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Relations Between the Arab Tribes in Palestine and Transjordan from the Frankish Occupation until the End of the Mamluk Era (583-922 AH / 1087-1516 CE)

¹Othman Ismael Al-Tel and ²Shawkat Ramadan Hijji

¹History Department, Faculty of Arts, Al-Quds University, Palestine ²History Department, Faculty of Arts, Hebron University, Palestine

Abstract: This study investigates the relations between the Arab tribes that inhabited Palestine and Trans Jordan during the periods of the Frankish (Crusader) occupation of the Levant, the Ayyūbid State and the Mamluk State. The study reveals the role of these tribes in these relations, on the one hand and the displacement and mutual movement of the people of these two regions, despite their blood ties, on the other hand. The importance of this study stems from the fact that its subject has not been thoroughly and clearly discussed, to the best knowledge of the author of this paper.

Key words: Palestine • Trans Jordan • Crusaders • Arab tribes

INTRODUCTION

Bilād Al-Shām (The Levants or Historical Syria) had been administratively divided differently during the different periods of the Islamic history. Immediately after the Islamic conquest, it was divided into five major areas called Ajnād which, these were: Hims, Damascus, Jordan, Palestine and Qansarin. In the Mamluk period, it was divided into six major areas; each of those areas was called Niyabah or Mamlakah (kingdom), these were: Damascus, Aleppo, Hamah, Tripoli, Safad and Al-Karak. Two new Niyabah were established these were: Gaza and Bayt-Al-Magdis. Despite this division, Palestine and Transjordan formed a unified geographical area throughout their history; in addition, the demographic structure of the Arab tribes which inhabited these two areas were distinguished by the deep blood relations among those different tribes in both Palestine and Transjordan who came from the Arabian Peninsula; for example, the tribe of Banī Jurm who belongs to Bani Tai, who inhabited the area from Gaza to Transjordan. Another example, was Al-Masa'id tribe which belonged to Bani 'Atia and which inhabited Al-Karak area as well as Al-Khalil and Bayt-al-Magdis. Moreover some tribes used to migrate both ways. For example, Al-Ka'abneh tribe who resided in Al-Khalil area and whose origin goes back to Bani Sakh tribe in Trans-Jorand. Another example was

Bani Lam from Tai, who resided in Transjordan and had a profound effect in its history, particularly towards the end of the Mamluk period. It was also said that the village of Bayt Lam in Al-Khalil area was named after them.

This study aims at displaying the role of the relationship among the tribes in these two areas.

 Palestine and Transjordan from the beginning of the crusaders occupation till the end of the Mamluk era.

During the crusaders occupation, a great change occurred on the demographic structure of the inhabitants of the south of Bilād Al-Shām (The Levant) - Palestine and Transjordan, this happened as a result of deporting its residents and forcing the Arab tribes to sign agreements accepting the crusaders domination on the area; In addition, there had been a change of the trade routes connecting the levant with Egypt and Al-Hijaz (Arabian Peninsula). This is why Salāh al-DīnAl-Ayyoūbi encouraged people from the Arab tribes and Kurds to settle in the liberated areas.

In the Mamluk period, several reasons provided access tp reciprocal migration between the two areas which are the subject of study. Among these factors are: the Mongol invasion, Taimourtouk invasion, the civil strife and robbery that spread among the Arab tribes and the weakness of the Mamluks and emergence of a political

Corresponding Author:

Dr. Othman Ismael Al-Tel, History Department, Faculty of Arts, Al-Quds University (Abu Dis), Palestine.

Shawkat Ramadan Hijji, History Department, Faculty of Arts, Hebron University, Palestine.

role for the Arab tribes, particularly during the second Mamluk era. On the one hand, this study is important because it sheds lights on the Arab tribes migration waves from Palestine to Transjordan and vice versa and on the other hand, the topic of this study has been investigated precisely and thoroughly before.

Administrative Division till the End of the Crusaders

Era: After the Islamic conquest, Bilād Al-Shām (The Levants or Historical Syria) was divided into four administrative units called *Ajnād*, these were: Homs, Damascus, Transjordan and Palestine. Another one was initiated called *Jund Qinsarīn* [1]. As indicated by the geographical sources [2], *Jund* Palestine included several areas located to the south of Trans Jordan till *Aqaba* ana *Rafah* in the south.

As for *JundAl-Urdun* (Jordan), it included the areas on both sides of the Jordan River from *Jabal Al-Shaik* (Al-Shaikh Mountain) in the north to the Dead Sea in the west to Horan and Al-Sham Deseret in the east; moreover each *Jund* was divided into smaller administrative units each called "*kūrah*" [3], as indicated by geographical sources [4].

During the time of *Al-Ikhshidiyah* State (322-357 AH/933-968CE), new administrative changes occurred in *Bilad Al-Shām*; that is some parts of *Jund Al-Urdu*a and *Al-Balqā'* Governorate were joined to *Jund* Palestine so that Jordan Valley from the borders of *Biāsnkūrah* in the north to the Dead Sea in the south became part of this *Jund* [5]. As a result of these changes in *Ikhshidiyah* period, which lasted until the emergence of the Fātimids State, the Jordan River became the eastern border of *Jund* Palestine and the valley west (Al-Ghaūr) of the river became part of Jericho; Therefore, the Dead Sea and whole area on both sides of *WadieAraba* became administratively controlled by *Jund* Palestine [6].

In the first half of the fifth century CE/ twelfth century CE, Al-Jarrah tribe dominated over Jund Palestine and parts of *Jund Al-Urdu*a; in addition to the *Kūrah* of *Mu'ab* and The Mountains of *Sharah* so that only some strongholds remains under the Fātimids control. It was only until the fifth decade of the fifteenth century that the Fātimids State was able to restore its control over the area and Al-Jarrāh tribe was forced to retreat to areas such as *Al-Balqa'*, Mu'ab and the Mountains of *Sharah*. Later on, the Turkmān tribes were able to dominate over the strongholds of Al-Jarrāh tribes in *Al-Balqa'* area. They also dominated over Palestine and Transjordan so that the Fātimids State could not regain its authority in the area until one year only before the arrival of the first crusade campaign to Jerusalem [7].

