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XXVII. *Tamar*.—The Tamar of 1 Kings ix, 18, probably (Cheyne, *Ency. Bib.*, col. 4891) for the protection of the commercial road from Ezion-Geber to Jerusalem, seems to be the Thamara of Eusebius and Jerome and the Thamaro of Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables, a military station. According to Eusebius Thamara was a day's journey from Mapses, on the road from Hebron to Elath. As Mapses was at Khürbet el-Meshâsh, Thamara (or Tamar) was probably, as Robinson suggested, at the ruins called Kurnub.

May we not hope that the Negeb may be more thoroughly explored and some of its sites excavated in the near future? Suggestions and identifications could be made with greater boldness then. Some must not be ventured now.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A., and E. W. G.
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A HISTORY OF THE DOINGS OF THE FELLAHÎN DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FROM NATIVE SOURCES.

(Continued from p. 114.)

PART V.

‘Akîli Agha.

AHMED EL-JEZZÂR, to whom we have already made frequent reference, was an Albanian by origin. Some domestic troubles caused him to flee to Constantinople in his sixteenth year, where, unable to make a livelihood, he sold himself to Elias Surhfiyah, a purchaser of white slaves. From him he was bought by Muhammad Bek Abu eth-Thahâb, an Egyptian official, and in his service he showed great skill and bravery, so that his master entrusted him with important secrets and important duties. Among these duties was the getting

rid of rivals and enemies, which he accomplished with so much alacrity, that he then gained the nickname of *el-Jezzâr*, "the butcher."

However, one day Muḥammad Bek ordered him to slay one Salîḥ Bek, to whom Aḥmed was under obligations so great, that even he drew the line. When his master saw that Aḥmed did not carry out the order, he had it accomplished by the hand of another. But Aḥmed thought it advisable to make his escape, and accordingly fled from Egypt and once more made his way to Constantinople.

Here he made attempts to obtain a footing for himself, but finding them futile, he went to Syria and took military employment under 'Othmân Pasha, governor of Damascus, a noted enemy of Sheikh Dhaher el-Amîr (see part IV of these articles). Here he became a captain over fifty Albanian foot-soldiers. In this capacity he attracted the attention of Amîr Yusif, governor of Lebanon, who gave him office in Beirût. The governor of Beirût shortly afterwards refused to pay taxes to Lebanon, and declared himself to belong to 'Othmân Pasha. The Amîr, with the aid of Sheikh Dhaher, attacked Beirut, and by means of certain Russian coasting vessels which they pressed into their service, bombarded the town (compare *ante*, p. 140). Aḥmed el-Jezzâr, with his usual regard for his own safety, went over to the winning side and put himself under the protection of Dhaher el Amîr, who gave him great favour and established him in 'Akka. During this period he appears privately to have attempted to get back to 'Othmân's favour, which attempts, perhaps naturally, were not encouraged; but after five years (as we have already mentioned, *ante*, p. 110), he was called to Egypt by the death of his former master, whom he succeeded in office.

During his stay in Egypt, as governor of the district of Damanhur, he attached to himself the tribe of the *'Ainawiyeh*, whose villages were five hours N.W. of Damanhur, and were in this fiscal province. He sent for their sheikhs, gave them handsome uniforms, and flattered them by naming them *Hawara*.¹ This tribe followed

¹ This was the name of an *entirely unconnected* tribe who lived in Upper Egypt, and who were distinguished above all the Arabs of that region in bravery, horsemanship, and equipments. Tradition says that they were a branch of the Bani Humeir, who made their way to Upper Egypt in a chase of stray camels, and ultimately settled permanently there. It is said that they derive their name from the answer given by them to the Egyptians, who asked whence they came: they said *Hawwarah*, which means "perplexed."

Ahmed to 'Akka when, in 1778, he was made governor there in order to suppress the rising of his former patron Dhaher el-Amîr, and fought with him in defence of 'Akka against Napoleon in 1798.

In or about 1806 Jezzâr died, and was succeeded by Sulaimân whose rule was much milder than that of his predecessor. He continued the favour shown by Jezzâr to the Hawara; and in consequence many sheikhs came and joined themselves to them hoping to profit by the Pasha's bounty. These generally represented themselves as being connected with the true Hawara of Upper Egypt. One such was Mûsa Agha el-Hâsi, who settled in Gaza: apparently he came from the region of the Fayûm. In Gaza he became a captain over fifty horse.

Sulaimân died in 1814, and 'Abd Allah Pasha, son of his deputy 'Ali Agha el-Ḥaznadar ("the treasurer"), succeeded him. In his time Mûsa Agha was further promoted "so that there walked before him seven riders on pure-bred horses, and upon these the most beautiful trappings; and he was famed for his bravery and generosity." But in 1826-7 (A.H. 1245), the year of the siege of the Castle of Sanûr, he died, leaving three sons—'Ali, 'Aḳîli and Sâliḥ. 'Ali disappears from history and nothing is known of him; with 'Aḳîli's life this section of the *History* is chiefly concerned.

