



*Cheiron: The International Journal of
Equine and Equestrian History*
Vol. 5, Issue 1/2025
© The Authors 2025
Available online at
<http://trivent-publishing.eu/>

Artist in the Holy Land: The Pilgrimage of Edward Troye

Gary A. O'Dell

Abstract

Edward Troye was America's most celebrated painter of animal portraits during the nineteenth century, primarily of Thoroughbred horses. During 1855-56, he accompanied wealthy Kentucky turfman Keene Richards to the Near East on an expedition to purchase horses from among the Bedouins. This paper focuses primarily upon his travel through Palestine and the circumstances in which his Oriental paintings were created, an aspect of his life which has often been overlooked in favor of his better-known work concerning animal paintings. I have made extensive use of Troye's personal journal, which provides a day-by-day accounting of this trip. Few other writers have tapped this important resource, and even then only sparingly. Finally, a number of significant errors made by previous researchers are corrected.

Keywords

Edward Troye; Oriental paintings; Palestine; horse portraits; Arabian horse.

DOI: 10.22618/TP.Cheiron.20255.1.127003

CHEIRON is published by Trivent Publishing



This is an Open Access article distributed in accordance with the Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial (CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0) license, which permits others to copy or share the article, provided original work is properly cited and that this is not done for commercial purposes. Users may not remix, transform, or build upon the material and may not distribute the modified material (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>)

Artist in the Holy Land: The Pilgrimage of Edward Troye

Gary A. O'Dell¹

Abstract

Edward Troye was America's most celebrated painter of animal portraits during the nineteenth century, primarily of Thoroughbred horses. During 1855-56, he accompanied wealthy Kentucky turfman Keene Richards to the Near East on an expedition to purchase horses from among the Bedouins. This paper focuses primarily upon his travel through Palestine and the circumstances in which his Oriental paintings were created, an aspect of his life which has often been overlooked in favor of his better-known work concerning animal paintings. I have made extensive use of Troye's personal journal, which provides a day-by-day accounting of this trip. Few other writers have tapped this important resource, and even then only sparingly. Finally, a number of significant errors made by previous researchers are corrected.

Keywords

Edward Troye; Oriental paintings; Palestine; horse portraits; Arabian horse.

I. Introduction

Edward Troye (1808-1874) was one of the most talented animal painters of the nineteenth century. His specialty was portraits of prized cattle and horses, and his services as an artist were in great demand by the stockmen of his day. William T. Porter, who reproduced many of Troye's equine paintings between 1839-1843 in the pages of his two sporting magazines, *American Turf Register* and *Spirit of the Times*, wrote "He is the only animal painter in this country who is thoroughly master of his art; and the felicity with which he hits off the precise color of the animal, is one of his most striking characteristics." Sir Theodore A. Cook, a noted British art historian and journalist, once observed, "In America you have had your own artists, too. There are not so many traces left as might be wished in Kentucky of the work of Troye or Audubon, of Stull, Fisher, and other Americans. But Troye was the best of them all."

¹ Emeritus professor, Morehead State University, Kentucky, USA.

He was a prolific artist; his known work includes 356 paintings and 11 drawings, estimated to be less than half of the artist's actual production.²

In 1855, when horseman Alexander Keene Richards of Georgetown, Kentucky, planned an expedition into the desert of the Near East in search of pure-blooded Arabian horses to breed to his equine stock, he asked Troye to accompany him. Because of his substantial knowledge of equine anatomy, Troye was an authoritative judge of the horse, and so his advice would be invaluable when it came to selecting the best Arabians. In this early era, photography was a difficult undertaking, so the artist's ability to execute accurate and detailed sketches on the spot, which could later be transformed into paintings, would be a useful skill. Although such practical considerations originally determined Troye's inclusion in the party, during the expedition Richards and Troye would become close friends. On this journey, Troye would execute some of his most famous works, careful renditions of some of the sites in the Holy Land most sacred to Christianity, thereby departing from his usual practice of animal portraits in favor of landscapes.

Edward Troye was born into a family of artists on July 12, 1808, near Lausanne, Switzerland. His father, Jean Baptiste de Troye, was an accomplished sculptor and saw that his children received the finest classical education. His older brother Charles would become a noted historical painter in Antwerp, and his two sisters also excelled in the fine arts. After the death of his mother, when Edward was but an infant, his father moved the family to London, England, where he received commissions from King George IV. As Troye grew up, he showed a considerable aptitude for drawing animals and was an accomplished artist by the age of fifteen. There is strong circumstantial evidence that the artist Jaques Laurent Agasse may have influenced Edward Troye to become an animal painter. Agasse had known the elder de Troye in Lausanne and renewed the acquaintance when he came to England in 1800, receiving several commissions from the king to paint animals in the Royal Menagerie and exhibiting animal pictures at the Royal Academy from 1802-1824.³

At about the age of twenty, Edward determined to seek his fortune in the New World, and sailed for the West Indies, where he managed a sugar plantation on the island of Jamaica. Troye came to America in 1831, arriving at Philadelphia on October 5 where he took up residence for several years. His skill as an animal painter rapidly gained him employment among the affluent horsemen of the east, and he traveled widely from one commission to the next. At this time, the focus of horse breeding and racing was moving westward, so Troye began to travel further afield, into the south and west in search of patrons. He made a brief visit to the Bluegrass region of Kentucky during the fall of 1834, painting equine portraits for local horsemen of Scott County. At this time, seven-year-old Keene Richards, recently

² William T. Porter, "Animal Painting," *Spirit of the Times* 12 (March 12, 1842), 13 (quotation); quoted in E. J. Rousuck, "Portrait of an Artist: Edward Troye – Reseen Today," *Thoroughbred Record* 188 (July 13, 1968), 116; Alexander Mackay-Smith, *The Race Horses of America 1832-1872: Portraits and Other Paintings by Edward Troye* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The National Museum of Racing, 1981), 409-36.

³ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 1-4, 358-359; Keene Richards, "Death of Edward Troye, Esq.," *Georgetown Times* (Kentucky), July 29, 1874; Edward Troye, *Troye's Oriental Paintings* (New Orleans, 1857), 1-2. An original copy could not be located, but the entire pamphlet is photographically reproduced in Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 437-443.

orphaned, was growing up in the Georgetown household of his grandparents, William and Hannah Keene.⁴

Troye returned to the Bluegrass during the summer of 1837, attending a meeting on August 3 at the Phoenix Hotel in Lexington. The purpose of the meeting was to engage Troye to produce a series of portraits of some of the outstanding horses and cattle of the region, to be published in a subscribed volume entitled *The Kentucky Stock Book*. Troye appears to have spent much of his time in Kentucky from 1837 to 1839 working on these portraits. Thirty-two lithographs are known to have been made from his paintings, mainly of cattle, but in consequence of a depressed national economy the book was never published.⁵

On July 16, 1839, Edward Troye married Cornelia Ann Vandegriff of Georgetown. Both of Cornelia's parents were deceased, and she lived in the old family home in southern Scott County near the Fayette line with her sister and brother-in-law. Troye made some effort to farm the relatively small acreage inherited by his wife from her father, but continued to travel about the southeast, painting racehorses for wealthy patrons. In 1845, the Troyes sold their Scott County farm and moved to McCracken County in far western Kentucky, purchasing a large tract of land there. He did not long persist as a farmer, selling the property in late summer of 1847. His movements during the next two years are uncertain, but in September 1849 Troye accepted a position as Auxiliary Professor at Spring Hill College near Mobile, Alabama, where he taught drawing and French. He remained at Spring Hill for the next six years, resigning his appointment in 1855 when persuaded by Keene Richards to accompany him on a journey to the Middle East.⁶

Richards first became acquainted with Troye during 1854, whom he met while the artist "was painting some portraits at Lexington." Certainly Troye, as a foreigner and celebrity artist, must have been well known by the Georgetown community, since the Vandegriff farm where he and his wife lived from 1839-1845 was little more than a mile from town. The Keene family and teen-aged Keene Richards would have known of Troye, even if they never actually met the man. As Richards grew into maturity and developed an interest in race horses, and through his socialization with other horsemen, he could not but have been aware of the reputation of the artist as an accomplished painter of equine portraits.⁷

On June 15, 1854, at the end of the school term at Spring Hill, Troye and his wife left Mobile and traveled north to Kentucky to spend the summer. It was during these summer months that Troye became acquainted with Richards, who became not only a close friend but his most important patron, and acquired another long-term patron, Robert Aitcheson Alexander (1819-1867) of Woodford County, Kentucky. Alexander had not yet begun to assemble the premium equine bloodstock for which

⁴ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 4, 51-59; "Animal Painting," advertisement by Edward Troye, Lexington. *Intelligencer*, November 8, 1834.

⁵ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 90-97.

⁶ Lexington, *Observer and Reporter*, July 20, 1839; Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 123-128, 139-154.

⁷ Richards, "Death of Edward Troye, Esq.," *Georgetown Times* (Kentucky), July 29, 1874 (quotation).

he became well known in racing circles, but commissioned Troye to produce a series of portraits of his pedigreed Shorthorn cattle.⁸



Fig. 1. Photograph of Edward Troye. Permission to reproduce granted by the National Sporting Library and Museum.

Recently returned from his first Middle East expedition (1851-1852) with two elegant Arabian stallions, Richards was eager to have their qualities captured on canvas. Troye's 1854 portraits of the Arabians Massoud and Mokhladi must be considered among his finest works. The portrait of Massoud shows the stallion posed with the colorfully dressed Yusef Badra, the former Syrian guide and interpreter who accompanied the newly acquired horses to the United States in Richards' employ. The second portrait was of the gray stallion Mokhladi, accompanied by Richards dressed in a complete Arab costume, bridle in his right hand and a spear, butt on the ground, in his left. Although painted at Richards' estate, Blue Grass Park, in Kentucky, the background is a desert landscape.⁹

⁸ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 168, 203-207, (quotation, 203).

⁹ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 422, 425, 426.



Fig. 2. Massoud and Badra, painting by Edward Troye.
Private collection.



Fig. 3. Mokhladi and Richards, painting by Edward Troye.
Private collection.

These paintings completed, Troye returned to Spring Hill in Mobile for the beginning of the fall term. By the following spring, 1855, Richards, “having matured

my plans,” was ready once again to depart for the East on another horse-buying expedition. In preparation, Richards read extensively about Arabian horses in order to make better selections, intending to bargain directly with the desert Bedouins to obtain superior specimens. Yusef had proved both reliable and a good comrade and would accompany him as guide and interpreter. His cousin Morris Keene was an agreeable fellow and knowledgeable horseman, close to the same age as Richards, and would also be an excellent travel companion. For the fourth member of the party, none other would do but Edward Troye, whose expert knowledge of horses would complement his own.¹⁰

Even though he would have to give up his position at Spring Hill, Troye required little persuasion as he was devoutly religious. An opportunity to visit some of the sacred Biblical scenes of the Holy Land was not to be passed up. What a grand adventure this would be, to journey to the exotic lands of the East, to venture into the desert wilds where few Westerners had ever been! Troye would have the chance to paint some of the most beautiful horses in the world, in their native settings, and perhaps to enhance his reputation as an artist by portraying Biblical scenery. At this point in his life, Troye had painted hundreds of animal portraits, horses and cattle, and about a dozen human portraits, but had done no landscape painting. Nevertheless, he had the eye and skill for this sort of work. As equine historian Edward L. Bowen observed, “part of the gift Troye left was his backgrounds, depicting a rural America to which the viewer may bring his own nostalgic imaginings of a bygone era. He was fond of placing in the backgrounds trees with dead or dying leaves, adding reasons for earth tones that segue from those of the horse itself and are contrasts with the meadows and sky.” Troye’s biographer, Alexander Mackay-Smith, also praised the artist’s backgrounds, noting “He preferred rural scenes – meadows, woods, a few conical hills, frequent stretches of water, often a low bush, red or rust color. He could paint superbly the foliage of ornamental trees...he liked to paint the blue haze which gathers on warm ground after a cold spell.” In the Near East, Troye’s talent for backgrounds came to the fore, and he showed a mastery in rendering landscape.¹¹

Troye resigned from Spring Hill and traveled to New York, probably by steamship, and from there to England, reaching London sometime in mid-July. Here he was joined by Keene Richards, Morris Keene, and Yusef Badra, who voyaged together across the Atlantic on a different ship. Troye kept a detailed journal of his experiences on the expedition which provides a colorful itinerary of their travels. In September, 1855, they arrived in Paris, and from Paris, they journeyed south to Marseilles, where on September 2 they boarded a steamer bound for Constantinople. In the historic city, the other members of the American coterie took some time to play tourist, but Keene Richards, true to his nature, bought a horse...an Arabian, of course. Although he had come to the East this time determined to buy pure-blooded

¹⁰ Alexander Keene Richards, *The Arab Horses, Mokhladi, Massoud and Sacklowie; Imported by A. Keene Richards, Georgetown, Kentucky* (Lexington: Kentucky Statesman Printing, 1857), 2 (quotation).

