

Kate Raphael • Mustafa Abbasi

THE GOLAN IN THE MAMLUK AND OTTOMAN PERIODS

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

Excavations at Na'arān and Farj



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THE GOLAN IN THE MAMLUK AND OTTOMAN PERIODS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY EXCAVATIONS AT NA'ARĀN AND FARJ

In Honour of Moshe Hartal, Yigal Ben Ephraim and Shuqri 'Arraf

by
Kate Raphael and Mustafa Abbasi

With contributions by
Eran Meir, Yoav Yoskovich, Shai Scharfberg, Robert Kool, Roy Marom, Ami Schrager,
Nancy Benovitz and Yaniv Darvasi



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Back cover: Reconstructed Hauranian house Tania Melsten. Oil lamp and bowl (photograph by Duby Hadar)

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As always, numerous people took part in the excavations, the archaeological and historical research, and in the production of the final publication. Professor Mustafa Abbasi from Tel Hai Academic College headed the historical research. He flew to Istanbul and Amman in pursuit of the contemporary Ottoman tax registers and bibliography that could not be found in digital formats, websites, or in our own home libraries. The most interesting data regarding the demographic fluctuations in the Golan and the number of Mamluk and Ottoman villages were revealed due to his analysis of both the Turkish and Arabic sources. Meetings at his house were always a feast. Interesting discussions were held around a kitchen table laid with fresh bread, homemade cheese, and other delicacies prepared by the professor himself.

Eran Meir (Shamir Research Institute — Golan Archives) lives in the Golan. He walked the grounds of several sites and helped select the two that we eventually excavated. This project could not have been carried out without his profound understanding of the Golan's topography, geology and archaeological heritage. Eran excavated the Hauranian House at Na'arān (Area C) and the domestic complex at Farj (Area M). His detailed documentation and analysis of the excavated areas are incorporated throughout this volume. Yoav Yoskovich, who had just finished his bachelor's degree in



Figure 1. Mustafa Abbasi Tel Hai Academic College.

archaeology and geography at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, participated in both the Farj and Na'arān excavations. The maps that accompany this volume were made by Yoav, who spent many hours together with Mustafa and me poring over maps and websites, identifying village names, finding coordinates and checking them over and over again to make sure they landed in the correct place. He also participated in the preliminary analysis of the small finds from both excavations. Shai Scharfberg excavated with us at Na'arān and took many of the photographs that accompany this volume.



Figure 2. Shmulik (with glasses), Yoav (in a dark blue T-shirt), Eran (standing) and Kate. Na'arān, summer 2022.



Figure 3. Jay Rosenberg, surveyor. Na'arān, summer 2022.



Figure 4. Shai Scharfberg.

Jay Rosenberg drew all the plans. His draftsmanship, experience and his supply of freshly brewed coffee were much appreciated. Iskander Atiya participated in the preliminary historical research; he combed the contemporary sources in Arabic for data on the Golan.

The excavation work was conducted by men from Jenin and the surrounding villages. Many of them had been excavating for years. One could only admire their patience, skill and knowledge. They deserve a great deal of the credit for our project's achievements. Azam Mutia, Faress Mutia and Ariye Sandler were our tractor drivers. They worked like surgeons, carefully removing piles of collapse, stubborn rocks and basalt beams that were wedged in the most impossible angles. They saved us lots of time and our backs.

Special thanks are due to Shmulik Grasiani and Yochai Moheban who volunteered in the excavation at Na'arān; both are skilled and can fix most things with few tools. Shmulik is a retired carpenter and an experienced excavator. He arrived with his small van that was like a mobile carpentry and built supports for our column and fragmentary arch, making sure they will stand solidly for the next decade. Yochai carries a pair of pliers, that can mend and secure anything and everything on an excavation precinct.

Rani Bar Nur has been surveying and excavating in the Golan for decades. He was part of the survey team directed by Yigal Ben-Ephraim and Moshe Hartal in the 1990s. He often came to the excavations with a metal detector, which was a great help. Conversations with Rani were captivating — his knowledge and his incredible memory are overwhelming. Dan Malkinson, a professor of geography at Haifa University and a prominent researcher at the Shamir Research Institute, Qazrin, lives in the Golan too. He came with his drone at

dawn or at dusk and worked alongside us for several weeks; all the aerial photographs in this volume were taken by him.

The editing team deserve a loud and strong round of applause; they are truly admirable. Their comments and remarks and endless hours of work turned this research into a clear and coherent publication. I am most grateful to Sherry Whetstone our language editor and David Ilan the chief editor (Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology Hebrew Union College — Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem) for their sound advice and patience. Anna Hayat, the graphic designer, did a marvelous job with photographs that were often of poor quality. Yael Govrin put together the material culture figures. I would like to thank both Mannie Goodman, who did the drawings of the pottery from Na'arān and Heeli Schechter who was in charge of the computer scanning of the pottery from Farj at the Computational Archaeology Laboratory at the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Many thanks are due to Tania Meltsen who drew the reconstructions of the Hauranian houses. She was always happy to hop on a bus and spend a few hours in the Golan preparing the sketches that formed the basis of her excellent drawings. Orna Cohen restored our ceramic bowl, oil lamps and cleaned our coins. The coins were read and analyzed by Robert Kool (head of the Numismatic Department, Israel Antiquities Authority). Ami Schrager deciphered the Arabic inscription on the basalt stone slab from Farj and that on the silver amulet found in the survey. I first met Ami at the excavations of the Templar fortress at Jacob's Ford. He had just finished his army service and volunteered on the excavation for a few days. When asked what he was thinking of doing in life he said, "I want to learn to read Arabic inscriptions." He is now one of the best Arabic epigraphers in



Figure 5. Ariye Sendler at Farj.



Figure 6. Azam Mutia at Na'arān.



Figure 7. Yochai Moheban.



Figure 8. Dan Malkinson.



Figure 9. Nancy Benovitz at Farj.

this country. Nancy Benovitz (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem) deciphered the Greek inscriptions on the Byzantine tombstones.

I would like to thank the Golan Archives, located in the Shamir Research Institute in Katzrin (Eran Meir is also the chief archivist) for hosting the team in their quiet, air-conditioned hall; we often used their library and computers and dived into their archives for both ancient and modern data. Special thanks are due to Amar Abu al-Hija (from Tel Hai library) and Ronit Shavit-Hivroni (chief librarian at the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) for locating and ordering articles and books from across the country. Shalom Tramitzi and Haim Goren (from Tel Hai Academic College) helped us find many of the maps we needed. The Tel Hai Academic College map collection is one of the largest and finest in the country.

The accounting department at the Tel Hai Academic College dealt with all the financial issues

of this project. Ido Tenenbaum, the chief accountant, Ayyelet Zaribi, and Alin Wana were often consulted. They are an efficient team; it was an honor to know them and work with them. When the war started, Tel Hai College was closed and all three of them were evacuated. They quickly resumed their work from their temporary homes. Questions were always promptly answered and everyone on this project was paid on time. I hope they can return to their real homes in Qiryat Shmona and Kfar Giladi in the near future.

I am most grateful to Miki (Mechael) Osband and Haim Ben David (both from The Kinneret Academic College) who visited the sites while we were excavating and listened to our preliminary analysis of the finds and the historical data. They have both been excavating and surveying in the Golan for several decades; their visits were always much appreciated. The idea of launching a project that focusses on the Mamluk and Early Ottoman periods was born during the excavation of the Mamluk

level at Majduliyya, an excavation headed by Miki Osband. Our discussions in the field and the preliminary analysis of the Mamluk material from Majduliyya triggered some intriguing questions that formed the foundation of this research project.

This research was funded by a generous grant from the Israeli Science Foundation (grant number 255/21). I would like to thank Professor Miriam Belmaker of Tulsa University (Oklahoma USA), one of the first people to read the draft proposal, for her suggestions and encouragement.

Many thanks are due to Mr. Taysir Khalaf, a prominent scholar who has written several books on the history of the Golan. Khalaf was born in the Golan, following the war of 1967 his family was forced to leave. His works are cited throughout this book. He met with Mustafa in Turkey and shared with us his rich knowledge. He has recently moved

to Canada; I truly hope he finds peace of mind in the land of the maple trees.

Living in the region that you are studying and working with a research team that was born and lives in the Golan or the Galilee is a unique experience. It is like trying to reveal local secrets that are buried in your own vegetable garden. While I am a relative newcomer, Mustafa, Eran and Yoav are so well acquainted with this landscape and its complex history that I often stood there and watched them with fascination. Their curiosity and interests stemmed from an intimate knowledge and profound affection that one can only acquire from growing up here at the edge of the country, at the periphery of the state, in a region whose landscape has barely changed since the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods.

Any mistakes and faults in this study are entirely my own.

DEDICATION

THREE MODERN SCHOLARS AND EXPLORERS

Kate Raphael

When we approach the study of the Golan and the Galilee, we stand on the shoulders of giants. We would like to dedicate this volume to three scholars of the previous generation, Moshe Hartal, Yigal

Ben Ephraim and Shuqri 'Arraf, who for decades researched and collected information on the Golan and the Galilee and laid the foundation for the way we understand the history of these two regions today.

Moshe Hartal



The bond between Moshe Hartal, born in 1946, and the Golan was first established when the settlement in the Golan was renewed. Hartal was one of the pioneers that arrived in the Golan in 1967. His career as an archaeologist began shortly afterwards; his job on the kibbutz was, in fact, the survey of the Syrian villages in the Golan. He later joined the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (later the Israel Antiquities Authority [IAA]) and served as the chief archaeologist of the Golan region from 1992 to 2002, carrying out tens of excavations and surveying hundreds of sites. Moshe's master's degree thesis (1987) was based on his

survey of the northern Golan. His PhD dissertation (2003) focused on the sedentarization of nomads, based on his excavation of a number of sites in the northern Golan. Moshe is well known for his work ethic and meticulous scholarship. He published all of his own excavations and surveys as well as excavations and surveys conducted by others. Among his publications are that of the large survey of the Golan carried out during the 1990s (easily accessed via the IAA Archaeological Survey website: https://www.antiquities.org.il/survey/new/default_en.aspx), Dan Urman's surveys in the Golan, *Paneas IV: the Aqueduct and the Northern Suburbs*, *The Land of the Ituraeans* (Hebrew), *The al-Ṣubayba Fortress, Towers 9 and 11*, and numerous other studies and excavations. One of his most important contributions is his translation of Schumacher's book *The Jaulân* into Hebrew, a book that serves as a starting point for any archaeological activity in the Golan. Moshe works with a modest and quiet demeanor and he has always been willing to help and mentor both young and veteran archaeologists.

Yigal Ben Ephraim

Yigal was born in 1940 in Kibbutz Shamir at the foothills of the Golan, where he lives to this day. He participated in several archaeological projects in different parts of the country. Together with Shimon Dar he surveyed and excavated sites across Mt. Carmel and Mt. Hermon. His biggest project, however, was in the Golan, where he headed the team that surveyed the central Golan in the 1990s. He later organized the data gathered by the team that surveyed the southern Golan. The team's knowledge and well trained eyes detected inscriptions, tombstones, and sites from prehistory to the Ottoman period — hundreds of previously undocumented sites. The results of the survey formed the basis of Yigal's MA thesis (2003) titled *The Borders of the Provinces of Palestine and Phoenicia and the Division of the Golan Between Them*. Every visit to his house reveals new information that is carefully organized in folders in his study. The vast amount of survey data he has accrued is published on the IAA Archaeological Survey website (https://www.antiquities.org.il/survey/new/default_en.aspx).

Shuqri 'Arraf

Shuqri 'Arraf, was born in the village of Mi'ilya in the Western Galilee in 1931. He graduated from the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University and wrote his PhD (1984) on the role of the religious judges in the Mamluk State in Egypt and Syria during the Bahri period, 1250–1384. He later lectured at the Arab Academic College for Education in Haifa and The Oranim College of Education, as well as filling a series of educational and administrative positions. Shukri is one of the leading researchers on the history of the rural Palestinian Arab population in Israel, their material culture, architectural traditions, land regime, town-village relations, livelihood and economy, holy places, plant types, and more. He has published more than forty books and articles, and heads the Center for Rural Research in the village of Mi'ilya. Among his most important books are *The Palestinian Arab Village*, *The Origins of Palestinian Economy*, *The Bedouin Tribes in the Galilee*, and *Christianity in the Holy Land*.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Kate Raphael

It is a late afternoon in early April (2024). I have just returned from a walk to Na'arān, a ruined village perched on a low basalt knoll. This was where we conducted our first excavation; it is also a 15 minute walk from my house. The huge fig trees surrounding the spring and a small pool are beginning to bud. A large flock of storks has settled among the eucalyptus trees; it will spend the night here.

The Golan has, so far, escaped the massive wave of development that has transformed large parts of central and southern Israel. The terrain surrounding Na'arān and Farj, the two sites we excavated, is probably fairly similar to what it was in the medieval period. The small grove of eucalyptus trees and the four cement houses at Na'arān are the only modern additions.

There are hundreds of similar sites across the Golan: villages with houses constructed from the local basalt stones, some still standing to their full height. Grapevines and olive, pomegranate, fig and almond trees can still be seen surrounding the villages and next to the houses. These villages were founded in the Roman or Byzantine periods and were occupied up until the end of the Byzantine period and in some cases well into

the 7th–8th centuries. Most villages were resettled by the Mamluk period and abandoned once again in the late Mamluk–early Ottoman period. Many were reestablished in the late Ottoman period and remained settled until 1967.

Na'arān and Farj are well known; a popular hiking trail crosses Farj and one of the best local wineries is based at the foot of Na'arān. The sites have been surveyed since the 19th century, but never excavated. Although a number of similar ruins were partially excavated, the emphasis was often on the classical periods and central public buildings (synagogues, churches and one temple), with only cursory examination of their medieval finds. The current study focuses on the rural settlements of the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods (c. 1400–1700).

This project was in the making for quite a while before we developed a clear research question and wrote our proposal for the Israel Science Foundation (ISF).¹ It began with Mechael Osband's excavation at Majduliyya in 2017.² The site revealed remains of a Mamluk dwelling with two kitchen *tabun* ovens. Mamluk pottery dominated our finds in the first two days. By the fourth day, the medieval glazed

1 The project was funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant number 255/21), received by Mustafa Abbasi and Kate Raphael from the Tel Hai Academic College, Israel.

2 The excavations at Majduliyya, located next to Moshav Natur, were conducted by Dr. Mechael Osband of the Kinneret Academic College, Israel.

wares had vanished and almost 100% of the sherds were Roman. The quantity of Roman pottery was substantially larger than what the Mamluk level had yielded. One was left with the odd feeling that our Mamluk residents had occupied their house for a very short time. The living surface was tangible, but it was very thin. During our second season at Majduliyya a mother who volunteered on the dig with her son, was excited and surprised, holding in the palm of her hand a late Mamluk gold coin that she found next to one of the *tabun* ovens. The coin seemed out of place — not what one expects to find in a Mamluk hamlet, well off the beaten track. It was this somewhat peculiar picture that triggered the current study, focused on the Mamluk rural villages in the Golan.

The excavations at Naʿarān and Farj were an unusual experience, mainly because the preservation is remarkable; some of the basalt houses are still roofed. The architectural constraints imposed by the raw materials available resulted in one method of construction being employed for almost 1500 years. The community of every period built its houses in an almost identical manner.

At Naʿarān, in some areas, the excavation went by the book; evidence was found for all the dominant periods (Late Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, Ottoman and Modern 20th century). In other areas there were single important finds that were isolated or separated from their era, objects with no archaeological context. Our best example is from Farj: while excavating a layer of collapse in the courtyard of a domestic complex, Eran Meir found a smooth

basalt block inscribed with an Arabic prayer for forgiveness dated to the Umayyad period (Mid 8th century CE).³ Nothing else in the area dated to this period. Although it is difficult to distinguish between Mamluk and Ayyubid glazed pottery, the date of the pottery at Naʿarān was confirmed by the late Mamluk coins found with it.

The Ayyubid period was largely absent in both sites. We would have been severely mistaken to assume, however, that the Golan was empty during Saladin's reign and after his death, when the Ayyubids ruled as a loose family confederation from 1174 to 1250. A waqf document from 1237 attests to the existence of Naʿarān, and yet none of our coins dated to this period.⁴ More than archaeology, the key to understanding the region in the period under discussion rests with the written sources, which had never been incorporated in previous studies. Most of the *waqfiyāt* documents are held in Damascus — close, but out of our reach.

The conclusion that the Golan had flourished significantly yet briefly, in the Mamluk period, was first submitted and later published by Yigal Ben Ephraim and Moshe Hartal (of the Israel Antiquities Authority, hereafter the IAA) who headed the archaeological survey team in the 1990s.⁵ Our own proposal and research began with Hartal and Ben Ephraim's conclusions. It is important to emphasize here that the IAA survey covered all periods; it did not focus on the medieval periods.

Adnan Bakhit's work on the Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th century included the Golan. Bakhit was the first to examine and published data

³ See Chapter 12 by Ami Schrager.

⁴ I would like thank Dr. Roy Marom of Tel-Aviv University for sending us the 1237 waqf document. It was first published by Khalaf, T. *Wathā'iq 'Uthmāniyah Ḥawl al-Jawlān: Awqāf, awāmir, sālnāmāt* (Damascus, 2006), 9.

⁵ Hartal, M. Archaeological Survey as a Source for the History of the Golan. *Qadmoniot* 148 (2014), 80–89; Hartal, M. Introduction to the Golan IAA Survey, The Mamluk Period: section 4.17. In the IAA Archaeological Survey of the Golan, אתר, הסקר הארכיאולוגי של ישראל (antiquities.org.il). Published in 2012. Hebrew.

on this region, from the Ottoman tax registers. To date, Taisir Khalaf is the only historian who focused on the rural Golan. Khalaf, an independent Syrian scholar, was born in the Golan and dedicated most of his research to this region.⁶ His historical survey and studies are incorporated throughout this monograph.

Bethany Walker, who worked in Jordan, was one of the first to explore the nature of the transition between the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. In addition to her field work, her research included the analysis of contemporaneous written sources. Walker's work is often referred to in this study; we also applied some of her team's methods. Walker concluded that each region in Transjordan responded in a slightly different manner; some villages and towns grew, others shrank and some were abandoned. Northern Jordan, the area that surrounds Irbid, fared better than the southern regions. When examining the data and the bigger picture, she saw no evidence of demographic rural decline.⁷

Before starting the project in the Golan, Mustafa Abbasi and I conducted a short study on the Mamluk–early Ottoman period rural settlements in the Galilee. Our conclusion was that the number of villages in the Galilee remained roughly the same during the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule, while its economy gradually changed and grew.⁸

The Galilee is our home turf; Mustafa's family comes from Safed and lives in Jish. His publications

focus on the Galilee in the late Ottoman and early 20th century. I grew up in Kfar Hittim. In his spare time, Mustafa cultivates a small olive grove and produces his own olive oil. Many of our meetings start with an update on this olive grove. We discuss the yields, irrigation, the impact of the *sharav* (hot winds), pruning etc., and he proudly shows cuts and bruises on his hands that few professors can boast of.

Back to the Golan. According to Hartal and Ben Ephraim the Mamluk villages were eventually abandoned; many were resettled in the late Ottoman period. Although the survey was thorough and a detailed publication followed, the scale of the change and the date and reasons behind the abandonment could not be deduced from the survey finds.⁹ When we started this project what we knew of the Mamluk and early Ottoman Golan was based almost solely on the IAA archaeological survey, a handful of IAA salvage excavations, the IAA excavations of the Ayyubid and Mamluk al-Subayba fortress, the large IAA excavations at Banias (which included the medieval periods), and a very short preliminary publication of Qasrin.¹⁰ We were seeking data — hard evidence that would explain why the Mamluk boom in the Golan was short lived. Was the picture we revealed at Majduliyya representative of all the villages in the region? We wanted to know the date and the reasons for the Golan's abandonment. We did not know how extreme fluctuations in settlement pattern were.

6 Bakhit, M.A. *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982). Khalaf, T. *Wathā'iq 'Uthmāniyah ḥawl al-Jawlān*; Khalaf, T. *al-Marji' fi al-Jawlān* (Damascus, 2007).

7 Walker, B.J. The Phenomenon of the “Disappearing” Villages of Late Medieval Jordan, as Reflected in Archaeological and Economic Sources. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 60 (2011b), 162–163, 167.

8 Raphael, K. and Abbasi, K. The Galilee Villages during the Mamluk and Early Ottoman Periods (1260–1746): A Smooth Transition or a Full-Scale Crisis? *Cathedra* 174 (2022), 39–62.

9 Hartal, General Introduction, section 9.10.6

10 Hartal, M. *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 11 and 9*. IAA Reports 11 (Jerusalem, 2001); Tzaferis, V. and Israeli, S. (eds.) *Paneas I: The Roman and Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H*. IAA Reports 37 (Jerusalem, 2008); Ma'oz, Z.U. and Killebrew, A.E. Ancient Qasrin: Synagogue and Village. *Biblical Archaeologist* 51 (1988), 5–19.

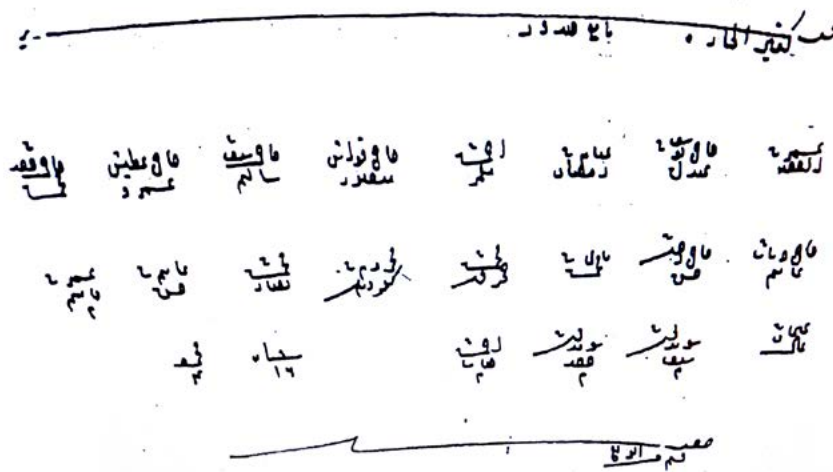


Figure 1.1. A section from the 1565 Ottoman tax register. The names of the village and the district are at the top right hand side. Below are the village's family names. The last two markings on the left record the number of families and bachelors.

Although the archaeological excavations and previous surveys played an important role in our proposal and research, the project truly advanced when the contemporary Arabic and Turkish medieval sources were studied and analyzed by Mustafa Abbasi, Yoav Yoskovich, and me. Yoav mapped the data derived from the 16th century Ottoman tax registers.

The 16th century Ottoman Tax books (*defters*) are kept in the central Turkish archives in Istanbul. The *defters* have been studied for over 60 years by scholars in Turkey, the Balkans and the Levant. They have yielded a vast amount of information regarding the nature of rural, urban and nomadic

life in the Ottoman Empire. They have also triggered fierce and heated academic arguments.¹¹

In September 2022, Mustafa traveled to Istanbul to find the 16th century tax registers (*Mufassal Tahrir Defteri*) of the Golan. Arabic is Mustafa's mother tongue and he had worked with Turkish manuscripts before. I hereby confess that I do not know Turkish at all and had never dealt with handwritten manuscripts in any language. While many archaeologists are familiar with the well-known printed form of the 1596 tax register, analyzed and published by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah,¹² manuscripts in the original handwriting are a different matter. The 1565 Ottoman tax forms were written by a clerk who visited the villages we were

11 Özel, O. Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The "Demographic Crisis" Reconsidered. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36/2 (2004), 183–205; Erder, L. and Faroqhi, S. Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550–1620. *Middle Eastern Studies* 15/3 (1979), 322–345; Şahin, K. The Ottoman Empire in the Long Sixteenth Century. *Renaissance Quarterly* 70/1 (2017), 220–234; Kotzageorgis, P. Ottoman Tax Registers and Geo-history. *Historico-geographica* 16/17 (2018), 1–14; Coşgel, M.M. Ottoman Tax Registers (Tahrir Defterleri). *Historical Methods* 37/2 (2004), 87–100.

12 Hütteroth, W.D. and Abdulfattah, K. *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977).

researching. His handwriting, the Ottoman clerical coded script called *siyākāt*,¹³ was neat; the tax registers include village and district names, the names of family households, the number of bachelors living in them, the types of agricultural crops and yields, the religious affiliations of the community, and more (Fig. 1.1).

Most of the work was carried out by Mustafa; it was a time-consuming assignment that required a great deal of patience. Our clerk's handwriting was at times impossible to read. One stares at the text on the screen, enlarging the document to its optimal size, and squints one's eyes for hours. Extracting data from the tax registers is a bit like opening Pandora's Box; the facts and figures are overwhelming.¹⁴ Combining the information from the archaeological surveys and excavations, and the tax registers is similar to working on a large puzzle with hundreds of pieces, some missing, and large areas of blue sea or sky. The data does not always tally, and the pieces do not always fit.

The next step was identifying the location and coordinates of each village. We managed to identify most of the villages. The ones we couldn't identify appear to have vanished from the maps, their names changed or simply forgotten. Yoav Yoskovich, Eran Meir, Mustafa and I pored over old and more recent regional maps produced by various cartographers since the 19th century (Tel Hai Academic College has one of the best collections of maps of Israel). Eran's acquaintance with the Golan is similar to Mustafa's knowledge of the Galilee; he was born and still lives in the Golan. Like Mustafa, after his studies he returned to his home base, he knows every spring, creek and every archaeological site.

The village names in the Golan were studied by Ze'ev Vilnay.¹⁵ The vast majority of the names we encountered were in colloquial Arabic. Some of the villages were named after flora, landscape features, local industries (such as charcoal and pottery production), fauna, and insects. Here are a few examples:

قصرين Qasrin = two fortresses; 'Aliqa عليقا = mulberry; Kafr Alma كفر الماء = the village of water

The village names are perhaps the most significant indication regarding the magnitude of settlement under medieval Muslim rule; a large percentage of the names originate in Arabic. The first, and only, list of names is dated to the 16th century. The Mamluk period village names are rarely mentioned in the Arabic sources.

It was only when the *defter* data was organized into Excel sheets, that we realized that the number of villages in the Golan during the 16th century took a nosedive. Even if some of the data was missing, or our regional clerk did a poor job, or we as a team made mistakes in deciphering village names or finding their exact locations, the number of villages was small in relation to the number of Mamluk sites that were mapped according to the IAA survey. While the decline may have begun at the end of the Mamluk period, as Hartal has suggested, we now had more accurate dates and a better idea of the scale of the demographics and settlement patterns.

Pinpointing the reasons or the triggers that lead to these changes was difficult. We found no evidence of political, military or environmental catastrophes; none of the written sources mentioned hordes of people leaving the Golan, not even when Tamerlane's forces arrived in Syria in 1401. Was the reduction in

13 Rhode, H. *The Administration and Population of the Sançak of Safad in the Sixteenth Century* (Ph D. diss. Columbia University (New York, 1979), 10–11.

14 We also used the 1535 and 1596 *defters*, which exist as edited and printed publications. See this volume, Chapter 2.

15 Vilnay, Z. *Golan ve-Hermon* (Jerusalem, 1970), 17–40.

site numbers due simply to internal migration within the Golan? The region's population included village communities that lived alongside Bedouin tribes. One has the impression that the Bedouin population was larger than that of the village population, but there was seldom enough data to support this impression. Eventually Roy Marom suggested that the two populations may have shifted and changed their way of life from sedentary to semi-nomadic and vice versa;¹⁶ an interesting idea, but one that was almost impossible to prove.

The Golan's recovery from its 16th century decline was slow. The 17th to mid-19th centuries is a period that has been largely ignored by scholars. Historians skipped over almost 200 years and picked up the thread again in the 19th century with the arrival of the Circassian immigrants and European travelers and explorers. Mustafa decided to tackle this "black hole" and combined the accounts of European travelers and those of contemporary Syrian chroniclers. The Golan's political and administrative organization had changed beyond recognition. While up until the end of the 16th century

the Golan looked east to Damascus, in the late 17th century it looked west to the Mediterranean coast. This well-defined geographical unit was divided and controlled by the coastal towns of Beirut, Sidon and Acre. The Ottoman's control of the Mediterranean Sea, their strong naval power and the recovery of the ports along the Levantine coast may well have contributed to this change. Although we delve into the 20th century and the finds from this period are documented in the archaeological report, our historical research ends in the mid-19th century.

We hoped we would have more answers to the many questions we raised in our initial proposal. But the truth is that we only have a number of assumptions; we have no explanation as to what triggered this crisis — no convincing arguments that are based on sound and solid facts. We hope this project has added some information and that future generations will be able to continue this research and to refute or confirm some of the data presented in this monograph.

16 We would like to thank Dr. Roy Marom from Tel Aviv University for his suggestion and advice regarding the Ottoman sources and modern studies.

CHAPTER 2

THE GOLAN IN THE MAMLUK (1260–1517) AND EARLY OTTOMAN (1517–1600) PERIODS

Kate Raphael, Mustafa Abbasi and Yoav Yoskovich

The archaeological survey conducted by Moshe Hartal and Yigal Ben Ephraim in the years 1993–2001 identified 191 Mamluk sites in the Golan, resulting in a detailed settlement map (Fig. 2.1 and Table 2.1).¹ Following their survey, Hartal and Ben Ephraim concluded that the Mamluk period was the third most densely settled period in the Golan Heights, after the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.² A re-examination of the survey pottery by Michael Osband and Chaim Ben David, showed the number of Mamluk sites was just over 300!³

The archaeological data is supported by one contemporary Mamluk written source, Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (1410–1468), who was born and educated in Jerusalem. He served the sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 1422–38) in Egypt, and as the sultan's deputy (*nā'ib*) in

Karak, Malaṭiyya, and Jerusalem. He later led pilgrim caravans for three consecutive years. Although he retired from the Mamluk administration in 1453, he continued to advise the sultans and joined several diplomatic missions.⁴ Due to his active service in the provinces of Syria, he must have been acquainted with the geography and the administrative layout of the region under discussion. According to al-Ẓāhirī, by the first half of the 15th century there were 360 villages in the Golan; 160 under the jurisdiction of Na'arān and 200 villages under the jurisdiction of the town of Banias.⁵ Regrettably, he does not provide us with a list of village names.

The investment in and construction of roads and bridges connecting Cairo and Damascus,⁶ the two capitals of the Mamluk sultanate, and Damascus

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- 1 Hartal, M. and Ben Ephraim, Y. Mamluk map of the Golan (map 18), published only at the IAA Survey website. אתר הסקר הארכיאולוגי של ישראל (antiquities.org.il) 2012.
 - 2 Hartal, M. Archaeological Survey as a Source for the History of the Golan. *Qadmoniot* 148 (2014), 80–89; Hartal, M. and Ben Ephraim, Y. The IAA Archaeological Survey of Israel, Givat Orcha map 36/3 <http://survey.antiquities.org.il/#/MapSurvey/28> 2012. Hartal and Ben Ephraim found, in fact, just over 300 Mamluk sites but only circa 50% were mapped and published.
 - 3 Ben-David, Ch. and Osband, M. Mamluk-Period Settlement in the a'Amal (Regions) of Banyas, es-Saara and Nawa. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 139 (2023), 113–138. The pottery from the sites not published by Hartal and Ben Ephraim was reexamined by Ben David and Osband, but they too did not publish the names of the sites whose pottery was reexamined.
 - 4 Loiseau, J. Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī. In Fleet, K., Krämer, G., Matringe, D., Nawas, J. and Everett Rowson, E. (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32237; Ghent University Mamluk Prosopography Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Shaykhī | Mamluk Prosopography (ugent.be).
 - 5 Al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Paris, 1894), 54. For detailed information regarding Na'arān see this volume, Chapter 5.
 - 6 Tavernari, C. From the Caravanserai to the Road: Proposal for a Preliminary Reconstruction of the Syrian Road Networks During the Middle Ages. In Matthews, R. and Curtis, J. (eds.) *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden, 2012), 718; Cytryn-Silverman, K. *The Road Inns (khāns) in Bilād al-Shām* (Oxford, 2010), 104, 106, 121, 123.

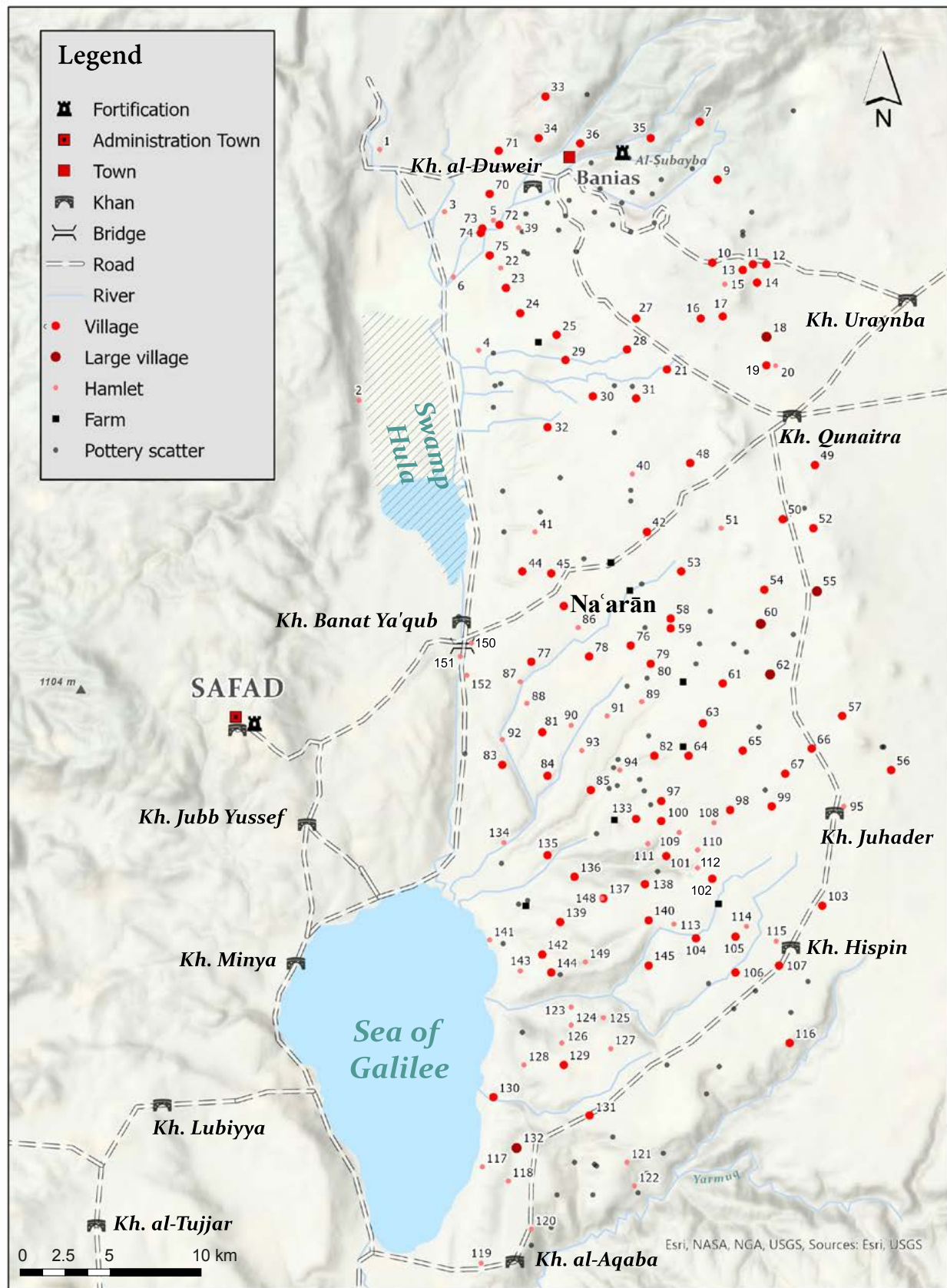


Figure 2.1. Mamluk settlement in the Golan (Map by Yoav Yoskovich, after Hartal and Ben Ephraim's survey).

Table 2.1. Site and village names for the Mamluk period map (Fig. 2.1).

ID	NAME	ID	NAME	ID	NAME	ID	NAME
1	Abil al-Kamih	41	Khirbet el- Fajir	78	Aḥmadiyye	116	Kafr el-Mā
2	Ein Jahula	42	Hurbat Napah; Kafer Nafakh	79	Ghadir en-Nahas	117	Khirbet Duērbān
3	Khisas	43	Ein el-‘Alaq (Pans)	80	Qaşrīn	118	‘Uyun Umm el-‘Azam (27)
4	al Muftakhira	44	Kh. Dvora; Dabura	81	‘Asāliyye	119	en-Nāseryye
5	Shauqa al-Tahta	45	Deir Sras	82	Ani‘am	120	Khirbet ‘Ayun
6	Qeitiya — East	46	Qadiriyyah (S-West) 1	83	Jarab	121	Dabūsiyya
7	Majdel Shams	47	Na‘arān	84	Khirbet Zumāimīra	122	Sā‘ed
8	Ein el-Hawarith 1	48	el-Bijjeh; Dalaweh	85	Yahūdiyye	123	Khirbet el-Hūtiyye
9	Dahar el-Baqi	49	Surman; el-‘Adnaniyye	86	ed-Dānqalle	124	Khirbet el-Mjāhiyye
10	Buq‘ata	50	Mumsiyyeh (S-West) 1	87	ed-Dura	125	‘Adeise
11	Height Spot 1090 m	51	Khirbet el-Manei‘a	88	Suweihyya	126	Khirbet Tu‘eine
12	‘Ein Umm Jiran	52	Har Qurtam (East)	89	Tell	127	Rujm Zākī
13	Khirbet Majrse	53	Sindiyan	90	el-Majāmi‘	128	Shkūm
14	‘Ein el-Ḥamra	54	Nahal Yosifon (South)	91	Quşbyyh	129	Bney Yehudah
15	Kom er-Rumman	55	Juwieza	92	Height Spot 144 m	130	Naḥal ‘En Gev
16	Khirbet el-Khazal	56	Ḥorvat Botma	93	Khirbet esh-Sheikh Ḥusayn	131	Afiq
17	‘Ein el-Ḥajal	57	Sahel esh-Shi‘af	94	et-Taiybeh	132	Kfar Ḥaruv
18	Thaljiat	58	Razaniyye	95	Tell el-Juḥadar	133	Waḥshara
19	Khirbet el-Makhfi	59	Tell Razaniyye (South)	96	Rasem Balut (East)	134	el-Kashshe
20	Khirbet el-Makhfi	60	er-Ramthaniyye	97	Shabbe	135	Ḥorvat Batra
21	Ḥurvat Furan	61	el-Mishta	98	Najil	136	Ḥorvat Hoḥ
22	Esh-Sheikh Ghanam	62	Khushniyye	99	Manşura	137	Ḥorvat Zeite
23	Khirbet Ein Zagha	63	Spot Height 594 m	100	Umm Khashabe	138	Juranaya
24	Givat Sfār Khirbet Saman	64	en-Nikhele	101	Deir Qeruh	139	Ḥorvat Kanaf
25	Khirbet el-Beida	65	Tell Tannūriyye	102	Mazra‘at Qunetra	140	el-Quşayyibe
26	Khirbet el-Farish	66	Ḥorvat Farj	103	er-Razaniyye	141	Ḥof Kinar
27	Sukeik	67	Umm ad-Dananir	104	Khirbet Majdülyā	142	Shuqayyif
28	Summaqa	68	HaMapalim Junction (East)	105	Bjūriyye	143	Khirbet es-Seybi
29	Za‘arta	69	en-Nikhele (North)	106	eş-Şufeira	144	Lawiyye
30	Qanabba	70	Horvat Ayya; Khirbet ed-Da‘a	107	Khisfin	145	Umm el-Qanatir
31	Juweize	71	Harbat Nehela; Nukheile	108	Bazelet reservoir (NEast)	146	Kipat Nesharim (North)
32	Rawiyeh	72	Nebi Huda (West)	109	Deir Qeruh (East)	147	Male Gamla Junction (South East)
33	Mazra‘at Qafua	73	Tahunat el-Tabkha	110	Naḥal Bazelet (West)	148	Uyūn Ḥamūd
34	Upper Mugher Shab‘a	74	El-Mansura	111	Deir Qeruh (East)	149	eş-Şibāhiyya
35	Jubata ez-Zeit (Neve Ativ)	75	El-Madhil	112	Dalyot Waterfall (West)	150	‘Kefar Ya‘aqov’
36	Jabel Siri Enclosure	76	Dabyyeh	113	Height Spot 406 m	151	Mezad ‘Ateret
37	Nahal Hazor	77	Sanāber	114	Rasem el-Kabesh (West)	152	‘Almīn
38	Khirbet el-Hawarith			115	Height Spot 456 m		
39	Hurvat ‘Omrit						
40	Kirab el-Mughayyir						

and Safed, the administrative center of northern Palestine, played an important role in the development of the Golan during the Mamluk period. To this one must add the reconstruction of the large fortress at al-Subayba by the sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277), discussed in more detail below. The constant use of this route by the Mamluk administration, the army, travelers and merchants, led to an almost constant presence of Mamluk officials in the region. As in other parts of the sultanate, four caravansaries were established along the *barīd* route (Mamluk pony express) that crossed the Golan, indicating that international trade between Damascus and the ports along the Mediterranean coast flourished. The archaeological evidence and our

one contemporary historical source suggest that the Golan thrived during the Mamluk period.

While Hartal and Ben Ephraim were certain the prosperity of the Golan during the Mamluk period was short lived, our initial expectations were to find hard evidence of a long continuous period of prosperity. When we first wrote our research proposal, our assumption was that because the Golan was wedged between Damascus and Safed, two prominent urban centers, and due to the period of calm that was maintained by a strong central government, a large, well-manned fortress and an important highway that crossed the region, the village population throughout the Golan was bound to grow and prosper. The picture, as always, was considerably more complex.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The unification of Syria and Egypt and the territorial continuity extending from the Nile to the Euphrates was a new configuration; it lasted throughout the Mamluk period (1260–1517).⁷ Although Syria could not withstand the Mongol threat on its own,⁸ the unification of Cairo and Damascus was not an obvious or natural political creation. It was an entity that required the sultan's constant supervision. Syria became a province of the sultanate; according to Ayalon it was considerably inferior to that of Egypt.⁹

Syria would never be able to match the economic wealth that secured the Mamluk regime in Cairo.

The geopolitical changes altered the status of the Golan from a frontier area between the Ayyubid Sultanate and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem to a centrally-located, peaceful region. The Mamluk frontier shifted east to the bank of the Euphrates River.¹⁰ The Golan was thus no longer on the fringe of two rival entities.¹¹ The raids and skirmishes carried out by Ayyubid and Frankish

7 Petry, C. F. *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994), 35.

8 Antrim, Z. Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād's *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah*. *Mamluk Studies Review* XI/1 (2007), 2–3; Ayalon, D. Egypt as a Dominant Factor in Syria and Palestine during the Islamic Period. In Cohen, A. and Baer, G. (eds.) *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868–1948)* (New York and Jerusalem, 1984), 33–37; Ayalon, D. The End of the Mamlūk Sultanate: (Why did the Ottomans Spare the Mamlūks of Egypt and Wipe out the Mamlūks of Syria?) *Studia Islamica* 65 (1987), 132.

9 Ayalon, D. Egypt as a dominant factor, 17–47.

10 Amitai-Preiss, R. *Mongols and Mamluks, The Mamluk Ilkhanid War 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 2004), 202–207; Irwin, R. *The Middle East in the Middle Ages, The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986).

11 Benvenisti, M. *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), 147–152; Ellenblum, R. *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), 146–164.

forces throughout the 12th century,¹² that may have slowed or halted regional growth and development, belonged to the past.

A significant turning point in our understanding of the Golan came with the correction of a long-standing error regarding the history of al-Ṣubayba fortress (Qalʿat Namrūd), situated at the foot of Mt. Hermon. It was founded by the Ayyubids; besieged and destroyed by the Mongols (1260) and rebuilt on a grand and lavish scale by the Mamluks.¹³ In 1260, al-Ṣubayba, Banias, and the region's villages were granted by Sultan Baybars to Badr al-Dīn Bilik al-Khaznadār, the sultan's viceroy. It was a valuable gift if Banias had as many as 200 villages surrounding it, and if the region prospered.

It is important to emphasize here that Bilik al-Khaznadār may have never set foot in al-Ṣubayba or in the Golan. Mamluk amirs who received land (*iqṭāʿ*) did not reside on their estates.¹⁴ They were an urban military elite who seldom mixed with the local population. They neither had agricultural knowledge, nor a true interest in the management of their lands. Their only concern was with the revenues from their estates.¹⁵ Because estates were returned to the sultan after an officer's death

(the land could not be inherited by their free-born Muslim sons), it seems they may have been reluctant to invest in agricultural infrastructure.

Returning to the reconstruction of the fortress, the local population was supposedly the first to benefit from this development: the inhabitants' lives, property, fields and herds were now protected by a large and able garrison. Bader al-Din Bektut, the governor of the fortress, Banias and the surrounding region, was carefully chosen from Bilik's personal Mamluks. During the reign of al-Ashraf Khalil b. Qalawun (r. 1290–1293), the fortress and its surroundings were given, for the second and last time, to the vice-sultan Bydara al-Ashrafi, who was the sultan's favorite Mamluk. In later years the governor of the fortress was nominated directly by the sultan.¹⁶

The importance of the fortress went beyond its immediate rural surroundings. This is clearly displayed in 1389 when its garrison was called to join sultan Barquq's (d. 1399) army to suppress the revolt in Damascus.¹⁷ Later the viceroy of Damascus appointed the son of the master of al-Subayba as commander of the *barīd*.¹⁸ In the 15th century, being sent to

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- 12 Barber, M. Frontier Warfare in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Campaign of Jacob's Ford, 1178–79. In France, J. and Zajac, W.G. (eds.) *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Singapore and Sydney, 1989), 9–22; Morton, N. *The Crusader States and their Neighbours* (Oxford, 2020), 20.
 - 13 Ellenblum, R. Who Built Qalʿat al-Ṣubayba?. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 103–112; Deschamps, P. *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte II: La défense du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939); Hartal, M. *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 11 and 9*. IAA Reports 11 (Jerusalem, 2001); Amitai, R. An Arabic Inscription at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Namrūd) from the Reign of Sultan Baybars. In Hartal, M. *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 11 and 9*. IAA Reports 11 (Jerusalem, 2001), 109–123; Raphael, K. *Muslim Fortresses in the Levant, Between Crusaders and Mongols* (London, 2001).
 - 14 Mamluk officers received an *iqṭāʿ* from the sultan and collected the revenues which were used for the upkeep of their family and their own Mamluks. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 248.
 - 15 Borsch, S. J. *The Black Death in Egypt and England* (Austin, Texas, 2005), 27.
 - 16 The inscription commemorating this was found during the excavations of Moshe Hartal, *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress*, 54; Amitai, An Arabic Inscription, 114–115, 117. Regarding the impact of fortresses on village populations, see Barbé, H. *Le château de Safed et son territoire à l'époque des Croisades*. Ph.D. diss. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 2010).
 - 17 Ibn Ṣaṣrā, Muhammad b. Muhammad, *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397*. W. M. Brinner (ed. and trans.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), 52.
 - 18 Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle*, 180.

al-Ṣubayba was, in some cases, a form of punishment, and the fortress seems to have served as a prison.¹⁹

The Turkmen tribes, who had settled in the region in the 12th century, might have further reinforced the Mamluk garrison.²⁰ The construction of residential dwellings along the defense walls and the citadel of Banias — seen by Tzaferis as a sign of neglect — may indicate defenses were no longer required.²¹ While the Mamluk force stationed in the Golan could maintain law and order among nomads and ameliorate local feuding in the villages, they could not fight a full-scale army. The conquest and destruction of Damascus by the Mongol forces headed by Tamerlane (d. 1405) in 1400/1401 was the most dominant military event of the 15th century. Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 1470), describes the atrocities carried out in Damascus. The city was sacked, plundered, many were murdered and taken into captivity. The Mamluk army that came to the

city's aid was defeated at Qatana (c. 10 km southwest of Damascus and c. 40 km east of Banias) on the fringe of the Ḥawrān. The defeated Mamluk forces fled west via the Golan and Safed, and then returned to Cairo. The invasion went beyond Damascus.²² Ibn Qadi Suhba (d. 1448) describes a Mongol raid across the Ḥawrān, where fodder was collected for the Mongol horses. The Mongol force then continued to the Suwad (سواد) in the southern Golan.²³ According to Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) the Mongols raided the Hula and the Ḥawrān and according to Ahmed Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 1450), they occupied it.²⁴ There are no grueling descriptions of torched villages or the massacre of the local population. None of the excavations to date have revealed a layer of destruction that dates to the early 15th century. If the village population left and returned, or deserted the area for good, there is no archaeological or written evidence of such.

THE BUBONIC PLAGUE

In 1346 the Middle East was struck by one of the most horrendous pandemics, the bubonic plague. The destruction it caused in Damascus and the Ḥawrān is recorded in detail. It returned and struck several times (1362–1364, 1372–1373, 1375–1376,

and 1411). The current estimates are that between a third to a half of the population in the Middle East perished.²⁵ All our knowledge about the plague in the Middle East derives from historical sources. At Banias, the Golan's administrative town,

19 Amitai, An Arabic Inscription, 117.

20 Ayalon, D. The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom. *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951), 89–104; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 69; Nobutaka, N. The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidiyah*. *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 55–81.

21 Tzaferis, V. The Site: Stratigraphy and Architectural Remains. In Tzaferis, V. and Israeli, S. (eds.) *Paneas I: The Roman and Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H*. IAA Reports 37 (Jerusalem, 2008), 49.

22 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū 'l-Maḥāsin. *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Muluk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* 12 (Cairo, 1938–1972), 234–235.

23 Fischel, W.J. A New Latin Source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus (1400/1401). *Oriens* 9/2 (1956), 202–203; Ibn Qadi Suhba. *Tarih Ibn Qadi Suhba* 4 (Damascus, 1997), 180.

24 Fischel, W. J. *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane, their Historic Meeting in Damascus 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.)*, with a translation into English and a commentary by W. J. Fischel (Berkeley, California, 1952), 57; Ahmed Ibn 'Arabshāh. *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir*. Sanders, J.H. (trans.) (London, 1944), 137.

25 Dols, M. W. *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); Dols, M. W. The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East 1347–1894. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 222 (1979), 162–189; Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England*, 8–9, 24.

archaeologists found signs of a gradual decline in the 15th century. One explanation was the reoccurrence of the plague.²⁶ Research in England has showed that mortality rates in the villages were just as high as in the urban centers. The excavation of a mass grave at Thornton Abbey in North Lincolnshire “...demonstrate[s] that isolated rural communities met similar, if not greater, challenges in the face of such catastrophic mortality.”²⁷ Settlement dynamics and the balance between the sedentary and nomadic communities may have been influenced. One of our main research questions in this project was the plague’s impact on the Golan, if it had an impact at all. Did the small size of villages

characterize the entire Mamluk period, or was this the outcome of a crisis caused by the plague and a sharp fall in population (discussed further below). Finding evidence of the rats that carried the disease (transmitted to humans by fleas the rats carried) was one of our goals.

To date, no one has been successful in finding archaeological or pathological evidence of the plague in the Middle East, and neither were we. We sampled Mamluk levels in domestic settings in five different sites: Yodfat in the Galilee, Na‘arān, Farj, Majdulya and Nafah in the Golan.²⁸ Although skeletal remains of rodents were found, none were identified as rats.²⁹

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Geologically, the Golan is not an independent physical-geographical region, but part of a large basaltic area that includes northern Jordan, southern Syria and well beyond, into the Syrian desert. Its climate, hydrographic and flora characteristics, however, make it a separate and well-defined unit.³⁰ The Golan (Arabic: *Jawlān*) encompasses the area from Mount Hermon in the north to the Yarmuk River in the south. The Jordan River (Arabic: *Sha‘ara*) marks its western border. Its less defined

eastern boundary lies c. 20 km east of its row of volcanoes.

Most scholars divide the Golan into three distinct geographical areas. The northern Golan is dominated by a shallow and relatively poor layer of soil. It has high rainfall and once had large areas covered in forest. The central Golan stretches across a moderate east-west slope, the quality of the soil and the area that can be cultivated is greater than

26 Tzaferis, V. and Avner, R. Excavations at Banyas. *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990), 110–114.

27 Willmott, H., Townend, P., Mahoney-Swales, D., Poinar, H., Eaton, K. and Klunk, J. A Black Death Mass Grave at Thornton Abbey: the Discovery and Examination of a 14th Century Rural Catastrophe. *Antiquity* 94/373 (2020), 180.

28 Nafah was excavated by the IAA team of Yardena Alexander and Dina Avshlom-Gorani in August–September 2020 (License A8828). Majdulya was excavated by Dr. Mechael Osband, from Kinneret Academic College, Israel. Farj and Na‘arān were excavated by Kate Raphael and Eran Meir [see Chapters 5 and 6 this volume]. The scale of earth that was wet sifted ~90 liters of sediments were sieved from Yodfat., ~150 liters from Majdulya, and ~180 from Nafah. Similar amounts were taken from Farj and Na‘arān.

29 Prof. Miriam Belmaker of the University of Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA, supervised the wet sifting and analyzed the finds.

30 Urman, D. *The Golan in the Roman and Byzantine Periods: Topography, Settlements, Economy*. PhD diss. New York University. (New York, 1979), 74–83; Mor, D. *The Golan — Land of Volcanoes* (Jerusalem, 1994), 107.

the north, but considerably smaller than the plains of the southern Golan, which are deep and fertile.³¹

Although it is far from the coast, its climate still falls under the definition of a Mediterranean climate.³² While droughts are a common phenomenon in Mediterranean regions, the number of droughts recorded in the Golan during the Mamluk period (1263,³³ 1294/5–1297/8,³⁴ 1304,³⁵ 1319,³⁶ 1323,³⁷ 1397,³⁸ and 1402³⁹) was significantly lower than in the 12th century.⁴⁰ This tallies with the Dead Sea paleo-climate research that shows a rise in precipitation in the 14th century.⁴¹ Favorable climatic conditions may well have led to the establishment of a firm and stable sedentary farming community alongside a prominent nomadic population.

Whereas Egypt was governed from Cairo, Bilād al-Shām (Greater Syria)—which included the territory currently in the modern states of Israel, the Palestine authority, Jordan and Lebanon — was divided into seven provinces (Arabic: *mamlaka*,

plural *mamalik*): Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, Hama, Safed, Gaza and Kerak. Each town had its own governor who was nominated by and subordinate to the sultan in Cairo.⁴²

In 1300, according to Dimashqi (d. 1327) the *mamlaka* of Damascus was divided into 90 sub-regions (*iqlim*), among them Sha'ara, Jaydūr, Nuwa, Jawlān and Hula located in the Golan; Banias was the region's only urban center.⁴³ There is no clear-cut information, however, if Banias maintained a court of law, a market or other administrative offices that characterized urban centers.

Al-'Umarī (d. 1349) gives a different division. In the mid-14th century, there were three *a'amāl* (the smallest administrative unit; singular *'amāl*): the southern Golan came under the *'amāl* Nawā (نوى) with its town that carried the same name. The *'amāl* of Banias included the northern Golan and its western slopes. Al-'Umarī, too, defines Banias as the *Jawlān*'s only town. The *'amāl* of Sha'ara was

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- 31 Meitlis, I. The Central and Southern Golan in the Iron Age. *'Al-Atar* 4–5 (1999), 13–14; Gal, Y. The Golan. In Yitzhaki, A. (ed.) *Israel Guide Hermon and Golan* (Jerusalem, 1978), 63–64. D. Urman was the only scholar who divided the region into the upper and lower Golan, see Urman, *The Golan*, 157, Fig. 9 (map of suggested division).
 - 32 Hartal, M. *Northern Golan Heights, the Archaeological Survey as a Source of Regional History* (Qazrin, 1989), 13–15; Gal, Y. The Golan, 63, 78–80; Urman, *The Golan*, 98–106.
 - 33 Ibn al-Dawādārī Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh. *Knaz al-Durar wa Jāmī al-Ghurur* 8. Roemer, H.R. (ed.) (Cairo, 1971), 95; al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* 31 (Cairo, 1992), 286.
 - 34 Ibn al-Furāt, Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, b. Muḥammad. *Tā'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt* 8. Izzedin, N. and Zurayk, C.K. (eds.) (Beirut, 1939), 20.
 - 35 Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Mumlūkiyya fī l'-Dawla al-Turkiyya*. Ḥamdān, 'A-R.S. (ed.) (Cairo, 1987), 321.
 - 36 al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Ali. *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mamulūk* 3. Ziyāda, M.M. and Āshūrm S.'A-F (eds.) (Cairo, 1934–1973), 18.
 - 37 Abu Abū'l-Fidā'. *The Memories of a Syrian Prince Abū'l-Fidā'. Sultan of Hamā 672–732 (1273–1331)*. Holt, P.M. (trans.) (Wiesbaden, 1983), 83.
 - 38 Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397*, 263.
 - 39 Ibn Qadī Suhba, *Tarih Ibn Qadi Suhba*, 4, 409.
 - 40 Raphael, S. K. *Climate and Political Climate* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 9–12.
 - 41 Enzel, Y., Bookman (Ken Tor), R., Sharon, D., Gvirtzman, H., Dayan, U., Ziv, B. and Steinc, M. Late Holocene climates of the Near East deduced from Dead Sea level variations and modern regional winter rainfall. *Quaternary Research* 60 (2003), 263–273.
 - 42 Ayalon, Egypt as a Dominant Factor in Syria, 33–34. The difference in the administrative division may have also stemmed from the geographical nature of Egypt and Syria.
 - 43 al-Dimashqi Sheikh Shams al-Din al-Ansarī, *Nokhbet ed-dahr fī adjaib-il-birr wal-bah'r* (Saint Petersburg, 1865), 107, 198–200.

comprised of the central Golan.⁴⁴ The three *a'amāl* came under the jurisdiction of Damascus. The division must have changed again in the 15th century, because, while describing a wave of mice that destroyed the crops in the Golan, Ibn Qadi Shuhba (d. 1448) refers to Jaydūr, Jawlān and Ḥawrān.⁴⁵

It is difficult to follow or explain these divisions or the reasons behind these administrative changes. The Mamluk administrative divisions do not seem

to correlate to the geophysical divisions. But the fact that a fairly small area was divided into three and sometimes into five sub-units may indicate that the Golan was densely populated, and that splitting it into smaller units made it easier to govern, collect taxes and manage the administrative system in an optimal way. It is also possible that the above changes were simply a whim of some new government clerk.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE LOCAL POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The Bedouin

In contrast to the sedentary villages, where tangible archaeological evidence is available, the Bedouin tribes are an elusive group when it comes to their material culture remains. The following analysis relies on meager accounts in contemporary Mamluk, and early Ottoman sources, ethnographic studies and research conducted in the last 50 years on the agricultural and environmental resources in the Golan. According to Rhoads Murphy who studied the nomads in the early Ottoman period "... by reason of their demographic importance, as well as of their economic and social function as herdsmen, transporters, and warriors, the state could never afford to deny their interests entirely."⁴⁶ A similar conclusion was reached

by Büssow, Franz and Leder: "...their status in society derived from a unique potential of political self-organization and a military capacity that was based on mobility no state power was able to match until the 20th century."⁴⁷ The Mamluk sultans incorporated the tribes into their auxiliary forces; the Bedouin often fought the Mongols alongside the standing Mamluk army. The tribes were also entrusted with guarding the trade and pilgrimage roads in Syria and from Syria to Mecca.

In return for their services, they received land (*iqṭā*), pasture, valuable gifts and official titles.⁴⁸ The post of the *amīr al-'Arab* (the leader of the Bedouin tribes) created by the Ayyubids became an established institution that served the interests

44 al-'Umarī. Ibn Faḍl Allāh Ṣihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Faḍl Allāh. *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. Ayman, F.S. (ed.) (Cairo, 1958), 118–119.

45 Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarih Ibn Qadi Shuhba*, 100.

46 Murphey, R. Some Features of Nomadism in the Ottoman Empire: a Survey based on Tribal Census and Judicial Appeal Documentation from Archives in Istanbul and Damascus. In Murphey, R. (ed.) *Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture, 16th–18th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2007), 5. Originally published by: Oberling, P. (ed.) *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honour of Tibor Halasi-Kun* (Cambridge, MA., 1984).

47 Büssow, J., Franz, K. and Leder, S. The Arab East and the Bedouin Component in Modern History: Emerging Perspectives on the Arid Lands as a Social Space. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, 1/2 (2015), 2.

48 Ayalon, D. The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamluk Sultanate. *Der Islam* 65 (1988), 13–37. *iqṭā* — allocation of land to Mamluk officers for the upkeep of their household. See Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 248.

of both the Mamluk and the Bedouin.⁴⁹ In times of severe food shortage, some sultans provided food for the nomadic populations.⁵⁰

In contrast to the *fallāḥīn*, the *‘urbān*’s (nomads) livelihood was based on private ownership of livestock and cooperative ownership of pasture. According to Kark and Frantzman, tribes in the Middle East “had varying traditions with regard to land rights. In general, they recognized a tribal *dīra*, a communally held territory that encompassed seasonal grazing areas, rather than individual ownership. Sometimes the *dīra* could be huge.”⁵¹ Herds were not only a source of food and income, but also a sign of status, prosperity and prestige. Most of the meat in the city markets was supplied by nomads.⁵² The tribes paid a tax on their herds (*‘idād*) and since their herds were often of considerable size, the tax owed to the sultanate must have been substantial.⁵³ According to Kellner-Heinkele “the tax and tribute they had to pay to the Mamluk sultan served not so much as a contribution to the security of the Mamluk state... but rather to demonstrate their political alliance.”⁵⁴ The

intervention of the central Mamluk government and the benefits it bestowed shuffled the hierarchy of the Syrian tribes.⁵⁵

During the first half of the 13th century the Golan was partially occupied by the al-Mirā tribe, whose vast territories stretched all the way to the Arabian Peninsula and ended close to Mecca.⁵⁶ Al-‘Umarī refers extensively to the al-Mirā tribe, which lived in the Golan and the Ḥawrān. Al-‘Aynī mentions the Turkmen tribes who fled from the Mongols in 1261, settled in the Golan and fought alongside the Mamluks.⁵⁷ The al-Faḍil tribe, which dominated the region from the city of Hama to the Euphrates River, received territories in the Golan and the Ḥawrān during the 13th century. Their arrival in the region changed the hierarchy among the tribes, and they soon gained a higher status than the local al-Mirā. By the mid-13th century, the al-Faḍil were the largest and richest group in the Golan and the Ḥawrān. Al-‘Umarī and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) describe their leader, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Īsā b. Muḥannā, who was appointed *amīr al-‘Arab* in Syria.⁵⁸ Ibn Tulūn (d.

49 Hiyari, M. The Origins and Developments of the Amirate of the Arabs. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975), 517–523. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 64–71.

50 Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh. *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir, Baybars I of Egypt*. Sadeque, S.F. (ed. and trans.) (Pakistan, 1956), 181.

51 Kark, R. and Frantzman, S. J. Empire, State and the Bedouin of the Middle East, Past and Present: A Comparative Study of Land and Settlement Policies. *Middle Eastern Studies* 48/4 (2012), 488.

52 Khazanov, A. M. *Nomads and the Outside World*, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1984), 83, 104, 123–124; Anfinset, N. *Metal, Nomads and Cultural Contacts: the Middle East and North Africa* (London, 2010), 84; Marx, E. The Political Economy of Middle Eastern and North African Pastoral Nomads. In Dawn, C. (ed.) *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa* (Leiden, 2006), 78–79.

53 Kellner-Heinkele, B. The Turkmans and Bilād aš-Šam in the Mamluk period. In Khalidi, T. (ed.) *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984), 170; on the difficulties of collecting tax from nomadic tribes see Smith, J. M. Mongol and Nomadic Taxation. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970), 63–64, 66–67.

54 Kellner-Heinkele, The Turkmans, 173.

55 Franz, K. The Bedouin in History or Bedouin History? *Nomadic Peoples* 15/1. Special Issue: Nomads in the Political Field (2011), 33.

56 Hiyari, The origins and developments, 513; Kark and Frantzman, Empire, State and the Bedouin, 488.

57 Abū Ya‘lā Ḥamzah ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta‘riḥ Dimashq* I (Damascus, 1983), 318, 357, 521, 522; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī ta‘riḥ ahl-zamān* I. Amīn, M.M. (ed.) (Cairo, 1988–1992), 277.

58 al-‘Umarī, *Masālik alabṣār* 4: 305; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 64–71; Khalaf, T. *Ṣūrat al-Jawlān fī al-turāth al-Jugrāfī al-a‘rabī al-islāmī* (Damascus, 2004), 68. Irwin, R. Tribal Feuding and Mamluk Factions in Medieval Syria. In Robinson, C.H. (ed.) *Text, Documents and Artefacts* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 256; Tritton, A. S. The Tribes of Syria in the

1546), who was born in Damascus and lived in the city, mentions six tribes that occupied the Golan, Ḥawrān and the Hula valley: Banī al-Mirā (Golan), al-‘Alī tribe,⁵⁹ ‘Arab al-Sa‘īda (Ḥawrān), Haytham (Ḥawrān), al-Mufārija,⁶⁰ and the ‘Arab al-Zubayd (Hula).⁶¹ He gives no further information regarding their respective territorial extent and population numbers.⁶² It seems that the tribes in the Golan were seldom a negligible minority that lived on the fringe; nor were they the poorest segment of rural society;⁶³ they were clearly spared life in the harsher arid regions of the Syrian deserts.

Natural pasture in the Golan covers large tracts of land that cannot be tilled due to the rocky terrain and the shallow soil. Some parts of the Golan provided better conditions for herdsmen than for farmers. Approximately 55% of the land in the modern state of Syria receives less than 200 mm of rainfall.⁶⁴ According to Harpaz, 700–800 km² of the total 1200 km² of land in the Golan is suitable only for grazing.⁶⁵ Approximately 37–40 km² are covered by forest;⁶⁶ some of these forested areas

are still used today for grazing. The northern Golan offered some of the richest grazing in southern Syria. The north has a higher plant species diversity despite high grazing pressure (true until 1995) and the cold winters. From north to south the grazing quality declines, this correlates to the drop in rainfall: 800–1000 mm in the north; 500–600 mm in the central Golan and 300–400 mm in the southern Golan. The high rainfall in the north allows the pastures to grow well into the early summer months. The small springs, that could not sustain agriculture, supplied enough water for herds.⁶⁷ The Golan was no doubt seen by the tribes as a lush and well-watered region.

Goats and sheep dominated the Bedouin herds throughout the Levant.⁶⁸ Based on early Ottoman tax registers, the herds kept by the sedentary villages formed a small part of the villagers’ economy and equaled c. 4% of the tax dues.⁶⁹ While modern figures are of little help in reconstructing medieval economy, they may give some idea of the carrying capacity of the region’s grazing land. In

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12, 3/4 (1948), 569; Amitai-Priess, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 64–71.

59 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī. Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān* (Beirut, 1998), 83

60 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 195.

61 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 312.

62 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 29.

63 Murphy, Some Features of Nomadism, 6–7.

64 Treacher, T. T. Linkage between Livestock and Agriculture Systems in Syria. In Mundy, M. and Musallam, B. (eds.) *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East* (Cambridge, 2000), 187.

65 Harpaz, A. Land and Water in the Golan. *Horizons in Geography* 13 (1985), 43; Kipnis Y. *The Settlement Landscape of the Golan (Syrian) Heights on the Eve of the Six Day War 1967*. MA thesis. Haifa University, (Haifa, 2002), 69.

66 Kopler, I. *Forest Morphology and the Hydrological Cycle in Forest Stands*. PhD diss. Haifa University, (Haifa, 2014), 35; Kopler, I., Herr, N. and Malkinson, D. Abiotic Factors and their Involvement in Oak Trees Decline and Mortality Phenomena in the Golan Heights. *Horizons in Geography* 95 (2019), 84.

67 Heiman, R. The Vegetation of the Golan Heights and Mount Hermon. In Degani, A. and Inbar, M. (eds.) *Golan Heights and Mount Hermon* (Tel Aviv, 1993), 187–188; Ish-Shalom-Gordon, N. The Mediterranean Grazing Ecosystem of the Golan Heights. *Agriculture and Environment* 54 (1995), 71–73, 76; Hartal, M. Settlement Potential in the Golan. In General Introduction to the IAA Archaeological Survey of the Golan *אתר הסקר הארכיאולוגי של ישראל* (antiquities.org.il).

68 Lewis, N. N. *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980* (Cambridge, 1987), 5.

69 Meir, E. Agriculture in the Golan from the Chalcolithic Period to the Twentieth Century. PhD diss. Bar Ilan University (Ramat Gan, 2020), 58.

1804 the governor of Sidon raided the Golan and confiscated 100,000 sheep.⁷⁰ In 1966, when the Golan was governed by the modern Syrian state, there were 161,000 sheep, 15,000 goats and 28,000 head of cattle.⁷¹ Today cattle, sheep and goats play a minor role in the region's economy.⁷²

Despite the Bedouins' contributions to the region's security and economy, they have often been accused by modern historians of causing a "general deterioration" of the region: "...towards the end of the Mamluk period, most of the main roads of Palestine and southern Syria were almost paralyzed

by the Bedouins."⁷³ Traveling in the medieval world was not safe. Similar events are well-known in earlier and later periods in the Middle East,⁷⁴ as well as in large parts of Europe, where the Bedouin had never set foot. In the Golan, there are examples of Bedouin raids on villages, but on the whole they were kept in check and a raiding economy does not seem to have characterized the tribes in the area.⁷⁵ The intensive raiding in the region of Damascus, in the second half of the 15th century, correlates to a number of waves of locusts and cold spells that may have triggered surges of violence (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Bedouin raids, extreme cold spells and waves of locusts (shaded cells are cold spells and locust waves)

YEAR	DESCRIPTION OF THE BEDOUIN RAID	MAMLUK GOVERNMENT RESPONSE
1390	Bedouin tribes raid the villages near Damascus.	
1391/2	Assassination of the leader of either the al-Mirā or the al-Faḍl tribe. ⁷⁶	Direct intervention of the central government in Cairo. The assignation was ordered by none other than the Sultan himself.
1397	The Great Drought (العظيم القحط) in the region of Damascus. Rivers dry up, "crops were spoiled... people faced death." ⁷⁷ Lack of rain and an exceptionally cold winter caused the cereals to freeze in the fields. ⁷⁸	No response. "Meanwhile the rulers did not look after the welfare of the people but only looked after their own welfare, not turning to the poor and the destitute." ⁷⁹
1399	A wave of mice devoured the seeds in the fields, and a dry spell. ⁸⁰	
1401	Heavy snow and a wave of locusts. ⁸¹	

70 al-Shihabi, A. *Lubnan fi A'hid al-Umara al-shihabiyyen* 2 (Beirut, 1969), 407.

71 Kipnis, *The Settlement Landscape of the Golan*, 71, 74.

72 Dr. Raheli Gavrielov (pers. comm. February 2024), c. 35,000 head of cattle, c. 2000 head of sheep.

73 Sharon, M. *The Political Role of the Bedouins in Palestine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. In Ma'oz, M. (ed.) *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem, 1975), 13. According to Sharon, the Bedouins of Palestine and Syria needed firmer handling during the late Mamluk period. See Sharon, *The Political Role*, 13–17.

74 Weber, E. *Traveling through Text: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts* (New York and London, 2005), 25.

75 Tritton, *The Tribes of Syria*, 567, 571. The term "raiding economy" is borrowed from Franz, *Bedouin in History*, 12.

76 Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 147, footnote 173.

77 Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 263.

78 Ibid 292, 295.

79 Ibid 292, 295.

80 Ibn Qadi Suhba, *Tarih Ibn Qadi Suhba*, 4, 100.

81 Ibn Qadi Suhba, *Tarih Ibn Qadi Suhba*, 4, 163, 189.

YEAR	DESCRIPTION OF THE BEDOUIN RAID	MAMLUK GOVERNMENT RESPONSE
1402	Drought in the Ḥawrān. In other regions the amount of precipitation dropped substantially. ⁸²	
1442	Conflict broke out between the <i>nā'ib</i> of Damascus and shaykh Muqlid the leader of the tribes in Ḥawrān. Bedouin tribes from the Ḥawrān threatened Damascus and frightened the wheat merchants.	
1450	Shaykh 'Āmir b. Muqlid raided and threatened the wheat merchants once again. The raid claimed lives and damaged numerous properties.	The leader of the al-'Alī tribe intervened and restored order to the area. ⁸³
1488	The struggle between Jān-Bāy and 'Āmir b. Muqlid was renewed, and as in previous years the main victims were the wheat traders.	A military force left Damascus for Ḥawrān. It returned to the capital with a large number of Bedouin captives from the al-Sa'īda tribe. Some were executed, others were tortured, and their camels were confiscated by the <i>nā'ib</i> . The Haytham tribe of Ḥawrān was also severely punished. The <i>nā'ib</i> of Damascus was in favor of their release; a local government official (<i>al-kāshif</i>), decided to execute the families of the rebellious Bedouins. Ibn Ṭūlūn clearly states that this punishment is unusual — “even in war they do not behave in this way.” He ends his description by asking for God’s mercy. ⁸⁴
1488/9	Strong winds brought two waves of locusts that damaged the orchards and vegetable crops. ⁸⁵	
1489	Ibn Muqallid threatens the region once again	The <i>nā'ib</i> of Damascus was once again forced to go on a punitive campaign. ⁸⁶
1489	'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, the Governor of Banias, rebelled against the central government.	The Governor of Safad, Yālibī, confiscated all the property of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, and had him executed in Damascus. ⁸⁷
1490	Heavy snow damaged the orchards and especially the olive trees. ⁸⁸	
1490	There was a violent raid on the village of Sakīk (Sukeiek) in the north of the Golan, by a tribe from southern Lebanon. About 80 men were murdered, women and children were taken captive, and property was looted. ⁸⁹	

82 Ibn Qadi Suhba, *Tarih Ibn Qadi Suhba*, 4, 409.

83 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 83.

84 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 73–75.

85 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 59, 88.

86 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 88.

87 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 91.

88 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 112.

89 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 107.

YEAR	DESCRIPTION OF THE BEDOUIN RAID	MAMLUK GOVERNMENT RESPONSE
1494	A wave of locusts. ⁹⁰	
1495	Extreme cold weather, strong winds and a wave of locusts.	The combination of the two triggered nomadic raids on village fields. The Governor of Damascus responded swiftly. Large forces were mobilized and sent to Ḥawrān to protect the crops. ⁹¹
1500	The <i>nā'ib</i> of Damascus declared a state of emergency, and called on the amirs and soldiers and everyone who could be summoned, to go on jihad. The Bedouins from 'Arab al-Mufārija took over the roads around Damascus, robbing the people on the roads, paralyzing traffic and threatening the city.	They retreated after a few days, when they saw the extent of the forces raised by the <i>nā'ib</i> 's deputy. ⁹²
1504	An epidemic broke out, accompanied by floods. ⁹³	
1508	An extreme winter hit the area; snow fell continuously for 15 days and piled up. Wild and domestic animals died. ⁹⁴	
1515	Two members of the al-Zubayd tribe from the Hulāh Valley were charged with robberies in Ḥawrān.	They were arrested and executed by the Governor of the Ḥawrān. ⁹⁵

Nine raids occurred in 125 years. The most violent assault was carried out against one of the largest villages in the region, by a tribe from outside the Golan, and two raids targeted the wheat traders of Damascus. The *nā'ib* (governor) of Damascus punished the leaders severely, using violence that exceeded the norm.

It is only during the first decades of the Ottoman period, when detailed tax registers (*defsters*) were composed, that we have more accurate information regarding the tribes in the Golan and the

Ḥawrān.⁹⁶ The 1535 tax register gives a long list of tribes in greater Syria but does not provide their geographic location. At the end of the 16th century the Bedouins in the Ḥawrān amounted to a quarter of the population, a higher proportion than any other region in Palestine. Turkmen tribes, located just north of the Sea of Galilee and in a narrow stretch in the eastern Golan, numbered 1687 families.⁹⁷ This number is similar to the total number of families in sedentary villages in the Golan in 1535 (see below, Table 2.5).

⁹⁰ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 54.

⁹¹ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 59.

⁹² Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 195.

⁹³ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 219.

⁹⁴ Duwayhī, I. and Fahd, B. *Tārīkh al-azmina* (Lebanon, 1976), 379.

⁹⁵ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān*, 312.

⁹⁶ Büsow et al, Arab East and the Bedouin Component, 5. Although they claim that the Ottoman period adds to the confusion of those who choose to research the Bedouins.

⁹⁷ Hütteroth, W.D. and Abdulfattah, K. *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977), 50, Fig. 6, 195 and map of Agriculture Production in Southern Syria.

The social and economic status of the tribes was maintained with few changes during the first Ottoman decades. According to Inalcik “the Ottoman state ... took measures to accommodate the nomads in its imperial system.”⁹⁸ By the end of the 16th century, however, most of the Bedouin leaders who held certified government posts were replaced by Ottoman officials. The new Ottoman policy aimed at reducing the political and economic power of the Bedouins.⁹⁹

Sedentary Villages

The social and legal status of the *fallāḥīn* (farmers) during the Mamluk period is still under debate. While some were not the owners of the land, but could lawfully enjoy their harvest after paying taxes, others were probably serfs tied to the land. Nevertheless, villagers were also organized, sharing grazing land and distant fields,¹⁰⁰ as well as combating government bureaucracy.¹⁰¹

Most of the Mamluk villages in the Golan are considerably smaller than the Late Roman and Byzantine villages upon which they were built.¹⁰² Majduliya (near the modern settlement of Natur),

which was both surveyed and excavated, is a good example: the Late Roman village measured 35 dunams while the Mamluk village measured c. 10–15 dunams. Na‘arān and Farj follow a similar pattern.¹⁰³ The amount of Mamluk pottery found in both excavations and surveys is considerably smaller than the volume of Late Roman and Byzantine pottery. This reflects the smaller settlements, but it also suggests that the period of Mamluk occupation may have been brief.¹⁰⁴

The four mosques excavated in the region are also an indication of settlement size. The mosque at Qazrin, (13.3 x 6 m) was built above the ruins of a synagogue.¹⁰⁵ The mosque at Jacob’s Ford (16 x 10 m) was built above the ruins of the Crusader fortress.¹⁰⁶ Of the two mosques excavated at Banias, the first (7.5 x 11 m) was built over a synagogue and the second was incorporated into the southern gate complex.¹⁰⁷ The construction of each was probably initiated by their respective communities rather than by the central regime or a high ranking Mamluk officer. Their dimensions indicate they each served a modestly-sized community.

98 Inalcik, H. The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600. In Inalcik, H. and Quataert, D. (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 1994), 37.

99 Barbir, K. K. *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, 1980), 100–101.

100 Frenkel, Y. Preliminary Remarks on the Agrarian History of Syria during the Early Mamluk Period. *Horizons in Geography* 44/45 (1996), 97–113.

101 Frenkel, Y. Rural Society in Mamluk Palestine. *Cathedra* 77 (1995), 17–38; idem., Villages, the Religious Establishment and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy: Notes on the History of Migration and Land Tenure in Mamluk Bilad al-Sham. *Cathedra* 173 (2019), 37–59.

102 Ben-David and Osband, Mamluk-Period Settlement, 132.

103 See the below detailed chapters for each site.

104 Ben-David and Osband, Mamluk-Period Settlement, 124–128.

105 Ma’oz, Z.U. and Killebrew, A. E. Ancient Qasrin: Synagogue and Village. *Biblical Archaeologist* 51 (1988), 15–16. The mosque at Qasrin is 13.3 x 6.0 m.

106 Raphael, K. A Mosque Converted into a Church (?) and Converted Back into a Mosque. In Raphael, K. (ed.) *The Excavation of the Templar Fortress at Jacob’s Ford (1993–2009). In memory of Professor Ronnie Ellenblum* (Jerusalem, 2023), 71–72.

107 Tzaferis, V. The Site: Stratigraphy and Architectural Remains. In Tzaferis, V. and Israeli, S. (eds.) *Panias I: The Roman and Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H. IAA Reports 37* (Jerusalem, 2008), 46–47. The mosque at Banias is 15 x 11 m.

For the sake of comparison, the mosques at Banias, a small town/large village,¹⁰⁸ can be contrasted with Ḥubrāš in northern Jordan, one of the largest Mamluk villages. The Ḥubrāš mosque was 12 x 30 m, while the village population numbered over 450 people.¹⁰⁹ An inscription dated to 686/1287 commemorates its minaret, dedicated by the Sultan Qalāwūn. The village also had a regional market and a number of prominent *‘ulama* who resided there.¹¹⁰ The number of village mosques excavated in Jordan and Israel is small; perhaps prayers in rural regions were conducted under the open sky or in private homes. There are a number of exceptionally large Mamluk sites: Thaljiyat (c. 3 km north west of Qunaitra) is c. 40 dunams¹¹¹ and Sukayk (3.5 km west of the modern settlement of Elrom) is c. 120 dunams. The size of Sukeiek’s population is partially revealed in the 1490 raid that resulted in the killing of 80 villagers.¹¹² In 1535 the tax register shows that the village had 345 families. The only market in the Golan was in Sukeiek.¹¹³

The impressive number of 360 villages mentioned by al-Ẓāhirī, and the 300 Mamluk sites found during the IAA survey are somewhat misleading, since we cannot estimate the true size

of the Mamluk population in each village. When the number of villages in the Golan in the Late Ottoman period and in modern Syrian (19th–20th c.) are compared, one gets a better idea of the carrying capacity of this region. In 1961 there were 273 villages; in 115 of these villages there were less than 50 families.¹¹⁴ The number of modern Syrian villages is closest to the number of settlements of the Mamluk period.

Regarding the villagers’ livelihoods, few Mamluk sources describe their agricultural crops or yields. A study of the earliest Ottoman tax registers, the region’s soils, precipitation and topography, provide reasonably accurate information about the types of crops grown and the scale of land use.¹¹⁵ Since there is no indication that the Mamluk rural population changed in the 16th century, and agricultural technology remained the same, it seems more than likely that the Mamluk period villages cultivated the same crops as those described in the early Ottoman tax registers.¹¹⁶

Wheat was the largest and most important crop; although it was cultivated by all the villages, in the *nahiye* of Jaydūr (the southern and eastern Golan) the yields were highest.¹¹⁷ Barley was grown only in small

108 Ibn Abd al-Haqq al-Baghdādī (d. 1338), quoted in Sharon M. *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* 2 (Leiden, 1997), 58.

109 Walker, B. Imperial Transitions and Peasant Society in the Middle and Late Islamic Jordan. *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 (2009), 75.

110 Walker, B.J., Kenney, E., Holtzweg, L., Carroll, L. Boulogne, S. and Lucke, B. Village Life in Mamluk and Ottoman Ḥubrāš and Saḥam: Northern Jordan Project, Report on the 2006 season. *ADAJ* 51 (2007), 438–446; Walker, B. Imperial Transitions and Peasant Society, 78–82.

111 Excavated twice by the IAA, but no publications are available. Descriptions are provided on the IAA Golan survey (Map 11/1 site no. 40), and pers. comm. with archaeologist Anya Klinger (IAA).

112 Regarding Sukeiek, see Chapter 4 by Roy Marom.

113 Regarding the wheat crops in *nahiye of Jaydor*, see Özkilinc, A., Coskun, A. and Sivridag, A. (eds.) *401 Numaralı Şam Llivâsı Mufasssal Tahrîr Defteri (942/1535)* 1. (Ankara, 2001), 338.

114 Kipnis, Y. *The Settlement Landscape of the Golan*, 79; Kipnis, Y. *The Golan Heights Political History, Settlement and Geography Since 1949* (London and New York, 2017), 52; Gal, Y. *The Golan*, 102.

115 For a detailed study of the agriculture of the Golan, see Meir, *Agriculture in the Golan*.

116 Regarding ethnoarchaeology — traditional agriculture, see Meir, *Agriculture in the Golan*, 34–46.

117 Regarding the wheat crops in *nahiye of Jaydor* see: Özkilinc et al, *Mufasssal Tahrîr Defteri (942 / 1535)*, 1, 354–369. At the end of the 16th century, c. 70% of the cultivated land was sown with wheat; see Meir, *Agriculture in the Golan*, 38, 58.

quantities. Further east, the Ḥawrān was known as the breadbasket of Syria.¹¹⁸ In times of shortage Syria imported grain from Egypt. The Mamluk military forces based in Syria were often supplied with Egyptian grain in order not to burden the local population.¹¹⁹ Vegetables, melons, lentils, chickpeas, fava beans and sesame, as well as *dura* (*sorghum*, another grain) were sown in the summer. Fruit trees, olive trees and grapevines were almost negligible in comparison to the cultivation of cereals.¹²⁰

Rice and sugar cane grew in a few villages in the Hula valley or near it. The sugar industry at Banias, well established prior to the Mamluk period, continued into the end of the 13th century.¹²¹ Rice was cultivated on a small scale. Grapes were also used for production of *dibs* (a thick sugary syrup) that became a basic, widespread sweetener in the Mamluk period.¹²²

For reasons that are not clear, olives and olive oil, the cash crop of the late Roman and Byzantine periods, almost disappeared from the medieval landscape of the Golan. An analysis of olive pits found at the excavations of Kanaf and Qasrin

in clear Mamluk contexts showed olive trees (*Olea europaea*) grew in the Golan.¹²³ They were, however, cultivated only on a small scale. By the 16th century only three villages in the Golan were taxed on their olive orchards; the entire production of olive oil had moved to Nablus and its surroundings.¹²⁴ According to the 16th century tax registers, most villagers in the Golan kept small herds of goats and some had water buffaloes; herds of cattle were scarce. Bee hives were found in every village.

Economic Interdependence (?)

Although our written and archaeological sources regarding the Golan's population are scarce, and the ratio of sedentary to nomadic population and the nature of relations between the populations undetermined, many scholars agree that the two populations were often dependent on each other. Pastoralism, even amongst semi-nomads, is not a self-sufficient way of life.¹²⁵ Cereals and manufactured goods were obtained from the sedentary settlements either by trade, exchange or force.¹²⁶ While the two populations may have not lived harmoniously throughout the 250 years of Mamluk rule, there are relatively

118 Issawi, C. *The Fertile Crescent 1800–1914* (Oxford, 1998), 272.

119 Lapidus, I. M. *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 18.

120 Amar, Z. *Agricultural Produce in the Land of Israel in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem, 2000), 78. For the list of villages in 1535, their crops and yields, see: Özkilinc, *Mufasssal Tahrîr Defteri (942/1535)* 1, 338–369. The number of cultivated fruit orchards grew substantially after the establishment of Circassian villages in the 19th century. Meir, *Agriculture in the Golan*, 42; charts on pg. 58, show that at the end of the 16th century, only 2% of the cultivated land had fruit orchards.

121 Peled, A. *Sugar in the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 2009), 203–205, 257; Ashtor, E. Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: An Example of Technological Decline. *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977), 226–280; al-ʿUthmani Muhammad Bin ʿAbd al-Rahman, *Tarikh Safad* (Damascus, 2009), 11.

122 Tsioni, G. A Mamluk Grape-Honey Treading Installation in the Golan Heights, Israel. *IEJ* 60 (Jerusalem, 2010), 222–244; Meir, *Agriculture in the Golan*, 180–186; Amar, *Agricultural Produce*, 127.

123 Liphshitz, N. The Contribution of Archaeobotanical Studies to the Knowledge of the Tree Flora in the North and Central Golan in the Past. *Rotem* 23/24, 1986, 88.

124 Amar, Z. *Foodstuffs and Industrial Products Grown in the Land of Israel During the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem, 1996), 19.

125 Linder, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1983); Khazanov, A. M. *Nomads and the Outside World*. Crookenden, J. (trans.) (Cambridge, 1984); Marx, E. The Political Economy of Middle Eastern and North African Pastoral Nomads. In Chatty, D. (ed.) *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa, Entering the 21st Century* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 78–97.

126 Kressel, G.M. and Ben-David, J. The Bedouin Market—the Cornerstone of Beer Sheva. *Cathedra* 77 (1995), 40–41; Linder, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans*, 11.

few description of violent raids on the villages in the Golan by the local tribes. Most of the raids and threats targeted the grain traders and the Damascene governors. Perhaps the small villages were not an attractive or worthwhile target, or maybe the rich environment allowed the two populations to live side-by-side in relative peace. Or perhaps periodic predation of one or two small villages didn't enter the historical record.

Able rulers were a bonus and no doubt contributed to social and economic stability.

The spatial distribution of villages in the Late Mamluk period (according to the IAA survey) and the first century of Ottoman rule (according to the tax books of 1535, 1565 and 1596)

Most of the Mamluk period villages were built on the ruins of Late Roman and Byzantine sites.¹²⁷ Building materials were recycled and the construction of houses followed the traditional Hauranian style that was unique to the basalt areas of southern Syria and northern Jordan.¹²⁸

The map of the Mamluk sites (Fig. 2.1) shows two settlement clusters, one in the northern Golan in the region of Banias and the other in the central and southern Golan. The northern cluster is considerably smaller. The sparseness of the sedentary settlements is due, according to Hartal, to the poor quality of agricultural land, shallow aquifers and unreliable minor springs. Constructing cisterns and wells

in basalt bedrock requires advanced technology that was only brought to the region towards the end of the 19th century by Circassian immigrants. Much of the area was covered by thick forest and clearing trees and rocky terrain to create agricultural land was seldom worth the effort, since the soil was often shallow and too poor to be cultivated. As discussed above, however, the northern Golan offered some of the richest grazing; perhaps this area was occupied by a higher number of nomads. In contrast to Safed, that had a large number of surrounding villages, the pattern and relatively small number of settlements surrounding Banias suggests that the rural population did not require the protection of the al-Şubayba fortress or the defenses of the town of Banias.¹²⁹

The second and larger cluster was in the central and southern Golan. It seems the decisive factor was the quality of the soil,¹³⁰ although large parts of the central Golan are only suitable for grazing. This may indicate that the villages practiced a mixed farming system, with small plots of wheat and barley and sizable herds of sheep and goats. Few villages are located on or near the main roads. This may be explained by the low purchasing power of the villagers and the nature of the merchandise carried by the caravans, which included luxury goods and grain. In general, the number of coins found in Mamluk levels was very small, suggesting that the villages in the Golan were not fully incorporated in the monetary system.¹³¹

127 Hartal, M. *Northern Golan Heights, the Archaeological Survey as a Source of Regional History* (Qazrin, 1989), 135.

128 Butler, H. C. *Ancient Architecture in Syria: The Southern Hauran* (Leyden, 1909); Hartal, M. The Hauran Style Architecture. In Dar, S., Hartal, M. and Ayalon, E. (eds.) *Rafid on the Golan: A Profile of a Late Roman and Byzantine Village*. BAR Intl. Series 1555 (Oxford, 2006), 7–11.

129 Inbar, M. The Golan — Geographical Characteristics. In Inbar, M. and Shiller, E. (eds.) *The Golan* (Qazrin and Jerusalem, 1987), 15; Hartal, *Northern Golan Heights*, 12, map 8, 178; Hartal, Settlement Potential in the Golan, 11–12.

130 For a detailed research and description of the soils, see Dan et al. *The Soils of the Golan Plateau*. The Volcani Institute of Agricultural Research, Preliminary Report 679 (Bet Dagan, 1970); Hartal, M. General Introduction to the Golan and Regional Geography. In the Archaeological Survey of the Golan IAA website [אתר הסקר הארכיאולוגי של ישראל](http://antiquities.org.il) (antiquities.org.il).

131 For the coins of Na'arān and Farj, see the coin catalogue by Robert Kool, Chapter 13 in this volume.

The Ottoman Conquest: 1517–1600

While the Mongols threatened Syria's eastern borders during the first decades of the Mamluk sultanate, and Tamerlane invaded Syria in 1401, the Safawids posed a similar threat in the last decade of Mamluk rule. Several campaigns were carried out by the Mamluks against them, all of a "pure defensive" nature.¹³² The Safawid threat was still severe and concrete when the Ottomans conquered Syria (1517). Thus, when examining the Golan in the early 16th century one must bear in mind that the new government no doubt focused on the eastern frontier, investing in its defense. Selim I, the Ottoman sultan, nominated a Mamluk as the new governor of Damascus. The latter was ordered "to watch the Safawids and collect information about them."¹³³

The incorporation of Mamluk Syria into the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire brought considerable changes. The seven Mamluk provinces were united under one figure: the Governor of Damascus, Janbaridi al-Gazali. Janbaridi officially controlled the land from al-Ma'arra to al-Arish. His first and last most famous act, the rebellion against the Ottoman Empire, brought the final blow upon the Mamluks in Syria.¹³⁴ Regarding the Golan, the acute threat along the eastern border of Syria and the new administrative division did not improve its standing. It was

swallowed and dwarfed by the new geopolitical order; its previous importance gradually diminished during the first decades of Ottoman rule.

Although a great deal of caution is needed in the analysis and comparison of the demographic data of the Golan in the late Mamluk period and the first century of Ottoman rule, the historical sources and archaeological evidence show that the scale of settlement decreased dramatically during the 16th century. By 1535 the number of villages decreased by 78% relative to the Mamluk period (Fig. 2.2, Table 2.3). Throughout the 16th century the number of villages remained low, numbering between 66 and 83. The late Mamluk town of Na'arān, which al-Zāhirī described as a regional center with 160 villages under its jurisdiction, had turned into a small village with but 16 families; the town of Banias had shrunk and became a village with 60 families.¹³⁵

Government investment is displayed in a number of public buildings that were constructed or rebuilt in Qunaitra by the governor of Damascus. The town's (?) population nevertheless remained small. In 1565 it had but 10 families.¹³⁶ In 1535, 67 of the Mamluk villages were still inhabited; they appear to be a random collection and there is no concrete, convincing explanation for why these particular villages remained occupied while others were abandoned.

132 Ayalon, *The End of the Mamlūk Sultanate*, 129.

133 Ayalon, *The End of the Mamlūk Sultanate*, 130.

134 Ayalon, *The End of the Mamlūk Sultanate*, 135.

135 Özkilinc, *Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri (942/1535)* 1, 343, 344.

136 For more detail See Chapter 3: The Golan from the 17th Century to the Mid–19th Century, by Mustafa Abbasi. Although Quneitra only had ten families registered in the tax books in 1565 (according to The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, *Tabu Tahrir Defteri, Istanbul*, Defter No. 423, the Governor of Damascus constructed a mosque, repaired the khan and built a school in 1563–1567.

