

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

GUIDE TO ACRE

by

N. MAKHOULY

and

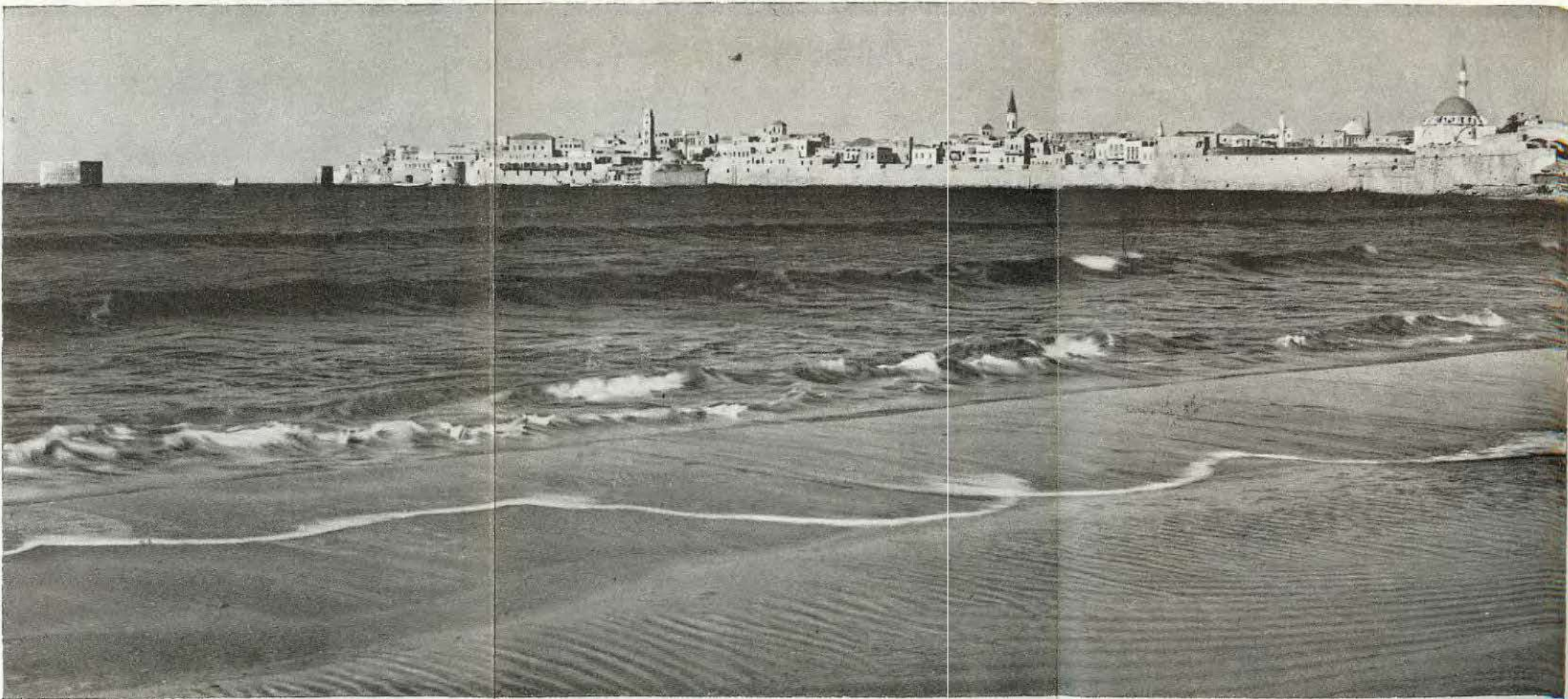
C. N. JOHNS

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Acre from the south-east. (The numbers shown above refer to the guide-plan, fig. 14 at back of book).

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The initial draft and preparation of materials for this guide was the work of Mr. Na'im Makhouly, who was stationed for some years at Acre as Inspector of Antiquities for the Northern District. The whole book was revised, and much of the historical section as well as the bibliography contributed by Mr. C. N. Johns, Field Archaeologist in the Department of Antiquities, whose name is joined to that of Mr. Makhouly in the title of this edition.

With this second edition certain necessary changes have been made in the text, but the only considerable alterations are on pages 65 and 78 where the description of the Crusader town walls has been modified in the light of observations made by Major H.S. Braun F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., when he was stationed at Acre. Thanks are due to Major Braun for his kindness in communicating his criticisms.

The Department is indebted to Abdullah Effendi Mukhlis of Jerusalem, formerly of Acre, for help with the Arabic sources for the later period; to the Rev. Father F.-M. Abel, O.P. of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française, St. Stephen's Convent, Jerusalem, for help with the early travel books which refer to Acre, and to the Very Reverend Father Custodian of Terra Santa, O.F.M., St. Saviour's Convent, Jerusalem, for allowing special access to the rich

collection of such books at the Library of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem. It is likewise indebted to Mr. Quintin Waddington, F.S.A., Assistant Curator of the Guildhall Museum, London, and to the Rev. Stanley A. Eley, M.A., Secretary of the London Diocesan Board, for sending information regarding the history of the Order of St. Thomas of Acre in London. Acknowledgments are also due to Bodley's Librarian, Oxford, for providing a photograph of an original of Marino Sanudo's plan of Crusader Acre and for allowing its reproduction in Plate II; to the Curator of the Guildhall Museum, London, for arranging to have a drawing in the Museum photographed, and for permitting its reproduction in Fig. 3; and to the Director of Surveys, Palestine, for permission to base the conjectural reconstruction of the plan of Crusader Acre (Fig. 10), the sketch map of the vicinity of Acre (Fig. 13) and the guide plan (Fig. 14) on maps published by the Survey of Palestine, viz. the 1 : 5,000 plan of Acre, sheet 2 of the 1 : 100,000 series and the 1 : 1250 plan of Acre Town respectively. To the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem the Department is indebted for a note on the Orthodox see of Ptolemais, and to the Father Superior, Missionnaires d'Afrique, St. Anne's, Jerusalem, for a note on the Greek Catholic see of St. Jean d'Acre. To the Rev. Father A. Arce, O.F.M., St. Saviour's Librarian, Jerusalem, thanks are due for his kindness in looking over the pages dealing with Napoleonic times.

Finally, mention should be made of the late Mr. F. G. Lowick, Assistant Military Governor and later Administrative Officer at Acre, whose keen interest in the history and monuments of the town is represented by a collection of his papers in the Library of the Department of which use has been made in the compilation of this *Guide*.

R. W. HAMILTON

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LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES.

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1479 B.C. | Tuthmosis III wins battle of Megiddo. |
| 1288 | Ramesses II fights the Hittites at Kadesh in Syria. |
| c.1194 | Philistine raids on Egypt; legendary foundation of Tyre; Trojan War. |
| c.1000 | David, Solomon, kings of Judah and Israel. |
| 705 | Sennacherib subjugates Phœnicia & Palestine. |
| 605 | Battle of Carchemish, Babylonian ascendancy. |
| 586 | The Captivity. |
| 539 | Persian conquest of Babylonian empire. |
| 333 | Battle of Issus, Alexander the Great invades the East. |
| 200 | Antiochus the Great conquers Palestine. |
| c.167 | Beginning of the Maccabean revolt. |
| 63 | Pompey in Syria. — Syria a Roman province. |
| 40-4 B.C. | Herod I, 'the Great', king of the Jews. |
| 66-70 A.D. | First Jewish revolt against Rome. Roman base at Acre. |
| 634-40 | Arab conquest of Palestine. |
| 661 | Mu'awiya caliph, founds Umayyad dynasty in Damascus. |
| 750 | 'Abbasid caliphs succeed Umayyad; found Baghdad (762). |
| 969 | Fatimite caliphs annex Egypt and Palestine. |
| 1099 | The First Crusade, capture of Jerusalem. |
| 1187 | Battle of Hattin, Saladin conquers Palestine. |
| 1189-91 | The Third Crusade, recapture of Acre. |
| 1291 | Acre falls to the Mamlukes. |
| 1516 | Ottoman conquest of Syria. |
| 1749 | Daher el 'Omar revives Acre. |
| 1775-1804 | Jazzar Pasha, governor of Acre. |
| 1799 | Napoleon besieges Acre. |
| 1805 | Suleiman Pasha, governor of Acre. |
| 1819 | 'Abdullah Pasha, governor of Acre. |
| 1832 | Acre captured by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt. |
| 1840 | British and allied forces take Acre. |
| 1918 | Acre occupied by Allenby's forces. |

CORRECTIONS.

- p. 50, line 2 from bottom of page: *for t read it*
- p. 72, line 4: *after*, 'Government secondary school'.
read now the Government elementary school for boys.
- p. 94, line 6: *for* *besid* *read* beside
- p. 98, line 16: note (1) refers to note at foot of page

HISTORY OF ACRE.

'For if a ten years' war made Troy celebrated; if the triumph of the Christian made Antioch more illustrious, Acre will certainly obtain eternal fame, as a city for which the whole world contended.'

ITINERARY OF KING RICHARD.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION.

In Crusading times, so the chronicler relates, a low rock near Acre was pointed out as the meeting-place of Asia, Europe and Africa, the three divisions of the then known world. This fable was not without its truth. In history Palestine has been the bridge between the three continents, and Acre has more than once formed its key on the seaward side. Such was its importance in the operations between Turkey and Mohammed 'Ali of Egypt a hundred years ago as well as in the Napoleonic wars or during the Crusades.

In ancient eyes the advantages of its position were manifest. It is the natural centre of a comparatively well-watered section of the coastal plain. Its approaches from the north at Ras en-Naqura and from the south at Cape Carmel are narrow and could easily be defended. The obvious approach through the ring of hills on the east, the Qishon gap from the plain of Esdraelon at the south-east, must in primitive times have been marshy and often impassable. There remained to defend only the tracks over the rocky hills of Galilee, which the armies no less

than the caravans of the past usually preferred to follow. The compact territory enclosed by these natural boundaries has in turn been a petty state, civic district or administrative division with its centre at Acre.

At the same time it lay open to the sea. On a coast where sheltered anchorages are few and far between, the promontory terminating the north end of the sandy bay of Acre made a harbour where the galleys of the ancients could safely beach; and while ancient tradition and modern archaeology alike point to a hillock on the east of Acre as the site of the original settlement (see *Tell el Fukh-khar*, page 95), yet it is likely that the present site beside the harbour was also occupied as soon as the harbour came into use. There are archaeological grounds for supposing that this took place by the middle of the second millennium B.C. At that period, which coincides with the northward expansion of Egypt, it seems that Acre became the seaward terminus of the caravan route from Damascus and Mesopotamia which had hitherto passed straight through the country by way of the plain of Esdraelon and the pass of Megiddo. A chain of sites dating from the third millenium B.C. marks the old route from the Jordan fords at Samakh south of the Sea of Galilee as far as Mount Thabor; a similar chain of later sites marks the diversion by way of the plain of Saffuriya north of Nazareth, thence by 'Ibillin or Shafa 'Amr to the coast at Acre (see sketch map, fig. 13, after p. 109).

Along this route came especially the corn of the Hauran (the plain east of the Jordan and south of Damascus), and at times when the more famous ports of Tyre and Sidon were in eclipse, the richer merchandise of Damascus also found an outlet at Acre. Successive conquerors of the country from the ancient Egyptians to the Crusaders made use of the port as a base of operations, and after its revival in the eighteenth century it remained the chief town, market and port of the district until the coming of the railway to Haifa early in the present century.

EGYPTIAN PERIOD.

Acre is first mentioned in history in the annals of Tuthmosis III which are inscribed in the great temple of Amon at Karnak. In describing his campaign against Megiddo in 1479 B.C., the Pharaoh mentions 'Akka amongst 'the countries of Upper Retenu which his majesty shut up in the city of Megiddo (My-k-ty) the wretched, whose children his majesty brought as living prisoners to the city of Suhen-em-Opet [i.e. the castle (or prison) of Thebes] on his first victorious campaign...'*

This was the first of the many campaigns in which Tuthmosis III added to the old Egyptian Kingdom of the Nile those Asiatic provinces of

*Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. II, para. no. 402.

Palestine and Syria which he called 'Upper and Lower Retenu', so creating the largest colonial empire the world had yet seen.

The princes of Accho* in the following century, Zurata and his son Zutatna, are several times referred to in the Tell el Amarna Letters, a collection of political despatches addressed to the unwarlike successors of Tuthmosis III, the pharaohs Amenophis III and IV, the latter being better known as Ikhnaton. (The cuneiform tablets comprising the Letters were found in the ruins of his capital at Tell el Amarna in Upper Egypt in 1887). The letters from neighbouring rulers, from the Egyptian commissioners and from client princes, such as the princes of Accho, alike portray a state of intrigue verging on rebellion by which foreign powers such as the Amorites on the east and the Hittites on the north were quick to profit.

Thus, Zurata was sent 400 Egyptian soldiers and 30 chariots to protect his city; the honour with which his messengers to the Pharaoh were received aroused the jealousy of the King of Byblus. Zurata addressed himself to the Pharaoh in the usual abject terms,

'Speak unto my Lord the king, the sun from heaven, saying: Zurata, the man of Accho, the servant of the King, the dust of his feet and the ground whereon he treadeth, (hath spoken) saying: At the feet of my Lord the king, the sun from heaven, have I bowed down seven times

* To adopt the Hebrew form as written in the English Bible, where it stands for 'Akko.

seven times upon the belly and upon the back. Who is the man unto whom his lord the king hath written and he obeyeth not? According to what goeth forth from the mouth of the Sun from heaven, so shall it be done.'*

Nevertheless both Zurata and his successor Zutatna maintained a position of considerable independence. Thus when Labaya, the arch-enemy of the Pharaoh in Palestine, was caught by Biridya of Megiddo and handed over to Zurata for transport to Egypt, Zurata accepted his ransom and set him free. Again, his son Zutatna refused to hand over to Egyptian officials a refugee who had fled to his court. Finally, we find Burra-buriash of Babylon complaining to Ikhnaton that Zutatna with other local princes had attacked a Babylonian caravan near Accho and had taken and killed the merchants and taken away their money.

Accho is again mentioned in the Karnak lists as one of the cities occupied by Seti I during his reconquest of Palestine (c. 1314) and once more by Ramesses II in commemoration of his campaigns against the Hittites of Asia Minor (from about 1288). For a time the boundary between the Egyptians and the Hittites seems to have been much the same as the present boundary between Palestine and Syria. But within two centuries both the Egyptian and Hittite colonial empires had crumbled before the impact of fresh invaders by sea and land who included the Philistines and Hebrews.

* *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, p. 325.

HEBREW PERIOD.

In the *Book of Judges* (I, 31) Accho is given as one of the cities allotted to the tribe of Asher; however 'neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon . . . nor of Achzib [the modern Ez-Zib, north of Acre] . . . But the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land.' So Hebrew history alludes to that remnant of the Canaanites who clung to the rugged northern half of the Syrian coast during the 12th century B.C. while the Philistines were occupying the broad southern half. Known collectively as the Sidonians, they launched out into the Mediterranean as traders, and there they encountered the Homeric Greeks who called them Phœnicians. Accho was their most southerly city in Phœnicia proper; Mount Carmel the traditional boundary between the Philistine part of the coast (the original Palestine) and the Phœnician part to the north. The promontory of Acre is indeed just the sort of site the Phœnicians always chose as a harbour and market for their coastal trade, and it is hardly likely that the merchant seamen of Sidon or Tyre failed to use it as such. During the 10th century B.C., Tyre in particular reached that outstanding position which is familiar from the story of Hiram and Solomon. As for Accho, now that its connection with Damascus was at the mercy of the Israelite tribes who held the hill country, it seems that it was reduced to a settlement on the promontory, which served the Phœnicians as a station for their coasting trade.

ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

Throughout the Hebrew domination it is clear that the political connections of Accho were with Phœnicia rather than with the Hebrew Kingdoms; in policy she usually followed Tyre or Sidon, whichever happened to be predominant in southern Phœnicia. The mercantile communities of Phœnicia were content to purchase peace from the first Assyrian invaders; so they kept their independence while the Assyrians were subduing the various inland states including the Israelite. But in 709 B.C. Sargon II went on to subjugate Cyprus where were a number of Phœnician colonies. At the accession of Sennacherib a few years later, the mainland cities themselves rose under the leadership of Lule, king of Sidon, with whom Hezekiah, king of Judah, and the princes of the Egyptian Delta were also implicated. The Assyrian record enumerates 'Akku among the 'strong, walled cities' of Lule which submitted after his flight and death (700 B.C.). Sennacherib's son Esarhaddon brought the Assyrian empire to its fullest extent by annexing Egypt. In his time, in a treaty which he made with the client king of Tyre, 'Akku' appears as a city of the Assyrian 'province of Philistia' with its capital at Dor (Tantura) to the south of Mount Carmel. During the decline of Assyria under Assurbanipal, who lost Egypt, 'Akku revolted again, probably encouraged by the reviving power of Egypt, and this time she was heavily punished. Assurbanipal relates her fate as follows:

'In my ninth campaign the insubmissive people of 'Akku I slaughtered. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them). Those who were left I carried away to Assyria and joined them to (my) military organisation, adding them to the many troops which Assur had given me'.*

The records of the ensuing Babylonian conquest (from 605 B.C.) are silent about Acre.

PERSIAN PERIOD.

With the Persian conquest fifty years later, Acre re-appears under its Phœnician name Ake (Ace)** as the base of Persian operations against Egypt. In 526 B.C. Cambyses collected there the army which subsequently defeated the Egyptians at Pelusium; again in 374 B.C. when Artaxerxes II was at war with Egypt, his commander Pharnabazus gathered at Acre a force of 20,000 Persians and 2000 Greek mercenaries led by Iphicrates. Greek commercial influence had already begun to penetrate into Acre by the end of the Persian period; about the middle of the 4th century B.C. both Isæus and Demosthenes refer to a colony of Greek merchants at Acre.

GREEK PERIOD.

With the defeat of the Persians at Issus in 333 B.C. Phœnicia fell to Alexander the Great.

* Transl. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, para. 830.

** So it is written by the Greek historians and geographers.

Tyre alone resisted him, suffered its most desperate siege and was reduced to ruins. Sidon and Acre profited thereby, more especially when Alexander's later conquests opened up the Eastern trade, and for the first time coins were minted at Acre. Alexander set up a mint which issued gold staters and silver tetradrachms of Greek type, the latter bearing his effigy, — a series which continued under his immediate successors. This mint also issued silver coins of Tyrian type for circulation in Phœnicia itself if the series illustrated below has been correctly identified.



