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Then *v.* 27 goes to a portion of the Outer Wall about the Palace. It was most likely on the south side and the repairs extended to "the great tower that standeth out" at the S.E. corner of the Haram Area, a salient angle "and to the wall of Ophel," which abutted against this "great tower." The existence of a remarkable tower at this corner was noted by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and I doubt not the existence of a "turris excelsissima" at this angle in the time of Nehemiah.

(19) There is one point in connection with the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, concerning which I wish to make a brief note. It is with reference to "the Exedra between the two gates." I identify this with the Exedra of the Gate Moked. The Exedrae of all the other gates had only one gate each, and that was the outside gate. That of Moked had an inside gate as well as one on the outside; hence, the expression used by Josephus.

Against Moked a "bank" was raised; it was the gate that was partly undermined, and the one first set on fire; and at this point the Roman soldiers gained access to the Holy House.

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## OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

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## A HISTORY OF THE DOINGS OF THE FELLAḤÎN DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FROM NATIVE SOURCES.

(Concluded from *Q.S.*, p. 225.)

### PART V.

#### *'Aḳîli Agha.*

At the siege of 'Akka, the Hawara, disgusted by the incompetence of the pasha and impressed by the invincible and well-disciplined army of Ibrahim, deserted to the Egyptian host in a body. Four years afterwards, however, they joined the great rising of the fellaḥîn against Ibrahim, the history of which has already been related (*p.* 37 *ante*). In consequence of this defection Ibrahim

stopped the wages which the governor of 'Akka had till then paid the tribe.

After the expulsion of Ibrahim Pasha, in 1840, the salary was restored to the Hawara, and their leaders, whom Ibrahim had banished to Syria, were recalled. 'Aqili, son of Mûsa Agha, came from Gaza and was made a captain over ten horsemen—in 1843 he was promoted to command fifty.

In 1844, however, Muḥammad Kubrisi became *kaimmakim* in the district of 'Akka. There was at this time a split in the Latin church at Nazareth, and their Sheikh, Yusif Elias, was dismissed by them. Yusif took refuge with 'Aqili, and besought him to intercede in his behalf to the governor. 'Aqili's intercession proving useless, Yusif threatened to raise a band of followers and to make trouble, whereupon the Nazarenes restored him to his place. Kubrisi was enraged and accused 'Aqili of sedition to the governor. The governor sent for him and ordered him to review his soldiers, and disgracefully dismissed the entire body with contumely and contempt. 'Aqili felt this insult, being conscious that his men were superior to the governor's, and he therefore went and joined himself to the Beni Sakhr Arabs, and entered on the life of a robber chieftain.

In 1847 the trouble became so intolerable, that, under pledge of safe conduct, he was brought to 'Akka and interrogated about the misdeeds of the Hawara. He excused them on the ground that they had been trained to fighting, not to merchandise or agriculture; that if the government gave them no bread they would be obliged to rob in order to eat; and that what they had done had been merely with the hope of calling the government's attention to their own condition. The answer was accepted as fair; he undertook to serve in 'Akka district over 75 horsemen, and he guarded the country well against Bedawin incursions. However, he took the precaution of forming a marriage bond with the Beni Sakhr in order that he might have them at his back in case of his becoming a victim of official treachery.

In 1848 he was appointed by the government to protect Captain Lynch, the leader of the American Survey of the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea; and with the aid of the Beni Sakhr he destroyed a troop of Bedawin from the 'Adwân and other tribes who had united for the purpose of robbing the party. This act of prowess spread his fame in European countries.

When Kubrusli Agha took Jerusalem, he was promoted to be captain of all the troops of Syria. This was at the time of the Druse rebellion (1852). The authorities openly professed great satisfaction with his services, but secretly were jealous of him, and gave him many dangerous tasks, especially the opening of a road which the Bedawin had ambushed in the hope of seizing the convoy of ammunition that the Turks were sending. This task he accomplished, with the aid of his Bedawin allies.

The jealousy of the officials now became active. One night he was seized, bound, chained, and sent by sea to Constantinople, where he was imprisoned for a year in the castle of Widdin, on the borders of Servia. This was in 1853. In the following year, however, he made his escape, disguised, and with a false passport that he had purchased with money which he had borrowed on the voyage to Constantinople from the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, who happened to be his fellow-passenger. With a companion whose acquaintance he made at Widdin, named Hasan Agha, an Albanian, he rode to Salonica, and thence by sea to Asia Minor. Proceeding to Aleppo he recommenced the life of a tent-dwelling marauder: but the government again had need of him. The Crimean war had drained the country of soldiers, and it needed to be policed. Accordingly, in or about 1855, he was reinstated in a government position and salary.

During his eclipse at Widdin the garrisoning of the district had been in the hands of a troop of Kurds. As soon as he returned to power he stopped the wages of this troop, who in consequence sought an opportunity of revenging themselves.

Just about this time it happened that the Khedive of Egypt, Sa'id Pasha, had been oppressing some tribes in the Fayûm—the very tribes from among which the family of 'Aqîli had sprung. These tribes in consequence emigrated to Syria, and were received by 'Aqîli with great hospitality and favour. He united himself by marriage to the daughter of one of their sheikhs, and thus found himself with a large body of relatives under his control.

After the stress of the Crimean war was over, the Kurds stepped forward and accused 'Aqîli of sedition to the governor of Beirut, stating that he was making leagues with the Arabs, and offering to smite him if the government was not able to do so. This was just what the jealous officials wanted, and the needful order was given.

