CHAPTER 5

Aleppo and the North

Aleppo

> I have seen, at times, as many as one thousand camels leave Alexandretta for Aleppo in one day, bearing high aloft upon their backs two thousand Manchester iron-bound bales of twist and manufactures, a proud sight for the Englishman to meet.[1] [1851]

Aleppo,[1] with some 90,000–100,000 inhabitants in 1876, and perhaps 250,000 in 1910, and "a town so Europeanised that it would be superfluous to describe it,"[2] was and still is the most populous city in Syria, and on the routes of many travellers.[2] It possessed many fine buildings, most built from the local stone,[3] and developed from an ancient into an Islamic town.[4] And although some Westerners saw it as a town plan degraded since Roman times,[5] in the 18th century they appreciated both its architecture and its easy-going atmosphere.[3] Because it was an entrepôt between East and West,[6] this commercial hub was also the most westernised[7] before the rise of Beirut toward the end of the 19th century.[8] Its buildings (with mostly Christian masons, as

1 Gaube 2007.

2 Yerasimos 1991, 72–76 for internal route for travellers, 14th to 16th C via Aleppo and Damascus. Hadjar 2000 for ten illustrated walking tours, with ground-plans and fold-out maps. Highly recommended.

3 Watenpaugh 2004 235, for the Ottoman reorientation of the Mamluk city centre.

4 Neglia 2009, 175–207: La città spontanea. La medievalizzazione bizantina e la nascita della città islamica.

5 Watenpaugh 2004 18: "Sauvaget's work assumed the Hellenistic-Roman grid-plan city as an ideal type and ascribed a moral superiority to this type ... his history of Aleppo demonstrated the slow and inexorable degeneration of this ideal type, which reached its lowest point during the Ottoman period. As such, Sauvaget viewed the history of Aleppo as a moral parable which demonstrates, ultimately, the superiority of the European cultural ideal."

6 Fusaro 2015, 79: "the key to trade with Persia and beyond." Ibid. 209 for English merchants and their organisation.

7 Raymond 1985; Raymond 1998; Eldem 1999.

8 Marcus 1989 for 18thC cultural, religious, economic and political history, but scarcely anything on architecture.

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throughout Syria) were of the local limestone,[9] and the town's cleanliness was frequently remarked upon by visitors. Christians were well-treated here,[4] and Drummond exclaimed in 1754 that it was "the fairest and best built town I have yet seen in the Turkish dominions."[5]

This was a town with 272 mosques, 64 bath-houses and 77 bazars in the mid-18th century.[6] Aleppo's commercial prosperity, part dependent on foreign establishments, some of which shipped home antiquities,[10] declined (along with the Levant Company) in the 19th century.[7] The consequence was that by mid-century the twenty British trading houses of the 1770s had declined to two.[8] The 1822 earthquake devastated the city. The physical devastation was not cleared for several years,[9] but the effect on administration lasted much longer.[11] Note that the quotation heading this account writes of imported manufactured goods from the West, rather than exporting exotic goods arriving from further east, hence the decline in foreign trading houses as trade switched around. After World War I, prosperity declined again as France, "seeking to remold its new Syrian colony into an economic appendage," strangled local textile production.[12] These events are well documented in the archives.[10]

No ancient building survived in the city. Aleppo's most prominent landmark was its citadel,[13] with more than one commentator suggesting it had antique fortifications improved in the 10th century.[11] The site boasted a domed Mamluk throne hall, built after 1400, with floor mosaics and ablaq wall decoration, largely destroyed in the 1822 earthquake, with parts rebuilt in the course of the last century.[14] When Walpole entered in 1851 he found "nothing standing save a mosque and the powder magazine. One sarcophagus I saw, and the remains of several columns; some thrown about, others that have been ruined,

9 Nour 1982, 137–154 for buildings; ibid. 145: "Aleppo limestone is easily worked, and compact, and acquires over time a polish and an ivory tint."

10 Laidlaw 2010, 114, Levant Company: "In the 1740s, Alexander Drummond writes of shipping home as a gift to the Duke of Argyll an inscribed stone that had been picked up near Palmyra and later presented to Drummond by a fellow Scot … clearly many other such artefacts were brought to Britain during the lifetime of the Levant Company in the personal collections of officials, merchants and chaplains alike." Ibid., on the trade and eventual decline of the Levant Company.

11 Knost 2010: administration of waqf endowments.

12 Quataert 2005, 127.

13 Gonnella 2007; Rabbat 2010, 59–71: militarisation of taste in medieval Bilad al-Sham – including citadel of Aleppo.

14 Gonnella 2005, Gonnella 2006 for Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman architecture in the Citadel; Gonnella et al. 2007, Gonnella 2012; Behrens 2012, 330–331 for bibliography of Mamluk architecture in Syria and the Hijaz.

having been built a second time into the modern buildings."[12] Twenty-five years later, nothing had improved: it was now "un triste amas de décombres, de maisons ruinées, de petits cimetières dévastés" – a whole town within a town devasted in 1822, and not rebuilt.[13] Robinson explored the site in 1838, noted in the stores several thousand arrows, plus helmets and armour, suggesting that they might date back to the Crusades.[14] Michaud & Poujoulat had explored there three years earlier, and confirmed the ruination within, and the uselessness of the citadel for defence:

> La même insouciance des Turcs pour tout ce qui tend à conserver et à réparer, a été un obstacle à faire enlever les décombres du château et à sa reconstruction. Dans son état naturel, il ne peut plus être considéré comme une forteresse, ne présentant plus que des ruines et des débris.[15]

Disinterest unfortunately continued, and Gallois in 1907 witnessed the continuing destruction, especially of the glacis, for building materials:

> La vieille citadelle ... dont les pentes maçonnées servent aujourd'hui de carrière, sans que le gouvernement intervienne en quoi que ce soit; il est vrai qu'il laisse même prendre des matériaux dans la forteresse elle-même.[16]

One of the puzzles surrounding our travellers is how few set out to visit the Muslim antiquities of the town, which Burns quite correctly divides into ten itineraries (which "only touch the surface") taking a minimum of three days.[15] He indexes eight khans, ten madrasas, and twenty-two mosques. This was a city nearly always assessed as safe and friendly; it had paved streets and some pavements; there were plenty of European merchants, plus a whole range of consuls. The khans were certainly popular with foreigners, but we learn little about their architecture.

Antioch

Antioch was one of the great cities of the Byzantine Empire,[16] and its magnificence was already described by a native, Libanius (314–ca.392, and writing

15 Burns 2009, 37.

16 Todt 2004 for Antioch in the Byzantine period; Cahen 1940, 127–133 for Antioch in the Middle Ages; Carita 2004, 69–82 for Antioch, including layout, and some Byzantine descriptive sources; Ten Hacken 2006 for a mediaeval description.