¹¹ Edward L. Bowen, foreword to *Edward Troye: Painter of Thoroughbred Stories*, by Genevieve B. Lacer (Prospect, KY: Harmony House, 2006), 15; Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 375.

horses only from the desert Bedouins, he could not resist the allure of Lulie, a lovely white mare.¹²

Leaving Constantinople, Troye and his companions took ship for Beirut, arriving there on October 1. Richards scarcely had time to begin renewing his contacts in the city when tragedy struck their little company. Yusef Badra, upon whom Richards had intended to rely as interpreter and guide to the desert tribes, was stricken by an attack of colic and died within a day of their arrival. The loss was a severe blow to Richards. Yusef was more than just an employee; he was a trusted companion. Richards made certain that his friend received a proper funeral, for which he paid all expenses, and erected a "handsome and expensive monument over his remains" in the Maronite Christian cemetery in Beirut.¹³

The death of Badra forced Richards to revise his plans for the expedition. He had counted on Badra to provide the same valuable services as in 1852, that of guide, expediter, and interpreter. Furthermore, he had trusted Badra, as the man "who knew more about horses than anyone I had met in the East," to care for the stock he purchased. In consequence, Morris Keene was given the challenging task of learning the Arabic language, "as we could find no one to trust in interpreting, to carry out our plans among the Bedouins." Funeral arrangements completed, Richards traveled to Baalbek, a town about forty miles northeast where he had heard of "a horse of admirable beauty, owned by the sheikh, or governor of the village." Troye, temporarily left behind in Beirut, occupied himself in creating a portrait of Lulie, painted at night "in two sittings of two hours each, partly by candlelight" on October 13. Lulie's ears were depicted as laid back, indicating that she was probably irritated at being awakened in the night to pose for the artist.¹⁴

Richards' trip to Baalbek was in vain, for the Sheikh would not allow him to even view the horse. Frustrated, Richards returned to Beirut, and with Troye and Keene, traveled on to Damascus, taking up residence in a comfortable house in late October, which could be used as a headquarters for expeditions into the desert and which Troye could occupy as a studio for his painting. Shortly after arriving in Damascus, Richards and Troye visited the household of Sheikh Medjuel, the Mezrab Bedouin who had, in 1852, provided him with an escort to Palmyra in search of horses to purchase. The Sheikh was now living in the city with his new wife, the Englishwoman Jane Digby, whom he had married on March 27, 1855. Pleased to renew this acquaintance, Richards and Troye paid a call on the newlywed couple in late October.

¹² Passport Application of Maurice [Morris] Keene, April 24, 1855, NARA *Passport Applications 1795-1905*, M1372, Roll 50; *Journal of Edward Troye*, typescript, copy in Keeneland Library, Lexington, Kentucky, 1-3, 10-14, 19-22; Troye's *Journal*, 5-6, 23; [Henry Wood], "Letter from Syria," *New York Journal of Commerce*, August 28, 1856. The pages in the typed copy of Troye's journal are not in chronological sequence; it begins with his arrival in Constantinople, whereas the earlier visit to Paris is several pages further along. Page numbering in citations is that used internally (that of the original ms.), rather than the numbering in the typescript. For quotations, I have inserted occasional punctuation for clarity but have left spelling as in the original transcript.

¹³ "Death of Yusef," *Georgetown Herald* (Ky.), December 20, 1855; Wood, "Letter from Syria," (quotation).

¹⁴ Richards, *The Arab Horses*, 2 (first and second quotations); Wood, "Letter from Syria" (third quotation); Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 175, 425 (fourth quotation).

Jane noted this visit in her diary: "Two other American gentlemen called. One the artist Edward Troyes. I felt pleased at being able to speak of subjects that interest me, and still more at the manner of one of them [Richards] to the Sheikh, and his praise of him which was so well deserved."¹⁵



Fig. 4. *Bazaar in Damascus*, painting by Edward Troye.
Permission to reproduce granted by Bethany College.

At about this time, Troye began work on the first of his five so-called "Oriental" oil paintings, a depiction of one of the bazaars in the city located at the entrance to the Great Mosque. The *Bazaar in Damascus* depicts the mare Lulie in the center, ridden by an Albanian officer. Along the sides of the bazaar are shopkeepers and a throng of Damascenes shopping for bargains, their heads covered with turbans and dressed "in all the fashions and colors of oriental life." Troye procured a "sitter" for each of the dozens of persons in the scene; each was a likeness of a living character. Jane

¹⁵ Edward Troye, *Troye's Oriental Paintings* (New Orleans, 1857), 2. This pamphlet, issued to visitors to an exhibition at Odd Fellows Hall, New Orleans, April 1857, notes the outfitting of Troye's studio in Damascus. Wood, "Letter from Syria"; Lovell, *Rebel Heart*, 187-205; Jane Elizabeth Digby, October 24, 1855, Bound diary, September 1855-July 1881, Minterne House Collection, Dorset, Great Britain (first quotation). The diary entry was provided through the courtesy of Mary S. Lovell.

Digby soon paid a return call on the Americans at their residence and viewed the work in progress. Henry Wood, who before his appointment as American consul in Beirut, had been a pastor in New Hampshire, mentioned the “Lady Ellenborough” with considerable disapproval for her marriage to “an ignorant, barefooted, Moslem Bedouin, whom she picked up in the Desert and with whom she now lives in Damascus in splendor upon her ample revenue.” He rather grudgingly noted that Troye considered her to be a rather skilled artist, “excelling...in the use of the pencil.”¹⁶

Troye’s work on the bazaar canvas attracted other visitors, fascinated by the creative process. Two Pashas of the city, high-ranking military officials, frequently called on the artist in his studio, expressing their pleasure and admiration as the scene unfolded. They invited Troye to go out riding with them in the region about Damascus, and he often did so; this was, as Consul Wood observed, an honor that had never been offered to any American visitor. One of the Pashas became so interested in America, from his conversations with Troye, that “he actually proposed emigrating to the United States, provided he could be appointed an officer in the army – a hope which Mr. Troye did not encourage.” The disappointed official decided, instead, to lead a caravan of Muslim pilgrims down to Mecca.¹⁷

Having failed in his efforts to purchase the celebrated horse at Baalbek, Richards directed his companions to spend the winter in Damascus and returned to Beirut, where he boarded a steamer bound for the United States. He was eager to return to Blue Grass Park to oversee his breeding program, and was confident that Troye and his cousin Morris Keene would, during the spring, be able to secure a number of superior Arabian horses for him. Busy studying the Arabic language, Troye and Keene settled into their new quarters at Damascus. All through the winter, Troye continued to work on his painting of the Damascus bazaar until, in the first week of February 1856, he put his paints and brushes away and, with Morris Keene, prepared to set out on a major excursion through Palestine. In this task they were aided by a Syrian man, also named Yusef, whom they had hired in Beirut and brought with them to Damascus as he had proved very useful in interpreting and running errands. Troye was delighted to discover the man was also an excellent cook.¹⁸

¹⁶ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 176, 426; Troye, *Troye’s Oriental Paintings* (New Orleans, 1857, 5; Wood, “Letter from Syria,” (quotations). Jane Digby was, in fact, a gifted artist, and her sketchbooks are filled with many excellent pencil drawings of landscapes in the Middle East (Lovell, *Rebel Heart*, figures 29 to 31).

¹⁷ Wood, “Letter from Syria,” (quotation).

¹⁸ Wood, “Letter from Syria”; Troye’s *Journal*, 26-27. This interpretation of events, in which Richards left Syria very early and returned home, differs significantly from other writers, notably Alexander Mackay-Smith (1981), who assumed that the three men remained together for the duration of the visit to the East. It is quite clear that Morris Keene accompanied Troye on a long expedition through the desert beginning in February 1856; Troye’s journal states that he was in company with “Mr. Keene,” and makes no mention of Richards. The consul Henry Wood, in his letter to the *Journal of Commerce*, stated that one of the three men returned home after visiting Baalbec and Damascus, “committing his enterprise to a friend who accompanied him, and the other two, after spending eight months in Damascus, Palestine, on the shores of the Dead Sea, and in the Desert, left a short time since for America.” Since Morris Keene was definitely with Troye during these journeys, the one who returned home must have been Keene Richards.

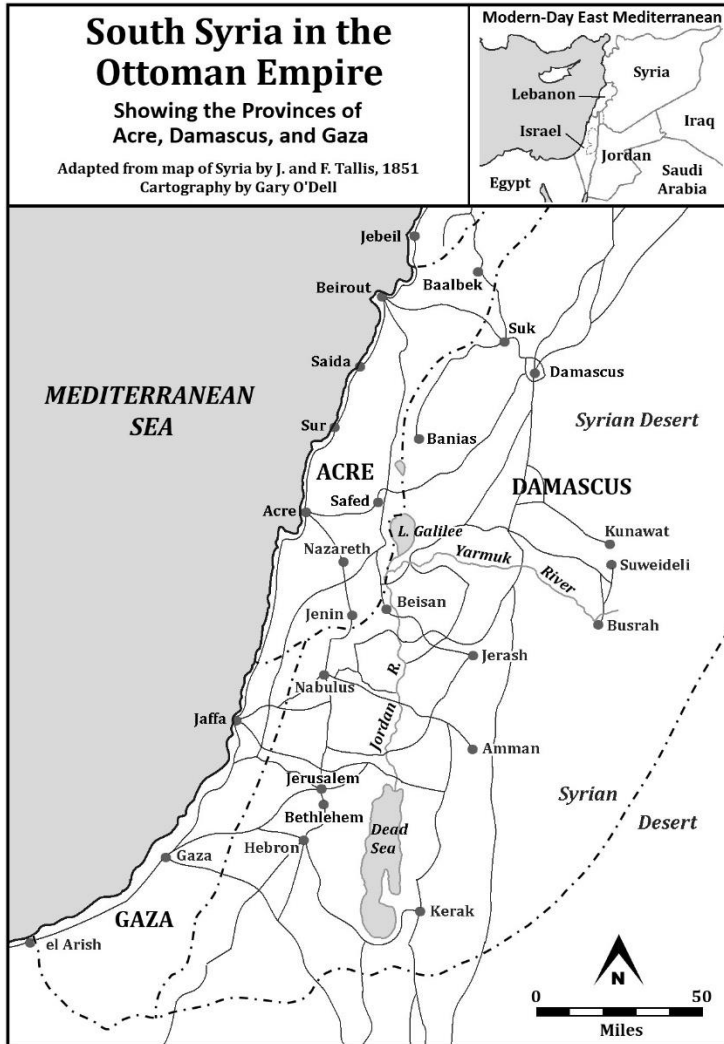


Fig. 5. Map of Syria.

