

Appendix A

Chronology of the Life of Ibn Saud

(The most significant dates before 1921 are marked*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1876*	Probable date of birth of Ibn Saud in Riyadh	Father: Abdul-Rahman Mother: Sara Sudairi (See Note to Introduction)
1877 1878	Russo-Turkish War Congress of Berlin	Beginning of final phase of dismemberment of Turkey in Europe. Britain takes over Cyprus.
1881	French take Tunisia	At expense of Turkey
1882	British forces land in Egypt	Evacuation treaty: 1954
1885	Death of Gordon in Khartoum. End of Saudi rule in Riyadh	Final British victory: 1898 Philby notes that this coincides with his own birth-date.
1889	Britain makes 'exclusive' treaties with Bahrain, Trucial Coast and Muscat	Qatar: Ottoman Turkish rule Kuwait: Treaty with Britain only in 1899
1890	Bismarck dismissed as Chancellor: Kaiser Wilhelm II pursues more adventurous foreign policy	Kaiser in Syria and Palestine 1898

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1891*	Defeat of Al Saud and departure from Nejd Rashidis dominant in Nejd, Qassim	Two years wandering before settling in Kuwait
1892(?)	Ibn Saud takes first wife	She dies after 6 months
1895	Visit of Russian surveyor to Gulf of Hormuz	Challenge to British role in Gulf
1896	Ibn Saud takes second wife. Mubarak of Kuwait kills half-brother and takes over	Umm Turki, the mother of Turki
1897	Zionist Congress, Basle Death of Muhammad bin Rashid, ruler of Hail	Following the Dreyfus Affair
1899*	Britain makes exclusive treaty with Kuwait	Ibn Saud takes note
1901	Saudi forces raid Nejd	Defeat at Sarif
1902*	Ibn Saud recaptures Riyadh Al Saud return to Nejd	Son, Saud, born same day (?)
1903	Lord Curzon tours Gulf	Insists on British dominance
1904	Battle of Bukairiya: defeat of Turks and Rashidis by Ibn Saud	Ibn Saud accepts nominal Turkish suzerainty
1905	Ibn Saud visits Trucial Coast	British alarmed
1906*	Abdul-Aziz bin Rashid killed in battle against Ibn Saud	Ibn Saud wounded
1907	Britain and Russia divide up Persia	Spheres of influence

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1908	First Middle East oil-strike Hussain bin Ali becomes Amir of Mecca	Persia Later: King of the Hejaz
1909	Deposition of Sultan Abdul-Hamid	'Young Turks' in power
1910*	Ibn Saud first meets Captain Shakespear	First known photos of Ibn Saud
1911	Turkey at war with Italy	Tripolitania lost to Italy
1912*	First major Ikhwan settlement	Artawiya
1913*	Ibn Saud expels Turks from Hasa	Today 'The Eastern Province' of the Kingdom
1914*	First World War begins Secret treaty Ibn Saud/ Turkey	British-Turkish treaty aborted Denied by Saudis and Philby
1915*	Ibn Saud in battles with Ajman and dissident Al Saud Ibn Saud treaty with Britain*	Ibn Saud wounded. Brother Saad killed Subsidy paid to Ibn Saud
1916*	'Arab Revolt': Hussain bin Ali declares himself 'King of the Arabs' Ibn Saud sees British armed might	Ibn Saud takes no part Basra
1917	Balfour Declaration Bolshevik Revolution Philby arrives Riyadh	As British representative
1918	Fall of Damascus and defeat of Turks Philby leaves Riyadh	Ibn Saud: 'Who will trust you now?'

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1919*	Versailles Peace Conference Feisal, son of Ibn Saud, visits London and Versailles Three sons and wife of Ibn Saud die. Ikhwan defeat Hashimite forces	Meets Curzon and King George V Influenza epidemic Battle of Turaba
1920	Saudi forces attack Kuwait, Asir	
1921*	Final defeat of Rashidis by Ibn Saud Ibn Saud: Sultan of Nejd Feisal bin Hussain: King of Iraq	Capture of Hail. Clemency shown.
1922	Ibn Saud confers with British at Ujair	Borders with Kuwait and Iraq drawn
1923	Ibn Saud grants first oil concession Britain announces end of subsidy for 1924	To 'Eastern & General'
1924	Subsidy ends Ibn Saud invades the Hejaz	Mecca falls, October 1924
1925	British begin negotiations with Ibn Saud	
1925	Medina and Jedda fall to Ibn Saud	December
1926	Ibn Saud proclaimed King of the Hejaz	8 January
1927	Britain recognises Ibn Saud as King of the Hejaz and Nejd	20 May

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1928	Death of Ibn Saud's father Ikhwan Conference at Riyadh	November. Rebel chiefs absent
1929	Defeat of Ikhwan rebels, Sibilla Revolt flares again	March Hasa
1930	Final surrender of Ikhwan rebels	Kuwait. January
1931	World financial crisis	<i>Hajj</i> income almost disappears
1932	US oil company engages Philby. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia proclaimed.	September
1933	Hitler comes to power. Oil concession signed with Americans. Saud becomes Crown Prince	King 1953
1934	Brief war with Yemen	Saudis win
1935	Assassination attempt on Ibn Saud	Yemeni assailants
1936	Saudi/Egyptian relations restored Treaty with Iraq	Broken 1926
1937	Peel Plan for Palestine	Rejected by Ibn Saud
1938	Well 7 at Dhahran: oil in commercial quantities	
1939	First shipment of oil from Ras Tannura Palestine Round Table Conference Outbreak of Second World War	Ibn Saud on film London. Saudis attend

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1940	Philby arrested by British at Karachi	Returns Saudi Arabia in 1945
1941	USA and Japan enter war	US Legation, Jedda, 1942
1942	Churchill to Weizmann: Ibn Saud to be 'boss of bosses' in Middle East	('provided he settles with you')
1943	US Lend-Lease for Saudi Arabia	
1944	Saudi Arabia founder-member Arab League	League proclaimed 1945
1945	Ibn Saud meets FDR and Churchill Saudi Arabia declares war on Germany	Egypt
1946	Ibn Saud's State Visit to Egypt	Decides to have railway in Eastern Province
1947	Aramco founded. Ibn Saud's last son born.	
1948	Establishment of State of Israel Coups in Yemen King Abdullah visits Ibn Saud	
1949	Paul Getty gets concession. Beginnings of Buraimi dispute.	Saudi Neutral Zone
1950	Outbreak of Korean War. 50/50 agreement with Aramco.	
1951	Saudi/US agreement on Dhahran Base Ibn Saud opens Dammam Railway Ibn Saud's last <i>Hajj</i>	

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1952	Revolution in Egypt Saudi force sent to Buraimi	Forceful British response (1955)
1953	Council of Ministers formed Ibn Saud dies Ibn Saud buried in Riyadh	For succession phase 9 November, Taif Grave unmarked