The Kurds assembled at Tiberias. 'Aqili sent an enquiry to the governor of 'Akka, asking what this move meant, but received no answer; and, guessing that treachery was proposed, he collected all the Hawara and proceeded against them. Some of the Arabs who had sworn fealty to him came to join him, but he did not allow them to fight.

They joined battle: the Kurds with 600 or 700, 'Aqili with not more than 300 or 400. At first the Kurds were victorious, and put to flight a section of 'Aqili's troops: but his brother Sâlih came down suddenly with his horsemen, turned the day, and routed the Kurds completely. This was on March 30th, 1858. Of course, the officials made excuses to 'Aqili for the inconvenience he had been caused, and, of course, 'Aqili saw through them perfectly well.

At the time of the Lebanon rising in 1860, the Damascus Muslims massacred the Christians: the 'Akka Muslims proposed to follow their example, but were prevented by 'Aqili, who swore on oath that whoso should touch a Christian or a Jew he would "chastise him with his sword." On account of this favour Napoleon III. sent him a medal and a pistol. In 1862 the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.) visited Palestine and was entertained in his tents. 'Aqili presented to the Prince four pedigree Arab horses which, however, the Prince, with thanks, declined to receive. In return the Prince gave him a six-chambered revolver.

In the same year (1862) orders came from the government to increase repressive measures against the Bedawin; they were to be prevented from encamping in cultivated lands and from levying blackmail. To prevent this, extra soldiers were necessary, and 'Aqili was placed in command of a detachment. When he found that he and his men were expected to wear uniforms he resigned office, saying that they were Bedawin and could not keep uniforms in order; when another of the Hawara was put in his place he compelled him to resign also. However, after some disputation the point was waived, and 'Aqili was reinstated. He did not, however, hold office long; a dispute concerning the payment of soldiers, in itself trivial, developed into a deadly enmity between himself and the kaimmakâm of Akka. 'Aqili discovered his enemy plotting ingenious devices against his person; he appealed to the governor, but obtaining no satisfaction he resigned office and retired to the district of Tell el-Hesy (1863). Here Sheikh Rabbah

el-Wahaidi, the Sheikh of the Arabs of this district, married his daughter.

The removal of 'Aḳīli had an instant effect. Marauding recommenced, and no one was safe; and despite the attempts of the kaimmakām of 'Akka to settle matters by stirring up one robber tribe against the other, matters became so bad that the governor made enquiries. 'Aḳīli's successor in office refused with 100 horsemen to guard the Ghôr—a task 'Aḳīli had accomplished with twenty; and at last, in 1865, negotiations were reopened with the outlaw, who had meanwhile entrenched himself in the recesses of Mount Tabor, and for the last time he was reappointed superintendent and guardian of the district of 'Akka and the Ghôr. The following year, however, he died, near Shefa 'Amr.

#### APPENDIX.

The foregoing account of this distinguished sheikh has been abstracted from the last of the Arabic historical MSS. left by the late Rev. J. Zeller. The task of putting the materials in order has been one of considerable difficulty, the native writer of the account having not the slightest idea of an intelligible arrangement of his facts.

There is little absolutely new in this instalment of the history; Hepworth Dixon has devoted Chap. XVII of his work on the *Holy Land* to 'Aḳīli, and has told much the same narrative. He takes, however, a very much less favourable view of 'Aḳīli's character than our native historian.

Tristram in one of his journeys visited 'Aḳīli primarily in order to arrange for an escort, and has left us the following description of his appearance. He was "plainly habited in the ordinary dress of a Bedouin sheikh. A large, stoutly-built man, over six feet high, with rather flat features, nose not prominent, short, smooth, black beard, and a remarkably placid and gentle expression of countenance" (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 408). Lynch's portrait in his work on the Dead Sea agrees with this description.

The story of Haim the Jew is told in Churchill's *Lebanon*, Vol. III, Chap. XXIII, with some additional particulars, but on the other hand omitting a few details recorded in the present narrative.

The value of the foregoing narrative, however, is not so much

the presentation of new facts, as in the corroboration by an independent native author, writing from oral tradition only, of history already related by European travellers.

The following chronological summary will make the life easier to follow:—

- 1778. Jezzâr Pasha, governor of 'Akka and Sidon.
- c. 1780. The Hawara first came from Egypt.
- 1799. Napoleon I invades 'Akka. The Hawara fight in its defence.
- c. 1806. Jezzâr Pasha dies.
- 1811. Mûsa Agha el Hâsi comes from Egypt to Gaza.
- 1831. Siege of Akka and capture of 'Abd Allah Pasha, the Governor. Desertion of the Hawara.
- 1834. Insurrection in Palestine against Ibrahim Pasha. The Hawara side with the rebels.
- 1840. Ibrahim Pasha expelled from Syria. The Hawara reinstated.
- 1842. 'Aqîli Agha comes from Gaza.
- 1843. 'Aqîli promoted to command fifty horse.
- 1844. 'Aqîli insulted by Muḥammad Kubrisi, retires and joins the Beni Sakhr.
- 1847. Reinstated in government employment.
- 1848. Accompanies Captain Lynch.
- 1853. Arrested and imprisoned in Widdîn.
- 1854. Escapes and recommences robbing.
- 1855. Reinstated in government employment.
- 1858. (30th March.) Fight with the Kurds.
- 1860. Protects the Christians of Nazareth from Massacre.
- 1862. Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- 1863. Resigns, removes to Tell el-Ḥesy and thence to Tabor.
- 1864. Visited by Tristram.
- 1865. Reinstated in government employment.
- 1866 or 1867. Death.