular tenon measuring ca. 0.16 x 0.20 m. was located below the base. Faint traces of an inscription could be seen on the upper part of the shaft. The stele had been carved by means of a pointed chisel, and its front and the foremost parts of the sides had been smoothed. The central acroterium and the left lateral one as well as most of the right lateral one were missing, and the lower part of the tenon was broken off. Parallels from Athens, Euboia, Delos, Rhodes and Apamea suggest that we are dealing with a grave stele dating from the Hellenistic period.¹³⁶ The ‘Arab al-Milk stele appears to be a simplified version of a Greek prototype.

Only two potsherds are known to come from the north-east quarter of the town. They were fragments of basins belonging to the group of Roman “pelves” with stamped inscriptions. In 1967, Hayes suggested that such “pelves” were produced at Rās-Bāšit, a hypothesis that has been confirmed by subsequent research. They date from the second half of the 3rd century A.D. to the early 4th century A.D.¹³⁷ A fragment

135. *Les Guides Bleu* sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie, Paris 1932, 250. For Banyās see Lund, *Coastline*, 15 note 10; R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria. An Historical Guide*. London and New York 1992, 181; L. Badre s.v. Banyās, in: *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*. Bruxelles and Paris 1992, 65.

136. AASyr 15.2 1965, 76 note 2 pl. 11 fig. 18 where the Athenian parallels are cited. Cf. furthermore Ch. Dunant, *Stèles funéraires*, in: A. Altherr-Charon and C. Bérard (eds.), *Eretria VI, Ausgrabungen, Forschungen*, Berne 1978, 57 no. 175 pl. 33; M.-T. Couilloud, *EAD* 30, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée*. Paris 1974, 188 no. 401 pl. 78; 190 no. 407 pl. 78; 190 no. 411 pl. 78; 190 nos. 414-415 pl. 78; P.M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford 1977, 9-11 figs 18-23 and J. Ch. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*. Bruxelles 1981, 193 no. 3.

137. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79 no. 473 fig. 62 and no. 474 fig. 68. Cf. J.W. Hayes, *North Syrian Mortaria*, *Hesperia* 36, 337-347; E. Stern, *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh (1973-1976)*, 1. From the Iron Age to the Roman Period. Qedem 9. Jerusalem 1978, 78; R. Blakely, J. Brinkmann and C.J. Vitaliano, *Roman mortaria and basins from a sequence at Caesarea: fabrics and sources*. In: R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers. Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, *JRA Supplementary Series* 5. Ann Arbor, MI 1992, 203-204: Class 2; M. Vallerin, *PELVES estampillés de Bassit, Syria* 71 1994, especially 176 figs. 7 and 8. The fragmentary inscription on no. 474 should be reconstructed as EIPHNAI EYTYXI in analogy with other stamps of the same group.

of a basin of the same type, and a fragment of an African Red Slip Ware dish were discovered at Banyās, which is outside the geographical scope of this publication.¹³⁸

Before leaving the north-east quarter mention should be made of a “crique” or cove serving as a harbour, which J.P. Rey-Coquais has written extensively about.¹³⁹ Riis referred to a locality in the vicinity: “... M. Dussaud vit sur la rive Nord, entre la route et la mer, quelques colonnes qui paraissent en place. On peut ajouter qu’elles se trouvent dans un champ dit Dahr al Mugar, et qu’il y a aussi pres de cet endroit, dans le chemin meme, un fut de colonne. Dans les pentes près de la mer, on voit des sols de chaux et de murs, probablement de maisons romaines, mais pas de choses plus anciennes ...”.¹⁴⁰

Balda al-Milk

The southern quarter of ‘Arāb al-Milk is also known as Balda al-Milk. According to the available maps the highest level in the area to the south of the Nahr as-Sinn is three m. Earlier travellers had noted the presence in this area of a small, ruined Medieval fortification, which was re-found by the Danish Expedition near the river.¹⁴¹

At a coastal locality to the south of the village the following finds were picked up: the fragment of a Ro-

man terracotta tile, three fragments of Roman or Late Antique mosaics with dark red, light blue and white tesserae and three fragments of marble slabs.¹⁴²

Not precisely located finds

The inhabitants of ‘Arāb al-Milk brought a number of finds to the attention of the Danish expedition. The finds in question are of relevance to the general chronology of the site, although their precise find spots are unknown: three Iron Age sherds, two fragments of Attic black-glazed kylikes, and a base fragment of a Hellenistic, black-glazed vase with a ring foot.¹⁴³ Four further potsherds dated from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods,¹⁴⁴ and a fragment of a Cypriot Red Slip Ware bowl, datable to the late 5th or early 6th centuries A.D.¹⁴⁵ Three bronze coins were found, one of which had been struck under Constantius II (?) (A.D. 336-361);¹⁴⁶ a second coin had been struck under Arcadius (A.D. 395-408),¹⁴⁷ and a third one dated from the reign of Justinian the Great (A.D. 527-565).¹⁴⁸

Synthesis of the archaeological and historical evidence

The ancient settlement at ‘Arāb al-Milk is generally identified with the town called Paltos¹⁴⁹ in the literary sources. The relevant texts were collected by Rey-Co-

138. Inv. no. 1771/1 = BAN 1 (fig. 60), a fragment stamped with concentric circles, cf. J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972, 236 type 31-32, Styles A (ii)-(iii), probably from a large bowl of ARS form 67, 69 or the like; this was found in the “Roman necropolis, a garden west of town”. Inv. no. 1771/2 = BAN 2: “Coarse brown clay, red in core, with large grits. Rimsherd from bassin with very broad rim, offset on exterior. Transversely on rim stamped inscription: EPMOT” (fig. 61). The final letter is probably a Y. The find was made in the “south-east necropolis”.

139. J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Notes de Géographie Syrienne Antique*, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph 41 1965, 222.

140. AASyr 8/9 1958/59, 112.

141. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 73 and Chapter IV in the present publication. Cf. M. van Berchem & E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie I*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire sous la direction de M. Pierre Lacau. Cairo 1913-1914, 94 (based on the account of Rey)

stated that: “M. le colonel Camille Faure, qui a relevé en 1875 et qui possède un croquis inédit de son plan, veut bien nous écrire que dès cette époque, il ne restait du château que la trace sur sol.” *Les Guides Bleu* sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie. Paris 1932, 259: “Au temps des croisades un petit château fut construit par les Francs sur un promontoire, avec des matériaux antiques ...”

142. Inv. no. 265.

143. Inv. no. 266; Inv. no. 1767/2 = Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 438; Inv. no. 1767/3 = Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 437 and inv. no. 1767/9.

144. Inv. no. 264. The find also comprised three glass fragments.

145. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 455 fig. 67, cf above, note 101.

146. Inv. no. 6511/2 = AM 171, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 80 no. 480.

147. Inv. no. 5/1 = AM 1, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 80 no. 481.

148. Inv. no. 6511/1 = AM 170, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 80 no. 483.

149. The identification of Paltos and the name of the site is briefly dealt with in Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6.

quais,¹⁵⁰ and it is not my intention to discuss these sources at length but merely to summarize the information given by them in order to see in which way it relates to the archaeological evidence.

The first author to mention Paltos appears to have been Simonides of Keos (ca. 557/56 to 468/67 B.C.), who stated in one of his Delian dithyrambs – preserved in a quotation by Strabo – that Memnon was buried on the river Badas near the Syrian town Paltos.¹⁵¹ This implies that the town existed and was known to Greeks in the second half of the 6th century and the first third of the 5th century B.C.

Artemidoros, who lived in the 1st century B.C., refers to Paltos as a town in Syria (just like Simonides), no doubt because it by then belonged to the Seleucids.¹⁵² The Seleucid kingdom was succeeded by the Roman province of Syria, and Cicero informs us that Cassius chose Paltos for a camp site.¹⁵³ Strabo writes that Paltos is located on the coastline of the Aradians.¹⁵⁴ Pliny the Elder counted Paltos among the Syrian cities just like Simonides and Artemidoros.¹⁵⁵ The province was divided into two in 194 A.D. and the border between Syria and Phoenicia was then at Paltos, according to the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*.¹⁵⁶

Coins were struck in Paltos under the Severans,¹⁵⁷ and the town is mentioned repeatedly by Late Roman and Byzantine geographers.¹⁵⁸ It became a bishop's seat in the Byzantine period,¹⁵⁹ and Laodicea, Ğabla, Paltos and Balanea were combined into a province called Theodorias with Laodicea as the metropolis in 528 A.D.¹⁶⁰ The Arabic geographer Yâkoût, who was born in Ĥamā and died in 1229, tells us that the place fell to ruin after its conquest by the Arabs, and the inhabitants were carried to other places. The Khalif al-Mu'awiyah used the materials of the old city for rebuilding Ğabla.¹⁶¹

The material collected by the Carlsberg Expedition at 'Arāb al-Milk does combine to form a coherent and detailed whole. The earliest evidence is of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age date;¹⁶² all of the precisely located finds from these periods come from the sounding and the slope towards the sea to the north-west of it, indicating that these probably constituted the core area of the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age settlement. It is a reasonable guess that the sheltered, sandy "crique" located approximately 60 m. to the north-west of the sounding served as the original harbour of the town, together with the mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn.¹⁶³

150. A number of historical sources has been listed in E. Honigmann, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, ZPPV 47 1924, 28 no. 354. Rey-Coquais, 2-44.

151. Strabo XV, 728; Rey-Coquais, 9-10 no. T 14; Sūkās I, 140-141; J. Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'Empire perse*. Nancy 1988, 138 note 103.

152. The passage is quoted by Stephanus Byzantius, Rey-Coquais, 37 no. T 78 and 38 no. T 81. Elsewhere Stephanus Byzantius calls Baldus a Phoenician town, *ibid.*, 36 no. T 75.

153. Cicero, *Fam.* XII, 13, 4. Rey-Coquais, 5 no. T 10.

154. Strabo XVI, 753. Rey-Coquais, 10 no. T 15.

155. Plinius N.H. V, 79; Rey-Coquais, 17 no. T 29.

156. Rey-Coquais, 29-30 no. T 59. The text mentions Koilè Syria, but M. Sartre has convincingly argued that this is a Greek transcription of an Aramaic term meaning "the whole of Syria," cf. M. Sartre, *La Syrie creuse n'existe pas*, in: P.-L. Gathier et al. (ed.), *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie, grecques, romaines, byzantines)*. Paris 1988, 15-40.

157. B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. 2nd edition. Oxford 1911, 782.

158. Rey-Coquais, 29-30 no. T 59; 38 no. T 81; 41-42 no. T 93; 42 no. T 94; 43 nos. T 97, T 98, T 99, T 100 and T 101.

159. Devreesse, 169-170.

160. Rey-Coquais, 33-34 no. T 66; 43 no. T 101.

161. Yâkoût, I, 718; Mar. I, 170.

162. Cf. Sūkās I, 128; Rey-Coquais, 98 note 1. The absence of building remains from these periods is probably to be explained by the limited size of the sounding. On the schematic map published by Weulersse, 158 fig. 49 one can see the signature "Ruines" in the area to the east of the sounding. It is a matter for conjecture whether these ruins are antique and if so to which period they belong.

163. Riis has always considered the "crique" as the original harbour of 'Arāb al-Milk. The "crique" is singled out as an anchorage on the map published by Weulersse, 158 fig. 49. The depth of the water in the crique is said to be 1 m. on the sketch map published in H. Frost, Rouad, *ses Récifs et mouillages*. Prospection sous-marine, AASyr 14 1964, 71 fig. 4.

There is a gap between the latest dateable Iron Age find from around the middle of the 6th century B.C. and the next finds, which date from the Late Hellenistic period. The absence of Classical and Early Hellenistic evidence may be due to a break in the settlement sequence in the periods in question, in analogy with Tall Sūkās and other sites in the area.¹⁶⁴ Simonides of Keos, who lived in the second half of the 6th century and the first third of the 5th century B.C. was – as far as we know – the first ancient author to mention Paltos. This shows that the town was already called Paltos in his days, provided that the commonly accepted identification of Paltos with ‘Arāb al-Milk is correct. Moreover, if there was, indeed, a *hiatus* in the occupation of the site in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, then the name must have survived, since it was also used for the later town at the site. This is by no means impossible, but it is probably best to conclude that the archaeological evidence hitherto brought to light is too scanty to allow us to determine with certainty if there was a hiatus in the history of the settlement or not.

At all events, the settlement at ‘Arāb al-Milk prospered in the Late Hellenistic period,¹⁶⁵ and objects dating from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. were found at the first four locations on the north bank of the Nahr as-Sinn listed above. Two finds are of a special interest: the Doric capital No. 6 (fig. 50.3), which testifies to the presence of a monumental stone building, and the grave stele (fig. 57.3 and 59). If we may assume that the latter has not been removed too far from its original position, then its find spot marks the approximate location of a cemetery north-east of the town – thereby indicating the extent of the town in the Late Hellenistic period.

The second half of the 1st century and the 2nd cen-

tury A.D. is poorly represented by the finds in comparison with the Hellenistic period, and it has been suggested by Oldenburg that there might have been a hiatus in the history of the settlement in the centuries in question;¹⁶⁶ but a few finds actually go back to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., so the idea of a hiatus in this period cannot be upheld. It is possible, though, that the town witnessed a recession in most of the 3rd century and the 4th century A.D., when a new bloom was inaugurated. The centre of gravity appears to have shifted northwards already in the 2nd century A.D., to the north-east quarter of the town, judging from the presence of many reused architectural members and of the terrace wall described above. The Corinthian capitals, Nos. 7-10 can perhaps be combined with the column shaft No. 18 and the two Attic-Ionic bases Nos. 23-24. These architectural members may well come from a single important building in the area, most likely a temple. However, the number of architectural members is so high that at least two, but possibly more, monumental buildings once existed in the area.

Finds from the second half of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century A.D. certainly occurred at Balda al-Milk to the south of the river. It may be guessed that the town had grown in size since the Hellenistic period. The Late Antique period saw a continuation of the prosperity of the town, and Late Antique finds were distributed throughout ‘Arāb al-Milk and Balda al-Milk. Building remains continue to be numerous. The presence of two fragments of marble tables may reflect the presence of a Christian community, which is also attested by literary sources, and perhaps even of a basilica.

The Late Antique town appears to have come to a sudden close followed by a gap in the settlement se-

164. See P.J. Riis, Griechen in Phönizien, in: Niemeyer, H.G. (ed.) Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über “Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum” in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979, Madrider Beiträge 8. Mainz am Rhein 1982, 237-260, and P.J. Riis, La ville phénicienne de Soukas de la fin de l’âge du bronze à la conquête romaine, in: Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici II. Roma 1983, 509-514.

165. A hoard of Hellenistic coins dating from the first half of the 2nd century B.C. is said to have been found at ‘Arab al-Milk in 1940. Cf. Seyrig, Gabala, 9 note 2, 47-50; IGCH 1973, 214 no. 1552; H. Seyrig, Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux, Paris 1973, 72-74 no. 17; Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79 note 351; Lund, Evidence, 30 note 19.

166. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 80.

quence. A renewed activity is not in evidence until the 9th to 11th centuries A.D.,¹⁶⁷ and this may well have something to do with the construction of a tower-fortification at Balda al-Milk, which has often been associated with the activities of the Crusaders in the area. It

seems natural to assume that the Crusaders re-shaped the mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn by the construction of an artificial channel to the sea, because they wished to surround their fortress by water on all sides.

C. Sites along the Sinn River

Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib (no. 19)

Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib¹⁶⁸ is located approximately 850 m. northeast of the mosque in 'Arāb al-Milk. Riis noted that it is not a tall proper, but an oblong sand dune rising 15 m. above sea level, which measured ca. 100 x 50 m. However, the circumference had apparently been reduced by ploughing. The sand was void of cultural strata, but sherds from the Roman and later periods were scattered on the mound.¹⁶⁹ A few Iron Age sherds were picked up on the northern part of the mound: two fragments of a local Iron Age pot, a rim sherd of an East Greek kylix from the 7th to 6th century B.C., and a body sherd of a Cypriote pot.¹⁷⁰ A few fragments of Hellenistic tiles¹⁷¹ and a fragment of an Eastern Sigillata A Ware bowl were also found at Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib.¹⁷² Roman material may come from dis-

turbed tombs, the presence of which was suggested by the surface of the terrain. Moreover, there were remains of two tombs from the Islamic period on the top of the dune.

As previously mentioned, Simonides of Keos (ca. 557/556 to 468/467 B.C.) tells us that Memnon was buried on the river Badās near the Syrian town Paltos, and Riis suggested that Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib could have been identified as the actual place of the tomb in ancient times, a hypothesis that might explain why the mound remained uninhabited throughout Antiquity.¹⁷³

Tall Darūk (no. 22)

Tall Darūk¹⁷⁴ lies on the left bank of the Nahr as-Sinn, ca. 2 km east of the Mediterranean coast, perhaps at the first inland place from the sea where the river was

167. Cf. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 457 fig. 67 from the surface layer of the sounding.

168. Saadé, Lattaquié, 101; Saadé, Ougarit, 58 and 61; Rey-Coquais, 249-250; J. Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'Empire perse*. Nancy 1988, 138 note 103; Saadé, Note, 198; Lund, *Coastline*, 16 note 14; Lund, *Evidence*, 30 note 17.

169. Inv. no. 1278/3 = TSL 4: "fragment of pot with flat base. Red, very gritty clay, core black, grayish slip. Late Roman period"; inv. no. 1772/2 = TSL 6: "fragment of Arabic pipe head with incised decoration".

170. Inv. no. 1277/1-4 = TSL 1-2: "four fragments of small pot with vertical handle and low foot. Dark red clay with numerous white particles, grayish-greenish slip"; inv. no. 1277/8: "Rim and neck fragment of pot with thickened rim off-set on exterior, whitish slip, light buff very gritty clay"; inv. no. 1277/10: "Rim sherd with root of horizontal handle of East Greek kylix. Remnants of black glaze on both sides. Red, micaceous clay"; inv. no. 1277/11: "small black glazed East Greek sherd. Buff

clay"; inv. no. 1277/12: "body sherd of Cypriote pot. On exterior covered by horizontal stripes in brown paint." Cf. further inv. no. 1278/4-5: "two handle fragments. Iron Age".

171. Inv. no. 1277/6-7: "two fragments of Hellenistic tiles. Red gritty clay"; in 1278/1-2: "fragments of two Hellenistic tiles"; cf. further inv. no. 1272/3 "fragment of tile".

172. Inv. no. 1772/1 = TSL 5: fragment of the base of an Eastern Sigillata A bowl.

173. Sūkās I, 140-141; J.Ch.Balty, *Le Belus de Chalcis et les fleuves de Ba'al de Syrie-Palestine*, in: *Archéologie au Levant*, Recueil R. Saidah, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen No. 12, Série Archéologique 9, Lyon and Paris 1982, 291.

174. Saadé, Lattaquié, 101; A.M. Bisi, *Le stele puniche*, *Studi Semitici* 27. Roma 1967, 42-43; Rey-Coquais, 98 note 1; Saadé, Ougarit, 58 note 45, 5 note 54; Elayi, *Studies*, 90 note 43; Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6-71; Perreault, *Céramique*, 152; J. Elayi, *Les importations grecques à Tell Kazel (Simyra) à l'époque*

fordable. The Danish Expedition investigated the surface of the tall and made a sounding which documented its importance from the Chalcolithic period on-

wards. Oldenburg and Rohweder published the results, and there is no need to reiterate their findings in the present context.¹⁷⁵

D. Topographical features and sites in the coastal zone between 'Arab al-Milk and Ġabla

The topographical features and sites are presented in a geographical order, progressing from the south towards the north.

A bridge at 'Arāb al-Milk

The two parts of the village of 'Arāb al-Milk are connected by a bridge (fig. 62), which goes back to the Frankish or Medieval period according to certain authorities.¹⁷⁶ However, the pillars may be more ancient, and it is likely that a bridge already existed at this place in the Roman period.

A road from 'Arāb al-Milk and the Ġisr al-Muwillih to Ĥirbat al-Qarmū'a

Few, if any, traces are preserved of an ancient road immediately to the north of 'Arāb al-Milk,¹⁷⁷ but the arable land in this region is divided into more or less rectangular fields which are orientated roughly north-south, and it seems likely that this scheme goes back to a cadastral division carried out by Roman land surveyors. If correct, then we may also expect to find that the Roman road leading northwards from 'Arāb al-Milk had the same orientation. This means that parts of the ancient road either followed the same course as the modern coast road, or that its line is preserved by a path, which is to be seen on M.C. Duraffourd's map

(1:5000) of the village of 'Arāb al-Milk published in 1929 at a distance of about 150 to 180 m. to the east of the modern road. It corresponds in part to a path labelled a "sentier muletier ... bon" on a map (1:50.000) published by "le Service Géographique de l'Armée" in 1930. If the path indicated on Duraffourd's map preserves the course of the Roman road, then the latter must have run a little further inland than the present-day road.

Ĥirbat al-Qarmū'a

There were remains of four olive presses placed on a line, seven to eight m. apart at Ĥirbat al-Qarmū'a (fig. 1 no. 17), a locality immediately south of the Nahr al-Muwillih. Moreover, fragments of Roman columns and Late Roman potsherds and tile fragments were observed here. We are obviously dealing with a Roman to (?) Late Antique olive oil production facility, probably part of a Roman villa.

The remains of a ruined, single-arched bridge were located at a distance of about 250 m. to the east of a ford over the river variously called Nahr al-Muwillih and Nahr al-Haḍḍ (fig. 1 no. 17 and fig. 63-64). The bridge was located to the east of the modern coast road and to the west of a "piste ordinaire" connecting 'Arāb al-Milk and Sūkās further inland. The preserved parts

perse, AASyr 36/37 1986/87, 134 note 18; Saadé, Note, 197 note 11; Lund, Coastline, 15-16 notes 12-13; E. Lipiński, s.v. Ushnatu/Ushnû, in: Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique. Bruxelles and Paris 1992, 488; Lund, Evidence, 29 note 7; J.-Fr. Salles, Phénicie, in: Krings 1995, 558 ad 568; G. Tore, L'art. Sculpture en ronde-bosse, in: Krings 1995 448-470, 479; Docter, Amphoren, Tabelle 11 nos. 4-5; Elayi, Les sites phéniciens, 335 note 40.

175. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6-71.

176. Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie. Paris 1932, 259; J.P. Rey-Coquais, Notes de Géographie Syrienne Antique, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph 41 1965, the caption to pl. 3.1.

177. For the geographical setting, cf. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 72 and fig. 52-53.

consist of two severely damaged piers, one at either river bank. It is possible that a third pier once stood in the river. The widths of the southern and northern piers were 5.15 and 5 m. respectively. If no central pier existed then the span of the bridge amounted to 13.15 m. Limestone ashlar¹⁷⁸ were embedded at the bottom of both piers, which otherwise mostly consisted of material added later than its original construction. The said ashlar were best preserved in the northern pier, where up to five courses were in evidence. The bridge seemed to have been somewhat wider in its original form than it is now, judging from the presence of ashlar in situ to the east of the northern pier. They indicate that the eastern facade had originally been located 1.80 m. further towards the east than it does now, suggesting that the width of the bridge originally amounted to between 6.80 and 6.95 m.

It proved possible to identify two fragments of the original superstructure, which had been re-used as building material: a voussoir located in the eastern part of the north pier and a profiled block sitting in its western facade (fig. 65). This block had constituted part of the revetment of the bridge. It seems difficult, however, to find precise parallels to the profile of its moulding¹⁷⁹ but it is beyond doubt that the block – and consequently the building phase of the bridge to which it belonged – is of Roman date.

A road to the north of the bridge at the Ġisr al-Muwillih

For a stretch of at least 100 m. immediately to the north of the bridge traces were detected of the road leading up to it: the rock had a worn and flat, albeit somewhat uneven surface (fig. 66). Perhaps the road had originally been paved with rectangular flagstones like the Roman road between Aleppo and Antiocheia at Tall 'Aqibrīn, or polygonal ones like the ones preserved at the bridge over the Nahr 'Umm Burgul.

Ġirba Ġisr Sūkās (no. 31)

On flat land some 400 m. to the south-east of Tall Sūkās fragments of tiles, mosaic tesserae, potsherds and fragments of querns were noted by members of the expedition in 1958 (fig. 67). Everything dated from the Roman Imperial or the Late Antique period. Moreover, four bronze coins were discovered at the same place in 1960: one with a head of Tyche on the obverse and a ship's prow on the reverse. It may have been struck in Arados in the 3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.¹⁸⁰ Another, much corroded, specimen could have been minted by one of the Seleucid kings.¹⁸¹ We are dealing with remains of a grain-producing site of a limited size dating from the Hellenistic to Late Antique period.

A quadratic shaft, presumably a well, had been cut through the rock about 400 m. from the tall to the west of the road to 'Arāb al-Milk. There were remains of quarrying activities (fig. 68) and of Roman tombs in the vicinity, but the latter were not investigated.

A bridge at the Nahr al-Sūkās

The scanty remains of a bridge were preserved at a distance of approximately 200 m. to the east of the modern coastal road between Tall Sūkās and 'Arāb al-Milk (figs. 69-70). Its superstructure had completely vanished, and little was preserved of its two piers. The width of the bridge – as preserved – did not seem to exceed ca. 3.80 m. but the structure may have originally been broader than this. The plan indicates that at least one ashlar was present in the northern pier. A pediment block of limestone was found about 300 m. south of the bridge, close to the road to Tall Sūkās. It may come from the bridge, but at the time of the expedition it was deemed more probable that it originated from another ancient structure in the vicinity.

178. The ashlar were of varying dimensions: W.: 0.31 m.; 0.32 m.; 0.33 m.; 0.42 m.; 0.71 m.; 1.10 m.; 1.17 m. H.: 0.33 m.; 0.415 m.; 0.48 m.; 0.49 m. Th.: 0.27.; 0.36.; 0.49 m. and 0.65 m.

179. It would be natural to search for parallels among the revetment

mouldings of other bridges in the Syro-Lebanese area, but the published accounts of these are insufficient for this purpose.

180. Inv. no. 6029/2 = SH 17.

181. Inv. no. 6029/1 = SH 16.

'Ain Sūkās (no. 14)

'Ain Sūkās is one of the sources of the Nahr al-Sūkās. It is a semicircular hollow in the rock, presumably corresponding to Qabu Sūkās, i.e. the Sūkās cave, an alternative name for the present day village.

Mīna Sūkās: the Southern Harbour of Tall Sūkās

There are natural harbours on either side of Tall Sūkās (fig. 67). The one to the south was the most important of the two in recent times, and possibly in Antiquity as well. Members of the Expedition picked up sherds ranging in date from the Iron Age to the Roman period on the surface of the ground south of the southern harbour.¹⁸² And in 1959 more sherds, perhaps from a plundered tomb, were found on a slope to the south of the above mentioned quarry. In 1960, a sounding was dug here, which revealed a sequence of layers from the Chalcolithic to the Late Hellenistic period, recently published by Riis, Jensen and Buhl. In the Iron Age the area was apparently used as a burial place,¹⁸³ and the same holds true for the later part of period G 3, G 2, G 1 and G 1/F, corresponding – in accordance with the chronology established by Riis for Tall Sūkās – to

the time span between about 625 B.C. and 380 B.C. An altar enclosure was established in period G 1 (from about 552 B.C. to 498 B.C.) followed by a small sanctuary apparently for Astart and Melqart in periods F (from about 380 B.C. to 140 B.C.) to period E (from about 140 B.C. to 69 B.C.).¹⁸⁴

Tall Sūkās (no. 12)

The evidence from the excavations at Tall Sūkās¹⁸⁵ was previously published in detail, so there is no need to discuss the site at length here. However, it may be useful to summarize the stratigraphical sequence at the site, which provides a framework for the chronology of the area as a whole.

The Iron Age was divided into two periods called H and G, separated by a fierce destruction. Period H was further subdivided into two periods: H 2 and H 1 – dating from ca. 1170 to ca. 844 B.C., and from about 844 to ca. 675 B.C., respectively, and period G was subdivided into three phases: G 3 dated between ca. 675 and 588 B.C., G 2 dated between ca. 588 and 552 B.C., and G 1 dated between ca. 552 and 498 B.C., respectively. There was considerable continuity between the

182. Sūkās VI, 5 note 5.

183. P.J. Riis, La ville phénicienne de Soukas de la fin de l'âge du bronze à la conquête romaine, in: Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici II. Roma 1983, 510-511; E. Lipiński, Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique, *Studia Phoenicia* 14. Leuven 1995, 439; Sūkās X.

184. Sūkās VI; C. Bonnet, Melqart, cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès Tyrien en Méditerranée, *Studia Phoenicia* 8. Leuven 1988, 116; Lund, Coastline, 19; Lund, Evidence, 29; Sūkās X.

185. Saadé, Lattaquié, 97-101; Sūkās I; Sūkās II; Rey-Coquais, 66, 76, 83, 151, 172, 240-241, 250; Sūkās VI; Saadé, Ougarit, 58 note 43; P.J. Riis, Griechen in Phönizien, in: Niemeyer, H.G. (ed.) *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über "Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum"* in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979, *Madrider Beiträge* 8. Mainz am Rhein 1982, 239-244; Elayi, *Studies*, 105; Sūkās VII; P.J. Riis, La ville phénicienne de Soukas de la fin de l'âge du bronze à la conquête romaine, in: Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici II. Roma 1983, 509-514; Sūkās VIII; Perreault, *Céramique*, 145-175; A. Ciasca, *Phoenicia*, in: Moscati, S. (ed.), *The Phoenicians*. Milan 1988, 150-151; J. Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'Empire perse*. Nancy 1988, 10, 20, 22-24, 26-32, 85-86, 112; 126-127, 136,

144; J. Boardman, *Al Mina and History*, *OxfJA* 9 1990, 170, 173, 175-176, 185; R.A. Stucky, *Hellenistisches Syrien*, in: *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988. Mainz am Rhein 1990, 25-26; Lund, *Coastline*, 17-19; E. Gubel and E. Lipiński, s.v. Sūkās, *Tell*, in: *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*. Bruxelles and Paris 1992, 430; M.-E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the west: politics, colonies and trade*. Cambridge 1993, 153, 286-287; Lund, *Evidence*, 29 notes 8-10; J.Y. Perreault, *Les emporia grecs du Levant. Mythe ou réalité?* in: A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion*. Paris 1993, passim; C. Bonnet, *Monde égéen*, in: Krings 1995, 660; S.M. Cecchini, *Ritorno alla "madrepatria"*, in: *I fenici: ieri oggi domani. Ricerche, scoperte, progetti* (Roma 3-5 marzo 1994). Roma 1995, 484; S.M. Cecchini, *Architecture militaire, civile et domestique partim Orient*, in: Krings 1995, 389-396; H.G. Niemeyer, *Expansion et colonisation*, in: Krings 1995, 254; J.-Fr. Salles, *Phénicie*, in: Krings 1995, 553-582, 558, 568, 578 and 580; G. Tore, *L'art. Sculpture en ronde-bosse*, in: Krings 1995, 448-470, 452; M.Yu. Treister, *North Syrian Metalworkers in Archaic Greek Settlements?* *OxfJA* 14 1995, 167; Docter, *Amphoren*, 5, 27 and *Tabelle* 11 nos. 1-3; Elayi, *Les sites phéniciens*, 337 notes 52-54.

architecture of period H 2 and H 1, and between that of G 3, G 2 and G 1. There was likewise a measure of continuity between H 1 and G 3.

Riis suggested that period G 1 came to an end as a consequence of military action, perhaps the Greek defeat of 498 B.C. at Salamis in Cyprus.¹⁸⁶ No architectural remains on the tall proper could be referred to the period between the destruction in the early 5th century B.C. and the re-settlement, which subsequently took place in the early 4th century B.C., but a number of 5th century B.C. tombs in the cemetery of the Southern Harbour indicate that some of the inhabitants survived the disaster and continued to live somewhere in the area.¹⁸⁷

The re-occupation of the tall in period F, dated between ca. 380 and 140 B.C., marked a clear break with the past. No architectural continuity can be observed, and the new town had a different plan and "other architectural types and building techniques" than its predecessor. Riis suggested that the re-founding took place immediately after the Cypriot king Evagoras had concluded peace with the Persians in 381 B.C.¹⁸⁸ The discontinuity between periods G and F, and the introduction of new building techniques – especially the technique of constructing walls with ashlar reinforcements at intervals – as well as the presence of five pre-Hellenistic Aradian silver coins strongly suggest that the new settlers were Phoenicians, probably dispatched from Arados.¹⁸⁹ The town seems to have covered all of the plateau of the mound, and the finds show that this was a relatively prosperous time. The next period, E 2, dated from about 140 to 117 B.C., was largely a time of reconstruction after an earthquake, and the final ancient settlement horizon, period E 1,

from ca. 140 to 68 B.C. is likewise thought to have come to an end following an earthquake, after which the settlement was abandoned.¹⁹⁰

A Roman milestone east of Tall Sūkās

The upper part of a Roman milestone of limestone was found approximately 100 m. east of Tall Sūkās. (figs. 71-72)¹⁹¹ It was shaped like a column drum and had the following dimensions: H.: 0.92 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.47 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.505 m. The stone had suffered from being reused as a roller, and further damage had been inflicted on it by ploughing or other agricultural activities.

On one face of the stone there were remains of eight lines of a Latin inscription. The height of the letters in the first line was 9 cm., of those in the second line 6.5 cm. and of those in the remaining lines 5.5 cm. There was a 10 cm. deep dowel hole in the upper end of the stone, eccentrically widened to a diameter of 10 cm., and with a width of 7.5 cm. Riis read the inscription as follows:

DDNN (i.e. Dominis nostris)
 PISSIM(i)S FELICIBUS
 PERPETV(is) IMPP (i.e. Imperatoribus)
 FL(avio) VAL(ens)
 CONSTAN(t)INO VI(c)TORI
 MAXIMO SEMPER (Augusto) ET
 FL(avio) CL(audio) CONSTANTINO ET FL(avio)
 IVL(io) CONSTANTIO E(t) FL(avio) IVL(io)
 CO(n)ST(a)NTI (nobilissimis Caesaribus)

The inscription dates from the time of Constantine and the three Caesars (A.D. 333-337)¹⁹². The milestone was hardly in situ, since it had functioned as a roller,

186. Sūkās I, 88-91, 127; Sūkās VIII, 97-108, 192.

187. Sūkās VI, 30-32 and 65 fig. 221; Sūkās VIII, 109 note 1; Perreault, *Céramique*, 151 note 26.

188. Sūkās I, 92-126; Sūkās VIII, 109-148 and 192-199.

189. Lund, *Coastline*, 18-19.

190. Sūkās VIII, 199-200.

191. AASyr 15.2, 75-76 fig. 15; the place of finding is shown *idem* 1970, 11 fig. 3. Cf. also Rey-Coquais, 70 note 1; *idem*, *Syrie Romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien*, JRS 68 1978, 44-73, 70 note 363.

192. Cf. R.G. Goodchild, *The Coast Road of Phoenicia and its Ro-*

man Milestones, Berytus 9 1948/1949, 91-127. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Syrie Romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien*, JRS 68 1978, 70 mentions quite a few recent additions to the corpus of Syrian milestones but none of the new specimens appear to be of relevance for the stretch of the road with which we are concerned here. The milestones of the Roman Empire have been the subject of intensive research in recent years. An overall view of the "Stand der Forschung" is provided by H.C. Schneider, *Altstrassenforschung, Erträge der Forschung*. Darmstadt 1982, 102-110.

but on the other hand there is no reason to believe that it had been transported far away from its original position.¹⁹³

The Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās

No remains of walls or other constructions were standing above ground, but an underwater investigation showed clearly, that a submerged “pier” extends to the north from the northern side of the tall. Hence, the entrance to the Northern Harbour must have been relatively narrow in ancient times. However, it could not be ascertained if the “pier” was man-made or a natural phenomenon. Numerous potsherds, parts of metal objects, stone tools and other antiquities were found on the beach encapsulated in natural calcareous incrustations.

Rock-cut tombs at the Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās

On the 11th of September 1958, three rock-cut tombs were discovered on the eastern slope of the Northern Harbour (figs. 73-74). The surface appeared to be sunk at several places in the immediate vicinity, indicating the possible presence of more rock-cut tombs.

Tomb I (fig. 73)

A dromos (0,70 x 1,8 m.) with steps gave access to the trapezoidal central chamber of tomb I (1,80 x 2,30 m. where it is broadest), which had a nearly quadratic back chamber (ca. 2,20 x 2,20 m.) and two side chambers (ca. 2 x 1,5 m.) at a higher level. There were shallow depressions in the floor of the side chamber to the left, and a cover slab of stone from one of these was found lying in the central chamber. The dromos is orientated east-west, and the side chamber to the right approximately north south. The side chamber to the left, and the back chamber is orientated roughly north-north east south-south west.

193. The milestone was presumably originally placed as indicated on AASyr 15.2 1965 pl. 10 indicating the 5 milia passuum.

194. Inv. no. 1283/1-2 = TS 1331.

195. Inv. no. 1288.

196. Inv. no. 1290/1 = TS 1701. Cf. J. Du Plat Taylor, Roman Tombs at “Kambi”, Vasa, RDAC 1940-1948 (1958), 40 no. B2 pl. 4.5; Th.-J. Oziol and J. Pouilloux, Salamine de Chypre I:

The stratigraphy, and the character of the earth, indicated that the tomb had been plundered in modern times.

Finds:

No. 1. Side and spout of a mould-made terracotta lamp of light reddish clay.¹⁹⁴ The heart-shaped nozzle shows traces of firing (fig. 75).

Tomb II (fig. 73)

The plan of tomb II corresponded to that of Tomb I, but in this case the dromos (2,9 x 0,70 m.) runs north south, and the side chambers (1,50 x 2,20 m. and 1,40 x 1,50/2,40 m. respectively) as well as the back chamber (1,8 x 2,2 m.) were likewise orientated north south. There was a small semi-circular recess on the left side of the dromos. In the central chamber the bones of a child were found.

Finds in the central chamber:

No. 1. “Rim of glass bottle and 6 potsherds of red gritty clay with grayish slip”.¹⁹⁵

Finds in the eastern chamber:

No. 2. Completely preserved, circular, terracotta lamp with small heart-shaped nozzle (Diam.: 7,2 cm.; with spout 8,4 cm.) (fig. 76). A filling hole has been pierced through the centre of the discus. Light reddish clay.¹⁹⁶

No. 3. Completely preserved, circular, terracotta lamp with small heart-shaped nozzle (Diam.: 7,2 cm.; with spout 8,5 cm.; H.: 2,3 cm.) (fig. 77). Light reddish clay.¹⁹⁷

No. 4. “Fragment of nozzle and rear end of a lamp of light reddish, buff clay.”¹⁹⁸

Les lampes. Paris 1969, 70 no. 195 pl. 6; Th.-J. Oziol, Salamine de Chypre VII: Les lampes du musée de Chypre. Paris 1977, 189 no. 556, however, with “très légères traces d’oves sur la couronne”.

197. Inv. no. 1290/2 = TS 1702.

198. Inv. no. 1289/1-2.

No. 5. "Eight fragments of lamp of fine yellowish clay."¹⁹⁹

Finds in the western chamber:

No. 6. "Lamp of light red clay and nozzle."²⁰⁰

No. 7. Rim, neck and upper part of bobbin-shaped bottle of white transparent glass (H.: 5,6 cm.; Diam. of rim: 3,4 cm.; Diam. of flask: 1,5 cm.) (fig. 78).²⁰¹

No. 8. Three fragments of flat mounting? of bronze. Hammered? (W.: 2,5 cm. and ca. 4,5 cm.; H.: 0,7 cm. and 3 cm. respectively) (fig. 79).²⁰²

Finds in the northern chamber:

No. 9. "Five fragments of lamp of reddish and yellow clay, somewhat gritty".²⁰³

No. 10. Rim and neck fragment of glass bottle of transparent, white glass with broad horizontal and thickened rim and nearly cylindrical neck (H.: 2,8 cm.; Diam.: 3,6 cm.) (fig. 80).²⁰⁴

No. 11. Rim and neck fragment of bottle of white transparent glass with low neck and widely everted rim, thickening at the edge. The sides are bulging, and there is a groove on the surface of the rim (H.: 2,1 cm.; Diam.: 3,7 cm.) (fig. 81).²⁰⁵

No. 12. "Eight fragments of transparent glass-bottle".²⁰⁶

Not precisely located finds:

No. 14. "Five fragments of glass".²⁰⁷

199. Inv. no. 1289/3-10.

200. Inv. no. 1292.

201. Inv. no. 1286/1 = TS 1334.

202. Inv. no. 1287/1-3 = TS 1700.

203. Inv. no. 1291.

204. Inv. no. 1285/1 = TS 1332.

205. Inv. no. 1285/2 = TS 1333.

206. Inv. no. 1284.

207. Inv. no. 1408-1409.

208. Inv. no. 1295/1 = TS 1704.

Tomb III (fig. 74)

Tomb III was orientated in a similar fashion to Tomb II. It appeared to be intact. The stepped dromos (2,50 x 0,65/0,90) was un-damaged and was partly covered by large stone slabs, of which one, however, had tumbled into the central chamber (1,8 x 2,1/1,7 m.). The tomb had two side chambers (approximately 1,5 x 2 m.) and a back chamber (2 x 1,3/2 m.). A semicircular niche opened off the left hand wall of the central chamber.

Finds in the central chamber:

No. 15. Side with root of heart-shaped nozzle of terracotta lamp of fine, reddish clay. On shoulder indistinct ovolo pattern (H.: 2,3 cm.; Diam.: 7,6 cm.) (fig. 82).²⁰⁸

No. 16. "Lamp, besides the nozzle a big central hole".²⁰⁹

No. 17. "Nozzle and side fragment of a lamp of buff clay".²¹⁰

No. 18. Bronze fibula consisting of domed arch with a horizontal elongation, bent together and joining the arch from below by a spiral forms the holder. Opposite, the arch is fastened to the pin by a hook seizing a small transversal-pin around which the pin continues as a spiral, joining the two ends of the spiral by a link behind the arch. There are small transversal, incised strokes on the arch, on top as surface of the holder fields filled with chequers (L.: 7,7 cm.; W. of arch: 0,7 cm.) (fig. 83).²¹¹

Finds in the eastern chamber:

No. 19. Fragment of the upper part of a lamp of terracotta with an ovolo pattern on the shoulder (Diam.: 6,4 cm) (fig. 84).²¹²

209. Inv. no. 1295/2.

210. Inv. no. 1295/3.

211. Inv. no. 1293 = TS 1703.

212. Inv. no. 1296/1 = TS 1705. Cf. Th.-J. Oziol, *Salamine de Chypre VII: Les lampes du musée de Chypre*. Paris 1977, 189 no. 557 pl. 31; R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, *Römische Bildlampen aus östlichen Werkstätten*. Wiesbaden, 1981, 23 no. 22 fig. 9.2; D.M. Bailey, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 3. Roman provincial lamps*. London 1988, 284 no. Q 2298 pl. 58 dated to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries A.D.

No. 20. "Side fragment of a lamp".²¹³

No. 21. "Neck and shoulder fragment of a transparent glass bottle".²¹⁴

No. 22. "One piece of glass".²¹⁵

No. 23. "Conical spindle-whorl of steatite".²¹⁶

Finds in the northern chamber:

No. 24. Fragment of circular terracotta lamp of fine, red clay. The nozzle is missing, but a remnant of a volute is preserved near its root. There is a small volute-shaped lug on either side of the shoulder at the level of the central filling hole (H.: 2,4 cm.; Diam.: 6,4 cm.) (fig. 85).²¹⁷

No. 25. Front part of terracotta lamp of light reddish clay, with heart-shaped nozzle decorated with two volutes. On shoulder indistinct traces of relief decoration. An incised circle on the underside (7,5 x 2 cm.) (fig. 86).²¹⁸

No. 26. Fragment comprising most of the front part of a terracotta lamp of fine, light brown clay and with a heart-shaped nozzle (H.: 2,1 x 7,2 cm.) (fig. 87).²¹⁹

No. 27. Side of a terracotta lamp of light reddish brown clay. There is a slight indication of a heart-shaped nozzle. Most of the discus is missing, but there

are remains of an indefinable decoration on the preserved part. Ovolo-pattern on the shoulder (Diam.: 6,8 cm.) (fig. 88).²²⁰

No. 28. Neck of bottle of transparent, white glass with thickened rim and convex sides (H.: 7,5 cm.; Diam.: 4,2 cm.) (fig. 89).²²¹

No. 29. Side and base fragment of transparent glass with a slightly splaying foot (W.: 7,1 cm.; H.: 3,6 cm.; Diam.: 4 cm.) (fig. 90).²²²

No. 30. Seven pieces of transparent glass.²²³

Not precisely located finds:

No. 31. Near-complete terracotta lamp of light reddish clay. Volute on either side of the nozzle, which has traces of secondary firing from the use of the lamp. Indistinct remains of decoration on the discus (H.: 1,9 cm.; W.: 8,8 cm. – with spout 8,5 cm.) (figs. 91-92).²²⁴

No. 32. "Six fragments of a lamp of light buff clay".²²⁵

No. 33. "Four fragments of glass".²²⁶

The terracotta lamps of North Western Syria have been treated by several authors in recent years.²²⁷ No. 31 belongs to Loeschcke type IV, of which the main period of use was between A.D. 40 and A.D. 80, but it remained current until at least A.D. 100 to A.D. 140.²²⁸

213. Inv. no. 1403.

214. Inv. no. 1297/1.

215. Inv. no. 1407.

216. Inv. no. 1298/1.

217. Inv. no. 1402/1 = TS 1707.

218. Inv. no. 1402/2 = TS 1708.

219. Inv. no. 1402/4 = TS 1710.

220. Inv. no. 1402/3 = TS 1709.

221. Inv. no. 1401/1 = TS 1748.

222. Inv. no. 1401/2 = TS 1406.

223. Inv. no. 1299; inv. no. 1406 and inv. no. 1401/2 = TS 1406.

224. Inv. no. 1405/1 = TS 1550. For the general type, cf. D.M. Bailey, A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 3. Roman provincial lamps. London 1988, 283-284 no. Q 2293, but with a different motif.

225. Inv. no. 1294.

226. Inv. no. 1404.

227. Cf. for instance J.W. Hayes, Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum I: Greek and Roman Clay Lamps. A Catalogue. Toronto 1980, 86-89; J.J. Dobbins, Terracotta Lamps of the Roman Province of Syria. Diss. University of Michigan 1977. Ann Arbor 1977; Stucky, Ras Shamra, 93-98; Hamā III 3, 32-52 and D.M. Bailey, A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 3. Roman provincial lamps. London 1988, 279-291 with a useful summary of the history of research.

228. J. Lund, Towards a better understanding of the production pattern of Roman lamps, ActaHyp 3 1991, 279-286.

Nos. 2 and 3 are close to Vessberg's Type 13, which is a sub-type of Loeschcke type VIII with a heart-shaped nozzle. The form was current from about the middle of the first century A.D. to the second century A.D., and may have survived into the 3rd century A.D. in Cyprus.²²⁹ Nos. 1 and 26 probably belong to the same subtype. The decoration on the nozzle of No. 25 is somewhat unusual, but the lamp should probably be placed in the later phase of the development of the same sub-group as the above mentioned specimens.

Nos. 15, 19 and 27 belong to another sub-type of Loeschcke type VIII which lacks a handle and has impressed ovules on the shoulder, which is i.a. found in "Jerusalem, Tyre, Beth-Shan and Cyprus," and seems to date to the late 1st or the 2nd centuries A.D.²³⁰

It is difficult to determine the type of No. 24, mostly due to the fact that most of the nozzle is missing. According to the registrar there were indications that it the preserved part comes from a volute. However, it appears that the two volute-shaped lugs on the shoulder find their closest parallels in lamps of the same general type as that of Nos. 2-3.²³¹

The finds suggest that the three tombs were used in the second half of the 1st century A.D. and the 2nd century A.D. It is possible that Tomb III was slightly more ancient than the rest. All the finds in the tombs dated from the Roman period, and it seems likely that this was the time when the tombs were constructed, although it cannot be ruled out that we are dealing with older burials, re-used in Roman times. Rock-cut tombs of a comparable and slightly older date have also been excavated in Ġabla.²³² Unfortunately, no plans of the latter are available, so it is difficult to make a more

precise comparison between the two groups of tombs. However, it appears that the un-published finds from the intact tombs at Ġabla were of a similar nature to those from the robbed tombs of Sūkās, albeit richer and more varied.²³³

The Saqī Qantarāt al-Maḥfiya

A brook flows into the norther harbour to the north of Tall Sūkās. The modern road crosses the stream via a small, single-arched bridge, which the local inhabitants called Saqī al-Maḥfiya, i.e. "The ditch of the hidden bridge". It could not be ascertained where the ancient road crossed the stream.

The area of the Northern Harbour to the north of the Saqī Qantarāt al-Maḥfiya

In the area north of the brook a fragment of a Roman mosaic was found, and there were numerous fragments of Roman tiles and potsherds as well as marble fragments and a limestone fragment, which seemed to be part of a circular mill stone with radiating and circular grooves. Also, building remains, possibly an olive press was observed "to the north of the Northern Harbour".

Along the coast there were several quarries with unfinished ashlar in situ surrounded by cut grooves. It was thought that the quarries might at one time have served as salines (figs. 93-94).

A fragmentary "Klinensarkophag"

In 1960, a fragmentary sarcophagus lid of an Attic "Klinensarkophag" was found approximately 90 m. west of the above-mentioned Saqī al-Maḥfiya.²³⁴

229. O. Vessberg, *Hellenistic and Roman Lamps in Cyprus*, OpAth 1 1953, 124-125; D.M. Bailey, *Lamps in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, OpAth 6 1965, 44-45; D.M. Bailey, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 3. Roman provincial lamps*. London 1988, 297. The type is represented in a chamber tomb with multiple burials in Cyprus associated with coins between A.D. 222 to A.D. 235 and A.D. 222 to A.D. 253, cf. J. Du Plat Taylor, *Roman Tombs at "Kambi"*, *Vasa*, RDAC 1940-1948 (1958), 40 no. B2 pl. 4.5 and 22.

230. D.M. Bailey, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 3. Roman provincial lamps*. London 1988, 280.

231. Cf. Th.-J. Oziol and J. Pouilloux, *Salamine de Chypre I: Les lampes*. Paris 1969, 71 no. 202 pl. 6.

232. G. Saadé, *Découverte*, 346-348.

233. Cf. especially "caveau n° 2, G. Saadé, *Découverte*, 347.

234. Inv. no. 7221 = NH 1. The lid is now kept in the National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. 14923, cf. G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*. München 1982, 467; K. Parlasca, *Probleme der palmyrenischen Sarkophage*, *MarbWPr* 1984, 283-296, 296 note 52; G. Koch, *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit im Nationalmuseum in Damaskus*, *DaM* 4 1989, 178-179 no. 17 pl. 47 a-d; G. Koch, *Der Import*

A fragmentary sarcophagus lid shaped as the upper part of a kline with a reclining couple (figs. 95-97). The head and the mattress of the kline are shown – the foremost angle of the former having been separately worked and attached. The exterior of the bed head has two panels separated by a propeller-like ornament. A lozenge with a rosette in the middle is inscribed in each panel, and four other rosettes are seen in the angles of the panels. There is a flat frame with a shallow groove round the edges of the lozenges. The rosettes are of different types. A flat cyma reversa is located below the panels, and there are two cyma recta mouldings – one flat and one projecting – above them, and a plain member with a vertical front and sloping upper side on top. The mattress has a convex embroidered edge: at the head end a panel with a tree to the right and to the left a leaping stag or fawn moving left. To the left of this panel four vertical tendrils with leaves may be seen between five plain, vertical stripes. At the foot end, a corresponding decoration with a stag leaping to the right, towards a tree, above another running animal. The couple resting on the kline lie on their left sides, leaning on their left arms, which are placed on pillows: that of the man at the head end and that of the woman to the left of the man's pillow. He is lying beside her, clad in a toga and with a book-scroll in the left hand. The woman wears a large pallium and holds an apple in her left hand. The underside of the lid is concave with an 11 cm. wide edge.

Fine-grained white – on surface in places brown – possibly Pentelic marble with veins of bluish gray

kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage in den römischen Provinzen Syria, Palaestina und Arabia, *BJb* 189 1989, 188.

235. H. Wrede, *Der Sarkophageckel eines Mädchens in Malibu und die frühen Klinensarkophage Roms, Athens und Kleinasien, Roman funerary monuments in the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1. Malibu 1990, 35 fig. 38.*

236. J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Imported Sarcophagi of Roman Tyre, BmusBeyr* 22 1969, 112-113 and 132-134 fig. 4; M. Chéhab, *Sarcophages à reliefs de Tyr, BmusBeyr* 21 1968, 1-93; G. Koch, *Der Import kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage in den römischen Provinzen Syria, Palaestina und Arabia, BJb* 189 1989, 183-209; G. Koch, *The Import of Attic Sarcophagi in the Near*

mica. There are traces of pick-chisel as well as of a flattish, hollow chisel.

Much damaged. The whole of the back side and foot end with the trunks, heads, right arms and feet of the reclining figures are missing, as are a large fragment of the front edge, and the front corner of the head end. There are numerous minor injuries, and the surface is worn and weathered.

L.: 1.28 m.; W.: 0.685 m.; H.: 0.40 m.

Wrede recently studied the “Klinensarkophage” from Rome, Athens and Asia Minor. The lid from Tall Sūkās belongs to the Attic series, and the panel motifs are particularly close to those on a sarcophagus in the National Museum of Athens, dated by Wrede between A.D. 230 and A.D. 240.²³⁵ According to Ward-Perkins, such sarcophagi were “highly prized, and no doubt correspondingly costly, objects”. They have been found in relatively high numbers at sites along the Phoenician and North Syrian coast.²³⁶

A few finds dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D. were located “in earth under” the sarcophagus lid, showing that it was not in situ, perhaps because it had been re-used in Late Antique times:

No. 1. A base of an amphora of Peacock and Williams Class 45 (fig. 98).

We are presumably dealing with a fragment of the two-handled version of the class, which was produced from the late 4th to the late 6th/early 7th centuries A.D. Outschar has suggested Ephesos as a possible place of production.²³⁷

East, in: *O ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ*, International Meeting of History and Archaeology Delphi 6-9 November 1986. Athens 1991, 67-79.

237. Inv. no. 8743/5 = NH 6. For the type see J.A. Riley, *The Coarse Pottery from Berenice*. In: J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice) II. Tripoli 1979, 229-230: “Late Roman amphora 10”*; D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*. London and New York 1986, 188-190: Class 45; J. Lund, *Pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, in: L.W. Sørensen and D. Rupp (eds.), *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite 2: The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project. Artifact and Ecofactual Stud-*

Nos. 2-3. Two body sherds of Bii (Late Roman 1) amphorae (fig. 99).

Bii amphorae were produced from the late 4th to the mid 7th centuries A.D. at a range of sites on the south coast of Asia Minor between Rhodes and the Gulf of Antalya as well as in Cyprus.²³⁸

Nos. 4-5. Three body sherds of Bi (Late Roman 2) amphorae (fig. 100).

The source of this amphora type has not yet been determined with certainty. It is probably to be sought in the Aegean, perhaps "at no great distance from Athens", as suggested by Peacock and Williams, but Papadopoulos is probably right in assuming that such amphorae were produced at more than one centre. The date range is from the 4th to the early 7th centuries A.D.²³⁹

No. 6. A base of a glass beaker (fig. 101).

The beaker in question was immensely popular shape in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D.²⁴⁰

No. 7. A fragment of an iron lamp.

Too little has been preserved to allow the type of the lamp cannot be determined. It may be of a comparable date to the above-mentioned finds.

In 1963, a fragment of the bottom or the lid of a marble sarcophagus was found lying on the surface to the north-east of the Northern Harbour, north-west of the bridge crossing the Saqī Qantar al-Mahfiya. It is not known if the fragment was part of the above-mentioned "Klinensarkophag" or if it could have come from another sarcophagus.

A bridge at the Nahr Umm Burghul (no. 10)

The river Nahr Umm Burghul is located approximately midway between Tall Sūkās and Ğabla (fig. 102-104). Since 1963 the modern road has crossed this river by means of a restored ancient bridge with two arches over piers built of what appeared to be Roman limestone ashlar. The width of the southern pier amounted to about 5.30 m. and the original ashlar courses were preserved in the lower half of this pier. The width of the southern span amounted to about 10.60 m. – The central pier had a pointed shape towards the north. Only the lowest ashlar courses of the pier seemed to have an ancient origin but three wedge-shaped stones were still in situ at its northeast- and southeast angles respectively. It was observed that two polygonal flagstones of limestone, which were located in the roadway above the pier, might be in situ, and if this was the case, then we can assume that the core of

ies, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* CIV:2, Göteborg 1993, 124-126 with references to more literature. For Ephesos as a possible production centre, cf. U. Outschar, *Produkte aus Ephesos in alle Welt? Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut. Berichte und Materialien* 5 1993, 51-52. However, it cannot be ruled out that we are dealing with a fragment of an amphora of the one-handed sub-type, which was current from the late 1st century to the 4th century A.D.

238. Inv. no. 8743/1 = NH 2 and inv. no. 8743/2 = NH 3. For the type see J.A. Riley, *The Coarse Pottery from Berenice*. In: J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice) II*. Tripoli 1979, 212-216; Late Roman Amphora 1; D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*. London and New York 1986, 185-187; J.K. Papadopoulos, *Roman Amphorae from the Excavations at Torone*, *AEphem* 1989, 67-103, 87-89 and J. Lund, *Pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, in: L.W. Sørensen and D. Rupp (eds.), *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite 2: The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project. Artifact and Ecofactual Studies*,

Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CIV:2, Göteborg 1993, 130-132 with more references.

239. Inv. no. 8743/3 = NH 4; inv. no. 8743/4 = NH 5 and inv. no. 8743/8 = NH 9. Cf. J.A. Riley, *The Coarse Pottery from Berenice*. In: J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice) II*. Tripoli 1979, 217-219; Late Roman Amphora 2; D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*. London and New York 1986, 182-184; J.K. Papadopoulos, *Roman Amphorae from the Excavations at Torone*, *AEphem* 1989, 83-87.

240. Inv. no. 8743/6 = NH 7. For the type cf. J.W. Hayes, *Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Toronto 1975, 84-86, 105, 109-110, 124, 131; A. von Salder, *Archaeological Exploration of Sardinia 6: Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardinia*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1980, 57-59: Types 2a and 2b; C.S. Lightfoot, *A Catalogue of the Glass Finds: Sagalassos* 1990, in: Waelkens, M. (ed.), *Sagalassos I*. Leuven 1993, 173-195, 175-176.

the central pier had been preserved intact. The width of the northern span of the bridge amounted to about 10.05 m. and the width of the north pier was 5.33 m. At the bottom of this pier four ashlar courses and three wedge-shaped stones were preserved in situ. Above the pier a few polygonal flagstones had been reused in a reconstruction of the roadway (fig. 105). The ash-lars, which seemed to belong to the earliest building phase of the bridge were not cut to a standard-size as the following measurements make clear: L.: 0.22 m.; 0.36 m.; 0.37 m.; 0.40 m.; 0.42 m.; 0.43 m.; 0.46 m.; 0.62 m.; 0.63 m.; 0.75 m.; 0.88 m.; 0.89 m.; 0.96 m.; 0.97 m.; 1.00 m.; 1.08 m.; W.: 0.28 m.; 0.30 m.; H.: 0.33 m.; 0.34 m.; 0.36 m.; 0.38 m.; 0.40.

The two arches had no doubt been rebuilt in the Islamic period, a date suggested by the fact that the arches have a slightly ogival shape. This presents a contrast to the arches of ancient Roman bridges, which were normally constructed as segments of true arches. At a distance of about 300 m. to the south of the bridge a cornice block of limestone was found, which may come from the bridge originally, although this idea was deemed “hardly possible” at the time of its finding.

