# MI'ILYA: EVIDENCE OF AN EARLY CRUSADER SETTLEMENT

## EDNA J. STERN

The village of Mi'ilya is situated approximately 20 km northeast of 'Akko, on the hills of the western Galilee, above the southern bank of Naḥal Keziv (Fig. 1). Most of the village houses are built on two hills, with a Crusader fortress located on the upper hill. Although remains of the settlement and fortifications that are visible on the surface have been studied in the past (see below), no Crusader-period remains were previously excavated at Mi'ilya (Fig. 2).

During July and August 2007, a salvage excavation was carried out on the upper hill of Mi'iliya (Porat 2009), between the present-day Greek Catholic church and the Crusader fortress (map ref. NIG 22471–2/76993–4; OIG 17471–2/26993–4), in preparation for development of the area by the local community. The excavation consisted of one square, yielding remains from the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Crusader period. As this is the first excavation of Crusader remains at

Mi'ilya, the scanty elements exposed here are very important for understanding the development of the site during this period, and allowing the comparison of excavation data with previously collected information from surveys and historical studies.

#### THE CRUSADER REMAINS

The Crusader remains at Mi'ilya consist of a fortress built on the upper hill of the village, a fortification wall, dwellings and agricultural terraces. The fortress is rectangular, with square towers at each corner, and is built of well-dressed stones, some with marginal drafting. To the east of the fortress, the Greek Catholic church most likely marks the site of the earlier Crusader church. Other remains found in the village, in close proximity to the fortress, include dwellings that appear to date to the Crusader period, in addition to a wall

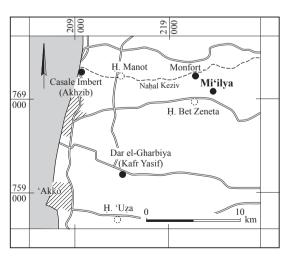


Fig. 1. Location map.

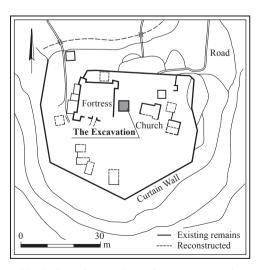


Fig. 2. Crusader remains and present excavation at Mi'ilya (after Ellenblum 1998:46, Fig. 2).

(8–10 m high), partly built and partly hewn in bedrock, that seems to have functioned as the fortification of the village at that time. Outside the wall there are agricultural terraces, with the same alignment as this wall. It appears that these terraces were originally built in the Crusader period (Ellenblum 1996; 1998:41–53; Pringle 1997:71, Figs. 2, 3; Boas 1999:102–103).

In addition to the architectural elements on the surface, Crusader, Mamlūk, Ottoman and earlier pottery were collected during an archaeological survey of Mi'ilya conducted by Frankel and the Upper Galilee survey team (Frankel et al. 2001:25).

#### HISTORY OF THE SITE

The modern village of Mi'ilva is identified with 'Mhalia', mentioned in a document dating to 1160. A marginal note in this document identifies Mhalia as 'Castrum Regis'. From this document, it appears that a Frankish agricultural settlement was already established at Mi'ilya in the twelfth century (Ellenbum 1996:104–105). Other Crusader-period names or descriptions of the site include: 'Castellum Novum' (1179), 'Castellum Novum, quod in montanis Achonensibus situm est' (the New Castle in the mountains of Acre; 1182),<sup>2</sup> 'Castellum Regis' (1220) and 'Chastiau dou Rei'. All of these documents primarily deal with land transactions, revealing little about the nature of the settlement (Pringle 1998:30-31). However, one document from 1243, which describes the purchase of land by the Teutonic Order from individuals in a village named Castellum Regis, contains substantial information about the village. The document was extensively studied by Ellenblum, who identified the site with Mi'ilya, and conducted a survey of the physical remains of the village. He concluded that the document from 1243 in fact describes transactions that took place between 1220 and 1229 (Ellenblum 1996; 1998:41–53). His subsequent reconstruction of the settlement showed that the village houses, gardens, vineyards and orchards were part of a contemporary, well-planned village, arranged around the fortress and the fortification, and belonging "...to the same architectural-agricultural complex." The property was owned by petty landowners alongside some ecclesiastical owners. In addition, the village contained an old courthouse (*curia*), a leper's house and a church dedicated to Mary Magdalene (Pringle 1998:30–32).

Ellenblum concluded that the village property owners mentioned in the document lived there until the Battle of Ḥattīn, at which time many heads of the families were killed, either at Ḥattīn or in the village itself when it was captured by Saladin in late 1187.³ The village was then deserted until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, when William of Amigdala acquired the rights and property from the families of the free farmers who had inherited them, but could not cultivate the land or live in the village. Later, in 1220, the Teutonic Order bought property in the village from a third party (Ellenblum 1996:117–118).4

The subsequent history of Mi'ilya includes its capture by the Mamlūks, sometime between 1266 and 1271, when the nearby castle of Montfort finally fell. In 1283, Burchard of Mount Sion mentions that the Muslim villagers enjoyed the abundance of crops and fruits there. The fortress and fortifications were noted once again by al-Dimashqī in 1323–1327 (Pringle 1998:30–31).