Fig. 1. Obverse and reverse of silver didrachm from a hoard found near Haifa, now in the Palestine Archæological Museum. The type is Tyrian, but it has been suggested that the circular sign on the reverse may stand for the initial Phœnician letter of the mint name 'AK (for 'Akko or 'Akka), the oblique strokes marking the mint year 9, era uncertain (C. Lambert, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. I, 1931). Enlarged.

Neither Sidon nor Acre however can have gained much from the confusion which followed

Alexander's sudden death in 323. The control of Phœnicia became the chief object of contention between his successors, Antigonus and his son Demetrius in Syria on the one hand, and Ptolemy and Seleucus Nicator in Egypt on the other hand. At the climax of this struggle, it is said that Ptolemy razed to the ground every important town he had held, including Acre, as he fell back before Antigonus to win the decisive victory of Gaza in 312 B.C. But this seems an exaggerated statement, for the contemporary coinage of Acre forms an unbroken series which undoubtedly covers that year and continues for several years afterwards. There can be little doubt however that Acre and the other Phœnician cities lost by this conflict while the new city of Alexandria in Egypt prospered.

With the overthrow of Antigonus in 301 B.C., Seleucus established a new dynasty in Syria and the conflict over Phœnicia and Palestine went on. Acre, along with the rest of southern Phœnicia, was at length annexed to Egypt under Ptolemy II (c. 281 B.C.). From this king it received the name of Ptolemais which it kept until the Arab conquest. From 261 B.C. onwards there is a dated series of coins bearing the new Greek name along with the old Phœnician name, which was indicated either by its first two Phœnician letters or written in Greek, Aké. (The old name was eventually dropped about 4 B.C.). In 259 B.C., according to the report made by the Greek official Zeno who was touring Palestine as commercial agent of

the Ptolemaic government in that year—his archives have been preserved amongst papyri found in Egypt—Ptolemais was one of the towns supplying corn to Egypt. Like the other Phœnician cities under Ptolemaic rule, Ptolemais must now have come into increasing contact with the Greek world and have become more and more Greek in manners.

Towards the end of the century, the old Seleucid claim to Palestine was revived by the ambitious Seleucid king of Syria, Mesopotamia and half Iran, Antiochus III, 'the Great'. In 219 he got possession of Ptolemais along with Tyre, and he made it the base for his invasion of Palestine which ended in his disastrous defeat at the battle of Raphia (Rafah) on the Egyptian frontier (217). In 200 B.C. he took his revenge over the Ptolemies in the decisive battle of Panion (Banyas north of Lake Hula), which gave him the whole of Palestine. The citizens of Ptolemais honoured their new master by adopting the title of 'Antiochenes living in Ptolemais'; this inscription appears on coins minted at Ptolemais under the Seleucid rulers for more than a century. Combined as it was with the royal effigy, it shows that the city ranked with those Hellenistic cities of Syria which enjoyed the widest degree of autonomy under Seleucid rule.

During the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucids the inhabitants of Ptolemais were consistently hostile to the Jewish cause. At the very beginning of the war (164-3 B.C.) the men of Ptolemais,

Tyre and Sidon rose against the Galileans, who were only rescued by Simon Maccabaeus himself; according to Josephus, Simon pursued his enemies 'to the very gates of Ptolemais'. In 153 B.C. Alexander Balas, pretender to the Seleucid throne of Syria, took the town from his Seleucid rival Demetrius I, and c. 151—150 B.C. he there married the daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt. In order to obtain Jewish support, Demetrius offered Jonathan Maccabaeus the revenues of Ptolemais for the benefit of the temple in Jerusalem. Jonathan refused the bribe and was consequently rewarded by Alexander, and received by him with great honour in Ptolemais. It was here too, some years later, that Jonathan was treacherously taken prisoner by Tryphon, an officer of the Syrians.

Towards the end of the second century B.C. the Seleucids lost all power in Palestine. The military and commercial importance of Ptolemais made the city a temptation to all the neighbouring powers, and it changed hands frequently. In 103 B.C. the Jewish ruler Alexander Jannaeus besieged Ptolemais but was forced to raise the siege out of fear of Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus, the king of Cyprus, whom the citizens called in. Ptolemy lost the city almost immediately to his mother Cleopatra III, queen of Egypt. Seeking an ally against her son, she presented it to one of the rival Seleucid rulers of Syria as a dowry for her daughter Cleopatra Selene. This Cleopatra

still held the city at the time of the invasion of southern Syria by the Armenian king Tigranes thirty years later. At her persuasion the citizens closed their gates to Tigranes. He nevertheless captured Ptolemais, but he was obliged to return home, on hearing that the Romans under Lucullus had attacked his own country (71 B.C.) This Roman intervention in the East, culminating in Pompey's invasion of Syria in 64—63 B.C. and the organisation of the Roman province of Syria, brings the Greek period of Acre to its close.

ROMAN PERIOD.

The Hellenized cities of the coast were the first to benefit by the new era of stability which Roman rule brought in. Ptolemais was specially favoured by Julius Caesar, who visited the city in 48 B.C. Henceforward the city reckoned its era from that date; and this era continued to be used until the time of Alexander Severus (3rd century A.D.). The city was occupied in 40 B.C. by the Parthians under Pacorus but was soon recovered by the Romans. It now became the regular landing-place and base of operations for the Roman forces and their allies. Thus Herod the Great, landed here when he returned from Italy in 39 B.C. in order to undertake the conquest of his kingdom. In 30 B.C. he entertained Octavian, the future Augustus, here with great magnificence. He also presented a gymnasium to the city, though it lay outside his kingdom. From now on, however, Acre suffered from the rivalry of Caesarea, which was established in

honour of Augustus by Herod. Still Caesarea could not compete with Ptolemais for the commerce of Damascus and Eastern Palestine, for Galilee was then at the height of its prosperity and Ptolemais was the seaport of the province of Galilee.

When disturbances broke out in Palestine after Herod's death in 4 B.C. it was at Ptolemais that Varus, the legate of Syria, assembled the native allies who joined the legions in restoring order, and after Judea was made into a separate Roman province in A.D. 6 the legates usually resided at Ptolemais when they came down from Antioch to deal with Jewish or Arabian affairs. Thus in A.D. 37 it was at Ptolemais that Vitellius received the deputation which entreated him not to carry the Roman standards through Judea on his campaign against Aretas of Petra. Again, in A.D. 40 it was at Ptolemais that Petronius prepared to carry out the emperor Caius's resolve to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, but was moved to desist by the unarmed protest of a great multitude of Jewish men, women and children who waited for weeks on the plain of Acre, prepared to sacrifice themselves rather than countenance such an abomination. Between A.D. 52 and 54 the emperor Claudius settled a colony of veterans at Ptolemais, and henceforward the city bore the title of *Colonia Claudia Felix Ptolemais*. It was the first city in the country to receive this distinction, doubtless because of its usefulness as a port for military purposes. Under the next emperor, Nero, the road from Antioch along

the coast was completed as far as the new colony of Ptolemais,—the first Roman road to be built in Palestine.



Fig. 2. Reverse of bronze coin of Ptolemais in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. It symbolizes the founding of the colony; the emperor traces the first furrow with the plough, while in the background are ranged the standards of legions then serving in Palestine: III (Gallica), VI (Ferrata), X (Frotensis), XII (Fulminata). Enlarged.

In the first Jewish revolt (66—70 A.D.) the city was again bitterly hostile to the Jews. According to Josephus the inhabitants of Ptolemais 'slew two thousand of the Jews that were among them and put not a few into bonds'. On the other hand, the insurgents wasted the territory of Ptolemais with fire and sword. In the later years of the war Ptolemais became Vespasian's headquarters in his operations against Galilee. During the second revolt of the Jews under Bar Cochba in the time of Hadrian, the Romans

built a road from Ptolemais into Galilee via Saffuriya, their second in Palestine. But this war was perhaps the last to affect Ptolemais until the Persian and Moslem invasions over five hundred years later.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS.

St. Paul visited Ptolemais on his third missionary journey and spent one day with the local Christian community (*Acts*, XXI, 7). Quite early it became a bishopric. The first bishop known is Clarus, who took part in a synod of Palestinian and Phœnician bishops held in A.D. 190 in connection with the Paschal controversy. Other bishops are known from the attendance lists of various local and œcumenical councils down to A.D. 553. In these lists the bishopric is given not under the coastal province of Palestine, but under Phœnicia, its metropolis being Tyre.

For the purposes of civil government it became the centre of a district extending along the seacoast from the south end of Mount Carmel to the Wadi Qarn near the present Syrian frontier, and inland to the foothills. Like the other leading cities of the later Roman Empire, it was responsible for taxation and police among the village communities upon its territory, much of which probably consisted of the estates of the leading citizens.

The extent of the town during this period is indicated by the discovery of remains of masonry and Græco-Roman pottery on the site of the new District Offices on the seashore to

the north of Acre, as well as by the frequency of similar sherds on the ground east of the modern town right over to Tell el Fakh-khar (compare page 95).

EARLY ARAB PERIOD.

Although Ptolemais had so long been the official name of the town, the Semitic name Accho (or 'Akko) was still in general use among the population. After the Arab conquest in 636 A.D., the old name in the slightly modified form 'Akka once more became the official designation of the place. The Crusaders corrupted it to Acri or Acre, but in Arabic it remains 'Akka to this day.

In 636, the year of the overwhelming Arab victory at the river Yarmuk, Acre fell to the Arab generals 'Amr ibn al 'As and Yazid. Presumably the town was already fortified, for in Arab hands it resisted Byzantine attempts to recover it. In a few years the Arab empire spread all over the Middle East, and for the next four centuries Acre was to be ruled by the caliphs (the successors of the prophet Mohammad), — by the Umayyad caliphs from Damascus, by the Abbasid from Baghdad, and by the Fatimite from Cairo.

Mu'awiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus and the first of the Arab rulers to develop sea-power, made Acre one of his bases for conquests overseas. He brought Persians from Syrian towns and settled them along the coast; he strengthened the towns of

Acre and Tyre, and at Acre he established a ship-building industry which made it a naval base second only to Alexandria. From Acre he embarked on his conquest of Cyprus. The later Umayyad caliphs, Marwan, 'Abd el Malik (the builder of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem) and Hisham I, are all credited with works of improvement or fortification at Acre. Hisham certainly embellished the town with one of his several palaces.* But he moved the ship-building industry to Tyre.

The naval importance of Acre returned during the 9th century, as the threat of Byzantine reconquest was renewed. Ruling from Baghdad, the Abbasid caliphs at first neglected sea-power. But in 861 the caliph Mutawakkil, who had already moved the capital back to Damascus for a short time, ordered a garrison and fleet to be equipped at Acre among other towns on the Syrian coast. Under his successor the harbour was much improved and strengthened by the Turk Ahmad ibn Tulun, a semi-independent governor of Egypt (868—884) who annexed Palestine and Syria to his province; a contemporary account of how he enclosed the harbour on the model of the enclosed harbour of Tyre will be found on page 87. In the course of the 10th century the Byzantine emperors took the offensive by land and sea, and recovered several provinces, including Cyprus and Antioch. When, in 975, the

* Others have lately been discovered at Khirbat el Mafjar near Jericho, and at Qasr el Heir between Damascus and Palmyra.

emperor Tzimisces suddenly invaded Palestine with the object of restoring Jerusalem to Christian control, Acre surrendered to him, but other coastal fortresses to the south held him in check and prevented him from attaining his goal.

Only a few years before this Byzantine irruption, Palestine had passed under the rule of the Fatimite conquerors of Egypt, a Tunisian dynasty who now contested the title of caliph with the caliphs of Baghdad. One among several parties in revolt against Baghdad, the Fatimites never gained such undisputed mastery over Syria, or even over Damascus and northern Palestine, as Ibn Tulun had exercised in the previous century. Through their fleet however, they were able to keep a firm hold over the coastal towns for nearly a century hence. To Acre at this period was attached at one time the district of Tiberias, at another Cæsarea. From late in this period comes a description of the town by the Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau who passed through in 1047.*

Besides the fortified harbour built by Ibn Tulun, which he compares to a stable with its back towards the town and its side-walls stretching out into the sea, Nasir says that the city also had extremely strong walls. Its dimensions he estimated at 2000 by 500 ells (i.e. 4000 by 1000 feet), which would imply a larger fortified area than that enclosed by the

* Translated by G. le Strange, in the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. VI.

present ramparts and one of more elongated plan. The greater length must clearly have been from west to east as in the reconstruction of the Crusader plan given in fig. 10 before page 67, where the walls covering the inner quadrangle at the south would represent those which the Persian saw. Like other Moslem visitors he alludes to the Friday mosque of Nabi Salih dominating the centre of the city. Its site is now lost, but it may well have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present shrine of Nabi Salih in the cemetery east of the ramparts if the city formerly extended so much further east. He also mentions the celebrated 'Ein el Baqar outside the eastern gate (now called 'Ein el Baqara, see pages 24, 94), and in passing Haifa he noticed that shipbuilding was being carried on there.

About this time the Seljuq Turks invaded the lands of the Abbasid caliphate, dominating the caliph in Baghdad but regenerating Moslem power. From Baghdad they began to overrun Syria and Palestine. Amidst the confusion of their opening raids the towns of Acre and Sidon were held by an Armenian soldier, Badr el Jamali. Called to Cairo in 1073 as commander-in chief, he soon became the real ruler of the Fatimite dominions. Yet, while he held Egypt strongly, he could not prevent the Fatimite towns in Syria and Palestine from going over to the Turks. In 1089, however, he succeeded in recovering Acre and the other leading sea-ports south of Tripoli in Syria. To these accessions his son added Jerusalem in 1098, just as the Crusaders from the West

were about to invade the country with the aim of wresting the Holy Places from Moslem possession.

CRUSADER PERIOD.

Marching down from Syria, the army of the First Crusade arrived on the plain of Acre and encamped by the river Belus in the spring of 1099. They did not attempt to occupy the city, but passed on to the capture of Jerusalem. In 1102 a fleet of English, Flemish and Danes attacked Acre unsuccessfully. But it was not until 1104, after he had already occupied the sea-ports of Jaffa, Arsuf and Cæsarea, that king Baldwin I himself besieged Acre. With the help of a Genoese fleet he captured the city after a siege and blockade of twenty days. The Fatimite rulers of Egypt tried to recover the city in 1110, but were driven away by a Norse fleet under king Sigurd.

As the other leading sea-ports, Tyre and Ascalon, were still strongly held by the Fatimite rulers of Egypt, Acre at once became the chief port of the Latin Kingdom which Baldwin I was establishing in Palestine and the southern Lebanon; and as the port to which, in the words of a contemporary, 'the necessary supplies of Asia flow from Africa and Europe', it attracted merchants from the great trading cities of Italy and Provence. The Genoese received a third of the city and its revenues in return for the help they had given at its capture. Their rivals of Pisa, Venice and Amalfi in Italy, and of Marseilles

in Provence, soon followed and obtained similar privileges. Each community had its own quarter, street or *piazza* with its own court-house and parish-church as well as its warehouses; each owned its own mills, bakery and butchery; and each was administered by its own representatives, their head exercising something like consular powers. For good or evil, these trading colonies dominated the affairs of the city throughout the two centuries of Crusader occupation.

As the nearest good harbour to Jerusalem, whither, as the writer of a pilgrim's hand-book puts it, 'all pilgrims for Christ's sake by sea and land betake themselves', it became their usual port of disembarkation. Both the Hospitallers of St. John, who gave them hospitality, and the Templars, who escorted them on the road, had establishments there. According to the same writer, who passed through in 1172:

'The Templars have built a large house of admirable workmanship by the seashore, and the Hospitallers likewise have founded a stately house there. Wherever the ships of pilgrims may have landed them, they are all obliged to repair to the harbour of this city to take them home again on their return from Jerusalem. Indeed in the year which we were there — on Wednesday in Easter week — we counted eighty ships in the port besides the ships called a "buss", on board which we sailed thither and returned'.*

* Theodorich's Description of the Holy Places, transl. Aubrey Stewart, p. 59 in the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. V.

The Armenians had a similar hospice for their pilgrims.

Because of this traffic no less than its military importance, the city was one of those which the Latin kings of Jerusalem ruled directly. The customs they took on the trade which passed through formed the principal part of their revenue, notwithstanding the exemptions claimed by the trading colonies. When King Baldwin II offered his heiress Melisend in marriage to the French count Fulk of Anjou, he granted him Acre and Tyre as his wife's dowry, and while resident in Acre after he became king, Fulk was killed when out hunting nearby. Similarly, King Baldwin III gave the city and its income as a dowry to his bride Theodora, niece of the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople, and after his death she resided there.

Here are the impressions of a Spanish Moslem traveller, Ibn Jubair, who passed through in 1185 on his way from the East:

'In the morning... we arrived at the city of Acre (may God destroy it!) and were taken to the Diwan ("custom-house") which is an inn (*khan*) prepared for the caravans to stay in. In front of its door there are furnished benches where the Christian clerks of the Diwan sit with their gilded inkstands of ebony. They both write and speak Arabic; their chief, who is both the master of the Diwan and its tax-contractor, is known by the name of "the Master", a title which has fallen to him because of the position he occupies. (They ascribe that title to every respectable person appointed to their service who is not of army rank.) All they collect

goes to the tax-contractor; and the tax-contract amounts to an enormous sum of money. The merchants unloaded their animals and kept them with the goods in the lower storey of the inn while they themselves lodged in the upper storey. Then it was requested that every person who had no goods, should bring in the pack-saddle of his animal for inspection in order to make sure that no goods were hidden in it, but he himself was set free to lodge wherever he wished. All this was conducted gently and carefully without any scolding or pestering. So we lodged there at a house that we hired from a Christian woman by the seaside'.

The busy city he describes thus:

'It is the base of the Frankish towns in Syria and the landing-place of "the ships carrying their sails aloft in the sea like mountains" (*Qur'an*, LV, 24). The harbour of every ship, in grandeur it resembles Constantinople; the place of assembly for ships and caravans, the meeting-place of Moslem and Christian merchants from all parts, its roads and streets are choked with multitudes having little room to tread',*

The Moslems, he says, still used part of the Mosque of Nabi Salih in Acre, as well as a praying-place at the spring called 'Ein el Baqar (or Baqara) outside the walls. But like other visitors he found the town less healthy, less attractive and less imposing than the rival sea-port of Tyre which had remained longer in Moslem hands.