This would be a pleasure trip, not a horse-buying expedition. Their excursion would take them to many of the sacred and historic sites of the Holy Land. Troye packed his painting supplies and during this leisurely journey would take time to sketch and paint scenes that appealed to his artistic fancy. Their itinerary was probably planned with the aid of one or more of the traveler's accounts and guidebooks that became popular as more and more Europeans began to visit Palestine to witness Biblical scenes first-hand. Many of these scriptural geographies were personal narratives, such as Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822). By the middle of the nineteenth century, beginning with Josiah Conder's *Modern Traveller* series, tourist guidebooks were published for a variety of destinations in Europe and the East and were considered essential equipment for the traveler

abroad. Troye and Keene may have relied on Conder's *The Modern Traveller: Palestine or the Holy Land*, first published in 1824, to plan their route to Jerusalem and beyond. Several well-chosen books were considered essential equipment for the well-prepared tourist to foreign lands.¹⁹

Books were not the only essential items. Keene stated that they were "well armed with Colt's revolvers and Minié rifles." In his journal, Troye recorded that "Mr. K." had a pair of Colts and "I had a brace of pistols myself." The stamina of the mounts they had purchased for the trip was of equal importance to all other considerations, for the roads of Palestine were primitive. Porter's 1858 *Handbook for Travellers* described the roads as "mere tracks worn in rock or soil by the feet of animals...among the mountains they are always rough, generally rugged, and sometimes even dangerous – now winding along a deep torrent-bed, now zig-zagging up a steep hillside, and now skirting a precipice on a narrow ledge of smooth rock. The traveller will thus see the necessity of securing a strong, sure-footed, and easy-paced animal; for upon his steed will in a great measure depend the ease and comfort of his journey, and in some degree, too, the safety of his limbs." Since both Troye and Keene were expert judges of horseflesh, they were much better qualified to select a sturdy mount than the average Holy Land tourist.²⁰

The Americans purchased three horses, including one for their Syrian guide. Four mules were also required to carry their baggage, which would be led and tended by a hired "Muker," or muleteer, and his assistants. They met with some difficulty in obtaining the services of a mule driver. About two weeks earlier, an initial arrangement was made with a man, who was paid a gold sovereign (a British coin worth about 20 shillings) in advance to bind his employment; after receiving the money, he was not seen again. Another man offered to take them to Jerusalem, but a price could not be agreed on until after considerable negotiation. Although not specified, arrangements would have been made for the care of Lulie in their absence. At last, on Monday, February 11, the expedition left Damascus, following westward the traces of the old Roman road that once connected the city with Tyre, Jerusalem and Egypt.²¹

The two men were late setting out from the city with their entourage, and only traveled for a few hours through the fertile plains surrounding Damascus before stopping near a village to make camp for the evening. Their shelter was a large tent so bulky that it required two of the mules to carry it, made of goats' hair and capable of holding ten men. Yusef and the mule drivers set about awkwardly erecting the tent, with a great deal of excited discussion. While this was in progress, some of the

¹⁹ John L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: John Murray, 1822); Josiah Conder, *The Modern Traveller, Vol. 1: Palestine, or the Holy Land* (London: James Duncan, 1824). The first edition of the John Murry company's *Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* was published in 1858; Cook's *Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* was first published in 1876. Discussions of Orientalism and travel writing may be found in Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005) and in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Vintage Books, 1979).

²⁰ Keene, "Horses and Dromedaries;" Troye's *Journal*, 32 (quotation); Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 185 (quotation).

²¹ Troye's *Journal*, 27.

villagers were attracted by the commotion and the sight of the tent being raised and came over to watch the proceedings, hospitably inviting the Americans to come visit them in their homes.²²

At the end of the second day of westward travel they came into the rolling landscape adjacent to the southern end of the Anti-Lebanon range of mountains, today part of the area called the Golan Heights. This location provided a beautiful view of the snow-covered peaks of Mount Hermon (*Jabal Haramon*, “snowy mountain”) rising in the near distance. They set up camp outside of the village of Kefr-Hauwar (today called Nimrod), the legendary burial site of Mesopotamian monarch Nimrod who, according to tradition, built the tower of Babel. *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* for 1876 noted that this village was often the campsite for travelers between Damascus and Banias. On the third day, Keene and Troye spent a few hours ascending a bad road to the highland divide, and then down the western slope to reach the town of Banias, adjacent to the extensive ruins of the ancient city of Caesarea Philippi, late in the morning. Banias, at this time, contained fifty to sixty houses and a few shops and had a population of about one thousand.²³

Cook's Handbook states that the usual camping place at Banias was an attractive location beside a stream opposite the village, a park-like setting in an olive grove. This stream is one of the sources of the Jordan River, which originates from several springs discharging from the flanks of Mount Hermon. Located northeast of the town, its volume greatly reduced in modern times, the spring was immense, a river of water flowing from bedrock fissures beneath a cave opening. In ancient times this the site of a temple and cult complex dedicated to the god Pan, and the region was known as Paneas; from this came the modern name of the village, Banias. It was to Caesarea Philippi that Jesus came with his disciples up the Jordan valley from Bethesda, and subsequently in this vicinity Peter made his declaration of faith and Jesus declared him the rock upon which he would build his church. Troye made a point to drink from the spring here.²⁴

The two men spent the rest of the day visiting the ruins of the fortress located on a southeastern spur of Mount Hermon, about a mile east of the town and visible from below. The hilltop castle, the best preserved of all the medieval fortresses in Palestine, was popularly known to European travelers as the “Castle of Banias” or the “Fortress of Nimrod,” the latter an allusion to the legendary Mesopotamian ruler. Long believed to be a Crusader castle, the fortress was built during the thirteenth century by the Syrian ruler of Banias on orders from Damascus. The castle occupied a strategic location on the principal trade route from the Jordan valley to Damascus,

²² Troye's *Journal*, 27.

²³ Troye's *Journal*, 27-28; *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1876), 329-330; William P. Fetridge, *Harper's Hand-book for Travellers in Europe and the East* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862), 346.

²⁴ *Cook's Handbook*, 321-322; John F. Wilson, *Caesarea Philippi: Banias, the Lost City of Pan* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), passim; Josias L. Porter, *Through Samaria to Galilee and Jordan: Scenes of the Early Life and Labors of Our Lord* (London and New York: T. Nelson, 1889), 122-126; Troye's *Journal*, 29.

but declined in importance in the thirteenth century after the Crusaders were expelled for the last time.²⁵

The trail to the fortress was steep and difficult to negotiate. Josias Porter, who visited the site in the mid-nineteenth century, described the route, noting that it took him a “full hour of painful climbing” mounted on a sturdy Arab horse: “The only practical road to it from Baneas leads diagonally up the southern declivity of the hill, then along the summit of the narrow ridge, then up a zigzag path among huge fragments of rock and thickets of hawthorn and prickly oak and holly to the foot of the eastern tower, then along a ledge of rock which skirts the southern base of the ramparts.” Nearly every visitor remarked on the scenic beauty of the view from the summit. Troye, who made his approach on foot rather than horseback, perspired heavily from the effort and found the air at the top quite chilly. “After visiting this castle,” he wrote, “I came down the descent was quite bad as my clothes bore full evidence of this fact.”²⁶

The Americans resumed their journey on the next day, rising late, and descended into the Jordan valley, turning their course southward toward Lake Huleh. *Cook’s Handbook* describes the upper Huleh district as a basin about five miles wide, “The whole bed of the valley is mere swamp and marsh; the soil on its banks, however, is very rich, and here the wandering Bedouins encamp, spending their time in fishing and shooting, which is abundant all round the neighborhood of the lake, pelicans and wild ducks abound; wild boars may also be found in the thick jungle, which forms an almost impassable barrier to the lake.” Because of the marshy ground and thick vegetation, the travelers may have resorted to the high ground above the valley. Troye and Keene, having traveled for seven or eight hours, stopped to make camp at the Mill of Malahah, about ten miles from Banias. This mill was located at a spring and driven by the abundant flow of water which rises here and forms a significant tributary to the Jordan River.²⁷

The *Handbook* reports this location, “a charming spot...where the traveler can enjoy the shade afforded by an old mill, or gather ferns...or bathe in the large natural reservoir,” as a good place for camping or for a mid-day halt. The Arabic name of the spring, Ain el-Melláhah, translates to “Fountain of Salt,” although the waters of the spring are pure and clear. John Wilson, who camped at the spring a decade before Troye, described it as “a large pool, an irregular polygon, from about 150 to 200 yards in length, and about 100 in breadth. Many copious and clear springs seem to rise in its bottom, at the base of an almost perpendicular rock; and the depth of the water in the reservoir is three or four feet.” The vicinity of the spring and mill was surrounded by “wild figs, brambles, briars, thistles, and very rank stalks of peppermint.” Troye noted that there was a camp of Arab herdsman next to theirs at this location.²⁸

²⁵ Troye’s *Journal*, 28-29; Ronnie Ellenblum, “Who Built Qal’at al-Subayba?” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 103-112.

²⁶ Troye’s *Journal*, 28-29, (quotation, 29); Porter, *Through Samaria to Galilee*, 132 (quotation).

²⁷ Troye’s *Journal*, 29; *Cook’s Handbook*, 318 (quotation).

²⁸ *Cook’s Handbook*, 317 (first quotation); Troye’s *Journal*, 29; John Wilson, *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1847), 162-163, (second and third quotations, 163).

On Thursday morning, February 15, the two men raised camp after breakfast and traveled southward. Passing Lake Huleh, triangular in shape and referred to in the Old Testament as the “waters of Mesom,” after some three or four hours of travel “our road took us over some ridges leaving as we did the course of the Jordan the more we proceeded on our journey the rougher the road became many parts of which it became difficult to walk much less ride.” They at last came to a point, high above the Jordan valley, where they found a scenic view of the Sea of Galilee stretched out before them. Galilee, or Gennesaret as it is termed in many Christian writings, is about thirteen miles long and eight miles wide. At 685 feet below sea level, it is the lowest freshwater lake in the world; only the Dead Sea, a saline lake, is lower. The entire Jordan valley is part of a great tectonic rift system that extends from the Bequaa Valley in Lebanon through the Jordan to the Red Sea and along the valley of the East African rift, where movement along plate boundaries is separating the land masses.²⁹

“After getting over the bad roads,” Troye wrote, “we reached the lake, the first sight that came in our view was the supposed site of Carpanium [Capernaum].” Here, along the northwest shores of the lake, there was little to see, since the passage of centuries had erased nearly all traces of the historic community that once played a central role in the life of Jesus and his disciples. According to the Gospels, Jesus moved from Nazareth to Capernaum at the beginning of his public ministry, and it was here that he taught, healed the sick, and performed several miracles, ultimately chastising the population for their lack of belief. When Troye and Keene visited Palestine, the exact site of Capernaum was unknown, save in the most general terms. Two possible sites were debated. The influential Biblical scholar Edward Robinson, who visited here in 1838, was convinced that the former town was situated at Khirbet Minya where a low mound with some ruins was visible; later excavations revealed this to have been the site of an Islamic palace, with no remains dating before the Arabic period. Local tradition, however, placed the location of Capernaum about two miles further northeast along the shore, at a place called Tel Hum. John Wilson, who inspected this site in 1843, described the ruins here as “very extensive and worthy of notice.” Excavations at Tel Hum in 1866 by Charles W. Wilson determined the ruins to date back to the first century CE.³⁰

Troye’s account does not provide sufficient information to determine which of the two locations they visited in the belief that they had arrived at Capernaum, which states only that the site was “so literally effaced” as to make its location difficult. Troye was deeply moved by the religious associations of the place, which “crowds upon your notice at every step...the lake and its shore was the scene of miracles.”

²⁹ Joshua 11:5-7 (first quotation); Troye’s *Journal*, 29-30, (quotation, 30).

³⁰ Troye’s *Journal*, 30 (first quotation); Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, 142 (second quotation); Johnathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), 139-144; Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrae: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, vol 3 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1841), 287-294; Edward Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1852* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1856), 348-358; Charles W. Wilson, *The Recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land* (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), 342-346, 375-387.

