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LITERATURE.

MR. DOUGHTY'S TRAVELS IN ARABIA.

Travels | *in* | *Arabia Deserta.* | By | Charles M. Doughty. | Cambridge: At the University Press.*

MÉGA VIVLÍON MÉGA KAKÓN will, I fear, be the verdict of the general reader and the public, after trial of these two bulky volumes, to which, however, the geographer, the epigraphist, and the student of Arabic will attach the highest importance, admiring the while at the author's worldly unwisdom. Mr. Doughty began his adventurous and perilous exploration on November 13, 1876 (the only date, by-the-bye, in his text), and left Arabia in the autumn of 1878; and his journey was of the old heroic type recalling to mind the solid age of Seetzen and Burckhardt and "Travels" in folio. But he has spent ten long years—a decade in these days being equivalent to a generation—in systematically frittering away the interest of his subject; and at last, after printing-delays innumerable, he comes before the world with these two large volumes. Part of their matter was published in the *Journal* R. G. S. (Bombay Branch) of 1878; and this was followed in the *Globus* (1880, p. 201) by a notice from the pen of our mutual friend, the venerable Prof. Aloys Sprenger. The epigraphs were first dispatched (1876) to the late lamented Prof. Hochsteller, of Vienna (*Mittheilungen*, pp. 268-272), and afterwards to M. Ernest Renan, who deciphered them and edited them (Acad. des Inscriptions, 1884). In July, 1884, the R.G.S. of London printed (*Proceedings*, pp. 382-399) Mr. Doughty's "Travels in North-Western Arabia," &c., a mere abstract instead of a detailed geographical and topographical description as it should have been; full of misprints and mistakes, with a perverted sketch-map of which the traveller complained loudly and publicly. The explorer's inexplicable delay also allowed others in the meanwhile to visit the lines he had opened and to devance him before the reading world. M. Charles Huber, a Frenchman from Strasburg, sent out by the Académie in 1879-80, covered nearly the same ground (*Bull.*, Soc. Géog, 1884), and returned to Arabia in 1884 with the eminent epigraphist Dr. Julius Euting (the ACADEMY, December 26, 1885), who, with the assistance of Profs. Nöldeke and D. H. Müller, brought out his *Nabatäische Inschriften* in 1885.

We have, therefore, to deal with a twice-told tale writ large, and which, despite its affectations and eccentricities, its prejudices and misjudgments, is right well told. The characters stand out in high relief—*e.g.*, the hot-hearted ruffians of the Kal'ah (fort-tower of) Madáin Sálih, not to mention a host of others. The contradictory nature of the half-feminine Badawi—with his frantic loves and hates, his cowardice and his reckless courage, his griping greed and his lavish generosity and hospitality; his courtesy and churlishness, his nobility and vileness, his mild charity and his furious vindictiveness—is almost a puzzle to the European mind, but we all can vouch for its truth. The adventures are tedious because mostly unnecessary; but the scenery is sketched with a broad touch and a firm hand; and scattered about the two volumes are wise "dictes," fresh views appreciative of trite subjects, and many scraps of information, such as the northern limits of the rainy monsoon (ii., 389, &c.), which are novel as they are valuable. Whether Mr. Doughty is justified in adopting, for a prosaic *recit de voyage*, a style so archaic, so involved, and at times so enigmatical, however fitted it may be for works of fiction, and however pleasant for the reminiscences of days when English was not vulgarised and Americanised, the reader must judge for himself. I will quote only two specimens:

"We set but a name upon the ship, [N.B., punctuation runs daft] that our hands have built (with incessant labour) in a decennium, in what day she is launched forth to the great waters; and few words are needful in this place. The book is not milk for babes: it might be likened to a mirror, wherein is set forth faithfully some parcel of the soil of Arabia smelling of *Sámn* [N.B., read Samn] and camels" (Pref. i., v.).

And here is the opening of Chap. i.:

"A new voice hailed me of an old friend, when, first returned from the Peninsula [N.B., what Peninsula?], I paced again in that long street of Damascus which is called Straight [N.B., inevitably suggesting Mark Twain]; and suddenly taking me wondering by the hand 'Tell me (said he), since thou art here again in the peace and assurance of Ullah [N.B., read Allah], and whilst we walk, as in former years, toward the new blossoming orchards, full of the sweet spring as the garden of God, what moved thee, or how couldst thou take such journeys into the fanatic Arabia?'"