355ff). Thanks to the marble "from all the corners of the world," the city had "beautiful buildings which illumine our city like stars."[17] There were colonnades of gleaming marble sufficient for three cities,[18] "separated by an uncovered street, paved all the way across," and because of the size of the city a carriage would be needed to go from one end of the city to the other.[19] The city and its territory boasted prestigious churches.[17] Even discounting the hyperbole, Antioch was once a magnificent city, but would become, like Apamea, a clear case of urban recession.[18] Much was known of it in Antiquity, and it featured prominently in the Crusades (falling to Islam in 1289), although little is known of the city other than via literary sources.[19]

When our post-mediaeval travellers visited Antioch, she was landlocked because there was then no serviceable port. Both port and town were in ruins, with a very small population (perhaps 5,000–6,000 in 1841[20]). Most of her monuments were deeply buried, and with the population occupying "un petit espace dans l'enceinte de l'antique cité."[21] Already in 1743 one traveller found it a "wretched scurvy Hole,"[22] and 19th-century plans of the city show only a small section within the walls occupied, with a larger section given over to orchards. Gone are the great straight streets and the colonnades. As late as 1919 "the narrow streets, many of which are impassable for wheels, have comparatively broad side-walks, separated by a deep depression for the reception of garbage. There are some streets, however, through which wheel traffic can pass."[23] Nothing had changed since 1881, when Ellis reported on the general dilapidation.[24]

Antioch was devastated several times by earthquakes, its monuments stripped (marble went to Damascus, according to Masudi[25]), and never rebuilt, while some columns and blocks were (as usual) built into later houses.[26] Thus Veryard in 1701 could write that it "at present hardly merits the Name of a Village."[27] In 1856 it was "a small dilapidated place, with few ruins to mark its former splendour," and the small population where once had lived "upwards of a quarter of a million"[28] was gathered along the banks of

17 Mayer & Allen 2012: churches of Syrian Antioch. 261–267 Table with chronology 284–641. There were some large churches, e.g. cruciform at Qausiyeh near Antioch, figs 7 & 57, with remains of some spectacular mosaic floors; impressive floors at Machouka, figs 60–78.

18 Wickham 2005, 620–621: "several earthquakes, and a Persian sack ... the eclipse of the city in the early Arab period ... the weakening of the eastern Mediterranean exchange network as a whole ... The maritime cities of the north of our region are thus the best candidates for an overall picture of early deurbanization, by 650 at the latest." Castellana 2011, 245–256: La strada diretta tra Antiochia e Apamea.

19 Edmund Spenser Bouchier's *A short history of Antioch 300 BC–AD 1268*, (Oxford 1921) was written from literary sources, and was not interested in its later history.

the river,[29] a good indication of what had happened to the aqueducts. If the inhabitants were reported in 1745 to be dismantling a Christian basilica,[30] by the late 18th century they were apparently living in mud and straw houses,[31] evidently not willing or able to find and reuse the stones in the ground, instead building with light materials which Robinson in 1838 thought were used specifically to mitigate the effect of earthquakes.[32] (Merchants at Aleppo decamped to lightweight structures when they thought another earthquake was imminent.) An earthquake had struck the previous year, in 1837, and Fletcher compared its almost deserted, still and silent streets to a Pompeii, "abandoned by all living beings except a few travellers or sight-seers."[33]

After the 1872 earthquake "permission was then granted to the inhabitants to use the fine limestone of the ancient town-walls in rebuilding their houses, so that little is now left of the wall in the plain."[34] This might well have happened, but Neale reported in 1851 that already Ibrahim Pasha "in his attempts to beautify the modern city" blew up "almost every particle that remained of the original walls of the city." He built a ten-thousand-man barracks and a palace for himself, from the plentiful spolia, and Neale recorded with indecent delight that "these modern fabrics, built not fifteen years ago from the spoil of monuments destined to commemorate the prowess and piety of the Crusaders, are already in a tottering and dilapidated state."[35]

The walls had indeed been whittled away, probably for centuries, Ibn Battuta for example saying Baybars dismantled them.[36] Michaud counted 52 towers in them in 1835, but originally there were 130,[37] and some of these were splendid: "celles de la partie méridionale ou grandes tours ont quatre ou cinq étages; quelques-unes possèdent jusqu'à vingt chambres réparties avec un art admirable."[38] Hence were lost "perhaps the very finest specimen extant of ancient crusading fortification," which the PEF reported in 1886 as a free-for-all: "Every one who wants a hewn stone goes to the ancient walls for it, as the Turkish authorities make no sign of prohibiting the spoliation."[39] The PEF summarised the situation the following year:

> When perfect these walls enclosed a space of seven miles. Now, under Turkish auspices and Turkish rule, the whole of the walls on the slopes or face, as distinguished from the top of Silphius, with their towers and bastions, have altogether disappeared. Multitudes of the finest stones have been transported across the river, and appear as gravestones in the great Turkish cemetery; others have gone to construct a modern barrack . . . So the work of destruction begun years ago is still going on, and ere long what might justly have been regarded as one of the wonders of the world will be matter of history only.[40]

The old strong walls were no use for the modern village, although "on pourrait former avec les murs de l'ancienne un camp retranché, pour servir d'asile à une armée qui voudrait conquérir ou défendre le pays."[41] Neale reported that after a storm small children would fish in the gutters with sticks, "sweeping up and clearing away the mud, and earnestly occupied in hunting for antiques,"[42] so evidently antiquities were washed from higher ground down to the village-town by the river. In 1682 Febvre recounted the effect of a recent storm (not an earthquake) in which nearly 200 died, and which revealed "dans les ruines & à travers les pierres quantité de médailles anciennes fort curieuses & de divers métaux d'or, d'argent, & de cuivre que les Turcs vendent pour l'ordinaire aux Francs."[43] Two hundred years later, heavy rains were still revealing marble pavements and small antiquities,[44] and sarcophagi were being retrieved from the adjacent lake.[45]

Cyrrhus & Menbij

76km north of Aleppo, and nearly at today's Turkish border, Cyrrhus was founded by Seleucus I Nicator as part of the division of Alexander's empire, and was important in Roman and Byzantine days, when it was the seat of a bishop under Menbij/Manbij/Bambyce, 88km from Aleppo. Both sites were fortified by Justinian, but the latter has lost most of her monuments, because the town stood at a busy set of several crossroads. Cyrrhus, on the other hand, is on no main road, certainly not on any popular route between Asia Minor and Syria, which is why its monuments survived and those of Menbij did not. Neither site is on any of the standard 19th-century or early 20th-century guidebook itineraries. When Maundrell visited in 1697 it was part of a round tour from Aleppo, first across the Euphrates to Beer, and then back and north-west to Cyrrhus.