## THE EXCAVATION

The excavation was carried out in one square  $(5 \times 5 \text{ m})$ , in close proximity to the fortress, c. 4 m from its eastern curtain wall. The first meter excavated consisted of modern debris. Below this was a fill containing some Crusader pottery (L10). This fill sealed building remains from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. A pit (L15;  $4.5 \times 3.0 \text{ m}$ , 0.8 m deep; Fig. 3), containing large stones (apparently dating to the earlier periods) and pottery dating to the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Crusader period, cut into these remains.



Fig. 3. General view of the excavation; the pit (L15) is in the foreground.

#### THE CRUSADER-PERIOD POTTERY

## TYPOLOGY

Fifty-six diagnostic sherds<sup>5</sup> dating to the Crusader period were found in the pit. Most of them (48) represent local Crusader types, with a few (8) belonging to imported types. The chronological range of the Crusader-period pottery dates from the mid-twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries (see below).

### Local Wares (Fig. 4)

Local wares include pottery produced in the vicinity of the western Galilee, Beirut and the Lebanese coast.<sup>6</sup> The local wares consist of ceramic types that were in use in the region during the late Fatimid period, and continued to be in use after the establishment of the First Latin Kingdom (Stern 2009:227–228).

Handmade Wares.— Nineteen examples of simple, undecorated handmade wares were retrieved. Most are open forms (e.g., large bowls), with only two examples of closed forms (apparently jars) found. These rather

crude and simple vessels were produced from very coarse fabric. The color of the fabric ranges from brown to buff, with a gray core containing many grits, inclusions and occasional traces of straw. The vessels seem to have been fired in simple, open kilns, as attested to by the uneven firing of most of the vessels and the soft fabric.

The rims of the bowls are flattened or rounded (Fig. 4:1, 2), and the bases are usually flat. They often have vertical, horizontal ledge or knob handles, with a burnished interior. Handmade types are extremely widespread, distributed throughout the Levant (Avissar and Stern 2005:88, Type II.1.4.1, Fig. 38:1-2; Stern and Tatcher 2009:129-130, Fig. 3.19:1-7; Stern, forthcoming [a]: VL.PL.2). The closed forms found at Mi'ilya are represented by fragments of simple rounded rims with high necks, and in one case, a handle extending from below the rim (Fig. 4:3). Closed, undecorated handmade vessels are less common than open forms. Similar vessels have been found at Horbat Bet Zeneta (Getzov 2000:87\*, Fig. 21:2), dating to the thirteenth century, and at Horbat 'Uza (Stern and Tatcher 2009:129-130, Fig. 3.19:8-14).

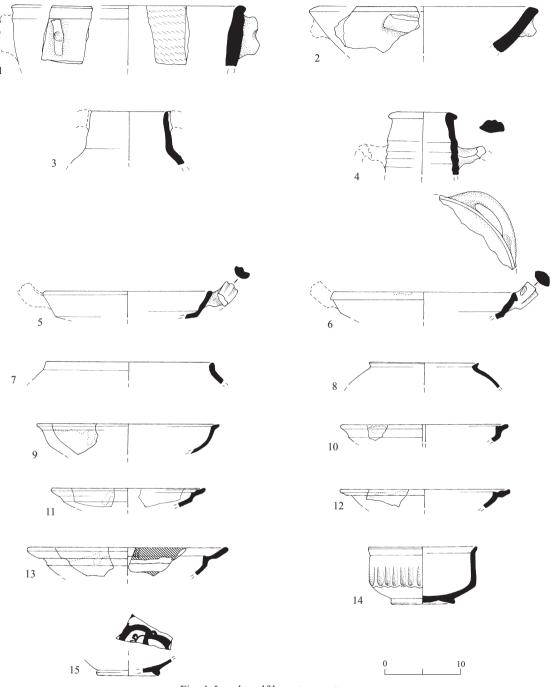


Fig. 4. Local twelfth-century pottery.

It is very likely that the handmade vessels were manufactured in different production centers throughout their distribution area. Petrographic analysis of two large bowls found at 'Akko indicates a provenance in the western Galilee (Shapiro, forthcoming [a]), suggesting that this type was primarily produced in this region. Although this type, particularly the

