

Reviewing Social Life in Eastern Jordan through Burckhardt's Tour in 1812 AD

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Abstract: Historical travel books are important and rich sources of information, as they describe the different aspects of life in a specific geographical area and within a specific time. One of these crucial travel books is Johann Ludwig Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. He recorded, through his travels in southern Syria, important details of life in the east of Jordan region at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He shed light on an important period in the history of the region, and succeeded, through the strength and accuracy of his observation, in covering rich information about social elements in the region, including values, customs, traditions, lifestyles, clothing, and food. The importance of this travel comes as a crucial source for the student of the history of East Jordan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it presents useful, varied, and rich information in a period characterized by scarcity of information and writings. One of the most important results of Burckhardt's travel was the rediscovery of the Arab capital of the Nabataeans, Petra, in 1812 AD. The study also concluded that a large number of urban centers retained their names. Another important outcome of this study is that there is clear evidence that life returned to many previously deserted areas. The study also showed that the region did not witness any interest from the Ottomans in terms of education and culture since there was no mention of any school or newspaper in the region rather, the Ottomans focused only administratively on the southern region because of the pilgrimage route.

Keywords: Burckhardt, the discovery of Petra, Transjordan travels, the nineteenth century, social life.

1 Introduction

Travel books are considered a crucial source for studying the history of cities and societies. They represent a critical source of geography and history since ancient times, as they depict observations of events lived by individuals and groups in a specific geographical area within a specific time. They are one of the oldest and most important means used by scholars to search and discover new horizons. They help resolve the mystery revolving around the unknown lands and its inhabitants. Although these pieces of information are colored by the personal observations of the travelers, they offer eyewitness and credible accounts of many details and conditions of the country in its various aspects. Despite the hardships and dangers travelers faced during their travels, including hunger, thirst, the heat of the sun, the cold, severe weather, diseases, human threats, diversity of customs, and the lack of knowledge of the roads, their travels became a source for everything they discovered, noticed, or heard. They provided abundant information about the political, security, social, cultural, and economic conditions, unlike other history books that focused mostly on political and military history.

Some travelers were keen to write down their observations accurately and personally, despite their different goals and motives, whether declared or hidden, or whether they were doing it voluntarily or with an official mandate to search for information and various data. They learned about the culture of the countries they visited, criticizing some of these cultures while explaining and admiring others. Through their observations, we learned about the contributions of those peoples to the various aspects of human civilization, so some travel books were considered an important source for studying history, such as Ibn Fadlan's travel to the countries of the Turks, the Russians, and the Saqaliba. A specialist in this region cannot ignore that historical tour and its contribution to rediscovering the conditions of people then. Therefore, the travels of Johann Louis Burckhardt at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the Levant, Egypt, Sudan, and the Hijaz are considered important sources for that period during the Ottoman Empire which was characterized by a scarcity of official

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sources and documents. The importance of the travel was due to the abundant information provided about most aspects of social life in southern Syria, specifically Eastern Jordan - Jordan now.

2 Introducing traveler and travel goals, importance, and path.

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784-1817) was born in Lausanne in a rich family of a Swiss father and an English mother. His father was accused of treason, so he was sentenced to death during the French Revolution. Despite the father's acquittal, the family did not trust the new regime in France, so it emigrated to Germany. In Germany, Burckhardt received his education at the Universities of Leipzig and Göttingen, studying law, philosophy, and history [1]. He met the physician and anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, through whom he met Sir Joseph Banks. Banks was the head of the African Association, which encouraged the discovery of the interior regions of Africa, and it was established in 1788 AD [2]. Getting to know Blumenbach had a clear impact on Burckhardt in encouraging him to search in the unknown regions of Africa. Blumenbach was convinced that studying the habits, social characteristics and lifestyle of the people of tropical Africa is necessary to follow the steps of human development on the ladder of civilization and reach facts that explained some ambiguities in anthropology [3].

Burckhardt wanted to avenge his father after he was imprisoned by Napoleon, then he thought that there was a chance in supporting Britain in its expansion at the expense of the French expansion. So, he decided to leave Germany in 1806 and move to England to apply to the "African Association" in London, which was established as a result of the British failures through its "explorers" to reach inside the African continent and collect information about the Niger River. This prompted them, at the end of the eighteenth century, to change their plans and try to enter the African continent from the north and in particular from Libya. This would be through sending one of the discoverers to Egypt to accompany the Moroccan pilgrims returning from Mecca to southern Libya, and then to accompany the merchant convoys heading to Niger [4]. Thus, when Burckhardt applied for a job in the African association, he was immediately accepted. So, he started his trip from Malta in 1808 preparing for completing the mission and achieving the desired goal. He began studying and learning some principles of the Arabic language and reading the Holy Qur'an. He then tried to learn some issues related to the Islamic religion and started practicing some customs and rituals of the Arabs. Given his ignorance of the Arabic language, in the beginning, he deluded people that he converted to Islam and disguised himself as an Indian Muslim trader under the name "Sheikh Ibrahim bin Abdullah". It was difficult to take on the role of the Arab Muslim merchant without suspicion being raised around him. He also did not want to come to Syria as a European traveler, for fear of being exposed to some problems and the greed of some guides [5, 2].

There is no doubt that the travel and the traveler had a great place in the Arab and European cultural milieu because of the abundant information the travel had on many different aspects of life in the region and that it was sometimes supported by maps, especially about antiquities. Also, the traveler recorded a unique advantage on this trip which is his knowledge of the Arabic language. He did not need a translator who would confuse the meanings through mistaken translation. The translator might mislead the traveler intentionally or unintentionally, not to mention his analytical approach to every piece of information he gets. Therefore, we find him as a critic and analyst in some situations by not taking the things told to him for granted.

It should be noted that despite the importance of travel books, the researcher has to be careful and accurate when dealing with them. Things that might get rejected by the traveler could be sacred. The differences between the culture of the traveler and that of the people of the countries he visited should be present in the mind of the researcher. The researcher must not take things said by the traveler for granted; they might be true or untrue. Furthermore, the researcher should bear in mind the similarity that appears in some of the names of the geographical locations contained in the traveler's narratives to avoid any confusion in conveying the information. A good example of this is the names of some places that were mentioned in Burckhardt's trip in Syria, such as Al-Mazareeb, al-Naimah, Eira, and Al-Yadudah where villages holding the same names are found in Eastern Jordan.