Appendix B

Chronology of the Al Saud before AD 1900

(*) = ruler of Saudi state

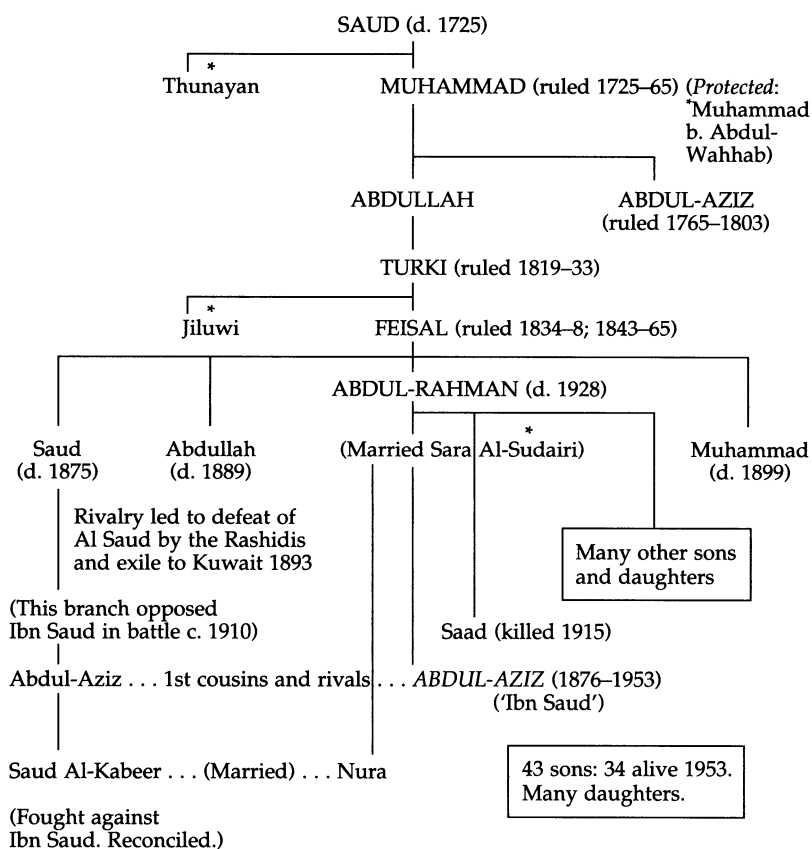
<i>Year</i>	<i>Ruler/Personality</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1446	Mani' Al-Muraidi settles near Riyadh	First recorded ancestor of Al Saud
1638	Sultan Murad of Turkey	Occupies Bagdad
1667	Sultan Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Ahmad of Turkey	Occupies Basra
1703	Saad bin Zaid (Hashimite): Sherif of Mecca	Abdicates
1703	**Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhab, of the Unitarian movement ('the Wahhabis')	Born Ayaina, Nejd
1725–65	Muhammad bin Saud*	Ruler of Dar'iya
1744	Agreement between Muhammad bin Saud and Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhab for Saudi protection of Wahhabis	
1745–1818	THE FIRST SAUDI STATE	
1765–1803	Abdul-Aziz bin Muhammad*	38 years of rule, extends Saudi power to the Hejaz and Iraq. Assassinated Dar'iya 1803.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ruler/Personality</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1811	Muhammad Ali, Viceroy of Egypt	Sends expedition against Saudi state
1819	Ibrahim, son of Muhammad Ali	Destroys Saudi state and Dar'iya
1803–14	Saud bin Abdul-Aziz*	Succeeds Abdul-Aziz
1814–18	Abdullah bin Saud*	Succeeds Saud. Captured and executed in Constantinople.
1824–91	THE SECOND SAUDI STATE	
1824–34	Turki bin Abdullah bin Muhammad*	
1834–8	Feisal bin Turki*	
1834–91	Rivalry between members of Al Saud	Great instability
1843–65	Feisal bin Turki*	Return from exile to rule again
1834	Abdullah bin Ali <i>bin Rashid</i>	Rewarded by Feisal bin Turki with governorship of Hail for help against dissident Al Saud. Beginning of Al Rashid dominance of Northern Nejd.
1838–42	Khalid bin Saud*	
1842–3	Abdullah bin Thunayan*	
1866–70 and		
1875–89	Abdullah bin Feisal*	
1870–5	Saud bin Feisal*	

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ruler/Personality</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1876	Birth of 'Tbn Saud'	Abdul-Aziz bin Abdul-Rahman*
1889–91	Abdul-Rahman*	Father of 'Tbn Saud'
1889	Arranged massacre of Rashidis on Eid Al-Adha: pre-emptive strike.	Ibn Saud present
1891	Abdul-Rahman flees Riyadh with family, after defeat of Saudi allies by Al Rashid	
1897	Death of Muhammad bin Rashid	Greatest of Rashidi rulers. Reigned 25 years

Appendix C

Simplified Family Tree of Al Saud and Related Families



Notes. Much remains totally unknown about Al Saud, especially in relation to female members of the family.* Indicates families into which Al Saud traditionally marry.
See also: B. Lees *A Handbook of The Al Saud*, London, 1980.

Appendix D

The Main Tribes of the Arabian Peninsula

Tribes: 'local, mutual-protection self-administrative units . . . conceived of in real or fictitious 'kin' terms.

E. Gellner, *International Affairs*, London, Vol. 67, no. 1, January 1991

Ibn Saud said to Amin Rihani in 1922,
These Arabs fear the sword only . . . sheathe the sword and they
will only ask for more pay.

Ibn Saoud, p. 75

The tribes numbered 1 to 8 are *asil*, that is of the most esteemed pedigree.

A. THE MAIN BEDU TRIBES WHICH REBELLED AGAINST IBN SAUD IN THE PERIOD UP TO 1930.

1 **Ajman** Related to Al Saud by marriage, but to the branch which opposed Ibn Saud's claim to rule.

Area of presence: the north-east of the Peninsula.

Leader in 1930: Dhidan bin Hithlain.

2 **Utaiba** Distrusted by Ibn Saud after their alleged involvement in the capture of his full brother, Saad, by the Hashimite forces in 1910.

Broke word after surrender in 1929 following battle of Sibilla. Ibn Saud then ordered the complete destruction of their famous settlement of Ghot Ghot near Riyadh.

Area of presence: straddling the area between Nejd and the Hejaz.

Leader in 1930: Sultan bin Bijad.

3 **Mutair** Famous for their herd of black camels, the *shuruf*, driven before them in battle.

First Ikhwan settlement established in their tribal area of Artawiya, between Riyadh and Kuwait.

The element which opposed Ibn Saud held out the longest to 1930.
 Area of presence: between Riyadh and Kuwait.
 Leader in 1930: Feisal Duwish.

The above three leaders all stayed away from Ibn Saud's Riyadh conference of November 1928, called for discussion with the Ikhwan.

It should be emphasised that not all elements of the above tribes opposed Ibn Saud.

B. OTHER MAJOR TRIBES, ALL OF WHICH ESTABLISHED IKHWAN SETTLEMENTS.

4 **Harb** The name was known in the time of the Prophet. A traditional saying attributed to Muhammad is that 'the worst of the names are *Harb* ('war') and *Murr* ('bitter').

5 **Al-Murra** Famous as legendary trackers and so employed by Ibn Saud in cases of tribal crimes.

Ibn Saud grew up with them in the period before the Al Saud settled in Kuwait, and spoke their dialect to the end of his days.

6 **Shammar** Possibly the most famous of the tribes which divided for and against Ibn Saud, this tribe provided the main support for the Rashidis of Hail.

