

A HISTORY
OF
TRANS-JORDAN AND ITS TRIBES

BY

EL FARIQ F. G. PEAKE PASHA C. B. E.
COMMANDANT OF THE ARAB LEGION TRANS-JORDAN

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A tent with many a covered seat
Delights no more than Falak high
And were the dust of simple will

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE AMIR ABDULLA
of
TRANSJORDAN

The crest I ate beside my tent
Was more than this fine brand to be,
The wind's voice over the hill with
Was more to ———000———

Some of the best the Arabian
of the world.

Translation by E. A. Robinson, M.A.

A tent with rustling breezes cool
Delights me more than Palace high,
And more the cloak of simple wool
Than robes in which I learned to sigh.

The crust I ate beside my tent
Was more than this fine bread to me,
The wind's voice where the hill path went
Was more than tambourine can be.

Poem of Maysun the Beduwiya
a wife of Mu'awiya.

Translation by R.A. Nicholson M.A.

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PREFACE.

Little of the early history of Transjordan is at present known, but that the country has been populated from the remotest times is certain. The discovery of flints in widely separated areas, and the remains of the prehistoric age, which Group Captain Rees, V.C., A.D.C., etc., of the Royal Air Force, discovered and photographed from the air, give ample proof that human beings have lived here for many thousand years.

The country now known as Transjordan is scarcely mentioned in any record left by the Great Empire^s which existed between the time of the first Pharaoh of Egypt and the Exodus of the Israelites. The armies of the early Egyptians, The Hittites and the Assyrians, which swept across Northern Syria and Palestine, all marched by much the same route, leaving the great barrier of mountains which fringe the West of Transjordan severely alone. We must not, however, think that the ancient Empire builders were blind to the fact which modern ones realize, namely that peace and security in Palestine, Syria and Sinai depend on the state of Transjordan; probably the ancient strategists also realized that when Palestine and Syria were in their hands, Transjordan would lie open to an easy invasion from the North; and it must be pointed out that any attempt to reach the Transjordan highlands through the steep and rugged mountains which divide it from Palestine along the whole Western frontier, is a military manoeuvre of the greatest difficulty and danger. So little archaeological work, however, has yet been done in this country that it is impossible to say to what extent Transjordan was actually entered and held by early rulers of Palestine and Syria.

Although up to the present time we are almost in total darkness as to the history of Transjordan before 1200 B.C., yet it is to be hoped that the records are not totally lost, but only hidden beneath the drift sand and tumbled buildings which sprawl in ruins throughout the country.

The vast amount of excavation work which lies waiting may be judged by the number of these ruins. There is scarcely a single village occupied to-day, which does not show traces of an earlier occupation; and artificial mounds, covering the remains of former civilization, are to be found on all sides. Egypt has been foremost in the archaeological limelight for more than a century, and now Palestine, Syria and Iraq are engaging the attention of explorers; but Transjordan, which has been scarcely touched, is virgin soil awaiting the pick and spade of the archaeologist. It is to be hoped that she will not wait much longer.

CHAPTER I.

TRANSJORDAN UP TO THE ASSYRIAN INVASION.

Transjordan in its modern political sense is that part of Arabia which lies south of the Yarmuk Valley and Jebel Druze, being bounded on its western side by the river Jordan, and Dead sea and a line drawn the centre of the Wadi Araba to the Gulf of 'Aqaba. East of the Hijaz Railway the great mass of Jebel et Tubeiq is included in, and the Wadi Sirhan excluded from Transjordan, while in the south, an imaginary line drawn from just south of 'Aqaba to just south of Qal'at el Mudawara forms the southern limit.

So far as this history is concerned the country as far south as Tebuk and the whole of the Wadi Sirhan are included in Transjordan. It is necessary to insist on this extension; boundaries of states are too often fixed by ill-informed persons who draw lines on inaccurate maps, regardless of natural and ethnographical features, and so in every way unsatisfactory.

Prehistoric Times. In 1927 and 1928 the Field Museum Oxford University joint expedition made certain investigations in North Arabia which led to important results. Mr. Henry Field in his report said:-
"Geological and archaeological evidence indicates that the desert area was once so fertile and well watered, that it may have supported a large semi-nomadic population in prehistoric times".

The expedition visited Qasr El Burqu', Bayir, Qasr El 'Azraq and proceeded along the Amman-Baghdad route; all over this part of the country flints chipped by human hands were found. Further south, Mr. C. Doughty had found seven flints at Ma'an and others in Jebel Esh Shera, some fifty years earlier.

Stone buildings were observed in great numbers in the lava belt of Harrat Er Rujeila and numberless stone walls throughout the desert, all giving evidence of a large population in former times. Near all the ruined buildings flint instruments of the Neolithic Age (ten to twelve thousand years ago) were found, while in Wadi Bayir, to mention one place, flints believed to belong to the Chilleen Age (one hundred to four hundred thousand years ago) were picked up. In other places flints of the Mousterian Age (thirteen to twenty thousand years ago) were found. So many were the signs of prehistoric buildings and flints that Mr. Field stated;- "I feel confident that the Northern Arabian Desert lies upon one of the main lines of Migration between East and West, and that prehistoric sites will be found from North-Eastern Iraq to China."

The prehistoric buildings near Amman show a high state of civilisation. The knowledge of the art of fortification is also clearly disclosed in their construction the approaches to the entrance being so made that the enemy's right shoulder unprotected by his shield would be always exposed to the missiles of the defenders.(1)

It is not known whether the earliest inhabitants of

Transjordan /-

(1) OLMSTEAD'S HISTORY of PALESTINE AND SYRIA, p.28. (1931)

Transjordan were Semitic people, but there is no doubt that the country was over-run and dominated by Semites at a very early period. It is generally accepted that the original home of the Semitic races was Arabia, from whence by conquest or infiltration they spread into Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and possibly Egypt.

Tradition has it that at least some parts of Trans-Jordan were occupied by giants. Og, King of Bashan, was said to be of the remnant of these and his iron bedstead, at Rabbath Ammon, was fourteen feet long and six feet wide. (2) The Emims, in Moab, were also accounted giants, like the Anakims. In Amman there were said to have been giants in the old days who were called Zamsummims. (3)

Arab authorities make no reference to the races of giants, but say that the people of Transjordan were Arabs from the remotest times. According to Arab Historians, the Arabs are divided into three classes differing in dialect but all originating from Nuh (Noah) through his son Shem.

The first class is known as El 'Aribch, or "the Arabs who have perished." (4)

-
2. DEUTERONOMY III. 11. been
3. DEUTERONOMY II.
4. The names of these ancient peoples have handed down in storics and poetry and are :

- (1) The tribe of 'Aad in El Ahkaf;
- (2) The tribe of Thamud in El Hajr;
- (3) The tribe of Amim in the desert east of Transjordan.
- (4) The tribe of Abeel in Yathrib or El Madina.
- (5) The tribes of El Amaliga and Judeis in El Yamama;
- (6) The tribe of El Amaliga, which included several tribes in Transjordan, El Hijaz, Tihama, Palestine and the hills round Petra. The Dynasties of Hamurabi and Mainyey in Iraq are said to have come from this tribe.
- (7) Tassim and Jidees.

The second class is known as El 'Arab El Mathuba, or "the poetic Arabs". (Also known as the Ahl El Qibli. See Appendix I.).

These Arabs come from the Yemen, being descended from Qathan, known, in the Bible, as Yaktan, and they were in the ascendant up to the advent of Islam. From that time they have gradually tended to split up and disappear.

The third division is known as El 'Arab El Musta'raba, the Arabaicianist or Ishmaelites, and is descended from Abraham through Ishmael. These Arabs are also known as Ahl Esh Shimal and since the days of the Prophet they have gradually increased in importance in the Arabian Peninsula.

An abbreviated pedigree of the Arab divisions showing the descent of some of the main tribes is given in Appendix I. (5).

The cause and directions of the migrations of the people of the Arabian Peninsula have been ^{the} same from time immemorial.

The gradual change from an agricultural to a nomad life, brought about by the necessity of getting more land for an increasing population, compelled a ceaseless stream of human beings to leave the fertile lands of the Yemen and Hadhramant Valley in order to take up a nomad life in the Central Steppes. Then, owing to the continual pressure from the South, those in front were slowly pushed forward until they were eventually forced into the fertile fringe in the North. This movement went on over a vast

(5) I am indebted to Esh ^{Sheikh} Fuad El Khatib for this information.

period of time, and so comparatively quick were the changes, that, according to one authority, there is not to-day one single tribe in the Najd which was there at the time of the Prophet. (6)

This danger of nomad incursion into the fertile fringe which surrounds the North of Arabia has been a problem which has confronted every government which has been responsible for the welfare of those parts. Perhaps Rome, with her great fortresses and military roads, dealt with it most successfully; and the Roman efficiency may have been one of the reasons for the marvellous output of energy displayed by the Arabs, when once the barriers broke before the Moslem arms. The forces, then pent up for six hundred years, were suddenly let loose in an irresistible flood which carried Arab arms to the banks of the Indus, the confines of China and even into France.

Some of the Semitic tribes which migrated into ^{the} fertile fringe have left behind them imperishable names; thus the Poenicians, who settled on the coast of Palestine, became a great maritime race, their ships penetrating as far as England, while, again, the Hebrews who gradually settled in Transjordan and Palestine between 1900 and 1400 BC. came from the desert and, later, about 700 BC. the Nabataeans pushed into South Transjordan and Palestine.

(6) Hogarth's History of Arabia, (1922) p.4. If, as an Arab authority says, the Beni Tamim were in Najd before the days of the Prophet, Hogarth is in error, as they are still there.

Even to-day this movement has not stopped. Thirty years ago the Roallah camped at Jiza, Sheikh Nuri Ibn Sha'lan spending the summer of 1914 at Themed; They are now a Syrian tribe. To-day also are to be seen certain tribes who might be termed semi-nomadic; they live in the hair tent and move within a limited area, near water; their occupation is sheep breeding and agriculture, but they have discarded the camel, indispensable to the nomad. The Beni Hasan are an advanced modern example of the tendency to abandon Bedouin life; while such tribes as the Beni Khalid and Beni Sakhr have not quite reached this state.

We do not know whether the first men who lived in and around Transjordan had reached the nomadic state or not, but it may be conjectured that for many years they lived in the open with their flocks, gradually inventing stone enclosures to stop the cattle from straying at night and to help in protecting them from enemies, which as often as not must have been wild animals.

The danger to cattle and crops from wild animals was undoubtedly present until well into the beginning of the historical period. Elephants are said to have existed in Syria and Iraq until about 1200 BC., and lions were found in the Christian era. Abbot Daniel mentioned them in 1100 AD. and Poloner in 1421 AD. and they are even said to have been seen in Azraq in the early years of the 18th century. The existence of lions in Transjordan to such a late period may have been a result of the policy of the Emperor ^{Di}Deius (249 AD. - 251 AD.), who is said to have imported a large number of lions and lionesses from Africa and to have loosed

them on the eastern frontier of Arabia, hoping thus to frighten away the nomad tribesmen.(7)

In 1847, a traveller, who went by boat from Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee) to the Dead Sea, noted the tracks of a tiger and other wild beasts which he could not identify.(8) Again, 1902, two travellers stated that they saw traces of bears claws, where these animals had searched for acorns after the snow had melted, in the forest which existed between Petra and Shobek up to the time of the Great War.(9)

A few small leopards still exist in Transjordan and wolves and hyaenas are very frequent; in Palestine the crocodile was shot in the River Ez Zarqa in 1878(10)

Later, as the rainfall grew less, parts of the population were driven to the hills where perennial streams abound, while others had to become entirely nomadic to enable them to find pastures for their herds.

Caves probably formed the first shelter during the winter for these people who went to the hills, to be supplanted later by tents made from the skins and hair of animals. The Prophet Jeremiah (XLIX.16) calls attention to the people of Edom living in caves, saying: "Oh thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord".

(7) Musil, PALMYRENA (1928) pp.212, 247.

(8) W.F. Lynch, THE RIVER JORDAN AND DEAD SEA (1852) p.156.

(9) Libbey and Haskins, THE JORDAN VALLEY AND PETRA (1905) p.36, No trace of these animals is found to-day, nor do I know of any man who saw a bear in this area.

(10) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1887).

Village life, as known to-day, was a late innovation in Transjordan, and it is unlikely that there were more than a very few village settlements scattered throughout the country before the Graeco-Roman period; even to-day a large proportion of the population prefer tents. The Bedoui, of course, still only has his tent; he neither requires nor wants a house in a village.

The rough cultivation of wheat, barley, millet and flax commenced at a very early date in Syria and the presence of wild barley and wheat to this day may point to Syria as being the original ground of these cereals. Transjordan from a very remote period has been a grazing country, while its vines have been celebrated for many centuries.

In the Old Testament we are told that when Moses conquered Midian he took 675,000 sheep, 72,000 oxen and 61,000 asses. (11) Again, Mesha, King of Moab, is described as a sheepmaster who paid to the King of Israel 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams with wool (12) Later, we read that the Hagarites who dwelt in Gilead lost 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep and 2,000 asses after an unsuccessful war (13) These numbers are, no doubt, exaggerated, but they show that the writers of those times were greatly impressed with the reputed wealth of the country east of Jordan. The traveller Burchardt marvelled at the agricultural wealth of the country and quotes an Arab as saying "Thou cannot find a country like the Belqa" (for cattle and sheep) (14)

(11) NUMBERS XXXI. 32-34.

(12) II. KINGS III. 4.

(13) I. CHRONICLES V. 21.

(14) J.L. Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND (1822)
p.369.

In addition to cattle rearing, Gilead had, no doubt, a great name as a producer of balm and myrrh, both in great demand in Egypt for embalming; The Ishmaelitish caravans carried these luxuries on their camels to Egypt at a very early date (15)

The carrying trade was early established in Trans-Jordan; merchandise arrived from South Arabia and the East and was transported, at first, to Egypt, afterwards to Rome. This went on for centuries and gave employment to a great number of the Bedouin, who were able to hire out their camels. Many of the towns also owed their existence to the fact that a great trade route passed near by, and the guarding, storing and forwarding of merchandise must have occupied many of the town dwellers.

The opening of the Red sea route together with the commercial ruin of the Roman Empire gradually killed this trade and by the time of the Moslem invasion it must have been almost non-existent in Transjordan.

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century, when the Hijaz Railway was opened, that the transport trade again became a means of employment, but it was a railway and not the age-old camel caravan which, after twenty centuries, brought back some prosperity to the country.

Little is discoverable about Transjordan from the history of the first seventeen Egyptian dynasties which began with Pharaoh Mena, about 3400 BC., and ended with the accession of Pharaoh Ahmose I. of the XVIII dynasty about

(15) GENESIS XXXVII. 25.

1580 BC. These Pharaohs had no imperialistic ambitions; so long as the mines in Sinai could be worked without interruption and the Delta kept safe from Bedouin intrusion, they hardly moved from the Nile valley, and sought no conquests in the East.

Up to the present there is no evidence that the Egyptian^s occupied Transjordan, but Egyptian^p influence must have begun to penetrate at a very early date. Traders coming in from the North at Beisan, and from the South by way of the Wadi'Araba, undoubtedly brought with them Egyptian^p civilization. This is shown by the finding of an Egyptian sarcophagus (dated about 1300 BC.) at Sahab and the Balua Stele from near Kerak; the latter is at present undeciphered, but it shows signs of Egyptian influence.

Parts of Sinai where copper is found are known to have been occupied from the time of the first dynasty (3400-2980 BC.) and an earthenware pot of Egyptian origin has been found at an old copper mine north of Aqaba. The wadi Feinan, west of Shobek (the punon of Numbers XXXIII. 42), has extensive copper workings and the remains of a large colony, while other workings have been found in Edom, south-west of Buseira and at Menaiyeh, in the Wadi 'Araba. Without excavation, which has not been undertaken, we do not know whether the ancient Egyptians came here for copper or not. Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-340 AD.) recorded, in the Onomasticon, that Feinan was a place where the convicts dug for copper. Evidently, therefore, it was exploited in Roman times, if not by the Pharaohs.

Pharaoh Pepi I. (c.2560 BC.) and later, Sesostris III. (c.1880 BC.) both sent out expeditions to deal with the bedouin from the east, who had been raiding the eastern Delta, but these armies returned to Egypt as soon as their task was brought to a successful conclusion. There seems to be no doubt that by 2000 BC. there was a regular trade route from Egypt to the south of Transjordan. There is a story of an Egyptian chieftain, Sinuhe, who, having to flee the country on the death of Amenemhet in 1970 BC., took the route by Suez to Transjordan, where he lived for some eighteen months before going to Palestine (16).

No evidence has yet been found to show that, during the conquests of the XVIII dynasty, Egyptian armies entered southern Transjordan, but it is possible that the 'Ajlun district was invaded and parts of it garrisoned, in order to safeguard the communications between Egypt and Northern Syria (17)

In the reign of Pharaoh Akhnaton (1375-1358 BC.) mention is made in the Tel El Amarna tablets of a place called Yabishi, possibly Jabesh Gilead, (18) the modern Ed Deir on the Wadi Yabis in the 'Ajlun district; the harassed commander of the place seems to have appealed in vain for help to his master in far-off Egypt, and no doubt

(16) Olmstead, HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA (1931) p.86.

(17) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1876) p.92, Marriette Bey supposes that the list of names of places in the statistical tablets of Thotmes III. found at Thebes, included places in Ammon and Moab, though, out of the 119 quoted, not one is suggested to have been East of Jordan. It is known that Jerusalem was an important Egyptian stronghold in the time of Akhnaton. (Breasted, A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS (1908).

(18) The Rev. Selah Merrill does not consider Ed Deir as the ancient Jabesh Gilead, but suggests the ruins of Miryameen. PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1876) p.178.

the little garrison was overwhelmed in the general turmoil which engulfed the Asiatic Empire of the Pharaoh. In the same letter is mentioned Udumu (Adamieh, possibly modern Damiye, though it would seem more likely to be a reference to the Edomites), and Tsarqi (possibly Zerqa). (19)

About 1220 BC., an Egyptian scribe notes a party of Edomite Bedouin passing through the Wadi Tumilat to graze their herds by the pools of Pithon, and a little later, Rameses III. (1198 - 1167 BC.) sent an expedition to suppress the bedouin in the Scir² mountains, but whether this expedition passed to the east of the Wadi 'Araba is unknown. (20)

The dates of commencements of the Egyptian and Babylonian civilization are still a matter of conjecture, but that which first penetrated into Babylonia appears to have been of Sumerian origin. [†]It is possible that this civilization spread westward into Transjordan at an early date. This is corroborated by the discovery, in 1930, of the ruins of a village near the north end of the Dead sea, which bear distinct signs of Sumerian influence. This village, Tel El Ghasul, is of the Neolithic Age and consists of sets of ruins, one on the top of another. Sumerian influence may have reached Transjordan by following in the wake of the conquests of King Sharukin about 3000 BC., as it is known that this king reached the shores of the Mediterranean.

(19) Flinders Petri, SYRIA AND EGYPT FROM THE TEL EL AMARNA LETTERS.

(20) Breasted, A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS (1908) pp.316 and 337.

There is a Hebrew tradition that Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, with certain other kings, made war on Bera, King of Sodom, Birshah, King of Gomorrah, Shinab, King of Admah (possibly Edom), Shemeber, King of Zebolim and the King of Bela near Zoar, and subdued them for twelve years, but that in the thirteenth year they rebelled. Chedorlaomer is then supposed to have returned and, after a series of victories in the south of Transjordan, the Kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zebolim, Bela and the Horites in their Mount Seir, were defeated; the two kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fleeing through the vale of Siddim (Ghor Es Safi) which was full of slime pits, and falling there.(21)

Mesopotamian influence was replaced by Egyptian, when, it is not known, though probably the conquests of the XVIII dynasty (1580-1350 BC.) hastened matters, by facilitating communication and trade with Egypt.

During the period between 2000 BC. and the Exodus, Transjordan, which had been made up of merely tribal areas, now settled down into a number of small independent states(22)

At first Gilcad, or modern 'Ajlun, together with half Belqa up to Es Salt, appears to have been a part of the country of the Amorites, who shortly before the Exodus spread south, forming an independent kingdom under King Sihon. These people spread from the Jabbok (Zerqa) to the Arnon (Mojib), pushing back the little state of Ammon almost to its capital Rabbath Ammon.

(21) GENESIS XIV.

(22) G. Adam Smith, ATLAS OF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND. Map 31.

At this period Moab spread from the Wadi Mojib to the Wadi El Hasa, her capital then being Er Rabba, probably Kir Hazeroth; Kerak was made capital in the time of King Mesha.(23) The ancient word "Moab" has almost entirely disappeared from modern Transjordan, but a plough is still in use in the Kerak district, which is known as the Maba plough, to distinguish it from the Hawrani plough. (24)

South of the Wadi Hasa, occupying the hills on both sides of the Wadi 'Araba, and including Tafila, Shobek and Petra, was the Aramaean Kingdom of Edom, with its capital at Bozrah, the modern El Buseira. (25)

The original inhabitants of the mountains of Seir were the Horites (i.e. "cave dwellers"), among whom Esau came to live while his brother Jacob was serving Laban in Padan-aram. Esau had three wives, Judith and Bashemath, the Hittites, and Mahalath, daughter of Ismael, son of Abraham. Their descendants, known as Edomites, dispossessed the Horites, and their Kings reigned in Mount Seir when the children of Israel were in Egypt.

In the south, the hills of Hisma were known as the land of Midian, and were occupied as now by nomad tribes. As far as is known, these states did not extend very far east beyond the line occupied by the modern Hijaz Railway.

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- (23) G. SCHULUMBERGER, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (4th Edition, 1923) p.154.
- (24) Very few Maba ploughs exist to-day north of Wadi Hasa, but in the Tafila district most people use the Maba plough, Er Rabba is also still known as Er Rabba El Mabi.
- (25) Robinson, SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION (1930) p.232.

The horse was introduced into Western Asia from Iran (c.2000 BC.) and no doubt it found its way into Trans-Jordan about this period.(26) From Asia it was taken into Egypt by the Hyksos and afterwards the war chariot became an indispensable adjunct ^{of} all Egyptian armies. The rich pasture lands of northern Transjordan soon became a breeding place for horses, and a new occupation arose, since the horse must have been in great demand for the armies of the Pharaohs. According to Strabo, the Nabataeans of the South had no horses, but used camels instead; their country however, abounded in wild asses.

Even to this day a considerable number of young horses, bred in the Kerak district and north thereof, are sold into the Beer Sheba district, whence they find their way into Egypt and Northern Palestine. The Arabs of Trans-Jordan are known to breed a particularly fine race of horses.

The presence of cairns, circles and dolmans in such widely separated places as Kufr Wal, north of Suf, Amman, Jerash and near Jisr Damiye, in addition to the large number found in Moab by the expedition which went there in 1881, points to some kind of stone worship as the earliest form of religion in Transjordan .(27)

This religion seems to have been prevalent in prehistoric days; traces of stone worship are found in India (exemplified to-day in the worship of the lingam stone)

(26) H. R. Hall, THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST, p.213

(27) C.R. Conder, HETH AND MOAB (1889)

France, Syria, England, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, Spain and other places (28).

In Transjordan, the Nabataeans worshipped a black stone about four feet high and two feet square, and some trace of this may exist to-day in the reverence paid by some Arabs to a stone in the tomb on Mount Hor; animal sacrifice is still carried out on this mountain top. (29)

Sacrifice, even human sacrifice, was an important part of ancient religious ceremonies, as the High Places, especially in Petra, clearly show. In Moab, Mesha, when in great danger, offered his eldest son as a sacrifice on the wall of Kir Haraseth (Kerak). (30)

It has been suggested that the so-called Garden Tomb in Petra points to star worship having been practiced there, and that the snake monument on the road to Jebel Harun shows that serpent worship was in vogue at a very early date. (31)

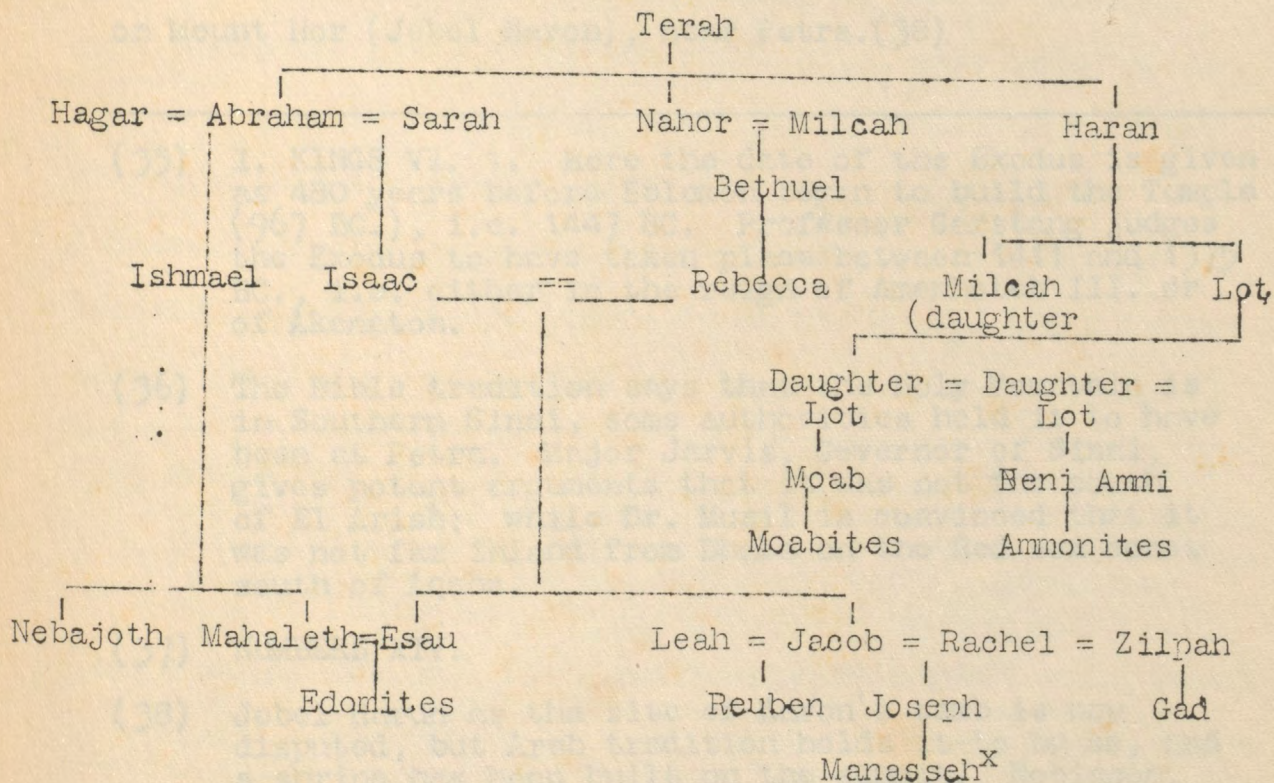
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- (28) The Greystone on the banks of the Tweed could marry a couple; the holed stone of Applecross cured those who put their heads into it; The Irish still swear by the stone of St. Patrick in Cashel; In the Isle of Man, laws were read annually at the stone of King Orry, to whom grass was offered. The Woden stone in Orkney, through the hole in which men clasped hands and swore faith, was recognized by law certainly as late as 1781. In Transjordan, in the Wadi Ma'in, near 'Ain of Minwa, there is a wishing stone to which the Ajarmah tribe go.
- (29) Robinson, THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION (1930) p.287.
- (30) II. Kings III. 27.
- (31) Robinson, THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION (1930) pp.81 and 104. Modern opinion does not endorse this view, nor can the two examples given support such a statement in the absence of other evidence, which so far has not been forth-in Transjordan.

/ coming

The Israelites looked upon the peoples of Edom, Moab, and Ammon differently. The Edomites, because of inter-marriage and near blood relationship, were admitted to Israelite privileges in the third generation, (32) while the peoples of Moab and Ammon, whose national deities were respectively Chemosh and Milcom, and whose relationship was remote, were totally excluded (33), probably the religion of the Edomites was influenced by the ancient pre-Moses Semitic cult which was in vogue in Sinai from a very early period (34).

(32) DEUTERONOMY XXIII. This rule did not prevent the sons of Moabitish women by an Israelite father from entering into the congregation. E.G. David was the great-grand-son of Ruth, a Moabite.

(33) Pedigree of the House of Abraham according to Genesis:-



^x(The three tribes which remained in Transjordan)

(34) The Babylonian word "Sin" which signified "Moon God", is still remembered in the word "Sinai" or "wilderness of sin."

The passage of the Children of Israel through Trans-Jordan (the Exodus). The route followed by the Children of Israel when they left Egypt and the date when this event took place is still a matter of controversy (35); Directly they entered Transjordan, however, their wanderings became easier to trace. When the Israelites fled from Egypt they made for the Holy Mountain (36), and, having arrived there, made no further concerted effort to enter Palestine for nearly forty years. (37)

When Moses was ready to march on Palestine, he first of all tried to break into that country by way of the Wadi 'Araba and Negb, but finding the resistance to his progress too strong, he had to turn southwards, and it was during this march in the Wadi 'Araba that Aaron died and was buried on Mount Hor (Jebel Haron), near Petra.(38)

(35) I. KINGS VI. 1. Here the date of the Exodus is given as 480 years before Solomon began to build the Temple (967 BC.), i.e. 1447 BC. Professor Garstang judges the Exodus to have taken place between 1411 and 1375 BC., i.e. either in the reign of Amenhotep III. or of Akenaton.

(36) The Bible tradition says that the Holy Mountain is in Southern Sinai, some authorities hold it to have been at Petra. Major Jarvis, Governor of Sinai, gives potent arguments that it was not far south of El Arish: while Dr. Musil is convinced that it was not far inland from Dhaba on the Red sea coast south of Aqaba.

(37) NUMBERS XIV.

(38) Jebel Harun as the site of Aaron's tomb is now disputed, but Arab tradition holds it to be so, and a shrine has been built on the summit. Robinson, in THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILISATION (1930) places the site of Mount Hor of the Bible at Jebel Maderah in the Wadi Figra, west of 'Ain Hasp.

The failure to break through into Palestine from the south left no alternative but to make a great turning movement through Transjordan, with the object of forcing an entry from the east. In order to carry out this manoeuvre, Moses asked the King of Edom for permission to pass through his Kingdom, from the Wadi 'Araba to the highlands beyond. (39) This request however, was refused, and the Israelites had ^again to resume their southerly march towards 'Aqaba, eventually passing through the Wadi Ithm, and thereby circumventing the land of Edom.

Having arrived finally on the high, flat¹ and east of the rugged mountains which guard the western boundary of Transjordan, the march north commenced, great care being taken to avoid a clash with Edom, Moab or Ammon. Although many names are given of places where halts were made, it is not now possible to identify them, but it seems that, after Ma'an, either the modern Haj or pilgrim road must have been followed, or else a great deviation made, passing by the important well of Batra, where later the Romans had a watch-tower, and thence to El Jafr and Bayir. (40) Possibly the

(39) NUMBERS XX. 14-21. The "King's high way" of verse 17 was probably the road from 'Ain Hasp to El Buseira which, excepting the Wadi Ithm, is the best road from the Wadi 'Araba to the top of the hills and would, therefore, be most likely to have been selected by Moses.

(40) NUMBERS XXI. 4. It is not likely that Moses would have gone further south than necessary and Edom must have ended before the Wadi Ithm, as there is but little water in those Mountains. The Wadi Ithm offers far the easiest route through these hills and there is, therefore, little reason to suppose that Moses would have chosen a more difficult route, and further, one which would have been more exposed to the Edomites.

Biblical Eje-abarim "in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising", was modern Bayir, and Oboth, therefore either Batra or El Jafr.(41) By taking this road, Moses would have avoided any possibility of a clash with the Edomites or Moabites, and by turning north-west from Bayir he would have arrived at the Arnon, which was the boundary between the Amorites and the Moabite Kingdoms.

On arrival at the Arnon, or modern Mojib, Moses sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kidemoth to ask Sihon, King of the Amorites, whose capital was Husban, for permission to pass peacefully through his country. Sihon, however, refused and, since there was no possibility of marching round his kingdom, which stretched all along the hills from the Arnon to the Jabbok, Moses had either to turn back to fight.

A battle took place at Jahaz, possibly modern Yajuz, north east of Suweile, (42) in which Moses^{was} victorious, and all King Sihon's kingdom fell into his hands. After this Sihon completely disappears from history, unless the modern name Jebel Shihan is a relic of his name(43).

After the battle of Jahaz, the Israelites moved westwards and pitched their camps on the banks of the Jordan. They then determined to secure their right flank from

(41) Had Moses followed the line of water from the Wadi Ithm, he would have passed by Abu Lissan, Wahaida, Et Tahuna, El' Udhruh, Wadi Hasa and Iejjun; all these places would not be far off the eastern border of Edom and Moab.

(42) L. Oliphant, THE LAND OF GILEAD (1880). Tristram in THE LAND OF MOAB (1873) says that many favour Khirbet Es Samhra, near Jebel Shihan south of the Mojib, but he gives no reason to support this view.

(43) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1871 & 1895)

molestation from the north, and with this object they sent an army against Og, King of Bashan and defeated him at Edrei (Der'a); (44) all Gilead up to the river Yarmuk then fell into their hands, half of it being given to the children of Reuben and Gad and the remainder of it, with Bashan, to the children of Manasseh.

When the Israelites crossed the Jordan, they came into land which belonged to the Moabite King, Balak. As he was not strong enough to prevent them from passing through his kingdom, he tried to make Bala'am curse the Israelites, but Bala'am declared that he could only speak what was put into his mouth by God, and disappointed the King by uttering a blessing instead. (45)

The great leader and law giver Moses, died after having at last reached a place on the borders of the Promised Land, whence he and his people could see the goal on which their hopes had been centred for so many years. It is related that he was taken up to Mount Nebo, near Madaba, so that he could see the Promised Land for the last time. He was buried in a valley near Beth-peor "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (46). The name Nebo is still preserved in Transjordan, but it has been suggested, though without any substantial reason, that Sawada, near Es Salt, is the true site of the Nebo, of Moses, which theory if correct, means that the name Nebo has been given in the modern times to a mountain some twenty-five miles away from the old mountain bearing that name.

(44) This expedition is doubted by some authorities.

(45) NUMBERS XXII-XXIV.

(46) DEUTERONOMY XXXIV.

The march of the Children of Israel through Transjordan had a threefold effect.

First, it exasperated the people through whose country the Israelites marched and embittered the relations between them and the Israelites.

The refusal of the descendants of Esau to help the Israelites in their march was never forgotten or forgiven. Constant wars upset the relations between the two nations, and, finally, when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem (587 BC.) the Edomites joined in the siege and pillaging of the town. The prophets of Israel all foretell the downfall of Edom, and this may be considered to have come about when the Edomites were forced by the Nabataeans to leave Mount Seir and to go to Palestine. There they became known as the Idumaeans, and from them came the Herodian Kings of Jerusalem.

Secondly, it resulted in the break^{up} of the newly founded Amorite Kingdom of Sihon.

Thirdly, it established the Israelites in parts of Transjordan, their chief stronghold there being Gilead, which from this time and for centuries to come, became more an adjunct of Palestine than a part of Transjordan. The link between Palestine and Gilead was very strong; Jair, one of the Jewish Judges, Jephtah, the Chief of the Israelitish army which defeated the Ammonites, and Saul the first King of Israel, all came from Gilead.

The first few centuries after the passage of Moses through Transjordan were a period of constant wars or raids, and a time of general turmoil. We read of Moab raiding and oppressing Israel in Palestine, until the latter, having gained a respite from the Philistines, who were pressing into

Palestine from Crete, turned upon Moab and, after killing her King Eglon, subdued the country and thus regained Jericho, driving back both the Moabites and Amalikites.(47). Then the Midianites or Bedouin of the south and east became so troublesome to both Transjordan and Palestine that first Haddad I., King of Edom, and then Gideon, the Israelitish commander attacked them.(48). The latter after killing two of their kings or sheikhs, named Oreb and Zeeb, (49) pursued the remainder through Joghbehar until he caught them unawares with about 15,000 men at Karkur (possibly Qoragir, near Kaf in the Wadi Sirhan). Here they were again routed, two more of their sheikhs Zebah and Zalmunna, being killed. (50)

The little state of Ammon also assumed a threatening attitude and was defeated, first at Aroer (Arar) on the Wadi Mojib, (51) and again, about 1020 BC., near Jabesh in Gilead, where she lost her King, Nahash. (52).

(47) JUDGES III. The Hebrew account states that Eglon was killed by a trick before the Israelites dared to attack the Moabites.

(48) JUDGES VI. 1.

(49) JUDGES VII. 25.

(50) JUDGES VIII., PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1878) p.87. Gideon crossed the Jordan and immediately arrived at Succoth, supposed, by Selah Merrill, to be the mound of Der'Ala in the Ghor, just north of the Zerqa river. He then went to Penuel, which Selah Merrill suggests is Zerqa village. However, as Joghbehar is near Suweile, he would not have gone to Zerqa, but Umm Er Rumman might have been the place; it is in a more commanding position and has a permanent water supply. Ej Jubeihah a hill near Suweile preserves the ancient name Joghbehar, and there are traces of ruins on it.

(51) JUDGES XI.

(52) I. SAMUEL XI. The Ammonites had apparently spread over a good deal of Gilead and had Beth Shan (Beisan) in their Kingdom. King Saul drove them out of Beth Shan, which belonged to Nahash, the Ammonite. PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (October, 1931) p.225.

The result of all these centuries of raids and counter-raids was that Moab regained her former possessions up to the waters of Nimrin, while Gilcad remained almost entirely an Israelitish stronghold east of Jordan. Ammon does not appear to have materially altered her boundaries, though she had been ousted, first by the Amorites and later by Moses.

Edom, south of the Wadi Hasa and stretching far westward into Palestine, being at this time rich and prosperous, seems to have been contented with keeping the Bedouin at bay, and living at peace with her neighbours.

Transjordan from 1000 BC. to the rise of the Assyrian Empire,
BC.853. ^b About 1000 BC., David became King of Israel and, being ^{an} ambitious young soldier, he at once instituted an aggressive policy with a view to avenging the insults which had been offered to his nation during the period of their weakness in the preceding centuries.

Moab was the first state to be attacked and crushed; whereupon, Hanun, King of Ammon, fearing that he would soon receive similar treatment, hurriedly made a treaty of alliance with the Aramaean tribes in Syria. This move caused David to alter his policy and he sent ambassadors to Ammon to arrange a treaty. King Hanun, however, treated the ambassadors with the utmost ignominy and, after shaving off half of their beards, dismissed them (53)

Nothing could now prevent war and David sent Joab with an army into Transjordan. After a campaign, the details of which are not known, the Ammonites were driven back into

(53) II. SAMUEL X.4.

their citadel at Ammon, where they were surrounded and besieged. Joab seized the water supply of the citadel(54) and, knowing that the place must soon surrender in consequence, he sent word to his royal master, who had been dallying in Jerusalem, in order that he might arrive at the battle-front in time to gain the honour and glory of capturing the Ammonite stronghold and sacking it. It was during an assault on Rabbath Ammon that Uriah the Hittite was killed, having been placed by orders of the King in a post where he was certain to be slain, thus enabling David to marry his widow.(55)

In this way all Transjordan to the North of Wadi El Hasa fell into the hands of David, and only Edom, which was governed by King Haddad II., remained independent. No reason is assigned for the attack on Edom, which now took place and was carried out with the utmost ferocity. Haddad II. and many of the male inhabitants were slain and Haddad III. fled to Egypt, surrendering all Edom up to 'Aqaba into David's hands.

The Jewish hold on Transjordan did not last long; before the end of the reign of David's successor, Solomon, Ammon and Moab both regained their independence, while Haddad III., having (56) married a sister of Tahpenes, wife of Pharaoh Shesonk I. (945-924 BC.), returned to his

(54) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1878)

(5⁵) II. SAMUEL XI. Makdassi, writing in the beginning of the 11th century, remarks on the castle of Goliath on a hill over-looking the city of Ammon and also the tomb of Uriyya (Uriah), over which stands a mosque. p. 189.

(56) I. KINGS XI. 14-22-

kingdom in the south of Transjordan. Ezion-geber (near Aqaba) remained in the hands of Solomon, which gave the Jews a foothold whence to launch attacks on Transjordan. According to I Kings XXII. 47, at the opening of the 9th century BC. Edom had again lost her independence.

During these centuries there were constant small wars between Transjordan and the Jews. Whenever the latter were strong, or had a warlike king, the states east of Transjordan were forced to pay tribute, but when the Jewish Kingdom became weak, rebellion and refusal to pay tribute ensued.

About 860 BC., Moab had an energetic King, Mesha. He has left a record of his reign on a stone ^{found} at Diban in 1868 (57)

(57)

Translation of the Diban Stone (from A. Forder's PETRA, PEREA AND PHOENICIA, 1923):-

"I am Mesha, son of Chemosh King of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years and I reigned after my father and I made High Place for Chemosh at Korkhah for he saved me from all the kings, and made me look on my enemies. Omri was King of Israel and he oppressed Moab for many years, for Chemosh was angry with his land.

His son succeeded him and he also said "I will oppress Moab". In my days he said this, but I looked on him and his house and Israel perished for ever. Omri took the land of Madaba, and dwelt on it during his days and the days of his son even forty years, but Chemosh captured it in my days. And I built Baal-Meon (Ma'in) and made therein the tank or pool and I rebuilt Kirjathan. The men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth (modern Attarus, five miles south of Ma'in) for himself, but I made war against the town and took it. And

I slew all the town for the pleasure of Chemosh and Moab, and I carried off thence the altar of Dodah, and dragged it before Chemosh in the city. And I settled the men of Sharon and the men of Macharoth therein. And Chemosh said to me 'Go seize Nebo beside Israel', and I went in the night and fought against it from break of day until noon and I took it. And I slew in all 7,000 men and boys and women and girls and damsels; for unto Ashtor-Chemosh I had devoted them, and I took thence the altars of Jehovah and dragged them before Chemosh.

And the King of Israel had built Jahaz (UmEl Waled?) and he dwelt in it whilst he waged war against me, but Chemosh drove him out before me. And I took of Moab 200 men all its chiefs and I carried them to Jahaz which I took to

(cont. on p.27)

Not only did he refuse to pay tribute to Israel, but he also extended his frontiers to Ma'an(58) He certainly made Kir-Haraset (Kerak) (59) into a strong fortress and supplied it with cisterns of water.

According to Jewish historians, Mesha suffered severe defeat at the hands of Ahab and Kerak was burnt, its inhabitants being massacred. Edom was in alliance with the Jews during this war. Some doubt has been cast on the authenticity of this campaign and it may have been mixed up with the one recounted in II Chronicles XX, when the Children of Moab, Ammon and Mount Seir (or Edom) allied themselves together to attack Jehoshaphat, the King of Judah(873-849 BC.) The attack apparently failed as the allies on reaching 'Ain Jidi quarrelled among themselves, the people of Mount

(Notes cont. from page 26)

to add it to Dibon.

It was I who built Korkhah, the wall of the woods and the walls of the mound and I rebuilt her gates and I rebuilt her towers. And I built the King's house and I made the conduits of the water tanks within the city.

But there was no cistern within the city, in Korkhah; so I commanded all the people 'make you each one a cistern in his house'. And I dug channels of Korkhah by means of the prisoners of Israel.

I rebuilt Aroer (El Arair on the Wadi Mojib), and I made the highway through the Arnon (Wadi Mojib), and I rebuilt Beth-barnoth, for it was overthrown.

I rebuilt Bezer for all Dibon was subject.

And I reigned 100 cities which I had added unto the land.

And I rebuilt Madeba and took Beth-Deblathan and Beth Boah Meon and I took there the sheep master;;; the flocks of the land. And Horonan there dwelt in it, the Dedanite. And Dedan said..... Chemosh said unto me 'Go down against Horonan' so I went down and warred;;;; Chemosh dwelt in it all my days.

(58) II KINGS III.16.

(59) Allusions to Kerak in the Bible are under different names, viz: Kir-haresth (Isaiah XV. 7); Kir-haraseth (II Kings III.25); Kir-harash (Isaiah XVI.11); Kir-heres (Jeremiah XLVIII.31 and 36); Kir Moab (Isaiah XV.1, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement(1896) p.327). Harith is used as the name for any eminence surmounted by ruins. This is the same word as Harash or Haraseth, etc., in Hebrew. Hence Kir-haraseth, etc., means Kerak "par excellence the city of the Hill". PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1871)p.155.

ASSTILA, BABYLONIA AND PERSIA.

Seir were utterly routed by the Moabites and Ammonites. After this Mesha returned to Kerak and at once invaded the country of the Edomites and took Ma'an, while the King of Judah took all the Wadi 'Araba up to 'Aqaba.

During the first period after the passage of the Children of Israel through Transjordan, the constant wars were probably due to the weakness of the Israelites, which encouraged the tribes east of the Jordan to raid them. Later as society in Palestine became more settled, and the need for trade became more pronounced, the Jews, when they were strong enough, constantly tried to secure the south of Transjordan, in their desire to keep the trade routes with Arabia and the East safe, and the port of Aqaba open.

CHAPTER II.

ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA AND PERSIA.

The first Assyrian monarch who advanced into the West was Sargon, King of Agane, who reigned as early as the 28th century BC. It is known that his army reached the shores of the Mediterranean.