This administrative division remained untill the beginning of crusades when the crusaders occupied Bayt-Al-Maqdis in (3 Sha'ban 493 AH/ 15 of July 1099 CE) and chose Godfry of Bouillen as a governor. The governors of Bayt-Al-Maqdis shrived to dominate over Transjordan for its importance to defend Palestine in general and Bayt-Al-Maqdis in particular and its control over trade routes [8]. This is what explains the successive military campaigns they launched against this area [9] and the great pressure they imposed on heads of tribes (*Shuyūkh Al-Qabā'el*) in Transjordan to give presents to crusaders and to sign agreements as a recognition commitment of the crusaders occupation to this area.

The heads of tribes were forced to sign such agreements to save the lives of their people and to protect their trade caravans [10]. Moreover, the crusaders forced some of the Christians to migrate from Transjordan to Bayt-Al-Maqdis [11] and some of Al-Ramlah residents to migrate to Transjordan [12].

One of the results of the crusaders occupation to Transjordan was the establishment of a feudal system [13] whose governors managed to dominate over all the areas in Transjordan[14] and to merge the Hebron feudalism with it including all the southern area of Palestine [15]. This can be supported by what has been mentioned in various historical documents that the governor of Transjordan Renaud de Chatillon was the governor of both Transjordan and Al-Khalīl (Hebron) [16], which indicates clearly the mergence between the two feudalisms. It is likely that this mergence first occurs with the marriage of Stephanie of Milly, the heir of Transjordan feudalism and Humphrey III, the governor of *Tibnīn*, whose father Humphrey II was the governor of Al-Khalīl (Hebron) feudalism in addition to *Tibnīn*. Therefore, this marriage made close connections between the feudalisms on addition to giving birth to Humphrey IV. When his father died Humphrey IV was still legal minor and; therefore, his mother Stephanie became prince regent [17]. As a result, he inherited Al-Khalīl (Hebron) feudalism, Tyre, Shuqaīf, Tibnīn, Hunīn, Bānyas with all annexed provinces. He inherited these areas from his grandfather Humphrey II in addition to Transjordan which he inherited from his grandfather Phillip and his mother Stephanie [18]. This again means that Transjordan merged with Al-Khalīl (Hebron) area under the rule of Humphrey IV and after the death of the grandpa King Baldwin IV forced Humphrey IV to abandon the lands located in the Tyre area if he wanted to reserve.

Transjordan and *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) [19]. Then, Stephanie got married to Renaud de Chatillon and he

became as the husband of his mother, mandat or on Humphrey's feudalisms in *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) and Transjordan until he reaches the legal age [20].

Another result of the crusader's occupation to Transjordan was that they were able to overcome the problem of lack of residents in the city of Bayt-Al-Magdis. In the year 509 AH/ 1115 CE, Baldwin I brought a great number of Assyrian Christians to reside in Bayt-Al-Maqdis. William of Tyre commented on that saying: "Homes were inhabited and flourished in it" [21]. These were resided in private quarters of their own of which the quarter of Al-Masharga became the most famous. Worth mentioning here, is that those people used to live in Bayt-Al-Magdis before the Crusaders invasion, but they fled to Egypt and the areas near the Dead Sea [22] as a result of the invasion. When they were brought back, they came with their families, herds and cattle as stated by the historian William of Tyre [23]. Later on, in the year 515 AH/ 1121 CE, the king of Bayt-Al-Magdis, Baldwin II attacked Jil'ād area and destroyed the Castle of Jerish

As indicated by some European sources, the relationship between these Christians and Baldwin goes back to the period when he first occupied Transjordan [25]. They operated with him by introducing worthy information about the geographical elevations of the area to facilitate his mission [26].

Although the migration of Assyrian from Transjordan to the Kingdom of Bayt-Al-Maqdis had some advantages, it also had disadvantages. One of these disadvantages was the change in the demographic structure of the area; this change affected productivity since the inhabitants used to rely mainly on farming and agriculture and there was lack in the number of workers after the arrival of new immigrants [27].

The Frankish takeover of eastern Jordan and their arrival in Aqaba have had a negative effect on the Arab convoys' traffic. The Franks have controlled the road between convoys between Sham, Egypt and Al-Hijāz, forcing these convoys to take faraway routes to avoid the areas controlled by the Franks. The sources point to the hardships that the pilgrims have encountered as a result of the behavior of this road [28], as pointed out by the historian Ibn Jubayr on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land through the city of Ayyab, saying:

"May Allah guide pilgrims from them by building the way to his forbidden home, which is the way from Egypt to 'Aqabat Ayla ('Aqaba; Eilat), to the holy city" [29].

The establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and then the feudalism of TransJordan later contradicted with *Bedouins* (tribes) roaming and their movements in pursuit of feed and pasture. The Crusader kings were able to extend their control over the Bedouintribes, forcing them to pay financial fees for free use of pastureland and moving within the borders of the Kingdom. However, the revenues collected from the Bedouintribes in eastern Jordan were the property of the King of Jerusalem [30]. These revenues seem to have been rewarded so that the king of Jerusalem would retain them for himself. In recognition of the extent to which the services could be provided by the Franks, the feudalism sought to benefit them. That's what is clear from what Islamic sources pointed from Salāh al-Dīnattacking Karak and Shawbak in the year (568 AH / 1172 CE) and evicting a group of Arabs who were descending on its land. They were transferring the news to the Franks, from that including the Tha'lbah tribe which was important in the crusader crusade because of the role it played that they were which was important in the crusader crusade because of the role it played that they in achieve its own interests and goals. Ibin Fadl Aalh Al-'Amri (d. 749 AH / 1348 CE) said about That :they were "hands with the Frankish against Muslims" [31] and if they raided the country and their evidence on the Muslims, so Salāh al-Dīn looted them and killed some of them and evacuate the remaining of them From the land of Karak and wrote to Noūr Al-Dīn Zenkī [32].