Burckhardt started his trip from Britain to Syria. His first place was Aleppo in 1810, where he spent two years improving his Arabic and his knowledge of the Islamic religion. To make it easier for him, he converted to Islam and called himself "Sheikh Ibrahim Bin Abdullah" [6]. He started spending most of his time with the Bedouins and began to master the customs and traditions of the Arab community while at the same time, he learned the Arabic language and how to wear Arab dress. With this, he was able to pass most of the obstacles. In 1812, he decided to leave Aleppo, heading to Cairo [5]. On his trip to Cairo, he passed through the eastern Jordan region where he stayed 4 months writing about its various aspects of life.

The first area he passed through in Jordan was Ramtha village and from which he moved to Jerash. On his way, he described several sites such as Umm Jmal, Mafrq - Al-Fudain and its castle, Jerash and its villages, the Jordan Valley, the villages of Ajloun, Al-Salt, Amman, Al-Karak, Tafilah, and Al-Shobak, Maan and finally Aqaba from which he headed to Cairo. On his way to Aqaba, he discovered the capital of the Arabs, the Nabataeans, the city of Petra where he

was astonished by ancient Arab geniuses and art. He described their work as versed in the art of sculpture which was not ever seen by human eyes [2]. During his wanderings through these regions, he passed hundreds of cities, villages, and ruins - which were departed by its people. He excelled in describing the various aspects of daily life he mentioned events in detail according to the geography of the region in addition to its history, the nature of people, and the administrative, political, and economic conditions. It seems that the period of Burckhardt's residence in the region he visited, and his special interests were the reason for mentioning some aspects in detail. In places like Umm Qais, Jerash, and Amman, he described the ruins a lot and in Karak and Salt, he described the people and their conditions for the length of his stay in these cities. However, in some other places, he passed several cities in one day merely mentioning the name of the region and its geographical nature and some houses.

As for the difficulties that Burckhardt faced during his travel in Transjordan, the most important of them was the problem of the availability of guides and their acceptance of traveling with him. The reason for that was their fear that he might be a magician given the prevailing belief about the travelers in that period. This limited his freedom to survey and search accurately in the archaeological areas, whether in Jerash, or Wadi Musa and Petra. Also, the guides used to be afraid of the Bedouins and their raids. This happened with his guides to Salt and Amman that after he agreed with his guide to accompany him to Salt and paid him 15 piasters, the guide changed his mind for fear of the Bani Sakher tribe who were in a state of war with Alodwanin Balqa from one side and the Pasha of Damascus on the other [2]. Moreover, the guide's demands were sometimes unreasonable. For instance, one of the guides asked for 25 piasters to drive Burckhardt to Karak, but the latter refused for fear any future guide would know of this amount of money. Also, during his stay in Karak, its sheik provided him with assistance by offering him a guide to accompany him and agreed with him on 80 piasters as a fare, including the camel's fare. But when the guide came, he hesitated to leave, claiming that he was sick with rheumatism and could not walk for long and that his camel could not carry them to Egypt.

Burckhardt knew that it was a trick to take his wage and gave up continuing the travel. That was why he replaced him with another guide from Huwaitat for a wage of 20 piaster and 4 goats. Burckhardt's suffering in Salt was no less than the above that after he agreed with four men to deliver him to Amman in return for a certain amount of money, the men refused at the last moment as a result of their wives accused them of madness for endangering their lives and dying for a handful of piasters. This forced him to look for another guide in Fuhais [7]. He tried so hard that nobody would know that he was a European traveler because he believed they would exploit him and would not accept a fare less than 1000 piaster. This happened with one of the travelers who preceded him when the trip from Cairo to Luxor in 1812 costed 4000 piasters [8]. Despite all the difficulties and hardships that he encountered, he managed to monitor many conditions of social life in a crucial period in the history of Transjordan and he also presented a total picture of cities, villages, the conditions of people, and the relationship between the urban and the Bedouins. He also witnessed many customs and traditions that had great value for contemporary researchers.

3 Ottoman Administration

The area between Yarmouk in the north, Aqaba in the south, the Jordan River in the west, and the borders of the eastern Badia in the east formed an integral part of the Levant, which fell under Ottoman rule from 1516 until 1918. According to the Ottoman administrative divisions, this region remained, was known as Transjordan-Jordan Currently- affiliated with the province of Syria throughout the Ottoman rule. It was within a geographical unit that was divided into administrative units whose areas and names changed according to the population activity and the Ottoman policy and strategy, without making any fundamental changes or deducting any part of it to be added to a second province. The natural borders of the region remained the administrative borders and they included several sub-districts, including those that belonged to the Ajloun county, namely: Ajloun, Bani Alwan, Koura, Aghwar, Salt, Karak, Karak Mountains, and Shoubak. Others belonged to the Horan Brigade, namely: the sub-districts of Kfarat, Bani Kinana, Bani Jahmeh, and Bani Al-Aser. Then the districts of the Horan Brigade were added to the Ajloun Brigade, making the latter one of the largest brigades in the state of Syria, with borders extending between the districts of Bani Kinanah, Bani Jahma, and Bani al-Asar - Bani Obaid now - in the north, up to Wadi Musa in the south, and between the Jordan River and to the Dead Sea down to Wadi Araba in the west until the Syrian Hajj Road in the east [1].

Transjordan, before the organization's era in the Ottoman Empire, witnessed a state of chaos, instability, unrest, loss of security, and neglect from Ottoman rule. There was no effective governmental apparatus in the region nor any attempt to reform the state of the region and establish security and stability in it, except in what served its interest. The area was not of any importance to the Ottomans, except in the southern regions, because it constituted great strategic importance to the Ottoman Empire for the passage of the Syrian Hajj caravan and the Egyptian Hajj back and forth every year. Therefore, it paid great attention to it, so administrative centers were established along the way, and they built castles, forts, and ponds to provide security, and comfort, and facilitate the travel for pilgrims [9].