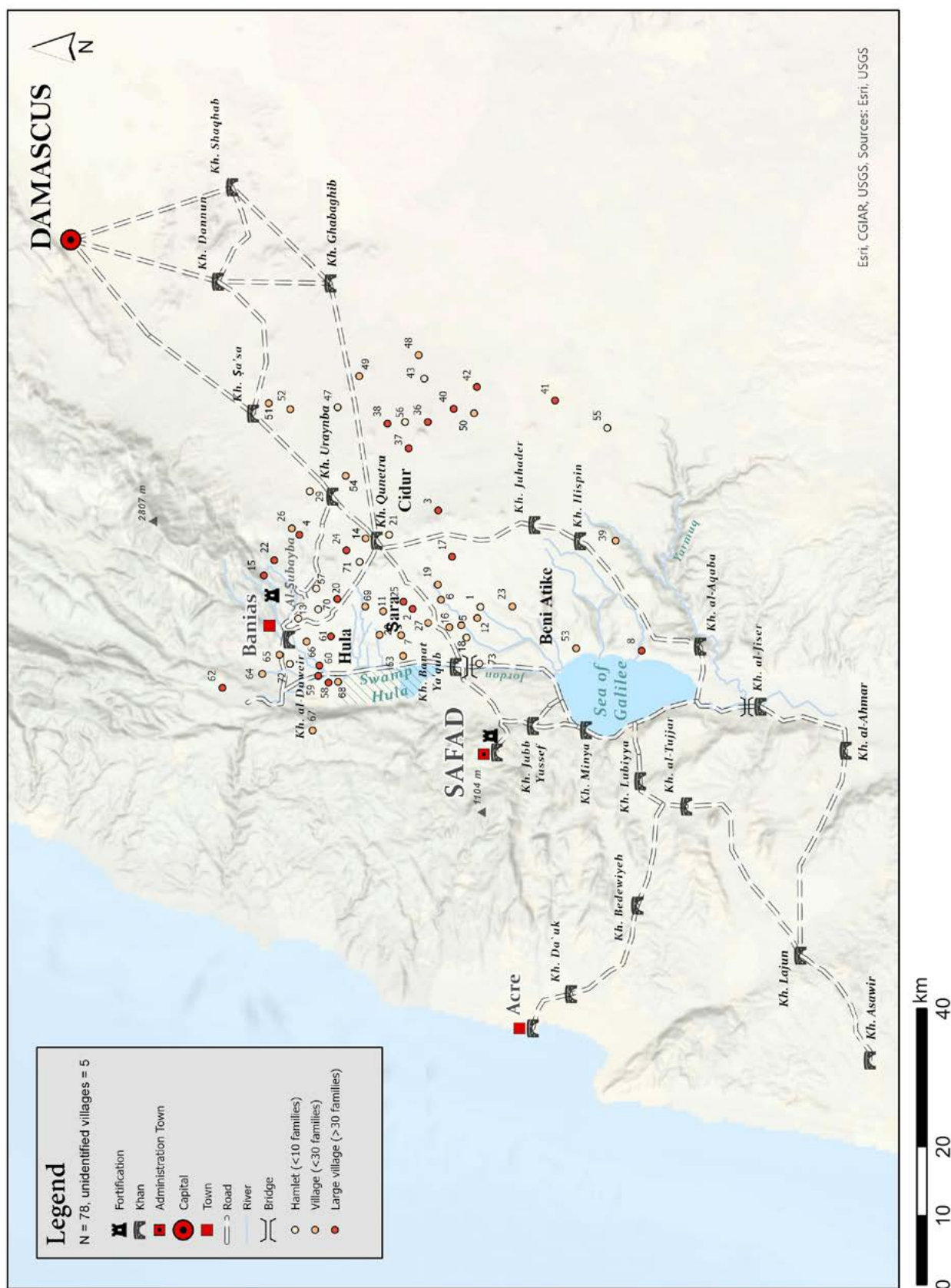


Figure 2.2. Distribution of villages according to the 1535 Deffer (map by Yoav Yoskovich).

Table 2.3. Village names for the 1535 map (Fig. 2.2).¹³⁷

ID	NAME
1	Almin
2	Karye-i Beytu's -Sabir
3	Karye-i Burayka
4	Karye-i Cubbetu'l Haseb
5	Karye-i Deyr Rahib
6	Karye-i Gadiyye
7	Karye-i Hafir
8	Karye-i Hureybet-i Killis
9	Karye-i Isla
10	Karye-i Kal'a -I Banyas
11	Karye-i Karahta
12	Karye-I Kasrin
13	Karye-i Kufeyr
14	Karye-i Kunaytira
15	Karye-i Mecdel-Sems
16	Karye-i Naran
17	Karye-i Remit
18	Karye-i Sanabiru'l Fevka ve't-Tahata
19	Karye-i Sindiyana
20	Karye-i Sukeyk
21	Karye-i Surman
22	Karye-i Suveyki
23	Karye-i Tayyibe
24	Karye-I Telciyat
25	Karye-i Tilistan
26	Karye-i Turunca
27	Karye-i 'Ulleyka
28	Karye-i Raviye
29	Karye-i Arnabiya
30	Karye-i Arz Yu'rafu
31	Karye-i Sukmmaka
32	Karye-i Muveyse
33	Karye-i Bak'ata
34	Karye-i 'Ulleyka
35	Karye-i Kefr Harib
36	Karye-i Hara
37	Karye-i Latim
38	Karye-i 'Akraba
39	Karye-i Kefr-Ma
40	Karye-i Nimr
41	Karye-i Neva
42	Karye-i Casim

ID	NAME
43	Karye-i Zimrun
44	Karye-i Kenef-I Tahtani
45	Karye-i el-Museyrife
46	Karye-i el-Ummu's-Sakif
47	Karye-i Sapsapa
48	Karye-i Ceddiya
49	Karye-i 'Alakiyye
50	Karye-i Bustas
51	Karye-i Sure
52	Karye-i Deyr-Makir
53	Karye-i Kefr-'Akib
54	Karye-i Cabiyye
55	Karye-i 'Udaya
56	Karye-i el-'Ayn
57	Karye-I Kifreyya
58	Karye-i Na'ame
59	Karye-i Kaytiye
60	Karye-i Hiyam-'Abis
61	Karye-i Luysiyat
62	Karye-i Hiyam-Harib
63	Karye-i Derbasiye
64	Karye-i Sarfanda
65	Karye-i Nuhayle
66	Karye-i Lezaze
67	Karye-i Mubareke
68	Karye-i Salihyye
69	Karye-i Semekun
70	Karye-i Zira'a
71	Karye-i Mansure
72	Karye-i Sevka
73	Karye-i el-Mine
74	Fiq
75	Rujum Sarki
76	Debbusiye
77	Cibbin
78	Iskufiye
79	Haytal
80	Zakie
81	Udeysiye
82	Suveyhta
83	Iskum

¹³⁷ Özkilinc, *Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri* (942/1535), 338–369.

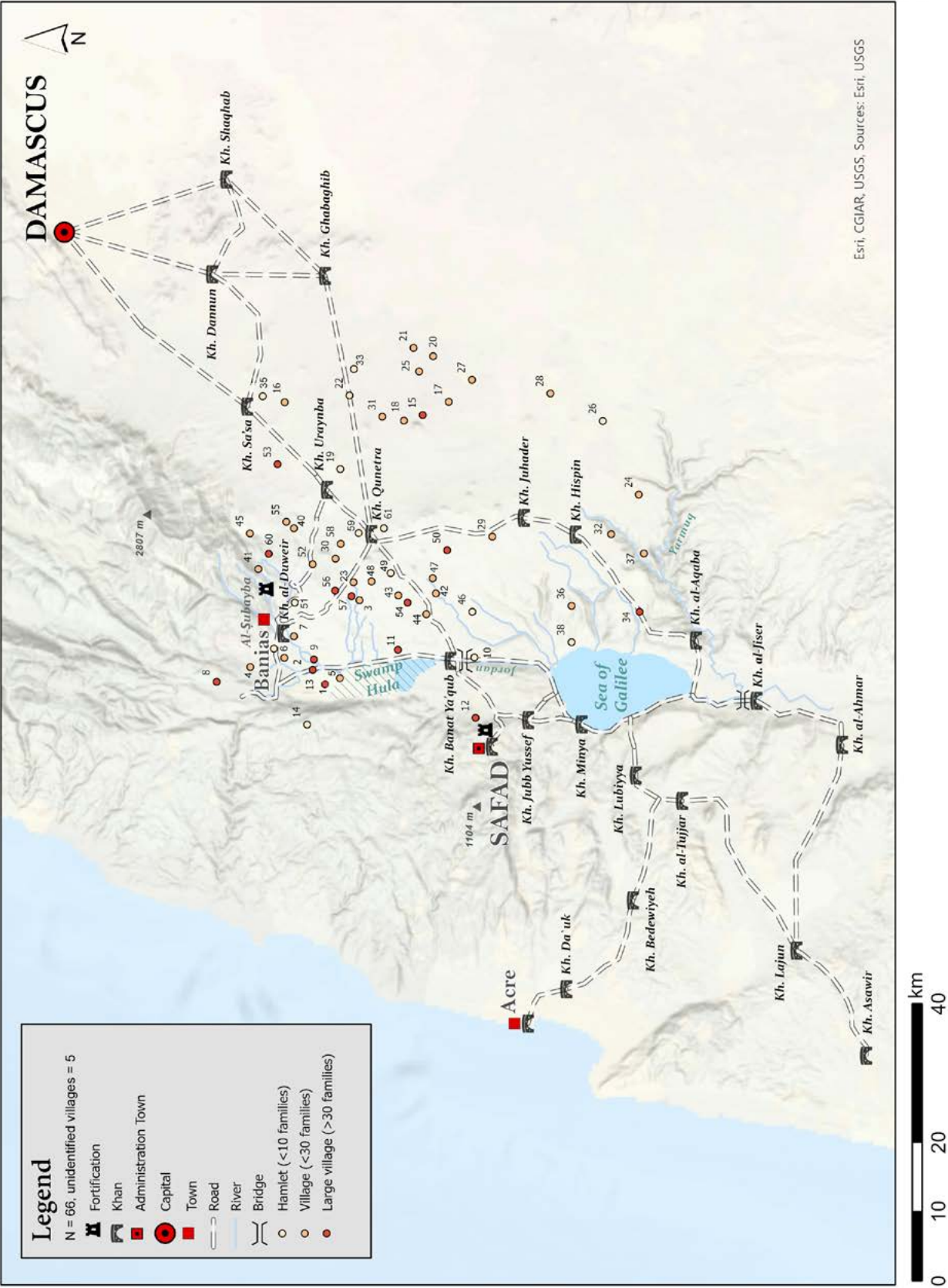


Figure 2.3. Distribution of Villages According to the 1565 Defter (map by Yoav Yoskovich).

The decrease in village population: 1535–1565

The number of villages and the size of the population in the Golan continued to fall in the second half of the 16th century. By 1565 only 66 villages were recorded in the tax registers; only 50 of the

villages are known from the 1535 *defter*. The dispersion remained much the same (Fig. 2.3, Table 2.4). The most significant change is the decrease in the number of families (Table 2.5).

Table 2.4. Village Names for the 1565 Map (Fig. 2.3).¹³⁸

ID	NAME
1	Karye-i Na'ame
2	Karye-i Sevka
3	Karye-i Semekun
4	Karye-i Sarfanda
5	Karye-i Salihyye
6	Karye-i Nuhayle
7	Karye-i Lezaze
8	Karye-i Hiyam-Harib
9	Karye-i Hiyam-'Abis
10	Karye-i el-Mine
11	Karye-i Derbasiye
12	Karye-i Mughara
13	Karye-i Kaytiye
14	Karye-i Mubareke
15	Karye-i Hara
16	Karye-i Deyr-Makir
17	Karye-i Nimr
18	Karye-i Latim
19	Karye-i Cabiyye
20	Zimlin
21	Ceddiye
22	Kefr Nasic
23	Karye-i Furn
24	Karye-i Sajara
25	Karye-i Zimrin
26	Karye-i 'Udaya
27	Karye-i Casim
28	Neva
29	Fahem
30	Ein Hara
31	Karye-i 'Akraba

ID	NAME
32	Karye-i Kefr-Ma
33	Karye-i 'Alakiyye
34	Fiq
35	Karye-i Sure
36	Dyer Aziz
37	Mughira
38	Karye-i Kefr-'Akib
39	Karye-i Kal'a -I Banyas
40	Karye-i Cubbetu'l Haseb
41	Karye-i Mecdel-Sems
42	Karye-i Gadiiryye
43	Karye-i Tilistan
44	Karye-i 'Ulleyka
45	Karye-i Hader
46	Karye-I Kasrin
47	Karye-i Sindiyana
48	Karye-i Mueyseh
49	Dalaweh
50	Karye-i Remis/Remit
51	Karye-i Kufeyr
52	Karye-i Bak'ata
53	Halas
54	Karye-i Beytu's -Sabir
55	Karye-i Turunca
56	Karye-i Sukeyk
57	Karye-i Sukmmaka
58	Karye-I Telciyat
59	Karye-i Kunaytira
60	Karye-i Suveyki
61	Karye-i Surman

138 The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, *Tabu Tahrir Defteri*, Istanbul. Defter No. 423.

Table 2.5. Decrease in the Village Populations 1535–1565.¹³⁹

	VILLAGE NAME	NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN 1535	NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN 1565
1	Karye-i Na'ame	80	53
2	Karye-i Hiyam-'Abis	42	35
3	Karye-i Hiyam-Harib	31	40
4	Karye-i Derbasiye	28	40
5	Karye-i Sarfanda	26	13
6	Karye-i Nuhayle	24	7
7	Karye-i Lezaze	23	16
8	Karye-i Mubareke	18	10
9	Karye-i Salihyye	14	11
10	Karye-i Semekun	12	16
11	Karye-i Sevka	4	23
12	Karye-i el-Mine	4	8
13	Karye-i Beytu's -Sabir	64	50
14	Karye-i Cubbetu'l Haseb	35	24
15	Karye-i Gadiriyye	27	16
16	Karye-i Hureybet Killis	48	34
17	Karye-i Kal'a Banyas	60	70
18	Karye-i Kasrin	21	4
19	Karye-i Kufeyr	5	4
20	Karye-i Kunaytira	21	10
21	Karye-i Mecdel-Sems	35	21
22	Karye-i Remis/Remit	58	50
23	Karye-i Sindiyana	25	12

	VILLAGE NAME	NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN 1535	NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN 1565
24	Karye-i Sukeyk	345	83
25	Karye-i Surman	10	7
26	Karye-i Suveyki	44	33
27	Karye-i Tayyibe	23	
28	Karye-I Telciyat	64	20
29	Karye-i Tilistan	54	24
30	Karye-i Turunca	22	21
31	Karye-i 'Ulleyka	13	5
32	Karye-i Hara	73	52
33	Karye-i Latim	36	11
34	Karye-i 'Akraba	34	23
35	Karye-i Kefr-Ma	21	24
36	Karye-i Nimr	33	19
37	Karye-i Neva	41	29
38	Karye-i Casim	51	13
39	Karye-i Zimrun	8	11
40	Karye-i Ceddiya	15	11
41	Karye-i Sure	16	10
42	Karye-i Deyr-Makir	15	11
43	Karye-i Kefr-'Akib	17	9
44	Karye-i 'Udaya	8	4
	<i>Total</i>	1648	983

¹³⁹ Table 2.5. shows a sample of almost half the villages in the Golan.

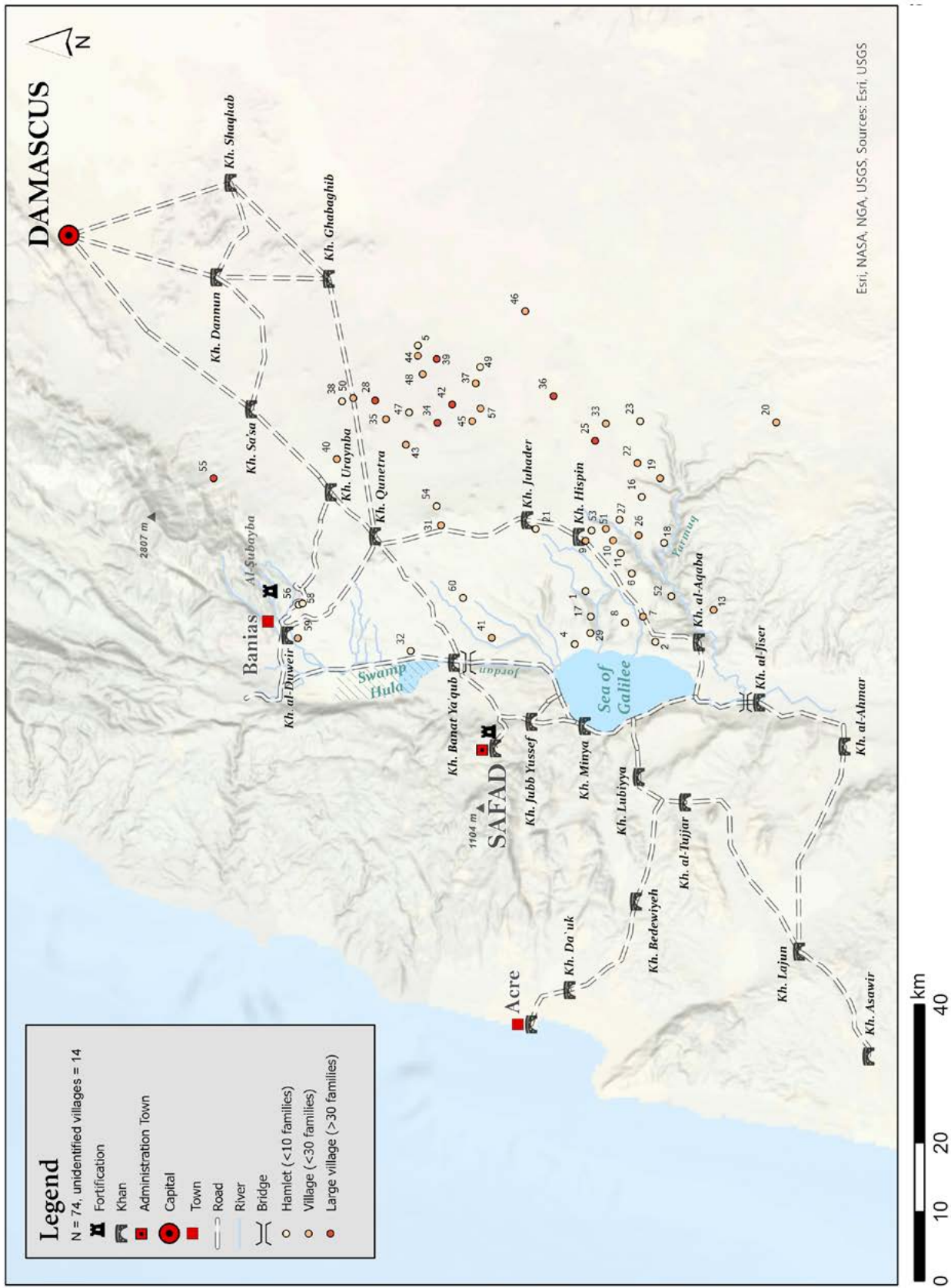


Figure 2.4. Distribution of villages according to the 1596 defter (map by Yoav Yosekovich).

The 1596 defter

The last defter produced in the 16th century dates to 1596 (Fig. 2.4, Table 2.6). The number of villages rose to 74. Two clusters can be seen: the first southeast of Qunaitra, the second in the southern

Golan. The number of villages surrounding Banias dropped to three; the central Golan was sparsely settled. Most of the villages in the 1596 defter do not appear in the 1565 defter. Thirty are better defined as hamlets with fewer than 10 families. The total number of families dropped to 1127.

Table 2.6. Village Names for the 1596 map (Fig. 2.4).¹⁴⁰

ID	NAME	NUMBER OF FAMILIES
1	Māḥūriyya/Umm al-Qanatir	5
2	Kfar Ḥarīb	7
3	Tulayl	3
4	Kafr ‘Āqib	4
5	Jidya	7
6	Jibtin	8
7	Fīq	16
8	Isqūfiyya	6
9	Hisfīn	13
10	Kafr Almā	16
11	Šihān	9
12	al-Adasiyya	3
13	Kursīn	11
14	Yābā	3
15	Miskāna	3
16	Šajara	5
17	Ma’raba	5
18	Kuwayya	8
19	Ḥiṭ	20
20	Qaṣīr	16
21	Wadi Qurayš	7
22	Šam al-Jawlān	22
23	Kafr Tāmīr	4
24	Bīlā	2
25	Tsīl	37
26	Abdīn	12
27	Jamlā	7
28	Bayt Irr	39
29	Lawyīra	6

ID	NAME	NUMBER OF FAMILIES
30	Šayḥ Sa’d	3
31	Tall al-Jawz	11
32	Ayn Tīna	4
33	Udwān	21
34	Han	50
35	Aqrabā	27
36	Nawī	102
37	Jāsim	28
38	Hāl	7
39	Simlīn	31
40	Mashara	14
41	Jidya	3
42	Namar	36
43	Laṭīm	45
44	Jabā	30
45	Buṣṭās	40
46	Bayt Umm Ḥawrān	19
47	al-’Ayn	17
48	Zimrīn	16
49	Muṭawwaq	5
50	Kafr Nāsij	17
51	Kafr Sab	30
52	Majnūna	6
53	Tall ad-Dahab	8
54	Burayqī’	4
55	Kufayr al-Hān	50
56	Kaf data	8
57	Harabata Mazra’at Buṣṭās	21
58	Kafr	6
59	Harabata al-Luṣuṣ	?
60	Dabātīn	6
	<i>Total</i>	969

¹⁴⁰ Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine*, 196–199, 207–209. The total number of families in the table does not include the 14 villages that were not identified.

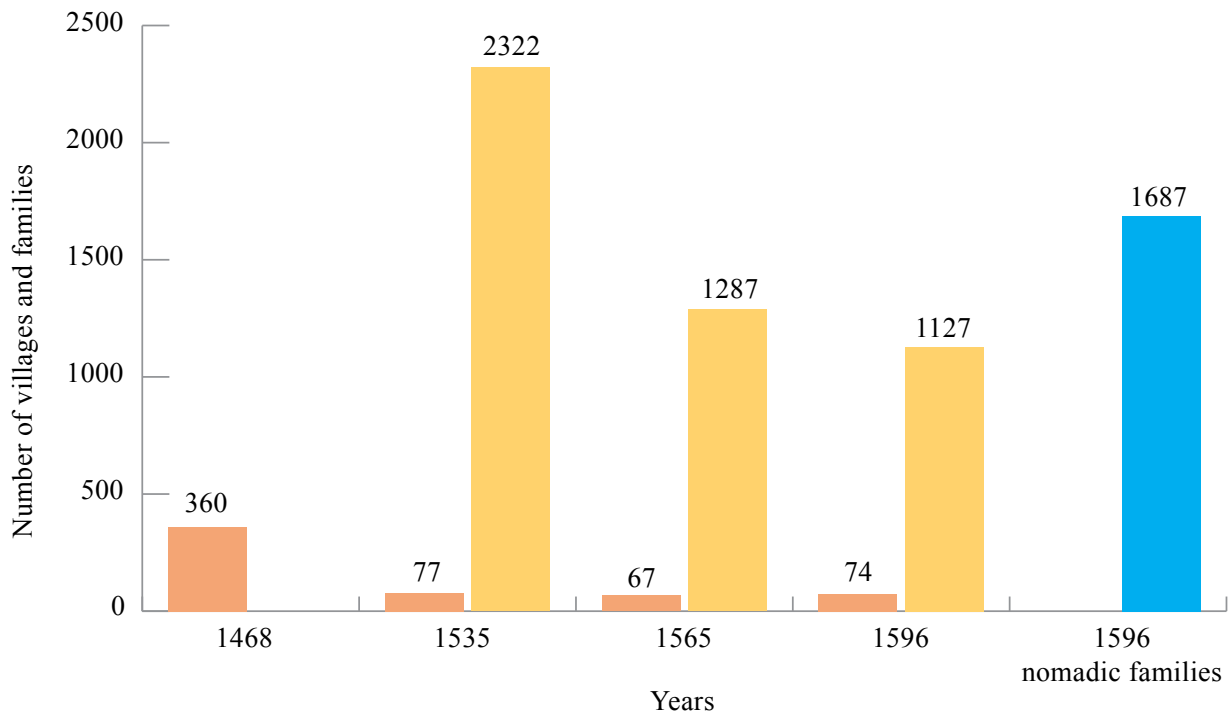


Figure 2.5. Summary of the number of villages and families according to the defters (orange = no. of villages, yellow = no. of families).

The true ratio of the nomadic to the sedentary population can only be obtained from the figures of the 1596 defter, when the Turkmen tribes numbered

1687 families,¹⁴¹ higher than the total number of families in the village population (Fig. 2.5).

SUMMARY

The firm central regime that dominated the early Mamluk period, the relatively well organized governorship of Damascus, the peace and quiet that lasted 250 years with few interruptions, and the favorable environment that characterized the entire Golan encouraged its settlement. The road that connected Safed and Damascus, that often gives one the feeling that the Golan served as a pedestrian crossing, did not contribute to the local economy.

Nevertheless, the constant presence of officials in the service of the sultanate and merchants along this highway, no doubt played an important role in the maintenance of the region's security.

The severe death toll caused by the plague in the mid-14th century, and later waves, must have reduced the population, but we have not managed to find tangible archaeological evidence of the plague

¹⁴¹ The number of families in the three *nahiyes* in the year 1523 was 1245. In 1543 there were 2463 families. Bakhit, A.M. *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), 65, and 67, 81. Hütteroth W.D. and Abdulfattah, K. *Historical Geography of Palestine*, 50, Fig. 6, 195 and map of Agriculture Production in Southern Syria.

in the sites we excavated. It is impossible, thus far, to quantify the demographic damage.

The central Mamluk regime constructed the Banāt Ya'qūb bridge, rebuilt al-Subayba fortress, and four caravansaries were gradually erected in the Golan by Syrian governors and private entrepreneurs.¹⁴² The above investments contributed to the local population's wellbeing. Although they were built first and foremost to fulfill the needs and interests of the Mamluk government and its military forces, their existence secured the region's tranquility and stability. The rain-fed agriculture practiced in the Golan did not require large external funding or the intervention of a central government body. There were no water canals or reservoirs that needed regular cleaning or maintaining. Small dams were constructed by local villagers. Mills were likely built and owned by well-to-do families. The few village and small town mosques in the Golan appear to have been constructed by the local population.

The improvement of security and the transition of the Golan from a frontier zone to a region on the threshold of the second most important capital in the sultanate, with a major highway that crossed it, resulted in a period of Mamluk rural prosperity that peaked in the mid-15th century, when the number of villages crossed the 300 mark. The development of the region into a densely populated area was gradual and seems to have taken several decades. The settlement potential of the Golan ranged from 273–360 villages. These two numbers derive from

substantially different sources: one (360) is derived from our single contemporary source, al-Zāhirī, and the second (273) is a modern Syrian government census. What they provide is the number of villages the area can support, i.e. the region's carrying capacity. Many of the villages were small, but the notion of "small" is relative. In the Mamluk period their size was gauged according to the land the village occupied. In the 16th century small villages had between 4–20 families according to the tax registers. In the 20th century small villages were defined as having less than 50 families.

The common ground of all the Golan villages, in all periods, is their agricultural livelihood, which remained the same for centuries. The scale of cultivation, farming methods and mechanization remained almost the same from the Mamluk period up until the mid-20th century. It was a modest, basic economy, similar to that of many villages in other parts of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern *Bilad al-Sham*. Unlike the growing and changing economic structure in the Galilee, which gradually expanded its cotton production, that was exported via the renewed Mediterranean ports, the Golan's economy remained much the same. In the Mamluk period its rural economy thrived on the most basic crops: wheat and barley. The one product that every household relied upon for its day-to-day caloric intake was flour. Although sugar was cultivated in Banias and the Hula valley, wheat and barley were the dominant crops.

142 Tepper, Y. and Tepper, Y. The "Horses' Barid" Dated to the Era of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars. *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel* 1 (2003), 123–152; Cytryn-Silverman, *The Road Inns*; Petersen, A. Medieval Bridges of Palestine. In Vermeulen, U. and D'hulster, K. (eds.) *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA, 2010), 291–306; Petersen, A. *Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* 1 (Oxford, 2001), 182–189. Regarding the numerous public and religious buildings constructed by Baybars see Frenkel, Y. Baybars and the Sacred Geography of Bilad al-Sham: a Chapter in the Islamization of Syria's Landscape. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 153–170.

There is no evidence, so far, of public buildings of any prominent scale. The domestic pottery is local with few imports. The picture is one of a thriving Mamluk rural community of modest means.

Alongside the villages, a substantial Bedouin population flourished, maintaining a prominent standing in the sultanate's social strata. It also played an important role in the sultanate's army. The current research shows that the Bedouin did not develop a raiding economy in the Golan; the raids that are charted by contemporaneous sources should be attributed to severe drought and agrarian shortages.

The figures we have from the 16th century and the archaeological data show a sharp decline. In the early 16th century. The number of villages plummeted from 360 to 78 and remained low. The number of families fell sharply again in 1565. It dropped once again by c. 12% towards the end of the century. The cause of this sharp fall is not at all clear. Many have attributed it to (a) the raiding of Bedouin tribes which ostensibly undermined regional stability, (b) the plague, (c) Tamerlane's invasion, (d) the feeble Mamluk government and (e) the new Ottoman rulers. But there is no direct or indirect evidence that one or all of these factors were the cause of this decline.

The 16th century Golan village population in comparison to neighbouring regions

The sharp fall in the number of villages and the sizes of their populations in the 16th century Golan was severe and unusual in comparison to neighbouring areas. The Galilee flourished in the late Mamluk period and its population and economy continued to grow and prosper under Ottoman rule; the same is true of the Biqā'.¹⁴³

Bethany Walker's work on the late Mamluk period in Jordan showed a decrease in the sizes of villages and agricultural output, but she found no evidence of a full-scale crisis. Some areas even show demographic and economic growth. The lack of uniformity, according to Walker, testifies to the importance and influence of local factors.¹⁴⁴ Her conclusions were based on contemporary sources, tax registers, archaeological surveys and excavations.

Bakhit, who based his research on the 1523, 1543, 1548 and 1569 defters, saw a steep rise in the region's population that was followed by decline. The number of villages and families in the 1523 and 1543 defters is similar to the numbers recorded in the defters we examined in the current study.¹⁴⁵ The number of families in each *nahiye* is very high and does not correlate with the current study. The *nahiye* of Jaydūr is missing in the 1548 and 1569 defters. Bakhit concluded; "There is no apparent reason for the decline in the numbers of the population. In assessing tax payments, it is noticeable that

143 Al-Bakhit, M. A. The Role of the Ḥanash Family. In Khalidi, T. (ed.) *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984), 272–276.

144 Walker, B. J. The Northern Jordan Survey 2003, Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Hubras Villages: A Preliminary Report of the First Season. *BASOR* 339 (2005), 67–111; Walker, B. J. The Phenomenon of the "Disappearing" Villages of Late Medieval Jordan, as Reflected in Archaeological and Economic Sources. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 60 (2011b), 161–176; Walker, B. J. *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago, 2011a); Walker, B. J. The Northern Jordan Project and the "Liquid Landscapes" of Late Islamic Bilad al-Sham. In McPhillips, S. and Wordsworth, P.D. (eds.) *Landscapes of the Islamic World: Archaeology, History, and Ethnography* (Philadelphia, PA, 2016), 184–199.

145 Bakhit, A. *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), 65, 67, 81.

even while population figures fell, tax payments rose. A suggested explanation could be that the surveys during the second half of the century were not thorough because of laxity in law and order. Another possibility is that incorrect figures for households were submitted in order to avoid some occasional taxes.” Asmaa Sheikh Khalil’s thorough study of 18 of the 24 Damascene *nahiyes* in the 16th century showed an increase in the number of villages. She linked this growth to the Ottomans’ success in settling the nomadic tribes. Sheikh Khalil clearly states, however, that in the *nahiyes* where the population decreased, the decrease was negligible.¹⁴⁶ Thus when looking at the Golan

in a broader perspective, it figures as almost the single enclave exhibiting a genuine crisis. Most of the neighboring areas went through this period of transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule with no dramatic changes. What happened in the Golan during the first decades of the 16th century that led to this severe decline, which lasted well into the next century? This is one of the central questions this research intended to confront.

We have not been able to find any clues in the field or in the texts, and have not managed to come up with data or even a rough theory that will explain the region’s decline.

146 Bakhit, Ottoman Province of Damascus, 90. Asmaa al-Sheikh Khalil. *The Countryside in the Ottoman Era (Economic Social Administration Study) in the 16th Century AD/10th Hijri, in the Province of Damascus as a Model* (Amman, 2010), 24, 43–45, 48–50, 65.

CHAPTER 3
THE GOLAN FROM THE 17TH CENTURY
TO THE MID-19TH CENTURY

Mustafa Abbasi

Researchers who dealt with the history of the Golan in the Ottoman period have mostly focused on the last decades of Ottoman rule. Most scholarly papers examined the new villages founded by the Circassian refugees during the 1880s, a time often regarded as a new epoch in the region's history, a period of prosperity in what was previously a relatively poor backwater of villagers (*fallahin*) and a large, dominant tribal population.¹ It seems, however, that to better understand the scale and nature of the settlement processes that occurred throughout the Golan in the early modern period one must go back and carefully examine the rural settlement patterns in the 17th–18th centuries.

The history of the Golan in the 17th–18th centuries is a “black hole” of two hundred years that has never been properly investigated. This is mostly due to insufficient consideration of the Arabic sources, the rich material in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul,

and a lack of familiarity with the geography of the area under study.²

This chapter is devoted to a thorough examination of rural settlement dynamics and population demographics in the Golan from the 17th century up to the mid-19th century. Studying the Golan of this period is challenging; most travelogues and chronicles written by local Syrian historians ignore the Golan or mention it only *in passim*. Like their western colleagues, their descriptions focused on the main routes they traveled along, from Damascus to Jisr Banat Ya'qūb via Qunaitra, or along the road from Banias to Qunaitra via the village of Sukeyk, or along the road that runs through the southern Golan via the important town of Fiq.³ Thus their descriptions offer only spatially limited, albeit diverse, accounts of the landscape, wildlife, settlements, khans and holy shrines that they encountered along the road. Similarly, the European travelogues

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- 1 Schur, N. *History of the Golan* (Tel Aviv, 2002); Schumacher, G. *The Jaulân* (London, 1888); Kipnis, Y. *The Golan Heights: Political History, Settlement and Geography since 1949* (London, 2013); Bagh, S. *al-Jawlan: Dirasa fi al-Jughrafya al-Iqlemiyya* (Damascus, 1983); Ben David, C. The Golan in the Traveler's Literature and Research in the 19th Century. *Eretz HaGolan* 100 (1985), 18–21. In addition to Qunaitra, 15 Circassian villages were founded in the Golan: Mansura, Sourman (A'dnaniya), Madariya (Qahtaniya), E'in Ziwan, Mumsiya (Ghasaniya), Jweiza, Ber A'Jam, Bariqa, Khushniyya, Fahham, Fazzara, Rweihina, Mazra't al-Faraj, Hamediya, Sindiyana. See Bagh, *al-Jawlan*, 267–268; Vilnai, Z. *Golan and Hermon* (Jerusalem, 1970).
 - 2 Marom, R. The Study of the Arab Countryside throughout the Generations: The Arab Settlement in the Sharon Region as a Case Study. *HaMizrah HeHadash* (2023), 346–348.
 - 3 Cytryn-Silverman, K. *The Road Inns (khāns) in Bilād al-Shām* (Oxford, 2010), Table 1; Schumacher, G. *The Jaulân*. Hartal, M. (trans.) (Jerusalem, 1998), 61–65.

seldom deal with political and social aspects of Golan lifeways. Many explorers highlighted the travesties and dangers they experienced during their journey. These accounts reflect a broader European explorers' genre known from other parts of the Levant. Most travelers seldom left the main roads to venture into the interior of the Golan.

Research of the Golan is further complicated by the fact that, unlike the Galilee (with Safad), 'Ajlūn and the Damascene countryside (al-Ghūta), the Golan did not have an urban center with government institutions, such as a Shar'ia court of law, *madrasas* (religious schools), guilds, or foreign missionaries.⁴ These urban institutions provide the rich data essential for the reconstruction of the demographic, social and economic features of society. Although the Golan was under the jurisdiction of Damascus, and Qunaitra had become a small administrative center, we have no access to the Damascene Shar'ia archives and Qunaitra had neither a court of law or any of the urban administrative offices that were common in large or even medium-sized towns. Such administrative bodies were established only within the framework of the reforms carried out by the Ottomans at the end of the 19th century.

Despite these limitations, data can still be salvaged from a plethora of local chronicles, biographies, travel diaries, *waqf* endowments, *defters* (tax registers), and imperial local correspondences between the governors of Damascus, the Sublime

Porte and leaders from the Golan. This chapter surveys the abovementioned sources in a thematic overview, structured in chronological order from the earliest to the latest writings:

- The Damascene historian and geographer Ahmad al-Qaramani (d. 1611).⁵
- The historian and mufti of Safad Ahmad al-Khālīdī al-Safadī (d. 1625).⁶
- The Ottoman travel diaries written by Evliyâ Çelebi (d. 1682).⁷
- The Damascene high ranking clergy Muhammad Amin al-Muḥibi (d. 1699).⁸
- The travelogue by the sheikh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulsi (d. 1730) who was born in Damascus and is regarded as one of the greatest sufi scholars of all time.⁹
- The travelogue of sheikh Mustafa al-Siddeqi, a well-known Damascene clergyman (d. 1749).¹⁰
- The books by the traveler Ibrahim al-Khayari (d. 1762), who was born in the holy city of Medina.¹¹
- The Egyptian traveler Mustafa Asad al-Lukaimi (d. 1759).¹²

These writings were mainly concerned with the religious aspects of the Golan, describing holy places and holy tombs and rarely included descriptions of social life and geography.

In addition to the above, I incorporated data from the latest edition of the *Tapu-u Tahrir-i- Defteri*,

4 Craftsmen were organized in guilds in all the large and medium sized towns according to their profession, i.e. tailors, goldsmiths, dyers, blacksmiths, etc. At the head of each guild stood the *Sheikh al-Kar* who was in charge of a specific profession in the market.

5 Al-Qaramani, A. *Akhbar al-Duwal, Wa Athar al-Auwal* (Beirut, 1992).

6 Al-Safadī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khālīdī. *Tarikh al-Amir Fakhir al-Din al-Ma'ni al-Thani* (Beirut, 1985).

7 Çelebi, E. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul, 1999), vol. 3, 79–82.

8 Al-Muḥibi, M. *Khulasat al-Athar fi Aa'yan al-Qarin al-Hadi A'shar* (Damascus, 1867).

9 Al-Nabulsi, A. *al-Hadrah al-Unsiyah fi al-Rihla al-Qudsiyah* (Beirut, 1990).

10 Al-Siddeqi, M. *al-Khamrah al-Mahsiyah, fi al-Rihlah al-Qudsiyah* (Baqah al-Gharbiyah, 2011).

11 Al-Khayari, I. *Tuhfat al-Udaba Wa salwat al-Ghuraba 2* (Baghdad, 1980).

12 Al-Lukaimi, M. *Mawanih al-Unis fi Rihlati li Wadi al-Quds* (Cairo, 1985).

a contemporary Ottoman record that was composed mainly for the purpose of collecting taxes. The latter include detailed divisions into *nāḥiyes*, village and farm (*mazra'a*) names, the adult male residents in each village, their religious and sectarian affiliations, crop types, endowments, types of land ownerships, and more. In contrast to the detailed 16th century tax registers,¹³ there are no 17th–18th

century defters at all, and only two defters from the 19th century that add important data.¹⁴

Lastly, the prolific Jawlānī scholar Taysīr Khalaf (born in Qunaitra, 1967) published extensively on the history of the province of Damascus and the Golan in both medieval and modern periods; his works form a key reference to the following discussion.¹⁵

THE STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE GOLAN

Greater Syria (Arabic: *Bilād al-Shām*) was divided by the Ottomans into three provinces: Damascus (Dimashq, al-Shām), Aleppo (Halab) and Tripoli (Trābulus). As in the early Ottoman period, the post of governor (*beylerbeyi* or *vāli*) in Damascus was one of the most prestigious in the empire's administrative apparatus. Several of the Damascene governors worked their way further up the ladder to higher ranking offices within the empire's government.¹⁶ During most of the period under discussion, the territory of the province of Damascus stretched all the way south to al-ʿArish; it was divided into eleven subunits (*sanjaqs*): Jerusalem, Gaza, Safad, Nablus, ʿAjlūn, Lajjūn, Tadmor, Sidon, Beirut,

Kerak, and Shawbak. The Golan was under the direct jurisdiction of Damascus.¹⁷

Each *sanjaq* had its own governor (*sanjaq beyi*) who was either a foreigner or a native from the region's local leadership. The *sanjaqs* were further divided into *nāḥiyes*, the smallest unit within the Ottoman administrative hierarchy. The villages and farms in each *nāḥiya* were governed by the *sheikh al-nāḥiya*.

The comprehensive study of 16th century Syria by Asmaa Sheikh Khalil, mentions 24 *nāḥiyes* within the province of Damascus. The Golan, which included the eastern Ḥawrān, was divided into three *nāḥiyes*: the eastern and southern Golan belonged to the *nāḥiya* of Ḥawrān, the northern and western

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- 13 Hütteroth, W.D. and Abdulfattah, K. *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977); Lewis, B. *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam 7th–16th Centuries* (London, 1976); Cohen, A. and Lewis, B. *Population and Revenue in Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton, 1978); Bakhit, A. *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Damascus, 1982); al-Sheikh Khalil, A. *The Countryside in the Ottoman Era (Economic Social Administration Study) in the 16th Century AD/10th Hijri in the Province of Damascus as a Model* (Amman, 2010).
 - 14 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office. *Tapu Tahrir Defteri, Istanbul*. Defter No. 926, 1289/1872, 40–46, Defter No. 1034, 1300/1882, 78–107.
 - 15 Khalaf, T. (ed.) *Wathaiq Uthmaniyah Hawla al-Jawlan: Awqāf, awāmir, sālāmāt* (Damascus, 2006); Khalaf, T. *Sūrat al-Jawlān fī al-Thurāth al-Jughrāfī al-Aʿrabi Wa al-Islāmi* (Damascus, 2004); Khalaf, T. *al-Jawlan fī Masadir al-Tarikh al-Aʿrabi, Hawliyat Wa Trajim* (Damascus, 2005).
 - 16 Darling, L.T. The Syrian Provinces in Ottoman Eyes: Three Historians' Representations of Bilad al-Sham. *ARAM* 9/10 (1997–1998), 351.
 - 17 Barber, K. *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1980), 11; Gross, M. *Ottoman Rule in the Province of Damascus 1860–1909* (Georgetown, 1979), 1–4; Rafēq, A. *The Province of Damascus, 1723–1784* (Beirut, 1970), 1–4; Aʿwad, A. *al-Idara al-Uthmaniyah fī Wilayat Suriyah 1864–1914* (Cairo, 1965), 61–62.

slopes of the Golan comprised the *nāḥiya* of Hula. The *nāḥiya* of Sha'ara controlled the central part of the Golan.¹⁸

According to Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, by 1596 the internal sub-division of the Golan changed, and the number of *nāḥiyas* increased from three to six: Sha'ara, Hula, Jaydūr, Būṭayḥa, Jawlān Gharbī and Jawlān Sharqī.¹⁹ The administrative borders of the Golan seem to have remained much the same in the 17th to mid-19th centuries. The Golan encompassed the area north of the Yarmuq River to Mt. Hermon (Jabal al-Shaykh); in the east it was hemmed in by the Ruqqad River, while the eastern escarpment of the Hula valley marked its western border.²⁰

According to the Swiss explorer and orientalist Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (d. 1817) who visited the Golan in 1812, the southern Golan (al-Zawiyya), including the town of Fiq, was annexed to the province of Sidon under Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzār (1775–1804). It seems al-Jazzār wished to control the caravans that carried large quantities of grain and cotton from the Ḥawrān that were exported via Acre. These measures infuriated the merchants of Damascus who complained to the authorities that al-Jazzār was running a monopoly and damaging their incomes. al-Jazzār, however, was not deterred and even had plans for the restoration of the road and the bridges from Ḥawrān to Acre. Acre became one of the most

important ports on the eastern Mediterranean littoral during al-Jazzār's time; a busy traffic of ships was recorded and the volume of commerce in the city increased. New khans were built to provide services to merchants, some of whom established agencies and centers in Acre and other cities on the eastern coast.²¹ Burckhardt wrote that Fiq was the only area east of the Jordan that belonged to Acre, noting that the above changes had negative consequences on the local population, many of whom left and settled in other *nāḥiyas*.²²

While the town of Fiq was under the jurisdiction of Sidon, the village of Banias was controlled by the Druze *amir* of Hasbaiyya, who was nominated as the village sheikh.²³ Banias and the nearby fortress of al-Subayba, as well as Na'arān²⁴ never regained the importance they had as Mamluk administrative centers.

The administrative division of the region underwent several changes towards the end of the Ottoman period; some were due to local power struggles, while others stemmed from decisions made by the central regime in Istanbul. In 1864 the *eyālet* of Syria was founded, the latter replaced the *eyālet* of Damascus. Most of the Golan came under the new *eyālet* of Syria. In 1888 the *eyālet* of Beirut was founded, it included land that previously belonged to *eyālet* of Sidon and the *eyālet* of Syria. The Hula valley, that was part of the Golan throughout the

18 Al-Sheikh Khalil, *The Countryside in the Ottoman Era*, 31, 48–50, 65.

19 Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 5, 196–198.

20 Khalaf, T. *al-Marjia' fi al-Jawlan* (Damascus, 2007), 325–342.

21 Philipp, T. *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730–1831* (New York, 2001), 112–113; Panzac, D. International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24/2 (1992), 189–206.

22 Burckhardt, L. *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), 279–280; Philipp, T. *Acre: The Rise and Fall*, 38–78.

23 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 33, 37–38.

24 Both Burckhardt and Schumacher passed the Na'arān; Burckhardt describes it as a ruin while Schumacher describes a small community who settled on the ruins. Burckhardt, *Travels*, 313; Schumacher, G. Notes from Jadur. *PEQ* (1897), 195–196; al-U'mari, A. *al-Ta'rif fi al-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 250; al-Zahirī, K. *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Beirut, 1988), 41.

entire Mamluk period and most of the Ottoman period, was now officially part of *eyālet* Beirut.²⁵

Gottlieb Schumacher (1857–1925), an American engineer of German origin who grew up in the Templar colony in Haifa, conducted a thorough survey of the Golan. He clearly states that the Golan is one of the districts of the Ḥawrān *sanjaq*; its governor (*kaymakam*) sits in Qunaitra. The Golan at this stage was divided into four *nāḥiyas*: Sha'ara in the north, Qunaitra in the center, al-Zawiyah al-Sharkiyah in the southeast and al-Zawiyah

al-Gharbiyah in the southwest.²⁶ In 1900 the division changed once again and the four *nāḥiyas* were Qunaitra, al-Zawiyah, Jaulan and Majdal Shams.²⁷

Although the size and number of *nāḥiyas* changed, the actual size and geographical borders of the Golan in the 17th to mid-19th centuries remained almost the same as they were in the 16th century. Fiḡ and Qunaitra were the administrative centers of the Golan in the 19th century. The only major change was the annexation of the Hula valley to the *eyālet* of Beirut in 1888.

RELATIONS AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE LOCAL SEDENTARY POPULATION AND THE BEDOUIN TRIBES

The Ottoman conquest of the Golan did not destabilize the local communities. Law and order were maintained, and there is no written or archaeological evidence of battles, torched villages, or mass migration. Mamluk *amirs* and local tribes who shifted their loyalty to the Ottoman ruler kept their titles and official positions. Following the conquest of Damascus, the *amirs* of the al-Fadil tribe, and the sheikhs of the al-Na'im tribe, joined the new government and pledged loyalty to Sultan Selim I. Both tribes are mentioned in the *Tapu-u Tahrir-i Defteri*, an indication that they had settled in the Golan long before the Ottoman conquest.

The governor of Damascus, Jānibardī al-Ghazālī, was selected from the Mamluk *amirs*. It thus seems that both the regional rulers and the representatives of the new regime tried to preserve the local sedentary and Bedouin communities.²⁸ Al-Ghazālī, who managed to restrain the tribes in the province, may have succeeded in doing the same in the Golan.²⁹ Upon establishing his position in Damascus and its surroundings, al-Ghazālī restored some of the old Mamluk court and government traditions and symbols. His loyalty, however, must have wavered; as soon as he learned of the death of Sultan Selim (on September 22, 1520), he rebelled openly against the Ottoman Empire. Among his supporters were

25 A'wad, *al-Idara al-Uthmaniyah*, 61–81.

26 Schumacher, *The Jaulān*, 7–1.

27 Salnama (a yearbook that contains diverse data on the various provinces of the empire, including administrative divisions, governors, municipalities, administrative bodies, and diverse data) Vilayet Suriya. 1900\1317H, Number 32; Khalaf, *Wathaiq Uthmāniyah*, 8, 63, 85–86. While the Ottoman empire was reorganizing the state in the 1840s, the government published a statistical and geographical yearbook — the *salnama*. Débarre, S. Mapping the 'Sick Man of Europe': German Cartographers in Anatolia, 1836–1890. *Imago Mundi* 63/1 (2011), 126.

28 Cohen, A. Palestine in the Ottoman Empire until the Beginning of the Modern Era (1516–1804). In Cohen, A. (ed.) *The History of Palestine: Mamluk and Ottoman Rule (1260–1804)*. (Jerusalem, 1990), vol. 7, 93 [Hebrew]

29 Rafeq, A. *al-Arab wa al-Uthmaniyun, 1516–1916* (Damascus, 1974), 65.

Bedouin tribes from all across Syria as well as communities and individuals who were maltreated by the new regime.³⁰ We do not know whether the local population and/or leadership in the Golan joined or supported al-Ghazālī. The rebellion was suppressed in the winter of 1521 and al-Ghazālī was executed. Ottoman rule in Syria was no doubt strengthened by dealing with this short disturbance.³¹

The tribes and their leaders who are mentioned in the *defter*, separately from the rural and urban population, were called *jam'at*. Ḥajji Omar, the leader of the 'Arab al-Na'im, received the title of *muqadam*.³² Sheikh Khalil is mentioned as the leader of the al-'Ali tribe. Among the leaders of the 'Arab al-Fadil there is mention of Ismā'il Abu Isa and 'Asāf.³³ Both the 'Arab al-Fadil and the 'Arab al-Na'im remained the dominant tribes in the Golan in this period. The al-Fadil were more prominent due to their attribution to the family of the Prophet Muhammad. These leaders are also mentioned in the 1559 *Muhimme Defter*,³⁴ which included the sultans' orders that were sent to the governors of the provinces and other local leaders.

The loyalty of the tribes in the Golan was professed when they joined sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver (*Kanuni*) in capturing his rebellious son

Bayezid. Among the sheikhs that are mentioned, four are from the Golan: The sheikh of *nāḥiya* Jaydūr Gabi Bey al-Harithiy, the sheikh of *nāḥiya* Jawlān Musa Oglu, the sheikh of *nāḥiya* Qunaitra, Harb ibn Bishaj, and the sheikh of *nāḥiya* Hula, Faiq ibn al-Swaf.

In addition, there are also the names of three leaders from the Ḥawrān: the *mutasarrif* of *nāḥiya* Ḥawrān, the sheikh Na'im and the two *Za'ims* of *nāḥiya* Ḥawrān, Sheikh Nasrallah and Sheikh Gouzlan.³⁵ This shows the prominent standing of the tribe of al-Na'im in both the eastern Golan and the Ḥawrān. As in the Mamluk period, the Bedouin tribes were put in charge of guarding the main routes between Cairo and Damascus and the Ḥajj route from Damascus to Mecca.³⁶

Although the tribes in the Golan were not officially incorporated in the safeguarding of the main routes, they helped in maintaining security. The governors of Damascus could not afford to ignore them due to the importance of the road that crossed the Golan and connected the Galilee to Damascus. They also relied on the local Bedouin to prevent external groups from settling in the Golan.

The struggle between Ahmad Hafiz Pasha and the *amir* of Mt. Lebanon, Fakhr al-Din al-M'ani II (d. 1635), is a good example. Sheikh Ahmad al-Khalidi

30 Rafeq, A.K. Changes in the Relationship between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Syrian Provinces from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries. In Thomas Naff, T. and Roger Owen, R. (eds.) *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Southern Illinois University, 1977), 55.

31 Sahin, K. *Empire and Power in the Reign of Suleman, Narrating the Sixteen Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge, 2013), 36–37; Rafeq, *al-Arab wa al-Uthmaniyun*, 84; Uztuna, Y. *Tarikh al-Dawlah al-Uthmaniyya* (Istanbul, 1988), 261.

32 Al 'Uthmani Muhammad al-Husayni, *Tarikh Safad*. Suhayl, Z. (ed.) (Damascus, 2005), 36–37. 'Uthmani refers to the leaders of the tribes as *Mukaddam al-A'shir*.

33 The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, Tabu Tahrir Defteri, Istanbul. *Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri*. Defter Number 275, 958/1550, 116–118.

34 Shoqirat, A. *The Local and Tribal Leadership in Sham Home Land (Ottoman Farman No. 59/3, Year 966/1559)* (Amman, 2018), 25–31.

35 Shoqirat, *The Local*, 26–28.

36 For many years, the Turbai family was in charge of the route that crossed the Jezreel valley, Jenin and northern Samaria. Heyd, U. *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615* (Oxford, 1960), 45–46, 52, 54, 77.

al-Safadi describes in great detail the fighting that dominated the first three decades of the 17th century.³⁷ According to al-Safadi, Fakhr al-Din wanted to annex the Golan to his territories in Mt. Lebanon. He thus bypassed the governor of Damascus and contacted Nasouh Pasha, the grand *vezir*, who granted the fortress of al-Subayba and its surroundings to Fakhr al-Din in return for large sums of money and gifts. Although the Zarifa family who occupied the fortress was on good terms with the local tribes in the Golan, they could not do much to oppose Fakhr al-Din.³⁸ Matters began to change in 1612, after the appointment of Ahmad Hafiz Pasha as governor of Damascus.³⁹ The new governor restricted the influence of the al-M'ani family in the Golan by removing local leaders who were loyal to them and replacing them with sheikhs who were willing to shift their loyalty to him.⁴⁰

The al-M'ani fought the governor; the two armies clashed near Muzayrib on May 21, 1613 and al-M'ani's force triumphed. The governor of Damascus reorganized his forces, while al-M'ani strengthened the fortress of al-Subayba and Baniyas and restocked his military supplies. Seeing the governor's investment in his army and after a number of clashes between the two forces, al-M'ani boarded a ship that left for Tuscany. Ahmad Hafiz Pasha reestablished Ottoman control in the Golan as well as the fortress at al-Subayba.⁴¹ However, al-M'ani's

stay in Italy was short. He returned to his base at Mt. Lebanon in 1618 and renewed his assaults on the Golan. During the same year, his force attacked Fiq in the southern Golan, causing severe damage. His men returned with a number of sheikhs they had taken hostage. Al-M'ani accused them of raiding Tiberias and the region of Safad.⁴² The struggle between al-M'ani, the local sheikhs in the Golan, and the governor of Damascus continued until al-M'ani was killed in 1635. His death allowed the local sheikhs to regain their former power and position. Although internal struggles between the tribes and between the sheikhs and the governor of Damascus over taxes, grazing land, and damage to sedentary villages continued, it seems the Golan gradually recovered from the ongoing violent struggles that destabilized it in the early decades of the 17th century.⁴³

In comparison to the Golan, the Galilee, Samaria and southern Lebanon were considerably better developed, and their stability perhaps better maintained. Dahir al-'Umar invested in the Galilee and rebuilt its harbor towns, fortresses and urban centers. The Tuqan Jarrar family invested and developed the cotton fields and textile industry in Nablus, which boosted the local economy. A similar pattern can be seen in southern Lebanon where the Nassar family dominated the region of Jabal 'Amil.⁴⁴

37 Rafeq, *al-Arab wa al-Uthmaniyyun*, 148–149; Hashi, S. *Tarikh al-Umara al-Shihabiyyen* (Beirut, 1984), 51–54.

38 Istiphan al-Duwaihi, *Tarikh al-Azmina* (Beirut, 2000), 455.

39 Al-Safadi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Khālidī, *Tarikh al-Amir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni al-Thani* (Beirut, 1985), 1–12.

40 The sheikhs dismissed by the governor were: Sheikh Hamdan and Sheikh A'mru from A'jlun District, in their places he appointed his ally Rashid, the Sheikh of Arab Sardiyya.

41 Al-Safadi, *Tarikh al-Amir*, 8–9; Hashi, *Tarikh al-Umara*, 51–52; al-Muhibi, M. *Khulasat al-Athar fi Aa'yan a-Qarin al-Hadi A'shar* 3 (Damascus, 1967), 302.

42 Al-Safadi, *Tarikh al-Amir*, 71–72; Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 342.

43 Al-Safadi, *Tarikh al-Amir*, 197–198; Qaraili, B. *Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni Amir lubnan; Idarathu al-Siyasiya, 1590–1630* (Harisa, 1937), 125; Hashi, *Tarikh al-Umara*, 67–70; al-Muhibi, *Khulasat al-Athar*, 266–268.

44 Heyd, U. *Dahir al-Umar, Ruler of Galilee* (Jerusalem, 1942); al-Safa, J. *Tarikh Jabal A'mil* (Beirut, 1981); Doumani, B. *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700–1900* (Berkeley, 1995).

The Golan remained a relatively poor transition area; its population practiced traditional small-scale agriculture. The region's economy, like many other areas, was still based on wheat, barley, fruit orchards, goats, honey and vegetable crops. Neither cotton nor tobacco, the two crops that thrived and boosted the economy along the coastal valleys and further inland, could be cultivated in the Golan.⁴⁵ The soil, weather, and terrain were simply not suitable. The olive oil industry, the main cash crop in the Byzantine period, was never reestablished.

Burckhardt describes the struggles between the Bedouin and the *fallāḥīn* (farmers) — the money extracted from the villagers in return for protection,⁴⁶ and the taxes collected by the *agha* (an honorific title of a civilian or military office).⁴⁷ The *agha* who resided in Qunaitra (which often suffered from internal feuds), moved, in 1799, to live in a tent just north of the town.⁴⁸

Lack of security along the main roads, power struggles between the sedentary population and nomads, and protection money paid to the Bedouins by villagers, were phenomena encountered across the country; they were not unique to the Golan.⁴⁹

In 1857, when the American missionary and theologian William Thomson (d. 1894) visited the Golan, he received a warm welcome and was honored by the head of the al-Fadil tribe, Amir Hasan al-F'aur. Thompson's impression was that much of the Golan was settled by Bedouins.⁵⁰ The sheikh, according to Thomson, was a descendent of the family of the Prophet Muhammad. The local leaders who approached him would kiss his hand. Al-F'aur ordered his chief servant, who was well known in the Golan and the Hula valley, to assist Thomson.⁵¹

His son, Muhammad al-F'aur (d. 1906), extended the territories of the tribe in a peaceful manner,⁵² buying large plots of land from the Ottoman government.⁵³ He was replaced by his son Mahmoud al-F'aur (d. 1927) who joined the forces of the Arab rebellion led by Amir Faisal in Damascus and Laurence of Arabia.⁵⁴ Following the suppression of the revolt he fled to French Mandate Syria and found refuge in Jordan. He returned to the Golan in 1921, after receiving amnesty from the French.⁵⁵

Ahmad Wasfi Zakariya, whose research focused on the Bedouin tribes, states that the al-Fadil and al-Na'im were the largest tribes in the central

45 Marom, R. Lydda Sub-District: Lydda and its Countryside During the Ottoman Period. In Shavit, A. (ed.) *Lod: Diospolis — City of God*. Journal of the History, Archaeology and Heritage of Lod 8 (Lod, 2022), 118–120; Ashtor, E. The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages. *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976), 675–715; Yazbak M. Processes of Change and Social Structures in Nablus, Nazareth, and Haifa (1750–1914). *The New East* 41 (2000), 29–40.

46 Etikes, H. *Nomads and Droughts, Challenges to Middle Eastern Economic Development: The Case of Early Ottoman Gaza (1516–82)*. PhD. diss. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 2008), 114–162.

47 Marom, R. and Taxel I. Hamama: The Historical Geography of Settlement Continuity and Change in Majdal 'Asqalan's Hinterland, 1270–1750 CE. *Journal of Historical Geography* 82 (2023), 49–65.

48 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 313–314.

49 Marom, Lydda Sub-District, 118; Marom and Taxel, Hamama: The Historical Geography, 58, 60–61, 65; Marom, R., Tepper, Y. and Adams, M.J. Lajjun: Forgotten Provincial Capital in Ottoman Palestine. *Levant* 55/2 (2023), 218–241.

50 Thomson, W. *The Land and the Book* (New York, 1880–1886), vol. 3, 432, 436; Ish-Shalom, M. *Christian Travelers in the Holy Land* (Tel-Aviv, 1965), 35–36.

51 Thomson, W. *The Land and the Book* (New York, 1883), 435–438.

52 *Salnameh* 1285\1869, 2; 1870\1287, 3; 1872\1289, 4; 1873\1290, 5; 1877\1294, 9; 1884\1301, 16; 1900\1318, 31.

53 Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nantes. Report on the town of Marj 'Ayoun, File Number 2201.

54 British National Archives. File 371/5120.

55 Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nantes. Report on the town of Marj 'Ayoun, File Number 1363.



Figure 3.1. The al-F'aur family mansion at Wasset in the Golan. The Amir al-F'aur (left) and his brother, the Amir Shaman (courtesy of the F'aur family, photographer unknown).



Figure 3.2. F'aur F'aur, the last *amir* of the al-Fadil tribe to rule in the Golan (courtesy of the F'aur family, photographer unknown).

Golan in the early 20th century. The al-Fadil lived in 250–300 tents, while the al-Na'im occupied 400–500 tents. They made their living by selling meat, milk products and charcoal to the Damascenes and the population in the Beqaa Valley of Lebanon. The al-Na'im also cultivated land. The al-Fadil leaders resided in the village of Wasset, west of Qunaitra, where the al-F'aur family built their mansion (Figs. 3.1–3.2).⁵⁶

In addition to the two large tribes of al-Na'im and al-Fadil, there were numerous smaller tribes: Zubeid, Weisiyh, Manadra, Freihat, A'kidat, al-Bayadin, Bani Kilab, Bani Koursi, Ra'bni, al-Tahhan, Bani Numir, al-Mouhamadat, al-Na'arni, al-Sham, al-Dab, al-Qasrin, al-Sharahil, Abu-Haya, Bani Rabia', Ja'tin, Bani Diab, Wild 'Ali and Bani Khalid.⁵⁷ In addition, there were Turkmen tribes

who spoke Turkish; few of them spoke Arabic. Their territory stretched from al-Hish north of Qunaitra up to Mt. Hermon.⁵⁸

According to Zakariya:

*“They made their living from agriculture and rearing herds...in the spring they move to live in their tents that are constructed around their villages. In the winter they return to reside in their stone houses. Their villages in the Golan are scattered between the forest and the black basalt rocks...they have a good reputation and their relations with their Arab neighbours are good. By the end of the Ottoman period their leader was Musa Agha Khalifa, who was a powerful man with considerable influence and property.”*⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Zakariya, A. *A'shair al-Sham* (Damascus, 1983), 391–398.

⁵⁷ Schumacher, *The Jaulan* (1998 tran.), 50–55; Salnameh, 1879\1296, 11.

⁵⁸ For more information on the Bedouin tribes in the Golan and its surroundings, see: Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 335; Khalaf, *Wathaiq 'Uthmaniyyah*, 63; Schumacher, *The Jaulan* (1998 tran.), 55–56.

⁵⁹ Zakariya, *A'shair al-Sham*, 680.

Thus, although the Golan lay on the doorstep of Damascus, it did not receive the full attention of the governors of the 17th–18th centuries. Construction projects such as those conducted by Lala Mustafa Pasha and Sinan Pasha, who built markets and mosques in Qunaitra and Sa'sa' during the 16th century, belonged to the past. The main roads that crossed it were guarded, the Mamluk khans were maintained and rebuilt. In later centuries, however, the construction of public buildings in the region almost came to a standstill.

During the early Ottoman period the local leaders and sheiks played an important role in regional affairs and were respected by the agents of the Ottoman government. By the 17th–18th centuries, matters had changed; the status of the local leaders in the Golan had weakened, while the presence and power of the Lebanese *amirs* grew. The relations between the tribes and the central government went through various ups and downs; According

to Karl Barber, they improved during the first half of the 18th century. Although the formal policy remained much the same, and the Ottomans still tried to incorporate the tribes into the defense of the Haj routes, escort the Haj caravans, or settle them along the main roads from Damascus to Mecca,⁶⁰ it seems this policy was only enforced in the Golan at a much later period, when the government reforms were carried out.⁶¹

By the Late Ottoman period the al-Fadil tribe played an important political role: it became a legitimate power in the eyes of the local population and of the representatives of the central governments in Istanbul and Europe. While the Ottomans preferred the Circassian communities, the al-Fadil managed to integrate into the highest administrative levels. By the time of Amir Faisal (1918–1920), and later during the French occupation in Syria, their tribal leaders were seen as the official representatives of the Golan.⁶²

THE SCALE AND PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT IN THE GOLAN

Although relations between the local population and the central government were conducted by the tribal leaders, a large percentage of the population in the region were sedentary villagers. The number of villages counted in the Mamluk period was 360, according to al-Zahiri (d. 1468).⁶³ By 1535 the number of villages had dropped by 78%, remaining at between 74 and 78 villages until the end of the

16th century.⁶⁴ No sources provide the number of villages in the 17th to mid-19th centuries.

The taxation system changed. The 16th century Ottoman clerks, who collected the taxes and wrote the detailed tax registers, were replaced by local tax officials (*multezims*) who collected taxes on behalf of the Ottoman government and received a certain

60 Barber, *Ottoman Rule*, 1–97.

61 Schumacher, *The Jaulan* (1998 tran.), 51.

62 Abbasi, M. and Seltenreich, Y. A Leader on Both Sides of the Border: The Emir Fa'our al-Fa'our between Syria and Mandatory Palestine. *Holy Land Studies* 6/1 (2007), 1–28.

63 Al-Zāhirī, Khalīl b. Shāhīn, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashfal-Mamālik* (Paris, 1894), 40–42.

64 The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office. *Tapu Tahrir Defteri, Istanbul*, Defter No. 401, 942/1535, 338, 346, 354, 379; Defter No. 423, 973/1565, 83–87; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 36–63.

percentage as their fee. They did not, however, keep detailed, organized tax books.⁶⁵

After combing local and European travel diaries dated to the 17th–19th centuries, and the data

from the first European survey until the survey conducted by Schumacher, we managed to discern the names of 32 villages in this period (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Villages mentioned in travel diaries and surveys

NO.	VILLAGE NAME	TRAVELER'S NAME AND SOURCE
1	Sa'sa'	Çelebi, <i>Seyahatnamesi</i> , 79; al-Khayari, <i>Tuhfat al-Udabavol.2</i> , 162–164; al-Nabulsi, <i>al-Hadra</i> , 5–6; al-Siddeqi, <i>al-Khamrah</i> , 5; al-Lukaimi, <i>Mawanih al-Unis</i> , 265–267; al-Hallaq, <i>Hawadith Dimashq</i> , 223; Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 313–316.
2	Banias	al-Qaramani, <i>Akhbar al-Duwal</i> , 112; Seetzen, <i>Reisen durch Syrien</i> , 34–133, 312–432; ⁶⁶ Wilson, <i>Land of the Bible</i> , 173, 175; ⁶⁷ de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 235–247. ⁶⁸
3	Cabbiya	al-Qaramani, <i>Akhbar al-Duwal</i> , 112.
4	'Akrabā	al-Qaramani, <i>Akhbar al-Duwal</i> , 112.
5	Turunca	Çelebi, <i>Seyahatnamesi</i> , 79.
6	Kunaytira	Çelebi, <i>Seyahatnamesi</i> , 79; al-Khayari, <i>Tuhfat al-Udaba</i> , vol.2, 162–164; al-Nabulsi, <i>al-Hadra</i> , 5–6; al-Siddeqi, <i>al-Khamrah</i> , 5; al-Lukaimi, <i>Mawanih al-Unis</i> , 265–267; al-Hallaq, <i>Hawadith Dimashq</i> , 223; Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 313–316.
7	'Ayn Kuniya	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
8	'Ajar	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
9	Z'aura	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
10	'Ayn Fit	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432; Wilson, <i>Land of the Bible</i> , 173; de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 240.
11	Halta	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
12	Sarda	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
13	Khrew'aa	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
14	Nuhyale	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.
15	Fik	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432; Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 280.
16	Cubbetu'l Zit	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432; Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 36–47.
17	Mecdel-Sems	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 36–47; Wilson, <i>Land of the Bible</i> , 175.
18	Beyt-Cin	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 36–47.
19	Rucm el-'Abhar	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
20	Cibbin	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
21	Elal	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
22	Hisfīn	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
23	Tesil	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
24	Shuka	Seetzen, <i>Reisen</i> , 34–133, 312–432.

65 Regarding the change in the tax system see: Cohen, A. *Palestine in the 18th Century, Patterns of Government and Administration* (Jerusalem, 1973), 191–197.

66 Seetzen, U.J. *Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*. In Kruse, F. and Fleischer H.L. (Berlin, 1854).

67 Wilson, J. *The Land of the Bible* (London, 1847).

68 De Forest, H. Notes of a Tour in Mount Lebanon, and to the Eastern Side of Lake Huleh. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 2 (1851), 239–247.

NO.	VILLAGE NAME	TRAVELER'S NAME AND SOURCE
25	Nab	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
26	Casim	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 279–285, 313–315.
27	Nawa	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.
28	Sukeik	de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 240.
29	Sukmmaka	de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 240.
30	Mughar	de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 241.
31	Hafr	de Forest, <i>Tour</i> , 241.
32	Kafr Harib	Burckhardt, <i>Travels</i> , 276–285, 313–315.

Table 3.1 does not register all the villages in the Golan. Most travelers did not stray from the main road and recording the number of villages was not their aim. Rather, the villages mentioned are simply part of the general description of the route they were travelling.

In the absence of access to the *sijills* (the protocols of the Shar'ia court in Damascus, which comprise *waqfias* — inheritance orders and rulings), it is not possible to know the exact number of villages during this period. The picture becomes clearer only when the Ottoman tax collectors return to writing detailed tax registers (*defters*). According to the tax registers of 1872 the number of villages in the Golan totaled 62. The defter of 1882 gives a total of 72 villages. This number, however, includes both

villages and *mazra'as* (farmland with no settlers, or seasonal occupations).⁶⁹ Unlike the 16th century defters, the 19th century defters do not provide the number of families and demographic information cannot be deduced from them by the taxation sums.

In the 1891 *salname* (official annal) of the Qunaytra district, there are three *nāḥiyas* under its jurisdiction (Mecdel-Sems, Zawiya and Jawlān), 46 villages and 61 farms.⁷⁰ Sadly, the village names are not provided. The most complete list we have is based on the 1900 *salname*.⁷¹ This source is considerably more detailed and includes information regarding the administrative bodies such as the district management council, the commercial council, the educational council, legal councils, and more. It rosters 78 villages and 32 *mazra'as* (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Village names mentioned in the 1900 *salname* of the *nāḥiyas* of Mecdel-Sems, Zawiya, Kunaytira and Jawlān.

MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA MECDEL-SEMS	VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA MECDEL-SEMS	MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA JAWLĀN	VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA JAWLĀN	MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA ZAWIYYA	VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA ZAWIYYA	MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA KUNAYTIRA	VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA KUNAYTIRA
Khan Dweir	Mecdel-Sems	Ahmidiya	Naran	Manadra	El'al	Mecdeleye	Kunaytira
Khrew'aa	Cubbetu'l Zit	Deyr Siras		Awlad Diab Freij	Kefr Harib	'Ayn Sakara	el-Hamidiyye
Nuhayle	Z'aura	Almin			Fik	Delhamiye	Mansure

69 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office. *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, Istanbul. Defter No. 926,1289/1872, 40–46, Defter No. 1034, 1300/1882, 78–107.

70 Salnama Vilayet Suriya. 1891\1309, p.151.

71 In his research F. Abu Fakhr based his data on the 1900 Salnama. See Abu Fakhr, F. *Tarikh Liwa Huran al-Ijtima'i, al-Suwayda, dara', al-Qunaytirah, Ajlun, 1840–1918* (al-Suwayda, 1999). Khalaf quotes him, see Khalaf, *Wathaiq Uthmāniyah*, 85–87.

THE GOLAN FROM THE 17TH CENTURY TO THE MID-19TH CENTURY

<i>MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA MECDEL- SEMS</i>	<i>VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA MECDEL-SEMS</i>	<i>MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA JAWLĀN</i>	<i>VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA JAWLĀN</i>	<i>MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA ZAWIYYA</i>	<i>VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA ZAWIYYA</i>	<i>MAZRA'AS IN NĀḤIYA KUNAYTIRA</i>	<i>VILLAGES IN NĀḤIYA KUNAYTIRA</i>
	'Ayn Kuniya	Remit					Surman
	'Ayn Fit	Fāhūra			Isqūfiyya	'Aça	Suveyki
	Banyas	Kasrin			Yakusiyi	Asbah	'Ayn Zivan
	Halas/ Killis	Derdara çilibina			Debbusiye	Hiyam Velid	Mumisiya
	Kusaybe Harfā	Salukiyye			Cibbin	Muftakhata Gharabin	'Ayn 'Aça
	Magar	Sweha			Kefr-Ma	Muveyse	Shukutli
	'Ajar	Debbura			Abdīn	Bire	Rwehini
	Bak'ata	Yahudiya			Jamlā	'Ayn Tīna	Sultaniyye
	Sa'sa'	Ulleyka			Šajara	Husniye	Cuveyze
	Arnabiya				Nafi'aa Kavkab	Farj	Bir 'Açim
	Cubbetu'l Haseb				Iskum	Tennuriye	Fazzara
	'Turunca				Kasrin	Nuhayle Salba	Remit
	Suveyhta				Battiha	Aufana Jaba'a	Sindiyyana
						Butayma Rafid	Ceddiya
					Hisfīn		Dbaye
					Jukdar		Tilistan
					Nujimi		Neffah
							Hassāniye
							Hafīr
							Razaniyye
							Sukmmaka
							Muveyse
							'Ayn Hamra
							Telciyat
							'Ayn Havr
							Muhammad el-Makhfi
							Tal 'Arman
							Furn
							'Ayn Cemāl
							Havvāra
							Dalaweh
							Raviye
							Karahta
							Burayka
							Kudna
							Astiyya
							'Amūdiye
							Muserife
							Cabbiya
							Sukeyk
3	15	11	1	2	19	16	43

It is important to emphasize that the villages of the Hula valley are not included in Table 3.2 because the Hula valley was incorporated into the province of Beirut. Nor does Table 3.2 include the new villages founded by the Circassians.

A comparison between the names of the villages from the 16th century and those of 1900 shows that many (50) village names were preserved, suggesting there was continuity and that some villages were perhaps inhabited by the descendants of the original populations throughout the 17th–18th centuries. The data is not complete, however, and it is difficult to bridge the 200 year gap. Comparing the data from 1891 and 1900 shows that the number of villages grew. Some farms developed into villages; a process that resulted from political stability, regional security and the settling of foreign populations.

Regarding the question of regional decline, Khalaf, Arnaut and others concluded that from the mid-17th century, and even before, up until the mid-19th century, the *fallāḥīn* deserted most of the Golan and the region suffered from general destruction. Khalaf concluded that Qunaitra was still deserted in 1850. He based this conclusion on a document he saw in the Shar'ia Court in Damascus, dated May 18, 1850, which heard the claim of one of the petitioners for the ownership of a store in the town. The document showed that the town was still deserted; its reconstruction and repopulation only began with the arrival of the Circassians in 1878 (see below).⁷²

According to Khalaf, the decline was due to several factors: natural disasters, plagues, lack of

security, the collection of taxes by *multezims* who abused the system, and the exploitation of the peasants by the owners of large estates. The population's income dropped and the *waqf* endowments, established to support the buildings in Qunaitra and Sa'sa' by the vezir Lala Mustafa Pasha, suffered. Khalaf adds that the family name Sha'arani denotes *fallāḥīn* from *nāḥiya* Sha'ara in the Golan, who left and dispersed all across Syria.⁷³

Muhammad Arnaut, who relies on *waqf* documents from the Shar'ia court in Damascus, concluded that signs of weakness could be seen in the province of Damascus and the southern regions of Syria during the 17th century. He does not state what caused this decline.⁷⁴

Despite the firm conclusions of Khalaf and Arnaut, it seems the scale of this decline was neither severe nor dramatic. Circa fifty village names were preserved up until the 20th century. Local and European travelers of the 17th–19th centuries mention 32 villages (see Table 3.1 above), but the number may have been higher. The village populations continued to live alongside the Bedouin tribes. Although data is missing, it seems the region's development and the demographic growth slowed down, but there is no evidence of a major decline or over-all destruction. Land reserves were created in areas that were abandoned or where development had slowed down, allowing the Ottoman authorities to settle the Circassian and Algerian exiles. Fifteen Circassian villages were founded near Qunaitra, and three Algerian villages were founded in the southern Golan, in the 1890s.⁷⁵

⁷² Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 363. Khalaf, *Wathaiq Uthmāniyah*, 46, 80

⁷³ Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 342.

⁷⁴ Arnaut, M. *Ma'tyat a'n Dimashq wa Bilad al-Sham al-Janubiya fi Nihayat, al-Qarn al-Sadis a'shr* (Damascus, 1993), 7

⁷⁵ Yizhaki, T. *Establishment of Circassian Settlements in Palestine and the Golan, 1878–1914* (Ramat Gan, 2019). [Hebrew]; Bagh, *al-Jawlan*, 267–268; Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 58–59; Suheil al-Khalidi, *al-Isha'aa' al-Maghribi fi Bilad al-Sham*, (Alger, 1997), 52–56



Figure 3.3. Map of the land east of the Jordan River. Produced by Schumacher. Published by the PEF 1885.

Gottlieb Schumacher conducted a survey of the Golan in 1884–1886, researching its populations, borders, main roads, physical characteristics, flora, fauna, and climate. The Golan that Schumacher encountered was different from the one described in the 17th–mid–19th centuries. According to him there were 39 villages, in addition to 52 winter villages that were used by the villagers for the winter season, that is, altogether he mentions 91

villages.⁷⁶ Schumacher's data is close to that of the Salname from 1900, which numbers 78 villages in addition to 32 farms. It is assumed that some of the farms mentioned in Salname were used as winter villages. Thus, it can be concluded that there was an increase in the number of villages in the Golan in the second half of the 19th century, a trend which continued during the first half of the 20th century (Fig. 3.3).

⁷⁶ Hartal, M. *The Golan: Survey, Description and Mapping* (Jerusalem, 1998), 18.

THE GOLAN IN CONTEMPORANEOUS ACCOUNTS

Chroniclers, travelers, and Muslim and Christian clerics and government officials provided descriptions of the Golan. The Damascene historian and geographer Ahmad al-Qaramani sketched a written portrait of the Golan in the late 16th century, mentioning Banias, Cabbiya and 'Akraba. However, he did not provide information about the size of the communities, branches of employment or livelihood.⁷⁷

In 1670, Evliyâ Çelebi crossed the Golan on an eight-hour journey from the Banat Ya'qub bridge to Qunaitra. He describes the thick forest, Qunaitra's citadel, the khan, the school (*mekteb*), and the mosque built by Lala Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Damascus (1563–1567). According to Çelebi, it was thanks to the public buildings that the village developed into an important urban center in the Golan.⁷⁸ From Qunaitra he continued to the villages of Turunca, Sa'sa, Khan Sa'sa', Darayyah and reached Damascus.⁷⁹

Ibrahim al-Khayari journeyed from Damascus to Palestine in 1669. Like those before him he visited Sa'sa', its mosque Takkiyya (which was supported by endowments)⁸⁰, and the well preserved guesthouse (*manzul*), that had running water and was surrounded by gardens; the latter was built by Sinan Pasha in 1581.⁸¹ He describes the difficult rocky road to Qunaitra that even the camels found difficult to walk on. He goes on to describe the khan at Qunaitra and the mosque inside it. On

his way south he passes the domed tomb of Sheikh 'Ali Abu al-Nada, one of the most admired saints in the Golan, a *sharîf* (descendant of the of the prophet Muhammad). Two hours later he passes the ruins of the formerly important town of Na'arân and then crosses the bridge at Jacob's Ford and continued to the caravansary at Jubb Yūsuf.⁸²

In his book *al-Hadrah al-Unsiyah fi al-Rihla al-Qudsiyah* (The Enjoyable Trip to Jerusalem), al-Ghanî al-Nabulsi described his journey across the Golan. On March 28, 1690, he stopped to pray at the Taqiyya in Sa'sa' and spent a bitter cold night there. The following day he crossed the forest 'Naqqar Sa'sa' and the difficult stony terrain mentioned by Çelebi. The thick forest along the road harbored dangerous bandits. He met the Turkmen tribes that fed him and his companions. He too describes the khan and the complex built by Lala Pasha (d. 1580), the tomb of Abu al-Nada, and a flowing spring (perhaps at Na'arân). On May 7th, on his way back to Damascus, when al-Nabulsi crosses the bridge at Jacob's Ford, he finds the khan almost deserted; wild animals roam inside and he is saddened by its poor state.⁸³

Sheikh Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi writes about his journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in his work *al-Khamrah al-Mahsiyah, fi al-Rihlah al-Qudsiyah* (The Wonderful Trip to Jerusalem). He crossed the Golan in March 1710; the roads did not improve, and the rough track endangered his horses. He enjoyed

77 Al-Qaramani, *Akhbar al-Duwal*, 112.

78 Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 79; Khalil Mardam bey, *Kitab Awkaf al-Wazir lala Mustafa Pasha* (Damascus, 1935), 16–23. For more information on the Golan forests, see also Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 15–16.

79 Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 80.

80 The Takkiyya is a Sufi center of prayer and ceremonies.

81 Sinan Pasha was the governor of Damascus and was also a grand vezir several times (d. April 1596).

82 Al-Khayari, *Tuhfat al-Udaba*, vol. 2, 162–164; Khalaf, *al-Marjia*, 336–337.

83 Al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadra*, 5–6; Khalaf, *al-Marjia*, 337–338.

the beautiful views, but the extremely cold weather led him to call Qunaitra, *Zunaitira* (the cold town). After the tomb of al-Nada, he entered the frightening forest, but was extremely lucky because he happened to meet the regional governor, escorted by 20 soldiers who carried spears. The governor warned him about the dangers and robbers. He felt relieved when he reached the bridge at Jacob's Ford and was out of the forest.⁸⁴

When al-Lukaimi Mustafa passed by Na'arān in 1731 he wrote that the village "weeps over itself and sheds tears profusely, the residents of the area cry over its remains and wild animals roam the site."⁸⁵ When he arrives at Qunaitra, on September 22nd, the khan was deserted and in ruins; freezing winds blew all around him. The khan and mosque at Sa'sa', however, were operational.⁸⁶

Budayri al-Hallāq was a low-ranking clergyman in Damascus, and a barber who wrote about daily events during the years 1741–1762. His information regarding the Golan probably came from a second-hand source that was close to the Governor of Damascus, Suliman Pasha al-'Azim. Budayri al-Hallāq describes a conflict that took place in 1743, when the Zubeid tribe killed Ibrahim Agha, the deputy of Sulaiman Pasha, governor of Damascus. A force from Damascus was sent to punish the tribe and bring back the body of the murdered official. Al-Hallāq writes that Ibrahim Agha exploited the local population, and that they were relieved when they heard about his death.⁸⁷

At the end of 1743–early 1744, the plague spread in Damascus; people thought that it would pass by the New Year.⁸⁸ In April 1755 a dispute broke out between the Governor of Damascus and the al-Fadil tribe. A military force was sent, the tribe was punished, a number of its men were taken captive, and their herds were confiscated.⁸⁹

On December 8, 1758, a strong earthquake struck Damascus and its surroundings. Al-Hallaq adds that the khans of Qunaitra and Sa'sa' were damaged, and several people died.⁹⁰

The descriptions written by Çelebi, Nabulsi and al-Khayari show that security in the Golan had deteriorated during the 17th century. In Qunaitra and Sa'sa' matters were slightly better. The khan of Banat Yakub, next to the bridge, was deserted and Na'arān remained abandoned. The situation, according to al-Bakri and al-Lukaimi, did not change much during the 18th century, although it seems troublemakers were often caught and severely punished by the governor in Damascus.

The ascension of Dahir al-'Umar (d. 1775) in the Galilee, led to an escalation in tension with Damascus. The three failed attempts to conquer Tiberias by Suliman Pasha al-'Azim, the governor of Damascus, meant to subdue Dahir al-'Umar, show how much the governor saw him as a threat. The struggle against Dahir al-'Umar continued until the death of Suliman Pasha, during the siege of Tiberias in 1743. The conflict between the Galilee and Damascus did not contribute to the stability or security of the Golan.⁹¹

84 Al-Siddeqi, *al-Khamrah*, 5; Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 338.

85 Al-Lukaimi, *Mawanih al-Unis*, 265–266.

86 Al-Lukaimi, *Mawanih al-Unis*, 265–267; Khalaf, *al-Marjia'*, 334–339.

87 Al-Hallaq, A. *Hawadith Dimashq al-Yawmiyah*, 1741–1762 (Cairo, 1959), 32–34.

88 Al-Hallaq, *Hawadith Dimashq*, 56.

89 Al-Hallaq, *Hawadith Dimashq*, 168.

90 Al-Hallaq, *Hawadith Dimashq*, 223.

91 Al-Hallaq, *Hawadith Dimashq*, 26–29.

Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzār (r.1776–1804) who served as both governor of Sidon and Damascus, raided the Golan in 1804; he seized more than 100,000 sheep and sold them to the highest bidder.⁹²

Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, (d. 1811) visited the Banias and the sources of the Jordan River in 1806 and wrote a detailed description of the region's history, geography and social structure. He mentioned the tribes of Ghawarnah,⁹³ Weisiyh in the Hula Valley, and the al-Tillawiyyh and Manadra in the southern Golan that arrived in the mid-18th century. He also met the al-Fadil and their leader Amir Hasan al-F'aur. He is one of the few travelers that describes the Muslim sects: the Druze at 'Ayn Kuniya — a community that included also Christians; and the Alawite villages of Ghajar, Z'aura and 'Ayn Fit.⁹⁴ Until the late 19th century the Ottoman government, and other government documents, never formally acknowledged the small Muslim sects as separate religious communities. The the Druze had settled in the northern Golan and Mt. Hermon as early as the 12th century and their presence increased substantially after the Battle of Ayn Daraa (1711), when many of them migrated to the Golan and the Ḥawrān.⁹⁵

Seetzen describes the shabby village of Banias, that had 20 Muslim families who cultivated lands belonging to the wealthy families of Hasbayya.⁹⁶ He, too, emphasizes the surrounding forests. At

the ruins of the village of Halta, he met a group of gypsies from the area of Safad, who included drummers and dancers who entertained the public.⁹⁷ They did not engage in agriculture and only owned donkeys and horses. He encountered Bedouins at the village of Nuhayle, where they resided in tents and practiced agriculture.

He reports that the khan of Banat Yakub was badly damaged inside; it had a poor coffee house and a counter for basic products. The soldiers of the *multezim* from Safad had settled in it. The *multezim* claimed he had leased the bridge from the governor of Damascus and was entitled to collect tolls. Seetzen also used the southern road that runs through Fiq, which had 100 families; four were Christian. It was one of the largest settlements he had come across. He met an unusual group of craftsmen from Bethlehem, who made worry beads/prayer beads (Arabic: *masbaha*) from the local *al-butum* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*). They would spend a number of months at Fiq and then return with their produce to Bethlehem.⁹⁸

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, following Seetzen, visited the Golan several times and saw most of the region. He arrived at Banias on October 13, 1810, and was received by the village leader who provided him with a free meal. The village and all the settlements around it were still subject to the governor of Hasbayya. The village grew substantially in the

92 Al-Shihabi, A. *Lubnan fi A'hid al-Umara al-shihabiyen* (Beirut, 1969), vol. 2, 407.

93 Agmon, I. The Bedouin Tribes of the Hula and Baysan Valleys at the end of the Ottoman Rule. *Cathedra* 45 (1987), 91.

94 The Alawites arrived in the region during the 17th century.

95 Firro, K. *The History of the Druze* (Leiden, 2015), 36–37. Mo'adi, M. *The Druze Community in Galilee and Carmel During the Late Ottoman Period Until the End of the British Mandate (1800–1948): Its status, Its Relations with the Authorities, and Its Placesutho Among the Various Communities* (Haifa, 2021), 8–10.

96 Hasbayya is located in the southeastern part of modern Lebanon, at the foot of Mt. Hermon.

97 The gypsies (Arabic نور Nawar) spoke a dialect of Turkish and were known in the Golan long before the Ottoman conquest. Schumacher also mentions a group of Bedouin gypsies called Kubtiyan, who lived in the area of Tigha north of Kinneret. See Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 60.

98 Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, 34–133, 312–432; Goren, H. *Go View the Land, German Study of Palestine in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem, 1999), 29–39.

four years that had passed since Seetzen's visit in 1806; it now numbered 150 families. The community included Christians, Druze and Alawites; the majority were Muslims. He describes the defenses of Banias, its towers still standing, and the moat and the bridge that crossed the Sa'ar creek. There were many *fallāḥīn* huts around the tomb of Sheikh Ottoman al-Hazouri. The village produced cheese that was sold in Damascus. The village of Cubbetu had 50 families; 10 were Christian. They grew olives, had farm animals and produced cheese. He continued to Mecdel-Sems, that was largely Druze, but had a few Christian families. On his way to Damascus, he stopped at Beyt-Cin, with its flowing spring and fertile land.⁹⁹ In 1812 Burckhardt visited Khan Aqaba and Fiq in the southern Golan, that was now under the jurisdiction of the province of Sidon.¹⁰⁰ It seems al-Jazzār Pasha annexed the southern Golan in order to control the grain trade between the Ḥawrān and the port of Acre.

By the time Burckhardt arrived, Fiq had grown to 200 families. The Fiq stream, that was fed by three other springs, irrigated the crops in the fertile valley; he noted the olive groves in particular. According to Burckhardt, Fiq had 30 *madafat* (guest houses), that fed and watered travelers free of charge. Tax deductions were given by the government to the residents in return for hosting travelers. If the number of people received by the owner of the guest house was larger than usual, he was exempt from paying the *mīrī* tax (annual Ottoman taxes). One could also spend a night, for free, in private houses. Hosting travelers was regarded as a great honor. He continued north beyond Tel Fares and

describes the village of Tesil (southwest of modern Nawa), that had 100 families, who lived in what he called ancient historical houses. The village also had a large mosque. The stretch of land between Tesil and Jibin was occupied by Bedouin tents. He ended his journey in Damascus, after crossing the large villages of Nawa and Casim.¹⁰¹

Burckhardt left Damascus on June 18, 1812; the next day he arrived in Sa'sa'. Its khan had a beautifully built mosque within it and was packed with travelers. He traveled via Khan Arnaba and then arrived at Qunaitra, which was deserted. Burckhardt explains that its population had left due to the military campaign against the French in Egypt in the summer of 1799, led by the grand vizier. He does not explain why the population never returned. Perhaps they feared the heavy demands of the military forces. Qunaitra was surrounded by a wall and had a khan inside the town and a large mosque, with several columns of gray granite. According to Burckhardt, the caravans that came from Acre would stay a whole night in Qunaitra before continuing to Damascus. Following the desertion of the town, the Agha of Qunaitra moved to live in the Turkmen tents, where he collected the *mīrī* tax. Burckhardt descended from the Golan via Na'arān, which was still deserted. He found the khan at the Banat Yakub bridge in a similar condition to that described by Seetzen. Although it was still frequented by many travelers its center was in ruins; its guards belonged to the Governor of Acre.¹⁰²

In 1813 the plague swept through the region, after it had struck Sidon and Tyre.¹⁰³

99 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 36–50.

100 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 280.

101 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 279–285.

102 Burckhardt, *Travels*, 313–316.

103 Al-Shihabi, *Lubnan fi A'ḥid* 3, 590.

In the 1820s, local struggles occurred between the amir Khalil Shahabi, who came to the Golan in pursuit of his rival, Sheikh Bashir Jonblatt. The governor of Qunaitra, Younis Agha, was busy fighting the Sardiyah tribe who lived in the Tel Fares area. The region calmed down after the arrest of Junblat by Abdullah Pasha, the governor of the province of Sidon (1818–1832).¹⁰⁴

Lack of stability in the Golan in the first decades of the 19th century appears to have stemmed from the fact that the Golan was no longer administered as a cohesive unit. Its northern parts were under the control of the Shahab amirs centered in Hasbayya, while the southern parts were subject to Acre, under the jurisdiction of Sidon.

An attempt to change this situation was made by the governor of Egypt Muhammad Ali Pasha who invaded and occupied Syria in 1831–1832. In 1834, Muhammad Ali tried to impose reforms in Syria. The reforms triggered a large scale rebellion that begun in the Jerusalem area and quickly spread to the rest of the country. The Ḥawrān joined the rebellion in 1838, which eventually turned into a violent and bloody affair.¹⁰⁵

In June 1843, the Scottish priest and missionary John Wilson left Safad for Damascus. On the way he met the 'Anizah tribe which originated in the Euphrates region.¹⁰⁶ They had set up hundreds of tents and their camp was surrounded by large herds of camels. He mentioned the Turkmen and states that Qunaitra was still largely abandoned, with but a few residents who cultivated the land and grazed their herds of cattle. His visit to and descriptions of

the northern Golan and the sources of the Jordan focused on Banias and its history.¹⁰⁷

The most thorough survey of the Golan was conducted by Gottlieb Schumacher (d. 1925) in 1884–1886. He returned to the Golan in later years, to complete his research. In the 40 years that elapsed between John Wilson's visit and that of Schumacher, the region had undergone significant political changes that had a direct effect on the rural demography. The Egyptian government in Syria withdrew, and in 1856 the Ottoman government began its reforms. It seems that the Golan did not enjoy the fruits of the reforms and the arrival of this new epoch; the tax collectors and governors continued to exploit the peasants. In one case, the residents of Shuka in the northern Hula Valley abandoned their village due to the harassment of Umar Bozo, one of the powerful leaders of the Damascene feudal families. In another report by Khalifa Agha, the leader of the Turkmen, and Sheikh 'Umar al-Nadir, the leader of the al-Na'im tribe, it is claimed that many Bedouin tribes left the Golan after the Egyptians retreated from Syria. Among the tribes that left were the Bani Rkeibat, Bani Kilab, al-Bayadin, and R'abni.

As mentioned above, Gottlieb Schumacher, who conducted his survey in the Golan between 1884–1886, concluded that there were 91 villages in the Golan, including “winter villages.”¹⁰⁸ His research and maps show that after a long period of stagnation the population grew and the number of villages increased. It seems that the Golan explored in this chapter had finally entered a new era and began to develop.

104 Khalaf, *al-Marjia*, 771.

105 Rustum, A. *Hurub Ibrahim Pasha fi Suriy* (Beirut, 1986), 36–53.

106 This 'Anizah tribe occasionally invaded the Golan, especially in years of drought, in search of pasture and water; it did not live permanently in the Golan. It seems that during the struggle between the forces of the Egyptian army that occupied Greater Syria and controlled it between the years 1831–1840, the region's security was undermined and the 'Anizah entered the Golan. It later returned to the interior of Ḥawrān and Iraq.