**◆** Fig. 4

| No. | Туре                   | Locus | Basket | Vessel and Fabric Description                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----|------------------------|-------|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Handmade open vessel   | 15    | 110/1  | Variations in color due to uneven firing: black 2.5Y 2/0 thick core, grayish brown 2.5Y 5/2 fabric, red 2.5YR 5/6 on the surface; many white grits                                                                                         |
| 2   | Handmade open vessel   | 15    | 121/2  | Variations in color due to uneven firing: very dark gray 2.5YR 3/0 thick core, reddish brown 2.5Y 4/4 fabric, red 2.5YR 5/6 ext. surface and dark red 2.5YR 3/6 int. surface; int. surface also burnished; many white grits and inclusions |
| 3   | Handmade closed vessel | 15    | 110/2  | Variations in color due to uneven firing: dark gray 2.5YR 4/0 thick core, light red 10R 5/4 fabric and ext.; many white grits and inclusions                                                                                               |
| 4   | Jar                    | 10    | 100/3  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric, reddish brown 5YR 5/4 core, pink 5YR 7/3 ext.; many white grits and inclusions                                                                                                                                       |
| 5   | Baking dish            | 15    | 121/1  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric, reddish brown 2.5YR 4/4 ext.; some white grits; transparent glaze on the rim and int., with splashes of glaze on the handle                                                                                          |
| 6   | Baking dish            | 15    | 110/3  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric, reddish brown 2.5YR 4/4 ext.; some white grits; transparent glaze on the rim and int., with splashes of glaze on the handle                                                                                          |
| 7   | Cooking pot            | 15    | 110/5  | Red 2.5YR 5/6 fabric, red 10R 5/6 ext.; some white grits                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 8   | Cooking pot            | 15    | 110/4  | Red 2.5YR 4/6 fabric, red 10R 5/3 ext.; some white grits                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 9   | Bowl                   | 15    | 110/8  | Red 2.5YR 5/6 fabric; many white grits; white slip under greenish glaze, slip and glaze over ext. of rim                                                                                                                                   |
| 10  | Bowl                   | 15    | 107/3  | Red 2.5YR 5/6 fabric; many white grits; white slip under greenish glaze and incised design on int., slip and glaze over ext. of rim                                                                                                        |
| 11  | Bowl                   | 15    | 110/7  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric; some white grits; white slip under greenish glaze, slip and glaze over ext. of rim                                                                                                                                   |
| 12  | Bowl                   | 10    | 100/1  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric; some white grits; yellowish slip under yellow glaze and incised design on int., slip and glaze over ext. of rim                                                                                                      |
| 13  | Bowl                   | 15    | 107/2  | Red 2.5YR 5/8 fabric; some white grits; white slip-painted lines under yellow glaze on int. and over ext. of rim                                                                                                                           |
| 14  | Cup                    | 15    | 110/10 | Light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4 fabric; some white grits; manganese glaze on int. and upper ext.                                                                                                                                             |
| 15  | Bowl                   | 15    | 107/1  | Pink 7.5YR 7/4 fabric, pink 7.5YR 7/4 ext.; many lime and brown grits, many white grits and inclusions; white slip with a manganese-painted design under transparent glaze on int.                                                         |

examples with red-painted decoration (absent at Mi'ilya; see Avissar and Stern 2005:88–90, 113, Types II.1.4.2 and II.4.4.1–2; Stern and Tatcher 2009:130–132, Fig. 3.20), saw a *floruit* in the Mamlūk period, they seem to have made their first appearance in the Levant during the eleventh century (Stern and Stacey 2000:175). It should be noted that these vessels are more typical of rural sites than urban ones.

Unglazed Wheel-Made Wares.— Only jars of this type were found (Fig. 4:4). The shape of the jars is quite uniform, exhibiting a wide

cylindrical neck, ribbings and a thick outturned or folded rim. The handles are attached from the middle of the neck to the shoulders. The fabric is red, with few large white inclusions and a light exterior. This type of jar was found at various twelfth- and thirteenthcentury sites in Israel and Lebanon, including Ḥorbat Bet Zeneta, Ḥorbat Manot, Ḥorbat 'Uza and 'Akko (Avissar and Stern 2005:106, Type II.3.2.4, Fig. 44:6–11; Stern and Tatcher 2009:136, Fig. 3.22:1–3; Stern, forthcoming [a], Type AC.PL.5). It seems that the same form of jar was produced locally in different regions. This was attested to by petrographic and chemical analysis carried out on such jars from 'Akko and Tiberias. The 'Akko jars were produced from the same fabric as other unglazed wares in the region, identified as belonging to the "Akko workshop" (Stern and Waksman 2003:168-169, 173-175; Waksman et al. 2008:159-161, 176-180, Figs. 1; 2:1; 3; Shapiro, forthcoming [a]; Stern, forthcoming [a], Type AC.PL). The jars from Tiberias (only examined petrographically) were found to be produced in the vicinity of Tiberias (Shapiro, forthcoming [b]). While the jars from Mi'ilya were not analyzed, macroscopic analysis (using a ×20 magnifying glass) suggests that the jars were not produced in 'Akko, despite the proximity of the two sites.7