4 Social Life

The population lived in the Transjordan region under two categories:

Farmers or villagers: They are the people who settled in cities and villages in houses or tents close to them, according to the requirements of their living conditions that depended on self-sufficiency and securing the local needs of the family, relying on agriculture and husbandry. This sometimes forced them to leave their homes and live in tents during harvest times. They also practiced some types of internal and external trade in clothes, furniture, dried grapes (raisins), sumac, tobacco, soap ashes, and others [2]. They were organized into social units. The largest of them was known by the name of the clan which had a sheikh who had a strong position and authority in his clan. He used to manage and maintain its affairs. He also represented the link between them and the state [7]. They suffered unparalleled misery and homelessness in the state for several reasons, including collecting taxes imposed on their villages, which did not change either with the number of residents or with the years of drought. They were obtained from the soldiers of the Pasha of Damascus by force, and if anyone refused to pay them, they would be beaten with whips, not to mention other illegal taxes related to the needs of the governors for a special matter or emergency. So, the farmers in the villages suffered from them. Among the most important taxes that were imposed was the Miri tax, from which no one was exempted except for people living in Ramtha who were fully exempted in honor of its religious and pious sheik from the Al-Zoubi family. On the other hand, in the rest of the regions, the tax officials used unparalleled authoritarianism and cruelty. An example was the period 1812 in the village of Huson, one of the villages in the Bani Jahma region - currently Bani Ubaid. At that time, the Pasha of Damascus sent Agha Tiberias accompanied by fifty horses to the village to collect the tax. They forced the people of the village to provide food and drink for them and their horses, and at the end of their stay, they looted and destroyed the houses. That was a sufficient reason that prompted the people in various regions to migrate their villages to new villages for fear of such visits [8] in the hope to find mercy and tax mitigation in the sheik of the new village (the chosen one). Some of the village sheiks or mayors had to bribe the tax collectors by collecting money from the people of the villages through them in a way to ease the harshness of the tax collectors on the farmer. Perhaps the large number of taxes and the harshness in collecting them from the farmers was the reason behind the rare death of the farmer in the village in which he was born. This was also the reason the aspects of urban life changed the farmers abandoned their stone houses in their villages and resorted to living in Bedouin tents in the desert to escape from paying taxes. Accordingly, we can explain the description of the traveler Burckhardt of some of the areas he passed as "Kherba"- ruins- houses without population, such as the villages extending from the valley to Umm Qais in the north, except for the village of Samad, which had a few farmers who paid money to the Bedouin tribes. Another case is Bediravillage in Wadi Musa which had 20 Christian families who moved to Karak. As for the Abu Obaidah area in the Jordan Valley, there was only the shrine guard and his wife, and they lived on the alms provided by the Bedouins in the area [2]. Also, there were few gardens and trees in or around some villages. When one of the farmers was asked about the reason, he answered that he was planted in the "Maghreb" -strangers- or "A'rab" Bedouins. The strangers were the ones taking their places after they leave, and the others were the people using the waters in the spring and summer seasons and controlling their lands and goods [7].

The farmers' suffering did not depend on the taxes imposed by the state only, but the aggression of the neighboring Bedouin tribes on their lands and crops increased the burden on them, forcing them to pay the Khawah tax - an amount of money in cash or in kind paid by the weaker to the stronger in exchange for protection and non-aggression - to these tribes, in return for preventing them from attacking the crops of the villages. Each tribe had several villages from which to take the Khawa tax and the sheik of the tribe undertook the protection of the village from robbery and ensuring its protection. There was no fixed value for the kawa tax and it might be increased by the sheikh annually or might stay the same. The state did not interfere by preventing this tax and providing security for the village people through its soldiers because the ruler over the region had a special share of this tax [2]. The reasons making the Bedouin tribes attack the farmers' lands were related to the old times when the Bedouins used to consider the farmers as enemies because they settled and cultivated lands that were previously owned by the Bedouins on the basis that the entire desert belonged to them. Also, these tribes suffered from harsh and difficult conditions including the scarcity of natural resources due to the dry climate, which prompted them to attack the lands, crops, and livestock of farmers.

The tribes also continuously desired to show their strength to continue their access to the Ottoman surra - which were financial allocations provided by the Ottoman state to the tribes in exchange for the protection of the Syrian pilgrimage route. Among the most prominent Bedouin tribes that used to impose the kawa tax on the villages were: Bani Sakhr, Anza, Sarhan, Sardiya, Fahili, Huwaitat, Hamada, and others [10]. The most severe was Bani Sakhr, which used to collect the kawa tax from the villages of Bani Obaid, Bani Jahma, Kfarat, Ajloun, Ramtha, Shobak, Tafilah, and Amman [2, 6]. That also included Salt, the center of Al-Balqa and the only inhabited city, which was besieged by the Pashas of Damascus many times, the last of whom was Abdullah Pasha, who besieged it for three months without gaining a thing. It remained independent, not subject to the authority of the government that it was described as (a state in itself). Despite that, it suffered from Bani Sakhr, and its inhabitants were forced to protect the crops spread over vast areas in the Al-Balqa plains to pay them the tax [11]. As for the Huwaitat tribe, they took the khawa tax from the people of Karak with one Spanish riyal from each family. They also used to send them annually about fifteen bags of rugs made in Karak. As for the tribes of Eneza, Sarhan, and Sardiya, they took control of parts of the Horan region [7].

The Bedouin attacks were not limited to imposing taxes, but they were launching raids. This happened for example in Karak in 1812 when the Rawla tribe - from the Eneza tribe - raided a Christian camp and looted their livestock, which prompted the Karak people to follow the invaders and regain the stolen goods in addition to 120 camels from Rawla [2]. The people's fear of paying the taxes increased and they had to hide the amount of the crop before anyone fearing he would be a spy for the Pasha leading to an increase in the tax. (Burckhardt, 1993: 198). The misery and homelessness of the farmers did not depend on these multiple taxes. Rather, the natural disasters of drought, and the spread of agricultural pests such as locusts and mice, which used to destroy crops in some seasons, caused the deterioration of the condition of the farmers [10].