They may have camped here for the evening. On Friday, they proceeded south along the western shore to the community of Tiberias, where they remained for two days. Tiberias was a large walled town with about two thousand occupants. The town was devastated by a major earthquake in 1837, which killed hundreds of the citizens and toppled the walls of dark basaltic rock; most of the damage had still not been repaired at the time of Troye's visit. Close to the shore, in the northern part of town, was a church dedicated to Saint Peter which collapsed during the quake.³¹

Weary and dusty, Troye and Keene made their way to the baths at the village of Hamman, known as Emmaus in ancient times, about a mile south of Tiberias. Fed by volcanic hot springs, these baths have been a resort for travelers for centuries, and at the time of Troye's visit, a new bath house was in operation, built in 1833 by order of Ibrahim Pasha. Edward Robinson described the appearance of the baths in 1838: "The principal or public bath occupies the centre of the building, consisting of a large circular apartment, with a marble pavement all around the circular reservoir in the middle, to which several steps lead down. The roof is supported by columns. There are several doors, and in between them niches or recesses in the wall, for the use of the bathers. In the same building are private rooms for wealthier guests; furnished in an uncommonly good oriental style." John Wilson visited the baths in 1847, noting that the steaming, sulfurous-smelling water was piped into the central pool through a fixture shaped like a lion's mouth. Troye observed, "I found the water too hot to bathe in that is for immersion I should suppose that an egg would be cooked in under five minutes." Motivated by scientific curiosity, some visitors measured the temperature of these baths and found the water to range from 136 - 144°F.³²

On Saturday morning, Troye and Morris Keene spent a few hours inspecting the Roman ruins that lay outside the wall. Afterward, captivated by the locale, Troye found an appropriate vantage point on the hillside above the Hamman bath house, laid out his paints and brushes, and began work on the second of his large "Oriental" paintings. He worked on *The Sea of Tiberias or Galilee* through the weekend and completed it on Sunday; Troye could work very quickly when inspired to do so. The view from the southwestern shore is described by the artist:

The first prominent objects seen in the foreground are the volcanic rocks. The growth of vegetation shown is of thistles and brushwood. In the same foreground are seen the Baths of Emmaus, whose water is of a scalding temperature, and possess medicinal qualities. The city of Tiberias, forming an angle, and nearly in the centre of the picture, is the next object in view, and is surrounded by a wall with towers at interval. The eye returning to the shores of the Sea, and directed to the right of the picture (east) until it meets a gorge reaching to the water's edge – immediately beyond that

³¹ Troye's *Journal*, 30 (quotations); Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. 3, 254-260; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, 112-124. See also Nicholas N. Ambraseys, "The Earthquake of 1 January 1837 in Southern Lebanon and Northern Israel," *Annali di Geofisica* 15 (August 1997), 923-935.

³² Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. 3, 254-260, (first quotation, 258); Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 127; Troye's *Journal*, 31 (second quotation).

point is the site of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and other places of sacred associations. The ruins of such places are frequently occupied by shepherds as shelters for their flocks.³³



Fig. 6. The Sea of Tiberius, painting by Edward Troye.
Permission to reproduce granted by Bethany College.

On Monday morning, February 18, the two men “took up our line of march laying south of the lake where the Jordan issues from the Lake at which place is fordable.” They crossed the river here, and then back west again at a ford a few miles southward down the Jordan valley, which became broader and broader as they progressed downstream. Between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, the Jordan valley was known as the Ghor. After about eight hours travel, they reached the small village of Beisan at the mouth of the wide and fertile Jezreel valley. This valley is the midpoint of the Ghor and contains a tributary of the Jordan, known as Nahr Jalud, flowing from the west. During ancient times, the place was known as Bethshean; it was here, according to 1 Samuel 31:1-6, that King Saul’s body was pinned to the wall after the Israelite army was defeated by the Philistines. During the Roman occupation, the city was rebuilt and renamed Scythopolis. Troye and Keene lingered for a while to inspect the ruins. They probably made camp here, but Troye did not specifically note where they spent Monday night.³⁴

On leaving Beisan, they traveled northwestward up the Jezreel valley, entering the region that was once known as Samaria. Bayard Taylor, who passed through here in

³³ Troye’s *Journal*, 31; Troye, *Troye’s Oriental Paintings*, 3-4 (quotation).

³⁴ Troye’s *Journal*, 31-32; *Burckhardt, Travels in Syria*, 343; Cook’s *Tourists’ Handbook*, 274-275; Carl Ritter, *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, trans. William L. Gage, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866), 331-336.

April 1852, described the valley as “one of the richest districts of the world....it is now a green sea, covered with fields of wheat and barley, or great grazing tracts, on which multitudes of sheep and goats are wandering.” Very few westerners ever viewed this fertile abundance, however, since the region had an unsavory reputation. “The Arabs...in this neighborhood,” wrote Carl Ritter in 1866, “are very bold and troublesome to travellers.” Most visitors to the Jordan valley avoided traveling through the Jezreel valley. Troye and Keene made their way up the Nahr Jalud past Mount Gilboa to reach Jenin, a town of about 3,000 inhabitants near the head of the valley, about four o’clock Tuesday afternoon. “The Arabs were in great number,” Troye recorded in his journal, “and some apprehension was felt by the villagers. We watched during the night in expectation of a visit from them.” As was their custom, they camped near the walls of the town for safety, having learned before their departure from Damascus that the Ottoman government, in consequence of the Crimean war, had removed several garrisons, which made traveling through the region less secure.³⁵

Morris Keene was determined to be prepared in case they were attacked, or visited by robbers in the night. “He suggested the plan of taking turns watching. As soon as dinner was over he commenced adjusting his shooting irons.” Troye took the first watch, noting that Keene lay down in his cot, fully dressed and armed to the hilt. “I was amused at the belligerent aspect he wore lying dressed on his bed grasping his Riffle close to him. He charged our guide that if during his watch the Fillistines should make a descent to warn them not to go beyond a certain line of demarkation at the point of receiving a volley of shots.” Troye did not share his companion’s uneasiness and “made out to sleep tolerably well.”³⁶

Early next morning, however, Troye’s sleep was disturbed by the sound of a gunshot in their camp. Thinking it might be the first signal of a skirmish, he scrambled out of bed to learn that it was merely the cook, unwisely firing at a cat which was lurking about hoping to steal the breakfast meat off the cookfire. Greatly relieved, they ate breakfast and made a leisurely job of packing up, sending the mules on ahead with their drivers to make an advance camp near Nablus. Starting off late in the morning, Troye and Keene temporarily lost track of the road through the mountains and, in consequence, did not come to Nablus until rather late Wednesday evening, where they found the muleteers had erected their tent a short distance outside of the city. *Cook’s Handbook* states that the usual campground for visitors to Nablus was “on the west side of town, and may be reached either by turning to the right, without entering the gate, or by the gate and through the streets, which are wretchedly uneven and ill-paved.” The city is located in the valley between Mount Gerizin and Mount Ebal.³⁷

Nablus was, in Troye’s words, “the largest place since we left Damascus,” located very near the site of the former Israelite city of Sychem, mentioned several times in the Christian Bible. Founded in the first century CE as Flavius Neapolis by command

³⁵ Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen*, 99 (first quotation); Ritter, *Comparative Geography*, vol. 2, 334 (second quotation); Troye’s *Journal*, 28, 32 (third quotation).

³⁶ Troye’s *Journal*, 32-33 (first and second quotations, 32; third quotation, 33).

³⁷ Troye’s *Journal*, 33-34; *Cook’s Handbook*, 252 (quotation).

of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, the city was the foremost economic center in Palestine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After breakfast on February 20, Troye and Keene climbed nearby Mount Gerizin to visit the ruins of the Samaritan temple on its slopes. This was the site where, according to Samaritan tradition, God directed a temple be built for His worship, their belief based on the passage from Deuteronomy 11:29 "When the Lord your God brings you into the land...there on Mount Gerizim you shall pronounce the blessing," and thus, a temple was built on the summit during the fourth century BC. The foremost holy site to Judaism, however, was Mount Moriah, just outside the walls of Jerusalem, where the First Temple was constructed during the tenth century BCE. This, and other differences, led to increasing Jewish-Samaritan enmity until, during the second century BCE, the Samaritan temple was destroyed. The mountain continues to be considered a holy place to present-day Samaritans, although archaeological excavations have been unable to discover evidence of a Samaritan temple among the varied and extensive ruins on Mount Gerizin.³⁸

The mountain is one of the highest peaks in the West Bank, rising nearly three thousand feet above sea level, and it was more than four hours before Troye and Keene were able to return to their campsite outside Nablus. Once again, they made a late start, passing through Nablus and its bazaar and heading southeast. A short distance beyond the city, they left the road to visit the tomb of the Old Testament patriarch Joseph, at the mouth of the Nablus valley near the base of Mount Ebal. Nearby was the Well of Jacob, where, according to John 4:4-12, Jesus asked a Samaritan woman for a drink, and Troye and Keene also visited this site. The well was about nine feet in diameter, more than one hundred feet deep, and covered by a vaulted chamber excavated into the ground above it. The external appearance in the nineteenth century was unimpressive. "The surface is covered by a confused mass of shapeless rubbish, overgrown with weeds and nettles," Thomson wrote. "There are two or three columns still standing in the area, much broken up by the hammers of travellers." Today, the well site is enclosed by a Greek Orthodox chapel.³⁹

Leaving the Well of Jacob, the two men resumed their southward course through the mountains and hills of Samaria, paralleling the Jordan River some fifteen miles to the west. Their route led them now through the fertile valley of Muhkna, to the east of Nablus. John Durbin, who passed through here in 1843, described it as "rich in grains and flocks, and studded with villages situated on the spurs of the mountains on either side." Here in the valley Troye saw villagers at work in the fields, in once place "over sixty [plows] each drawn by oxen, cows, and some were seen having a cow and an ass. I came by large patches of wheat and in each a number of men, women and children picking out the tares, and other noxious weeds." About five miles south of the Nablus valley, their road took them up again into the mountains.

³⁸ Troye's *Journal*, 33-34; Robert T. Anderson, "The Elusive Samaritan Temple, *Biblical Archaeologist* 54 (June 1991), 104-107.

³⁹ Troye's *Journal*, 34; William M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book, or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land: Central Palestine and Phoenicia* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1882), 146-148 (quotation, 148).

Late in the evening, they arrived at the village of Yebrud, where they set up camp beside the well known as Ain Yebrud.⁴⁰

In the morning they were awakened by the “animated conversation” of the women of the village who had come to the well to draw water, and some to wash clothing. Later that evening, when Troye made his journal entry for the day, he regretted that he had not taken time to sketch the women at the well in their simple dress. He observed that, in the East, women seemed to be “mere slaves performing all the hard labor,” carrying heavy loads of water or firewood on their backs for great distances. After breakfast, they packed up their belongings and took to the road again, passing Bethel and “many other places in ruins.” At 4:00 pm, Friday, February 21, 1856, after a journey of more than 150 miles by horseback from Damascus, they arrived at the gates of the holy city of Jerusalem.⁴¹

Troye and Keene entered Jerusalem by way of the Jaffa gate in the western wall of the city. They took up lodgings at the Latin Convent of Saint Salvator, located in the Christian quarter in the northwest section of the city and operated by Spanish and Italian monks of the Franciscan order. Their room was in an adjacent hospice known as “Casa Nuova” built by the brothers to receive strangers. Most European travelers and pilgrims to Jerusalem resided at the Convent during their stay. John Durbin described the accommodations as he found them in 1843: “A large, comfortable room was afforded to us, with four good mattresses laid on planks resting on benches, and surrounded with curtains. The convent supplied us with bread, salt fish, and vegetables; but as it was Lent, we had to buy our own meat.” Troye and his companion would remain in residence here for the next two weeks, using the Convent as a base from which to venture forth in explorations of the city and environs. At the time of their visit, Jerusalem had a population of about 13,500 persons.⁴²

“As every stranger does,” Troye wrote, “I visited every place of interest in the city and out of it.” His first concern was to view the scenes associated with the trial and crucifixion of Jesus. This was a goal easily accomplished, since it was but a short walk downhill from the Casa Nuova to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the traditional site of the death and resurrection of Jesus. This structure, built in the twelfth century by Crusaders, enclosed the sites believed to be Golgotha, or the hill of Calvary, and the tomb of Christ. Beyond the Church, to the east, was the Via Dolorosa, the route of Christ’s suffering progress from Pilate’s judgment hall to the execution ground at Golgotha. These landmarks Troye recorded in his journal.⁴³

⁴⁰ Troye’s *Journal*, 35 (second quotation); Durbin, *Observations in the East*, 15 (first quotation).