After this expedition no further attempts to conquer Syria and Palestine were made until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., who reigned about 1120 BC. and under whom Assyrian arms again reached the Mediterranean. It then seemed possible that the Assyrians might absorb Syria and Palestine into their Empire, but their progress was stopped by an Aramaean King of Damascus, who severely defeated them about 1050 BC. and drove them back across the Euphrates. After this reverse no further advances westwards was attempted until the reign of Assur-nazipal, whose reign lasted from 884-859 BC.

This monarch invaded Syria and certainly reached the sea coast, where he received presents from the Phoenician cities. No permanent annexation was made, and Assur-nazir-pal left the conquest of Syria to his successors. After five years of War, the new king, Shalmaneser II., arrived in Syria; he was, however, met by an army of allies under Ben-hadad of Damascus, consisting of about 85,000 men, among whom were 1000 camel men of Gindibuh, the Arabian and 10,000 footmen of Baasha son of Bechah the Ammonite. A battle took place at Karkar on the Orontes and, although the Assyrian King claimed the victory his advance was checked and he returned to Nineveh. Four years later, Shalmaneser II. again marched upon Ben-hadad and his allies, but although the latter were defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, Palestine remained unconquered. A still more

determined effort was made in 846 BC., in which an army of 120,000 Assyrians was engaged, but, like the other expeditions, it achieved no permanent result.

So long as Ben-hadad was alive the alliance was kept together and the Assyrians made no headway; however, after Ben-hadad died, the allies became separated and when, in 842 BC. the Assyrian monarch again entered Syria, he inflicted a great defeat on Hazael, King of Damascus, killing 16,000 men and capturing 1591 chariots.(1) It was probably after this great victory that Shalmaneser defeated the Arabians and took Ammon.

Shalmaneser died in 823 BC. and was succeeded by his son Samas-vul, but it was not until the reign of his son, Vul-nirari, (810-783 BC.) that any further campaigns were made in Syria.

It seems that when Vul-nirari appeared in the neighbourhood of Damascus, Mariha, the King, surrendered the gates of the city to him, and, after the fall of this city, the way was at last open for further Assyrian conquests in the South. Not only did Palestine soon pay tribute, but also all Transjordan, including Edom, came under the Assyrian sway (2).

This state of affairs, however, was not permanent. Revolts near the borders of Assyria and, indeed, round Nineveh, together with a civil war and a pestilence (which ravaged the land during the six years after the eclipse, of the sun at

(1) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1872).

(2) H.R. Hall, THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST, Chapter X.

Nineveh in 793 BC.) So weakened the Assyrians, that Syria, Palestine and Transjordan were able to free themselves from foreign rule. It was probably during this temporary weakness of Assyria, that Amaziah King of Judah, attacked the Edomites, slaying 10,000 of them in the valley of Salt and capturing Selah (Petra), which he called Joktheel.(3).

Amaziah's successor, Uzziah, recovered the port of Elath, near 'Aqaba, but Ahaz, the next King, lost it to Rezin, King of Syria, who drove out the Jews and colonised it with Syrians.

In 745 BC., Tiglath-pileser began to reign at Nineveh; and at once commenced an energetic career of conquest; Palestine, Syria and Transjordan were over-run, and the people of Gilead carried off into captivity at Nineveh.(4) The prestige of the Assyrian arms was restored to such an extent that chieftains from far Taima sent presents to the King, while Moab and Edom had to submit to the rule of Residents, who saw that peace was kept and tribute paid.

In about 715 BC., during the reign of Sargon II., trouble with the Beduin in the south and east of Transjordan commenced, and expeditions had to be sent against the Tamudi, who lived west of Taima, the Ibadidi, in the mountains of Hisma, south east of 'Aqaba, and the Harsimani and Hajappa, who occupied the eastern part of Hisma. These tribes were defeated and the survivors carried off and settled in Samaria. It does not appear that the Assyrians actually reached either Taima or

(3) II KINGS XIV. 7. The valley of Salt was probably the Wadi Araba.

(4) II KINGS XV. 29.

Madain Salih, but their supremacy was acknowledged throughout this part of Arabia. An annual present was received from the distant Sabaeans (5) which seems to show that the Assyrians were in a position to control the great trade route from the South, and were consequently people whom it was desirable to conciliate.

The Bedouin round Jauf and from the South, who were to give a great deal of trouble during the next century, for the time being seem to have been so impressed with the strength of the Assyrian armies that their Queen, Shamsi, paid a tribute of 164 white camels to the Great King. (6)

In 705 BC. Sennacherib began his reign, and soon after a serious rebellion was stirred up by Merodach-baladan, a claimant to the Babylonian throne (7). Emissaries were sent to the West and a grant alliance was made with Luli, King of Tyre, Hezekiah, King of Judah, Melikram, King of Edom, Buduil, King of Beth-Ammon, and Kemosh-natbi, King of Moab (8). Many Bedouin chiefs joined the insurgents, and Jatie, Queen of the tribes near Jauf, sent an army, commanded by her brother Baskanu, to swell their ranks.

Sennacherib quelled this rebellion, and in 702 BC., after the Assyrians had won an overwhelming victory over the allies, Baskanu was captured, and the alliance was broken up.

Later, Babylon again revolted and was again supported

(5) JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XV.

(6) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA (1927) pp.479-489.

(7) Robinson, THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILISATION
(1930) p.362.

(8) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1872)p.198.

by the Bedouin but, in 689 BC., their city was destroyed and, in the following year, Sennacherib set forth to attack Queen Telkhunu in the desert. The Arabs were defeated and the Queen fled with her General, Khazael, to Aduma, or modern Jauf. The King followed them, whereupon the Queen, with Princess Tabua, surrendered and both were taken with all the local gods from Aduma to Nineveh; Khazael, who was chief of the powerful Kedar Arabs, escaped into the desert. This expedition had the desired effect, for although Khazael and most of his Arabs had escaped, Sennacherib had shown that he could send his armies across the desert and defeat the nomads on their own ground. The Kedar, therefore, remained quiet during the remainder of the King's reign (9) Edom was also completely subdued by Sennacherib and its city Selah (Petra) was stormed.(10)

Transjordan was at the end of Sennacherib's reign entirely under Assyrian influence and Kaush-gabre, King of Edom, paid tribute during the reign of his successor.(11)

Sennacherib's career of conquest ended in 681 BC., when he was murdered by two of his sons and, after a contest for the throne, another son, Esarhaddon succeeded.

When the new King of Assyria had arranged the affairs of Babylon, he at once set out for Palestine, where Abdi

(9) It is probable that the persons designated Queens were in reality priestesses, who held a great deal of power over the tribes. The Kedar were possibly a confederation of Arab tribes, somewhat like the Aneiza of to-day, whose headquarters were at Jauf, but whose pastures spread from the Euphrates in the east to the Syrian cultivation in the west and the Nefud in the South.

(10) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1872) p.199.

(11) Robinson, THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT COVOLISATION (1930) p.362.

Milkutti, King of Sidon, was in revolt. Sidon was captured and destroyed, and the King then proceeded to summon the subject monarchs of Palestine, Transjordan and Cyprus to meet him. Those who went to this meeting from Transjordan were Kemosh Gabri, King of Edom, Mazuri, King of Moab and Buduil, King of Bethammon (Amman) (12)

The Arab chief, Khazael, at once repaired to Nineveh with presents and the King, realising how important it was to humour the Kedar, restored the idols captured at Aduma and recognised Khazael as Chief of the Kedar, fixing the tribute which was increased by the amount of 65 camels. At the same time, wishing to win over the inhabitants of Aduma, he sent Princess Tabua to them as Priestess. About 675 BC., Khazael died and his son, Uaite (also Jalu) was recognised as Chief of the Kedar, and the tribute was again increased by 1000 minae of gold, 1000 precious stones, 50 camels and 1000 measures of spices.

A rebellion against Uaite soon broke out under a chief named Uabu, who was probably incited to revolt by the Babylonians and Egyptians. Uaite appealed for help to Esarhaddon, who sent an army which defeated Uabu, took him prisoner and sent him to Nineveh.

Uaite soon found that it was one thing to call upon the Assyrians to help him to suppress the Bedouin, but having regained his authority by employing foreign arms, it was quite another thing to maintain it, after the Assyrian withdrawal

(12) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1872) p.199.

in the face of the hostility of the angry tribesmen. The only way in which he could hope to maintain his hold over the tribes was to throw in his lot with them and submit to their wishes, which meant rebelling against the Assyrians. When the rebellion broke out, however, it was crushed by Esarhaddon and Uaite fled.(13) The conqueror did not attack Jauf, as the Princess Tabua remained loyal; her long stay at the Court of Nineveh may have accounted for this.

After defeating Uaite, the Assyrian King made another expedition into the desert in the region of Ba'zo and Ha'zo(14), killing eight kings, or chiefs, and seizing all their gods and cattle, while other chieftains only saved themselves by flight. Among these is mentioned King Laili of Jadi; he, however, later sent letters of submission to Nineveh and, in return, received back his gods and was appointed a tributary chieftain of a part of the Wadi Sirhan.

After Esarhaddon's death in 668 BC., Uaite immediately returned and made his peace with the new King, Ashurbanipal. Trouble soon began in Babylon and thereupon the Bedouin rose in revolt to help their friends the Babylonians. The King was at first too much occupied with his schemes for the conquest of Egypt to care about the rebellion of an Arab tribe and, as a

(13) It is probable that, on this expedition against Uaite, the Assyrian army penetrated into the territory of the Nabatai or Nabataeans, which would make the first mention of these people some years earlier than the usual date 647 BC.

(14) Musil supposes Ba'zo and Ha'zo to be in the Wadi Sirhan, Hazo being the quick-sand now known as Hadhodha (a dh and z are easily interchangeable), and Ba'zo being Kulban-el-biz. G. Zeidan in his book "The ARABS BEFORE ISLAM (1908) p.98 thinks that Ba'zo is modern EL BAHREIN and its capital was YAD !.

result, the rising soon assumed such alarming proportions that his communications with Assyria were threatened. It was during this rebellion that a certain Bedouin chief, named Yatha or Vahta, over-ran Edom, Moab and Ammon. Palestine was also invaded, but this must have been a raid which ended as soon as the Assyrians came upon the scene.

Orders at last arrived to meet this threat by turning out the Syrian garrison, and the extent to which the rebellion had grown is shown by the fact that encounters with rebels took place north of Homs, and also in Moab and Edom. Uaite and his Bedouins, however, could not withstand an attack in the settled area, and therefore retreated to the desert, after suffering many casualties. The effect of this was that the former unpopularity and mistrust of Uaite began to revive and he took refuge with Natmu, King of Nabataeans. The Kedar thereupon appointed Ammuladi as thier chief, but soon afterwards, while he was making a raid into Moab, he was captured by Kamashalta, the King of that state and promptly sent to Nineveh. About the same time, Abijate, son of Teri, another Kedar chieftain, arrived in Nineveh to make his peace. He was pardoned and, after the flight of Uaite, was appointed Chief of the Kedar, on condition that he paid a tribute of gold, precious stones, eyebrow dyes, camels and asses.

Thus, by the year 648 BC., the desert area was subdued and when, in this year, Babylon also fell, Natmu, King of the Nabataeans, saw fit to submit to the Assyrians, and, as a mark of good will, he handed over his guest, Uaite.

The tranquillity of the desert did not last long. Abijate had hardly returned to the Kedar when the tribesmen, suspecting a nominee of the Assyrians, appointed Uaite, a nephew of the former Uaite, to be their chief. Abijate, in order to keep

his chieftainship, had to make terms with Uaite and agree to start a new rebellion, which was joined by the Nabataeans, who feared to incur the hostility of the Kedar.

This new revolt roused the Assyrians, and, between 640 and 638 BC., Ashurbanipal fought his ninth campaign against the Bedouin, the main battle taking place at Azalia I (probably in the vicinity of modern Palmyra) where the Arabs suffered an over-whelming defeat. The Assyrians then attacked and took the main Camp of the Kedar, capturing Uaite's wife, mother, sister and all his gods, who were taken to Damascus.

The remaining tribes retreated in terror with their cattle ^{to} in the volcanic area known as the Leja, where the nature of the ground would have enabled them to hold out against any attacks.

Realising this, the Assyrian commander desisted from pursuit of them into the Leja, and merely held the watering-places and awaited events. The Arabs after a very short time were driven to killing their camels for the water contained in their bodies, but this only delayed capitulation for a day or two. Uaite, in the meantime, who had not entered the Leja, was captured by his own people, who were furious at the disaster into which he had led them, and handed over to the Assyrians. All the captives and their animals were then sent to Nineveh where Uaite was tied to the city gate by a rope put through his jaw. He was later pardoned but did not return to the desert.

After this there was no more trouble from the Bedouin while Ashurbanipal lived, and although before he died, in 626 BC., the forces which were to destroy his kingdom were fast gathering, so terrible a lesson had he given to the Bedouin that they made no move.

The Assyrians appear to have had few friends. So long as their armies were defeated, their enemies remained quiet; but the constant wars of the previous century had drained the nation, and when, during the closing year of Ashurbanipal's reign, it was no longer possible to maintain great armies, the conquered nations retaliated. Nineveh was captured and utterly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians in 612 BC.; so it happened that almost the same generation which had seen the Assyrian conquest of Egypt and the sack of Thebes saw too the utter eclipse of the Assyrian Empire.

"Nineveh the great is fallen, is fallen", the report which has come down to us, seems even now to declare the amazement which must have been felt, as the shattering news was passed from mouth to mouth.

Three years after the fall of Nineveh, the last Assyrian King, who had fled to Harran, made one attempt to regain his empire. Helped by Egyptian arms, he marched into Iraq but was decisively defeated, and the Assyrians vanish from history.

THE NABATAEANS. Mention has been made of this people in connection with the risings against Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, and, before passing on to the rise of the Babylonian Empire, it might be as well to go a little more fully into their history.

There is considerable controversy over the origin of the Nabataeans. Nebaioth is mentioned in Genesis XXV.13 as the first child of Ismael, and in Isaiah LX.7 the Nabaioth are stated to be a pastoral tribe. The Assyrians talk of a tribe Na Ba Al Ti and Pliny knew of the Nabataei. Josephus says that the Nabataeans were descended from Babajoth. Their language was

at first probably Arabic, Aramaic being adopted in Roman times. (15)
Their passage from the the South into Transjordan is marked by monuments at Madain Salih, which would seem to point to their being an Arab tribe in its usual course of migration, though other theories have been put forward. (16)

They are first mentioned in history by the Assyrians, and, as early as 646 BC., they were powerful enough to win the attention of an Assyrian army, which defeated their king, Nathu (or Natmu), and for a short time brought the people into subjection. At this period they appear to have inhabited the lands south and east of Edom, occupying the Wadi Sirhan and the Hisma mountains. About 587 BC., Zedekiah, King of Judah, persuaded the Edomites of the Seir Mountains to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar; consequently they shared the fate of their allies in Palestine and a great many were carried off into

(15) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) pp.7 and 12.

(16) Mommsen HISTORY OF ROME (1872) Vol.IV., p133 says:-

"This remarkable nation has often been confounded with its eastern neighbours, the wandering Arabs, but it is more closely related to the Aramaean branch than to the proper Children of Ishmael. The Aramaean or Syrian stock must have in very early times sent forth from its most ancient settlements about Babylon, a colony probably for the sake of trade to the northern end of the Arabian Gulf; these were the Nabataeans on the Sinaitic Peninsula between the Gulf of Suez and Eila in the region of Petra (Wadi Musa)."

Mr. HOBBSfield, of the Transjordan Antiquity Department, also thinks that the Nabataeans came from the East and not from the South, and states that "the Nabatu of Assyrian records were east of the Wadi Sirhan and near the Euphrates". He also draws attention to the fact that the crowstep architecture of Petra is in the tradition of Neo-Babylonia.

In the test I have leant to Dr. Musils way of thinking, i.e. that the Nabataeans were in the south of Transjordan. My reason for this is that the age-long route for migration of the nomad tribes has been from the central steppes of Arabia into the fertile fringe in the North, it is possible that the crowstep architecture may have been brought to Transjordan centuries before the Nabataeans.

exile in Babylon. Sometime^{about} this period, those Edomites who were left in Transjordan, being very much weakened, migrated from the mountains of Seir and went to live in southern Palestine; probably they were unable to stand the pressure of the Nabataeans from the south.

From the earliest times the Nabataeans were interested in the carrying trade, and as soon as they settled in Petra and the surrounding district, it became of the utmost importance to them to maintain it, since they were in a position to control all the roads from Central Asia to Egypt, and make great profit out of transporting and guarding goods. The many towers and forts of Nabataean origin scattered over Transjordan were evidently designed with the object of either protecting the frontier or of diverting the trade through Petra.

The constant quarrels of the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt no doubt gave the Nabataeans an opportunity of strengthening their position and it is probable that they first became an important power about that period. In the later Ptolemy period, Nabataeans were employed to garrison the Egyptian frontier, this no doubt being the cheapest and most effective way of preventing inroads from the East into the Delta.(17)

Up to the present very little is known of this nation. In Petra there are a number of Nabatean inscriptions and many more will no doubt come to light when the town has been excavated, although weather rapidly obliterates inscriptions from the soft sandstone from which the monuments were carved.

(17) JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XV.

RISE OF THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE. No sooner had Nineveh fallen, than the states which had been subject to Assyria began to rebel against Ashur-uballit, the last Assyrian King who had fled to Harran. Pharaoh Necho (609-693 BC.) was the first to rise and he, after defeating Josiah, King of Judah, at Megiddo, quickly over-ran Syria and Palestine. The Egyptians, however were no longer a conquering race and when, in 605 BC., Nebuchadnezzar advanced into Syria at the head of a Babylonian army, he easily routed them at the battle of Carchemish (18).

The Kings of Judah and of Transjordan had to decide between adopting a pro-Egyptian or a pro-Babylonian policy. At first, Jehoiakim, the King of Judah, submitted to Nebuchadnezzar but, in 597 BC., he revolted and, in the general disorder which followed, bands of Syrians, ^a Chaldees, Ammonites and Moabites, under the pretence of being allies of Babylon, raided the settled population round Jerusalem and did much harm. King Jehoiakim was dead and his son Jehoiachin reigning in his stead, when Nebuchadnezzar arrived before Jerusalem; as no help was forthcoming from Egypt, Jehoiachin surrendered and was taken with several thousand of his subjects to Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar appointed a new king, Zedekiah, who for some time remained loyal to Babylon, but when, in 590 BC., Psammetichus II, Pharaoh of Egypt, invaded Palestine, the Jewish policy veered. The King of Edom, Moab and Ammon appear to have made an alliance with Tyre and Sidon and to have sent ambassadors to Zedekiah to persuade him to take part in a general revolt against Babylon. The revolt broke out and the Babylonian King hastened to suppress it. Apries, who had

(18) H.R. Hall, THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST, p.543.

become Pharaoh in 588 BC., cared little about the allies, but marched into Palestine to try and relieve Tyre which was being attacked by Nebuchadnezzar; he was, however, unsuccessful and so, leaving Tyre and the allies to their fate, he returned to Egypt. An easy victory ensued; Jerusalem was captured in 586 BC. and Sidon fell a little later after which Amman was attacked and taken. Moab and Edom also suffered, while Tyre sustained a siege for thirteen years before submitting. In this rebellion Zedekiah lost ^{his} life and a large number of Jews were taken away into captivity. After these events a certain Gedaliah was appointed governor of such Jews as remained, and he took up his residence at Mispah, a little north of Jerusalem.

At this time Baalis was King of Ammon and he, wishing to take vengeance on Gedaliah, sent Ishmael, a member of the Royal House, to murder him. Gedaliah was informed of the plot but refused to believe it and when, three months after the siege of Jerusalem, ^hIsmael arrived at Mispah with ten men, he was received with every sign of hospitality. Ishmael, nevertheless, murdered his host, and followed up this crime by committing further atrocities. He then managed to evade capture and arrived at Ammon. (19)

Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 BC. and was succeeded by Amel Marduk, who was deposed after about one year. Nergal-shar-usur, who took his place, reigned until 556 BC., when his son succeeded ~~to~~ him for a few days, only to be forced to give way to Nabunaid. This King succeeded to an Empire which

(19) II KINGS XXIV-XXV and Olmstead, HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA (1931)

included all Iraq, Syria and Transjordan, and Palestine to the Egyptian frontier at Gaza.

Much of Nabunaid's reign was spent in making war and, during his frequent absences, Belshazzar ruled in Babylon. In 553 BC. there was a revolt among the Bedouin and the King advanced to Aduma (modern Jauf), which he captured; then, advancing further south, he reached Taima and slew its King and many of the inhabitants. Here he proceeded to build a palace in the Babylonian style, oblivious to the fact that the Persians under Cyrus were advancing on Babylon, and that the downfall of his Empire was imminent.

When the Persians finally invested Babylon, the city was able to hold out for some time, owing to the massive fortifications erected by Nebuchadnezzar; but in 540 BC. after the invaders had sacked Opis and taken Sippar, Nabunaid surrendered and was taken prisoner with his late regent, Belshazzar. (20)

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. After the fall of Babylon, all her possessions in Syria, Transjordan and Palestine fell into the hands of the Persians. Taima, which held a key position as regards the great trade route from the south of Arabia, was apparently the last to hold out, and Cyrus was forced to conduct a campaign in Arabia to drive out the Arabs. This was successful and, with Taima in his hands, the Persian King was in a position to control the Middle East. (21) Persian officials were then put in charge of the conquered districts

(20) Olmstead, HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA (1931)

(21) O'Leary, ARABIA BEFORE MUHAMMED (1927)

and, in the reign of Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, these officials are found petitioning their King, on behalf of the people of Phoenicia, Syria, Moab and Ammon, to prevent the Jews from re-building the Temple (22).

In the reign of Darius (521-485 BC.), the Persian Empire was divided up into twenty districts, each under a Satrap; Transjordan was included with Palestine, Syria (up to the Euphrates and Taurus) and Cyprus in the Satrapy of Palestine. (23) The Arabs round Taima were brought under control and were forced to pay an annual tribute of 1000 talents of frankincense to the Persian King. (24).

The authority exercised by the Satrap in such a distant part of the Empire as Transjordan must have been light, for in the reign of Xerxes (485-464 BC.), the Moabites and Ammonites were constantly attacking the Jews with the object of stopping the re-building of their Temple in Jerusalem. During this period also, Ammon was able to enlarge her territory at the expense of Moab, until it included all Belqa to the Wadi Mojib.

On the whole the Persian system of government worked well, and was in existence up to the invasion of Alexander the Great in 333 BC.

(22) THE WORKS OF FLAVIOUS JOSEPHUS, Book XI, Chapter I.

(23) H.R. Hall, THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST.

(24) JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol.XV.

CHAPTER III.

FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE ROMANS.

In the year 334 BC., Alexander the Great crossed into Asia from Macedonia and began a career of conquest, which for speed and success has never been surpassed and seldom equalled.

After completely routing Darius III. at the battle of the Issus (333 BC.), Syria and Palestine lay at his feet, though Gaza, possibly defended by Nabataean soldiers, put up a very stout resistance. After sacking this town, Alexander was able to march on Egypt, which submitted in 332 BC.

In 331 BC., the great conqueror directed his army at the heart of the Persian Empire, again defeating Darius at the battle of Arbella, which opened the way for the capture of Babylon and Susa. The road to India now lay open and, after a series of victories, he arrived on the banks of the Indus.

In 323 BC., Alexander died, at the age of thirty-three after a reign of thirteen years, and just as he was preparing for a campaign in the Arabian Peninsula. No heir succeeded him; his only child was not born until after his death. Antigonus, the ablest of his generals, aimed at the imperial power, but was killed shortly after the death of Alexander.

The Empire then fell into three parts: the grandson of Antigonus took the European portion, Seleucus, most of the old Persian Empire, including Syria as far as just north of Damascus, while Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria fell to Ptolemy.

About 315 BC., Antigonus conquered Syria and a series of conflicts took place between him and the Seleucids until Antiochus I. became King in 280 BC. From then onwards a constant struggle went on between the Ptolemy of Egypt and the Seleucid King of Syria.

Foundation of the Greek Cities in Transjordan. It seems probable that Transjordan escaped the armies of Alexander and that when Ptolemy took Egypt and the south of Syria he had gradually to penetrate from the North into a more or less hostile country,

Pella, modern Khirbet Fahl, some miles south of Jisr El Majami and Dion, south of Pella, were founded at this period. It is suggested that Pella was built by one of the soldiers who fought under Alexander, and that it was so called in honour of the other Pella, the birth-place of the Great Captain. (1)

The Seleucid Kings whole-heartedly supported Alexander's plan of founding cities and filling them with Greeks. It is probable that Abila or Abella (Abil) and Gadara (Umm Qeis), like Pella and Dion, were founded about the beginning of the third century BC. (2) Modern excavations have disclosed the fact that

(1) Mr. Horsfield, of the Transjordan Antiquity Department, believes that Fahl is the root of the word Pella, and that there was a town at this place before the time of Alexander.

I think it possible that the original name was Fahl, but that the place was re-named for the reason given above. After the Arab conquest, however, the original name Fahl was adopted, in a wave of nationalism, instead of the despised and hated foreign one. The same thing happened in the case of Ammon, which was re-named Philadelphia after Ptolemy II. captured the town and rebuilt it in 285 BC.; after nine hundred years the original name was restored by the Arabs.

(2) G. Adam Smith, ATLAS OF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, Map 38, gives Dion at modern Suf and Abella as Irbid. J.L. Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND (1822), p.269. supposes Tel Abil in the Kafarat to be Abella of the Decapolis, but there are no remains now visible there.

Jerash was probably founded by one of the early Seleucids; an inscription in the Nymphaeum calls the place Antioch. (3)

The Greek invasion of Southern Transjordan. About 311 BC. Antigonus of Syria sent an army of 4000 light-armed infantry and 600 cavalry, under the command of Athenaeus, to subdue the Nabataeans.

The army passed through Ammon and Moab unmolested and, by making a forced march (2200 stades in three days and nights) came upon the enemy unawares, and, having seized the Rock (Petra), (4) captured a great quantity of booty. Athenaeus did not remain long in Petra; thinking the enemy some way off and knowing his army to be tired, he retired a short distance and pitched his camp without proper outposts. The result was that the Arabs attacked the invaders, who were completely annihilated, except for 50 cavalry, who escaped.

Upon hearing of this defeat, Antigonus wrote a diplomatic and peaceful letter to the Nabataeans, hoping by this means to lull them into a false sense of security, but, at the same time, he started preparations for a fresh campaign.

The Nabataeans, however, were not deceived, and when Antigonus sent his son, Demetrius, with an army of 4000 cavalry and 4000 infantry, their approach was known and the people of Petra were able to take refuge, with their cattle and goods, in the desert.

(3) Mr. Horsfield, Antiquity Department, Transjordan.

(4) Petra was mentioned by the Arab writers Al Maqdassi Al Ostakhri and Al Makrizi under the name of Al Raqim. Zeidan in "THE ARABS BEFORE ISLAM (1908)" says that Al Raqim is a corruption of the greek word Arke one of the names of Petra. In Hebrew it is known as Sela (a rock).

Demetrius reached Petra, only to find a few old men there, who offered him money to retire and leave them in peace. He accepted this offer and the Greeks accordingly returned to Damascus (5).

Transjordan during the 150 years Following Alexander. In the Northern district and Ammon, the building of Greek cities and the general Hellenisation of the country around them continued, and, as time went on, the sphere of influence of each city spread. The Greek language and religion, were, of course, important factors in the changes which took place.

In the middle south, Moab declined, Ammon having taken all her territory south of the Wadi Mojib, while the pressure of the Nabataeans from the south gradually shifted her southern frontiers.

For some years after Antigonus' campaign against the Nabataeans, Transjordan was left in peace, but the succession of Ptolemy II. to the throne of Egypt in 286 BC. brought about a new era of conquest. After a campaign in the north, in which he captured Ammon, Ptolemy turned his attention to Arabia. About 280 BC., he sent an army down the coast of the Red Sea, and was able to effect the capture of Taima, El 'Ala and Medain Salih, thus gaining complete control of the great spice road from the South. Foreign control of the southern trade routes no doubt made the Nabataeans restless, and it appears that about this time the King of Egypt invaded their country. (6)

(5) A. Kennedy, PETRA, p.30. (Account of Diodorus Siculus).

(6) JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XV.

This invasion, however, seems to have caused only a temporary set-back to Nabataean ambitions. During the next century, and largely owing to hostilities between Egypt and Syria, the Nabataeans extended their sphere of influence and trade, until they reached nearly to Busra, in the north-eastern part of Trans-Jordan, and well into Palestine, in the West. (7)

In 218 BC., the hostilities between Antiochus III. and Ptolemy resulted in Gadara and Abila being captured by the former. He then marched south, and, failing to take Philadelphia by storm, cut off the water supply and thus forced the city to surrender. (8) Although supported by the Nabataeans, Antiochus' supremacy did not last long, for Ptolemy recaptured the north^{of} Transjordan in 217 BC., and maintained his hold on the country until 202 BC. In this year Antiochus again invaded it, only to be driven out in 201 BC.

In 197 BC., a treaty of peace was made between the two kings, whereby Antiochus retained Syria and Palestine. For the rest of his reign he gave little heed to northern Transjordan, otherwise he could never have allowed the little state of Iraq El Amir to rise to power under Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus was the son of a certain Jew called Joseph (9)

(7) An inscription found at EL Khelasa, west of Beersheba, dated about 96 BC., reads, "This is the place which Nathairu (?) made for the life of Aretas, King of the Nabataeans." PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, QUARTERLY STATEMENT, 1994-1915, p.145.

(8) THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, Vol.VLL, p.729.

(9) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XII, Chapter IV.

Joseph once went to Alexandria with his brother, Solymius, who took with him a daughter. Whilst supping with the King, Joseph fell in love with an actress of great beauty. He told his brother of this, and entreated him to conceal his offence, because a Jew is forbidden by the Law to touch a stranger. Solymius promised to bring the actress to him, but one night when Joseph was disordered with drink, Solymius brought his own daughter instead. When Joseph found out the trick, he commended his brother and married the lady, though she was his niece.

who was of a noble Jewish House, being descended from Simon the Just, Chief Sanhedrin in the time of Alexander the Great. During the two years that Ptolemy IV. held Palestine, Joseph was appointed Farmer of the taxes, and after the treaty of 197 BC., he held the same post under the Syrian King. (10)

Hyrchanus, on being sent to Egypt by his father to congratulate Ptolemy on the birth of a son, arrived in Alexandria and proceeded to extort 1000 talents (11) from his father's agent. With this money he gave costly presents to Ptolemy and the Egyptian court, thereby ingratiating himself with everyone. This popularity and the means whereby it had been attained, so incensed the rest of his family that they decided to kill him on his return to Jerusalem. Hyrchanus, however, was prepared for this, and succeeded in outwitting those who had been sent to waylay him, two of his brothers being killed in the conflict which ensued.

After his escape, he fled to Transjordan, where he made a small principality for himself, building as his residence a moated castle, the ruins of which are now known as Iraq El Amir. (12) Finally hearing that the new King of Syria, Antiochus IV., was about to attack him, Hyrchanus committed suicide in

(10) Conder, HETH AND MOAB (1889) p.169.

(11) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XII. Josephus does not mention whether the talents were of silver or gold. As, according to Peake's Commentary on the Bible, p.116, a talent of the former was worth £412:10, and of the latter £5775, it would appear that, whichever Hyrchanus took, his family's anger was justified.

(12) The gardens and caves around this castle were famous in their day. The latter are still in good repair.

175 BC., after ruling over the Arabs in the vicinity for about twelve years. His castle was called Tyre, which in Arabic is Sur. The modern Wadi Sir is the last echo of this eccentric chieftain. (13).

The Jewish Invasion of Transjordan. Soon after the accession of Antiochus IV., orders were issued forbidding the Jews to practice their religion or to conform to the customs enjoined by it. Circumcision was forbidden; copies of the Law were ordered to be collected and destroyed; the Sabbath was to be desecrated and the Jews were to be forced to eat swine flesh.

Antiochus had entirely disregarded the Jewish national feeling, and although the new Governor, Apollonius, by systematic persecution, was able to carry out his master's policy in Jerusalem himself, he soon met with resistance from outside.

Mattathias was the first to take action against the persecutors of his race, by killing the King's officers, who had been sent to enforce the new edict. He then fled to the mountains with his five sons, and other malcontents soon followed them and shared their exile.

Resistance was in the air and, after the death of Mattathias, a deliverer came forward, in the person of Judas Maccabeus,

(13) There is a legend attached to this place, which is preserved in the name of the palace - Qasr El 'Abd, "the house of the black slave" - and in the name of a hill near by - Mutull El Hosan, "place of appearance of the horse". The Emir had a beautiful daughter whom, in his absence, he left in charge of a slave. The two fell in love and the Princess promised to marry the slave, on condition that he would build her a palace. Before he could finish it, the Emir appeared on a horse. Thereupon the slave committed suicide and the Emir burnt the corpse.

"The Hammerer", his third son.

Judas proved to be a skilful general, and, with very inferior forces, was able to defeat the armies sent against him. In 167 BC. Apollonius was defeated and killed; in 166 BC., Seron, with a regular force, was put to flight on the way to Jerusalem; and, in 165 BC. an army of 40,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry was overthrown. Later, another even stronger army was driven back and, for the time being, Jerusalem was saved.

In 164 BC., Antiochus IV. died and Judas began to enlarge the boundaries of the little Jewish state, his first expedition being to the south, where he defeated a large force of Arabs from Transjordan and the Wadi Arabah. He then advanced against Ammon, defeated the Ammonites under their Chief, Timotheus, and destroyed the town of Jazer, north of Es Salt.

The campaign against the Ammonites had hardly concluded when troubles broke out in Gilead, and the Jews were forced to flee to the fortress of Dameth in the Leja, where they were besieged, by Timotheus. Judas advanced with about 8000 men through the mountains of Gilead, and, after three days of forced marches, encountered a friendly tribe of Nabataeans, from whom he learnt that the Jews in Busra were also in peril. Proceeding there, he took the town after which the Jewish army marched in one night to Dameth. So sudden was its appearance before the fortress that Timotheus and his army fled, but Judas pursued them and defeated them at Raphana and again at Ashtoreth Karnaim. The latter town was sacked and Timotheus perished in the flames of its temple.

The army returned by the Yarmuk valley, having succeeded in intimidating the enemies in the East, though no permanent acquisition of territory resulted from the raid.

Fresh trouble, however, was brewing in Syria and, in 163 BC. another Seleucid army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horsemen advanced against Jerusalem. In the battle which ensued, Judas was defeated and Jerusalem was only saved by the fact that troubles in Antioch made it necessary for a peace to be hastily patched up, in order that the general, Lysias, might be free to return home. The peace was not of long duration and, in 161 BC., a fresh army was despatched south and marched through the north of Transjordan, massacring many Jews who had taken refuge at Abila. Judas was unable to collect sufficient forces, but, undaunted, he attacked the enemies of his country and, after being surrounded, was killed, fighting to the last.

After the death of Judas, Transjordan remained peaceful for some years until, about 103 BC., the general weakness of Egypt and Syria caused the Jews and the people of northern Transjordan to resume hostilities.

Alexander Jannaeus emerged as the Jewish champion, his first blow falling on the Greek city of Gadara (Umm Qeis) which he captured and destroyed after a siege of ten months. Although foiled in his first attack on Amatheus, a stronghold in the Ghor, north of the Zerqa river, he returned and took the town on the second assault; then, having defeated the Moabites and Gileadites, he confronted the Arab chieftain, Obodas, and was signally defeated by him. The battle took place on the banks of the river Yarmuk, where another Arab, 700 years later, won a great victory over the Byzantines.

Alexander was not discouraged, but returned with fresh troops and, in a campaign which lasted from 84-81 BC., took Pella, Dion and Gerasa. At the time of his death (78 BC.) all Gilead, Ammon and Moab to the Wadi Hasa were in his hands. To guard his conquests from the Nabataeans in the south he built the fortress of Machaerus near Madaba, now known as El Mukawer (14).

These constant wars and the weakness of Antiochus XIII, had thrown the Syrian government into utter confusion, and so insecure were they, and such was the dread of the Ptolemy of Chacis, that the people of Damascus voluntarily submitted to the rule of the Nabataean dynasty of Petra.

Six kings of this dynasty ruled over this district in the following order:- Aretas Philhellen (95-50 BC.), whose rule in Damascus began in 85 BC.; Malchus (50-28 BC.); Obodas (30-7 BC.); Aretas II. Philodemos (7BC.-40 AD.), whose daughter was married to, and divorced by, Herod Antipas the Tetrarch; Malchus (40-75 AD.), who fought against the Jews as an ally of Vespasian; and Dabel (75-106 AD.) (15).

This dynasty probably was only completely independent in southern Syria, until the arrival of Pompey in 64 BC. After that date it gradually became more and more subject to Roman interference until, long before the formation of the province of Arabia, the kings were tributaries of the Roman Emperor.

(14) C.R. Conder, JUDAS MACCABEUS (1908)

(15) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1895)
p. 69.

Effect of the Jewish Invasion on Transjordan. The result of the Jewish invasions of Transjordan was disastrous to the Greek cities in the north; not only were some of them destroyed but others lost their independence and the tumult of the times gave the Bedouin of the East an opportunity of extorting blackmail on the pretence of protesting their weaker neighbours. These cities, however rose again to prosperity under Roman rule, but the little states of Ammon and Moab disappeared for ever, the former being absorbed into the Greek Federation of the Decapolis and the latter being merged into the growing Nabataean Kingdom.

The Nabateans alone gained by the general chaos into which the old regime had fallen, and, by the time Pompey arrived in Syria, they had extended their influence ^{far} east of the modern Hijaz Railway ^{and} to Damascus, including Busra and Jebel Druz. They had made an agreement with the Pharisees about 67 BC., by which if they helped to attack Aristobulos, they were in return to receive back all the territory they had lost to Alexander Janneus. King Aretas, therefore, sent an army of 50,000 men to besiege Aristobulos in his palace, but he was obliged to raise the ~~siege~~ ^u, owing to the mediation of Scarus and Gabinius, two of Pompey's mediators, who had preceded him to the East.

During his withdrawal, Aretas was attacked and defeated by Aristobulos before he could reach his own country. Thereupon Gabinius destroyed the fortress of Machaerus, which had remained in Jewish hands and whose garrison no doubt was instrumental in attacking the Nabateans on their return to Petra (16).

(16) Mommsen, HISTORY OF ROME (1872).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

The arrival of Pompey. The main work before Pompey was the restoration of order in Syria and Palestine and this he and his legions soon accomplished. After rebuilding Gadara, where his freedman, Dimetreous, was born, he established the freedom of the Greek cities in Transjordan, giving them communal freedom their own councils, the right of coinage, the right of association with each other for defence and commerce, the right of asylum, and the right of property and administration in the surrounding district. (1) In return for these benefits, the cities agreed to submit their political and legal administrations to the Governor of Syria for revision, to pay taxes for imperial purposes, to be liable for military service, and later a clause was inserted that the image of Caesar be put on their coins.

Peraea, or the western half of modern El Belqa, between the Jabbok and Arnon, was left in the hands of the Jews.

(1) This may be considered the beginning of the Decapolis though the actual date of its becoming an effective confederation is unknown. The Decapolis originally consisted of Scythopolis (Beisan); Pella (Khirbet or Tabakat El Fahl); Dion (unknown); Gerasa (Jerash); Philadelphia ('Amman); Gadara (Umm Qeis), which in the reign of Severus (193 AD.) became a popular resort known as Colonia Valentia; Raphana (possibly Tel Esh Shehab); Kanatha (Kanawat, Jebel Druz); Hippos (Fik); and Damascus. Later other places were added the most important of which were Abila (See Ch. II note 1); Kanata (unknown); Kapitoliias (Beit Ras), which stands on Tel El Khuda or the Hill of St. George); Edrei (Dera'a); Bosra (Bosra Eski Sham).

All these cities came to have considerable influence on the country around them. For example the lands of Pella, Scythopolis, Gadara and Hippos were contiguous: Gadara was able to construct an aqueduct for thirty miles to the East and also had a seaboard on lake Tiberius and ruins round 'Amman point to ample suburbs. See G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, Chapter Greece over Jordan; The Decapolis.

In 63 BC., Pompey, having, as he thought, settled Syria and Palestine, decided to deal with the Nabataeans and their city, Petra. When he was on the point of starting, he was detained by a revolt of the Jews in Palestine, so his lieutenant, Marcus Scaurus, (2) had to leave without him. Scaurus, however, was unable to advance into South Transjordan and had to limit his efforts to a few small skirmishes with the enemy on the banks of the Jordan. The war was concluded by Antipater, the Jewish minister of Idumaea, in South Palestine, who persuaded the Nabatean King, Aretas, to purchase a guarantee for all his possessions, including Damascus, for a sum of money. Scaurus agreed to the terms, and, to celebrate his success, had coins struck which displayed Aretas leading a camel and offering an olive branch to the Romans. (3)

From the Departure of Pompey to the death of Herod the Tetrarch. When Pompey left the East (62 BC.), order had been restored in Syria and the north of Transjordan, but the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae by the Parthians in 53 BC., and his subsequent death at their hands at Sinnaca in the same year, threw the East into fresh disorder and shook Roman prestige to its foundations.

In 42 BC., Mark Anthony arrived from Rome on a punitive expedition against the Parthians and Herod, an Idumaeen who had shown strong sympathy for Rome during her difficulties, was appointed to a high post in Judea, which he held until the Parthians invaded Syria and Palestine, when he had to flee for

(2) Some Roman Historians, including Livy, state that Pompey himself reached Petra, but this is not true.

(3) Mommsen, HISTORY OF ROME (1872), pp.138-9.

safety. He then betook himself to Malchus, King of the Nabataeans, to whom he had previously given help, but Malchus feigning fear of the Parthians, refused to assist the fugitive, and Herod thereupon fled from Petra to Rome, passing by Gaza and Alexandria. (4)

In Rome he was received with honour, and the Senate, through the intervention of Anthony, made him king of Judea in 40 BC. Later, the Emperor Augustus added the city of Gadara to Herod's Kingdom, but that addition seems to have been regarded as a mistake, as, after the death of Herod, it was again included in the Roman province.

In 34 BC., Anthony presented a part of the country belonging to the Nabataean kingdom to Cleopatra; it was too far off, however, for the Queen to incorporate it in the kingdom of Egypt, so she leased it to Herod. (5)

The Nabataeans, naturally, averse to their land being granted to a foreign Queen, offered resistance both on land and sea, and, in a battle near Suez, they defeated and destroyed Cleopatra's Red Sea Fleet. (6) Anthony was unprepared to make war in distant Transjordan, but it was necessary to avenge such an insult, and he bethought himself of Herod as the best person to undertake the punishment of the Nabataeans. Herod was easily persuaded to do this. In the campaign which commenced in 32 BC., he defeated the Nabataeans in the first encounter, but was afterwards routed at Kanatha (7). However, gathering fresh forces,

(4) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XIV, Chapter 14.

(5) the works of flavius josephus Book XV. Chapter 5.

(6) JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XV.

(7) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XV. chapter 5.

he marched into Transjordan and utterly destroyed the Nabataean army near Philadelphia (Amman). This defeat caused the Nabataeans to abandon the south of Peraea, though they may not have given up Umm Rasas, as a Nabataean inscription, dated 39 AD., has been found there (8) No sooner had Herod occupied this country, than he commenced the rebuilding of Machaerus (El Mukawar) which had been destroyed by Gabinius some years before (9)

During the remaining years of the reign of Herod, Transjordan gave no further trouble. We get a glimpse of the great monarch coming to Transjordan for the last time, just before his death in ~~xx~~ 4 BC., when he came to bathe in the waters of Callirrhoe in the Wadi Ez Zerqa Ma'in, in the vain hope of finding a cure for the malady from which he suffered.

At the death of Herod, Transjordan was entirely under Roman influence and was divided between three governments.

In the north, the Decapolis spread over nearly all 'Ajlun and eastern Belqa as far as Philadelphia (Amman). This confederation was its own master in municipal matters but subject to the Roman Governour of Syria in foreign or imperial affairs. The civilisation and culture of the Greek cities were of a high order, as may be seen from the fact that Gadara (Umm Qeis) produced Philodemus the Epicurean, a contemporary of Cicero, Meleager, the epigrammatist, Menippus, the satirist, and Theodorus, the Rhetorician, the tutor of Tiberius. (10)

(8) G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, p.569.

(9) Although a Nabataean inscription dated 37 AD. has been found at Madaba, it can hardly be supposed that Herod did not take it, as it is only a few miles north of Machaerus.

(10) G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, p.607.

In the West centre was the district of Peraea, consisting of all the hills from just north of the Jabbok (Zerqa) to the Arnon (Mojib). This district belonged to the Jewish vassal kings in Palestine.

To the south of the Arnon, stretching down to as far as Madain Salih, and including all that part of Transjordan which now lies east of the modern Hijaz Railway, as far as Jebel Druz, was the Nabataean kingdom with its capital, Petra. This kingdom, although enjoying a very large measure of independence in internal affairs, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome and was no doubt little more than a vassal state of the Empire.

The divisions continued with but little alteration during the whole of the first century of this era.

The tribes from the eastern desert constituted a considerable menace to the security of the settled districts; this fact was one of the reasons for the Confederation of the Decapolis, while in other villages, such as Dera^a and Gadda, the people lived underground, or else had to buy themselves a precarious safety by paying some sheikh for a doubtful protection. The Roman legions were but slowly advancing southwards, and not until they had penetrated to Eila ('Aqaba) were the Bedouin kept at bay and the power of the nomad sheikhs broken.