107 Wilson, *Land of the Bible*, vol. 2, 171–181.

108 Hartal, *The Golan*, 18.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

While during the 16th century the chief urban centers of Damascus and Aleppo grew and developed, and the remote mountain town of Safad saw a cultural, demographic and economic golden age, and Jerusalem experienced political and social stability behind its rebuilt walls, the rural areas of Greater Syria underwent less amenable trends. The villages throughout the Golan began their decline in the first decades of the 16th century. The 17th and 18th centuries saw the weakening and withdrawal of the central government and the empowerment of local entities that eventually took over the region's administration.¹⁰⁹

The number of villages never reached its former Mamluk peak, but it seems to have remained stable, averaging 78 villages, from the 16th century until the mid-19th century. While Khalaf and others portrayed the Ottoman Golan in a steady state of decline, the 32 villages mentioned in travelers' accounts and the village names in the 1900 registers show that many villages continued to exist in the 17th–18th centuries. The data provided by Schumacher's survey, which mentioned 91 villages (of which 51 were winter villages), show that there was some growth towards the end of the 19th century, similar to the data of the *salname* from 1900. Most of these villages were located in the southern Golan, where the agricultural land was better.

Although the Golan was under the jurisdiction of Damascus, on the doorstep of the Syrian capital, its Ottoman governors, like their Mamluk predecessors, did not invest much in the rural infrastructure. The main road between Damascus and Safad — the

southern branches of which served the Hajj pilgrims — and the caravanserais were maintained throughout most of the 16th and 17th centuries. Lala Mustafa Pasha and Sinan Pasha built several public buildings in Qunaitra. The detrition of the khans and the land route between Damascus and Safad, which began in the 17th century, may have been partially due to the rise of maritime trade and the development of the ports along the Levantine coast.¹¹⁰ By 1746, significant geopolitical changes occurred in the Galilee: Acre replaced Safad as the center of administration and commerce, a role Safad had held for 486 years (1260–1746). The growing economy along the coast reduced the importance of the international roads that crossed the Golan.

The population of the Golan in the Late Ottoman period still consisted of *fallāḥīn* that cultivated the land and reared small herds, and Bedouin tribes that had large herds and cultivated small plots. The Bedouin population included both nomads and semi-nomadic tribes. The great tribal confederacies of the 'Anaza migrated to and from Iraq, while the Nu'aym, Fadl and their confederates roamed only within the borders of designated tribal *diyars* in the Golan. Under 'Anaza suzerainty, the tribal leadership in the Golan throughout the Late Ottoman period was divided between the Faḍil and the Na'im. Despite their dominance, the al-Faḍil and the al-Na'im never became a strong and cohesive force capable of running a local government, as in the case of the Turabay Emirate in the Jezreel Valley and northern Samaria in the 17th century, or in the case of the Zaydani family's rule in the Galilee

109 Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century*, 78–111.

110 Panzac, *International and Domestic Maritime Trade*, 189–206.

in the 18th century under Dahir al-ʿUmar, or the Maʿanid and Shihabite families in Mount Lebanon.¹¹¹

The lack of a strong local power in the Golan correlated with weak governors appointed in Damascus by the central regime, who intervened in the affairs of the Golan only when Damascus was threatened and the governors' interests were endangered. Regional entities bordering the Golan meddled and interfered in its affairs. Bedouin tribes from Transjordan and the Euphrates valley invaded the Golan, causing irreparable harm to settled life. The Maʿanis, and after them the Shihabis, controlled the northern Golan; Banias and al-Subayba were often incorporated in their territories. Al-Jazzār Pasha, the governor of the province of Sidon, whose base was in Acre, annexed parts of the southern Golan. In the 17th century the Golan became a border zone between competing regional political entities that were stronger than the Golan's native leaders. This situation impeded the development of a strong home-grown administrative center. Qunaitra, the relatively new Late Ottoman administrative center, remained abandoned for several decades.

This situation began to change only in the mid-19th century, when the central Ottoman government gradually regained its power in the provinces, leading to the weakening of local forces and the carrying out of reforms across the empire. A similar process occurred around Ashkelon: a demographic decline and the abandonment of villages due to poor local leaders, weak central government representatives and aggression by local Bedouin tribes. But in the 18th century immigrants, mainly from Egypt, settled in the Ashkelon region.¹¹² And here Ottoman rule was strong enough to establish law and order and maintain the region's security. After more than 200 years a new chapter in that region's history began.

In the Golan two local actors played a central role in maintaining security and stability that contributed to the development of the region. The first was the al-Faḍil tribe which lived there for hundreds of years; the second was the Circassian immigrants that arrived in 1878, supported by the Ottoman authorities. By the end of the 19th century, Qunaitra and Wassit became the centers of administration and commerce, a status maintained into the early 20th century.

111 Manna', A. *Tarikh Filastin fi Awakhir al-A'hd al-Utmani, 1700–1918*, *Qiraah Jadidah* (Beirut, 1999), 11–13, 47–72; Marom, Tepper and Adams, Lajjun: Forgotten Provincial Capital, 218–241.

112 Sasson, A. and Marom, R. Asqalān al-Jadīda: Egyptian Rule and the Settlement of Egyptians in the Vicinity of Ashkelon, 1831–1948. In Lewis, R.Y., Varga D. and Sasson, A. (eds.) *Ashkelon—Landscape of Peace and Conflicts: Studies of the Southern Coastal Plain and the Judean Foothills*, *Ashkelon Studies 4* (Tel Aviv, 2022), 255–291.

CHAPTER 4

SUKAYK AND AL-SUMMĀQAH: MAMLUK RURAL
GEOGRAPHY IN THE NORTHERN JAWLĀN/GOLAN HEIGHTS
IN LIGHT OF QĀYTBĀY'S ENDOWMENT DEEDS

Roy Marom

This chapter presents and discusses three unpublished 15th century CE endowment deeds (*waqfiyāt*, sing. *waqfiyah*), by Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 1468–1496 CE) concerning the villages of Sukayk and al-Summāqah in al-Jawlān (the Golan Heights,

henceforth, the Golan). The chapter provides an annotated and rectified transcription of the *waqfiyahs*, with an English translation followed by a discussion of their contents.

THE DOCUMENTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The latter stages of the Mamluk period witnessed the encumberment of considerable properties as religious endowments, called *waqf* in Arabic; a phenomenon Bethany Walker termed 'waqfization'.¹ Waqfization aimed, in part, to control sources of revenue in a time of property confiscation and socio-economic upheavals and political insecurities.² According to Islamic law, only an owner (*mallāk*) can dedicate properties as *waqf*, therefore necessitating the production, confirmation and dissemination of official legal deeds which

document the process of purchase and endowment of properties.³ Because of the permanence and irreversibility ascribed to endowments under *shari'ah* law, the Ottoman judiciary collected, copied and abridged many of these endowments, whose original deeds are otherwise lost.⁴

Few works from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, like Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, refer extensively to the settlement geography of the Levant.⁵ Occasional information is found in genealogical encyclopedias like al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣūbḥ al-A'shā*,

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- 1 Walker, B.J. Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'. *Mamluk Studies* 7 (*Proceedings of the Conference Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks*) (2014), 337.
 - 2 Igarashi, D. Waqf as a Means of Securing Financial Assets: The "Self-Benefiting Waqf" in Mamluk Egypt and Syria. In Levanony, A. (ed.) *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule* (Leiden, 2021), 277–291.
 - 3 Obaidullah, M. A Framework for Analysis of Islamic Endowment (waqf) Laws. *Int'l J. Not-for-Profit L.* 18 (2016), 54–72.
 - 4 Ipshirli, M. and al-Tamīmī, M. *Awqāf wa-'Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filastīn fī Alwiyat Ghazza, Nāblus, 'Ajlūn, ḥasab al-Daftar Raqam 522 min Dafātir al-Tahrīr al-'Uthmāniyya al-Mudawwana fī al-Qarn al-'Ashir al-Hijrī* (Istanbul, 1982).
 - 5 Yāqūt, Shihāb al-Dīn. *Mu'jam al-Buldān: lil-Shaykh al-Imām Shihāb al-Dīn Abī Abdillāh Yāqūt b. Abdillāh al-Hamawī al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī* (Beirut, 1977).

or in biographical dictionaries like al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*.⁶ Besides these broad works, local chronicles or histories like Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, al-Maqdisī's *al-'Unus al-Jalīl* and al-'Uthmānī's *Ta'rikh Ṣafad* focus primarily on the urban elites and rarely shed light on minor rural settlements in the hinterland.⁷

Mamluk endowment deeds are among the most important surviving records of the Mamluk period in Bilād al-Shām.⁸ Although little used for historical-geographical research, these documents often contain the only mention of rural inhabited sites. The documents provide modern researchers with an unparalleled window into the historical geography, toponymy, demography and economics of urban and rural fabrics alike.⁹ In the case of the Golan, the same is true for the Early Ottoman period. For example, vezier Muṣṭafā Lālā Pāshā's endowment deed provides the most detailed account of the rural geography of region alongside, and beyond, that offered by 16th century Ottoman fiscal registers.¹⁰

Waqfiyahs and other legalo-fiscal documents follow Late Islamic legal and fiscal-geographical conventions. Each listing includes the name of the property, the endowed fraction (in 24–qarats), and a description of its boundary. Boundary descriptions define the borders using names of neighbouring fiscal units or landscape elements, starting, in Bilād al-Shām, in the south (*qiblah*, the Islamic direction of prayer) and progressing counterclockwise.¹¹ Words in some endowment deeds, like those discussed here, are written without marking the *hamzah*,¹² and diacritical points (*tanqīṭ*) are also sometimes dropped.

Waqfiyahs also follow established Late Islamic conventions in designating the status of a site. For example, an inhabited village is designated as a *qaryah*, while an uninhabited parcel of agricultural land, often associated with a historic site or ruin, is called a *mazra'ah*. Later copies or emendations of waqfiyahs often mention the status of ruined (*kharāb*), disused or dysfunctional (*āṭil*) sites.¹³ The distinction between *qaryah* and *mazra'ah* lost its

6 Al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn. *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, n.d.); Al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad. *Kitāb Subḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā* (Cairo, 1922).

7 Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq wa-Dhikr Faḍliha wa-Tasmiyat Man Hulliha min al-Amāthil aw Ijtāza bi-Nawāḥihā min Wāridihā wa-Ahlihā* (Beirut, 1998); Al-Maqdisī, Mujīr al-Dīn. *Al-Unus al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rikh al-Quds wal-Khalīl* (Amman, n.d.); Al-'Uthmānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Ta'rikh Ṣafad ma'a Malāḥiq 'Arabiyya wa-Lātīniyya Mutarjama Tunshar Lil-Marra al-Ulā*, edited by S. Zakkār (Damascus, 2008).

8 Frenkel, Y. Awqāf in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām. *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13 (2009), 149–155; Marom, R. and Taxel I. Ḥamama: The Historical Geography of Settlement Continuity and Change in Majdal 'Asqalan's Hinterland, 1270–1750 CE. *Journal of Historical Geography* 82 (2023), 60.

9 Marom, R. Mamluk and Ottoman Endowment Deeds as a Source for Geographical-Historical Research: The Waqfiyya of Haseki Sultan (1552 CE). *Horizons in Geography* (in press).

10 Mardom Bek, *Waqf al-Wazīr Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāshā wa-Yalīhi Kitāb Waqf Fāṭima Khātūn b. Muḥammad bek b. al-Sulṭān al-Mall al-Ashraf Qānsūh al-Ghawrī* (Damascus, 1925), 1–238; Khalaf, T. *Wathā'iq 'Uthmāniyyah Hawl al-Jawlān: Awqāf, awāmīr, sālnāmāt* (Damascus, 2006), 9–54.

11 Marom, R. and Zadok, R. Early-Ottoman Palestinian Toponymy: A Linguistic Analysis of the (Micro-) toponyms in Haseki Sultan's Endowment Deed (1552), *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 139/2 (2024), 260.

12 The *hamzah* is the sign used in Arabic writing to represent the glottal stop, usually written above another letter and shown in English transliterations as an apostrophe.

13 Hütteroth, W.D. and Abdulfattah, K. *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977), 29–32; Toledano, E. The Sanjaq of Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of Topography and Population. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 9 (1984), 281–285.

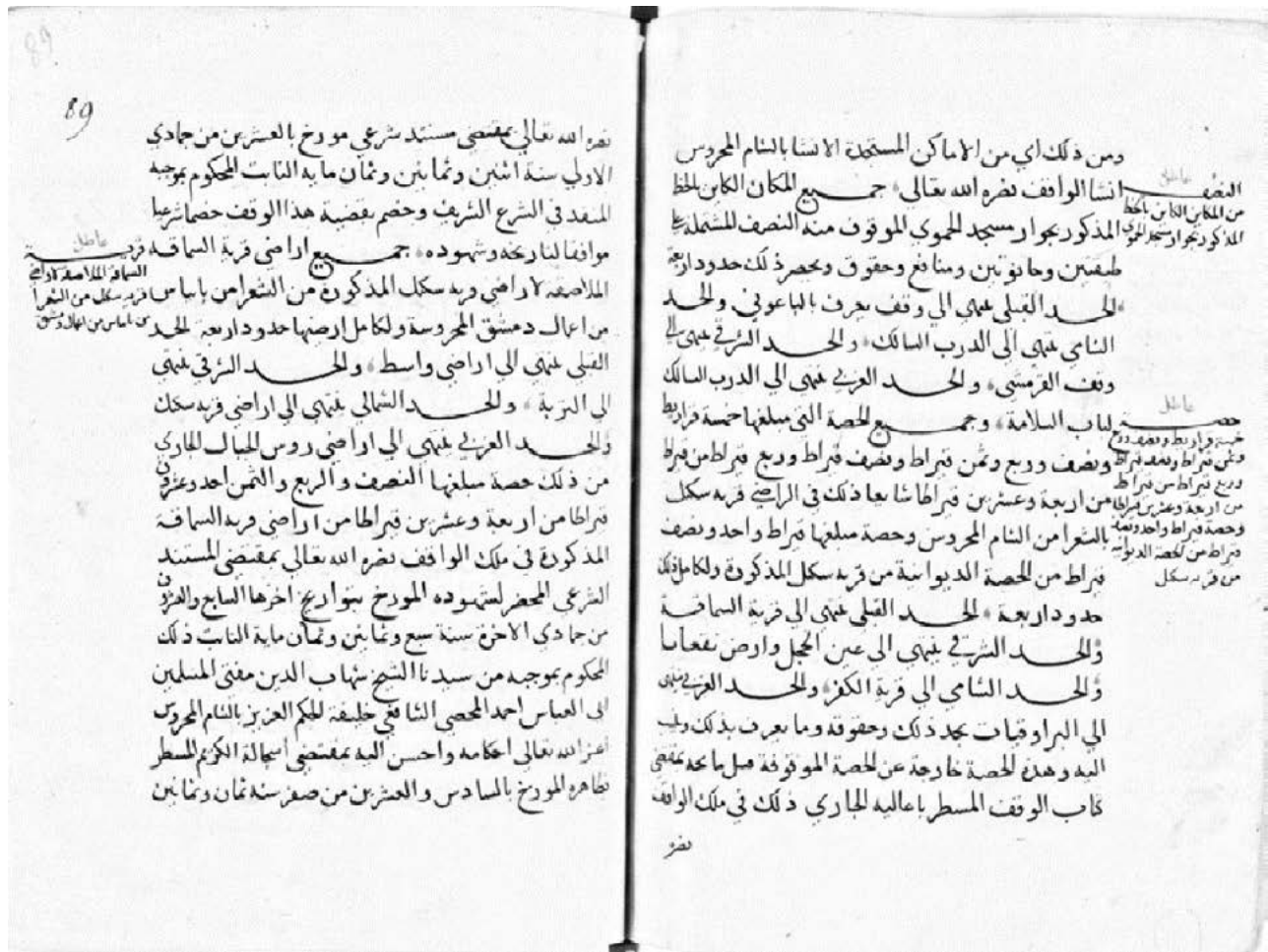


Figure 4.1. Sultan Qāytbāy's endowment deed for Sukayk (Deed B).

significance for most of the Levant by the end of the 19th century. However, it remained in use in Syria and the Golan well into the 20th century.¹⁴

Sultan Qāytbāy's official *waqfiyah* contains Sukayk's and al-Summāqah's endowment among hundreds of listings of properties, from the subdistrict to the house level, throughout Egypt and Syria.¹⁵

14 Administratively, as well colloquially (in daily life), the term 'mazra'ah' represented a hamlet, or satellite or temporary dwellings, or dependency, for residents of the pre-1967 Golan (Palestinian Rural History Project, [hereafter PRHP] interviews, 2022–2023). See Ṭalās, M. (ed.) *al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī lil-Qutr al-'Arabī al-Sūrī* (Damascus, 1990–1993); al-Sallūm, 'A.Ḥ.M. *Durar al-Bayyān fī Tārīkh al-Jawlān* (no place of publication, 2022), 21; al-Sallūm, M.Z. *Mu'jam al-Jawlān al-Jughrāfī al-Mukhtaṣar* (no place of publication, 2023).

15 Copy in Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF]. Département des Manuscrits. Arabe 1118. For a list of urban properties see: Mayer, L.A. (ed.) *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed: 1: text and index* (London, 1938). For a spatial analysis see: Petry, C. Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to Their Waqf Deeds. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41/1 (1998), 96–117.

The ornate manuscript in which these *waqfiyah* endowments are documented reflects Qāyṭbāy's grandious donations of private and public properties for the benefit of the Ḥaramayn (Fig. 4.1).¹⁶

THE TEXTS

Deed A

Marginal note: The whole portion of 5 qirāṭs out of 24 qirāṭs,¹⁷ and 21 portions (*sihm*) and a third and a quarter of a qirāṭ, out of 24 qirāṭs [21 and 7/12 qirāṭs ≈ 89.93%] of the lands of the village of Sukayk of [the region of] al-Sha'ra of the settlements of Protected Damascus

In red: disused (ʿĀṭil), Damascus

The whole portion of 5 qirāṭs out of 24 qirāṭs, and 21 portions (*sihm*) and a third and a quarter of a qirāṭ, out of 24 qirāṭs [21 and 7/12 qirāṭs ≈ 89.93%], of the lands of the area (*nawāḥī*) of the village of Sukayk of [the region of] al-Sha'ra of the 'amal of the portion (*al-ḥissah*) [recte: *qaṣbah*, 'the market town'] of Bānyās of the settlements (*a'māl*) of Protected Damascus. Including this village, with its cultivable and non-cultivable lands

(*arādī mu'tamal wa-mu'aṭṭal*), plain and rugged terrain, the distant parts and the close parts (*aqāsī wa-adānī*), summer quarters and winter quarters (*maṣāif wa-mashātī*), threshing floors, pens/corrals (*ṣiyar*), and an inhabited settlement in the form of the dwelling places of its fellahin and associated orchards (*dimna 'āmira bi-rasm suknā fallāḥihā wa-kurūm dhālika*).

[Sukayk] is confined by four boundaries: the southern boundary ends at the lands of the village of al-Summāqa,¹⁸ and the eastern boundary ends at the lands of the village of al-Thalḥiyāt [recte al-Thaljiyāt]¹⁹ and it terminates at the land of the village of Buq'āthā.²⁰ And the northern boundary ends at the lands of the village of al-Kufayr,²¹ and it terminates at the land of the village of al-Jarash.²² And the western boundary ends at the lands of Mazāri' al-Bārqiyyāt,²³ and it arrives at this village

16 Petry, C.F. A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period. *The Muslim World* 73.3/4 (1983), 182–207; Behrens-Abouseif, D. Qāyṭbāy's Foundation in Medina, the Madrasah, the Ribāt and the Dashishah. *Mamluk Studies Review* 2 (1998), 61–71; Al-Mu'ti, H.A. Piety and Profit: The Haramayn Endowments in Egypt (1517–1814). In Pascale, G. (ed.) *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World* (Oxford, 2011), 41–72. For a contemporary account of Qāyṭbāy's renovation of the Ḥaramayn and Ummayad Mosque at Damascus see: BnF Arabe 1615, 38–44.

17 In Arabic legal and fiscal terminology, *qirāṭ* functions as a quantifier of portion. Like its English language cognate, *carat*, when used to indicate the purity of precious alloys, *qirāṭ* does not represent a given amount but a ratio, or fraction, equal to 1/24 of the whole. The area of land thus granted to each village is left unspecified and cannot be calculated today.

18 Schumacher, G. *The Jaulān* (London, 1888), 242–243; Vilnay, Z. *Golan ve-Ḥermon* (Jerusalem, 1970), 194; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*, 67; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*, #120.

19 Mardom Bek, *Waqf*, 26, 142; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*, 34; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*, #37.

20 Schumacher, *The Jaulān*, 242–243; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Ḥermon*, 71; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*, 32; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*, #32.

21 Coordinates 2174.2918 on the 1923 Palestine Grid. It does not appear in Mardom Bek, *Waqf*; Schumacher, *the Jaulān*; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Ḥermon*; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*.

22 Unidentified. It does not appear in Mardom Bek, *Waqf*; Schumacher, *the Jaulān*; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Ḥermon*; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*.

23 To be identified with the Bārjiyyāt or Bargiyāt (colloquial Bedouin pronunciation, as recorded in PRHP interview, 25 September 2023) at the western slopes of the Golan Heights, just on the Syrian-Israeli international border (e.g., 'Tāhūnat al-Barjiyāt' on Palestine Grid 2132/2844). The transition from /q/ to /j/ or /g/ probably took place through the mediation of Bedouin

[Mazāri‘al-Bārqiyyāt] from the eastern direction, and other [directions].

[This portion] is encompassed in whole, with its entitlements, roads, and any associated entitlement within its bounds or outside of them, and whatever is acknowledged as such, or is associated with it. [All that] is present in the ownership of our lord, of noble stature, the endower referred to above in his noble name (may God glorify and make him glorious) in accordance with the legal deed of sale dated the 28th of Honored Sha‘abān 886 AH [= 31 October 1481], which is ruled in accordance with its fixed content, after meeting the legal requirements. [It was confirmed] by our lord, the poor servant unto God, the Chief Judge (*qāḍī al-Quḍāh*) Nijm al-Dīn, the *qāḍī* of the Muslims, and the pillar of Amir al-Mu‘minīn, Abū Ḥafṣ, ‘Umar b. Muflīh, of Jerusalem, the Hanbali supervisor of the legal rulings in the Mamlaka (province) of al-Shām, may God glorify his judgments and bestow blessings upon him, in accordance with a generous record written on its back side, dated the 6th of most appreciated and inviolable Ramaḍān 886 AH as accounted for by the *shari‘ah* after a [thorough] legal inspection and consideration of this deed in the question of this endowment according to its date and witnesses.

Deed B (Figure 4.1)

Marginal note: 5 qirāṭs, and a half and a quarter and an eight of a qirāṭ, and a half qirāṭ, and a quarter of a qirāṭ [=6 and 37/96 qirāṭ] out of 24 qirāṭs of the lands of the village of Sukayk

In red: disused [‘Āṭil)

The whole of the portion amounting to 5 qirāṭs, and a half and a quarter and an eight of a qirāṭ, and a half qirāṭ, and a quarter of a qirāṭ [=6 and 37/96 qirāṭ] out of 24 qirāṭs of the lands of the village of Sukayk [the region of] al-Sha‘arā [of the sub-district] of Bānyās of the settlements of Protected Damascus.

And a portion amounting to 1.5 qirāṭs in the portion of the Dīwān in the aforementioned village of Sukayk.

The entirety of this is bounded on its four sides: the southern boundary ends at the village of al-Summāqah, the eastern boundary ends at ‘Ayn al-Jamal [recte ‘Ayn al-Ḥajal]²⁴ and the land of Buq‘āthā, and the northern boundary ends at the village of al-Kafr [recte al-Kufayr],²⁵ and the western boundary ends at al-Bārqiyyāt²⁶ up to that, and its rights and what is accordingly acknowledged and ascribed to it. And this portion is in addition [literally: removed from] the portion already endowed before its date in accordance with the deed of endowment registered above [in the manuscript compilation] in the ownership of endower, may God support him according to a legal deed dated the 20th of Jumādā al-‘Ulā 882 AH. This ruling [e.g. the validity of endowment] has been confirmed and has been executed in accordance with the *shari‘ah* after a [thorough] legal inspection and consideration according to its date and witnesses.

Deed C

Marginal note: village of al-Summāqah adjoining the lands of the aforementioned village of Sukayk

dialects with the shift from fushā /q/ to /g/, with secondary pronunciation as /j/. Cf. Bedouin pronunciation of classical /Qīrah/ (modern Yoqne‘am) as /Jira/. See Conder, C.R. and Kitchener, H.H. *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Geography, Hydrography, and Archaeology, Vol. II: Samaria* (London, 1882), 60. The use of the plural form -āt suggests a multiple of lands and is common in Levantine toponymy.

24 Schumacher, *the Jaulān*, 77; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Ḥermon*, 204; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*, 91–92; al-Sallūm, *Mu‘jam*, #196.

25 See Footnote 24.

26 See ‘al-Barjiyyāt’ Footnote 24.

of [the region of] al-Sha'rā [of the sub-district] of Bānyās of the settlements of Damascus.

In red: disused [ʿĀṭil)

The whole of the lands of the village of al-Summāqah adjoining the lands of the aforementioned village of Sukayk of [the region of] al-Sha'rā [of the sub-district] of Bānyās of the settlements of Protected Damascus. The whole of its lands has four boundaries: the southern boundary ends at the lands of Wāsiṭ,²⁷ and the eastern boundary ends at the Turba/graveyard,²⁸ and the northern boundary ends at the lands of the village of Sukayk, and the western boundary ends to the lands of Rūs al-Jibāl.²⁹

Out of this [area] a portion of 21 and 7/8 qirāṭs out of 24 qirāṭs [$\approx 91.145\%$] of the lands of the aforementioned village of al-Summāqah is the private property of the endower, may God support

him according to a legal deed presented with its witnesses, dated with various dates, the latest of which is the 27th of Jumādā al-Ākhira 887 AH. This ruling [e.g. the validity of endowment] has been confirmed by our master, the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, Mufti of the Muslims, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Muḥṣī [recte: al-Ḥumṣī], the Shafiʿī, substituting for the precious legal authority in Protected al-Shām [=Damascus] (may God make his judgments glorious, and show his beneficence towards him) according to a noble record written on the back side [of the deed] dated 26th of Ṣafar 888 AH. The remainder [of the endowment] is among the properties of the public treasury (Bayt al-Māl al-Maḥmūd), according to the testaments of those who so reckoned in writing down their testimony at the end of the chapter yet to be written.

DISCUSSION

The documents presented above are the only fully extant *waqfiyahs* from the Mamluk period Golan.³⁰ Therefore, these records deserve greater attention for decoding the spatial, demographic, administrative, economic, social, toponymic and environmental information encoded therein. Taken together, these documents provide an important source for reconstructing the rural pattern of settlement in the northern Golan before the 16th century, for which

extensive systematic Ottoman documentation did survive.³¹

For overlapping endowment deeds to be understood properly, the various deeds should be compared and contrasted in a synchronous fashion. Synchronous analysis allows us to distinguish repeated formulas from ideosyncratic information particular to each endowed property. A synchronous analysis also facilitates the reconstruction

27 Schumacher, *the Jaulān*, 268; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Hermon*, 121; al-Sallūm, *Durar al-Bayyān*, 132–133; al-Sallūm, *Mu'jam*, #294.

28 Unidentified.

29 Literally, the Heads of the Mountains (= peaks). While the name might remind one of Jabal Rōs/Har Dov, at the western slopes of Mt. Hermon, see Vilnay, *Golan ve-Hermon*, 106–107, that mountain range is north beyond al-Kufayr.

30 For a seventh century AH/13th century CE endowment deed of Na'arān and Ḥaḍr villages see Khalaf, *Wathā'iq*, 9.

31 For a synchronous publication of the inhabited places and tribal groups in the 1590s registers see: Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 112–220; For areas adjacent to the Golan, see Rhode, H. *The Administration and Population of the Sancak of Safad in the Sixteenth Century*. PhD diss. Columbia University. (New York, 1979); Al-Bakhit, M.ʿA. and Hmoud [al-Sawariyyah], N.R. *The Detailed Defter of Al-Lajjun: Tapu Defteri No. 181 1005 A.H./1596 AD: A study edition and translation of the text* (Amman, 1989); Al-Bakhit, M.ʿA. and N.R. al-Sawariyyah, *Defter-i Mufasssal of Marj Bani ʿĀmir, its Dependencies and Appendices Entrusted to Amīr Tarabay 945 A.H./1538*, 2nd ed. (Amman, 2010); Al-Bakhit, M.ʿA. and al-Sawariyyah, N.R. *Daftar Mufaṣṣal Liwāʾ ʿAjlūn raqm 185* (Amman, 2011).

of the settlement system, while a diachronic analysis permits researchers to recover changes in the cultural landscape and legal geography over time. For example, identifying the boundary elements and georeferencing them allows us to track changes in the territory of the fiscal units (in this case, two villages) through time.³² This analysis of endowment records can then be synthesized with other written and archaeological evidence into a fuller historical picture.

Chronology

On 20 Jumādā al-ʿŪlā 882 AH/7 September 1477, Qāyṭbāy endowed 6 and 37/96 qirāṭs of his previously owned possession in Sukayk, in addition to another 1.5 qirāṭs of imperial domain (*Diwān*). Deed B's text mentions Deed A, which precedes it in the defter. However, Deed B chronologically predates Deed A by four years, thus creating a textual discrepancy in the referencing of Deed B to Deed A.

On 28 Shaʿabān 886 AH/31 October 1481 CE Qāyṭbāy purchased the remaining 21 and 7/12 qirāṭs ($\approx 89.93\%$) of the lands of Sukayk (Deed A). The purchase was authorized by the chief judge Nijm al-Dīn of al-Shām (=Damascus). The purchase was quickly followed, on 6 Ramaḍān/7 November of the same year, by a judicial review undertaken by ʿUmar b. Muflīḥ, the hanbali *muftī* appointed as 'supervisor of the legal rulings in the Province of al-Shām'.³³ The properties were endowed at an unspecified time during the same month. While the name of the original owner of the purchased portions is not named, the involvement of these high functionaries, and especially of the mufti, suggests

that Qāyṭbāy purchased the property from the state treasury.

Qāyṭbāy, probably through agents (*wukalāʾ*) in Damascus, accrued 21 and 7/8 qirāṭs of "the lands of the village of al-Summāqah, adjoining the lands of the aforementioned village of Sukayk" (Deed C). The land purchases were completed on 27 Jumādā al-Ākhira 887/21 August 1482. On 26 Ṣafar 888/13 April 1483, Qāyṭbāy endowed the whole of al-Summāqah, including the remaining portions owned by the public treasury (*Bayt al-Māl*). The endowment was authorized by the *muftī* Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, and the *Shāfiʿī* jurist Abū al-ʿAbbās of Ḥums, in lieu of the judicial authorities in Damascus.

The comments in the margins declaring Sukayk and al-Summāqiyah to be disused [e.g., uninhabited] (*ʿāṭil*) are not contemporaneous with the endowment itself; external, independent sources attest to Sukayk's inhabited status at the time of endowment and for centuries thereafter. These comments may reflect a much later Ottoman examination of the status the Ḥaramayn's properties endowed by Qāyṭbāy throughout the Levant and Egypt, and provides one undated, though apparently synchronous testament to the abandonment of Sukayk and al-Summāqah, as part of the wider process of regression in settled life in the Golan during the 17th–18th centuries.

Administration

The deeds shed important light on the administrative structure of the northern Golan during the 1470s–1480s. Sukayk and al-Summāqiyah belonged to an administrative unit called al-Shaʿarā of the

³² Petry, *Fractionalized Estates*.

³³ Starting in the 12th century, hanbalī jurisprudents from the environs of Nablus migrated to Damascus, establishing the suburb of al-Ṣālihiyah as the nexus of hanbalī jurisprudence in Bilād al-Shām for centuries to come. ʿUmar b. Muflīḥ, termed a Jerusalemite (*maqdisī*), might have been associated with this center. See: al-Ṣāliḥī, Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-Jawhariyah fī Taʾrīkh al-Ṣālihiyah* (Damascus, 1980).

subdistrict of Bānyās of the Province (*Mamlaka*) of Damascus.

In the first half of the 14th century, al-Sha‘arā was an independent district (*wilāyah*), located northwest of the District of Nawā and southeast of the District of Bānyās. During this time its administrative seat was at a village called Hān or at al-Qunaiṭira.³⁴ According to al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), al-Sha‘arā “was attached to Bānyās during the time of the Nāṣirids” (*wa-kānat fī al-ayyām al-Nāṣiriyah muḍāfah ilā Bānyās wa-hiya al-‘ān wilāyah munfarida*). While it is unclear which of the many Nāṣirs al-Qalqashandī refers to, it is clear that by his time it had again become a separate district (*wilāyah*).³⁵ Al-Qalqashandī indicates that al-Sha‘arā’s administrative seat was sometimes at al-Qunayṭirah, indicating that al-Sha‘arā reached as far southeast as that village.³⁶

Bānyās was an important fortress town during Mamluk times, with its military command located in Qal‘at al-Ṣubayba overlooking the town, on the border between the Provinces of Ṣafad and Damascus.³⁷ Thus, Sukayk and al-Summāqiyah formed part of the Bānyās hinterland, the extent of which is otherwise unrecorded.

Geography

The name “al-Sha‘arā” derives from the Arabic word for forest, or thicket, and refers to the wooded nature of the land north and east of Sukayk (Fig. 4.2). Writing about events in 551 AH/1156/7 CE, historian-scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.

1347/8 CE) described Bānyās’ al-Sha‘arā as “meadows for the horses” (*jishārāt al-khuyūl*) of the Crusaders.³⁸ Writing half a century later, al-Qalqashandī described the subdistrict (‘*amal*’) of al-Sha‘arā as located southeast of Bānyās’ ‘*amal*’, and its longer axis (*tūluḥā*) between Bānyās and Mt. Hermon (*Jabal al-Thalj*).³⁹

Deed A provides a stylistically compelling description of Sukayk’s varied geography, which included “cultivable and non-cultivable lands (*arādī mu’tamal wa-mu’aṭṭal*), plains and rugged terrain, the upper parts and the lower parts (*aqāsī wa-adānī*),” along with several man-made installations listed under “economy.” Deed C informs us that the lands of al-Summāqah were territorially contiguous (*mulāṣaqah*) to the lands of Sukayk.

Settlement

Describing Bānyās’ al-Sha‘arā during the mid-13th century CE, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470) painted a picture of “much land disused/uninhabited because of Crusader control of [the District] of Ṣafad” (*arḍ kathīrah ‘āṭilah bi-ḥukm istīlā’ al-Faranj ‘alā Ṣafad*). With the threat of Crusader raids removed after the conquest of Ṣafad (1266 CE), al-Zāhir Baybars sought out ways to repopulate al-Sha‘arā. “Some scholars gave *fatwās* to appropriate al-Sha‘arā as state/eminent domain,” explained Ibn Taghrībirdī, but Baybars “did not heed their *fatwās*, and ordered the restoration of private properties to their former owners” (*fa-lamma fataḥa Ṣafad aftāhu ba’d al-‘ulamā’*

34 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīf bil-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 228.

35 Al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Subḥ al-A’sḥā*, vol. 4, 207.

36 Al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Subḥ al-A’sḥā*, vol. 4, 108.

37 Amir, D. *Banias: Minei Kedem veAd Yamaynu* (From Ancient till Modern Times, Dan, 1968 [Hebrew]), 104–110. Al-Qalqashandī lists al-Ṣubayba as an independent *wilāyah* later attached to Bānyās. See Al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Subḥ al-A’sḥā*, vol. 4, 207.

38 Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa-Waḥyāt al-Mashāhīr wal-A’lām* (Beirut, 1993), vol. 38, 7.

39 Al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Subḥ al-A’sḥā* 4, 108.



Figure 4.2. Al-Sha'arā, typical woodlands (adapted from Wikipedia, photo by Ronen Rothfarb, March 2014).

*bi-stiḥqāq al-Sha'āra, fa-lam yarja' ilā al-fatayā, wa-taqaddama amruhu annā man kāna lahu fīhā mulk [sic] qadīm [sic] fal-yatassalamuhu).*⁴⁰

While the results of this decree are unspecified, we can presume that some of the northern Golan's original inhabitants did return, thus providing some continuity with pre-Crusader populations and settlement. Presumably, this included heterodox Muslim sects, like the Shi'ites who had inhabited Sukayk by the 14th century, and the Druze, whose presence around Mt. Hermon is documented since the times

of the *da'wah* (call to embrace their religion) in the early 11th century CE.⁴¹

A spatial analysis of the endowment deeds shows that in the last quarter of the 15th century, settlement in the northern Golan was thin and dispersed (see Fig. 4.3). The deeds list eleven toponyms which presumably represent independent fiscal units. Some are most likely inhabited villages (Sukayk, al-Summāqah, Buq'āthā, al-Kufayr, al-Jarash, al-Thaljīyāt, 'Ayn al-Ḥajal, Wāṣit), or possibly *mazāri'* (al-Barjīyāt/Bārqiyyāt). Some designations,

40 Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhirah* (Egypt, u.d.), vol. 7, 180.

41 Hitti, P.K. *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion, with extracts from their sacred writings* (New York, 1928), 5; Marshall, S., Das, R., Pirooznia, M. and Elhaik, E. Reconstructing Druze Population History. *Scientific Reports*, 6/1 (2016), 1.

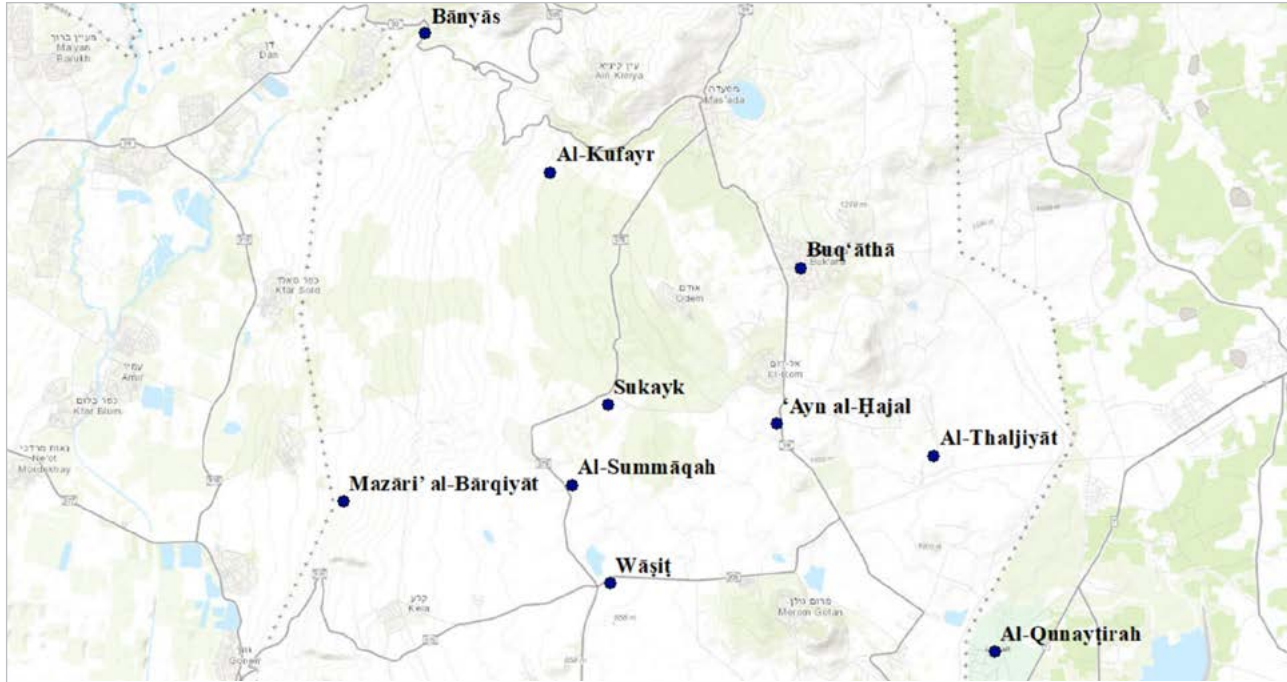


Figure 4.3. Identified locations mentioned in the endowment deeds, with al-Qunayṭira for reference.

like Rūs al-Jibāl (colloquially, “heads of the mountains” = peaks), are geographic in nature. Others, like “al-turbah”, lit. the cemetery/shrine, can signify either a prominent burial ground or a namesake village.⁴²

In comparison to its pre-1967 boundaries, Sukayk’s territory in the 15th century was much more extensive, and included many places later designated as separate settlements. The large distance between the identified sites and Sukayk indicates that no settlements existed in this area; thus testifying to sparse habitation (in the 1960s there were nine village territories, including Sukayk and al-Summāqah, within the same region, as shown in Fig. 4.4).⁴³

Mamluk sources make a clear socio-economic and cultural distinction between settled populations (*fellahin*) and nomads (*‘arab*, *‘urbān*). Deed A describes Sukayk as an “inhabited settlement” populated by sedentary fellahin residing in houses (*dimna ‘āmira bi-rasm suknā fallāḥihā*).⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the document also mentions Sukayk’s “summer quarters and winter quarters” (*maṣāif wa-mashātī*), indicating that Sukayk’s inhabitants engaged in transhumance — seasonal migration together with their livestock. Similar transhumance movements in the Golan are already referred to in ‘Uthmān b. As‘ad al-Munjī’s Na‘arān and Ḥaḍr endowment deed dated 634 AH/1237 CE.⁴⁵ Summer quarters and winter quarters are repeatedly mentioned for

42 No site with this name can be identified in available maps or publications. See for example: Schumacher, *The Jaulān*; Vilnay, *Golan ve-Ḥermon*.

43 Al-Jumhūriyyah al-Sūriyyah, Qaḍā‘ay al-Qunayṭirah wal-Zawiyah, kharīṭat taqaddum a‘māl al-masāḥah wal-taḥsin al-‘iqārī, 1:000,000, c. 1965 (Tel Hai Academy’s map archive).

44 Compare to similar phrasing in other Ayyubid/Mamluk waqfiyahs, like Na‘arān’s, in Khalaf, *Wathā‘iq*, 9.

45 Khalaf, *Wathā‘iq*, 9, note 1.

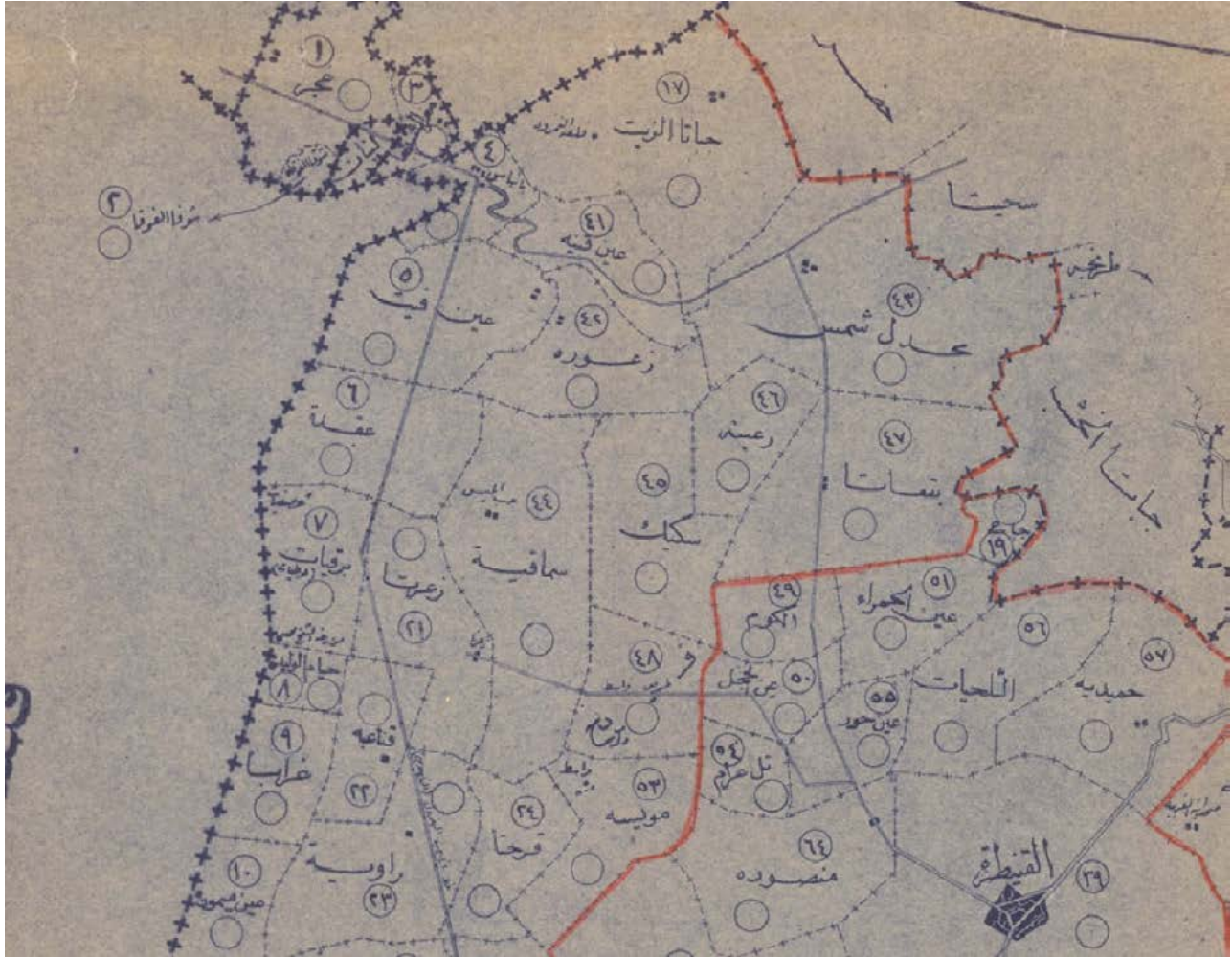


Figure 4.4. A Syrian cadastral map showing modern village territories around Sukayk, 1965.

some villages in Muṣṭaf Lālā's extensive *waqfiyah*.⁴⁶ This *waqfiyah* lists over 90 villages and *maẓārī* in the 1550s Golan, reflecting decades of dramatic demographic growth and settlement expansion in

the Southern Levant under Ottoman rule.⁴⁷ Transhumance remained a lasting phenomenon due to the Golan's harsh winter weather, which forced tribespeople until the 19th century to live in hundreds of

⁴⁶ Mardom Bek, *Waqf al-Wazār*, al-Qunayṭirah (included, 38), but omitted for other villages, like Rāwiyah (p. 40).

⁴⁷ For Palestine's southern coastal plain, see: Marom and Taxel, Ḥamama, 57 and Etkes, H. *Legalizing Extortion: Protection Payments, Property Rights, Taxation, and Economic Growth in Ottoman Gaza*, Working Paper (Stanford, 2008), 1-54. Stanford, 2008; for Lydda's hinterland, see: Marom, R. Lydda Sub-District: Lydda and its Countryside During the Ottoman Period. In Shavit, A. (ed.) *Lod- Diaspolis — City of God*. Journal of the History, Archaeology and Heritage of Lod 8 (Lod, 2022), 109–116; for Marj ibn 'Āmir, see: Marom, R., Tepper, Y. and Adams, M.J. Lajjun: Forgotten Provincial Capital in Ottoman Palestine, *Levant* 55/2 (2023), 225; Bilād Ṣafad [the Galilee], see: Rhode, *Ṣafad*, 160–191; for the District of Jerusalem, see: Toledano, *The Sanjaq of Jerusalem*, 309.

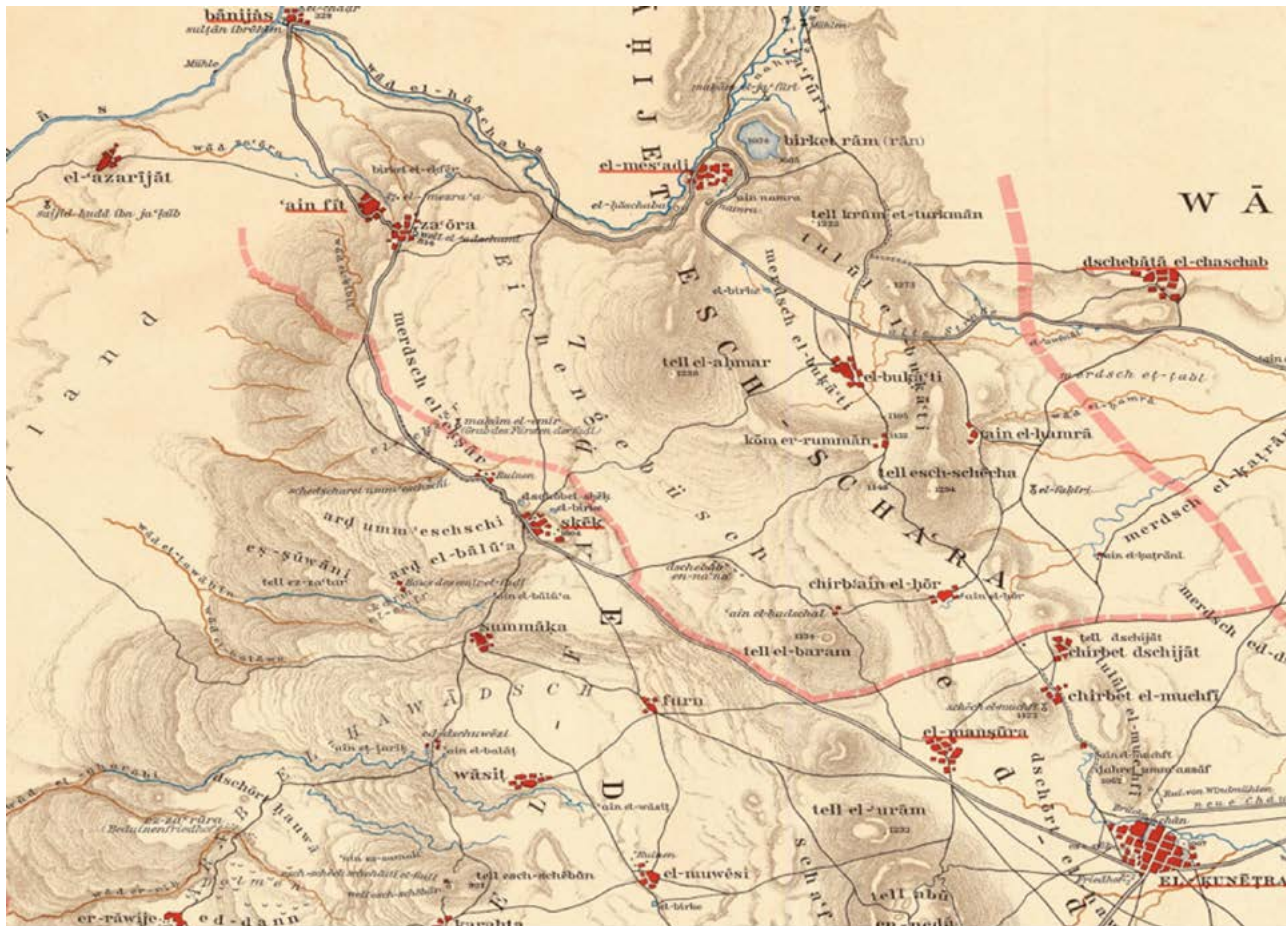


Figure 4.5. Settlement around Sukayk in the 1880s (excerpt from Schumacher's map, *al-Jaulan*).

rudimentary “winter villages” in their tribal territory (Fig. 4.5).⁴⁸ These winter villages later came to be fixed and formed the nucleus of fully sedentary life in the 20th century Golan:

“As, however, the tent is not able to withstand the effect of the weather, especially the snow and cold, the inhabitants of these tent villages have erected out of the ruined old places which cover north and west Jaulan, and upon the sites

of them, wretched low stone huts with wooden roofs. Here they store the in-gathered pasture and barley, as well as the straw during the rainy season, and take refuge therein during the fierce winter weather. These winter villages consist of from 6 to 30 huts, which in summer are completely deserted; they are closed up by a wooden door made out of a strong oak and serve only as haunts for the wild cats and foxes.'⁴⁹

48 In contrast to proper ‘villages’ west of the Jordan, villages in the territories of the Nu’aym and Faḍl tribal confederacies in the northern Golan were only inhabited seasonally during winter.

49 Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 55. Compare to Vilnay, *Golan ve-Hermon*.

Economy

Sukayk and al-Summāqah were agricultural villages whose residents utilized their varied terrains for various agricultural activities. Sukayk's properties included "cultivable [...] lands (*arādī mu'tamal wa-mu'aṭṭal*), plain and rugged terrain [...] summer quarters and winter quarters, threshing floors, pens/corrals, [...] and associated orchards (*wa-kurūm dhālika*)." (Deed A). The mention of threshing floors — linked with grain production — implies the growing of field crops in the cultivable lands, while orchards suggest the planting of fruit trees for domestic consumption (e.g., olives for olive oil, figs and grapes for dried fruit).

Deed A's mention of pens or corrals (*ṣiyar*) implies animal husbandry. In describing al-Sha'arā and other regions of the "stony Jaulān", Schumacher noted that "although of little use agriculturally, it is all the more valuable as pasturage for the numerous herds of the Bedawin, and serves as the ideal of such a 'land of spring pasturage'."⁵⁰ Sukayk's residents probably used its rugged, uncultivable lands as

pastures, and by analogy to more modern cases, also grazed in the fields left fallow after harvest (*shilif*). Herding in Sukayk's extensive territory probably required sheepfolds for protecting the herds.⁵¹

The revenues collected (or expected to be collected) from Sukayk and al-Summāqah are not specified in the endowment deeds. However, the endowment reflects both the financial interests of distant actors in Sukayk and al-Summāqah, and the way that the Muslim polity formed a common legal and economic space with long-distance fiscal linkages. Thus, the two villages' production and revenues were encumbered to support religious establishments some 1,500 km away. Endowments to the Two Noble Sanctuaries were widespread, and by the 1600s they had become the major landholders in the Levant.⁵² Like in the later Ottoman era, these substantial imperial endowments were likely managed centrally by the state throughout the Mamluk era. Revenues from the endowments supported the purchase and transport of supplies for the people living in Mecca and Medina.⁵³

⁵⁰ Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 13.

⁵¹ Cf. the southeastern Golan (al-Zāwiyah al-Sharqiyah) in Schumacher, G. *Across the Jordan — Being an Exploration and Survey of Part of Hauran and Jaulan* (London, 1889), 3, 21.

⁵² Cf. Ipshirli and al-Tamīmī 1982, *Awqāf wa-'Amlāk al-Muslimīn*.

⁵³ Behrens-Abouseif, Qāyṭbāy's Foundation in Medina; Al-Mu'ti, Piety and Profit.

APPENDIX: ARABIC TEXT

Deed A (Folio 12)*At the margins:* disused, Damascus*Underneath:* a colophon in the original handwriting

جميع الحصة التي مبلغها خمس قراريط من أربعة وعشرين
قراطا واحد وعشرون سهما وثلاث سهم وربع سهم من قراط
واحد من اصل أربعة وعشرين قيراطا من قرية سكيك من
الشعرا من اعمال دمشق المحروسة

Main text

وجميع الحصة التي مبلغها خمس قراريط من أربعة
وعشرين قراطا واحد وعشرون سهما وثلاث سهم وربع سهم
من قراط واحد من اصل أربعة وعشرين قيراطا ذلك من
أراضي ناحية قرية سكيك من الشعرا من عمل الحصة
بانياس من اعمال دمشق المحروسة المشتملة هذه القرية
علي أراضي معتمل ومعطل وسهل ووعر واقاصي واداني
مصايف

New page

ومشاتي وبيادر وصير ودمنه عامره برسم سكاني فلاحيتها
وكروم

ذلك ويحصر ذلك حدود أربعة * الحد القبلي ينتهي الى
أراضي قرية السماقة * والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى أراضي
قرية الثلجيات [الثلجيات] وتماه أرض قرية بقعاثا *
والحد الشمالي ينتهي الى أراضي قرية الكفير وتماه قرية
الجرش * والحد الغربي ينتهي الى أراضي مزارع البارقيات
ويتوصل الى هذه القرية [سكيك] من جهة الشرق وغيرها
يحد ذلك كله وحقوقه وطرقه وكل حق له داخل فيه وخارج
عنه وما يعرف بذلك وينسب اليه الجاري ذلك في ملك
مولانا الشريف المقام الواقف المنوه باسمه الشريف اعلاه
شرفه الله تعالى وعظمه بمقتضي مكتوب التبايع الشرعي
المورخ [المؤرخ] بالثامن والعشرون [SIC] من شعبان
المكرم سنة ست وثمانين وثمان مائة التابت مضمونه
المحكوم بموجبه بعد استيفاء الشرايط الشرعية من سيدنا

ومولانا العبد الفقير الي الله تعالى قاضي القضاء نجم الدين
قاضي المسلمين وخالفة امير المومنين ابي حفص عمر بن
مفلح المقدسي الحنبلي الناظر في الاحكام الشرعية بالملكة
الشامية اعز الله تعالى احكامه واسبغ عليه انعامه بمقتضي
اسجالت الكريم المسطر بظاهره المورخ السادس من شهر
رمضان المعظم قدره وحرمة سنة ست وثمانين وثمان مائة
المنعد في الشرع الشريف وخصم هذا المكتوب بقضية هذا
الوقف خصما

New page

خصما شرعيا موافقا لتاريخه وشهوده

Deed B (Folio 89)*At the margins:* disused*Underneath:* a colophon in the original handwriting

حصة خمسة قراريط ونصف وربع وثمان قيراط ونصف
قيراط وربع قيراط من قيراط من أربعة وعشرين قيراطا
وحصة قيراط واحد ونصف قيراط من الحصة الديوانية من
قرية سكيك [سكيك]

Main text

وجميع الحصة التي مبلغها خمس قراريط ونصف وربع
وثمان قيراط ونصف قيراط وربع قيراط من قيراط من أربعة
وعشرين قيراطا شايبا ذلك في أراضي قرية سكيك [سكيك]
بالشعرا من الشام المحروس وحصة مبلغها قيراط واحد
ونصف قيراط من الحصة الديوانية من قرية سكيك [سكيك]
المذكورة ولكامل ذلك حدود أربعة * الحد القبلي ينتهي
الى قرية السماقة * والحد الشرقي ينتهي الي عين الجمل
وارض بقعاثا [without diacritics] * والحد الشامي
الى قرية الكفر [recte الكفير] * والحد الغربي ينتهي
الي البراوقيات بحد ذلك وحقوقه وما يعرف بذلك وينسب
اليه وهذه الحصة خارجة عن الحصة الموقوفة [without
diacritics] قبل تاريخه بمقتضي كتاب الوقف المسطر
باعاليه الجاريفي ملك الواقف

New page

نصره الله تعالى بمقتضي مستند شرعي مورخ العشرين
من جمادي الاولى سنة اثنين وثمانين وثمان مائة التابت
[الثابت] المحكوم بموجبه المنفذ [منفذ] في الشرع الشريف
وخصم بقضية هذا الوقف خصما شرعيا موافقا لتاريخه
وشهوده

Deed C (Folios 89–90)

At the margins: disused

Underneath: a colophon in the original handwriting

قرية السماقة الملاصقة لاراضي قرية سكك [سكك] من
الشعرا من بانياس [without diacritics] من اعمال
دمشق

Main text

جميع اراضي قرية السماقة الملاصقة لاراضي قرية سكك
[سكك] المذكورة من الشعرا من بانياس من اعمال دمشق
المحروسة ولكامل ارضينها [اراضيها] حدود أربعة الحد
القبلي ينتهي الى اراضي واسط * والحد الشرقي ينتهي

الى التربة * والحد الشمالي ينتهي الى اراضي قرية سكك
[سكك] والحد الغربي ينتهي الى اراضي روس الجبال
الجاري من ذلك حصة مبلغها النصف والربع والثلث احد
وعشرين قراطا من اربعة وعشرين قيراطا من اراضي قرية
السماقة المذكورة في ملك الواقف نصره الله تعالى بمقتضي
المستند الشرعي المحضر لشهوده المورخ بتواريخ اخرها
السابع والعشرون من جمادي الاخرة سنة سبع وثمانين
وثمان مائة التابت [الثابت] ذلك المحكوم بموجبه من سيدنا
الشيخ شهاب الدين مفتي المسلمين ابي العباس المحصي
[الحمصي] الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالشام المحروس
اعز الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه بمقتضي اسجالة الكريم
المسطر بظاهره المورخ بالسادس والعشرين من صفر سنة
ثمان وثمانين

Ending on Folio 90

وثمان مائه والثلث الباقي من ذلك جار في أملاك بيت المال
المحمود بشهادة من يعتبر ذلك في رسم شهادته اخر الفصل
الذي سيسطر بعد

CHAPTER 5

EXCAVATIONS AT NA'ARĀN

Kate Raphael, Mustafa Abbasi, Eran Meir, Yoav Yoskovich and Shai Scharfberg

The village of Na'arān is located in the central Golan (map reference NIG 770236/264428), on the main road that connected Safad and Damascus (Fig. 5.1), 7 km from the bridge of Banat Yaqub. This road became a major highway during the Mamluk period, serving the Mamluk *barīd* (postal service), as well as local and international merchants and travelers. The village, which covers 30 dunams, is perched on a low hill (450 ASL) and extends along a narrow east-west ridge of basalt. Its water came from a small spring to the southwest. The spring is shaded today by large fig trees, raspberry bushes and two eucalyptus trees. The water is clean and cool, and the flow steady and slow. Remnants of steps lead to a building that has been identified as a Byzantine bathhouse.¹ The Meshushim Creek that runs along its eastern margins is dry during most of the summer. At the northwestern edge of the village there is a modern Muslim cemetery with a number of Byzantine tombstones. About 0.5 km southwest of the village there is a large building complex

identified by several surveyors as a medieval caravansary.

In recent decades the site was incorporated into the nearby grazing fields, and alongside the cattle and horses, one can often see wild boar, gazelle, badgers, porcupines, jackals, foxes and the occasional wolf. The site is well preserved; few of its stones have been robbed and it has been spared destruction both from military activity and modern development.

A walk through the village's alleys reveals a mix of ancient and modern houses with no apparent order. Column drums, capitals and stone blocks decorated with crosses, rosettes and other symbols, are incorporated into some of the courtyards, animal pens and traditional Hauranian style houses.² Some of the houses still stand to their full height. Additional late extensions were built from cement, iron beams and recycled basalt building blocks. Only four houses are constructed exclusively of modern materials.

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- 1 Dauphin, G. and Gibson, S. Exploring Ancient Settlements and Landscapes in the Golan (1978–1988). *Cathedra* 73 (1994), 10–12; Hartal, M. and Ben Ephraim, Y. Naaran site number 53, Ashmura Map (15) אתר הסקר הארכיאולוגי של ישראל (antiquities.org.il), 2014.
 - 2 Hartal, M. The Hauran Style Architecture. In S. Dar, M. Hartal and E. Ayalon (eds.) *Rafid on the Golan: A Profile of a Late Roman and Byzantine Village*, BAR International. 1555 (Oxford, 2006), 7–11; Butler, H.C. *Ancient Architecture in Syria: The Southern Hauran*. PPUAES IIA2 (Leyden, 1909); Butler H.C. *Ancient Architecture in Syria: Umm idj-Djimal*. PPUAES IIA3 (Leyden, 2013).

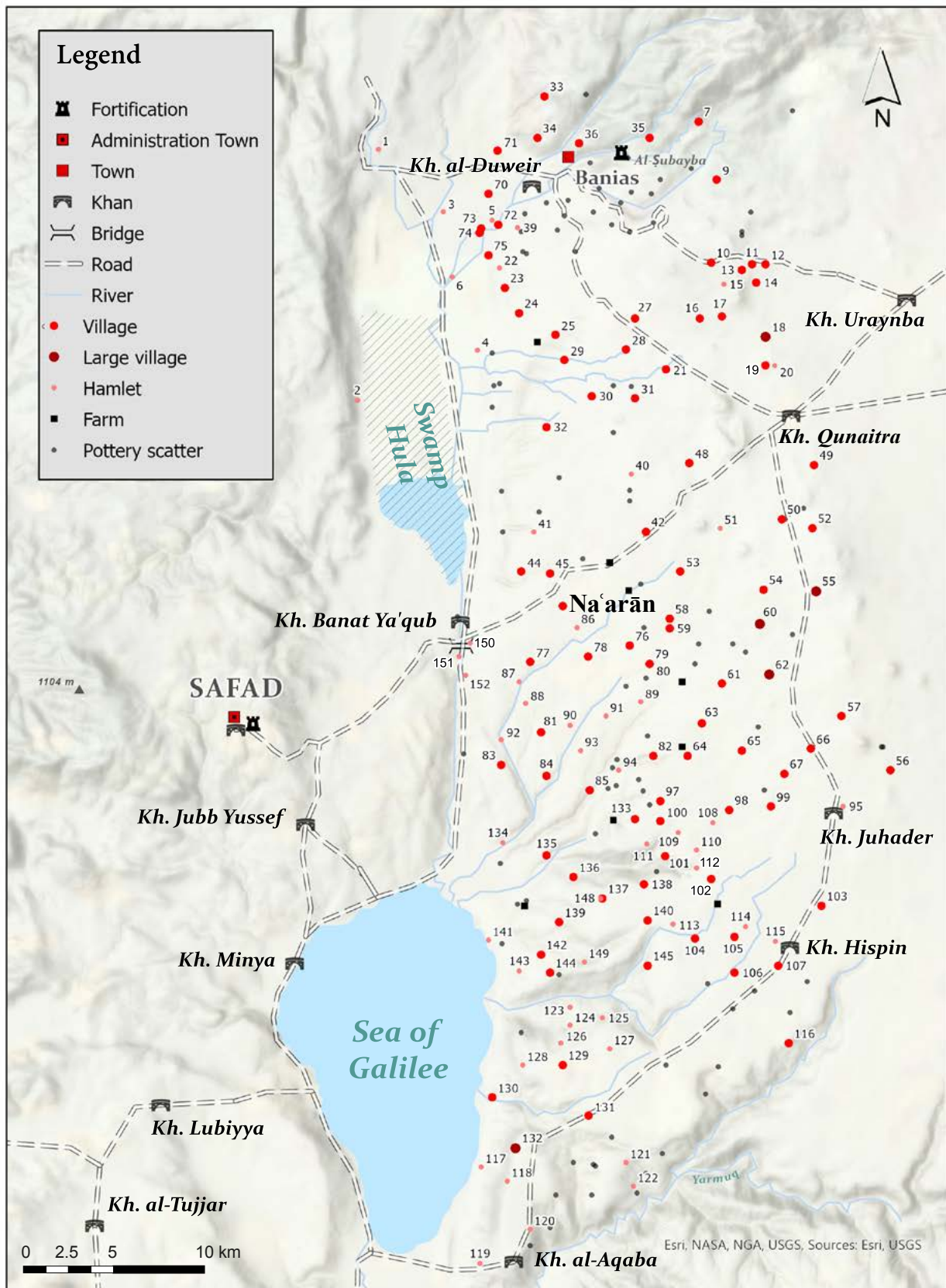


Figure 5.1. Map of Na'arān (Yoav Yoskovich).

The Mamluk phase is not at all obvious or recognizable, due to the recycling of building materials and the continuous use of traditional building methods. According to Hartal and Ben Ephraim's survey, Na'arān was settled from the Byzantine period to 1967. They emphasize two long gaps in the site's occupation: the first after the Byzantine period and the second after the Mamluk period.³ We have been able to refine these dates with the help of excavation and further historical research.

The Mamluk phase needed to be carefully identified and excavated in order to understand the nature of the community and the exact dates of settlement and abandonment. Was the village settled throughout the Mamluk period (1260–1517)? Prior or post the black plague (1346)? Current estimates are that between a third to half of the population in the Middle East perished during that pandemic.⁴ The next step was to try to situate the village within the larger picture of regional and international events that occurred in the sultanate.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Burckhardt was the first of the 19th century travelers to visit and identify the site. He arrived at Na'arān in 1812 and found it uninhabited. His account is very brief: he describes the spring and a few ruined walls that were built from well-dressed stones.⁵ Schumacher, who produced the first modern map of the Golan, visited the site in 1897 and 1913, documenting Greek inscriptions, a Byzantine bathhouse, crosses, and various other symbols carved in the stones that were scattered throughout the village. He also mentions the Bedouin community who lived on the ruins.⁶ According to Schumacher, the village community referred to the large complex as a *khan* (caravansary).⁷ Shmariya Gutman and Dan

Urman surveyed the site in 1967–1969; Urman was the first to suggest that the large complex next to the village was a Mamluk *khan*.⁸

Dauphin, Gibson and Schonfield, who studied Byzantine settlements in the Golan in the late 1970s, mapped the village and studied the bathhouse and the agriculture plots surrounding the site. They suggested that the large complex next to the village was a Byzantine monastery which later served as a *khan*.⁹ Ma'oz fiercely disagreed with Dauphine and dated the large square building complex to sometimes after 1913. According to Ma'oz, there is no written evidence that suggests the village had a monastery or a way station for pilgrims and

³ Hartal and Ben Ephraim, Naaran site number 53, Ashmura Map (15).

⁴ The destruction caused by the bubonic plague in Damascus in 1348 is documented in detail. The plague returned to Damascus and the Hauran several times (1362–1364, 1372–1373, 1375–1376, and 1411). See Dols, M.W. *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1977); Dols, M.W. *The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East 1347–1894. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 222 (1979), 162–189; Borsch, S.J. *The Black Death in Egypt and England* (Austin, Texas, 2005).

⁵ Burckhardt, G.H. *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1882), 315.

⁶ Schumacher, G. Notes from Jadur. *PEQ* (1897), 194–195.

⁷ Schumacher, G. *The Jaulan* (London, 1888), 224.

⁸ Gregg, R. and Urman, D. *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights: Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* (Atlanta, 1996), 109–124.

⁹ Dauphin and Gibson, *Exploring Ancient Settlements*, 12; Dauphin, C.M. and Schonfield, J.J. *Settlements of the Roman and Byzantine Periods on the Golan Heights: Preliminary Report on Three Seasons of Survey (1979–1981)*, *IEJ* 33 (1983), 197–206.

travelers during the Roman, Byzantine or medieval periods. His strongest argument, however, rests on the fact that Schumacher, a thorough explorer who wrote a detailed description of each and every site he visited in the Golan, never mentions a *khan* or a monastery or any large complex at the foot of the village. Thus, according to Ma'oz, the villagers built the large square complex from stones collected in the ancient village and its surroundings, some of which had crosses carved on them. He also states that he did not find any Byzantine pottery.¹⁰

Hartal and Ben Ephraim surveyed the site in 1983 and 1995. Their methodical collection of

pottery and analysis of the architecture proved that the site was founded in the Byzantine period and settled during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.¹¹ Regarding the large complex outside the village, Hartal and Ben Ephraim sided with Ma'oz, who concluded that the large complex was simply a house of a prominent member of the modern village.¹² Although all the archaeological surveys mention the Mamluk period, they all focused on the rich Byzantine remains. None of the previous teams examined or researched the contemporary medieval Arabic sources and the site was never excavated.

NA'ARĀN IN CONTEMPORARY CRUSADER AND MAMLUK WRITTEN SOURCES

William of Tyre (d. 1186) is the only Latin source that refers to the site. He mentions a place called Nuara, where the Damascene and the Frankish armies met (1140) to combat Imad al-Din Zengi (1085–1146), who threatened to conquer Damascus.¹³ Prawer, the prominent historian of the Crusader period, identified Nuara with Na'arān.¹⁴ Evidence of the existence of the village in the Ayyubid period comes from a 634H/1237CE endowment deed (*waqfiyah*), by the Ayyubid Damascene wazir Othman bin Assad Manji. The document is presented by Khalf in a short passage. According to this deed, the village belonged to the *'amal* (subdistrict) of al-Sha'arā and was under the jurisdiction

of Damascus. The deed provides a description of the village property. Na'arān had both cultivated and noncultivated/uninhabited land (*'āṭil*), forests, ravines, goat pens, village houses, threshing floors, distant and close fields, summer and winter cultivated lands, and a spring with good drinking water. Its agricultural lands stretched from wadi Fahura in the south to a patch of land known as Sahiya in the east. Its northern boundaries were marked by two mounds of rocks with large trees. Its western border was the ancient road that goes to Banat Yaqub bridge.¹⁵

The establishment of the branch of the *barīd* by the Mamluks in the mid-13th century, between

10 Ma'oz, Z.U. Comments on Jewish and Christian communities in Byzantine Palestine. *PEQ* 117 (1985), 60–61.

11 Hartal and Ben Ephraim, Naaran site number 53, Ashmura Map (15).

12 Hartal and Ben Ephraim, Naaran site number 53, Ashmura Map (15).

13 Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rīkh*. Ed. C.J. Tornberg (Beirut, 1987), vol. 9, 313.

14 William Archbishop of Tyre, *The Deeds Beyond the Sea*. Trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943), Book 15: 7, page 106; Prawer, P. *A History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1971), vol. 1: 243.

15 Khalaf, T. *Wathā'iq 'Uthmāniyah ḥawl al-Jawlān: Awqāf, awāmir, sālnāmāt* (Damascus, 2006), 9. I would like to thank Dr. Marom for sharing this important information. The translation of the deed was done by Prof. Musafa Abbasi, from the Tel Hai Academic college.

the *mamlaka* (administrative center) of Safed and Damascus, the second capital of the Mamluk sultanate, turned this route into a busy highway. The road was the last leg of the main route that connected Cairo and Damascus (Fig. 5.2) The sultan maintained it and constructed bridges to provide a safe, quick passage for the mounted riders that carried the government and military correspondence between the two Mamluk capitals. *Khans* and way stations were later built all along the route to serve merchants and travelers. Unlike most villages in the Golan, Na'arān is mentioned in several contemporary Mamluk sources due to its location on the main road to Damascus.

The prominent Mamluk scholar al-'Umarī (1301–1349), born in Damascus, is the first to mentions Na'arān as a stop/a station on the road between Safed and Damascus.

واما ما يتشعب من المركز من دمشق فمناها الى بريج
الفلوس الفلوس الى ارينية الى نعران الى صفد.¹⁶

Regarding the [roads] that branched out from the center of Damascus, to Burij al-Falus, to Uraynba, to Na'arān, to Safed.

Qalqshandī (1355–1418), who follows al-'Umarī, calls this branch “the Safed Road” طريق صفد.¹⁷ Al-Zahirī (1410–1468), who was born in Jerusalem and held several important offices in the Mamluk sultanate,¹⁸ provides the most important information on our site. According to al-Zahirī, Na'arān was a town that served as an administrative center. He states the number of villages under its jurisdiction

and describes it as a stop on the road between Safed and Damascus.

واما اقليم نعران وهو عجيب الكثيرة اوعاره وأكبر بلدانه
نعران قيل انه نيف عن مايه وستين قرية وهي ايضا من
معامله دمشق.¹⁹

As for the province of Na'arān, which is very wonderful, the region's largest town is Na'arān. It is said that it has more than 160 villages. It is a county of Damascus.

واما ما كان من دمشق الى صفد فمناها الى البريج ثم الى
الفلوس ثم الى الارينية ثم الى نعران ثم الى جب يوسف ثم
الى صفد.²⁰

As for what lay between Damascus and Safed, from it to al-Burij, then to al-Qalous (al-fulus?), then to al-Uraynba, then to Na'arān, then to Jubb Yusūf, then to Safed.

Ibn al-Jī'ān's (d. 1480) book focuses on the voyage of sultan al-Ashraf Abī al-Naṣir Qāyṭbāy (r. 1468–1496) to the fortresses on the Euphrates River. They took the road that crossed the Golan, and the sultan's entourage stopped or passed through the relay station at Na'arān.

And [the noble retinue] stopped at [Jisr Ya'qūub], by the river bank which links to Birkat Qadas. And the amīr Bard Bek held a great banquet. And between this station (maḥaṭṭa) and Damascus are six relay stations (burud): al-Murayj, Sa'sa', al-Uraynba, al-Qunaytra, Na'arān and Jisr Ya'qūub.²¹

16 al-'Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yahyā ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Al-Ta'rīf fi al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 250.

17 al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1915–1922), vol. 14: 382.

18 Loiseau, J. Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī. In K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas and E. Rowson (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32237. 2022; Ghent University Mamluk Prosopography Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Shaykhī | Mamluk Prosopography (ugent.be).

19 Al-Zahirī, Khalīl b. Shāhīn, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Beirut, 1988), 41.

20 Al-Zahirī, Khalīl b. Shāhīn, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Paris, 1894), 120.

21 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Qawl al-Mustaḥraf fī Safar Mawlānā al-Malik al-Ashraf*. Ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Tripoli, 1984), 91.

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Ibn al-Jī‘ān is the only source that states the Na‘arān had a relay station — *maḥaṭṭa*.²² Finding this relay station became one of the excavation’s primary goals; it was considerably more difficult than we expected.

By the first half of the 15th century, Na‘arān developed into an administrative town with 160 villages under its jurisdiction, i.e. 45% of the total number of villages in the Golan. According to al-Zahirī the remaining 200 villages (55%) were under the jurisdiction of Banias.²³

In 1535, eighteen years after the Ottoman conquest, Na‘arān is registered in the Ottoman tax books (*Mufasssal Thrīr Defteri*). The tax survey was ordered by Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566) and carried out in all the provinces of al-Sham Sharif (Damascus). The village was defined as *timar*; it belonged to ‘Ala Said Shihab al-Din Ibn Said Taj al-Din Hosseini al-Refa‘i. It grew 650 ghararah of wheat and 350 ghararah of barley. Its summer crops were valued at 300 akçe. Its income from goats and honey were 100 akçe; 1300 akçe were paid by the fellahin who cultivated the land, as well as a tithe tax of 500 akçe.²⁴ The village had 15 households and its own Imam. For the sake of comparison, the two largest villages in the Golan had 64 and 54 families. Na‘arān does not appear in the tax books of

the second half of the 16th century (1565 and 1596), indicating that it had ceased to exist.²⁵

Al-Khiyārī, who traveled through the region in 1672, describes a deserted village. Similar accounts are given by al-Nābulusī, who crossed the Golan in 1690, and As‘ad al-Luqaymī, who passed by Na‘arān in 1759. Although their accounts are very brief, al-Luqaymī writes that the village was ruined by the plague.²⁶ The location of the village on a busy international road may have been a disadvantage in times of pestilence. The reoccurrence of the plague in the 15th and 16th centuries was apparently no less severe or frequent than when it first broke out.²⁷

The village was settled once again in the late 19th century. Schumacher briefly describes the community who lived on the ruins: “40 families dwell in the village, some buildings were not occupied. The villagers dug in the hope of finding ancient gold and other goods.”²⁸ The name of the village surfaces once again in the 1900 Ottoman Tax registers of Nāḥiya Jawlān. The tax registration system had changed and other than the name of the village there is no further information regarding its population or its agricultural crops.²⁹ In a 1960s Syrian census, the village numbered *ca.* 350 people.³⁰ It seems the village was settled continuously until 1967.

22 For an analysis of this text see Cytryn-Silverman, K. *The Road Inns (khāns) in Bilād al-Shām* (Oxford, 2010), 106.

23 Al-Zahirī, *Zubdat Kashf* (1894), 54.

24 Hazırlayanlar, Y., Özkilinc A., Coskun A. and Sivridag, A. (eds.) *401 Numaralı Şam Llivâsı Mufasssal Tahrîr Defteri (942 / 1535)* (Ankara, 2001), 26, 151, 346. ghararah, 1 sack = c. 16.5 Liters.

25 Hartal, M. Archaeological Survey as a Source for the History of the Golan. *Qadmoniot* 148 (2014), 88.

26 Muṣṭafā As‘ad al-Luqaymī, *Mawāniḥ al-uns bi-riḥlatī li-Wādī al-Quds* (Damascus, 2012), 265–266.

27 In the 15th and 16th centuries Syria suffered eighteen outbreaks. See Dols, *The Second Plague Pandemic*. 169 footnote 11, 176 footnote 30.

28 Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 224.

29 Salnama Vilayet Suriya. 1900\1317H, Number 32.

30 Kipnis, Y. *The Settlement Landscape of the Golan (Syrian) Heights on the Eve of the Six Day War 1967*. MA thesis. Haifa University (Haifa, 2002), Appendix 5.

PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY³¹

While many sites throughout the country were settled and abandoned several times over the centuries, the idea that some of the houses we were about to excavate were occupied for *ca.* 1500 years was somewhat overwhelming. The survey finds included a variety of pottery sherds and the occasional coin, but we also came across plastic shoes, half a rusty truck cabin, metal bed frames, and cobalt blue enamel bowls. The village alleys were easy to trace and a large cement table (for washing clothes?) stood sound and solid in the center

of the village (Fig. 5.3). Surveying and excavating a village, where many of the houses are still standing and where people had lived in it until recently, is a strange experience.

In the summer of 2021, a spark from a beekeeper's smoke gun set fire to the entire site (Fig. 5.4), clearing the surface of shrubs and thistles. It was a good opportunity for drone photography; it also made our pottery survey considerably easier. Because the site was surveyed several times and its architecture described in detail, photographed



Figure 5.3. The large concrete table (for washing clothes?).

³¹ Excavation Permit Number: J16/2022.



Figure 5.4. Aerial view of the Na'arān, looking west, after the 2021 fire (photograph by Dan Malkinson).

and illustrated, our aim was to determine the areas within the village that were settled in the Mamluk period, according to the distribution of pottery on the surface. In theory this should have given a fairly accurate idea of the area occupied during the Mamluk period.

Whereas Byzantine pottery was found across the site, the glazed 13th–15th century pottery was present only at the crown of the site, the south-eastern and southern slopes, the cemetery and on the roof of the stable on the northeast perimeter of the village.³² This pottery was badly preserved and not very diagnostic. Numerous Mamluk sites

have been excavated and their pottery researched and published; the analysis of medieval pottery has advanced considerably. But the pottery we collected did not give us a precise time frame. We could not establish whether the Mamluk settlement existed throughout the Mamluk period (1260–1516 CE), or only for several decades. The only way to answer the above question was to excavate and find a sufficient number of Mamluk coins in good stratigraphic contexts. The survey clearly showed the area of the Mamluk settlement was smaller than that of the Byzantine period site.³³

³² For a detailed reading of the pottery collected in the survey see Appendix 1.

³³ The relatively small size of the Mamluk settlements, in comparison to the Byzantine period villages in the Golan, was researched and published recently, see Ben David, C. and Osband, M. Mamluk-Period Settlement in the a'amāl (Regions) of Bānyās eš-Ša'ara and Nawā. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 139 (2023), 113–138.

THE EXCAVATION

While walking the site during the pottery survey we chose where to open our three excavation areas. Many of the houses still stood to their full height, but roofs and walls were partially collapsed and safety issues had to be taken into consideration. Following the survey, we first chose a ruined house located at the summit of the hill (Area C). It was built in the traditional Hauranian style; its entire roof had collapsed, but the outer walls still stood to a height of over 2 m. The second excavation area was the Hauranian house that was partially built into the side of the hill at the northeastern edge of the village (Area S). It stood to its full height and the large main room, supported by arches, was stable and safe enough to allow us to excavate inside and along the external walls. The third and

last area we chose was the large complex just south-east of the village, known as the *khan* (Area KH). Our goal here was to verify the date it was founded and the different phases of its construction, and to try to settle the debate regarding its function.

The excavation areas were fairly small; we only excavated *ca.* a third of the house in Area C, four probes in Area S and nine probes in Area KH.

The stratigraphic sequence:

Stratum I: Late Ottoman (late 18th c.–1967 CE).

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th c.–1600 CE).

Stratum III: Late Roman–Byzantine periods (4th–7th c. CE).

THE RUINS OF THE HAURANIAN HOUSE (AREA C)

The Hauranian house in Area C is located at the southern side of the village, almost at the top of the hill. Its plan can be roughly divided into two distinct areas: a large square hall with remnants of five arches (hereafter: the Hall of Arches) that supported the basalt roof beams, and an adjacent long narrow hall (hereafter: the Narrow Hall). In the Narrow Hall the basalt roof beams were supported by four columns and corbels that protruded from the walls (Figs. 5.5–5.6).

At the time of our own survey all that could be seen were piles of collapsed stones hemmed in

by the outside walls that rose *ca.* 1 m above the collapse. The lintel of an entrance and a pillar with a capital could be seen in the Narrow Hall. The capital was carved with a tree-of-life and a cross; both can better be described as graffiti rather than the work of a professional craftsman or artist. The first stage of our work was to carefully remove the collapse and clear a large enough area within the two well-defined units of the house. Only the southern third of the Hall of Arches and the eastern half of the Narrow Hall were cleared and prepared for excavation (Figs. 5.7–5.9).

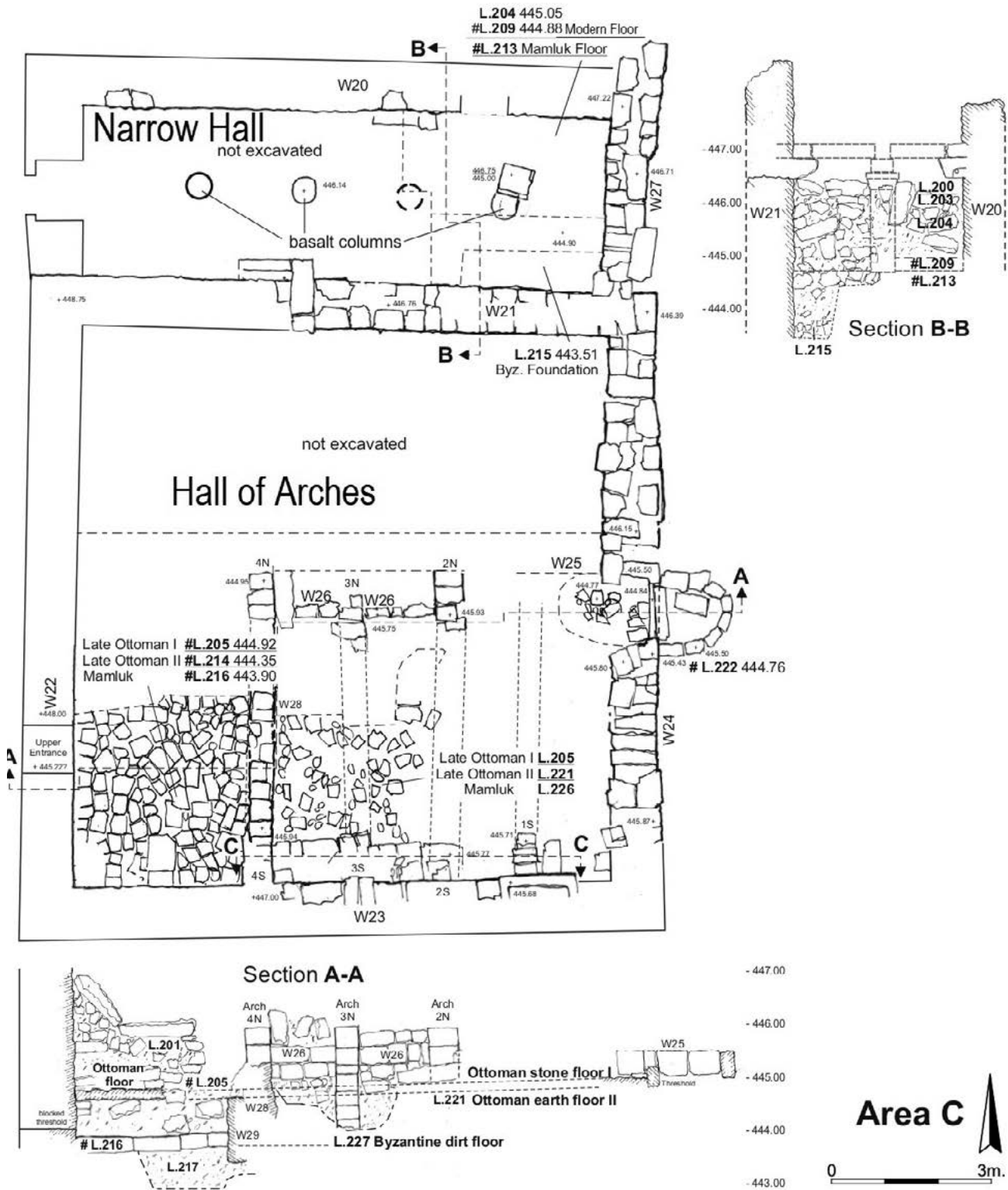


Figure 5.5. Plan and sections of the Hauranian House in Area C (Jay Rosenberg).

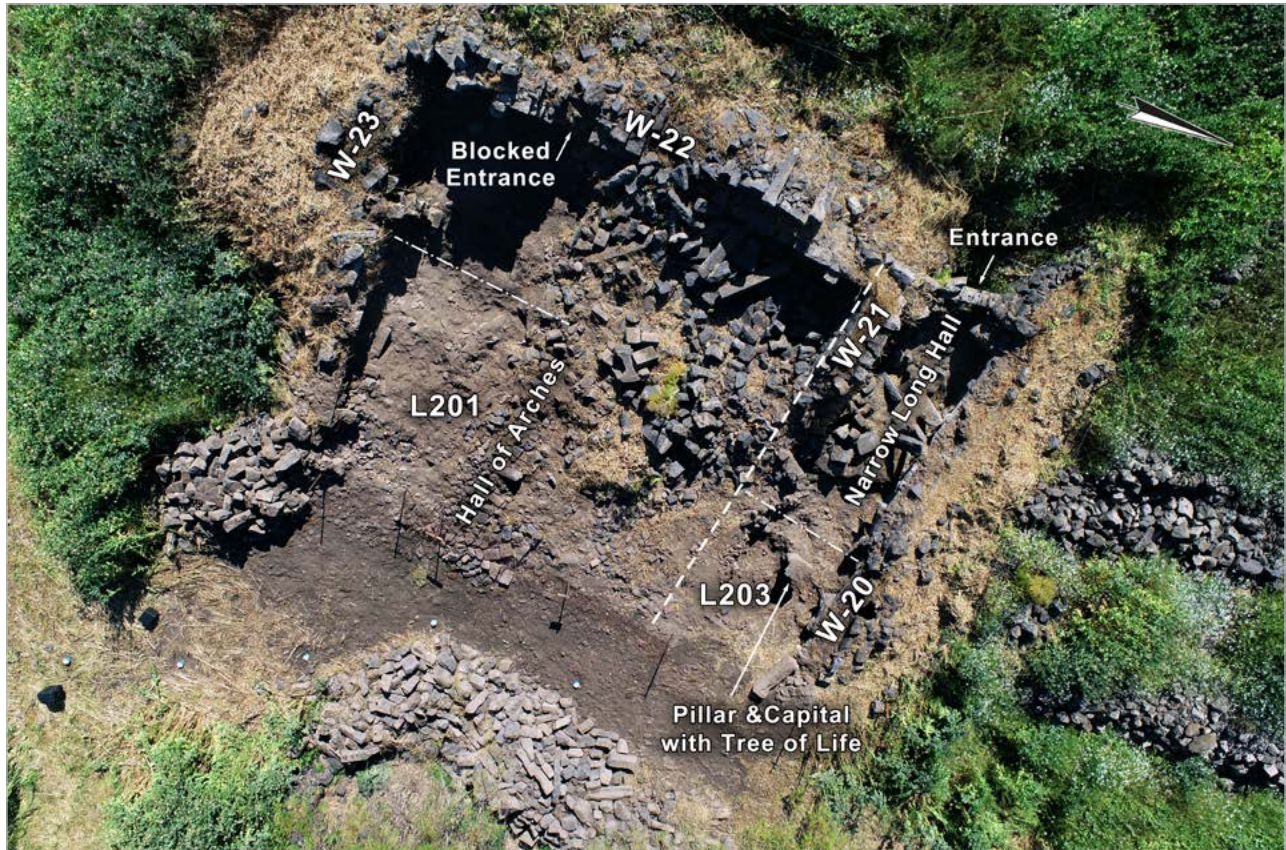


Figure 5.6. The Hauranian House (Area C) after the first clearing of the collapse by a tractor (photograph by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 5.7. Azam Mutia, the tractor driver, tying a long basalt beam.



Figure 5.8. Yochai Moheban and Kate Raphael, with our longest basalt roof beam.



Figure 5.9. Eran Meir setting the capital back in place.



Figure 5.10. The Israel Defense Force (IDF) margarine container from the top layer of the collapse.

The capital in the eastern half of the Narrow Hall was returned to its place (Fig. 5.9) and the excavation began. The top layer of collapse in both the Narrow Hall and the Hall of Arches consisted of stone blocks from the walls and basalt roof beams, mixed with a relatively small amount of loose soil (L201–L203). Some of the soil probably originated from the roof (מעזובה), which was covered with a thick layer of packed earth (0.4–0.5 m). To maintain it, every year after the winter, “new” earth was added to the roof and packed with a large basalt roller (מעגילה). This sealed it and prevented water from seeping into the house. It also gave the building its stability.³⁴ A relatively large amount of pottery was found in the collapse; mixed with modern garbage such as a leather sandal, metal cutlery, ammunition, plastic army food containers, sardine tin cans (Figs. 5.10–5.11) and a smashed Byzantine tombstone (Fig. 5.12). The latter was probably incorporated among the roof beams.

The description below begins with the excavation of the Narrow Hall and continues with the Hall of Arches.



Figure 5.11. Ammunition from the top layer of collapse.



Figure 5.12. The smashed Byzantine tombstone found in the top layer of collapse L200 (restored by Yochai Moheban).

³⁴ We would like to thank engineer Amos Shiran for examining the houses at Na'arān and suggesting this explanation regarding the strength and stability of the Hauranian houses.



Figure 5.13. The Narrow Hall looking west. Jay Rosenberg (surveyor) standing on the modern floor.



Figure 5.14. The Narrow Hall; the modern floor and the Mamluk floor.

The Narrow Hall

The Narrow Hall measures 12.4 x 6.0 m. It is bordered on the north by W20; on the east by W27 and on the south by W21. The entrance into the building was from the west; the lintel can still be seen. A row of four modest pillars (diameter: 0.35 m, height: 1.40 m.), together with basalt corbels, supported the roof that was built of basalt beams. While the first layer of collapse was relatively free of soil, the second was buried and covered with earth (L204); it consisted

of basalt roof beams and stone blocks that were removed with the help of a tractor.

The 20th century. Once the collapse was cleared, a tamped earth floor (L209) was revealed (Figs. 5.13–5.14). The finds on this floor included a rusty rectangular metal box that was badly damaged when the roof collapsed, a military blanket, two enamel bowls (Figs. 5.15–5.16), a metal mess tin and a pair of socks! The hall was clearly used until the late 1960s by the Syrian and Israeli armies.



Figure 5.15. The 20th century floor with enamel bowls beneath the collapse.



Figure 5.16. The enamel bowl.