The Ayyūbid Period: After the liberation of *Karak* and *Shawbak* from the Franks, Salāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbi gives them feud to his brother the King Al-'Adel and imposed on him every year six thousand Ghararah of wheat to Jerusalem [33].

After the death of Salāh al-Dīn in the year (589 AH/1193 CE), his sons and brothers was disagreed about the authority. In the year (596 AH/1119 CE), King Al-'Adel Al Ayyūbi was able to seize the regime and appointed his son King Al-Mu'adham 'Issa as a ruler of some of the areas he was subjected to, including Damascus, the Coast, Ghor and Palestine, including Jerusalem, *Shawbak* and *Karak*. Moreover, Al-Mu'adham 'Issa was considered *Karak* as a Headquarter for most of the areas under his rule [34].

On the 12th of Sha'bān (626 AH /6 July 1229 CE), the Emirate of *Karak* Ayyūbid emerged under the reign of King Al-Al-Nāsir Dāwoud. The Emirate included the eastern part of the present Jordan, in addition to Nablus, Jerusalem and *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) [35]. Among the most important works of King Al-Nāsir Dāwoud was the liberation of Jerusalem in the year (637 AH / 1239 CE), after the king Al-Kāmil had handed them over peacefully [36], but King Al-Nāsir Dāwoud in the year (641 AH / 1243

CE), by agreement with Al-Sāleh Ismā'īl handed over Jerusalem to the Franks once again. However, once again, Najm al-Dān Ayyāb with the help of Al-Khwarzmiyah in the year (642 AH/1244 CE), returned it back [37].

But Al-khawarizmeyah who were working for Najm al-Dīn Ayoūb captured most areas of Palestine and the valleys. However, only *Karak* and *Al-Balqa'* and *Sallat* and '*Ajlūn* remained in the hands of Nāsir Dāwoud [38].

Then Al-khawarizmeyah returned to the alliance with Nasser Nāsir Dāwoud, the ruler of *Karak*, who with their help took control of the Jordan Valley, Nablus, Jerusalem and *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) for another time, but the forces of Egypt, which was ruled by Najim al-DīnAyoūb, restored all areas of Karak from Nāsir Dāwoud Nāsir on the 17th of Rabī' II. (642 AH/1244 CE), to remain subordinate to Egypt until the control of the Mamluks on these areas [39].

The Ayyūbid era is characterized by a movement of people between Jordan and Palestine. After the liberation of Jerusalem from the Franks, Salāh al-Dīn worked to encourage the population to settle in liberated areas of Palestine.

He encouraged groups of the Bani Hassan tribe living in eastern Jordan to move to the Jerusalem area and settle in their villages. They settled in nine villages, these were: Sūba, Al-Walaja, Al-Maliha, Shurfāt, Stāf, Bateer, BaytSafāfā and Khirbat al-Lūz [40].

On 1st of Muharram (616 H / March 19, 1219), the great King Al-Mu'adham 'Issa al-Ayyūbi destroyed the walls of Jerusalem in the midst of a wave of condemnation of its people who became vulnerable to homelessness and women went out and the elders and children to the courtyard (*Sahat Al-Harām*) crying and weeping. Therefore, the people left their belongings and furniture and reached *Al-Karak* and Damascus and some of them even reached Egypt [41].

The historian Abu Shāma al-Maqdisī describes the situation in Jerusalem after the destruction of the walls. "People were disturbed and Jerusalem was at all conditions of architecture and big numbers of people ... and there was disorder in the country as if it is the day of Resurrection. So they filled the Rock and the Rock yard, ... They left their money, belongings and their families. They aspired for the rule of the Franks become ... They went too Egypt and some to Karak and others to Damascus [42].

Ayyūbid state suffered from weakness and division due to the differences between the sultans and the Ayyūbid princes and the conflict over power and governance in the context of the continuing military conflict with the Franks. After the death of Sultan Najmuddin Ayoub (d. 647 AH/1249 CE), the Mamluks appointed 'Izz al-Din Aybāk a price (Sultān), but he was killed by a plot fabricated by his wife Shajar Al-Dur. Sultan Qutuz took over the Sultanate for about a year (657-658 AH/ 1259-1260 CE), during which he could defeated the Mongol army in the Battle of 'Aīn Jālūt on 25 Ramadan (658 AH / 1260 CE), but Sultan Muzaffar Qutuz was assassinated by Sultan Al-Zāhir Bībārs during his return from 'Aīn Jālūt to Egypt. He was appointed and took over the Sultanate in 658 AH/1260 CE and he had benefited from the ending the rule of the Ayyūbid role in the Bilad Al-Sham (The Levants or Historical Syria), thus this lead to the unification of Egypt and the Bilad Al-Sham (The Levants or Historical Syria)under the rule of the Mamluks.

Mamluk Period: The Mamluk division of Bilād Al-Shām (The Levants or Historical Syria) to six major areas; each of those areas was called *Niyabah* or Mamlakah (kingdoms), these were: Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Tripoli, Safad and Karak and then they initiated Gaza and Bayt al-Maqdis. The Damascus prosecution included central Syria, parts of Palestine and northern areas of TransJordan [43].

The eastern part of Jordan in the Mamluk period was divided into two parts: the first is the southern part, the kingdom of Karak and the northern part follows the Kingdom of Damascus. It includes the 'Ajlūn and Balqā' and Governorates and the area of Jordan Valley [44].

At the beginning of the Mamluk era, *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) was feud to *Karak* deputy. In (661 AH /1263 CE), Al-Zāhir Bībārsfeud it to Prince 'Izz al-DinIdmār al-Dhāherī, deputy of *Karak*, then he took it away from it and gave it to the new Karak deputy, Prince 'Alaa Al-DīnIydikīn al-Fākhrā. This comes as extension of what prevailed during the Crusades where *Al-Khalīl* (Hebron) was a part of the Karak princes [45].

