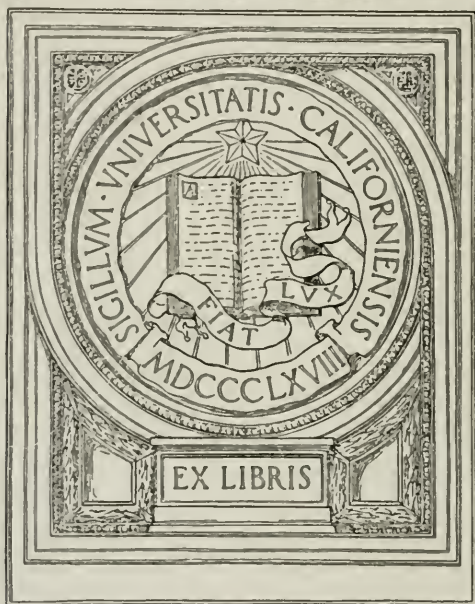




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THE  
LITERARY REMAINS

OF THE LATE

CHARLES F. TYRWHITT DRAKE, F.R.G.S.

EDITED WITH A MEMOIR

BY

WALTER BESANT, M.A.

SECRETARY OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

With a Portrait



LONDON

RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, NEW BURLINGTON STREET

Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen

1877

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE production of CHARLES TYRWHITT DRAKE'S literary remains has been delayed from various causes. The book was to have been edited with a memoir by two of his friends, who knew him best and would have paid to his memory the largest measure of justice and respect. They were Captain and Mrs. BURTON. Most unfortunately it has been found impossible by them to carry out the task. I am sorry, for the sake of the memoir, that it was not written by Captain BURTON. He sent me, however, a contribution which will be found in its place. It is hoped that the pages which are here reprinted, fragmentary as they are, will be accepted as no unworthy monument of the few years of work granted to their author.

W. B.

9 PALL MALL EAST:

*March 21, 1877.*

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## MEMOIR.

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CHARLES F. TYRWHITT DRAKE, the youngest son of Colonel William Tyrwhitt Drake, Royal Horse Guards Blue, was born at Amersham on January 2, 1846. He was educated at Rugby and Wellington College, and was as a schoolboy remarkable for the same characteristics which distinguished his short manhood—a resolute thoroughness in everything which he undertook, the conscientious discharge of duties, and a special aptitude for natural history. From an early age he had to struggle against the disease—asthma—which oppressed all his after life, and interfered, during his school-days, with the activity for which his tall and powerful frame especially fitted him. He became a prefect at Wellington at the earliest age possible, and his influence is still remembered at the school, and by his old masters, as having been entirely exercised in the direction of good tone and high principle. And this influence especially was always quietly exercised. Drake was never self-consciously virtuous, either as boy or man. While at Wellington

he made himself a draughtsman, a botanist, and an ornithologist. 'He knew,' writes Dr. Benson, 'the flight and note of every species. He was the chief naturalist of the school, and found out the great variety of birds which inhabit the fir woods and the heaths, the Finchampstead Ridges and the rich Blackwater Valley.' He was a good cricketer, and played, unless when prevented by asthma, in the school eleven. As regards the regular work of the school, he became a sound scholar, a fair mathematician, and, had his health allowed, would probably have done extremely well at Cambridge. It is interesting to find that one of the favourite studies at school was the topography of Palestine particularly, as given in a relief map of the Holy Land, one of a set presented to the boys by the Prince Consort. He was one of the few with whom all recreations and amusements had sense in them—an aim and object beyond the present; and his favourite amusements now seem strangely to have all been in harmony with his last and most honourable work for the Palestine Fund.

His school life appears to have been thoroughly healthy, and in the highest sense a sound preparation for a day's work which must not be estimated by the length of the working time. Some who are appointed to work at the first hour, and called away as early as the second, do yet as fair a task by measure as those

who bear the whole heat and burden of the day. The few words in which Dr. Benson speaks of his former pupil show us clearly a lad whose thoughts were bent on lofty aims, a lad of healthy instincts and noble impulses, one of those who, as if by instinct and the natural prompting of a generous heart, range themselves from the beginning on the side of manliness and honour. And we feel that it is just how such a boy would act when we hear that the first thing Drake did after his first tour to Morocco was to carry back to the school which he loved a collection of coins, dresses, and other things for the boys' museum.

Thus armed for the business of life, possessed of great muscular power, tall and athletic, but heavily weighed with an incurable chest weakness, Charles Tyrwhitt Drake left Wellington and entered at Trinity, Cambridge. At the University, as at school, he was a man of many friends, who yet did not make friends lightly. He became one of the leading rifle shots, the range being his most frequent afternoon resort. His favourite reading was still in natural history; and when it became evident that his health would not allow a continuous undergraduate course, he fell back more and more upon the study of ornithology.

It was in 1866 that he first found himself obliged to leave England during the cold months, and spent the winter of that year, and of 1867, in Morocco.

One result of this journey, his *primitiæ*, was a paper contributed to the *Ibis* on the birds of the country, which is reproduced in this volume. A summer visit in 1867 produced the 'Further Notes,' which will also be found here. Professor Newton, of Cambridge, who was then the editor, writes of these papers—

'Up to the present time these two papers furnish nearly all the information that has been printed on the ornithology of that country, and the numerous references made to them by various writers, both at home and abroad, prove that they are regarded by ornithologists generally as of considerable importance, while hardly in any case have the statements therein contained been questioned. On his first visit to Morocco his observations were limited to the districts of Tangier and Tetuan, but no fewer than 142 species fell under his notice—a fact alone telling the zeal with which he worked. On his second visit he had much greater opportunities, having travelled along the coast from Tetuan to Mazagan, thence inland to the city of Morocco, and back again to Mogador. Besides additional notes on some of the species he had before observed, he was thus able to add twenty-seven species to his former list, making in all 169 species of birds found by him in this part of North-Western Africa, some of them being of considerable interest or rarity. The collections he formed were not indeed large, but

he showed much sagacity in the choice of the specimens he preserved. Prefixed to each of his lists is a brief but graphic sketch of the physical features of the districts through which he had passed, indicating his possession of the observant eye of the born traveller.'

The 'Notes on Morocco and the Moors' are printed here for the first time. They are unfinished, but are published exactly as they were left, and not only possess the interest which attaches to travels in a little-known country, but also that of showing the rough form in which he threw the jottings of his notebooks.

In this his first journey he showed the quality of imperturbable temper, which made him the most pleasant of travelling companions. It is curious, comparing the statements with later testimony, to note how his companion (the Rev. G. D. Armitage) in Morocco dwells upon this trait in his character:—

'His temper, which nothing seemed to ruffle, was marvellous, making as it did all the discomforts and trials of tent-life almost pleasant. He was ever the first to lend a helping hand in pitching a tent or, after a long and hard day, in lighting a fire, when all others were ready to shirk work and sleep from sheer fatigue. After one of these long day's marches, we found ourselves at night (owing to the camel-driver's mistake)



without tent, baggage, or eatables. He said, "I have my flask with me." I thought he had poured out only part of the liquor, so drank all that was offered, which turned out to be the whole of our supply. His only remark (although he knew we could not get anything either to eat or drink until morning) was, "Never mind, old fellow ; it will do you good." We knew each other thirteen years, and I cannot remember a single harsh or unkind word passing between us. To know him was to love him, and all who were acquainted with him will testify to the thorough unselfishness of his character.'

His unselfishness and good temper are indeed the chief burden in the lamentation of all those who were afterwards his travelling companions—Professor E. H. Palmer, Captain Burton, and Lieutenant Conder.

The Morocco travelling stood him in good stead as a preparation for the more serious business of his life. It inured him to camp-life, taught him the manners and language of the East, showed him how, by proof especially of superior dexterity in things valued by Easterns, to gain the admiration and trust of the people, and gave him the habit of close and careful observation, which fitted him peculiarly for his after work of exploration in Palestine.

In the winter of 1868 he went to Egypt. By this time it was clear that University distinction was a



thing to be thought of no more, and that all future winters would have to be spent in the sunny south. The letters he wrote during his journey were full of brightness and hope, showing that it was a time of great enjoyment. Here, for instance, is an extract from a letter which naturally assumed the form of a Journal, and permits itself to be quoted. The style curiously contrasts with that of the carefully weighed reports which he afterwards drew up for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

‘On the Nile, Dec. 22, 1868.

‘On the fourteenth I went to the Pyramids of Cheops. We left the hotel about 8 A.M., and down through Old Cairo to the banks of the Nile, which we crossed, and found our donkeys waiting for us on the other side; we then rode about six miles, till we came to the edge of the desert where the Pyramids are. At first it is utterly impossible to realise their enormous size (460 ft. high), but after a time, by comparison with the men at the foot and those on the top, one begins to realise what it really is. Of course we went up to the top, but nothing would ever induce me to do it again—it is a most awful path; the ascent is made as easy as possible, for two Arabs hold your hands, and another pushes when necessary, but as the blocks vary in height from three to four feet, it is no easy work to get to the top, but once there the view is fine; one sees

the fertile land about the Nile for many miles each way, and the tints on the desert hills are most lovely. As it is the custom for tourists to buy relics at the Pyramids, we were pestered by Arabs trying to palm off Birmingham goods for antiques, some most palpable shams; for instance, copper coins silvered over, but here and there showing the metal through. The whole affair is thoroughly cockney, which destroys one's pleasure a good deal; Brown, Jones, & Co. have scrawled and cut their names in every imaginable place, and the Arabs have already learnt such slang as "Not for Joseph," &c. The interior is altogether a great sell. One has to crawl and creep over slippery slabs of stone, polished by the Arabs' bare feet, up hill and down, till a moderate-sized oblong chamber is reached; the heat and bad air is suffocating, and there is nothing to see to repay one.'

'The Sphinx is also rather a delusion; all pictures that one sees represent it perched on a hill, while in reality it is in a hollow among the sand-heaps. The body is a shapeless mass; the head is certainly curious, but it has lost its nose, which gives it the most disagreeable expression, to say the least of it. The tombs discovered by Colonel Vyse are very interesting, composed of huge monoliths of granite and alabaster in some of the small chambers.'

'Cairo is by far the most picturesque town I ever

saw. It is dirty and dilapidated as a rule, but that rather adds to the effect. The number of mosques is wonderful. I counted more than 140 minarets from the roof of the hotel. There are, I believe, about 350. They are totally different from Moorish ones, being circular and decorated. The bazaars are peculiarly gay, as here the turbans are worn very large and of gaudy colours, and the dresses are nearly all coloured, blue (indigo-dyed) predominating. This is very different from the West, where white is almost universal. There are a great many Copts here; I went to see several of their churches, which are curious, full of paintings like in the Greek Church. One has a vault where Mary is said to have hidden herself (why, I could not make out) during the stay in Egypt. I went to service in one of their churches. The ceremonial is partly Greek and partly Moslem. Candles and incense are used, the service is read first in Coptic (which nobody understood), then in Arabic; the congregation sit on the ground and take their shoes, not turbans, off, just as the Moslems do.'

It was in the spring of 1869 that he went to Sinai. This journey proved a turning-point in his life. He met there the Officers of the Sinai Survey, consisting of Majors Wilson and Palmer, R.E., Rev. F. W. Holland, and Professor E. H. Palmer. The survey was just

completed and the party were on the point of leaving the peninsula when he arrived. He took their guide, Salem, and remained alone for some weeks visiting all the points of interest. And when he returned to England in the summer it was with his mind full of those Eastern scenes which, with their associations, retained possession of his mind until the end.

It was in the autumn of 1869 that he fairly entered on the work of exploration in Holy Lands. The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, having very fortunately ascertained that it would fall in with Professor E. H. Palmer's plans to spend another winter in the East, proposed that he should visit for them the little known and deeply interesting district called the Desert of the Tih, or Wanderings. The University of Cambridge at the same time made Charles Tyrwhitt Drake a grant which might enable him to prosecute Natural History research in the same region. It was, as proved afterwards, a country singularly barren of animal life, but the small collection which he succeeded in making contained several rare and valuable specimens.

In other respects the journey was most important.

The two travellers started, so to speak, at the Convent of St. Catherine, Sinai, where they examined the more important of the manuscript treasures of the place. Leaving the convent, they began by finishing

up the survey of a small portion of the peninsula left incomplete by Major Wilson. This done, they proceeded to perform the main object of their journey—the exploration of the Desert et Tih. They crossed the country from south to north—Cala'at Nakhl to Hebron—thence in a south-westerly direction to Petra, and from Petra by a little-trodden road through Moab to Jerusalem. Their baggage was of the lightest kind possible; they were on foot the whole of the way; their food was of the simplest; they often had to perform their own cooking, washing up, &c. themselves, and they were in constant danger from suspicious Arabs. The actual scientific results of the expedition have been given to the world in the Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and in the 'Desert of the Exodus,' by Professor E. H. Palmer. What concerns us here is the fact that hardships and fatigues were borne with the same 'equal mind' with which Drake met good or evil fortune, that he was always cool and collected in danger, that he was a perfect travelling companion, and that he cheerfully in this, as in every other case, accepted the second place.

The one great disappointment in this expedition, a disappointment far greater than that caused by the scarcity of animal life, was their failure to find any more inscribed stones of a character such as the famous Moabite Stone. Their chief object in visiting the



country was to ascertain the probability of there being any other monument in the country of a like nature, and, if so, of quietly taking steps which should not result, as the mistakes of Mr. Klein unfortunately did, in the destruction of a priceless and unique inscription. The opinion arrived at by both, that there were no other inscribed stones of such antiquity in Moab, remains yet unassailed.

After a stay at Jerusalem, the first to both the travellers, they went to the north and visited Damascus, Baalbec, and the Lebanon, in company with Captain R. F. Burton, then H.B.M. Consul at Damascus. This was the beginning of a friendship with that great traveller, which resulted in important work later on. The travelling of the year was finished by a visit to Greece and Constantinople.

In the winter of 1870 there came to England a rumour of the discovery at Hamáh, in Northern Syria, of certain stones inscribed in a character unlike any found elsewhere. They appear to have been casually mentioned by Burckhardt early in this century, and afterwards to have been entirely neglected until they were seen by the Rev. S. Jessup of the American Syrian Mission, and Mr. J. Augustus Johnson, U.S. Consul-General at Beyrout. They took copies and showed them to Professor Palmer, who was so much impressed with the possible value of the inscriptions,

that he persuaded the Committee of the Fund to provide Drake with the money necessary for a visit to the place. Thither, accordingly, he went in June 1871. His mission was perfectly successful. With the tact and great perseverance which distinguished him he overcame the resistance of the natives and their ignorant superstitions so far as to be allowed to take squeezes and photographs. A report of great interest, though short, was sent to London on the antiquities of Hums and Hamáh.

Before his visit there he had ridden into the Hauran with Captain Burton. The results of this journey were afterwards published in the volume called 'Unexplored Syria.'

To the east and north-east of Hamáh is a region certainly not visited during the present century by any European traveller. It is called El Alah. On the maps it is represented by a perfect blank. Yet it is a district fertile, *riant*, and picturesque; full of ruined towns—the Arabs say there are 365 of them—and abounding in Greek inscriptions. Drake visited this country alone in the autumn of 1871 after his Hamáh journey. He rode through the whole district, stopping from point to point to examine and sketch the ruined castles and fortresses. This place, the home of an ancient civilisation, and once densely populated, had a singular interest for him, and it was, I believe, his

intention, as soon as the survey of Palestine was finished, to return and examine minutely the ruins through which he had passed as a simple pioneer of exploration.

The whole results of this year were published in two volumes, called 'Unexplored Syria' (Tinsley Brothers), the combined work of Captain Burton, Mrs. Burton, and Drake. Here the Hamath inscriptions were reproduced in full, and drawings from Drake's original sketches made in the Alah appeared in the work.

There appears no better place than the present for a communication, forwarded me by Captain Burton, which speaks for itself:—

'On a red-hot morning in July 1870 I rode from Damascus to Blúdan, and said to my wife "I have fallen in with two such nice fellows, and they are coming here—Drake and Palmer, who have been doing Sinai and the Tih."'

'They made their appearance in our garden on the 19th, sunburnt, "hard as nails," briefly in the finest travelling condition. They were a first-rate working pair, Drake taking the surveying and mapping, and to Palmer fell the linguistic labours of the expedition, whilst a thorough good fellowship existed between them. As we were short of bedrooms they pitched their tents below Mr. Consul-General Wood's house, our summer quarters, and passed a few quiet days



with us. Both were somewhat fatigued with their unusually hard work, but still they were anxious to visit, in our company, the summits of the Libanus. We made hurried preparations for twenty-three days of gipsying; and, with our two friends, my wife and I started after as short a delay as possible, at the head of a small caravan of horses, servants, tents, and light baggage.'

'We spent a week amongst the ruins of Ba'albak, trying to save some of the grandest features from destruction. We then rode up the fertile and malarious Cœlesyrian plain as far as El Ká'a, a village about thirty miles distant from Homs, which could be distinctly seen in the clear pellucid air, and thus we galloped across the valley towards Ayn Urghush, camping in a Maronite stronghold at Ayn Atá. All greatly enjoyed the scramble up the Cedar Col, where we found banks and wreaths of snow in July, and the slide down to the old Trees. There we encamped for some days, and hence we visited the summits of the Libanus with the view of determining the disputed altitudes. Professor Palmer has since published a short sketch of our trip in the "Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund." A cheerful and pleasant time it was to all, fitly to be described by the adjective "jolly," at which Philister and Philistine turn up the nose "polite."

‘From the Cedars we were obliged to part, and I cannot say which of the four felt parting the most. There is eternal fitness in the saying of Háfiz the Shirazi:—

That eve so gay, so bright, so glad; this morn so dim and sad and grey—  
Ah! that Life’s Registrar should write that day a day, thy day a day!

‘Drake then returned to England for a while, and we kept up an unintermitted correspondence, which ended in his returning to us in Syria during the following year (1871). He arrived rather suddenly on the cold damp evening of March 25, suffering somewhat from his old enemy, asthma; and it was unanimously determined by three friends in council that, instead of turning into the comfortless solitude of a bachelor establishment, he should take up his quarters permanently with us. His kindly and domestic disposition made this prospect agreeable to him, and we were glad to find it so, as he was evidently far from strong, and when he became one of us we should be better able to look after him. His attacks, frequent at first, soon lost their violence, and his health under the climate and the life that suited him became manifestly a gainer.

‘He was my inseparable companion during the rest of our stay in Palestine, and never did I travel with any man whose disposition was so well adapted to make a first-rate explorer. We all three visited almost

every known part of Syria, either for the first time or over again, taking observations, making sketches and skeleton maps, and writing diaries and accounts of our journeys. We divided the work, each taking what was best suited. My wife had charge of the camp generally, and especially the horses and the sick or wounded, and visited the harems to note things hidden from mankind. Drake copied inscriptions, mapped the country, measured the remains of antiquity, collected geological specimens, fauna and flora, and made admirable sketches in pencil and water-colours—we keep many of these as some of our most precious relics. The time was passed most enjoyably. Our companion was one of the few who can make a pleasant third in a ménage—a plain, honest, straightforward disposition that was a true friend to both in an honest way, and that is high praise.

‘A day or two after he arrived from England I rode back from Hums and Hamáh with a native copy of the “Hamath stones.” My journey had been for upwards of a fortnight over the Northern desert and the Ansári Mountains, where the snow and frost had bitten my fingers and toes. After a short rest we resolved on spending the holy week at Jerusalem. My wife went under his charge viâ Beyrout by sea to Jaffa and Jerusalem, where, after riding down across country, I met them with our own horses. “Inner Life of Syria” has

given a good Catholic's account of the visit to Jerusalem and the holy places; more is to come. Drake's familiarity with the Holy City made him an invaluable companion; but he suffered from the abominable climate, and I well remember his telling me that it had never agreed with him. Had I been present at the very beginning of his last illness, I should have put him into a litter, and have carried him *nolens volens* to the coast. When he had recovered we pursued our way, including Ayn Kárin, and Hebron, Bethlehem, Mar Sábá, the Dead Sea, the so-called tomb of Moses, the Jordan ford, Jericho, and Ayn-el-Sultán, where he, poor fellow, afterwards encamped in 1874, and caught the fever that terminated his short but useful and promising career. We then turned northwards or homewards viâ Bethel and Náblus, the consular boundary between Damascus and Jerusalem, halting to visit Mount Ebal and Gerizim, and Shechem and the Samaritans. From Scythopolis and Endor we finally made Nazareth, where we were both stoned by the so-called and miscalled Greeks; on this occasion Drake displayed the cool bravery and determination of his character, and he was a great help to me in saving my wife and servants from the fury of an excited mob, urged on by their priests and bishop.

‘After staying at Nazareth to see the rioters punished, we thence proceeded to Cana (?) in Galilee, and

at the Lake of Tiberias we camped, and visited by boat the seven famous sites as far as is possible to ascertain them ; we also circumnavigated the little sea, and took observations of temperature which yield curious results. Next came Safed, famed for its mediæval Jewish school of ferocious theology, the plain of Húleh and waters of Merom, with the Birket-el-Rám (Lake Phiala), where we took soundings on our camp-table, buoyed up with water, or rather air-skins. Finally, after visiting our Druse neighbours, we galloped across our own desert plain home.

‘ Our next joint excursion was to the Haurán, whither three hundred Bedawin were sent to waylay us. We explored the Tulúl-el-Safá, a somewhat risky feat, which the Europeans of Damascus had often wished to do, but were deterred by the overwhelming chances of being stripped by the robber tribes ; the latter were part of the state machinery under those who have turned a garden of roses into a desert and den of thieves.

‘ Drake then made a little trip on his own account, or rather on that of the Palestine Exploration Fund, to get better squeezes of, and collect more information concerning, the now world-famous “ Hamath stones.” The Rev. William Wright first suggested, *magnò cum risu*, that they were Hittite—a theory now confirmed

by Birch, Sayce, and the late George Smith. I had been obliged to satisfy myself with a native copy, having unfortunately been without squeeze-paper.

‘We then all went once more into summer quarters at Blúdán, where we again spent a pleasant and quiet time, until August 16; on which day I was politely invited to return home with the utmost possible despatch. Drake, ever staunch and true, saw me to my saddle, and undertook to help my wife to settle the mass of business and hard work which the sudden giving up of an establishment could not but entail. As the reason given by Ráshid Pasha was my being so unpopular with the Moslems that they wanted my life, I made my wife remain at Damascus to prove its untruth; this measure certainly could not have been taken had not both of us been sure of our native friends. She slept with open door and windows in the Saláhíyyeh; this is the quarter which once had so lawless a reputation that at night none would venture into it, and even by day the timid avoided it.

‘Drake’s kind heart was greatly grieved by the loss of our happy home, and he advised me to await at Damascus the result of my explanatory report to headquarters. But I knew better; the greater the right in such cases the greater the wrong. He accompanied me to the diligence, and then returned to Blúdán; there he served all my interests like a true man, and assisted my



wife in all her troubles, until he placed her on board the steamer for England at Beyrút.

‘ Our house furniture, horses, and pets were all left with Drake in the forlorn hope that personal explanations might secure a modicum of justice ; but that day was never to dawn. Unfortunate Damascus presently became the scene of murders and disorders of all kinds, and she has gradually declined till all the little English colony has broken up. My excellent successor, Mr. Kirby Green, had anything but a happy sojourn there, and he was not sorry to exchange it even for Scutari in Albania, another fine specimen of a consular den.

‘ Time passed, and as I was transferred to Trieste, Drake halted a month with us en route to England, and we visited Pola, Aquileja, the caves of Adelsberg, the Karst (Carso), and San Cauzian, the famous *haras* or breeding-stables at Lippiza ; and the environs of Trieste. The climate, which residents find so cruel, agreed with him perfectly, and the holiday had a most favourable effect upon his spirits. I should note that we always kept up a lively correspondence ; we have bundles of his letters, which, however, are of too private and personal a nature for publication.

‘ We went to Venice and saw him off to England ; he promised us to return in seven weeks, but fate willed that we should not meet again. The cholera broke out

at Trieste (1873); he dreaded a long quarantine in July, and he was tempted by his friend Sir John Drummond Hay of Tangier with the prospect of another journey into inner Morocco, an almost virgin country in which his first trip had caused him to take a great and permanent interest. The project was frustrated by the emperor's death, and he went back to his work in Syria.

‘During the spring of 1874 he caught as before mentioned the Jericho fever whilst he was camped in the rainy swamps that bound the lower Jordan. When a little better he was removed to Jerusalem where he relapsed, and where his horror of the climate was justified, as if it had been a presentiment, by the fatal result of his illness.

‘The letter announcing his death reached me only two days after hearing he was not very well; to this we had attached but little importance, knowing that he had been weakened by overwork, and suspecting that he wanted rest. The sad news, I need hardly say, was a severe blow.

‘Drake's appearance and character are thus noticed in “Inner Life in Syria,” and I will copy it as our united testimony to the value of a friend whose loss can never be replaced.<sup>1</sup> Pray use these lines in any way you please.’

<sup>1</sup> Included in the letter was an extract from Mrs. Burton's work; see p. 46.



To resume our own narrative. After the Alah work came the survey of Palestine. There had been some difference of opinion on the first foundation of the Palestine Fund whether it would be wiser to begin their labours with excavations at Jerusalem or with the great survey of the whole country. The former plan was decided upon, and it was not until a year after Captain Warren's return that the committee saw their way, in the autumn of 1871, to undertake what will undoubtedly prove the very greatest work ever accomplished in the task of illustrating the Bible and making its narrative intelligible. With this work Drake's name will be inseparably connected.

The assurance of being engaged upon an enterprise of lasting importance, the memory of which will never perish while the Bible continues to be read, was in itself a subject of the greatest satisfaction to him. He had ever before him the conviction that he would not live long, and his incessant activity may be partly explained by an anxiety to accomplish something during the few years which he felt were granted to him. This anxiety was removed by the knowledge that good work had fallen into his hands—work which from its very nature he should be proud of doing well.

It was with the greatest hope of being accepted that he volunteered his services to the Fund; and, characteristically, he modestly made known his wishes in

the first instance to one of the committee, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, who brought the subject forward at a meeting of the committee held towards the end of 1871.

The position was as follows:—Captain Stewart, R.E., the officer in charge of the Survey party, was about to proceed with two non-commissioned officers in January 1872. He was totally inexperienced in Syrian life, manners, and language. Drake volunteered his services in the capacity of naturalist, draughtsman, and linguist. He placed his experience in the hands of the committee, almost giving it to the cause. The committee had hardly accepted the offer, which they did with gratitude, when they had reason to congratulate themselves on their happy chance. For Captain Stewart hardly had time to lay down a base line and commence the triangulation, when he was struck down with an illness which caused his immediate return to England. His services, it was clear, though we hoped for a time that he would return, were lost to the society. Then it was that Drake came to the rescue. He hastened to Jaffa, took the command, carried on the Survey, wrote valuable reports home, accumulated material for the future memoirs, and all the time had to look most carefully after the safety and welfare of the two non-commissioned officers, strangers to the climate and the people, who were thrown on his hands. Sergeants Black and Armstrong, attached to the Survey Expedition, were,

however, thoroughly steady and reliable men, perfectly certain to give no trouble on their own account. In the summer Lieutenant Conder arrived and took over the command.

The rest of the story almost entirely belongs to the history of the Survey. From January 1872 until June 1874, a space of two years and a half, Drake worked with short intervals in the field. Once he went down to Egypt; once he returned to England; each journey a short one, and on each occasion undertaken by order of his medical adviser, Dr. Chaplin, of Jerusalem. The reports which he sent home from month to month were published by the Palestine Fund, except the one which appears in this volume called 'Modern Jerusalem.' This was published as a separate pamphlet, and had a large sale. It is reproduced here in order to give it such better chance of life as a bound book offers over a pamphlet. It is without doubt the fullest and most trustworthy account of the modern city which has yet appeared.

As for the 'Letters from C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake,' I am perhaps, by reason of the office I hold, better qualified than any one else to speak of the great pleasure which they gave to the readers of the periodical in which they appeared, and the eagerness with which they were looked for. Their charm was not so much in the startling nature of discoveries made, because

Drake was too sensible, and knew Western Palestine too well, to expect what are called brilliant discoveries. It lay in the quiet style, the earnestness, the occasional strokes of humour, and the unpretending thoroughness with which he went about his work. Always, whether he wrote, spoke, or worked, it was as the quiet, typical English gentleman. And he was ever ready to acknowledge at once any error of judgment.

Let me instance one point. Drake, in common with everybody else, was at first taken in by certain forgeries known as the 'Moabite Pottery,' consisting of an innumerable quantity of figures, vases, and other things, the supply of which proved miraculously equal to any demand that could be made upon the fortunate vendor. A large portion of the collection was bought by the Germans for the museum of Berlin. The authenticity of these finds was from the first doubted by savants in France and England; and before M. Clermont Ganneau went out to Palestine in 1873 for the Fund, he informed me, on looking at the inscribed pottery, that he was certain they were forgeries because he knew the hand in which the so-called Phœnician inscriptions were written. He went to Jerusalem and immediately began to trace out the forger. But Drake was quietly busy with the same object, and just before Ganneau triumphantly exposed the whole scheme, I received a private note from Drake informing me that he had now found

out the chief agent in the affair, whose name he sent me, and enjoining strict secrecy until he gave further particulars. In point of fact, Drake simultaneously with Ganneau, and quite independently, discovered the whole conspiracy. And in spite of a grand attempt made by certain persons to discredit the original testimony of the Arabs, the pottery has now been universally condemned. Observe, however, that Drake was immediately ready, on learning the truth, to abandon his former position without reserve.

After the arrival of Lieutenant Conder, Drake, resigning the command of the expedition, continued to write the Letters of which I have spoken. They were written independently of the reports of Lieutenant Conder, so that the committee often had the advantage of information on the same subject from a double point of view. But, from the nature of his special work as well as from strongly-marked intellectual differences, Drake's observations, while they certainly never ran counter to, were at the same time never parallel with those of his colleague.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Conder, for instance,

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Conder, however, reminds me that Drake's researches in the field of identification were by no means without profit. Among the places recovered by him, within the bounds of reasonable probability are—

1. *Adummim* (Joshua xv. 7 and xviii. 17), now the modern Talât ed Dumm.

2. *Bileam* (1 Chron. vi. 70), now Belâmeh.

3. *Helkath Hazzurim* (2 Sam. ii. 16), now the Wady el Askar.

4. *Elon* (Joshua xix. 43), now Beit Anân.

5. *Mozah* (Joshua xviii. 26), now Beit Mizzeh.



has always been impressed above all things with the geographical and topographical aspect of the work. This is shown by the vast number of Biblical sites (equal in number to all those discovered by previous travellers put together) which he has rescued from oblivion or uncertainty. Drake, on the other hand, saw in the traditions of the people, in the present condition of the country, in its natural history, and in the manners and customs of the natives, a field for Biblical illustration peculiarly open to himself. In his special aptitude for this sort of work he had but one rival, a friendly rival, in M. Clermont Ganneau.<sup>1</sup> The latter was certainly his superior in mastery over the native dialects, but both possessed in an eminent degree the rare faculty of being able to elicit from a peasantry marked by childishness, suspicion, and timidity, the legends and traditions, the folk lore and the fables among which, covered over with the accumulations of ages, lie hidden the events of the Bible. The following extract from one of Drake's letters will show some of the difficulties met with in gathering information from the natives:—

‘In the desert a wady will generally have but one name from its head to its termination or junction with a more important one. In these well-populated districts

6. *Zarthan* (Joshua iii. 16 and 1 Kings vii. 46), now Tell es Sârem.

<sup>1</sup> I am speaking especially with reference to the officers employed in the work of the Fund. No one, for instance, has done so much to show the *mind* of the Syrians as Captain Burton in his ‘Collection of Syrian Proverbs.’

a wady changes its name half-a-dozen times in as many miles, taking a new one in the territory of each village that it passes through. The fear of the fellahin that we have secret designs of reconquering the country is a fruitful source of difficulty. This got over, remains the crass stupidity which cannot give a direct answer to a simple question, the exact object of which it does not understand ; for why should a Frank wish to know the name of an insignificant wady or hill in their land? The following dialogue will show that denseness is not peculiar to the traditional Chawbacon. I ride up to a man ploughing in a wady, and say, "What do you call this wady?"

"Which wady? Where?"

"Why, the one we are in; here."

"What do you want to know for?"

"To write it on the map," &c.

"Oh, this is called El Wad" (the valley).

"Nothing else?"

"No."

"Well, the men here must be illiterate donkeys!"

(Turning to the man) "Why, when you go home and say that you have been ploughing in the 'Wad,' perhaps they'll think that you've been on the other side of that hill yonder."

(In a tone of pique) "Oh no! I should say I've been in Wady Serár."



“Then you call this Wady Serár?”

“Yes, that’s what we call it.”

‘A little sarcasm is a weapon that seldom, if ever, fails to penetrate the Syrian perceptions, for the native, with all his ignorance and stupidity, is essentially vain, and by this means many a point may be gained or bit of information acquired which no amount of bullying, no length of entreaties, would serve to accomplish.’

The following extract illustrates with what apparent carelessness, as if the thing were not really a triumph of linguistic power and personal tact, he would embody in a paragraph facts and legends which had taken days and weeks to collect. It shows also the curious mélange of fact and fiction in which the native traditions survive:—

‘The tomb of Weli Iskander, which stands near here, has proved a most valuable trigonometrical station. This personage is, on the authority of the Kadi, one of the kings of the Children of Israel, but I cannot find any foundation for this legend in history, unless it be some memory of Alexander, son of Herod, who was strangled at Sebaste, but buried at Alexandrium (Jos. B. J. 1 xxvii. 6). Others say that it is a *makam* in honour of Alexander the Great, of whom Moslem legends, with their usual disregard for chronology, tell marvellous tales. He was a negro, the son of El Dhab’aak, King of Himyar, and a Greek princess, and

is called *Iskander z'ul Karnayn*, "Alexander with the two horns," which grew like a ram's from his temples. To conceal them he invented the turban; he also invented the fashion of shaking hands. He had an interview with Abraham in Wady Seb'a (Beersheba) B.C. 300; his conquests extended over the world, and amongst other notables he slew Yajuj and Majuj (Gog and Magog), who were each 240 feet high; and to avoid the plague which would ensue from the putrefaction of such a mass of flesh, he caused an army of birds of prey to tear off their flesh and carry it to the sea. These giants were omnivorous; they ate trees, crops, men, horses, and cattle, and were able to drink the lake of Tiberias dry in a single day. Some of their race who were also cannibals, rode ants as large as camels instead of horses. Alexander was a fit hero to cope with such monsters, as his nose was three spans long and, of course, the rest of his body in proportion. Og, the King of Bashan, to reach whose knee Moses, who was twenty cubits high, took an axe twenty cubits long, and leapt up twenty cubits from the earth, must doubtless have been a connection of these giants.'

The picture which he drew of the fellaheen is a dark one, but not darker than the reality in the opinion of those who know them.

'From earliest infancy they are brought up in utter ignorance; they are never children; the merry laughter

and sports of European childhood are here quite unknown. At three years old they are little men and women with wonderful *aplomb*. Tiny dots scarcely able to toddle may be seen gathering *khobbayzeh* (wild mallows) for the evening meal, and, when they have filled the skirts of their one wee garment, will trot home as sedately as though the cares of life were already pressing heavily on their shoulders. I have seldom in this country heard a genuine laugh from man, woman, or child; the great struggle for existence seems to have crushed all but fictitious mirth.

‘The fellaheen boys—very rarely the girls—take charge of the flocks and herds till they are old enough to consider themselves men; thus exposed to all weathers they are as hardy as their charge, but if attacked by sickness one is as little cared for as the other, and chronic coughs, fevers, rheumatism, and ophthalmia, are the consequent results.

‘The physical and mental degradation of the women, who are mere animals, *prolétaires*, beasts of burden, cannot but have a most injurious effect upon the children. The foul language in common use by men, women, and children, but especially the latter, is startling.

‘A father’s pride in his children is little better than that of the beasts for their offspring; he has no care for their improvement in any way, and consequently

they grow up utter savages, never corrected for faults nor praised for doing well—often the reverse—and ignorant to the last degree. Besides this, the children are spoilt, and have their own way completely; if thwarted they abuse their parents and elders, who merely return the abuse with interest. More than once I have had a sick child brought for me to doctor, but on the brat's objecting to have eye-lotion administered, or even to be closely looked at, the fond parent would remark, "Don't um like medicine, then um shan't have it then," and sent the little wretch away, looking upon me with horror and indignation for suggesting a slight correction.

Privacy is absolutely unknown. Anybody's business is everybody's business. If any transaction, private quarrel, or discussion, be going on, every one present puts in his or her word. Hence, in villages where there are two factions, brawls ending in bloodshed have not unfrequently arisen out of petty disputes between women and children. For private talk it is common to see two or three men seated under a tree in an orchard or olive grove, where there is no possibility of being overheard.

The fellaheen are all in all the worst type of humanity that I have come across in the East. The 'Ammarin and Lyathineh of Petra are perhaps greater ruffians, being beyond the reach of troops, but they

are known to be lawless plunderers, and the traveller expects the worst from them. The fellah is totally destitute of all moral sense; he changes his pledged word as easily as he slips off his *abba*; robbery, even when accompanied by violence and murder, is quite in his line, *provided* he can do it with little fear of detection. To one who has power he is fawning and cringing to a disgusting extent, but to one whom he does not fear, or who does not understand Arabic, his insolence and ribald abuse are unbounded. As an instance, I may quote the fact that when we were taking observations from Bayt 'ur el Foka, the men were servile and deferential before me, but a few days later one of the non-commissioned officers and a native servant rode past the place, and were abused in most scurrilous language by the children, who were egged on to it by their elders.

‘I am well aware that this slight though far from hasty sketch will seem overcoloured to many whose acquaintance with the country is but that of a holiday tourist; but a more intimate contact with the people and knowledge of their language would soon modify any favourable ideas based upon their picturesque vagabondism, and the transient skin-deep civility produced by a backshish. The fellaheen themselves have often said to me, with that implied exception in their own favour so characteristic of the semi-savage, “All

the fellaheen are liars, poor men always are ; we know that the Franks always speak the truth, but our people never do." The Syrian proverb, "Lying is the salt of a man," is characteristic.'

These are the strongest words ever written by Drake. That they come from an observer of singularly calm mind, and from one with whom sobriety of expression was a virtue, makes their weight all the stronger. He returns to the subject in describing the modern cave-dwellers, the sole survivors of the ancient Horites of Syria.

' Modern Troglodytes inhabit the old caves in common with their cows, sheep, and goats. The entrance is usually a smooth-dressed passage cut in the rock, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. to 4 ft. wide, open above, and descending either by an inclined plane, or shallow steps, to the doorway of the cave, which is 4 ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The walls of the cave itself are seldom smoothed ; in shape it is circular or oval, and rarely 6 ft. in height. The centre is occupied by the cattle, while the portion reserved by the human part of the community is marked off by a line of stones, and sometimes assumes the form of a *mastabah*, or slightly raised narrow daïs. The manure is carried out every morning and deposited in a heap just so near as not entirely to block up the gangway. The state of the cave after a heavy down-pour of rain, which contributes some six inches of



water to the general Augean uncleanness, the slimy damp of the walls, the mosquitoes, the vermin, the reek of men and beasts, makes an ordinary English pigsty a palace by comparison. And yet the indolent, able-bodied rascals, dignified by the title of reasonable beings, who own this byre are too lazy to build themselves huts, but prefer using the caves bequeathed them by the Hebrews and heathen of old, and lounge over the hills with their herds, or, rolled in their *abbas*, snooze in some sheltered nook without a thought or an aspiration beyond cramming their stomachs with crude wild herbs, or gathering a few piastres by hook or by crook, but, most important, with the least possible exertion to themselves. These men are often too indolent to turn an honest shilling by acting as guide for two or three hours, but will make their miserable women and children tramp ten, fifteen, or more miles in the day, to and from market to sell a bundle of dry stalks, called by courtesy firewood, a skin of milk, or a few eggs, worth in all sixpence or eightpence. The cave-dwellers, I must, however, allow, are sunk but little lower than their house-sheltered brethren. Their wants are few, and their means of supplying them equally scanty.'

He had a keen appreciation of scenery, and a power of describing what he saw, which he exercised, in the opinion of many readers, too seldom. But



Palestine is not a country of fine scenery. He says himself:—

‘ Beautiful scenery can hardly with truth be said to exist in this country, but some of the prettiest views in Palestine proper are to be seen by looking westwards from the edge of the central range. At one’s feet are rugged valleys more or less clad with brushwood, and olive groves strongly contrasting with the white lines of upheaved limestone which gleam like the skeleton ribs of a dead cultivation. Beyond, softened by distance, lies the great maritime plain, here a vivid green, denoting a tract of young wheat, there a fallow of rich red soil bordered by a sombre mass of olive trees, rendered still blacker by the shadow of a passing cloud, while a gleam of sunshine shows off the white houses of Lydd and Ramleh and the fine tower of the “ White Mosque ” against the setting of gloomy trees. Far beyond these a thread of golden sand divides the emerald of the plain from the turquoise of the sea. A rounded mass of white, in shape like an exaggerated molehill, glistens at the north end of the sand dunes. This we recognise as Jaffa; beyond lies the sea, flecked here and there with a tiny white speck, the sail of some coasting trader. Nearer beneath us, in the *Shephelah*, and lower slopes of the main range, nestle countless villages, few of whose names have yet blackened any map, for the land of the two tribes of Beni Hārith (the

northern and the southern) is as yet a *terra incognita*, where the map-maker has not even ventured upon the normal wady resembling rather the veins in a laurel leaf than an intricate system of valleys draining an abrupt mountain slope.'

We must, however, leave these official letters. They were all published as they were received, without alteration, in the pages of the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund. And it may not be without importance to record that the general interest aroused by these letters, the reports of M. Clermont Ganneau, and those of Lieutenant Conder is proved by the fact that while the number of the Society's Journal printed at the commencement of the Survey was only 2,000, the number required in 1874 to 1876 had risen to 5,000. So much for writing which was studiously quiet, for work which might be thought uninteresting to most, and for discoveries which were never once sensational. No Moabite Stone, no Deluge Tablet, has rewarded our officers in Western Palestine. Nor is it likely that one will. But the Great Map and Memoirs will remain, and in the latter will be incorporated and preserved the best work of Tyrwhitt Drake.

The private letters sent home by him during this period are full of life and hope. If he has doubts about the future, they are doubts of his own health, and are characteristically suppressed. Many of those

written to his friends Captain and Mrs. Burton have been placed in my hands. I should like to publish some of them, but they are too full of details quite personal. He keeps Mrs. Burton informed of the welfare of her favourite horses, of the death of a dog which had belonged to her; reminds her of scenes which he had visited last with her and Captain Burton; is anxious to learn how her book ('Inner Life of Syria') is getting on; talks of a short journey he proposes to make in Morocco, by a route well known to Europeans; speaks of his own liability to illness as a thing of light importance; and so on—the kind of letter which is but the continuance of confidential talk among friends who know and trust each other. To read such letters is to feel like listening at a keyhole.

Among the papers which follow will be found two fragments which I have called 'Notes for Travellers in Palestine' and 'Notes on the History of Jerusalem.' They form the only portion written of a projected *magnum opus* in which he proposed to treat of Palestine and the Holy Lands generally, not as the writer of a guide book, nor as an officer of a scientific expedition, nor as a naturalist. His idea was to produce a book which should form a pleasant and instructive travelling companion, a trustworthy book of reference, or a book which might be read for its own sake. Such a book could only be written by a man who has lived

long in the country, and who knows it as none but one of the officers of the Survey Expedition could possibly know it. But it remains to be written.

There is little more to be said. It cannot be doubted that throughout the Expedition he suffered much in health. A man less enthusiastic would have quitted Palestine, and so perhaps escaped the sad fate which awaited him there. An attack of dysentery which seized him at the very beginning of his Eastern work, and prevented him from joining the Sinai Survey, might have been taken as an omen.

The journey with Professor Palmer was long and fatiguing, but he seemed to have felt no ill effects from it. Then came the harassing and difficult position after Captain Stewart's departure, when the whole responsibility of the new Survey fell upon him, and a failure at the beginning might have injured the progress of the work permanently. A short run down to Egypt was ordered by Dr. Chaplin, and set him up again. In 1873 he came to England for a brief visit in the summer and returned in September. I leave his friend and companion Lieutenant Conder to tell the rest of the sad story in his own words:—

‘On his return in October we all thought him looking stronger and better. Then came the most serious check our work ever sustained, of which little is known to others than members of the party. In No-

vember the terrible Jericho fever broke out in our camp at 'Ain el Sultán. In two or three days no fewer than ten members of the party, including Drake, were struck down, and the anxiety of those who escaped was, as may be imagined, very great. A full day's journey (and it was by special Providence that we were not more) from a doctor, or from any source of supply, in a malarious climate, a desert, and surrounded by wild and hostile tribes, with most of the servants incapable, and the rest only kept from deserting us by the certainty of being shot down, the anxiety of the position was as trying as can well be imagined. The unexampled kindness of Dr. Chaplin and the Rev. Mr. Neil, under the circumstances, is an honour to England. Though suffering himself, and quite unfit to be out of bed, the doctor mounted his horse, and, accompanied by Mr. Neil, set out to come down to us at Jericho, and met us bringing up Mr. Drake in the litter. The hotel-keeper, Mr. Hornstein, at the risk of losing every one of his guests, took him in, and spared no pains to make him comfortable.

' The English hospital was a refuge for our poor servants. The care and skill of Dr. Chaplin saved Drake's life, and probably that of others. His recovery was rapid, and his state of health seemed more satisfactory than it had been for a long time, but he was, I think, quite unaware of the extreme danger he had



gone through. I found six months later that he had never known how Dr. Chaplin, suffering himself most cruelly, had watched with me through a whole night of delirium, hardly expecting that he would live till morning. We both felt at the time that he ought on his recovery to leave the country, and I shall always regret that I did not represent this more strongly to the Committee; but this recovery was so rapid, and apparently so satisfactory, that it justified us in hoping he might be able to continue the work.