Many dissidents left for Transjordan and Kuwait.

7 **Anaiza** The tribe to which Al Saud belong.

8 **Al-Dawasir** From the area around Sulayyil.

Curiously, many were seasonal pearl-fishers off Bahrain until the industry collapsed in the 1930s.

C. LESSER TRIBES BUT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE LIFE OF IBN SAUD

9 **Al-Awazem** One of the tribes which took tribute from lesser tribes such as the Hutaim, but which might have to render tribute to the *asil* tribes.

10 **Ruwalla** Roamed the north-west of the Peninsula and into Syria. Frequently opposed to Ibn Saud.

Still call the current Saudi ruler 'Ibn Saud'.

11 **Qahtan** The name refers to one of the eponymous ancestors of all Arabs of the Peninsula, the other being Adnan, from whom the Al Saud claim descent.

12 **bani Khalid** One of the tribes into which the Al Saud traditionally married. Ibn Saud and his father both had sons of wives from this tribe.

Nonetheless they frequently opposed Ibn Saud and he had to resettle elements of them.

13 **Suluba** Looked down on by all other tribes. Tinkers and craftsmen. Unrivalled huntsmen. In Philby's day had a monopoly of white asses.

Racially questionable in Bedu eyes: said to be of Christian origin.

14 **Muntafiq** Shepherds, straddling the Nejd-Iraq border. Frequently attacked by the Ikhwan in the 1920s. Glubb Pasha spent years among them.

15 **bani Hajir** Tribal area opposite Bahrain.

Much valuable information on the tribes is scattered throughout the works of Philby.

For a more condensed study in one work: C. M. Helms, *op. cit.*, is of value.

D. NUMBERS OF TRIBESMEN

Throughout the life of Ibn Saud statistics were lacking but comparisons of taxes and numbers of worshippers in mosques suggest figures approximating:

1926:	Fully-mobilised Ikhwan	150 000, including:
	Mutair	40 000
	Ajman	15 000
	Harb	30 000
	Al-Murra	10 000
1920s:	Total Bedu in Nejd and the Hejaz	375 000
	Bedu in Nejd population	50 per cent

(Based on Habib, *op. cit.*, p. 138 and Helms, *op. cit.*, p. 33.)

Appendix E

The Islamic and Christian Calendars

AH (*Anno Hegirae*) refers to the *hijra*, or departure of the Prophet Muhammad from his birthplace, Mecca, to Medina, where he was eventually buried ten years later.

AH	AD
1	622
458	1066
898	1492
1203	1789
1318	1900
1328	1910
1339	1920
1349	1930
1359	1940
1370	1950
1373	1953

The above are approximations since the two calendars have years of different lengths. The Islamic calendar is lunar and has normally 354 days while the Christian calendar is solar and has 365 or 366 days.

Appendix F

Glossary of Arabic Words

Abu 'Father of'. A man is frequently called by the name of his eldest son. Ibn Saud was frequently called by the Bedu 'Abu Turki'. A man with no children will frequently have a son attributed to him. Thus Yasser Arafat became 'Abu Ammar'.

Abdul 'Slave of'. The name is incomplete without one of the ninety-nine 'Most Beautiful Names of God'. Abdul-Aziz means 'The Slave of Him Who is Mighty'. (See The Koran, Chapter VII, verse 179)

Araif A word not in 'Lissan Al-Arab' but said to mean 'camels lost in a raid but found again in a counter-raid'. Applied to those of Al Saud who fought against Ibn Saud, some of whom were indeed captured in battle.

Bedu Those who live in the *badia* or desert, that is, true nomads.

Caliph A corruption of *khalifa* or successor to Muhammad as leader of the Islamic community. The first four Caliphs are called The Rightly-Guided Caliphs and are accepted by Sunni Muslims. Those who believe that Ali should have been the immediate successor to Muhammad are called the Shia (that is, 'partisans') of Ali.

Eed Feast day; religious feast. Many strict Muslims recognise only two: Eed Al-Fitr, to mark the ending of the fast of Ramadhan; Eed Al-Adha to mark the Sacrifice during the rites of Pilgrimage. (See **Hajj** below.)

Emir or Amir Usually translated as 'Prince' but literally means 'he who commands'. Even today can mean 'Governor' of town or region.

Hazz The gift of good fortune. Ibn Saud was said to possess *Hazz*.

Hadar Those living in settled communities as opposed to the Bedu.

Hadith Saying traditionally attributed to the Prophet Muhammad.

Hajj The pilgrimage to Mecca in the Pilgrimage season. This is one of the five 'Pillars of Islam', the others being:

- *shahada*: the testifying that 'There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God';
- *Salat*: praying to God five times daily in the prescribed fashion;
- *Sawm*: observing strictly the fast of Ramadhan;
- *zakat*: giving alms to the poor according to quotas laid down in the Sharia, or Islamic law.

hijra 'Departure, new beginning with something better'. It is thus applied to the Prophet's 'Flight' from Mecca to Medina (AH 1) and to the settlements established for the Bedu who became Ikhwan.

Ikhwan The Brethren. The name adopted by those Bedu who settled in *hijras*, or colonies devoted to agriculture and religion and who, in effect, became the shock troops of Ibn Saud's armed forces before 1930, available for mobilisation on call.

imam The title given to Ibn Saud and his father, and their forebears as 'the one who leads the community in prayer'. A title particularly used of Ibn Saud by the Ikhwan.

jihad 'Heroic endeavour in the cause of God', not merely 'Holy War'. The year of the Saudis' attack on the Hejaz, 1924, was called by the Bedu who went with Philby in 1933 to the Empty Quarter 'the year of *jihad*'.

Kaaba Cube; a cube-shaped structure containing the Black Stone symbolising the sacrifice of Abraham. It is at the heart of the Great Mosque in Mecca and is richly draped in black and gold hangings, renewed annually. The focus of prayer for all Muslims. A focus for the rites of *Hajj*.

Until 1926 the coverings were brought from Egypt in procession, on the *mahmal*. In that year shooting broke out involving the Egypt-

tians and the Ikhwan, who disapproved of the playing of the accompanying band.

In 1935 an attempt was made to assassinate Ibn Saud at the Kaaba.

Koran 'Recitation'. The Word of God, in Muslim belief, revealed through Muhammad, and existing from all eternity.

majlis Place of sitting. A hall for receiving guests.

Muslim One who has submitted; that is, who has accepted Islam, which the Koran says is 'the religion with God'.

Ramadhan The month of fasting. The first verses of the Koran were revealed in Ramadhan.

Salaam Peace, as in '*al-salaam 'alaykum!*' ('Peace be upon you!') The Ikhwan would normally give and acknowledge the greeting only among themselves.

Sharia The body of Islamic law which regulates the entire life of the community, spiritual and material.

Sharif As in Al-Sharif Hussain bin Ali, the great-grandfather of King Hussain of Jordan, descended from Hashim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet. A title given to those claiming direct descent from the Prophet. From Hashim comes the term 'Hashimite'.