Mamluk-early Ottoman periods. Second half of 13th c.–1600 CE. The next step was to carefully peel away the modern floor (L209). Approximately 0.2 m below it we reached the second floor (L213) and the base of the pillar, where a complete Mamluk oil lamp was found. Large fragments of a smashed dark

green glazed bowl with sgraffito decorations (L213) and a Mamluk coin dated to 1300–1399 CE (L213 B2077) were found on this floor (Figs. 5.17–5.19). The floor foundations, made of flat stone slabs, included a Byzantine tombstone in secondary use from the nearby graveyard.



Figure 5.17. A smashed glazed bowl on the Mamluk floor.



Figure 5.18. The Mamluk oil lamp (restored by Orna Cohen).



Figure 5.19. The smashed bowl (restored by Orna Cohen).

Late Roman–Byzantine periods. 4th–7th centuries CE. We still needed to find out when and who founded this house. We thus continued the excavation all the way down to the foundations of W21 and W27, the southeast corner of the Narrow Hall. A sounding (L215) was dug below the Mamluk floor (L213). Some collapse of large ashlars could still be seen (Fig. 5.20). From this point onward, and all the way down to the foundations of W21, the excavation yielded large amounts of Byzantine pottery.

Two coins (L215 B2154, B2165) dated 330–340 CE and 400–499 CE were found in the fill, providing a more accurate date. Once we reached the foundations the picture became clear. W27 was built by the Mamluks and co-existed with the floor, on which we found a smashed glazed bowl. The quality of W27's construction is somewhat poorer than that of the Byzantine wall (W21); i.e., the Narrow Hall was added during the Mamluk period to an existing Byzantine structure.



Figure 5.20. The long Narrow Hall; note the Byzantine foundations along W21.

The Hall of Arches

The Hall of Arches is a large spacious area (12 × 12 m) bordered on the north by W21, on the east by W24, on the south by W23 and on the west by W22. Five arches within the hall supported the basalt roof beams.³⁵ The roof beams were covered by a thick layer of packed earth (c. 0.6–0.8 m).

The Hall of Arches has a different stratigraphic sequence than that of the adjacent Narrow Hall. The Late Ottoman level — missing in the Narrow Hall — played a prominent role and had two phases. As in the Narrow Hall, above and among the collapsed basalt beams, lintels, and stone blocks,

we found rusty IDF tin cans of food, plastic containers stamped with the Hebrew letter Tzadik צ=צָ (IDF) and various types of bullet casings. The first layer of collapse, excavated with laborers, consisted of roof beams and stone blocks from the walls, covered and buried in loose soil (L201; see Fig. 5.5, Section A–A). Both loci contained large amounts of glazed pottery, horseshoes, modern glass, and rusty bits of metal, as well as an assortment of bullet casings.

Late Ottoman period, Phase I. Once the collapse was removed, a poorly constructed stone floor with patches of tamped earth was revealed (L205).



Figure 5.21. The late Ottoman level, Phase I. The Hall of Arches, looking west. Note the remains of the arch on the left and the blocked entrance on the upper right.

35 Similar structures were excavated in Jordan. See McQuitty, A., Parton, H., Petersen, A., Baird, D., Collon, D., Johns, J., and Khoury, M. *Khirbat Faris: Rural Settlement, Continuity and Change in Southern Jordan. The Nabatean to Modern Periods (1st century BC—20th century AD): Volume 1: Stratigraphy, Finds and Architecture* (Oxford, 2020), 209–213, Fig. 10.21. Although the construction and dates are similar, the plan of the Arch-and-Grain Bin house in Jordan is different from the dwellings in Na'arān and Farj. Furthermore, in Jordan these structures were often used solely for storage.

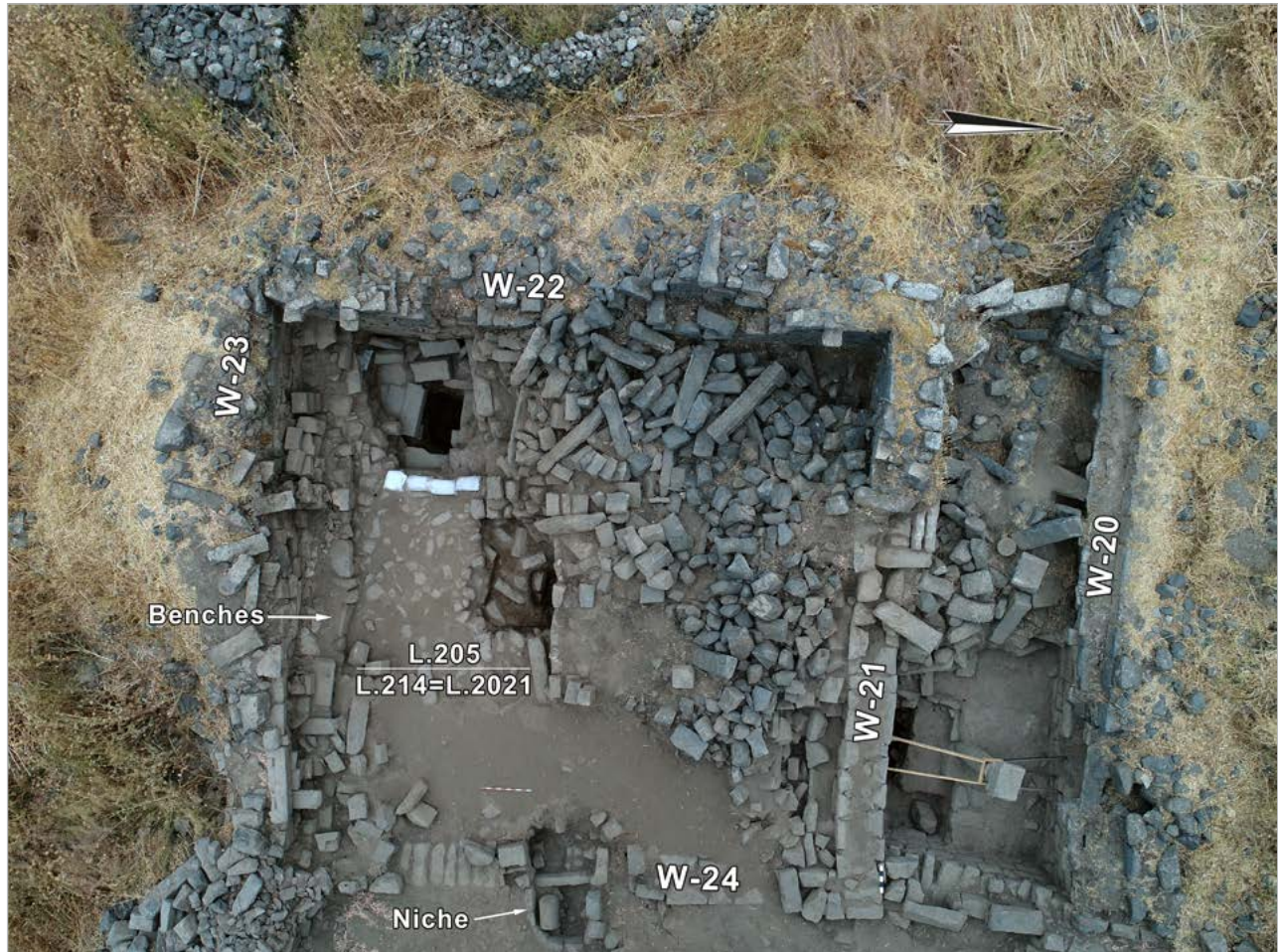


Figure 5.22. The Hall of Arches with the niche and benches (photograph by Dan Malkinson).

A crude change was made during this period: the western entrance was blocked, the lower row of corbels was cut, and a new, higher row of corbels was inserted (Figs. 5.21–5.22). Stone benches coated with cement were constructed along the walls. Benches of this type are a common feature in rural architecture in Jordan and are documented in houses from the 13th–20th centuries.³⁶ Across the hall, along the eastern wall (W24) we revealed a niche built from one course of stones. As we

excavated below the first course, it became clear that it was built on the entrance into the Hall of Arches. Four pilasters that supported arches were revealed along W23; only two remained along W26 (Fig. 5.5). The pilasters were built from well-dressed ashlar. The arches enabled the construction of a roof that spanned 12 m. The stones of one of the arches lay in a neat pile on the late Ottoman floor.

The pottery from below the floor contained a high percentage of Mamluk and early Ottoman

³⁶ Walker, B.J. Early Ottoman/Late Islamic/post Mamluk: What are the archaeological traces of the 16th century in Syria. In S. Connermann and G. Sen (eds.) *The Mamlūk–Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century* (Göttingen, 2017), 355.

glazed material, a fragment of a porcelain coffee cup and three fragments of a 17th–18th century Ottoman ceramic tobacco pipe. The floor was thus dated to the late Ottoman period, but it remained in use until the 1960s. A brief late 19th century description of the village is provided by Schumacher.³⁷

Late Ottoman period, Phase II. A sounding below the poorly constructed stone floor (L205) revealed a simple tamped earth floor (Fig. 5.5, L221 = L214). The pottery from below it included Mamluk and early Ottoman glazed material and a fragment of an 18th–19th century Ottoman tobacco pipe. Three coins were found in the fill (L214 B2201–B2203; dates: 1350–1420 CE; 1381–1382 CE and 1800–1899 CE), thus dating the floor to the 19th century. The four sets of pilasters that supported arches were more than likely rebuilt during this phase.

The two phases within the Late Ottoman period date to the 18th–20th centuries. While the stratigraphy is clear, the finds below the floors were similar and we could not get more precise dates.

Mamluk-early Ottoman periods. Second half of 13th c.–1600 CE. This level was considerably more impressive than that of the Late Ottoman period. It included a well-preserved floor built from huge rectangular blocks in secondary use (Fig. 5.5: L226 = L216), with an entrance along W22 (blocked at a later period) a few centimeters higher than the floor (Figs. 5.23–5.25). The pottery found in the fill directly below the large stone slab floor included a saucer oil lamp with no glaze (L226 B2230), dated to the 13th–15th centuries,³⁸ and a few glazed bowl



Figure 5.23. Late Ottoman and Mamluk floors.

rims. The floor was thus last used in the Mamluk period.³⁹ Much of the fill, however, contained Late Roman–Byzantine pottery.

Late Roman–Byzantine periods. 4th–7th centuries. CE. A Late Roman–Byzantine tamped earth floor was partially revealed *ca.* 0.6 m below Stratum II (L227, Fig. 5.5: section A–A). It was the only patch of Byzantine floor we uncovered in Area C. The pottery included Byzantine cooking wares and bowls, a late Byzantine–early Islamic jar, five limestone tesserae and a large, well-dressed limestone tile.

³⁷ Schumacher, Notes from Jedur, 195.

³⁸ Avissar, M. Chapter 6: Area B: The Medieval Pottery. In Tzaferis, V. and Israeli, S. *Paneas Volume I: The Roman and Early Islamic Periods, Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H* (Jerusalem, IAA Report 2008), 101–102.

³⁹ I would like to thank Dr. Amir Gorzalczany (IAA) for pointing this out.



Figure 5.24. Mamluk floor L216. Note the blocked entrance between Eran and the scale (not to be confused with the blocked entrance in the higher late Ottoman wall).



Figure 5.25. Mamluk stone floors L216 and L226 in the Hall of Arches.

Summary

The Hauranian house in Area C was occupied over the course of almost 1500 years, with two extended periods of abandonment. The first and earliest phase (Stratum III) dates to the Late Roman–Byzantine period. A small portion of the pottery dates to the Early Islamic period, suggesting its occupation may have continued into the 7th century CE. Although the pottery and coins gave a clear date, the scale of the excavation, and the architectural evidence, were not large enough to reconstruct the Byzantine period house. The nature of the pottery clearly indicates that it came from a domestic setting.

The Ayyubid endowment deed (1237) proves the village was established by the first half of the 13th century. Thus, after a break of *ca.* 600 years, during which the house gradually fell into decay, new settlers rebuilt it, using part of the Byzantine foundations and all the stones in the debris (Stratum II). The new dwellers extended the house and added the long Narrow Hall (Fig. 5.26 and Fig. 5.28).

Thresholds and lintels were turned into corbels. The quality of the building is somewhat inferior, but the Hauranian building tradition was maintained. Although the production of saucer oil lamps continued until the end of the Mamluk period, this is one of the few finds that can be dated to the 13th century. Our earliest Mamluk coin dates to 1300 CE. Despite the somewhat tenuous archaeological evidence, the house may have been founded during the late Ayyubid period. The fact that its dwellers invested in it, rebuilt and extended the house and the nature of the pottery (the whole assemblage of tableware) indicate they were neither squatters nor nomads but rather part of a sedentary community.

The notorious plague that struck the Levant in 1347 and hit Damascus numerous times did not disrupt its tenants. The transition between the Ayyubid and Mamluk and the Mamluk and Ottoman periods in the Golan were fairly calm; no wars or skirmishes, no burning of towns and villages and no refugees are recorded in the written sources.

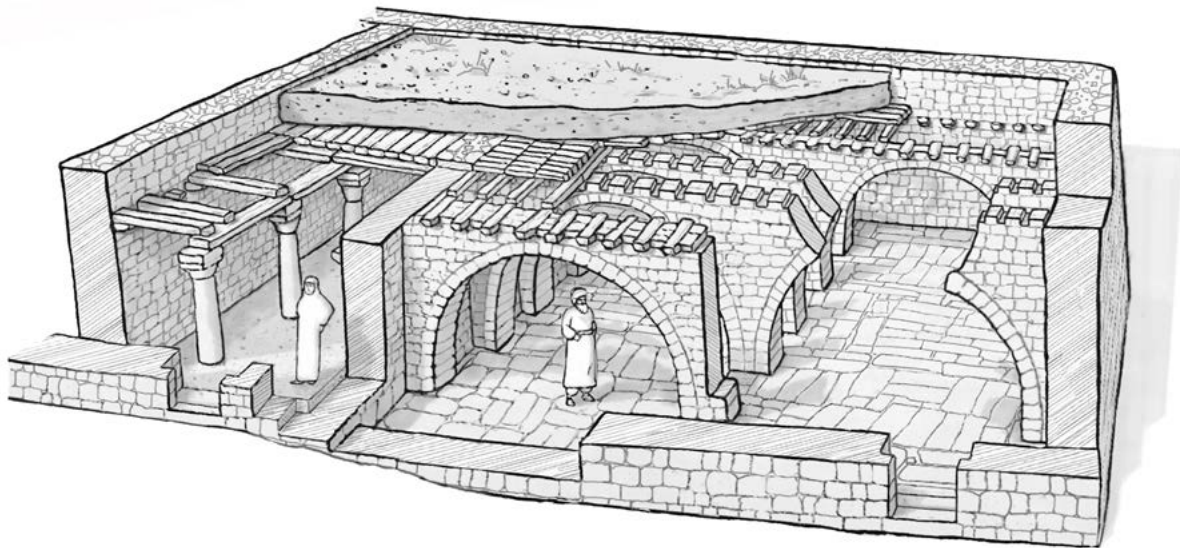


Figure 5.26. Reconstruction of the Hauranian house in Area C during the Mamluk period, viewed from the west (drawn by Tania Melsten).

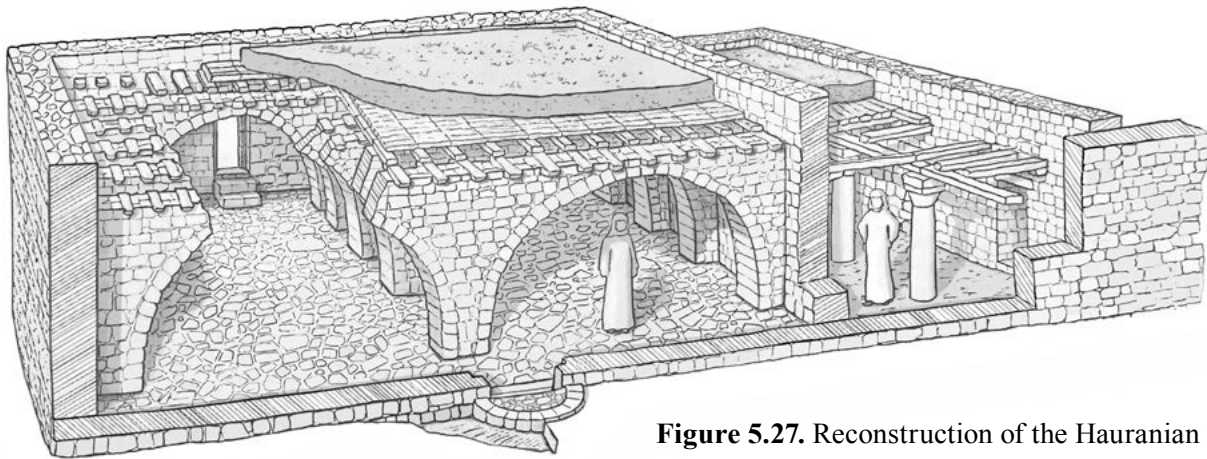


Figure 5.27. Reconstruction of the Hauranian house in Area C during the Late Ottoman period, from the east (drawn by Tania Melsten).

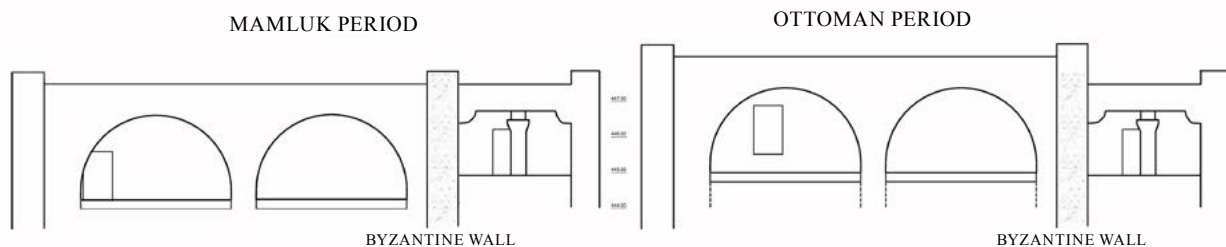


Figure 5.28. Section of the Hauranian house in Area C during the Mamluk and Late Ottoman periods (drawn by Tania Melsten).

No layer of sudden violent destruction was encountered in the house in area C. Contrary to what we had thought, the excavation of this house and the contemporary sources show that it was occupied continuously for ca. 350 years — from 1300 (or perhaps even the early 13th century) up until the first decades of the 16th century. The thick layer of collapse and fill above the Mamluk floor in the Hall of Arches, the porcelain tableware and tobacco pipe all suggest that the next tenants arrived in the late 18th or early 19th centuries.

This is further confirmed by Schumacher's notes. The Late Ottoman period dwellers did not bother to remove the 0.5–1.0 meter-thick layer of collapse in the Hall of Arches; they simply leveled

the surface, laid their floors and maintained the plan of the Mamluk period house (Figs. 5.27–5.28). The niche along the eastern wall and the cement benches in the Hall of Arches mark the last phase of building. The house was continuously occupied until the late 1960s under the modern Syrian state. The Israel Defense Forces used the site for a short time after 1967. Members of Kibbutz Merom Golan and Moshav Qidmat Tzvi remember seeing the house standing to its full height in the 1980s. No one, however, remembers, or knows who, what or when the house was dealt its final blow. Perhaps it was just a weak beam that shifted or broke that led to its final collapse.

THE STANDING HAURANIAN HOUSE AT THE NORTHEAST EDGE OF THE SITE (AREA S)

The house stands at the northeast perimeter of the village. It is surrounded by piles of building debris and neighboring houses that have collapsed. It is built in the Hauranian style with a large paddock fenced with a low stone wall. The building methods and the basic plan are similar to the house excavated in Area C. The main hall (3.2–4.0 x 8.0 m), is bordered on the north by W01, on the east by W04, on the south by W02, and on the west by W05. The roof is supported by four arches; the entrance is located in the north wall (W01). The long narrow hall, which has no entrance, is smaller (2.0–2.5 x 8.0 m). The seam between the two units can clearly be seen along the façade (Figs. 5.29–5.32). Unlike the Hauranian house in Area C, the rooms are not

symmetrical, and the walls are substantially wider (1.0–1.6 m). Its southern half is built into the hill; this no doubt contributed to the stability of the entire structure. The narrow hall, however, could not be excavated due to the partial collapse of the roof and the danger of destabilizing the structure if we excavated along its walls. We therefore made two probes inside the house below the stone floor in the hall of arches: one probe along the northern wall (W01) and one at the northeastern external corner (Figs. 5.31, 5.33).

The only Mamluk pottery we found came from a fill (L107, five single indicative pieces) in the northeastern corner (Fig. 5.33); most of the pottery recovered was Byzantine. The poor context and the



Figure 5.29. Area S, looking north. The standing Hauranian house (photograph by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 5.30. Hall of Arches in the standing Hauranian house, looking south. Note the troughs between the arches (photograph by Shai Scharfberg).

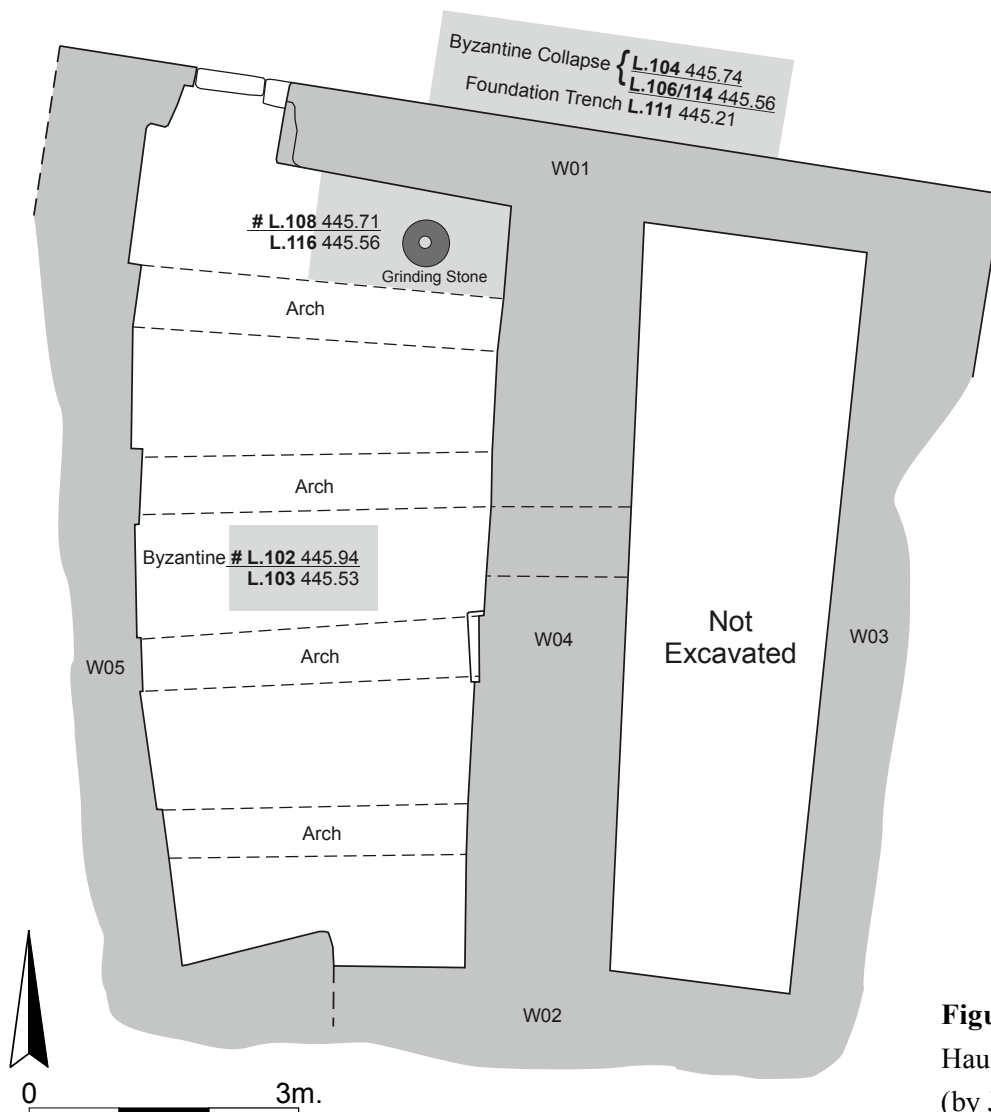


Figure 5.31. The standing Hauranian house in Area S (by Jay Rosenberg).



Figure 5.32. The seam between the two units along the northern façade of the standing Hauranian house.



Figure 5.33. The sounding at the northeast corner of the standing Hauranian house. W11 was incorporated into the current building (photo by Shai Scharfberg).

meager finds did not form a firm enough base for any substantial conclusions regarding a Mamluk occupation phase.

The sounding along the façade (Fig. 5.33), revealed a layer of large collapsed stones (L106) that was only partially cleared by the builders of the current standing building in order to lay its foundations. The pottery from below the collapse (L114) dated to the Byzantine period. Two coins found in the foundation trench along W01 were dated to the 7th century CE (L111 B1039/B1040). The Mamluk coin from the foundation can perhaps be defined as a stray, since no Mamluk pottery was found in this sounding.

Similar findings were discovered below the stone floor inside the hall of arches (Fig. 5.30). The pottery was Byzantine. The two coins (L102: B1011, B1049) found here date to the second half of the 6th century CE. An additional modern Syrian–Egyptian United Arab Republic coin, dated to 1960, and a heavy horseshoe provided the identity of the last people who dwelt in the house or made the latest renovations. A small, round, flat grinding stone was revealed in the northeastern corner of the main hall (Figs. 5.30, 5.35). Although a few pottery sherds were found surrounding it, none were diagnostic; it was thus impossible to date it.



Figure 5.34. Looking east, the foundation trench and the level of collapse along W01 of the standing Hauranian house (photo by Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 5.35. The grinding stone incorporated into the floor of the Hall of Arches (photo by Shai Scharfberg).

An experiment on the roof of the house in Area S

The roof is covered by a thick, tightly packed layer of soil. A sounding (0.8 x 0.8 m) was made on the northwest corner of the roof (Fig. 5.36). It produced pottery and coins from the Byzantine, Medieval and Modern periods (Table 5.1). It is difficult to analyze this material and put it into context. The fact that the fill contained a coin from the 20th century provides the last date the roof was resurfaced. The Ottoman, Mamluk and Umayyad coins could have come from anywhere in the nearby surroundings, wherever the earth was collected.

Table 5.1. Coins from the Roof of Area S

LOCUS	BASKET	RULER	DATE
115	1060	Syria and Egypt–United Arabic Republic	1960
115	1059	Abdulmejid I	1839–1861
115	1054	Late Ottoman	1800–1899
115	1053	Mamluk?	1360–1399
115	1052	Mamluk	1300–1399
115	1069	Umayyad	697–750



Figure 5.36. Area S, looking north. The standing Hauranian house built into the side of the hill; note the earth above the roof (photograph by Dan Malkinson).

Summary

Both the ceramic and coin evidence suggests that the house was founded in the late Byzantine period. Its current floor and the foundation of its façade (W01) date to the 6th–7th centuries CE. The nature of the Byzantine pottery indicates that the structure served as modest living quarters. Its scale and plan, as well as the Hauranian building technique, are similar to the house we excavated on the hill in Area C. The Hall of Arches in Area C is twice the size but was constructed in a similar manner. The long adjacent hall in Area S is narrower than the one in the house in Area C; it thus did not require the support of columns; the roof beams are held only by the projecting corbels. The house in Area S, however, may date in its entirety to the Byzantine

period. The only other explanation is that whoever converted the house into a stable in the 20th century was a true professional. A similar picture was revealed at Umm al-Jimal by de Vries and Brown:

“Some Druze builders achieved such fluency in replicating Byzantine construction techniques that their work is difficult to distinguish from Late Antique masonry.”⁴⁰

The few Mamluk sherds found (in poor contexts) do not provide sufficient evidence of Mamluk occupation. This was somewhat surprising as the survey along the slope surrounding Area S had a very high percentage of Mamluk pottery. The cement troughs were the last to be added, indicating a rebuild in the modern era, when the structure was used to stable farm animals.

40 de Vries, B *Umm el-Jimal: A Frontier Town and its Landscape in Northern Jordan, Volume 1, Fieldwork 1972–1981*. JRA Supp. 26 (Portsmouth, 1998), 99; Brown, R.M. The Druze Experience at Umm al-Jimal: Remarks on the History and Archaeology of the Early 20th Century Settlement. *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* X (Amman, 2009), 384.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE LARGE COMPLEX SOUTHWEST OF THE VILLAGE (AREA KH)

As noted in the introduction above, the community at Na'arān in the 19th century referred to the large complex (46.0 x 31.5 m) southwest of the village as a *khan* (caravanserai). Contemporary Mamluk sources, however, only describe a relay station, where a mounted messenger could rest, and find water and food for himself and his mount. The question regarding the existence of a *khan* was debated by archeologists throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

The plan of the complex partially resembles that of a *khan*, i.e., an open courtyard with rooms that surround it on three sides (Figs. 5.37–5.38). The building materials are recycled ashlar blocks, some decorated with crosses. Other construction materials of 19th–early 20th century are found across the complex, but especially in the northern part, including an octagonal cement fountain in the courtyard and a badly damaged cement roof, numerous fragments of Marseille tiles, as well as iron beams and rails. Only the long southern wing, divided into stalls, and one of the courtyard rooms along the east (Fig. 5.37, B) are built in the Hauranian method.

The foundations of the entire complex are laid on a large, relatively even stretch of bedrock, approximately 0.4 m below the topsoil. Many of the walls stand to their full height. The roofs, on the other hand, are largely missing, and where they still exist, the basalt beams are hanging on the edge of the corbels.

The southern wing of the complex is almost an independent unit (29.0 x 6.2 m); it is divided into spacious stalls by ten arches (6.20 x 1.85 m).

A passage connects this wing to the rest of the complex (Fig. 5.38, marked D). There may have been another entrance on the west. The arches, some of which are badly warped, were filled with neatly packed fieldstones, meant to strengthen them and prevent the entire structure from collapsing (Fig. 5.39). Each arch has a doorway in it (0.52 x 1.62 m). There were no signs of thresholds, hinges, or sockets for bolting the doorways with draw bars; it seems they simply allowed free movement between the stalls.

An identical picture can be seen at Umm al-Jimal, dated by de Vries and Brown to 1910, when a Druze community occupied the site and rebuilt the Byzantine ruins.⁴¹ Although the stalls are large, horses and mules, or even donkeys would find it difficult to maneuver in and out of this area. Nevertheless, modern horseshoes and metal pegs that were wedged into the arches served as hooks and/or tethering rings.

The early phases of this complex are difficult to distinguish. The building materials were often recycled. Two of the entrances along the eastern wing have lintels with a Maltese cross carved in their center. Identical lintels and stone blocks with crosses can be seen in the village in secondary use. Verifying the date of the various building phases and functions of this large complex proved to be more challenging than we had anticipated. Because of the scale of the complex and its plan, the description of our excavation will begin with the Byzantine remains.

41 de Vries, *Umm el-Jimal*, fig. 58; Brown, *The Druze Experience at Umm al-Jimal*, 3.

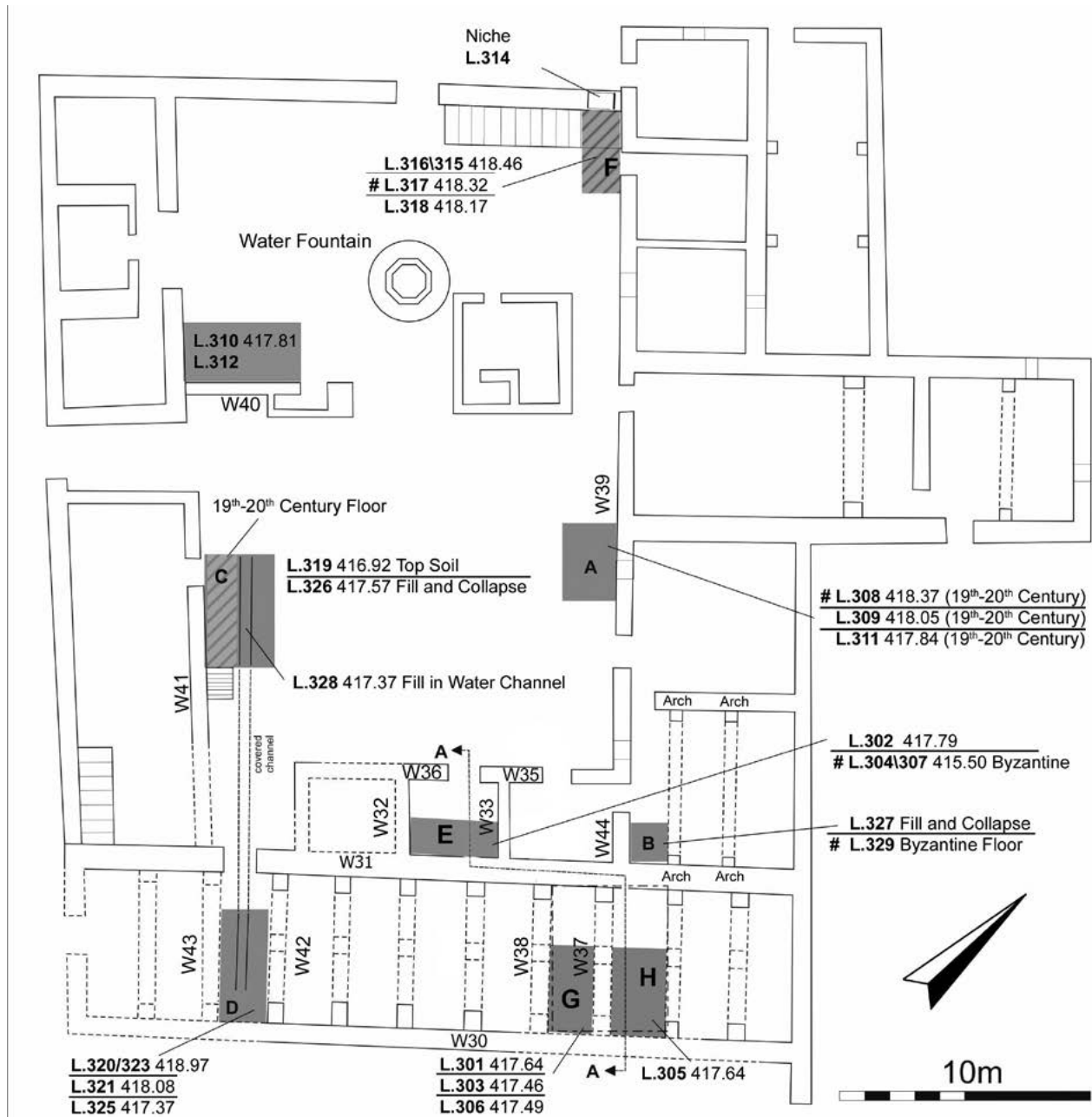


Figure 5.37. Plan of the large complex in Area KH. The soundings are colored in dark gray and marked with capital letters (by Jay Rosenberg, after Dauphin 1982: Fig. 11).



Figure 5.38. The large complex in area KH (Photograph by Dan Malikson)



Figure 5.39. A filled arch in the southern wing.

The Byzantine stratum

Although Byzantine pottery was found in almost all the fills in every sounding, sealed Byzantine loci were revealed only in soundings E and B.

In the central room that opens into the courtyard, along W31 (Fig. 5.37, E), we unearthed a floor of large basalt field stones. The topsoil and the fill above the floor (L302) contained a mixture of Marseille tiles, Mamluk slip painted glazed wares, Rashayya ware, a late Ottoman tobacco pipe fragment, a Byzantine coin (L302 B3015) dated 325–408 CE, and a Byzantine lead seal dated to 530–600 CE.⁴² Although the amount of pottery from below this crude floor (L304 = L307) was meager it contained only Byzantine wares: fragments of Byzantine cooking ware, African and Phocian Red Slip bowls dated to the 4th century CE and plain ribbed Byzantine jars. The earliest find was a Late Roman coin (L307 B3077) dated to

286–305 CE. The floor abuts the wall of the southern wing, suggesting W31 was built in the Byzantine period. The partition walls (W32 and W33) are considerably later, “floating” well above the Byzantine floor (Figs. 5.39–5.41).

The excavation of the corner of the eastern room (W31 and W44) revealed similar findings (Fig. 5.37, B, Fig. 5.40 and Fig. 5.43). The pottery from below the stone floor included fragments of Byzantine storage jars (L329 B3120). The excavation below the floor (L318) in the northeastern corner of the complex (Fig. 5.37, F) yielded one Byzantine sherd, but this was not sufficient to date it.

Thus, although the nature of the Byzantine building could not be deduced from our small-scale excavation and the fragmentary evidence, the discovery of sealed floors clearly supports Dauphin and Schonfield’s conclusion regarding the foundation date of the complex.⁴³

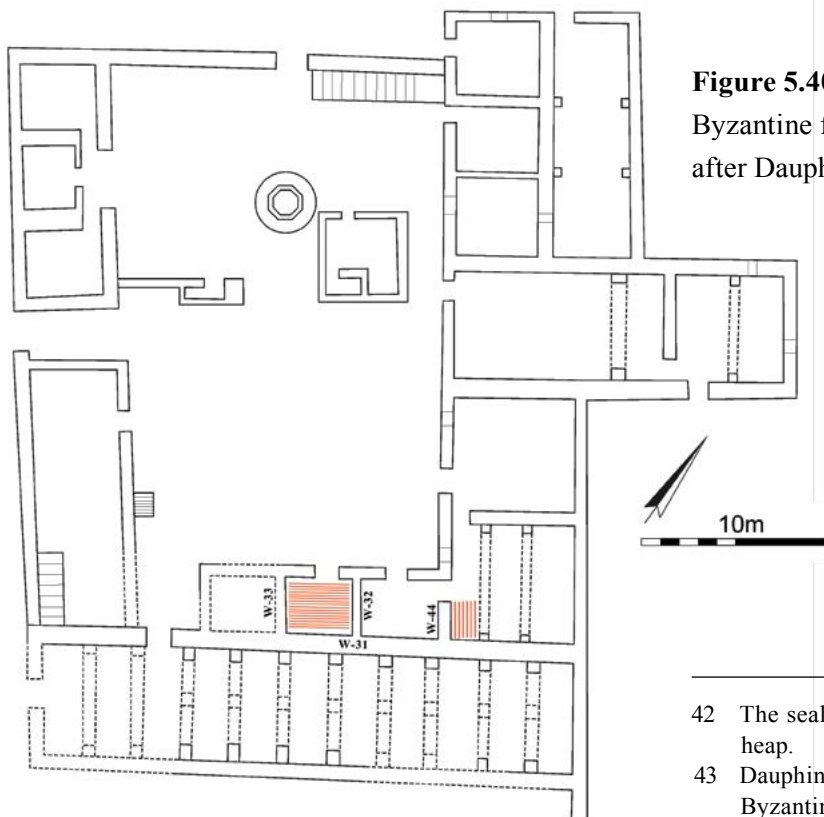


Figure 5.40. General plan of the large complex. Byzantine floors marked in red (Jay Rosenberg, after Dauphin 1982, Fig. 11).

42 The seal was found with a metal detector in the sifting heap.

43 Dauphin and Schonfield, *Settlements of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 204–205.



Figure 5.41. The Byzantine floor in the central room along Wall 31. The white line marks the Late Ottoman floor (Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 5.42. The 19th–20th c. floating partition wall looking east (Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 5.43. The Byzantine floor at the corner of W31 and W44. Looking south-east.

The elusive (or missing) Mamluk and Early Ottoman stratum

Although a high percentage of the buckets were sifted, the quantity of Mamluk sherds was negligible and their preservation poor. The employment of metal detectors did not yield any results. One Mamluk coin was found on the surface (B3083; dated 1350–1420 CE). None of the Mamluk pottery came from sealed loci, it was found in fills in six soundings (A, E, D, F, G, H). This meager evidence may indicate the complex was used briefly during the Mamluk period, but evidence collected in this excavation does not support the existence of a Mamluk *khan*, and barely revealed enough material to indicate a Mamluk stratum.

The Late Ottoman–1967 CE Stratum

Much of the northwestern half of the complex is a mix of recycled building blocks and modern building materials. All nine soundings had fills with fragments of hard paste porcelain bowls, coffee cups and broken modern glass — all popular imported tableware in the 19th–20th centuries. Dominant in the pottery baskets from Area KH were numerous fragments of Marseille roof tiles. Many of the topsoil baskets, however, were mixed and included Mamluk and Byzantine sherds.

Three 19th–20th c. CE courtyard floors

On the eastern side of the courtyard, a flagstone floor (L308) surfaced soon after we removed a thin layer of topsoil (Fig. 5.36, A, and Fig. 5.43). The pottery from below this floor was mixed; it included Byzantine Kh. el-Hawarit wares and fragments of Guichard tiles with a bee stamp. The latter were produced from 1858–1914 and imported from Seon-St. André, in the Marseille region.⁴⁴



Figure 5.44. Flagstone floor along the eastern wall of the courtyard. Looking east.

A neat floor foundation of small, tightly packed basalt stones with a thick layer of modern plaster above it, was revealed at the northeastern corner (Fig. 5.36, F, and Fig. 5.44). Although the pottery dated to the Byzantine and Mamluk periods, it was found together with modern glass and metal scraps.

The excavation below the flagstone floor on the western side of the courtyard (Fig. 5.36, C and Fig. 5.45), revealed a narrow (0.5 m) water channel coated with modern plaster and covered with large flat field stones. The material from below the floor and in the channel was dated to the 19th–20th centuries.

⁴⁴ de Vincenz, A. Ottoman-Period Ceramic Artifacts from the Magen Avraham Compound, Yafo (Jaffa). *Atiqot* 100 (2020a), 338.



Figure 5.45. The northeastern corner of the courtyard. Note the large niche and the floor foundation (L317), of small packed stones with a patch of plaster above (Shai Scharfberg).

As noted above, the stalls in the southern wing were restored during this period. Their construction was secured by filling the spaces under the arches with stones and turning them into solid partition walls. Similar structures dating to the modern period can be seen in Jordan. The shallow fills in the stalls contained a few Byzantine and Mamluk sherds mixed with modern fragments of porcelain wares, modern glass, and metal scraps.

Judging by the plan of the complex and its size, the last resident must have been an affluent local figure. The owner's identity is unknown. None of



Figure 5.46. Remnants of a floor along the western side of the courtyard. Looking north-west.

the early photographs or accounts written by travelers and explorers reveal who this man was. He constructed a large courtyard house with a small fountain in its center (Fig. 5.47), fed by water that ran in metal pipes! Remnants of Byzantine floors were incorporated into this modern residence and new stone and plaster floors were constructed. The southern wing may have served for housing animals or as a large storage area. The cement fountain is the only tangible clue regarding the social rank of its owner. An identical fountain can still be seen at the "Amir's Palace" near Wasset Junction, *ca.*



Figure 5.47. The cement fountain and arched entrance into the western living quarters (photograph IAA Archaeological Survey of The Golan, map 15 site 53 fig.111).

12 km north of Na'arān. The palace belonged to a Bedouin Sheikh of the Fa'our family, leaders of the al-Faḍel tribe, and was built in the late 19th or early 20th century.⁴⁵ The latest coin dates to 1936–1952 (surface find B3079), to the reign of King Faruk. According to Bagh, all the land surrounding Na'arān (2000 dunams) belonged to a man of Palestinian origin who lived in Damascus. He leased the land to the villagers and had two partners. None of the three worked the land, but perhaps this large complex was built by the owner or one of the two partners.⁴⁶

Summary

While Na'arān is mentioned in both 14th and 15th century Mamluk sources as a station along the main road between Damascus and Safed, the Mamluk

archaeological finds in Area KH are poor and few. What we found in our current excavation does not support the existence of a *khan* or a waystation. None of the floors or wall foundations could be dated to the Mamluk period. The small amount of pottery indicates the area was only briefly settled during the Mamluk period. The sealed Byzantine floors and coins from clear stratigraphic contexts indicates that the compound, which was not part of the village, was constructed in the Byzantine period. The stones engraved with Maltese crosses were no doubt originally quarried and dressed for the construction of a public religious building, perhaps a church or monastery, as Gibson and Dauphin suggested.⁴⁷ The exact nature and plan of the Byzantine building cannot be reconstructed from the current excavation.

45 Seltenreich, Y. and Abbassi, M. Amir Fa'our el-Fa'our: A Leader on both Sides of the Border between Syria and Mandatory Palestine. *Horizons in Geography* 91/91 (2017), 80.

46 Bagh, A.S. *La Region de Djolan* (Paris, 1958). Reprinted by Damascus University 1961, 436–437.

47 Dauphin and Gibson 1994, 12.

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY OF WINTER 2021, CONDUCTED BY ERAN MEIR AND KATE RAPHAEL

The survey was conducted after a fire burnt through	102	The stable and the stone fenced paddock
the entire site, clearing the surface. The 30 dunams	103	Western slope
were divided into ten polygons (100–109) accord-	104	Northern slope
ing to the topography and the main buildings (Table	105	Western graveyard
5.2). Sherds were plentiful and easy to spot and	106	Southern slope
collect. The polygons are identified as follows:	107	Southeastern slope
100 Courtyards and houses near the summit	108	Northern neighborhood with modern roofs
101 The crown of the village	109	Small wadi north of the stable

Table 5.2. Pottery Readings of the Survey.

DATE	POLYGON	POTTERY READING
11 November 2021	100 — Houses and courtyards at the top of the hill.	Late Ottoman: hard white paste fragment. Mamluk: monochrome ring base, slip painted. Byzantine: basin.
18 November 2021	101 — Eastern slope. Two bags of pottery.	Ottoman: glazed bowl fragment. Mamluk: monochrome, slip painted, sgraffito bowls, two pulled-up cooking pot handles. Early Islamic (?): oil lamp. Byzantine: grooved handle of jar, roof tile. Late Roman: 4–5 c. CE ARS bowl.
11 November 2021	102 — Stable and paddock.	Half a closed horse shoe. No medieval. Byzantine: bowl rim and body fragments. Stable roof: Mamluk: monochrome and slip painted bowls. Byzantine: rim.
11 November 2021	103 — Western slope.	Byzantine: jugs and jars.
11 November 2021	104 — Northern slope.	Late Ottoman: hard white paste. Mamluk: none. Byzantine: oil lamp fragment, two bowls.
18 November 2021	105 — Western cemetery.	Mamluk: slip painted ring base, monochrome rims. Byzantine: large and small bowls.
18 November 2021	106 — Southern slope.	Mamluk: monochrome and slip painted glazed bowls, coarse handmade basin, cooking pot. Byzantine: bowl.
18 November 2021	107 — Southeastern slope near the porcupine barrows. Two bags of pottery.	Early Islamic: monochrome, sgraffito and slip painted bowls, cooking pot, large grooved jug neck with sieve, handle. Byzantine: bowls and buff jug, oil lamp.
19 November 2021	108 — Northern neighborhood north of the basalt tongue. Many roofs made of modern materials.	Modern: bullet casing, medicine bottle. Late 19th –early 20th c.: hard white paste bowl and coffee cup. Mamluk: none. Byzantine: large bowl.
19 November 2021	109 — Small wadi north of the stable.	Modern: two glass medicine bottles. Byzantine: bowls and jars.

CHAPTER 6

EXCAVATIONS AT HORVAT FARJ

Kate Raphael, Eran Meir, Yoav Yoskovich and Shai Scharfberg

The village of Farj is located in the Golan (map reference NIG 762781 /278341, excavation permit J2/2022), 3 km west of Mt. Peres (Tell Fares) and 3.5 km northwest of the Mamluk khan at Juhader (Fig. 6.1). It is one of the largest and best-preserved ruins in the region.

According to Hartal and Ben Ephraim's archaeological survey, Farj was settled from the Late Roman period until 1967.¹ The village covers *ca.* 40 dunams. Two low basalt knolls dominate the western side. Burial caves and remnants of a graveyard were revealed on the southern slope of the hill. A dry watercourse runs through the site. Two seasonal pools/reservoirs are located east and south of the village (Figs. 6.2–6.3); the latter are fed by the winter rains. A large, solid dam wall can still be seen in the southwest, suggesting that water was partially diverted from the creek.² In addition to the above pools there are two wells inside the village, both constructed in the 19th century. Many of the houses, which are built in the traditional Hauranian style, still stand to their full height. In some, renovations were made using iron beams and cement, but unlike at Na'arān, no houses were built from solely

modern construction materials. Column drums, capitals, Byzantine tombstones with Greek inscriptions and basalt ashlar with reliefs or engravings of crosses, a seven branched menorah and various floral patterns, were incorporated into the houses and their courtyard walls. Two large cement structures at the top of the hill were constructed by founders of Moshav Yonatan (1976) and by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). The community of Moshav Yonatan left two years later and Farj was never resettled.³

Large eucalyptus and oak trees, as well as grapevines, almond, olive, pomegranate, and fig trees still grow next to many of the houses and around the wells; a small olive grove stretches along the western slopes of the site. The rich vegetation and the black basalt houses still standing to their full height, create the sense that the place is still inhabited.

The numerous surveys carried out at Farj all provided ample ceramic evidence regarding the settlement of the site in the Mamluk period. Unlike Na'arān, however, Farj is not mentioned in any of the contemporary Arabic medieval sources. While

1 Hartal, M. and Ben Ephraim, Y. The IAA Archaeological Survey of Israel Qeshet Map 18/2, site 85. Farj. <https://survey.antiquities.org.il/#/MapSurvey/29>. 2012.

2 Ibid.

3 Golan Archive: file no. 055–032–05. Golan Archives The Golan archive (sri.org.il). Kipnis, Y. *The Rural Jewish Settlement Process in the Golan Heights, 1967–1992*. PhD thesis. Haifa University (2006), 88.

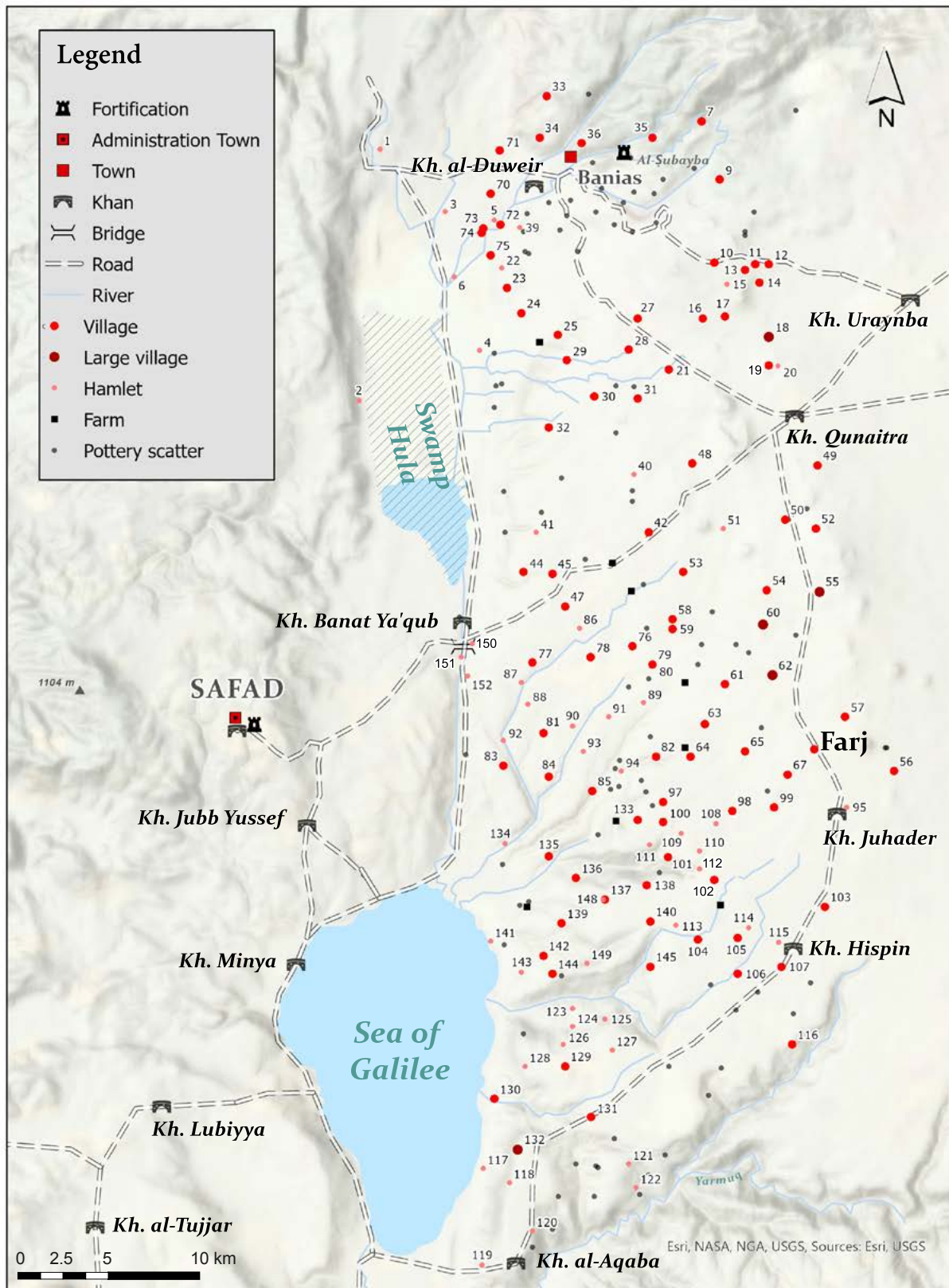


Figure 6.1. The Mamluk settlement in the Golan according to the survey of Moshe Hartal and Yigal Ben Ephraim (Map by Yoav Yoskovich).

this is not unusual,⁴ we were somewhat surprised that the village name did not surface in the three 16th century tax registers that we examined (1535, 1565 and 1596). This suggests it did not exist in the early Ottoman period. The aim of the excavation was to try to “catch” the Mamluk occupation level;

to verify or refute previous archaeological research regarding the founders of the settlement; and to determine the scale and length of the Mamluk occupation in relation to the earlier and later settlements at the site.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The village was surveyed by Schumacher in 1884, 1899 and 1913. Ewing visited the site in 1892.⁵ Neither, however, describe the ancient architecture or the many carved decorated architectural fragments that were incorporated into the village houses and courtyards. According to Hartal and Ben Ephraim, neither Schumacher nor Ewing visited the site; their information was obtained from a second-hand source.⁶

The first Israeli archaeological survey was conducted by Shmarya Gutman in 1967, who clearly states that the modern village was built above ancient ruins and gives a brief description of the carved crosses and various other decorative carvings, tombs and a free-standing carved basalt staircase.⁷

In the 1980s Dauphin and Gibson, who studied Byzantine settlements in the Golan, conducted a thorough survey at Farj. They mapped the village and drew several plans of some of its more prominent houses. Based on their architectural survey and pottery analysis they concluded the site had five building phases: 1) Late Hellenistic–Roman; 2) Byzantine; 3) Mamluk; 4) the 19th century Circassian village; and 5) the 20th century Syrian village.⁸ Further research conducted by Eiback Nafsu revealed that Farj was never settled by the Circassians.⁹ The Greek tombstone inscriptions were researched and published by Greg and Urman and by Dauphin, Brock, Gregg and Beeston.¹⁰ Tepper surveyed the stables as part of a larger research that focused on ancient stables throughout

4 The only villages that are mentioned in Mamluk sources are those that became famous for a certain crop or a special industry. Villages were sometime mentioned because of a holy man that was born or buried in them. Lists of villages are known from diplomatic agreements where territories were exchanged, or when villages were given as an *iqṭāʿ* to high ranking Mamluk officers.

5 Schumacher, G. *The Jaulân*. Trans. by M. Hartal (Jerusalem, 1998), 130, 164, 169; Ewing, W. A Journey in the Hauran. *PEQ* 27–28 (1895), 164.

6 Hartal and Ben Ephraim, Qeshet Map 18/2, site 85. Farj.

7 Epstein, C. and Gutman, S. The Golan Heights Survey. In M. Kochavi (ed.) *Judea, Samaria and the Golan: the 1968 Archaeological Survey* (Jerusalem, 1972), 273.

8 Dauphin, C. Jewish and Christian Communities in the Roman and Byzantine *Gaulanitis*: A Study of Evidence from Archaeological Surveys. *PEQ* 114 (1982), 132, 134–138; Dauphin, C. Farj en Gaulanitide: Refuge Judéo-Chrétien? *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 34 (1984), 233–245; Dauphin, C. and Gibson, S. Exploring Ancient Settlements and Landscapes in the Golan (1978–1988) *Cathedra* 73 (1994), 12–18.

9 Personal communications, Eiback Nafsu, curator of the Circassian Heritage center at Kfar Kama.

10 Gregg, R. and Urman, D. *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Golan Heights; Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* (Atlanta, 1966), 166–171; Dauphin, C.M., Brock, S.S., Gregg, R.C. and Beeston, A.F.L. Païens, Juifs,

Israel.¹¹ To date, Hartal and Ben Ephraim's survey is the most detailed work published on Farj. They surveyed the site in the 1990s on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) as part of the Archaeological Survey of the Golan. Their research incorporated Dan Urman's 1968–1972 survey that remains unpublished, previous surveys, numerous photographs, and plans. Their methodical

collection of data and their analysis of the architecture and pottery showed the site was settled in the Late Roman, Byzantine and Mamluk periods, and in the 20th century. The site, however, was never excavated. Although all the surveyors mention the Mamluk period, they focused on the rich and numerous Roman and Byzantine period remains; many of which can still be seen today across the site.

PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND THE EXCAVATION AREAS

The preliminary survey we conducted included nine test pits excavated across the site with a small tractor's scoop. Pottery was collected and the earth was sifted. The quantity of pottery was meager and did not provide a clear-cut picture regarding the Mamluk areas of occupation. We decided to open five excavation areas (Figs. 6.2–6.3). Due to safety considerations (the roofs over interior spaces that were partly collapsed), the excavation was conducted only in open courtyards and along the external walls of buildings.

Excavation areas

- Area M: the courtyard house on the eastern side of the village.

- Area V: the two storied villa in the north.
- Area SV: the southern villa.
- Area Y: the house on the slope east of the northern villa.
- Area NH: the house with a fenced yard at the northern edge of the village.

The Stratigraphic Sequence

Stratum I: Late Roman — Byzantine — Early Islamic periods (4th–7th centuries CE).

Stratum II: Mamluk — early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th century — 1600 CE).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period — Syrian village (up to 1967 CE).

Judéo-Chrétien, Chrétiens et Muslmans en Gaulanite: Les inscriptions de Na'arān, Kafr Naffakh, Farj et er-Ramthāniyye. *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46 (1996), 307–314, 329.

11 Tepper, Y. Stables in the Land of Israel in the Roman and Byzantine Periods. In S. Dar and Z. Safrai (eds.) *The Village in Ancient Israel* (Tel-Aviv, 1997), 253–259.

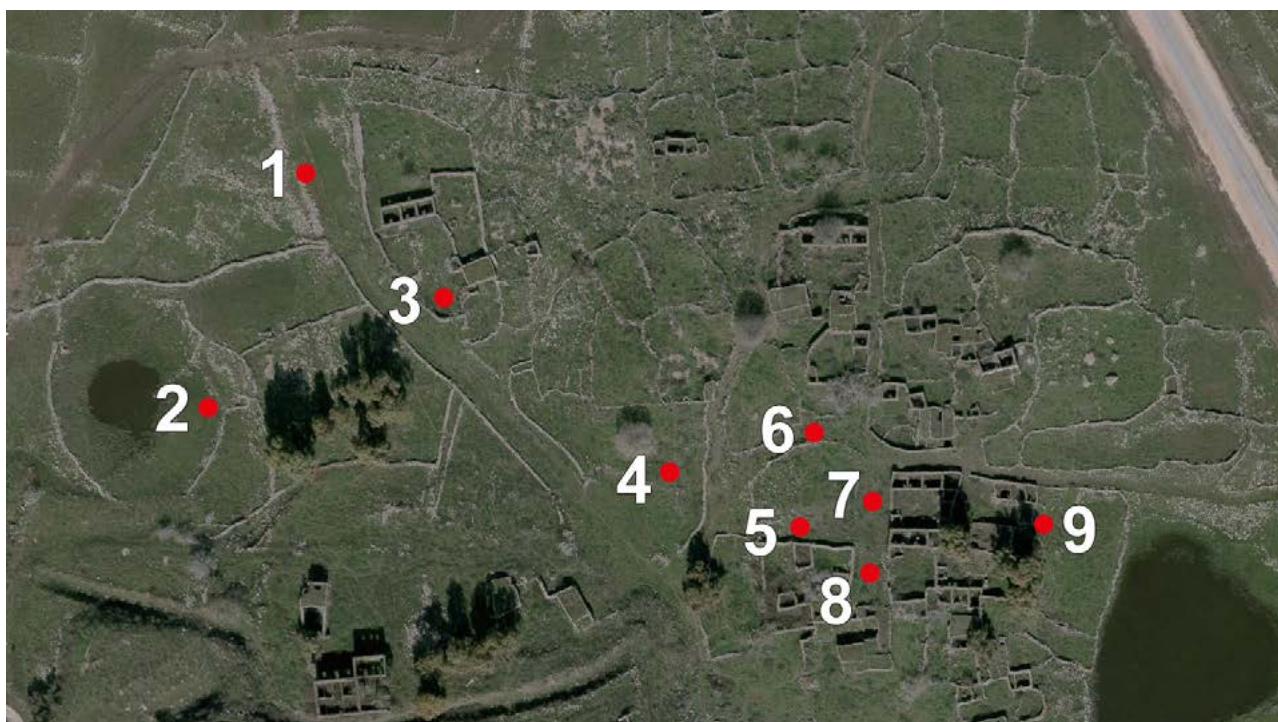


Figure 6.2. The red dots mark the test pits (Aerial photograph received from the Golan regional municipality website: <https://m-golan.maps.arcgis.com>).



Figure 6.3. Farj excavation areas marked in capital letters (Aerial photograph received from the Government website GOVMAP).

THE NORTHERN VILLA (AREA V)

The large two-storied domestic complex known as the Northern Villa is perched on the northern side of the hill that dominates the village (Fig. 6.4). A smaller structure with subterranean rooms stands to its west and forms part of the complex. Since their stratigraphy is somewhat different, the two structures will be discussed separately. The two buildings shared a large walled courtyard. The upper floor (marked in red) was constructed of roughly dressed basalt blocks, modern cement and iron beams. It was roofed with Marseilles tiles.

The ground floor of the villa is built in the traditional Hauranian style; it includes two modest sized halls (Hall A and Hall B). Their basalt roof beams were supported by arches. Hall A still stands to its full height and was occupied until 1967. Hall B is completely destroyed. The adjacent long narrow room (C) is complete; its roof is made of basalt beams supported by corbels (Fig. 6.5). Ten windows were inserted along the external wall (W607); each window has a deep basin/trough (Fig. 6.6). The excavation focused on the pavement of the destroyed Hall B, between two semi-detached pedestals (Figs. 6.6–6.9).



Figure 6.4. The villa in the corner and the modest rectangular house to its northwest. The red square marks the modern upper floor (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.5. Area V, Hall C, note the basalt beams supported by corbels (Photo by Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 6.6. The windows along W607 and the pavement between the pedestals (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.7. The façade of the Northern Villa, looking east (Photo by Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 6.8. The façade of the Northern Villa, looking west (Photo by Shai Scharfberg).

EXCAVATIONS AT HORVAT FARJ

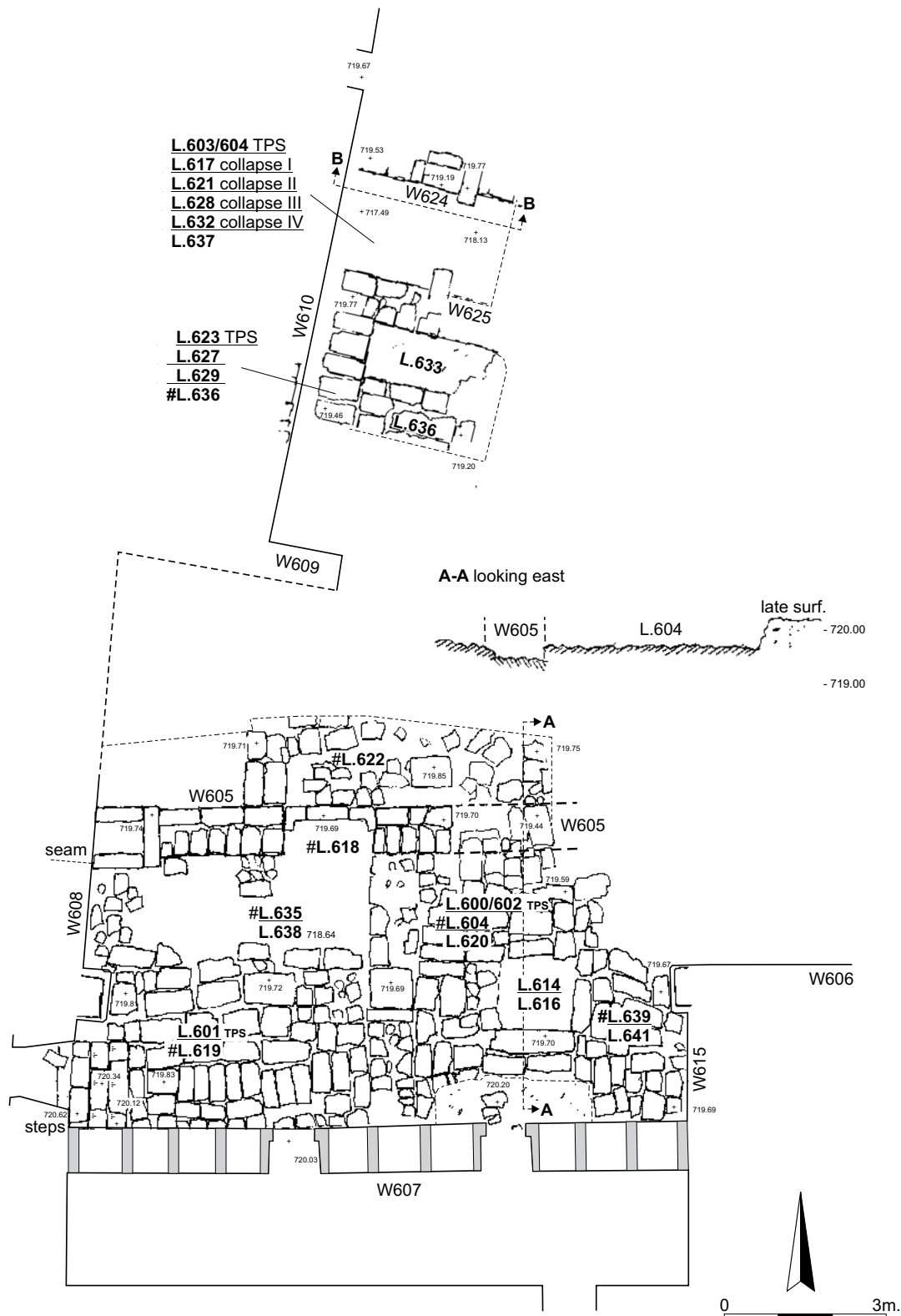


Figure 6.9. Area V. Plan of the Northern Villa (By Jay Rosenberg).

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine periods (4th–7th centuries CE)

Although Late Roman and Byzantine pottery surfaced in all the fills below the pavement in front of the villa's façade, there were no sealed Byzantine loci and no architecture that could be securely dated to those periods. The two pedestals are built of well-dressed Byzantine stone blocks in secondary use. A special and somewhat surprising find was a bronze Byzantine oil filler (Fig. 10:18).¹²

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th century–1600 CE).

Hall B was built in the Hauranian tradition. Two pedestals supported two arches that divided the hall and supported the basalt roof beams. The threshold along W605 (L618) shows the entrance was from the north. The pavement was built of long, heavy

basalt beams and roughly dressed building blocks in secondary use. Two Byzantine tombstones, with Greek inscriptions, were incorporated in the pavement (Figs. 6.10–6.11). Several probes were made below the pavement at the villa's façade. Mixed baskets of Byzantine and Mamluk pottery were retrieved from the fills below the pavement (Fig. 6.9: L619, L620, L638 and L639). The pavement was dated to the Mamluk period, though it may have been laid in the Byzantine period and renewed in the Mamluk period (Figs. 6.9, 6.12–6.13). The pavement abuts the fenestrated wall (W607), the eastern pedestal and W615 (Figs. 14–15). Modern glass fragments, found together with the Mamluk and Byzantine pottery, suggest it was partially repaired once again in the 19th–20th century. Despite the use of a metal detector and sifting no coins were found.



Figures 6.10 and 6.11. Area V. Byzantine tombstones in the pavement near the eastern pedestal.

¹² Used for filling oil lamps. Similar objects were found in the Jerusalem Cardo excavations (dated to the Byzantine period) and in Tiberias in a bronze hoard dated to the Fatimid period. For details and references, see this volume Chapter 10, The Metal Finds.



Figure 6.12. Probes under the paved surface (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.13. The pavement and its foundation make-up (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

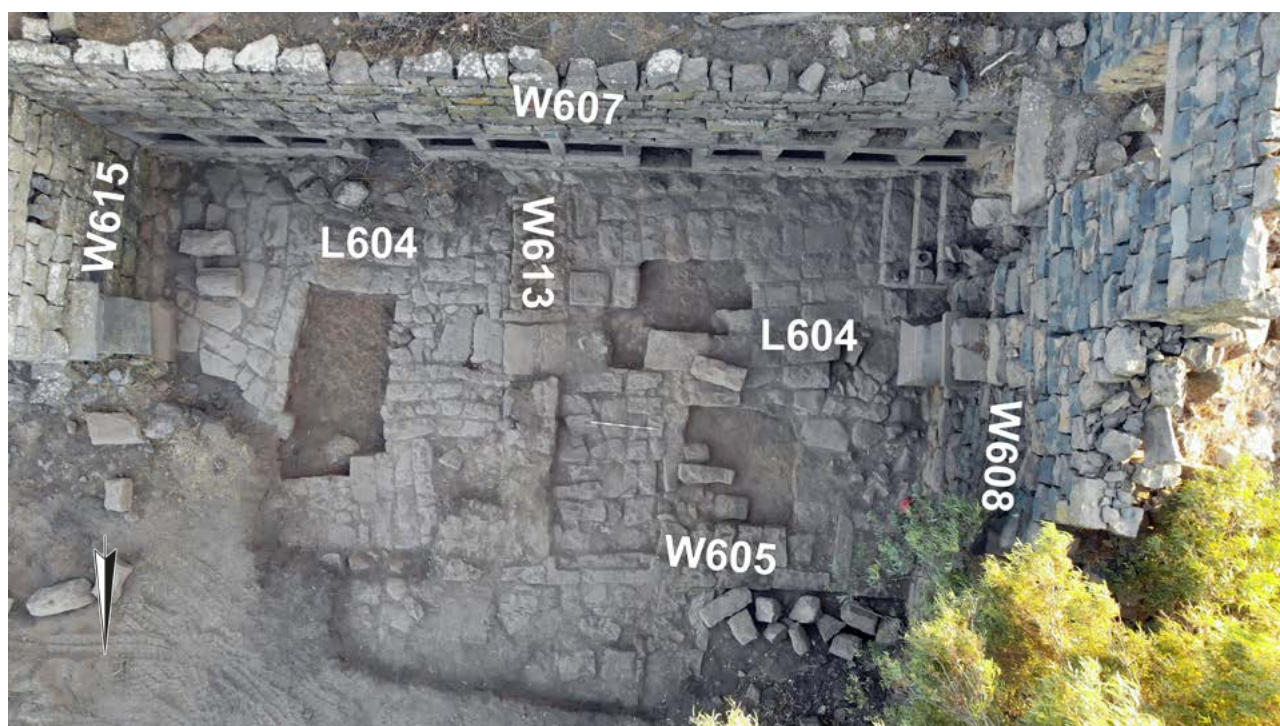


Figure 6.14. The foundation courses of W613 and W605 that were incorporated into the courtyard pavement (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

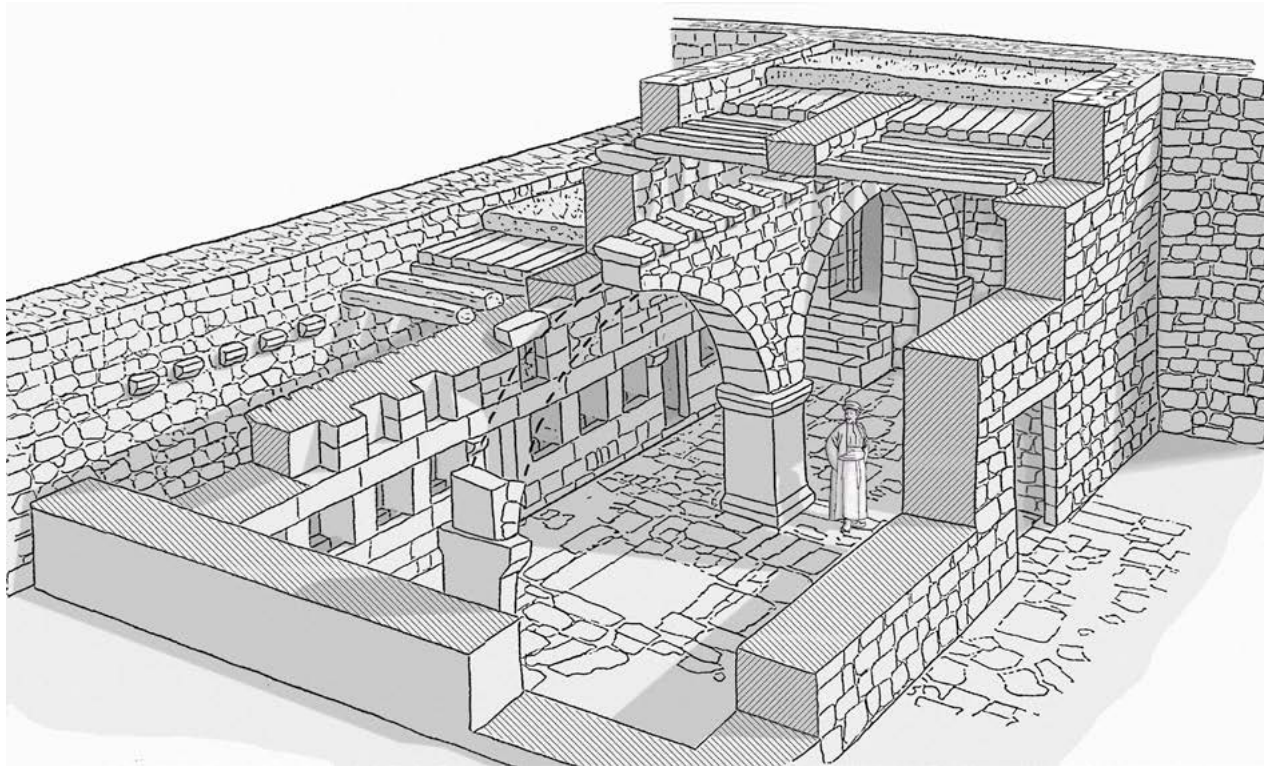


Figure 6.15. Reconstruction of the house (By Tania Melsten).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period—Syrian village up to 1967 CE.

The Mamluk hall appears to have suffered severe damage and was completely destroyed. The cause of the destruction is unknown. The collapsed building blocks were removed and reused elsewhere. The only evidence of this collapse is the badly fractured and broken flagstones that broke when the heavy roof structure fell on it. The foundation courses of W613 and W605 were incorporated into the pavement. The space between the two pedestals was turned into an open courtyard (Fig. 6.14).

The structure of the open yard did not change in the 20th century. A photograph taken in the late 1960s—early 1970s shows that the area between the pedestals had been covered by a layer of soil and

strewn with stone blocks. While the deep basins/troughs along the fenestrated wall (W607) were probably used for animal feed and grain. Hay may have been stored in the long narrow room (C). The new upper floor served as the family's living quarters. The latter was built of stone blocks (some may have been recycled), cement mortar and iron beams. It was roofed with Marseilles tiles. The topsoil finds (Fig. 6.9: L600, L601, L602 and L604) included broken Marseilles tiles, modern broken glass, fragments of Mamluk and Ottoman glazed pottery, fragments of porcelain plates and coffee cups dated to the 19th–20th centuries, broken plastic combs, sandals, batteries, some bullet casings, children's marbles and horse shoes — the remains of a modern Syrian domestic household that resided here until 1967.

THE NORTHWEST BUILDING (AREA V)

The northwest Hauranian style building, north of the villa, includes a small walled courtyard (D) and a house (E) with two rooms, each with its own entrance. It too was occupied until 1967. Part of the roof has collapsed, and excavating inside the house was not possible due to safety issues. Two soundings were made along the eastern façade, W610 (Fig. 6.4: F and Fig. 6.9). After the topsoil was removed a small narrow subterranean room/cell was revealed. The remains of two corbels that supported its stone roof beams could still be seen. The large amount of earth accumulated above and in between the collapsed stones suggests it collapsed gradually over a long period of time.

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine periods (4th–7th centuries CE)

A pavement (L636) of large rectangular building blocks (Fig. 6.16) was revealed south of the

subterranean room. Pottery and a coin (L363, B6125) dated to 408–421 CE (the reign of Theodosius II) from below this floor date it to the Byzantine period (3rd–5th century CE). This was the only sealed Byzantine locus in Area V. The scale of the excavation provides little information regarding the plan of the Byzantine building.

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th century–1600 CE)

This smaller house was founded in the Byzantine period and reconstructed in the Mamluk period. The façade (Fig. 6.9: W610) originally had a lower entrance. This opening was blocked when the subterranean room was added (Fig. 6.17). The pottery from the fill below the collapse (L637) dated to the Mamluk period. Fragments of a Mamluk conical glass cosmetic bottle, decorated with fine white and black marveled coils (L621, B6071) were found in the collapse.¹³

13 Brosh, N. Islamic Glass Finds of the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century from Jerusalem — Preliminary Report. *Annales du 16e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* (2003), 186–190.



Figure 6.16. The pavement of L636.



Figure 6.17. The blocked window?
(marked by the dotted orange line).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period–Syrian village (up to 1967 CE)

After an occupational gap of *ca.* 200–300 years, the house was reconstructed once again during the 19th

or 20th century. A wooden door frame with hinges could still be seen; the topsoil finds included fragments of modern glass vessels and a variety of metal scraps.

THE COURTYARD HOUSE (AREA M)

The courtyard house (Area M), known also as Beit Hamenorot (the Menorah House), is located on the eastern side of the village (Fig. 6.3). The name derives from a lintel with two menorah carvings and a Greek inscription that was incorporated into the ceiling of Building 1.¹⁴ The complex consists of four individual houses that are open to a shared enclosed courtyard (Figs. 6.18–6.19). Based on the eastern fenestrated wall with the troughs (W520), Tepper concluded the buildings were used as stables.¹⁵ The

excavation focused on the central courtyard. The interiors of the houses were not excavated due to the partial collapse of their roofs.

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine periods (4th–7th centuries CE)

Menorah carvings were found incorporated along W525, the northern wall of Building 4, and an arch in Building 1. Fragments of a stone window and well-dressed stones dated to the Byzantine period

¹⁴ Dauphin, et al. Païens, Juifs, 312–314; Ben-David, H. *Jewish Settlement on the Golan in the Roman and Byzantine Period*. Golan Studies 1 (Qazrin, 2005), 283–284; Hartal, M. *Land of the Ituraeans*. Golan Studies 2 (Qazrin, 2005), 443.

¹⁵ Tepper, *Stables in the Land of Israel*, 253–257.

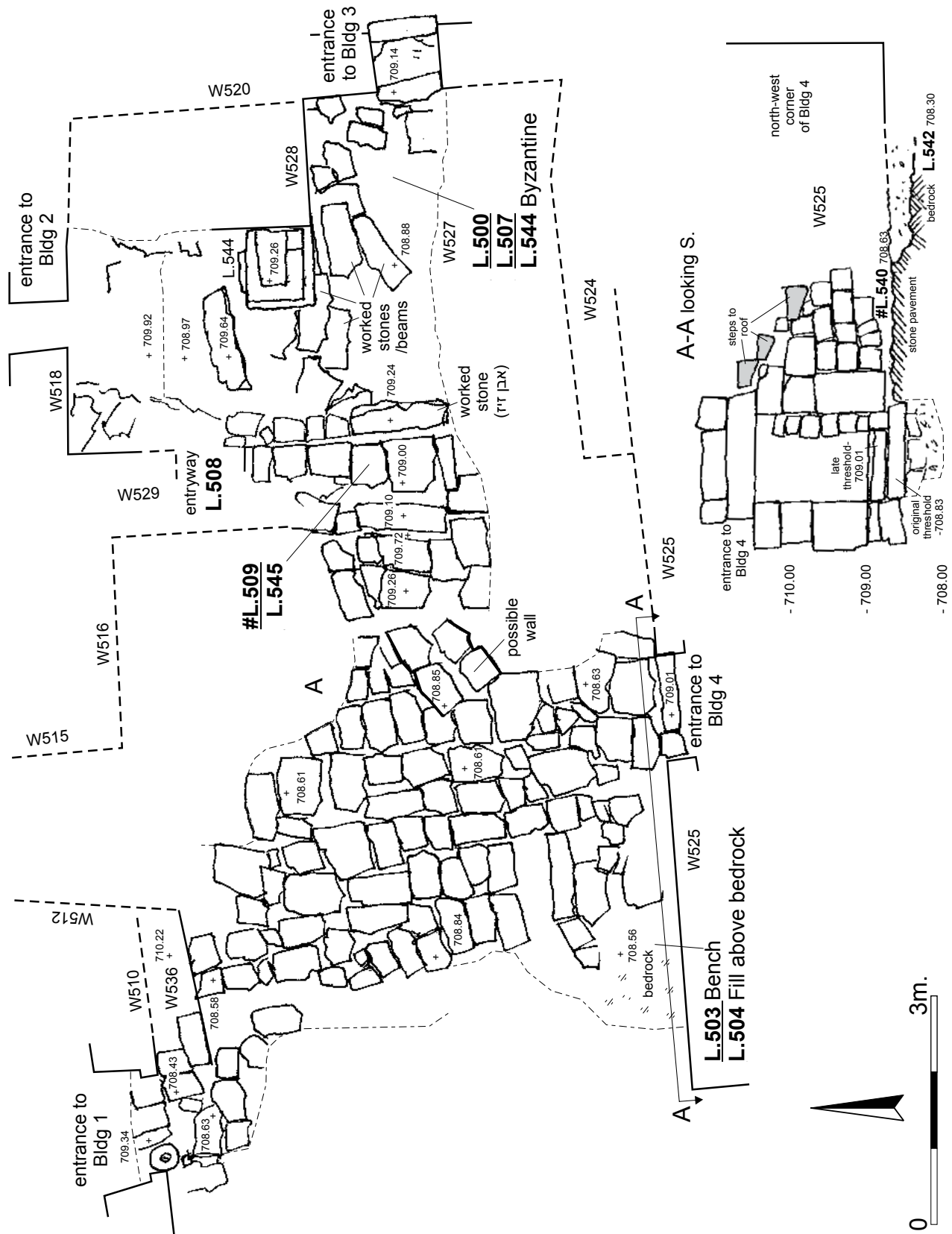


Figure 6.18. Area M. Plan of the central courtyard (by Jay Rosenberg).

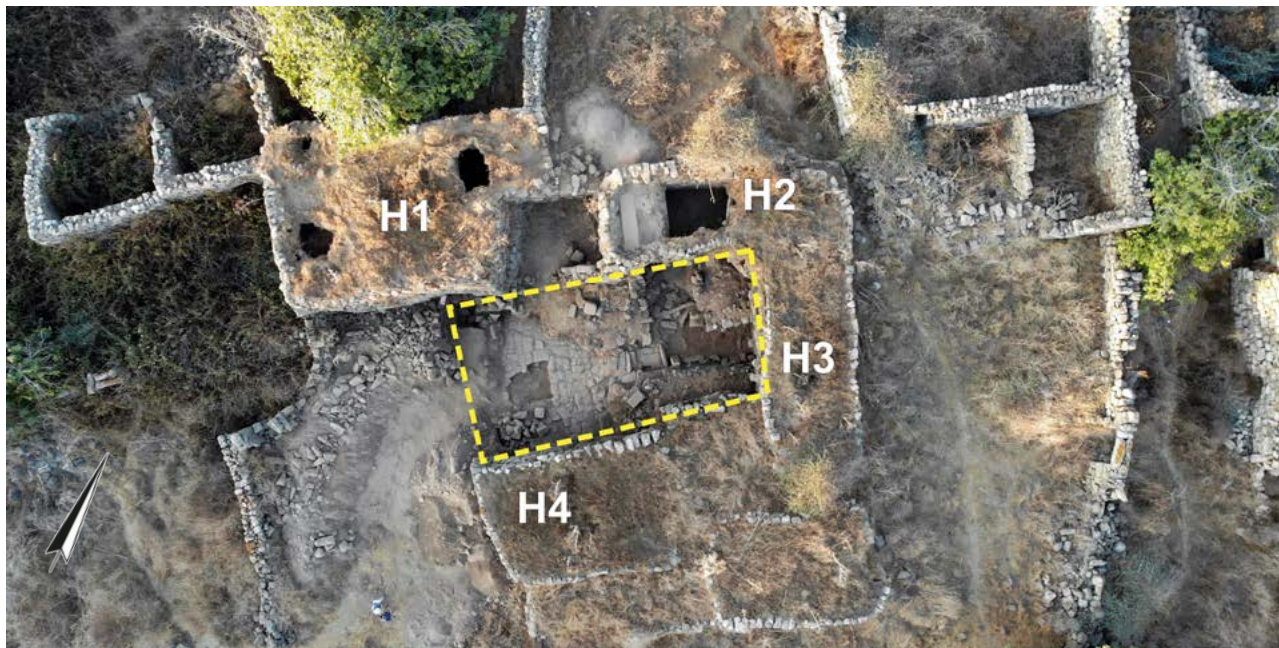


Figure 6.19. Area M. The yellow rectangle marks the excavated area (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

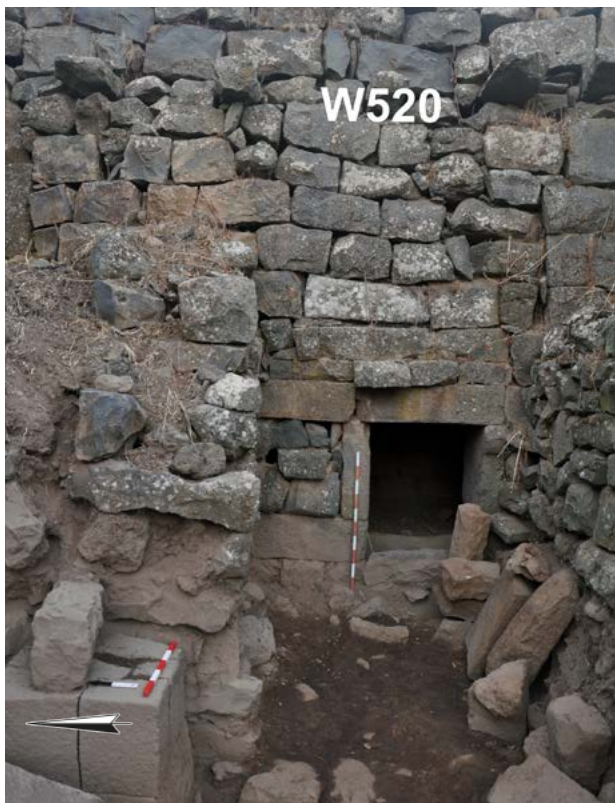


Figure 6.20. The basalt pilaster constructed from fine ashlars at the entrance to Building 3 (bottom left), dated to the Byzantine period (Photo by Shai Scharfberg).



Figure 6.21. L507. The Byzantine basalt ledge (רִיז) at the entrance to Building 3 marked with white star. Note the blocked Mamluk window (Photo by Eran Meir).



Figure 6.22. The courtyard and the two thresholds at the entrance to Building 4 (Photo by Shai Scharfberg).

were also incorporated in the Mamluk courtyard floor (see below). A section of flat paving stones was revealed below the Mamluk courtyard (L540) and above the bedrock. The fill below it (L542) contained Hawarit jugs, cooking bowls and pots that date from the early 3rd–mid–5th centuries CE.¹⁶ A basalt pilaster constructed from fine ashlar, surrounded by a heavy layer of collapse, was revealed at the entrance to Building 3 (Fig. 6.18: L544 and Figs. 6.20–6.21). This was the only *in situ*



Figure 6.23. The two thresholds at the entrance to Building 1 (Photo by Eran Meir).

evidence of Byzantine architecture in Area M. The plan of the Byzantine building it belonged to could not be reconstructed. Perhaps the Greek inscription with the menorah carvings, incorporated in the ceiling of Building 1, belonged to the Byzantine structure that once stood here.

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th century–1600 CE)

The stone floor of the courtyard was constructed of large basalt building blocks and roof beams rather

16 Hartal, *Land of the Ituraeans*, Fig. 133: 9–11; Hartal, M., Hudson, N. and Berlin, A. M. Khirbat el-Hawarit: A Ceramic Workshop on the Mount Hermon Slopes. *Atiqot* 59 (2008), Fig. 3: 5.



Figure 6.24. An Arabic inscription found in the collapse above the courtyard floor (L509, B5131) (Photo by Eran Meir).

than flat paving stones. The pottery from beneath this floor included both Byzantine and Mamluk wares. It thus seems that parts of this floor may well be earlier and were simply incorporated into the Mamluk floor. The courtyard abuts the ashlar door frames and thresholds of Buildings 1 and 4, indicating they were both constructed or reconstructed in the Mamluk period (Figs. 6.22–6.23). The fenestrated wall (W520) was probably built during the Mamluk period. The fill above the courtyard floor (Fig. 6.18: L540) contained Mamluk pottery. The fill from below the floor (Fig. 6.18: L541) contained Mamluk and Byzantine pottery; suggesting the floor was laid in the Byzantine period and either renewed or repaired in the Mamluk period.

The layer of collapse above the floor (Fig. 6.18: L500 = L506 and L508) suggests the houses suffered severe damage towards the end of the

Mamluk period. The coins found in the collapse (L508 B5063) and in the fill above the collapse (L506 B5032) provide a more accurate time frame. The first dates to 1301–1307; it was minted in Sis (Asia Minor) by the Armenian king Levon III and circulated in the Mamluk sultanate throughout the first half of the 14th century.¹⁷ The second coin, found in the fill above the collapse, dates to 1300–1399. A unique find in this layer of collapse, above the courtyard floor, was a basalt slab with an Arabic inscription. Ami Schrager identified the style of writing as dating to the 8th century CE, i.e. to the Umayyad period (Fig. 6.24).¹⁸

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period — Syrian village (up to 1967 CE)

The excavation of the highest segment of the courtyard floor (Fig. 6.18: L545) yielded glazed Mamluk

17 I would like to thank Robert Kool, Head of the Department of Numismatics at the Israel Antiquities Authority for his explanation regarding this specific coin.

18 See Schrager, this volume, Chapter 12: An early Arabic Graffito Inscription from Farj: a prayer for forgiveness (middle 2nd century AH/middle 8th century CE).



Figure 6.25. The probe on the roof of Building 2 (L505) and the retaining wall (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

and early Ottoman wares, as well as an 18th–19th century tobacco pipe. “New” thresholds were inserted into the fully preserved Mamluk door frames at the entrances to Buildings 1 and 4 (Figs. 6.22–6.23).

The excavation of the first layer of the tamped earth laid over the basalt roof beams of Building 2 yielded fragments of clay tobacco pipes dated to the 17th–18th century. (Fig. 6.25: L505). The remnants

of the external stone staircase along W525 probably dates to this period (Fig. 6.22). Although modern 20th century building materials were not incorporated in this complex, the house was reinforced with a wide soil and stone retaining wall (Figs. 6.18 and 6.25, W527). Two stone and cement benches were built along W510 and W525 in L503. The topsoil finds included imported porcelain tableware, fragments of modern glass and metal.

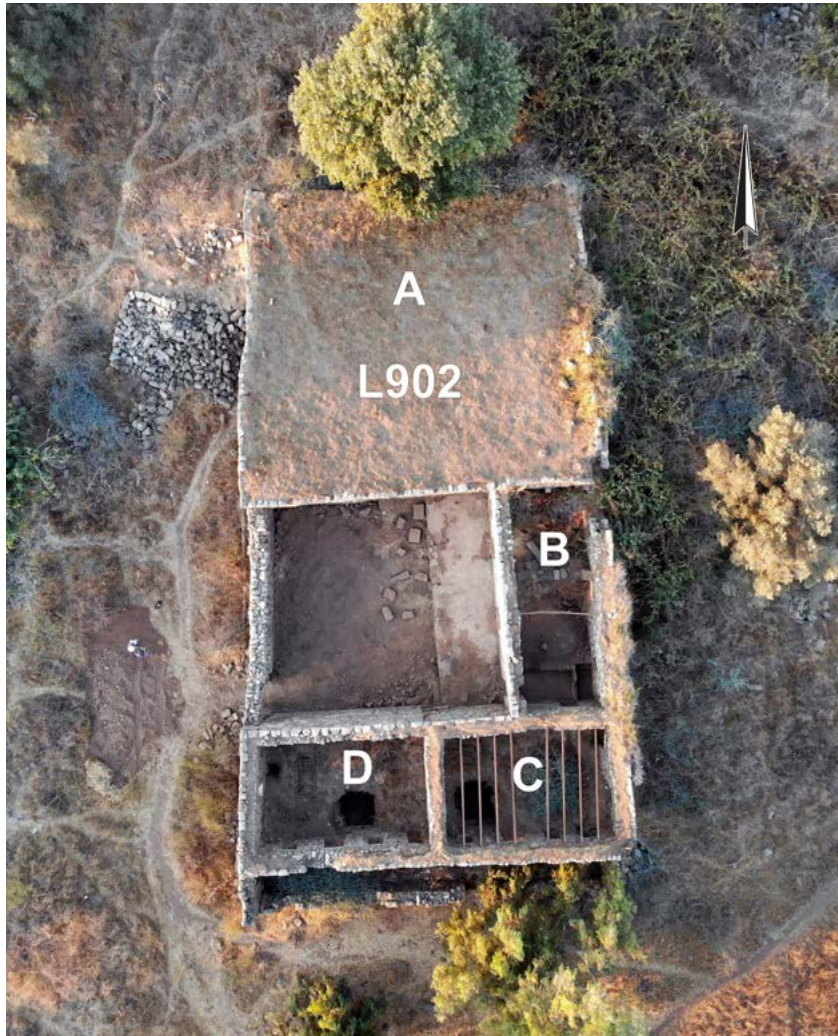


Figure 6.26. Area SV. The southern villa (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

THE SOUTHERN VILLA (AREA SV)

This large two-story domestic complex is located at the southwestern edge of the village (Figs. 6.3, 6.26). The lower story (not excavated), built in the Hauranian style, has two rooms that are entered from the south. The upper floor is entered from the west. Its plan consists of an internal courtyard, surrounded by rooms on all sides. Concrete and iron beams can be seen in Rooms B, C and D. On the upper floor, only the large hall was constructed in the Hauranian style (Fig. 6.26: A). The stone roof beams are supported by

arches. The entire hall still stands to its full height. A wide elevated cement surface leads into the eastern wing, which is partially built with modern materials (Fig. 6.26: B). Many of the stone blocks are probably reused Byzantine stones. Two probes were conducted in the central courtyard and a third probe was made in the eastern wing (Fig. 6.27). The aim of the excavation along the southern and northern walls (W918 and W912) was to find and date the earliest building phase and to find the Mamluk phase.