‘I have enlarged on these circumstances, thinking it might be some consolation to his friends to know that all care was taken of him in his first illness, whence they may judge that he was equally well cared for and attended during his last.

‘The survey of the Jordan valley was resumed. The exposure and hardship were greater than anything we had before endured. For ten days we drank brackish water, and for nearly all the time we were subject to alternations of extreme heat and cold, snow, rain, and unusual atmospheric pressure. The whole party was much exhausted, although consisting of men beyond the average in strength and power of endurance. It was true that Drake was far more cautious and saving of his strength than formerly, but he was unable to escape the effects of rain and malaria.

‘On leaving the country I had felt some appre-

hensions of the return of the fever in summer, and had written to his friends at Damascus, where I expected him to be, warning them not to allow him to journey alone in June—a time when he usually suffered from low fever. When the news arrived that he had been seized, I could not but feel thankful that he was still in Jerusalem, knowing that the medical care he would get there was far superior to any in other parts of Palestine. In the face of such complications, however, as followed rapidly, no medical skill could be of use.

‘Of Drake’s personal character it will hardly become a younger man to speak. I always felt the comfort of his experience and his just and honourable dealing. His fitness for the work was in some respects peculiar, and he may be best judged by the fact, that whilst travelling in company of men of very various disposition and ability, he never complicated the difficulties of work by personal quarrels, and was well spoken of by all. His excellent colloquial knowledge of Arabic, no less than his fine figure and skill in all exercises, made him unusually respected by the Arabs and native authorities. His justice, integrity, and firmness were qualities invaluable in the East, and his thorough good-nature enabled us for two long years of trying work, in a delicate relative position, to live



together, almost unseparated, without so much as a single unkind word passing between us.'

He died June 23, 1874.

The last words in Lieutenant Conder's letter are, as I said before, the burden in the regrets of all who knew him. Drake was a man from whose lips no single unkind word ever passed. No wonder that he was a man of many friends.

Dr. Benson reads in this story of a broken and unfinished life the great lesson that he treated his natural disadvantages as if they were actual calls to diversified pursuits, actual qualifications for more work which lay ahead of him though he knew not where. That is, no doubt, most true. But the life of such a man contains many lessons. The one we select for our own reading depends upon ourselves; perhaps even upon our moods. Others, who knew Tyrwhitt Drake, might like better to think of him as a man who from his boyhood upwards was content, first, to wait patiently till he had got a firm sense of his duty, and then to walk steadily along the path, taking in patience, and as all in the day's work, whatever happened on the way.

W. B.

## NOTE TO MEMOIR.

The following touching tribute is that from Mrs. Burton, referred to in page 24 :—

‘ We sat in the English burial-ground on Mount Sion this afternoon, talking, and picking a flower here and there. How little any of us thought that six months hence we should have left Syria, and that three years later our dear friend and travelling companion, Tyrwhitt Drake, would lie on this very spot. A young man, and full of promise for a brilliant Eastern and scientific career, his personal appearance was tall, powerful, fair, but manly, distinguished for athletic and field sports, for riding, walking, swimming, and shooting. His intellectual qualities, with a mind so stocked with all kinds of information, made me wonder how at twenty-four years of age he could know so much. His mastery of languages—Arabic and others—his wonderful eye for ground, and knowledge of topography, made him a most agreeable, and eventually an indispensable, companion in our excursions. He was an excellent draughtsman, and he sketched admirably, as these pages show. In character and disposition he was a thorough Englishman, the very soul of honour ; reserved and silent in manner, as warm of

heart, he observed much and thought more, and had an innate knowledge of the world. He got on well with everyone; he won all hearts, and was equally respected by Europeans and natives. He made very few intimates, but he was a friend to the back-bone. He had that dogged determination which is quite English; once a resolve was made he never turned back, and that tells with Syrians. He lived with us and travelled with us; Captain Burton and I loved him like a younger brother: he repaid us in kind. We thought his health required care for a year or two, and as long as he was with us we looked after him; he often told us that he was growing out of all delicacy. He felt our going as a boy would feel the breaking up of a happy home, whether it was in Damascus or under canvas. He visited us in Trieste, *en route* for England, in the summer of 1873. We thought his health much gone off, and we begged of him to come and stay with us whenever he wanted change and his family could spare him. In March 1874 he sent us a sketch of his camp in the Jordan valley, where we had formerly encamped together. Some weeks of rain and mud brought on the dreadful Jericho fever, from which we all hoped and believed he had recovered, and we wrote and renewed our invitation. He replied that Lieutenant Conder was going to England, and that he could not leave the post.

he was in charge of—the post date was Jerusalem, May 8, 1874. On May 14, 1874, my husband was struck down by a sudden pain, which a few hours determined to be of a serious character. He was seventy-eight days and nights in bed, and had two painful operations performed; the last, under chloroform, was on June 23. That very morning our poor friend breathed his last in Jerusalem, in spite of every care on the part of Dr. Chaplin, the excellent physician, who had devoted himself to his case. A few days later, when the letters arrived, seeing “Palestine Exploration Fund” on the seal, I thought that perhaps our kind friend, Mr. Walter Besant, had announced the discovery of some new stone or inscription that would amuse my husband. I handed him the letter, not thinking of “Charlie,” as we called him, and supposing him to be recovered and well. By that time we had hoped he had gone to Bludán, our old summer quarter, for a holiday. My husband dropped the letter, and fell back quite pale—his wound had burst out afresh. I picked up the letter and saw the sad truth. Captain Burton was much retarded by this blow. With all my care to give him only pleasant news, I had handed him the worst letter I could possibly have done. It appeared that fever had re-attacked our poor friend, as it does sometimes, when he was packing up *en route* to the Anti-Libanus, where, could he have reached it, he

would have got well, for it always agreed with him. But God in his mercy knew what was best for him, and during the seven hours that he knew that death was at hand he continually said, "Tell my mother that I die in the love of Jesus." He was ill forty days, and during that time, when the delirium of fever was upon him, he constantly cried out in Arabic to Habib, the youth whom my husband made over to him when he left, "Habíb, pitch our tents on Mount Sion. Here is such a beautiful place." It was the spot where he was afterwards buried. A mother has lost the flower of her flock, and is bowed down with sorrow; we, and many others, have lost a friend whom we can never replace; the Palestine Exploration has lost its cornerstone, and England has lost one of those youths of promise, every one of whom contributes to build her fair fame and to guard her honour. R.I.P.'

And I cannot refrain from adding the accompanying note given to me by my friend Mr. H. W. Harper, the artist:—

'My knowledge of Drake commenced in 1872, when from Egypt I went to Jerusalem, and found that Mr. Neil, the English clergyman, was an old friend of mine, and he introduced me to Drake. He had great love for art, and we became very intimate, and were so all the time I was in Jerusalem, always dining together, and often spending days together. After dinner, until

quite late, we used to sit either in his or my bedroom and discuss the Holy Land. His was a nature such as one rarely meets with. Though reticent, he had the power of attracting you to him. One incident is recalled to my mind. One day, when at table-d'hôte dinner in the hotel, we sitting together—as we always did—and as usual talking earnestly of our work, I of my drawings, he of his plans, an old French gentleman sat opposite, and was evidently listening to us. After some time he said, “I know English, and am so much interested in your conversation, as I love the Holy Land.” When we rose to depart, he came up to Drake and asked to shake hands with him, and said, “You are an honour to your country.” The tears flowed from his eyes as he continued:—“When I think of the young men of my country, and what their conversations are, my heart is broken; but you noble English gentlemen seem each so earnest, so full of high aims and hard manly work, that I thanked God to see it. God bless you both!” he said in a most impressive way. I well remember the modest manner of Drake. He was much touched by it, and spoke to me about it, and said such things cheered him. He seemed to have a foreboding that his would not be a long life, and he therefore was always at work; and he said, too, he knew the country would kill him if he stayed there much longer, and so he wanted to get his work



done. We used to go to Shapira together and draw the so-called Moabitic pottery, and to the excavations of the Knights of St. John. Again, he would tell me of the wonders of the Haram, and we planned to go there together, I to paint and he to explore. I parted from him about 3.30 in the evening—I mean the morning—I left. Some things I know of him too sacred to speak of. He left an impression on me which will never be effaced—a grand, noble English gentleman.'

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NOTE.—In the following pages the Arabic words have been left according to Drake's own method of spelling, which was not that adopted by the Committee of the Palestine Fund. The differences are not great, however.



## MODERN JERUSALEM.

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MODERN JERUSALEM : ITS POPULATION, RELIGIOUS SECTS, AND SOCIAL COMMUNITIES : ITS SCHOOLS, CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, AND TRADE. THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE : ITS TRADITIONS, CEREMONIES, AND WORSHIPPERS. THE SPECTACLE OF THE HOLY FIRE.

THE population of Jerusalem, as of all cities in the East, where a census is unknown, must always be more or less a matter of conjecture. Even the list of men liable to military service is not a trustworthy source of information, as the number stated is always too small, some men finding it worth their while to give the returning officer a *douceur* to omit their names from his books. Dr. Robinson, in his 'Biblical Researches' (vol. ii. p. 85, ed. 1841), makes the total population 11,500; but in a note he states that the resident American missionaries, from whom his information was derived, were afterwards inclined to make it mount to nearly 17,000. At present the population seems to be divided thus:—Christians 5,300, Moslems 5,000, Jews—Sephardim 4,600. Ash-

kenazim 6,000=20,900. According to the authority of the Franciscan Père Liévin, the number of inhabitants is thus distributed:—Jews 8,000, Moslems 7,565, Latins 1,500; Greeks—Orthodox 2,800, Catholic 30; Armenians—Orthodox 510, Catholic 16; Copts 130, Protestants 300, Abyssinians 75, Syrians 12—5,373; 20,938.

In this list the number of Moslems seems rated too high, but probably that of the Christians is very correct, while the Jews are placed at much too low a figure. The number of Christians is much increased at Easter by the influx of pilgrims, who sometimes amount to 5,000. The Moslems are at the same time reinforced by their pilgrims to the so-called tomb of Moses, near the north-west corner of the Dead Sea. This pilgrimage seems to have been instituted with the political object of counterbalancing the annual flood of Christian pilgrims by an equally large one of Mohammedans. The number of Russian devotees has very largely increased within the last few years, and there is usually a floating population of from 100 to 200 in the Hospice.

The confusion of tongues at Jerusalem is sufficiently striking, but the distinctions of race and creed are even more remarkable. The hostility shown by the Christian sects towards one another is much more bitter than that felt against the Moslems. At Jeru-

salem these latter are very tolerant of Christians, having learnt their commercial value, and seeing the material benefits that accrue from them. The fanaticism of the Moslem against the Nazarene in other towns and villages, where the population is mixed, is strong in proportion to the power of the Christians, and is often fostered by the interference of clerical or consular authority. Jealousy then stirs up the Mohammedans, representatives of the national religion, who have no one to protect them against the acts of their own Government, or in any way to encourage them, and hatred against their more fortunate fellow-subjects is engendered, which sooner or later ends in bloodshed and violence. The Jews are treated even more tolerantly than the Christians, as they always humble themselves before the followers of the Prophet, and never act with the arrogance and overbearing pride so characteristic of the Syrian Christian when he feels himself strong and secure.

The number of Jews is increasing at Jerusalem at the rate of at least from 1,200 to 1,500 per annum. The Jewish quarter is consequently too small for them, and they are not only spread all over the town, but are building large numbers of houses outside the walls. Where four years ago there were not more than twenty houses there are now over 130 finished, and others building. The Moslem quarter, Bab Hatta, and the

part near the Bab el 'Amúd, are now inhabited by many Jews, though only four or five years ago not one was to be found there. Some of these Jews even share houses with Mohammedans. If the rate of immigration continues to be as large as it has been during the last two years, Jerusalem will soon be almost wholly in the hands of the Jews, both commercially and territorially, for even now they have the greater part of the trade, and are buying up land wherever they can find it for sale.

The different races and creeds at Jerusalem may be subdivided as follows:—(1) \*Abyssinians;—(2) Armenians: (a) \*Orthodox, (b) Catholic;—(3) \*Copts;—(4) Greeks: (a) Orthodox, (b) Catholic;—(5) Jews: (a) Ashkenazim, (b) Sephardim, (c) Karaïte;—(6) Latin or Roman Catholics;—(7) Maronites;—(8) Moslems: (i.) *Sunni*—(a) Shafii, (b) Henefi, (c) Hambeli, (d) Maleki: (ii.) *Shi'ii*—Metawili, &c.;—(9) Protestants: (a) Church of England, (b) Lutheran;—(10) Syrians: (a) \*Jacobite, (b) Catholic.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Abyssinians have a small monastery, if the fever-stricken dens in which they live over the Chapel of Helena, east of the Holy Sepulchre, can be so called.

<sup>1</sup> Those marked with an asterisk (\*) are Monophysites, or, as they are sometimes called, Eutychians or Anti-Chalcedonians, from the fact of their holding to the heresy of Eutyches, who opposed the doctrine promulgated at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), that the nature of Jesus Christ was both human and divine.

They formerly possessed a considerable extent of building here, but the Copts, by a few backshises to local authorities, have been able to dispossess them of nearly all. Their land was sold to the Armenians for a perpetual dole of soup. Here a few monks and nuns live, always ready to give such shelter as they are able to their fellow-countrymen who come as pilgrims. Many of the Abyssinians are employed as domestic servants, and if their love of dress and finery, which equals that of the true Negro, do not ruin them, often turn out handy and trustworthy.

2. The Armenians are called by themselves Orthodox, and by those who disagree with them Schismatic, as is the case with the Orthodox or Chalcedonian Greeks. They have married clergy as well as monks. A bishop or an archbishop must have been married, or he is not eligible for the office. This sect has the largest monastery and hospice in Jerusalem. The latter is capable of receiving more than 2000 pilgrims; a printing press is attached to the establishment, and turns out books in French and Armenian in very fair style. One of the monks takes photographs, an accomplishment in which the patriarch himself is not unskilled. There is a seminary, too, where a liberal education is given to young men entering the church. The community of native Armenians numbers about 150 souls. Among these are skilful workmen who

follow the trades of masons, painters, carpenters, &c. This monastery formerly belonged to the Georgians, who founded it in the eleventh century, but in the fifteenth century they became too poor to maintain it, and sold it to the Armenians, retaining the power of buying it back again when they had the means. This has given the Greek Church, which is rich and ambitious, what they consider to be a claim on the building. The Armenians, however, being almost their equals in wealth, and their superiors in intellect and education, will not easily be deprived of their property.

The Church of St. James contains his chair, and the sepulchre of his head. The building is large and gorgeously decorated; most of the pictures are more curious than beautiful, but some of the inlaid work on the doors and panels is very handsome. The robes and vestments worn by the clergy on high festivals are most magnificent; many of them are curiously embroidered, others are stiff with gold brocade, while most of the headgear is thickly crusted with pearls, and in some cases with precious stones.

The Latins are permitted to say mass in this church on two or three occasions yearly. The Melchite, United, or Catholic Armenians, who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, are few in number at Jerusalem, and have only a small convent near the Austrian Hospice peculiar to themselves.



3. The Copts are under a bishop, and have two monasteries : one before mentioned, as being in great part filched from the Abyssinians, at the east end of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the other to the north-west of the Pool of Hezekiah, rebuilt about thirty-five years ago. They possess a small oratory or chapel, just large enough to hold an altar, tacked on to the west end of the Holy Sepulchre itself. These convents, with a certain number of mendicant families attached to and dependent on them, are maintained by alms from Egypt, where their co-religionists are usually wealthy, having the monopoly of Government clerkships, tax-collectorships, and finance agencies, as well as the trade of jewellers, silversmiths, and goldsmiths.

4. The Greeks styled Orthodox are the most powerful body in Jerusalem, both on account of their wealth and their numbers. The monks are chiefly Greeks, Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, and Wallachians. The Greek-speaking population are chiefly keepers of drinking-bars, eating-houses, and a few stores. The native part of the sect, which is by far the most numerous, is only called Greek from its adherence to the doctrines of the Greek Church. Its priests in the country villages are simply fellahin, and the services are conducted in Arabic. The monks and upper clergy are generally Greeks, and seldom are able to speak intelligible Arabic. The clergy are



allowed to marry before their consecration as priests, but in case of their wife's death they cannot marry again. These men cannot either aspire to the rank of archimandrite, bishop, or patriarch. The sacrament of Holy Communion is administered in the two forms of bread and wine. The convents belonging to this sect in Jerusalem are: (1) that of Constantine near the Holy Sepulchre; (2) of Demetrius; (3) Georgios; (4) Nicolas; (5) Johannes; (6) Michael; (7) Georgios (in the Jewish quarter), which are inhabited by monks. Those for nuns are of Theodorus, two dedicated to Hê-Panagia of Basil, of Katherine and of Euthyonius. Outside of Jerusalem are the (1) Dayr el Musallabeh (Convent of the Cross), which formerly belonged to the Georgians; (2) Mar Elias; (3) Bethlehem; (4) Mar Saba; (5) Dayr el Khadhr (of St. George), near the Pools of Solomon. The schools are: (1) that at the Convent of the Cross, where there are fifty boys and six teachers; (2) in Jerusalem—sixty boys and three teachers; (3) school for girls, thirty pupils and one mistress. There is also a hospital, where medicines are given away gratis.

In the Russian Hospice there is an archimandrite, who receives 3,500 roubles per annum from the Russian Government; two priests, receiving each 1,500 roubles; and one deacon, with a salary of 1,300 roubles. This establishment is appointed by the Holy

Synod of Russia, with the consent of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The higher clergy consists of the Patriarch, of the Bishops of (1) Lydd, (2) Nazareth, (3) Akka, (4) Kerak, (5) Ghazzeah (Gaza), (6) Nablus, (7) El Salt, (8) Sebástieh, (9) Tabor, and (10) Bethlehem. These dignitaries, together with two archimandrites, the first secretary of the convent, the superior of the Holy Sepulchre, and the first dragoman of the convent, form the council. By this body the Patriarchate and Bishoprics are filled up when vacant. The nominal consent of the diocese is also asked in the case of bishops. The bishops 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 live at Jerusalem. The see of Akka has lately been added to that of Nazareth.

The late Patriarch Cyrillos was deposed in the end of 1872 by the Greek clergy for his supposed Russian proclivities in refusing to sign the decree against the recalcitrant Bulgarians. This act of the clergy infuriated the native members of the sect, who would have proceeded to extreme violence had not the Turkish Government interfered and restored order, by momentarily excluding the fellahí from the city and establishing strong patrols.

5. The Jews. *Ashkenazim*: so called from Ashkenaz, son of Gomer (Gen. x. 3), who seems to have settled towards Armenia and Russia (Jer. li. 27). This division, which comprises the German, Polish, and part

of the Russian Jews, speak generally a kind of bastard German mixed up with Hebrew and other foreign words. Their dress is a long robe like a dressing-gown, and on their heads they wear low-crowned felt and beaver hats; a lank love-lock hanging down either cheek, and the eccentrically clipped fur cap which they wear on feast days, do not render their personal appearance prepossessing; in fact they more resemble rag dolls or scarecrows than living human beings.

Many of these Jews are petty traders and craftsmen. They are mainly supported by the hallukah or alms which is collected in Europe by appointed emissaries. Many Jews, who have neither time nor inclination to come to Jerusalem themselves, will pay considerable sums for prayers to be offered in their behalf by their co-religionists living in the Holy City. This distribution of alms, which is shared by all alike, brings many idle and worthless persons to partake of it; early and improvident marriages are fostered, every child being a source of income through his share in the hallukah. Much misery and vice are engendered by this indiscriminate bounty, which is considerably sifted by passing through the hands of the rabbis, who are responsible to no one for the money they receive. These rabbis live at their ease, for the system of terrorism, both spiritual and physical, which they exert

over their congregations renders them unassailable. The almshouses built under the trusteeship of Sir Moses Montefiore are lived in by the friends of rabbis and those who pay court to them, not by the destitute for whom they were intended. On the occasion of a visit paid by that venerable philanthropist to Jerusalem, a collection of the poorest and most miserable of the community was installed in them, and upon his departure as summarily ejected. Knowing that their rabbis can excommunicate and—what is even more to the purpose—starve them, not a few dare object to all this system of hypocrisy, peculation, vice, and misery.<sup>1</sup>

Many of these Jews have a British protection granted them, as, if they are Russian subjects, and neglect to revisit that country biennially to renew their passports, their government discards them. The result of an English passport cannot be regarded as satisfactory in most cases. Relying on being foreign protégés, they often lend themselves to usury and other transactions of a doubtful or even openly dishonourable character. A determination to protect the whole community from religious persecution, allowing the Sultan to treat their commercial affairs on the same footing as those of the rest of his subjects, would be much more just and sensible.

<sup>1</sup> I must here remark that I have received all the above account from the mouths of Jews.

The Ashkenazim in this city are divided into religious sects and social communities. The sects are the Parushim, Varshi, Chasidim, and Chabad. The Parushim, or Pharisees, have their liturgy according to the Talmud, but do not believe in the sense attached to the various rites by cabalistic teachers; neither do they believe in the so-called *güte yeden*. They consider the diligent study of the Talmud an essential for every religious Jew. They strictly observe the appointed times for prayer, but do not consider it necessary to dip the body in water before praying. They do not make use of the second pair of phylacteries prescribed by Rabano Tam. They do not hold it unlawful to slaughter animals for food with a knife which is not very sharp, provided the same has no notch in its edge. They regard a Passover cake as lawful, even though it be made of any kind of wheat or flour. Most of their laws are decided by the commentary of the late Gaún of Wilna.

The Chasidim are very fanatic and for the most part unlearned. Their liturgy is according to Maimonides (Rabbi Musa Ben Maimon), and they interpret it in the cabalistic sense. They pray whenever they feel moved to do so, no matter whether the prescribed time for prayer has passed or not. They believe in certain *Sadikim*, or righteous men, called *güte yeden* (good Jews), and regard them with superstitious veneration.



tion, almost indeed worshipping them, attributing to them supernatural powers, and attaching to their most trivial and insignificant actions some spiritual and symbolic meaning. Whilst professing to keep strictly to the Talmud, they are in reality guided entirely by the teaching of the particular *guter yed* whom they follow. The Chasidim are particular in the observance of Jewish customs, especially such as relate to the Sabbath. They shake themselves violently during prayers and cry aloud. At other times they are much addicted to dancing, singing, and deep drinking.

They dip themselves in water before prayers, and make use of the second pair of phylacteries. They deem it unlawful to slaughter animals with a knife which is not very sharp, or to use any but a particular kind of wheat for the Passover cakes. Much importance is attached by this sect to works of charity.

The Chabad have the liturgy as arranged by their old Rabbi Zalmin, who lived at Libbawitz in Russia. They resemble the Chasidim, but are usually more learned and pious, and have their own *güte yeden*. They are given to hospitality and charity, and attach much importance to visiting the sick. They dip themselves before prayers, read and study much, and meet together on Sabbath evenings to hear the law expounded by their principal rabbi. They keep the 19th day of the month Chisleu as a feast, that being the



anniversary of the liberation from prison of Rabbi Salmon, founder of the sect.

The Ashkenazim are divided into communities according to the town or district in Europe from which they came, and each community is presided over by a rabbi, or by a layman of good standing and respectability. The communities of Parushim are the Wilna, Grainer, Grodna, Minsk Nassin, Warsaw, Zoulik, and German. Those of the Chasidim are the Volhyna, the Hungaro-Austrian, and the Galitzian. The Chabad are a community by themselves.

In all matters which come before the Turkish tribunals the Ashkenazim are obliged to place themselves in the hands of the Sephardite Khakham-Bashi, who is the only representative of the Jews recognised by the government. The rabbis hear and decide all cases which relate only to the internal affairs of the community.

The Chabad take their name from the initial letters of the words **היהמא בינא דעת**, which express their great learning and intelligence, but the Parushim, who hate them bitterly, say that their title is derived from **המיר בלי דעת**, or ass without understanding. The Chasidim means the 'pious folk,' and they wear the love-locks much longer than the Parushim, but are outdone in the extravagance of these unseemly appendages by the Varshi.

The Sephardim, when they have not a synagogue of their own at hand, will pray with the Chasidim, Varshi, or Chabad, but never with the Parushim. Up to the time of Ibrahim Pasha the Ashkenaz Jews numbered so few in Jerusalem that they often had to invite some Sephardim to join them, in order to make up the requisite number of ten. Their only synagogue is now the lumber-room attached to the Sephardi synagogue called Kinisch Stambuliyeh.

The Jews of Jerusalem, who call themselves natives, and say that their ancestors have lived there since the Captivity, call themselves Morishcos; the word, however, would seem to intimate that they are Maghrabi or Moorish Jews. The story is told how Constantinople Jews have been frightened by one of these saying to him, 'Mind what you say to me, I'm a Morishco.' The murderers of the prophet Zachariah are called traditionally Morishcos, while the name as applied to Jerusalem Jews is not generally known.

The number of the Jews is obtained from the most reliable sources, namely, from those on whom devolves the payment of the alms.

The *Sephardim* are the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain, the language of which country they still retain throughout the Levant and on the west coast of Africa; in the interior of Morocco and a few other places Arabic has become their language. Their dress

is Oriental, and they still wear the black turban ordained by the sumptuary laws of Hákem (about A.D. 1000). In physical appearance they are far superior to the Ashkenaz, who are now outnumbering and gradually ousting them. Officially they retain their position: the Khakham-bashi, or chief rabbi, is the only Jewish official recognised by the Turks: he is also represented in the Mejlis, or Town Council. Many of this sect are shopkeepers, trading chiefly in European hardware, cloths, cottons, &c.

The Maghrabi, or Western Jews, chiefly from North Africa, though really belonging to the Sephardim, are in Jerusalem looked upon as a separate sect, and have their own chief rabbi.

The *Karaite* are Puritans, rejecting all oral and traditional law, and holding only to the Scriptures themselves. This sect is found in large numbers in Russia, also near Baghdad and in Arabia. They have but one synagogue, in a small cellar-like chamber which dates back, they say, for several centuries. One old MS. of the Pentateuch is the only object of interest in the place. Till lately this sect only comprised seven families, or thirty-nine individuals, but in the beginning of 1872 it was reinforced by some forty persons from near Baghdad, who have since returned to their homes.

6. The *Latins*. The Latins have for several centuries been under the immediate protection of the

French Consulate in Jerusalem; the Consul appears officially at the principal religious ceremonies, such as those of Easter, Christmas, &c. The Patriarchate only dates from the year 1847, having been for some time in abeyance.

Monsignor Valerga, the first Patriarch, died in the beginning of December, 1871, and is succeeded by Monsignor Bracco, who resides at the Convent of St. Sauveur. This dignitary is the spiritual chief of all Palestine, but the actual direction of the various convents is in the hands of the Père René, Seraphin Milani di Carrara, Guardian of the Holy Land, &c. The higher clergy are mostly Jesuits, while the monks are Franciscans—generally Spanish or Italian by birth. The *curés* in villages where missions have been established are Jesuits, and if not Frenchmen are usually conversant with that language. The churches in Jerusalem belonging to the Latins are—the parish church of St. Sauveur, the Church of the Flagellation, the Grotto of the Agony, and part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Latin institutions within Jerusalem are: I. The Franciscan Convent of St. Sauveur, which contains about 100 monks. Some of these are always on duty in the convent attached to the Holy Sepulchre. A theological college is attached to the convent for members of the community, who are also instructed in various trades. II. The Patri-

archate, which is the residence of the Patriarch, one bishop, and six priests. III. The Convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph, which contains 16 nuns. IV. The Convent of the Sisters of Zion (Dames de Sion) contains 21, part of whom live at 'Ain Karem. V. The hospice called La Casa Nova. VI. The Austrian Hospice, which forms the residence of two Austrian priests and a consular chaplain. VII. The School for boys; and VIII. for girls, both supported by the Franciscans. In the former there are two teachers and about 150 pupils. This school is free for all nationalities. The latter is superintended by four Sisters of Zion, who act as teachers, receiving each a salary of 20*l.* per annum. The number of pupils is about 180. IX. The Girls' School belonging to the Sisters of Zion, which contains 100 boarders and six day scholars. X. The Patriarch's Seminary contains some 25 students, who live at Bayt Jala in the summer, and at Jerusalem in the winter. XI. The Hospital supported by the Patriarch and attended to by the nuns. A lay doctor is here employed. XII. A small private hospital for monks in the Franciscan convent. XIII. A public dispensary in the same convent. To this two doctors are attached, one layman and one monk. In the same establishment is a printing press, from which books are turned out in a very creditable style.

At Bethlehem there is a convent of twenty-two



Franciscan monks, and a hospice for the use of travellers. A small convent of Sisters of St. Joseph exists here, supported by the Patriarch. The schools are: 1. For boys, in the Franciscan convent, and containing some 150 pupils. 2. For girls (about 140), at the expense of the Patriarch. 3. The orphanage of Don Beloni, in which about twenty inmates are taught various industries. There is also a dispensary belonging to the Franciscans, one of whom is a doctor.

At Bayt Jala there is a convent connected with the Seminary, and a school for both boys and girls. All of these are supported by the Patriarch.

At 'Ain Karem there is a convent of twenty-four Franciscans. To this is attached a school, now containing seven students, for those who intend to enter the priesthood. Also one for boys and one for girls, in each of which there are about twenty pupils. The Sisters of Zion have a branch school here also, whither the elder girls are sent to finish their education. Throughout Palestine there are schools attached to all the Latin religious houses.

Missions have been established in several Christian villages, such as Bayt Sahúr, Ram Allah, Bir Zayt, Teyyibeh, and Jifnah. A certain portion of the population—sometimes amounting to one-third—readily professes the Latin faith in such cases, being unable, through ignorance, to distinguish any real difference in



the doctrines from those of the Greek Church which they leave, and being impelled by worldly motives to place themselves under the protection of a European power.

7. The *Maronites* belong to Mount Libanus. A few, however, may generally be seen in Jerusalem at Easter. They profess obedience to the Church of Rome, which, better to retain a hold on them, has formally allowed the marriage of the clergy. The monks of course are celibates. Their Patriarch lives in the Libanus at Kanobín, a few hours distant from the Cedars.

8. The *Moslems*. Most of the officials and military are Turks, Kurds, and other foreigners; the mass of the population is composed of natives of the place. A sprinkling of slaves, free negroes—who act as guardians of the Haram, and are also employed as watchmen, porters, &c., duties which they fulfil most faithfully—Persians, Bokhariots, Egyptians, Indians, and Maghrabis or Western Africans, may always be found, especially after the return of the caravan from Mecca.

The chief sects of Islam are the Sunni, or orthodox, who recognise as just the succession of Abu Bekr, 'Omar, and 'Othman, while the Shiaï look upon them as interlopers, who for many years withheld from 'Ali the Khalifate to which, they maintain, he had been appointed by the Prophet's own choice. The principal Sunni divisions, without reckoning the Derwishes, who

number twelve regular, and several later and lesser orders, are : (1) Malaki, (2) Shafi'i, (3) Hanefi, (4) Hanbeli. The Shiai are represented in Palestine by the Metawili, and in North Syria by the Nusayri ; in Persia there are but few Sunnis.

9. The Protestants are : (1) Church of England, (2) Lutheran, (3) Native congregation, (4) a school lately established by English Quakers. The English church was built by the 'London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.' The first mission was established in 1824, at Jerusalem. In 1841 the Bishopric of the Anglican Church was set on foot by mutual agreement of the English and Prussian Governments, to whom the nomination was alternately to fall. The right of veto is reserved to the Archbishop of Canterbury with respect to Prussian nominees. In the same year a converted Jew, Michael Solomon Alexander, was consecrated bishop. He died four years later, and was succeeded by the present Bishop, the Right Reverend Dr. Gobat, who had previously been for many years missionary in Abyssinia.

There is an orphanage and school supported by the fund collected by the bishop, and under his direction. The work of the 'Church Missionary Society' is under the direction of the Rev. F. Klein. A bookshop and small seminary are in connection with this Society. The institutions supported by the 'London Society for

promoting Christianity amongst the Jews' are : I. The House of Industry, where converts are taught a trade to enable them to earn an honest living. II. The Inquirers' Home, where a lodging is provided for those who choose to take advantage of the teaching of the Mission. III. A boys' school is directed by the Rev. W. Bailey. IV. The Jewesses' Institution consists of a girls' school and a workroom, where employment in sewing is given to poor women, while at the same time religious instruction is communicated to them. V. A bookshop for the sale of Bibles and other books. VI. A hospital for poor sick Jews, containing twenty-five beds, under the direction of T. Chaplin, Esq., M.D.

The German Protestant Institutions are : I. The chapel lately fitted up as a temporary place of worship in the old Hospital of the Knights of St. John, recently presented by the Sultan to the Emperor of Germany. The German pastor performs a Lutheran service once a fortnight in the English church. II. The Hospital of the German Deaconesses, into which patients of any nation or creed are admitted. III. A free boarding school for native girls belonging to the same community. IV. The Orphanage of the Crishchona brethren. V. The Asylum for Lepers.

The Lutheran priest (now Herr Weser) is appointed by the Prussian Government, and is independent of the Bishop.

The native congregation has for pastor the Rev. F. Klein.

10. The *Syrians*. The Bishop and two or three monks live in the 'House or Convent of St. Mark,' near the Armenian convent. They speak Syriac, which is still spoken in Syria at the villages of M'aalûlah, Bak-ha, Jubb el 'Adelîn (*vulgo* Jubb'adîn), and to a certain extent at 'Ain Tînyeh. Farther north it is spoken at 'Aintab.

The Syrian Church has died out at the three former places, but flourishes at Sadad. There is a convent, too, at Damascus, where there are also a few Melchite, United, or Catholic Syrians, paying allegiance to the See of Rome, but except by visitors this sect is not represented at Jerusalem.

Many costumes are to be seen in the streets of Jerusalem on ordinary occasions: the Bedawi is there with his striped *abba*, or coarse woollen cloak, which gives him a square look about the shoulders, which does not really belong to his spare small figure. Under his *abba* he wears a long cotton shirt girt in at the waist by a leathern belt, in which are generally stuck a pistol or two, a tobacco pouch, and a common clasp knife (without a spring) hung by a lanyard. The fellah, or ordinary peasant, dresses much like the Bedawi, but is of stouter, broader build; his beard and moustache are heavier, and his headdress, instead

of the kefiyeh, or handkerchief folded into a triangle, and hanging over the back and shoulders and secured by an *aggal* or woollen cord bound round the brows, consists of a yellow and red kefiyeh worn turban-wise and padded inside to increase its bulk. The townspeople wear the coloured *kumbaz* (gown) of cotton or silk, according to their means, and an outer *jubbeh* of cloth, sometimes lined with fur, and either the simple *tarbush* (red cap) or with the white turban wound round it. The Christians and Sephardin Jews wear dark turbans, or more commonly black handkerchiefs rolled round the tarbush.

The Bedawin women may be easily known by their long dark-blue cotton robe and black kerchief tied over their head. The fellahin women wear a white or blue chemise coming down nearly to the ankle; on their heads they wear a kind of cloth cap or bonnet, over which is thrown a cotton scarf. When they can afford it the married women wear a kind of sash with fringed ends hanging down the back from the head and reaching to below the waist.

The Christian women of Bethlehem and the neighbourhood wear a much gayer dress. A blue skirt with red and yellow stripe is surmounted by a tight body cut square in front and having loose sleeves; the basis of all is blue stuff, but it is ornamented with odd-shaped pieces of yellow, red, and green cloth. A stiffly



padded saucepan-shaped cap is worn on the head, and a long white scarf is thrown over this and hangs nearly to the ground. Coins either of gold or silver are worn on the cap and as necklaces. The *tout ensemble* of this costume is very picturesque.

The women of all ranks resident in the town wear a white cotton *izar* (wrapper) which, with a thin coloured cotton kerchief over the face, serves to conceal the whole dress and figure. The Jewish women wear the same *izar*, but leave the face exposed. Some of the Ashkenaz women still retain a European dress and shawl.

At the time of the Easter pilgrimage may be seen Russians with long heavy boots, greatcoats down to the ankle, and fur caps; the women all in black, and with handkerchiefs tied tightly over their heads. Armenians of both sexes, with baggy trousers and a mountain of shawl round the waist, the men with sheepskin jackets and turbans, the women with shawls. The high rosy cheeks of these people tell of a bracing air in their mountain homes. Greek and European Turks strut about in long coats lined with wolf-skin turned over in a broad flap on the shoulders. Mixing with these may be seen Latin monks; negroes from the Súdán; Greek priests with brimless chimney-pot hats; acolytes with flowing and frizzed-out hair; derwishes with tall sugarloaf felt caps; Kurdish soldiers;



a half-naked *shaykh* or holy man with long unkempt hair, a spear in one hand and a tin pannikin for broken victuals in the other ; an American in suit of severe black from head to foot ; an Indian fakhír ; a British tourist with patent ventilating hat, tweed suit, and guide book ; and last, but not least, the ubiquitous Jew. Such is the motley crowd, without mentioning fellahín Turks, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and dogs, through which the visitor to Jerusalem has to force his way.

The trade of Jerusalem, considering the poverty and barbarism of the surrounding tribes, is not inconsiderable. The following table is drawn from the report of Mr. Consul Moore for 1871 :—

Imports from England :—	£
Cotton . . . . .	19,000
Woollens, hardware, colonials . . . . .	6,500
Imports from Austria and Germany :—	
Woollens, silks, hardware, glass, timber . . . . .	25,000
Imports from France :—	
Colonials, woollens, silks, hardware, wines and spirits . . . . .	18,000
Imports from Russia :—	
Flour . . . . .	3,500
Total . . . . .	72,000

as well as rice by coasting vessels from Egypt ; but this does not include wine, spirits, and preserved fish from Cyprus and the Greek islands ; nor the carpets, shawls, and similar goods brought by pilgrims, both Christian and Moslem.

The exports are chiefly olive oil, grain, and *simsim* (sesame), which is taken to Marseilles and transmuted into olive oil! The cotton, which is short in the staple and of poor quality, goes to the same market. Soap, too, is made and exported, but the chief trade is in rosaries, crucifixes, cameos, &c., worked in mother-of-pearl, olive-wood, and various seeds, which are sold in immense quantities to the pilgrims. The men of Bethlehem have almost a monopoly of this trade, and have grown rich upon it; also, if report be true, by coining *beshliks* (five-piastre pieces). It is commonly asserted that some years ago the Turkish Government issued one million of these pieces which are copper, silvered, and when new of the intrinsic value of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  piastres. Some years later they called them in; a million and a half poured into the Treasury, which then refused to receive any more. Notwithstanding all this, they are at the present day one of the commonest coins in the country.

The modern city is surrounded by a wall, all of whose gates are closed at sunset with the exception of the Jaffa gate, which is now left always open. The gates till last year were also closed on Fridays from noon till about 1.30 p.m. This is owing to an old tradition which prophesies the taking of the city by Christians, while the Moslems are at midday prayers on Friday. The same custom holds in Moorish

cities, and the same reason is assigned for its observance.

*The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.*—This site, about which controversy has run so high, will in all probability never be settled to the satisfaction of all. The main point on which the evidence turns is whether the present church is without or within the old second wall. The upholders of the latter theory base most of their arguments on the presumed run of the second wall, and if this could be proved, then the supporters of the Holy Sepulchre could no longer hold their position. As it is, we must wait till further discoveries are made, or content ourselves with theorising.

The chain of evidence on the other side is this :— A tomb (the one called that of Joseph of Arimathæa) which from its construction seems incontestably Jewish, is found only a few feet distant from the so-called Holy Sepulchre itself. The pigeon-hole loculi are purely Semitic, are very rarely—one only instance has been found at Rome, which, however, proved to be Jewish—found out of Palestine proper, Phœnicia, and its colonies. The manner of dressing the stone is the same as that seen in other Jewish tombs near Jerusalem. It is impossible, after careful examination, to believe that these excavations are anything but genuine Jewish tombs. Secondly, tradition, from a very early period, points to this as the site of the Holy Sepulchre, over

which Hadrian built a temple of Venus. This is told us by Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Jerome, who also inform us that this very temple was the means by which the old traditional site was preserved from oblivion. With regard to another point, I feel that I cannot do better than quote from M. Renan ('*Vie de Jésus*,' p. 416), where he says, 'It would be curious if those who in the time of Constantine sought to fix the topography of the gospels had not been stopped (in choosing a tomb within the walls) by the objection arising from St. John xix. 20, and Hebrews xiii. 12. How, when free in their choice, should they have exposed themselves unconcernedly to such a serious difficulty? . . . One is at times obliged to believe that their work was undertaken in a somewhat serious spirit. . . . If they had only followed a mere fancy they would have placed Golgotha in a better situation, on the top of one of the mounds near Jerusalem, to follow up the Christian idea which from very early times sought to localise the death of Christ on a mountain.'

Though Titus destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, it is hard to believe that all traces of them had so utterly disappeared in the time of Constantine, that even the line they followed was unknown. If it were still known, those on whom the choice of a site devolved, even if unguided by tradition, would hardly have com-

mitted such a palpable blunder as to place the tomb within what was known to be the ancient limits of the city. Knowing the extreme abhorrence of the Jews to anything within their city and near their houses which, like a tomb, would render them ceremonially unclean, it seems probable that if these tombs (now called after Joseph of Arimathæa) were made previous to the building of the second wall, they would, if possible, have been left without the *enceinte*. If, on the contrary, they date later than the wall, it seems most probable that they were made without the city. These facts, though perhaps not quite conclusive, show us---

1. That an ancient Jewish tomb exists in the immediate vicinity of what is now called the Holy Sepulchre.
2. That this tomb was possibly, if not probably, without the second wall.
3. That a very early tradition points to this place as the tomb of Christ. (See further De Vogüé, 'Le Temple de Jérusalem,' p. 115, *seq.*)

The first church built over the Holy Sepulchre was that by Constantine, which was begun under the direction of Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 326, and finished two years later. Of this building Eusebius (who was contemporary) has left a full account in his life of Constantine, Bk. iii., ch. xxxiv. In A.D. 614, Jerusalem was pillaged by Chosroes II., king of Persia, and the church was pulled down. The Christians, however, began to rebuild their sanctuaries imme-



diately after the departure of the Persian hordes. This they were enabled to do probably by the secret assistance and influence of the wife of Chosroes, a Christian, and sister to Maurice, Emperor of Constantinople.

The rebuilding of Constantine's Basilica was undertaken by a monk named Modestus, at that time chief of the convent of St. Theodosius, and afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem. He was unable to complete a work on the scale of that constructed by Constantine, and was obliged to content himself with erecting a church or chapel over each sacred spot. In this he was assisted by John Eleemon, Patriarch of Alexandria, and completed his work in fifteen years.

After the Mohammedan conquest the Christians received permission from Omar to retain their churches and freedom of worship. The liberal feeling of the great Khalif Harún el Rashid (end of eighth century), and his friendship for Charlemagne, procured tranquillity for the Christians during his reign. The protection afforded to all religious establishments of the Latin Church in Palestine by the French Government dates from this period. After the death of Harún el Rashid, the Christians suffered from persecution. If we were to believe the old chroniclers, their churches were pillaged and ruined; but these woeful tales must be accepted in a qualified sense, as we find the Patriarch Thomas requiring only fifteen trunks of cedar



and pine from Cyprus, during the reign of El Maimun, to restore the dome of the Holy Sepulchre.

In the tenth century this church was twice set on fire by the Mohammedans. The Patriarch John perished in the second conflagration. By orders of Hákem bi-amr Illah, the mad Khalif of Egypt (A.D. 996), the Church of the Sepulchre was again destroyed. The influence of his mother Miriam, who was sister of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, seems to have been beneficially exercised, for we find the Christians reconstructing their churches in the same year. Large numbers of pilgrims then flocked to the Holy Land, bringing money for rebuilding on the sacred site. These funds, however, proved insufficient, and only a partial restoration was completed. Some years later the Emperors Argyrius, Michael of Paphlagonia, and Constantine Monomachus, entered into treaties with the Moslem power, and the Church of the Sepulchre was rebuilt by Greek architects in the year 1048. One hundred and fifty years later, Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, and one of the first cares of Godfrey was to appoint twenty canons to the Holy Sepulchre, making them, at the same time, considerable grants for their maintenance. A few years later, and all the holy places were placed beneath one building, as in the time of Constantine. The canons above mentioned were in 1244 superseded by the

religious body of Fratres Minores, or Franciscans, who have ever since performed the rites of the church on this spot. In 1808 a fire broke out in the church, and burnt the dome over the Sepulchre which had been made by the Franciscans in 1555, and destroyed the covering of the Sepulchre itself. The Greek Church then, by enormous expenditure of money, obtained possession of great part of the church, and repaired it. The dome again having fallen almost to ruin, was restored 1866-68 by MM. Ch. Mauss, M. Eppinger, and A. Salzmann, under the direction of the French, Russian, and Turkish Governments.

Before enumerating the various holy places shown with the church, it will be as well to point out the Via Dolorosa, which leads to, and culminates in, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the last five Stations of the fourteen being within the building.

Station 1. *The condemnation of Christ.*—This Station is in the courtyard of the Turkish barracks, which lie at the north-west corner of the Haram area, on the place where the head of the Scala Sancta formerly rested. This Scala Sancta is now shown at Rome, whither it is said to have been transported by St. Helena.

Station 2. *Christ laden with the Cross.*—This is said to have taken place at the foot of the Scala Sancta, whose former position is now marked by a blocked up

Saracenic arch in the wall of the barracks, opposite to, and a few yards east of, the gate of the Church of the Flagellation.

Station 3. *The first fall of Christ.*—About 300 yards west of the last, at the corner of the street running to the Damascus Gate. The spot may be known by a broken column which lies on the left-hand side.

Station 4. *Meeting of Christ with the Blessed Virgin.*—This Station is opposite a street (*Derb el Seräi*) running east, and distant fifty yards south of No. 3.

Station 5. *Christ helped by Simon the Cyrenian.*—Thirty yards from the last, and marked by an indented stone let into the wall of a house at the end of a street running westward.

Station 6. *House of Sta. Veronica*, where Christ left a miraculous imprint of his face on a handkerchief given him by St. Veronica. This Station is 120 yards from the last, and is marked by a fragment of a column let into the pavement on the left-hand side.