At the same time he thought Acre no less fortunate than Tyre in its surroundings. He writes:

* Translated from the Arabic of De Goeje's edition of Ibn Jubair's *Travels*, p. 302—3.

'These two cities have no gardens round about them; however, they are both situated in a large plain reaching to the sea-shore and are supplied with fruit from gardens not far away. Both have an extensive territory, and from the farmsteads which cover the neighbouring hills they exact produce. They both (rank) among the leading cities of the country. East of Acre at the far end of the town, there is a wadi flowing with water, and along its bank where it joins the sea, there is a stretch of sand than which no finer is to be seen, nor a race-course for horses to compare with it. Thither the governor (*sahib*) of the town (takes) a ride morning and evening, and there the troops parade.'*

The governor of Acre was a royal official known as the Viscount, a knight whose powers corresponded to those of an English sheriff; he was justice, superintendent of police and collector of taxes. He is shown presiding over the Burgesses' Court on the seal illustrated in the tailpiece to page 64.

In the Latin or Roman hierarchy which the Crusaders set up in place of the Byzantine, Acre once more became the seat of a bishop, who, as in the Byzantine hierarchy, came under the archbishop of Tyre. The bishop's cathedral was the church of St. Cross near the harbour, as the seals of several of the bishops show, e.g. fig. 4, page 33.

Besides the bishop, a number of barons of the Latin Kingdom held property in the city. In return for this, the barons had to raise so many

* From the same, p. 310.

knights for the feudal levy of the kingdom. In addition, both the bishop and the citizens had to provide bodies of hired troops in times of great emergency. At the time of the fall of the kingdom in 1187, the bishop, barons and citizens were together assessed at as high a figure as any city in the kingdom, Jerusalem alone excepted. As an indication of the wealth of 12th-century Acre, this figure is the more significant if the exemption of the wealthy trading colonies from any such services is also taken into account.

After the defeat of the entire Crusader army at Hittin (near Tiberias) in the summer of 1187, Acre surrendered to Saladin without resistance; of all the sea-ports south of Beirut, Tyre alone remained in Crusader hands. Aware of the importance that Acre had for the Crusaders as a sea-port, Saladin immediately took in hand the strengthening of its fortifications and personally supervised the completion of the work during the winter of 1187-8. As soon as the Crusaders grew strong enough again to take the offensive, they made the recapture of Acre their objective. At the end of August, 1189, king Guy boldly advanced from Tyre to besiege the city. During the ensuing years the plain of Acre became the chief battleground of Christian Europe and Moslem Asia.

From the accounts written by eye-witnesses on either side, it is possible to connect the course of events with some of the existing features in the town and its vicinity.

On the two land fronts, the north and east, the city was fortified, it appears, with a single wall and ditch. This was no doubt the big wall of Arab times which the Persian traveller saw some years before the arrival of the Crusaders, and which Saladin improved after he had captured the city from them. In all probability it is the innermost, rectangular line shown on the plan of the Venetian Marino Sanudo of a century later, see Plate II (at back of frontispiece). That is to say, it was the line on the northern arm of which the castle stood, and it did not include the triangular suburb of Montmusart to the north. The probable trace of this line as inferred from the Persian's figures, the accounts of the Crusader siege, and such remains as have been reported in modern times, is indicated on the key-plan, fig. 10. (before page 67). This wall of Arab times was much longer than the present ramparts on the landfronts. On the north it ran either along the present inner ditch, or else on a line from 100 to 250 metres outside the main rampart. But on the east it extended much further, probably reaching a line beyond the present main north road, some 500 metres east of the main rampart of to-day (see 'Description' on page 65, also pages 77-78). At the north-east angle, not far from the Naqura-Safad cross-roads, stood the strong tower which the Crusaders called the 'Accursed Tower' from a legendary association with Judas Iscariot. On Marino Sanudo's plan (Pl. II) this name is written against the circular tower at the corresponding angle of the outer wall, but from his own history

of the later siege of 1291 which his plan is meant to illustrate (see pages 38 ff. of this *Guide*), it is pretty clear that the 'Accursed Tower' then belonged to the inner line, and so it is marked on another extant plan contemporary with Marino Sanudo's. This would go to prove that the inner of the two walls on the east of the city of 1291 must have followed the older, single line of 1189. In laying siege to the city the Crusaders took up their position on the east with their centre on the mound they called 'Le Toron', now Tell el Fukh-khar (where Napoleon also made his headquarters), while their left covered their principal source of water supply, the river Belus (see vicinity sketch, fig. 13, after p. 109).

Hastening to relieve his garrison in Acre, Saladin collected his army on the plain of Saffuriya (north of Nazareth) and approached the town by the ancient road passing by Shafa 'Amr (see vicinity sketch). Here he made his base on the heights known as Jebel el Kharruba, 'the Mount of the Carob-tree', from which he could overlook the plain of Acre. He then occupied an advanced line marked by the prominent *tells*, or mounds of ancient settlement, Kurdana — Keisan — 'Aiyadiya, making one or other of the last two his battle headquarters. From these positions he was able to reinforce the garrison from time to time, and once succeeded in establishing open communication with the town by encircling the Crusader position from the

north. An indecisive battle took place in the plain early in October. Thereafter the Crusaders were themselves besieged by Saladin, but they persisted in their blockade of the town, in which they were helped by their command of the sea, which ensured their own communications with their base at Tyre while it enabled them to cut off most of the enemies' ships.

In the spring of 1190 Saladin renewed his attempts to drive the Crusaders into the sea, but they held their ground. They expected large reinforcements from Europe, and knew that the emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany was already on his way. Meanwhile they entrenched themselves behind a rampart of earth crowned with palisades and defended by traverses, which stretched from sea to sea. So the armies stagnated throughout that year. As fresh forces came in from the various countries of Europe, the Crusaders were at last able to make their blockade effective and to begin to attack the city. But since the German emperor and most of his army were lost in Asia Minor, and since Saladin's appeals to Baghdad and Morocco, the ends of the Moslem world, produced no fresh Moslem aid, neither side made headway.

In the spring of 1191 there arrived the bulk of the Crusade, consisting of large contingents under king Philip of France and king Richard of England, Richard Cœur de Lion. With their arrival, siege operations at last began in earnest, directed chiefly against the strong tower at the

north-east angle of the city-wall which the Crusaders named the 'Accursed Tower'. The tower and the adjacent walls were undermined by sappers and battered by stone-throwing artillery, the largest machines of which were placed at 'Ein el Baqara, which is now 700 metres from the eastern ramparts but was then fairly close to the eastern wall. (The large stone balls which are kept in the Prison are of the kind which were used in these machines). Repeated assaults followed from moveable wooden towers which the garrison as often set on fire with the naphthalene preparation known as 'Greek fire'. Saladin's counter-attacks failed to interrupt the Crusaders' efforts, and, in July, 1191, the weary and starving garrison surrendered.

The loss of the city was a serious blow to Saladin; his secretary and biographer Beha ed-Din says that it had been the chief arsenal and base of supply for both Syria and Egypt. It now became the starting-point for Richard's reconquest of the coast and of his attempt to recover Jerusalem. When he failed, Acre became the capital of the revived Latin kingdom. The King and Patriarch of Jerusalem took up residence here. The military orders of the Temple and the Hospital which were henceforth the principal support of the kingdom, established their headquarters here; so did the similar orders of the Teutonic Knights and of St. Lazarus which were founded some years later. The feudal lords, and the survivors of the numerous monasteries in and around Jerusalem who had lost their property in the disaster of

1187, now took refuge here, building themselves new houses and churches. In addition, there was a new hospice of St. Thomas the Martyr (Thomas à Becket of Canterbury) for the English, which had been founded during the siege. Its seal (fig. 3) shows the archbishop enthroned, receiving a poor man. The brethren or clergy wore upon their white cloaks a red cross with a scallop shell at the centre—an early instance of the use of the 'Cross of St. George' by an English body. (The site of their church in the City of London, St. Thomas Acon, is now occupied by the chapel of the Mercers' Company).



Fig. 3. 'Common Seal of the Chapter of the Brothers of the Blessed Thomas the Martyr'. (From a drawing in the Guildhall Museum, London, by courtesy of the Curator). Two-thirds original size.

Last but not least, the Italian and Provençal merchants returned to their old quarters with renewed privileges. The new population was

very mixed; it included Arabic, Syriac and Greek-speaking peoples beside the French and Italian, and also Jews, yet each of these communities was allowed to keep its own laws by the French and Italians who controlled the city.

After the siege Richard had patched up the damaged defences, but in 1202 they were badly shaken in an earthquake. The castle was ruined and the town walls had to be rebuilt. Thus restored, the city of Acre is described by a traveller who visited it in 1212:

'This is a strong city situated on the seashore in such a way that, while it is of four-cornered plan, the two sides which form one angle are girdled and protected by the sea, and the other two are encompassed by a fine ditch, which is both wide and deep and stone-lined from the very bottom, and also by a double wall which is fortified with towers on an excellent system. Thus the first wall, which together with its towers does not overtop the main wall, is commanded and defended by the second and inner wall the towers of which are tall and very strong indeed. This city has a good safe harbour guarded by a handsome tower [the Tower of Flies, so-called after its legendary association with Beelzebub, god of the flies].*

From this description it appears that the double walls did not yet enclose the northern suburb of Montmusart. But with the new influx of population,

* Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Pilgrimage', book I, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. Laurent, p. 163.

this suburb must already have been growing up and cannot have been left quite unprotected. The extension of the double wall to cover it was due to St. Louis, king of France, who extended the fortifications of several of the coastal towns during his stay in Palestine (1250-54). By a later traveller who came in 1284, the city is then described as having the three-cornered form, 'like a shield', in which it appears in Marino Sanudo's plan of a few years later (see Pl. II & fig. 10, before page 67).

In the thirteenth century every fresh pilgrimage or crusade converged upon Acre, the best port of southern Syria, and for the first half of the century its growth and improvement must have been continuous. The canons of the cathedral of St. Cross summoned James of Vitry in Italy, in his day the most eloquent preacher of the Crusade in Europe, to be their bishop; his seal is reproduced below (fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Seal of James of Vitry, bishop of Acre from 1216, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum from 1228. On reverse: cross, moon to left, sun to right; around, 'This the sign of the cross will be in the heavens'. (From Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano*, Vol. I, Pl. V, 52).

St. Francis began his eastern mission here, sending out his friars two by two (1219); later both the Friars Minor and the Poor Ladies or Poor Clares were established in the city or its suburb, and here Friar William of Rubruck wrote his classic account of Mongol Asia after his visit to the Great Khan on behalf of St. Louis, king of France.* The preaching Friars of St. Dominic followed the Franciscans (c. 1228), and made Acre one of the first centres of their study and refutation of the tenets of Islam. Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, who was crusading in Palestine from 1227 until 1231, founded a church for the English hospitallers of St. Thomas the Martyr, and in 1254 Gilles, archbishop of Tyre, founded a similar order of St. Martin for the Bretons; both orders had their hospices in the English quarter at the northern tip of the suburb of Montmusart near the *auberge* or hospice of the Hospital of St. John. In Montmusart also were established such new communities as the Carmelite monks, and the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity which had as its object the ransoming of Christian prisoners-of-war. These, and other churches and monasteries, are marked in Marino Sanudo's plan (Pl. II & fig. 10). Towards the end of the 13th century there were no fewer than forty churches which pilgrims used to visit.

Side by side with the stream of pilgrimage there flowed through 13th-century Acre a growing

* Later on the Polos arrived in Acre after visiting the Great Khan, and set out hence on their famous second journey which is described in the *Travels of Marco Polo*.

stream of trade between Europe and the East. During this period, in addition to the old colonies of the Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, Amalfitans and Marseillais, there were established new colonies of the cities of Florence, Lucca and Ancona in Italy; bankers of Siena in Italy and merchants of Barcelona and Montpellier in the enterprising Kingdom of Aragon; and even an English trading colony. Merchants from Acre were to be found in Egypt, Turkish Asia Minor and Constantinople, in the market of Kieff in Russia, and as far west as the great fairs of Champagne in France. In the East the commercial interests of the city so far outweighed the religious that coins were struck after Moslem types for circulation in the surrounding Moslem countries, and only when the pious St. Louis insisted, it seems, was the Moslem religious formula replaced by a similar Christian formula as on the example illustrated overleaf (fig. 5).

Instead of trading quietly as they had done during the first century of the Crusader occupation, these colonies took an increasing part in politics as the second century went on. Keen rivals at home, they competed against each other no less keenly in the East; and, dependent as they were upon the king for their privileges, they took sides whenever the succession to the kingdom was in dispute, as it often was in this second century. Like the military orders and the local barons, they had separate jurisdictions in the city, each with their own stronghold or rallying-point such as the tower Montjoie in the Genoese quarter.

At first the Genoese and Pisans, who had both played leading parts in the siege of [1189-91], were the protagonists. In the second quarter of the

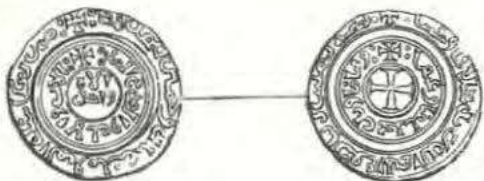


Fig. 5. Obverse and reverse of gold dinar of Acre (*sarrazina*). On margin of obverse in Arabic:

'Struck at Acre in the year 1251 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Christ';

inside this:

'The Father, Son and Holy Spirit';

in the centre:

'One God'.

On the reverse:

'We glory in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ in whom is our safekeeping, our life and resurrection, and by whom we have been redeemed and forgiven'.

(From G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, pl. V, 27).

century the conflicting claims of the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus and the German emperor Frederick II of Sicily divided the city; the Genoese along with the military orders, the local baronage and the Fraternity of St. Andrew, an association of all classes in the city, resisted the emperor; the Pisans and Venetians therefore supported him. Later the Venetians became the chief

opponents of both the Pisans and the Genoese: St. Louis stayed their quarrels for a time; but after his departure in 1254 open war broke out in Acre. This new conflict split the city through and through, even the Temple and Hospital took opposite sides. In the end the Genoese were driven to take refuge in Tyre, whence they continued to attack the Venetians who were now dominant in Acre. Their naval conflict spread throughout the Levant and continued in front of Acre even when the city was gravely threatened by external enemies: the Mongols in 1259-60, the more formidable Egyptian Mamlukes under Baibars in 1265. Peace was made only in 1270, when Baibars had already conquered most of the remaining Crusader strongholds in Palestine.



Fig. 6. Seal of the Fraternity of St. Andrew at Acre. Obverse: figures of St. Peter and St. Andrew with initials S. P. and S. A.; around, 'Charity of the Fraternity, Acco'. Reverse: the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, sun to left, moon to right; around, 'In honour of God and Christianity'. (After G. Schlumberger, 'Neuf sceaux de l'Orient Latin', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. II, pl. I).

The days of Crusader Acre were numbered. While Baibars and the later sultan of Egypt, Qalawun pursued their conquest of the Crusader territories step by step, Acre made and renewed an uneasy truce. The succession was still in dispute; for the time being the city was ruled by the regents of Charles of Anjou, who as king of Sicily had inherited the claims of the emperor Frederick II, but in 1285 the Lusignan king of Cyprus, Henry II, asserted his own claim by entering the city. In such circumstances, and at the eleventh hour, every effort was made to improve the city's defences. Thus the tower at the outer north-east angle was strengthened by Henry II, after whom it was called the 'King's Tower'. (On Marino Sanudo's plan, Plate II, it is called the 'Accursed Tower,' but, as has been explained already, this name should refer to the corresponding tower on the inner wall). Another tower or barbican was built by King Edward I of England, and a third by Alice, countess of Blois. At length, in 1290, Qalawun determined to wipe out the city and with it the last Crusader footholds on the coast: 'Athit, Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. On his death, it was left to his successor Malik el Ashraf to strike the final blow.

In April 1291 he laid siege to Acre with immense forces. Though unable to invest the city from the sea, he had complete control of the mainland, whence he received a continuous stream of recruits, volunteers as well as regulars,

so that his troops eventually outnumbered the defenders by at least ten to one. On their side the defenders were well prepared, and, confident in the strength of their fortifications, they put up a most determined resistance. Like the Crusaders in 1189-91, the besiegers concentrated their attacks on the strongest tower, the new 'King's Tower'. This and the adjacent parts of the outer wall they battered with their stone-throwing artillery and undermined. (The large stone balls kept in the Prison are probably relics of this siege). In the second month, breaches appeared and fighting became incessant. On May 16th the besiegers pressed so heavily on St. Anthony's Gate in the re-entrant angle that the besieged made a desperate attempt to embark the women and children to Cyprus. On the 18th a general assault forced first St. Anthony's Gate, then the Pilgrims' Gate and finally the other gates in the east front of the inner wall. The survivors of the fighting and non-combatant population were trapped in the various strong buildings about the town, and only a remnant of the total population of 30,000 or 40,000 got away safely to Cyprus. When the very strong Templar castle at the south-western extremity of the town was undermined a few days later, all was lost. The Mamlukes burnt and devastated the city; and within a few weeks they occupied the remaining Crusader strongholds on the coast, last of all the Templar castle of 'Athit, or Athlith, south of Haifa.

The glories of Crusader Acre are recalled by a German traveller who visited its ruins some years later. He describes its magnificent fortifications in terms similar to those of the description already quoted (page 32), adding that the walls were so broad that two carts could pass on top of them. He then gives a romantic picture of the former city and its life:

'The public squares, or streets, within the city were exceedingly neat, all the walls of the houses of like height with one another and built without exception of hewn stones, being wondrously adorned with glass windows and painting. Moreover, all the palaces and houses of the city were built not simply to serve ordinary needs but designed with a care for human comfort and enjoyment, being fitted up inside and decorated outside with glass, painting, hangings and other ornament, as each man was able. The public places of the city were covered over with silken sheets or other splendid stuffs for shade. At every street corner stood a very strong tower protected by an iron door and chain. The nobility lived round the inner part of the city in exceedingly strong castles and palaces. In the centre of the city lived the craftsmen and merchants, every one in a special place according to his trade, and all the inhabitants of the city deemed themselves like the Romans of old and carried themselves like noble lords, as indeed they were.

