

The Evolution of Historical Writing on Jordan in English

*Eugene Rogan**

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Abstract

Within fifteen years of the creation of the state of Jordan, the first histories of the new country began to appear. Over the past century, three distinct phases of history writing can be discerned: subjective histories, written by British and Jordanian participants in the mandate state-building project; objective histories, written by researchers who were independent of the Anglo-Jordanian founders of the state; and revisionist historians who based their work on archival sources to challenge and extend the scope of earlier histories. Over the past quarter century, revisionist historians have come increasingly to rely on archival resources and previous research work in Jordan.

Keywords: Jordan, subjective histories, objective histories, The Revisionists, Palestine.

Introduction:

One century after its foundation Jordan remains a relatively young nation with recent history. If anything, this enhances the importance of history in the Jordanian national project. History is one of the foundation stones of nationalism. The newer the nation, the more important the national history. At what point, however, does it make sense to write the history of a new nation? There are no clear-cut rules setting out the number of years that must pass before a country can credibly claim a past. Jordan provides a fascinating case study in the emergence of national history writing in a newly-established nation – a process that started within twenty years of the establishment of the Mandate of Jordan.

In his study of the history of Arab nationalism, Rashid Khalidi distinguishes three distinct phases in the historiography (Khalidi 1991: 50-51). He characterises the first authors to write the history of Arab nationalism as “participants in the early stages of the movement and their contemporaries.” We could refer to them as “subjective historians,” activists who were themselves Arab nationalists and wrote as partisans about their movement – authors like Sati` al-Husri or George Antonius. The next phase in writing the history of Arab nationalism Khalidi characterized as “the first scholarly attempts to revise, build upon, or contradict the theses of these first chroniclers of the history.” These authors had more critical distance on their subject and based their work on archival and published sources to write works of synthesis. We may refer to these authors collectively as “objective historians,” given their critical distance from their subject. Objective historians of Arab nationalism included scholars like the historian Zeine Zeine from the American

* Email, Eugene.rogan@sant.ox.ac.uk, (Eugene Rogan). Orcid number: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4367-629X>, St Antony's College, Oxford OX2 6JF, U.K.

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University of Beirut or Oxford's Albert Hourani. The third generation of authors were "revisionists": scholars who, applying new sources or methodological approaches, challenged or revised the previous generation's work. In a mature historical field, this process of revision is open-ended, and fosters the debates that drive historical innovation.

This three-phase typology provides a useful framework to examine the historical writing on Jordan in English over the century since the establishment of the mandate in 1922. My focus is on the history of the new state of Jordan that emerged after 1921, and on histories that span a broad period of the country's history (rather than those works that focus on a particular character or event in Jordanian history). I distinguish historical writing in English from the development of the literature in Arabic because it has followed a different trajectory over the past century and has targeted a different audience from works in Arabic. This focus on English does not exclude Jordanian authors, many of whom have contributed to the literature in English. In fact, the very first draft of the modern history of Jordan was written by a British military officer in collaboration with a Jordanian official – the first of Jordan's subjective historians.

The Subjective Histories

Jordan's first historians were a native son and an English officer who established the Arab Legion.

Baha Uddin Toukan (d. 1971) was only a child at the time of the establishment of the Emirate of Jordan in 1922. Born in al-Salt in 1910, he completed his university studies in the American University of Beirut. At the age of 22 he joined the Arab Legion in 1932 where he served as secretary to Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Gerard Peake (1886-1970), better known as Peake Pasha, the founding commander of the Arab Legion. Toukan later served in the royal court of Amir Abdullah. Following independence, he became one of Jordan's most senior diplomats, serving as ambassador to Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United Nations. Had he lived one year longer, he would have been father-in-law to King Hussein of Jordan, who married Toukan's daughter Alia in 1972.

Peake Pasha was born into a military family in England and trained in the Royal Military College in Sandhurst. He served with the Imperial Camel Corps in the First World War and participated in the Arab Revolt with the British detachment headed by Colonel T.E. Lawrence. In 1920, upon the demobilisation of the Imperial Camel Corps, he joined the Palestine Police and was dispatched to Jordan to create a security force for the region, then still part of the Palestine mandate (Jarvis 1942). He would spend the next 19 years in the country as commander of the Arab Legion.