It were vain to attempt, within the bounds of an article, even a superficial review of the whole work with its varied and capricious contents. All I can do is to touch upon what mainly interests me—the discovery of Madáin Sálih and the Arabism of the glossary. Khalíl Efendí *seu* Nasráni sets out from Damascus after a parting fling at the consul of whom he had vainly sought efficient aid, countenance, and recommendation; utterly ignoring the traditions of "the Office" which, honourably distinguished from all others, would be shocked and scandalised at the idea of an English official befriending an Englishman. In chaps. ii. and iii. he mingles the Hajj-march with a trip to Peraea and Sinai in early 1875, and confuses matters not a little without informing readers that the topography of this expedition had appeared in the *Globus* (xxxix. 8). But in chap. iii. the novelties begin. After a month's marching, and covering some 500 miles, the explorer is fortunate enough to reach the plain of Madáin Sálih, which Burckhardt was too sick to study, and which Baron von Kremer, and I, and a host of others failed to attain.

The traveller must often have the hap, in unvisited countries, to note what there is not, as well as to see what there is. The "Cities of Sálih" so famous in classical days, the Ἔγρα of Ptolemy, the Hejra of Pliny, and the modern Al-Hijr, is nothing but an old station on the great highway of gold and frankincense between Southern Arabia, Egypt, and Phoenicia. As elsewhere upon the Hajj-road—which follows, and must follow, the ancient line—Himyarite forgathered with Nabathaean (*i.e.*, true Arabian) in this now desolate Wady, 2900 feet high; and the result was, as at Palmyra, a blend of Asiatic and Nilotic civilisation, afterwards modified by barbarised Grecian manners and arts.

Mr. Doughty informed me that he has not read what I have written upon Arabia; and this I regret more for his sake than for my own. My "Pilgrimage" would have saved him many an inaccuracy, such as confounding the "Little Hajj" with the Ziyárat (visitation) of Al-Madinah (ii. 645). My three volumes on Midian-land, which he calls Maddián or Middián, and describes as "a ruined village in the Tehama (Tahámah) in the latitude of el-Hejr" (i. 409), would have supplied a standard of comparison other than Petra. He would have found there the same traces of clay-built cities, the same temple-tombs and mummy-caves hewn in the sandstone rock and provided with quasi-classical façades of stepped pinnacles, cornices, and pilasters—hence called Bibán, or doors—and the same Nabathaean inscriptions, with the superadded interest of old mining-settlements where the apparatus for ore-working was on the largest scale.

Khalíl Nasráni's time at the Madáin was all his own; and he was able, without over-risk, to make copies and squeezes of more than half the inscriptions at Al-Hijr and "El-Ally" (Al-'Ulá). I need say nothing of their value historical, linguistic, and epigraphical. Suffice it to remark that about eighty years ago the illustrious De Sacy proved in a learned memoir the non-existence of letters in Arabia before the days of Mohammed. And the rule of old Arabian epigraphy, the

* Vols. ii., large 8vo. Vol. i., pp. xx Preface and Contents: text pp. 623, including an intercalated Appendix (pp. 180-189), with notes by M. Renan on the Epigraphs; by M. Philippe-Berger (see the ACADEMY, August 15, 1885, and December 26, 1885, noting his wild and untenable theory) on Madáin Sálih; on embalmers' drugs, by Prof. G. D. Liveing; on shroud-clouts, by Prof. O. Macalister; on Thamúd, by Sir H. Rawlinson; and on Ancient Arabian Coinage, by Mr. Barclay V. Head. The terminal Appendix, vol. i., is a desultory treatise on Nabathaean tomb-architecture, by M. de Vogüé. Vol. ii. has list of Contents pp. v-xiv. and text p. 542, including a geological Appendix (pp. 540-42), and followed by pp. 148 of Index and Glossary; total pp. 705, and grand total of two vols. pp. 1328. The green-cloth covers bear in gold a sketch of the Kasr al-Bint or Maiden's Mansion, described in vol. i., chap. iv.; and vol. ii. a horn of the white-skinned Bakar al-Wahsh (wild cattle) alias Wazihah, a cow-like antelope, the *beatrix*. The ground-plans and illustrations (some signed P. Sellier) are the work of Mr. Doughty, and the simple scenery is sufficiently well sketched. The map, for which the author has received, in tardy recognition (1888), the Gill premium of the R. G. S., is based upon Dr. Kiepert's; the details are filled in with only watch, compass, and aneroid, and the Harrahs or plutonic patches are so darkly coloured that the average eye can hardly read the small print with which some are crowded. Moreover, the spelling of text and map often materially differ.

raising or embossing of the characters in relievo or cameo, like the Hittite stones from Hamah, shows a remarkable development of the industry.