The evidence concerning the exact date of the different phases of the construction of the bridge is tenuous and we are left with the rather vague conclusion that it was originally built in Roman times and restored during the Medieval period, although it may well have been partly reconstructed several times. At the present time it does not seem feasible to pinpoint the construction date by means of comparisons with securely dated bridges elsewhere in the Eastern

Mediterranean area but it may be observed that the bridge in question appears to be distantly related to other Roman bridges in Syria, e.g. a single-span bridge in Busra, ancient Bostra over the Wadi-Zedi and a bridge with three arches crossing the Afrīn river near Aleppo.²⁴¹

Roman tombs at Nahr al-Faiḍ (no. 33)

In 1960, a number of potsherds and lamps were found on the banks of the Nahr al-Faiḍ, which had apparently been extracted from two, completely smashed, clay sarcophagi. A third, completely preserved, sarcophagus was standing c. 20 m. north of the smashed ones, and remains of a fourth were located close by (figs. 106-113). Both had been plundered. A well preserved Roman glass “bottle” and a couple of lamps – likewise of Roman date – from here had previously entered the museum in Ġabla. Clearly we are dealing with evidence of a (small ?) Roman necropolis.²⁴²

No remains of an ancient bridge were observed at this point; the Danish expedition used a ford to cross the road.

Nahr al-‘Izza

The line of the ancient coastal road at Nahr al-‘Izza to the south of Ġabla could not be ascertained, but the quarries to the north and south of the mouth of the river were drawn by Rohweder (figs. 114-115). This quarry was probably mainly used for construction purposes in Ġabla, and the dimensions of the stones corresponded to those at the quarry south of the entrance to the harbour there.

241. P. Gazzola, *Ponti Romani*. Firenze 1963, 169 no. 246 and 175 no. 258.

242. The clay coffins belong to a group represented in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Levant, cf. D.A. Parks, M. Aviam and E.J. Stern,

Clay coffins from Agia Napa – *Makronisos* and their connections, in: S. Hadjisavvas, *Agia Napa. Excavations at Makronisos and the archaeology of the region*, Nicosia 1997, 189-196.

E. Ġabla (no. 5) and surroundings

The town of Ġabla²⁴³ has been visited by many travellers through the ages, too many to mention separately, of whom some have made observations of archaeological value. However, it seems that the only proper excavations in Ġabla mentioned in the archaeological literature were those conducted in the Roman theatre in 1950 and the following years, and the excavation of eight rock-cut tombs by the Syrian authorities from 1980 to 1981.²⁴⁴

Today Ġabla is a relatively small administrative centre with a rural character, and a population figure in 1985 of about 30,000,²⁴⁵ but it is the most important town on the plain bearing its name. At the time of the Danish Expedition the town was largely confined within the Medieval circuit wall, although some buildings, such as the Mosque called Ġāmi' Sultān Ibrahīm, the Post Office and the Lycée were located outside.

The members of the Expedition concentrated their efforts on exploring the ancient town plan, the harbour

and its immediate surroundings and the area in the vicinity of the Expedition house immediately south of the town.

The ancient town plan

It is evident (fig. 133) that certain quarters within the Medieval town wall have a regular chess-board grid-iron plan where the streets are orientated north-south and east-west. A number of important buildings, for instance the ancient theatre and the Mosque of Sultān Ibrahīm, which may rest on the remains of an earlier building, also adhere to the same orientation scheme.

It is a natural assumption that the present-day town plan reflects to a certain extent the regular layout of Ġabla's ancient predecessor, and Riis noted that the insulae of the ancient town measured about 80-84 m. x 62-66 m., judging from the three seemingly best preserved "insulae" in the central part of the town. He pointed out that the measurements appear to correspond to 250 x 200 Greek feet²⁴⁶ – the variations in the

243. Of the more recent treatments of Ġabla in the literature the following can be mentioned: E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*. Paris 1864, III; E.G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'Île de Chypre*. Paris 1871, 6, 19, 20-21, 166, 175-176, 180, 215, 223; E.G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*. Paris 1883, 153, 237, 355; R. Dussaud, *Voyage en Syrie octobre-novembre 1895*, *Notes archéologiques*, RA troisième série 28 1896, 325; I. Benzinger, s.v. Gabala, *RE* 7,1 1910, 415; M. van Berchem & E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie I*, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire sous la direction de M. Pierre Lacau*. Cairo 1913-1914, 291; Dussaud, 136; *Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché*, *Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie*. Paris 1932, 261-263; Weulersse, 157-159, 220-223, 288-290; Seyrig, *Gabala*, 9-28; H. Frost, *Rouad, ses Récifs et mouillages*. *Prospection sous-marine*, *AASyr* 14 1964, 71; Rey-Coquais, 66, 75, 83, 110, 118, 121, 139, 162, 168, 196, 214-215, 246-248, 278; J.-P. Rey-Coquais s.v. Gabala. In: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton, New Jersey 1976, 340; Saadé, *Ougarit*, 60-61 notes 62-63; Elayi, *Studies*, 106; Saadé, *Découverte*, 346-348; H.S. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transfor-*

mation en provinces assyriennes. *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 36. Beirut 1987, 145, 188, 205-206, 214; J. Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'Empire perse*. Nancy 1988, 33; E. Frézouls, *Les édifices des spectacles en Syrie*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 389-390; Lund, *Coastline*, 19 note 30; J.D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*. Oxford 1990, 101, 117, 129, 131, 145-145, 166, 183; R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria. An Historical Guide*. London and New York 1992, 134-135; E. Lipiński, s.v. Gabala, in: *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*. Bruxelles and Paris 1992, 181; J. and A.G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire, Ve – IV^e siècles avant J.C., Transeuphratène*, suppl. 1. Paris 1993, 44-60; Lund, *Evidence*, 29-30 notes 11-14; Elayi, *Les sites phéniciens*, 337-338 notes 56-57.

244. E. Frézouls, *Les théâtres romains de Syrie*, *AASyr* 2 1952, 54-56; Saadé, *Découverte*, 346-348.

245. E. Wirth, *Syrien, Eine geographische Landeskunde, Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden 4/5*. Darmstadt 1971, Karte 12; the number of inhabitants is given by Saadé, *Découverte*, 346.

246. *AASyr* 10 1960, 130-132.

figures are probably due to irregularities in the width of the modern streets. In view of the many problems involved in the determination of the precise metrological units employed in the ancient world these figures can only be regarded as a guide-line.

An attempt to reconstruct the ancient town plan on paper is hampered by the fact that the precise extent of the ancient town towards the sides is difficult to establish except towards the south where – as we shall see later – a necropolis seems to have been located in the vicinity of the Islamic cemetery. This indicates that the southern border of the ancient town was probably more or less identical with the preserved parts of the Medieval circuit wall, and an east-west orientated street immediately south of the Medieval wall. This street is continued towards the west, where an east-west configuration in the terrain can be seen sloping towards the sea. Although it is difficult to say whether this is to be interpreted as the remains of a street or a wall its presence certainly suggests that the area immediately to the south of the harbour basin was included in the ancient town. To the north the evidence is less clear. The street system seems to suggest that the Roman theatre and the east-west oriented street parallel with the north side of the skene building constituted the northern limit of ancient Ġabla. However, this idea may be contradicted by the presence of the Mosque of Sultān Ibrahīm to the north of the theatre. As mentioned previously this building adheres to the same orientation scheme as the regularly laid out parts of the town. It has been suggested that the Mosque occupies the place of a church built by the Emperor Heraclius (640-641 A.D.) in 638 A.D.,²⁴⁷ and one might even assume that this building had taken the place of a Roman temple, perhaps located inside the city proper,

although an extra-mural position cannot be excluded. – Towards the east the evidence is less clear, but perhaps the eastern limit of the ancient town was here also more or less the same as the line of the Medieval circuit wall, as was probably the case towards the south and north.

If the observations and conclusions presented above are accepted, then one further point may be made. There appears to be a contrast between the regular plan of the eastern part of the town and its more irregular western part. Perhaps this part of the town with its irregular and tortuous streets represents an older “layer” in the history of ancient Ġabla, where as the eastern part was added later, when new ideas about town-planning had been developed. There is little concrete evidence that may help us to date either of the two phases, but a Hellenistic date for the expansion has often been assumed, and finds support by the fact that the Danish expedition found evidence of the existence of a necropolis also used in the Hellenistic period in the area south of the medieval circuit wall of the town, as we shall see below.²⁴⁸

Apart from the theatre and the harbour we cannot identify other urban features such as an agora/forum, temples except for the possibility that the present Great Mosque might be the successor of an ancient sanctuary.

The harbour and its immediate surroundings

The harbour of Ġabla can be said to consist of two parts: an inner, almost semi-circular basin oriented north-south, measuring about 122 x 43/56 m. and two east-west/north-south oriented pierheads flanking an entrance, measuring about 130 x 60 m.²⁴⁹ We are apparently dealing with a natural harbour, which has

247. AASyr 10 1960, 130.

248. Rey-Coquais, 215; Stucky, Ras Shamra, 166; P. Leriche, Les fortifications grecques et romaines en Syrie, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam. Saarbrücken 1989, 267; M. Sartre, La Syrie à l'époque hellénistique, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque

achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam. Saarbrücken 1989, 34 and J.D. Grainger, Hellenistic Phoenicia, Oxford 1991, 12-13.

249. These measurements are taken from the town plan, folding map. They are at variance with the figures given by Weulersse, 157: “Sa largeur Nord-Syd ne dépasse guère 70 m. et sa longueur Est-Ouest pas davantage. La passe elle-même a moins de 10 m. d'ouverture.” Perhaps the differences are to be explained by the constantly changing degree of silting of the basin.

been enlarged artificially; on the basis of the available evidence it is impossible to determine when this happened,²⁵⁰ but the orientation suggests the time of making the Hippodamian layout.

The only remains of construction work associated with the harbour as such were noted by A. Poidebard on both sides of the entrance passage: "dont les parois sont aménagées en grand appareil (blocs de 3 x 1 m.)".²⁵¹ It appears that a wall of this nature is indicated on the southern part of the entrance passage on the plan published by Rey in 1871.²⁵²

The area immediately to the north of the entrance has a superficial resemblance to a miniature tall with a height of approximately 10 m. above sea level but it is in fact a rocky prominence. In 1859 G. Rey observed the substructions of a rectangular tower on this mound, and he stated that the building "était isolé de la terre ferme par une coupure b assez profonde pour former une défense sérieuse, mais qui, toutefois, s'arrêtant presque à fleur d'eau, ne pouvant permettre à aucun navire de pénétrer dans le port de ce côté".²⁵³ The

modern name of the area: "Qal 'a Bait Zīfa" furthermore indicates that about 1600, a fortress was built here, but no traces of building remains were observed on the small mound by the members of the Danish expedition. But at its foot, "in the water's edge by the western pier" two column-shafts of granite²⁵⁴ and one of limestone²⁵⁵ were found and six further column-shafts of granite were scattered on the beach about 100 m. to the north of the harbour.²⁵⁶ No further information is available about these architectural members wherefore it is impossible to decide whether the group of columns constitutes the spolia of an ancient building located in the vicinity of the find-spot or if the column-shafts had been gathered together on the beach from elsewhere with the intention of shipping them off for subsequent reuse.²⁵⁷ However, it seems fairly certain that at least the northern group originates in a single building since the dimensions of the columns are more or less the same. The material employed in all cases but one, granite, might imply a relatively late date for the assembly.²⁵⁸ A copper coin with silver coating was found on the surface of the plateau north

250. E.G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'Île de Chypre*. Paris 1871, 165-166 and 175-176 fig. 46. Rey suggested that the harbour was constructed by Roman engineers. The date of the harbour has hardly been discussed since then, apart from *Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie*. Paris 1932, 262, where it is stated that it is "sans doute d'origine phénicienne". Cf. Weulersse, 288; A. Poidebard, *Sidon, aménagements antiques du port de Saïda, Étude aérienne, au sol et sous-marine, 1946-1950*. Beyrouth 1951, 34; H. Frost, *Rouad, ses Récifs et mouillages. Prospection sous-marine*, AASy 14 1964, 67-74; Seyrig, *Gabala*, 9 note 3; J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Notes de Géographie Syrienne Antique, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 41 1965, 222; Rey-Coquais, 66, 75 and 1976.
251. A. Poidebard, *Sidon, aménagements antiques du port de Saïda, Étude aérienne, au sol et sous-marine, 1946-1950*. Beyrouth 1951, 33. Cf. also *Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie*. Paris 1932.
252. E.G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'Île de Chypre*. Paris 1871, 176 fig. 45.
253. E.G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'Île de Chypre*. Paris 1871, 175-

176 fig. 45. Cf. *Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie*. Paris 1932, 262.

254. A) L.: 1.23 m.; Diam. (lower): ca. 0.63, and B) L.: 1.05 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.57 m.
255. L.: 0.85 m.; Diam.: 0.50 m.
256. A) L.: 1.27 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.60 m.; B) L.: 1.45 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.57 m.; C) L.: 2.23 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.55 m.; D) L.: 2.20 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.58 m.; E) L.: 1.35 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.57 m.; F) L.: 2.05 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.60 m. It seems likely that this is the group of granite columns referred to in *Les Guides Bleu sous la Direction de Marcel Monmarché, Syrie-Palestine Iraq-Transjordanie*. Paris 1932, 262 "sur le rivage on remarque plusieurs colonnes de granite".
257. The spoliation of ancient buildings began at an early stage in the history of the Roman Empire, and the practice has, of course, a much older origin. Cf. F.W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, SBMünchen 1975 (1975) Nr. 6; B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850*. Oxford 1984, 203-229.
258. I am indebted to G. Ploug for informing me that granite columns only occur in situ in the Arabic horizon at Hamā. At Ġabla, however, there were columns of red or gray granite in

of the Qal 'a Bait Zīfa. On the obverse is a bust of Constantine the Great, laureate, turned right and a border of dots enclosing the inscription: CONSTAN/TIN-VS AVG; on the reverse: a wreath of laurel enclosing VOT below enclosed by taenea: TSEVI. An inscription runs along the border, enclosed by dots: DNCON-STANTINIMAXAVG.²⁵⁹

Proceeding to the eastern side of the harbour it can be noted that a single column drum of black and white granite was found lying in the water's edge opposite the entrance²⁶⁰ and a profiled block of limestone was located at the same spot (fig. 116). The latter would appear to be part of a moulding from a relatively large building. The profile of the moulding is certainly related to Roman mouldings, but the closest parallel seems to be one in the small enclosure "le petit chateau" at the Ummayyad fortress of Qasr el Hair, which is dated to the caliphate of Hišām (724-743 A.D.).²⁶¹

The southern side of the harbour (fig. 117) is formed by an outcrop of the local, yellowish sandstone, which constitutes the natural limit towards the sea along the larger part of the Ġabla plain. The local inhabitants use this stone for building purposes here as well as elsewhere, and there are ample traces of quarrying activities in this area, where the rock has been cut away so as to form plateaus and benches at different levels. It is, of course, difficult to date the said activities, but the upper part of a Roman cistern was found on one of the highest plateaus giving it a terminus ante quem. Furthermore an east-west orient-

ed Roman sewer was located at a short distance to the south of the cistern, cut into the deeper lying and harder limestone. Incidentally there were also remains of another east-west oriented sewer, apparently of recent date,²⁶² between the cistern and the Roman sewer mentioned above.

A relatively well preserved Roman-Doric (Tuscan) capital made of coarse, rather hard yellowish limestone was found lying on the beach (figs. 118-119).²⁶³ It has a moulded neck collar with a roundel above a cavetto and a flat band. The echinus is adorned with an Ionic cymation, of which some of the darts are shaped like arrow-heads. The cymation is framed below by two flat bands, above by only one. The abacus is adorned with a cyma reversa below a broad flat band, and has on the top a low round disc of the same diameter as the neck collar. On the top of the disk, at some distance from its edge there was a circular groove and in the centre a square dowel hole which traces of rust. There are two incised letters near the edge of the disk: ια' or ιδ', i.e. 11 or 14. – In the bottom of the capital there was a shallow irregular dowel hole. – On the top of the disk there was a broad edge band and in places the capital can be seen to have been cut with a claw. W.: 73.0 cm.; H.: 45.5 cm.; Diam. (lower): ca. 52.0 cm. Relatively few parallels can be adduced to this capital – the closest one appears to be two capitals on a rock-hewn tomb at Battūta, which has been dated to the 2nd century A.D. by Butler.²⁶⁴ Further parallels seem to lend some support to a 2nd century A.D. date also for the Ġabla capital.²⁶⁵

the theatre, according to E. Frézouls, *Les édifices des spectacles en Syrie*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 390.

259. Inv. no. GA 39.

260. L.: 1.23 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.53 m.

261. A. Gabriel, *Kasr el-Heir, Syria 8 1927*, 302-329 fig. 8; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture: Umayyads, early Abbasids & Tulunids, Part 1. Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*. Oxford 1932, 333 fig. 406; O. Grabar, R. Holod, J. Knustad et al., *City in the Desert, Qasr al-Hayr East*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 23-24. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, 21-22 pl. 18, 16D, 17D and 19D; H. Gaube, *Die syrischen Würsten-*

schlösser. Einige wirtschaftliche und politische Gesichtspunkte zu ihrer Entstehung, *ZDPV* 95 1979, 206-207. A more distant parallel may be seen on the Nilometer on Roda Island, K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture: Umayyads, early Abbasids & Tulunids, Part 1. Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*. Oxford 1932, 290-307 fig. 230 moulding A.

262. Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine*. London 1957, 678.

263. Inv. no. 2459 = GA 8 bis.

264. H.C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts. Part II of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, in 1899-1900*. New York 1904, 65.

265. P. Canivet and M.T. Fortuna, *Recherches sur le site de Nikertai,*

A group of column-shafts of black and white granite was found on the north-western tip of the promontory. The shafts had evidently been secondarily deposited here since they were lying in an orderly fashion constituting three sides of a rectangle.²⁶⁶ Additionally, ten column shafts and fragments of columns of black and white granite were found submerged in the water immediately north of this group. Concerning the date of this group of columns it can be said that parallels to their profile (fig. 119) – but not to their material – can be found at the Ummayyad site of Hirbat al-Mafğir dated to the Caliphate of Hišām (724-743 A.D.).²⁶⁷

Proceeding further towards the south two courses of ashlar stones of unequal dimensions and shape were encountered. Although the ashlar had a regular facade towards the east it seems unlikely that they were in situ; the size of the rock plateau on which they were found appears too limited to have ever carried a substantial building. At any rate it would be pure guess-

work to speculate on the nature of a hypothetical building at this point.

The area in the vicinity of the Expedition House south of the town

The Carlsberg Expedition was housed in a building located immediately south of Bāb al-Qiblī, a gate in the Medieval circuit wall of Ġabla. The finds from this area are presented in the following according to their presumed dates.

The potentially oldest objects appear to be two fragments of lamps of the saucer-shaped type with a pinched nozzle (figs. 120-121).²⁶⁸ This type seems to have been developed in the Late Bronze Age at the latest and to have continued to be made into the Iron Age, possibly surviving in places to the Hellenistic period.²⁶⁹ Other possible Iron Age objects include thirteen sherds of a “Phoenician amphora with low rim and flat, off-set shoulder”²⁷⁰ and a handmade juglet (fig. 122).²⁷¹ A 6th

AASyr 18 1968, 37-54, 48 note 1 fig. 10, reused in a period post-dating the 3rd century A.D. There is a partial resemblance to a group of so-called “composite tuscan capitals”, cf. G.Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif de Bélus à l'époque romaine I.* Paris 1953, 108 notes 1 and 2 and 1953 b, pl. 174.2. A 2nd century A.D. date is furthermore supported by dated examples of tuscan columns from Syria. Cf. the monument and hypogaeum of Aemilius Regius at Qatura from 195 A.D., Tchalenko op cit., 191-192 pl. 61. Cf. also a rock-cut tomb at Baathuqqa, probably dating from the first or 2nd century A.D., cf. G.Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif de Bélus à l'époque romaine I.* Paris 1953., 307-309, 1958, pl. 191.3.

266. The columns are listed below in an east-westerly direction: A) L.: ca. 3.20 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.60 m., oriented north-south; B) L.: ca. 3.12 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.59 m., oriented north-south; C) L.: ca. 4.75 m.; Diam.: ca. 0.58 m.; Diam. (lower): ca. 0.63 m., oriented east-west; D) L.: 2.96 m.; Diam.: 0.61 m., oriented east-west; E) L.: ca. 2.47 m.; Diam.: 0.69 m., oriented north-south; F) L.: 4.25 m.; Diam. (upper): 0.63 m.; Diam. (lower): 0.72, oriented north-south.

267. Cf. D.C. Baramki, *Excavations at Khirbet el Mefjer*, QDAP 5 1936, 132-138 pl. 77 and 78.1-2; idem, *Excavations at Khirbet el Mefjer. II*, QDAP 6 1838, 157-168 pl. 55.2 and 65.1-2; H. Gaube, *Die syrischen Würstenschlösser. Einige wirtschaftliche und politische Gesichtspunkte zu ihrer Entstehung*, ZDPV 95

1979, 182-209, 182-209; the site is shown on p. 203 Karte 4, but it is not treated in the text.

268. Inv. no. 319/2 = GA 2: “base fragment of a lamp with part of the side doubled over. Light brown clay with some white and brown and numerous black particles. Wheel-made and pinched with doubling over of rim. L.: 91 cm.; W.: 5.8 cm.; H.: 2 cm”.

Inv. no. 1480/10 = GA 14: “spout and side fragment of Iron Age lamp. Light reddish slip. Red gritty clay, core black. Wheel-made. Local. L.: 10 cm.; W.: 4 cm”.

269. Cf. for instance Amiran, 190 pl. 59 and 291 pl. 100. Many scholars have commented on this type of lamp, and only a few recent contributions will be cited here: O. Vessberg, *Hellenistic and Roman Lamps in Cyprus*, *OpAth* 1 1953, 115-118; T. Szentléleky, *Ancient Lamps*. Budapest 1969, 21-26; D.M. Bailey, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum I. Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps*. London 1975, 13; Th.-J. Oziol, *Salamine de Chypre VII: Les lampes du musée de Chypre*. Paris 1977, 17-25; Sūkās VII, 61-65. As for the chronology of such lamps cf. T. Szentléleky, *Ancient Lamps*. Budapest 1969, 23: “... the value of the shapes of these lamps, with regard to dating, is very low ...” Inv. no. 1480/10 = GA 14, does, however, resemble the lamp published by O. Vessberg, *Hellenistic and Roman Lamps in Cyprus*, *OpAth* 1 1953, 115 pl. I.2.

270. Inv. no. 1480; the amphora in question may correspond to Sūkās VII, 13-15 type V.

century B.C. date does, however, seem highly likely for a rim of an East Greek amphora (or possibly a local imitation of one)²⁷² as well as for one – or possibly two – fragments of bowls belonging to a group classified as “one-handled (?) East Greek Bowls” by Ploug. The group was subsequently discussed by J. N. Coldstream and R. A. Stucky, who argued convincingly that such bowls may well have had two handles and the latter has furthermore suggested that the type continued to be

made into the 5th century B.C. and that it may have been produced somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean rather than in Eastern Greece.²⁷³ A number of sherds of Greek vases from the 6th century was furthermore found in the area.²⁷⁴ The rim sherd of an Attic kylix probably dating from the 5th century B.C. was the next find, chronologically speaking,²⁷⁵ followed by a base fragment of an Attic black glazed plate with stamped palmettes.²⁷⁶ Four fragments of unguentaria

271. Inv. no. 1480/9 = GA 13: “juglet with thickened rim off-set on exterior, vertical handle and pointed bottom. Gritty, red clay, handmade. H.: 8 cm.; Diam.: 5 cm”. Cf. Sūkās VII, 32 no. 126 fig. 11 pl. 7. Juglets of various shapes are, of course, a common feature at sites in the Syro-Lebanese area, and numerous typologies have been suggested for them, e.g. W.P. Anderson, *A Stratigraphic and Ceramic Analysis of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Strata of Sounding Y at Sarepta (Sarafand, Lebanon)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1979, 304-310 and Stern, *Material Culture*, 119-124. However, it seems clear that so many variations and subtypes existed that such typologies are of a limited value. The individual features of the jug in question are easily paralleled elsewhere, cf. e.g. Bikai, *Pottery* pl. 25.2 and for a later parallel, see C. Diederichs, *Salamine de Chypre IX: Céramiques hellénistiques, romaines et byzantines*. Paris 1980, 26 no. 58 pls. 5-6 with a concave bottom and horizontal ribbing. No doubt many other parallels might be cited but it seems doubtful whether they are of value for the dating of the specimen in question.
272. Inv. no. 319/1 = GA 1: “rim fragment of jar (amphora ?) with off-set broad convex moulding on exterior of rim. Unglazed and undecorated. Light brown clay with white, brown and black particles as well as numerous particles of mica. Wheelmade. Some lime deposits on plain and fracture surfaces. W.: 9.2 cm.; H.: 6.8 cm.; Diam.: 14.6 cm.; Th.: 0.9-1.8 cm”. The fragment is related to the specimen published as local in Sūkās II, 84-85 no. 389 which is dated to the first half of the 6th century.
273. Inv. no. 319/3 = GA 3: “fragment of rim and side of hemispherical (?) bowl. Interior covered with paint but for a reserved horizontal stripe below rim. On exterior two thin and one broad stripe below rim. Light brownish clay with grits and a considerable amount of mica. Brownish black dull glaze. Wheelmade. The paint is unevenly applied. L.: 3.5 cm.; W.: 3.4 cm.; H.: 3.3 cm”. Inv. no. 319/4 = GA 4: “fragment of rim and side of deep bowl with convex side and slightly inverted rim. Interior covered with paint but for a reserved broad horizontal stripe below rim. On exterior broad stripe on rim and another broad stripe somewhat below rim. Light brownish clay with grits and mica.

Brownish to grayish black dull glaze. Wheelmade. The paint is unevenly applied. W.: 5.7 cm.; H.: 3.8 cm.; Th.: 0.4-0.6 cm”. Cf. Sūkās II, 38-41 for inv. no. 319/3 = GA 3 see especially 40 no. 136.b pl. 7; GA 4 probably belongs to the same group although the exterior decoration is somewhat unorthodox. Cf. also J.N. Coldstream, *The Greek Geometric and Plain Archaic Imports*, in: V. Karageorghis, J.N. Coldstream, P.M. Bikai, A.W. Johnston, M. Robertson and L. Jehasse, *Excavations at Kition IV. The Non-Cypriote Pottery*. Nicosia 1981, 19 nos. 15-16, 22 pl. 18.11-12 and Stucky, *Ras Shamra*, 121-123 nos. 155-189 and 125-126. Both Coldstream and Stucky have noticed that such bowls may well have two handles and the latter has argued that the type continues into the 5th century and that its production should rather be sought somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean rather than in Eastern Greece.

274. Inv. no. 1480/2-3: “two side sherds of East Greek kylikes with red and black painted stripes; inv. no. 1480/7: rim and shoulder fragment of pot with flat rim off-set on exterior. Dark red clay with black particles. 6th century B.C.” The find comprised further East Greek sherds: inv. no. 1480/7: “rim, neck and shoulder fragment of pot with flat rim off-set on exterior. Dark red clay with black particles. 6th century B.C.”; inv. no. 1480/8 = GA 12: “side sherd with fragment of horizontal handle and off-set shoulder of red glazed kylix. Buff gritty clay. Wheelmade. Glazed. Rather damaged, part of the glaze worn off. H.: 3.4 cm.; W.: 7.5 cm”.
275. Inv. no. 319/6: “fragment of side with part of rim and of handle of kylix with convex side. Glazed. Light brownish to orange clay. Brownish to black glaze. Wheel-made. The paint is unevenly applied on the interior but rather lustrous. The glaze has peeled off in places. L.: 7 cm.; W.: 6.1 cm.; H.: 4.8 cm”. In this connection mention can also be made of two 5th century B.C. sherds: inv. no. 1480/4-5: “two black glazed Attic sherds”.
276. Inv. no. 319/6 = GA 6: “fragment of foot and base of plate. Interior glazed with stamped palmette anthesis round center. Exterior glazed, reserved circle; center marked by glazed ring. Light reddish-brown clay, black glaze. H.: 2.9 cm.; L.: 4.2 cm”.

date from the Hellenistic period.²⁷⁷ When we reach the Roman period the possibly most interesting find occurred in connection with the digging of a cistern in a house located to the south of the building used by the Danish Expedition. Unfortunately the digging took place in 1962 when the Danish Expedition was absent, and the information is therefore somewhat scanty. The find comprised three objects, which were brought to light in a "Roman sarcophagus," of which, regrettably, nothing further is known: two glass bottles and a cooking pot.²⁷⁸ Clearly, the chief value of the three objects resides in the fact that they reveal the presence of a Roman necropolis in the area – incidentally not far away from the present-day Muslim cemetery.

Another Roman find of some interest is a fragment of a stamped mortarium (fig. 123)²⁷⁹ of a type shown by Hayes to have been produced in the North-Syrian area. The stamp reads ΔΟΜ/ΝΟ and gives the name of the manufacturer, Domus, in the genitive case. The name is well documented elsewhere and mortaria of the type in question are usually dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries

A.D. Among the later finds from the area one can mention a Byzantine bronze coin from the 6th – 7th century A.D.²⁸⁰ A fragment of a large stone basin of white limestone is of uncertain date.²⁸¹ Furthermore, the date of a fragment of a game board of limestone with twelve holes is uncertain.²⁸² Game boards of this type were in use from the Roman period – if not earlier – onwards. At the time of finding the fragment was thought to date from the Crusaders time.²⁸³

In conclusion it can be said that the finds from the area surrounding the house of the Expedition appear to reach back to the Iron Age. They become more numerous from the 6th century B.C. onwards and appear from then on to cover all periods. The finds suggest that a Roman necropolis was located in the region near the present-day Islamic cemetery.

Two coin hoards from Ğabla

A hoard consisting of Greek coins dating from ca. 500 to 490 BC was found in the vicinity of Ğabla.²⁸⁴ Another coin hoard, allegedly from Ğabla – or the imme-

277. Inv. no. 1476/1 = GA 9: "piriform unguentarium with tall neck and thickened rim off-set on exterior with tall, narrow stem. Red, very gritty clay. Wheelmade". Inv. no. 1476/2-4: "three further fragments similar to inv. no. 1476/1 = GA 9". The Hellenistic fusiform unguentaria have constituted the subject of a large number of studies, of which only a few can be mentioned here: P. Hellström, Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches II:1: Pottery of Classical and Later Date Terracotta Lamps and Glass. Lund 1965, 23-27; C. Diederichs, Salamine de Chypre IX: Céramiques hellénistiques, romaines et byzantines. Paris 1980, 21-23. The red clay of inv. no. 1476/1 = GA 9 may point towards a local Syrian fabric, cf. Hamā III 2, 45-50. Among the unguentaria found at Tall Sūkās unguentaria with red clay constitute a slight majority although many other colour nuances were in evidence. GA 9 does not have the carinated profile of the Hamā specimens dated by Hamā III 2, 45 between the second half of the second century B.C. and the middle of the 1st century A.D. and it is therefore probably to be dated to the end of the 3rd century or the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

278. Inv. no. 5813/1 = GA 40: "club-shaped squat bottle with off-set everted rim. Transparent greenish glass. Blown; surface eroded. H.: 5.6 cm.; Diam.: 3.2 cm". Inv. no. 5813/2 = GA 41: "Cooking pot with low cylindrical neck projecting rim, two vertical handles from rim to shoulder, depressed globular horizontally grooved belly and rounded bottom. Hardbaked, buff

to reddish-brown clay, wheel-made. Unbroken and well preserved. Remains of lime deposit. H.: 12.8 cm.; Diam.: 13.8 cm". Inv. no. 5813/2 = GA 42: "club-shaped elongated bottle with off-set everted rim; transparent greenish glass. Blown. Surface corroded. H.: 14.3 cm.; Diam.: 3.9 cm".

279. Inv. no. 5147 = GA 18: "fragment of a Roman mortarium with stamp: ΔΟΜ/ΝΟ. Red brown clay with white grits. Wheelmade. Stamp. W.: 7 cm.; H.: 5 cm". Cf. supra note 137.

280. Inv. no. 2386/1 = GA 8: "bronze coin. Obverse: bust of emperor. Weight 11.79 g".

281. Inv. no. 5121/1 = GA 21: "fragment of large stone-basin with spout and remnants of one round leg. White limestone. Carved. Only one leg left. Most of side and bottom missing. L. of leg: 3 cm.; W.: 26.5 cm.; H.: 15 cm.; Diam. of leg: 6.0 cm". Of uncertain date is furthermore inv. no. 1480/1: "rim and shoulder fragment of pot with slightly everted rim and rib on exterior. Dark red very gritty clay; bright buff slip".

282. Inv. no. 4526 = GA 26: "fragment of game board. Remnants of 12 holes. Brown limestone: L.: 28 cm.; W.: 22.5 cm.; H.: 8.30 cm".

283. Cf. H. Lamer, s.v. Lusoria in: RE 13, 2 1927, 2007-2008. No precise identification of the game in question can be made because the layout of the Ğabla board is unknown.

284. IGCH 1973, 202 no. 1479; Lund, Coastline, 19 note 30; J. and A.G. Elayi, Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire, Ve – IVe siècles avant J.C., Transeuphratène, suppl. 1. Paris 1993, 77 note 103.

diate surroundings of the town – was discovered about 1983; it comprised slightly more than 100 coins, of which 90 were published by J. and A.G. Elayi who suggested that the hoard was buried at the end of the first third of the 4th century B.C. The overwhelming majority (89) were struck at Arados; one specimen comes from Sidon.²⁸⁵

Eight rock-cut tombs excavated by the Syrian authorities

Eight rock-cut tombs located “entre la partie septentrionale de la Corniche et la rue Youssef al-Azmeh”²⁸⁶ were excavated by the Syrian Authorities from 1980 to 1981. They were published briefly by Saadé who dated the material found in them to the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, i.e. the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D.²⁸⁷ The tombs were distributed in a one km. long zone, and appear – judging by the description in the preliminary report – to be of the same type as those at Tall Sūkās, and the dead had been put to rest in terracotta sarcophagi not unlike those at Nahr al-Faid.²⁸⁸ The finds from the former appear to be richer than the material recovered from the latter, but the reason for this may well be that they had not been plundered to the same degree as those

at Sūkās. As noted by Saadé, the main importance of the discovery lies in the fact that they enable us to fix the extent of the ancient city towards the north in the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods.

The theatre

The Roman theatre²⁸⁹ is the best preserved ancient monument in Ġabla; it has been studied by Ed. Frézouls, and there is no reason to repeat his conclusions in detail below. However, it may be noted that it is built on flat ground – in contrast to most other theatres in North Western Syria, and that the cavea measures ca. 90 m in diameter. Frézouls concluded that this “édifice imposant avec ses 3 maeniana, ses ambulacres et sa façade à arcades, le théâtre de Jebleh jouait au maximum son rôle urbanistique, puisque, contrairement à ceux de Laodicée et d’Apamée, il était au centre de la ville et non à la périphérie. Son mode de soutien combine une solution occidentale et des traditions hellénistiques d’appareillage, qu’on peut rapprocher du profil élégant des gradins et de la variété apportée au choix des matériaux.” He seems to date its construction to the 2nd century A.D., though not to the very beginning of the century in question.²⁹⁰

F. Sites in the coastal zone north of Ġabla

The evidence is presented in a geographical order, moving from the south towards the north.

Tall at-Tuwainī (no. 3)

Tall at-Tuwainī²⁹¹ reaches a height of about 29 m. above the surface of the sea. It has a height of ca. 10 m. and measures about 35 m. in length on the top.²⁹²

285. J. and A.G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire, Ve – IVe siècles avant J.C., Transeuphratène*, suppl. 1. Paris 1993, 44-60.

286. G. Saadé, *Découverte*, 346.

287. G. Saadé, *Découverte*, 346.

288. G. Saadé, *Découverte*, 347-348.

289. E. Frézouls, *Les théâtres romains de Syrie*, *AASyr* 2 1952, 46-100; idem, *Les édifices des spectacles en Syrie*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 389-390.

290. E. Frézouls, *Les édifices des spectacles en Syrie*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la*

Syrie II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam. Saarbrücken 1989, 388.

291. Forrer in Ehrich 1939, 113: “and Tell et-Tueni near Jebeleh, the pre-Roman forerunner of Jebeleh, which in the 8th century B.C. was mentioned as the Gubla of Tiglatpilezer III”; Saadé, *Lattaquié*, 97; Saadé, *Ougarit*, 58; Elayi, *Studies*, 106 note 181; Saadé, *Note*, 197; Lund, *Coastline*, 19-20 note 31; Lund, *Evidence*, 30; M. al-Maqdissi, *The Syrian coast. One thousand years of archaeology (1600-600 BC)*, in: N. Chr. Stampoulidis (ed.), *Sea Routes ... From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*. Athens 2003, 92-94.

292. These pieces of information are taken from the map 1:50000.

The tall was visited by the Carlsberg Expedition in September 1958 and again in November 1960 and was described as follows in the journal of the Expedition: "Tall at-Tuwaitī is located next to Wālī Šaiḥ Hassan al-Baḥrī ... On the eastern side of the mound a "Cyclopean" wall is to be seen, built of big limestone blocks laid in nearly horizontal courses".

A number of sherds were collected on the surface of the tall. All of the pieces, which were encountered, seem to span the period from the Bronze Age to the Islamic period. However, it would probably be wrong to put too much stress on the continuity implied by these dates since only two sherds, both of Iron Age date, were described in detail.²⁹³ Only a single find, a rim fragment of a LH 3 A2 crater obviously imported from Mycenaean Greece (fig. 124), can with certainty be dated to the Late Bronze Age.²⁹⁴ Of the sherds dated to the Iron Age the overwhelming majority was constituted by imports from Cyprus and the following groups were represented: White Painted I (?),²⁹⁵ White Painted III,²⁹⁶ White Painted III or IV²⁹⁷ and Bichrome III.²⁹⁸ Two sherds were classified as local.²⁹⁹ In addition three fragments of basalt bowls of Iron Age date were unearthed with parallels in Hamā period E, i.e. between about 1200 and 720 B.C. – Later finds com-

prised the base of a Greek lamp dated to the 6th/5th century B.C.,³⁰⁰ a fragment of Eastern Sigillata A Ware and a body sherd of a Hellenistic or Roman Red Glazed pot.³⁰¹

With due caution we may summarize the findings at Tall at-Tūainī thus: the finds suggest that the site was inhabited, from the Bronze Age until at least the Late Hellenistic/Early Roman period. The Bronze Age evidence is tenuous, however, and the larger part of the material collected dates from the Iron Age, corresponding to period H at Tall Sūkās. This may have been a time when the settlement had a special importance. At present there is no support in the archaeological material for the theory that Tall at-Tūainī was the Bronze Age predecessor of Ġabla.³⁰²

'Ain al-Fawwār (no. 4)

At the source at 'Ain al-Fawwār the expedition noted the existence of considerable remains of an open aqueduct of Roman date, transporting water from the source to Ġabla: a ca. 60 cm. wide, open conduit, set between 0.95 cm. wide walls of opus caementicium of hard reddish cement and limestone, in some cases with a revetment of limestone ashlars measuring about 19 x 22 and 28 cm. Remains of a large, irregular reservoir

293. Inv. no. 16/1 = TT 1 and inv. no. 16/2 = TT 2. See infra.

294. Inv. no. 8512/2 = TT 7: "body sherd of Late Mycenaean crater with nearly horizontal rim and probably cylindrical neck. Glazed on both interior and exterior. Row of lozenges on rim. Fine light brownish clay, yellowish slip and red to brown glaze. Wheelmade, slipped and glazed". – Another sherd was dated to the Late Bronze Age (?) by the registrar, but it seems impossible to verify on the basis of the description: inv. no. 1773/3: "rim fragment with part of side. Rim off-set and flat at top, below rim root of knob-handle. Late Bronze Age (?)".

295. Inv. no. 1773/2: "handle fragment of Cypriote pot with brown painted narrow zigzag line, vertical between two stripes. White Painted I ?"

296. Inv. no. 1773/1 = TT 6: "handle fragment of Cypriote pot decorated with two vertical brown stripes between which zigzag line in light matt brown paint on thick white slip. Light buff clay".

297. Inv. no. 1773/4: "body fragment of Cypriote bowl. On interior four narrow horizontal brown-painted stripes, on exterior three horizontal lines from the lower one four vertical stripes hang-

ing down. White Painted III or IV (?); inv. no. 8512/1: body sherd of Cypriote vase. White Painted III/IV ware".

298. Inv. no. 16/2 = TT 2: "rim fragment; Cypriote-Geometric". Cf. E. Gjerstad, SCE IV 2: The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Achaic and Cypro-Classical Periods. Stockholm 1948 pl. 20, Bichrome III.

299. Inv. no. 16/1 = TT 1: "fragment of rim of flask with rib on neck. Everted rim. Yellowish clay"; inv. no. 1773/5: "side sherd of pot, on exterior broad red-painted field above which four painted ones and below three stripes. Gray-brown clay. Local Bichrome Ware. Early Iron Age".

300. Inv. no. 1773/8: "base of Greek lamp, on interior black glazed. Reddish buff fine clay; 6th-5th cent. B.C".

301. Inv. no. 1773/7: "base fragment (?) of Eastern Sigillata A bowl. Red glazed on both sides; inv. no. 1773/6: side sherd of Hellenistic-Roman pot. Red glazed".

302. Cf. M.C. Astour, La topographie du Royaume d'Ougarit, in: M. Yon, M. Sznycer and P. Bordreuil (éds.), Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Paris 1995, 63.

built in the same technique as the aqueduct, but with about 2.5 m. thick walls were located in the vicinity of the modern water tower.

Nahr ar-Rumaila (no. 35)

A number of quarries were investigated by the expedition on the promontory south of the mouth of the Nahr al-Rumaila (no. 35). No tombs were found in the area.

'Idīya (no. 26)

A bronze solidus from the reign of Theodosius the Great (AD 379 to 395) was found here.³⁰³

Qala'at ar-Rūs (no. 1)

E.O. Forrer described the tall of Qaa'at ar-Rūs in 1939.³⁰⁴ The mound, which is located to the north of the Nahr ar-Rūs, is said to be between 10 and 15 metres high and to have an upper quadratic surface measuring about 300 x 300 square metres. Forrer describes the remains of a wall running along the edge of the top surface of the tall, recognizable on its west, north and east sides. The wall was built of small unhewn stones without mortar. Two other walls were found toward the west running below the upper one. In addition to these comes toward the north "at about half height a row of Cyclopean blocks, which would be the remains of an older city wall and belong to the citadel-like middle section of this north side ...".

Forrer also speaks about the ruins of a double-arched Roman bridge over the Nahr ar-Rūs, which is located to the southeast of the tall and is reached by a "street which runs along the east foot towards the south". In 1934 Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer observed that "3 piles anciennes" of the bridge "larges de 4 m. 80, sub-

sistent encore en partie. Le beau pavement en grands blocs soigneusement appareillés a été en grande partie arraché, mettant à nu le noyau de maçonnerie en béton rouge dans lequel sont noyés de petits blocs." Schaeffer also stated that the Roman road was "revêtu de son pavé original".³⁰⁵ According to Forrer, a ford used by the local inhabitants and camel caravans was situated to the east of this. To the north of the ancient bridge "the Roman road leads to the Frankish spring ('Ain el-Frandji) – a kilometre further inland".

In 1934 Forrer dug two small soundings on the tall. One of these measured four metres square and was located at the southeast corner of the mound. However, this was given up because of lack of clear stratification after it had been dug to a depth somewhat lower than the six metres. The second trench measured 4 x 8 square metres at the top. It was located at the west slope of the tall. It was dug until bed rock was reached 11.20 m. below the surface of the earth. Nineteen layers and fourteen building phases were distinguished.

It seems certain that the burial connected with stratum 5 is to be dated to the MB I period on account of its undoubted similarity with similar graves at Rūs Šamra.³⁰⁶ This means that the layers from stratum 4 upwards postdate MB I. However, no architectural remains were associated with these and it seems that the sherds from the four strata – as far as can be ascertained from Ehrich's publication – did not constitute homogeneous assemblages³⁰⁷. This is probably in part due to the presence of a silo cutting from layer 2 through to layer 7. With this in mind it can be said that the sounding contained material from the Late Bronze Age II period, i.e. the fragment of a Cypriote Milk Bowl,³⁰⁸ the Iron Age including a fragment of a Cypri-

303. Inv. no. 5154 = AID 1.

304. Dussaud, 137; Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer *Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra-Ugarit: Septième campagne* (Printemps 1934), Syria 16 1935, 171-173; Ehrich, 1-56; Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*, 40-43; W.J. Liere, *Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in their relationship to land and water*, AASyr 13 1963, 109-122; Saadé, *Lattaquié*, 95-96; Saadé, *Ougarit*, 58 note 42; Lund, *Coastline*, 20 note 32; Lund, *Evidence*, 31 note 22. Note that Forrer's account published in: Ehrich, 113-125 does not comprise Forrer's complete text, cf. *ibid*, 125; M. al-Maqdissi, *The Syrian coast. One thousand years of archaeology (1600-600*

BC), in: N. Chr. Stampolidis (ed.), *Sea Routes ... From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*. Athens 2003, 92-94.

305. Cl. F.-A., Schaeffer *Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra-Ugarit: Septième campagne* (Printemps 1934), Syria 16 1935, 172.

306. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*, 41.

307. Ehrich, 47: "Layer 4. Six fragments" (i.e. of painted pottery "From this point on surface intrusions make stratigraphy invalid."

308. Ehrich, 47: "Layer 3. Fifteen fragments" (i.e. of painted pots) "including several of the "wicker-work" type, part of a typical

ote Black-on-Red vessel³⁰⁹ as well as the Hellenistic and Roman periods.³¹⁰ Apparently no specimens clearly datable to the 6th to the 4th century B.C. were encountered. However, in view of the tenuous nature of the evidence, it would probably be wrong to draw far-reaching conclusions from this apparent lack of finds.

Schaeffer found sherds of Roman terra sigillata on the mound, and Forrer mentions that the west slope of the hill “produced a fragment of a small Roman lamp and terra sigillata in considerable mass, which speaks for a small coherent settlement, but one should note that with the exception of a Roman burial urn, nowhere else in the city area are Roman sherds to be found”.³¹¹

In comparison with the work carried out by Forrer the investigations of the site by the members of the Carlsberg Expedition was very scanty indeed. The site was visited in July and August 1958 and 15 potsherds dating from the “Iron Age to Late Roman/Byzantine period” were picked up on the west slope “in front of walls.” At a later visit, on the 26th of August 1960 “6 potsherds. Late Bronze, Early Iron Age to 6th cent. B.C. and Late Hellenistic or Roman pieces” occurred.³¹² At a point on the coast to the south of the tall “3 potsherds, Roman and Late Antique. Tile fragment. Mosaic fragment and 3 mosaic tesserae” were found.

LB Cypriote Milk-bowl, and a black on cream sherd with vertical wavy lines alternating with groups of four straight ones, also a typical LB device common to Cyprus and the Syro-Palestinian coast”.

309. Ehrich, 47: “Layer 4 ... three of these pieces belong unquestionably to the Iron Age, one being a red polished piece with black concentric circles, of well known Cypriote type ... Layer 2 ... a piece of the typically Cypriote (so far as we know) red-on black, and a very interesting red-on-red ... These two pieces are of a very fine clay which shows an admixture of mica, not usual at Qala'at ar-Rūs but characteristic of Cyprus, whence they were almost certainly imported ... Iron Age sherds are also present here and in layer 1”.
310. Ehrich, 47: “... Layer 1 where the mélange likewise includes Hellenistic and Roman pieces”.
311. Cl.F.-A., Schaeffer *Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra-Ugarit: Septième campagne* (Printemps 1934), Syria 16 1935, 172; Ehrich 1939, 115.

It can be concluded that there was clear evidence of the tall of Qala'at ar-Rūs being visited and probably inhabited from the 4th millennium B.C. onwards. No clear evidence was found for a settlement in the Archaic and Classical periods, but this may well be due to the sporadic character of the investigations, and need not indicate a period of abandonment, although the latter possibility cannot be ruled out. In the Roman and Byzantine (?) periods only the western slope of the tall appears to have been inhabited – as suggested by Forrer. This idea is supported by the finding of a Roman burial urn on the tall since – as is well known – the Romans normally buried their dead outside the cities of the living. The date of the town (or terrace ?) walls mentioned by Forrer is entirely conjectural.

Hmaimīn (no. 2)

A bronze coin struck in Arados – with a turreted head of Tyche on the obverse and a seated figure seated on a prow on the reverse – was found at this site (fig. 125).³¹³ It may be dated between 136 and 46 B.C.³¹⁴ A total of 61 sherds were picked up here, which were said to range in date from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period.³¹⁵ Many re-used architectural members were found in the southern part of the village, possibly the remains of a Roman temple or bath.

312. Inv. no. 1.

313. Saadé, Note, 197; Lund, Evidence, 31.

314. Inv. no. 223/1 = HM 1. Weight 6.92 g. Cf. *BMP* Phoenicia pl. 5.3-4 nos. 301 and 306.

315. Inv. no. 1774, “41 potsherds. Hellenistic-Late Roman”; 1774/1 “body sherd with horizontal handle erect above rim. Hellenistic Red glazed ware”; 1774/2 “Base fragment of pot with cylindrical ring foot. Red glazed Hellenistic ware”. Inv. no. 1775 “20 potsherds. 1 bone fragment”; inv. no. 1775/1 “base fragment with low ring foot of Eastern Sigillata A Ware bowl. Red gloss. 1st century B.C. or A.D.”; 1775/2-3 “Rim- and body sherds of bowl of green glazed Port Saint Simion Ware”; 1775/4 “Rim sherd of bowl. Port Saint Simion Ware with light green glaze, dark green spots, and decoration in sgraffito”; 1775/4 “Rim sherd from bowl of Mamluk (?) Ware. Dark brown glaze”; 1775/6 “Ivory or bone fragment of a handle or a pyxis. In each end three incised grooves. Yellowish-brownish material”.

G. Sites in the interior of the Ġabla plain and in the foothills of the Ġabal al-‘Alawiyyīn

The sites are presented in a geographical order, moving from the south towards the north.

Ġabal Qurfīs (no. 23)

During an excursion to Ġabal Qurfīs, an ancient cistern was discovered in the middle of the road from the village of Qurfīs, at a short distance from the highest point (319 m above sea level), which has a magnificent view of the plain and Mount Casius. And in the vicinity there were re-used limestone ashlar, of which the largest was 45 cm. high. The find spot was located at about 280 to 290 m. above sea level. Roman and Late Antique potsherds and tile fragments were lying on a ploughing field west of the road, and a column drum of limestone was noted on a field to the east of the road.

Tall Ġalāl (no. 18)

The tall is 3 to 8 m. high, rising to 33 m above sea level. It measures about 10 m across on the top. Here, part of an olive press – or possibly a column drum – of limestone was found. It was a 1.5 m broad, low cylinder with a cavity having a square central hole on the top. Moreover, a number of limestone ashlar were also found here.

Ĥirbat al-Malkunīya (no. 34)

The name refers to a ruin located at a site 43 m. above sea level. A few ashlar were seen lying about the place, where Roman sherds were picked up, together with a pestle of basalt.

Tall Sirḥḥāba (no. 11)

Tall Sirḥḥāba³¹⁶ stands five to ten m. tall, rising 45 m. above sea level, but it only measures 5 m. across on the top. A 1.5 m. broad cylinder of limestone with a

circular groove was found here – it had clearly been used for the pressing of olives; a saddle quern of basalt was also observed. It was noted that limestone ashlar had been re-used in later walls. Also, the expedition recorded the presence of a fragment of a rubbing stone of basalt, and 25 potsherds from the Bronze-, Iron, Hellenistic, Roman and Islamic period were picked up here. A rim fragment of a crater was of a special interest; it was “covered with black glaze, except for the lower part of the interior. On the exterior below the rim, a white ivy leaf has been painted on the glaze”.³¹⁷ The technique is reminiscent of the “West Slope Ware”, suggesting a date in the 3rd century B.C., but we are not dealing with an Attic import, rather with a vase made in one of several workshops in the Eastern Mediterranean, which produced ceramics in the said technique.

Ĥirba Ġibb Qabū (no. 30)

At a site about 200 m south of Ĥirba Ġibb Qabū, “there were sherds of a Roman storage vessel, to the north of remains of an east-west oriented wall (mortar with stucco perpendicularly in the ground) as well as scattered tile fragments. We are presumably dealing with remains of a Roman villa”.

Ĥirbat al-Bunduqīya (no. 29)

At Ĥirbat al-Bunduqīya,³¹⁸ Riis noted that: “there were numerous large ashlar, a wedge stone, a lintel, a limestone with a pivot hole – from a door or quern, parts of two Roman mill stones of lava with a conical lower part and a funnel shaped upper part, several fragments of olive presses or the like, a very large, un-fluted, column drum, numerous fragments of Roman tiles and of a mosaic floor,³¹⁹ a lot of ceramics, partly sherds of large coarse storage vessels, partly of

316. Saadé, Note, 198; Lund, Coastline, 20; Lund, Evidence, 30.

317. Inv. no. 15/1 = TSB 1: “Fine light reddish clay with tiny black particles. Dull brownish to grayish black glaze. Creamy white paint”.

318. Lund, Evidence, 31.

319. Inv. no. 8744 = HB 1: “Part of a mosaic pavement with 119 tesserae in gray and white colours”.

terra sigillata (Eastern Sigillata A from the Roman period as well as Late Roman Red Slipped Ware and a few glass fragments). One of the inhabitants in the vicinity displayed a small Byzantine coin with an M found at the same place, and he added that there were tombs with human bones there as well. Moreover, a number of (recent?) iron objects, which were said to come from the ruin, were shown to us: latticework, furnishings, the frame of a folding chair, a hoe, a spiked stick (?) etc. Similar objects were picked up at the site itself." Among the material found at Ḥirbat al-Bundukīya was the side and base fragment of a Hellenistic dish with a circular groove in the base, and the rim and side of a Late Roman bowl with "off-set, slightly incurved rim, below rim vertical impressions in two rows." The description of the latter suggests that we are dealing with Cypriot Red Slip Ware.³²⁰ Moreover, three fragments of glass were also picked up at this site; they were referred to the Arabic period, but it is, perhaps, more likely that they might come from beakers of the well-known Late Antique type with a conical base.³²¹

All in all the evidence suggests that we are dealing with a rural habitation where olive (or possibly grapes) were pressed and grain was ground. There is slight evidence that it could go back to the Hellenistic period, but the main periods of habitation were clearly the Roman and Late Antique periods. The rich spectrum of finds, and especially the finding of a part of a mosaic floor, show that we are dealing with a rich site – presumably due to the sale of the agricultural produce.

320. Inv. no. 1764/1 and 1764/5.

321. Inv. no. 1764/2: "Foot of Arabic Medieval glass cup. Green coloured and round base with a low stalk; 1764/3-4: two indefinable fragments of Arabic glass (bottom of a cup (?))".

322. Lund, Coastline, 20; Lund, Evidence, 30.

323. Inv. no. 7024: "One handle fragment belonging to Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. One Roman tile. Three ribbed body sherds, five red polished fragments of Late Roman type, one light brownish bottom fragment with ring base. One handle fragment of Late Roman type, one fragment of profiled marble, Late Roman. One basalt fragment with furrows on one side probably of a grinding stone of the Early Iron Age".

324. Saadé, Note, 197; Lund, Coastline, 20; Lund, Evidence, 30.

Bīsīsīn (no. 25)

Remains from the Roman period were encountered at Bīsīsīn: ashlar and the cone-shaped lower part of a basalt mill.

Ḥirba Biḡāḡa (no. 54)

At Ḥirba Biḡāḡa,³²² which is a low tall, a few potsherds dated to the Late Bronze Age and/or Early Iron Age were picked up by members of the expedition, but the bulk of the finds were of Roman and notably Late Antique date; a fragment of a tile and of marble suggest that a building stood on this site in the latter periods. There was no evidence of continuity in the intermediary centuries.³²³

Tall Īrīz (no. 9)

Tall Īrīz,³²⁴ which is 19 m. high and 18 m. wide on the top, rises to a height of 99 m. above sea level. The tall was visited at one occasion in 1958, when a number of sherds were picked up, ranging in date from the Iron Age to the Medieval period.³²⁵

Tall Sīānū (no. 7)

Tall Sīānū³²⁶ is 27 m high. It reaches about 147 m. above sea level, and the rock is partly visible until ca. 10 m above the foot of the mound. The tall is terraced, and its highest part has a length of about 20 m.³²⁷ One of the local landowners claimed to be able to point out a place where he had found the corner of an ashlar wall reaching a depth of several m.

Relatively many finds were made on the surface of the mound; disregarding the material from the Bronze

325. Inv. no. 4: "9 potsherds. Iron Age to Islamic period".

326. Ehrich 1939, 113; Saadé, Lattaquié, 96-97 note 7; Rey-Coquais, 96-97, 106; Saadé, Ougarit, 58; Saadé, Note, 197; Lund, Coastline, 20 note 33; Lund, Evidence, 30 note 15; E. Lipiński, s.v. Siyān, in: Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique. Bruxelles and Paris 1992, 418; Bounni and Al-Maqdissi.

327. See also Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 129; A. Bounni and M. al-Maqdissi, *Compte rendu de la cinquième campagne de Fouilles à Tell Sianū sur la côte Syrienne*, *AltOrF* 25 1998, 257-264; M. al-Maqdissi, *The Syrian coast. One thousand years of archaeology (1600-600 BC)*, in: N. Chr. Stampolidis (ed.), *Sea Routes ... From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*. Athens 2003, 90-94.

Age, such as a body sherd of a Mycenaean funnel vase,³²⁸ and from even earlier periods, there was a rich selection of Iron Age ware.³²⁹ Among the ceramic finds which were not recorded in detail were potsherds from the Early Bronze Age to the Islamic period.³³⁰ The finds which were recorded in detail comprised the neck of a horse figurine, possibly imported from Cyprus,³³¹ the side and base of a basalt bowl,³³² a rim sherd of a large Cycladic or Eastern Greek jar from the 6th century B.C.³³³ Other finds included a rim fragment of an Attic black figured kylix with a horse's head and part of the face of the horseman, datable between about 530 B.C. and 475 B.C.³³⁴ One of the most interesting finds was the base with a high ring foot of an Attic? black gloss bowl with stamped circle on the interior, surrounded by arcs and palmettes. It seems to date from the 4th century B.C.³³⁵

The Danish expedition paid special attention to Tall Sīānū with a view to digging a small sounding here in 1960, but these plans did not come to fruition. However, in 1990, excavations were begun on a terrace at the north-western part of the tall by the Syrian authorities under the auspices of A. Bounni, and the results certainly confirmed the importance of the site suggested by the preliminary investigation by the

Danish archaeologists. The Syrian archaeologists noted that "le tell servit longtemps de carrière et ses pierres sont remployées dans les maisons du village di Sianū et ailleurs. Parmi les vestiges connus, on trouve un souterrain (?) que nous n'avons pas encore exploré, une huilerie de l'époque classique et un tombeau dont la façade porte une inscription grecque de l'époque des Sévères".³³⁶ Moreover, at the foot of the tall a funerary structure was found with associated material dating between the end of Iron I B and the beginning of Iron II A.³³⁷ The stratigraphy comprised a total of seven layers, but of these only layers III, IV, V and VI are of interest in the present context. In layer VI, three m. below the present surface, a small structure was found with walls preserved to a height of five courses. The accompanying finds suggest a date in the first half of the Iron II B period, which the excavators place in the 9th century B.C. – The structures found in layer V were interpreted as a part of a fortress with near-quadratic tower. The associated finds are dated from the very end of Iron II B and the first half of Iron II C, i.e. the 8th century B.C., according to the excavators.³³⁸ Finally, layers III and IV contained what is described as "deux séries d'éléments architecturaux très dispersés noyés dans une

328. Inv. no. 1765/1 = TSA 50: "red clay with white particles. Red paint on grayish-white slip ... on exterior two broad and two narrow interposed red painted bands".