Bedouins: The Bedouins formed an authentic, independent, and strong class in Transjordan throughout Ottoman rule. During the weakness and decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Bedouin tribes resisted the rule, which pushed the state to ensure security and stability in the region that they let some strong and influential tribes hold the administration in different regions. However, some other tribes represented a danger and threat to the authority of the Ottomans, especially those scattered along the Syrian pilgrimage route, which forced the Ottomans to hold agreements with the leaders of these tribes or grant them honorary positions or titles to ensure that they would not attack the pilgrims on the one hand, and to make it easy to collect taxes from the residents of the region on the other hand [12]. Most of the Bedouins relied on raising camels, livestock, and horses, so they were mobile from one place to another, according to the requirements of their desert environment which is of water and pasture. Some left the nomadic life and settled in agricultural areas combining the profession of agriculture and livestock breeding, and they did not differ from the farmers and villagers in terms of their attachment to the land. They moved within a specific area known as the land of "Al-Dirah" and maintained their tribal organization, and their stay in the land or their departure depended on the security and the availability of living resources [13]. Also, as a result of working in agriculture without appropriate experience, they sought the help of the slaves who were brought from Jeddah and Makkah (Burckhardt, 1993: 248, 258).

It should be noted that the Bedouin tribes practiced a great influence in the Transjordan region through the taxes they imposed, such as "Khawa" on the farmer's lands and crops - as we previously mentioned - and the taxes imposed on other tribes bordering them. The largest share was through their control of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrimage convoys. The pilgrims coming from Egypt and Syria would pass through the longest roads from the region heading to Makkah passing several paths drawn by horses, widening at times and narrowing at others according to security and climate conditions. The pilgrimage road branched into two: the first from Damascus, then passed along the Jordanian lands until it reached Ma'an, Tabuk, until Medina, and the second branch from Gaza towards Karak and Shobak, meeting Ma'an with the first road [12]. Eight castles were built there, namely: Mafraq Castle, Zarqa Castle, Balqa Castle, Hasa Castle, Unaizah Castle, Ma'an Castle, and Mudawara Castle. These castles were built to provide security and protection for the pilgrims and trade convoys from the Bedouin invasions, as happened in 1757 when the Bani Sakhr raided the pilgrims' convoy and looted it. They also represented stations for their rest, as they contained khans and markets with food and water needed for the pilgrims and their animals [7, 14].

There is no doubt that the pilgrimage trip was a great opportunity for all the pilgrims and those accompanying the caravan for trade exchange. There were often pilgrims in the caravan who were merchants combining the religious aspect through performing the rituals of Hajj, and the economic aspect in the practice of pilgrimage that they made contracts with other traders and exchanged various types of goods. Given the fact that the Hajj travel back and forth passed through Transjordan, the caravans were loaded with goods along the way becoming a basic source of livelihood for the cities located on the Hajj route [2]. To provide more security and protection for the roads, the Ottoman Empire, after its weak power, was forced to provide sura - sums of money - gifts and grants to the leaders and sheiks of the influential Bedouin tribes in the region in return for their pledge to protect the pilgrimage caravans and to restrain the Arabs who threatened its safety. Among these tribes is the Eneza tribe, which had relations of peace and friendship with the Ottoman Empire, played a major role in protecting the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrimage routes, and monopolized the moving of thousands of camels annually to pilgrims in times of their transportation. They benefited a lot from that, as their Sheikhs received sums of money for protection in addition to what they take from pilgrims during their passage. An example is Walad Ali, one from the Eneza tribe, and their sheiks from the Tayyar family, headed by Dokhi bin Samir, who left the desert, came to Horan, and established good relations with the Pasha of Damascus. He gained the trust of the Ottomans, so they showered him with money and gifts because of the harm he suffered after the Wahhabis, led by Ibn Saud, prevented Hajj in 1811. At times of dispute between Ibn Saud and the Ottomans, the Eneza attacked the Ottomans with Ibn Saud [7]. Also, the Ottoman state entrusted the Sardia tribe to provide the pilgrims with camels and protect them, but the Bani Sakhr tribe took this task from the Sardia, and controlled the pilgrimage route in Transjordan. Many battles often took place between them and the forces of the Pasha of Damascus, and they were victorious over the forces of the Pasha of Damascus [2, 10]. This prompted the Ottoman Empire to win them and they lavished their sheiks with large amounts of money to ensure the safety of the pilgrims [13].

As for the Howaitat tribe, which was led by Ibn Rashid, it enjoyed a strategic location extending its control over the

Sharah Mountains from Tafila to Aqaba. This made it control a large part of the pilgrimage routes which prompted the Ottoman Empire to pay donations of money, gifts and grants that were mentioned in some sources in the amount of 500 gold liras in return for securing the protection and safety of the pilgrims' caravans [2, 10]. In conclusion, the pilgrimage caravan reflected positively on most of the people in Transjordan, and they benefited from it economically. The hajj season generated money for the people, which improved their economic conditions reflecting their social welfare level.

It is good to mention that the tribes in Transjordan as a whole lived periods of ebbs and flows among themselves, between reconciliation and peace on the one hand, and wars and conflicts against each other on the other. An example is the attack of both the Huwaitat and the people of Karak against Bani Amr they defeated them and forced them to leave to meet at the time of aggression. The people of Odwan played their part and expelled them until they settled in Jerusalem, then they returned and sought refuge from the Karak sheik, Yousef al-Majali, begging him to allow them to return, so he agreed on the condition that they become under his rule. This led to making them guards of Karak against the other tribes [7]. Despite that, they could not protect the Odwan in Balqa' from Bani Sakhr who moved to Balqa after the increased power of the Wahhabism in their Al-Ula region. This prompted them to resort to the Odwan's sheik, the leader of the Balqa region, begging him to allow them to stay under his protection for some amount of money.