Though Peake was a generation older than Toukan, the two men shared a keen interest in the history of Jordan across the ages. Together they wrote the first dedicated history of Jordan, published in Arabic in 1934, with Toukan publishing an English history in 1945 and Peake publishing his English text in 1958. We know little about how they divided their labours in writing their books, though both men highlighted their partnership in their English-language editions. Toukan noted in his preface that he 'collaborated with Colonel F.G. Peake in producing a detailed volume on the history of Jordan' (Toukan 1945: 1) while Peake claimed 'my thanks are due in the first place to Baha al-Din Tuqan' and noted in particular his help with the Arabic sources for the book (Peake 1958: x).

Both Peake and Toukan relied heavily on first-hand accounts and personal experience in writing their books. Toukan's short history provides no sources and has no footnotes. For his earlier chapters Peake cited the classical sources and travel accounts that were

available to him at the time of writing – between 1919 and 1939 – but provided no sources or footnotes for his chapters dealing with the history of Jordan after World War I. Taken together, these books represent a first draft of the history of Jordan, written by men associated with two of the foundation stones of the young principality: the Arab Legion and the Hashemite monarchy.

Both Peake and Toukan ascribed deep historic roots to the new state of Jordan. They did not question the straight-line boundaries that British colonial officials gave the new state but accepted Jordan as a natural nation-state and laid claim to all that transpired on that territory as rightly part of the new state's history. Thus, in Toukan's and Peake's works, Jordan's history begins in Biblical times and spans classical antiquity, Byzantium, the Islamic conquests, the Crusaders, Ayyubids and Mamluks, and the Ottomans down to the First World War as prelude to the emergence of the new state of Jordan under British mandate. In Toukan's book, the pre-1922 history of Jordan takes up the first 44 pages of his 49-page text; for Peake, it was 104 pages of his 110-page history. The modern history of Jordan after the foundation of the mandate in 1922 thus takes up between five and ten percent of these first histories of the country.

This emphasis on ancient history is not surprising. Those who served in Jordan in the first half of the twentieth century were impressed by the extensive archaeological remains that covered the landscape, and this informed their historical imagining of the country. Peake wrote of 'Jordan, with its 2000 years' history of the movements of peoples and its impressive archaeological records of the conflict between the "Desert and the Sown" (Peake 1958: 94). In this way, by linking the new state to all of the historic empires that preceded Jordan, Toukan and Peake were giving the country deep historical roots.

A second key theme in these histories is the central role of the Arab Revolt during the First World War in fostering a partnership between the British and the Hashemites that resulted in the creation of Jordan. Toukan noted how the Arab Revolt spread to Jordan when 'Sherif Feisal (late King of Iraq), helped by Colonel Lawrence, led an expedition against Aqaba and captured it. Henceforth Trans-Jordan assumed a position of importance in the War' (Toukan 1945: 43). Peake made the same point in his book, claiming that 'after the capture of Aqaba the Arab revolt assumed a new importance; for it was now possible to move the greater part of the army, which had been isolated in the Hijaz, up into Jordan, where it could act in conjunction with the British Army in Palestine' (Peake 1958: 99). Both authors made reference to key battles of the Arab Revolt fought in Jordan including at Ma'an, Shawbak and al-Tafila.