Both sites were well known from ancient accounts, so travellers knew what to search for. Menbij was well known to mediaeval Muslim authors.[46] It was described by Drummond in 1747 as having "miserable vestiges," but he did admit that it three miles of walls were "extremely well built of finely polished stone, six feet thick, with square towers and bastions in the old manner," and that the whole area was characterised by impressive subterranean aqueducts [qanats].[47] Volney, half a century later, was peeved there was no remaining trace of the Temple of Atargatis about which he had read in Lucan, and also mentions the extensive water supply.[48]

In 1699 Maundrell visited the site, noting only several "fragments" of the walls, and at the east gate "another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built." He also found "a stone with the busts

of a man and woman, large as the life; and, under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo,"[49] which was still there when Drummond arrived. Pococke had already given a better account fo the town's walls (stairs, towers, chemin de ronde[50]), so it seems that Drummond did not inspect their whole extent, because his account implied that the circuit of walls was complete. He identified "the walls of a superb square building" as the temple, and in it found the base of what he called an altar[51] (is the wish here father to the deed?). He then took Maundrell to task for writing of a "deep pit," and castigated him as ignorant of architecture:

> Any man, the least conversant in drawing, will at once perceive that this must have been a theatre. Almost all the benches remain, and the arena now produces very good pot-herbs for the convenience of a farmer and his family.[52]

Menbij was settled with Armenian and Circassian refugees early in the last century and, if true to the form reported elsewhere, helped destroy what antiquities then remained.

To the north-west of Menbij was Cyrrhus, with, as Yakut wrote c.1225, "many remains of antiquity lying near it. It is ruined now, but there are many fine relics of the past."[53] And so it remained when Maundrell assessed it in 1699, for there were no large towns nearby and the site ("a wild and romantic setting," writes Burns) is still not on a main road. It was "walled very strongly with huge square stones," and inside were to be seen the "pillars, &c., of many noble buildings," including what he thought was the cathedral (since he knew the town was the seat of a bishopric). He also described amidst other smaller tomb monuments the hexagonal Roman tower tomb ("a fine architrave all round just under the cupola, having had heads of oxen carved on it"[54]), and taken over in 1303 by al-Nabi Huri, which gives the site its current name. He only "conjectured" one building complex as a cathedral, while Drummond, enthusiastically contrarian, identified a basilica, claiming Maundrell was wrong because he identified no altar, nave or cloister. Yet his foe might have meant the adjacent complex to the west, which Drummond did not bother with: "A noble row of pillars, of great length, has led to another grand building, but I really do not know of what sort, and I will not trouble you with idle conjectures."[55] Perhaps he stubbed his toe (or head) somewhere, for to the south he disparaged "the bridge that consists of six mean arches, which will, probably, foon go to ruin." There were in fact seven arches, and another Roman bridge close by, both described by Maundrell:

> A bridge of seven arches, of a very old structure, over the river Sabon; and about a quarter of a mile further we came to another bridge of three very large arches . . . They were well paved on the top with large stones.[56]

Dead Cities

> The abandoned villages of Syria are innumerable; hardly ever is the traveller out of sight of their ruins; on the maps of Palestine no designation is more frequent than "Khirbet," which means a ruined, forsaken hamlet. Ancient or recent, these fragments of desolation are the most damning witnesses to the insecurity of the land under Oriental rule.[20] [1918]

The Dead Cities is the accepted modern name for groupings of towns and villages deployed on the three groups of hills on the limestone massif to the west and south of Aleppo, between Cyrrhus and Apamea, the Jebel Semann, Jebel al-Ala and Jebel Riha.[21] They were placed on the World Heritage list in 2011, and the citation explains their importance.[57] Apparently first settled in the time of Christ, the main expansion is in the mid-4th to mid-6th centuries, with decline from the 8th century.[22] Ali Bey, travelling from Aleppo toward Antioch in 1814, fell over antiquities at every step, "des fragments de corniches et d'autres ornements d'architecture, amoncelés avec des pierres brutes, qui servent à présent de clôtures aux terres, ainsi, que des fragments de colonnes employés à couvrir les puits."[58] Callier covered the same ground in 1835, noticing "quelques villages disséminés qui présentent l'aspect de châteaux en ruines; de hautes tours délabrées servent aux habitans de forteresses," and apparently concluding that close approach could be dangerous.[59]

Early travellers read the plentiful Greek inscriptions, but De Vogüé in the 1860s was perhaps the first to use church inscriptions to intuit the decline of these settlements, because that was when inscriptions ceased. But he also helped along the hare that it was the Muslim invasion that caused such decline:

20 Smith 1918, 39.

21 Strube 1996, on the Dead Cities, 72–75: Hausbauten in der Antiochene und Apamene.

22 Castellana 2011, 147–175 Alla ricerca di antichi villaggi nella Siria Settentrionale; Strube 1996, 24–29 for the Roman period 1–3rdC; ibid. 30–34 for late antique and Byzantine period 3–4thC; ibid., 76–89 for prosperity and decline – Blütezeit und Beginnen der Niedergang – 6thC. Gerster 2003, 35–51: aerial images of some of the sites.

> mais la population elle-même paraît avoir brusquement abandonné ces montagnes pour se concentrer dans quelques villes. Cette révolution subite ne peut avoir été amenée que par l'invasion musulmane.[60]

Butler also found in these towns "buildings in a simple form of polygonal masonry with heavy moldings at the top of the walls and massive door frames," and struggled hard to believe that these could be much older than the datable temples and churches.[61]

As for such sites' decline, invasion is an answer to everything, of course: but De Vogüé and other invasionists do not stop to wonder why Muslims should drive people out of productive settlements. There were further villages to the east of Aleppo, described by Sir Eyre Coote in 1780[62] and, indeed, all around that city. Baron Taylor wrote of them in 1854, noting that the débris "se composent presque tous de blocs énormes qui rappellent Balbeck et Alexandrie de Troie. Quelques-uns ont de quarante à cinquante pieds de long."[63] Such large blocks in one of the dead cities, possibly Khirbet Hass, "had been arranged so as to form inclosures for herds of sheep and goats, which were now spread over the plain grazing, under the protection of armed villagers from the surrounding villages."[64]

Scholars continue to argue about the reasons for the decline in population, which left hundreds of houses and churches looking (as was frequently remarked by travellers) as if their occupants had just walked out of the door,[65] and as if the sculpture was carved only yesterday.[66] These sites have been the object of extensive research since World War II, Tchalenko printing plans, and with details of houses, sanctuaries, towers, baths, quarries, cisterns etc., dealing with possible reasons for decline, and noting that currently inhabited villages are mostly out on the plains, and abandoned antique sites on the massif.[23] He has also compiled a catalogue of convents, and analyses.[24] Georges Tate has continued this tradition of exacting scholarship, with a very well illustrated survey of 700 villages, subtitled *Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'antiquité*, but not solving the question of the reason(s)

23 Tchalenko 1953, profusely illustrated with maps and plans. I.1–54 for antiquity; I.377–438 Une civilisation rurale. 431ff for 7thC decline, and depopulation with Arab conquest, explained 435: les relations maritimes sont définitivement rompues, la Méditerranée est fermée au commerce syrien. Rodinson 1961: examination of Tchalenko's work. Castel et al. 1997 for housing in Syria up to Islam.