Cooking Wares.— The cooking wares consist of open baking dishes and closed cooking pots. The cooking wares are exclusively of the thinwalled type dating to the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, with the thirteenth century thick-walled types completely absent. Cooking vessels include baking dishes (also called frying pans or cooking bowls—Avissar and Stern 2005:96, Type II.2.3) and cooking pots. The baking dishes are shallow, open vessels with straight, sloping walls and a simple, rounded or folded rim (Fig. 4:5, 6). The vessels have two horizontal handles, attached from the rim. The cooking pots are globular with no neck. The rim forms are either plainvertical (Fig. 4:7) or short-everted (Fig. 4:8). The fabric is fine, and when fired becomes hard and metallic. The glaze on the vessels is a glossy, dark brown-purple. It usually covers the interior of the base, and occasionally there are splashes or dribbles on the exterior. Such cooking vessels have been found at numerous sites along the Levantine coast, inland and in Cyprus (Avissar and Stern 2005:91–92, Types II.2.1.2, 3, Fig. 39:2-6). The production area has been identified in Beirut (Waksman 2002; François et al. 2003; Stern and Waksman 2003:169-171, 173-175, Figs. 3, 5; Waksman et al. 2008:163-166, 178-180, Figs. 2:5; 7; Stern, forthcoming [a], Types BE.CW.1). It is very likely that the vessels from Mi'ilya arrived from Beirut, as was the case for other sites in northern Israel. For instance, petrographic analysis showed that similar cooking vessels found at Tiberias originated in Beirut (Stern, forthcoming [b]; Shapiro, forthcoming [b]).

Lead Glazed Wares.— Two types of glazed wares were found: one with a gritty glaze, and the second decorated with slip painting. The gritty glazed bowls, also known as the Levantine glazed bowl, are quite common (Fig. 4:9-12; Stern and Waksman 2003:170-171, 173-175; Avissar and Stern 2005:8, Type I.1.2, Fig. 2; Stern 2007:107–112, Fig. 11:5–8; Waksman et al. 2008:159-163, Figs. 2:3; 4; Stern, forthcoming [a], Type BE.GL.7). This type is shallow, with rounded or carinated sides and a small ledge rim that is often separated from the body with a ridge. At times, it has a small flat rim instead. The fabric is usually red (sometimes yellowish red) with sand, lime grits and limestone inclusions. A layer of white, pink or beige slip, with a coating of lead glaze over it, is applied on the interior, occasionally extending to the exterior of the rim. The glaze is green or yellow with a gritty appearance, probably a result of inadequate firing. Some of the bowls have a careless, quite abstract incised decoration on the interior, usually executed with a very fine instrument.

The main distribution area of these bowls is along the Levantine coast. They are mainly found in Israel and Lebanon, but have also been reported from Cyprus, where they were quite common in the twelfth century, before local production began there (Avissar and Stern 2005:8–9; Arnon 2008:50, 338–339, Type 272; Stern and Tatcher 2009:148, Fig. 3.27:1–5). Similar to the cooking wares, these glazed bowls seem to have been produced in Beirut, where medieval pottery kilns, discovered in the modern city center, produced similar glazed table wares (el-Masri 1998; François et al. 2003). Glazed bowls of this type found in Tiberias originated from Beirut, as attested to

by petrographic analysis (Shapiro, forthcoming [b]; Stern, forthcoming [b]).

The slip-painted bowl (Fig. 4:13)—of which only one example was found at Mi'ilya—has a wide ledge rim that is separated from the body with a projected ridge. The fabric is similar to that of the previous bowls; however, the decoration differs. It is slip-painted, with the slip used to paint linear designs on the clay. Atop the slip, a layer of transparent or yellowish glaze was applied. Bowls of this type have been found at 'Akko, Horbat 'Uza, Caesarea, and Jaffa. They have also been found in Lebanon (Beirut and Tell 'Arga) and at Paphos, Cyprus. These vessels date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Avissar and Stern 2005:19-20, Type I.1.6.3, Fig. 7:9-11; Stern 2007:107-112, Figs. 8:11, 12; 9:1, 2; Arnon 2008:50, 357-358, Type 276a; Waksman et al. 2008:163, Fig. 2:4; 6; Stern, forthcoming [a], Type BE.GL.4). While these bowls usually have a low-quality glaze that is not preserved, the fragment from Mi'ilya has a high-quality, shiny glaze. It has a slightly different fabric composition than the gritty glazed bowl, and seems to have been manufactured in a workshop that was not situated in Beirut, but elsewhere in Lebanon (Stern and Waksman 2003:175; Waksman et al. 2008:178-183).

Alkaline Glazed Wares.— Bowls of this type, with a similar fabric, but with two different types of decoration, were found at Mi'ilya. The fabric is light brown or pinkish and has some white grits and inclusions. The decoration is either a monochrome alkaline glaze, or an under-glaze painting in manganese. The forms are similar for both subtypes.

In the case of the monochrome bowls, the alkaline glaze was applied directly on the vessel body, without a layer of slip (Fig. 4:14). The monochrome form depicted here is a wide cup with vertical walls and fluting on the exterior. It has a wedge-shaped ring base and inner-flaring walls. The manganese-colored glaze extends over the entire interior, and half of the exterior. Other forms and glaze colors occur on this type

of ware. At Ḥorbat 'Uza, Stratum 5a, bowls of this type and shape were found dating to the first half of the twelfth century (Stern and Tatcher 2009:126–128, Fig. 3.18:3–10). They have also been found at 'Akko (Stern, forthcoming [a]: Type VI.GL.1) in assemblages dating to the twelfth century, and in Caesarea (Arnon 2008:47, 311–312, Type 261a, b), where they are slightly earlier than the Crusader period, representing the earliest stage of its appearance. In Pit K at Fustat, two similar bowls (but with ring bases) were found dating to the Fatimid period (Avissar and Stern 2005:37–38, Type I.3.4.1, Fig. 14:3–6).