329. Inv. no. 10/1: "fragment of rim and body of jar. Along rim finger prints and below plastic band with similar decoration. Iron Age"; inv. no. 10/2: "Potsherd with brown-red-brown band on yellowish ground. Cypriote? Or cf. Hamā E." Inv. no. 1275/1: "Rim sherd with fragment of vertical handle. On rim and surface of handle red matt paint. Dark reddish clay, core black with some white particles. Local Iron Age"; inv. no. 1275/2: "Body sherd of pot with red slip on exterior. Dark red, fine clay with few grits. Iron Age"; inv. no. 1775/3: "Body sherd of big jar with relief decoration perhaps made by roulette consisting of groups of horizontal bands including rows of vertical sloping stripes. Light buff, gritty clay. Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age?"

330. Inv. no. 3: "27 potsherds. Early Bronze Age to Islamic period. One clay pipe, Islamic. One fragment of serpentine bowl. One fragment of iron". Inv. no. 10: 31 potsherds. Bronze Age to Roman period. Two astragali. One piece of bone". Inv. no. 1791: "Seven potsherds, Hellenistic to Roman Age".

331. Inv. no. 10/4 = TSA 3 found on the slopes towards the north and east: "light gray, in places reddish, clay with numerous small grits. Modeled. The neck is solid, but the underside suggests that the body was hollow. L.: 7.6 cm.; W.: 3 cm.; Th.: 2.5 cm."

332. Inv. no. 1274/1 = TSA 4: "L.: 17.4 cm.; W.: 12.4 cm.; H.: 8.3 cm."

333. Inv. no. 10/3 = TSA 2 found on the slopes towards the north and the east: "pink clay ... exterior: chocolate glazed. Interior: reddish-brown glaze".

334. Inv. no. 3/1 = TSA 1 found on the slopes towards the north and the east: "orange clay. Black glaze. Superimposed red matt paint ... Decoration on exterior: horse's head and part of human face turned right (horseman). In field ivy twigs. Inside glazed".

335. Inv. no. 8316 = TSA 51: "brownish clay, black gloss".

336. Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 129 note 2.

337. Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 132.

338. Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 131-132.

couche de terre jaunâtre, et localisés principalement à la périphérie orientale et méridionale du chantier ... D'une manière générale, nous remarquons que les structures de ces deux niveaux réemploient certains murs du niveau suivant V pour former vraisemblablement de petites pièces (1,10 x 1,90 m. ou 1,90 x 2,80 m. et plus) à usage domestique." The associated layers had been somewhat disturbed but contained material datable to the 6th and the 5th centuries B.C., notably a small fragment of an Attic red figure vase from the 5th century B.C. and several examples of Cypro-Achaic pottery".³³⁹

When the results of the Syrian and Danish investigations are combined it emerges that Tall Sīānū was inhabited, probably continuously almost from the beginning of the Iron Age through the 4th century B.C., and probably also in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as well. Since no layers were found datable to the Hellenistic and Roman period, it is possible, that the habitation had by then gravitated to other parts of the mound than that explored by the Syrians. This may well be interpreted as some sort of a decline in the importance of the site, but it is, perhaps, more proper to see it as the result of a new interest in the exploitation of the agricultural resources of the plain, which could have begun already in the Classical period. This theory certainly ties in with the identification of the "hui-

lerie" at the foot of the tall.³⁴⁰ The scarcity of finds from the Hellenistic and Roman periods suggests that the tall proper did not play an important role in the centuries in question. Indeed, if the "tombeau dont la façade porte une inscription grecque de l'époque des Sévères" is actually located on the tall, this shows conclusively that it was no longer inhabited in the early 3rd century A.D., although the rural villa, whose occupants were presumably put to rest in the tomb, may well have existed in its vicinity. No finds at all from the Late Antique period are recorded from Tall Sīānū.

Ḍair Mā'ma (no. 6)

The mound is about 10 m. high, rising to ca. 140 m. above sea level. Traces of structures and tombs were noted on the western part of the ca. 35 m. long plateau, facing Tall Sīānū. The sherds picked up in this area suggested a date in the Roman period.

Duwair Ḥatīb (no. 8)

Roof tiles, mosaic tesserae, a cornice block and a Tuscan column as well as Roman and Late Antique sherds and a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus were found at this site, which rises to about 40 m. above sea level. Hence, a building of some kind – perhaps with an associated mausoleum – must have stood here in the Roman Imperial period.

H. Summary and conclusions

The economic basis

The finding of charred olives in an Iron Age storage area for agricultural produce at Tall Sūkās suggests that olives were already a source of food and oil in this

period.³⁴¹ Wine was presumably drunk at Sūkās in the Iron Age, and it is possible that grapes were already cultivated in the plain by then.³⁴² The presence of quernstones and grindstones shows that grain was in-

339. Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 131.

340. Bounni and Al-Maqdissi, 130.

341. Equipment for the pressing of olives was neither found in the Iron Age horizon of Sūkās nor in that of Rās-Bāsit, cf. P. Courbin, *Fragments d'amphores proto-geometriques grecques à Bassit*, in: P. Matthiae, M. van Loon and H. Weiss, *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*. Istanbul 1990,

56. For early evidence for olive oil processing in the Levant see Docter, *Amphoren*, 115-116, and for Cyprus, cf. S. Hadjisavvas, *Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XCIX. Nicosia 1992.

342. The early evidence for wine in the Levant is summarized in Docter, *Amphoren*, 114-115. Amphorae of classes sometimes

cluded in the diet,³⁴³ and there is good evidence that molluscs and fish were caught and no doubt eaten at Tall Sūkās.³⁴⁴ Finds of transport amphorae at sites such as Carthage and Toscanos document that the exportation of oil and wine from the Levantine coast already began in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., and the agricultural produce of the rich soil of the Ġabla plain was surely the economic basis of the settlements in the area.³⁴⁵

Sickles were brought to light at Tall Sūkās in contexts datable to periods G 3, G 2 and F, showing that the townspeople were directly involved in the cultivation of the fields.³⁴⁶ This is confirmed by the finding of a grape press in one of the buildings on the tall in period F,³⁴⁷ and of an olive press in a building from period E.³⁴⁸ Indeed, it is likely that the inhabitants of 'Arāb al-Milk, Tall Darūk, Tall Sūkās, Ġabla, Tall at-Tuwainī, Qala'at ar-Rūs, Tall Sirḥḥāba, Ḥirba Biḡāḡa, Tall Īrīz and Tall Sīnū controlled the cultivation of the plain at

least until the Hellenistic period – and the relative prosperity of the coastal sites may well have been derived from their dual rôle: as agricultural centres and as export harbours, from where the agricultural surplus of the plains (grain, wine, olive-oil, timber and other products) were shipped to overseas markets.³⁴⁹ Also, 'Arāb al-Milk and Ġabla may have started out as the ports of Tall Darūk and Tall at-Tuwainī.

The picture changed in the Early Roman – if not already in the Late Hellenistic – period, when some of the old settlements were abandoned, and a number of new sites made their appearance scattered over the countryside, often with evidence of olive and/or grape presses, and millstones.³⁵⁰ By now, these farms – or rural villas – seem to become the principal centres of agricultural production. At the same time, Ġabla and Paltos grew in size and importance, and it is a fair guess that fewer of their inhabitants were directly involved in agriculture than before. The contrast be-

thought to have contained wine occurred at Tall Sūkās, cf. Sūkās VII, 13 no. 43 which corresponds to Docter, Amphoren, 100-103 "Die Klasse Levantinisch 1," and Sūkās VII, 13 no. 40 seems to belong to Docter, Amphoren, 105-106 "Die Klasse Levantinisch 3." It has been suggested that these amphora classes could have carried wine, cf. *ibidem* 114. See also Sūkās VII, 6-23, 110-113 and 125 for interesting observations in connection with the amphorae found at Tall Sūkās, and the evidence for the Phoenician exportation of wine and oil. Also, cf. Salles 1991.

343. Sūkās VIII, 188-189; 191; 200.

344. Sūkās VIII, 189 and *passim*.

345. Docter, Amphoren, 99-116. For the agricultural character of the hinterland of North Western Syria cf. H. Seyrig, Seleucus I and the foundation of Hellenistic Syria, in: W.A. Ward (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*. Beirut 1968, 53 and 62; H. Seyrig, Séleuces I et la fondation de la monarchie syrienne, *Syria* 47 1970, 290-311; G.W. Bowersock, Social and Economic History of Syria under the Roman Empire, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 68; Lund, Coastline, 28-29; J.-Fr. Salles, Phénicie, in: Krings 1995, 580; Elayi, *Les sites phéniciens*, 341-342.

346. Sūkās VIII, 191-192; 199.

347. Sūkās VIII, 117 and 196; for the type see J.C. Smith, A Late Hellenistic Wine Press at Knossos, *BSA* 89 1994, 359-376.

348. Sūkās I, 113-114.

349. Cf. Lund, Coastline, 28 and the references there cited. For the anchorages and harbours in the region, see especially P.J. Riis, *Quelques problèmes de la topographie phénicienne: Usnu, Paltos, Pelléta et les ports de la région*, in: P.-L. Gathier et al. (ed.), *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie, grecques, romaines, byzantines)*, Paris 1988, 315-324; for recent literature on the subject in general see S.M. Cecchini, *Architecture militaire, civile et domestique partim Orient*, in: Krings 1995, 392-394; H. Frost, *Harbours and Proto-Harbours; Early Levantine Engineering*, in: V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.) *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus and the Sea*. Nicosia 1995, 1-22; H. Frost, *Harbours and Proto-Harbours; Early Levantine Engineering*, in: V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.) *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus and the Sea*. Nicosia 1995, 1-22; A. Raban, *The Heritage of Ancient Harbour Engineering in Cyprus and the Levant*, in: V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.) *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus and the Sea*. Nicosia 1995, 189.

350. For olive oil production in Syria, cf. O. Callot, *Remarques sur les huileries de Khan Khaldé (Liban)*, in: *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil à la mémoire de R. Saidah*. Lyon 1982, 419-428, *idem* *Huileries antiques de Syrie du Nord*. Paris 1984 and D. Eitam (ed.), *Olive Oil in Antiquity*. *Proceedings from a Conference*, December 1987. Haifa.

tween the easygoing life in the towns – witness the construction of a theatre in Ġabla – and the labourious toil in the rural villas must have increased. Conditions were apparently similar in Late Antiquity.³⁵¹

The infrastructure

The actual remains of roads in the Ġabla plain all date from the Roman period, but Riis reconstructed a plan of the pre-Roman roads. He based his conclusions on the line of the Roman coast road, which probably followed the line of a pre-existing line of communication, supplemented with information about routes used before the construction of modern tarmac roads, supplied by the old people living in the area at the time of the Danish expedition.³⁵²

'Arab al-Milk, Tall Sūkās, Ġabla and Qala'at ar-Rūs were clearly linked by a track following the coastline, which continued further to the south and north. There can be no doubt that its roots reach back into the Iron Age – if not further still. It was certainly well in place by the Persian period.³⁵³ Tracks leading to the sites in the interior of the plain branched from the coastal road, of which the most important were surely those that went on to cross the Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn: one of these started at Tall Sūkās and another one at Ġabla. These cross-mountain tracks continued to the plain of the Orontes and eventually reached Ḥamā. These routes were presumably especially important before the utter destruction of Ḥamā in 720 B.C., and after it was re-founded in the Hellenistic Period. For no major sites seem to have existed in the Ḥamā region of interior Syria during the centuries when the Ġabla plain was in the hands of the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians – and for the first century or so of Seleucid rule. In this period the tracks crossing the mountains

can only have had a local importance, and the traffic and trade involving the Ġabla plain must chiefly have moved in a north-southernly direction – or westward to Cyprus and beyond.³⁵⁴

We are better informed about the Roman road system in the area under consideration, especially the stretch of the coastal road connecting 'Arāb al-Milk with Ġabla. The modern road follows the line of its ancient predecessor, broadly speaking, but the latter appears to have run a few hundred metres further inland than the present-day one between 'Arāb al-Milk and the Ġisr al-Muwillih, at Ḥirbat al-Qarmū'a, Ḥirba Ġisr Sūkās, and at the bridge at Nahr al-Sūkās.

The approximate width of the Roman road is indicated by the width of the bridges, i.e. about 6.80-6.95 m. at Ḥirbat al-Qarmū'a, at least 3.80 m. (probably more) at Ḥirba Ġisr Sūkās and ca. 5.30-5.33 m. at the Nahr al-Burğul. North of the bridge at the Ġisr al-Muwillih traces of the road proper were observed on the rock, presumably cuttings for a bedding for paving stones. And polygonal flagstones were preserved in situ at the Nahr al-Burğul, which could constitute the remains of the original pavement of the road. All of the above is in line with the usual characteristics of Roman roads in Syria.³⁵⁵

The inscribed milestone from A.D. 333 to 337 found ca. 100 m. east of Tall Sūkās provides a useful piece of chronological information about the road. Moreover, the profiled block found at Ḥirbat al-Qarmū'a may also be referred to the Roman period, though its date cannot be pinpointed. For evidence concerning the construction of the road we must turn to its southern continuation. For, as is well known, the stretch between Ġabla and 'Arāb al-Milk constituted but a small section of the Roman coastal road leading

351. Cf. G. Tate, *La Syrie à l'époque byzantine: Essai de synthèse*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 102-103.

352. Sūkās I, 156 note 639 and 161 fig. 56; see also Seyrig, *Gabala*, 9 note 2.

353. D.F. Graf, *The Persian Royal Road System in Syria-Palestine, Transeuphratène* 6 1993, 156 and fig. 1.

354. Cf. Lund, *Evidence*, 27 and the literature cited there.

355. See Th. Bauzou, *Les routes romaines de Syrie*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 213.

from Antiocheia to Caesarea. The southern part of this road and the milestones associated with it formed the subject of an excellent study by R. Goodchild, who concluded that the earliest datable associated milestones go back to the reign of Nero,³⁵⁶ and this probably means that the road was first constructed during his reign – although it may, of course, have still earlier roots.

It is remarkable that no less than seven milestones can be securely dated to the time of Constantine; these constituted approximately a fourth of the total number of milestones associated with the road known to Goodchild, who suggested that: “at this time (i.e. the years 333 to 337 B.C.) orders seem to have been given for every surviving milestone in some distance north and south of Berytos to be re-inscribed with a set formula in honour of Constantine and the three Caesars”. It is not certain, however, that the road was repaired at the same time.

The road was obviously still in use in the Medieval period, when the bridge crossing the Nahr el Burghul was repaired or reconstructed. We have no way of deciding whether the whole road was still in use or if parts of it had disintegrated. Indeed, the modern coast road can in a sense be said to descend from the Roman one.

The Iron Age

In the Late Bronze Age, the sites in the Ğabla plain were within the cultural sphere of the kingdom of Ugarit.³⁵⁷ At Tall Sūkās a destruction marked the end of this period, but there was a large measure of continuity with the following Iron Age, and this may well have been the case at the other sites as well.³⁵⁸ The most important Late Bronze Age settlements in the plain were presumably those which imported pottery from other parts of the ancient world: ‘Arab al-Milk’,³⁵⁹ Tall Darūk,³⁶⁰ Tall Sūkās,³⁶¹ Tall at-Tuwainī, Qala‘at ar-Rūs, and Tall Sīnū. Interestingly, Iron Age material (periods H 2 and H 1 at Tall Sūkās) occurred at all of the above-mentioned places, as well as at Ğabla in the coastal zone, and Tall Sirḥḥāba, Ḥirba Biġāḡa and Tall Īrīz in the interior of the plain. It is logical to assume that there were Iron Age settlements at all of the sites in question.

In the early Iron Age, the kings in Hamā – many of whom had Aramaic names – controlled the coastal strip from Latakia to the Nahr al-Kabir,³⁶² and a cylinder seal from the late 9th century B.C. with an Aramaic inscription, was found at Ğabla.³⁶³ Otherwise, Iron Age material from Ğabla is scarce, but this is in all likelihood due to the sporadic exploration of the town, which is known from literary sources to have been part of the coalition gathered by Urhilinas, king of Hamā, against Shalmanasar III.³⁶⁴

356. R.G. Goodchild, *The Coast Road of Phoenicia and its Roman Milestones*, Berytus 9 1948/1949, 91-127.

357. M.C. Astour, *La topographie du Royaume d'Ougarit*, in: M. Yon, M. Szyner and P. Bordreuil (éds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.* Paris 1995, 63-64; J. Lund, *Tell Soukas*, in: Y. Calvet and G. Galliano (eds), *Le royaume d'Ougarit*. Lyon, forthcoming.

358. Sūkās VIII, 186-187; Rās-Bāsīt was likewise partly re-occupied after a destruction that occurred about 1200 B.C., cf. Courbin, *Bassit-Posidaion*, 503.

359. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 76-77 nos. 431-432 = Cypriot White Slip II Ware, and Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 434 = Late Mycenaean III A 2-III B; A. Leonard, Jr., *An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine*, SIMA 114. Jonsered 1994, 76 no. 1118.

360. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 50-51 nos. 211-216 = Cypriot Base Ring Ware and White Slip II Ware, and 52 no. 233 = Late

Mycenaean III? A. Leonard, Jr., *An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine*, SIMA 114. Jonsered 1994, 136 nos. 2150 and 2172.

361. Sūkās II, 6-11; Sūkās I passim; Sūkās VIII passim; A. Leonard, Jr., *An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine*, SIMA 114. Jonsered 1994, 210-211.

362. See for instance A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC*. London 1995, 411-412; note the interesting comparisons between the pottery of Hamā and that of Tall Sūkās in the 9th century B.C. in Sūkās VII, 124.

363. H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, Syria 32 1955, 42-43; P. Bordreuil, *Cylindre inscrit en araméen ancien*, in: *Au pays de Baal et d'Astarté. 10000 ans d'art en Syrie*. Paris 1983, 219 no. 250.

364. H.S. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*. Beirut Texte und Studien 36. Beirut 1987, 214-215; for a survey of Hamā in the 9th century see Hamā II 2, 10-14.

Locally produced pottery constituted the overwhelming majority of the ceramic finds in the Iron Age at Tall Sūkās. Cyprus was by far the main source of imported pottery,³⁶⁵ whereas Greek imports constituted less than 15 sherds.³⁶⁶ This is no doubt a situation typical also of the other sites in the plain, where Cypriot Iron Age imports have been brought to light at Tall Darūk,³⁶⁷ Tall at-Tuwainī, and perhaps also at 'Arāb al-Milk,³⁶⁸ Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib, Qala'at ar-Rūs and Tall Sīānū.

It is beyond the scope of this volume to discuss the ethnic make up of the population in the Ġabla plain in the Iron Age, a problem which will probably never be solved, since we are not entitled to equate particular groups of objects with particular ethnic entities.³⁶⁹ Still, the following ethnic components were presumably present: 1) descendants of the local population in the area in the Late Bronze Age, 2) Aramaic-speaking people, and 3) settlers from Central Phoenicia.³⁷⁰ It is possible that a number of Cypriots had also come to live in the region,³⁷¹ but the occurrence of Greek Protogeometric and Geometric pottery here – and elsewhere in North Western Syria – is probably evidence of trade, not of Greek settlers.³⁷² W. Röllig recently pointed out that “there were no Phoenicians in the sense of a “peculiar people” in the ancient Near

East ... In reality, there were only Phoenician cities along the coast of the Levant, each of which had individual histories ... it appears as if the Greek term “Phoenician” included all the inhabitants of the Levant, including those who did not speak Canaanite (Phoenician), but Aramaic”.³⁷³ So, if we chose to refer to the Iron Age people living in the Ġabla plain as “Phoenicians”, we must bear in mind that this is a simplification of a complex issue. Be that as it may, the destruction of the H 2 building horizon at Tall Sūkās about the middle of the 9th century B.C. has been associated with the “repeated Assyrian invasions under Shalmaneser III in the years 868-844”,³⁷⁴ and the region came under the distant domination of the Assyrians after the conquest and destruction of Hamā in 720 B.C. However, Tall Sūkās was rebuilt in period H 1, and life seems to have continued unchanged until yet another destruction occurred, perhaps caused by an Assyrian raid in 677 or 671 B.C.³⁷⁵

The Period of Assyrian and Babylonian domination

The town that arose from the ashes at Tall Sūkās in the succeeding period G was laid out differently from that of the Iron Age, but there is evidence of some continuity with the previous architecture.³⁷⁶ There was continuity also in the settlement pattern in the plain, for ma-

365. Sūkās VIII, 189; for local imitations of Cypriot pottery, see Sūkās VII, 124; cf. further J. Boardman, *Al Mina and History*, OxfJA 9 1990, 175-176.

366. Sūkās II, 92-93.

367. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 52-53 nos. 218-220, nos. 226-227 and 231.

368. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 77 no. 433 – only one find, the identification of which is not certain.

369. Lund, *Coastline*, 30-31.

370. However, cf. Sūkās VII, 124.

371. Sūkās VIII, 190; J.N. Coldstream, *Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, in: V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*. London 1989, 96.

372. See for instance J.N. Coldstream, *Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, in: V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*. London 1989, 90-96; P. Courbin, *Fragments d'amphores protogéométriques grecques à Bassit*, in: P. Matthiae, M. van Loon and H. Weiss, *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan*

Bounni. Istanbul 1990, 49-64; J. Perreault, *Les débuts de la présence effective de grecs sur la côte Syro-palestinienne à l'âge du fer*, in: Ο ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΣ, International Meeting of History and Archaeology Delphi 6-9 November 1986. Athens 1991, 399-400; however, cf. J. Boardman, *Al Mina and History*, OxfJA 9 1990, 186, and M.Yu. Treister, *North Syrian Metalworkers in Archaic Greek Settlements?* OxfJA 14 1995, 167; J. Luke, *Ports of Trade, Al Mina and Geometric Greek Pottery in the Levant*, BAR International Series 1100. Oxford 2003, 36-37.

373. W. Röllig, *Asia Minor as a Bridge Between East and West. The Role of the Phoenicians and Aramaeans in the Transfer of Culture*, in: Kopcke, G. and Tokumaru, I. (eds.), *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries BC*. Mainz am Rhein 1992, 93. Cf. Courbin, *Bassit-Posidaion*, 507-508; see further J.-Fr. Salles, *Phénicie*, in: Krings 1995, 568.

374. Sūkās I, 40 and Sūkās VIII, 188.

375. Sūkās I, 126; Sūkās VIII, 189.

376. Sūkās VIII, 189.

terial from period G has been found at 'Arāb al-Milk, Tall aš-Šlaib, Tall Darūk, Tall Sūkās, Ğabla, Tall at-Tuwainī and Qala'at ar-Rūs in the coastal zone as well as at Tall Īrīz, Tall Sīnū, and perhaps also Tall Sirḥḥāba in the hinterland, i.e. the very sites that were active in period H. Moreover, there is no mention of destructions at the transition from period H 1 to G 3 in the excavation reports from 'Arāb al-Milk, Tall Darūk, Qala'at ar-Rūs, and Tall Sīnū.

Locally made pottery continued to make up the overwhelming majority of the ceramic finds at Sūkās,³⁷⁷ and although the quantity of Greek imports increased markedly after the third quarter of the 7th century B.C., Riis assessed that in the 6th century B.C., 4425 Eastern Greek sherds may constitute less than 10% of the totality of the ceramic finds.³⁷⁸ The number of Cypriot imports in period G 3 was apparently more or less equal to that of Greek ceramic imports.³⁷⁹

A spindle whorl from about 600 B.C. with a Greek inscription naming its owner³⁸⁰ is presumably evidence of a Greek – in casu a Greek woman – living at

Tall Sūkās in period G, perhaps a case of “mixed marriages at the frontiers of the early Greek world”.³⁸¹ Still, the nature of the Greek involvement in North Western Syria, and the number of Greeks and perhaps also Cypriots who might actually have settled there, are hotly contested issues.³⁸²

The Persian Period

The seizure of power by the Persians in 539 B.C. was not accompanied by destructions at the sites investigated in the Ğabla plain, or, indeed, elsewhere in North Western Syria. To the contrary, the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. was a time of growing prosperity almost everywhere, though perhaps less so at Tall Sūkās, which was apparently set back by a destruction marking the end of period G 2, about the middle of the 6th century B.C.³⁸³ However, two coin hoards buried in the plains surrounding Latakia and Ğabla soon after 500 B.C. may be evidence of trouble in the area between ca. 500 and 480 B.C.,³⁸⁴ and Tall Sūkās was destroyed violently at the beginning of the 5th century B.C., perhaps as a

377. Sūkās VII, 6-60 passim.

378. Cf. P.J. Riis, *Griechen in Phönizien*, in: Niemeyer, H.G. (ed.) *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über “Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum”* in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979, *Madriдер Beiträge* 8. Mainz am Rhein 1982, 259.

379. Cf. J. Boardman, *Al Mina and History*, *OxfJA* 9 1990, 173 quoting a letter from P.J. Riis; the question of exportation of Cypro-Achaic pottery has by and large been neglected by researchers, cf. the incomplete review of the evidence in A.T. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus*. Oxford 1994, 149. For relations between Cyprus and Arados at a later period see Rey-Coquais, 176-177.

380. Sūkās II, 90 no. 424; Sūkās VIII, 190 note 36; J.C. Waldbaum, *Greeks in the East or Greeks and the East? Problems in the Definition and recognition of Presence*, *BASOR* 305 1997, 10.

381. J. N. Coldstream, *Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World*, *OxfJA* 12; of course, the mixed marriages discussed there involved Greek men and “native” women.

382. Cf. P.J. Riis, *Griechen in Phönizien*, in: Niemeyer, H.G. (ed.) *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über “Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum”* in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979, *Madriдер*

Beiträge 8. Mainz am Rhein 1982, 258-259; Stucky, *Ras Shamra*, 162-163; Courbin, *Bassit-Posidaion*, 508-509; J. Perreault, *Les débuts de la présence effective de grecs sur la côte Syro-palestinienne à l'âge du fer*, in: Ο ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ, *International Meeting of History and Archaeology Delphi 6-9 November 1986*. Athens 1991, 393-406; J.Y. Perreault, *Les emporia grecs du Levant. Mythe ou réalité ?* in: A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion*. Paris 1993, 59-83; C. Bonnet, *Monde égéen*, in: Krings 1995, 660; H.G. Niemeyer, *Expansion et colonisation*, in: Krings 1995, 254; Docter, *Amphoren*, 27; J.C. Waldbaum, *Greeks in the East or Greeks and the East? Problems in the Definition and recognition of Presence*, *BASOR* 305 1997, 1-17; M.C. McClellan, *The Economy of Hellenistic Egypt and Syria. An archaeological perspective*, in: B.B. Price (ed.), *Ancient Economic Thought* 1. London 1997, 185; Elayi, *Les sites phéniciens*, 339-340. J. Boardman, *Greeks and Syria: Pots and People*, in: G.R. Tsetschladze and A.M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black sea*, *BAR International Series* 1062 2002. Oxford, 1-16.

383. The evidence for the whole region is presented in Lund, *Coastline*; for Rās-Bāsīt see Courbin, *Bassit-Posidaion*, 508.

384. The Latakia hoard is published in *CH VI* 1981, 6 no. 6.

consequence of the Greek defeat in the Eastern Mediterranean in 498 B.C.³⁸⁵ Still, the presence of a number of 5th century B.C. tombs in the cemetery at the Southern Harbour of the site³⁸⁶ indicates that some of the inhabitants survived the disaster and continued to live somewhere in the area. This is supported by Perreault's analysis of the Attic pottery from Sūkās, which documents that the number of such imports increased between 500 and 475 B.C. A certain amount may even be dated to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.³⁸⁷

Little evidence in the Ğabla plain can be dated between the second and the fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C., suggesting that this could have been a time of decline, or at the very least a period, when connections with Greece – notably Athens – were at a very low level, as is hardly surprising when the political situation is taken into account. There are signs of an economic recovery in the early 4th century B.C., and the re-founding of Tall Sūkās – marking the beginning of period F – could be viewed as a symptom of this. Also, finds securely datable to the 4th century B.C. occurred at Tall Darūk, Ğabla, and Tall Sīānū, where “une huilerie de l'époque classique” was brought to light, according to the preliminary report of the Syrian excavations. It is possible that some of the material found at Ĥirbat al-Bunduqīya, Tall Sirḥḥāba and Tall Īrīz can likewise be dated to the Persian period.

The re-occupation of Tall Sūkās in the early 4th century B.C. constituted a clear break with the past. There was no architectural continuity with the preceding period, and the new town had a different plan than its predecessor. The introduction of new building tech-

niques and new architectural types suggest that the settlers were Phoenicians, and we may confidently refer to Tall Sūkās of period F as a Phoenician settlement.³⁸⁸ It is likely that Arados was responsible for the resettlement, because ancient authors tell us that this city dominated a part of the coastline of Syria, though the extent of the *peraiia* of Arados is a moot question. H. Seyrig and Rey-Coquais believed that Ğabla was included in the territory;³⁸⁹ but Tall Sūkās could according to Riis have constituted the northern limit of the territory of Arados, whereas Elayi stated that “we are obliged to consider Paltos as the northern limit of the territory of Arados”, while admitting that Tall Sūkās could also have belonged to Arados in the Persian period.³⁹⁰ The massive presence of Aradian coins in the 4th century B.C. coin hoard at Ğabla makes it possible that this town – and by implication the plain surrounding it – was, indeed, part of the Aradian *peraiia* by then. The five pre-Hellenistic silver coins found at Tall Sūkās were likewise struck at Arados.³⁹¹

The evidence for actual presence of Persians and/or influence from Persian art and culture in the Ğabla plain is elusive, and seems to be limited to the occurrence of certain terracotta figurines, especially the so-called Persian riders. The Persian overlords are equally invisible – archaeologically speaking – in other parts of their widespread Empire, such as Palestine and Cyprus.³⁹²

The Hellenistic Period

The Ğabla plain was part of the Seleucid kingdom in the Hellenistic period.³⁹³ The transition from the Persian to the Hellenistic period (in Sūkās terms: the sec-

385. Sūkās I, 88-91, 127; Sūkās VIII, 97-108, 192.

386. Sūkās VI, 30-32 and 65 fig. 221; Sūkās VIII, 109 note 1.

387. Perreault, *Céramique*, 145-175.

388. Cf. Lund, *Coastline*, 17-19 fig. 4 and the references there cited. For a review of the Phoenician “mur à piliers” see J. Elayi, *Nouveaux éléments sur le mur à piliers phénicien*, *Transeuphratène* 11 1996, 77-94 with references also to Tall Sūkās.

389. Seyrig, *Gabala*, 9-28; Rey-Coquais, 98 note 1 and p. 110.

390. Elayi, *Studies*, 89, 105; Elayi, *Les sites phéniciens*, 333-335.

391. Lund, *Coastline*, 18-19; note, however, J. and A.G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire*, Ve –

Ive siècles avant J.C., *Transeuphratène*, suppl. 1. Paris 1993, 60.

392. Stucky, *Ras Shamra*, 69-70 no. 6, 71 no. 9, 85-86, nos. 12-15 and 157-158; Sūkās VII, 126; J. Elayi, *Al-Mina sur l'Oronte à l'époque perse*, in: *Studia Phoenicia* 5 1987, 259 note 54. For the situation in Cyprus see A.T. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus*. Oxford 1994, 91-97; J. Lund and L.W. Sørensen, *The Hinterland of the Kingdom of Paphos in the Persian Period. Internal Developments and External Relations*, *Transeuphratène* 12 1996, 147.

393. For Hellenistic Syria in general cf. F. Millar, *The Problem of*

ond part of period F, and period E) seems to have been peaceful in the region, where all the sites inhabited in the 4th century B.C. continued to be so in the Hellenistic period. This suggests that the bulk of the population continued to go about their business pretty much as usual. Hellenistic material has been brought to light at 'Arāb al-Milk, Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib, Tall Darūk, Tall Sūkās (the tall itself, Ḥirba Ğisr Sūkās, Mīna Sūkās: the Southern Harbour), Ğabla, Tall at-Tuwainī, Qala'at ar-Rūs, Hmaimīn, Tall Sirḥḥāba, Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya, and Tall Īrīz. The number of sites in the plain increased slightly from the 4th century B.C. through the Hellenistic period, which suggests that the latter was a time of prosperity and expansion, as it presumably was in other parts of North Syria.³⁹⁴

Alexander tetradrachms were produced at Ğabla between 230/29 and 225/4, and O. Mørkholm noted that the fact that they were dated with a reference to the civic era of Arados shows that the town was (still) part of the Aradian *peraia*.³⁹⁵ It was no doubt the most important town in the plain, and this may have been the time when a new quarter, laid out according to a "Hippodamian" scheme, was added to the pre-existing town. It is likely that a circuit wall was built here at the same time – a predecessor of the Medieval town wall, but there are no indications that any of the other sites in the plain were fortified in this period, with the possible exception of Qala'at ar-Rūs.

The coins found by the Danish expedition are testimony to the economic relations of the region in the Hellenistic period. The material comprises coins struck at

Arados ('Arāb al-Milk, Tall Darūk, Ḥirba Ğisr Sūkās, Tall Sūkās, Hmaimīn), Tarsus (Tall Darūk), Ptolemais-Ace (Tall Darūk), Karne (Tall Sūkās) and Marathos (Tall Sūkās). Also, Macedonian silver drachmae and tetradrachmae of Alexander the Great's type (Tall Sūkās), bronze coins of Alexander the Great's type (Tall Sūkās), silver tetradrachmae struck by Lysimachos of Thrace (Tall Sūkās), a bronze coin struck by Antiochus VII Sidetes (Tall Sūkās), a bronze coin struck by the Seleucid king Demetrios I (Tall Sūkās), and a coin from an unassigned Seleucid mint (Ḥirba Ğisr Sūkās).

The Early and Late Roman Periods

It was probably an earthquake that destroyed Tall Sūkās about the middle of the 1st century B.C., not the Roman take over of power in Syria in 64 B.C., an event that was apparently not marked by destructions of other sites in the Ğabla plain either. Material from the Roman (D) and Late Roman (C) periods was found at 'Arāb al-Milk, Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib, Tall Darūk, Ḥirbat al-Qarmū'a, Ḥirba Ğisr Sūkās, the area of the Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās, Nahr al-Faid, Ğabla, Tall at-Tuwainī, 'Ain al-Fawwār, the area of Qala'at ar-Rūs, Hmaimīn, Ğabal Qurfīs, Tall Ğalāl, Ḥirbat al-Malqunīya, Tall Sirḥḥāba, Ḥirba Ğibb Qābū, Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya, Bīsīsin, Ḥirba Biġāġa, Tall Īrīz, Tall Sīānū, Dair Mā'ma and Duwair Ḥatīb. The increase in the number of sites, and the occurrence of new ones in the interior of the plain speaks volumes about the intensive exploitation of the agricultural potentiality of the region under the Pax Romana.

Hellenistic Syria, in: A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*. London 1987, 110-133; M. Sartre, *La Syrie à l'époque hellénistique*, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (éds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 31-44; J.D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleucid Syria*. Oxford 1990; R.A. Stucky, *Hellenistisches Syrien*, in: *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988. Mainz am Rhein 1990, 25-31; A. Mehl, *The Seleucid Cities in Syria: Development, Population, Continuation*, in: *O ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ*, International Meeting of

History and Archaeology Delphi 6-9 November 1986. Athens 1991, 99-111; Lund, Evidence.

394. Lund, Evidence, 39-40 fig. 5 *contra* F. Millar *The Problem of Hellenistic Syria*, in: Kuhrt, A. and Sherwin-White, S. (eds.), *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*. London 1987, 130.

395. O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-186 B.C.)*. Cambridge 1991, 144; the town broke loose from the *peraia* in 46 B.C., and established the start of a new era in 46/45 B.C., cf. Rey-Coquais, 162.

A mint was located at Ġabla,³⁹⁶ which continued to be the most important town in the region, as is also reflected by the theatre constructed there in the 2nd century A.D. Paltos was the second-most important site, judging by the evidence of monumental architecture from there. Bishops are mentioned in connection with both towns in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.,³⁹⁷ further underscoring their pre-eminence in the region.

There was a measure of continuity with the Hellenistic phase at most sites, but also – for the first time – some evidence of a change in the settlement pattern. Roman tombs have been found on the ancient tells of Qala‘at ar-Rūs and Tall Sīānū, which indicate that the old settlements on the plateau of these mounds had by now been abandoned, presumably in favour of one or more farms – or rural villas – in the vicinity. The Roman tombs on the mounds of Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib and Dair Mā‘ma do not count in this connection, since there is no evidence of pre-existing settlements at these sites; a fragment of a sarcophagus at Duwair Hatīb shows that a tomb of some sort also existed at this site – perhaps a mausoleum associated with a Roman villa. Also, in the area north of the Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās the presence of a Roman building is revealed by fragments of marble, limestone, tiles, and part of a mosaic – all datable to the Roman period. The finding of a circular mill stone and an olive press shows that we are dealing with a rural establishment, to which the nearby chamber tombs, as well as the “Klinensarkophag” probably belonged. Hence, at least one of its proprietors must have become a wealthy man. The objects found in the tombs suggest that the villa was established by A.D. 50 at the latest, and continued in use to

about A.D. 50 to the 2nd century A.D. The Roman tombs located some 400 m to the south west of the tall hint at the presence of another settlement in this area.

The available evidence does not allow us to trace developments in detail between about 68 B.C. and A.D. 400. However, most of the precisely datable finds – ceramic and otherwise – can be assigned to the years between about 50 B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., and it is highly likely that the region reached its peak of prosperity in this period. By contrast, the finds that may be assigned to the century or so between the Severans and A.D. 333/337, when the coastal road was repaired, are few and far between. The lack of datable material may be a symptom of a crisis, and recent research suggests that there were, in fact, two periods of decline in the Eastern Mediterranean, of which the first could have been a consequence of the Antonine plague under Marcus Aurelius.³⁹⁸ This was followed by a recovery under the Severans, but soon afterwards a new period of stagnation and decline struck many areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, which seems to have lasted into the first third of the 4th century A.D.³⁹⁹ It should not be imagined, however, that the towns and the countryside were desolate in the period in question – merely that economic activities were at a lower level than before. And by the last two thirds of the 4th century A.D. conditions had obviously changed for the better – here as in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Late Antique Period

From the 4th to the 6th century A.D. “la Syrie compte parmi les régions les plus riches de l’Empire,” in the words of G. Tate.⁴⁰⁰ Evidence from the Late Antique

396. Seyrig, Gabala; Rey-Coquais, 168, 246.

397. Rey-Coquais, 257; according to other authorities only Ġabla was actually the seat of a bishop, cf. S. Fick, Die Verbreitung des Christentums von den Anfängen bis zu den Kalifen, in: E.M. Ruprechtsberger (ed.), *Syrien. Von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen*. Linz 1993, 38-39 fig. 1.

398. R.P. Duncan-Jones, The impact of the Antonine plague, *JRA* 9 1996, 108-136.

399. Cf. Rey-Coquais 1989, 58-61; J. Lund, From archaeology to history? Reflections on the chronological distribution of ce-

ramic fine wares in South Western and Southern Asia Minor, in: M. Herfort-Koch, U. Mandel, and U. Schädler (eds.), *Hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Keramik des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes*. Kolloquium Frankfurt 24.-25. April 1995. Frankfurt a.M. 1996, 105-125 and the references there cited.

400. G. Tate, La Syrie à l’époque byzantine: Essai de synthèse, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam*. Saarbrücken 1989, 102.

period, which for present purposes is defined as comprising the years between about A.D. 400 and the Arab conquest in A.D. 654, was brought to light at ‘Arāb al-Milk, Tall Darūk, in the area of the Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās, Ġabla, Qala‘at ar-Rūs, Ĥirbat al-Bunduqīya and Ĥirba Biġġaġa, and presumably also at Ĥirbat al-Qarmū‘a, Ĥirba Ġisr Sūkās, Tall at-Tuwainī, Hmāimīn, Ġabal Qurfīs, Tall Īrīz and Tall Sīānū. The number of sites seems considerably smaller than that of the previous periods, but the apparent decline should not be exaggerated. Our knowledge of Late Antique pottery – the prime chronological indicator – has progressed greatly since the time of the Danish expedition, and it is possible that many sherds that in those days could only be identified as “Roman” might now be referred to the Late Antique period. Ġabla, which was described as “πόλις δὲ αὐτῆ συμικρὰ καὶ χαριεστὰτη” in the 5th century A.D.,⁴⁰¹ was no doubt still the most important town in the area, followed by Paltos, where two fragments of one (or two ?) marble table(s) were found, that may originate in a basilica, the location of which has not yet been pinned down.

Stagnation and decline seems to have been the order of the day after the middle of the 6th century A.D. in

North Western Syria, Rough Cilicia and Cyprus, i.e. – well before the Arabian conquest.⁴⁰² It is reasonable to assume that the devastating earthquakes, which hit Syria in A.D. 526 and 528 as well as the plague, that struck the Eastern Mediterranean in A.D. 541, were the main causes of the decline in this part of the ancient world, although the long-term consequences of such disasters are debated.⁴⁰³ Still, R.P. Duncan-Jones, who recently studied the far-reaching consequences of an earlier epidemic, the great plague that struck many regions of the ancient world under Marcus Aurelius, has demonstrated that the latter epidemic had a prologued impact “stretching at least into the medium term” on population, agriculture, building activities and on the mint production etc.⁴⁰⁴ The latest securely datable ceramic finds from the Late Antique period made by the Danish expedition, were a fragment of a bowl of Phocaeen Red Slip Ware (Late Roman C) datable to the 5th century A.D. from Tall Darūk, and sherds of imported Cypriot Red Slip pottery at Paltos from the late 5th or early 6th centuries A.D. The latter show that the age old contacts with Cyprus were still maintained.⁴⁰⁵

401. Rey-Coquais, 33 no. T 64; see further S. Fick, Die Verbreitung des Christentums von den Anfängen bis zu den Kalifen, in: E.M. Ruprechtsberger (ed.), *Syrien. Von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen*. Linz 1993, 46 fig 2.
402. Cf. G. Tate, Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VII^e siècle. Un exemple d’expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l’Antiquité, *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* 133. Paris 1992, 343-350; C. Foss, The Near Eastern countryside in late antiquity: a review article, *JRA*, Supplementary Series 14: The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research. Ann Arbor, Michigan 1995, 220-221; J. Lund, A Fresh Look at the Roman and Late Roman Fine Wares from the Danish Excavations at Hamā, Syria, in: H. Meyza and J. Młynarczyk (eds.), “Hellenistic and Roman Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean – Advances in Scientific Studies” Acts of the II Niebórow Pottery Workshop. Warsaw 1995, 146; C. Foss, Dead Cities of the Syrian Hill Country, *Archaeology* 49 1996 number 5, 53.
403. H. Kennedy, The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation, *ByzF* 10 1985, 182-183; J. Ch. Balty, Apamée au VI^e siècle. Témoignages archéologiques de la richesse d’une ville,

in: *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin* 1. Paris 1989, 79-80; J. Durliat, La peste du VI^e siècle, in: *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin* I. Paris 1989, 107-119; G. Tate, La Syrie à l’époque byzantine: Essai de synthèse, in: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam. Saarbrücken 1989, 110-115; P. Pentz, The Invisible Conquest: the Ontogenesis of Sixth and Seventh Century Syria. Copenhagen 1992, passim; J. Lund, A Fresh Look at the Roman and Late Roman Fine Wares from the Danish Excavations at Hamā, Syria, in: H. Meyza and J. Młynarczyk (eds.), “Hellenistic and Roman Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean – Advances in Scientific Studies” Acts of the II Niebórow Pottery Workshop. Warsaw, 146.

404. R.P. Duncan-Jones, The impact of the Antonine plague, *JRA* 9 1996, 108-136.
405. The relationship was maintained even after the Arabic conquest, cf. W.H. Griffith, Images, Islam and Christian Icons, in: P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam*. Damas 1992, 130.

Chapter IV

The Medieval Period

by

Thomas Riis

A. An Outline of the Plain's Medieval History

Ğabla is situated approximately half-way between the towns of al-Lađqīya and Banyās, in a coastal plain which is limited to the north by the watershed 20 km north of Qal'at ar-Rūs and to the south by the western extensions of the Qurfīš-massive. As Ğabla's medieval history appears less connected with localities and events north of al-Lađqīya than with those taking place between this town and Banyās, only the region between these two towns has been considered.

In time, the study deals mainly⁴⁰⁶ with Arab, Middle Byzantine and Crusader rule in Syria, i.e. from the 630s to the Ottoman conquest in 1516. At the end of the fourth century AD North-Western Syria was part of the Roman province of *Syria Coele*, which was soon to be divided into two with Antioch and Apamea as their respective capitals.⁴⁰⁷

At the beginning of the sixth century, the Ğabla plain did not belong to the same administrative district: the cities Latakia, Gabala and Paltos were parts of the province of *Syria Prima* with Antioch as its capital and Balanea was under the province of *Syria Secunda*, which was governed from Apamea. Under Justinian I (527-65) the four mentioned cities were detached from their respective provinces and were – obviously with the surrounding land – united into an eparchy called Theodoriada (Θεοδοριάδα). Moreover, it obtained metropolitan rights but the bishop of Latakia was still to be considered the subordinate of the patriarch of Antioch.⁴⁰⁸ The new province must have been created between 536 and 553.⁴⁰⁹

The bishoprics of our region were ancient: for Latakia the names of six bishops are known earlier than Theodotos, who participated in the council of

406. In a few cases, e.g. Ğabla's town plan, the investigation will consider earlier periods as well. Two scholars have generously assisted me during my work, as they have read my manuscript, put at my disposal unpublished material and suggested improvements: my colleague in the University of Kiel, Prof. H.E. Mayer, and the head of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia, my father Professor P.J. Riis. To both of them, I express my sincere gratitude. I am also indebted to Professor C. Toll for information on the Arabic inscriptions mentioned in notes 477, 522 and 523. Needless to say, what errors remain are entirely my own.

407. Robert Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945, p. 47; Maurice Sartre: *La Syrie Creuse n'existe pas*, in: *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie, grecques, romaines, byzantines)* ed. Pierre-Louis Gatier, Bruno Helly, Jean-Paul

Rey-Coquais, *Notes et Monographies techniques* 23, Paris 1988, pp. 15-16. The division must have taken place before the council of Ephesos 431: Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 132-33.

408. Ioannis Malalae *Chronographia* ed. L. Dindorf (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1831) XVIII § 183, 448, cf. Rey-Coquais, 43 nos. 100 (Hierocles, Synecdemus) and 101 (Georges of Cyprus). Balanea had in the early Byzantine period been attached to the province of Apamea (*Syria Secunda*) which had no good harbour (Rey-Coquais, 71).

409. Devreesse, 141 and 169; J. & J.-Ch. Balty: *L'Apamée antique et les limites de la Syria Secunda (La Géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet=Université des Sciences humaines de Strasbourg: Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques* 6, Leiden 1981), 75.

Nicaea (325). The earliest known bishop for Gabala is the one present at the same council.⁴¹⁰ A bishop of Paltos was for the first time mentioned between 325 and 363, when a successor took part in the council of Antioch (363);⁴¹¹ finally, Balanea was at Nicaea in 325 represented by its bishop.⁴¹²

In 512 the Monophysite Severus was elected patriarch of Antioch; during his time of office, he intervened in the affairs of the dioceses of Latakia and Paltos; bishop Constantine of Latakia was probably consecrated by him and continued to ask his advice even after his banishment.⁴¹³

Perhaps already then, Gabala remained Orthodox; at any rate its bishop John took part in the council of Constantinople in 536 which pronounced itself against Monophysitism.⁴¹⁴ According to the Monophysite ecclesiastic John of Ephesus (c. 507-586), the Empress Theodora had two “Orthodox” (read: Monophysite) bishops appointed to Syrian sees in 542; in their turn they consecrated the monk Dimet as Metropolitan of Latakia.⁴¹⁵ From 543 onwards Syria experienced a period of religious anarchy, because many towns had both “Orthodox” (read: Monophysite) and “Chalcedonian” (or Orthodox in our sense) bishops.⁴¹⁶ The Sassanian invasion of Syria 608 caused the appoint-

ment of several Monophysite bishops; although the Emperor Heraclius succeeded in beating the enemy and in reasserting Byzantine rule in Syria (628), he was unable to solve the religious conflict. Less than ten years later the Arabs conquered the coast with Latakia, Gabala and Ṭarṭūs.⁴¹⁷

According to the list of Armenian bishoprics mentioned by Šēmpad (1208-76) al-Laḏqīya was an independent metropolitan see. At both Gabala and Paltos there was an archbishop with the rank of Lesser Catholicos.⁴¹⁸

After the Arab conquest Palestine and Syria were divided into military districts (*ḡund*). Our region formed part of the ḡund Ḥimṣ, which extended as far inland as Palmyra. In the coastal plain Yaḡūbī mentions four towns: al-Laḏqīya, Ḡabla, Banyās and Ṭarṭūs. The inhabitants of Ḡabla belonged to three clans (*ahl*): Hamdān (from the Yemen), Qaīs and 'Iyād.⁴¹⁹ For some reason Paltos was not mentioned.

The history of our region in the centuries after the Arab conquest is little known. The Jacobite (Monophysite) patriarch of Antioch Michael the Syrian (1126-99, in office since 1166) notes earthquakes at Ḡabla 475-76, at al-Laḏqīya in 528-29 and again in 549-50. However, he was writing so much later than

410. Devreesse, 125 and 169.

411. Ibid., 129 and 169-170. In 363 Paltos is mentioned as situated in Phoenicia, but is 18 years later placed in Coele Syria, *ibid.*, 129-130. Devreesse, *op. cit.*, 22 and 169 note 10, and after him Jean Maurice Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus. Répertoire des diocèses syriaques orientaux et occidentaux* (Beiruter Texte und Studien XLIX), Beirut-Stuttgart 1993, 251, suggest that the dioceses of Gabala and Paltos were governed by the same bishop, but different persons represented the two sees at the council of Constantinople in 381, *cf. Devreesse, op.cit.*, 169.

412. Devreesse, *op. cit.*, 182. According to Father Fiey, *op. cit.*, 199, Syriac bishops of Balanea are known between 325 and 536.

413. Devreesse, 69-72; *cf. Patrologia Orientalis* XIV, Paris 1920, fasc. 1: A Collection of Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch ed. E.W.Brooks, No. XCI, 158-168. Severus was banished in 518 and died in 538 (*loc.cit.*).

414. Devreesse, 74 and 97. According to Jean Maurice Fiey, *op. cit.*, 199, Syriac bishops of Gabala are known between 325 and 553.

415. *Patrologia Orientalis* XIX, Paris 1926, fasc. 2: John of Ephesus: Lives of the Eastern Saints ed. E.W.Brooks III, 156.

416. Devreesse, *op. cit.*, 75.

417. *Ibid.*, 100-101 and 105. The Arab conquest took place in 16 H, *i.e.* 2/2/637-22/1/638.

418. RHC: Documents Arméniens I, 675-676.

419. Aḥmad Ibn Abu Yaḡūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (ed. M.J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* VII, Leiden 1891), 324-25 (end of 9th c. AD); *Liber Expugnationis Regionum*, auctore Imāmo Ahmed ibn Jahja ibn Djābir al-Belādsorī ... ed. M.J.de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 132-134 (Arabic pagination) (9th century AD), *cf. Muhsin D.Yusuf: Economic Survey of Syria during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (*Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* 114, Berlin 1985), 4-5 with map 7. See also C.-P. Haase, *Untersuchungen zur Landschaftsgeschichte Nordsyriens in der Umayyadenzeit* (Diss. Hamburg 1972, Kiel 1975), + 10-11 and + 25-26. The Islamic inhabitants of al-Laḏqīya belonged mainly to the clans Salḥ, Zubayd, Hamdan and Yaḡsub.

the events that his information should only be considered, if it is confirmed by other and more certain evidence. On the other hand Professor Amiran's catalogue of earthquakes is not comprehensive as far as Northern Syria is concerned. If in old sources only Syria was mentioned as the affected area, the earthquake was not included in the list, unless it could be established that Palestine was involved as well. Moreover, the region's main seismic area is situated about Alexandretta and Antioch; consequently, an earthquake could very well have been felt at al-Laḍqīya or Ğabla and not at all in Palestine.⁴²⁰ Among the three mentioned earthquakes, the one in 549-50 (correcter 551) caused particularly comprehensive destructions with many victims, as it was followed by a tidal wave.⁴²¹

More reliable, because it could reflect official ecclesiastical evidence – but still very remote in time – is the information that Denys, Jacobite patriarch (of Antioch) was consecrated in August 818. During his time in office (till August 845) he ordained 99 bishops, among them as no. 30 the monk Constantine as bishop of al-Laḍqīya.⁴²²

For the period where Michael writes contemporary history, he speaks of earthquakes in Syria in the years 1469⁴²³ and 1481, which – as Michael uses the Seleucid chronology – correspond to 1158 and 1170 AD. Under the latter year Jacobite churches are mentioned at al-

Laḍqīya, Ğabla and Tripolis,⁴²⁴ which shows us that the schism between Jacobites (Monophysites) and Orthodox Christians in our sense still had some importance in our region. We know, moreover, that Moslem soldiers were garrisoned at Ğabla in 785 and that one of them questioned the use of icons; he deliberately damaged a mosaic in a church at Ğabla and fell ill immediately.⁴²⁵

In the tenth century the Byzantine empire experienced a series of military triumphs over its neighbours, in the 960s Byzantium asserted itself in the eastern Mediterranean: Crete was taken in 961, Cyprus five years later, and with the fall of Tarsus Cilicia returned under Byzantine rule. 968-969 the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas led a campaign in the East.

He marched on Diyarbekir, but turned against Syria. On October 22nd, 968, he stood before Antioch, but left it on the third day. He then marched to the South, conquering Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ. Proceeding westwards towards the coast, the army reached Tripolis on November 5th, and burnt its suburbs down. 'Arqa (on the coast between Tripolis and Ṭartūs) was successfully stormed after a siege of nine days. The Byzantine force continued to the North, the fortified place (ḥiṣn)⁴²⁶ Ṭartūs was taken, and so were Maraḳīyah (Maraclée on the coast between Ṭartūs and Banyās) and the fortified place (ḥiṣn) of Ğabla. With the inhabitants of al-Laḍqīya an agreement was made

420. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. J.-B. Chabot, II, Paris 1901, 143, 193-195, 243 and 533-535. D. H. Kallner-Amiran, A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine I, Israel Exploration Journal I, 1950-51, 223-224.

421. Nina Jidejian, Beirut through the Ages, Beirut 1973, 70-74; A. Sieberg, Erdbebengeographie, Handbuch der Geophysik IV, hrsg. B. Gutenberg, Berlin 1932, 801.

422. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. J.-B. Chabot, III, Paris 1905, 454 and 500, cf. J.-B. Chabot: Les évêques jacobites du VIII^e au XIII^e siècles d'après la chronique de Michel le Syrien (Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 1. série IV, Paris 1899, 495-498 and VI, Paris 1901, 199). Father Fiey dates Constantine's consecration to the years between 818 and 829, op. cit., 227.

423. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. J.-B. Chabot, III, Paris 1905, 316.

424. Ibid., III, 339. Michael's Seleucid years 1469 and 1481 should be corrected to 1468 and 1480, respectively 1158 and 1170 AD, cf. ibid., III, 424. See also Hans Eberhard Mayer, Das

syrische Erdbeben von 1170. Ein unedierter Brief König Amalrichs von Jerusalem, Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters XLV 1989, 477 and 484.

425. Cf. Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio ... ed. J.D. Mansi XIII, Firenze 1767, coll. 77-80. The incident was communicated to the council of Nicaea in 787 by the bishop of Cyprus, who had learnt it from the Cypriot mariners calling at Ğabla in 785.

426. In contrast to qal'a (castle) I translate ḥiṣn by fortified place, which could be of considerable dimensions; the Arabic name of Crac des Chevaliers is Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, i.e. the fortified place of the Kurds. Recent research on Islamic strongholds in Spain has shown that there is a real difference between qal'a (castle) and ḥiṣn ("bourgade fortifiée souvent importante"), cf. A. Bazana, P. Cressier, P. Guichard, Les châteaux ruraux d'Al-Andalūs. Histoire et archéologie des Ḥuṣūn du Sud-Est de l'Espagne (Publications de la Casa de Velazquez, Série archéologie XI, Madrid 1988), 67-68, 107, 138, 153, 293 and passim.

about the surrender of the city. Finally, on October 28th, 969, Antioch was taken.⁴²⁷

In the same year, Nicephorus had been murdered by John Tzimisce who seized imperial power. In 975 he conducted a campaign in Syria, perhaps with the intention of conquering the Holy Places in Palestine. The establishment in 969 of the Fatimid dynasty in Palestine thwarted this plan.⁴²⁸

The Emperor forced Damascus to pay tribute, he conquered Beirut, but laid siege to Tripolis in vain. Marching to the north, he took the fortified places (ḥuṣūn) of Banyās and Ġabla.⁴²⁹

Thus Byzantine rule had been restored in Northern Syria; like other conquered areas it was divided into smaller units each under a στρατηγός, but as this was the title of the commander of a theme, these smaller units were sometimes called theme, sometimes στρατηγίς. A *dux* was the superior of several στρατηγοί consequently Antioch was governed by a *dux*.⁴³⁰

In 370 H (980-81) a Tripolitan force laid siege to the ḥiṣn of al-Laḏqīya, and perhaps in 992 AD the Moslems of the latter town revolted, but were beaten. Consequently they were deported to Byzantine territory further away from the frontier.⁴³¹

Perhaps in the middle of the 980s, the ḥiṣn of Banyās was taken by a North African force, but was reconquered by the *dux* (*malik*, i.e. king!) of Antioch.⁴³²

In 1013 the Ḥalif al-Ḥakīm authorized Christians and Jews to leave Egypt with their families and belongings and to settle in Byzantine territory. Consequently many – also converts to Islam – left for Antioch, al-Laḏqīya, and other Byzantine cities.⁴³³ For the Islamic states it could be politically advantageous to let the Orthodox Christians leave for Byzantine territory; for them the real ruler of society was the Byzantine emperor, despite the fact that within the Caliphate he was represented by the patriarchs.⁴³⁴ As the Byzantines considered themselves the protectors of the Orthodox Christians, and as about 1000 the annexion of Palestine was an aim of Byzantine politics⁴³⁵, the existence of great numbers of Orthodox Christians in Islamic territory could prove dangerous for the Islamic rulers. During the second half of the eleventh century the Selḡuks established themselves in Syria. Damascus fell to them in 468 H = 1075/1076 AD;⁴³⁶ Šaizar was taken from the Byzantines in 1081 and their last major possession in Syria, Antioch, was conquered on December 4th, 1084. Only Edessa remained Byzantine in the 1090s.⁴³⁷

When in 1095 Pope Urban II preached the Crusade, several thousands took the cross. On their way the Crusaders passed through Byzantine territory and had to make an agreement with the emperor. Obviously, he

427. *Patrologia Orientalis* XVIII, Paris 1924, fasc. 5: Histoire de Yahya ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche continuateur de Sa'īd-ibn-Bitriq, ed. I. Kratchkovsky et A. Vasiliev, 814-16 and 823. The author wrote in the first half of the eleventh century.

428. H. St. L. B. Moss in: *Byzantium. An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*², ed. N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, Oxford 1949, 23.

429. *Patrologia Orientalis* XXIII, Paris 1932, fasc. 3: Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche, ed. I. Kratchkovsky et A. Vasiliev, 368-369. Other conquests were the ḥuṣūn of Barzuyyah and Saḥyūn.

430. H. Glykatzki-Ahrweiler, *Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin au IX^e-X^e siècles*, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* LXXXIV 1960, 38-49. The Byzantine practice of establishing dukes to supervise local government was continued by the Franks e.g. at Antioch, Ġabla and at al-Laḏqīya, cf. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 8. Aufl., Stuttgart 1995, 151.

431. Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche, *Patrologia Orientalis* XXIII, Paris 1932, fasc. 3, 406-407 and 439.