⁴¹ Troye’s *Journal*, 35-37, (first quotation, 35; second and third quotations, 36).

⁴² Troye’s *Journal*, 37, 39-40; Ferdinand C. Ewald, *Journal of Missionary Labors in the City of Jerusalem, During the Years 1842-3-4* (London: B. Wertheim & Aldine Chambers, 1846), 50; Durbin, *Observations in the East*, vol. 1, 252 (quotation); Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 82.

⁴³ Troye’s *Journal*, 38 (quotation). In his journal, Troye provided only a list of the sites he visited while at Jerusalem without recording the order of visitation or, with few exceptions, any description or his impressions of the locale. The only dates given were for his arrival at Jerusalem and the time spent at the Dead Sea (March 6-20, 1856). I have taken the liberty of presenting these sites in an order based on proximity and travel routes, as they might be visited by any traveler.

Troye and Keene were provided a rare opportunity to visit the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el-Aksa, located within the 35-acre compound of Haram esh Sharif in the Islamic quarter of Jerusalem. Entry to the compound, let alone the magnificent structures, had always been forbidden to those not of the Islamic faith; non-Muslims who attempted to venture inside the precincts were often stoned or beaten, sometimes fatally. During the mid-nineteenth century, restrictions against infidels began to be relaxed somewhat. The change in policy apparently began with James T. Barclay, a resident in Jerusalem during 1851-1854, whose medical services to a high official of the Haram were rewarded by permission to visit the enclosure under secure guard. Somewhat later, in early 1854, Sultan Abdülmecid's architect was granted permission to recruit Barclay's assistance in designing proposed improvements to the Dome of the Rock, and Barclay was given unrestricted access. Subsequently, visitors of note were sometimes granted access if the proper arrangements had been made. Porter's 1858 *Travellers' Handbook* noted that the compound was opened to visitors, on an irregular basis, in 1856.⁴⁴

This was the sort of arrangement made for Troye and Keene. Edwin De Leon, the American consul-general to Egypt (December 1853 to March 1861) who was then in Jerusalem, would be leading a party of American tourists to visit the Dome of the Rock and other features within the Haram. Payment of a suitable "baksheesh" to the custodians, a tip or bribe in this case amounting to about a pound sterling, was part of the arrangement. Troye, in describing this arrangement, referred to the Dome as the "Mosque of Omar," a designation commonly used by Europeans. The usage is incorrect however, since the Dome of the Rock was neither a mosque nor built by Omar. The actual Mosque of Omar is located just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴⁵

Troye and Keene agreed to let three English tourists, recently met, join them on this tour. Shortly before the time for rendezvous with De Leon's group, one of the English tourists could not be located, and the others went off in search of their missing companion. More than an hour passed, while Troye and Keene waited with growing impatience, and still they did not return. In the meantime, as Troye later learned, the two English travelers found the missing member of their group, and, instead of rejoining Troye, met up with the De Leon party. Edwin De Leon assumed that something had prevented Troye and Keene from attending, and took the group of Americans and the three English tourists on to the Haram compound. Troye was decidedly annoyed at missing this opportunity and wrote, "So much for putting yourself to inconveniences to serve strangers."⁴⁶

Troye and Keene next turned their attention to exploring some of the sites outside the walls of Jerusalem, beginning with the ancient tombs east of the city on the slopes of the Brook Kidron. The city of Jerusalem was built upon a plateau between two deep valleys. To the southwest lies the Wâdi er-Rabâbi, referred to in Biblical texts

⁴⁴ Troye's *Journal*, 40; Barclay, *City of the Great King*, xv, 208-209, 470-472, 477-478; Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 133.

⁴⁵ Troye's *Journal*, 37-38.

⁴⁶ Troye's *Journal*, 38 (quotation). De Leon wrote about this visit to the "Mosque of Omar" in his "The American Pilgrim in Palestine," *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine* 13 (April 1883), 410-414.

as the Valley of Hinnom. The larger valley to the east, which separates the city from the Mount of Olives, was known historically as the Brook Kidron and today as the Wâdi Sitti Maryam, or “Valley of the Lady Mary,” for its associations with the Virgin Mary. From ancient times, many adherents of all three of the major religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, believed that the Kidron valley is prophesied as the scene of the Last Judgment, and this belief has led to the presence of thousands of grave sites on the slopes of the valley.⁴⁷

In his journal, Troye recorded visiting three large, monumental sepulchers hewn from the bedrock in the cliffs at the base of the Mount of Olives: the Tomb of Absalom, the Tomb of James, and the Tomb of Zechariah. Troye also visited the Tomb of the Virgin at Gethsemane, located within a subterranean church and described by the *Modern Traveller* as “a lofty and spacious vault or cave,” and climbed the Mount of Olives, which gave him a “panoramic view of the city.” North of the city, he visited the Tombs of the Kings, so-called from a tradition that the extensive and elaborate crypts could only have been the burial places of royalty, the kings of Judah. By the early nineteenth century, the site had been identified as the tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene (a kingdom in northern Mesopotamia) and two of her sons, converts to Judaism, although the appealing tradition of the kings persisted as folklore.⁴⁸

The two companions visited the village of Bethany, and may have gone directly there after climbing the Mount of Olives, since Bethany was located on the southeastern slope of the hill and, according to the *Modern Traveller*, a road led directly from the summit to the village. Bethany holds a significant position in Christian tradition as the home of Lazarus and his sisters and of Simon the leper. This tradition is commemorated by the Arabic name for this village, el-Azurite, which means “the place of Lazarus,” and the village is built around the location of the tomb alleged to be that from which Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead. This was the last stop on the road from Jericho, and Biblical texts indicate that Jesus spent considerable time here visiting his friends. According to Charles F. Nesbitt, the Gospels suggest that Bethany served as a second home, “where Jesus maintained headquarters of a sort for his frequent visits to Jerusalem.” Bethany is also held to be the site of Christ’s Ascension after his resurrection, where he blessed his disciples and bade them farewell. At the time of Troye’s visit, Bethany was described by *Cook’s Handbook* as

⁴⁷ Lewis B. Paton, “Jerusalem in Bible Times: II. The Valleys of Ancient Jerusalem,” *The Biblical World* 29 (February 1907), 86-96.

⁴⁸ Troye’s *Journal*, 38 (quotation); Rachel Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 30-34. The names attributed to all three tombs were based upon folklore. The tomb of James was believed to be the site in which the Apostle James took refuge after the arrest of Jesus, and later enhancement of the legend turned this into the site of his burial. Even in the early nineteenth century, however, the location had been identified as belonging to the Beni Hezir, a priestly family mentioned in the first book of Chronicles. Troye, never a good speller, referred to the Zechariah sepulcher as “Serdikias.” According to Roman Catholic teachings, Mary, mother of Jesus, was transported into heaven in bodily form (the “Assumption”) and hence there could be no body to entomb. Eastern Christians, however, believe that Mary died a natural death, although Eastern Orthodox tradition locates her burial in the vicinity of Ephesus, Turkey, rather than at Jerusalem. For an account of the burial sites of the Kidron valley contemporary with Troye’s visit, see Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 1, 516-538.

“a dirty, but prettily situated village, with glorious views of the distant hills of Moab, and the glittering waters of the Dead Sea, and the green line of Jordan running through the valley. Vines, figs, and olives cluster on the nearer hill slopes, and the luxuriant gardens and cornfields form a pleasant contrast to the sterility of the hills nearer Jerusalem.”⁴⁹

South of the city, at the junction of Brook Kidron with a small valley known as Tyropoeon (in Arabic, El-Wâd, “The Valley”), they visited the Pool of Siloam, known from the Gospel of John as the site of the miraculous cure of the man born blind. Here, Jesus “...spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam. He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing.” The 1858 *Handbook for Travellers* describes the pool as being rectangular in shape, 53 feet long, 18 wide, and 19 deep; open to the sky, but with six ancient limestone columns along the side. At the upper end of the pool is an arched entrance to a staircase, by which the visitor can descend stone steps to the tunnel that carries water from the source to the pool. The source of the flow is the spring of Gihon (“Gushing”), located on the western slope of the Kidron valley. This spring was also known as the Fountain of the Virgin from a legend that here the Virgin Mary washed the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus. Troye probably examined the famous spring, as well as the pool, although he did not record this in his journal.⁵⁰

Having visited many of the sacred and historic sites near Jerusalem (and doubtless many that Troye did not record), Troye and Keene next turned their attention to locations further afield. As the scene of the Nativity, the town of Bethlehem was, of course, one of the most popular destinations for visitors to the Holy Land. Bethlehem is located about six miles south of Jerusalem; according to *Cook's Handbook* this was a journey of about one and a half hours by horseback, or two hours on foot. Along the way, about a mile and a half from Bethlehem, they may have stopped by the roadside tomb of Rachel, wife of Old Testament patriarch Jacob and one of the most sacred sites to Judaism. As Troye approached Bethlehem, situated on a narrow ridge, his first view would have been of the terraced slopes, “admirably kept and covered with rows of luxuriant olives, intermixed with the fig and the vine.” On the eastern side of the town was a group of buildings, consisting of the Church of the Nativity and Latin, Greek and Armenian convents.⁵¹

At the time of his visit, the town contained about 3,000 inhabitants, all Christians, since the Muslims had been forcibly removed by Ibrahim Pasha as part of his efforts to put down the fellahin (peasant) rebellion of 1834. Most of the population made their living through agriculture, although a substantial number took advantage of the increasing numbers of tourists by the craft production of souvenirs. John Wilson, who visited Bethlehem in 1843, observed “representations of the holy sepulchre,

⁴⁹ Troye's *Journal*, 38; *Modern Traveller*, 170; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, 5th ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), 152-154; Charles F. Nesbitt, “The Bethany Traditions in the Gospel Narratives,” *Journal of Bible and Religion* 29 (April 1961), 119-124 (first quotation, 119); *Cook's Handbook*, 176 (second quotation).

⁵⁰ Troye's *Journal*, 38; John 9:6-7 (quotation); “Valleys of Ancient Jerusalem,” 89, 95; Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 139-141.

⁵¹ Troye's *Journal*, 38; *Cooke's Handbook*, 185; Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 207 (quotation).

figures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of the apostles, and of other saints, crucifixes, beads, rosaries, spoons, cups, and platters, with portions of Scripture inscribed upon them in Arabic letters. The materials out of which they manufacture these articles are mother-of-pearl from the Red Sea, the wood of the olive, agates and jaspers, and bituminous limestone from the rocks east of Bethlehem.” The manufacture of religious keepsakes at Bethlehem for the tourist trade continues to the present day.⁵²

The Church of the Nativity, one of the oldest religious structures in the world, was erected over a cave which tradition has long placed as the birthplace of Jesus. Construction of the original church in the fourth century CE was sponsored by Helena, the mother of emperor Constantine, and rebuilt in the sixth century after its destruction during the Samaritan revolt of 529. The church was severely damaged by an earthquake in 1834. Rivalries among the custodians led to further deterioration of the edifice. On a mid-century visit to Bethlehem, Josias Porter noted that “the pavement is broken, the roof rude and neglected, and the whole seems as if it would ere long crumble to ruin. The mosaics that once adorned the walls are almost entirely gone.” He blamed the poor condition of the church on the lack of proper maintenance resulting from a lack of collaboration in the contentious joint control of the site.⁵³

Troye and Keene descended by way of a narrow staircase cut into the rock into the caves beneath the church to view the Chapel of the Nativity, where a silver star set into a slab of marble indicated then, as today, the spot where Jesus is thought to be born. The various guidebooks and travel narratives of the era tended to discount the tradition that Jesus was born in a cave, rather than a stable; however, Henry V. Morton, visiting Bethlehem in 1932, observed houses built over caves which were used as stables for animals: “There are, in most of them, a stone trough, or manger, cut from the rock, and iron rings to which the animals are tied during the night.”⁵⁴

On Tuesday, the fourth day of March, Troye and Morris Keene bade farewell to the monks of the Latin Convent, and once again provisioned and equipped for an extended sojourn through the wilderness of Palestine, set off for the Dead Sea. They would not return to Jerusalem for nearly three weeks. There were two possible routes by which they might reach the Dead Sea. One route led easterly from Bethany across the mountains to the ruins of ancient Jericho and down to the valley of the Jordan River, and thence to the mouth of the river where it emptied into the great saline lake. The other followed the course of the Brook Kidron southeast from Jerusalem to the western shore of the Dead Sea. Either course was considered hazardous to travelers, who were subject to attack from brigands and bands of robbers. The pilgrims who followed the Jericho route to the Jordan at Easter came in large bodies

⁵² Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 208; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 1, 398 (quotation). For a discussion of the causes and outcomes of the rebellion of 1834, see Judith M. Rood, *Sacred Law in the Holy City: The Khedival Challenge to the Ottomans as Seen from Jerusalem, 1829-1841* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), esp. 122-140.