24 Tchalenko 1958, 109–129: mediaeval vestiges, including those dated by inscriptions. 159–186: analytical index.

for abandonment.[25] His recent book on Serjilla extends this documentation by cataloguing every building.[26] For Callot, who has catalogued the evidence for the olive oil industry in the dead cities, the abandonment was not because trade was cut off, but to enjoy an easier life on the plains.[27] Perhaps, indeed, more excavation will modify the parameters of decline and prosperity, as in the Jebel Ansariyya.[28]

Travellers were told about these sites by locals, and passed near to some of them when going from Aleppo to Hama or the coast. Pococke, travelling in 1737, inspected several over the course of three days. He saw buildings that "appear like very magnificent palaces; some of them are built round several courts," dated them correctly, and saw plenty of evidence of churches: "I was astonished to see such buildings in a place so retired, and in the midst of rocky hills, where there is no view or prospect of any thing delightful."[67] And indeed, these uplands are today grim and large tracts are treeless. Pococke explored Bara, and listed its attractions, but did not like the inscriptions: "there are two or three Greek inscriptions, which seemed to be Pagan, but in such barbarous unintelligible Greek, that they were hardly worth transcribing."[68] He particularly liked the houses and churches at Ruweiha: "The houses are built round courts with porticos all round within supporting a gallery, which communicates with the rooms above, there being a door from it to every room."[69]

Drummond followed Pococke in 1754, copying Christian inscriptions and illustrating churches.[70] At Bara, he particularly liked and drew "many

25 Tate 1992 writing *against* the standard view of stagnation and decline and pauperisation at hands of state and owners. The evidence on the ground, with rich houses and so many villages, contradicts this view. 13–84 Identification et classement des constructions; 85–166 La datation des maisons (in the general absence of inscriptions); 273–342 Conquête des terroirs et enrichissement paysan (with graphs); 303–332 Une seconde expansion (330–550); 333–342 Crise ou stagnation? (550–610) – he suggests stagnation. Tate 1997: summary; Tate 1988: discussion of strong expansion 4th–6thC.

26 Tate 2013, with 241 plates. I.17–28: history of the site and its exploration; I.559–567: development of the village, together with details of reoccupation. Wickham 2005, 449: "The limestone villages are at an extreme in their density and in their architectural and decorative ambition, but they are not unique, as indeed Tate stressed. Nearly all the sectors of Syria and Palestine that have been studied show a high point in the fifth or sixth centuries, which often extends into the seventh and eighth."

27 Callot 1984, 115–128: Les huileries, les villages, la région; 128: the plains were "dépeuplés par les guerres antérieurs et tellement plus facile à exploiter."

28 Milwright 2010, 62: "The widespread abandonment of these settlements prior to the Islamic conquest is now questioned by results from Dehes/Dayhis, where excavations show probable evidence of occupation through to the eighth or ninth century."

pyramidical monuments, some of which are now almost intire."[71] Such tombs (like the one at Dana) had long before fascinated mediaeval Muslim writers.[72] Walpole visited Bara in 1851, and wrote that one of the larger structures was called the King's Palace, yet of which "nothing remains but a confused mass of columns, shafts, capitals, and stones."[73] Monasteries were also easy to recognise, Aucher-Éloy remarking in 1835 between Antioch and Aleppo: "un vaste monastère avec une tour carrée, dont tout un côté est encore debout: ces ruines, placées au milieu de solitudes, sont toujours un objet d'étonnement."[74] Waddington, travelling in 1861, noticed there were few inscriptions, yet sufficient to date churches; and he declared the need for a plan of work that would be executed only in the following century:

> Il faudrait à la fois la photographie, et un architecte dessinateur qui relèverait les plans et étudierait les détails d'ornementation et les procédés de construction; ce serait une monographie des plus intéressantes et des plus neuves, portant sur un très grand nombre de monuments.[75]

Volney had remarked in 1792 that "sur toute la route d'Alep à Hama, ce ne sont que ruines d'anciens villages, que citernes enfoncées, & débris de forteresses & même de temples."[76] Burckhardt described Bara in detail, comparing the buildings to those he had seen in the Hauran.[77] He visited Jebel Riha, he says, because "as I had often heard the people of the country mention them, I thought it worth while to take this circuitous road to Hamah" – a good advertisement for knowing the language. By the mid- and later 19th century, descriptions are frequent.[78] Thus Walpole in 1851, near Khan Sheikhun, found a large town where "many plain shafts of columns were standing; excavated vaults," but in this area "the villages are now deserted, and the people encamped out on the plain in order to pasture their cattle."[79] In 1881, travelling from Antioch to Aleppo, he passed over sixty mounds "marking the sites of towns or castles," but "as far as I could learn no one has yet made excavations with a hope of finding antiquities."[80] Sykes went the same route in 1904, passing through "many ruined towns and villages of the Christian period." However, "these require a specialist's description, which, being unable to provide, we will omit, as an Irish editor remarked of his leading article."[81]

If so many once-prosperous villages still stood on land once fertile, why should desertion continue?[29] The reasons are complex and serious (see

29 Lewis 1987, 12–23: Village desertion and population movements. Notes how travellers were shocked by uncultivated high-quality land and deserted villages. Maps 4–6: inhabited and deserted villages – generally the further east and south, the more deserted they become. Some villages very small, other inhabited only on occasional years.

Chapter One), and much the same happened in the Hauran. In both north and south, there was some re-occupation, sometimes just for part of the year. At Dana, among some "noble ruins" and a cistern "covered with logs of marble from ten to twelve feet long," Drummond found some inhabitants:

> Arabs, among whom I saw a scene of industry that far exceeded any thing I had ever observed in Syria; for the Turks are a lazy people, and choose to gain their livelihood by robbery, fraud, or murder, rather than by honest toil.[82]

One reason for desertion was the insecurity occasioned by Bedouin incursions. Aucher-Éloy, travelling in 1832, thought he could proclaim that brigandage was over, because "Ibrahim [Pasha] a fait une expédition pour les punir: ils ont abandonné le pays pour s'enfoncer dans le désert."[83] This was a very temporary fix, and thirty years later Tilley wrote of the devastation around Aleppo:

> that in a large fertile district near Aleppo, which twenty years ago possessed 100 villages, there are now only a few fellahs to be seen; that he had passed over towns in the desert, having well paved streets and houses still in good repair, but totally uninhabited; that thousands of acres of land, showing signs of former irrigation and extensive culture, now hardly afford a scanty bite to the Bedouin's sheep or camels.[84]