Both authors avoided some of the awkward issues raised by the Anglo-Hashemite alliance during WWI. The wartime partition diplomacy that underlay the Arab Revolt is not mentioned in either book. Both Toukan and Peake would have been familiar with the work of George Antonius, published in 1938, exposing the duplicity of British wartime diplomacy. But neither the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, which promised British recognition of an Arab Kingdom in return for the Hashemite sharifs leading a revolt against the Ottoman Empire, nor the contradictory agreements with France (Sykes-Picot) and the Zionist Movement (Balfour Declaration), which Antonius decried as 'a startling piece of double-dealing' (Antonius 1938: 248), gained a mention in Toukan's narrative, and only the briefest assessment by Peake. This should come as no surprise. The books served to reinforce Britain's role as mandatory power, and the legitimacy of Amir Abdullah as ruler

over the new state. As such, the authors left to Antonius the agenda of exposing controversies and questioning the legitimacy of Britain's postwar colonial position in the Arab world. Peake's and Toukan's books celebrated the Anglo-Hashemite partnership in Jordan along lines pursued by other British authors in Jordanian service like Alec Kirkbride (Kirkbride 1956) and John Bagot Glubb (Glubb 1948), and in the memoirs of Amir Abdullah himself (King Abdullah 1950).

Finally, both Peake and Toukan were influential in shaping the perception of Jordan as a Bedouin society. Writing before the 1948 war and the massive flows of Palestinian refugees into Jordan Peake and Toukan paid far more attention to Jordan's tribes than to their towns. 'A good section of the population are Beduins, nomadic or semi-nomadic,' Toukan claimed, and he listed the main tribes of each district of Jordan (Toukan 1945: 4, 7). Peake dedicated nearly half his book to a catalogue of the tribes of Jordan, in a bid to preserve what he saw as the authentic Jordanian culture then under attack by the forces of modernity. 'Whereas but a few years ago the tribesmen and villagers would during the warm summer evenings gather round to listen to the poems and legends of the wars, deeds and loves of their tribal heroes, now the younger generation have other occupations,' Peake lamented. (Peake 1958: 141) Newspapers, politics, gramophones and automobiles were more appealing to the younger generation than 'the song of the old minstrel with his rababa'. In the books by Toukan and Peake, it was the Bedouin tribal culture that set Jordan apart from its neighbours in Palestine and Syria. The tribes made Jordan a distinct country in its own right, with other communities – Circassians, Chechens, Turkomans, even Bahais – providing diversity. However such views might be dismissed as essentialist today, it is Peake's ethnography of the tribes of Jordan in Part II of his book that would prove to be his enduring contribution.

Toukan and Peake devote only a few pages to the history of Jordan after 1922. Given that their works were written in the first twenty years of statehood, this should come as no surprise. The young country had only just begun to record a history distinct from that of Syria, Palestine and the Hijaz. For both authors, the starting point of this modern history was the arrival of Amir Abdullah in Amman in March 1921, and his subsequent meetings in Jerusalem with Winston Churchill and Herbert Samuel, in which the parties struck agreement to create a provisional government in Jordan under Amir Abdullah's administration, answerable to the British High Commissioner for Palestine, for a six-month period. In September 1922, Jordan was formally separated from the Palestine Mandate to constitute a mandate in its own right, and in 1923 the British declared Amir Abdullah ruler of the new state, under a League of Nations mandate. The main events chronicled by Toukan for the early years of the mandate were the series of revolts that broke out in the Kura district of 'Ajlun, in Karak and Tafila in 1921-22; the 'Adwan Revolt in September 1923; and the Wahhabi attacks between 1922-1924. Peake uses those events to frame the history of the creation of the Arab Legion, in which he played a key role. These passages, written in the first person, are very much about Peake's place in the modern history of Jordan.

In 1925, the territory of Jordan was extended through the annexation of Ma'an and 'Aqaba, formerly parts of the Hijaz. And in 1928, Amir Abdullah concluded a formal agreement with the British Government. The government held elections to select a legislature that in 1929 ratified the agreement with Britain. Both authors noted the role the Arab Legion played in the Anglo-Iraqi conflict in 1941, overturning the Rashid Ali Coup and restoring the young King Faisal II under the regency of Amir Abd al-Ilah. Peake updated his draft for publication in

1958 to include the assassination of King Abdullah and the succession of King Hussein (though Peake made no mention of the brief reign of King Talal).