Station 7. *The second fall of Christ.*—Eight yards from No. 6, and at the end of the street. The house to the right at this point, lately the French consulate, is by popular legend said to be the house of the cobbler Alexander, better known as the Wandering Jew.

Station 8. *Christ addresses the women of Jerusalem.*—Forty yards up the opposite street, a hole in a

stone of the wall of the Greek convent of St. Caralambos on the left hand marks this Station.

The ancient road is here supposed to be blocked up, and, to reach the 9th Station the pilgrim must return, and, taking the first turning to the right, proceed for 140 yards till he reaches a sloping road on the right leading into a *cul-de-sac*, at the end of which are the Coptic and Abyssinian convents, and passing as he leaves the main street two columns which are with much show of reason supposed to be part of the Basilica of Constantine. Near the door of the Coptic convent is a column let into the wall on the right hand. This marks—

Station 9. *The third fall of Christ beneath the Cross.*—We then come to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to visit—

Station 10. *The place where Christ was stripped of his robes.*—This Station is marked by a circular pattern of coloured marbles let into the pavement in the south part of the chapel of Calvary, and is four and a half yards from the top step of the staircase leading up into the chapel.

Station 11. *The place where Christ was nailed to the Cross.*—The position of this point is marked by a square mosaic in the floor, two and a half yards to the east of the former, and in front of the altar of the Crucifixion.

Station 12. *The Crucifixion*.—This point belongs to the Greek Orthodox, and is marked by an opening in the rock in which the Cross was planted.

Station 13. *Where Christ was taken down from the Cross*.—This place is between the altars of the setting up of the Cross and of the Crucifying, and is marked by a small altar dedicated to *Stabat Mater*.

Station 14. *The Burial of Christ*.—This place, which has for ages been an object of veneration and cause of the utmost fanaticism, worshipped by some, and sneered at by others, is situated beneath the centre of the great dome.

Having thus described the *Via Dolorosa*, before examining the various sites within the church, let us take our stand in the courtyard in front of the south entrance, the only one now open. This courtyard is generally filled with Bethlehem peasantry, chiefly old men, women, and girls, who gain a livelihood by selling the multifarious wares of mother-of-pearl, the many-coloured chaplets, the crosses and crucifixes of which every pilgrim deems it necessary, or at least prudent, to lay in a stock sufficient to start a pedlar of moderate ambition. On certain days at Easter-tide these charms are ceremoniously blessed and sprinkled. They are then warranted genuine, and widely sold throughout semi-civilised Europe.

The courtyard is, in part at all events, supported



by a vault with a semicircular arched roof. The fact of its being used for a cesspool by the neighbouring Greek convent rendered its exploration, when attempted by Major Wilson, R.E., impossible. On the south side are the Greek convent of Gethsemane and a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (*μειτόχη τῆς παναγίας*). On the pavement at the edge of the court are bases of three columns, which seem to have formed part of a portico attached to the church built in the eleventh century.

On the west are three Greek chapels attached to the great convent, and called respectively after St. James—in the Crusading writers, St. Jacques des Jacobins; the Forty Martyrs (of Cappadocia)—(formerly La Chapelle de la Très Sainte Trinité, which, in the middle ages, was specially devoted to the ceremonies of marriage and baptism), and St. John and St. Mary Magdalene; this latter occupies the ground floor of the tower.

Opposite these, to the east, are the Church of St. John (Armenian), in which is shown a fragment of the Pillar of Flagellation, the Church of St. Michael (belonging to the Copts and connected with their convent by a private door), and the Greek convent of Abraham, with a church dedicated to the Twelve Apostles. A chapel, too, may be seen upstairs, on the traditional site of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham.



The south side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself next occupies our attention. A projecting porch on the right hand of the grand entrance is dedicated as a chapel to St. Mary of Egypt. Tradition tells us that this person was a most noted sinner. One day, however, being desirous, for some unexplained reason, of entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, an unseen hand prevented her. Thereupon she became convinced of sin, repented, and was allowed to enter. After living a life of solitary penance on the banks of the Jordan for upwards of thirty years, she died in the beginning of the fifth century, in high odour of sanctity. Above this is the Chapel of our Lady of Sorrows (*Notre Dame des Douleurs*), which opens by a window into the Chapel of Calvary. This is the site which tradition points out as occupied by the Blessed Virgin and St. John whilst Christ was being nailed to the Cross. The former of these chapels belongs to the Greeks, and the latter to the Latins. Between this porch and the church door may be seen the flagstone engraved with the name of Philip d'Aubigny, of whom, however, no other mention seems ever to be made. The south door was formerly double, but only the western half is now open, the other having been walled up, it is said, in the time of Salah-ed-din. The architraves of these doorways are curiously carved, and represent Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Below the windows a heavy cornice runs along, and beneath this towards the east may be seen some rudely sculptured lions. The tower formerly consisted of five stories, but as the upper part began to fall into decay, it was gradually reduced in height to prevent the danger of falling masonry, and now consists of only three stories. In the drawing of Le Brun (1678) its original state is shown.

Entering the church, we see on the left the alcove in which sit the Turks, to whom belongs the key of the door (which, however, they cannot use without permission from one of the Patriarchs), and whose duty it is to see that no factious disturbances or free fights are indulged in by the rival sects of Christians—strange parody of the old heathen's speech, 'See how these Christians love one another!' So long as the church is open some three or four of them sit here on cushions, with their friends, smoking *narghilés* or *chibouks*, and drinking coffee.

Facing the entrance we see a slab of red-veined Santa Croce marble surrounded by a low rail, and surmounted by lamps always burning. This slab was placed there in 1808 by the Greeks, in place of a slab of black marble which had been laid there soon after the purchase of the spot by the Franciscans from the Georgians in 1555 for the sum of 50,000 crowns. The slab, called now the Stone of Unction, marks the place

which tradition declares to be that on which Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus embalmed the body of Christ. Helena is related to have laid a fine mosaic over the spot, which in the later reconstructions of Modestus (about 620) and the Greek architects (1408) was not contained within the body of the church, but was marked by a small detached oratory (cf. William of Tyre, viii. 3). Part of the above-mentioned mosaic still existed in the seventeenth century.

Thirteen yards west of the Stone of Uncion may be remarked an iron cage, erected over the spot where the holy women are said to have stood whilst the body was being prepared for sepulture.

We next come to the Holy Sepulchre itself, which lies immediately under the great dome. No trace of rock *in situ* is now visible. Every part is cased in yellowish marble, and hung with tawdry-looking lamps and ornaments. On either side is a circular opening, through which the holy fire is passed by the Greek Patriarch on Easter Eve. At the entrance are six enormous candlesticks, holding pillars of wax, and six rather smaller. These are equally divided amongst the Armenians, Franciscans, and Greeks. Above the door are forty-three lamps, of which the Armenians, Franciscans, and Greeks possess thirteen each, and the Copts four. Against the west end of the tomb is an altar covered by a kind of canopy, and shut off by iron rail-

ings. Formerly the mediæval altar of the Holy Sepulchre stood here ; it is now a chapel belonging to the Copts. The interior of the tomb consists of two compartments. The outer, or ante-chamber, contains a fragment of the stone rolled away by the angel from the mouth of the sepulchre. In the time of the Crusaders one piece of this relic, which St. Cyril and St. Antonine relate that they saw, but broken into two pieces, formed the altar on Calvary, while another piece was let into the pavement in front of the Sepulchre.

In this place fifteen lamps are kept burning, five belonging to the Franciscans, the same number to the Greeks, four to the Armenians, and one to the Copts.

Hence, a low doorway leads into the inner chamber or tomb itself. The walls are, as elsewhere, covered with marble slabs, and whether these cover living rock or not is still a matter of mere conjecture. The tomb is in the form of a raised bench covered with white marble slabs, the upper one of which has a crack rudely sawn across its middle to the depth of an inch, but so clumsily done that the sides are also cut. This is believed by the more credulous of the pilgrims to be an effect of the earthquake (Matt. xxvii. 51). The north side of this chamber is equally divided amongst the Armenians, Greeks, and Latins, beginning from the left ; and the pictures and other decorations are sup-

plied by these sects. In the west wall there is a small secret cupboard concealed by a hinged picture. Steps behind the outer door lead up to the roof, and are used by those priests to whose charge the lamps are consigned.

It is a curious and not unaffecting sight to stand at this venerated spot for a short time, when pilgrims are numerous, and watch the intense awe and devotion with which it is approached, especially by uncouth Russian peasants; men and women, who, after saving steadily for many years, have been able to scrape together the five or six pounds requisite for this pilgrimage, which has been their life-long ambition, at last find themselves on the sacred spot. It can hardly be a source of wonder that these untutored minds, laden with superstition and accustomed to the material adoration of saints, just as much as the heathen of old were to the worship of demigods and heroes, should look upon this marble tomb as in itself worthy of the most reverential homage. The abject awe and veneration with which these rough-bearded, long-haired Northerners approach it, and the hysterical emotion of their homely women, are much more striking than the most passionate display of feeling from impulsive Easterns or from the quickly moved Latin races.

With reference to the original form of the ground in this place there seems no doubt but that the rock



has been cut away from the side towards Calvary, in order to isolate the monument. This work of demolition seems to have been begun by Helena, who is stated to have destroyed the vestibule of the tomb for the sake of ornamenting the shrine. The tomb is said to have been originally a square monolith surmounted by a quadrangular pyramid, similar in fact to the monument in the Valley of the Kedron, known as that of Zachariah. A hole was pierced in the roof to allow the smoke caused by numerous lamps and candles to escape. The Crusaders built a porch before the tomb, open on three sides, and it was in the pavement of this porch that one piece of the original door of the Sepulchre was laid.

In 1555 the covering of the shrine had fallen into disrepair, and was renewed by the Custos Terræ Sanctæ, Father Boniface of Ragusa. A letter from this personage has been preserved by Quaresmius, which, though disfigured by superstition, still contains some curious remarks. The following extracts must be taken for what they are worth:—

‘Finding it necessary to pull down the whole of the construction in order to give greater strength to that which was intended to replace it, the covering was taken off, and the Sepulchre of our Lord appeared in its original state, hewn in the rock. Here were discovered two frescoes of angels, one bearing a scroll



with these words: "He is risen, and is no longer here," while the other, pointing with its finger to the Sepulchre, bore this inscription, "See the place where they laid Him!" These two paintings crumbled away on exposure to the air. Being obliged to raise one of the alabaster slabs placed over the tomb by Sta. Helena, in order to be able to celebrate mass there, we saw disclosed the wondrous place in which our Lord rested for three days. Heaven seemed open to us. Here we could still distinguish the blood of our Lord mixed with the ointment which had served to embalm Him. In the centre of this holy spot we found a box wrapped in a valuable cloth which, immediately on being exposed to the air, fell to pieces, and nothing remained in our hands but some gold thread, which had been woven into it. As for the box contained in the winding sheet, it had formerly borne an inscription, but this was so injured by time that it was impossible to make out a single sentence. . . . At the head of a parchment one could with ease read in Latin capital letters, HELENA MAG. . . .'

At this restoration the Crusaders' Porch was changed into the Chapel of the Angel. The present construction dates from 1808.

We next come to the chapel of the Syrians and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, and, as some say, of Nicodemus, which belongs to the Abyssinians. Tradition

informs us that Joseph went with Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalene to Marseilles, and thence to England, where he founded Glastonbury. This tomb is peculiar from the fact that it is cut out of the hardest layer of stone, called in Arabic mezzeh. The tombs outside the town are cut in the malaki, which is of moderate hardness, while the kakuli is too crumbly for any large work to be done in it. The ante-chamber, or vestibule, of this tomb, has been cut off by the wall of the Rotunda. There seem to have been three loculi at the end, and three or perhaps more, probably four, at each side. In the floor is a sunken loculus, 4 feet 4 inches long, intended perhaps for the reception of treasure. One fact to be noticed is that pointed out by M. le Comte de Vogüé ('Le Temple de Jerusalem,' p. 115), namely, that the tool marks on the rock are identical with those in the tombs recognised as Jewish in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. For further particulars on this subject the above-quoted book may be well consulted. The unsupported statement of Dr. Porter, who, in arguing that if the tombs are ancient the fact is not in any way favourable to this being the site of the Holy Sepulchre, says, 'We know from Scripture that it was no uncommon thing for men to have their tombs within the walls of cities, and even in their own houses; and, besides, we have no clue to the date of these excavations; they may be of any date, from

Melchizedek to King Baldwin,' need hardly be noticed, were it not an example of that prejudice, founded on ignorance, too often to be found in discussing Jerusalem difficulties. In one passage (1 Kings ii. 34) we are simply told that Joab was buried 'in his house in the wilderness,' which can hardly be construed as a proof that burial in houses was a common practice of the Jews. This one passage and those relating to the burial of David and the twelve Kings of Judah in the royal sepulchres in Zion, are the only notices of burial in towns. At the present day all the tombs are found at a little distance from the ancient sites of the Jewish cities.

The intense horror of the Jews at the idea of touching or even approaching dead bodies, whereby they were rendered ceremonially unclean, made them use rock-hewn tombs, in the immediate vicinity of their towns it is true, but so placed that walking over the tomb, which was sufficient to render a person unclean, was difficult or impossible. According to Jewish tradition the prophetess Huldah was the only person besides the kings who was buried in Jerusalem.

As I have before mentioned, the fact of these tombs existing so near the Holy Sepulchre proves that there is no improbability in the supposition that an old tomb exists on the spot that is now shown as that of Christ. Unless, too, these tombs are later than the time of

Manasseh, there is a great probability that they were before the second wall. It is true that, if the so-called Pool of Hezekiah was within the wall (as it doubtless was) and the present Damascus Gate (Bab el 'Amúd) was the Fish Gate, there is difficulty in reconciling the angle which must have occurred near the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre with Josephus's description of the wall as *κυκλούμενος* (circling). The truth is, that till the Gennath Gate or part of the second wall be satisfactorily discovered, our knowledge of that part of the city is purely theoretical, and, such being the case, we can hope for no definite and satisfactory conclusions.

In a courtyard to the north-west of the Rotunda is a large vaulted cistern, called the Well of Helena, which must not be confused with the one called the Cistern of Helena, near the Coptic and Abyssinian convents.

To the north-east of the Holy Sepulchre is the Latin Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. A rosette in the pavement marks the spot where Christ appeared to her, and was mistaken for the gardener. A little farther north four steps lead up into the Church of the Franciscans, called Chapelle de l'Apparition. Here is marked in the pavement the place where the Blessed Virgin remained during the whole time of Christ's entombment, holding herself aloof from the tomb on account of the

Roman guard. Here, too, Christ is said to have appeared to His Mother after the Resurrection, whence the name of the Chapel. Legendary history asserts that here St. Macarius and Helena restored a dead man to life by touching him with the true Cross. This chapel was visited in 1102 by Sæwulf, and forms part of the church completed in 1048. The Franciscans obtained a footing in it in 1257, and their title was finally confirmed by the Moslems in 1342. There are three altars here; that nearest the door contains a fragment of the Pillar of Flagellation. This relic is kept behind a grating, which is only opened on the morning of Wednesday in Holy Week: at other times the pilgrim has to content himself with vicariously kissing the column by touching it with a stick, which he then applies to his lips. The column is said to have been removed from the place where Christ was beaten to the Cœnaculum, where it was placed in a portico. Here it was seen by Sta. Paula and St. Jerome (Letter lxxxvi.) and by Arculphus in the seventh century. It was given in the thirteenth century by the canons of St. Augustine to the Fathers of the Terra Sancta, but in 1555 it was broken up by the Moslems. Three fragments were sent to Europe at this time, viz., to Pope Paul IV., to Philip II. of Spain, and to Venice, where it may still be seen in St. Mark's. This column is of porphyry. A column is shown in the Church of



Sta. Praxeda, at Rome, as that of the Flagellation. It is perfect, and of coloured marble, streaked with grey and white, and stands upon a base. This was taken from Mount Zion to Rome in 1223, by Cardinal Colonna, and seems to have no legend attached to it to prove its authenticity, even in the eyes of the Romish Church.

On leaving the Chapel of the Apparition the Latin Sacristy is on the left hand. Here may be seen some interesting relics, namely, the spurs and sword of Godefroy de Bouillon. They were presented to the Franciscans by the Bishop of Nazareth, towards the end of the thirteenth century. The sword is straight, double-edged, and heavy, with a plain cross hilt. The spurs are of copper, and seem originally to have been gilt; the rowels are of enormous size. These remains of the chivalry of Jerusalem are still used in the investiture of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem by the Latin Patriarch.

Passing eastwards along the aisle outside the Greek Church, we come to a dark chamber called the Prison of our Lord, where He was temporarily confined before His death. A large stone with two holes through it is called the 'Bonds of Christ,' and we are told that His feet were passed through the holes and bound with a cord beneath. The three altars erected here are said by some to be for the three prisoners, by others to



mark the spot where Christ was placed, and where the gate of the garden stood, the others being commemorative of His being bound to the pillar. This chapel belongs to the Greeks, who always keep a lamp burning at the ' Bonds.'

Keeping on towards the south-east, we come to the Chapel of Longinus. This, according to tradition and the Gospel of Nicodemus, was the name of the soldier who pierced Christ's side with a spear. When he saw the phenomena accompanying the Saviour's death, he cried out, ' Truly this man was the Son of God ' (Matt. xxviii. 54 ; Mark xv. 39). Some of the blood and water, happening to trickle down the shaft of the spear, fell on to his hand, and with this he chanced to touch one of his eyes, which by an accident had been destroyed. The eyesight was immediately restored, and Longinus became a Christian, only to fall a victim to the ruthless fanaticism of the Jewish rulers, who soon afterwards murdered him.

Formerly the superscription written by Pilate, ' This is the King of the Jews,' used to be shown in this chapel ; now, however, it is at Rome, in the Church of Santa Croce di Gerusalemme. There still remains a fragment of rock said to have been cut off from Calvary to make room for the marble casing.

Three paces beyond the Chapel of Longinus is the closed doorway formerly used by the canons to enter

the church. It was closed by order of Salah-ed-din, after the expulsion of the Crusaders. The eastern side of this entrance was visited by Major Wilson, R.E., from a chamber half filled with rubbish beneath the Coptic convent.

We next come to the Armenian Chapel of the 'Division of Vestments,' where the soldiers are said to have cast lots for Christ's garments. The coat without seam is still preserved near Argenteuil, near Paris, and also at Trèves, in Germany. In the latter place it is kept bricked up in the high altar, and only exposed once in every seven years.

Descending the twenty-nine steps to our left, we reach the Chapel of Helena, which belongs to the Abyssinians, who have, however, virtually handed it over to the Armenians for a dole of bread and soup. This half-underground chapel is very picturesque, especially if seen towards evening, when but a faint light gleams through the small windows of the dome, when a mist of incense rises, and the candles of a crowd of pilgrims listening to mass burn with a weird grey light. The heavy Byzantine capitals then stand out massively against the deep gloom of the corners, whither no ray of candlelight can penetrate. Then the deep voice of the officiating priest sounds muffled and distant, losing itself in the many echoes of the damp vaults.

This chapel was built by Modestus (eighth century), and restored by the Crusaders. In the north-eastern apse is an altar dedicated to St. Dimas, the Penitent Thief; the other altar is dedicated to St. Helena. In the place where the southern apse ought to be is the chair of Sta. Helena, in which she sat and watched the workmen digging for the True Cross in the vault below, which is overlooked by a rude window cut in the rock. Descending twelve steps, we come into this vault, the Chapel of the Invention of the True Cross, which is the property of the Franciscans. The altar to the north is called that of the Franks, and the other that of the True Cross, and is said to mark the exact spot where it was found. Tradition tells us that after the burial of Christ all the instruments of His death or torture were necessarily buried as unclean in Jewish estimation. They were consequently thrown into this place—an unused cistern near the place of Crucifixion—and in process of time were covered up with *débris*. Helena, inspired by piety, excavated in this place, and found not only the instruments of crucifixion, but also the crosses of the two thieves. It was then a puzzle to decide which was the True Cross. St. Macarius hit upon the happy design of touching a sick lady with each in succession; at the touch of the third she was instantaneously cured, and thus the Real Cross was made known. The same day occurred the

miracle before mentioned of the dead man being restored to life. These miracles are recorded by St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, in a letter to Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, and by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

Returning to the upper part of the church, we continue to the left, and reach the Chapel of the Mocking, which belongs to the Greeks. Here is shown behind an iron grating a fragment of a column of grey syenite, on which Christ is said to have sat when the crown of thorns was put on His head in mockery by the Roman soldiers. A crown of thorns is shown here, made of the 'Awsaj (*Lycium europæum*), which is very common in the outskirts of Jerusalem. By the ignorant this is often looked upon as the original.

Farther on we come to the steps leading up to Calvary, which has been partly described in the Stations of the Via Dolorosa. It may be here added that the Latin part of the chapel (Station XI.) is supported on arches. The explanation of this is that Helena cut away the ground beneath the chapel and removed it to Rome; therefore the Station occupies the actual position that it did when the rock was in the same state as it was at the time of the Crucifixion. The place of the Elevation of the Cross belongs to the Greeks. The position of the Cross is marked by a

circular hole beneath the altar. To the right is a hollow in the rock—which has every appearance of being *in situ* here—said to have been split open by the earthquake which occurred at the death of Christ. It is said, too, to communicate with the crack shown below in the Chapel of Adam. Pellets of paper and wax dropped into the upper cavity proved to me that this is not the case.

The altar at the place of Crucifixion is surmounted by paintings and enamels in the Russian style, heavy with gold and silver plates, and ornamented with jewels. The lamps which hang from the ceiling are costly, and, if examined closely, of beautiful work; all the fittings are most rich, but the general effect is tawdry and tinselly; everything is overloaded with ornament, and things in themselves handsome appear poor in the middle of such incongruous profusion.

To the north of the Stone of Unction are two steps, which mark the place formerly occupied by the funeral monuments of Baldwin II. (d. 1131), of Fulke (d. 1142), of Baldwin III. (d. 1162), of Amaury of Anjou (d. 1174 or 1175), of Baldwin V. the leper (d. 1186), and of Baldwin VI. (d. 1186). These monuments were destroyed by the Greeks at the same time (1808) that they demolished those of Godefroy de Bouillon (d. 1110) and Baldwin I. (d. 1113), which formerly stood on the right and left hand sides respectively of the

ante-chamber of the Chapel of Adam. Nothing now marks the place of their sepulture but a plain stone bench. The following were the two inscriptions on these tombs :—

Rex Baldevinus Judas alter Machabeus  
 Spes patriæ vigor Ecclesiæ virtus utriusque  
 Quem formidabant cui dona tributa ferebant  
 Cedar et Egyptus : Dan : ac homicida Damascus.  
 Proh dolor ! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

Mirificum sidus, dux hic recubat Godefridus,  
 Egipti terror, Arabum fuga, Persidis error  
 Rex licet electus, rex nolit intitulari  
 Nec diademari : sed sub Christo famulari.  
 Ejus erat cura Syon sua reddere jura  
 Catholiceque sequi sacra dogmata juris et equi  
 Totium scisma teri circa se, jusque foveri  
 Sic et cum superis potuit diadem mereri  
 Milicie speculum, populi vigor, anchora cleri.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion of their destruction by the Greeks was the acquisition of a firman empowering them to rebuild whatever had been damaged by the fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Profiting by the occasion, they lengthened the Chapel of Calvary, blocked up the south-western staircase, and obliterated the tombs above mentioned.

In the Chapel of Adam, where a curious and early tradition mentioned by Basil, Origen, and others, places the burial-place of the first man, is shown the hollow in which his skull rested, and a painting illustrates the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by De Vogüé, from 'Une relation manuscrite du 12<sup>me</sup> Siècle.'



legend that, at the time of the Crucifixion, blood trickled down and restored him to life. In this same cave Melchizedek is also related to have been buried.

An unorthodox legend states that the altar in this chapel stands upon the place occupied by the cock who crowed the third time to Peter.

We must now turn to the Greek Church, which occupies the nave of the building. The decorations are, at certain festivals, extremely handsome. Amongst others are a large series of Scriptural and ecclesiastical subjects in silver repoussé work. They are of Russian design and workmanship, and are well executed: their value is said to be enormous. They are in frames under glass, and form a double row above the stalls, extending all the length of the body of the church.

Near the west entrance may be seen, in the middle of the floor, a hemisphere of marble, supported by a cup-topped pillar of the same material. This was settled by the disciples of Photius (about the eighth century) to be the centre of the earth. Scæwulf further proves this to his own satisfaction, for he says 'Our Lord Himself signified with His own right hand that this spot is the middle of the world, according to the words of the Psalmist, "For God is my King of old, making salvation in the midst of the earth."'

At the east end the screen usual to Greek churches has been erected, a heavy structure of wood cutting

off the apse and part of the presbytery from the nave. The patriarch's throne is in the centre of the apse, immediately behind the high altar. The ordinary seat of the patriarch is at the south-east pier of the lantern; opposite this are chairs for any other patriarchs who may chance to be present.

This church was originally built as choir to the Latin Church, and the style was similar to that which still is visible on the southern façade. Of the original architecture nothing but the piers and arches of the lantern remain, the rest of the building having been restored according to modern Greek taste in 1808. The wooden structures which separate it from the side aisles date also from this period.

*Holy Fire.*—A short account of this ceremony, which, owing to various circumstances, is diminishing every year in importance, may not prove uninteresting. Were it not for the increasing number of Russian pilgrims who yearly throng to Jerusalem, this hideous imposture would long ago have died a natural death.

The Latin Church, after suffering from the usurpation of the Greeks in the year 1808, was the first to pronounce this pyrotechnical display an imposture, and to denounce it *ex cathedrâ*. The good sense of the Armenians soon led them to do the same, and none of that community except some of the more ignorant and fanatic put any faith in it at present. Many Roman

Catholics attend, but show more pugnacity than religious enthusiasm. The origin of this ceremony is obscure. It has probably been elaborated by degrees to suit the requirements of pilgrims. In the beginning of the fourth century Eusebius heard a legend that water in the lamps was miraculously turned to oil on the Easter Eve at the Holy Sepulchre. Five centuries later this legend was improved upon, and an angel was said to come and light the lamps on that occasion. In the Crusading period not only the lamps of the church, but even those of King Baldwin's dinner table, were miraculously lighted.

At the present day the fire is said to descend upon the slab of the Holy Sepulchre in the form of fiery dew of a bluish colour. This has the peculiarity of not burning anything that touches it, so the Greek patriarch is enabled with impunity to gather it together in his hands, and place it in a vessel.<sup>1</sup> From this the candles are lighted, and passed through the holes in the wall of the sepulchre before mentioned. Formerly, in the days of tinder-boxes, great delay used occasionally to occur in the appearance of the fire; but things are managed better now-a-days, and the delay of a few minutes in working the miracle is all that the impatient pilgrim need look forward to.

In the year 1871, Easter Day, according to both

<sup>1</sup> This account I received from Mgr. Cyrillos, the late patriarch.

Old and New Style, fell on April 9th (N.S.). Consequently, the services of all the sects, Latin, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and Syrian, coincided, and the traveller was enabled during Holy Week to see the various ceremonials which usually took place at different times, according as the churches adopt the Old or New Calendar.

The following notes on the ceremony of the Holy Fire are taken from my journal at that time:—

‘ April 8, Saturday.—At 11.45 A.M. we went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and took our places in the upper gallery (immediately beneath the dome), to which access is obtained from the Greek convent of Constantine. Hence we had an excellent bird’s-eye view of the whole proceeding, and, though the crowd of men on the floor of the building looked ridiculously small, were able to distinguish everything most exactly. The north and west part of the second gallery belong to the Latins, but to this no ladies are admitted. The south part belongs to the Armenians, who are more gallant than their neighbours; but the view from this gallery is not so good as from the upper one, great part of the crowd being hidden by the sepulchre itself. Below this gallery are arches between the pilasters, and lower still, circular windows, in front of which wooden platforms had been erected. These—patronised chiefly by native women—and every other point

of vantage, were densely crowded. The number of persons in the body of the Rotunda was not great at this time, and many were seated on the ground. At 12.15 a bell rang, and the crowd rose to their feet, and began to sway to and fro, struggling feebly to obtain good places. The Latins were to the north, the Greeks and Armenians to the south. A few small but well-organised rushes were occasionally made from the north-west aisle to the hole whence the fire is given out. The southern side was kept very quiet and orderly by the exertions of some half-dozen strapping fellows who acted as amateur policemen, and kept open a path for one of their number to pass along when he had received the first fire. For this a large sum is paid, as it is supposed to have miraculous powers. This year it was bought by a Russian. As much as 100*l.* is sometimes said to be paid for it. Now appears on the scene 'Ali Bey, chief of police, an old man accustomed to his work, and followed by a troop of Turkish soldiers. The crowd melts away in the most ludicrous fashion before the well-known *kur-baj* (hippopotamus-hide whip) of the Bey. The soldiers form a horseshoe from north-east to south-west of the sepulchre.

‘ At 1.15 the crowd had become dense, and on the north side was vigorously engaged in singing such dog-grels as the following :—



- |                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. El Messiah at'aáná | 2. Sebt el nár wa 'aydná. |
| Bi dumhu ishtaráná    | Wa hadha kabr syidna.     |
| Nahna el yom feráná   | 3. Ya yehúd, ya yehüd.    |
| W'al yehud hezáná.    | 'Aydkum 'ayd el kurúd.    |

Which may be paraphrased :—

1. Messiah was pierced with a spear.  
    With his blood he bought us dear;  
    A gladsome day we make it here,  
    But the Jews have wailing cheer.
2. The Sabbath brings us feast and light,  
    And this is the tomb of the Lord of might.
3. Oh Jews, oh Jews,  
    Your feast is the monkey's feast.

By singing, stamping their feet, and clapping their hands, they soon worked themselves up into a state of some little excitement. A free fight began in the north-east corner, but was put a stop to by the vigorous application of the *kurbaj*, not, however, before a man's hand and shoulder had been severely bitten, and two or three individuals had had their clothes nearly torn off their backs. After this the men began to climb on one another's shoulders near the fire-hole, shouting and gesticulating wildly till they were pulled down and extinguished. At 2 P.M. the soldiers had completed a double line round the sepulchre, and stood with fixed bayonets. The procession then began to file out of the Greek Church. First came seven flags, for the possession of one of which a long and well-sustained fight took place. The *causa belli* was at last triumphantly captured by the soldiers. Then came



twenty Greek bishops, one of whom was bareheaded, being intended to receive the Holy Fire at the southern hole. After these came eighteen priests dressed in black, and seven deacons. Next were carried two silver articles shaped like a gigantic clove two feet long, and perforated at top; these contained forty candles each, and were intended for the protection of the first fire, which otherwise, in the struggle of every pilgrim to obtain a light, would infallibly be put out. Then came the Patriarch Cyrillos, dressed in a vestment of white and gold, and wearing a black cap and veil. His pastoral staff was of wood and ivory. Behind him was borne a red banner, and then came the seething mob. A Syrian priest, in the absence of the bishop, now takes his stand at the door of the sepulchre to give the fire to his flock. Meanwhile the sepulchre is shut and sealed: a priest, however, was inside, and, forgetting that the upper gallery overlooked him, came on to the roof to trim some lamps. After the procession has passed three times round the tomb—left hand inside—the Patriarch is unrobed by the deacons, and enters the tomb clad in a long white silk shirt. The door is locked behind him. A minute or two afterwards the bells begin to ring, and the fire immediately appears at the two holes. The men who have been lucky enough to get it, try to rush off to the different galleries pursued by others, like dogs

fighting for a bone. The lights soon spread over the church, and a dense smoke arises from the thousands of candles. The crowd continues to sway and struggle till every candle has been lit. After a few minutes all the lights are blown out, the candles being kept as a sacred relic, and the crowd begins to disperse. Many of the pilgrims pass the flame over their bodies, faces, and hands, as it is said never to burn them. The Greek Patriarch then made his appearance from the sepulchre, and had to be pushed and pulled through the crowd by two deacons.'

Such is the scene which, by a little extra fanaticism, a panic, or any exciting cause, might at any moment be turned into a scene of carnage and horror like that of 1834, so vividly described in Curzon's 'Monasteries of the Levant.' The bayonets of the Turkish soldiers would then be indiscriminately used, and what is intended as a protection would really become an engine of destruction. As I have before said, were it not for the growing influence of Russia in Palestine, this mummary would have become a thing of the past. Let us hope that, as their power increases, they will take measures for preventing accidents, for it can hardly be hoped that the exigencies of the pilgrims will allow of the Holy Fire being abolished.



## NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

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THE city of Jerusalem must have at this time presented a sad spectacle to those who had known it before the capture by Titus. The temple was burnt, the walls thrown down, the houses ruined and sacked; nothing remained but the three towers, and such patched-up dwellings as the few Jews who still clung to the spot had arranged for their own shelter. The tradition, however, that the Romans laid the city under a ban, with the intention of preventing it from ever being rebuilt, seems to have arisen in quite modern times, and is not worthy of consideration. Whether the Christians returned from Pella, on the east of the Jordan, soon after the destruction of the city or not, is doubtful. Eusebius relates that at this time they chose Simeon for their bishop, and tradition adds that the seat of the bishopric was at Jerusalem.

From A.D. 75 to 130 Jerusalem is never mentioned in history. During this period the chief resorts of the Jews in Palestine were in Galilee and on the maritime plains. It is probably at this time that Tiberias and

Safat (now called Safed) began to be the seats of rabbinical learning, as we know Jabneh or Jamnia (the modern Yebnah) was a city not far to the south of Jaffa. The rabbinical power had long been growing, but now decentralisation added much to its strength. By moral and physical punishment, by cursing and scourging, they gained a hold over their congregations even greater than that of an Irish parish priest at the present day.<sup>1</sup> This power is still kept up by the rabbis in all places where the ignorance and superstition of their flock allow of it. At Jerusalem the hallukah or alms is a potent weapon, but at Safed the old tyrannical power may be seen to best advantage. In the year of grace 1870, a woman was scourged there by order of some rabbis. Her crime was adultery; the man by whom she had been led astray was one of those who condemned her. A fortnight after the infliction of the punishment she died.

A combined revolt of the Jews in Babylon, Judæa, Egypt, and Cyrene, was put down by the Emperor Trajan, who died A.D. 117. He was succeeded by Hadrian, who spent the greater part of his reign in

<sup>1</sup> I believe that this statement has before been published, and strongly or at least energetically contradicted. I need only say that I heard the story for the first time from the lips of a Jew at Tiberias, and at Safat it was repeated to me also by a Jew. European Jews are far too apt to judge their Eastern co-religionists by an educated and civilised standard. In reality there is as much difference between a middle-class Jew in England, France, or America, as there is between the English middle class and a camp of 'roughs' on an old Californian gold-field.

travelling over his vast dominions. He seems to have visited Palestiné about A.D. 130, and then gave orders for the refortification of Jerusalem, which was begun before the rebellion of Barchochebas, but not finished till that revolt had been stamped out. This determination of Hadrian to convert Jerusalem into a Roman city may have hastened the insurrection; at all events, when the Emperor quitted the East in A.D. 132, a leader suddenly arose named Barchochebas—the Son of a Star. This man, of whose previous history nothing is known, was energetically supported by Rabbi Akiba, who declared him to be the Messiah. This Akiba had more influence than any of the other rabbis, and by his help Barchochebas found himself at the head of two hundred thousand zealots. He tried to persuade the Christians to follow his standard, and on their refusing to do so treated them with great cruelty, thus widening the breach that already existed between the two religions.

For his participation in this revolt Akiba was tortured to death by Turnus Rufus, the Roman governor of Jerusalem. Barchochebas then seized that city, as well as fifty fortified places, and nine hundred and eighty-five large villages. At first the Romans disregarded this rising, and left Turnus Rufus with a few troops to carry on a desultory warfare in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Soon, however, Hadrian saw



the serious turn things were taking, and hurrying his general Julius Severus from Britain, he sent him with a large force to Palestine. Then one by one the Jewish strongholds fell into his hands. The siege of Jerusalem is nowhere described, and only mentioned by one writer, Appian. The rabbis, too, are silent on the subject. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the walls were not yet rebuilt, and consequently that no great resistance took place here as in former wars. This idea is further confirmed by the last struggle being at Bether. When this last Jewish stronghold was taken by the Romans, their horses are said to have waded up to their girths in torrents of blood, which, according to other accounts, were strong enough to roll stones of four pounds weight along the streets. Many thousand captives were sold by the oak of Abraham near Hebron, where an annual fair was wont to be held. The remainder were shipped off to Egypt, and many of them died by shipwreck and famine. All Jews were now strictly prohibited from visiting Jerusalem under pain of death, and a garrison was stationed there to enforce the edict.

Judaism now seemed scotched if not killed, but the great vitality and fertility shown by the Hebrews when in hard bondage at Memphis or Babylon, soon made them again a numerous people.

Having got rid of the Jews, Hadrian began to re-

build and beautify Jerusalem, a work which had been hindered by the insurrection of Barchochebas. In A.D. 136 on the occasion of his vicennalia (entering upon the twentieth year of his reign) he gave the city the name of Colonia Ælia Capitolina, his præ-nomen being Ælius Capitolinus, in honour of Jupiter with that title, whose fane he had erected in the old temple area. A shrine of Venus too was placed on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and according to Eusebius existed in the time of Constantine. This seems to have been done as an indignity to the Christians, who were often looked upon by the Romans as a Jewish sect. The Jerusalem Christians now either came from Pella, or, if a number had already done so, received reinforcements thence: in order to give an outward sign of separation from the Jews, from whom and on whose account they had suffered so much, they now elected a Gentile convert, one Marcus, as Bishop of Jerusalem.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE SEE OF JERUSALEM.

(Le Quien's 'Oriens Christianus,' tom. iii.)

A.D.		A.D.	
Circa 30.	S. James the Just.		Philip.
	60. S. Simeon.	Circa 125.	Seneca.
	107. Justus, or Judas I.		Justus II.
	111. Zaccheus.		Levi.
	Tobias.		Ephraim.
	Benjamin.		Joseph I.
	John I.		Judas II.
	Matthias.		

Here ends the line of the circumcision.

A.D.		A.D.	
Circa 135.	Marcus.		Germanion.
156.	Cassian.		Gordius.
	Publius.	212.	Alexander.
	Maximus I.	250.	Mazabanes.
	Julian I.	265.	Hymenæus.
	Caius I.	298.	Zambdas.
	Symmachus.	302.	Hermon.
	Caius II.	313.	<i>Macarius I.</i>
	Julian II.	335.	Maximus III.
	Capito.	351.	S. Cyril.
185.	Maximus II.		<i>Eutychius.</i>
	Antonius.		<i>Irenæus.</i>
	Valens.		<i>Hilarius.</i>
	Dolichianus.	387.	John II.
	Narcissus.		

The names in italic are those of ‘heretical intruders.’<sup>1</sup>

The name of Jerusalem now began to be forgotten, and *Ælia* occupied its place. A story is told of a Christian who was being questioned by Firmilianus, governor of Cæsarea; when he said that Jerusalem (meaning the heavenly) was his city, his judges were non-plussed, and asked him where this town was to be found. In the time of Constantine the old name was to some extent revived, but that of *Ælia* is used as late as A.D. 536, in the report of a synod held in the city itself. This name is mentioned too by Adamnanus in the end of the seventh, and Mejr-ed-Din at the close of the fifteenth century.

Till the time of Constantine the Jews seem to have been rigorously excluded from Jerusalem. They were

<sup>1</sup> From Williams’ ‘Holy City,’ vol. i. p. 487.

then permitted to come near the city, and at last the favour was granted them of being allowed to weep and wail over their long-ruined but still cherished sanctuary once every year.

Now that Christianity began to take real root in the western world, pilgrimages—the necessary consequence of a religion's origin being localised—began to be in vogue. The first recorded instance is that of Alexander, then Bishop of Cappadocia, who afterwards succeeded Narcissus at Jerusalem; then came a lady, mentioned by Cyprian (Ep. 75). Both of these were in the beginning of the third century. Eusebius, writing about one hundred years later, mentions the number of pious folk who came to see with their own eyes the fulfilment of prophecy, and to pray at the birth-place of their Saviour in the cave at Bethlehem, and at the spot on the Mount of Olives whence He ascended to heaven. Still the Christian Church only existed by sufferance at Jerusalem, and was at times exposed to insult and persecution. This sufficiently accounts for the fact that the Holy Sepulchre, or the supposed site of it, marked by the shrine of Venus, was never purified and made an object of pilgrimage.

Immediately after the conversion of Constantine, however, when the Christians became more powerful than the Pagans, this was done. Thus we see that the

traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre dates from the time of Hadrian, A.D. 130. This will be further mentioned in its proper place.

The number of pilgrims now greatly increased, especially when the fashion was set by Helena, mother of the Emperor. This lady seems to have stayed some months in the country, and during this time built churches at Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, and began that over the Holy Sepulchre. Her great *trouvaille*, however, was the True Cross. About this there is considerable difficulty. Eusebius only mentions Constantine as the builder of the Church of the Sepulchre. As, however, the funds came from the Emperor, and the building was not finished till some six years after Helena's death, this panegyrist doubtless thought it safe to ascribe the whole glory to his patron. The Bordeaux pilgrim, too, who ascribes all the work to Constantine, probably heard his name as the chief mover in the business, and the source whence the necessary funds were drawn. In the next century, however, the finding of the cross is unanimously ascribed to Helena. That a cross was 'found or invented' seems clear. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, only twenty years after the event, speaks of it; and Jerome, some fifty years later, says that Sta. Paula prostrated herself before it in adoration. The so-called (not too happily) 'Invention of the Cross' is said to have

been brought about by a dream or supernatural intimation to Helena where to dig for it. The Empress dug and found not one but three; the legend, too, written by Pilate, was there, but separated from the cross to which it had been attached. A test was soon found to prove which was the True Cross. A lady of Jerusalem lay dying; one cross was brought to her bedside, presumably from its effect that of the impenitent thief; she screamed in pious horror and fainted away. The second produced no bad effect, but the third was incontestably proved the True Cross by the fact that she was immediately restored to health by the near approach of it.

Later on, many more churches were ascribed to the liberality of Helena, and her good deeds were magnified, till now we find that nearly every ancient church is said by monastic tradition to have been founded by her. The description of the church of the Sepulchre as given by Eusebius will be found in another place.

About A.D. 350 monastic institutions were transplanted by Hilarion from Egypt into Palestine and Syria, where they soon took root and flourished. The orders seem to have always been austere and ascetic, as is still the case with the Greek monasteries of St. Catharine at Sinai and Mar Saba near the Dead Sea. The practice of acquiring broad lands and the indulgence



in the good things of this life, seems not to have been introduced till several centuries later.

In A.D. 362 the Jews, who had continued in force throughout Galilee, obtained leave from Julian the Apostate to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, and began to do so. Then, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, globes of fire burst out from the foundations and rendered the prosecution of the work impossible. Some have attributed those demonstrations to a divine manifestation, others to fire-damp, and others, again, to the machinations of the Christians. Whatever was the cause, there seems no reason to doubt the fact that the work was stopped in the way described.

In A.D. 384 Jerome went to Bethlehem, where he remained till his death in 420. His writings show how the number of monks had increased since their introduction; he tells us, too, of the monastery and three nunneries built by Paula at Bethlehem. From this point we may date the great growth of monkish tradition which has localised every event recorded in the Bible, even to the house of the parabolic Lazarus and Dives. Chrysostom tells us that many even went into Arabia to visit the dunghill of patient Job and to kiss the ground where he had trod. Many holy men now sainted in the calendar are recorded to have made as many as three pilgrimages to Palestine about this period. Like Holy Cities of all ages, Jerusalem now

began to be a place of corruption and licentiousness ; the act of pilgrimage was looked upon as the means of salvation, as it still is at the present day by the more ignorant of the Russian and other Eastern Christians. This superstition is much animadverted on by Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, and other contemporary fathers of the Church.

The history of Jerusalem now becomes simply ecclesiastical. The importance of the Holy City as the goal of pilgrimage made its bishops impatient of the control exercised by the Metropolitan of Cæsarea and desirous of its taking higher rank as the original seat of the primitive Church. The bishops Cyril and John contended ineffectually for independence. Praxentius, the next in succession, remained inactive, but Juvenal who followed him obtained an order from the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451-453, that Jerusalem should not only rank above Cæsarea, but should also be uncontrolled by Antioch being raised into an independent Patriarchate having jurisdiction over the Three Palestines.

The religious discussions which raised such bitter enmities amongst the different sections of the Eastern Church had energetic and even violent partisans in Palestine. In the great struggle of the Arian controversy Cyril was more than once deposed from his bishopric at Jerusalem. Not many years after this

Pelagius himself appeared on the scene at two stormy councils held in Jerusalem and Lydda, of that turbulent type which seems to have distinguished the Church militant in the early middle ages. Juvenal, who obtained his Patriarchate at Jerusalem by decree of the Council of Chalcedon, was soon afterwards deposed by Theodosius, a fanatical monk who raised the Monophysite party in opposition to the doctrine promulgated by that council, declaring the separate existence of a human and divine nature in Christ. By the help of Eudocia, widow of Theodosius II., this monk was elected to the Patriarchate; he deposed the orthodox clergy, even murdering some of them, and filled their places with the riff-raff of his followers. The triumph of Theodosius did not last long, for the Emperor Marcian took the side of the deposed Patriarch and reinstated him, not, however, without a severe struggle, for both parties fought as only religious fanatics can fight.

At the end of the fifth century the Monophysite party was much strengthened by the fact that the Emperor Anastasius himself held their views. Flavianus, the Patriarch of Antioch, was deposed, and Severus of the heretical party succeeded him. In 512 A.D. this usurper sent to Elias, then Patriarch of Jerusalem, but he, assisted by St. Saba—whose name is still attached to the monastery in the valley of the Kedron

near the Dead Sea—anathematised Severus and all his heretical followers. At last the arm of the flesh prevailed, and Olympius, the military commander in Palestine, banished Elias by order of the Emperor to Ailah, where he died, A.D. 518. His successor, John III., though appointed by the heretical party, took no action against the orthodox; his neutrality seems to have prevented the party dissensions from breaking out into actual violence. The accession of Justin I. in A.D. 518, and Justinian in 527, both severely orthodox, was looked upon as a great triumph by St. Saba and his party. This venerable saint died in A.D. 532, aged ninety-four. The next thirteen years were occupied by the disputes of his followers, those at the monastery named after him remaining orthodox, while those at the *laura* of Tekoa adopted the heretical dogmas of Origen. These doctrines were anathematised by a general council of the Three Palestines held at Jerusalem in 536. After nine years' more fighting and controversy the Origenists were finally put down by the military.