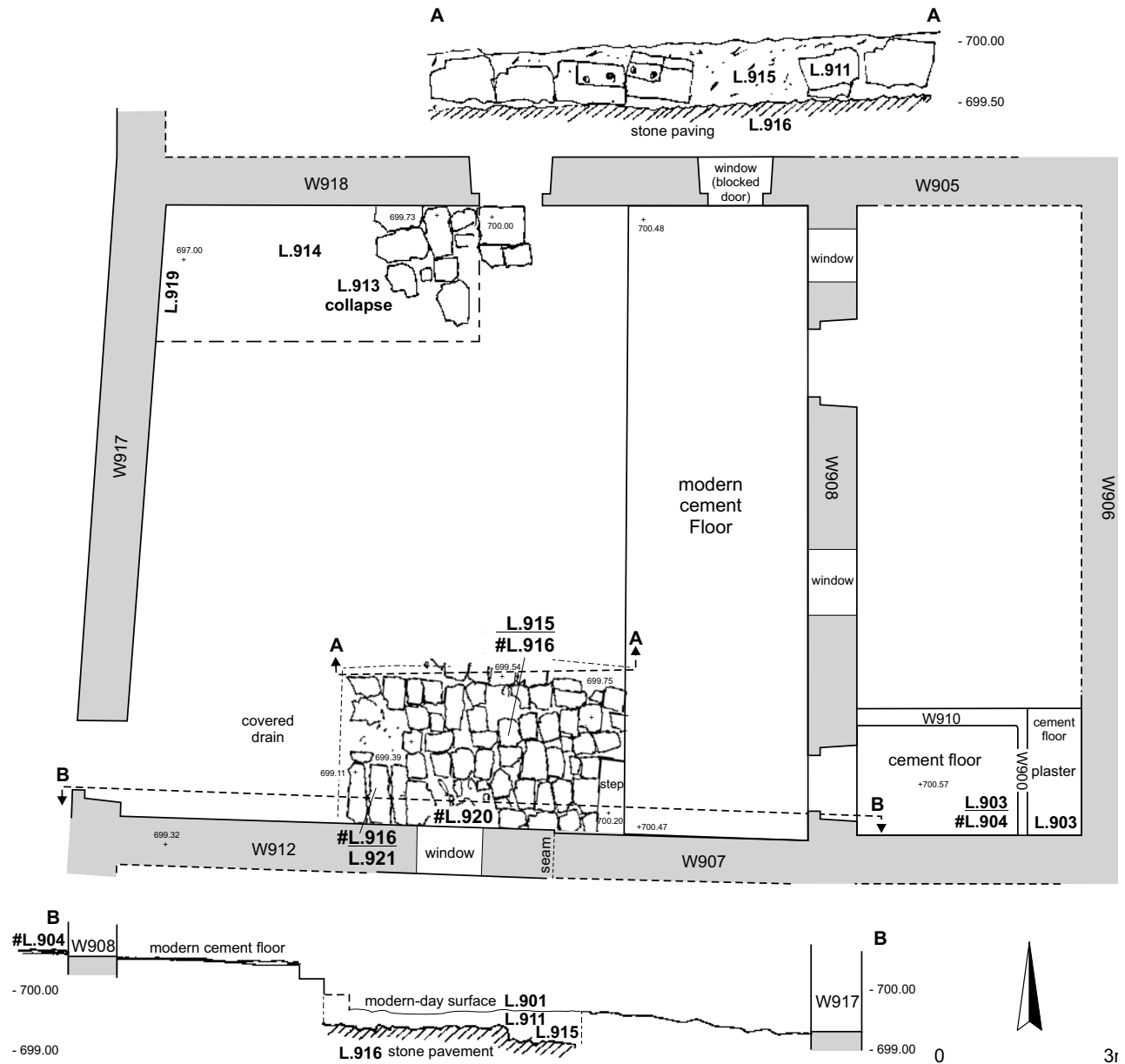


Figure 6.27. Area SV. Plan of the central courtyard and the eastern wing (by Jay Rosenberg).



Figure 6.28. Looking west, the heavy layer of collapse (L911) along W 912. Area supervisor Yoav Yoskovich is standing next to W912.



Figure 6.29. Looking west, the entire stretch of the Byzantine stone floor (L915).

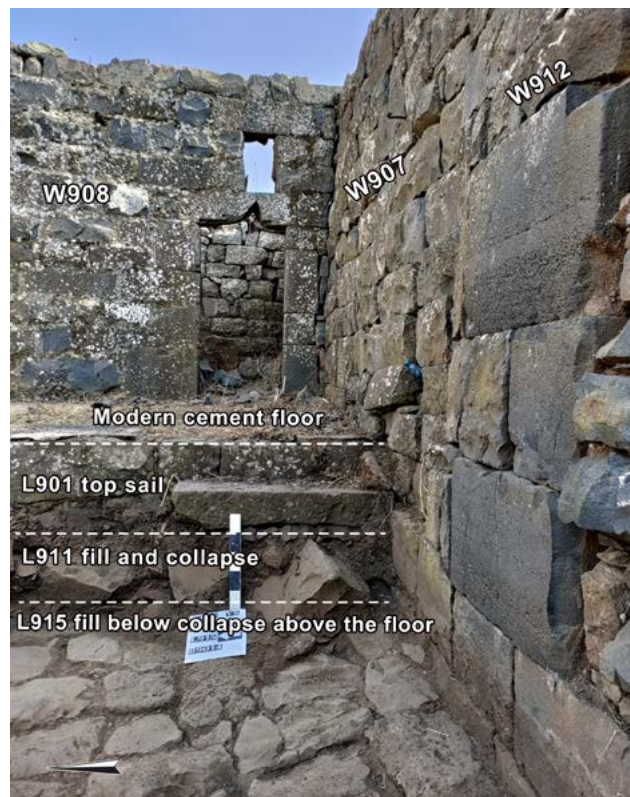


Figure 6.30. Section along W912, down to the Byzantine floor (L915), looking east. (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine–Early Islamic periods (4th–7th centuries CE)

Once the topsoil was removed (L901), a heavy layer of collapse that consisted of basalt beams, a broken threshold and well-dressed building blocks was revealed (L911). Some of the stones were badly broken, indicating they fell forcefully. The fill below the collapse and above the stone floor (L915) yielded two jars and a frying pan lid dated to the Byzantine–early Islamic period. The floor was constructed directly on the bedrock. A Kfar Hananya 1b cooking pot, two Byzantine–Early Islamic jar rims and a high-necked cooking pot were found in the fill below the floor and above the bedrock (Fig. 6.27: L921 and L916; Figs. 6.28–6.30).¹⁹ This suggests there were two phases within the Byzantine period; the foundations of the southern wall (W912) date to the Late Roman–Byzantine periods and the floor and the collapse date to the Byzantine–early Islamic periods. Although the two Byzantine coins that were recovered did not come from a good context (they were in the packed earth fill of the roof of Hall A), they both are dated to the first half of the 4th century CE (L902, B9002, Fig. 6.26).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period–Syrian village (up to 1967 CE)

The probe in the southeastern wing yielded 19th–20th century material. A thick layer of ash, charcoal, wood, and what seems to have been remnants of a mud tabun mixed with fragments of plaster (L903) were found above a cement floor (L904). The finds indicated this corner may have served as a kitchen. A well-preserved copper jug was found together with a metal bowl and charred grain (Figs. 6.27, 6.31).



Figure 6.31. A well-preserved 20th century copper jug (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

The probe along the northern wall (W918) at the entrance to the large hall of arches revealed a layer of collapse that included mainly field stones and a poorly preserved patch of floor that could not be dated. A modern Syrian republic coin was found in the fill (L919) and single pieces of Hawarit ware in L914; neither locus was sealed.

None of the fills along the courtyard probes yielded Mamluk–early Ottoman pottery. This clearly indicates the villa was never resettled during the medieval period. The last phase dates to the 19th–20th centuries.

19 Cf. Israeli, S. Area B: Stratigraphic Details and the Pottery from Strata I to IV. In V. Tzaferis and S. Israeli *Paneas Volume I: The Roman and Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H*. IAA Reports 37 (Jerusalem, 2008), Fig. 4:13: 1, 4; Hartal, *Land of the Ituraeans*, Fig. 126: 19.

THE SINGLE-STORY HOUSE (AREA Y)

This house, which still stands to its full height, is located on the slope east of the northern villa (Fig. 6.3). It is divided into two rooms that are built in the traditional Hauranian style. Among the basalt roof beams is a Byzantine tombstone in secondary use, with a Greek inscription (Fig. 6.33). Three soundings were made: one along the northern external wall (W805), one along the façade near the entrance in the east; and the third on the southern edge of the roof in the layer of packed earth that covers the basalt roof beams (Fig. 6.32).

Stratum I: Byzantine–Early Islamic periods (4th–7th centuries CE)

A floor (L818) of large fieldstones abuts W810; both were founded on bedrock. The few pottery sherds from below this floor date to the Byzantine–early Islamic periods (Figs. 6.34–6.35).

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of 13th century–1600 CE)

The pottery from the thick layer of collapse (L817) above the Byzantine floor (L818), dated to the Mamluk period. It seems that the Byzantine floor and W810 were still used during the Mamluk period.



Figure 6.32. Area Y. Excavation squares marked in red (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.33. Area Y. The Byzantine tombstone, in secondary use, incorporated into the roof of the house (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

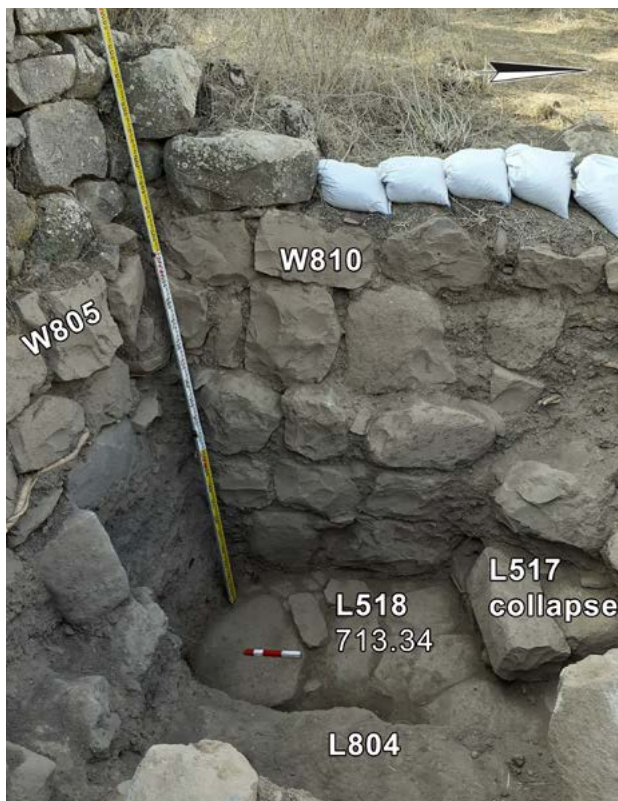


Figure 6.34. The Byzantine floor and the wall that abuts it (W810) (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).



Figure 6.35. W805 The late Ottoman- 20th century wall of the currently standing house (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

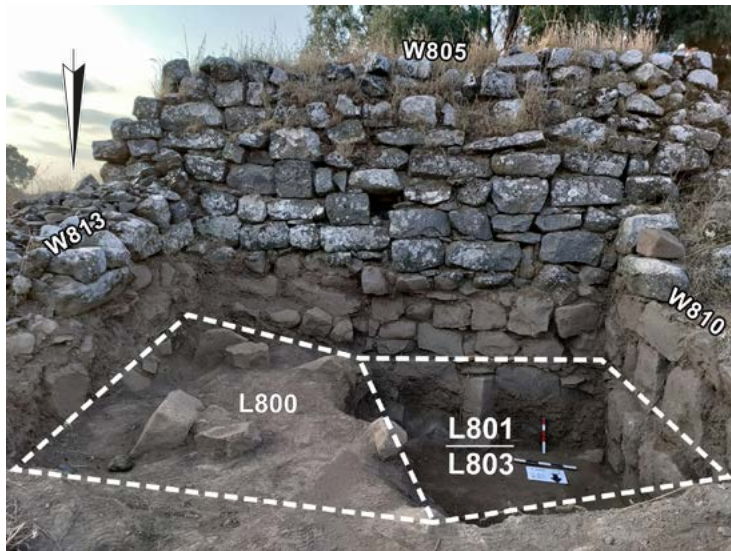


Figure 6.36. The late Ottoman- 20th century fills and walls (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period Syrian village (up to 1967 CE)

The northern wall of the house (W805) was founded *ca.* 1 m above the Byzantine floor and above the thick layer of collapse. The pottery in the fill above the collapse included a fragment of an Ottoman tobacco pipe and fragments of Marseilles roof tiles (L800–L801, Fig. 6.36). The crude floor of fieldstones at the entrance to the house (Fig. 6.37, L802), dates to the late Ottoman period and was used until 1967. The fill below it (L814) yielded fragments of a tobacco pipe, hard white paste coffee cups, Mamluk and Byzantine pottery.



Figure 6.37. The late Ottoman–20th century paved surface (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

THE HOUSE AT THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE VILLAGE (AREA NH)

The house in Area NH is part of a large complex of walled pens and courtyards. It consists of a single large room with arches with an entrance on the south. Two external staircases lead to the roof: one in the north and the other along the east (Figs. 6.3, 6.38–6.39). As in the other areas, the house was

built in the Hauranian tradition. Its plan, however, consists of only one room, constructed with arches that support the roof beams. Although it was occupied until 1967 there is no evidence of modern building materials.



Figure 6.38. Area NH. The house, walled pens, and courtyards at the northern edge of the village (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.39. Area NH. The house. Note the staircases that lead to the roof. Excavation areas are marked in red (Photo by Dan Malkinson).

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine (4th–7th centuries CE)

The outline of a relatively well-preserved room was revealed along the southern façade; W407 abuts the façade's lower courses (W402) and a threshold that was found along W412. These are remnants of the Byzantine house. A stone floor (L411) surfaced

below a layer of collapsed roof beams and building blocks (L409; Figs. 6.40: Section A; Figs. 6.41–6.42). The pottery from the collapse dated to the Byzantine and Mamluk periods. The fill below this floor contained only Byzantine pottery, including examples of Hawarit cooking pots dated to the 3rd–5th century CE.²⁰

²⁰ Hartal, *Land of the Ituraeans*, Figs. 126: 12–13; 129: 8.

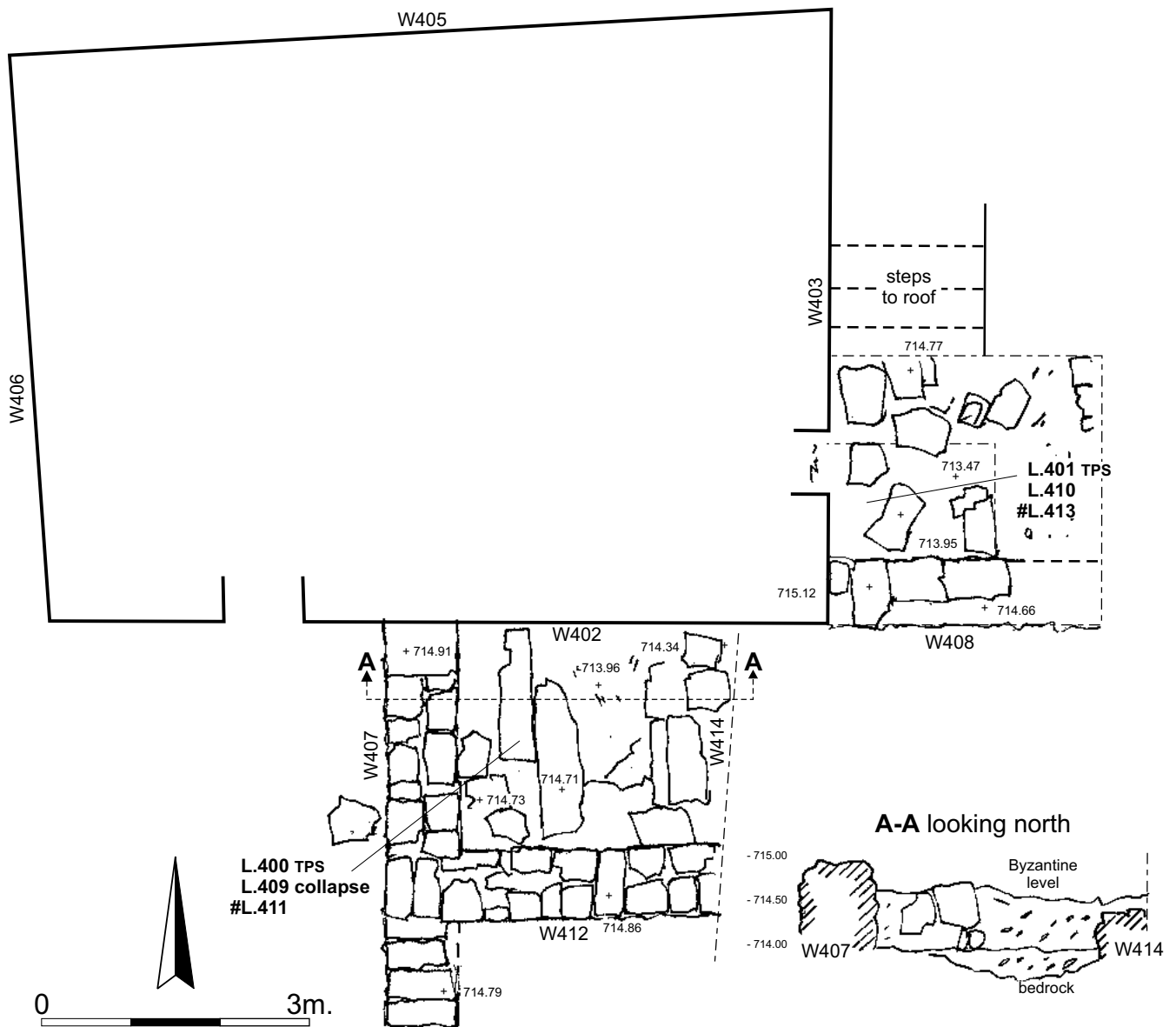


Figure 6.40. Area NH. Plan of the house (by Jay Rosenberg).



Figure 6.41. The Byzantine walls of the Area NH house, marked in red, incorporated into the 20th century house (Photo by Dan Malkinson).



Figure 6.42. Area NH house: the layer of collapse above the stone floor (Photo by Yoav Yoskovich).

A similar picture surfaced in the square along the eastern wall (W403). A floor made of small fieldstones (L413) was revealed beneath a layer of collapsed building blocks and roof beams (L410). The pottery from below the collapse and above the floor dated to the Byzantine period. The amount of pottery from the fill below the floor was meager and non-indicative.

The find of only a single Mamluk sherd indicates that the house was not occupied in the Mamluk period.

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period– Syrian village up to 1967 CE.

The building that was occupied until 1967 still stands to its full height. It was built on the remains of Byzantine ruins; some of the Byzantine walls (W402, W407 and W408) were incorporated into the building. Finds from the topsoil included modern glass and a modern shoe sole.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The excavation revealed that the village of Farj was founded in the Late Roman–Byzantine period. It was settled throughout the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. The small scale of the excavation, and the fragmentary remnants of Byzantine architecture, do not provide enough data to reconstruct the Byzantine houses in any of the excavated areas. There were no signs of a fierce battle or a sudden destruction, no remains of ash or signs that the village was torched. The Byzantine loci of collapse indicate Farj fell into gradual decay and was abandoned until the Mamluk period.

The size of the Mamluk village was considerably smaller. There is no evidence of Mamluk occupation at the northern edge (Area NH) or the southern edge (Area SV) of the site. The Mamluk houses were built on the Byzantine ruins. Ashlars were recycled and the Mamluk dwellings were built in the traditional Hauranian style. The village was abandoned once again at the end of the Mamluk period or during the first decades of the Ottoman period. Farj does not appear in any of the 16th

century Ottoman tax registers (1535, 1565, and 1596) that we examined. This may indicate that the site was either sparsely settled and may have evaded the tax authorities or it was not settled at all.

The next phase of occupation dates to the Late Ottoman period (late 18th–19th centuries). The houses in Areas NH and SV, never settled in the Mamluk period, were rebuilt during this period on the remains of the Byzantine structures. Some houses were enlarged using modern building methods and materials. The area of the village grew in comparison to the Mamluk settlement and was continuously occupied until 1967. According to the Syrian government's survey conducted in the early 1960s its population numbered *ca.* 150 people.²¹

The results of the excavation thus confirm Hartal and Ben Ephraim's conclusions based on the IAA Golan Heights survey.

The Difficulties

Although the above conclusions are fairly straightforward, the excavation at Farj presented a number

21 Kipnis, Y. *The Settlement Landscape of the Golan (Syrian) Heights on the Eve of the Six Day War 1967*. Ph.D. Diss. Haifa University, 2002. Appendix 5, p. 103.

of difficulties. The excavation squares in all five areas are better described as soundings — half or a third of the size of regular 5x5 or 4x4 meter squares. In most areas the excavations were shallow, often less than 0.5 m from topsoil to bedrock. Even when considering the modest scale of the excavation, the quantity of pottery collected was sparse. Byzantine and Mamluk coins, glass and metal objects were rare. The two long periods of abandonment are almost equal to the two long episodes of occupation (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Occupation versus abandonment

Late Roman — Byzantine — Umayyad	Occupation
Abbasid — Fatimid — Crusader — Ayyubid	Abandonment
Mamluk—first decades of the Ottoman period	Occupation
Early Ottoman—18th century	Abandonment
Late 18th—19th centuries—1967	Occupation

The nature of the site and the cycles of settlement are reflected in the small number of sealed loci and the numerous loci that were disturbed. Out of 99 loci, only nine are sealed floors and sealed layers of collapse; most date to the Byzantine period. This is perhaps due to the frequent and constant recycling of building materials, and the fact that the partially intact Byzantine floors and walls were repaired and served the newcomers in both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. While little remains of the Byzantine buildings, and reconstructing them is impossible because of severe damage to them and the large scale recycling of building materials, the Mamluk buildings are often just as elusive. The Mamluk buildings in turn were cleared and repaired by their late Ottoman occupants.

The houses at Farj that still stand to their full height today date to the late Ottoman period and the first half of the 20th century. As to the poor variety, quantity and quality of the pottery, metal, glass and numismatic finds, it seems that these are the remains of a small rural community. Perhaps our yield would have been greater if the scale of excavation was larger; but perhaps it is just a matter of chance.

CHAPTER 7
THE POTTERY FROM NA'ARĀN
Kate Raphael and Yoav Yoskovich

Most of the pottery excavated at Na'arān came from the ruins of the Hauranian house in Area C. The Standing Hauranian house at the eastern edge of the site in Area S and the large building complex southwest of the village in Area KH yielded substantially smaller amounts of pottery. This was partially due to the smaller scale of the excavation in those areas and the high bedrock in Areas S and KH (*ca.* 0.4 m from topsoil to bedrock), which resulted in shallow fills. As in Safed (Dalali-Amos and Getzov 2019: 33), the numismatic evidence at Na'arān provides a time frame for the dating of the pottery assemblage.

Number of diagnostic sherds according to area

Area C: 698

Area S: 95

Area KH: 195

Total: 988

As described in the previous chapter, the stratigraphic sequence at Na'arān is as follows:

Stratum I: Late Roman-Byzantine period (4th–7th century CE).

Stratum II: Late Ayyubid-Mamluk–early Ottoman period (13th century–1600 CE).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period (late 18th century CE–1967).

Late Ottoman pottery

The Late Ottoman assemblage (18th–20th century CE) includes hard paste white glazed plates, bowls and coffee cups produced in Europe. They are often decorated with colored floral or geometric designs. The locally made clay tobacco pipes are almost the trademark of the period and are a great help in dating the later pottery assemblages. Parallels were brought mainly from the Jaffa and Ramla excavations where extensive research has been conducted by Anna De Vincenz (2020a–c).

Mamluk pottery

The lion's share of the pottery dates to the 13th–16th centuries. The wares are common, well-known domestic vessels. The largest group consists of glazed monochrome, slip-painted and sgraffito bowls. Within this group, the green monochrome glaze is the most dominant, as at most sites, such as Kh. Burin (Kletter and Stern 2006: 189). Bowl forms include carinated and simple incurved profiles, with fine and coarse rounded rims as well as ledge rims. The clay is usually reddish-brown or orange-brown. Many of the glazed bowls continue into the first century of the Ottoman period (Avisar and Stern 2005: 12). Soft paste underglazed painted wares, unglazed bowls and basins, form a rather small group at Na'arān. Only a few sherds of Rashayah el-Fukhar Ware, produced at the foot of Mt. Hermon and in southern Lebanon, were found

at Na'arān, as in other contemporaneous sites in the region (Yoqne'am, Avissar 2005: 78; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov 2019; and Khirbat Din'ila, Stern 2014: 91–93).

Cooking vessels are also a small group and include shallow glazed frying pans as well as glazed globular pots with wide, horizontal, pulled-up handles. Amphorae and storage jars with long narrow necks, a pronounced ridge below the rim, or a thumb indented ridge, were relatively few. The group of oil lamps includes pinched-nozzle lamps, and unglazed and glazed saucer lamps.

Many parallels are found at Banias and Safed — both administrative towns during the Mamluk period. While Safed continued to grow and thrive, Banias, according to the Ottoman *defters* (tax registers), was reduced to a village in the early decades of the 16th century. The medieval pottery from Banias was published by Miriam Avissar (2008), who was one of the first to comprehensively study and publish Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk pottery in Israel. The detailed pottery report from the Mamluk Quarter at Safed was written by Edna Dalali-Amos and Nimrod Getzov (2019). The publication of *The Pottery of the Crusader, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Periods in Israel* by

Miriam Avissar and Edna Stern (2005) is still the most detailed account of the subject. When parallels could not be found in the reports of Banias and Safed, they were gleaned from Horvat 'Uza and Khirbat Din'ila in Galilee, and more distant regions such as Yoqne'am, Ramla, and other sites in the center of the modern state of Israel, where a larger number of excavations were conducted and the volume of published material is considerably greater.

Byzantine pottery

With few exceptions, the earliest material dates to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. The wares are well known from sites in the Golan such as Bab al-Hawa and Kh. el-Hawarit, published by Moshe Hartal (2005; Hartal *et al.* 2008), and the large excavations at Banias published by Shoshana Israeli (2008a–d). The assemblage includes cooking pots with a high neck and coarse handles descending from the rim, cooking pot lids, Golan pithoi and basins, fine imported bowls, and locally made bowls. In general, the Byzantine assemblage appears better balanced than that of the Mamluk and late Ottoman periods, i.e., the numbers of vessels and the proportions of tableware, storage jars and cooking pots are more even.

*

A total of 988 diagnostic sherds were examined; about a third of them are incorporated into this report. The pottery is organized according to stratigraphy. Although the focus of this research is on the later periods, the Roman and Byzantine pottery is included in this chapter as well. Where precise dates were available, they were included, together

with their parallels. Not all the items listed below are illustrated in the figures.

This report begins with the excavation areas within the village (Areas C and S) and concludes with the pottery from the large building complex southwest of the village (Area KH).

POTTERY FROM THE HAURANIAN HOUSE (AREA C)

The Hauranian house in Area C (Figs. 7.1 and 7.8) was founded in the Late Roman–Byzantine period and occupied throughout the Byzantine period. Probes along the foundations yielded Late Roman and Byzantine pottery, with single sherds dated to the early Roman period. The house and the entire village were abandoned in the late 6th or early 7th centuries for around six hundred years. It was rebuilt in the late Ayyubid period (1237) and occupied until the first

decades of the 16th century, when it was abandoned once again. The house was reconstructed for the third and last time in the late Ottoman period (18th–19th century) and occupied continuously until 1967. Most of the pottery dates to the Mamluk period. The house was divided into two distinct units with different stratigraphies: the **Narrow Hall** (north) and the large **Hall of Arches** (south). The pottery from each unit is presented separately.

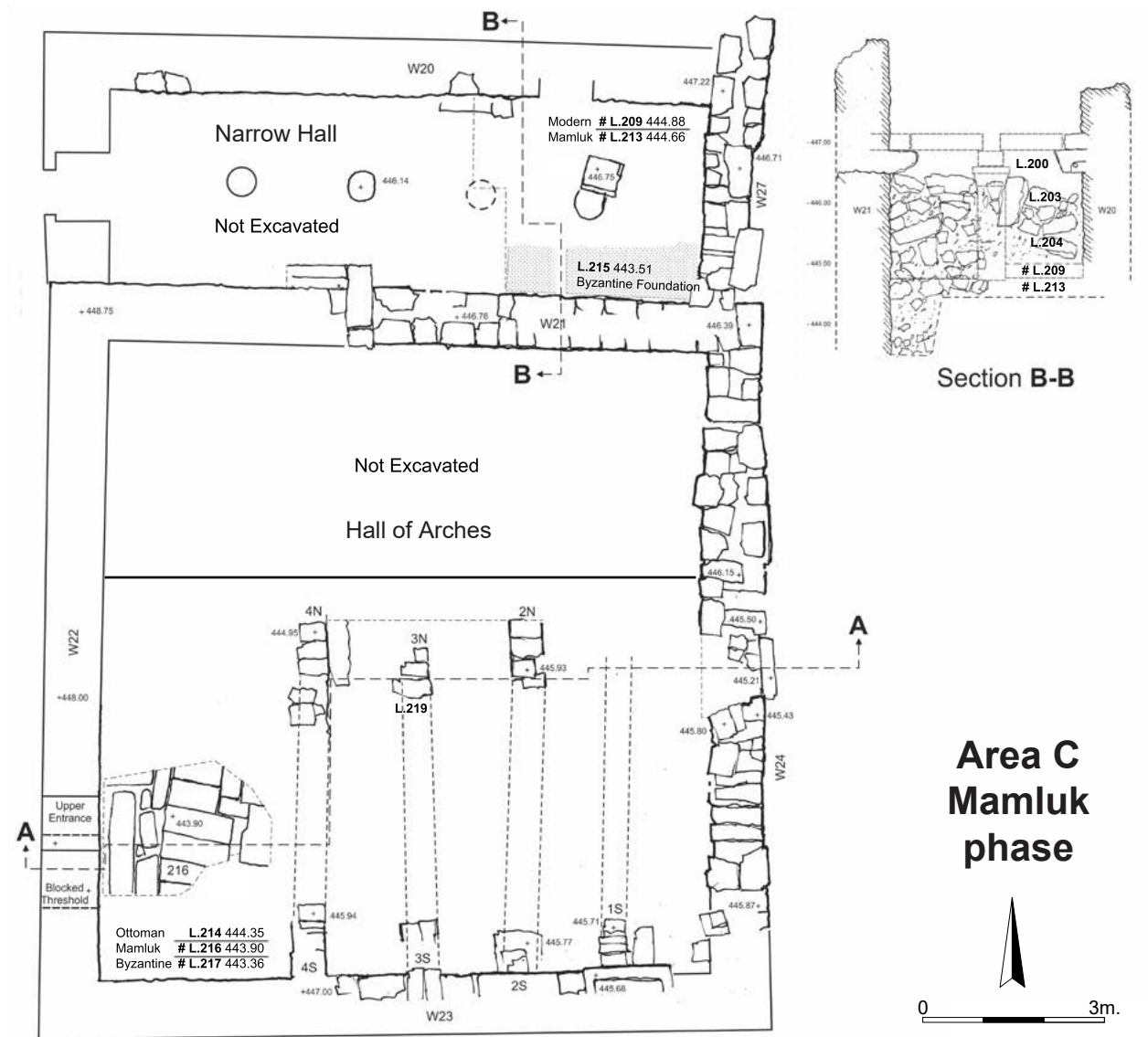


Figure 7.1. The Narrow Hall in the house in Area C (by Jay Rosenberg).

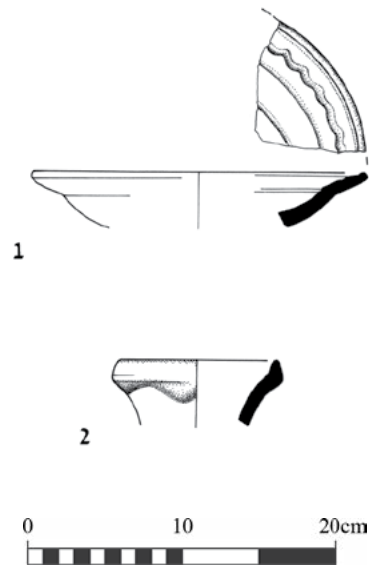


Figure 7.2. Pottery from the Narrow Hall, L200. First level of collapse, Mamluk and Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	200	2000	Fine sgraffito decorative lines, yellow and green glaze, thick gouged wavy line on a wide shelf rim. Orange-brown fabric. Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 64:2. Similar but not identical.
2	Jug (<i>Ibriq</i>)	200	2000	Rashayah ware, triangular rim, cream and chocolate external slip, cream slip on the inside. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 197:14.
3	Jar (?)	200	2000	Thick fragments of Rashayah ware, unglazed dark chocolate checkered pattern, orange-brown background. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 197:13. Late Ottoman. Not illustrated.

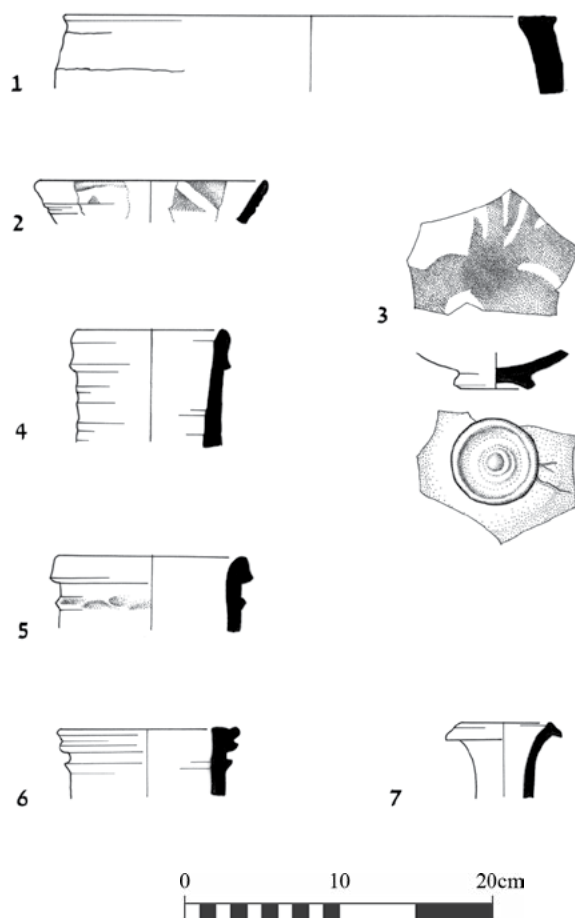


Figure 7.3. L203. Fill and collapse. Mamluk and Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Large Bowl	203	2012	Unglazed, flat wide rim, coarse gray core with negatives of straw. Horvat 'Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2009), Fig. 3.19:6.
2	Bowl	203	2012	Slip-painted fine rounded rim, dark brown and yellow glaze. Orange-brown fabric.
3	Bowl	203	2012	Rashayah ware, ring base, wide dark brown splashes against a cream background. Gray fabric.
4	Amphora	203	2012	Unglazed, round folded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 44:8. 12th–13th centuries.
5	Amphora	203	2012	Unglazed, thumb indented ridge below rounded rim. Rusty red fabric, gray core. Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 45:12.
6	Amphora	203	2012	Unglazed, flat rim with a shallow channel, two deep ridges below the rim. Orange-brown fabric with gray core. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 44: 3. Similar, but not identical. Horvat 'Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2009), Fig. 3.22:12–13.
7	Jug (<i>Ibriq</i>)	203	2012	Rashayyah ware, slightly flaring rim, long straight neck. Dark brown fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.5.

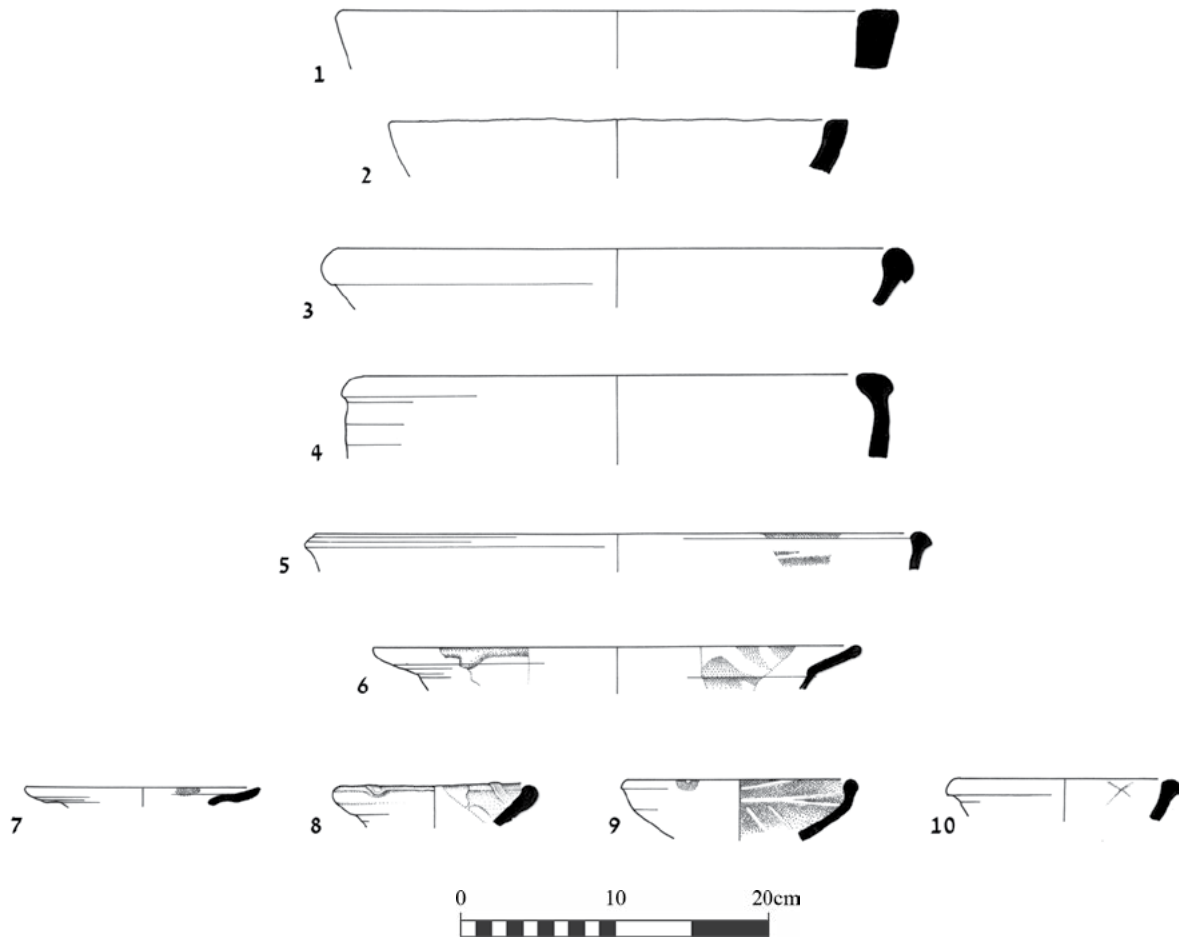


Figure 7.4.1. L204. Fill and collapse above Mamluk floor (Floor 209). 13th–16th centuries.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Large Basin	204	2035	Unglazed, flat, square, thick rim. Rusty brown coarse fabric with negatives of straw, dark gray core. Horvat ‘Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2008), Fig. 3.19:6.
2	Large Bowl	204	2074	Unglazed, flat rim. Unglazed rusty brown coarse fabric with negatives of straw.
3	Large Bowl	204	2047	Unglazed, folded rim, with deep groove below. Light brown fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), 95–96, Fig. 6.3:9. Dated to the Ottoman period by Avissar.
4	Large Bowl	204	2025	Rounded everted rim. Chocolate surface, orange-brown fabric. Similar in form to Rashayah ware. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 195:2.
5	Bowl	204	2026	Slip-painted, thick yellow stripes. Pink-brown fabric.
6	Bowl	204	2025	Slip-painted, wide shelf rim, yellow decorative lines. Banias, Israeli (2008d), Fig. 10.12:5; Nazareth, Alexandre (2012), Fig. 3.3:9.
7	Bowl	204	2035	Slip-painted, shelf rim, yellow elliptic decorative circles. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:5.
8	Bowl	204	2047	Slip-painted, thick rounded rim, yellow stripe below rim. Orange-brown fabric.
9	Bowl	204	2047	Slip-painted, carinated bowl, yellow decorative lines, thick glossy glaze. Yoqne‘am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:4.
10	Bowl	204	2026	Slip-painted, thick wide flat rim, thin yellow stripes. Dark gray core, orange fabric. Horbat ‘Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2008), Fig. 3.25:3.

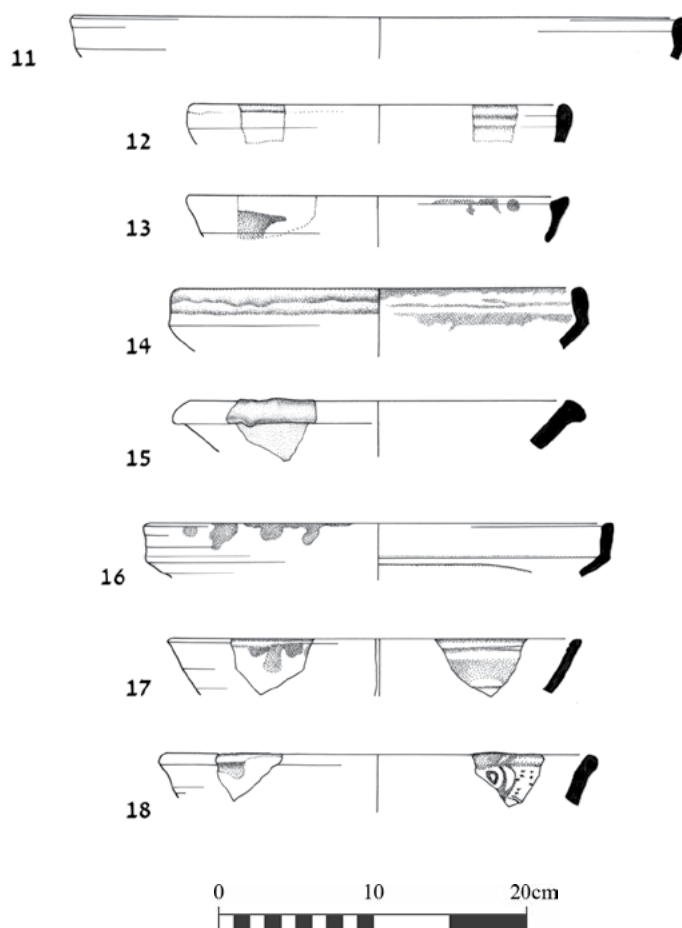


Figure 7.4.2. L204. Fill and collapse above Mamluk floor (Floor 209). 13th–16th centuries.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
11	Bowl	204	2047	Monochrome light green glaze, thick rounded rim, cream slip. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 7:8.
12	Bowl	204	2047	Monochrome olive-green thick glossy glaze, rounded rim.
13	Bowl	204	2035	Monochrome green glaze, everted rim. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 41:15.
14	Bowl	204	2035	Monochrome carinated bowl, olive-green thick glossy glaze, rounded rim, orange-brown glaze, cream slip. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:7.
15	Bowl	204	2074	Monochrome brown thick glossy glaze, flat thick rim. Dark gray fabric. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 37:7.
16	Bowl	204	2035	Carinated sgraffito bowl, line decoration, mustard-yellow glaze, rounded rim. Dark orange brown fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6: 6. Similar but not identical in form. Horbat 'Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2008), Fig. 3.27:10. 14th–15th c.
17	Bowl	204	2026	Fine sgraffito lines, light green and yellow glaze, rounded rim, cream slip on interior and exterior. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:5.
18	Bowl	204	2026	Black spiral sgraffito decoration, olive-green glaze, thick, rounded, slightly flaring rim. Rusty brown clay. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 38:7.

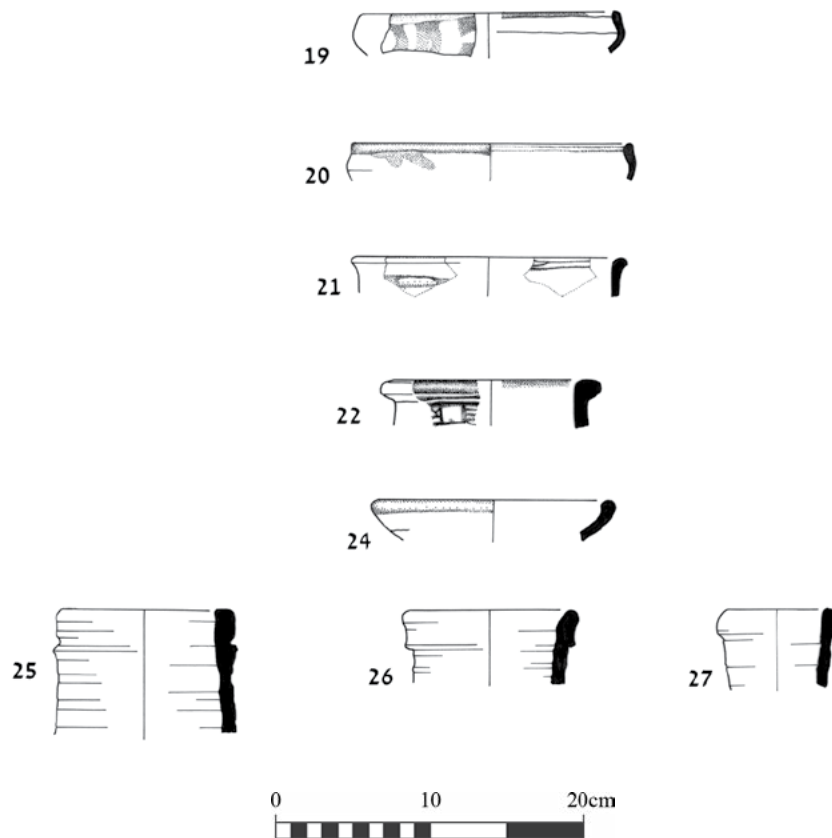


Figure 7.4.3. L204. Fill and collapse above Mamluk floor (Floor 209). 13th–16th centuries.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
19	Bowl	204	2026	Fine line sgraffito, carinated bowl, dark green glaze, rounded rim, rusty brown glaze.
20	Bowl	204	2047	Fine sgraffito lines on fine rounded rim of concave bowl, pale green glaze, pink slip. Rusty brown fabric.
21	Bowl	204	2025	Fine sgraffito line on the rim, and outside below the rim, light green glaze, rounded, slightly everted rim.
22	Bowl	204	2047	Soft paste, dark blue under light turquoise glaze, thick, rounded, slightly everted rim.
23	Bowl	204	2026	Fragment of soft paste black bowl, turquoise glaze, decorated on interior and exterior. Cream-gray fabric. Yoqne‘am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 9:1. 12th–13th c. Not illustrated.
24	Bowl	204	2047	Unglazed concave bowl, rounded rim. Brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 41:16.
25	Jar	204	2035	Rounded folded rim, tall straight neck. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 46:4.
26	Jar	204	2026	Thick folded rim, with a pronounced ridge below rim. Orange-brown clay. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 46:6. Mamluk.
27	Amphora	204	2026	Thickfolded rim, straight neck walls. Orange-brown fabric. Horvat ‘Uza, Stern and Thatcher (2008), Fig. 3.22:11.

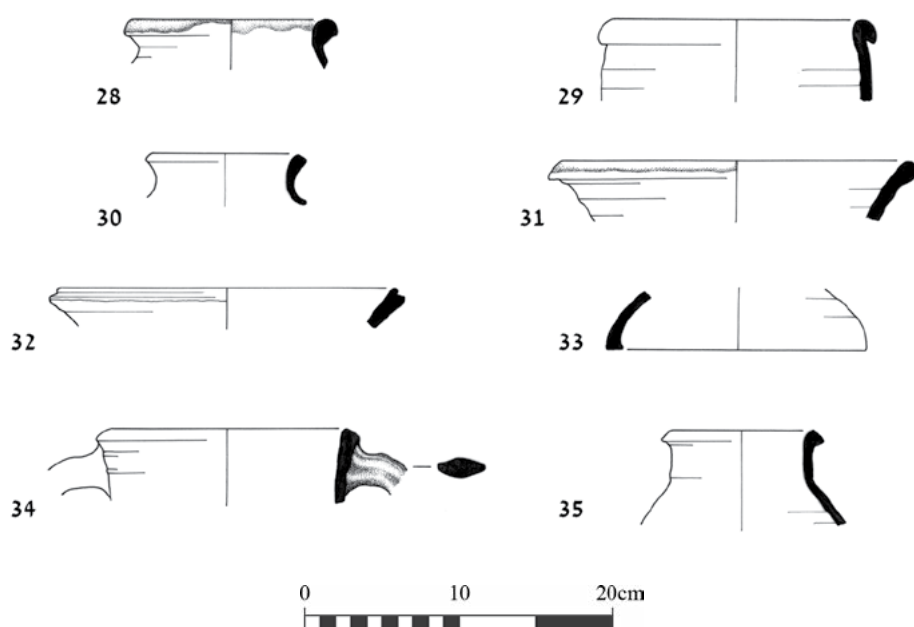


Figure 7.4.4. L204. Fill and collapse above Mamluk floor (Floor 209). 13th–16th centuries.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
28	Jug	204	2035	Dark olive-green glaze, thick rounded rim. Dark brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:10.
29	Jug	204	2035	Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric.
30	Jug	204	2026	Slightly flaring rim. Dark rusty brown fabric. Ramla, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 45: 7.
31	Cooking Bowl	204	2035	Remnants of brown glaze on interior, dark gray on exterior, slightly flaring flat rim. Coarse brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 58:5. 14th–15th c. and later.
32	Cooking Bowl (?)	204	2074	Rashayah ware, rim with fine channel, brown gritty glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 195:2.
33	Cooking Bowl Lid	204	2026	Flat rim cooking lid. Byzantine. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 130.8.
34	Cooking Pot	204	2047	Flat, slightly angled rim, wide strap handle from below the rim. Rusty brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126.16.
35	Jar	204	2026	Everted rim. Dark gray fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.13:6. Early Islamic.

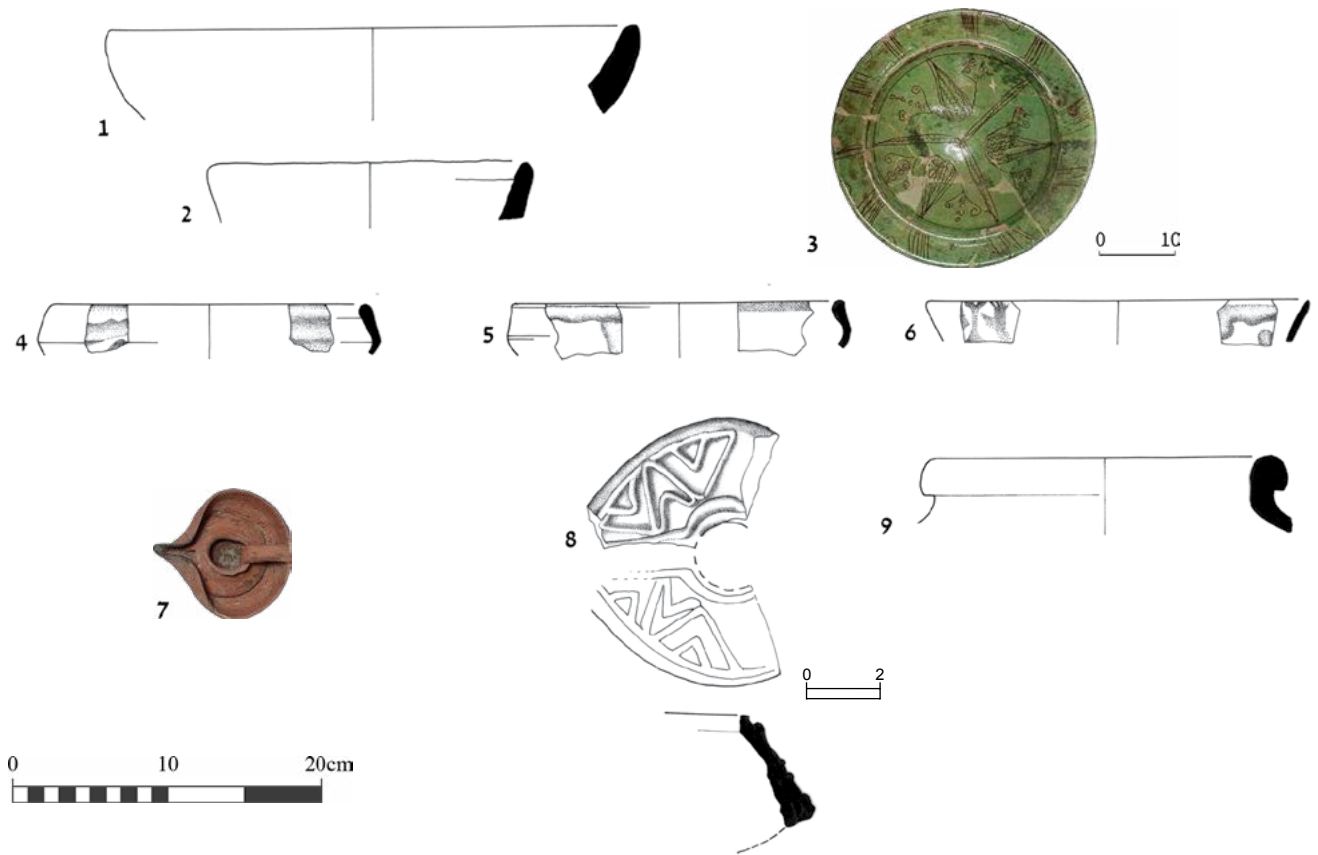


Figure 7.5. L213. Mamluk floor foundation. 13th–15th centuries.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Bowl	213	2090	Unglazed, crude handmade bowl, rounded rim, dark chocolate slip with negatives of straw. Rusty brown core. Baniyas, Avissar (2005), Fig. 6.3:7.
2	Bowl	213	2090	Unglazed, rounded rim, rusty red slip on interior and exterior. Coarse black core with negatives of straw. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 38:2.
3	Bowl	213	2103	Complete. Bowl decorated with fine sgraffito zigzag lines and pointed gourd designs on a shiny green glaze background, wide ledge rim decorated with fine combed lines. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1: 16; Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 5:1.
4	Bowl	213	2090	Slip-painted brown and green, rounded shelf rim. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 52:2.
5	Bowl	213	2090	Carinated slip bowl, painted yellow, thick brown stripe on rounded rim. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.2:1.
6	Bowl	213	2090	Under-glazed, painted soft ware, black and blue under decoration under transparent glaze. Fine, thin, cream-white fabric. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 41:2–3.
7	Oil Lamp	213	2110	Complete. Unglazed saucer lamp. Rusty red fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 52: 1; Yesud Ha-Ma'ala, Berger, Peterson and Alef (2021), Fig. 6:2.
8	Oil Lamp	213	2090	Fragment of an almond shaped, mold-made lamp, decorated with simple triangular designs. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 53:4. Mid–13th–15th c. and perhaps later.
9	Pithos	213	2115	Thick rounded everted rim. Gray-brown fabric. Byzantine.

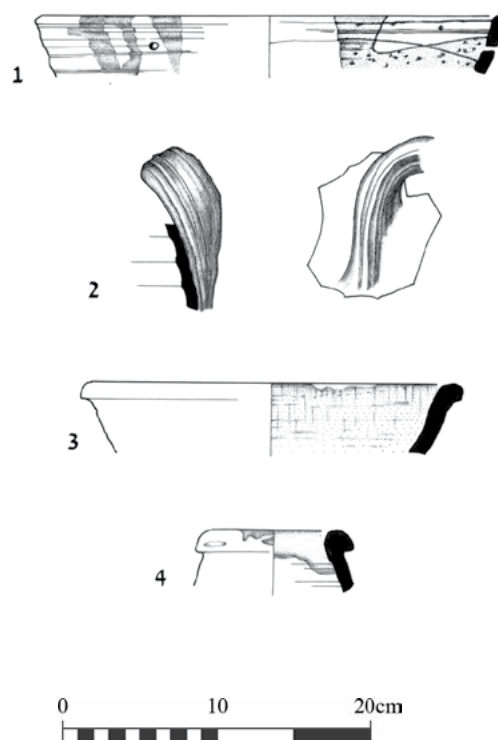


Figure 7.6. L207. Fill along the external side of W27. 13th–15th c. and perhaps later.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Bowl	207	2066	Fine sgraffito lines, yellow and green glaze, rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric, repair hole. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:4.
2	Cooking Pot Handle	207	2066	Horizontal wide pushed-up strap handle. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:12–13.
3	Cooking Bowl	207	2066	Thick, slightly everted rim, dark brown glossy glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 27:2.
4	Jug	207	2066	Thick, rounded everted rim, dark brown glaze, deep groove below the rim. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62.10.

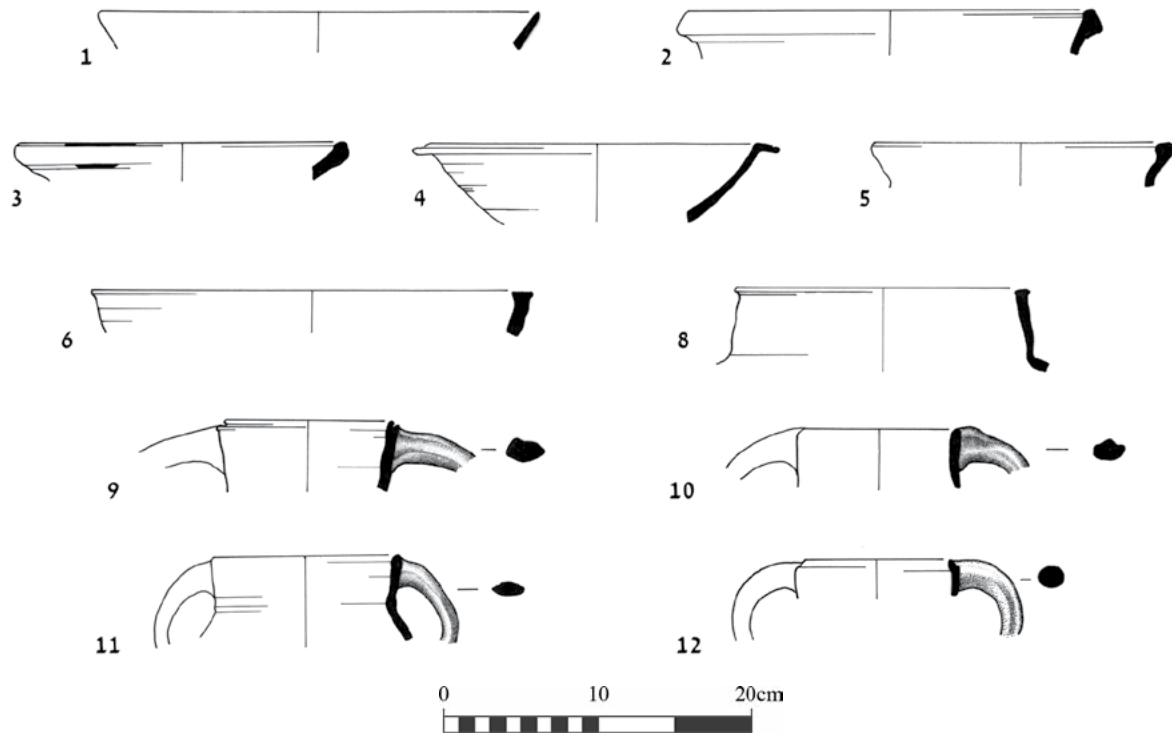


Figure 7.7.1. L215. Foundations of W21. Late Roman and Byzantine.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Bowl	215	2152	Fine plain rim, reddish brown coating. Gray core, well levigated clay. ARS. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123:15. Similar but not identical. 3rd–4th c.
2	Bowl	215	2129	Thick coarse rim. Orange-brown clay. PRS 3. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 121:8.
3	Bowl	215	2129	Rounded thick rim, painted rusty red black line on the exterior of the rim. Well levigated light brown fabric. CRS. 4th–5th c.
4	Bowl	215	2179	Fine shelf rim, deep bowl. Well levigated reddish-brown clay. ARS. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123: 11.
5	Bowl	215	2179	Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. CRS. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 122:8. Byzantine.
6	Cooking bowl lid	215	2116	Flat rim, protruding on interior. Light sandy brown clay. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 130:11. 3rd–5th c.
7	Cooking bowl lid	215	2122	Flat fine rim. Well levigated light brown-cream clay. 3rd–5th c. Not illustrated.
8	Cooking Pot	215	2152	Flat rim, slightly protruding. Light brown fabric, gray core. Kh. el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 3:17. 4th c.
9	Cooking Pot	215	2152	Rim with deep groove, thick wide handle drawn from the rim. Dark brown-red coarse fabric. 3rd–4th c.
10	Cooking Pot	215	2179	Handle drawn from plain rim. Orange-brown fabric.
11	Cooking Pot	215	2116	Handles drawn from rounded rim. Brown-red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:14. 4th c.
12	Cooking Pot	215	2172	Strap handle drawn from plain rounded rim. Dark gray fabric. Byzantine.

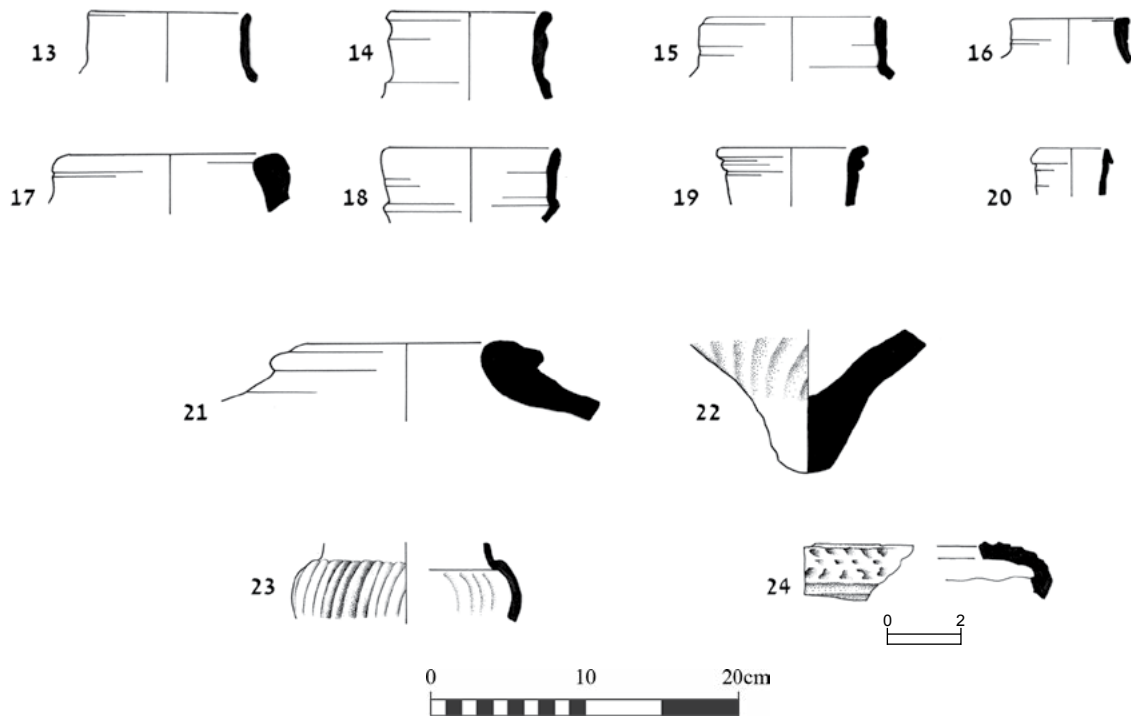
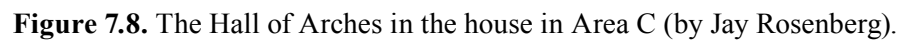


Figure 7.7.2. L215. Foundations of W21. Late Roman and Byzantine.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
13	Jar	215	2152	Straight long neck, simple rim. Brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:7. Byzantine.
14	Jar	215	2152	Slightly flaring rim with fine ridge below. Brown- grayish fabric. Nemera, Hartal (2005), Fig. 50:4. Late Roman.
15	Jar	215	2143	Grooved rim, short neck. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:11:4. Late Byzantine.
16	Jar	215	2143	Flat rim. Light brown-grayish fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137:5. Byzantine.
17	Jar	215	2172	Rounded rim with channel below. Rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:3. Byzantine.
18	Jug	215	2172	Straight long neck with a ridge at its bottom. Dark gray fabric. Byzantine.
19	Jar	215	2152	Straight long neck with deep groove below the rim. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:4.
20	Juglet	215	2122	Fine rim with straight neck. Light brown fabric. Late Roman–Byzantine.
21	Golan Pithos	215	2172	Thick flat rim. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 142:1. Late Roman–Byzantine.
22	Golan Pithos	215	2172	Cone-shaped base. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 144:3. Late Roman–Byzantine.
23	Bowl?	215	2179	Black shiny slip, wide grooves. Well levigated orange-brown fabric. No parallels found.
24	Oil Lamp	215	2179	Fragment of a Byzantine oil lamp, incised decorations. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008c), Fig. 8.1:1. 4th c.



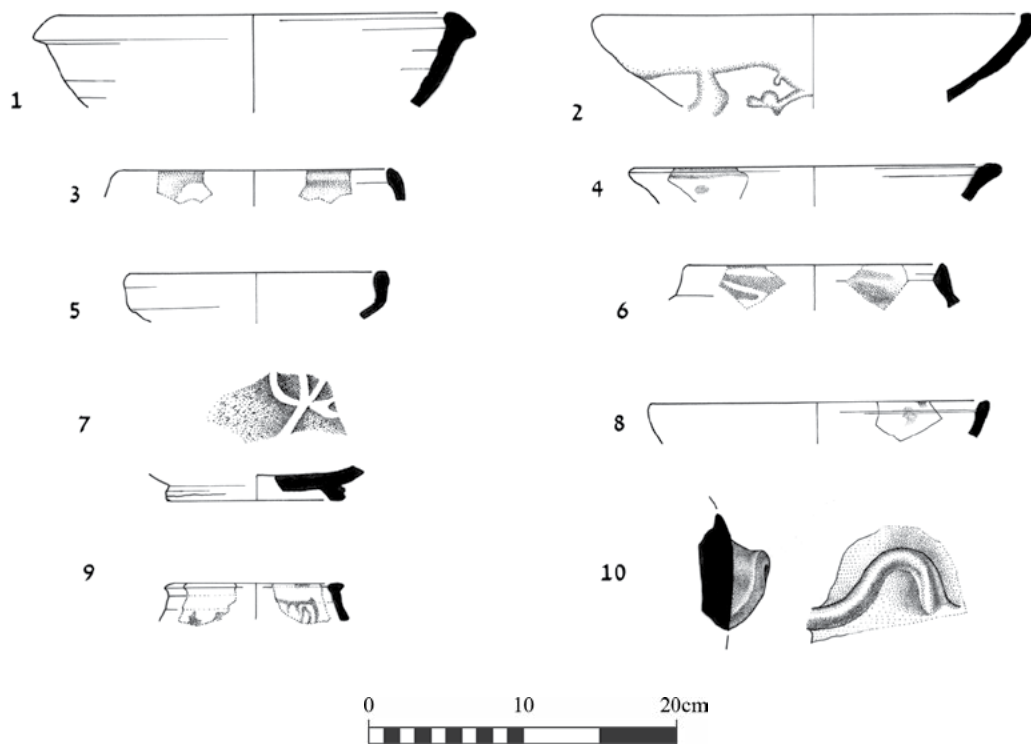


Figure 7.9.1. L205. Fill and collapse above the late Ottoman flagstone floor. Mamluk–Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	205	2050	Unglazed, flat T-shaped rim, wheelmade. Dark brown chocolate fabric. Nazareth, Alexandre (2012), Fig. 3.8:2; Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 27:2.
2	Bowl	205	2036	Pale green with patches of yellow and green, thick cream slip below. Perhaps Late Ottoman.
3	Bowl	205	2050	Rounded rim, dark green-brown monochrome glaze. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:7.
4	Bowl	205	2167	Light brown monochrome glaze, thick everted rim. Orange-brown clay. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 38.3. Mamluk and later.
5	Bowl	205	2167	Dark yellow mustard monochrome glaze, carinated rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 36:6; Baniyas, Israeli (2008d), Fig. 10.11:11. Mamluk and later.
6	Bowl	205	2050	Slip-painted brown and yellow on the exterior, thick rim. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:4.
7	Bowl	205	2050	Ring base, slip-painted yellow and brown. Orange-brown fabric.
8	Bowl	205	2167	Pale green and yellow glaze, sgraffito decorations, rounded rim. Safed, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 5:4–5.
9	Bowl	211	2164	Soft paste painted blue under transparent glaze. Design impossible to make out. Flat rim. straight walls. Cream colored fabric. Beth She'an, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 11:4. Similar but not identical.
10	Frying pan handle	205	2036	Curved snake-like pulled-up handle of shallow frying pan. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:12–13. Mamluk and later.

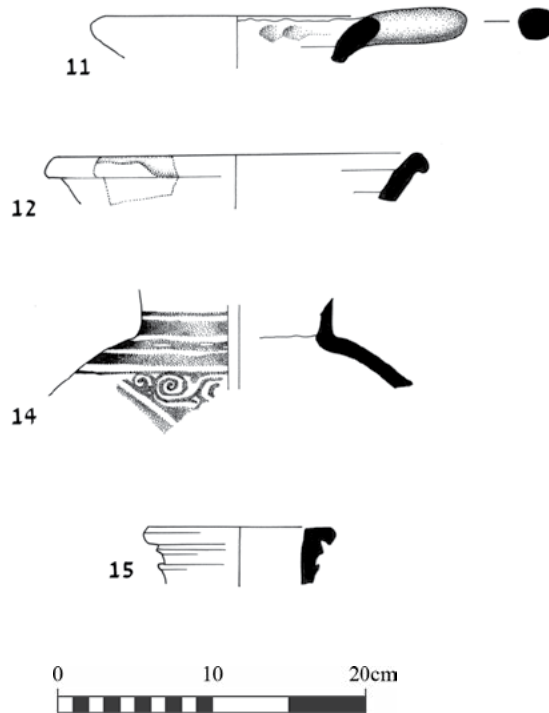


Figure 7.9.2. L205. Fill and collapse above the late Ottoman flagstone floor. Mamluk–Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
11	Frying pan handle	205	2036	Thick cone-shaped handle with a dark mustard glazed rim. Coarse fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.4:15. Avissar writes this is “a typical form of the so-called ‘Rashayah Ware’ (p. 98). Khirbat Din’ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 6.3; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 58:7; This frying pan is relatively rare in the Mamluk period (p. 55). 14th–15th c.
12	Cooking bowl	205	2050	Dark brown glazed rounded rim. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 61:1.
13	Cooking bowl	205	2167	Light ginger brown glaze, shallow groove along the rim. Reddish brown fabric. Not illustrated.
14	Jug	205	2036	Cream and chocolate brown geometric design. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 57:2.
15	Jug	205	2149	Flat rim, deep ridges along the neck. Orange–brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 46:9; Kfar Kanna Barbé (2012), Fig. 6:9.
16	Jar	205	2136	Thick fragments of Rashayah ware, dark chocolate stripes on an orange-brown clay background, wide green glazed band across the center. Similar material was found at Kh. Omrit 16th c.–1950. The Levantine Ceramics Project (LCP): Omrit K14.2.3/1; Nebi Hazuri, Dar (1994), Fig. 228. Not illustrated.

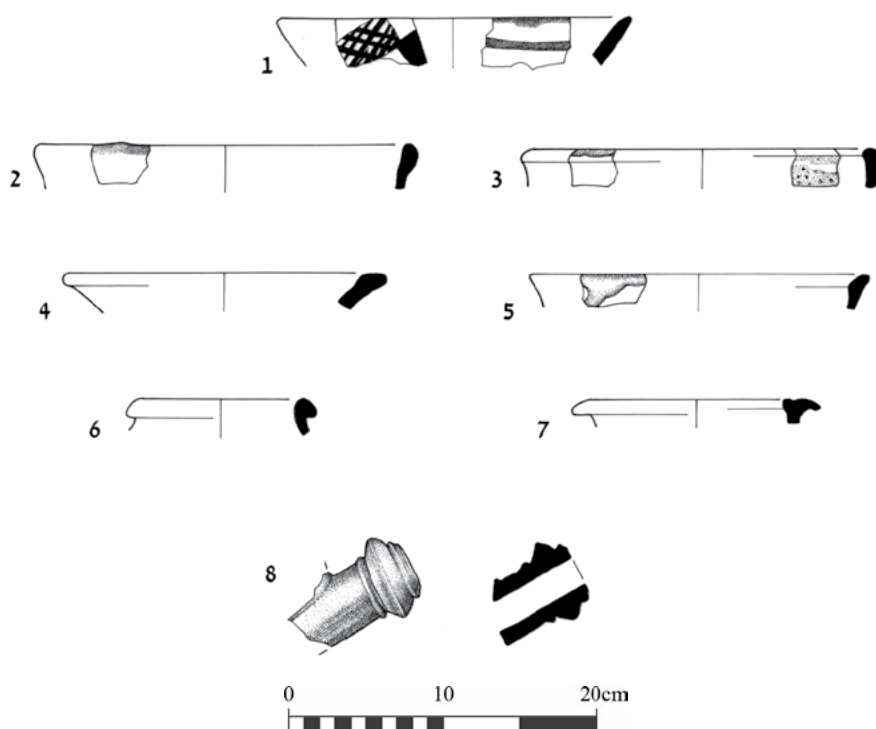


Figure 7.10. L221. Dismantling the hard-packed earth floor. Mamluk–Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	221	2211	Slip painted checkered pattern yellow and brown glaze, simple rim. Reddish brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:1.
2	Bowl	221	2211	Monochrome green glaze., thick rounded rim. Reddish brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:5.
3	Bowl	221	2211	Plain thick rim. No parallels found
4	Bowl	221	2211	Thick rounded rim. Reddish brown fabric.
5	Bowl	221	2211	Monochrome green glaze, thick slightly diagonal rim. Reddish brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:7.
6	Jug	221	2211	Thick folded rim. Reddish brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 45:5.
7	Jug	221	2211	Handle drawn from the rim. Reddish brown fabric. No parallels found.
8	Tobacco pipe	221	2211	Plain fragment of the shank, dark rusty red slip. 18th–19th c.

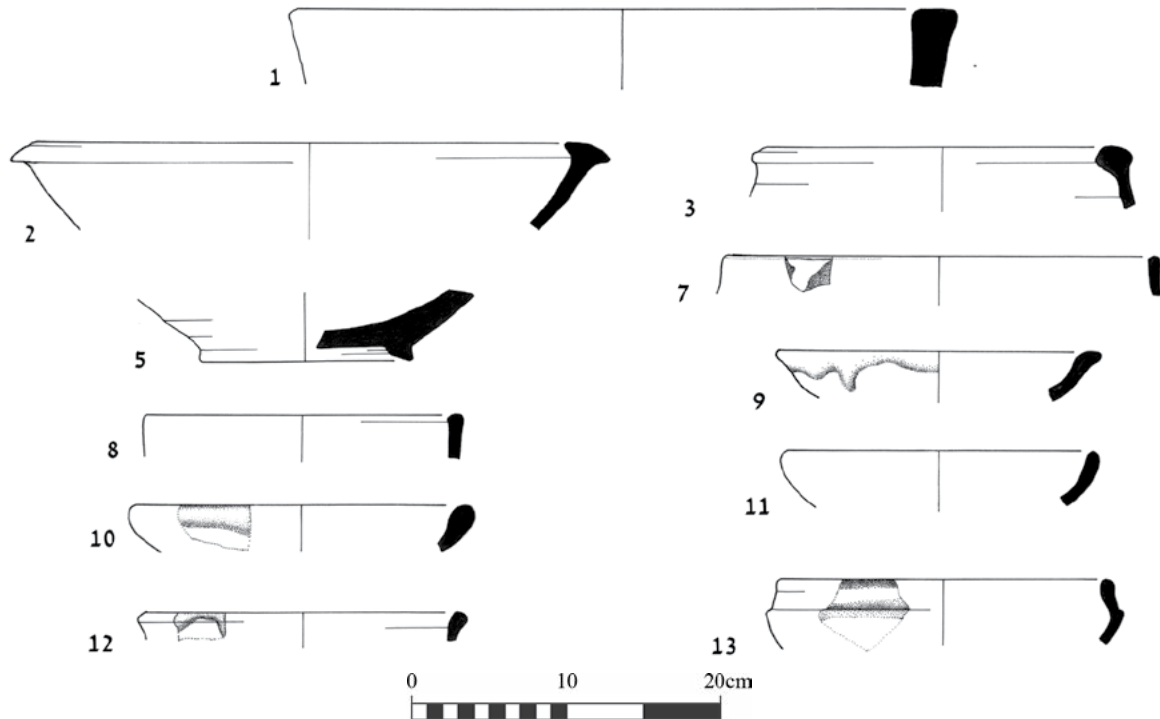


Figure 7.11.1. L214, L218. Dismantling Late Ottoman floor and fill below it (L205). Mamluk–Early Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Large basin	214	2108	Unglazed large handmade basin, thick walls, rim thick and flat. Dark gray core with negatives of straw, reddish brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), 54:1; Horvat Uza, Stern and Tatcher (2009), Fig. 3.19:6.
2	Large bowl	214	2120	Wide flat T-shaped rim. Orange-brown fabric. Thaljiat, Golan Heights, Hartal (2017), Fig. 11:21.
3	Large bowl	214	2098	Thick rounded rim, wheelmade. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 42:3–4.
4	Bowl	214	2168	Wide shelf rim. Dark brown fabric. Not illustrated.
5	Bowl	214	2108	Monochrome dark green glaze, low ring base. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:5–6; Ramla, Stern, Toueg and Shapiro (2019), Fig. 8:7. 13th–15th c.
6	Bowl	214	2108	Mustard yellow monochrome glaze, thick rounded rim. Light brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), 62: 8; Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 3: 6. 13th–15th c. and later. Not illustrated.
7	Bowl	214	2098	Rounded straight rim, yellow monochrome glaze, cream slip on the outside.
8	Bowl	214	2098	Rounded straight rim, pale green monochrome glaze, thick layer of cream slip on the outside. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:3.
9	Bowl	214	2132	Thick, rounded, slightly everted rim. Dark green monochrome glossy glaze, thick cream paste on the exterior. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 7:6.
10	Bowl	214	2120	Thick, folded, rounded rim, yellow glaze, cream paste on the exterior of the rim.
11	Bowl	214	2120	Rounded rim, dark green flaky glaze, pink cream slip.
12	Bowl	214	2120	Dark mustard green glaze, rounded rim, white inclusions.
13	Bowl	214	2132	Carinated profile, pale green glaze, cream slip, glazed line on the outer wall below the rim. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:4. 14th–15th c. and later.

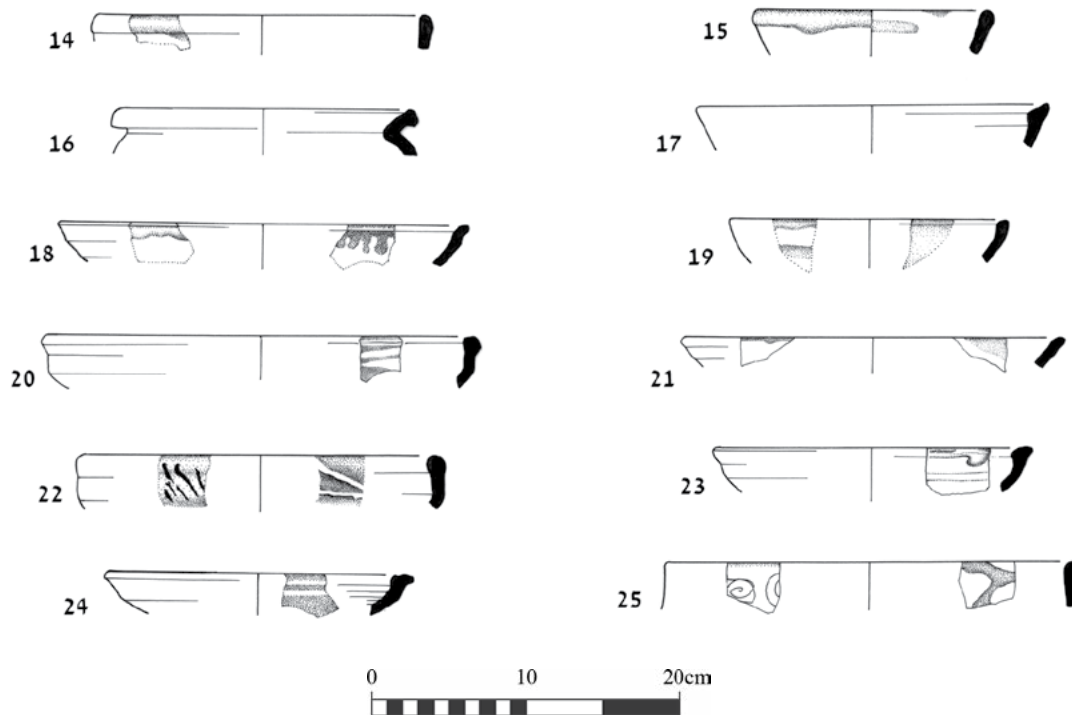


Figure 7.11.2. L214, L218. Dismantling Late Ottoman floor and fill below it (L205). Mamluk–Early Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
14	Bowl	218	2173	Brown monochrome glaze with splashes outside on the rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric.
15	Bowl	218	2173	Pale monochrome green glaze inside, with a white slipped line on the outside on the rounded rim. Baniās, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:8.
16	Bowl	214	2132	Remnants of dark green monochrome glaze, angled ledge-shaped rim. Mary's Well, Nazareth, Alexandre (2012), Fig. 3.9:3.
17	Bowl	218	2168	Dark green monochrome glaze, relatively thick rim, white slip and remnants of glaze on the outside of the rim.
18	Bowl	214	2120	Yellow and green mottled glaze, thick cream slip on the outer wall, fine, slightly everted rim.
19	Bowl	218	2173	Yellow-green mottled glaze, plain white strip outside below the rounded rim. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 61:2.
20	Bowl	214	2108	Yellow and brown slip-painted bowl, thick rounded rim, slightly protruding.
21	Bowl	214	2108	Faded dark green slip-painted, fine rounded rim. Yoqne'am, Baniās, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:1, 6. 13th–15th c. and later.
22	Bowl	214	2132	Slip-painted yellow lines, brown background, thick rounded rim slightly protruding. Horbat Yagur, Arnon (2013), Fig. 3:17.
23	Bowl	214	2173	Slip-painted with a wide, thick yellow line below the rim, rounded, slightly protruding rim. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:3.
24	Bowl	214	2120	Dark brown glaze, slightly everted rim, shallow channel on the rim.
25	Bowl	214	2098	Spiral graffito decoration on a dark green background, fine rounded rim. Baniās, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:5. 14th–15th c.

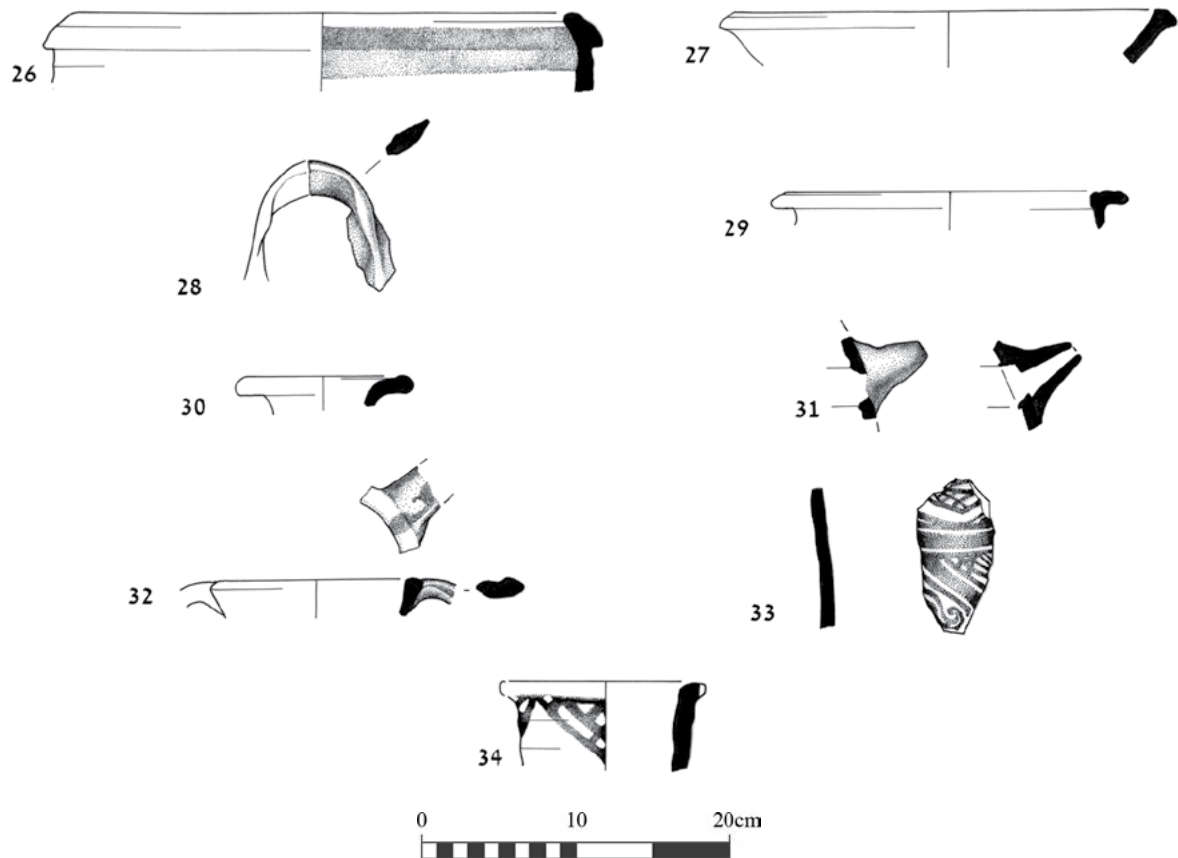


Figure 7.11.3. L214, L218. Dismantling Late Ottoman floor and fill below it (L205). Mamluk–Early Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
26	Cooking bowl	214	2132	Thin, poor quality brown glaze, “drooping” rim. Orange-brown fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:7. Similar but not identical. 14th–15th c. and later.
27	Cooking bowl	214	2108	Light brown glaze, rim rounded and slightly protruding. Orange- brown fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:6.
28	Cooking pot handle	214	2120	Wide, horizontal, pulled-up handle. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:4. 14th–15th c. perhaps later.
29	Cooking pot	218	2168	Wide, thick, flat shelf rim, remnants of brown glaze on the exterior. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 59:7, 9.
30	Jug	218	2168	Wide, thick, flat shelf rim. Light brown fabric.
31	Jug spout	214	2120	Short spout. Orange-brown clay, many white inclusions.
32	Jug	214	2120	Wide handle drawn from the rim, splashes of brown paint. Light brown fabric. Bet She’an, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 46:1. Similar but not identical.
33	Jug	218	2173	Fragment of geometric painted jug. Yoqne’am Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 47:7–8.
34	Jar	214	2132	Rounded rim, straight neck, remains of chocolate brown geometric design on pink-cream slip. Yoqne’am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 31:3.

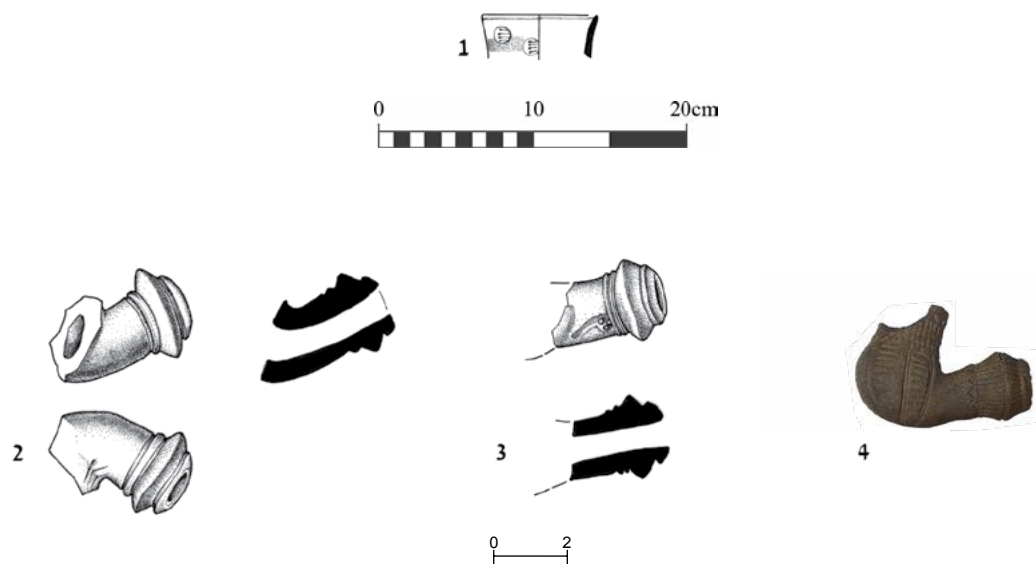


Figure 7.12. L214, L218. Dismantling Late Ottoman floor and fill below it (L205). Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Coffee cup	214	2098	Porcelain, decorated with red stripped medallions on a cream background, blue line on interior and exterior rim. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020c), Fig. 8:1. Second half 18th c.
2	Tobacco pipe	214	2098	Short shank, plain wreath and stepped ring, missing bowl. Brown-purple burnish. Acre, Shapiro (2020), Fig.1:5. Late 17th– 18th c.
3	Tobacco pipe	218	2173	Short shank, plain wreath and stepped ring, decorated with 3 dots, missing bowl. Orange-brown burnish. Gray fabric. Banias, Dekel (2008), Fig. 4.3:19. Second half 18th c.
4	Tobacco pipe	Survey Find		Short shank, small narrow bowl decorated with incised lines. Light brown grayish fabric. Ramla, De Vincenz (2011), Fig. 1:7; Kefar Szold, Berger (2021), Fig. 7:2. Late 17th–18th c..

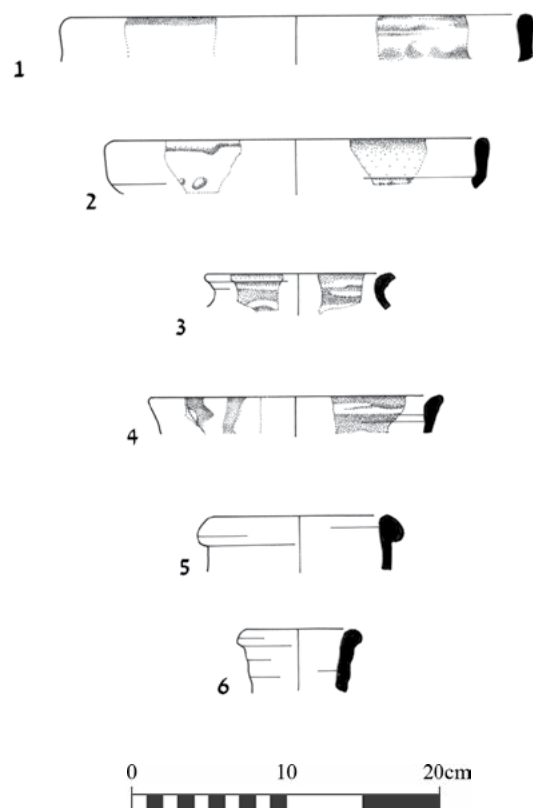


Figure 7.13. L216. Fill above Mamluk floor. Second half of 13th–15th centuries.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	216	2145	Thick mustard yellow glaze, folded rim, white-pink slip on the exterior. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 8:4.
2	Bowl	216	2145	Gritty pale green-yellow glaze, thick rounded rim, white slip on exterior. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14. Second half 13th–15th c. and later.
3	Bowl	216	2145	Dark green glaze on interior and exterior, rounded everted rim.
4	Bowl	216	2145	Slip-painted brown and yellow, thick, slightly everted rim.
5	Jar	216	2145	Unglazed, triangular protruding rim. Brown-gray fabric. Tiberias, Stern (2013), Fig. 15:6; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 45:15. Similar but not identical. 14th–15th c.
6	Jar	216	2145	Everted rim, reddish-orange clay. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 42: 8; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 46:5–6. Similar but not identical.

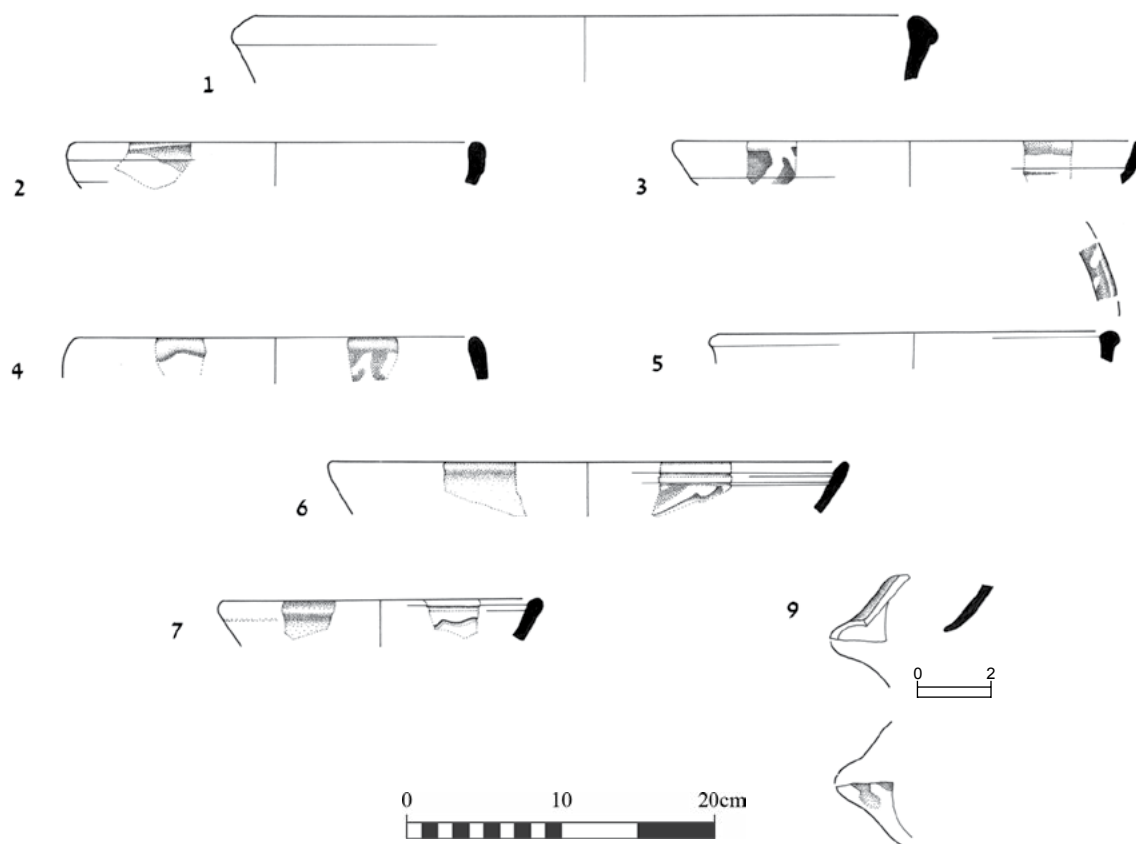


Figure 7.14. L219. Fill below Mamluk floor at the base of the northern arch. Mamluk–early Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	219	2181	Large unglazed bowl, thick rim. Orange-brown clay. Safad, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 42:3–4.
2	Bowl	219	2181	Thick rounded rim, fragments of monochrome green glaze. Pink fabric. Kfar Nafak, Abu Zedan (2009), Fig. 6:2. 13th–14th c.
3	Bowl	219	2181	Green and yellow mottled glaze. Thick rounded rim.
4	Bowl	219	2181	Slip-painted brown and yellow straight rounded rim. Orange- brown fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:5.
5	Bowl	219	2181	Slip-painted brown and yellow glaze, protruding rim. Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:7.
6	Bowl	219	2181	Pale dark green and yellow glaze sgraffito bowl.
7	Bowl	219	2181	Dark brown, almost purple, glazed sgraffito bowl, decorated with wavy line. Orange-brown fabric.
8	Jar handle	219	2181	Cream slip with reddish brown painted geometric lines. Orange- brown fabric. Yoqne‘am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 31:2. Not illustrated.
9	Oil lamp	219	2181	Fragment of a pale green glazed oil lamp with pinched nozzle, Bet Shean, Hadad (2002), 117, 494–495; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 66:1. 13th–14th and perhaps later.