The people of Odwan agreed after considering the people of Bani Sakhr as guests in their region. The latter "guests" turned most of the Balqa tribes against Odwan. Despite the support of the Pasha of Damascus for the Odwan for getting rid of Bani Sakher, the latter were able to win and expel Odwan to the north across the Zarqa River. Then, they burned the harvest in the Odwan's Baqa'a plains. The wars continued between them until a peace treaty was concluded in 1810 between the Odwan and Bani Sakhr. The two parties camped on "sail Amman" - Amman torrent. However, this did not last for a long time, as the Odwan sheik "Hmoud Al-Saleh" decided to take revenge and conspired with the Al-Rawla tribes supported by the Pasha of Damascus to attack Bani Sakher. Yet the strength and courage of Bani Sakhr disappointed the allies and forced the Odwan to leave for Ajloun [2]. It seems that the fertility of the lands and the large number of pastures in Al-Balqa was the reason for the conflict among the tribes who had the conviction that "mithl balqa ma telqa" meaning that you won't find a city like Balqa. The Balqa's name is derived from Balq which means the mixture of black and white. It also means the varied bright colors with abundant bounties, and it was described by the writer of Mu'jam Al-Buldan - dictionary of countries- as having varied farms with wheat of good quality [15].

The conflicts among the tribes were not over pastures and fertile lands only. Some wrestled with each other for prestige and leadership in the region, as the Barakat family did in the Ajloun region when they besieged their sheik Yousef Al-Barakat in the Rabad Castle. This made him flee and take refuge in Tiberias. As for the Huwaitat, they were able to beat the Jawabara and occupied Tafila whose sheik became from the Huwaitat [2]. The relations among the tribes continued to fluctuate where the strongest survived and sometimes, they resorted to making alliances with tribes to repel an attack or war of a hostile tribe. One of the cases included the Habahba tribe which allied with the Huwaitat to protect themselves from the Bani Sakhr tribe but the latter, despite their strength, did not dare to attack large gatherings [7]. It seems that the Ottoman Empire did not contribute to solving such conflicts, but rather it sometimes encouraged them because it found them an effective way to limit the power of powerful tribes. Also, the Ottoman Empire used to monitor some conflicts and then intervene in the interest of one party at the expense of the other. The Ottoman state did not pay attention to the interests of the population in these conflicts and wars and did not develop a security policy in which the interests of all parties were guaranteed as long as the population was forced to pay taxes. On the other hand, other regions in Transjordan lived in complete peace and security, as was the case of Salt with the Ghor people [7], and the people of the Irbid region - Bani Jahma - and Bani Obaid, Kura, and Kfarat. The traveler did not mention that he witnessed or that he was reported with any dispute or conflict among the people. However, the problems of the people were between the state and the influential tribes, as previously stated.

Regarding the population, there were no accurate statistics until the end of the nineteenth century, due to the preoccupation of the Ottoman Empire at that stage in its external wars and the erosion of its internal authority in front of the local powers from the influential families. In estimating the numbers, some relied on the guesses of the travelers; they were not real numbers. Below is a table of the numbers of some regions and families as reported by Burckhardt during his trip to the region:

Table 1: Number of families' homes and tents in Transjordan

name of region or tribe	number of houses or tents	Muslim	Christian	the page, from the source, Burckhardt
Ramtha	100	100	0	167
Suf	40	40	0	169
Ain Jannah	80	0	80	177

Huson	100	75	20	178
Salt	480	400	80	226
Banu Amr	200	200	0	200
Karak	550	400	150	244
Katherba	80	80	0	251
farmers of Ghor	300	300	0	249
Tafilah	600	600	0	254
Al Shobak	100	100	0	263
Basira	50	50	0	257
Ar-Rabad Castle	40	40	0	178
Ma'in / Wadi Al-Walah	5000	5000	0	239
Eljai / Ain Moussa	300	300	0	266
AlJai camps	240	240	0	273
Al Rafaya camp	60	60	0	264
Total houses and tents	8320	7985	330	

By reading the above table, the total number of houses and tents is equal to 8,320 houses and tents. If we assume that the average number of family members in each house or tent was the average of an Arab family of five members, the total population would be 41,600 people in addition to the 40 Rabad Castle men, so the number becomes 41,640. There are many other areas not mentioned by Burckhardt that he only mentioned that they were inhabited by people; most importantly is that the number of the major tribes was not mentioned, such as Bani Sakhr, Eneza, Sardiya, Sarhan, Huwaitat, and many others [16].

As for the Christian families, which lived in the region for a long time, they were present in the villages and cities of Ain Jannah, Karak, Huson, Salt, and Karak.

5 Manifestations of Daily Life

There was no difference in dress between the farmers and the Bedouins they all wore the kumbaz covered with a black cloak placed on the shoulders and open from the front; their heads were covered with the kuffiyeh and Egal, which is a rope made of camel hair. They also wore sandals made of camel skin and tied to their feet with leather straps [7]. The Bedouin was described as being shorter and thinner than the farmer and they had beautiful, black eyes with an accurate beard. However, the farmer was distinguished by his tall stature and wide beard. Ibn Khaldoun described the relationship between man and the environment in which he lives and the impact of the climate on human color, personality, structure, nature...etc. Therefore, it was natural to have this difference between the Bedouins who lived in the desert areas and the farmers who inhabited the agricultural coastal areas; both the surface features and climate are completely different in each region.

Regarding women, they were described according to the region. In the city of Salt, their dresses were close to those of Bedouin women, with black or blue color, and their dialect was purely Bedouin [17]. The women of Wadi Wale, Karak wore loose clothes hanging around them with faces uncovered (Burckhardt 1969:96). The Karak women were freer to talk to strangers [7], unlike the Tafilah women who tended to stay away from strangers, clinging to their pride and conservatism like city ladies. The absence of the man from his house did not prevent the women from adorning themselves by buying cosmetics and house requirements from the merchants of Damascus while preserving their dresses and the way they spoke [2].

The Bedouins were distinguished by gentleness and tenderness in their dealings with their wives, in contrast to the harsh men of Karak. If the wife of the Karak husband got sick, he would take her back to her father's house until she got well without paying anything for her treatment because when he married her, she was healthy; it was not fair for him to bear the expenses of her treatment when she sick. The husband would send his ill wife with a letter to her father saying: "I bought a healthy wife from you - and it is not fair that I bear the expenses of her recovery." This was found in Muslim and Christian families in Karak. Furthermore, dressing the wife was not required from her husband but from her family. Also, it was not permissible for her to inherit anything from her husband; so, she had to steal crops from her husband's house and sell them secretly at the lowest price so that she could buy what she needed [7]. Despite this, the woman had the right to claim her legal rights, such as the late dowry, or alimony through her clients, which was done by Sheikh Yousuf Al-Majali, the district judge, by holding a court session [18]. Perhaps what Burckhardt mentioned in describing some matters related to women and family life is not accurate and cannot be generalized to the Karak community or others in general; he may have witnessed this situation in a family that may have special circumstances such as the husband's financial inability. Add to this is Burckhardt's short stay in Karak, as he mentioned it was only twenty days; thus, he was unable during this short period to identify these matters, especially within the conservative Arab family.