Herod the Great was succeeded by Herod the Tetrarch, but affairs in Judea fell into great disorder and Roman troops had to be sent. The Nabataean King, to gain the favour of the Emperor, supplied an army to help the Romans, but they pillaged to such an extent that Varus, the Roman general, dismissed them home. Order was eventually restored and Herod took over most of the dominions of his predecessor, among which was Peraea, in Transjordan.

Herod the Tetrarch married a daughter of Aretas IV, King of the Nabataeans, but when she discovered her husband's passion for his brother's wife, Herodias, she obtained a divorce and was allowed to go to Machaerus. On arriving at this fortress, she fled to her father at Petra, whereupon, Aretas, conceiving that he had been dishonoured, gathered together an army and attacked and defeated Herod. The latter then complained to the Roman Emperor Tiberius, who at once ordered Vitellius, Governor of Syria, to advance on Petra and depose Aretas, for daring to attack a vassal of Rome, instead of appealing to the Emperor. However, before Vitellius could carry out these orders, the Emperor died and the army was withdrawn to Antioch. (11)

It was about this time that Herod moved to Machaerus, taking with him Herodias and her daughter Salome. This caused John the Baptist, who was preaching in Transjordan, to denounce his scandalous mode of living and resulted in John's being thrown into prison at Machaerus, and afterwards murdered on the occasion of a banquet in honour of the King's birthday. (12)

Subjection to Rome brought with it a long period of peace and it was not until 64 AD. that the Jews in Palestine rose in revolt against the Romans; the war lasted for six years, but the only effect on Transjordan was a massacre of Jews in Gadara (13) (Umm Qeis) and the despatch of a detachment of soldiers by Malchus II. (48-71 AD.), King of the Nabataeans, to help the Romans. (14) During the last year of the war, many of the Jews

(11) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XVIII, Chapter 5, 3.

(12) THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, Book XVIII, Chapter 5, 3.

(13) Bury, STUDENTS' ROMAN HISTORY (Reprinted 1925), p.368.

(14) Bury, STUDENTS' ROMAN HISTORY (Reprinted 1925), p.430.

escaped to Machaerus but the Romans utterly destroyed it, after slaughtering a large number of the garrison. Peraea remained under Agrippa II. until his death in 100 AD., when it was annexed to the Province of Syria.

THE PROVINCE OF ARABIA. After an abortive expedition in 25 BC., the Romans made no further attempt to interfere with Arabia until the reign of Trajan, when, in 106 AD. Aulus Cornelius Palma, Governor of Syria, was ordered to break up the Nabataean Kingdom. A single campaign sufficed to depose Dabel, the last King of the Nabataeans, and the Kingdom, which had lasted for more than six hundred years, was divided up.

The new province thus created came to be known as Arabia Petraea. It included Petra and all the land up to and including Busra, and the peninsula of Sinai, together with a strip of the coast along the gulf of 'Aqaba and the Red Sea up to the port of Leuce Come. The area of the Decapolis was excluded, and came within the Province of Syria.

At first the capital of the new province was at Petra and in the reign of Hadrian, coins were struck, bearing the title "Hadriane Petra Metropolis"; later, the seat of government was removed to Busra, which was also the camp of the Third Legion (Cyrenica) (15).

The Fourth Legion (Martia) (16) garrisoned the south of Transjordan, two large cantonments being built to accomodate it, /-

(15) Bury, STUDENTS' ROMAN HISTORY (Reprinted 1925), p.430, and PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1895)p.71.

(16) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916), p.48

one at Lejjun and the other at El Adhruh (17). These two fortress camps are of the pure Roman type, similar to those which have been found all along the marches of the Roman Empire. (18)

Directly after the fall of the Nabataean Kingdom, work on the great road from Busra to 'Aqaba was begun and was not completed until the reign of the next Emperor, Hadrian. (19)

THE ROMAN Occupation of Transjordan. For some years after the conquest of Transjordan by the Emperor Trajan, the new province enjoyed peace, and the first events which shook its tranquillity were not caused by an external foe, but by the struggles among the Romans themselves for the Imperial throne.

(17) G. Bell, PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR (1914), pp.101-2. O'Leary, ARABIA BEFORE MUHAMMED (1927), states that the tenth Legion (Fretensis) was stationed at 'Aqaba. This, however was a Palestine Legion (see Bury, STUDENTS' ROMAN HISTORY, p.521) It may have been brought to Transjordan for the campaign of 106 AD., and temporarily left at Aqaba until the country settled down and danger of an Arab attack from the south ceased. At the end of Hadrian's reign it appears to have returned to Palestine. There is no evidence now that there were ever cantonments for a legion at 'Aqaba.

The Khan fort now standing at El Adhruh was probably built as a pilgrim fort during the period that the pilgrim route followed the old Roman paved road, though Sheikh Hamid Ibn Jazi of Huwaitat claims that his Grand Father built it.

(18) The Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G., in the PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1895), p.332, calls attention to the fact that Lejjun camp in Moab and Perchester Castle in Hampshire are almost identical in shape, character and general dimensions.

(19) There is a milestone, dated 112 AD., in the Wadi Mojib, bearing the name of the Emperor Trajan. It reads:- "The Imperator Caesar son of the divine Nerva, Trajan Augustus;... Dacicus, Pontifex Maximus in the sixteenth year of his tribunician powers... . Father of his country after the reduction of the province... opened and paved a new road from the frontiers as far as... Oh King.

In 193-194 AD., the Praetorian Guards (20) at Rome, having murdered the Emperor Pertinax, offered the Empire for sale to the highest bidder. It was bought by Didus Julianus, who promised to pay about £200 to each soldier, (21) but other aspirants also appeared, and Niger, who was Legate of Syria, assisted by the legions of the East, assumed the title of Emperor. Thereupon Septimus Severus, commander of the legions of Pannonia on the Danube, marched to Rome. After beheading Julianus, who had reigned sixty days, Severus himself assumed the imperial title; he then returned to the East and, after defeating Niger, took him prisoner and put him to death.

No further disturbances occurred in the East during the reign of Severus, but in 218 AD., Marorinus, supported by the Praetorian Guards and the Governors of Syria and Arabia, tried to usurp the throne. He was defeated by Elagabalus, at the head of the legions of the East, near Antioch, and, with the two rebel Governors, was put to death. (22)

After a reign of four years, Elagabalus was assassinated, and Alexander Severus took his place. Severus ruled for thirteen years (222-235 AD.), and during that time conducted one campaign against the Persians (231 AD.), which, though not successful, resulted in a peace being concluded with the.

The Province of Arabia had remained intact since its inauguration by Trajan. Severus, however, removed the capital

(20) Vittelius, 69 AD., increased the Praetorian Guards to about 16,000 men. (see Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter V.)

(21) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter V.

(22) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.190.

from Petra to Busra, which thus became a Roman colony, and was subsequently raised by the Emperor Phillipus to the rank of a metropolis. (23)

In 243 AD., a Syrian dynasty began to reign over the Empire and for five years Marcus Julius Philippus, a Bedoui of Busra, occupied the imperial throne. His short reign ended in 248 AD. when he was killed in an attempt to suppress a mutiny which broke out among the legions stationed in Dacia. (24)

Philippus was the first Christian Emperor of Rome, for Christianity was by this time fairly widely spread in Transjordan and his native city, Busra, had been for some years the See of a Bishop. (25)

For some years the Empire had been troubled by the Persians, for the peace concluded by Severus was not of long duration. War followed war until, finally, the Emperor Valerian himself was defeated and taken prisoner by the Persians, who then over-ran Syria and sacked Antioch.

It was after this disaster that Septimus Odenathus, the chief of Palmyra, gave up his policy of Neutrality. At first he favoured the Persians, but soon, owing to insults received from them, he went over to the side of Rome. Then, raising an army from the Arabs, he marched to the Euphrates and defeated the

(23) - PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1895) p.72.

(24) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.107.

(25) G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

Persian army under their king, Sapur. He was subsequently put in Command of all the garrisons in the East and appointed Emperor by the Emperor Gallinus.

In 267 AD., the Emperor of the East was murdered by his nephew, Maeonius; the Palmyrenes proclaimed his widow, Zenobia, as their queen and the murderer was put to death. Zenobia, however, was not content to rule the Eastern Provinces but aspired to the dominion of Egypt and, to this end, she despatched Zabdas, a Palmyrene general, with 70,000 men. Alexandria was occupied, but it is doubtful if the rest of Egypt suffered as, in 271 AD., the Emperor Aurelian sent Probus to recover the country, while he himself crossed the desert and took Palmyra. The Queen was captured and sent to Italy, where she was well treated; Palmyra was garrisoned and a Roman Governor nominated by Aurelian.

In spite of the Emperor's leniency, trouble again broke out in Palmyra in 273 AD., when a partisan of Zenobia headed a revolt, murdered the Governor and captured the garrison. Aurelian again returned and suppressed the rebellion, but this time he destroyed the city. (26)

These events had roused the Arabs and, in 290 Ad., the Emperor Diocletian (284-305 AD.) marched in person to Syria, where his generals restored order and drove back the nomads. The Persians were also defeated and, for the next hundred years there was peace in Syria and Transjordan.

Diocletian also created the Province of Southern Arabia, which included Sinai and a part of the west coast of Arabia to Leuce Come, the capital being at Petra. The Northern part of

(26) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) pp.146-9.

Transjordan, including the Decapolis and the southern portion of Syria, became the Province of Arabia Augusta Lebanensis, with its capital at Busra. (27)

About 385 AD., the provinces were again re-organised, the Decapolis being linked to Galilee with the capital at Scythapolis, (Beisan), while Southern Arabia remained unaltered. (28)

In the east of Transjordan, the Arab tribes which lay along the frontier were left under their sheikhs, but were allies of, and under the protection of Rome; the country occupied by these peoples extended to, if not beyond, the Wadi Sirhan.

In 395 AD., the Emperor Theodosius divided the Roman Empire into two parts, which he bestowed upon his two sons. Rome remained the capital of the Empire of the West, while the capital of the Empire of the East, or Byzantine Empire, was fixed at Constantinople on the Bosphorus. This city, founded by the Greeks had, until 330 AD., been known as Byzantium, but, in that year, its name had been changed to Constantinople, in honour of the Emperor Constantine the Great. The Arabian Provinces were naturally included in the Byzantine Empire, together with Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula and Egypt.

Although Syria, except for an invasion of the Huns in 395 AD., enjoyed peace for more than a century, there was still unrest on the frontiers of the Province of Southern Arabia. Some time about the middle of the 5th century, a Bedoui chief, whose Roman name was Amorkesos, migrated with his tribe from the territory under Persian influence, where he had originally

(27) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.155.

(28) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.186.

camped, to Dumat El Jandal (Jauf), which was within the Roman outer lines. Having obtained possession of the oasis of Jauf, this chieftain proceeded to raid the Bedouin in Arabia Petraea and the country to the South. His son became very powerful over all the neighbouring tribes and at length, having reached the shores of the Red Sea, he set sail, on rafts, and seized the island of Iotabe (modern Tiran), which was a Roman dependency with a custom house. Being then in control of both the land and sea routes from the south into Transjordan, Amorkesos was able to exact heavy tolls from caravans on land and ships using the Gulf of 'Aqaba.

About 473 AD. wishing to ally himself with the Emperor, he sent Peter, the Bishop of a Bedoui tribe which he had subsidised, to intercede for him at Constantinople. The mission was successful and Amorkesos was summoned to the capital. Regardless of the treaty, by which no fugitive from Persian territory was allowed to remain in Roman districts, the Emperor allowed Amorkesos to retain Tiran and numerous other places, over which he was appointed Phylarch. This arrangement did not last; in 490 AD., a quarrel broke out between the Romans and the successor of Amorkesos, and, after heavy fighting, the Arabs were driven from the island. It was then handed over to some Roman traders who were permitted to administer it, in return for a fixed toll on all goods coming from India. Procopius, a historian of the time of the Justinian, says that the inhabitants of Tiran were independent Hebrews and that Abocharab, Phylarch of Palestine, presented the island to the Emperor, who was the nominal ruler.(29)

(29) Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926), p.306.

In 527 AD., the famous Justinian ascended the Imperial throne and the Empire was plunged into an orgy of war. At first fortune favoured the Romans, and Belisarius, the Roman general, inflicted a heavy defeat on the Persians at Daras (530 AD.), causing them to make peace in the following year. During this war, owing to the difficulty of controlling the nomad tribes, all the Arabs allied to the Romans were placed by the Emperor under Harith Abu Chaminos (Arabic Shammar). Chaminos was created King, but remained a vassal of the Empire and settled in Syria⁽³⁰⁾. His descendents, who extended their control up to Jauf and built the castle of Zerqa, continued this alliance for at least a century. At the same time, Justinian abandoned all territory south of 'Aqaba, and merely maintained a centurion at that port. (31).

While Justinian's finest troops were engaged against the Goths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa, the lawlessness of the Arab tribes on the borders of the eastern Provinces, gave the Persians a pretext for re-opening hostilities. It was the Roman policy to subsidise the tribes dwelling between the inner and outer frontiers (limes interior and limes exterior), thus creating an outer line of defence in the event of an invasion. This plan worked well so long as Roman prestige was sufficiently high to restrain the Bedouin from making raids on their neighbours; but now that the strength of the Empire was concentrated elsewhere, the tribes began to do much as they pleased. The result

(30) Mommsen, THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Vol. II, p.159.

(31) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA (1927), p.351 (note).

was that, in 540 AD., the Arabs under Roman protection came into conflict with those under Persian protection, and a second war commenced. After invading Northern Syria, the Persians sacked Antioch and, though Belisarius had to be sent against them, the war dragged on for years before a truce was made in 545 AD. (32)

One reason for the long duration of the struggle was that both sides were helpless for at least a year, owing to a plague which swept the East in 542 AD. In Constantinople for the space of three months 5,000 and finally 10,000 persons are said to have died daily and, although by the following year the disease had somewhat abated, it recurred at intervals during the next fifty years. (33)

The latter years^a of Justinian's reign saw a period of decay setting in over the whole Empire, in spite of large territorial gains in Italy, Africa and Spain. The extravagance of the Emperor, the constant wars and the depopulation, and consequent loss of revenue, caused by the plague were all responsible, and it is certain that Justinian left his dominions much weaker than he found them.

After the death of Justinian (567 AD.), a series of incompetent^s occupied the throne, with the result that the Empire still further declined. The Persians ravaged the Eastern Provinces and it was not until Heraclius (610-641 AD.) became Emperor that any serious attempt was made to check them.

(32) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.190.

(33) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, chapter 43.

For the first seven years of his reign, however, the new Emperor met with nothing but disaster. In 613 AD., the armies of Chosroes zPurviz, King of Persia, after attacking Syria, took Damascus and then pushed into Palestine. In the following year, Jerusalem was captured and 90,000 Christians slain; Egypt also submitted and, by 617 AD., the enemy were advancing through Asia Minor towards Constantinople.

Heraclius managed to keep the Persians at bay while he made preparations for an offensive. Finally, in 622 AD., he marched into Asia Minor and cut the communications between the Persian army and its base in the valley of the Euphrates, thus forcing the Persian general to retreat. The Emperor then carried the war into the enemy's country, where he won battle after battle until, in 627 AD., he routed the last army of Chosroes at Nineveh. Peace was made in 628 AD., whereby the Persians restored the territory they had conquered, released all Roman captives and handed over the spoils which they had taken from Jerusalem.

For the moment the Empire was safe but, before he died, Heraclius was destined to see two-thirds of the land he had saved from the Persians irrevocably lost to a new enemy.

The Arabs of the Province of Arabia. Immediately after the breakup of the Nabataean Kingdom in 106 AD., the Romans began to make treaties with the Arab tribes. Apparently the first great tribe to settle near the new Roman frontier, was the Qoda'a of which the Tonukhites were a branch. The Qoda'a probably migrated westwards about 230 AD., being unwilling to submit to the Persians who about that time undertook the

reduction of the Arab tribes on their frontier. The Tanukhites were the first to be recognised as allies of the Romans and Arab writers mention the names of three of their kings or sheikhs, as No'man Bin 'Amr, 'Amr Bin No'man and El Hawari Bin 'Amr.(34) After sometime the Dhajaima section of the great Adnanite tribe Saleem conquered the Qoda'a and settled in the rich pasture lands of Moab and the Belqa'. This tribe was then recognised as the ruling tribe by the Romans, until the Ghassan appeared in Syria and Transjordan (35)

Towards the end of the second century of this era an Arab tribe or tribes left the Yemen and settled round a watering place in the Tihama known as El Ghassan. Both the place El Ghassan and the Arabs of that name were known to the Romans and Ptolemy mentions them as living on the west coast of Arabia.(36)

The actual date when the Ghassanides arrived in Syria is unknown, but it would probably not be much before the beginning of the 4th century. (37)

(34) The Khaldown, Vol. II. p.249; El Yacoubi, Vol.I p.34;
El Masoudi Vol.I. p.206.

(35) EL HAMATHANI Vol. p.170.

(36) Sprenger THE CAMPAIGN OF AELIUS GALLUS (Jras) (1873)
pp.42 & 52.

(37) Macmichael, HISTORY OF THE ARABS IN THE SUDAN Vol. I.,
p.132, says that the Ghassan took up their abode near
Damascus from about 37 AD., and maintained control over a
considerable part of Syria. This date would seem to be
too early as the Nabataeans were in power up to 106 AD.
See also the The Ghassanides. Arab Legend of Note 45.

Arab historians mention 32 kings or sheikhs of Ghassan but it appears probable that not more than 10 were known to the Romans.

The Romans and the Persians soon found out the value of Arab troops in their wars against one another, and each Empire had an instrument ready for its use. The jealousies and rivalries of the Ghassanides allied to Rome and the Lachmites of Hira allied to Persia, although at times precipitating wars between those Empires, also enabled them to use extensively Arab troops to fight their battles. The Emperor Julian employed a large number of Arabs in the Persian war of AD. 363, but during the reign of Valens (364 - 378 AD.) owing possibly to the disasters in the Persian war, a rebellion of the Arabs took place (38).

After this little is heard of the Ghassanides until 529 AD. when Harith Ibn Jabala was appointed Phylarch by Justinian as a reward for his victory over Mundhir of the Lachmite dynasty of Hira and for his assistance in putting down a rebellion of the Samaritans in Palestine. A year or two later all the Arabs on the Syrian and Transjordan frontiers were put under Harith, this move being necessary by the growing weakness of the Empire and the ever increasing importance of Arab troops in the defence

(38) Arab writers say that the revolt was staged by the Queen Mawiya of a Bedouin tribe who asked as the price of her help that a certain bedouin recluse named Musa, who lived in the desert and was famed for his piety and miracles, be made Bishop of her tribe. The Romans agreed and Musa was taken from the desert to Alexandria in order to be ordained by Lucius who was head of the Church there. Musa however refused ordination at the hands of ~~the~~ Lucius and demanded to be taken to the mountains, where he received ordination from some Bishops who had been driven from their sees and lived there. This happened about 376 AD. and from that date, if not before, Christianity began to spread among the Arabs of Syria and Transjordan.

of the Eastern Frontiers against the Persians and their Arab allies.

In 541 AD. a large contingent of Harith's army fought in Iraq under Belisarius whose genius and victories soon restored the shaken prestige of Rome in that country.

Belisarius was soon recalled to defend the Empire on more important frontiers, and within three years of his successful campaign, Mundhir supported by the Persians was again in the field. This time all Syria, up to the walls of Antioch was over-run, and a son of Harith fell into the hands of Mundhir and was promptly sacrificed to the goddess Al UZZA. Ten years elapsed before Harith was strong enough to attempt to avenge the death of his son, but in 554 AD. he was able to launch an attack on the Lachmite Kingdom. The decisive battle of the campaign came to be known by Arab writers as the day of Halima; not only was the Lachmite army destroyed but Mundhir himself was slain (39). During the reign of Harith the Zenith of the Ghassanides power was reached; His word was law among all the nomad Arabs from the north of Syria to Jauf and probably to Taima. To this monarch also is attributed the building of Qastal, Zerqa and possible Meshetta and Hammam Es Sarakh in the Belqa and El Adhruh, Eş Jarba and old Ma'an now in ruins and known as El Hammam.(40)

(39) Halima was the daughter of Harith around whose name the following story is woven:- "The Lachmite King Mundhir had mustered an army of 100,000 men, to whom Harith sent 100 men, including the poet Labid, ostensibly to make peace. Having been allowed to enter the camp and approach Mundhir's tent, they suddenly surrounded it and killed him and his attendants. The Ghassanide cavalry then attacked and put the leaderless army to flight. Halima is said to have poured scent upon the 100 champions and clothed them in white.

(40) ZEIDAN p.195.

The Arab poet Nabigha writing of the Ghassanides shortly after the death of Harith said of them :-

"One fault have they; their swords are blunt of edge"
"Through constant beating on their foemen's mail" (41)

According to some authorities 'Amr succeeded his father, but in any case his reign was short as in 572 AD. Mundhir Ibn Harith defeated the Lachmite King Qabus El Hind, in a battle known as the day of 'Ain 'Abagh (42) or That El Khiyar.

The Emperor Justinian died in 565 AD. and was succeeded by Justin II. who unfortunately cherished a deepset mistrust for his Arab allies. In consequence he refused to give Mundhir sufficient money to enable him to reap the fruits of his victory and a quarrel ensued. An attempt was made to bring about the assassination of the Arab King, but it failed, and the only result was that the Ghassanides rebelled, and for three years refused to acknowledge the Emperor. A fresh attack from the Persians at last caused the Emperor to make his peace with the Arabs, and when in 578 AD. Tiberius ascended the Imperial throne it looked as if the Ghassanides had been restored to favour. In 580 AD. Mundhir with his two sons went to Constantinople and there he was crowned as King of the Arabs.

This patched up friendship did not last long, Mundhir raided the Lachmites at Hira, but refrained from attacking the Persians; consequently the Emperor was easily persuaded that he had a private understanding with them. Not being strong enough to take direct measures to capture the Arab King the Emperor had recourse to treachery. Magnus the Syrian General was instructed

(41) Nicholson, A LITTERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS p.54 ed. 1914.

(42) Called after the Spring near which the battle was fought.

to invite Mundhir to the consecration of a church at Huwwarin, and on his arrival there he was promptly arrested, and from that day all subsidies to the Arabs ceased.

A rebellion under Nu'man the son of Mandhur broke out but it was put down by Magnus and Nu'man was sent to Constantinople(43) From this time complete confusion reigned throughout the whole country which once was the Ghassanide Kingdom, and each tribe elected its own chief.

Heraclius restored the Ghassanide dynasty in 629 AD. after his victories over the Persians, and Jabala Ibn Ayham was appointed (44) The Moslems however were already pressing in from the South, and he had little time to consolidate his position, though he established his court at Busra (Bosrah Eski Sham) and sent a governor to Jauf.

In modern Transjordan the Sardich, the Aisa and the Sirhan are said to be descended from Beni Ghassan if this is true then they with the Beni Khalid and Balaoni are Ahl El Qibli of the stock of Qahtan.

(43) O'Leary, ARABIA BEFORE MUHAMMED.

(44) Jabala is said to have become a Moslem, but later reverted to Christianity and betook himself to Roman territory where he died.

(45) An Arab Legend of the Ghassanides:

"Towards the end of the 3rd century AD. or possibly earlier, the throne of Marib in the Yemen was occupied by 'Amr son of 'Amir Ma Al Sama surnamed Muzayqiya. His wife Zarifa was skilled in the art of clairvoyance, but her husband had little faith in her powers. One day having dreamed a dream she said to her husband that a great disaster was about to overtake the dam, and in order that he might be convinced she exclaimed "Go to the dam and if thou seest a rat digging holes in the dyke with its paws and moving huge boulders with its hind legs, he assured that woe has come upon us." 'Amr thereupon went to the dam and saw a rat moving a great boulder, which fifty men could not have rolled from its place. This convinced him of the ~~truth~~ truth of his wife's prediction, and he resolved to sell all his possessions and leave

(Notes (45) cont. from page 76).

the doomed country. The question was how to effect this without arousing suspicion. 'Amr accordingly invited all the chief men to a feast, at which, by a prearranged plan, an altercation arose between him and his son, resulting in blows being exchanged. Thereupon 'Amr called out "Oh Shame! on the day of my glory, a stripling has insulted me and struck my face". He then swore that he would put his son to death, but the guests, as is ~~the~~ usual on such occasions, interceded, and at last he gave way crying out "I will no longer remain in a city where I have suffered this indignity; I will sell all my lands and property." He then sold all his lands and departed with his flocks at the head of a great multitude". (R.N. Nicholson, A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS. p.16).

^a
The above legend certainly supports Hogarth's view (HISTORY OF ARABIA) that the disaster to the dam was a series of events spread over several centuries gradually causing a lowering of the head of water and thereby throwing land out of cultivation.

^e
If on the other hand the Arab Legends are true, which speak of the dam being suddenly destroyed by an exceptionally great flood, which occurred between 447 and 450 AD., then the cause of the immigration of the Ghassanides cannot be in any way concerned with a disaster to the dam, as they had left the Yemen centuries before that catastrophe.

Legend ascribes the building of the dam at Marib to Abd Esh Shams one of the heroes of the dim past history of El Yemen. An European traveller who saw its ruins in 1843 describes it as having been in length 2 miles, in height 120 feet and in thickness 300 cubits, the depth of lake which it made being 20 fathoms.

Great damage appears to have been done to it on at least two occasions, by floods, the first being between 447 and 450 AD. and the second between 539 and 542 AD.

REIGN OF THE LASTING DYNASTY OF YEM.

(Notes (45) cont. from page 77).

According to an inscription found on the ruins it was repaired by Abraha the second Abyssinian viceroy of the Yemen, who died in 570 AD. at Sana after leading an unsuccessful expedition against Mecca. This year is known to Arabs as the year of the Elephant.

=====009=====

REIGN OF THE LASTING DYNASTY.

AMR AL MUDAYYI

AMR AL MUDAYYI

AMR

AMR AL MUDAYYI

AMR AL MUDAYYI
(Chancellor)

AMR

AMR AL MUDAYYI (Chancellor)

AMR AL MUDAYYI (569-591) AMR AL MUDAYYI

AMR AL MUDAYYI

AMR

AMR

PEDIGREE OF THE LACHMITE DYNASTY OF HIRA.

TRANSJORDAN AT THE END OF THE ROMAN ERA.

LAKHM
|
RABIA
|
NASR
|
'ADI
|
'AMR

TRADE ROUTES.

NU'MAN I. (c 400 AD)
|
MUNDHIR I. (defeated by Romans 421 AD)

MAWIYYA MA' AL SAMA (Water of the Sky)

MUNDHIR III. # Hind d. of Harith Bin 'Amr of Kinda
(d 554 AD)

'AMR QABUS MUNDHIR IV.
|
NU'MAN II. (c 580-602)

=====OO=====

PEDIGREE OF THE GHASSANIDE DYNASTY.

'Amir AL MUZAYIQA
|
'AMR = ZARIFA
|
JAFNA
|
'AMR MUHARRIQ

HARITH ABU SHAMMAR
(Chaminos)

JABALA
|
HARITH THE LAME (Reigned 529-569)^{AD.}

'AMR(569 AD.) Mundhir (569-581) AL AYHAM
|
NU'MAN (581) JABALA(' 629-635)

CHAPTER V.

TRANSJORDAN AT THE END OF THE ROMAN ERA.

This chapter purposes briefly to discuss conditions in Transjordan up to the end of the Roman occupation, before the Moslem invasion opened a new epoch in the history of the country.

TRADE ROUTES. Lying as it does midway between the East and the West, Transjordan has always been crossed by important roads.

In prehistoric days, one of the main lines of racial migration passed through this country and Syria, while, in the early Egyptian and Babylonian periods, much intercourse and some trade must have crossed Transjordan and the intervening desert. The Egyptians, from the times of the earliest dynasties, realised the value of commerce, and although trade during the early dynasties was undeveloped, it was fostered by the Pharaohs and the Babylonians and gradually increased in times of peace. It was from the Semitic race that progress in the carriage of merchandise came, the Phoenicians developing sea-transport, and the Nabataeans transport in the desert.

During the centuries following the Assyrian⁸ up to the era of Augustus, the Nabataeans gradually increased in power and wealth, and, for trade purposes, constantly extended their boundaries. Sea-borne commerce in the Red Sea does not seem to have been so studied by the Kings in Petra, though those waters appear to have teemed with Nabataean pirates in the time of Augustus.

From the earliest Egyptian days, a considerable trade in balm and spices from Southern Arabia had been carried on, by land routes as well as by sea. With the coming of the Romans and their demand for luxuries, the trade with South Arabia greatly increased and much Indian merchandise, landed at Eudaemon (Aden), was transported by land northwards through Taima and Madain Salih, where extensive Nabataean remains are to be found. (1)

From Madain Salih two roads led to Petra, one through Tebuk and the Hisma mountains, debouching at Jebel Rum where remains of Nabataean temples and inscriptions have been found, and the other following the coast of the Gulf of 'Aqaba to Eila ('Aqaba). (2) At Eila, the road again bifurcated, one branch

(1) C. Doughty, ARABIA DESERTA (1921)

(2) Considerable Nabataean remains have been found along this coast road, and Arabs say that there are ruins in the middle of the Hisma. Unfortunately they are beyond the modern Transjordan boundary. At a place now known as Mughayir Shu'eib, about 72 miles south of 'Aqaba and 16 miles inland, there are extensive Nabataean rock tombs such as are seen in Petra; and at a place about 50 miles south-west of Tebuk there is a ruined building, known as Wafā, containing a Nabataean and Greek inscription which dates it about the 2nd century AD. (See Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926).)

No Nabataean remains have as yet been found at Mudawara; this easy route from Tebuk may have been neglected owing to its danger from Bedouin raids from the East.

The old wall across the Wadi Ithm, where it debouches into the Wadi Araba, was probably a Nabataean defensive work, or customs barrier, having a small post over the water at southern end. The Arab Legend of this wall is that a Christian, named Hadid, occupied the Wadi Ithm and the country east of it, and, as he was at war with the Arabs of the Wadi Araba erected the wall to shut out his enemies. Hadid had a famous horse on which he descended upon his enemies from the Wadi Ithm; After loading himself with booty, he returned to safety by leaping over the wall, his horse being the only one in existence which could make this jump. Hadid was eventually caught by the Amir Dhiab Ibn Ghannam, of the Beni Hilal, and killed.

passing up the Wadi Araba by way of Gharandal (where traces of Nabataean occupation are seen) to Petra, while the other branch went through the Wadi Ithm, passing by the Nabatean posts of Muluk Itam and Khalide to the plain of El Quweira (modern name) where it joined the Rum road and went through the Nabataean town of El Humeima to Petra (3).

From Petra, one road led across the Wadi Araba, going by the Wadi Feinan, Khirbet En Nahas, Ain Hasn and Khalasa (at all of which Nabataean pottery is found) to Gaza or to other ports along the coast towards Egypt.

The other road went north, leaving Shobek and El Tafila on the West, and passing near Dhana and El Buseira to Kerak, where a branch road led down the old Moabite road, through the Ghor El Mezraa and El Lisan to Jerusalem, or by the Ghor Es Safi (where there are signs of Nabataean occupation) to Hebron or Beersheba. After Kerak, the main road passed by Umm Rasas and Madeba, at which Nabataean inscriptions have been found.

There was also a subsidiary caravan route between Petra and Palmyra, which went through Maan, El Jafr, Bayir and Azraq to Qasr El Burqa, but how much it was used in early days is unknown. (4)

It is certain that roads from the east, across the desert, through Jauf or Taima, were known and used for military purposes by the Assyrians and Babylonians. Cambyses the Persian Ptolemy Soter (322-283 BC.) both marched from Gaza to Petra (5),

(3) The Roman road south of Wadi Musa is still regarded as the boundary between the Luyathema Fellaheen and the Huweitat. This may be a relic of the old Roman rule, the Bedouin being allowed as far west as the Roman road, but not allowed to pass it.

(4) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA (1927), p.515.

(5) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA, (1927), p.515.

and thence either through Jauf or through Palmyra to Iraq. (6) The wealth of the Roman Empire brought about a great demand for luxuries from India and the far East, and the small trade in Oriental goods for the use of Ptolemaic Egypt soon grew to an immense business; It was valued by Pliny, in about 80 AD., at £1,087,500 annually and eventually caused a heavy adverse balance, which may have been a factor in the eventual economic breakdown of the Roman Empire.

In the first half-century AD., the Nabataeans had almost a monopoly of the caravan trade from the East and the South, as not only was there no land rival to them, but, in addition, the sea route from the East was little used, the trade winds not being then understood. The journey by sea was, consequently, very slow until Hippalos, about 45 AD., discovered the secret of the monsoon winds.

Eudaemon (Aden) was the great port in the south of Arabia, Leuce Come, just north of ~~the~~ Yanbu' for ships which sailed up the Red Sea, but in the both cases, the unloaded goods passed through Petra. In the Persian Gulf there were two ports from which important desert routes ran to the West, one at Gerrha, from where the road passed through Thulaba (possibly Hail) to Jauf, and thence to Petra, or through Thaema (Taima) and Tebuk to 'Aqaba. The second road went from Charax (Muhamerah) direct to Petra. (8).

(6) The southern route would appear to most probable, otherwise there seems to be but little object in abandoning the old and easy route through Palestine and Syria to Palmyra.

(7) E.H. Warmington, THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA (1928), p.274.

(8) E.H. Warmington, THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA (1928), Map.

There must also have been a very important caravan road from Jauf up the Wadi Sirhan to Azraq, and the reservoir between Amari and Kaf was probably constructed to give water to travelers on this otherwise waterless march.

Possibly the remains of the old fort near Sna'inirat discovered from the air, are also from Roman days, when it was necessary to protect the important caravan route from India and the East to Syria.

Gibbon, in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, states that there was a paved road of ten days' journey from Auranitis or Hauran to Babylonia. There are certainly the remains of a paved road leading eastwards from Azraq for several miles, but it has not, as yet, been discovered to exist further in the desert.

The greed of the Nabataeans and the expense of these routes, made the Romans seek for other ways of getting their goods from India; it was probably Augustus who levied a 25% import duty at Leuce Come and another duty at Gaza, with the object of turning the trade to Egypt.

Petra gradually lost her commercial importance in consequence of the discovery of Hippalos, the heavy dues exacted on goods passing through the Nabataean territory, and the growing power of Palmyra, which, being on the shorter and safer northern route, attracted much of the Indian trade. In 273 AD., Palmyra was destroyed and Petra again became prosperous. (9) This prosperity, however, was but short-lived; The Roman Empire was disintegrating, and the economic ruin of Rome was

(9) Mommsen, THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Vol. II, p. 3.

becoming yearly more visible. (10).

The Roman Road. The downfall of the Nabataean Kingdom and the creation of the Province of Arabia (106 AD) was immediately followed by the commencement of the great road from Busra to 'Aqaba. This road can be traced through the greater part of its length in the Peutinger tables, and many of the places mentioned can be distinguished to-day.

It would appear that from Bostris (Busra Eski Sham), two main roads debouched into Transjordan, one, probably of a much earlier date than the Roman road, going through Adrha (Derā^ā, Kapitoliās (Beit Ras) and Gadara (UMM Qeis) to Tāberias; the other running south ^{to} Chantia (Mafraq?) and Hatita (Khirbet Es Samra), and thence to Gadda, near modern Zerqa

The Peutinger tables show no road connection between Gadda and Philadelphia (Amman), but obviously the road went along the Wadi Zerqa as far as the ruined fort at Roseifa, after which it was taken on to the top of the hills on the east side of the Wadi, as is evidenced by the finding of Roman

(10) It is probable that the many stones inscribed in Safaitic writing, still found on the Eastern desert, are from this period. The clerks attached to caravans crossing this area would have little to do ~~with~~ while the camels were away resting and grazing and in order to wile away the weary hours of waiting, occupied themselves in writing their names and drawing animals on the stones round their halting-places.

A few years ago, I was going by camel from 'Aqaba to Jebel Rum and we decided to halt for the mid-day rest in a shady spot near some rocks. On looking at the rocks behind me, I saw that they were scored with Safaitic inscriptions and drawings. By chnace we had chosen the same place to rest in as had the caravan leaders of over a thousand years ago.

milestones, half-way between Roseifa and the Royal Air Force camp, at Marka. From Philadelphia, one road went to Jerusalem, following the line of the present road to the Jordan Valley.(11) The second road went south, the following places being mentioned: Rab Abatora (Er Rabba, near Kerak), Thorma (Dhatras) Hegla (Nejil, near Shobek), Petris(Petra), and Zadagatta (Es Sadaqa).

After Zadagatta, the next name is Hauarra, which is not unlike modern El Quweira, though some prefer to think it is El Humeima; while El Quweira is Psidiom instead of Khalide, in the Wadi . Ithm. The road then passed to Haila ('Aqaba), and from there splits into two, one part going across Sinai and the other going north via ad Dianam (Ghadian?) to Rafa. From 'Aqaba, no road is shown going south along the coast, although almost certainly there must have been one existing from Nabataean days. Probably In Roman times it was not much used, owing to the dangers of attack from the tribes in the hills. The same danger exists to-day and the track along the east side of the Gulf of 'Aqaba is little used.

As can be followed from the above description, a large part of the Roman road ran along the alignment of the old Nabataean road, very much ^{as} the modern Hijaz Railway runs, for the most part, along the alignment of the old pilgrim route.

The Nabataeans, however, had no wheeled transport and therefore no need for metalled roads; it remained for the Romans to build the permanent roads; of which so many traces remain to-day. The engineers who built these roads were highly

(11) In 1923, a milestone stood on the road between Es Salt and Shunneh, but unfortunately it was broken up when the road was repaired.

skilled men; many sections of the road still remain, and in some places the actual bridges built by them are still in use. The road was usually of gravel and cement, upon which a pavement of square stones was laid, and, as far as the country would admit, the road was absolutely straight. Each side was lined with curbing stones, which were almost always twelve feet apart, and, at proper intervals, there were stations for watchmen and overseers and relays of horses. On these roads it was possible to travel one hundred and sometimes two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. (12)

The road, begun in the reign of Trajan, was finished in the reign of the next Emperor, Hadrian, who visited it during the summer of 129 AD. The Emperor also toured the new Province of Arabia, doing much to improve the administration and defences. He probably went as far as Petra, since it assumed the title of Hadriane, and from there he returned to Egypt through 'Abda and El 'Arish (13).

Roman Defences of Transjordan. The protection of the frontier was of the first importance to Rome, and the Arabian limes was planned as skilfully and with as much foresight as those of larger provinces.

The limes exterior was defended by subsidised tribes, whose advantage it was to be allies of Rome, while the limes interior was protected by two legions, the Third at Busra and the Fourth at Lejjun and El Adhruh. Attached to these legions were auxiliary troops, raised locally; The Roman commanders,

(12) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1879) p.152.

(13) Bury, STUDENTS' ROMAN HISTORY (Reprinted 1925), p.497.

recognising the skill of the Arabs in horsemanship and archery, raised numerous Arab Corps for service in all parts. This in some measure compensated the nomads for the loss of the blackmail which they had been wont to levy on the villages, but which the presence of the legions rendered less obtainable. Besides the large cantonment, smaller forts were built at strategic places, in which detachments of the legions' auxiliary troops were posted.

Prosperity followed the Roman occupation and, as the area under cultivation increased, new forts had to be erected. As early as the reign of Caracalla, named Marcus Aurelius Antonius (198-217 AD), the castle of Hallabat was built (14) and others were constructed later. The great camp at Daadjaniya was probably built before the reign of Diocletian (15)

(14) An inscribed stone found at Hallabat by Group Captain Rees, V.C., A.D.C, etc., of the Royal Air Force, shows the date of construction of this castle as the reign of the reign of Caracalla. It is now in the Officers' Mess of No. 14 Squadron, R.A.F. Amman. This stone shows one of the titles of Caracalla as being Britannicus, although the reason for assuming such a distinction is not clear. The inscription reads:- "For the safety of our Sovereign Lord and Emperor, Augustus Marcus Aurelius Antonius Pious, Prosperous, Arabic, Adiabenic, Parthis, Britanic. This new fort was constructed by the soldiers of the sixth Cohort of Spaniards. The first of Thracians, the fifth of Africans, the the third surnamed Severiane of Tracians, under Phurnus Julianus Legate of the Emperor and Pro Practor."

(15) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR, (1914), p. 103. It is difficult to understand why the great camp at El Adhruh was not sufficient for the district, especially in view of the large spring of water there. Daadjaniya had no water near at hand, though it may have been brought in a channel from Nejil, near Shobek. Bedouin say that they can remember water from Nejil reaching as far as Anaiza.

and may have been replaced the camp at Lejjun. Up to the present day, Lejjun is considered to be a most unhealthy place, which fact may, in those days, have necessitated the moving of the Roman troops. Moreover, Diocletian found it expedient to restore the ancient Nabataean fort of Bashair, which would not have been necessary if Lejjun had still been a legionary camp, as the Kerak district would have been amply protected by it. Kerak was undoubtedly a Roman town though it does not appear to have held a garrison. (16)

The Arnon, or Mojib, seems to have been heavily garrisoned at the end of the 4th century, as we are informed that the Third cohort, called Arabia Felix, was stationed in the Castris Arnonensibus (at present unidentified) and the Third cohort, Alpine, was stationed near the Arnon. Possibly one of these cohorts was in the Roman fort near the bottom of the Mojib, now known as Muhatat El Haj. It included an inn and stabling for horses. This must have been an important place on the Roman road, as its water reservoir was supplied by a canal which came from the Wadi El Lejjun. The remains of a fort on the road at the top of the south bank of the Mojib are probably considerably older than the Roman period. (17)

The fort at Qastal is said by one authority to have been built between 400 and 500 AD. (18) but if so it is

(16) Tristram, THE LAND OF MOAB (1873), p.82. Coins dating from Hadrian to the Byzantine Emperor Maurice have been found here.

(17) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1904) p.376, Muhatat El Haj is constructed of rough stone and the fort has more the appearance of a rest camp than the permanent cantonments of a cohort.

(18) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR (1914), p.103.

difficult to see why it was not put at Zizia where there was a garrison of Dalmatian cavalry (19) and a great reservoir. Moreover, Zizia was an important town in Roman days and many of its buildings were standing as late as 1834 AD., when they were all razed to the ground by the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha. Arab historians, however, say that Qastal was built by the Arab King Harith Ibn Jabal (531-571 AD.), and this would account for its position as the Arab chieftain would naturally prefer his Khan Fortress a little distance away from the Roman town and garrison at Zizia, and possibly the Roman garrison may have been withdrawn from Asabaia, at this period. (20).

At Khan Zebib and Umm Rasas, there were also forts, but ^{were} these probably of a later date and were built with the dual object of housing a garrison and providing a halting-place for caravans. (21)

Philadelphia (Amman) from very early times had been a fortress of great importance and the Romans, recognising its value for the country now known as Belqa', rebuilt the ancient fort. In addition to these strong forts containing large garrisons, there were also smaller forts along the great roads; little is left of them to-day, the ruins of Ain El Pasha, north of Suweile, and El Queira being the best preserved.

(19) Tristram, THE LAND OF MOAB (1873), p.186.

(20) Azabarah, which is near Qastal, may be the name of the Roman Asabia, which was a station of the First Thracian Cohort. The garrison would be in the castellum, now corrupted into Qastal. (See Tristram, THE LAND OF MOAB (1873) p.225).

(21) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHA'DIR (1914), p.106.

As has been seen, the district between the limes interior and the limes exterior was peopled by Bedouin allied to Rome (22) but there were, however, no forts east of the limes interior, except Qasr Burqa and 'Azraq. The latter was in existence about 300 AD., as the discovery of a dedication to Diocletian and Maximian shows (23); Jovian (363 AD.) may have restored or passed through it, as there is also an inscription to him (24). 'Azraq, however, was not so much a fort on the limes as a protection for the water, used by caravans going to and from the East and travelling by the roads which met there from Busra or Salkhad. The modern fortress is of a later date.

The area included in the outer limes was constantly shifting, as, when a new chief was won over, the border was carried to the boundaries of his political influence. About 473 AD., the limes exterior extended south to the environs of El Medina, while a century later, they went probably to Kheibar, Hail and El 'Ola, as the Ghassanide Kings made punitive expeditions as far south as those places. Roman political influence may even have extended at one time as far as Mecca; Zubeir Ibn Bakkar notes that Othman Hweret was appointed King of Mecca by the Byzantine Emperor (25).

Oriental Influence on Rome. Oriental influences early began to penetrate into the Roman Empire, especially into its architecture. Trajan referred to the number of architects
from

(22) Musil, PALMYRA (1923), p.248.

(23) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR (1914)p.56.

(24) The inscription to Jovian was seen by the writer in
1931.

(25) Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926). p.259.

the East who were employed in Rome, (26) and it was an engineer from Damascus, Apollodorus, who built the great bridge over the Danube (c.105 AD.) and later designed the Forum of Tranjan in Rome, with its temple, library and column.

In no form of building is the oriental influence stronger than in the later forts built on the Transjordan frontier. From the pure Roman design of El Adhruh, built about 106 AD., the plan gradually becomes modified until the fortress of El Qastal is almost entirely Oriental in style.(27) Until the Roman Empire became Christian, the oriental religions had little influence on the Roman people, though a few of the Semitic gods were adopted. The various oriental shrines which are found throughout the provinces were probably for the most part erected by soldiers and merchants from the East who settled there. (28)

Language. The Nabataeans and the native population of Transjordan spoke Aramaic from very early times. Long before 900 BC., this language had spread over Syria, and it no doubt eventually replaced the Moabite, as it did the Hebrew tongue(29) That it reached as far as Taima is shown by the inscription on the stone found there.

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(26) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916), p.176.

(27) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR (1914).