He then enumerates the representatives of the kingdom who had residence in Acre, and goes on to say how:

'...every single one of them used to parade as if he were a king with knights and retainers, mercenaries and footmen, vying among themselves with all imaginable zest in their clothing and their chargers, which were marvellously decked out with gold and silver. Each held daily games, tourneys, assaults-at-arms and divers displays, hunting expeditions and sports of all kinds that relate to war. Moreover, each had full jurisdiction beside his own palace or castle, and, what was more, immunity from taxation.'

He goes on to mention the five military orders, adding the English knights of St. Thomas to those already referred to (page 30), and concludes:

'There also resided in Acre the richest merchants under heaven, who had come together out of every nation; there dwelt the Pisans, Genoese and Lombards, through whose cursed strife the city was brought low; for they likewise carried themselves as lords. Not only the richest merchants but the most diverse folk dwelt there, for from the rising to the setting of the sun all kinds of wares were brought thither; all the strange and rare things which are to be found in the world were brought thither on account of the nobility and princes who themselves resided therein'.

* Ludolph of Suchem's 'Description of the Holy Land', chap. XXV, from the German version of R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Koönigreichs Jerusalem* (1100-1291), pp. 1009-11, and the English version of Aubrey Stewart in vol. XII of the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*.

MAMLUKE AND EARLY TURKISH PERIODS.

The capture of Acre by the Mamlukes was followed by the destruction of the town and its fortifications. One of their leaders, an-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, later Sultan of Egypt, had the Gothic doorway of one of the churches transported to Egypt to adorn his tomb in Cairo, where it may still be seen, a solitary specimen of the architecture of the numerous churches of Crusader Acre.

In the Mamluke re-organisation of the country Safad replaced Acre as the capital of northern Palestine; Jaffa became the usual landing-place for pilgrims; and Acre remained in a state of ruin for the next four and a half centuries. The conquest of Syria and Palestine by the Ottoman Turks in 1516 led to the establishment of a colony of French merchants in the Khan el Faranj (21 on guide-plan, fig. 14 at back of book), one of seven privileged trading posts which King Francis I of France founded on the coast of Syria and Palestine under the so-called Capitulations. A semi-independent governor of the province of Sidon, the Druse emir Fakhr ed-Din (1595-1634) began to revive the town by attaching it to his province and building a residence there. Yet the accounts of contemporary travellers agree that apart from the French merchants' *khan*, a Turkish fort or custom-house, a mosque or two, a church, and a number of poor cottages, there was 'nothing but a vast and spacious ruin'.

So it still was in 1738 when Dr. Richard Pococke made his visit. Of the several descriptions of the ruins of Crusader Acre which have been published, his is one of the latest but it is perhaps the clearest. He was impressed by the magnificence of the ruins, which must then have been as imposing as those of Crusader Famagusta in Cyprus are to-day. He noticed both the inner and outer parts of the Crusader city (see fig. 10 before page 67), and he describes its double wall and stone-lined ditch, which seemed to him quite modern. Among the ruins of the inner part he distinguishes several large buildings. Near the harbour at the south west, the only part then inhabited, he saw the half-ruined church of St. Andrew, 'a fine Gothic building' (see fig. 7). 'At a little distance to the north west', he goes on to say, 'are remains of a very strong building, called the Iron Castle'; this must have been the remnant of the Templars' Castle. In the field of ruins extending to the north and east, 'about three quarters of a mile from east to west, and might be half a quarter of a mile broad', he mentions three outstanding buildings. At the far east there was 'a low massive building' which probably had 'a grand church over it', which was 'said to be dedicated to St. John', but which should rather be identified with the headquarters of the Teutonic knights. West of this he saw 'a very large and magnificent nunnery' of which 'the church is almost entire'; tradition connected this with the Poor Clares or Franciscan Sisters who disfigured themselves to save their

honour, but it is more likely to have been the Patriarchate or else the cathedral of St. Cross. Finally, toward the north west he describes the massive ruins of 'the Palace of the grand master of the Knights of St. John' and 'a noble well-built chapel' near it, which together formed so outstanding a landmark that they gave their name to the seaport, St. Jean d'Acree (see fig. 8).*

MODERN PERIOD.

Soon after Pococke's visit the modern development of the town, and the consequent destruction of the Crusader ruins, began. It was started by Daher el 'Omar, the first of the series of more or less independent governors of Acre to whom the existing town owes its buildings and fortifications.

The eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth were distinguished in the history of Turkey by an increasing weakness in provincial administration. The threat of aggression by Russia and other powers upon the European territories of the Turkish empire led to the neglect of internal affairs in the eastern or Asiatic provinces, and in Egypt, Palestine and Syria in particular this allowed the rise of local chieftains. In these provinces in fact the Ottoman sultans exercised no more than the power of

* The positions and remains of these buildings, so far as can be ascertained now, are pointed out on pages 65-93 of the description of present-day Acre which forms the second part of this *Guide*.



Fig. 7. Ruins of St. Andrew's Church in 1681 with Mount Carmel in the distance
(from Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, fig. 164).



Fig. 8. View of St. Jean d'Acre from the harbour in 1686 (from the drawing by Gravier d'Orcières in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, reproduced from C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, pl. 51, fig. 162).

This is part of a panorama, a complete reproduction of which may be found in P. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, pl. XIII, A.

imposing and collecting tribute from their representatives. In practice these were semi-independent and despotic rulers, possessing powers of life and death in their respective districts. Through extortion and bribery they were able to collect large sums over and above the amounts remitted by them to the central treasury in Constantinople. There was no control over their expenditure. Any extra taxes they collected they were in effect free to use either for general purposes of government or for their own private requirements. The construction of fortifications, public buildings and private palaces by forced labour was a common practice of the time. The central government in Constantinople, the Sublime Porte, usually let the provincial governors go a long way before trying to curb them, yet it sometimes managed to seize their treasure in the end.

In such circumstances there rose to power in Galilee the Arab sheikh Daher el 'Omar, chief of a beduin tribe settled in the neighbourhood of 'Arrabat el Battauf, north of Nazareth. By race, it is said that he was descended from the Beni Zaid, a tribe of the Hijaz. He certainly showed all the chivalry and versatility of the Arab character. By protecting the country against the predatory tribesmen on the Jordan he brought peace to the cultivators and encouraged the settlement of refugees from less fortunate parts. Entering into business dealings with the French merchants on the coast he came to see the advantages of Acre as a market and of Haifa as

a port. About 1749 he occupied Acre, expelled the Turkish governor and, by consenting to pay tribute, got himself recognised in his stead.

Under the rule of Daher el 'Omar the town began to revive. He did much to rebuild it and refortify it, though on a much smaller scale than the Crusader town. The present inner wall was undoubtedly built by him, and also the mosque at El Jureina, 'the grain market'. Since the harbour had been blocked by Fakhr ed-Din in order to keep out Turkish warships, Daher took possession of the anchorage of Haifa as well and fortified it with a small walled town with a castle above it. (Its site is marked by the quarter known as El Burj at the east end of Kingsway). Both at Acre and Haifa he settled Christians. To quote a contemporary Greek merchant: 'he encouraged agriculture, trade and manufactures, and in short every thing which he thought might prove of advantage to his subjects'. Even the French merchant colony, whose trade suffered from the monopoly he imposed upon the export of cotton yarn, were glad to come to terms with him rather than insist on the privileges guaranteed them by the Porte.

At the same time the Porte grew alarmed at his success. Taking advantage of the rivalry prevailing between the governors of Egypt and Damascus, he was making himself practically independent. He had fortified Acre and Haifa, his sons Tiberias and Shafa 'Amr, among other

places in Galilee. (At Tiberias and Shafa 'Amr the ruins of his son's castles may still be seen). Master of northern Palestine, he looked like becoming the effective ruler of the rest of the country as well. At last he was proscribed. Yet with his sons he beat off every attack on the part of the regularly appointed viceroys, the pashas of Damascus, Sidon etc.

Then Turkey went to war with Russia (1768) and 'Ali Bey, the governor of Egypt, took the chance to revolt and invade Syria. In his alliance Daher joined in a march against Damascus; seized Sidon (1771) and defeated the combined forces of the Syrian pashas when they attempted to recover the town (1772). Meanwhile in Egypt 'Ali Bey was overthrown. But with the support of a Russian flotilla Daher went on to capture Jaffa and Beirut (1773).

It was not until the Russian war came to an end (1774) that the Porte was able to deal with Daher. While offering him terms, it instigated the new governor of Egypt to attack him. Deserted by his family, the next summer he saw Acre occupied by the Egyptians. They withdrew at the sudden death of their commander and Daher entered his capital once more. But the Turkish fleet had already captured Sidon and soon threatened Acre. In August 1775, Daher el 'Omar was treacherously killed as he took to flight. His later wars had offset his earlier popularity.

The Albanian adventurer Ahmed el Jazzar was now appointed Pasha of the province of Sidon with powers to hunt down Daher's family and his supporters. He had unsuccessfully defended Beirut against Daher and the Russians, and had afterwards spent some time in Acre as Daher's prisoner. He at once chose the new town of Acre as his residence instead of Sidon, and under his vigorous rule Acre became the capital of a province which extended along the sea-coast from Beirut in Syria to Cæsarea in Palestine and inland as far as the borders of the territory of Damascus.

A description of Acre as it was just before Jazzar took over is given by the Greek writer already quoted (S.L. 'Kosmopolites', *History of the Revolt of Ali Bey*). Writing of the walls, he distinguishes Crusader work on the south side, from the custom-house near the harbour 'as far as that point which ends in the sea to the west south west; and likewise on the other side towards the north', but elsewhere the wall was altogether new (see guide-plan, fig. 14 at back of book, 1—1—1). In addition he mentions 'a long ditch sixteen feet broad and twelve deep from west to east', which presumably covered the north side of the town. He describes Daher's palace and gardens inside the north-east angle of the wall, the town gate to the east of it with a draw-bridge, the bazaar for the country people outside it, and the main street of the town inside it, running west from the gate with shops on either side.

To the south he notices especially 'the European hotel' (Khan el Faranj, 21 on plan, see also p.90) and another 'lately built' at the west end of the town, also for Europeans (probably Khan esh-Shuna, 20a; see also page 90). He also mentions the palace of the Orthodox archbishop at the south-east of the town, the Orthodox church of St. George, the Franciscan chapel (21a, adjacent to Khan el Faranj; see also page 91), two mosques and two public baths. The population he estimated at forty thousand.

The new governor of Acre continued the restoration of the town and its fortifications. He also built the great mosque which is still known as Jami' el Jazzar (11 on guide-plan at back of book; see also Pls. V & VI); he built a large new inn (Khan el 'Umdan, 20; Pl. VII, 2; see also p.90), and he brought water to the town from El Kabri springs by means of an aqueduct. About 1790, when the Porte was once again involved in war with Russia, Jazzar peremptorily banished the French trading colony from Acre and refused to receive a consul; he reserved for himself a monopoly of the trade in corn and cotton, which furnished the bulk of his revenue.

In 1799, in pursuance of his scheme for raising a rebellion against Turkish rule in Syria that would remove any threat from that side to his occupation of Egypt, Napoleon invaded Palestine. After taking the ports of El 'Arish, Gaza, Jaffa and Haifa without much difficulty, he advanced on Acre. On March 19th he invested the town with the majority of his

expeditionary force of 13,000 men, equipped with field-guns though without siege artillery. Meanwhile, on the 15th, a British naval squadron commanded by Sir Sidney Smith had already reached Acre and aided Jazzar in hurried preparations for its defence. The British sailors and marines made a notable addition to Jazzar's strength, not least because they intercepted Napoleon's siege artillery on its way from Egypt by sea. The celebrated siege which followed lasted for sixty days and its failure was Napoleon's first serious reverse.

Like the Crusaders in 1189, the French took up their position east of the town on either side of Tell el Fukh-khar, so as to cut off any direct communication with the land. Exposed as they were on either front to the guns of the British warships anchored close inshore, the French concentrated their attack on the tower at the north-east corner of Daher el 'Omar's wall. As may be seen from the sections which survive on the north front (see page 69 and fig. 11, A), this land-wall was not very formidable, for both Daher and Jazzar usually had more to fear from the Turkish fleet than from attacks by land. But its north-eastern tower proved as troublesome to the French in 1799 as the corresponding 'Accursed Tower' had been to the Crusaders in 1197. In order to breach that tower, Napoleon placed his batteries where the Haifa—Naqura road now runs, and from that position some 400 metres outside

the new wall which is seen in fig. 9,* he advanced his parallels or trenches to enable his sappers to approach close enough to undermine the tower and his assaulting parties to move up as far as possible under cover. But the fire of his field-guns was not heavy enough to breach the tower. The besieged made a deep entrenchment in front of it which prevented an assault in force, and when the French attempted to undermine the tower, they drove counter-mines or sallied forth to destroy the French works. Meanwhile the French trenches steadily approached the town.

Like the Crusaders the French were then menaced by a relieving force coming from Damascus. Napoleon had first to detach troops to watch the gathering forces which Jazzar had summoned from the Nablus hills, and a few days later, when the siege had been in progress for scarcely a month, he had himself to march east to assist his detachments against overwhelming numbers. The next day he found his troops surrounded on the plain of Esdraclon between 'Afula and Mount Thabor. Here he extricated them, routing the enemy with heavy loss. He returned without delay to Acre, leaving Kléber to watch the line of the Jordan.

* Contemporary views of Acre from the sea may be found in *Les Echelles de Syrie au XVIIIe siècle* by Fr. Charles-Roux, Pls. VIII, IX and XV, and in the frontispiece to Spilsbury's *Picturesque Scenery in the Holy Land and Syria*.



Fig. 9. View of St. Jean d'Acre from the east in 1799 (after the drawing by Vivant Denon, from *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, Vol. V: Henry Deherain, *L'Egypte Turque*, by permission of the publishers, La Société de l'Histoire Nationale, Paris).

He now received fresh siege artillery from Egypt and renewed the bombardment of the north-east tower which two mines had in turn failed to destroy. But the ruined tower was too well defended by new entrenchments covering it from the inside of the town for his storm troops to lodge themselves in it. He then very easily opened a breach in the east front to the south of the tower, but ran short of powder. Consequently the firing of a mine designed to open an approach into the fosse opposite the breach was delayed a day too long. Turkish reinforcements for the garrison suddenly appeared on the horizon. Napoleon at once threw all his troops into a general assault. They actually succeeded in penetrating the town, but could not prevent the Turks from landing in the nick of time. A final assault by Kléber's troops from the Jordan directed against the same breach, recoiled before the same stubborn defence. Disturbing news from Europe, added to his heavy losses, left Napoleon no option but to return to Egypt. After battering the town for several days more, on May 20th the French began their retreat.

It is said that, once the French had retired, Jazzar prepared to massacre every Christian in his territory, and was restrained only by Sir Sidney Smith's threat that he would bombard Acre if a single Christian head fell. The fame of Ahmed Pasha el Jazzar as the builder and defender of Acre is indeed stained by his cruel and tyrannical behaviour towards all classes of his subjects. He was justly nicknamed El Jazzar,

'the Butcher'. He entertained himself with the sight of burying labourers alive as a punishment for the slightest mistake. Out of jealousy, and without cause, he killed and burnt his attendants and ladies of his harem. The extortion of money from his people, especially the rich amongst them, was his favourite pastime. In this way he amassed an immense treasure for himself but exhausted the pecuniary resources of Acre. To store his wealth he built a special place in the Citadel, which has ever since been known as Burj el Khazna ('Tower of the Treasury', Pl. VI—12 on the guide-plan at back of book). In 1804 Ahmad Pasha el Jazzar died in Acre and was buried in the courtyard of the Mosque he had built. An agent is said to have been sent from Constantinople after Jazzar's death to discover his hoards of treasure but in vain.

Under the mild rule of his successor, Suleiman Pasha, the town advanced in prosperity. Suleiman restored and added to the defences of a new outer rampart which Jazzar had built (2-2-2 on guide-plan; see also pp. 69,76). To get stone for repairing the west sea-wall he began stripping the Crusader castle at 'Atlit, south of Haifa, taking the stones to Acre by sea. He continued rebuilding the town. In his time the bazaar known as Suq el Abyad was rebuilt after part of it had been damaged by fire (Pl.III—10 on guide-plan), and a new aqueduct for the supply of water from El Kabri springs was constructed on the present line, which differs from that

adopted by his predecessor (see pages 93-4 and vicinity sketch, fig. 13, after p. 109). Just outside Acre he built himself a country house, since destroyed, which his biographer describes in terms reminiscent of the 'Arabian Nights'.

Improvements in the town continued during the rule of Suleiman's successor, 'Abdullah Pasha, and trade flourished. 'Abdullah Pasha began his rule by showing slight respect for the sovereign Turkish government. Because he suspected that the Jewish principal minister Haïm Farkhy, whom he had inherited from his predecessor Suleiman, was conspiring with Constantinople against him, he had him murdered. To show his displeasure the Sultan ordered that 'Abdullah should be deposed and his territory annexed to that of Darwish Pasha, the viceroy of Damascus. But the order was never put into effect, and shortly afterwards, at the intervention of Muhammad 'Ali, Pasha of Egypt, 'Abdullah Pasha was pardoned and confirmed in his post.

This act is significant of the commanding position which Muhammad 'Ali held. An Albanian soldier of fortune like Ahmad Jazzar, he had made himself Pasha of Egypt in the confusion resulting from successive French and British occupations. He had reorganised the country and created a modern army and navy with the help of French experts. He had conquered first the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and then the Sudan, where he founded the present capital, Khartoum (1823). When the Greek rebellion

broke out his forces were employed by the Sultan in Crete, where he was appointed Pasha, and then in Greece itself. Here the intervention of the European powers in 1827 prevented him from making further conquests. By way of compensation he claimed the Syrian provinces for his son Ibrahim Bey, and when the Sultan refused he prepared to seize them.

So he picked a quarrel with 'Abdullah Pasha of Acre. A number of Egyptian subjects had left their country and settled in Palestine to escape military service and the payment of taxes. Muhammad 'Ali demanded their return to Egypt. On the orders of the Sultan, who was afraid of the increasing power of Muhammad 'Ali, 'Abdullah Pasha refused the demand on the ground that both countries belonged to one Turkish empire. Muhammad 'Ali's answer was to send his son Ibrahim Bey to invade Palestine in the autumn of 1831.