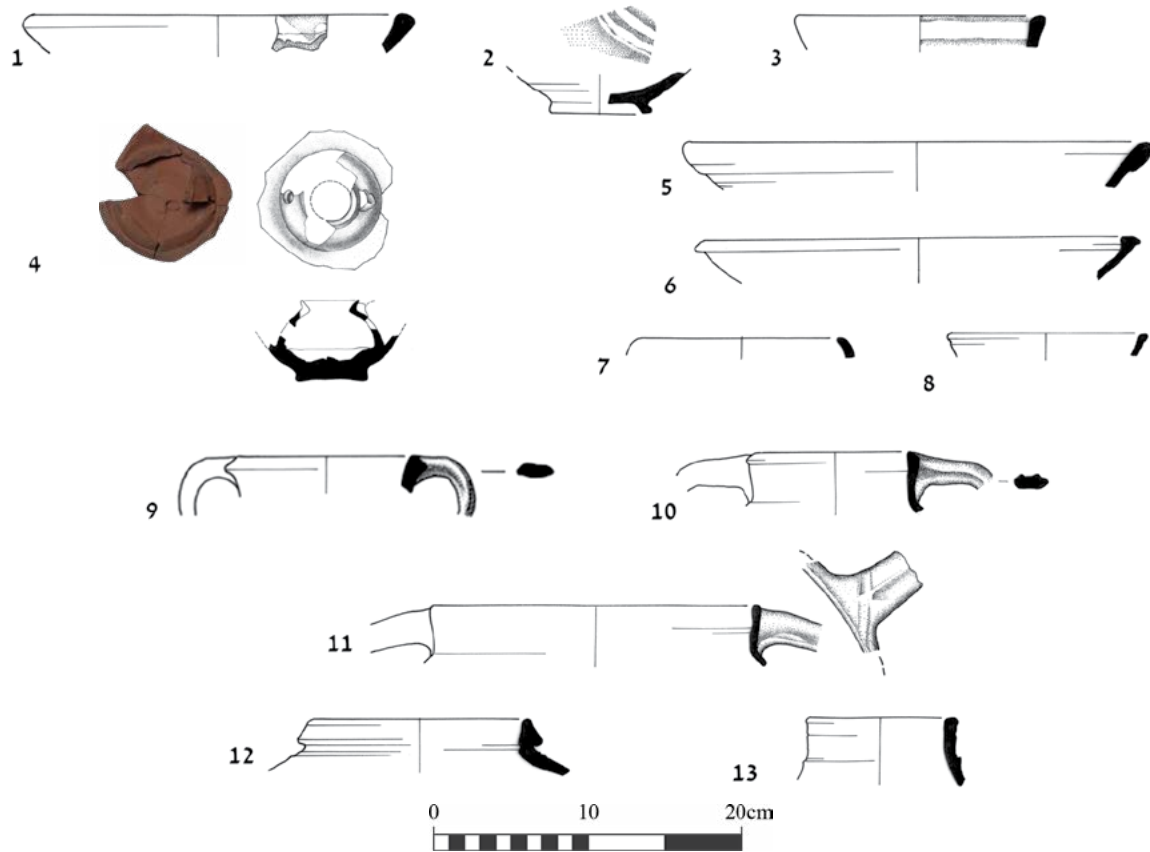


Figure 7.15. L217 and L226. Fill below Mamluk floor (L216). Mamluk and Late Roman–Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	217	2183	Slip-painted, remnants of brown and dark green glaze, thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), 62:1.
2	Bowl	217	2183	Monochrome dark green glaze, thick white slip on interior and exterior, rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Kh. Yamma, Stern (2017), Fig. 4:1.
3	Bowl	217	2183	Slip-painted, yellow and brown glaze, fragment of a ring base. Orange-brown fabric. Kh. Yamma, Stern (2017), Fig. 4:5.
4	Oil lamp	226	2230	Saucer oil lamp, unglazed. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.7: 9. Late 13th–15th c.
5	Bowl	217	2170	CRS. Thick, wide shelf rim. Orange–brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 122: 9; Nesher-Ramla, De Vincenz (2015), Fig. 5.5: 6. Similar but not identical.
6	Bowl	217	2183	Flat everted rim. Fine red-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118: 12; Fig. 119: 18.
7	Bowl	217	2183	ESA. Red-brown slip. Orange-brown fabric. Gamla, Berlin (2006), Fig. 5.1: B12–1. 2nd–1st c. CE.
8	Bowl	217	2183	Rounded rim, shiny black slip. Fine grayish brown fabric. No parallels found. 1st c. BCE.
9	Cooking pot	217	2183	Coarse handles drawn from a thick rim. Dark brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 127: 5.
10	Cooking pot	217	2183	Wide grooved handle drawn from the flat rim. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 133, Fig. 127: 13. 2nd–5th c. CE.
11	Cooking pot	217	2170	Wide handle drawn from the rim. Reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 127: 13. 2nd–5th c. CE.
12	Jar	217	2183	Beveled rim, no neck. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 136: 5. Similar but not identical.
13	Jar	217	2183	Flanged rim, tall neck with ridge. Dark brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 137: 7.

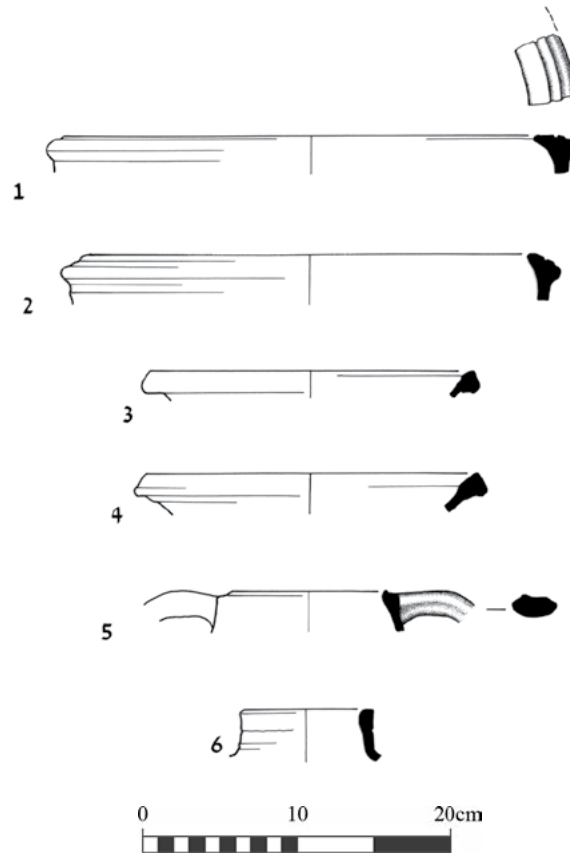


Figure 7.16. L227. Packed earth surface. Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	227	2231	Wide grooved rim, light reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 121: 5.
2	Bowl	227	2231	Similar to Fig. 7.16: 1.
3	Bowl	227	2231	Thick protruding rim. Light reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 121:15.
4	Bowl	227	2231	Similar to Fig. 7.16: 3.
5	Cooking pot	227	2291	Coarse, grooved handle, drawn from the rim. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 133, Fig. 127: 13.
6	Jar	227	2231	Tall neck, thick rim. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 8.

POTTERY FROM THE STANDING HAURANIAN HOUSE (AREA S)

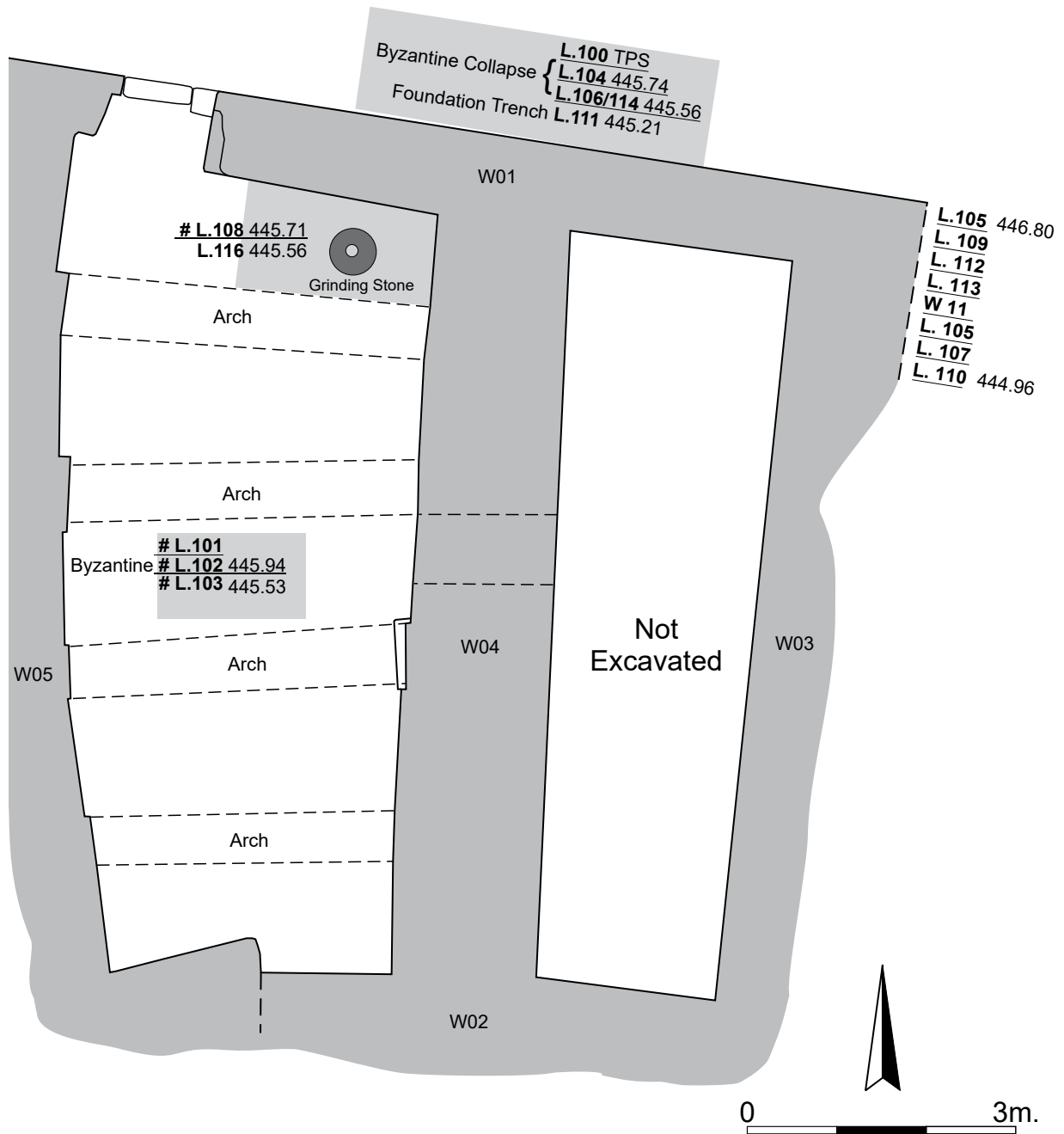


Figure 7.17. The Hauranian Standing House in Area S (by Jay Rosenberg).

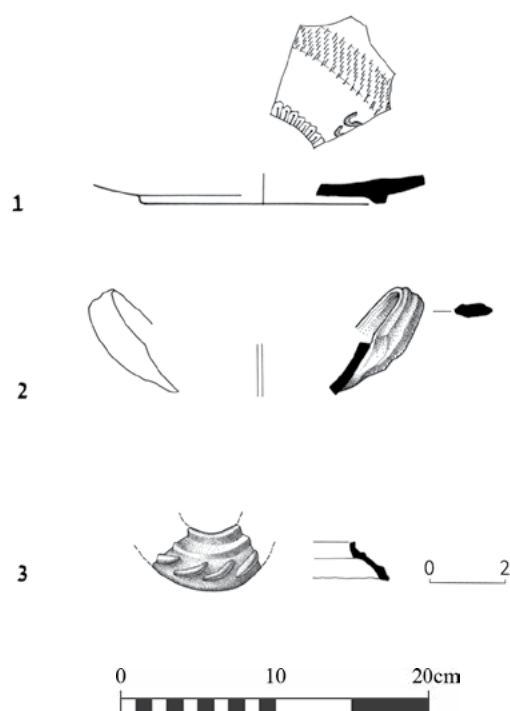


Figure 7.18. L101. Topsoil above stone floor. Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	101	1004	Late Roman Red Ware. Low, decorated ring base. Dark rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123: 10.
2	Cooking bowl	101	1004	Horizontal handle with wide groove. Coarse rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 129: 9.
3	Oil Lamp	101	1006	Fragment with crescent decorations. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig.151: 8.

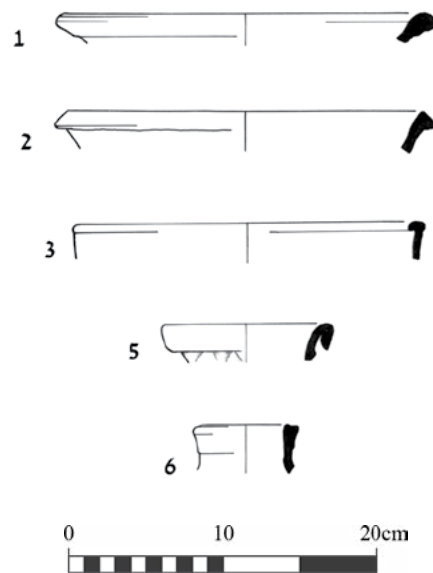


Figure 7.19. L102. Below basalt stone floor inside the house. Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	102	1006	Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119: 20.
2	Bowl	102	1006	Flat rim. Orange-brown fabric, gray core. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119: 18.
3	Bowl	102	1006	Banias bowl. Inwardly-turned rounded rim. Light brown fabric. Banias, Smithline (2006), Fig. 12: 1. 3rd–5th c.
4	Bowl	102	1006	Low ring base. Terra sigillata. Not illustrated.
5	Jug	102	1006	Flat rim. Dark gray fabric on exterior, light brown core. Banias, Hartal (2009), Fig. 10.3: 7. Similar but not identical.
6	Jug	102	1006	Outwardly-folded rounded rim, deeply undercut on the exterior, groove between the rim and basin wall. Cream fabric. Banias, Hartal (2009), Fig. 10.7: 6.
7	Jar	102	1006	Body fragments. Dark gray fine ribs with white painted stripes coarsely painted. Tiberias, Stacey (2004), Fig. 4.34: 1–2. Not illustrated.

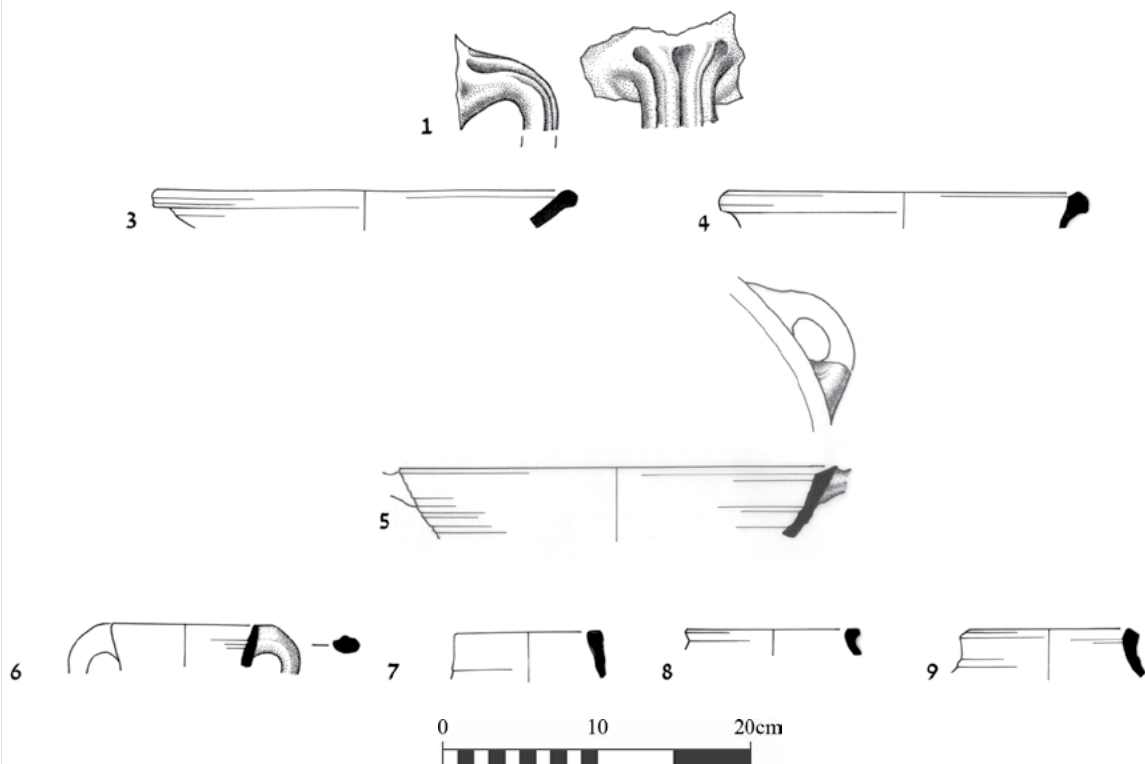


Figure 7.20. L104, L106. The layer of collapse along W01. Byzantine–early Islamic.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Basin handle	106	1035	Wide grooved handle of a large basin. Orange–red fabric common in the Golan. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 146: 5–8; Baniyas, Israeli (2008b), Fig. 7.9: 7. 5th–8th c.
2	Bowl	104	1012	PRS (3). Thick, short, shelf rim. Orange-brown clay. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
3	Bowl	106	1017	ARS imitation. Rounded rim. Coarse rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123: 11.
4	Bowl	106	1017	PRS (3). Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 122: 3.
5	Cooking bowl	106	1035	Cut rim, horizontal handle with wide groove. Coarse rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 129: 9. Byzantine–Early Islamic.
6	Cooking pot	106	1014	Simple rim, thick handle drawn from the rim. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008b), Fig. 7.12: 35.
7	Jar	104	1012	Flat rim, straight neck. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.13: 1.
8	Jar	104	1012	Flat everted rim, short neck. Gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 2. Byzantine–Umayyad.
9	Jar	106	1035	Flat rim, short neck. Reddish fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 3. Similar but not identical.
10	Jar	106	1035	Finely ribbed body fragments with coarsely painted white stripes. Dark gray fabric. Not illustrated.
11	Juglet	104	1012	Rounded rim with fine groove on the rim and wide groove below the neck. Baniyas, Israeli (2008b), Fig. 7.11: 25–26. Byzantine. Not illustrated.

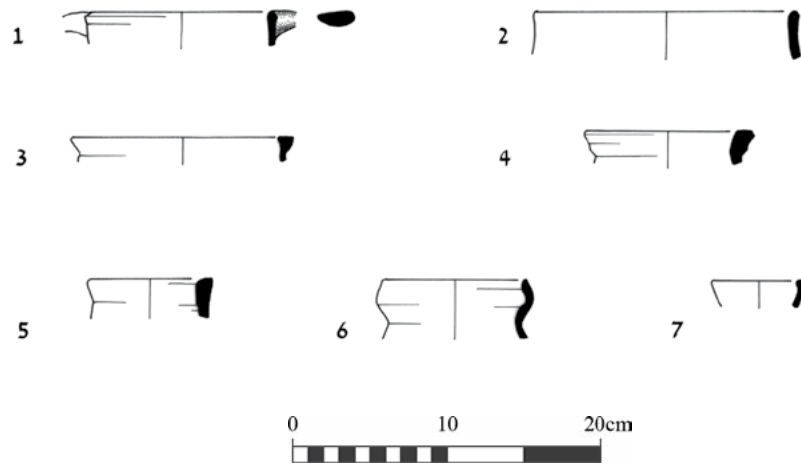


Figure 7.21. L111. Foundation trench of W01. Roman–Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Cooking pot	111	1034	Plain rim, thick handle drawn from the rim. Orange-brown fabric. Kh. el-Hawarit, Hartal (2005), Fig. 127: 12–13. Middle Roman–Early Byzantine.
2	Jug	111	1034	Wide mouth, simple rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136: 7. Roman.
3	Jar	111	1034	Flat rim, short neck. Reddish fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 2. Similar but not identical.
4	Jar	111	1034	Flat everted rim, short neck. Reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136: 2. Similar but not identical.
5	Jar	111	1034	Thick flat rim, short neck. Brown fabric. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 2.
6	Jug	111	1034	Swollen carinated neck. Orange-brown fabric. Similar in form to Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 134: 6. Roman–Byzantine.
7	Juglet	111	1034	Thick flat rim. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 134: 11.

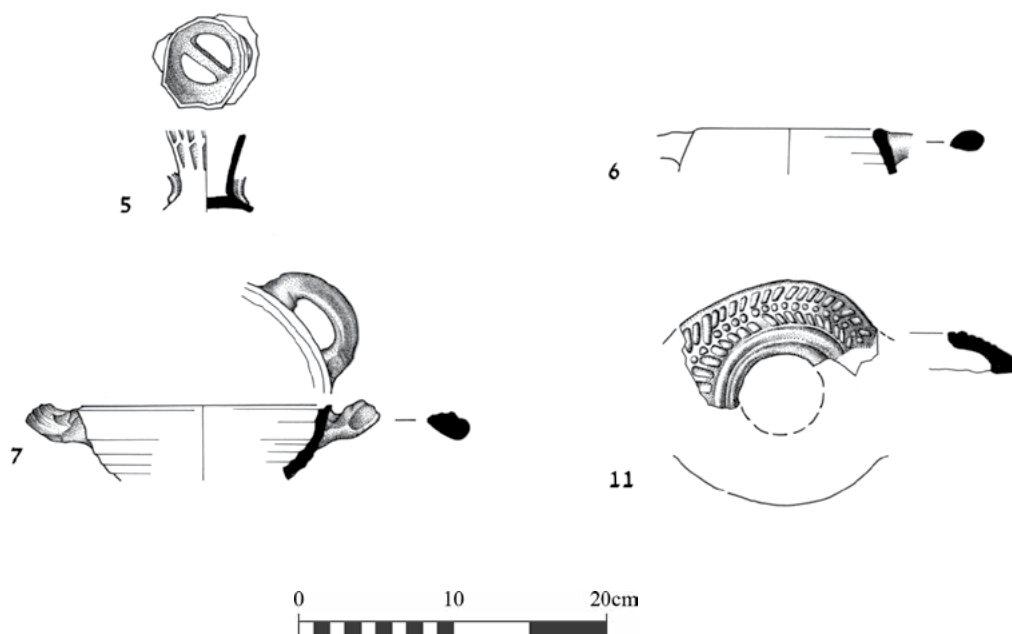


Figure 7.22. L107, L112. The northeastern corner. Mamluk-Byzantine.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Basin	107	1020	Flat rim. Coarse dark rusty brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54: 1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
2	Basin	107	1020	Rounded rim. Coarse dark rusty brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 42: 3. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
3	Basin	107	1015	Rounded rim, handmade. Coarse chocolate brown fabric, many straw negatives. Not illustrated.
4	Bowl	107	1015	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Coarse brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 41: 16–17. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
5	Jug	107	1021	Long neck with strainer, rim missing. Banias, Israeli (2008d), Fig. 10.17. Mamluk.
6	Cooking pot	107	1020	Simple rim, straight neck. Reddish brown fabric. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126: 17–20.
7	Casserole bowl	107	1021	Flat diagonal rim, horizontal handles, external ribbing. Coarse rusty brown fabric, Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 129: 9. Byzantine-Early Islamic.
8	Cooking pot	112	1041	Handles drawn from simple rim. Orange brown fabric. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 127: 2. Late Byzantine-Umayyad. Not illustrated.
9	Jar	107	1015	Rounded rim with shallow groove. Gray core. Roman-Byzantine. Not illustrated.
10	Jar	107	1020	Flat rim, short neck. Brown and gray fabric. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 138: 3. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
11	Oil lamp	107	1021	Rounded body, herringbone and dot decoration. Light brown fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008c), Fig. 8.1: 1–2. 4th c.
12	Roof tile	107	1015	Coarse gray fabric. Byzantine. Not illustrated.

POTTERY FROM THE LARGE COMPLEX SOUTHEAST OF THE VILLAGE (AREA KH)

The 19th century village community referred to this large complex as “The Khan” (Schumacher 1897: 195). Area KH was of particular importance to our research: our intent was to try to provide a clear-cut answer regarding the date and function of this complex. Was this a Mamluk khan? Dauphin, who surveyed the complex, concluded it was initially built as a monastery and was later turned into a caravansary (Gibson and Dauphin 1994: 10–12). Hartal and Ben Ephraim followed Ma’oz, who concluded the entire complex was modern (Ma’oz, 1985, 60–61; Hartal and Ben Ephraim, 2014).

Our excavations revealed Byzantine pottery from sealed loci (L329, L304 and L307. Fig. 7.23), clearly supporting Dauphin’s conclusion that the building was founded in the Byzantine period (Dauphin, and Schonfield, 1983:204–205).

Unlike the Byzantine pottery, the Mamluk pottery did not come from sealed loci and the quantity and

preservation of the sherds was poor. Contemporary Mamluk sources, however, only describe a relay station (see Chapter 5, this volume), where a mounted messenger could rest, find water and food for himself and his mount and change his horse if needed. With a great deal of caution, the results of the excavation, at best, permit us to say that the structure functioned for a very brief period during the Mamluk period. But we could not determine its exact function. The architecture and modern building materials (cement, Marseilles roof tiles and iron), the white hard paste bowls and coffee cups, are all popular imported household tableware dated to the 19th–20th centuries. The scale of the building reveals that the last resident was a rather wealthy local figure who constructed a large courtyard house with a small fountain on the Byzantine and Mamluk (?) ruins.

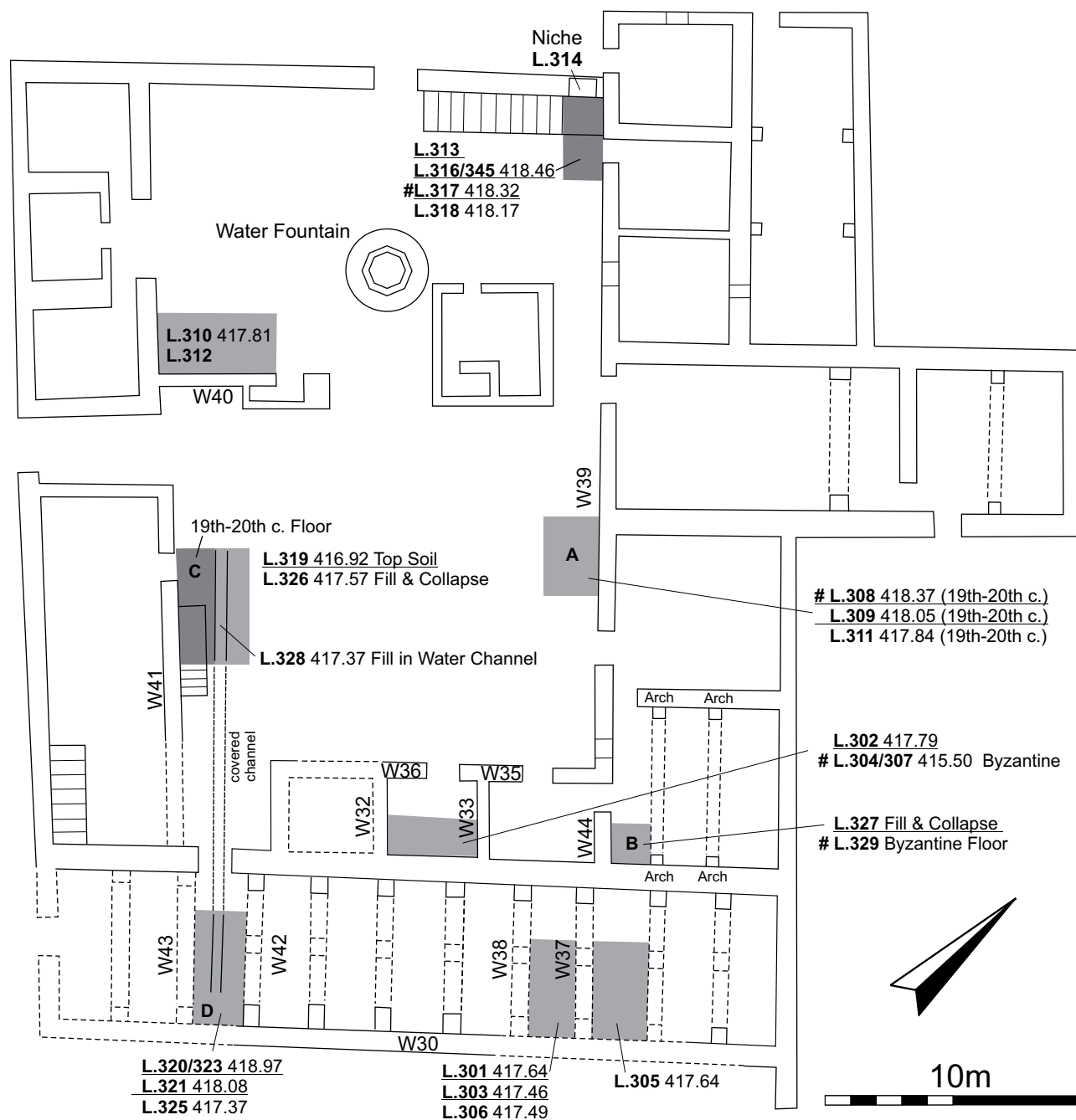


Figure 7.23. The Large Complex Southeast of the Village, Area KH (by Jay Rosenberg, after Dauphin 1982, Fig. 11).

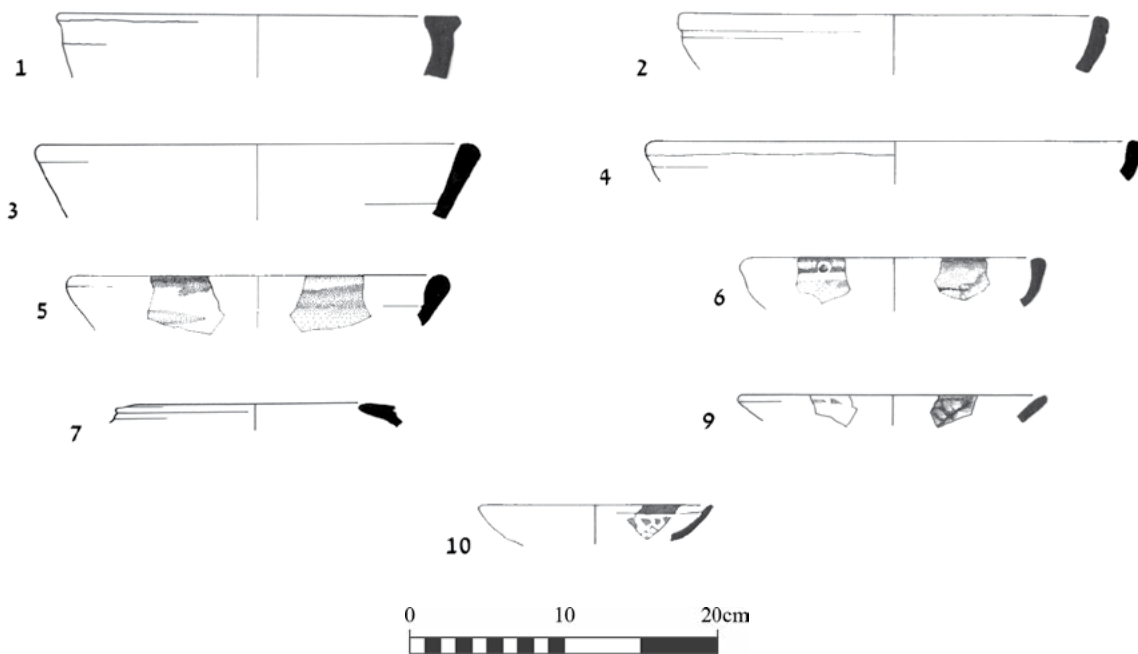


Figure 7.24. L301. Topsoil in Stall 4 in the southern wing. Mamluk and Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Large Bowl	301	3001	Unglazed, flat rim. Coarse gray core with negatives of straw, rusty red surface. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54: 2.
2	Large Bowl	301	3001	Unglazed, coated with a coarse white cream slip, thick rounded rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 41: 17.
3	Large Bowl	301	3001	Remnants of monochrome light green glaze on interior and exterior, white slip, thick rounded rim. Light brown-gray fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62: 7. 13th–14th c.
4	Bowl	301	3001	Dark green monochrome glaze, thick rounded rim. Light brown fabric.
5	Bowl	301	3001	Mottled green-dark yellow glaze, rounded thick rim. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 7: 2. End of 13th–15th c. and later.
6	Bowl	301	3001	Yellow-green monochrome glaze on the interior with splashes on the exterior, thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1: 8. Late 13th–14th c. and probably later.
7	Bowl	301	3001	Unglazed, folded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Kfar Nafak, Abu Zedan (2009), Fig. 10: 6.
8	Spout	301	3001	Unglazed, fragment of a spout of an <i>ibriq</i> water jug. Orange-brown fabric. Not illustrated.
9	Bowl	301	3001	Hard white paste, blue geometric decorations. Imported. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020b), Fig. 4: 5. Late 19th c.
10	Bowl	301	3001	Hard white paste, fine rusty red band decorating the rim. Interior floral decorations in gray, pale green, and black on a white background. Late 19th c.
11	Roof tiles	301	3001	Two fragments of roof tiles engraved with spirals. Orange-brown clay. Produced in southern France around Marseille, and imported to Palestine throughout the 19th–early 20th c. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020b), Fig. 7. Not illustrated.

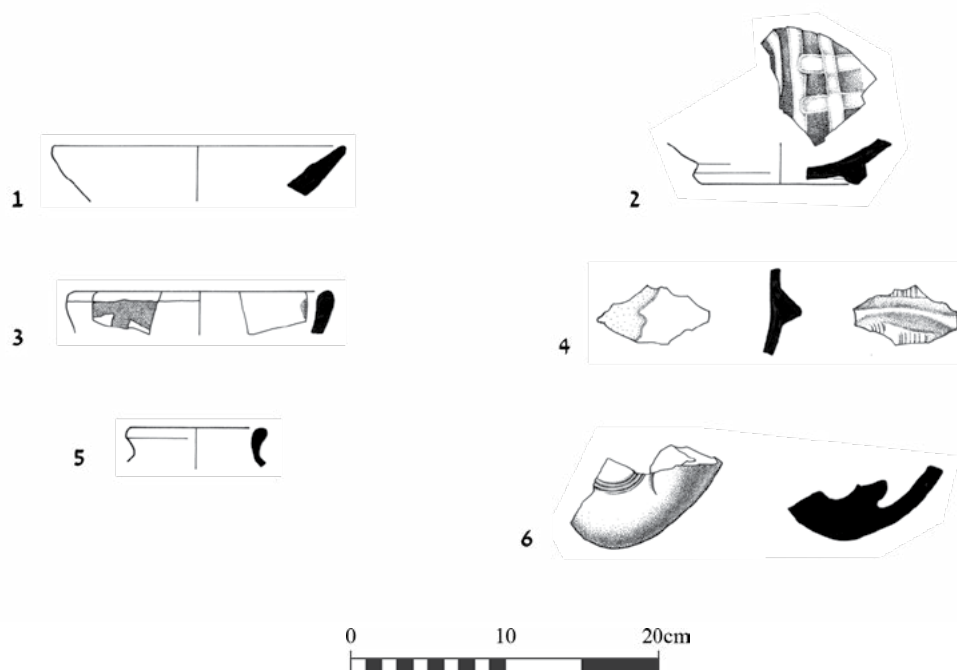


Figure 7.25. L305. Topsoil in Stall 3 in the southern wing. Mamluk–Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	305	3026	Handmade, thin rim, almost straight walls. Dark rusty brown exterior, negatives of straw, gray core. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.3: 8.
2	Bowl	305	3026	Slip-painted, ring base decorated on the interior with a yellow checkered design, brown pinkish fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. 6: 4.
3	Bowl	305	3017	Thick rounded rim, cream slip on interior and exterior, chocolate brown striped decoration. Orange-brown fabric. Rashayah ware. Mamluk and later.
4	Cooking pot handle	305	3017	Fragment of horizontal handle with a patch of brown glaze. Mamluk and later.
5	Jug	305	3026	Unglazed, slightly everted rim, very short neck. Light brown-gray fabric. Ramla, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 45: 7. Similar but not identical.
6	Tobacco pipe	305	3026	Fragment of a pipe bowl, burnished brown. 18th–19th c.
7	Roof Tile	305	3017	Fragment of Marseille roof tile. Not illustrated.

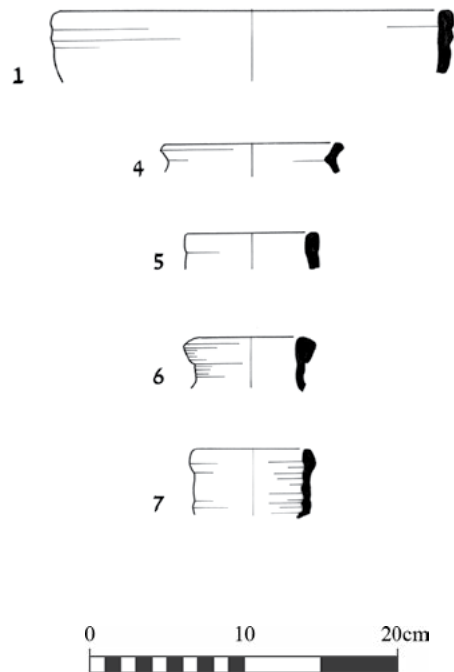


Figure 7.26. L303. Fill below topsoil in stall 4 in the southern wing. Late Roman–Byzantine, Mamluk–Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
MAMLUK-OTTOMAN				
1	Bowl	303	3003	Rounded rim with two shallow grooves below it on the exterior, poor quality yellow-green glaze on external surface. Light brown clay. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.3: 12. Ottoman.
2	Bowl	303	3003	Ring base fragment, dark brown-black glaze. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
3	Bowl	303	3003	Slip-painted bowl fragment, wide yellow lines on a brown background. Orange-brown fabric. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
4	Jar	303	3009	Rounded rim. Gray surface, light brown core. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 2. Late Roman–Byzantine.
5	Jar	303	3009	Short shelf rim. Reddish brown clay. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136: 16. 5th c.
6	Jug	303	3003	Thick folded flat rim. Brown pinkish fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133: 13. Similar but not identical. Late Byzantine.
7	Jug	303	3003	Fine rim. Rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133: 7. Similar but not identical. Late Byzantine.

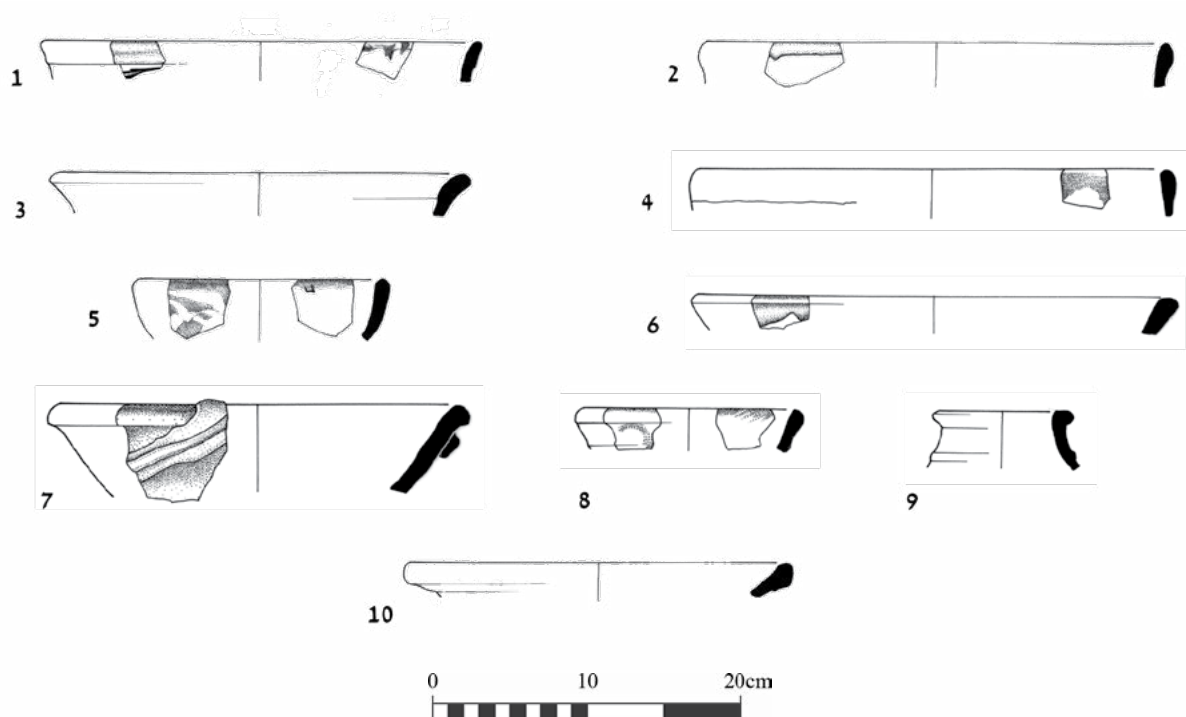


Figure 7.27. L321. Fill in the passage between the southern wing and the main complex. Byzantine, Mamluk and later.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
1	Bowl	321	2105	Thick, slightly flaring rim, green and brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. No parallels found.
2	Bowl	321	2105	Thick rim, green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4: 15. Mamluk and later.
3	Bowl	321	2105	Thick flaring rim, green glaze. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4: 1. 13th–15th c. and later.
4	Bowl	321	2105	Thick rounded rim, yellow-brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62: 1.
5	Bowl	321	2105	Simple rim, brown-green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 61.1.
6	Cooking Bowl	321	2105	Thick rounded rim, monochrome brown glaze. Light brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41: 1.
7	Cooking Bowl	321	2105	Thick everted rim, thick brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41: 6. 14th–15th c. and later.
8	Jug	321	2105	Plain, slightly flaring rounded rim, yellow-brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. No parallels found.
9	Jar	321	2105	Everted rim, short neck. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.6: 2; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 45.15–16.
10	Bowl	321	2105	CRS. Thick rounded rim. Light red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 122: 3. Byzantine, 5th–6th c.

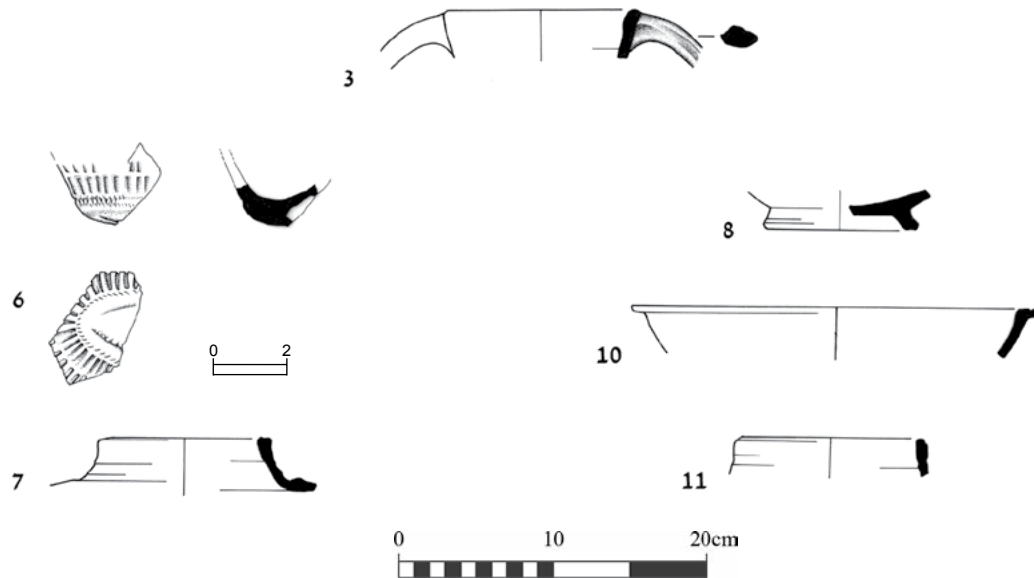


Figure 7.28. L300, L302, L304 and L307. Central room along W31 facing the open courtyard. Byzantine–Mamluk and Late Ottoman.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
L300. TOPSOIL				
1	Jar	300	3000	Rashayah ware body fragments, coarse white painted stripes. Light brown fabric, metallic sound when struck. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 191, Fig. 3. Not illustrated.
2	Roof tiles	300	3000	Two broken Marseilles tiles made in St. Henri. One engraved with hearts, the other with diagonal lines bordered by a frame. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020a), Fig. 19: 1–3. Mid–19th–early 20th c. Not illustrated.
3	Cooking pot	300	3000	Handle drawn from plain rim. Rusty reddish fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 127: 11. Byzantine
L302. FILL ABOVE FLOOR				
4	Bowl	302	3008	Slip-painted glazed bowl fragments, green and yellow stripes. Orange-brown fabric. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
5	Jar	302	3008	Rashayah ware body fragments, coarse white painted stripes. Light brown fabric, metallic sound when struck. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 191, Fig. 3. Not illustrated.
6	Tobacco pipe	302	3008	Pipe bowl fragment, decorated with bands of incised lines. 19th c.
7	Jar	302	3008	Flat rim, short neck with wide shallow groove. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 4–5. Byzantine–Early Islamic.
L304 AND L307. FILL BELOW SEALED BYZANTINE FLOOR				
8	Bowl	304	3016	PRS ring base fragment. Bright orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 121: 7. Byzantine.
9	Bowl	307	3025	ARS flat shelf rim. Well levigated orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123: 1. 4th c. Not illustrated.
10	Cooking pot	304	3016	Rim with shallow groove, wide ribbing. Coarse rusty red fabric. Byzantine.
11	Jar	304	3016	Plain rim, short neck. Light reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 5.
12	Jar	307	3025	Ribbed jar fragment. Dark gray fabric. Not illustrated.

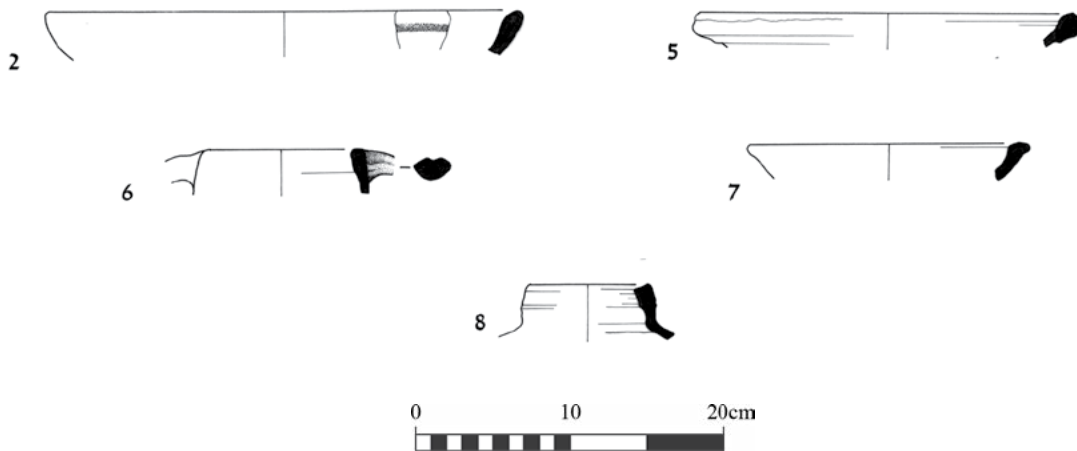


Figure 7.29. L308 and L309, Basalt paving in the courtyard south of W39. Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk and Late Ottoman–20th c.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
L308. TOPSOIL				
1	Bowl	308	3030	Two non-indicative fragments of hard paste white glazed bowls. Produced in Europe. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020a), 302. Early 20th c. Not illustrated.
2	Bowl	308	3030	Glazed slip-painted bowl, pale green with fine brown line along the rim, coarse white painted stripes. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6.2: 9–10. 12th–13th c.
3	Jar	308	3027	Rashayah ware body fragments. Light brown fabric, metallic sound when struck. Mt. Hermon, Zevulun (1978), 191, Fig. 3. Not illustrated.
4	Roof tiles	308	3027/3030	Marseilles tile fragments. Mid–19th–early 20th c. Not illustrated.
5	Bowl	308	3030	Late Red Roman Ware. Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 121: 5. 5th–6th c.
6	Cooking pot	308	3030	Handle drawn from plain rim. Rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), 126:11. Byzantine.
L309. FILL BELOW BASALT PAVING				
7	Bowl	309	3031	Kh. el-Hawarit ware, everted rim. Orange-brown outer surface, brown core. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118: 20. Roman, 2nd–3rd c.
8	Jar	309	3031	Flat rim with shallow wide groove, short neck. Rusty brown exterior, light brown core with large white grits. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137: 4–5. Late Byzantine.
9	Roof tile	309	3031	Guichard tiles with a bee stamp, produced in Seon-St. André from 1858 to 1914. Jaffa, De Vincenz (2020a), 338. Not illustrated.

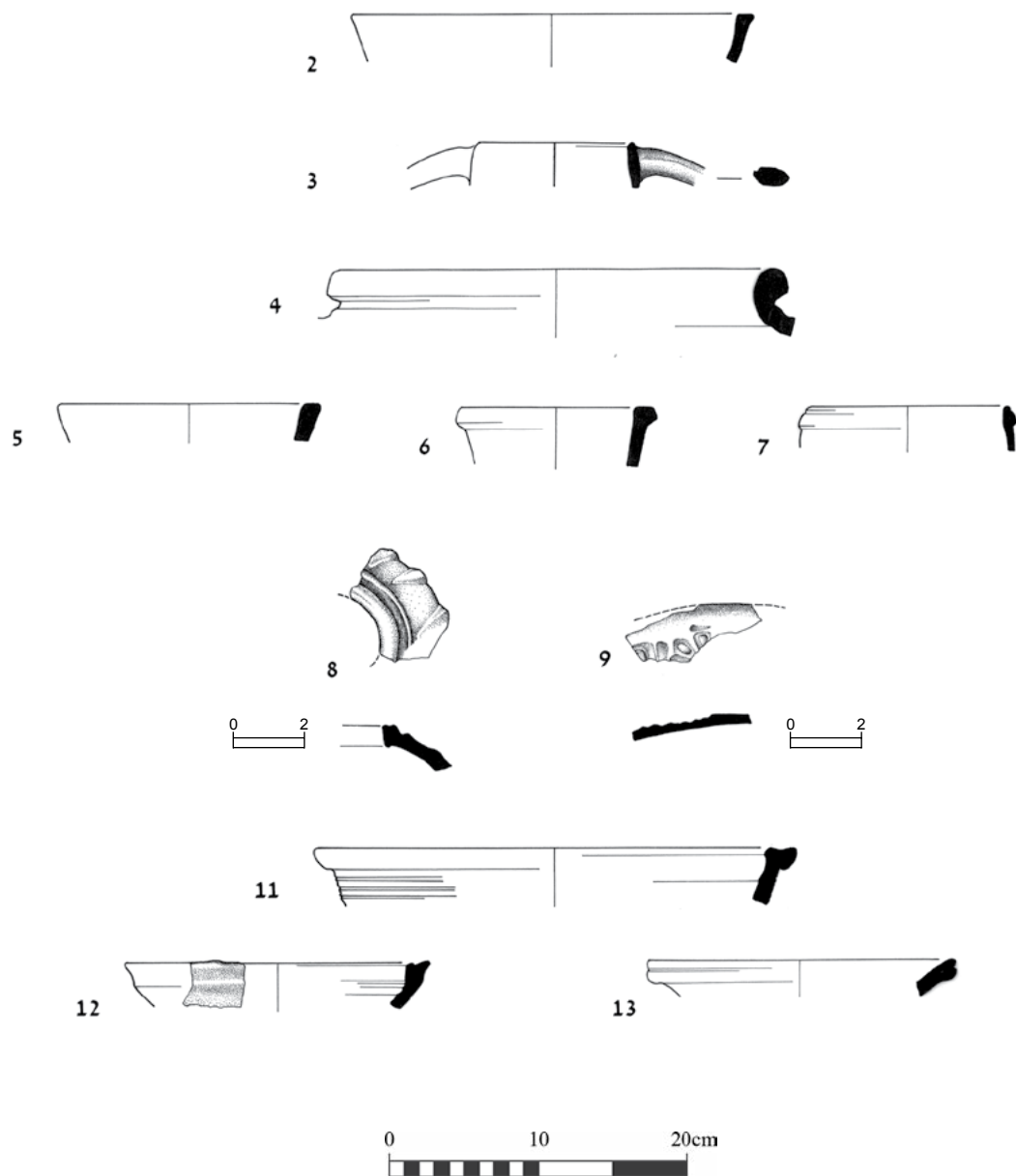


Figure 7.30. L310 and L312. Sounding southwest of the cement fountain, bordered by W40 and W41. Byzantine, Mamluk and Late Ottoman–20th c.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
L310. TOPSOIL				
1	Bowl	310	3039	White hard paste bowl decorated with intricate green net pattern, blue design along rim, and blue and green star or flower petals on the shallow ring base. Clear white glaze on exterior. 20th c. Not illustrated.
2	Bowl	310	3039	Flat rim. dark gray fabric. Byzantine. No parallels found.
3	Cooking pot	310	3032	Handle drawn from a plain rounded rim. Unusual coarse dark gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126: 12. Byzantine.
4	Pithos	310	3039	Golan Pithos. Thick rounded rim outwardly curved. Dark gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 142: 1. Byzantine.
5	Jar	310	3039	Flat rim. Light brown fabric. Byzantine.
6	Jar	310	3039	Everted flat rim. Well levigated cream-light brown fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.12: 3. Late Roman.
7	Jar	310	3039	Rounded rim. Coarse fabric, rusty brown-gray core. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.12: 1. Byzantine.
8	Oil lamp	310	3039	Mold-made oil lamp fragment, deep channel below the filling hole's rim. Brown-pink fabric. Kh. el-Ni'ana, Sussman (2007), Fig. 7: 44. Byzantine.
9	Oil Lamp	310	3039	Fine mold-made oil lamp fragment, floral decorations. Reddish brown fabric. Byzantine? No parallels found.
10	Roof tiles	310	3032	Three fragments of Marseilles tiles. Mid–19th–early 20th c. Not illustrated.
L312. FILL BELOW TOPSOIL				
11	Bowl	312	3043	Deep grooved rim. Coarse, poor fabric with straw negatives. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119: 17; Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.11: 13.
12	Bowl	312	3043	Baniyas bowl. Wide grooved/flanged rim. Reddish yellow fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.10: 1. Late Roman–Byzantine.
13	Bowl	312	3043	Baniyas Bowl. Grooved/flanged rim. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119: 11. Late Roman–Byzantine.
14	Roof tile	312	3043	Byzantine. Not illustrated.

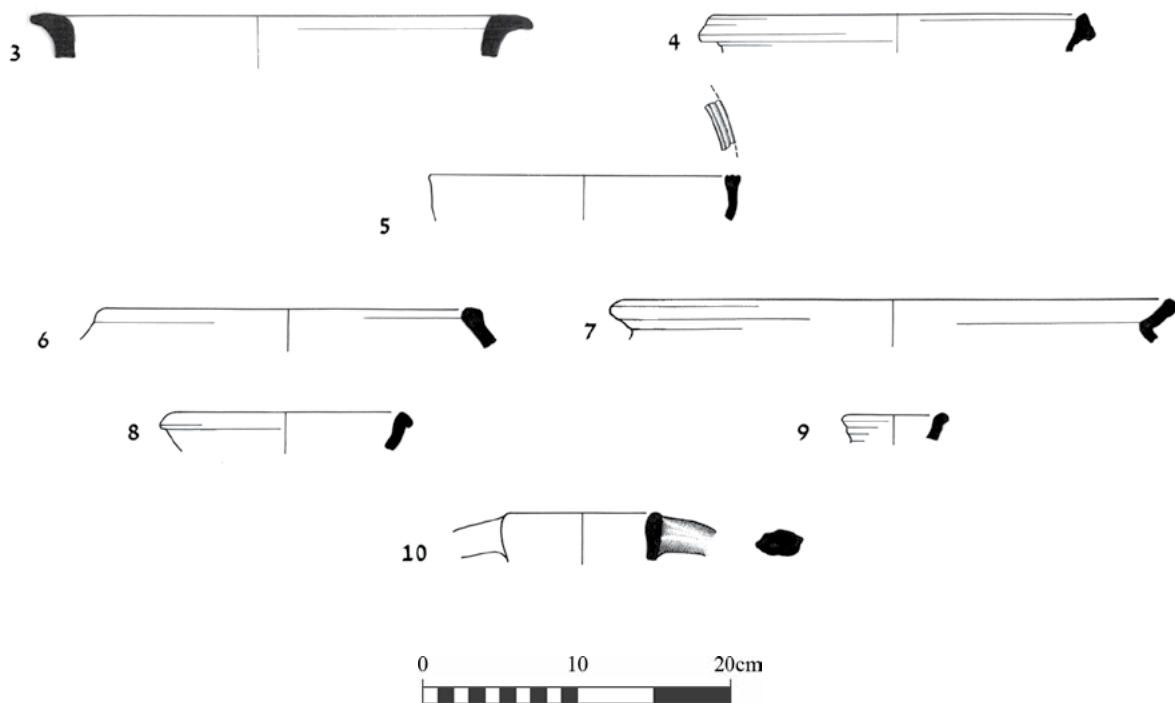


Figure 7.31. L313, L315, L316, and L318. Northeastern inner corner of the courtyard. Contaminated with modern glass and metal fragments.

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Description and Parallels
L313. TOPSOIL				
1	Roof tile	313	3045	Marseilles tile fragments. Mid–19th–early 20th c. Not illustrated.
2	Jar	313	3054	Rashayah ware fragments. Not illustrated.
3	Large basin	313	3054	Mortaria, wide rim. Rusty brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 125: 9. Late Byzantine.
4	Bowl	313	3045	PRS, carinated rim. Rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 122: 2. 5th–6th c.
5	Cooking pot	313	3054	Kefar Hananya 1b cooking pot, rim with two grooves. Rusty red fabric. Roman.
L315, L316. FILL ABOVE FLOOR				
6	Jar	316	3064	Thick rounded rim. Light brown-pink fabric, gray on the exterior. Banias, Israeli (2008d), Fig. 10.19: 6. Mamluk. 13th c.
7	Casserole Cooking pot	316	3064	Flat everted rim. Fine rusty red fabric. Ahihud, Avshalom-Gorni and Shapiro (2015), Fig. 7: 11. 2nd–4th c.
8	Bowl	315	3059	Everted rim. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119: 18. Late Roman–Byzantine.
9	Jug	315	3059	Rounded rim. Rusty brown clay. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133: 13. Byzantine.
L318. FILL BELOW FLOOR				
10	Cooking pot	318	3071	Handle drawn from the rim. Coarse dark gray ware. Banias, Israeli (2008b), Fig. 7.12: 36. Byzantine.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Mamluk pottery found at Na'arān does not differ from that found in other sites throughout the country. The assemblage suggests that the community's eating habits and methods of cooking, as well as their social and economic standing were similar to those of other rural regions.

The most dominant group is the glazed bowls. Cooking pots are relatively few. Regarding the cooking wares, a similar picture was reached in the larger scale excavations of Safed (Dalali-Amos and Getzov, 2019: 81). Storage jars at Na'arān are scarce. In contrast to the Mamluk sites surrounding Safed (Frankel 2001: pl. 38) and sites in southern Israel, Jerusalem and Transjordan, where Mamluk and Ottoman painted geometric wares form a substantial group (Walker 2017: 348; Avissar and Stern, 2005: 113), they are almost absent in this assemblage; very few were found at Safed (Dalali-Amos and Getzov, 2019: 53, 55) and they are entirely missing at Banias (Avissar 2008). The same is true regarding Rashayah el-Fukhar wares that were produced in the nearby region and first appear in the late Mamluk period: only a few pieces were found at Na'arān, Safed and Banias. Although Na'arān was located on the main transport artery that connected the Mediterranean coast, Safed and Damascus, no European imported vessels were found. It is somewhat surprising that under-glazed painted soft paste wares that were produced *en mass* in Damascus, and were very common in the Mamluk period (Walker *et al.* 2017: 236), are barely represented at Na'arān (only three fragments were found). In general, the Mamluk assemblage indicates the community was

less prosperous than what the contemporary Mamluk sources suggest. The pottery found is more appropriate to that of a village, rather than a large village/small town that had 160 villages under its jurisdiction.

Imported wares become more noticeable in the 19th–20th c. fills. The existence of coffee cups and white hard paste bowls made in Europe are signs that mass production turned these vessels into affordable tableware, even in villages. Both white hard paste wares and glass appear to have replaced many (but not all) of the locally produced clay vessels by the 19th century. Unlike the south (and some parts of the center) of the country, where Black Gaza Wares dominant the pottery assemblages of the Ottoman period, there is no ware in the north that plays a similar role.

Byzantine pottery from a number of important sites in the Golan have been researched and published by some of the most prominent scholars in the field (Moshe Hartal, Andrea Berlin and Shoshana Israeli); their works are cited throughout this report. The Byzantine pottery at Na'arān is common and well known. Golan Pithoi and the Hawarit ware are locally made and typical of the region. As noted above, the ratio between tableware, storage vessels and cooking ware is better balanced in the Byzantine assemblage. In contrast to the Mamluk pottery, it also includes imported vessels.

The difference between the Byzantine and Mamluk pottery assemblages is perhaps due to the size and wealth of the Byzantine village community and the wider and stronger commercial ties it had with the nearby urban markets and the towns along the coast.

CHAPTER 8
THE POTTERY FROM HORVAT FARJ
Kate Raphael and Yoav Yoskovich

The pottery from Horvat Farj comes from five small excavation areas: the house of the candela-bra (Beit HaMenorot, Area M, Fig. 8.1), the small Hauranian house at the northern edge of the village (Area NH, Fig. 8.10), a modest domestic Hauranian house in the center of the village (Area Y, Fig. 8.14), the southern villa (Area SV, Fig. 8.19), the northern villa perched on the hill, and the small Hauranian house northwest of it (both in Area V, Fig. 8.22 and Fig. 8.26). The pottery recovered was of modest quantity, though varied. Most loci were mixed and included Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, Late Ottoman and 19th–20th century porcelain wares. The pottery is arranged in figures according to stratigraphy, beginning with the most recent and continuing down to the earliest periods in each area. We are publishing with a maximalist approach here because only a small number of rural medieval sites have been excavated in the Golan, and few excavations have been fully published.

Following the excavation and publication of the Ottoman Qishle in Jaffa by Y. Arbel, and the

ceramic report by A. de Vincenz in that publication, we decided to also include the modern wares from Farj, which dominated the topsoil across the site.¹ In addition to the sealed loci, we included pottery from topsoil loci and fills that contained material from all periods. This allowed us to display the entire assemblage of wares in each period. Furthermore, because very few coins were found, the dating of the site relied largely on the pottery, even if the sherds came from mixed baskets.²

A total of 619 indicative sherds were examined and ca. 286 sherds are incorporated in this report. Some sherds are described but are not illustrated. The sherds in this chapter were digitally scanned; only the oil lamps were drawn by hand.

The Stratigraphic Sequence

Stratum I: Late Roman–Byzantine periods (4th–7th c. CE).

Stratum II: Mamluk–early Ottoman periods (second half of the 13th c.–1600 CE).

Stratum III: Late Ottoman period–Modern Syrian State (late 18th c. CE–1967).

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- 1 Arbel Y. *Excavations at the Ottoman Military Compound (Qishle) in Jaffa, 2007, 2009*. The Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project 4 (Münster, 2021); de Vincenz A. Chapter 8: Porcelain and Ceramic Vessels of the Ottoman Period. In Y. Arbel *Excavations at the Ottoman Military Compound (Qishle) in Jaffa, 2007, 2009*. The Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project 4 (Münster, 2021), 127–304.
 - 2 We would like to thank Dr. Mechael Osband from Kinneret College who analyzed the Roman and Byzantine material. Further thanks are due to Mrs. Mannie Goodman who drew the oil lamps and to the Computational Archaeology Laboratory at the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who produced the pottery images. I would also like to thank Dr. Katia Cytrin from the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Dr. Orit Tzuf for their help and advice.

POTTERY FROM THE CENTRAL COURTYARD OF THE HOUSE OF THE CANDELABRA (AREA M)

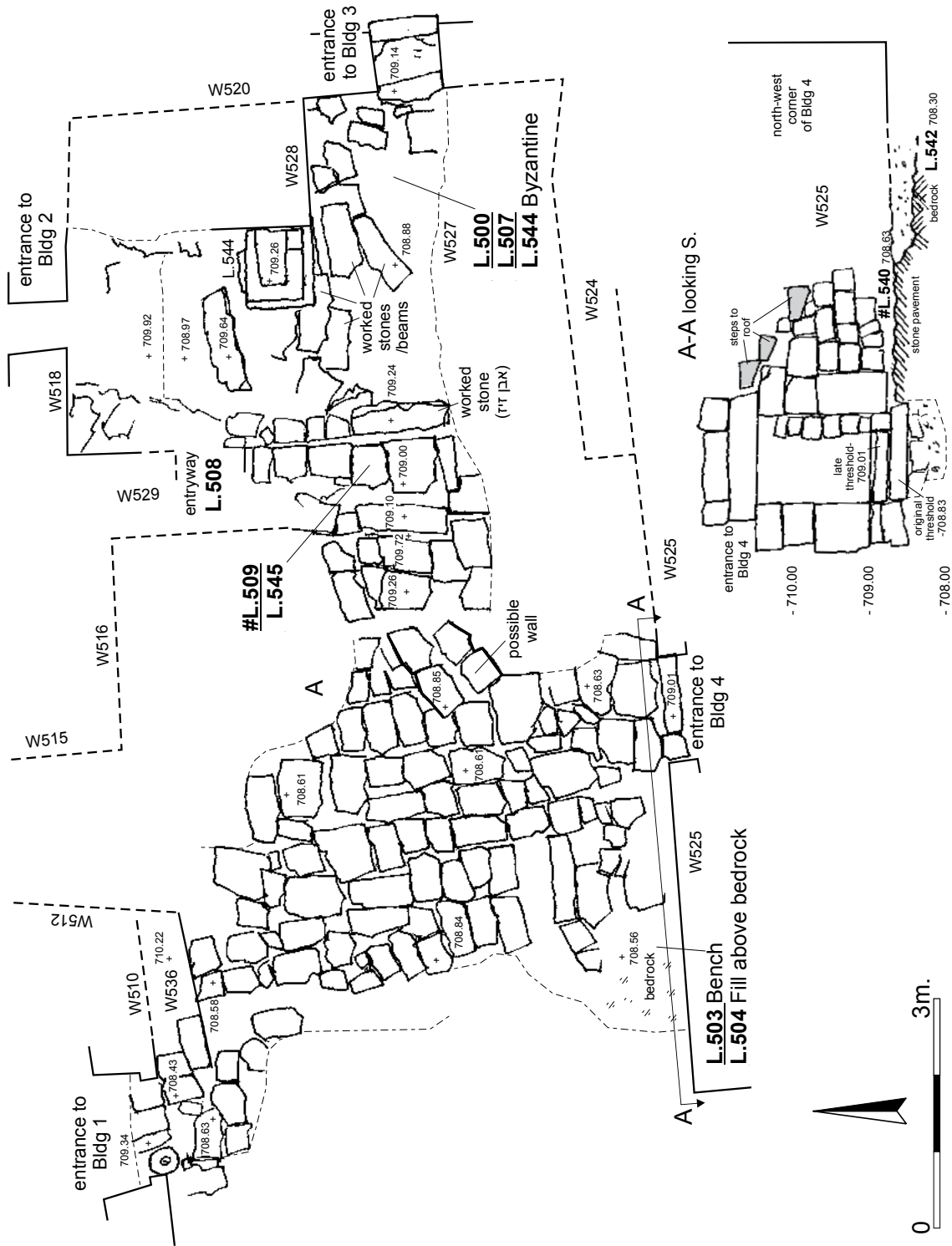


Figure 8.1. The four houses surrounding the courtyard in Area M (by Jay Rosenberg).

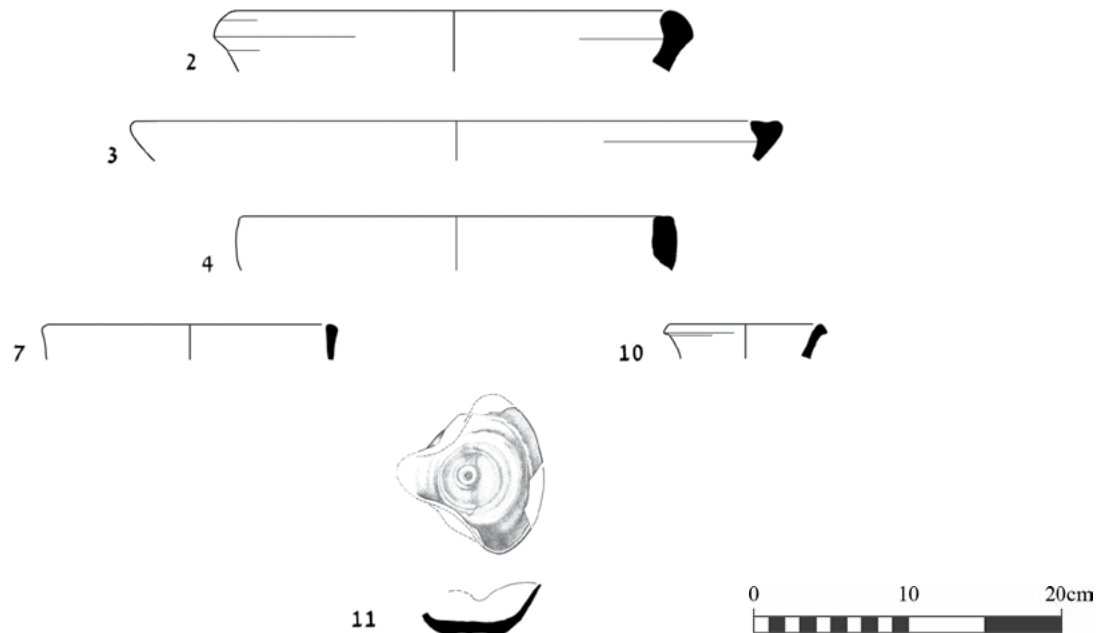


Figure 8.2. L503. Dismantling the bench at the entrance to Building 4.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD–MODERN SYRIAN STATE				
1	Bowl	503	5008	Body fragment of hard paste white porcelain. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
MAMLUK–EARLY OTTOMAN PERIODS				
2	Basin	503	5047	Wide flat protruding rim. Orange-brown clay. Baniyas, Avissar (2008): Fig. 6.3:3; ‘Uza, Stern and Thatcher (2009), Fig. 3.21:2. Mamluk and later.
3	Basin	503	5040	Wide slightly incurved rounded rim. Smooth gray surface. Orange-brown clay. Yoqne’am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 36:4. Mamluk and later.
4	Bowl	503	5015	Flat rim, handmade unglazed bowl. Coarse rusty red fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 56:1. Mamluk.
5	Bowl	503	5015	Flat rim, handmade unglazed bowl. Coarse porous rusty red fabric. Mamluk or later (?). Not illustrated.
6	Bowl	503	5040	Fragment of coarse bowl decorated with painted geometric designs. Cream background. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
7	Bowl	503	5015	Simple rim, white slip, flakey green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:3. Mamluk and later.
8	Bowl	503	5015	Fine slip-painted, simple rounded rim, green and brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne’am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:6. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
9	Bowl	503	5015	Wide, slightly protruding rim. Slip-painted brown and yellow. Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6.2:11. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
10	Jug	503	5015	Rashaya ware. Flat, slightly flaring rim. Rusty red-brown smooth surface. Brown-orange fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.6:5. 15th c. and later.
11	Oil Lamp	Topsoil	5103	Glazed pinched lamp, wheel-made. Dark green monochrome glaze inside with splashes on the exterior. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 53: 5; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), 66:1. Mamluk.



Figure 8.3. L505. Fill from the roof of Building 3. L506. Fill below topsoil, at the entrance to Building 3.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Tobacco pipe	505	5057	Bowl, partially missing, decorated with stamped stars; short shank with wide bulging ring decorated with crudely incised lines. Gray fabric. Acre, Stern (2021), Fig. 19:6. Similar but not identical. 17th c.
2	Tobacco pipe	505	5079	Bowl fragment, decorated with fine incised lines. Reddish orange clay. 18th c.
3	Tobacco pipe	506	5117	Bowl and stem, partially missing, decorated with incised pointed feathers; shank decorated with diagonal rouletting. Light gray fabric. Ramla, de Vincenz (2011), Fig. 1:5. 17th–18th c. Not illustrated.

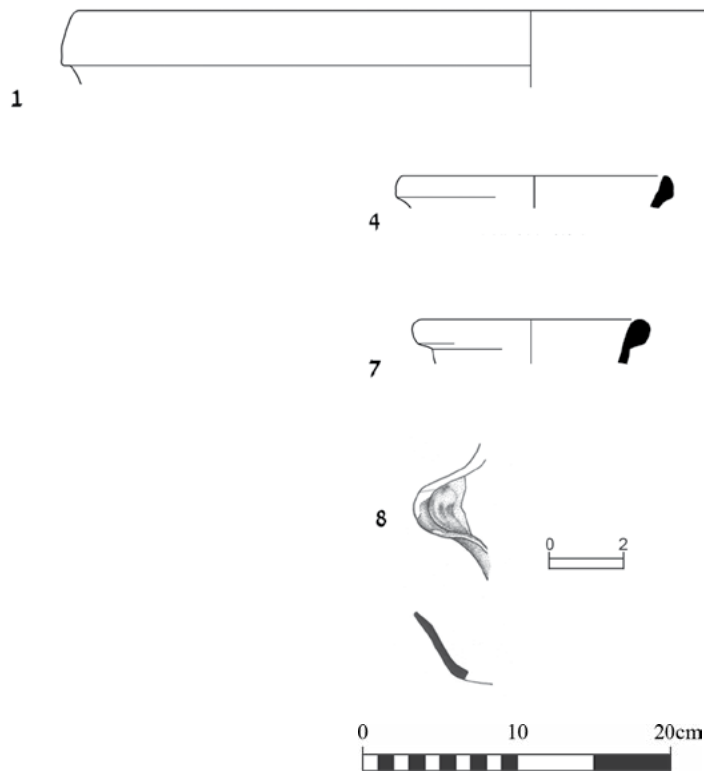


Figure 8.4. L504. Fill above bedrock at the foundation of W525, the façade of Building 4. Mamluk and later.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Basin	504	5028	Unglazed, wide rounded rim. Orange-brown smooth exterior surface, gray surface on interior. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 42: 2; Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 36:2. Mamluk and later.
2	Basin	504	5028	Fine ridge below the slightly chipped rim. Rusty red fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 43:2. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
3	Bowl	504	5046	Body sherd of handmade bowl. Coarse clay. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
4	Bowl	504	5046	Wide, slightly protruding rim. Flaky monochrome green glaze over a cream slip. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 61: 3; Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:13. Mamluk and later.
5	Bowl	504	5028	Fragment of an under-glazed painted soft-paste bowl. Black and turquoise line decorations. Avissar and Stern (2005), 29. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
6	Spout of jug	504	5046	Fragment of a monochrome green glazed spout. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), 47, Fig. 52:7. Mamluk and later. Not illustrated.
7	Amphora	504	5046	Thick rounded folded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 44:8; el-Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 11:9. Mamluk.
8	Oil Lamp	504	5028	Glazed pinched lamp, patches of green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 53:5. Mamluk and later.

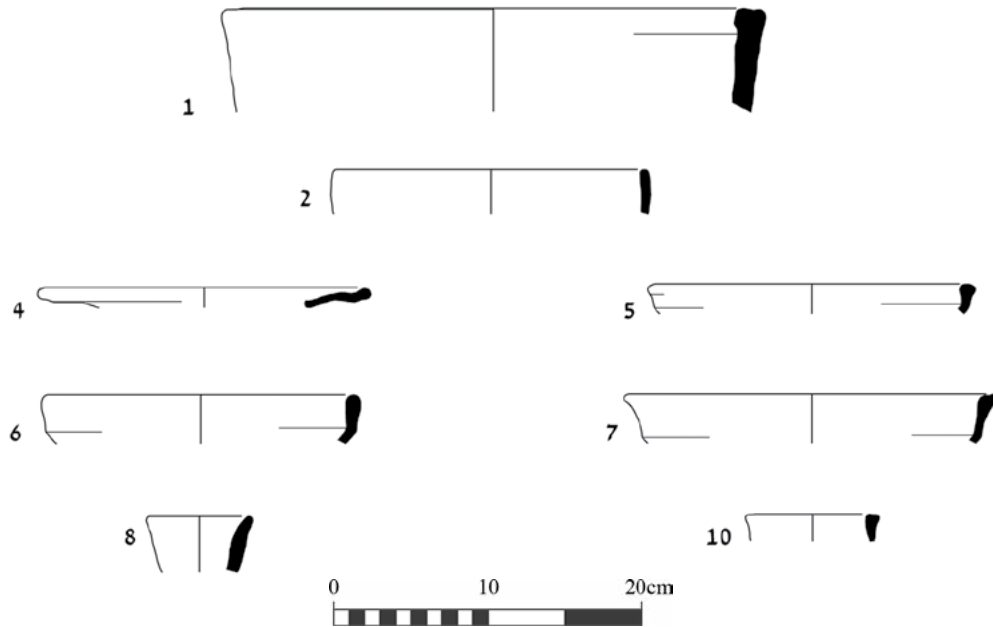


Figure 8.5. L507. Mamluk fill above and among collapse surrounding the Byzantine pilaster near the entrance to Building 3. L544. Fill below Mamluk collapse.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Bowl	507	5050	Flat rim, handmade. Coarse brown reddish fabric with straw negatives. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54.3 Mamluk and later.
2	Bowl	507	5050	Rounded rim. Slip-painted, yellow and brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Bet Shean, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5. Mamluk.
3	Bowl	507	5070	Flat rim, handmade. Coarse brown reddish fabric with straw negatives. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 3:4. Mamluk and later or Mamluk-early Ottoman. Not illustrated.
4	Bowl	507	5070	Ledge rim. High quality, dark monochrome green glaze. Orange fabric. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 7:10. Similar but not identical. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 3:5. Mamluk and later.
5	Bowl	507	5042	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Slip-painted light yellow and brown. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:2. Mamluk.
6	Bowl	507	5050	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Gray-black surface, no glaze. Gray fabric similar to Gaza ware. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 41:1-2. Similar in form. Mamluk.
7	Frying pan	507	5042	Glazed, wide flat rim with groove. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 58.12. Mamluk and later.
8	Jug	507	5070	Plain straight rim, handmade. Cream line design decoration against brown background. Coarse dark brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 57.1. Mamluk and later.
9	Large Amphora	507	5070	Thick protruding rim. Reddish brown clay. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.5:2. 13th c. Not illustrated.
BYZANTINE				
10	Jug	544	5099	Wide flat rim. Well levigated orange-brown clay. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 135:6-7. 5th-6th c.



Figure 8.6. L545. Fill below Mamluk-Early Ottoman floor (L509), repaired in the Late Ottoman Period.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Large Bowl/ Basin	545	5105	Thick protruding rim. Dark brown-gray surface. Pink-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 36:4. 13th–15th c. and perhaps later.
2	Large Basin	545	5105	Thick rounded rim. Reddish-brown fabric with white inclusions. Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 10:16. Mamluk. Not illustrated
3	Bowl	545	5105	Thick rounded ledge rim. Green glaze with sgraffito decoration. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:16. Mid-13th–15th c.
4	Bowl	545	5105	Plain rounded rim. Green glaze on the interior and over the rim, sgraffito wavy line decoration. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:18. Mid-13th–15th c.
5	Bowl	545	5105	Rounded rim. Monochrome green-khaki glaze, cream band on the rim exterior. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:4. Mamluk and later.
6	Bowl	545	5105	Flat wide rim of simple unglazed bowl. Coarse dark brown fabric. Ramla, Torgë (2011), Fig. 9:6. Mamluk and later.
7	Jug	545	5105	Rounded rim. Dark gray core. el-Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 12:3. Mamluk.
LATE OTTOMAN				
8	Tobacco pipe	545	5110	The crown of the bowl is missing. Dark gray-black slip, fine wavy line incised on the stem. Light brown fabric. 18th–19th c. No parallels found.

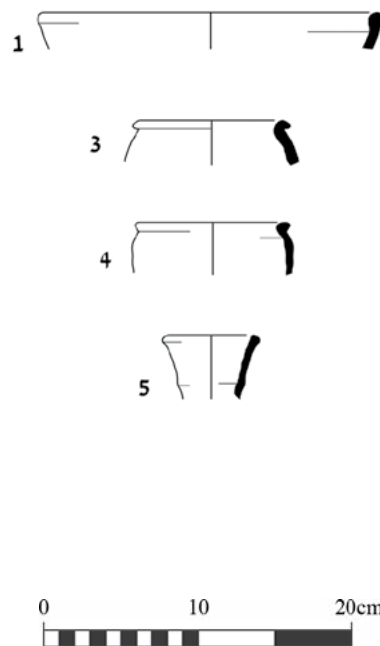


Figure 8.7. L540. Fill between the central courtyard flagstones. Mamluk.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Bowl	540	5068	Simple rounded rim, carinated form. Dark green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:4–5. 13th–15th c. and probably later.
2	Bowl	540	5068	Fragment of a ring base. Monochrome dark green glaze, cream slip. Light brown core. 13th–15th c. and probably later. Not illustrated.
3	Cooking pot	540	5068	Unglazed small bowl with deep groove below sharply everted rim. Light brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 60:3. dated to the late Mamluk period and later; Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.4:4. 12th–13th c.
4	Jug	540	5068	Unglazed, slightly swollen neck. Brown core with white inclusions. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 48:4. 13th–17th c.
5	Jug	540	5068	Flat rim, funnel-shaped tall neck. Gray fabric. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 4:6. Mamluk.
6	Jug spout	540	5068	Small spout. Orange-brown fabric. Horbat 'Uza, Stern and Thatcher (2009), Fig. 3.21:7–9. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
7	Jug Spout	540	5068	Spout fragment, patches of green and black glaze. Rusty red fabric. Mamluk or later (?). Not illustrated.
8	Oil lamp	540	5068	Fragment of a wheel-made pinched lamp, patches of dark green glaze. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 66:1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.

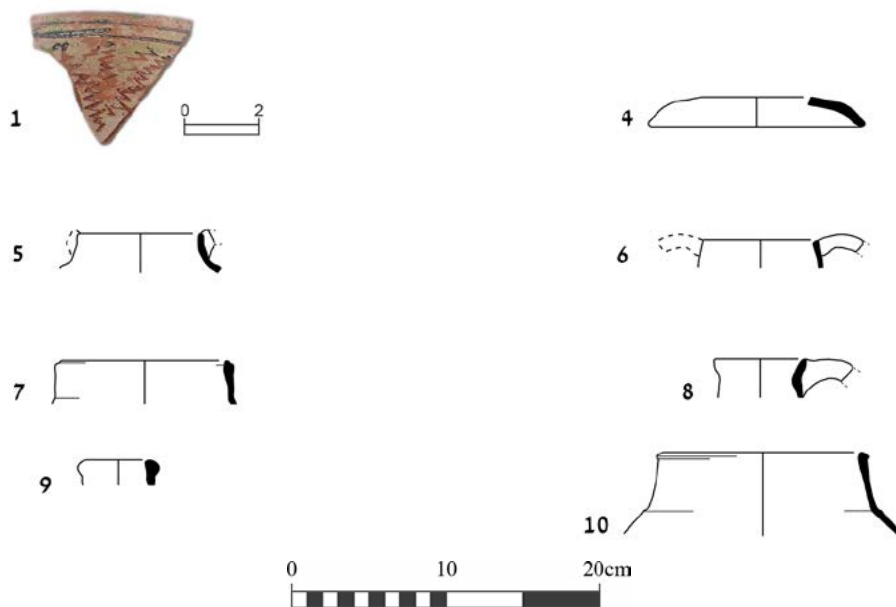


Figure 8.8. L541. Dismantling the Byzantine paved courtyard repaired in the Mamluk Period.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Bowl	541	5108	Simple rounded, carinated rim. Fragments of green glaze, wide cream band on the exterior rim, zigzag sgraffito decorations. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:4. 13th c. Similar but not identical.
2	Bowl fragments	541	5108	Body fragments of monochrome and slip- painted bowls. Not illustrated.
LATE ROMAN-BYZANTINE				
3	Bowl	541	5086	Rusty red slip. Well levigated orange-brown clay Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119:20. 4th c. Not illustrated.
4	Cooking pot lid	541	5086	Flat fine rim. Light brown fabric. Kh. Namra, Hartal (2005), Fig. 47:16. Late Roman.
5	Cooking pot	541	5086	Handle drawn from plain rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:17. 4th c.
6	Cooking pot	541	5086	Handle drawn from plain rim. Orange- brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:14. Late Roman–Byzantine.
7	Cooking pot	541	5086	High neck with deep grooved rim. Dark brown-gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:20. Late Roman–Byzantine.
8	Jug	541	5086	Handle drawn from simple round rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133:20. Late Roman–Byzantine.
9	Juglet	541	5086	Thick rounded rim with a groove below it. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 132:32. Late Roman–Byzantine.
10	Jar	541	5086	Flat sharp rim, high neck. Gray fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008b), Fig. 4.13:3. Late Roman–Byzantine.

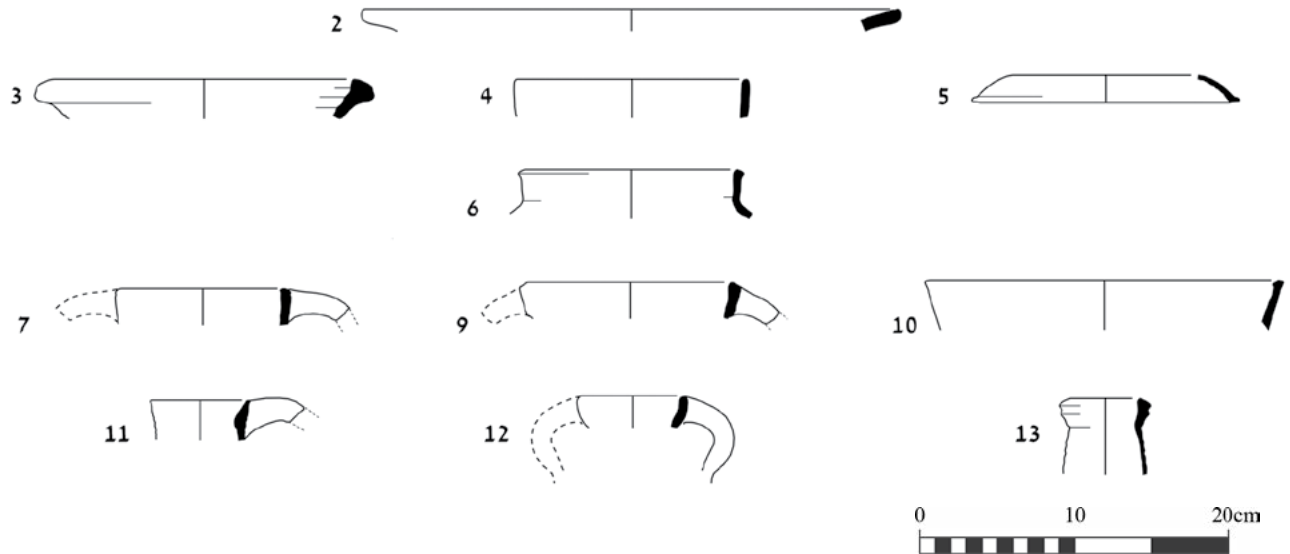


Figure 8.9. L542. Fill below the paved courtyard (L541).

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Bowl	542	5112	Body fragment of a monochrome green glazed bowl. Brown-pink fabric. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
BYZANTINE				
2	Bowl	542	5092	ARS. Shelf rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123:1 1. 5th–6th c.
3	Bowl	542	5092	Thick rounded rim with shallow grooves below it. Rusty brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 131:11. No precise date is given by Hartal.
4	Bowl	542	5112	Simple rounded rim. Light brown-cream fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 120:8. 3rd–5th c.
5	Cooking bowl lid	542	5112	Flat cut rim, smooth on the exterior, ridged on the interior. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 130:9–10. 3rd–5th c.
6	Hawarit Cooking pot	542	5092	Tall neck and flat rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 127:21. 5th–6th c.
7	Cooking pot	542	5092	Wide grooved handles drawn from flat rim. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 3:2. 3rd–5th c.
8	Cooking pot	542	5092	Handle with deep grooves attached to flat rim. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 3:5. 3rd–5th c. Not illustrated.
9	Cooking pot	542	5092	Wide strap handle drawn from plain rim. Gray fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 4:6. 3rd–5th c.
10	Frying pan/ Carinated Casserole	542	5092	Sharp, inwardly beveled edge, horizontal handle. Coarse pink–brown fabric, gray core. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 5:5. 3rd–5th c.
11	Jug	542	5092	Plain rim, thick wide handle with deep grooves attached to the rim. Reddish brown fabric. Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133:10–11. 4th–5th c.
12	Jug	542	5092	Plain rim, well-formed long handle attached to the rim. Dark gray fabric. No parallels found.
13	Jug	542	5092	Tall neck and trefoil pinched rim. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 7:4–5; Bab el-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133:9. 3rd–5th c.

POTTERY FROM THE SMALL HAURANIAN HOUSE AT THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE VILLAGE (AREA NH)

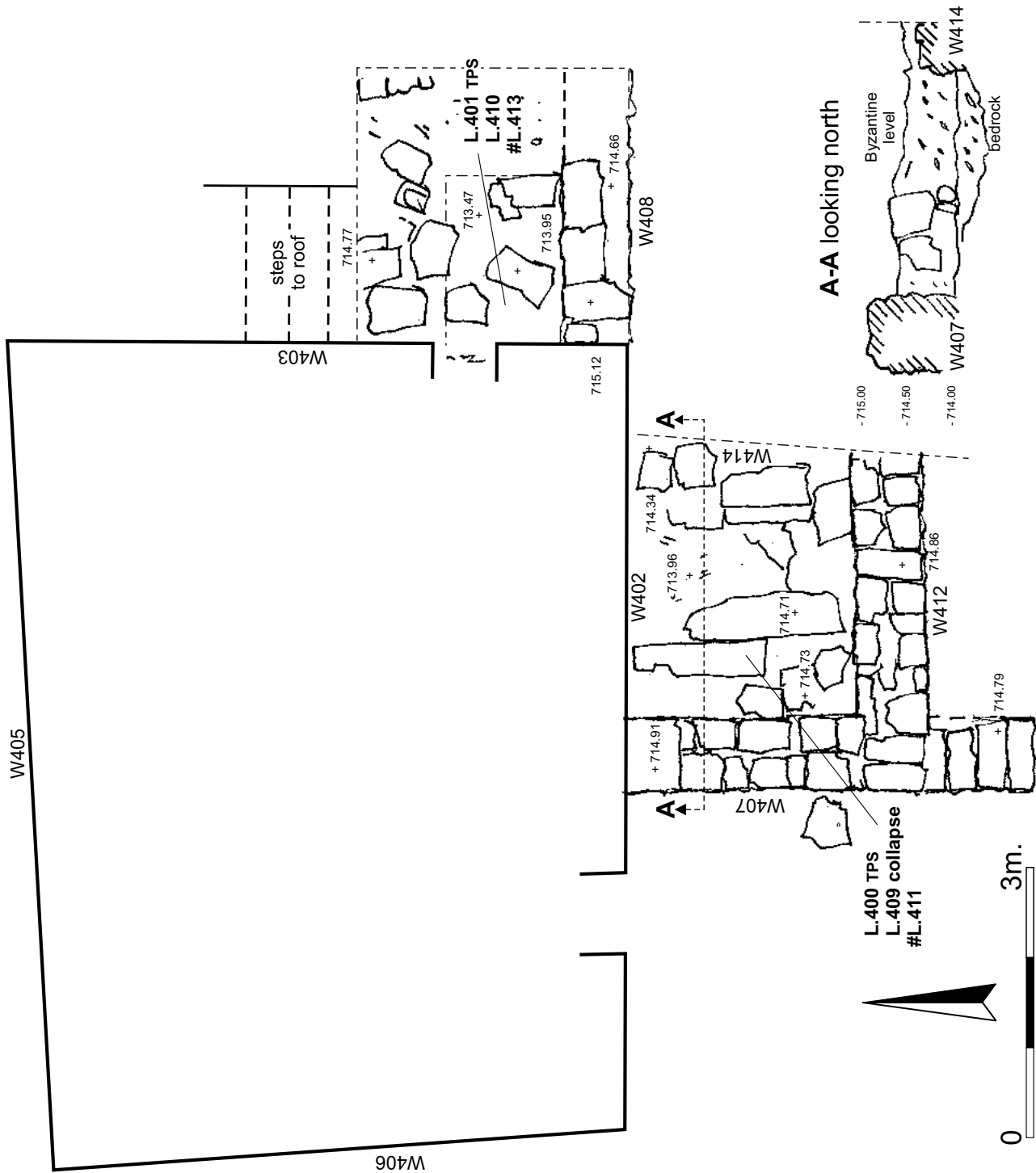


Figure 8.10. Plan of the small Hauranian house at the northern edge of the village: Area NH (by Jay Rosenberg).