The army of the Emirate of Al-Karak took part in the military actions against the Franks in Palestine. In 663 AH/1265 CE, Al-Zāhir Bībārs moved to Karak and 'Ajlūn. He went out to besiege the fortress of Arsuf on the Palestinian coast and occupied it with his forces in Jumada al-Ula (663 AH/1265 CE) and he sent them handcuffed to Karak [46].

The army of Karak, under the leadership of Bībārs al-Diwidār [47], deputy of Karak, in the conquered of Acre in (690 AH/1292 CE), who said: "It was made of antlers, useful machines, hard-working men, archers, stones, invaders and carpenters." [48]. At the end of the Mamluke era, they did some administrative changes upon the Niyabat (kingdoms) at Palestine and Jordan, they included Karak kingdoms to the Niyabat of Palestine under of one prince rule. In the year 912 AH/1506 CE), Karak included the Jerusalem Prosecution and in 916 AH / 1510 AD, he was appointed to the Vicariate of Safed. She remained until 918 AH /1512 CE), when she was again brought to the Gaza Prosecution (age 922 AH/1516 CE) [49].

This was meant to bring more than one state to one prince. The first to introduce this phenomenon was Sultan Ghānswah al-Ghoūūrī (906-922 AH/1501-1516 CE). On 18 Jumada II 916 AH/September 22, 1510 CE), Ghānswah al-Ghoūūrī proved Prince Jān Baradīal-Ghazālī (922 AH/1516 CE), as a deputy of Safad and appointed him in the same time a deputy of al-Karak and then he collected to him three deputies under the administration of one deputy. He was granted the position of prosecutor for Prince Dūlāt Baī al-A'māsh and made him a deputy in both the Gaza, Jerusalem and Karak offices [50].

The Mamluk era witnessed the migration of a number of scholars from eastern Jordan to Palestine to work in its mosques and schools. The following table illustrates these scholars:

- Hasān Badr al-Dīn al-Shaklī al-Karakī (d. 842 AH/1438 CE). [51].
- Sālem bin Saīd Amīn al-Dīn al-Hisbānī (d. 808 AH/1405 CE) [52].
- Burhān Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin 'Isa bin 'Omar bin Ziyād bin al-Shāeik Abi Ishāq al-Dimashqī *al-Ma'ruf* (well known) bi Ibn Khatīb 'Athraa (d. 825 AH\1421 CE) [53].
- Al-Hāfid Tāj al-Dīn Muhammad bin Nāsir al-Dīn Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muslim bin 'Alī bin Abi Al-Jūd al-Karakī al-Gharābylī (d. 835 AH\1431 CE) [54].
- Al-Shāeikh Sharāf al-Dīn Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Omar bin Yūsef bin 'Abdullāh bin 'Abd Al-Rahmān bin Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin abū Baker al-Taūkhi al-Hamawi al-Karakī al-Mawlid al-Qāhirī (born in Cairo) al-Shafī'i al-Ma'rūf' (well known) bi ibn al-'Atār (d. 358 AH\1449 CE) [55].
- Qādi al-Qudāh 'Emād al-Dīn abū 'Isa Ahmad bin 'Isa bin Mūsa al-Karakī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 810 AH\1398 CE)
- Al-Qādi 'Iz al-Dīn 'Abed Al-Salām bin Dāwoud bin 'Othmān bin 'Othman bin 'Abās al-Salty al-Maqdisī) al-Shāfi'īal-Ma'ruf (well known) bi al 'Izz al-Maqdisī (d. 850 AH\1446 CE) [57].

- Al-Shāeikh al-Imām Zaīn al-Dīn 'Abed Al-sālam bin abī Bakir al-Ridā al-Karakī (d. 897 AH\ 1492 CE) [58].
- Qādī al-Qudāh Badr al-Dīn abū 'Abdūllāh Muhammad bin 'Abdūllāh bin Ahmad al-Hakārī al-Salty al-Shāfi'ī (d. 708 AH\ 1309 CE) [59].
- Al-Qādi Būrhān al-Dīn abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin Shams al-Dīn Muhammad bin Qādī al-Salt al-Shāfi [60].
- Al-Shāeikh Shams al-Dīn abū 'Abdūllāh Muhammad bin Nasrūllāh bin Jibril al-Karakī al-Shāfi'ī [61].
- Al-Shaeikh al-Sālih 'Omar bin Hātem al-'Ajlūnī (d. 845 AH\1422 CE) [62].
- Al-Shaeikh Shihāb al-Dīn abi al-'Abās Ahmad bin Shams al-Dīn Abī 'Abdullāh Muhammad al-Salty al-Shāfi'ī (d. 852 AH\1448 CE) [63].
- Al-Shaeikh al-'Alāmah Būrhān abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-'Ajlūnī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 887 AH\ 1482 CE) [64].
- Qādi al-Qudāh 'Alaa al-Dīn abū al-Hasān 'Alī bin Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Hāshimī al-Mālik ī al-Asil al-Mashhūr (well known) bi ibn al-Mizwār [65].
- Ibrāhīm bin Ahmad bin Hasān al-' *Ajlūnī*al-Maqdisī (d. 885 AH\1481 CE).

During the Mamluk second period, the population of the region was displaced due to various reasons. The migration the children of Ghazzāwī (Ghazzāwī tribe), whom belonged to Gaza- was due to the invasion of Taymorlank to to Bilad toSham (The Levants) in 803 AH/1400 CE, when they fled to Horan area and settled in the cities of Irbid and 'Ailūn [66]. The historian Bader Al-Dīn Al-'Ainī, speaking of the devastation that took place upon Bilad to Sham (The Levants) during the invasion of Taymorlank as saying: "As for the fear that took place and the evacuation of its inhabitants ... Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza, Bisan and 'Ajlūn" [67]. Furthermore, it is clear that a number of Palestinians was migrated to TransJordan as a result of the events sedition (fitna) witnessed by the city of Al-Khalīl (Hebron), in 878 AH / 1473 CE and in the era of the Mamluk sultan Al-Ashraf Qayetbāy signed an intrigue between the *Tamīmyīn Al-Dariyīn* and the Kurds in Al-Khalīl (Hebron) and led to the deaths of eighteen people, which led Al-Ashraf Qayetbay to send Prince 'AlīBāy Al-Khāskī to investigate the matter. He went to Jerusalem and from there to Al-Khalīl (Hebron) and was accompanied by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (Jerusalem and Al-Khalīl "Hebron") (Nāzir Al-Haramayn Al-Sharifayn) NāSir Al-Dīn Al-Nashāshibī and Shaeikh al-Islām Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abi Sharif and al-Shāfi'ī judge Shihāb ibn 'Iībah and al-Hanafī judge Khaīr al-Dīn ibn 'Umrān and they wrote a record of the killings and looting [68].