432. *Ibid.*, 416-417. In 999, the Emperor Basil II led a campaign in the Orontes valley, conquering Šaizar and making communication safer through the Ġabal Bahrā to the coast, cf. E. Honigmann: *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* (=A.A. Vasiliev ed.: *Byzance et les Arabes III* = *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae* 3, Bruxelles 1935), 107-108.

433. *Ibid.*, 519.

434. S. Runciman, *The Byzantine "Protectorate" in the Holy Land in the XIth Century*, *Byzantion* XVIII, 1948, 212-213.

435. *Ibid.*, 208 and 215.

436. *EF*² II 1965, 282 (N. Eliséeff).

437. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 122-124 and 145.

wanted to use them in the reconquest of Asia Minor and Northern Syria. By means of both Byzantine (adoption) and Western (homage) ceremonies of subordination, the emperor sought to bind the Latin princes closer to his Oriental policy. The princes should cede conquered territory to an imperial representative, but in return the emperor assumed the feudal seigneurial obligation of furnishing help and advice.⁴³⁸

This is not the proper place for a detailed discussion of the Frankish conquest of Northern Syria; let us only note that Antioch fell on June 3rd 1098 and remained Frankish till 1268.⁴³⁹

Al-Laḍqīya was conquered by October 1097 by – among others – English troops allied with Byzantium; in 1099 it was taken over by Raymond de St. Gilles in the name of Alexius Comnenus. The Franks succeeded in taking it in 1103, in the following year the Byzantines were able to reconquer part of it. Four years later, Tancred recaptured it, and it now remained Frankish until it was taken by Ṣālāḥ ad-Dīn on July 22nd, 1188. Except for a short Frankish period from 1261 to 1287, it remained under Islamic rule.⁴⁴⁰ Under the Ayyūbids, al-Laḍqīya belonged to the province of Aleppo. After

the Mamluk conquest, it became the capital of a niyāba in the province of Tripolis.⁴⁴¹

Ġabla was attacked by the Franks at the beginning of 1099, but without success. As a result of their third attack, in Spring 1101, the qādī surrendered it to the atabeg of Damascus (August 1101), but after a short time, the garrison was evicted, and Ġabla was ruled by the Banū ‘Ammār of Tripolis. Only after the fall of the latter town, Ġabla was taken by Tancred (July 1109) and remained under Frankish rule until Ṣālāḥ ad-Dīn’s conquest in July 1188.^{441A} For many years – from 1192 to 1285 – Templars and Hospitallers contended for it,⁴⁴² but as was the case for other titles to land, the object of the rivalry was probably rather the titles to conquer and govern Ġabla than the title to its actual possession.⁴⁴³ In 1285 it was taken by Qalāwūn and was made the capital of a wilayat under the administrative district of Tripolis.⁴⁴⁴ Banyās however, after a short Byzantine interlude, remained Frankish from its occupation in 1109 to the Mamluk conquest in 1285.⁴⁴⁵

Thus, our whole region belonged to the Principality of Antioch until 1188, after that time Ġabla was Islamic,

438. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Pelican ed.) I, Harmondsworth 1971, 145-171; François-L. Ganshof, *Recherches sur le lien juridique qui unissait les chefs de la première croisade à l'empereur byzantin*, *Mélanges P.E. Martin=Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* XL, Genève 1961, 49 and 58-62. For the most recent discussion of the question, see Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204*, Oxford 1993, 8-28.

439. Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Institut français de Damas: Bibliothèque orientale Ier, Paris 1940, 217-218; detailed description by Runciman, *History of the Crusades I*, 213-235.

440. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 222-223, 232-234, 240, 243-244; Runciman, *History of the Crusades I*, 225-256, 300-302, II (1971), 33-34, 46, 50, 54; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 61, 65-67, 217, 225, 242, 249-250; N. Elisséeff in *IE² V*, 1986, 590-591; Martin Rheinheimer, *Tancred und das Siegel Boemunds*, *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau LXX*, 1991, 82-83 with note 30. See also Lilie, *op. cit.*, 259-276, Appendix I: Laodicea, Antioch, and Byzantium between A.D. 1098 and 1105.

441. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les Auteurs Arabes*, *BAH III*, Paris 1923, 226-227.

441A. The bishops of Ġabla and Banyās were in the earlier part of October 1187 sent as envoys to Europe by the Patriarch of Antioch in order to inform ecclesiastical and secular leaders about the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and to solicit their help, cf. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Zwei unedierte Texte aus den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, *Archiv für Diplomatik Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde XLVII/XLVIII*, 2001/2, 96-97, 101, and 103 (letter by the Patriarch of Antioch about October 1st-12th, 1187).

442. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 233 and 244; Runciman *History of the Crusades II*, 33-34 and 54; *IE²*, II p. 353; Gerhard Hoffmann, *Kommune oder Staatsbürokratie? Zur politischen Rolle der Bevölkerung syrischer Städte vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Forschungen zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte 23, Berlin 1975), 85-86; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 72.

443. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert, Hannover 1993, 59, 115-116, 119, 180.

444. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 226-228, and 233. Elisséeff in *IE²*, II 353, assigns Ġabla to the niyāba of Ḥamā.

445. J. Sourdel-Thomine in *IE² I* 1960, 1016-1017; J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)*=*BAH XXXIX*, Paris 1945, carte 1.

al-Laḡqīya was for a short period Frankish in the thirteenth century, but was otherwise Islamic after Ṣālāḡ ad-Dīn's conquest and Banyās was Frankish until 1285.

The preceding survey of the main features of the region during the Middle Ages will, I hope, facilitate the use of the catalogue of the individual sites and the me-

dieval finds made there. Roman buildings, mills and the like are mentioned, because they often remained in use into the Byzantine or even Arab periods. The numbers of each site refer to the map fig. 1; except for 'Arab al- Milk, Balda al- Milk (section B) and Ġabla (section C) the sites are treated in alphabetic order.

B. 'Arab al-Milk and Balda al-Milk (fig. 1 no. 20 and fig. 126).

Already the double name reveals that there are in fact two villages; one south of the Nahr as-Sinn, Balda al-Milk, which should be translated "the royal demesne of Balda"; in this name we recognize Greek *Paltos*⁴⁴⁶. The settlement north of the river 'Arab al-Milk means "the Arabic royal demesne", probably in contrast to the settlement of Balda.⁴⁴⁷

The northern village, 'Arab al-Milk, consists of two distinct parts, which is clearly shown by the map based on C.Duraffourd's cadastral plan (fig. 8) and by the air photo of the locality (fig.126). In what follows, we shall discuss Balda al-Milk and the two parts of 'Arab al-Milk separately.

'Arab al-Milk, Southern Settlement

Here a sounding was made in October 1958 in the highest area of the village at a place where the surface was c. 5.30 m above sea level; bedrock was reached at 1.80 m above sea level. Three main periods were distinguished: C: Late Bronze – Advanced Iron Age with a hiatus from the 5th to 1st centuries BC, B: Roman, Byzantine and Medieval (1st-14th centuries AD, possibly followed by a hiatus), A: recent.⁴⁴⁸ In many cases

the sherds found in the groups 7-2 (Roman to recent) are sea-worn, which means that they have been collected at the shores of the sea or of the river before being reused.

In the Late Roman period the sounding area contained a floor of flagstones and mud plaster with ashes upon which a wall of undressed stones stands along the south side of the sounding.⁴⁴⁹ Inside the wall a sherd belonging to the 9th-10th centuries AD was found (AM 79).⁴⁵⁰ To the north of the wall a layer of light sandy earth and above this at least three floors were identified and fragments of wall stucco (AM 92-94) were found. Thus the sounding area covered part of a house. Apparently, the settlement was discontinued for a certain period, if we are not to assume that the remains from the early medieval centuries were cleared away before the construction of the wall.

The ceramics found at the surface of the tall show that from the 9th-10th centuries settlement was continuous until about 1400. The wares represented are, besides the Medieval Early Sgraffito ware of the 9th-10th centuries (AM 142), 'Aṭlīṭ ware of the 13th century AD (AM 143), Port Saint Simeon ware of the same century AD (AM 140) and Port Saint Simeon

446. See contribution by P.J.Riis, *supra*, 14-15.

447. *Ibid.*, 15.

448. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 72-73 and 81. The finds in the A period horizon including those from the surface comprised Byzantine glazed pottery dating from the 10th and 11th centuries AD, but were otherwise similar to those of period B, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 76 no. 430 fig. 65, 78 nos. 458-460 fig. 67, cf.

AASyr 33, 1, 1983, partie arabe, 21-68, A. Abou Assaf & W. Khayata, Les fouilles archéologiques à 'Ain Dārā.

449. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 73.

450. *Ibid.*, 78 and fig. 66. The sherd is of the Medieval Early Sgraffito ware (cf. Ḥamā IV2, 232 XVa), which to-day is considered Byzantine; see also A.Abou Assaf & W. Khayata, Les fouilles archéologiques à 'Ain Dārā, *passim*.

ware or imitation, 13th-14th centuries AD (AM 141).⁴⁵¹ A round flattened rubber stone of basalt (AM 166) was found together with pottery group 6,⁴⁵² thus belonging to the same period as that in which the medieval wall was constructed.

West of the sounding, on the slope towards the sea, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine sherds, a small spindle whirl of stone as well as 10 glass fragments were picked up by members of the Expedition.⁴⁵³ A sidesherd with fragment of a vertical handle of mottled brownish to black clay with black and white particles belongs to a pottery type represented at Tall Sūkās and at Château de Montfort in Palestine which was formerly believed to be Crusaders' pottery but is to-day considered as Byzantine.⁴⁵⁴

At the slope towards the sea a flat circular strap mounting was picked up (AM 162), which could not be older than the Byzantine period;⁴⁵⁵ further finds included three mosaic tesserae of white limestone⁴⁵⁶ and three marble fragments. One of these is a side fragment of a bowl with an incised angle; its date is probably Roman or Byzantine (AM 147).⁴⁵⁷ The two remaining marble pieces apparently are rim fragments of the same, circular or sigma-shaped table-top (AM 145-146).⁴⁵⁸ Several examples, some with decoration, are known from as well late pagan as Early Christian times. As this type of tables is often found in connection with ruined churches,⁴⁵⁹ the existence of an early Christian cult in the southern settlement should not be excluded.

Finally, south of the southern settlement surface finds were made in a field: three Roman or Byzantine

mosaic tesserae (dark red, light blue, and white), a fragment of a Roman tile, and three fragments of marble slabs (one rectangular and one with a rounded edge).⁴⁶⁰ Late Roman, Byzantine or Medieval finds were made near the sea-shore⁴⁶¹ and in a revealed layer on the rock towards Nahr as-Sinn.⁴⁶² Both groups of finds must belong to the southern settlement.

North of the latter, in the field called Dahr al-Muġar, a neck of vase was found by ploughing on November 3rd, 1959. It was wheel-made locally, of red clay with small white particles. It is spirally grooved and has a small vertical handle. It seems to be part of a sprinkler. Its date could be Byzantine, Arabic or even later.⁴⁶³

Elsewhere at 'Arab al-Milk other finds were made, but with no precise localization: a game piece of blue glass which could be Medieval⁴⁶⁴, a sidesherd of Mamluk ware with dark brown glaze, two sherds of Mamluk ware with green glaze, as well as a sherd of Port Saint Simeon ware with yellow greenish glaze and sgraffito decoration.⁴⁶⁵ In all, five coins were picked up, one Phoenician, one Roman probably from the fourth century AD, and three Byzantine pieces struck under Arcadius (395-408), Justinian the Great (527-565), and in the eleventh century.⁴⁶⁶

An unlocalized surface find was part of a steatite mould for making arrow-like implements (13.0 x 7.0 cm) (fig. 127).⁴⁶⁷ A similar piece found at Corinth has been identified as a bronze spatula, probably of the Late Roman period.⁴⁶⁸

There is, however, another interpretation, which might be worth considering. In the Orthodox church

451. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 with fig. 67.

452. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 with fig. 68.

453. *Journal III* 26 (September 29th, 1958); inv. no. 267; AM 163 (cf. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 466 fig. 68).

454. AM 161, cf. AASyr 8/9 1958/59, 123 fig. 6, see also note 410.

455. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79 with fig. 68 no. 470.

456. Inv. no. 268.

457. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 with fig. 68 no. 462.

458. *Ibid.*, 78 fig. 68 nos. 463-464.

459. Hama III 1, 199-202.

460. Inv. no. 265.

461. Inv. no. 7: sherds as well as a fragment of mosaic floor.

462. Inv. no. 18: Roman to Medieval sherds.

463. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 76 (no. 429, fig. 65, AM 167), cf. AASyr 10 1960 partie arabe ad 172-173 fig. 26. Other finds from the same field, see John Lund, *supra*, 46.

464. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79 (no. 478, fig. 68, AM 168). Another piece of blue glass was found as well, inv. no. 1767/8.

465. Inv. nos. 1767/4-7.

466. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 79-80 nos. 479-483, AM 148, AM 171, AM 1, AM 164 and AM 170.

467. AM 169, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 78 no. 467.

468. G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII, The Minor Objects*, Princeton 1952, 184, pl. 82 no. 1334.

the central part of the consecrated loaf is cut out by the celebrating priest with an arrowlike knife in order to be mixed for Communion with wine in the chalice. From here the Sacrament is distributed by means of a spoon. This part of the ceremony deliberately refers to the death of Christ, this is why the priest is asked by the deacon to pierce and not to cut the bread, consequently the knife used looks like a spear *en miniature*. The object found at Corinth and those made at 'Arab al-Milk could very well be such liturgical 'knives'.⁴⁶⁹

The North-Eastern Settlement

In this area several architectural remains in secondary positions were located by members of the Expedition,⁴⁷⁰ but no sounding nor excavation was made in this area. None of the pieces⁴⁷¹ are younger than the Imperial Roman period, but they show, that the north-eastern settlement was inhabited during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The running to the north from the bridge on the Nahr as-Sinn is the Ancient Roman road along the coast;⁴⁷² in town it must have been the main street. This could explain why three column shafts of black and white granite have been found west of the road (at C fig. 8). Perhaps the main street had a colonnade as was the case at al-Laḡqīya. Traces of a regular street-plan appear in the north-eastern settlement, and perhaps the oval block between the village streets at the centre of the settlement indicates the existence of a former theatre or amphitheatre as those at Florence or at Lucca, which still are discernible in the street plan. At Paltos the building – if an amphitheatre – would have had the dimensions 60 x 82 metres (short axis x

diametre). To sum up then, the earliest settlement was the one in the south western part of 'Arab al-Milk. Besides this, the Hellenistic-Roman foundation with a regular plan was placed. Although certain regular features can be found in the plan of the south-west settlement, they are probably caused by the fact that plot boundaries are perpendicular to the main road, in this case running north-south, a fact which can be observed in many European town plans.⁴⁷³

The Late Roman and Byzantine town must have had a larger extension than the two settlements to-day, e.g. the field where the three column shafts were found was probably a built-up area. The town was the seat of a bishopric during the fourth to the sixth centuries.⁴⁷⁴ Perhaps its prosperity had already for some time been declining when Syria was conquered by the Arabs.⁴⁷⁵ At any rate, the important buildings were used as quarries, as we have already seen; architectural remains are to be found in secondary position at 'Arab al-Milk and perhaps also at Ḡabla's Great Mosque.⁴⁷⁶ One of these blocks (neg. F 980) shows an arabic inscription between two coats-of-arms. According to Prof. Claus-Peter Haase, Copenhagen, now Berlin, the inscription was written in Ṭulūṭ; it probably reads *مصطفى بن علي المو*, i.e. Muṣṭafa [b.?] 'Alī al-Mu/Mau ... (Muṣṭafa, son of 'Alī) ... *المو* either means, 'from a locality of al-Mū...' or forms the first part of the word al-Maulawī, a word which at the Mamluk court would identify the person to whom it applied as a member of the Sulṭān's clientela. The inscription is placed on the background of a star shown in relief.

469. I gratefully acknowledge my debt to the Rev. James Williams of the Longobardas Monastery at Paros, Greece, for the description of the preparation of Communion in the Orthodox Church.

470. Oldenburg & Rohweder, fig. 52 A-V.

471. For a description, see John Lund, *supra*, 41-45.

472. See AASyr 15.2, 1965, 75-76 fig. 16.

473. Cf. Jean Sauvaget, *Le plan de Laodicée sur Mer*, *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* IV, 1934, 84-87 and 105. The column shafts must have been imported, as granite is not to be found in Syria, *ibid.*, 105; cf. Thomas Riis, *The Typology of Danish Medieval Towns*, *Storia della Città* 18, Milano 1981, 128-129.

474. Robert Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche, 169-170* where the names of the bishops are given. Paltos was also an Armenian archbishopric under a "lesser Catholicos" according to the list of bishoprics preserved by Sēmpad (1208-1276 AD), RHC Documents Arméniens I, 676.

475. Cf. H. Kennedy, *The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation*, *Byzantinische Forschungen* X, Amsterdam 1985, 148-151.

476. Journal I 22 and 24; photo of October 6th, 1959 (neg. F 979) of two blocks at 'Arab al-Milk in secondary position. See also neg. F 980 (October 6th, 1959), photo of block with Arabic inscription and two heraldic designs.

Whereas the inscription could belong to the 14th-16th centuries, it is not certain that the two coats-of-arms were sculptured at the same time as the inscription. The rhombic figure to the left corresponds to the napkin known as the symbol of the Mamluk *ğamdār* (seneschal); there are parallels in the *Māristān* at Aleppo founded by *Argūn* in 755H/1354-5 and in the *Madrasa Argūnīya* at Jerusalem from 759H/1358. The coat-of-arms is also known from stained glass of the 14th century.

The coat-of-arms to the right shows a cross or a star; its interpretation is not certain, and the combination with the napkin symbol rather unusual.

Thus nothing speaks against a Mamluk date for the coats-of-arms. However, the idea cannot be excluded that both they and the inscription replaced older decorations.⁴⁷⁷

Neither the archaeological nor the written documentations allow us to see whether or not a Christian community continued to exist next to the Moslems. One should have expected the latter to take over the cathedral in order to use it as a mosque.

Perhaps the sounding showed renewed building activity after the Byzantine conquest in the second half of the tenth century. It is impossible to tell when the existing mosque was constructed; it could have been built in order to accommodate the Moslems when the Christians had taken over the original church and later mosque as a result of the Byzantine or the Frankish conquests. Suffice it to say that the actual building was built as a mosque, as an apsis pointing south is clearly to be identified as the *mihrāb*.

Finally, on the northern river bank a water mill,

tāhūnā, is situated (fig. 128). Like the mill at the *Bāb an-Nahr* near the *Nā'ūra al-Muḥammadīyya* at *Ḥamā* it is an undershot wheel. Its date of construction is uncertain, but it should not be excluded that it had had one or more predecessors at the same site; the *Ḥamā nā'ūra* dates from 1361.⁴⁷⁸ At 'Arab al-Milk the installation was that of a mill (*tāhūnā*) and not that of a water-wheel.

Balda al-Milk

The ancient name of the town appears in this place name, which denotes the settlement on the south bank of the *Sinn* near the estuary (fig. 129). Ruins of medieval date have survived and must be identified with the *Belde* or *Beaude* of the Crusaders. One building on the river bank is perhaps the one seen in the French ordnance survey map in the settlement wrongly called *Hareissoun* and adjoining the river (fig. 130 left).

The other building stands a little further south and must have been an approximately square tower (figs. 130 right and 131). It was constructed of field stones, faced by a layer of hewn ashlar, which have been preserved mainly on the south side where the entrance probably was. The technique in which the walls were constructed is thus the same as the one used at *Tall Sūkās's* medieval fortress. At the NW corner a sort of *glacis* of coarsely hewn ashlar blocks is to be found. In the tower's state of preservation it is difficult to ascertain whether it surrounded the tower on all four sides or not.⁴⁷⁹

The buildings stand in a peninsula from which an isthmus leads further inland. At some time it was pierced, thus giving the *Sinn* an outlet to the south.⁴⁸⁰ As there apparently were no building activities on the south bank before the Crusaders, the artificial outlet

477. I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Prof. Claus-Peter Haase, Berlin, for his reading of the inscription and interpretation of the coats-of-arms; letter from Prof. Haase to the author (undated, but beginning of 2000) with reference to M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, Glückstadt 1992, I, 113 Taf. 64b and II No.20/20 (*Māristān* of Aleppo); M. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, London 1987, 359 pl. 32.4 (*Madrasa* at Jerusalem); L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic*

Heraldry. A survey, Oxford 1951, 4, pl. VIII 1-10 and pl. XXXI 1-3.

478. *Journal* II 5; P.J. Riis, *Ḥamā*. Danske arkæologers udgravninger i Syrien 1930-38, Cph. 1987, 138.

479. *Journal* III 26-27; for the construction of walls, see R.C.Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1973, figs. 21 and 23 ('*Aṭlīt*'), Oldenburg & Rohweder, 73.

480. C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*², XVII 3, V, 2, 2, Berlin 1854, 890.

should be attributed to them. Moreover the use of moats filled with water as part of the fortification is characteristic of Northern Europe. Consequently, against Mrs. H. Frost's orally expressed assumption⁴⁸¹ the present author finds it more probable that the present estuary of the Sinn is the natural one, and that the moat was filled in at some time when the tower had lost its military signification.

We do not know who constructed the fortress at Balda, but in 1163 Prince Bohemond III of Antioch granted to the Hospitallers in the territory of Ğabla the hill of Beauda with its appurtenances and with the three *gastinae* next to the hill;⁴⁸² the grant was confirmed by Bohemond III five years later. On this occasion the land in question was called "casale S. Egidii cum torone de Belda".⁴⁸³ It is tempting to identify the casale S. Egidii with Tall Sūkās and toro de Belda with the settlement north of the Sinn.

The grants by the Prince seem, however, only to have been promises regarding future transactions.⁴⁸⁴ Only in 1178 was Balda definitively ceded to the Order of St. John. On August 20th, a certain Thomas Robert, son of Mancel, sold the casale Beauda with its belongings to the Hospitallers for the sum of 1500 be-

sants. The transaction was confirmed by the lord of Marqab, to whom the possessor of Balda owed obedience as well as by the prince of Antioch as suzerain.⁴⁸⁵ On the last day of August, Reynold of Marqab ceded to the Hospitallers the "casale Bearida" or "Beaune" which must be Balda.⁴⁸⁶ As casale Balda it probably included the settlements on either side of the river.

In 1180 Bohemond III invited the Spanish order of Santiago to establish itself in Syria, probably because the Hospitallers had not taken over possessions previously granted to them.⁴⁸⁷ Among the localities transferred to the Order of Santiago figures "Baldenia cum suis pertinentiis", which must be identified with Balda. Baldenia is in all probability a derivation of Paltos, corresponding to Greek Παλτήνιον or Παλτήνια, i.e. Little Paltos.⁴⁸⁸

In July 1188 A.D. Šālāh ad-Dīn attacked Ṭartūs but was unable to take the fortifications. From there he marched north where his army camped at Banyās. On the following day the force arrived at a large and deep river with no ford but with only one bridge, obviously the Nahr as-Sinn and the Ğisr as-Sinn. Avoiding the bridge, the Sulṭān went to the east in order to pass by

481. During her visit to the Expedition in November 1963, cf. Journal XXV 32-33. Harbour basins on either side of the estuary of the Sinn were cut in the rock; according to Mrs. Frost they could be Pre-Roman, cf. H. Frost, Rouad, ses récifs et mouillages, AASyr 14, 1964, 71, pl. 3 and fig. 4. The sketch map published by Mrs. Frost shows a north-south running trench to the west of the Medieval remains.

482. RRH no. 387 = Cartulaire I, 224-225 no. 311: "in territorio Gibelli ... turonem de Beauda cum pertinentiis et cum suis III gastinis eidem turoni proximis ... "By turo (= hill) the tall of 'Arab al-Milk must be meant. As to the date, see Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, 58-59.

483. RRH no. 428 = Cartulaire I, 266-268 no. 391.

484. See on this problem Eloy Benito Ruano, *Santiago, Calatrava y Antioquia*, Anuario de Estudios Medievales I, Barcelona 1964, 553; H.E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, 115-116, 139-141.

485. RRH no. 559b = Cartulaire I, 370 no. 545: According to an unpublished summary from 1531 of this lost document (Archives départementales des Bouches-du Rhône, Marseille, 56 H 68, fol. 547 no. 62 P) the transaction was not extended to the actual inhabitants, 'exceptis villanis eo tempore ibi ma-

nentibus'. I am grateful to Professor H.E. Mayer, Kiel, for this reference. On the Mansels, see Claude Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 538 and 544. Beaune was considered a fief under the Prince of Antioch in January 1188, RRH no. 657 c = Cartulaire I, 514 no. 827.

486. RRH no. 560 = Cartulaire I, 370-371. As Professor H.E. Mayer, Kiel, kindly informed me, the reading *Bearida* is found in the original charter; moreover, the transaction should be seen in connection with the cession of the casale Astanor in 1181. Both transactions were parts of the efforts of Nicolaus of Gosanz, preceptor of the Hospitallers of Mount Pilgrim by Tripolis, to assemble landed property, cf. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, 179-180.

487. E. B. Ruano, op. cit., 552, with edition of the charter 550-551, newer edition by Mayer, *Varia Antiochena* 114-117.

488. Letter from P.J. Riis November 19th, 1991. In Bohemund III's confirmation of the donation of Marqab to the Hospitallers *casale Belne* probably denotes toro de Belda or the northern settlement, whereas *casale Assenem* (the village on the Sinn, ad Senem) could be Tall Darūk, RRH no. 647 = Cartulaire I, 491-496 no. 783 (February 1st, 1186/7).

the source of the river, as a crossing elsewhere than at the bridge appeared impossible. Without waiting for the packs, he proceeded to Balda, where he established his camp.⁴⁸⁹ The town is situated between the river bank and the sea-shore, 'Imād ad-Dīn adds, the Hospitallers had improved its defences, deepening the river and thus cutting the ways of access to the town. Moreover, the army found another locality – 'Arab al-Milk or perhaps rather Tall Sūkās – which had been abandoned by its inhabitants.⁴⁹⁰

The settlement Balda described by 'Imād ad-Dīn must be Balda al-Milk, where the existence of a moat across the isthmus thus is confirmed. From Balda, the Sulṭān continued his march towards Ğabla.

In 1233 a composition was negotiated between Hospitallers and Templars: the latter order was to confirm the truce which the Hospitallers had concluded in Spring 1231 with the Sulṭān of Aleppo after their momentary successful attack on Ğabla earlier in the year. Certain landed possessions on both sides of the flumen Belne (i.e. the Sinn) were mentioned; till then they had been held by the Hospitallers, but were now to be administered by the Templars. We may imagine that Balda belonged to the estates in question, but perhaps the composition represented only wishful thinking, at any rate Ğabla was still in Moslem hands.⁴⁹¹

As a result of the Mongol invasion the Prince of Antioch recovered several possessions which had been Moslem since Šālāḥ ad-Dīn's conquest. So al-Laḏqīya

became once more Christian,⁴⁹² and we may assume that also Balda was given back. At any rate it was mentioned in 1268 by the Grand Master of the Hospitallers as one of the few Frankish possessions in North Syria after the fall of Antioch.⁴⁹³ Thus the site belonged to the Hospitallers and the fortress must still have had a military importance.

When in 669 H (= 1270-1271 AD) the Franks at Ṭarṭūs asked for a truce with the Sulṭān, this was accepted for certain districts. Among the latter's conditions was the cession of Balda and other conquests under Malik an-Nāšir (ḥalīfa 1180-1225 AD).⁴⁹⁴

That Balda actually was ceded to the Moslems becomes clear from a truce made on June 6th, 1285 between Sulṭān Malik al-Manṣūr and Leo III of Armenia. Among the Sulṭān's possessions included in the truce were al-Laḏqīya, Ğabla and Balda.⁴⁹⁵

The double settlement of Balda/'Arab al-Milk seems to have lost its importance in the Late Middle Ages, which is revealed by the apparent absence of finds between c.1400 and more recent times;⁴⁹⁶ as to the fortress, al-Dimašqī (c.1256-1327) described it as the remains of a fortress called Buldah, it stood in an island surrounded on one side by the sea and towards the mainland by the river.⁴⁹⁷ Thus, after the Mamluk conquest the fortress was allowed to decay, confirming our impression that 'Arab al-Milk/Balda al-Milk had lost most of their former importance.

489. 'Imād ed-dīn el-kātib el-iṣfahānī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Šālāḥ ed-dīn, ed. Carlo de Landberg, I, Leiden 1888, 136 = 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin (al-Faṭḥ al-quṣṣī fī l-faṭḥ al-quṣṣī) trad. Henri Massé, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades X, Paris 1972, 126-127. 'Imād ad-Dīn died in 632 H (1200 AD) and accompanied Šālāḥ ad-Dīn as qāḏī of the army, cf. Cahen, 52. According to Abū Šama, RHC Historiens Orientaux IV, 356-357, Šālāḥ ad-Dīn divided his forces, let the packs use the bridge and circumvented with his own detachment the river at its source. Obviously, 'Imād ad-Dīn's information must be preferred, as he took part in the campaign, but also for military reasons. The apparently free passage over the bridge could be an ambush, as Frankish troops could be hidden at 'Arab al-Milk, this risk the Sulṭān avoided by crossing the river near its source.

490. 'Imād ad-Dīn ed. Landberg, 136 = trad. Massé, 127.

491. RRH no.1043 = Cartulaire II, 455-457 no. 2058. Runciman, A History of the Crusades III, 207.

492. Runciman, A History of the Crusades III, 306-307.

493. Cartulaire IV, 291-293 no. 3308: "tota marchia et frontiera Sarracenorūm conversa est super castra nostra Cratum et Margatum et etiam super Beldam".

494. Collier des Perles, RHC Historiens Orientaux II 1, 238; Cahen, op. cit., 719.

495. RRH no.1457; al-Laḏqīya was taken only in 1287, see infra on Ğabla.

496. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 81.

497. John Lund, supra, 47; Ed-Dimichqui: Nukhbat ad dahr fī 'ad-šā'ibal barr wal bahr, Cosmographie publ. par A. Mehren, Collectio editionum rariorum orientalium noviter impressarum II, Leipzig 1923, 209.

C. Ğabla (fig. 1 no. 5)

Part of the framework of the medieval town's urban life had been taken over from the Romans: the town plan, the port and the theatre.

Excavations of the *theatre* began in 1950 and have led to the restauration of the building. The type of capitals belonging to the columns of the *scenae frons* date it to the third-fourth centuries AD. According to its dimensions, it could accommodate 7-8,000 spectators.⁴⁹⁸ In the Middle Ages, the theatre was transformed into a fortress, qal'a, and was known as such when the Expedition worked at Ğabla.⁴⁹⁹

As shown by the photos the *harbour* (figs. 15 and 16) is a small, almost semicircular bay protected by small promontories on either side of the entrance; this has been improved by the removal of part of the rocks.

At the plateau north of the entrance called Qasr Bait Zifa⁵⁰⁰ a coin from the reign of Constantine the Great was found⁵⁰¹. Another find was made in the same area, viz. a fragment (7 x 9,7 cm) of a perhaps cast globular fitting for a nargīla of dark gray somewhat gritty clay with a dark red polished surface decorated with incised leaves and tendrils. It has openings above and below and a short tube on the shoulder (GA 27). The same type of ware is well known from medieval Ḥamā and from Ba'albak; it must have been used for the smoking of narcotics.⁵⁰² Whereas most of the Ḥamā pieces belong to the common type of pipe (ġalyūn) the

Ğabla find shows the use of the nargīla also for the smoking of narcotics.

In the southeastern slope of the harbour remains of a tomb lined with stones and covered by an iron plate were identified. In the grave a glass arming with facettes⁵⁰³ and under the plate in the ground a Mamluk sherd were found. Thus the tomb must be considered medieval and to have belonged to a woman.

Moreover, at the harbour a spindle whorl of faience or sandstone with horizontal grooves was picked up by members of the Expedition; its date is uncertain (medieval, recent?).⁵⁰⁴

South of the entrance to the harbour several remains of buildings were discovered (fig. 132); the fragment of a white marble slab with grey veins found on the plateau should be seen in this connection.⁵⁰⁵ In the rock at the north edge of the plateau south of the entrance a rectangular area (47 x 70 cm) has been cut, perhaps in order to form a stylobate, place for an altar or the basis of a statue;⁵⁰⁶ the possibility of a stylite's "dwelling" could not entirely be ruled out although stylites mainly settled in the countryside.⁵⁰⁷ On the other hand, living in total isolation would be impossible, as they depended on the inhabitants of the area for the gifts of food and clothes. It may be added that a stylite, John, disciple of a stylite at Damascus, sometime in the seventh century AD settled at Rās Ibn Hani by al-Laḡīya.⁵⁰⁸

498. E. Frézouls, *Les Théâtres Romains de Syrie*, AASyr 2, 1952, 54-58; Journal I 41-43.

499. Journal IX 3. According to later tradition the citadel (ḥiṣn) of Ğabla was inhabited by monks, when in 638 the town was taken by the Arabs, cf. S. Tsugitaka, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala, its History and Present Situation*, *Studia Culturae Islamicae* 35, Tokyo 1988, 38-39. Above the stage of the theatre about thirty Islamic graves were found in 1992, containing necklaces of beads, finger – and armrings, cf. M. Al-Maqḍissi, *Chronique des activités archéologiques en Syrie*, *Syria* 70 1993, 475.

500. In 1859 Rey observed the substructures of a rectangular tower at the "tall" north of the entrance to the harbour, and protected

by a moat separating the promontory from the *terra ferma*, see G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1871, 175-176.

501. For a description, see John Lund, *supra*, 63-64.

502. Ḥamā IV 2, 280-281.

503. GA 29: 0,8 x 6,2 x 3,4 cm.

504. GA 28: 1,8 x 2,2 cm.

505. GA 30: 8,5 x 9,0 cm.

506. Journal XIX 14.

507. Cf. I. Peña, P. Castellana & R. Fernandez, *Les Stylites Syriens*, s.l. 1975, 26-27, 64.

508. *Ibid.*, 72 and 81.

The numerous column shafts⁵⁰⁹ found in the water or on the southern plateau at the entrance to the harbour were clearly in secondary position. Their number as well as the place where they were stored (i.e. in the harbour area) could indicate that they were to be sent away on board outgoing vessels. In this context one should remember that many West European churches have got monolithic columns of Mediterranean stone.⁵¹⁰

The City Wall (figs. 133-137)

Our knowledge of this construction comes from three sources: observations made on the spot, oral information given by the inhabitants, descriptions made by earlier visitors when the constructions were less ruined than to-day.

As already mentioned, G. Rey saw in 1859 a rectangular tower north of the entrance to the harbour, the promontory where it stood had been cut off from the mainland by an artificial moat. The access to the tower must have been a bridge across the moat. As the surface of the promontory is at 10 metres above sea level and the bridge must have been horizontal, we shall expect to find the corresponding city wall approximately at the 10 m contour line. This assumption is supported by the existence of a section of the wall immediately east of the harbour at the 10-11 metres' level (fig. 135). The gate leading from the town over the bridge to the tower should be expected at the end of one of the streets, leading in the direction of the tower, probably the one running west-east from the theatre's southside to the north-western part of the harbour.

From this supposed gate the wall ran to the north/north-west, where it met the north-wall. In the

latter two gates are known to have existed: Bawābat aṣ-Ṣlaibī (the gate of the cross) in the west and further east, immediately west of the theatre, Bawābat Sulṭān (the Sulṭān's gate), where ashlar in situ perhaps indicate the existence of a former gate.⁵¹¹ As the theatre was used as the medieval qal'a of the town, the wall must have joined those of the citadel,⁵¹² which would reasonably form the north-east corner of the fortification. From here it ran SE/S in order to reach the eastern gate, Bāb or Bawābat Ḥamā. As it stands about 15 metres above the sea, we should seek the south-eastern part of the wall not to far from this level. It could thus have run in the same direction as the road leading from the east gate to the Moslem cemetery outside Bāb al-Qiblī. Approximately at the entrance to the cemetery its direction changed from SSW to SW until it reached Bāb al-Qiblī (the gate of the qibla = South Gate) which is partially preserved (figs. 134 a-c).⁵¹³ From here it continued WSW for c. 55 metres where its direction changed, now running directly towards the west. Of this southern part a section of 20-25 metres has survived.

The southwestern part of the fortification is the most enigmatic one, as no traces on the ground survive. It was, however, confirmed by the mason Arūs Zūzū, who often had used the wall as a quarry that it ran in a western and northern direction in order to reach the ziyāra at the SE part of the harbour.⁵¹⁴

We already mentioned the existence of a part of the wall immediately east of the harbour where apparently there was a postern or a similar opening in the wall. It seems reasonable to let the wall follow the street running north-south from this preserved part of the wall. Where the street bends in an almost right angle run-

509. Some of them were of black and white granite (Lund, supra) as these known from the main street of Paltos/'Arab al-Milk, see supra, p. 93.

510. E.g. Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, cf. A. Wyrobisz, Resources and Construction Materials in Preindustrial Europe, in: A. Maćzak & W. N. Parker eds., Natural Resources in European History, Washington DC, 1979, 74 (with reference to Einhard).

511. Journal VIII 7-9, IX 2-3 and 33-34.

512. The ancient wall must have run immediately north of the theatre, thus including it in the town. Its course was probably slightly changed during the Middle Ages in order to incorporate the theatre in the fortification.

513. The existence in the jamb of the gate of a c. 50 cm large groove could indicate that the gate had had a portcullis, photo no. 1292 and a drawing by J. Rohweder in the National Museum (NM Expedition archives fasc. F 48/6).

514. Journal IX 2-3.

ning towards the southern promontory at the entrance to the harbour the wall could have changed its direction as well.

To the south, the wall must have continued on the northern side of the road running approximately east-west and would probably have changed direction at the bend of the road, thus towards the NW and N in order to reach the southern promontory. It seems reasonable to assume that also the southern promontory was protected by a tower or a similar structure, but the promontory was in certain parts used as a quarry (thus reducing the surface level by c. two metres)⁵¹⁵ and the architectural remains seem inconclusive.

A part of the preserved south wall reveals four periods of construction (fig. 136): at the bottom several layers of fairly large ashlar blocks, which represent the ancient, probably Hellenistic⁵¹⁶ town wall. The second phase is represented by smaller field-stones alternating with layers of small stones, which could indicate a Byzantine construction.⁵¹⁷

A vertical line in the Byzantine part of the wall approximately between man and donkey in fig. 134a indicate the existence of an opening besides a parapet or a tower using the Byzantine stones, the corner of which was reinforced with larger ashlars. This technique might indicate a Frankish date. The fourth and last phase is shown by the top layers of smaller, ashlar blocks, which could be Arabic. We thus arrive at four different phases of construction: ¹) Hellenistic ²) Byzantine (i.e. 975-c. 1080) ³) Frankish (12th century)⁵¹⁸ ⁴) Arabic after 1188 AD.

The Town Plan (fig. 133)

Because of the sloping ground towards the harbour the regular features of the plan are less evident in the western part of the town, although not totally absent. East of a line running NS from Bawābat Sulṭān insulae measuring 86 x 37 metres – corresponding to 290 x 125 Roman feet – could be recognized. It is possible that the south gate some time during the Middle Ages was moved to its present site from the end of the street running south from Bawābat Sulṭān.

We must thus (see plan) conclude that the town plan with rectangular insulae represents a new quarter juxtaposed to the old part of town. This was not rebuilt, but it appears in some respects to have been regulated. East of the Great Mosque, at the intersection of the Sūq al-Qiblī south of the Saray with the street leading to the Bawābat Ḥamā a limestone slab was found (fig. 138). It has an inscription of four lines, but whereas the second and third lines are in Greek letters of Medieval date, the remaining two appear to be in Phoenician.⁵¹⁹ Although individual letters can be read, they do not give any obvious sense.⁵²⁰ The Greek letters could be read as TOBE ... TOVK EBEA TŌBA.

Ġami‘ al-Kabīr or the Manṣūrī Mosque⁵²¹

It forms an insula between the streets running from the two northern gates to the south. The prayer hall is a room of four bays; the mihrāb is in the second bay from the East over which a cupola is resting. This irregularity presupposes a pre-Islamic construction, the foundations of which could have been used again. A

515. J. Rohweder's plan of the southern promontory 1: 500 November 1959 (NM. Expedition archives, drawings fasc. 120).

516. This date is inferred from the town plan which seems to lack the Roman characteristic of two mainstreets intersecting at a right angle, cf. J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, I, 40-41 and *Rey-Coquais*, 215.

517. Cf. R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps & H. Seyrig, *La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée*, BAH XVII, Paris 1931, planche 124.

518. During his visit in 1859 G. Rey saw remains of the walls "construits en blocs d'assez grand appareil, taillés à bossages" which could indicate a Frankish or even later date, cf. G. Rey, *op. cit.*, 20. On the date of this type of ashlar, see Dussaud, Deschamps & Seyrig, *op. cit.*, planches 49 (Medieval Arabic)

and 135 (first half of twelfth century). It is, however, certain that the ashlar type in question was still used in the 13th century, cf. *supra* and Jean Sauvaget, *La citadelle de Damas, Syria XI*, 1930, 63-64, 74, pl. XV 2, pl. XXXVIII 2-3 and plan ad p. 240.

519. GA 24; *Journal XIII* 46.

520. NM. Expedition archives fasc. F 48/7, correspondence with professors Hommel (Tübingen), Løkkegaard (Copenhagen), Politis (Thessaloniki), Dr. Raasted (Copenhagen). Also the advice of Prof. D. Fehling, Kiel and Dr. D. Kraack (formerly Kiel, now Berlin) was asked for.

521. *Journal IX* 13-15.

Cufic inscription in the front of the sanctuary gives the date of construction as 488 H = 1095 AD (fig. 139).⁵²²

At the middle of the fourteenth century AD (741 H = 1340 AD) the amīr Arqatoī al-Nāṣirī (under Muḥammad Nāṣir ibn Qala'ūn) had the arcades and gates of the quadrangle constructed⁵²³; a few reemployed ash-lars and column shafts could indicate the existence of a Roman temple at the site, but no decorative elements have survived. The minaret (fig. 140) was probably added during the Middle Ages: the related, but more ornate minaret of Aleppo's Great Mosque was built in 1090 AD;⁵²⁴ however the biforion near the top of the tower looks rather like a detail from Romanesque architecture. Could the Mosque have been the Frankish church?⁵²⁵ The date of the 12th century Cufic building inscription immediately before the Frankish domination does not exclude this hypothesis.

Ġami' Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (fig. 141)

Immediately outside the city wall, north of the Bawābat Sulṭān stand the Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mosque and next to it a bath. In its courtyard members of the Expedition found some granite columns, which probably had belonged to the theatre. According to Ritter, the Mosque had been a church founded by the Emperor Heraclius, thus on the eve of the Islamic conquest. The Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham of Balkh retired as one of the ear-

liest Ṣaiḥs of Islām living as an anachoret and working miracles until he died between 776 and 783 (AD). He lived in a grotto at the sea, and once he had lost his sewing needles letting them fall into the sea, they were brought back to him by the fishes. Even to-day Sulṭān Ibrāhīm is in the Ġabla-al-Laḍqīya region also the name of the Red Mullet.

After his death, he was venerated as a saint, Ibn Baṭṭuta came to his tomb in 1326 AD and still in the middle of the nineteenth century the Mosque was visited by numerous pilgrims.⁵²⁶ If initially the mosque was a church constructed under Heraclius, one would expect it to have been built inside the city wall; moreover, the actual building appears to be considerably younger than the reign of this emperor.

We know that the Nereid Doto had a sanctuary in Graeco-Roman Gabala, and we have seen Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's connection with the sea. Perhaps a maritime saint like St. Peter or St. Nicholas was venerated at Christian Gabala, as similar adaptations of the cult are known elsewhere.⁵²⁸ Unfortunately, the minaret is of a late Medieval or rather Turkish type and also the hexagonal bases of the cupolae point to the sixteenth century.⁵²⁹ Thus the Mosque could have been restored and embellished by the new masters of Syria after the Ottoman conquest in 1516-17 AD.

522. Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe VIII, Cairo 1937, no. 2861.

523. Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe XV, Cairo 1956, no. 5931.

524. Sauvaget, *Alep I*, 101 with pl. XXXV 2.

525. St. George's Church received in 1186 from Bohemond III of Antioch the casale Herbin, perhaps NE of Ġabla, with its pastures, RRH no. 657a; Dussaud, 150-151.

526. *Journal I* 43; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 895. G. Saadé, *Le Sultan Ibrahim, grand ascète musulman du 8^e siècle, L'Orient-Le Jour*, Beyrouth, 1-7 janvier 1972. See also G. Saadé, *Un grand saint musulman, Ibrahim fils d'Adham, Levante*, XV, no. 4, Rome 1968, 25-44; cf. also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 117. The historic person Sulṭān Ibrāhīm moved to Syria by 754 AD, where he led a semi-nomadic existence, working for his livelihood, because he disap-

proved of begging. He took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium and died of disease during the second naval expedition, probably in 161 H = 777-778 AD. The accounts of his life place his tomb in various places, most persistently in Ġabla, cf. Russell Jones in *EF² III*, 1010-1011.

527. Vacat.

528. Suggestion by P. J. Riis.

529. Cf. P. J. Riis, *Ḥamā*, op. cit., 149-151. (Han Rustam Bāṣā from c. 1560). According to Ergin Atmaca 'Mimar Sinan: der Sultan unter den Baumeistern des Orients' (lecture given in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, November 6th, 1994), hexagonal cupolae do not appear before Sinan, i.e. before the sixteenth century. According to Cahen, 171, St. George's church was situated outside the city wall, but it cannot with certainty be identified with this mosque.

Other Finds

As already mentioned in John Lund's contribution, the area around the house of the Expedition about 50 metres south of the city wall was intensively surveyed. To the finds treated by him could be added some more, most of them made in 1958 and 1959 when several houses were built in this new quarter outside the old town.

East and south of the house of the Expedition several sherds were picked up in 1958 ranging from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman and Islamic periods, as well as a glass bead.⁵³⁰ Near the Islamic cemetery south of the house the already mentioned game-board was found⁵³¹ and SW of the Expedition's house a jaw with five teeth, a bone fragment and a sea shell fragment were discovered.⁵³² Other finds of bones were made in the same area,⁵³³ where also potsherds ranging from the Iron Age to the Islamic periods (2 Arabic sherds) were found.⁵³⁴ Remains of walls perhaps represent ancient divisions of fields, in the earth Hellenistic and other sherds were found⁵³⁵ as well as a spearhead of bronze, hammered, with a four flanged socket. Its dimensions speak in favour of its identification as a spearhead; a similar piece was found at Ḥamā in a Hellenistic or Roman layer.⁵³⁶ Approximately 1 metre below the surface a number of human skeletons were found, probably they had been buried under the houses as is known from Al-Mīnā.⁵³⁷ The existence of a dwelling outside the later city wall renders it probable that the earlier settlement area was larger with more widely spread houses; when the city wall was constructed, the inhabitants were concentrated within the walls.

In a field at Ġabla (no further indication is given) a

fragment of Greek marble, perhaps from a column was found.⁵³⁸ W of the Expedition house a fragment of a marble slab was discovered in a field,⁵³⁹ where also the 6th-7th c. Byzantine bronze coin was found which was described above.⁵⁴⁰ From an unknown site at Ġabla came a bronze coin weighing 3.06 g. The obverse shows a horseman with halo thrusting his lance downward, on the reverse part of a Greek inscription is to be seen

B A C I E I
N T
O C A N⁵⁴¹

The representation of the obverse must be that of St. George or St. Michael killing the dragon; on Byzantine 11th century coins this type of St. Michael frequently appears. Although an imitation by one of the Crusaders' States cannot be excluded, it is more likely to be an authentic Byzantine coin.

Medieval Ġabla

The Arabs who settled at Ġabla after Mu'awiya's conquest belonged to the Hamdān clan of Yaman, but the Qāis and the 'Iyād were also represented.⁵⁴²

In 968 the Byzantine army conquered Ġabla and al-Laḏqīya, but John Tzimisce had to reconquer the former town in 975; since then and till the collapse of Byzantine power in Syria in the 1080s it was under Byzantine rule.⁵⁴³ The coastal zone had lost part of its population in the early Islamic period, but in the 10th-11th centuries, its cultivation was taken up again on an intensive level, and new crops were introduced.⁵⁴⁴

As we already saw, Ġabla remained Arabic⁵⁴⁵ until 1104, when it submitted to the Byzantine admiral Kan-

530. Inv. no. 2.

531. Inv. no. 4526 = GA 26; John Lund, *supra*, 67.

532. Inv. no. 318; Journal IV 20.

533. Inv. nos. 1269 and 1271; Journal V 37-38.

534. Inv. no. 1481.

535. Journal V 37-38.

536. Inv. no. 872/1 = GA 7, 10.8 x 1.8 cm, cf. Hamā II 2, 100 and 103 no. 187.

537. Journal V 37-38.

538. Inv. no. 4454 = GA 23, 18.5 x 6.5 cm.

539. Inv. no. 5148.

540. Inv. no. 2386/1 = GA 8; John Lund, *supra*, 67.

541. Inv. no. 5149 = GA 19.

542. Aḥmad Ibn Abū Yaḳūbī, *Kitāb al Buldān* ed. de Goeje (Bibl. Geogr. Ar. VII, Leiden 1891), p. 325:

. واهلها همدان و بها قوم من قيس و من اباد.

543. J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la Dynastie Toulousaine* (1102-1187), BAH XXXIX, Paris 1945, 27; M. D. Yusuf, *Economic Survey of Syria during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* 114, Berlin 1985, 13.

544. Yusuf, *op. cit.*, 53. At the eve of the Crusade, in 1097, Ġabla was ruled by the Banu Sulāīha, cf. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 180.

545. A. Comnène, *Alexiade* ed. Bernard Leib, S.J., III, Paris 1945, 48 (XI 4). A Frankish siege 1098-1099 was not successful,

takuzenos.⁵⁴⁶ In the autumn of 1108, Ğabla was taken by the amīr of Tripolis, Faḥr al-Mulk ‘Ammār, but after Tripolis’s fall in 1109, he had to surrender Ğabla as well.⁵⁴⁷ In 1114 Roger of Antioch granted to St. Mary’s de valle Josaphat “casale ... apud Gibellum”, a plot near the town and a house in it; twenty years later the widowed Princess Alice of Antioch added two *carrucae* land “in territorio Gibelli”.⁵⁴⁸ Prince Bohemond III confirmed at Ğabla in March 1182 the possessions of the church in the Principality of Antioch, among others “casale ... nomine Bussen in montana Gabali et in planitie eiusdem Gabali terram sex carrucatarum et extra eandem civitatem terram unius carrucatae, infra eandem civitatem hospitationem ...”⁵⁴⁹ Dussaud identifies casale Bussen with Bšūna SSE of Kardaha about 16 kilometres NE of Ğabla⁵⁵⁰ but Bissin (21 or 22 kilometres ENE of Ğabla, in the mountains) could be another possibility. Bisīsīn, two or three kilometres E of Ğabla, in the plain at 25 metres’ altitude (fig. 1 no. 25), could for linguistic reasons be the locality in question, but it is not situated “in montana Gabali.”

Also in the Ğabla region the Hospitallers acquired land. In January 1134 the widowed Princess Alice of Antioch granted them a house at al-Laḡqīya (d[omum u]nam apud Laodiciam), a *gastina* called Bessilis with two *carrugis* land and the well in the road (vastinam, que vocatur B[essilis] cum duabus carrugis terrę et cum puteo, qui est in via), finally at Ğabla (apud Gibellum) a *carruga* land and a house.⁵⁵¹ Bessilis could

be Bšīla, 22 kilometres ESE of Ğabla.⁵⁵² Seventeen years later the widowed Princess Constance of Antioch ceded to the Order of St. John among other things two *carrucatae* land ... in the *gastina* of the well (in *gastina* Putei); probably Constance confirmed Alice’s grant of the two *carrucatae* ceded in 1134.⁵⁵³ It is tempting to identify the *gastina* of the well with Ĥirba Ğibb Qabū (= the ruin of the cistern vault),⁵⁵⁴ but for linguistic reasons the idea should be ruled out.

Included in the grant to the Hospitallers of ‘Arab al-Milk at the beginning of 1164 were five *carrucatae* of land in Ğabla’s territory as well as the town’s hospital with its revenues and appurtenances. This land (perhaps not only that at Ğabla) would yield 13 *marcibanos* wheat and four *litras* oil a month.⁵⁵⁵

The lord of Şaḥyūn gave to the Hospitallers, inter alia a Syrian called Bon Mossor living at Ğabla as well as his children and belongings, which Bohemond III confirmed in February 1176; probably Bon Mossor was a former peasant established in the town.⁵⁵⁶

One month later, Bohemond III sold to the Hospitallers “*prædium, quod appellatur S.Egidii ... prope urbem Gabuli situm pro IV millibus bisantiorum,*” which he owed to the order.⁵⁵⁷ As in 1178 ‘Arab al-Milk (Balda) was sold to the order for 1500 besants, the *prædium* S.Egidii must have been considerably larger. Of the sites with Crusaders’ remains in the proximity of Ğabla, only Sūkās meets these requirements.

cf. R. d’Aguilers, RHC Historiens Occidentaux III, 277-278; Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana 1095-1127, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, 269-270. See further J. Richard, op. cit., 13 and 28, further Cahen, Syrie du Nord, 221, 223, 233.

546. Cahen, op. cit., 240 n. 42 questions the veracity of Anna Komnena’s information about the Byzantine conquest of Ğabla basing himself upon Albert of Aachen.

547. The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades ed. Gibb, 86 and 90.

548. RRH with Suppl. 76; Mayer, Varia Antiochena, 113-114 = RRH no. 151 a.

549. Mayer, Varia Antiochena, 118-121 = RRH No. 605 a.

550. Dussaud, 137.

551. Best edited in Mayer, 110-112 after the original; RRH no. 148. Among the witnesses: Wilhelm de Cursibus Altis, dux

Gibelli. For the dukes of Ğabla, see Cahen, op. cit., 457-460, 464.

552. Letter from P. J. Riis, November 19th, 1991; Mayer, op. cit., 115, identifies it with Bissīn, 21 or 22 kilometres ENE of Ğabla.

553. RRH no. 263 = Cartulaire I, 153-154 no. 198.

554. P.J. Riis, supra, 20-21.

555. RRH no. 387 = Cartulaire I, 224-225 no. 311. A *præceptor* of the Order’s houses at al-Laḡqīya and Ğabla was mentioned in 1183, RRH no. 633 = Cartulaire I, 436-437 no. 648, cf. Mayer, op. cit., 84. See also the list of the Hospitallers’ property in the Ğabla region in Cahen, op. cit., 524.

556. RRH no. 523 = Cartulaire I, 324-325 no. 472; J. Prawer, Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem I, Paris 1969, 517-518.

557. RRH no. 524 = Cartulaire I, 326-327 no. 475.

Revenues of the cloth suq belonged to the prince, but we do not know whether he owned the land and rented the shops to the drapers or they had to pay to him certain dues. In 1179 Bohemond III enfeoffed Gautier “de Lattor” with 2000 besants a year as a hereditary fief “apud Gabulum in platea telarum, quae dicitur Sochalbes” (= Sūq al-bazz سوق البز).⁵⁵⁸ The large sum – eight years later the Hospitallers agreed to pay a yearly pension of 2200 besants to Bertrand le Mazoir in return for Marqab – indicates that in some way the prince controlled the linen trade and/or linen production at Ğabla. In 1220 Gautier’s daughter Sybille and her husband Aymar de Leyron ceded the revenue of 2000 besants to the Hospitallers, which Sybille confirmed as a widow in 1236.⁵⁵⁹ But these transactions appeared to be merely hypothetical, as Ğabla was no longer Frankish.⁵⁶⁰

Ğabla was a bishopric by 325,⁵⁶¹ and in the Armenian church it was the seat of an archbishop with the rank of Lesser Catholicos.⁵⁶² After the Frankish conquest of Northern Syria, the Greeks (i.e. the Orthodox clergy) were evicted from their churches, which were taken over by the Latin clergy; al-Laḡqīya and Ğabla each became the seat of a Latin (Catholic) bishop.⁵⁶³

Among these bishops of Ğabla⁵⁶⁴ William was mentioned in office in 1115, Romanus in 1133, Hugo 1138-1144, Baldwin in 1161, Raoul in 1262 and Walter 1264-1267.⁵⁶⁵ Ğabla suffered from the earthquake of 1170, but the small Jacobite church in the town was saved. The historian and Jacobite patriarch of Antioch saw in this a sign from God.⁵⁶⁶

Ğabla was taken by Sālāh ad-Dīn during his brilliant summer campaign of 1188 AD. According to Baha ad-Dīn Ibn Šaddad, who took part in it, Ğabla was a more important objective than Tarṭūs. At Ğabla the town government had been entrusted to the qāḏī for the Moslem inhabitants who, we may assume, formed the majority. The qāḏī made no resistance, but the citadel, qal‘a, did not surrender till the following day (July 16th).⁵⁶⁷ According to ‘Imād ad-Dīn the qāḏī – the name of whom Abū Šama informs us was Maṣṣūr ibn Nabīl – played a more active role in the surrender of the town. Seeking refuge, the Franks prepared for a siege in their two strongholds (الحصنين, Abū Šama بقلعينها), i.e. the citadel = the former theatre and the tower at the harbour, ‘Imād ad-Dīn expressly mentions the latter one. The qāḏī persuaded the Franks to sur-

558. Gautier’s father and grandfather had had the same fief (RRH no. 586).

559. RRH no. 938 a = Cartulaire II, 273 no.1684 (the revenue had been conceded to them by Bohemond IV); RRH no. 1072b = Cartulaire II, 502 no. 2143.

560. It had however been so for a short period about 1218, see Cahen, *op. cit.*, 629-630.

561. List of early bishops in Devresse, *Le Patriarcat d’Antioche*, 169.

562. RHC Historiens Arméniens I, 675: list of bishops transmitted by Sēmpad (1208-1276).

563. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. J.-B. Chabot III, 191; cf. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades I*, 320-321; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 315 and 320-322 (lists of Latin bishops of Ğabla, al-Laḡqīya and Banyās).

564. RRH nos. 195, 203, 366, 1322 (= Cartulaire III, 58-60 no. 3045); William of Tyre XV 16-17, RHC Historiens Occidentaux I, 683-686; Reinhold Röhrich, *Syria sacra*, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins X*, 1887, 27; Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente II: Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, *Studi Religiosi 3/2*, Verona 1976, 125-126.

565. Besides these bishops and one mentioned in 1187 the name of whom we do not know, (Röhrich, *Syria sacra*, 27; G. Fedalto, *op. cit.* II, 125, identifies ‘W., episcopus Glambulepcen.’ in 1179 and an episcopus Cabilonensis in 1187 with bishops of Ğabla. Cabilonensis is Chālon sur Saône (département Saône-et-Loire), cf. Graesse-Benedict-Plechl ed., *Orbis Latinus I*, Braunschweig 1972, 370-371 and *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* ed. P. Pius Bonifacius Gams, Regensburg 1873, 532-534. It has not been possible to identify the bishopric ‘Glambulepcen.’ through the quoted works by Gams and by Graesse-Benedict-Plechl.

566. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. Chabot III, 339 and 424; the Jacobite churches of al-Laḡqīya and Tripolis were saved as well *ibid.*; Mayer, *Das syrische Erdbeben von 1170*, 477 and 484. According to Ibn al-Aṭīr (1160-1233) Ğabla was taken by Nūr ad-Dīn and his brother Quṭb ad-Dīn Mawdūd in 562 H = 1166/1167 AD, RHC Historiens Orientaux I, 551; this event was not mentioned in more contemporary sources like Michael the Syrian.