The under-glaze painted variants of this ware have manganese designs painted on white slip under a transparent alkaline glaze (Fig. 4:15). The decoration includes stylized vegetal motifs, bordered by concentric circles, or triangular elements painted with a thin brush. In some cases, they are identical to those of the late-Fatimid luster ware.

Bowls and cups bearing manganese underglaze painting have been found at various sites, mainly in Egypt and on the Levantine coast, although they are found at some inland sites as well (Avissar and Stern 2005:35-36, Type I.3.2.1, Fig. 13:4-9; Arnon 2008:47-48, 318–322, Type 264; Stern, forthcoming [a]: Type, VI.GL.2). These vessels derive from the Fatimid-period types and were in use during the first decades of the Crusader occupation of the Holy Land. The question of the type's origin is not a simple one to answer. It has been thought to have come from Egypt, as indicated by similar vessels found in Fustat, and the resemblance of the forms with Egyptian luster ware (Avissar and Stern 2005:35–38). However, new evidence from Beirut suggests that the vessels were produced there (François et al. 2003:334-335, 338-339). Further analysis of the fabric of these wares will enable us to give a more accurate provenance.

## Imported Wares (Fig. 5)

The imported pottery found at Mi'ilya consists primarily of amphorae and a type of Aegean

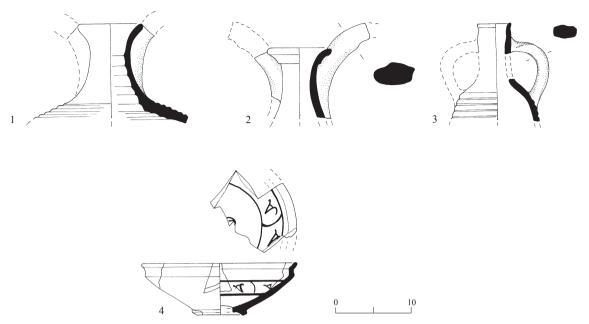


Fig. 5. Imported twelfth-century pottery.

| No. | Type    | Locus | Basket | Vessel and Fabric Description                                                                                                                                        |
|-----|---------|-------|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Amphora | 15    | 110/6  | Light red 2.5YR 6/6 fabric, pinkish gray wash 7.5YR 7/2 on ext.; some white grits and inclusions, many straw negatives                                               |
| 2   | Amphora | 10    | 100/2  | Light reddish brown 2.5 YR 6/4 fabric, very pale brown 10YR 8/4 on ext.; some white grits and inclusions, many straw negatives                                       |
| 3   | Amphora | 15    | 121/3  | Reddish yellow 5YR 6/6 fabric; fine material with some voids and white grits                                                                                         |
| 4   | Bowl    | 15    | 110/9  | Reddish yellow 5YR 6/8 fabric; some white grits and inclusions; white slip under a yellow glaze on int. with deeply incised designs; slip and glaze over ext. of rim |

glazed bowl. These types were not in use in this region in the late Fatimid period, making their first appearance after the establishment of the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as a result of changes in maritime trade patterns (Stern 2007).

High-Handled Amphora (Günsenin 1989: Type 3; Hayes 1992: Type 61).— This amphora has a simple and slightly everted rim, which is sometimes thickened (Fig. 5:1, 2). The neck is high and narrow, splaying outward on its upper part. Two oval-sectioned handles are attached from the rim and the shoulder, after looping above the rim. The handles show evidence of organic inclusions, probably straw, which

burnt when the vessel was fired. The body is ovoid, and the base is rounded.<sup>8</sup> The vessel's walls are thick and decorated on the upper part of the body with a crude, combed pattern, covered with smears of paint. This type of amphora is found in two sizes (c. 30 cm and c. 60 cm in height). The fabric is light reddish brown to yellowish brown. The exterior is a bit lighter—at times pinkish—possibly caused by a wash applied on the vessel. The fabric always contains straw negatives (particularly on the handles), and at times, other inclusions, such as lime grits, limestone inclusions and quartz.

This type of amphora was widely distributed across the eastern Mediterranean, with some rare examples even reaching the western Mediterranean. Its shape made it suitable for maritime transport, explaining the large quantities found on a number of shipwrecks (Stern 2007; forthcoming [a]: Type TUR/ GR.PL.1). In the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, it was found at 'Akko, Horbat Bet Zeneta, Horbat 'Uza, 'Atlit and Yogne'am, as well as in Lebanon (Tell 'Arga), Cyprus (Paphos), Greece and Turkey (Avissar and Stern 2005:105, Type II.3.2.1, Fig. 44:1; Stern 2007:146-148, Fig. 35; Stern and Tatcher 2009:138, Fig. 3.22:11; Stern, forthcoming [a]: Type TUR/GR.PL.1). The origin of this type has yet to be determined by analytical studies; however, Sanders (1993:283) suggested that it was produced on the northern coast of Asia Minor, as indicated by its distribution pattern, particularly the large quantities of this type that were found in that area. This type is usually dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Günsenin 1989:271-274, Type 3, Fig. 8-11). Hayes (1992:76) noted that it was quite common in mid-twelfth- to earlythirteenth century assemblages in Sarachane, Istanbul.