It appears that the Sultan Al-Ashraf Qayetbāy did not stop by that, but he calling the elders of Jerusalem and Al-*Khalīl* (Hebron) and ordered the arrogance of some dignitaries and the imprisonment of others and the evacuation of others and ordered to celebrate everyone who participated to other places where some Tamīmī moved to Karak [69], this confirms by Ihsān Al-Nimr, who said that in 878 AH /1473 CE, the war broke out between the Tamimi and the Kurdish lines in Hebron and in the aftermath the Tamimites dispersed in various areas, including Karak and Nablus [70].

When talking about nomadic (Bidwins) tribes in Jordan and Palestine in the Mamluk era, it should be noted that Palestine and Jordan were the common home of many tribes and tribes that were constantly moving and moving from one location to another and therefore it is difficult to limit them to this country or that. The most famous of these tribes were Banī'Uqba, Banī Mahdī, Banī Sakhir, Al Hiraa, Banī Ghassān, Al-'Amriūn, 'Urbān(Bidwins) al-Hassan and 'Urbān (Bidwins) Al-Harbiyah [71]. The tribe of 'Ayyedd was geographically distributed between Balbīs in Egypt and Ayla and Karak [72]. The sons 'Uqba (Banī'Uqba) were their homes stretching from Karak to the Hijaz border. The center of their stability was Karak but they extended their places for a long way the areas of al-Balga' tel Al-Ghaūr (the valley) and Hasban in the north [73] And the Al-Masa 'id tribe from Banī'Uqba whose homes were from Karak to Jerusalem and Al-Khalīl (Hebron) [74]. The tribe of Al-Ka'ābnah, residents of southern Al-Khalīl (Hebron), originated in the Banī Sakhir tribe from the Transt Jordan [75]. The sons of (*Al-Mahdī tribe*) tribe were their homes in this period was in al-Balga' and another sect of Banī Mahdī lived in the areas of Karak and some of its bellies lived in the Al-Karak region and other parts lived in the Middle and North of Al-Ghaūr (the valley) [76].

The tribes of Jurm and al-'A'īd lived in the Gaza area and part of them in the areas adjacent to *Niyābit* Gaza towards *Niyābit* Karak [77] Prosecution and The sons of Sakhir (the tribe of *Banī Sakhir*) were their homes in Karak [78].

The Mamluk era was witnessed movements of tribes on both sides of the border and participated of the princes of *Niyābāit* and *Niyābit* Karak in addressing these tribes. In the year 717 AH / 1317 CE, Arabs of Karak of Banī Numeīr and Banī Rabī'ah built a stick of obedience to the Mamluk Sultanate and took from the castle of Sala' (Al-Habīs) which located in Wādī Mūsāa center of their movement, in addition to the nearby mountainous areas where they were holed up. The Mamluk Sultan, Al-Nāsir

Muhammad Ibn Qalāwūn, ordered the deputy of Gaza the prince Sunjur Al-Jā'ūlī to put an end to their movement. Al-Jā'ūlī faster by force of ten thousand knights and besieged them for 20 days and then conquer it after killing 20 rebels, he did not suffice by that, but he followed them in their mountainous areas. His soldiers recruited many spoils after dispersing them and then he put a number of forces in the area and locked back to Gaza [79].

In the Rābī' Al-Thānī (spring of the second) in the year 804 AH / 1401 CE, there was a serious dispute between Prince Sūrq, Deputy of Gaza and its Janitor (Hājib) Salāmsh and this dispute led to the war between them. It seems that Prince Jarkas, Deputy Karak joined Prince Salāmsh and the result of the fighting between them killed 10 people and wounded several others, Prince Jarkas took refuge and fled Prince Salāmsh, who sought Prince Omar bin Fadl, the price of the tribes of Jurm against Prince Sūrq. He was arrested and killed and Gaza was looted by the followers of Prince Salāmsh and they wanted to burn it, but prince of Jurm prevented them and save it from destruction [80].

In the same year (804 AH / 1401 CE) Azbak Al-Diwadār and price Nawraz came out and from Damascus with forces to catch the Prince Yashbak deputy Karak who brought together the Arab of Jurm with their prince Omar bin Fadl and seeks to took Gaza and arrest its deputy, but Omar bin Fadl sent to Salāmsh tell him about that, they came while the deputy of Gaza with those whom with him was prepared and the fighting broke out between them [81].

In the year (825 AH / 1422 CE) the tribes of Banī Jurm threatenedfight them but he was defeated and a number of his soldiers were killed [82].

In the year (849 AH / April 1445 CE) the conflict between Al-'Ayīd and Jurm took place, the duputy of Gaza prince Tukh Al-Muidy went out at the head of his troops and he intervention alongside Al-'Ayīd despite the warning of Abī Tayyār Al-shārīthe prince of Jurm who asked him to stand on the neutrality.Jurm won in this war and the killing of Prince Tūkh andAl-Diwidār has been killed and Toughān, the deputy of Jerusalem was wounded, which led to preponderance of Jurm where its men took control of the Gaza Strip and Al-Ramlah, looted passengers, cut off roads and the state and its deputies lost their authorities in the area [83].