Sheikh Literally, 'an elder'. Often a title of respect, earned not inherited. In Saudi Arabia the Al Al-Sheikh are the descendants of *the* Sheikh, that is, Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhab, who preached a return to the original purity of Islam. His agreement with the Amir Muhammad bin Saud about AD 1744 became the basis of the political and religious entity sometimes called the *First Saudi State*. The Al Al-Sheikh are one of the leading families of Saudi Arabia and intermarry with the Al Saud.

The plural of *sheikh* is *shuyookh*, which was one of the titles given to Ibn Saud.

Shia See under **Caliph**.

Sunna Literally, the 'path' (of Muhammad). The precepts embodied in what the Prophet said and did and approved silently.

Ulema The plural of *aalim* or religious scholar. The ruler of Saudi Arabia normally receives the *Ulema* once a week, even today.

Umm Mother. Wives are frequently referred to by the name of the eldest son. In Saudi Arabia there is no 'Queen' but royal consorts might be referred to as *Umm Muhammad* or *Umm Mansour*, etc.

Wadi Valley or watercourse.

Wahhabi In the Arabian context one who strictly follows the religious code of Muhammad Abdul-Wahhab. The term is used by outsiders, since the believers themselves use the term *Al-Muwahhidun*; that is, "Those who say "There is no god but God"".

It should be noted that the Ikhwan were Wahhabis but not all Wahhabis were Ikhwan.

Zakat Alms-giving. (See also **Hajj**.)

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. 1867: Musil, A., *Zur Zeitgesch. v. Arabien*, Vienna, 1918; *Enciclop. Italiana*, Vol. 18, Milan, 1933, p. 683.
1876: Lacey, R. *The Kingdom*, London, 1981, p. 561 (hereafter *Lacey*); Prince Talal bin Abdul-Aziz, *Ash-Sharq Al-Awsat*, London 1 December 1988.
1879: Philby, H.St. J.B. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, 1950.
1880: *Grande Diz. Encic.*, Vol. 10, Turin, 1988, p. 568; Rihani, A., *Taarikh Nejd*, Beirut, 1928, p. 107; Philby, H.St. J.B., *Saudi Arabia*, London, 1955, p. 239 (hereafter *Philby/S.A.*).
1887: *Larousse du XXe Siècle*, Vol. 4.1, Paris, 1931, p. 4.
2. *Almana*, M. *Arabia Unified*, London, 1980, p. 273 (hereafter *Almana*).
3. Troeller, G., *The Birth of Saudi Arabia* London, 1976, p. 282 (hereafter *Troeller*) puts the proclamation of Saudi Arabia in 1934.
Helms, C.M., *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia*, London, 1981 (hereafter *Helms*) mistranslates the Ikhwan slogan hilariously, p. 60;
Gives the wrong date for the end of the British subsidy to Ibn Saud, p. 215.
Lacey dates the decisive battle of Kinzan in both 1915 and 1916, pp. 123 and 212 resp.
4. Curiously the index does not pick up its own reference to Saudi Arabia as a founder member of the UN and a participant in the London Round Table Conference on Palestine, 1939.
Stranger, perhaps than the above omission are omissions and errors in many reference books:
SOAS, *Handbook of Oriental History*, London, 1951 mentions the Hashimites but not Al Saud. Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., *Chronology of World History*, London, 1975 places the proclamation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1926. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edn, Vol. 10, p. 474: 'The British . . . had held Saudi lands as a protectorate since 1915'; Vol. 13, p. 896: Ibn Saud was 'from 1906 the undisputed master of Arabia'; Rihani, A., *Ibn Saud*, London, 1928, p. xiv, gives the area of Nejd as 900 million square miles and the population as 3000.
King Saud University Press, *Riyadh – The City of the Future*, 2nd edn, n.d., p. 23 gives the wrong century for the first Saudi state; Lipsky, G.A., *Saudi Arabia*, New Haven, 1957, p. 8 refers to Ibn Saud's 'final conquests in the period after World War II'.
5. There are many examples of hagiography and glowing tributes to Ibn Saud to be found in: Al-'Inani, S., *Al-Mamlaka Al-'Arabiyya Al-Su'udiyya: dirasa biblyojrafiyya* Riyadh, 1982. Among the better and more accessible Arabic works on Ibn Saud is Khair Al-Din Zirikli, *Shibh Al-Jazira fee 'Ahd Al-Malik Abdul-Aziz*, 4 vols, Beirut, 1970 (hereafter *Zirikli*). The

- work contains a great deal of information but must be treated with caution not only because the author was a Foreign Ministry official but because his sources are frequently less than original such as the Mecca newspaper *Umm Al-Qura* and even the *Edgbaston Gazette*.
6. Specialists on Stalin will point out that notwithstanding the 16 volumes of the works of Stalin in Russian there is still no definitive biography.
 7. Ben Pimlott, *The Sunday Times*, 2 March 1989.
 8. See Philby's map of Riyadh in his *The Heart of Arabia*.
 9. Figures based on Philby/S.A. p. 333.
 10. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, p. 93.
 11. Other approaches to the subject may be found in Lacey, pp. 90–2 and 294–5 etc.; Holden, *The House of Saud* (hereafter Holden), pp. 14, 101, etc.; *Oriente Moderno* 7/22 quoted by the US Consul Aden 15 August 1922: this quotes a Hejazi as saying that by then Ibn Saud had 184 wives and 93 cars, two of which were Rolls-Royces.
 12. J.C. Rylaarsdam, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edn, Vol. 3, p. 907.
 13. A notable example of the ambivalence of the relationship was in the 1986 London exhibition staged by the Saudi Government and opened by a son of Ibn Saud, Prince Salman: 'Riyadh – yesterday and today'. The section given to photos and text in English was markedly warm in tone while in another section a video in Arabic emphasised the difficulties in relationships.
 14. The degree of quite genuine devotion which Ibn Saud attracted is striking. Philby frequently described him as the greatest Arab since the Prophet Muhammad. See especially his *Saudi Arabia*, p. xiv.

1 THE SETTING

1. Palgrave, W.G., *Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia*, 2 vols, London, 1863. Later writers, especially Philby, were very sceptical about his descriptions and some doubted that he had made the trip at all.
2. Blunt, W.S. and Lady Anne, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, 2 vols, London, 1881.
3. The classic wry description of Jedda in the early twentieth century is Reader Bullard, *The Camels Must Go*, London, 1961.
4. The Asir and other regions of Saudi Arabia have been memorably caught on film by McKinnon Films, 1990.
5. 'Hasa' is more correctly 'Al-Ahsa' which means 'sandy ground with water close to the surface'.
 The names of the main regions of the Kingdom are expressive:
 Nejd: 'elevated stony table-land';
 The Hejaz: 'the obstacle/barrier';
 Asir: 'very difficult';
 Nefud: the Arabic root implies an exhausted well;
 Dahna: the word has to do not only with 'desert' but also with 'a she-camel giving a little milk'.