Regarding the houses and dwellings, they were associated with the nature of the region. Some lived in ancient caves, and some built houses of rock or mudstones [7]. Some lived in houses whose half were in caves and the other part in a circular mud shape [2]. The style of the houses was almost the same with one floor including several rooms, in each room there were two arches, roofed with tree trunks, placed side by side, then covered with dry herbs, and on top of there was a layer of mud to seal it. Each house had a room called Madaba that was dedicated to receiving guests where the family men slept with a stove in the middle, which was a pit where a fire was kindled to make coffee or for heating. It was sometimes used to light the place instead of a lamp to save oil, and because they had plenty of firewood. Each house had a guwara or khabiya which was made of clay, five feet high and two feet wide, for storing the grains. As for the house furniture, there was no clear difference between the homes of the poor and the rich, Muslims and Christians; it contained a mortar, a manual mill for grinding grain, and some copper utensils for food and drink. The floor of the rooms was exclusively covered with pieces made of straw. Also, each house had a large pottery jar to put the drinking water that the women brought from the well or fresh springs in addition to a courtyard - a wall - with one door. Some houses had indications of the profession of their owners, such as the houses of Ma'an, which had a loom for weaving clothes, which they used to sell to the Hajj caravans in Ma'an and Aqaba [2].

One of the food items eaten by the people of Transjordan is the kishk which consists of bulgur and milk, and it was of two types: a red kishk that was made by placing the bulgur in milk, boiling it on fire, placing it in the sun until it dries, breaking it into small pieces and finally storing it for the time of need. The other type was the yogurt Kishk, which was made by placing the sour yogurt in cloth bags to completely remove the water from it and then it was placed in the sun to dry and finally stored for later use. People used to eat two meals, the first was the breakfast consisting of "futility", bread cut into small pieces with yogurt or Kishk with ghee or butter. The other meal was dinner which consisted of bulgur or rice, to which meat was not added. However, if a guest comes, he would be honored by placing meat, whether it was lamb or one of the types of birds [7].

Burckhardt saw Bedouins eating locusts, which were collected in large bags, placed on the fire in a sheet, roasted, placed under the sun after mixing it with salt, and finally stored for times of need such as drought and lack of food. The Bedouins used to eat it whole without removing any part unlike the farmers who only the poor among them used to eat it after cutting off the head and removing the entrails [2].

Among the types of fruit trees eaten by people were oaks, oak moss, pomegranates, lemons, hawthorns, apricots, and peaches, as well as raisins, dried grapes, and sumac. They also used to sell them such as the sumac that was sold to the people of Jerusalem and was a good source of income for the population [2]. They ate vegetables like cucumbers, and wheat, barley and they used maize for making bread. Also, food had customs and etiquette; if the food was served, the people present would sit together in a circle, and if one of them was full, he would not get up until everyone was satisfied. The owner of the house would be the one who would serve the guests, and if the guests had finished eating, they are followed by people lower in rank until everyone had eaten. Finally, the food would be transferred to women [19].

Regarding the marriage, it took place by agreement between the man and the girl's family. It began with determining the dowry whose value was related to the social and economic status of the bride's family. The amount of the dowry was 600 piasters, as it was in Karak. If the family was rich, the dowry reached 1500 piasters, despite the fact mentioned by Burckhardt that the wealth of the richest man in Karak did not exceed 1,000 pounds sterling [2]. If the young man did not have private property to provide the dowry, he was forced to serve the bride's father in some agricultural work, especially for several years in return for the dowry [2]. It should be noted that such a matter is permissible in Islamic law, as in the story of our master Moses with the righteous man, which is mentioned in Surat Al-Qasas, verse 27, "He said, "Indeed, I wish to wed you one of these, my two daughters, on [the condition] that you serve me for eight years; but if you complete ten, it will be [as a favor] from you". (AL-Qasas, 27). If we compare the value of the dowry with the level of the economic life such as the prices of the grains where one kilo of wheat was five fils, and the price of barley was half the price of wheat, and if we look at the price of some types of animals, where the price of a cow was seventy piasters, and a camel was sold for one hundred and fifty piasters, we notice that the dowries were very high during that period.

The wedding celebrations used to start after the bride was adorned with special decorations linked to her father's social and economic level. If she was from a rich family, she put a wreath decorated with gold or silver pounds on her head. Then, she goes from her father's house to her husband's house, in a procession with her friends; the bride rides on a camel decorated with tassels and bells. She is received by the women of the groom's family with ululations and songs. The groom's friends fire shots as an expression of pleasure. As for the groom, he goes to wash at one of the springs in the village, adorning himself with the most beautiful clothes, and riding a horse not less adorned than the bride's camel. Then he is received by his companions and peers, and he is carried on the shoulders and forearms with singing and jubilation, and they seat him on a high seat. The celebrations remain until sunset, then the bride and groom go to the church, where the priest completes the marriage ceremonies. For Muslims, they go to complete the marriage procedures to the Sheikh at the house of the bride's father. During this time, the sheep are slaughtered, and banquets are held in the presence of the villagers; each person presents an amount of money as a gift to the groom (naqut), and it is announced loudly with a

prayer for blessing and thanks [2].