After escaping the return Hajj-caravan, Khalíl Nasráni marched from Al-Hijr to Tayma—the biblical Tema—still a market village on the western frontier of Al-Najd. He had been preceded in 1845 by Hají Walí (Dr. Georg Wallin), a learned Swede who died all too early at Helsingfors where he had become Arabic professor. By the usual straggling marches to and fro, up and down, he rode back to Al-Hijr and Al-'Ulá, explored the Harrah of the Mowáhib, and returned to Tayma; thence he proceeded to Al-Háil, also known to Wallin, and after a month's halt at this mean little capital of Mohammed Ibn Rashíd in the winter of 1877, he made the world-famed Khaybar one of his main objectives. He found here only a pauper and pestilential village with unimportant ruins, and tenanted by vicious "niggers" subject to the Pashalik of Al-Madinah. After the usual persecutions, wholly brought on by the traveller's imprudence and perverseness, he returned to Al-Háil in the spring of 1878, and presently reached by a roundabout way Al-Buraydah (the "little coolth"), capital of the province Al-Kasím in the Western Najd. He then removed some eleven miles to the sister settlement 'Anazah, also built upon the great eastern line of watershed, Wady al-Rummah (of "rotten rope"). Expelled for Christian predilections and brought back by the Emír Zámil governing independently, he was eventually despatched by his friends with a butter-caravan marching on Meccah, the whole of this section being new (and uninteresting) desert ground. Abandoned by his companions in the Wady Fátimah, and subject to insults and outrages which occupy twelve mortal pages (ii. 486-98), he was carried prisoner to Táif, which he writes Tayif, ignoring the word's legendary significance. Here he was hospitably entertained by the estimable Grand Sharíf Husayn, foully murdered at Jeddah in March 1880, and he was allowed to sketch (ii. 515-16) the three Menhirs or Bethel-stones, probably serving, after the economical usage of Egypt, as altars of sacrifice. They bear the historic names (we are not told by what authority) of Al-Lát, Al-Uzza, and Hobal. Lastly, the worn and weary Nasráni was forwarded to Jeddah, and he ends his travel-tale without a date, but with "On the morrow I was called to the open hospitality of the British Consulate." Caveant consules!

Mr. Doughty has rendered good service by his study of the double watershed in Central Arabia. He lays, however, superior stress upon his exploration of the plutonic "Harrahs," which, he says, "with the rest of the vulcanic [?] train described in this work, before my voyage [?] in Arabia were not heard of in Europe" (ii., 351). The lava patches about the Hauran of Damascus were carefully described by the learned Wetzstein, who also collected much hearsay information concerning the outbreaks lying further south from an Anazah tribesman of Al-Russ. Bauermann noticed them about the so-called Sinai; Canon Tristram in Moab, and the Palestine Exploration Fund discovered them by the dozen in the limestones of the Holy Land. They were discussed by the late Charles Beke, by the Rev. G. P. Badger, and by myself at various times, especially after visiting Al-Madinah, where the historian Al-Samhúdí records an eruption in A.D. 1256. In fact, they extend in one long broken line from Northern Palestine to Aden, and they are enormously developed in Abyssinia on the other side of that vast crevasse of plutonic depression, the Red Sea.