6. Fisher, W.B. *The Middle East* p. 471 gives the area as 400 000 square miles.
7. Philby eventually became the second person to cross the Empty Quarter and write about it, following Bertram Thomas. See their respective books *The Empty Quarter*, London, 1933, and *Arabia Felix*, London, 1932.
8. Thesiger, W., *Arabian Sands*, London, 1959, especially Chapter 7.
9. It was this desert which Doughty wandered and described so memorably in his *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London, 1926.
10. See Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 39–40.
11. See Thesiger, *Arabian Sands*, passim, for the stubborn persistence of non-Islamic customs, and Ibn Saud's attitude to this phenomenon.
12. See Lacey, p. 91. His childhood friends in Kuwait, reminiscing in 1936, recalled things differently: see *Political Diary of the Gulf*, Vol. 12, Archive Editions, 1990, pp. 13 ff.
13. See Zirikli, p. 58, where he states that Ibn Saud's brother, Prince Abdullah bin Abdul-Rahman, confirmed 1876 as the true date of birth.

2 THE CHALLENGE: ARABIA IN THE LATE 1890s

1. Zirikli, p. 57 ff.
2. See Dickson, V., *Forty Years in Kuwait*, London, 1971.
3. Zirikli, pp. 953–9.
4. See Lewis, B., *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd edn, London, 1968, p. 82.
5. See Goldberg, J., *The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia: the formative years 1902–18*, Harvard, 1986, p. 33.
6. See *Historical Atlas of the Saudi State*, King Abdul-Aziz Research Centre, Vol. 11, 1979. (Arabic) (hereafter: *Historical Atlas (Saudi)*).
7. See Amin Rihani, *Ibn Saud*, London, 1928, p. 71. There is contradiction in the record here. Almost certainly Ibn Saud's first wife died within six months of marriage. See Zirikli, p. 953.
8. See Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London, 1922, pp. 100–1.
9. *Almana*, Appendix 5.
10. See Lacey, pp. 41–52 and notes, for the difficulty of establishing the facts on the capture of Riyadh in 1902.

3 RETURN TO NEJD, 1902–13

1. See Lorimer, J.G., *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf*, pp. 1592–3.
2. See Lacey, p. 68.
3. See Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 240.
4. Glubb has a memorable comparison to describe the usual 'form' in tribal raids: they were a combination of medieval jousting and Test

- cricket.
5. Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 240 ff.
 6. See Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London, 1928, p. 31.
 7. Quoted in Lacey, p. 72.
 8. Ibid.
 9. See Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, passim.
 10. See Winstone, H.V.F., *O.C. Desert*, London, 1982, p. 130, on the taking and retaking of Kusaiba and Kuwara.
 11. The 1865 visit had resulted in an understanding that the Saudis would not attack Abu Dhabi.
 12. See Goldberg, op. cit., p. 51.
 13. Quoted in Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 247.
 14. See *Russian Ships in the Arabian Gulf 1899–1903*, Moscow, p. 26. (Arabic, trans. from the Russian.)
 15. Of Curzon, his fellow-undergraduates said in the late 1870s:
 My name is George Nathaniel Curzon
 I am a most superior person.
 A later addition to this couplet was:
 My face is pink, my hair is sleek
 I dine at Blenheim once a week.
 See *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, London, 1975, p. 8.
 16. See Busch, B.C., *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1894–1914*, Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 225.
 17. Troeller, op. cit., p. 11.
 18. See Lacey, pp. 79 and 569.
 19. See Rihani, op. cit., p. 64.
 20. See Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 254.
 21. F.O. to Sir N. O'Connor, 11 December 1905, quoted in Bourne and Watt, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 17.
 22. 15th edn, Vol. 13, p. 896.
 23. As Barclay Raunkaier, said, writing in 1912 in his *Through Wahhabiland on Camelback*, London, 1969, p. 147 ff. 'The East Arabian nomads may be reckoned as the Imam's people subject to such reservations as they make for themselves.'
 24. A quite different version of this famous incident is found in *Jedda Diaries* for 1910.
 25. Quoted in Philby *Arabian Jubilee*, London 1952, p. 32.
 26. See Rihani, op. cit., pp. 182 ff. for an account of Ibn Saud at home with the Bedu of Nejd.
 27. See Almanac, op. cit., p. 163. On the other hand Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1060, quotes Ibn Saud's brother, Prince Abdullah bin Abdul-Rahman, as saying that Ibn Saud was no poet.
 28. See Donkan, R. *Die Auferstehung Arabiens*, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 94–5.
 29. See Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 259.
 30. See Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, p. 303.
 31. See Muhammad Asad, *The Road to Mecca*, London, 1954, p. 176.
 32. An important side effect of Ibn Saud's capturing Hasa was that the American medical missionaries could now reach Nejd easily from Bahrain. See *Neglected Arabia*, no. 182, p. 17.

33. Quoted in Howarth, D. *The Desert King*, London 1964, p. 70.
34. See Helms, op. cit., p. 289. See also Winstone, H.V.F. *The Illicit Adventure*, London, 1982, pp. 103 and 123 for the thesis that the Arab officers in the Ottoman forces, operating through secret societies, planned specifically that Ibn Saud should be the leader of the new political entity to emerge from a planned Arab Revolt.
The evidence does not appear to go beyond suggesting that, if anyone were in mind to lead a revolt against the Turks, it should be the one Arab leader who had, in May 1913, succeeded in capturing an entire province from them, after expelling the Turks from Central Arabia some years before.
35. Cf. *Burke's Royal Families of the World*, Vol. II, p. 207, for a variant account, including a second wife, Ibn Saud's cousin, Sara, the daughter of his paternal uncle, Abdullah, said to have died without issue.
36. Lees, B., *A Handbook of the Al Saud*, London, 1980, p. 36.

4 EXPANDING HORIZONS, 1913–24

1. See Donkan, op. cit., pp. 78 and 94.
2. A nice irony is that at just this time the American medical missionaries based in Bahrain were hopeful of penetrating the Nejd. 'We pray that another doctor may be sent that one of us may . . . finally take the Bible into Nejd'. See the *Arabian Mission*, no. 42 April–June 1902, in *Neglected Arabia*, Archives edition, 1986. The volumes of their reports present many interesting sidelights on the history of Ibn Saud before the Second World War.
3. See Philby/S.A. passim, esp. p. 333.
4. See Armstrong, H.C. *Lord of Arabia*, Penguin, London, 1938, p. 118.
5. Minute by A. Hirtzel of the India Office, 2 April 1914, quoted in *Troeller*, p. 7, n. 97.
6. The treaty is omitted from *Historical Atlas (Saudi)*, for example.
7. Text in both *Troeller* and *Goldberg*, op. cit.
8. Text in both *Troeller* and *Golberg*, op. cit.
9. See Winstone, H.V.F. *Gertrude Bell*, London, 1980 p. 152. Shakespear to G. Bell: 'Bin Saud is as pleased as possible. He is making preparations for a big raid on Ibn Rashid . . .'
10. Quoted in *Troeller*, op. cit., p. 87.
11. See Winstone, op. cit., p. 181.
12. See *Arabian Personalities of the Early 20th Century*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 85.
13. See *Letters of G. Bell*, Vol. 2, Pelican Edition, London, 1939, p. 497.
14. Winstone, op. cit., p. 188.
15. Winstone, op. cit., p. 189.
16. For Saudi–Hashimite relations at this period, see *Troeller*, op. cit., pp. 94–8.
17. At just this time the British representative in Jedda, Grafftey-Smith, was hearing from Hussain bin Ali himself just how irreconcilable