567. Baha ad-Dīn Ibn Šaddad, *Anecdotes et Beaux Traits de la vie du Sultan Yussuf*, in RHC Historiens Orientaux III, 108-111.

render, Šālāh ad-Dīn in return founded a waqf in name of the qāḏī.⁵⁶⁸ This could explain the name of the Great or Maṣṣūrī Mosque.⁵⁶⁹

According to Baha ad-Dīn Šālāh ad-Dīn gave al-Laḏqīya and Ğabla to his nephew Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī ad-Dīn ‘Umar, lord of Ḥamā, whereas Abū Šama, in an interpolation in an extract from ‘Imād ad-Dīn, let Ğabla assign to the lord of Šayzār.⁵⁷⁰ The fact that Baha ad-Dīn belonged to Šālāh ad-Dīn’s entourage⁵⁷¹ speaks in favour of Baha ad-Dīn’s statement, as he must have been informed of the acts of government.

In 587 H (1191-92 AD) the prince of Antioch raided the al-Laḏqīya-Ğabla region, but was driven away.⁵⁷² When Šālāh ad-Dīn’s empire broke up at his death, al-Laḏqīya and Ğabla fell in 1194 AD to his son al-Malik az-Zāhir of Aleppo.⁵⁷³ A piece of information is given by the continuator of William of Tyre that the advance of Frederick Barbarossa frightened Šālāh ad-Dīn into dismantling the fortifications of coastal towns, like al-Laḏqīya and Ğabla, but it does not appear trustworthy.⁵⁷⁴ More reliable – because Ğabla was governed from Aleppo – is probably the narrative of an event which took place in 1203. A group of Frankish knights were travelling from Acre to Antioch to fight the Armenians and arrived at Ğabla. The town government allowed them to make their camp outside the town as well as to buy victuals. The knights had however to wait for a safe conduct from the Sulṭān in Aleppo; the Franks were impatient and would nevertheless pro-

ceed. In the end the town government gave in, and accompanied them as far as the territory of Ğabla extended. Having left it, they were attacked near al-Laḏqīya by Moslems who captured all of them except one.⁵⁷⁵

With the city of Genova Bohemond III made an agreement in 1189; the Italian town should help him to recover his lost possessions in Northern Syria, in return the Genoese were granted jurisdiction (except in cases of high treason, manslaughter or theft) at Antioch, al-Laḏqīya and Ğabla.⁵⁷⁶ That this was only a declaration of good intentions is clearly seen by another charter by Bohemond III granting to the Genoese full trading rights “in civitatibus Antiochia, Laodiciae et Gabuli necnon in aliis capiendis”.⁵⁷⁷

Bohemond III of Antioch had intended his son Raymond and the latter’s Armenian wife to unite Cilicia and Antioch; however, Raymond died in 1197 leaving a minor son, Raymond-Roupen. As his grandfather was about sixty, it was unlikely that his rule would continue until the boy came of age. Bohemond III’s second son, Count Bohemond of Tripoli, was determined to secure for himself the succession to Antioch and had no difficulty in seizing power when his father actually died in 1201. The supporters of Raymond-Roupen fled to the Armenian court; only in 1219 the Antiochene War of Succession came to an end through the definitive establishment of Bohemond IV’s rule.⁵⁷⁸ Against this background the donation by Raymond-

568. ‘Imad ad-Dīn ed. Landberg, 136-138 = trad. Massé, 127-128; Abū Šama, *Le livre des deux jardins*, RHC Historiens Orientaux IV, 352-353 and 357-358. Ibn al-Aṭīr (1160-1233) further develops the treacherous role of the qāḏī, Kāmal at-Tawārīḥ, RHC Historiens Orientaux I, 717 and 719-720.

569. As Maṣṣūr means victor, the mosque could commemorate other famous victors connected with Ğabla like Mu‘awiya in the seventh, Šālāh ad-Dīn in the twelfth or perhaps Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad of Ḥamā in the thirteenth century. A convincing identification seems not likely to be found.

570. RHC Historiens Orientaux III, 117 (Baha ad-Dīn), *ibid.* IV, 358 (‘Imād ad-Dīn, in Abū Šama), *ibid.* V, 4 (Abū Šama); ‘Imād ad-Dīn’s conquest of Ğabla ed. Landberg, 136-138 = trad. Massé, 127-128, mentions neither the assignment of Ğabla to the lord of Ḥamā, nor to the lord of Šayzār.

571. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades II*, 481; Cahen, *Syrie du*

Nord, 50-52 and 429, where Cahen prefers Abū Šama’s information.

572. Baha ad-Dīn, RHC Historiens Orientaux III, 274.

573. Ibn al-Aṭīr, Kāmal at-Tawārīḥ, RHC Historiens Orientaux II, 1, 78; Runciman, *History of the Crusades III*, 80.

574. RHC Historiens Occidentaux III, 140 (XXV 2).

575. *Ibid.*, 247-249 (XXVII 25). The knights were led by Reynald of Dampierre, cf. Runciman, *op. cit.* III, 102.

576. RRH no. 680, cf. Mayer, 105 (1189, April); in 1154 the Genoese colonies in Ğabla and al-Laḏqīya had been given for 29 years against a modest rent to Ugo Embriaco of Ğibail, see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 499.

577. RRH no. 695 (September 1st, 1190). The Genoese privileges in the three mentioned towns were confirmed in 1199, RRH no. 753.

578. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades III*, 99-100.

Roupen of Ğabla to the Hospitallers in 1207 must be seen; it was confirmed in 1210, on which occasion Castellum Vetulae was added. From the latter charter we learn that Raymond-Roupen had married (and thus come of age) and that he had become a *socius* of the Order. The latter was to make peace and war with the Saracens living by Ğabla and Castellum Vetulae,⁵⁷⁹ from which we may infer that the two localities were still under Moslem rule and that their cession was only a ferment of future rights.

Raymond-Roupen came actually to power in February 1216 but could not maintain his rule after the death of Leo II of Lesser Armenia on May 1st, 1219.⁵⁸⁰

Raymond-Roupen found it politic to grant Ğabla and “Castellum de la Veille” to the Hospitallers once more on April 1st, 1215 and to confirm the donation three years later.⁵⁸¹

While Raymond-Roupen thus tried to buy the favour of the Hospitallers by means of Ğabla and the Castellum Vetulae, Bohemond IV sought the support of the Templars by exactly the same means. In 1221 the apostolic legate Pelagius mediated in the strife “super civitate Gibel et ejus districtu” by dividing the town and its district between the two orders,⁵⁸² further particulars are not known to us.

Peace was made between Bohemond IV of Antioch and the Hospitallers in 1231. The order should render to Bohemond the privileges granted to it by Raymond-Roupen “in civitate Antiochena et dominio ejusdem civitatis praeter civitatem Gabuli et castrum Vetulae, whereas the prince should assign yearly revenues to

the order.⁵⁸³ Earlier in the year Templars and Hospitallers had by joint action managed to take and hold Ğabla for a couple of weeks until a truce was made with the Moslems.

Bohemond IV died in March 1233 and was succeeded by his son of the same name.⁵⁸⁴ In June 1233, a composition was made by Templars and Hospitallers. The former were to respect the truce concluded in the spring of 1231 between the Hospital and the Sulṭān regarding Ğabla; if in the future Ğabla were taken by the Christians, it should be divided according to the arrangement made by the apostolic legate, Pelagius.⁵⁸⁵

The Mongol invaders of Syria appear to have restored al-Laḏqīya to the prince of Antioch, and it remained Frankish after the fall of Antioch in May 1268. At his request, the Prince was included in the truce between Sulṭān Baibars and the king of Cyprus-Jerusalem,⁵⁸⁶ on Raġab 10th, 669 H (= March 4th, 1271) the Mamluk army left Damascus in two detachments that were to meet on a certain day in order to attack Ğabla, al-Laḏqīya and Marqab.⁵⁸⁷ This piece of information – if correct – indicates that al-Laḏqīya and Ğabla had been restored to the prince of Antioch by the Mongols.⁵⁸⁸ At the death of Baibars on July 1st, 1277 al-Laḏqīya (and Ğabla?) as well as Marqab were still Frankish.⁵⁸⁹ In 1282, Sulṭān Malik al-Manṣūr, probably Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad of Ḥamā, concluded a truce of ten years and ten months relative to, among other things, the provinces of Ğabla and al-Laḏqīya, which apparently were in Moslem hands. As the Mamluks considered that the remnants of the Prin-

579. RRH no.820 = Cartulaire II, 70-71 no.1262 (cf.no.1263); RRH no.845 = Cartulaire II, 122-123 no.1355 = RRH no.845a. According to Mayer, 107 the two charters in question were written by the Latin Chancery of King Leo II of Lesser Armenia. Cf. also Cartulaire II, 127 no.1358.

580. Mayer, 107-108.

581. RRH nos. 878 and 909a (= Cartulaire II, 241 no.1606); cf. Mayer, 115.

582. RRH no.949 = Cartulaire II, 297 no.1739.

583. RRH no.1030 = Cartulaire II, 427-428 no. 2000.

584. Runciman, History of the Crusades III, 206-207.

585. RRH no.1043 = Cartulaire II, 455-457 no.2058, cf. RRH no.949 = Cartulaire II, 297 no.1739. See also supra, the section

on ‘Arab al-Milk. Ğabla was probably taken by the Franks in 1260, see Cahen, 524. – In 1267, new differences had to be settled by the orders, on the frontiers of the town of Ğabla and of the castle of Marqab (RRH no. 1356 a = Cartulaire III, 147 no. 3239).

586. Runciman, History of the Crusades III, 306-307, 326-327.

587. Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazaīl, Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks ed. E.Bloch, Patrologia Orientalis XII, Paris 1919, fasc. 3, 527-528. Mufaḏḏal completed his work in 1358 AD; EI² VII, 305.

588. Cf. Cahen, 667 and 706.

589. Runciman, History of the Crusades III, 348.

cipality of Antioch were not covered by the truce with Tripoli, this could be the reason for their inclusion among the Mamluk possessions – actually al-Laḏqīya remained Frankish until 1287.⁵⁹⁰ In the truce by the Sulṭān and the three military orders (Templars, Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights) in 1283, Ġabla was mentioned among the Mamluk possessions;⁵⁹¹ and in the Sulṭān's truce with Leo III of Armenia in 1285, both Balda, Ġabla and al-Laḏqīya were mentioned among the Mamluk possessions.⁵⁹² As al-Laḏqīya became Moslem only in 1287, its inclusion represented only wishful thinking, despite the fact that most other

Mamluk possessions mentioned in the truces actually were in Moslem hands. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow us to see whether or not Ġabla, like al-Laḏqīya experienced a Frankish period from 1260 onwards, whether it became Frankish in 1260 falling to the Moslems in 1271, or whether it remained Moslem also after 1260.

It apparently knew a certain prosperity in the fourteenth century, when a fair was mentioned at Ġabla⁵⁹³; this indicates perhaps that other centres of the coastal plain had lost their importance and that trade with the interior (Ḥamā?) still was of interest.

D. Minor Sites⁵⁹⁴

Bisīṣīn (no. 25). Etymology doubtful, perhaps derivation of a Phoenician name beginning with bit (= house). During their visit to the site in 1959, members of the Expedition found Roman ashlar blocks and part of a mill made of basalt.⁵⁹⁵ Fragments of mills of a similar type were found at Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya.

Dair Mā'ma (no.6, originally perhaps Mā'ma? = the inaccessible convent). Mentioned in the French map (1:50 000) as Soltane Ahoune probably after the ziyāra dedicated to Šaiḥ 'Aūn in the valley to the south of Dair Mā'ma, between this and Tall Sīnū. The site consists of an approximately 35 metres long plateau at c. 140 metres above sea level and belongs thus to the frontier zone between the plain and the Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn; it was visited by members of the Expedition in September 1958. The eastern part of the plateau was used as a threshing-ground; here several bits of flint were found,

probably they had been inserted in a threshing board. A few flints proved to be palaeolithic.⁵⁹⁶

Duwair Ḥaṭīb (no. 8, correcter Duwair Ḥaṭīb = the small monastery of the preacher). Situated in the plain at about 40 metres above sea-level. The site was visited in 1958 by members of the Expedition, who found no objects older than the Imperial Roman period. A building of some kind must have stood there, as roof tiles, mosaic tesserae, a cornice block and a Tuscan column capital were discovered as well as Roman and Early Byzantine sherds and a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus.⁵⁹⁷

The name of the site refers to the fact that the Holy Thalelaios had built for himself a hut or a cell, καλυβή, in an abandoned heathen sanctuary. This was situated on a hill 20 stadia (c. 4 km) from Gabala⁵⁹⁸, which makes the identification with Duwair Ḥaṭīb probable.⁵⁹⁹

However, the description given by Pierre Maraval

590. Ibid., 403; the truce: RRH no.1447.

591. RRH no.1450 = Cartulaire III, 444 no. 3832.

592. RRH no.1457.

593. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin V, = La foire, Bruxelles 1953, 58-60. S. Tsugitaka, The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala, its History and Present Situation, Studia Culturae Islamicae 35, Tokyo 1988, 25 and 70-71.

594. The numbers of each site refer to the maps figs. 1 and 143-144.

595. Cf. P.J.Riis, supra, 21.

596. Journal II 1-3 and 5-6, inv. no. 21; P.J.Riis, supra, 18 note 44.

597. Journal VI 20-22.

598. Ἐπὶ σταδίων γὰρ εἴκοσι Γαβάλων ... λόφον τινὰ καταλαβὼν, ἐν ᾧ τέμενος ἦν δαίμοσιν ἀνακείμενον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι δυσσεβῶν πολλαῖς θυσίαις τιμώμενον, σμικρὰν τινὰ καλύβην ἐπήξατο (Theodoretos of Cyrhus, Religious History (φιλόθεος ἱστορία) ch. 28, Patrologia Graeca ed. J.-P. Migne LXXXII, Paris 1860, repr. Turnhout 1967, col. 1488).

599. Cf. P.J. Riis, supra, 21.

apparently refers to another site: “A 7 km de Gabala, sur un mamelon où se trouvait précédemment un temple païen, fut élevé au début du V^e siècle un grand sanctuaire où l’on déposa des reliques de martyrs.”⁶⁰⁰ Maraval bases himself upon Theodoretos’s Religious history ch. 28, but twenty *stadia* (à 600 Greek feet or c. 192 metres) correspond to four rather than to seven kilometres which excludes other identifications than Duwair Ḥatīb. Further, the hermit’s building of a dwelling is not mentioned by Maraval, nor is the demolition of the temple referred to, only the construction of a sanctuary, in which relics of martyrs were deposited (..τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων κατέλυσε τέμενος, καὶ σηκὸν μέγιστον τοῖς καλλινίκοις ἀνήγειρε μάρτυσι, τοῖς ψευδωνύμοις θεοῖς τοὺς θείους ἀντιτάξας νεκροῦς..) ⁶⁰¹

Thus Maraval’s description must be dismissed as less accurate. But when did the hermit settle at Duwair Ḥatīb? Theodoretos (born c. 393 at Antioch) wrote his Religious History before 449 and had himself paid a visit to the holy man. It is reasonable to believe that this took place before Theodoretos’s consecration as bishop of Cyrrhus in 423. Thalelaios lived at Duwair Ḥatīb for more than ten years, so he probably settled there some time during the first quarter of the fifth century.

As already mentioned,⁶⁰² Thalelaios installed his cell in the pagan sanctuary (*temenos*); the inhabitants of the region venerated the old gods.⁶⁰³ Their annoyance with the hermit was so great that they cut the fig-trees and olive-trees which covered the hill, more than five hundred in all as the peasants of the neighbourhood later told Theodoretos. The reason for this deli-

berate destruction is difficult to understand, unless we assume that the trees belonged to the sanctuary, and that by felling them the peasants hoped to force the hermit out. He was not intimidated, nor was he frightened, when they tried to scare him away by shouting and brandishing torches at night. When they realized that he only laughed at their efforts, they gave up and left him alone. He then constructed a wooden base – how tall we are not told – upon which he placed a sort of box open on two sides as it was made of two massive wheels connected by flat pieces of wood. Apparently this dwelling should imitate those of the stylites (the wooden superstructure), and the wheels would help to turn the box. The room left inside for the hermit was one ell (πῆχυς) large and two ells high, and Thalelaios was a tall man. He had constructed this partly open-air dwelling in order to atone for his sins by the mortification of the flesh. Through his preaching, through his example and through his miraculous deeds (he cured both human beings, donkeys and camels) the inhabitants of the region abandoned the old faith and adopted the Christian religion. Thalelaios had a large sanctuary constructed, in honour of the martyrs; probably, relics were acquired for the consecration of the church.⁶⁰⁴ The ruins noticed by the Expedition must belong either to the temple or to the church. We may reasonably assume that the latter building, like the hermit’s initial cell, used the existing structure of the temple.

Ḥirba Biğāğa (no. 54; doubtful etymology, perhaps derivation of a Phoenician name beginning with bit = house).⁶⁰⁵ At c. 50 metres above sea level, at the foot of the Ḡabal al-‘Alawiyīn. The site is actually a flat

600. P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient*, Paris 1985, 345. This distance would indicate the sites of Dair Mā’ma (no.6) or Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya (no. 29).

601. Theodoretos, *Religious History* ch. 28 (PG LXXXII, 1489).

602. For what follows, see Theodoretos’s *Religious History* ch. 28 (PG LXXXII, 1488-1489). Concerning the date, see G. Bardy, art. Théodoret, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XV, Paris 1946, 314.

603. On July 10th, 399 an Imperial decree published at Damascus ordered the demolition of pagan temples, apparently the actual sanctuary had been closed but not entirely pulled down, Thale-

laios could even have been one of the missionaries sent to Phoenicia by St. John Chrysostomos (354-407), cf. I. Peña, P. Castellana & R. Fernandez OFM, *Les reclus syriens. Recherches sur les anciennes formes de vie solitaire en Syrie* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor No. 23), Milano 1980, 144-145; Theodoretos *Cyrensis, Historia Ecclesiastica* V ch. 29 (PG LXXXII, 1257).

604. Cf. H. Leclercq, *Reliques et reliquaires, Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XIV, Paris 1948, coll. 2300-2305.

605. Cf. P.J.Riis, *supra*, 20.

tall, where members of the Expedition in September 1963 picked up Roman and Late Antique finds.⁶⁰⁶

Hirba Ğibb Qābū (no. 30 = the ruin of the vaulted cistern). The site is a c. 35 x 35 metres large hill, which rises 1-2 metres above the ground; it stands in the coastal plain between 10 and 15 metres above sea level. Members of the Expedition visited it in October 1959 and identified large, eroded blocks of limestone, fragments of tiles, sherds of coarse Roman pottery, and three fragmentary monolithic column shafts of Aswan granite. Three sherds of Mamluk ware – side-fragments, two with yellowish (inv. no. 5153/1-2), one with brown glaze (inv.no. 5153/3) – were picked up from the surface as was a fragment of an Islamic blue glass bead (inv.no. 5153/4).⁶⁰⁷

Hirbat al- Bunduqīya (no. 29 = the ruin of the gun). Situated at the foot of the Ğabal al-‘Alawiyyīn about 40 metres above sea-level. Numerous finds were made by members of the Expedition, who visited the locality in 1959: several ashlar, a wedgestone, a threshold stone, the jamb of a door with a hole for the hinge (or a quern), all of them of limestone. Further, fragments of two Roman presses made of lava with cone shaped lower part and funnel shaped upper part (cf. Bisīsin), fragments of oil(?) presses and of Roman tiles. A Byzantine coin with an M (= 40) was shown to the members of the Expedition by a man living nearby, allegedly, it had been found at the site. The members were further told that graves containing human bones had been discovered.⁶⁰⁸

From the Roman or Byzantine periods comes part of a mosaic pavement with 119 tesserae of limestone and plaster in gray and white colours (HB 1 = inv.no. 8744; photo F 4357), whereas the Arabic period was represented by two undefinable glass fragments (inv. no. 1764/3-4), possibly from the bottom of a cup, and

by the foot (round base and low stalk) of a medieval cup of green glass.⁶⁰⁹

More recent (post-medieval?) tools and artefacts were picked up by members of the Expedition, others which allegedly had been found there were shown to them, thus among them a grille, mountings, the frame of a folding-stool, fragments of chenets or candelabra, a hoe, and a goad.

Although no excavations were made, the surface finds indicate the existence of a landed estate, perhaps a villa in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine (i.e. prior to the Arab Conquest) periods, apparently, it grew grain and olives. It is uncertain whether or not the farm was deserted during the Early Medieval period, but the absence of surface finds seem to indicate the abandonment of the farm. At any rate, activities were apparently resumed sometime under the Mamluks, if not before.

Hirbat al-Malkunīya (no. 34 = the ruin of the kingle).⁶¹⁰

Situated at the foot of the Ğabal al-‘Alawiyyīn about 43 metres above sea level. The site was visited by members of the Expedition in November 1960, who picked up numerous palaeolithic and later flint finds and objects, Roman sherds and the fragment of a pestle of basalt.⁶¹⁰

Hirbat al-Qarmu’a (no. 17 = the dwarf ruin).

Situated south of Ğisr al-Muwillih and east of the present road to ‘Arab al-Milk, between 5 metres above and sea level; the site was visited in 1958 by members of the Expedition. The remains of four oil-presses in a row with 7 or 8 metres’ intervals, Roman architectural remains and Roman and Late Antique sherds and tile fragments⁶¹¹ indicate that the ruins belonged to a Roman landed estate with a considerable production of olive oil.

606. Journal XXII 33-34. The oldest find was however Neolithic; cf. Thuesen, *supra*, 25-26.

607. Journal XI 37-38; inv. nos. 5153/1-4; cf. P.J.Riis, *supra*, 21.

608. Journal XI 1-3; P.J. Riis, *supra*, 20-21 with note 65.

609. Inv. no. 1764/2; this fragment recalls the shape of two glasses in the National Museum of Damascus, but in a simpler version (nos. A 4511 – A 4512). They belong to the 14th-15th centuries

and were probably made at Venice, cf. Catalogue du Musée National de Damas. Publié à l’occasion de son Cinquantenaire (1919-1969) ed. M. Abū-l-Faraġ Al-‘Ush, A. Joundi et B. Zouhdi, Damas 1969, 267 and fig. 153.

610. Journal XVIII 31-32.

611. Journal IV 5-6.

Hmāimīn (no. 2 = the baths).

Situated in the coastal plain near the al-Laḏqīya-Banyās road at ca. 40 metres above sea-level. Members of the Expedition visited it in November 1959.⁶¹² Among the sherds picked up were rim- and side-sherds of a bowl of green glazed Port St. Simeon ware,⁶¹³ a rimsherd of a bowl of light green glazed Port St. Simeon ware with dark green spots and sgraffiato decoration⁶¹⁴ and a rimsherd of a bowl of dark brown glazed Mamluk (?) ware.⁶¹⁵ Finally, a yellow-brownish ivory or bone fragment of a handle or a pyxis was picked up; at either end it had three incised grooves.⁶¹⁶

ʿĪdīya (no. 26 = the festival gift). According to Dussaud the name could reflect the medieval “Casale Sancti Aegidii”, which appears less probable,⁶¹⁷ as the village is not situated on top of a tall, and as its houses are built of bricks of dried mud. Had there stood ancient or medieval buildings, ashlar would probably have been left, but none were found. The inhabitants confirmed in 1959 to members of the Expedition that no ancient remnants had survived.⁶¹⁸

Qalʿat ar-Rūs (no. 1 = the castle of the Russians). The site stands at the mouth of the Nahr ar-Rūs, on its northern bank. Forrer discovered in 1934 a green-glazed sherd of the Arabic period (Port St. Simeon ware?) on the west slope of the hill. As there had been a Turkish lookout above this place, Forrer suggested that in Arab times there had been a lookout on the highest point.⁶¹⁹ Members of the Expedition visited Qalʿat ar-Rūs in 1958 and in 1960.⁶²⁰ In front of the walls on the

Western slope sherds, dating from the Iron Age to the Late Roman or Byzantine period, were picked up,⁶²¹ and at a point on the coast to the south of the tall three Roman and Late Antique sherds, a tile fragment, a mosaic fragment and three mosaic tesserae were found.⁶²²

Thus there must have been some kind of settlement in the Late Roman/Byzantine periods, but the absence of finds except on the West slope could indicate that the upper strata of the mound had been removed or that erosion had been particularly strong there.⁶²³ The discovery of mosaic tesserae on the shore probably reveals the place where the removed earth was dumped.

If our etymology is correct, the placename could be explained as a recollection of the presence of Russians, probably the famous Varangian guard. It protected the Byzantine Emperor and was traditionally recruited in Russia.⁶²⁴ We know that in the 1030s it more than once fought in Syria, under Theoktistos as commander in chief; among the leading officers was Harald, who was to rule Norway from 1046 to his death twenty years later.

In Roman times the road crossed the Nahr ar-Rūs immediately to the south-east of Qalʿat ar-Rūs, the function of which probably was to protect the bridge. It is hard to believe that this should not have been so in the Middle Ages as well, and that it sometime during Byzantine rule was held by a unit of Russian mercenaries, perhaps members of the Varangian guard.⁶²⁵

Qurfiṣ (no. 23) and *Ġabal Qurfiṣ*, i.e. the (mountain of the) one who squats on the ground (قرفص) or the squatting mountain, perhaps referring to the village’s position on top of the mountain) or to the latter’s posi-

612. For earlier finds, cf. P.J. Riis, *supra*, 21.

613. Inv. nos. 1775/2-3.

614. Inv. no. 1775/4.

615. Inv. no. 1775/5.

616. Inv. no. 1775/6, uncertain date.

617. Dussaud, 134. As Professor H. E. Mayer kindly reminds me, the vernacular of the Franks was French, not Latin; thus the identification of ʿĪdīya with Casale Sancti Aegidii is hardly probable. Moreover, the Casale Sancti Aegidii in Samaria is in Arabic rendered as *Sinġil* (St. Gilles).

618. *Journal* VII 8-10.

619. For Forrer’s soundings and for finds from earlier periods, see John Lund, *supra*, 70-71.

620. *Journals* I 39-40, II 2 and XIII 45; E.O.Forrer apud Ehrich, 115.

621. Inv. no. 1.

622. Inv. no. 8425.

623. The stratigraphy of the upper layers is not very conclusive, and it is not possible to date the four upper layers otherwise than after Middle Bronze Age I, cf. John Lund, *supra*, 70.

624. P. Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palaestina (1000-1350)*, Cph. 1868, 168-169; S. Bagge: Harald Sigurdsson ‘der Harte’, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV, München – Zürich 1987-1989, 1930.

625. In Greek there are two forms: Πρωγ (used in masc. plural) and the less common ῥῶσσοι, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* ... VI, Paris 1842-47, col. 2457. The Arabic place-name appears to render the form Πρωγ.

tion in relation to the coast; by al-'Aini the name is written *قرفيص*.⁶²⁶

The village Qurfiš is situated on the top of the mountain; close to it stands a ziyāra for Šaiḥ Aḥmad Qurfiš, which apparently was constructed during the Ayyubid period.⁶²⁷ The site was ceded to the Hospitallers in 1174,⁶²⁸ and was then mentioned as a *casale*. For almost a century it was governed by the Hospitallers, who were forced to abandon it to the Sultān in 669 H (1270/1 AD). Before leaving it, they burnt everything they could not carry with them.⁶²⁹ Thus for chronological reasons is not quite clear whether the village took its name from the šaiḥ or the latter was named after the village.

Members of the Expedition visited the site in 1958 and in 1963. On the former occasion, no pre-Islamic remains were found on the plateau near the ziyāra. A short way south-west of the peak (319 metres above sea-level) in the middle of the road leading away from the village there was an ancient cistern, and in the surroundings, ancient limestone ashlar were discovered in secondary position in walls of enclosure; the biggest block had a height of c. 45 cm. In the field west of the road fragments of Roman roof tiles were found as well as sherds of Roman, Late Antique and Islamic pottery. In the field east of the road lay a column drum of limestone.⁶³⁰

Tall Darūk (no. 22).⁶³¹ It stands to the south of Nahr as-Sinn. Probably it is the "casale Assenem" or village

at the Sinn (ad Senem) mentioned in Bohemond III's donation to the Hospitallers, when the casale Assenem was excepted from the gift.⁶³² One should expect a ford immediately north of Tall Darūk and Jørgen Rohweder suggested that the site stands at the first possible crossing of the Sinn upstream from its estuary; actually a tribe of bedouins forded the river immediately north of Tall Darūk in October 1959. On the other hand, the actual water level in the river has been regulated by a dam 200 metres from the spring;⁶³³ during Šalāḥ ad-Dīn's campaign in July 1188 – thus at the driest time of the year – the Sinn barred the road from further progress. There was no ford then and only one bridge allowing the crossing of the river; avoiding the bridge, the army circumvented the river at its source. Šalāḥ ad-Dīn stayed at Balda over night,⁶³⁴ which thus, in all probability, came under Moslem rule in the summer of 1188.

To the south of the sounding made by the Expedition in 1959 the wall F of ashlar blocks contains two with marginally drafting and bossed surface; obviously, these two blocks are here in secondary position. The mentioned type of ashlar appears frequently in Crusaders' constructions of the early 12th century,⁶³⁵ but it was in use for a long period.

It is found in the Frankish parts of Šaḥyūn and in the 12th century chapel of Crac des Chevaliers⁶³⁶ and it was taken over by Ayyubid and Mamluk architects. A good example is the keep at Šayzār constructed under Baibars;⁶³⁷ in this context the south part of the fortifi-

626. RHC Historiens Orientaux II 1, 239. The localization of the site in the note to this source appears to be less precise ("sur le bord de la mer dans le voisinage de Markab").

627. For a description of the ziyāra and the village, see the extracts from the journal kept by P.J.Riis in Harald Hansen, 66-69, 75-79.

628. Cartulaire I, 313-314 no. 457: "casale quod vocatur Corveis" = RRH no. 521.

629. As note 626.

630. Journal I 43-44; inv. no. 14 (three Roman-Byzantine sherds). The finds were made at 280-290 metres above sea-level, see Journal II 3.

631. Description of the Tall in Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6.

632. Cartulaire I no. 783 = RRH no. 649; Mayer, 140 with the correcter date February 1st, 1187. The identification was proposed already by Dussaud, 129-130 and by P. J. Riis, AASyr 10, 114,

cf. also T. Riis, Die Übernahme Marqabs durch die Johanniter (1186), in: Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden. Quellenkundliche Probleme und Forschungsmethoden, hrsg. von Z.H. Nowak = Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia 4, 1987, 151-156; P.J. Riis, supra, 14.

633. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 6.

634. 'Imād ad-Dīn ed. Landberg, 136 = trad. Massé, 126-127, cf., note 489. For a general discussion of the fords at the Sinn, see P.J. Riis, supra, 13-14.

635. R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps & H. Seyrig: La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée = BAH XVII, Paris 1931, pl. 120, 123 and 126: Saône/Šaḥyūn early 12th century.

636. Ibid., pl. 135.

637. Kamil Šaḥādah in AASyr 31, 1981, partie arabe, 122; Guide Bleu: Moyen Orient, Paris 1965, 277.

cations of Damascus⁶³⁸ could also be mentioned as well as the ruins of the square tower belonging to the north-western part of Aleppo's fortifications discovered in 1982.⁶³⁹ This part was constructed during the reign of al-Malik az-Zāhir Ġazī, thus between 1193 and 1215.⁶⁴⁰

Thus the ashlar blocks with marginally drafting and bossed surface are hardly older than c. 1100. Accordingly, the two blocks of this type used in Tall Darūk's wall F may belong to a building not earlier than c. 1100. As in wall F they are in secondary position – although the possibility could not be excluded that they were used as a kind of decoration at the corner – this construction must represent the latest documented building phase of medieval Tall Darūk. When the house with the two bossed ashlar blocks was destroyed cannot be ascertained; as Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīns's forces passed or circumvented the Sinn without incident, the building had perhaps been ruined by one of the earthquakes in 1157 or 1170.

In layer 2⁶⁴¹ remains of a wall A were discovered; it was made of stones of different sizes. To the layers 3-4 belongs the wall B, which has the same orientation as wall F. Wall C, however, is connected with layers 5 to 7. Apparently it was the outer wall of a house; east of it a floor of pebbles was found, and still further east an oven.

To layer 7 belongs wall D of ashlar blocks with smaller stones in between. Its orientation is the same as that of the walls B and F. Wall D cuts through an earlier wall E, which rests on layer 9. Between this and layer 7 alternating layers of charcoal and ashes were found (layer 8). This stratum yielded several East

Greek and Attic sherds of the 6th-5th centuries BC, but earlier pottery material was regularly re-employed in later buildings and floors.⁶⁴² As two sherds of medieval pottery were found in layers 8 and 7, these strata must belong to the Middle Ages. Wall E belongs to layer 8 and must be older than wall D; the section N-S indicates a relation between the foundations of wall F and layer 8. As the transition between layers 8 to 7 is not quite clear,⁶⁴³ the two medieval sherds found could both belong to layer 7, thus dating it to the period after c. 1200. Consequently, wall D could not be earlier than the 13th century.

As the marginally drafted ashlar blocks with bossed surface probably could be dated about 1100, wall F was perhaps constructed at this time. The role of wall E is however difficult to ascertain; it could be the foundations of a building to which the bossed ashlar blocks belonged or – which is perhaps more likely – a pavement or a terrace-wall parallel to and supporting wall F.

The walls C (layer 6) and B (layers 3-4) are younger than wall D from the period after 1200. Wall A belongs to layer 2, in which sherds, possibly of Mamluk ware, were found. Consequently, layer 2 should be dated to the late 13th or the 14th century.

Besides Late Hellenistic – Early Roman and earlier finds, layer 2 contained a fragment of a lamp of the Byzantine or Islamic periods (Inv. no. 346 = TD 28 fig. 50),⁶⁴⁴ as well as probably medieval glass and faience beads (Inv. no. 350) and a fragment of a glass vessel (Inv. no. 351).

South of wall A two children's burials were found; the orientation of burial 1 east-west with the head in the west but facing south (the *qibla*) shows that the

638. N. Salibi in AASyr 32, 1982, partie arabe, 29 fig. 3 and 33 figs. 10-11.

639. Rīād Sābā in AASyr 33, 1983, partie arabe, 121.

640. J. Sauvaget, Alep = BAH, XXXVI, I, Paris 1941, 131 and 140 with note 498.

641. For what follows the facts are taken from Oldenburg & Rohweder, 12-18 with Pl. II figs. 1-8; an early 3rd century coin from Tarsus was found in the medieval layer 4, other coins – Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic – were picked up from the surface, cf. *ibid.*, 64-65.

642. P.J. Riis, Sūkās I, 123.

643. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 13, quoting the supervisor Henrik Thrane. Unfortunately, the drawings of the sections do not relate wall F to the layers of the sounding, cf. plate I.

644. The distribution of animal bones from layer 2 (N=9) is as follows: dog (*canis familiaris*) 1, pig (*sus scrofa domesticus*) 2, cow (*bos taurus domesticus*) 3, sheep (*ovis aries*) 2, birds (*aves*) 1, Oldenburg & Rohweder, 68-69, table 12. Despite the facts that in Antiquity leather was possibly made from pigs' skin and their bones used for furniture, cf. M-L. Buhl in *Ḥamā II* 2, 193-194, the existence of pigs seem to indicate a non-Islamic settlement, probably they then belong to the Frankish period.

grave is Islamic. The necklace found in burial 2 and especially the disc-shaped pendant of faience with turquoise glaze,⁶⁴⁵ point to the same date. Probably the pendant was an amulet against "the evil eye", as a remedy turquoise is considered particularly efficient.⁶⁴⁶ Because of the cultivation of the mound before 1954 very few remains from the Crusaders', Ayyubid and Mamluk periods have survived. Surface finds of Port St. Simeon and Mamluk wares reveal that the site was in use until at least about 1300, if not longer. Wall F, which was built of ashlar blocks in mortar, reveals a type of masonry often found in twelfth century Crusaders' architecture. However, whether or not the existence in the wall of two marginally drafted bossed ashlar means that wall F was repaired or built with material used somewhere else cannot be established from the surviving documentation alone. Nevertheless, we may reasonably in wall F see the only remains of the Frankish "casale ad Senem".

Tall Ġalāl (no. 18, perhaps the site should be identified with Ugaritic Galili whereas popular etymology sees in Ġalāl a personal name).⁶⁴⁷ The tall rises between three and eight metres from the ground, its highest part is at 33 metres above sea-level; its length, measured at its top level is approximately 15 metres. Members of the Expedition visited the site in 1958 and found many, apparently rather late, Islamic walls of limestone. Further, a few ashlar blocks and a column drum, all of them of limestone, were discovered as well as the lower part of an oil-press of limestone.⁶⁴⁸ The missing upper part must have been a stone shaped as the bottom of a cone.⁶⁴⁹ The finds indicate some kind of estate with oil production, perhaps in the earli-

er centuries of the Middle Ages. Towards the end of the medieval period the site apparently had the character of a small village.

Tall Īrīz (no. 9 = in dialect the mound of cedars).⁶⁵⁰ Situated at the foot of the Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn the height of the mound is about 19 metres and its top stands 99 metres above sea-level. Its length at the top level is about 18 metres. In 1958 it was visited by members of the Expedition, who on its surface picked up nine sherds ranging from the Iron Age to the Islamic Period.⁶⁵¹

Tall Siḥḥāba (no. 11 = the mound of the necklace of root beads, i.e. of wooden beads, formerly written Sirḥāba).⁶⁵² Situated in the plain, the mound has a height of five to ten metres, its top is at 45 metres above sea level, and its length at the top about 5 metres. Members of the Expedition visited the site in 1958 picking up 25 potsherds ranging from the Bronze Age to the Islamic period.⁶⁵³

Tall Sīānū (no. 7, probably the same site as Ugaritic Siyannu).⁶⁵⁴ Situated in the frontier zone between the plain and the Ġabal al-'Alawiyīn the height of the mound is about 27 metres, and its top stands 147 metres above sea level. Its length at the top is about 20 metres. The slopes of the tall form terraces which could indicate former cultivation. At its highest point there are Turkish graves.⁶⁵⁵

The site was visited twice in 1958 and again in 1960 by a member of the Expedition; on the surface towards the East and on the slope towards the West he picked up potsherds ranging from Early Bronze to the Islamic Period, further an Islamic clay pipe, a fragment of a

645. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 15 and 64 (Inv. no. 350).

646. Oldenburg & Rohweder, 63. Moreover, in layer 2 the fragment of an armring of wrought iron was found, but its date is uncertain, and on the surface an Islamic bronze bezel from a finger ring was picked up, *ibid.*, 62. Inv. no. 336 = TD 30, fig. 49, ring and Inv. no. 337 = TD 74, fig. 49, bezel.

647. Cf. P.J. Riis, *supra*, 19-20.

648. Journals I 45 and II 3.

649. See Harald Hansen, 67 fig. 23 b (example from Qurfīs); moreover, the present author has seen the same type in use in Tuscany about 1980.

650. The site is tentatively identified with Ari of the Ugaritic texts, P.J. Riis, *supra*, 18-20.

651. Journals I 39 and II 2; inv. no. 4.

652. The site is tentatively identified with Gubeli of the Ugaritic texts, P.J. Riis, *supra*, 19-20. The revised transliteration Siḥḥāba is due to Gabriel Saadé in a conversation with P.J. Riis 1975.

653. Journals I 45-46 and II 2; inv. no. 15, for the description of finds, see John Lund, *supra*, 72.

654. P.J. Riis, *supra*, 18-20.

655. Journals I 37-39 and II 2.

serpentine bowl and an iron piece of uncertain use⁶⁵⁶. Moreover a fragment of the side and bottom of a basalt bowl was discovered on the surface; it was carved and had a slight indication of one oblong foot.⁶⁵⁷

Several sherds of medieval pottery were picked up from the surface: sixty-two fragments of Port St. Simeon ware⁶⁵⁸ and five sherds of Mamluk ware.⁶⁵⁹ That the former group actually represents the Port St. Simeon ware is proved by its light reddish clay. Thus it is no imitation of the mentioned pottery, and must consequently be dated to the 13th century. Port St. Simeon fell to the Mamluks in 1268 when the Principality of Antioch disappeared and the site ceased to be inhabited. Although the potters could have continued their production elsewhere, they would probably have had to do with other types of clay.⁶⁶⁰ Consequently we must assume that the bowls were made by c. 1270 but that they could have been in use until the end of the 13th century.

Similarly, the Mamluk sherds as well as the ovens (tannūr, pl. tanānīr) found in layer 2 in 1992 reveal that the site was still inhabited towards the end of the 14th century.⁶⁶¹

In a field Northwest of the Turkish graves the owner had discovered an intersection of ashlar walls rising from a level of several metres below the surface.⁶⁶²

Perhaps then a tower or some other fortification was constructed after the conquest of the area by the Byzantines or by the Franks. The site remained inhabited after the fall of the Principality of Antioch, but

possibly on a smaller scale. The settlement was apparently abandoned about 1400, probably as a consequence of Timur's invasion of Syria in 1400.⁶⁶³

Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib (no. 19, etymology uncertain). Oblong sandbank, c. 100 metres long and 15-25, its tallest part c. 50 metres wide, on top of a rock; situated in the coastal plain about 850 metres north-east of the Mosque in 'Arab al-Milk. Members of the Expedition visited the site in 1959 and 1960 without finding traces of settlement. On top of the mound worn stone remains of Islamic graves were discovered as well as Arabic graves along the mound's west side and the northern part of its east side, whereas depressions in the ground and spots of abundant vegetation indicate the existence of older, sunk in graves, which had been plundered; probably they should be dated to the Roman period.⁶⁶⁴ Very likely, the potsherds and the fragment of a tile stone⁶⁶⁵ picked up on the surface belonged to them. Here also a fragment of an Arabic medieval pipehead was found; it was wheelmade, of brown clay with impressed decoration; its interior had been blackened by fire. Probably it had been made locally.⁶⁶⁶

Tall Sūkās (no. 12).⁶⁶⁷ As the Roman and medieval finds from this site will be discussed elsewhere, it must suffice to mention that two phases of medieval fortification were identified. In the earlier one, perhaps corresponding to the twelfth century, a wall curtain and a gate flanked by two towers were constructed. The eastern tower protruded somewhat from the wall curtain, as is the case in Monteriggioni in Tuscany, c. 15 km north of Siena (fig. 142). Here the fortification walls were constructed 1213-19. As this settlement is of similar di-

656. Inv. no. 3.

657. TSA 4 = inv. no. 1274/1.

658. TSA 7-47 = inv. no. 1276/1-62.

659. TSA 48 = inv. no. 1276/63, TSA 49 = inv. no. 1276/67; further inv. nos. 1276/64-66.

660. Cf. V. Poulsen in *Ḥamā* IV 2, 232-236.

661. See especially TSA 48 = inv. 1276/63 photo F 1214, cf. *Ḥamā* IV 2, 236-239 with figures 825-827 and 831. These examples belong, according to Vagn Poulsen, to the later phases of the Mamluk ware production which flourished in the 14th century. *Syria* 70, 1993, 444.

662. *Journal* XII 48-49.

663. Cf. P. J. Riis in: *Ḥamā* IV 2, 9.

664. *Journals* VI 1-5 and XIII 6-7.

665. Inv. nos. 1772 and 1772/3.

666. TSL 6 = inv. no. 1772/2.

667. For what follows, see P.J.Riis, *Sūkās* I, 16 and plate I; photo F 1589, as well as the preliminary observations by P. J. Riis in *AASyr* 8-9, 1958-59, 122-124 with figs. 4 and 6, *ibid.*, 10, 1960, 117-118 with figs. 5-6, *ibid.* 11-12, 1961-62, 135 with fig. 2, and by E. Fugmann *ibid.* 13, 1963, 223-224 with fig. 33.

mensions as Sūkās, it gives us an idea how the latter site could have looked c. 1200.

The gate flanked by two towers is a feature known from several Frankish castles. At Crac des Chevaliers the entrance into the inner court is situated between two towers,⁶⁶⁸ but at Şahyūn visitors passed through the contemporary gatehouses⁶⁶⁹; the same feature is to be found at 'Aṭlīt/Chastel Pèlerin begun in 1217.⁶⁷⁰ In the entrance to the citadel of Aleppo constructed by Ġāzī (1193-1215) the two features were combined: the entrance is flanked by two towers, but access to the castle is only through the ground-floor of one of the towers.⁶⁷¹ The same entrance system was applied to the city's thirteenth century fortifications.⁶⁷² These circumstances allow us to date the gate and the curtain wall to the Frankish period, i.e. 1109-88, if we accept Ġabla's chronology as valid for Sūkās as well. As suggested in the section on 'Arab al-Milk, Sūkās could be the casale S.Egidii,

which in 1168 "cum torone de Belda" was ceded by Bohemond III to the Hospitallers. In the 13th century the curtain was repaired and a circular cistern was built to the south of the 12th century gate. This was abandoned as entrance, because a new tower was constructed on top of the eastern tower and over part of the gateway. The wall curtain was used as the new tower's east wall.

Tall at-Tuwainī (no. 3 = the mound of the small fig tree, perhaps Ugaritic Arru)⁶⁷³; its top is c. 35 metres long and stands c. 29 metres above sea level, whereas the mound rises ten metres above the surrounding coastal plain. The site stands close to the Ziyāra Šaiḥ Ḥassan al-Baḥrī. Members of the Expedition visited Tall at-Tuwainī in 1958 and in 1959; at its surface they found potsherds ranging from the Bronze Age to the Islamic period, further fragments of utensils of basalt; the upper part of a saddle quern, one half of a ring from a digging-stick or a quern and rims of bowls.⁶⁷⁴

E. Conclusion

In the preceding pages we have discussed the documentation available for the medieval history of the sites of the Ġabla plain. It should be borne in mind that many sites have only been briefly registered and that proper excavations were only made at Tall Sūkās, at Tall Darūk and at 'Arab al-Milk. Our conclusions must necessarily be tentative and apt to invalidation by later research (See the maps figs. 143-5).

Sites with continuous settlement

A number of sites appear to have been occupied from the Late Roman to the Mamluk periods. Among them we find Gabala, Sūkās and Paltos but also Tall Darūk and sites like Qurfiš (no. 23), Tall Siḥḥāba (no. 11),

Tall Sīānū (no. 7), Tall Īrīz (no. 9), Tall at-Tuwainī (no. 3), and probably Qal'at ar-Rūs (no. 1).

In the towns of Gabala and Paltos a certain recession took place probably already before the 630s. The Arab conquest did not appear to cause any notable change.⁶⁷⁵ A revival of agriculture in North Syria took place in the course of the tenth century AD, when new cultures like the sugar cane were introduced besides the traditional olives and corn.⁶⁷⁶

Qal'at ar-Rūs must have had its Byzantine garrison, at least in the eleventh century, and Ġabla was with its two fortresses and city wall a place of strategic importance under Arabs, Byzantines and Franks alike.

On the coast Sūkās and Balda al-Milk were fortified

668. R. C. Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1973, 109 fig. 15 nos. 9-10.

669. *Ibid.*, 104-7 with figs. 13-14.

670. *Ibid.*, 114-5 with fig. 17.

671. J. Sauvaget, *Alep I*, 144-146.

672. *Ibid.*, 145 and II pl. LV.

673. P.J. Riis, *supra*, 18-20.

674. *Journals I* 47-48 and *II* 2; inv. no. 16.

675. Cf. Haase, *op. cit.*, 29; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 148-151.

676. Cf. E. Ashtor, *Histoire des Prix et des Salaires dans l'Orient*

by the Crusaders, who called these sites *prædium Sancti Egidii* and *Beaude/Belde* respectively. Tall Darūk was the Frankish “*casale ad Senem*”, but the finds do not allow us to ascertain whether or not it was fortified by Byzantines or Crusaders. Belde controlled the bridge over the Sinn, and Tall Darūk its only possible ford; from Qurfiṣ it must have been possible to see if troops tried to cross or to circumvent the Sinn. Tall Sīānū had a similar function, controlling the road from Ğabla to Ḥamā. To these sites the Crusaders must have given new vitality; after the Mamluk conquest their military importance dwindled and with it their economic force. This was to the advantage of Ğabla, which in the fourteenth century was the only prosperous town in the region: its rivals were insignificant, it had a fair and must have served as a port of Ḥamā as well.

Abandoned sites

Other settlements were at some time abandoned, probably during the critical period in Late Byzantine or ‘Umayyad times. These settlements were, in the great majority, Roman/Byzantine villas or other landed estates. Ḥirba Ğibb Qābū (no. 30), Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya (no. 29) were resettled by the Mamluk period at latest, Hmāimīn (no. 2) perhaps in the thirteenth century, whereas in the case of Tall Ğalāl (no. 18) the date of resettlement seems less clear; the absence of finds from the early Arabic or Crusaders’ periods indicate that the site was not continuously occupied.

In a few cases we may surmise what kind of crops were grown at these farms (see the map, fig. 144). The seven of them produced oil, Sūkās and Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya corn as well. It is revealing, however, that of them only Sūkās and Tall Siḥḥāba were not abandoned during the early medieval crisis; among the five others

Bisīsīn (no. 25), Duwair Ḥatīb (no. 8) and Ḥirbat al-Qarmu‘a (no. 17) were apparently only taken up again in post-medieval times. If we include the sites, the production of which we do not know, half of those investigated were abandoned during the early medieval crisis (see fig. 143). Oil and corn were the staple products of North Syria, so during a crisis at least some farms growing these crops would be struck. But when oil-producing estates were all abandoned, we must ask whether or not the agrarian crisis was caused by an unfortunate development in olive growing.⁶⁷⁷ We should here remember that an olive tree begins to yield only when it is 20-25 years old. Several of the abandoned sites (nos. 2, 6, 8, 29, 30, 34 and 54) are not situated in the vicinity of rivers and could thus have had problems concerning the water supply. On the other hand, some of them were resettled later in the Middle Ages (nos. 2, 29 and 30), whereas sites with good water supply were abandoned already during the early Middle Ages (nos. 17 and 25). Diseases of the olive trees, repeated attacks of insects, e.g. locusts, or hard frost as was the case in Tuscany in the 1980s are realistic, but hypothetical causes which our sources do not allow us to verify or to refute.

The sixth century was a period of crisis in Byzantine Syria; since c. 540 repeated outbreaks of plague had similar demographic effects as the Black Death about 1350. Earthquakes at al-Laḏqīya in the middle of the sixth century killed allegedly 7,000 persons; they must have caused victims and material damage elsewhere in Northern Syria. The coastal towns were hit more hardily by the economic and demographic crisis, whereas inland towns at the desert fringe fared better because of their increased trade with the Bedouins.⁶⁷⁸ Thus the contraction of the agrarian economy, which we have

médiéval, Paris 1969 (Monnaie – Prix – Conjoncture VIII), 233-34, W.Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, Leipzig 1885-1886, réimpression Amsterdam 1967, I, 178-79 et II, 684.

677. According to the eastern amphorae found in the West, oil was a more important commodity in the late fifth-early sixth century, whereas at the end of the sixth century wine was the more im-

portant of the two products, cf. P. Pentz, *The Invisible Conquest. The Ontogenesis of Sixth and Seventh Century Syria*, Copenhagen 1992, 34-35.

678. H. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 156, 180, 182-183. Beirut suffered heavily from the earthquake of 551, see N. Jidejian, *Beirut through the Ages*, Beirut 1973, 77. See further the list of plague years in the seventh-eighth centuries AD in E. Ashtar, *op. cit.*, 237.

established for the Ġabla plain as well, could have begun at the middle of the sixth century or two to three generations before the Arab conquest, and at least partially for demographic reasons.

The *ḍimmīs* (Christians and Jews) could under Moslem rule in most cases not own land but had to pay the *ḥarāġ* in return for the usufruct. As copyholding and related forms of possession of land were known before the Arab conquest,⁶⁷⁹ the property structure did apparently not change so much as to cause a large scale abandonment of farms plausible for this reason alone. Nevertheless, the peasants were met with increasing claims after the Arab conquest, and the work of the numerous slaves employed by Arab lords gave the Syrian craftsman and peasant a hard competition – and all this on top of a recession which had lasted for almost a century! The social unrest manifested itself in peasant revolts under the ‘Umayyad caliphs ‘Abd al-Malik (685-705) and Marwān II (744-750).

The transfer in 750 to ‘Iraq of the centre of power changed nothing for the better: Syria was now a province like many others and had to comply with the demands of the capital. The peasants suffered ever more from increasing taxation, the craftsmen lost a

great deal of their traditional customers and trade with Europe declined. Northern Syria gained from her annexion by the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century, but the upward trend seems to have begun before the Greek conquest. The further opening up of Syria to trade with Europe accelerated the economic recovery.⁶⁸⁰ The resettling of certain sites in the Ġabla plain belongs probably to the century of Byzantine domination before it began to crumble after the defeat at Manzikert 1071 or to the period of Frankish or Ayyubid rule. As indicated by the map (fig. 145), the Franks apparently concentrated upon few, but strategically important sites. Some of them lost their significance after the eviction of the Crusaders, but the region as a whole and especially Ġabla enjoyed a certain prosperity in the fourteenth century.

The incursion into Syria by Timur about 1400 meant in many areas the desertion of farms and villages; but Mamluk rule was soon restored and generally speaking the economy recovered.⁶⁸¹ Moreover, trade with the West became ever more frequent during the fifteenth century, as Syria, perhaps as a result of a demographic crisis, had to import goods from Europe which she had produced herself in the past.⁶⁸²

Indleveret til selskabet i november 2002.
Færdig fra trykkeriet i august 2004.

679. Cf. A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d’Islam*, Beyrouth 1958, 292-297.

680. E. Ashtor, *op. cit.*, 231-235. The decline of trade is perhaps to be explained by the displacement of East-West exchanges from the Mediterranean to the Baltic in the last centuries of the first millenium AD; a hypothesis which is at least partially confirmed by the numerous finds of Arabic coins in the Baltic region, above all in the island of Gotland, see S. Bolin,

Muhammed, Karl den Store och Rurik, *Scandia* XII, 1939, *passim*, criticizing Henri Pirenne’s thesis according to which the Arab conquest caused the decline of Mediterranean trade (H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris-Bruxelles 1937, *passim*).

681. E. Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971, 159.

682. E. Ashtor, *op. cit.*, 385.

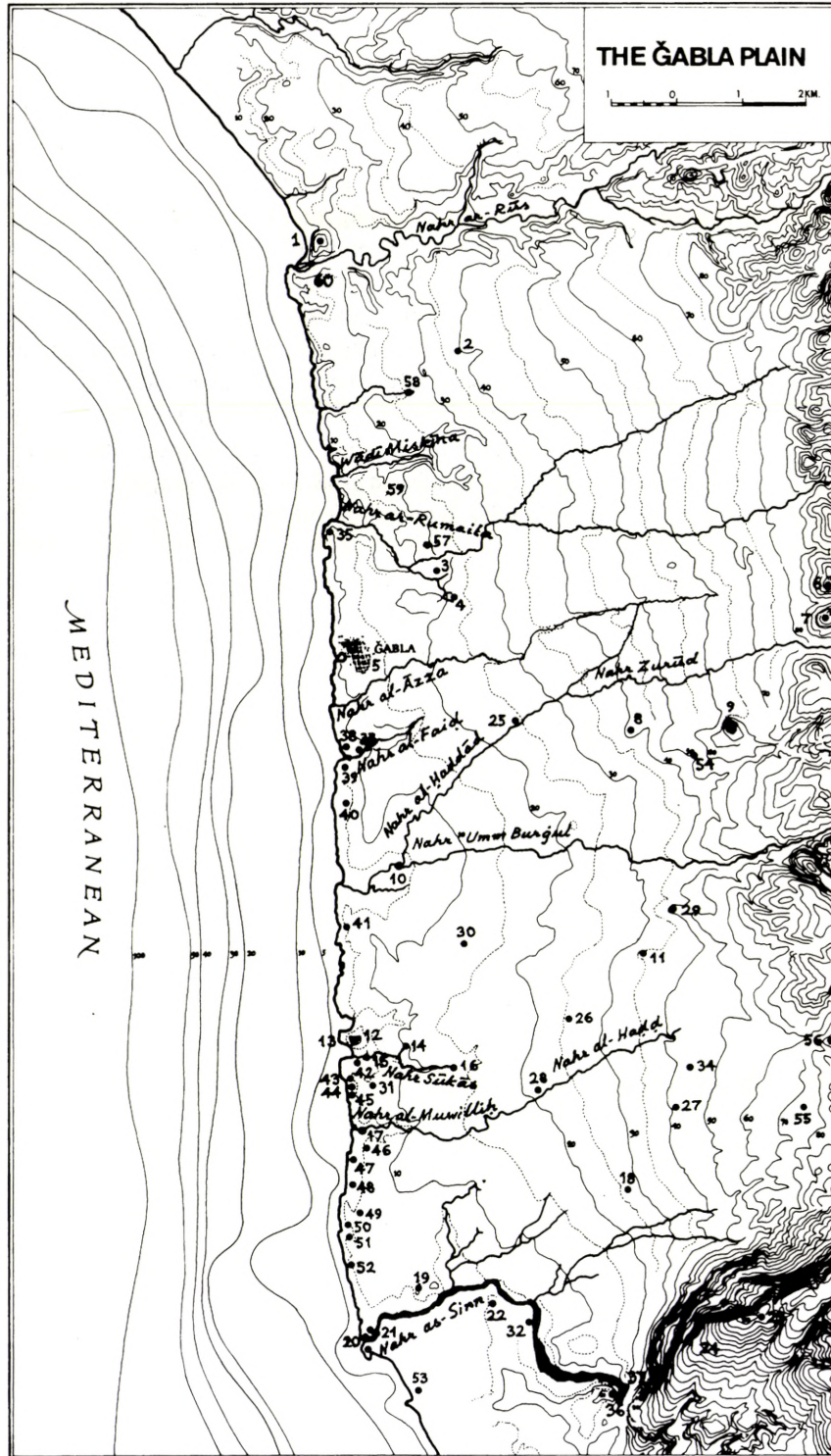


Fig. 1. Map of the Ġabla Plain. 1:100000. – 1. Qal'at ar-Rūs. – 2. Hmaimīn. – 3. Tall at-Tuwainī. – 4. 'Ain al-Fawwār. – 5. Ġabla. – 6. Dair Mā'ma. – 7. Tall Sīānū. – 8. Duwair Ḥaṭīb. – 9. Tall Īrīz. – 10. Ġisr Umm Burġul. – 11. Tall Siḥḥāba. – 12. Tall Sūkās. – 13. Mīna Sūkās. – 14. 'Ain Sūkās. – 15. Ġisr Sūkās. – 16. 'Ain ad-Dilba. – 17. Ġisr Nahr al-Muwillih & Ḥirbat al Qarmu'a. – 18. Tall Ġalāl. – 19. Tall aṣ-Ṣlaib. – 20. 'Arab al-Milk & Balda al-Milk. – 21. Ġisr as-Sinn. – 22. Tall Darūk. – 23. Qurfiṣ. – 24. Sinn ad-Darb. – 25. Bisīsīn. – 26. 'Idīya. – 27. Burġān. – 28. Āṣirfiya. – 29. Ḥirbat al-Bunduqīya. – 30. Ḥirba Ġibb Qābū. – 31. Ḥirba Ġisr Sūkās. – 32. Sġurt al-Faṭriya. – 33. Nahr al-Faiḍ. – 34. Ḥirbat al-Malkuniya. – 35. Nahr ar-Rumaila. – 36. Qumaidiāna. – 37. 'Ain as-Sinn. – 38-53. Anonymous localities with flints. – 54. Ḥirba Biġāġa. – 55. Anonymous locality with flints. – 56. Tall Mulūk. – 57. 'Ain Nāwūs. – 58. 'Ain al-Asaliya. – 59. Tall Kurūm. – 60. Qal'at Mu'āwiya.



Fig. 2. The chauffeur and the director of the Expedition.
Photo M-L. Buhl.



Fig. 3. Dair Mā'ma and Tall Sīānū from the west. Photo P. J. Riis.



Fig. 4. Tall Sīānū from the north. Photo P. J. Riis.