As was to happen soon in the environs of Jerash and Amman, here in the Dead Cities near Aleppo (and also further north near Hierapolis) some Circassians (numbers unknown) were settled by 1870. They did not shrink from conflict, and conceivably they were brought here both to repopulate deserted villages and control the Bedouin. Burton was in no doubt what this would mean for the monuments: he "sketched and fixed the positions of some fifty ruins which, in presence of the Circassian immigration, now a fait accompli, are fated soon to disappear from the face of earth."[85] And rescue archaeology is much older than the 20th century, for Tyrwhitt Drake soon returned "laden, not only with sketches, plans, measurements, but also with Greek inscriptions, of which there are a great number lying about. These would, of course, if left uncopied, soon have perished with the stones on which they are inscribed."[86]

Apamea & Qalaat Mudiq

> Of the eighteen hundred or two thousand shafts necessary to fill out this immense design, every one had fallen, and lay as if with its face to the

> earth, in an eternal woe of desolation. Every edifice, also, was prostrate, exhibiting no other sign of its former beauty than a confused wreck of hoary stones.[87] [1856]

Apamea, 55km north of Hama, and on an important Roman road, is today a spectacular site with colonnaded main streets (the columns re-erected in the 1990s) and many other pagan and Christian[30] remains. However, it is easy to conclude from the accounts below that some travellers visited only the fortress on the hill, and others only the site; what is more, perhaps they were not on the lookout for colonnades, since presumably the main roads were encumbered with ruins and blocks. Apamea probably appeared to travellers in earlier centuries as a common-or-garden (there were plenty of them) field of ruins overlooked by the fortress of Qalaat Mudiq, probably without much of interest visible among the tall grass and scrub, perhaps because any population had deserted it for the fortress.[88] It was once surrounded by walls.[31] Usama Ibn Munqidh encountered the enemy cavalry there during the Crusades (the Crusaders occupied the overlooking fortress), but "it is a place where horses cannot easily move because of all the blocks and columns and ruined foundations, so we were unable to dislodge them from the area."[89] Green visited the site in 1736, and wrote of "the Remains of the famous, ancient Apamea, formerly one of the most splendid Cities of Syria" – and that is all he writes.[90] Without its colonnades vertical, this large grassy extent must have looked like many other ruin fields.

Although he often travelled very slowly (he took ten hours from here to Hama) Burckhardt does not appear to have examined the site except from the fortress, seeing to the north "several columns scattered about."[91] Hence this intrepid traveller must have nodded for, even if he was the supposed discoverer of Petra, he did not do Apamea justice.[92] For Beaujour in 1829 "elle a l'air d'une ville ruinée,"[93] and the impression he gives is that the majority of the colonnade columns (the cardo is 1.85km long) were indeed part-buried under grass, the pasture for the famous horses, which he also mentions. However, he must have ridden past quickly, for Stanhope in 1846 describes the colonnade remains (locally quarried, he thinks) as perfectly visible, being large, and "the effects of the atmosphere were strongly marked upon them, showing them to want hardness." He did not investigate the mounds on the site, and "what buildings stood on them, or what purposes they served, I could only conjecture."[94] De Forest in 1856 camped in the fortress, which gave him a commanding view of

30 Lassus 1972.

31 Leriche 1987: urban defences in Hellenistic Syria.

the ruin-field on the plain: “here we paused, as it were, on the shore of a broken sea of pillars, capitals, pediments, and walls, sweeping in gray surges of ruin far away into another shore of verdure.”[95] There was plenty to be discovered, because around the cardo “on observe les emplacements de grands bâtiments ruinés et des rues.”[96] These Seiff in 1875 surmised to be temples, palaces and private houses, “einem grossen Todtenfelde … auf wenige formlose Reste und Fundamente verschwunden,” the ruination due partly to earthquakes.[97]

As Sachau pointed out in 1883, the ancient city was of special interest because “seit der letzten Zerstörung im Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts ist dies Terrain gänzlich unbewohnt und fast unberührt geblieben.” This perhaps assumed the Crusaders had little impact on the ruins, for he observed that the ground level was so unchanged that “an einigen Stellen die Basen der Strassen und der Häuser offen zu Tage treten.”[98] This meant that the riches of the site were part visible without full excavation, so that, for instance, Bell in 1908 could note that “the ruins of a great church with a courtyard set round with columns lie on the edge of the main street.”[99] There were other ancient sites around such as, to the east, El-Kefr, much less splendid than Apamea but housing an estimated 30,000 people: “Eine Stadt des Luxus und der Kunst kann Elkefr nicht gewesen sein, denn ausser wohl eingerichteten Häusern und Kirchen findet man weder Prachtbauten irgendwelcher Art noch kunstvolle Säulen noch auch das geringste Denkmal antiker Sculptur.”[100]

Deir Semaan & Saint Simeon

> Ceux en compagnie desquels j’estois, qui estoient des gens du pays … s’estonnoient de ce qu’ils me voyoient regarder si exactement & avec une joye meslée de douleur & de complaintes, l’Eglise & les appartemens de ce grand Couvent, dont les pierres paraissent encore fort blanches, quoy qu’elles soient exposées à toutes les injures du temps. Ils sembloit qu’ils estoient sur les épines, tant ils me pressoient de sortir. Mais que regardes-tu avec tant d’attention, me disoient-ils? que remarques-tu dans ces mazures? y veux-tu découvrir quelque thresor: car cette simple veuë ne meritoit pas la peine que tu as pris de venir jusques icy.[101] [1682]

This complex, 36km WNW of Aleppo, consists of the large church on the hill, visible from afar, and a monastery below it, with one or more monastic buildings plus several others serving visiting pilgrims. Let us set the importance of this site in perspective. If we think of the importance attributed to the plan of the monastery of S. Gall, not the much re-built structure, which has generated

large volumes about monasticism, what an opportunity has been lost to investigate thoroughly an even larger complex – not a plan, but a monastery and church complex in aspic, almost untouched since Late Antiquity!

On the road between Aleppo and Antioch, S. Simeon was sometimes visited by Western travellers.[102] Chantre in 1889 places the complex at the centre of a wide range of villages, “partout des blocs énormes, des pierres de taille gigantesques soigneusement appareillées, qui ont servi de matériaux. L’ornement bien caractéristique de ces ruines est toujours le portique à un et parfois à deux étages.”[103] Butler does likewise, writing of the extraordinary state of preservation of the churches around:

> The buildings of this region, too, especially the churches, are in a better state of preservation than in other parts of Syria. Eight of the eighteen churches still preserve the half domes of their apses; four have both rows of columns and arches standing, and two have one row of arches still intact. Four of these buildings are almost perfect so far as stonework is concerned.[104]