- were the Al Saud and the Hashimites. See Grafftey-Smith, L., *Bright Levant*, London, 1970, p. 157.
18. See Bray, N.N.E., *Shifting Sands*, London, 1934, for a vivid account of events in London and Paris and for a scathing view of T.E. Lawrence.
 19. Quoted in Lacey, op. cit., p. 159.
 20. Bray, op. cit., p. 297.
 21. The remoteness of events in the Pensinsula at this time can be judged from the London *Times* of this period. The fall of Hail is indexed under 'Fighting in Yemen' and the headline is: 'Hail captured by Emir Abdul-Aziz from son of the late Emir Ibn Saud.' (Furthermore, the news item was nearly four weeks out of date.)
 22. Curiously a British official, Gerald de Gaury, says of the Rashidis: 'All of their family, except women and infants, were put to the sword when Hail was taken.' De Gaury, G. *Arabian Journey*, London, 1950, p. 26n.
 23. Rihani, op. cit., p. 37.
 24. During which Ibn Saud was warned by Abdullah Gosaibi not to put his head into the British noose. . . . See Gosaibi's account to Philby in 1940 in Monroe, E., *Philby of Arabia*, London, 1973, p. 228.
 25. For detail see Troeller, op. cit., pp. 181-2.
 26. See Troeller, *ibid*.
 27. Rihani, op. cit., p. 49.
 28. See *Neglected Arabia*, no. 208, p. 10.

5 THE IMAM IN MECCA, 1924-28

1. See Rihani, op. cit., p. 171.
2. Rihani, op. cit., p. 73.
3. Rihani, op. cit., p. 131.
4. Rihani, op. cit., p. 134. Compare the impression Riyadh made on the American missionaries. 'No one would speak to us, except indeed the King (in) his castle.' Doctor Paul Harrison, *Neglected Arabia*, Vol. 182, p. 19.
5. Rihani, op. cit., p. 134.
6. The same care for security is to be noted in the film of Ibn Saud's visit to Ras Tannura in 1939.
7. Rihani, op. cit., p. 182.
8. Rihani, op. cit., pp. 138-9.
9. Rihani, op. cit., p. 171.
10. Rihani, op. cit., p. 178.
11. See Monroe, op. cit., p. 123.
12. Rihani, op. cit., p. 214.
13. Cheesman, R.E., *In Unknown Arabia*, London, 1926, p. 169.
14. Cheesman, op. cit., p. 173.
15. Cheesman, op. cit., p. 177.
16. Lawrence, T.E. *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London, 1935, p. 76: 'a pleasant gentleman, conscientious, without great force of character, nervous and rather tired.'

17. Hirtzel, of the India Office, quoted in Lacey, op. cit., p. 184.
18. Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 335 ff.
19. See Goldberg, op. cit., pp. 177 ff.
20. For discussion of Ibn Saud's ambivalence see Lacey, op. cit., p. 192.
21. Quoted in Philby, *Arabian Jubilee*, London, 1952, p. 126.
22. The British representative rather unkindly wrote of him to London: 'He lacks the resolution even to run away', 15 July 1925, in *The Jeddah Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 311.
23. See *The Jeddah Diaries*, Vol. 2, for British accounts of Ibn Saud's secret contacts with the Hashimites.
24. They did manage, however, to bomb Mecca and destroyed the house of Saqqaf, where Ibn Saud often stayed. *The Jeddah Diaries*, Vol. 2, pp. 357-8.
25. See Clayton, Sir Gilbert, *An Arabian Diary*, Berkeley, CA, 1969, pp. 119-20 for the emotional nature of Ibn Saud's stand. Clayton quotes as saying, 'He would prefer to have his throat cut with a sword rather than have anyone infringe upon his rights in his own dominions.'
26. See Lunt, J., *Glubb Pasha*, London, 1984, p. 40-2.
27. See Lunt, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
28. See Helms, op. cit., p. 230.
29. See Philby/S.A. p. 304.
30. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 484.
31. See Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, pp. 196-7.

6 IBN SAUD AT FIFTY

1. Quoted in Armstrong, op. cit., p. 118.
2. Rihani, op. cit., p. 52.
3. Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, p. 225.
4. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1426.
5. See Hughes, T.P., *Dictionary of Islam*, reprint, Lahore, 1964, p. 142, where the categories are regrettably transposed.
6. See Lacey, op. cit., for some legendary examples of Bin Jiluwi's style.
7. Rihani, op. cit., p. 214.
8. *Neglected Arabia*, no. 167, pp. 12-13.
9. *Almana*, op. cit., p. 241.
10. Rihani, op. cit., p. 62.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
12. *Almana*, op. cit., p. 238.
13. See Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 581 ff.
14. See Zirikli, loc. cit., and *Jeddah Diaries*, Vol. 2, pp. 357-8.
15. See *Almana*, op. cit., p. 239, where no details are given. If Ibn Saud did not say this, *e molto ben trovato*.
16. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 629.
17. See Philby *Heart of Arabia*, p. 350.
18. The eye condition worsened after the 1922 Ujair Conference and seems to have been erysipelas. See van der Meulen, D., op. cit., p. 89.

For a different picture of Ibn Saud's condition at this time, with echoes of Gertrude Bell, See Lacey, op. cit., p. 207.

19. Quoted in Lunt, J.D., *Glubb Pasha*, London, 1984, p. 49.

7 THE KINGDOM ESTABLISHED, 1928–32

1. Asad, op. cit., p. 225.
2. Alman, op. cit., passim.
3. Alman, op. cit., p. 96.
4. Alman, op. cit., p. 101.
5. Alman, op. cit., p. 103.
6. See Lunt, op. cit., p. 54.
7. Alman, op. cit., p. 124.
8. See Asad, op. cit., p. 224.
9. See Helms, op. cit., pp. 239–41.
10. Asad, op. cit., p. 228 ff.
11. Author's italics.
12. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 219 and n.
13. Ryan, A., *The Last of the Dragomans*, London, 1951, p. 278.
14. J. Loader Park. For the US Consul's dispatches, see al-Rashid, I. *Documents on the History of Saudi Arabia*, Vol. III, Salisbury, NC 1976.
15. See Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 335–6.
16. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 627.
17. Alman, op. cit., p. 194.
18. Quoted in Rihani, op. cit., p. 164.
19. Philby, *Arabian Jubilee*, p. 99.
20. Philby, *ibid.*, p. 109.
21. Philby, *ibid.*, p. 132.
22. Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 333.
23. See, for much detail on the King's plight, *The Jedda Diaries* for 1930–33, passim.
24. See Monroe, op. cit., p. 173.
25. See *Neglected Arabia*, no. 163 for May 1932, pp. 10–11.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
27. *Political Diaries of the Persian Gulf*, Vol. 10, Archive Editions, London, 1990, p. 304 (hereafter PD/PG).
28. Zirikli, p. 560.
29. Rendel, G., *The Sword and the Olive*, London, 1957, p. 60.
30. Zirikli, p. 360.