As for the other aspects of life, such as the religious celebrations, the travel did not mention any reference to celebrations such as the month of Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha. The reason is perhaps Burckhardt's short stay in the region, which lasted only for four months from April to August. Returning to the calendar, the year 1812 AD was the year 1227 AH meaning that Ramadan was in September, and automatically Eid al-Adha followed it. About the religious rituals such as prayer and fasting, Burckhardt pointed out that the people became more religiously committed after following the Wahhabi doctrine, so they began to pray the five daily prayers in mosques after only the sheik - the imam of the mosque - prayed in the mosque. He mentioned several mosques in some cities, including 226 mosques in Salt. He also pointed out that they stopped doing the tasbih believing that it is an innovation and that the tasbih on the fingers was better. The Wahhabis also forbade smoking. (Burckhardt, 1993: 245). However, the people of the city of Ma'an have always been devoted to reading the Qur'an and memorizing the hadiths of the Prophet, and most of them worked as imams with the Bedouins, teaching their children and accompanying them in prayers [7].

On the other hand, despite the presence of churches like the Church of the Virgin in Salt, the Christians were not religiously committed in that they did not pray in churches and do not fast at all. He criticized their eating Mansaf with meat during their fasting, and he justified that some priests recited the liturgy in Greek, a language unknown to the Christians of the region. He also did not like some of their actions, such as their swearing by the Book of Muslims - the Holy Qur'an - as they are sued by the Muslim judge in matters of marriage [2].

6 Values, Customs, Traditions, and Beliefs

Hospitality and generosity are among the most important moral values that have been known in Arab societies since ancient times. Burckhardt was impressed by the generosity he found in different parts of Transjordan, and he elaborated on its aspects in the houses and public guesthouses. He was first welcomed in the house of the honorable man, Sheikh Dandan in Suf and the house of Sheikh Abdullah in Huson [7]. In the villages of Horan, there was a dispute regarding receiving him everyone agreed to draw lots in which house the guest would be received. In Salt, where he stayed for ten days, a quarrel broke out between the owner of the house in which Burckhardt settled and the members of his clan because he did not allow anyone else to host the guest and accused the host of being excessively selfish [2]. The hospitality matters were not confined to the houses of the people only, but we find that the guest could stay in the guesthouses designated for receiving strangers, which were spacious houses and each clan had one or more guesthouses. For example, in Salt, four guesthouses were mentioned, three for Muslims and one for Christians. The Sheikhs of the families used to pay to welcome the guests for which 1000 pounds were allocated annually. In Karak, where he stayed for twenty days, he visited twenty houses to avoid any possible dispute among the people who were competing as usual in honoring the guest despite the presence of eight guesthouses, six for Muslims and two for Christians [7]. Burckhardt marveled at the large number of guests at the guesthouses, although they did not have a general budget. Rather, one of the residents used to donate all the services, including food and drink, to the guest and all those present (Burckhardt 1993: 246). An example is the Eira guesthouse where the Sheikh could not talk to his guest due to the large number of guests there [7].

In general, the host provided the guest, whether in his home or the guest house, with three meals a day consisting of meat from sheep, goats, bulgur wheat, and kishk, with plenty of cups of coffee. The guest was not asked about his origin or his period of stay (Burckhardt 1993: 227). Also, his house was provided with barley daily 1,05 liters [20]. Burckhardt indicated that the generosity was not related to the host's economic condition, so whatever his status was, he had to provide food for the guest and his horse without waiting for something in return from the guest. Rather, it was shameful for the host to take, even as a gift, anything from his guest. An example was mentioned when the guests gave one of the poor children a few piasters after he was generously welcomed by his mother and after leaving, the child's mother followed the guest to return the money to the guest begging him not to let her husband know about this because that would shame them [2]. Also, Burckhardt mentioned that among the people's defective things was selling the ghee whoever sold it was called a "ghee seller" to diminish his value and prestige in front of the people. This was attributed to the availability of this material abundantly in the houses of people back then.

In his further talk about hospitality, he added how keen the host was to provide comfort and pleasure to the guest, a situation that was strange for him among the Hamaidah Arabs, as the clan sheik hosted him, and he was dying due to a spear stab wound. He concealed his illness to avoid disturbing his guests; he stayed in the women's tent and ordered the slaughtering a sheep to be cooked for the guests and he hid his illness to let the guests enjoy their dinner [7]. Another example of the hospitality was represented in reducing and removing fatigue in some of the guesthouses where musical concerts were held on the rhythms of the Rababa and the words of Arabic poetry, which relieved the nerves after the trouble of a full day of walking and exhaustion [2].

Among the values Bedouins were raised on was laughing reverently; they always smile, they do not tend to talk a lot, and they do not like to prolong the praise. They suffice with a few words of courtesy, they like to praise their sheik and their

generosity, and they hate slandering the sheiks of other tribes even if they are their enemies [7].

In Transjordan, generations have inherited since ancient times the value of protecting the “Dakhil” or “Tanib”- the intruder-who is a person who committed a crime or was accused of a certain crime, so he fled for fear of punishment and injustice and took refuge in a strong family or tribe and asks for his protection. The latter must protect him until the truth was to be set; otherwise, shame would be attached to the tribe. This sometimes led to wars among tribes [2].

The most prominent belief that stopped the traveler - and it was one of the difficulties in his travel-was the idea inherent among the Bedouins that the European travelers are nothing but magicians who have a strong and wondrous experience through which they can detect ancient treasures and burials and give them signs and orders to catch up with them after their travel. This made him exaggerate in being careful not to show his compass, which they would certainly consider a magical instrument; he also hid the papers on which he was writing. No matter how much the tourist or the traveler tried to present justifications regarding this, the Bedouins were not convinced and sometimes they prevented them from entering some archaeological places, which resulted in the traveler’s fear for their lives or their money, so they retreated from their adventures, curiosity, and discovery [21]. Perhaps this matter was a kind of exaggeration, but it was an acknowledgment of the fear of the other. The cultural and civilizational differences and distinctions between the two parties were also clearly shown. This explains why Burckhardt resorted to some tricks to complete his desire to see some of the antiquities without arousing suspicions about him, as he did when he wanted to see the shrine of the Prophet Haron that he brought with him a sheep as a sacrifice to present it at Haron's grave.