The church-building mania of Justinian has left its mark at Jerusalem in the church he built in honour of the Virgin, part of which is now incorporated in the mosque El Aksa. He also built a hospice for pilgrims and several monasteries in and near Jerusalem. About the end of the sixth century another hospice

was erected by Gregory the Great. Meantime buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims were erected throughout the length and breadth of civilised Europe. The number of these pious folk seems to have been steadily on the increase, especially as the trade in relics was now becoming most profitable. Old rags, bones, and hair, authenticated by the sufficiently astute Eastern clergy as having been part of some saint or martyr, fetched fabulous prices. Some speculators even went so far as to make and sell genuine relics of their Saviour; while the miraculous power of the True Cross in reproducing itself, so that however much was cut off it the bulk never diminished, enabled the clergy to sell sufficient of its wood to have built a large galley. This trade still continues, though the scarcity of relics has diverted it into the channel of ornamental rosaries, crosses, &c., which form the staple industry of the Bethlehem peasants.

For the last three centuries the foreign influence brought to bear on Jerusalem and its society had been Western and civilised, but now she fell under the blighting shadow of barbaric hordes from Persia and Arabia. In the year 614 A.D. Chosroes II., Shah of Persia, aided by the Jews of Galilee, took the city and massacred most of the Christians, especially those devoted to a religious life. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt and the True Cross carried off; the Patriarch



Zacharias and many of the people were taken as slaves. Modestus was soon afterwards appointed as locum tenens during the Patriarch's captivity, and though Jerusalem was still under Persian rule he was not hindered in rebuilding the churches, for which purpose money was supplied by John Eleemon, Patriarch of Alexandria. In A.D. 628 Siroes murdered his father Chosroes and subsequently made peace with the Emperor Heraclius. The Patriarch, the captives, and the True Cross were all returned, and after the Emperor had made his triumphal entry at Constantinople he returned to Jerusalem, and, marching barefooted at the head of his soldiers, carried the cross on his back and deposited it in the church. Five years later, however, when retreating before the victorious Moslems, he carried the precious relic with him to Constantinople.

In 637 A.D. the city of Jerusalem was given up by the Christians to the Moslem army under the Khalif 'Omar, on condition that their lives, property, and religion should be respected. This was faithfully performed, and Christian pilgrims were allowed to come and go unhindered. The traffic of these pilgrims now became extended, for we learn from Arculphus (A.D. 697) that a great annual fair was held in Jerusalem on September 15, to which both Moslems and Christians came from all parts of the world to better at the same time their temporal and spiritual fortunes.



In the middle of the eighth century the power of the Abasside Khalifs was taken from them by the Ommiades, who established the seat of their government at Baghdad. Under this new dynasty the Christians seem to have suffered certain hardships, but the pilgrims were allowed to come and go without let or hindrance. The friendship of Charlemagne with Harún-el-Rashíd (A.D. 786–809) and the interest he took in his co-religionists bettered their situation in Jerusalem; the alms he sent them were continued by his son and grandson. On the death of Harún-el-Rashíd internal dissensions arose between the Moslems, and the Christians suffered at the hands of both parties. The convent of Mar Saba was for the third time plundered and the inmates massacred (A.D. 810).

The most remarkable fact chronicled during the rest of the century is the Greek Holy Fire, which is first mentioned vaguely by Eusebius (fourth century), and definitely by Bernhard the monk (about 870 A.D.).

Under El Mannú, the son of Harún-el-Rashíd, the Christians were well treated and advanced to posts of honour, but after his death they suffered much. Towards the end of the tenth century the merchants of Amalfi obtained permission from the Fatemite Khalif of Egypt to erect a building in Jerusalem. This at first consisted of the church of Santa Maria de Latina and the attached monastery; then a nunnery was

added, and a hospice dedicated to St. John Eleemon, whence afterwards sprang the well-known order of Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

In the year 996, Hákem bi 'Amr Ikah, a mad and blasphemous despot—founder of the Druze sect—came to the throne in Cairo. His mother was a Christian, and sister to Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem. According to William of Tyre, it was to refute the assertion of some of his enemies that he favoured the Christians too much that this tyrant began a cruel and deliberate system of persecution against them. His uncle was put to death, the church of the Holy Sepulchre razed to the ground, and frightful tortures inflicted on men and women in Jerusalem and Cairo. The Jews were accredited in Europe with being the instigators of these enormities, and suffered accordingly. Towards the end of his life Hákem gave permission to the Christians to rebuild their churches, and allowed those who had apostatised to return to their old religion. It was not, however, till (A.D. 1048) twenty years after his death that the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was finished; and then only a modest chapel stood in the place of the former fine Basilica.

Pilgrimages now became so fashionable, and such numbers of lords and ladies, nobles and wealthy burghers, sleek churchmen, as well as men of lower

rank, began to flock to Jerusalem, that the Moslems determined to turn this enthusiasm to account and allowed none to enter the city till the tax of a piece of gold had been paid. In 1035 Robert of Normandy made his pilgrimage, and won the hearts of both Christians and Moslems by his piety and generosity. The Hungarians being at this time converted to Christianity, many Germans took advantage of this new route being opened to the East. In the year 1054 Bishop Lietbert, of Cambray, attempted to reach Jerusalem with a large concourse of pilgrims, but failed to do so. Ten years later several German bishops, with 7000 pilgrims, managed to reach the Holy City, but only 2000 of their followers lived to reach their homes.

About the years 1065–70 A.D., the Turkoman Togrul Beg dethroned the Abasside Khalif of Baghdad, and seized his kingdom; this usurper was soon succeeded by his son Melek Shah. In 1077 his general, Atsiz, pillaged Jerusalem on his return from an unsuccessful attack upon Egypt. Syria was then given by Melek Shah to his brother Tatash, who appointed Ortok as Emir of Jerusalem in 1084; this position he held for seven years, and then the government of the city passed into the hands of his two sons. Under the rule of these barbarous Turkomans, the Christians suffered much ill-treatment, and were exposed to many indignities. Their churches were desecrated, their ser-

vices interrupted, the priests were reviled and maltreated, and the Patriarch was several times imprisoned for the sake of obtaining a ransom. The tax upon the pilgrims was very rigidly enforced, and many who had not the requisite sum died of exposure and starvation at the gates of the city. Private charity, and that afforded by the various hospices, could do but little to help the vast numbers who, despite all difficulties, kept thronging to the Holy City. Then, in A.D. 1093-4, Peter the Hermit came as a pilgrim; this man was of good family, and originally a soldier, till a religious mania seized him and he became a hermit; the monotony of this life soon became too much for his restless, energetic spirit, and he started for Jerusalem. Here his spirit was stirred by the way in which his brethren were treated by the infidel Turks; then came delusions which wrought him into frenzy, mysterious voices urged him on, wondrous dreams encouraged him, and obtaining letters from the aged Patriarch Simeon, accrediting him as his delegate, Peter left Jerusalem, burning to preach the necessity of wresting the Sacred City from infidel hands. Thus began the first crusade.

On arriving at Rome, Pope Urban II. eagerly supported him, and then the monk began his mission in Italy and France. The fiery and impassioned eloquence of the zealot soon stirred up a wild and headlong enthusiasm throughout all Christendom. Peter the Hermit

himself assumed the leadership of the first band ; this was numerous, but totally without discipline, transport, or commissariat, and very shortly after crossing the Bosphorus was utterly destroyed by the Turks. From this time the marvellous influence of the monk disappeared, and, excluded from the councils of the army which followed his rabble-rout, he soon retired to France, where he died, some fifteen or twenty years later, the head of a religious house. The army which followed was better organised and armed, and in 1097 succeeded in reaching Antioch, which was captured by treachery after a nine months' siege. The defeat of a large Turkish army then opened the way to Jerusalem, but internal dissensions delayed their march for four months.

Jerusalem, meanwhile, had been taken from the Turkomans by Afdal, vizier of the Khalif El-Mustáli of Cairo, and was governed by the Emir Iftikar-el-Dawleh, from whom it was taken by storm by the Crusaders on July 15, 1099. Most of the Moslems who took refuge in the Temple Area were killed ; the number is given by Christian writers at more than 10,000, while native historians put it at 70,000. Great excesses were committed, and the whole town was pillaged. As soon as order was restored and the city cleansed from slaughter, Godfrey de Bouillon was elected King of Jerusalem, and by this title he is always



known, though he himself refused regal rank, and chose the title of Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His first care was to organise various religious bodies to attend to the different churches; amongst others, a regular chapter of canons was appointed for the Kubbet-el-Sakhrâh (Dome of the Rock or Mosque of Omar, as it is sometimes called), called by the historians of the period *Templum domini*. The mosque El Aksa was called *Templum Solomonis*, sometimes, too, the Porch or Palace of Solomon. In the reign of Baldwin II. this building was assigned to a body of knights, who in consequence received the name of Knights Templars (1118 A.D.), and soon grew to immense wealth and power.

Having arranged religious matters, Godfrey began a code of laws, which, when finished in the fourteenth century, were called 'Les Assises de Jérusalem.' This was a code of purely feudal laws, adapted when necessary to the country to which it was transplanted.

The first victory obtained by the King was over the renegade Armenian Afdal—previously mentioned as having taken Jerusalem on behalf of his master, the Egyptian Khalif—and the Egyptian troops in the maritime plain between Ramleh and Gaza. The defeat of the infidels was complete, and most of the pilgrims began to think of returning to Europe. After a thanksgiving service at Jerusalem they did so, with the ex-



ception of 300 knights and 2,000 soldiers, who elected to stand by their King. In the end of the year 1099, Dagobert, Archbishop of Pisa, with 20,000 pilgrims, arrived at Jerusalem, after passing through many dangers. Dagobert was then chosen Patriarch in place of Arnold, who had never been legally elected.

The untimely death of Godfrey, on July 18, 1100, was a great loss to Jerusalem, for his wise government would doubtless have established the kingdom on a secure basis. At this time the great armies under Hugh de Vermandois, Stephen de Blois, William of Nevers, the Bishop of Milan, and the Germans Conrad and Wolf, accompanied by many ladies of high rank, were utterly destroyed by the Turks near Ancyra and on the river Halys. Thus ended the first and greatest crusading movement.

Godfrey was succeeded by Baldwin, Lord of Edessa, a well-educated resolute man, who soon made his name a terror to all the surrounding infidels. Unlike his predecessor, he opposed priestcraft whenever it suited his purpose to do so, and quarrelled with Dagobert the Patriarch, who at last left the city in a rage, and never returned. His place was first filled by Ebremer, and then by Arnold, who died after a couple of years in office. Almost yearly forays were made by the Egyptians into the maritime plain, but with one or two exceptions they were easily repulsed.

A league with the Genoese enabled Baldwin to conquer Caesarea, Acre, and Tripoli. Beyrout and Sidon next fell; the latter by help of a Norwegian contingent. In 1112 the Saracens gained some slight successes near Tiberias and Edessa. In the following year Baldwin made an expedition to Moab, Petra, and as far as the borders of Egypt, near Suez. Here he was taken ill and died near El Arish. His body was embalmed by his cook, and taken to Jerusalem for burial. He had no children, though thrice married, 1. to an Englishwoman, who died before reaching Palestine; 2. to an Armenian princess, whom he divorced for misconduct; 3. to Adelaide, widow of Roger of Sicily. This lady he sent back after three years, owing to religious scruples which then occurred to his mind with reference to his divorced wife being still alive. Before his death he chose Eustace, his brother, to succeed him. Eustace, however, was in France, and Baldwin of Edessa, the late king's cousin, was unanimously elected to succeed him. In 1124 he was taken prisoner and confined in a fortress of Armenia. He was afterwards ransomed, and having made a futile attack on Aleppo returned to Jerusalem, where he died in 1131, and was succeeded by Fulke, Count of Anjou, who had married his daughter Milli-cent. Fulke was much troubled by quarrels both in his family and kingdom. After several encounters

with Zanghi, the Turkish invader, in which no great advantage was gained on either side, he was killed near Acre by a fall from his horse. His son, Baldwin III., succeeded him at the age of thirteen, with his mother Millicent as queen regent.

In 1147 the second crusade, consisting of Germans and French, raised by the exertions and preaching of St. Bernhard, crossed the Bosphorus. Of this vast band only a few thousands ever reached Syria. After an attempt to capture Damascus, which but for treachery would have succeeded, the leaders of the crusade retired in disgust to Europe. Baldwin now had to maintain a severe struggle with his mother Millicent and her cousin Manasseh, who usurped all but the name of royalty. In 1153 he captured Ascalon, which had long been a thorn in the side of the Latin kingdom. After a defeat at Safat by Núr-ed-dín, the King received timely help from Stephen, Count of Perebe, who arrived with a few thousand pilgrims, and succeeded in breaking the Saracen power for a while. In 1159 the King married Theodora, niece of the Byzantine Emperor. In the following year his mother died, and he himself was carried off by fever two years later.

The next king was Amaury, brother to Baldwin : soon after his accession he made a successful raid on Pelusium, on the Egyptian frontier. He then made

an alliance against Núr-ed-dín with Shower, vizier of the Egyptian Khalif, who agreed to pay the Christians an immense sum for their services. After an engagement with Núr-ed-dín's general, Shirkoh, in which the Christians gained the advantage, Amaury besieged Salah-ed-dín (the afterwards famous Saladin of ordinary history) in Alexandria, and obtained the release of all Christian prisoners, and the promise of Shirkoh to quit Egypt. He then returned to Ascalon, whence he immediately went to Tyre to marry Mary, niece of the Emperor of Constantinople, who secretly persuaded him to attack Egypt. Regardless of his pledged word he did so. When Shower heard of his having taken Pelusium, he sent to offer him an enormous bribe to retire, and at the same time sent messengers to Núr-ed-dín. Playing with the King's cupidity, he kept him in inactivity till Shirkoh arrived in Egypt. Amaury then saw the trick that had been played him, and retired in rage and disgust to Jerusalem. Shirkoh soon took Shower's place and life, and then dying was succeeded by Salah-ed-dín.

In 1169 Amaury, helped by a Greek contingent from Constantinople, besieged Damietta; after two months he raised the siege, thus plainly showing his weakness. Salah-ed-dín soon began a series of smaller attacks. To procure aid Amaury went to Constantinople, where the Emperor received him with great dis-

tion and made him presents, but failed to supply him with soldiers. The Archbishop of Tyre, who had gone to Europe on a similar mission, also returned empty-handed. At this time the King received an embassy from the chief of the Ismaelite sect of Assassins, who was commonly known as The Old Man [*shaykh*] of the Mountain, offering to become Christian with all his people if certain imposts were remitted by the Knights Templars. This alliance seems not at all to have suited the views of this ambitious order, who doubtless aimed at the sovereignty of Palestine themselves, not foreseeing that the Moslem power would sweep them all into the sea, and they treacherously murdered the messenger while he was travelling under the King's protection. In consequence of this all negotiations were broken off never to be renewed.

In 1173 or 1174 Núr-ed-dín died, and Amaury laid siege to his castle of Banias, but left the place on receipt of a sum of money from Núr-ed-dín's widow and returned to Jerusalem, where he died aged thirty-eight.

Amaury was succeeded by his son Baldwin, known as the Leper. He was crowned at the age of thirteen, Milo de Plancy being appointed regent, but was soon murdered, and Raymond took his place. Salah-ed-dín, meanwhile, had taken Damascus, assumed the title of Sultan, and become virtual ruler of the East. After



suffering a defeat at the hands of Baldwin he concluded a peace with him which was kept till the conduct of Reynaud de Chatillon, Seigneur of Kerak, who continued to plunder at will, compelled Saladin to make reprisals by taking prisoners a number of pilgrims who were shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast.

Guy de Lusignan, now that the King's disease had blinded him, was appointed regent; he had married Sybille, sister of the King and widow of William Longsword. Soon afterwards the Barons persuaded the King to deprive Guy of the regency and to associate his nephew Baldwin V., an infant son of William Longsword, with him on the throne.

In 1186 the King was freed from his troubles by death; his infant nephew died on the following day, poisoned, it is said, by his stepfather Guy de Lusignan, who next ascended the throne, with his mother Sybille who at the same time was crowned queen. She was supported by the Patriarch Heraclius and by the Knights Templars; the Barons, however, held aloof. Raymond of Tripoli then held Tiberias, and was especially feared and hated by the King, by whose orders the Grand Master of the Templars marched against that place. Raymond, however, had called in the Saracens, who under Saladin defeated the Templars. Then a reconciliation took place between the King and him, and by his advice the former collected his forces at Saffûryeh



near Nazareth. Here ill counsels prevailed, and the doomed army marched in midsummer on Tiberias over a scorched waterless tract. Parched with a day and night of thirst they fought the Saracens at Kúrn Hattín, and were utterly defeated. Raymond escaped to Tyre, but the King and all the Christian leaders were taken prisoners by Saladin. This battle preluded the total fall of the Christian power in Palestine. All the towns except Tyre and Tripoli fell into the hands of the Moslems, and then came the siege of Jerusalem. Refusing Saladin's easy terms, the Christians under Balian of Ibelin determined to fight, and for a few days held the Saracens at bay. When, however, part of the city walls were undermined and fell, a panic seized them, and they sent an offer of capitulation to Saladin. After much delay the Sultan agreed to accept ransom for the rich at fifteen gold byzants a head; and for 7,000 poor men (two women or ten children being considered equivalent to a man) 30,000 byzants. Besides these there still remained many thousands who could not pay. Then Sayf-ed-dín, the Sultan's brother, set free a thousand that Saladin made over to him; the same luck attended twelve hundred given to the Patriarch and Balian. Then Saladin himself gave leave to all those who were absolutely without money to leave the city; but still 11,000 remained. Many of these were afterwards set free by the 'paynim knight,' whose con-

duct usually contrasted only too favourably with that of his Christian antagonists. The feeble and vicious King Guy soon afterwards died in Cyprus, the principality of which he had obtained from Richard of England in exchange for the title of King of Jerusalem.

This fall of Jerusalem in 1187 was the immediate cause of the third Crusade. For the first time the movement was enthusiastically received in England, and Richard set sail with a large force. The French king Philip Augustus also went by sea, while Frederick Barbarossa of Germany followed the old route through Asia Minor. He died on the road, and of 100,000 men who started with him only 6,000 ever reached Palestine. Quarrels in the crusading army resulted in the return of Philip to France, immediately after the capture of Acre from the Moslems. On Guy's taking the crown of Cyprus, Conrad of Tyre was elected King of Jerusalem, but was almost immediately afterwards murdered, perhaps by order of Richard, as there is some reason to believe. Henry of Champagne married his widow Isabelle, daughter of King Amaury, and succeeded to the title. A peace was soon afterwards made between Saladin and Richard; the latter returned to England, thus virtually putting an end to the Crusade.

Saladin died at Damascus February 21, 1193, at the age of fifty-six, and at that time the whole Christian power was limited to small possessions on the seacoast.

Henry of Champagne, the nominal King, had no interest in the country and only wished for a quiet life. He soon had to cry 'Save us from our friends!' for a party of German Crusaders came over and, regardless of truce and treaty, attacked the Saracens, and war was again kindled. Henry was killed accidentally at Jaffa. His widow Isabelle married Amaury, brother of Guy de Lusignan, who thus became nominal King of Jerusalem. All real power had long since passed away from the title. Appeals were made to Europe for help, but all in vain; a Crusade indeed started, but contented itself with capturing Constantinople. Famine and earthquakes kept the Moslems from attacking Jerusalem. John de Brienne then married the daughter of Isabelle by her second husband, Conrad de Montferand, Lord of Tyre.

In the year 1212, certain fanatic monks, declaring that the former Crusades had failed on account of the vices of those who took part in them, went through Europe and inveigled some 50,000 children of both sexes by promise of manifold miracles to undertake a Crusade. One party of Germans went towards Italy, where they found out their mistake, and the few that survived returned to their homes; the other party sailed from Marseilles in the ships of two philanthropic merchants, who gave them a free passage to Alexandria—and there sold them.

In 1217 a Crusade landed at Acre under Andrew King of Hungary, but having marched to the Jordan and been defeated at Tabor, they retired to Egypt where they finally had to surrender in great misery. Twelve years later the Emperor Frederick II., who had been twice excommunicated by the Pope, came to Acre where he married Yolande, daughter of John de Brienne, and was elected King of Jerusalem. He then made a treaty for ten years with El Melek-el-Kamil to the effect that the Christians were to have Jerusalem with the exception of the Mosque of Omar. This, however, did not suit the views of the Church, who would have nothing to do with the treaty because the maker of it, by whose means the Holy Sepulchre was restored to the Christians, was under the ban and curse of the Pope. In 1237 another Crusade was attempted, but proved a fiasco. Two years later, at the expiration of the truce, the Saracens retook Jerusalem. In 1243 it was unreservedly given over to the Christians, who immediately rebuilt the walls. In the following year the Kharezmian hordes overran the country by permission of the Sultan of Egypt; they then defeated the allied forces of Christians and Moslems on the maritime plain, but were in turn exterminated by their quondam friend the Cairene Sultan. In 1250 St. Louis arrived at Acre after his attack on Egypt, and four years later, after rebuilding the fortifica-

tions of Jaffa and Cæsarea, returned home. Then all hope was lost of ever maintaining the Christian power in Palestine. Complete indifference on the subject was shown throughout Europe, which was but little disturbed when the news of the fall of Acre, the last town held by the Christians, arrived.

The history of the town from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries can only be gathered from incidental notices of travellers, such as Sir John Mandeville, and Bertrandon de la Roquière, who followed him a century later. By him we are told that the Christians were much despised and insulted by the Moslems. In A.H. 948 or A.D. 1542, the walls of Jerusalem as they now stand were built by the Sultan Sulayman; this may be learnt by reading the inscription over the Bab-el-Khalil (usually called by Europeans Jaffa Gate). Belon, who visited the place in 1547, expressly mentions the fact that they had lately been rebuilt.

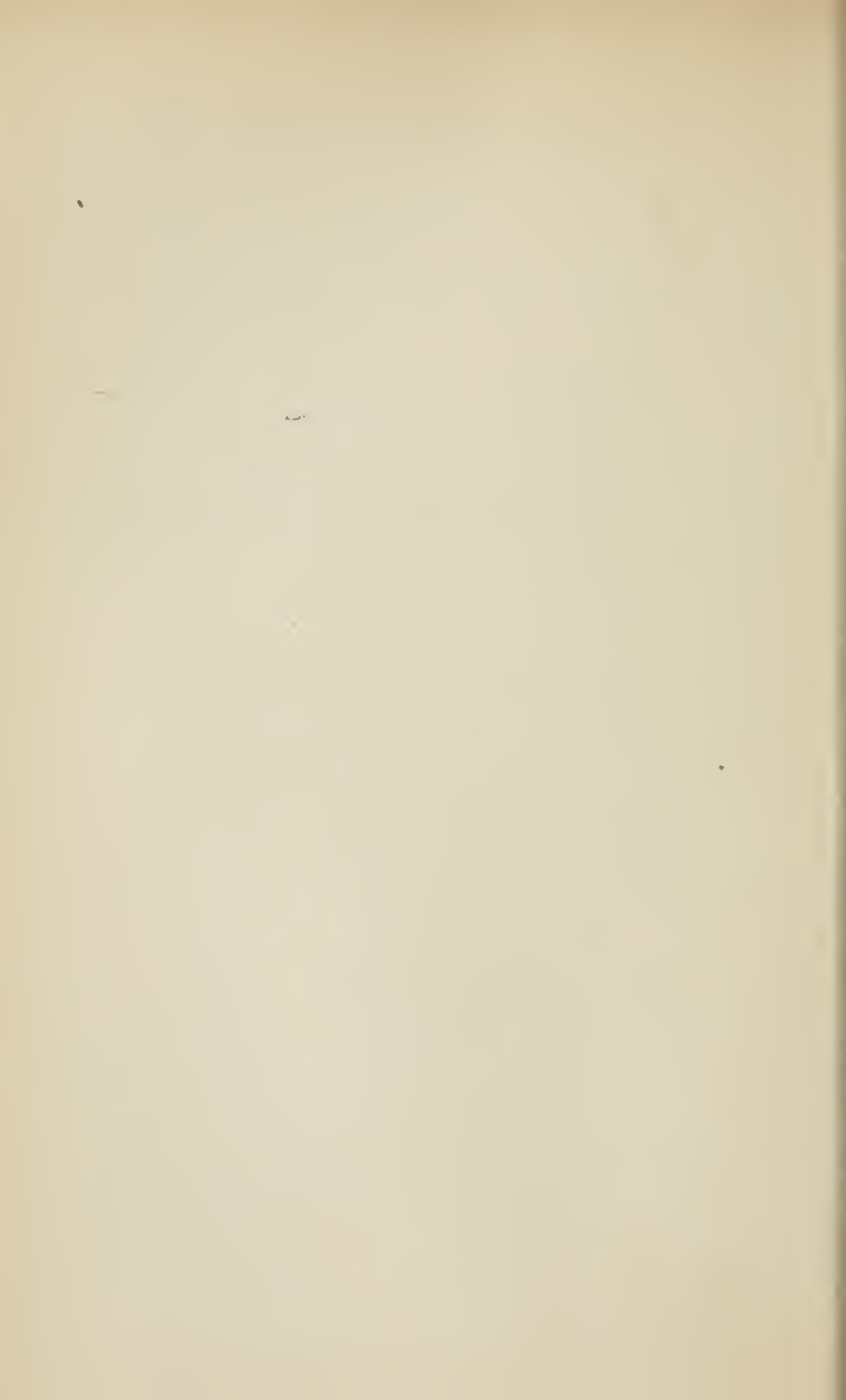
The notices of later travellers are chiefly confined to religious and archæological questions, and we can learn nothing of the status of Christian, Moslem, or Jew.

In A.D. 1832 Jerusalem yielded to Mohammed 'Ali Pacha of Egypt without a struggle. In 1834 the fellahin, taking advantage of general disturbances throughout the country, seized the city, making their

entrance by a drain near the Bab-el-Magháribeh. Thinking discretion, however, better than valour, they promptly gave up the city on the approach of Ibrahim Pacha, whose name is still held in awe from Sinai to Aleppo.

Since the Crimean War, Christians under the eyes of European consuls at Jerusalem have had no reason to complain. From the same period dates the permission of European representatives to hoist their flags in the Holy City.





## NOTES FOR TRAVELLERS IN PALESTINE.

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It will be seen that the proposed work was to be one of collaboration. Drake's own share was to be especially the Holy City.—ED.

WITH the great facilities for travel which now-a-days exist, many tourists are enabled to pay a short visit to Palestine. A limited time frequently restricts their trip to Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood. To provide for a want long felt by travellers who were unwilling to encumber themselves with a two-volumed Guide Book, only a small part of which would ever be of service to them, the present authors determined upon writing this little volume. Their aim will be to give a general account of the City, both ancient and modern, in as concise a manner as possible. The latest discoveries of the Palestine Exploration Fund show that, though much has been done by that Society, much more still remains to be done. These discoveries have as much as possible been arranged and the inferences to be drawn from them pointed out.

Though agreeing on most points neither of the authors in any way accepts responsibility for the opinions and theories of the other. Till theory has been

set aside by facts,—which can only be reached by further explorations—it is well nigh impossible that any two persons can agree fully on all points. The more carefully the subject has been studied the plainer does this appear. Still when a fact has been discovered, statements of old writers, before apparently vague or even contradictory, become intelligible.

The traveller starting for Palestine from Alexandria will be able to make his choice of French, Austrian, or Russian steamers. The departures of all these are fortnightly, but as changes are not unfrequently made, it will be necessary to make inquiries at Alexandria, where all information on the subject is easily obtained.

The landing at Jaffa is during the winter months often difficult and sometimes impossible. There is no harbour, and the steamers are obliged to lie out in the open roadstead. The small shore-boats are sheltered beneath the walls of the town by a ridge of rocks running parallel to the coast, and about 100 yards distant. This little harbour is entered by two narrow gaps; one to the north is some thirty yards, and that to the west little more than as many feet in width. Thus it will be seen that a heavy swell renders it impossible for boats to put out.

Supposing the traveller to have been safely landed, an operation during which he will have undergone treatment much similar to that experienced by his

portmanteau, he finds himself on the quay surrounded by a gibbering howling crowd. If ignorant of the language, he will do well to select some English-speaking youth to have his luggage carried up to the hotel. These lads, who have picked up a smattering of English and perhaps French, will try to make the unwary believe that they are first-rate dragomans, able and willing to go everywhere and do everything. There is no need, however, for the tourist who is only going to Jerusalem to engage any of these. Let him hire a horse for himself and mule for his baggage (the price for each animal up to Jerusalem varying, according to the season, from seven to fifteen or even twenty francs) from one of the numerous *makári* (muleteers), who are always to be found near the hotel. This hotel is kept by M. Hardegg, a member of the flourishing German colony which succeeded the American on its failure. The house is clean and comfortable, and charges not exorbitant.

The distance from Jaffa (a European corruption of the Arabic Yafa) to Jerusalem is nearly thirty-eight miles; this usually takes ten hours to get over; with a good horse it may be easily done in seven hours. A break in the journey is frequently made at Ramleh where the traveller will find good accommodation at the Russian hospice. There is a Latin convent too, but, unlike their brethren in other parts of Palestine,

the monks here are not famed for urbanity. At these hospices all remuneration is left to the traveller's discretion. For a night's lodging and dinner it is usual to give not less than five francs per head, and a small tip to the servant.

The distances on the road are as follows :—

Jaffa to Ramleh . . . . .	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles.
Ramleh to Jerusalem . . . . .	26 „

The present town of Jaffa is of modern construction. The site is ancient, and the name Japha occurs in many passages of the Old Testament, from the time of the first Jewish incursion up to the date of Ezra. In the New Testament it is mentioned in connection with Peter's vision and the raising of Tabitha (Acts ix. and x.). The house of Simon the Tanner is still shown, and will be interesting to those whose emotion-power is always equal to the occasion. To the ordinary antiquarian the ruins seem to be at most three or four centuries old. Inland of the town is a wide stretch of gardens in which oranges, lemons, apricots, peaches, sycamores, and mulberries are cultivated. Grapes, tomatoes, egg-plants, water melons, cucumbers, vegetable marrows, as well as varieties of beans and other vegetables, are also grown. The oranges are well known, and are remarkable for their size and the extraordinary thickness of their skin; the flavour is good.

On leaving the gardens of Jaffa, a long low building with a tall flagstaff standing beside it is seen on the right hand. This is the Jewish Agricultural School (*Mikveh Israel*) founded by the 'Alliance Israélite Universelle,' and under the direction of M. Charles Netter. The object of the institution is to teach Jewish boys a useful and profitable trade, and also when means allow to open a school for boys and girls. This scheme has experienced great opposition from the Jews resident in Palestine, and especially from their Rabbis. All the Ashkenay (Polish and Russian) Jews in Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safat, and Hebron live more or less in idleness, supported by the alms (*hallukah*) collected in Europe from their co-religionists. The distribution of this money falls to the Rabbis, who thus exercise an almost unlimited influence over their congregations, who—being without trade or means of gaining a livelihood—would inevitably starve were this extraneous help withdrawn. These Rabbis are not only bigoted and fanatical, but they fear that if the Jews of Europe get to know and appreciate the real state of the case much of the money now given in indiscriminate—and harmful—charity, will be applied to some useful and practical purpose like the above-mentioned school. Those European Jews who have the true interests of their co-religionists at heart would never thus blindly give alms could they but see the vice and



misery entailed by this system on their brethren in Palestine, especially at Jerusalem.

A little beyond this farm and on the opposite side of the road is the village of Yazúr, half surrounded by gardens of orange, pomegranate, and fig trees, fenced in with prickly pears. A few palm trees make this village with 'the grass growing upon the housetops' somewhat picturesque from a distance. A closer acquaintance reveals nothing but uncleanness and unsightliness. The people are well off, as they own a large tract of the fertile plain; but they are a bad lot, a mere scratch population from all parts of the plain, and some even from the mountains. They are a comparatively industrious folk; they may even be seen weeding their corn, but then the weeds are required for their cattle and mules. Of the former they have large herds, but very few sheep, and no goats. In the middle of the village is visible the remains of a fort, seemingly of Crusading or Early Saracenic construction. By the roadside is a white building surmounted by little domes. This is a *Makam* in honour of the Imam 'Ali.

To the north of this road a line of villages is seen about two miles distant, beginning with Selameh to the west; then Ibn Ibrak, the ancient *Bene Berak* (Josh. xix. 45), Sákia, Kefr 'Ana (the *Ono* of Neh. vii.

37, xi. 34, 35; Ezra ii. 33), and El Yehudiyeh (*Jehud*, Josh. xix. 45) on the east.

Two miles from Yazúr is the village of Bayt Dejan on the left, possibly the Beth 'Dagon, 'House or Temple of Dagon,' mentioned in Josh. xv. 41. A little further, on the same side of the road, is Safeiyeh, the *Sariphæa*, whose Bishop Stephen is mentioned in the list of the Council of Jerusalem held A.D. 536, and which was destroyed by a Saracenic incursion A.D. 797.

Passing over slightly undulating ground Sarafend appears on the right. In front the White Tower of Ramleh forms a conspicuous landmark, lying nearly half a mile S.W. of the town. This has frequently been called the tower of the Forty Martyrs, but without reason, though a tradition as old as the sixteenth century states it to be the tower of a Christian Church. The style, however, is distinctly Saracenic, and an inscription over the door gives the date A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310). From the platform at top (86 feet high) a fine view is obtained over the plain which fades away into space towards the south; is bounded on the east by the central ridge of mountains, and on the north by the dim blue line of Carmel. From this point Nebi Samwil—to the N.W. of Jerusalem—is visible; also the Convent at Ram Allah and other hill villages, especially towards sunset. At this time the view is best, for the tender evening tints soften the hills and

allow of a certain misty effect which is totally wanting during the day when everything appears hard and glaring.

A modern tradition makes Ramleh the *Ramathaim*, or Ramah, where the prophet Samuel was born, and also the Arimathæa of the New Testament. Conformably with this tradition the House of Nicodemus, who, from his connection with Joseph of Arimathæa, seems to have been considered his townsman, is shown in a side chapel of the Latin Convent Church. There is no connection even in the names, as the Hebrew Ramah means *a hill*, and the Arabic Ramleh *sandy*. The first mention of the town occurs in 'Bernard the Monk' (*De Locis Sanctis*) A.D. 870: then Abu 'l Feda, the well-known Arabic geographer (about A.D. 1320), informs us that the town was built by Sulayman the son of Abd-el-Melek, the seventh Ommizad Khalif at Cairo. Mejr-ed-Din (A.D. 1495) says that Nasr Mohammad ibn Kalawún, who reigned in Egypt A.D. 1310, built a minaret famous for its height and beauty. As before mentioned, this date appears over the door. The mosque is now ruined, and nothing remains but part of the outer works and the subterraneous cisterns which used to supply it with water, which is as much a necessity for the Moslem ceremonials as it was for the old Jewish. There is no occasion to believe that any part of the building was other than a mosque. Nearly, if

not quite, all the early examples of such edifices consist of a large square surrounded by a single row of arches on three sides, while on the south—to which the face is turned when praying—there are three or four rows.

During the Crusades the town of Ramleh was always an important post. At this time it was nearly eight times its present size. Traces of the old buildings, and a subterranean cistern (*El 'Anazi'iyeh*) with an almost effaced Cufic inscription, as well as many rock-hewn wells, may be seen extending to a considerable distance on the W. and N.W. of the modern town. When in 1099 it was first occupied by the Crusaders there were twelve gates, and it remained in Christian hands till eighty-eight years later, when it fell into the power of Salah-ed-din (commonly known as Saladin), after the disastrous battle of Hattin. Soon afterwards, however, it was occupied by Richard Cœur de Lion, not however till the castle had been destroyed by the Mohammedans. In the truce of 1192, half the city and the greater part of the maritime plain was given up to the Christians, and a few years later they obtained the whole city. In 1266 it fell finally into Moslem hands, on its capture by the Sultan Bibars.

In the Latin Convent—part of which is a *Hospitium*, built in the thirteenth century by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy—may be seen the names of

certain valiant Crusaders, cut with their daggers, over one of the two low doorways. The habit of scratching or writing his name is not confined to the modern tourist—though the diabolical invention of a stencilling-plate and blacking-pot is so limited. Names of old Greek travellers may be seen in the tombs at Thebes; Crusaders' names in the Convent of St. Katharine at Sinai, and on the door of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem: Hebrew names are found at the Golden and Double gateways of the Haram-el-Sherif. Antiquity, however, can never sanction such an abominable practice by which the most venerable and beautiful ruins are disfigured with the names of snobs.

From Ramleh the traveller has the choice of two roads. The most direct is that leading up Wady 'Ali, and is practicable for carriages, except after heavy rains. Formerly a diligence used to run on it, but the heavy Government tax broke its back. The other route, however, by Lydda, Beth Horon, and Gibeon, is by far the most interesting. A brief description of each will enable the traveller to make his own choice. The first may easily be done in seven hours, and the second requires nine and a half to ten hours. A third road unites with the latter at Eljib (Gibeon), but as it lies in the bed of Wady Selman nothing of interest is visible from it.

The carriage road leads past Kubab, a small village



on the left (from here Tell-el-Sezari, the ancient Gezer, lies to the right, easily known by the domed Moslem tomb on the top), and in nine and a half miles reaches Latrun, said to be so called from the monkish legend which places the Castellum boni latronis, or Penitent Thief's Castle, here. It has also, but erroneously, been identified with Modin, the burial-place of the Maccabees. The true site of their tombs is doubtless at Midyeh, a village a few miles N.W. of Lower Beth Horon. About a mile north of Latrun lies the village of 'Amwas—an old Emmaus, called during the Roman occupation Nicopolis, but not to be confounded with the Emmaus of the New Testament. The traces of the ancient town cover a large extent, though the modern village is insignificant. The ruins of an early Christian church are interesting. The triple apse is still tolerably preserved, though it is somewhat difficult to trace the body of the building. The stones of the east end are large and well fitted together; the arch of the south apse is still nearly perfect, that in the centre rises some seven to nine feet above the soil, but the north apse is nearly destroyed. From the style it appears to be a church of the third or fourth centuries. Under the name of Ammaus, the town is several times mentioned by Josephus, who tells us that it was fortified by Bacchides when he was fighting Jonathan Maccabæus. Later on it was burnt by Varus; near



it too the Syrians pitched their camp before their great defeat by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. iii. 40). Jerome says that the name Nicopolis was given to it by Julius Africanus, who rebuilt it under the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus. A miraculous fountain, which cured all maladies of men and of beasts, is said to have been blocked up by Julian (the Apostate). St. Willibald (eighth century) seems to have been the first to confound this Emmaus with the village mentioned in St. Luke xxiv. 13, as distant seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. Beyond 'Amwas lie Yalo the old Ajalon, and Bayt Nuba, a strong fort in the time of the Crusaders, who called it Castellum Arnaldi. It is possibly the same as the Nebo mentioned in Ezra ii. 29, and Neh. vii. 33. The village contains nothing of interest, but a fine well, 140–145 feet deep to the surface of the water and seventeen feet in diameter, exists in the wady.

From Iatrún to Bab-el-Wady—the Gate of the Valley—the road runs with low hills on either side for  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles. About a mile below this point is a small native coffee-shop beside a spring on the right-hand side; to the north-east of this and half a mile distant is a small village called Dayr Ayyub—the Convent or House of Joab. At the entrance of the wady is another similar coffee-house, where bread and coffee, hard-boiled eggs, and perhaps a chicken and a glass of *árak*—native

spirit—may be procured. There is also an octroi for the examination of native merchandise, vegetables and other produce going up to the Jerusalem market. The soldiers stationed here usually take a small percentage of all edibles for their own peculiar benefit. The luggage of European travellers is not touched.

On reaching the head of the wady, the village of Saris is seen a few hundred yards distant to the left. The road then runs along the ridge and crosses over to the south side of another wady. Passing over the watershed of this there is a steep descent, and in five miles from Bab-el-Wady the village of Karyet-el-Anab (*Village of Grapes*) is reached. This is the old Kir-jath-jearim (*Village of Woods*). The modern village is a good specimen of South Palestine architecture; the houses are solidly built of hewn stone with vaulted ceilings. This system of domed roofs is necessitated by the absence of wood for rafters. A somewhat similar system of construction is found in the ruins of the Desert et-Tih, in Moab, in the basaltic ruins of the Hauran, which like those on the borders of the Desert in North Syria must, from the internal evidence of inscriptions and style, be attributed to a Christian race who flourished from the second to the sixth centuries. These were in all probability the Beni Ghassan, a powerful tribe of Arabs who embraced Christianity and settled on the frontiers of the Desert, abandoning their

nomad life ; or, what is more probable—if, as some imagine, they came from the cities of Arabia—improving upon their former civilisation by contact with European art at Damascus and the Roman colonies. The principal family in this village—which is sometimes called after them—is that of *Abu Ghosh*. Formerly they were feudal lords of a large district, extending even into the maritime plain. So late as 1845 these freebooters kept not only the whole country side, but the Turkish soldiery and governors in awe. Toll was exacted when required by them ; those who resisted their demands were instantly shot, and at last the family grew to such a height of insolence that they shot two Turkish officers of high rank and put their guards to flight. This was the last straw, and in 1846 the Government of the Porte made an effort and seized the principal shaykhs. Some were banished to Widdin and Bosnia, others were fined. Since that their power has dwindled away, and though they are still well off, nothing remains of their ancient despotism but tales of fire and murder, plunder and revolt.

In the valley below the village stands a Gothic church formerly attached to a monastery of Minorite friars. It is first mentioned by Boniface, who was guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, about A.D. 1555, and a later monkish legend which makes this place *Anathoth*, the birthplace of Jeremiah the Prophet, dedicates

the church to him. The building is still in good repair, but used as a cattle stable. It is now believed (1872) that this interesting relic has been bought by the Russian Church, which intends restoring it, but owing to changes in the local authorities the sale has never been made public.

Still descending, the road passes the village of Bayt Nakúba on the left, then a small coffee-house on the right. A wady is soon afterwards crossed by a bridge, and the Crusading ruin called Khirbet Ikbala is seen a few score yards to the right. A short sharp ascent leads to a bit of level road at the end of which is a slope of a few yards at such a steep pitch that it would seem impossible for any carriage ever to have been driven over it in safety. To the right of this is the little hamlet of Kastal (some old Latin *Castellum*) perched on the summit of a conical hill and topped by its watch-tower. A village similar in position and appearance lies across the large wady to the southwest; this is Soba, by some considered to be Ramah, the home of Samuel. If, however, we accept the tomb of Rachel in its present position, this can hardly be so (see 1 Sam. x.).

From Kastal a long zigzag leads down to Kalonia (perhaps some Roman *Colonia*). It appears in the verse of the Septuagint, which is said to be interpo-

lated (Josh. xv. 60), as Koulon; in the same place 'Ain Karem preserves its name unchanged. By the roadside, below the village of Kalonia (which is four miles from Karyet-el-'Anab) are some massive ruins without history; they appear to be of Roman workmanship. Halfway up the hill to the right we see 'Ain Karem, called by the Latins St. Jean du Désert. Here the religious order of Les Dames de Sion have a large school for girls situated in the middle of a charming flower-garden. In a monastery of Spanish monks is shown part of the house of Zacharias, the birthplace of St. John the Baptist, and the impression made in the rock by his body when his mother hid him at the time of the murder of the innocents. There is also a Greek monastery in the village. A long ascent, ending in four or five sharp zigzags, brings us to the level of Jerusalem, but the city itself, distant from Kalonia  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles, is not visible for another two miles. The first objects which catch the traveller's eye are the unsightly white domes of the Russian church, and the long barrack-like buildings of the hospice. On each side of the road, and now extending a mile and a quarter from the walls, are numbers of villas and cottages, chiefly inhabited by Europeans and Jews. All these houses, with the exception of five or six, and the house of the Prussian Sisters, have sprung up since 1869. It is not till he is quite close to the town that the

traveller sees the low grey walls topped in one point by the clump of stone-pines in the Armenian convent garden. The view is most disappointing, and scarcely any amount of enthusiasm could really make the pilgrim go into ecstasies. Were he to approach from the southern side of the Mount of Olives the case might be different, as thence a most remarkable view suddenly comes before him.

The second road from Ramleh to Jerusalem (about thirty miles) passes through Lidd (the ancient Lydda and Diospolis), by both of which names it was known in the early centuries of the Christian era. The two towns are separated by two and a half miles of gardens, containing vegetables, sycamores, pomegranates, and a few oranges, all hedged in with prickly pears. The road is sandy and pleasant; in the early morning foxes, jackals, and occasionally wolves, may be seen returning to the shelter of these gardens after their nightly prowl in the plain.

There is nothing worthy of note in Lidd except the Church of St. George. The ruins of the old building said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion have lately (1870) incorporated into a new Greek church. Part of an arch is still to be seen between the church and the mosque, and this is all that remains outside.

Lidd is famous as the birthplace of St. George, who



became patron saint of many of the Crusaders, English and others, at the first taking of Ramleh.

Crossing the plain in a south-easterly direction for  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles, Jimzu, the ancient Gimzo (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), is reached. On the edge of the same low range of hills, and three miles to the north, a village may be seen on a conspicuous round tell, or mound. This is Hadithah, the old Hadid mentioned (Neh. vii. 37, ix. 34, 35; Ezra ii. 33) in conjunction with Lod (Lidd), Ono (Kefr 'Ana, before mentioned), and Neballat (Bayt Nabala, a village  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile to the north). These low hills, beginning at the edge of the plain and extending up to the true base of the main mountain range, constitute the *Shephelah*, which in the Authorised Version is sometimes translated 'valley,' and sometimes 'plain.' The Rabbis made no such mistake in the Talmud, but rightly divided the country into *Hor* (mountain), *Shephelah* (hill), and '*Emek* (plain).