8 THE LOCUST YEARS, 1932–38

1. An appendix to the book dealing with 'Walking stones' is headed 'Swalking tones'.
2. See Monroe, op. cit., pp. 175–7.

3. Philby *Empty Quarter* p. xxiii.
4. Gulbenkian was the adviser on this question of boundaries and indeed himself drew the famous Red Line. See Sampson, A., *The Seven Sisters*, London 1980, p. 84.
5. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 236 and n.
6. There is a dispute on the date as between Almana, op. cit., and Lacey, op. cit. (29 and 9 May respectively).
7. For samples see PD/PG, Vol. 10.
8. See PD/PG, Vol. 10, p. 221.
9. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, pp. 363–4.
10. See Dickson in PD/PG, Vol. 10, p. 221.
11. See Zirikli, p. 338.
12. See de Gaury, G. *Arabian Journey*, London, 1950, pp. 16–17.
13. A charming touch in diplomacy was that the telegraphic address for Saudi diplomatic missions was 'NEJDIA'.
14. Rendel, G., quoted in Kelly, J.B. *Eastern Arabian Frontiers* London 1964, p. 129.
15. See Zirikli, pp. 622–4.
16. De Gaury, *Arabia Phoenix*, London, 1946, p. 100.
17. Ibid., p. 64.
18. Ibid., p. 66.
19. Ryan, op. cit., p. 273.
20. Ibid., p. 297.
21. Quoted in Niblock, T., *State Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia*, London, 1981, p. 42.
22. Philby, *Arabian Highlands* Cornell 1952, pp. 75 ff.
23. Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 335.
24. Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 1071 ff.
25. See Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 1092–1103.
26. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 991, and Ryan, op. cit., p. 272.
27. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1100.
28. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 187.
29. See *Neglected Arabia*, no. 180, pp. 6 ff.
30. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 254.
31. See PD/PG, Vol. 12, p. 580.
32. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1244.
33. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 307. See also above, 'Family life', at end of Chapter IV.
34. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 407.
35. Ibid.

9 THE CUP DASHED FROM THE LIPS, 1938–45

1. For discussion of Ibn Saud's overall position at this time, see Niblock, op. cit., pp. 42 ff.
2. For an unofficial view of secret comings and goings at this time, see Ladislav Farago, *The Riddle of Arabia*, London, 1939, p. 38. Farago took

- the trouble to get himself to the Hodeida area and reported on German arms salesmen, mysterious submariners, etc. He also alleged that the British bribed Ibn Saud to withdraw from the Yemen in 1934 with a sum in excess of their total subsidies to him up to 1924 (pp. 203–4).
3. See Bullock, A., *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, London, 1973, pp. 367 ff.
 4. See Kelly, op. cit., p. 67.
 5. Bullard, R.W., *The Camels Must Go*, London, 1951.
 6. Grafftey-Smith, L. *Bright Levant*, London, 1970. Grafftey-Smith's memory was at fault, however, as we shall see for events in 1945.
 7. Rendel, op. cit., p. 112.
 8. Bullard, op. cit., p. 137.
 9. Ibid., p. 197.
 10. Ibid., p. 202.
 11. Ibid., p. 202.
 12. Ibid., p. 205.
 13. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 367. (In this meeting Ibn Saud confided to Bullard that he was aged 58. Cf. Note 1 of Introduction above.)
 14. The author has been unable to consult the original German documents but prefers this view of Ibn Saud's view of the British.
Lacey, op. cit., p. 257, quotes Hirsowicz to endorse his remark that Ibn Saud told Grobba that 'at heart he hated the English' but Hirsowicz, quoting from the documents, says only that Grobba reported that 'the King, in his opinion, hated the English . . .', Hirsowicz, L., *The Third Reich and the Arab East*, London, 1966.
 15. See Nicosia, P., *The Third Reich and Palestine*, London, 1985.
 16. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 687.
 17. Ibn Saud was careful to let the British Legation know in May 1940 'Saudi Arabia is neutral but my sympathies are with the Allies for whose victory I hope . . .', *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 536.
 18. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 963.
 19. Private information.
 20. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 461, for an example of Ibn Saud's secret contacts with the British Legation in September 1939 on Palestine.
 21. See Hirsowicz, op. cit., p. 48. Hirsowicz has much detail on the high level of Saudi-German contacts in 1938–9. Another of the King's advisers, Khalid Gargani, was received by Hitler himself at the Obersalzberg on 17 June 1939 (pp. 54 ff).
 22. See Monroe, op. cit., p. 222.
 23. Ibid., p. 228.
 24. Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., pp. 262–3.
 25. The mixture of rage and amusement in Ibn Saud's attitude to Philby is well caught in Bullard's account of a conversation he had with the King about Philby's contrary attitudes. He told the story of the proud mother who pointed to a group of soldiers marching and said, 'They're all out of step except our Jack.' The King would later retell the story to his courtiers in illustration of Philby's attitude to life. See Bullard, op. cit., p. 198.
 26. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 450.

27. Weizmann, C. *Trial and Error* London 1949, pp. 525–6.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 531–2.
29. See Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 1134 ff. Philby remained convinced that Ibn Saud had been seriously interested in the Weizmann ‘deal’ since one of the conditions was that in return for the surrender of some land all the Arab countries in Asia would get full independence. Moreover, Ibn Saud’s indignation to Hoskins was in his view merely a show put on, as he gradually realised, during Hoskins’ visit, that FDR’s envoy was not authorised to make a deal with him.
See Philby to de Gaury 17 November 1943 in *The de Gaury Papers*, The Royal Geographical Society, London (Black Tin Box, Notebook, 6/2).
30. See *PD/PG*, Vol. 14, p. 542.
31. See Twitchell, K.S., *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 165 et seq.
32. Twitchell, op. cit., p. 169.
33. Ibn Saud maintained a degree of closeness with the British, however. He sent his son Mansour, who was later to be the Kingdom’s first Defence Minister, to the Alamein area before Montgomery’s battle of October–November 1942. The Prince seems to have established a good rapport with the Indian Muslim forces who were part of Montgomery’s army.
34. See Rubin, B. *The Great Powers in the Middle East 1941–7*, 1980, p. 48.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
36. Graftey-Smith, op. cit., p. 261.
37. See *J.D.*, Vol. 4, p. 353.

10 IBN SAUD ON THE WORLD STAGE, 1945–51

1. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1151.
2. Graftey-Smith, op. cit., p. 265.
3. See van der Meulen, D., *The Wells of Ibn Saud*, London, 1957, p. 99.
4. See Bullard, op. cit., p. 197. Bullard goes on in his usual waspish manner to note that Ibn Saud ‘was a good talker: his conversation was interesting and apposite. It is true that he often said that the subject could be divided under three headings and proceeded to divide it under many more but that did not affect the good sense of his conclusions.’ *Ibid.*
5. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 399.
6. See Bilainkin, G. *Cairo to Riyadh Diary*, London, 1950, p. 135.
7. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1168 dates the first discussion of the meeting in February 1944 but this seems unlikely.
8. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1168.
9. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1176.
10. *Ibid.*
11. See Holden, op. cit., pp. 137 ff, Lacey, op. cit., pp. 271 ff and Howarth, op. cit., pp. 191 ff.
12. See Benoist-Mechin, *Ibn Seoud: le Loup et le Leopard*, Paris, 1955,