Acre was again besieged. Since Napoleon's attack its defence had been greatly strengthened by the addition to Daher el 'Omar's wall of an extra line of ramparts on the trace and profile of the outer ramparts of to-day (see page 69 and fig. 11, B). Suleiman Pasha had partly built the present Citadel on the north front (see page 76). There were two gates, the present Land and Sea Gates, at the south (3 and 9 on plan at back of book), and also small posterns or sally-ports on the north front. Garrisoned with 3,000 men and well-provisioned, the town was held

by 'Abdullah Pasha for six months against a much larger Egyptian force, well provided with siege artillery and assisted by a fleet.

The siege was conducted on the same lines as Napoleon's but with this difference, that since they held command of the sea, the besiegers were able to menace both land fronts of the town wherever they pleased and also to bombard it from the sea. For the same reason, 'Abdullah Pasha was deprived of Turkish support by sea. Nor was he helped by any relieving force threatening his besiegers' rear, as Jazzar had been. During the early weeks of the siege Ibrahim Pasha was able to overrun the whole of Syria; and although he had to reckon next spring with a Turkish army which advanced into northern Syria from the north, yet it moved so slowly that he was able to finish off the siege without great embarrassment.

The siege had been prosecuted energetically for several months when, in March 1832, Ibrahim Pasha actually succeeded in penetrating the town from a breach in the east front but, like the French in 1799, his Egyptians were forced to retire from the town they had so nearly captured. It was at this stage that Ibrahim Pasha was forced to detach troops to check the approaching Turkish army, then at Tripoli. Meanwhile Acre was closely blockaded. Suddenly, at the end of May, Ibrahim Pasha returned and made his final assault. His troops entered by two breaches on the east front, one about the middle as previously,

the other at the north-east bastion, and at the same time they escalated the ramparts at other points on the east and north. As before they were thrown back, and in the end it was Ibrahim Pasha himself who rallied the attack at the south-east which eventually gave him possession of the whole east front and caused 'Abdullah Pasha to surrender. The garrison and population were granted their lives and property, 'Abdullah honourable confinement in Egypt.

While he ruled at Acre, 'Abdullah Pasha followed the example of Jazzar and Suleiman in indulging a taste for building. In Acre he started building a new residence just inside the north-west corner of the ramparts. It was badly damaged in the siege, but some parts of it remain, and are now divided between the residence of the Prison Superintendent and the adjacent building at present used as a fire station. Along the aqueduct, from Umm el Faraj near El Kabri down to El Bahja near the Government Stock Farm not far from Acre, he developed a number of farms which he irrigated with water from the aqueduct, and at El Bahja he built himself an elaborate country house, the ruins of which still exist on the property of the Beydoun family there. On Cape Carmel he built yet another residence, which now forms the ground-floor of the Carmelite hospice of Stella Maris beside the light-house.

When 'Abdullah Pasha was expelled, the Syrian population, Moslem and Christian alike,

at first welcomed the change of rulers. But as soon as Ibrahim Pasha began to conscript men and money after the new Egyptian model, they showed their discontent. Successive outbreaks of rebellion at last encouraged the Sultan to try and recover his authority. In doing so he not only suffered another and more disastrous defeat at the hands of Ibrahim Pasha (1839), but he also precipitated a European crisis. By attacking the Pasha he had flouted British advice, and by his defeat he brought to a head the question which had exercised European diplomacy ever since Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Syria in 1831: how was the impending collapse of Turkish empire to be prevented and the existing balance of power to be maintained?

The powers informed the Turkish government that its future relations with Muhammad 'Ali were their common concern. But it soon became apparent that the western powers, Britain and France, were acutely divided as to what the Pasha's future status should be. France was fostering his power as a means of spreading French influence in the Levant. For that very reason Britain wished to limit his power, and Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, was unwilling to let him keep even the province of Acre (which was then roughly co-extensive with modern Palestine), much less the fortress town of Acre itself. Palmerston was prepared to compromise, but France at length refused any suggestion of partitioning Syria. Ignoring France, Palmerston called a conference of the other

interested powers in London to draw up the terms to be granted to Muhammad 'Ali. It was decided to offer him the hereditary rule of Egypt and life tenure of Palestine, but only on condition that he accepted at once and evacuated Syria without delay; otherwise Turkey was to have a free hand and military assistance. This was in July 1840. Within a month the allied fleets were off the coast of Syria prepared to help the Turks drive Ibrahim Pasha out. As Muhammad 'Ali procrastinated, they proceeded to act, in spite of the French threat to go to war on his behalf.

The strongest of the coastal towns, Acre was the last to be attacked. During his occupation Ibrahim Pasha had thoroughly repaired the damage done to the fortifications during his own siege in 1831-2, obtaining stone for repairs as Suleiman Pasha had done, by pulling down the Crusader castle at 'Atlit or 'Athlith, south of Haifa, where many unused blocks may still be seen lying on the sand in front of the castle. He had also begun new earthworks in front of the ramparts. This time however, it was the sea front which was attacked. On the 3rd November 1840 it was bombarded by combined British, Austrian and Turkish naval squadrons under the command of Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, and the defences of the sea wall on the south and west were shattered in a single afternoon. During this bombardment the great powder magazines recently established by Ibrahim Pasha in the space between the inner and outer eastern ramparts were hit

and exploded with disastrous loss of life among the Egyptian defenders, most of the inner eastern rampart being destroyed at the same time. The demoralised conscript garrison evacuated the town the same night, and early next morning parties of sailors landed. They were joined by Turkish troops, who had marched down the coast, and then by British artillery and sappers. Every effort was made to patch up the ruined land wall in expectation of an attack by Ibrahim Pasha, who was thought to be waiting at Damascus in considerable force.

On the contrary Ibrahim Pasha made no move. The reaction against his father in Syria and, what was more important, in France, was so pronounced that he was prevailed upon to accept the allies' terms, which recognised the right of his family to represent the Turkish government in Egypt and the Sudan though not in Palestine or Syria. Accordingly Ibrahim Pasha withdrew, and in the course of the year 1841 Acre and the whole country was restored to Turkish rule.

The defences of Acre were once more repaired and left in the form in which they are to-day. The town regained its old position as the principal port of export for grain from the Hauran. Certain improvements were made from the beginning of the present century. But the town had undergone little change, and was still

confined to its walls, when it was once again occupied by British forces on the 24th September 1918, in the course of Allenby's final advance.



Seal of the Burgesses' Court at Acre. The king's representative, the Viscount, is seated under a canopy, holding a sceptre in his right hand. The figures on his right appear to be suppliants; those on his left are perhaps the jurors, properly twelve in number. Around: LE SEEL DE LA COE DE [B]ORGEIS DACCRE. (From Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano*, vol. I, Pl. VII, 66).

THE MONUMENTS OF ACRE.

DESCRIPTION OF ACRE.

Acre has very few traces of its earliest history now exposed to view, the interest of the existing town being due to comparatively modern history. It is divided at present into the old town and the modern quarter. The modern quarter, which is of purely recent development, extends north and north-east of the walls, and occupies more or less the extreme northern suburb of the Crusading town.

A plan of Crusader Acre given by Marino Sanudo, showing the town as it was when it was lost in A.D. 1291 (Pl. II at front of book), shows the extension of the Crusader fosse and walls in this quarter, as well as to the east of the town. Nothing of those walls can now be seen above ground. But, from that plan and more recent records of the last two centuries, the probable trace of the Crusader walls may be reconstructed as in the key plan, fig. 10 before page 67 (compare also Pl. II).

Beginning on the south shore near the railway station, the double wall ran northwards probably on a line running somewhere through the Moslem cemetery east of the main north road and perhaps even further east than the line shown on the plan. Just short of the Safad road it turned west, running towards the north-east angle of the present ramparts. This is the line of two parallel depressions lying east of the main north road, which appear to correspond

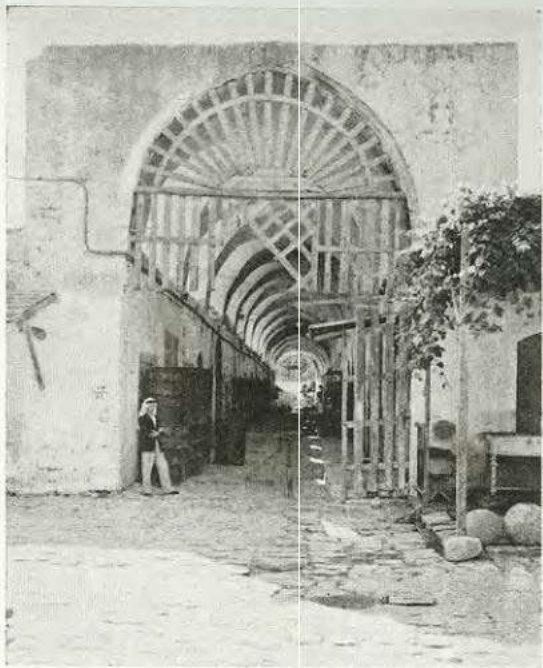
with the former outer ditch and the space between the walls. (The central ridge carries masonry belonging to an old aqueduct, see page 94). The inner wall continued right across the north front of the present ramparts, either about 200 metres in front of the present line, as shown on the plan and on an old French map, or else close inside the present ramparts. If it ran quite straight with the two depressions it may have run on the line now followed by Daher el 'Omar's wall, the present inner wall on which the Citadel tower and the Prison quadrangle stand (I-I, 12, 13 a, on guide-plan, fig. 14, at back of book), and part of it may actually be embodied in the north wall of the Prison (see description of the Citadel on page 78).

The Crusader suburb on the north can be traced more definitely. Its northern tip was on the shore north of the new District offices and Police headquarters, at the military camp at El Mafjar. Thence the line of the outer ditch is marked by an existing ditch running south-east across the fields beyond the modern suburb to near the match factory on the road leading to Government offices from the Naqura-Safad cross roads. A southward bend is suggested by a short stretch of large masonry which came to light in building operations to the north of the match factory. So completed, the double wall of the suburb joins the double wall of the town near the north-eastern angle of the existing ramparts.

Within the area of the suburb, during the



1. The Land Gate (3 on guide-plan at back of book).

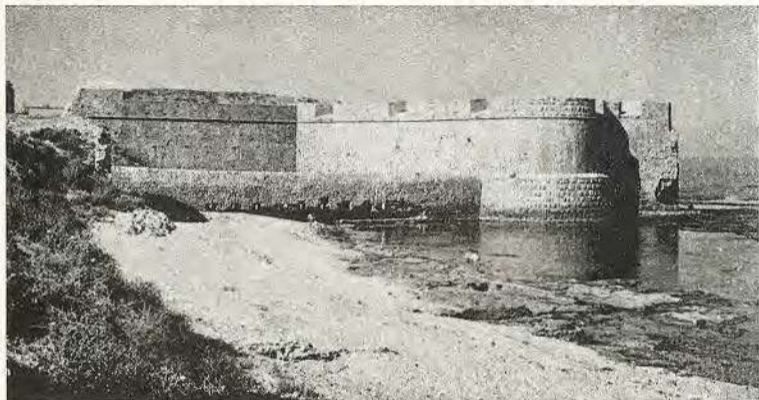


2. Suq el Abyad (10 on guide-plan).

PLATE IV.



1. Burj el Kummandar (5 on guide-plan).



2. Burj Kuraiyim (6 on guide-plan).
Commonly known as the 'English Bastion'.



Jazar's mosque from the east (11 on guide-plan).



1. View of Acre and the bay from the Citadel tower, El Khazna (see 2 below), with Jazar's mosque in the foreground. The vaulted bazaar, Suq el Abyad, runs out from the left of the mosque.



2. The Citadel tower, El Khazna (12 on guide-plan),
from the Prison garden (13).



3. The Crusader crypt (14) beneath the Prison (13 a).

PLATE VII.



1. Khan esh-Shawarda (22 on guide-plan), from the south corner.

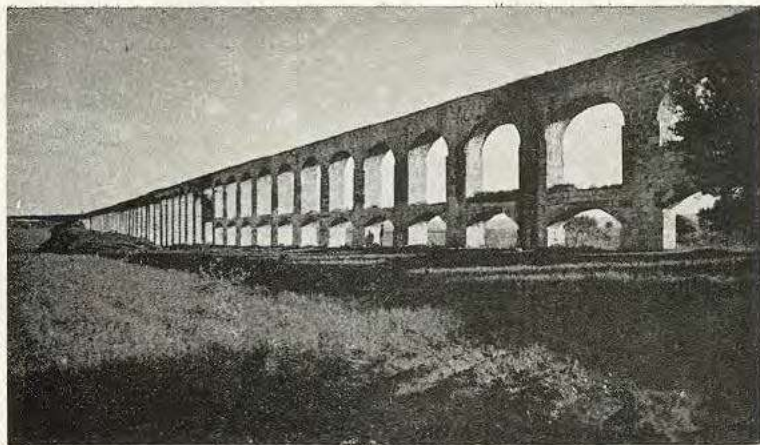


2. Khan el 'Umdan (20 on guide-plan) from the south corner,



Crusader tower, Burj es-Sultan, at the south corner of
Khan esh-Shawarda (22).

PLATE IX.



1. View of Suleiman Pasha's aqueduct along the north road.



2. Another view of the aqueduct.



3. Water tower beside the north road,
near the Government Stock Farm.

construction of the District offices and Police headquarters in 1940, were discovered the rubble foundations of a long building like a bazaar, possibly the Templars' suburb or market (*Burgus Templi*) if the reconstruction of the area suggested in the plan (fig. 10) is at all correct. Similar foundations are still visible to the south of Government offices and along the shore. The Crusader buildings which stood here, and to the east of the town, were cleared away in Turkish times, not only for the sake of building material but also in order to open a clear field of fire from the ramparts.

It is with the existing monuments of the Turkish town, its ramparts and harbour, its khans and bazaars, mosques and churches, and with the Crusader relics which they contain, that this guide-book is chiefly concerned.

APPROACH.

Acre is easily reached from Haifa, the present main harbour of Palestine, either by rail or by motor road. Both railway and road run in a northerly direction parallel to the shore of the bay between the two towns. The distance by the railway is about 15 kms.; by the motor road which is built further inland it is about 20 kms. In going from Haifa to Acre, the traveller passes across the picturesque and fertile plain of Acre.

A fine general view of the old port of Acre can be got from the bridge spanning the Na'amin River, about 2 kms. south of the town (Pl. I.) The town stands on an eminence boldly jutting

into the sea at the north end of the sandy shore of the bay. The sea wall, part of the double land walls, the Citadel, the minarets and the towers of the churches seen from a distance, combine to form an attractive picture. The road and the railway both bring you to a point close to the south-east corner of the ramparts, near the land gate (at 3 on the guide-plan, fig. 14 at back of book).

THE WALLS. (1-1-1, 2-2-2, 4-4-4 on the guide-plan, fig. 14).

The walls of Acre are roughly in the form of an irregular pentagon, three sides of which face the sea. The two land fronts, on the east and north, formerly consisted of a double line of ramparts; the outer survives in tolerably good condition along both fronts, the inner line can still be seen on the north but no longer on the east front.

The inner rampart or town wall (1-1-1 on the plan) is attributed to Daher el 'Omar on the evidence of an Arabic inscription which belonged to the former land gate in that wall. The gate itself has gone, but its position is still marked by the cement-coated stump of the wall on the north side of the street about 100 metres inside the present land gate (3 on the plan). (The inscription, which was found after the British occupation in the office of the Turkish governor of Acre, is now in the Palestine Archæological Museum at Jerusalem). That wall started from the corner of the sea wall by Khan esh-Sha-

warda (22 on the plan). Nearly the whole of its eastern arm has been razed to the ground, its destruction being partly due to the explosion, during the bombardment of 1840, of gunpowder stored by Ibrahim Pasha in an old caravanserai that once stood between the two walls. Only the foundations of the wall can now be traced. Along the northern side of the town, on the other hand, it survives almost intact (fig. 11, A). The scarp is 30 to 40 feet high, and is surmounted by stone parapets.

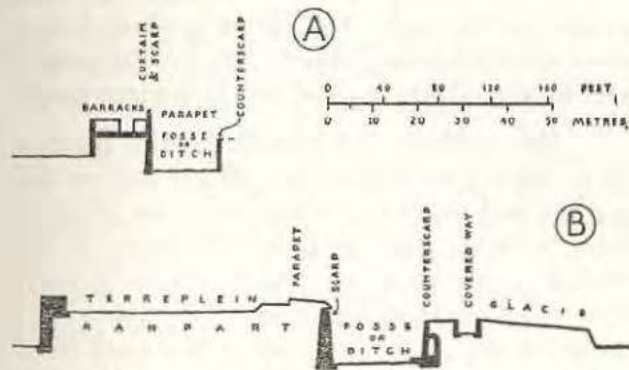


Fig. 11. Sections through the fortifications on the north front, showing (A) the wall of Daher el 'Omar or Jazzar which Napoleon attacked, (B) the modern rampart built afterwards. (After Alderson's *Notes on Acre*, 1844, Pl. IX, figs. 6 & 7).

The outer rampart (2-2-2 on the plan) which was added by Ahmed Pasha el Jazzar after the famous retreat of the French in 1799, runs parallel to the inner one. It is more strongly built and in a better state of preservation. It consists of bastioned fronts connected by curtains

about 40 feet high, the parapets being of earth (fig. 11, B).

Each of these walls is protected by a dry ditch or fosse. Beyond the counter-scarp of the outer ditch on the north and east are parts of a third ditch, which was started by Ibrahim Pasha but never finished. This last ditch would have facilitated cavalry sorties from the town during a siege.

Nearly at the middle of the eastern counter-scarp is the Moslem shrine of Nabi Salih with a family graveyard. The shrine is situated on a small artificial mound which played an important part in the attacks on the city in modern times.

The sea front (4-4-4 on the plan) is guarded by a single wall of masonry, 30 feet high on the average and originally continuous. In origin it dates from the time of Daher el 'Omar or the Crusaders (see page 50). Along the west front extending from Burj Kuraiyim (6 on plan) to Burj es-Sanjak (8), and thence along the south front almost as far as the Welfare Centre, formerly Qahwat el Bahr (9a), it was refaced by Ibrahim Pasha. The stones have the deep draft and rustic boss characteristic of Crusader work (see Pl. IV, 2), and are doubtless the stones which he stripped from the Crusader castle at 'Atlit. Along the rest of the south front, from the Welfare Centre round to the land gate (3), the wall is of smooth masonry resembling the land fronts, and like them must date from the early 19th century. Near the water line, however, it rests here

and there on courses of Crusader stonework which seem to be in their original position, so confirming that in this sector at least it runs on the Crusader line.