The road then passes through Berfilia and Bir M'am to Bayt Sira: hence two roads may be taken, the one up Wady Selman, and showing nothing of interest; the other, by the two Beth Horons. The two roads join at the top of the mountains, near El Jib. About two miles N.N.W. of Berfilia lies El Midyeh, lately proposed for identification with Modin, the burial-place of the Maccabees. The tombs which have been found seem to me to leave no reasonable doubt that here were the pyramids

of polished stone erected by Simon (cf. 1 Macc., chaps. ii., xiii., and xvi.), which were visible even from the sea. Eusebius states that Modin was not far from Diospolis, and Jerome says that it was only a little village. Passing along the hill-tops, Bayt 'Ur-el-Tahta—Nether Beth Horon—is reached in less than three miles. Here the old Roman road becomes easily traceable: a sharp dip and then a rise bring the traveller to long steps and slopes formerly cased with stones and metalled, but now bare slippery sheets of rock. The village of Bayt 'Ur-el-Foka—Upper Beth Horon—commands a wide view which is best seen from the Medáfah or Guest House—a tower in the middle of the village. On a clear day the whole of the maritime plain, twenty miles on either side of Jaffa, is spread out like a map; the distinction between the Shephelah and the mountains is easily seen. In the mountains themselves many a village with its central public tower is seen perched on a conical hill. In former days this was a very lawless district, and the Bayt Simhan (local for Simàn—*Simeon*) and Abu Ghosh kept blood always flowing. Even in these days of comparative civilisation the blood feud is not forgotten, and at times villages will join in pitched battle, till the Government interferes and sends some of the combatants to the conscription and others to Cyprus—the Turkish Botany Bay—while the remainder are heavily fined.

To the north is seen a conspicuous mazár or mosque, dedicated to Abu Zaytún (the Father of the Olive), and built here in consequence of an olive tree said to have sprung up miraculously in a single night. From the mosque to the valley bed below is a little more than 1,000 feet. It may be well here to remark that the Arabic word Wely, so constantly used in books of travel to mean a *tomb*, really means a *favourite* (with God), and hence a saint. We might as well say that 'All Saints' means a cemetery.

Beyond this tomb, on the same ridge, lies the village of Baytunia; the Roman road follows the next ridge southwards. To the right of this may be seen the villages of Bayt 'Anan (probably Elon beth Hanan, 1 Kings iv. 9), Bayt Dukku, Kubaybeh—the monkish Emmaus—with its white French convents, Biddu and Bayt Izza. The valleys here are very steep, and generally more or less clothed with scrub of ever-green oak (? *pseudo coccifera*), large-leaved arbutus (*A. andrachne*), Cytisus, Kharrub or locust tree, as well as fig and olive trees.

Beth Horon is first mentioned in Jcsh. xvi. 5 as the S.W. limit of Ephraim; both the villages are said (1 Chron. vii. 24) to have been built by Sherah, the daughter of Beriah, an Ephraimite. Here Joshua destroyed the Amorite league, driving them down from Gibeon (El Jib) past Beth Horon into the plain, where

he followed up his successes by a truly Semitic campaign of slaughter and devastation, 'utterly destroying all the souls that were in the cities.' Solomon afterwards rebuilt and fortified them (1 Kings ix. 17; 2 Chron. viii. 5), and they seem always to have been posts of importance, mainly of course from the fact that one of the great high roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem passed through them. In the wars of the Maccabees, Nicanor, the general of Demetrius, King of Antioch, pitched his camp here before his final defeat by Judas. The battle probably took place at Khirbet Adasy, an insignificant ruin near El Jib, for Josephus tells us that Judas's camp was at Adasa, 30 furlongs from Beth Horon—this ruin is, however,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant; but A (30) and N (50) might easily become interchanged in the MS. Soon after this Bacchides, the Syrian general, rebuilt the walls of the town; and Cestius, the proconsul of Syria in the time of Nero, took refuge in it after his defeat by the Jews at Lydda.

There are no traces of antiquity except the old stones of which the modern hovels are built, some cave tombs, and a small rock-hewn tank to the north.

Leaving Bayt 'Ur, the route still keeps along the Roman road on the ridge—throughout Palestine it is to be observed that Roman roads, whenever practicable, were carried along the crests of hills or spurs. Two advantages were gained by this method: first, greater

security from attack than would be possible in a narrow valley; and secondly, much easier gradients. The road, too, would be more easily kept in repair than would be the case were it exposed to the violence of the torrents which occasionally sweep down the wadies. At  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles a watershed is reached, the eastern side of which appears to drain down to the Jordan valley. Such, however, is not the case; the slope descends merely to Wady Bayt Hannína, thence to Kalónia on the carriage road, and finally down to the plain by Wady Serár. From this point El Jíb (Gibeon) and Nebi Samwil (by some thought to be Ramah of Samuel, and by others taken as Mizpeh) are visible on the right, the former 1 mile and the latter  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles distant.

The modern town of El Jíb stands on the north-western of the twin mamelons, which, connected by a ridge, formed the site of the ancient Gibeon. Most of the hewn stones of which the houses are built were brought from a ruin called El 'Anayzíych, some two miles to the west. In the centre of the village is a long vaulted chamber with semicircular arches and one circular window. The appearance of the work is late Roman, and it would seem to have formed the base-ment of a tower or fort. The southern hill is planted with olive trees, and the steeply terraced sides are grown with figs and vines. The soil to a considerable



depth is full of fragments of pottery; many sepulchral caves are hewn in the rock. On the east is a fine spring in a cavern; the water is clear, cool, and never-failing. A few yards lower down is a choked-up reservoir of small dimensions, originally intended for irrigating the gardens below. About the centre of the connecting ridge on the west is also a small spring issuing from a hewn cave, and running into a small rock-hewn tank, whence it could be drawn off as required. On the edge of the plain below are pear and almond trees, mixed with figs, olives, and vines. Gibeon is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, but never in the New. Hence it was that the wily Gibeonites started on their journey to Jericho with all the old rags, broken water-skins, and mouldy crusts that they were able to pick up off the dust heaps. This device deceived Joshua most completely, and he made a covenant with them. Thus, afterwards, instead of putting them to the edge of the sword, of slaying men and women, infants and sucklings, and burning their city with fire, he was obliged to protect them against their enemies, and fight their battles for them. Then, however, he made them 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' and their town became a Levitical city. Here Abner, Saul's general, was defeated in battle, when he tried to set Ishbosheth, the son of the late King, upon the throne, in opposition to David:



and here Amasa was treacherously murdered (cf. 2 Sam. ii. and xx.). In the time of Solomon, Gibeon is mentioned as 'the great high place' (1 Kings iii. 4), and here the King offered sacrifices, and received the promise of wisdom, riches, and honour from Jehovah.

From El Jíb there are three roads to Jerusalem. The smoothest and shortest leads down to Wady Bayt Hannína, and, joining that from Nebi Samwil, passes the Tombs of the Judges, and enters Jerusalem by the Jaffa or the Damascus gate, as is most convenient. The road by Nebi Samwil is somewhat rough, but repays the trouble. The third route follows the Roman road, and passes by Tell-el-Fúl (mound of beans), and enters the city by the Bab-el-'Amúd (or Damascus gate). Leaving the traveller to choose his route, a description of Nebi Samwil and Tell-el-Fúl will suffice.

Nebi Samwil is the reputed grave—amongst Moslems and the more ignorant of Jews—of Samuel, and even so esteemed by the more ignorant Christians and Jews. The same objection applies to this being considered Ramah of Samuel as that already stated with reference to Soba. When Saul left Samuel who had just anointed him king, he returned to Gibeah of Benjamin (Jebá E.N.E. of El Jíb) 'by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin.' If we accept the generally recognised tomb now shown near Bethlehem,

it would be absurd to suppose that Saul made a journey of ten hours when he could have reached his home in two. This tomb, however, cannot with propriety be said to be 'in the border of Benjamin' (1 Sam. x. 2); hence we may have to look for the place of Rachel's burial to the north of Jerusalem: in Gen. xxxv. 16-20, she is said to be buried on the road to, and not far from, Ephrah, which is Bethlehem, but this need not imply any very close proximity to that village which would contradict the other statement that the tomb was in the border of Benjamin. Again, if Nebi Samwil had been the habitation of Samuel, it would be most improbable that Saul coming from a town only four or five miles distant, should be ignorant of his existence. It seems most probable that the tomb of Rachel must be looked for elsewhere, and that Soba is the Ramathaim-Zophim of Samuel. Whether this be so or not, it seems clear that Nebi Samwil cannot be this Ramah.

As regards the identity with Mizpeh — which means a high place or look-out — there is greater probability of its being correct; but if, as has been suggested, this be 'the hill of God,' garrisoned by the Philistines (cf. Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 216), it is very unlikely that the Jews would have been able to hold the meeting to which they were called by Samuel (1 Sam. x. 17). It seems most probable that either

this place or preferably Tell-el-Fúl was Mizpeh. By Adamnanus (seventh century) it was called the city of Samuel or Ramah, and before that Procopius seems to allude to this as the place where Justinian built a wall and dug a well for the Monastery of St. Samuel. The Crusaders seemed to have called it indifferently Shiloh, Ramah, or St. Samuel. A Latin convent formerly stood here; it was plundered and destroyed by Saladin (A.D. 1187). The principal mosque is the transept of the Gothic church belonging to this building. The tomb is a mere cenotaph—a wooden framework covered with a ragged cotton pall. The view from the top is extensive, extending from the distant hills of Hebron in the south to those of Nablus in the north. Jerusalem with its surrounding hills and valleys is clearly seen. To the north and north-east are Baytin (*Bethel*) and Bireh (*Beeroth*); further east are Tyyibeh (*Ophrah*), Jebá (Gibeah of Saul), El Ram (some old Ramah), as well as other modern villages whose names may be gathered from the map.

Tell-el-Fúl is probably Mizpeh. It is described as *κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ* (1 Macc. iii. 46), which implies that it was near to and visible from the city. Dr. Robinson states that Tell-el-Fúl is not visible from Jerusalem, but it is from all the north-west parts of the wall; from the Tower of David (so-called), from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and from the dome

of the Mosque of Omar. To the north-west of the mound and close to the road are ruins of houses and several wells. The mound itself is a mass of roughly squared stones piled together in concentric squares, if the expression be allowable, without cement; they extend to a depth of nearly twenty feet. Among them are found dust, fragments of bone, broken teeth of a horse, potsherds and bits of glass, and here and there a little charcoal. This curious block of stones seems to point to some beacon station, for it is difficult to imagine any other purpose for which it could have been thus designed. A short distance to the south of this mound are some small ruins identified by Dr. Porter as Nob, the city of the priests, which was destroyed by Doeg, the Edomite, at the command of Saul, when he was incensed with the high-priest for having given some bread to his hated foe David, though for my part I cannot agree with his view. From Tell-el-Fúl the distance to the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem is three miles. Scopus lies somewhat to the left of the road, probably near the place where the name El Meshárif, or 'The Look-out Posts,' is still retained by the natives; this is the exact translation of the Greek Scopus, and may perhaps be an adaptation of the Hebrew Mizpeh, the name being slightly extended to allow of its describing the situation of Titus's camp. The name of the village El Shúfat, which lies in the

immediate vicinity of Tell-el-Fúl, has somewhat of the same meaning as Scopus.

*Hotels.*—There are three; viz. the Mediterranean, kept by M. Hornstein. This hotel was formerly near the Damascus Gate, but in 1871 was moved to a new house within a stone's throw of the Jaffa Gate and the English Church, and is the best both as regards accommodation and situation. Next comes the Damascus Hotel, not far from the Damascus Gate, to which, however, the American Hotel is nearer. The accommodation in these two is much the same, and the prices of all are nearly the same. In all of them arrangements may be made by persons intending to make a long stay.

Lodgings may be had in the house of Max Ungar, a German tailor, whose shop is beneath the Mediterranean Hotel.

Quarters may be found at the Hospice of Terra Santa, at the Prussian Hospice of the Knights of St. John, and occasionally at the Russian buildings outside the town. For those who camp out the best place is between the Russian buildings and the Damascus Gate. Owing to the rapidity with which all the land round Jerusalem is being enclosed, an open camping ground is somewhat difficult to find. The silver key, however, is as potent here as elsewhere.

*Money, Letters.*—Circular notes and letters of

credit can be cashed at Messrs. Berghem's or Messrs. Spittler's. The value of the piastre is always more or less nominal, as the following table will show :—

	Jerusalem.	Damascus.	Nablus.		
Gold.	{ English sovereign . . . . .	120	126½	133	} Piastres.
	{ French napoleon (20 frs.) . . . . .	95	100½	105½	
	{ Turkish lira . . . . .	109	115	121	
Silver.	{ Turkish mejidy . . . . .	21¾	23	24	
	{ „ beshlik . . . . .	5¼	5½	5¾	

Hence it will be seen that the relative value of the coins is also variable. French, Italian, Russian, Austrian, and English silver are all to a certain extent current in Jerusalem. A coin that is not well known will not, however, pass for its full value.

Letters arrive fortnightly from Alexandria by Austrian, French, and Russian steamers, and at the same intervals from Constantinople, &c. English letters are frequently sent to the Hotels or Consulate; if not found there they must be applied for at the post-offices.

*The English Consulate.*—Noel Temple Moore, Esq., H.B.M.'s Consul for Palestine. Chancellor—M. Jirius Salamé. The Consulate is situated on the hill at the back of the American Hotel and the Austrian Hospice. The kindness and courtesy of H.M.'s representative are well known to all travellers who have visited Jerusalem. From him, or, in case of his absence, from his energetic and obliging subordinate, all information can be obtained as to the practicability of any special or out-of-the-way route.



*The English Church.*—Church of England service is held in English every Sunday at 10 A.M. and 6.30 P.M. On Sunday afternoons and on week-days there are services in German, Judæo-Spanish, and Hebrew; the times of these services may be learnt on application.

The Lord Bishop: Dr. Gobat. Vicar: Rev. J. Neil, M.A.

A German Protestant service is held by Pastor Weser in the chapel lately fitted up at the Morostan—the old hospital of the Knights of St. John, given in 1869 to the King of Prussia by the Sultan—and also on every alternate Sunday afternoon in the English Church.

## MOROCCO AND THE MOORS.

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### I. THE COUNTRY.

BEFORE giving any detailed description, it may be as well to give a slight general sketch of the empire of Morocco, its towns, and the different tribes that are found in various parts of it. Considering the accessibility of this country it is curious to see how very little is known about it in England. Tangier, which, from being the residence of the representatives of the different European Governments, is the town of the most importance in the east part of the empire, is easily reached, being only three or four hours by sea from Gibraltar. The climate of the country is charming, especially in winter and spring, and the attractions offered to a sportsman or naturalist are not few.

Tangier, and occasionally Tetuan, seem the only places ever visited by travellers, and these but by few, and then only for a day or two; from a thus hurried peep at Moorish life a very erroneous idea is frequently formed both of the people and of the country. To judge an Oriental or Mohammedan correctly one must

not measure him by an European or a Christian standard, but one must try to lay aside all prejudices and look at him from his own point of view ; doing thus one may hope to form a more correct estimate of his character, but this requires careful study and some length of acquaintance with the subjects of it.

The empire of Morocco extends eastwards as far as the French frontier of Algeria ; the mountainous district stretching thence westwards as far as Tetuan, and lying between the Atlas Mountains and the Mediterranean, is called the Rif. It is inhabited by numerous tribes, continually fighting amongst themselves, though owing an allegiance—but scarcely more than nominal—to the Sultan. They are a brave, hardy, and lawless people, much as one might fancy the Highland caterans to have been a couple of centuries ago. They are very jealous of any stranger entering their territories ; could this be done it would doubtless well repay both the sportsman and naturalist as well as the lover of the picturesque. These Rifians are a distinct race from the Moors or Arabs ; they are usually fair—though of course they become sunburnt from exposure—very frequently having blue eyes and light hair, which is an extremely rare thing to see amongst the neighbouring Moors.

Their dialect, too, differs somewhat from that of these latter. It is most probable that they are de-

scendants of those Vandals who under Genseric came over from Europe to help Boniface, the Roman governor, when he revolted A.D. 427, and who were almost destroyed by Belisarius A.D. 533; a small portion only escaping by taking refuge in the fastnesses of Mount Atlas.

The endurance shown by these men is surprising. On one occasion I rode some forty miles over a very bad mountain track, which was frequently nearly knee-deep in mud, while the rain was falling in torrents, accompanied by two of these men on foot; we took about ten hours in doing the distance, and though they had nothing to eat but a bit of bread and a few oranges, yet at the end of the journey they seemed as fresh as if they had been a few miles. When out boar-hunting the beaters will work barelegged, often under a broiling sun, through the thickest brushwood, seemingly indifferent to the thorns and scrub which try European legs most severely, even when well protected by gaiters.

As bachelors these men are most frequently unmitigated scoundrels; more often than not they drink, rob, cut throats, &c., with great gusto, but on their marriage they change, not gradually, but their misdeeds become on a sudden a thing of the past, and they live as respectable members of society, and may be depended upon as trusty men—though of course in this,

as everything else, there are exceptions. Blood feuds are strictly observed by them; for here, as in all countries where justice is corrupt and legal punishments slow and uncertain, retribution for a crime is sure to take the form of personal vengeance. Several instances of these feuds, which are hereditary, came under my notice, and the following one will show the pertinacity with which they are adhered to. A young man whose father was murdered while he was quite a child, patiently waited till he was about twenty years old, and then took his gun and lay in wait at the cemetery outside the gate of Tetuan and shot his father's murderer as he was returning from market; the young man, as usually happens in these cases, escaped into the mountains.

Considering the large area of the country, the number of the towns is very small, as will be shortly shown. The population varies much in the different districts; where water is most abundant, and consequently sufficiency of pasturage and facilities for cultivation are afforded, there the greatest number of villages is to be found. In the Eastern districts, as those of Tangier, Anjera, Wadras, &c., and in the Rif, the villages are composed of huts built of rough stones plastered with mud and thatched and surrounded by hedges of prickly pears and aloes. Farther westwards, where the country is rolling prairie and their herds

require moving at certain seasons in order to find sufficient pasturage, the Arabs live entirely in tents made either of goat's hair, which is the best but most expensive, or of matting woven from palmetto-root fibre; this can hardly be distinguished from the coconut matting so much used in England. The tents are all dyed black, and are usually pitched in a circle, so forming an enclosure, in which the cattle are herded at night, in safety from robbers and wild beasts.

These tents have no regular way of entrance, but bulrush mats or curtains of the same materials as those of the tents themselves are placed to keep out the wind or rain, and these being easily moved the doorway can always be put on the leeward side. The Arabs seem at a vast distance from any civilisation or refinement; this, I fancy, arises chiefly from two causes: firstly, their complete isolation, as their intercourse even with other tribes is very limited, and I believe it to be an almost general rule for them to marry one of their own tribe; and secondly, their extreme bigotry and fanaticism, for they are very jealous of any innovation either in their religion or in their way of living. They go upon the principles of 'What has been is, and therefore shall be,' and 'What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us.' When they cultivate land they make no attempt to improve the soil by manuring it; in fact, during my stay in the country, I



never saw manure used by a Moor, except once at Rabat, and then I heard he was using it under directions of a Christian. I of course do not refer to irrigation, as this is well applied, and in general use, wherever it is possible. The usual way of farming is to scratch up the soil to the depth of a few inches with just such a plough as is described by Virgil; the only piece of iron about this machine is the share: this is always carefully carried home by the labourer after his day's work, generally slung round his neck with a bit of cord: the plough, too, is so light that the owner may constantly be seen carrying the whole, even yoke and all, home on his shoulders. The oxen are small, often much resembling the Alderney kine; the ploughman holds the single handle of his plough in one hand, while he guides his animals with a long goad, held in the other, not forgetting to use his voice, often with no very complimentary epithets. The Arabs seldom, if ever, attempt to destroy the palmetto, thistles, and numerous bulbs that cumber the soil, for they say, 'If it please God we shall have a good crop; if He wills it otherwise, where is the good in our clearing the soil?' The same utter disregard for the future and its wants, induced by the all-prevailing fatalism, shows itself with regard to everything else; they run in a groove from which nothing can turn them.

In every dooar, or Arab village, there is a tent or

small hut where the children are taught daily; the Koran is the only text-book used, from it they learn to read and also have to learn the chief parts of it by heart. This is usually the extent of an Arab's education, but the Moors—or inhabitants of the towns—from coming more into contact with strangers, and thus gaining somewhat more enlarged and liberal ideas, are frequently men of superior education, considering the very limited means they have of becoming so.

Towards the interior of the country conical straw huts are much used; these, I believe, were introduced from the Soudan by the Bohari, a tribe of blacks, who for many generations have formed the élite of the Sultan's body-guard.

I shall now give some account of the towns, which are few and far between. I omit Melilla—in the Rif—and Ceuta, as being Spanish possessions. The first town, then, to the eastward is Tetuan, built on a rising ground about eight miles distant from the Mediterranean, and close to a fine river, which at present can only be navigated by small vessels, on account of the bar at its mouth. The town is surrounded by gardens and fruit orchards; figs are very abundant, and quantities are dried of an excellent quality; the almond and apricot trees grow much larger than orchard trees in England. Many of these gardens, however, are still uncultivated, the trees and garden-houses

having been destroyed by the Spanish troops in 1860 ; bullets and shells are still to be found there—in fact I have often come across them myself when out shooting, but the natives are very cautious about touching the latter, as a short time ago one exploded as it was being dug up.

On crossing the river to the south of the town, one finds oneself in wide orange groves, watered by cool streams rushing down from the lower Atlas, whose rugged peaks tower one above another into the far distance ; the higher summits frequently are covered with snow, even as late as April. I hardly know when these orange gardens are most lovely ; perhaps when the trees are white with blossoms, when the air is loaded with perfume, and the song of birds and busy humming of the bees create that curious sound of life from which it is so difficult to separate any particular note. Then it is just what Milton must have had in his mind's eye when he wrote

The bee with honeyed thigh  
That at her flowery work doth sing,  
And the waters murmuring  
With such concert as they keep,  
Entice the dewy-feather sleep.

They are beautiful, too, when the masses of golden fruit make such a brilliant contrast with the rich dark foliage which here grows freely and naturally ; no branches are lopped and pruned as one sees in Europe,

but thanks to the kindness of soil and climate, the crops are none the less abundant, as may be well believed, when orangés sell in the market at 3*d.* or 4*d.* per hundred.

To the town itself, as is usually the case in this country, the saying that 'distance lends enchantment to the view' is fully applicable. The dazzling whiteness of the buildings contrasts well with the rugged grey mountains towering above; while the extreme irregularity of the houses, with the many small mosque-towers scattered among them, adds much to the general picturesque appearance. On entering within the walls, however, great part of the town is found to be in ruins—never having been rebuilt since the Spanish war; the streets are narrow, and, especially in the Jewish quarter, filthy in the extreme. Notwithstanding this, I was glad to make several sketches. On these occasions I was always surrounded by a wondering crowd, staring at me open-mouthed, but showing the utmost politeness, for the general voice was lifted against anyone who stood in my way or tried to put his fingers in my paint-box. The whispered remarks of the bystanders were often highly amusing, and there was none of that jostling and crowding in which the lower, and even the higher, classes of Europe delight. An artist might spend much time here with advantage, sketch-

ing the wild but picturesque Rifians, or studying the grand mountain scenery, on which, in this clear air, the effects of light at different times of the day are indescribably lovely; or in exploring the crooked streets of the town, full of many a subject for the pencil—here a queer nook, with houses overhanging a fountain from which the women are drawing water in the classic-shaped earthen jar; there a dark vista of arches with gloomy holes at the sides, where one can just detect the dim figure of the shopkeeper sitting like a gigantic spider waiting for the flies to come to his web, for far beneath his dignity is it to call your attention to his ware.

From these dark passages one suddenly turns into a street with rows of bright-coloured English cottons, native leather bags and pouches, and embroidered goods hung out on both sides; while above, a trellis-work of cane, with vines creeping over, keeps off the intense heat of the sun. Here one is nearly deafened by the clatter of tongues—Moors, Jews, Spaniards, Arabs, and last, but not least, the women wrapped up in their haiks and wearing straw hats about a yard in diameter, all shouting and gesticulating till one thinks it must end in blows; but no bargain can be made without a most unnecessary amount of noise and bargaining, for a shopkeeper always asks a great deal more than he intends to take, particularly when

the would-be purchaser is a Christian, for, says he, 'If I don't get it there is nothing lost, and if I do so much is gained.'

Here, as in most of the towns, the Jews have a separate quarter, the gate of which is shut about eight o'clock in the evening. The Tetuan Jews, as well as those of Tangier, speak Spanish as their language; the service of the synagogues is conducted in Spanish, and their religious books are also written in the same language, but with Hebrew letters.

The chief manufactures of the town consist in guns and leather goods, of which the chief are slippers, which are exported to Alexandria, where they find ready purchasers in the pilgrims returning from Mecca, as by far the largest number of the Hadji who come from the west are inhabitants of Morocco. Each trade in a Moorish town is usually confined to certain streets; for instance, one finds whole streets of slipper-makers, or else of leather-dyers, or else gunsmiths, &c. The guns made here are very curious, having most intricate flint-locks, while the stocks are often beautifully inlaid with silver and footed with ivory. The 'first-class' barrels are embossed with gold and silver in very delicate patterns. The barrels are made of English iron, and are twisted; they are very light for their length, which is often excessive. I have one now in my possession 6 ft. 2 in long, exclusive of the



stock, which is some 15 in. longer. I was told by the gunsmith of whom I bought it that sometimes he had to make them two spans longer.

A great many coloured tiles are made here. They are very small, and are worked into most intricate and effective patterns in walls and flooring of the houses and mosques. There is a similar manufacture at Fas, whence it is very probable that the tiles were brought which still remain in the Alhambra. The potters who make these tiles and the elegant antique-shaped water-jars found in common use everywhere are true troglodytes. The caves they live in are found in a kind of tufa rock, to the south and west of the town, which stands on a plateau of this rock, and vary much in size, the larger being used for workshops and stores, which are shared by numerous owls and now and then a few rabbits; while by partly building up the entrances of the smaller ones, they turn them into capital dwellings. The wheel that is in use is most primitive; but one of the potters told me he could turn out a hundred large jars, standing some 2 ft. high, per diem. The value, however, of these would not be more than 2*d.* or 3*d.* each, so that it is a most laborious trade, as the potter has to do everything himself; he has to collect and mix the clay, gather fuel, make and burn his wares, and often even sell them himself. There

is a good deal of traffic by means of feluccas between Gibraltar and Martine, the port of Tetuan, and also by beasts of burden—the only mode of conveyance, as the use of wheels is totally unknown in the country—with Tangier, which is about forty miles distant, the road, or rather track, often little better than the bed of a torrent, lying for the most part through the mountains. About half way there is a Fondak (or caravanserai), a large square walled enclosure. Inside there are arcades round three sides, and small rooms on the fourth. It was built a few years ago by the Government for the protection of travellers. It may be useful, but is most carefully to be avoided by all but those who, like the natives, are proof to the attacks of certain ravenous insects who, as is always the case in similar places, were undoubtedly numerous enough to eject any human being from the building were they but minded to combine and do so.

The town of Tangier is prettily situated on a steep slope at the western point of a large crescent-shaped bay. The view from above the town is most lovely; on a bright day the coast of Spain from Cape Trafalgar to Gibraltar is most distinct, while the peculiar clearness of the air gives the utmost brilliancy of colouring to the whole view, which on the African side comprises the rugged purple-tinted

peaks of Apes Hill and the chain of the Lower Atlas gradually softening and melting away into the far distance.

The town is of considerable interest, and is of great antiquity, being the ancient Tingis, the chief town of the rich Roman province of Tingitania. Near it are considerable remains of Roman work; coins, too, are not unfrequently found, but it is to be feared that many of silver or gold, as well as ornaments of those metals, have found their way to the melting-pot of some Jew, who probably would buy them from an ignorant Arab for a mere trifle.

In the seventeenth century it belonged to the English, being part of the dowry of the wife of Charles II., and was held by them till 1684, when they gave it up, destroying at the same time many of the fortifications and the mole, which latter there is now some talk of rebuilding. If this were done the harbour would be greatly improved, as at present all merchandise has to be transferred from the steamers to small boats, and then carried ashore by men. Passengers have to undergo the same pleasant process, which is made worse by the heavy surf which frequently breaks in the bay.

There is here, as well as in the other towns, the custom of closing the gates of the city from noon till 2 P.M. on Friday. This is said to be done on

account of an old tradition, which tells that the Christians will try to surprise the towns on that day while the true believers are at mosque.

Travelling westwards along the coast, one comes to the town of Arzila, about forty miles from Tangier, which is now little better than a walled village; the streets are very narrow, and simply filthy, as numbers of cattle are brought inside the walls for safety at night.

About five-and-twenty miles further comes Laraiche, built on a steep cliff at the mouth of a large river, which, however, can only at times be entered even by small craft, as the bar is very dangerous. When the sea appeared quite calm I have seen the waves curling over on the bar twelve or fourteen feet in height. What it must be in bad weather can easily be imagined. The small town of Mehideych lies between Laraiche and Salee. This latter is really the same town as Rabat, being on the north side of the river, while Rabat is on the southern side. Very handsome carpets, much resembling the Turkish, are manufactured here, haiks (a soft long kind of shawls worn both by men and women), and a few guns and swords are also made, but the trade is small compared to what it might be were the river navigable; but the bar, if possible, is worse than that of Laraiche.

Casablanca (*Arabic*è Dar-el-baida) is the next town, then Azimor or Mulei-bon-Shaib Azimor—so called from a prince of that name who is buried there—is a small Moorish town near Mazagan (J'deedah), which, with Safi and Mogador (Suerah), are towns of some importance; European vice-consuls and merchants residing at each.

In the interior of Morocco proper, the only towns seem to be Fas, Morocco, Meknas, and Wazán. The two former are the capitals of the country, and the Sultan usually divides his time between them, occasionally coming down to spend the summer at Rabat. Most of the towns on the coast, though now of no importance whatever, have extensive Portuguese ruins, which show that during their occupation by that people their positions were much higher. At Arzila most parts of the walls and gateways are Portuguese, and the greater portion of a church is still standing. At Azimor too there are many ruins: one of a church is used as a powder magazine, and amongst others there are marble sills to the gateways of the town; these stones are deeply worn with the marks of wheels, in some cases to a depth of five inches, showing their age, and that they are remains of some former civilisation, perhaps even before that of the Portuguese, for at present, as I have said before, the Moors are totally ignorant of the use of wheeled carriages of any kind.

The finest Portuguese remains, however, are at Mazagan, where the town is moated on one side and partly on the second, having the sea on the remaining two sides; the walls are about forty to fifty feet in height, and in some places more than forty feet thick, and very solidly built. There is a high watch-tower and ruins of a building said to have been that of the Inquisition, also of a church, but the most interesting of all is an underground reservoir, about 130 by 100 feet, having a groined stone roof supported by four rows of pillars, the masonry of which is as perfect as on the day when it was built. A circular opening in the centre of the roof admits light. The water always stands at a depth of from five to seven feet, and the whole height is about fourteen or fifteen feet. There is a subterraneous passage and flight of stairs, by which the water is reached. This curious cistern is situated under the garden of Mr. Redmond, a resident English merchant, who kindly allowed me to see it.

Besides the Rifians, the Arabs—dwellers in the country—and the Moors who live in the towns, we find the Berbers and the Shellouhs, kindred races living in the Atlas Mountains, the former towards the east, in the neighbourhood of Fas, and the latter towards the Atlantic; they are a brave and almost independent race, probably descendants of the aboriginal Mauritians. There are also two unsubjected tribes nearer



the coast, viz., the Zimours, who live in the forest of Maimora, which lies between Mehideyeh and Salee and stretches a considerable distance inland; and the Zyars, who live to the S. and S.W. of Rabat; when not engaged in the cultivation of their crops they make continual forays even up to the gates of Rabat and pillage the caravans passing from that place to Dar-el-Baida. Along this route—as well as in other parts of the country—the government has built numerous *kasbas*, or fortified buildings, from 50 to 300 yards square, the walls being usually about 25 feet high, and loopholed.

Many of these *kasbas* are the residences of kuids or governors of provinces, who according to their wealth maintain so many soldiers. Of these kuids and their followers I shall afterwards have more to say. In addition to the parts I have mentioned, the empire comprises, on the south of the Atlas, the districts of Tafielt, Draa, and Soos, of which the latter borders on the Atlantic.

## II. THE PEOPLE.

The Moors are essentially a polite people: wild and lawless as they are, this may seem improbable, but it is none the less a fact which takes its rise from every man's being really on an equality. A slave will speak to his master, sometimes cutting a joke with, and

even at him, with the same freedom and absence of all servile constraint as he would when speaking to a fellow slave. For all this they are never wanting in respect. The only case that I know at all parallel to this is in a Spanish servant, to whom a master may speak as to an equal, but who for all that will never forget his place, not holding to the proverb, 'Familiarity breeds contempt.' As an instance of the equal footing all Moors are on, the following is sufficient. When I came to an Arab dooar the sheikh would come and sit in my tent for some little time, and would then go and finish up his evening in my servant's tent, drinking coffee—or by preference green tea.

Coffee is usually considered to be the drink of the Arabs, but over the whole of Morocco green tea is considered a much greater luxury; it is too expensive for the very poor to drink, and one seldom sees it much in the coffee-houses where this class of men resort, and where they sit for hours smoking *kief*—the Indian hemp—sometimes gambling with dice or draughts, and drinking coffee nearly as thick as arrow-root and very sweet. I cannot help thinking that this way of drinking the dregs of the coffee has some effect of neutralising the very injurious properties of the *kief*. The habitual *kief* smoker is always one who has begun young, and the enervating and degrading effects of this drug are always visible in the pallid countenance—

much like that of an opium eater, but less yellow—and the unnatural, *china-like* appearance of the white of the eye. If an adult takes to smoking this herb regularly it is said that it is almost certain to cause his death within seven or eight months, and though a strong constitution may defy its effects for some time, yet it is none the less sure of causing death in the end. A *kief* smoker who has begun young will live for several years, but will rarely attain even to middle age.

The use of this drug is almost entirely confined to the lower orders. Opium eaters are found among the Moors, but not very frequently; speaking from my own experience I only came across two or three cases.

On paying a visit to a rich Moor or well-to-do sheikh, the first thing he offers to his visitors—at all times of the day—is green tea, which is compounded in the following way. The tea is first washed with a small quantity of water in the teapot, as the Moors consider the colouring matter used for green tea to be injurious; this is poured off and the teapot is nearly filled with huge lumps of white sugar, the more used the greater honour to the guest; it is then filled up with water, and poured into small tumblers, usually of coloured and gilt French glass. The next process generally is to put in a small bunch of herbs, lemon thyme, mint, and such like, which make the second brew a kind of very sweet *tisane*. The rules of

politeness require one to drink at least three or four glasses, which at first I found rather trying, but I soon acquired quite a liking for it, especially when coming in tired and thirsty from a long and hot ride.

By the rules of Arab hospitality a rich kaid, or sheikh, is bound to entertain a traveller for three days; no money is ever taken for *cooked* meat—in fact it would be considered very impolite to offer it. The following instance of a reception by a *rich* kaid will suffice to show the usual style. On my arriving at the kasba I was shown a courtyard where I could pitch my tent, as I preferred that to a room which was offered me as less likely to be inhabited. Soon after my tent was pitched a soldier came with a packet of candles, a loaf of sugar, and a packet of green tea, and said that the kaid would soon send me dinner. The soldier of course received a *douceur*, and soon returned with some corn for my horses. Dinner made its appearance about eight o'clock—the usual time—and consisted of stew, *kouskousson*, and a native curry. Next morning an equally liberal breakfast was supplied. Of course the treatment varies according to the wealth of the host. A very poor sheikh will be able to give nothing, but has always butter, eggs, and fowls to sell, usually cheap enough; fowls being worth about 6*d.* and eggs 2 to 6 for 1*d.*

The standing dish of the country is *kouskousson*,

which is made of flour rubbed with a damped hand either on a stone or through a sieve made of perforated parchment till it assumes the appearance of millet.

These grains when dried may be kept for a great length of time ; to cook it, it must be steamed, which is done by putting it in a basin well pierced at the bottom and which covers the mouth of a large earthen water jar, which is then put on the fire. Sometimes meat or chickens are cooked with it, as well as some vegetables and dried grapes, but the way I like it best is the Arab fashion of putting a lump of fresh butter in the middle, and then pouring a quantity of milk into it. When prepared thus it tastes very much like extremely good Scotch porridge.

Among the richer classes some of the cookery is excellent ; stews with wild artichoke in them and flavoured with cumin seed and red peppers, are some of the best ; they make very good sweetmeats too, using a great deal of honey in them, and flavouring with roses, almonds, musk, &c. In the honey-producing districts the Arabs are very fond of eating it melted up with fresh butter ; in this case it is sent in hot, in a plate or bowl, into which each person dips his piece of bread.

In the towns the bread is good and marvellously light ; it is sold in loaves very like a large bun : Some bread is made from Indian corn ; it is sweet, heavy and

clammy, and though much cheaper than the other is but little used. The Arab bread is very different from that sold in the towns, being made in large, round, flat girdle-cakes, very heavy, coarse, and generally containing a large proportion of grit from the mill-stones. More indigestible stuff I never saw, and without that best of all sauces, 'Hunger,' it would not be possible to eat much of it. The natives, however, when they have a chance, get through a wonderful quantity of it, and as for their capacity of stowing away *kouskousson* it is simply marvellous. I have often seen my three men finish up with seeming ease a dish of it, the twentieth part of which had completely satisfied my own appetite. An Arab can go for a length of time without food, for as a rule he only eats at sunrise and sunset, sometimes having a piece of bread or a little fruit in the middle of the day. This enables them to observe Ramadan with more ease than if they were accustomed to eat a regular meal in the daytime. Spirits and wine are unknown amongst them, though in the towns some of the lax Moors obtain them from the Christians and Jews. These latter make wines and also spirits which they distil from the berries of the *arbutus* as well as from figs and raisins. Drunkenness is very rare indeed amongst the Mohammedans, though the Jews, especially at some of their festivals, are by no means averse to a drop of good liquor.



Superstition in various forms has a very strong hold upon the minds of the inhabitants of this country, both natives and Jews; the belief in the evil eye seems to be quite as prevalent even as in Italy. I heard of one instance which happened on a fête day, during the powder-play and feats of horsemanship with which such occasions are celebrated, which shows how common and how deeply rooted the belief is. A man who was accredited with the possession of this malign influence said to another who was standing near him, 'How well So-and-so is riding, and how well he manages his horse!' The man was almost immediately thrown and severely hurt by his fall, and the accident was universally attributed to the evil eye. The remedy used was curious, namely, sour milk. The man, however, did not recover.

The children are often made to wear a blue bead round their necks as a charm against this evil power, while the Jews paint an open hand on their doors and walls—especially at the time of any feast, as a marriage or birthday festival—and hang up small brazen hands in their houses or with other amulets round their children's necks.

Mesmerism also seems known to some of the Arabs. I have heard that in the interior the women use it as a means of quieting their babies and reliev-

ing headache.<sup>1</sup> Last year, while camping on the road to Tetuan, one of the muleteers—as I was afterwards told—was seized with violent cramp all over his body. A mountaineer who happened to be there made passes over him as a mesmerist would do, and the man went to sleep, and when he awoke was perfectly free from pain. Whether this was true mesmerism, or whether the patient believed in it as a charm and was so influenced, I cannot venture to say. Charms are in constant use; the commonest form in cases of illness is a piece of paper on which is drawn a figure consisting of cross lines forming a certain number of squares, and in the middle of each one of these some letter or character is inscribed. This is either worn by the patient, or in other cases thrown away, and in that case the belief is that the illness will pass to whoever takes the paper up and opens it. I found a charm of this kind tied up with string and pegged into a crack of the wall in the Fondak where I was staying at Morocco. I was just going to take it down and look at it, when a man standing by advised me not to do so. A well-educated Moor, however, who came up, and who was evidently above such superstitions, tore it to pieces.

<sup>1</sup> Headache cannot be frequent, as in the country the Arabs go with their heads fully exposed to the sun; the only precaution taken being to tie a cord of camel's hair, or sometimes only of grass, tightly round the temples.

I was never able to find any trace of a belief in what we call ghosts, that is, of spirits in *human* form, though the belief in *jins*, or spirits in the shape of animals, who are usually evil, and generally haunt waste places and deserted houses, is universal. In Tetuan a part of the Basha's palace is not lived in, as it is said to be haunted by two *jins* in the form of gigantic camels, which of a night take their stand in the Patio and reach to the gallery which runs round the court and is only about twenty feet from the ground. In the marshes near the same town the booming of the bittern is considered to be the voice of a *jin* portending a bad season. At Tangier, again, there is a house a short distance outside the walls, pleasantly situated in an orange garden, which is untenable from being haunted by a *jin*, which here takes the shape of a great black bull with flaming eyes, which forcibly ejects all intruders after dusk. So at least the story goes; but at all events no one will hire the house. I heard several similar stories, but in every case the demon took the form of some animal, never that of a human being.

The Moors imagine that these *jins* are to be found everywhere. They are of a knavish disposition, for one day on returning to my tents I found my headman suffering from an aguish attack, and thinking

himself very ill. I asked him what was the matter, and after some trouble I made out he was so ill because he had trod on a devil! However, I found quinine a very effectual means of laying it.

Other superstitions remain in the country which seem relics of some ancient barbaric faith; for instance, in some parts of the country the women go in procession round the newly-sown corn lands, waving flags, with wild chants and gestures, running and screaming like very lunatics, in order, as they believe, to avert all evil from the upspringing crops. Often, too, in the gardens I noticed ram's horns hung on the fruit trees, more especially on the pomegranates. Upon enquiry I found that they were used as a charm to insure a good yield of fruit.

On the fig trees it is usual to hang strings of the fruit threaded on a palmetto leaf. Without this they consider that the crop will come to no good.

I noticed another ludicrous custom when out shooting. My soldier, whom as a capital sportsman I always took with me, used of course to cut the throat of everything I shot, as all Moslems do; but in addition to this he observed a curious custom, the meaning of which I was never able to find out, namely, whenever I shot a hare or rabbit he would first cut its throat, then pull off its tail, wave it three times round his head, spit upon it, and throw it away.

Why these animals alone should be so treated I cannot imagine, for I never heard of any ceremony of the kind being performed on any other creature.

Midsummer night's eve is observed with certain ceremonies, more particularly in lighting huge bonfires wherever fuel is obtainable. The rival towns of Rabat and Salee try who can pile up the largest fire, collecting their wood and materials for weeks beforehand. The effect must be very pretty when these fires are lighted, as the two towns are only separated by a river, which on the Rabat side is overhung by piles of irregular white buildings, while on the Salee side stretches of white sand reach up to the town, which lies much lower than its rival.

When there has been a continued drought, and rain is much needed for the crops, the Arabs are accustomed to make solemn processions praying for rain, and to sacrifice a sheep at the tomb of some favourite santon. When this has no effect, if any Jews happen to be at hand they are sent out to pray for rain, for, say the Mohammedans, the prayers of a Jew are so distasteful to Allah that, sooner than hear them pray, he will send what they ask for.

A sheep or goat is frequently sacrificed by a person when asking some great favour of a superior. I was staying in the house of one of the vice-consuls, when some men who had been interceding for an

imprisoned relative came at night and sacrificed a sheep at the street door. The consul's servants heard a knocking, but were too lazy or frightened to go to the door; so in the morning nothing was found but a pool of blood, as some sharp neighbour had been beforehand and carried off the sheep.

The system of giving presents to those in authority is universal amongst the Moors. In this way the kuids often get very rich; but certainly when things are not given them they think nothing of taking them, so that it is not to be wondered at that their riches increase.

The system of government is a system of squeezing from highest to lowest. The Arabs are squeezed by the sheikhs, the sheikhs by the kuids, these by the greater kuids, who are governors of districts, and these again by the Sultan. Whenever a man gets a little money together he dares not show it—he buries it. In this way great quantities of coin must be lost, for a man will say when he is ill and expecting to die, 'I may perchance recover, and if I do I shall never have any good from my money if I tell my son where it is hidden.' And so a man will frequently die who is supposed to be worth a great deal, yet none of his money can be found.

The wealth of some of the kuids is enormous. I heard of one who was said to be worth some three



million dollars. This is probably somewhat exaggerated, but his son has a very large *kasba*, and maintains five or six hundred soldiers. In Haha, near Mogador, the late kaid was said to be worth nearly as much. The richest man in Morocco is said to be the Shereef of Wazán, who is the greatest santón in the country, being most directly descended from the Prophet. When a new Sultan is installed at Fas, the chief religious duties connected with the induction devolve upon him. Wherever he goes people flock together from all parts to bring him presents, chiefly in money. I heard of one woman who gave him ten thousand dollars for his blessing. Though naturally an intelligent man, under the depressive influences of the government he is now simply a sensual voluptuary, much addicted to champagne.

The government is totally averse to any change. I will give one instance that will show what bigoted folly the Sultan is capable of. There is a wide river at Rabat, over which everything has to be ferried in small boats. A European engineer made some calculations, and offered to build a bridge, levy a small toll, and at the end of ten years make the bridge a present to the Sultan. 'No,' said this enlightened monarch; 'it would throw some two hundred ferrymen out of employ!' And so he would have nothing to do with the project.