It appears that the Jurm tribe extended its influence to the north of Palestine until it reached the Nablus area. In Safar (891 AH / 1486 CE), there was a great sedition (fitnah) between the Arabs of Jabal Nablus where some of them was killed, including Abu Bakr the prince of Arab

Jurm and Yusuf bin Jayyoūsī one of Nablus prices (*Mashāīkh*) [84] and on 7 March (899 AH / 1492 CE), Vice-Sham Qansouh Yahyaouī travelled to catch the son helped a Prince Nāsir al-Dīn Muhammad ibn AbīSaīf spoiled the famous son of helped Ghazzawī and the son of Ismail Sheikh Nablus area 'Ajlūn to Asaanhma and they came out of obedience to the Attorney [85].

The last years of the first half of the eighth century AH / fourteenth birth of infertile abounded in which Plagues, prompting some of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, particularly Th'labah migration to Palestine where it entered in conflect with Jurm whic led by Adī bin Fadl and many fought took place between the two tribes and many people was killed. When Prince Baljak took over Gaza he conciliate to him Adībin Fadl and supported him against Th'labah but Th'labah fought him and break it crumb ugly and dragged him to their homes, but the price of Th'labah Sunjur bin 'Alī make them to leave him after being robbed and exaggerated insulting and then released him returned Baljak to Gaza, has strengthened intimates as they took him from Asker Baljak.

Then the agreement was signed on the appointment of Prince Saīf al-Dīn Dilangī on the deputy of Gaza The news reached him that the Al-'Ashīr (the Bedouins) were gathering themselves and intended to loot Lod and Al-Ramleah again. He went to them and took them close to Lod. He went to them and met them near Lod. He contact and deceive them until about two hundred of their leaders presented to him then he captured them and return back with them to Gaza while their collection was dispersed.

Shortly after that, Karak's deputy, Prince Qublan al-Nāsirī, came to Gaza to fight against Adī bin Fadl, the leader of the Jurm tribe, until he presented him with his vows. Then he sent him back to his family and the two of them returned to his family. When Adī bin Fadl came with his cousins to congratulate Oublan on the month of Ramadan, But Prince Qublan arrested Adi and his four cousins and imprisoned them and wrote to Sunjur bin 'Alī, the Prince of Tha'labah, that I had captured your enemy to have a white hand. Sunjur bin 'Alīinterpreted this and arranged for Qublan Al-Nzarene, whom he received and honored. His uncle was obliged to pay a thousand and two hundred thousand dirhams and sent to his people to bring them which pushing the brother Adi to the revolution and wanted to attack Gaza, the prince of Gaza Prince Dalangi went to him distance from Gaza and fight him three days and killed on the fourth day with an arrow injury [86].

The relations between TransJordan and Palestine were solidify through the endowments (Al- $Awq\bar{a}f$). The

lands of some villages in TransJordan in the Mamluk era was endow on the Al-Aqsā Mosque, the Ibrāhimī Mosque and others on the shrine of the Prophet David. The village of Al-Rabad belonging to 'Ajlūn was endow on the Ibrāhimī Mosque in Al-Khalīl (Hebron). In one document of the Shari'a Court of Jerusalem that Judge Shams al-Dīn al-Masrī, the agent of Mustapha Chalabī, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (Nāzir Al-Haramīm Sharīfīn), agree that there is in the protection of Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammed Al-Samādī what related to the endowment (waqf) of the Khalil al-Rahmān mosque from all the crops of the village of Al-Rabad which follow 'Ajlūn and belonged to the endowments upon Al-Haramīm from wheat, barley and the rest of winter and sumer and the grain from olives and vineyards tax (Kharāj) and the Christians' poll tax (*Jizyah*) for the year (959 AH / 1552 CE) [87].

In another document of the Shari'a Court, Muhammad Chalabī, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (*Nāzir Al-Haramīm Sharīfīn*), farm out what is going on in the endowment (*Waqf*) our master Al-*Khalīl*. All the village of Al-Rabad, belonging to the '*Ajlūn* Brigade and its lands that includes the Plain and Awar and the legitimate rights for three years. (965 AH / 1558 CE), with a fee of six thousand dirhams and three hundred dirhams for the end of the account for each year two thousand dirhams and two hundred dirhams and the tenant's abscess (Tribute) Christians village [88].

Al-Zāhir Baybars built the Mamluk Sultan Khān in the city of Jerusalem. He was endow about it many endowments (*Awqāf*), including one carat and a half of the land of the village of Al-Tura in the north of Jordan and he make the proceeds of the endowments spend in price of bread and in repair of the shoes of those who are returned from pedestrian travelers [89].

A number of sultans of the Mamluks endowments (Awqāfs), such as mosques, cemeteries, schools and schools in the Jordan Valley, including Sultān Barqūq, were arrested in the villages of Nimrīn and Al-Kafrīn and the Sultan Al-Zāhir Beybars who endow many endowments (Awqāf) in the village of Bayt Rāmah and Zahūa Khātūn in the village of Bayt Rāmah and the prince Khushqum who endow endowments in the villages of Ramūn and Majdū'spend from its proceeds on his school and mosque. The record (Daftar) (185) a number of endowments in the area of Karak was spent from the proceeds on the Karak Mosque and the mosque of Al-Sārim and on two schools and the room of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the shrine of Ja'far al-Tayyār and the Rubāt Sheīkh Ahmad and the guardian of God and on

the poor and poor fellow ($Masak\bar{I}n$) and those who return to $Rub\bar{a}t$ and on those whom reading the Koran in the month of Ramadān [90].

Prince Tankaz, the deputy of Qīsāriyya in ' $Ajl\bar{u}n$, established $Kh\bar{a}n$ and endow it on the Bimāristān (hospital) that he established in Safad [91].

It was also in the v illage of Kufranjah and the lands of the village of Rājib and the village of 'Anjarah and all the lands of the village of Harrāmah endows on the tomb of the shrine of Prophet David in Jerusalem [92]. It was an acre of the village of 'Azīn endowments on the corner of the Prophet Moses (peace upon him) in Jerusalem [93].