Small Imported Amphorae (Hayes 1992: Type 65).— These amphorae have a simple rim and a high, narrow cylindrical neck (Fig. 5:3). The handles are attached from under the rim to the shoulders. The vessel is elongated, with a ribbed upper body and a rounded base. The light brown fabric is very fine, with some grits and occasional mica.

This type of amphora is quite rare, with isolated examples found thus far. Its fabric and shape indicate that the vessels were clearly imported to Israel, although the origin is still unknown. Complete examples of this type were found locally at Ḥorbat 'Uza and Nazareth, and outside of Israel in Istanbul and Ras, Serbia, with fragments found at Kinet. The form dates to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Hayes 1992:76, Type 65, Fig. 26:6, Pl. 13a; Avissar and Stern 2005:105, Type II.3.2.2, Fig. 44:2; Stern 2007:150–151, Fig. 37:2–4; Stern and Tatcher 2009:138, Fig. 3.22:9; Stern, forthcoming [a]: Type TUR/GR.PL.4).

Aegean Ware.— One whole profile of a type known as Aegean Ware, or Aegean Coarse Incised Ware, was found at Mi'ilya (Fig. 5:4). Its form is quite distinctive, with a low ring base and a carination near the short ledge rim. The fabric is yellowish red with white grits. A white slip was applied on the interior, with a thinner layer on the exterior. The bowl was decorated using a gouge to produce broad and deep incisions. This type dates from the end of the twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries. It was widely distributed in the eastern Mediterranean, mainly in regions of what was once the Byzantine Empire—present-day Greece, Turkey, Romania, Crimea, northern Italy and Cyprus—as well as in Syria, Lebanon and Israel. The vessels were distributed by sea, as seen from the cargo of four shipwrecks in the Aegean Sea that carried large quantities of Greek and Aegean Sea wares. In Israel, this type was also very common, found at numerous sites in the coastal plain, as well as inland (e.g., 'Akko, Horbat Bet Zeneta, Horbat 'Uza, Caesarea, Yogne'am, Horbat Burin, Jerusalem and Tiberias). North of Israel, it was found at Tell 'Arga and Kinet. It was also discovered at Paphos, in Istanbul, and at numerous sites in Greece, including Corinth (Avissar and Stern 2005:46, Type I.5.3, Fig. 17:3, 4; Stern 2007:137-145, Fig. 34:1-9; Arnon 2008:49-50, 342-345, Types 272k, o; Stern and Tatcher 2009:157, Fig. 3.30:1-3; Stern, forthcoming [a]: Type GR.PL.6). The origin of these types has not been fully established yet; however, recent chemical analysis has shown that they originated somewhere in the area of the Byzantine Empire. This analysis has also shown that vessels decorated in different techniques, which in the past were attributed to different production centers, in fact belong to a single, homogeneous chemical group (Waksman and von Wartburg 2006).

### CERAMIC QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

After reviewing each type of pottery individually, the entire assemblage can be

examined quantitatively.<sup>10</sup> Such analysis can reveal additional information about the distinctly dated ceramic assemblage excavated at Mi'ilya. Because of the small number of diagnostic sherds, only general conclusions regarding the ceramic assemblage will be drawn here. The numeric data are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Quantitative Analysis of Ceramic Types

| Ceramic Group                         | No. | %     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Local Wares                           |     |       |
| Handmade wares (open)                 | 17  | 30.4  |
| Handmade wares (closed)               | 2   | 3.6   |
| Jars                                  | 2   | 3.6   |
| Baking dishs                          | 4   | 7.1   |
| Cooking pots                          | 3   | 5.4   |
| Gritty glaze bowls                    | 15  | 26.8  |
| Slip-painted bowls                    | 1   | 1.8   |
| Alkaline Glazed (monochrome)          | 2   | 3.6   |
| Alkaline Glazed (under-glaze painted) | 2   | 3.6   |
| Subtotal                              | 48  | 85.7  |
| Imported wares                        |     |       |
| Amphorae (high handled)               | 6   | 10.7  |
| Amphorae (small)                      | 1   | 1.8   |
| Aegean Wares                          | 1   | 1.8   |
| Subtotal                              | 8   | 14.3  |
| Total                                 | 56  | 100.0 |

Table 2: Simplified Quantitative Analysis of the Pottery
Assemblage

| Ceramic Group                   | No. | %     |
|---------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Handmade—local                  | 19  | 33.9  |
| Wheel-made—local                | 2   | 3.6   |
| Wheel-made—import               | 7   | 12.5  |
| Cooking ware                    | 7   | 12.5  |
| Glazed tableware—local          | 16  | 28.6  |
| Glazed tableware—Alkline Glazed | 4   | 7.1   |
| Glazed tableware—import         | 1   | 1.8   |
| Total                           | 56  | 100.0 |

From studying the data presented, several conclusions can be reached: (1) The pottery represents a household assemblage, based on the relative quantities of the different forms (tableware, cooking ware and storage vessels); (2) Most of the pottery is locally produced (85.7%), the handmade ware (34%) and the glazed bowls (35.7%) are the dominant types, and the open forms are the most common amongst the handmade wares, while the gritty-glazed type is dominant amongst the glazed bowls; (3) Amphorae (apparently imported for their contents) make up the majority of the imported wares.