Again, I was assured on good authority that the Sultan has sufficient corn in his *metamors*, or underground granaries, to feed the whole population for three years. During the late time of distress, or almost famine, none was brought out; when it was found to be getting mouldy and useless, a little was occasionally sold. The good corn went to feed the kaid and the soldiers, for if the people starved a little, why they would be less formidable in case of a revolution. The main object of all those in authority seems to be to collect as much property as they can by hook or by crook. To show the extent of open peculation that goes on at Morocco, I will give a slight sketch of the Askar, or regular troops, and their management. These men—officers as well as privates—receive the magnificent pay of 2 *okeah* (3*d.* English money) per diem; for this they have to feed themselves. The commander-in-chief receives 10 *okeah* (1*s.* 3*d.*) per diem. The natural consequence of this is that they rob right and left, from highest to lowest. The privates are generally scoundrels of all kinds, the scum of the country, who on enlisting receive a pardon for all their crimes, and thus escape the law, such as it is. The officers who are in rank about equal to a colonel make up their pay thus: each one will say that he has 500 men under him, while in reality

he has about 150 or 200. As he draws pay for the number he states, he pockets about twelve to fifteen dollars a day. The commander-in-chief does likewise, though naturally on a larger scale, as befits his rank. The other officers, too, do not neglect their own interests. A short time before I was in Morocco the surgeon of the troops did not stand at all well with the government, so he went privately to the Sultan and told him that he could not be aware how he was wasting money by keeping men as soldiers who were unfit for work, some being blind of an eye, some lame, some consumptive. On hearing this the Sultan gave him *carte blanche* to weed the troops. Off went the doctor, well pleased with his success. From some of the men he got five dollars, from others more or less, according to their means, in return for which he gave them their discharge, and in a few days found himself some 20,000 dollars in pocket. The officers, however, finding their men sent off by wholesale, reported the matter to the Sultan, who then sent after the discharged men and had them all brought back. So the doctor gained what he wanted and the government lost nothing. What could be more satisfactory to both parties?

These Askar were about four thousand in number at Morocco, though there are a few others at Fas and Meknas. Besides these the Sultan has a very

fine body of blacks—the Bohari—the only troops, in fact, who could be depended upon by him. They are brought up from boyhood in his service, well clothed, fed, and treated. They could not find a better master, so that they would always remain faithful. The Askar, on the other hand, would immediately join any one who offered the highest pay. These latter have no idea of discipline. Their dress is the common fez cap, red flannel shell jackets, generally too short, and blue trousers reaching only to the knee and very full. I saw some coming in from parade; a few drops of rain began to fall, and there was a general scurry to the barracks, headed by the officers; and once I saw one within fifty yards of the Emperor smoking a kief pipe behind his comrades' back. This was during the feast (at Easter) of El Aid-el-Khibeer, when they were supposed to be keeping the ground. On this occasion they had out their park of artillery, consisting of ten small field-pieces, probably 6-pounders, drawn by six or eight men. This feast—answering much to the Jewish passover—took place outside the city, and on the Emperor's return a *feu de joie* was fired, in which an officer was killed by a ramrod discharged from one of the flint-lock guns of the Askar. However, as the arms are never examined, it was not known who shot him, and so no one was blamed.



## NOTES ON THE BIRDS OF TANGIER AND EASTERN MOROCCO.

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THE following few notes on the birds which I observed in the neighbourhood of Tangier during my stay there from January to the beginning of April last, may not be without interest, as that part of Africa has not received much attention from ornithologists. The country immediately around Tangier is not so good for a collector as that near Tetuan, which lies at the foot of a northern spur of the Atlas, rising there abruptly from the plain to an elevation seemingly of six or seven thousand feet, though, unfortunately, I had not any instruments with me to ascertain its real height. These mountains are in many parts well wooded, and the Andalusian Quail, Woodpeckers, and Owls are abundant; while on the rocky cliffs Eagles, Vultures, and Hawks breed in numbers. Nearer the town, orange-groves extend almost without interruption for two or three miles, watered by a stream abounding in trout; and here the Dusky *Ixus* literally



swarms, while the gardens are the chief haunts of the various Warblers, which delight in the shelter afforded by the cane-hedges. Wild fowl are plentiful in the marshes at Martine, the port of Tetuan, about eight miles distant, as well as Crakes, Egrets, and other marsh-fowl.

Of the Eagles and Vultures, few remain in Morocco during the winter, but most come in flights from the south-east and south between the 15th and 20th of March, almost invariably during an easterly wind. Alpine Swifts make their appearance at the same time, but the Bee-eaters and Rollers do not generally come till the middle of April. Most of the Hawks and Buzzards remain during the winter, and are very plentifully scattered over the whole country; yet, notwithstanding these as well as other two-legged and four-footed foes, there is an abundance of game, consisting of Barbary Partridges, Snipes, and Wild fowl, besides a few Hares, of which there are two species, so distinct that even the natives have different names for them. Rabbits also are found on the hillsides. Quails and Little Bustards make their appearance in the cornfields at Tangier in April and May.

The Rif country, which lies along the coast east of Tetuan, would probably be full of interest to the naturalist, as, from what can be gathered from the Moors, it is in many parts still virgin forest; but as

yet no European has ever been able to explore it. The people, who seem to be a distinct race from the Moors—having much fairer complexions, and speaking a dialect which varies from the Mogrebbin or Moorish Arabic—are very warlike, continually fighting among themselves, and murdering any wretched Moors or Jews who happen to fall into their clutches. They are extremely jealous of strangers setting foot in their territory; and in fact it seems impossible for any one to do so; for though they are called subjects of the Sultan of Morocco, his power over them is scarcely more than nominal. In these forests a large wild beast is said to live, the description of which answers in many respects to that of a Bear; but its existence is rather mythical, as no reward has hitherto been able to tempt the hunters to produce its skin. The Barbary Ape, however, is very plentiful on the precipices and wooded hillsides.

Along the coast to the west of Tangier are several alluvial plains, which, in a few places, are formed into lakes by the mouths of the rivers passing through them becoming silted up by the sand drifted from the sea-shore. These are the chief resorts of the water-fowl; amongst them the commonest is the Buff-backed Heron, which, during the early part of the winter, is found scattered about the plains, feeding among the cattle, or picking insects off their backs.

At this time it is extremely tame, but as the spring advances, collecting in flocks previous to migrating to its breeding-grounds (which I believe lie in the marshes of the interior south-west of Tangier), it becomes one of the most difficult birds to approach.

There are many wild beasts to be found in this district. The Wild Boar is still plentiful on the hills, where he makes his lair in almost impenetrable thickets of gum-cistus and heather, which latter grows frequently seven or eight feet high; a Lynx (in Moorish 'Oud-al'—*Felis caracal*, I believe) and the Jackal are also to be found there, though the former but rarely. In the more open country are found the Ichneumon, Fox, Genet, and Barbary Mouse, whilst the Otter is common near the rivers and on the rocky coast. Towards the interior occur the Leopard, Hyæna, and Lion, as well as several species of antelope. Land- and Water-Tortoises are also very common.

As a rule the Moors are not of much use for collecting. They are keen sportsmen and indefatigable hunters, but they look upon the shooting of small birds as beneath their dignity, and cannot understand why so much trouble should be taken for a, to them, useless object. Yet when they see one anxious to obtain any particular specimen, they will do all they can to help, and with a little trouble they would

make invaluable assistants. They are so quick-sighted that they will constantly detect Partridges or Hares crouching in a thick palmetto-bush, where it is often very difficult to see them even when one knows that they are there. For information about many of the birds, I am indebted to Mr. Green, Her Majesty's Consul at Tetuan. I am also largely indebted to Sir J. H. Drummond-Hay, Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, for very many acts of hospitality and kindness, among others for having procured for me with great trouble the specimen of the large Bustard mentioned below.

*VULTUR FULVUS* (Linn.) Common at Tetuan. I saw several towards the end of March, and I believe that some remain there all the winter.

*NEOPHRON PERCNOPTERUS* (Linn.) 'Sew.' Common. Breeds near Tetuan. Passes over Tangier in a northerly direction, when there is a strong easterly wind, about March 15 to 20. I saw one that was shot on March 4, about twenty miles west of Tangier.

*AQUILA CHRYSAETUS* (Linn.) Breeds at Tetuan, though in no great numbers.

*AQUILA BONELLII* (Temm.) Breeds at Tetuan sometimes, and also at Cape Spartel.

*AQUILA PENNATA* (Gmel.) Has been seen a few times at Tetuan and Tangier.

*PANDION HALLEETUS* (Linn.) Tolerably common along the coast, and breeds there.

*FALCO PEREGRINUS*<sup>1</sup> (Linn.) Common; breeds in the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> [Qu. *F. barbarus*?—Editor of the 'Ibis.']

*FALCO LANARIUS* (Schl.) I saw a tame Falcon taken at Tetuan, which I believe to be of this species.

*FALCO SUBBUTEO* (Linn.) I saw this bird twice near Cape Negro.

*TINNUNCULUS ALAUDARIUS* (G. R. Gray.) 'Sweef.' Very common.

*TINNUNCULUS CENCHRIS* (Naum.) Passes over during the March migration, but remains all the year at Laraiche. I obtained several specimens thence in February; and it also breeds there.

*MILVUS ICTINUS* (Sav.) 'Sewâna.' Not uncommon in winter at Tetuan.

*MILVUS MIGRANS* (Bodd.) Breeds.

*ELANUS CÆRULEUS* (Desf.) I shot one at Tangier, and a second at Tetuan. I saw a few others. It breeds on the mountains west of Tetuan.

*ACCIPITER NISUS* (Linn.) I shot one, February 20, at Tangier, where it is only seen on passage. It usually does not come till March.

*CIRCUS ÆRUGINOSUS* (Linn.) Very common.

*CIRCUS CYANEUS* (Linn.)  
*CIRCUS CINERACEUS* (Mont.) } Seen on several occasions.

*ASIO BRACHYOTUS* (Linn.)  
*ASIO CAPENSIS* (A. Smith.) } Common.

*ATHENE PERSICA* (Vieill.) Plentiful everywhere.

*SYRNIUM ALUCO* (Linn.) I found numbers in caves at Tetuan.

*PICUS NUMIDICUS* (Malh.)  
*GECCINUS VAILLANTI* (Malh.) } On Tetuan mountains.

*JYNX TORQUILLA* (Linn.) I shot one in a vineyard at Tangier, March 30. It is rather more ochreous beneath than British examples, and the grey is lighter than in them.

*CORACIAS GARRULA* (Linn.) Seen frequently about the

middle and end of April. Breeds further down the west coast.

MEROPS APIASTER (Linn.) Very abundant. Arrives in the beginning of April.

ALCEDO ISPIDA (Linn.) Common, and breeds.

UPUPA EPOPS (Linn.) Arrives about February 20, and is then to be found all over the country. About April it seems to go further west to breed.

CUCULUS CANORUS (Linn.) Arrives in the spring.

OXYLOPHUS GLANDARIUS (Linn.) I saw one at Tangier January 10, and on the 15th shot one. I shot another at Tetuan March 15.

CAPRIMULGUS EUROPEUS (Linn.) } Known to breed to-  
CAPRIMULGUS RUFICOLLIS (Temm.) } wards Ceuta.

CYPSELUS MELBA (Linn.) Only seen on passage.

CYPSELUS APUS (Linn.) Plentiful in summer.

HIRUNDO RUSTICA (Linn.) All the year round.

CHELIDON URBICA (Linn.) } I believe, do not stay the  
COTYLE RIPARIA (Linn.) } winter.

COTYLE RUPESTRIS (Scop.) I saw this at Tetuan towards the end of March, but only in very small numbers.

ORIOLOUS GALBULA (Linn.) Very rare indeed, and only in summer.

LANIUS MERIDIONALIS (Temm.) Common everywhere. On the mountains west of Tetuan I once saw another species, which seemed to be *L. excubitor*.

LANIUS COLLURIO (Linn.) At Martine in summer.

LANIUS AURICULATUS (P. L. S. Müller.) I saw a Woodchat April 2.

TELEPHONUS CUCULLATUS (Temm.) Not rare, but very shy. To be found chiefly in the cane-hedges.

MUSCICAPA ATRICAPILLA (Linn.) Seen during the spring migration.

IXUS BARBATUS (Desf.) Very common.



- TURDUS VISCIVORUS (Linn.) }  
 TURDUS MUSICUS (Linn.) } Very common.  
 TURDUS MERULA (Linn.) }  
 TURDUS TORQUATUS (Linn.) One was killed a few years ago at Tangier.
- PETROCINCLA CYANA (Linn.) Common on rocky ground. Often frequents cemeteries.
- SAXICOLA GENANTHE (Linn.) }  
 SAXICOLA ALBICOLLIS (Vieill.) } None of these are rare during passage.  
 SAXICOLA STAPAZINA (Linn.) }
- PRATINCOLA RUBETRA (Linn.) Two have been shot at Tetuan.
- CYANECULA LEUCOCYANEA (Brehm.) Very shy, and consequently little seen, but not rare. This is the form with the *white* breast-spot.
- SYLVIA ORPHEA (Temm.) At Tetuan, rare.
- SYLVIA CONSPICILLATA (Marm.) Shot in the salt marshes at Martine in March.
- SYLVIA MELANOCEPHALA (Gmel.) Very common.
- MELIZOPHILUS UNDATUS (Bodd.) The Dartford Warbler is common on the plains covered with palmetto.
- PHYLLOPNEUSTE RUFA (Lath.) At Tetuan, rare.
- SALICARIA AQUATICA (Lath.) Shot in March, being then in winter plumage.
- LOCUSTELLA NEVIA (Bodd.) Shot in March.
- PSEUDOLUSCINIA LUSCINIODES (Savi.) }  
 POTAMODUS CETHI (Marm.) } Rare.
- TROGLODYTES PARVULUS (Koch.) I saw also a second species of Wren, which Mr. Green had shot. I hope next winter to procure it myself.
- MOTACILLA ALBA (Linn.)  
 BUDYTES FLAVA (Linn.)  
 PARUS ULTRAMARINUS (Bp.) I saw but few, and only suc-

ceeded in getting two specimens, both of which I unfortunately lost.

*LINOTA RUFESCENS* (Vieill.) In one of my rides I got within a few yards of a bird that I had no doubt at the time was a redpoll.

*LINOTA CANNABINA* (Linn.)

*CHROMOMITRIS SPINUS* (Linn.)

*CARDUELIS ELEGANS* (Steph.)

*SERINUS HORTULORUM* (Koch.) Killed at Tangier by M. Favier; rare.

*CHLOROSPIZA AURANTIIVENTRIS* (Cab.)

*COCCOTHAUSTES VULGARIS* (Steph.) I saw one that had been shot at Tetuan by Mr. Green.

*FRINGILLA SPODIOGENIA* (Bp.)

*EMBERIZA MILIARIA* (Linn.)

*EMBERIZA HORTULANA* (Linn.) In summer.

*PLECTROPHANES NIVALIS* (Linn.) One was picked up dead at Cape Spartel.

*MELANOCORYPHA CALANDRA* (Linn.) On the open plains.

*GALERITA CRISTATA* (Linn.) } Common.  
*ALAUDA ARVENSIS* (Linn.) }

*CALANDRELLA BRACHYDACTYLA* (Leisl.) On the open plains.

*STURNUS VULGARIS* (Linn.) Uncommon.

*STURNUS UNICOLOR* (Marm.) More common at Tetuan than at Tangier.

*CORVUS CORAX* (Linn.) } Very common.  
*CORVUS CORONE* (Linn.) }

*CORVUS MONEDULA* (Linn.) } Seen in large flocks together,  
*FREGILUS GRACULUS* (Linn.) } but only at Tetuan.

*PICA MAURITANICA* (Malh.) Rabat.

*COLUMBA PALUMBUS* (Linn.) I saw a few flights in March.

*COLUMBA LIVIA* (Linn.) Common on the coast.

*CACCABIS PETROSA* (Gmel.) 'El Hăjel.' Very common everywhere.

*COTURNIX COMMUNIS* (Bonn.) 'Soumăna.' Arrives at Tetuan in March, but at Tangier not till April. Breeds.

*PTEROCLES ARENARIUS* (Pall.) }  
*PTEROCLES ALCHATA* (Linn.) } 'El Koudri.' Rabat.

*TURNIX SYLVATICA* (Desf.) Seems to be tolerably common.

\* *PORZANA MARUETTA* (Leach.) I shot two at Martine, March 23. They are more freckled with white than European specimens.

*PORZANA PYGMŒA* (Naum.) Rare.

*PORPHYRIO HYACINTHINUS* (Temm.) Found occasionally in the marshes, and, I believe, breeds there.

*GALLINULA CHLOROPUS* (Linn.) }  
*FULICA ATRA* (Linn.) } Are said to occur on the lakes west of Tangier; but I did not see any myself.

*SCOLOPAX RUSTICOLA* (Linn.) 'Sou-mirh.' Common in winter.

*GALLINAGO SCOLOPACINUS* (Bp.) 'Boom-e n-ar.' Common.

*PHALAROPUS FULICARIUS* (Linn.) An exhausted bird was brought to me by a boy in January.

*TRINGA ALPINA* (Linn.) Common on the shore at Tangier in January, but hardly any remained by the middle of February.

*ŒGIALITIS CANTIANUS* (Lath.)

*ŒGIALITIS HIATICULA* (Linn.)

*SQUATAROLA HELVETICA* (Linn.)

*CHARADRIUS PLUVIALIS* (Linn.) }  
*VANELLE CRISTATUS* (Meyer.) } Common.

*GLAREOLA PRATINCOLA* (Linn.) Occasionally seen at Martine.

*CURSORIUS GALLICUS* (Gmel.) Rare. Arrives in May or June.

HIMANTOPUS CANDIDUS (Bonn.) I saw several.

EDICNEMUS CREPITANS (Temm.) Common.

OTIS TETRAX (Linn.) 'Boozerat.' Common in summer.

OTIS ARABS<sup>1</sup> (Linn.) A specimen brought from Dar-el-baida, on the west coast, not very far from Mogador.

GRUS CINEREA (Bechst.) 'Garnook.' Seen occasionally.

GRUS VIRGO (Linn.) I shot one at Martine, March 23.

ARDEA CINEREA (Linn.) 'Hameedo-el-wad' or 'El Rha-beah.' Found on all the rivers.

ARDEA BUBULCUS (Sav.) Very common.

ARDEA GARZETTA (Linn.) A few usually at Martine in winter.

NYCTICORAX GRISEUS (Linn.) One shot by Mr. Green at Tetuan.

BOTAURUS STELLARIS (Linn.) Not rare. At Martine, when it is heard booming, the people imagine it to be the voice of a 'Jin' portending a bad season.

FALCINELLUS IGNEUS (Gm.) Numbers come to Tetuan in summer.

PLATALEA LEUCORADIA (Linn.) Very rare.

CICONIA ALBA (Bechst.) 'Belarej.' Held sacred, as in Holland, and consequently very abundant. I have counted more than sixty together in one place.

PHENICOPTERUS ROSEUS (Pall.) 'Nehaf.' Very rare.

TADORNA CASARCA (Gmel.) Shot by M. Favier off Cape Spartel.

ANAS BOSCHAS (Linn.)	'El Bourk.'	} Plentiful on the pools in the open country.
ANAS PENELOPE (Linn.)		
ANAS CRECCA (Linn.)		

<sup>1</sup> [The specimen obtained by our contributor was submitted for determination to Mr. George Gray, who has most kindly compared it with examples in the British Museum, and informed us that he could not refer it to any other species, though some slight differences were observable. Can it be this species which has hitherto been taken for *O. tarda* in Morocco?—Editor of 'Ibis.']

PHALACROCORAX CARBO (Linn.) I saw one near Cape Spartel.

SULA BASIANA (Linn.) Common.

PODICEPS MINOR (Gmel.) At the lakes during the whole year.

STERCORARIUS PARASITICUS (Linn.)

LARUS FUSCUS (Linn.)

RISSA TRIDACTYLA (Linn.)

CHROICOCEPHALUS RIDIBUNDUS (Linn.)

STERNA CANTIACA (Gmel.)

STERNA MINUTA (Linn.) I saw one specimen obtained by

M. Favier.

} On the coast in  
winter; but I do  
not know if they  
remain for the  
summer.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE BIRDS OF MOROCCO.

Since the publication of my former notes on the birds of Morocco,<sup>1</sup> ornithology at Tangier has sustained a great loss in the person of M. Favier, who died suddenly in December 1867. He was an intelligent and very hard-working naturalist; and though his studies were limited to the neighbourhood of the town where he lived, yet during his long residence there he had collected a quantity of very interesting notes, which were sold after his death, unfortunately in my absence from Tangier; and on my return thither I was unable to procure them. This I much regretted, as from the opportunities he had enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> 'Ibis,' 1867, pp. 421-430.

he had been able to remark many birds with which I had no chance of meeting in the winter and spring.<sup>1</sup>

On my first visit to Morocco my observations were limited to the districts of Tangier and Tetuan ; but I have since had much greater opportunities of examining the fauna, having travelled through a large extent of the country—that is to say, on the coast from Tetuan to Mazagan, and in the interior from the town last mentioned to the city of Morocco and thence to Mogador.

The country along the coast presents a great sameness in appearance ; the cliffs are usually low, and very frequently consist only of a bank of sand-dunes. Inland the ground rises, in some parts, in a series of plains backed by ranges of low hills till the snow-capped peaks of the Atlas are reached, as is the case to the south-east of Dar-el-baida and Mazagan. In other parts more northward it is a pasture-country, a 'rolling prairie,' as far as the eye can reach, with frequent lakes and marshes in the hollows. The first lake of any importance that I came to is that of Muleibou-Selham, so called from a santon of that name who is buried there ; and a channel has been cut through the sand-hills which divide it from the sea.

<sup>1</sup> [Some particulars of M. Favier and of the work for the publication of which he had been long collecting materials, will be found in the '*Ootheca Wolleyana*' (pp. 1-3) as furnished to Mr. John Wolley in 1845.—ED.]



This was done by the Arabs on account of some heavy and destructive floods which occurred a year or two ago; and in consequence the lake is very shallow, with large tracts of mud-flats and swamp surrounding it. These are the resort of countless Snipe, dotterel *et hoc genus omne*, while the shallow waters form feeding-grounds for large flocks of waders and Flamingoes, which last at rest appear almost pure white, but at the sound of a gun rise in clouds, showing the black and delicate rose-colour of their wings; and this with the sunlight gleaming upon it has a wonderfully pretty effect.

Near this place I came upon a colony of *Asio capensis*, which had taken up their abode in a patch of mallows, about half an acre in extent, by the side of a stream. There were some twenty or thirty of them sitting solemnly blinking at me till I was within a few yards of them, when they lazily flapped away. This is the only time I ever saw them in the open country; in the wooded hills to the east they are common.<sup>1</sup>

A short distance further west, about halfway between Larâiche and Rabat is the Lake of Ras-dowra or Behara, which, with the marshes, or rather series

<sup>1</sup> [Other observers, we believe, have noticed that this species generally affects the open country. The late M. Favier informed Mr. Gurney that near Tangier it bred with *A. brachyotus*, and that the hybrids had a narrow yellow ring round the iris.—Editor of the 'Ibis.']

of small lakes and pools, at its south-western extremity, cannot be less than thirty or five-and-thirty miles long, while in parts it is five or six wide; it is, however, so intersected with promontories and studded with islands that it is difficult to realise its extent.

The Arabs on the shores of this lake, which is only separated from the sea by a low range of hills, are mostly fishermen; they use canoes made of bundles of bulrushes tied together to form the bottom; gun-wales are made in the same way; one end is then cut square, and the other is gradually fined off into a point which rises some two feet above the water. These canoes are punted along with a pole shod with horn, as the water is generally not more than from four to six feet in depth, but so choked with weeds that a paddle would be useless; a net would be equally so; the fishing-implements, then, in use are cane spears tipped with iron. When a fish is seen, or an eel begins to bubble, the boatman throws in a bundle of six or seven of these spears, one of which is almost certain to strike the fish; and if this seems a large one, other spears are driven in close to the first till the prey is secured.

The numbers of wild fowl on this lake are wonderful; the water seems alive and quite black with them, while the noise they make in rising sounds like a heavy

surf breaking on a pebbly beach. Few of these birds, however, according to the account of the Arabs, remain to breed: Widgeon, common Wild Ducks, and Coots of both species are the most abundant; but the Ruddy Shell-Drake is not uncommon, as well as the Glossy Ibis, Herons, and Bitterns.

The districts where the Lesser Kestrel is found in this country are most curiously limited; the only reason I am able to give for this is that they seem to prefer a comparatively level country; in fact I never found them in the mountainous parts except at Tangier, and then only during the March migration; but at Laraiche, which is about sixty miles along the coast to the west of Tangier, they are not only found in summer, but they stay the whole year round and breed there. When I travelled down the coast I found them at every town and *kasba* that I passed, sometimes on the coast, sometimes thirty or forty miles inland; this continued till I came to Mazagan, where there were numbers; and I saw them continually till I came to the village of Sidi Rahal, which lies about sixty miles south by east of Mazagan, on the road to Morocco. I never afterwards saw them, whether at Morocco, Mogador, or Safi. By this it will be seen that they are limited to a district extending about two hundred miles along the coast and some forty to sixty inland. They live in the holes and crevices with which every Moorish wall

is so abundantly supplied, in perfect harmony with the Sardinian Starling, which has similar tastes. In the early dawn and just before sunset, they may be seen sitting on the walls in rows, often forty or fifty together. In the day-time they fly together in small flocks of from five to twenty, feeding chiefly on insects which they catch on the wing, so that many of their habits more resemble those of some of the Swallow- than of the Hawk-tribe.

At Rabat I saw two birds alive in the possession of Mr. C. Smith, the English Vice-Consul, which were evidently some kind of Francolin; but as I was unable to procure a specimen I cannot venture to name them: the plumage was of a dark slaty-grey, with whitish pencillings on the back and wings; the breast was of the same grey, but with a circular spot of white on each feather. The general colour of the plumage much resembled that of a Guinea-fowl, but was perhaps a slight shade browner. These birds had been brought in quite young from the Zyar country in the preceding spring; but unluckily these Zyars are one of the unsubjected tribes, numbering some forty thousand strong, so that it is impossible to penetrate their country, which is to a great extent forest, as is the territory of their equally lawless neighbours, the Zimours, who live in the forest of Maimora, to the south-east of Rabat. A species of wild ox, of a dun

or reddish colour, is said to have existed here till recently, but is now said to be quite extinct. I was also told that a large Wood-Pigeon with a black ring round its neck is found here ; but I never met with it myself.

When I was in the neighbourhood of Dar-el-baida (Casablanca), hearing that *Otis arabs*, or, as it is called by the natives, the 'Hobar,' was to be found on the plains inland, I went up the country and spent several days hunting it, but was not fortunate enough to obtain any. I followed the usual plan pursued by the Arabs, several of whom came out to help me ; their way is to ride in line over the plain till a Bustard is flushed and to mark it down, surround it, and try to drive it to where the guns are posted ; but though this might answer well enough with several guns, yet I found it useless while I was alone.

The Arabs are always glad to shoot these birds, as they say there is nearly as much flesh on them as on half a sheep ; they told me, too, of a plan of stalking which was sometimes used with success. It is done thus :—A *schwarry*, or double pannier, being put on a camel, two men deposit themselves therein, one on each side, and guide the camel up to the Bustard, which is so accustomed to these animals that it does not move, and so falls an easy prey to the long guns of the Arabs. These people certainly show good taste in

their liking for Bustard, but as a general rule they are not at all particular as to what they eat; for I know from my own experience that they delight in the flesh of ichneumons, foxes, and jackals; and, though I have never seen them do so myself, I have been assured on good authority that they take as kindly to Vultures, the flesh of which, say they, 'comforts the stomach.' I heard on one occasion of seven or eight Egyptian Vultures being shot in a village, the inhabitants of which made a sumptuous feast off them; but all this by the way. I find that the Great Bustard (*Otis tarda*) is also found in Morocco, as one was shot a few years ago near Tangier; this I have on the authority of Mr. W. K. Green, British Vice-Consul at Tetuan, who himself shot and skinned the bird.

I again met with the 'Hobar' in the plains of Ducala, about a day's journey from the town of Morocco. Numerous herds of gazelles are not unfrequently seen in the same place. It is a barren, desolate tract, where nothing seems to grow but a few thorny shrubs and a kind of mimosa, forming inaccessible fortresses, in which numerous Ravens and some few Hawks build in security. On the hills the white broom grows, as it does everywhere in this latitude—near Mogador it is almost the only shrub to be seen for miles. A few sheep and goats manage to pick up a living where, to all appearance, there is not sufficient



herbage to support life in a rabbit ; there are, however, many watercourses, which, when I passed (at Easter), were dry ; but, no doubt, after rain, these would produce a plentiful pasturage so long as the water lasted.

Within the walls of the town of Morocco there are numerous gardens, or rather groves, of white mulberry-, olive-, citron-, and other trees, which in spring seem quite alive with the gaily coloured Bee-eaters and Rollers ; Turtle Doves are equally abundant in the palm-groves and fruit-orchards outside the gates. I saw here for the first and only time in the country the Barbary dove (*Turtur risorius*) ; the master of the *fondak* (or caravanserai) where I was staying, had two in a cage, which he told me had been taken from a nest in the palm-forest in the previous spring. I never, however, saw any wild.

The only other bird I ever saw within the walls, except the common Sparrow, was the beautiful *Carpodacus githagineus*, which is so tame that I have often had it fly into my room at the *fondak*, and fearlessly pick up any stray crumbs from within a few inches of the mattress on which I was lying. I never saw these birds anywhere else in the country, with the exception of a few at Mogador.

After a stay of some little time in Morocco I set out for Mogador about the middle of April—at a most un-

fortunate time, as it afterwards turned out, for I came in for very bad weather all the way down to the coast, rain and hail, with occasionally bitter winds, driving down from the Atlas; so that I was unable to do much in the way of collecting specimens, which was the more to be regretted as the great plain of Morocco was to a naturalist one of the most interesting parts of the country I passed through. It has a very fertile soil, and, being well irrigated by canals cut from the Tensift, almost anything may be grown there; for instance, tobacco, sugar-cane, and corn of all sorts flourish abundantly. Some of the Arabs, too, grow a kind of indigo, with which the women dye their clothes. The soil near Morocco is a rich, heavy red loam, which, after rain, becomes excessively slippery, as I found to my cost; for the day I left that town a sudden storm came on at midday, the camels began slipping about as if they had been on ice, and one after another fell, which is often dangerous, as they are very apt to split themselves in falling, and so become so disabled as to be useless. Finding it impossible to go either backwards or forwards, I had to resign myself to fate till the rain stopped and the wind had sufficiently dried the surface to enable the animals to go on. Further from Morocco the ground becomes very stony, and affords good foothold for the camels.

There are many birds to be found here, amongst

which I chiefly noticed the Moorish Magpie (*Pica mauritanica*) as abundant. The Great Spotted Cuckoo (*Oxylophus glandarius*), too, is very common, as are also the 'Koudri' (*Pterocles arenarius*), the *Crateropus fulvus* (which last I invariably found on the borders of cultivated land, usually five or six together), the Woodchat-Shrike (*Lanius auriculatus*), and, commoner than all, the Turtle Dove (*Turtur vulgaris*), which here, as well as in the 'Argán' forest, near Mogador, literally swarms.

The following is a list of the birds which I had not observed on my former visit to the country :—

ASTUR PALUMBARIUS (Linn.) I saw a specimen shot in the mountains near Tetuan in December; and in May I saw a pair near Cape Spartel.

MELIERAX POLYZONUS (Rüpp.) An example of this bird was shot in the neighbourhood of Mogador, which the Arabs said was the first they had seen of the kind. I believe this is by far the most northern locality whence this species has ever before been obtained. The specimen is now in the Museum of the University of Cambridge.

CRATEROPUS FULVUS (Desf.) Between Morocco and Mogador, as above mentioned.

RETICILLA TITHYS (Scop.) I saw a few at Tetuan late in November.

CARPODACTES GITHAGINEUS (Temm.) At Morocco and Mogador, as before mentioned.

GALERITA MACRORHYNCHA (Tristram.) Found on the upland plains towards the city of Morocco. A specimen I brought home has been compared by Dr. Tristram with the

type of the species first described by him in the 'Ibis' for 1859 (p. 57); and he says it is darker and more rufous than any he obtained in Algeria. It is now in the Cambridge Museum.

*OTOCORYS BILOPIA* (Temm.) Found near Rabat and Dar-el-baida.

*TURTUR RISORIUS* (Linn.) At Morocco, as above mentioned.

*TURTUR VULGARIS* (Eyton.) Very common, as I have before said, on the west coast; on my return to Tangier in May I found it there as a summer visitant.

*FRANCOLINUS* —? At Rabat, as described above.

*FULICA CRISTATA* (Gmel.) Plentiful at the lake of Ras-dowra.

*GALLINAGO MAJOR* (Gmel.) In one instance at Dar-el-baida, in another at Tangier. In March.

*TRINGA MINUTA* (Leisl.) Found at a small lake near Laraiche.

*TRINGOIDES HYPOLEUCUS* (Linn.) Generally at the lakes and marshes.

*TOTANUS GLAREOLA* (Temm.) Near Laraiche.

*TOTANUS GLOTTIS* (Linn.) At Rabat.

*LIMOSA LAPPONICA* (Linn.) Not uncommon at Muleibou-Selham and Ras-dowra.

*NUMENIUS ARQUATA* (Linn.) } Generally found at the lakes  
*NUMENIUS PHÆOPUS* (Linn.) } and marshes.

*ÆGIALITES CURONICUS* (Beseke.) Marshes on the west coast. Rare.

*OTIS TARDA* (Linn.) As before mentioned, one was shot near Tangier, possibly a stray bird from Spain, as I never heard of it elsewhere in the country.

*ARDEA PURPUREA* (Linn.) I saw a specimen killed near Tangier.

*ARDETTA MINUTA* (Linn.) Rare.

SPATULA CLYPEATA (Linn.) } Not rare. Usually in small  
FULIGULA CRISTATA (Linn.) } pools in the open country.

HYDROCHELIDON FISSIPES (Linn.) Tangier, in May.

PODICEPS CRISTATUS (Linn.) In one instance at Agla,  
between Laraiche and Ras-dowra.

## REPORT ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE TÍH.<sup>1</sup>



I HAVE now the honour to lay before you a report of my work during last winter in the ‘Badiet et Tih,’ or Wilderness of the Wandering. As this desert had been only partially, and even then superficially examined, I shall give, firstly, a short account of the route we took and of the general physical features of the country; and secondly, the various traditions of beasts and birds which are current among the Arabs. Many of these are curious, from their similarity to Western tales; and others, though seemingly foolish in themselves, are not without interest, as illustrating the beliefs and folk-lore of the Bedawín. These stories are not so numerous as I found them to be in former journeys amongst Arabs inhabiting more fertile tracts, for the Desert of the Tih is in truth ‘a great and terrible wilderness.’ The last winter, too, was one of unusual drought even in those parched regions, and the scattered tribes of Arabs who live there experienced

<sup>1</sup> Addressed to the Vice-Chancellor of the University. It appeared in ‘Nature,’ May 1871.



great difficulty in finding pasture for the herds of camels and goats which exist in considerable numbers in some districts.

The supply of water is very scanty and variable, as springs are extremely rare, and most of the water is obtained from 'Themail,' or pits dug in the gravelly beds of wadies, and similar situations into which the water filtrates. The water thus obtained is very bad, being impregnated either with mineral salts or lime, to say nothing of the quantity of earthy and animal matter held in suspension by its being constantly stirred up for the daily use of the Arabs and their flocks, who naturally collect in the neighbourhood of any place where water is to be had. This want of water was the greatest drawback to the satisfactory exploration of the country; want of food may be contended with, obstructive Bedawin may be quieted, and trackless mountains crossed, but the absence of water renders a country impracticable, especially to those who travel as lightly laden as we did, dispensing with the usual suite of dragoman and servants. Picturesque and desirable as a large retinue and guard of wild Arabs may appear to some persons, had we indulged in these impedimenta, I feel convinced that we should never have got through the country by any but the ordinary route. In these districts fertility is slowly but steadily being driven northwards, for various traces of cultivation and

dwellingings show that the rainfall must formerly have been plentiful and regular, for surely as tillage and the consequent vegetation decreases, so will the rain-supply diminish till the land has become an irreclaimable waste.

The manner in which gardens may be made and will afterwards sustain themselves, is well shown in those which still flourish at Sinai, notwithstanding the neglect of the present degraded inmates of the convent.

Even in those parts of the Tih near El Aujeh and Wady el Abyadh which, from internal evidence, must at one time, and that within our era, have supported a large settled population, so desolate is the general aspect, that, to a casual observer, the country would seem to be and always to have been an utter waste. That they were so always is, however, at once negatived by the existence of several ruined cities surrounded by the remains of extensive gardens and vineyards; of these, the walls alone remain to tell their tale. The vineyards are clearly to be traced on the low hills and rising grounds by the regular heaps and 'swathes' of black flints, with which the chief part of the district is covered, and which still retain the name of 'Teleilat el 'Aneb' or grape-mounds. These facts are of great importance as showing that the objections to fixing certain localities—mentioned in Scripture as abounding in pasturage—in what is now

completely desert, may be set aside as worthless. I consider, too, that the southern limit of the Promised Land, at the time of the Israelitish invasion, must be placed as far south as Wady el Abyadh. This would remove many difficulties hitherto met with in the satisfactory identification of Kadesh. Though I have not space to enter fully into the question here, I may say that there is strong evidence in favour of fixing that much-disputed locality at Ain Gadis (first discovered by Mr. Rowlands, though he seems to confuse it with Ain el Gudeirat). Many facts support this supposition—for instance, the suitability as a strategic position for a camp of long duration. There is abundance of water there even at the present day, and springs are found at Ain Muweileh to the north and Biyar Maayin to the south. The probability is great that a large host like the Israelites, encumbered with their families and herds, would take the easy route by the open country to the west of the Azazimeh mountains in preference to the barren and rugged passes south-west of the Dead Sea.

The desert of the Tih consists of a succession of limestone plateaux intersected by several wadies, of which the most important are W. el Arish, which is joined near Nakhl by W. Rowag, W. Garaiyeh, with its tributaries Mayin, Jerur, Muweileh, W. el Ain, which runs into W. el Abyadh, W. Rehaibeh and W.

Seba, which drain into the Mediterranean. W. Ghamr and W. Jeráfeh—the names of which have been interchanged by former travellers—fall into the northern slope of the Arabeh, and so run into the Dead Sea, as also do Wadies Murreh, Maderah, and Figreh, which debouch into the Ghor es Sáfi.

The southernmost limit is Jebel el Ráhah and Jebel el Tíh on the S.W., and Jebel el 'Ejmeh on the S. and S.E., which together form a cliff running from Suez to Akabah, and projecting into the peninsula of Sinai much in the same way as that peninsula projects into the Red Sea. The height of this cliff at its most elevated point—on Jebel el 'Ejmeh—is about 4,200 feet above the sea, and from its summit the ground descends north-westwards.

To the N.E. of the Tíh rises a third steppe or promontory, its northern portion corresponding to the 'Negeb' or south-country of Scripture, its southern part bearing the name of Jebel Magráh, sometimes also called 'the mountains of the Azázimeh,' from the tribe of Arabs which inhabits it. To the S.E. of this mountainous region we came upon the only bed of sandstone which occurs throughout the whole country. It belongs to the same formation (New Red sandstone) as that of Petra and the lower strata of the Dead Sea basin.

Having carefully considered the best means of

thoroughly examining the Tih plateau, Mr. Palmer and myself determined to proceed along the base of Jebel el Tih, and leaving to the west the Nagbs Emreikkeh and er Rákinch—the passes on the ordinary routes for travellers proceeding northwards from Mount Sinai—to cross Jebel el 'Ejmeh wherever it might prove practicable, and thus proceed through a hitherto untraversed district to Nakhl, where we had established a depôt of provisions, and where we should have to make arrangements with a different tribe of Arabs for carrying our baggage northwards.

This plan was carried out, and we entered the Tih by the Nagb el Mirád on January 12, 1870. From the summit of the cliff—for Jebel el 'Ejmeh has no pretensions to be called a mountain—a magnificent view is obtained of the Sinaitic peninsula. The range itself is composed of mountain limestone, so worn and broken by the action of frost and weather that the hills are covered with fine detritus, which, after rain, would produce some herbage, but when we were there only a few dried-up, stunted bushes were to be seen, which here as elsewhere in the desert supply good and abundant fuel.

From Jebel el 'Ejmeh the steep, bleak, waterworn hills gradually slope down and fall away into the great plains, or rather, low plateaux, which stretch across to the Mediterranean. The sameness of outline and



dreariness of this country is something terrible: the few shrubs that exist are grey or brown, and seemingly withered and dead; no animal life enlivens the scene—at times perhaps a stray vulture or raven may be seen sailing far away in the blue sky, a frightened lizard will start from beneath one's feet, or a small flight of locusts be disturbed from their scanty meal on some 'retem' bush. Water on the road there was absolutely none; a supply for four days had to be carried from El Biyár, a well strongly impregnated with Epsom salts, and lying a few miles to the south of Nagb el Mirád.

Under these conditions we can scarcely expect to meet with many signs of life. Judging from the numerous cairns and other primeval remains, this district must at one time have been populous. Wearily did I tramp day after day, gun in hand, but I was seldom rewarded with anything more than a stray beetle or lizard, and now and then some small desert bird, and on very rare occasions a hare or snake.

As from former experience we had found that it was impossible to work a country thoroughly when mounted, we only employed enough camels to carry our baggage. The camel-drivers acted as guides, and, to a certain extent, as attendants, for we took no servants whatever. This added to our already heavy work, yet it enabled us to get on much more satis-



factorily with the various Arab tribes than we could otherwise have done.

From the Nagb el Mirád our course lay down Wady Rowág, which takes its rise in the highest part of Jebel el 'Ejmeh, about eighteen miles east of the head of Wady el Arísh, with which it holds a nearly parallel course till it joins it at a short distance to the north-east of Nakhl. The district between Wady el Arísh and Wady Rowág is drained by W. Ghabiyeh, which falls into the latter about twenty-five miles from the Nagb el Mirád; after this junction the country becomes open and comparatively level. Here the ground is almost as hard as a macadamised road, and is covered with a layer of small black polished flints, which glisten in the sun as though they were wet. This polish must be attributed to the dust and grit kept in motion by the almost incessant winds, which are frequently very violent. Many of the monuments in Egypt bear witness to the destructive action of the grit. In this desert sand is almost unknown. There are only two or three sandy tracts, and these may be traversed in a few hours at most. The largest sandy district we had to cross was the Rumeilet Hámed, to the north of Khalasah (the ancient Elusa), where the prevailing north-west winds have formed extensive dunes. This sand, however, seems to have been entirely brought from the coast.

On arriving at Nakhil we found a small fort with wells and cisterns. In this dreary spot, encompassed by glaring white hills, a few miserable soldiers are maintained by the Egyptian Government for the protection of the Hajj caravan, the place being halfway between Suez and Akabah. Here we were obliged to dismiss the Towarah Arabs, and taking up our provisions which we had sent on from Suez, we entered into an agreement with the Teyáhah, who, after considerable discussion and futile attempts to extort a large 'ghafir' or black mail, engaged to take us anywhere we wished through their country.

Of the various tribes which inhabit the Desert of the Tíh, the most numerous and powerful are the Teyáhah, of whom there are two divisions, the Sagairát and the Benaiyat, and truly they were, as their name implies, 'birds of prey.' They possess large herds of camels whose numbers are frequently increased by the product of the raids which they make on their hereditary foes the 'Anazeh, whose territory lies around Palmyra and to the east of the Haurín, and is about twenty days' journey from the Tíh. These forays are sometimes carried out on a large scale; on the last occasion the Teyáhah numbered 1,000 guns. At times the plunder amounts to many hundred camels, but at others the owners come down in force, and the aggressors are compelled to retire. Bloodshed in these free-

booting expeditions and even actual warfare is avoided as much as possible, for it results in a blood feud which is always much dreaded by a Bedawi, since it binds the relatives of anyone who has perished either by murder or manslaughter—the Arabs do not distinguish between them—to avenge his death. The blood feud or vendetta thus exercises a most salutary influence, for without it the value of human life would be totally disregarded in these wild regions which lie beyond the pale of the law.

The Terabín, the tribe next in importance, occupy the country east of the Teyáhah, their territory extending from Jebel Bisher and Bir Abu Suweirah on the Sinai road some forty miles south-east of Suez, as far as Gaza to the north.

The Haiwátt live in the mountains to the west and north-west of Akabah, and are not numerous.

The Azázimeh occupy the mountainous region which I have before mentioned as bearing their name : this tribe is not large, and they are exceedingly poor ; their only food consists of the milk and cheese obtained from their camels and goats and such roots as they can dig up. On very rare occasions they may have the luck to shoot some wild animal, which, whether it be ibex or hyæna, is equally acceptable to their not over-squeamish stomachs. They are obliged to live in very small and scattered communities, from

the fact that, with the exception of one or two brackish and unpalatable springs, their only water supply is derived from the rains collected in hollows of rocks in the ravines and wady beds, and even these few and far between. This water was usually putrid and full of most uninviting animalcula; however, as no other was to be had, we were obliged to drink it.

From Nakhl we went in a north-westerly direction to Wady Garaiyeh, thence to Jebel 'Araif, which we ascended; though it is little more than 2,000 ft. high, the view is very extensive. We then proceeded to cross Wady Mayín, W. Lussán, and W. Jerúr, and afterwards reached Ain Muwéileh (the supposed site of Hagar's well). Here are very numerous primeval stone remains, the most remarkable being piles of stones placed in rows at the edges of the cliffs which face the East. Cannot they be the remains of the old Baal worship followed by the Amorites, whose name is still preserved in the country to the north of W. Muwéileh, at Dheígat el 'Amerín (the ravine of the Amorites), Ras 'Amir, and Sheikh el 'Amiri? At various places on our route, especially at 'Uggábeh—between Nakhl and W. Garayíeh—on S. el 'Ejmell, S. 'Araif in Wady Lussán, we found very large numbers of cairns, stone circles with graves, and open spaces, which, to judge from the burnt earth within them, seemed to have been designed for sacrificial

purposes ; also enclosures, girt by rude stone walls ; and, in W. el Biyár, circular dwellings, some of which are still standing, quite perfect. In W. Rowág nearly every hill is topped by a cairn ; there are three on the summit of Jebel 'Araif, and we noticed that they frequently occurred as far north as Bir Seba and El Milh (Molada).