The scientific and cultural relations between Jordan and Palestine increased in the Mamluk era. A number of scholars and jurists whom born in TranstJordan and studied in Jerusalem and took up judiciary and teaching jobs in it, from them:

- Al-Shaeīkh al-'Alim al-Imām al-'Alim NāSiral-Dīn Mohammad bin Muhammad bin al-Gharābilī al-Karakī, the viceroy of Karak, then he was dismissed and settled in the city of Jerusalem. He died in 816 AH / 1413 CE [94].
- Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin 'Isa bin 'Omar bin 'Zīyād bin al-Shaeīkh abī Ishāq al-Dimashqi al-Ma'ruf (well known) bi ibn Khateeb 'Athraa (d. 825 AH\1421 AD, was born in 'Ajlūn and took over the Shafa'ī district in Safad (795 AH / 1393 CE) and continued his work until 803 AH / 1400 CE, then returned to the judiciary and then isolate [95].
- Al-Qādī Būrhān al-Dīn abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin Shams al-Dīn Muhammad bin Qādī al-Salt al-ShafīT was the executor of the Jerusalem district. Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaimī was appointed as a judge by King Mūayyad Shaeīkh in Jumada al-Awal, 818 AH / 1415 CE [96].
- Ibrāhīm bin Mūsā bin Bilāl bin Mas'ūd bin al-Burhān al-Karakīal-Shāfiī was a scholar of the seven readings, jurisprudence and Arabic. He was born in Karak and studied there. He then went to Damascus, Bayt al-Maqdis and Hebron to seek knowledge [97].
- Al-shāeīkh al-'alāmah Būrhānal-Dīn abū Ishāq Ibrahīm al-'Ajlūnī al-Shafi'ī, described as a scholar and fatwa, was one of the pillars of the Shaafa'īs in Jerusalem, he went to Egypt and lived there until he died in 887 AH / 1482 CE [98].
- Al-Shāeīkh Shihāb al-Dīn abū al- al-'Abās Ahmad bin Shams al-Dīn abī'Abullāh Muhammad al-Saltī al-Shafi'ī (d. 16 Sh'bān 852 AH\14 Tishrīn al-āwal 1448 CE), studied his father, moved to Damascus and

- studied her elders, the guardian of the judiciary in Salt, long time [99].
- Qādi al-Qudāh 'Emād al-Dīn abū'Isā Ahmad bin 'Isa bin Mūsā al-Karakī al-Shāfi'ī (741-801 AH\1340-1398 CE), studied and studied in Karak, worked in jurisprudence and other sciences and then went to Cairo and heard the talk about the scientists and then went to He was appointed to the court in Egypt in 792 AH / 1389 CE and he taught jurisprudence in the school of authority in Cairo and the *Hādith* at the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn. He was strict in enforcing the right. In 799 AH / 1396 CE, He went to Jerusalem and started teaching at the school of authority. He also began his sermon at Al-Aqsā Mosque and continued his two posts until he died (801 AH / 1398 CE) [100].
- Ahmab bin Shams al-Dīn abū'Abdullah Muhammad al-Saltīal-Shāfi'ī was born in 776 AH / 1374 CE. He was born and raised in Salt and then moved to Jerusalem where he worked to seek knowledge of the poor. He went on to serve in Jerusalem for a long time in 852 AH / 1448 CE [101].
- Ahmad bin Nāsir bin Khalīfa bin Faraj bin 'Abdullah bin Yhaya bin 'Abed al-Rahmān al-Ba 'ūni al-Shāfi 'ī, was born in the village of Baouna from the work of 'Ajlūn and then moved to Nazareth and stayed there and memorized the Koran then moved to Safad and from there to Damascus and studied the jurisprudence, Then to Safed and settled there, in the year 802 AH / 1399 CE, settled in the sermon of Jerusalem [102].
- Hajjī bin Mūsā bin Ahmad bin Sa'īd bin Ghshum bin Ghazwān bin 'Alī al-Sa'dī al-Hisbānī, moved from Habban to Jerusalem and took the flag of the elders and Fhaaha and save many books and then introduced to Damascus read to the elders, died in Damascus in 782 AH / 1380 CE [103].
- Al-shāeikh al-Imām al-'alim al-Rahmān Zaīn al-Dīn'Abedal-Salām bin Abī Bakr al-ridā al-Karaki al-Hanafī, was born in Karak and grew up and was on the doctrine of Shāfi'ī, introduced Jerusalem in 876 AH / 1471 CE, moved to the Hanafī school and agreed in Jerusalem to Shseikh Nāsir bin Al-Shannakeer was well-versed in the doctrine and issued for the fatwa and teaching in it. The people benefited from it and the students studied it. He studied at the Mu'adhiyya school in Jerusalem until he died on 18 Rajab, 897 AH / 1491 CE and was buried in the Mamla cemetery [104].
- Al-Qadī 'Izzal-Dīn bin 'Abed al-Salam bin Dāwud bin 'Uthmān bin 'Abed al-Salām bin 'Abās al-Saltīal-

Maqdisī al-ma'rouf bi al-'Izzal-Maqdisī (771-850 AH\1369-1446 CE). He was born and raised in the village of *Kufral-Ma'a* from the work of '*Ajlūn* and then moved to Jerusalem in 787 AH / 1385 CE, where he worked in science and memorized books in various arts and read *fiqh* and authorized him to advise and teach. Then he went to Cairo to study science, He went to Damascus in 797 AH / 1394 CE, where he studied *Hadith*, *Fiqh* and Arabic. In 800 AH / CE 1397 he went to Hajj and he heard from the scholars of Mecca and Medina and then returned to Damascus. And more of the hearing and not satisfied with what he learned from the science and then return to Cairo in 803 A,H / 1400 CE, Balqīnī in the jurisprudence and Zaīn al-Dīn in the modern.