- pp. 352–3. The author reaches the satisfied conclusion on Ibn Saud's attitude to the British that 'in a single afternoon Ibn Saud had taken his revenge for 20 years of insults'.
13. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1186.
 14. See Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., p. 251.
 15. Private information. Zirikli, in a one-volume summary of his four-volume work, gives four lines to Ibn Saud's meeting with Churchill. Zirikli *Al Wajiz*, 4th edn, Beirut, 1984. The Ibn Saud–Churchill meeting is described with varying degrees of accuracy in Zirikli, loc. cit.; Howarth, pp. 207–8; Lacey, pp. 272–4, etc.
 Pace several writers, Churchill did report to the War Cabinet on political discussions with Ibn Saud: see Gilbert, M. (and Churchill, R.) *Churchill*, Vol. VII, p. 1225.
 16. Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., p. 272.
 17. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1186.
 18. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 289 and n.
 19. See Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., pp. 269–70.
 20. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1361.
 21. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1358.
 22. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1213.
 23. See Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., pp. 274–6.
 24. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1217.
 25. Private information.
 26. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1237.
 27. See Zirikli, op. cit., pp. 1251 ff.
 28. Private information.
 29. See Holden, op. cit., p. 151.
 30. See Grafftey-Smith, op. cit., p. 267.
 31. See Philby, *Forty Years in the Wilderness*, London, 1957, p. 189.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
 34. Philby, *Arabian Jubilee*, p. 125 and elsewhere.
 35. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 295 and notes.
 36. Bilainkin, op. cit., p. 129.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
 38. Philby, *Forty Years*, p. 205.
 39. See Monroe, op. cit., p. 238.
 40. See Holden, op. cit., p. 144 and n.
 41. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 915.
 42. See Holden, op. cit., p. 153.
 43. Private information.
 44. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 91.
 45. Quoted in al-Rashid, I., *The Struggle between the Princes*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1985 (12 July 1950), p. 17.
 46. See Holden, op. cit., p. 154.

11 THE END, 1951–53

1. Page 1367.
2. See, for example, M. Asad, op. cit., p. 181.
3. See Zirikli, op. cit., p. 926.
4. See *The Middle East*, Oxford, 2nd edn, p. 99.
5. See Lacey, op. cit., p. 280.
6. See *The Middle East*, Oxford, 2nd edn, p. 98. A side-effect of this may be noted, that Ibn Saud seems to have lost his interest in the contribution of the American medical missionaries from Bahrain. See *Neglected Arabia* for this period.
7. Ambassador Hare to State Department, 14 November 1951, quoted in Ibrahim Al-Rashid, *The Struggle between the Two Princes*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1985, p. 36.
8. See Holden, op. cit., pp. 161 ff.
9. Quoted in Ibrahim Al-Rashid, op. cit., p. 129., for 12 October 1953.
10. Zirikli, op. cit., p. 1433.
11. These moving words are Grafftey-Smith's, op. cit., p. 287.
12. Quoted in Monroe, op. cit., p. 274.
The death of Ibn Saud seems to have gone unmarked in the journal of the American missionaries who had known him since 1915. See *Neglected Arabia* for this period.
13. See Burke's *Royal Families of the World*, Vol. II, London, 1980, p. 210.

12 ENVOI

1. M. Asad, op. cit., p. 181.

Bibliography

A. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The reader may get an idea of works consulted by modern writers on Ibn Saud in the bibliographies found in the following:

1. Lacey, R., *The Kingdom*, London, 1981.
2. Holden, D. & Johns, R., *The House of Saud*, London, 1981.
3. Besson, Y., *Ibn Seoud, roi bedouin*, Lausanne, 1980.
4. Habib, John S., *Ibn Saud's Warriors of Islam*, Leiden, 1978.
5. Howarth, D., *The Desert King*, London, 1964.
6. Troeller, G., *The Birth of Saudi Arabia*, London, 1976.
7. Helms, C.M., *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia*, London, 1980.
8. Armstrong, H.C., *Lord of Arabia, Ibn Saud*, Beirut, 1966 (reprint).
9. Goldberg, J., *The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia: the formative years 1902-18*, Harvard, 1986.

B. GUIDED READING

For the general reader in English the following is suggested as a course of reading using the above titles:

1. Armstrong, op. cit. A slightly breathless account, sympathetic and readable, taking the story only to 1934 in the 1938 edition, from which the 1966 reprint is taken.
2. Howarth, op. cit. The work of a well-informed journalist and generalist writer. Very readable but vague on chronology.
3. Lacey, op. cit. A highly readable work, going beyond the life of Ibn Saud, but presenting a lively account of his personal life and political problems which he faced. Has a number of internal inconsistencies in addition to conveying inaccurately a number of anecdotes, Philby's and others.
4. Holden and Johns, op. cit. Similar to, and directly competing with Lacey's book on publication but with fewer personal anecdotes. A useful complement but with many inaccuracies. Ends with the judgement that the Kingdom had only another five years of life from 1980.
5. Troeller, op. cit. A more scholarly and detailed work covering the period to 1925. Has some inconsistencies and inaccuracies.
6. Holms, op. cit. A thematic treatment, closely argued, whose thesis is that Ibn Saud has been overrated and that he was to a large extent only the beneficiary of historical trends working in his favour.
7. Habib, op. cit. A painstaking treatment of the Ikhwan movement up to 1930. Of great interest but spoiled by extraordinary printing errors.
8. Goldberg, op. cit. An original and readable scholarly work on the foreign relations of Ibn Saud which shows clearly the link between personal life and political factors.

C. PHILBY

Philby wrote more than anyone on Ibn Saud and Saudi Arabia but he is best approached when the reader has digested some or all of the above. His books are all too long and prone to error and carelessness but they reward careful and selective reading at the right time.

His own life should be read first:

1. Monroe, E., *Philby of Arabia*, London, 1974.
This will help the reader through:
2. Philby, H. St. J.B., *The Heart of Arabia*, 2 vols, London, 1922.
3. Idem, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London, 1928.
4. Idem, *Arabian Days*, London, 1948.
5. Idem, *Arabian Jubilee*, London, 1952.
6. Idem, *Saudi Arabia*, London, 1955.

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Essential reading:

1. Twitchell, K.S., *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton, 1947. He was the American engineer sent by the American philanthropist Chas. R. Crane to survey Saudi Arabia's mineral resources in 1931. His book is a delightful laconic account of the hard physical conditions of the 1930s.
2. Fisher, W.B., *The Middle East*, 4th edn, London, 1961. A geographer, he was active in the area in the Second World War.
3. Longrigg, S.R., *The Middle East* London, 1963. He was one of the negotiating team competing with the Americans for the Saudi oil concession in 1933.
4. Thesiger, W., *Arabian Sands*, London, 1959. The best travel book ever written about the Arabian peninsula, describing the explorer's journeys in the late 1940s.

E. DETAILED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A useful introduction to the whole field is:

1. Clements, Frank A., *Saudi Arabia*, Oxford, 1988
This must be supplemented by the observations in:
2. Frankl, P.J., *Brismes Bulletin* 17/1, 1990, 102-7 (a review of Clements, op. cit.).
3. Philipp, Hans-Jurgen, *Saudi Arabia: Bibliography on Society, Politics, Economics*, Munich, 1984. This should be read in the light of the review in:
4. Auchterlonie, P., *Brismes Bulletin* 17/1, 1990, 107-8.

The above four references will lead to the principal works in English, French, German, Russian, Arabic and Italian.

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