The glossary, wrought into shape as it is by Prof. M. J. de Goeje, appears to me of unusual value. We have absolutely no knowledge of the Najdi dialect, and the *Mekkanische Sprichwörter* of Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje (Hague: Nijhoff, 1886) necessarily does not aid us—the Holy City speaks a mixed and barbarous jargon. Khalíl Nasráni was not over well equipped for his task: he informs me that he had never cultivated (Arabic) book-reading, but had learned the vernacular by hard practice. He evidently lacks the fine ear which enabled Burckhardt to transliterate, almost without a fault, the difficult and easily confused sounds of the Sád and Zád and Zá, while his directions for their articulation are only misleading (ii. 643, 674). But these very defaults and defects give unexpected weight to his observations. He hears a peculiarity of sound like "Ullah" for "Allah," "Rubb" for "Rabb" (the Lord), in the thickened pronunciation of the Badawi; and he writes it accordingly. A weariness to the flesh of the general will be such sentences as: "Our hunters brought in a porcupine, *nís*" (i. 132); and, "If this (word) were *K*(Gh)or*h*, they would pronounce *Gorh*, or else *Jorh*, that which they say is plainly Kor*h*" (i. 162). Also, the many singularities must be received with abundant caution. No Arab ever yet said "Haj" (for Hajj), "Tóma" (for Tam'a), "Jubál" (for Jubbál), "Kella" (for Kal'ah), "Thelúl" (for dalúl = a dromedary), "Ullah Akbar" (for Allahu Akbar), or "La ilah," &c. (for lá iláha). The "Ghr" most imperfectly represents the Ghayn—would the author transliterate Maghrabi by Maghrrabi? Yet we are grateful for such peculiarities as the paragogic *n* as "Rummen" for Rummah, for corruptions like "Umjemmim" (=mukímín, sojourners), and for the prevalence of the "Imálah" (Al-mé for Al-má=water), which approaches the speech of the North Africans. I may remark, *en passant*, that Sir Amin is a mere mistake for Surrah-Amín, lit. the purse-confidant (1, 5, &c.); and I have sought in vain for the Badawi conversion of Káf into Tá, *e.g.*, "Mushrit" for Mushrik—one who gives partners to Allah.

To conclude, Mr. Doughty's work suggests two lessons. The first is not to travel in a semi-barbarous land unless the people be sympathetic to the traveller; and the second is the need of a certain pliancy in opinions, religious and political. Had the author refused all fellowship with Al-Islam for the sake of conscience, that "geographical and chronological accident," we should have understood and appreciated his attitude; but what says he of himself (i. 212)?

"It had cost me little or naught to confess Konfucho or Socrates [!] to be apostles of Ullah; but I could not find it in my life to confess the barbaric prophet of Mecca and enter under the yoke into their solemn fool-paradise."

He even affects ignorance of all superstitious matters, and does not know that "Eththahîa" ('I'd al-Zuhâ) is the great pilgrimage festival (i. 136); also, he blunders pitiably about the divination-form Darb al-Mandal described by Lane and a host of others. Consequently, Khalíl Nasráni, although travelling as a Daulání (government *protégé*), a vaccinator and a mediciner, is bullied, threatened, and reviled; he is stoned by the children and pushed about and hustled by the very slaves; his beard is plucked, he is pommelled with fist and stick, his life is everywhere in danger, he must go armed, not with the manly sword and dagger, but with a penknife and a secret revolver; and the recital of his indignities at length palls upon the mental palate. Mr. Doughty assures us that his truth and honesty were universally acknowledged by his wild hosts; yet I cannot, for the life of me, see how the honoured name of England can gain aught by the travel of an Englishman who at all times and in all places is compelled to stand the buffet from knaves that smell of sweat.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

Oliver Cromwell. By Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan.)

THE editor of the series of "Twelve English Statesmen" is to be congratulated on having secured Mr. Harrison's services. There is still room for minute investigation into the details of Cromwell's life, which may modify our opinion of the morality of certain portions of his career, and may be not without influence upon our judgment of it as a whole. Mr. Harrison has nothing of this kind to give us. What he brings to his study of facts already ascertained is a fresh and vigorous mind, illuminated by a wide knowledge of political and social life. He neither falls into the mistake of judging Cromwell by the test of any special religious creed, nor does he imagine, as so many have imagined, that the existing British constitution has attained to absolute perfection.

To judge such a man as Cromwell, it is not sufficient to accumulate evidence on the facts of his life. Much of the evidence which exists is contradictory—much more of it is deeply tinged by the prejudices of those from whom it proceeds. What we want is to arrive at the unconscious evidence of words spoken or written without a purpose, of the tendency of a succession of undisputed facts, and of the opinion of friends as well as of enemies. It is satisfactory to find that, so far as Mr. Harrison has evidence of this kind before him, he comes to conclusions which may be described as those of Carlyle, modified by the absence of that hero-worship which was Carlyle's stumbling-block in pursuit of historical truth. It is well that those who think that it is sufficient to dive into an investigation of details in order to prove Cromwell a scoundrel should be reminded by writers like Mr. Harrison that in cases of doubtful evidence the general conception of the character of the actor which we derive from his spoken or written words must never be left out of account.