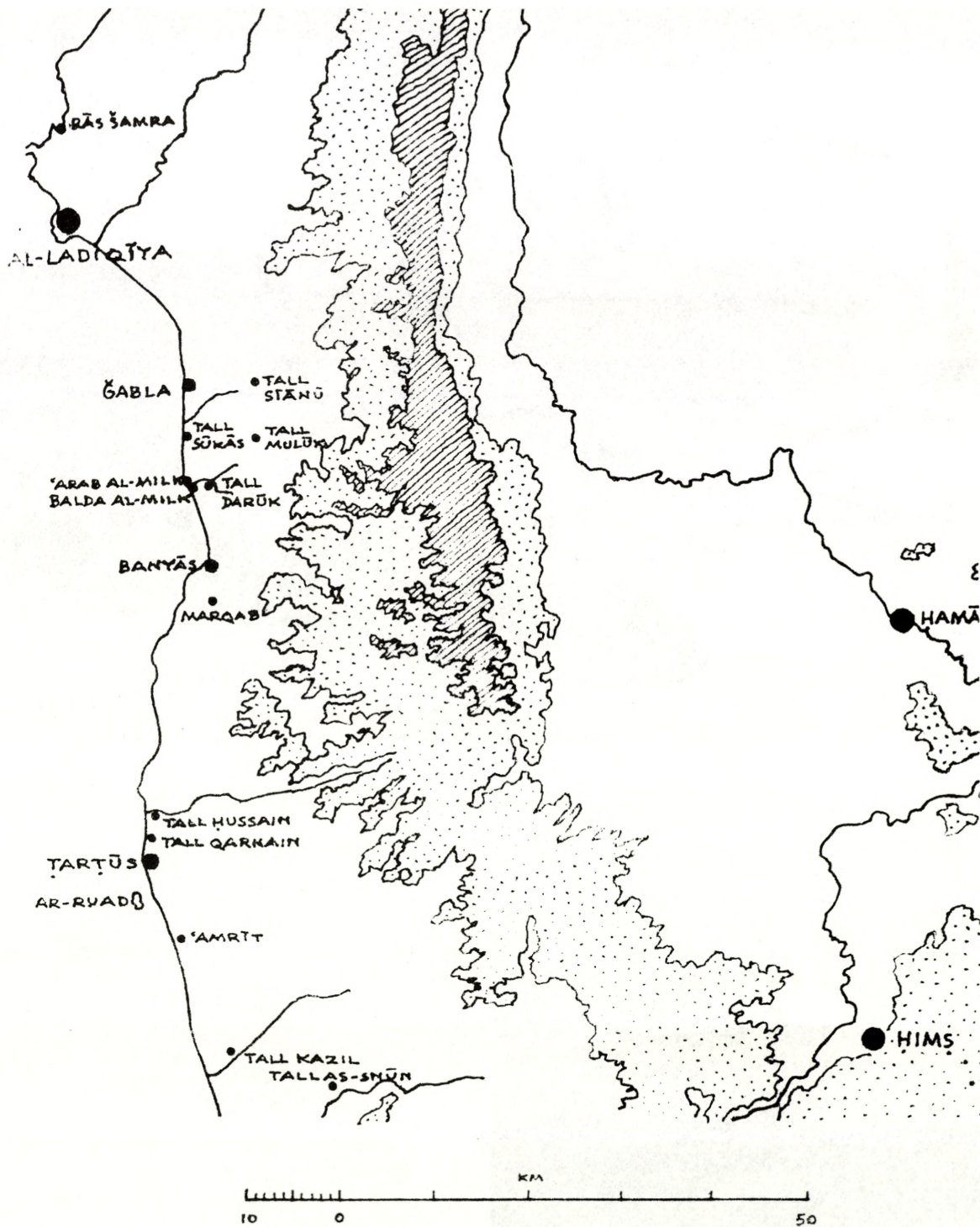


Fig. 5. Map of Northern Phoenicia. 1: 5000000. (*Géographie Historique au Proche-Orient*, 316 fig. 1).



Fig. 6. The town mound of 'Arab al-Milk from the south-east. Water-colour by E. Fugmann. Photo Kit Weiss.

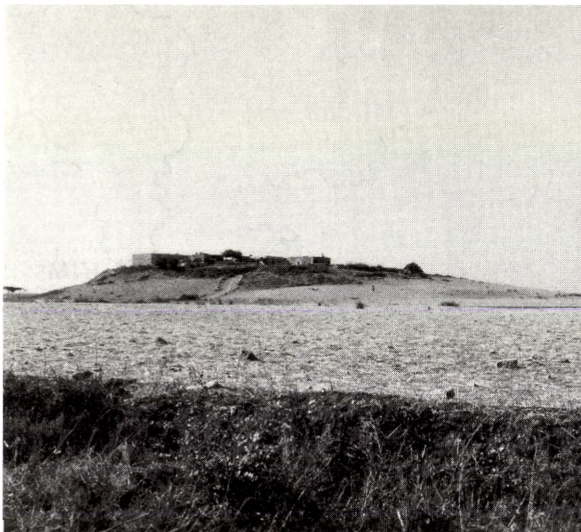


Fig. 7. Tall Darük from the south-east. Photo A. Olsson.

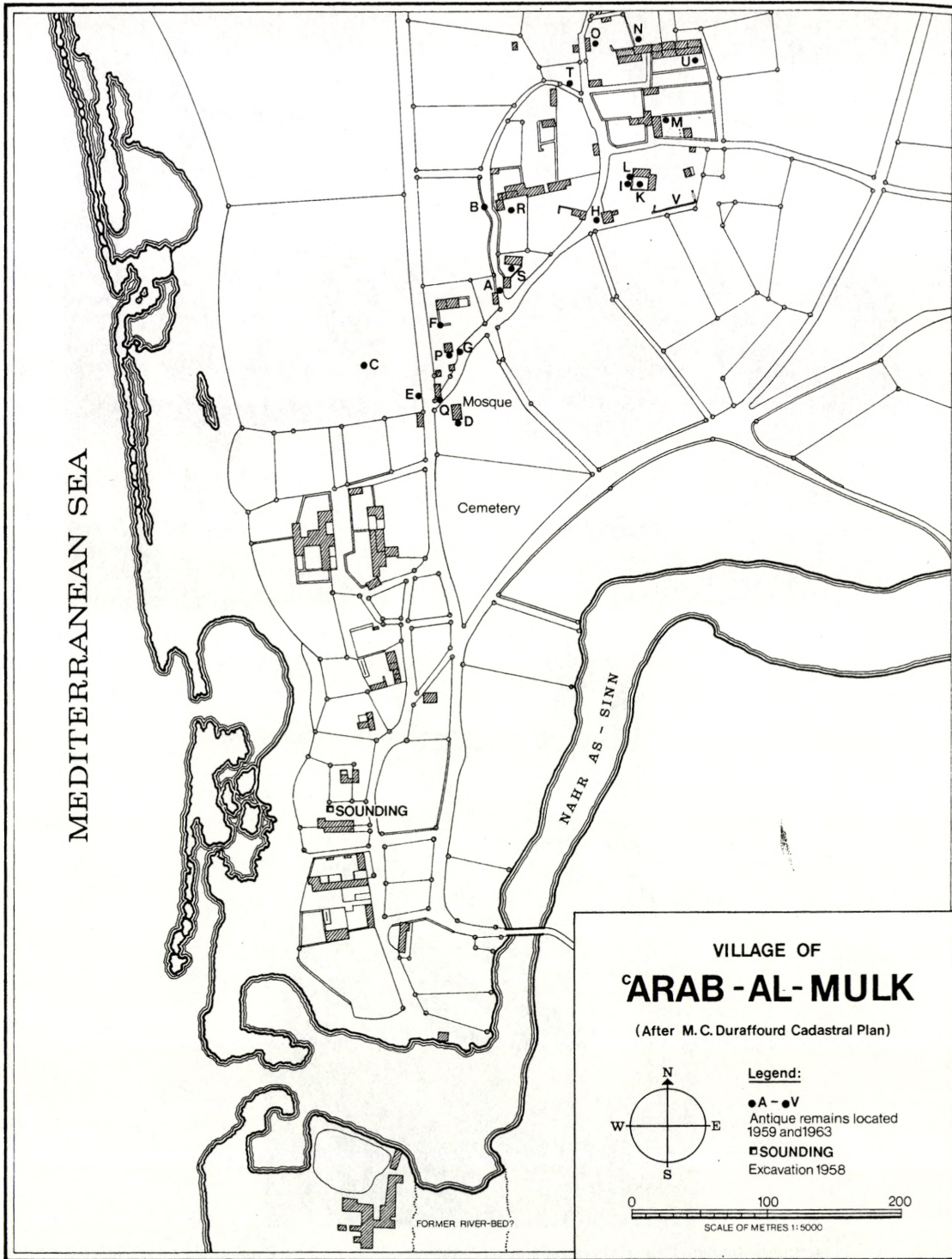


Fig. 8. Map of the village 'Arab al-Mulk. 1:4000. Drawn by P. T. Christensen.

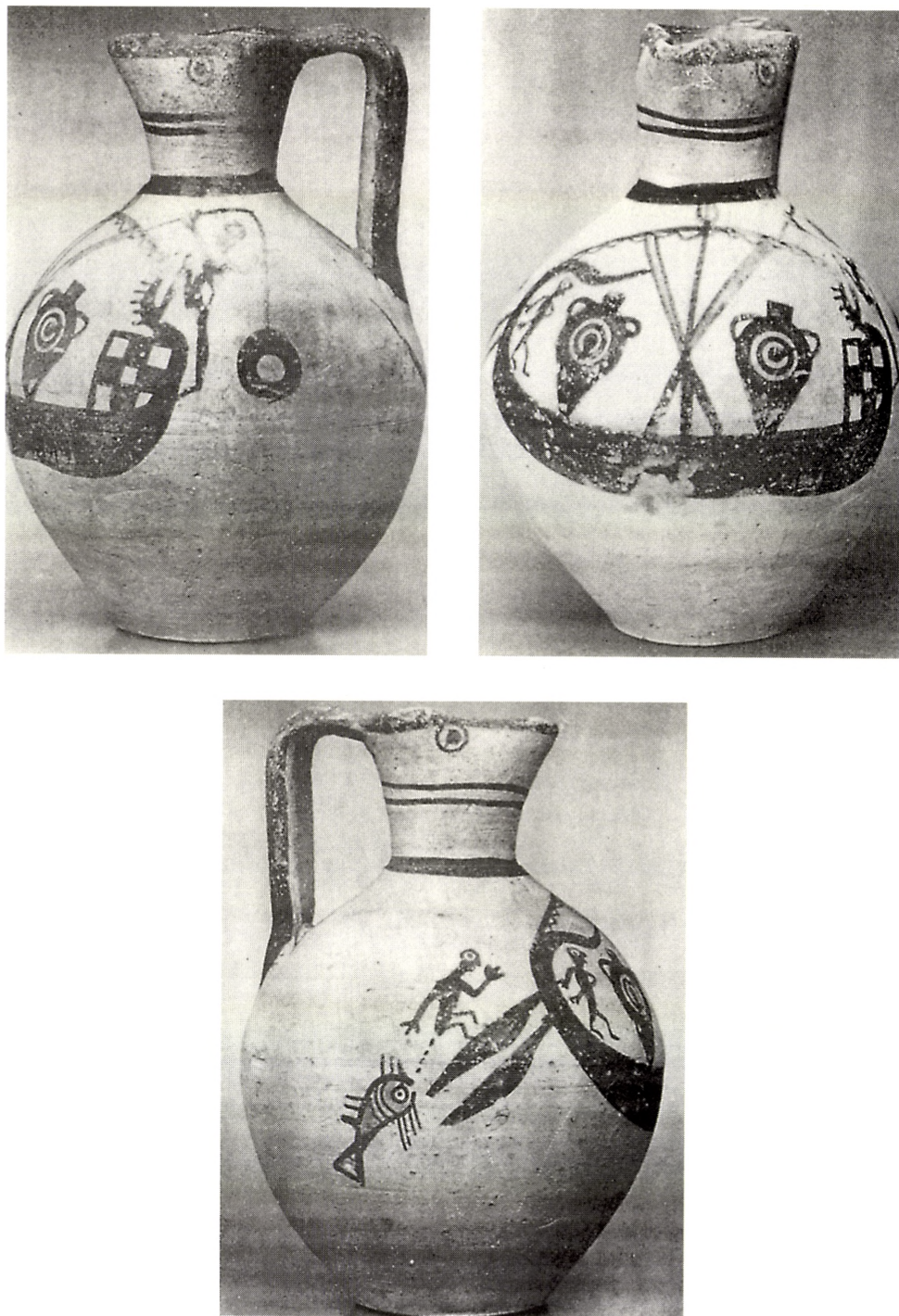


Fig. 9. British Museum, Dep. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1926, 6. 28. 9, Cypriote oinochoë with representation of a ship freighted with wine amphorae. (*Antiquity* 32 1958, 227 pl. 33.)



Fig. 10. Nahr al-Muwillih and Tall Sūkās from the south. To the left the innermost part of the creek at the mouth of the river. Photo P. J. Riis.



Fig. 11. The Sūkās region, air photo from the south east. Photo G. Garde.



Fig. 12. The bay at Nahr Umm Burgul and Tall Sūkās from the north. Photo P. J. Riis.



Fig. 13. The creek at Nahr al-Faiḍ from the south-east. Water colour by E. Fugmann. Photo Kit Weiss.

Fig. 14. The creek at
Nahr al-Āzza from
the east. Water colour
by E. Fugmann.
Photo Kit Weiss.



Fig. 15. The harbour of Ġabla from the south-west. Air photo, French Archaeological Institute, Beirut.

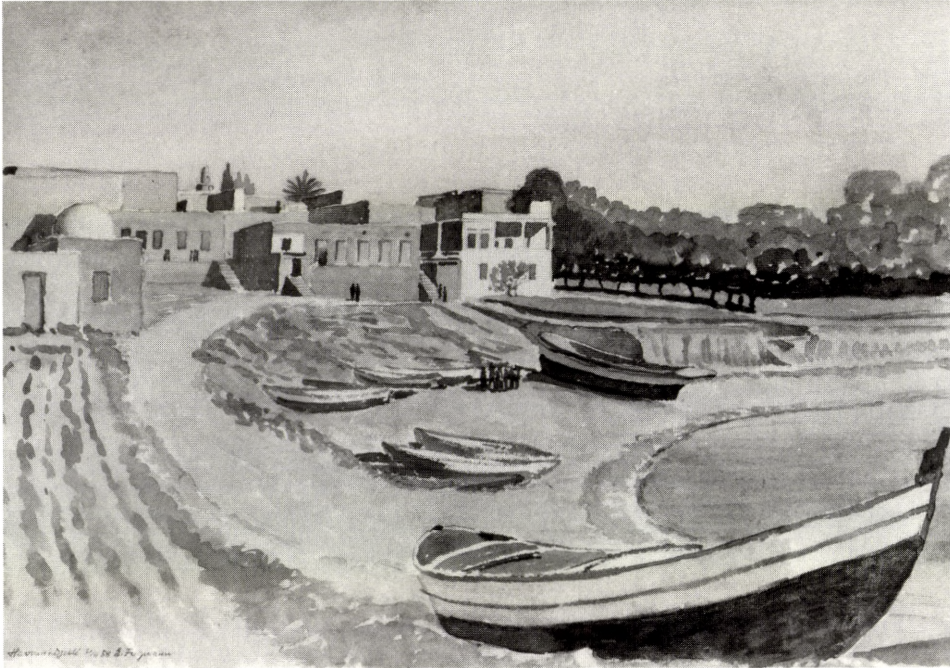


Fig. 16. Boats on the beach in Ğabla's harbour from the north-west. Water colour by E. Fugmann. Photo Kit Weiss.



Fig. 17. Quarry and salt-pan near Nahr ar-Rumaila, part of whose mouth is seen in the background, from the north. Photo M-L. Buhl.



Fig. 18. Qal'at ar-Rūs from the north. (Syria 16 1935, 171.)



Fig. 19. The west slope of Tall Sīānū and Tall Īrīz from the north-east. Photo P. J. Riis.

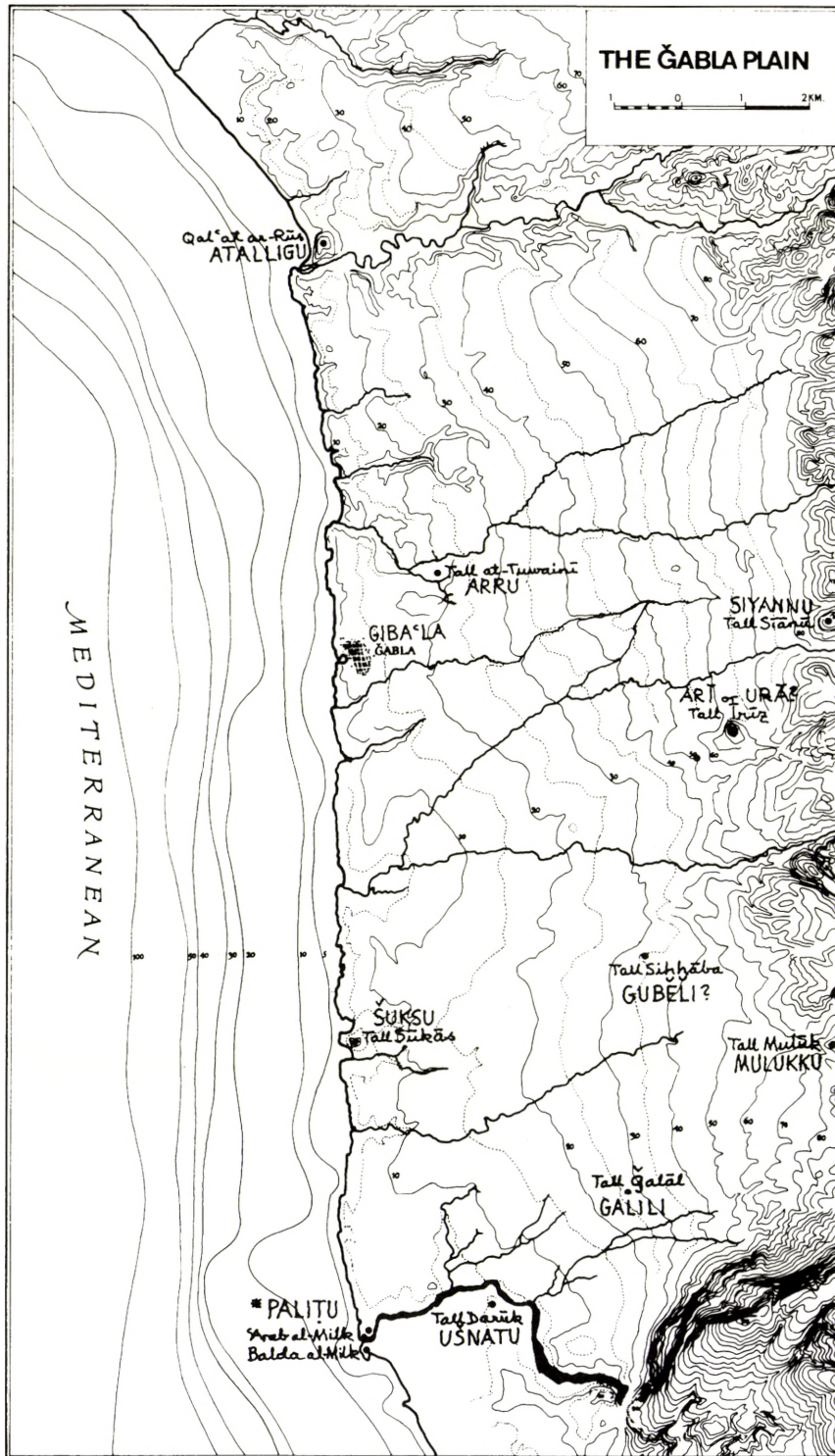


Fig. 20. Map of the Ġabla plain with Late Bronze Age towns indicated. 1:100000.

Fig. 21. Map of the Ġabla plain with Graeco-Roman and later sites as well as the Roman road indicated. 1:00000.

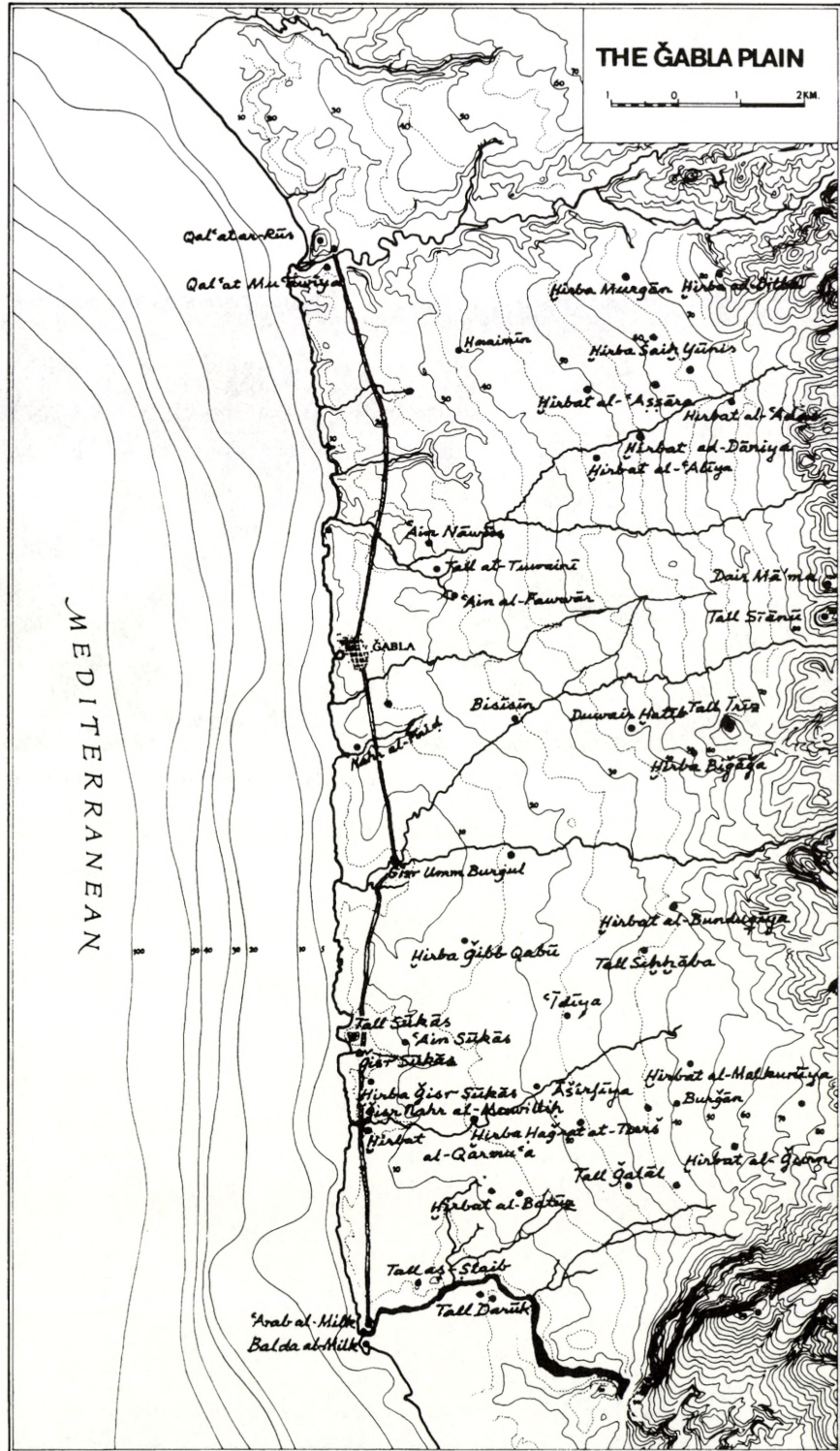
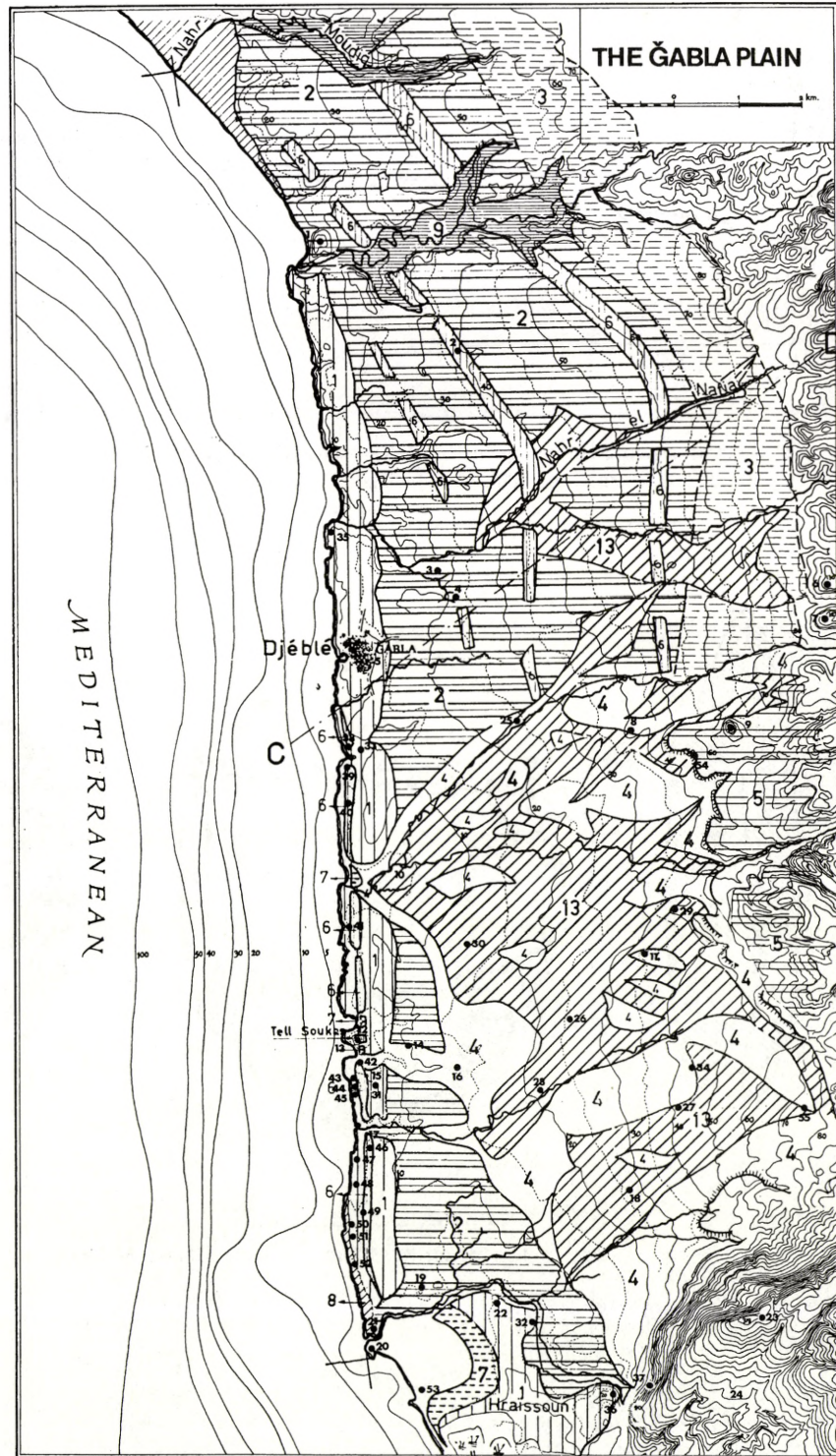




Fig. 22. The 'Ain or Qābū Sūkās from the west. Photo P. J. Riis.

Fig. 23. Geological map of the Ġabla plain. Legend: 1 – red sandy loam on sandstone; 2 – black colluvium, clay on sandstone; 3 – black colluvium on Pliocene clay; 4 – black colluvium on pebbles; 5 – gray and white colluvium, clay on marl and limestone; 6 – Pleistocene stormbeach gravels; 7 – Holocene storm beach gravel; 8 – dune sand; 9 – valley bottom land, yellow and gray fine sandy clay; 13 – white and gray recent floodplain fans, clay on sandstone pebbles (after W. J. van Liere, Observations on the Quaternary of Syria. Berichte van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek 10-11 1960/61, 7-69).



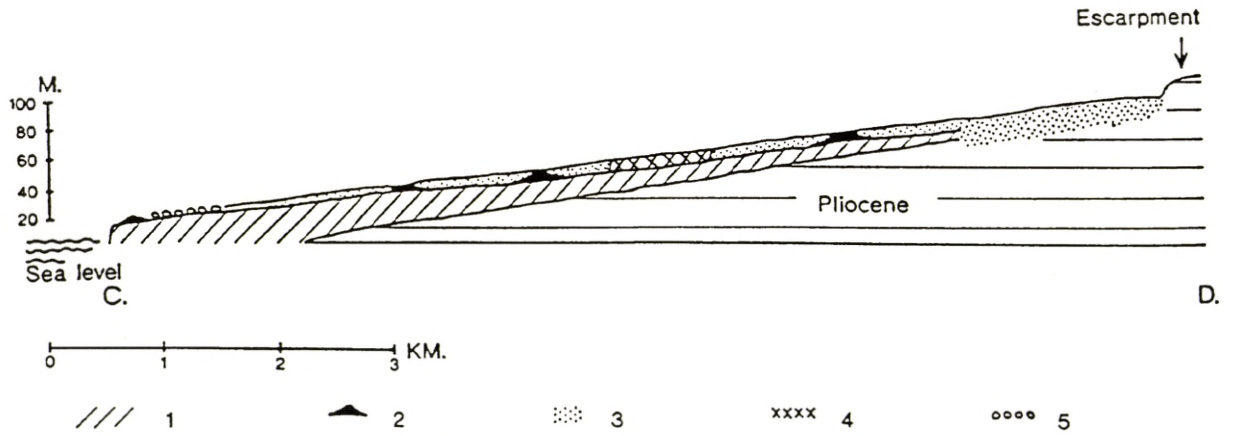


Fig. 24. Northeast-southwest transect through the Ğabla plain at Ğabla (section indicated on fig. 23, C-D). Legend: 1 – sandstone; 2 – storm-beach gravel; 3 – black soil; 4 – gray soil; 5 – red soil (after W. J. van Liere, Observations on the Quaternary of Syria. *Berichte van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 10-11 1960/61, 7-69).

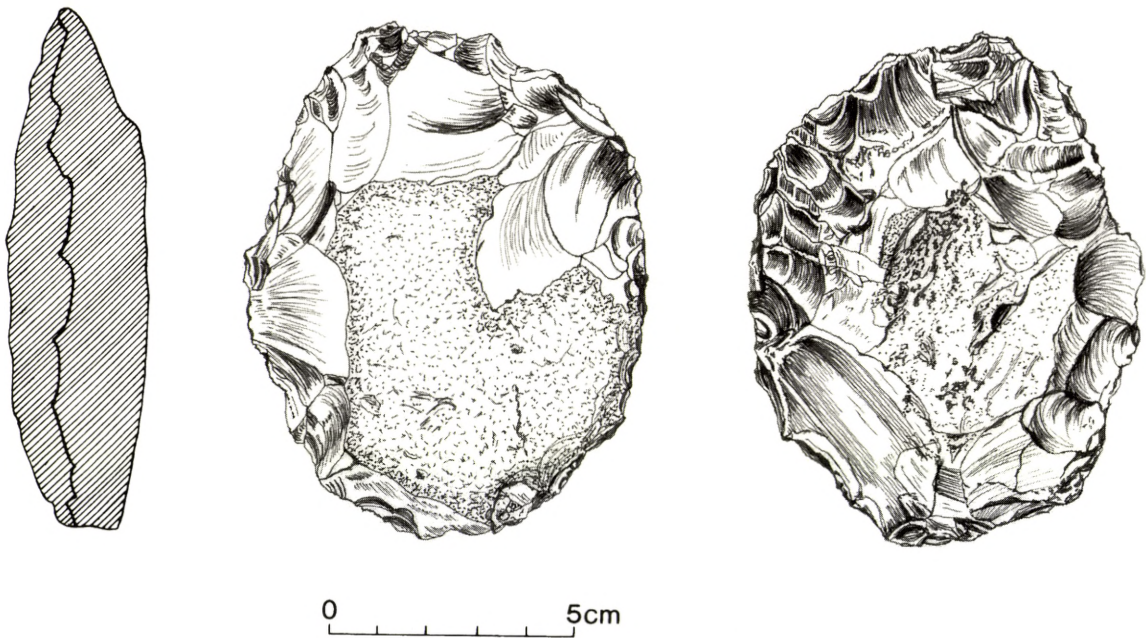


Fig. 25. Site No. 55. Biface (handaxe). Lower-Middle Palaeolithic.

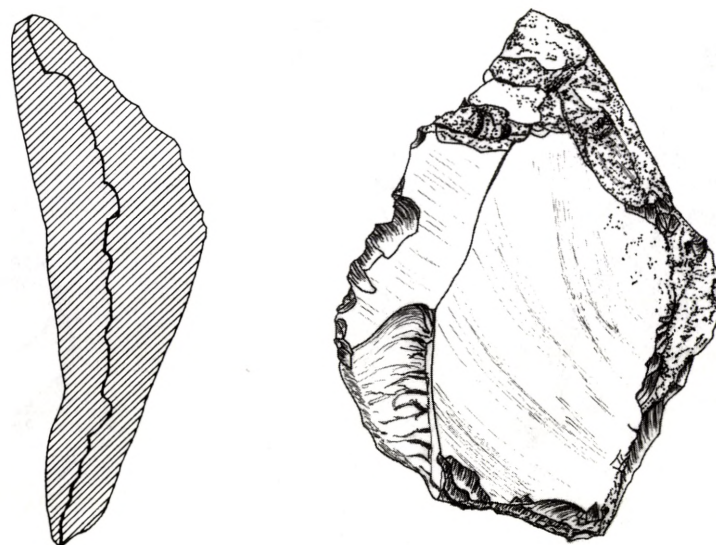


Fig. 26. Site No. 55. Flake. Lower-Middle Palaeolithic.

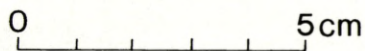
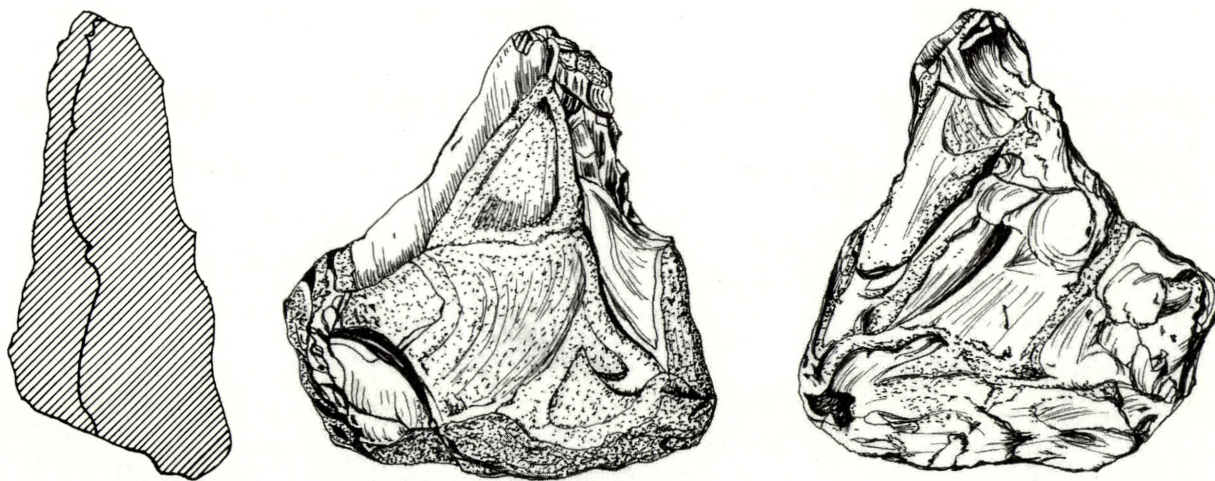


Fig. 27. Qal'at ar-Rūs. Pebble tool. Lower Palaeolithic (?).

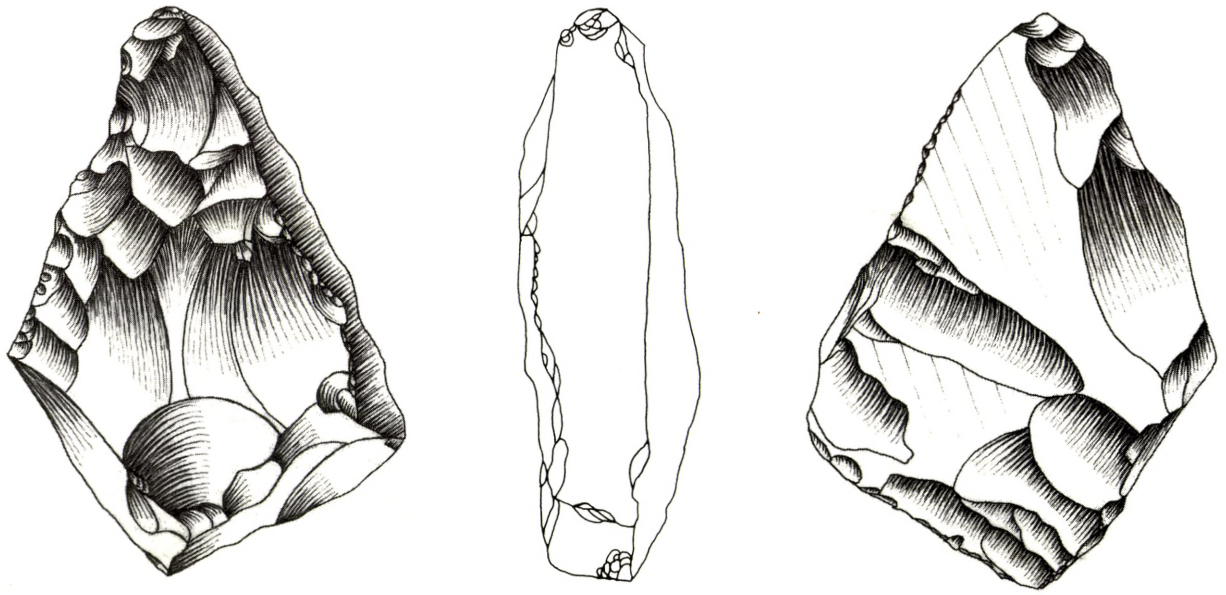


Fig. 28. 'Amrit. Core tool, hand axe? Palaeolithic.

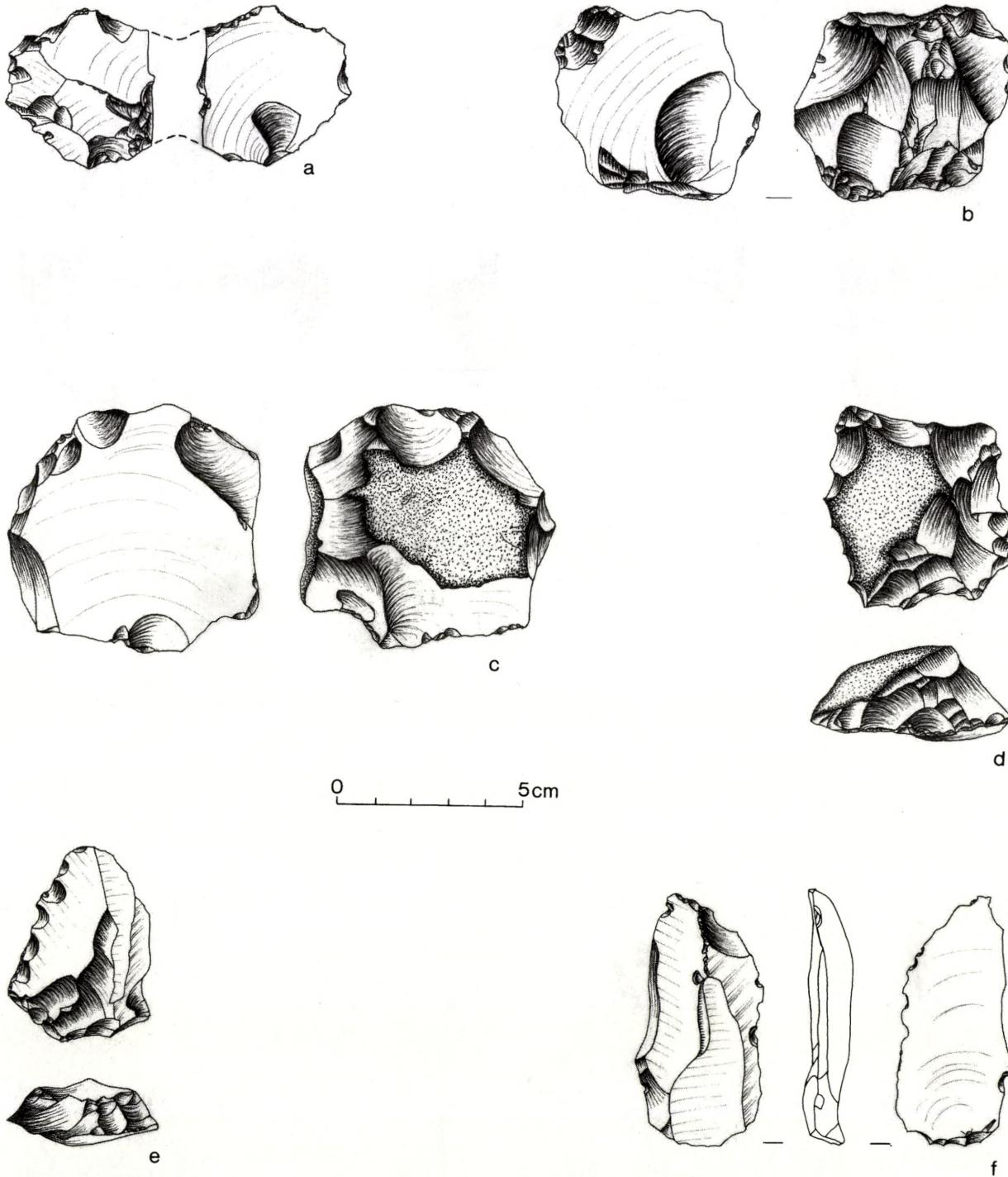


Fig. 29. 'Amrīt. a: Flake. Palaeolithic; b: Flake. Middle Palaeolithic; c: Middle Palaeolithic; d: Scraper. Middle Palaeolithic (?); e: Flake. Middle Palaeolithic (?); f: Flake. Middle Palaeolithic (?).

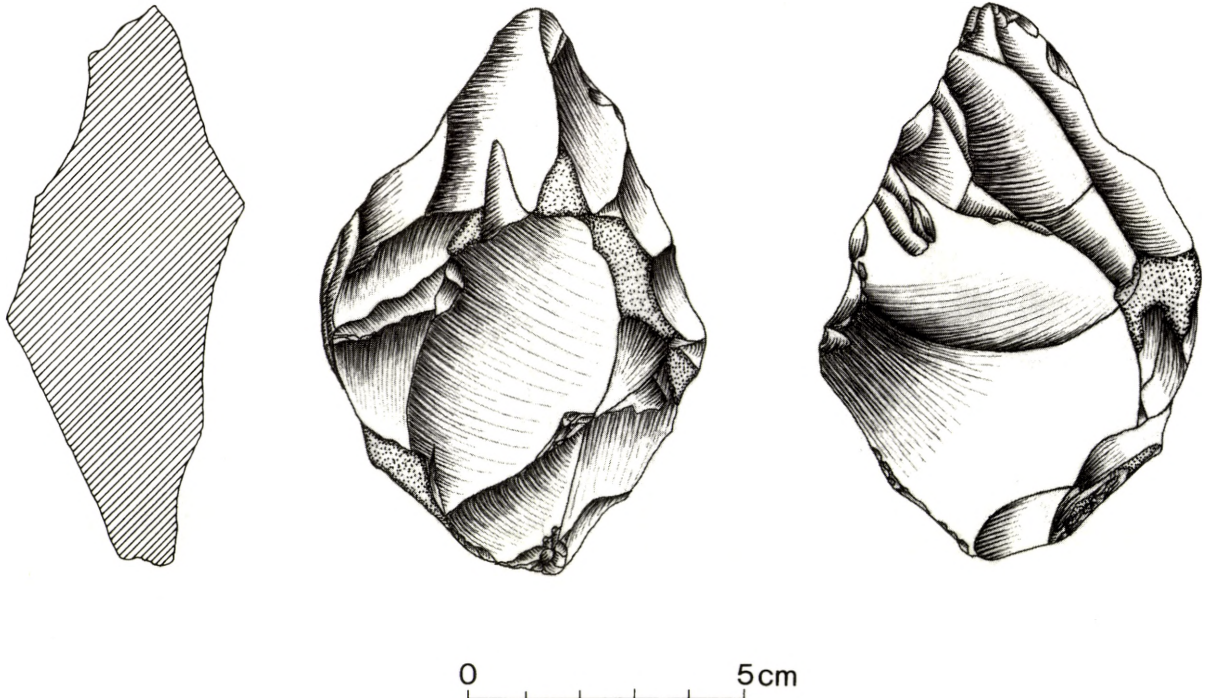


Fig. 30. Hırvat al-Malkunīya. Biface (handaxe). Lower to Middle Palaeolithic.

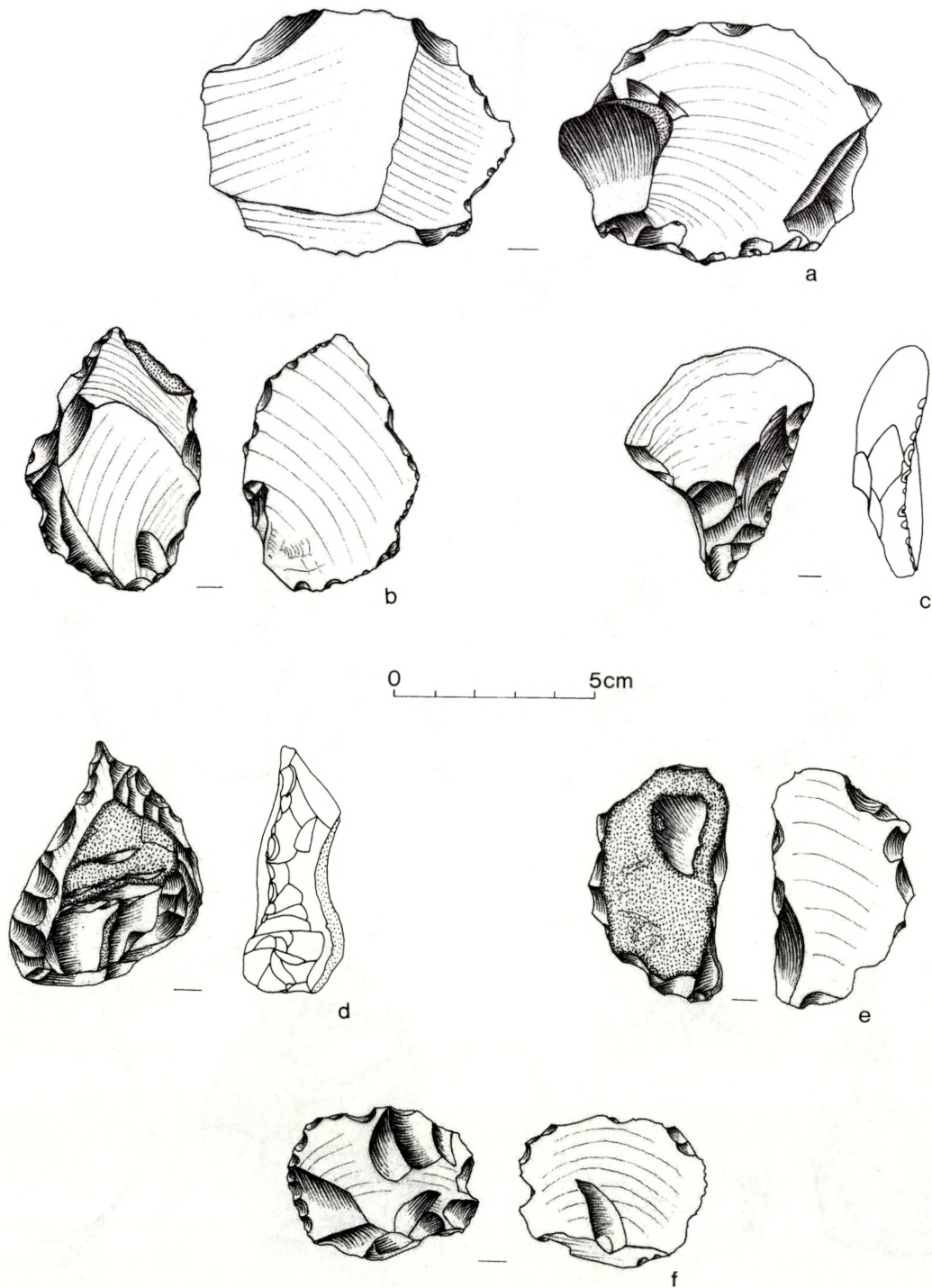


Fig. 31. Hırvat al-Malkuniya. a: Flake. Middle Palaeolithic; b: Scraper (?). Middle Palaeolithic (?); c: Scraper or borer. Palaeolithic; d: Borer. Palaeolithic; e: Scraper. Palaeolithic; f: Scraper. Palaeolithic.

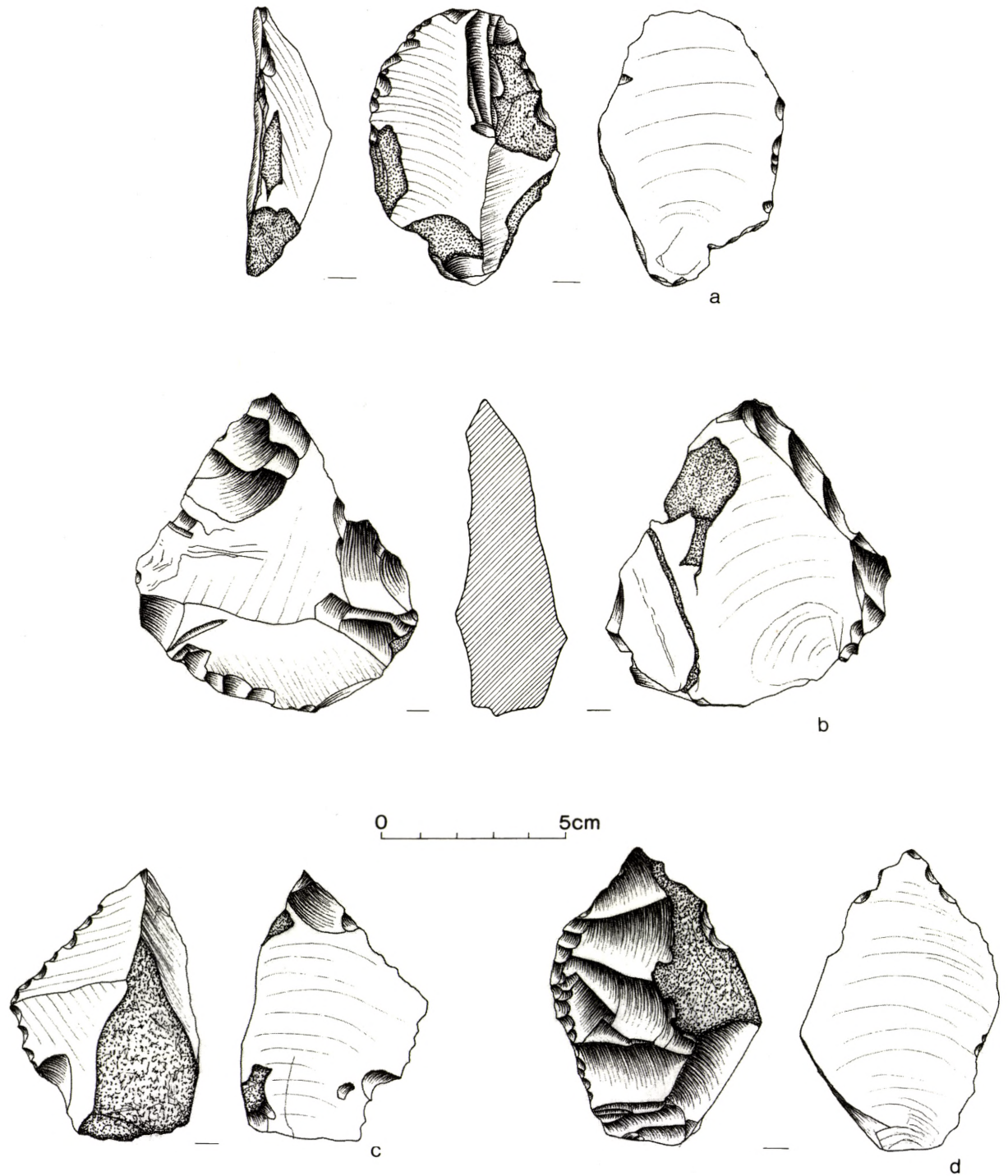
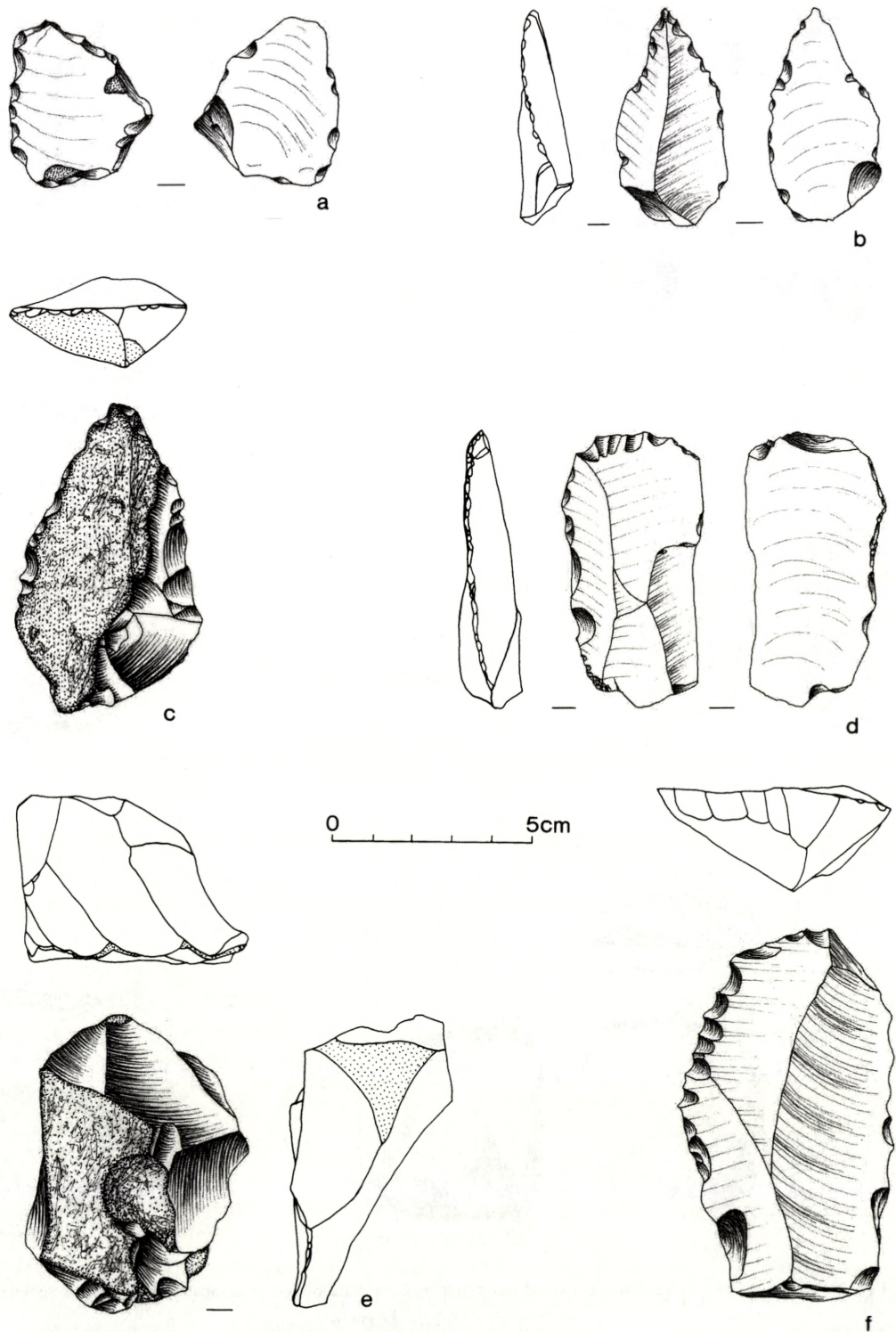


Fig. 32. Sğurt al-Faṭriya. a: Knife. Middle Palaeolithic (?); b: Scraper. Palaeolithic (?); c: Scraper or knife. Middle or Upper Palaeolithic; d: Knife. Middle Palaeolithic

Fig. 33. Sgurt al-Faṭriya. a: Scraper. Palaeolithic (?); b: Retouched flake. Palaeolithic; c: Knife. Palaeolithic; d: Knife. Palaeolithic (?); e: Core. Middle Palaeolithic; f: Knife. Palaeolithic (?).



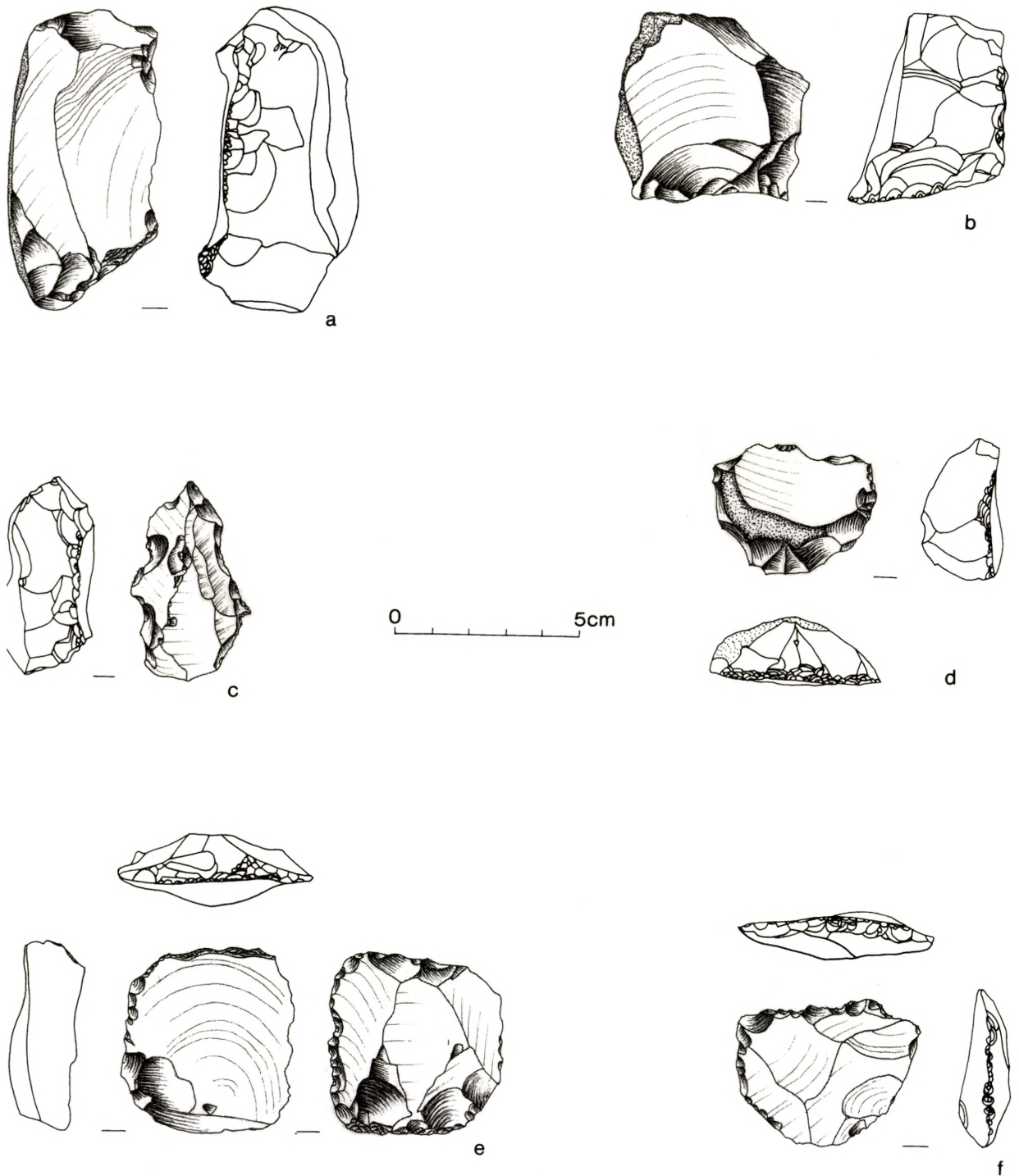


Fig. 34. 'Amrit. a: Core. Palaeolithic; b: Core. Palaeolithic; c: Core. Palaeolithic; d: Scraper. Palaeolithic; e: Scraper. Palaeolithic; f: Scraper. Palaeolithic.