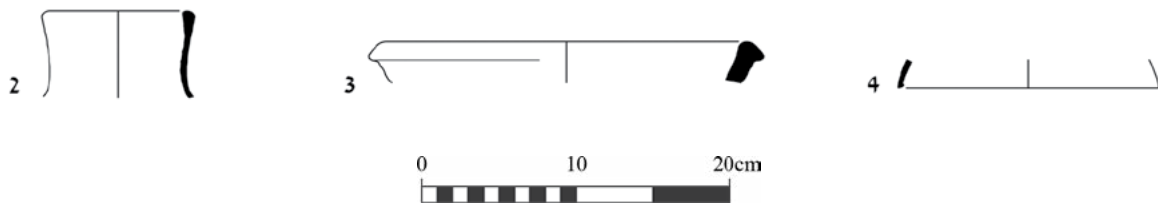


Figure 8.11. L409. Fill below collapse and above floor (L411).

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK (?) – EARLY OTTOMAN				
1	Bowl	409	4004	Fragment of a large ring base. Patch of monochrome green glaze. Brown pinkish fabric. Not illustrated.
2	Jug	409	4004	Rashaya ware. Plain rounded rim, tall neck decorated with painted gray triangles. Light brown fabric.
BYZANTINE				
3	Bowl	409	4004	Wide rim of a large bowl or basin. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 131:10. Late Byzantine.
4	Cooking pot lid	409	4004	Flat rim. Orange-brown fabric.
5	Jar	409	4004	Gray ridged body fragments with crude, brushed, cream-colored painted lines. Bet Shean, Avissar (2014), Fig. 8:1–5. 5th–7th c. Not illustrated.

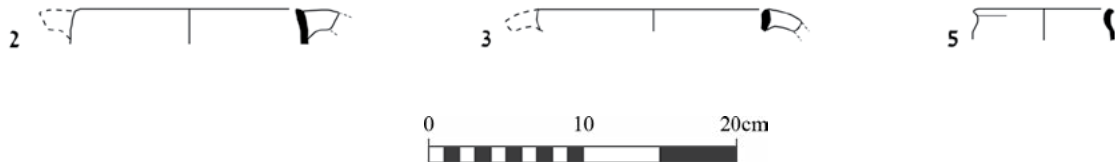


Figure 8.12. L411. Dismantling the flagstone floor at the entrance to the house. Byzantine.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Frying pan handle	411	4010	Thick crude horizontal handle. Dark gray. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 129:8. 5th–7th c. Not illustrated.
2	Hawarit cooking pot	411	4010	Wide handle drawn from plain rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:12–13. 2nd–5th c.
3	Hawarit cooking pot	411	4010	Wide thick handle drawn from plain rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Similar to No. 2.
4	Hawarit cooking pot	411	4010	Wide handle drawn from grooved rim. Orange-brown fabric. Similar to No. 2. Not illustrated.
5	Jug	411	4010	Fine, slightly flaring rim. Light brown–orange fabric. Horvat Zemel, Hartal (2005), Fig. 22:2.
6	Jar	411	4010	Ridged body fragments with crude, brushed, cream-colored decorative lines. Gray-brown fabric. Bet Shean, Avissar (2014), Fig. 8:1–5. Not illustrated.

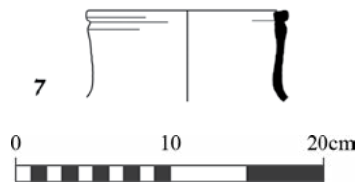


Figure 8.13. L410. Fill below collapse. L413. Fill below floor along W403

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
BYZANTINE				
1	Bowl	410	4009	Flat shelf rim. Coarse, porous, rusty red fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119:17, 19. 3ed–4th c. Not illustrated.
2	Bowl	410	4009	Wide flat rim. Dark brown-gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 119:21. 4th c. Not illustrated.
3	Bowl	410	4009	Flat rim. Light brown-orange fabric, cream core. No parallels found. Not illustrated.
4	Cooking pot	410	4009	Tall neck, rounded rim with a fine groove. Gray-black fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:17–20. 3ed–4th c. Not illustrated.
5	Juglet	410	4009	Tall neck, fine simple rim. Light sandy brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 132:11. Late 4th–5th c. Not illustrated.
6	Juglet	410	4009	Thick rounded rim. Orange fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 132:32. 4th–5th c. Not illustrated.
LATE ROMAN				
7	Jug	413	4016	Flat rim with a deep groove below it, ridged tall neck, decorated with crude rusty red brush lines. Cream fabric. Horvat Nemera, Hartal (2005), Fig. 50:1. Late Roman.

POTTERY FROM THE HAURANIAN HOUSE AT THE CENTER OF THE VILLAGE (AREA Y)

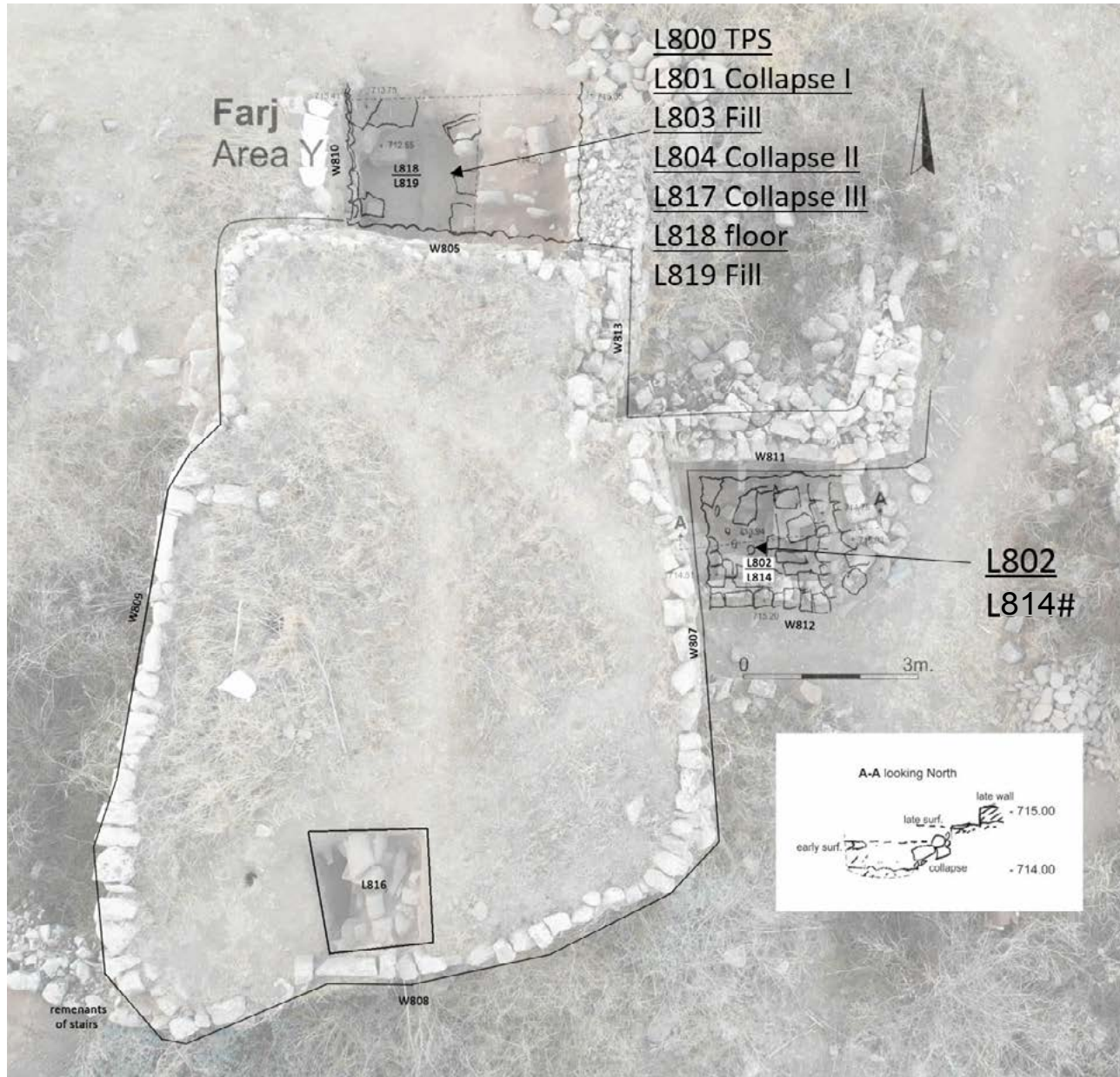


Figure 8.14. Plan of the Hauranian house at the center of the village: Area Y (by Jay Rosenberg, based on aerial photo by Dan Malkinson, illustration graphics by Yoav Yoskovich).

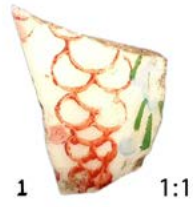


Figure 8.15. L814. Fill below late paved floor at the entrance to the house, east of W807.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
OTTOMAN 18TH–20TH C.				
1	Coffee cup	814	8007	White hard paste body sherd with a floral decoration. 19th–20th c.
2	Tobacco pipe	814	8015	Short shank with a triangular profile ring at the stem-end, bowl missing. Burnished purple-brown surface decorated with a semi-circle with dots. Rusty red fabric. Horbat Migdal Afeq, Marcus (2020), Fig. 6:5. Second half of 18th c.
MAMLUK				
3	Large Bowl	814	8022	Wide flat rim, handmade bowl. Rusty red fabric with negatives of straw. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54:2.
4	Bowl	814	8022	Handmade bowl. Rusty red surface, gray core. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 55:3.
ROMAN–BYZANTINE				
5	Bowl	814	8022	Thick rounded rim. Dark brown fabric. Adan-Bayewitz (1993), 107: 22; 175:4–5. Byzantine.
6	Bowl	814	8022	Thick shelf rim. Orange fabric. Adan-Bayewitz (1993): 107:22. Late Roman.
7	Bowl	814	8007	Everted rim. Dark rusty red surface. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118:12. Roman.
8	Cooking pot lid	814	8022	Cut, wide flat rim. Exterior surface gray, interior surface rusty red. Kh. Namra, Hartal (2005), Fig. 47:18. Byzantine.

**Figure 8.16.** L801. Upper level of collapse along the northern wall of the house (W805).

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Tobacco pipe	801	8002	Shank, stem-end swollen and decorated with rouletted line design. Orange-brown burnished surface. Tell Musa Shahin, Kefar Gevirol, Jakoel (2012), Fig. 13:1–2. Second half of 19th–first half of 20th c.

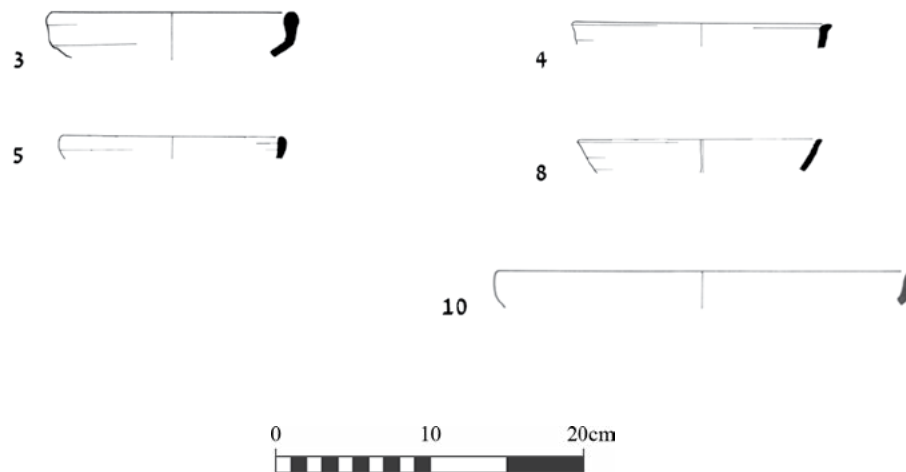


Figure 8.17. L804. Fill below third level of collapse north of W805.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK-EARLY OTTOMAN				
1	Bowl	804	8034	Rounded thick rim, monochrome dark green glaze, pink slip below the glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Qazrin, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:15. Not illustrated.
2	Bowl	804	8034	Rounded thick rim, poor monochrome green glaze, repair hole along the rim. Orange fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14. Not illustrated.
3	Bowl	804	8020	Thick rounded rim of carinated bowl, monochrome dark green glaze, splashes of glaze on exterior walls. Light brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:5.
4	Bowl	804	8034	Outwardly-turned, flattened rim, monochrome green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5: 1; Safed, Dalali-Amos (2021), Fig. 9:6.
5	Bowl	804	8034	Thick rounded rim of carinated bowl, slip-painted, yellow and brown glaze. Orange fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.2:1.
6	Bowl	804	8034	Rounded rim, slip-painted, yellow and brown glaze. Orange fabric. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 38:3. Not illustrated.
7	Bowl	804	8034	Thick, almost straight, rim, slip-painted, yellow and brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:1. Similar in form. Not illustrated.
8	Bowl	804	8020	Simple everted rim. Mottled green and yellow gritty glaze. Dark orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:1. Similar in form.
9	Bowl	804	8034	Ledge rim, soft paste, blue and white under translucent glaze. Gray fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 9.1. Not illustrated.
10	Bowl	804	8034	Rounded rim inwardly curved, soft paste, turquoise under translucent glaze. Gray fabric. Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 69:2. Similar in form.
11	Bowls (?)	804	8034	Rashaya ware. Three body fragments with crude painted brush lines. Late Mamluk–Ottoman. Not illustrated.
12	Jug	804	8034	No rim preserved of crude handmade jug, dark brown fabric, decorated with cream geometric designs. Dark brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 47:4. Not illustrated.



Figure 8.18. L818. Fill above stone floor north of W805. L819. Dismantling stone floor and fill below.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Jug	818	8038	Tall neck, plain rounded rim, dark brown painted band along the rim. Buff fabric. Similar jugs were found at Kfar Nahum, Loffreda (2008), Fig. DG 95:13-c2858; Kh. el-Mefjer, Baramki (1940), Pl. 21:4; Caesarea, Arnon (2003), Pl. 80:14. Byzantine–mid-8th c. Abbasid.
2	Sherds	819	8029	Non-indicative fragments. Byzantine. Not illustrated

POTTERY FROM THE INTERNAL COURTYARD OF THE SOUTHERN VILLA (AREA SV)

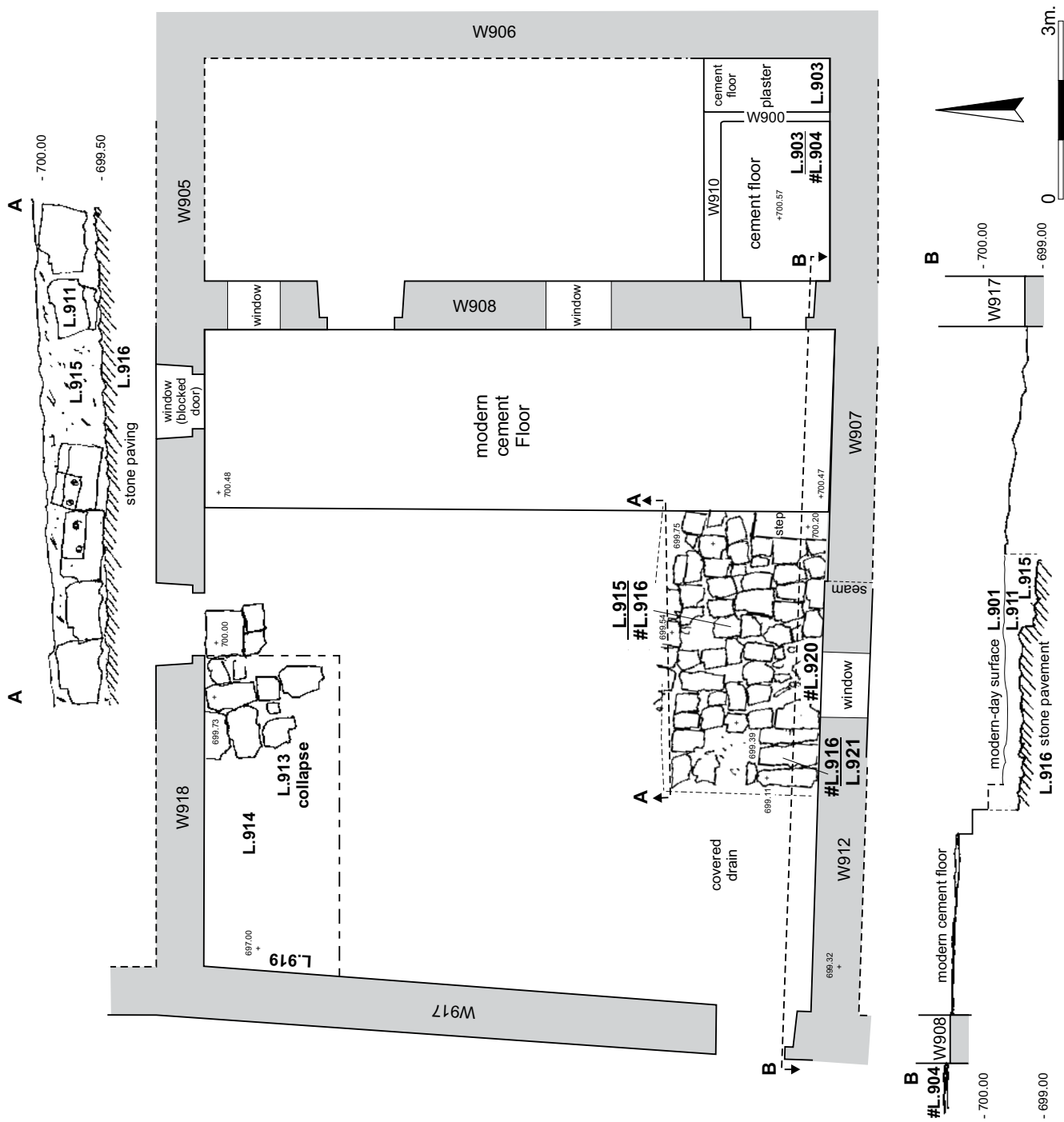


Figure 8.19. Plan of the courtyard and eastern wing of the Southern Villa: Area SV (by Jay Rosenberg).

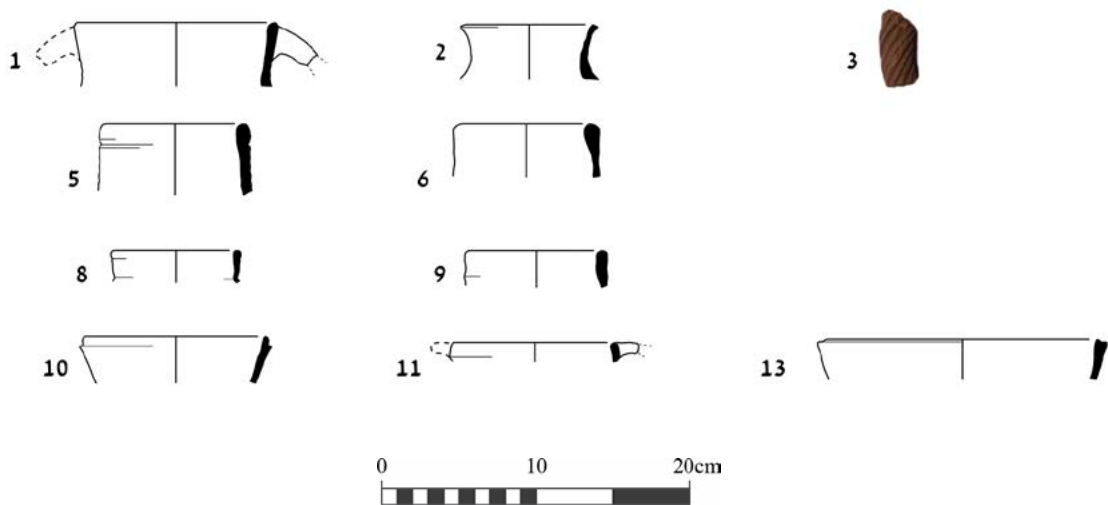


Figure 8.20. L911, L915, L916, L920, L921. The sounding in the southern courtyard.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
L911. FILL BETWEEN COLLAPSE. ROMAN – BYZANTINE				
1	Cooking pot	911	9005	Simple rim, handle drawn from rim. Gray fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008b): Fig. 7.12:35–36.
2	Jug	911	9005	Fine flaring rim. Cream fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005): Fig. 133:7. Late 1st–early 2nd BCE.
3	Handle	911	9005	Handle decorated with spiral grooves. No parallels found. Vessel type difficult to determined.
L915. BELOW COLLAPSE ABOVE FLOOR (L916). BYZANTINE–EARLY ISLAMIC				
4	Frying pan lid	915	9014	Rounded carinated rim. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
5	Jar	915	9026	Thick rounded rim. Orange-brown surface, gray core. Banias, Israeli (2008a): Fig. 4.13:1. Byzantine–early Islamic.
6	Jar	915	9014	Rounded rim, groove below rim, tall neck. Cream fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a): Fig. 4.13:4. Byzantine–early Islamic.
L916. BELOW SEALED PAVED FLOOR				
7	Cooking pot	916	9021	Rim, Kafr Hananya 1b. Roman–Byzantine. Not illustrated
8	Jag	916	9018	Thick rounded everted rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005): Fig. 134:8. Late 6th – early 7th c.
9	Jar	916	9021	Fine rounded rim, groove below rim. Well-levigated orange-brown clay. Umm Tut, Avner (2007): Fig. 6:20. Byzantine.
L920. BELOW DISTURBED PAVED FLOOR				
10	Cooking pot	920	9029	Rim, deep ridge on exterior. Dark orange-brown fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a): Fig. 4.12:12. Roman.
11	Jug	920	9029	Handle drawn from fine rounded rim. Dark orange-brown fabric. Byzantine.
12	Body sherd	920	9029	A slip-painted brown-yellow fragment. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
L921. BELOW BASALT FLOOR BEAMS NORTH OF W912				
13	Cooking pot	921	9031	Grooved rim. Gray fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005): 126:19. Byzantine.



Figure 8.21. L914. Fill below collapse in the northern sounding.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
1	Cooking pot	914	9013	Flat rim, shallow external ridge. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 3:5. Roman.
2	Jar	914	9013	Rounded everted rim. Cream fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:2. Roman.

POTTERY FROM THE NORTHERN VILLA (AREA V)

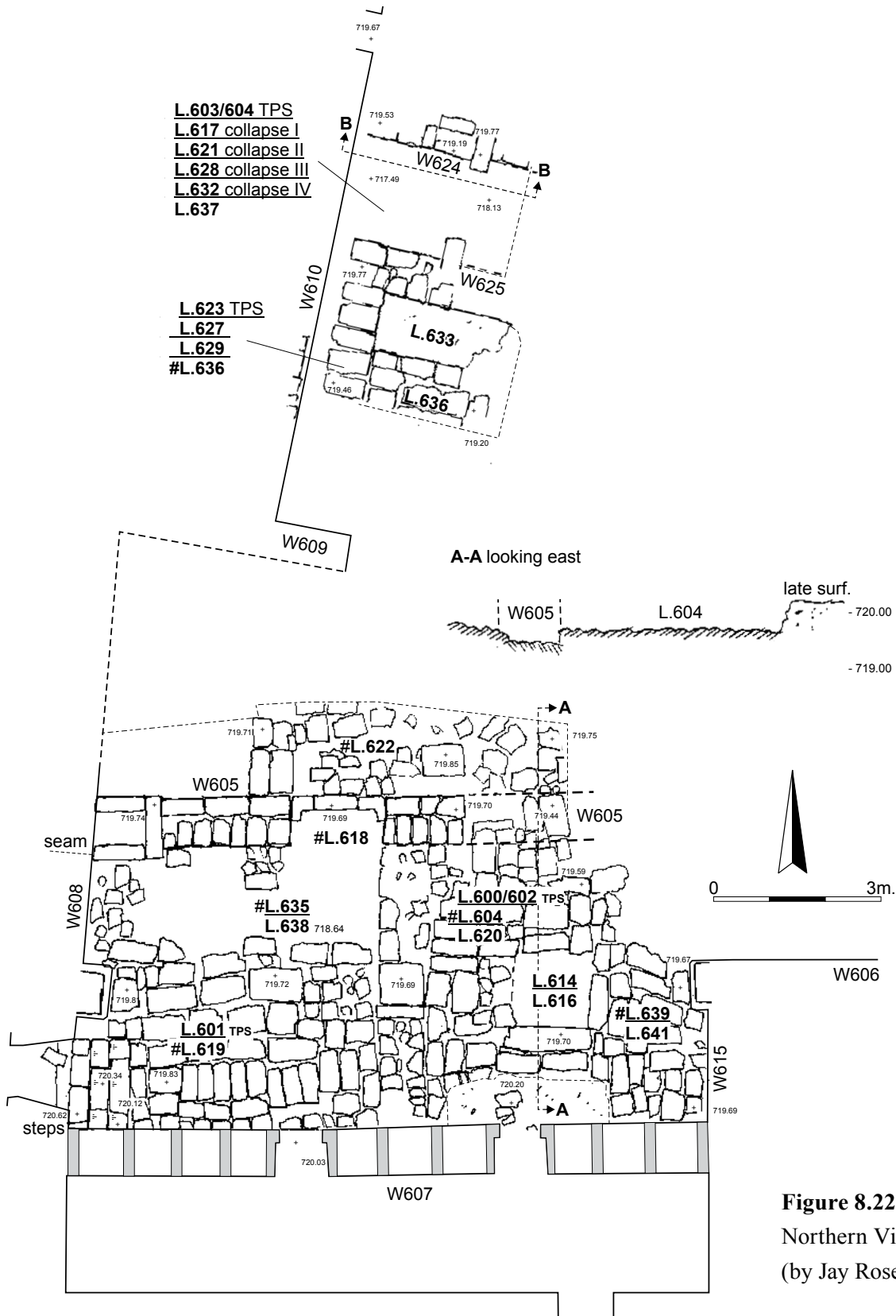


Figure 8.22. Plan of the Northern Villa: Area V (by Jay Rosenberg).



Figure 8.23. L600 and L602. Topsoil along the open courtyard in front of the villa's façade.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD—MODERN SYRIAN STATE.				
1	Plate	600	6001	Shelf rim. Hard white paste. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
2	Plate	602	6003	Plate with blue band. Hard white paste. 19th–20th c.
3	Coffee cup	602	6003	Thick walls. Porcelain, hard white paste. 19th–20th c.
4	Coffee cup	602	6025	Slightly flaring rim, floral and fish scale decoration. Porcelain, hard white paste. 19th–20th c.
5	Jug	602	6030	Rounded rim. Thick glossy glaze, mustard yellow shiny glaze. Cream brown fabric. No parallels found.
6	Jug ? Chamber pot	602	6030	Deep groove below the rim on interior and exterior, wide handle with thumb indentation drawn from the rim. Mustard yellow shiny glaze. Cream brown fabric.
7	Storage jar	600	6001	Everted rim, deep groove below rim, band of dark glaze on the shoulder. Orange-brown fabric. Domestic jar for storing liquids. Avitsur (1976), 118:315. 19th–20th c.
8	Storage jar	600	6001	Chipped rim, wall thickness 6 cm, handmade. Rusty red surface, plastic waves design. Coarse clay, black core. Not illustrated.
9	Tabaco pipe	602	6003	Fragment of bowl, decorated with deep incised lines. Qiryat Ata, Torgē (1999), Fig. 24:5. 18th–19th c.
10	Roof tile	602	6025	Marsalis roof tile. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
11	Roof tile	600	6001	Marsalis roof tile. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
MAMLUK				
12	Bowl	600	6001	Rounded thick rim, monochrome light green glaze on interior and over the rim. Brown-pink fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:10.
13	Bowl	600	6001	Flat rim of carinated bowl. Slip-painted brown and yellow glaze. Brown-pink fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:2. Mamluk.
14	Large bowl	602	6025	Rounded rim, shallow groove below rim, incised wavy line decoration. Rusty brown surface, gray core. Khirbat el-Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 10:11. Mamluk and perhaps later.
15	Bowl	600	6001	Fine rounded rim. Slip-painted brown and yellow glaze. Brown-pink fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.2:1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
16	Bowl	600	6001	Fine rounded rim. Slip-painted brown and yellow glaze. Brown-pink fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.2:1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
17	Bowl	602	6030	Body sherd of yellow-green glazed bowl, decorated with wide gouged sgraffito. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 64: 2. 14th–15th c.; Nazareth, Alexandre (2012), Fig. 3.9:8. Mamluk.
18	Bowl	602	6025	Body sherd, green glazed on interior and exterior, sgraffito decoration on exterior. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 64:7. Mamluk.
19	Jar	600	6001	Rounded thick rim. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 45:8. Mamluk.
20	Oil Lamp	602	6030	Open pinched wheel-made lamp, warped rim, glazed. Brown-orange fabric. Nazareth, Alexandre (2012), Fig. 3.18:3. Not illustrated.

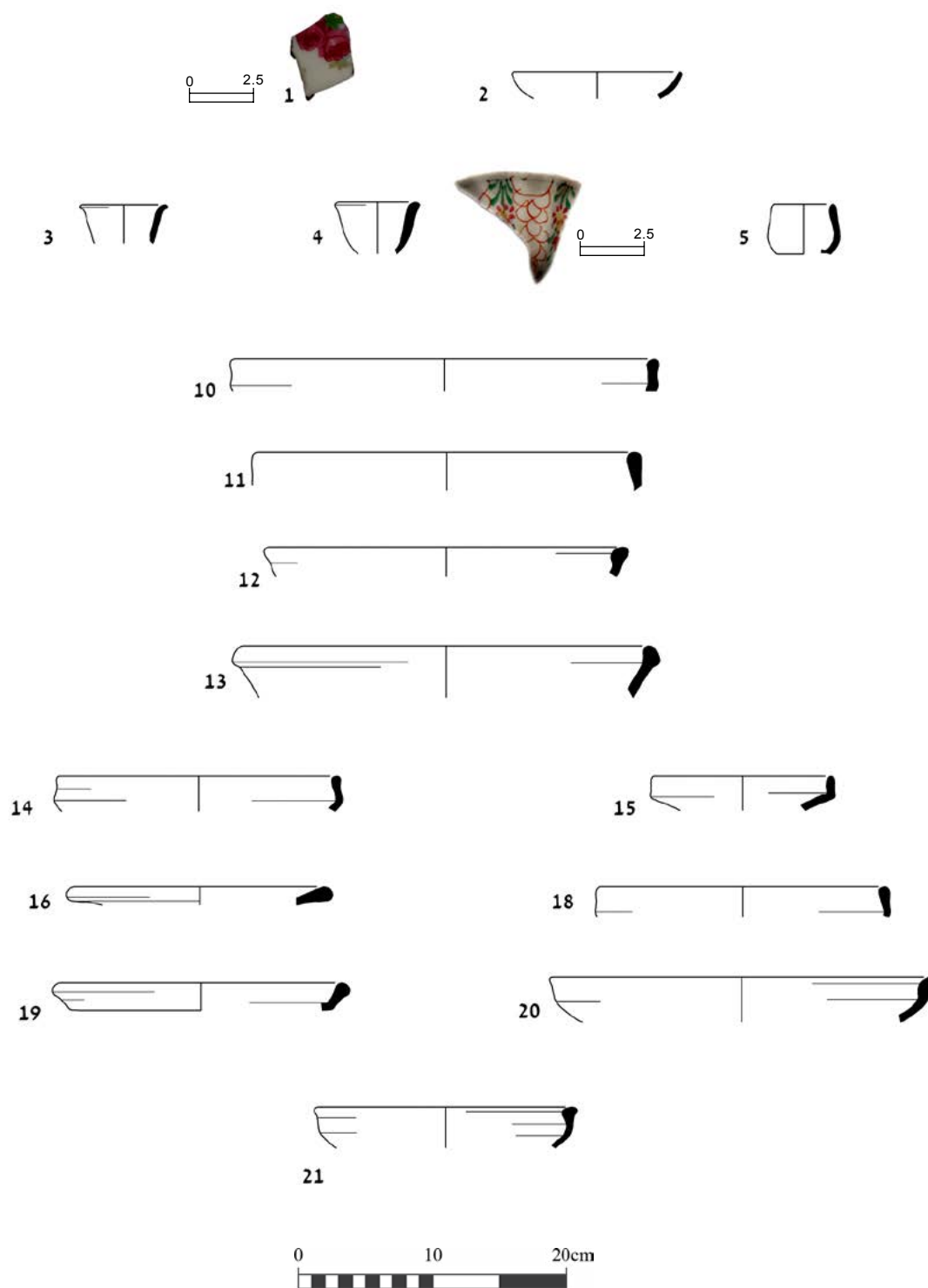


Figure 8.24.1. L601, L604 and L622. Fill above the paved courtyard of the villa.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD–MODERN SYRIAN STATE				
1	Bowl	622	6080	Body sherd, pink floral decoration. Hard white paste. 20th c.
2	Bowl	601	6002	Fine rim, floral decoration. Hard white paste. 19th–20th c.
3	Coffee cup	601	6026	Fine slightly flaring simple rim. Hard yellow paste. 19th–20th c.
4	Coffee cup	604	6097	Slightly flaring rim, bands of floral and fish scale decoration. Hard white paste. 19th–20th c.
5	Coffee cup	601	6002	Fine simple rim. Hard white paste.
6	Coffee cup	604	6097	Rounded rim, band of floral decoration. Hard white paste. Not illustrated
7	Coffee cup	601	6002	Fine simple rim, bands of floral and fish scale decoration. Hard white paste. Not illustrated
8	Coffee cup	604	6031	Thick rim, bands of floral and fish scale decoration. Hard white paste. Not illustrated.
9	Floor tile	601	6026	Fragment, white and reddish brown decoration. Not illustrated.
MAMLUK–EARLY OTTOMAN				
10	Bowl	622	6080	Rounded rim. Thick monochrome mustard yellow glossy glaze. Brown-pink fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:2. Similar in form but not identical.
11	Bowl	601	6002	Thick rounded rim. Monochrome dark green glossy glaze, cream lines on rim exterior. Orange-brown fabric. Qazrin, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14. Mamluk and later.
12	Bowl	601	6002	Thick everted rim. Pale green-yellow glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Acre, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:1. 13th–15th c.
13	Bowl	604	6097	Thick, rounded T-shaped rim. Brown surface, orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 10:1.
14	Bowl	604	6097	Carinated bowl. Light green glaze, cream band on the exterior. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat Din'ila, Stern (2014), Fig. 7:2.
15	Bowl	601	6024	Rounded rim, carinated bowl. Monochrome light green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:7. Mamluk and later.
16	Bowl	604	6031	Shelf rim. Monochrome dark green glaze, white cream slip. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 3:4. Mamluk–Ottoman.
17	Bowl	601	6002	Everted rim. Monochrome dark green glossy glaze. Light brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:5. 13th–15th c. Not illustrated.
18	Bowl	601	6019	Thick rounded rim. Slip-painted brown and yellow glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:11.
19	Bowl	601	6002	Rounded rim, carinated bowl. Slip-painted yellow and brown glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:2. Mamluk.
20	Bowl	604	6097	Fine rounded rim, carinated bowl. Slip-painted green and brown glaze. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14.
21	Bowl	622	6080	Rounded rim, carinated bowl. Light green glaze with sgraffito decoration. Orange fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:6. Similar but not identical.
22	Bowl	601	6019	Body fragment. Turquoise decorations under transparent glaze. Soft paste. Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. IX: 1. Not illustrated.
23	Bowl	604	6031	Handmade bowl with angular rim. Rusty dark brown surface, coarse gray fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 38:2. Not illustrated.
24	Bowl	604	6031	Handmade bowl with angular rim. Rusty dark brown surface, coarse gray fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 38:2. Not illustrated.

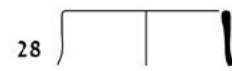


Figure 8.24.2. L601, L604 and L622. Fill above the paved courtyard of the villa.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
25	Jug	622	6080	Flat everted rim. Thick monochrome mustard yellow glaze. Ottoman (?) No parallels found.
26	Jar/amphora	622	6074	Rounded everted rim, deep groove below the rim. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 44:3.
27	Jug	601	6019	Spout, dark green glaze. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 52:7. Late Mamluk–early Ottoman. Not illustrated.
28	Jug	601	6019	Rashaya ware. Plain rim, tall neck, decorated with a rusty red wavy line. Light brown-cream fabric.
29	Jar	601	6002	Rashaya ware. Everted rim, short neck. Khaki- mustard glaze. Cream-brown fabric. Ottoman.
30	Jar	604	6031	Thick rounded rim. Rusty brown surface, dark gray core. Khirbat el-Ni'ana, de Vincenz and Sion (2007), Fig. 11:31. Similar but not identical. Mamluk, perhaps later.
31	Stopper	601	6002	Rounded stopper. Not illustrated.
LATE ROMAN, BYZANTINE AND EARLY ISLAMIC				
32	Bowl	622	6080	Flat rim, unglazed. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123:5. Similar but not identical.
33	Bowl	604	6097	Simple rounded rim with shallow groove below it. Orange surface, rusty brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 120:3.
34	Bowl	601	6002	Wide shelf rim, rusty red slip. Well-levigated orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123:11. 4th–7th c.
35	Bowl	604	6031	Phoenician Red Slip body sherd, decorated with an imprint of palm leaves. Well-levigated clay. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 124:6. 4th–6th c.
36	Juglet	604	6031	Simple rim, narrow tall neck, slightly warped. Reddish brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 132:3. Late Roman–Byzantine.
37	Jug	604	6097	Swollen neck, narrow at the base. Light brown-cream surface, orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 48:1.
38	Jug	604	6031	Round thumb rest button. Buff ware. Ramla, Kohen-Tavor (2017), Fig. 2.34:4. Abbasid–Fatimid.

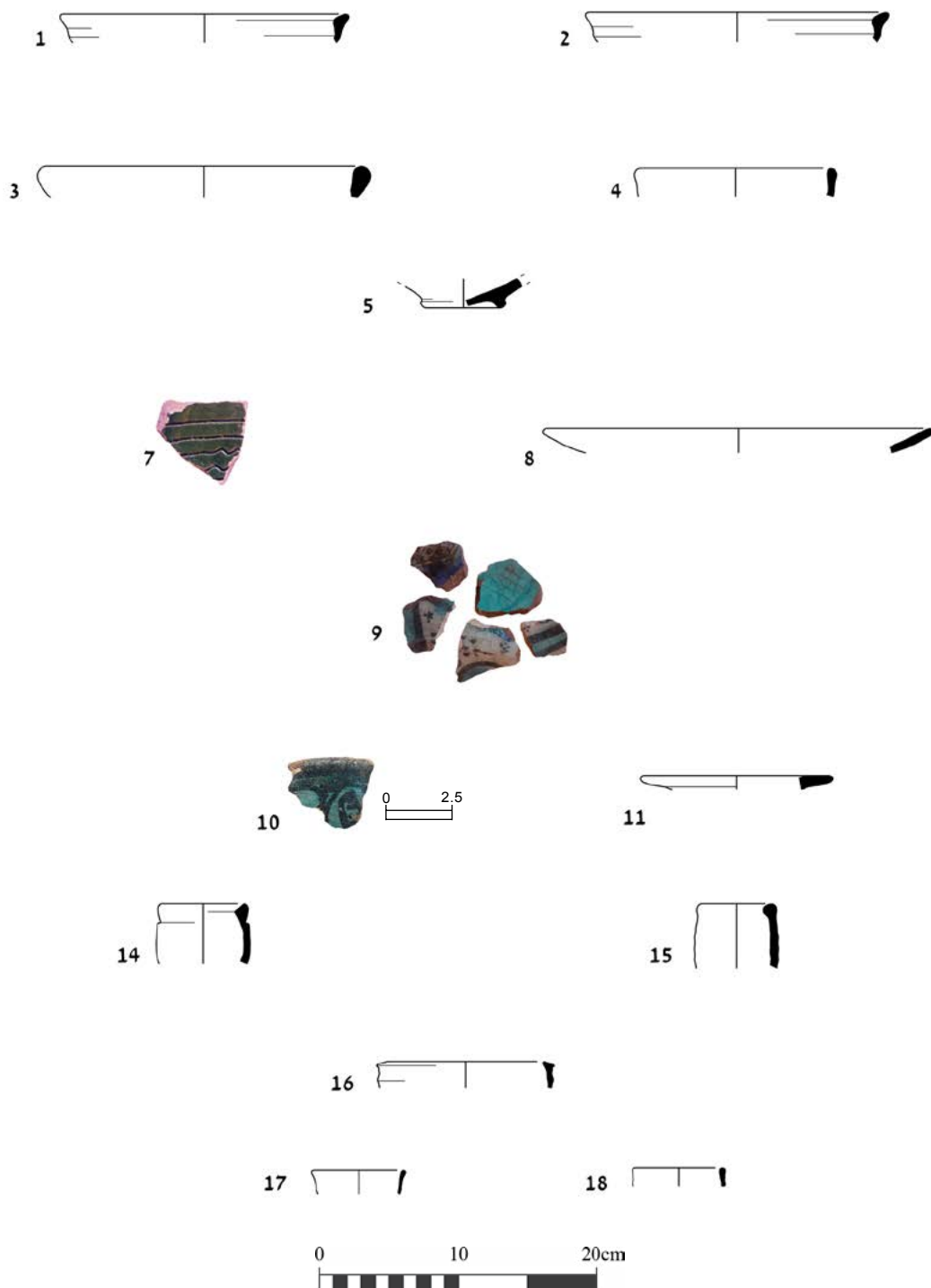


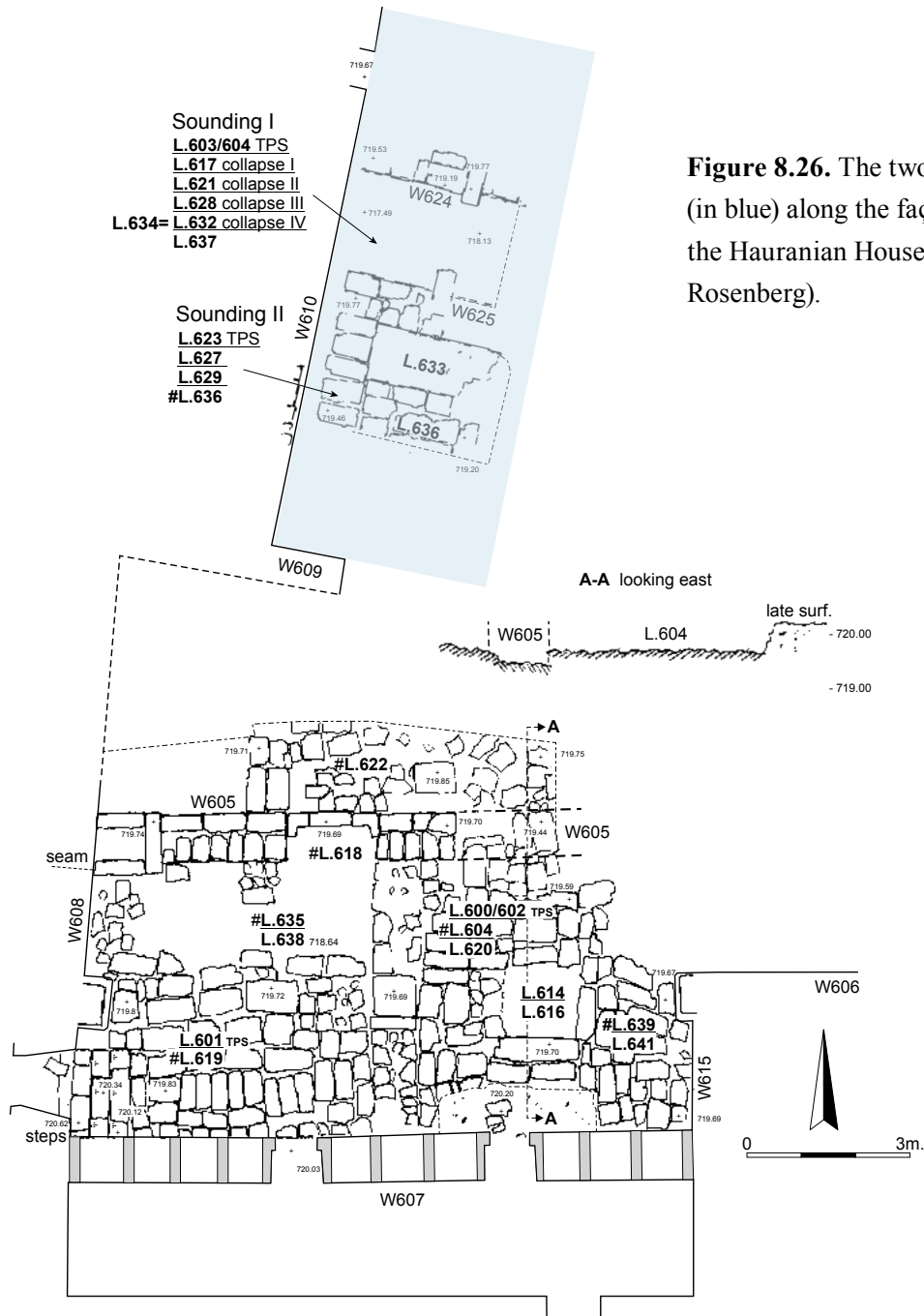
Figure 8.25. L619, L620, L635, L638, L639 and L641. Dismantling the paved courtyard and the fill below it and above bedrock.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Bowl	635	6122	Everted rim, dark green glaze. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:6. 14th–15th c.
2	Bowl	619	6056	Thick everted rim, monochrome green glaze Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:2. 14th–15th c.
3	Bowl	619/2	6056	Thick rounded rim, remnants of yellow glaze and cream slip. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:2. 14th–15th c.
4	Bowl	639	6128/3	Rounded rim, monochrome green glaze, brown-orange fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14.
5	Bowl	635/1	6122	Ring base fragments, slip-painted yellow- brown glaze checkered pattern. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:8.
6	Bowl	620	6060	Ring base fragments, monochrome green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Not illustrated.
7	Bowl	635	6122	Body sherd, dark green glaze with deep sgraffito line decorations. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. V: 1. 13th c.
8	Bowl	638	6126/2	Plain rounded rim, light green glaze with fine sgraffito decoration. Orange-brown fabric. Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6: 3; Horbat 'Uza, Stern and Thatcher (2009), Fig. 3.24: 3. 13th c.
9	Bowl	635	6122	Fragments of bowls, blue and black under transparent glaze. Soft paste.
10	Bowl	635	6122	Ledge rim, black and blue under transparent glaze, geometric and floral designs on the interior. Soft-paste. Bet Shean, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 11:1. 13th–16th c.
11	Bowl	619/3	6056	Shelf rim, dark blue under turquoise glaze. Soft paste. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 9:1.
12	Bowl	635	6122	Bowl body fragment, turquoise glaze or transparent glaze. Soft paste. Avissar and Stern (2005), Pl. IX: 1. 13th c. Not illustrated
13	Bowl	635	6122	Rashaya ware. Thick rounded rim, dark brown slip. Not illustrated.
14	Jug	638	6126	Flat everted rim with prominent groove on the external side. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 47:4. 13th–15th c.
15	Jug	639	6128/1	Rounded thick rim, tall neck. light pink-brown fabric. No parallels found.
BYZANTINE				
16	Cooking bowl	641	6130	Flat rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 3:8,14. Roman, 3rd–5th c.
17	Juglet	641	6130/1	Fine rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric.
18	Juglet	639	6128	Fine plain rim, straight neck. Orange-brown fabric.
19	Bowls and jars	619	6072	Non-indicative fragments. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
20	Jar	620	6060	Gray-brown body sherds with crude cream line decorations. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 8:1–5. Byzantine, 5th–7th c. Not illustrated.

THE MODEST HAURANIAN HOUSE NORTHWEST OF THE VILLA (AREA V)

Sounding I did not reach a floor, but it had a thick layer of collapse that dated to the Mamluk period. Sounding II was the only place in Area V that had a sealed Byzantine locus (floor L636). The pottery dating was further supported by a coin (L636,

B6125), dated to the reign of Theodosius II (408–421 CE). Due to the very different nature of each sounding, it was decided to present the pottery of each one separately.



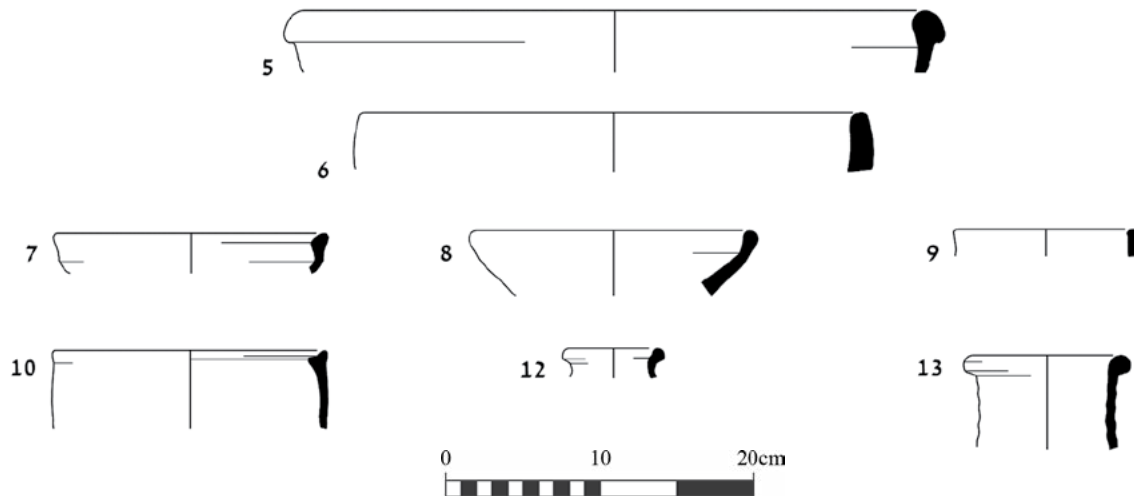


Figure 8.27. Sounding I. L603. Topsoil.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD–MODERN SYRIAN STATE.				
1	Bowl	603	6021	Bowl fragments. Blue and dark red floral decoration. Hard white paste. 19th–20th c. photographed. Not illustrated.
2	Bowl	603	6021	Fine thin rim. Hard white paste. Floral decoration. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
3	Coffee cup	603	6004	Hard white paste. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
4	Coffee cup	603	6021	Hard white paste. 19th–20th c. Not illustrated.
MAMLUK				
5	Basin	603	6004	Thick rounded rim with deep groove. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 43:3–4.
6	Bowl	603	6004	Simple flat rim, handmade. Coarse dark brown fabric with straw negative. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 56:1.
7	Bowl	603	6004	Thick angled rim of carinated bowl. Monochrome dark green glaze, splash of glaze on exterior rim. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:7.
8	Bowl	603	6032	Rounded rim. Monochrome dark green glaze with cream band on exterior. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:1.
9	Bowl	603	6021	Rounded rim. Dark green glaze with sgraffito decoration on exterior rim. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 64:5–9. Similar but not identical.
10	Cooking bowl	603	6021	Wide rim with deep groove in the center. Dark mustard yellow glossy glaze. Light brown fabric. Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 58:11. Similar form; glaze is dark brown.
11	Amphora	603	6045	Thick rim with prominent ridge below it. Rusty brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 5:1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
LATE ROMAN-BYZANTINE				
12	Juglet	603	6004	Plain rim. Pink-brown fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.11:25. Byzantine.
13	Jug	603	6032	Rounded rim, prominent curve. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig 132:9. Late Roman–Byzantine.

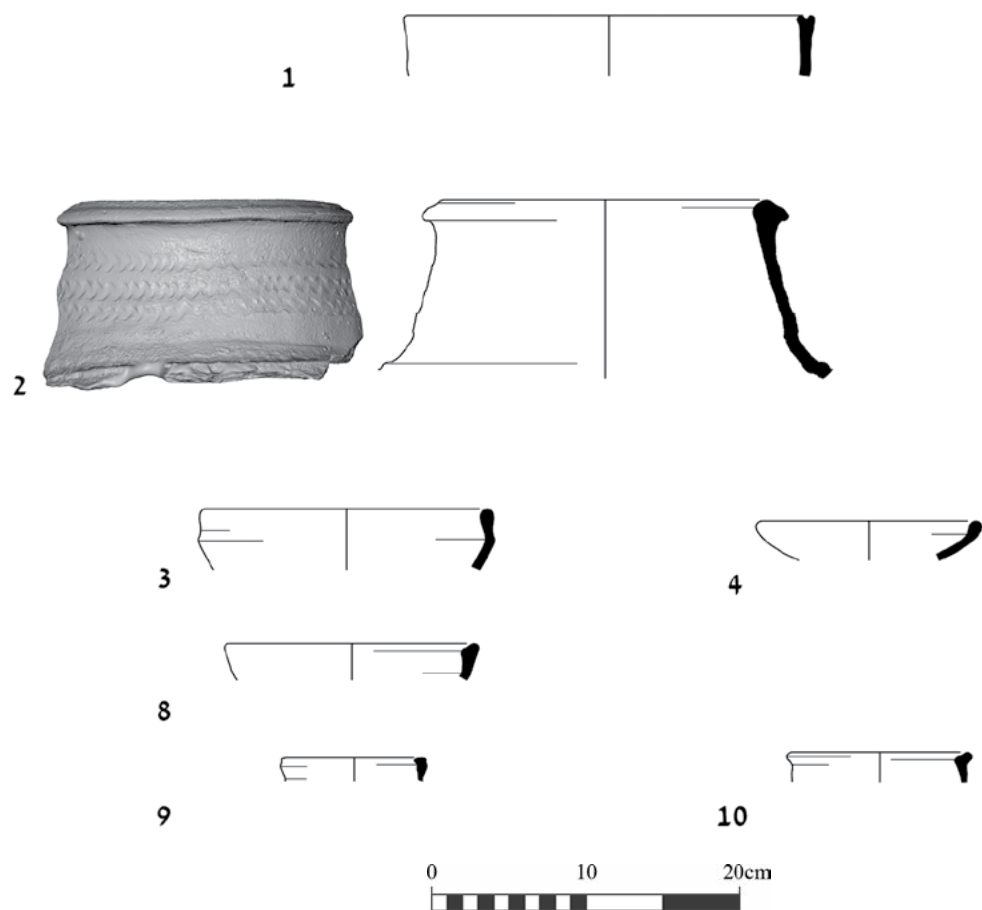


Figure 8.28. Sounding I. L621. Fill below first level of collapse in the subterranean room.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
LATE OTTOMAN–MODERN SYRIAN STATE				
1	Cooking pot	621	6062	Wide flat rim with deep groove, thick bright orange-brown glaze on the interior. Orange fabric. Jaffa, Marcus (2020), Fig. 5:10. Late Ottoman 19th c.
2	Large jar	621	6089	Rashaya ware. Everted rim, zigzag decoration on the neck, band of dark glaze on the shoulder. orange-brown fabric. Domestic jar for storing liquids. Avitsur (1976), 118:315. Second half of the 20th c.
MAMLUK				
3	Bowl	621	6062	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Rusty brown surface, gray core. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 35:8.
4	Bowl	621	6062	Rounded rim. Monochrome light green glaze, cream slip. Orange-brown fabric. Baniyas, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.1:9.
5	Bowl	621	6062	Thick rounded rim. Slip-painted. Orange-brown fabric. Not illustrated.
6	Bowl	621	6062	Handmade bowl, body fragments with geometric designs in cream and dark brown. Coarse rusty brown fabric. Not illustrated.
7	Flask	621	6062	Flask fragment. Remnants of molded decoration. Buff light cream ware. Ramla, Stern, Toueg and Shapiro (2019), Fig. 5:1. Mamluk. Not illustrated.
BYZANTINE				
8	Bowl	621	6062	Flat rim with fine deep groove, silver- gray surface, orange-brown fabric. No parallels found.
9	Jug	621	6062	Flat rim with fine groove. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 134:7–8.
10	Jug	621	6062	Wide everted shelf rim with shallow groove. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 133:17.

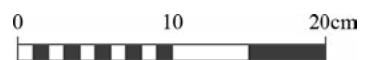
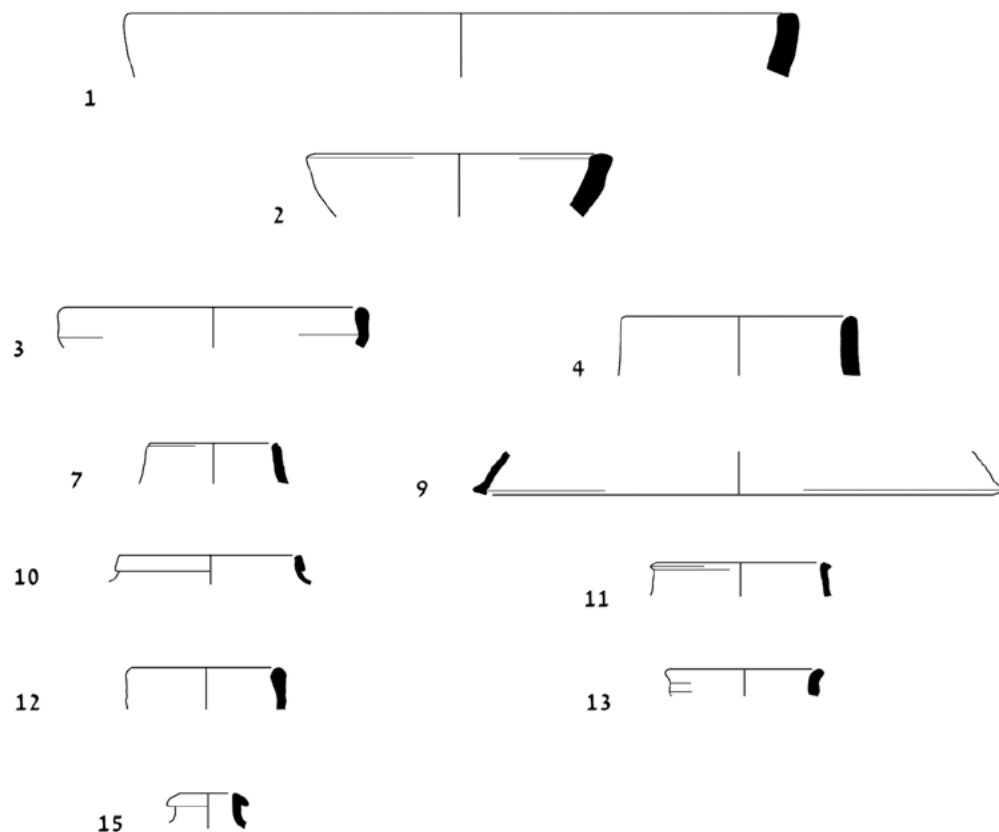


Figure 8.29. Sounding I. L632. The last level of collapse in the subterranean room.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Large Bowl	632	6106	Flat rim, handmade. Coarse fabric with straw negatives. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54:3.
2	Bowl	632	6106	Flat rim, handmade. Coarse fabric with straw negatives. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54:5.
3	Bowl	632	6106	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Monochrome green glaze. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14.
4	Jag	632	6106	Rounded rim, straight tall neck. Rusty red surface, coarse fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 47:7. Similar but not identical.
5	Bowl	632	6106	Rashaya ware. Fragment. Not illustrated.
LATE ROMAN–BYZANTINE				
6	Bowl	632	6117	Red Ware. Ledge rim, shallow groove. Well-levigated light orange fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 123:11. Late Roman. Not illustrated.
7	Cooking pot	632	6117	Rounded rim with external groove, straight neck. Dark brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:17–20. Late Roman–Byzantine.
8	Cooking pot	632	6117	Slightly flaring rim, fine groove on interior just below the rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 126:13. Not illustrated.
9	Cooking pot lid	632	6117	Flat cut rim, ridged cream-gray surface. Coarse dark orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 130:6, 8.
10	Jar	632	6106	Folded rim, deep groove below rim, patches of dark gray on the rim. Dark orange-brown fabric. No parallels found.
11	Jar	632	6106	Rim everted and angled. Gray-brown fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.13:6. Roman.
12	Jar	632	6106	Thick rounded rim. Brown-gray fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.13:1.
13	Jar	632	6117	Simple flaring rim, short neck. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 137:2. Late Roman–Byzantine.
14	Jar	632	6117	Gray ribbed body fragments with crude cream brush lines. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 8:1–5. Not illustrated.
15	Juglet	632	6117	Folded rim, deep groove below rim. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4.13:8.

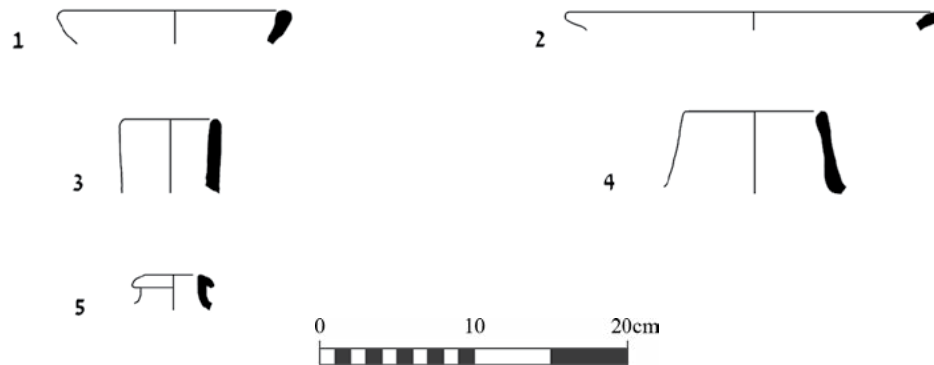


Figure 8.30. Sounding I, L634 and L637. Fill in the subterranean room below the collapse.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Bowl	637	6123	Thick rounded rim. Slip-painted yellow glaze. Brown fabric. Mamluk. Baniyas, Israeli (2008c), Fig. 10.12:2. Mamluk.
2	Bowl	637	6123	Short shelf rim, cream slip. Coarse sgraffito lines below the rim. Light pink fabric. Kh. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 6:7. Similar in form. Mamluk.
3	Jug	637	6123	Plain rounded rim, high neck, coarse dark brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 47:5.
BYZANTINE-EARLY ISLAMIC				
4	Jar	634	6114	Simple round rim. Light brown fabric with white grits. Late Roman–Byzantine.
5	Jar	634	6114	Rounded rim with fine groove below the rim, pale brown-cream clay. Abbasid.
6	Stopper	634	6114	Not illustrated.

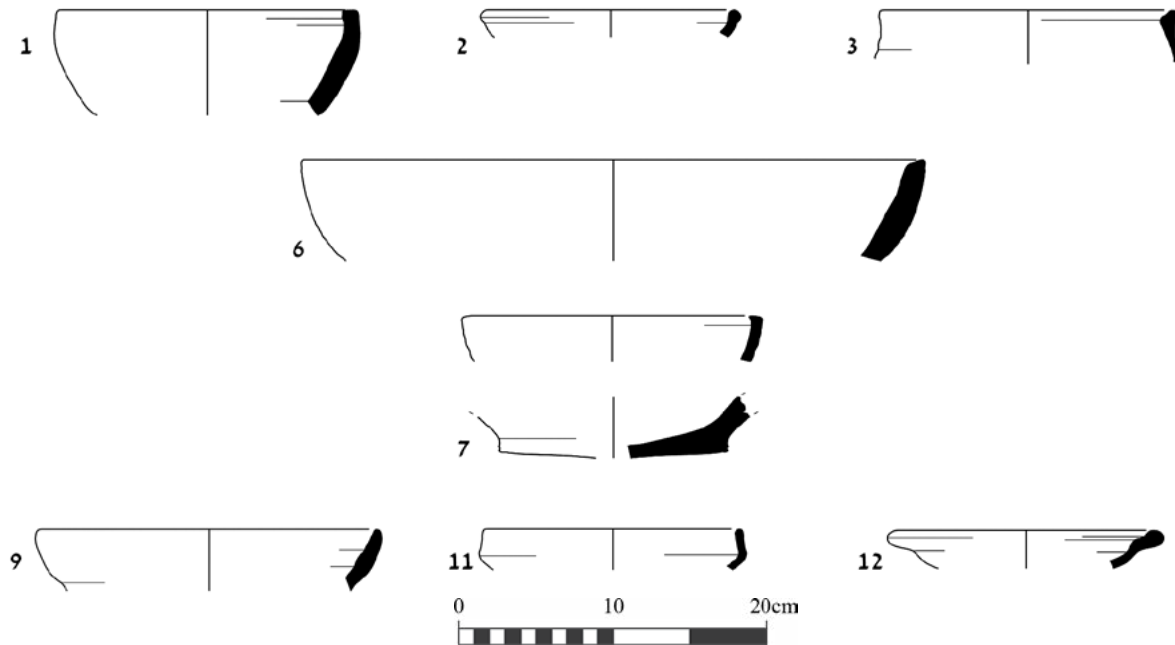
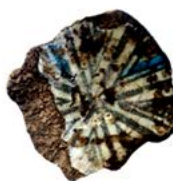


Figure 8.31.1. Sounding II. L623 (Topsoil), L627 and L629 (fills above stone floor) and L636 (fill below stone floor).

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK AND LATER				
1	Bowl	623	6076	Flat rim, handmade. Rusty dark brown surface, coarse gray fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar (2005), Fig. 38:2.
2	Bowl	623	6076	Rounded carinated rim. Monochrome light green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Banias, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:14.
3	Cooking pot	623	6076	Rim with shallow groove below it. Transparent glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Kanaf, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41: 9; Yoqne'am, Avissar (2005), Fig. 2.18:6.
4	Jug?	623	6076	Rashaya ware. Body fragment. Not illustrated.
FILLS ABOVE STONE FLOOR. MAMLUK				
5	Basin	627	6081	Flat wide rim, orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 36:4. Not illustrated.
6	Large bowl	627	6081	Flat angled rim, handmade. Rusty brown surface, coarse gray core. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 54:4. Mamluk.
7	Large Bowl	629	6105/6	Flat rim and flat base. Handmade. Cream slip, coarse rusty brown fabric. Ramla, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 35:9.
8	Large bowl	627	6081	Flat rim. Dark brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 38:2. Not illustrated.
9	Bowl	627	6081/5	Crude, rounded rim, ridged walls. Rusty red fabric. Banias, Avissar (2008), Fig. 6.3:7.
10	Bowl	629	6105	Rounded rim. Slip-painted yellow and brown. Banias, Avissar (2008): Fig. 6.1:5. Not illustrated.
11	Bowl	629	6093/6	Rounded rim of carinated bowl. Slip-painted yellow and brown. Orange-brown fabric. Giv'at Yasaf, Stern (1999), Fig. 1:10. Similar in form.
12	Bowl	627	6081	Ledge rim. Monochrome, flaked, green glaze with cream slip. Rusty brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005): Fig. 3: 4; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:9.

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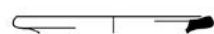
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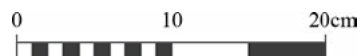


Figure 8.31.2. Sounding II. L623 (Topsoil), L627 and L629 (fills above stone floor) and L636 (fill below stone floor).

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
13	Bowl	627	6081	Rounded rim. Monochrome dark green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 62:3. Not illustrated.
14	Bowl	627	6081	Ring base. Soft paste. Black and blue geometric decorations under transparent glaze. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 40:1–7.
15	Jar	627	6081	Flat rim, deep groove below rim. Rusty brown fabric. Ramla, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 42:5. Not illustrated.
ROMAN–BYZANTINE				
16	Bowl	629	6105	Rounded rim. Rusty red surface. Pink-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118:31. 2nd c.
17	Bowl	629	6105	Ledge rim. Rusty brown fabric. Kh. Zemel, Hartal (2005), Fig. 20:9. Byzantine.
18	Bowl	629	6105	Ledge rim. Light orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118:14. Similar but not identical.
19	Cooking pot	629	6093	Handle drawn from simple rounded rim. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 5:8. 3rd–5th c.
20	Cooking pot	629	6093	Rounded rim, shallow groove on exterior. Gray surface, dark brown fabric. Kh. Namera, Hartal (2005), Fig. 48:2. Late Roman–Byzantine. Not illustrated.
21	Casserole	629	6105	Flat cut rim. Gray surface, rusty brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 5:8. 3rd–5th c.
22	cup	629	6105	Fine Byzantine Ware. Delicate rounded rim, cream line decoration. Orange-brown fabric. Bet She'an, Avissar (2014), Fig. 14:3. 8th–9th c.
23	Oil lamp	627	6083	Almond shaped. Geometric decoration. Light brown fabric Bet Shean, Haddad (2002), 92, No. 418; 51, No. 225. Byzantine–Umayyad.
24	Pithos	629	6105	Body fragment with spiral ridge decoration. Brown core with quartz grits. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 144:7–8. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
FILL BELOW STONE FLOOR. LATE ROMAN–BYZANTINE				
25	Bowl	636	6124	Rounded curved rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 128:6. Late Roman–Byzantine.
26	Bowl	636	6124	Short ledge rim of carinated bowl. Orange-brown fabric. Khirbat el-Hawarit, Hartal, Hudson and Berlin (2008), Fig. 14:8. 3rd–5th c.
27	Bowl	636	6124	Ledge rim. Orange-brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 118: 14; Adan-Bayewitz (1993), Pl. 1E :22. Roman, 2nd–3rd c.
28	Bowl	636	6124	Ledge rim. Orange-brown fabric. Similar to No. 18 above.
29	Cooking pot	636	6124	Grooved rim. Dark brown fabric. Adan-Bayewitz (1993), Pl. 4GC:2. 3rd–5th c.

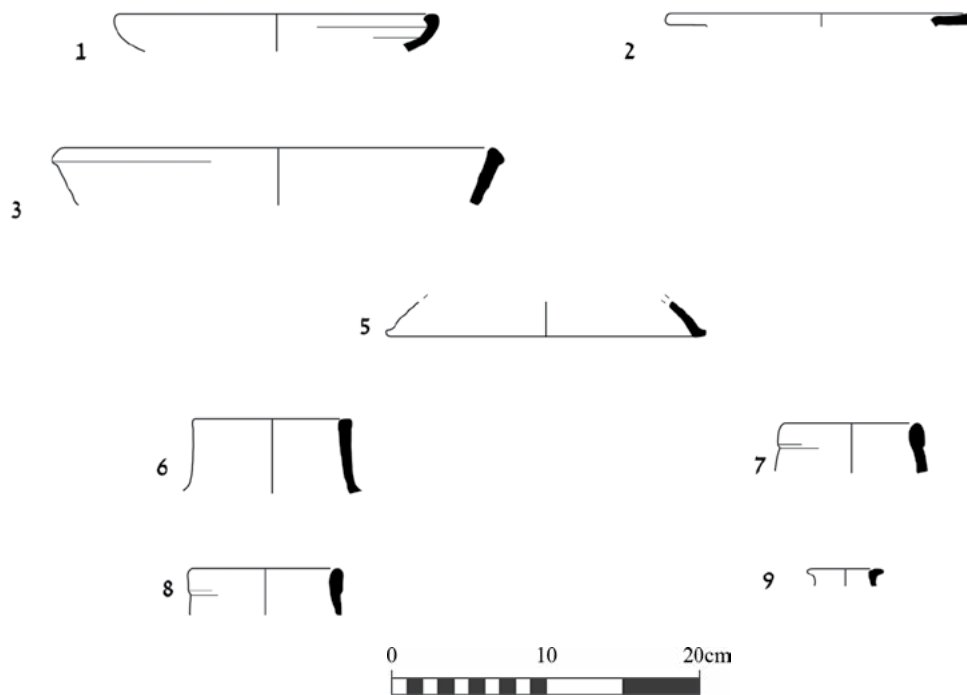


Figure 8.32. Sounding II. L633. Fill below disturbed stone floor.

NO.	TYPE	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLELS
MAMLUK				
1	Bowl	633	6113	Rounded rim. Monochrome green glaze. Orange-brown fabric. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 4:4. Mamluk and later.
2	Bowl	633	6113	Ledge rim. Slip-painted green and brown glaze. Yoqne'am, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 7:4, 6. Mamluk and later.
3	Frying pan	633	6113	Wide outward tilted rim. Dark brown glaze. Coarse gray fabric. Baniyas, Avissar and Stern (2005), Fig. 41:5; Safed, Dalali-Amos and Getzov (2019), Fig. 58:12. Mamluk.
LATE ROMAN-BYZANTINE				
4	Frying pan	633	6118	Flat, crude cut rim. Gray-brown fabric. Kh. Namra, Hartal (2005), Fig. 48:14–15. Late Roman. Not illustrated
5	Cooking bowl Lid	633	6113	Flat cut rim, ridged walls. Orange-brown fabric. Namara, Hartal (2005), Fig. 47:18. Late Roman–Byzantine.
6	Jar	633	6113	Flat rim, tall neck. Light brown fabric. Bab al-Hawa, Hartal (2005), Fig. 136:7. Roman.
7	Jar	633	6118	Folded rim. Light brown-yellow fabric. Baniyas, Israeli (2008a), Fig. 4. 13:4. 1st–4th c.
8	Jar	633	6118	Folded rim, straight tall neck. Brown-yellow fabric. No parallel found.
9	Juglet	633	6118	Wide flat rim with shallow groove, narrow neck. Orange fabric. Capernaum, Loffreda (2008), DG131 VAS: 8. Roman.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Late Ottoman and the Twentieth Century Syrian Village

The most indicative late Ottoman objects are the clay tobacco pipes. Pipes with small bowls made of gray clay date to the 17th century. Very few fragments of the later (18th–19th centuries) red burnished forms with larger bowls were found. Although coffee entered the region with tobacco, the coffee cups found at Farj date to the 19th–20th century. Small porcelain (hard white paste) coffee cups decorated with fine floral bands and fragments of porcelain bowls and plates were found in almost every area. Numerous Marseilles roof tiles were found on the surface in front of the Northern Villa. These finds define the modern Syrian village levels. Although glass and porcelain domestic vessels gradually replaced the earlier glazed clay wares, and metal cooking pots gradually replaced the earlier clay ones, clay storage jars were still often used. Two large clay storage jars from this period were unearthed in Area V.

Mamluk pottery

The Mamluk pottery is varied and includes common domestic forms, well known from sites in northern and central Israel. Both crude unglazed wheel- and handmade-basins, as well as vessels with painted geometric designs were found, although the latter were fairly rare. As at Na'arān, glazed bowls dominate the Mamluk assemblage. Monochrome, slip-painted bowls and bowls with sgraffito decorations as well as soft paste wares were found throughout the site. Other than the soft paste vessels, most of the glazed bowls were made of an orange-brown clay, similar to that found in Mamluk period pottery from Banias (Avissar 2008: 92).

As in Na'arān, there was a relatively small number of cooking pots and storage jars here. Rashaya ware, produced in the potters' village on the western slopes of Mount Hermon from the 15th–20th century, is fairly rare at Farj too. The only form of oil lamps found at Farj are wheel-made pinched oil lamps with and without glaze. While pottery assemblages in rural sites in Galilee and the Sharon often yielded imported wares, other than the soft paste bowls, most of the pottery is common and probably produced in the region.

Although many forms of Mamluk period pottery continue into the early Ottoman period, the pottery found at Farj should probably be dated to the Mamluk period, and perhaps to the first two decades of the 16th century, because the site is not mentioned in the 16th century Ottoman tax books. The small number of coins makes it impossible to give a more accurate date.

Roman and Byzantine Pottery

Late Roman and Byzantine pottery sherds were unearthed in almost every locus in every area. The clays are often well-levigated, in comparison to the Mamluk material, which is often coarse even in the finer glazed bowls. Imported wares are rare.

Hawarit cooking pots were dominant, but a number of Kafr Hananya cooking pots were also found. Shallow, ridged Byzantine frying pans with horizontal handles, and cooking pot lids form an important part of the assemblage.

The tableware included simple bowls with ledge/shelf rims; a trefoil jug, and several finer small juglets. Fragments of cups with delicate thin walls and remnants of cream painted brush lines, dated to the Byzantine–early Islamic periods, were among the finer vessels.

The small number and limited variety of storage vessels included tall necked jars with folded rims dated to the Roman period, Golan pithoi that date to the Byzantine period and fragments of Byzantine bag-shaped jars with crude cream-painted brush lines.

The vast majority of the parallels were found in the detailed reports of Bab al-Hawa and Kh. Namra (Hartal 2005), and in the pottery chapters of the Banias excavation report (Israeli 2008a–c). The material is well known in the Golan and several

vessel types are locally made. Although single Roman and Early Islamic wares were identified, hinting that perhaps the settlement at Farj began in the first centuries of the Roman period and extend into the first centuries of the Early Islamic period, the vast majority of the pottery belonged to the Byzantine period, with a prominent group that dates to the Late Roman period. This correlates with the finds and the conclusions of the IAA survey team lead by Moshe Hartal and Yigal Ben Ephraim.³

3 Hartal M. and Ben Ephraim Y. The Archaeological Survey of Israel, IAA web site. 2012. Keshet Map (map number 18/2); Farj (site number 85). https://survey.antiquities.org.il/index_Eng.html#/MapSurvey/29/site/3577. (accessed July 8, 2024)

CHAPTER 9
THE GLASS FINDS FROM NA'ARĀN AND FARJ
Yoav Yoskovich and Kate Raphael

The following is a catalogue of glass finds from Na'arān and Farj. The finds are organized according to typology; a short description is given for each item.

Many of the glass finds are dated to the Byzantine period and are typical of that period. Among these are fragments of crude but durable wineglass bases and stems that are commonly found across the country. Fragments of bowls and fine bottles with fine folded or hollow rims, including one almost complete perfume bottle, were also found.

Very few of the glass finds could be dated to the Mamluk period. These include two fragments of conical marvered kohl bottles and one bowl that are well known and are a trademark of the medieval period. Colorful, common glass bracelets and beads, were widespread in both the Mamluk and Ottoman

periods and continue well into the early 20th c. Easily broken, they are often found in living levels at urban and rural sites, as well as in Mamluk and Ottoman graves. The 19th–20th centuries are also represented by fragments of thick coffee cups that were found alongside more elegant and finer porcelain coffee cups, and some medicine bottles.

Approximately 115 glass fragments were found at Na'arān; of these, 76 are catalogued below (Figs. 9.1–9). Just over 100 glass fragments were found at Farj; of these, 46 are catalogued below (Figs. 9.10–16). In general, few parallels are presented and full measurements are provided for only a few items. Not all the finds were photographed. The following abbreviations for measurements are used in the catalog: L = length, W = width, Th = thickness, D = Diameter, H = Height.

CHAPTER 9
FINDS FROM NA'ARĀN



Figure 9.1. Wineglasses.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLEL AND DATE
1	KH	307	3029	Base and thick stem, with fragment of the goblet bottom. Light blue color. Byzantine.
2	D	400	4001	Base with thick short stem. Dark green color. Bab al-Hawa. Hartal (2005), Fig. 160:12. Late Byzantine.
3	C	221	2211	Short thick stem and base fragment. Light green. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.2:35. Byzantine.
4	KH	308	3035	Goblet base fragments. Light blue-green. Not illustrated.
5	D	400	4001	Stem fragment with crude swollen rings. Dark green color.
6	S	111	1035	Three eroded goblet base fragments. Light green color. Byzantine.
7	KH	302	3010	Base with thick edge. Fragments of a hollow stem. Light green. Ḥorbat Biz'a Galilee. Gorin-Rosen (2012), Fig. 1:7.
8	S	100	1000	Thick base fragment. Light green. Not illustrated.
9	KH	312	3044	Base fragment. Not illustrated.
10	C	209	2027	Crude base fragment. Dark green color. Not illustrated.
11	KH	301	3037	Short thick stem. Light green color. Not illustrated.
12	KH	301	3007	Wide crude stem. Dark green. Not illustrated.
13	KH	Topsoil	0000	Hollow stem fragment. Not illustrated.

**Figure 9.2.** Bottles.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLEL AND DATE
1	C	200	2011	Rectangular bottle with cone-shaped core. Short neck is completely missing. Light green color. H. 4.8 cm, W. 2 cm. Ramla. Gorin-Rosen (2010), Pl. 10.5:6. Early Islamic. ¹
2	Topsoil	000	0000	Base fragment with narrow neck. Light blue color. Ashqelon. Katsnelson and Jackson-Tal (2004), Fig. 1:12–13. Byzantine.
3	C	204	2074	Conical marvered kohl bottle fragment. Decorated with a white coil against black and cobalt blue body. H. 2.2 cm, W. 2.4 cm. Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem. Brosh (2012), 423, Pl. 15.2, G35, G36. Mamluk.
4	KH	311	3034	Neck fragment with simple rim and two ridges. Light green color. Similar vessel was found at Kfar Kama (NT), No. 1941-1115. ² Byzantine. Not illustrated.
5	C	200	2009	Lower segment of a perfume bottle, fluted body. Dark brown. 19th–20th century.
6	KH	328	3136	Rim, neck and shoulder fragment. Thick translucent glass. 19th–20th c.
7	C	204	2058	Medicine bottle with rubber and aluminum cap. Translucent. H. 4 cm, D. 1.4 cm. 19th–20th c.
8	KH	320	3097	Wide swollen body of bottle. Neck and rim partially missing. Translucent.

1 I would like to thank Dr. Ruth Jackson-Tal, Curator of Ancient Glass, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem for her help in identifying this find.

2 NT = the IAA website, selected artifacts from the collections of the National Treasures. אוצרות המדינה (antiquities.org.il).



Figure 9.3. Bowls.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLEL AND DATE
1	KH	314	3053	Folded hollow rim. Light green. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.1:23. Byzantine.
2	KH	321	3132	Thickened rounded rim of a deep bowl. Light green translucent glass with air pockets. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.1:30. Byzantine. Not illustrated
3	C	215	2155	Folded shelf rim fragment. Light bluish color. Nahal 'Anava, Modi'in. Winter (2022), Fig. 3:12. Byzantine.
4	C	215	2155	Thin-walled bowl fragment with slightly flaring, rounded simple rim. Patches of dark patina, original color not identifiable. Nahal 'Anava, Modi'in, Winter (2022), Fig. 1:1. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
5	C	214	2197	Thick folded rim and wall. Colorless with bluish tinge. Horbat Rozez. Winter (2010), Fig. 1:4. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
6	KH	313	3057	Fine, folded, flat, wide shelf rim. Khirbat el-Thahiriya. Jackson-Tal (2012), Fig. 1:4. Byzantine–early Islamic. Not illustrated.
7	C	219	2198	Marveled bowl fragment. Fine black and white decorative lines. Jerusalem. Brosh (2014), Fig. 4:3. Mamluk.

**Figure 9.4.** Jars and Jugs.

NO.	TYPE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLEL AND DATE
1	Jug	S	111	1035	Simple fine rim. Short wide neck. Light green glass. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
2	Jar	C	215	2120	Thick rounded rim. Translucent glass tinted green. Byzantine.
3	Jug?	D	400	4001	Handle fragment. Thick wide edge. Tīrat Karmel. Gorin-Rosen (2021), Fig. 2:19–20. Byzantine.
4	Jag	KH	313	3048	Short neck. White translucent glass. 19th–20th c.?
5	Jar	C	228	2244	Short grooved neck. Thick translucent glass tinted green. H. 7.5 cm, W. 4.5 cm. 19th–20th c.



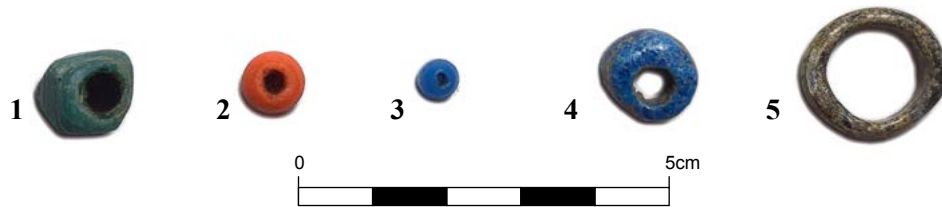
Figure 9.5. Wavy coils and Decorative Elements.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND PARALLEL
1	D	400	4001	Fragment that decorated a bowl or a juglet. Light blueish color. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.8:91–92.
2	S	000	0000	Fragment that decorated a bowl or a juglet. Light blueish color.



Figure 9.6. Bracelets (all Mamluk-Ottoman).

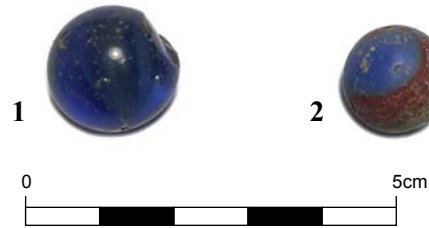
NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	C	204	2055	Triangular section. Dark blue core. Silver patina.
2	C	204	2055	Several twisted coils. Dark blue-black color.
3	C	204	2055	Rectangular section. Blue color with red patches. Dark blue-black core.
4	C	223	2216	Rectangular section. Cobalt blue color.
5	C	225	2227	Triangular section. Dark-blue color.
6	C	209	2079	Twisted coils. Dark blue-black color.
7	S	115	1056	Twisted coils. Dark blue-black color.
8	C	221	2211	Triangular section. Blue color with yellow and white stripes. Dark blue core.

**Figure 9.7.** Beads.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	C	205	2159	Square bead. Turquoise and green color. W. 1 cm, H. 0.8 cm.
2	C	205	2159	Ball shape. Orange color. D. 0.7 cm, H. 0.7 cm.
3	C	208	2081	Ball shape. Light blue color. D. 0.3 cm.
4	C	226	2229	Ring shape. Turquoise color. D. 1.1 cm.
5	C	203	2022	Ring shape. Faded blue with thick silver patina. D. 1.6 cm.
6	C	203	2013	Crude ring. Gray-black color. Green patches. D. 2 cm. Not illustrated.

**Figure 9.8.** Coffee Cups.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	KH	308	3035	Simple rim, oval "windows" with band decorations. Translucent. H. 7.8 cm, D.(base) 3.8 cm, D.(top) 4.7 cm.
2	KH	311	3034	Deep fluting. Square base. Upper part missing. Translucent. B. 3.5 x 3.5cm. H. 3 cm, D. 3 cm.
3	C	206	2065	Thick octagonal base and body. Translucent. D. 3.5 cm, H. 4 cm.

**Figure 9.9.** Glass Marbles.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	KH	314	3059	Blue. Translucent.
2	S	108	1026	Blue and green. Opaque.

FINDS FROM FARJ

**Figure 9.10.** Wineglasses.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND DATE
1	V	635	6149	Thick stem fragment. Light green-blue color. Byzantine.
2	SV	911	9033	Base fragment. Light green color. Byzantine.
3	M	508	5062	Stem fragment. Light green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
4	SV	921	9032	Stem fragment. Light blue-green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
5	V	604	6097	Base and short simple stem fragment. Light blue-green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
6	M	541	5075	Base fragment. Light green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
7	M	507	5091	Base fragment. Light green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
8	V	604	6063	Two base fragments. Light blue-green color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.
9	V	629	6107	Thick crude stem fragment with a thick central ring. Light green-blue color. Byzantine. Not illustrated.



Figure 9.11. Bottles and a Jar.

NO.	TYPE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLELS AND DATE
1	Bottle	V	635	6149	Fine rim, straight neck. Decorative fine grooves. Translucent with turquoise coil. Khirbat esh-Shubeika. Gorin-Rosen (2002), Fig. 8:41. Byzantine.
2	Cosmetic Bottle	V	629	6107	Base fragment. Dark blue. Not illustrated.
3	Cosmetic bottle or Liquid Medicine Phial	M	500	5024	Rounded base with thick wall. Dark blue. H. 2 cm, D. 1.5 cm. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.9:105. Yoqne'am. Lester (1996), Fig. XVII.7:3. Early Islamic or Mamluk.
4	Bottle	Y	818	8040	Base and long narrow body. Light blue. B. 2.4 cm, H. 4 cm. Ashqelon. Katsnelson and Jackson-Tal (2004), Fig. 1:12–13. Byzantine.
5	Bottle	V	621	6071	Conical marvered kohl bottle fragment. Thin walled. Decorated with a white line scale pattern against cobalt blue body. H. 2.2 cm, W. 2.4 cm. Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem. Brosh (2012), 423, Pl. 15.2, G35, G36. Mamluk.
6	Medicine Bottle	V	602	6042	Complete bottle. Translucent glass. H. 4.5 cm, D. 2 cm. 19th–20th c.
7	Bottle	M	500	5024	Rectangle base. Translucent glass, “Paris” molded on bottom. W. 2.5 cm, L. 4 cm. 19th–20th c.
8	Bottle	V	601	6009	Narrow tall neck. Translucent glass. 19th–20th c.
9	Bottle	V	601	6009	Narrow tall neck. Light green. 19th–20th c.
10	Jar	V	601	6009	Rim. Translucent glass tinted green. D. of mouth 4 cm. 19th–20th c.

**Figure 9.12.** Bowls.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION, PARALLELS AND DATE
1	VS	911	9030	Round folded hollow rim. Convex walls. Yellowish green translucent glass. Tiberias. Lester (2004), Fig. 7.1:5. Byzantine.
2	V	600	6011	Wide folded hollow rim. Light green. Bab al-Hawa. Hartal (2005), Fig. 159:8. Late Byzantine.
3	V	600	6011	Marvered bowl fragment. Thick walled. Fine white lines on black background. Thick white line decorates the rim. Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem. Brosh (2014), Fig. 4:7. Mamluk.
4	V	600	6011	Grooved body and base. Thick translucent glass. 19th–20th c.



Figure 9.13. Coffee Cups.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION AND DATE
1	V	601	6009	Round base, ribbed body. Translucent glass. Base D. 4 cm, H. 5 cm. 19th–20th c.
2	V	603	6021	Fine, thin-walled rim. Translucent glass. Gold line decoration. Mouth D. 5 cm. 19th–20th c.
3	V	600	6011	Star-shaped base. Thick translucent glass. Base L. 4.5 cm; H. 3.5 cm. 19th–20th c.



Figure 9.14. Bracelets (all Mamluk – Ottoman)

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	V	618	6150	Blue, with spiral grooves.
2	V	622	6084	Glossy black, with spiral groove.
3	V	604	6037	Glossy dark blue-black, with fine spiral grooves.
4	NH	401	4003	Black, with grooves along the band.
5	Y	816	8032	Glossy dark blue-black. Smooth with no decorations.
6	V	618	6073	Dark blue-black, with fine spiral grooves.
7	M	505	5058	Light blue, with spiral grooves.
8	V	604	6037	Blue, white and yellow coils.
9	V	631	6102	Spiral grooves. Two fragments. Ivory white flaky patina. Remains of blue, red and green.
10	M	504	5029	Triangular section. Faded cream white and green decorations.
11	M	504	5048	Triangular section. Yellow, blue and orange decorations.
12	V	639	6151	Triangular section. Blue, with specks of green and yellow.



Figure 9.15. Beads (all 19th–20th c.).

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	V	622	6078	Flat diamond-shaped bead. Brown. L.1.4 cm, W.1.2 cm.
2	V	621	6064	Cylindrical shape. Orange. L.1 cm, D. 0.3 cm.
3	V	628	6096	Ring-shaped. Turquoise. D. 1.2 cm.



Figure 9.16. Glass Marbles.

NO.	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	DESCRIPTION
1	V	604	6033	White and red.
2	V	604	6033	Light green.
3	V	604	6033	Translucent, tinted blue.
4	V	604	6033	Translucent.
5	V	622	6074	Green. Not illustrated.

CHAPTER 10

THE METAL FINDS FROM NA'ARĀN AND FARJ

Yoav Yoskovich and Kate Raphael

A small collection of metal artifacts was found during the excavations of Na'arān and Farj. It was decided by the team to incorporate both ancient and modern finds in this report, from the topsoil down to the foundations of the buildings we excavated in each area. Most of the finds are dated to the late Ottoman period (18th–19th centuries) and the first half of the 20th century. The most common material is iron; copper alloy and aluminum objects are rare. The finds are presented typologically:

many horseshoes, various types of modern ammunition, a few agriculture tools, a small group of domestic table ware, tin cans, Syrian military uniform buttons, and a few pieces of simple jewelry. The collection represents a small, modest, rural community.

The following abbreviations are used in the catalog: L (locus), B (basket). The abbreviations for measurements are: L = length, W = width, Th = thickness, D = Diameter, H = Height.

FINDS FROM NA'ARĀN

Iron Horseshoes and Nails (Figure 10.1)

Horseshoes from the Crusader, Mamluk and late Ottoman periods have been found in large numbers in several salvage excavations throughout Israel. Two basic types are known: the closed shoe, common in Middle East in both medieval and modern times (Avitsur, 1976: 151), and the U-shaped open shoe adopted by the Ottomans from Europe during the 19th century. U-shaped horseshoes are found more often. The latter may have suited the larger mixed-breed horses that tend to have bigger hoofs than the local Arab breed.

Both types were found at Na'arān and Farj (Figs. 10.1, 10.10). At Na'arān, most of them were found in late Ottoman contexts in the upper levels of the Hauranian house (Area C). Because the area is now also used for grazing cattle and horses, the corpus also includes modern industrial horseshoes. At Farj, most of the shoes were closed; they were found in almost every area we excavated. Closed and open horseshoes were found at Jacob' Ford (Ateret) and Jaffa where they dated to the Medieval and the late Ottoman periods (Jaffa, Raphael 2017: Figs 13.12–13.17; and Jacob's Ford, Raphael 2023: Figs. 38–41).



Figure 10.1.