⁵³ Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 209 (quotation). The Church of the Holy Nativity remains in poor condition today; in 2008 the deteriorating structure was placed on the Watch List of the 100 Most Endangered Sites by the World Monuments Fund.

⁵⁴ Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 210-211; Henry V. Morton, *In the Steps of the Master* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1934), 124-125, (quotation, 125).

for mutual protection. More casual tourists to the region hired guards; Porter's *Handbook for Travellers* called this "absolutely necessary, as the adventurous traveller will unquestionably 'fall among thieves' ere he reaches the Jordan."⁵⁵

John Wilson, who in 1843 traveled with a few friends to the Jordan River and Dead Sea by way of Jericho and returned via Brook Kidron (the lower end of which was known as Wâdi en-Nar), contracted with the sheikh of a village near Bethlehem for sixteen local men – more than he desired – to accompany them. The road between Jerusalem and Jericho, he wrote, "was one of the most dangerous in the Holy Land." Bayard Taylor, who in 1852 followed nearly the same route down Kidron later taken by Troye and Keene, paid one hundred piastres for his escort, observing "It is, in fact, a sort of a compromise, by which the shekhs agree not to rob the traveller, and to protect him against other shekhs. The arrangement is winked at by the Pasha, who, of course, gets his share of the 100,000 piastres which the two scamps yearly levy upon travellers."⁵⁶

Troye and Keene likewise arranged for a substantial escort, concerned about an attack or the theft of their horses by Arabs living near the Dead Sea. "We provided ourselves with a body of gards," he wrote, "consisting of men and boys to the number of ten, Arabs of the village whose mode of life differs widely from those of the Desert." He devoted a rather lengthy entry to a description of their appearance during the journey: "Their dress was as simple as there food and their arms as rustic as their appearance. Four pieces constituted their outfit, namely a shirt reaching within a few inches below the knee, a sash an abba or mantal and a turban. Their arms was simply a flintlock antiquated musket and a hammer of rude structure with a rams horn of spherical turn used as a powderflask and suspended behind them by the sash. The general appearance of their clothes would lead to the supposition that the art of making soap was unknown to them."⁵⁷

Troye and Keene apparently made another late departure, traveling for only four hours on the road from Jerusalem along the course of Brook Kidron before making their camp outside the gate of the Mar Sabas monastery. Troye described the ravine as being "so pricepitous and regular in its character that it has the appearance of being cut out for the construction of a railroad." The Mar Sabas monastery, the largest in Palestine, was founded in the fifth century CE by the Christian monk Sabas and his disciples. At its peak in the sixth century, more than four hundred monks occupied the vast structure and the extensive dwelling complexes in natural caves and excavations made into the rock cliffs of the valley, which Wilson called "a Petra in miniature." Porter's *Handbook for Travellers* described the monastery as covering the walls of both sides of a side ravine of the Kidron and the cliff at the end, "irregular masses of walls, towers, chambers, and chapels, here perched upon narrow rock terraces, and there clinging to the sides of precipices."⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Troye's *Journal*, 37; Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 190 (quotation).

⁵⁶ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, 1-2 (first quotation, 1); Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen*, 60-61 (second quotation).

⁵⁷ Troye's *Journal*, 44-45 (first quotation, 44; second quotation, 44-45).

⁵⁸ Troye's *Journal*, 41-42, (first quotation, 41); Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dunbarton Oaks,

A hostel was built at the site in 491 to house pilgrims and visiting friends and relatives of the monks, and the tradition of sheltering visitors continued to the modern era. Female travelers were by ancient custom forbidden to enter Mar Saba, and a separate building outside the walls was provided for their accommodation. Although Troye and his companions camped outside the walls, he noted that “travellers are admitted having a letter from a Greek convent at Jerusalem. It is always expected that travellers in leaving should leave enough as compensation for the accommodation.” The travelers’ handbooks by Porter (1858) and Cooke (1876) similarly note that a letter from the Greek Convent was required to gain entry, although David Millard, visiting in 1842, was “hospitably received by a good-natured, smiling brotherhood of Greek monks.” This policy of easy admission was evidently altered by the misbehavior of a few fractious Englishmen in 1852, who objected to their accommodations and assaulted several of the monks. For a time, the monks barred entry to anyone, finally allowing visitors who carried the required letter.⁵⁹

Having spent the night in their tent before the gate of the enormous monastery, Troye and Keene and their entourage packed up and headed out. Their road now departed from the Wâdi en-Nar, climbing the mountain east of the valley. Bayard Taylor described this route as it appeared in 1852: “From that point, all signs of cultivation and habitation disappeared. The mountains were grim, bare, and frightfully rugged...We came out upon the last heights overlooking the Dead Sea [where] the head of the sea was visible...the water was a soft, deep purple hue, brightening into blue. Our road led down what seemed a vast sloping causeway from the mountains, between two ravines, walled by cliffs several hundred feet in height. It gradually flattened into a plain, covered with a white, saline incrustation, and grown with clumps of sour willow, tamarisk, and other shrubs.”⁶⁰

The American travelers reached the western shores of the Dead Sea in a little less than four hours’ travel from Mar Saba. They then followed the track northward, past the northern end of the Dead Sea and into the valley of the Jordan River, continuing along the river for about four miles until they reached the first ford. The Jordan drops six hundred feet over the sixty-five miles between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, and in its lower course the channel is cut deeply into the landscape. “The Jordan at this point will not average more than ten yards in breadth,” Taylor wrote. “It flows at the bottom of a gully about fifteen feet deep, which traverses the valley in a most tortuous course. The water has a white, clayey hue, and is very swift.”⁶¹

Vegetation grows luxuriantly along the margins of the river, so that “from any elevated point, it is easy to trace its course by the fringe of bright green which marks it.” Because the water was about ten feet deep in the spring, the ford here could only be used during the dry season, but it was the first place above the mouth of the river where the slope of the banks allowed access. There were two fording points at this

1995), 57-107; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, 26 (second quotation); Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 204 (third quotation).

⁵⁹ Troye’s *Journal*, 41-42, (first quotation, 42); Porter, *Handbook for Travellers*, Part 1, 190, 205; Cooke’s *Handbook*, 214; David Millard, *A Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, and the Holy Land* (New York: Nafis & Cornish, 1843), 286 (second quotation); Belgiojoso-Trivulzi, *Oriental Harems*, 218-219.

⁶⁰ Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen*, 63-64 (quotations).

⁶¹ Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen*, 67 (quotation).

location, about two hundred yards apart, having a gradual descent to the water's edge and a pebbly bottom. A few miles further upriver was another ford. Nearly two thousand years of tradition held one or the other of these two fords to be the site where Jesus came to John the Baptist, who recognized him as the prophesied Messiah and, at Jesus' request, baptized him in the Jordan River."⁶²

The Gospels of Mark and John provide information about this event, but the exact location of the place named remains unknown to this day, one of the Bible's many geographical puzzles. The baptism of Jesus is described in Mark 1:9, but no specific location is given: "And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan." The Gospel of John does not specifically state that Jesus was baptized, but John 1:28 gives the location where John was baptizing when he encountered Jesus: "These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing."

The phrase "Bethany beyond Jordan" distinguishes the baptismal location from the Bethany near Jerusalem, home to Lazarus and his sisters, and suggests a site on the other side of the Jordan River. Most ancient Biblical codices, manuscript copies of the Gospels, use the place-name Bethany, but there are also variants. Some Greek texts refer to Bethania, and Arabic Bible translations use the name Beit 'Anyā. In the third century, the Christian scholar Origen of Alexandria, unable to locate a place called Bethany on the banks of the Jordan river, substituted the name Bethabara in his commentary on the Gospel of John, stating that "some say that among the mounds by the Jordan Bethabara is pointed out, where history relates that John baptized." The name Bethabara translates as "house of the crossing" and thus suggests a crossing-place at the river, or ford. There is little doubt that Bethany is the correct reading of John 1:28, although Origen's correction to Bethabara, based on hearsay, is preserved in the King James version of the Bible.⁶³

It would appear, then, that there are two Bethanys, one being a known place in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and one being an unknown site somewhere along the east bank of the Jordan River where Jesus was baptized. Tradition has placed this latter site to the east of Jericho, a few miles above the northern shores of the Dead Sea, based on the writings of various pilgrims and commentators in the early years of the Church. An anonymous fourth-century pilgrim from Bordeaux, for example, identifies the site of Jesus' baptism as five Roman miles (4-1/2 miles) from the Dead Sea on the Jordan River. The sixth-century Madaba mosaic map of the Holy Land locates the baptismal site opposite Jericho, but moves the location to the west bank of the river. Recent archaeological investigations at the Wādi al-Kharrar, on the east side of the river opposite Jericho, have revealed a series of ancient churches and

⁶² Troye's *Journal*, 37, 40; Samuel Manning, *Those Holy Fields* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1874), 69-70 (quotation); John W. McGarvey, *Lands of the Bible: A Geographical and Topographical Description of Palestine* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1881), 341-342.

⁶³ A. E. Breen, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1907), 532 (quotation); Rainer Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan (John 1:28): Topography, Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel," *Tyndale Bulletin* 38(1987), 26-33; Michèle Piccirillo, "The Sanctuaries of the Baptism on the East Bank of the Jordan River," 433-443, and Urban C. Van Wahlde, "Archaeology and John's Gospel," 528-533, in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006).

baptismal pools, some dating back to the Roman era during or just after Jesus' lifetime. These have been interpreted as marking the location that was then thought to be the focus of John's baptismal activity.⁶⁴

Here, at the lower ford, Troye and Keene paused for a while. One can well imagine Troye, seated on the bank of the Jordan, gazing across at the scene that he would soon capture in another of his great "Oriental" paintings. This was the location he believed to be Bethabara, or "Bethany beyond Jordan," where Jesus encountered John the Baptist and was baptized in these waters. Troye may have had in mind, all along, to paint this scene, or he may have found inspiration at this time as he contemplated the tranquil location with its sacred associations. He may have made a few sketches, but he would not paint this day. Instead, they hurried on: "We visited the Jordan some distance to the east of Jerrico having seen it at the point we came through Jerrico late on our way to our encampment about 2 miles at the fountain where Elizah [Elisha] healed the waters."⁶⁵

From the ford they followed the road west. Two hour's travel took them past the village of Eriha, surrounded by a hedge of thorn bushes, and a short distance beyond, the ruins of Jericho. As the hour was growing late, they probably did not linger here, but pressed on to make camp near the base of Mount Quarantina, next to the spring known as the Fountain of Elisha, or, to the Arabs, Ain es Sultân, the Fountain of the Sultan. The high mountain that loomed in the background was known in Christian lore as the summit upon which Satan tempted Christ; the spring below, the site where the prophet Elisha miraculously transformed the waters from salt to fresh. "The fountain bursts forth at the eastern foot of a high double mound," Edward Robinson wrote in 1841. "It is a large and beautiful fountain of sweet and pleasant water."⁶⁶

The next morning, March 6, they raised camp and retraced their route back to the Dead Sea. Although Troye barely noted the presence of Jericho in his journal, they probably spent a little time inspecting the ruins. They made camp on the northern shore of the Dead Sea beside the sterile waters of the lake, the site where, as he wrote in his journal, "the cities of the plains were destroyed." This would be their base camp for the next two weeks: "We pitched our tent on the 6th and I commenced painting on the 7th and continued painting until the 19th," Troye recorded in his journal. "During this time the weather proved very agreeable." Troye divided his time between the two sites; the ford of the Jordan was but an hour and a half by horseback from their camp at the Dead Sea and he created large paintings of both locations.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan"; Piccirillo, "Sanctuaries of the Baptism." Riesner concludes that "Bethany beyond Jordan" is not a place but a region, and suggests Batanea, the region to the east of the Sea of Galilee, as a more likely location. His interpretation was based upon reconciling chronologies of the travels of Jesus.