These first histories of Jordan are seldom used by scholars today. They were already outdated by the time they were published, as the Anglo-Hashemite partnership succumbed to the forces of Arab Nationalism. Peake's book was finally published in English in the same year as the Iraqi Revolution that toppled Hashemite rule. Yet the books by Toukan and Peake are valuable precisely because they document the imperial partnership established by the British and the Hashemites in the Jordan mandate, and the role of the Hashemite royal family and the Arab Legion in preserving that partnership. Written to encourage patriotism in Jordan and pride in the nation's history, they were not nationalist books that would stir anti-imperial sentiment. A subsequent generation of historians would introduce those tensions in the era of Arab Nationalism and anti-imperialism of the 1950s and 1960s.

The Objective Histories

The second generation of authors to write the history of Jordan in English were scholars of a new age shaped by the regional politics of Arab Nationalism and the global context of the Cold War. They saw Jordan as central to inter-Arab politics, to the Arab-Israeli conflict that emerged after 1948, and to Soviet-American rivalry for dominance in the Middle East. Most of all, they saw Jordan as a vulnerable country whose monarchy was out of step with the revolutionary republicanism that had swept the Arab world since 1949.

Three authors stand out as most influential in Jordanian historiography in the 1950s and 1960s. Raphael Patai (d. 1996) was born in Budapest in 1910 to an ardent Zionist family in the final days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He moved to Palestine in 1933 where he studied for his doctorate at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, becoming the university's first doctoral graduate in 1936. After teaching in the Hebrew University for a number of years, Patai moved to New York in 1947 and became a U.S. citizen. He taught Middle Eastern studies at a number of leading American universities, and in 1952 was commissioned by the United Nations to compile a bibliography of sources on Syria, Lebanon and Jordan (Patai 1957a). He was subsequently invited to edit country studies of the three Middle Eastern states drafted by an illustrious group of social scientists, including Princeton's Philip Hitti and Columbia Professors J.C. Hurewitz and Charles Issawi. Patai published his *Kingdom of Jordan* in 1958 as a work of synthesis based on his own research and the working papers of the country studies group (Patai 1957b).

Benjamin Shwadran (d. 2001) was born in Jerusalem in 1907 and was one of the first students to enrol in the Hebrew University in 1924. Upon graduation in 1927, he moved to the United States where he completed his doctorate at Clark University in 1945. He pursued an academic career teaching Middle Eastern politics in the New School, Dropsie College and at the Yeshiva University. His four major publications addressed oil and great power rivalry in the Middle East, and studies on Jordan and Iraq. His *Jordan: A State of Tension* (1959) proved an influential contribution to the analysis of Jordan's place in the post-imperial age.

Naseer Aruri (d. 2015) was a quarter-century younger than the other 'objective historians' of modern Jordan. Born in Jerusalem in 1934, Aruri's father was principal of a Palestinian Arab school with strong ties to the West Bank. After the 1948 War, Aruri

moved to the United States for his university education. He completed his doctorate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and taught Middle Eastern politics at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth from 1965 to 1998. He served as a member of the Palestinian National Council and was on the Executive Committee of the PLO. He also was active in Arab-American affairs. He revised his doctorate for publication in 1972. As such, Aruri's book is the first to assess the history of Jordan through both the 1948 and the 1967 Wars.

One of the distinguishing features of the 'objective histories' is that, unlike the works by Toukan and Peake, the authors drew on an extensive secondary literature in the research and writing of their works. Patai's first work on Jordan was a bibliography, and in the course of compiling his list of sources Patai had access to a range of books and articles unavailable to the authors writing in mandate times. This included all the published government reports from the mandate era, a number of memoirs by officials in the Jordanian civil and military administrations, and a growing number of academic journal articles examining the society, economy and politics of Jordan in the first half of the twentieth century. Benjamin Shwadran integrated the large Hebrew-language scholarship on Jordan into his study. And Aruri provided a comprehensive synthesis of published sources in Arabic.