'Izz al-Din taught in Cairo and studied modernity in the school of aesthetics and jurisprudence in the school of Khurdubiyah and then moved to Jerusalem and studied in the school authority and continued to teach until the end of the year 838 A,H / 1434 A,D and then isolated from it to return to teach in 840 A,H / 1436 A,D, was taught the *Hadith* and jurisprudence and assets And continued to study until his death in 850 A,H / 1446 A,D [105].

- 'Abed al-Min'im bin bin Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Saltī, born in 712 A,H / 1312 A,D, studied in Damascus and Beit al-Maqdis and then took place in Jerusalem. He was heard by al-Būrhān al-Halabi and was reported by Abu Hāmid bin Dhuwayrah [106].
- 'Abed Al-Qādir bin Muhammad bin Jibreelal-Muhyawi al-'Ajlunī, he went to Damascus and took the knowledge of its jurisprudence. He was a member of the government in 'Ajlūnand then took over its judges. He took over Jerusalem and then was deposed. He died in 873 A,H / 1468 CE [107].
- Al-'Adel Tāj al-Dīn'Abed al-Wahāb bin al-Qādi Burhan al-Dīn bin Qādi al-Salt al-Shāfi'ī was one of the witnesses of the apostate witnesses in Jerusalem and then went to Ramleh. He lived in the private school until he died in 873 AH / 1468 CE [108].
- Al-Shāeīkh al-Sufi Omar bin Hātim al-Zāhid, came out of the town of 'Ajlūn and introduced to the country of Hebron, peace be upon him and landed in the corner of Sheikh Omar, the abstract and isolated in it until the preservation of the Koran and then returned to his country 'Ajlūn and then went to Aleppo and lived in it, Then he went to Mecca and moved to Medina, died in 845 AH / 1441 CE [109].

- Al-Mu'adil Noūr Al-Dīn 'Alī bin Yahīya al-Aydonī, Damascus residence and then departed to Jerusalem, where he lived a period of professional testimony, was a good line and knowledge of the term documents and the judges of Jerusalem magnify him, died after the year 860 AH / 1456 CE [110].
- Qādī al-Qudāh 'Alaa al-Dīnabū al-Hasān 'Alī bin Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Hāshmī al-Mālikī al-Karakī who well known with "al-Mashhur bi ibn al-Mizwār. He took over al-Hisba in Nablus and took over Gaza. He also took over Jerusalem in 864 AH / 1459 CE [111].
- Al-Shāeīkh al-'alim al-muhadith Taj al-DīnMuhammad bin Nāsir al-DīnMuhammad bin Muhammad bin Musalam bin 'Ali bin abi al-Jud al-Shaheer bi ibn algharābily al-Karaki al-Maqdisī al-Shafi'ī (835 AH / 1432 CE), was born in (795 AH / 1392 CE) and requires the sheikhs of the House of Jerusalem Sheikh Shaeīkh Shams al-Dīn al-Baramawī and was famous for knowledge of the talk and his men, has a share in the jurisprudence and its origins and grammar and was a benevolent religion did not accept the acceptance of jobs, went to Cairo to visit Al-Hafiz Ibn Hajar greatly praised him and his son Shaeīkh Nāsir Muhammad, He lived in Jerusalem in the year 810 AH /1407 CE [112].
- Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Abdullāh bin Khaīdar bin Sulaīmān bin Dāwod al-Balqāwī, studied in Damascus and took the science of its scientists, visited Jerusalem several times and read about its scientists and took many jobs in Damascus and Cairo [113].
- Bādr al-DīnMuhammad bin al-Burhān Ibrāhīm bin Dhuhaībata al-Saltī, a member of the ruling regime in Nablus and then his ruler, moved to Damascus and died in 886 AH /1481 CE [114].
- Al-Shāeīkh Shams al-Dīnabū 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Nāsir bin Jibrīl al-Karakī is one of the most prominent scholars of the Shafa'ī scholars in Jerusalem. He was one of the preachers and scholars of the school of authority. He was present in Jerusalem within the year 830 AH / 1426 CE [115].
- Hāroun bin 'Isa bin Mūsā al-Shūbakī, was deported to Hebron, settled and heard there and then worked in it. He died in Hebron in 849 AH /1348 CE [116].
- Al-Shāeīkh Sharaf al-DīnAhmad bin 'Omar bin Yū sif bin 'Abdullāh bin 'Abed al-Rahmān bin Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin abī Bakr al-Tanūkhī al-Hamawī al-Karakī al-Qāhiri al-Shāfi 'ī (789-853 AH\1387-1449 CE), was born in Karak and then moved to Cairo and

received the flag He read the Qur'an and worked in jurisprudence, Arabic and literature. Ibn al-'Attar took over the sheikh of the Bastia school in Jerusalem in 841 AH / 1437 CE and he was appointed by Judge Zaīn al-Dīn Abed el-Basset Waqif [117].

CONCLUSION

This study concludes with the following main findings:

- The Crusaders have changed the demographic balance of the population of South Sham (Palestine and East Jordan) by expelling the population or displacing some residents to new places, such as the displacement of some residents of East Jerusalem to Jerusalem and from Ramle to eastern Jordan.
- The process of displacement of the population in the study area - in the Crusader period has negative effects in that the majority of the population were working in grazing and agriculture, their displacement has affected the agricultural sector in terms of productivity, in addition to the control of the Franks on the city of Aqaba, Consequently, trade routes linking Egypt, the Levant and the Hijaz were transformed.
- Salāh al-Dīn played an active role in the movement of Arab tribes and others in the study area, on the one hand committed to help him in the war of the Franks and encouraged them to settle in liberated areas to the other side.
- In the Mamluk era it was difficult to limit the Arab tribes or their proportion to this country or that because Palestine and East Jordan was a common home of tribes and clans that were always moving and moving from one location to another.
- In the Mamluk era, the Karak, Damascus, Gaza and Jerusalem deputies participated in disciplining the Arab tribal movements which had a significant impact on the deterioration of the economic situation due to their looting and attacks on the Hajj and Egyptian pilgrimage convoys and commercial convoys in the region.

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