The ramparts all round were formerly armed with cannon and mortars mounted on stone platforms within the embrasures. Some of these pieces are preserved in the Central Prison and the Police Barracks.

Only two of the present gates are original, the land gate (3 on the plan) which is still in use, and the sea gate (9 on the plan) which once gave access to the town from shipping lying in the harbour, but is now no longer used.

The land gate stands close to the shore at the southern end of the eastern rampart, in the tower called Kapu Burj (3 on the plan) opposite the railway station. During the Turkish regime a beam erected in the opening of this gate served as a gallows for the execution of death sentences.

The sea gate is situated in the eastern wall of a ruined bastion part of which is used as the Welfare Centre, formerly the coffee-house known as Qahwat el Bahr, but which was once used as a quay (9a on the plan). At the present time there are two other entrances through the walls on the northern side of the town, both made in comparatively recent years to provide better access to the town at a time when Acre had ceased to be an effective Turkish fortress.

An interesting walk round the whole circuit

of the fortifications can be made by starting from the land gate (3) opposite the station (Pl. III, 1). About 30 metres inside the gate is the gate of the former Government secondary school, from the courtyard of which there is access to the school playing-field. This is the site of the powder magazine that exploded in 1840 and wrecked the inner wall (see page 62). From here the eastern land walls are approached by a double staircase of stone. From Burj el Kummandar at the north-east corner (5 on plan and Pl. IV, 1) you turn left and follow the walls along their northern front as far as Burj Kuraiyim at the north-west corner where the land wall and the sea wall join (6 on plan and Pl. IV, 2). From Burj Kuraiyim it is necessary to get down from the wall and continue southwards by Fakhura Street which runs beside it. Halfway along there is an important tower called Burj el Hadid.

The road then continues in a straight line as far south as Burj es-Sanjak which is surmounted by the present lighthouse. From this tower a narrow street, vaulted in one place, leads to the Welfare Centre, formerly Qahwat el Bahr ('the coffee-house of-the-sea'), from which there is a good view of the sea wall on the south front. At the far end of the Welfare Centre building can be seen the remains of the sea-gate of the old custom-house (p. 50). The next section of the sea-wall on the south-east front can be seen only from the jetty which is accessible from the present custom-house. From the Welfare Centre to the jetty the way leads through

narrow zigzagging streets to a public square in front of the custom-house. From the square a new road connecting the harbour with the land gate passes for most of its length along the south-eastern front of the sea wall. It passes through Khan esh-Shawarda (see page 91) and emerges into the main street leading to the land gate. On the south side of the street a little nearer the gate a modern stairway leads up to the wall again. Thence the rampart walk continues eastward as far as Kapu Burj over the land gate. The whole circuit takes half-an-hour or more.

SUQ EL ABYAD, 'White Bazaar'. (10 on the plan).

From the main street inside the land gate two diverging roads lead into the town and its bazaars. The first, on your right hand side as you face the town, leads into Suq el Abyad, a typical oriental bazaar. It is an independent market running from east to west with two rows of vaulted shops separated by a broad vaulted passage (Pl. III, 2). To the right of the entrance there is a public fountain with an inscription dated to the time of Suleiman Pasha.

El Aura, the historian of Suleiman Pasha, attributes the building of this bazaar to Daher el 'Omar. But he adds that, after some of the shops were accidentally destroyed by fire in about 1818, Suleiman Pasha ordered the bazaar to be pulled down and rebuilt on the old lines. So the present structure preserves the form and architecture of Suleiman Pasha's period.

JAZZAR'S MOSQUE. (Pls. V & VI=11 on the plan).

Near the far end of Suq el Abyad is the Mosque of Ahmed Pasha el Jazzar, built and finely decorated by Jazzar in 1781. It is entered from the street which continues the line of the Suq westward. A little way along this street there is a fine *sebil* or public drinking fountain encased in bronze gratings, which was erected by Jazzar. Alongside this a semicircular flight of steps leads up to the main entrance of the mosque enclosure.

The mosque proper is square in plan and is roofed with a great dome. With its slender minaret it stands in the middle of a large rectangular court, which is surrounded on three sides by arcades resting on ancient columns with modern capitals. The columns, which are partly of granite and partly of marble, were brought from the ruins of Tyre and Cæsarea. Along these arcaded walks or cloisters are domed cells for the servants of the mosque and the pilgrims who come to visit it. At the present day they are used partly as offices for the Moslem Waqf authority and partly as quarters for Moslem religious students.

The entrance to the mosque itself is on the north side, beneath a porch carried on a similar colonnade of granite and porphyry. Below the roof of the porch this wall of the mosque is decorated with arabesques in marble inlay and coloured tiles. The interior is similarly decorated, with the addition of painted Arabic texts from the Qur'an in running bands. In the opposite

wall, facing towards Mecca, is the *mihrab*, the niche which gives the direction a Moslem should take up when praying.

In the courtyard, near the north-west corner of the mosque, stands a small domed chamber containing the white marble tombs of Jazzar Pasha, the founder of the mosque, and of Suleiman Pasha his successor. Besides this, the courtyard contains a sundial in the centre, and a fountain for ablutions before prayer.

Underneath the pavement there exist large vaults which have been turned into cisterns for collecting rain water. These vaults are undoubtedly of Crusader origin. The mosque is said to occupy the site of the Crusader church of St. John which appears in the 17th-century drawing of the town reproduced in figure 8, page 46, and there can be little doubt that it does in fact overlap the east side of the quarter where the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had their convent, church and hospital (the area entitled the 'Hospital' on the Crusader plan, fig. 10 before page 67). However, the greater part of this quarter is now covered by the large group of buildings known as the Citadel.

THE CITADEL. (Pl. VI=12 on the plan).

In the northern part of the old town and at about the middle of the northern section of Daher el 'Omar's wall, opposite the north side of Jazzar's mosque, stands the Citadel. In the centre rises the tower called the Khazna (see

page 56). It is the most conspicuous landmark in the town, and the best views of Acre and the surrounding country can be obtained from its roof. An Arabic inscription on a marble slab built over the door in the west side attributes the construction of the tower to 'Abdullah Pasha. But it is likely that it is chiefly the work of his predecessor, Suleiman Pasha, and that he rebuilt the tower in which his predecessor, Jazzar Pasha, resided. On the south the tower overlooks on the one hand the former Turkish arsenal (13 on the plan) and on the other hand the Turkish barracks (13 a). The whole group of buildings now make up the Central Prison.

The arsenal (13) is still commonly known by its Turkish name, El Jabakhana. It consists of a courtyard, now the Prison garden, along two sides of which run a series of vaults where arms and ammunition were formerly stored. Some specimens are kept at the gateway and in a glass cupboard in the wall at the far end.

The old Turkish barracks, El Qashla (13 a), consist of another large courtyard, which is almost square and is bordered by vaulted cloisters on two sides and by modern offices on the other two. This fine quadrangle forms the main part of the present Prison. The doorway leading to it from the north is reached by a bridge spanning the inner moat. The wall of the Prison on this side bears the marks of the bombardment of the allied fleet of 1840 and a number of iron cannon balls can still be seen embedded in

the wall.

Spilsbury's *Picturesque Scenery in the Holy Land and Syria* contains as a frontispiece a view of Acre from the sea drawn during the campaigns of 1799 and 1800. In describing the picture (page 2) the writer states: 'The first important object on the left, is the palace of Jazzar, distinguishable by the flatness of its roof... A little to the right of Jazzar's palace, are the ruins of the palace... built by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem: under the cornice, above the arches, are figures of crowned heads in stone'. Jazzar's palace apparently occupied the same position as the present Citadel tower while 'the ruins of the palace... built by the Knights of St. John' stood most probably on the site of the present Prison. What Spilsbury saw in 1799 must have been the remnant of the Hospital buildings shown from another angle in the French drawing of 1686 reproduced in Fig. 8, page 46.

There, as in most modern travellers' accounts, it is called the 'Palace of the Grand Master'. Presumably it is the large building shown against the inner north wall in the quarter entitled 'Hospital' in Marino Sanudo's plan (Pl. II at front of book, compare fig. 10 before page 67). Another extant plan of about the same date distinguishes three separate buildings within this quarter or block: at the north end there is the convent of the knights (*Hospitale*), in the middle the church, and at the south the infirmary (*domus infirmorum*) which in Medieval French was known

as 'paleis de malades'. Possibly this was the so-called 'Palace of the Grand Master' which Jazzar occupied, and also Fakhr ed-Din and Daher el 'Omar before him. But it seems more likely that they made use of the northern building, the convent of the knights; that this is the building represented in the 17th century drawing (fig. 8, on page 46) and now occupied by the Prison; and that the neighbouring church of St. John (see fig. 8) is marked by the sub-vaults of the Government Girls' School to the south-east (see under 'The Old Serail and its Crusader Crypt' on page 81). In that case it follows that the inner north wall of the Crusader town is more likely to have run on the line adopted by Daher el 'Omar than on the more northerly line shown on the reconstruction of the Crusader plan suggested in fig. 10 (before page 67). Indeed a contemporary traveller (quoted on page 50) noticed that the north front of Daher el 'Omar's town wall included Crusader work (see also page 66).

Remains of Crusader architecture exist almost all the way round the Prison quadrangle (13a on plan). On the north along the inner ditch which you cross by the bridge approaching the entrance, the front of the building rests on a massive wall of typical Crusader masonry, several courses of which are to be seen at the bottom. This front forms part of Daher el 'Omar's town wall, and is possibly part of the Crusader town wall against which stood the large Hospital building shown on Marino Sanudo's

plan (Pl. II). Inside this wall are basement vaults of Crusader construction extending from west of the Citadel tower southward, and others lie to the south-east beneath the south side of the old arsenal (12, 13 on plan). These are not accessible to the public, but typical Crusader work is visible on the south and west sides of the Prison from the outside.

In the west wall there are several corbels or brackets belonging to ribbed vaults of Gothic style, one of which is carved with heads and so recalls the 'figures of crowned heads in stone' mentioned in Spilsbury's description of the palace of the Knights of St. John (as quoted on page 77). These details occur near the top of the wall and may be seen from the compound of the adjacent Shâdhiliya Zâwiya, by permission of the sheikh in charge.

At the south-west, underlying the Prison, there is the large hall (14) known as the 'Crypt of St. Jean d'Acre', which is described in the next section.

CRYPT OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE. (Pl. VI, 3=14 on the plan).

The so-called Crypt of the Knights of St. John is a purely Crusader building situated beneath the south-west corner of the Prison. It is composed of two rows of ribbed vaults resting on three large central pillars. The intersections of the ribs are decorated with rosettes. The crypt is nearly half filled with rubbish which buries the pillars up to the tops of their capitals.

That at the west end has been partly cleared. A shaft dug to determine the level of the floor on the west side has revealed a door blocked with masonry. Another door exists in the north wall, half covered with earth. Neither of these doors has been explored. Though now half underground, the building must have been entered at floor level originally. It cannot safely be cleared until steps are taken to relieve the vault of the weight of the buildings above. On the outside the Crusader masonry survives almost to the full height of the wall above the street entrance.

As has been explained in the previous section, the vault probably belonged to one of the buildings of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. It is now under the custody of the Palestine Police and Prisons Service, and permission to visit it should be obtained from the Superintendent at the Main Gate of the Prison.

HAMMAM EL BASHA. (15 on the plan).

The public baths known as Hammam el Basha, 'the Pasha's Baths', were built by Ahmed Pasha el Jazzar. They are purely oriental in style, and resemble the public baths of Cairo. They consist of an entrance hall for dressing, in the centre of which is a fountain; a sweating room for the use of the general public; and several cells adjoining, which are for private use and are fitted with stone basins and water taps. The inside of the building was formerly covered

with Turkish tiles of inferior quality, made most probably in Damascus. Some panels of them have been reset and are to be seen in the entrance.

THE OLD SERAIL AND ITS CRUSADER CRYPT.
(11a on the plan).

Proceeding from the 'Crypt of St. Jean d'Acre' (14) or from Hammam el Basha (15) eastwards to Jazzar's Mosque (11), you pass on your left hand the lower courses of the Crusader building containing the crypt, and on your right hand a building the basement of which is of similar masonry and also of Crusader date. The whole building is commonly known as Es-Saraya el 'Atiqa (the 'old Serail, Residence'); it was used as the Turkish governor's offices until the British occupation in 1918 and is now the government girls' school. The vaults forming the basement may be entered from the turning to the right alongside the Hammam (15). Turning down this street under an archway, you follow the Crusader building on your left until you come to a gateway with wooden doors. This gateway leads into the yard of a private house, the occupant of which will, when possible, conduct visitors into the vaults opening off the left hand side of the yard. These vaults formed the basement or crypt of a large Crusader building, the position of which seems to agree with that of the ruined 'church of St. John' in the 17th-century drawing reproduced in Fig. 8 page 46. The Christians of Acre were celebrating St. John's Day in the ruins of the church as late as 1745.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH AND BRITISH OFFICERS' MEMORIAL. (16 on the plan).

This, the Greek Orthodox church, seems to be the oldest of the existing churches of Acre. Consisting of choir, nave and side aisles, it corresponds in plan with a 17th-century traveller's account of the church of St. Nicholas which was restored under the auspices of the Druse emir Fakhr ed-Din for the Christians whom he encouraged to settle in Acre early in the 17th century. But it can hardly have escaped damage in the bombardments of 1831 and 1840, and must have been renewed in part. It contains portions of a carved and painted wooden sanctuary screen of Cypriote style, and of the 17th or 18th century, which was dismantled to make way for the present stone screen.

The church stands by itself in the middle of a public square, the eastern side of which is occupied by the convent where the priest resides. More than any other part of present-day Acre, this square seems to reproduce the lay-out of Crusader Acre such as it may be pictured from the description quoted on page 40.

In the wall of the convent facing the church, there is a memorial tablet inscribed in Arabic and English to the memory of two officers of the Royal Marines who are buried at Acre, viz. Major Oldfield, who died of wounds received in a sortie against the French in 1799, and Colonel Walker, who died during the operations against Ibrahim Pasha in 1840.

The Greek Orthodox is the largest of the Christian communities of Palestine. It represents the Church of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire, being 'Orthodox' in doctrine as against the heterodox lesser churches of the East, and 'Greek' in its rite, the rite or liturgy of Constantinople, though in Palestine this is as often celebrated in Arabic as in Greek. Many of the Christians who settled among the ruins of Crusader Acre from the beginning of the 17th century onwards were of this rite, and to this day Acre is the see of an archbishop of the Jerusalem Patriarchate bearing the ancient title of Ptolemais.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH. (17 on the plan).

The present Greek Catholic church stands on an elevation and seems to have been built partly on the site of a large Gothic church. This church may be identified with the church of St. Anne which is known to have been in the neighbourhood of the palace of the Master of the Temple; it appears on Marino Sanudo's plan at the north side of the Templar enclosure which covers the south-western extremity of the town, see Pl. II and Fig. 10 before page 67. Below the present church there is a vaulted basement which belonged to the former church or to the Temple buildings. This may be visited on application to the tenant of a store or shop opening onto Fakhura Street, or, in his absence, on application to the priest-in-charge.

In the courtyard in front of the present church, built into the side of a staircase against

the north wall, there may be seen a relief in stone showing a bearded head, which is said to represent John the Baptist, and must have come from one of the Crusader churches.

In the church itself there is a good sanctuary screen, decorated with paintings of the saints in Greek style.

The Greek Catholics originate in those Syrian or Arab Christians who, after the Great Schism between Constantinople and Rome in 1054, continued to acknowledge the authority of Rome while retaining the rite of Constantinople together with their own language and customs. They have had a church in Acre since the time of Daher el 'Omar and they count St. Jean d'Acre as the see of one of their archbishops, now resident in Haifa.

MARONITE CHURCH. (Between 16 and 17 on the plan).

Further east along the street which leads from Fakhura Street to St. Andrew's, and on the left hand or north side, a narrow lane leads to the Maronite church of our Lady. This is a building chiefly of the time of Daher el 'Omar.

The tablet over the entrance has been defaced, but the inscription distinctly reads:

FACTUM DIE PRIMA JANUARI ANNO DOMINI MDCCL

'Completed the 1st of January, A.D. 1750'.

Above this, the lilies of the royal arms of France can still be made out.

The church itself evidently falls into two parts: a well-built, high cross-vault at the east and a low, heavy barrel-vault at the west. It is the eastern part to which the inscription refers. It is attributed to the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste de Lafourcade, died August 1754, whose tomb is under the altar against the north wall, opposite the entrance. His epitaph, which is inscribed on a slab of white marble let into the floor, reads:

HIC JACENT OSSA

I(OHANNI)S BAPT(IST)AE LAFOURCADE

QUIEVIT IN D(OMI)NO DIE

...II AUGUSTI ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLIV

'Here lie the bones of Jean Baptiste Lafourcade who fell asleep in the Lord the (?) of August, in the year of Salvation 1754'.

It is stated that the church was hit during Ibrahim Pasha's bombardment in 1831-2, but it is not clear how far it had to be reconstructed. If the east end is mainly the work of 1750, the low vault at the west must be older.

The Maronites may be said to form the national church of the Lebanon. They were staunch allies of the Crusaders, and in the year 1182 they accepted the supremacy of the Pope. They have been in communion with Rome ever since. A vigorous and industrious people, they settled in towns such as Acre under the protection of the Druse emir Fakhr ed-Din early in the 17th century, and they shared in the church of St. Nicholas which he put in order for the Christians of Acre at that time. By the second

quarter of the 18th century they had their own church, of which the low vault at the west end of their present church is doubtless a remnant. It was at first dedicated to the Holy Family, a dedication which recalls the tradition mentioned by a Crusading writer, that our Lady once stopped in Ptolemais.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH. (18 on the plan).

This is a small Roman Catholic church built by the Franciscans in 1737 on vaults abutting upon the inner face of the southern side of the sea-wall. The position agrees more or less with the site of St. Andrew's of the Crusader period, which is illustrated in drawings of the late 17th century (fig. 7, page 45) as a large Gothic church in the style of the Crusader churches still surviving at Tartus in Syria and Nicosia in Cyprus.

THE HARBOURS. (19 on the plan).