These books provided a degree of continuity with the first histories of Jordan. Patai and Shwadran followed in the footsteps of Peake and Toukan in tracing Jordan's history back to ancient times. Shwadran in particular devotes six chapters to Jordan's pre-state history, dating back to the Bronze Age. Aruri was the first to break with the tradition of deep history by beginning his study in 1921 with the first agreement to establish a Hashemite principality in Jordan. Moreover, these books continued to view Jordan as primarily a Bedouin society – though, written after the annexation of the West Bank in 1949, they tend to draw a contrast between the sedentary Palestinians based in the towns and cities of the West Bank, and East Bankers who traced their origins to 'nomadic and semi-nomadic' tribes (Aruri 1972: 33).

The objective histories depart from the earlier books in providing a much more detailed account of Jordan's formation and evolution. While they work from the same milestones as Peake and Toukan – the arrival of Amir Abdullah, the various agreements struck between the British and the Amir, the various revolts and uprisings, and the development of the institutions of statehood – these authors delve into the main political actors and their interactions in a way that stands as the first detailed historical narratives. And while readers today find all three books primarily of historic value, only Shwadran's was written as a *history* of Jordan. Patai and Aruri both wrote country studies that were interdisciplinary in their approach. In their works, history is treated as a foundation on which they build analyses of the politics, economy and society of Jordan.

Written in the 1950s and the 1960s, at the height of decolonization and Arab Nationalism, these three books represented a more critical approach to the Anglo-Hashemite alliance than the first generation of authors. Patai noted how Jordan's first treaty of independence from Britain in 1946, which conceded to Britain access to military bases and influence over Jordan's foreign policy, 'proved unpopular in the Arab world as well as in Jordan' and how 'British officials and advisers felt that they were less than welcome and that their well-meant efforts to help and advise were not appreciated.' Where neither Toukan nor Peake mentioned the brief reign of King Talal (1951-52), Patai noted Talal 'embarked upon a foreign policy which was diametrically opposed to that of his father,'

and 'where Abdullah relied on the British, Talal resented them and Jordan's dependence on British subsidy' (Patai 1958: 45-6). Aruri for his part cast Britain's role in Jordan as one of domination rather than partnership, with colonial officers ordering the Amir to dismiss and appoint officials to suit British priorities and controlling Jordan through a very tight annual budget.

Finally, these books reflect the nationalist politics of their age and the Cold War rivalries dividing the Arab world. The words 'tension' and 'unrest' feature prominently – in Shwadran's title, in Aruri's analysis of the politics of the mid-1950s. Patai is the exception, his work grounded in modernization theories and the presumption of Westernization. For Shwadran and Aruri, though, the crises provoked by Jordanian plans to join the Baghdad Pact, King Hussein's dismissal of Glubb Pasha, and the American replacement of British influence and support for the Hashemite monarchy were decisive moments in the country's modern history.

The 'objective historians' have earned an enduring place in the modern historiography of Jordan. Like the subjective works of Peake and Tukan, they are period pieces that reflect the politics of the times in which they were written. They also reflect the resource constraints authors faced before the opening of archival sources for the modern history of Jordan. The declassification of documents by archives in Britain, the United States and Israel, as well as the growing number of archival sources in Jordan itself, gave rise to a critical new scholarship challenging the earlier historiography.

The Revisionists

In the 1980s, a new generation of scholars began to rewrite the modern history of Jordan. They did so on the basis of recently declassified archival sources, and in many cases revised key arguments in the earlier historiography. It was only in the 1980s that scholars began to write genuine *histories* of Jordan, rather than country studies in which history was mixed with chapters on politics, the economy and society. This revisionist trend in the history writing continues down to the present day, driven by an ever-growing number of doctoral theses written on various aspects of the history of Jordan.

The first of the revisionist histories was Mary Wilson's landmark study, *King Abdullah, Britain and the making of Jordan*, published in 1987. Wilson first engaged the subject as a doctoral student at Oxford under the supervision of Albert Hourani. In the course of her research, she concluded an exhaustive survey of the recently declassified British papers held in the Public Record Office in Kew (since renamed the United Kingdom National Archives). Wilson also drew on a wealth of new material released in the French Foreign Ministry Archives in Paris, in the National Archives of the United States, and in both the Israel State Archives and the Central Zionist Archives in Israel. This rich archival resource base gave Wilson the material to write the first critical history of the foundation of the modern state of Jordan, from Amir Abdullah's arrival in Ma'an in November 1920 through to his assassination in 1951. I emphasize the word *critical*, for Wilson pursued her history with a sharper pen than her predecessors and many Jordanians have found the book uncomfortable reading, particularly over Jordan's role in Palestine. Yet Wilson set a new standard in the writing of the modern history of Jordan that a whole new generation of researchers would build on in the course of the 1980s and 1990s.