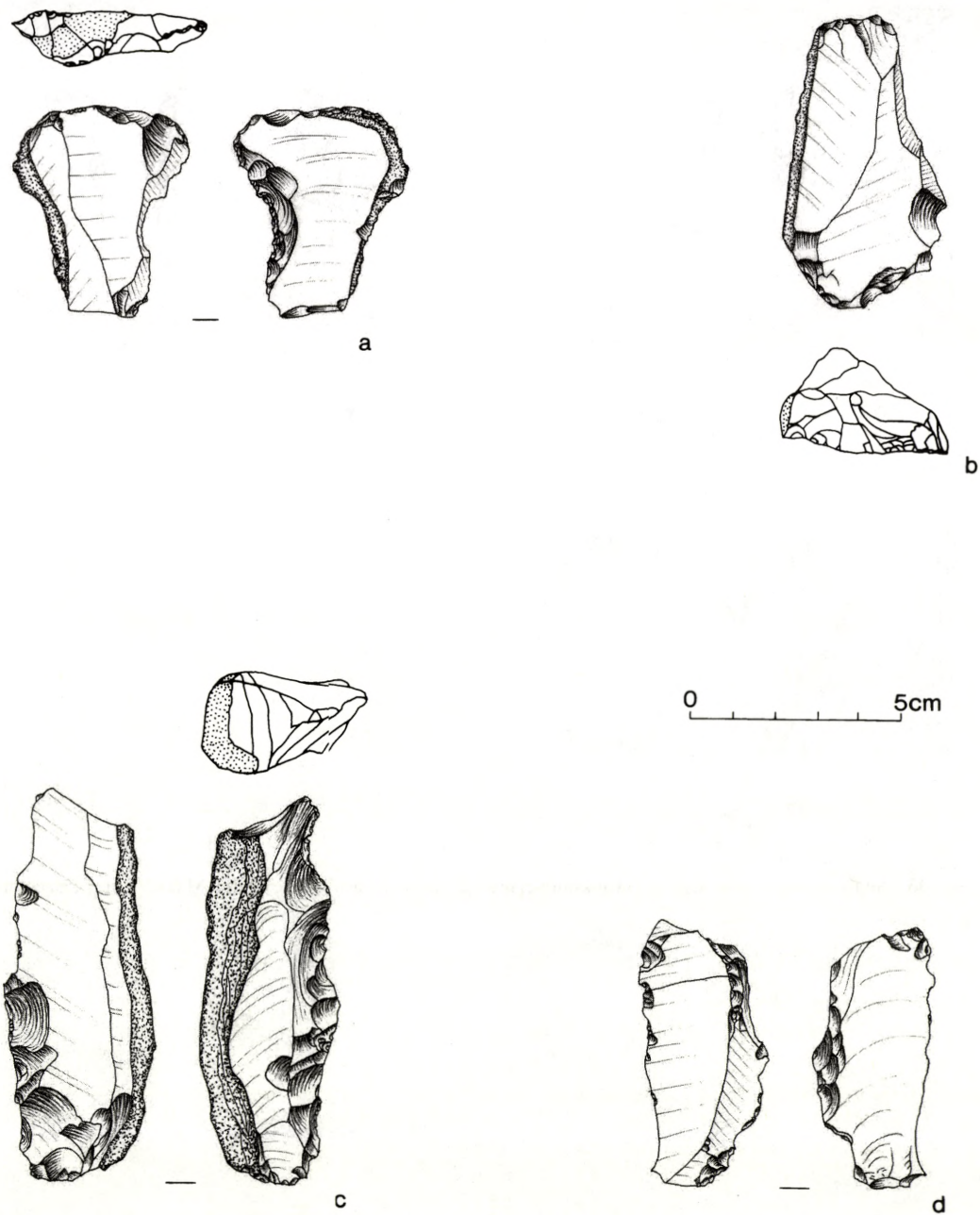


Fig. 35. 'Amrīt. a: Scraper. Palaeolithic; b: End scraper. Palaeolithic; c: Cutting tool. Palaeolithic; d: Cutting tool. Palaeolithic.

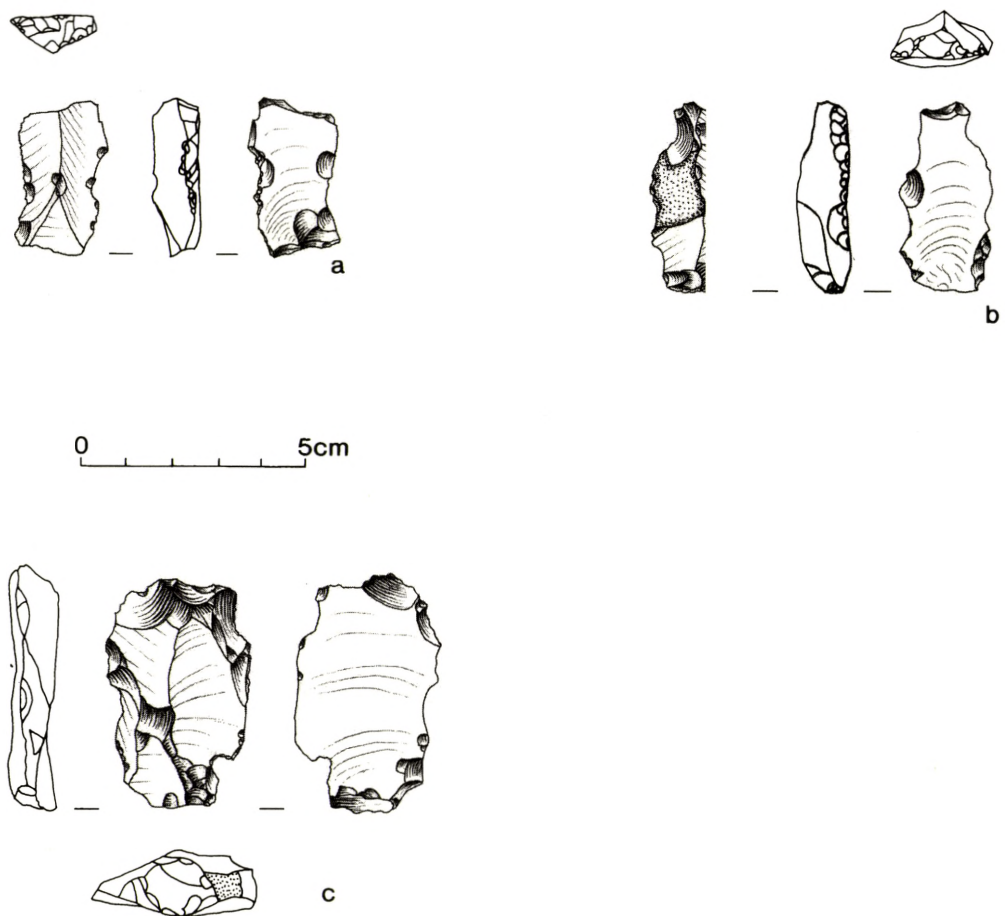


Fig. 36. 'Amrīt. a: Angle burin. Upper (?) Palaeolithic; b: Angle burin. Palaeolithic; c: Burin. Middle- Upper Palaeolithic.

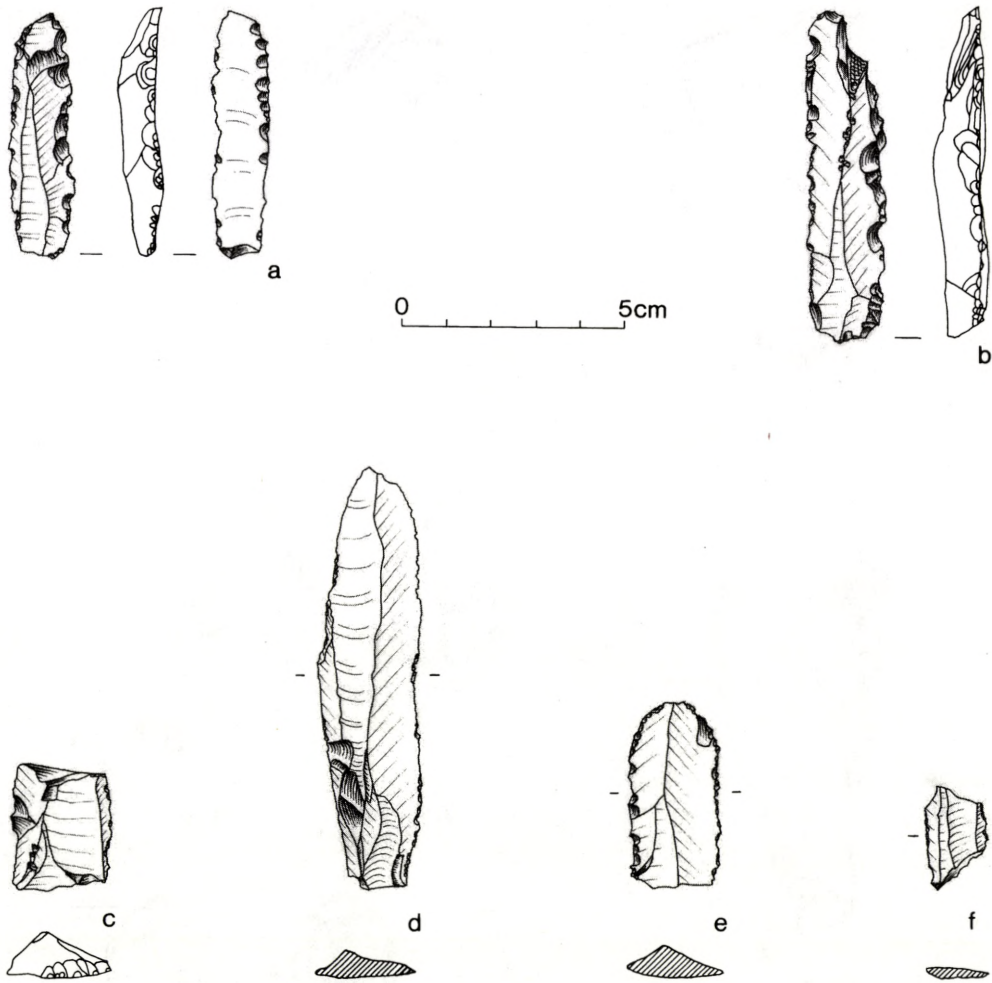


Fig. 37. 'Amrit. a: Awl. Upper Palaeolithic; b: Awl. Upper Palaeolithic; c: End scraper. Upper (?) Palaeolithic; d: Blade. Upper Palaeolithic; e: Fragment of blade. Upper Palaeolithic; f: Fragment of blade. Upper or Epi-Palaeolithic.

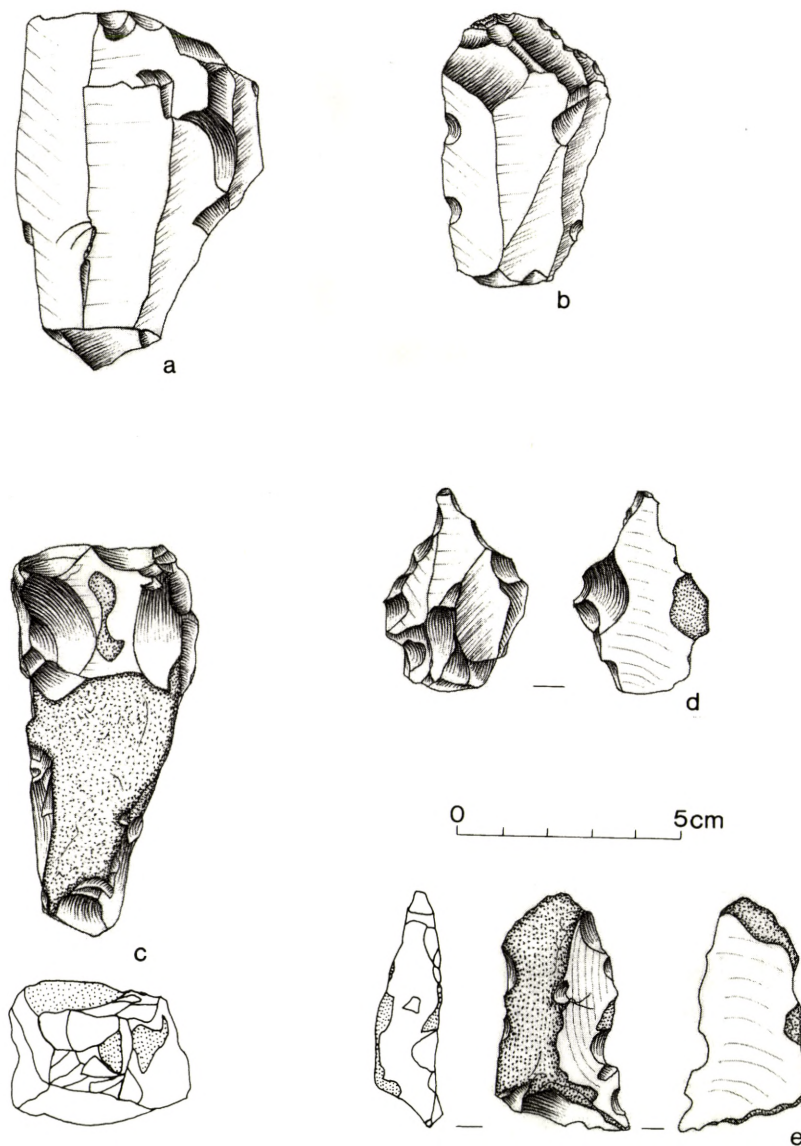


Fig. 38. Hırvat al-Malkunīya. a: Blade core. Upper Palaeolithic (?); b: End scraper. Upper Palaeolithic (?); c: Flint nodule. Neolithic (?); d: Borer. Palaeolithic (?); e: Burin. Upper Palaeolithic.

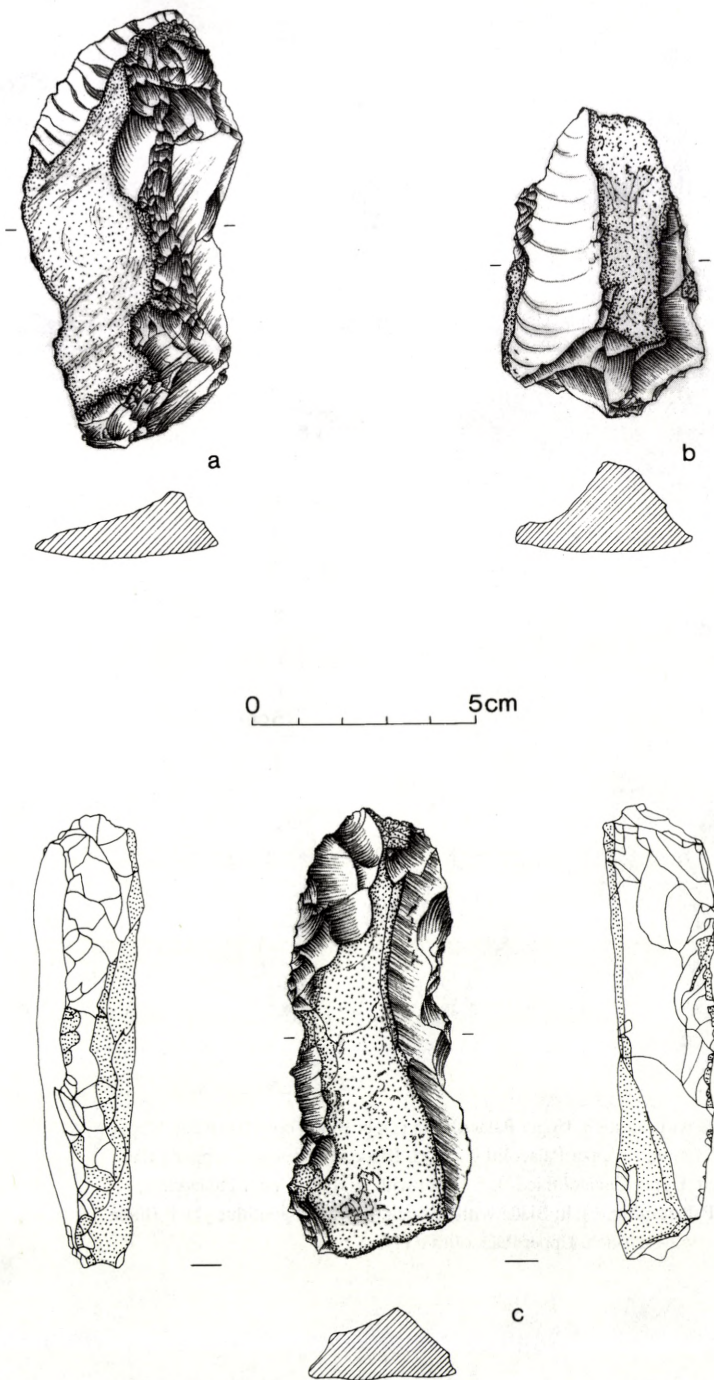


Fig. 39. Qal'at ar-Rūs. a: Retouched flake. Palaeolithic; b: Scraper. Upper Palaeolithic; c: Scraper. Upper Palaeolithic.

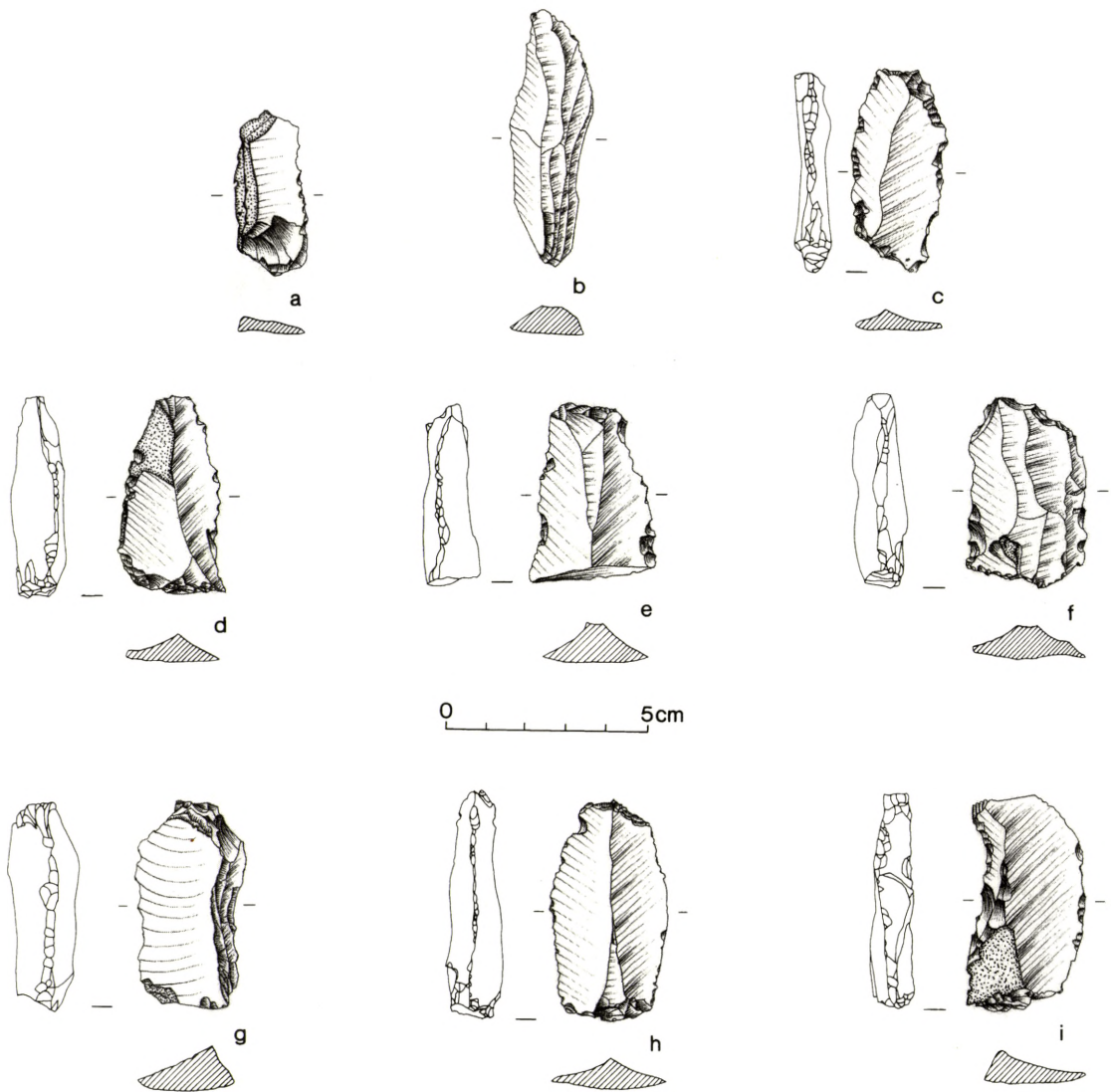


Fig. 40. Qal'at ar-Rūs. a: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); b: Blade-core fragment. Upper Palaeolithic (?); c: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); d: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); e: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); f: Flake with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); g: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); h: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?); i: Blade with retouch. Upper Palaeolithic (?).

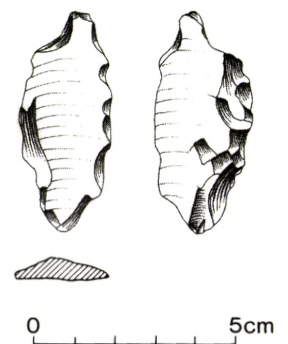


Fig. 41: Dair Mā'ma. Burin.

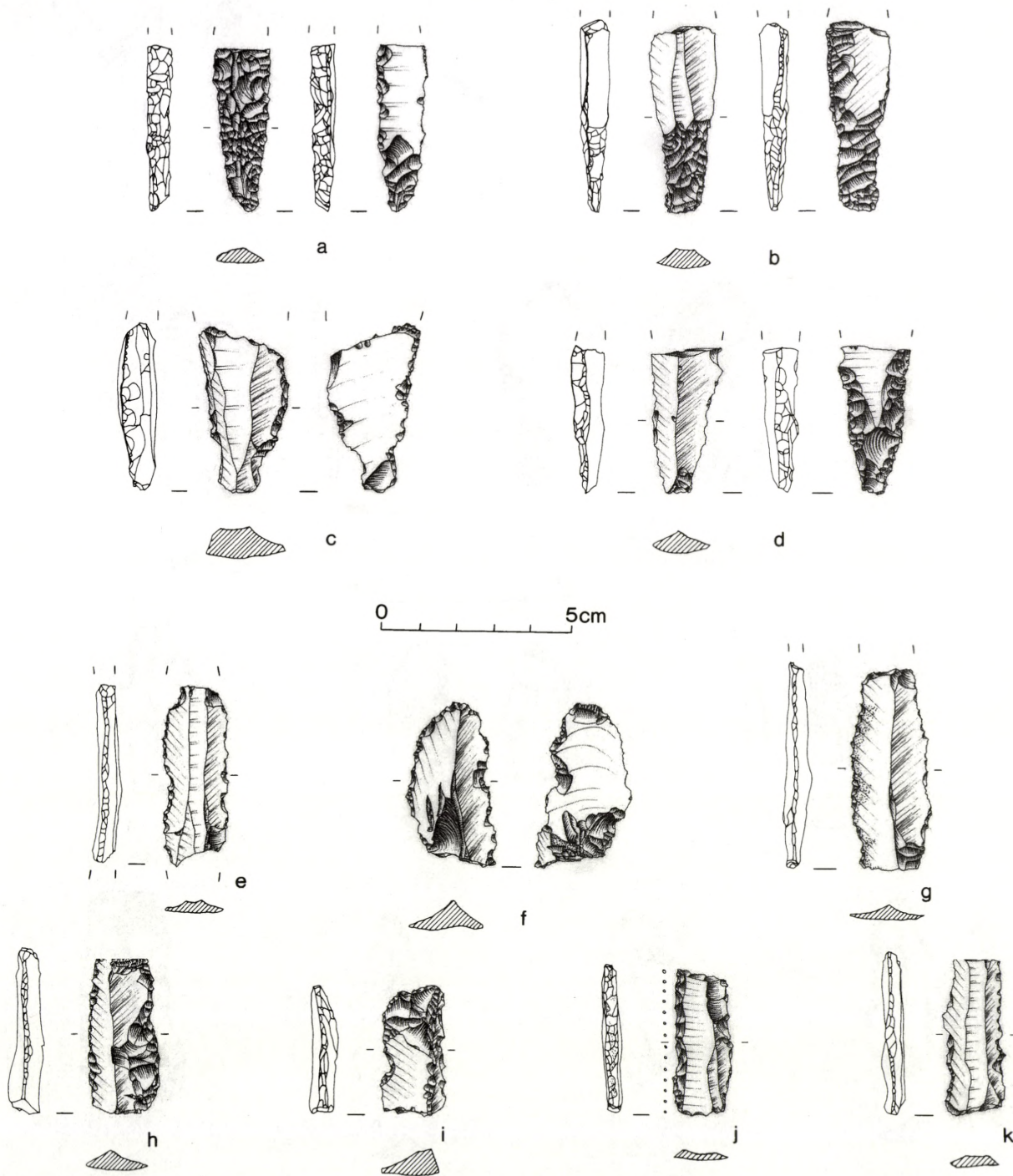


Fig. 42. Site No. 39. a: Tanged arrow head. Neolithic; b: Tanged arrow head. Neolithic; c: Notched blade. Neolithic; d: Tanged arrow head. Neolithic; e: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); f: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); g: Sickle blade. Neolithic; h: Retouched blade. Neolithic; i: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); j: Sickle blade. Neolithic; k: Sickle blade (?). Neolithic (?).



Fig. 43. Site No. 39. a: Backed blade. Neolithic (?); b: Notched blade. Neolithic (?); c: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); d: Retouched flake. Neolithic (?); e: Scraper. Neolithic (?); f: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); g: Borer. Neolithic (?); h: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); i: Backed blade. Neolithic (?); j: End scraper. Neolithic (?); k: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?) l: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?).

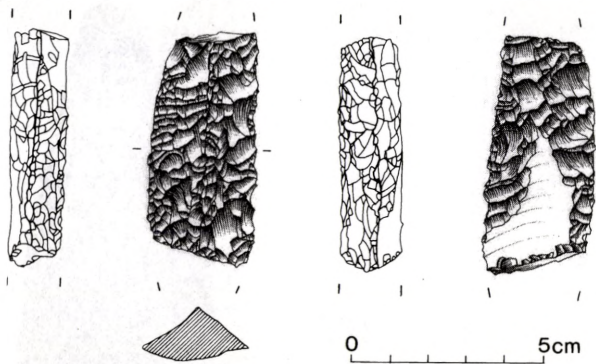


Fig. 44. Site No. 39. Fragment of dagger or spear head. Neolithic.



Fig. 45. Stamp seal from Ħirba Biġġaġa. Neolithic- Chalcolithic.

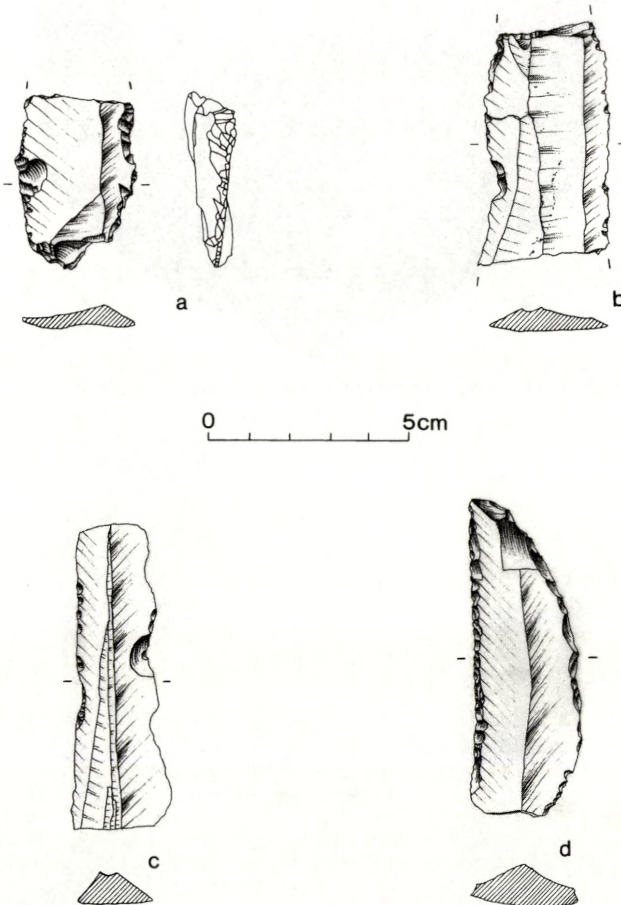


Fig. 46. Qal'at ar-Rūs. a: Retouched blade. Neolithic (?); b: Retouched blade. Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age. Tall Sīanū. c: Knife or sickle. Early Bronze Age; d: Sickle (?). Early Bronze Age.



Fig. 47. Zoomorphic weight of basalt from the Āabla area. Bronze Age (?).



Fig. 48. Bronze arrow head from Āabla. Bronze Age.

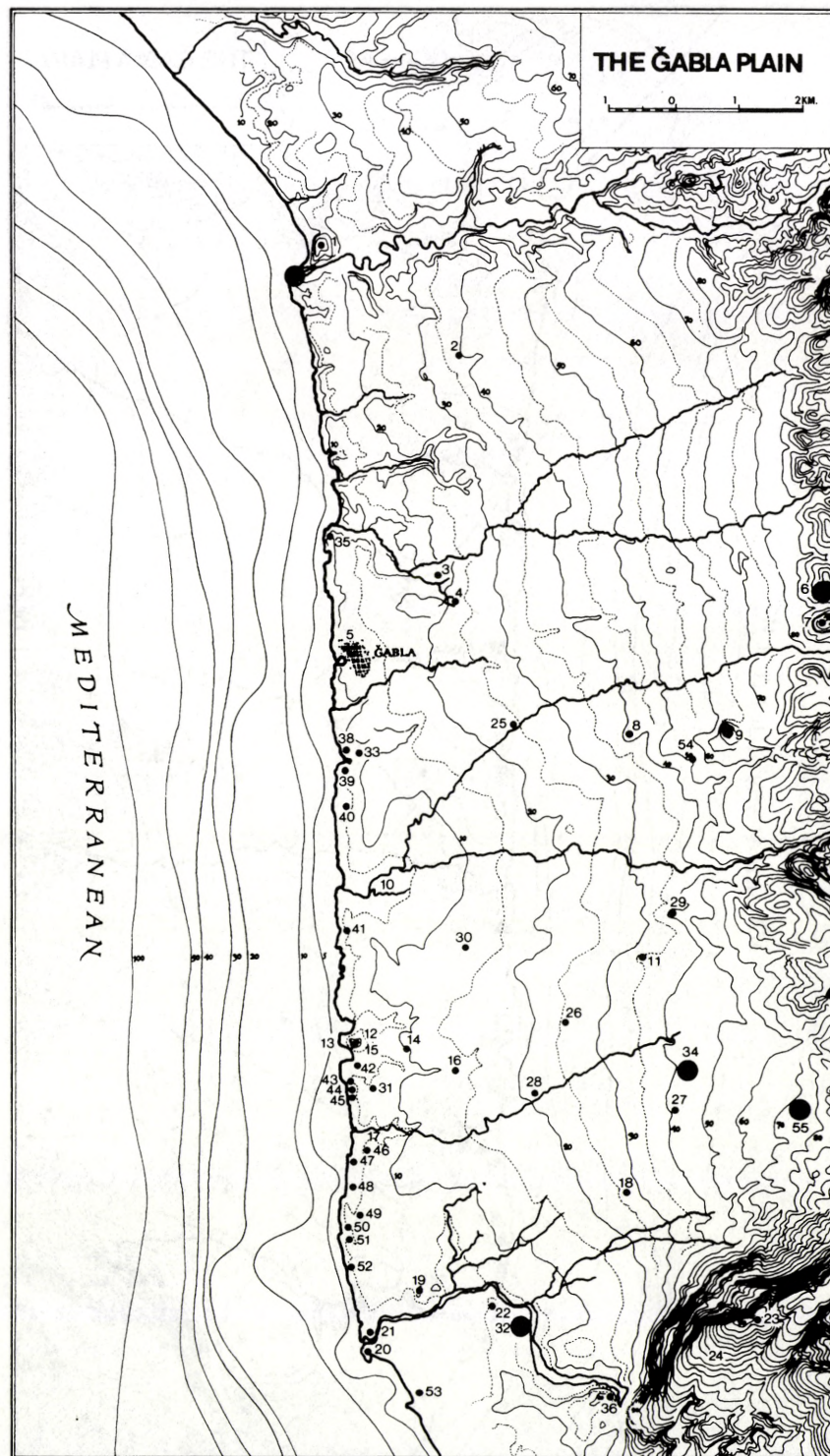


Fig. 49 a-c. Pre-Iron Age sites on the Ćabla plain. a. Palaeolithic; b. Neolithic and c. Chalcolithic - Bronze Age.

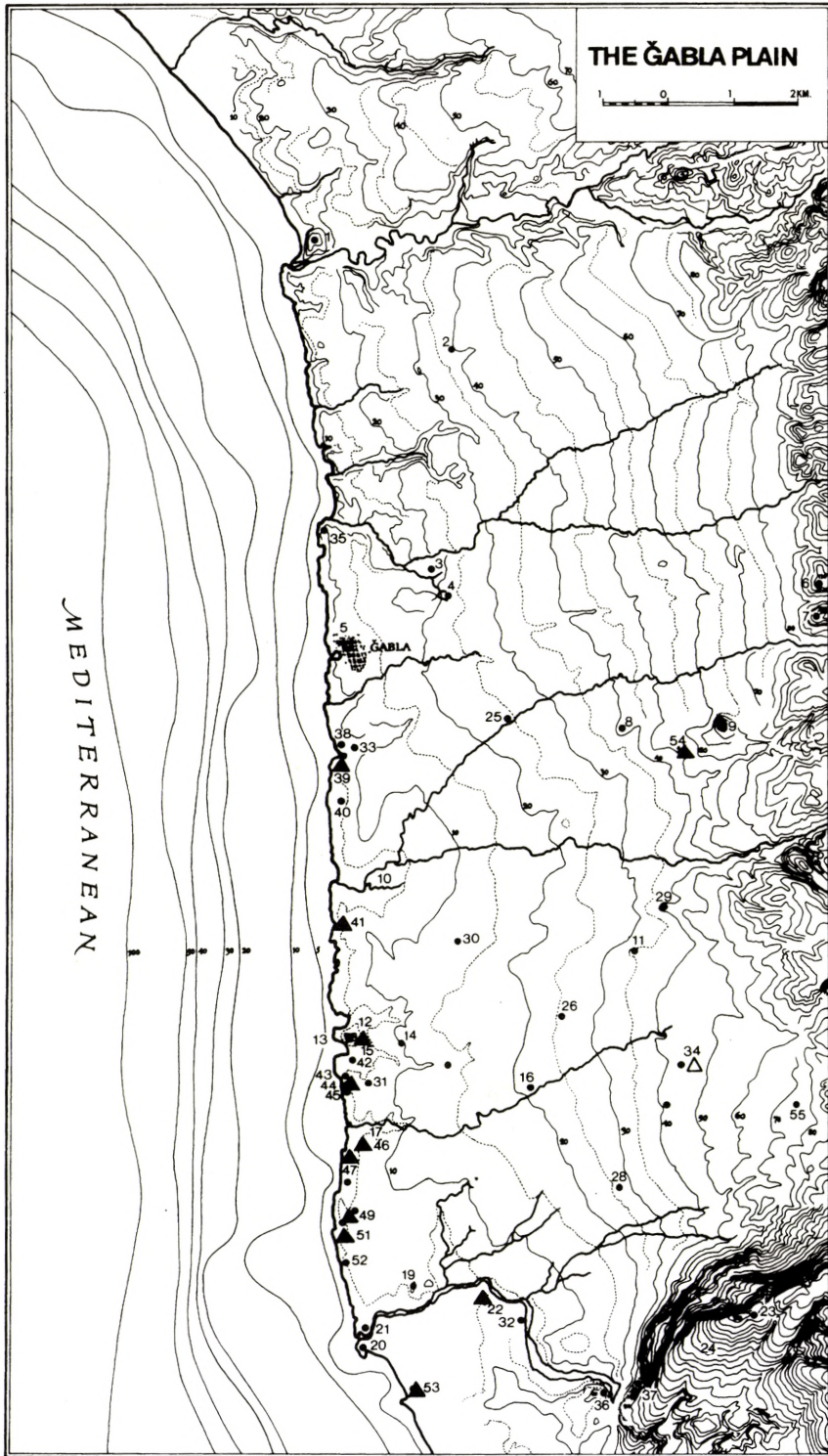


Fig. 49 b.

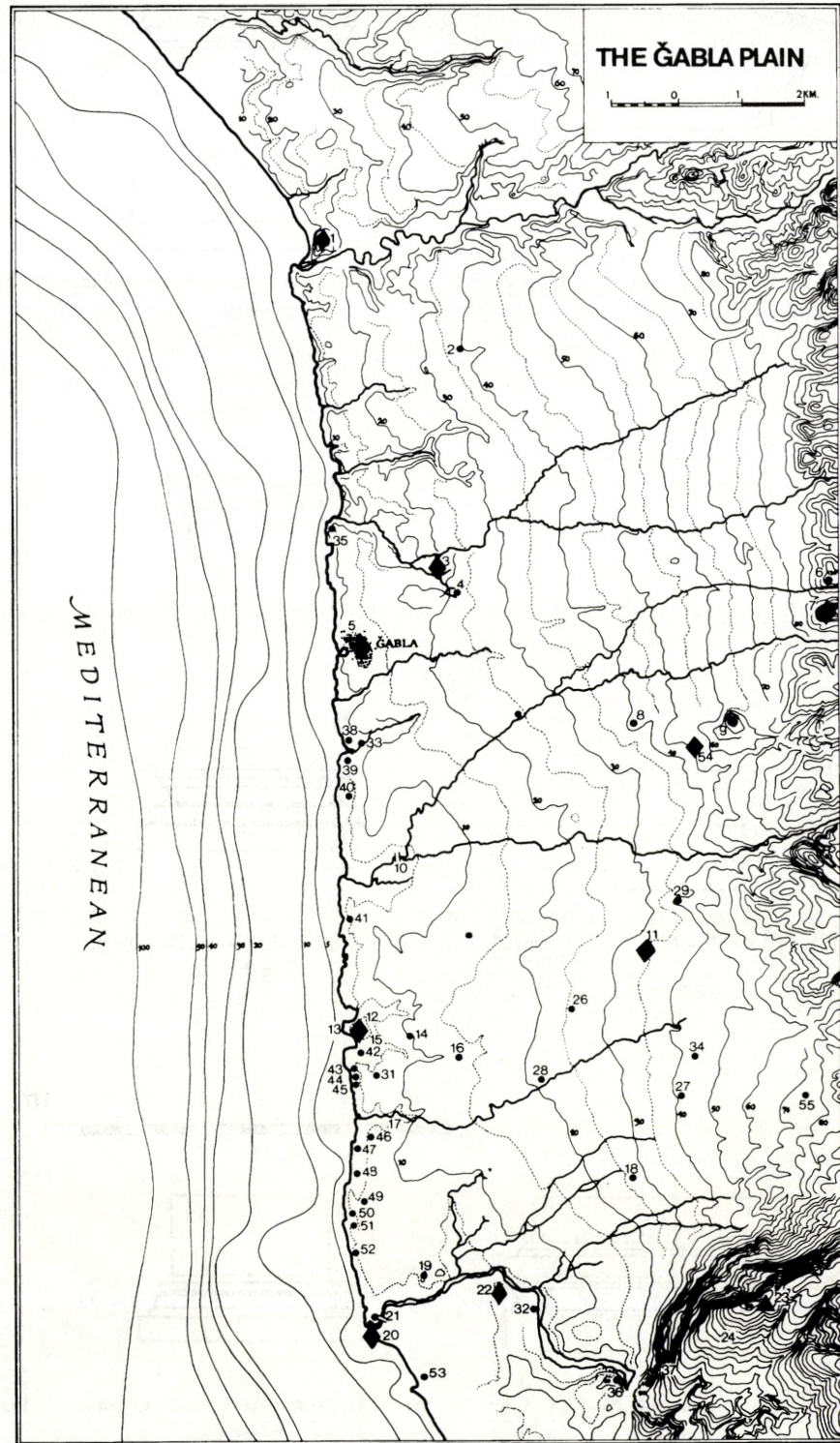


Fig. 49 c.

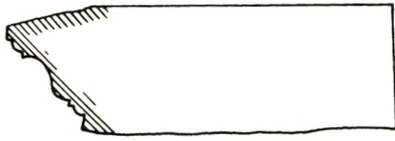


Fig. 50.1. 'Arab al-Milk No. 1. Block of cornice.

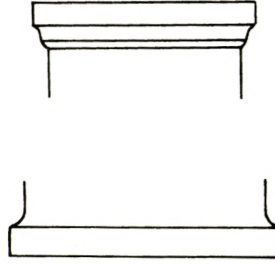


Fig. 50.2. 'Arab al-Milk No. 5. A monolithic column.

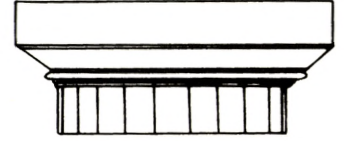


Fig. 50.3. 'Arab al-Milk No. 6. A Doric capital

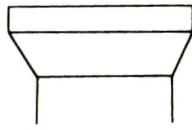


Fig. 50.4. 'Arab al-Milk No. 11. A capital.

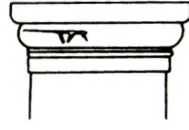


Fig. 50.5. 'Arab al-Milk No. 12. A capital.

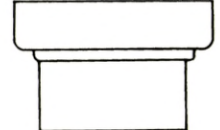


Fig. 50.6. 'Arab al-Milk No. 13. A capital.

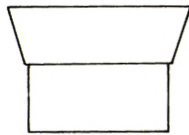


Fig. 50.7. 'Arab al-Milk No. 14. A capital.

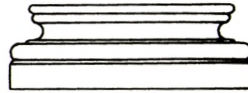


Fig. 50.8. 'Arab al-Milk No. 23. Column base.

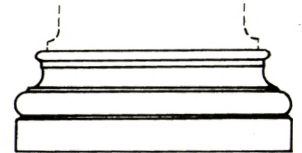


Fig. 50.9. 'Arab al-Milk No. 24. Column base.

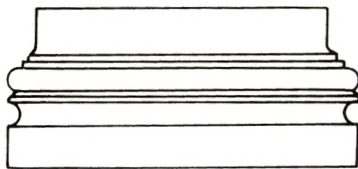


Fig. 50.10. 'Arab al-Milk No. 25. Column base.

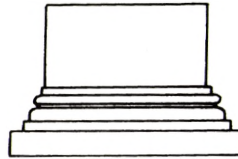


Fig. 50.11. 'Arab al-Milk No. 26. Column base.

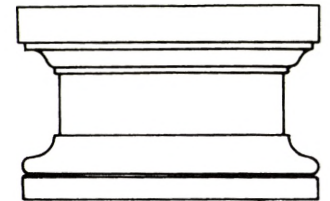


Fig. 50.12. 'Arab al-Milk No. 28. A square plinth.



Fig. 51. 'Arab al-Milk Nos. 2-3. Block of cornice and fragment of a door lintel.



Fig. 53. 'Arab al-Milk No. 8. A Corinthian capital and No. 20. Upper part of column shaft.



Fig. 52. 'Arab al-Milk No. 7. A Corinthian capital.



Fig. 54. 'Arab al-Milk No. 9. A Corinthian capital.



Fig. 55. 'Arab al-Milk No. 10. A Corinthian capital.



Fig. 56. 'Arab al-Milk Nos. 15-17. Three re-used capitals.

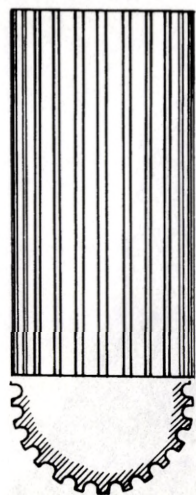


Fig. 57.1. 'Arab al-Milk No. 18. A fluted column shaft.

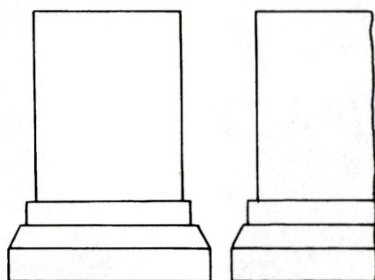


Fig. 57.2. 'Arab al-Milk No. 27. Column base.

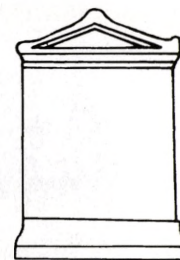
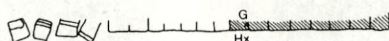
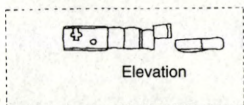
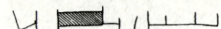
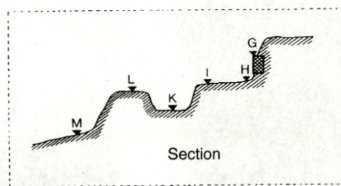
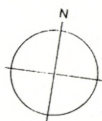


Fig. 57.3. 'Arab al-Milk, Stele of limestone.



- I x
- K x
- L x
- M x



Fig. 58. Ashlar built terrace wall.



Fig. 59. 'Arab al-Milk, Stele of limestone.



Fig. 60. Baniyās, fragment of African Red Slip ware.



Fig. 61. Baniyās, fragment of stamped *pelvis*.



Fig. 62. The bridge at 'Arab al-Milk.



Figs. 63-64. The bridge at the Nahr al-Muwillih.



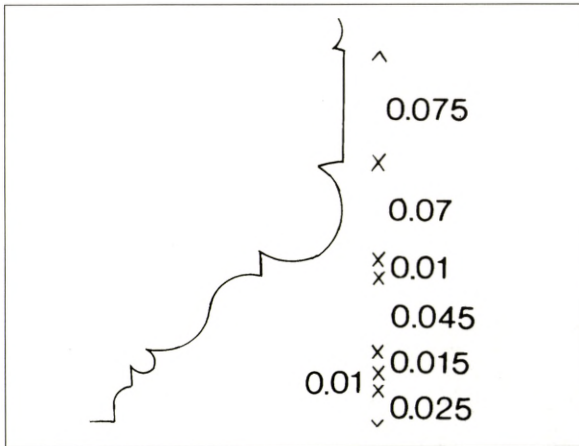


Fig. 65. A profiled block in the western facade of the bridge at the Nahr al-Muwillih.



Fig. 66. Remains of a Roman road to the north of the bridge at the Nahr al-Muwillih.

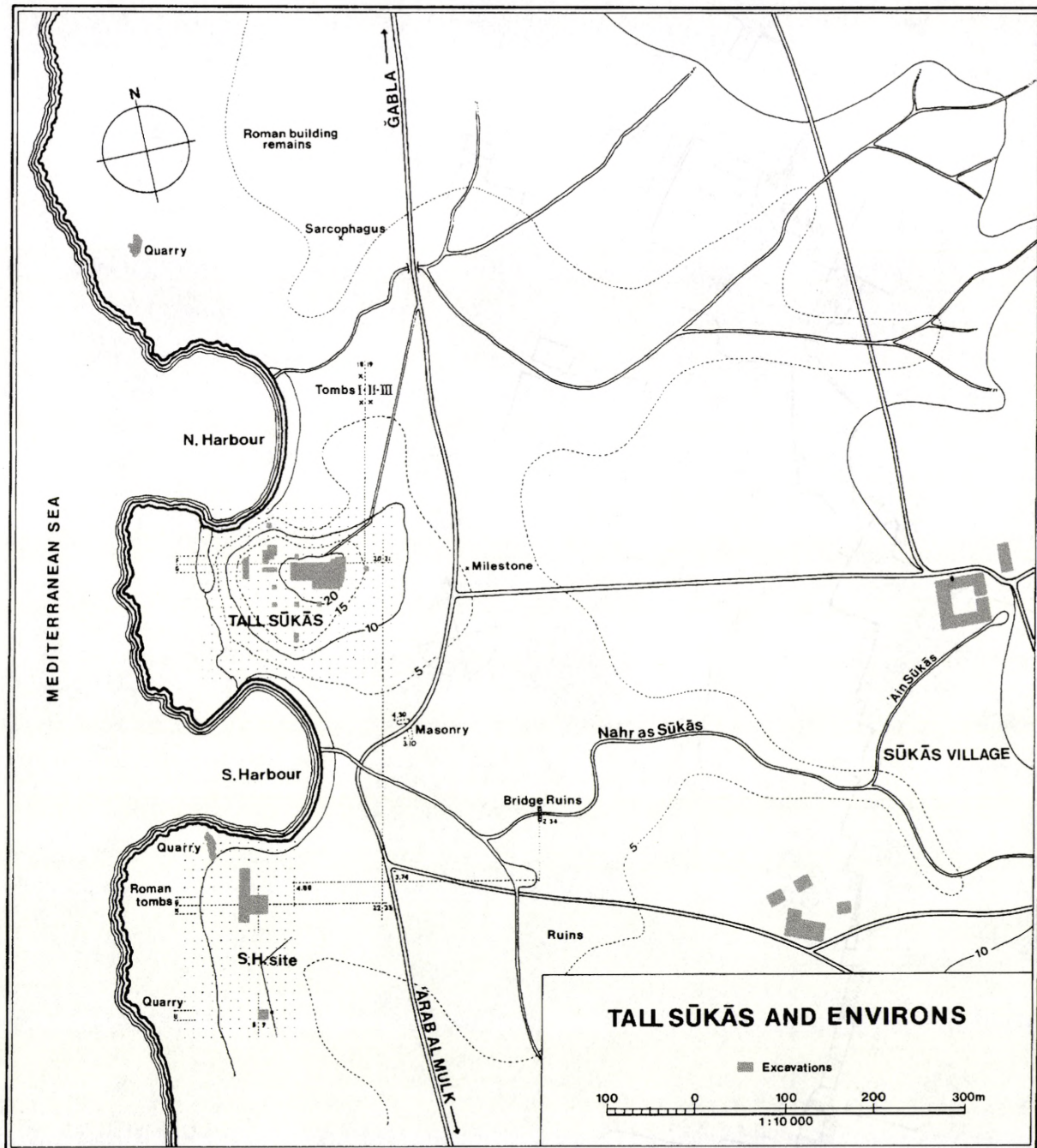


Fig. 67. Tall Sūkās and surroundings.

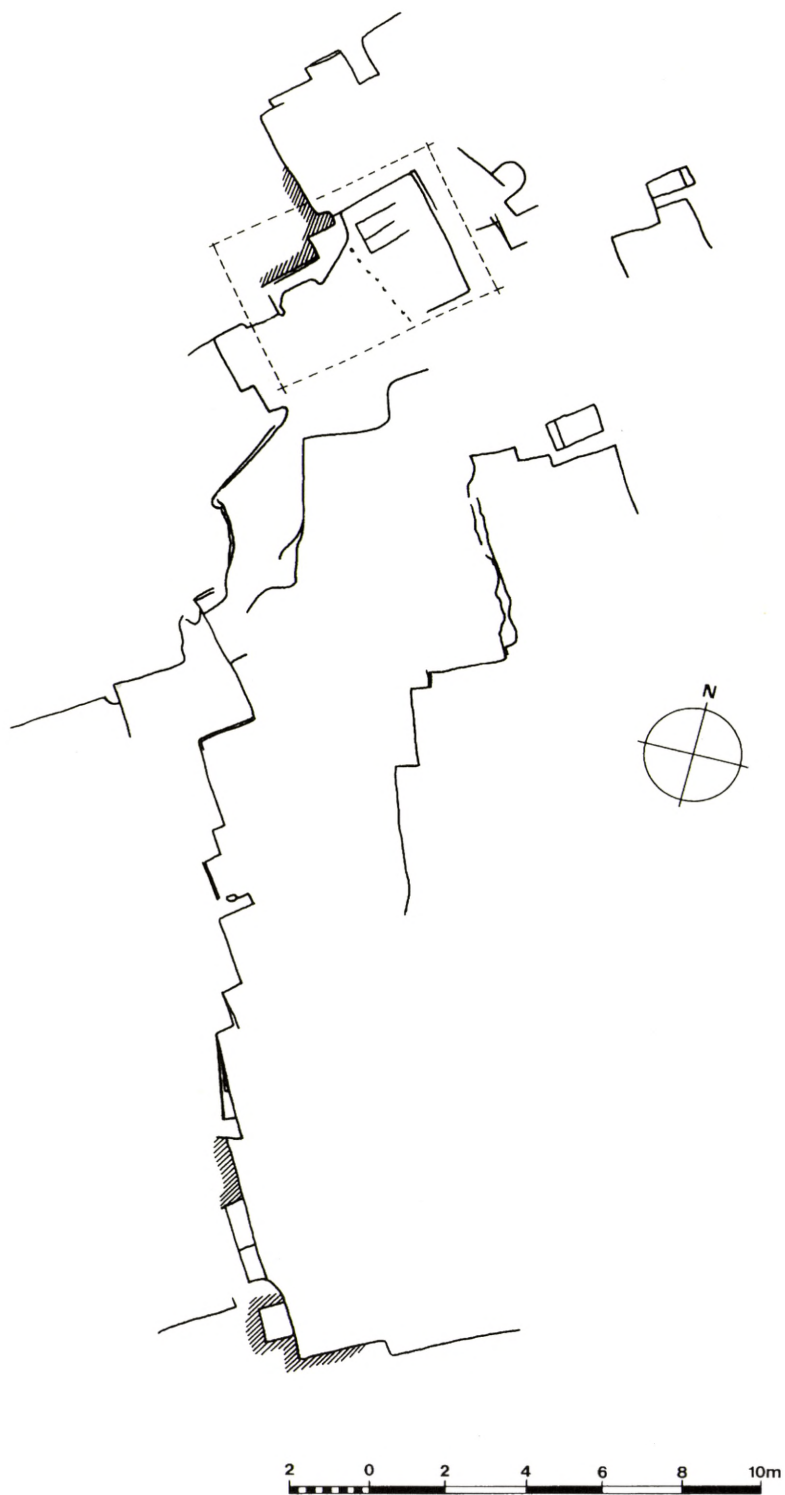


Fig. 68. Quarries south of Tall Sūkās.

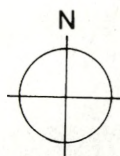
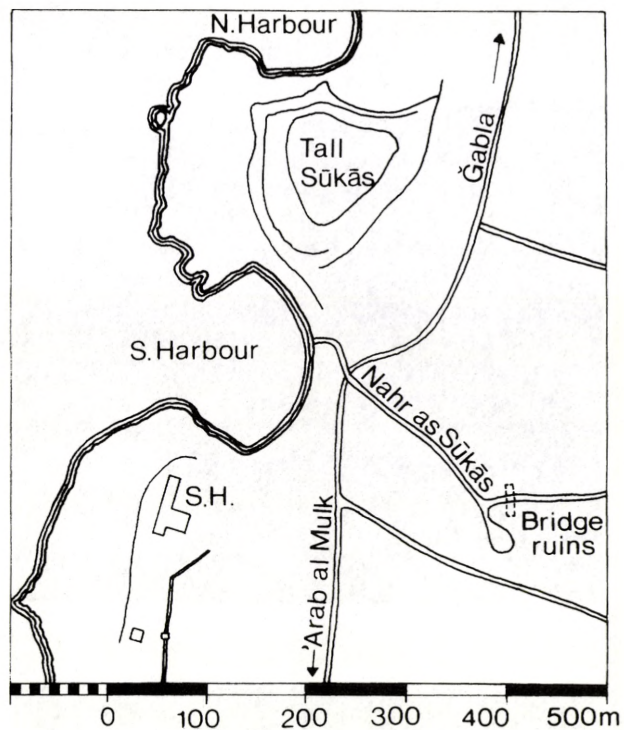
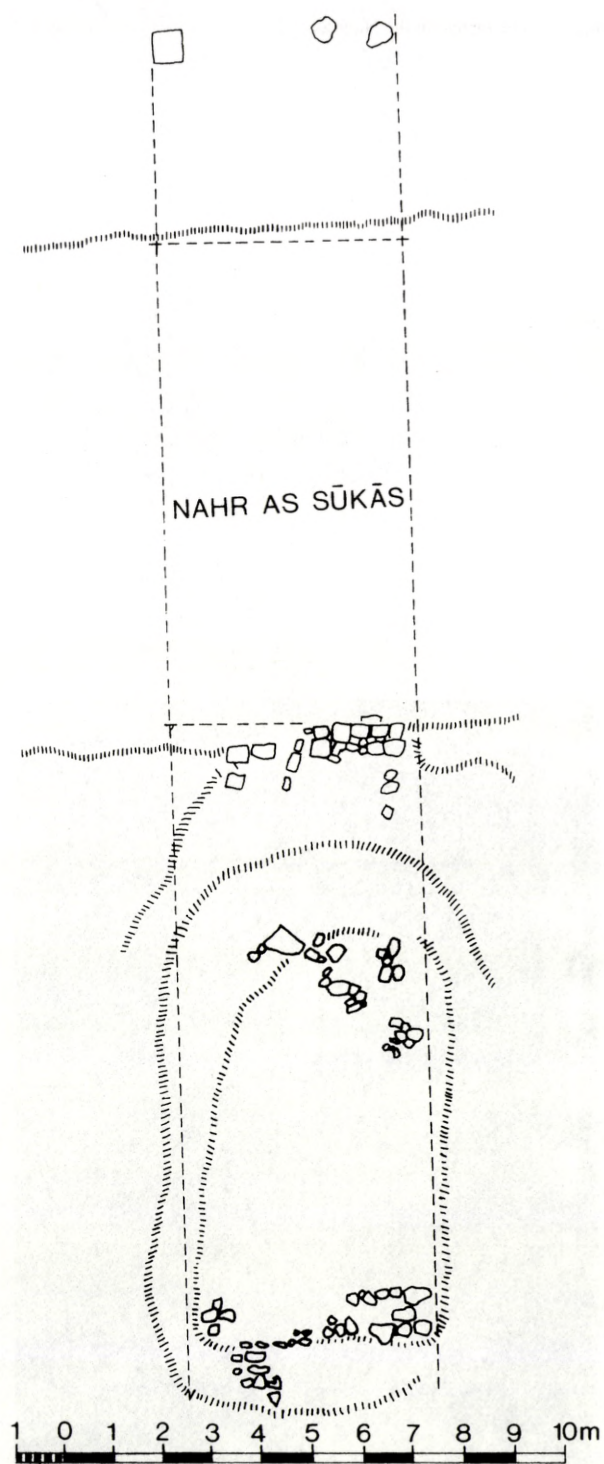
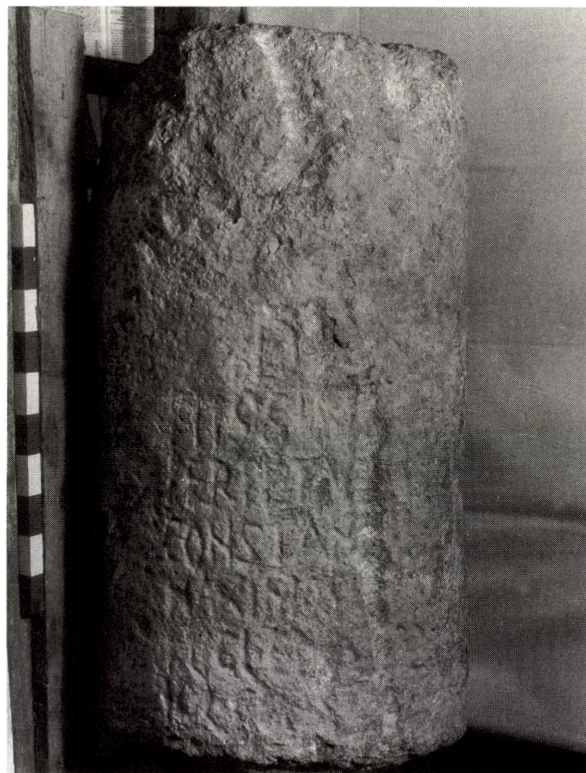


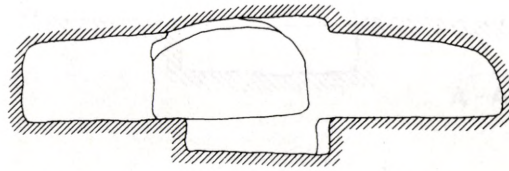
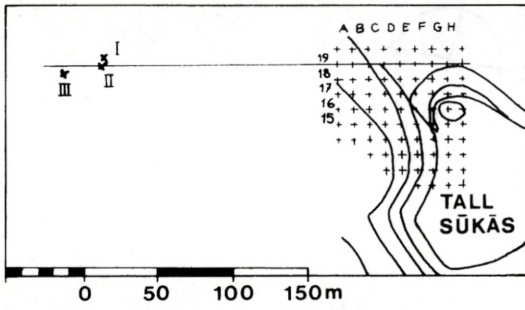
Fig. 69. The bridge at the Nahr as-Sūkās.