Guy Le Strange, in PALESTINE UNDER THE MOSLEMS (1890), says, quoting from Mukadas, that the Prophet's mantle and a treaty given by him were preserved in El Adhruh. Yakut (1225 AD.623 AH) says that Adhruh capitulated in 9 AH. and paid an annual tribute of 100 dinars.

(28) In Great Britain, several oriental shrines have been found. At Caerleon, there is a shrine dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus; at Corbridge, another to Astarte and Melcarth; and at Magnac, in Northumberland, a third to the Syrian goddess and to Jupiter of Heliopolis. (Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE(196), p.177)

(29) Peake, COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE, p.36.

In the cities of the Decapolis, Greek was spoken, and, as time went on, the Aramaic spoken by the people living around the Greek cities became very much interspread with Greek words, indeed, it is not improbable that they were generally bilingual(30)

After the Moslem conquest, Arabic became the only language spoken in Transjordan.

Religion. At the beginning of the present era, there were two main religions in Transjordan, with possibly a third, that of the Jews, which was held by a few of the inhabitants of Peraca, under the rule of Herod. The religion of the Decapoli-tan area had been Greek from the first, the only Semitic deity adopted being Astarte. Each city had, besides, special deities; thus in Pella, the chief god was Pallas and in Gadara, Zeus, Pallas, Heracles and Astarte were all worshipped. At Capitolias (Beit Ras) the people worshipped Zeus and Astarte; At Abila, Heracles and Astarte; and at Gadara, Artemis. Both Pallas and Heracles were tutelary deities of Philadelphia, the latter god being known as "The Good Fortune of the Philadelphians". (31)

The whole of the southern and eastern parts of Transjordan were under the influence of the Nabataeans, and the names of many of their gods have been found on temples in the Hauran. The chief deities now known are Baalsmin, Dusara (or Dusares), Athi, Aunos, Allat, Vagrah and Theandrites, the latter being undoubtedly of Greek origin.

Dusara was a sun god, giver of fertility and joy, and he was of sufficient importance to have two tablets dedicated to him in Italy; one at Rome and another at Putcaoli. Epiphanius

(30) G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND p.508.

(31) G. Adam Smith, HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, p.605.

describes a feast at Petra at the time of the winter solstice, in honour of Dusara and his virgin mother. (32)

Idol worship existed in Jauf up to the Moslem invasion and was practised by all the Bedouin of the steppes.

Christianity in Transjordan. Little is known about the spread of Christianity in Transjordan prior to the persecutions of Diocletian, which began in 303 AD., and in which all the early churches were destroyed.

Christ is known to have visited Gadara (Umm Qeis) and to have preached in Peraca (33), while Paul may have been to this country during his ministry in Arabia.

About 70 AD., the Christians who fled from Jerusalem during the siege went to Pella, which would seem to show that there was a Christian community in that city.

After the accession of Philip, the first Christian Emperor, (243 AD) it is probable that Transjordan gradually became Christian, and, though the subsequent persecutions checked this movement, it was not for long. Shortly afterwards the conversion of Constantine the Great encouraged many of his subjects publicly to follow his example, and the ruins of the early churches, which still exist at Hobras, Ajlun and Umm Rasas (and which existed in Amman until 1923), were probably all built in the 4th and 5th centuries. About 400 AD., there was a Bishop of Petra, and, shortly afterwards, the sees of Beisan and Busra (Eski Sham) were instituted. (34) Finally, at the

(32) G. Adam Smith, Historical GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, p.628.

(33) ST. MARK V. and X.

(34) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1879) p.152.

fifth OEcumenical Council, in the reign of Justianian (534 AD.), Jerusalem was ranked as a Patriarchate by unanimous vote. (35)

The existence of churches all over Transjordan and the remains of a Byzantine monastery recently discovered at Kilwa, on the top of Jebel Tubciq, prove that Christianity was firmly established in the country by the time of the Moslem invasion (36) Not only were the settled inhabitants Christian, but many of the Bedouin also. (37)

Results of the Roman Occupation. The arrival of the Romans in Transjordan marked the beginning of a new era of prosperity. Towns and villages sprang up, chiefly in the north, but also along the Roman road as far as Wadi Hasa. The principal cities received a municipal organisation with a senate and local council, and many of them were embellished with theatres, aquaducts, temples and colonaded streets.

The importance of Petra had begun to decline before the Roman occupation, since it no longer held the position of being the only centre from which Oriental trade was distributed. No sooner, however, had Arabia been made a Roman Province, than the city assumed a new importance as the capital. The wealth and splendour of former days was gone and few monuments of this

(35) E.H. Palmer, THE DESERT OF THE EXODUS (1871)

(36) The ruins of Kilwa, in Jebel et Tubciq, were discovered by Ez Zaim Glubb Bey, of the Arab Legion, in 1931 and identified by Mr. G. Horsfield, of the Transjordan Antiquity Department.

(37) It is probable that the Bedouin, who were not subject to the Ghassanide Princes, and people far from Byzantine influence, still practised idolatry; as may also have been the case in Jauf where an image was found in the lifetime of the Prophet. St. Porphyry, writing in the 5th century, says that the people of Dumah annually sacrificed a child. This Dumah would probably be Dumah El Jandel or Jauf, for the Romans would hardly have tolerated human sacrifice at Dumah near Damascus.

later period survive; all the most striking buildings, such as the Khazna, the Deir, the theatre, and other monuments of classical type, may be dated before the conquest of the Nabataean Kingdom (106 AD). The actual dates of these monuments are not known, but it seems reasonable to suppose that they were erected during the period of Petra's greatest prosperity, which would be from 50 BC. to 50 AD.

Severus removed the capital of the Province of Arabia to Busra (38) and, although Diocletian made Petra the capital of Southern Arabia, when the province was divided up, the city never regained its former position and it is improbable that any important architectural work was carried out after the reign of Severus. The last inscription found in Petra is to a Greek Bishop, who lived about 447 AD., but the town was occupied to a much later period. (39)

Farming, the main industry of the country, took a new form; the land passed out of the hands of a few wealthy landlords and became the property of numerous small proprietors, (40) with the result that, as time went on, a much larger area came under cultivation. Stone-built farms began to take the place of the tent in which the farmer had been content to live in earlier days. The plain just north of Madaba shows the influence

(38) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916), p.45.

(39) The Roman church has a titular Bishop of Petra. The Greek Bishop of Kerak is entitled "Metropolitan of Petra, Most Honourable Exarch of Third Palestine and Second Arabia." There is a titular Bishop of Kiriakopolis (Madaba). The Greek Bishop at Bethelchem is Archbishop of Philadelphia (Amman). PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1896) p.330.

(40) Bouchier, SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE (1916) p.181.

of the Romans; the many farm-houses seen there to-day being built on the mounds formed by the ruins of older buildings. Graeco-Roman civilisation is still apparent in the north; the terraced hills north of Irbid, the groves of olive trees in the Kafarat, called by the Byzantines, Palestina Salutaris, and the ruins of such villages as Beit Ras, Hobras, Abil, Quweilbe, Kufr Es Sahem, where the ruins in the middle of the village are still known as El Husn, bear witness to the once thriving population which lived in this part of Transjordan.

Further south, the villages were fewer, and it would seem that proximately to the cities of the Decapolis acted as a stimulus to building. Even to-day, the further south one goes, the fewer are the villages, and in some places, such as Shobek and Wadi Musa, the people still prefer to live in tents, and, except in very bad weather, use their houses merely as store-rooms for grain.

The protection of the legions and ~~xxx~~ the wider markets for merchandise which the Roman Empire was able to offer ~~the~~ provinces, naturally made for trade expansion. Besides practising agriculture, therefore, the Arabs took the opportunity to become skilled traders, and were to be found all along the shores of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST.

Muhammed was born at Mecca, after the death of his father, Abdullah, on August 20th, 570 AD. (1)

According to Arab custom, the child, shortly after his birth, was sent to be nursed among the Beni Sa'ad Arabs, with whom he remained until he was five years old. At the age of twelve, Muhammed, accompanied by his uncle, Abu Talib, made a journey to Busra, passing Transjordan on the way. Thirteen years later, he went again into Syria, using the same roads, which in after years became the great pilgrim route to Medina and Mecca. (2)

As has been seen the tribes of Arabia were a lawless people, divided among themselves by clan feuds and, where Roman influence had not penetrated, still given to idol-worship and sometimes to human sacrifice. It was to these tribes that Muhammed commenced preaching in Mecca (c.610 AD), telling them that Allah, the One true God had appointed him His Prophet and, in a vision on Mount Hira, had directed him to preach to the

(1) Muir, THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878)

(2) Mercantile expeditions from the Hijaz were very common. Abu Sufyan during one of his trading ventures in the North purchased a farm in the Belqa' called Qubbash, modern Juret El Kaabsh or Qurn El Kabsh; a place now marked by a few tumbled stones and a Carop tree on the right of the Es Salt to Shunet Nimrin road close to the Wadi Shu'aib bridge. Later it passed to Muawiya and his descendants, until confiscated by the Abbassides. After that it went to the descendants of Khalif El Mahdi from whom it passed into the hands of the people of Kufa known as Beni Nu'aim, (Futul El Baldan El Balatheri).

people of Arabia and turn them from their evil ways. Muhammed at once began to gain adherents, though many of the more powerful tribesmen held aloof, and, as time went on, became so hostile that he had to leave Mecca in 622 AD.

In this year, on June 20th (Or 4th Rabla' Awal), Muhammed, mounted on his camel, El Kaswa, and accompanied by his friend, Abu Bakr, and a servant, left Mecca for ^{El} Medina. It is from this flight to ^{El} Medina, known as the Hijra, that Moslem Chronology is reckoned. (3)

The Prophet soon became the most powerful person in ^{El} Medina, and, intending that all Arabia should be converted, he began at once to turn his eyes towards the Arabian and Syrian provinces of the Roman Empire (4) whence news was constantly brought by Arab merchants as they came to sell the white flour and oil of the Belqa in the Hijaz. (5)

For some years the Moslems, as the followers of Muhammed came to be called, were not strong enough to declare open war on the Romans, but the Prophet lost no time in preparing for the struggle which he foresaw would come. He organised a series of small expeditions into the south of Syria and the Wadi Sirhan,

(3) It was during the Khalifate of 'Omer that the Moslems started to reckon their Era from the Hijra.

(4) The Prophet foresaw the Moslem victory over the Romans and some years before the Hijra the following was revealed at Mecca:

Ch. 330 of the Holy Quran entitled the Romans (Er Rum)
"The Romans are vanquished,
In a near land and they after being vanquished
shall be overcome."

For this translation I am indebted to Maulir Muhammed 'Ali MA.
LL.B. President of AHMADIYYA ANJUMAN-I-ISHA'AT-I-ISLAM
LAHORE, INDIA.

By the words in the prophecy "A near land" is meant Transjordan and Syria.

(5) KUTAT ESH SHAM, Vol II, p.190.

in order to ascertain the routes and distances, and also the strength of the Roman Forces. Moreover, each small campaign was the means of making fresh converts, and thus the progress of larger armies in the future was facilitated.

In the autumn 626 AD. (the forty-ninth month of the Hijra), the Prophet, with a thousand men, made an expedition against the oasis of Dumat El Jandal or Jauf. (6)

The chief reason for this expedition, was that large numbers of Bedouin, who had gathered in the oasis of Jauf, were not only preying on merchants going between El Medina and Syria, but were threatening to advance on Medina. No doubt the Prophet also recognised the strategical advantage of being in possession of Jauf, when the struggle with the Empire for the mastership of Syria should arrive. Moreover, measures towards safeguarding the trade routes would have been popular at Medina, so that Muhammed could count on general support from its inhabitants.

The little Moslem army advanced with speed, but news of its approach reached the Bedouin, who, however, were unable to collect the bulk of their cattle before flight. The Prophet seized the abandoned herds and one prisoner and, after a month's absence, returned with his army to Medina. Jauf was not attacked; the Moslems probably did not feel strong enough to risk an encounter with Akider Ibn Abdul Melek, of the Kinda (7) tribe, who was at that time Governor of Jauf on behalf of the Ghassanide Princes of Busra, and might, therefore, have called for Roman

(6) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878), p.299.

(7) SIRAT IBN HISHAN, Vol. II, p.338.

support. Muhammed's route on this expedition appears to have been through Tebuk and Hawsa(8); At the latter place a mosque is said to have been erected, called the Masjid Du El Gifa. (9). Possibly the ruins near Mughairat El Fater, where the valleys Umm Gerfein and Umm Gifein meet, are the remains of this mosque.

In November 626 AD. (6 AH.), a second expedition of 700 men under Abdul Rahman Ibn 'Auf was sent northwards in the direction of Jauf. (10). The force was again too small to attack the town, but it succeeded in winning over a small section of the Beni Kalb tribe to the new faith, while others were allowed to retain Christianity subject to payment of tribute. When news of the success of this expedition reached the Prophet, he ordered Abdul Rahman to marry Tomadhir, a daughter of El Isbagh Ibn 'Amr, a chief of the Beni Kalb, who had been converted to Islam (i.e. Muhammedanism). The army remained for a few days collecting tribute and then returned to Medina.

In the year 627-628 AD. (6 AH.) the first Moslem Martyr of Transjordan suffered for his faith. This was Farwa Ibn 'Amr El Judzame, the imperial governor in Amman, who became converted, and sent to Muhammed, by the hand of Mas'oud Ibn Sa'd of the Judzam tribe, a present of a white mule, a mare, a donkey, some linen shirts and a silk overcoat. Muhammed accepted these gifts, and is said to have rewarded Mas'oud with twelve okieh of gold and wrote a letter to Farwa. The Romans, hearing of this, tried

(8) At Tebuk the Prophet himself built a Mosque (Ibn Qutaiba in Kitab El Maeref).

(9) Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926), p. 25, note. No ruins are to be found now in the vicinity of Housa.

(10) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878), p. 360.

to force Farwa to return to the Christian faith; upon his refusal to do so, he was imprisoned and crucified. (11)

In July 629 AD. (AH. 8), a party of fifteen Moslems, who had been sent to the borders of Transjordan, ostensibly for the purpose of exhorting the people to embrace Islam, but also probably to obtain information, were attacked and murdered by a large crowd of people at Dzat Atlah, only one man escaping. Almost simultaneously, a messenger, Harith Ibn 'Omeir, whom the Prophet had sent to the Ghassanide Prince at Bosra, was killed by Sharahbeel Ibn 'Amr, Chief of Muta, a village south of Kerak. (12) About this time also, agents arrived from the North, bringing news of considerable military activity along the southern frontier of the Roman Province, and the Emperor Heraclius (13) was reported to be in the Kerak district with the tribes of Bahra', Lakhm, Judzam, Billi and the Balçawiya.

Muhammed decided to send an expedition into the south of Transjordan with the dual object of avenging the death of his messenger and discovering the strength of the Roman forces and why they were concentrating near the frontier. (14)

In September 629 AD. (8 AH.), an army of about 3,000 men assembled at Jorf, near Medina, and Zaid Ibn Haritha, after

(11) Tabaqat Ibn Sa'ad; Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED. IBN HISHAM part 3 p.70 states that Farwa was governor of Ma'an.

(12) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878), p.407.

(13) It is supposed that Theodorus, brother of the Emperor Heraclius, was responsible for the assembling of these forces, and that Arab Agents confused him with the Emperor. The fact that the latter went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then returned to Constantinople in this same year (629 AD.) adds more probability to this supposition.

(14) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED, (1878), Chapter 23.

receiving a white banner from the Prophet, was appointed commander. Before the armies set out, Muhammed directed that if Zaid were killed, Ja'far Ibn Abu Talib should command the army, and, after Ja'far, Abdullah Ibn Ruwaha, while if he too were slain, the army should then be free to choose their own commander.

Sharahbeel, upon the approach of the Moslems, assembled a large army at Mesharif, south of Kerak. Zaid, however, was in ignorance of the number of the enemy's forces until he reached Ma'an.

The Moslems halted at Ma'an for two days, Zaid being in favour of acquainting the Prophet with the turn of affairs before advancing. Abdullah Ibn Ruwaha however would not agree and indignantly exclaimed "what have we marched thus far for, but for this? Is it our numbers or the help of the Lord in which we trust? Victory or martyrdom one or the other is surely ours! Then forward". (15)

The leaders being carried away by such faith gave orders for the camp to be broken up, and the army pushed forward to Muba, south of Kerak.

In the battle which followed the little Moslem army was organised in two divisions, the right one being under Qotba Bin Qotaba and the left under Anaya Bin Malik. (16) from the first the Moslems were greatly outnumbered but Zaid, undanted, hurled himself upon the enemy and was immediately killed. Ja'far thereupon flung himself from his horse, which he maimed, in

(15) I am indebted to Muir for the translation of Abdullah Ibn Ruwaha's speech.

(16) Et Tabari, BRILI ED (1882-1885).

token that he would either conquer or die. Then crying out "Paradise oh Paradise how fair a resting place! Cold is the water there and sweet the shade. 'Come, Rome! Thine hour of tribulation draweth nigh. When I close with her I will hurl her to the ground", he rushed into the battle and although covered with wounds fought to the death. (17).

Ja'far is one of the most heroic figures of the early Moslem wars. It is said that in this battle, he lost his right hand and then shifted the banner to his left. When his left hand was also cut off, he embraced the banner, which the Prophet had given into his keeping, with his bleeding stumps, and, when finally overcome, bore upon him fifty wounds. (18)

When the Prophet heard of the manner of Ja'far's death, he said "May God award him wings in heaven." Ever since, the hero has been known as Ja'far El Tayyar ("the flier").

Abdullah Ibn Ruwaha now assumed command but met his fate almost immediately after (19). The banner then passed into the hands of 'Iqrim Akhu Bin 'Ajlan who summoned the soldiers to chose a leader. At first they nominated him, but on his refusal, Khalid Ibn Welid was elected (20). Retreat being inevitable Khalid effected this with skill and speed thus saving

(17) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED p.409 to whom I am indebted for the translation of Ja'far's battle cry. For pedigree of Ja'far see app. I.

(18) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE Chapt. 50.

(19) These three Moslem heroes were buried at Mezar, near the famous battle-field, and a beautiful dome, marks the place. There is still a tree, on the boundary between Tafila and Shobek, called Shajarat El Tayyar, supposedly after the Moslem general Ja'far, though it is also said in Ma'an that the tree is called after one of the sheikhs of the Tayyar section of the Wuld 'Ali tribe, who rested here on his way back from a pilgrimage.

(20) SIRAT IBN HISHAM part II. pp.203-208.

the remnants of the army from total destruction. (21).

At the time of the battle, a Christian family, named Agaya is said to have been living in Muta. In this family there were two brothers who gave great assistance to the Moslem army by opening the gates of the village and giving them food and water. Later, one of these brothers became a Moslem, and, though the other remained a Christian, the Prophet was so grateful, that he gave orders that they and their descendants were to be free from taxation. The Agayat are now a powerful faction in Madeba, and for nearly thirteen hundred years Muhammed's commands regarding them were obeyed, for they were not taxed by the Turks until after Kerak rebellion of 1911.

The battle of Muta was the first battle fought between the Romans and the Moslems, and, although the latter were defeated, they were not destroyed, and Khalid, who so skilfully led away the shattered army, in a few years time drove the Romans completely from Syria. (22). The struggle between the Byzantine Empire and the followers of Muhammed, which began at Muta, was to continue intermittently for the next eight hundred years and virtually ended when the Sultan Muhammed II captured Constantinople on 29th May, 1453 (857 AH.).

The Prophet soon despatched another force to Transjordan. In October, 629 AD. (8 AH.), 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas, later to be the

(21) When the election of Khalid Ibn Welid was reported to the Prophet he said "Oh Lord this man is one of Thy swords, may Thou makest him victorious."

Ever after Khalid was known as Seif Allah or the Sword of God. (Et Tabari Brilled: TARIKH ER RASSUL WA EL MULUK 1882-1885 p.1617).

(22) The famous Makhlidia breed of Arab horse, mainly found today among the Arabs of Beersheban is directly descended from the horse which Khalid rode at the battle of Muta. So greatly are these horses esteemed among the Bedouin, that the tribesmen even respectfully rise to their feet when they see one.

conqueror of Egypt, was placed in command of 330 men, who at once crossed the Roman frontier, where a large army awaited them. As the tribes, whose assistance he had relied upon, held aloof, 'Amr was forced to halt and to send to Medina for reinforcements, and a further 200 men were at once sent out, among whom were Abu Bakr, 'Omar Ibn El Khattab, the first two Khalifs, and Abu Obeida, the latter being in command.

After some altercation, Abu Obeida withdrew in favour of 'Amr and the small army then advanced into the country where the Bani 'Udthra and the Billi were encamped. These two tribes at once submitted, and when 'Amr advanced to the furthest limit of their territory, he had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy forces in flight. He then despatched a letter to Muhammed, announcing the success of the expedition and returned shortly afterwards to Medina (23). This small expedition came to be known as the Tha'at Es Salaasil raid. (24).

During the summer of 630 AD. (9 AH.), a small Moslem force was sent northwards from Medina towards the Roman frontier, and, in consequence of this and the rumours of the growing power of the Moslems, the Emperor Heraclius assembled all the feudatory tribes for the protection of the frontier.

Muhammed, hearing of these movements, decided to raise as large an army as possible, but some difficulty at first was encountered, as although the Moslems were eager to advance, the Bedouin tribes held back. Finally, an army of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horsemen was collected and the march commenced about the

(23) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED pp.411 and 412.

(24) So called after the watering place "SalSal" at which 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas camped while awaiting reinforcements from El Medina (IBN HISHAM Part III. p.85).

end of September 630 AD. (9AH.). (25)

On reaching Tebuk, the rumours of a Roman invasion of the Hijaz subsided and the Prophet contented himself with receiving the submission of the Christians and the Jews in the south of Transjordan and sending an expedition to Dumat El Jandal, under Khalid Ibn Welid, to the tribes on the Red Sea coast, under Hamza Bin Abdel Muttalib, to El Kharrar in the Jordan valley, under Sa'ad Bin Abu Waqqas and to Nakhla between Taif and Mecca under Abdullah Bin Jahsh (26).

Muhammed then addressed the following letter to John, Prince of Eila ('Aqaba), a prominent Christian chieftain:-

" To John Ibn Ru'yah and the Chiefs of Eila: Peace be upon you. I praise God for you, beside whom there is no Lord. I will not fight against you until I have written thus unto you. Believe or else pay tribute; and be obedient to the Lord and His Prophet, and unto the messengers of His Prophet. Honour and clothe them with excellent raiment, not with inferior garments. Specially clothe Zaid with excellent vestments. As long as my messengers are pleased so likewise am I. Ye know the tribute. If you desire to have security by land and by sea, obey the Lord and His Apostle, and he will defend you from every demand, whether by Arab or foreigner, saving the demand of the Lord and his Apostle. But

(25) The reluctance of certain Arabs to join the army was the subject of a revelation in the Holy Quran, either just before, during or immediately after the expedition to Tebuk. See Ch IX called "The Immunity" Sect. 6 "The Tebuk Expedition" "Oh you who believe! What excuse have you that when it is said to you go forth in Allah's way you should incline heavily to earth" etc. and sect. 7 "The Hypocrites" "Had they gone forth with you they would not have added to you aught save corruption" etc.

I am indebted to Maulvi Muhammed 'Ali for these translations.

(26) IBN ASAKIR Vol. I. p.112 EL YA'ACUBI (1883).

if ye oppose and displease them, I will not accept from you a single thing, until I have fought against you and taken captive you little ones and slain the elders. For I am the Apostle of the Lord in truth. Believe in the Lord and in His Prophet and believe in the Messiah son of Mary, Verily he is the word of God. I believe in Him that He was a messenger of God. Come then before trouble reach you. Give to Harmala three measures of barley; and indeed Harmala has interceded for you. As for me if it was not for the Lord and for this (intercession of Harmala) I would not have sent any message unto you, until ye had seen the army. But now if ye obey my messengers, God be your protector, and Muhammed, and whosoever belongeth unto him. Now my messengers are Sharahbeel, (etc.), unto you is the guarantee of God and of Muhammed his Apostle, and ceace be unto you if ye submit. And convey the people of Magna back to their land."

The result of this letter was that John, wearing a golden cross upon his forehead, went to meet the Prophet at his camp, taking with him a mule and a shawl as a present. He was received with kindness, and Bilal the Muezzin was made responsible for his entertainment. Before John departed a treaty was drawn up as follows:-

"In the name of God the Gracious and Merciful a compact of peace from God and from Muhammed the Prophet and Apostle of God, granted unto Yuhanna (John) the son of Ruyah and unto the people of Eila. For them who remain at home, and for those that travel abroad by sea or by land, there is the guarantee of God and the gurantee of Muhammed the Apostle of God, and for all that are with them, whether they belong to Syria or to Yeman or to the sea coast. Whose contraveneth this treaty, his wealth shall not save him, it shall be fair prize of him that taketh it.

Now it shall not be lawful to hinder the men of Eila from any springs which they have been in the habit of frequenting, nor from any passage they desire to make, whether by sea or by land.

This is the writing of Juheim Ibn As Salt and Sharahbeel Ibn Hasana by command of the Apostle of God.

Written in the ninth year of Hijra."

After the signing of this treaty, Muhammed presented John with a mantle of Yemen work and, having fixed the annual tribute at a golden dinar for each family, or 300 golden dinars for 'Aqaba, John was allowed to depart in peace. (27).

So faithfully was this treaty kept, that the Khalif 'Omar II., who reigned from 717-720 AD. (99-101 AH.), refused to increase the tribute of the people of Eila, though it was well known that they were under-assessed.

At the same time as the treaty was made with the Prince of Eila, Muhammed also came to terms with the Jews who lived in the villages of Maqna, El Adhruh and Jarba, (28), and an agreement was made whereby they promised to submit to the Prophet and pay tribute in return for a guarantee of protection. (29) After concluding these treaties, Muhammed left Tebuk, where he had been

(27) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878), Chapter 28, to whom I am indebted for the translation.

(28) It is possible that these Jews of Maqna, El Adhruh and Jarba (the ruins of two of which lie between Shobek and Ma'an) eventually migrated to the hills round Petra, where they were converted to Islam and became known as El Budul, or "the changing ones". This story is told by Arabs at the present day and the people of Wadi Musa still point to Umm El Biyara, a peak near Petra, as the actual place where the conversion took place. For text of treaty see App.

(29) The people of Adhruh agreed to pay 100 golden dinars and the people of Maqna $\frac{1}{4}$ of the fish they caught, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the increase of their cattle, $\frac{1}{4}$ of their wool and fruits. (See Futul El Buldan El Ballatheri Brill 1866) See App. II.

for twenty days, and returned to El Medina to await the result of Khalid Ibn Welid's expedition to Dumat El Jandal.

This had met with great success. The despatch of the small army of 420 horsemen had been kept so secret and the march was carried out so rapidly that the arrival of the Moslems in the oasis, 200 miles from Tebuk, was a complete surprise.

Khalid had the good fortune to come upon Akidir, the Christian chief of the town, while he was out hunting the oryx with a few of his attendants, and, after a short struggle, in which Hassan, brother of the chief was killed, Akidir surrendered and was taken prisoner. His life was spared, however, on condition that he would open the gates of the town and, this having been done, the oasis was made to pay a large fine of 2,000 camels, 800 sheep, 400 suits of mail and as many arms.

After receiving this fine, Khalid at once set off for El Medina with the captured prince, who, wearing a golden cross and costly silk clothing, was brought before Muhammed. Akidir was soon induced to embrace Islam and was then permitted to return to Jauf, where he remained at peace with the Moslems until after the death of the Prophet. (30)

The other small expeditions were of little importance and Arab historians make no further mention of them, it is therefore probable that they were ^{more} in the nature of raids than of military expeditions.

In May, 632 AD., (Safar, 11 AH.), Muhammed ordered his followers to prepare for an expedition against the Romans in the vicinity of Abil Ez Zeit (31) and on May 27th, he himself

(30) For letter from the Prophet to Akidir see Appendix II.

(31) Abil Ez Zeit probably Queilba in the 'Ajlun District (Et Tabari and Ibn Asakir, p.114 Brill Ed. 1882-1885. YACUT ³⁶ says it is the Jordan Province, See also Chapter III. Note 2.

presented Osama with a banner and nominated him as commander of the army which had begun to assemble at Jorf.

Immediately afterwards, the Prophet fell ill, and, after lingering for some days, he died on June 9th, 632 AD. (13th Rabi'ah Awal, 11 AH.), at the age of sixty-three. He was buried the next day in the house of Ayesha which adjoined the Mosque(32)

When the news of the death of the Prophet became known, the army at Jorf broke up and returned to the city. In El Medina itself consternation reigned, for the times demanded a strong, experienced man to take Muhammed's place and Abu Bakr, who was now the first Khalif was not thought to be the person to deal with the rebellion and apostasy which was appearing among the tribes. The trouble had commenced, before Abu Bakr's accession, when Museilama in Yemama, supported by the Beni Hanifa, and Toleiha, chief of the Beni Assad in Najd, supported by the Tayy and Ghatfaan, had both proclaimed themselves prophets. Neither of these chieftains had been subdued when Muhammed died, and in addition, a dangerous rebellion, headed by Dhol Khimar (El Aswad), assisted by the tribes round San'a and 'aden in the Yemen, had only just been extinguished.

Serious as this was, worse was to come, as soon as it became known the^t death had removed the strong hand of the Prophet. First, Sujjah Bin^t El Haarith claimed to be a prophetess and, with the Beni Taghlib and the Beni Temim, threatened to raid^{El} Medina; then rebellion broke out among the Kenda tribe in the Hadhramout valley; while in the south-east, Laqeet Ibn Zorara of 'Oman revolted and foreswore allegiance.

(32) Muir, LIFE OF MUHAMMED (1878).

In such dismal circumstances, Abu Bakr started his short Khalifate, but, far from being discouraged, he realised that the situation demanded a brave front. Accordingly, he directed the army of Osama to re-assemble at Jorf, and then, deaf to all remonstrances, ordered it to march north to the Roman Province, ignoring the danger of such a policy, for, by depriving himself of the only available army, he left El Medina apparently at the mercy of foes both within and without the city.

The success of this army, however, justified the risks which the aged Khalif had taken. The disaffected Arabs hesitated to advance, imagining that he would never have sent a force on a distant expedition, unless he had had ample reserves on which to depend. Medina was therefore not attacked while the army was absent, and Abu Bakr's faith and courage has ever since earned the praise and gratitude of the faithful.

In the meantime, the army had reached Yibna in Palestine, and when, after two months, it returned to El Medina, the Khalif immediately took steps to crush the insurgents. (33)

In March 633 AD. (12 AH.), two armies were despatched to the north; one, under Khalid Ibn Welid, accompanied by El Muthanna, was to march to Iraq and work northwards, the second, under 'Iyad, was to subdue Dumat El Jandal and then to march to Iraq.

(33) There is a good deal controversy as to where this army got to, some say to Darun near Gaza, while others hold that it did not get much beyond the Southern borders of Syria, Muir, the KHALIFATE RISE DECLINE AND FALL, says it got to Yibna. Some Arabs say that this army never got further than Wadi El 'Ais and that it was principally composed of the Juhaina tribe.

'Iyad, however, met with stubborn resistance and, by August 633 AD. (12 AH.), was in such straits that he had to appeal to the Khalif, and El Welid, who had recently arrived with booty from 'Iraq, was accordingly ordered to go to the rescue. Welid, however, advised 'Iyad to ask the Khalif to order Khalid Ibn Welid to proceed from 'Iraq to Dumat El Jandal and a letter was accordingly sent. Khalid announced his early arrival in two lines of verse:-

"Wait, my friend, but for a moment, speedily shall help
Cohort upon cohort follows, waving sword and ^{appear,} glittering
spear." (34)

Khalid then proceeded to collect his army at El Hira and at once set out across the desert for Jauf.

By this time, 'Iyad was practically surrounded and in great danger. Akidir, with El Judi, chiefs of Jauf, and Beni Kalb, was in readiness to attack, and Jabla, Prince of Busra, with the Beni Ghassan, was advancing from the north.

Khalid's arrival, however, soon reversed the situation. Akidir, preparing to surrender to his conqueror of four years before, was caught and beheaded; Khalid and 'Iyad, attacking respectively from the east and west, then routed the Arabs; Jabla fled back to Busra; and, finally, Dumat El Jandal was invested, the gate of the fort broken down and the garrison wiped out. Khalid then rested for a short time at Jauf before returning to 'Iraq.

(34) Muir, THE KHALIFATE RISE DECLINE AND FALL (1915), p.59, to whom I am indebted for the translation. Original Arabic in Et TABARI.

The Khalif sent out other expeditions against the insurgents in addition to those against 'Iraq and Dumat El Jandal. The details of these expeditions, however, form no part of the history of Transjordan, and the account of Moslem activities in 633 AD. (12 AH.) must be left with the simple statement that by the end of the year not only all Arabia, but most of Southern 'Iraq, had been conquered and, further, an attack on the Persian Empire had begun.

By the year 633 AD., all signs of rebellion in Arabia having been suppressed, it became possible for the Khalif to turn his attention to the Roman provinces in the North. At first he intended to send Khalid Ibn Said to command the army destined for the invasion of Syria, but when Omer, doubting his suitability for such an important command, pointed out that he had for two months refused to recognise Abu Bakr as Khalif, the orders were changed and he was sent to Taima. The Romans realising that this concentration, threatened their Southern boundary, assembled an army at Zizia in the Belqa. Thereupon Abu Bakr ordered Khalid to advance North; A battle ensued in which the Moslems were victorious, but instead of falling back after the battle, Khalid continued to remain unsupported in the Belqa. Very shortly after a large Roman army appeared under Baanes, and the Moslems being outnumbered were routed with great loss, among the killed being Khalid's son. (35).

This set back spurred the aged Khalif on to greater efforts as he fully understood the importance of the Syrian campaign. (36)

(35) ET TABARI p.2085 and IBN ASAKIR p.129 Brill Ed. 1882-1885.

(36) See appendix II Abu Bakr's letter to the people of Yemen declaring a Jihad.

Abu Bakr at once started to organise several columns, each being sent to a district from which it could easily be supported by other columns. In the spring of 634 AD. (13 AH.), the invading army, which is computed to have been 24,000 men, including a corps of observation under 'Akrima, was ready to start (37).

The whole force was split up into three divisions: 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas was ordered to invade Southern Transjordan and Palestine from his base at Eila ('Aqaba); Sharahbeel Ibn Hasana was sent to the Jordan area to attack Northern Transjordan and Central Syria; While Yezid Aub Safyan was instructed to push on towards Damascus. (38) Abu 'Obeida Amr El Jarrah was placed in command of the new volunteers and directed to march up the Haj road, supporting the other division at first, and then marching towards Homs, keeping his headquarters at Jabiah, near Damascus.

The Khalif personally went to Jorf to see each detachment start. His custom was to walk on foot beside the leader and, after giving him instructions to ensure good government of the conquered people, advising him not to detain ambassadors too long, lest they should become spies, and to visit sentries at night, (39) he would give the following last caution:-

"See that thou avoidest treachery; depart not in any wise from the right. Thou shalt mutilate none, neither shalt thou kill child, nor aged man, nor any woman. Injure not the flocks

(37) Amir 'Ali, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SARACENS (1927).

(38) Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ 91926). Abu 'Obeida in his march north from Syria took the road via Batn El Ghul. At the top of the pass was a light-house of beacon, to guide caravans at night; the place was then known as Dat El maner, modern Aqabet El Hijazia

(39) Muir, THE KHALIFATE RISE, DECLINE AND FALL (1915) p.65.

or herds or camels, saving for needful sustenance. Ye may eat of the meat which the men of the land shall bring unto you in vessels, making mention thereon of the name of the Lord. And the monks with shaven heads, if they submit, leave them unmolested. Now march forward in the name of the Lord, and may He protect you from sword and pestilence."(40)

The task before these armies entailed nothing less than war with the Roman Empire. It was, however, made easier by the fact that the Emperor Heraclius, impoverished by the costly Persian wars, had to cease to pay subsidies to the frontier tribes who were, in consequence, discontented and disposed to be favourable to the Moslems (41) The impoverished state of the Empire had also necessitated the levying of higher taxes and this had alienated the Syrians, who therefore held back from assisting the Romans.

(40) Amir 'Ali, SHORT HISTORY OF THE SARACENS 91927) p.23.

Mustafa Bey Nehib, HUMAT EL ISLAM (Egypt 1932) p.630 and ET TABARI p.1850 attribute the speech to Omer.

Es Sayuti Tarikh el khulafa wa umara el Mumineen p.38 says that Abu Bakr made this speech to Yazid Bin Abu Sufyan when he left for the conquest of Damascus. Ibn Hisham part III. p.89 ascribes it to the Prophet, when he sent 'Abdel Rahman Bin Awt to Dumat Ej Jandal.

(41) Each of the Bedouin chiefs used to receive annually from the Emperor the sum of 30 gold pounds, but in the economic crisis which overtook the Empire at the beginning of the 7th century it had to be stopped.

It is related that when the Emperor's Eunuch arrived to pay the soldiers of the outposts, the Bedouin chiefs according to custom also arrived in order to get their subsidies. Not only were they disappointed at not getting the subsidy but the Eunuch also insulted them by saying in a loud voice in front of them "The Emperor can scarcely pay his soldiers how then can he pay these dogs."

(Memoire sur la Conquete de la Syrie par M.J. de Goije E.J. Brill (1900)).

The armies of Sharahbeel Ibn Hasana, Yezid Abu Sufyan and Abu Obeida concentrated at Ziza in the Belqa and while there they heard that a large enemy force was in the Wadi 'Araba. As this force prevented 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas from leaving 'Aqaba, it was decided to destroy it before marching further North. The two armies met in the valley south of the Dead Sea and the Moslems were victorious, 3000 of the Emperor's troops being put to flight (42) The three commanders then proceeded to return to the Belqa overrunning the Kerak District on the way. A way was thus opened for an advance into Palestine and 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas thereupon advanced to the neighbourhood of Gaza, where he cut up a small force of 300 men under Sergius, who had come from Caesarea. He then fell back to Ain Ghamr in the Wadi Araba to await reinforcements while Yezid, Sharahbeel And Abu 'Obeida remained in the Belqa and Hauran.

To the Khalif the war in Syria was of far greater importance than the invasion of Iraq, and he resolved to transfer his best general, Khalid^{ibn} Welid, to the west, leaving Muthana in command in Iraq. (43)

Having divided the army into two equal parts, Khalid set out with about 9,000 men. The route led across the desert, the last point touched in Iraq being 'Ain El Tamr, whence the army marched to Qorakir, either by a direct march of 330 miles, or by making a detour through Dumat El Jandal and the Wadi Sirhan, which involved an additional 150 miles. From Qorakir, a small village in the North of the Wadi Sirhan, occupied at that time by the Beni Kelb, Khalid Ibn Welid had the choice of two routes

(42) ET TABARI p.2108 (Brill Ed. 1882-1885).

(43) App. II. Letter of Abu Bakr to Khalid Ibn Welid.

into Syria. The easier of the two led through Hazim, the Azraq oasis and Busra and, though plentifully supplied with water, was open to attack from the garrisons of Azraq fort, Hallabat and possibly Philadelphia. The second and more difficult route lay further east, through a waterless desert and lava-strewn country to Suwa (44). Having found a guide, Rafi' Ibn 'Omeira of the Tai tribe, Khalid selected the second route and marched in safety to the neighbourhood of Damascus. (45)

The camps of the Ghassanides were pitched at Marj Er Rahat, near Damascus and Khalid accordingly attacked these with success in April, 634 AD. (13 AH.); (46) then, pressing forward, he came to Thaniyat El 'Okab, from whence he could see the city. He was not strong enough to attack, however, so proceeded to invest Busra, which capitulated when the forces of Yezed, Sharahbeel and Abu 'Obeida came up in support. The four generals then marched south to join 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas, who was still in the Wadi 'Araba.

(44) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA 91927), identifies this place as a hill, whose modern name is Swa', which is situated near a watering-place, called Saba' Biyar, 380 kilometres north of Qorakir.

(45) Arab Historians tell the following story of this famous march :-

When Khalid and his army, on the fifth day, arrived at the place where they expected to find water, the guide had become nearly blind, owing, no doubt, to the strain on his eyes from searching the hot and sandy desert. He had, therefore, to ask assistance in order to find a certain thorn-bush, which marked the spot where they were to dig. At first it was not to be found but, after a time, the roots were discovered, the tree itself having been cut down. Although their guide assured them that he had only once visited the place as a boy, his memory had not deceived him, for Khalid's followers dug and at once found the spring.

This remarkable ability to remember places, is found among the Arab's to-day, the author having had personal experience of it. A guide, however, often becomes tired through concentrating on the route, and woe betide the traveller who forces him to go on when he is unwilling.

(46) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA (1921) p.562.

While the Moslem army was resting in the Wadi 'Araba, the Romans were collecting their forces together, under the command of Theodorus, the Emperor's brother. In July 634 AD., (13 AH.), the two armies met at Ajnadin, near Ramleh in Palestine, where the Romans were defeated, Theodorus fleeing to Homs, where Heraclius was living.

This was the first step towards the conquest of Syria.

Shortly after the battle of Ajnadin, the first Khalif, Abu Bakr, died after a short illness and was succeeded by 'Omar Ibn Khattab, who did not alter the policy of his predecessor, but at once set about supporting his generals in the all-important campaign in the north. The victorious army was divided into two; one force, under 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas, remaining in Palestine to effect the complete conquest of that country, the other under, Khalid Ibn Welid, pushing northwards in the wake of the Byzantines.

Khalid proceeded towards Beisan, wither the Emperor's sorely shaken army had withdrawn, and though an attempt was made to arrest his advance by cutting the dykes and flooding the district, this stratagem did not retard his progress. The Roman army, seriously impeded by the mud, was soon retreating to Pella (Khirbet El Fahl), a well defended city, overlooking the Jordan, whence it was hoped to arrest the advance of the invaders. Khalid, however, besieged the place and, after a decisive battle, it capitulated at the end of 634 AD. (13 AH.) (47).

(47) Though there is some uncertainty as to the date, it was probably after the fall of Pella that Khalid Ibn Seif advanced towards Damascus and was attacked and slain by an army of 4,000 men.

Though it is unlikely that the defenders left 80,000 dead upon the field, as is asserted by the Arab geographer, Yakut, the victory nevertheless placed the Decapolis and Jaulan in the hands of the Moslems and no hostile forces remained to dispute an immediate advance on Damascus. The rapidity and success of the recent campaign had rendered it necessary to halt, and it was not until March 635 AD. (13 AH.) that the city was invested. After a siege of four months, during which time a relieving force was beaten off by the besiegers, Damascus fell in July 635 AD. (14 AH.).

The armies of Abu 'Obeida and Khalid then made a reconnaissance towards the north, taking Homs on the way, but they soon had to retire before the new army which the Emperor Heraclius was hurriedly raising. Towards the middle of the year 636 AD. (15 AH.), the Byzantine army, variously estimated at 100,000 to 200,000 men, under the command of Theodorus, with Baanes, the Armenian, next in command, began to move southwards.

The Moslems' generals, in the meantime, aware of their danger, had abandoned their recent conquests, even quitting Damascus, and had fallen back to the banks of the river Yarmuk. During this retirement, the taxes which had been collected from the people were prudently returned, since the army was no longer able to guarantee the life and property of the payers.

The two armies camped on opposite sides of the Yarmuk (48) valley the Byzantines being at Deir Ayyub on the North bank while the Moslems occupied a position on the south side, which is known to this day as the Wadi Khalid. After a skirmish in which the Moslems had the advantage Baanes tried to negotiate, offering

(48) See App. II. for the speech of Khalid Ibn Welid before the battle.

10 dinars and a quantity of clothes and food to each man if they would return to the Hijaz; Khalid refused (49). The two forces then remained facing one another for a month during which considerable disaffection spread among the Byzantine troops, the Armenian contingent being specially disloyal.

On 20th August 636 AD. Khalid ordered an advance and gained a complete victory, the enemy cavalry fleeing Northwards while the infantry, who were roped together, were hemmed in all sides, those who escaped the Moslem spears being hurled over the precipitous cliffs through which the River Yarmuk flows. (50) In the battle Theodorus was killed and Baanes fled to the monastery in Sinai where he became a monk. (51)

Abu 'Obeida at once appointed Bashir Ibn Ka'ab El Himyari to the Governorship of the conquered district, and set out with Khalid Ibn Welid to Marj Es Suffar. Directly the news of the route of his army reached Heraclius at Antioch, he bade farewell to Syria and set out for Constantinople.

There was now no serious opposition to the advance of the Moslem forces, though in some of the towns scattered detachments collected and tried to put up resistance. Damascus fell about a month after the battle of the Yarmuk, and Khirbet El Fahl where some of the enemy had concentrated was besieged and captured. In Southern Transjordan Yezid Abu Sufyan attacked and captured Amman and then advancing south took Gharandel near Tafila and broke down all resistance in the Shera Hills West of Ma'an.

(49) IBN ASAKIR p.169.

(50) Near Kufr Kifya, in the 'Ajlun district, there is an old shrine called Rijal El Ashara ("The ten men"), which commemorates the gallant deeds of ten of the Moslem warriors who fell at the battle of the Yarmuk.

(51) Muir, KHALIFATE RISE, DECLINE AND FALL.

During the century before the rise of Muhammed, the Emperors at Constantinople had been ^{so} occupied with the struggle with Persia, that they had been forced to neglect the defences of Transjordan, in favour of districts more accessible to Persian invasion. The quiet submission of the people seems to show that they were not unwilling to change their weakened rulers for the powerful protection of the Khalif, nor do they appear to have made any effort to prevent their country being used as a base for operations against Palestine and Syria. Moreover, they naturally welcomed the establishment of an Arab Government in their own country.