In 1669 Morone stated that pilgrims going from Aleppo to Iskenderun would divert to see S. Simeon, “fra le quali si vedono inditzi di tre, ò quattro Chiese, e dalle colonne, capitelli, basi, cornici, e pietre, marmi bellissimi.”[105] There were certainly mosaics in the monastery complex.[32] S. Simeon was only one of several sites displaying stylites that were visited by pilgrims in Syria, but it was the most important.[33] The idea of spending time atop a tall column is an idea adopted by Christianity from pagan practice;[106] but this is on ly one of a host of adaptations.[34] Visitors in both the 17th and the 19th centuries imply that part at least of the octagon’s dome was in place. Goujon semed to suggest in 1670 that a substantial part of the saint’s column was still standing,[107] but Febvre wrote in 1682 that it could no longer be seen, “à cause qu’une partie de la voûte est tombée dessus, & l’a ensevelie sous ses ruines.”[108] Walpole in 1851 suggests the stylite’s column had been carried off by pilgrims, perhaps because it was underneath the rubble of collapsed vaulting; although “beneath an octagon dome is the base of the pillar, a huge square block of about nine feet on either side, by five high: a rude step runs round it. In the centre of the upper surface is a round hole for the holding of the first round of the shaft.”[109]

32 Donceel-Voûte 1988, 225–240: fragments of mosaic floors in the church.

33 Lassus 1947, Pl.XLV for photos of three stylite columns – S-Syméon-du-Mont-Admirable, Kafer Derian, and Kimar.

34 Milani 2001 on Christian itineraries and the classical world.

Both these accounts are probably examples of loose writing, and there was no surviving dome; but they are equalled by De Vogüé's fine prints, which show greater wall elevation than survives today. Within the octagon, the pedestal for the saint's column was noted by Lycklama a Nijeholt in 1875: "La voûte et les parties les plus hautes se sont affaissées, jonchant le sol de débris, tronçons de colonnes, chapiteaux, fragments de corniches, etc,"[110] and in 1838 Robinson wrote that the remains of the column were still shown to pious pilgrims.[111] Perhaps these appeared through a miracle, since Bankes in 1816 states that "there is no part left of the pillar on which the Saint is said to have lived so many years; but a mass of the live rock stands up square in the centre, which was probably its pedestal." A Kurdish chief had also been living in the ruins.[112] Whether the stump today displayed on the pedestal had anything to do with the column itself we may at least doubt, but not its 19th century decay, which Butler remarked on in 1909, mistaking the limestone of the columns for imported marble.[113] This was not the only misunderstanding, for Besson in 1862 conjures up a hilarious version of the stylite's column, from what he knew in Rome, namely Trajan's Column: "Au milieu de l'église, qui est prodigieuse en sa grandeur, mais à moitié ruinée, paraît la colonne du saint Stylite, faite à vis, au haut de laquelle on montait par le dedans."[114]

Hama & Homs

Although these were both important cities in Antiquity, there is little that travellers had to say about them because few of their monuments survived into the 19th century, and nearly all had gone by its end.

Ibn Battuta painted an idyllic picture of Homs, with its water-wheels and barrages,[35] important market, and magnificent baths, but he does not mention any other monuments.[115] Green confirmed this in 1736, for "within there is scarce any thing worth taking Notice of," but goes on to mention some beautiful houses and masjeds made of black and white stone, and the citadel, which "consists of the same Materials, disposed so as to form various Figures, which testify its ancient Beauty."[116] The citadel appears to have been in working order in the early 15th century,[117] but when Burckhardt saw it in 1810 in the town's centre, this was already being plundered: "the materials, as well as the stones with which it is probable that the hill was faced, have been carried away

35 Calvet 1992, 41–51 Les barrages de norias (Oronte et Khabour). Used certainly from the 5thC, and in 1940 (fig 15) there were still 18 at Hama, plus 46 upstream and 41 downstream.

and used in the erection of modern buildings." Robinson, there in 1838, found few surviving traces of it.[118] Figured antiquities were already disappearing:

> I enquired in vain for a piece of marble, with figures in relief, which La Roque saw; but in the corner of a house in the Bazar is a stone with a number of small figures and signs, which appears to be a kind of hieroglyphical writing, though it does not resemble that of Egypt.[119]

Using standard procedure, the inhabitants found it more convenient to destroy the antiquities inside their town, to build and refurbish their houses and mosques,[36] rather than venturing outside it, where Poujoulat wrote of

> un vaste plateau des pierres de taille, des murs à demi enfouis dans la terre, des colonnes brisées, des chapiteaux, des corniches d'un beau travail; un portique orné de deux pilastres corinthiens s'élève au milieu des débris de cette antique cité.[120]

Consequently old Hama[37] was to be seen built into the walls of new Hama: "Von antiken Bauten hat sich in Hamah nichts erhalten, einige unbedeutende Reste ausgenommen, die man hin und wieder als Schmuck moderner Gebäude verwendet findet."[121] In all such towns in the north of Syria, wrote Burton in 1872, "the destruction of old buildings is unpleasantly rapid," and he instances even the destruction of a temple, so presumably "it had been covered by an earthslip, or had been broken up for building material."[122] He also noted important inscriptions:

> I believe that the five blocks of basalt at Hamah, covered with hieroglyphs in excellent preservation, may be the opening page to a new chapter in history. These inscriptions were found in the Kala, and are now scattered about the town.[123]

By the 1880s "sind bisher auffallend wenig Anschriften und Alterthümer gefunden," but "Wer den hohen Hügel im SO und den Castellberg im Norden in grosser Tiefe durchstechen könnte, würde vermuthlich auf classische, vielleicht sogar

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36 Al-Tabba 1982, 68 for re-use in the Al-Nuri mosque in Hama.

37 Ploug 1985.

auf ältere Baureste stossen."[124] To find antiquities in 20th-century Hama, it was indeed necessary to dig.[38]

One continuing problem in the region appears to have been what was wrongly called the "Great Syrian Desert" to the east of Hama, a region "exceptionally riant and fertile," but harassed by Bedouin and its many town in ruins by 1871. The "remedy" was a forerunner of what was to be the solution in the Hauran, namely import the warlike Circassians and have them settle the area and expel the Bedouin.[39] Realising what this would mean for ancient towns and their remains (destroy them):

> It is, therefore, gratifying to add that Mr. Drake has returned laden, not only with sketches, plans, measurements, but also with Greek inscriptions, of which there are a great number lying about. These would, of course, if left uncopied, soon have perished with the stones on which they are inscribed.[125]

Just like Hama, Homs appears to have fed off its antiquities. In Pococke's day, in the mid-18th century, the stone-faced town walls were to be seen[126] and, indeed, parts were still standing in 1889.[127] It seems possible that marble materials went from the town to decorate more modern buildings. For example in 1805 Seetzen described lavish marble at a khan between Homs and Damascus, which we might imagine came from Homs.[128] He also stopped at Kteiphe, where

> Es ist ein grosser viereckiger mit weissem Marmor gepflasterter Platz, in dessen Mitte ein marmornes Wasserbassin befindlich ist. Dieser Platz ist rund umher mit Arkaden von weissen Marmorquadern umgeben, aus welchen Thüren in die Ställe führen.[129]

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38 Ploug 1985, for excavations 1931–8 only now published. Hellenistic architecture reused in Roman period, but replaced down to the foundations in the Byzantine period. So only one, the House of the Mosaics, survives, but destroyed in earthquakes of 1157/70. Byzantine fragments found reused in Islamic structures. 171–184: remains of mosaic floors. Pentz, 1997, 96 for the House of Mosaics "re-used from the late pre-Islamic period, was refurbished in the most sophisticated manner by the Arabs" – some later evidence of iconoclasm. Only fragments of architectural decoration have been retrieved, so presumably much went for re-use elsewhere, à la Ibn Khaldun. No complete mediaeval structures were located, either.