On one of the Roman coins of Ptolemais, the harbour is shown as an enclosed circular basin containing a galley; possibly this is meant to represent a dock on the usual Phœnician model, large enough to hold vessels when loading or unloading. Ancient Carthage, it may be recalled, had two connected harbours both made by excavation, the outer being for merchant vessels, the inner and circular harbour being reserved for warships.

During the Crusader occupation of Acre, as Marino Sanudo's plan shows (Pl. II & fig. 10, before page 67), there were both outer and inner

harbours. An inner harbour or dock appears close to the site of the present Khan el 'Umdan (20 on the plan), evidently protected by a sea-wall, masonry of which may survive in the existing sea-wall there. In the Crusader plans this dock is drawn circular, and may therefore correspond to the original Phœnician dock represented on the Roman coin already referred to. Another such dock is probably indicated by the 'arsenal' further east, a word which probably had the same sense as the Italian *darsena*, meaning a dock or basin. About a century ago such a basin was still apparent on the shore south-west of Khan esh-Shawarda (22 on the plan).

As for the outer harbour, which evidently corresponded to the present roadstead inside the 'Tower of Flies', (the Arabic *El Manara*, 'lighthouse'), this seems to have been an addition made during the Arabic occupation to which the Crusaders succeeded. The mole or breakwater which formerly enclosed it must be attributed to the governor of Egypt, Ibn Tulun (868-884) who has already been mentioned (page 18). Its construction is described by the geographer El Muqaddasi ('the Jerusalemite') who wrote in the next century.

* Akka is a fortified city... but it was not so strong until Ibn Tulun visited it, and, having seen how strong Tyre was and how its harbour (*mitna*) was enclosed, desired to furnish 'Akka with a similar harbour. He assembled the craftsmen of the country and put his project to them. They told him that nowadays no one knew how to build in the water. Then our grandfather Abu Bakr the architect was mentioned to him, and it was suggested that if any

one could do it he could. Ibn Tulun then wrote to his governor at Jerusalem to send for him. When he came, and the project was explained to him, he replied that it was an easy matter. He asked for thick sycamore beams and arranged them on the surface of the water in the form of a land fortification. Then he tied them all together, leaving a large entrance at the west. He then laid stones and mortar on them, bonding every five courses with big pillars so as to reinforce the construction. The beams settled in the water as they were loaded. When he was sure that they had come to rest on the sand he allowed the work to consolidate for a whole year. He then resumed operations from where he had left off and bonded the new work with the old wall inside the harbour. He then threw an arch across the entrance. Each evening as ships come into port, a chain is drawn across in the same way as Tyre...*

The Persian Nasir-i-Khusrau (see page 19) says that this entrance was 50 ells wide, i.e. 100 feet. (The harbour entrance at ancient Carthage was 70 feet wide and was also closed with iron cables). Another traveller, the Spanish Moslem Ibn Jubair who visited Acre in the 12th century during the Crusader occupation, was struck with the resemblance between the ports of Acre and Tyre, but he compares Acre unfavourably with Tyre, pointing out that, while at Tyre the largest vessels could anchor inside the breakwater, at Acre they had to lie outside.

From what remains of the outer harbour it appears that it was protected by two breakwaters,

*From the Arabic, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, Leyden, 1906, p. 163.

one running eastwards from the south end of the promontory, the other southwards from the shore near the land gate (3 on the plan). The former can still be traced almost as far as the rock with the ruins of a tower known as El Manara, 'the lighthouse', the site of the famous 'Tower of Flies', which must mark the entrance to the harbour. The other breakwater is no longer visible above sea-level, but early in the 19th century its debris was reported by Commander Mensell of the Royal Navy when making soundings of the roadstead, and it shows up clearly in photographs recently taken by the Royal Air Force: from the air it appears as a long triangle with its narrow base to the shore midway between the land gate and the railway station, and its apex pointing out towards the 'Tower of Flies'. So is it drawn on the reconstruction of the Crusader plan (fig. 10 before page 67). To-day the harbour is so much choked with sand that it is no more than a metre and a half deep on the average, and can be used by small boats only.

THE OLD INNS OF ACRE.

During the time of Jassar and until the latter part of the 19th century Acre did considerable business in the export of grain from the Hauran, and thousands of camels laden with grain used to arrive daily during the season of shipment. The merchants and travellers of the time found accommodation in the *Khans* or inns, of which the three most interesting are Khan el 'Umdan, Khan el Faranj and Khan esh-Shawarda.

KHAN EL 'UMDAN. (Pl. VII, 2=20 on the plan).

The most remarkable building near the port is Khan el 'Umdan, which was built by Jazzar Pasha and is sometimes called after him Khan el Jazzar. It is entered from an open square on the north through a vaulted passage under a grandiose modern tower supporting a clock, which was erected to commemorate the jubilee of the Turkish Sultan 'Abdul Hamid II in 1906. The Khan is a quadrangular building with a square courtyard surrounded by galleries built on pillars, from which the name Khan el 'Umdan, 'the Inn-of-Columns', sprang. The pillars of Egyptian granite come from older buildings and resemble those in Jazzar's mosque. The Khan is believed to stand near the site of the inner harbour (page 86). It belongs to a Moslem *waqf* or charitable foundation. The upper storey is used at present for living rooms, while a sweet factory is established in the vaulted stores of the ground floor.

Nearby is Khan esh-Shuna, 'Inn of the Granary' (20a on plan), a smaller caravanserai which dates from the time of Jazzar's predecessor, Daher el 'Omar. The gateway, with his inscription over it, will be found off the street which runs along the west side of Khan el 'Umdan, some fifty paces along the turning on the left as you leave the entrance beneath the clock tower.

KHAN EL FARANJ. (21 on the plan.)

Going straight across the square in front of Khan el 'Umdan, and leaving the Custom-house

on your right, you come to a street leading northwards to the large vaulted gateway of Khan el Faranj, 'the Franks' Inn', so called because European merchants had warehouses here during the Turkish period.

Like Khan el 'Umdan it is in the form of a quadrangle and stands two storeys high. Many changes and repairs have transformed the original structure. The ground floor serves for stores and stables, while the upper storey is divided into living rooms.

Adjoining the north-east corner of the Khan the Franciscan Fathers have a convent dating to the early years of the 18th century. The adjoining church serves as a parish church for the Roman Catholics or Latins resident in Acre (21a on plan).

The Franciscan community was established in Acre in 1219 by St. Francis himself and was the principal house of the Order in Palestine. Expelled in 1291, they returned again in the 17th century under the Emir Fakhr ed-Din, and finally, after another period of expulsion, built and occupied the present building about A.D. 1729.

KHAN ESH-SHAWARDA. (Pl. VII, 1=22 on the plan).

Returning to the open square before Khan el 'Umdan, a small street on the left leads to the newly opened roadway between the harbour and the land gate. Following the sea wall northward, that road passes through Khan esh-Shawarda, a large building with cloisters surrounding an

extensive courtyard, in the middle of which is a fountain for watering cattle. This Khan is of modern construction, but stands on what may have been the site of the celebrated convent of the Poor Clares, or Franciscan sisters, who disfigured themselves to escape dishonour at the hands of the Mamlukes when Acre fell in 1291. At the southern corner stands a medieval tower called Burj es-Sultan (Pl. VIII). The masonry of its western face is composed of the boss and margin stones characteristic of Crusader building. Many of the stones bear mason-marks in the form of crosses, triangles or letters. There can be no question that of all the many towers of Acre at the end of the 13th century this is the only one now standing.

A CRUSADER INSCRIPTION. (At 23 on the plan).

An interesting relic of Crusader Acre is to be seen in a window of the mosque called Jami' er-Raml ('The Sand Mosque'), which is situated on the street which runs along the north-west side of Khan esh-Shawarda. This window can be seen from the front of the fourth shop on the left of the entrance to the mosque. A double window, it is divided by a marble mullion, on the lower half of which are there medallions carved with geometrical designs in low relief. The middle one has a Latin inscription on its border, cut in a mixture of Roman and Lombardic characters. It reads as follows:

O HOMINES QUI TRANSITIS PER VIAM,
IN CARITATE ROGO VOS ORARE PRO ANIMA
MEI, MAGISTRI EBULI FAZLE [for FAZIE],

HUJUS ECCLESIE EDIFICATO(RIS).

It may be translated:

'O men who pass along the street,
in charity, I beg you, pray for my
soul — Master Ebule Fazie, builder
of this church.'

The church remains unknown; but Ebule, the name of its builder, is Southern French, and the lettering of the inscription points to a date towards the end of the 12th century. Hence it has been conjectured that it belonged to the church of the Provençal colony of merchants, St. Mary of the Provençals, a church which is known to have existed in 13th-century Acre.

THE AQUEDUCT. (See vicinity sketch, fig. 13, after p. 109 & Pl. IX).

Acre enjoys an abundant supply of good water which is brought by means of a masonry aqueduct about 13 kms. long, from a spring called El Fawwar in Kabri village, situated at the edge of the plain north-north-east of Acre. Before it was enclosed in recent years, the spring used to gush from the bottom of a vaulted cave in the middle of the village, into which one descended by steps. Parts of the aqueduct are subterranean, but for the most part it is carried on a low wall, or where the land falls, on arches (Pl. IX, 1,2). It is in two sections: the first, which runs from Kabri to the end of the arches in the grounds of the Government Stock Farm nearly 3 kilometres north-east of Acre, consists of an open channel

with stone cover slabs; the second, which runs on to Acre town, is an enclosed channel made up of stone pipes laid at ground level. This channel replaces two earlier conduits made of earthenware pipes and still serves as an auxiliary to the modern iron pipe laid beside it. In this latter section there are five water towers, one of which stands close to the main north road about a kilometre north of Acre (Pl. IX, 3).

Apparently the 18th-century governor Jazzar Pasha was the first to adopt this form of water supply at Acre. His aqueduct was ruined by Napoleon's siege operations. But some traces of it still exist, including a ruined water tower 4½ kilometres north-north-east of El Bahja and a line of masonry lying south of the Safad road (see p. 66). These remains show that, towards the end of its course at least, this earlier aqueduct followed a more easterly line than the present one.

As it stands to-day, the aqueduct is chiefly the work of Jazzar's successor Suleiman Pasha. According to his biographer El Aura, the Pasha himself supervised the work over a period of many months. Thus in the main the present aqueduct would be about 130 years old. Suleiman's successor, 'Abdullah Pasha is said to have used the water to irrigate his various farms between Umm el Faraj and El Bahja, to the north of the Stock Farm; and at El Bahja his reservoir is still in use on the property of the Beydoun family.

Before the construction of the Kabri aqueducts the town depended in time of peace on the spring called 'Ein el Baqara, 'Spring-of-

the-Cow', to the east of the town, halfway towards Tell el Fukh-khar (see vicinity sketch); or on others lying in that direction; and they were supplemented by the abundant ancient cisterns which exist within the city.

The spring 'Ein el Baqara, which is approached by a flight of steps beneath a small dome, was a Moslem place of prayer (see page 24), which was also honoured by Jews and Christians; the Crusaders built a chapel nearby. In the hamlet to the south is another ancient well, 'Ein es Sitt. TELL EL FUKH-KHAR. (See vicinity sketch, fig. 13, after page 109).

Called also Tell Napoleon, or 'Napoleon's Mound', it is a partly artificial hill situated in the plain at a distance of about 2 kms. to the east of Acre. The highway to Safad skirts its northern side. The whole area between the old town and the hill as well as the hill itself is strewn with traces of ancient occupation such as potsherds, pieces of marble, masonry wells, etc. The abundance of pottery in particular gives it its popular name 'the mound of potsherds'. It is possible that the site of the ancient Accho or Ptolemais of the Græco-Roman period extended as far as this mound, which was certainly occupied in the second millennium and the latter part of the first millennium B. C. The neighbouring Christian cemetery beside the Safad road must cover the site of the Crusader church and cemetery of St. Nicholas outside-the-walls.

Owing to its strategic importance the hill

has been the centre of the military operations directed against Acre in the past. It was here that King Guy, and afterwards King Louis and King Richard encamped with their armies when besieging Acre in 1191; King Louis set up his stone-throwing machines at 'Ein el Baqara 600 metres in front. The Mamlukes too, besieging the town in 1291, made the mound their camping ground. During the Crusader period it bore the name of Mount Turon, 'the hill' or 'hillock'. Napoleon also, during his attack on Acre in 1799, camped behind it throughout the siege. Since then it has been called Napoleon's Hill.

RIVER BELUS. (See vicinity sketch fig. 13, after page 109).

The Plain of Acre extends from the Ladder of Tyre in the north to Mt. Carmel on the south and from the coast to the foothills of Galilee on the east. It is abundantly watered by the many streams that flow through its rich gardens and groves. The most copious of these is Nahr en-Na'amin which flows to the south and east of the town. By older writers, it is sometimes referred to by the name of the ancient ruins at its source, Kurdana. Remains of the extensive palm-groves which used to be cultivated on both banks of the river are still to be seen.

About 500 metres upstream from the bridge by which the main road crosses the river as it approaches Acre, there are ruins of mills which are frequently mentioned in Crusader records.

This river is the Belus of the Græco-Roman authors, who thus transcribed the Phœnician word *baal*, meaning 'Lord', which is familiar from the story of Elijah and the Phœnician priests on Mount Carmel. On certain coins of Roman Ptolemais the god of the river is portrayed at the feet of the goddess who protected the city. One of these is illustrated in fig. 12 below.



Fig. 12. Reverse of bronze coin of Ptolemais in the Palestine Archæological Museum. The city goddess, crowned, holds in her hand two ears of corn which symbolise the corn trade of the city. Enlarged.

Pliny the Elder and other ancient authors attribute the discovery of glass to the peculiarities of the river. Thus Pliny:

'That part of Syria which borders on Judea, and which is called Phœnicia, has at the foot of Mt. Carmel a swamp called Candebia. It is believed to be the source of the river Belus, which flows a distance of 5,000 paces to the sea past the Colony of Ptolemais.

The stream of this river is sluggish and unfit to drink, yet it is held in religious veneration. The bed is muddy and deep, and only shows sand when the sea is at the ebb, the waves at other times churning up the glittering silt. The shore is not more than 500 paces wide, and for centuries there was only that available for making glass. The story goes that some traders in natron (salt-petre) were once driven ashore here, and began to prepare a meal on the beach. Unable to find stones to prop up their pots, they used some lumps of natron from the ship. No sooner had these been fired, and the sand of the beach mingled with them, than clear streams of an unknown liquid began running out. And that was the origin of glass.¹

As an account of the origin of glass-making this story is nothing but a myth, yet there is no doubt that the sands of the Belus were much used by the Phœnician glass-factories. So the Jewish historian Josephus:

'The very small river Belus... bath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of, which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand.' (*Wars of the Jews*, book II, chap. X, 2, Whiston's translation).

Natural History, book 36, chap. 26 (65).

According to the Persian traveller quoted on page 19, who passed this way in the 11th century A.D., the quality of its sand was then known to the goldsmiths of Persia. Here too the shells of the *Murex*, which the Phœnicians used for making their famous Tyrian purple dye, were once gathered in great quantities, and may still be found.



Armorial panel from Acre.
(In the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem)

EXCURSIONS TO MONTFORT AND JIDDIN

Early in the 13th century a great part of the Acre district passed into the hands of the Teutonic Order, the German order of chivalry which was founded on the model of the Templars and Hospitallers soon after the recapture of Acre. With the support of the German emperor Frederick II the Teutonic knights purchased the rights of the feudal lords in this district. They acquired 'King's Castle' at Mahalia, the present village of Mi'ilya near Tarshiha, and they built or rebuilt castles to the north, and south of this: on the north, the castle of Montfort or Starkenburg, the present Qal'at el Qurein on the Wadi Qarn, and to the south the castle of Judyn, now Jiddin (see sketch map; fig. 13 after page 109).

Of these three Teutonic castles, the site of the last-named is marked by a later castle, Jiddin, which is an outstanding landmark seen from Acre or from the main road to the north. But Montfort, the depot and treasury of the Order, is the only one of the three of which much remains. It was heavily damaged by the Mamluke sultan Beibars when he besieged it and took it in 1271. But it was not afterwards occupied, and thanks to the clearance carried out by an expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1926, the main buildings are now free of debris.

MONTFORT.

The castle can be reached from the village of Mi'ilya on the Tarshiha road. (In passing, a still inhabited Crusader hall on the side of the village towards Tarshiha may be noted). From the village it is about an hour's ride or walk along a rough track, which is rock-hewn here and there, and evidently follows the old road. The alternative approach from Ez-Zib up the Wadi Qarn is much longer and is rougher going.

The castle occupies the shoulder of a spur jutting out into the wadi. A rock-cut ditch cuts it off from the higher ground on the east, or Mi'ilya side. West of this, the main buildings stand along the ridge in a line, end to end. Next the ditch is the refuge or keep, a massive square tower built of large, well-dressed blocks, with a cistern below it. Stepping down the shoulder of the ridge below this are the lodgings of the knights; then a chapel; then a large hall, once vaulted on a central octagonal pier, which was probably the chapter-house; and finally the ruins of the commander's residence flanked by one exceptionally well-preserved tower. So the buildings may be identified on the evidence of the objects found in them in 1926, or on the analogy of other castles of the time. These buildings made a compact block forming the inner line of defence. On the slope of the hill below this there remain parts of the outer ring wall which must formerly have surrounded the castle at that level.

According to a contemporary Arabic account of the siege of 1271, the defences were undermined stone by stone. Two such excavations, only partly made, are to be seen in the wall of the upper and inner enclosure, just above the foundations at the south-west. During the recent clearance a number of heavy stone balls were found scattered about the castle, which must be relics of that siege.

At the bottom of the valley below the castle there is a large Gothic building which may best be described as a grange. Opposite there are remains of a dam-wall and an aqueduct which probably brought water to a mill in the ground-floor of the building. Other farm buildings belonging to the castle were presumably clustered here. (For a fuller account of the castle and the objects found in the excavations, see *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, Sept. 1927, Part II).

JIDDIN.

This castle is just over an hour's walk from Tarshiha, or rather more from El Kabri or 'Amqa villages.

In the latter part of the 18th century it was one of the strongholds of Daher el 'Omar. He took it from an Arab family who had long held sway in the district. It is likely that they built upon the ruins of the Teutonic castle of Judyn, which was already in a state of ruin in 1284 according to one of the crusading travellers.