1. Area C, L205, B2043. Large open U-shaped horseshoe. Late Ottoman.
can be seen. Right: L. 13.5 cm. W. 9cm. Th. 0.4 mm.; Left: L. 13.4 cm. W. 10 cm. TH. 0.4 mm.
2. Area C, L205, B2124. U-shaped horseshoe. L. 13 cm, W. 10 cm, Th. 1.5 cm.
3. Area S, L102, B1048. U-shaped horseshoe. L. 12 cm, W. 9 cm, Th. 1.5 cm.
4. Area C, L200, B2003. U-shaped horseshoe. Some horseshoe nails can be seen. L. 14 cm, W. 10 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. 19th c.
5. Area C, L200, B2001. Two U-shaped horseshoes. Left: industrially-made. 20th c. L. 13 cm, W. 8 cm Th. 0.5 cm. Right: hand-made. L. 13 cm, W. 10 cm Th. 0.7 cm.
6. Area S, L101, B1003. U-shaped horseshoe. Industrially-made. 20th c. L. 12 cm, W. 11 cm, Th. 1.6 cm.
7. Area C, L205, B2043. Small mule or donkey horseshoe. Poor preservation. Late Ottoman.
8. Area C, L214, B2121. U-shaped horseshoe. L. 12 cm, W. 11.5 cm, Th. 1.5 cm. Not illustrated.
9. Area C, L205, B2160. U-shaped horseshoe. L. 11.5 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 1.5 cm. Not illustrated.
10. Area?, Topsoil, U-shaped horseshoe. L. 12.5 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 1.5 cm. Not illustrated.
11. Area C, L214, B2100. U-shaped horseshoe. L. 12 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 1.5 cm. Not illustrated.
12. Area C, L206, B2069. Two closed horseshoes with a hole in the center. Some horseshoe nails
13. Area S, L113, B1045. Closed horseshoe with large a hole at the center. Some horseshoe nails can be seen. L. 10.5 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
14. Area KH, L320, B3098. Two closed horseshoes. Pear-shaped with a central hole. Some horseshoe nails can be seen. L. 12–13 cm, W. 10.5 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
15. Area KH, Topsoil. Closed horseshoe with a hole at the center. The edges overlap. L. 11 cm, W. 11 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. A similar horseshoe was found at Kfar Szold, Khirbat 'Ein Zagha, and was dated to the Mamluk period (Berger 2021: Fig. 8).
16. Area C, L221, B2209. Closed horseshoe with a large hole at the center. L. 13 cm, W. 12 cm, Th. 0.4 cm. Not illustrated.
17. Area KH, Topsoil B3085. Closed horseshoe with a hole at the center. L. 11 cm. W. 12.5 cm, Th. 0.4 cm. Not illustrated.
18. Area S, Topsoil from roof top. Small closed mule or donkey horseshoe. L. 8.7 cm, W. 5.6 cm, Th. 0.10 cm. Not illustrated.
19. Area C, L218, B2185. Horseshoe nail. Large square head, edge missing. L. 3 cm. Head is 1 x 0.6 cm. Not illustrated.
20. Area C, L225, B2225. Horseshoe nail. Large square head. L. 3.5 cm. Head is 1.5 x 0.6 cm.

Agricultural Tool (Figure 10.2)

1. Area C, Topsoil. Sickie. L. 20 cm, W. 2 cm.

**Figure 10.2.****Ancient and Modern Military Ammunition (Figure 10.3)*****The Arrowhead***

A single flat, leaf-shaped iron arrowhead was found at Na'arān. It was fixed to the shaft with a simple tang. Flat arrows are less suitable in combat against well-armed infantry and cavalry. They are not capable of penetrating scale or plate armor, helmets or shields. It seems that archers using these arrows targeted horses, which seldom wore armour in this region, or men who were poorly or only partially covered in armor. A similar arrowhead was found at Jaffa (Raphael 2017: Fig.13.3).

1. Area C, L213, B2126. Arrowhead or blade. Leaf shape. L. 5 cm, W. 1.85 cm.

***Bullets and Bullet Cases* (late 19th–20th c.)**

2. Area C, L200, B2003. Complete bullet. L. 8 cm, D. 1.3 cm.
3. Area C, L208, B2243. Three small complete pistol (?) bullets. L. 3 cm, D. 1 cm.
4. Area C, L226, B2069. Large machine gun bullet case. L. 11.5 cm, D. 2.5 cm.
5. Area C, L218, B2185, below floor. Three bullet cases. L. 5.2 cm, D. 1.6 cm; L. 5.3 cm, upper part missing, D. L. 4.7 cm, D. 1.2 cm.

6. Area C, L218, B2200. Bullet case. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.5 cm.
7. Area C, L212, B2242. Bullet case. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.2 cm.
8. Area C, L229, B2243. Bullet case. L. 5.3 cm, D. 1.2 cm.
9. Area C, Topsoil. 15 bullets and bullet cases. L. 15 cm, D. 2cm.
10. Area S, L101, B1004. Musket lead bullet. D. 1.5 cm. Not illustrated
11. Area KH, Topsoil, B3082. Lead musket bullet. D. 1.4 cm. Not illustrated
12. Topsoil, 259943/784993. Lead musket bullet. D. 1.7 cm. Not illustrated

Military Badges and Uniform Buttons (Figure 10.4)

1. Area C, L204, B2031. Two military buttons from the Syrian army. An eagle is engraved in the center. D. 2.2 cm.
2. Area KH, Topsoil, B3038. Military aluminum badge from the Syrian army. Star symbol in the center. D. 2.2 cm.



Figure 10.3.



Figure 10.4.

1:1

Domestic Utensils***Modern Locks and Keys*** (Figure 10.5)

1. Area C, L218, B2199. Small iron lock. Square body. L. 2.5 cm, W. 2.7 cm.
2. Area S, L115, B1057. Round flat face of an iron lock. D. 1.8 cm.
3. Area KH, Topsoil. Round flat face of an iron lock. L. 8.5 cm, W. 4 cm.
4. Area C, L213, B2102. Key. L. 5 cm, W. 2.2 cm.
5. Area C, L209, B2078. Key. L. 3.7 cm, W. 1.7 cm.
6. Area KH, Topsoil, fragment of modern key. H. 2.2 cm, D. 4.5 cm. Not illustrated.

Military and Civilian Table Ware (Figure 10.6)

1. Area C, L204, B2032. Found above floor. Two enamel bowls. Dark blue on the outside, white inside. Patches of rust. D. 21 cm, base D. 12 cm, depth 5 cm.

2. Area C, L204, B2044. Enamel bowl. Pink and white, with colored floral decoration, white exteriors. Patches of rust. D. 20 cm, base D. 12 cm, depth 5 cm.
3. Area C, L204, B2040. Elliptical military mess tin. Aluminum. Lid fixed with a hinge. L. 22 cm, W. 18.5 cm, H. 6 cm.
4. Area C, L204, B2041. Military mess tin. Oval-shaped with clips and hinge in the front.
5. Area KH, Topsoil, B3038. Aluminum kettle top. D. 5 cm.
6. Area C, L200, B2018. Spoon with broken handle. L. 9 cm, W. 3.5 cm.
7. Area KH, B3082. Medicine bottle cup. L. 2.4 cm, W. 1.2 cm.
8. Area KH, L300, B3005. Razor blade. L. 4.5 cm, W. 2.1 cm, T. <1 mm.

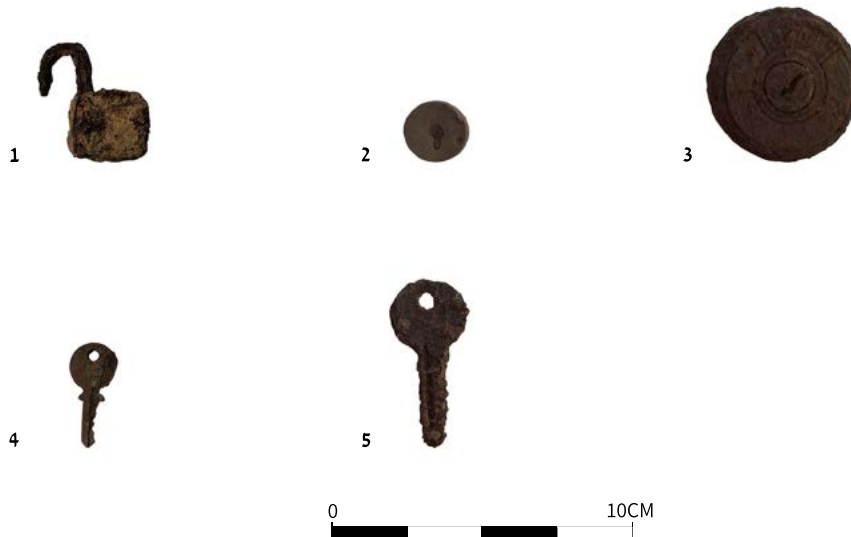
**Figure 10.5.**



Figure 10.6.

Metal, Boxes and Tin Cans

(Figure 10.7)

Ammunition Boxes

1. Area C, L204, B2032. Large rectangular metal box. W. 15 cm, L. 35.5 cm, H. 9 cm. Used for storing 500 bullets; short 7.62, AK 47. The boxes were sealed by soldering the lid with tin to prevent dampness.
2. Area C, L204, B2053. Large rectangular metal box. W. 15 cm, L. 35.5 cm, H. 9 cm. Similar to the above.

***Sardine Cans***

3. Area S, Fill above roof topsoil. Rectangular tin can, corroded, missing upper part. Base: 7.5 x 5.5 cm, H. 7cm. Small metal key: L. 4 cm.
4. Area C, L209, B2141. Rectangular tin can, probably for sardines, rusty. With key. L. 8 cm, W. 6 cm, H. 1.2 cm.

**Figure 10.7.**

Batteries (Figure 10.8)

1. Area C, L200, B2003. Cylindrical body of a coal battery, with a short rod in the center. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.6 cm.
2. Area KH, L319, B3092. Coal rod. L. 5.5 cm, D. 0.9 cm.
3. Area KH, L319, B3092. Battery, rusty. L. 5 cm, D. 2.6 cm.
4. Area KH, L303, B3014. Large battery, rusty. L. 6 cm, D. 3.5 cm.
5. Area KH, Top soil, B3038. Cylindrical body of a coal battery, with a short rod in the center. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.6 cm. Not illustrated.



Figure 10.8.



Figure 10.9.

Miscellaneous (Figure 10.9)

1. Area S, L106, B1022. Flat u-shaped iron object, unknown use. L. 9 cm, W. 11 cm.
2. Area C, L200, B2003. Arrow-shaped hinge. L. 11.4 cm, W. 4 cm.
3. Area C, L204, B2045. Found above floor. Metal chain with iron peg and iron loop.

FINDS FROM FARJ

Horseshoes (Figure 10.10)

- 1 Area SV, L601, B6010. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped. L. 12.5 cm, W. 11 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 2 Area SV, L900. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped. Some of the horseshoe nails can still be seen. L. 12 cm, W. 11 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 3 Area V, L602, B6043. Two closed horseshoes, pear-shaped, each has a hole in the center. Some of the horseshoe nails can still be seen. L. 13 cm, W. 12 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 4 Area V, L601, B6017. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped, with a large hole in the center. Some of nails can still be seen. L. 10.5 cm, W. 10 cm, Th. 0.4 mm.
- 5 Area SV, L914, B9019. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped, with a hole in the center. Some of the horseshoe nails can still be seen. L. 12 cm, W. 11.5 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 6 Area SV, L901, B9004. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped, with a large hole in the center. Some of the horseshoe nails can still be seen. L. 12 cm, W. 11.5 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 7 Area M, L506, B5054. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped, with a large hole in the center. Some of the horseshoe nails can still be seen. L. 11 cm, W. 10.5 cm, Th. 0.4 mm.
- 8 Area V, L604, B6035. Closed horseshoe, pear-shaped, with a hole in the center. L. 11.3 cm, W. 10 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
- 9 Area V, L604, B6057. U-shaped, small mule or donkey horseshoe. W. 7 cm, L. 7.5 cm, Th. 0.3 cm.

**Figure 10.10.**

Bullet Cases (Figure 10.11)

1. Area SV, L900. Bullet case. L. 5.6 cm, D. 1.7 cm.
2. Area M, L503, B5124. Bullet. L. 2 cm, D.1 cm.
3. Area M, L506, B5054. Bullet. L. 4 cm, D. 0.6 cm. Not illustrated.
4. Area V, L601, B6040. Bullet. L. 2 cm, D. 1 cm. Not illustrated.
5. Area V, L604, B6058. Bullet case. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.2 cm. Not illustrated.
6. Area M, L500. Bullet case. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.2 cm. Not illustrated.



Figure 10.11.

Military Uniform Button (Figure 10.12)

1. Area V, L600, B6007. Military button from Syrian army uniform, with eagle symbol in the center. D. 2.2 cm.



Figure 10.12.

Household Utensils

Knife Blades (Figure 10.13)

1. Area V, L601, B6010. Iron knife blade, point missing. Tanged handle. L. 21 cm, W. 4 cm, Th. 1 cm.
2. Area M, L500, B5010. Iron knife blade, point missing. Tanged handle. L. 21 cm, W. 4.cm, Th. 1 cm.
3. Area V, L629, B6103. Iron blade, leaf-shaped, thick layer of corrosion. Tanged. L. 19.5 cm, W. of tang 2.5 cm, W. of blade 0.6 cm.
4. Area SV, L904, B9006. Thin iron knife. Straight back. Fragment of wood on the handle. L. 22 cm, W. 2 cm.



Figure 10.13.

Table Ware (Figure 10.14)

1. Area M, L506, B5054. Aluminum kettle spout. L10.5 cm.
2. Area V, L603, B5054. Iron spoon. L. 18 cm, W. 4 cm.
3. Area V, L604, B6058. Bucket handle? Two hooks, one on each side. L. 15 cm, W. 3.2 cm.
4. Area VS, L904, B9008. Aluminum bowl. H. 7 cm, D. 17.5 cm. Not illustrated.
5. Area V, L600, B6001. Copper alloy rectangular bottle, fragment of shoulder and neck. W. 4.7 cm.
6. Area VS, L904, B9007. Copper alloy jug with spout. Thin handle stretches from the rim, clips on the base. H. 28.5 cm, D. 18 cm.
7. Area SV, L904, B9006. Door handle. L. 18 cm, W. 4 cm.
8. Area V, L633, B6118. Bronze bowl/jug, flaring rim fragment. Not illustrated.

**Figure 10.14.****Agricultural Tools** (Figure 10.15)

1. Area SV, L900, Cattle prod with broken socket. L. 15 cm, W. 5 cm, Th. 0.6 mm.
2. Area V, L602, B6023. Sickle. Missing handle. Shallow groove along the blade. L. 29 cm, W. 1–2.3 cm, Th. 0.3 mm (Avitsur 1976: 25, Fig. 15).
3. Area M, L503, B5012. Iron chisel. Square in section. L. 8 cm, W. 1.5 cm, Th. 1 cm. Not illustrated.
4. Area SV, L904, B9006. Iron adz. Arched back, fan shaped blade. Used for crude carpentry. Corroded and cracked. L. 12 cm, W. 7 cm. (Avitsur 1976: 147, Fig. 381).

**Figure 10.15.**

Jewelry (Figure 10.16)

1. Area M, L509, B5067. Plated copper, coiled bracelet fragment. L. 5 cm, D. 0.7 cm. Mamluk–Ottoman.
2. Area V, L601, B6028. Copper alloy, small box, filigree work. For holding a good luck charm. L. 2.8cm, W. 2.1 cm.
3. Area M, L502, B5128. Disc ornament, decorated. Part of a piece of jewelry or stitched onto a cloth garment. D. 2.2 cm. Not illustrated.
4. Area V, L635, B6147. Fibula, crude, corroded. L. 4.4 cm., Byzantine. Not illustrated.
5. Area V, L600, B6144. Copper alloy bell. D. 2.5 cm.



Figure 10.16.

Medical or Cosmetic Utensils (Figure 10.17)

1. Area V, L629, B6098. Bronze rod with tiny spoon on the edge. Medical or cosmetic utensil. 4.5 x 0.75 cm.



Figure 10.17.

Spouted Filler (Figure 10.18)

1. Area V, L622, B6142. Copper alloy (bronze) spouted filler. Round dipper bowl with decorated rim and a flat base. L. 6 cm, D. 6 cm, H. 2.5 cm. Found in topsoil fill above the paved courtyard in front of the northern villa. Similar objects were found in Tiberias at Hamat and were dated to the Fatimid period (Khamis and Amir 1999).



Figure 10.18.

Miscellaneous (Figure 10.19)

1. Area V, L601, B6040. Coal battery, Cylindrical body with coal rod in the center. L. 5.5 cm, D. 1.6 cm.
2. Area V, L600, B6141. Iron buckle. L. 3 cm, W. 1.5 cm.
3. Area V, L600, B6141. Flat copper rabbit. L. 6 cm, W. 3.5 cm.

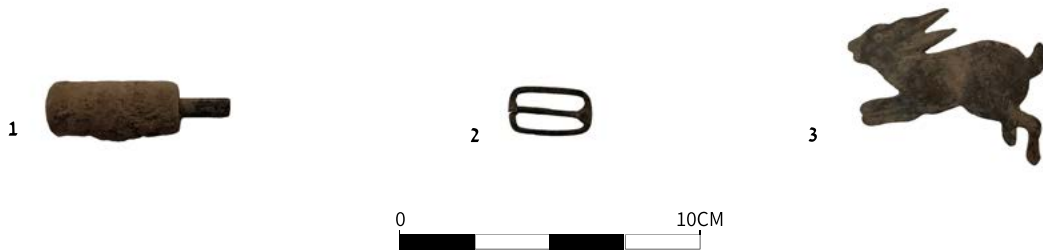


Figure 10.19.

CHAPTER 11

A SILVER ISLAMIC AMULET

Ami Schrager

A silver pear-shaped amulet was found with a metal detector during a survey in the western Golan, near Kibbutz Shamir.¹ The tapering upper part is bent. It measures 5 cm in length with a maximum width of 3.5 cm. It contains 11 lines of text, inscribed between fine scored lines and divided by points, with no vowels. The incised script is Ottoman naskhī. There are probably two more lines of text under the fold at the top.

Āyat al-Kursī (Q, 2: 255)

(١) [بِسْمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحْمَنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ] (٢) ٱللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ (٤) ٱلْحَيُّ ٱلْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ (٥) وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا ٱلَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ (٧) إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ (٨) وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ (٩) السَّمَاوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ (١٠) ٱلْعَلِيُّ ٱلْعَظِيمُ (١١) عبد الرزاق

Basmalah. God there is no God but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, nor sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him, save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge, save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and earth; the



Figure 11.1. Front inscribed with the *Āyat al-Kursī* (Q, 2:255). (Photograph by Niv Betsalel).



Figure 11.2. Back inscribed with the name of the Prophet محمد. (Photograph by Niv Betsalel).

¹ We would like to thank Rani Bar Nur who found this amulet, for cleaning it and handing it over to us.

preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the all-high, the all-glorious (Q, 2:255)² ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

As mentioned above the top of the amulet is bent and probably consists of two more lines. We did not try to unfold it in order not break it. It is probable that these two lines consist of only a few words, which seems compatible with the traditional opening words of the Muslim *basmalah*.

The name of the Prophet محمد is inscribed 42 times on the back, arranged in rows.

Similar pear-shaped amulets dating to the 19th–20th century can be found in the private collection of Dr. Tewfik Canaan (1882–1964), a prominent Palestinian physician and ethnographer. His collection of over 1400 amulets, now kept in Bir Zeit University, was partly published in a paper researched and written by Canaan.³ Furthermore, several silver and copper alloy amulets with verses from the Quran can be seen in the private collection of Mr. Lenny Wolfe.⁴ In addition, we can detect in similar amulets dating to the 19th–20th century, *hamzah* signs, a feature that was introduced into Arabic writing during the Ottoman period. We believe that we can spot *hamzah* signs in the

amulet under discussion in line 8 next to the words *shay’* and *shā’a*. Thus the dating of this amulet to the Ottoman period seems certain. According to Canaan, the use of verses from the Quran is based on a common belief that illnesses and misfortunes are caused by superhuman powers and require the names of God, angels, prophets, saints and holy books to counteract them. The “throne verse” *Āyat al-Kursī* (Q, 2: 255) is also known as “the verse of those seeking refuge and help,” “the fortifying verse,” or “the verse that drives out Satan.” It is one of the most frequent Quranic verses inscribed on amulets.⁵ Furthermore, we note the importance of Muḥammad as a protector against evil spirits; as mentioned above his name is inscribed 42 times on the back of this amulet. While such amulets appear to have been common among all Palestinian classes, including men, women and children, it seems that none have so far surfaced in archaeological excavations or surveys. The craftsmanship of the amulet is fairly simple and, other than the inscribed verse, there are no decorative symbols. The writing is neat and legible. The name ‘Abd al-Razzāq, written at the end of the Quranic quote, is probably that of the silversmith.

2 *The Koran*. Translated by A.J. Arberry (New York, 1955).

3 Canaan, T. The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans. In *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*. Ed. E. Savage-Smith (Aldershot, U.K., 2004), Figs. 2 and 6.

4 I would like to thank both Professor Gidon Bohak from Tel Aviv University, who sent me Canaan’s article, and Mr. Lenny Wolfe for providing further information on these amulets and sending some photographs of similar amulets from his own collection.

5 Canaan, The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans, 73, 75; Porter, V. *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum*. The British Museum Research Publication (Netherlands, 2011), 132.

CHAPTER 12

AN EARLY ARABIC GRAFFITO INSCRIPTION FROM FARJ: A PRAYER FOR FORGIVENESS

Ami Schrager



Figure 12.1. An early Arabic graffito inscription
(Photograph by Eran Meir).

A slab of basalt stone (Area M, L509, B5131) was found in secondary use in the layer of collapse

above the courtyard floor of the domestic complex in Farj, dated to the end of the Mamlūk/beginning of the Ottoman period (Fig. 12.1). It measures 0.68 x 0.34 x 0.20 cm. There are three visible lines incised on the stone in an early angular script, no points, and no vowels. Each letter is 3–4 cm in size (Fig. 12.2).

The inscription reads:

(١) غفر ربي (٢) لعمر ابن (!) (٣) مالك

My Lord, forgive 'Umar b. Mālik

Similar graffiti of Muslim religious texts inscribed on stones have been found in other locations in Israel, for example, in the Negev, at Bayt Jubrin, Yavne-Yam and at Sussita (Hippos).¹ Traversing the long distance from Egypt to Syria, caravans would stop in safe locations along the road. It seems that during these stops a unique Muslim practice gradually developed: the inscription of Islamic religious verses and prayers on rocks near the campsite. These prayers were individual and personal in nature, not collective. Each person would tell the inscriber his name, and the inscriber would inscribe a specific prayer on the

¹ Sharon, M. Arabic Rock Inscriptions from the Negev. In Sussmann A. (ed.) *Ancient Rock Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1990), 9–35; Sharon, M. *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* 2 (Leiden, 1999); Sharon, M. An Early Arabic Inscription from the Damascus Maximus. In Eisenberg M., Segal, A., Mlynarczyk, J., Burdajewicz, M. and Schuler, M. *Hippos-Sussita: Seventh Season of Excavations (July 2006)* (Haifa, 2006), 43–46.



Figure 12.2. Farj Inscription, a prayer for forgiveness (photograph by Eran Meir).

stone, dedicated to the individual—sometimes a message of unity, sometimes Qur’ānic verses, and sometimes prayers asking for forgiveness.

In this case the religious inscription is a prayer for Allah’s forgiveness. The original location of this stone might have been close to the later house. The builders of the house used the stone and either missed or ignored the inscription.

The person mentioned in this inscription might be ‘Umar b. Mālik al-Shar‘abī al-Mu’āfirī. Arabic sources mention a pious scholar from Egypt by this name who was considered a trustworthy and

authentic Hadith transmitter. Adh-Dhahabī listed him under the people who passed away between 151–160 AH/768–777 CE.² This dating coincides perfectly with the writing style of the inscription. The letter ‘ayn in the name ‘Umar is closed, yet there are no other ornaments such as arrowheads at the top or bottom of the letters or swallowtails or other floral decorations that appear later in the 3rd AH/9th CE centuries. Thus, the name itself and the style of writing, both lead to the conclusion that this inscription may be dated to the middle of the 2nd century AH/middle of the 8th century CE.

² Adh-Dhabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. *Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-A’lām* (Beirut, 2003), 166–167.

CHAPTER 13

CATALOGUE GOLAN SURVEY¹ AND COINS
FROM NA'ARĀN (PERMIT J-16/2022) AND FARJ (PERMIT J-21/2022)

Robert Kool

	SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	MINT	REFER- ENCE	IAA NO.
ROMAN EMPIRE												
Provincial, 1st c. CE												
1	Kibb. Shamir- stray find	259705 / 784847	surf	SH6	5.55	21	↑	Illegible	Head of Tyche to r.			189309
Saloninus, 256–260, antoninianus												
2	Nahal Klil, stray-find		surf	NK1	3.15	21	↑	SALON VALERIANVS NOB CAES Radiate, draped and cui- rassed bust to right	SPES PVBLICA Spes standing to left, holding skirt and presenting flower to prince standing to right, hold- ing spear; wreath in field above	Samosata	<i>MIR</i> 36, 43, 44: No.1696	189324
Maximianus, 284–305 CE, follis												
3	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259746 / 784906	surf	SH4	2.38	22	↑	IMP C MA MAXIMI- ANVS AVG Radiate bust r.	CONCORDIA MI–LITVM emperor standing facing to right, holding parazonium, receiving Victory from Jupiter standing facing to left, hold- ing sceptre S between, XXI• in exergue	Cyzicus	<i>RIC</i> -5/2: 291, No.607	189303
Maximinus Daza II, 310–313 CE, follis												
3	J-16/ 2022	KH	307	3077	3.59	25	↑	[IMP] C GALVALMAX- IMIA [NVS —]OB[—]AVG Head r.	GENIO[EXERCITVS] Genius stg. L. holding patera and cornucopiae		Cf. <i>RIC</i> 6: 638, No.147	178994
Constantine I, 310–337 CE												
4	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.84	21	↓	IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG Laureate and draped bust of Constantine I to right	SOLI INV–I-CTO COMITI / R T Sol, nude but for chlamys, standing front, but slightly turned to right, head to left, raising his right hand in salute and holding globe in his left	Rome	Cf. <i>RIC</i> 7: 302, No.50	189344

1 Many thanks are due to Rani Bar Nur from Kibbutz Shamir for giving us access to the coins for publication, and to Orna Cohen who cleaned the coins.

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
BYZANTINE EMPIRE													
Constantine I, 325–337 CE													
5	J-16/2022	Vs	902	9002	2.25	17	↑ CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG Diademed bust of Constantine	GLORIA EXERCITVS two soldiers standing facing each other, each holding spear and resting shield on ground, two standards between; SMANA in exergue	335–341	Antioch	LRBC 130, Nos. 1356	mini- hoard	189335
6	J-16/2022	Vs	902	9002	2.09	16	↑ CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C bust of constantine, laureate	GLORIA EXERCITVS Same; [—] in exergue	335–337		same	mini- hoard	189336
383–395													
7	J-16/2022		215	2154	0.42	10	Bust r. (?)	SALVS REIPUBLICAE Victory dragging captive	383–395		Cf. LRBC 2: 102, No. 2368		178988
Byzantine, 4th c., nummus													
8	J-16/2022	KH	surf	3084	2.40	17x18	↑ Diademed bust r.	two figures					189301
9	J-16/2022	C	215	2165	1.53	16x17	↑ [—]VS NOB[—] Diademed bust r.	GLOR[IA EXERCITVS two soldiers holding spears and shields with two standards between them	330–340		Cf. LRBC 1: 30, Nos. 1356		178989
Byzantine, 5th c., nummus													
10	J-16/2022		219	2189	0.95	12	↑ [—]AVG Bust r. consular robe	Figure stg. to r.					178990
11	J-16/2022	KH	302	3015	0.80	11	Illegible	Illegible					178993
12	J-21/2022	surface	502	5127	1.01	13	Bust r.	Illegible					189374
Theodosius II, 408–450 CE													
13	J-16/2022	V	636	6125			↑ [—]SIVS Diademed bust r.	Two emperors facing, heads turned r. and l., each holding shield and spear	408–423		Cf. LRBC 2: 82, No. 1876		189331
POST-REFORM BYZANTINE EMPIRE													
Justin II (568–578), follis													
14	J-16/2022	S	102	1049	11.02	28x30	↓ imperial couple enthroned, holding scepter and large globe cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate	M above cross; to l.: A/N/N/O in ex.: THEUP		Antioch	Cf. MIBEC: 101, No. 56		178975
15	H. Faraj J-21/2022	M	504	5033	9.64	30	↓ Same	M above cross; to r.: Ψ II		Nicomedia	Cf. DOC 1: 229, No. 99		189373
Tiberius II (578–582 CE) — follis													
16	J-16/2022	KH	310	3033	9	30	↑ [—]CONS[—] frontal consular bust of emperor, crowned, holding gl. Cr.	M to l. A/N/N/O; above cross below A		Nicomedia	Cf. MIBEC: 122, No. 35		178995

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
Heracius (610–641 CE) — <i>Follis</i>													
17	J-16/2022	S	111	1040	2.74	20	↑ [—] emperor sig., with long beard and crown with cross holding long cross in r. hand. l. hand on hip; to the r. his son Heracius Constantine stg. With short beard	M	620–630s	Constanti-nople	Cf. DOC 2/1.297, No.107		178978
Byzantine — <i>Follis</i>													
18	J-16/2022	S	102	1011	5.23	28	↓ Illegible	M	550–600	Constanti-nople			178974
Constans II or Arab-Byzantine imitations Second half seventh century, <i>follis</i>													
19	J-16/2022	S	111	1039	2.70	21x22	↑ emperor stg., front, holding glob.cr. And long staff, wearing crown with cross	M to l. and r.: A/N/N/O	640–670		<i>SICA</i> 1: Pls. 36–37, type E.	Worn	178977
UMMAYYADS Post-reform (696–750), <i>fals</i>													
20	J-16/2022	S	115	1061	2.75	20	↓ In center: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ In margin: محمد رسول الله بدمشق.....	In center: محمد رسول الله In margin: بدمشق.....		Damas-cus	<i>Cf. SICA</i> 2: No. 1182	Half com	178985
AYYUBIDS Sultans of Egypt Al Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf I, 570–589AH/ 1174–1193 CE, <i>fals</i>													
21	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find	259940 / 784927		4.08	23x25		In center: الملك الناصر Same	In center: يوسف بن أيوب Same		Damas-cus	<i>SICA</i> 6: Nos 887–888	perfo-rated	189338
22	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find			4.37	23		Same	Same		Damas-cus	Balog 1980: 94, No.148		189364
Al 'Adil Sayf al din Abu Bakr I (1193–1218), 592–613/1186–1216 CE, <i>fals</i>													
23	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find	259513 / 784785	surf	SH3	4.74	24	Illegible	In center: ابو بكر بن أيوب		Damas-cus	<i>SICA</i> 6: No.1003		189311
Principality of Aleppo Al-Zahir Ghazi, 582–613/1186–1216, <i>fals</i>													
24	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find	259707 / 784873	surf	SH2	3.63	22	Hexagram In center: الملك الظاهر [— — —]	Hexagram In center: الإمام لناصر امير [— — —]		Damas-cus	Balog 1980: 215, No.670		189307

	SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR)	DIAM. (MM)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
25	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find				3.33	21x22		Same	Same		Same	Same		189365
26	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259707 / 784873	surf	SH2	3	22		Hexagram In center: المالك الظاهر	Hexagram In center: illegible		Damas- cus	Balog 1980: 216, No.679	perfo- rated	189305
ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA Levon III, 1305–1307 CE., <i>tram</i>														
27	J-21/2022	M	508	5063	1.57	18x21	↓	Armenian inscription: “Levon, king of the Armenians” Equestrian king crowned and holding cruciform scepter, riding to right	Armenian inscription: “Struck in the city of Sis” Lion advancing right; Patriarchal cross behind		Sis	Cf. Bedou- kian 1962:337, No.1740		189329
28	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.18	18x20	↓	Same	Same		Sis	Same	clipped	189340
Mongol Ilkhanid rulers, 14th c. CE., <i>fals</i>														
29	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			1.25	19		Ruler on horseback, riding right, holding a scepter (?) in hand	Tamga; within inscription: ضرب / با		Khabu- san, North Eastern Persia	https://www.zeno.ru/show-photo.php?photo=258026		189342
MAMLŪKS Al Nasir Nasir Muhammad third reign, 1309–1340 c. CE., <i>dirham fraction</i>														
30	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259523 / 784988			1.17	15		Illegible	In margin: بدمشق ... In center: a fesse		Damas- cus	Balog 1964:131, No.166		189366
31	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			1.33	11x12		Illegible	Illegible		Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: 146, No.212		189341
32	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259522 / 784968			1.66	11x12		Illegible	Illegible		Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: 146, No.212		189369
<i>fals</i>														
33	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find				1.79	19x25		Horizontal legend: السلطان الملك الدنيا والدين محمد	Horizontal legend: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله			Balog 1964: 149, No.219		189320
34	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259563 / 784902	surf	SH11	2.34	18		Illegible	Illegible	1310–40	Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: 149, No.220		189315

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	OBVERSE AXIS	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
35	Huleh valley survey-find			2.84	17x20	Circular line; in center: محمد	Illegible			Balog 1964: 152, No. 231		189372
36	Huleh valley survey-find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		2.34	17	In center: محمد	In center: قلاوب		Cairo	Balog 1964: 152, No. 232		189347
37	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259590 / 784887	SH10	2.48	18	Same	Same		Same	Same		189310
38	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			1.06	15x17	الملك/ الناصر	Field divided into three Segments. Upper and lower: arabesque Central: bendy to l.			Balog 1964: 157, no.245.		189380
39	J-16/2022	KH	surf	0.90	16	Illegible.	Six-petaled rosette in hexalobe.			Cf. Balog 1964:160, Nos. 256– 258.		189300
40	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259545 / 784734	120	2.34	19x18	Illegible	linear hexagram. Pellets in the external angles; center: six-petaled rosette with central pellet.	1310–40	Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: No.257		189322
Al-Mansur Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr, 741–742 AH/ 1341 CE, fals												
41	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	260069 / 784855	113	2.61	20	Linear hexagram; overstruck with inscription: المنصور...	Linear hexagram; in center: ضرب/ مشق/ بد	1340–1380	Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: 164, No.267 (?)		189323
Al- Nâsir Nâsir ad-Dîn Hasan, 2nd reign (AH 755–762 / 1354–1361 CE), fals												
42	Huleh valley survey-find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		2.16	20x17	Triangle with Interwoven sides.	Triangle with Interwoven sides.		Damas- cus	Balog 1964: 200, No.374.		189354
Al Mansur Salah al-Din Muhammad, AH 762–764/ 1361–1363 CE, Fals												
43	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			2.03	16	Field divided into three Segments: top and bottom with Six-petaled rosette/flowerets In center: الملك المنصور	Field divided into three Segments. Upper: حماة Central: bendy to l. Lower: ضرب		Hamah	Balog 1964: 206, No.394.		189379
Al Ashraf Sha'aban II Nasir al-Din, AH 764–778/ 1363–1377 CE, fals												
44	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259750 / 784880	SH9	2.53	18x20	In upper and lower segments Arabesques In central segment: الملك الاشرف	Three segmented field: [...] وسبعماية سنة سبعين [...]		Damas- cus	Balog 1964:220, No. 454.		189306

	SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
45	J-16/2022		219	2193	1.49	19		Illegible	[...] سبعين		Same	Same		178992
46	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find				1.35	17		Same	Same		Same	same		189321
47	Qal'at al- Subei-ba				2.70	17		Spindle shaped cartouche with fleur-de-lis edge In center: مشق بد	Octolobe with floweret On the edges. In center: حسن بن		Damas- cus	Cf Balog 1964: 221, No. 458.		189332
48	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.17	17x20		Same	Same [...] الاشرف [...]		Same	Same		189343
49	Huleh valley survey- find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.30	17		Same	Same		Same	Same		189345
50	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find				3.72	22x20		Same	Same		Same	Same		189348
51	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259698 / 784884	surf	SH5	3.60	21x22		Dodecagonal curved border	Illegible			Cf. <i>SIC/M Egypt III</i> :120, No.510		189314
Al-Salih Salah Al-Din Hajji II, 1st reign (AH 783–784 / 1381–1382CE), fals														
52	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find				2.01	17		Inner circle: حاضي	Inner circle: fleur-de-lis		Damas- cus	Balog 1964: 243, No.524		189382
2nd reign AH 791–792/1389–1390 CE, dirhem														
53	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259590 / 784964			2.01	19x20		الناصر باصر الدنيا... الدين	لا اله الا الله رسول الله... باهدي ...			Balog 1964: 246, No.530		189368
fals														
54	J-16/2022	C	214	2203	2.63	16x17		Field divided by two Horizontal fesses in three segments. [— — —] السلطان الملك [— — —]	Linear hexagram with Dot in small triangles In center: ضرب مشق [— — —]		Damas- cus	Balog 1964: 246, No. 532.		189297

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR)	DIAM. (MM)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
55	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			2.14	18x21		Same	Same		Same	Same		189319
Al-Zāhir Sayf ad-Dīn Barqūq, 1st reign (AH 784-791 / 1382-1389 CE), fals													
56	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.16	18		السلطان الملك الظاهر [---]	Circle of big dots; in center: برقوق		Damas- cus	Balog 1964: 259, No. 562.		189350
2nd reign, 792-801 AH/1390-1399 CE, fals													
57	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			5.19	20x22		السلطان الملك الظاهر [---]	Illegible			Cf. Balog 1964:263, No.578.		189384
58	J-16/2022	S	115	3.79	20		[---]/الظاهر/ [---]	Illegible	1360-1390	Same	Balog 1964: 265, No. 587.		178980
59	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259575 / 784793	60F	3.48	22x23		[---]/السلطان الملك/ [---]	ضرب / سكند / رية		Same	Same		189302
60	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.91	15x17		السلطان [---]/الظاهر		Same				189360
61	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		2.85	16x19		Double linear dekalobe; in center: برقوق ...	Illegible		Damas- cus	Cf. Balog 1964: 265, No.588		189362
62	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	260051 / 784800	48F	4.86	22x25		Linear dodekalobe السلطان الملك / الظاهر [---]/برقوق/ [---]	Fleur-de-lis chalice	799 AH=1396/1397	Same	Balog 1964: 266, No. 591		189317
63	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.23	22x19		Illegible	Illegible			Same		189353
Anonymous, c.AH 792/1389 CE													
64	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			2.01	17		Fesse, with three segments Upper: ضرب Central: bendy to l. Lower: خصة	Three segments forming composite blazon: Central: chalice Upper: second smaller cup			SNAT 1998: 50, No 662; Mayer 1933:30, No.2 or 8		189381

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
Al-Násir Násir ad-Dīn Abū al-Sa'adāt Faraj, 2nd reign (AH 809–815 / 1406–1412 CE), cut dirham													
65	Huleh valley survey- find 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.66	16x18		السلطان الملك /النصيرفرج	لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى			Balog 1964: 283, No. 640		189346
66	Huleh valley survey 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.13	11x17		Inner circle in center: فرج	Illegible			Balog 1964: 287, No.651		189358
67	Huleh valley survey 278386 / 762762			3.72	21x22		الملك [- - -] / فرج	Inner circle with lion en passant to l., tail curled back			Balog 1964: 294, No.668		189375
Mamluks 14th — 15th c., dirhem													
68	bb Shamir-stray-find			2.61	10x13		Illegible	محمد رسول الله...	14th c.				189378
69	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find			1.14	12		Illegible	(والديب ؟)	Mid 14th c.				189367
70	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find			1.03	14			Illegible	15th c.				189370
<i>fals</i>													
71	Huleh valley survey- find 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.31	19x20		Dotted border; legend: السلطان الملك	Illegible	1310–1370				189356
72	J-16/2022 C	221	2209	1.59	15x17		Illegible	Illegible	1310–1360				189326
73	Huleh valley survey- find 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			3.60	19		Illegible	Illegible	14th c.				189357
74	Huleh valley survey- find 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.13	15x17		Illegible	Illegible	14th c.				189351
75	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find			2.37	17		ضرب...	Linear dekalobe with small fleur-de-lis on points (?)	14th c.				189363
76	Kibb. Shamir-stray-find	surf	SH12	2	20		Field divided in two (?); below legend: ... الن...	Illegible	14th c.				189312
77	J-16/2022 C	209	2077	2.95	21		Illegible	Illegible	14th c.				178987
78	Huleh valley survey 259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045			2.93	20		Illegible	Illegible	Second half 14th c.				189359

CATALOGUE GOLAN SURVEY AND COINS

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
79	J-16/2022	S	1051	1.64	16x14		Legend in inner circle	Legend in inner circle	Late 14th c.				178979
80	J-21/2022	M	5032	2.07	19		Field divided by two horizontal lines	Hexagram (?)	Late 14th c.				189333
81	J-16/2022	C	2202	2.86	20		Illegible	Illegible	Second half 14th — early 15th c.				189299
82	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	F	23069	3.95	24x20		In field: المالك		Second half 14th — early 15th c.				189318
83	Huleh valley survey- find			3.55	19x17		Illegible	Illegible	Second half 14th — early 15th c.				189371
84	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			4.27	21x19		Illegible	Illegible	Second half 14th — early 15th c.				189383
85	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find			4.20	20		Illegible	Illegible	Second half 14th — early 15th c.				189385
86	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	259537 / 784865	SH8	4.94	19x20		Illegible	Illegible	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189308
87	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		4.34	17		Illegible	Illegible	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189349
88	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.85	17x22		In field: [— — —] الظاهر [— — —]	Illegible	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189352
89	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.71	20x23		Legend in field: السلطان الملك [— — —]	Illegible	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189348
90	J-16/2022	C	2215	4.11	21x20		Legend in field: الملك [— — —]	Legend in field: خرب [— — —]	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189328
91	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.44	22x20		Illegible	Illegible	Late 14th — early 15th c.				189361
92	Huleh valley survey	259791 / 784908; 259795 / 785045		3.93	20		Illegible	illegible	Early 15th c.				189355
93	Kibb. Shamir- stray-find	260122 / 784773	110	3.05	22		Legend in field: السلطان الملك [— — —]	Illegible	Early 15th c.				189304
94	J-16/2022	S	1053	1.70	18x22		Illegible	Illegible	14th—15th c.				178981

	SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR)	DIAM. (MM)	AXIS	OBVERSE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
95	K'ibb. Shamir- stray-find	259947 / 784953			2.08	16x14		Illegible	Illegible	14th–15th c.				189337
96	K'ibb. Shamir- stray-find				2.54	21x20		Illegible	Illegible	14th–15th c.				189386
OTTOMAN EMPIRE														
Muhammad II, 848–886 AH/ 1451–1481 CE, mangir														
97	K'ibb. Shamir- stray-find	259731 / 784853	surf	SH7	1.78	19		Field divided by three horizontal lines: Upper: illegible Middle: "Mehmed" Below: illegible	Field divided by two horizontal lines: Above: "Khallada allahu" Below:			Cf. Kabak- lari 1998: 137, No.07- Adf-01 —unpub- lished(?)		189316
Early Ottoman, 16th century, mangir														
98	J-16/2022		205	2125	1.07	15		Illegible	illegible					178986
99	J-16/2022	C	221	2210	1.21	14x16		Illegible	illegible					189327
100	K'ibb. Shamir- stray-find				2.48	15x12		Illegible	Illegible					189387
Abdul Aziz, 1277–1293/1861–1876, 5 para														
101	J-16/2022	S	115	1054	2.13	23	Tughra	In center: سنة / ١٢٧٧ In margin: عز نصره ضرب في قسطنطينية			Same	Cf. Pere 1968:269, No.948		178982
Abdul Hamid II, 1293–1327 AH/1876–1909 CE, 5 para														
102	Nahal Kil				2.44	22	Tughra سنة / year 3	In center: سنة / ١٢٩٧ In margin: عز نصره ضرب في قسطنطينية			Same	Cf. Pere 1968:281, No.998	perfo- rated	189325
Late Ottoman														
103	K'ibb. Shamir- stray-find	V	614	6051	9.12	28	Tughra	In margin: عز نصره ضرب في قسطنطينية			Konstan- tine-yeh			189334
104	J-16/2022	S	115	1054	1.29	20	Illegible	Illegible					Perfo- rated	178983
105	J-16/2022	259925 / 784940			4.43	22	Illegible	In margin: ضرب في قسطنطينية [—] / ضرب في			Konstan- tine-yeh		Perfo- rated	189339
106	J-21/2022	C	214	2201	1.20	19	Tughra						Perfo- rated	189298

SITE/ LICENSE	AREA	LOCUS	BASKET	WEIGHT (GR.)	DIAM. (MM.)	AXIS	OBSERVE	REVERSE	DATE (CE)	MINT	REFERENCE	NOTES	IAA NO.
Mandatory Syrian Republic (1930–1946), 1 piastre													
107	J-21/2022			4.47	24		Wreath made of oak and olive tree branches دولة سورية * ETAT DE SYRIE *	Two lion heads and branches of olive tree غرش واحد 1 PIASTRE 1 1936 - ١٩٣٦	1929		https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces2712.html		189376
108	J-16/2022	V	600	4.87	24		In field: a wreath composed of an olive branch and an oak branch	1 PIASTER / 1933 (IN FRENCH AND ARABIC)	1935				189330
KINGDOM OF EGYPT (1922–1950) Farouk (1936–1952), token (?)													
109	J-16/2022	KH	surface	1.35	23		Portrait of King Farouk facing r., wearing hat In margin: فاروق الأول ملك مصر	Illegible, worn		Misr			178973
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC OF SYRIA AND EGYPT (1958–1961), 2.5 piastre													
110	J-16/2022	S	115	1.99	17		قرش سنين (2½) (2½) above rectangle with (texted value) قرش ونصف (two and a half qirsh/piaster) Bottom: الجمهورية العربية المتحدة (United Arab Republic (UAR)	2nd Coat of arms (1958–1961, “Eagle of Saladin” looking left, شعار سوريا with two 5-pointed stars (Syria & Egypt), above arced scroll with (state name/ motto) الجمهورية العربية المتحدة	1960	Damas-cus	https://colnect.com/en/coins/list/country/207-Syria/series/41050-1958-1961-United_Arab_Republic		178984
5 piastre													
111	J-16/2022	S	102	3	19		خمورنية قروش (5) above (arced) قروش (a.i.r.ū.m.s.khā sh.u.r.q → five Qirsh/ Piastres) inside diamond (rhombus) between mirrored artistic design legend: (top, state name) الجمهورية العربية المتحدة (al-Jumhūriyyah al-'Arabiyyah al-Muttaḥidah, United Arab Republic (UAR)) (lower-left/right, spacers/5-pointed stars) ★ (pointed circle-wise)	2nd Coat of arms (1958–1961, “Eagle of Saladin” looking left, شعار سوريا with two 5-pointed stars above arced scroll with (state name/ motto) الجمهورية العربية المتحدة legend: (left, Western year in Arabic numerals) ١٩٦٠ (1960) (right, Arabic year, Hijra) ١٣٨٠ (AH1380)	1960	Damas-cus	Same		178976
112				2.94	19		Same	Same	Same	Same	Same		189377

CHAPTER 14
THREE NEW GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE GOLAN
Nancy Benovitz

Three Byzantine Greek inscriptions engraved on stone slabs were discovered in secondary use in the course of the excavations; one at Na'arān and two at Farj.

NA'ARĀN

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab discovered in secondary use in the Hauranian house among the upper levels of collapse (Fig. 14.1). The slab, measuring 56 x 36 cm, is cracked in several places but nevertheless appears to be intact.¹

Three lines of text are visible. The first line is very worn and difficult to read. The text does not appear to continue beyond the third line, nor do there appear to be any symbols in the large empty space below it. The letters measure 6-8 cm and reflect a mixture of square and oval scripts.

ΘΑΧΡΑCΙ
ΙΩΑΝ[-]
ΕΤΑΑ

Θάρ{α}σι | Ἰωάν[νης] | ἐτ(ῶν) αλ'

Be of good courage, John. Thirty-four years.



Figure 14.1. The Byzantine tombstone from Na'arān (Area C, L200, B2187).

The inscription is typical of the simple Christian epitaphs of the Golan, which open with the expression “Be of good courage” followed by the name of the deceased and his or her age at death. Nevertheless, a few comments are necessary. First, there

¹ The tombstone was returned to the site.

appears to be a *chi* partially overlapping the *rho* in the middle of line 1, perhaps forming a *chi-rho* (a christogram) at the top of the stone. Inscription no. 7 from Na'arān presents a similar case, in which a cross appears in the center of the first line of the epitaph, after the *rho* in Θάρσι.² However, since the first line of our inscription is worn, and the symbol resembling a *chi* does not properly overlap the *rho*, the presence the *chi*, or *chi-rho*, is not certain. If it is, indeed, meant to be a *chi-rho*, it is certainly a misshapen one. Perhaps because of this intrusion, the stonecutter made a mistake in the word Θάρσι, adding an extraneous *alpha* after the *rho/chi-rho*. As for the common Christian name John appearing in line 2, since the end of the line is worn, we cannot be certain if the name was spelled with one *nu* or two, with an *iota* instead of an *eta* (due to the phenomenon of iotacism) or abbreviated to fit into the available space; it was probably undeclined. Two notable features appear in line 3. For one thing, the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated after the *tau*, which is not uncommon in the Golan inscriptions. Sometimes the abbreviation is marked with a diagonal stroke through the *tau* (see, for example, inscription no. 6 from Na'arān).³ However, while this common abbreviation mark usually descends from right to left, in our inscription, it crosses the *tau* from left to right. It should also be noted that the representation of the deceased's age at death—thirty-four—by the letters *alpha lamda* reflect an ascending order, whereas a cursory examination indicates that a descending order was more usual in inscriptions from the Golan in this period, at least as regards the age at death.

FARJ

Two Greek inscriptions engraved on tombstones were discovered in secondary (or tertiary?) use in the pavement of a courtyard of the Northern Villa at Farj.⁴ The first (Fig. 14.2) measures 70 x 30 cm and has a large crack dividing the tombstone into two. While the parts seem to belong to the same slab, it is not certain that they are contiguous. The upper part appears to be thicker than the lower, suggesting



Figure 14.2. The Byzantine tombstone incorporated in the pavement of the Northern Villa (Area V, L639) at Farj.

2 Dauphin, C., Brock, S., Gregg, R.G. and Beeston, A.F.L. Païens, Juifs, Judéo- Chrétiens, Chrétiens et Musulmans en Gaulanité: Les Inscriptions de Na'arān, Kafr Naffakh, Farj et er-Ramthāniyye. *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46 (1996), 315-316.

3 Dauphin, et al. Païens, Juifs, Judéo-Chrétiens, 315.

4 The stones were left *in situ*.

that something is missing between them. However, the lower part may simply have sunk deeper into the ground. The main problem is the semicircular cavity at the bottom of the upper part. It seems that the cavity might actually have been circular or oval, and that its lower part is missing. It is possible that the cavity points to a secondary use of the stone, and that its use as flooring is actually the third stage of use.

The upper part of the inscription is fragmentary in its own right, with missing text at least on the left, right, and bottom edges. Letters from three lines of script are visible, but the inscription is too partial to be deciphered. Lines 1 and 2 may be parts of names.

[--]AIANO[--]
 [--]AΛAΦ[--]
 [--]ΘΛΕ[--]

The lower part of the inscription bears a large symbol (see Fig. 14.2) that resembles a monogram: a cross-*tau* with an *omicron* on top; an upward stroke at the end of the left crossbar could represent an *itoa*, or, with the bar, a *gamma*. A similar upward stroke may be visible at the end of the right crossbar, but this is not certain; it might actually be a descending stroke. There appears to be nothing at the base of the vertical bar. Gregg and Urman record a number of signs which they refer to as *chi-rho* symbols,⁵ but these are actually staurograms—ligatures of *tau* and *rho*. Another example is recorded by Dauphin et al. (their no. 25).⁶ The symbol in Inscription no. 195 from Surman is closest to ours,⁷ but none of them is really close enough. While this symbol is likely a

Christian sign, it is, for the time being, difficult to identify precisely.

The second inscription (Fig.14.3), discovered at Farj is engraved on an irregularly shaped porous slab measuring 42 x 21cm. My attempt at reading is based entirely on a photo, which is confusing because some letters appear emphasized in the photo and some not. Three lines of text are visible, the first line partially broken on top. The writing is uneven—graffiti-like—and my reading of the letters highly tentative. The inscription is too fragmentary to decipher.

[--]C[.]θ
 φ[--]
 H[.]K



Figure 14.3. Fragmented Greek inscription on an irregularly shaped porous slab.

5 Gregg, R. and Urman, D. *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights: Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* (Atlanta, 1996), nos. 155, 160, 195.

6 Dauphin, et al. *Païens, Juifs, Judéo- Chrétiens*, 325.

7 Gregg and Urman, *Jews, Pagans*, 195.

CHAPTER 15

THE SEISMIC SURVEY OF THE HAURANIAN BUILDINGS AT NA'ARĀN, FARJ AND NAFĀKH

Yaniv Darvasi

BACKGROUND

The goal of this research was to examine the quality and durability of the Hauranian domestic structures at Na'arān, Farj and Nafakh by using seismic methods to characterize the seismic response of the shallow subsurface. We measured surface waves using different methods and processed the results to obtain the

shear wave velocity (V_s) profile. We measured four sites (Fig. 15.1) that can be divided into two different groups: standing Hauranian buildings and control sites where there is no evidence for Hauranian buildings. This was done in order to compare the subsurface conditions of the two groups.

METHODS

Seismic methods are classified into two main categories: active methods, where the source of the seismic waves is controlled (it can be a sledgehammer, an accelerated weight, or explosives), and passive methods, in which the source is unknown, and the waves result from spatially random sources. All the geophysical methods in this research are environmentally friendly, non-invasive, low-cost, rapid, and can provide reliable V_s30 data.¹

In layered media, because of geometric dispersion, the propagation speed of a surface wave

depends upon its frequency. For harmonic waves, short wavelengths penetrate to shallow depths, while longer ones penetrate deeper. Shear-wave velocity profiles can be derived by inverting the velocity of selected wavelengths of surface waves to so-called phase velocity.² The phase velocity depends primarily on the shear-wave velocity and is relatively insensitive to realistic variations in density and compressional wave velocity with depth.³ Therefore, the surface wave velocity is a useful indicator of V_s .⁴ It is normally assumed

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- 1 Xia, J., Miller, R.D., Park, C.B., Hunter J.A., Harris, J.B. and Ivanov, J. Comparing shear-wave velocity profiles inverted from multichannel surface wave with borehole measurements. *Soil Dynamics and Earthquake Engineering* 22.3 (2002), 181–190.
 - 2 Dorman, J. and Ewing, M. Numerical inversion of seismic surface wave dispersion data and crust-mantle structure in the New York-Pennsylvania area. *Journal of Geophysical Research* 67.13 (1962), 5227–524; Aki, K. Theory and method. In Aki, K. and Richards P.G. *Quantitative Seismology* (Sausalito, California, 1980), 304–308.
 - 3 Nolet, G. Linearized Inversion of (teleseismic) Data. In Cassinis, R. *The Solution of the Inverse Problem in Geophysical Interpretation* (Boston, MA, 1981), 9–37.
 - 4 Park, C.B., Miller, R.D., and Xia, J. Multichannel analysis of surface waves. *Geophysics* 64.3 (1999), 800–808.

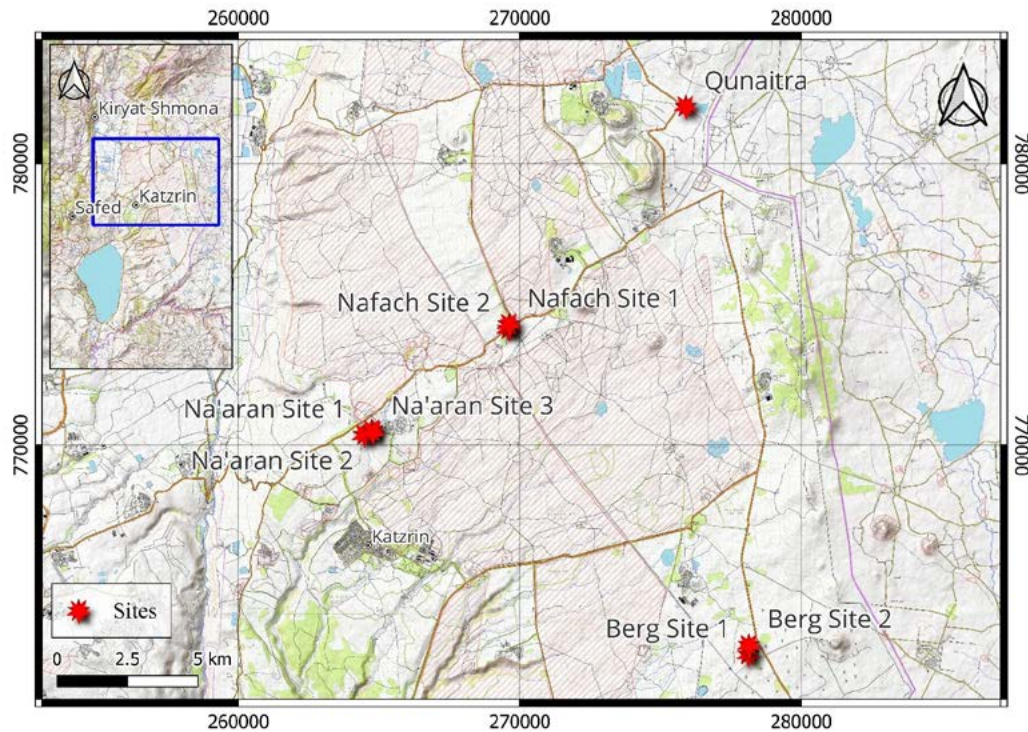


Figure 15.1. Location map of the sites studied (Open Topo Map background map using the Israel Transverse Mercator (ITM) coordinates).

that the phase velocity in the limit of long ground rolls is about 92% of V_s ,⁵ with the ratio changing

between 0.88 and 0.95 for the entire 0.2–0.3 range of common Poisson's ratio.⁶

MULTI ANALYSIS OF SURFACE WAVES (MASW)

The MASW method is an active technique based on an artificial source that triggers energy, which is then recorded by a linear array of low-frequency geophones (usually 4.5 Hz). This method is made up of three main steps (Fig.16 2): (A) Acquisition of experimental data, (B) Signal processing to obtain

the experimental dispersion curve, and (C) Inversion process to estimate the V_s profile.⁷ Within this research, we acquired two types of MASW surveys: Analyses of the radial component of Rayleigh waves and analyses of the vertical component of Rayleigh waves (which is more common).

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- 5 Stokoe, K.H., Wright, S.G., Bay, J.A., and Roesset, J.M. Characterization of geotechnical sites by SASW method. In Stokoe, K.H., Wright, S.G., Bay, J.A., and Roesset, J.M. *Geophysical Characterization of Sites* (Rotterdam,1994), 15–25.
 - 6 Gercek, H. Poisson's ratio values for rocks. *International Journal of Rock Mechanics and Mining Sciences* 44.1 (2007), 1–13.
 - 7 Park, C.B., Miller, R.D., Xia, J., and Ivanov, J. Multichannel analysis of surface waves (MASW)—active and passive methods. *The Leading Edge* 26.1 (2007), 60–64.

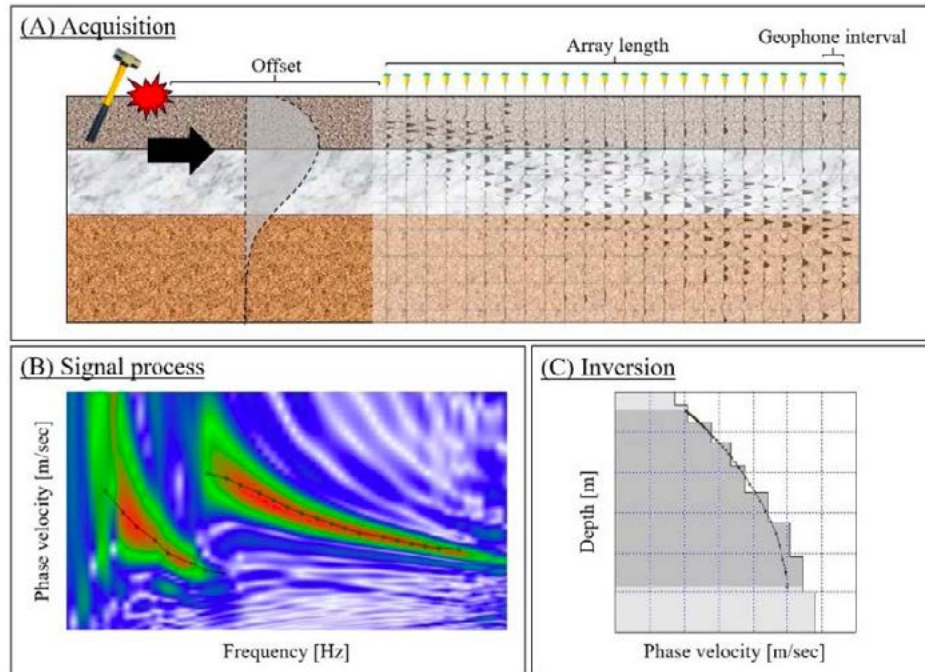


Figure 15.2. MASW procedure: (A) Acquisition of experimental data. (B) Signal processing is used to obtain the experimental dispersion curve, and (C) Inversion process is used to estimate the Vs.

REFRACTION MICROTREMOR (ReMi)

ReMi is a passive seismic method described by Louie.⁸ It obtains vertical shear wave profiles to depths up to 100 meters for earthquake seismic site characterization. The theoretical basis is the same as the multi-analysis of surface waves (MASW). However, field data is collected using ambient noise

rather than active sources. The ReMi field procedure is also characterized by recording for a longer time. As the ReMi array is linear and the sources unknown, the velocity spectra obtained must be interpreted at the lower velocity bound instead of at the maximum energy, as in the MASW method.

EXTENDED SPATIAL AUTOCORRELATION (ESAC)

The spatial correlation method was developed by Aki to calculate dispersion curves using microtremor data.⁹ The original application of the

method used a circular receiver array with an additional receiver located at the center of the circle. The Extended Spatial Autocorrelation (ESAC)

⁸ Louie, J.N. Faster, better: shear-wave velocity to 100 meters depth from refraction microtremor arrays. *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America* 91.2 (2001), 347–364.

⁹ Aki, K. Space and time spectra of stationary stochastic waves, with special reference to microtremors. *Bulletin of the Earthquake Research Institute* 35 (1957), 415–456.

method is a more general approach,¹⁰ which does not impose any restrictions on the geometry of the array. This technique relies on bi-dimensional arrays of arbitrary shape. Therefore, sensors can be deployed in a completely random array. The ESAC approach allows the determination of phase

velocities by evaluating the Bessel functions for each frequency considered.¹¹ The outcome of this technique is similar to the MASW, where the dispersion curve is picked over the dispersion image, and the final shear-wave profile is extracted by an inversion process.

EQUIPMENT

In this research we used the Smartsolo IGU-BD3C-5. A broadband integrated 3 component seismograph internal sensors with a corner frequency of 0.2 Hz.

DATA ACQUISITION

Na'arān

Table 15.1. Na'arān acquisition parameters. MASW_z = vertical component of Rayleigh waves. MASW_r = radial component of Rayleigh waves. ReMi = refraction microtremor. ESAC = extended spatial autocorrelation.

	NA'ARĀN 1A	NA'ARĀN 2A	NA'ARĀN 1C	NA'ARĀN 2A	NA'ARĀN 3A
Type	ESAC	MASW	ReMi	ESAC	ESAC
Seismograph	Smartsolo				
The number of geophones:	12				
Geophones interval [m]:	4–5	4	4	4–8	3–8
Line length [m]:	34	44	44	44	40
Type of geophone [Hz]	Vertical 0.2				
Source	Passive	1.5 Kg	Passive	Passive	Passive
Stacking	---	10	---	---	---
Source point offset [m]	---	6,9	---	---	---
Record length:	42 [min]	2 [sec]	13 [min]	45 [min]	44 [min]
Sampling interval:	2 [ms]				

10 Ohori, M. Arihide, N. and Wakamatsu, K. A comparison of ESAC and FK methods of estimating phase velocity using arbitrarily shaped microtremor arrays. *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America* 92.6 (2002), 2323–2332.

11 Ohori, et al. A comparison of ESAC and FK methods.



Figure 15.3. Locations of the Na'arān sites.

Quneitra

Table 15.2. Quneitra acquisition parameters. ReMi = refraction microtremor and ESAC = extended spatial autocorrelation.

	QUNEITRA A	QUNEITRA B
Type	ReMi	ESAC
Seismograph	Smartsolo	
The number of geophones:	12	
Geophones interval [m]:	~8	7–30
Line length [m]:	82	82
Type of geophone [Hz]	Vertical 0.2	
Source	Passive	
Stacking	---	
Source point offset [m]	---	
Record length:	32 [min]	22 [min]
Sampling interval:	2 [ms]	

Nafakh (Fig. 15.4.)**Table 15.3.** Nafakh acquisition parameters. ESAC = extended spatial autocorrelation

	NAFAKH 1A	NAFAKH 1B	NAFAKH 2A
Type	ESAC	ESAC	ESAC
Seismograph	Smartsolo		
The number of geophones:	12		
Geophones interval [m]:	3–8	3–8	4.5–10.5
Line length [m]:	45	46	~57
Type of geophone [Hz]	Vertical 0.2		
Source	Passive		
Stacking	---		
Source point offset [m]	---		
Record length:	38 [min]	25 [min]	45 [min]
Sampling interval:	2 [ms]		

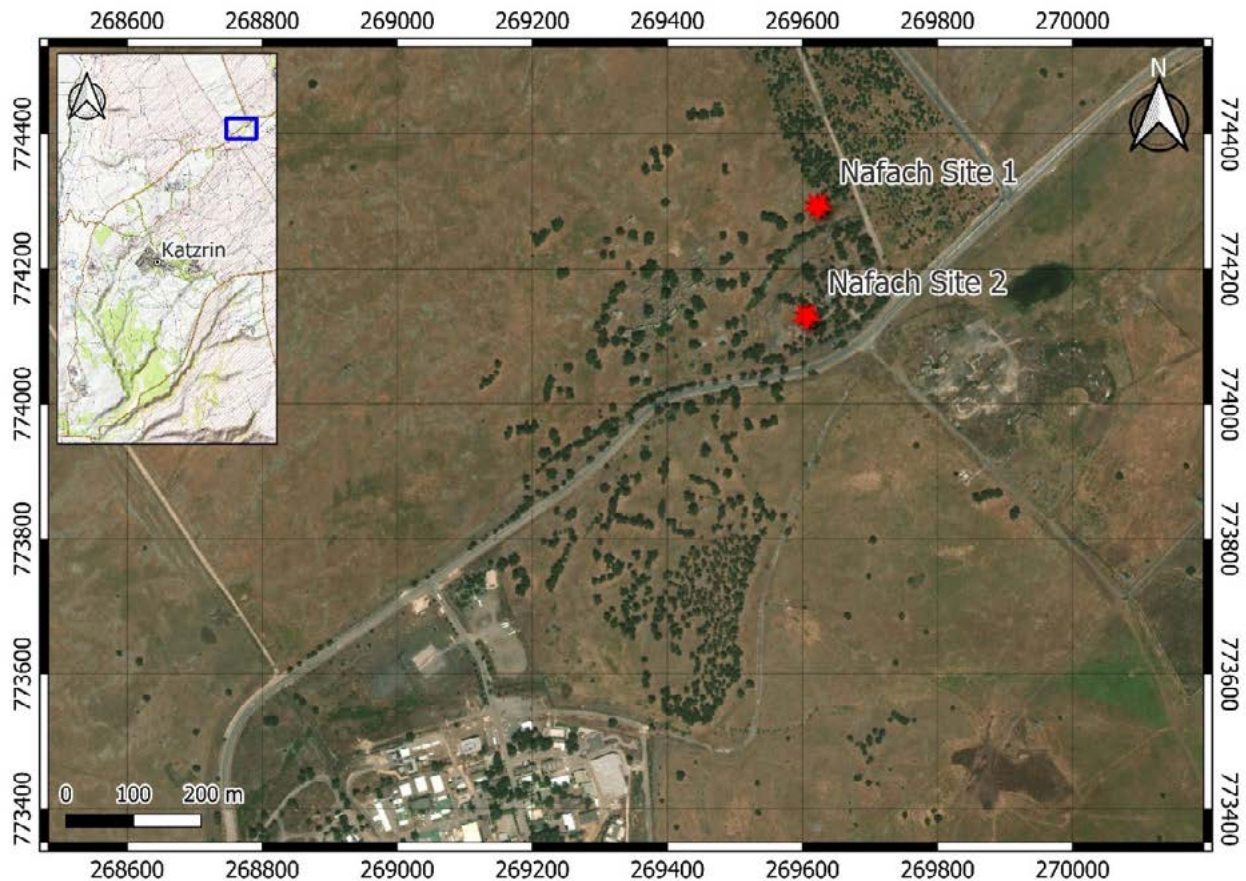
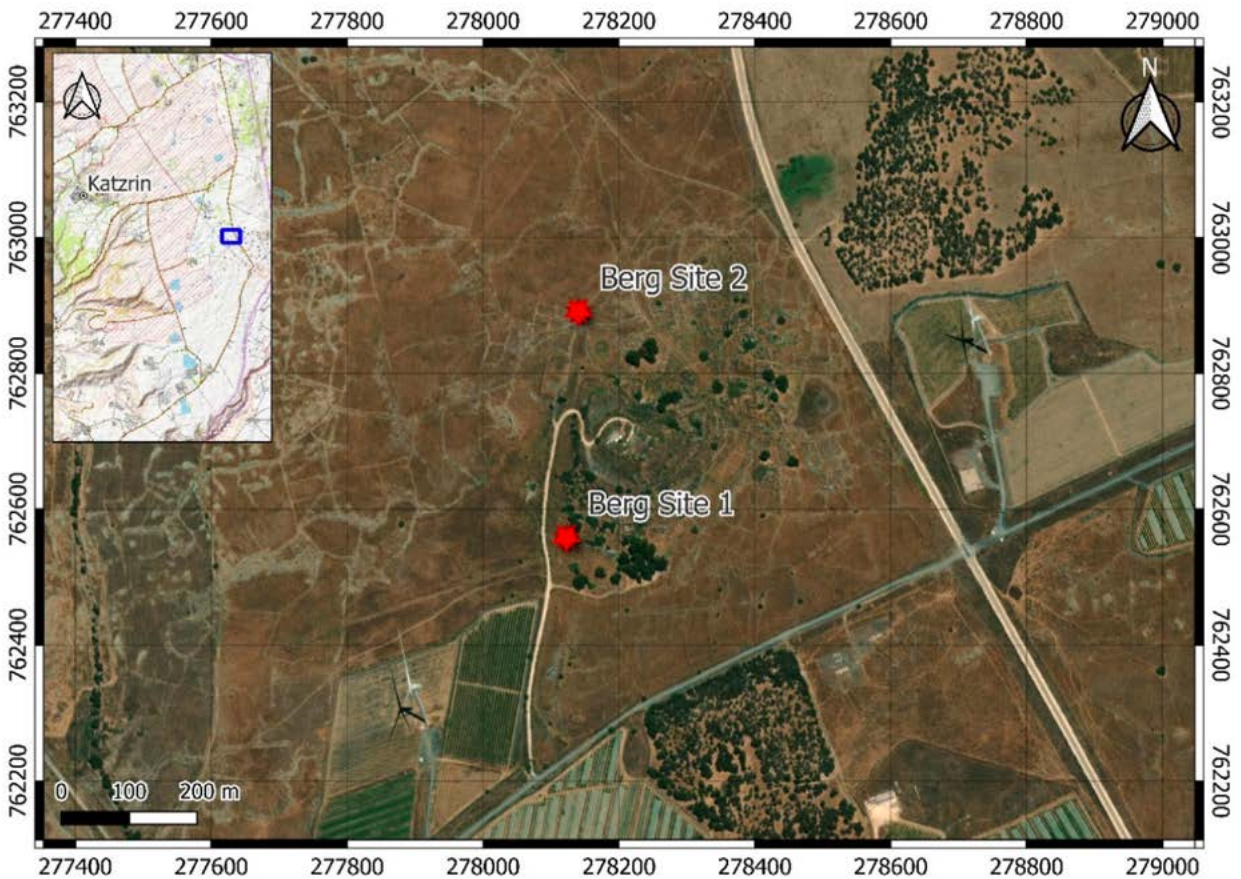
**Figure 15.4.** Locations of the Nafakh sites.

Table 15.4. Farj acquisition parameters. ReMi = refraction microtremor.

	FARJ 1A	FARJ 2A
Type	ReMi	
Seismograph	Smartsolo	
The number of geophones:	12	
Geophones interval [m]:	4	5
Line length [m]:	44	55
Type of geophone [Hz]	Vertical 0.2	
Source	Passive	
Stacking	---	
Source point offset [m]	---	
Record length:	24 [min]	21 [min]
Sampling interval:	2 [ms]	

**Figure 15.5.** Locations of the Farj sites.

PROCESSING

The processing sequence of the MASW data consists of four main steps:

- Assigning the array geometry (source and receiver locations).
- Filtering out the noise.
- Transforming from Space-Time domain to Frequency-Velocity domain.
- Finding the most informative dispersion image.

The processing sequence of the ReMi data consists of three main steps:

- Assigning the array geometry.
- Transforming from Space-Time domain to Frequency-Velocity domain of each window.
- Finding the most informative dispersion image.

The processing sequence of the ESAC data consists of three main steps:

- Assigning the array geometry.
- Filter out noise channels.

- Transforming from Space-Time domain to Frequency-Velocity domain of each window.

The processing sequence for the final model is as follows:

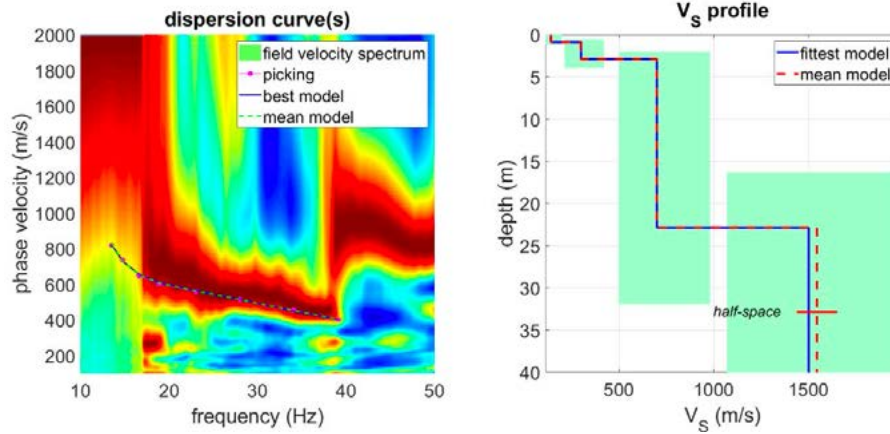
- Merge active and passive data to achieve the most informative dispersion image.
- Picking the fundamental mode common to active as well as passive methods. Higher modes, if they exist, are picked during the processing of MASW data. For the ReMi approach, picking along the minimum velocity envelope of energy.
- Generating a proper initial model.
- Inverting the model into shear wave velocity profiles and finding the best fit and the mean shear wave velocity profiles.

All the seismic data collected were processed using the WinMASW® software.

RESULTS

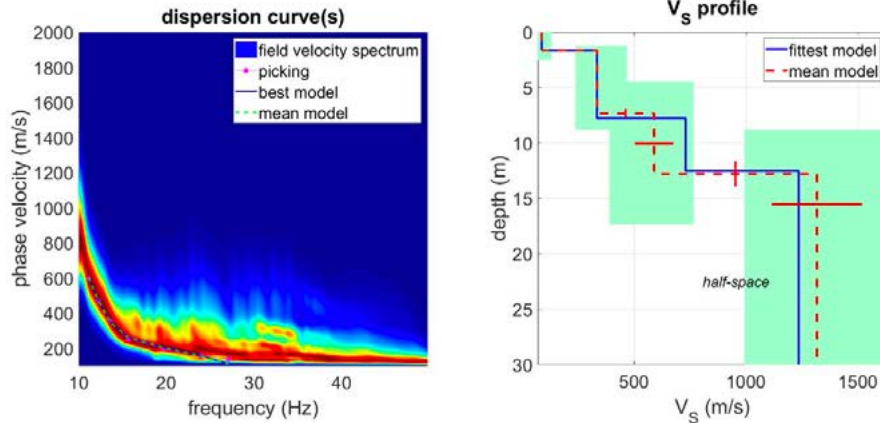
Unfortunately, the quality of the data was not sufficient at all sites. Therefore, the Nafakḥ site was omitted; the following figures show the results for

the processed data which yielded successful velocity models.

Na'arān**Figure 15.6.** Na'arān results 1/2.

Left: MASW and ReMi processed dispersion image. Pink dots = the analyst picking points. Blue line = the best fit for the dots. Dashed line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD),¹² defined as the mean shear-wave profile.

Right: MASW and ReMi shear wave velocity model. Blue line = the best-fit model. Dashed red line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile. Light green area = the constraints of the model.

**Figure 15.7.** Na'arān results 2/2.

Left: MASW and ReMi processed dispersion image. Pink dots = the analyst picking points. Blue line = the best fit for the dots. Dashed line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile.

Right: MASW and ReMi shear wave velocity model. Blue line = the best-fit model. Dashed red line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile. Light green area = the constraints of the model.

¹² All MPPD data are represented using the method of Dal Moro, G. Pipan, M. and Gabrielli, P. Rayleigh wave dispersion curve inversion via genetic algorithms and marginal posterior probability density estimation. *Journal of Applied Geophysics* 61.1 (2007), 39–55.

Qunaitra

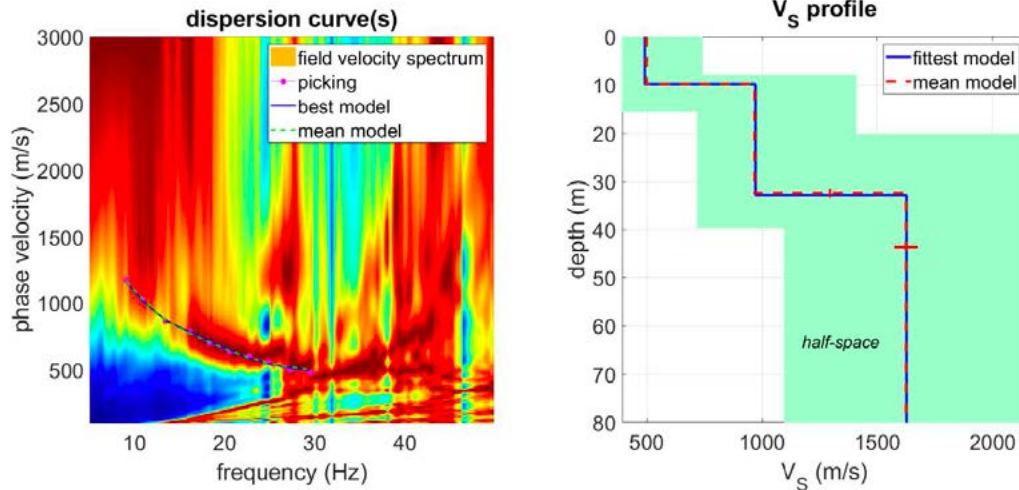


Figure 15.8. Qunaitra results.

Left: ReMi processed dispersion image. Pink dots = the analyst picking points. Blue line = the best fit for the dots. Dashed line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile.

Right: ReMi shear wave velocity model. Blue line = the best-fit model. Dashed red line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile. Light green area = the constraints of the model.

Farj

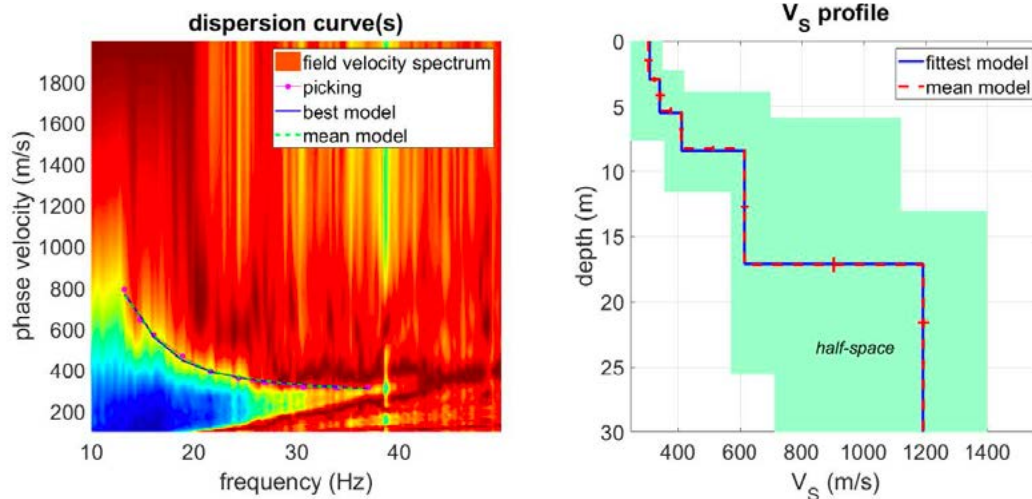


Figure 15.9. Farj results.

Left: ReMi processed dispersion image. Pink dots = the analyst picking points. Blue line = the best fit for the dots. Dashed line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile.

Right: ReMi shear wave velocity model. Blue line = the best-fit model. Dashed red line = the marginal posterior probability density (MPPD), defined as the mean shear-wave profile. Light green area = the constraints of the model.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results do not show significant differences between either the Hauranian site and the non-Hauranian site of Quneitra (Fig. 15.10). Variability of subsurface geology can result in seismic amplifications or de-amplifications. Hence, buildings can be critically damaged during earthquakes or remain standing depending on the geology beneath them.

In this study, no significant variation among sites is observed in the subsurface. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the durability of the Hauranian buildings in Faraj and Na'arān is a result of such de-amplification. A more comprehensive experiment must be conducted to test this hypothesis.

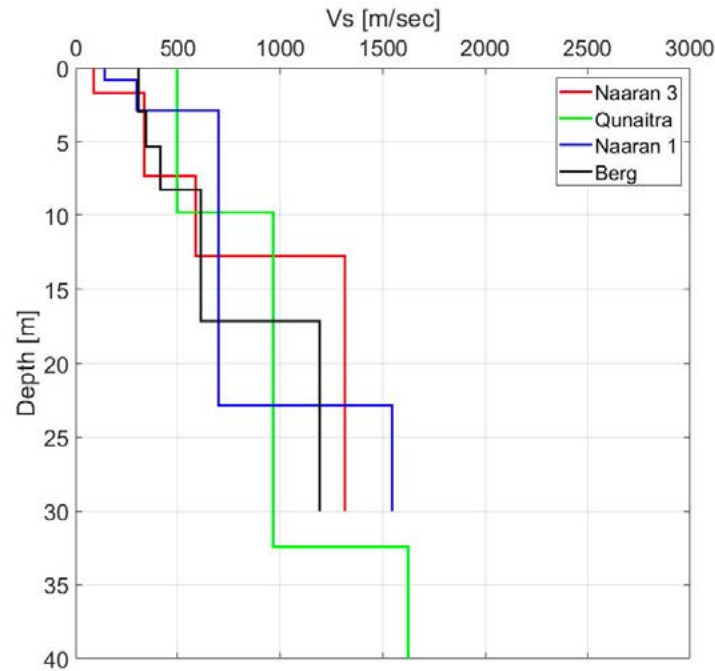


Figure 15.10. Vs profiles of the different sites.

CHAPTER 16

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Kate Raphael

It is almost the end of July (2024). The war (officially titled “Swords of Iron”) has disrupted the lives of the populations of Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Southern Lebanon. Along the border with Gaza 70,000 people were evacuated, following the murderous terrorist attack carried out by Hamas on October 7, 2023. In Gaza, tens of thousands have paid with their lives. Food is scarce and electricity, water, and sewage infrastructures, and private and public properties have been demolished by the Israeli army. Fear of a Hezbollah attack in the north drove 60,000 Israelis to leave their homes along the Lebanese-Israeli border. Within a few weeks, 130,000 Israelis became internal refugees; a total of 97 Israeli settlements were evacuated.¹ People throughout the region were, and still are, on the move in search of a permanent safe place. Some have left the country for good; others for various reasons, cannot or do not want to leave. The economy in Gaza has been destroyed. Factories and small businesses along Israel’s northern and southern borders have been closed or relocated. Regional farmers are often not able to reach their fields and orchards. No one knows if we are in the middle of, or nearing the end of, this war; even the most

talented fortune teller would find it hard to read the future of the southern Levant.

The population of the Golan has remained in place and life is relatively normal. The only evidence of the conflict (so far) is the thousands of dunams of grazing land burned black by the bombs that have exploded in the high dry grass. Grazing lands in the Golan burn each summer due to careless hikers and military exercises, but this year it is worse. Still, if the coming winter brings just an average rainfall the burnt swathes will only be a memory.

The chaos the region has been plunged into in the last ten months (October 2023–August 2024) has demonstrated just how quickly an area can “lose” one hundred percent of its population. Thriving communities on the periphery of the modern state of Israel, in the Galilee and the western Negev abandoned their homes. In the Galilee, a stretch of 79 km along the Lebanese–Israeli border was left with only a handful of people. Entire communities found refuge away from the borders. In Gaza matters are by far worse; vast tent camps were established for people whose homes were destroyed.

1 Nisani, Y. Unprecedented Event: 130,000 people were evacuated from their homes. *Globes* 22nd October 2023. אירוע חסר גלובס 130 אלף איש מפונים מבתיהם - גלובס תקדים: (globes.co.il) (Hebrew).

The death toll is horrendous.² The borders surrounding Gaza are closed and no one can leave.

Mustafa Abbasi, Eran Meir, Yoav Yoskovich and I, the core team that worked on this project, were baffled by the extreme and relatively quick demographic changes that occurred during the end of the Mamluk period and throughout the 16th century. Various hypotheses were proffered, but we did not find an original or convincing argument that explains these demographic changes. Although the Golan's shift from Mamluk to Ottoman rule was swift and tranquil, with no severe environmental disasters and no documented military, local political or economic calamities, the number of villages dropped from over 300 in the Mamluk period to an average of 78 under Ottoman rule. Between 1535 and 1565, the number of villages remained stable, but the village population shrank considerably. No clues were left on the ground or in contemporary texts. Perhaps they are well hidden and we simply failed to find them.

The settlement of the Circassian population in the Golan, that was initiated by the Ottoman government during the last quarter of the 19th century, improved the region's security,³ but did not lead to a significant increase in the number of sedentary villages. The graph below (Fig. 16.1) shows that the number of villages only began to increase in the first decades of the 20th century. The growth was

remarkably fast and continuous. It seems the First World War, the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the entrance of European colonial regimes neither disturbed nor contributed to this period of prosperity. According to the 1945 French census, there were 114 sedentary villages and 62,700 people living in the Golan.⁴ The Golan's population peaked in the 1960s under the modern Syrian state. According to the Syrian government census, there were 128,000 people living in 223 villages in the Golan that came under Israeli rule in 1967.⁵

The main source of income remained agriculture. The scale of cultivation was similar to that in the Ottoman period,⁶ and to that presented in the 16th century Ottoman tax registers.⁷ Following the Six Day War (in 1967) and the annexation of the Golan to the state of Israel, the demographics of the region once again changed dramatically. Other than the Druze community, that resides in four villages in the northern Golan, all the Syrian villages were abandoned. The entire Syrian population (100%) was forced to leave.

Soon after the war, in the early 1970s, a program of new Jewish settlement was put into place. The early settlements were small and their livelihood was initially based on agriculture.⁸ New crops, such as vineyards and subtropical and deciduous orchards were planted and irrigation systems and other agricultural technology were introduced

2 Deaths in Gaza. How many people have died in Gaza? The fog of war may be thick, but some figures are solid. *The Economist*, May 23rd 2024. How many people have died in Gaza? (economist.com).

3 Kipnis, Y. The Profile of Settlement in the Syrian Golan Heights prior to the Six Day War. *Cathedra* 116 (2005), 120–121; Hattokay, Y. *The Circassians in Israel and the World Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Israel, 2018), 274. [Hebrew]

4 The figures in this chapter include only the sedentary population.

5 On the eve of the Six Day War the population in the Syrian Golan numbered 150,000; there were 273 sedentary villages. Kipnis, The Profile of Settlement, 117–118, 120, 122 and fn. 10.

6 Kipnis, The Profile of Settlement, 118.

7 Meir, E. *Agriculture in the Golan from the Chalcolithic Period to the Twentieth Century*. PhD diss. Bar Ilan University. (Ramat Gan, 2020).

8 Between 1967–1992, 32 settlements were founded in the Golan. Their population numbered 11,700. Kipnis Y. *The Rural Jewish Settlement Process in the Golan Heights, 1967–1992*. PhD. diss. Haifa University. (Haifa, 2006): 100.

and continually improved. The scale and size of cultivated plots grew substantially. Government support and investment were significant.⁹ Despite continuous government assistance and funding, however, the population scarcely grew. In the late 1990s kindergartens in Maale Gamla and Ramot (in the southern Golan) were closed because there were simply not enough toddlers between the ages of 1–6 years old. Few new families arrived. The children of the first generation born in the Golan were stretching their wings, deciding where they wanted to live, and what they wanted to do in life.

However, by the early 2020s the Golan was awash in a wave of newcomers and returning first generation sons and daughters who decided to raise their own families here, even though farming was no longer a reliable source of income and there were serious difficulties in finding secure and well paid jobs. There were almost no houses for sale and most of the plots in the new neighborhoods were sold out.

The chart in Figure 16.1 shows the decline in sedentary settlements that started after the Mamluk period and continued all through the Ottoman period. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the data for each period derives from different sources and that its accuracy varies. We do not know the sizes of the village populations in the Mamluk period. There are also long gaps where no data is available. Furthermore, one should also bear in mind that the administrative borders of the

Golan in each period may have been slightly different, influencing the determination of which villages were included or excluded from historical reckonings. Despite those shortcomings, the graph clearly shows that extreme changes occurred both in times of peaceful transition and in times of political and military turmoil, when the region shifted from one political entity to another following a full scale war. The graph does not reflect local and regional political events such as the entrance of new tribes in the 13th century and the Golan's shift from being under the jurisdiction of Damascus to the jurisdiction of Sidon in the last quarter of the 18th century. The recovery and rise in the number of sedentary villages to values similar to those of the Mamluk period (though 137 villages short) took 510 years. Today (in 2024) the population of the Golan numbers 44,616 living in 37 settlements.¹⁰ Given the level of uncertainty in the Middle East, it is almost impossible to forecast the population growth in the Golan in the coming decades.

What triggered the rise in the number of villages during the Mamluk period and, even more intriguing, what led to their long period of decline? Roy Marom has suggested that what we are witnessing is a cycle of sedentarism and nomadism where a sedentary population leaves its villages but stays in the Golan and becomes semi-nomadic, and then, vice versa—a local nomadic population becomes sedentary.¹¹ There is currently, however, not enough

⁹ Kipnis, *The Rural Jewish Settlement Process*, 210–214.

¹⁰ According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics CBS Site there are 24,513 Druze who live in four settlements and 20,103 Jews who live in 32 settlements (Excel sheet titled: Population in localities with 2000 residents or more, end of June 2024 (accessed August 4, 2024); the Golan local council website (מועצה אזורית גולן - מידע על המועצה - golan.org.il, accessed August 4, 2024 [Hebrew]).

¹¹ I would like to thank Roy Marom for sharing this intriguing idea with us. David Ilan pointed out to me that a similar explanation was given by Israel Finkelstein for the archaeologically observed phenomenon of Bronze and Iron Age settlement oscillation in the central hill country of Palestine. Finkelstein, I. *The Great Transformation: The 'Conquest' of the Highlands Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial States*. In Levy T.E. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London, 1995), 349–365.

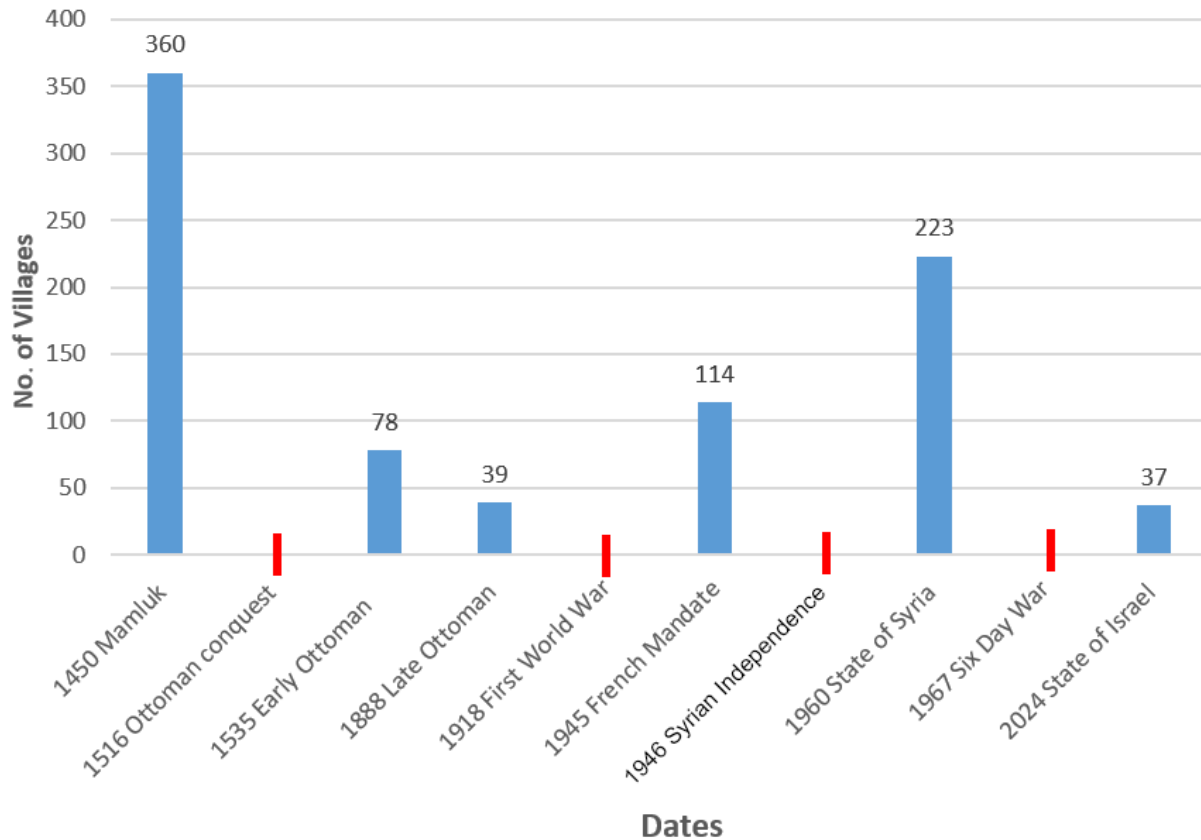


Figure 16.1. Fluctuations in the number of villages in the Golan 1450-2024.

detailed information regarding the Bedouin tribes to confirm or refute this idea.

The archaeological finds from the two excavations show that the population in both Naʿarān and Farj were sedentary. They lived in solid, well-built stone houses and utilized pottery assemblages and other material culture similar to those of medieval villages throughout the Levant. Perhaps the decline in the number of sedentary villages after the Mamluk period was not as dramatic as we have portrayed it here. The Golan was, after all, a small region incorporated into a vast empire that

spread across three continents. It is more than likely that this decline, as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire,¹² was only revealed in the tax registers, and that the reasons that instigated the large scale abandonment of the villages in the Golan, a fairly remote part of the empire, were not recorded by contemporary historians and simply went unnoticed, leaving no trace or lead for us to follow. Perhaps further research will reveal the reasons behind the fluctuations in the region's population. We hope the studies presented in this volume will contribute to finally solving this stubborn conundrum.

12 Özel, O. Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The “Demographic Crisis” Reconsidered. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36/2 (2004), 183–205.

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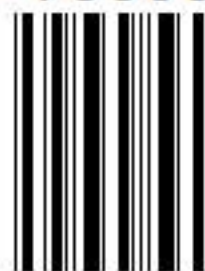
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