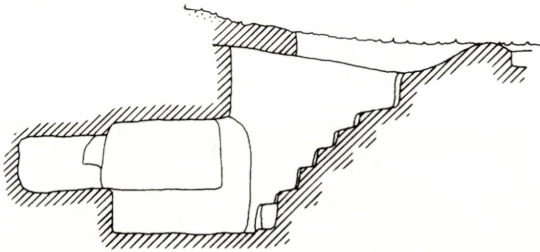
Fig. 70. The bridge at the Nahr as-Sūkās.



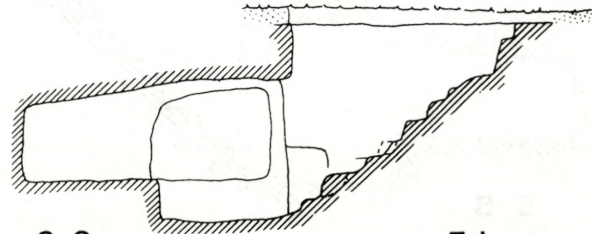
Figs. 71-72. A Roman milestone found east of Tall Sūkās.



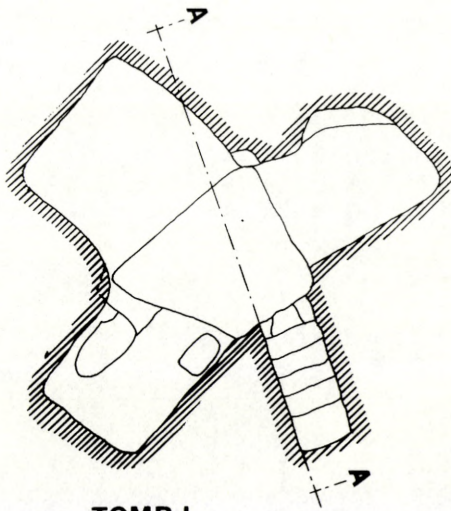
B-B



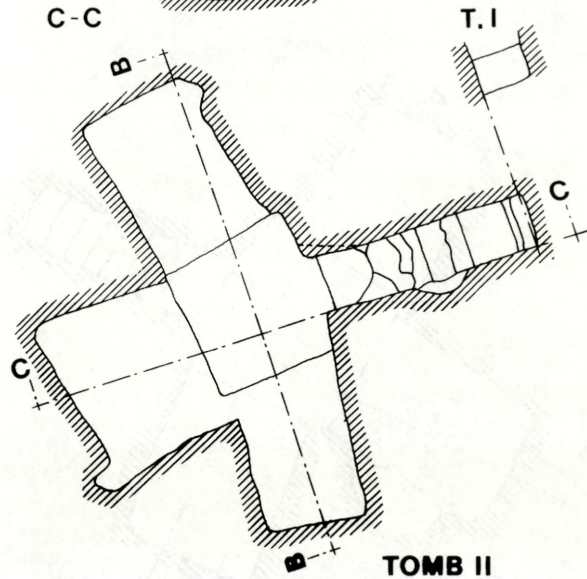
A-A



C-C



TOMB I



TOMB II

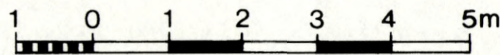


Fig. 73. Chamber tombs at Tall Sūkās.

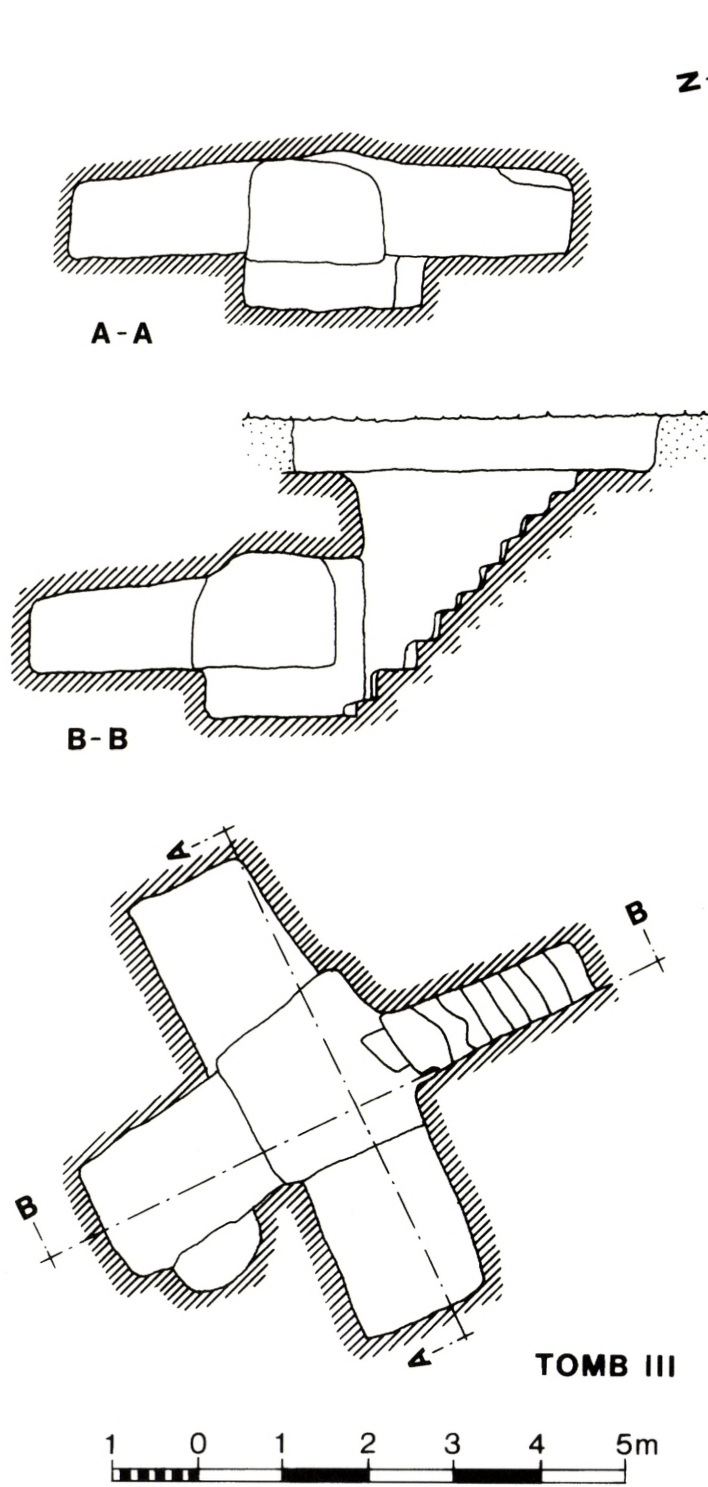


Fig. 74. Rock-cut tombs at the Northern Harbour of Tall Sūkās.

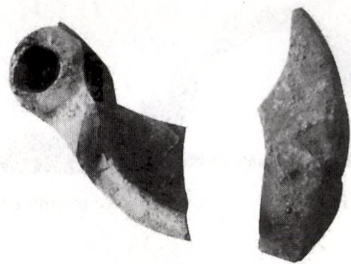


Fig. 75. Fragment of lamp from tomb I.

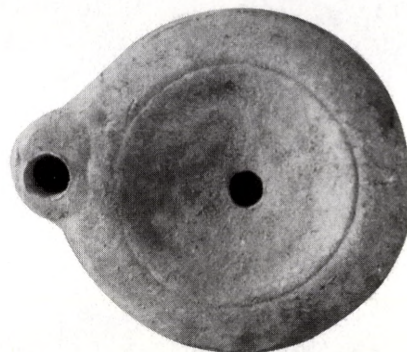


Fig. 76. Completely preserved circular lamp from tomb II.



Fig. 77. Completely preserved circular lamp from tomb II.



Fig. 78. Rim and neck of glass bottle from tomb II.



Fig. 79. Three fragments of flat bronze mountings from tomb II.



Fig. 80. Rim and neck of glass bottle from tomb II.



Fig. 81. Rim and neck of glass bottle from tomb II.



Fig. 82. Fragment of terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 83. Fragment of bronze fibula from tomb III.



Fig. 84. Fragment of terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 85. Fragment of terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 86. Fragment of terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 87. Fragment of the front part of a terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 88. Fragment of a terracotta lamp from tomb III.



Fig. 89. Neck of bottle of glass from tomb III.

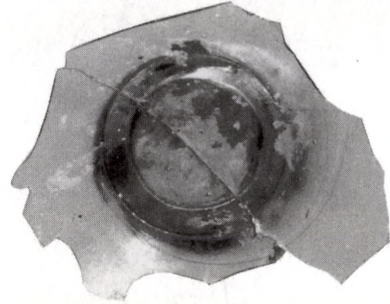
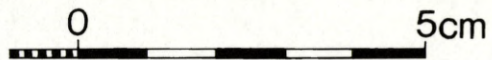
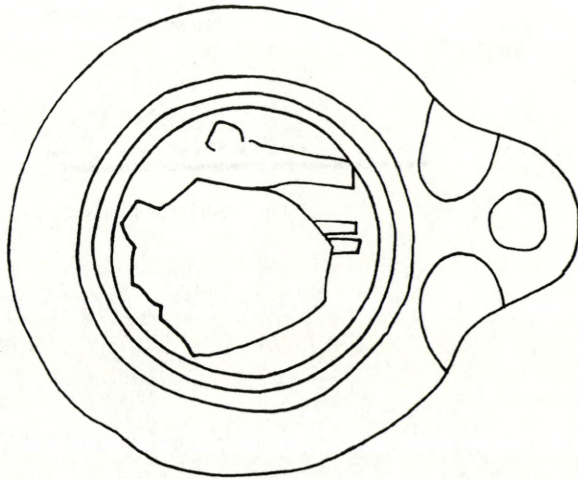
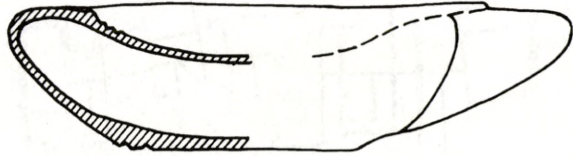


Fig. 90. Side and bottom of glass from tomb III.



Figs. 91-92. Nearly complete lamp from tomb III.





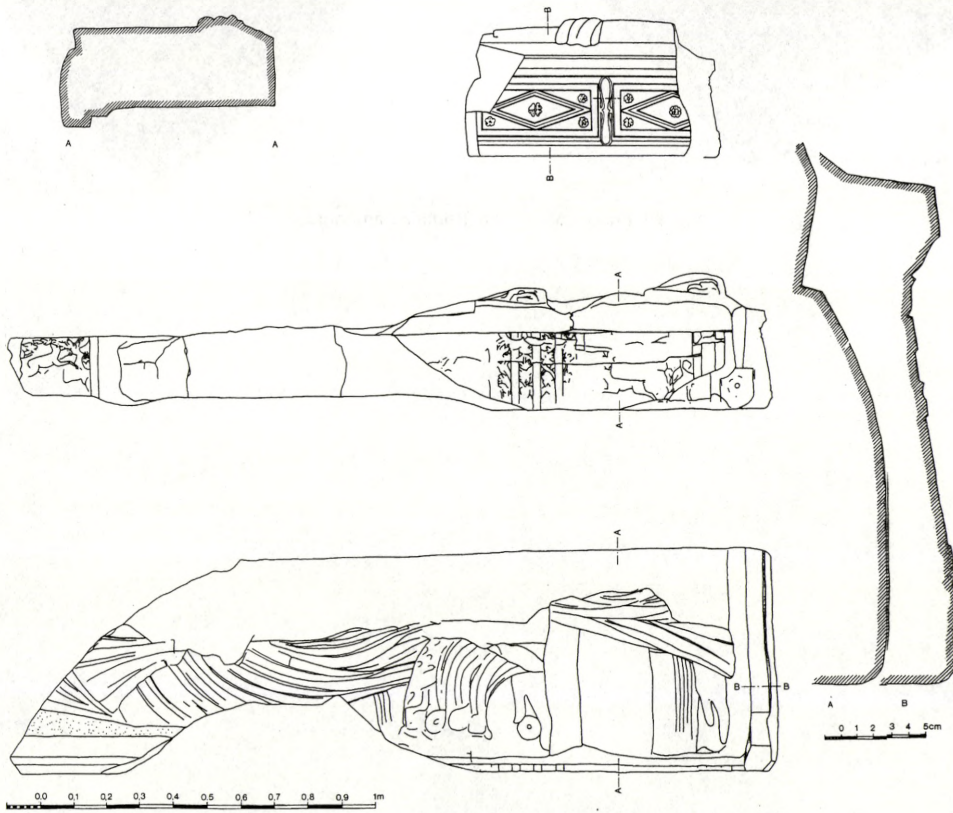
Figs. 93-94. Fugmann's plans of a quarry north of the Northern Harbour.



Fig. 95.



Fig. 96.



Figs. 95-97. A fragmentary "Klinensarkophag".



Fig. 98. A base of an amphora of Peacock and Williams Class 45.

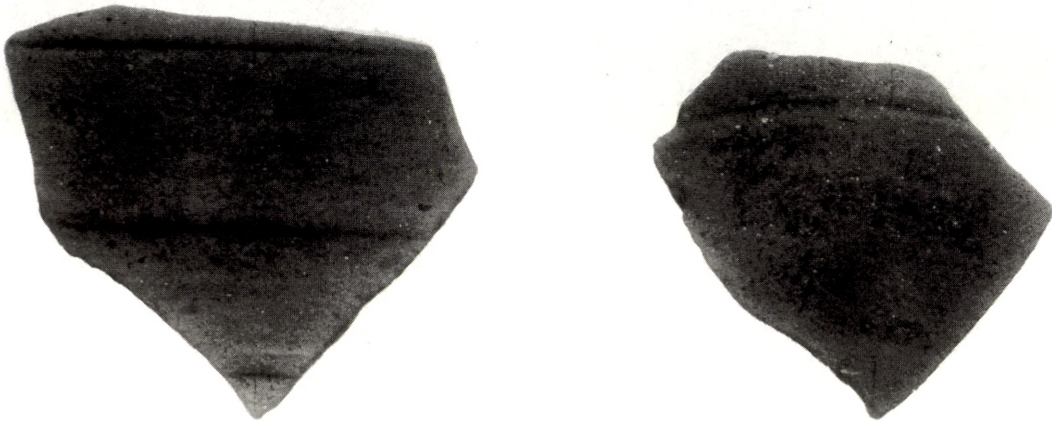


Fig. 99. Fragments of Late Roman 1 amphorae.

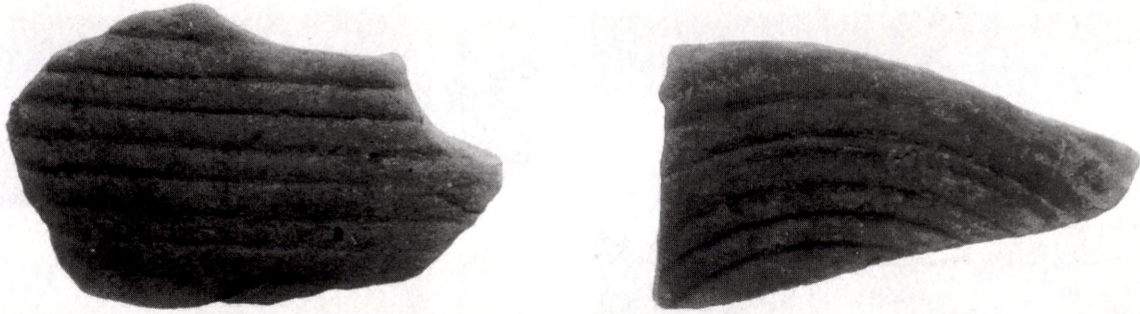


Fig. 100 a-b. Fragments of Late Roman 2 amphora.



Fig. 100 c. Fragments of Late Roman 2 amphora.



Fig. 101. Base of Glass beaker.

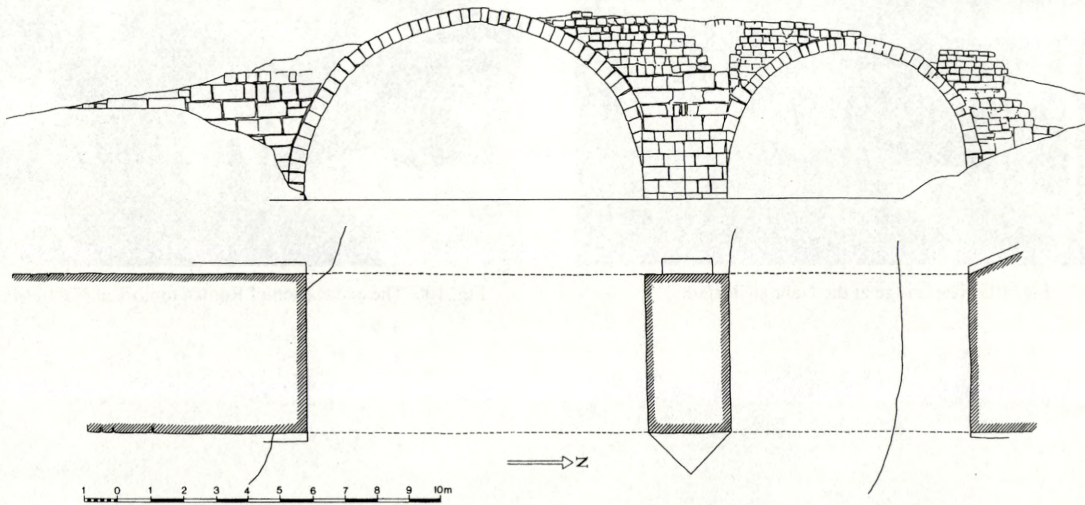


Fig. 102. The bridge at the Nahr al-Burgul.



Fig. 103.



Fig. 104.



Fig. 105. The bridge at the Nahr al-Burgul.



Fig. 106. The excavation of Roman tomb 1 at Nahr al-Faid.



Fig. 107. The sarcophagus in Tomb 1 at Nahr al-Faiḍ, as seen from the north.



Fig. 108. The sarcophagus found in Tomb 1 after it had been emptied of its contents.



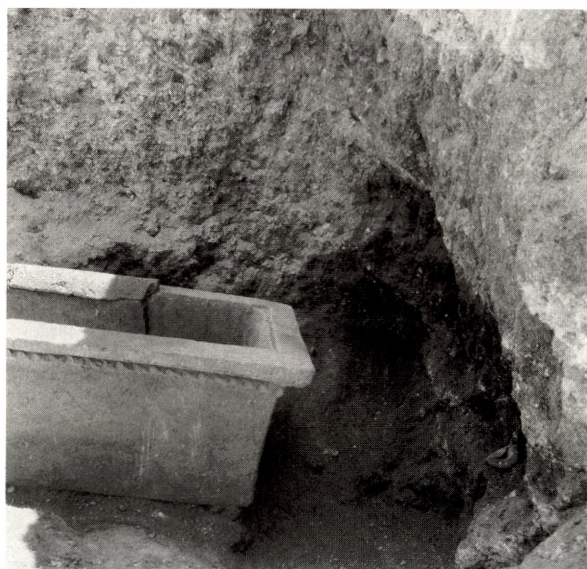
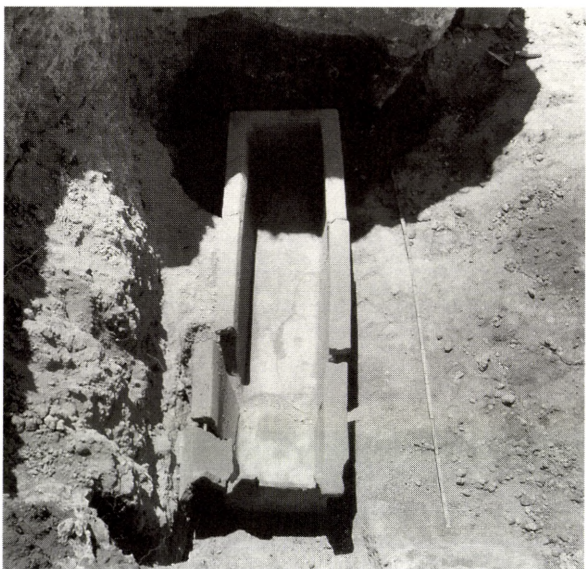
Fig. 109. The sarcophagus found in Tomb 1 at Nahr al-Faiḍ is being unloaded at Ġabla.



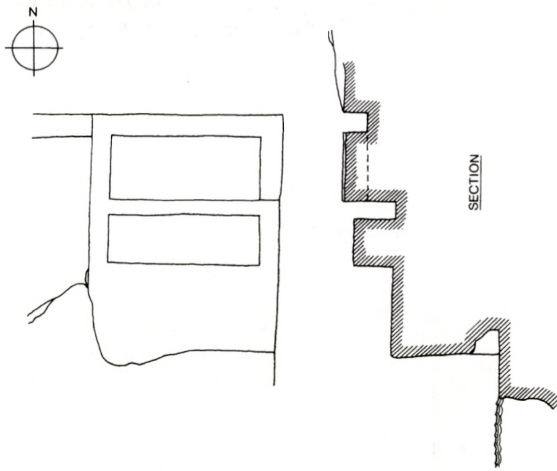
Fig. 110. Sarcophagus in Tomb 5 at Nahr al-Faiḍ.



Fig. 111. Sarcophagus found in Tomb 5 at Nahr al-Faiḍ.



Figs. 112-113. Tomb 5 at Nahr al-Faiḍ.



Figs. 114-115. Quarries at the Nahr al-'Āzza.

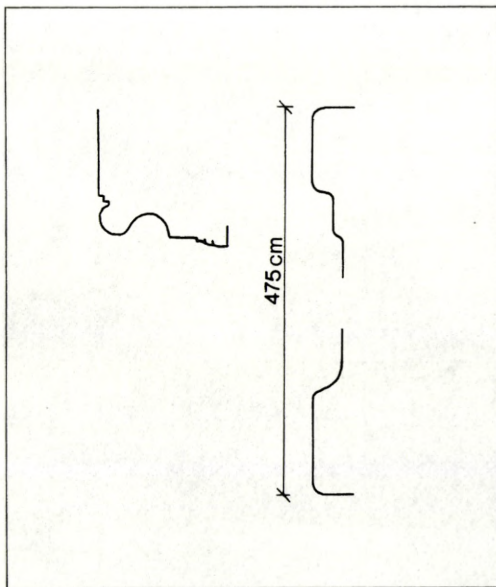
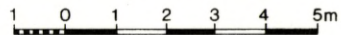
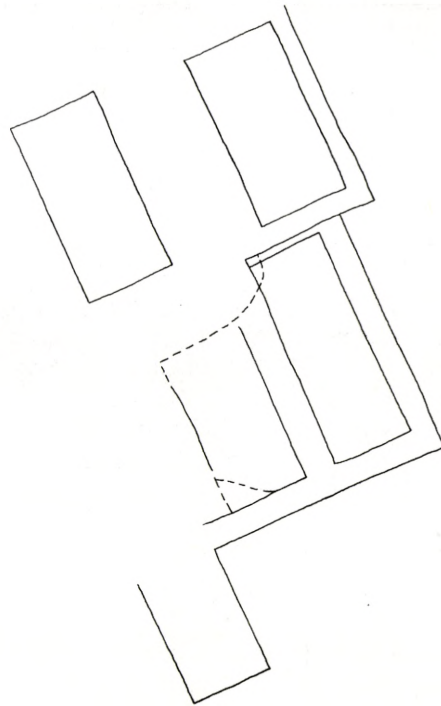


Fig. 116. Profiled block of limestone on the eastern side at the harbour of Ġabla.

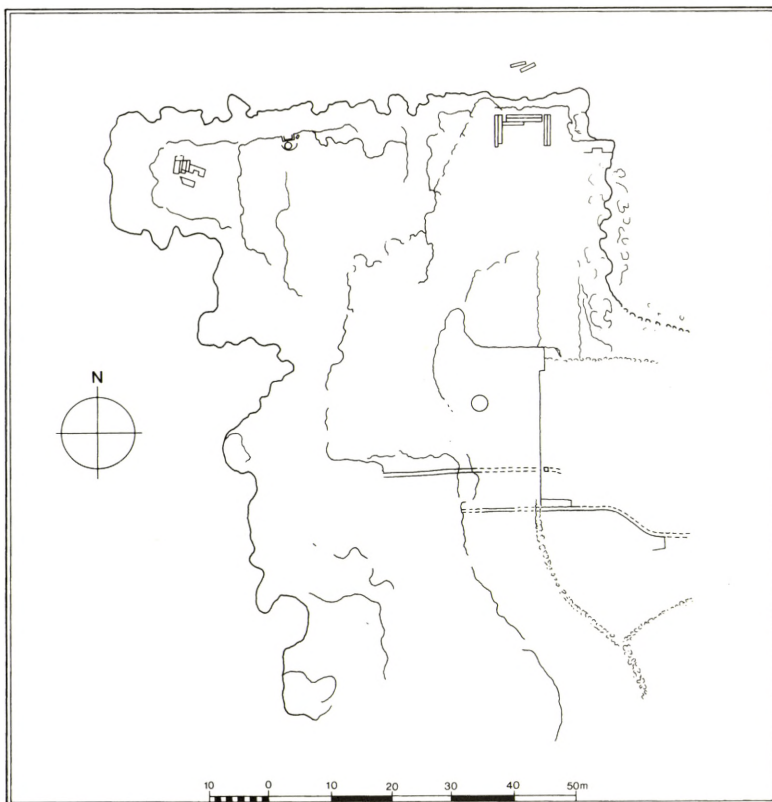


Fig. 117. Rough plan of the area at southern part of the harbour of Ābla. Cf. fig. 132.



Fig. 118-119. A Roman-Doric capital on the beach at the harbour of Ābla.



Fig. 120. Fragment of lamp of Iron Age type.

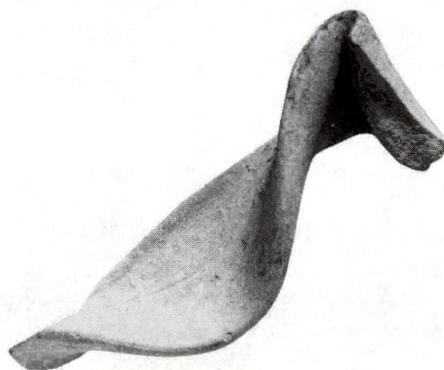


Fig. 121. Fragment of lamp of Iron Age type.



Fig. 122. Juglet.



Fig. 123. Fragment of Roman pelvis with stamp.

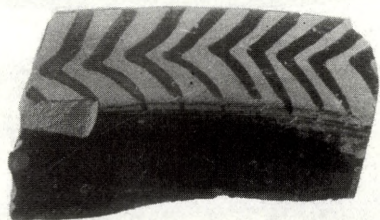


Fig. 124. Fragment of LH 3 A2 krater from Tall at-Tuwaini.



Fig. 125. Coin struck in Arados found at Hmaimin.



Fig. 126. Balda al-Milk, the mouth of Nahr as-Sinn and 'Arab al-Milk, air photo from the south. (Courtesy of the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities).



Fig. 127 a-b. Steatite mould, surface find from 'Arab al-Milk. 1:1.
Photo P. Maartvedt.





Fig. 128. The water mill at 'Arab al-Milk from the west. Photo M-L. Buhl.



Fig. 129. The mouth of the Nahr as-Sinn and Balda al-Milk from the north-east.



Fig. 130. Ruin on the river bank at Balda al-Milk and the water mill at 'Arab al-Milk from the south-west. Photo M-L. Buhl.



Fig. 131 a-b. Tower ruin at Balda al-Milk, a from the south-west, b from the north-west. Photos H. Thrane.

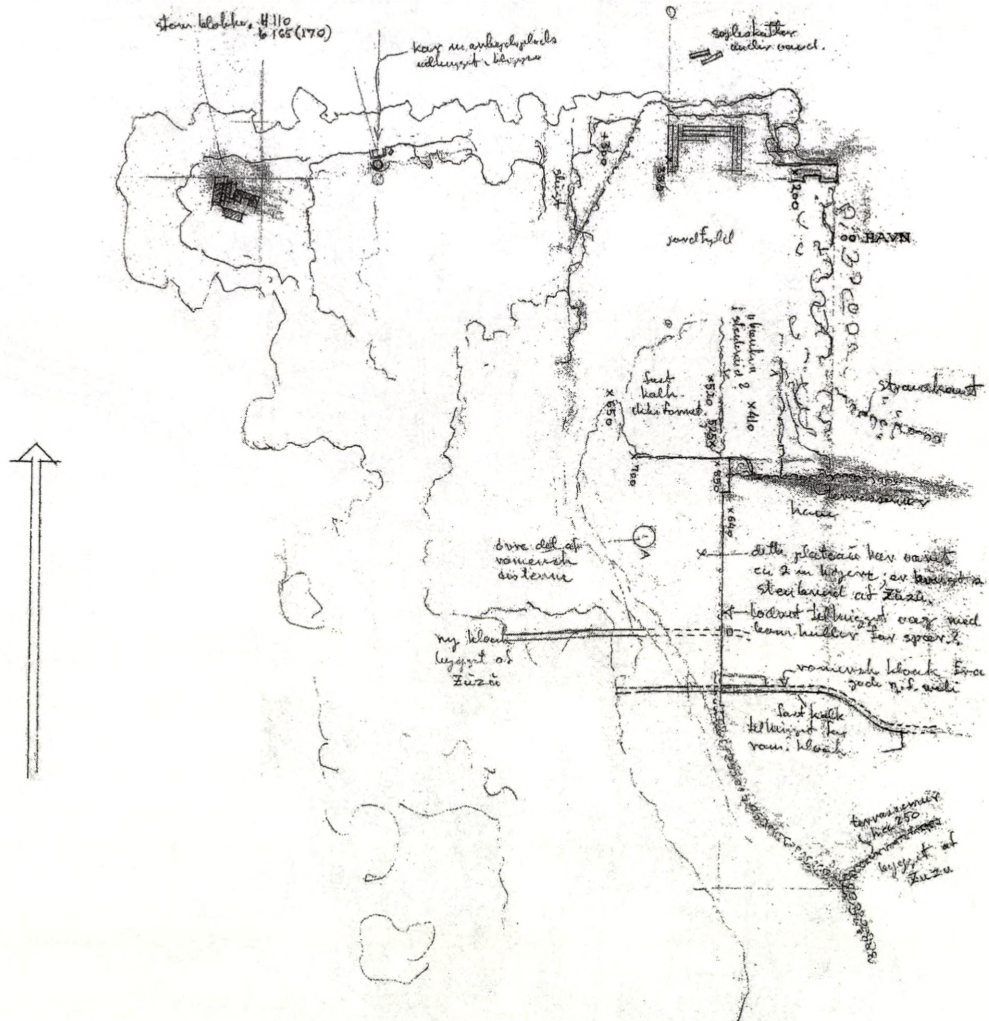


Fig. 132. Plan of the plateaux to the south of the entrance to the harbour in Ġabla (“Djeblé opmåling af plateauer syd for havneindløb”), measured by J. Rohweder. 1:500.

Legend: Large ashlars (“store blokke”) H(eight) 110 width (“b(redde)”) 165 (170) – Vat; a working place cut into the rock (“kar; en arbejdsplads udhugget i klippen”) – gorge (“slugt”) – column shafts under water (“søjleskafter under vand”) – earth filled in (“jordfyld”) – Harbour (“HAVN”)

- Firm chalk, not shaped (“fast kalk ikke formet”) – “benches” in quarry? (“bænke” i stenbrud?) – water’s edge (“strandkant”)- garden (“have”) – terrace wall (“terrassemur”)
- Upper part of Roman cistern (“øvre del af romersk cisterne”) – new sewer constructed by Zūzū (“ny kloak bygget af Zūzū”)
- Formerly, the surface of this plateau lay c. two metres higher; has been used by Zūzū as a quarry (“dette plateau har været ca 2 m højere; er brugt som stenbrud af Zūzū”)
- Vertical hewn wall with holes for beams ? (“lodret tilhugget væg med bomhuller for spær?”)
- Roman sewer from street to the north of weli (“romersk kloak fra gade n.f. weli”) – firm chalk hewn in connection with the Roman sewer (fast kalk tilhugget for rom. kloak”)

Djeblé
opmåling af plateauer
syd for havneindløb.
målt 1:500
Jørgen Rohweder
nov. 1959.

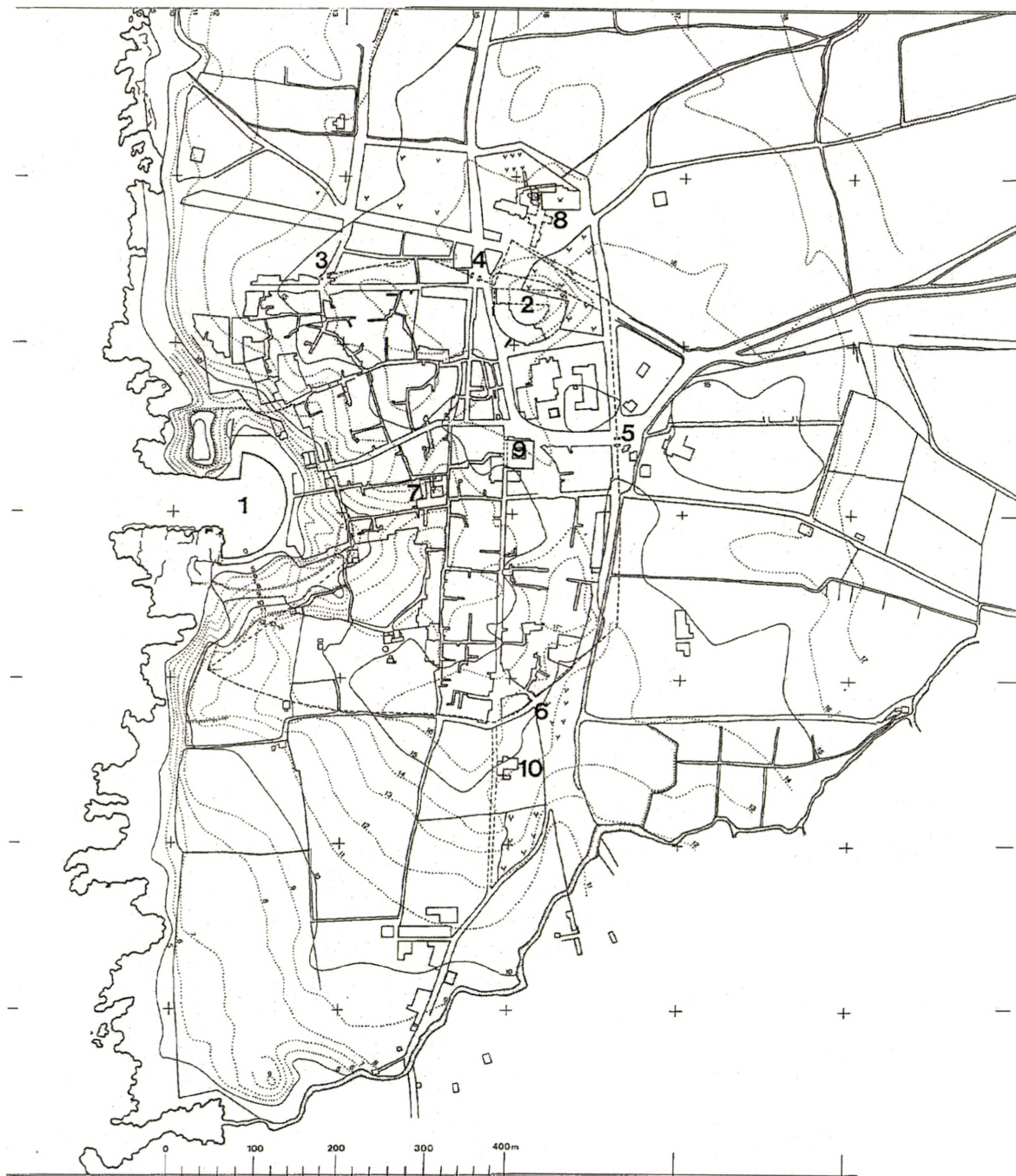


Fig. 133. Map of the town of Ġabla, redrawn by J. Rohweder with the remainders of the city wall and its presumed course indicated. 1:2000.
 1. Harbour (al-Mīna). – 2. Citadel (al-Qal'a). – 3. Gate of the Cross (Bawābat aṣ-Ṣlaibī). – 4. Sultan's Gate (Bawābat Sulṭān). – 5. Ħamā Gate (Bawābat Ħamā). – 6. South Gate (Bāb al-Qiblī). – 7. Great Mosque (Ġami' al-Kabīr). – 8. Sultān Ibrāhīm Mosque (Ġami' Sulṭān Ibrāhīm).
 – 9. Saray. – 10. House of the Carlsberg Expedition.



Fig. 134 a.



Fig. 134 b.



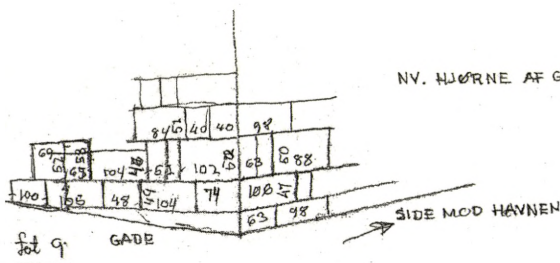
Fig. 134 c.

Fig. 134 a-c. a. The south gate of Ğabla from the east. Photo P. J. Riis. b. The south gate of Ğabla from the south-east. Photo A. Olsson. c. The south gate of Ğabla from the south. Photo P. J. Riis.

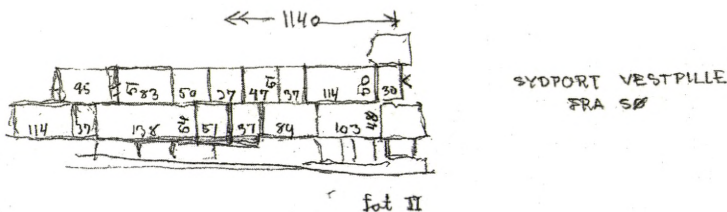
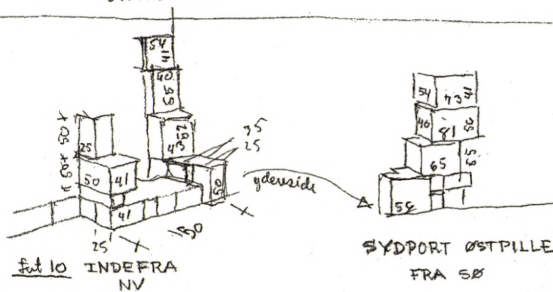
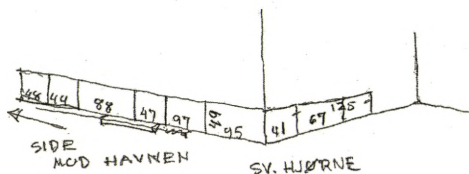
G.B.

28-11-63

KORSFARERMURVÆRK OPMÅLING & FOT.

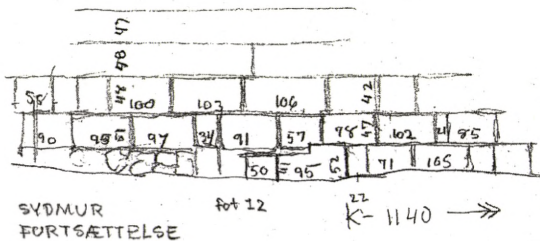


NV. HJØRNE AF GÅDE DER GÅR N. OM MOSKEEN



FRITLIGGENDE BLOKKE
s.F. SYDPORT.

h	b	l
32	44	50
41	52	79
44	48	80
47		124 indmuret



J.R.



Fig. 136. Part of Ğabla's city wall west of the south gate seen from the south-east. Photo P. J. Riis.



Fig. 137. Detail of the city wall shown in fig. 136. Photo H. Thrane.

←

Fig. 135. Remains of Ğabla's city wall. Measured sketches by Jørgen Rohweder.

Legend: Masonry dating from the crusading period, measurements and photographs ("KORSFARERMURVÆRK OPMÅLING & FOT.").
 North West corner of street passing round the mosque to the north ("NV. HJØRNE AF GADE DER GÅR N OM MOSKEEN"). – Photo 9 ("fot.9") – Street ("GADE") – Side facing the harbour ("SIDE MOD HAVNEN") – Side facing the harbour ("SIDE MOD HAVNEN") – SW corner ("SV. HJØRNE").
 Photo 10 ("fot.10") – From within NW ("INDEFRA NV") – outer side ("ydernside") – South gate, east pillar from SE ("SYDPORT ØST-PILLE FRA SØ")
 Photo 11 ("fot. 11") – South gate, west pillar from SE ("SYDPORT VESTPILLE FRA SØ")
 Detached ashlars on the ground E of South gate ("FRITLIGGENDE BLOKKE Ø.F. SYDPORT") h(eight), width (b= "bredde") l(ength); the fourth among them was placed in a secondary context ("indmuret")
 Photo 12 ("fot. 12") – Continuation of southern wall ("SYDMUR FORTSÆTTELSE").

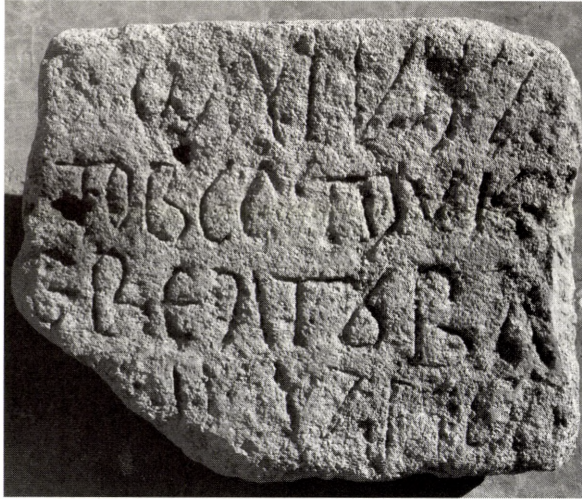


Fig. 138. Inscription found in the central part of Ġabla. 3:7.
Photo P. Maurtvedt.



Fig. 139. Inscription in the Great Mosque of Ġabla.
Photo P. Maurtvedt.



Fig. 140. The minaret of Ġabla's Great Mosque from the south.
Photo J. Bull.

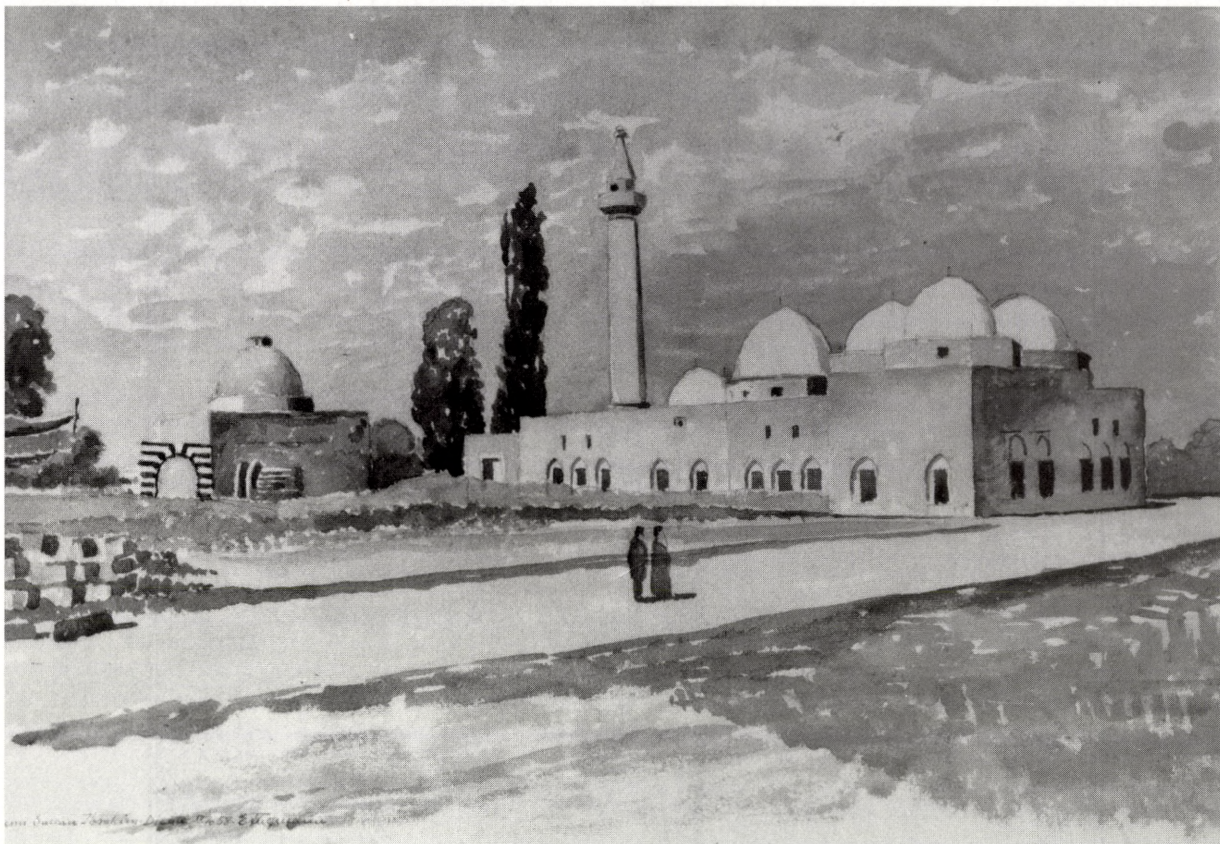
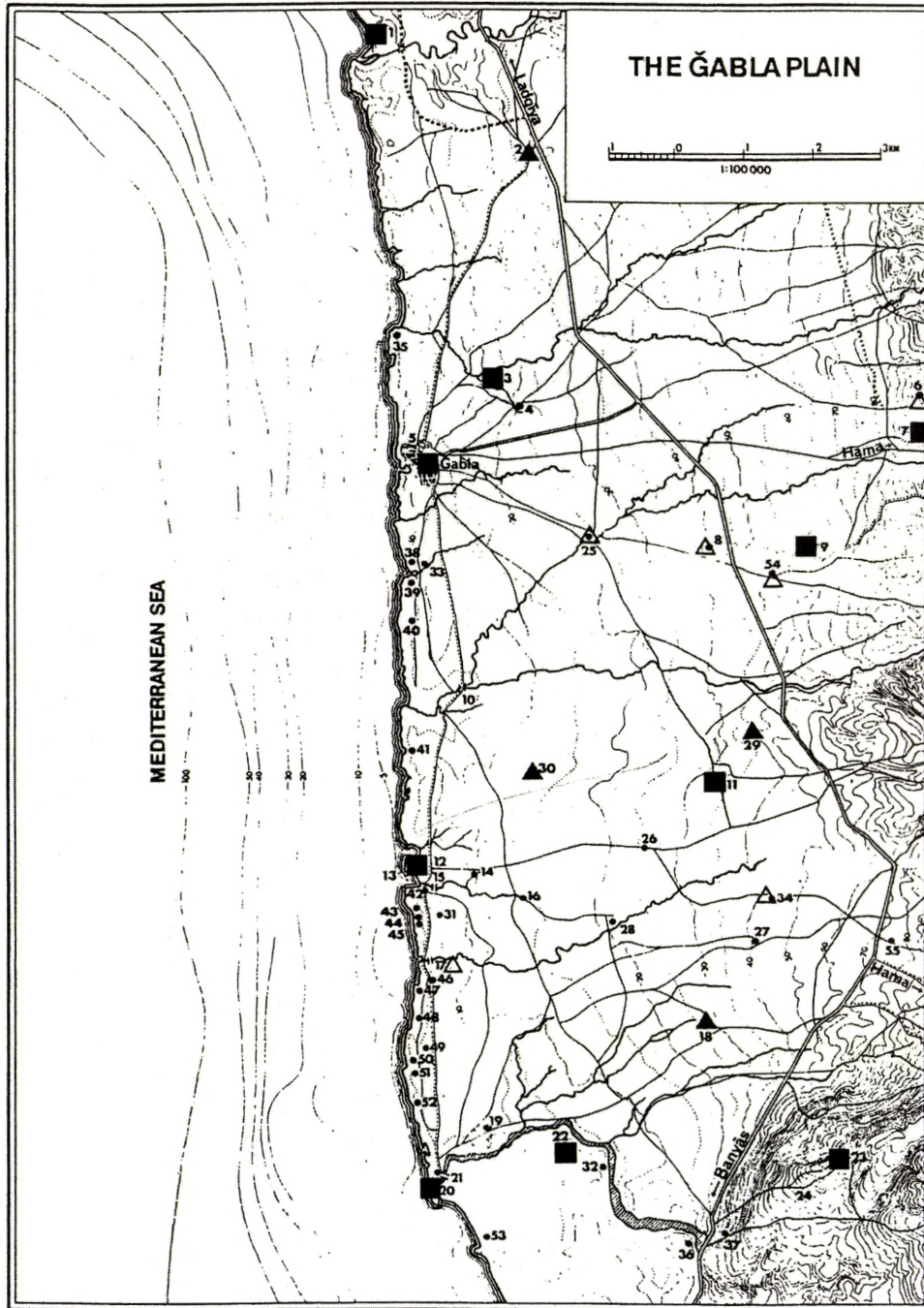


Fig. 141. The Sultān Ibrāhīm Mosque in Ğabla and the neighbouring bath (to the left) from the south-east. Water colour by E. Fugmann.

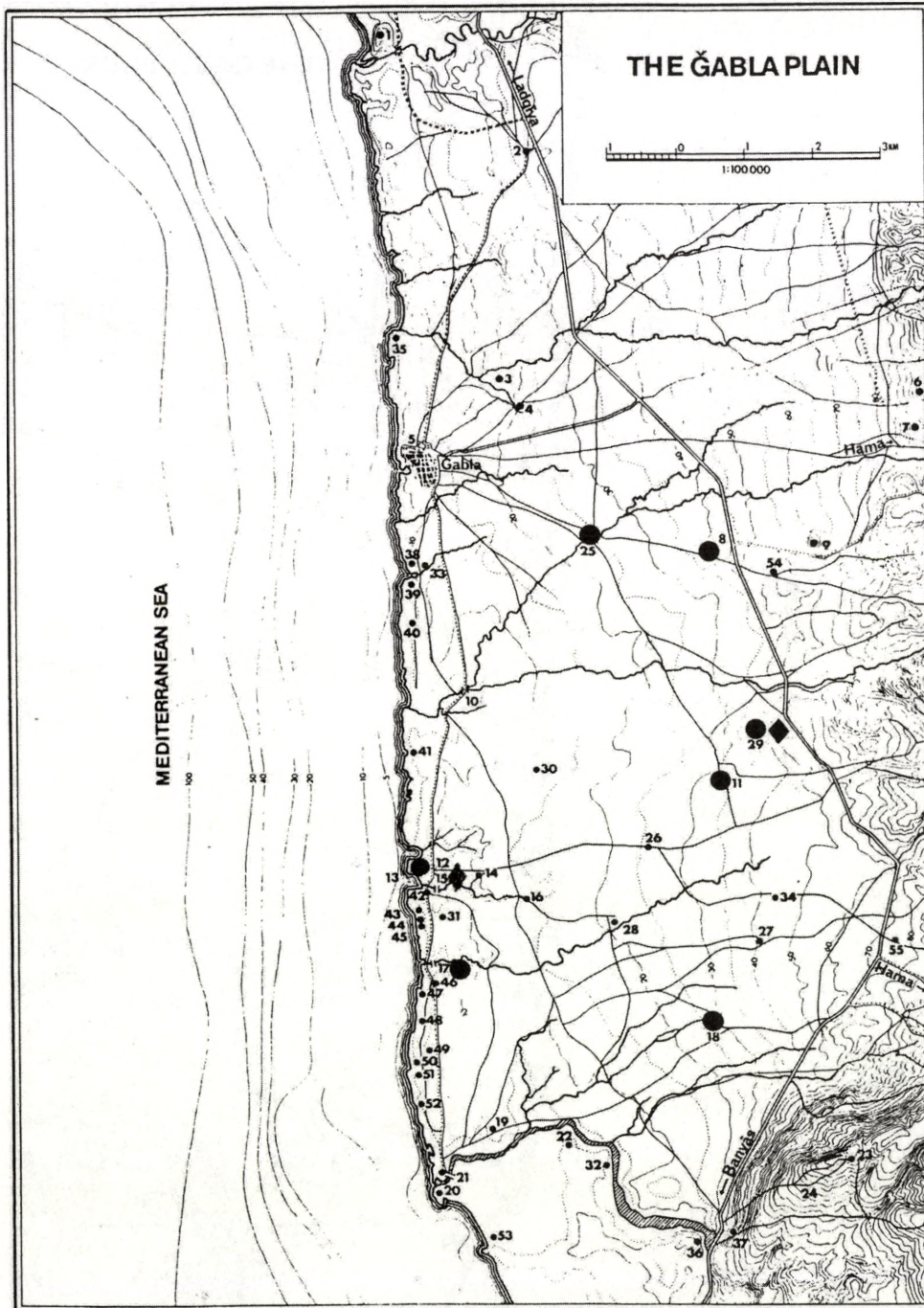


Fig. 142. Monteriggioni in Tuscany from the west. Photo P. J. Riis.



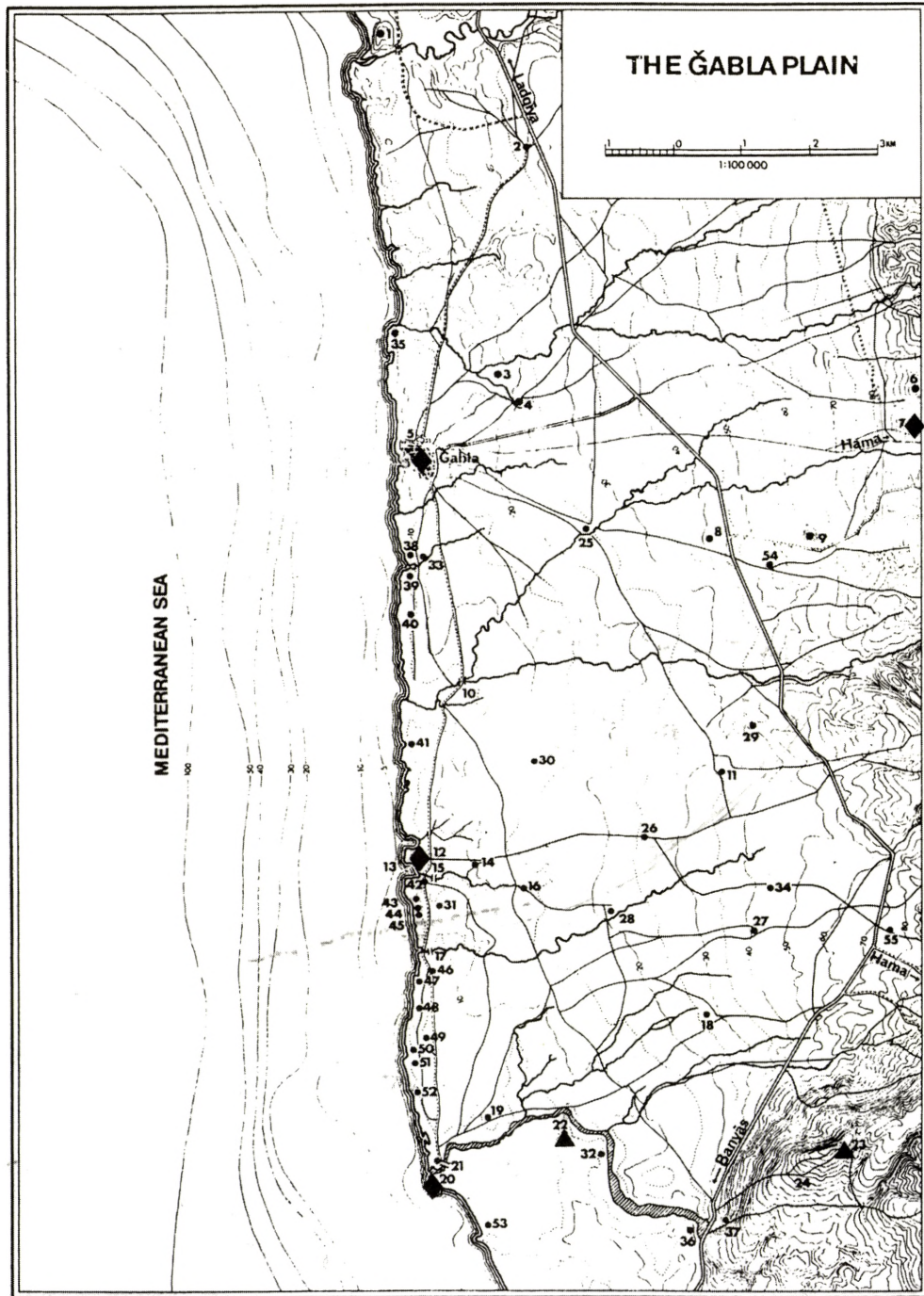
- Continuity of settlement Late Roman – Mamluk periods
- ▲ Abandoned Late Roman/Byzantine site, resettled by the Mamluk period
- △ Abandoned Late Roman/Byzantine site

Fig. 143. Map of the Ġabla Plain with medieval sites indicated. 1:100000.



- Late Roman/Byzantine oil production
- ◆ Late Roman/Byzantine corn production

Fig. 144. Map of the Ġabla Plain with evidence of medieval oil and corn production indicated. 1:100000.



- ◆ Frankish construction/restoration of fortifications
- ▲ Frankish casalia

Fig. 145. Map of the Ćabla plain with Frankish sites indicated. 1:100000.

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