As it stands the castle consists of an upper and a lower court, the upper containing the principal buildings, the lower the farm buildings. Conspicuous among the ruins in the upper court, seen from the north or Tarshiha side, is the tall tower on the left. Originally there were two such towers joined together by a central range, the long wall of which is seen to the right of the tall, left-hand tower. The offset at the left end of this wall marks the side of the gateway, which was situated in the gap between the offset and the tower. Of the other tower adjoining the right end of the long wall hardly more than two sides remain. These two towers and the basement vault in between have the appearance of Crusader work.

The rest of the ruins are of less solid construction and are of later date. Such are the repairs to the two towers, or the domed reception room, with its fireplace, which stands over the central range; likewise the surrounding quarters, and the walls with round towers enclosing both the upper and lower courtyards. All this may be attributed to the Arab family whom Daher el 'Omar evicted or else to Daher himself. Thus the castle as a whole is of interest as a feudal residence of the Turkish period.

REFERENCES TO BOOKS.

In the absence of any single book on the history and antiquities of Acre, the following list has been made in order to show what authorities have been used in the compilation of this Guide, and still more to suggest where readers may find information on the general history of Syria and Palestine. Books of the latter kind are put first in each section and the special authorities follow.

1. Geographical.

G. ADAM SMITH, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, chaps. I and XX.

M. ROSTOVITZ, *Caravan Cities*, chap. I.

F.-M. ABEL, 'Le littoral palestinien et ses ports' in *Revue Biblique*, 1914, and *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. II.

Also, A. SAARISALO, 'Topographical Researches in Galilee' in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1929.

2. For the ancient empires, Egyptian to Roman.

See the excellent sketches by T. H. ROBINSON and J. W. HUNKIN in *Palestine in General History (Schweich Lectures, 1926)*, or the relevant chapters in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vols. II, III, VII, VIII, IX, X. The coming of Greek civilization to the East and its conflict with Israel is finely described by E.R. BEVAN, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 vols. The story of Roman intervention in Jewish Palestine — the theme of Josephus's *Wars* — has been skilfully retold by A.H.M. JONES, *The Herods of Judaea*. An illuminating estimate

of Roman rule in the East is given by F. CUMONT in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, chap. XV.

References to the ancient authorities and materials may be found in the standard Biblical encyclopedias, especially *Encyclopaedia Biblica* and Vigoroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* with Pirot, *Supplément* (under *Accho*). In addition the following should be mentioned: J. GARSTANG, *Joshua, Judges*, especially pp. 96-100, 241-2; G. F. HILL, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Phoenicia*; E.T. NEWELL, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*; C. LAMBERT, 'A Hoard of Phoenician Coins' in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. I (1931); F.-M. ABEL, 'La liste géographique du papyrus 71 de Zénon' in *Revue Biblique*, 1923; A. SAARISALO, 'Topographical Researches in Galilee' in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1929; A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, chap. X.

3. For the Islamic empire and the Crusader occupation there is a very readable account in BESANT & PALMER's *Jerusalem, City of Herod and Saladin*, or the *Cambridge Medieval History* may be consulted as follows: vol. II, chap. XI; vol. V, chaps. VI to IX. Of the various histories of the Crusades, T.A. ARCHER and C.L. KINGSFORD's book *The Crusades* (Story of the Nations Series) is to be recommended for its narrative, C.R. CONDER's *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* for its attention to antiquities, and R. GROUSSET's larger work, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, as the latest treatment of the subject. A useful summary of the history of Acre under

the Crusaders will be found in C. ENLART, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. II, pp. 2-9.

For the Third Crusade and the Siege of Acre, see especially S. LANE-POOLE'S *Saladin* (Heroes of the Nations Series) and the contemporary accounts translated in BOHN'S *Chronicles of the Crusades*, T. A. ARCHER'S *Crusade of Richard I* and the *Life of Saladin by Beha ed-Din* edited by C.W. WILSON in the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. XIII, or parallel extracts in MICHAUD and REINAUD, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, 4 vols., especially vol. IV.

Full references to Arabic and Western authorities may readily be found in W.B. STEVENSON, *The Crusaders in the East* or in R. ROEHRICHT, *Geschichte des Koenigreichs Jerusalem* (1100-1291). Oriental authors of various periods are translated by G. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, and other references are given in *Encyclopædia of Islam* (under 'Akka') and GAUDEPROY-DEMOMBYNES, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*.

Translations from the pilgrims' handbooks of Crusading times may be found in the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vols. V, XI and XII; Latin accounts in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor* ed. J.C.M. Laurent; French accounts in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, ed. H. MICHELANT and G. RAYNAUD.

For the topography of Crusader Acre, see E. REY, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles*, pp. 451-471 (also published in *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, vol. XXXIX (1878) with a contemporary map differing somewhat from Marino

Sanudo's), and on the harbours, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés*, pp. 171-2; P. DESCHAMPS, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, pp. 65-9 with pl. VIII, B (another contemporary plan as above); documentary materials summarised by R. ROEHRICHT, 'Syria Sacra' and 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vol. X (1887), especially pp. 300-308, or in the same author's *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, with *Addendum*; also his 'Marino Sanudo sen. als Kartograph Palaestinas' *Z.D.P.V.*, vol. XXI (1898), pp. 90-126, and F.-M. ABEL, 'Le Couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean-d'Acre', *Revue Biblique*, 1934.

For the English order of St. Thomas, see *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, ed. W. STUBBS (Rolls Series), p. cxij; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. I, pp. 425 ff. and other references given by ROEHRICHT, *Regesta*, p. 361, No. 1386.

4. For the Mamluke and Turkish periods generally, see H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie. Précis Historique*, vol. II; R. THOUMIN, *Histoire de Syrie*; and more particularly, P. CARALI, *Fakhr ad-din II e la Corte di Toscana, 1605-1635*, vol. I (historical introduction and documents chiefly relating to trade with Syria).

For the state of the ruins of Crusader Acre from early Turkish times down to the rebuilding of the town by Daher el 'Omar, see C. ENLART, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

Contemporary descriptions will be found in the works of the following travellers (with date of visit): Sandys (1611, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*), Evliya Tshelebi (1649, transl. in *Quarterly of the Department*

of *Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. VI, pp. 92-7), Doubdan (1652), G. Bremond (1652-6), Le Chevalier d'Arvieux (1658), Laffi (1679), Maundrell (1697,) Pococke (1738), Mariti (1760) and S(alvatore) L(usignan) 'Kosmopolites' (as below).

5. For the modern period:

(a) Daher el 'Omar and Jazzar, see generally H. DEHERAIN, *L'Égypte Turque* (Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne, vol. V) and FR. CHARLES-ROUX, *Les Échelles de Syrie* (on the French merchant colonies), both books utilising the French consular reports, or *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VIII, chaps. XI and XIX; also the picturesque if not wholly accurate account by E. LOCKROY, *Ahmed le Boucher: La Syrie et l'Égypte au XVIIIe siècle*.

For contemporary accounts, see MARITI, *Travels*, (in Acre in 1760), vols. I,II; S(alvatore) L(usignan), 'Kosmopolites', *History of the Revolt of Ali Bey* (in 1773); VOLNEY, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte* (in 1783-5), vol. II, which last formed a local handbook for Napoleon's expedition; and in Arabic, Nicola SABBAGH, *Dahir al 'Umar az-Zaidani*, ed. Constantine AL BASHA, Harise, Lebanon, also Emir HAIDAR, *The Lebanon in the time of the Shihabi Emirs*, ed. A. RUSTUM and F.A. BUSTANI, 3 vols., Beirut, 1933.— On Jazzar, see SPILSBURY'S *Picturesque Scenery in the Holy Land and Syria* by one of Sir Sidney Smith's officers, and more especially OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othomane* (in 1792-8), vol. IV. — For Napoleon's expedition, see especially the summary of the official French account in ALDERSON, *Notes on Acre and Some of the Coast Defences of Syria* (Papers on Subjects connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers, vol. VI), and in Arabic, Emir HAIDAR (as above).

(b) Suleiman Pasha and 'Abdullah Pasha:

See contemporary accounts in TURNER, *Tour in the Levant* (in 1815) and BUCKINGHAM, *Travels in Palestine* (in 1816); extracts from EL AURA'S *Arabic History of Suleiman Pasha* given by A. RUSTUM, *Notes on Acre and its Defences under Ibrahim Pasha*, or full Arabic text ed. Constantine AL BASHA, Sidon, 1936; and Emir HAIDAR (as above). For Ibrahim Pasha's siege, see ALDERSON (as cited above).

(c) Muhammad 'Ali and Ibrahim Pasha: see generally *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. X, chap. XVII or E. DRIAULT, *La Question d'Orient*, chap. V or W. MILLER, *The Ottoman Empire*, chap. VII.

For the operations in Syria in 1840, see the accounts of ALDERSON (as above) who was charged with a survey of the Turkish fortifications, and *The War in Syria* by Sir Charles NAPIER, who was second-in-command of the British naval forces; also the recent works of Général WEYGAND, *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils*, and Vice-Amiral DURAND-VIEL, *Les campagnes navales de Mohammed Aly et d'Ibrahim*. In Arabic, see Emir HAIDAR'S history (as above).

(d) Late Turkish Period:

See accounts by E. ROBINSON, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine* (in 1852); C. CONDER, *Tent Work in Palestine*, Vol. I (visited Acre in 1873); V. GUERIN, *Description de la Palestine: Galilée*, Vol. I, chap. II (visited Acre in 1875); and in *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, Vol. I (1881), pp. 145, 160 ff.

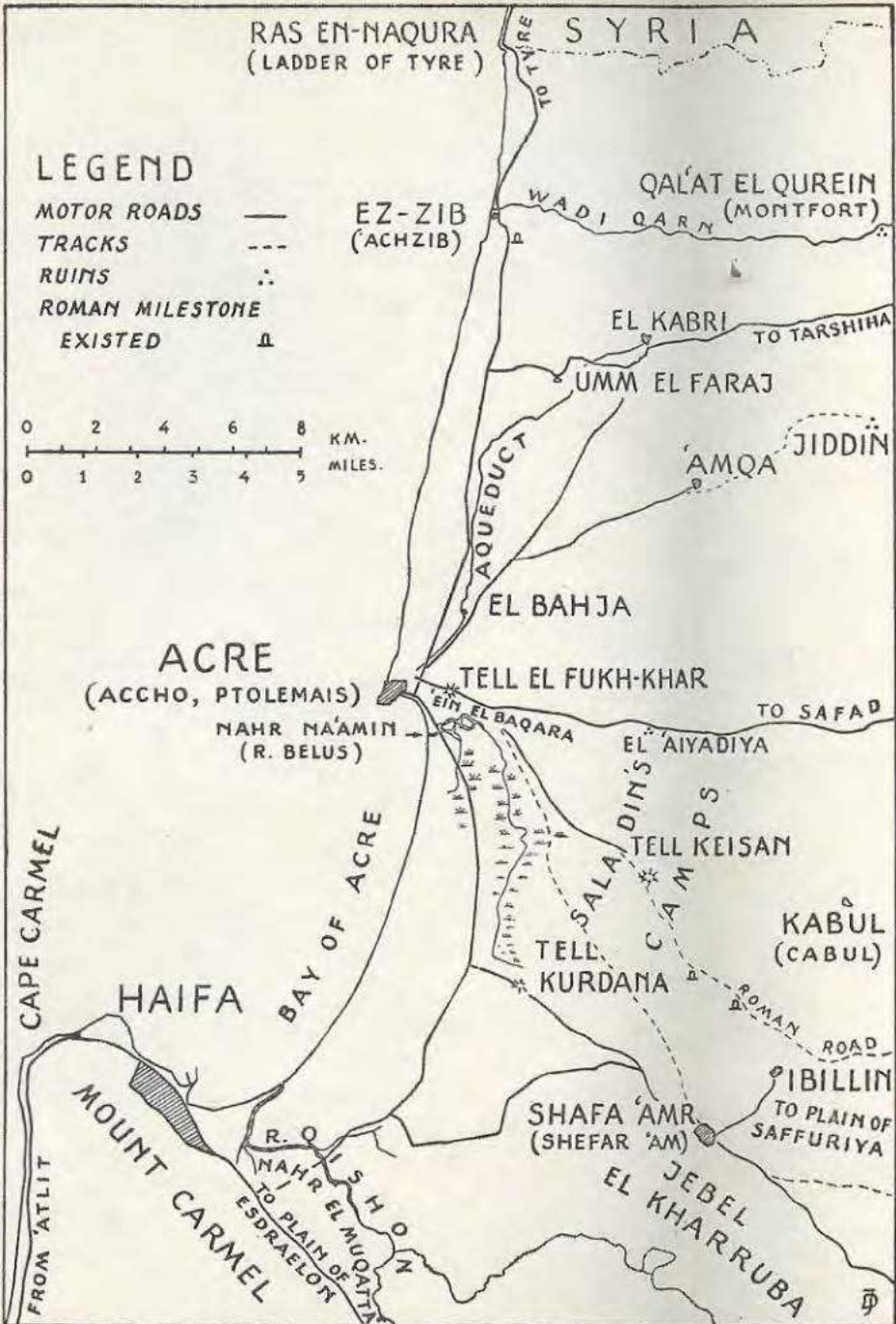


FIG. 13. Sketch map of the vicinity of Acre showing sites of historical interest (with historical names in brackets).

LIST OF REFERENCES TO
GUIDE-PLAN, FIG. 14.

1. Inner Wall (Daher el 'Omar's Wall).
2. Outer Wall (Jazzar Pasha's Wall).
3. Land Gate and the tower over it (Kapu Burj).
4. Sea Wall.
5. Burj el Kummandar.
6. Burj Kuraïyim.
7. Burj el Hadid.
8. Burj es-Sanjaq.
9. Sea Gate.
- 9a. Qahwet el Bahr (now Welfare Centre).
10. Suq el Abyad.
11. Jazzar's Mosque.
- 11a. Old Serail & Crusader Crypt.
12. The Citadel (Burj el Khazna).
13. Arsenal (Prison Garden).
- 13a. Barracks (Present Prison).
14. Crypt of St. John (beneath Prison).
15. Hammam el Basha.
16. St. George's Church and
British Officers' Memorial.
17. St. Andrew's Church and Crypt.
18. St. John's Church.
19. The Harbours.
20. Khan el 'Umdan.
- 20a. Khan esh Shuna.
21. Khan el Faranj.
- 21a. Latin Convent.
22. Khan esh-Shawarda.
23. Crusader Inscription.

Descriptions of the above will be found in the second part of the text, in most cases under the same headings, see Table of Contents under 'Monuments of Acre'.

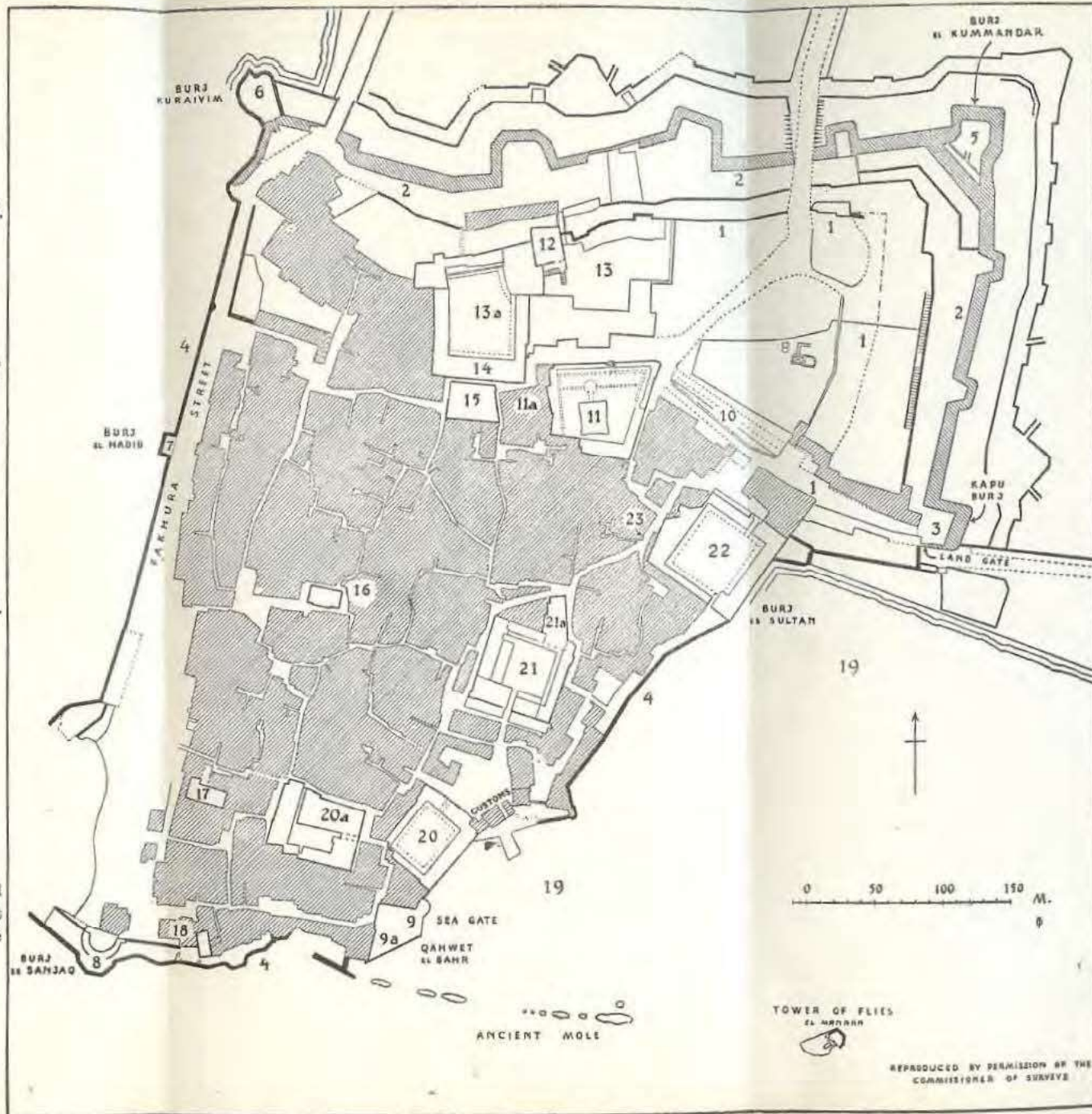


FIG. 14. Guide-plan to Old Acre. The numbers refer to the list printed alongside.