While a comparison of the quantitative data from Mi'ilya with contemporary assemblages in Israel would be helpful, this is almost an impossible task, as in most cases numeric data has not been provided. Furthermore, there are very few assemblages that date to the short chronological framework of the Mi'ilya assemblage. Three other relevant assemblages have been counted: 'Akko (Stern, forthcoming [a]), Dar el-Gharbiya (Kafr Yasif; Syon and Stern, forthcoming) and Tiberias (Stern, forthcoming [b]). However, as the assemblage from Tiberias consists of only six sherds, it is too small for comparison. Therefore, 'Akko and Dar el-Gharbiya remain the only comparable assemblages (Table 3).

The comparison between the three sites shows that handmade wares are more abundant at Mi'ilya than at 'Akko or, surprisingly, the rural site of Dar el-Gharbiya. Wheel-made wares were found in larger quantities in 'Akko, but were also found in larger quantities at Dar el-Gharbiya. It is well-known that handmade wares are the most common type of pottery found at rural, thirteenth-century Crusader sites and thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Mamlūk sites, yet rare at urban sites. For example, this is true of the rural sites of Horbat Bet Zeneta (7 km southeast of 'Akko, dating to the thirteenth century—Getzov 2000:97\*), Horbat Burin (Kletter and Stern 2006:180), Phase D of the Red Tower (Pringle 1986:139–140), and the

| Ceramic Group                  | Miʻilya |       | 'Akko |       | Dar el-Gharbiya |       |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|
|                                | No.     | %     | No.   | %     | No.             | %     |
| Handmade—local                 | 19      | 33.9  | 3     | 3.1   | 5               | 8.5   |
| Wheel-made—local               | 2       | 3.6   | 43    | 43.8  | 16              | 27.1  |
| Wheel-made—import              | 7       | 12.5  | 4     | 4.1   | 1               | 1.7   |
| Cooking ware                   | 7       | 12.5  | 19    | 19.4  | 5               | 8.5   |
| Glazed tableware—local         | 16      | 28.6  | 13    | 13.2  | 23              | 38.9  |
| Glazed tableware—Alkline glaze | 4       | 7.1   | 8     | 8.1   | 5               | 8.5   |
| Glazed tableware—import        | 1       | 1.8   | 8     | 8.4   | 4               | 6.8   |
| Total                          | 56      | 100.0 | 98    | 100.0 | 59              | 100.0 |

Table 3. Comparison between the Mi'ilya, 'Akko and Dar el-Gharbiya Pottery Assemblages

urban sites of Beirut (Van der Steen 1998) and 'Akko (in its various excavation areas—Stern 1997:40).

Furthermore, while local glazed wares are more abundant at Mi'ilya and at Dar el-Gharbiya, the percentage of imported glazed wares at Dar el-Gharbiya is quite comparable to that of 'Akko. The phenomenon of a majority of local glazed bowls and fewer imports was also noted in rural sites from the late Crusader and Mamlūk periods, such as Ḥorbat Bet Zeneta and Ḥorbat Burin (Kletter and Stern 2006:190–200, Table 3). Another interesting observation is that the imported wheel-made wares (amphorae in this case) were found in larger quantities at Mi'ilya. While this may be coincidental, their presence indicates close connections to 'Akko in the twelfth century.

The comparison of the three sites reveals an interesting picture. While the differences between the rural (Mi'ilya) and urban ('Akko) sites are not surprising, it appears that Dar el-Gharbiya represents a third case. Although it is a rural site, the pottery assemblage is quite similar to that of 'Akko.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The small household pottery assemblage found at Mi'ilya can be dated to the midtwelfth century, possibly continuing into the first decades of the thirteenth century. While small (56 diagnostic sherds), it has great significance to the study of twelfth-century pottery assemblages that are otherwise quite scarce in the region. It includes local wares (such as plain, undecorated handmade wares, simple jars, thin-walled cooking vessels, gritty glazed and slip painted glazed bowls, Alkaline Glazed bowls) and imported wares (amphorae and an Aegean ware glazed bowl). This assemblage shows that during this period, mainly local wares were in use, produced in the same workshops as earlier assemblages (for example, see Khirbat al-Khurrumiya, dating to the late Fatimid and Early Crusader period—Stern and Stacey 2000). However, by the mid-twelfth century, imported wares from the Mediterranean appear alongside the local pottery (for similar assemblages, see Stern 2009:228-229 [Assemblage II]; Stern, forthcoming [a] [early assemblage]), likely a result of changes in maritime trading patterns after the establishment of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (Stern 2007; forthcoming [a]).