At Muwéileh and near a neighbouring spring, Ain Guseimeh, are several caves. At the former place there is one cut in the face of the cliff, and entered by a staircase, ascending from a smaller cave below ; this has been at one time the dwelling of a Christian hermit, as we noticed crosses rudely painted in red and traces of frescoes. At this place, too, we found, with the exception of one place in W. Lussán, the first signs of regular cultivation in former times. Stones are laid in lines across the wady-beds to check and, at the same time, distribute the drainage, and to prevent the soil being washed down by a sudden *seil* or flood.

Our next point was *El Birein*, so called from the *two wells* in the wady ; here are traces of considerable ruins, a *fiskiye*, or reservoir, or aqueduct, the latter ruined, and the former nearly so. In the wady are some old *butme* or terebinth trees, remarkable as being the first trees, with the exception of two 'seyáls' or acacias, that we had seen since leaving Sinai.



About six miles N.W. of El Bircin lie the ruins of El 'Aujeh, confounded by Dr. Robinson with 'Abdeh, which I shall presently mention, situated on a low spur running into W. Hanein. This valley, however, on account of a superstition attaching to its real name, has always been called by the Arabs, when speaking to travellers, W. Hafir. Some five or six square miles of the wady are covered with ruined walls of gardens and fields; the sides of the watercourse are built up with large stones, and dams still exist across it, though all the valley is now barren and neglected. Ten miles to the east of El 'Aujeh we discovered the ruins of a fortress called 'El Meshrifeh,' perched on a projecting spur, and defended on two sides by steep cliffs, which overlook a broad plain formed by the sweep of Wady El Abyadh as it debouches from Jebel Magrah; the south face of the cliff is fortified by escarpments and towers of massive masonry, and on the summit are ruins of several houses, and of a small church; on the third side a thick wall runs across the level crest of the spur. Beneath the towers and in connection with them are numerous rock-hewn chambers; also traces of a more ancient and, indeed, primeval wall, and pieces of masonry of a date far anterior to the rest of the buildings.

On the plain above mentioned and three miles and a half to the S.E. of El Meshrifeh we found the ruins



of a considerable town called S'baita. This name seems to have been heard of by former travellers, who confounded the site with Rehaibeh ; but I believe we were the first Europeans to visit the ruins. Here, as in many other cases, we experienced considerable difficulty, owing to the apprehensions of our Bedawin, who did their best to dissuade us from going there. I succeeded, however, in taking sketches and photographs of the chief points of interest. The town contains three churches, which, like those at El Aujeh, El Meshrifeh, and S'adi, must, I think, be referred to the fifth century. There are also two reservoirs, and a tower with a rudely ornamented gateway. With the exception of a fragment or two at El Aujeh, this was the only instance of sculpture we saw, and not a single inscription was anywhere to be found.

The structure of the buildings at S'baita is worth noticing : the upper stories of the houses are supported on wide, low-spanned arches two feet wide with intervals of three feet between them, and upon these is placed the flooring of the upper rooms, which consists of narrow slabs of stone. Numerous ruined towers and walled gardens and enclosures, extending to a distance of several miles from the town, attest its former importance. The vineyards, too, marked by the 'Teleilat el 'Aneb,' which I mentioned before, extend over large tracts in this neighbourhood.

From S'baita we went to Rehaibeh, examining *en route* the ruins of S'adi, which do not seem to have been visited or even heard of by former travellers. At Rehaibeh the ruins are of much greater extent than at S'adi, but so confused that it is impossible to trace the plan of any single building. There are numerous wells, cisterns, and other remains of cultivation in the neighbourhood. From Rehaibeh we went to Khalasah and Bir Seba: the ruins at the former place have nearly disappeared, as the inhabitants of Gaza find it cheaper to send camels for the already squared stones than to quarry them near their town. Owing to the drought we found Bir Seba barren and deserted, though our Arabs assured us that in good seasons the grass is knee-deep, and furnishes ample pasturage for countless flocks and herds. Our unlooked-for appearance in out-of-the-way districts was usually considered by the natives to be in some manner connected with the exceptional drought, and on several occasions we were either implored to bring rain or cursed for the want of it, since the Arabs firmly believe that every *Nasráni* holds the weather under his control.

From Bir Seba we went to Jerusalem, and, after a short stay there, returned to Hebron, where we engaged three of the Jehalin Arabs, with their camels, to convey our baggage to Petra. Taking a new route,

we passed Tell Arad and El Milh, and struck into the unexplored mountains of the 'Azázimeh, where we discovered the ruins of the El 'Abdeh (Eboda), which are of considerable extent, and similarly placed to those of El Meshrifeh, most of the dwellings here, as there, being half excavated and half built. Of the buildings now standing, the greater part are of Christian times. The natives are perfect savages, and detained us for two hours from visiting the ruins by collecting in a gang to the number of thirteen on the top of a pass, singing their war-song, throwing down stones, and occasionally firing off one of their old matchlocks in bravado, and swearing by God and the Prophet that no one should come up. As the pass was very narrow, almost precipitous, we judged it best to propitiate them, a task accomplished, after much discussion, at the cost of eight shillings. They then escorted us to the ruins, where we took such measurements and photographs as we required. From 'Abdeh we went through the 'Azázimeh mountain, a region so awfully desolate as to defy description, struck the 'Arabah at the junction of W. Jerafeh with W. Ghamz, and crossed thence to Petra. Here the Liyathineh fully maintained their character for brutality and insolence. Infidels in all but the name of Moslims, they are descended from the tribe of Khai-beri Jews, who bear such a bad character in Arabia.

To add to our discomfort, we were snowed up for two days in a tent only just large enough for us both to lie down in. During a stay of six days, however, Petra was thoroughly examined by us and accurately mapped. We then bent our steps northwards, and at El Barid, about seven miles from Petra, discovered a colony of dwellings and temples cut in the rock, and some rudely chipped Nabathæan inscriptions. The walls and ceilings of the rock-chambers were decorated with frescoes, some coarse, others well executed. We next travelled down the 'Arabah to the Dead Sea, and, having examined the Lisan, went up into Moab. Here we stopped about three weeks and wandered over the country in search of inscriptions, as Mr. Palmer had specially come to ascertain if another Moabite stone was in existence. At last, however, we both came to the conclusion that *above ground* there are none. From Moab we crossed the Jordan, near Jericho, and returned to Jerusalem.

The following are the various observations I have made and tales I have collected about some of the birds and mammals found in the desert of Tíh and adjoining regions. For convenience of reference I have arranged them alphabetically. In the cases of well-known animals, or of such as have been before scientifically described, I confine myself chiefly to the Arab stories or legends attaching to them.

Bears (*Ursus syriacus*), Arabic *Dabb*, are still found on Mount Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon, and must formerly have existed in Palestine, but the destruction of the woods has now driven them northwards. They do much damage to the vineyards in the neighbourhood of Hermon, but seldom interfere with the herds of goats. The Arabs share in the widely spread belief that bears sustain themselves during their hybernation by sucking their paws. They also say that when the female drops her cub it is quite shapeless, and that she carries it about in her mouth for fear lest it should be devoured by the ants, and then licks it into proper shape. Bear's grease is said to be useful in cases of leprosy.

Boar, wild, Ar. *Halhouf*, or usually in Palestine, *Khanzir*, which simply means pig. These animals are very abundant wherever there is cover near water, as on the banks of the Jordan and in the Ghor es Sáfi at the S. of the Dead Sea. I was much surprised to find traces of recent rooting by them in the W. Rákhmah, which lies between El Millh and 'Abdeh. This place is far from any water except what may have collected in hollow rocks, and can boast of no cover. The 'Azázimeh eat the wild boar, but the Ghawárineh, who will eat a hyæna, though it is known to frequent the graveyards, will not touch them.

In this, as in the case of the other animals, I can



insert but a few amongst the many medicinal uses to which they are put by the Arabs, as these are in general unsuited to the taste of European readers.

Bustard (*Otis hubara*), Ar. *Hubara*. I noticed a few of these birds in the Tíh; the Arabs say that the lesser bustard (*Otis tetrax*), which is also occasionally found there, is the young of the larger, but does not attain its full growth for two years. They also say that these birds, when attacked by a falcon, will cover it with their fæces, and so drive it off.

Camel, Ar. masc. *jemel*, fem. *nágah*. A stallion camel is called *fahl*. Collectively, *ibil* vulgo *bil* or *báir*, pl. *aarán*. *Hejjin* is usually applied to a dromedary, but is properly used of a man, horse, or camel having an Arab sire and foreign dam, which, in the case of the animals, is considered the best possible cross. Hence, a dromedary (or well-bred camel used for riding) is so called.

Camels are most peevish animals, docile only from stupidity; ill-tempered, they never forget an injury. I have but once seen a camel show the slightest sign of affection for its owner, although they are always well treated. All their feelings of like and dislike, pleasure and annoyance, are expressed by a hideous sound between a bellow and a roar, to which they give utterance whether they are being loaded or unloaded, whether they are being fed or urged over a



difficult pass ; in fact, they disapprove of whatever is done. Without them, however, it would be impossible to cross the deserts, for no other animal could endure the fatigue and want of water ; I have myself seen a camel refuse water after having been without any for three days. For their food they always choose the most uninviting thorny shrubs ; the seya (acacia), which has thorns two or three inches long, is an especial favourite with them. Many of the Arabs subsist almost entirely upon the milk and cheese afforded by their herds of camels.

The pelican is called *jemel el ma*, or water camel ; and the chameleon, *jemel el yehúd*, the Jew's camel.

Cat, or *Kutt*, also *Sinnaur* and *Hirr*. According to some lexicographers, the first name is not a pure Arabic word. Cats are held in great estimation in the East, and large prices are sometimes paid by native ladies for fine Persian specimens. In Cairo a sum of money was left in trust to feed poor cats, who daily receive their rations at the Mahkemah (law courts).

Though the Arabs in Sinai and the Tih spoke of a wild cat, *gatt berri*, I found that this was always the lynx (*Felis caracul*), which is called in some parts of Arabia *'inak el ardh*, or earth-kid ; in Sinai, it is also spoken of as *ânazeh* (from *ânz*, a she-goat). In Morocco, it is only known as *owddil*.

I may here remark that the word *Fahd*, translated

by Lane and others as 'lynx'—an animal that is never used for hunting—really means the *cheeta*, or hunting leopard of Persia and India.

The Arabs in the Tih and in Morocco, as well as the Fellahin in Egypt, eat the lynx, and esteem it a delicacy, but, as some of them eat hyænas, jackals, foxes, vultures, and ravens, they can hardly be quoted as Epicurean authorities.

Many animals have in Arabic a large number of names, more than 560, for instance, being applied to the lion. The following story current among them will illustrate this fact with reference to the cat. A Bedawi was out hunting one day, and caught a cat, but did not know what animal it could be. As he was carrying it along with him, he met a man, who said, 'What are you going to do with that *Sinnaur*?' Then another asked him, 'What is that *Kutt* for?' A third called it *hirr*, and others styled it successively *dhayùn*, *khaidà*, and *khaital*. So the Bedawi thought to himself, this must be a very valuable animal, and took it to the market, where he offered it for sale at 100 dirhems. At this the people laughed and said, 'Knowest thou not, O Bedawi, that it would be dear at half a dirhem?' He was enraged at having his dream of wealth thus rudely dispelled, and flung it away, exclaiming, 'May thy house be ruined, thou beast of many names, but little worth!'

The Arabs say that the occasion of the cat's first appearance was as follows. The inhabitants of the ark were much troubled with mice: Noah, in his perplexity, stroked the lion's nose, and made him sneeze, whereupon a cat appeared and cleared off the mice.

In the East, as in Europe, a black cat is regarded as 'uncanny,' and various parts of it are used for magical and medicinal purposes; its claws, for instance, are said to be a charm against the nightmare.

Coney (*Hyrax syriacus*), Ar. *Waber* (lit. fur, from the thickness of their coats) *ghanem beni Israél*—sheep of the sons of Israel. Some Arabs say that this animal may be eaten, but others, as in Sinai, declare that it is unlawful, and call it Abu Salmàn, or else the brother of man, and say that it was originally a man who was metamorphosed for his sins, and they believe that any one who eats him will never see his house again. It is a common joke among the Hajjis and people of Mecca to say 'A good digestion to you who have eaten Abu Salmàn.'

Dog, Ar. *Kelb* (in Morocco *jero*,<sup>1</sup> which properly signifies *puppy*, *whelp*), is the ordinary dog. A large kind of rough greyhound is called *Seluki*, from the town Seluk, in Yemen.<sup>1</sup> This dog much resembles the Scotch deerhound (cf. Gaelic name, *slogie*). In

<sup>1</sup> The usual derivation, however, is 'Seleucia.'

Syria and east of the Jordan there is a variety which is smooth, but has its ears, tail, and legs feathered like a setter; the females are said to be keener for hunting than the males, and black dogs are said to be the most patient. The dogs in Eastern towns live in communities, and have distinct bounds, usually ending at a street corner, and woe betide any dog who wanders beyond his own proper limits. I have often, when living at Cairo, amused myself by watching these animals. No sooner does a strange dog appear than all the rightful owners of the soil rush at him; the intruder takes to his heels, but the moment he has reached his own frontier, he turns round and snarls defiantly at his pursuers, and if they do not quickly retire his friends come to his assistance and drive them back in turn.

Dogs are said to have an intense hatred of hyænas, so much so that if a dog is smeared with the fat of a hyæna, he will go mad; and—which seems inconsequent—if a person carries a hyæna's tongue the dogs will not bark at him. This certainly would be most useful on entering an Arab encampment, for there a stranger is immediately surrounded by a pack of snarling brutes, who seem to sleep all day with one eye open, and at night to be continually awake and barking, either to frighten away some prowling jackal

or lynx, or to repress some errant sheep or goat who may wish to wander outside the circle of tents.

The Arabs believe that a dog can tell a dead person from one feigning death, and say that the Greeks (*Room*) never bury a person till they have exposed him to the dogs. It is, however, of only one breed that this is asserted, namely, the kind called *el Kalti*, and which is of small size, with very short legs. It is also called the Chinese dog. Of the origin of this story I am quite ignorant. The following is almost identical with a well-known Northern legend:—

A king had a favourite dog, whom he left at home one day while he went out hunting. Having ordered his cook to prepare a dish of *leben* (sour milk) for him on his return, the cook obeyed the order, but carelessly left the milk uncovered, and a snake came and drank of it and rendered it poisonous. On the king's return the dog tried to prevent him from touching it; at this moment the cook came in with some bread, which the king took and began to dip into the *leben*, when the dog immediately bit his hand. Upon this the king was very angry, and stretched out his hand again to the bowl; the dog, however, was before him, and began to lap the sop, whereupon it straightway fell down dead. The king then became aware of the sagacity and faithfulness of the beast, whose loss he



mourned ever after, and erected a splendid tomb to his memory.

Donkey, Ar. *Himár*. The donkey, much used by the Arabs (for it will thrive in the desert where a horse could not exist), chiefly for carrying waterskins, as the Bedawin often encamp several miles from water, and the women bring up a supply every two or three days.<sup>1</sup> At Damascus there are three breeds of donkeys —(1) The white, which is most valuable, being sometimes worth 30*l.* or 40*l.*, and in Egypt I have heard of 60*l.* being given for a fine animal of this kind; (2) the ordinary donkey, which is used for riding, &c.; (3) a large donkey, standing from 13 to 14 hands, which is used for carrying burdens in the town; in the country, however, it is useless, as, unlike the other breeds, it is far from sure-footed.

The wild donkey, Ar. *Air, fera*, or *himár wahshi*, is found to the east of Danascus; it is said to be very long-lived.

Dugong (*Halicore Hemprichii*), Ar. *otum* (called by Dr. Robinson *tîn*). This curious mammal is found in the Red Sea, and harpooned by the fishermen as it basks on the surface of the water. The skin is used by the Sinai Bedawin to make sandals of, for which purpose it is admirably adapted. In some parts of

<sup>1</sup> A tribe in the desert, towards the Euphrates, is said to use donkeys only, and to possess neither horses nor camels.



Arabia, it is said that *khijaf*, or boots to protect the camels' feet from the rocks, are made of it. Some commentators take the Heb. *tachash*, which is translated 'badger-skins,' to mean the *otum*, and there is an Arabic word, *Tukkas*, applied to the dolphin species generally.

Fox, Ar. *Tadleb*, *Abou'l Husein*. In the East, as in Europe, this animal is looked upon as the type of cunning, and numberless stories are current concerning it. The following are examples:—

When a fox is overmuch troubled with fleas, he plucks out a mouthful of his hair, and then he takes to the water, holding the tuft in his mouth; all the fleas creep up on to this to escape drowning, and the fox then drops it into the stream and retires, freed from his enemies.

The celebrated Arabic author and theologian, Esh Shafey, relates that when in Yemen, he and his fellow travellers prepared two fowls for dinner one day, but the hour of prayer coming on, they left them on the table and went to perform their devotions; meanwhile a fox came and stole one. After their prayers were finished, they saw the fox prowling about with their chicken in his mouth, so they pursued him and he dropped it; on coming up nearer to it, however, they found it only to be a piece of palm fibre, which the fox had dropped to attract their attention, and had, in

the meantime, crept round and carried off the second chicken and left them dinnerless.

The fox is said to feign death, and to inflate his body, and when any animal, prompted by curiosity, comes to look at him, he springs up and seizes it.

The fable of the fox and stork is changed to the fox and raven; the former invites the latter to dinner, and gives him soup in a shallow wooden bowl; the raven returns the compliment, and pours out some wheat over a *silleh* bush. The *silleh* is one of the most thorny of the desert plants.

Another story told of the fox is, that one day he met five slaves, who were travelling with a large supply of food and other goods; he joined them, and after a time they reached a well, but had no rope wherewith to draw up the water. The fox suggested that they should throw down the meal, and that one of their number should go down and knead it, which was accordingly done. After a while the fox said to the four who remained above, 'Your comrade must have found a treasure; why don't you go down and share it?' This hint was enough, and they all hurried down, while the fox decamped with their goods and chattels.

A fox's gall is said to be a specific for epilepsy, and his fat for the gout.

Gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*), Ar. male 'ard, fem.

*ghazaleh*, also (chiefly in poetry) *Dhabyeh* (cf. *Tabitha*, Acts ix. 36). This gazelle is found in the more open parts of the country between Sinai and the Lebanon; their haunts vary much with the different seasons. Though we never found any in the centre of the Tih, the Arabs said that, after a good rainy season, large numbers come there.

The Arabs speak of three kinds, viz.:—1. *El Rim* (*Antelope addax*). 2. *El Edam* (*A. leucoryx*). 3. *El 'Afar*, which I cannot satisfactorily identify.

The tongue of an antelope must be an invaluable charm, for if it be dried and powdered, and then given to a woman who henpecks her husband, it will insure her future good behaviour!

Goat, Ar. *ma'az*, f. *ma'azeh* or *anz*. A he-goat (either wild or tame) is also called *tais*. In mountainous districts, large herds of goats are kept by the Arabs, chiefly for their milk and hair, which is used for making tents and sacking. The Arabs more usually eat a kid than a lamb on the occasion of a feast, and always a male. Full-grown animals are seldom killed. There are several varieties of goats from the upright-eared kind to the Syrian goat with pendent ears, 12 to 14 inches long. That usually seen in the desert has ears slightly drooping and rather curling up at the top.

Horse: the generic term in Arabic, *Kheil*; a horse, *hisin* (in Morocco *'owd*); a mare, *fars*; a colt, *mohrah*.

'*Atik* is a thorough-bred Arab. Tradition says that the Devil will never enter a tent in which an '*atik* is kept.

*Hejjin* : a crossed horse. (The term is explained under the head 'Camel.')

*Berdhún* is a pack-horse with foreign sire and dam.

*Kadish* is a badly bred *berdhún*.

The Bedawin reckon seven principal breeds of horses, which are as follows :—

1. *Musalsal*, which ought to be thin-crested, with short white stockings, red-eyed, short-coated, full in the barrel, and long-winded.

2. *Haikali*.

3. *Sharthar*.

4. *Hareifish*, a breed well known in Syria.

5. *Tubal*.

6. *Fij*.

7. *Kumeit*. These horses are usually bay, with black points, and ought, say the Arabs, to have a very fine muzzle ; head thin, and well set on ; upright, small ears ; conspicuous white star on the forehead ; round quarters, and to be well ribbed up ; with a short or rat tail. They add, a well-bred horse is known by having the tail thick at the root, and carried well out.

The favourite colours are chestnut, grey, dun, black, and dark bay. The Prophet is related to have pronounced the following dicta :—'The best horses are

black with white foreheads, and a white upper lip ; next to these a black horse with a star, and three white stockings ; next a bay with these marks.' 'Prosperity is with sorrel horses.' The same authority judged *shikál*, *i.e.*, having the right-fore and left-hind feet white, to be the sign of a bad horse.

The first man who tamed and rode a horse is said to have been Ishmael. The first horse appeared when Adam sneezed on first awaking into life (cf. the story of the cat).

Ilyæna (*H. striata*), Ar. *Dhaba'*, also (in Sinai) *Arkudha*. This animal is found throughout the desert and Palestine. It is a cowardly beast, feeding chiefly on carrion, and is consequently little feared by the natives ; as I have before mentioned, the Ghawárineh eat it. It is said to change its sex yearly ; the same fable is told of hares.

Jackal, Ar. *Ibn 'Awi*, or in Syria *Wáwi*, in Morocco *Deeb* and *Taaleb Yusuf*. These animals are not found in the desert, but are common in the cultivated parts of Egypt and Palestine, where their weird cry is very frequently heard, beginning just after sunset. They are timid beasts, and do little damage, except in the vineyards, where they commit great ravages, being exceedingly fond of grapes.

Ibex (*Capra bedan*), Ar. *Bedan* (from *bedn*, a body : probably so called as being the largest game in Sinai),

the correct Arabic is *waal*; this is the name given to them north of Damascus. Some travellers have called them *Taytal*, but the word is not Arabic, and is only used by the Sinaitic Bedawin when speaking to Europeans, 'poor simpletons,' as they politely put it, 'who don't understand Arabic.' The derivation of this word I am quite unable to determine. Among themselves the Bedawin speak of the buck as *Bedan*, and the doe as *Anz* (she-goat), and the kids as *Dhalit*. A male in his first year is called *Fenaigili*; after this he is distinguished by the length of his horns; thus in the second year he is called *Abu Shibrain*, the father of two spans; in his third, *Thelathi*; in his fourth, *Rubai*; in his fifth, *Khammasi*; and they add that the horns never exceed five spans in length, which I believe to be true, for on measuring the largest pair that I have ever seen, I found them to be just five spans (about 41 inches) long. The term *garimi* (red) is applied in a general way, much as we speak of red deer. These animals are found in Sinai and on both sides of the Dead Sea. I have reason to believe that those near Palmyra are a different variety.

Jerboa, Ar. *Yerbua*h, also *Dirs* or *Dars*, and sometimes *Za rumaih* (the lord of the little lance). There are several kinds of jerboas and desert rats; some of them are only found amongst the rock, others only burrow in the sand and gravel. Opinion is divided



amongst the Arabs as to whether the jerboa is lawful for food or not; some eat it, but others reject it as being 'a creeping thing.' The Arabs say that they never drink, and believe that they live in communities, and appoint a sheikh, whom, however, they unhesitatingly kill should his rule not suit them. There is an Arabic proverb about a deceitful man: 'He acts like a jerboa.' This is said with reference to the ground outside a jerboa's hole, which, though seemingly solid, is really undermined, and gives way when trodden upon.

Leopard (*Felis leopardus*), Ar. *Nimr*, occasionally called in Sinai *Giblán*<sup>1</sup> (corruption of the Turkish *Koplán*), the cubs are called *Weshek*. In the more secluded and inaccessible mountains of Sinai these animals are far from rare, and in a former visit to that country I was told that eleven camels had been killed by them during the preceding year in the district lying between Senned and W. Nasb. Like the hyrax the leopard is said to have been formerly a man changed into his present shape for performing his ablutions before prayer in milk, thus despising and diverting from their proper uses the good gifts of God.

Leopards are tolerably abundant on the shores of the Dead Sea; their tracks were here mistaken by M. de

<sup>1</sup> *Giblán* is the name of the chief of the *Nimr* (leopard) family of the *Adwán* Arabs in *Moub.*

Sauley for those of the lion, which animal is, however, quite extinct in Palestine and the Tih.

The Bedawin assert that young leopards are born with a snake round their necks, and that when a leopard is ill he cures himself by eating mice. Their fat is used medicinally, and their hair is burnt as a charm to drive away scorpions and centipedes.

Lizard. The larger lizards, especially the *Uromastix spinipes*, are called in Arabic *Dhabb*, and the smaller *Hardhun*. The Bedawin say that the former lays seventy eggs and even more, resembling pigeons' eggs, and that the young are at first quite blind. They are believed to be very long lived—indeed I have heard 700 years assigned as the term of their existence. By some tribes they are eaten, but are generally thought unclean. The Syrians curse them freely, for they say that they mock the devotions of the true believers. Certainly the way in which they jerk their bodies up and down is not unlike a caricature of the Muslim prostrations.

The dried bodies of some of the Skinks or Sand-lizards (Ar. *Sakankúr*) are much sought after as a restorative throughout the East. The particular kind in vogue is found in Nejed, and large quantities are brought by the Hajj caravans.

Owl, Ar. *Boomeh*. This bird is in some places regarded with veneration on account of a tradition

which says that the souls of men appear on their tombs in the form of owls. I am told that they are sometimes used by fowlers as decoys.

Pigeon, Ar. *Hamám*; wild pigeon, *Yemám*. In Egypt there are enormous numbers of pigeons who live in towers specially built for them. They are chiefly kept for their dung, which is very valuable as manure, and largely exported.

Most mosques are tenanted by pigeons, and not unfrequently a sum of money is left by some pious Moslem to buy corn for them. At Jerusalem they are especially numerous, whence the Arabic proverb, 'Safer than the pigeons of the Haram.' The mourning of doves is as frequently alluded to in Eastern as it is in Western poetry.

Quail, usually called in Arabia *Summana* or *Selwa*. I only met with one specimen in the Tih, and that was called by the natives *Firreh*. There is a tradition that the first instance of meat becoming corrupt and stinking was when the children of Israel stored up the flesh of the miraculous quails contrary to the commands of the Almighty.

Raven. There are three species of this bird scattered over the desert, viz., *Corvus corax*, *C. umbrinus*, and *C. affinis*; all of these are called by the Arabs *Ghoráb*. They are generally found near a herd of camels, and may often be seen perched on the backs of these

animals searching for ticks. Their chief food consists of reptiles and insects, but any dead or dying animal will attract them. On one occasion I saw two ravens attack a horse which had fallen from exhaustion.

An Arabian proverb says, 'Take a raven for your guide, and he will lead you to a dead dog.'

An Arab tradition, evidently taken—as many others are—from the Old Testament, ascribes the first idea of burial to the raven. 'While Adam was absent on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Cain and Abel each erected an altar for sacrifices. Cain, a husbandman, offered the refuse of his garden, but Abel chose the finest young ram of his flock and laid it upon the altar. His sacrifice was accepted, and the ram taken up to heaven, there to remain till it was required as a substitute for Ishmael when his father Abraham should offer him up on Mount Moriah. Cain, seeing his offering refused, conceived so sudden a jealousy against his brother that he slew him, but being perplexed after the deed, and knowing not how to dispose of the body, he carried it about with him for many years. At last he saw two ravens engaged in deadly conflict, and one having killed the other scraped a hole in the ground and buried it, a hint which Cain took, and thus instituted the first burial rites as he had caused the first death. Adam returning mourned for his son and cursed the ground which had drunk up his blood, wherefore, say

the Muslims, the earth will never more absorb the blood of one who is slain, but it remains above ground, a lasting testimony to the murderer's guilt.'

Sand-grouse (*Pterocles setarius*).—This species is most common in the desert, but three other kinds are also found, viz. *P. exustus* and *P. senegalensis* (found by Tristram near the Dead Sea) and *P. arenarius*. All these are called *Kata*, or, in Bedawi dialect, *Gata* (in Morocco *Koudri*). The first and last mentioned species are called by some Bedawin *Koudriyeh* and *Sunijeh* respectively.

These birds require to drink morning and evening, and thus often prove of great service to the traveller by indicating the proximity of water. While staying at Damascus I was assured that these birds exist in such numbers in the territory of the 'Anazeh Bedawin that during the nesting season two men will go out with a camel's-hair bag between them and fill it with eggs in a very short space of time. The women then squeeze out the eggs and cook them, leaving the shells inside the bag. The *Kata* is said always to lay three eggs, neither more nor less. Its bones when properly prepared are said to be a cure for baldness, and the head may be used as a charm to extort secrets from a sleeping person. From its being so sure an indicator of the presence of water, the Arabs have the proverb 'More truthful than the *Gata*.'



Sheep. The proper Arabic name is *Dhán*; *Ghānem* is the general term for flocks of sheep and goats.

In the Tih there are few sheep, but in Moab and Palestine they are numerous; these are generally the fat-tailed variety (*Ovis laticaudata*). A fine-woolled breed is found in some districts. I have always noticed that in the East sheep's milk is much better than that of either cows or goats.

Snake, Ar. *Haiyeh*, *Taabán 'Offi* (cf. ὄφις), *Dúdeh* (lit. worm), *Rakshah* (speckled one). Owing to its being winter when I passed through the Tih, there were very few snakes to be found. The attitude taken by a horned snake (*Cerastes Hasselquistii*) which I captured was remarkable. Immediately it saw me it began to hiss, and, tying itself as it were into a knot, created a curious grating sound by the friction of its scales. This snake is considered the most deadly of all by the Arabs, who hold it in great dread. They also affirm that if a snake has swallowed a bone which it cannot digest it will coil itself tightly round a tree or stone till the bone inside it is completely broken up.

Tortoise (*Testudo graeca*), Ar. *Salahfát* (in Morocco *afkah*). The water-tortoise (*Emys caspica*) is called *Lejah*. The former is occasionally found in the Tih, though common in Palestine. The latter abounds in the pools and streams of that country. Another species of land-tortoise (*Testudo marginata*) is mentioned by



Tristram as being found on Mount Carmel. The water-tortoise is known to be carnivorous, and the Arabs declare that the land species also eat snakes, but this I believe to be quite false. Tortoises have a very strong odour, and I have frequently seen pointers in Morocco stand to them as they would to game.

Vulture, Egyptian (*Neophron percnopterus*), Ar. *Rakhamah* (Heb. *racham*) or *Onak* (in Morocco *Sew*). This is the only vulture at all frequently seen in the desert. The Griffon (*Gyps fulvus*) and Lammergeier (*Gypaëtus barbatus*) seldom wander beyond the limits of cultivation. The Egyptian vulture is commonly found near Arab encampments, where it shares the office of scavenger with the dogs. Many tribes, however, both in North Africa and the East, consider its flesh a delicacy.

Wolf (*Canis lupus*), Ar. *Deeb*. These animals are found in the mountains of Sinai and Palestine, but rarely in the Tih. They do not pack like European wolves, but hunt by twos and threes.

The Bedawin say that 'they sleep with one eye open,' and have a similar proverb to our own, 'A wolf in the stomach.' Hunger is sometimes called *Da' ed deeb*, wolf's malady. Various parts of the animal are used for charms, e.g. a wolf's head in a pigeon cote, or a tail in a cattle stall, will keep off other wild beasts.

In addition to stories about real animals, the Bedawin have many fables of imaginary creatures, such as the Ginn, the Efreet, and the Ghoul. These hardly come within my province, and are well described by Lane ('Arabian Nights,' vol. i.). I may however mention the *Nis-nás*, which is said to resemble a man bisected longitudinally, and to possess but one arm, one leg, and half a head. The story goes that it is found in Yemen, and that the people there hunt and eat it, notwithstanding that it can speak Arabic! The *Hud-hud* (so called from its cry) is a mysterious creature, not uncommon in Sinai. The Bedawin declare that it is never seen. Though I often heard its plaintive cry close to my tent, and rushed out gun in hand, yet I never could obtain so much as a glimpse of it. At one moment the sound came from just over my head; the next instant it was far away up the hill side, and would either pass into the distance, or as suddenly return to me. From this I am convinced that the cry is made by some bird, probably of the owl tribe. The Arabs, of course, will accept no such materialistic solution of the mystery.

The botany of the Tih, especially in a season of drought such as we experienced, is very limited. The climate is so dry that mosses and even lichens are not found, except near Nakhl, where I gathered some

much resembling the true reindeer moss. This only grows on the northern side of the hillocks.

The passage in Job xxx. 4, 'Who cut up mallows by the bushes,' seems wrongly referred to the Sea Purslane (*Atriplex Halimus*). In North Africa and the country east of Bir-Erba there is a small mallow which is eaten. This *invariably* grows either where an Arab encampment has stood or on the site of an ancient town. It has a small pinkish flower, and seldom exceeds seven or eight inches in height.

In the caves near Ain Muweilih a considerable quantity of salt crystallises on the surface of the limestone. Though disagreeable to the taste, it is eaten by the Arab.

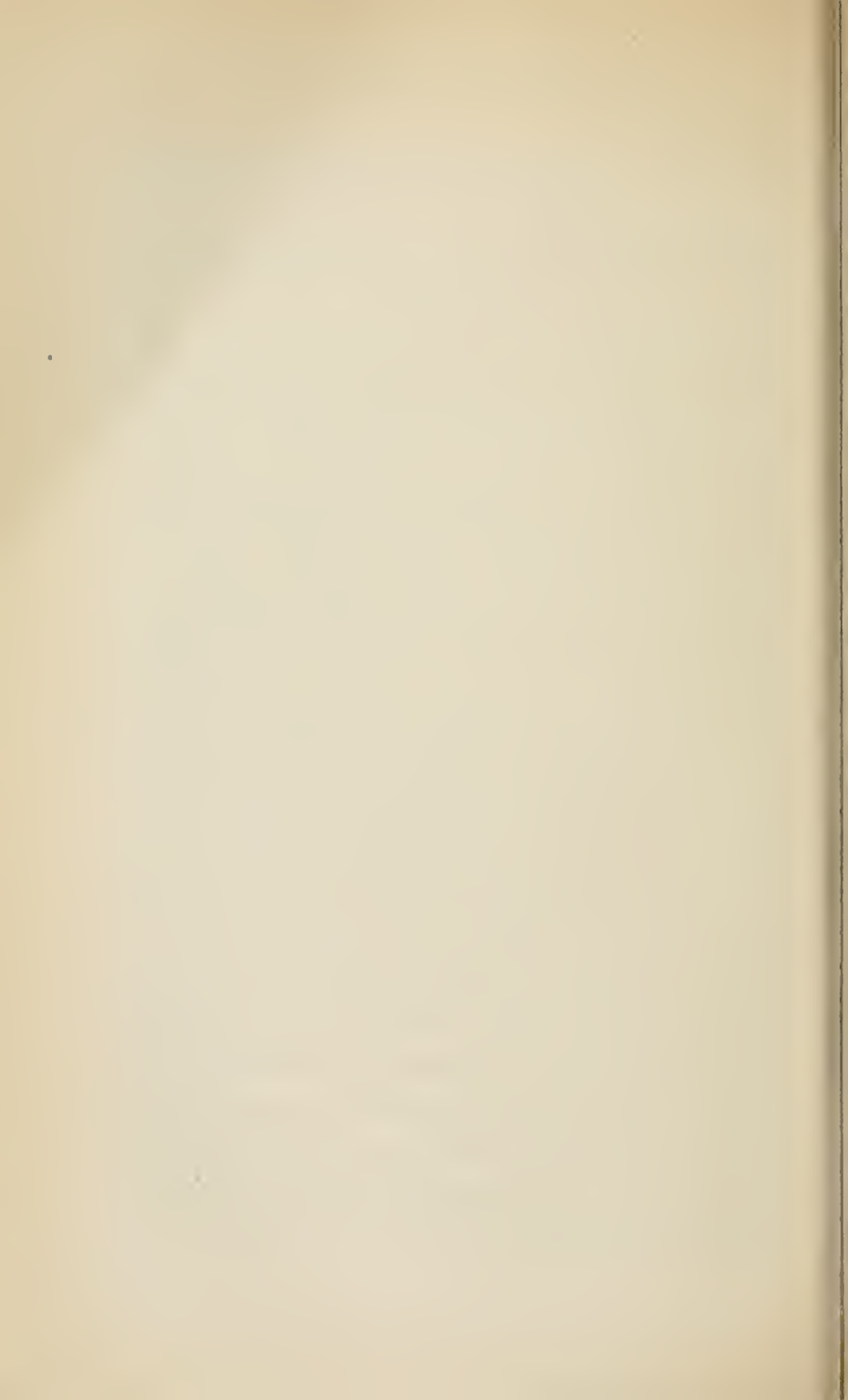
At Petra the natives chip the interior of the caves. The fragments of sandstone are crushed and boiled, and a saltpetre sufficiently pure for the purpose of making gunpowder is thus obtained. The sulphur is found on the Lisan and coasts of the Dead Sea.

The above report necessarily contains but a sketch of our work. It will, however, I trust, give some idea of the country we had to examine, and of the difficulties which we encountered. In conclusion, I must here tender my best thanks to the University of Cambridge for having aided me in the investigation of this hitherto so little known but important district. It is the intention of Mr. Palmer and myself to publish

together as soon as possible a full and systematic account of our explorations.

*Note by Mr. C. R. Crotch on the Coleoptera brought from the Tih.*

‘In the small collection now before me are contained ninety species of Coleoptera, representing more or less all the larger families of the order, except the water-beetles, an omission easily to be accounted for. The group most largely represented is, as throughout Syria, the Heteromena. These curious apterous, sluggish forms seem to thrive under the most arid conditions. The whole cast of the fauna is essentially Mediterranean; that one is on its southern side is shown by genera like *Adesmia*, *Graphipterus*, *Pachydeura*, &c. The relations of this collection with an Egyptian one are very marked, many specimens being identical. None of them, however, extend to the Algerian deserts, though congeneric species occur there in their place. Nearly all are confined to the S. corner of Palestine and E. of Egypt, except the dung-beetles (*Histerida*, *Aphodiadæ*, and *Coprida*), and these are more or less identical with those of S. Europe. The paucity of vegetation is very strongly indicated by the fact that the two great groups of *Rhynchophera* and *Phytophaga* number only seven species between them.’



## EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL IN EGYPT.

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*Jan.* 11. I heard that there were some grottoes in the hills beyond Souadi, so early in the morning I crossed the river to explore them. I found remains of several, but as they were all in the Nummulite limestone, the barbarous natives had destroyed them all in order to burn the stone for lime, finding it easier to quarry them than to break into the face of the cliff. One alone was not destroyed, though three sitting figures which it once contained were broken away and the hieroglyphs were much defaced. I found near Zoweh the remains of some unfinished 'tazzas' of Egyptian alabaster, which had evidently broken when being roughly shaped and had consequently been rejected. Zoweh is a city of the dead; all the dead from Minieh and thereabouts are ferried across the river and buried there (hence the fable of Styx and the souls being ferried across). The city is about a mile and a half long, and about half a mile in width; each tomb-house is a domed building—like the saint-houses in



Morocco—and underneath are vaults in which the bodies are deposited.

12. To-day the women from Minieh cross over in great numbers to Zoweh to live for two days in the tombs, as Ramadan finishes then, and it is the feast of Beiram.

13. Passed up the river with a fair wind without stopping at the grottoes of Beni Hassan, as we intend going up to Thebes as quickly as possible, and coming down slowly and visiting all places of interest afterwards.

The hills on the eastern side come very near to the river from some fifteen miles below Minieh, and run along it till the Mount of Abou'l Feda (near Manfaloot), when it runs S.E. at some distance off.

On the 15th we passed Abou'l Feda; it is usually difficult, and so we found it. The wind comes down from the cliffs, which I should think were 400 or 500 feet high, in sudden gusts. At one time we were blown on to a bank, and took some time in getting off. We had been drawing, and all the books, glasses, &c., were on the table, when a sudden gust came, the boat heeled over, and there was a grand smash and a most charming mess of drawings, paints, water, &c., scudding about the floor. However, we soon passed the hills and went along with a capital breeze, but on the 16th the wind fell when we were a short distance

from Siout; so I went on shore to shoot pigeons, and in about one and a half hour I bagged forty-five, only missing one shot.

These pigeons are the common blue rock, and are grown extensively here; the natives cannot shoot them and never kill them, as their guano is extensively exported to Europe, and sells for a high price. They are to be counted not by hundreds but by thousands; some of the pigeon-houses are 300 or 400 feet long, and 8 or 10 feet broad, built up of earthen jars, with long sticks stuck in for perches. I should think that some villages must own some 20,000 or 30,000 pigeons; these one can shoot anywhere except close to their cots, as that makes them desert and go to another place. Most of the birds I shot fell in the river, but the small Arab boys were only too delighted to throw off their one garment and act as retrievers.

I am making several sketches, and am trying a few figures; there is a great sameness in the scenery, but it is made very lovely by the clearness of the air, and more especially in the evening when the tints are gorgeous; the desert hills turn quite lake-coloured, really quite as bright as Mr. Cautley makes them, even to my telescopic eyes.

I find my Moorish very little use here, as it is quite another language, even the commonest words of everyday life are totally different; however, I am getting to

make myself a little understood, and find the natives very fair specimens. I remarked that a large number of them have lost their forefinger; on enquiry, I found that some years ago, when conscription was in force, this was their way of evading service, or rather trying to, for when this was found out the authorities took the self-mutilated men and made them shoot from their left shoulder.

17. Arrived at Siout, where we only stopped an hour or two. It is a good-sized town, with good bazaars, and famed for water-jars and pipes made of a very pretty red clay, some of which I invested in.

18, 19, 20. Variable winds with some rain.

21. Came to Girzeh, another large town, where we did not stop.

Between Siout and Girzeh the hills come down in quite a cliff to the water's edge, and just at dinner time it began to blow in gusts and squalls, just as at Abou'l Feda; we were blown on to the usual sand-bank, and for about half an hour we had a great excitement, the men shouting and howling at one another, the reis abusing them all round in choice Arabic, some trying to push off with poles, others up to their waists in water; all this by moonlight made a most picturesque scene.

One of the boatmen made a sacrifice of a kind quite new to me the other day: I was out shooting in

the small boat, when he asked permission to stop and see his mother. After taking leave of her, he pulled out a paper (written in Arabic) which I take to have been a prayer; having enclosed some frankincense in this, he burnt it. Charms and amulets are very common as in the West, but this I never saw before.

22. The eastern cliffs are very pretty about here: I should judge them to be about 350 or 400 feet high; the upper half is precipitous and waterworn with curious pillars and pinnacles, the lower part being generally a steep slope of débris. The colouring is lovely, especially in the early morning when the wadys, or valleys, are in deep violet shade, and at sunset the hills, naturally reddish, turn into the most intense lake and purple for the few minutes before the sun sinks. About here the dôm, or Theban palm, begins to be plentiful; it is just like a palmetto grown into a good-sized tree, not nearly so pretty and graceful as the corn-palm. The 'Sout,' or *Acacia nilotica*—one of the gum-arabic producers—is plentiful, and much used in making charcoal.

23, 24. Came up with a fair wind and passed Ghench, which is only famous for its porous water-jars, which are much used to keep the water cool, and also to filter it, for the Nile water is naturally rather muddy, but when filtered it becomes as clear as possible, and is excellent water.

25. Off Karnak in the morning, and walked up to the ruins. As one approaches from the river nothing is seen but the massive gateways which face one, being a wall built of enormous stones, but inside of these is a large courtyard about 100 yards square, with a colonnade round it, then another gateway (about 70 feet high), and a row of enormous columns leading to the great hall, which is supported by numerous less gigantic columns, placed very near to one another, and covered with hieroglyphs. Beyond this are the two obelisks and remains of two other fallen ones; near these are rows of pillars in human forms about 15 feet high, and small chambers with remains of paintings in them. Further still is another temple at right angles to the other, composed of four rows of massive pillars supporting a roof made of vast blocks of stone. This temple is about 80 yards long. Beyond are ruins of smaller chambers, and at a distance two gateways. On the outside wall of the temple are sculptures of different scenes in the lives of the kings. Some are wonderfully well executed, and the drawings very spirited.

Luxor (the ancient Thebes) now has little of interest except a gateway and a double row of enormous columns, which, with a few remains of walls built about with the Arab mud-hovels, are all that remain.



26. Went across the river and rode about a mile to the temple at Koorna, a small but massive and well-preserved building. Then about three miles through the hills to the tombs of the kings, which are most curious and interesting. They are cut in the solid rock, and vary in length from 200 to 400 feet. One enters by a passage about 10 feet high and 12 wide, slightly sloping downwards. At the side are generally small chambers covered with paintings, then one or more large rooms supported on columns; in some the massive granite sarcophagus is still remaining. The paintings are very interesting, as they throw such a light on the habits and usages of the old Egyptians. I remarked a plough identical with that now in use, most elegant chairs with coloured cushions, besides drawings of agricultural scenes, &c. The figures are many of them wonderfully drawn, with a free bold outline; the faces are capital—all, of course, being profiles.

I went by moonlight to see the colossal figures, which are about 60 feet high. The effect was most curious; they looked like huge ghosts sitting in the middle of the plain. Afterwards I sat in some ruins to shoot wolves or jackals. One came which I knocked over, but after lying for about five minutes he went off and escaped to the mountains.



Cairo, Feb. 19, 1869.

I have again changed, or rather modified, my plans. I am now intending to stop here some three weeks or so, and then go on to Sinai. This is the only town that I have ever been to where I have cared to make any stay, but there is so much to see and so much to sketch that I have determined to stay. I have got a room in one of the smaller hotels, which seems very clean, has an excellent light for painting, as one half of the room is a large bay window, and is very reasonable, as I only pay 5 fr. per diem for the room, and the same for food if I choose to have that here. I will now begin an account of our journey down the river from Thebes.

*Jan. 30.* Went to the temple of Dendera (anc. Tentyris), which is very perfect, and is a most striking building, though the sculptures are much deficient in the grace and ease which characterise those of earlier date, the temple of Dendera probably not being older than our era. The temple is by far the most perfect of any I saw, and I believe of any in Egypt. The entrance is by the usual gateway, about 100 yards from the building, which has lately been excavated by Marietti Bey. First you go down by steps into the portico, which is about 120 by 70 feet, with columns and roof almost perfect: then into another hall, and

then into the aditum or sanctuary, which stands in the centre of the building, with small chambers all round, from some of which are subterranean passages extending a great distance, seemingly leading to nowhere, but having the walls covered with hieroglyphs.