Mary Wilson was not alone in the Israeli archives. The 1980s also witnessed the

emergence of a critical new school of historiography in Israel. A group of scholars known as the 'Israeli New Historians' – with Ilan Pappé, Benny Morris and Avi Shlaim at the forefront – began to publish influential histories that tackled some of the long-standing myths that shaped the dominant historical narratives in Israel. Pappé overturned the longstanding Israeli narrative that Britain had tried to prevent the emergence of a Jewish state, arguing instead that the British obstructed the creation of a Palestinian state, particularly one under the rule of Hajj Amin al-Husseini. Morris dispelled the myth that Palestinians fled their country on the urging of their own leaders and demonstrated how hostilities and atrocities instigated by the Israeli armed forces provoked mass flight leading to the Palestinian refugee problem in 1948. Collectively, these works showed the young state of Israel to be far stronger than its Arab enemies, and not the small David figure confronting an Arab Goliath that earlier generations of Israeli historians had conveyed. This new historiography provoked furious debate in Israel. Some Israelis accused the New Historians of supporting arguments that Palestinian historians had advanced over the previous four decades and were thus 'siding with the enemy.'

Avi Shlaim's contribution to this new literature focused on relations between the Jewish Agency and Amir Abdullah from the 1920s through the 1948 War and after (Shlaim 1988). Shlaim sought to overturn Israeli claims that the Jewish state sought peace with its neighbours, but that the Arabs refused to negotiate with the Israelis. Drawing on recently de-classified Israeli archives, Shlaim uncovered voluminous correspondence and minutes of meetings between Jewish Agency officials and members of the Hashemite court from 1922 onwards. Agreements on chemical extraction with Moshe Novomeysky and the electricity concession granted to Pinhas Rutenberg marked the beginnings of the relationship. Amir Abdullah enjoyed regular contacts with the chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive, Col. Frederick Kisch from 1924 onwards (Shlaim 1988: 46-47). And following the UN Partition Resolution in November 1947, King Abdullah actively negotiated with members of the Jewish Agency, including Golda Meyerson (later Meir), to strike an agreement to avert war before the termination of the British mandate in Palestine in mid-May 1948 (Shlaim 1988: 122-59). While many of these points had been made by previous authors, Shlaim was one of the first to document the diplomacy on the basis of contemporary archival sources. And his work defined the Israeli archives as one of the most important new sources for the modern history of Jordan. A number of other scholars followed in Shlaim's tracks to produce new histories of Jordan drawing on Israeli archives (Bar-Joseph 1987; Nevo 1996).

The new historiography coming from Israeli archives was not widely accepted inside Jordan itself. For many in the years before the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty in 1994, the documents of the Israeli archives were compromised because they reflected the perspective of a hostile power that Jordan had fought in the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. This gave rise to a loyalist response, rejecting the findings of Israeli authors in favour of a Jordanian perspective on their own country's history.

Major General Ma'an Abu Nowar (1928-2016) exemplified this loyalist response. After a distinguished military career in the Arab Legion, Abu Nowar went into government service, holding cabinet posts as Minister of Culture, of Public Works, of Tourism and Antiquities, and Information. He also served briefly as mayor of Amman. In the 1980s he pursued his doctorate in Oxford University under the supervision of Derek Hopwood to write a new history of Jordan based on Jordanian sources. After successfully defending his thesis in 1987, he went on to publish a four-volume history of Jordan 'from the Jordanian

perspective' (Abu Nowar 1989; 1997; 2001; 2002) in fulfilment of a pledge he made to the late King Hussein of Jordan.