As soon as Byzantine armies had been defeated and driven out of Syria, the Khalif set about creating a civil administration and Abu 'Obeida was appointed the first Governor of the country in which Transjordan was included.

The newly conquered province was known as the Province of Syria extending from the Mediterranean sea in the West to the Euphrates in the east and from the frontier of the Byzantine Empire in the North to Sinai in the South. (52) For purposes of administration Syria was divided into 5 subdistricts or Junds:- Palestine extending from Raza to Lejjun and from Jaffa to Amman including Zogar on the shore of the Dead Sea and Esh Shera hills; The Jordan or the Jund of Ordon as it was called, including Tiberius, the capital, Sidon, Acre, Beisan, Irbid and Dera'a; The Junds of Homs, Damascus and Qinsireen. (53).

(52) MASALIK EL MAMALIK by El Karkhi, p.25 (Brill Ed. 1927).

(53) El Bashari in AHSAN EL TAQASEEM (Brill Ed. 1909) adds a sixth Jund named Esh Sharat with capital at Zogar in Ghor El Mezraa', modern Tawaheen Es Sukkar, included in this Jund were Moab, Ma'an, Adhruh, Tebuk, Eila ('Aqaba) and Midian probably meaning the hills of Hisma.

'Omar paid special attention to administrative reforms. Judges were appointed, at fixed salaries, who were free from any control by the civil government and taxation was made uniform. The taxes consisted of tithes ("oshriya"), payable by all Moslems possessed of means, a land tax ("kharjiya"), payable by those who submitted under treaty, "zakat", payable by Moslems and a capitation tax payable by unbelievers. The Khalif's administration worked so well that, after the expenses of the army and the civil government had been defrayed, there was every year a large sum available for division among the poor and needy. As so many persons received pensions from the treasury at this time it used to be said that no guard was needed, since all the money was given to the people.

'Omar also realised that the ^sprosperity of his dominions depended on the condition of agriculture and he accordingly prevented the dispossession of the farmers by forbidding the sale or purchase of land in the conquered territories. (54).

In matters of religion, the Khalif showed remarkable toleration for he would allow none of his new subjects to be coerced into changing their faith. Shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (637 AD., 15 AH.), he made a journey through Transjordan to the Holy City, and gave ample proof there of his attitude towards religious matters. He did, however, allow Christians and Jews to be expelled from the Nejrán, but here he said he was acting upon the last wish of Muhammed, who had declared that in all Arabia there should be no religion except the religion of Islam.

(54) Amir 'Ali, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SARACENS (1927).

'Omar's wise policy with regard to the foreign population whom he found in the conquered provinces seems to have had the desired effect, for, over two hundred years later, Yakut, an Arab geographer, reported in his summary of the cities of the military province of the Jordan, that the population^s of Pella and Jerash were still partly foreign. (55) /

In 638 AD. (16 AH.), the Byzantines began to gather an army for the invasion of Syria, and sent emissaries into that country to stir up a rebellion. Many of the Bedouin became affected and, as the situation appeared dangerous, the Khalif decided to go north to investigate matters himself. His road passed through Transjordan and he reached El. Jabiya near modern kuneitra, but discovered on his arrival that his Governor, Abu 'Obeida, had taken energetic measures and the threats of invasion and rebellion had subsided. The people of Transjordan appear to have taken no part in this movement and the Khalif retraced his steps to Medina without further trouble.

The following year, 639 AD. (17 AH.), is known to Arab historians as the "year of ashes." First, a terrible famine swept across the Hijaz and Southern Transjordan; the cause was an unprecedented drought, which gave the Fellaheen no opportunity for planting their crops and which deprived the Bedouin of pasture for their camels and sheep. The Khalif took energetic measures to relieve his starving subjects, commanding Abu 'Obeida to send corn from Syria and 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas to despatch supplies from Palestine through the port of 'Aqaba.

After making these arrangements 'Omar left El Medina and turned his steps towards his Northern Provinces. On reaching Sargh (56) modern Mudauwara at that time the boundary between Syria and the Hijaz he was met by Abu 'Obeida and other Emirs from the North, who informed him of the devastating plague which had broken out in Syria. The Emirs counselled postponement of the journey and return to El Medina, but 'Omar hesitated and could not be persuaded to return until Abdel Rahman Bin Awf quoted the following words spoken by the Prophet himself.

' Knowingly approach not a place where the plague rages Nor flee from this pestilence should it spread around you.
The Khalif thereupon retraced his steps to El Medina telling his Emirs, many of whom were to be carried off by the plague, to return to their commands, (57).

Abu 'Obeida was shortly after stricken down with plague and died being buried in the Ghor Abu 'Obeida, where a small and now much neglected shrine marks his grave. His successor, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, succumbed almost immediately and was buried at Shuneh, while Sharahbeel Ibn Hasana and Yezid Ibn Abu Safyan also fell victims to the scourge. The governorship of Syria and Transjordan then passed into the hands of Mu'awiya, later the Khalif of Islam.

The consternation caused by the plague so affected the stability of the Moslem administration, that fear arose as to the likelihood of an attack from the Byzantines. In addition

(56) Mudauwara was so called by the Turks when the Railway arrived at that point. The Bedouin still know the place as Sargh

(57) El Khuderi, LECTURES ON ISLAMIC RACES, p.36.

there was difficulty as to the disposal of the property if so many deceased persons; the Khalif, therefore, decided to make a tour of the devastated areas.

As he passed through 'Aqaba on his way north, the people crowded to catch a glimpse of him, but not expecting to find the great Khalif simply clad and riding on a camel, they called out "Where is the Amir?". "He is before you," answered 'Omar, and the people, thinking he had already passed by, rushed forward, leaving the Khalif to alight in peace at the house of the Bishop of 'Aqaba.

From 'Aqaba, 'Omar made a tour of Syria and it was during this journey that the voice of Bilal, Muhammed's Muezzin was heard for the last time summoning the faithful to prayer. When the well-known voice, which had not been heard since the death of the Prophet, rang out, the listeners, with 'Omar at their head, sobbed aloud. Any doubts which might have arisen through the disasters of that year were, as 'Omar knew, dispelled by the magic of that voice. (58).

When he had concluded his tour, the Khalif returned to El Medina at the end of 639 AD. (18 AH.), passing through Transjordan on his journey south.

After a reign of ten and half years, during which time Islam had been firmly established in Persia, Syria and Egypt, 'Omar was assassinated in 644 AD. (23 AH.), while attending prayers in the great Mosque at El Medina. Before he died, he asked Permission of Ayesha to be buried by the side of the Prophet and his request was granted.

(58) There seems to be some doubt as to whether this incident took place at Damascus or Jerusalem.

Soon after the burial of Ōmar, Othman was appointed Khalif, to the bitter disappointment of 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The new Khalif reigned twelve years before he, too, was assassinated at El Medina in 656 AD. (33 AH.).

Six days after Othman's assassination 'Ali was elected Khalif, but his reign was to an unhappy one, as Mu'awiya the Emir of Syria, attributed the death of the late Khālif to him. An attempt to depose Mu'awiya, by refusal to re-confirm his appointment, met with failure, and during the Autumn of 656 AD. 35 AH. 'Ali prepared for a campaign against his rebellious subject. The initial stages of the struggle were laid in Iraq where rebellion had broken out, but after the bloody battle which came to be known as "the battle of the Camel", El Basra capitulated, and resistance came to an end. 'Ali then decided to move the capital from El Medina to El Kufa in Iraq no doubt being influenced to make this move by the hopes of gaining the assistance of the people of 'Iraq, against those of Syria, who were supporting his rival.

Mu'awiya in the meantime had been strengthening his position in Syria, and the Khalif in the Spring of 657 AD. (36 AH.), commenced his march towards Northern Syria, to which part Mu'awiya lost no time, in sending his main army.

The two armies met on the fatal battlefield of Siffin, south east of Aleppo, where for three days the result hung in the balance. Al Ashtar, the most capable leader on the side of 'Ali had resolved to conquer at any cost, and towards the end of the third day, Mu'awiya began to become disheartened. It was then that 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas, seeing the hopes of eventual victory getting less, devised a stratagem, and fixing the sacred leaves of the Quran on the soldiers' lances, he caused them to be

raised aloft and the cry to be raised "The Law of the Lord the Law of the Lord; Let that decide between us."

Immediately part of 'Ali's army took up the cry, and in spite of all remonstrances from the Khalif, who saw that it was a trick devised by the enemy, to deprive him of victory, a large part of his army decided to break off the battle.

Al Ashtar, with victory in sight, at first refused to retire, but 'Ali, overcome by the threats and treachery of his former adherents, was forced to recall him, and he dashed back to try and reason with the mutinous troops. "Yesterday you fought for the Lord, he said " and the best among you were slain do you acknowledge that you were wrong and the killed therefore in hell." To this the troops exhausted by three days fighting made answer "Yesterday we fought for the Lord, and to day we cease fighting for the same Lord." Further expostulation with his troops being useless, 'Ali sent Al Ash'ath chief of the Kinda to ask why the Quran had been raised above the armies, to which Mu'awiya replied "So that both sides should return to the will of God as set forth in the Holy Book, and arbiters, whose verdict shall be binding, shall be appointed to judge between us."

The army at once agreed and 'Ali was forced to follow suit. Mu'awiya appointed 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas as his representative and 'Ali after first suggesting, the son of Al Abbas, uncle of the Prophet, and then El 'Ashtar, was finally compelled to accept Abu Musa.

A DECISION was then made that after six months or longer if required, the two arbiters should meet at Dumat El

Jandal (59) to give judgement. A document to this effect was at once drawn up in writing and signed by the leaders, the great chiefs on either side adding their signatures as witnesses Al 'Ashtar alone refused to sign saying "Never should I acknowledge this to be my right hand if it touched a document such as this."

The meeting took place in February 1658 AD., (37 AH.), large crowds coming from Iraq, Syria and the Holy cities in the Hijaz.

The two arbiters met alone in a special tent and after discussing and rejecting various candidates for the Khalifate Abu Musa who was no match for 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas, was led into stating his opinion that both 'Ali and Mu'awiya be deposed and the people be left to choose a successor to the Khalifate. The wily 'Amr at once agreed and the two left the tent to announce their decision to the anxious crowds, which had collected to hear the momentous decision.

Again Abu Musa was persuaded to speak first "We have decided" said he "that for the peace of Islam, it is meet to depose both 'Ali and Mu'awiya and after that you shall choose a successor." 'Amr then took his place before the concourse and stated, "You have heard the sentence of Abu Musa he has deposed his master I too agree to depose him. But I confirm my chief Mu'awiya he is the avenger of Othman and his heir, the most suitable man to be Khalif.

(59) There has been much controversy among Arab historians as to where this conference was held some say at El Adhruh in Trans-Jordan. Ibn El Taqtaqa in EL FAKHRI AND EMIR 'ALI say at El Jandal while Yacut in MOSLEM EL BULDAN Vol. I. P.162 says it was at El Adhruh.

Abu Musa had been duped, in vain he protested that 'Amr had agreed with him and then broken his word, overcome with shame he retired to Mecca and died there in obscurity.

Mu'awiya though elected Khalif did not use that title until later (660 AD. 40 AH.), when after the armistice with 'Ali he assumed the title during a stay in Jerusalem.

'Ali very naturally refused to agree to an award, which had been obtained by such methods, and he continued to style himself the Khalif and to live in El Kufa.

His reign however was an unhappy one for himself and a tragedy for Islam. The first important event was a rebellion of a band of fanatics known ^{as} the Khawarij, which eventually became so serious that the Khalif was compelled to give up the Campaign which he had planned against his rival.

Mu'awiya was therefore left free to extend his dominions at the expense of 'Ali. Egypt was soon conquered by 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas and an expedition sent south into Arabia easily coerced both the Hijaz and Yemen to swear loyalty to the ruler of Syria.

By the year 660 AD. (40 AH.) 'Ali's position had become so serious that he was forced to sign an armistice with Mu'awiya. The restoration of peace and return to law and order did not suit the Khawarij whom 'Ali had been unable to suppress properly; they therefore decided to kill both 'Ali and, Mu'awiya and also 'Amr Ibn El 'Aas who appeared to be the most likely successor to the Khalifate. With this object three conspirators departed, one for El Kufa. one for Damascus and one for Fustat in Egypt, the plan being to carry out the assassinations in the Mosque during the noon prayer.

'Amr escaped unhurt, as he was ill, his deputy receiving the fatal blow, Mu'awiya was seriously wounded but recovered, while the unfortunate 'Ali succumbed to his wounds.

The people of El Kufa at once recognised Hasan son of 'Ali as Khalif, but after a mutiny in his army he was persuaded to abdicate in favour of Mu'awiya after a short reign of only 6 months. He returned to El Medina and eight years later was poisoned by one of his household (60), with his accession, the Umeiyid dynasty was founded, which was to rule over the Moslem world for nearly one hundred years.

This great dynasty by its conquests carried the religion established by Muhammed to the furthest limits it ever attained under Arab rulers. (61). It is however, not the concern of a historian of Transjordan to trace the course of the Moslem armies in their conquest of Spain and subjugation of the Sudan, or in their further advance to India and the boundaries of China. During these wars, Transjordan remained tranquil, and it was not until the dynasty began to decline that this province, which had been one of the first conquests of Islam, gave any trouble.

The first Khalifs of the Umeiyid dynasty, after establishing their capital at Damascus, soon succumbed to the luxury and ease of Syria, but, being of Arab blood with countless centuries of nomad life behind them, they soon tired of the towns and hankered after the desert. The Prophet had foreseen this when he had said that he feared the diet of milk for his people, and, on being asked why, had replied that the love of milk would cause them to leave the town and return to nomad life

(60) Some say that Mu'awiya bribed some one to commit this crime but there seems no reason to believe this.

(61) Amir 'Ali, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SARACENS (1927) p.158.

(62) Quotation is from IBN HANBAL, MOSNAD II., p.176, translated by H. Lammens, DA BADIA ET LA HIRA SONS LES OMAIYADES.

When Mu'awiya was Khalif, his wife, a member of the Beni Kalb, echoed this sentiment in verse, which so displeased her lord that he sent her away to her people, and Yezid I. son and heir of the Khalif, was living with his mother among the Bedouin when his father died. (63).

The tranquility of Transjordan and its proximity to the desert and to Damascus soon made it a favourite resort for the Khalifs and the Arabs of their court. Many buildings were erected, for the dynasty was noted for its love of architecture, and an earthquake in 657 AD. had probably destroyed many of the existing Roman forts and Khans.

Mu'awiya was succeeded by Yezid I., 680 AD.-683 AD., who, by reason of his birth and upbringing, found himself unable to live in Damascus, and, therefore, ruled the dominions from the desert about 50 miles from the city. This dislike of town life still persisted among his descendants, for Marwan I (684-685 AD., 64-65 AH.), spent most of his time among the Bedouin; Abdel Melek (685-705 AD. 65-86 AH.) lived, according to the season in Damascus, Sinabra, south of Tiberius, and Baalbek; while El Welid I. (705-715 AD., 89-96 AH.), and his son, Suleiman (715-717 AD., 96-99 AH.), were generally to be found in the Belqa.

(63) The first verse runs:-

"Atent with rustling breezes cool"
"Delights me more than Palace high"
"And more the cloak of simple wool"
Than robes in which I learned to sigh"

From Nicholson a LITTERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS.

It appears that later there was some danger that the delight of the town and village were attracting too many from desert, as Jahiz the great Arab writer who flourished about 870 AD., 257 AH. expressed the opposite sentiment when he wrote "Beware of the cultivated land, it is death and a quick death to approach it."

The ruins of the buildings constructed by the Umeiyid Khalifs found to-day in Transjordan cannot be accurately dated. They may, however, be assumed to have been erected before the reign of Yezid II. (744 AD., 126 AH.), as that Khalif was made to promise not to undertake any fresh work of this kind, probably because his predecessors had squandered such large sums on palaces and pleasure houses.

The chief Arab buildings of this period are all situated in the east of Transjordan. Qasr El Khoraneh was standing in 710 AD., and may have been built as military post to protect the surrounding district; it is possible that there was an earlier Roman post at this spot. (64).

Qasr El 'Amru, built between 711 and 750 AD. (92 and 132 AH.), is an interesting example of Moslem work. Although the paintings on the walls and dome are much faded, portraits of Roderic, the last Visigothic King of Spain, Yazdagird III of Persia, the Negus of Abyssinia and the Byzantine Emperor, are still visible and the inside of the dome still retains a painted map of the signs of the Zodiac. As Roderic was slain in battle by the Moslem General, Tariq, it is probable that this castle was built shortly after that event.

Mowaqar, of which but little now remains, was originally the site of a Roman fort and was later restored and probably occupied by Yezid II, who died in 724 AD. His son lived for some time at Qastal and 'Azraq, which are both situated in the desert, but, as there are no Arab ruins at the former place and the present castle of Azraq was not built until centuries later, the Khalif must have lived in the Roman buildings.

(64) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE AT UKHADIR (1914) p.115.
K.A.C. Creswell, EARLY MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE.

Another castle, dating from this time, is Hammam Es Sarah, where the Arabs preferred to build according to their own design rather than live in the Roman fortress of Hallabat, a mile or two away. Qasr Tuba and Bayir are also examples of Arab work of this period, and both are known to have been occupied by El Welid II. (744 AD., 126 AH.).

The best known of all these buildings is Meshetta, but great divergence of opinion exists as to the date of its erection. Brunow and Noldike (1907), dated the building as Ghassanide of the 6th century; Strzygowski (1919) thought it might even be Parthian, i.e. before 226 AD.; while Janssen and Sairgnac (1922) considered it to be of Ghassanide or Lakhmide construction. It seems more likely, however, that Meshetta was built during the time of one of the later Umeiyid Khalifs, probably Yezid II, or Welid II. (65) Large parts of the frescoes were removed to the Berlin Museum in 1905.

Besides these buildings the early Umeiyid Khalifs founded two mints in Transjordan one at 'Amman and the other in the province of Urdon, though the exact position of the latter is unknown. Only copper coins were struck at these mints, which seem to have ceased to work about 92 AH. 710 AD. when a dated copper coin came into use bearing no ^{trace of mint}. No gold or silver

(65) G. Bell, THE PALACE AND MOSQUE OF UKHAIDIR (1914) p.115, and K.A.C. Creswell, EARLY MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE, assign it to Yezid; Tristram, THE LAND OF MOAB (1873) p.208, says that Chosroes II of Persia built it and did not finish it (614 AD.); While the Rev. J.B. Nies, PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1901) p.367, advances the theory that it may have been built by one of the Omeiyid or Abbasside Khalifs as a khan for pilgrims. The bedouin still call it a khan, while a small hill near by, full of caves and cisterns, is known as Tel Meshetta.

coins were ever struck by the Arabs in Transjordan, nor did the Abbassides establish mints east of Jordan. (66)

It is improbable that any important buildings were erected in Transjordan during the rule of the Abbasside Khalifs, the immediate successor of the Umeiyids, while the Moslems who originally conquered the country left nothing to denote their occupation except a few small shrines which mark the tombs of the early warriors of Islam.

About the end of the first century of the Hij' , a small village, Humeima, (67) just south of the Nagb Esh Shtar, on the

(66) In Roman times there were number of mints in Transjordan :-

ADRAA (DERAA)	Struck coins of Valerian and Gallianus
BOSTRA (BUSRA)	Struck coins of Hadrian, Heliogabalus as an autominous mint of the Decapolis and later it struck coins of Severus Alexander to Trajan Decius, as a Roman colony.
CHERACMOBA (KERAK)	Struck coins of Heliogabalus.
DION	" " " Geta.
ESBUS (HUSBAN)	" " " Heliogabalus.
GERASA (JERASH)	" " from Hadrian to Crispina.
MADEBA	" " of Caracalia and Heliogabalus.
Petra	" " Hadrian to Geta.
PHILADELPHIA (AMMAN)	" " from Hadrian to Heliogabalus.
RABBAMOBA (ER RABBA)	" " " Septimus Severus to Caracalla.

All these mints were closed down about the same time being replaced by Imperial mints. Busra again minted coins when it became a colony.

My thanks are due to Mr. A.S. Kirkbride M.C. for this information.

(67) Humeima is said to have received the name from the white colour of the rocks and soil and a legend says that the town is identical with the Nabataean town of Auara, which means "White" in Syriac. Unfortunately for the legend, however, neither the rocks nor the soil are white in the neighbourhood of Humeima. In Roman times the place contained a garrison of mounted Arab bowmen.

road between Ma'an and 'Aqaba, sprang into importance. Here lived Abu Hashim Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, and from here originated the propaganda which eventually led to the overthrow of the Umeiyid dynasty in favour of the Abbasside. Abu Hashim himself did not live to see the fruit of his labour, but his successors brought his work to a successful conclusion and, in 749 AD, (132 AH.), Abu Al 'abbass Es Suffah became the first Abbasside Khalif.

Changes soon took place, for it did not suit the Khalifs, to have their capital at Damascus and the second Khalif of the dynasty therefore moved to Iraq where he founded his new capital, the city of Baghdad.

Transjordan ceased to be of importance once the capital was so far away, and the castles and pleasures houses of the Umeiyid were abandoned or destroyed. Even the pilgrim route became less used than before, as the pilgrims from the East now travelled on the new road which went direct across the desert from Iraq. This neglect of the West proved the beginning of the break-up of the Arab Empire.

In 878 AD. (265 AH.), Ahmed Ibn Tulun, a Turk, who had become Governor of Egypt in the name of the Khalif, invaded Syria and captured Damascus; From this date, Syria became a dependency of Egypt and the Khalif in Baghdad, although still the nominal ruler, had no real power. A few years later, the complete separation of Egypt and Syria from the dominions of the Khalifs was facilitated by the Khalif Mutakki who, in 943 AD. (1332 AH.), united the Governorship of Mecca, ^{El} Medina, Syria and Egypt.

The way was now open for the rise of a new dynasty in the West, in 969 AD. (358 AH.), the Fatimides, who had been threatening Egypt for some time, invaded and conquered all Southern Syria. The

first ruler of this line was El Mo'izz, whose reign is usually dated from the year 973 AD. (362 AH.).

Egyptian supremacy did not bring peace to Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. In 1021 AD. (410 AH.), Egyptian misrule, combined with intrigues in Iraq, had its effect and a dangerous revolt broke out which was not suppressed until seven years later. Order was maintained for some years after this event, but Egyptian rule gradually collapsed after 1043 AD. (432 AH.), and when, in 1071 AD. (514 AH.), the Seljuk Turks invaded the country, no organised resistance was offered to them. Damascus was captured and the expulsion of Fatimides from Jerusalem in 1076 AD. (519 AH.) left the Holy City in Turkish hands.

This then, was the situation which met the Crusaders on their arrival in Palestine.

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(66) Mas'ud, *SAHIB-NAMA* (1928) p. 255, states that the name exterior lay 245 Kilometers east of Cairo.

(67) *SAHIB-NAMA*, XIV, 14-15.

(70) Mas'ud, *SAHIB-NAMA* (1928) p. 255.

THE WADI SIRHAN.

The Romans, during their long occupation of Syria and Transjordan, appear to have paid but little attention to the Wadi Sirhan. The legions never penetrated into it and no fortresses were built there, though it was included in the limes exterior, (68) and therefore, the tribes living therein were allies of Rome. The danger of an invasion from Central Arabia, must have been considered very remote, otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Roman Emperors and generals who organised the eastern defences, neglected this route, so important to an enemy attacking Syria and Transjordan from the South. The decline of the Empire resulted in the control of the tribes in the east of Transjordan being committed to the Ghassanide princes (531 AD.) and, by the time of the Prophet, these had extended their rule over the whole of the Wadi Sirhan as far as Jauf.

In early times, Dumat El Jandal, was the heritage of a son of Ishmael and, (69) at the time of the Moslem conquest, the Beni Kalb and the Beni 'Odhra were the chief tribes in the Wadi Sirhan. In pre Moslem days Dumat El Jandal was noted for its annual fair, and also for containing a gigantic idol called Wadd. (70) Arabs say that this wadi was originally called Wadi El Azraq and only got its present name about 200 years ago when the Sirhan tribe was expelled from Hauran and went to the vicinity of Jauf.

(68) Musil, PALMYRENA (1928) p.286, states that the limes exterior lay 240 kilometres east of Bayir.

(69) GENESIS, XXV. 14-16.

(70) Musil, ARABIA DESERTA (1927) p.533.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CRUSADERS.

The series of wars known as the Crusades are a very definite landmark in any history of the Near East. The countries in which they were principally fought were Syria and Palestine, but Transjordan was also involved during the 12th century AD.

Since 1055 AD. (446 AH.), when Togrul Bek, the Seljukian Turk, had occupied Baghdad and ruled in the name of the Khalif, the Moslem dominions had been at the mercy of these tribes from Central Asia, who had embraced Islam at the beginning of the 11th century AD. (In 1076 AD. (467 AH.), the capture of Jerusalem by Atsiz, one of the generals of Malek Shah, completed the conquest of Syria and Palestine, and the government of the city was given to Ortock, chief of a tribe of Turcomans. (1) Although Malek Shah himself had adopted the more civilised manners of Persia, his generals and governors were usually tyrannical and cruel. The Christian pilgrims who went to Jerusalem soon learnt to deplore the fall of the mild tolerant government of the Arab Khalifs.

In the year 1094 AD. (486 AH.), Peter, a native of Amiens, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he suffered much from the tyrant who held the reins of government in the Holy City. Instead, therefore, of returning home with the enlightened spirit of a pilgrim who had visited the Holy Sepulchre, Peter became a religious fanatic, obsessed with the idea of driving the Moslems from Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

(1) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter 57.

Pope Urban II, whom Peter visited at Rome on his way home, was soon won over by the enthusiasm of the pilgrim, and bade him preach throughout Europe a Holy War for the deliverance of Jerusalem and Palestine.

At the same time, the Pope called a council and exhorted the 200 Bishops, 4,000 clergy and 30,000 laity who attended, to employ all means at their disposal to raise the necessary army to invade the Holy Land.

No better time could have been chosen to promote a Holy War; not only were many of the great feudal barons thirsting for military glory, but to many of the lower classes it meant an escape from feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Although there is no doubt that many of the early Crusaders looked upon the war as an easy escape from the troubles which oppressed them at home, yet also a large number were genuinely imbued with real religious enthusiasm.

Every effort was made to gain adherents. The Pope declared that all who enlisted in the war for the Cross would be absolved from all previous sins and gain a full receipt for all penances that might be due. At the same time, the lower classes were impressed with tales of the wonders of the East and the enormous wealth of the Saracens which would naturally fall to them as being participators in a war, the object of which was to deliver the Holy Land.

These methods of raising forces amply account for the fact that the first army of the Crusaders, under Peter himself, consisting of nearly 300,000 men, was largely composed of the worst criminals and most savage people in Europe,

In the spring of 1096 AD. (488 AH.), the march to the East commenced, and the baser passions of this undisciplined mob soon manifested themselves. Under the excuse that the Jews were the murderers of the Son of God, Peter's host fell upon the unhappy people who lived in the valleys of the Moselle and Rhone, massacring and looting wherever possible. The army soon broke up into a multitude of marauding bands which gradually march eastwards, looting as they went. (2)

The danger to the population of the states through which these pilgrim bands passed was soon recognised, and when they arrived in Hungary and Bulgaria, they were mercilessly attacked by the Greek Prefect of those countries. About two-thirds of their number were slain, and the remainder, including Peter, were only saved by the intercession of the Emperor at Constantinople. They soon, however, forgot to profit by their experience, and the Emperor had to ship them across the Bosphorus. On their arrival in Asia, they at once started pillaging again and were soon annihilated by the Turks.

While this was taking place, nobler and wiser princes of Europe were busy, ready to set forth for the capture of Jerusalem and, of these, four especially deserve mention. They are Godfrey of Bouillon, who assembled under his banner 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse; Hugh, Count of Vermandois, brother of the King of France; Raymond of Toulouse, who commanded 100,000 horse and foot; and Bohemund of Tarentum, who, with his cousin Tancred, raised 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. (3)

(2) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter 58.

(3) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter 58.
It seems hardly possible that such numbers could have been collected or fed on their long march to Palestine.

In June, 1098 AD. (490 AH.), the first Crusading army captured Antioch in the north of Syria and from there, after a series of campaigns in that country, the armies marched south into Palestine. On July 15th, 1099 (491 AH.), Jerusalem was captured and Godfrey of Bouillon was summoned to be the leader of the Latins with the title of "Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre"; a title chosen by Godfrey, who refused to call himself a king and accept a crown of gold in a city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns.

Godfrey's rule in Jerusalem was not of long duration, for he died of plague a year later, 1100 AD. (492 AH.), (4).

Godfrey of Bouillon was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin, Duke of Lorraine, who was crowned King of Jerusalem with the title of Baldwin I; the ceremony being performed by the Patriarch at Bethlehem on Christmas day, (5).

Almost immediately after his accession, Baldwin had to deal with some Arabs who had been disturbing the pilgrim routes, and then, turning east, he raided some districts beyond the Dead Sea, this being the first time that the Crusaders had entered Transjordan. This raid, which was carried out by 150 knights and 500 foot-soldiers, appears to have penetrated as far as Wadi Musa and Mount Hor, which at the time was covered with ice and snow. The cold was responsible for the death of 30 of the footmen. Baldwin laid waste this district and returned to Jerusalem by way of Zoar, in the Ghor Es Safi, and Hebron. (6)

(4) Gibbon, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Chapter 58.

(5) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907) p.44.

(6) A. Kennedy, PETRA, p.35.

The next venture into Transjordan was in 1107 AD. (499 AH) when the King, starting out on February 28th, marched by the south end of the Dead Sea and returned by the north end, destroying on the way a recently built castle situated to the east of that sea. (7).

Ever since the accession of Baldwin I, there had been constant fighting between Tughtakin, ruler of Damascus and the Crusaders, but after about ten years, the former had to concede to Baldwin one-third of the revenues of the land between the Huaran and the Jordan. (8)

In order to ensure the collection of these revenues, Baldwin, in about 1110 AD. (502 AH.), built the castle of Al Habis, on the south side of the Yarmuk river, near the modern Shajjara station. This was the first castle built by the Crusaders in Transjordan. (9)

Tughtakin, however, had no intention of allowing the castle to dominate the north of Transjordan unchallenged and he, therefore fortified the ancient city of Jerash. (10)

(7) Arab tradition says that this fort was at Es Salt.

(8) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE, Vol. I, No.1, p.22, note 7, says:- "The revenues of Es Salt, Belqa, Jebel Auf, El Hayyaniyyah, As Sawad and Jaulan with the surrounding country as far as the Hauran, were halved between the Crusaders and Tughtakin."

(9) The place is variously referred to by Arab authorities as El Habis, Habis Jaldik or 'Ala' al. The modern 'Al 'Al is inhabited by Arabs of the Rifai clan and is about 15 kilometres from the spring still known as El Habis, near the village of Harta. There are few remains to be seen to day, but numerous caves in the hill side have either been made or enlarged by human hands. The whole site is in a most commanding position overlooking the Yarmuk Valley.

(10) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE, Vol. I, No.1, p.22.

In the year 1111 AD. (505 AH.), the Latins laid siege to Tyre which they failed to take, but the siege so occupied their army that Tughtakin was able to capture the castle of Al Habis in the beginning of 1112 AD. (506 AH.).

The failure before Tyre so discouraged the Crusaders that they were unable for some time to make any serious move against their enemies, but, shortly after Easter, 1112 AD. (506 AH.), Baldwin, with 200 men, plundered a caravan as it passed by the south end of the Dead Sea and obtained from it a large amount of loot. (11)

The Crusaders now realized that the southern part of Trans-jordan was of considerable importance to them, as a secure hold on that district would not only sever one of the main lines of communication between Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz, but also would protect the Kingdom of Jerusalem from raids and attacks by enemies from the East.

The first step to conquer the country south of the Dead Sea was made in 1115 AD. (508 AH.), when Shobek, or Montroyal, (12) was built, in a strong position near the ruins of 'Is. (13) No doubt Baldwin, besides recognising its strategic value, wished also to secure a base from which to raid the caravans going between Egypt, Damascus and Mecca. During some part of the year 1116 AD. (509 AH.), Baldwin in person, with a small force, visited

(11) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.62.

(12) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.65.

(13) Musil, in THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926), p.5 states that ruins called 'Is, near modern Nejil (the Roman station Negla), about a mile east of Shobek, are identical with Uz, the residence of the Patriarch Job; see JOB I., 1.

Shobek and then proceeded through Petra to Eila ('Aqaba). From the latter place, he started to go to the monastery of Sinai, but finding that the monks were unwilling to receive him he returned to Jerusalem, passing through Hebron (14). This journey greatly impressed him with the importance of holding the south of Trans-jordan and he gave orders for the repairing and garrisoning of the ancient fort at Aswit, in Wadi Musa, at the same time connecting it with Shobek by a road passing through El Baidah. (15) Eila ('Aqaba) was also occupied, the castle being built on the island of Graye (Jeziret Pharaun) (16). Later, castles were constructed at Tafila, Ahman (Ma'an) (17) and Wuaira in Jebel Shera (18).

Baldwin died in 1118 AD. (511 AH.), on his way back from an expedition to Egypt and was succeeded by his nephew, Baldwin II.

(14) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.65.

(15) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.157.

(16) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.159. It is difficult to see what use the fortress on this island could have been, as it is some ten miles from 'Aqaba, near the western shore, and, besides being of little use for protecting the village, must also have been entirely dependent on it for stores and water. It might have been useful as a refuge, but, if the enemy were not driven from 'Aqaba, it would eventually have to surrender, unless supplies could be brought from Egypt by sea or across Sinai.

(17) Palgrave, in 1862, saw the ruins of an old castle in Ma'an Shemieh. Some authorities suppose Ahman to have been 'Amman.

(18) This fortress was certainly garrisoned by the Crusaders before 1144 AD. as it was recaptured by Baldwin III in that year.

No sooner was the death of Baldwin I known, than Tughtakin assembled an army and crossed the Jordan; he first of all plundered Tiberias and then proceeded to Ascalon where he took command of the Egyptian forces stationed there. He soon, however, had to retire to Damascus, and the Crusaders, who by this time had assembled an army, crossed into Northern Transjordan, capturing the fortress of Al Habis and penetrating to Busra where they defeated Buri, the son of Tughtakin.

In the following year, the Latins, under Jocelyn of Tiberias, who was exasperated at the plundering of his barony in the previous year, attempted to make a raid across the Jordan but were defeated and Baldwin prepared to come Jocelyn's help. Further war was averted by Baldwin's acceptance of a sum of money in return for a promise to refrain from raiding the Arab herds in future. (19). The patched-up truce did not last long for, in the beginning of July 1121 AD. (515 AH.), Tughtakin advanced into the King's territories lying east of the Jordan, and began to ravage the country. Baldwin pushed forward into the Hauran, but the enemy retreated without risking a battle, the only result of the campaign being that the Latins, on their way back to Jerusalem, captured and destroyed the fort at Jerash (20)

Shortly after this, Baldwin was taken prisoner, but by January 1125 AD. (519 AH), he had been released and was back in Jerusalem; he was, however, soon called to the north of Syria in order to meet an invasion by El Burshi from Aleppo. He succeeded in driving back the invaders and, in 1126 AD.

(19) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.67 and 68.

(20) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.113.

(520 AH.) prepared to attack Damascus, crossing the Jordan near Beisan and marching through the Wadi Rahub into the Hauran. The armies of Baldwin and Tughtakin finally met near Marj Suffar, the Moslems had the best of the battle and Baldwin retreated, capturing the fort of Faraniya on the way.

Tughtakin died in 1128 AD. (522 AH.) and was succeeded by his son, Taj El Muluk Buri, whose reign was short, for his territory was soon wrested from him by Ibn Zanki, from Mosul.

In the same year treachery was discovered among the ranks of the Crusaders, for Roman de Puy, who had been sent to Shobek (Montroyal or Kerak de Montroyal) ten years earlier as first governor, with the title of "Lord of the Country beyond Jordan", was, with his son, convicted of treason. He was deprived of his barony and Payen, known as the Butler, appointed in his place⁽²¹⁾

Three years later (1131 AD., 525 AH.) Baldwin II died and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk of Anjou.

During the reign of Fulk there was almost constant war in Syria between the Latin Kingdom and Ibn Zanki. In addition to these external wars, the King had trouble at home, for the crusading barons were becoming more and more independent and unwilling to co-operate for the common weal. In 1139 AD. (533 AH.), Ibn Zanki, who had advanced into the north of Syria, began to threaten Damascus, and the governor, feeling himself too weak to defend the city, made a treaty with the Latin King. The alliance was successful; The Crusaders gained the fortress of Banyas, while Damascus was saved from Ibn Zanki, who shortly after retired to Aleppo and did not again attempt to attack Damascus.

(21) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923) 4th Ed. p.154

Transjordan gave little trouble during the reign of Fulk, but in 1138 AD. (532 AH.), a raid was made across the lower reaches of the Jordan during the which the Latins captured and destroyed a castle (22). The last few years of the King's reign were marked by much building activity in Palestine, while in Transjordan, Payen was ordered to build the fortress of Kerak, the site chosen being much stronger than that of the ancient Moabite capital at Er Rabba. The fortress was finished in 1142 AD. (537 AH.), thus completing the policy initiated by Baldwin I, twenty-seven years earlier. (23) Kerak became the most important of the all the Crusaders' strongholds on the east side of the Jordan and Dead Sea and was known to them as "La Pierre du Desert". The decision to build the fortress may have been made after the Saracens had captured Wu'aira, an event which showed that the region beyond Jordan (Oultre Jordain) was not sufficiently garrisoned.

Fulk died a year later, in 1143 AD. (538 AH.) and was succeeded by his eldest son, Baldwin, who was only thirteen years of age. A regent was, therefore, necessary and Melisend, the late King's wife, governed the kingdom during her son's minority.

During the early years of the reign of Baldwin III., Melisend, who proved a capable regent, adhered closely to the policy of her husband and maintained the alliance with Damascus.

(22) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.143.

(23) G. Schululberger, RENUAD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.154.

In 1144 AD. (539 AH.), the fortress of Wu'aira was besieged. It held out against all the Latin attacks and only capitulated at a threat to cut down the olive trees which grew in abundance in the Wadi Musa (24). After the fall of this fort, all the south of Transjordan passed into the hands of the Latins, and gave no trouble for many years. Some time before 1152 AD. (546 AH.), Maurice succeeded his uncle as Baron of Montroyal, but a little later the fief must have returned to the King, as, in a document delivered at Nazareth and dated July 31st, 1161 AD. (555 AH.), Philip de Milly, the future Grand Master of the Templars, was appointed Lord of the Baronies of the two Keraks de Montroyal and of the "Pierre de Desert", the fief of Ahman and the Castle of Wadi Musa, with the surrounding steppes. Hebron was not at first included in this barony, but it was afterwards taken in exchange for the barony of Nablus (25) Phillip de Milly's dominions comprised the fourth of the five great fiefs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and was really the most important. It depended directly on the Crown and sent to the King 40 knights for the two Keraks and 20 for Hebron, and, for nearly sixty years, a fleet was maintained at 'Aqaba. The revenues of the barony were large, their main sources being the tolls levied on caravans passing between Syria, Egypt and the Hijaz, products of the surrounding country (which included, besides the ordinary cereal crops, indigo, balm, wines and sugar .

(24) A. Kennedy, PETRA, p.37.

(25) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.161 et seq.

cane (26) and dues on boats sailing in the Dead Sea. (27)

In the North of Transjordan, the country of Bani 'Auf (Jebel 'Ajlun) was not invaded again by the Latins after Baldwin II had destroyed the fortifications at Jerash in 1121 AD. (28) (514 AH.). The people of this district appear to have been left entirely alone by both sides for about sixty years. The reason for this immunity may have been that the conquest of this hilly country would not have been worth the hazards and dangers of a campaign; moreover, so long as the people were quiescent and did not attempt to attack the flanks of the armies as they marched through the north-west corner of Transjordan, there was nothing to be gained by keeping garrisons there.

In 1158 AD. (552 AH.), the armies of Baldwin and Nur Ed Din, son of Ibn Zanki, met at the wooden bridge over the Jordan, just south of Lake Tiberias; The Latins were victorious and the Syrian army retreated to Damascus (29). During the remainder of this reign there was no more fighting in Transjordan.

Baldwin III died in Beirut in 1162 AD. (556 AH.), and was succeeded by his brother Almaric I. The late king's foreign policy was disastrous to the Latin cause and his reign marked the beginning of the rapid decline of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. There is little doubt that the ruler of Damascus fully realised the danger from Nur Ed Din in the north, and would have been

(26) Sugar cane was grown at Shobek and a kind of sugar powder much in use was known as the sugar of Kerak and Montroyal. J.L. Burchardt, in TRAVELS IN SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND (1822), p.361, notes a place called Tawaheen Es Sukkar, or sugar mills, on the east shore of the Dead Sea below Kerak, known by the same name to-day. Qasr Et Tuba in the Ghor Es Safi may also have been sugar mills, the remains of which can still be seen.

(27) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th Ed.) p.164.

(28) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE Vol. I, No.1, p.23,

(29) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.179.

willing to ally himself with the Latin King. Baldwin, however, regardless of consequences, attacked Damascus, and as well as failing to take it, lost an important ally; at the same time he forced the two Moslem powers in Syria into alliance. Before therefore, continuing to describe the fortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Almaric, it will be necessary to know something of the state of affairs in Syria.

Ibn Zanki, the ruler of Mosul and Syria, as far as Baalbek, was assassinated in 1146 AD. (541 AH.), and was succeeded by his two sons, Seif Ed Din, whose share was Mosul, and Nur Ed Din Mahmud, who succeeded to the western part of his father's dominions, with the capital at Aleppo. Anar, the former ally of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was still in possession of Damascus and the Hauran, but died in 1149 AD. (543 AH.)

In 1154 AD. (548 AH.), Nur Ed Din entered Damascus, without having to strike a blow, owing to the fact that Shirkuh, who was serving at the court of Aleppo, had arranged with his brother, Ayyub, that the gates of the city should be opened. Ayyub who was the father of Salaah Ed Din (Saladin), was rewarded with the governorship of Damascus, while his son, aged seventeen was attached to the court of Nur Ed Din.

In 1163 AD. (557 AH.), Shawar, a deposed Wazir of Egypt, fled to Syria and appealed to Nur Ed Din for help, and the latter wishing to get a foothold in Egypt, was persuaded to send an army there. In the meantime, Dhirgham, who had taken the place of Shawar in Egypt, hearing of the latter's advance with a Syrian army, hurriedly called upon Almaric I. for assistance. The Latins, however, could not arrive in time to save Cairo and Shawar was restored to power in 1164 AD. (560 AH.). The Syrian

army did not remain long in Cairo, but the invasion had awakened the ambitions of Nur Ed Din. In 1167 AD. (563 AH.), Shirkuh, under whose command was Saladin, again marched to Egypt and in 1169 AD. (564 AH.), Cairo surrendered to the Syrian Army. (30).

Shirkuh did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victory; he died in the same year and Saladin, under the name of Malek En Nasir, at the age of thirty-one was invested with the mantle of Wazir by the Fatimide Khalif. Nur Ed Din, in Damascus, at once confirmed the appointment, but by the style of the address of this letter - "To the Amir Salah Ed Din, Commander in Chief and the other Amirs"- he made it quite clear that he claimed to be Saladin's overlord. (31).

El Malek En Nasir Saleh Eddin Yusef Ibn Ayyub, or Saladin as he is commonly called in England, occupies an unique position in the hearts of the English; no foreign King or person is so well known in history and the remembrance which surrounds his name still stirs every schoolboy; he stands, after all these centuries, the typical example of generosity, honour and chivalry. No doubt this sentiment among the English for Saladin, has been, to some extent, enhanced by Sir Walter Scott's "The Talisman", but it must not be imagined that the "Soldan" owes his great reputation solely to the famous Scottish novelist. It is an historical fact that the Crusaders who lived in his time and fought against him admired and honoured him as a perfect example of what a knight should be; a man who never broke his

(30) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), p.84.

(31) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), p.100.

word and placed honour before all things. (32).

Saladin was born in the year 1138 AD. (532 AH.), in the castle of Tekrit in Iraq. The birth of the future ruler of Egypt and Syria took place on the very last night which his father, Ayyub, a Kurd of the Rawadiya clan of Ajdanakan, in Armenia, was destined to spend in Tekrit, as he had been expelled from the governorship owing to the violence of his brother Assad Ed Din Shirkuh.

The two brothers, Ayyub and Shirkuh, with their families, then went to serve Ibn Zanki, in Mosul, in whose armies they fought until 1139 AD. (533 AH.), when Baalbek was taken by Ibn Zanki and Ayyub was made its governor. In 1146 AD. (540 AH.), when Baalbek was recaptured by the ruler of Damascus, Ayyub made peace with the conqueror and soon became chief of the army of Damascus. After the fall of that city, Saladin, as has been seen, passed several years at the court at Aleppo, until accompanying his uncle to Egypt, he received his baptism of fire.

The military career of Saladin then began and, with but few intervals, war absorbed him until his death at the early age of fifty-five. He died in Damascus in 1193 AD. and, like

(32) A story has come down to us that Saladin received the belt of knighthood, and that the son of his brother, Seif Ed Din, was sent to Richard Coeur de Lion, to receive the same honour. The story is that Hugh of Tiberius was taken prisoner in 1179 AD. (574 AH.) and that, before releasing him, Saladin urged him to show him how knights were created. Hugh at first protested, but eventually gave way and the ceremony commenced. Saladin was much interested and constantly asked the meaning of each act in the initiation. When Hugh had completed all he could do, the Sultan asked whether there was no more. Hugh replied "Yes, Sire but I dare not do it, it is the accolade". (See also Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), pp. 389 - 392.