*Feb. 2.* Walked over to Arabat-et-Matfoon (anc. Abydus), which turned out to be a considerable way off, so that I had a trudge of some 25 miles. The small temple there has some curiously preserved paintings on white stone; the colours are as fresh as if they had only been done three instead of three thousand years or more. The larger temple is almost as perfect as that at Dendera, and I much prefer it to that, as the pillars are better proportioned and more graceful, while the sculptures are done at an earlier and better period of Egyptian art. Some are very amusing and curious; one in particular, which often recurred, was a person offering a plate containing a trussed duck, bread, and fruit.

On coming down to Girzeh from Arabah we found that the dinbereh had not been able to get there, as it had been blowing a gale of wind all day; so we had to charter a country boat and sail about 10 miles up the river, so that we did not get back till about ten o'clock.

Lower down the river I visited several quarries and grottoes, which were curious as showing the way

the stone used to be cut, but wanting in sculptures or paintings, with the exception of those at Beni Hassan, which are most interesting. On the 8th several steamers passed, but as no flag was flying we did not know till afterwards that the Prince of Wales was on board.

10. Arrived at Cairo. Here I met with a man named — , who is taking a holiday and going to Jerusalem, thence to Bagdad, and perhaps India. I found him a well-informed and agreeable man, who had travelled a good deal in Europe, and for the last week we have spent all our days in wandering about the bazaars. It is the Arabian nights over again ; one can understand why they so often spoke of the one-eyed man when one seldom sees a man here with two perfect ones ; in fact, the rule is one eye, and the exception two. Tell Mr. Cautley that I have had an old khan near the Khan Khalalech photographed, and will send him a copy. It is the finest specimen of the mushrebeeh (lattice windows) that I have seen in Cairo, and, what is more, will be pulled down in another fortnight, so that I consider myself extremely fortunate in having secured a photo of it.

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*August 16.* In sight of Cyprus early, and arrived at Larnaca at 8.30 A.M., and went on shore with Mr. Lang, an English merchant, who has lately made some very interesting finds of Cypriote antiquities and coins. He gave us an introduction to General Cesnola, the American Consul, who has been carrying on large excavations. His collections of glass and pottery are very good, and the gold ornaments are interesting, consisting of rings, bracelets, earrings, &c., and several good stones, rubies, onyxes, &c., but the chief interest of the collection lies in the statues, of which he has found, broken and otherwise, nearly 1,000 in a single temple. These are of many epochs, and are exceedingly interesting as showing Cypriote art. In many of the older ones, the first glance gives the impression that they have a strong likeness to the Assyrian, but on closer examination this proves not to be so. In some of the most typical the mouth is decidedly Egyptian, projecting and full-lipped, but the nose is large and rather inclining to bottle: the eye-brows very strongly marked: eyes large and horizontal. Check-bones high, with deep hollows beneath. In others the mouth is thin-lipped, and slightly turned up at the corners. The head-dresses are curious, from the old round turban (like that worn now by Copts in Egypt) to the Greco-Roman garland. In one instance

a woman wears a Phrygian bonnet. The priestesses wear the fillet, which is just like the handkerchief the Syrian women wear at the present day.

Several Egyptian things have been found amongst the Cypriote, amongst others a glass scarabæus. Many of the glass jars, &c., are beautifully oxidized. Mr. Lang has also several inscriptions in Cypriote and Phœnician, and one bilingual on a block of marble which originally must have been the base of a statue.

Some of the pottery is curious and very ingenious,



for instance a jar thus, to prevent the water from spilling; and a filter, the solid part A



being made of porous material. There are many lamps and grotesque figures, and a few terra-cottas, some of which are large.

General Cesnola has one very large bronze jar and a few figures in the same metal and knives and spear-heads.

At 3 P.M. we left.

17. At sea.

18. Arrived at Rhodes at 6 A.M. Went on shore and saw the houses of the Knights. Very many of the coats of arms are still to be seen in quite good preservation, built into the walls of the houses, as the Turks have a superstitious fear of destroying them. Would that they had the same ideas elsewhere!

Left at 8 A.M., and were soon among the desolate-looking islands of the Archipelago.

19. Arrived at Smyrna at 1 P.M. Went through the bazaar, dined, and went on board the A. Ll. s.s. 'Messina' for Syra.

20. Started at 8 P.M.

21. Syra at 9 A.M. Went through the town, which is totally uninteresting inside, but very pretty from the sea.

Left at 11 P.M.

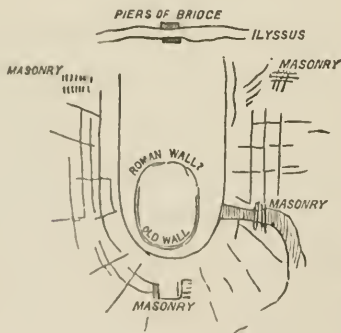
22. Reached the Piræus at 11 P.M., and drove up to Athens. Visited the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

23. Up early in the morning, and walked up Mount Lycabettos, about one mile from the hotel. It is a small peak rising some 500 to 600 feet, with a small chapel on the top: it commands a fine view of Athens. To the south the city, or rather little town, for it is no larger than a second-rate French country town, lies beneath one. The palace, an ugly square building with large gardens, lies at the north-east end. On the south-west is the Acropolis, a fine mass of ruins on an oval island of rock. To the north-east of this are the remaining pillars of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which once occupied an immense area, and close beside it the Arch of Hadrian. Beyond the town we see the three ports of Phalærus, Munychia, and the



Piræus, the islands of Ægina and Salamis, and the mountains of the Peloponnesus. Behind us (to the north-east) lay Mount Pentelicus, the marble quarry, from which flows the Cephissus which supplies Athens with water. To the east is Mount Hymetus, an ugly mass of limestone, without any outline. The Ilyssus takes its rise in this, but is almost dry in summer.

We then returned to the hotel, and took a carriage and drove to the Stadium, which is in this shape.

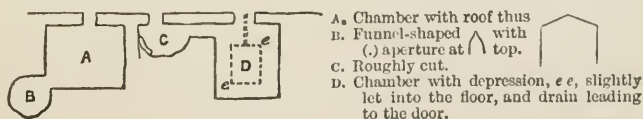


The Government has recently been excavating here, and intends to revive the old games this year.

We then crossed the dry bed of the Ilyssus, and passing by the temple of Jupiter Olympius and under Hadrian's Arch, we came to the choragic monument of Lysicrates, which stands at the foot of the Acropolis. There was formerly a graveyard round it, and Byron's house too stood here. We then went to the Theatre of Dionysus, which is very interesting. The bas-reliefs on

the proscenium are in very good preservation, but during the Turkish occupation a barbarous Pasha knocked off the heads of the figures and burnt them for lime!

The front row of seats are marble armchairs, and have cut upon them the name or office of the priests to whom they belong. There are also the peculiar seats of the Strategus and other officials. Many inscriptions, altars, statues, &c., lie about which were found in the excavations. Passing by the Theatre of Herodius Atticus and turning to the left, we came to the hill of the Museion, in which is the so-called Prison of Socrates: this consists of caves cut in the face of a low cliff thus.



- A. Chamber with roof thus  
 B. Funnel-shaped  $\wedge$  with (.) aperture at top.  
 C. Roughly cut.  
 D. Chamber with depression, e e, slightly let into the floor, and drain leading to the door.

A few hundred yards further on the point of the hill is the monument of Philopappus, of which one side—a segment of a circle—with two mutilated statues and a part of a bas-relief, still stands. From here one gets a fine view of the Elysian fields, Acropolis and Areopagus, which is a low, flat-topped mass of rock to the west of the Acropolis, with a flight of steps leading up to it at the south-east corner cut in the rock.

To the north of the Museion is the Tomb of

Cymon, an immense sunken loculus. Near it are quarries, and further to the west the Pnyx or Bema of Demosthenes, a platform with steps on three sides and projecting from a wall of rock which has been quarried smooth. Below this a platform has been made by banking up the hillside with a wall of enormous stones.

We then went to the Ceramicus, the cemetery of the old Athenians. Excavations are now being carried on, and many very fine sculptured tombs have been found as well as quantities of coarse pottery. The usual sculpture is the dying person seated in a chair and clasping the hand of the nearest relative left behind. A small building in the centre contains all the pottery and statues that have been found during the excavations. Next to the Theseum, which is nearly perfect, only a few places have required restoration. There is a very interesting museum inside containing inscriptions and figures. Of the former one is bilingual, viz., Phœnician and Greek. Among the figures may be noticed one of Aristeidon, who brought the news of the victory of Marathon, and then fell dead from exhaustion. On his breast is a medal awarded by the Athenians, a Greco-Egyptian priest, and some female figures. The number of the inscriptions at Athens is one of the most striking things, for every place is full of them, many of them being of great length. We then drove back to

the hotel, passing *en route* the Stoa of Hadrian's School. In the afternoon we visited the Temple of Æolus, which is rude and heavy, and the Cathedral, a modern building in semi-Byzantine style, beside which is a little building some 40 ft. by 20, of very early date, with rude sculptures outside, which is the old Cathedral; and then went up to the Acropolis, passing on our way the Arch of the Agora, beside which stands a long, upright stela, on which are cut the old octroi duties on goods from various places. On reaching the Acropolis we passed through the gateway built by the Turks, and found ourselves just above the Theatre of Herodius Atticus, which is built against the hillside.

Entering the Acropolis itself we see a quantity of statues and inscriptions, and then ascend the steps of the Propyleum, and, turning to the right, visit the little Temple of Nike Apteros, in which are some beautiful statues said to be by Phidias. On the opposite side is the Pinacotheca, in which the tablets of the law used to stand.

Crossing the open space in which the great statue of Athene used to stand (and in modern times a church on the south side), we came to the Parthenon, which is perfect in taste and proportions. Inside are traces of frescoes, as it was once used by the Christians as a church. Then to the Erectheum, with which, and the caryatides, we were equally pleased. Here is

shown a hollow containing a little water, said to be the spring caused by Poseidon striking the rock with his trident when contending with Minerva for the patronage of the city—the mystical form of the struggle between arts and commerce. All the buildings are full of statues and inscriptions which have been excavated at various times.

24. Early in the morning we drove off to Eleusina : passing the pretty little Byzantine Convent of Daphne, dedicated to the Virgin ; it was burnt by the Turks, but has still some of the mosaics left with which it was decorated.

Passing down the valley we soon came in sight of the Bay of Salamis, which is very pretty. On our left was Mount Ægilius, at the far end of which was placed Xerxes' throne, and to our right a temple (ruins) of Venus with numerous niches cut in the rock beside it for dedicatory tablets, &c.

At the foot of the valley we came upon the sea-shore, and drove round the bay to Eleusis, a small village, in the middle of which are the remains of the famous Temple of Ceres, but the stones are too scattered and broken to enable one readily to make out the plan. There are two temples ; of the larger only the steps of the Propyleum and some broken columns remain ; the smaller is—partially at all events—Roman



work. The pavement is still good. Many vaults exist of brickwork, and there seems to have been a cave in the adjacent rock. Both temples are built of beautiful white marble. A few statues and inscriptions have been found, which are now in the house of the custodian.

Returning to Athens we packed up and drove down to the Piræus, and went on board the M. I. s.s. 'Niemen,' and left at 7 P.M.

25. Calm and fine. Entered the Dardanelles a little before sunset, and bought some pottery, the *spécialité* of the place, there.

26. Arrived at Constantinople at 5.30 A.M. The view, though foggy, was very pretty, with the irregular mass of houses and mosques coming down to the water's edge. Landing we went up to Misseri's Hotel, and after breakfast rode down to see the Sultan go to Mosque. The Albanians and Circassians, of the body-guard, were gorgeous in red and gold. Pashas covered with decorations kept riding about, and at last the Sultan's son appeared on horseback, and soon afterwards the Sultan himself. We then crossed the Golden Horn by the Galata bridge of boats, and visited the bazaars, which are only semi-oriental. The Pera and Galata side is quite French. The whole situation of the town is most magnificent, and the harbourage might shelter the navies of all Europe.



27. Wrote, and in the afternoon took a stroll through Pera and Galata.

28. Spent the morning in Stamboul, and in the afternoon took a steamer to Kadikus (the ancient Calchedonia), and then walked past the English burial-ground at, and through the town of, Scutari, where we again took a steamer and returned to Galata (15 min.).

29. Spent the day in the bazaars, buying attar of roses, &c.

30. Buying furs, &c., in the morning, and then visited the vaults under the old Hippodrome; next the collection of arms and costumes belonging to the Janissaries, which are very curious. Life-size figures are dressed in the actual costumes worn by them. The turbans are absurdly large. Many of the dresses have much of the barbaric splendour of the Tartars, and are in some cases covered with silver plates; one figure has two men supporting his coat. The arms are wonderful, guns weighing some 30 to 50 lbs. to work on stand and swivel, chain armour, axes, &c. We then went to the tomb of Sultan Mahmi, in which are some magnificently embroidered Kiswehs (palls).

31. Went with Mr. Peirce (an American) to see the Mosque of Sta. Sophia, which is a magnificent specimen of a Byzantine basilica. At first the guardians refused to allow us to go in, as we had no firman and

would not give any backshish before entering; so we gave them all the abuse we were masters of in Arabic, and at last they ate humble pie, and told us we might go in without paying anything. So we went in and walked about as we liked. The whole of the roof has once been covered with gold mosaics, but where that has been destroyed it has been restored with yellow plaster. In the central dome stars have been substituted for the heads of four cherubims, which are in the corners.

In the gallery at the sides, the balustrade is formed of marble slabs, from which all the crosses have been effaced. On these slabs are some Greek inscriptions. The whole effect of the building is very fine, but is rather spoilt by the steps in front of the Mehral, and all the mats being put askew to show the true direction of the Kibleh.

Giving one franc (the usual price for a party being 2*l.* or 3*l.* at least) and a parting piece of abuse to the guardians, we went to the Mosque of the Sultan Ahmed, which is fine from its great size. The walls inside are partially covered with tiles. The outside is similar to that of the Basilica of Sta. Sophia, and evidently gave rise to the architecture, which has been perfected in the tombs of the Kalif at Cairo, though their external beauty is quite as much attended to as internal and even more so, while at Constantinople, in

all the old mosques, external appearance seems to have been unheeded.

Close behind this mosque is the hippodrome, in which are two obelisks, one of small stones, formerly covered with slabs, and the other a monolith of granite with Egyptian hieroglyphs; it stands on four cubes of copper, and the pedestal is covered with Roman bas-reliefs, beneath which is a Latin inscription stating that it was put up by the Emperor Theodosius. Between the two is a broken column of twisted bronze.

Passing by the 'burnt tower' (close to the tomb of the Sultan Mahmúd), which is built of six huge blocks, each surmounted by a wreath, and standing on a pedestal of masonry, we came to the 'fire tower,' where a watch is always kept to look out for fires.

It stands in the court of the Seraskier Serai, and must be about 250 feet high. It commands a view over the Sea of Marmora, and the Golden Horn, and the entrance to the Bosphorus, while the whole of the town lies like a model at one's feet. It is certainly one of the finest views of a town that I have ever seen; those of Granada and Cairo are the only two that can at all come near it, and they are so different that it is impossible to make a comparison between them. At 4 P.M. we just caught the s.s. 'America,' and started for Varna.

The Bosphorus is more like a river than a channel.

All the banks are lined with houses and covered with trees. Especially at the Castles of Europe and Asia the view is lovely. At sunset we entered the Black Sea, dined, and soon afterwards turned in.

*September 1.* Arrived at Varna at 7.30. It is a small town backed by low limestone hills. The valley beside it is filled up by a lake of some size. On landing we got into the train which was waiting at the shore, and went up to the station. At 11.45 we started, passing through a fertile rolling country, chiefly covered with brushwood and pasture, on which were large herds of cattle and horses, some buffaloes, and flocks of sheep and goats. We reached Rustchuck at 6.45, and went on board the steamer, which was lying alongside the station, and started immediately. The steamer was a very good boat, extremely well appointed, and with a good table.

2. Obligated to anchor from midnight to 8 A.M. on account of the fog. The river banks are chiefly low : cliffs in places : low islands covered with willows and picturesque villages of mud with reed or tile roofs. High-sterned vessels carrying acres of canvas.

3. Rain in the morning : passed Tour Severin, a picturesque town on the right bank, after which the banks begin to rise and the scenery becomes much prettier. We then came to Orsova, and had luggage examined by the Austrian customs. In the afternoon

we passed through the Iron Gates, where the cliffs are precipitous and some 500 feet high, and covered with trees and bushes wherever they can find a place. Along the left bank were traces of an old road (probably Roman) cut in the face of the rock; in places sockets were cut for beams to make the roadway. After emerging from this pass we came to a very picturesque ruined castle on the left bank, and traces of another opposite. About 4.30 we reached Baziasch, where we took the railroad.

4. At 7.30 A.M. we reached Pesth, went to the Königin von England, and then called on Professor Vambéry, who received us very cordially. We then went with him and Colonel Manyanski, a member of the Hungarian Diet, to an island in the river, which is prettily laid out as a park. There is a hot spring here. The band was playing, and all the world was there.

We then returned to Pesth, and Vambéry introduced us to the club of the Magnates, where there is a good selection of English and foreign papers.

5. 9 A.M. went with Vambéry to see the Hungarian National Academy, which is a very fine building and in very good taste. The 'Interior' Academicians, 18 in number, of whom Vambéry is one, are given free passes on all railroads and Government conveyances through Austria and Hungary. Crossing the Danube by the suspension bridge, and going up the cliff to the



Palace by a railroad on the bucket principle, we sat in the royal garden overlooking the river and Pesth. Dined at noon with V. and his wife: then went by omnibus tramway (which goes all about the town and environs) to a pretty kind of Bois de Boulogne.

At 9.25 started for Vienna.

6. At 6.30 A.M. arrived there: went to the Hotel Wandh. After breakfast visited the Belvidere—National Picture Gallery: then to Church of St. Augustin, poor and ugly: monument by Canova, very like the one at Venice. Pope Clement the Fourth, or rather his skeleton, is here in a glass case, and the poor old man wears his *ribs outside* a brocaded dress.

Then to the Cathedral of St. Stephen, a beautiful specimen of ornamental Gothic. Strolled about the town in the afternoon, dined at Meybus' restaurant, then went to the Volksgarten to hear Strauss' band and see the world.

7. Left at noon. Pretty scenery along the line. Prague at 10.30 P.M. Went to the Blauen Stern Hotel, which we found comfortable.

8. Spent the day in walking and driving about the town, which is very quaint and picturesque. The old bridge across the Moldau is very picturesque, covered with idols. The view from the royal castle is charming. In the afternoon to Sophien Insel to hear the band play.



9. Left Prague at 8.7 A.M. Very pretty scenery along the banks of the Elbe. Reached Dresden at 2.30 P.M., Hotel Belle Vue. In the evening to the Café Belvédère. Good music patronised by the *élite* of Dresden.

10. Picture gallery in the morning. The best collection I have ever seen, especially in Dutch paintings. Some effects of light and shade by Schalkens are marvellously beautiful. Raphael's San Sisto Madonna is exquisite; no copy can ever reproduce its beauties, and as no photographs are allowed to be taken in the gallery, the original must be seen to appreciate the picture truly.

Strolled about the town, and went to a circus.

11. Paid another visit to the gallery, and would have liked many more days there. At 5.45 P.M. we started for Cologne, but, on arriving at Leipsic, found that on account of the war the through train had been taken off; so we had to stop there for the night. Walked about the town, then went to a Biergarten, where there was good music and all the fashion of the town.

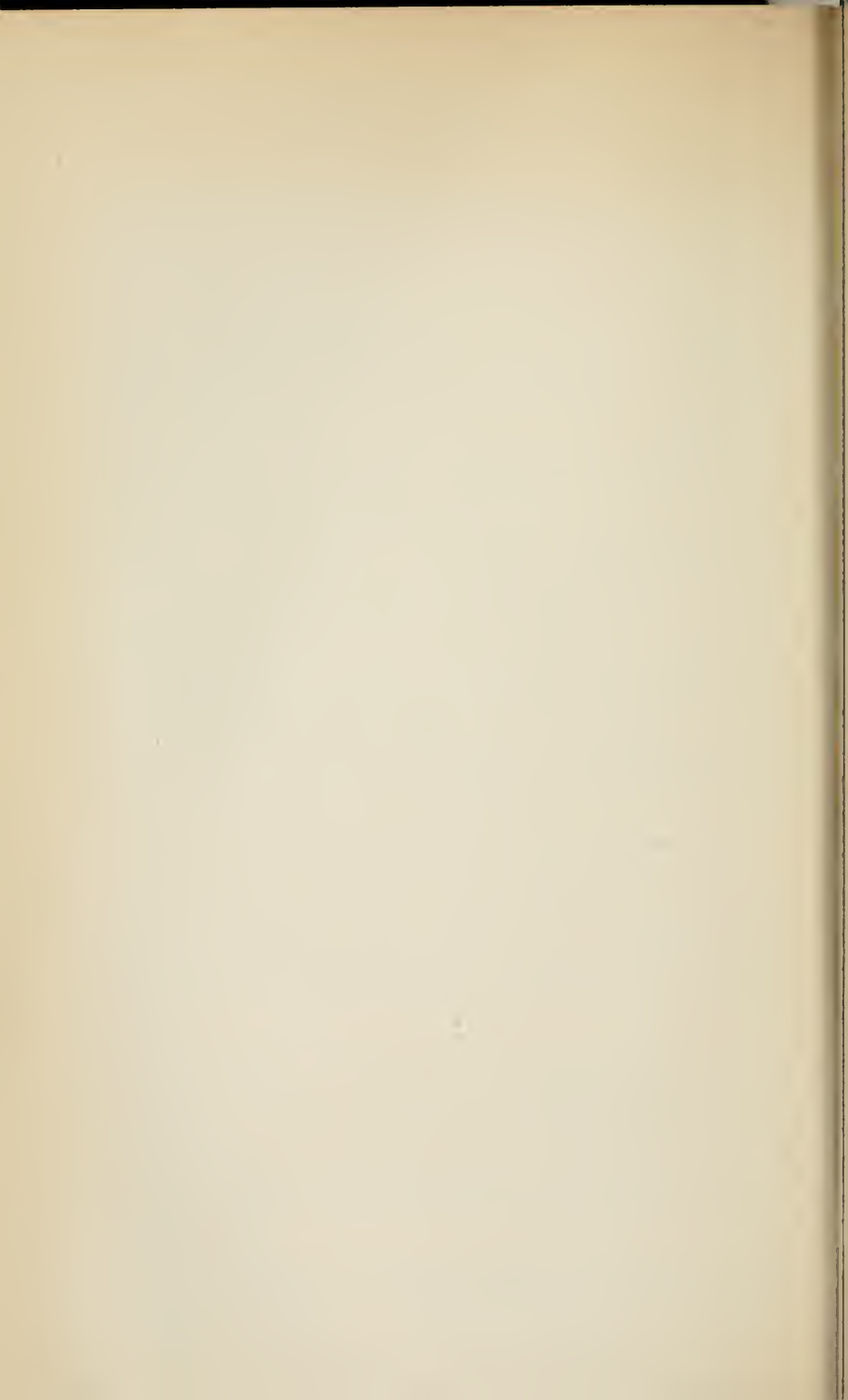
12. Started at 8 A.M., reached Magdeburg at 11, where we stopped an hour and visited the Cathedral, which is a fine building. At 1 we dined at Brunswick, and reached Cologne at 9 P.M. Went to Hotel Disch.

13. Visited the Cathedral, relics of the Magi, then

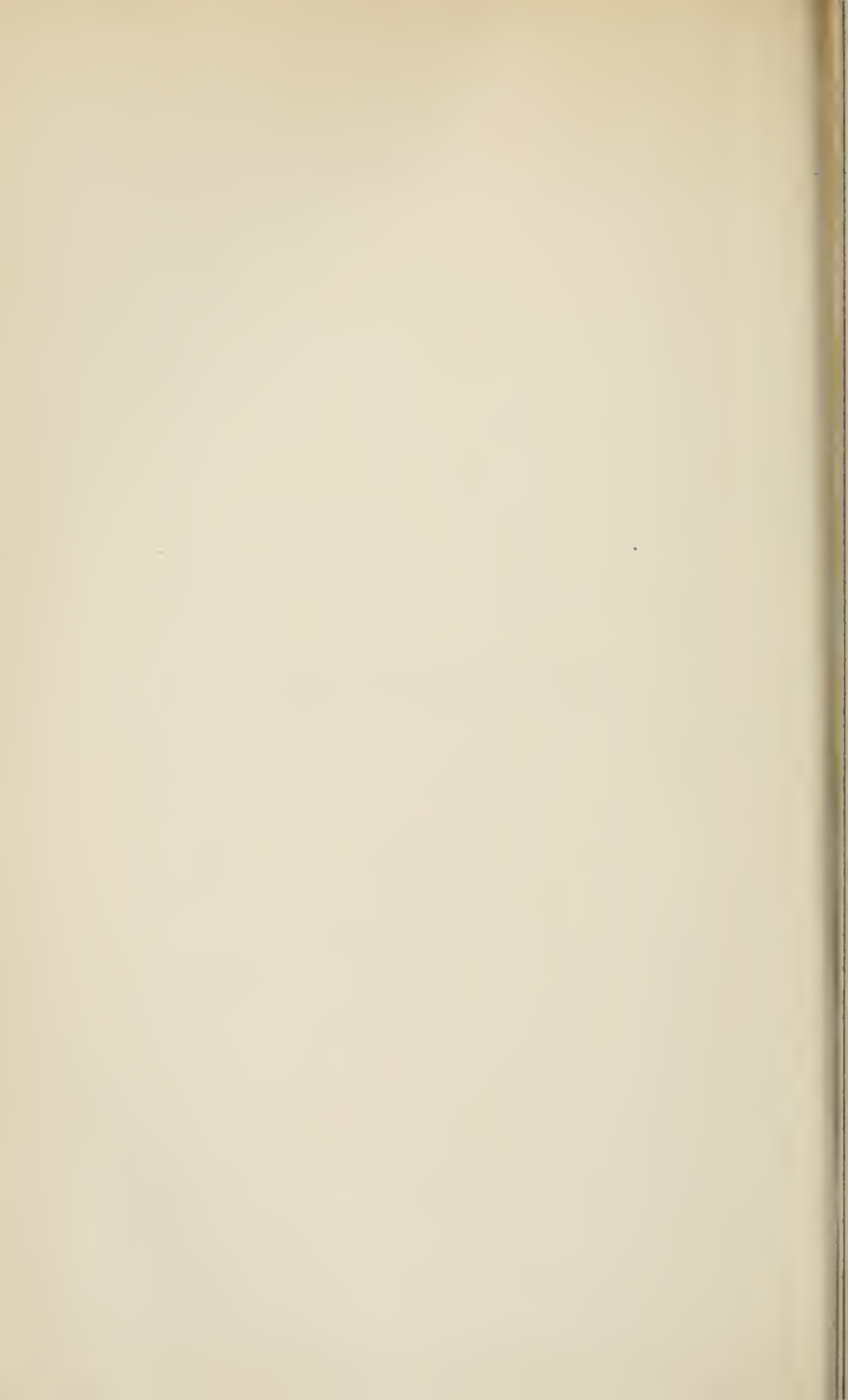
the Church of St. Ursula, with the stacks of bones and skulls. Drove round the town. A large detachment of French prisoners (officers) came in: most of them went to ready-made clothes shops, and put them on instead of their uniforms: during this operation crowds collected and looked in at the shop windows with great interest.

14 and 15. Stayed at Cologne, as I was not very well.

16. To Ostend *viâ* Bruges and Brussels. Left at 10 P.M., and reached Dover at 1 A.M. on 17, but, owing to our luggage not being registered, missed the first train. Went to sleep in the waiting room and missed the second, but at last reached London at 10. Went down by the 4.15, and got home at 7.30.



APPENDICES.



## APPENDIX I.

THE following biographical sketch of Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake appeared in 'Der Globus,' Band xxviii. No. 11, 1875. It is printed here, not because it contains any fact in addition to those already given, but because it shows the generous appreciation of his worth by a German working in the same field.

It is just a twelvemonth since one of the most energetic of English travellers, who was also a distinguished zoologist—Charles Frederick Tyrwhitt Drake—died in the fulfilment of his self-appointed task; but hitherto, as far as I know, none of the German geographical periodicals have published a biographical notice of him, interesting as this would be, as showing how an active and persevering nature can turn even unfavourable circumstances to account, and accomplish great results with small means.

I so often met with Drake, and, in common with all who had intercourse with him, learned to value his distinguished qualities so highly, that I feel called upon to remedy this omission as well as I can.

Charles F. T. Drake, born Jan. 2, 1846, at Amersham, was the youngest son of Colonel W. Tyrwhitt Drake. He was a traveller and explorer from his youth. Although his frame was well nigh of gigantic proportions, it was so susceptible to the inclemency of European climate that he felt, as early as 1866, the necessity of wintering in more genial regions, and it was only during the milder seasons of the



year that he revisited home. Wishing to make the best use of his time, he occupied himself during his wanderings in making zoological and geographical researches, during which he acquired rich treasures of experience. The scene of his first investigations was the NW. of Africa. At a later period he joined as a volunteer the Sinai Ordnance Survey, but was prevented by a severe attack of dysentery from taking an active part in their labours. Shortly afterwards he undertook, with Professor Palmer, that remarkable exploration of the Desert of El Tih (the scene of the wandering of the Israelites), to which we owe the excellent map of this important and interesting region, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. These daring travellers encountered difficulties of no ordinary kind in the desert. They performed the whole journey on foot, and were obliged to reduce their baggage to the smallest possible dimensions, for the expense of riding and baggage animals in that arid waterless region would have greatly increased the cost of the expedition, even had it been possible to have accomplished it without giving up such luxuries. Drake told me that he and Professor Palmer, at the end of a hard day's work, were obliged to wait upon themselves, as it was important to the success of their difficult task that they should not be encumbered by superfluous people. The cooking was shared between the two gentlemen, and when it was Mr. Drake's turn to prepare their simple meal, the washing-up and such menial offices fell to Professor Palmer's share.

In such wise did Mr. Drake learn how to make the simplest means suffice him in any position in which he might find himself placed. He also acquired a great facility in the use of the Arabic language, and much skill in dealing with the half-wild natives—accomplishments which afterwards stood him in good stead during his active co-operation with the Palestine Exploration Expedition.

At the time when Drake turned his steps towards Palestine Major Wilson had completed his survey of Jerusalem on the scale of 1·5,000, and had taken the levels from Jaffa to the Dead Sea; Captain Anderson, his colleague, had finished his preliminary work of N. Palestine, and Captain Stewart had taken the direction of the projected survey of the whole of the Holy Land, which was already begun. Drake's first tasks in Palestine were the exploration of the so-called Hamâh (in the winter of 1870) in search of inscriptions, and a journey with the distinguished African traveller, Captain R. Burton, to the volcanic district east of Damaseus, and also to the 'Alah,' or Highlands of Syria. After this he joined the Palestine surveying party as a volunteer, and shortly afterwards Captain Stewart, the leader of the expedition, fell so seriously ill that he was obliged to start at once for England, for fear of endangering his health irretrievably by a longer stay in that climate. Drake undertook the command of the expedition in his stead, accepting all the responsibility of so difficult a post, in which he, a civilian, was placed in authority over a number of experienced non-commissioned officers of the Corps of Engineers. By so doing he saved the expedition from collapsing, or, at all events, from failure, which otherwise would almost inevitably have resulted. In the midst of the greatest difficulties he carried on this work for six months, at a time when as yet neither Europeans nor natives were accustomed to active exertions under such abnormal conditions, and in such a hilly and unfavourable region. He acted with such caution, intelligence, tact, and skill, that he was able to hand over everything in the best possible order to Captain Stewart's successor, Lieutenant Conder, R.E. During the time that he was thus actively employed as the leader and interpreter of the whole expedition he laid the firmest foundations for the subsequent separate measurements, since he at once began to measure out a base

in connection with Wilson's survey of Jerusalem, whence the triangulations had been continued northwards to the plain of Esdraelon, where a second base was to be measured. Five hundred square miles had been already completely surveyed, and the members of the expedition were engaged in working out their observations in Nablus (the ancient Sichem), when Lieutenant Conder arrived. It is to his courtesy that I am indebted for the greater portion of the details of this part of Drake's active career.

Drake had entered so warmly into the work of the expedition that he would not now abandon it, although his health obliged him several times to go for change of air to Damascus or home. His chief work, when not personally engaged in the survey, was determining the names of all the places laid down on the map: ruins, mountains, valleys, streams, &c.—a point of peculiar importance in a land like Palestine. To avoid error, an alphabetical list was drawn up for each section of the map of the names of the localities, in accordance with the testimony of at least three natives of the neighbourhood, who accompanied the expedition for this purpose. These names were then recorded on the spot in English writing, according to a plan agreed upon, and in the evening of the same day they were read out in presence of the natives, compared and corrected, until the natives were quite satisfied with the pronunciation. Then they were written in Arabic characters and submitted to the same test. The number of names thus ascertained is very large, at least seven or eight times as many as those hitherto given in maps or books; on the map of Jerusalem alone there are above 1,600; on an average there are fifty to each German square mile, which in such a thinly populated country is a large proportion. The Bible student will henceforth possess in this trusty nomenclature an invaluable help in identifying the position of places of which the trace had

been almost lost in the lapse of centuries, and of which the names have been preserved in the Arabic with wonderful fidelity almost in every instance.

Drake accompanied the expedition on its most difficult undertakings, the most prominent of which was the survey of the valley of the Jordan in the spring of 1874. He had already had several attacks of illness, and was especially subject to frequent returns of asthma, but had always recovered, until, after working for several weeks in the lower valley of the Jordan, he, as well as the greater number of those engaged in the expedition, was struck down with dangerous fever towards the close of the rainy season.

It was only owing to the self-sacrificing activity of Dr. Chaplin, English Physician to the Mission at Jerusalem, that the invalids were saved this time. Drake had had the most severe attack, yet he would not be deterred from again joining the expedition when they went to the upper portion of the valley of the Jordan. After the completion of this part of the survey he returned, still ailing, to Jerusalem; but, notwithstanding this, he felt equal to the task of replacing Lieutenant Conder, who was obliged to return to England on business. But before long fever again attacked him, and this time in the form of typhoid. The poor fellow lay for weeks unconscious, under Dr. Chaplin's devoted care, at the Mediterranean Hotel in Jerusalem, the landlord of which, Mr. Hornstein, behaved in the kindest manner, without considering the injury which might result to his establishment in consequence.

When I left Jerusalem—in the middle of June 1874—I was not able to take leave of the sick friend with whom I had enjoyed such pleasant and profitable intercourse, not only in that town, but in the quarters of the expedition at Haifa and Nazareth, as also in the encampments near Mar Saba, and in the neighbourhood of the Jordan. I was

destined never to see him again, for, when at the end of the month I returned to Beyrout from a journey to Damascus, I heard the sad news of his death.

Drake was aware that his life was likely to be a comparatively short one, and therefore he endeavoured to make the best use of his time, that he might not have lived in vain. Unhappily this noble ambition induced him not to take sufficient care of his health, which was far from strong, and his zeal not improbably helped to shorten his life. It is a poor consolation to his numerous friends and admirers to know that he accomplished his object, and that his name is indeed immortalised in the history of the explorers of our globe, especially of the Holy Land. His was a thoroughly noble character, of a purity such as one seldom sees, and full of faithful devotion to his friends. To these qualities he joined such remarkable tact and such a delicacy of feeling, that his comrade, Lieutenant Conder, said of him, that during the whole time he was associated with him and the other members of the expedition—men of the most varied dispositions and acquirements, thrown together in the intimate way which must be the case under such circumstances—never did he give occasion for the slightest discord, but was always on the best terms with every one. He gained an ascendancy over the Arabs, with whom he was in constant intercourse during the surveying expedition, not only by his fine, manly figure and his accurate knowledge of their language, but still more by his strict sense of justice, his blameless character, and a firmness which never swerved from his word or from what he thought to be right. Wherever he sojourned with them he was warmly remembered, and wherever my track crossed his in the land of Moab, or at Kaukab el Hawa (the Belvoir of the Crusaders) the Bedawin and Fellahin all spoke of him with love and admiration ; thus proving to me how much



good a good man can do amongst even these wild races by his presence alone, and how much this helps to clear the way for others who may afterwards have to do with the same people.

Drake's intention was, after the termination of the survey of Palestine, to publish the result of his rich experiences about this land. But, alas! death snatched him away, leaving an irreparable gap in the ranks of the brave explorers of Palestine. He had the satisfaction of seeing before his death, that the work in which he took so deep an interest was in a fair way of being much more speedily completed than was at first anticipated, owing to an increase of the staff, which enabled the expedition to be divided into two parties, which worked simultaneously. At first only 60 square miles could be surveyed per month; this was increased to 100, then to 150, and at length to 280. Above three-quarters of the work is now finished, and it is hoped that in the summer of 1876 the whole will be completed, and the publication of the maps at once begin.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

Charles Tyrwhitt Drake, born at Amersham January 2, 1846.

During the winter of 1866-67.—Journey and ornithological collections in Morocco, Tangier, Tetuan, Mazagan, Mogador. The ornithological notices are published in 'The Ibis,' 1867, p. 421, and in 1869, p. 147, Notes on the Birds of Morocco.

1868-69.—Journeys in Egypt and up the Nile, and on the Peninsula of Mount Sinai.

1869.—Journey with Professor Palmer through the Desert of El Tih and in Upper Edom and Moab. Return through Palestine, Syria, Greece, and Turkey. *Vide* 'The



Desert of Tih and the Country of Moab' (Palestine Exploration Fund, Jan. 1871, new series, No. 1), with a map, illustrations, and sketches by Drake.

1870.—Journey to Hamah, and with Captain Burton to almost unknown regions of Syria; this last published in 'Unexplored Syria,' by Burton and Drake.

1871 to 1874.—Survey of Western Palestine, in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund. *Vide* numerous articles by Drake in the Quarterly Statement of the Society, and the pamphlet 'Modern Jerusalem,' by Charles Tyrwhitt Drake. London: 1875.

1874, June 23.—Drake's death at Jerusalem.

## APPENDIX II.

Cringleford Hall, Norwich, Dec. 8, 1876.

I AM very glad to know that the literary remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake are being collected and arranged for publication. The Palestine Exploration Fund has been most fortunate in the men who have devoted themselves to the carrying out of its deeply interesting but difficult purpose.

My first acquaintance with the late Mr. C. F. T. Drake was made in 1871, when he and Mr. Palmer visited Jerusalem after accomplishing their successful journey on foot through the desert. The last evening of their stay in the Holy City they spent with us at our encampment outside the city walls, when they greatly amused and interested us by a relation of some of their experiences and adventures in Bedawin life. Whenever afterwards Mr. Drake came to Jerusalem he called and told me about his work, as he knew I was much interested in all that was being done by the Palestine Exploration Fund. Our conversations on these occasions naturally led us to the Bible, and Mr. Drake always gave a ready assent to any remark upon the accuracy of Scripture testimony. It was, however, during the last few weeks of his life that I saw most of him, when I was a constant visitor to his sick room. Upon these occasions I always received a welcome, for, if too ill to speak, he would put out his hand or give a kind look to express his

thanks for my visit, and whenever he felt himself worse than usual he sent for me. During the last week of his illness—after Miss Dickson had become his kind and attentive nurse—I had the opportunity I had so long desired of freely speaking to him upon spiritual matters. Gradually his natural reserve on the subject of religion was removed, and on his last Sunday in particular I was greatly cheered by his altered manner in this respect, and still more so when, early the following morning, he sent for me and appeared so glad to have me read and pray with him. During that day, and also on several previous ones, he himself chose portions of Scripture (chiefly from the Gospels—St. John in particular), and asked Miss D. to read them to him. On the Monday evening, as we were not sure that he realised how near he was to eternity, we asked Dr. Chaplin if he would intimate to him the opinion he had expressed to us that his patient would not live through that night. This Dr. C. most kindly did about nine o'clock. For a moment the sufferer appeared startled at the solemn thought, but as soon as he realised that he was in a dying state all reserve vanished, and he immediately said, 'Oh, Mr. Bailey, come and pray;' and most earnestly did he join in that prayer. He then asked me to read and tell him all that Christ had said about pardoning sin and accepting sinners. After this he remarked, 'I have for a long time entertained many doubts, but now these doubts are removed, and I fully believe in Christ as my Saviour, and that He will pardon and receive me.' I quoted one or two Gospel promises which assure us of God's readiness to receive penitent sinners, and of the power of Christ's blood to cleanse from all sin; and then he exclaimed, 'I *do fully* believe He has pardoned me, and that He will receive me into heaven.' From that moment he seemed not to have a doubt concerning the great matter of his soul's salvation. It was a most remarkable

and beautiful instance of simple faith taking hold of Christ, and feeling the promises of God to be a blessed reality; I never saw a more cheering instance. His mind appeared to remain clear to the end, and the very last word I remember him saying was 'Christ Jesus.' About midnight it was my privilege to administer the Holy Communion to him, which he much enjoyed. His messages of love to his family were very touching, especially to his mother, for whom he evidently cherished the deepest affection.

About six o'clock on Tuesday morning he quietly breathed his last, still holding my hand, as he had done during the greater part of that memorable night. When I committed his body to the ground about sunset of that day, the beautiful words of our Burial Service, 'We commit his body to the grave in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord,' seemed most appropriate and animating, as well as comforting to us who knew him.

W. BAILEY.

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To this may be added the following extracts from the letter written very shortly after his death:—

Jerusalem, July 17, 1874.

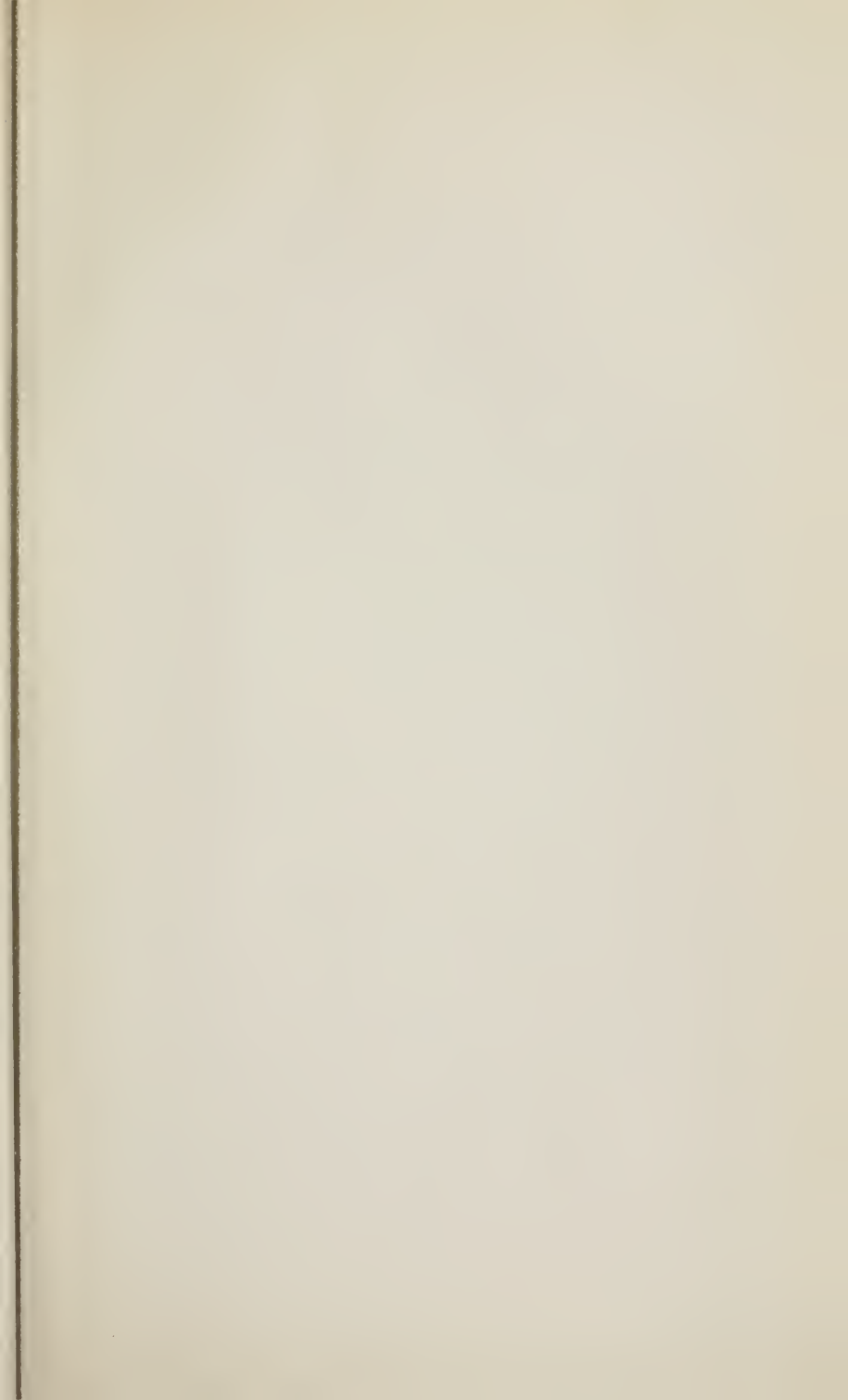
'It was most cheering to us all to see how at once, without reserve, he threw himself into the Lord's hands, and earnestly sought the pardon of his sins and the salvation of his soul. Such *childlike earnest* faith in Christ for salvation I scarcely ever before witnessed. . . . Frequently we heard him in earnest prayer, and at other times repeating texts of Scripture, especially 1 Tim. i. 15. . . . More than once after this he told us that he felt that God had

through Christ Jesus pardoned his sins, and accepted him in and through the Beloved One, so that long before his end not a doubt of his acceptance appeared to remain, and at two or three different times he expressed the desire to depart and be with Christ.'

11.

S. & H.

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