⁶⁵ Troye's *Journal*, 37 (quotation).

⁶⁶ Troye's *Journal*, 37, 40; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 2, 284 (quotation). The name of the village, Eriha, is an Arabic corruption of Elisha.

⁶⁷ Troye's *Journal*, 37 (first quotation), 40 (second and third quotations). The "cities of the plains" was a reference to the five cities, including Sodom and Gomorrah, that were destroyed with fire and brimstone for their wickedness (Genesis 19:24-28). According to popular tradition, these cities lie drowned somewhere beneath the Dead Sea, though the general supposition is to the southern end of the lake.

He probably worked on the Jordan baptismal site painting first, before tackling the bleak landscape of the Dead Sea. Troye's description of the Jordan River painting, which "delineates the portion of the river where John baptised our saviour, Jesus Christ," locates the site precisely: "It is the first ford above the mouth of the Jordan and is in close proximity to Jericho." This was known as the "Greek bathing-place," located just downstream from the Wâdi Kelt, and was the resort of thousands of pilgrims of the Eastern Orthodox Church who came each year to immerse themselves in the waters of the river. The upper ford, across from the Wâdi al-Kharrar, was known as the "Latin bathing-place" and was used instead by Catholic pilgrims, who held the baptismal site to be at this location instead of the lower ford.⁶⁸

Small groups of pilgrims came to these fords throughout the year, and doubtless Troye's concentration was occasionally interrupted by curious onlookers. Had they been present here a month later, during Easter week, the locale would have been the scene of chaos as thousands of pilgrims, having assembled during the night before at Eriha, descended in a great mass to the water's edge. Well before dawn on Tuesday, April 18, 1847, Lieutenant William F. Lynch and his men, members of the United States naval expedition to explore the Jordan River and Dead Sea by boat, were roused from sleep in their encampment on the banks of the river at the lower ford by a great clamor and tumult. Rushing from their tents, they beheld "thousands of torchlights, with a dark mass beneath, moving rapidly over the hills." They hastily struck their tents and moved their possessions to one side, as a large body of "men, women, and children, mounted on camels, horses, mules, and donkeys," swept toward the river. This proved to be but the advance of a far larger body of pilgrims who arrived just as the sun was breaking the horizon. "Heedless of all intervening obstacles, they hurried eagerly onward, and dismounting in haste, and disrobing with precipitation, rushed down the bank and threw themselves into the stream." Lynch estimated that nearly 8,000 pilgrims were in the group that swarmed the lower ford that day. Fortunately, Troye was allowed a more tranquil environment in which to create one of his master works.⁶⁹

The site had several additional Biblical associations that tradition placed in the same general region; one might suspect this geographic consolidation was as much for the convenience of pilgrims as the result of scholarship. Here, or nearby, was where the waters of the river were miraculously parted by the priests with the Ark of the Covenant to allow the passage of the Israelites into the promised land after forty years of wandering through the wilderness of Sinai. According to the second book of Samuel, David crossed a ford of the Jordan River on his return to Jerusalem after the death of Absalom, and this, too, was often placed at the "Bethany beyond Jordan" location. Here also, it was supposed, Elijah divided the waters, that his chosen successor Elisha and himself might cross the river, and where this was later reenacted

⁶⁸ Troye, *Troye's Oriental Paintings* (New Orleans, 1857, 5 (quotation); Robert Robinson, *The History of Baptism*, ed. David Benedict (1790; reprint, Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1817), 23-25; *Modern Traveller*, 234; Edward Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land* (London: John Murray, 1865), 146.

⁶⁹ William F. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849), 255, 260-262 (first and second quotations, 260; third quotation, 261-262).

by Elisha. Little wonder that so many pilgrims and Holy Land tourists came to the bathing-places at the fords of the Jordan, given these traditional associations.⁷⁰

Once he had completed his painting of the bathing-place, which he titled *River Jordan - Bethabara*, Troye turned his attention to the vast and desolate landscape of the Dead Sea. The basin of the Dead Sea is the lowest point on the face of the Earth, the elevation of its surface pool being nearly 1,400 feet below sea level. The Jordan River flows into this great depression, bearing its load of silt and dissolved minerals. With no outlet to the sea, the entire burden of sediments is deposited in the actively subsiding lake bottom and the minerals become more and more concentrated, so that the Dead Sea is one of the saltiest bodies of water on the planet. So saline are the waters that only bacteria and microbial fungi can survive; there is no other life within the lake.⁷¹



Fig. 7. *River Jordan - Bethabara*, painting by Edward Troye.
Permission to reproduce granted by Bethany College.

Early travelers to the region brought back tales of an “infernal region,” where the “black and fetid waters” of the Dead Sea “emitting a noisome smoke or vapor, which, being driven over the land, destroys all vegetation like a frost.” Even the air over the

⁷⁰ Joshua 3 (the Israelites); 2 Samuel 15:28, 17:16, 19:18 (David); 2 Kings 2:8 (Elijah); 2 Kings 2:14 (Elisha). In the second book of Samuel, the translation of the location of David’s passage varies according to the verse and version of the Bible consulted. For 15:28 and 17:16, usage in the King James version is “the plains of the wilderness,” whereas most other versions (i.e., English Standard, American Standard, etc.) render this as the “fords of the wilderness.” The King James version also has David crossing the Jordan in a “ferry-boat,” as opposed to fording the river.

⁷¹ Tina M. Niemi, Zvi Ben Avraham, and Joel R. Gat, *The Dead Sea: The Lake and Its Setting* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997); Aharon Oren, *Halophilic Microorganisms and Their Environments* (New York and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 419-438.

lake was said to be so poisonous that birds fell from the sky if their flight carried them into contact with the toxic vapors rising from it. More accurate reports by visitors in the early nineteenth century, who found the lake margin verdant and teeming with wildlife and who delighted in taking a brief dip in the water, novel for its buoyancy, gradually dispelled these legends. A few of the bolder visitors drank from the waters, albeit in small sips, and found it to be nauseating in taste. Many returned with a container filled with Dead Sea water as a souvenir, and some of these samples were submitted for scientific analysis. The waters of the Dead Sea proved to be eight times saltier than the ocean, although the dissolved minerals were primarily calcium chloride rather than the sodium chloride of sea water. Nearly all visitors to the Dead Sea agreed, however, that the region possessed a bleak and lonely aspect, awesome in its melancholy grandeur. In these "shattered mountains and the deep chasm of the rent," they saw "tokens of the wrath of God, and of his vengeance upon the guilty inhabitants of the plain."⁷²

Visitors tended not to linger long in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. The reputation of the marshy lake shores as unhealthy was not entirely unwarranted; two early explorers, Christopher Costigan in 1835 and Thomas H. Molyneux in 1837 were felled by fevers (possibly malaria) while exploring the Dead Sea by boat. Keene Richards no doubt had this in mind when referring to the fourteen days spent by Troye and Morris Keene on the north shore of the Dead Sea: "This is longer than any European ever remained on the shore of that sea, which has been so fatal to scientific explorers and students of Scripture lands." Richards was not quite correct in this assumption, since the 1848 expedition under Lieutenant Lynch spent April 19 through May 6 at the Dead Sea, both afloat and as shore parties, for a total of seventeen days. Aside from Lynch and his command, however, no other western visitors before Troye and Keene had remained so long encamped on these salt-encrusted shores.⁷³

Lynch described the northern shore as "an extensive mud-flat, with a sandy plain beyond, and is the very type of desolation; branches and trunks of trees lay scattered in every direction; some charred and blackened as if by fire; others white with an incrustation of salt," and the northwestern shore as "an unmixed bed of gravel, coming in a gradual slope from the mountains to the sea." The account of this area by Edward Robinson was similarly cheerless: "At the north end of the sea the land is somewhat higher, forming a level tract a few feet above the water, varied only by a few slight swells. The surface of this plain is everywhere a dust like ashes; and is covered with a thin, smooth, nitrous crust, through which the feet of men and horses break, and sink up to the ankles."⁷⁴

Troye and Keene camped at the northwestern corner of the lake, as indicated by the perspective of Troye's painting of the Dead Sea. "A deathlike silence prevails that

⁷² Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, 199-200 (first quotation, 199); Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 2, 223-225, 239 (second quotation).

⁷³ Andrew C.A. Jampoler, *Sailors in the Holy Land: The 1848 American Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Search for Sodom and Gomorrah* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 156-166; Richards, *Death of Edward Troye*, (quotation).

⁷⁴ Lynch, *Narrative of the Expedition*, 270 (first quotation); Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, 203-204 (second quotation).

is only interrupted at night fall by the [shrieks] of unclean birds and the cry of the jackal," he recorded in his journal. Even in mid-March, the temperature was stifling. "I suppose the thermometre would have stood between 90 or 95 in [our] tent," he wrote, and they were constantly afflicted by biting insects: "Very much to my annoyance our tent was filled with flies, their attacks particularly on the face was unremitted, mosquitos and fleas alternately kept up an excitement which proved to be anything but pleasant. Our horses if they could have expressed themselves audibly would have testified how much they suffered frequently wickering from excessive pain and constantly rolling to get rid of flies. The altered condition of our horses fully attested what they had undergone during our stay."⁷⁵

While Troye painted, the bored Arab guard amused themselves as best they could, smoking or playing a board game using pebbles as markers. How Morris Keene spent his time during their stay, Troye did not indicate; possibly he roamed the shoreline hunting game for the cook-pot. Time must have dragged for Keene, as he was later under the impression of having been there for twenty days, not fourteen. Troye observed, "My stay at the Sea would have been very tedious had it not been that my time was fully taken up in painting." Morris Keene's only comment on the landscape of the Dead Sea was, "I shall not dwell on this subject, for it will give me the 'blues.'"⁷⁶

The canvas on which Troye worked was titled simply, *The Dead Sea*. "The first impression in the mind of the artist," he later wrote, as a commentary for an exhibition of his Oriental paintings, "was an overpowering feeling in view of the elements conspiring by their disorganized state to stamp this spot on memory's tablet, as well as the power of God's anger." The view was from the northwestern corner of the lake, stretching out along the length of the lake toward the distant horizon. "The Jordan enters on the left of the picture; at the base of the Moab mountains, which form a mural termination to the eastern portion of the sea. On the right of the picture are the mountains of Judea, which are deprived of light by the position of the sun." These mountains, of yellow and white limestone, towered twelve to fifteen hundred feet above the lake, often in perpendicular cliffs. "To the right of the picture an opening into the mountains of Judea is seen, where the brook Kedron finds an outlet into the sea."

Troye's depiction of the Dead Sea was the first artistic rendition of this lake, for as Richards later wrote, "It had never been done before, although Artists from every portion of the globe had looked upon this scene with pencil in hand, but feared to linger there." When the paintings were finally exhibited, Troye noted in the exhibition pamphlet that those who wished to know more about the explorations and the character of the Dead Sea should refer to the published work of Lieutenant Lynch. The able explorer attended the opening of the New York exhibition of Troye's "Oriental Paintings" in March and April 1858, and wrote a testimonial dated April 2 as to the accuracy of the depiction, which was published in the pamphlet. Another testimonial was provided by William C. Prime, author of *Tent Life in the Holy Land*

⁷⁵ Troye's *Journal*, 43-45 (first quotation, 43; second quotation, 45; third quotation, 44).