Among other common beliefs, especially among the Bedouins, was not to travel at night, because the desert was inhabited by “um-al-Ghilan” -the "mother of the ghouls", that is, the women of the jinn and goblins who kidnap travelers at night, especially those at the end of the caravan, to enjoy holding and living with him given the loss of numbers of travelers. Burckhardt's rational, analytical mentality explained this phenomenon that some travelers become tired, so they stop moving with the convoy that continues its progress without paying attention to them. Another explanation was the possibility they were killed by monsters or got stolen from robbers which prevented them from catching up with the convoy. After the convoy stops for any reason, they search for the men and do not find them, so they think that the mother of the ghouls kidnaped them [2].

7 Religious Tolerance between Muslims and Christians

Burckhardt succeeded in conveying a true picture of the extent of the religious tolerance in which the people of Transjordan lived, saying that no one could distinguish between the followers of the two religions because they held the same Arab features, their clothes, and appearance and that their customs and traditions were similar [5]. This strengthened the social ties in the population fabric in the region showing people as a harmonious social bloc, and even in critical situations in which nervousness emerged, such as quarrels, for example, religion was not a reason to distinguish between them. At the time, Muslims used to side with the Christians with all force to get their right from the one similar to their religion if their injustice was confirmed. He mentioned an incident where he witnessed a quarrel between a Christian Catholic and a Greek Christian (Orthodox) then Muslims intervened to resolve the dispute and one of the Muslims slaughtered a sheep and invited the two parties to make peace between them in his house [11]. Among the features of harmony between the two parties was visiting on holidays and occasions; this harmony was clear to passers-by in the paths, where women gathered at the doors of houses and the sides of the roads.

Burckhardt described the religious tolerance between Muslims and Christians in the city of Salt, which consisted of four hundred families of Muslims and eighty families of Christians. Both Muslims and Christians lived with each other in harmony, brotherhood, and love, to the extent that Muslims used to share equally with Christians the salaries received by the priests appointed to perform the prayers in the Church of the Virgin, which amounted to four pounds annually. He also indicated that Christians used to swear by the book of Muslims the “Holy Qur’an” and prayed on the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him [2].

As for the city of Karak, which was inhabited by four hundred Muslim families and one hundred and fifty Christian families, who belonged to the Greek (Orthodox) Bishopric of Jerusalem, Burckhardt stood in amazement at this cohesive, loving community, as evidenced by the fact that during his stay in Karak, a priest came from Jerusalem to collect donations for his monastery. All the people of Karak participated in the donations with an amount equal to fifteen pounds sterling, although they were not wealthy. As for their family life and relationships, it is hard to see any difference between Muslims and Christians. The position of the sheik of the clan was present and he used to assume the management of their affairs in coordination with the priest. In their disputes, they used to resort to the town’s Muslim judge elected by the tribes instead of going to their sheiks [2].

What was astonishing is the fact that Muslims intended to baptize their children in Christian churches. Burckhardt explained that for financial reasons for both parties. According to him, Muslims were astonished by the economic

prosperity of Christians and believed that baptism would bring them good luck in the financial aspect, and he described that by saying, "They have adopted a strange way that makes their children happy in life that many of them baptized their male children in the Khader Church and took Christian godparents (fathers at baptism) for their children with the absence of any sheik or judge to prevent this procedure. As for the Christians, the Orthodox priest, who was paid a large fee for baptism, tried to reconcile the pricks of his conscience for fear that the child he was baptizing would die, so he only put the two legs of the child in the water while the Christian child receives a complete immersion." Baptism was nothing but a religious trick that the baptized people followed and spread among the people that whoever was baptized among the children of Muslims would not die except when he got very old for persuading Muslims to continue baptizing their children in Christian churches to achieve financial benefits [7]. It seems that this is a clear picture of the weak commitment and knowledge of matters of religion, which Burckhardt referred to more than once in both the Muslims and the Christians.

Economically speaking, Burckhardt asserted that the Christians in Karak were free from what he called "extortive taxes", as was the case of Muslims. When the Wahabis and Ibn Saud tried to take the "head tax- Jizya", which was imposed on Christians by the Ottomans, both the Christian and Muslim people in Karak refused it. Thus, Ibn Saud acknowledged that and sent gifts to the Sheikh of Karak. It seems that Ibn Saud was skilled in politics, and he was satisfied with the appeasement of the people of Karak and did not use force in having them pay any amount of money, but rather wanted them in his attack against the Ottoman Empire [2]. However, this Wahhabi policy affected the demographic fabric of the region, as we note that in the subsequent years, the number of Christians in the areas controlled by the Wahhabis began to decrease, and they began to migrate to farther regions in search of safety and stability, such as the northern parts of the region in Horan [13].

8 Conclusion

The study concluded the following:

- Burckhardt was able to provide crucial data on some aspects of the social life in Transjordan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is considered a history of that period, whose features may have been absent by researchers and those interested in social, historical, and religious studies for some time.
- The importance of the Transjordan site throughout the ages as a trade route, and a route for the Levantine and Egyptian pilgrimage convoys in addition to the important role played by the Bedouin tribes in maintaining security, securing and ensuring the safety of Hajj convoys back and forth, and the provision of important services such as supplies and camels needed to transport pilgrims.
- The travel enriched the efforts exerted to figure out the region and its inhabitants in terms of customs, traditions, social ties, and demographic composition, including its negatives and positives. This led to the Western data bank on the region, which made it easier to be controlled when being occupied in the twentieth century.
- The travel provided crucial data on the currency units used in the internal and external transactions among people such as al-Bara, Al-Aqja, Al-Qirsh, Riyal, Pound Sterling, the Dollar, and others. This indicates the diversity of the trade movement in the region.
- The extent of the negligence of the Ottoman state to care for the population in terms of education and culture in the region of Transjordan. There is no signal during the travel for the existence of any school or Kuttab interested in memorizing the Holy Quran.
- The travel confirmed that there was never any presence of Jews in the Transjordan region. There was no reference to the Jews in the Transjordan region, unlike the multiple mentioning of Christians and their customs.
- Many urban centers have kept the same name for four centuries, such as Ajloun, Habras, Irbid, Sareeh, Karak, Salt, Ma'an... and others. Also, life returned and emerged again to many of the areas described as Khirba.
- Burckhardt raced the time by three centuries when describing Petra in 1812 AD as one of the wonders of the world, which was real in 2007 when Petra was chosen as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict regarding the publication of this paper.

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