Some ancient authors tried to make out that Saladin died in the Christian faith, but this, of course, is absurd - no man was ever a truer or better Moslem.

Muhammed's, 531 years before, his death took place just after the mid-day prayer.

An explanation of the greatness of Saladin and the love which his subjects bore him may be found in the words which he addressed to his son, Ez Zahir, shortly before his death:-
"My son, I commend thee to the Most High God, the fountain of all goodness. Do His will, for that way lieth peace. Abstain from the shedding of blood; for blood that is silt never slumbers. Seek to win the hearts of thy people, and watch over their ^s prosperity; for it is to assure their happiness that thou art appointed by God and by me. Try to gain the hearts of thy Amirs and ministers and nobles. I have become great because I have won men's hearts by gentleness and by kindness." After Saladin was dead, the physician, Abd-el Latif, wrote that, to his knowledge, this was the only instance of a king's death that was truly mourned by the people.

Almaric I became King of Jerusalem just before Saladin commenced his career of conquest. The foreign policy adopted by the new Latin King as as disastrous to his dominions as that of his brother, for, instead of maintaining the alliance with Shawar, chief wazir of the Fatimide Khalif of Egypt, he set out to conquer the country himself. Almaric, therefore, caused the Egyptian rulers to seek an alliance with Nur Ed Din, when he might have secured Egypt as a powerful ally for the Kingdom of Jerusalem. (33). Many of the Templars refused to join in the expedition; as they foresaw the difficulties which would arise, and deplored the waste of troops on fruitless enterprises, when they were required for defence at home.

(33) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.193.

When Egypt had fallen into the hands of Saladin, and so had become nominally a part of the Empire of Nur Ed Din, the south of Transjordan became of great importance. The Crusaders, by holding the sea-coast from Alexandretta ^{to} Gaza, the whole of Palestine and the south of Transjordan, effectually cut the Kingdom of Nur Ed Din in halves, as no convoy or courier could pass between Syria and Cairo without running the risk of capture in Transjordan.

It was unfortunate for Almaric that Philip de Milly entered the Order of the Temple in 1167 AD. (563 AH.) and left the Barony of Oultre Jourdain in the hands of his only daughter, Etiennette. The successive deaths of her two husbands, Humphrey III of Touron and Miles de Plancy, within seven years, weakened the fief at the very time when it should have been in strong hands. (34).

In 1169 AD. (564 AH.), Almaric again attacked Egypt but was unsuccessful and in future confined himself to the defence of his own territory. (35). During the next year, Saladin advanced into the south of Palestine and sacked Gaza, then, having built ships in Cairo, which he carried in sections on camels to the Red Sea, he launched a combined sea and land attack against 'Aqaba, which he captured. (36). The Saracens cannot have occupied it for long, as the island fortress did not fall

(34) G. Schulumberger, *RENAUD DE CHATILLON* (1923, 4th edition), p.163.

(35) G. Stephenson, *THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST* (1907), p.196.

(36) Stanley Lane Poole, *SALADIN* (1926), p.106.

till some years later, (37).

Success in Transjordan incited Saladin to further conquests in that country and, in 1171 AD. (567 AH.), he left Cairo and laid siege to Montroyal. The defenders asked for ten day's armistice to arrange terms of capitulation, but before the period expired, news arrived that Nur Ed Din was on his way to join his Amir. The latter thereupon broke up his camp and retired to Egypt, giving out, as an excuse, that there was a conspiracy on foot in Cairo to overthrow the government. (38) There is some doubt as to whether Saladin made a second attempt to take the fortress in 1172 AD., but if he did his efforts were very half-hearted.

In 1173 AD. (568 AH.), Saladin began the siege of Kerak, and Almaric started with an army to relieve the garrison, but, on getting some hours east of Hebron, news arrived that the enemy had withdrawn to Egypt. The reason which prompted this retirement was that Nur Ed Din had again started to come south and Saladin was unwilling to meet him. The excuse given, however was the sudden illness of Ayyub; and, as he died before his son reached Cairo, there may have been some truth in the story. Nur Ed Din who was not deceived, at once began to make preparations to punish his insubordinate vassal, but before he

(37) It is unfortunate that so little is known of the route by which the Saracens marched from Syria to Egypt, or of how they managed to pass by the fortress in Southern Transjordan. All we are told is that Shirkuh in 1167 AD. (562 AH.) took the desert route by Wadi El Ghuzlan, probably the modern Waid El Ghazal, near Dhaba station. Arabs say that he watered at Themid wells not far from Qal'at Ed Daba.

Abu Sama says that when the Crusaders held Shobek and Kerak the Egyptian army, during the march of the pilgrims, held Jebel Rum and marched up the Wadis Ithm and Muluk Itam from 'Aqaba. The comparative ease with which the Saracens seem to have been able to march from Syria to Egypt may be accounted for by the fact that the Crusaders' garrison of 'Aqaba was placed on Graye Island some ten miles down the gulf.

(38) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), p.121.

could set out, he died suddenly at Damascus in 1174 AD. (569 AH.) at the age of fifty-six. (39) In the same year died Almaric and Miles de Plancy, Lord of Montroyal, the latter leaving his daughter, Etiennette as successor to the barony. (40)

Almaric was succeeded by his eldest son, Baldwin IV, a boy of twelve years old and a leper. Miles de Plancy was therefore appointed Regent, but he was assassinated a month later and his place was taken by Raymond of Tripolis.

The death of Nur Ed Din created new difficulties for the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as his dominions passed into the weak hands of his son, El Melek Es Salih Ismail, a boy of eleven, who was naturally a puppet in the hands of his ministers and quite unable to oppose the growing power and ambition of Saladin. The latter, however, was too clever to show his hand at once; not only did he send expressions of loyalty to the new king, but he also ordered his name to be mentioned in the prayers and inscribed it on the coins of Egypt. (41)

Es Salih's position soon became precarious. Seif Ed Din, in Mosul, threw off his allegiance and annexed parts of Syria; the Amir of Aleppo openly showed his distrust and hatred of the persons who surrounded the young monarch, while many of the other great Amirs seized the opportunity of making themselves independent. Saladin carefully watched the course of events but made no move for three months after Nur Ed Din's death. Then, hearing that Es Salih had been moved from Damascus to Aleppo, he left Cairo with 700 men and entered Damascus at the

(39) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST, (1907), p.203.

(40) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST, (1907), p.213.

(41) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), pp.135 - 136.

end of 1174 AD. (570 AH.) (42). The coup d'état was successful and the energetic efforts with which Saladin immediately followed it up, enabled him to proclaim himself Sultan of Syria in 1175 AD. (570 AH.) (43).

As early as 1174 AD. (570 AH.), the Latins realised that the growing power of Saladin would eventually be a danger to their kingdom, and that if they intended to strike a blow it should be at once. Raymond, however, was too weak to take energetic measures and four vital months were wasted before the necessary forces were ready to advance into Syria. The Crusaders managed to get to within four miles of Damascus, but the delay had enabled Saladin to turn south from the region of Aleppo; they therefore retreated and asked for a truce, which so suited the Sultan that it was at once conceded. Again the conduct of the Latins was at fault; had they advanced in the autumn of 1174 AD. (569 AH.), they would have seriously embarrassed Saladin, or, had they waited until late in the year 1175 AD. (570 AH.), they would have found him at war in Northern Syria with Seif Ed Din of Mosul. As it was, they waited to advance at a time when their enemy was able to meet them. In 1176 AD. (571 AH.), Seif Ed Din was defeated near Aleppo and, by the end of the summer, all Syria, except Aleppo, which withstood a long siege, was subdued, and Saladin was able to return to Egypt.

A temporary friendship between Bohemond III of Antioch and the ruler of Aleppo, resulted in the release of Reginald, or Renaud, de Chatillon, during the summer of 1176 AD. (571 AH.),

(42) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), p.136.

(43) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.212.

after nearly sixteen years' imprisonment in a Saracen fortress(44) In the following year he married Etiennette, the suzeraine of the Barony of Oultre Jourdain, from whom Saladin had captured the island fortress of Graye in 1175 AD. (570 AH.). (45). A woman was obviously unfitted to rule this important fief, but Renaud de Chatillon, although he was probably the best, and certainly the most courageous, soldiers among the Crusaders in Palestine at that period, was too erratic and fanatical a character to hold an independent position successfully, and still more unsuitable to occupy the post of Procurator of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to which he was appointed about this time. (46).

Early in 1177 AD. (572 AH.), Philip, Count of Flanders and Vermandois arrived in Palestine. As the King's uncle and as a soldier of great reputation he was offered supreme command in the Kingdom, but, to the consternation of all, he declined to undertake the responsibilities which such a position would entail. This refusal was a heavy blow to the Latin cause and the post had perforce to be given to Renaud. (47).

In November, 1177 AD. (572 AH.), the new Commander inflicted a severe defeat on Saladin who had advanced to the neighbourhood of Ramleh in Palestine (48). The Sultan, in no way

(44) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th Edition), p.119.

(45) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th Edition), pp.149 and 202. Saladin would be able to hold Graye Island, even without 'Aqaba, so long as the sea communications with Egypt, or the land routes across Sinai were in his hands.

(46) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.216.

(47) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th Edition), p.155.

(48) Stanley Lane Poole, SALADIN (1926), p.155.

discouraged by this disaster, retreated to Egypt, where he at once began to collect another army. Early in the following year he returned to Syria and the war between Saracen and Crusader continued, although hostilities were not carried into Transjordan

By the summer of 1180 AD. (575 AH.), the Latins had been wasted and Baldwin and his council asked for a truce, which was granted for two years by the Sultan, who at once proceeded north to defend his northern frontier from the attacks of Kiliç Arslan of Antioch and Rupen, the Armenian. After two successful campaigns, peace was made in the same year and the Sultan was able to turn south, reaching Damascus in November, 1180 AD. (575 AH.). His stay was a short one, however, for he returned to Egypt by way of 'Aqaba early in 1181 AD. (576 AH.). The journey was made without molestation, but the threatening attitude adopted by the Lord of Kerak made it clear that he did not regard a truce with the Saracens as binding, although, as one of the King's counsellors, he had sworn an oath to keep it.

This fact, however, did not deter Renaud from his ill-advised conduct and, hearing that a rich caravan was on its way from Syria to the Hijaz, he proceeded to near Taima, in order to cut it off. When this intention was known in Damascus, the Governor, El Melek El Mansour Izz Ed Din Ferroukh Shah, set off in pursuit, but he was too late to save the caravan, which was, of course, quite unprepared for attack. Booty and a number of men, women and animals were taken to Kerak.

This act of brigandage, at a time when it was madness for the weakened Latin Kingdom to anger the powerful Saracen King, roused the wrath of Baldwin and his counsellors. Realising the consequences of this breach of faith if restitution was not made,

they sent peremptory orders to Renaud to return all the captives and booty immediately, but Renaud ignored the command and the King was too feeble to compel obedience or to punish him.

Saladin, who never once broke a treaty or an oath, was in the Yemen when he heard of this raid, and he immediately demanded reparation and compensation. Baldwin's confession that he was not strong enough to enforce his orders on his unruly vassal produced the inevitable result. The Sultan denounced the truce and sent a body of troops to harry the Latin territories beyond Jordan. (49).

In May, 1182 AD. (578 AH.), Saladin left Cairo, never to return (50). As the Crusaders held the whole of the coast from Gaza to Alexandretta, Saladin had to march through Sinai and the south of Transjordan. The Latins, being fully aware of this movement, made preparations to oppose it, and the Sultan, being equally well-informed of his adversaries' intention, took the utmost precautions to avoid an encounter while encumbered with his large transport train.

The Crusaders, however, mismanaged affairs from the start; instead of occupying Ras Er Rasit, (51) or Jarba, about 15 miles

(49) G. Schulumberger, *RENAUD DE CHATILLON* (1923, 4th Ed.) p.196

(50) There is a tradition that, as the Sultan mounted his horse to depart from Cairo, a voice arose from among the throng who had come to bid him farewell and recited the following lines from an Arab poet:-

"Enjoy the perfume of the ox-eyes of Nejd,
After to-night, there will be no more ox-eyes."

The words deeply impressed Saladin, and convinced of their ill-omen, he rode away from Egypt for the last time. (See Stanley Lane Poole, *SALADIN*, p.167) The line of poetry which so troubled the Sultan is quoted in the poems of Abu Tamman, Vol.II, p.122, and is well known to Arabs.

(51) Ras Er Rasit, according to G. Adam Smith Atlas of the *HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND* is shown as the top of the Nagb north of Wadi Hasa. It has also been suggested that Dhat Ras is this place.

north-west of Ma'an, where there was plenty of water, (52), they concentrated, first at Petra, and then fell back to the neighbourhood of Kerak. (53). Saladin, in the meantime, arrived at 'Aqaba (54) from where he marched to Qaryetein. From the latter place he despatched his transport by a desert route to El Azraq, under the command of his brother Taj El Muluk Buri (55). The Sultan then proceeded to occupy first Jarba and then Ras Er R Rasit from where he was able to ravage the country round Montroyal and as far north as the Wadi Hasa. In the meantime, the transport arrived at Azraq and the Sultan, having accomplished his object, rejoined it with his light troops and continued his march through Busra Eski Sham to Damascus, which he entered in June, 1182 AD. (758 AH.). As soon as the Latins found that

(52) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.225.

(53) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.195. The Crusaders may have camped at Lejjun water, which place effectually threatens the flank of any army proceeding north along the pilgrim route, but would be no deterrent to any force marching via Bayir and Azraq. Another theory is that they fell back to near Shobek or Wuaira Fort.

(54) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition), p.196. Saladin after leaving Cairo passed by Bowaib and then to Ej Jisr probably near modern Suez. After this he marched in 5 days to 'Aqaba passing by 'Ain Musa; Hatha (Wadi Ahtha); Sader (Wadi Sadr), 'Ain Djaghamila (Bir Geraimil); Bir Themid to the top of the Nagb El 'Aqaba.

From 'Aqaba the army went to Hima (Hisma) no doubt this was Jebel Rum where alone sufficient water for an army could be found in that area. After that the next camp was at Karietein probably El Qourein near the top of the Nagb Esh Shtar (for further information on this route see REVUE BIBLIQUE) (1906). The suggestion that by Karietein (The two villages) is meant Ma'an where there are two villages side by side is improbable, as at this period the two villages had not been founded, Ma'an village being a little north of the present site.

(55) The transport must have passed along the road through El Jafr and Bayir.

Saladin had slipped by them, they hastily marched north and took up a position at Suffariya, near Nazareth; they were again too late; an opportunity of destroying their enemy had been missed and was never to occur again.

Saladin was soon ready to follow up the advantage he had gained. The absence of the Latin army in Kerak had left Palestine almost defenceless, and Izz Ed Din, the Governor of Damascus, profiting by this fact, had made a successful raid in the north up to the walls of Acre. Then, returning by the north of Transjordan, he had captured the fortress of Habis Jaldik (56)

Early in July, Saladin left Damascus, and, marching through the north of Transjordan, crossed the Jordan near Jisr Majami (57) and invested Tiberias. From his camp on the lake, detachments were sent out to plunder Baisan and Afule and the Jordan Valley, until a defending army arrived on the scene and a battle was fought near the fortress of Kaukab El Huwa (58), or Belvoir, above Baisan. The result was indecisive and both sides retired, Saladin going back to Damascus, while the Crusaders had to hurry north to protect Beirut which was being attacked by a fleet from Egypt.

Later in the same year, the Latins, emboldened by the absence of Saladin in the north of Syria, made an expedition through the north of Transjordan, ravaging the country as far as Busra. On the return journey, Habis Jaldik was again attacked, and once again changed hands. The success of this raid led to

(56) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.226.

(57) Said by Conder to be so called after a gathering of poets which met there to compete for the favour of a fair maid.

(58) Kaukab El Huwa means in English "Star of the Air". It was known to the Crusaders as Belvoir.

another, the objective of which was Daraya, near Damascus; The Saracens, however, were prepared and the invaders retired.

While these events were taking place in the North, Renaud de Chatillon, in the south of Transjordan, was engaged in fitting out an expedition, with which to attack the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. It seems to be a suitable time for such an enterprise as the Sultan was occupied with his dominions in Iraq. A land expedition was out of the question, so Renaud decided to transport his forces by sea. Since 'Aqaba and the island fortress of Graye had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, the Crusaders were unable to maintain any ships in the Red Sea, nor were there any materials or means of constructing a fleet on those rugged shores. Renaud, undaunted by these difficulties, built ships in Ascalon and then brought them in pieces on the backs of camels to the north-west end of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. The ships were five in number, the two largest being able to carry 1000 men each.

The small fleet set sail in two divisions, one, probably under the command of Renaud himself, going to the Island of Graye to besiege the fortress there, while the other sailed south, to attack the Holy Cities. Little is known of this fleet, but from the summer of 1182 AD. (578 AH.), the Crusaders were the undisputed masters of the Red Sea. The difficulty of obtaining supplies was met by pillaging numerous small posts on either side of the Red Sea, the second division of the fleet penetrating as far as 'Aden. For some time this state of affairs continued, as the Saracens had no ships to use against their adversaries. Finally, the Governor of Egypt, Al 'Adil, began to build ships on the Nile and had the sections carried on camels to the

port of Kulzum (near modern Suez) where they were re-assembled. The new fleet came into action for the first time in 1183 AD. (578 AH.), when the ships blockading the Island of Graye were destroyed, those of the crew who escaped to land being killed by Bedouin. (59).

The Egyptian fleet, under the Admiral Loulou, then set sail for the south, and, after scouring the Red Sea as far as Aden, came up with the Crusaders' ships in July, 1183 AD. (578 AH) They were all moored at Rabig for an expedition to Medina and, being taken by surprise, were easily defeated. The survivors, except a few who escaped to Kerak, were taken prisoners and massacred, some in a valley near Mecca, the rest in Egypt, whither 900 of them were sent. Renaud does not appear to have been with either division himself at the time of these disasters.

Saladin had now left Iraq and Aleppo had recently fallen into his hands, thus freeing him to attend to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The recent threat to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina had especially angered the Sultan who saw that, so long as Renaud held the south of Transjordan, no truce or treaty would safeguard the roads connecting his Egyptian, Syrian and Hijazian dominions, nor would the pilgrims even be safe. In the meantime the constant wars and disasters had reduced the Crusaders to sore straits, and, the treasury being depleted, it was decided to levy an income tax, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the defence of the realm. (60) This system of taxation had

(59) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition-, p.206. The garrison of this island fortress was apparently reduced to great straits. There is no record that the Latins captured the castle at this time.

(60) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.231.

been known before; the Crusaders seem to have imposed it fairly, graduating it according to income. (61).

In the autumn of 1183 AD. (578 AH.), Saladin left Damascus and, marching through the north of Transjordan, crossed the Jordan near Baisan. The Latins were unprepared, but were ordered to proceed, but before they could join the main body, they were attacked by the Saracens and defeated. A general engagement then took place, in which the Sultan was greatly outnumbered and had to retire to Damascus which he reached in safety. Nine days after his arrival, he again set out for Kerak, which he commenced to besiege, an army from Egypt also taking part. Renaud was at Acre when he first heard of the intended attack on Kerak and he hurriedly set out to help his vassals. The place was naturally strong and was defended by a citadel and other works. The fighting troops were insufficient to protect the town, which was full of merchants and farmers from the district who had come to seek refuge, and Renaud, therefore concentrated on holding the defence works, under the mistaken impression that the two narrow gates would be easily defended. The Sultan began by taking one of the towers and then almost succeeded in seizing the citadel in the confusion. The citadel was saved, however, by the effort of one man, Ivernus, a German, who held the door until the portcullis was lowered. The attack was then beaten off and the fortress held out until Baldwin appeared in the Wadi El Wala, when the Sultan retired to Damascus.

The story is told that, on November 22nd, 1183 AD. (578 AH) the day the siege began, Humphrey IV of Touron, grandson of

(61) Rostovetzeff, THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (1926), p.368.

Philip de Milly and stepson of Renaud de Chatillon, had married Elizabeth, daughter of Almaric I. Renaud, although he knew of the advance of Saladin, had insisted on the celebrations and festivities, and the fortress was filled with musicians, dancers and jugglers. When the Sultan arrived with his army, Etienne, the mother of the bridegroom, sent him some dishes from the wedding feast. The Sultan was touched, and asked where the newly-married couple lived. On being told the name of the fortress, he gave orders that no man should molest it. Saladin may have had a reason for this clemency for, according to an Arab Legend, he himself had loved Etienne from her childhood, when he had been in her father's camp in Egypt. (62)

After the failure, the Sultan turned his attention to the north of Transjordan. Ezz Ed Din 'Usama, one of the ablest of his Amirs, was sent to 'Ajlun, and the building of Qasr Er Rabbad was commenced, as a foil to the Latin castle of Kaukab El Huwa(63) and to guard communications with Syria, while Saladin attacked the Latin fief in the south of Transjordan.

Early in the year 1184 AD. (579 AH.), El 'Adil, who had been transferred from Egypt to Aleppo, and Taqi Ed Din, who had taken his place in Egypt, both received orders to assemble for a new attack on Kerak. Delays occurred in getting together such

(62) Near Kerak there is a small spring called 'Ain Es Sitt or the Lady's spring. There is an ancient building over it and there was a tradition in Kerak that the building had been put up by an European Lady who used to lead the Crusaders' army. This tradition no doubt came from the days when Etienne ruled in Kerak.

(63) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE, Vol. I, No.1, p.23. It is said that an ancient monastery built by a Christian named 'Ajlun once stood on this spot. Possibly the village Kefrinji (Kufr El Franji, or Franks' village) was inhabited by Crusader prisoners who were employed in building the great castle on the opposite hill.

widely separated forces, but at last the great army marched from Damascus through Belqa, passing by Zerqa, Amman, Zizia, Lejjun and Er Rabba (64). The siege of Kerak commenced in August, but on this occasion Renaud decided only to defend the citadel and the Saracens at once took possession of the town, from which they were able at close range to bombard the walls across the fosse.

Soon after the siege had begun, the Latin King advanced into Transjordan and again took up his position at the Wadi El Wala, near Husban and at 'Ain Musa. To meet this threat, the Sultan had to raise the siege and he took up a position cutting his enemy off from Kerak. The Crusading army then began to retire and Saladin prepared to move back to Damascus. (65) The Latin army then made direct for Kerak, thinking that they had outwitted the Sultan. They forgot, however, that Palestine was undefended, and Saladin, realising this, detached a part of his army to ravage Nablus, El Afule and Jenin; having achieved this counterstroke, the whole Saracen army returned to Damascus (66) Disquieting news from Iraq now reached the Sultan and he therefore concluded a truce with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to commence on April 1st, 1185 AD. (580 AH.) and to last for four years.

(64) Gaudfroy de Mombynes, in LA SYRIE A L'EPOQUE DES MAMELUKES (Paris, 1923), states that Belqa takes its name from the son of Soubia of the Bani Amman Bin Loth. Husban is the chief city. See also note 84 at the end of the chapter.

(65) G. Schulumberger, RENAUD DE CHATILLON (1923, 4th edition).

(66) There is some divergence of opinion as to the movements of the Saracens after they raised the siege of Kerak. Thus Stephenson, in THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.235, says: "The Latins were at Wadi El Wala and Saladin took up a position opposite them at Husban, and then, withdrawing to Ma'an, gave the Latins a chance to escape him." There must be some confusion here, as Husban is well north of Wadi El Wala and Ma'an is some distance south of Husban, but still north of the Wadi El Wala. Neither at Ma'an nor at Husban could the Sultan have obstructed the Latin advance on Kerak. I have accordingly preferred G. Schulumberger's account.

Baldwin IV did not live long after concluding this truce, for he died early in the year 1185 AD. (580 AH.). As it was always apparent that his reign could not be a long one, the question of a successor became of great importance.

In October 1176 AD. (571 AH.), William de Montferrat had landed in Palestine and had married the King's sister, Sybil. Unfortunately he died during the next year, leaving an infant son, later Baldwin V.

In 1180 AD. (575 AH.), Sybil married Guy de Lusignan, who thus obtained a strong claim to the throne in the event of the child's death, or to the Regency. Guy had little ability and was unpopular with the Barons, among whom was Raymond of Tripolis. The latter was probably the most fitted for the Regency; it was he who had relieved Kerak in 1184 AD. (9579 AH.), and had negotiated the four years' truce which followed.

At a meeting at Acre shortly after the child-King's accession, Raymond was made Regent for ten years and temporarily dissension was ended. When, however, Baldwin V died in the following year, the old quarrels broke out again with increased bitterness. The possibility of the King's death had been provided for, Guy having acquiesced in an arrangement by which Raymond should remain Regent until a new King had been chosen by the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the Kings of England and France. This solution, however, did not satisfy the Templars and Renaud of Kerak, so, before any decision was received from Europe, they seized Jerusalem, while Raymond was away in Nablus, and at once crowned Guy King. (67)

(67) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.238.

Raymond's anger knew no bounds and he at once went to his barony in Tiberias and made overtures to Saladin, who promised help. The truce with the Saracens was still subsisting, but when the Sultan supported Raymond, the King naturally looked upon them both as enemies; possibly the fact that Raymond had made the truce, influenced the King against maintaining it.

Renaud was the first to break the peace; his raiding propensities could no longer be restrained, and he was, of course, supported by a large number of his Arab vassals. Early in 1187 AD. (582 AH.), a richly laden caravan, proceeding along the pilgrim route, was attacked and looted, all the attendants being taken to Kerak. This new breach of a truce so angered Saladin that he swore that if ever Renaud fell into his hands, he would himself kill him. The Lord of Kerak, quite unmoved by this threat, continued to menace all pilgrim caravans which passed near his fief; the Sultan, therefore, was forced to gather together a contingent of his best troops to protect the route. Qasr Es Salama, near Busra, was selected as the best place from which to command the pilgrim road, and from there detachments of light troops penetrated to Kerak and Shobek, ravaging the fields in the vicinity of those fortresses.

The Latins were not roused to the realities of the situation and even Raymond of Tripolis laid aside his quarrel with the King and prepared to help.

The Crusaders therefore concentrated at Suffuriya and held a strong position there. As was to be expected, the leaders could not agree on a line of action; Raymond of Tripolis wished to remain on the defensive, while the Master of the Temple and Renaud of Kerak urged an immediate advance. The

King eventually consented to leave his strong position and, regardless of the difficulties of a waterless march, gave orders to break up the camp at Saffuriya.

The two armies met at Hattin in July 1187 AD. (583 AH.) Before the battle started the Latin infantry were distressed by thirst, and, by the evening of the next day, the Crusaders' army was vanquished; the King, Renaud of Kerak and nearly all the soldiers were prisoners.

When the chief prisoners were brought before Saladin, King Guy was given a cup of water which he handed to Renaud of Kerak. Saladin thereupon said "You did not receive permission from me to give him to drink, so he is not entitled to his life from me." Renaud de Chatillon was then taken to another tent and the Sultan put him to death with his own hand. Thus Saladin carried out his vow, and thus perished a man who had done untold harm to the Crusaders' cause.

The Latin Kingdom never recovered from the blow it had received at the battle of Hattin. By the end of September 1187 AD. (583 AH.), Jerusalem had fallen and the conquest of Palestine was proceeding. Tyre, Tripolis and Antioch alone succeeded in withstanding the Saracen attack, and the once extensive Kingdom was soon reduced to a few town on the sea-coast and some beleaguered castles inland.

The fortresses in South Transjordan were among the last to fall. The Sultan had left the border fief alone for some time, no doubt considering that it would have to surrender when Palestine had been conquered. Kerak surrendered from lack of food in October 1188 AD. (584 AH.), and when, about a month later, Kaukab El Huwa and Saffed were captured, the other castles were isolated

and could hold out no longer. Shobek was probably one of the last to capitulate, for its capture did not take place until May, 1189 AD. This ended the Latin occupation of Transjordan and, except for one or two insignificant raids, the Latins did not set foot beyond the Jordan again.

Saladin, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, died in 1193 AD. (589 AH.) and his dominions were divided among his family. The eldest son, El Afdal, received Damascus and southern Syria, and the two younger, El Aziz and El Zahir, succeeded respectively to Egypt and Aleppo; their cousins ruled at Baalbek, Homs and Hamah, while Mesopotamia and Diyar became the appanage of El 'Adil, Saladin's brother (68).

The division proved to be an immediate source of trouble, and, within a year of their father's death, El Aziz besieged his brother in Damascus. Through the instrumentality of El 'Adil and El Zahir, a peace was patched up, but in 1195 AD. (591 AH.), El Aziz again marched on Damascus. He was defeated by El Afdal and retreated to Cairo, being pursued by his brother up to Bilbeis. Again El 'Adil made peace between the two, but, foreseeing that the old rivalry would recur, he had himself appointed the chief minister of his nephew in Cairo. He then persuaded him to attack El Afdal again and, having secured the leadership of the army destined for Syria, turned his eldest nephew out of Damascus and became viceroy.

In 1198 AD. (594 AH.), El Aziz died and, though an attempt was made to advance the claim of his son, El Mansour, El 'Adil

(68) El 'Adil was the Saphadin of English history. He exchanged many cordial visits with Richard Coeur de Lion, who knighted one of his sons.

forced his great-nephew to withdraw and was left in sole control of most of Saladin's dominions.

The new ruler at once appointed his sons to the governorships of the chief provinces; El Kamil went to Egypt and El Mu'azzam 'Isa to Damascus and southern Syria, while other sons took over the various parts of Iraq. 'Ajlun, Belqa and Es Salt had been hitherto ruled by 'Izz Ed Din Usama, but in 1211 AD. (609 AH.), the latter had fallen under suspicion. El 'Adil despatched El Mu'azzam to attack this district; the castles were soon captured and 'Izz Ed Din Usama himself was deposed and imprisoned in Kerak.

Aibak Ibn Abdullah, a mameluke of El Mu'azzam, who seems to have been an energetic governor and a great builder, was appointed in the place of 'Izz Ed Din Usama. His first step was to restore and enlarge Qal'at Er Rabbad in 1214-1215 AD. (611-612 AH.). During his governorship, the people of Es Salt rebelled and therefore, he erected a fort on a hill overlooking the town. (69)

Es Salt had undoubtedly been occupied by the Romans and its name is probably derived from the Latin "saltus", a forest. The site must have been important always and traces of what was possibly an ancient Canaanite fortification, side by side with remains of the time of Herod and of the Crusading period, have been found. As in the Crusaders' fort of Shobek, there still exists in the Es Salt fortress an ancient tunnel which leads from the south-east corner of the castle to the water in the valley. (70)

(69) G. Le Strange, PALESTINE UNDER THE MOSLEMS (1890), "As Dalt"

(70) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1928), pp. 28-36.

Up to this period Husban was the chief town of Belqa, but now Es Salt took its place. (71) Aibak also built the fort at Azraq; it is in disrepair at the present time, but a few Druz families still shelter within its walls.

Transjordan for centuries had been one of the main thoroughfares for pilgrims going to the Hijaz, and their protection had always been difficult; under Aibak there was probably little danger, but he built many khans and forts along the route (72) in order to ensure facilitate the guarding of caravans to and from Holy Cities. Aibak remained Governor of Belqa, 'Ajlun and Es Salt until 1239 AD. (639 AH.), when he was banished. Like his predecessor, he fell under the suspicion of transferring his loyalty to the sons of the master who appointed him.

In August, 1218 AD. (614 AH.), El 'Adil died and two of his sons succeeded him, El Kamil taking Egypt and El Mu'azzam Syria.

In the same year, the Crusaders, in whom religious motives were now giving place to ambition, landed in Egypt under John de Brienne, and besieged Damietta. After a long siege, the town fell in 1219 AD. (615 AH.) and El Kamil offered to purchase their withdrawal from Egypt by the concession of Jerusalem and a large part of the revenues of Palestine. As great things were expected from the projected Crusade of the German Emperor, Frederick II, this proposal was refused and the Latin leaders continued to waste their strength on profitless battles and sieges in the Nile Delta. The Egyptians flooded the country and, by

(71) Gaudfroy de Mombynes LA SYRIE A L'EPOQUE DES MAMELUKES, (Paris, 1923.)

(72) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE Vol. I, No. 1.

1221 AD. (617 AH.), the invaders were so weak that they were ready to restore Damietta and conclude a truce, in return for permission to retire unmolested.

In 1228 AD. (625 AH.), the long expected Crusade of Frederick II set out and, in June, the Emperor, accompanied by 600 knights, landed in Palestine. He had had some friendly correspondence with El Kamil before his arrival and, early in 1229 AD. (626 AH.), was able amicably to negotiate a treaty, whereby a truce was made for ten years and Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth were handed over to the Crusaders (73). This arrangement was unpopular with both Moslems and Christians, the former considering that too much had been given away and the latter, who were still swayed by religious fanaticism, disliking any treaty with the Saracens. Shortly after concluding the treaty, the Emperor, was crowned in Jerusalem and then set sail for Europe.

While the Crusaders were in Egypt, El Kamil and El Mu'azzam had worked in harmony, but when the invaders had been expelled and Egypt was safe, El Mu'azzam began to consider ways of ridding himself of his brother. Before anything could be effected, however, he died in 1227 AD. (624 AH.) and his son, Nasir Da'oud, succeeded to the throne of Damascus, which put Transjordan into his hands also.

Intrigues were at work against the new ruler and in 1229 AD. (626 AH.), El Ashraf, with the permission of his brother, El Kamil, laid siege to Damascus and Nasir to capitulate on condition that he should receive the Jordan district, (or Ghor)

(73) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1914, end edition)

and parts of Belqa and Kerak. (74).

In this way, Damascus, including 'Ajlun, Belqa and the territories belonging to the principality of Kerak became nominally subject to El Kamil (75). A quarrel between El Kamil and El Ashraf soon occurred and the latter was preparing a general revolt against his brother when he suddenly died in 1236 AD. (635 AH.), giving El Kamil the opportunity to seize his Kingdom. However, in the spring of the next year, El Kamil died and his brother El Melik Es Saalih Ismail, took Damascus, while Es Salih Ayyoub, a son of El Kamil, ascended the throne of Egypt. During these events, the Emir Zahir Ed Din Ibn Sungur El Halabi, one of the vassals of Nasir Da'oud, purchased Qal'at Er Rabbad for 40,000 dirhams, a robe of honour, a horse and other articles. As 'Ajlun fell under the rule of this important fortress, it followed that Nasir practically became the ruler of Transjordan. (76).

In 1249 AD. (637 AH.), Nasir Da'oud was on such friendly terms with Egypt that he was given command of the Egyptian forces in Palestine, and with these he was able to inflict a reverse on the Crusaders near Gaza and to attack Jerusalem, capturing the Tower of David and destroying the city's defences (77). After this, Nasir Da'oud quarrelled with the Sultan of Egypt and

(74) Arab authors differ as to the eventual extent of Nasir's territory; it appears to have included Transjordan, except Shobek which El Kamil kept in his own hands; no doubt wishing to ensure that the road between Syria and Egypt should be under his control; probably Banlus was also included.

(75) SUBH EL A'SHA, Vol. IV, p.72.

(76) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE Vol. I, No.1, p.31.

(77) Stephenson, THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST (1907), p.317.

allied himself with Ismail of Damascus, the Crusaders and the Amir of Homs. A battle ensued and the Egyptians were routed near Gaza in 1242 AD. (639 AH.). Nothing came of the attempt to conclude a truce and, in 1244 AD. (642 AH.), the Egyptian general, Rukn Ed Din Beibars, advanced into the south of Palestine and defeated the allies. Jerusalem was then captured, 7,000 of the inhabitants being put to the sword, and the victors advanced into Transjordan and captured Qal'at Er Rabbad in 1245 AD. (643 AH.). Damascus was now open to attack and, after a six months' siege, it fell into the hands of Es Saleh Ayyub.

The Egyptian Sultan was now ready to deal with Nasir Da'oud and, in 1247 AD. (645 AH.), Fakhr Ed Din Yusef Ibn Esh Sheikh, who commanded the Egyptian forces in Palestine, ravaged Nasir's kingdom and took all the strongholds in it with the exception of Kerak, which did not surrender until 1249 AD. (647 AH.). Nasir Da'oud died in 1253 AD. (656 AH.).

Sultan Es Saleh Ayyub died in 1249 AD. (647 AH.), and was succeeded by his son, Turan Shah, who was in Diyar Bekr at the time of his father's death. Fearing that the various Amirs would start fighting for the throne, Shajarat Ed Durr ("Spray of Pearls"), a Turkish concubine in the late Sultan's harem, managed to conceal his death and, assisted by three loyal Amirs, governed the country until Turan Shah arrived.

Turan Shah was however, assassinated in the following year and the Mameluke Amirs, who were responsible, elected Shajarat Ed Durr to be their Queen. (78). The Kingdom however,

(78) Prayers were recited in her name and she was given the surname of Asmat Ed Din, "Defender of the Faith", and was known as Sultan.

was once more split into two, Damascus with 'Ajlun and Belqa being taken by El Melik En Nasir Yusef, ruler of Aleppo, while Southern Transjordan remained in the hands of Egypt.

To satisfy public opinion, the Queen married Aybek, the Mameluke Commander-in-Chief, who at once released El Mugith 'Omer, a grandson of El Kamil, from Shobek, where he had been imprisoned by Es Salih Ayyub. (79) The released prisoner immediately seized Kerak and raised a rebellion with the object of restoring the Ayyubide dynasty to the throne of Egypt. He was subsequently defeated by Aybek, but still retained Southern Transjordan.

When Aybek returned to Cairo he announced his intention of taking as a second wife the daughter of Lulu, Prince of Mosul. This roused the jealousy of the Queen and she had him murdered in 1257 AD. (655 AH.). The Mameluke Amirs were infuriated and imprisoned the Queen who, after spending her last hours destroying her jewels, was put to death and thrown into the ditch of the citadel. (80). Despite her crimes Shajarat Ed Durr deserved the gratitude of Egypt, for she had twice saved the country from the horrors of a Mameluke civil war.

The 'Ajlun district continued to be held by El Melik El Nasir Yusef until he was driven out of Damascus by the Mongols and had to take refuge in Qal'at Er Rabbad. (81) In 1260 AD. (568 AH.), he was forced to give up that stronghold and the

(79) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1941, 2nd edition p.257.

(80) Shajarat Ed Durr was subsequently buried near Sitta Nafisa, in Cairo.

(81) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE, p.31.

Mongols took possession of it, after which they marched south and captured Es Salt, destroying the fort, which was subsequently rebuilt by the Mameluke Sultan, Beibars. (82)

The Mongols did not hold Transjordan for long; at the end of the year, they were defeated at 'Ain Jalut, near Beisan, by the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Seif Ed Din Kutuz, and abandoned the fortress of Er Rabbad, after destroying the battlements. (83)

The expulsion of El Melik El Nasir Yusef from Qal'at Er Rabbad marks the end of the rule of the Ayyubide dynasty in Syria and Transjordan. Since the assassination of Turan Shah in 1250 AD. (648 AH.), Egypt had been in the hands of the Mamelukes and, though a few members of the family remained in possession of principalities in Yemen, Iraq and other places for some time after 1260 AD. (658 AH.), the Ayyubide period virtually ended at that date.

(82) Conder, HETH AND MOAB (1889), p.190.

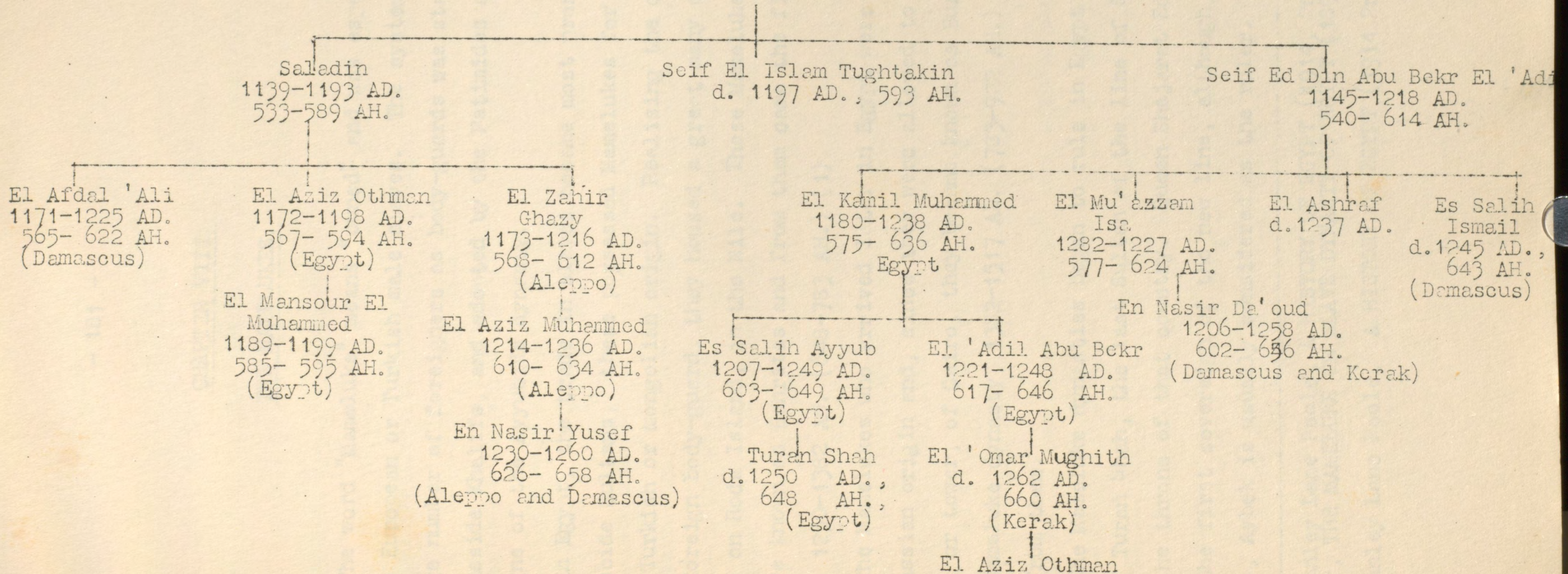
(83) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE
P.32.

(84) The opinion of Arabs is that the word 'Belqa' is the feminine of the adjective 'Ablaq' meaning Black and White or Piebald. The name having been given to all the country from the Hauran to the Shera hills, possibly by the Ghassanides or early Moslem conquerors.

The reason assigned for this name being the very striking differences of the country as one passes from the Black Basalt areas in the North and East to the light coloured soil in the cultivated areas.

THE AYYUBIDE DYNASTY SO FAR AS IT AFFECTS TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA AND EGYPT

Nejm Ed Din Ayyub
d. 1173 AD., 568 AH.



Note. The dates given are of birth and death, unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MAMELUKES.

The word "Mameluke" means "owned" and was especially applied to European or Turkish male slaves. The system of employing large number of foreigners as body-guards was started by the Abbasside Khalifs, and adopted by the Fatimides and the sovereigns of the Ayyubide dynasty.

In Egypt, the trade in slaves became most pronounced under the Ayyubide Sultans; these possessed Mamelukes for the most part of Turkish or Mongolian origin. Realising the dangers of such a foreign body-guard, they housed a great many of them in barracks on Roda Island, in the Nile. These Mamelukes were therefore known as Bahrites and from them came the first Mameluke dynasty, 1250-1382 AD. (648-783 AH.) (1).

The Mamelukes who arrived later in Egypt were principally of Circassian origin and, since they were allowed to live in the citadel, or tower, of Cairo, they became known as Burjites. The second Mameluke dynasty, 1382-1517 AD. (783-922 AH.) (2) sprang from them.

The Mameluke dynasties began to rule in Egypt after the death of Turan Shah, the last Sultan of the line of Saladin to occupy the throne of that country. Queen Shajarat Ed Durr was really the first sovereign of the new line, although, after her marriage, Aybek is usually considered as the ruler. After the

(1) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1914, 2nd edition) and Muir, THE MAMELUKE OR SLAVE DYNASTY OF EGYPT (1896).

(2) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1914 2nd edition).

murder of Aybek in 1257 AD. (655 AH.), his son, a boy of fifteen, was chosen to be Sultan, but it was soon apparent that the lad would not be able to keep the Amirs in order. Upon his being deposed, Kutuz, Aybek's chief Wazir, became Sultan. The principal event of his reign was the war against the Mongols who had invaded Syria and Northern Transjordan, (2), and who were defeated at 'Ain Jalut, near Beisan in 1260 AD. (568 AH.). Kutuz was assassinated by one of his generals, Rukh Ed Din Beibars, who was immediately made Sultan.

Beibars was a native of Kipchak, between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea; he had been bought for very little in the slave market as one of his eyes was damaged by a cataract. His first master was Amir Aydekin El Bandukdar, on which account he was known as El Bandukdar. Later, when Es Salih Ayyub became Sultan of Egypt, Beibars became his Mameluke and distinguished himself as a general by his defeat of the Crusaders at the battle of Gaza in 1244 AD. (646 AH.) (4). On the death of Salih Ayyub, Beibars joined the party which was headed by Aktai, the Mameluke general of Aybek, and, on the death of the former, he had to flee the country. When Kutuz came to the throne, he returned to Egypt and became Commander-in-chief, and, after assassinating his sovereign, he was elected Sultan, under the name and title of El ^{wa}elek Es Zahir Rukn Ed Dunya Wa Ed Din El Bundukdari Es

(3) The advanced guard of the Mongol army which was under Hulagu son of Tuli the fourth son of Genghis Khan after occupying all Syria and Northern Transjordan, advanced south as far as Gaza.