⁷⁶ Troye's *Journal*, 45 (first quotation); Keene, "Arab Horses and Dromedaries" (second quotation). The game played by the Arab guards was possibly Quirkat, the Arabic ancestor of the modern game of draughts (Europe) or checkers (America).

(1857), who visited the Dead Sea only a week before the arrival there of Troye and Keene. Prime wrote, "That very driftwood on the shore of the Dead Sea lay there when I saw it a week before you painted it...Why, that clay covered point in the foreground of the Dead Sea is the point on which we walked out to take our first plunge."⁷⁷



Fig. 8. *The Dead Sea* by Edward Troye.
Permission to reproduce granted by Bethany College.

On the morning of March 20, "before sun up after eating our breakfast we raised our tent" and headed back to Jerusalem, returning by the Jericho road. They had not been long on their way, climbing up out of the Jordan valley into the mountains, when a fierce storm arose. "The wind increased to such a degree of violence that our horses were unable to keep their course with our weight upon their backs. Fearing lest we should be blown down headlong into the deep gorges of the mountains we had to pass we thought it advisable to dismount but we found ourselves forced from our position and could only retain it by squatting close to the ground holding at the same time the projecting rock to secure ourselves from being driven before the wind." The wind increased still more and became intensely cold, and assaulted the party with hail "driven with such force as to inflict pain...it was with the greatest exertion on our part that our horses could be forced to keep their course." It continued to rain for several days after their arrival at Jerusalem; they later discovered that the storm had blown several ships ashore at Jaffa.⁷⁸

They took their lodgings once more at the Casa Nuova of the Latin Convent, until their baggage was able to catch up with them, being transported by the mule

⁷⁷ Richards, *Paintings from the Holy Land*, 457 (first quotation); Edward Troye, *Troye's Oriental Paintings, Now on Exhibition at the Apollo Rooms, 110 Broadway, New York* (New York, 1858), 4-6 (quotations, 5). This pamphlet differs in several aspects from the earlier and longer pamphlet published in New Orleans.

⁷⁸ Troye's *Journal*, 45-47 (first quotation, 45; second and third quotations, 46).

team which had lagged behind. They did not remain much longer in Jerusalem, soon departing for Damascus. Their pilgrimage was over; they were no longer tourists. It was time to get down to the serious business of horse-trading. In early April, shortly after returning to Damascus from their pilgrimage, Keene and Troye made the necessary preparations and once again set out for an extended journey. Their goal was to purchase Arabian horses from among the Anizah Bedouin. Morris Keene later wrote, “we launched out into those wild tribes East and South of Damascus, dressed as Bedouin Sheiks, and well armed.” Their travels during the next two months would take them into lands east of the Jordan River seldom seen by westerners, an undertaking far more hazardous than their journey to the Dead Sea. Their mission was successful, and they returned to Damascus in June with three pure-blooded Arabian stallions purchased from the desert Arabs.⁷⁹

While Keene made arrangements in Beirut for shipment of the newly acquired stock to America, Troye remained behind in Damascus. The artist was not quite ready to leave the East; traveling four miles to the east of the city, he set up his workspace at the edge of a field and began the fifth and last of his large “Oriental” paintings, executed with his usual attention to detail, down to the least blade of grass. Entitled *The Syrian Ploughman*, Troye described it as “painted on the spot, and there is nothing imaginary introduced, from the smallest thistle to the soft shadows falling upon Hermon’s loft peak.” The perspective, just east of the city, shows a field being tilled by a Syrian farmer in traditional garb, in the act of turning two heifers attached to a plow, guiding them by lines attached to their ears and by use of a goad.⁸⁰



Fig. 9. *Syrian Ploughman*, painting by Edward Troye.
Permission to reproduce granted by Bethany College.

⁷⁹ Troye’s *Journal*, 46; Keene, “Arab Horses and Dromedaries”; Keene, “Late Arabian Importations.”

⁸⁰ Troye, *Troye’s Oriental Paintings* (New Orleans), 1857, 3 (quotation).

Troye completed his painting of the Syrian ploughman and packed up his belongings. His creative efforts during his stay in the East had produced five major canvases, the “Oriental” paintings (in order of execution): *Bazaar in Damascus*; *Sea of Tiberias or Galilee*, *River Jordan - Bethabara*, *The Dead Sea*, and *The Syrian Ploughman*, in addition to several other smaller works. These latter included the portrait of Lulie; *Basban Cattle*, depicting a bull, a cow with calf, and a yearling heifer, probably painted in April 1856 while Troye and Keene traveled southward at the beginning of their horse-buying trip; and an unfinished portrait, *Syrian Mother and Child*, the latter probably painted in Damascus during the winter of 1855-1856.⁸¹

Troye left the East and traveled to Antwerp, Belgium, to the studio of his brother Charles de Troy. Here Edward made full-size copies of his “Oriental” paintings. Keene Richards purchased both the originals and the copies for a substantial sum. Richards subsequently donated the copies of these paintings to his alma mater, Bethany College, which were delivered personally by Troye in July 1860. The originals became part of the decorative furnishings for Richards’s house at Blue Grass Park in Georgetown.⁸²



Fig. 10. Alexander Keene Richards, photographed in London, England, 1855, on his way back to the United States. Courtesy Lowry Schneider.

⁸¹ Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 177, 184, 426

⁸² Keene, “Horses and Dromedaries”; Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 192; Bruce, “Death of Edward Troye”; “Paintings from the Holy Land,” *Millennial Harbinger*, Series 5, Vol. 3 (August, 1860), 455.

Leaving Europe, Edward Troye arrived at New York on January 17, 1857, and traveled to Mobile to rejoin his family. Richards gave permission for Troye to exhibit the “Oriental” paintings before taking possession, and so, beginning at New Orleans in April, and at New York and other locations in the northeast in 1858, Troye arranged public exhibitions of his work. His “Oriental” paintings were received with public and critical acclaim. Enchanted by the romance of the country; for the rest of his life, he longed to return to the Holy Land and once again “bathe his feet in the river Jordan.” In his declining years, whenever Troye began to ruminate about his travels, and declared himself ready once more to set out for the Orient, his family and friends, who considered him to be too old for any more such adventures, gently persuaded him to put it off yet a little longer, until at last he ran out of time. On July 25, 1875, Edward Troye died of pneumonia at the home of his friend, Keene Richards, and was buried in the Georgetown cemetery.⁸³

Bibliography

- Ambraseys, Nicholas N. “The Earthquake of 1 January 1837 in Southern Lebanon and Northern Israel.” *Annali di Geofisica* 15 (August 1997), 923-935.
- Bar-Yosef, Eitan. *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005.
- Bowen, Edward L. foreword to *Edward Troye: Painter of Thoroughbred Stories*, by Genevieve B. Lacer. Prospect, KY: Harmony House, 2006.
- Breen, A. E. “Bethany Beyond the Jordan.” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2. New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1907.
- Bruce, Sanders. “Paintings from the Holy Land.” *Millennial Harbinger*, Series 5, Vol. 3 (August, 1860), 455.
- . “Death of Edward Troye.” *Turf, Field and Farm* 19 (7 August 1874), 100.
- Burckhardt, John L. *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. London: John Murray, 1822.
- Conder, Josiah. *The Modern Traveller, Vol. 1: Palestine, or the Holy Land*. London: James Duncan, 1824.
- Cook, Thomas. *Cook’s Tourists’ Handbook for Palestine and Syria*. London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1876.
- Ellenblum, Ronnie. “Who Built Qal’at al-Subayba?” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 103-112.
- Fetridge, William P. *Harper’s Hand-book for Travellers in Europe and the East*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862.

⁸³ Edward Troye, *Troye’s Paintings of the Holy Land, Illustrating Life in the East* (New York: W. A. Townsend, 1858) (quotation); Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 192-202; Richards, “Death of Edward Troye”; Edward Troye, *The Dead Sea and the Ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah* (New York: W.A. Townsend, 1858), front matter; Wood, Letter from Syria,” (quotation); Sanders Bruce, “Death of Edward Troye,” *Turf, Field and Farm* 19 (7 August 1874), 100; [Keene Richards], “Death of Edward Troye, Esq.,” *Georgetown Times*, July 29, 1874. A copy of the shorter version of the New York exhibition pamphlet, *Troye’s Oriental Paintings*, archived at Yale University Library, has a label affixed across the front stating “Alumni Hall, Yale College, Entrance on High Street,” indicating that an exhibition was also made at New Haven, Connecticut.

- Hachlili, Rachel. *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Jampoler, Andrew C.A. *Sailors in the Holy Land: The 1848 American Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Search for Sodom and Gomorrah*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005.
- De Leon, "The American Pilgrim in Palestine." *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine* 13 (April 1883), 410-414.
- Lynch, William F. *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849.
- Mackay-Smith, Alexander. *The Race Horses of America 1832-1872: Portraits and Other Paintings by Edward Troye*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The National Museum of Racing, 1981.
- Manning, Samuel. *Those Holy Fields*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1874.
- McGarvey, John W. *Lands of the Bible: A Geographical and Topographical Description of Palestine*. Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1881.
- Millard, David. *A Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*. New York: Nafis & Cornish, 1843.
- Morton, Henry V. *In the Steps of the Master*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1934.
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, 5th ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008.
- Nesbitt, Charles F. "The Bethany Traditions in the Gospel Narratives." *Journal of Bible and Religion* 29 (April 1961), 119-124.
- Niemi, Tina M., Zvi Ben Avraham, and Joel R. Gat. *The Dead Sea: The Lake and Its Setting*. Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997.
- Oren, Aharon. *Halophilic Microorganisms and Their Environments*. New York and Boston: Kluwen Academic Publishers, 2002.
- Paton, Lewis B. "Jerusalem in Bible Times: II. The Valleys of Ancient Jerusalem." *The Biblical World* 29 (February 1907), 86-96.
- Patrich, Joseph. *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Washington, DC: Dunbarton Oaks, 1995.
- Porter, William T. "Animal Painting." *Spirit of the Times* 12 (March 12, 1842).
- Porter, Josias L. *Through Samaria to Galilee and Jordan: Scenes of the Early Life and Labors of Our Lord*. London and New York: T. Nelson, 1889.
- Reed, Johnathan L. *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002.
- Richards, Alexander Keene. *The Arab Horses, Mokhladi, Massoud and Sacklowie; Imported by A. Keene Richards, Georgetown, Kentucky*. Lexington: Kentucky Statesman Printing, 1857.
- Richards, Keene. "Death of Edward Troye, Esq." *Georgetown Times* (Kentucky), July 29, 1874.
- Riesner, Rainer. "Bethany Beyond the Jordan (John 1:28): Topography, Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel." *Tyndale Bulletin* 38(1987), 26-33.
- Ritter, Carl. *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*. Trans. William L. Gage, vol. 2. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866.

- Robinson, Edward. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrae: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, vol 3. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1841.
- . *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1852*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1856.
- . *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*. London: John Murray, 1865.
- Robinson, Robert. *The History of Baptism*. Ed. David Benedict. 1790; reprint, Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1817.
- Rood, Judith M. *Sacred Law in the Holy City: The Khedival Challenge to the Ottomans as Seen from Jerusalem, 1829-1841*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Rousuck, E. J. "Portrait of an Artist: Edward Troye – Reseen Today." *Thoroughbred Record* 188 (July 13, 1968).
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, 1979.
- Troye, Edward. *Troye's Oriental Paintings*. New Orleans, 1857.
- . *Troye's Oriental Paintings, Now on Exhibition at the Apollo Rooms, 110 Broadway, New York*. New York, 1858.
- . *Troye's Paintings of the Holy Land, Illustrating Life in the East*. New York: W. A. Townsend, 1858.
- . *The Dead Sea and the Ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah*. New York: W.A. Townsend, 1858.
- Van Wahlde, Urban C. "Archaeology and John's Gospel." In *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 528-533. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006.
- Wilson, Charles W. *The Recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land* (London: Richard Bentley, 1871).
- Wilson, John. *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described*, vol. 2. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1847.
- Wilson, John F. *Caesarea Philippi: Banias, the Lost City of Pan*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004.