A second example of the loyalist response is Kamal Salibi's 1993 *The Modern History of Jordan*. Salibi (1929-2011), for decades a professor of history at the American University of Beirut and widely recognized as the doyen of modern Arab historians, was invited by Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan to establish and direct a new institute for inter-faith studies in Amman. He took the opportunity to engage with the history of Jordan and produced a one-volume history that reconciled the new findings from Western and Israeli archives with the Jordanian loyalist narrative (Salibi 1993).

By the 1980s, a new generation of historians had emerged that was conducting field work in Jordan, drawing on Jordanian sources. Many of these new historians of Jordan contributed to a book I co-edited with Tariq Tell (Rogan and Tell 1994). Their contributions demonstrated the breadth of primary source material to be exploited within Jordan itself. Michael Fischbach wrote on British land policy in Jordan drawing on mandate-era land registers. Riccardo Bocco was engaged in the study of relations between Bedouin tribes and the mandate state in Jordan. Tariq Tell focused on the political history of state and society in Jordan more broadly. Vartan Amadouny examined infrastructural development in Jordan under the British mandate. Abla Amawi drew on the papers of the Amman Chamber of Commerce to write on the development of the merchant class in Jordan in the 1940s. Paul Kingston focused on economic nationalism and state formation in Jordan in the 1950s. Each of these essays emerged from excellent doctoral theses, and each drew on both Jordanian archival sources as well as the growing Arabic literature on the modern history of Jordan, bridging the history writing traditions in English and Arabic.

The University of Jordan played a crucial role in encouraging the development of a distinct Jordanian school of history. Under the leadership of Professor Muhammad Adnan al-Bakhit, who served as Dean of Academic Research in the 1980s and 1990s, and who helped build a primary resource base through the University's Centre for Documents and Manuscripts, the University of Jordan began to train Jordanian historians and welcomed foreign researchers working on the country. Many of the master's students from the University of Jordan went on to publish their theses, which have been widely consulted at home and abroad by scholars of modern Jordan.

By the twenty-first century, the scope of history writing on Jordan has extended from the reign of King Abdullah I through four generations of Hashemite rule down to King Abdullah II (Robins 2004; 2019). The range and diversity of subjects has generated an increasingly dynamic historic field, with regular revisions of previous scholarship. Increasingly the field is shaped through engagement between Jordanian and foreign researchers. With the expansion of foreign research institutes like the French *Institut Français du Proche Orient* (IFPO) and the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL), and the development of national archives in Jordan, such as the Royal Hashemite Documentation Centre (<https://www.rhdc.jo/>) or the National Library of Jordan Archive (<http://adlibweb.nl.gov.jo/adlibweb/search.aspx?formtype=simple>), this collaboration between Jordanian and international scholars to advance our knowledge of the country's modern history seems certain to continue.

تطوُّر الكتابة التاريخية في الأردن باللغة الإنجليزية

يوجين روجان*

ملخص

في غضون خمسة عشر عامًا من إنشاء دولة شرق الأردن بدأت تظهر أولى تواريخ الدولة الجديدة. وعليه، فيمكنُ خلال القرن الماضي تحديدُ ثلاثِ مراحلٍ مميزةٍ لكتابة التاريخ الشخصي، الذي كتبه البريطانيون والأردنيون المشاركون في مشروع بناء الدولة الانتدابية، وهي رواياتُ تاريخيةٍ كتبها باحثون مستقلون عن مؤسسي الدولة الأنجلو-أردنيين. ولَمَّا أسَّس المؤرخون عملهم على مصادرٍ أرشيفيةٍ لتحدي نطاق التواريخ السابقة وتوسيعها على مدى ربع القرن الماضي، فقد أصبح كتاب التاريخ التنقيحي يعتمدون بشكل متزايد على الموارد الأرشيفية والعمل البحثي السابق في الأردن. **الكلمات الدالة:** الأردن، التاريخ الشخصي، التاريخ الموضوعي، الكتابة التاريخية التنقيحية، فلسطين.

* كلية سانت أنتوني، أكسفورد OX2 6JF، المملكة المتحدة.
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