39 Lewis 1987, 99–110: Circassian settlement in Syria. This was a floating population, some of whom soon left.

And just as at Homs, the once-prestigious, stone-faced citadel here was going by 1851:

> The whole hill is cased over with solid masonry, immense blocks of black, ferruginous stone, of great depth and solidity: here and there columns of the same have been worked in. Many portions of this are now in ruins, as it is much used by the inhabitants for the lower portions of their houses, tombs, &c.[130]

Porter's description of the town in 1855 reveals just how much there once was:

> Large hewn stones, and fragments of columns of granite, basalt, and limestone are seen scattered in great profusion through the streets, and bear ample testimony to its antiquity and former architectural beauty.[131]

These were to be connected with what he realised was missing from the citadel:

> Not a fragment of the castle itself now remains, and the only buildings standing are a few portions of the exterior flanking towers along the northern wall, which are chiefly of Saracenic origin. The whole summit of the mound is covered with heaps of rubbish, mixed with which I observed several large fragments of red and gray granite columns, the remains, no doubt, of the splendid temple that once occupied this site.[132]

Squire inspected the citadel in 1820, noting that "the Saracen fortifications on this height were of excellent workmanship, but are now entirely ruined."[133] The ominous word "barracks" (which generally meant a large, new building) appears in the following sentence, indicating just how antiquities (in this case surely the superstructure of the baths) disappeared into modern structures: "near the barracks, are foundations of ancient baths, and I there saw some squares of fine mosaic pavement."[134] In fact Ibrahim Pasha (ruler of Syria, 1831–40), blew up the citadel because it resisted him, and it was he who built the cavalry barracks, leaving only bits and pieces in the citadel:

> Within all is grass-covered ruins, broken arches, tumbling walls. I noticed a rather well-cut Corinthian column, built into a modern mosque, and another, rudely carved in black stone in the base of the wall, still standing. The stones are of almost Cyclopean size. It has, however, evidently been patched at very different eras.[135]

Lycklama a Nijeholt went up the citadel in 1875, but "n'y trouvai qu'une petite mosquée en très-mauvais état et des monceaux de ruines."[136] Burton did a little better in 1872, reporting

> The long meurtrieres intended for archers, not for matchlock men, the arches and the domed casemates, prove its date; whilst the old basaltic pillars horizontally couched in the solid masonry, the large blocks of white stone, the imposts of snowy marble, and the columns of fine Syenite and gray Egyptian granite, show what has become of the Sun Temple's splendid remains.[137]

The dismantling of the baths was also described by Burton in 1872, "for the sole purpose of removing the stones; the fine mosaic spoken of by travellers had already disappeared, and in a few years the place will be a mound of earth."[138] Also outside the town were two pyramid-on-cube structures, the larger one called the Burj El-Somah, the Tower of the Oratory. Buckingham described it in 1825 as a tomb, and noted traces of stucco and paint in the interior.[139] When Burton visited in 1872, the pyramid had disappeared, and the cube was collapsing, although he could still see the decoration: "it is faced with basaltic squares, each about four inches, forming, with alternations of white limestone, diaperwork of rough mosaic."[140]

Pyramid-on-cube tombs were not rare in Syria (any more than were other types of mausoleum[40]), and one was spectacular. This was Kamu'a el Hurmul, near the Orontes, WSW of Homs. This was viewed by Robinson in 1856,[141] and further described by Thomson in 1886:

> The sculptures on its sides represent hunting scenes, and it may have been erected over the grave of some "mighty hunter" who was mortally wounded while pursuing the chase in this vicinity; but no inscriptions have been found to explain the figures or relate the circumstances, and both history and tradition are silent upon the subject.

He also notes cracks in the structure, for "it has not been able to withstand the destructive power of the earthquake."[142]

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40 Gatier & Rousset 2010.

Qasr ibn Wardan

This was a complex of Byzantine palace, church, and barracks NE of Hama. The north-south road from Aleppo to Damascus passes through Hama, and Qasr ibn Wardan is 62km NE of that town. Since the road is on the way to nowhere else of interest (except the site of Alandarin, 25km further on, and another Byzantine settlement[41]), few early travellers got here. Indeed, on early maps the only place east of inhabited Syria and west of Babylon is Palmyra itself. Thus Pococke's 1745 map shows plenty of place names for the western areas, and then, for the east, north to south, "Desart of Syria," "Desart of Palmyra" and finally "Arabia Deserta," with Palmyra and only a very few other habitations marked.

Out in the desert today, Qasr ibn Wardan, dated by inscription to 564 (on a near-four-metre basalt block as a lintel), was a complex of palace, church and barracks, although little of this last survives. Part of its purpose might have been to secure the frontier from Bedouin raids, for there were several communities in the area (see below). Indeed, it was in a region prosperous in Byzantine times, "these isolated, regal buildings on the edge of the Syrian desert" described by Butler in 1909. The church would have been highly decorated, with columns and capitals of marble, and comparable to contemporary buildings in Constantinople.[143] He picked up some tesserae, and learned from a local that the dome had not long collapsed:

> An old native whom we met later, and who seemed to know the whole region well, said that when he was a lad the kubbeh, i.e. the dome, was standing, and that there were "pictures" on the walls. It is scarcely probable that this old Bedawi had manufactured this story, because he could have had no outside experience on which to base imaginary wall-pictures.[144]

The site appears neither in Baedeker's 1898 nor in Cook's 1907 guidebook, and was apparently discovered by Baron Max von Oppenheim,[145] who excavated Tell Halaf from 1911.[42] It should be noted that the site has been extensively restored since Butler photographed it.