They were driven out of Gaza by Beibars who commanded the advanced guard of the Mameluke army the main body of which was under the command of the Sultan Kutuz. The Sultan's great victory at 'Ain Jalut released Syria and Transjordan from a Mongol occupation and freed Egypt from the danger of a Mongol invasion.

(4) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1914, 2nd edition).

Salihi.

After his election, Beihars started south, passing through 'Ajlun, where he appointed Izz Ed Din Aybek Ibn Abdullah Allani the governor of that district, with orders to repair the fortress of Er Rabbad. Orders were also issued about this time for the rebuilding of the fort of Es Salt, as that place had been destroyed by the Mongols.

The Sultan then commenced his long journey to Cairo, taking on the way, the fortress of Shobek, 1261 AD. (659 AH.)(5). El Mughith, the Ayyubide ruler, was still in Kerak, but Beihars, not being strong enough to attack the fortress openly, invited him to Cairo, swearing that he would not do him harm. On arrival, however, El Mughith was thrown into prison in the citadel where he was murdered, or died of starvation. Despite this, Beibars did not easily obtain possession of Kerak, as Mughith's governor refused to surrender and the fortress had to be taken by storm. (6) This place was considered to be so important that Beibars issued instructions for the strengthening of the fortifications(7).

Attacks on the towns in Palestine held by the Crusaders occupied nearly the whole of Beibars' reign; these succumbed one after another, until peace was made in 1272 AD. (670 AH.), when only a few on the coast remained in the hands of the Latins.

During this period Transjordan was unaffected, but the Sultan, realising the importance of it as an integral part of his communications with Syria and the East, built a new bridge

(5) Stanley Lane Poole, A HISTORY OF EGYPT (1914, 2nd edition), p.272.

(6) Muir, THE MAMELUKE OR SLAVE DYNASTY OF EGYPT(1896).

(7) It may have been after his campaign that Beibars visited Petra and ascended to the castle of Aswit.

over the Jordan, (8) in order to facilitate the movement of his armies into the 'Ajlun district and Syria, and constructed a line of pigeon posts and beacons between Iraq and Cairo, through the northern district and passing by Turra, Irbid and 'Ajlun (9). This signal line was so efficient that it is said that an alarm on the Euphrates could be made known within twelve hours to the Sultan in Cairo. (10)

(8) A story is told that, in 1266 AD., the Sultan ordered a bridge of five arches to be built over the Jordan near Damieh. After one of the piers had been erected, it became displaced and Beibars sent the builder back to repair it, but the current was strong and interfered with the work. On the night of December 8th, 1267 AD., the water suddenly ceased to flow and fires were hurriedly lighted in order to complete the repair while the river bed was dry. A land-slip had occurred which had temporarily dammed the flow of water.

The bridge had an inscription showing the name of the builder and the date 671 AH. (1273 AD.).

(9) QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE, Vol. I, No.1.

(10) Beibars' system of communication was extremely well organized. Not only were post-horses employed, but an efficient pigeon post was also maintained. The royal pigeons had a special mark and none, save the Sultan, was allowed to detach the message they carried. The Sultan, was always immediately informed of the arrival of a bird and would at once proceed to disencumber it of its burden.

The signal stations of the Mamelukes were set up on the tops of mountains or on high buildings. From these fire went up by night and smoke by day to announce the movements of enemies, etc. The signals ~~were~~ varied according to an established code, and, in each station, were telescopes to enable these signals to be read. Amongst other places, there were signal stations at Qal'at Er Rabbat 'Araq, Damascus and Gaza on the main route, from which side routes branched off in all directions. This method of communication was much used when Egypt was at war with the Mongols, but fell into neglect when peace was made.

No doubt the great expense, which must have been incurred in keeping up these signal lines, was greatly stimulated by the knowledge of the efficiency of the Mongol post system. Of Genghis Khan it was said that he maintained 10,000 post buildings containing 300,000 horses, moreover in these posts were men who could travel 250 miles in the day.

Beibars was perhaps one of the greatest rulers who ever sat on the throne of Egypt, and the line of Mameluke Sultans of which he was the real founder ruled for 257 years in the valley of the Nile.

He died in 1277 AD. (675 AH.). He had led victorious armies into Armenia, Iraq and the Sudan; he had kept the Mongols at bay and had sealed the fate of the European invaders of Syria and Palestine. It is not surprising that, even to-day, Syrian and Egyptian story-tellers are always certain of getting an audience interested and delighted in the exploits of Beibars.

Beibars was succeeded by his son, Said; he was weak and unpopular and, in 1279 AD. (677 AH.), was forced to abdicate and retire to Kerak. He died two years later and his remains were taken to Damascus and buried beside his father there.

El Melek El Mansour Seif Ed Din Kalaun El Elfi Es Salahi then became Sultan (11). During this reign trouble arose among the Bedouin, but it was soon suppressed and never prevented the monarch from persistent warfare with the Latins who still held a few coast towns.

Kalaun died in 1290 AD. (688 AH.) and was succeeded by his son, Khalil, who was destined to deliver the final blow which expelled the Crusaders from Palestine and Syria. Tripolis had fallen in the previous year and, in 1291 AD. (689 AH.), Acre, the last Latin stronghold, capitulated.

Khalil was assassinated in 1293 AD. (691 AH.) and his brother Nasir, a boy of only nine years of age, succeeded him,

(11) The title of El Elfi denoted the fact that he had originally been purchased for 1000 pieces. The Mameluke Sultans, far from being ashamed of their servile origin, gloried in the fact that they had been bought as slaves.

but was soon deposed by his Mameluke ministers and sent to Kerak, Thereafter, intrigues and murders among rulers and ministers became more frequent and the state of chaos was such that, in 1299 AD. (708 AH.), Nasir was recalled to the throne from retirement in Kerak. His immediate task was to deal with a serious invasion of Mongols into Syria, but he was defeated by them near Damascus and had to abandon that city. Four years later, he was able to assemble a fresh army with which he overthrew the invaders and expelled them from Syria.

This victory did not, however, establish Nasir on the throne; his two powerful ministers, Sellar and Beibars, overcame him and, in 1309 AD. (718 AH.), he voluntarily retired to Kerak. From there he sent all the insignia of state to Cairo, with a letter saying that he renounced the throne and wished to end his days in peace at the Transjordan fortress.

The minister, Beibars, then became Sultan, but, within two years, Nasir, by the help of the Syrian Amirs, was able to resume his Sultanate.

Nasir's third reign began in 1310 AD. (719 AH.). Beibars was put to death; Sellar was, at first, sent to Shobek as governor, but was later recalled to Cairo where he was imprisoned and died.

The Sultan now undertook building work in Transjordan, in which district he took great interest, possibly because it had been the scene of his misfortunes. He restored and rebuilt the fortress at Shobek, constructed the pilgrim road down the Nagb El 'Aqaba, (12) and built or, at any rate, renovated, the

(12) A stone now in the Egyptian Police Post at Ras El Nagb commemorates this work.

fort at 'Aqaba. In 1330 AD. (739 AH.), he built at the highest point of Mount Hor, or Jebel Harun, the small shrine which is still to be seen. (13) There had previously been a Christian monastery on the mountain, the remains of which are just below the top. It is mentioned, as Museera, by Fulk of Chartres in 1100 AD. and again, in 1217 AD., a traveller notes that two Greek-Christian monks were living in a church on the top of Mount Hor (14).

In 1340 AD. (749 AH.), the Sultan, displeased at the attachment of his eldest son, Ahmed, to a Mameluke youth, exiled the former to Kerak, and named another son as his heir.

Nasir died in the next year and his son, Abu Bakr, succeeded him. The new monarch, however, was not strong enough to control the Mameluke Amirs and he was deposed in favour of a younger brother. The latter was in his turn deposed and in January, 1342 AD. (752 AH.), Ahmed was summoned from Kerak to occupy the throne. After a few months, Ahmed, tired of Cairo, dressed as a bedu and, mounted on a camel, set off for Kerak, which for a short time became the seat of a Sultan. In 1432 AD. (752 AH.) the Amirs of Egypt deposed Ahmed and nominated another son of Nasir, Ismail, to take his place. Ismail then besieged his brother in Kerak; the fortress was so strong that it withstood the siege for a year, but finally Ahmed had to capitulate and was put to death. Ismail reigned for three years and, after

(13) A tablet over the door of the tomb of Aaron on Jebel Harun states that the shrine was built by Shima'ani, son of Nasir Muhammed Kalauni in 739 AH. (1330 AD.).

(14) MAGISTER THETMAR ITER IN TERRAM SANCTAM ANNO 1217 AD. T. Tobler St. Galli (1851), quoted most fully in Musil, Edom Vol. I p.161.

his death, disorder spread and a succession of weak children and debauchees held the throne.

In 1348 AD. and 1349 AD., the Empire was devastated by the Black death which spread from the shores of the Mediterranean and quickly assumed such proportions that ten to twenty thousand persons were said to have died daily in Cairo.

In 1376 AD. (777 AH.), the Sultan Shaban with the Khalif and his Prime Minister, Tushtumur, set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On arrival at Eila ('Aqaba), the Khalif and Tushtumur rose against the Sultan, having arranged that a rebellion should take place at the same time in Cairo. The Sultan fled to Cairo, where, dressed as a woman, he tried to hide himself in the house of a singing-girl. After being tortured, he was finally strangled and Ali, a child of six, ascended the throne. Tushtumur tried to raise the Khalif to the throne, but was defeated and sent away to Damascus as governor. In 1382 AD. (783 AH.), the young Sultan died and was succeeded by his six-year-old brother, there was another revolution, from which Berkuck emerged, the first of the line of Circassian or Burjite Sultans who ruled in Cairo for 135 years.

During the rule of the Burjite dynasty, Transjordan remained subject to Egypt, but it had lost much of its importance as, after the expulsion of the Crusaders from Palestine, it was no longer the necessary link between Cairo and Damascus. The Bedouin had to be kept in subjection in order that the annual pilgrimage could go without hindrance from Cairo and Damascus to Mecca, but there was no trouble from them until the last years of the Burjites. The prestige of the Mameluke arms and the line

of forts along the pilgrim route were, no doubt, a deterrent to the predatory nomads.

When, however, the central government became weak from internal dissensions, the Bedouin revolted and, between 1502 AD. (109 AH.) and 1505 AD. (910 AH.), attacked both Kerak and Jerusalem. The rebellion was crushed by the Syrian Amirs, but a greater danger was already beginning to threaten from the North and, in a few years, the Othmanli Turk broke up the Mameluke Empire which had lasted, in all, for 257 years.

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CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE TURKS TO THE GREAT WAR.

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On May 29th, 1453, the Turkish Sultan Muhammed, surnamed the Conqueror, captured Constantinople from the Byzantines, thus bringing to an end the great struggle between the Moslems and the Eastern Roman Empire. This event opened the way for further conquests and additions to the Turkish Empire, as troops which it had been necessary to keep in the vicinity of Constantinople were now released.

In 1516 AD., Sultan Sélim Khan, known as the Grim, turned his arms against the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt. The first battle at Marj Dabik, near Aleppo, resulted in the defeat and death of the aged Mameluke Sultan, El Ghuri, and the Turks then marched south, overcoming all resistance in Syria and Palestine. In January, 1517 AD., the Sultan reached Redaniya, near Cairo, where a Mameluke army had been hastily raised to protect the capital. Selim, however, was again victorious and Egypt became a Turkish province. With this victory Transjordan fell to the conqueror and shortly afterwards the Hijaz was annexed to the Ottoman Empire.

The Sultan remained for some months in Cairo organising his new possessions; he then returned to his capital, taking with him the Khalif El Mutawakkil. Two or three years later the Khalif was imprisoned in Constantinople and was not released until the accession of Suliman the Magnificent. After being forced to resign all his rights, El Mutawakkil was allowed to return to Cairo and he died there a few years later.

Little is known of Transjordan during the years immediately following the overthrow of the Mameluke Empire, though it is to be presumed that the Turks levied some taxes from the local chiefs. The country, however, was important in Turkish eyes as being astride the pilgrim route between Syria and Mecca, the guarding of which was of the utmost importance for Turkish prestige. Up to the reign of Suliman the Magnificent, the pilgrim route ran along the old Roman paved road, but during this Sultan's reign a change occurred. A daughter of Suliman or of his predecessor Selim elected to go on a pilgrimage. The difficulties of a march on the old paved road, which had no doubt fallen into disrepair, so fatigued the lady, that she insisted on returning by a road which did not entail going up and down steep and precipitous valleys; and, in consequence, the return journey after leaving Mudawara, was made along the way which to-day is for the most part followed by the Hijaz Railway. This route then became the pilgrim route, and is known to this day as 'Tarik El Bint', or "The Maiden's Way", to distinguish it from Tarik El Rasif, or "The paved Way", (i.e. the Roman road).

The Sultan ordered forts to be built along the new route for its protection, the one at Wadi El Hasa is still called Qasr El Bint after the lady. The fort and aqueduct in Ma'an, constructed by the same Sultan in 1563 AD., mark the beginning of the abandonment of old Ma'an which was situated at a place known now as El Hammam, some two or three kilometres north of Suliman's fort. (1)

(1) Musil, THE NORTHERN HIJAZ (1926), and local information.

These measures no doubt added to the security of pilgrims, but as the Turks made no attempt to set up any form of administration, except in Kerak and Shobek and for influencing the tribes relied entirely on the prestige of their military exploits in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, disturbances were frequent and public security declined.

At Kerak the Turks established a government and appointed a few Turkish officials, but the experiment was not successful as the governor became very popular with the Arabs and, with their consent, declared his entire independence of Ottoman rule. The despatch of a force to subdue the disloyal Governor would have been very expensive, so the Sultan had recourse to diplomacy and sent one of his most important Pashas to negotiate. After a safe conduct had been given, the Governor went to Qatrani, where he met the Pasha and a treaty was drawn up. The Pasha then returned with it to Constantinople in order to obtain the Sultan's sanction; After some months, he reappeared at Qatrani and asked the Governor of Kerak to meet him again so that the treaty might be duly signed and handed over. The Governor, supposing that his original safe conduct also applied to this second meeting, at once proceeded to Qatrani with a small escort, but no sooner had he arrived than he was arrested and sent to Damascus. After this the Ottoman Government made no further attempt to interfere in the affairs of Kerak, until 1892 AD., when the place became the seat of a Mutaserrif. (2)

(2) It seems probable that the first Turkish administration of Kerak dated from the time of Suliman the Magnificent, as Selim was too much occupied elsewhere to interfere in Transjordan. The descendants of the Turks who belonged to this administration became known as the Imamiya and to-day are separate small sub-tribes known as the Bashabsha (the descendants of the Basha or Pasha), the Aghawat (the descendants of the chief military officer), the Qoda'at (the descendants of the judge) and the Tanashat (the descendants of another officer).

About the same time as the downfall of Turkish rule in Kerak, a small Turkish garrison in Shobek was attacked by the 'Atwara tribe of Shobek, who, assisted by the Qodeirat of Beer Sheba, gained an entrance into the fortress by means of a ladder and murdered most of the Turks. (3) The 'Atwara then took possession of Shobek but, being bedouin, they were unwilling to live in the castle and installed members of the Hilli and Sawalha families of Ma'an as custodians.

The pilgrim route was kept safe for some time as the Sultan subsidised the tribes heavily and allotted areas of responsibility to the Sheikhs. However, in about 1754 AD., Ali Pasha, who led the pilgrims to Mecca, refused to pay the whole subsidy, due to the tribes, whereupon, the next year, the Bedouin banded together and refused to allow the pilgrimage to advance until all the payments and arrears had been given them; which demand the new Pasha had, perforce, to satisfy.

As a result of this, Abdullah Pasha, the Governor of Damascus, was sent, in 1756 AD., to punish the Bedouin, which he effected by summoning the Sheikhs to receive their pay and then executing them and sending their heads to Constantinople.

The Arabs were not long before they avenged this treachery and, in 1759 AD., all the tribes along the route assembled and attacked the pilgrim caravan and routed the guards. Sixty thousand pilgrims are said to have been robbed and dispersed in the desert and, of these, some twenty thousand were either killed by the Bedouin or died of hunger, while many of the woman were enslaved. The loot was disposed of in Acre under the eyes of

(3) A few of the garrison escaped to the Belqa, where their descendants still live under the name of El Shawabka.

the Governor, Dhahir El 'Omer, whose sympathies were with the Bedouin. (4)

The Turkish neglect of Transjordan during the period immediately following the defeat of the Mamelukes encouraged the Bedouin to take advantage of the prevailing disorder and to make incursions into the cultivated areas. The state of affairs was not unlike what happened during the last century before the Christian Era, when the Greek cities in the north of Transjordan formed the Decapolis for their mutual protection against inroads from the East. For many centuries under the Arab Khalifs, and again under the Ayyubide and Mameluke Sultans, life and property had been secure, with consequent benefit to agriculture. This was especially the case in the 'Ajlun district, where six hundred years of Roman rule, followed by the tolerant government of the Arabs and Mamelukes, had produced a population of farmers.

With the downfall of the Mamelukes, the people of 'Ajlun were left unprotected against Bedouin raids and they accordingly formed special districts, or Nahyias, under powerful chiefs, whose duty it was to summon the villagers for the defence of the district committed to his charge. These districts still exist and the chief still at times intercedes for his people. The chieftainship need not pass from father to son, but it usually remains in the same family, and when the son does not succeed his

(4) Burchardt, in NOTES ON THE BEDOUIN AND WAHABIS (1830), says that the Beni Sakhr plundered the pilgrim caravan in 1755 AD. Volney, IN VOYAGE EN SYRIE AT EN EGYPTE (Paris, 1787), gives the date as 1757 AD. Niebuhr, in TRAVELS IN ARABIA (1792), states that Abdullah Pasha beheaded the Sheikhs in 1756 AD. and that the caravan was plundered in 1759. AD.

At this period the leader of the pilgrims was always known as Bashed, or Amir El Haj and the money was carried by a Surra Ammani.

father the successor is elected. (5).

The more southerly districts did not form Nahyas; village life and agriculture were little known there, and the various Bedouin chiefs, often calling themselves Emirs, governed the country and gave their protection to such fellaheen as there were and could pay blackmail.

Under such conditions the villages, therefore, were few and far between, being limited to such places as Es Salt, Kerak, Tafila and Ma'an, where the inhabitants were able to look after themselves, despite constant fear of raids.

The Belqa.

After the removal of the strong arm of the Mamelukes, the government of this district fell into the hands of the tribes.

The Adwan did not appear until some years after Selim's conquests and although the great Aneiza federation were pushing northwards from the Najd during the first half of the 17th century AD., their influence in Transjordan was never very great. (6)

Some years before this period, Nofel 'ajrami, from El 'Ala in the Hijaz, entered the Belqa; from his offspring came the Ajarmeh tribe which ruled this district until the Mihdawia became the chief tribe.

About 1640 AD., when the Mihdawia were in power, two brothers, Fa'iz and Fauzan, went to live with the Kinda tribe who were at that time near Jebel Samik. Fauzan died shortly after

(5) The best known of these Nahyas at the present day are:- Beni Jumha (at Irbid), family of Chief Bataina; Sirru (at Samna) Family of chief Rusan; Wustiya (at Taiyiba), family of chief Az-zam; Beni Obeid (at Husn), family of chief Nasairat; Kura (at Tibna), family of chief Shereidi; Kefarat (at Sahem), family of chief 'Obeidat; Remtha (at Remtha), family of chief Z'Oabiya; Ma'rad (at Suf); and J'Ajlun (at Ajlun), family of chief Freihat

(6) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT, Oct. 1930.

his arrival but Fa'iz lived to marry the daughter of the Sheikh of the Kinda, who bore him a son called Adwan (7). This son married a daughter of one of the Sheikhs of the Mihdawia and she had by him, two sons, Hamdan and Sahab. A certain Jaudet was then the Mihdawi Emir and with him Hamdan threw in his lot. Of the many raids which they carried out, one, on a caravan travelling from northern Iraq to Mecca, became famous. The caravan was attacked as the camels were crossing the stream at Zerqa and among the spoil was a she-camel which fell to the lot of Hamdan and was known as Ez Zabta. This word is still the war-cry of the Adwan.

As time went on Hamdan began to grow jealous of the power and prestige of his master, but only having a very small band of trustworthy followers he had to mask his feelings until he could devise means of strengthening his position. He soon recognised that he could turn to his advantage the general unrest among the tribes, and gradually began to collect supporters from various tribes, who came to be known as El Qarda or "The Borrowed". So successful was this scheme and so loyal were these men, that not only did they remain with Hamdan during all his checkered career, but to this day their descendants are fast allies of the Adwan and still retain their sobriquet "The Borrowed".

For some time no opportunity for revolt occurred, but eventually discontent at Jaudet's exactions was brought to a head by an order to Hamdan to collect all the oxen of his tribe with which to till the Emir's land. One man produced one ox only and this so angered Jaudet that he ordered the man to take

(7) Conder, in HETH AND MOAB (1889), says that Fa'iz and Fauzan were sons of Suweit of the Defir tribe of Najd, but the Adwan themselves claim a slightly different descent.

the place of the missing beast in the yoke. Revolt thereupon broke out and continued for some twenty years; Hamdan was eventually killed and his supporters fled to the Wadi El Mojib and Jebel 'Atrooz.

Hamdan left three sons, Adwan, Nimr and Muhammed, who, as soon as possible, commenced hostilities with Jaudet. The latter had, about this time, fallen in love with the daughter of the Christian priest of El Fheis and had made up his mind to take her by force, since the father did not approve of her marriage with a Moslem.

The inhabitants of the village where the girl resided being too weak to resist the Mihdawia Emir sought the protection of Adwan and his followers, who by this time had been joined by the Ajarmeh. Adwan and the villagers of Fheis decided to set a trap for the powerful Emir, and Jaudet was therefore informed that the girl's father had withdrawn his opposition and a great feast was prepared in El Fheis village to celebrate the occasion.

On the appointed day, the Emir arrived with a large party and, after the feast was over, the company repaired to a tree in the village where the ceremony was to take place. The party of Adwan, hitherto in hiding, now emerged and Jaudet and his men, realising they had been duped, made for their horses, only to discover that their saddle girths had been loosened and they could not mount. Before the girths could be adjusted, the Emir and twelve of his men were killed. The in El Fheis ^{tree} where this took place is still known as El Mihdawi's tree.

Jaudet was succeeded by his son Damman, but his tribe were no longer able to withstand the Adwan, so they left the uplands of the Belqa and went to live in the Ghors El Kafraïn, Er Rameh and Es Shunch Nimrin.

Adwan and his tribe, however, had no intention of leaving the Mihdawia in the Ghor, and proceeded to attack Mashur Ibn Damman near the modern Warset Mashur. Mashur was killed and his father Damman went to the Ghor Abu Obeida, where he settled at Tel Es Sa'idiah, under the protection of Ibn 'Asrat, Sheikh of the Balaoneh. Adwan then divided up the Ghor among his sons and relations, Saleh getting the part round Nimrin.

In this division Adwan's eldest son, Kaid, only obtained the Ghor Er Rameh, which was a small district and, upon complaining of this to his father, he was told to take what he could from Damman and the Balaoneh. Kaid proceeded to act upon this advice and advanced with his followers to put it into effect, but he was unable to surprise his intended victims, a fight took place on the banks of the Zerqa stream in which Kana'an Es Sukkar and Kana'an El Fa'our of the Adwan were killed while Kaid himself was mortally wounded by Damman. The place where this battle was fought is still known as Kana'an's ford.

After the death of Kaid, the Adwan, assisted by the Qarda, again advanced, and in a battle between Muhaisin El Wahsh and the Qarda, the Balaoneh Sheikh Ibn Asrat was killed and his troops put to flight. Without the protection of the Balaoneh, the Mihdawia were powerless against the Adwan, so they again fled northwards, some settling near Beisan, but the majority going further north and settling west of lake Huleh.

Whilst the Adwan and the Mihdawia were struggling for supremacy in Belqa, another great tribe appeared in Transjordan. No definite date can be assigned to the arrival of the Beni Sakhr in Belqa from the neighbourhood of El 'Ala (8) for, like all

(8) Groves of palms near El 'Ala are still called after the sub-sections of the Beni Sakhr.

the nomad movements from the centre of Arabia to the fertile crescent, their advance into Transjordan was gradual. Small groups of camel men first appeared to graze their camels during the summer returning in the autumn with supplies of grain, then the visits became longer and the numbers increased until portions of the tribe had penetrated far to the west into Palestine and into the Hauran, where they encountered the Sirdiya tribe, who had displaced the Sirhan as rulers of that district.

About 1730 AD., the Beni Sakhr were so well established in the Belqa that they were strong enough to refuse to pay tribute to the Adwan, who for many years had demanded this in return for allowing them to graze their camels in the country.

Kaid Ibn Adwan died about the middle of the 18th century and was succeeded as Chief of Belqa by his brother Dhiab. About 1760 AD., Dhahir Ibn 'Omer, the independent ruler of Acre, sent the Zayadin tribe under Qasim Es Said to attack Dhiab. Qasim was successful, not only capturing the fort at Es Salt, but also compelling the Adwan chief and his followers to flee to Lejjun in the Kerak district(9)

Dhiab's brother, Salih, however, remained on his land at Shunnet Nimrin, and was thus able to raid and capture a large caravan of arms and stores on their way from Nablus to Qasim in Es Salt. Qasim at once gathered his forces together and set out to the Ghor to attack Salih, but was defeated and killed and Salih at once seized the chieftainship of the Belqa.

Dhiab now started from Lejjun to dispossess his brother, but was defeated and fled to Damascus to seek the help of the Turks. On the appearance of a Turkish army, Salih returned to

(9) Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA (1822), and Volney VOYAGE EN SYRIE ET EN EGYPTTE (Paris, 1787).

the fort at Es Salt, but the inhabitants, resenting the oppression of the Adwan, killed him and sent his head to the Turkish commander. Dhiab again became ruler of Belqa, but rebellion soon broke out against him and, in an attempt to regain his authority, he was killed and his followers fled to Jebel Ed Druz. After about six months' exile, Nimr returned at the head of the Adwan and, after defeating the people of Es Salt and the tribes of Belqa at Marj Abu 'Aishah, near Husban, became ruler of the district until his abdication, twenty years later, in favour of Hamud Ibn Salih.

Up to the time of the abdication of Nimr, the Adwan had been able to hold their own against the Beni Sakhr, whom they defeated at Lubb in the Hauran. Later, however, the Beni Sakhr grew more powerful and, by 1812 AD., the Adwan, in spite of assistance from both the Turks and the Roallah, had to leave Belqa and live in Ajlun.

The dissension among the Adwan and their consequent weakness during their stay in 'Ajlun enabled the Abbad, in alliance with the people of Es Salt, to gain much influence in the Belqa, until they were strong enough to make a great raid into the Hauran, capturing 8,000 camels and sheep. The tribes in the Hauran appealed to Dhiab, son of Hamud of the Adwan who referred them to the people of Es Salt, the allies of the aggressors. The Saltis, therefore, requested the Abbad to return the loot and, at their refusal, Dhiab was able to form an alliance with the Beni Hassan and the people of Es Salt. This alliance defeated the Abbad, who fled to Beisan, where they remained for some years. These disorders enabled the Adwan again to take the head in Belqa but their supremacy was not of long

duration, for their tyranny and exactions caused the Abbad, the Es Sagr, the Bashatwa and the people of the Northern Ghor to form a great alliance against them. Dhiab and his followers were defeated and had to flee to their old enemies the Beni Sakhr, who were camped round the Madeba plain.

At the time of the invasion of Ibtahim Pasha, Dhiab, in alliance with the Beni Sakhr, had once more returned to the Belqa. He opposed the advance of the Pasha's troops, but was defeated and banished to Homs, in Syria, where he remained until reinstated by the Turks after the withdrawal of Ibrahim in 1841 AD.)

Dhiab was succeeded by his son, 'Ali, during whose chieftainship Hullo Pasha, the Turkish governor of Nablus, decided to tax the Adwan. The Governor accordingly proceeded to the lands of the tribe with fifty Turkish cavalry and, on his arrival was met by 'Ali with about two hundred Bedu horsemen. After the usual greetings, the Sheikh told his Bedouin to make the customary display of horsemanship in honour of his guest; whereupon they commenced to ride furiously round the Pasha and his escort, discharging their firearms as they galloped. 'Ali refused to restrain the tribesmen, on the ground that they were not really doing enough for so exalted a person. and the Pasha finally left the tribe without having collected a piastre.

The Governor was, however, determined to revenge himself on 'Ali and accordingly, shortly after his visit to the Adwan, he invited their chief to come to Nablus. After "Amana" (safe conduct) had been sworn to in the name of France, 'Ali arrived

(10) An oath in the name of France was the custom of those days in Arabia.

with three hundred armed horsemen and was so generously entertained that, when a second invitation was issued, he thought that peace had now been restored, and accepted without demanding "Amana". On the arrival of the chief and his retinue for the second time, the Pasha excused himself from offering hospitality to all the followers of 'Ali, telling them that he had given orders for some of their number to be lodged in the villages near Nablus. Having thus separated the tribesmen, he then called in a cavalry regiment which had arrived from Damascus and ordered them to capture his guests. The sleeping Arabs were surprised in a night attack and were sent as prisoners to Acca, while their horses were sold in Damascus. The imprisonment was not of long duration, however, as 'Ali himself was liberated after two years, and was chief of his tribe again in 1882 AD. (11)

Soon after his release, 'Ali attempted to rebel against the Turks, but the Kaid and Abbad were incited to rise against him and he was defeated and forced to go to Damascus to give his submission to the Wali. Under his chieftainship, the ancient enmity between the Beni Sakhr and the Adwan was also revived, so that the latter had great difficulty in defending themselves against their numerous enemies.

Kerak and the Mijali.

About the middle of the 17th century, Jelal, the son of Shedid of Hebron, left his home and passing round the south end of the Dead Sea, arrived in Kerak. This migration was destined to have momentous consequences, for Jelal was the ancestor of the Mijali, who became the masters of Kerak.

(11) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT, July, 1929.

At the time of Jelal's arrival, there were two powerful factions in Kerak, the Imamiya, descendants of the Turkish officials, and the 'Amr, descendants of 'Ogbi of the Harb, who came to Kerak in the army which was defeated at Muta in 629 AD. (8 AH.), and who had been cursed by the Prophet. (12)

Little is heard of the Mijali until Salim the grandson of Jelal became chief of the tribe: it was this man who laid the foundations, on which successive members of the tribe have built up the reputation for statecraft for which even to this day the Mijali are justly renowned.

On the death of Ahmed, his son, Salim, became head of the tribe, and it soon became apparent to the new Sheikh that the rivalry between the Imamiya and the 'Amr might be turned to the advantage of the Mijali. He therefore decided to ally himself with the 'Amr against the Imamiya and to attack the latter when they were assembled in Kerak to hold a feast at the festival of the Bairam.

Salim accordingly gathered twenty-five men near the west gate, close to the site of the feast and, as there was some doubt as to the numbers of the Imamiya likely to be present, he arranged that a white flag should be displayed if an ox were killed for supper but, if only a goat or sheep, the flag was to be blue. In the latter case the attack was not to be made

(12) 'Ogbi incurred the wrath of the Prophet by departing each night to the village of Muta to feed with the inhabitants and not returning to the army until the morning. Muhammed, therefore, sent for 'Ogbi and cursed him, saying:- "May your misfortunes be great and your people scattered." The feud between them continued for some time and it was not until the Prophet had made several overtures of friendship that the quarrel was finally ended. A few years later, 'Amr, one of the sons of 'Ogbi, came to Kerak and founded the tribe which bore his name.

as the Imamiya chiefs would not be present in sufficient numbers to make the enterprise worth while carrying out. When the company was assembled for the feast, however, the white flag was hoisted and Salim's men burst in. Not a man survived and the power of the Imamiya in Kerak was gone for ever.

Muhammed succeeded his father as chief but he was not strong enough to move against the 'Amr tribe which had assumed the lead after the downfall of the Imamiya. Hamd, however, who succeeded Muhammed soon managed to pick a quarrel with them over the boundaries of some land near Mezar, known as the 'Ayata and, in order to end the dispute, the 'Amr agreed to accept his oath as to the true extent of the Mijali land. While they were on their way to fix the boundary, a crow flew over their heads, cawing, whereupon Hamd dismounted and proceeded to scatter earth inside his boots. He then set out on foot, now and then stopping to place a stone, according to the time-honoured custom of marking a boundary. The 'Amr allowed him to continue for some time but at length forced him to take the required oath; this he did, swearing that he had been walking on his own land from the time that he had heard the crow caw. (13) Hamd thus laid the foundation of the future prosperity of the Mijali, for the 'Amr admitted their defeat and he was thus able to acquire much land south of Kerak which his tribe holds to this day.

The Mijali were now firmly established in Kerak, but the 'Amr were still the undisputed masters of the place thus arousing the hostility of Salim Mijali, who had succeeded his brother, Hamd, in the chieftainship of his tribe. He therefore allied himself with the Beni Sakhr, who were new arrivals in Transjordan.

(13) In Arabic this is a play upon words.

The Beni Hameida and the Hajaya, and, with their assistance, was able to defeat the 'Amr. The latter were forced to flee to the Adwan in the Belqa, but quitted that district shortly afterwards and went to Jerusalem.

Although he had compelled the 'Amr to leave Kerak, Salim's policy had benefited the Mijali but little, as his late allies demanded a share of the spoil. The Zebn and Hagaish sections of the Beni Sakhr forced the Dumoor, Atowni, Taraoni, Sarairi and Nawaisa to pay them tribute, the Faiz and Hamid sections of the same tribe taxed the Maitah, Habashna and the Christians, the Hameida took the Wadi Hasa.

Salim died soon after his victory over the 'Amr and his brother Khalil took his place. About this period a very severe famine spread over the south of Transjordan and the people of Kerak begged Khalil to let them buy corn from his store. At first he was inclined to consent but his brother Ghabin objected, pointing out that if he held up the supplies a little longer, hunger would compel the Kerakis to sell their land for food. The Kerakis however, were not disposed to wait until they had to sell their land so they appealed to Yusef Mijali to lead a caravan to Jerusalem to get grain there. Khalil, seeing that the chance of making a large profit would be gone if Yusef brought back supplies to Kerak, sent word to the governor of Jerusalem asking him to arrest Yusef and take his money. The caravan managed to get safety out of Jerusalem and to arrive at the tents of the Waheidat near Hebron. There they were overtaken by the government forces, but Yusef managed to persuade his pursuers that his intentions were harmless, and was allowed to proceed on his way. Khalil in the meantime had sent to the

Azazma tribe telling them of Yusef's movements, egging them on at the same time to attack the caravan as it passed by the Ghor Es Safi. Yusef soon heard of this and realizing that he was too weak to repel the Azazma, decided to ford the Dead Sea crossing from the mainland to the Lisan. The caravan arrived without mishap in the Ghor El Mezra'a. (14).

Khalil died very soon after this and as Salim's son Suliman had predeceased him Yusef became head of the tribe.

Fortunately for the tribe, their new chief, Yusef, proved to be a man of exceptional ability. In accordance with a pre-arranged plan, he invited the 'Amr to return in 1804 AD. and, when they were once more in Kerak, incited them to attack the Hameida in order to regain their lost possessions. After the 'Amr had killed one of the Beni Hameida sheikhs in a quarrel, the murdered man's tribe appealed to Yusef, who had foreseen the probability of such an event and was therefore prepared to counsel revenge. The Hameida immediately fell upon the 'Amr and massacred as many as could be found of them, while the survivors, were scattered far and wide. (15) Thus was the Prophets curse fulfilled to the utmost.

While the Hameida were still exhausted with fighting and reduced in numbers, owing to the large number killed and

(14) W.F. Lynch of the U.S. Navy "United States expedition to the River Jordan & Dead Sea" says that there is no ford from the mainland to the Lisan, he made his survey in 1847.

Tristram THE LAND OF MOAB (1873) p.35 says that in 1872 a man of the Jehalin Arabs pointed out a place from which he when a youth had forded to the Lisan. Tristram reckons this to be 60 or 70 years earlier or between 1800 and 1810 AD. that is in the time of Yusef according to Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA.

(15) There still exists a stone near Er Rabba, known as El Messun, or the wh te stone, on which the Beni Hameida are said to have sharpened their swords before attacking the 'Amr.

wounded, Yusef called together the men of Kerak and, in an impassionate speech in which he laid all the blame for the recent disorders on the heads of the Hameida declared that there could be no peace while the Hameida were south of the Mojib. The Kerakis, therefore, rushed upon the tired tribe, slew many of them at Qaduma in the Wadi Ibn Hamad, and drove the survivors out of the fertile land north of Kerak, which was at once seized by Yusef. (16)

Yusef was followed by his son Ismail Esh Shofi who was unpopular with his tribe and also had to flee from the wrath of Ibrahim Pasha. The Huwaitat with whom he took refuge, handed him over to the government and he was hanged in Jerusalem.

Ismail was succeeded by his brother Abdul Qadr a strong and capable man, who managed to maintain the prestige of the Mijali during the troublous times of Ibrahim Pasha, though he was unable to increase the power of the tribe. It was not until the accession of Muhammed, son of Abdul Qadr, that the opportunity arose for carrying the Mijali policy a step further forward, and in order to do this he determined to crush the Beni Sakhr, who were now his sole rivals, in Kerak

The Mijali Sheikhs realized that they were not strong enough to defeat the Beni Sakhr single handed nor was there any tribe left in Kerak which could be relied upon to act successfully against such a powerful enemy. It was therefore necessary for Muhammed to go further afield for allies, and this resulted

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(16) In 1921 AD., the Sheikhs of the Beni Hameida petitioned the Emir Abdullah for the return of these lands, out/of which they had been driven by Yusef Mijali.

in the Beni 'Atiya being called in (17).

Hostilities were opened by a party from Kerak, who raided the Beni Sakhr stores in the fort at Qatrani and captured the Store Keeper. The Beni Sakhr then made a counter-raid in which the Saraira lost many sheep but, as this tribe had taken no part in the original raid on Qatrani, horsemen were sent by them to the Beni Sakhr to ask for the restoration of their flocks. The embassy was on the point of succeeding when the Mijali, aided by the Beni 'Atiya, launched another raid on the Beni Sakhr, this time capturing a large number of camels. The Beni Sakhr were not strong enough at the moment to withstand such determined opposition and had, perforce, to abandon their territory round Kerak, thus leaving the Mijali masters of the district. Again the policy of this tribe had succeeded.

Muhammed was succeeded by his eldest son Salih, during whose chieftainship practically the whole of Transjordan south of Kerak became involved in another war. The Mijali themselves were responsible for this outbreak, as they had incited their new allies, the Beni 'Atiya who were becoming restless to seize land, in the Shera, belonging to the Huwaitat. Salih allied himself with the Faiz and Hamid sections of the Beni Sakhr, the Beni 'Atiya, the 'Aliyeen section of the Hajaya, the Saleita, Ma'an Shamiya and Shobek; while the Huwaitat were assisted by the Manaieen section of the Hajaya, the Terabeen, Tafila, Wadi

(17) The Beni 'Atiya had from time to time appeared in the Wadi Araba during the winter for some considerable time before this. The policy of the Mijali Sheikh Muhammed however first introduced these nomads into the area round Kerak, and from that day small clans began to acquire land and now large numbers of the other sections annually return to the Kerak cornlands to graze their camels on the stubble. During these sojourns the Mijali always help them.

Musa and Ma'an Hejazia. A battle took place near Wadi Musa in which Salih's brother, Muslih, was killed, and a peace was concluded.

Shortly after this event, the Mijali quarrelled with the Beni Sakhr and, having collected 3,000 men, arrived at Diban, whence they intended to attack their enemies, who were encamped near Themed. Part of the Mijali army was composed of tribesmen of the Hameida, but, on the morning of the attack, they were found to have left the camp. The reason of their defection was explained by the wife of Khalil Mijali, herself a member of the Hameida, who pointed out that her kinsmen had not forgotten the sufferings inflicted on them by the Mijali at Qaduma. The aggressors were now outnumbered and the force broke up and retired to Kerak.

In the following year, however, Satam Ibn Sha'alan of the Ruallah, attacked and routed the Beni Sakhr, and Salih Mijali seeing an opportunity of still further weakening his enemy, at once made overtures to the conquerors. This had an unforeseen result as the Beni Sakhr realizing the danger of a Mijali-Ruallah alliance, appealed to the Turks, who had for sometime wished to obtain a stronger hold on Transjordan.

In 1892 AD. the Turks, commenced to advance southwards and, as resistance seemed useless, Khalil with the sanction of Salih sent his son, Ibrahim, to Mezareeb to persuade the Turks to form a government in Kerak. This they consented to do and, on reaching Qatrani, were met by Khalil, who marched at their head into Kerak. On arrival near the town some of the inhabitants opened fire, but Khalil galloped forward and threatened to kill anyone who fired again, thus ensuring the

safety of the Turkish force which entered the town without further opposition.

Hussein Hiimi Pasha then became the first Mutasserif of the Liwa of Kerak, and peace reigned until the Mijali, true to their old policy, again raised a rebellion under Gedr, son of Salih.

Palestine and Arabia.

While the Mijali were struggling for power in Kerak and the Adwan were quarrelling with the tribes in the Belqa, the great Wahabi Empire was rising in the East. No attempts, however, was made to interfere with the affairs of Transjordan until 1790 AD., when the Emir Ibn Saoud captured Jauf, which left the Wadi Sirhan and Transjordan at his mercy. After this date the district rapidly fell under the influence of the Wahabi Emir until, by 1806 AD., his supremacy was acknowledged as far north as Kerak. The Keraki tribes although willing to recognise the new ruler in Arabia always opposed his demands, refusing to pay taxes and driving off a force which had been sent to collect them. (18)

In 1809 AD., a further advance was made by the Wahabi Arabs in the Wadi Sirhan and Yusef Pasha, the Wali of Damascus, fearing for the safety of Syria, marched towards El Azraq. As his army was not strong enough to attack the Wahabi forces he had to retire on Damascus, whereupon the troops of Ibn Saoud encouraged by the retreat of the Turks made a great raid into the Hauran which reached to within a few miles of Damascus. The Wahabis, however, never entered the city, for Ibn Saoud was now compelled to withdraw his troops to the south, owing to the

(18) Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA (1822) and
Irby and Mangles, TRAVELS.

presence of an Egyptian army round Mecca and Medina, A few years later, the Egyptians finally broke up the first Wahabi Empire.

During Napoleon's invasion of Palestine in 1799 AD., a large force of Bedouin, the majority of them Beni Sakhr from Transjordan, fought on the plain of Esdraellon against the French under General Kleber (19). In this battle the arrival of Napoleon with reinforcements gained the day for the French, and later Nazareth and Tiberius were captured. Transjordan itself was unaffected by the invasion, for there is no record that the invaders crossed the river, although their outposts held the hills above Tiberius. (20).

Muhammed 'Ali.

Muhammed 'Ali was born of Albanian parents in 1769 AD. He served with the army of the Sultan and, by 1798 AD., was second in command of an irregular corps in Egypt, which had been recruited to serve against Napoleon. During the naval battle between the English and French fleets in Aboukir Bay, Muhammed 'Ali and his command were driven into the sea by the French and he was only saved from drowning by the gig of the British Admiral Nelson.

After this battle, Muhammed 'Ali gradually collected a bodyguard of Albanians, until, by 1805 AD., he had become the most powerful person in Egypt. A strong hand was needed to restore order out of the chaos which succeeded the withdrawal

(19) Sheikh Raba' of the Shereidi, contrasting his spear with the French gun-fire, remarked that he could not swim in hell with a stick. PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT

(20) Burchardt, TRAVELS IN SYRIA (1822), p.339.

of the English and French forces and he was, therefore, elected ruler of the country, an appointment subsequently confirmed by the Sultan.

For some years after his election, the new Pasha of Egypt was engaged on behalf of the Turks against the Wahabi Empire in Arabia. Both Mecca and El Medina fell into his hands, and Muhammed 'Ali returned to Egypt leaving Ibrahim Pasha to carry out the final stages of the campaign.

By 1818 AD., the Wahabi Empire had been broken up, most of its dominions coming under the influence of Egypt, while the Oasis of Jauf and the Wadi Sirhan became tributaries of the Roallah. Muhammed 'Ali had now become so powerful that the jealousies and suspicions of the Sultan were roused and a rupture seemed imminent. Unfortunately for Ottoman prestige, the Sultan's arms could make no headway in the Greek War which had broken out, and as a last resort, in 1822 AD. the Pasha of Egypt was ordered to come to the assistance of his overlord. The price of such assistance was made the subject of an agreement, by which Syria was to be ceded to Egypt and Morea was to be given to Ibrahim Pasha. This undertaking, however, was never carried out, as the destructions of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino in 1827 AD., combined with the failure of the Turks against the Greeks, gave the Sultan the opportunity to ignore his promise.

Muhammed 'Ali was not at that time in a favourable position to compel the Sultan to keep to his agreement, but the growing power of the Turks convinced him that delay would be dangerous. Egypt, therefore, declared war in 1831 and an army was sent into Syria, where a series of victories culminated in /-

the rout of the Turks at Konia on 1832 AD. Peace was then made between the Sultan and Muhammed 'Ali, whereby all Syria to the borders of Anatolia was left in the latter's hands.