The pottery unearthed at Mi'ilya paints a clear and unequivocal picture of a twelfth-century Crusader ceramic assemblage in the region. Usually, assemblages include pottery that dates to the entire span of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, eliminating the possibility

of detecting the differences between the earlier Crusader-period assemblage and the later one. Recently, the advancements made in the study of pottery of the period, alongside more precise field methods in Crusader-period excavations, have made it possible to separate, differentiate and identify restricted assemblages dating to the late eleventh—early twelfth, mid-twelfth to early thirteenth or the thirteenth centuries (Stern 2009:227–231 [Assemblages I, II and III]).

Although, as noted above, assemblages similar to that found at Mi'ilya are rare, they have recently been identified at other excavations, e.g., in 'Akko (Stern, forthcoming [a] [early assemblage]), Ḥorbat 'Uza Stratum 5a (Stern and Tatcher 2009:122–128), Tiberias Phase 4 (Stern, forthcoming [b]), Dar el-Gharbiya (Kafr Yasif; Syon and Stern, forthcoming), Nazareth (Yardenna Alexandre, pers. comm.) and Jaffa (Amit Re'em and Yoav Arbel, pers. comm.).

The finds from Mi'ilya are exclusively ceramic, and unfortunately, no further information regarding the fortress or other buildings was unearthed here. Nevertheless, the ceramic finds that date exclusively to the twelfth century indicate that the site was inhabited at that time, and had close connections to the port city of 'Akko, as attested by the imported amphorae and the Aegean ware bowl. Thus, the archaeological finds correspond well with the information from the written sources that a Frankish settlement existed at Mi'ilya as early as 1160.

Understanding the twelfth century archaeological remains at Mi'iliya in context with the historical references to the village has led to one of the first attempts in reconstructing a twelfthcentury Frankish village of the western Galilee. Such villages, which were situated in the hinterland of 'Akko, are mentioned in historical documents (Ellenblum 1998); however, the pertinent archaeological remains have rarely been unearthed. For example, although Casale Imbert, a Frankish village frequently mentioned in historical documents, has been identified as having been located at Akhzib, no archaeological remains of this period were revealed there (Ellenblum 1998:65-68). Nevertheless, an attempt to reconstruct the Crusader settlement at Akhzib has been made through comparison with archaeological remains of four Frankish linear-planned villages found in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Boas 1999:63-68).

Although two other sites in the western Galilee have yielded archaeological remains of what appears to be another type of twelfth-century Frankish rural settlement mentioned in historical sources—Horbat 'Uza (*La Hadia*—Getzov et al. 2009:105–192) and Dar el-Gharbiya (*Mimas*—Syon and Stern, forthcoming)—the finds provide only scanty evidence regarding the nature of these villages. Thus, the archaeological evidence from Mi'ilya, from both surveys and now, excavations, is of great significance for advancing the study of twelfth-century Crusader rural settlements in the hinterland of 'Akko.

### Notes

Count Joscelin III of Courtenay (Pringle 1998:30). Later, Joscelin's daughter, Beatrice, sells it again (see note 4).

<sup>3</sup> Ellenblum (1996) reaches this conclusion by comparing the names of the people mentioned in the 1243 document with those mentioned in other documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The excavations (Permit No. A-5202) were conducted by Leea Porat, whom I wish to thank for inviting me to study the Crusader-period remains. The Late Bronze and Iron Age material, as well as a complete stratigraphic report of the site, will be published by Nurit Feig.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This name is mentioned in a document that states that King Baldwin granted the site to his uncle,

- <sup>4</sup> The third party being Otto of Hannenberg and his wife Beatrice, who was in fact William of Amigdala's sister-in-law. They were partially paid with the defrayment of a debt to William (Ellenblum 1996:117–118).
- <sup>5</sup> Diagnostic sherds that were counted consist solely of rim fragments.
- <sup>6</sup> Although some of these wares were imported from Beirut to the western Galilee in the Crusader period, and were probably even distributed by sea, they are considered local wares, and were in fact part of the local ceramic repertoire of the Crusader kingdom, given that Beirut was included within its boundaries (Stern and Waksman 2003:173–178; Stern 2007; forthcoming (a): Types BE.CW and BE.GL; Waksman et al. 2008).
- <sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Anastasia Shapiro, who analyzed the jars.

- 8 Only fragments of the upper parts of this type of amphora were found at Mi'ilya. The description is therefore based on similar whole vessels found elsewhere.
- <sup>9</sup> As in the case of the high-handled amphora, only fragments of the upper parts were found at Mi'ilya. The description is therefore based on similar whole vessels found elsewhere.
- <sup>10</sup>The types were counted according to rims, as this is the most diagnostic part of the vessel. Although the number of the rims does not represent the absolute number of vessels, a quantitative analysis of rims offers a convenient, quick counting method. For this reason it was chosen here, as in many other excavations (e.g., Stern 1997; 2000; forthcoming [a]; Kletter and Stern 2006; Stern and Tatcher 2009). I would like to thank Nimrod Getzov for his assistance with the quantitative analysis.

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