In the time of Jezzâr there was a certain Jew called Haim employed as secretary and accountant in the Treasury at 'Akka. This kind of employment had previously been in the hands of Christians of the Orthodox Church; but they had all been dismissed by the government because they were more than suspected of secret dealings with Russia. Sulaimân Pasha² had been adopted by Jezzâr, who had no children of his own, and he had resolved to make him heir. Sulaimân was absent on pilgrimage when Jezzâr died and the Jew Haim kept the news secret for thirty-six hours. The point of this action lay in the fact that the common people did not understand that the Turkish government was behind the seemingly all-powerful governor, but believed that he had full power of taxation, life, and death. Hence when a governor died there was apt to be a reign of misrule, and a period of pillaging and highway robbing till a successor should be appointed. During the thirty-six

² He is said to have been the son of an Orthodox priest from Kurdistan who was kidnapped and made a Muslim. His father, it is alleged, visited him when he was governor of 'Akka, and he received him secretly but with great honour.

hours Haim privately informed the subordinate governors of the death of their master and with their consent he placed as regent in the barracks a certain Isma'îl Pasha, dismissed for some unknown reason from Constantinople and at the time imprisoned in 'Akka. Further, he sent a secret courier to recall Sulaimân, and wrote a letter to Constantinople requesting Sulaimân's appointment in Jezzâr's place.

In due time word came from Constantinople ratifying Sulaimân's succession; Sulaimân returned to 'Akka: and Isma'îl was dismissed. Haim seems to have persuaded Isma'îl to make a show of resistance, and having led him into some trap or other made him pay him to let him escape. He fled to Nazareth, but was recaptured, and again lodged in prison in 'Akka, after three months' enjoyment of office as governor.

Like Jezzâr, Sulaimân had no son; he adopted 'Ali el-Ḥaznadar, whom we have already mentioned, as his heir, but the latter pre-deceased him, and Sulaimân transferred his favour to his son 'Abd Allah, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage.

To 'Abd Allah Haim brought the firman of appointment after the death of Sulaimân. He was a most enthusiastic Muslim—so much so that it was to him a source of perpetual astonishment why God created Christians at all. Haim soon noticed that 'Abd Allah and his associates, who were like himself, were regarding him with no favour on account of his religion. Before long Haim realized that he stood in danger: and though 'Abd Allah's advisers pointed out that he was skilled and trustworthy in his service, he felt that his days were numbered. Accordingly he secretly wrote an inventory of the contents of the treasury of 'Akka, money, jewels, furniture, silver, gold, horse-trappings, weapons, etc., and, knowing that the government had claims upon the estates of Jezzâr and of Sulaimân, he gave the inventory to his brother, with instructions to hand it over to the government if 'Abd Allah should kill him. One night 'Abd Allah sent his soldiers unexpectedly to Haim, and they strangled him and threw his body on the shore, commanding that none should bury him. The brother accordingly handed the register to the government, who promptly presented their claims. This he refused to pay; whereupon Darwish Pasha was sent in 1831 to besiege the castle of 'Akka. The siege lasted five months, without effect upon the walls: but at the end of this time 'Abd Allah capitulated. He desired Muḥammad Ali Pasha, the Khedive

of Egypt, to mediate, and undertook to settle the claims of the Turkish government. Muhammad 'Ali Pasha settled the claim with 25,000 purses (of 500 piastres each); a firman of forgiveness and establishment in office was sent to 'Abd Allah, and Darwish Pasha was recalled. When Muhammad 'Ali presented the bill to 'Abd Allah, he refused to pay more than 20,000 purses. Muhammad 'Ali complained to headquarters, but did not get much satisfaction, because the grand vizier feared his power. (He had driven the Wahhabites, who at this time had captured Mecca and created much anxiety in Arabia, out of Jiddah, and it was feared that, if he was given too much power in Syria, he would thus have control of both the Egyptian and the Syrian Haj, and be able to set up an independent Caliphate.) Muhammad 'Ali therefore took the matter into his own hands, and set out against the Turks, with 20,000 troops under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, with a fleet of about sixty vessels. The Amîr Beshîr, governor of the Lebanon, joined the Egyptian troops, on account of a gratuitous insult 'Abd Allah had passed upon him some time before. He had come to the Pasha's assistance about 1820, when he was besieging the castle of Sanûr, and his aid had enabled 'Abd Allah to reduce it; but when he came to congratulate 'Abd Allah on his success, the only thanks he received was an order "that that infidel Christian should never see his face." From that moment the Amîr entered into correspondence with Muhammad 'Ali. Accordingly, in 1831, Muhammad 'Ali besieged 'Akka, and the Amîr sent him a large troop of auxiliaries, and after a nine months' siege he entered and plundered the city and took 'Abd Allah prisoner. He was sent to Muhammad 'Ali, from whom he fled to Constantinople. There he could obtain no office, and after living for over twenty years in the city without occupation he went to the pilgrimage, where he died.

(To be concluded.)

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN JERUSALEM.

BY THE REV. J. E. HANAUER.

A REMARKABLE "discovery" was recently made by the Greeks in the Via Dolorosa, at the place where they were clearing out the chambers first discovered by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau over thirty