In 1834 AD., revolts broke out in Syria and the Turks attempted to drive Ibrahim Pasha from the country (21). They were however, defeated at Nesib in Northern Transjordan, after which encounter the Pasha hurried to Nablus to suppress a rebellion raised by a certain Qasim El Ahmed. Nablus was soon reduced and Qasim fled to Hebron, but, discovering that Ibrahim was following him, left Hebron for Kerak. Thither the Egyptian army also marched, but their route led across the Ghor Es Safi and three hundred men died of the heat before the eastern hills were reached.

When the Egyptians at last arrived before Kerak, Ibrahim found that the rebels had retreated to the citadel. Being anxious to put down the rebellion, he unwisely attacked before his artillery had come up and, consequently, lost a large number of men without taking the place. The presence of the Egyptian army frightened the Kerakis so they forced Qasim to flee to Es Salt. The Pasha once more set off in pursuit, but his progress was delayed by the Beni Sakhr, whom he finally drove into Zizia where they were besieged. Lack of water soon compelled the Bedouin to capitulate, whereupon the Egyptian army entered the town and totally destroyed it. Ibrahim then marched to Es Salt, which he entered without difficulty and Qasim fled to the Anaiza, who handed him over to the Egyptians. After partially destroying the fort at Es Salt, the Pasha left a garrison in the town and returned to Damascus. (22)

(21) ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANICA, (Muhammed 'Ali and Ibrahim Pasha).

(22) The occupation of Es Salt by the Egyptians is commemorated in the name Akrad, a quarter of the town allotted to the Kurdish troops in Ibrahim's army.

By the year 1841 AD., the situation in Transjordan, Palestine and Syria had become so disturbing that the European powers decided to intervene. The Egyptian army was forced to withdraw from those territories, and in return for their loss the Sultan of Turkey allowed Egypt to annex the Sudan Kordofan and Darfur, while the Pashalik of Egypt was declared hereditary in the family of Muhammed 'Ali.

Ibrahim had now to extricate his forces from a hostile country and he accordingly divided his army into three columns, each with a different line of retreat. The first column was to march by Muzeirib to Husban, and thence through Dhiban to Kerak and Gaza; to the latter place had the Turks sent an army to intercept its progress. The second column, led by Suliman Pasha, proceeded without opposition through Ma'an for Es Salt.

Here the Pasha found the Bedouin so hostile that he swerved aside to the Ghor, announcing that he intended to attack Jerusalem. This manoeuvre led the Turks away from Gaza and left the road to Egypt open thus enabling the first column to retreat without opposition. Ibrahim then doubled back to Kerak, where he came to terms with the inhabitants after a short siege. He now was ready to march for Egypt (23), and hired a guide, Jelhad Ibn Salem of the Habashneh, to lead the army to the Ghor Es Safi. Instead of taking the easy road down the Wadi Kerak, the guide went through the Steep Wadi El Ghaniya, where fatigue and thirst, combined with a fall of rock, so reduced the numbers of the Egyptians that the demoralised army had great difficulty in reaching the Wadi Araba. The withdrawal of the Egyptian army, was, however, completed at last and its departure was the signal

(23) People descended from deserters from Ibrahim Pasha's army are still to be found at the village of Gadda, in Kerak.

for the re-establishment of tribal rule in Transjordan (24).

Turkish Administration.

Now that Transjordan was free from outside influence, tribal warfare broke out with fresh intensity and the safety of the settled population became increasingly precarious. Bands of highwaymen infested the roads and, about 1840 AD., the inhabitants of the Wustiya district in 'Ajlun were forced to appeal to the Wali of Damascus for protection against the Es Sa'aidi Bedouin, in fear of whom they had abandoned their lands. An armed force was sent, which quickly restored order, as the Arabs could not withstand the disciplined ⁱsolders of the Sultan. It is said that the Sa'aidi were exterminated to the last man and that the flood water of the Wadi El 'Arab ran red with their blood. The slain were buried close to the battle-field, at a place still known as Qala'at Es Sa'aidi. (25)

Although the Turkish forces could not effect the complete subjugation of Transjordan, owing to their being occupied in Palestine and, later, against Russia, something was done to restore order and restrain the activities of the tribes. The suppression of the Sa'aidi was followed up by the establishment of a governor in 1851 AD. (1267 AH.), the official being known as the Qaimaqam of the Sanjak of the 'Ajlun district (26). This dis-

(24) The Oasis of Jauf was captured from the Roallah by Talal Ibn Rashid, but he made no attempt to extend his influence northwards or westwards.

(25) Schumacher, ABILA, PELLA AND NORTH 'AJLUN (1889).

(26) From 1859-1867 AD., the title seems to have been changed to Mudir of the Qaza of 'Ajlun. After that date the official was again called Qaimaqam, though he was known locally as El Mutasallim. This information has been given to the writer by the Mutaserrif of the 'Ajlun district, Mussalem Bey El Attar, who obtained it from the titles and signatures of some old documents.

district was placed under the Mutaserrif of Nablus and included the ancient divisions of Kura, Beni Juhma, Sirru Wustiya and Beni Obeida in the north, while its southern boundary was the river Zerqa. The Remtah area, being cut off from the rest of 'Ajlun by the Wadi Shelal, was included in the Sanjak of Hauran, and the Ghor, as far as the Shunet-Jisr Mijami road, was under the Qaimaqam of Tiberius.

In the Belqa district the energetic Sheikh, Goblan of the Adwan, had recovered much of the old power and prestige of his tribe, and naturally viewed the growing power of Turks with disfavour. In 1867 AD. (1284 AH.), a governor was sent to Es Salt to administrate the Qaza of 'Ajlun under the Mutaserrif of Nablus, and Goblan at once seized the opportunity to place himself at the head of the anti-Turkish party in the district.

The Turkish government, however, in spite of the animosity of the tribes, soon began to make its influence felt. (27) Even the Beni Sakhr came to regard the Turks with respect and when, in 1877 AD., the Mutaserrif of Hauran arrested their chief, Fendi El Faiz, and killed his son who tried to rescue him, no rebellion followed (28). No attempt was made, however, to check inter-tribal feuds, even in 1881 AD., when the friction between the Adwan and the Beni Sakhr culminated in a pitched battle (29). This policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the tribes facilitated the growth of Turkish influence in Transjordan, but,

(27) The restoration of order enabled the Church Missionary Society to found a station in Es Salt in 1873.

(28) The bereaved father is reported to have said: "My son and I were servants of the Sultan; now he has one less". PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1878), p.63.

(29) PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT (1881), also Conder, HETH AND MOAB (1889).

at the same time, did nothing to improve the backward state of the country and trade declined. This was largely due to the breakdown of communications, which forced the fellaheen to grow only such grain as they required for their own use, as it was impossible to send it outside the district.

By the year 1882 AD., the Turks were collecting taxes from tribes living as far south as Kerak, though no governorate was established south of Es Salt for some years. The garrison of that town was forced to live in the fort rebuilt by Beibars in the 13th century, for no government buildings had been erected in the Belqa at that time (30).

In the north of Transjordan, the Turkish government had no difficulty with the tribes until 1889 AD. In this year, the people of El Taiyibeh, which was independent of the Wustiya district at that time, rose against the Turks and, with the aid of some Bedouin horsemen, put to flight the Pasha of Acre, who was visiting the Ghor. The Pasha fled to Tiberius, whence he sent a complaint to Damascus, but regular troops soon appeared and restored order without difficulty.

From time to time the divisions of Transjordan were re-organised by the Turks, as their sphere of influence extended. such a re-construction was necessary in 1892 AD. (1309 AH.), When Khalil Mijali handed Kerak over to the Turks and a Mutaser-rif was established there. This official was made responsible to the Wali of Damascus and his district included the Qazas of Tafila, 'Aqaba and Ma'an, with a Mudiria at Tebuk, where a quarantine station was afterwards built.

(30) Conder, HETH AND MOAB (1889), p.189.

At first the 'Ajlun district, north of the Zerqa, was responsible to the Mutaserrif of the Hauran, while the Belqa district, between the Zerqa and the Mojib, came under the Mutaserrif of Nablus. In 1905 AD., however, the districts were again reorganised and the Mutaserrif of Kerak was made governor of both Belqa and 'Ajlun. (31).

The garrison of Kerak was fixed at three regiments of 400 men each and 200 Circassian cavalry. With this force Hussein Hilmi Bey was able to secure the peace of the district and cultivation became profitable again. Government offices and a large hospital were built in the town and it was not until 1905 AD. that any serious rebellion disturbed the neighbourhood. (32)

In this year, however, trouble arose in the ancient fortress of Shobek. The responsibility for the outbreak lay with the soldiers of the garrison, who had tried to force the women of the town to bring water from the springs in the valley. The men of Shobek refused to allow their women to do such a work and a quarrel between them and the soldiers resulted in the expulsion of the latter. The inhabitants, realising that the Turks would soon return in force, then hurried provisions into the fortress and closed the gate.

The Mutaserrif of Kerak at first tried peaceful means to subdue the rebels, but, in reply to a message ordering immediate surrender, the people merely answered that they would pay taxes only if Shobek were left without a garrison. A small force of 600 infantry, 100 cavalry and two guns was then sent

(31) The Remtha sub-district was not included in 'Ajlun.

(32) By 1896 AD., peace seemed so well established that a request was made for permission to found a Jewish colony in Lejjun the project, however, was voted by the Turks.

against them, and a camp was pitched on the hills opposite the village. For some time no action was taken, beyond a few skirmishes, and this inactivity encouraged some of the Bedouin to join the rebels. After further manoeuvring, the tribesmen gave their enemies an opportunity to attack them and, in the battle which followed, were routed by the Turks. Shobek then surrendered and the garrison was reinstated. (33).

In 1910 AD., a second rebellion occurred, this time in Kerak itself, where the heavy taxation of the population had led to much discontent. This grievance alone would probably not have resulted in open war had not the Turks ordered that the young men of the district should join the army of the Sultan, and that the rest of the population should hand over to the authorities any fire-arms they might possess.

The tribesmen now determined to unite against the Turks, and the sheikhs of the district, including Gadr El Mijali, accordingly conspired to overthrow their oppressors before the hated ordinances should come into force.

In December 1910 AD., the chiefs went to the Governor and advised him to scatter eight companies of soldiers among the camps in the neighbourhood of Kerak. They pointed out that the discontent of the tribes made this a necessary precaution, and the Governor, ignorant of the true state of affairs, at once despatched the troops. A few days later, again at the instigation of the chiefs, a further eight companies left Kerak and, by this method, the garrison was deprived of 800 men.

All was now ready. At a prearranged signal, the Arabs fell upon the soldiers outside the town and, having seized their arms

(33) Libbey and Hoskins, THE JORDAN VALLEY AND PETRA (1905).

and ammunition, marched on Kerak. The attack took place on the following day, but the rebels were in too excited a state to adhere to any plan of campaign and failed to make a simultaneous attack on all quarters of the town. The government buildings, the prison and the mosque were soon destroyed, but the castle held out and resisted all attempts to storm it. The rebellion spread rapidly; the railway was torn up, the telegraph wires were cut, while Arabs from the surrounding country poured into Kerak.

Troops, however, were at hand, for Sami Pasha had been suppressing a rebellion in Jebel Druze. As soon as the news from Kerak reached him, he despatched Nouras Bey, with instructions to march south and crush this new insurrection. (34)

When Nouras Bey reached Thaniya, a short distance from Kerak, he became anxious to know whether the citadel was still uncaptured, and accordingly ordered a bugler to sound a call, which was heard and answered by the beleaguered garrison. The Arabs were at a loss to know what this meant and Gadr El Mijali therefore sent for a Turkish bugler, whom he had taken prisoner, in order to obtain an interpretation of the calls. The bugler was clever enough to give so alarming an account of the "signals" that the insurgents were much alarmed and became convinced that the enemy was present in overwhelming numbers.

On the following day, the Turks entered Kerak, in the face of a very half-hearted resistance and proceeded to execute many of the rebels by tying large stones round their necks and

(34) Nouras, or Nuras Pasha, was later an officer in the Arab Legion, with the rank of Amir Liwa and the title of Pasha. He died in 1929.

hurling them from the battlements of the citadel. Gadr El Mijali, however, made his escape and later submitted to the conquerors, but shortly afterwards he was invited to Damascus where he died, probably as the result of drinking poisoned coffee. (35)

Four other events occurred during the Turkish administration in Transjordan which should be mentioned in a history of this district. These are, in chronological order, the discovery of the Madeba mosaic; the survey of Transjordan by the Palestine Exploration Fund; the visit of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, sons of King Edward VII; and the building of the Hijaz Railway.

The Madeba Mosaic.

The town of Madeba is situated in the Belqa and was probably destroyed by the Persians under Chosroes, during the invasion of 612-613 AD. For over a thousand years the place remained desolate but, in 1880 AD., a small party of Christians, led by a Latin missionary, left Kerak and settled in the caves near the ruins. They later commenced to rebuild the ancient town and, in the course of their labours, discovered a mosaic pavement, probably of the 5th century, depicting a map of Palestine, Syria and Egypt.

In 1884 AD., a monk wrote to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, telling him of the mosaic, but the Patriarch never answered the letter and it was not until 1890 AD. that anything was done. In this year, however, the letter was found by the new Patriarch, Geramos, who at once ordered a mason to go to

(35) A. Forders, IN BRIGANDS HANDS AND TURKISH PRISONS, 1914-1918.

Madeba and include the mosaic in the Orthodox church, which was to be built there. By the time the mason arrived, the pavement, which had been complete when first discovered, had been seriously damaged by the children of the town, who had removed many of the small coloured stones to use as play-things. The ignorance of the mason himself only succeeded in damaging the mosaic still further and it was not until 1897 AD. that the remains of the pavement were properly preserved. (36).

Survey Work in Transjordan.

In November, 1880 AD., the Palestine Exploration Fund decided to carry out a survey in Transjordan and estimated that the work would cost from £3,500 to £4,000 a year.

Lieutenant Condor and Mantill were deputed to make the survey and their party crossed the Jordan at Ghoraniyeh on August 17th, 1881 AD., subsequently camping at Husban, under the auspices of Sheikh Goblan of the Adwan. The work, however, was not completed, only a small track of country being surveyed before the officers had to leave for service in Egypt.

In November, 1883, AD., a second party, under Major Kitchener, left Suez with the intention of doing some survey work in southern Transjordan, and arrived at 'Aqaba on December 1st. Three days later work was commenced and a triangulation carried northwards up the Wadi Araba. On December 24th, when the party had reached the Ghor Es Safi, a sheikh arrived from Cairo, with letters from Sir Evelyn Baring announcing the defeat and death of Hicks Pasha. Two days later the party left for Beer Sheba, whence Major Kitchener left to commence his career of conquest in the Sudan.

(36) Libbey and Hoskins, THE JORDAN VALLEY AND PETRA Vol. I, p. 260.

Several other efforts were made to carry out survey work in Transjordan, but they met with little success. (37)

The Royal Visit to Palestine and Transjordan.

Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales - the present King George V - landed at Jaffa on March 28th, 1882 AD., and spent twelve days in Palestine.

On April 10th, they crossed the Jordan into Transjordan, proceeding to Iraq El Emir, near Wadi Sir, and thence to Amman, where they explored the ruins. From Amman, the Princes went by way of Suweileh to Es Salt and, after visiting Jebel Osha, left for Jerash. Here the tour, which had covered about 115 miles, ended and, on April 14th, the Royal party returned to Palestine by way of Ratib, crossing the Jordan by the Damieh ferry.

This visit of the future King of England and his brother to the east of Jordan was the first occasion that a European Prince had crossed the river since 1185 AD. In this year Baldwin IV stayed at Kerak, but Jerash itself had not had such a visit since 1121 AD., when it was entered by King Baldwin II.

The Hijaz Railway.

The first proposal for building a railway through Transjordan, was made in 1864 by a German official in the Turkish Government. The plan put forward was to connect Damascus with 'Aqaba, but since the Ottoman influence in Transjordan was at this period practically non-existent, it was decided not to proceed with the scheme.

In 1880, the Minister of Public Works in Constantinople produced a more ambitious proposal for connecting Damascus, by rail, with Mecca and El Medina. This time the Ottoman Government took up the matter more seriously and engineers were sent to make a preliminary survey. Their report however was unfavourable and again the scheme was dropped. (38)

It was not until the reign of Abdel Hamid, that the project of building a Railway to the Hijaz again came to the fore, and this Sultan, seeing the political and strategical importance of such a line, overruled all objections and ordered plans to be prepared. (39)

The building of the line commenced at Damascus on April 12th, 1900 Ad., The original plans were made with the idea of connecting Damascus with both Mecca and Medina and, in addition to the main line, it was also proposed to build a branch railway from Ma'an to 'Aqaba and ultimately to Suez and Port Said (40).

(38) Muhammed Kurd 'Ali, KHITAT ESH SHAM (1927) Vol.V, p.187.

(39) The Sultan took so much interest in the progress of the work, that a special report was ordered to be sent to him every day.

(40) In 1892, the Sultan agreed that Sinai should be administered by Egypt and that 'Aqaba, together with the coast line as far south as Wedgh should be under the Wali of Medina.

In 1906 the Ottoman Government began to prepare plans for connecting Ma'an with 'Aqaba and eventually Suez, this caused the Sultan to try and alter the agreement of 1892. Two schemes were put forward by the Turkish Government, one that the boundary should be in a straight line from near El Arish to a point on the Suez Canal and thence back to a point on the Gulf of 'Aqaba near Mrashrash, the second being a boundary to be formed by a straight line running due North from Ras Muhammed in the south to the Mediterranean coast in the North.

The British and Egyptian Governments could agree to neither scheme and eventually after much tension a joint commission was appointed, and the present boundary from Taba on the Gulf of 'Aqaba to near Rafa was delimited.

The line from Haifa to Deraa was commenced at the same time as the line from Damascus to Deraa. It was necessary to make this branch to the sea, in order to cope with the transport of the immense amount of material which had been ordered in Europe for the main line.

On August 6th, 1902, the railway reached Amman and, a year later, it reached Ma'an, which immediately became the headquarters of the Chief Engineer, Meisener Pasha, a German (41). The work then continued for another five years, at the end of which time the line reached Medina and the first train was able to run from Qadam station, near Damascus, to the southern extremity of the new railway, a distance of 1302 kilometres.

Although Meisener Pasha was the Chief Engineer, Marshal Kazim Pasha was also attached as adviser, while the whole construction of the railway was generally supervised by a commission in Damascus. Italian contractors built the tunnel near Amman and all the bridges to within five kilometres of Ma'an, where their work was continued by a contractor from Damascus, Sa'ad Ed Din, who, in his turn, was superseded at Medain Salih by Dr. Haidar, of Baalbek. Part of the rolling stock came from Germany, but the majority of it was made in Belgium, as were most of the rails (42). The whole line to within 100 kilometres of Medina was laid on steel sleepers, made to a gauge of 105 centimetres, but, for the last portion of the track, wooden sleepers were used. (43)

(41) Meisener Pasha, being a Christian, was only allowed to go as far as Medain Salih, where a Turkish official, Mukhtar Bey, took charge of the work.

(42) Some were also bought in Russia, but were found to be of indifferent quality.

(43) These wooden sleepers are all disappearing, while it is said that, south of Mudawara, the iron sleepers have been much damaged by the salts in the ground.

Most of the actual work was done by soldiers, and about 3,000 men and 200 military engineers were permanently engaged. The 1st Railway Battalion was responsible for laying the ballast and the rails, a labour Battalion was in charge of the earth work, while other troops employed were the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the 39th Regiment and the 2nd Battalion of the 33rd Regiment, all of the 5th Army Corps.

Much trouble was experienced during the period of construction. Not only had the workers to be protected from the Bedouin who had hitherto made large profits from hiring camels to pilgrims and were disgruntled at the loss of their annual subsidy but the bad sanitary conditions caused much sickness. In 1902 AD., cholera broke out in the workers' camps at Amman, and more than 400 men died before the disease was stamped out.

The original estimate for the whole line was £3,500,000, which sum it was hoped to raise by subscription throughout the Moslem world. The first contribution was ordered to be made by the department in charge of the pilgrimage, from which it was hoped to raise about £150,000 annually; £60,000 of this sum being the yearly subsidies to the Bedouin along the route, The Sultan himself also gave £320,000 and the Shah of Persia sent £50,000 while the Khedive of Egypt promised material. In addition to these subscriptions societies were formed in most Moslem countries and money was collected from rich and poor.

As time went on, however, it became increasingly apparent that this sum was far too small to cover the cost of the railway, so it was agreed to impose special taxes. A stamp duty was, therefore, levied on all petitions and commercial papers and

this measure was followed by a house tax of five piastres on every house in Constantinople. When these impositions failed to bring in enough money, a tax of five piastres was levied on every Moslem male in the Empire, while all subjects of the Sultan who were awarded a decoration of any kind were obliged to make a gift to the Treasury. (44) The sale of titles was also used as a source of revenue, it being recorded that a certain Austrian gave £2,100 in exchange for being created a Pasha (45). Before the line was finished the need for money had become so pressing that all officials of the Ottoman Empire had to contribute from their pay and the Government even insisted on all the skins of animals killed for sacrificial purposes, being taken and sold, the proceeds being credited to the Railway.

The Railway finally cost about £8,500,000 and the expenditure of the money was much criticised in the Turkish Parliament.

In spite of the money spent on its construction, the Turks knew that the Railway would never pay its way. As the line was intended mainly as a pilgrim route, its upkeep had perforce to be maintained by a Mohammedan Empire, and the proceeds of a special stamp tax were accordingly set aside for this purpose. In addition to this, some places, such as the baths at El Hamme, were handed over to the Railway and it was also made owner of the mineral rights within 20 kilometres of each side of the line (46).

(44) Above £100 subscription qualified for a 1st Class Medal, above £50, a second Class and above £5 a third Class.

(45) Muhammed Kurd 'Ali, KHITAT ESH SHAM (1927) Vol.V, p.187.

(46) About 1912 AD., Sir John Grey Hill bought some land near Madeba the transaction being put through in the name of Yusef Sukkar of Es Salt. A little later the matter coming to the

ears of the Turks, the land was taken and made over to the Hijaz Railway, with which it is registered to this day.

In 1916 AD., the Turks built a branch line, 36 kilometres long, from Amaiza to Shobek, in order to facilitate the transport of wood, which they were then using as fuel for the engines. (47) Much damage was done to the Railway during the war period, bridges, stations and miles of track being blown up the by the British and their Arab allies.

After the war a conference in Constantinople in 1924 decided that the Hijaz Railway be divided up, each part belonging to the country through which it passes.

During 1919 the line was well repaired as far as Ma'an, and three years later King Hussein appointed a committee to open the line to El Medina. The sum of £35,000 was spent on repairs and for two years trains ran spasmodically between Deraa and El Medina. The repairs, however, were only temporary and during the winter of 1925 rain destroyed part of the track, no train has therefore been able to go south of Ma'an since that date.

(47) This branch line was pulled up in 1922 and 1923.

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CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER.

The Turkish Empire entered the war in November, 1914, and at once started operations against Egypt.

It was not until the capture of 'Aqaba by Colonel Lawrence in 1917, that Transjordan assumed any importance in the world war, but, from that day, it became possible to threaten the Turkish lines of communication to ^{EL} Medina by forces based on 'Aqaba and in addition their left in Palestine could be attacked from the desert.

Sherif Faisal Ibn Hussein (the late King Faisal of Iraq) at once moved his headquarters to 'Aqaba and, in January, 1918, was able to advance northwards and capture Waheida, near Ma'an. At the same time, another detachment of his forces occupied the Hish forest (1) and the village of Shobek. A few days after the capture of Shobek, Sherif Nasser attacked Jeruf Ed Derawish, where he burnt the station and destroyed some rolling stock, but was unable to blow up the bridge.

Sherif Nasser now advanced to Tafila, whose garrison of 100 men surrendered on January 16th, 1918. Ten days later, the Arab army defeated a Turkish force of three battalions, with two guns and twenty-seven machine guns, which had been sent from Kerak to recapture Tafila. In this engagement, 450 Turks were killed, 250 taken prisoner, and the Turkish artillery and machine guns captured. The Arabs remained in possession of Tafila until

(1) It was from this forest that the Turks had obtained the wood which they had used as fuel for the engines on the Hijaz railway. At this time, however, every tree had been cut down.

March, when a considerable force, including a battalion of German infantry, advanced against them from Qatrani and forced them to retire to Shobek.

The new Turkish advance against the Arab troops in the south made the British decide to attack Amman and the railway there. The object of this attack was to cut the Turkish communications with the Hijaz and the south, thus weakening their hold on Ma'an and giving the Arabs under Faisal an opportunity to capture the town.

The destruction of the large bridge and tunnel immediately south of Amman station was the main objective of the British forces, and the 60th London Division, the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division, the Imperial Camel Brigade, a mountain artillery brigade, a light armoured car brigade and a heavy battery were detailed to carry out the operations.

The crossing of the Jordan at Makhadet Hajlah took place on the night of March 21-22nd, but it was found impossible to cross the river at Ghoraniyah, owing to the strength of the current after the recent heavy rains. A second attempt was accordingly made at this spot on the following night, but this was again frustrated by the current and by the Turkish fire. In the early morning of March 23rd, a New Zealand regiment, the Auckland Mounted Rifles, crossed the river at Hajlah, where a bridge had been constructed. They then galloped northwards and drove back the Turkish forces, which consisted mainly of Circassian irregular cavalry, supported by two battalions of infantry at Shunet Nimrin. A bridgehead was then made, which allowed three bridges to be thrown across the Jordan and, by 10 a.m., all the infantry of the 60th Division and most of the mounted

troops were across the river. Much valuable time, however, had been lost, and the operations were to suffer in consequence.

On March 24th, the 60th Division opened the road to Es Salt by attacking and driving off the Turks who were in position at El Haud and Shunct Nimrin. While the infantry were thus engaged the mounted troops, followed by the Camel Brigade, advanced along the tracks to Wadi Sir and Naour. No wheeled transport could accompany them, owing to the state of the ground, but, even then the unceasing rain so delayed the advance that Naour was not reached until late in the evening of the 25th.

At 5 a.m. the next morning, the New Zealand and Australian Brigades met at Ain Es Sir, and the latter then moved on to Suweilch, where 170 Turks were taken prisoner. Both men and horses were very exhausted after these exertions, so nothing more could be done that night, except to send forward a few demolition parties.

On March 27th, the advance was resumed, but it was still only possible to move ^{very} slowly. The wadis could only be crossed in a few places, after the heavy rain, and, in addition to this, the rocky ground gave good cover to the Turkish riflemen. The New Zealand Brigade, however, reached the railway south of Amman by the evening, and then began to work still further to the south. In the centre, the Camel Brigade advanced to within 1,500 yards west of the town, while, on the left, the Australians reached the line about seven miles north of the station and blew up a small bridge.

On the following day, a Brigade of the 60th Division, accompanied by some mountain artillery, arrived from Es Salt. This Brigade, supported by the Australians on its left, and by the

Camel Brigade on its right, commenced an attack along the Es Salt-Amman road, while the New Zealanders attacked a hill immediately south of Amman. Little progress was made at either of these points and, on March 29th, when both sides had received reinforcements, the Turks counter-attacked, but were driven off.

At 2 a.m. on March 30th, the attack on Amman recommenced. The New Zealand Brigade succeeded in capturing part of the hill which they had been attacking on the previous day, and a few men entered the town, but were fired on from the houses.

At this juncture, Turkish troops from Jisr Ed Damieh and further north had commenced to threaten Es Salt in the British rear, and, as it was now apparent that, without more artillery support, renewed attacks on Amman could only result in heavy losses, it was decided to withdraw. The retirement took place without interruption and, by April 2nd, all troops, except a few left as a bridge head, had recrossed the Jordan.

Though the initial delay caused by the rain hampered the operations and gave the Turks time to bring up reinforcements, the attack on Amman was not entirely without results. The British plan of forcing the Turks to withdraw troops from the south of the line, in order to meet an attack further north, had succeeded, and Faisal was now in a position to commence operations against Ma'an.

The Arabs opened the campaign by attacking Ghadir El Haj and Jerdun, and blowing up the railway line. On April 13th, a Turkish post at Semna, about 4,000 yards south-west of Ma'an was captured and, on April 17th, the Arab troops under Jafar Pasha entered the station, where they took 100 prisoners. Jafar Pasha then evacuated the station, as he had not sufficient force to attack the strong positions round it.

While Jafar Pasha was attacking Ma'an, another column was engaged on cutting the railway line about fifty miles south of the town. Here the Arabs practically destroyed the track and all the culverts from 'Aqabet El Hejazia to Ramleh. The Hijaz was now cut off from the north for the rest of the war, as the track was too badly damaged for the Turks to make any attempt to repair it.

In the north, the withdrawal of the British to the west bank of the Jordan had been the signal for the Turks to re-occupy Shunet Nimrin with 5,000 men. On April 11th, they attacked at the Ghoraniyeh bridge head and at El Musallabeh, but were forced to withdraw, after suffering heavy casualties.

About this time, a deputation of the Beni Sakhr arrived in the British camp. They brought an offer from their tribe, now concentrated near Madoba, to co-operate with any advance against the Turkish forces in Transjordan, and it was accordingly decided to make use of their assistance in a campaign designed to cut off the Turkish forces at Shunet Nimrin. With this end in view, the 60th Division was to attack the Turks at Shunet Nimrin, while the mounted troops were to move north along the Jordan and then to turn east along tracks leading from Umm Es Short and Jisr Ed Damich to protect the left flank of the 60th Division. The capture of Es Salt would result in the Turkish troops being unable to use the Es Salt-Shunet Nimrin road, and would force them to depend on the road through the Wadi Sir, which the Beni Sakhr were detailed to attack.

Operations commenced on April 30th, when the 60th Division attacked Shunet Nimrin, while the mounted troops, moving round the right of the Turkish position, captured Es Salt at 6 p.m.

On May 1st, at 7:30 a.m., an Australian Brigade, which had been left to watch the Jisr Ed Damieh-Es Salt road and the Wadi Zerqa, was attacked by the 3rd Turkish Cavalry Division and part of the 24th division, which had crossed at Jisr Ed Damieh. The Australians were driven back with the loss of nine guns, and the British in Es Salt were left with the Umm Esh Shert-Es Salt track as their only line of retreat.

It now became even more important to capture the Shunet Nimrin and El Haud position, in order that the main road might be open in the event of a retirement. Arrangements were, therefore made for a combined attack on the Turkish positions to take place on May 2nd. Part of the force detailed for this operation, however, had to be detailed to assist the withdrawal of the troops from Es Salt. Here the British had been attacked by two Turkish battalions with heavy guns from Amman, as well as by troops from Jisr Ed Damieh and the north.

The British in the meantime, had been expecting the Beni Sakhr to attack along the Wadi Sir track and threaten the Turks in that quarter, but the Arabs made no attempt to move. A general retirement was now ordered, as it would be impossible to capture the Shunet Nimrin position by frontal attack alone without very heavy losses. By May 4th, all troops, except the bridgeheads at Ghoraniyeh and El Aja, had withdrawn to the west bank of the Jordan.

The British army made no further advance into Transjordan during the summer of 1918, but the Arab army, based on 'Aqaba with an advanced base at Abu Lissan, continued to make raids on the railway, with the object of cutting off Ma'an from the north. In spite of continual demolitions, it was impossible to block

the track for more than a few days, as the Turks had plenty of material and very active repair gangs. The Tunnel and bridge at Amman, together with the bridges at Juruf Ed. Derawish and Ma'an, were too well defended to blow up, so no permanent damage could be done.

As it seemed impossible to put the railway out of action for any length of time, it was now decided to make an attempt to prevent any engine from coming further north than Mudawara, by destroying the water station there. This attack, if successful, would cut the Turkish communications with Medina and the Hijaz, and would prevent any reinforcements reaching Palestine and Transjordan from the south.

The Imperial Camel Corps were detailed for the attack, and a detachment accordingly set off for 'Aqaba, where it rested for one night. It then proceeded to Mudawara, by way of Jebel Rum, and made a surprise attack on the water station at dawn, with complete success. The station and fort were seized, and the water tower, pumps and wells destroyed; in addition, the Turks lost 35 killed, while 6 officers, 146 other ranks, 2 guns and 3 machine guns were captured. The Turkish troops in the Hijaz were powerless to assist the army in Palestine and the Allied advance against the latter could now begin.

The role allotted to the Arab army in the great advance was to march north, by way of Jaffar, Bayir and Azraq. One detachment was to cut off the Turkish forces south of Mafraq, by destroying the railway at that point, while a second detachment was to blow up the great railway bridge west of Deraa. Both these plans, however, came to nothing, for the Arabs failed at Mafraq owing to faithless guides and, at Deraa, the bridge was

too strongly defended by the Turks for any attempt to be made to destroy it.

These initial failures were soon rectified. On September 16th, the Arabs under the command of the writer blew up a bridge and part of the track, fifteen miles to the south of Deraa; on the 17th, they followed up this success by destroying six kilometres of line to the north of the town. The Turkish army was completely cut off from the north for some days after the second demolition, as the railway was not repaired until September 24th.

The Arab army had now carried out its work and camped near Umm Taiye, slightly to the east of the railway. In the early morning of September 19th, the Arabs felt the air shaken by a heavy bombardment and knew that the great attack on the Turkish right had commenced. On that day, one of the most successful advances in the annals of war began; an advance which took the Allied army in one unceasing march beyond Aleppo to the borders of Anatolia. (2)

During the early days of the advance, the armies marched through two areas in Transjordan, so that an account of operations in the district falls into two parts.

The advance through the north of Transjordan was made by the 4th Cavalry Division, which had concentrated on the night of September 18th in the orange groves at Selme, near Jaffa. The division marched through Afule and Beisan and, on September 21st., one regiment was sent by night to hold the bridge at

(2) Between September 19th and October 26th, the Yilderim Group consisting of the 4th, 7th and 8th Turkish Armies, was wiped out. 75,000 prisoners were taken, and 390 guns and 800 machine guns captured.

Mejameh, while another regiment, Jacob's Horse, was despatched on the following morning to hold the bridge Sheikh Hussein. On the march to Mejameh, 3,000 prisoners were taken and the work of clearing the countryside of Turks continued during the 23rd and 24th. During this period, Rushdi Bey, commanding the 16th Turkish Division, was captured, together with 6,000 men and 44 machine guns.

The way was now clear for the crossing of the Jordan and the Division concentrated at Beisan, with the 10th Brigade at Jisr Mejameh. On the 26th, the 10th Brigade attacked the Turks on a front extending from Zebda to Irbid ^{and} Beit Ras, with such success that Zebda had been captured by nightfall and Irbid had been closely invested on the north, west and south. The 11th Brigade now crossed the Jordan to Esh Shunch, while the headquarters of the 4th Cavalry moved to Jisr Mejameh.

The Turks had evacuated Irbid by the morning of September 27th, and were in full retreat, followed by the 10th Brigade, who forced an action at Remtha. Here a counter attack, made to cover the retirement, was broken up and the Turkish forces fled to the village, after losing 25 men. Later in the day, the cavalry charged a body of some 11,000 Turks who were in retreat near Turra and completely routed them, capturing 187 prisoners and about 20 machine guns.

On September 28th, the Division moved into Deraa, where the Arab army was waiting. The cavalry, with the Arabs marching on their right, then left Transjordan and joined in the great advance northwards.

In the south of Transjordan, Chaytor's force had been sent to the Jordan Valley to watch the Turks and to ensure that no movement was made by them, without the knowledge of the British.

By the morning of September 21st. the Turkish resistance was weakening, and order^s were given to secure the crossing of the river at Damieh. This was accomplished by the evening of the 22nd and, at the same time, an Australian Brigade arrived opposite the Turks at Shunet Nimrin.

The news now arrived that the Turkish Army was in full retreat from the Jordan positions and orders were issued for an immediate advance eastwards. Es Salt was occupied by the afternoon of the 23rd and, on the following day, the advance continued, both through Wadi Sir and along the Es Salt-Amman road. On the 25th, Amman was captured after hard fighting, the railway was seized some miles north of the station, and 600 prisoners were taken.

The 4th Army now moved north, out of the reach of Chaytor's force, which was waiting for the 2nd Turkish Corps to come up from the south. (3) The British passed two fairly quiet days, but, on September 28th, the main body of the 2nd Corps, including all the troops from the Ma'an area, were located at Zizia, where three trains were in the station.

The G.O.C. first made no reply when summoned to surrender, but on the 29th, seeing that escape was impossible, he opened negotiations. A Light Horse Australian Brigade was then sent to Qastal, in order to protect the defeated Turks from the local inhabitants, who showed every intention of attacking them. After this precaution had been taken, it was possible to move the

(3) The effective demolition of the line north and south of Deraa by the Arab army, hindered the Turkish retreat and gave the British time to come up. Had the Turks not been frustrated in this way, it is quite possible that a large portion of the 4th Army would have escaped north, before the British could arrive at Deraa.

prisoners, and 4,000 men, 12 guns and 35 machine guns were taken into Amman, the G.O.C. being sent by car. All Turkish resistance in Transjordan now ceased and the British were left to deal with the problem of evacuating the prisoners and sick.

Immediately after the surrender of the Turkish army in Transjordan, a squadron of Australian Light Horse was sent to Amman, with a troop at Suweileh and another at Es Salt. Except for a platoon of the Irish Rifles, no other troops were placed in the district.

In January, 1919, the Australians in Amman were relieved by the Worcestershire Yeomanry, who were joined later in the same month by the 105th Mahratta Light Infantry, as a mutiny had broken out among the local forces. The Worcestershire Yeomanry were afterwards replaced by a detachment of the Central Indian Horse, who remained until all British troops were withdrawn from Transjordan on December 9th, 1919.

Transjordan now came directly under the Arab Government in Damascus and officials were appointed to the various districts. Unfortunately, the Damascus Government was too busily engaged in Syria to pay any further attention to Transjordan, and the country gradually lapsed into its old troublous state. The lawlessness of the tribes once more jeopardised the security of the inhabitants, and the general unrest culminated in a great raid from 'Ajlun to Semakh.

In July, 1920, the Arab Government in Damascus collapsed, and Transjordan immediately broke up into a number of small states. 'Ajlun alone had four local governments at Irbid, Suf Mezar and Kura, while in Belqa the Mutaserrif appointed by Damascus remained at Es Salt, through he was hardly recognised

in Amman and entirely disregarded elsewhere. The Mijali regained their former power in Kerak, but in Tafila and to the south there was no government of any kind.

Such was the state of affairs when Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of Palestine arrived in Es Salt on August 20th 1920. A few British officials were subsequently sent to help the local governments, but the general lack of cohesion was too great for them to effect any definite improvement and it was not until the following year that an important step was taken by the British government.

On March 2nd, 1921, the Emir Abdullah arrived in Amman from Mecca and, on March 27th, proceeded to Jerusalem, where he met Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary of State. On that day the British Government formally recognised the Emir Abdullah Ibn Hussein as ruler of Transjordan, and his return to Amman was the signal for the suppression of the local governments and the formation of a centralised executive. The leadership of the new government was entrusted by the Emir to Rashid Bey Talia, who was now faced with the formidable task of uniting the whole of Transjordan, from the Yarmuk valley to the Wadi Dana, in fact as well as in name.

Trouble was in store for the new government and, in June, 1921, it suffered a serious reverse when a small force, under Fuad Bey Sleem, was surrounded in the Kura and had to surrender. Although 16 men were killed and one officer and 7 men wounded, a truce had to be made with the rebels as the government had no forces with which to restore order. It now became obvious that the original reserve force must be strengthened and, in August, 1921, a grant was made for this purpose. It was decided to

increase the numbers to 750 officers and men, and recruiting began at once.

Rashid Bey Talia now resigned the leadership of the government and his place was taken by Mazhar Bey Raslan, who was soon forced to turn his attention to the serious state of affairs in Kerak and Tafila. Brigandage was rife throughout the district, while the security of the inhabitants of Kerak itself was being threatened by the warfare of rival factions, who were in possession of the ancient citadel and the north end of the town.

The trouble had become so acute by the middle of January, 1922, that the whole of the newly raised Arab Legion was sent to Kerak. They restored order in the city by forbidding the carrying of arms, enforcing a strict curfew and imprisoning some 150 of the inhabitants, before turning their attention to suppressing the general lawlessness of the district.

The Legion carried out its work so successfully that it became possible to institute the same measures in Tafila during the first week in March. All was quiet by the middle of April, and it was accordingly decided to withdraw to Amman, leaving a garrison of 60 men in Kerak, to guard against any recurrence of the trouble.

On its way back to Amman, the Arab Legion met a large party of the Beni Hamcida, who were setting off to raid the Mijali. The tribesmen were captured at once and escorted to Amman, with all their sheikhs.

No sooner had the Legion arrived in Amman, than it was despatched to 'Ajlun by El Fariq Ali Ridha Pasha Rikabi, who had succeeded Mazhar Bey Raslan. The new head of the government was determined to restore order throughout Transjordan and ac-

cordingly decided to punish the people of Kura, in 'Ajlun, who had rebelled in the previous year and were still unsubdued.

The campaign in the Kura was a complete success. The authority of the government was established in five days by 600 men of the Arab Legion, with the loss of only six men wounded. The people of the district were compelled not only to pay blood-money to the relatives of those killed in the rising of the previous year, but also to refund the cost of the government stores which had been stolen.

The subjugation of the Kura had hardly been completed, when a force of Akhwan from the Nejd invaded Transjordan and attacked Teneib. Several of the inhabitants of the village were killed, but the invaders escaped without loss, in spite of the efforts of the Beni Sakhr. The government then decided to prevent further raids by occupying Kaf, at the head of the Wadi Sirhan, and despatched 250 men of the Arab Legion to capture the place. The fort and hill were occupied without opposition, and a detachment of the Legion was kept at Kaf until the autumn 1925, though the garrison was later reduced.

At the end of 1922, the Amir went to England to negotiate with the British government, with the result that Transjordan was declared independent. A few months later, Ali Ridha Pasha Rikabi resigned and Mazhar Bey Raslan again became chief Minister.

In September, 1923, a section of the Adwan, joined with a large number of the Belqawiyeh tribesmen to raise a rebellion but the trouble was soon suppressed by the Royal Air Force and the Arab Legion. The head sheikh fled to Jebel Druze, but returned to his tribe a few months later, having been pardoned by King Hussein, who arrived in Transjordan in February, 1924. The

latter remained in Transjordan for about six weeks and then went back to the Hijaz by way of 'Aqaba.

In April, 1924, the Amir decided to recall Ali Ridha Pasha Rikabi and entrust him with the formation of a new government. Hardly had this change been effected, than a second great attack by about 5,000 men from the Nejd took place on August 23rd, 1924. On this occasion the Akhwan penetrated to within seven miles of Amman, killing fourteen and wounding two members of an Arab Legion convoy which was proceeding to Kaf. This time the invaders were attacked from the air and by armoured cars before they could retreat, and were driven in complete disorder across the Zizia plain. 500 tribesmen were killed and some 300 taken prisoner.

King Hussein abdicated in 1925 and retired to 'Aqaba. One result of his abdication was that the Ma'an vilayet was added to Transjordan. The Ma'an district had, until that date, been administered by King Hussein from Mecca, but, after the accession of King Ibn Sa'ud to the throne of the Hijaz, it reverted to Transjordan, as being part of the original vilayet of Damascus. The Wali appointed by King Hussein remained in Ma'an, as military governor, and a special force was raised for the defence of this new district.

All went well in the Ma'an vilayet until the government decided to build a road and run a telephone line from Ma'an to Elgi. This decision caused a rebellion in the Wadi Musa in February, 1926, in the course of which four members of the garrison were killed and the governor expelled. As all attempts to persuade the people to submit to the orders of the government failed, 350 men of the Arab Legion were sent to Elgi village and the rebellion died out at once.

By this time radical changes had taken place in the constitution of the administration. A Judicial and a Financial Adviser had been appointed, and, in addition, specially qualified men of Arab blood had arrived from Palestine to take over the Public Health, Public Works and Post and Telegraph Departments. In June, 1926, 'Ali Ridha Pasha Rikabi resigned and his place was taken by Hussan Khalid Pasha Abul Huda.

The troubles in Syria caused the Transjordan Government to send a garrison of the Arab Legion to 'Azraq in 1927. This was later replaced by a garrison of the Imperial forces, which remained there until all the Druze refugees had evacuated the place.

Later in the summer of the same year an earthquake shook Northern Transjordan and Palestine. Fortunately, the loss of life was not heavy and little damage was done to property.

Recent Events.

The years 1928 - 29 and 30 are notable in the annals of Transjordan for the plague of locusts which visited the country from Central Arabia. The third year was the most serious not only Transjordan but Palestine, Syria and Egypt, were affected and at one time 70,000 human beings worked day and night killing these destructive insects in Transjordan.

On April 2nd, 1929 (Shawal 22nd 1347 H.) His Royal Highness the Emir Abdullah opened in Amman the first elected Parliament.

The construction of the great Hydro Electric Scheme at Jisr Mejameh known as the Palestine Electric Corporation commenced in September 1927 and was completed and opened in the presence of His Excellency The High Commissioner and His Royal Highness The Emir Abdullah on June 9th, 1932.

In February, 1931 Hussan Khalid Pasha Abul Huda resigned and Esh Sheikh Abdullah Suraj took his place. During the Premiership of Sheikh Abdullah Suraj the concession allowing the building of the Pipeline from Haifa to Iraq was signed and work started on it in the early months of 1932.

In March, 1933, Their Majesties The King and Queen of the Belgians visited Transjordan His Majesty being the first reigning Monarch of an European country to visit Transjordan since Roman days.

Esh Sheikh Abdullah Suraj resigned in November, 1933 and Ibrahim Pasha Hashim a lineal descendant of Jafar Et Tayar took his place.

See pedigree in Appendix.

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