28k NNE of the Qasr ibn Wardan complex was a large settlement, al-Anderin, described by Butler in 1905, and still impressive today:

41 Mango 2008, 73–88 for Alandarin: the site had ten churches, and a barracks.

42 Gossman 2013, chapters 7 & 8: Tell Halaf.

> Sun-dried bricks, with foundation courses, doorways, arches, and colonnades of finely dressed basalt; but in blocks of unusual size . . . The larger churches, one of which is of proportions sufficiently imposing to have been a cathedral, contained a larger proportion of stonework; their apses, their interior system of arches, and in one case the side walls, were built of good dressed masonry. Androna possessed no fewer than ten churches. In the middle of the city, which was walled, are extensive barracks, built in the same style and of the same materials as the buildings of Qasr Ibn Wardan.[146]

Nor was this the only ruin field in the region, for Butler also described Mir'âye ("a small modern village built among the ruins of an ancient town") and then Odjeh: "a modern village of a few families among the ruins of what was once a large town . . . Two of the ancient houses are well preserved: one of them, which was converted into a mosque at an early date, still has its roof-slabs in place." He then visited two further settlements nearby.[147]

Hosn Suleiman

> Une vaste enceinte carrée de 144 mètres de long sur 90 de large. Son tracé est irrégulier et affecte la forme d'un trapèze, ce qui, comme ensemble général, donne à son plan quelque analogie avec celui du Haram esch-Schérif de Jérusalem. C'est le plus beau spécimen d'enceinte sacrée ou Témenos existant encore en Syrie.[148] [1867]

Hosn Suleiman, 25km north of Safita in the mountains, is a splendid Roman shrine complex, not much visited by our travellers because it is nowhere near a main road, nor on the way to anywhere, and with few nearby villages. Such remoteness is one reason for its good state of preservation; the other is the enormous size of many of the temenos blocks, which were simply too big to shift. "The country was wild in the extreme . . . at the head of a wild gorge, and consists of a large mass of ruins, among which are several Ansayri cottages," wrote Walpole in 1851 in his book on the Ansayrii (the Alawis),[149] and went on to describe the site, including its inscriptions and decoration.[150] As several scholars realised, the temple complex had almost the largest stone blocks in Syria, inferior only to those at Baalbek, which is surely why the site is called Husn ("castle"). Rey (who gives a good description of the complex[151]) measured the blocks,[152] and thought (wrongly) that such cyclopean masonry

indicated a date earlier than the Romans.[153] He regretted not getting to the site in 1864,[154] but did so a few years later.

Walpole also visited sites in the area, and was impressed by Fuckera, a Maronite village high above the coast, with Beirut visible in the far distance, and an extensive field of ruins, with a large temple:

> The walls are built of uncemented stones, one layer thick, and now greatly shaken, and ruined, seemingly, by an earthquake . . . The east face perfectly plain, save a few pilasters, runs north to south. This leads to an inner court: a face then presents itself, raised from the ground five steps, or perhaps seven, across which run columns whose huge pedestals alone remain – the columns and their Doric capitals lying broken about.[155]

[1] Neale_II_1851_200
[2] Sykes_1904_54
[3] Plaisted_1929_107–113
[4] Vergoncey_1615_435
[5] Drummond_1754_184B
[6] Egmont_&_Heyman_1759_II_338
[7] Guys_1855_250
[8] Neale_II_1851_110
[9] La_Salle_1840_I_192
[10] Watenpaugh_2004_23
[11] Aramon_1887_100
[12] Walpole_I_1851_219
[13] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_1875_257
[14] Robinson_1838_346–347
[15] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_VII_1835_179B
[16] Gallois_1907_203–204
[17] Libanius_2000_46
[18] Libanius_2000_48
[19] Libanius_2000_46–47
[20] Caraman_1841_15
[21] Callier_1835_245
[22] Perry_1743_142
[23] Naval_Staff_1919_691
[24] Ellis_1881_I_19–20
[25] Masudi_III_1864_407–408
[26] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_1875_317
[27] Veryard_1701_326
[28] Wortabet_1856_I_24
[29] Fermanel_1670_264
[30] Rey_1883_327
[31] Volney_II_1792_90
[32] Robinson_1838_364
[33] Fletcher_1850_363
[34] Baedeker_1898_443
[35] Neale_II_1851_11–12
[36] Ibn_Battuta_1982_I_154
[37] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_VII_1835_117
[38] Laorty-Hadji_1854_120–121
[39] PEFQS_1887_1–2
[40] PEFQS_1887_67
[41] Beaujour_1829_312–313
[42] Neale_II_1851_18
[43] Febvre_1682_159
[44] Redding_1873_298
[45] Gallois_1907_224
[46] Le_Strange_1890_500–501
[47] Drummond_1754_210
[48] Volney_II_1972_95
[49] Wright_1848_507
[50] Pococke_II.1_1745_166
[51] Drummond_1754_211
[52] Drummond_1754_211B
[53] Le_Strange_1890_489
[54] Wright_1848_511
[55] Drummond_1754_201
[56] Wright_1848_511B
[57] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1348
[58] Ali_Bey_1814_III_278
[59] Callier_1835_242
[60] Vogüé_1865–1877_I_10
[61] Butler_1920_82–83
[62] Coote_1780_209–210
[63] Laorty-Hadji_1854_117–118
[64] Walpole_I_1851_191–193
[65] Chantre_1889_218
[66] Walpole_I_1851_193
[67] Pococke_II.1_1745_146–147
[68] Pococke_II.1_1745_147
[69] Pococke_II.1_1745_148
[70] Drummond_1754_227–236
[71] Drummond_1754_234
[72] Le_Strange_1890_436
[73] Walpole_III_1851_201
[74] Aucher-Éloy_I_1843_169
[75] Dehérain_1914_273

[76] Volney_II_1792_96
[77] Burckhardt_1822_20021812
[78] Seiff_1875_287–303
[79] Walpole_I_1851_189
[80] Ellis_1881_I_26
[81] Sykes_1904_53
[82] Drummond_1754_216
[83] Aucher-Éloy_I_1843_85
[84] Tilley_1864_369
[85] PEFQS_1871_3
[86] PEFQS_1871_11
[87] De_Forest_1856_275–6
[88] Robinson_1856_550
[89] Usama Ibn Munqidh_2008_99
[90] Green_1736_26
[91] Conder_1824_348
[92] Burckhardt_1822_170212
[93] Beaujour_1829_314
[94] Stanhope_1846_II_237
[95] De_Forest_1856_275
[96] Joanne_&_Isambert_1864_624
[97] Seiff_1875_286
[98] Sachau_1883_74–75
[99] Bell_1908_241
[100] Sachau_1883_89
[101] Febvre_1682_187
[102] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_1875_267
[103] Chantre_1889_232–234
[104] Butler_1905_397–398
[105] Morone_1669_I_402
[106] Bouchier_1916_252
[107] Goujon_1670_28
[108] Febvre_1682_187B
[109] Walpole_III_1851_233
[110] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_1875_280
[111] Robinson_1838_354
[112] Finati_1830_II_183
[113] Butler_1930_66
[114] Besson_1862_17
[115] Ibn_Battuta_1982_144
[116] Green_1736_30
[117] Broquière_1892_78
[118] Robinson_1838_326
[119] Burckhardt_1822_22021810
[120] Poujoulat_1841_II_27
[121] Seiff_1875_270–271
[122] Burton_&_Tyrwhitt-Drake_1872_II_288
[123] Burton_&_Tyrwhitt-Drake_1872_II_184
[124] Sachau_1883_66–67
[125] PEFQS_1871_11
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